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SANCTI REGES HUNGARIAE
IN MURAL PAINTING OF LATE-MEDIEVAL HUNGARY

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By

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(Romania)

Thesis submitted to the Department of Medieval Studies,
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Accepted in conformance with the standards of the CEU

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I, the undersigned, **Dragoş-Gheorghe Năstăsoiu**, 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 2009

Signature

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INTRODUCTION

During the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the religious iconography in the Hungarian Kingdom's territory added to its various themes a new one – the collective representation of the full standing figures of the three Arpadian holy kings, St. Stephen, St. Emeric, and St. Ladislav. The great popularity which the new theme enjoyed in this time period, as attested by the mural decoration of numerous churches scattered all over the kingdom, is challenged by the fact that the royal saints promoted by this iconic composition did not belong to the ruling Angevin dynasty, but to the previous Arpadian one. Later, when the Angevin dynasty died out, the collective cult of the three holy kings and its pictorial representations continued to be supported by the new ruler belonging to the Bohemian Luxemburgs, King Sigismund.

Research Questions

This thesis is an iconographic study dedicated to the mural painting representations of the *sancti reges Hungariae* encountered in village churches which nowadays are found in Hungary, Slovakia, Romania, Ukraine, and Austria, but belonging initially, when the frescoes were executed, to the Hungarian Kingdom. In order to understand the context which led to the illustration of the new iconographic theme, the thesis will address the question of the emergence of the three holy Hungarian kings' joint cult by relying primarily on the written sources mentioning St. Stephen, St. Emeric, and St. Ladislav as a collective. Because their joint cult is a development that happened several centuries later than the saints' individual canonizations and cults, an examination of the iconographic antecedents of the theme is required: the analysis will attempt to establish which characteristics from the saints' separated iconography migrated to the *sancti reges Hungariae* theme and which were the iconographic

innovations. After establishing the emergence moment of the concept of *sancti reges Hungariae* and the iconographic identity of each holy king, the analysis of the frescoes will focus on their intrinsic (type of image, collection of attributes, depiction of kingship) and extrinsic (iconographic context, donors) characteristics which determined their creation and shape. By doing this, the analysis will attempt to recover the meaning that the frescoes depicting the *sancti reges Hungariae* had in their creation time.

Theoretical Explanations

Rejecting the term “iconographic canon” referring mainly to Byzantine art but proposed by France Stelé for Slovenian rural painting,¹ Vasile Drăguț acknowledges a series of iconographic regularities which owe their popularity to a certain authority they enjoyed in a particular epoch.² Drăguț distinguishes between the outstanding artistic achievements of the gothic age’s cities and the modest examples that the eclectic artistic formation and the clumsiness of unimportant itinerant painters made possible in small village churches.³ He proposes an international gothic style typical for provincial art – recognizable by both its common iconographic principles and its artistic language – which can stand beside the high-style international gothic.⁴ As many mural ensembles of the Middle Ages attest, two of these regularities characterizing the church painting of Hungarian Kingdom are the iconographic occurrence of the Arpadian dynasty’s holy kings and the iconic-narrative dualism, functioning at the more profound level of medieval image making. These characteristics of medieval religious painting will also form the theoretical basis of the thesis.

¹ France Stelé, “Slovenska gotska podružnica i njen ikonografski kanon,” [The Slovenian Gothic Branch and Its Iconographic Canon] *Sbornik Narodog Muzeja* 4 (1964): 315-328 (henceforth: Stelé, *Slovenska gotska podružnica i njen ikonografski kanon*).

² Vasile Drăguț, *Iconografia picturilor murale gotice din Transilvania*, [The Iconography of Gothic Mural Paintings from Transylvania], in “Pagini de veche artă românească,” vol. 2 (Bucharest: Editura Academiei, 1972), 13 (henceforth: *Iconografia picturilor murale gotice din Transilvania*).

³ Idem, 32.

The distinction between these two types of religious image, iconic and narrative,⁵ has been made since the beginning of Christian art⁶ and it shows two different attitudes towards visual representation and its functions. The painted narrative and its didactic purpose go together with the narrative structure of the Bible which focuses on the signification and the essence of biblical stories and invites more to comprehension than to feeling. The iconic self-containing image of Christ, the Virgin Mary, or any other saint, has immediate theological purposes, being intended for religious cult and devotion, and for visual illustration of theological doctrines. Subsequently, the latter excludes the understanding of concrete religious events in favor of emotional involvement and rational comprehension of abstract religious concepts.⁷ Comparing it with the iconic representation of different saints, the great number of narrative cycles dedicated to saints like St. Ladislav, St. Catherine of Alexandria, St. Margaret of Antioch, or St. George, just to mention the most popular ones in medieval Hungary, occupied a privileged place in medieval provincial painting: the northern windowless wall of the nave.⁸ When they occur in various and subsequently undefined places on the walls of a medieval church, the frontal and hieratical depictions of saints owe their presence not so much to the believer's responsiveness to a theme with such abstract content, usually elaborated in a monastic or great city cathedrals environment, but to the ecclesiastical

⁴ Vasile Drăguț's thesis emerged independently from the "Volkstümliche Produkte" of Walter Frodl, *Die gothische Wandmalerei in Kärnten* (Klagenfurt: Leon Verlag, 1944).

⁵ This distinction does not intend to situate the analysis in a structuralist context, but just to differentiate between two types of image, each of them with certain characteristics contributing to their final shape and appearance.

⁶ Sixten Ringbom, *Icon to Narrative. The Rise of the Dramatic Close-up in Fifteenth-Century Devotional Painting*, (Doornspijk: Davaco, 1983), 11. The author also registers the terms used by previous scholars to refer to this dichotomy: *historiai* and *symbola* (or *charakteres*) for Eastern Christianity, and *historiae* and *imagines* for Western Christianity.

⁷ As the Middle Ages waned, the emotional and sympathetic involvement transcended its previous borders and enriched the narrative with a series of details and emotional triggers enabling a shift of attitude among the beholders. Hans Belting, "The New Role of Narrative in Public Painting of the Trecento: *Historia* and Allegory," *Studies in the History of Art*, vol. 16, Pictorial Narrative in Antiquity and the Middle Ages, ed. Herbert L. Kessler and Marianna Shreve Simpson (London: University Press of New England, 1985): 151.

⁸ Drăguț, *Iconografia picturilor murale gotice din Transilvania*, 37-43.

or monarchical authority's constraint, as happened with the theme of the three Hungarian saints.⁹

Historical Background

The cult of the Arpadian trio was popular for a long time, a popularity which started with King Béla IV (1235-1270), who is often associated in his age's documents to his sacred forefathers,¹⁰ and continued with the two Angevins, Charles Robert (1308-1342) and Louis the Great (1342-1382).¹¹ The medieval profusion of the iconic depictions of St. Stephen, St. Emeric, and St. Ladislav is not owed to reasons of artistic taste, but to its official character which promoted it within the framework of medieval Hungarian iconography. The illustration of this theme on the walls of Catholic religious buildings and also of some Orthodox ones from Transylvania represented an occasion for the local nobility to prove its loyalty towards kingship, and to make clear its membership in a Hungarian élite and its privileged position within it. If the pictorial narrative of St. Ladislav decreased in popularity after the second half of the fifteenth century due to its strong connections with the chivalric culture,¹² the iconic representation of the three holy kings as a consequence of dynastic, and subsequently national, reasons has remained popular until recently. The minor variation in the iconic

⁹ As will be seen, these representations have no specific place on the church's walls.

¹⁰ Terézia Kerny, "A magyar szent királyok tisztelete és ikonográfiája a XIII. századtól a XVII. századig," [The Cult of Holy Hungarian Kings and Its Iconography between Thirteenth and Seventeenth Centuries] in *Az ezeréves ifjú. Tanulmányok szent Imre herceg 1000 évéről*, [The Ancient Young Man. Studies on Saint Duke Emeric's Thousand Years] ed. Lőrincz Tamás (Székesfehérvár: Szent Imre-Templom, 2007), 79-123 (henceforth: Kerny, *A magyar szent királyok tisztelete és ikonográfiája*).

¹¹ Ernő Marosi, "Der heilige Ladislaus als ungarischer Nationalheiliger. Bemerkungen zu seiner Ikonographie im 14.-15. Jh.," *Acta Historiae Artium Hungariae* 33 (1987): 232-234 (henceforth: Marosi, *Der heilige Ladislaus*); idem, *Kép és hasonmás. Művészet és valóság a 14-15. századi Magyarországon*. [Image and Resemblance. Art and Reality in Fourteenth-Fifteenth Centuries Hungary] (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1995), 69 (henceforth: Marosi, *Kép és hasonmás*); Gábor Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses. Dynastic Cults in Medieval Central Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 339-341 (henceforth: Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers*).

¹² Dragoș Gh. Năstăsoiu, "Nouvelles représentations de la légende de Saint Ladislav à Crăciunel et Chilieni," *Revue Roumaine d'Histoire de l'Art* 45 (2008): 3-22; idem, "Reprezentări ale Sfântului Ladislav în pictura murală medievală din Transilvania." [Representations of Saint Ladislav in Medieval Mural Painting of Transylvania] BA Thesis. Bucharest: Universitatea Națională de Arte, 2008.

representation of the holy kings throughout time offers only some slight emphasis transformation, the theme remaining unchanged in its principal elements, namely the frontality and the sobriety of the characters, and their investment with the royal dignity's attributes. The iconic character of this theme's formulation did not respond to believers' taste for the easy assimilable models of Christian behavior endowed by narrativity but to the military and political duty which lesser nobility owed towards monarchy.

Introducing the Primary Sources

The iconography of *sancti reges Hungariae*, as is the case with any other iconic depiction of a saint or a group of saints, is not a permeable medium for iconographic innovation or variation to go through; once established, the iconographic pattern carries on a certain physiognomic typology, a characteristic clothing habit, and a specific collection of attributes for long periods of time. Some cases are special, however, but they are not significantly numerous; the majority of cases follow the iconographic pattern and emphasize it with great accuracy, but cannot surpass their artistically provincial character. Because the discussion of every single example in the analysis would become at some time repetitive, but because all of them deserve an equal attention, all occurrences of the *sancti reges Hungariae* will be catalogued and included in an appendix¹³ which will be the working tool for the iconographic analysis.

Collecting and putting together all the mural paintings that have a pictorial collective representation of old wise King St. Stephen, young and chaste Duke St. Emeric, and knightly King St. Ladislas¹⁴ is not an easy task since there is not yet a catalog of the monuments where

¹³ See Appendix I. The appendix includes, besides the photo reproduction of the painting, entries with a short fresco description, the place of the scene on the church wall and in the iconographic program, the dating hypotheses, and the bibliography of each occurrence of *sancti reges Hungariae*.

¹⁴ As will be seen later, these defining features of the three royal characters of Hungarian kingship were established independently into each saint's hagiography, and they are evidence of how the hagiographical model

such a theme occurs.¹⁵ The references are scattered among various studies dealing with one or another of the saints' iconographies,¹⁶ with the style and the iconography of a particular monument where the holy kings are present as a secondary matter,¹⁷ or with new data made possible by recent restoration work.¹⁸ The information provided by such studies concerned

of the saint king evolved in Western Christianity: the previous ideal of the martyr ruler is abandoned in favor of good monarch's model who has as single merit the Christianization of his people (*rex justus Stephanus*) which will receive under the crusades' influence the appearance of *athleta Christi Ladislaus*, Gábor Klaniczay, "L'image chevaleresque du saint roi au XIIe siècle," in *La royauté sacrée dans le monde chrétien*, ed. Alain Boureau and Claude Sergio Ingerflom (Paris: Édition de l'École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, 1992), 53-61 (henceforth: Klaniczay, *L'image chevaleresque du saint roi au XIIe siècle*). The leitmotif of the mid-twelfth century legend of St. Emeric is the ideal of the chaste prince, Gábor Klaniczay considering it as reflecting Church's program of that age, idem, *Holy Rulers*, 158-159. In some of the medieval paintings, these characteristics are preserved but a certain emphasis on the kings' knightly appearance, even in St. Emeric's case, who was not a soldier at all, is noticeable and can be ascribed to the age's chivalric culture.

¹⁵ An important help in establishing the list of monuments was Kerny, *A magyar szent királyok tisztelete és ikonográfiája*, where a major part of the monuments discussed in the thesis are mentioned, but without an extensive analysis. The merit of Kerny is to have situated the iconographic evidence of the *sancti reges Hungariae* in the wider historical and cultural background.

¹⁶ For medieval iconography of St. Stephen, see Antal Leopold, "Szent István ikonográfiája," [The Iconography of Saint Stephen] in ed. Jusztnián Szerédi, *Emlékkönyv Szent István halálának kilencszázadik évfordulóján* (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1938), 113-154; Tünde Wehli, "Szent István kultusza a középkori magyarországi művészetben," [The Cult of Saint Stephen in Medieval Hungarian Painting] in ed. József Török, *Doctor et apostol. Szent István tanulmányok* (Budapest: Márton Áron Kiadó, 1994), 107-140. For the iconography of St. Emeric, see the recent collection of studies edited by Terézia Kerny, *Szent Imre 1000 éve. Tanulmányok Szent Imre tiszteletére születésének ezredik évfordulója alkalmából. 1000 Jahre Heiliger Emmerich. Beiträge zu Ehren des heiligen Emmerich anlässlich seines 1000. Geburtstages* (Székesfehérvár: Egyházmegyei Hivatal and Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Művészettörténeti Kutatóintézet, 2007). For St. Ladislav's iconography, see Marosi, *Der heilige Ladislaus*, 211-256; Gyula László, *A Szent László-legenda középkori falképei*. [The Legend of Saint Ladislav in Medieval Mural Painting] (Budapest: Tájak-Korok-Múzeumok Egyesület, 1993) (henceforth: László, *A Szent László-legenda középkori falképei*); Melinda Tóth, *Árpád-kori falfestészet* [Arpadian Age Mural Painting] (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1974), passim; eadem, "Falfestészet az Árpád-korban," [Mural Painting in Árpád Age] *Ars Hungarica* 23 (1995): 137-154; Terézia Kerny, "Szent László középkori tisztelete és ikonográfiája," [The Cult and Iconography of Saint Ladislav] in ed. eadem and Zoltán Móser, *Ave Rex Ladislaus* (Budapest: Paulus Hungarus Kairosz, 2000), 30-39; Edit Madas and György Zoltán Horváth, *Középkori prédikációk és falképek Szent László királyról. San Ladislao d'Ungheria nella predicazione e nei dipinti murali* (Budapest: Romanika Kiadó, 2008) (henceforth: Madas and Horváth, *Középkori prédikációk és falképek Szent László királyról*). The last title is relevant for this study as an extensive collection of image reproduction, but it offers no valuable art historical information; moreover, sometimes even the image captions are incorrect. The titles presented here are a selection from the very rich bibliography on these saints' iconography. Other titles relevant for the analysis will occur later in the footnotes.

¹⁷ Because the list would be an extensive one, the mention of these studies would be included in the footnotes of each analyzed case or in the appendix.

¹⁸ I mention here only József Lángi and Ferenc Mihály, *Erdélyi falképek és festett faberendezések* [Mural Paintings and Painted Wooden Furnishings of Transylvania], vol. 1 and 2 (Budapest: Állami Műemlékhelyreállítási és Restaurálási Központ, [2002] and 2004); József Lángi, "Új, eddig ismeretlen Szent László ábrázolások falképeken" [New and Until Now Unknown Mural Depictions of Saint Ladislav], *A szenttisztelet történeti rétegei és formái Magyarországon és Közép-Európában. A Magyar szentek tisztelete*, ed. Gábor Barna (Szeged: Néprajzi Tanszék, 2001), 80-97. Noteworthy by their excellent graphic quality and high-level studies are also the volumes edited by Tibor Kollár, *Középkori falképek Erdélyben. Értékmérés a Teleki László Alapítvány támogatásával* [Medieval Mural Painting in Transylvania. Saved by Teleki László Foundation] (Budapest: Teleki László Alapítvány, 2008) (henceforth: Kollár, *Középkori falképek Erdélyben*), and idem, *Falfestészeti emlékek a középkori Magyarország északkeleti megyéiből* [Monuments with Medieval Mural Painting in the North-eastern Counties of Hungary] (Budapest: Teleki László Alapítvány, 2009) (henceforth: Kollár, *Falfestészeti emlékek a középkori Magyarország északkeleti megyéiből*).

indirectly with the topic of this thesis has to be treated cautiously for it is partial and focuses on things which are not important for this analysis. Therefore, some of the mentioned paintings were excluded from this discussion on the grounds of uncertainty: monuments like those from Sic¹⁹ (Szék, Seck, Sechen), Armășeni (Csíkmenaság), Banská Bystrica (Besztercebánya), Bardejov (Bártfa, Bartfeld), Chernotisovo (Feketeardó), and Abaújvár²⁰ will not form the matter of this iconographic analysis. Consequently, the reason for this exclusion is the impossibility of a precise identification of the fragmentarily preserved scenes as depicting at least two of the Arpadian kings. As attested by the surviving examples from other places, the presence of a painted figure of one royal Hungarian saint does not necessarily imply that there should be also one of his habitual companions (for instance, at Velemér, St. Ladislav is accompanied by St. Nicholas, and, at Siklós, by a monk saint).²¹ Moreover, not every depiction of a holy king from the medieval Hungarian Kingdom can necessarily be identified as St. Stephen, St. Emeric, or St. Ladislav (at Sântana de Mureș, for instance, there is a depiction of St. King Louis IX of France,²² or in other places, St.

¹⁹ Virgil Vătășianu, *Istoria artei feudale în Țările Române*, [The History of Feudal Art in Romanian Provinces] (Cluj-Napoca: Centrul de Studii Transilvane. Fundația Culturală Română, 2001), 410-411 (henceforth: Vătășianu, *Istoria artei feudale în Țările Române*), saw on the south-eastern corner of the aisle of the church in Sic a fragment of a holy king and, relying on Entz-Sebestyén's information who recognized earlier St. Nicholas and a saint king (according to him King Louis IX of France) among other holy characters, he subsequently states the previous existence of the three holy Hungarian kings' theme. Because the painted king commonly associated with St. Ladislav is an isolated character and does not hold his characteristic attribute but only a scepter, and since there are depictions of other saint kings than the Arpadians in medieval Hungarian painting, this example is excluded from the analysis until a personal visit to the monument will be possible. Reproduction of the painting in Madas and Horváth, *Középkori prédikációk és falképek Szent László királyról*, 206-207 and 404.

²⁰ All these paintings are mentioned in Ana Maria Gruia, "Saint Ladislav on Stove Tiles," *Annual of Medieval Studies at CEU* 11 (2005): 115, as "Ladislav as standing king", but no picture is available in this study dealing with St. Ladislav's depiction on medieval stove tiles; it might be possible in certain cases not only St. Ladislav to be there but also St. Stephen and St. Emeric. Until a field research will be possible, these monuments are keeping their uncertainty. The church in Abaújvár was recently published in Kollár, *Falfestészeti emlékek a középkori Magyarország északi megyéiből*, 26-43, and there is no such representation of the three holy kings of Hungary.

²¹ Photo reproductions in Madas and Horváth, *Középkori prédikációk és falképek Szent László királyról*, 80-81, and 380.

²² Identification by Vasile Drăguț, "Picturile murale din biserica evanghelică din Mălâncrav," *Studii și Cercetări de Istoria Artei. Seria Artă Plastică* 1 (1967): 79-93 (henceforth: Drăguț, *Picturile murale din biserica evanghelică din Mălâncrav*), questioned by Anca Gogâltan, "The Holy Hungarian Kings, the Saint Bishop and the Saint King in the Sanctuary of the Church in Mălâncrav," *Ars Transsilvaniae* 12-13 (2002-2003): 113-115 (henceforth: Gogâltan, *The Holy Hungarian Kings, the Saint Bishop and the Saint King*).

Sigismund is depicted either separately or in the company of the three royal Arpadian saints).²³

A special case is represented by a series of fragmentarily preserved paintings which has in common a certain place within the church: the pillars of the triumphal arch. Examples such as the paintings from Čečejevce (Csécs), Štítník (Csetnek), Žehra (Zsegrá, Schigra), Žíp (Zsip),²⁴ and Tornaszentandrás preserve one or two saintly kings but not always they can be identified for sure as belonging to *sancti reges Hungariae*. Although in Catholic iconography the place of a certain painting is not defined as rigorously as in Byzantine art, the occurrence of holy royal characters in a specific place might not only be a fortuitous coincidence; subsequently, despite their fragmented iconography, I am keeping the pillars of the triumphal arch representations in my analysis in order to determine the causes of this fragmentation and of its selective depiction of the holy Arpadians.

Subsequently, excepting these fragmented iconography cases, illustrations of the royal Arpadian trio appear in the following monuments of the medieval Kingdom of Hungary:²⁵ Bistrița (Beszterce, Bistritz), Crișcior (Kristyor), Chimindia (Kéménd), Dârlos (Darlac, Durles), Mălâncrav (Almakerék, Malmkrog), Remetea (Magyarremete), Ribița (Ribice), Sâncraiu de Mureș (Marosszentkirály), Tileagd (Mezőtelegd), Khust (Hust, Huszt, Khust), Bijacovce (Szépesmindszent), Hrušov (Körtvélyes), Krásnahorské Podhradie

²³ See below the analysis of the frescoes.

²⁴ Personal research trip made possible by the generous research grant of Central European University, Budapest, in April 2009.

²⁵ In his study dedicated to medieval iconography of Transylvania, Vasile Drăguț, *Iconografia picturilor murale gotice din Transilvania*, 65, 75, and 80, catalogues the Transylvanian monuments: Tileagd, Mălâncrav, Remetea, Sibiu, Sâncraiu de Mureș, Crișcior, and Ribița; few years later, he adds Fizeșul Gherlii on the list, idem, *Arta gotică în România* [Gothic Art in Romania] (Bucharest: Editura Meridiane, 1979), 260. Virgil Vătășianu, *Istoria artei feudale în Țările Române*, 408-412, supplements the list with the paintings from Bistrița and Sic. Besides the narrative representations of St. Ladislav, the map of Ana Maria Gruia from the appendix of her study, Gruia, *Saint Ladislav on Stove Tiles*, 115, gathers also the iconic ones: Fizeșul Gherlei, Tileagd, Crișcior, Mălâncrav, Ribița, Remetea, Sibiu, Armășeni, Chimindia, Čečejevce, Racoș, Banská Bystrica, Plešinec, Corny Ardov, Bardejov, Abaújhvár, and Velemér (although some of the place names are misspelled, I preserved the author's denominations). Kerny, *A magyar szent királyok tisztelete és ikonográfiája*. On the grounds of the critically treated information, of the cross-references of various art historical studies, of the correspondence with the restorer Loránd Kiss, and of personal field research, I established a new list of mural ensembles that knew the representation of the holy Hungarian kings theme.

(Krasznahorkaváralja), Plešivec (Pelsőc), Poprad (Poprád), Rákoš (Gömörrákos), Rattersdorf (Rötfalva), Lónya, and Napkor. From this list which remains open, the paintings from Sâncraiu de Mureș²⁶ and Bistrița²⁷ can no longer be analyzed for they were completely destroyed, but at least they can be registered; the proof of their existence, however, is represented either by drawings and photographs, or by strong written evidence in various studies.

This rather dense discussion of primary sources was designed to show, through this significant number of preserved paintings, the popularity which the theme of the holy Hungarian kings enjoyed in the mural painting of medieval Hungary. One can only assume the dimension of such a phenomenon considering also the lack of care which led to the loss of certain monuments and the Reformation's "aniconism," which plastered over religious images that now remain to be discovered. The following discussion of the iconography of the Arpadian holy kings will throw light on the reasons behind the promotion of *sancti reges Hungariae* within religious painting.

Before starting the analysis, one terminological explanation is required: despite their controversial and inclusive meaning, the terms "politics" and "political" will be often encountered in the thesis in relation with the emergence and promotion of the *sancti reges Hungariae* iconographic theme. The choice of such broad concepts is not fortuitous and is

²⁶ Drăguț, *Arta gotică în România*, 265, registered the existence in the choir of this church of the depictions of St. Ladislav and St. Stephen besides the representation of Holy Trinity, apostles, martyrs, and angels in four-lobed medallions. Vătășianu, *Istoria artei feudale în Țările Române*, 770, offers even some reproductions of the drawings made before twentieth century demolition of the church, but these have not a good quality and are quite illegible. My efforts in tracing these copies which supposedly belong to Cluj-Napoca's History Museum were unsuccessful. Even if this indirect evidence would not exist, the village enjoyed a special patronage of the holy Hungarian kings, as it is attested by its toponym, and the existence of this theme at Sâncraiu de Mureș could have been a reality.

²⁷ Vătășianu, *Istoria artei feudale în Țările Române*, 408 and 412, talks about the representation of a mature and an adolescent king, namely, St. Ladislav and St. Emeric, on the walls of the former southern sacristy of the Minorite Church from Bistrița. The fresco fragments belonging to mid fourteenth century, from which he offers the reproduction of St. Emeric's face, were at that time preserved on the exterior wall of the choir but nowadays are illegible.

determined by other terms' narrowness: Although the promotion of the joint cult of the three Hungarian royal saints was the decision of the Angevin kings, it was not only a royal phenomenon, for it would succeed soon to embody the values and ideals of the nobility. It was not only dynastic, because it did not represent only one dynasty: belonging to the Árpád house, St. Stephen, St. Emeric, and St. Ladislav were promoted by a succession of different dynasties, only two of them – the Angevin and the Luxemburg – analyzed in the thesis. *Sancti reges Hungariae* was not a national concept, its promoters belonging equally to the Hungarian, Saxon, and Romanian ethnic groups of the Middle Ages, and it was not purely propagandistic, for it included also personal devotion reasons for each of the royal saints. Therefore, “politics” and “political”, with its medieval usage covering a particular synthesis of secular and religious actions, will be employed in the thesis in order to contextualize the *sancti reges Hungariae* concept.

CHAPTER ONE. THE EMERGENCE OF A POLITICAL CONCEPT: *SANCTI REGES HUNGARIAE*

The royal Arpadian trio, which was the subject matter of a series of pictorial representations embellishing the walls of many medieval village churches during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, is composed of the founder of the Christian Hungarian Kingdom, St. Stephen, his son, St. Emeric, who never became king because of his premature death, and the brave defender of the apostolic heritage, St. Ladislav. Before analyzing the frescoes iconographically, the historical characters will be described to offer a glimpse into their canonization and cult context. Each of the sacred rulers will be discussed separately, followed by an assessment of the contemporary textual evidence for traces of their collective cult in the written evidence of the time. The outcome of the textual evidence will then be compared with the visual evidence, namely, the murals depicting the *sancti reges Hungariae* theme.

Rex iustus, dux castus, and athleta patriae. Three Hypostases of Sacred Kingship

The first written information about each of the kings is their hagiographies, elaborated either shortly before their canonization or after the event took place; they reflect not so much the real sacred characters, as the mentality of the times that generated them.²⁸ The three *vitae* of St. Stephen,²⁹ king of Hungary from 1000 to 1038, present him as the founder and

²⁸ In a discussion of the cult of saints, Trevor Johnson said that saints must be treated as witnesses of their canonization time, not of the period of their life; this view supports Kathleen Ashley's opinion, expressed on the same occasion, that "saints are a cultural phenomenon," "The Cult of Saints. A Discussion Initiated by Maria Crăciun and Carmen Florea," in *Colloquia* 1-2 (2005): 135-164.

²⁹ The sources for St. Stephen's life are the *Legenda maior*, written before his canonization and focusing on the circumstances of the Hungarian people's conversion to Christianity, the *Legenda minor*, elaborated at the turn of the twelfth century and highlighting the qualities of the saint as an authoritative ruler, and the compilation of the previous two by Bishop Hartvic. He compiled the texts around 1100 and enriched them with a series of hagiographic motifs and references to some political matters of canon law like the papal crown and the apostolic cross and the *utroque jure* concept, Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers*, 412-415. For the Latin text and the critical edition of the *vitae*, see Emma Bartoniek, "Legendae Sancti Stephani Regis maior et minor, atque legenda ab Hartvico Episcopo conscripta," in *Scriptores Rerum Hungaricarum Tempore Ducum Regumque Stirpis Arpadianae*

organizer of the Hungarian Church, a victorious *miles Christi* ready at any time to crush the opposition of external or internal enemies trying to keep their pagan customs. He is the first holy king who earned his sacred dignity not as a consequence of suffering martyrdom, but for the merit of converting his people to Christianity and ruling as a Christian prince.³⁰ His hagiographers portray him as the *rex iustus* capable of acting according to his secular authority, even though this went against the regular behavior of a sacred character. He defeats the enemies wanting to usurp his throne or takes cruel measures executing those wreaking injustice on the innocent. St. Stephen is thus the instrument of God's will, which he imposes with an iron fist:

*Rex... inquit, legem preceptorum dei transgredientes non intellexistis misericordiam et viros innocentie condempnastis. Non enim auditores legis sed transgressores feriendi sunt. Sicut fecistis, ita faciet dominus hodie vobis coram me. Accepta sententia educti sunt et per omnem regionem in ingressu viarum duo et duo suspendio perierunt. Per hoc denique volens intelligi, ut quicumque non acquiesceret iudicio iustitie, quod a domino proposuerat, sic fieret illi.*³¹

Less rich in biographical data, the mid-twelfth-century legend of St. Emeric³² seems shaped generally on the Mirrors of Princes model, books of moral instructions for a king-to-be,³³ and particularly after the *Admonitions* of St. Stephen to his son;³⁴ moreover, one of the versions of the *Legenda Emerici* begins with an outline of the exhortations of the prince's

Gestorum, ed. Emericus Szentpétery, vol. 2 (Budapest: Nap Kiadó, 1999): 365-440 (reprint of the 1938 ed.) (henceforth: *SRH* II). For an English translation of Bishop Hartvic's legend, see Nora Berend, "Hartvic, Life of King Stephen of Hungary," in *Medieval Hagiography. An Anthology*, ed. Thomas Head (New York: Garland Publishing, 2000): 375-398.

