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Doctoral Dissertation

# **Every hyacinth the garden wears: the material culture of medieval queens of Hungary (1000-1395)**

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“I sometimes think that never blows so red  
The Rose as where some buried Caesar bled;  
That every Hyacinth the Garden wears  
Dropt in her Lap from some once lovely Head.”

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## Introduction

In this dissertation I aim to understand how medieval queens in the Hungarian kingdom used material culture and structured space as expressions of their own power in public as well as private spheres. Data from objects, images and spaces connected to thirty individuals over the course of four centuries will be analyzed in terms of the queen's own agency and capacity for action. This concern for the individual experience is a tricky one as reconstructing individual lives through material culture is extremely difficult and in some cases impossible. It has also been the case that the charter evidence of the queens is, relatively speaking, very sparse and analysis has centered only on the written records. While greatly informative, the fact that over the centuries many of Hungary's medieval archives have undergone wave after wave of destruction, this means that any conclusions reached from the paltry surviving records must not be taken as the final word on the power and agency of the medieval Hungarian queens. It should be mentioned that although much of the material culture of the medieval kingdom of Hungary has undergone significant destruction as well, there have been a few fortunate survivals. The attempt made here has been to understand the 134 objects, 29 images and 17 spaces that survive in some format in the context of their relationship to the queen. These are divided into five categories of analysis: official and public objects, items worn on the body, personal and religious objects, images, and finally spaces used by the queens both in life and in death. It goes without saying that in spite of these categories, they are merely guidelines for separation rather than rigid categories totally separated from one another. The main questions asked of this material will be: How is power related to the office of queenship manifested in the preserved material and archaeological record? To what extent are artifacts remnants of the queen's personal (i.e. as mother, wife, daughter) or her official duties? How can the queen's presence be detected in at archaeological sites associated with her? The ultimate goal of this dissertation will thus be to provide a different, more nuanced view of the narrative that medieval queens in Hungary were passive and dependent figures; that they understood and used the media of objects, images, and spaces to display their own power to public and private audiences.

## Power and Medieval Queenship

One of the potential problems of biography as a means of writing women's history is a tendency to focus too much on "great women" who would have left written documents.<sup>1</sup> Yet, in Bianchini's study on Berenguela of Castile (r. 1217-1246), the author makes two points: first, in her opinion, all women's history is meaningful and worth recovering. The second point is that

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<sup>1</sup> Judith Bennett, *History Matters: Patriarchy and the Challenge of Feminism* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010), 24-25.

studying these women breaks the stranglehold on political history being primarily associated with male actors and actions.<sup>2</sup> With the active agency of the medieval queens in mind, it is then of utmost importance to define what constituted power for these women, and to understand how this power is evident in the material record. On the one hand, the conclusions of Zsoldos and Szakács reflect the idea that the Hungarian queens were essentially powerless; the institution of the queen was entirely dependent on the king, and the smattering of art historical objects related to them that survive seem to be singular examples that had little chance to make a larger impact on broader artistic forms in Hungary.<sup>3</sup> Nonetheless, this apparent “invisibility” is one of the hallmarks of a queen consort; as so often in many patriarchal societies, if a woman was to be a good queen, wife, and mother (not necessarily in that order) her goals, intents, and motives had to be inherently subordinated to that of the king. The Hungarian Kingdom no exception in having queens who sought to break these boundaries and make power plays of their own, but it is an exception in possessing a very efficient system of bureaucratic apparatus with the king at the center. This centralized character of the Hungarian kingdom and the regional tendency to minimize the presence of women in public documents means that it is no surprise that at first glance it appears medieval Hungarian queens had no power. It is worth examining what “power” meant for a medieval queen and how the Hungarian case-studies either conform to or defy expectations.

Another of the chief claims of Zsoldos has been that since the Hungarian queens in the Árpáadian period obtained income on an *ad hoc* basis, they were probably not very powerful.<sup>4</sup> Föbel, however, has demonstrated in a study of German queens and empresses that a queen did not necessarily need to have wealth in order to be powerful.<sup>5</sup> To be sure, access to wealth meant that a queen was able to enter into lavish building and artistic programs, generous endowments of the church, and often the writing of certain books in order to bolster their own image and record their version of events, such as in the case of the *Encomium Emmae Reginae*.<sup>6</sup> At the same time, if a queen found herself without funds, she could often involve herself in marriage negotiations, issuing charters (though these often concerned monetary matters), letter writing, and education of

<sup>2</sup> Janna Bianchini, *The Queen's Hand: Power and Authority in the Reign of Berenguela of Castile* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012), 3.

<sup>3</sup> Attila Zsoldos, *Az Árpádok és asszonyaik* [The Árpáds and their women] (Budapest: MTA Történettudományi Intézete, 2005), 178-182; Béla Zsolt Szakács, “A királynék művészete – a művészettörténészek királynéi” [The Art of the Queens – the Queens of the Art Historians] in Judit Majorossy, ed. *Egy történelmi gyilkosság margójára: Merániai Gertrúd emlékezete, 1213-2013* [To the Margin of a Historical Murder: Commemorate Gertrude of Andechs-Meran, 1213-2013] (Szentendre, 2014), 217-226, 317-318.

<sup>4</sup> Zsoldos, *Az Árpádok és asszonyaik*, 180-182.

<sup>5</sup> Amalie Föbel, “The Queen's Wealth in the Middle Ages,” *Majestas* 13 (2005): 31–34.

<sup>6</sup> Alistair Campbell, ed., *Encomium Emmae Reginae* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998); Pauline Stafford, *Queen Emma and Queen Edith: Queenship and Women's Power in Eleventh-Century England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997).

the royal children. For instance, in the twelfth century (a period where there is very little material culture associated with the queens), the widowed queen Euphrosyne of Kiev was instrumental in negotiating a marriage with her daughter to the son of the duke of Bohemia at a time when Hungary desperately needed military allies.<sup>7</sup> Huneycutt observes “The power of a medieval queen rested on a perception of influence rather than any institutional base, and the loss of that perceived influence could spell disaster.”<sup>8</sup>

As we shall see, many aspects of the queen’s power are preserved in material and visual culture in ways that would have been understood by contemporary eyes. The queen’s seal is directly related to her issuance of charters, and would have been understood as being as good as having the issuer hand over the document in person. Coins with her image imprinted on them next to the king’s show her own image enhancing that of the king’s and the king bestowing his status on her, in and outside the realm. Grave monuments could be testimony by the living to the legitimacy and lineage of the queen as well as a marker of emotional attachment on the part of the dynasty. Images in public space (i.e. stone carvings or frescos in churches) and heraldic banners could make the queen’s presence known when she was in remote locations. Items worn on the body would indicate her rank and status to those fortunate enough to be in her physical presence. Objects donated to the church, books, and images in illuminated chronicles would have had a much more restricted audience, but nonetheless represented more private or contemplative acts with nonetheless political overtones. The gifts given to and from the queens would have been understood as having purpose and meaning far beyond the mere exchange of trinkets; when recorded, they are usually part of an international meeting of princes and were thus extremely political in nature. Finally, the residences, monasteries, and construction projects associated with the queen marked her place in the landscape in the centers of power as well as very remote situations. In all these ways, the queen’s presence and power could be displayed in ways that did not always merit mention in the written record but that were nonetheless well understood by contemporaries.

It should be pointed out that while many of the cases will involve the queen’s active participation and an exertion of her own power, there will be several instances where the queen’s image is used when she is not the planner, creator, or executor. For example, on coinage, on some public monuments and in some illuminated manuscripts her presence is there, but the queen has

<sup>7</sup> Ferenc Makk, *The Árpáds and the Comneni: Political Relations between Hungary and Byzantium in the 12th Century* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1989), 89.

<sup>8</sup> Lois L. Huneycutt, “Intercession and the High Medieval Queen: The Esther Topos” in *Power of the Weak: Studies on Medieval Women*, ed. Jennifer Carpenter and Sally-Beth MacLean, et al. (Urbana & Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1995), 138.

herself become an object of material culture. In some cases, her appearance is used against her; the *Hungarian Illuminated Chronicle* blames Gisela of Bavaria (d. 1065?) for blinding Vazul (d. 1031) and exiling his three sons and the image of this event shows her husband mourning their son while Vazul is being blinded in the background.<sup>9</sup> However, this is only one example and many usages of the queen as material culture help strengthen the image of the king and the dynasty in general. Burials of English queens were usually attended with great ceremony as the queen was not only the key to dynastic continuity, but in many cases a good queen was also instrumental in conveying dynastic legitimacy, usually hinging on her own high status background.<sup>10</sup> The few instances where more is known of the burial of a Hungarian queen (such as the case of Agnes of Antioch in Székesfehérvár) indicates at the very least that queens could be buried with the highest quality textiles as well as a major symbol of their office (a crown). The queens' presence on coinage was certainly not a necessity, yet when Hungarian kings begin to depict busts of themselves on coinage, queens soon after appeared as well, usually facing the ruler. The queen's involvement in these depictions is passive at best (and sometimes posthumous). Nonetheless, it shows that the image of the queen carried enough symbolic weight to merit particular treatment in these instances. When the queen herself is used as material culture as in these examples it is very informative about gender constructions related to her status.

### Literature review

Many studies have influenced the focus and scope of this work, and thus, this work aims to shed light on these previous works, first on queenship studies in the continent, and then on specific works related to Hungarian queens. As a great number of works were consulted, this section will mostly focus on those particular works that raised questions I thought should be answered in the case of the Hungarian queens. One of the seminal works that has influenced my methodology is Nolan's *Queens in Stone and Silver*.

This book is primarily a study of the visual culture of queenship in twelfth and thirteenth century France, primarily through the examination of seals and tombs from that period.<sup>11</sup> John Steane has two books that deal with how power is expressed in the material record, concentrating

<sup>9</sup> Klára Gárdonyi-Csapodi, "Description and Interpretation of the Illustrations in the Illuminated Chronicle," in *The Hungarian Illuminated Chronicle: Chronica de Gestis Hungarorum*, ed. Dezső Dercsényi (Budapest: Corvina Press, 1969), 75; János M. Bak, "Queens as Scapegoats in Medieval Hungary", 225-226.

<sup>10</sup> John Carmi Parsons, "'Never was a body buried in England with such solemnity and honour': The Burials and Posthumous Commemorations of English Queens to 1500," in *Queens and Queenship in Medieval Europe*, ed. Anne Duggan (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1997), 319-320.

<sup>11</sup> Kathleen Nolan, *Queens in Stone and Silver: the creation of a visual imagery of queenship in Capetian France* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 1-15.

mostly on medieval England.<sup>12</sup> Both volumes are quite thorough and while Steane's focus on the queens is minimal, his works nonetheless show the potential for understanding how power can be displayed visually and spatially through relevant material culture. The two-volume *Reassessing the Roles of Women as 'Makers' of Medieval Art and Architecture* argues for a greater interest by scholars on the role of medieval women in visual sources as both subjects and patrons. This work draws important conclusions connected to the idea that both artists and patrons were seen as creating the object –thus, the creation of a work of art not only reflects a clear exercise of power, but women who commissioned such pieces could also be seen as their authors.<sup>13</sup> Within the past few years Earenfight has published an overview on medieval queenship in an attempt to create a broad overview on the changing nature of the queen's power.<sup>14</sup> Richardson published a fascinating article on how to understand the spaces that queens occupied in castles through both access analysis as well as an examination of the imagery in the rooms they would have been most familiar with.<sup>15</sup> Wonderful as this approach is, there is regrettably not enough data available for Hungarian royal castles even in the sixteenth century to make such a study feasible at the present time. Crossley has traced patterns of an architectural program in which women connected to the Andechs-Meran family in Central Europe (particularly in Bohemia and Poland) emulated the church at Marburg that served as the burial place for St. Elizabeth of Hungary (d. 1231).<sup>16</sup> Proctor-Tiffany's doctoral dissertation is a thorough and detailed analysis of the items related to Clémence of Hungary (d. 1328), the queen of Louis X of France (r. 1314-1316) including the gifts she gave; Bartha has continued research of this queen, not only on her gifts but also on her "Hungarian" identity.<sup>17</sup> There are also edited volumes and more general works that served as an inspiration for this project. The intent of the edited volume *Medieval Queenship* was, as the editor notes, to "dissect the ways in which queens pursued and exploited means to power, and

<sup>12</sup> John Steane, *The archaeology of the medieval English Monarchy* (London & New York: Routledge, 1999); John Steane, *The archaeology of power: England and northern Europe, AC 800-1600* (Stroud: Tempus, 2001).

<sup>13</sup> Therese Martin, "Exceptions and Assumptions: Women in Medieval Art history," in *Reassessing the Roles of Women as 'Makers' of Medieval Art and Architecture*, ed. Therese Martin (Leiden & Boston: Brill, 2012), 30-31.

<sup>14</sup> Theresa Earenfight, *Queenship in Medieval Europe* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013).

<sup>15</sup> Amanda Richardson, "Gender and Space in English Royal Palaces c. 1160-c.1547: A Study in Access Analysis and Imagery," *Medieval Archaeology* 47 (2003): 131-165.

<sup>16</sup> Paul Crossley, "The Architecture of Queenship: Royal Saints, Female Dynasties and the Spread of Gothic Architecture in Central Europe" in *Queens and queenship in medieval Europe*, ed. Anne J. Duggan (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2002), 263-289.

<sup>17</sup> Mariah Proctor-Tiffany, "Portrait of a Medieval Patron: the Inventory and gift giving of Clémence of Hungary," (PhD diss.: Brown University, 2007); Annamária Bartha, "Magyarországi Klemencia kapcsolatai Magyarországgal" [Clémence of Hungary's relationship with Hungary] in *Francia-magyar kapcsolatok a középkorban*, [French and Hungarian Contacts in the Middle Ages], ed. Attila Györkös and Gergely Kiss (Debrecen: University of Debrecen Press, 2013), 181-193; Annamária Bartha, "Magyarországi Klemencia kegytárgyai" [Clémence of Hungary's objects of devotion] *Fiatal Középkoros Régészek VI. Konferenciájának Tanulmánykötete* [Study volume of the 6<sup>th</sup> conference of young medieval archaeologists] VI (2015): 169-179.

how their actions were interpreted by others.”<sup>18</sup> The focus was thus on strategies and means of action in the authors’ examples, rather than focusing on particular biographies. Another edited volume attempts to answer similar questions to the Parsons volume, though its chronological framework is longer and there are more varied case studies.<sup>19</sup> All of these works show the possibility and potential for action on the part of medieval queens.

For non-Hungarian speakers, two articles in the last two aforementioned volumes by Bak are the main (often only) source for medieval Hungarian queens: one deals with the roles and functions of the Árpadian and Angevin queens while the other addresses their use as scapegoats for various calamities and circumstances.<sup>20</sup> These articles are great fundamental sources and highlight how the Hungarian queens were on one hand able to wield power of their own but that on the other hand, there were other forces at play determining the actions of the queens. In his outline, the queens of Hungary were scapegoats, agents of foreign influence and immigration, owners of extensive estates, and as well as the kings’ wives; very little can be said about their symbolic role.<sup>21</sup> The order he lists them in is very telling, not so much on the priority of their functions, but rather on the richness of evidence to the written sources. The chronicles tend to discuss the various (usually negative) moral aspects of the queens while charters can reveal something of the estates, and very little is known of the personal interactions between the queen and her family. It is also worth noting that most of the queens came from abroad. In the eleventh century most of the queens came from German or Polish neighbors, in the twelfth century more from the Mediterranean and Russian lands, while towards the end of the twelfth century there was a greater interest in French and Spanish matches. After the Mongol Invasion, important marriages were made with Naples as well as neighboring states like Austria, Poland, Bohemia, and Bosnia. The only exceptions to this are the Hungarian wife of Samuel Aba (r. 1041-1044) and Elizabeth the Cuman (d. 1290?), wife of Stephen V (r. 1270-1272) (for more information, see **Appendix II**). Bak mentions but does not elaborate on the queen as intercessor. This is a well-established trope and the subject of a few case studies. In Hungary, queens such as Margaret of France (d. 1197) and Yolanda of Courtenay (d. 1233) are mentioned in charters filling this specific role.

<sup>18</sup> John Carmi Parsons, “Introduction: Family, Sex, and Power: The Rhythms of Medieval Queenship” in *Medieval Queenship*, John Carmi Parsons, ed. (Stroud: Sutton Publishing Limited, 1993), 2.

<sup>19</sup> Anne Duggan, ed. *Queens and queenship in medieval Europe*, (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2002).

<sup>20</sup> János M. Bak, “Roles and Functions of Queens in Árpadian and Angevin Hungary (1000-1386 A.D.)” in *Medieval Queenship*, John Carmi Parsons, ed. (Stroud: Sutton Publishing Limited, 1993), 13-24; János M. Bak, “Queens as Scapegoats in Medieval Hungary” in *Queens and queenship in medieval Europe*, ed. Anne J. Duggan (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2002), 223-233.

<sup>21</sup> János M. Bak, “Roles and Functions of Queens in Árpadian and Angevin Hungary”, 14, 20.



Though these are the most internationally known works, there is a long tradition of research on the Hungarian queens. In the eighteenth century, a posthumous work by Schier appeared on the subject, mostly concerning itself with the genealogy and descent of the Árpadian queens from Gisela of Bavaria (d. 1065) to Agnes of Habsburg (d. 1364).<sup>22</sup> In 1892, a seminal work was published by Wertner on the Family History of the Árpáds. Each member of the Árpád Dynasty known at the time had an entry and this work continues to be a major starting point for most researchers at present.<sup>23</sup>

In the second half of the twentieth century, scholars have chosen to focus on more particular queens rather than sweeping studies of them. Art historian Sniezynska-Stolot has spent decades on the artistic program of the Hungarian-Angevin dynasty, and has published on the building and artistic program of the queen.<sup>24</sup> Vajay continued the genealogical research of earlier historians and managed quite cleverly to answer certain questions about identities of various female figures in the first centuries of the Hungarian kingdom.<sup>25</sup> Vajay also adds further information in a separate article on a doctoral dissertation written by Kerbl on the Byzantine princesses who were married or betrothed to various members of the Árpád Dynasty in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.<sup>26</sup> There have been two edited volumes on Gisela of Bavaria, the first wife of St. Stephen of Hungary; one is bilingual with contributions from contemporary authors while the other is only in Hungarian and republished previously written works about her as part of the collection. It is perhaps no coincidence that both were published in Veszprém, the favored city of the queen and the site of the bishopric she founded.<sup>27</sup> Honneman has an article in an edited volume on the tangled historiographic tradition related to the last Árpadian queen (Agnes of Habsburg, d. 1364) and her stepdaughter Elisabeth of Töss (d. 1336) that has proven to be very essential.<sup>28</sup> A later primary source, *The Memoirs of Helene Kottaner*, give many specific

<sup>22</sup> Xystus Schier, *Reginae Hungariae primae stirpis* (Vienna, 1776).

<sup>23</sup> Mór Wertner, *Az Árpádok családi története* [A family history of the Árpáds] (Nagybecskerek: Pleitz, 1892).

<sup>24</sup> Eva Sniezynska-Stolot, "Queen Elizabeth as Patron of Architecture," *Acta Historiae Artium* 20 (1974): 13-36; Eva Sniezynska-Stolot, "Tanulmányok Lokietek Erzsébet királyné műpártolása köréből (Ötvöstárgyak)" [Studies on the scope of the art patronage of Queen Elizabeth Lokietek (Goldsmith work)], *Művészettörténeti Értesítő* 30 (1981/4): 233-254.

<sup>25</sup> To name only a few: Szabolcs de Vajay, "Großfürst Geysa von Ungarn. Familie und Verwandtschaft," *Südostforschungen* XXI (1962): 88-101; "Agatha, Mother of St. Margaret, Queen of Scotland," *Duquesne Review* 7/2 (1962): 71-80; "Még egy királynénk...?: I. Endre első felesége," [Another of our queens...? The first wife of Andrew I] *Turul* 72 (1999): 17-23.

<sup>26</sup> Raimund Kerbl, "Byzantinische Prinzessinnen in Ungarn zwischen 1050-1200 und ihr Einfluß auf das Arpadenkö nigreich. (PhD dissertation: University of Vienna, 1979); Szabolcs de Vajay, "Byzantinische Prinzessinnen in Ungarn," *Ungarn Jahrbuch* 10 (1979): 15-28.

<sup>27</sup> Zsuzsa V. Fodor, ed. *Gizella és kora: felolvasóülések az Árpád-korból* [Gisela and her era: a session of readings from the age of the Árpáds] (Veszprém, 1993); János Gécsi, ed. *Gizella királyné 985-k. 1060* [Queen Gisella, ca. 985-1060] (Veszprém, 2000).

<sup>28</sup> Volker Honneman, "A Medieval Queen and her Stepdaughter: Agnes and Elizabeth of Hungary," in *Queens and queenship in medieval Europe*, ed. Anne J. Duggan (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2002), 109-119.

details on the personal lives of a fifteenth century queen, Elisabeth of Luxemburg (d. 1442).<sup>29</sup> Sággy has written an article about Elizabeth of Poland's (d. 1380) pilgrimage to Rome,<sup>30</sup> and McEntee has published an MA thesis and article on Elizabeth's choice of burial in Óbuda.<sup>31</sup> Szende wrote his a doctoral dissertation on her and published two thorough articles on her will and final testament.<sup>32</sup> The magnificent catalogue assembled by Réthelyi on the Habsburg princess Mary (d. 1558) deserves mention here; though Mary, the wife of Louis II (r. 1516-1526) lived after the time frame of this present study, the information from her dissertation and catalogue has nonetheless proved useful.<sup>33</sup> Museums in Budapest and Barcelona cooperated on an exhibition catalogue which featured a collection of essays on the topic of Iberian and Hungarian dynastic alliances, particularly focusing on Constance of Aragon (d. 1222) and Yolanda of Hungary (d. 1251), Queen of Aragon.<sup>34</sup> Laszlovszky devotes a section of a volume on medieval English and Hungarian contacts to Margaret of France (d. 1197), the second wife of Béla III (r. 1173-1196).<sup>35</sup> A conference was held in Szentendre upon the eight-hundred year anniversary of the murder of Queen Gertrude of Andechs-Meran (d. 1213). The volume of essays presented on her and her contemporaries was published the following year.<sup>36</sup> Finally, the Bosnian princess Elizabeth Kotromanić (d. 1387), has received some attention recently as well; Dautović has an article on her in Bosnian.<sup>37</sup>

Finally, in the twenty-first centuries, Zsoldos has published several works based on the charter evidence of the Hungarian queens. He has even been able to reconstruct some charters

<sup>29</sup> Here I shall be using an English translation. Maya Bijvoet Williamson, trans. & ed., *The Memoirs of Helene Kottaner* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1998).

<sup>30</sup> Marianne Sággy, "Dévotions diplomatiques: Le pèlerinage de la reine-mère Élisabeth Piast à Rome," in *La Diplomatie des États Angevins aux XIIIe et XIVe siècle*, ed. Zoltán Kordé and István Petrovics (Rome and Szeged: 2010), 219-224.

<sup>31</sup> Brian McEntee, "Elizabeth, queen of Hungary (1320–1380) and the Óbuda clares: a study in reginal burial site selection," (MA Thesis: Central European University, 2005); Brian McEntee, "The Burial Site Selection of a Hungarian Queen: Elizabeth, Queen of Hungary (1320–1380), and the Óbuda Clares' Church," *Annual of Medieval Studies at CEU* 12 (2006): 69-82.

<sup>32</sup> László Szende, *Piast Erzsébet és udvara (1320-1380)* [Elizabeth Piast and her court, 1320-1380], (PhD diss.: ELTE, 2007).

<sup>33</sup> Orsolya Réthelyi, et al. *Mary of Hungary: the queen and her court, 1521-1531* (Budapest: Budapest History Museum, 2005); Orsolya Réthelyi, "Mary of Hungary in Court Context (1521-1531)" (PhD. diss.: Central European University, 2010).

<sup>34</sup> Ramon Sarobe and Csaba Tóth, eds., *Királylányok messzi földről: Magyarország és Katalónia a középkorban* [Princesses from afar: Hungary and Catalonia in the Middle Ages] (Budapest and Barcelona: Hungarian National Museum & History Museum of Catalonia, 2009).

<sup>35</sup> József Laszlovszky, "Angol-Magyar kapcsolatok a 12 század második felében" [English-Hungarian relations in the second half of the twelfth century] *Angol-Magyar kapcsolatok a középkorban* [English-Hungarian contacts in the Middle Ages] I, ed. by Attila Bányai, József Laszlovszky and Zsuzsanna Papp (Máriabesnyő: Attraktor, 2008), 153-165.

<sup>36</sup> Judit Majorossy, ed. *Egy történelmi gyilkosság margójára: Merániai Gertrúd emlékezete, 1213-2013*. [To the Margin of a Historical Murder: Commemorate Gertrude of Andechs-Meran, 1213-2013]. (Szentendre, 2014).

<sup>37</sup> Dženan Dautović, "Bosansko-ugarski odnosi kroz prizmu braka Ludovika I Velikog i Elizabete kćerke Stjepana II Kotromanića" [Relations between Bosnia and Hungary through the prism of the marriage between Louis the Great and Elizabeth, the Daughter of Stjepan II Kotromanić], *Radovi* XVII/3 (2014): 141-157.

that no longer exist from later charters that make references to them; this is mostly what we know about charters from the twelfth century queens, for instance.<sup>38</sup> Assembling every last scrap of charter evidence available, at present he has been best able to understand the full nature of activity for Árpadian-age queens. Unfortunately the picture that emerges is rather bleak; he acknowledges that the Hungarian queens would have had their own courts, their own staff, and their own property, but that all this was dependent on the king. They thus were unable to bring in new customs without the consent of the kings.<sup>39</sup> The relative weakness of the queens has also been noted in the art historical realm. Szakács identifies three periods where the influence of the queen could be felt in a much larger context outside the royal court: the Christianization period in the early eleventh century (with the marriage of King Stephen to Gisela of Bavaria), the early Gothic period (with the marriage of Béla III to Margaret of France), and finally the early Italian Renaissance (with the marriage of Matthias Corvinus to Beatrix of Aragon in 1476). Ultimately though, in his opinion, “the art of the queens is the art of the kings”, and aside from a few pieces that survive, these women as a group did not have a significant impact on medieval Hungarian art.<sup>40</sup> Nonetheless, by taking a systematic overview, this dissertation can build off of the research already done on the charters and pictorial sources and in turn incorporate material, written, visual, and spatial evidence to better understand the nature of the queen’s power in medieval Hungary.

### Agency Theory, Object Biography & Lifecourse

One of the approaches that Scott advocates is that gender history should combine for analysis both gender constructions as well as the experiences of women; the idea behind this is to expose how genders interplay and operate rather than simply listed deeds of certain well-known women.<sup>41</sup> To this end, the combined theoretical approaches of agency theory and object

<sup>38</sup> Imre Szentpétery & Attila Zsoldos, *Az Árpád-házi hercegek, hercegnők és a királynék okleveleinek kritikai jegyzéke* [The charters of the princes, princesses and queens of the Árpád house, a critical edition] (Budapest: Hungarian National Archive, 2008), 183-188; Attila Zsoldos, “The Problem of Dating Queens’ Charters of the Árpadian Age (Eleventh-Thirteenth Century)” in *Dating Undated Medieval Charters*, ed. by Michael Gervers, (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2002), 151-160.

<sup>39</sup> Attila Zsoldos, *Az Árpádok és asszonyaik: a királynéi intézmény az Árpádok korában* [The Árpáds and their women: the office of the queen in the Age of the Árpáds] (Budapest: MTA Történettudomány Intézete, 2005), 176-182; Attila Zsoldos, “Gertrúd és a királynéi intézmény az Árpád-kori Magyar Királyságban” [Queen Gertrude and Queenship in the Kingdom of Hungary during the Arpadian Period] Judit Majorossy, ed. *Egy történelmi gyilkosság margójára: Merániai Gertrúd emlékezete, 1213-2013* [To the Margin of a Historical Murder: Commemorate Gertrude of Andechs-Meran, 1213-2013] (Szentendre, 2014), 17-24.

<sup>40</sup> Béla Zolt Szakács, “A királynék művészete – a művészettörténészek királynéi” [The Art of the Queens – the Queens of the Art Historians] in Judit Majorossy, ed. *Egy történelmi gyilkosság margójára: Merániai Gertrúd emlékezete, 1213-2013* [To the Margin of a Historical Murder: Commemorate Gertrude of Andechs-Meran, 1213-2013] (Szentendre, 2014), 217-226, 317-318.

<sup>41</sup> Joan Scott, *Gender of Politics and History* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999), 27; Bennett, *History Matters*, 25.

biography can address both of these aspects mutually. The fundamental concern over agency touches upon the power of individuals to act within social rules and norms as well as to reinforce and reinvent these same aspects of society.<sup>42</sup> This process is dialectical, for societal conventions and mores are also responsible for shaping the actions of individuals. Agency theory, in short, is meant to aid in the understanding of intentional action as well as the resources needed to act.<sup>43</sup> Queens in particular were very much defined by the social mores around them and the writings of contemporaries seem obsessed with how well certain queens act according to pre-existing stereotypes. Agency theory would help, on the one hand, in our understanding of the constructions of gender and power that these queens had to work within, but also how individual queens could have their own strategies and pursue their own agenda within these set rules, and in some cases by breaking these rules. Thus, the power associated with a study of agency is fundamentally a transformative type of power;<sup>44</sup> rather than society making these women and pre-determining every step of their actions, this study will focus on how queens tried to use pre-existing gender norms to their advantage; agency is fundamentally “...not a thing but an *opportunity to act*” in this scheme.<sup>45</sup> Central to the issue of understanding how the queens had a potential for action it will be necessary to better understand the relationship queens may have had with material culture they exploited and required as well as the space they lived in and were surrounded by. Ultimately, Dornan suggests an approach to agency that employs “...a delicate and reflexive movement between an exploration of structural events and patterns of practice, between historically unique microprocesses and more macroscale, long-term processes, and between a focus on observable consequence and less obvious intentionality.”<sup>46</sup> The parameters for expected behavior of Hungarian queens have been established above, and an examination of the material culture will show how these women used this to their advantage and were also shaped by it will answer the first point. The lives of these queens will be examined both in terms of their own individual, unique set of circumstances and experience and yet this will be covered over a span of nearly four hundred years. Finally, the audience for these objects and their

<sup>42</sup> For the works on agency theory that informed this dissertation see: Matthew Johnson, “Conceptions of agency in archaeological interpretation,” *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* 8 (1989): 189-211; Marcia-Anne Dobres and John Robb, eds. *Agency in Archaeology* (London & New York: Routledge, 2000); John C. Barrett, “Agency, the duality of structure, and the problem of the archaeological record,” in *Archaeological Theory Today*, ed. Ian Hodder (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2001), 141-164; Leo Klejn, “Neither archaeology nor theory: a critique of Johnson,” *Antiquity* 80 (2006): 435-441; Matthew Johnson, *Archaeological Theory: an Introduction* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2010).

<sup>43</sup> Matthew Johnson, *Archaeological Theory: an Introduction*, 237.

<sup>44</sup> John C. Barrett, “Agency, the duality of structure, and the problem of the archaeological record”, 155.

<sup>45</sup> Joan M. Gero, “Troubled travels in agency and feminism”, in Marcia-Anne Dobres & John Robb, ed. *Agency in Archaeology* (London & New York: Routledge, 2000), 37.

<sup>46</sup> Jennifer L. Dornan, “Agency and Archaeology: Past, Present, and Future Directions,” *Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory* 9/4 (2002): 325.

manipulation, the involvement of the queen, and the possible motivations will be analyzed as part of this dissertation.

In 1986, Kopytoff proposed that those studying material culture can ask the same questions of objects that one does in creating a biography.<sup>47</sup> Rather than merely making notes about the dates of use and deposition, this kind of analysis represents a more thorough examination of an object's lifecourse – from the time the idea of making the object was conceived to its “birth”, then its use, re-use, recycling, alteration, or changing function, next its disposal, destruction, or “death”, and then finally its afterlife either in written memory or as a museum piece, for example. One of the key advantages to this approach is that rather than appearing as a static object used once and then disposed of, object biography covers many aspects of the object's history and how the views around it changed over time.<sup>48</sup> Central to this theoretical approach is the fundamental relationship between people and things. This present study seeks to know more about the thirty women who were the wives of the Hungarian kings in the eleventh through fourteenth centuries, and with the exception of a few case studies, thus far there has been no systematic study on how queens in Hungary interacted with the objects and space around them. Examining the lifecourse of the objects connected to these queens should in turn tell us many things about how the gender characteristics of the queen were constructed in various periods and under particular circumstances as well as their experiences at the medieval Hungarian court. The life-story of certain objects can serve as a direct proxy in many cases for the biographies of people in certain case studies.<sup>49</sup> It is my hope that this study, by using this approach, will be able to shed further light on the lives of these women who held such a special place in the society of their time. Furthermore, comparing the data across the centuries and at different moments in their lives will allow greater depth of analysis. A small caveat should be made here in that this approach may be more successful for certain types of objects than others. For example, since coinage was so widely circulated, it would not make sense to have a particular biography for each type of coin based on its find context; rather, it makes much more sense to analyze the coin as part of a larger iconographic program. Biographical questions can still be asked about a coin's place of minting, its dates of use, and how common it was. Other types of objects like liturgical objects are best suited for this approach. Religious images and objects were seen as channels to the supernatural world, and the extensive documentation on the history of

<sup>47</sup> Igor Kopytoff, “The cultural biography of things: commoditization as process”, in *The social life of things: Commodities in cultural perspective*, ed. Arjun Appadurai (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 66-67.

<sup>48</sup> Chris Gosden and Yvonne Marshal, “The Cultural Biography of Objects,” *World Archaeology* 31/2 (1999): 170.

<sup>49</sup> One such example is Janet Hoskins, *Biographical Objects: how things tell the stories of people's lives* (New York: Routledge, 1998), 7-10.

certain objects donated to the church can tell us much about the intent (perceived or otherwise) of the donator as well as the object's afterlife. A biographical approach can also be useful in the understanding of medieval buildings, both in terms of grand reconstruction projects as well as in minor use which could last over centuries, well beyond the span of a normal human life.<sup>50</sup>

As a coda to the concept of the biography employed in this dissertation, part of the analysis will examine the life course not only of objects, but also of the women in question. One of the observations made in the study of countesses Jeanne and Margeurite of Flanders states:

“Furthermore, any attempt to understand the experience of women in the Middle Ages must position them at the center of a matrix comprised of gender, social status, marital status, age and personality. In a society stratified sexually as well as socially, a myriad of combinations of gender and status existed to inform attitudes towards women, and influenced their relationship to power.”<sup>51</sup>

The material point here is that the biographies of the objects run parallel to various aspects of the queen's life. Birth, childhood, marriage, motherhood, widowhood, death – these are all points wherein the lives of the queens varied considerably in terms of their resources, their potential to act, their symbolic power, and their extended social networks. Understanding a medieval life course means incorporating all of these different phases rather than focusing on particular episodes.<sup>52</sup> Unmarried princesses were usually dependent on their male relatives for income and means of expressing power. Queen consorts in Hungary were usually dependent on their husbands and a combination of funding, personal interest, personal relationships, and social networks could determine a queen's potential for action at this point in her life. Widows could act with a great deal more independence in many different cases provided they had the necessary resources. In discussing how imperial widows in eleventh and twelfth century Byzantium were better able to promote their own programs of patronage, Hill's witty remark “Widows had much more fun,” certainly rings true in this regard.<sup>53</sup> These three intersecting theoretical frameworks should help understand how material culture and structured space could express certain aspects of a queen's potential for action.

### Methodology – Objects and Space

This project is one that incorporates historical, archaeological and art-historical data and, as such, there is a need for an integrated approach in handling the relevant objects and places reflecting the power of queens in both the private and public sphere. It will be necessary to

<sup>50</sup> Roberta Gilchrist, *Medieval Life: Archaeology and the Life Course* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2012), 12.

<sup>51</sup> Erin L. Jordan, *Women, Power, and Religious Patronage in the Middle Ages* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 117.

<sup>52</sup> Roberta Gilchrist, *Medieval Life: Archaeology and the Life Course*, 1.

<sup>53</sup> Barbara Hill, *Imperial Women in Byzantium 1025-1204* (New York: Longman, 1999), 179.

elucidate three things before beginning the analysis: first, the type of object or site undergoing analysis, second the relationship or connection between the queen and the object or site (for example, is did she fund, order or donate the object herself, is it an object with her image on it, etc.), and third, the epistemological meaning concerning the way the relationship between the queen and the material object or site has been established in the scholarly literature. To this end, it has been vital to undertake a broad consultation and incorporation of textual sources. Charters, chronicles, inventories, wills, and letters have all been consulted, making use of previous studies on the queens of Hungary based on such written data. Furthermore, one of the later chapters in this study will deal explicitly with objects and buildings that are only known from the written record as they no longer exist having been lost or destroyed.

This project operates from the premise that women were active agents in terms of cultural patronage, political power, religious devotion and control of the royal household. As such, the focus will not only be on the objects themselves but the women connected to them. So far, there has been very little scholarly discussion on this dialogue of materiality (i.e. the mutual relationship with objects and space in terms of display of power) that queens engaged in.<sup>54</sup> While this relationship cannot be reconstructed in its entirety, there are enough traces to detect certain characteristic patterns while still making allowances for the personal preferences of the queens themselves.