³⁰ Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers*, 134. See also the entire chapter "*Rex iustus*: The saintly institutor of Christian kingship," 114-154.

³¹ "The king spoke to them, saying: 'Why did you transgress the law ordained by God? Why did you punish the innocent and know no mercy?... As you have done, so shall the Lord do unto you through my person.' Having received their sentence, they were led away, and perished, hanged two by two along the roads of every province of the country. Thus it was that he wanted to make people understand that the same would be done to whoever did not abide by the just law promulgated by God," Idem, 114, for the translation.

³² Emma Bartoniek, "Legenda Sancti Emerici Ducis," in *SHR* II, 441-460, with critical edition of the text.

³³ Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers*, 415-417.

³⁴ For the Latin text and the critical edition, see Iosephus Balogh, "Libellus de institutione morum," in *SHR* II, 613-627. For a study of the *Admonitions* accompanied by the English translation of the text of St. Stephen's advises to his son, see Jenő Szűcs, "King Stephen's Exhortations and His State," *New Hungarian Quarterly* 30 (1989): 89-105.

father.³⁵ The leitmotif of the *vita* is the ideal of chastity that Prince Emeric embodies, this specificity of the text making Gábor Klaniczay assert that it reflects more the Church's program at that time than a real historical character.³⁶ Being able to preserve his virginity even in marriage and leading his life according to the Christian precepts, St. Emeric is a champion of virtue in general and chastity in particular:

*...ipse carnalem generationem, que corruptibilis est, spirituali proposito virginitatis postponens, ieiuniis corpus maceravit, animam autem pane verbi dei saturavit, ne qua ei carnis titillatio dominaretur, et intacte sue coniugis incorruptam servavit virginitatem.*³⁷

St. Stephen and his son were canonized in 1083 along with three other saints of the Hungarian Church – St. Gerard, the bishop of Cenad, martyr of the pagan revolt of 1046, and the two hermit saints, St. Zoerard-Andrew and St. Bernard – at King Ladislav I's (1077-1095) initiative.³⁸ His decision fits in with the medieval practice of legitimizing rulership through the assertion of sacred ascendance and the accumulation of supernatural authority. King Ladislav had reason to act thus, since he lacked the legitimacy of becoming king, which he did by depriving the legitimate and ruling King Solomon of the throne.³⁹ St. Ladislav's canonization happened a century after his death, at King Béla III's (1173-1196) initiative, who, differently from his predecessor, did not need sacred legitimating for his rule, being already a direct successor of the Arpadian dynasty.⁴⁰ Whatever his reasons,⁴¹ the cult of St. Ladislav started to develop then on around his burial place in Oradea, a different place than

³⁵ Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers*, 416.

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ "... born of the flesh, he scorned the flesh as corruptible, virginity being his spiritual goal; he enervated his body with fasting, but sated his soul with the bread of God's word, lest the prickling of the flesh should come to rule him; and he preserved intact his wife's uncorrupted virginity," Idem, 155, for the English translation.

³⁸ Idem, 123-134.

³⁹ Idem, 129-131.

⁴⁰ Idem, 186.

⁴¹ Idem, 187. According to Gábor Klaniczay, the political and ideological reasons for the canonization are not easy to identify; he highlights Béla III's dream of leading a crusade, which only his illness prevented, much in the same way as Ladislav I's death forced him to disregard the request of the Frankish, Lotharingian, and German kings to lead a Christian war; knowing the legend of St. Ladislav, which presents him as a crusader, provided to be written at the time, could have been a good announcement of Béla III's crusade intentions.

the center of the cult of the two other Arpadian royal saints – Székesfehérvár (*Alba Regia*), the place of St. Stephen's residence and religious foundation, his burial place and that of his chaste son.

Analyzing the two slightly different texts of St. Ladislav's legend,⁴² but relying on the same source written shortly after his canonization, Gábor Klaniczay notes the chivalric traits which the cult of the saint had even during this early period, the life and even the physical appearance of Ladislav being shaped after those of the author of his canonization,⁴³ much like the way the *vita* of St. Stephen expresses the governing principles of St. Ladislav.⁴⁴ The description of St. Ladislav's physical harmony is, in Klaniczay's opinion,⁴⁵ the first example of *kalokagathia* in Hungarian Latin literature, a concept designating the idea of physical beauty as a manifestation of good and describing, according to Ágnes Kurcz,⁴⁶ an important chivalric value. On the other hand, Kornél Szovák provides the motivation for the physical harmony that appears in the texts of the chronicle and the legends, and argues that St. Ladislav, lacking the legitimacy to be crowned as king – he was technically a usurper of his cousin Solomon – could not be presented in the texts as a model of *rex iustus* and, instead, the authors emphasized his piety and generosity to provide for his suitability to rule.⁴⁷ The liturgical texts written not much after St. Ladislav's canonization call him *collumpna milicie christianae* and *defensor indefessus et athleta patriae*.⁴⁸ Two sermons from around 1290 by

⁴² Emma Bartoniek, "Legenda Sancti Ladislai Regis," in *SRH* II, 509-527; the discussion of the two St. Ladislav's legend versions is in the *Prefatio*, 509-514.

⁴³ See note 41. Kornél Szovák, "The Image of the Ideal King in Twelfth-century Hungary. Remarks on the Legend of St. Ladislav," in *Kings and Kingship in Medieval Europe*, ed. Anne J. Duggan (London: King's College. Center for Late Antique and Medieval Studies, 1993): 241-264 (henceforth: Szovák, *The Image of the Ideal King*), analyzes the extant physical descriptions of King Béla III, who was endowed with a literally "kingly" stature, impressing thus his contemporaries; he concludes that the Hungarian twelfth-century king could have been the model for St. Ladislav's profusion of corporeal gifts presented in the chronicles and in the *vitae*.

⁴⁴ Klaniczay, *L'image chevaleresque du saint roi au XIIe siècle*, 56.

⁴⁵ Idem, *Holy Rulers*, 188.

⁴⁶ Ágnes Kurcz, *A lovagi kultúra Magyarországon a 13-14. században* (The Chivalric Culture in Hungary in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries) (Budapest: Akadémiai, 1988): 194 and 211.

⁴⁷ Szovák, *The Image of the Ideal King*, 248-249.

⁴⁸ "The pillar of the Christian militia" and "invincible defender and athlete of the fatherland," quoted in Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers*, 188.

Benedict, the bishop of Oradea Benedict, describe St. Ladislav as the absolute embodiment of the chivalric values,⁴⁹ an ideal of the knight-king, whose conduct is guided by four key-virtues – *veritas*, *providencia*, *humanitas*, and *strenuitas*⁵⁰ – and in whom the noblesse of birth goes hand in hand with the noblesse of the character; the noble physical appearance is perfected by the noblesse of the intellect:

...cum nobilitate generis morum nobilitate contendas... fuit autem sanctus rex Ladislaus non solum nobilitate carnali, que multis adest et plerisque ad periculum... sed etiam nobilitate mentali...⁵¹

Typologically, the three holy Hungarian kings belong to different categories of saints, each of them popular at a specific time.⁵² After the attempt to reconcile the incongruity between the prerogatives of a secular ruler, who should fight to defend his country, to punish the unjust, and to judge his subjects, with a moral life led according to the Christian precepts by the holy man, the Church found a way to accept the sanctity of the secular ruler, by making him suffer martyrdom.⁵³ The context provided by the conversion of pagan peoples to Christianity by their rulers' wills, gave rise to a change in the mentality of the Church, which thus became ready to accept the holiness of the kings who played only the role of their countries' apostles and righteous rulers (*rex iustus Stephanus*).⁵⁴ The Church's compromise was not irrevocable, since it tried to promote simultaneously the ideal of asceticism and

⁴⁹ For medieval sermons on St. Ladislav, see Edit Madas, *Sermones de sancto Ladislao rege Hungarie: Középkori prédikációk Szent László királyról* (Sermones de sancto Ladislao rege Hungarie: Medieval Sermons on St. King Ladislav) (Debrecen: Debreceni Egyetem, 2004) (henceforth: Madas, *Sermones de sancto Ladislao rege Hungarie*).

⁵⁰ "Integrity," "foresight," "humanity," and "energy," idem, 189.

⁵¹ Ibid. "... to nobility of birth you add nobility of character... King St. Ladislav had not only a noble physique, which many people have, and which is fraught with all kinds of danger, but also nobility of intellect..."

⁵² A typological approach to royal sanctity can be followed in Robert Folz, *Les saints rois du Moyen Âge en Occident (VIe-XIIIe siècles)*, Subsidia Hagiographica 68 (Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1984) (henceforth: Folz, *Rois saints*). The study has the disadvantage of including only the actual rulers, and consequently excludes St. Emeric. The work, however, remains one of the most helpful guides to western royal sanctity in the Middle Ages.

⁵³ Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers*, 134-147.

⁵⁴ Karol Górski, "Le Roi-saint: un problème d'idéologie féodale," *Annales: Histoire, Sciences Sociales* 24 (1969): 370-376, and František Graus, "La sanctification du souverain dans l'Europe centrale des Xe et XIe siècles," *Hagiographie, cultures, sociétés. Actes du Colloque organisé à Nanterre et à Paris (2-5 mai 1979)*, 559-572 (Paris: Études Augustiniennes, 1981).

chastity of the prince raised to become a Christian ruler, the most eloquent example being St. Emeric.⁵⁵ This ideal became unfashionable in the context of the holy war, which made possible a new type of saintly ruler: the knight-king fighting for the Christian faith and defending his country against pagan invaders, as St. Ladislav did.⁵⁶ Consequently, the sanctity of the three holy kings of Hungary was generated by different mentalities at different times. When their joint cult originated and what effect this joining had for each saint's individuality will be explored below.

The *beata stirps Arpadiana* Notion. One Hypostasis of the Royal Holiness

Except for the textual evidence which refers separately to each of the three royal saints of the Arpadian dynasty and which is more or less generous, written sources dealing with St. Stephen, St. Emeric, and St. Ladislav as a collective appear rarely and are scattered among various types of documents (charters, correspondence, chronicles, and hagiographies). The first occurrence of a collective of Hungarian saints, but without specific reference to the three holy kings, was Anonymus Bele Regis Notarius, the author of a *Chronica Hungarorum*,⁵⁷ who, soon after St. Ladislav's canonization, relied on an etymological-historical method for explaining the significance of the name Álmos, the father of the Árpád house's founder: *Vocatus est Almus, id est sanctus, quia ex progenie eius sancti reges et duces erant nascituri*.⁵⁸ Several decades passed before an explicit mention of the holy kings of Hungary; the canon of Oradea, Rogerius, in his 1243 *Carmen Miserabile*⁵⁹ describing the

⁵⁵ Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers*, 155-158.

⁵⁶ Idem, 173-194.

⁵⁷ For the Latin text of the chronicle and its critical edition, see: Gabriel Silagi and László Veszprémy, *Die "Gesta Hungarorum" des anonymen Notars: die älteste Darstellung der ungarischen Geschichte* (Sigmaringen: J. Thorbecke, 1991); Aemilius Jakubovich and Desiderius Pais, "P. magistri, qui Anonymus dicitur, Gesta Hungarorum," in *SRH I*, 13-118.

⁵⁸ Idem, 38. "He was called Álmos, which means 'saint' in Latin, because his offspring would sire saintly kings and princes," translation in Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers*, 228-229.

⁵⁹ For the Latin text and a critical edition, see Ladislaus Juhász, "Rogerii Carmen Miserabile," in *SRH II*, 529-588.

destruction of the Hungarian Kingdom by the Tartars in 1241, compares King Béla IV's (1235-1270) zeal for faith with that of his sacred royal ancestors:

*...Bela rex Hungarie inter principes Christianos zelator katholice fidei nosceretur, ad instar progenitorum suorum Stephani, Emerici, Ladislai et Colomani regum, qui sanctorum cathalogo sunt ascripti...*⁶⁰

Later, in 1254, still in the disastrous aftermath of the Mongol invasion, the king invoked the merits of his holy predecessors to convince Pope Innocent IV to grant the country the favor of his help.⁶¹ Considering that the letter refers generally to *sanctorum regum, Praedecessorum nostrorum merita*,⁶² and also presents King Coloman⁶³ in the company of St. Stephen, St. Emeric, and St. Ladislai, it is not sure that one can speak about the holy Hungarian royal trio as already configured.

In King Stephen V's (1270-1272) and King Ladislai IV's (1272-1290) charters, the collective of Arpadian saints occurs in the *sanctio*,⁶⁴ where they are invoked in order to ensure the irrevocability of a royal donation to a certain *comes* Mykud:

*Et si aliquis ex posteris nostris tam ab ipso Mykud comite, quam a suis heredibus, heredumve successoribus revocaret cum effectu, maledictionem sanctorum progenitorum nostrorum regum Stephani, Hemerici et Ladislai praedecessorum incurrat ipso facto atque nostrum.*⁶⁵

⁶⁰ Idem, 552. "...Béla, the King of Hungary, is known among the Christian princes for the zeal into Catholic faith, according to the resemblance of his ancestors, the kings Stephen, Emeric, Ladislai, and Coloman, who are inscribed in the catalog of saints..." (my translation).

⁶¹ *An. Ch. 1254. Idem Bela rumore Tartaricae irruptionis percitus, auxilii gratia sedi Apostolicae supplicat; seque contra iniquas cauillationes defendit*, in György Fejér, *Codex diplomaticus Hungariae ecclesiasticus ac civilis*, tome IV, vol. 2 Budapest: Typ. Universitatis, 1829, 218-224 (henceforth: *Fejér*).

⁶² Idem, 223. ... *Supplicamus igitur, vt consideret Sancta Mater Ecclesia et si non nostra, saltem sanctorum regum, Praedecessorum nostrorum merita, qui plena deuotione et reuerentia se et suum populum per eorum praedicationam orthodoxae fidei subiugatum, inter ceteros mundi Principes in puritate fidei et obedientiae seruauerunt, propter quae sibi et suis Successoribus, quamidu eis successerunt prospera, Apostolica sedes irrequisita, et interdum promitebat omnem gratiam et fauorem, si necessitas immineret...*

⁶³ For St. Coloman's cult, see Terézia Kerny, "Szent Kálmán és Könyves Kálmán kultuszáról" [On the Cult of St. Coloman and Coloman the Learned] *Ars Hungarica* 29 (2001): 12-32.

⁶⁴ For the *sanctio* in the structure of charters, see Maria Milagros Carcel Orti, *Vocabulaire international de la diplomatie* (Valencia: Conselleria de Cultura y Universitat de Valencia, 1994): 64. The *sanctio* is composed of a *prohibitio* and *comminatio*, the most formalized parts of a charter, based on formulas of curses and invocations of God and various saints.

⁶⁵ "And if somebody from our successors will revoke the effect of this inherited property of both comes Mykud himself and his heirs, may the malediction of our saint ancestors, the kings Stephen, Emeric, and Ladislai, to fall on this fact, as well as on us," (my translation) No. 275, in Zsigmond Jakó, *Erdélyi okmánytár: oklevelek, levelek és más írásos emlékek Erdély történetéhez* (Transylvanian Documents: Charters, Letters, and Other

King Stephen's privilege confirmation document from 1269 was followed ten years later by another issued by King Ladislas IV the Cuman, where the Virgin Mary and the Apostle Paul open the series of saints invoked, probably to granting the Arpadian royal saints a supplementary authority,⁶⁶ an authority which, however, they did not lack, since they are taken as witnesses and guarantors of the good progress of things. The special veneration of the two rulers bearing the names of their sacred royal ancestors, the founder of the Hungarian Kingdom and its defender, is shown in other written evidence connected with them. In 1269, the King of Naples Charles of Anjou (1265-1285), in a letter addressed to the *iunior rex Ungarie*'s father in order to arrange a double dynastic union of the Angevin and Arpadian houses, reminds Béla IV that *Dominus Stephanus... natus est de genere sanctorum et maximorum regum...*⁶⁷ This formula is more than a simple compliment on Charles' part; it shows an awareness of the Arpadian dynasty's sanctity in the eyes of the contemporary royal audience,⁶⁸ an audience which was not at all foreign to the benefits that a holy lineage could bring to a ruling house by politically legitimizing it and by increasing its sacred ancestry capital: the double dynastic union between Charles' son, the future King Charles II, and Mary of Hungary, and between Ladislas IV the Cuman and Isabelle of Anjou that the King of Naples sought to arrange, would reinforce the holiness of his line by association. Moreover, proof of the consistency of the Neapolitan Angevin house's strategy can be seen in the efforts of the same Charles I to attach sanctity to his family by supporting, or at least desiring to start, the canonization of his brothers, King Louis IX of Anjou, Robert of Artois, and Alphonse of Poitiers.⁶⁹ Associating the name of a king from Árpád's house with those of his saintly forebears became a *topos* in thirteenth-century texts, as attested by Simon of Kéza's

Written Memories from Transylvania's History), vol. 1, 1023-1300 (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1997), 218-219.

⁶⁶ Idem, 250. The document dated July 8, 1279, is published in Hungarian in summary form.

⁶⁷ A. Ch. 1269. Idem *Carolus etiam tabulas sponsalium conficiendas eisdem Legatis suis plena potestate defert*, in Fejér IV/3, 510-512.

Gesta Hungarorum,⁷⁰ where King Ladislas IV is presented as a ruler relying both on his personal virtues and his holy ancestors' intercession:

*Egressus igitur de Albensi civitate velut Martis filius, cuius quidem constellatio conceptionis nativitatisque ei deinde in audacia et caeteris virtutibus naturalibus subministrat, in virtute Altissimi et proavorum suorum, scilicet Stephani, Emirici atque Ladislai regum et sanctorum votivis praesumens confidensque suffragiis...*⁷¹

Another type of document, although different in character, is the hagiographic texts of a special category of saints: the female royal saints of the Arpadian house. The late-thirteenth-century Franciscan *Legenda Maior* of St. Elizabeth of Hungary presents Béla IV's family as a veritable company of saints trying to imitate the conduct of their holy ancestors.⁷² Keeping in mind and meditating on the merits and virtues of the representatives of the Arpadian saintly dynasty was almost a pious duty of Blessed Margaret of Hungary, as her *Legenda Vetus* attests:

Revolvebat crebrius secum et conferebat cum aliis interdum progenitorum suorum vitam et vite sanctitatem beati scilicet Stephani primi regis et apostoli ungarorum Cuius fidem et catholice fidei predicationem qua suam convertit gentem ab ab ydolorum cultura ecclesia narrat vulgarica. Beati Henrici filii eiusdem sancti Stephani regis sanctissimam virginitatem, qui cum haberet sponsam nobilissimam utpote filiam imperatoris romanorum divinitus facta sibi revelatione ut in eius gestis habetur virginalem cunctis diebus vite sue cum sua sponsa illibatam servavit castitatem quod maxime testimonio eiusdem sponse sue fuit post obitum suum efficaciter comprobatur. Sancte quoque Ladislai regis qui gloriosa regni gubernatione et defensatione adversus invasores maxime insultus paganorum partium orientalium ut scriptum continet ungarorum. Amministrans frequentissime causam clericis iusticiis

⁶⁸ Gábor Klaniczay, "Rois saints et les Anjou de Hongrie," *Alba Regia* 22 (1985): 57 (henceforth : Klaniczay, *Rois saints et les Anjou de Hongrie*).

⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁰ For the critical edition with English translation, see László Veszprémy and Frank Schaer ed., *Simonis de Kéza Gesta Hungarorum. Simon of Kéza. The Deeds of the Hungarians* (Budapest: Central European University Press, 1999).

⁷¹ Ibid, 150-151. "He marched forth from Székesfehérvár with the royal banner flying like a son of Mars, whom the constellation at his conception and birth ever since endows with boldness and other natural virtues, expecting and trusting in the power of the Almighty and the saintly intercession of his forefathers, the holy kings Stephen, Emeric, and Ladislas..."

⁷² For the edition of St. Elizabeth's legend, see: Lori Pieper, "A New Life of St. Elizabeth of Hungary: the Anonymous Franciscan," *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* 93 (2000): 29-78. The fragment I refer to, is quoted in English in Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers*, 231; it comes from the excerpts of *Vita sanctae Elizabeth viduae* edited in Henricus Sedulius, *Historia Seraphica vitae B. P. Francisci Assisiatis, illustrorumque virorum et feminarum, qui ex tribus eius ordinibus relati sunt inter sanctos* (Antverpiae, 1613): "This blessed royal family of the Hungarians is adorned with resplendent pearls that irradiate all the earth."

*regalibus et in orationibus ac ceteris sanctis operibus vacans etiam quiete corporis relegata noctes ducebant insompnes... Beate etiam Elizabeth amite sue cuius gloriosa merita pene cum gaudio celebrat ecclesia. In huiusmodi qui meditationibus et collationibus seipsam occupans alta trahebat suspiria ut eorum imitari vestigia et consequi merita dei munere digna efficeretur.*⁷³

This series of documents from the second half of the thirteenth century, despite their heterogeneous character (charter, letter, and chronicle or hagiography excerpt), have more in common than the simple enumerating of the holy predecessors of the Arpadian royal branch, which is rather inconsistent with the idea of the three holy Hungarian kings. This is because from time to time a general reference is made rather than a specific one, and the material is too inclusive, gathering other members of the *beata stirps Arpadiana* under the same concept. It is not by chance that I use the Latin term for designating a spiritual reality of the late Middle Ages,⁷⁴ when a new kind of hereditary sanctity, different from the early medieval charismatic beliefs associated with the figure of the ruler,⁷⁵ manifested itself strongly among the royal houses of the Arpads and the Angevins of Naples. A new kind of dynastic/genealogical consciousness arose, transforming the notion of sanctity into a sort of familial feature that affected preferentially some members of the dynasty, but not all of them.⁷⁶ It is open to debate, as Hungarian scholarship already has for the Arpadians,⁷⁷

⁷³ The quotation and the English translation are taken from idem, 230. "She would often mull over in her mind, and sometimes tell others, of the lives of her ancestors, especially of the holy life of the blessed Stephen, the first king and the apostle to the Hungarians, of whose faith and preaching of the Catholic faith – through which he turned his people away from the worship of idols – the Church also speaks. She thought also of the most holy virginity of blessed Emeric, son of the Holy King Stephen, who, after he had betrothed the daughter of the Roman emperor, received a divine revelation, and – as is contained in his Life – preserved intact his chastity, and his wife's. After his death, his wife attested to this as a fact. Margaret also meditated on the holy King Ladislav, who – as is set down in the book of the Hungarians – governed for the glory of the kingdom, and defended it against invasions, especially the incursions of the pagans from the east. St. Ladislav was often immersed in the affairs of the Church, and occupied with royal verdicts, sermons and other sacred matters: he neglected to rest his body, and sleepless, kept vigil through the night... Margaret also recalled her aunt, the blessed Elizabeth, whose glorious merits are joyfully celebrated by the Church. While meditating on thoughts of this nature, Margaret prayed from the bottom of her heart that she might follow in the footsteps of her forebears, and emulate them in winning the grace of God" (*Vita Margarite*, 21-22).

⁷⁴ André Vauchez, "Beata stirps: sainteté et lignage en Occident aux XIIIe et XIVe siècles," in *Famille et parenté dans l'Occident médiéval*, ed. Georges Duby and Jacques Le Goff (Rome: École française de Rome, 1977): 397-406 (henceforth: Vauchez, *Beata stirps*).

⁷⁵ For the idea of the early medieval rulers' sacred heredity, see Karl Hauck, "Geblütsheiligkeit," in *Liber Floridus. Mittellateinische Studien. Paul Lehmann zum 65. Geburtstag gewidmet*, ed. Bernhard Bischoff and Suso Brechter (Sankt Ottilien: Eos Verlag der Erzabtei St. Ottilien, 1950): 187-240.

⁷⁶ Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers*, 229.

whether every single member of the dynasty enjoyed the hereditary holiness or only the most worthy among them. The *beata stirps* notion involved, besides the obvious capital of dynastic prestige that it asserted, what Gábor Klaniczay calls the *sainteté oblige* dimension, that is the duty of proving oneself worthy of one's holy ancestors.⁷⁸ The most suitable for such an imitative behavior were the royal female saints of the thirteenth century, whose ascetic and pious conduct in various monastic orders, as well as their high reverence for their sacred forebears, made them the new sacred representatives of the dynasty, enriching the pantheon of familial and royal saints.⁷⁹ For the *beata stirps Arpadiana*, St. Elizabeth of Hungary/Thuringia⁸⁰ and Blessed Margaret of Hungary⁸¹ were new members that the spiritual revival of the thirteenth century added to the holy dynastic branch of the Hungarians.

In the extended iconographic analysis below I will focus on the representations of the *sancti reges Hungariae*, but a small iconographic excursion is necessary here because of the cultural context of the *beata stirps Arpadiana*. The late thirteenth-century Bern Diptych, named for the Historical Museum where it is kept nowadays, was a commission of King Andrew III (1290-1301), the last Arpadian king.⁸² Executed probably by a Venetian master,⁸³ the portable altar has as central depictions Christ's Passion (left wing) and Triumph (right

⁷⁷ The debate is best illustrated by the dispute between József Déer, *Pogány magyarság-keresztény magyarság*, [Pagan Hungarians-Christian Hungarians] (Budapest: Egyetemi Nyomda, 1938), and Emma Bartoniek, "A magyar királyválasztási jog a középkorban," [The Right to Elect the King in Hungary during the Middle Ages] *Századok* 70 (1936): 358-406.

⁷⁸ Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers*, 229.

⁷⁹ Idem, the chapter "Saintly Princesses and their heavenly courts", 195-294.

⁸⁰ For the cult of St. Elizabeth of Hungary/Thuringia, see Jeanne Ancelet-Heustache, *Sainte Elizabeth de Hongrie* (Paris: 1947), and Ottó Sándor Gecser, "Aspects of the Cult of St. Elizabeth of Hungary with a Special Emphasis on Preaching, 1231-c.1500," Ph.D. Dissertation (Budapest: Central European University, 2007).

⁸¹ For the cult of St. Margaret of Hungary, see Tibor Klaniczay, "La fortuna di Santa Margherita d'Ungheria in Italia," in *Spiritualità e lettere nella cultura italiana e ungherese del basso medioevo*, ed. Sante Graciotti and Cesare Vasoli, 2-27 (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 1995); Gábor Klaniczay, "Il monte di San Gerardo e l'isola di Santa Margherita: gli spazi della santità a Buda nel medioevo," in *Luoghi sacri e spazi della santità*, ed. Sofia Boesch Gajano and Lucetta Scaraffia (Turin: Rosenberg & Sellier, 1990), 267-284; and Tibor Klaniczay and Gábor Klaniczay, *Szent Margit legendái és stigmái* [The Legends and Stigmata of St Margaret] (Budapest: Argumentum, 1994).

⁸² Georg Germann, *Ungarisches im Bernischen Historischen Museum. A Berni Történelmi Múzeum magyar emlékei* (Bern: Ungarisch Historischer Verein Zürich, 1996), 14-17 (henceforth: Germann, *Ungarisches im Bernischen*).

⁸³ The inscription *Fumia* accompanying the figure of St. Euphemia in the diptych is the Venetian dialect form of this name, idem, 13.

wing), these themes organizing the iconography of each of the panels; their marginal illustration is composed of a series of enameled portraits of saints, a sort of collective invocation of God, in a long Carolingian and Ottonian tradition.⁸⁴ Among the saints grouped in pairs and in a privileged position (the upper frame of the right wing, just above the cameo with the Crucifixion), four Arpadian saints are depicted in miniature: St. Stephen and St. Emeric, along with St. Ladislav and St. Elizabeth of Hungary. Questioned soon after his crowning,⁸⁵ the legitimacy of Andrew III's rule had every reason to resort to one of the most effective medieval instruments of establishing authority: the holiness of one's predecessors. The half-portraits of the three Hungarian kings with crowns and scepters are strongly hieratic and frontal, the option for such a depiction being probably predetermined equally by the type of iconic representation and by the Byzantine provenance of the master. St. Stephen is portrayed as an old king with white hair and beard, while the other two male characters have an undifferentiated treatment: they are both mature bearded kings. Although the inscription next to St. Emeric's head shows him as *s(anctus) emericus rex*,⁸⁶ at the end of the thirteenth century the iconographic convention of the three holy kings of Hungary and the three ages of kingship was not yet established. Moreover, the other iconographic convention of grouping Hungary's three royal male saints is not yet configured, since they appear next to St. Elizabeth. The idea of depicting the *sancti reges Hungariae* was in the air, however, since even Duke Emeric is called, in an undifferentiated way, *rex*.