### **“Official” objects – seals, coins and heraldry**

The main approach undertaken for the study of seals and coins is mainly comparative. As there has been little study on the presence of queens in either material form, it is necessary to start from the beginning before undertaking any serious analysis of these items of material culture. The seals of the queens from 1226 to 1395 will be described in detail in the catalog, while the text of the main chapter will track the development of and compare the images based on a variety of factors. In her formidable study on the Capetian queens’ seals and tombs, Nolan espouses the use of semiotics in the analysis of seals. By doing so, she looks at what objects the queens are holding, and the sort of visual statements the queens make through associated imagery;<sup>55</sup> this approach will also be utilized in many other representations of the queens. I would take this one step further and use an approach similar to that espoused by Steane in *The*

<sup>54</sup> For the purposes of this dissertation, the most useful studies linking people with objects have been Kathleen Nolan, *Queens in Stone and Silver: the creation of a visual imagery of queenship in Capetian France*. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009); John Steane, *The Archaeology of the Medieval English Monarchy*. (London & New York: Routledge, 1993); Therese Martin, ed., *Reassessing the Roles of Women as 'Makers' of Medieval Art and Architecture*, Vol. I & II (Leiden & Boston: Brill, 2012); Amanda Richardson, “Gender and Space in English Royal Palaces c. 1160-c.1547: A Study in Access Analysis and Imagery,” *Medieval Archaeology* 47 (2003): 131-165.

<sup>55</sup> Nolan, *Queens in Stone and Silver*, 15.

*Archaeology of the Medieval English Monarchy* and look instead for symbols of power.<sup>56</sup> Of primary concern though will be the presence of objects of power, such as crowns, scepters, and orbs as well as other symbols, such as decorative flora and fauna. In addition, aspects of power evident when the throne of the queen appears with a back as opposed to a stool will receive special attention as there are some very strong queens who appear consistently with a full back on their throne (i.e. Elizabeth of Poland), while there are other queens who were not nearly in as strong a position, mostly due to the strained relationship between the queen and her husband (i.e. Isabella of Naples). How these images of power change over time will also be analyzed in terms of which part of the queen's life-course they appear in – i.e. as queen consort, as regent, as dowager queen, etc. The queen is usually depicted seated on a throne of one kind or another, but where she is not holding an object, this research will look to iconographic analysis from art history in order to understand the cultural significance of the gestures she makes (i.e. hands clasped to her chest, an arm outstretched, etc.)<sup>57</sup>

For an analysis of the coinage, it will be necessary to turn to historical sources in order to clarify the identity of the queen who appears on the coin. Most numismatic studies consist of a large, descriptive catalog with little interpretation behind it.<sup>58</sup> There are several “queens” who appear on coins alongside the “kings”, and so the analysis of the queens in this context will focus more on her image. The analysis will share a lot of similarities with the one for seals, but the seals and coins are treated separately because their purposes as public and official objects is completely different, the range and type of audience was different, and the close connection between a queen and the coin she is depicted on is much more difficult to establish than would be the case for her personal seal. Brubaker and Tobler identify a few barometers reflecting the power of the Byzantine empress when she appears on coins in the Late Antique/Early Medieval period: whether the empress is on the obverse or reverse of the coin; her position in relation to her husband and/or son; the absence of the empress in periods where it was traditional to have her depicted on the coin.<sup>59</sup> In this study, Queen Mary is the only queen who seems to have issued coins in her own name and these objects shall be treated separately. The only coins from her period that seem to have been given any significant consideration in the scholarly literature are

<sup>56</sup> Steane, *The Archaeology of the Medieval English Monarchy*, 13ff.

<sup>57</sup> François Garnier, *Le langage de l'image au Moyen Âge*. (Paris: Léopard d'Or, 1982-1989).

<sup>58</sup> László Réthy, *Corpus Nummorum Hungariae: Magyar Egyetemes Éremtár*, Vol I-II (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Kiadása, 1899-1907); Lajos Huszár, *Münzkatalog Ungarn von 1000 bis heute* (Budapest: Corvina, 1979); Alfred Szego, *The Coinage of Medieval Austria* (Oakdale: Durst, 1995).

<sup>59</sup> Leslie Brubaker and Helen Tobler, “The Gender of Money: Byzantine Empresses on Coins (342-802),” in *Gendering the Middle Ages*, ed. Pauline Stafford and Anneke B. Mulder-Bakker (Oxford: Blackwell, 2001), 43-44.



the golden forints. This study would try and speak to some degree about the whole assemblage of coins dating from the reign of Queen Mary, particularly the period from 1382-1386.

### **Royal objects worn on the body or held**

There are several crowns included in this study as part of the regalia.<sup>60</sup> While modern regalia is fairly standardized and composed of several key implements, in the Middle Ages it was a lot more fluid. Crowns, for instance, could be given and exchanged at will, and often the ones that survive are ones that were either gifted to monasteries and not melted down, or ones that were kept and passed along familial lines as heirlooms. Due to their visibility from a distance and personal connection, the crown remains the most significant indicator of the status of a queen. Other regalia such as scepters and orbs were made anew as necessary: for instance, the Hungarian coronation scepter is one of the few pieces of regalia from the beginnings of the Hungarian State dating back to the eleventh century, while a new orb was made in the early fourteenth century after the earlier, Árpáadian orb was lost.<sup>61</sup> Other aspects of regalia simply fell out of use or fashion: there was a “Holy Lance” for Bohemia, Hungary, and Poland alike. It played a part in their kingship rituals in the late tenth and early eleventh centuries. In all three cases, however, it was either lost or fell out of fashion; later on, rather than having such an explicit connection with Jesus, most of the regalia for these three kingdoms was instead connected to earlier progenitors of the dynasty (for instance, St. Stephen & St. Wenceslas.<sup>62</sup> While regalia was an important aspect of the queen in terms of public presentation and identity (for instance, at the coronation ceremony or at a burial), its personal nature represents a problem in terms of the material that survives. So little is known of the queens’ coronations that it is difficult to tell what her set regalia would have been. The crowns that do survive provide an excellent clue and will be properly studied and given the most complete biography as possible. Other reflections of queenly power, such as a scepter or an orb, will mostly be analyzed from visual sources, such as the seals or illuminations. The conclusions reached in this instance will be cautious ones, as while the queen wearing a crown and wielding a scepter and seated on a throne is a strong indicator of her own status, there

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<sup>60</sup> The crowns with the closest possible connections to queens seem to be the lower part of the Hungarian Holy Crown (the corona graeca), the burial crown of Agnes/Anna of Antioch, the burial crown from Margaret Island, the Crown from the Shrine of St. Simeon at Zadar, and the crown uncovered in the cathedral of Oradea/Nagyvárad. The Sicilian crown of Constance of Aragon, the Monomachos crown and a few other crowns will also be studied separately, as their links to Hungary’s queens are less substantial.

<sup>61</sup> Éva Kovács and Zsuzsa Lovag, *The Hungarian Crown and Other Regalia* (Budapest: Hungarian National Museum, 1986), 82-94.

<sup>62</sup> See the studies László Kovács “The Holy Lance of Hungary,” Dušan Třeštík and Anežka Merhautová “The Czech Insignia and the Stone Throne,” and Zbigniew Dalewski, “The Holy Lance and the Polish Insignia,” in Alfried Wieczorek and Hans-Martin Hinz, *Europe’s centre around AD 1000: contributions to history, art, and archaeology*. (Stuttgart: Theiss, 2000), 599-605.

is also the status of her husband, her family, and her lineage to consider as well; it will thus be necessary to examine the regalia of the queen in tandem with that of the king.

Clothing in the medieval period was instrumental in constructing social identity, indicating class, and expressing socio-political relationships.<sup>63</sup> For most medieval women (especially queens), clothing worn on the body was a means of controlling the body through concealment, though fashion could often do the exact opposite. Regrettably, most clothing from this period survives only in a few fragmentary pieces. As most clothes were made out of perishable material (linen, hemp, wool, pelts, and in special cases, silk), it is hardly surprising that so few clothing remnants survive to this day. Indeed, where the clothing of the medieval Hungarian queens survives, it should be noted how and why they were preserved. In her study of queenly donations in France and England, Van Houts shows that often the queen's clothing was donated to the church to be re-used as liturgical vestments.<sup>64</sup> The same is true for Árpadian and Angevin Hungary, as most of the clothing that is preserved from this period come from ecclesiastic contexts. In one case, fragments of a veil and dress were found buried with the queen.<sup>65</sup> It will thus be necessary to supplement our knowledge in two different ways. John Steane makes use of inventories in describing the garments of the English kings, particularly footwear.<sup>66</sup> Written documents will likewise be used in this way. In addition, images of the queens will also be employed to comment on clothing of the period, though many are stylistic rather than individualized portraits. Though both clothing and jewelry are worn on the body and would have had a similar audience, jewelry often has a more personal connection to the individual than other items. It is more durable and thus can be re-used or passed on in a variety of ways. In one example, the account of the wedding trousseau of Philippa (d. 1430), sister of Henry IV of England (r. 1399-1413) and wife of King Eric of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden (r. 1396-1439), the only two categories of objects that are not included in the receipts are books and jewelry.<sup>67</sup> The jewelry worn by the queens rarely survives, at least in named form, and was often disposed of differently than clothing as well. In the few cases where jewels survive, it is because they were disposed of in a similar manner as clothing: either as a donation to the church or as part

<sup>63</sup> Eric J. Goldberg, "Regina nitens sanctissima Hemma: Queen Emma (827-876), Bishop Witgar of Ausgburg, and the Witgar-Belt," in *Representations of Power in Medieval Germany: 800-1500*, ed. Björn Weiler and Simon Maclean (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006), 71.

<sup>64</sup> Elizabeth Van Houts, *Memory and Gender in Medieval Europe, 900-1200*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999), 114-118.

<sup>65</sup> Béla Czobor, "III. Béla és hitvese ékszerei" [Jewels of Béla III and his wife], in *III. Béla magyar király emlékezete*, [The Memory of the Hungarian king Béla III], Gyula Forster, ed. (Budapest: Hornyánszky V, 1900), 216-218.

<sup>66</sup> John Steane, *The Archaeology of the Medieval English Monarchy*, 143-145.

<sup>67</sup> W. Paley Baildon, "The Trousseaux of Princess Philippa, wife of Eric, King of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden," *Arhaeologia* 67 (1916): 163-188.

of a donation to a particular shrine (such as the personal effects of Elizabeth of Bosnia preserved at Zadar).<sup>68</sup> Like clothing, pieces of jewelry were often altered after the death of their owner, but unlike clothing which was transformed and reused in an ecclesiastic context, jewelry was usually melted down, broken up or destroyed entirely.<sup>69</sup> After the Mongol Invasion, Queen Maria Laskarina (d. 1270) melted down her own jewelry as a means of financing a castle on the top of a hill in Visegrád as means of a refuge for the nuns at the Dominican convent on Margaret Island.<sup>70</sup>

### Religious objects and books

Of all the different categories of material culture to be considered in this dissertation, liturgical objects probably represent the most diverse set of types. This category refers to any object(s) that a queen donated to a church or ecclesiastic institution. Objects in this area of study include chasubles, reliquaries, chalices, and bells. Historically, it would have also included censers, processional crosses, ointment vessels, and candlesticks, though most of these are only known from written sources.<sup>71</sup> Part of the study will be chronological, identifying trends of donations and seeing if certain types of objects are more popular in one period as opposed to another. Moreover, this particular segment will go beyond traditional studies of patronage by addressing issues of spiritual as well as the social reasons for donating these objects. The act of a queen donating a particular item to the church often had a multiplicity of meanings and ramifications. Many of these donations were meant to address personal and political issues directly affecting the queen herself, so rather than a simple stylistic analysis, this project seeks to understand the manufacture and donations of these objects in their proper socio-historical context.

Regarding illuminated manuscripts and books, Nolan identifies two points of interest in her study of Blanche of Castile (d. 1252): Blanche's active role in the creation of books, and the imagery of queenship that appears in these books.<sup>72</sup> The same methods as found in other similar studies (mostly derived from art history) will be used when analyzing the image of the queen within the context of contemporary illuminated manuscripts. The notion of power display will be just as relevant and important here, although the audience for any given manuscript might

<sup>68</sup> These possibly include her crown, ring, and veil. Guy Le Goff, Francesco Aceto, Abbey of Fontevrault, et al. *L'Europe des Anjou: aventure des princes Angevins du XIIIe au XVe siècle* (Paris: Somogy, 2001), 351-355.

<sup>69</sup> This was the case for some of the jewels of Mary, widow of Louis II (r. 1516-1526) who stipulated in her will that a certain locket given to her by her husband be melted down and the gold given to the poor. Orsolya Réthelyi, "'...Maria regina... nuda venerat ad Hungariam': The Queen's Treasures," in *Mary of Hungary: The Queen and Her Court 1521-1531*, ed. Orsolya Réthelyi (Budapest: Budapest History Museum, 2005), 121.

<sup>70</sup> Gergely Buzás, "Visegrád," in *Medium Regni: Medieval Hungarian Royal Seats*, ed. Julianna Altmann, et al. (Budapest: Nap Kiadó, 1999), 118-119.

<sup>71</sup> László Szende, "Mitherrscherin oder einfache Königinmutter Elisabeth von Lokietek in Ungarn (1320-1380)," *Majestas* 13 (2005): 47-63.

<sup>72</sup> Kathleen Nolan, *Queens in stone and silver*, 129.

originally have been much more circumscribed than the audience for objects with wider circulation such as coins. A suitable analysis of the queens' activities in book culture will be slightly more difficult. The only Hungarian monarchs to receive a proper analysis of their book patronage are Matthias Corvinus (r. 1458-1490) in connection with his famous library and his wife, Beatrix of Aragon (d. 1508).<sup>73</sup> To date, the study of the literary activities of Hungarian kings is rather understudied, and interest in the queens' literacy and interactions with coeval authors even sparser. Nonetheless, there are a few instances known from written sources of Hungarian queens showing individuals with an active interest in literary culture, especially from the fourteenth century. These examples will receive a suitable analysis in comparison with activities of other monarchs of the day through the lens of patronage.

### **The image of the queen in public monuments and private illustrations**

The image of the queen within ecclesiastic contexts shall be treated as a separate, very public category. Unlike neighboring Byzantium or the German kingdom, there are no surviving paintings or mosaics of Hungarian queens, save for one example of a Kievan princess who later married the king of Hungary.<sup>74</sup> However, there are a few surviving carved stone elements of crowned women with veils, some of which might represent the queen(s) of the particular period. These images yield quite a significant glimpse into patterns of female patronage as it was very rare for living laywomen to have their image incorporated directly into the decorative fabric of the church. In examining several statue columns erected in the lifetime of Adelaide of Maurienne (d. 1154), Nolan is cautious about any connection between the queen and several crowned women represented in stone, but she nonetheless points to the presence of symbols of power (crown, scepter) as well as personal connections identified through the historical sources as indicating a vocabulary of female statements of power.<sup>75</sup> While the statues that survive are mostly from the fourteenth century, it is possible to understand these elements in terms of their visibility and position within the church. Analyzing the appearance of medieval queens in illuminated manuscripts is even more difficult as for the most part it is the image of the queen used; she is not the one commissioning the manuscript so in this sense it is not a method of self-fashioning. Nonetheless, studying the appearance of Hungarian queens in such manuscripts can

<sup>73</sup> In chronological order of publication, see Ilona Berkovits, *Illuminated manuscripts from the library of Matthias Corvinus* (Budapest: Corvina Press, 1963); Csaba Csapodi, Klára Csapodiné Gárdonyi, and Tibor Szántó *Bibliotheca Corviniana: the library of King Matthias Corvinus* (New York: Praeger, 1969), or Marcus Tanner, *The Raven King: Matthias Corvinus and the fate of his lost library* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2008). For Beatrix see Csaba Csapodi, *Beatrix királyné könyvtára* [The library of Queen Beatrix] (Budapest, 1964).

<sup>74</sup> This would be Anastasia, wife of Andrew I (r. 1046-1060). Oleska Povstenko, *The Cathedral of St. Sophia in Kiev* (New York: Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the United States, 1954), 132.

<sup>75</sup> Kathleen Nolan, *Queens in stone and silver*, 72-75.

tell us a great deal about social attitudes towards the queens. Using Garnier's method of analyzing gestures in medieval texts will allow us to decipher the "words" that are put in the mouths of these illustrated queens depending on the particular context.<sup>76</sup>

### Space in life and death –palaces, monasteries, and graves

Archaeologically speaking, many of the approaches used in researching royal residences would entail the same methods used on any site.<sup>77</sup> The specific questions asked in this study about the relationship between the queens and their residences for the period in question will be different, though. Many of the questions asked in this overview will be similar to those recently put forward by Renoux: Were palaces and castles used to establish female authority; Did these women have the authority to found centers and develop palaces and castles; Did their involvement impact the form of the structure; Did they exercise any influence on the centers these sites were located in?<sup>78</sup> Initially, the approach best suited for an analysis of palaces and residences with the queens in mind seemed to be similar to one undertaken by Richardson in her article on gendered space and access analysis of English medieval royal palaces.<sup>79</sup> Regrettably, there is not enough data, either archival or archaeological, to produce a similar type of study for the Hungarian queens, even for the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries when the sources are more bountiful. However, this does not mean that a study involving a spatial component of Hungarian queens is impossible, but rather that the approach needs to be changed. To start with, an itinerary of the queens' residences will be created, and compared to the known itineraries of the kings (**Appendix I**).<sup>80</sup> This will become crucial in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries for two main reasons; this is the period when charter evidence survives, and often the formula of the charter indicates where it was issued.

Regarding the architecture connected to religious patronage of monasteries by secular women, Gilchrist's work opens up several different lines of enquiry. On the one hand, she points to distribution of certain monastic orders as being visible in the spatial record, particularly with the introduction of new orders through royal marriages, such as Henry II (r. 1154-1189) founding houses of Fontevraultine nuns at Westwood and Amesbury after his marriage to Eleanor of

<sup>76</sup> François Garnier, *Le langage de l'image au Moyen Âge* (Paris: Le Léopard d'Or, 1982-1989) Vol. I and II.

<sup>77</sup> Graham D. Keevill, *Medieval Palaces: an Archaeology* (Stroud: Tempus, 2000), 40.

<sup>78</sup> Annie Renoux, "Elite Women, Palaces, and Castles in Northern France (ca. 850-1100)," in *Reassessing the Roles of Women as 'Makers' of Medieval Art and Architecture*, Therese Martin, ed. Vol. II (Leiden & Boston: Brill, 2012), 741.

<sup>79</sup> Amanda Richardson, "Gender and Space in English Royal Palaces c. 1160-1547: A Study in Access Analysis and Imagery", *Medieval Archaeology* (2003): 131-165.

<sup>80</sup> A chronology of the kings' residences has been established (mostly from written chronicles and some charter evidence) in Károly Ráth, *A magyar királyok és erdélyi fejedelmek hadjárati, utazási és tartózkodási helyei* (Győr: Sauerwein, 1866).

Aquitaine (d. 1204).<sup>81</sup> Another aspect that may be considered is the material form of the space and the architectural program. There are several case studies on the relationship between the patron of a monastic institution and the architectural form it subsequently takes.<sup>82</sup> The burials of lay patrons in monastic institutions also provide a key aspect in their relation to the secular world,<sup>83</sup> though this will be mostly dealt with in the preceding chapter on the burials and grave monuments of the queens themselves. Overall, a chronology of monastic patronage will be established for the period under study, built up primarily from historical documents. For a few cases, the queen's life in a monastic context will be studied, though most of the queens who spent their later years as nuns only did so outside Hungary's borders: there are only a few Hungarian queens who chose to take up residence in monastic quarters in Hungary, and these women are handled accordingly. Maps of relevant monasteries are presented in these cases in order to clearly comment on spatial relations: elucidating the spatial aspects of the lives of the nuns will aid in understanding the lives of queens who chose monastic life in their widowhood.

Due to their poor degree of preservation, it will be necessary to take several approaches to grave monuments for the Hungarian queens in this study. In examining the burials of Capetian queens, Nolan uses a comparative approach, identifying similar tombs and tracing a sequence based particularly on stylistic elements.<sup>84</sup> Like Nolan's study, there will be a healthy comparative element, especially in cases where there is little information or only fragments of the tombs are known. With the exception of the grave monument of Gertrude of Meran (d. 1213), most of the monuments commemorating the tomb of a Hungarian queen are only found outside the borders of Hungary. Partly this is due to the fact that in the Árpád Period it was more the norm for the Hungarian queen to be buried beyond the borders of Hungary, and this fact will be important in interpreting the data from beyond the kingdom's borders. This custom of the queen dying beyond the borders of her kingdom and being buried there is quite unusual for the Hungarian Kingdom compared to the practice in other contemporary kingdoms. In researching this topic for my MA Thesis at the University of Maryland, it raised many points about the relationship between material culture and agency of the queens that informed my present doctoral dissertation.<sup>85</sup> Considering the relative importance and rank of the queen, the place of her grave marker in a

<sup>81</sup> Gilchrist, *Gender and Material Culture: the Archaeology of Medieval Religious Women*, 51.

<sup>82</sup> Ibid. 51-52; there is also the example of monastic lands donated to the Dominican convent of Margaret Island from the estate of Queen Maria Laskarina, Gábor Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses: Dynastic Cults in Medieval Central Europe*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 261.

<sup>83</sup> Gilchrist, *Gender and Material Culture: the Archaeology of Religious women*, 56-61.

<sup>84</sup> See, for example, the comparison of Bertrade de Montfort's tomb with that of Matilda of Flanders at Caen, or the comparison between Adelaide of Maurienne and Fredegonde. Kathleen Nolan, *Queens in stone and silver*, 34-44, 54-64.

<sup>85</sup> Christopher Mielke, "No country for old women: burial practices and patterns of Hungarian queens of the Árpád dynasty," (MA Thesis: University of Maryland, College Park, 2010).

church can give some insights as to her prominence at the time, even in cases where the location is only known from written evidence. It will be also noted how, in many cases, the grave of the queen could be altered or renovated in the course of the centuries; if the institution housing it had something to gain for its own prestige, it seems that the Hungarian queen's image was very important in its own profile (see, for instance, the burials at Walderbach and Suben). In addition, placing the queen's grave in its original context will offer valuable clues as to its proximity to particular saints' relics, how near the church was to major roads, and how active a site it was for pilgrimage.

### Objects known only from the written sources

A word must be spared here regarding objects of queens which are only known from written or non-material sources. In some cases, these items are known from the written record and simply do not fall into any of the following categories of analysis. One such example is a carriage mentioned in the will of Elizabeth of Poland (d. 1380) that would have been drawn by six horses.<sup>86</sup> There are also objects which leave trace elements elsewhere. The chemical analysis of Agnes of Antioch's (d. 1184) skeleton revealed elevated levels of lead and antimony in her bones which the authors attribute to cosmetic usage.<sup>87</sup> For several years, Agnes had lived that the Byzantine court where the standard of "natural beauty" for imperial women required them to regularly use cosmetics.<sup>88</sup> Two perfume vials from the later fifteenth century found in a cesspool near the northwestern part of the royal palace in Visegrád attest to later usage at the Hungarian court.<sup>89</sup> Finally, there are a category of items which queens owned, though no information on them survives. Items for illumination such as lamps survived in connection with other royal ladies, such as Sophia of Bavaria, Queen of Bohemia (d. 1428).<sup>90</sup> Most of what is known about furniture at the Hungarian courts is only available from fifteenth and sixteenth century inventories.<sup>91</sup> While Hungarian queens would have doubtless used such materials, none linked to

<sup>86</sup> "Item unum currum nobilem cum sex quis curiferis." Ernő Marosi, "A 14. századi Magyarország udvari művészettörténetírásban," [The fourteenth century Hungarian court in the art historical literature], in *Művészet I. Lajos király korában 1342-1382*, ed. Ernő Marosi, Melinda Tóth and Livia Varga (Budapest: MTA Művészettörténeti Kutató Csoport, 1982), 73, n 32.

<sup>87</sup> Kinga Éry, ed., *A székesfehérvári királyi bazilika embertani leletei 1848-2002* (Budapest: Balassi Kiadó, 2008), 574.

<sup>88</sup> Barbara Hill, *Imperial Women in Byzantium 1025-1204: Power, Patronage and Ideology* (New York: Longman, 1999), 89-91.

<sup>89</sup> Gergely Buzás, Edit Kocsis and József Laszlovszky, "Catalogue of Objects and Finds," in *The Medieval Royal Palace at Visegrád*, ed. Gergely Buzás and József Laszlovszky (Budapest: Archaeolingua, 2013), 366-367.

<sup>90</sup> Imre Takács, et al. *Sigismundus Rex et Imperator: Kunst und Kultur zur Zeit Sigismunds von Luxemburg, 1387-1437* (Mainz: Phillip von Zabern, 2006), 375-376.

<sup>91</sup> Krisztina Orosz, "Mozgó udvar – mozgó háztartás. Állandó vagy ideiglenes berendezés a késő középkori király és nemesi otthonokban?" [Itinerant Courts – Itinerant Households. Permanent or Temporary Furnishings in Royal and Noble Homes in the Late Middle Ages?] in *In medio regni Hungariae. Régészeti, művészettörténeti és történeti*

them seem to survive today. There are also other ephemeral instances of the queens' activities which have left no material remains. Upon her marriage with Béla III in 1186, Margaret of France was accompanied by a French troubadour, indicating her fondness for music.<sup>92</sup> The Life of St. Salomea of Kraków (d. 1268) mentions how her mother-in-law, Yolanda of Courtenay (d. 1233), second wife of Andrew II, was fond of tournaments and other chivalric pleasures; this was a point of tension between the ascetic princess and the worldly queen, apparently.<sup>93</sup>

Most of these queens have received little attention outside of Hungary, and the starting point of each part of the study has often needed to be explanation of who these women were and what their importance was to the Hungarian kingdom throughout their careers. As stated in earlier sections, the historical sources yield their own picture of the women and a closer look at all the available evidence should call for a re-evaluation of the queen's role and activity at the Hungarian court. This dissertation ultimately shows the multiplicity of material tools available for queens to display their private and public power as well as the many objects that themselves conferred status on queens when they came into their possession or gained control over them. The meaning of such pieces of material culture would have been instantly recognizable to contemporaries, and for this reason may not have been deemed worthy of mention or even be absent in the written record. The methodology used in this study thus seeks to combine a multi- and trans-disciplinary approach based on the specific questions each type of object articulates.

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kutatások 'az ország közepén': *Archaeological, Art Historical, and Historical Researches 'in the Middle of the Kingdom'* ed. Elek Benkő and Krisztina Orosz (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 2015), 121-128.

<sup>92</sup> It is possible that the presence of Peire Vidal and Gaucelm Faidit in Hungary may be due to Margaret. Kosztolnyik, *From Coloman the Learned to Béla III (1095-1196)*, 219; Zsoldos, *Az Árpádok és asszonyaik*, 177.

<sup>93</sup> "Nam instante regina Ungarie, uxore regis Andree, que erat uxor eius secunda genere Gallica, ut ad ludos virorum excitaretur, ipsa Christi famula appodiata vel adiuta tabilus insistere recusabat, dicense predictae regine: Domina regina, parata sum vobis obedire et vobiscum solaciari, quando in societate mulierum sine viris sumus; [cum] viris autem nullum volo habere commercium. Hec autem omnia facta fuerunt propter insidias castitatis." W. Kętrzyński, ed. "Vita sanctae Salomeae reginae Haliciensis auctore Stanislao Franciscano," in *Monumenta Poloniae historica* IV. (Cracow: 1884), 778-779; Karol Hollý, "Princess Salomea and Hungarian-Polish Relations in the period 1214-1241," *Historický Časopis*, 55 (2007): 27.



## *Public and Official Objects of the Queen*

### I. Seals of the Hungarian queens thirteenth and fourteenth centuries

Seals are impressions of wax attached to charters which were meant to authenticate documents issued by persons of authority in the Middle Ages. Bedos-Rezak ties the spread of sealing to the growing trust given to written documents as the power of the seal to authenticate a document rested heavily on the public authority of its owner.<sup>94</sup> Since seals are tied so closely with the practice of administration and the legal activity of the queens, they will be the first object of study as they are most connected not only with the queen's image but also with her capacity to act.

To date, there have been several works touching on the importance of medieval seals in Hungary. The earliest collection is that of Pray, whose posthumous work on medieval seals in Hungary includes very useful drawings of the seals of Queens Fenenna of Kujavia (d. 1295), Agnes of Habsburg (d. 1364), Elizabeth of Poland (d. 1380), Elizabeth of Bosnia (d. 1387), and Queen Mary (r. 1382-1395), as well as several queens from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.<sup>95</sup> In the 1940s, Kumorovitz summarized the state of research by listing six Árpáadian age queens, one princess, and the mother of Andrew III (r. 1290-1301) who employed a seal in the thirteenth century.<sup>96</sup> More substantially, Berend has compared the two seals of Elizabeth the Cuman (d. 1290), wife of Stephen V (r. 1270-1272) and regent for her young son Ladislas IV (r. 1272-1290). While discussed in greater detail, comparing a seal of Elizabeth's from 1273 and one from 1282 shows clear changes in imagery and the representation of power in just those nine years.<sup>97</sup> Exhibition catalogues have included the reginal seals in terms of their art historical value,<sup>98</sup> with the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries being particularly well-researched. Art historian Marosi has published a case study on the great seal of Queen Mary, the daughter of Louis I the Great who ruled in her own right from 1382-1395.<sup>99</sup> The critical edition of the charters of Hungarian queens will occasionally mention when the seal or the threads used to

<sup>94</sup> Brigitte Miriam Bedos-Rezak, "Medieval Identity: a Sign and a Concept," in *Medieval Coins and Seals: Constructing Identity, Signifying Power*, ed. Susan Solway (Turnhout: Brepols, 2015), 45-46.

<sup>95</sup> For instance, it also includes the seals of Barbara of Cillei, Elizabeth of Luxemburg, and Anne de Foix. György Pray, *Syntagma historicum de sigillis regum, et reginarum Hungariae pluribusque aliis* (Buda, 1805), xxxiii-xxxiv.

<sup>96</sup> L. Bernát Kumorovitz, *A magyar pecséthasználat története a középkorban: Der Gebrauch von Siegeln in Ungarn im Mittelalter* (Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, 1993), 41.

<sup>97</sup> Nora Berend, *At the Gates of Christendom* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 263.

<sup>98</sup> For instance, Ernő Marosi, Melinda Tóth, Livia Varga, & István Király Múzeum. *Művészet I. Lajos király korában, 1342-1382: katalógus*. Budapest: MTA Művészettörténeti Kutató Csoport, 1982, 142-151.

<sup>99</sup> Ernő Marosi, "Der grosse Münzsiegel der Königin Maria von Ungarn: Zum Problem der Serialität Mittelalterlicher Kunstwerke" *Acta Historiae Artium* XXVIII (1982): 3-22.

fasten the seal survive.<sup>100</sup> In 2012, Takács wrote a thorough Hungarian & English publication on the royal seals of the Árpád dynasty, including the seals of the kings, queens, and princes.<sup>101</sup> Finally, and most recently, Kerny has written an extensive historiography on the subject of the study of seals in medieval Hungary, even pointing out why some seals seem to be more popular subjects of study than others.<sup>102</sup>

It seems that the Hungarian kings began to seal regularly since the time of Saint Stephen I (r. 997-1038). One document from 1001 has a clause at the end indicating the king had used his seal on it and another from 1009 mentions his signet ring.<sup>103</sup> Unfortunately, none of Stephen's seals survive, and the seals of monarchs in the eleventh century remain a patchwork of fragmentary evidence. While the first royal seal to survive in Hungary is that of St. Ladislav I (r. 1077-1095), fragments and references of seals from the earlier Árpáds are known today.<sup>104</sup> It is very difficult to trace the history of Hungarian queens sealing before the thirteenth century. There were many queens who came from courts or were familiar with women who used seals, but there is no evidence that the queens themselves took up this practice. For instance, the earliest German queen known to seal consistently is the Empress Kunigunde (d. 1040), wife of Henry II (r. 1002-1024), and sister-in-law to Gisela of Bavaria (d. 1065), the first queen of Hungary and wife of King Saint Stephen.<sup>105</sup> Kunigunde appears crowned and with the same regalia as her husband, holding a scepter and an orb.<sup>106</sup> None of the eleventh and twelfth century charters survive, though later documents refer to charters issued by earlier queens, such as Adelaide of Rheinfelden (d. 1090) and Euphrosyne of Kiev (d. 1193).<sup>107</sup> There is also another curious artifact, a ring from the tomb of Anna of Antioch (d. 1184), found at her place of burial in Székesfehérvár. It is a silver

<sup>100</sup> Attila Zsoldos and Imre Szentpétery, *Az Árpád-házi hercegek, hercegnők és a királynék okleveleinek kritikai jegyzéke* [A critical edition of the charters of the princes, princesses, and queens of the Árpád house] (Budapest: Magyar Országos Levéltár, 2008), 45-179.

<sup>101</sup> Imre Takács, *Az Árpád-házi királyok pecsétjei: Royal Seals of the Árpád dynasty* (Budapest: Hungarian National Library, 2012).

<sup>102</sup> Terézia Kerny, "'Dupplici sigilli nostri authentici munimine' A középkori magyar uralkodói pecsétek kutatástörténetének vázlata" *Ars Hungarica* XLI/1 (2015): 173-220.

<sup>103</sup> Takács, *Az Árpád-házi királyok pecsétjei: Royal Seals of the Árpád dynasty*, 156.

<sup>104</sup> *Ibid.*, 156-159.

<sup>105</sup> An illustration from 1729 does preserved an antique gem (probably Omphale, wife of Hercules) and the inscription RIC HIL DE, implying that it might have belonged to Richildis (d. 910), the wife of Charles the Bald of France (r. 870-877), though the gem has been lost since and it is unknown whether this was ever used as a seal, considering none of her charters employ a sealing formula. Ginevra Kornbluth, *Engraved Gems of the Carolingian Empire* (University Park, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1996), 126-128.

<sup>106</sup> Kathleen Nolan, *Queens in Stone and Silver: the Creation of a Visual Imagery of Queenship in Capetian France*. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 26.

<sup>107</sup> Thirteenth century charters refer to donations Adelaide made in the late eleventh century to the bishopric of Veszprém, while a charter from 1193 refers to donations of land Eufrozina made to the Hospitaller preceptory at Székesfehérvár that she had founded decades prior. Mór Wertner, *Az Árpádok családi története*, (Nagybcskerek, 1892), 193-194; Zsolt Hunyadi, *The Hospitallers in the Medieval Kingdom of Hungary c. 1150-1387* (Budapest: CEU Press, 2010), 25; Zsoldos and Szentpétery, *Az Árpád-házi hercegek, hercegnők és a királynék okleveleinek kritikai jegyzéke* [A critical edition of the charters of the princes, princesses, and queens of the Árpád house], 184.

finger ring with an almandine stone showing a bas-relief of a siren or a naiade.<sup>108</sup> Antique gems started to be in fashion at the Hungarian court, and the seals of Stephen III (r. 1161-1173), Béla III (r. 1173-1196), and King Imre (r. 1196-1204) have a small antique gemstone pressed into them.<sup>109</sup> For Anna's ring with an antique gemstone, it does not seem to be a seal; there is no personal identification such as her name carved onto the ring and it seems to have been purely for decoration (**Cat. VII.2**).

Hungarian queens would have used great seals and signet rings. The former are pressed in natural wax while the latter in red wax.<sup>110</sup> The earliest surviving seal (preserved in very fragmentary form) is that of Yolanda de Courtenay from 1224. While she is the first Hungarian queen whose seal survived, there are indications that some of her predecessors were familiar with the practice of women using seals as well. Margaret of France, second wife of Béla III (r. 1173-1196) was brought up at the English court. Though her contact with Eleanor of Aquitaine (d. 1204) seems to have been minimal, Eleanor was nonetheless the first French queen to use a seal during the lifetime of her first husband (Louis VII of France, r. 1137-1180) and by the time she was married to Henry II of England (r. 1154-1189) she had an extensive history of employing a seal.<sup>111</sup> Two of Margaret's charters are known to have existed from her time before her marriage to Béla III, but only one has survived. While there is no sealing clause in its text, there were threads of white silk attached to the document indicating that a seal was originally attached.<sup>112</sup> Whether this was her own seal or another's unfortunately cannot be determined. A nineteenth century source has suggested that Constance of Aragon (d. 1222) employed a seal after her remarriage to Frederick II, King of Sicily (r. 1212-1250), but this is doubtful.<sup>113</sup> The seals of Hungarian queens for the twelfth and thirteenth centuries are round with seated figures. Like the seals of the German queens, they resemble more closely the round seals of their husbands. The seals of English and French queens tend to be ovoid and with a standing figure, modeled after the

<sup>108</sup> Etele Kiss, "Anneau d'Anne d'Antioche," in *Hungaria regia (1000-1800): Fastes et défis*, ed. Sándor Őze and Luc Duerloo (Brussels: Brepols, 1999), 118-119; Tamás Gesztelyi and György Rácz, *Antik gemmapecsétek a középkori Magyarországon: Antike Gemmensiegel im mittelalterlichen Ungarn* (Debrecen: Debreceni Egyetem Kossuth Egyetemi Kiadó, 2006), 12-13.

<sup>109</sup> Takács, *Az Árpád-házi királyok pecsétjei: Royal Seals of the Árpád dynasty*, 62.

<sup>110</sup> András Kubinyi, "Udvari pecséthasználat az Anjou-korban," in *Művészet I. Lajos király korában, 1342-1382*, ed. Ernő Marosi, Melinda Tóth and Livia Varga (Budapest: MTA Művészettörténeti Kutató Csoport, 1982), 138.

<sup>111</sup> Nolan, *Queens in Stone and Silver*, 80-86.