The pictorial illustration of the *beata stirps* concept has here the purpose of investing the actual ruler with the merits and virtues of his sacred ancestors and legitimizing his actions before his people.⁸⁷ Originating in the context of dynastic sanctity, the series of representations of the holy kings of Hungary which constitutes the core of this analysis

⁸⁴ Kerny, *A magyar szent királyok tisztelete és ikonográfiája*, 83.

⁸⁵ Germann, *Ungarisches im Bernischen*, 14.

⁸⁶ Idem, 35.

⁸⁷ Vauchez, *Beata stirps*, 397-406.

represents simultaneously less and more than this example. It is less because St. Elizabeth of Hungary is not represented within the iconographic unit which thus would represent the *beata stirps Arpadiana*, and it is more because the selection of figures, as will be seen in the next subchapter, had additional political meaning.

***Magnificus princeps dominus Carolus, ex primorum sanctorum vera progenie propagatum* or Legitimizing a Newly Founded Dynasty**

The death in 1301 of Andrew III, the last of the Árpadians, offered the occasion for Charles Robert of Anjou, one of the claimants to the Hungarian throne, to resort to the efficient medieval strategy of asserting sacred ascendance. Willing to prove his legitimate right to the Crown of St. Stephen and his suitability to continue the Árpadian kings' work, his supporters displayed an impressive rhetorical strategy to convince the initially hostile nobility of the court of Buda, which preferred his rival, Wenceslas of Bohemia.⁸⁸ Although he was backed by Pope Boniface VIII, who came out firmly by 1304 against the Bohemian pretender, and despite his blood relation to the house of Árpád on his paternal grandmother's side, Charles Robert faced several years of the hostility by the Hungarian nobility, which needed to hear on 10 October 1307, on Rákos' Field, the most exhaustive inventory of the Angevin's saintly forebears.⁸⁹ After gaining the support of the assembly and arriving at his

⁸⁸ Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers*, 323. The third claimant to the Hungarian throne, Charles Robert's opponent, was Otto of Bavaria.

⁸⁹ The *oratio* of the Dominican bishop of Zagreb, Augustine Gazottus (Kažotić), is preserved only in a seventeenth-century *vita* of the bishop ascribed to Johannes Tomcus Marnavitus and considered a forgery, idem, 325. For this reason, I mention its existence and I quote both the text and English translation in the footnote: *Sed Caroli iuribus illud quoque... quod ipsius stemma, Coelo teste, ex Sanctissimis Regibus nostris profluere comprobatur. Ut enim Bela Quertus ipsius Proavus Elizabetham sororem, Germaniae, aliam Elizabetham ex alia sorore neptem, Hispaniae, Margaretham filiam, Dalmatiae (tanquam concivem meatu, Tragurii nempe editam), Cunegundem, aliam filiam, Poloniae, sanctitatis gloriae syderibus insertas, produxisse laetatur, ita ex Maria Nepote Mater Caroli nostri, Ludovicum Sanctissimum Tolosae Praesulem, primo Italiae, in qua vitales hausit auras. Demum Galliae ex qua ad aeternitatis evolavit praemia. Caroli nostri fratrem, stirpem agnoscit suam. Perinde sicuti Coelo, Terraeque acceptissimus, Francorum Regum praestantissimus Ludovicus Nonus, qui ab adolescentia sua ad ultimum usque spiritum, nunquam sibi, sed Christo militavit regem nostrum Carolum, per fratrem Carolum pronepotem suum...* [Charles's rights, as God and men will witness, stem from the fact that he derives his lineage from our most saintly kings. Elizabeth, the sister of his great-grandfather, King Béla IV, irradiated Germany with the glory of her saintliness; the other Elizabeth, the

new court, Charles Robert, who had the papal legate Gentile di Particino da Montefiore in his entourage, listened to the latter's address delivered to the Hungarian Estates gathered at the Dominican convent in Pest on 27 November 1308.⁹⁰ The new king is portrayed as a true heir of the holy kings of Hungary, whose virtues were to be found also in Charles Robert, this thing assuring him the means to grant prosperity and fertility, the benediction of peace, and the unity of spirit to the country:

*Sane, per divinam providentiam, regno Hungarie reges catholici prefuerunt, quorum primus, sanctus rex Stephanus, et alii nonnulli sanctorum cathalogo meruerunt ascribe, relinquentes ex se legitimos successores, sub quorum felici regimine regnum ipsum fertilitate floruit, obtinuit pacis dulcedinem, et inter ipsius incolas viguit unitas animarum. Ex quo non regum ipsum reges exteri usurpabunt, fertilitati sterilitas, pacis dulcedini tempestati fremitus, et concordibus animis dissensio detestanda successit. Nos itaque ad eiusdem regni status reformationem per sedem apostolicam destinati, cupientes super his omnibus salubre remedium adhibere, prelatorum, baronum et nobilium convocavimus generale concilium, in quo prelati et barones iidem communiter magnificum principem dominum Carolum, ex primorum sanctorum vera progenie propagatum, recognoverunt verum et legiptimum regem Hungarie ac eorum dominum naturalem...*⁹¹

What is important in Cardinal Gentile's argument is the aspect of legitimizing a new dynasty by means of holiness; any connection with the sacred meant an indestructible link of the ruler

granddaughter of the same king's sister, shed the light of her holiness on Hispania; Béla IV's daughter, Margaret (who, incidentally, was born in Trogir, and is a fellow citizen of mine), lit up Dalmatia with the glory of her sanctity; and his other daughter, Cunegond, has illuminated Poland. In like manner, his granddaughter, Mary, our Charles's grandmother, has shed the light of holiness through that most saintly bishop, Louis of Toulouse, first on Italy, whose life-giving air he breathed, and then on Gaul, he took flight to his eternal reward. Our Charles is his brother's issue. And we must also mention Louis IX, that most outstanding of the kings of France and the king most highly approved in Heaven and on earth: from his adolescence to his last breath, he fought not for himself but for Christ's kingdom; he was an ancestor to our Charles through his brother, Charles, our Charles's grandfather.]

⁹⁰ Idem, 326.

⁹¹ Antal Pór ed., "Acta legationis cardinalis Gentilis – Gentilis bíboros magyarországi követségének okiratai" [Acta legationis cardinalis Gentilis – The Status of the Embassy of Cardinal Gentile in Hungary], *Monumenta Vaticana Historiam regni Hungariae illustrantia* I/11 (Budapest, 1885): 269 (reprint of the first edition by Asztrik Várszegi and István Zombori, Budapest: Magyar Egyháztörténeti Enciklopédia Munkaközösség, 2000). "By the grace of Divine Providence, the Kingdom of Hungary has had Catholic rulers for some time now. The first one, the saint king, Stephen, has merited inclusion in the catalogue of saints, and so have several others. They left legitimate successors, under whose propitious reigns this kingdom was fertile and prospered, secure in the sweets of peace, and in the unity of spirit that bound its inhabitants to one another. Since foreign kings have usurped this kingdom, however, fertility has given way to sterility, the sweets of peace to the rumble of storms, and unity of spirit to detestable discord. We, who have been charged by the Holy See to reform the state of this kingdom, and aspire to find a salubrious remedy to all this, hereby summon the prelates, the barons and the nobles to a general council, where the prelates and the barons might, as a body, recognize the magnificent

to the divine power, which thus granted the prosperity of the kingdom and discouraged any attempt to undermine the authority of a character associated with sanctity. Two centuries later, this discourse echoes St. Ladislav's gesture in 1083, when he canonized his predecessors in order to legitimize his rule, and demonstrates the consistency of this medieval practice. Starting his reign under the auspices of St. Stephen, St. Emeric, and St. Ladislav, Charles Robert of Anjou (1308-1342) ended his life under the same noble patronage, as attested by the funeral sermon delivered by Csanád Telegdi, the Bishop of Esztergom, in Szekéskesfehérvár, where the body of the king was carried in solemn procession to join the human remains of the Apostle of Hungary and his son:

*Imploranda ergo est unanimi consensu clementia dei omnipotentis pro eodem domino rege Karolo, ut cum anima ipsius clementer dispenset eidem indulgendo et in numerum ipsius animam ac cetum sanctorum confessorum omnium ac regum Stephani et Ladislai dignetur collocare, et prout quod in presenti seculo regali triumpho vixerit, ita atiam in future seculo cum angelis valeat exultare.*⁹²

As shown by scholars studying this specific type of sermon, reciting the entire roster of family and dynastic saints was practically a *sine qua non* of a funeral sermon, and it is no wonder that the bishop of Esztergom relied on this *topos*.⁹³

The importance that Charles Robert granted, not to the change of the Arpadian dynasty but to the continuation of its glorious beginnings with the first Hungarian Christian kings, can be tracked not only at a political and propagandistic level, but also at the level of the king's personal veneration and piety. When his status was that of an uncertain candidate for the Hungarian throne, Charles Robert attempted to revive the suspended process of

prince, the Lord Charles – a true descendant of the first saints – as the rightful and legitimate King of Hungary, and their natural sovereign,” translation in Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers*, 1-2.

⁹² Johannes de Thurocz's *Chronica*, idem, 345, gives the English translation of the excerpt: “So with one heart and soul let us pray God Almighty, that he have mercy on the lord King Charles, deal clemently with his soul and forgive him, and deign to place his soul in the company of his saints and confessors, kings Stephen and Ladislav, so that even as in this life he lived in royal splendor, so might he rejoice with the angels in the life to come.”

⁹³ David L. D'Avray, *Death and the Prince. Memorial Preaching before 1350* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994): 53-57 and 90-92.

Margaret's canonization (1306),⁹⁴ while later, in 1319, his second wife, Beatrice of Luxemburg, renewed the privileges of the Dominican convent on Rabbit Island.⁹⁵ The very same year, the king buried his wife in St. Ladislav's cathedral in Oradea, and seven years later, at the burial of his favorite, Sándor Néksei, in the same place, he referred to the saint as his "sainted predecessor."⁹⁶ The names he gave to his children reflect eloquently his veneration for the two dynasties which he succeeded in joining by his ascension to the Hungarian throne: Charles (1321), Ladislav (1324), Louis (1326), Stephen (1332), and Elizabeth.⁹⁷ Differently from the textual evidence analyzed in the first part of this subchapter, which addressed the saintly royal predecessors as a collective and, consequently, as a political legitimating concept, the personal veneration of Charles Robert of Anjou was directed either to his double holy lineage or to a specific representative of it. Some time still had to pass until the personal veneration pointed specifically to the *sancti reges Hungariae*.

***Sancti reges Hungariae*. A Political Concept of the Mid-Fourteenth Century**

Speaking of royal patronage of the cult of saints in medieval Central Europe, Gábor Klaniczay notes three new trends that had emerged by the middle of the fourteenth century: journeys undertaken by the prince and his court for various reasons – pilgrimages to some dynastic saint's shrine, journeys to attend a wedding or to witness the coronation of a new king, and travels to conclude a diplomatic treaty – but proving excellent opportunities to popularize the dynastic saints; the expansion of the cult of the dead in the scope of the dynastic cults; and the new vogue for objects, edifices, and works of literature produced specifically for purposes of personal piety.⁹⁸ In the previous subchapter I already outlined the

⁹⁴ Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers*, 324.

⁹⁵ *Idem*, 326.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 332-333.

presence of the holy kings of Hungary in the funeral sermon delivered at the burial of Charles Robert. I will focus now on the late medieval vogue of royal journeys. Identifying and analyzing the gestures of the piety for the dynastic saints, regarded either individually or collectively, of King Louis the Great of Anjou (1342-1382) or his mother, Elizabeth Piast (1305-1380), a great patron of the arts and a fervent supporter of the dynastic saints' cult,⁹⁹ will constitute the aim of the next chapter, where the royal patronage of the *sancti reges Hungariae*, its degree of visibility, and its spread among the nobility will be analyzed. I will cover several of them in this chapter, however, in order to establish the nature of the cult of the three holy kings of Hungary at a specific time (political or theological).

Archdeacon John of Küküllő's very detailed account of the Italian tour undertaken by the Hungarian Angevins in 1343-1344 in order to bolster Prince Andrew's claim to the Neapolitan throne, which was undermined by the change of the terms in Robert the Wise's will, is a valuable source of information. Besides the fact that King Louis the Great is called "the scion of the holy kings,"¹⁰⁰ that is, continuing the line of his father, who was considered the direct successor of St. Stephen, St. Emeric, and St. Ladislav, the profusion of gifts offered to various Italian churches is listed. The most relevant here is the altar cloth, registered in 1361 under the heading *Regina Ungarie* in the inventory of St. Peter's Basilica in Rome, an authentic display of Arpadian and Angevin saints; St. Stephen, St. Emeric, St. Louis of Toulouse, St. Ladislav, St. Elizabeth of Hungary, and Blessed Margaret appear in the company of St. Paul, St. Peter, and the Virgin Mary.¹⁰¹ The context is still that of the *beata*

⁹⁹ On Elizabeth Piast's patronage of the arts and devotion to dynastic saints, see: Ewa Śnieżyńska-Stolot, "Queen Elizabeth as a Patron of Architecture," *Acta Historiae Artium Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 20 (1974): 13-36; eadem, "Studies on Queen Elizabeth's Artistic Patronage," *Critica d'Arte* 166-168 (1979): 97-112.

¹⁰⁰ Elisabeth Galántai and Julius Kristó ed., *Johannes de Thurocz. Chronica Hungarorum* (Budapest: Akadémia, 1985): 160, ... *de gestis illustrissimi principis Ludowici ex regum sanctissimorum prosapia...*

¹⁰¹ The description of the altar cloth is published in E. Müntz and A. L. Frothingham, "Il Tesoro della Basilica di S. Pietro in Vaticano dal XIII al XV secolo con una scelta d'inventari inediti," *Archivio della Società Romana di Storia Patria* 6 (1883), see Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers*, 338, where is offered the Latin text of the inventory: *Item unum aliud dossale pro dicto altari de syndone violato, ornatum de novem ymaginibus, videlicet, cum nostra domina in medio et a dextris ejus sanctus Paulus, sanctus Stephanus Rex Ungarie, Sanctus Erricus Dux Ungarie*

stirps, not only *Arpadiana*, but also *Angevina*, for the Bishop of Toulouse had been canonized recently through Robert the Wise's efforts.¹⁰²

In 1357, the Hungarian Queen Mother Elizabeth, whose increasing political influence had endangered her life several years before when she survived to Felician Zah's attempt on her life only by chance,¹⁰³ met Charles IV of Luxemburg and his third wife Anne of Swidnica in Prague, and, after proving her generosity through many gifts to St. Vitus Cathedral, they set out together to a joint royal pilgrimage.¹⁰⁴ In Aachen, next to the Münster, Queen Elizabeth founded a Hungarian chapel,¹⁰⁵ which, a decade later, received the donation of several precious gifts from King Louis the Great, as well as of the relics of St. Stephen, St. Emeric, and St. Ladislav.¹⁰⁶ In 1381, the king made another donation to the chapel, endowing it with an exquisite piece of craftsmanship portraying Hungary's three holy kings.¹⁰⁷ The next stop in the royal pilgrimage was the shrine of the Magi in Cologne Cathedral, where Queen Elizabeth repeated the lavish donation gesture and founded another chapel devoted to the cult

et sanctus Lodoycus, et a sinistris sanctus Petrus et sanctus Ladislaus Rex Ungarie, sancta Helisabet filia regis Ungarie, et sancta Margarita filia regis Ungarie, cum spicis aureis duplicatis inter ipsas imagines et in circuitu una vitis de auro in sindone rubeo cum rosis aureis.

¹⁰² For the veneration of the Hungarian Angevins for St. Louis of Toulouse and St. Louis IX, see Klaniczay, *Rois saints et les Anjou de Hongrie*, 57-66, and for the two Angevin Sts. Louis in art, see: Émile Bertaux, "Les saints Louis dans l'art italien," *Revue des deux mondes* 158 (1900): 610-644; Beda Kleinschmidt, "St Ludwig von Toulouse in der Kunst," *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* 2 (1909): 197-215. Probably not of the bishop of Toulouse represented in the altar cloth, but of the other Angevin saint, St. Louis IX of Anjou, the name that Charles Robert gave to his son, the future King Louis the Great, shows the veneration that the Hungarian Angevins, too, had for their other holy branch.

¹⁰³ János Bak, "Queens as Scapegoats in Medieval Hungary," in *Queens and Queenship in Medieval Europe: Proceedings of a Conference Held at King's College London, April 1995*, ed. Anne J. Duggan (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell Press, 1997), 223-233.

¹⁰⁴ Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers*, 341-342.

¹⁰⁵ For the history of the chapel, see: Gábor Barna, "Szent István, Szent Imre és Szent László kultuszemlékei Aachenben és Kölnben. Az uralkodói reprezentáció és a régi magyar szentség," [Traces of the Cult of St. Stephen, St. Emeric, and St. Ladislav in Aachen and Cologne. Courtly Representation and Old Hungarian Sainthood] in *Szent Imre 1000 éve. Tanulmányok Szent Imre tiszteletére születésének ezredik évfordulója alkalmából. 1000 Jahre heiliger Emmerich. Beiträge zu Ehren des heiligen Emmerich anlässlich seines 1000. Geburtstages*, ed. Terézia Kerny, 66-70 (Székesfehérvár: Székesfehérvári Egyházmegyei Múzeum, 2007): 66-67 (henceforth: Barna, *Szent István, Szent Imre és Szent László kultuszemlékei*).

¹⁰⁶ Fejér IX/4, 91-92, where under the heading *An. Ch. 1367. Henricus, Abbat de Pilis, ac Clennodia Capellae per Ludouicum R. H. Aquisgrani constructae donata prescribit*, the Abbot of Aachen Henrik lists the gifts he received from King Louis the Great: ... *videlicet tres casulas, quatuor tunicas, quinque albas, cum stolis et manipulis, et tres cingulos de serico: tres ornatus integrus diuersificatos pro Altari decorando; duos calices deauratos, duas ampullas deauratas, et alias duas ampullas argenteas, duo candelabra argentea, tres monstrantias cum reliquiis Sanctorum, Stephani, Ladislai et Henrici regum Hungariae; duas tabulas cum argento coopertas, vnum librum Missalem...* (my underlining).

of the three Hungarian holy kings.¹⁰⁸ From Cologne, she went on to Marburg, to the tomb of St. Elizabeth of Hungary, the common spiritual goal for Queen Elizabeth and Anne of Swidnica.¹⁰⁹

The use of the dynastic cults in the 1357 royal pilgrimage was an occasion for the representatives of the Angevin dynasty to be seen surrounded by the ostentation and splendor of court ceremonies in a different place than their own royal centre, but one can also discern some political propaganda purposes which surpass the limits of the *beata stirps* notion. The echo of the twelfth-century *furtum sacrum*¹¹⁰ of the alleged relics of the Three Magi (Kings) from Milan and their solemn *translatio* to Cologne, arranged by Frederick I Barbarossa and his influential chancellor Rainald of Dassel, in order to revive the *sacrum imperium* concept¹¹¹ was far from fading out, since the “obvious objective”¹¹² of Emperor Charles IV of Luxemburg, and probably of his Angevin companion, was the Cologne cathedral. Founding a chapel there dedicated to the three royal saints of Hungary was a natural gesture that the Queen Mother could make, while the later endowment of the Aachen, Cologne, and Bamberg¹¹³ chapels with their relics shows the consistency of the *sancti reges Hungariae* notion. Placing the relics of St. Stephen, St. Emeric, and St. Ladislás in the proximity of other royal or imperial saints – Charlemagne in Aachen, the Three Magi in Cologne, and Emperor Henry II in Bamberg – was an attempt to relate their cult to similar European ones, having as a natural consequence the forging of political capital for the Hungarian Angevin dynasty’s

¹⁰⁷ Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers*, 342.

¹⁰⁸ Idem. No documents are preserved for this chapel’s foundation, but the presence of the relics of St. Stephen, St. Emeric, and St. Ladislás, as well as their patronage, are mentioned on the predella inscription in the chapel: *Nobile quod spectas hac sacra in aede sacellum,/ Continet Hungariae Reges reliquiosque patronos./ Hungariae primos tres sancta Colonia Reges/ His ursulanis supplex venerator in agris./ Sic statuere Hungri, metuit quos turca malignus/ Et quos sacra fides gladio conservat et armis.* [Noble is the one who attends these services in the church of the shrine,/ Containing the relics of the patrons, the Kings of Hungary...] (my translation) Published in Barna, *Szent István, Szent Imre és Szent László kultuszemlékei*, 68.

¹⁰⁹ Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers*, 342.

¹¹⁰ For the medieval phenomenon of *furta sacra* see: Patrick J. Geary, *Furta sacra: Thefts and Relics in the Central Middle Ages* (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1990).

¹¹¹ Richard C. Trexler, *The Journey of the Magi. Meanings in History of a Christian Story* (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1997): 44 and 78-79.

¹¹² Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers*, 342.

own purposes. In Gábor Klaniczay's opinion,¹¹⁴ the use of dynastic cults for propaganda purposes in the fourteenth century led naturally to grouping and classification, and looking at the European parallels of the time, one notes that this was the same age when the three Scandinavian holy kings (St. Olaf, St. Knut, and St. Eric) came to be seen as a triad.¹¹⁵

Politics and Theology in the Cult of *sancti reges Hungariae*. Concluding Remarks

This survey of the written sources may seem rather selective, since mainly texts with a political character were analyzed, and a religious text referenced only occasionally. A witness of the respective saint's period of canonization, the *vita* was also a living organism receiving various additions, depending on the prominent spiritual data at a specific time, as happened with St. Ladislav's legend, which was enriched with several hagiographic motifs in the fourteenth century.¹¹⁶ An analysis of the evolution of the three saints' *vitae* is not appropriate for the purposes of this chapter, because a *vita* is generally concerned with the life of one sacred character and it cannot offer an understanding of the joint cult of the three holy kings of Hungary. The hagiographical specificity of focusing on just one saint can be also extended to the offices of the respective saints, which, although subject to change,¹¹⁷ they are

¹¹³ Idem.

¹¹⁴ Idem, 341.

¹¹⁵ It is arguable whether the grouping of the three Scandinavian holy kings happened under the influence of the medieval spiritual context of the fourteenth century or under the direct influence of Scandinavian mythology, where Thor, Odin, and Freia were also grouped, Tore Nyberg, "Les royautés scandinaves entre sainteté et sacralité," in *La royauté sacrée dans le monde chrétien*, ed. Alain Boureau and Claude Sergio Ingerflom, (Paris: Éditions de l'École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, 1992): 63-70.

¹¹⁶ The wondrous events associated with St. Ladislav in the fourteenth-century copies of the *Gesta Ladislai regis* cannot be found in its earlier variants; the most popular and chivalric one, the rescue of the *beautiful Hungarian maiden* from her Cuman abductor, appeared in the pictorial representations of St. Ladislav's Legend in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. For the presentation of the five new hagiographical motifs, see: Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers*, 176-182, and for St. Ladislav's Legend in medieval mural painting, see: Gyula László, *A Szent László-legendák középkori falképei*.

¹¹⁷ During the 1280s, the rhythmic "Office of St. Stephen" received the form it has today, presumably on Lodomer's initiative, the Archbishop of Esztergom; here, St. Stephen is presented as the Apostle of his people, a pious and virtuous *rex fortis*, Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers*, 298-299.

addressed to each one separately:¹¹⁸ the fourteenth-century missal from a Dominican convent in Dalmatia, probably from Zara, highlights the feasts of the Angevin saints – St. Elizabeth of Hungary, St. Louis, St. Stephen, St. Emeric, and St. Ladislav – and, although referring to King Louis the Great as St. Ladislav’s *famulus* in the Mass to be said for the king, still has separate services for the three holy kings of Hungary.¹¹⁹ Even the great number of sermons from late-fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries from mendicant orders’ preachers makes reference to the holy kings of Hungary not as a collective, but dedicates a separate sermon to each of them.¹²⁰ Only in 1431, in a prayer book from Bratislava, is the *sancti reges Hungariae*’s intercession collectively invoked for the people’s ascension to Heaven:

*Sancte Dei Stephane pie rex et apostole noster
inclite Henrice uirginitate sacer
rexque Ladizlae succurrite genti
quo valeat digna scandere summa poli.*¹²¹

Because of this chronological difference between the political and liturgical evidence, I consider it appropriate to refer to the cult of *sancti reges Hungariae* as originally a political concept, which developed later into a liturgical one.

¹¹⁸ For the hymns dedicated to the three holy kings of Hungary individually, see: Josephus Dankó, *Vetus hymnarium ecclesiasticum Hungariae* (Budapest: 1893); Polikárp Radó, “A nemzeti gondolat a középkori liturgiánkban,” [The Nation as an Idea in Our Medieval Liturgy] *Katholikus Szemle* 55 (1941): 433; Benjamin Rajeczky, *Magyarország zenetörténete. I. Középkor* [History of Music in Hungary. I. Middle Ages] (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1988), especially the chapter “A magyar szentek zsoltosmái” [Hymns on Hungarian Saints] 334-343.

¹¹⁹ *Missa pro rege... regni ungarie... protector, de famulo tuo lodouico regi nostro*, quoted in Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers*, 347.

¹²⁰ The various collections of Dominican sermons mentioned in idem, “National Saints on Late Medieval Universities,” in *Die ungarische Universitätsbildung und Europa*, ed. Márta Font and László Szögi (Pécs: Tér Nyomdai és Grafikai Stúdió, 2001): 87-108 (henceforth; Klaniczay, *National Saints on Late Medieval Universities*), or in András Vizkelety, “I sermonaria domenicani in Ungheria nei secoli XIII-XIV,” in *Spiritualità e lettere nella cultura italiana e ungherese del Basso Medioevo*, ed. Sante Graciotti and Cesare Vasoli (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 1995): 29-38 (henceforth: Vizkelety, *I sermonaria domenicani in Ungheria*), and Madas, *Sermones de sancto Ladislao rege Hungarie*, passim, are dedicated individually to the holy kings of Hungary, but none focuses on their collective.

¹²¹ “Stephen, Saint of God, our pious apostle and king/ virtuous, chaste and holy – our glorious Emeric/ and King Ladislav: come to be the succor of the people/ that they might deserve to ascend to highest Heaven,” English translation in idem, *Holy Rulers*, 394; I have changed, however, the misleading term *nation*, used in the translation, for *people*, in order to avoid any *avant la lettre* usage of the national concept.

CHAPTER TWO. THE QUEST FOR DEFINING THE ICONOGRAPHIC THEME OF *SANCTI REGES HUNGARIAE*

After describing the context that made possible the emergence of the concept of *sancti reges Hungariae*, namely, the medieval political strategy of accumulating sacred capital by asserting the holiness of one's royal predecessors, one question occurs: How was it possible to transfer patronage from the royal level to the nobility, who became the main supporter of the collective cult of the three holy kings of Hungary and its religious representations? Postponing the answer, I will focus in this chapter on pictorial evidence of the presence of *sancti reges Hungariae* in the spiritual life of the medieval Kingdom of Hungary, highlighting the degree of visibility of royal patronage among nobility and the effective nobility patronage, where this occurred; I will exclude from this brief survey, however, patronage examples directly related to the frescoes depicting the holy kings of Hungary, for these considerations belong to an analysis in the thesis. The approach is not a social historical one, which would be more appropriate in this case, because there are few studies dedicated to medieval artistic patronage generally,¹²² and none particularly to the artistic patronage in medieval Hungary, which could offer a guiding line to the discussion. The goal of this iconographic approach is to register the preserved examples, to emphasize their particularities, and to establish their degree of visibility – the necessary condition for their diffusion. I will supplement this material with additional information from the analysis of the frescoes where the names of the donor appear.