<sup>112</sup> László Fejérpataky, "Margit királyné két oklevele," [Two charters of Queen Margaret], in *III. Béla magyar király emlékezete*, ed. Gyula Forster (Budapest: V. Hornyánszky, 1900), 349-351.

<sup>113</sup> The main problem is that the seal Marczali claims was Constance of Aragon's was actually used by her mother-in-law, Constance de Hauteville. Henrik Marczali, *Magyarország története az Árpádok korában (1038-1301)* [Hungarian history in the age of the Árpáds (1038-1301)], Vol IV. (Budapest: Athenaeum Irodalmi és Nyomdai Részvénytársulat, 1896), 61, 348, Drawing by Károly Heffner; Francesco Daniele, *I regali sepolcri del Duomo di Palermo: riconosciuti e illustrati* (Naples: Nella Stamperia del re, 1784), 57.

seals of bishops.<sup>114</sup> Since there is no comprehensive study addressing these controversies, a full discussion of these seals is needed.

In most cases, the audiences of these images would have been the monasteries, royal staff and nobility fortunate enough to receive these documents. The legal status of these (mostly) sealed charters meant that they were frequently brought forth in cases where they needed to be copied or re-affirmed. From the palace, these documents could travel far and wide representing the queen. While the charter would have been written by clerks, members of the laity actively employing seals indicates their participation in documentation and authentication.<sup>115</sup> What follows will be a brief description of the seals of each of the queens as well as a history of their use of the seals, as their contemporaries would have seen and understood them. The patterns of imagery and self-imaging will be the primary means of discussing the agency of the queens. In many cases, the image of the queen is similar across the board for the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. While the seals are not heavily individualized, it is mostly because of the fact that the authority, social status and the formula of identity were more important for the viewer.<sup>116</sup> The queen of Hungary appears, on a throne seat and crowned, with her hair unbound and sometimes holding a scepter (or even an orb in a few rare cases). Some of the queens clutch at the tie to their mantle, a gesture common on the seals of other women throughout Europe. Starting in the fourteenth century, the queens began to employ heraldic devices of their own on their seals. It is in these variations of the established imagery where the queen's agency can often be detected.

### **Yolanda of Courtenay (Cat. I.1)**

The first Hungarian queen with firm evidence of employing a seal is Yolanda de Courtenay (d. 1233), daughter of Peter II of Courtenay, Latin Emperor of Constantinople (r. 1216-1217) and Yolanda of Flanders (r. 1217-1219), and second wife to Hungarian king Andrew II (r. 1205-1235). Yolanda is earliest queen whose charters survive in their intact, original form so perhaps it is no surprise that she appears as the first one to employ the use of a seal. Two charters of hers from 1224 and 1226 survive, though the seal only survives on the one from 1226 and it is very badly damaged.<sup>117</sup> There are several elements present in the seal which nonetheless suggest a few tantalizing clues about how it was used. The figure is most likely seated on a throne of sorts with elements of Gothic tracery. At first, what survives of her posture is so similar

<sup>114</sup> Nolan, *Queens in Stone and Silver*, 25-28.

<sup>115</sup> Bedos-Rezak, "Medieval Identity: a Sign and a Concept", 46.

<sup>116</sup> Bedos-Rezak, "Medieval Identity: a Sign and a Concept", 61.

<sup>117</sup> A third one has not survived. Zsoldos and Szentpétery, *Az Árpád-házi hercegek, hercegnők és a királynék okleveleinek kritikai jegyzéke* [A critical edition of the charters of the princes, princesses, and queens of the Árpád house], 45-46, 184.

to that of the king's seal that it appears that Yolanda might have simply used the king's seal on her documents. But this is not true for two reasons. First, the misplaced inscription on the seal of "IE+", most likely a completion of some formula like "YOLES REGINA UNGARIE"; in the seals of King Andrew II, the upper left formula would end with the word "REX+" followed by the cross at the top. Secondly, the position of the left hand in Yolanda's seal appears to be extended and holding an orb, while the seal used by Andrew II from 1214-1229 shows that his left hand would have been holding the orb in his lap, not above his knee.<sup>118</sup> Though heavily damaged, the seal of Yolanda from the 1226 charter is not her husband's, and though its design could have been based on that of Andrew's, it is most probable that it is her own. The "E" in her seal looks very similar to the letters used on Andrew's second and third great seal.<sup>119</sup>

While the lettering on the seal may not be in its original place, it seems that the other three fragments are in their original position; these fragments appear to be her head, her right arm and torso, and her left hand with a Gothic background. Yolanda's head appears to be worn, but it seems that she is wearing a crown. The portion with her body seems to show a loose-fitting garment and the queen's right arm; her right arm seems to be positioned as if she is holding a scepter, but the fragment is too worn to be able to tell if there is one. It seems that Yolanda is holding an object in her left hand, possibly an orb with a cross. This is remarkable because the next queens who are depicted with an orb on their seals are Elizabeth Kotromanić and Queen Mary in the 1380s. It is clear from the other seals in the thirteenth century that the throne seat also had Gothic tracery, so that might explain the decoration below Yolanda's left hand, and as such the decoration above her hand might be an armrest or part of the throne's back. While many aspects of the queen's seal were clearly adopted by later queens (such as the figure of the crowned queen and the inscription of her identity) there seem to be some elements of this seal that are not repeated for over a century on the seals of the queens, such as the possible orb.

### **Maria Laskarina (Cat. 1.2)**

Maria Laskarina has the earliest intact seal of a Hungarian queen. Clauses indicating the use of a seal are present on Maria's charters from 1248 until her death in 1270, but it might have been in use as early as 1242.<sup>120</sup> Imre Takács sees a lot of similarities between Maria's seal and

<sup>118</sup> Géza Érszegi, *Sigilla Regum – Reges Sigillorum: Királyportrék a Magyar Országos Levéltár pecsétgyűjteményéből* [Portraits of the kings from the seal collection at the Hungarian National Library] (Budapest: Magyar Képek, 2011), 44-49.

<sup>119</sup> Takács, *Az Árpád-házi királyok pecsétjei: Royal Seals of the Árpád dynasty*, 110-115.

<sup>120</sup> Kumorovitz, *A magyar pecséthasználat története a középkorban*, 41; Takács, *Az Árpád-házi királyok pecsétjei: Royal Seals of the Árpád dynasty*, 175.

her husband's second seal which had been in use from 1241, and suggests that Maria's seal might have been in use from after 1242.<sup>121</sup> Takács also suggests that there might be a connection between Maria using her seal and a charter of Béla IV (r. 1235-1270) from 1243 wherein he ennobles the queen's goldsmith.<sup>122</sup> Various fragments of her seal are preserved in documents from 1259, 1264, and 1268, but the best preserved seal is from 1269, the year before her death. The queen is sitting on a throne seat with no back. This throne is considerably important since Béla IV removed the right to sit in his presence from the nobles; the royal family was the only exception.<sup>123</sup> In her right hand she holds a scepter topped with a fleur-de-lys, and with her right hand she holds the clasps on her cloak. There are many meanings to this gesture (including it indicating the rich mantle the queen is allowed to wear as a high-status married woman), but the hand on the heart might also represent sincerity, acceptance, a connection to the divine, and humility.<sup>124</sup> Bodor is of the opinion that all thirteenth-century Árpád-era queens (Maria Laskarina, Elizabeth the Cuman, Isabella of Naples and Fenenna of Kujavia) would have also held orbs, but most of the seals are too worn to be able to tell beyond a shadow of a doubt if this is true.<sup>125</sup> In most of these cases it seems that there is no presence of an orb. The queen is crowned and her hair is loose and unbound. There is no background, and the inscription in the ring on the edges of the seal refers to her as Maria, Queen of Hungary by the grace of God. There also seems to be some sort of platform that her feet are resting on as well. The reverse of the seal is simple as well, and the only thing in the field is the double-barred Hungarian cross. The double-barred cross is not planted in the ground but resting on an inverted triangle. The inscription on the reverse refers to her as Maria, daughter of "the emperor of the Greeks".<sup>126</sup> From the seal of Maria Laskarina onwards, it seems that the queen's parentage was always placed on the reverse of the seal. While kings from Stephen III (r. 1161-1173) onwards usually mentioned their father on their seals, it is only Andrew II who places that formula on the reverse of one of his seals; from Béla IV on, this would be the regular practice.<sup>127</sup> The declaration of her

<sup>121</sup> Takács, *Az Árpád-házi királyok pecsétjei: Royal Seals of the Árpád dynasty*, 175.

<sup>122</sup> Ibid.

<sup>123</sup> János M. Bak and Martyn Rady, trans. *Anonymous and Master Roger: The Deeds of the Hungarians and the Epistle to the Sorrowful Lament upon the destruction of the Kingdom of Hungary by the Tatars* (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2010), 143.

<sup>124</sup> Elizabeth Danbury, "Queens and Powerful Women: Image and Authority," in *Good Impressions: Image and Authority in Medieval Seals* ed. Noël Adams, John Cherry and James Robinson (London: British Museum Press, 2008), 18.

<sup>125</sup> Bodor, "Árpád-kori pecsétjeink, I.", 9-11.

<sup>126</sup> The inscription on DL 686 is very worn. Zuzana Orságová, "Maria Laskaris and Elizabeth the Cuman: two examples of Árpadian Queenship" (MA Thesis: Central European University, 2009), 77.

<sup>127</sup> Andrew III even makes reference to his descent as a grandson of Andrew II. Takács, *Az Árpád-házi királyok pecsétjei: Royal Seals of the Árpád dynasty*, 162-184.

natal kin paired with the image of the Hungarian double-barred cross continues almost uninterrupted until the 1380s with the seals of Elizabeth Kotromanić and Queen Mary.

### **Elizabeth the Cuman (Cat. 1.3 and 1.4)**

Elizabeth the Cuman (d. 1290) is known to have used two seals in her life, both from the period after the death of her husband, Stephen V (r. 1270-1272). While she issued charters during the life of her husband, the only seals that survive are from the period after the death of her husband. The first dates from 1273, the time of her regency for her young son, Ladislas IV ‘the Cuman’ (r. 1272-1290). The queen is crowned and her hair is unbound, like that of Maria Laskarina. Unlike her predecessor, she holds no scepter in her hand, and both her left and right hand are clasped together at her chest. The throne seat is flanked by the heads of either two lions. The only other occurrence of such symbolism on medieval Hungarian royal seals is in the one used by her husband Stephen V from 1270-1272.<sup>128</sup> One of the great seals used by Charles II of Naples (r. 1285-1309) and Robert I of Naples (r. 1309-1343) also has this element with a throne seat flanked by lions’ heads; considering the double marriage alliance him, his sister and the children of Stephen V, it is probable that this element is a theme that has been deliberately borrowed. Charles II of Naples’ seal dates from 1289, so it is possible that the Hungarian examples preceded it.<sup>129</sup> The inscription surrounds the queen in two rings, referring to her as “Elisabeth, Queen of Hungary by the Grace of God and daughter of the emperor of the Cumans”.<sup>130</sup> Like her mother-in-law, the reverse of Elizabeth’s seal depicts the Hungarian double-barred cross, but in Elizabeth’s case there are flowers sprouting up at the roots of the cross. From Elizabeth the Cuman to Maria of Silesia (d. 1317), the double-barred cross on the back of the queen’s seal is on the ground with flowers sprouting up at the base; these flowers could possibly be roses. If they are indeed roses it is possible that this could be an allusion to the myth of St. Elizabeth (d. 1231) with roses springing up in the middle of winter.<sup>131</sup> Roses had a strong connection not only to the Virgin Mary, but also even to Christ; some Latin hymns address him as the rose which sprung from the lily.<sup>132</sup> While some of the older literature has made reference to this seal as an example of how Elizabeth maintained her Cuman identity, Berend thinks that putting forth the claim that her father was an emperor was more important than the

<sup>128</sup> Takács, *Az Árpád-házi királyok pecsétjei: Royal Seals of the Árpád dynasty*, 129-133.

<sup>129</sup> Louis Blancard, *Iconographie des Sceaux et Bulles conservés dans la partie antérieure à 1790 des Archives Départementales des Bouches-du-Rhône* (Marseille: Camon frères, 1860), 25-26, plate 8, no. 4.

<sup>130</sup> Berend, *At the Gates of Christendom*, 263; Orságová, *Maria Laskaris and Elizabeth the Cuman: two examples of Árpadian Queenship*, 77-78.

<sup>131</sup> Gábor Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 369-370.

<sup>132</sup> M. W. Tisdall, *God’s Flowers: An Iconography for Foliage Decoration* (Plymouth: Charlesfort Press, 2012), 136-137.

ethnic identity. Berend explains that Elizabeth's regency was fraught with turmoil and having a strong image with claims of such lineage would have helped project a greater image of power.<sup>133</sup> It is worth asking the relation of this particular seal to the regency, as according to Kumorovitz, Elizabeth the Cuman had a seal from 1264 to 1290.<sup>134</sup> Aside from the survival in 1273, is it unknown how long this seal was in use, but it is possible she could have used it from 1264 to 1279. In 1264 tensions between Stephen V and his father broke out into open war, and Stephen seized the lands of his mother and sister while Elizabeth the Cuman and their son were captured by the armies of Béla IV. It is possible that Elizabeth's first sealing practices were related to this period of instability where Stephen V was trying to assert greater authority.

Elizabeth's second seal is more traditional in form and formula. The best preserved example of this seal dates from 1280.<sup>135</sup> Like in her first seal, she is seated on a throne with a scepter in her right hand and a crown over her unbound hair. Yet the obverse of the second seal lacks the drama of the first; the lions' heads are missing on the throne seat (though it is clear in this image she is sitting on a pillow), there is only one line of text, and there is no decoration on the background. The background preserves the traditional format of the double-barred cross with plants sprouting at the base, but this seal is unique amongst the other ones in this catalog (including her first); there is no mention of Elizabeth's heritage on this seal at all. The inscription instead refers to her as the wife of Stephen V who is the son of the "illustrious" Béla IV. The plants sprouting at the base of the cross also do not look anything like the flowers on the back of her first seal. While this seal is more or less the same size as her first seal, the design seems to be a lot more simplified, as seen in the throne and the foliage. This could be due to the fact that this seal was made when Elizabeth was a widowed Queen rather than a Princess or Queen Consort.

### Isabella of Naples (Cat. I.5 and I.6)

There are eighteen charters issued by Isabella of Naples (d. 1303) which contain some surviving fragments of the queen's two seals (**Cat. I.5** and **I.6**). Novak and Bodor have analyzed the fragments in question, showing that Isabella's first seal was only used in her first two charters from 1275 and 1276.<sup>136</sup> Her first seal is very fragmented, and not even the inscription survives. On the front she is depicted sitting on a throne (or bench), with her right arm outstretched and her left arm at her chest. The reverse has a double-barred cross surrounded by a border decorated

<sup>133</sup> Berend, *At the Gates of Christendom*, 263.

<sup>134</sup> L. Bernát Kumorovitz, *A magyar pecséthasználat története a középkorban*, 41.

<sup>135</sup> MOL DL-DF 63612.

<sup>136</sup> Bodor states that her first seal would have been in use from 1274 to 1276 though no examples from 1274 survive to present. Imre Bodor, "Árpád-kori pecsétjeink, I." [Seals of the Árpád-age] *Turul* 74 (2001): 10; Ádam Novak, "Izabella (Erzsébet) királyné pecsétjeiről" [The Seals of Queen Isabella (Elizabeth)] *Turul* LXXXVII (2014), 109-111.



with small flowers and what appears to be a small flower in the field with the cross.<sup>137</sup> No explanation has been offered thus far why Queen Isabella employed a different seal towards the end of 1276, there is one possible explanation. While she had been living at the Hungarian court since 1270, the royal couple was finally married only in 1277;<sup>138</sup> this second seal could have been made for the queen in preparation for a change not only in her life-course but also in her status at the court.

Isabella's second seal (**I.6**) comes into use sometime after November 27 1276, and is amended twice; first between 1279 and 1282 and the second time in 1284, or perhaps some time before. This seal was used until 1290.<sup>139</sup> In this version, the queen is also sitting on a throne with a back. In her right hand she holds a scepter topped with a fleur-de-lys, while her left hand seems to be clutched to her chest. Isabella's seal seems to be the first instance of the stylized Angevin fleur-de-lys known in Hungary.<sup>140</sup> In this seal, the queen adopts the same pose as her husband with her right hand holding a scepter, not extended.<sup>141</sup> The obverse of Isabella's second seal has the elements present in the seals of Maria Laskarina and Elizabeth the Cuman; artistically, it is similar enough to the second majestic seal of Ladislas IV that the two might have been made at the same time.<sup>142</sup>

The presence of the throne with a back as a symbol of power is incredibly important. One seal of Charles II of Naples (Isabella's older brother, r. 1285-1309) from the early fourteenth century has him seated with a throne on his back, but for the most part its presence on Isabella's seal cannot be explained simply by adopting this design, especially since her seal precedes her brother's.<sup>143</sup> In Isabella's case, the back of the throne is decorated with a diamond patterns with lilies inside, and the top is decorated with miniature lilies and flanked by two massive fleur-de-lys on either end. The next Hungarian queen whose seal depicts her with a back on her throne seat is Elizabeth of Poland, at which point over fifty years had lapsed since the last time Isabella was known to have used her seal. The quality of the carving is very precise, and this is especially evident in the Gothic niches on the throne seat, as well as the pattern on the back of the throne.

The reverse of the seal likewise follows that of her predecessors with a few new elements. The double-barred Hungarian cross is the first combination on a Hungarian seal with the

<sup>137</sup> Bodor, "Árpád-kori pecsétjeink, I.", 10.

<sup>138</sup> Z. J. Kosztonyik, *Hungary in the Thirteenth Century* (Boulder: East European Monographs, 1996), 278.

<sup>139</sup> Bodor, "Árpád-kori pecsétjeink, I.", 10; Novak, "Izabella (Erzsébet) királyné pecsétjeiről" 110-111.

<sup>140</sup> Takács, *Az Árpád-házi királyok pecsétjei: Royal Seals of the Árpád dynasty*, 146-147.

<sup>141</sup> Takács, *Az Árpád-házi királyok pecsétjei: Royal Seals of the Árpád dynasty*, 182-183.

<sup>142</sup> Ibid., 182-3.