¹²² Differently than for Renaissance art patronage, where one can find numerous studies, there are not many titles for late medieval artistic patronage in Western Europe, probably because of the lack of written evidence. See Joan Evans, *Art in Mediaeval France, 987-1498: a Study in Patronage* (London: Oxford University Press, 1948); Elisabeth Heller, *Das altniederländische Stifterbild* (Munich: Tuduv-Studien. Reihe Kulturwissenschaften, 1976); Elisabeth Vavra, "Pro remedio animae – Motivation oder leere Formel. Überlegungen zur Stiftung religiöser Kunstobjekte," in *Materielle Kultur und Religiöse Stiftung im Spätmittelalter. Internationales Round-Table-Gespräch Krems an der Donau 26 September 1988* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1990): 123-156; Wolfgang Schmidt, "Kunststiftungen im spätmittelalterlichen Köln," in idem, 157-185; David G. Wilkins and Rebecca L. Wilkins, *The Search for a Patron in the Middle Ages and Renaissance* (Lewiston: Edwin Mellen Press, 1996); Brigitte Corley, *Painting*

Looking for Iconographic Ancestors in the Italian Artistic Milieu

One can presume that the royal Angevin patronage of the cult of the three holy kings of Hungary did not resume to the examples already discussed, but it assumed other similar gestures on Queen Elizabeth's and her son's parts. This evidence, however, is not easily identifiable in the documents of the time or in the preserved artistic evidence. The Clarisse convent of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Óbuda, Queen Elizabeth's foundation and her burial place, might have fostered the cult of the dynastic saints, but except for a reference to St. Ladislav which appears in the queen's very detailed will from 1380, there is no information to this effect.¹²³ Neither the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary*,¹²⁴ nor the *Illuminated Chronicle*,¹²⁵ the two main manuscripts decorated with miniatures during the Angevin age, offers us

and Patronage in Cologne. 1300-1500 (Turnhout: Harvey Miller Publishers, 2000); Louise Bourdua, *The Franciscans and the Art Patronage in Late Medieval Italy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

¹²³ Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers*, 336. For the Latin text of the will, see Ernő Marosi, "A 14. századi Magyarország udvari művészete és Közép-Európa," [Courtly Art in Fourteenth Century Hungary and Central Europe] in Ernő Marosi, Melinda Tóth and Livia Varga ed., *Művészet I. Lajos király korában. Katalógus*, 51-77 (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Művészettörténeti Kutatócsoport, 1982).

¹²⁴ The codex is nowadays preserved in various places: Berkeley, Bancroft Library of the University of California, f.2MS2A2M2 1300-1337; New York, Metropolitan Museum, 1994.516; New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, M.360.1-26; Paris, Louvre, Département des Arts Graphiques; Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Lat. 8541; St Petersburg, Hermitage, Nr. 16930-16934. Created in the second quarter of the fourteenth century, probably in Bologna, the Hungarian Angevin Legendary illustrates through miniatures – the text is so reduced that it functions as simple captions for the images – the life of Christ and of various saints, following the *Legenda aurea* model. The number of miniatures dedicated to each of them emphasizes the importance of each of the saints' cult in the first half of the fourteenth century: St. Ladislav's cycle enjoyed a privileged significance in the legendary with 24 images, while the number of the miniatures depicting St. Stephen's life can be hardly reconstructed due to the manuscript's division into fragments throughout time. For the Hungarian Angevin Legendary, see: Ferenc Levárdy, *Magyar Anjou Legendárius* [The Hungarian Angevin Legendary] (Budapest: Magyar Helikon, 1973), facsimile edition; Tünde Wehli, "Magyar Anjou Legendárius," [The Hungarian Anjou Legendary] in Orsolya Karsai ed., *Három kódex. Az Országos Széchényi könyvtár millennium kiállítása 2000. augusztus 17. – november 17.*, 73-87 (Budapest: Osiris Kiadó, 2000); Béla Zsolt Szakács, *A Magyar Anjou Legendárius képi rendszerei* [Visual Strategies in the Hungarian Angevin Legendary] (Budapest: Balassi, 2006).

¹²⁵ Budapest, Országos Széchényi Könyvtár Kézirattára, Cod. Lat. 404. The illustrated chronicle was created around 1358, as indicated on the first page, from the court's commission, probably for the Angevin chapel in Székesfehérvár dedicated to St. Catherine, Ernő Marosi, "L'art à la cour Angevine de Hongrie," in *L'Europe des Anjou. Aventure des princes Angevins du XIIIe au XVe siècle* (Paris: Somogy Éditions d'Art, 2001): 187-188 (henceforth : Marosi, *L'art à la cour Angevine de Hongrie*). For the facsimile edition with English translation of the Illuminated Chronicle, see: Dezső Dercsényi, *The Hungarian Illuminated Chronicle. Chronica de gestis Hungarorum* (Budapest: Corvina Press, 1969), and for the critical edition of the text, see Alexander Domanovszky, "Chronici Hungarorum compositio saeculi XIV," in *SHR* I, 239-505; for the illuminated initials of the chronicle, see Ilona Berkovits, "A Képes Krónika és Szent István ábrázoló miniaturái," [The Illuminated Chronicle and the Miniature Representation of Saint Stephen] *Magyar Könyvszemle* 62 (1938): 16-20.

helpful information because their structure – the division of miniatures according to saints’ life for the former and the fragmentation according to the kings’ rule for the latter – focuses on separate characters and events and excludes their association. The legendary offers information on the popularity of each of the three Hungarian kings’ cults, while the chronicle provides indirect evidence of the political reasons behind the emergence of the *sancti reges Hungariae* iconographic theme, because, being a political history work, it retains only the male saints of the Arpadian dynasty and not the female ones, which thus would place the matter into the context of *beata stirps Arpadiana*. Moreover, it is hard to establish the degree of visibility of such illuminated manuscripts among the nobility, since they were meant for the private usage of certain royal figures.¹²⁶ Therefore, since the Hungarian royal milieu does not offer supplementary information, I think it is useful to discuss the iconographic occurrence of the three holy kings in Italian art, an area with which the *Angevin Legendary* and many other works of art¹²⁷ surviving on the territory of medieval Hungary have many connections.

In St. Martin’s Chapel in the Lower Church of the Basilica of St. Francis in Assisi, next to the fresco-cycle narrating the life of St. Martin, there are representations of a series of

¹²⁶ Basing on the image preponderance in the manuscript, Ferenc Levárdy, “Il Leggendaro Ungherese degli Angiò conservato nella Bibiloteca Vaticana, nel Morgan Library e nell’Ermitage,” *Acta Historiae Artium* 9 (1963): 75-138, argued that the Hungarian Angevin Legendary was intended for Prince Andrew, King Charles Robert’s son, who spent his childhood in Naples and who could have used it as an educational tool. On the other hand, Béla Zsolt Szakács, “The Holy Father and the Devils, or Could the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* Have Been Ordered by a Pope?,” in Balázs Nagy and Marcel Sebők eds., *The Man of Many Devices, Who Wandered Full Many Ways: Festschrift in Honor of János M. Bak* (Budapest: Central European University Press, 1999): 52-60, considering the high quality of the luxurious manuscript, states that it points to the uppermost level of the society, if not the Angevin court itself, probably another royal milieu, which intended it as a magnificent gift for the Hungarian Angevins. The commissioner of the Illuminated Chronicle is generally accepted as King Louis the Great, Marosi, *L’art à la cour Angevine de Hongrie*, 187, and Kerny, *A magyar szent királyok tisztelete és ikonográfiája*, 91, the latter considering that it reflects not so much the figure of the ruling king, but that of his father, King Charles Robert of Anjou, and his efforts to prove the legitimacy of his claim to the Hungarian throne.

¹²⁷ Vlasta Dvořáková, “Italisierende Strömungen in der Entwicklung der Monumentmalerei des slowakischen Mittelalters,” *Studia Historica Slovaca* 3 (1965); László Gerevich, “Tendenze artistiche nell’Ungheria angioina,” in *Gli angioini di Napoli e di Ungheria*, 121-158 (Rome: Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, 1974); Mária Prokopp, *Középkori freskók Gömörben*. [Medieval Frescoes in Gemer] Somorja, Sk: Méry Ratio, 2002 (henceforth: Prokopp, *Középkori freskók Gömörben*); eadem, “Szent László középkori ábrázolásai Itáliában,” in Madas and Horváth, *Középkori prédikációk és falképek Szent László királyról*, 417-424; Terézia Kerny,

Angevin and Arpadian saints, commissioned to Simone Martini and his workshop¹²⁸ by Gentile di Particino da Montefiore, who, in 1308, was in Charles Robert's entourage as papal legate. During his stay in Hungary, he could have gotten acquainted with the cult of the Arpadian saints, which, according to Luciano Bellosi,¹²⁹ appear depicted in the north transept of the chapel: next to St. Francis and St. Louis of Toulouse – St. Elizabeth of Hungary, St. Margaret of Antioch,¹³⁰ and St. Emeric – and flanking the Virgin with Child – St. Stephen and St. Ladislav. The inscriptions giving the identity of the sacred characters have not survived, but their appearance and attributes point, in Bellosi's interpretation, to the three holy kings of Hungary: the young beardless Emeric is depicted with a lily flower in his hand, an allusion to the chastity leitmotif of his legend, while the other two are represented as saint kings with crowns, scepters and orbs; these attributes are missing from St. Emeric's representation, for he did not succeed in becoming a king because of his premature death. The fact that St. Ladislav is depicted as a young man without beard is a bit confusing, but, as will be seen later, the mature Ladislav in the full flower of manhood is a subsequent iconographic development. Due to the heterogeneous character of the grouped holy figures (monastic, martyr, and royal saints), the interpretation of the theological thinking lying behind it is difficult to undertake, and it is not the purpose of this discussion, which should continue with other iconographic occurrences of the three holy kings of Hungary.

“Középkori Szent László- emlékek nyomában Nápolyban,” [Tracing Medieval Relics of Saint Ladislav in Naples] *Ars Hungarica* 26 (1998): 52-65.

¹²⁸ For the problematic dating of the chapel's construction and painted decoration, see Ferdinando Bologna, “Gli affreschi di Simone Martini ad Assisi,” *L'Arte racconta: le grande imprese decorative nell'arte di tutti i tempi* 18 (Milan: Fratelli Fabbri, 1965); Robin Simon, “Towards a Relative Chronology of the Frescoes in the Lower Church of San Francesco at Assisi,” *The Burlington Magazine* 879 (1976): 361-366; Adrian S. Hoch, “A New Document for Simone Martini's Chapel of St. Martin at Assisi,” *Gesta* 2 (1985): 141-146. Even the real identity of the person elaborating the iconographic program is questionable, for Gentile died in 1312, and the frescoes were executed several years after this date, probably under King Robert the Wise's supervision.

¹²⁹ Luciano Bellosi, “La barba di San Francesco (Nuove proposte per il problema di Assisi),” *Prospettive* (1980): 11-34.

¹³⁰ The cross she holds in her hand leaves no doubt to her identity, although some scholars, following the Arpadian dynasty connection, interpreted this character as St. Margaret of Hungary, Mária Prokopp, “Simone Martini: A Szt. Erzsébet kápolna falképei az Assisi Szt. Ferenc-bazilika alsó templomában,” [Simone Martini: the Frescoes of the St. Elizabeth Chapel in the Lower Basilica of St. Francis in Assisi] *Ars Hungarica* 20 (1987): 47-55.

The first known example of such a depiction occurs in the Church of Santa Maria Donna Regina in Naples,¹³¹ the dynastic cult center of the Neapolitan Angevins, whose consistent efforts to relate their dynasty to various royal holy branches was already outlined when discussing the Angevin-Arpadian marriage alliance in the letter of Charles I of Anjou to King Béla IV. Robert the Wise (1309-1343), the son of Charles II (1285-1309) and Mary of Hungary, carried on his predecessors' policy, and his endeavors resulted in the canonization of his brother Louis, the Bishop of Toulouse in 1317,¹³² adding thus to the Capetian-Arpadian holiness that of his own family. Consequently, it was natural for King Robert, justly called "the Wise,"¹³³ to elaborate an iconographic program depicting various members of his triple *beata stirps* in order to embellish the walls of the church, whose renovation was started by his mother after an earthquake in 1293 and which was later decorated by Pietro Cavallini's workshop.¹³⁴ In the choir of the church, next to the north wall fresco-cycle narrating the legend of St. Elizabeth of Hungary, the sister of Robert the Wise's mother, lies a representation of the Descent of the Holy Spirit at Pentecost; under it and within the same frame, the three holy Arpadian kings are rendered in an iconic manner similar to that from the Bern Diptych: the white-bearded *rex iustus* St. Stephen with orb, who occupies the center of the composition, is flanked by a mature brown-bearded figure holding a battle-axe, an allusion to St. Ladislav's bravery, and by a beardless young man with a book in his hand. Interpreted by some scholars as St. Elizabeth, due probably to his feminine features,¹³⁵ the latter saint cannot be other than St. Emeric, whose attribute, fully foreign to St. Elizabeth's

¹³¹ For a recent collection of studies dedicated to the Neapolitan Angevins' religious center, see Janis Elliott and Cordelia Warr, ed., *The Church of Santa Maria Donna Regina: Art, Iconography, and Patronage in the Fourteenth Century Naples* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004) (henceforth: Elliott and Warr, *The Church of Santa Maria Donna Regina*).

¹³² Klaniczay, *Rois saints et les Anjou de Hongrie*, 57.

¹³³ On the figure of King Robert the Wise, see Samantha Kelly, *The New Solomon. Robert of Naples (1309-1343) and Fourteenth-Century Kingship* (Boston: Brill Leiden, 2003) (henceforth: Kelly, *The New Solomon*).

¹³⁴ Eadem, "Religious Patronage and Royal Propaganda in Angevin Naples: Santa Maria Donna Regina in Context," in Elliott and Warr, *The Church of Santa Maria Donna Regina*, 27-43.

¹³⁵ Émile Bertaux, *Santa Maria di Donna Regina e l'arte senese a Napoli del secolo XIV* (Naples: Società Napoletana di storia patria, 1899), 52, in Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers*, 313.

iconography, could be a reference to St. Stephen's *Admonitions* to his son.¹³⁶ Although the scene is a 1330s addition to the original iconographic program from around 1320,¹³⁷ the church of the monastery where Queen Mary of Hungary (d. 1323) found her resting place, is a veritable pantheon of Angevin saints:¹³⁸ along with the four Hungarian Arpadians, are representations of the French Angevin saints, St. Louis IX and St. Louis of Toulouse. The scene is important for the discussion here, not only because it represents the three holy kings of Hungary, but because it is the first iconographic evidence of grouping them together in an articulated composition depicting the three ages of Arpadian kingship – the young St. Emeric, the mature St. Ladislas, and the old St. Stephen – which later became an iconographic *topos*. This pictorial strategy fits in with the textual evidence from sermons of the time, where the predecessors of Robert are described as descending from a double triad of saintly rulers – on one hand, the Angevin-Capetian branch of St. Charlemagne, St. Louis IX of France, and St. Louis of Toulouse, who became a bishop by renouncing at his right to rule as king in favor of his brother, and, on the other hand, the Arpadian branch of St. Stephen, St. Emeric, and St. Ladislas:

*Unde de ipso [Ludovico] in figura potest dici quod scribitur Num. 24, Orietur stella ex Iacob. Quantum ad gentem francorum... de ista gente fuit iste et plures alii sancti canonizati, quorum unus est sanctus Carolus Magnus qui sepultum est ubi coronatur imperatores, alius rex francorum sanctus Ludovicus. Sequitur Et exsurget homo ex Israel, et istud est regnum Ungarie, qui est ad oriente... et sic ex stripe francorum sunt tres sancti canonizati, ex stripe Ungarie; et iste linee coniuncte fuerunt in sancto isto glorioso, qui de utraque parte traxit originem.*¹³⁹

¹³⁶ Ibid.

¹³⁷ Miklós Boskovits, "Proposte (e conferme) per Pietro Cavallini," in A. M. Romanini, ed., *Roma anno 1300. Atti della IV Settimana di Studi di Storia dell'arte medievale dell'Università di Roma "La Sapienza" 19-24 Maggio 1980* (Rome: 1983): 310, in *ibid*.

¹³⁸ Ibid.

¹³⁹ What is written in Numbers 24, A star shall come out of Jacob, can be said of Louis. Regarding the French race... [Louis] and several other canonized saints came from it, of whom one is Saint Charlemagne, buried where the emperors are crowned, and another Saint Louis, King of the French. There follows, And a man shall rise out of Israel, and this is the kingdom of Hungary, which is in the east... and as there are three canonized saints from the French line, so from the Hungarian; and these lines were conjoined in this glorious saint [Louis of Anjou], who traces his origins from the both sides. The excerpt with its English translation is available in Kelly, *The New Solomon*, 124. For the assertion of Robert the Wise's double sacred ascendance, see also the pages 119-129. For the parallel of the French and Hungarian holy kings as a *topos* of preachers for organizing the Neapolitan Angevin dynasty's sainted predecessors, see Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers*, 313-6.

There is no doubt that the Hungarian Angevins were aware of their Neapolitan relatives' endeavors to promote the saints of the Hungarian Kingdom along with those of their own branch – King Charles Robert undertook a diplomatic voyage to Naples, along with Prince Andrew, in 1328,¹⁴⁰ and Queen Elizabeth visited the center of their relatives during her Italian tour from 1343-1344 – but because several decades had to pass until the explicit assertion of the joint cult of the three holy Hungarian kings, one cannot state a direct borrowing; this, however, would have had as a corollary, under Neapolitan influence, an elaborate theological background, which is completely lacking from the Hungarian written sources. Neither can the opposite influence, proposed hypothetically by Gábor Klaniczay, namely, Queen Elizabeth's direct involvement in commissioning some of the frescoes of Santa Maria Donna Regina,¹⁴¹ be accepted, because the decoration of the church was already completed in 1343. If the direct influence is to be rejected, the idea that the collective cult of the three holy kings could have received an impulse from the more elaborate theological thinking originating at the court of Naples, is worth thinking about.

Indebted still to an Italian artistic milieu,¹⁴² the title page of Nicholas Vásári's *Decretales*¹⁴³ from 1343 constitutes another iconographic antecedent for the theme of *sancti reges Hungariae*. The Provost of Esztergom commissioned two codices for his personal use,¹⁴⁴ one of them, the *Decretales*, now kept in Padua, is decorated on the first page with four miniatures from St. Stephen's legend, displayed in a manner evoking the decoration of the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary*.¹⁴⁵ On a vertical decorative strip separating the four narrative scenes into two columns, the standing figures of the three holy kings of Hungary are

¹⁴⁰ Marosi, *L'art à la cour Angevine de Hongrie*, 181.

¹⁴¹ Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers*, 338.

¹⁴² The codices were executed while their commissioner was in Padua, this explaining the close stylistic relation to the Hungarian Angevin Legendary, Kerny, *A magyar szent királyok tisztelete és ikonográfiája*, 88.

¹⁴³ Padua, Biblioteca Capitolare, A. 24. Edith Hoffmann, *Régi magyar bibliofilek* [Old Hungarian Bibliophiles], ed. Tünde Wehli (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Művészettörténeti Kutató Intézet, 1992), 221.

¹⁴⁴ László Gerevich, "Vásári Miklós két kódexe," (Two Codices of Nicholas Vásári) *Művészettörténeti Értesítő* 6 (1957): 133-137.

¹⁴⁵ Kerny, *A magyar szent királyok tisztelete és ikonográfiája*, 88.

depicted frontally: the old King St. Stephen is on the upper part with the orb in one hand and the model of a church in the other, the latter attribute probably an allusion to his Hungarian apostolate; the young beardless St. Emeric, with a lily-shaped scepter, follows his father, and St. Ladislav, depicted as a mature, but beardless king ends the series of Arpadian holy kings, but not the series of representations on the decorative strip: at the very bottom of it, a saint bishop is depicted, probably St. Gerard of Cenad, whose depiction would have been normal in the context of St. Stephen's Christian foundation of the Hungarian Kingdom narrated by the four miniatures. Once again, the meaning of the image is slightly different than the one of interest here, but all these examples can be considered as an iconographic quest to define the theme of the *sancti reges Hungariae*, at both a conceptual and formal level. To these antecedents, one should add hypothetically the unpreserved examples of separate iconic depictions of the three holy kings, which should have existed in mural decoration previously to the political decision of the *sancti reges Hungariae* joint cult; it would have been normal for these representations to occur immediately after the eleventh- and twelfth-century canonizations of St. Stephen, St. Emeric, and St. Ladislav.

Between these iconographic antecedents, which have a different meaning than that of the official iconographic theme of the *sancti reges Hungariae*, and the explicit stating of its political signification in a visual medium, there is a pictorial breach which cannot be supplemented other than through the written evidence analyzed in the previous chapter. The Bern Diptych, Simone Martini's heterogeneous grouping of saints or Niholas Vásári's *Decretales* title page, all associate the three holy kings of Hungary with other sacred characters, moving away from the meaning of the *sancti reges Hungariae* notion; their association situates the group of St. Stephen, St. Emeric, and St. Ladislav in the context of the inclusive notion of *beata stirps Arpadiana* (the Bern Diptych), of the more inclusive association of monastic, martyr, and royal saints (the St. Martin Chapel in Assisi), or in the

precise context of the beginnings of Hungarian Christianity (Nicholas Vásári's *Decretales*). Representations of the three holy kings of Hungary depicted within the same iconographic unit probably existed during this interval, but, since they are not preserved, one should analyze the existing pieces of puzzle.

A Crucial Moment in the Iconography of *sancti reges Hungariae*

An important moment in the evolution of the *sancti reges Hungariae* iconography, which attests the *summum* of its visibility and the assimilation of the iconographic theme into the religious behavior, although regarded *per se* this points also to an artistic Renaissance spirit, is the commission of the statues of the three holy kings of Hungary by the Bishop of Oradea, Demeter Futaki. Sometime around 1370, he commissioned to the sculptors Martin and George from Cluj the execution of the three kings' statues,¹⁴⁶ to be probably set up in front of the Cathedral's main entrance.¹⁴⁷ Unfortunately, the statues have been destroyed by the Turks in 1660,¹⁴⁸ when they were melted down along with the equestrian statue of St. Ladislav, commissioned later by another bishop of Oradea,¹⁴⁹ but drawings and written accounts¹⁵⁰ still exist, helping thus an iconographic reconstruction. Joris Hoefnagel's ink drawing from 1598¹⁵¹ shows the three standing figures of the kings displayed on different columns. Although the visual document is not very eloquent concerning the costumes (the kings can wear either armours or courtly costumes) or the faces of the three kings (Hoefnagel does not register in detail their features), it shows an undifferentiated treatment of the characters: similar body postures (standing figures with one raised hand and the other on the

¹⁴⁶ Eadem, 92.

¹⁴⁷ Jenő Gyalokay, "A nagyváradi királysobrok helyéről," [On the Kings' Sculptures in Oradea] *Archeológiai Értesítő* 3 (1907): 265.

¹⁴⁸ Virgil Vătăşianu, *Istoria artei feudale în Țările Române*, 319.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid.

¹⁵⁰ For a summary of the written accounts on the three holy kings of Hungary's statues, see *ibid.*

¹⁵¹ Cod. 9423, 126v., Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek Handschriften- und Inkunabelsammlung. Reproduction published in Kerny, *A magyar szent királyok tisztelete és ikonográfiája*, 92.

waist line), and similar attributes (they all have the same type of crown and an identical scepter in the raised hand). The impression that the drawing creates is that of solemn pose and apparatus representation, which only the commission of an official theme could ensure. Certainly, the authenticity of the visual description can be contested as filtered by the subjectivity of the witness, but, if faithful to reality, one question occurs: how was it possible the undifferentiated treatment for the three kings in the artists' vision, whose talent and skillfulness was proved a couple of years later, in 1373, by their statue of St. George on horseback killing the dragon, commissioned by Emperor Charles IV of Luxemburg and displayed in one of the interior yards of his palace?¹⁵² The explanation of the lack of artistic imagination should be excluded, and replaced by that of the commissioner's will to have a representation of the *sancti reges Hungariae*, and not of St. Stephen, St. Emeric, and St. Ladislás, regarded separately. This thing will happen in 1390, when the bishop of Oradea John Zudar commissioned to the same masters the equestrian statue of St. Ladislás, the most popular saint of the three holy Hungarian kings.¹⁵³ All four statues could be seen in the very proximity of St. Ladislás' cult center, the Cathedral in Oradea, rebuilt in the second half of the fourteenth century, and revered by the citizens and the pilgrims coming there, on one hand, as the symbol of the Hungarian kingship – the three holy kings of Hungary – and, on

¹⁵² On the artistic personality of the sculptors Martin and George from Cluj, see: Jolán Balogh, "Márton és György kolozsvári szobrászok," [Martin and George, Sculptors of Cluj] *Erdélyi Múzeum* 39 (1934): 287-288; Vătășianu, *Istoria artei feudale*, 315-319; Jolán Balogh, *Varadinum: Várad vára*, [Varadinum: the City of Oradea] I (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1982): 20-21 (henceforth: Balogh, *Varadinum*).

¹⁵³ St. Ladislás' great popularity in the age of the Knight-King Louis the Great is attested by a profusion of artistic representations: the repeatedly painted episode of the saint's legend, depicting the maiden's rescue from her Cuman abductor; a bigger number of miniatures in the Illuminated Chronicle (17), comparing it with the number dedicated to St. Stephen (14) in the same manuscript; the presence of St. Ladislás on the golden florins minted in the second half of the fourteenth century, etc., Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers*, 364-366. The reverence paid to St. Ladislás is documented also by the proliferation of church dedications starting with late thirteenth century, András Mező, *A templomcím a magyar helységnevekben (11.-15. század)* [Church Dedications and Place-names in Hungary from the Eleventh to the Fifteenth Century] (Budapest: Magyar Egyháztörténeti Enciklopédia Munkaközösség, 1996): 134-141.

the other hand, as a symbol of the country's territorial integrity – St. Ladislav on horseback.¹⁵⁴

This interpretative difference in the iconography is well reflected by the religious life of the time: as shown earlier, the collective cult of the three holy kings of Hungary is a political decision originating sometime around mid-fourteenth century, and built up on the individual cults of the Arpadian kings. This did not mean the end of their separate cults' existence, but a parallel and sometimes intersecting life, which supposed, iconographically speaking, certain borrowings and certain gains. All three holy kings brought to the iconographic theme of the *sancti reges Hungariae* their individual characteristics: St. Stephen came with his old age, reminding of the ancient times of the Hungarian Kingdom, when he turned the pagan belief into a Christian faith, and with his royal wisdom, an echo of the advices to be followed by his politically unfortunate son; St. Emeric brought his youth and chastity, a memento of his short life led accordingly to the Christian precepts, while St. Ladislav, who was depicted throughout time next to his royal companions either as a young man or as a mature one, finally found his appearance as the knight-king in the full flower of manhood, an echo of his bravery narrated equally by his written and painted legends, and symbolized by the battle-axe attribute. St. Ladislav defined, therefore, his visual identity as a consequence of the depiction of the kingship's three ages.¹⁵⁵ The representation of kingship assumed the endowment of the characters with the royal *insignia* (the crown, the scepter, and

¹⁵⁴ On St. Ladislav as a symbol of border defender, see Vasile Drăguț, "La légende du héros de frontière dans la peinture médiévale de la Transylvanie," *Revue Roumaine d'Histoire de l'Art. Série Beaux-Arts* 12 (1975): 11-40.

¹⁵⁵ One iconographic model available for the depiction of the three ages of kingship would have been the usual representation of the three Magi (Kings), this fact making some authors to state the existence of crypto-portraits of the three holy kings of Hungary in the Adoration of the Magi scene in Velemér and Kraskovo, Horváth, *Középkori falképek Szent László királyról*, 80, 127, 380, and 392. The interpretation of hidden identities in the Adoration of the Magi should be abandoned, another more plausible explanation being the existence of iconographic models used by the painters of the Middle Ages: faced with the situation of representing two groups of three holy kings within the same church decoration, the imagination of a provincial painter would not hesitate to repeat the three ages of kingship iconographic pattern. The similarities between the portraits of one of the three Magi and the portraits of St. Ladislav in Velemér and Kraskovo do not offer evidence for a conceptual development, but for the practice of a medieval workshop of painting.

the crucifer orb), which only two of them truly had, Duke Emeric obtaining them by means of association with the holy kings Stephen and Ladislas within the framework of the *sancti reges Hungariae* iconography. His particular scepter, in its stylized shape of lily-flower, evokes, however, the chastity motif of his life.

Ensuring the Posterity of the *sancti reges Hungariae* Iconography

Attaining its maximum degree of visibility through Bishop Demeter Futaki's display of the three holy Hungarian kings' statues in a public space, the iconographic theme of *sancti reges Hungariae* could now ensure its diffusion. Putting the matter in secular terms, however, is not the proper or, at least, the complete answer to our question regarding the transmission of the collective cult of the three Hungarian holy kings from its originating level, the Angevin royal court, to its subsequent supporting level, the nobility of the medieval Hungarian Kingdom. One consequence of the royal family's political propaganda and its corollary of religious artifacts spreading the veneration of the dynastic saints was the immense popularity that the three holy kings achieved primarily among nobility.¹⁵⁶ Being in the entourage of the royal court, the nobles could witness the reverence of King Louis the Great and his mother, Queen Elizabeth, for their family's saints, and, keen to imitate them, they assumed the new collective cult, which did not encounter any obstacle in expressing devotion, since it was built up on the solid foundations of the individual cult of the three holy kings, whose veneration was in practice for a couple of centuries. The result was thus the "privatization of the cult of saints",¹⁵⁷ namely its assimilation by the closely related to court nobility, which embellished their court chapels with frescoes and altar paintings depicting the *sancti reges Hungariae*;¹⁵⁸ from nobility, the next stage was undertaken by the mendicant orders, the most sensitive to

¹⁵⁶ Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers*, 367.