<sup>143</sup> Blancard, *Iconographie des Sceaux et Bulles*, 23-24, plate 7 no. 3.

depiction of the *crux gemmata* combined with the *crux vivifica*.<sup>144</sup> The inscription proclaims her as the daughter of the “illustrious” king Charles of Sicily. The flowers on the back of the seal at the base of the cross do not appear to resemble the roses on the back of Elizabeth’s seal; these flowers have three small, rounded petals.<sup>145</sup>

### Fenenna of Kujava (Cat. I.7)

Fenenna of Kujava (d. 1295) was the first wife of Andrew III (r. 1290-1301), and though she was only queen for a short time, she issued several charters in her name and thus several fragments survive from her period of sealing (1291-1295). Only about half the seal remains in its present state, but in addition to the fragments from two charters issued in 1291, there is also a nineteenth century drawing that gives some clues on what it originally looked like.<sup>146</sup> From the wax impression, it is clear that Fenenna is seated on a throne with no back like her predecessors, crowned with her hair braided, rather than loose like the other queens in the thirteenth and fourteenth century. The drawing recorded in Pray’s work from 1805 shows the queen holding a scepter in her right hand and an orb in her left.<sup>147</sup> The right hand is missing, but there are traces of the queen’s left hand, though it is very difficult to tell if she is clasping a tie at her cloak or holding an orb. The fact that the queen’s hand is slightly off-center suggests that she is holding an orb, rather than clasping her cloak. Imre Takács notes its similarity to the seal of Isabella of Naples, particularly noting the similarity in form on the reverse.<sup>148</sup>

The double-barred cross on the reverse is dotted with flowers and shows the field behind the cross unadorned. The inscription around the cross displays the typical formula as well, stating her paternal lineage. Yet one odd discrepancy when comparing the drawing to the seal occurs in the plants springing up from the base of the double-barred cross. In the drawing, it shows sheaves of wheat at the base, but in the seal attached to DL 1320, it seems that the plant at the base are not wheat, but rather a three-petaled flower with pointed edges. It seems to bear a resemblance to the white lily (*lilium candidum*) as it appears in several Central European works of art, though it is

<sup>144</sup> Imre Takács, *Az Árpád-házi királyok pecsétjei: Royal Seals of the Árpád dynasty*, 182.

<sup>145</sup> Bodor, “Árpád-kori pecsétjeink, I.”, 10.

<sup>146</sup> Pray, *Syntagma historicum de sigillis regum, et reginarum Hungariae*, Tab. IX, Fig 2.; reproduced in Franciszek Ksawery Piekosiński and Edmund Krystian Diehl, *Pieczęcie polskie wieków średnich* [Seals of the Polish Middle Ages] (Kraków: nakładem własnym, 1899), 130-132.

<sup>147</sup> Pray, *Syntagma historicum de sigillis regum, et reginarum Hungariae*, 153; Bodor, “Árpád-kori pecsétjeink, I.”, 10.

<sup>148</sup> Imre Takács, *Az Árpád-házi királyok pecsétjei: Royal Seals of the Árpád dynasty*, 182.

difficult to tell for sure.<sup>149</sup> The lily with the three leaves had strong connotations of chastity and purity and in particular is associated with the Virgin Mary.<sup>150</sup>

### Agnes of Austria (Habsburg) (Cat. I.8 & I.9)

According to Kumorovitz, Agnes of Habsburg (d. 1364) only used a seal in the year 1295<sup>151</sup>, but this information is not true for several reasons. While the chronology is difficult, it seems that Andrew's first wife Fenenna died in 1295, during the season of Advent, and the marriage between Andrew and Agnes does not seem to have taken place until 1296.<sup>152</sup> Secondly, Agnes seems to have issued other charters during her brief time as queen of Hungary, though the seals do not seem to survive from this period. Three charters from 1299 to 1300 include clauses indicating that a seal would have originally been attached. One of them would have originally had three seals. Hers would have most likely held the center position, but it seems that the only one that survives is that of Imre, Bishop of Oradea (formerly Nagyvárad).<sup>153</sup> Pray and subsequent historians have identified two seals of Agnes of Głogów (d. 1361) as that of Agnes of Habsburg, confusing the issue even further.<sup>154</sup> Nonetheless, it seems that Agnes most likely employed two seals in her lifetime; one as Queen of Hungary (**I.8**), the other as a widow (**I.9**).

The reverse of the first seal of Agnes of Habsburg is known from a drawing by Nándor Malachovsky in the massive *Hungarian National History*.<sup>155</sup> It featured the Hungarian double barred cross, surrounded by a lobed design and the inscription "Seal of Agnes, Queen of Hungary".<sup>156</sup> In 1895, it was listed as belonging to the Archives of the Hungarian National Museum,<sup>157</sup> but its present whereabouts are currently unknown. Thus far, dates of its usage are unknown, but if it was issued from a document during the time that Agnes spent in Hungary, it could have been used any time from 1296 to 1301.<sup>158</sup> It is also curious to note that this is the first

<sup>149</sup> Ülle Sillasoo, *Plant Depictions in Late Medieval Religious Art in Southern Central Europe: an Archaeobotanical approach* (Budapest: Central European University, 2003), 143-144, figs. 73, 86, 90.

<sup>150</sup> Tisdall, *God's Flowers: An Iconography for Foliage Decoration*, 92-93.

<sup>151</sup> Kumorovitz, *A magyar pecséthasználat története a középkorban*, 41.

<sup>152</sup> Attila Zsoldos, "The Problem of Dating Queens' Charters of the Árpadian Age (Eleventh-Thirteenth Century)" in *Dating Undated Medieval Charters*, ed. by Michael Gervers, (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2002), 154.

<sup>153</sup> Zsoldos and Szentpétery, *Az Árpád-házi hercegek, hercegnők és a királynék okleveleinek kritikai jegyzéke* [A critical edition of the charters of the princes, princesses, and queens of the Árpád house], 173-175.

<sup>154</sup> Pray, *Syntagma historicum de sigillis regum, et reginarum Hungariae*, 59; Hermann von Liebenau and Theodor von Liebenau, *Hundert Urkunden zu der Geschichte der Königin Agnes, Wittwe von Ungarn, 1288-1364* (Regensburg: Georg Joseph Manz, 1869), 9-10;

<sup>155</sup> Sándor Szilágyi, ed. *A Magyar Nemzet Története* [Hungarian National History], Vol. III. (Budapest: Athenaeum Irodalmi, 1895), 33.

<sup>156</sup> Bodor, "Árpád-kori pecsétjeink, I.", 11, 13 n 68.

<sup>157</sup> Szilágyi, ed. *A Magyar Nemzet Története*, Vol. III, 33.

<sup>158</sup> Agnes left Hungary shortly after she was widowed. Volker Honneman, "A Medieval Queen and her Stepdaughter: Agnes and Elizabeth of Hungary", *Queens and Queenship in Medieval Europe: proceedings of a conference held at King's College London, April 1995*, Anne J. Duggan, ed. (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2002), 110.

time there are no flowers springing up at the base of the cross, a feature which would appear on Agnes' second seal (see below).

Unable to take a photo of the second seal of Agnes, Nevismal nonetheless provides a very helpful description of an impression from 1311 made in white wax. Agnes sits on a cushioned throne without a back, wearing a crown rimmed with pearls and with her hair uncovered. She holds the tie to her cloak in her left hand and a branch with three leaves in the right. The background of the obverse has the letters A and G, while the reverse has the letters N, and ES (Maria of Bytom's seal would employ a similar design). The back of the seal has the Hungarian double-barred cross with flowers in the background and a bird resting on the second arm of the cross. The front of the seal proclaims her as Queen of Hungary, while the back says she is the daughter of Duke Albert.<sup>159</sup>

One document from the Archives in canton Aargau shows what appears to be the reverse of Agnes' seal.<sup>160</sup> Agnes used red wax and employed the Hungarian cross years after her time as queen. When compared to her gravestone, a banner attributed to her at Königsfelden, and the heraldry adopted by the Abbey, it is clear that though Agnes was queen of Hungary for a short time, she continued to use its symbolism in the fifty-three years of her widowhood; what makes her seal unique is the fact that it uses the Árpád coat of arms as well as the Hungarian cross. Even though Agnes spent the last fifty years of her life within the walls of a cloister, her many charters indicate that even within the walls of a convent the image on her seal was seen by many foundations, property-holders and clerks beyond Königsfelden.

### **Agnes of Głogów (Cat. I.10 and I.11)**

Agnes of Głogów (d. 1361) married Otto of Bavaria in 1309, shortly after he gave up his problematic reign briefly as king of Hungary.<sup>161</sup> Pray has an illustration from 1805 which seems to be most likely from this period.<sup>162</sup> Agnes is sitting on a throne in the garb of a nun and she does not appear to have anything in her hands. There are four escutcheons flanking her, two on each side. The one on the top left appears to be a lion, while the one below it seems to be the red and silver Árpád coat of arms. On the upper right there is the Hungarian double-barred cross, and below that there appears to be a shield with a greyhound on it, her natal family's coat of arms.<sup>163</sup> The references to Agnes as queen of Hungary on her seal come mostly from the inscription and

<sup>159</sup> Alfred Nevismal, "Königin Agnes von Ungarn: Leben und Stellung in der habsburgischen Politik ihrer Zeit," (PhD diss.: University of Vienna, 1951), 50-51.

<sup>160</sup> U.17/0276a.

<sup>161</sup> Wertner, *Az Árpádok családi története*, 482.

<sup>162</sup> György Pray, *Syntagma historicum de sigillis regum, et reginarum Hungariae*, Tab. IX, Fig 4.

<sup>163</sup> Felix Joseph Lipowsky, *Grundlinien der theoretisch und praktischen Heraldik, nebst heraldisch, historischen Bemerkungen über das baierische Wappen* (Munich: Hübischmann, 1816), 103-104.

the shields; she does not hold any objects related to her time as queen, and the image of her instead shows her as a high status noblewoman.

Though this Agnes most likely never even visited Hungary and her husband's reign was short and fraught, it nonetheless shows that decades later the title was still important. There is even another smaller seal of Agnes from 1343 showing her in a throne with the Bavarian and Hungarian coat of arms which identifies her as Agnes, Queen of Hungary.<sup>164</sup> With the widowed Agnes of Habsburg out in Königsfelden and Elizabeth of Poland actually ruling as queen from Hungary, Agnes of Głogów's self-styling in this case is very bold.

### **Maria of Bytom (Cat. I.12)**

Unfortunately, the unpublished seal of Maria of Bytom (d. 1317) is in quite a fragmented condition, so some of the details are missing.<sup>165</sup> Nonetheless, there are a few hints that can be gathered from the remains of her seal. Like her predecessors, Maria is seated on a throne with her hair unbound, and she is probably crowned as well. While the seal of Maria of Bytom shares a lot of elements with the seals of Árpáadian queens, there are a few new developments. First is the fact that she has an object in her right hand, but it appears to be some foliate form, rather than a scepter. Her grip of the object suggests that the object is not a scepter, so it could be a floral form or perhaps a reliquary cross. Second, the throne Maria is seated on has two rather stylistically designed curved armrests. Of her predecessors, Elizabeth the Cuman's seat was flanked by the heads of two lions, and Isabella of Naples had a throne carpet on the back of her throne. The seal of Fenenna of Kujava is too damaged to tell if there was a back or armrests on the throne, so it could be that Maria of Bytom is the first queen to have armrests on her throne. Her left hand is near her chest, though the wax is too worn to be able to tell if she holds an orb or clutches the ties of her cloak. Maria's name is spelled out in the floating field of the background as well; on the front are the letters M A while on the back it continues with R I A.

The reverse of the seal has the double-barred Hungarian cross, but its surface is not decorated like that of her predecessors. There are two rings surrounding the edge, the outer one inscribed with Maria's parentage, the inner one decorated with a vine pattern. It is also clear that on the reverse there are plants sprouting up at the base of the cross, similar to the patterns found on those of her predecessors, but since only the stems of the plants are preserved it is impossible to make any further identification. This seal has been used in part to date the marriage of Maria

<sup>164</sup> "S. Agnetis Regine Ungarie" Lipowsky, *Grundlinien der theoretisch und praktischen Heraldik*, 104.

<sup>165</sup> MOL, DL 1814.

with Charles I Robert (r. 1308-1342), as her personal seal was first used on a charter June 23 1306, and was most likely used until her death in 1317.<sup>166</sup>

After the death of Maria, Charles I Robert married again in 1318 to Beatrice of Luxemburg, the daughter of Holy Roman Emperor Henry VII. Beatrice died the following year, and while she left behind one brief document from 1319, it has no seal attached and there is no sealing clause present, so the evidence present does not seem to indicate that Beatrice employed her own seal in the brief time she was queen.<sup>167</sup>

### **Elizabeth of Poland (Cat. I.13-I.16)**

Elizabeth of Poland (d. 1380) used four seals as queen: one as queen consort, one used as regent of Poland, and one signet ring and (as a widow) her husband's signet ring. As queen consort, Elizabeth of Poland overwhelmingly used her great seal, but after the death of her husband, she began using the other three more often. There are several innovations present on the great seal of Elizabeth of Poland that indicate a change in visual representation in the Angevin period. First and foremost, Elizabeth of Poland is the first queen to make use of her family's escutcheons on her seal. On the obverse of her double-seal, the shield on the left side shows the Árpadian coat of arms while the shield on the right side (to her left) shows the Piast eagle. The double-barred Hungarian cross on the back of the seal is likewise flanked by two shields, one on the left that of the Árpadians, and the one on the right the Piast eagle, showing an integration of the two families through her marriage.<sup>168</sup> On seals, heraldry emphasized marital links, descent, family ties, and even social aspirations of the person wielding it.<sup>169</sup> The reverse of her seal is also the last to make explicit reference to her father in the inscription; neither the seal of Elizabeth of Bosnia nor Mary of Anjou (r. 1382-1395) mentions their father. Elizabeth's hair, while unbound like her predecessors, rests on the front of her shoulders, rather than trailing down the back of her neck. The inscription on the front is also the first to refer to her by titles other than that of the Hungarian queen; it also includes the phrase "Princess of Salerno". Charles II of Naples (the grandfather of Charles I Robert, r. 1285-1309) had been given the title "Prince of Salerno" upon

<sup>166</sup> While there is contentious debate about the identity of the first wife of Charles I Robert (Kristó argues that it was Maria, daughter of Leo of Galicia and that he did not marry Mary of Bytom until 1311), the fourteenth century chronicles themselves only include three wives of Charles, not four. Gyula Kristó, "Károly Róbert családja" [The Family of Charles Robert] *Aetas* 20:4 (2005): 15-17; Stanisław Sroka and Lidia Stefanowska, "A Hungarian-Galician Marriage at the Beginning of the Fourteenth Century?" *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 16:3/4 (1992), 264-265.

<sup>167</sup> MOL, DL 1955.

<sup>168</sup> Marosi identifies all seals as that of the Hungarian Angevins, but a close-up of her seal from 1338 shows an eagle to her left and to the viewer's right. Ernő Marosi, "Kettős pecsét," in *Művészet I. Lajos király korában, 1342-1382*: ed. Ernő Marosi, Melinda Tóth and Livia Varga (Budapest: MTA Művészettörténeti Kutató Csoport), 1982, 144.

<sup>169</sup> Danbury, "Queens and Powerful Women: Image and Authority", 20.

his marriage with Maria of Hungary (d. 1323), so this is no doubt the connection.<sup>170</sup> The reverse follows patterns set forth by her predecessors: a double-barred Hungarian cross in the center, though this one is flanked by the coats of arms for Poland and Hungary. The flowers on the reverse of Elizabeth's great seal appear to have three rounded petals, looking somewhat similar to the flowers on the back of the seals of Isabella of Naples. It is unknown when Elizabeth started using her great seal, but two documents from 1322 reveal traces of a now-lost seal impression about 85-90 mm in diameter.<sup>171</sup> As it is too small to be the great seal of Charles I Robert, it is possible that this could be the earliest evidence for Elizabeth using her great seal.<sup>172</sup> While she used this seal nearly exclusively while her husband was alive, she uses it much less often after his death.<sup>173</sup>

Elizabeth's signet ring (**Cat. I.14**) is the biggest signet ring of the ones used by the Angevin queens (a few millimeters even bigger than her husband's signet), depicting a lozenge with the Árpád and Anjou coat of arms in it. The inscription reads "Seal of Queen Elizabeth".<sup>174</sup> It is unknown when she started using it, but a document from 1324 issued by her has a seal impression about 1.5 cm in diameter;<sup>175</sup> this would seem to correspond to Elizabeth's seal which measures around 16 mm, but it is by no means definite that this is the queen's seal. She may have used her signet ring twice while her husband was alive, but it is not until the 1340s that she seems to use it regularly (See **Appendix I**). .

Many of Elizabeth's charters make use of a small ring with a large letter K in the center and the words "SIGILLUM SECRETUM" written on the borders (**Cat. I.15**).<sup>176</sup> This seems to indicate that not only did she keep the signet ring of her husband Charles I Robert, but used it frequently after his death. The first known instance of the queen using her husband's seal seems

<sup>170</sup> Charles I Robert's second and third seals have the titles of "Princeps Salernitanus" while Elizabeth's reads "Princeps Salernitana". Ernő Marosi, "II. felségi (kettős) pecsét (1323-1330)," "III. felségi (kettős) pecsét (1331-1342)," and "Kettős pecsét" in *Művészet I. Lajos király korában, 1342-1382*, ed. Ernő Marosi, Melinda Tóth and Livia Varga (Budapest: MTA Művészettörténeti Kutató Csoport, 1982), 142-144; Steven Runciman, *The Sicilian Vespers: a history of the Mediterranean world in the later thirteenth century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 138.

<sup>171</sup> MOL DL-DF 76300 and 2110; the former even has a sealing clause.

<sup>172</sup> The double seals of Charles I Robert were around 100-112 mm in diameter. Marosi, "I. felségi (kettős) pecsét (1308-1323)," "II. felségi (kettős) pecsét (1323-1330)," "III. felségi (kettős) pecsét (1331-1342)," in *Művészet I. Lajos király korában, 1342-1382*, ed. Ernő Marosi, Melinda Tóth and Livia Varga (Budapest: MTA Művészettörténeti Kutató Csoport, 1982), 142-143.

<sup>173</sup> There are eleven known instances where she used the great seal as a widow, most importantly on her last will and testament. MOL DL-DF 4072, 4170, 4187, 108194, 5385, 5633, 5631, 5699, 5715, 5785 and 6692.

<sup>174</sup> "S.E.R...GINE..." Ernő Marosi, "Gyűrűs pecsét" [Ring Seal] in *Művészet I. Lajos király korában, 1342-1382*, ed. Ernő Marosi, Melinda Tóth and Livia Varga (Budapest: MTA Művészettörténeti Kutató Csoport, 1982), 145.

<sup>175</sup> MOL DL-DF 4904.

<sup>176</sup> Ernő Marosi, "Gyűrűs pecsét Erzsébet királyné oklevelén," [The ring seal on the charter of Queen Elizabeth] in *Művészet I. Lajos király korában, 1342-1382*, ed. Ernő Marosi, Melinda Tóth and Livia Varga (Budapest: MTA Művészettörténeti Kutató Csoport, 1982), 143.

to come from a month after his death, from a document issued by her on 14 August 1342.<sup>177</sup> She would use this ring fairly frequently over the next three and a half decades. Of seals that can be identified on remaining charters, Elizabeth seems to favor using Charles' signet to her own by a ratio of nearly 2:1, but considering the state of most of the seals, it is impossible to identify most with any significant accuracy. This problem is further exacerbated in the period from 1370 to 1380 when both Elizabeth of Poland and Elizabeth of Bosnia (her daughter-in-law) are issuing charters – sometimes they can be differentiated between either their seals or the use of the phrase “Senior” or “Junior” in the introduction of the charter, but this does not always happen (See **Appendix I**). In her long widowhood, Elizabeth used a wide variety of seals, so recalling the memory of her husband could have held both strategic as well as sentimental power.