¹⁵⁷ Idem, 347.

¹⁵⁸ Kerny, *A magyar szent királyok tisztelete és ikonográfiája*, 92-93.

regional confessional differences,¹⁵⁹ and by the late medieval universities, which found the means of expressing the national identity through the symbol of the three holy kings of Hungary.¹⁶⁰ The rule in Hungary of King Sigismund of Luxemburg (1387-1437), belonging to a different dynasty, did not mean the abandon of the cult of the three holy kings, but a reassessment of the medieval political strategy of rulership legitimizing through the holiness of the predecessors. In the iconography, the new king's reign meant, as will be seen in the next chapter, another companion for the three holy kings of Hungary: King Sigismund's personal royal saint.

¹⁵⁹ A part of the Dominican and Franciscan sermons relying on the separate figures of the three holy kings is published in Eduardus Petrovich and Paulus Ladislaus, *Sermones compilati in studio generali Quinqueecclesiensi in regno Ungarie* (Budapest: Argumentum Kiadó, 1993). On mendicant orders' sermon literature, see: Vizkelety, *I sermonaria domenicani in Ungheria*, 29-38; Madas, *Sermones de sancto Ladislao rege Hungarie*, passim; eadem, "A Dominican Sermon-collection," *Budapest Review of Books* 5 (1996): 193-199.

¹⁶⁰ The close relation between the mendicant orders and university sermons is emphasized in Klaniczay, *National Saints on Late Medieval Universities*, 95-96: the eloquent example of the Pécs University sermons on St. Stephen, St. Emeric, and St. Ladislás coinciding with some sermons in a Dominican provenance codex (Heiligenkreuz, Cod. 292), proves that they formed a common corpus of sermon literature circulating in the medieval Hungarian Kingdom.

CHAPTER THREE. *SANCTI REGES HUNGARIAE* IN LATE-MEDIEVAL MURAL PAINTING

After analyzing the written evidence of the time, where the political idea of the *sancti reges Hungariae* occurs as a way of legitimizing the Angevin dynasty and the rulership of Charles Robert and Louis the Great, and after following the figures of the three holy kings of Hungary in iconography and the way their visual identity was established, it is now the time to focus on the mural paintings where St. Stephen, St. Emeric, and St. Ladislás are depicted as a collective. The relatively great number of preserved frescoes (22) forming the pictorial evidence corpus of the thesis imposed their division into several iconographic types, according to their characteristics, in order to facilitate the analysis, which will focus thus on problems and their associated number of pictorial evidence, and not on individual examples. The reference to the latter won't be, however, avoided, this being the reason of the catalog of the mural paintings depicting the three holy kings of Hungary (Appendix I), which will be a working instrument of this analysis for constantly referring to.¹⁶¹

Sancti reges Hungariae in Medieval Mural Painting

An important number of frescoes – Krásnohorské Podhradie, Rattersdorf, Tileagd, Plešivec, Khust, Napkor, Remetea, and Hrušov – have common iconography, which depicts the standing figures of the three holy kings of Hungary holding their attributes within the same iconographic unit.¹⁶² Either enclosed by a single decorative frame (Rattersdorf, Khust,

¹⁶¹ The catalog includes a photograph of the fresco and a short text offering information about the place and the iconographic context of the three holy Hungarian kings' representation, the description of the painting and its dating; the latter was established after consulting a bibliography, which is the last item of the catalog entry. Consequently, the information presented there will be treated as general knowledge for the reader and, in order to avoid any repetition in the analysis, I will offer the exact reference for supplementary data. In some cases, however, where my opinion differs from that of previous scholars or where additional information is required, I will provide for it in the main text.

¹⁶² For the iconography of the three holy kings of Hungary depicted in a single scene and as an independent theme, see: Marosi, *Der heilige Ladislaus*, 232-234; idem, *Kép és hasonmás*, 69; Kerny, *A magyar szent királyok tisztelete és ikonográfiája*, 80-123.

Remetea, and Hrušov) or placed below arcades supported by colonettes (Krásnohorské Podhradie and Tileagd),¹⁶³ the three saints belong to the same group, which attests that they were conceived as an independent composition. The bad condition of preservation of some of the frescoes, where two figures are integrally preserved and only a minor part from the third is visible (Plešivec and Hrušov)¹⁶⁴ or where, although the three characters can be seen, the frame has not survived (Napkor),¹⁶⁵ makes difficult a final statement about their treatment as a single iconographic unit, and this can only be assumed. The scene has no specific place within the church¹⁶⁶ and does not interact with other scenes,¹⁶⁷ this representing a supplementary evidence for its unitary iconographic conception. An explanation for the absence of a specific place in the economy of the iconographic program would be that the iconic scene type,¹⁶⁸ which the depiction of the three holy kings of Hungary belongs to, was suitable for decorating small wall surfaces, like the one between two windows (Tileagd) or at the end of a narrative cycle (Krásnohorské Podhradie),¹⁶⁹ where there was still room for decoration, but not for an articulated narrative; the place of the three holy kings on the lower

¹⁶³ If in the case of Krásnohorské Podhradie, the uncovered fresco fragment suggests that next to St. Ladislav, the series of arcades could continue, in the case of Tileagd, the isolation of the scene between the former windows of the church (now closed up) indicates that there was no room for other characters to be depicted along with the three holy kings of Hungary.

¹⁶⁴ The fresco fragment in Plešivec is completely uncovered and the representation of St. Emeric is partially preserved (the right hand on sword), but, for the time being, a significant part of the scene in Hrušov is still covered with plaster; a third saint, however, is visible, too.

¹⁶⁵ The special place of the fresco fragment in Napkor – the southern pillar of the triumphal arch – suggests that there was no room for the composition to continue, József Lángi, “Napkor,” in Kollár, *Falfestészeti emlékek a középkori Magyarország északkeleti megyéiből*, 266.

¹⁶⁶ Some of the scenes can be encountered in the choir – on the northern (Rattersdorf and Remetea) or southern wall (Napkor) –, in the nave – on the northern (Krásnohorské Podhradie and Khust), southern (Tileagd) or western wall (Hrušov) – and even in the exterior – on the southern wall of the choir (Plešivec). Dana Jenei, *Pictura murală gotică din Transilvania* [Gothic Mural Painting in Transylvania] (Bucharest: Noi Media Print, 2007), 70, notes the existence of a fragmentarily preserved scene on the exterior wall (without mentioning which one) of the Catholic Church in Ghelinta (Romania), which she hypothetically identifies as the three holy kings of Hungary. Not knowing directly the fresco fragment and not having access to its photograph, I express my hesitation in accepting Jenei's identification of the scene until a visit to the monument will be possible.

¹⁶⁷ See Appendix I, the Iconographic Context item of the entries: I.6, I.7, I.8, I.11, I.12, I.14, I.16, and I.19.

¹⁶⁸ See the iconic-narrative distinction in the Introduction.

¹⁶⁹ Certainly, the context of the three holy Hungarian kings in Krásnohorské Podhradie is hypothetical until the entire north wall of the nave will be uncovered, but the position of the scene – the eastern end of the north wall, on the upper register – leaves enough room for the development of an extensive narrative cycle, as is the case generally with medieval church decoration, France Stelé, *Slovenska gotska podružnica I njen ikonografski kanon*, 315-328; Drăguț, *Iconografia picturilor murale gotice din Transilvania*, 37-43.

register of the choir (Remetea) is not unusual, for this is the natural place in the church for iconic depictions of various saints.

The standing figures of the three kings are depicted conventionally¹⁷⁰ – frontal representation, hieratical and static attitudes, and sometimes emphatic gestures – in accordance with the rules of iconic conception of image. Even the individual treatment of the characters – the old wise king St. Stephen, the young beardless St. Emeric, and the mature bearded St. Ladislás – points to the conventional depiction of the three ages of kingship, for they were established earlier in each saint's separate iconography.¹⁷¹ One can notice, however, a tendency to depict St. Stephen as rather mature, with brown beard, than old and white-haired (Krásnohorské Podhradie, Plešivec, and Khust), but in St. Ladislás' case, who is depicted beardless only in Krásnohorské Podhradie, this can be considered as an iconographic exception. Only in Rattersdorf and Krásnohorské Podhradie the characters are depicted in different costumes – valuable ermine mantle, respectively, richly decorated gown for St. Stephen, knight armour with chest plate, coats of mail, and helmet for St. Ladislás, and court costume for St. Emeric –, while in all other cases the costumes are rendered similarly.¹⁷² In Tileagd,¹⁷³ Plešivec, Khust, and Remetea, all three holy kings are represented as knights, probably a consequence of the chivalric culture revival originating at the court of

¹⁷⁰ Kerny, *A magyar szent királyok tisztelete és ikonográfiája*, 83-84.

¹⁷¹ See the discussion in the previous chapter.

¹⁷² For the importance of the costumes as evidence of the fashion in a particular period of time and a significant help in dating the frescoes, see Annamária Kovács, "Costumes as Symbols of Warrior Sainthood: The Pictorial Representation of the Legend of Saint Ladislás in Hungary," in *Annual of Medieval Studies at CEU*, vol. 6, ed. Katalin Szende and Marcell Sebők (Budapest: Central European University, Department of Medieval Studies, 2000), 145-162.

¹⁷³ The costume details of the three holy kings' representation in Tileagd are not visible today – the short tunic with belt, the fringed coat of mail, and the metal knee and elbow protectors with iron gloves are preserved in the general lines of the drawing and in the large surfaces of color –, but they can be reconstituted with the help of József Huszka's aquarelle copies made in July 1892, before the restoration of the paintings took place. The copies are also important witnesses of the restoration practice in the late nineteenth century, when the destroyed faces of St. Ladislás and St. Emeric were re-created according to the iconographic convention of the three ages of kingship: a new brown-bearded face for St. Ladislás and a beardless one for the young blonde St. Emeric. Copies available in Zoltán Fejős, *Huszka József, a rajzoló gyűjtő. Huszka József, Collector and Sketch Artist* [Exhibition catalog] (Budapest: Néprajzi Múzeum, 2006), 44-45.

the Knight-King Louis the Great.¹⁷⁴ The collection of attributes is the traditional one, with references to each saint's important event in his life: the crucifer orb and mace-like scepter symbolizing the royal dignity for St. Stephen, the battle-axe as a memento of St. Ladislav's bravery in fighting the pagan invaders, and lily-shaped scepter for St. Emeric's chastity. Another attempt to standardize the depiction of the three characters is attested by investing them equally with the royal *insignia* (crown, crucifer orb, and scepter), Rattersdorf being the only place where St. Emeric wears a ducal hat.

The conventional character of the depiction, the strong tendency to unify the representation of the three figures' appearance, and the solemn and official air, put forward by the entire composition, point to the conscious efforts of the painter to illustrate the royal originating theme of the *sancti reges Hungariae*. Besides the intrinsic data pertaining to the medieval image making, there is additional evidence to support this interpretation: all frescoes discussed above belong to a time period later than mid-fourteenth century¹⁷⁵ – the end of the fourteenth century for Krásnohorské Podhradie, Plešivec,¹⁷⁶ Rattersdorf, and Tileagd, and the first decades of the fifteenth century for Napkor, and Remetea,¹⁷⁷ –, after the moment when the analysis of the textual evidence indicated the emergence of the political

¹⁷⁴ King Charles Robert of Anjou's successor tried greatly to embody the ideal of the knight king, a warrior thirsty for military glory, which had a tremendous consequence for the chivalric culture of his time, as attested by a profusion of artistic examples, Pál Engel, *Realm of Saint Stephen: A History of Medieval Hungary, 895-1526* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2001), 185-187.

¹⁷⁵ For the frescoes' chronological distribution, see Appendix III, and for their dating, see the Dating item in the Appendix I, which was established after consulting the bibliography of the respective monument. In certain cases, where I disagree with the dating hypotheses proposed by previous scholarship or where such a hypothesis does not exist, I will give the arguments supporting the new dating in the footnotes, in order not to brake the coherence of the analysis.

¹⁷⁶ The interval 1370-1380s for the execution of the interior decoration of the church in Plešivec is proposed by Prokopp, *Középkori freskók Gömörben*, 28, while Kerny, *A magyar szent királyok tisztelete és ikonográfiája*, 95, offers the reproduction of the fresco fragment with the three holy kings of Hungary, dating it around 1400 without further explanation. The exterior painting in Plešivec is not published yet with a proper analysis, and judging by the normal medieval practice of church decoration, the exterior painting should have followed the interior one, being thus subsequent to 1380s.

¹⁷⁷ On the dating of the paintings in Remetea, see the next subchapter, dedicated to the occurrence in the Orthodox mural painting of the *sancti reges Hungariae* theme.

concept of *sancti reges Hungariae*.¹⁷⁸ It is hard to establish a direct connection between the preserved artistic evidence and its specific commissioner, because of the precarious and scattered character of the written sources of the time, which often mention no more than names of nobles and relates them to certain datable events, but these are not always directly concerned with the medieval artistic patronage of the nobility. For instance, the members of the Telegdi family, having the family church in Tileagd, had important ecclesiastical ranks, the bishop of Esztergom Csanád Telegdi being the one who, in 1342, delivered the funeral sermon in Székesfehérvár for King Charles Robert.¹⁷⁹ The town of Plešivec, link between the important commercial roads of Buda and Košice to Poland, was the center of the Bebek family, whose members occupied various administrative positions to the royal court in Buda in the second half of the fourteenth century: Stephen and Emeric Bebek were dignitaries under King Louis the Great, the latter's career extending till King Sigismund of Luxemburg's reign.¹⁸⁰ These nobles to be found in the proximity of the royal family were, certainly, aware of Queen Elizabeth's and King Louis the Great's devotion for the dynastic saints, and they could commission in their own churches the politically charged representation of the *sancti reges Hungariae*. Moreover, as attested by the names of the two Bebek dignitaries, their reasons were not simply political, two of the three holy kings of Hungary being their personal patrons. Another eloquent example is the church in Napkor, where, although no specific name of a founder can be tracked, a document from 1319 refers to the church as *ecclesia Sancti Regis Stephanis*,¹⁸¹ pointing to the dedication of the church to St. Stephen's patronage and offering an explanation for the presence in the first decades of the fifteenth century of the *sancti reges Hungariae* theme in the decoration of the church.

¹⁷⁸ The dating of the fresco in Hrušov is difficult to undertake, because it is badly preserved. One can recognize only the three silhouettes, and the inscription with St. Ladislav's name.

¹⁷⁹ See the subchapter dedicated to Charles Robert's endeavors of supporting the cult of the Arpadian holy kings.

¹⁸⁰ Prokopp, *Középkori freskók Gömörben*, 28.

¹⁸¹ Lángi, *Napkor*, 266.

Certainly, from these scarce data, one cannot state a final conclusion, but can catch a glimpse of the medieval mentality, which often intermingled the political reasons with religious and personal motivation: the royal politics leading to the emergence of the *sancti reges Hungariae* iconographic theme, built up equally on the strategy of legitimizing rulership through the sacredness of the Angevins' predecessors and on their private devotion for the Arpadian saints, ensured the access of noblemen to the collective cult and its attached iconography. King Charles Robert's endeavors of restructuring the state and enlarging his political base power led the way for members of the middle layer of the nobility to a political career by performing various functions in the administration.¹⁸² The situation continued under King Louis the Great and the mid-nobility's political ambition propelled it to the upper strata of the royal court in Buda, where it could become accustomed with the new religious trends. The previous personal veneration for the independent cult of the holy kings of Hungary played an equal role by facilitating the iconographic spreading, but the transfer was made through politics.

***Sancti reges Hungariae* in Orthodox Mural Painting**

Despite its common iconographic type, one group of Transylvanian frescoes deserves a closer attention, because it offers the identity of the three holy kings of Hungary through Cyrillic inscriptions,¹⁸³ attesting thus its belonging to the Orthodox cult, which used this writing throughout the Middle Ages. In the case of Crișcior, Ribița, and Chimindia, all three

¹⁸² The titles appearing in the documents represent valuable indicators for the function of nobles at the court: they were *aule regie milites* (knights of the court), *aule regie familiare* (retainers of the court), and *aule regie iuvene* (pages of the court), and they could serve permanently the king being county *comites* and royal castellans, or only occasionally, János Bak, "Louis I and the Lesser Nobility in Hungary," in *Louis the Great King of Hungary and Poland*, ed. S. B. Vardy, Géza Grosschmid, and Leslie S. Domonkos (Boulder, Colo.: East European Monographs, 1986), 67-80. For Hungarian medieval nobility, see also: Pál Engel, *Magyarország világi archontológiája, 1301-1457* [Secular Archontology in Hungary, 1301-1457] (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Történettudomány Intézete, 1986); Erik Fügedi, *Kings, Bishops, Nobles, and Burghers in Medieval Hungary* (London: Variorum, 1986); idem, *The Elephánty: The Hungarian Nobleman and His Kindred* (Budapest: Central European University Press, 1998).

in the same region of Hunedoara County (present day Romania), an area inhabited in the Middle Ages by Romanian Orthodox population organized under independent *knezates*,¹⁸⁴ the standing figures of the holy kings are depicted frontally and conventionally, but not according to the same way of expression: the first two belong to a provincialized variant of the Byzantine painting tradition,¹⁸⁵ while the latter is a good quality product of the fashionable international gothic. The different artistic background of the painters made room for detail variation, but the general data of the iconic composition are similar: frontal depiction of characters, static and rigid attitudes, conventionality of the representation. The richly decorated frame enclosing the composition in Chimindia reminds of the examples in Rattersdorf, Khust, and Remetea, but traces of a simpler frame are also visible in Crișcior and Ribița,¹⁸⁶ this being a sign of the unitary conception of the scene of *sancti reges Hungariae*, which had not a specific place on the church walls even in this case.¹⁸⁷ In the case of Crișcior and Ribița, one can notice, however, an attempt to relate the scene of the holy kings to the votive composition, either by placing it next to the *ktetor*'s family or as its counterpart.¹⁸⁸

Iconographically, the details of the scene in Chimindia are related to the western character-unifying examples discussed before: standardized attitudes, similar position of hands holding the different attributes, identical type of courtly costumes which differ only in

¹⁸³ For the inscriptions, see Appendix II, entries II.2, II.3, and II.17.

¹⁸⁴ Radu Popa, *La începuturile evului mediu românesc. Țara Hațegului* [At the Beginnings of the Romanian Middle Ages. Hațeg Land] (Bucharest: Editura Științifică și Enciclopedică, 1988), passim (henceforth: Popa, *La începuturile evului mediu românesc*).

¹⁸⁵ Liana Tugearu, "Biserica Adormirii Maicii Domnului din satul Crișcior (comuna suburbană a orașului Brad, jud. Hunedoara)," [The Church of the Dormition of the Virgin] in *Repertoriul picturilor murale medievale din România (sec. XIV-1450)*, ed. Vasile Drăguț (Bucharest: Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste România, 1985), 83 and 87 (henceforth: Tugearu, *Biserica Adormirii Maicii Domnului din satul Crișcior*), and eadem, "Biserica Sf. Nicolae din com. Ribița (jud. Hunedoara)," in idem, 133 (henceforth: Tugearu, *Biserica Sf. Nicolae din com. Ribița*). She notes the models anterior to the Palaeologian Byzantine style, which the painters used, generally, in the decoration of the two churches, and she adds a specific provincial gothic influence for the representations of the three holy kings of Hungary. This influence could be the result of iconographic models used by the Orthodox painters to depict a Catholic theme, which they were not accustomed to.

¹⁸⁶ Both scenes are destroyed on the right side, this causing the loss of St. Ladislas' figure, but the left separating strip is a sign of the scenes' isolation.

¹⁸⁷ The southern wall of the nave for Chimindia and Crișcior, but in different registers (middle, respectively, lower register), and the northern wall (on the lower register) for Ribița. For more details, see entries I.2, I.3, and I.17 in Appendix I, Place item.

color, conventional depiction of the three ages of kingship;¹⁸⁹ the unifying tendency is also visible in investing the three holy kings with the crucifer orb, indicator of the official iconography of *sancti reges Hungariae*. The iconography of the scene is similar in the cases of Crișcior and Ribița, either a common model for both paintings or the former serving as iconographic guide for the latter:¹⁹⁰ the same arrangement of characters with St. Emeric in the center, similar costume details and hair-dressing style, and triangular-shape shields in the same position (propped up against the ground).¹⁹¹ Although the figure of St. Ladislav was destroyed in both churches by various architectural changes, in Crișcior, one can see a particular detail, not encountered in other place: his raised arm above the head, as if preparing to attack with the battle-axe attribute,¹⁹² probably a consequence of both St. Ladislav's significance as knight-king and the military society which the Romanian Orthodox *ktetors* belonged to.¹⁹³ Judged exclusively as artistic documents, the paintings in Crișcior and Ribița offer evidence of a particular Orthodox-Catholic synthesis: the facial typology of the characters and the Cyrillic inscriptions point to a Byzantine artistic area, while the costumes and weapon details indicate a Gothic influence in a rusticized variant. Less obvious in Chimindia's case, where the Gothic component is prominent, the presence of the Byzantine element is attested by the inscriptions offering the names of St. Stephen, St. Emeric, and St. Ladislav, which are Cyrillic.¹⁹⁴

¹⁸⁸ The fragmentarily preserved iconographic program in Chimindia leaves no room for such assumption.

¹⁸⁹ Only the face of St. Stephen is preserved (white hair and beard), traces of St. Ladislav's brown beard are still visible, but the upper part of St. Emeric's figure is destroyed by creating a new window; consequently, the assumption of the three ages of kingship in Chimindia is hypothetical and based on iconographic ground.

¹⁹⁰ Tugearu, *Biserica Sf. Nicolae din com. Ribița*, 133.

¹⁹¹ For a full account of these similarities, see the Description item in Appendix I, entries I.3 and I.17.

¹⁹² On the basis of the strong iconographic relation of the two frescoes, one can assume a similar warrior attitude in St. Ladislav's representation in Ribița, but this is hypothetical.

¹⁹³ Expressions like "the knights' time" (Nicolae Iorga) or "military age" (Nic. Densușianu) are familiar to Romanian historiography of the early twentieth century when explaining the situation of the fifteenth-century Romanian Orthodox nobility in Transylvania, Adrian Andrei Rusu, *Ctitori și biserici din Țara Hațegului până la 1700 [Ktetors and Churches from the Land of Hațeg until 1700]* (Satu Mare: 1997), 20 (henceforth: Rusu, *Ctitori și biserici*).

¹⁹⁴ See Appendix II. In Chimindia, on the same scene with the three holy kings of Hungary, but on its lower part, there is also a Latin inscription in gothic *minuscule* with the letter *p.* and the year 1482. The Latin inscription is placed in a white-background medallion with a red cross. The examination of the medallion's paint

The frescoes in the Orthodox churches of Crișcior,¹⁹⁵ Ribița,¹⁹⁶ and Chimindia were executed in the first decades of the fifteenth century, namely, in a time period subsequent to the emergence moment of the *sancti reges Hungariae* theme. The *ktetors*, represented along with their family in the votive composition of the first two churches, were *jupan* Bălea, respectively, *jupan* Vladislav and his brother, *jupan* Miclăuș;¹⁹⁷ there are no information preserved on the Chimindia's *ktetors*. Silviu Dragomir, who first published the mural

layer, which was detached in its right upper part making visible the initial decoration (the background of the three holy kings' scene and a portion of St. Ladislav's and St. Stephen's feet), attest that it is later than the scene of the *sancti reges Hungariae*. On the same southern wall, there are other fragmentarily preserved white-red medallions, offering the same or supplementary evidence: consequently, next to the letter *p.*, one should place an *a.*, as it is on another medallion, in the place missing from that on the scene of the three holy kings. Corroborating the pieces of puzzle, I read the inscription on the *sancti reges Hungariae* scene as *p./ (a.) 1482*, *p. a.* standing for the Latin expression *pia annorum*, registering the year when the church was devoted. I think, therefore, that the medallion is in fact a consecration cross, more exactly, a re-consecration cross, and that the inscription attests the year when the initially Orthodox church adopted the Catholic cult. Szilveszter Terdik, "A magyar szent királyok ábrázolásai román orthodox templomokban," [The Representation of the Hungarian Holy Kings in Romanian Orthodox Churches] in *Szent Imre 1000 éve. Tanulmányok Szent Imre tiszteletére születésének ezredik évfordulója alkalmából. 1000 Jahre heiliger Emmerich. Beiträge zu Ehren des heiligen Emmerich anlässlich seines 1000. Geburtstages*, ed. Terézia Kerny (Székesfehérvár: Székesfehérvári Egyházmegyei Múzeum, 2007), 96-98 (henceforth: Terdik, *A magyar szent királyok ábrázolásai román orthodox templomokban*), mentions the presence of the church in Chimindia on papal lists, but he does not offer the year or the source of the document. The change of confession from Orthodox to Catholic is not an uncommon phenomenon, as attested by the example of the church in Remetea, where one can see in the same space eastern and western religious decoration, testifying for the religious edifice's history. I disagree with Marius Porumb, *Dictionar de pictură veche românească din Transilvania. Sec. XIII-XVIII* [Dictionary of Ancient Romanian Painting in Transylvania. Thirteenth-eighteenth Centuries] (Bucharest: Editura Academiei Române, 1998), 333, who considers the presence of the three holy kings of Hungary in Remetea as an evidence of the church's initial belonging to the Orthodox cult, because the Latin inscriptions with the three saints' names attest that the church was already Catholic, when it received the representation of the *sancti reges Hungariae*, namely the first half of the fifteenth century. The only counterargument to the initial belonging of the church in Chimindia to the Orthodox cult is the western style of the painting, but I think that the mentality of the donors at the turn of the fourteenth century does not exclude the stylistic borrowing. Moreover, the undisturbed coexistence of western and eastern religious painting in the church of Remetea attest that the medieval believer was not so sensitive to style matters as the contemporary scholar tends to be. Later, in the Catholic church in Dârlos, one can find the post-Byzantine style representation of St. Ladislav and St. Stephen, executed by an Orthodox painter (see Appendix I, entry I.5), who could work in a Catholic church after 1514, when the revolt of George Dózsa took place, deterring the Orthodox painters to find commissions among the more privileged confessions, but before 1544, when the Saxon community in Dârlos adopted the Reformation, Vasile Drăguț, *Pictura murală din Transilvania (sec. XIV-XV)* [Mural Painting in Transylvania (Fourteenth-fifteenth Centuries)] (Bucharest: Editura Meridiane, 1970), 68-70 (henceforth: Drăguț, *Pictura murală din Transilvania*). Consequently, I think that it is no contradiction between the international gothic style of the fresco in Chimindia, which points to the first decades of the fifteenth century, and the Latin inscription indicating the year 1482, and belonging to the next layer of painting, both evidence pointing to different moments in the history of the church. However, there is still an interval of about six decades between the execution of the paintings and the re-consecration of the church, not covered by written documents, and anything could have happened to the fate of the edifice in this time period. Consequently, I state hypothetically this change of confession from Orthodox to Catholic, until a closer study of the history of the church will be possible.

¹⁹⁵ See the Dating item in Appendix I, entry I.3.

¹⁹⁶ See the Dating item in Appendix I, entry I.17.

¹⁹⁷ For the inscriptions in the votive composition, see Tugearu, *Biserica Adormirii Maicii Domnului din satul Crișcior*, 90-91, and eadem, *Biserica Sf. Nicolae din com. Ribița*, 143-146.

paintings in Crișcior and Ribița,¹⁹⁸ explains the presence of the Catholic saints in an Orthodox foundation by a 1279 synod decision,¹⁹⁹ which stated the constraint of the Orthodox noblemen by the Catholic ecclesiastical authorities to depict the official royal theme, in order to receive the permission to build schismatic stone churches. Taking over Dragomir's opinion, Romanian scholars²⁰⁰ interpreted the presence of the three holy kings of Hungary in terms of the homage paid by the Romanian Orthodox nobility to the Hungarian royalty, highlighting the compromise that its wish to keep the Orthodox faith forced to. On the other hand, Hungarian scholars imagined an ideal multicultural society²⁰¹, where people of different confessions lived together and shared the same spiritual values, or an abstract idea of nation, where the representation of the holy kings in Orthodox churches was an occasion to confess the belonging to a concept hardly to imagine at that time.²⁰² The already outlined administrative change undertaken by King Charles Robert meant also a direct subordination of every feudal lord to his sovereign, differently from the earlier time period, when the Voivode of Transylvania played the role of mediator between nobility and king.²⁰³ The importance of Romanian military élite increased its significance under King Sigismund of Luxemburg, who was interested to gain additional military support, in order to oppose efficiently the Turks' menace.²⁰⁴ The military duty of the Romanian nobility²⁰⁵ meant an

¹⁹⁸ Silviu Dragomir, "Vechile biserici din Zărand și ctitorii lor în secolele XIV și XV," [Old Churches in Zărand and Their Ktitors in Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries] in *Anuarul Comisiunii Monumentelor Istorice. Secția pentru Transilvania pe anul 1929* (Cluj-Napoca: 1930), 223-264.

¹⁹⁹ Idem, 233. The sources Silviu Dragomir refers to, Radu Iacob, *Istoria vicariatului gr.-cat. al Hațegului* [History of the Greco-Catholic Vicariate in Hațeg] (Lugoj, 1913), Ioan Mihalyi (de Apșa), *Diplome maramureșene din secolul al XIV-lea și al XV-lea* [Fourteenth-fifteenth-century Charters from Maramureș] (Sighetul Marmăției, 1900), and Augustin Bunea, *Ierarhia românilor din Ardeal și Ungaria* [Romanians' Hierarchy in Transylvania and Hungary] (Blaj, 1904), are not available in Budapest.

²⁰⁰ Drăguț, *Pictura murală din Transilvania*, 32.

²⁰¹ Terdik, *A magyar szent királyok ábrázolásai roman orthodox templomokban*, 97-98.

²⁰² Marosi, *Kép és hasonmás*, 260.

²⁰³ Rusu, *Ctitori și biserici*, 22.

²⁰⁴ Idem, 23. He highlights the opportunism of the Romanian nobility to gain acceptance of the Hungarian élites or the pressure of the Catholic Church, but both hypotheses are disputable, firstly, because the Orthodox nobility was directly connected to the king, the only one whose acceptance mattered, and, secondly, because the existence of the 1279 synod decision is not certain.

occasion for its social affirmation, the political role that it started to play in the Hungarian Kingdom having repercussions on their confession, language, and customs.²⁰⁶ Far from being forced to compromise for keeping their faith or from belonging to a universal-value community, the Romanian noblemen adhered to the politically charged iconography, because, as members of the Hungarian nobility, they wanted, normally, to express their loyalty toward the king who facilitated their social climb.

In Crișcior and Ribița *ktetors*' case, not only politics played a significant role, but also their personal devotion for at least one of the three holy Hungarian kings: *jupan* Bălea's son and one of the *ktetors* in Ribița are called Vladislav,²⁰⁷ which is the Slavonic variant for Ladislav, a very popular name among Romanian noblemen in Transylvania.²⁰⁸ The nature of such devotion is uncertain, however, since in Crișcior the three holy kings of Hungary are called *s(anc)t(u)s*,²⁰⁹ followed by the Cyrillic transcription of their names, while all the other inscription with saints' names refer to them as *с(ве)ти*.²¹⁰ If this was the awareness that the holy kings belonged to different church than the Orthodox one, a sort of sacredness of the other, or a lesser degree of holiness, equivalent to the Latin *beatus*, I cannot, for the time being, provide for an answer.

Iconographic Fragmentation and Conceptual Unity in the Depiction of the Holy Kings of Hungary

Another significant group of frescoes depicting the holy kings of Hungary and proving consistent iconographic features, although it has as main characteristics the apparent

²⁰⁵ This aspect is present in the votive composition in Crișcior and Ribița, where even the *ktetors*' children are depicted with swords hanging on the belts around their waist; probably, under the authority of the military culture of the Romanian Orthodox nobility, St. Ladislav received his warrior-like attitude in Crișcior.

²⁰⁶ Rusu, *Cîtori și biserici*, 27, and Drăguț, *Pictura murală din Transilvania*, 67-68.

²⁰⁷ Tugearu, *Biserica Adormirii Maicii Domnului din satul Crișcior*, 90-91, and eadem, *Biserica Sf. Nicolae din com. Ribița*, 143-146.

²⁰⁸ Popa, *La începuturile evului mediu românesc*, passim.

²⁰⁹ See Appendix II, entry II.3.

fragmentation of the collective representation, the selection of two of the three holy kings, and their distribution in various places in the church, is represented by the paintings in Žehra, Čečejevce, Poprad, and Tornaszentandrás.²¹¹ These frescoes retain the iconic manner of the characters' representation – namely, the figures' frontality, their hieratical and static attitudes, and the conventional depiction of age types and attributes²¹² – but they represent only two of the three holy kings of Hungary: St. Stephen and St. Ladislav.²¹³ Moreover, the old wise king and the knight-king are depicted in the same place – facing each other on the pillars of the triumphal arch –, their position being, however, interchangeable.²¹⁴ In all four cases, on the intrados of the triumphal arch, there are medallions with representations of the Old Testament Prophets with scrolls, this fact offering, once more, the confirmation for France Stelé's and Vasile Drăguț's iconographic canon of provincial gothic painting.²¹⁵ Supplementary evidence for the iconographic consistency is the chronology of the frescoes: three of them belong to the first half of the fourteenth century, while the representation of St. Stephen and St. Ladislav in Tornaszentandrás is dated to the middle of the same century.²¹⁶ In the case of the churches in Žehra, Čečejevce, and Poprad, the chronology also indicates a time period previous to the emergence moment of the *sancti reges Hungariae* concept in the textual

²¹⁰ For other inscriptions on Crișcior's frescoes, see Tugearu, *Biserica Adormirii Maicii Domnului din satul Crișcior*, 87-96.

²¹¹ Because the interpretation of this group's iconographic meaning is not easy to grasp, I will bring gradually into the discussion some other examples, which have common characteristics, but also significant differences. These new examples have the purpose to provide for supplementary evidence, where the iconographic reading is rendered difficult by the frescoes' fragmentary state of preservation. They will occur thus *ex abrupto* into the discussion, this footnote playing the role of their introduction.

²¹² See above.

²¹³ Although the frescoes in Žehra and Tornaszentandrás have no inscription preserved, the ages of the figures, attested by the color of their hair (white and dark), and their attributes, both royal (crucifer orb and crown) and personal (scepter and battle-axe), point to St. Stephen's and St. Ladislav's identities. In Poprad, the same position on the pillars of the triumphal arch, the royal characters' color of hair, and the fact that the mature one holds, beside a scepter, another attribute (only the handle is visible), indicate the same identity. Čečejevce's case is problematic, because both royal characters hold uncommon attributes (swords) and the bad state of preservation prevent any judgment about the figures' age. Basing on analogy with the previous examples and on the same position of the crowned characters in the church, I assert hypothetically that in Čečejevce, too, one can see the representations of St. Stephen and St. Ladislav. For more information, see the Description item in Appendix I, entries I.4, I.13, I.20, and I.21.

²¹⁴ See the Place item in Appendix I, entries I.4, I.13, I.20, and I.21.

²¹⁵ Stelé, *Slovenska gotška podružnica I njen ikonografski kanon*, 315-328, and Drăguț, *Iconografia picturilor murale gotice din Transilvania*, 13-61.

evidence, which could question the political meaning of this group of frescoes with fragmented iconography.

The iconographic program of these churches' sanctuary is, in great extent, preserved,²¹⁷ and on its walls one cannot see the representation of St. Emeric, which attests that he was not depicted in the first half of the fourteenth century along with the other two holy kings. This does not mean that he was not present in church decoration, but just that he was not associated in this time period with St. Stephen and St. Ladislav. One can argue that the small surface of the pillars of the triumphal arch and their limited number led to St. Emeric's natural exclusion, retaining thus only the founder of the Hungarian Church and its defender; consequently, it was a normal selection determined by practical reasons. The selection of St. Stephen and St. Ladislav, however, their additional significance as key-figures in the history of the local Church, and their place in the proximity of the Old Testament prophets suggests not a political reading of the iconography, but a theological one.

In an early-fifteenth century fresco decoration, in Žíp,²¹⁸ St. Emeric appears in the proximity of the pillars representation of two holy kings, but the bad and partially preservation of the painting poses some identification problems. From the three holy kings appearing on the pillars of the triumphal arch, only St. Emeric (the western side of the northern pillar) can be with certainty identified, because he is depicted as a young man and holding the lily-shaped scepter; the other two holy kings, one in the usual place on the northern pillar, and the other as St. Emeric's counterpart on the southern pillar, are badly preserved: only their royal dignity is attested by the crucifer orb and by the handle of the scepter. Normally, the presence of three holy kings would be enough for stating the

²¹⁶ See the Dating item in Appendix I, entries I.4, I.13, I.20, and I.21.

²¹⁷ The exception is the sanctuary decoration of the church in Tornaszentandrás, which is partially preserved, preventing a coherent iconographic reading. This can happen in the other sanctuaries, where the decoration of the triumphal arch and choir are more or less preserved and it belongs to the same epoch. See the Iconographic Context item in Appendix I, entries I.4, I.13, I.20, I.21.

²¹⁸ See Appendix I, entry I.22.

representation of St. Stephen, St. Emeric, and St. Ladislav, but other early fifteenth century examples (Štítník, Mălâncrav, and Lónya)²¹⁹ have the representation of four royal saints, although the identity of the fourth one cannot always be precisely established. The only preserved inscriptions are those in Lónya,²²⁰ where, besides St. Stephen's and St. Emeric's identities, another holy king identity occurs: St. Sigismund's. His partially preserved depiction is placed on the western side of the pillar of the triumphal arch. In the light of this new information, in Žíp, the preserved representations of holy kings are those of St. Emeric, St. Sigismund (as the chaste prince's counterpart on the southern pillar, but on the side not visible from the nave), and St. Ladislav (the northern pillar).²²¹ According to the earlier iconographic tradition, the latter saint should have been faced by another holy king, and this one, normally, would have been St. Stephen, but, in Žíp, his representation no longer exists.²²²

Faced with the presence of a fourth holy king in the company of the three Hungarian royal saints, one should find an explanation for the occurrence of the sixth-century Burgundian martyr saint,²²³ who was practically unknown in Hungary until late fourteenth century.²²⁴ As noted by Edit Madas and Péter Tóth,²²⁵ the presence of St. Sigismund in

²¹⁹ For the discussion of the presence of four holy kings in these churches, see below.

²²⁰ See Appendix II, entry II.9.

²²¹ St. Sigismund's face is completely destroyed, but that of St. Ladislav recalls the traces of a brown beard; moreover, the handle that St. Ladislav holds is thicker than the other saint's, suggesting not a scepter, but a battle-axe.

²²² No traces of paint are preserved on the southern pillar, on the parallel position to St. Ladislav. This is, however, the state of preservation in all the sanctuary, only the medallions of the prophets and the parable of the wise and foolish virgins, both placed on the triumphal arch (on the intrados and on the western side not visible from the nave), being more or less intact today. See the photo reproduction in Appendix I, entry I.22.

²²³ On the first royal martyr, St. King Sigismund of Burgundy (516-523/524), who became a healing saint in the eight-ninth-century sources originating at his foundation and cult center in St. Maurice of Agaune, see: Robert Folz, "Zur Frage der heiligen Könige. Heiligkeit und nachleben in der Geschichte des burgundischen Königtums," *Deutsches Archiv* 19 (1958), 317-344 (henceforth: Folz, *Zur Frage der heiligen Könige*); idem, *Rois saints*, 23-25; Frederick S. Paxton, "Power and the Power to Heal. The cult of St. Sigismund of Burgundy," *Early Medieval Europe* 2 (1993), 95-110; Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers*, 67-68.

²²⁴ The variant of the very popular *Legenda aurea* circulating in medieval Hungary was augmented only in early fifteenth century with St. Sigismund's legend, but it still was not a mandatory breviary reading in the Hungarian usage, Edit Madas, "La Légende dorée – Historia Lombardica – en Hongrie," in *Spiritualità e lettere nella cultura italiana e ungherese del basso medioevo*, ed. Sante Graciotti and Cesare Vasoli (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 1995), 55. Only in late fifteenth century (1486-1487), the saint was inscribed in the list of *Legendae sanctorum regni Hungariae*, joining officially the three traditional holy kings of Hungary, Péter Tóth, "*Patronus*

Hungary was mediated by Prague, where the saint's relic were translated in 1354 on King Charles IV of Luxemburg's initiative, whose consistent endeavors transformed the Burgundian royal martyr into the official patron saint of Bohemia.²²⁶ Charles IV's third son, born in the same year when the king acquired from Agaune the relics of the saint, was named after him, and when Sigismund of Luxemburg became king of Hungary in 1387, he promoted his personal patron saint in this part of his kingdom²²⁷ through a consistent strategy, becoming, in Robert Folz's words, "ein eifriger Propagandist der Verehrung seines Patrons."²²⁸ The religious foundations dedicated to St. Sigismund,²²⁹ the translation from Prague, for a short period in 1424, of the saint's relics to the cult center of St. Ladislav in Oradea,²³⁰ and the initiative of church decoration depicting St. Sigismund²³¹ are the indicators of King Sigismund of Luxemburg's consistent actions. It was thus natural for a holy king, which was the official patron saint of Bohemia, to join the Arpadian holy trio, which played the same role in Hungary, when the two territories were united under the same rulership.²³² Confronting the early-fourteenth century pictorial evidence with the liturgical texts in Hungary, one will notice the same chronological disparity as in the Arpadian holy kings' case: some time had to pass until an office of St. Sigismund became part of the breviaries

regis – patronus regni. Kaiser Sigismund und die Verehrung des heiligen Sigismund in Ungarn," *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 1 (2008), 84 (henceforth: Tóth, *Patronus regis – patronus regnis*).

²²⁵ Ibid.

²²⁶ On Charles IV's endeavors to promote St. Sigismund, along with St. Wenceslas, as a patron saint of Bohemia, see David C. Mengel, "A Holy and Faithful Fellowship: Royal Saints in Fourteenth-century Prague," in ed. Vydali Eva Doležalová, Robert Novotný, and Pavel Soukup, *Evropa a Čechy na konci středověku. Sborník příspěvků věnovaných Františku Šmahelovi* [Europe and Bohemia. Collection of Papers Presented to František Šmahel] (Prague: Centrum Mediévistických Studií, 2004), 145-158; on the dynastic saints' propaganda of Charles IV of Luxemburg and its artistic expression, see Iva Rosario, *Art and Propaganda. Charles IV of Bohemia, 1346-1378* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell Press, 2000). See also Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers*, 330.

²²⁷ Tóth, *Patronus regis – patronus regnis*, 83-88.

²²⁸ Folz, *Zur Frage der heiligen Könige*, 388.

²²⁹ This was the time when the churches of Niva (1422), Úszfalva (1429), and the court chapel of St. Sigismund in Buda were built, András Mező, *Patrocíniumok a középkori Magyarországon* [Patronages in Medieval Hungary] (Budapest: METEM, 2003), 496 (henceforth: Mező, *Patrocíniumok a középkori Magyarországon*).

²³⁰ Balogh, *Varadinum*, 44.

²³¹ The frescoes with the four holy kings started to occur in the first decades of the fifteenth century. See above and Appendix I, entries I.9, I.10, I.18, I.22.

²³² In church dedication, only the double patronage of St. Ladislav and St. Sigismund is attested, Mező, *Patrocíniumok a középkori Magyarországon*, 496.

used by the Hungarian Church and some time more until the Bohemian royal saint's official inclusion in the *Legendae sanctorum regni Hungariae*.²³³ Once more, the new holy king's fresco representations preceded by several decades his official introduction into the liturgical practice of Hungary,²³⁴ and once again, politics played a significant role in the diffusion of a royal saint's cult, proving the consistency of the medieval political strategy of sacred legitimizing, and that the *patronus regis* is, in fact, *patronus regni*.²³⁵

If in a small village church as Žíp²³⁶ it was natural for the new royal holy collective to occur in the first decades of the fifteenth century, it was even more obvious that St. Stephen, St. Emeric, St. Ladislav, and St. Sigismund would be represented in Ladislav Csetneki's monumental gothic church building, which the founder, *comes* of the royal chapel and the queen's chancellor, embellished with mural decoration around 1420-1430.²³⁷ Because the choir of the church was completed only in 1460, Ladislav Csetneki, who certainly was the author of the iconographic program, kept the representation of the four holy kings, but changed its traditional place on the pillars of the triumphal arch. He depicted them on a similar surface, facing each other in two superposed registers on the pillars separating the nave from the southern aisle:²³⁸ on the western pillar, St. Sigismund (the lower register),²³⁹

²³³ See above.

²³⁴ The first breviaries where an office of St. Sigismund occurs are the Pauline Breviary from 1451 (Budapest: Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, Clmae 399, f. 386v.) and the Oradea Breviary from 1456 (Franziskanische Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 2), cf. Tóth, *Patronus regis – patronus regnis*, 86.

²³⁵ Idem, 80-97.

²³⁶ Except some scattered mentions in various places, there is no study dedicated to the mural decoration in Žíp, this thing being probably a consequence of the scarce presence of the place in the time's sources.

²³⁷ Prokopp, *Középkori freskók Gömörben*, 32. The church in Štítnik was built in several phases during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and it was gradually decorated with frescoes, which covered all the surfaces of the nave and its two aisles. The resulting iconographic program is very rich and complex, containing elements not found elsewhere in the region.

²³⁸ Vlasta Dvořáková, Josef Krása, and Karel Stejskal, *Středověká nástenná mal'ba na Slovensku*. [Slovakian Medieval Mural Painting] (Bratislava: Tatran, 1978), 157, considered that the four holy kings are the patron saints of Hungary and Bohemia, namely St. Sigismund and St. Wenceslas, and St. Ladislav and St. Emeric, while Dušan Buran, *Gotika. Dejiny slovenského výtvarného umenia*. [Gothic. The History of Fine Arts in Slovakia] (Bratislava: Slovenská Národná Galéria, 2003), 688, identified the royal Arpadian trio, but he had no suggestion for the fourth saint. In the absence of any inscription to attest the characters' identity and in the light of the new information, I think that the four holy kings from Štítnik are the three royal saints of Hungary and the St. King Sigismund.

²³⁹ The only saint with crown, crucifer orb, and an unidentified attribute, who preserves some features on his face is the one on the lower register of the western pillar: he has curly red-brown hair and beard with a particular

with St. Ladislav (the upper register),²⁴⁰ and on the eastern pillar, St. Emeric (the upper register)²⁴¹ with St. Stephen (the lower register).²⁴² Ladislav Csetneki kept something else from the iconography in Žíp, namely, the representations of Old Testament prophets in medallions and the parable of the wise and foolish virgins, which were placed on the intrados of the arches uniting the pillars with the four holy kings' depiction.²⁴³

As attested by the examples in Žíp and Štítník, the fragmentation of a coherent iconographic theme and its distribution on different places on the walls of the church do not mean a conceptual fragmentation, the four holy kings having further on a unified iconographic reading. This is owed equally to the divided representations' proximity on the walls and to their place on similar architectural elements, which, in these cases, do not provide for the visibility required by an iconography conceived to be seen and to represent, as the initial iconography of the royal Arpadian holy trio did. Several observations occurring until now in the analysis challenge the political interpretation of the *sancti reges Hungariae* iconography: the low visibility not meant for political representation of the examples on the pillars of the triumphal arch, the new consistency of the iconographic context (the representation of the Old Testament prophets and of the wise and foolish virgins' parable on the upper part of the triumphal arch), and the early chronology of some of the paintings (Žehra, Poprad, and Čečešovce). Other evidence like the late addition of St. Sigismund to the

shape, which reminds those in both King Sigismund's and St. Sigismund's portraits. For the emperor's and his patron saint's portraits, see: George Szabó, "Emperor Sigismund with St. Sigismund and St. Ladislaus: Notes on a Fifteenth-century Austrian Drawing," *Master Drawings* 1 (1967), 24-31; Vilmos Tátrai, "Die Darstellung Sigismunds von Luxemburg in der italienischen Kunst seiner Zeit," in *Sigismundus rex et imperator. Kunst und Kultur zur Zeit Sigismunds von Luxemburg, 1387-1437*, ed. Imre Takács, 143-152 (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 2006), and the catalog entries in idem, 153-167. See also the photo in Appendix I, entry I.18.

²⁴⁰ He is the only one depicted in knight armour with shield, sword, and another attribute destroyed in its upper part, probably a long-handle axe. See the photo in Appendix I, entry I.18.

²⁴¹ His face features are not preserved, but it seems to have been depicted without beard, and he is, certainly, the only blonde character. See the photo in Appendix I, entry I.18.

²⁴² Later changes in the decoration of the church covered the representation of St. Stephen with that of a monk saint, but the detachment of the fresco layer in the upper part of the scene revealed another halo, which probably belonged to St. Stephen. See the photo in Appendix I, entry I.18.

²⁴³ The intrados of the arches is not a very generous surface to be decorated with painting, and, when not covered with simply decorative motifs, it imposes a fragmentation of the iconography. In Štítník's case, this transformed the semicircle of virgins in Žíp into four-lobed medallions with their representation.

three holy kings of Hungary (the first decades of the fifteenth century) points to the undisputable political interpretation. One possible explanation for this incongruity is the exclusive theological meaning in the pillar representations of the first half of the fourteenth century examples, which received later, under the influence of King Sigismund of Luxemburg's promotion of the cult of his personal patron saint, additional political meaning.

One Holy King and One Saint Bishop More in the Iconography of *sancti reges Hungariae* – the Case of Mălâncrav

Adding another holy king and a saint bishop to the iconic composition treated as an iconographic unit²⁴⁴ represented an occasion for art historians, in absence of any inscription on the fresco, to look for identities. The first to propose one was Viktor Roth,²⁴⁵ who, relying on the knowledge of the painting's donor in Mălâncrav and ignoring that the characters are depicted with halos, suggested that the five characters represent the members of the Apafi family and the bishop who consecrated the church. László Éber²⁴⁶ identified them later as the Arpadian royal trio and St. Gerard, the Bishop of Cenad, and Vasile Drăguț, accepting the hypothesis, proposed St. Louis IX for the fourth holy king, arguing that his representation was not unusual in medieval Hungary under King Louis the Great's reign, who had the French king as personal patron saint.²⁴⁷ Recently, Anca Gogâltan²⁴⁸ identified the holy king as St. Sigismund, whose cult developed under King Sigismund of Luxemburg's reign, a

²⁴⁴ See Description item in Appendix I, entry I.10.

²⁴⁵ Viktor Roth, "Az almakeréki templom és műkincsei," [The Church in Mălâncrav and Its Treasures] in *Dolgozatok az Erdélyi Nemzeti Múzeum Érem és Régiségtárából*, 128-184 (Cluj: 1912).

²⁴⁶ László Éber, in *Tanulmányok Magyarország középkori falfestményeiről, Magyarország műemlékei*, [Studies on Medieval Mural Painting in Hungary, Monuments of Hungary] ed. Gyula Forster, 71-104 (Budapest: 1915).

²⁴⁷ Drăguț, *Picturile murale din biserica evanghelică din Mălâncrav*, 79-93. He ignored, however, the fact that the paintings are dated to a time period subsequent to King Louis the Great's reign, namely, the first decades of the fifteenth century, see Dating item in Appendix I, entry I.10.

²⁴⁸ Gogâltan, *The Holy Hungarian Kings, the Saint Bishop and the Saint King*, 103-121.

fruitful time period for Nicholas Apafi's military career,²⁴⁹ the donor of the choir's painting in Mălâncrav;²⁵⁰ she proposed the identity of St. Nicholas for the bishop saint, arguing the direct implication of the donor in the choice of the five saints, who wanted thus not only to state his connections with the royal court by representing the official theme of the holy Hungarian kings, but also to give a personal note to the representation by introducing his patron saint into the composition.²⁵¹

One question raised by Gogâltan²⁵² was the spatial separation of the three holy kings of Hungary in the scene at Mălâncrav, where St. Sigimund divides the well-known composition of *sancti reges Hungariae* by pushing St. Emeric to the left side of the iconographic unit. One can add now to her detailed iconographic analysis the spatially fragmented but conceptually unifying examples, which are contemporary with Mălâncrav, and where St. Stephen, St. Emeric, St. Ladislav, and St. Sigismund are depicted on the pillars of the triumphal arch.²⁵³ The presence of St. Nicholas along with the four holy kings would confer to the composition a votive character, providing the donor Nicholas Apafi for the occasion to express his double gratitude, not only towards the ideal image of Hungarian kingship, but also toward his personal patron saint, both political and sacred instances granting him the successful military career, which he had in the first part of the fifteenth century.²⁵⁴ One should not disregard, however, the support that the cult of St. Gerard had earlier at royal level, when Queen Elizabeth donated in 1361 a new sarcophagus for the saint's relics kept in the monastery in Cenad, which apparently led to a new flourishing of the

²⁴⁹ This aspect is developed in Anca Gogâltan's Ph. D. dissertation: eadem, "Patronage and Artistic Production: the Apafis and the Church in Mălâncrav (Fourteenth-fifteenth Centuries)," Ph. D. dissertation (Budapest: Central European University, 2003) (henceforth: Gogâltan, *Patronage and Artistic Production*).

²⁵⁰ For the date of the choir's decoration, see the Dating item in Appendix I, entry I.10.

²⁵¹ Eadem, *The Holy Hungarian Kings, the Saint Bishop and the Saint King*, 120-121.

²⁵² Eadem, 114-116.

²⁵³ See above.

²⁵⁴ The personal veneration aspect can be identified here, too, for the only son of Nicholas Apafi was named Ladislav, Dana Jenei, "The Church of Virgin Mary in Mălâncrav." Online study: http://www.mihaieminescutrust.org/images/content/Virgin_Mary_Church_Malancrav.pdf, (accessed 23.05.09), 2.

the saint's cult.²⁵⁵ Moreover, the Apafi family possessed a church in Nușeni dedicated to St. Gerard, a quite rare case of dedication in medieval Hungary,²⁵⁶ which Nicholas Apafi called in his will from 1447 *ecclesia nostra*, addressing primarily his donations to the *plebanus* and church in Nușeni.²⁵⁷ In the absence of any inscription on the scene in Mălâncrav or any other written evidence, both hypotheses can be argued, although more probable seems the latter, which would find supplementary iconographic evidence in the significant role that St. Bishop Gerard and the three holy Hungarian kings played in the creation and reinforcement of the Hungarian Church.²⁵⁸

Liturgical Aspects in the Cult of the Holy Kings of Hungary. Concluding Remarks

Differently from the representations of the three holy kings depicted collectively, which do not have a specific place in the church, but are situated on wall surfaces big enough to contain their joining into the same composition, the pillars representations of the three/four holy kings have a consistent place and bad visibility, which do not fit in with the requirements of a composition conceived to represent. Representation, in this case, means the commissioner's pictorial statement about his legitimacy to rule, founded on his predecessors' sacredness, or about the political belonging of a certain social category, which states its loyalty toward the king. The political statement does not exclude, as shown, the personal veneration of the commissioner for the royal saint as vehicle of an ideological content, but

²⁵⁵ Tünde Wehli, "Az 1083-ban kanonizált szentek kultusza középkori művészetünkben," [The Cult of the Saints Canonized in 1083 in Medieval Art] in *Művelődéstörténeti tanulmányok a magyar középkorról*, ed. Erik Fügedi, 56-57 and 308-309 (Budapest: Gondolat, 1986).

²⁵⁶ Mező, *A templomcím a magyar helységnevekben*, 76-77.

²⁵⁷ Gogăltan, *Patronage and Artistic Production*, 143. Although she offers this relevant information for Nicholas Apafi's reverence for the cult of St. Gerard, Gogăltan tends to favorize the identification of the saint bishop as St. Nicholas.

²⁵⁸ In Sânzieni (Romania), there is a scene similar to that in Mălâncrav, which represents the three holy kings of Hungary, another holy king, and a bishop. The late date (seventeenth century), the indirect knowledge of this poorly preserved fresco, and the bad photo reproductions available excluded this example from the analysis, Zoltán György Horváth and Béla Gondos, *Székelyföldi freskók a teljesség igényével. Frescoes in Székely-Hungarian Churches* (Budapest: Masszi Kiadó, 2001), 101-103.

requires a significant degree of visibility, which should provide for reaching its goal. The depictions of the holy kings on the pillars of the triumphal arch do not satisfy this condition, and, moreover, they precede chronologically the collective representations; consequently, their motivation should be looked for in some other place than the political-religious strategy of legitimizing rulership, originating around mid-fourteenth century.