As regent of Poland, Elizabeth employs a totally different seal in some documents starting from 1372 (**Cat. I.16**). It is a quatrefoil with the coats of arms of Hungary and Poland topped by a crown and with a lion underneath it. This seal only seems to have been used in Kraków and perhaps could be a special seal used in her capacity as regent of Poland. Since Elizabeth is one of the most prolific issuer of charters for medieval Hungarian queens, it should come as little surprise that she employed such a wide variety of seals during her time as queen consort, queen regent of Poland, and queen dowager.

### **Elizabeth of Bosnia (Cat I.17 and I.18)**

Elizabeth of Bosnia (d. 1387) is a strange case-study in seal use, as it appears that in the lifetime of her husband and her mother-in-law, the evidence is very sparse, and she only seems to have used a signet ring (**Cat. I.17**) from 1370 onwards.<sup>178</sup> While it is entirely possible that she would have issued documents earlier, 1370 would correspond roughly with the period when after seventeen years of a childless marriage Elizabeth gave birth to her three daughters. There is no inscription on her signet ring, but it has the badge of the Angevins on it – an ostrich holding a horseshoe in its beak.<sup>179</sup> Like her mother-in-law, Elizabeth of Bosnia uses red wax on documents secured by her signet ring.

It is not until after the death of Louis I of Hungary when Elizabeth of Bosnia is the regent for their young daughter Mary (r. 1382-1395) that evidence emerges of Elizabeth employing a great seal of her own. It is slightly smaller than the seals of her mother-in-law and daughter, and only the obverse is known. Like the other great seals of Hungarian queens, Elizabeth is depicted sitting on a throne, crowned, and holding a scepter and an orb in her lap. The orb is a curious

<sup>177</sup> MOL DL-DF 237254.

<sup>178</sup> The earliest example is MOL DL-DF 5891.

<sup>179</sup> Ernő Marosi, “Gyűrűs pecsét,” [Ring seal] in *Művészet I. Lajos király korában, 1342-1382*, ed. Ernő Marosi, Melinda Tóth and Livia Varga (Budapest: MTA Művészettörténeti Kutató Csoport, 1982), 150.



revival, as it had not been used by her predecessor and sparse evidence survives for queens depicted with it in the thirteenth century. Underneath her crown, she is wearing a frilled veil in a style that was very popular in the Holy Roman Empire, and that can be seen on several queens in the *Hungarian Illuminated Chronicle*. The appearance of the orb is significant and the strong character of the seal with the orb may possibly indicate that it wasn't made until after the death of her husband when she was regent. This is also the first seal to make use of the queen's full title referring to her not just as queen of Hungary, but also Dalmatia, Croatia, Rama, Serbia, Galicia, and Lodomeria. There is no reference to her Bosnian ancestry, though the shield to the right of her throne depicting a knight on horseback may possibly serve that purpose.<sup>180</sup> With both her signet ring and her majestic seal, Elizabeth seems to have preferred sealing on the parchment itself, rather than on a tassel that bound the document together. Elizabeth's sealing practice nonetheless shows a great deal of contrast regarding her position of power first as queen consort and later as regent. Until 1380, she had to contend with her very powerful mother-in-law, Elizabeth of Poland, and from 1382 until her death in 1386, she was regent during a very turbulent time in Hungary's history. While she employed some tactics to strengthen her own image during her regency (such as the appearance of the orb), she also abandons earlier tactics of legitimization, such as referring to her ancestry in the inscription.

### Queen Mary (Cat I.19-I.24)

Looking at the remaining diplomatic evidence, it seems that Queen Mary (r. 1382-1395) used a total of six seals; three great (or majestic) seals and three signet rings. The first great seal of Queen Mary is seen not only as a fantastic piece of art historical value, but also as a link between art at the Angevin court and art in the time of King Sigismund (r. 1387-1437).<sup>181</sup> Marosi is of the opinion that the same goldsmith who made Queen Mary's great seal also made some of the liturgical objects donated by the Hungarian court to the Chapel at Aachen.<sup>182</sup> The front of the great seal depicts Mary sitting on a throne and holding a scepter and orb, in a similar posture to that of her mother's great seal. She is crowned, and behind her under a rounded arch there is a pattern of lilies within diamonds. Flanking the arch are elements of Gothic architecture and two shields: the Hungarian-Angevin coat of arms on the left, and the double-barred cross on the right.

<sup>180</sup> Dženani Dautović, "Bosansko-ugarski odnosi kroz prizmu braka Ludovika I Velikog i Elizabete, kćerke Stjepana II Kotromanića" [Relations between Bosnia and Hungary through the prism of the Marriage between Louis the Great and Elizabeth, the Daughter of Stjepan II Kotromanić] *Okrugli Stol: žene u srednjovjekovnoj Bosni* [Roundtable: Women in Medieval Bosnia] *Radovi Filozofski Fakultet u Sarajevu* XVII/3 (2014), 151.

<sup>181</sup> György Rácz and Ernő Marosi, "Urkunde der ungarischen Königin Maria (1382-1395) für Ragusa mit dem doppelten Hoheitssiegel," in *Sigismundus Rex et Imperator*, ed. Imre Takács. (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 2006), 59-60.

<sup>182</sup> Ernő Marosi, "Der grosse Münzsiegel der Königin Maria von Ungarn: Zum Problem der Serialität Mittelalterlicher Kunstwerke" *Acta Historiae Artium* XXVIII (1982), 6.

There are two rings of inscription on the front, and on neither side of her great seal is there any allusion to her father; instead she has the full royal titles listed out. At 94 mm, Mary's seal, and that of her grandmother Elizabeth of Poland, are the two largest seals of the Hungarian queens before 1526, though it is still not as big as some of the seals of thirteenth century kings. Over half of the charters issued by Queen Mary are from the period of sole rule, from 1382-1386; the period from 1387-1395 when she ruled with Sigismund shows regular but less intensive activity issuing documents. Mary used her great seal (**Cat. I.19**) most often in her period of sole rulership and during her marriage with Sigismund she used her third signet ring most often (**Cat. I.24**).

On the reverse of Queen Mary's great seal, there are several new aspects that distinguish it from earlier seals of both queens and kings. The central element of the Hungarian cross is maintained, and flanked by two ostriches holding horseshoes. Above the cross, St. Ladislav is depicted from the waist up, holding an axe and an orb. St. Ladislav was a very important figure at the Angevin court, representing the ideal of a chivalric warrior king;<sup>183</sup> both Queen Mary and her husband Sigismund were buried near his grave, at the cathedral in Nagyvárad (present day Oradea, Romania).

This first majestic seal of Queen Mary was used mostly during her period of sole rule under the regency of her mother Elizabeth of Bosnia (1382-1386). The first evidence for Mary using this seal is from 20 February 1383, while the last time it was identifiably used was 10 June 1386, shortly before she was imprisoned.<sup>184</sup> Three documents from 1388 have an impression of a seal the size of Mary's first majestic seal, but there are no wax remains to verify if this is the same seal.<sup>185</sup>

There are only four documents which hint to Queen Mary using a second majestic seal sometime between 1384 and 1386 (**Cat. I.20**).<sup>186</sup> This seal is about 49 mm in diameter and distinguished from the other two in a few ways, notably the pointed gable above the head of the queen, its size, and the fact that there is only one ring of text around the central field (the other two majestic seals have two lines of text). The elements present on Mary's first majestic seal are also found here, just on a smaller scale; the Queen is enthroned, wearing a crown and holding a scepter topped by a lily, seated on a richly decorated throne and flanked by two escutcheons which feature the Hungarian-Angevin coat-of-arms on one side and the Hungarian double-barred

<sup>183</sup> Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses*, 183-194.

<sup>184</sup> MOL DL-DF 6987 and 7201.

<sup>185</sup> MOL DL-DF 7309, 100227, and 100231.

<sup>186</sup> MOL DL-DF 52479, 5537, 201060, and 64840.

cross on the other.<sup>187</sup> Her use of this seal during this period is somewhat mysterious as she is still using the great seal on a regular basis during this time period.

There is a third double seal of Queen Mary (**Cat. I.21**) which looks very similar to her first great seal. Most of the elements are present in both; the crowned queen seated on a throne holding a scepter and on the back the Hungarian double-barred cross topped with the image of St. Ladislás. It is very easy to assume that this is the same seal as (**Cat. I.19**), but several factors indicate otherwise. First of all, this second seal is about half the size of her great seal; the latter is around 94 mm while the former is around 50 mm. The niche that Mary is sitting in on the obverse is much more pointed than in her great seal and on the reverse, St. Ladislás has his right arm extended while in her great seal, St. Ladislás' right arm is closer to his torso. There are only three charters which have surviving fragments of this seal, all three in very fragmented form from 1388 to 1390.<sup>188</sup> While the Queen starts using this seal (on the rare occasion) after her marriage with Sigismund, her last charter with a hanging seal is from 1392, indicating that she only used it from 1388-1392.<sup>189</sup>

Szentpétery identified one great seal and three secret seals (i.e. signet rings) of Queen Mary; two signet rings featured the Hungarian-Angevin coat-of-arms and one featured the Hungarian-Angevin escutcheon crowned by a helmet with a plumed ostrich holding a feather in its mouth.<sup>190</sup> Her first signet ring (**Cat. I.22**) was in use from 1384-1386, though possibly as early as 1382.<sup>191</sup> The inscription identifies it as her secret seal and features the Hungarian-Angevin coat-of-arms.

Shortly after her last time she used her first signet ring (June 10 1386), Mary and her mother were imprisoned in Novigrad.<sup>192</sup> After her release in July 1387, there was one document issued by Queen Mary of Hungary which features a singular signet impression not found anywhere else (**Cat. I.23**).<sup>193</sup> This seal is very close to Mary's first signet ring with one notable exception – the escutcheon featuring the Árpadian stripes and the Angevin field of lilies are reversed. A drawing from 1805 has preserved the inscription as “Seal of Mary by the grace of

<sup>187</sup> Ernő Marosi, “Kisebb felségpecsét” [Smaller majestic seal] in *Művészet I. Lajos király korában, 1342-1382: katalógus*, ed. by Marosi, Ernő, Melinda Tóth, Livia Varga, & István Király Múzeum (Budapest: MTA Művészettörténeti Kutató Csoport, 1982), 151.

<sup>188</sup> MOL DL-DF 65807, 7427, 7659.

<sup>189</sup> MOL DL-DF 65807, 7742.

<sup>190</sup> Imre Szentpétery, *Magyar Oklevéltan [Hungarian Diplomatics]* (Budapest: Magyar Történelmi Társulat, 1930), 199-200; Sándor Szilágyi, ed. *A Magyar Nemzet Története [Hungarian National History]*, Vol. III. (Budapest: Athenaeum Irodalmi, 1895), 365; Pray, *Syntagma historicum de sigillis regum, et reginarum Hungariae*, Tab. XI, 7 and 8.

<sup>191</sup> MOL DL-DF 249142, 42283, 42359.

<sup>192</sup> Pál Engel and C. Norbert Tóth, *Itineraria Regum et Reginarum (1382-1438)* (Budapest: MTA Történettudományi Intézetében, 2005), 38.

<sup>193</sup> MOL DL-DF 7304.

God Queen of Hungary etc.<sup>194</sup>” Considering the timing Mary using this seal, it could be a temporary replacement if her first seal had been lost in the turmoil of 1386-1387.

In any case, by the following year, Mary had a new replacement, her third signet ring (**Cat. I. 24**) which she would use on most documents she issued until her death in 1395. One of the largest signet rings, it features several elements known to the Hungarian Angevins – a crowned helmet over the Hungarian-Angevin coat-of-arms topped by a plumed ostrich with a horseshoe in its beak. These emblems are in an octagonal field flanked by scrollwork and with the inscription on the border. The illustration from the Pray codex identifies the inscription as similar to her second signet ring.<sup>195</sup> As this signet became her primary means of securing documents in the last seven years of her life, it seems to have have a great deal of importance to her.

The imagery and iconographic program reflects both Mary’s interest in dynastic continuity as well as her own unique status as queen regnant. Her three double seals recall the imagery and heraldic devices used on the seals of her father – the enthroned monarch on the obverse, the double-barred cross in the shield, St. Ladislav and the ostriches with horseshoes in their mouth. Her seal is the only one wherein the double-barred cross is in a shield, rather than in a field with flowers.

### Miscellaneous seals

There are also two other seals with connections to the image of the queen. One is the seal of the Dominican nunnery of Margaret Island on a charter from 1282 which shows Béla IV (r. 1235-1270) and Maria Laskarina (d. 1270) kneeling and offering their daughter Margaret (d. 1271) to an enthroned Virgin Mary (**I.25**).<sup>196</sup> This is no doubt a nod to the queen’s active role in providing her own land for the nunnery, which will be elaborated on in the appropriate section. This seal survives in a charter issued by Elizabeth (d. 1313?), the daughter of Stephen V (r. 1270-1272), who used the seal of the Dominican nunnery of Margaret Island on a document from 1282.<sup>197</sup> Elizabeth would have lived in the convent for most of her childhood until her marriage with Milutin of Serbia in 1286,<sup>198</sup> so her use of the convent’s seal (which depicts her aunt and grandparents) shows the strong family connection to the convent.

Another important seal connected to the Hungarian queen is the town seal of Óbuda (**I.26**). The silver seal matrix, which still survives in the Hungarian National Museum, was no

<sup>194</sup> *Syntagma historicum de sigillis regum, et reginarum Hungariae*, Tab. XI, 7.

<sup>195</sup> *Syntagma historicum de sigillis regum, et reginarum Hungariae*, Tab. XI, 8.

<sup>196</sup> Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses*, 205-206.

<sup>197</sup> *Ibid.*, 159.

<sup>198</sup> Wertner, *Az Árpádok családi története*, 527-531.

doubt in use after 1355 and makes several references to the queen's presence in the town. First and foremost, the two escutcheons depicted feature the Hungarian-Angevin coat-of-arms as well as the eagle of the Polish Piasts; above them there is another engraved fleur-de-lys and another eagle. In the center of the seal is a castle complex featuring a central tower of three stories, a gateway and a defensive wall. While the details may be stylised, this castle nonetheless is meant to be a symbolic representation of the queen's residence.<sup>199</sup>

In addition to the queens mentioned above, there are a few other royal women known to have used seals. Kumorovitz mentions Kunigunde of Brandenburg (d. 1292), the wife of Béla duke of Slavonia (d. 1269) who apparently used a seal of some kind, though there do not seem to be any charters of hers that survive.<sup>200</sup> He also states that Thomasina Morosini (the mother of Andrew III, d. 1300) would have sealed from 1295-1299<sup>201</sup>; one of her charters from 1295 is marked with a ring seal.<sup>202</sup> Anna (d. 1274), daughter of Béla IV and the widow of Rostislav of Halich (d. 1262), would have issued three documents in the second half of the thirteenth century, but there is no information on whether or not she used a seal on them.<sup>203</sup>

## Conclusions

There are several important patterns that emerge in this study of the seals of these eleven women between 1226 and 1395. In this period, the design of the majestic seals remains fairly conservative, wherein on the obverse the queen is depicted crowned and seated, usually holding a scepter, and on the back there is the Hungarian double-barred cross with an inscription mentioning who her father is. Yet while the elements remain very similar throughout this period, the details can often change, and certain personal touches can be added. Some of these changes might be the personal desire to display a stronger power by using recognizable visual cues, such as Elizabeth the Cuman having one seal where her throne seat is flanked by the heads of two lions. Other changes correspond to broader changes in fashion seen in Europe at the time; Elizabeth of Poland in the fourteenth century employs her own shields alongside that of her husband in an era where heraldry was increasing in importance as a visual cue of rank and status.

One further observation is that with the exception of Fennena of Kujava, all of the queens depicted on their seals have their hair unbound. It was the norm for married women in this period to appear with their hair uncovered, the only exceptions to this rule being saints as well as

<sup>199</sup> Eva Sniezynska-Stolot, "Queen Elizabeth as Patron of Architecture," *Acta Historiae Artium* 20 (1974): 24.

<sup>200</sup> Kumorovitz, *A magyar pecséthasználat története a középkorban*, 41.

<sup>201</sup> Kumorovitz, *A magyar pecséthasználat története a középkorban*, 41.

<sup>202</sup> MOL, DL 259 745. Zsoldos and Szentpétery, *Az Árpád-házi hercegek, hercegnők és a királynék okleveleinek kritikai jegyzéke* [A critical edition of the charters of the princes, princesses, and queens of the Árpád house], 177.

<sup>203</sup> Zsoldos and Szentpétery, *Az Árpád-házi hercegek, hercegnők és a királynék okleveleinek kritikai jegyzéke* [A critical edition of the charters of the princes, princesses, and queens of the Árpád house], 61-62.

prostitutes.<sup>204</sup> Lewes Gee remarks that English queens sometimes appear with unbound hair on their seals in a way that is reminiscent of the Virgin Mary as Queen of Heaven, and points to certain saints and the image of *ecclesia* have their hair loose.<sup>205</sup> There is also a third possibility for queens appearing with their hair unbound: the coronation ritual. No coronation *ordines* or descriptions of the queen's coronation survive before 1312 with the crowning of Maria of Silesia, wife of Charles I Robert.<sup>206</sup> However, the presence of the loose hair on these seals might be a reference to this ritual, especially considering the queen usually appears with objects of regal authority such as a throne, a crown, and a scepter.

Also something indicative of choice is the different appearance of the flowers at the base of the cross on the reverse of the queens' great seals. For over one hundred years, from Elizabeth the Cuman to Elizabeth of Poland, double-barred Hungarian cross was adorned with flowers at the base that look very different. The rose and the lily have strong connections with the Virgin Mary, emphasizing purity and chastity.<sup>207</sup>

The three Angevin queens (Elizabeth of Poland, Elizabeth of Bosnia and Mary of Anjou) all employed several different signet rings throughout their life as well, building on a fourteenth century trend. Elizabeth of Poland employed a lozenge seal of her own and even a seal made for her as regent of Poland, but it seems she was frequently in the habit of using her husband's old signet ring. Unlike her mother-in-law and daughter, Elizabeth of Poland seems to have only used her majestic seal after the death of her husband; before that she had only used her signet ring featuring the Hungarian-Angevin ostrich. Mary of Anjou had three different signet rings, and her third one was used most frequently after her marriage with Sigismund of Luxemburg.

It is also important to note that the seals of later queens in the fifteenth and sixteenth century look nothing like their earlier counterparts. Instead of showing the queen seated on a throne with the regalia of her office, the seals of Barbara of Cilli (queen from 1405-1437)<sup>208</sup>, Elizabeth of Luxemburg (queen 1437-1439, died 1442)<sup>209</sup>, Beatrice of Aragon (queen 1476-

<sup>204</sup> Authorities insisted that prostitutes wear clothing to distinguish themselves as well. Roberta Gilchrist, *Medieval Life: Archaeology and the Life Course*. (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2012), 84.