In Bijacovce, Rákoš, and Lónya, the depiction of the holy kings of Hungary has similar intrinsic characteristics with the examples discussed earlier, but, if one looks at their extrinsic features, namely the iconographic context, will notice some important and meaning-changing differences. The figures of the holy kings are placed next to the apostles' row, a usual representation in the sanctuary iconography, as attested by many preserved examples,²⁵⁹ and, moreover, they are visually treated as belonging to the same group: similar standing full-figures frontally depicted, hieratical and static attitudes, collection of attributes, and unifying background for the two categories of saints.²⁶⁰ In Bijacovce and Lónya, only two of the holy kings are associated with the apostles, while in Rákoš, all three are depicted as their companions, although St. Emeric is on the western side of the triumphal arch's pillar, being the one who opens the row of sacred characters. The similar position of the holy kings in Rákoš and Bijacovce, although on opposite walls, suggests the previous existence in the latter monument of St. Emeric on the western side of the pillar.²⁶¹ The fresco decoration in these two churches was executed sometime in the second half of the fourteenth century, and that in Lónya is precisely datable by an inscription to 1413.²⁶²

The first half of the fourteenth century pillar depictions of St. Stephen and St. Ladislav (Žehra, Poprad, Čečejevce, and Tornaszentandrás) and the representations of the holy kings

²⁵⁹ Drăguț, *Iconografia picturilor murale gotice din Transilvania*, 13-17.

²⁶⁰ See the Iconographic Context item in Appendix I, entries I.1, I.9, and I.15.

²⁶¹ The surviving decoration of the sanctuary in Bijacovce is only the row of holy kings (St. Stephen and St. Ladislav) and apostles, which can be seen as belonging apparently to two separate groups, but they are, in fact, unified by the representation of Christ Enthroned. The existence of St. Emeric on the western side of the pillar is based only on iconographic analogy and is hypothetical.

along with the apostles (Bijacovce, Rákoš, and Lónya) do not encourage political interpretations, because the former's low visibility and the latter's strong association play a significant role in the way that the images are read. If the political meaning is difficult to grasp, then, the answer has to be looked in the liturgical texts of each of the saints. Here, except for a reference to St. Stephen, who, in the twelfth-century *Codex Albensis*,²⁶³ is called *sanctissimus rex Stephanus ungarorum apostolus* or *doctor et apostol credulitate nostre*,²⁶⁴ and for St. Ladislav, who, in the texts written not much after his canonization, is called *columpna milicie christianae*,²⁶⁵ other references are difficult to be found. Each of the motifs explains the place that one of the holy kings has in a specific iconographic context – St. Stephen's presence among the apostles, and St. Ladislav's position on the triumphal arch's pillar – but not their association.²⁶⁶ The meaning of these motifs, however, points to a significant role that the two holy kings played in the history of the Hungarian Christian Church: its foundation by St. Stephen and its defense by St. Ladislav. Wouldn't it be possible that, earlier than the originating moment of the politically joint cult of *sancti reges Hungariae*, the liturgical association of only St. Stephen and St. Ladislav to have happened? After all, as shown, iconographic fragmentation can point to conceptual unity.²⁶⁷

²⁶² See the Dating item in Appendix I, entries I.1, I.9, and I.15.

²⁶³ Graz Universitätsbibliothek, Ms. nr. 211. For the facsimile edition, see Zoltán Falvy and László Mezey, *Codex Albensis: Ein Antiphonar aus dem 12. Jahrhundert* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1963).

²⁶⁴ "the very saint King Stephen, the apostle of the Hungarians" and "teacher and apostle of our faith". *Sanctissimus rex stephanus/ ungarorum apostolus/ signis et virtutibus/ cottidie declaratur/ celitus quem supplices/ deposcimus ut nos muniat/ a malis omnibus.* (*Codex Albensis* 87-88), and *Ave beate stephane/ inclita spes genti tue/ ave doctor et apostole/ credulitatis nostre/ ave speculum sanctitatis/ et iusticie/ per te christo credidimus/ per te in christo salvemur/ ora pro populo/ interveni pro clero/ ut nullus de tuis/ predate fiat hostis.* (*Codex Albensis* 87), quoted in Terézia Dér, "A liturgikus énekek Szent Istvánja," [Liturgical Songs of St. Stephen] *Tiszatáj* 8 (2003), 85-92.

²⁶⁵ "the pillar of the Christian militia". László Mezey, *Athleta patriae. Tanulmányok Szent László történetéhez* [*Athleta patriae. Studies on the History of Saint Ladislav*] (Budapest: Szent István Társulat, 1980), 45, quoted in Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers*, 188.

²⁶⁶ In the sixteenth-century fresco fragment in Dârlos, St. Stephen and St. Ladislav were again associated below a gothic baldachin, which isolated the representation from the rest of the mural decoration, now covered with plaster. Until a visit to the monument will be possible, it is impossible to know if the gothic structure was added after the execution of the representation of the two holy kings, or if the baldachin preceded the painting. For the scene in Dârlos, see Appendix I, entry I.5.

²⁶⁷ These observations will be the starting point of a new research dedicated to the liturgical aspects of the cult of the holy kings of Hungary and its illustration in religious mural decoration. Except for the frescoes discussed above and interpreted as having liturgical meaning (Žehra, Poprad, Čečejovce, Tornaszentandrás, Bijacovce,

CONCLUSIONS

The analysis of the written sources where the three holy kings of Hungary occur as a collective, revealed that the joint cult of St. Stephen, St. Emeric, and St. Ladislás originated around mid-fourteenth century through a consistent strategy of the royal Angevin court in Buda. Although references to the three holy kings can be found before, in the late-thirteenth century documents, and they cannot be judged as isolated occurrence at Béla IV's, Stephen V's, and Ladislás IV's court, they point to the sacredness of the entire Arpadian dynasty – *beata stirps Arpadiana* – which includes also St. Elizabeth and St. Margaret, the female sacred representatives of the ruling Hungarian family. The death of Andrew III (1290-1301), the last Arpadian king, offered the occasion for various claimants to the throne to resort on different legitimizing strategies, the most efficient being the efforts of Charles Robert of Anjou (1308-1342), who emphasized his role as the continuer of the previous dynasty and relied on his predecessors' holiness to gain political acceptance among the hostile Hungarian nobility. His endeavors were carried on by his son, King Louis the Great (1342-1382), who, along with his mother, Queen Elizabeth Piast, promoted the collective cult of *sancti reges Hungariae* through a series of actions characterized by a particular synthesis of personal devotion and political/royal propaganda.

The fifteenth-century liturgical cult of the *sancti reges Hungariae*, which had as final result the transformation of the holy kings into national symbols, did not contribute to its emergence; the joint cult relied on the individual cults of St. Stephen, St. Emeric, and St. Ladislás, which had already a practice of several centuries. A similar development was noticed at the iconographic level, where elements from each saint's iconography migrated

Rákoš, and Lónya), there are also other Transylvanian examples of mural painting depicting the holy kings on the triumphal arch: Sic (Szék), Armășeni (Csíkmenaság), Fizeșul Gherlii (Ördöngösfüzes), and Sântana de Mureș (Marosszentanna). They are generally considered isolated depictions of the holy Hungarian kings, and, consequently, no study is dedicated especially to them, and, when published, the research is focusing on other

into the collective representation, maintaining in a certain extent the individuality of the characters: the different ages of kingship (the old king St. Stephen, the young prince St. Emeric, and the mature knight-king St. Ladislás), and the various attributes recalling certain events from the holy kings' *vitae* (St. Stephen's wisdom, St. Emeric's chastity, and St. Ladislás' bravery). A strong unifying tendency is, however, noticeable in the collective representation of the *sancti reges Hungariae*, the characters being equally invested with the royal *insignia*, which not all of them truly possessed.

The analysis of the pictorial evidence, namely, the frescoes of *sancti reges Hungariae*, revealed that both iconographic types – the collective and fragmented iconography examples – resort on the same method of image making (iconic depiction), but their meaning was originally different. The purest expression of the political meaning of the *sancti reges Hungariae* theme is represented by the cases where the three holy kings are depicted as a collective (Hrušov, Khust, Krásnohorské Podhradie, Mălâncrav, Napkor, Plešivec, Rattersdorf, Remetea, Tileagd, Crișcior, Ribița, and Chimindia), and, although they do not have a specific place on the church walls, all fulfill the visibility condition required by an image conceived to be seen and to represent. Moreover, their chronological distribution supports this hypothesis, for they belong to a time period subsequent to the middle of the fourteenth century, when the royal court's endeavors to promote the political concept emerged. These collective depictions of Hungarian royalty represented for the noble families of Apafi, Bebek, Telegdi, or Csetnek, in whose foundations can be found, an occasion to state their belonging to an increasing power category and to emphasize the loyalty for the ruling king. The motivation for this religious decoration was not purely political even for the Orthodox families of Bălea and Ribița, in whose case the personal devotion and veneration for one of the holy Hungarian kings being attested by their names (Vladislav).

aspects and the photo reproduction is missing. I decided, therefore, not to include these examples in my analysis until a visit of the monuments will be possible.

The other type of frescoes where two of the holy kings (St. Stephen and St. Ladislav) were depicted on the pillars of the triumphal arch (Žehra, Čečejovce, Poprad, and Tornaszentandrás), had a theological meaning, which is difficult to grasp in this stage of the research: the selection of St. Stephen and St. Ladislav was not fortuitous, the two holy kings playing a significant role in the history of the Hungarian Church, the former as its founder and the latter as its defender. Representing St. Stephen among apostles (*apostol credulitate nostre*) or St. Ladislav as the pillar of the Church (*columpna milicie christianae*) excludes the political dimension revealed by the written sources starting with the middle of the fourteenth century; the theological interpretation is supported in this case, too, by the chronology of the frescoes – they are dated in the first half of the fourteenth century. The fragmented iconography type depicting St. Stephen and St. Ladislav can be considered as the mural painting iconographic antecedents of the *sancti reges Hungariae* theme and, although they did not have originally a political meaning, they acquired it with King Sigismund of Luxemburg's (1387-1437) consistent endeavors to promote the cult of his personal patron saint in Hungary. Consequently, St. Sigismund, the Burgundian royal saint, joined the Arpadian trio in a series of representations which belong equally to the political and theological types (Lónya, Mălâncrav, Štítník, and Žíp).

The iconography of the holy kings of Hungary is far from revealing only political meaning, as the previous scholars believed, having theological depths which can be found not in the intrinsic characteristics of the image pointing all to the iconic type of conception. The extrinsic characteristics of the scene of the three holy Hungarian kings, namely, the often neglected iconographic context, played a significant role in its complete reading. Only outlined in the thesis, the theological expression of the three holy Hungarian kings' depiction can be carried on by a close reading of the liturgical texts and supplemented by a series of pictorial representations, which were not included in the analysis. The numerous altar

paintings with the *sancti reges Hungariae* occurring in the second half of the fifteenth century, when the mural representation of the theme diminishes in a certain extent, represented definitively a new fashion, but also a new way of carrying further the cult of the three holy kings of Hungary and its pictorial expression. The new rulers of Hungary following King Sigismund, namely, Mathias Corvinus, Wladislas Jagiello, and Maximilian I Habsburg, had a special devotion for the three holy Arpadian kings, proving once again the consistency of a medieval practice which transformed St. Stephen, St. Emeric, and St. Ladislav into veritable national symbols.²⁶⁸ Only in this way, the particular synthesis of theological and political meaning of the *sancti reges Hungariae* theme can be fully retrieved.²⁶⁹

²⁶⁸ Kerny, *A magyar szent királyok tisztelete és ikonográfiája*, 98-102.

²⁶⁹ The information about the scene of the *sancti reges Hungariae* in Sălărd (Bihor County, Romania), considered as uncertain until recently, and the insufficient knowledge of the monument made difficult its inclusion among the examples discussed. Here, too, a representation of St. Stephen, St. Emeric, and, probably, St. Ladislav is visible, but the absence of a good quality photo reproduction made impossible its inclusion in the list of the mural representations of *sancti reges Hungariae*.

**APPENDIX I. THE CATALOG OF MEDIEVAL MURAL PAINTINGS
DEPICTING THE *SANCTI REGES HUNGARIAE***

I.1. The Catholic Church in BIJACOVCE (Prešov County, Slovakia)



St. Stephen and St. Ladislav, Bijacovce

Place: The lower register of the northern wall of the choir, at its western extremity.

Iconographic Context: Christ enthroned is dividing the row of standing figures into two parts – on the left side, there are St. Stephen and St. Ladislav, while on the right side, there are representations of the apostles (St. Peter, St. Paul, St. Apostle, and St. James the Greater). There are no other representations preserved in the choir.

Description: The old King Stephen wears a red mantle with rich folds forming different nuances of red; he does not wear a crown or its traces are not preserved anymore, but he holds a scepter in his right hand. The mature St. Ladislav's costume is badly preserved, but its white color is still distinguishable; in his white-gloved right hand, he wears the battle-axe.

Dating: The strong influence of the Italian Trecento painting on the murals in Bijacovce points to a second half of the fourteenth century dating.

Bibliography: Dvořáková, *Středověká nástenná mal'ba na Slovensku*, 74-77; mention in Gruia, *Saint Ladislav on Stove Tiles*, 115; photo reproduction in Horváth, *Középkori falképek Szent László királyról*, 154-5 and 402.

I.2. The Reformed Church in CHIMINDIA (Hunedoara County, Romania)



Sancti reges Hungariae, Chimindia

Place: The middle register of the southern wall of the nave, next to the choir.

Iconographic Context: This aspect can no longer be clarified, because the other fresco fragments are scattered on the walls of the church and, moreover, they belong to different stages of decoration. Most of the fresco decoration in the church is now lost forever.

Description: Surrounded by a rich decorative frame with geometric motifs and on a blue background with stylized red lily flowers, the three holy kings of Hungary are depicted in courtly costumes: long tunics with valuable belt, elegant white gloves, and long mantles embellished with patterned motifs. Only St. Stephen's face is partially preserved, his grey hair and beard and his crown with halo are visible; the faces of St. Ladislav and St. Emeric, who flank St. Stephen, are damaged by the loss of a portion of the fresco layer and by the creation of a new window, respectively, but a portion from St. Ladislav's brown beard can be seen. Judging by the position of their hands, they all held crucifer orbs and scepters – mace-like for St. Stephen and lily-shaped for his son, St. Emeric (from St. Ladislav's attribute, only the handle can now be seen).

Dating: The strong decorative character of the painting belonging to the international gothic style is challenged by the Cyrillic inscriptions giving the names of the sacred figures and by the year 1482 written in gothic letters. Stylistically, the fresco belongs to the first decades of the fifteenth century, but the year mentioned in the lower part of the decorative frame points to a later age; moreover, the 1482 date is not an addition to the painting, but part of the original decoration.

Bibliography: Lángi and Mihály, *Erdélyi falképek és festett faberendezések* I, 54; Terdik, *A magyar szent királyok ábrázolásai román orthodox templomokban*, 96-8; Jékely and Kiss, *Középkori falképek Erdélyben*, 140-53 and 359.

I.3. The Orthodox Church in CRIȘCIOR (Hunedoara County, Romania)



Sancti reges Hungariae, Crișcior

Place: The western side of the southern wall, on the lower register.

Iconographic Context: The depiction of the three holy kings of Hungary continues the votive composition of the *ktetor* and his family on the western and the southern walls. What kind of representation followed them is not known, because at a later date a door was added on the southern wall, but, judging by the same blue background which continues on the left side of the door, it appears that the row of standing saints continued. The scene is not related to the fragmentary scenes in the upper register, which depict moments from Christ's life.

Description: From left to right, St. Stephen, St. Emeric, and St. Ladislav present themselves to the beholder in a half-knightly, half-courtly appearance: they wear short tunics with belts, tight pants, white gloves, and richly decorated mantles on their shoulders; the swords and the triangular shields propped before their legs give a chivalric air to their depiction. St. Ladislav's figure was damaged by opening a window in the wall, but he probably wore a crown similar to that of the other two saints (from St. Ladislav's representation only the halo and the left side of his costume can now be seen). The white-bearded St. Stephen and the beardless and brown-haired St. Emeric each hold a similar lily-shaped scepter in their right hands, while St. Ladislav's arm is raised above his head, as if preparing to attack, probably with the battle-axe, his attribute (not visible). The Cyrillic inscriptions preserved on the left side of St. Emeric's and St. Ladislav's heads attest their identity.

Dating: The year 1411 is mentioned in a 1773 reading, but is today illegible. This is considered by both Vasile Drăguț and Liana Tugearu as the *terminus ante quem* of the paintings; moreover, their stylistic resemblance to the frescoes from Ribița from the same time period, support this dating.

Bibliography: Dragomir, *Vechile biserici din Zărand și ctitorii lor*, 1-22; Vătășianu, *Istoria artei feudale în Țările Române*, 404-8; Drăguț, *Pictura murală din Transilvania*, 29-33; Cincheza-Buculei, *Date noi privind pictura bisericii din Crișcior*, 35-44; Tugearu, *Biserica Adormirii Maicii Domnului din satul Crișcior*, 71-97.

I.4. The Reformed Church in ČEČEJOVCE (Košice County, Slovakia)



Two Holy Kings on the Pillars of the Triumphal Arch, Čečejevce

Place: The base of the triumphal arch.

Iconographic Context: Except for the base representations, on the triumphal arch there are also figures of the prophets in medallions; the center of the triumphal arch is occupied by a representation of the Mystical Lamb in a medallion. On the western side of the southern pillar of the triumphal arch is a representation of St. Protomartyr Stephen, having as a counterpart on the northern pillar a simple decorative motif. The decoration of the choir walls is composed of scenes from Christ's Life and Passion.

Description: The two scenes representing two holy kings are poorly preserved; only large surfaces of red-brown color are now visible; no details of face or costume can be seen. The crowns and the attributes (swords!) are more or less identical for the two characters. They are depicted frontally, making the same gesture with the hand. The busts of the two characters are framed by a red-brown strip; a medallion with consecration cross comes from a previous stage of decoration.

Dating: The strong graphic character and the very provincial gothic style point to a date on first half of the fourteenth century.

Bibliography: Dvořáková, *Stredoveká nástenná mal'ba na Slovensku*, 81-2; mention in Buran, *Gotika. Dejiny slovenského výtvarného umenia*, 153-4; mention in Gruia, *Saint Ladislav on Stove Tiles*, 115; photo reproduction in Horváth, *Középkori falképek Szent László királyról*, 162.

I.5. The Evangelical Church in DÂRLOS (Sibiu County, Romania)



St. Ladislav and St. Stephen (?), Dârlos

Place: The lower register of the southern wall of the choir.

Iconographic Context: The partially scaled painting is sheltered by a gothic baldachin with a pointed arch gable and two three-lobed arches corresponding to the number of the characters depicted below. The rest of the frescoes of the choir, except for some minor fragments depicting hanging curtains, are still covered with plaster; its removal, however, would not clarify the iconographic context, because the depiction of the two Hungarian saints is isolated by the gothic baldachin and should be perceived as an iconographic unit.

Description: On the left side, one can see a crowned character with a brown beard and long hair, holding in his right hand a battle axe, the attribute of St. Ladislav. He wears a red tunic, white gloves, and a long valuable ermine mantle. The other figure on the right side is only partially visible, but his costume is identical to that of St. Ladislav's; his long hair and beard are also brown, and he holds a scepter in his right hand. Although his identity remains uncertain and the color of his hair does not fit any of the other usual companions of St. Ladislav, it is probable that the character depicted here is St. Stephen, and not St. Emeric who is usually represented without a beard because of his young age. The fragment of scaled fresco does not bear any inscription which could help establish a final identity of the characters.

Dating: The strong post-Byzantine character of the paintings, seen in the manner of depicting the two royal saints frontally and hieratically, and in the painted decorative motifs in the choir, point to a Orthodox painter, who could work in a Catholic church after 1514, when the revolt led by George Dózsa took place, making the Orthodox foundations impossible in the area, but before 1544, when the Saxon community of the village adopted the Reformation.

Bibliography: The fresco depicting the two holy kings is not published yet, but the exterior painting of the church is analyzed in Drăguț, *Pictura murală din Transilvania*, 68-70; photo reproduction in Horváth, *Középkori falképek Szent László királyról*, 335 and 415.

I.6. The Catholic Chapel in HRUŠOV (Košice County, Slovakia)



Sancti reges Hungariae, Hrušov

Place: The left side of the western wall, in the upper register.

Iconographic Context: This aspect cannot be yet clarified, because the rest of the mural decoration is either under the plaster, or damaged.

Description: The uncovered fresco fragment is very badly preserved and only an attentive look can allow us to see three standing figures (the right one is only partially uncovered). On the right side, a male character with halo wears on his shoulders a red mantle and probably a sword is hanging from his belt; he seems to be dressed in armour and he props his hands on his waist. The costume of the central haloed character is visible only in some green color traces, but he seems to have blonde hair, and for sure a lily flower as an attribute. From the partially covered figure, only a portion of a similar red mantle is visible. If the identity of the central character is obvious (St. Emeric), the insufficient data stops us to assert which one is St. Stephen and which one St. Ladislav.

Dating: The poor state of preservation of the fresco and the absence of any study dedicated to the recently discovered painting make impossible for the time being an attempt of dating it.

Bibliography: The painting is not published yet, but it is mentioned in Kerny, *A magyar szent királyok tisztelete és ikonográfiája*, 95.

I.7. The Reformed Church in KHUST (Khustskyi County, Ukraine)



Sancti reges Hungariae, Khust

Place: The eastern side of the north wall of the nave, on the lower register.

Iconographic Context: The scene of the three holy kings of Hungary is not the only uncovered scene, but the recent wooden tribune built in front of the frescoes, the indirect knowledge of the medieval paintings, as well as the fact that they are published in inaccessible studies, makes it impossible for the time being to reconstruct the iconographic context.

Description: The three holy kings of Hungary are depicted frontally in rigid attitudes: they have one hand on the chest plate and the other holds a red-and-white-striped shield with a cross. They wear crowns and armour with metal shoulder, elbow, and knee protectors. The center of the composition, clearly delimited by a decorative strip from the other scenes, is occupied by St. Stephen. The precise positions of St. Emeric and St. Ladislav are unknown for the time being.

Dating (Hypothetically): Judging by the details of the costumes, the scene could date to either the last decade of the fourteenth century or the first two decades of the fifteenth century.

Bibliography: photo reproduction in Horváth, *Középkori falképek Szent László királyról*, 163.

I.8. The Catholic Church in KRÁSNOHORSKÉ PODHRADIE (Košice County, Slovakia)



Sancti reges Hungariae, Krásnohorské Podhradie

Place: The eastern part of the north wall in the nave, on the upper register.

Iconographic Context: For now, this aspect cannot be clarified, for the scene with the three holy kings of Hungary is the only uncovered fresco fragment.

Description: Under gothic three-lobed arcades supported by columns, the three holy kings of Hungary are depicted in similar postures, but dressed in different costumes. The young Emeric with long hair and without beard opens the series on the left side of the composition, dressed in a long tunic with a mantle on his shoulders; the brown-bearded St. Stephen follows him, occupying the center of the image, dressed in similar costume items as St. Emeric, but with different decoration. On the right side, St. Ladislav is dressed in a knight's costume with a coat of mail, breast plate, and a white-and-brown-striped shield. They all wear a similar type of crown with *fleurs-de-lis*, but their attributes are different: the lily-shaped scepter for St. Emeric, only the crucifer orb for St. Stephen, and the battle-axe for St. Ladislav. As suggested by the architectural setting, the arcades would continue after that of St. Ladislav, but for the time being it is impossible to know if someone else accompanies the three holy kings of Hungary.

Dating: Marked by a provincial stylistic character, the paintings can be dated to the end of the fourteenth century.

Bibliography: Mention in Kerny, *A magyar szent királyok tisztelete és ikonográfiája*, 95; photo reproduction Lángi, *Új, eddig ismeretlen Szent László-ábrázolások*, 84 and 95; photo reproduction in Horváth, *Középkori falképek Szent László királyról*, 163.

I.9. The Reformed Church in LÓNYA (Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg County, Hungary)



St. Emeric and St. Stephen, Lónya



St. Sigismund and a prophet, Lónya

Place: St. Emeric and St. Stephen are depicted on the middle register of the southern wall of the choir. There is also a partially preserved representation of the St. King Sigismund at the base of the triumphal arch, on the south side, but not visible from the nave. The northern counterpart of this representation has not survived.

Iconographic Context: The representations in the upper register and the rib-vault of the choir were damaged by the floral decoration in the church after the Reformation. The middle register, where St. Stephen and his son are depicted, is completely occupied by standing representations of the apostles with their attributes and closed books. Prophets are depicted in the four-lobed medallions of the lower register and of the triumphal arch.

Description: The two royal characters are dressed in elegant and richly decorated court costumes composed of a short tunic with a belt, tight pants, a mantle on their shoulders, and white gloves. The crowns and the crucifer orbs are identical, the only difference being the scepters: lily-shaped for St. Emeric and mace-like for St. Stephen. The iconographic convention of their ages is kept here, too: St. Stephen being depicted as an old wise king, while his son is a young beardless king. The same type of crown with a pearl-edged halo is also present on the fragmentarily preserved representation of St. Sigismund, who holds a crucifer orb but a differently shaped scepter. Probably the counterpart of the latter character was St. Ladislás. All the sacred figures are accompanied by gothic inscriptions giving their names.

Dating: The inscription preserved in the choir mentions the author of the paintings – *mag(iste)r.nicolaus* – and an incomplete date – *Anno d(omi)ni/...xiii*. The latter, judging by the style of the paintings, cannot be other than the year 1413.

Bibliography: Bartos and Fülöp, *A lónyai református templom műemléki kutatása*, 341-8; Olta, *A lónyai református templom műemléki helyreállítása*, 348-56; Lángi, *Előzetes beszámoló a lónyai református templom falképeinek kutatásáról, feltárásáról*, 357-74; Jékely and Lángi, *Falfestészeti emlékek a középkori Magyarország északkeleti megyéiből*, 184-213.

I.10. The Evangelical Church in MĂLÂNCRAV (Sibiu County, Romania)



St. Gerard, St. Ladislav, St. Stephen, St. Sigismund, and St. Emeric, Mălâncrav

Place: The painting in the choir is arranged in four registers; the scene is placed on the southern wall, on the right side of the second register (counting from the top downwards), in the western bay.

Iconographic Context: The whole southern wall of the choir is decorated with iconic depictions of saints of different categories (knights, martyrs, founders of monastic orders, bishops, or kings), and with scenes with strong theological meaning. The counterpart of the four holy kings and a bishop scene is decorated with scenes from Christ's Passion. Various scholars have failed to offer a coherent reading of the choir's iconography.

Description: Against a blue background on stylized rough ground, stand five sacred characters, from left to right: an old bishop with mitre and crozier giving a blessing, a brown-bearded king with a battle-axe and crucifer orb (St. Ladislav), a white- and a brown-bearded king, each holding a scepter and a crucifer orb, and a young beardless king with only the orb, but judging by the position of his left hand, originally holding a lily (St. Emeric). Their crowns, probably painted *al secco*, are not preserved, but traces are hardly seen today. They are depicted in elegant court costumes decorated with patterns and composed of a short tunic, tight pants, pointed shoes, and long mantles. The identity of the three holy Hungarian kings can be established without difficulty, but the figure of the fourth king (St. Louis IX, St. Sigismund, or St. Coloman) and the bishop (St. Nicholas or St. Gerard) are still open to debate.

Dating: The strong decorative character of the paintings, the richness of the costumes, and the elegant silhouettes of the figures are related to the international gothic style, which was fashionable in the first decades of the fifteenth century.

Bibliography: Vătășianu, *Istoria artei feudale în Țările Române*, 413-8; Drăguț, *Picturile murale din biserica evanghelică din Mălâncrav*, 79-93; idem, *Arta gotică în România*, 221-5; Gogâltan, *The Holy Hungarian Kings, the Saint Bishop and the Saint King*, 103-121; eadem, *Patronage and Artistic Production in Transylvania*.

I.11. The Catholic Church in NAPKOR (Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg County, Hungary)



Sancti reges Hungariae, Napkor

Place: The southern pillar of the triumphal arch.

Iconographic Context: This aspect can no longer be elucidated because the rest of the mural paintings either are definitively lost or belong to different stages of decoration.

Description: The brutal destruction of the scene, caused by the installation of electricity in the church, makes it difficult to read. Fragments of the three crowned figures and different types of scepters are visible on a blue background. The red-brown bearded character from the left side of the composition is St. Ladislav, while the blonde beardless king from the other side is St. Emeric. The central depiction of St. Stephen is almost completely destroyed, only a small portion of his head and the scepter being visible today.

Dating: The poor costume details – the mantles on their shoulders and white gloves – resemble with those from Chimindia and Lónya; consequently, a hypothetical dating would be the first decades of the fifteenth century.

Bibliography: Lángi, Új, *eddig ismeretlen Szent László-ábrázolások*, 83-4; photo reproduction in Horváth, *Középkori falképek Szent László királyról*, 163; Jékely and Lángi, *Falfestészeti emlékek a középkori Magyarország északkeleti megyéiből*, 266-73.

I.12. The Reformed Church in PLEŠIVEC (Košice County, Slovakia)



Sancti reges Hungariae, Plešivec

Place: The southern exterior wall of the choir, above the window next to the nave.

Iconographic Context: This aspect cannot be clarified, because the representation of the holy kings of Hungary is the only fragment of exterior painting which survived till us.

Description: The fresco fragment shows the knightly depictions of two holy kings, but as can be seen on its right side, where a hand holds ostentatiously a sword, a third character was originally depicted. The two visible holy kings are dressed in armour and their heads are surrounded by relief halos. With ample and mechanical gestures, St Ladislav holds the battle axe in one hand, and the crucifer orb in the other. Similarly to St Ladislav, St Stephen is brown-bearded, but he holds a mace-like scepter and props up against the ground a shield. The third character holding a sword was probably St Emeric, a strange detail for his iconography, but not in a great extent, if one considers the strong warrior-like attitudes of the other two holy kings.

Dating: The badly preserved fragment of exterior painting presents several similarities with the interior decoration, which was generally dated to 1370s-1380s, on grounds of its strong Italianizing style. Consequently, the execution of the fresco fragment with the three holy kings of Hungary should belong to the end of the fourteenth century.

Bibliography: Prokopp, *Középkori freskók Gömörben*, 28-30; Buran, *Gotika. Dejiny slovenského výtvarného umenia*, 327-8; mention and photo reproduction in Kerny, *A magyar szent királyok tisztelete és ikonográfiája*, 95; photo reproduction in Horváth, *Középkori falképek Szent László királyról*, 129.

I.13. The Catholic Church in POPRAD (Prešov County, Slovakia)



St. Stephen and St. Ladislav, Poprad

Place: The base of the triumphal arch, St Stephen on the left side, and St Ladislav on the right side.

Iconographic Context: On the intrados of the triumphal arch, there are representations of the prophets with scrolls in four-lobed medallions. The nave side wall of the triumphal arch is decorated with a complex depiction of the Last Judgment on several registers. The walls of the choir present a composite iconography, whose reading lacks coherence.

Description: The two probably standing figures are fragmentarily preserved. From St Stephen's depiction, only a part of his crown and of his white-strip yellow halo, as well as his grey hair, are nowadays visible. In St Ladislav's case, not only his entire face with black beard is visible, but also his scepter and battle-axe (the upper part of the latter attribute is damaged); his pale green tunic and the mantle on his shoulders are partially visible. Both characters wear a *fleur-de-lis* crown and are displayed on a blue background.

Dating: The strong provincial air of the gothic style, as well as the prominent linear-narrative morphology, point to the first half of the fourteenth century.

Bibliography: The paintings are not published yet.

I.14. The Catholic Church in RATTERSDORF (Burgenland County, Austria)



Sancti reges Hungariae, Rattersdorf

Place: On the middle register of the northern wall of the choir, on the eastern side.

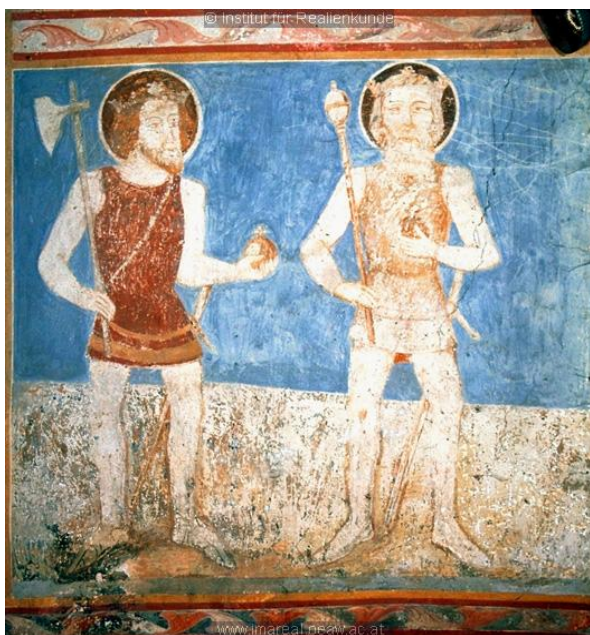
Iconographic Context: Other paintings are preserved in the choir, but none in proximity.

Description: Within the same decorative frame and on an ochre-yellow background, the standing figures of the three holy kings of Hungary are depicted frontally and in static attitudes. St. Ladislas, whose face is not preserved, opens the series of characters on the left side: he is dressed in full armour with a helmet and sword, and he holds a battle-axe in his right hand. The center is occupied by St. Stephen, whose facial features are not preserved, but one can see his dark grey beard and hair; he wears a long tunic with belt and a long valuable ermine mantle on his shoulders. He is the only one of the three holy kings who is depicted with crown, orb, and scepter. The latter attribute is held by St. Emeric, too, but its shape is reminiscent of the chastity leitmotif of his legend; he wears a long tunic with a belt and sword, and a ducal hat. They all are depicted with halos.

Dating: The end of the fourteenth century or the first decades of the fifteenth century.

Bibliography: Lángi, *Új, eddig ismeretlen Szent László-ábrázolások*, 84 and 95; photo reproduction in Horváth, *Középkori falképek Szent László királyról*, 101 and 384.

I.15. The Catholic Church in RÁKOŠ (Banská Bystrica County, Slovakia)



St. Ladislav, St. Stephen (southern wall), and St. Emeric (western wall), Rákoš

Place: The lower register of the murals, on the southern (St Ladislav and St Stephen) and western (St Emeric) walls of the choir.

Iconographic Context: The conch of the semicircular apse of the choir is decorated with the Christ in Majesty surrounded by the Church Fathers at their desks and the symbols of the Evangelists. The register of prophets with scrolls in four-lobed medallions separates the conch representations from those of the lower register: here, starting from the south-western part of the wall, there are the depictions of the three Hungarian holy kings, followed by the apostles (only four of them preserved), and the Man of Sorrows. On the intrados of the triumphal arch, the representations of the prophets continue, and on its western side, the wise and fool virgins are depicted.

Description: The three holy kings wear similar costumes, only the color of their short tunic being different; the crown, the crucifer orb, and the sword are present in all three's case. The mature brown-bearded St Ladislav holds his battle axe, while the scepter of the old King St Stephen is differently shaped than the beardless Emeric's one (lily-shaped). They are all displayed on a blue background, and, although St Emeric is separated on a different wall, the representation can be treated as a composition unit.

Dating: Built in the fourteenth century, the church was decorated with frescoes till the end of the same century.

Bibliography: Dvořáková, *Středověká nástenná mal'ba na Slovensku*, 135-6; Prokopp, *Középkori freskók Gömörben*, 22-6.

I.16. The Reformed Church in REMETEA (Bihor County, Romania)



Sancti reges Hungariae, Remetea

Place: The lower register of the north side of the semicircular wall of the choir.

Iconographic Context: The middle register of the choir is decorated with representations of the apostles. Although their standing figures form an iconographic unit, the apostles are separated by bands with similar decoration to that dividing the painted wall into two registers (the upper register is still covered with plaster). The holy kings of Hungary are flanked by a recess and an unidentified scene on the left side and hanging curtains on the right side.

Description: Surrounded by a decorative frame, the three standing kings form an iconographic unit isolated in the lower register. Their crowned heads with halos correspond to iconographic convention showing a brown-bearded St. Ladislav, a white-bearded St. Stephen, and a beardless St. Emeric. Their names are written in simplified gothic capitals and their knight-like appearance is attested by armour, coats of mail, and metal elbow and knee protectors, which are rendered with a care for detail; damaged in large extent, the costume of the central character, St. Stephen, probably had the standard features. He holds a mace-like scepter and St. Emeric holds a lily-shaped one; because a portion of the decoration is not preserved, St. Ladislav's attribute is not visible, but would have been the usual battle axe. The chivalric air of the latter is highlighted by the triangular shield, which he props up against the ground.

Dating: The dating hypotheses proposed by different authors cover a wide interval from the end of the thirteenth century to the late fifteenth century; Vasile Drăguț's opinion points to the first decades of the fifteenth century.

Bibliography: Ștefănescu, *L'art byzantin et l'art lombard en Transylvanie*, 7-11; Radocsay, *A középkori Magyarország falképei*, 168-9; Vătășianu, *Istoria artei feudale în Țările Române*, 761-2; Drăguț, *Pictura murală din Transilvania*, 37-40; idem, *Arta gotică în România*, 230-1; Porumb, *Dicționar de pictură veche românească din Transilvania*, 332-3; Lángi and Mihály, *Erdélyi falképek és festett faberendezések II*, 71-74.

I.17. The Orthodox Church in RIBIȚA (Hunedoara County, Romania)



Sancti reges Hungariae, Ribița

Place: The lower register of the northern wall, in the center.

Iconographic Context: Plastering the interior walls of the church and architectural changes (creating new windows and building pillars next to the northern and southern walls) have taken place throughout the existence of the church, making possible only a partial recovery of the original iconographic context. The left side the three-kings' scene shows military saints on horseback (St. George killing the dragon is next to St. Stephen, but separated by a red strip), while the right side is damaged by a new window. The counterpart of the three holy Hungarian kings is the votive composition with the *ktetor* offering a model of church to St. Nicholas, the patron of the *knezial* foundation.

Description: The half-courtly, half-knightly figures of the kings stand on a red background. The white-bearded St. Stephen and his beardless son correspond to the established iconographic types depicting the different ages of the royalty, while St. Ladislav's figure, now damaged by the construction of a pillar, probably represented the mature type. Both father and son wear similar crowns, they each hold a lily-shaped scepter, and prop a triangular shield against the ground; the stylistic resemblance to the paintings from Crișcior and the close iconographic relation (the same arrangement of the characters, similar attributes and costumes) suggest that here, too, St. Ladislav was depicted in the same warrior-like attitude. The identity of the characters is made explicit by the Cyrillic inscriptions next to them.

Dating: Judging by the stylistic and iconographic similarities between the paintings from Ribița and Crișcior, Rusu proposes the year 1414 as the date of the frescoes; Tugearu, using on a now-damaged inscription from the votive composition which mentioned the finishing of the church's construction in 1417, states this date as the year of the church's decoration.

Bibliography: Dragomir, *Vechile biserici din Zărand și ctitorii lor*, 22-41; Vătășianu, *Istoria artei feudale în Țările Române*, 403-4; Tugearu, *Biserica Sf. Nicolae din com. Ribița*, 129-47; Rusu, *Biserica românească de la Ribița*, 3-9.

I.18. The Evangelical Church in ŠTÍTNIK (Košice County, Slovakia)



St. Ladislav and St. Sigismund (western pillar), St. Emeric and St. Stephen (?) (choir pillar), Štítnik

Place: The church is a basilica with only one pair of pillars dividing it into a nave and two aisles; each pillar is united with the western wall and the choir of the church through an arcade. On each of the two bases of the second arcade, there are two superposed representations of holy kings.

Iconographic Context: On the first arcade intrados (western), there are four-lobed medallions of the Old Testament prophets, while the intrados of the second one (eastern) depicts the parable of the wise and fool virgins. On the bases of the pillar and of the triumphal arch, continuing slightly on the intrados, there are the representations of four holy kings.

Description: The four standing figures of the holy kings are placed under differently shaped gothic baldachins. On one side, St Stephen, dressed in courtly costume, holds the crucifer orb and the scepter, and above him, St Ladislav, wearing an armour with mantle, holds the battle-axe and props up against the ground his shield and sword; they are both crowned. On the other side, a later painting depicting a standing character covers the figure of a holy king (underneath, only the halo is visible), while above it the blonde St Emeric is depicted; the bad preserved painting does not allow an identification of his attribute.

Dating: The high style international gothic with echoes of the late Italian Renaissance points to the first part of the fifteenth century and to King Sigismund of Luxemburg's courtly art.

Bibliography: Radocsay, *Falképek a középkori Magyarországon*, 130-1; Dvořáková, *Stredoveká nástenná mal'ba na Slovensku*, 154-60; Prokopp, *Középkori freskók Gömörben*, 32-40; Buran, *Gotika. Dejiny slovenského výtvarného umenia*, 687-9.

I.19. The Calvinist Church in TILEAGD (Bihar County, Romania)



Sancti reges Hungariae, Tileagd

Place: The middle register of the southern wall of the nave, isolated between the former windows (now closed up) of the church.

Iconographic Context: For the time being, this aspect cannot be clarified because the paintings are covered in a large measure with plaster, but restorers' tests showed the existence of other frescoes on the southern wall. The rest of the scaled paintings are remote from the representation of the holy kings of Hungary, and not related to it; moreover, its isolation between the former windows of the southern wall, nowadays only top-arched rectangular recesses, makes one think that the depiction of the Hungarian holy kings was conceived as an iconographic unit not communicating with other representations.

Description: Under three arches supported by feeble colonettes, one can see, from left to right, the standing figures of St. Ladislas, St. Stephen, and St. Emeric. They are all dressed in knightly costumes consisting of a short tunic with a belt, differently colored for each character, coat of mail, iron gloves, and metal knee and elbow protectors. Each of them holds a crucifer orb in the left hand and his specific attribute in the right hand: the battle-axe for St. Ladislas, a mace-like scepter for St. Stephen, and a lily-shaped scepter for St. Emeric. Only St. Stephen's face is now preserved, showing a white beard, long hair, a crown and halo; the last two are partially visible in St. Emeric's case, as well as a portion of his beardless face and blond hair. Since St. Stephen and his son wear a similar type of crown, one may assume that the same was depicted on the now-lost representation of St. Ladislas' face.

Dating: Second half of the fourteenth century (Radocsay), either around the middle (Vătășianu) or after 1380 (Drăguț).

Bibliography: Huszka, *A mezőtelegi evangélikus református templom falképei*, 385; Radocsay, *A középkori Magyarország falképei*, 177-8; Vătășianu, *Istoria artei feudale în Țările Române*, 768-9; Drăguț, *Arta gotică în România*, 260-1; Lángi and Mihály, *Erdélyi falképek és festett faberendezések II*, 82-3; Fejős, Huszka József, *a rajzoló gyűjtő*, 44-5.

I.20. The Catholic Church in TORNASZENTANDRÁS (Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén County, Hungary)



St. Ladislav and St. Stephen, Tornaszentandrás

Place: The bases of the triumphal arch.

Iconographic Context: On the intrados of the triumphal arch, are representations of the prophets in medallions. The fragmentarily preserved frescoes in the choir or the scenes scattered in the nave of the church make no direct iconographic reference to the depictions on the triumphal arch.

Description: On the southern pillar, separating the nave from the choir, the standing figure of St. Ladislav is depicted frontally (only the upper part is preserved): he holds the crucifer orb in one hand, and a battle-axe in the other. His face is partially damaged, only several features and his red-brown beard are still visible; a red tunic and a white glove are the only costume details preserved, which can be added to the crown and halo in relief. The same technique was used for the crown and halo of St. Stephen, who is depicted on the northern pillar. His face is no longer visible (just his long white hair can be seen now), but his costume is better preserved: the folds of his long mantle buttoned up on his right shoulder testify to the master's skill in rendering the subtle alternation of shadow and light. He holds a mace-like scepter and an orb with double cross. The lower part of the standing figure is also destroyed.

Dating: The high quality of the paintings attests an artist formed in an Italian milieu, working around the mid-fourteenth century.

Bibliography: Pusztai, *A tornaszentandrási r. k. helyreállítása*, 131-142; Valter, *A tornaszentandrási r. k. templom kutatása*, 99-130; eadem; *Tornaszentandrás. Plébániatemplom*.

I.21. The Catholic Church in ŽEHRA (Prešov County, Slovakia)



St. Stephen and St. Ladislav, Žehra

Place: The base of the triumphal arch, St Stephen on the left side, and St Ladislav on the right side.

Iconographic Context: Except the depictions of the two Hungarian holy kings, the triumphal arch is decorated with representations of the prophets with scrolls in medallions. The triumphal arch on its side to the nave is decorated with a complex scene of the Last Judgment, while the choir's walls are painted with Christ's Passion. The vault bears the representations of the Patriarch Abraham, the Virgin Mary, the Holy Trinity, and a badly preserved scene.

Description: Dressed in a long red robe with flowers and white strips around the neck and the sleeves, the old wise King St Stephen holds the orb and the scepter. He wears a crown which is differently shaped than St Ladislav's; the latter's costume has the brown color and repeats the neck decoration of the first king's robe, although the split sleeves prove a greater attention to details of the painter. The mature brown-bearded St Ladislav holds the crucifer orb and his attribute (although its upper part lost the paint traces, it cannot be other than the battle-axe). Both standing figures of the holy kings are depicted frontally and have a strong hieratical air.

Dating: The frescoes decorating the sanctuary and the intrados of the triumphal arch belong to the third stage of painting and they date from the early fourteenth century. The linearity of the provincial gothic style has here strong Byzantine echoes.

Bibliography: Dvořáková, "Živý kříž" v Žehre, 221-305; eadem, *Středověká nástenná mal'ba na Slovensku*, 174-81; Radocsay, *Falképek a középkori Magyarországon*, 174-7; Buran, *Gotika. Dejiny slovenského výtvarného umenia*, 154-7.

I.22. The Reformed Church in ŽĪP (Banská Bystrica County, Slovakia)



Three Holy Kings on the Bases of the Triumphal Arch, ŽĪp

Place: On two sides (the western and the intrados) of the pillars which form the support of the triumphal arch.

Iconographic Context: The intrados of the triumphal arch is decorated with representations in four-lobed medallions of the prophets with scrolls, while its western side bears the depiction of the ten wise and fool virgins going towards the central figure of Christ Enthroned. The semicircular apse of the choir preserves insignificant traces of painting (the lower register of the curtains and, above it, probably representations of the apostles).

Description: The very badly preserved painting makes possible the identification just of St Emeric (the western wall of the triumphal arch, on its northern side) by his lily-shaped scepter, while the two other surviving representations of holy kings does not allow a precise attribution of identity: the crown, the crucifer orb, and the handle of the attribute represent insufficient information; neither their facial characteristics survive. The southern pillar's decoration is completely missing, but we can assume, by iconographic analogy, that here too was a representation of a holy king, the natural counterpart of the northern pillar's decoration. Nowadays, no inscription can be read.

Dating: Some details of costume treated decoratively, as well as the supposed presence of the fourth holy king, indicates a very provincial echo of the art from Sigismund of Luxemburg's court of the first decades of the fifteenth century.

Bibliography: Mention in Kerny, *A magyar szent királyok tisztelete és ikonográfiája*, 95.

APPENDIX II. INSCRIPTIONS

II.1. The Catholic Church in BIJACOVCE: No inscription preserved.

II.2. The Reformed Church in CHIMINDIA:

(свети)/ ладислвѣ/ краль
с(ве)ти/ щтефа(н)...ѣ/кра(ль)...
с(ве)ти/.../ (краль)
p./ (a.)/ 1482

II.3. The Orthodox Church in CRIȘCIOR:

(s□s) (ш)т(фан) (к)рал□
s□s/ ам(б)рихъ/ к(рал□)
s□s/ влади/ славъ (крал□)

II.4. The Reformed Church in ČEČEJOVCE: No inscription preserved.

II.5. The Evangelical Church in DÂRLOS: Not visible yet.

II.6. The Catholic Chapel in HRUŠOV:

... [ladislaus]...

II.7 The Reformed Church in KHUST: Unknown.

II.8. The Catholic Church in KRÁSNOHORSKÉ PODHRADIE: No inscription preserved.

II.9. The Reformed Church in LÓNYA:

.s. dux/ emri(c)us.
.s./ rex /(s)t(e)pha/nu(s)
.s./ sigis(mundus)

II.10. The Evangelical Church in MĂLÂNCRAV: No inscription preserved.

II.11. The Catholic Church in NAPKOR: No inscription preserved.

II.12. The Reformed Church in PLEŠIVEC: No inscription preserved.

II.13. The Catholic Church in POPRAD: No inscription preserved.

II.14. The Catholic Church in RATTERSDORF: No inscription preserved.

II.15. The Catholic Church in RÁKOŠ: No inscription preserved.

II.16. The Reformed Church in REMETEA: Not available yet.

II.17. The Orthodox Church in RIBIȚA:

с(ве)ти стефан/ крал□

с(ве)ти ам(ь?)риха/ крал□

(свети)/.../ (крал□)

II.18. The Evangelical Church in ŠTÍTNIK: No inscription preserved.

II.19. The Reformed Church in TILEAGD: No inscription preserved.

II.20. The Catholic Church in TORNASZENTANDRÁS: No inscription preserved.

II.21. The Catholic Church in ŽEHRA: No inscription preserved.

II.22. The Reformed Church in ŽÍP: No inscription preserved.

APPENDIX III. CHRONOLOGICAL DISTRIBUTION

I. First Half of the Fourteenth Century:

- Čečejevce;
- Poprad;
- Žehra;

II. Mid-fourteenth Century:

- Tornaszentandrás;

III. Second Half of the Fourteenth Century:

- Bijacovce;

IV. Late-fourteenth Century:

- Krásnohorské Podhradie;
- Plešivec;
- Rattersdorf;
- Rákoš;
- Tileagd;

V. First Decades of the Fifteenth Century:

- Chimindia (problematic dating);
- Crișcior (before 1411);
- Khust;
- Lónya (1413);
- Mălâncrav;
- Napkor;
- Remetea;
- Ribița (around 1414);
- Štítník;
- Žíp;
- (Hrušov);

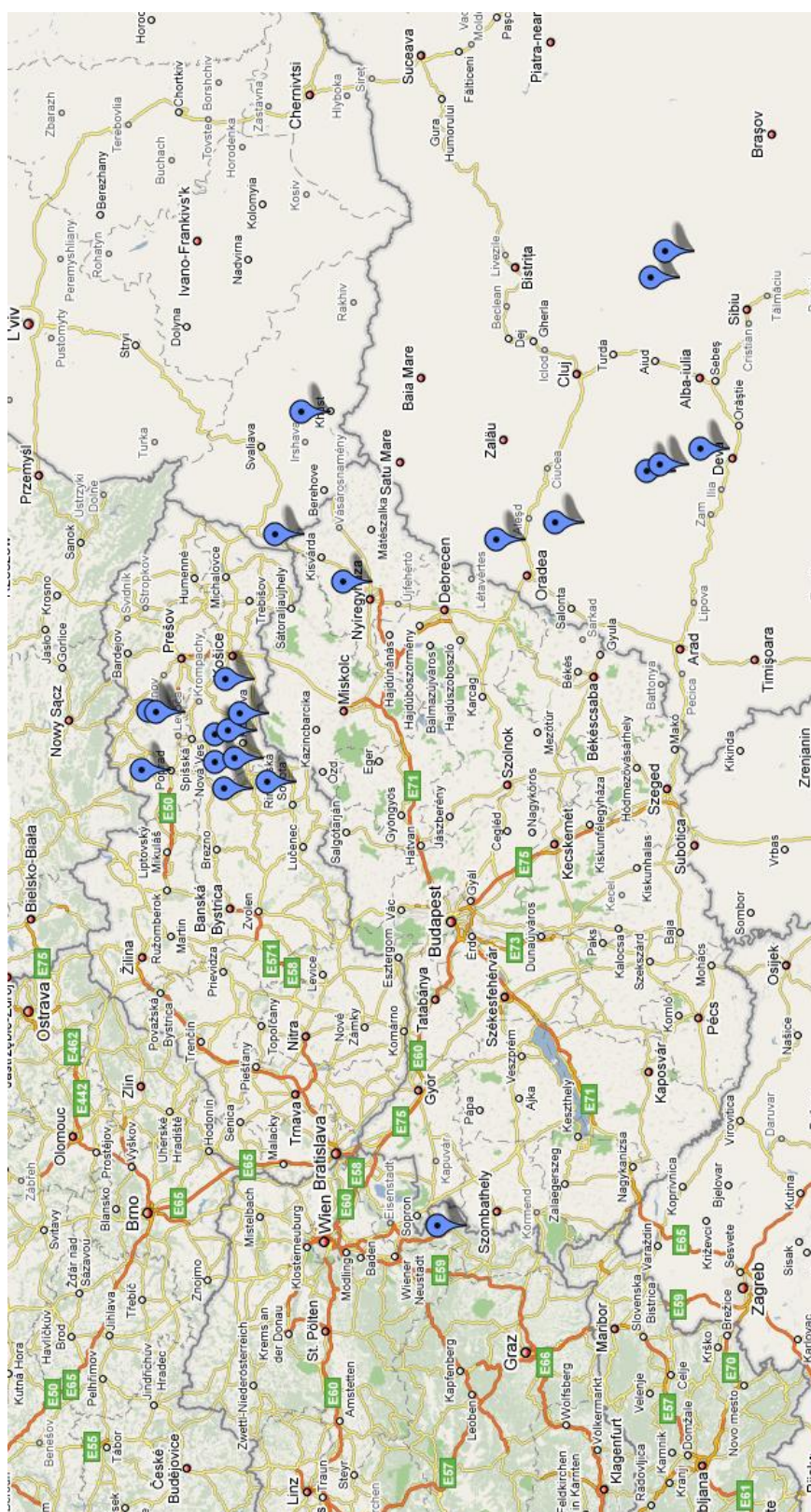
VI. First Half of the Sixteenth Century:

- Dârlos (1514-1544).

APPENDIX IV. ACTUAL AND HISTORICAL PLACE NAMES

Abaújvár (Hungarian);
Armășeni (Romanian) = Csíkmenaság (Hungarian);
Banská Bystrica (Slovak) = Besztercebánya (Hungarian);
Bardejov (Slovak) = Bártfa (Hungarian), Bartfeld (German);
Bijacovce (Slovak) = Szepesmindszent (Hungarian), Biazowitz/Betendorf (German);
Bistrița (Romanian) = Beszterce (Hungarian), Bistritz (German);
Bratislava (Slovak) = Pozsony (Hungarian), Pressburg (German);
Cenad (Romanian) = Csanád (Hungarian);
Chernotissovo (Ukrainian) = Feketeardó (Hungarian);
Chimindia (Romanian) = Kéménd (Hungarian);
Crișcior (Romanian) = Kristyor (Hungarian);
Čečejevce (Slovak) = Csécs (Hungarian);
Dârlos (Romanian) = Darlac/Darlasz/Darlóc (Hungarian), Durles/Durlasch (German);
Estergom (Hungarian) = Strigonium (Latin), Strigoniu (Romanian), Ostrihom (Slovak);
Ghelința (Romanian) = Gelence (Hungarian);
Hrušov (Slovak) = Körtvélyes (Hungarian);
Khust [Хуст] (Ukrainian) = Hust (Romanian), Huszt (Hungarian), Chust (Slovak);
Košice (Slovak) = Kassa (Hungarian), Kaschau (German);
Kraskovo (Slovak) = Karaszkó (Hungarian);
Krásnohorské Podhradie (Slovak) = Krasznahorkaváralja (Hungarian);
Lónya (Hungarian);
Mălâncrav (Romanian) = Almakerék (Hungarian), Malmkrog (German);
Napkor (Hungarian);
Oradea (Romanian) = Nagyvárad (Hungarian), Großwardein (German);
Plešivec (Slovak) = Pelsóc (Hungarian);
Poprad (Slovak) = Poprád (Hungarian), Deutschendorf (German);
Rattersdorf (German) = Rótfalva (Hungarian);
Rákoš (Slovak) = Gömörrákos (Hungarian);
Remetea (Romanian) = Magyarremete (Hungarian);
Ribîța (Romanian) = Ribice (Hungarian);
Sălărd (Romanian) = Szalárd (Hungarian);
Sâncraiu de Mureș (Romanian) = Marosszentkirály (Hungarian);
Sântana de Mureș (Romanian) = Marosszentanna (Hungarian);
Sânzieni (Romanian) = Kézdiszentlélek (Hungarian);
Sic (Romanian) = Szék (Hungarian), Seck/Sechen (German);
Siklós (Hungarian);
Székesfehérvár (Hungarian) = Alba Regia (Latin);
Štítňik (Slovak) = Csetnek (Hungarian);
Tileagd (Romanian) = Mezőtelegd (Hungarian);
Tornaszentandrás (Hungarian);
Velemér (Hungarian);
Zadar (Croat) = Zara (Hungarian);
Žehra (Slovak) = Zsegrá (Hungarian), Schigra (German);
Žíp (Slovak) = Zsip (Hungarian).

APPENDIX V. GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF THE FRESCOES



- 1 – Rattersdorf; 2 – Poprad; 3 – Bijacovce; 4 – Žehra; 5 – Rákoš; 6 – Štítník; 7 – Krásnohorské Podhradie; 8 – Žíp; 9 – Plešivec; 10 – Hrušov; 11 – Tornaszentandrás; 12 – Ččejevce; 13 – Napkor; 14 – Lónya; 15 – Khust; 16 – Tileagd; 17 – Remetea; 18 – Ribîța; 19 – Crișcior; 20 – Chimindia; 21 – Dârlos; 22 – Mălâncrav.

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SRH = Szentpétery, Emericus, ed. *Scriptores Rerum Hungaricarum Tempore Ducum Regumque Stirpis Arpadianae Gestarum*, vol. I-II. Budapest: Nap Kiadó Bt., 1999 (reprint of the 1938 edn.).

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An. Ch. 1367. Henricus, Abbatis de Pilis, ac Clennodia Capellae per Ludouicum R. H. Aquisgrani constructae donata prescribit. In *Fejér* IX/4: 91-92.

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