<sup>205</sup> Loveday Lewes Gee, "Patterns of Patronage: Female Initiatives and Artistic Enterprises in England in the 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> Centuries," in *Reassessing the Roles of Women as 'Makers' of Medieval Art and Architecture*, Vol. 2, ed. Therese Martin (Leiden Boston: Brill, 2012), 586.

<sup>206</sup> The author however quotes an old source which states that no reginal seals survive before 1382. János Bak, "Roles and Functions of Queens in Arpadian and Angevin Hungary (1000-1386)" in *Medieval Queenship*, ed. John Carmi Parsons (Stroud: Sutton, 1998), 20.

<sup>207</sup> Sillasoo, *Plant Depictions in Late Medieval Religious Art*, 106-108.

<sup>208</sup> MOL, DL 10519.

<sup>209</sup> István Fazekas, "Königin Elisabeths Schuldbrief an den Raaber Kapitän Heinrich Czezko," in *Sigismundus Rex et Imperator: Kunst und Kultur zur Zeit Sigismunds von Luxemburg 1387-1437*, ed. Imre Takács (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 2006), 63-64.

1490)<sup>210</sup>, and Mary of Habsburg (queen 1521-1526)<sup>211</sup> have only one side and only show the heraldic devices of the queens. Barbara's seal is one shield with the Árpadian coat of arms quartered with that of the Cilli. The seal of the Habsburg princess Mary, wife of Louis II (r. 1516-1526) shows the many Habsburg coats of arms combined with the many devices of the Jagiellon dynasty. The seals of the queen also seem to shrink; the largest seals of the queens appear in the Angevin period with Elizabeth of Poland and Queen Mary's seals measuring a diameter of 94 mm. By contrast, the seal of Mary of Austria from 1524 measures only 53 mm.<sup>212</sup> In addition, the seals of queens from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries seem to only have one side to them, whereas from Maria Laskarina to Queen Mary, there was almost 150 years of the tradition of the double-sided seal.

It is difficult to say why there is such an abrupt and permanent change in the practice of women sealing from King Sigismund's first wife to his second. One possibility could be that recognition of heraldic devices became more important to the viewer of the seal than having a strong image of the figure the seal was supposed to represent and act on behalf of. Another possibility is that the nature of the queen's power changed from the death of Queen Mary, who ruled in her own right, and Barbara of Cilli (d. 1451), Sigismund's second wife. Unlike most of her predecessors, Barbara was not a foreign princess, but rather she came from a family of local nobles in what is now present-day Slovenia. While she amassed a great deal of wealth during the lifetime of her husband, her position at court was very clearly defined by Sigismund; he had her imprisoned at many different times during his reign, and the nature of her power as queen becomes a very complicated issue in spite of her wealth. In addition to Barbara's periods in captivity, there are many periods in the fifteenth century where there was no queen at court. In one case, it was due to the youth of Ladislas Posthumous, who was engaged to Madeleine of France, but whose marriage never took place due to his untimely death. In addition, the marriage negotiations for Matthias Corvinus dragged on for years, so there was no Hungarian queen from 1464-1476. While there were several powerful and influential queens such as Beatrice of Aragon and Mary of Austria, they do not seem to have taken on the more powerful imagery found in the seals of their Árpadian and Angevin predecessors. From Yolanda of Courtenay to Mary of Anjou, a definite (though occasionally inconsistent) growth in the power of imagery can be seen on the

<sup>210</sup> MOL, DL 24768. Zsuzsanna Bárdi, "Erstes Siegel der Königin Beatrix," in *Matthias Corvinus und die Renaissance in Ungarn: 1458-1541*, ed. Gottfried Stangler. (Vienna: Amt der Niederösterreichischen Landesregierung, 1982), 233.

<sup>211</sup> Miklós Sölch, "Seal of Queen Mary," in *Mary of Hungary: Queen and her Court* ed. Orsolya Réthelyi (Budapest: Budapest History Museum, 2005), 223.

<sup>212</sup> Sölch, "Seal of Queen Mary," 223.

queens' seals in terms of the display of regalia, the use of heraldry, and invocation of dynastic saints.



## II. Coinage

### **Coinage in Hungary and the Image of the Queen**

In the 1520s, the Habsburg princess Mary (1505-1558), wife of Louis II (r. 1516-1526) and the last queen of independent Hungary, tried to assert her own rights to mint coins from the ore that was extracted from the mines she owned at Kremnica, Slovakia (Körmöcbánya).<sup>213</sup> While she was ultimately unsuccessful in this venture, it shows the important connection between medieval queens and coinage. The appearance of the queen's image on coinage is a practice that starts in the Holy Roman Empire in the twelfth century, Hungary in the thirteenth, and then spreads to the Balkans in the fourteenth century.<sup>214</sup> While Balkan coinage could have been affected by Byzantine examples, the appearance of the queen on Hungarian coinage coincides with the advent of new styles from the west.

In the early days of Árpadian rule, the only hint of the queen's involvement is a rabbinical dispute in the early eleventh century in which the queen gave orders that pennies be struck from silver owned by a Jew.<sup>215</sup> The image of the Hungarian queen begins to appear on coinage alongside her husband in the first half of the thirteenth century. Chronologically speaking, the widow of King Emeric of Hungary (r. 1196-1204), Constance of Aragon (d. 1222), appears on the coinage of her second husband, Holy Roman Emperor Frederick II during his time as king of Sicily, particularly from 1209 to 1213.<sup>216</sup>

At first sight, the appearance of the queen on coins seem odd since in Hungary only the king had the right to mint coins. For a brief period, Andrew II (r. 1205-1235) granted the Teutonic Order the right to mint coins when they occupied Transylvania in the early thirteenth century, though Andrew II expelled them after they started building stone castles.<sup>217</sup> In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, certain bans of Slavonia were granted authority by the king to mint their own coinage, though this was done on an ad hoc basis.<sup>218</sup> Since these are the only two exceptional cases, coins minted in Hungary were often a direct means of communication between

<sup>213</sup> Orsolya Réthelyi, *Mary of Hungary in Court Context (1521-531)* (PhD diss.: Central European University, 2010), 138-139.

<sup>214</sup> Julius Menadier, "Der Hochzeitpfennige Herzog Heinrich des Löwen", in *Deutsche Münzen* Vol. I (Berlin, 1891), 123-133.

<sup>215</sup> The queen (presumably Gisela of Bavaria [d. 1065] or the wife of Peter Orseleo) seems to have trusted the Jewish plaintiff not only in matters of business, but also even sending him on errands abroad. This dispute was recorded and answered by Judah haCohen (Yehuda HaKohen ben Meir). Irving A. Agus, *Urban Civilization in Pre-Crusade Europe*, Vol. I (New York: Yeshiva University Press, 1968), 43-45, 231-235; Nora Berend, *At the Gates of Christendom* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 124 n73.

<sup>216</sup> Stahl, "Coinage in the Name of Medieval Women", 333.

<sup>217</sup> Z. J. Kosztolnyik, *Hungary in the Thirteenth Century* (Boulder: East European Monographs, 1996), 93-95; Aleksander Pluskowski, *The Archaeology of the Prussian Crusade: Holy war and Colonisation* (London and New York: Routledge, 2013), 93-95.

<sup>218</sup> György V. Székely, *Slawonische Banalmünzprägung* (Budapest: ELTE, 1980), 84-112.

the monarchs and their subjects, as well as those who saw the coins from beyond Hungary's borders.<sup>219</sup> In the eleventh and twelfth centuries, only one mint existed and it was probably located in Esztergom. Under Andrew II, in the 1220s, other mints were established in Cenad, Romania (Csanád), Syrmia, Croatia (Szerém), Buda, and Zagreb.<sup>220</sup> Nonetheless, mint marks on Hungarian coins do not appear as a regular feature until the period of Angevin rule in the fourteenth century.<sup>221</sup>

One possible explanation for the usual absence of Hungarian queens on coins could be that, with the exception of King Salomon (r. 1063-1074), the bust of the ruler does not regularly occur on Hungarian coinage in the eleventh and twelfth centuries; for the most part, the coins tend to have the names of the rulers or are decorated with geometric shapes. In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries though, the queen's image begins to appear in tandem with her husband (or in two cases, her son). Compared to Austria and Poland, queens seem to have a stronger presence on Hungarian coins from this period, and this chapter aims to uncover why that may be the case.

In Stahl's study of the coins issued by women in the medieval world from roughly 500 to 1500, the only woman whose name appears on Hungarian coinage is that of Queen Mary (r. 1382-1395) during her sole rule (1382-1386). He says nothing of the Hungarian queen consorts who appear on coins with their husbands.<sup>222</sup> A closer examination of the two main catalogues of medieval Hungarian coinage<sup>223</sup> reveal that there were two other queens whose initials appeared on coins; Elizabeth the Cuman (d. 1290), regent for Ladislas IV, and Elizabeth of Poland (d. 1380), last wife of Charles I Robert (r. 1342-1380). Nonetheless, an even greater number of coins have depictions of the busts of the kings with their queen consorts (**Cat. II.1-34**). In the case of the Hungarian queens, there are 24 different coins (denars, oboli and parvi) with the image of either the queen consort or queen mother depicted next to her husband, and a total of 10 different coins (gold florins, denars and oboli) issued by Queen Mary. Huszár counts a total of 562 different coins issued by the Hungarian kings from the years 1000 to 1382, meaning that the 24

<sup>219</sup> Not only did protectorates of Hungary (like Wallachia and Moldova) use Hungarian heraldry on their coins in the Angevin period, but even Russian and Austrian coins would imitate Hungarian coins in the fifteenth century. Lajos Huszár, "Das ungarische Wappen auf fremden Münzen im Mittelalter" in *Mélanges offerts à Szabolcs de Vajay*. (Braga, Livraria Cruz, 1971), 332-333, 335-336.

<sup>220</sup> Nora Berend, *At the Gate of Christendom: Jews, Muslims and "Pagans" in Medieval Hungary c. 1000-1300*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 121.

<sup>221</sup> For more on the mints of Hungarian coins, see Artur Pohl, *Münzzeichen und Meisterzeichen auf Ungarischen Münzen des Mittelalters 1300-1540* (Graz and Budapest: Akademische Druck u. Verlagsanstalt and Akadémiai Kiadó, 1982).

<sup>222</sup> Alan Stahl, "Coinage in the Name of Medieval Women," in *Medieval Women and the Sources of Medieval History*, ed. Joel Rosenthal (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1990), 324.

<sup>223</sup> Réthy covers from the 11th to 16th centuries while Huszár covers the past millennium. László Réthy, *Corpus Nummorum Hungariae: Magyar Egyetemes Éremtár*, Vol I-II (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Kiadása, 1899-1907); Lajos Huszár, *Münzkatalog Ungarn von 1000 bis heute* (Budapest: Corvina, 1979).

coins depicting the queens represents just 4.27% of the total minted. If the number is reduced to thirteenth and fourteenth century coins, the only period where queens (and for the most part, kings) appear on coins, the number jumps to 6.69% (24 out of 359). By contrast, of the 165 coins issued in Austria from 1156 to 1404, there are only two coins (i.e. 1.21%) from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries depicting the wife of the ruler. One of those cases it was a coin of Ottokar II of Bohemia (r. 1253-1278) and his first wife Margaret of Babenberg (d. 1266), through whom he was able to claim the duchy of Austria.<sup>224</sup> This is a point of considerable importance as medieval coinage could also be a form of mass propaganda and communication in the pre-Modern era, directly from the ruler to the wider populace. For example, the portrait coinage of Charlemagne emphasized Roman connections through imitation of imperial portraiture on coins while also evoking Christian and Germanic representations of power.<sup>225</sup> In the twelfth century Holy Roman Empire, after the investiture conflict (when the emperor sought greater independence from the papacy), it becomes more common for queens to appear on coinage holding scepters.<sup>226</sup> This is indicative of the importance of items of power in early propaganda.

The frequent appearance of Hungarian queens on coins combined with the use of coins as tools of communication will be further investigated in this chapter, where I argue that the image of the queen was used both at times of the king's absence (i.e. a regency) as well as at one point during a change in the queen's life course (i.e. the birth of an heir). The use of the image of the queen on Hungarian coinage in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries has not attracted significant scholarly attention, even though the medium allows such an opportunity. I investigate and assess how actively involved queens were in the use of their images on coinage, and contextualize these coins through a discussion of the power and hierarchy of the office of the queen. These particular cases will be able to show not only how the queen's image of power evolved in the thirteenth and fourteenth century, but also the importance of their image as a source of dynastic legitimation.

### **Gendered power and hierarchy on medieval coinage**

There are several different indications as to the degree of prominence of the queen on coinage. In the words of Stahl, "The real evidence for a woman's recognition as ruler is the

<sup>224</sup> The other coin depicts Isabella of Aragon (d. 1330), wife of Frederick the Fair (d. 1330). Both of these coins feature busts of the couple in question. Alfred Szego, *The Coinage of Medieval Austria, 1156-1521*, (Oakdale: Durst, 1995), page 11, no. 59, obverse; page 24, no. 135, rev.

<sup>225</sup> Brubaker & Tobler, "The Gender of Money: Byzantine Empresses on Coins (324-802)", *Gender and History* 12, Vol. 3, 2000, 572; Jennifer R. Davis, "Charlemagne's Portrait coinage and ideas of rulership at the Carolingian Court", *Source: Notes in the History of Art* 33 No. 3/4 (2014): 19-24.

<sup>226</sup> Jitske Jasperse, "A Coin Bearing Testimony to Duchess Matilda as *Consors Regni*" *Haskins Society Journal* 26 (2014): 183-185.

appearance of her name on the obverse legend of the coin, the traditional position for the statement of the minting authority.”<sup>227</sup> A few Hungarian coins feature the name or initial of the queen, but the majority of coins depicting queens consort only feature her image. The ten coins issued by Queen Mary feature her name prominently in the inscription, but none feature her portrait. The position of the queen on coinage is worth noting as well. In Roman, Carolingian and Byzantine times, only the crowned ruler could appear on the obverse of coinage while the family would occasionally be depicted on the reverse. When the empress does appear, she is usually on the obverse, on the viewer’s right (i.e. the lowest position of hierarchy). The reason for her low rank on these coins is that the emperor derives his power from god, while the empress derives her power from the emperor.<sup>228</sup> As we shall see, the situation in Hungary was different, and the hierarchy on the coinage is not so clear. The appearance of the queen’s heraldic device on medieval money is also very important, though in the case of Hungary this occurs only in a few cases.

A significant number of coins have the image of the queen beside her husband, but this phenomenon is still relatively under-studied. In 1891, Menadier carried out a significant study on German coins which included a chapter on bracteates depicting the king and the queen. His scope is quite extensive and he examines not just German, but also Hungarian, Bohemia, Polish, Serbian, Bulgarian, Danish, and English coins in this scheme. However, he mostly explains these coins as marriage bracteates. Perhaps as a result of his general approach, he came up with an overarching interpretation of these coins as marriage bracteates, which he assumed to have been minted upon the occasion of the king’s wedding.<sup>229</sup> However, Jasperse argues (rather successfully) that the so-called marriage bracteates from mid-twelfth century Germany actually represent points in time where the prince’s wife administered affairs in her husband’s absence.<sup>230</sup> Most Hungarian coins depicting the queen seem to be minted (and used) years after the wedding celebrations of the couple, so Jasperse’s explanation seems to be more credible. Admittedly, establishing a reliable chronology for the coins is difficult and it is possible to enter a pitfall of circular logic, particularly when a queen’s presence as a regent is used to date a coin. Nonetheless, Menadier’s hypothesis will be revised here and the approach taken in this chapter will examine these coins as objects beyond a singular event.

<sup>227</sup> Stahl, “Coinage in the Name of Medieval Women”, 323.

<sup>228</sup> Stahl, “Coinage in the Name of Medieval Women”, 321; Brubaker and Tobler, “The Gender of Money: Byzantine Empresses on Coins (324-802)”, 573-575.

<sup>229</sup> For instance, see his explanation for the Bohemian coins of Ottokar I (r. 1192-1230) and his second wife, Constance of Hungary (d. 1240) or Valdemar I of Denmark (r. 1146-1182) and Sophia of Minsk (d. 1198) on pages 124-127. Menadier, “Der Hochzeitpfennige Herzog Heinrich des Löwen”, 86-221.

<sup>230</sup> Jitske Jasperse, “A Coin Bearing Testimony to Duchess Matilda as *Consors Regni*” *Haskins Society Journal* 26 (2014): 169-176.

Power and hierarchy, so clearly present on coins issued by male rulers, are also present in the case of Queen Mary of Hungary (r. 1382-1395); the only medieval women who issued coins were queens regnant like her.<sup>231</sup> Since more data is available on the coins issued by Queen Mary, techniques such as X-ray fluorescence (which established metallic content), minting practices, and references in written sources can aid in uncovering her agency behind this numismatic evidence. Queen Mary is also the only person appearing in this chapter where the mints of coins are known to some degree, which helps us understand the distribution patterns of her coins. Although the character of Mary's coins will be primarily understood within the context of other Hungarian queens, it is worthwhile to also compare coins of Mary's sister, Jadwiga, queen of Poland (r. 1383-1399) in order to better understand Mary's own use of coinage as personal and dynastic propaganda.

### Coins of Andrew II featuring Yolanda of Courtenay

There are three coins of Andrew II (r. 1205-1235) that have the heads of two rulers on them, identified as Andrew and his queen, Yolanda of Courtenay (d. 1233).<sup>232</sup> These are the first known depictions of a queen on the coin of a Hungarian monarch; in one case the two crowned monarchs are portrayed at three-quarters (**II.1**), and in the other they are in profile, facing each other (**II.2 & II.3**). The coin with the portraits of two rulers at three-quarters (**II.1**) depicts them on the obverse, with an object (possibly a scepter) between them. Both rulers are crowned and it appears that the figure on the viewer's left is wearing long hair or a veil as befits a queen. On the reverse of the coin there is a castle beneath a shield with the horizontal Árpadian coat of arms flanked by two trees, all indicating the rank and descent of the king. The two coins in profile are very alike although one is larger than the other as it is a higher denomination. The obverse of the denar and obolus with the king and queen in profile facing each other (**II. 2 & II.3**) has them placed beneath a star and a moon, symbols of dominion over the universe.<sup>233</sup> The figure on the right is wearing a veil that covers the hair and the ears; it is most likely that this represents the queen rather than a junior king or royal advisor. On the reverse of the coins there is a castle turret under a star and flanked by two shields bearing the double-barred Hungarian cross, symbols of both the dynasty and royal status. Insofar as the position of the queen on this coin is important, in all three cases, the king and queen are depicted together on what has been identified as the obverse (possibly because of the portraits of the rulers).

<sup>231</sup> German abbesses were the only exception. Stahl, "Coinage in the Name of Medieval Women", 328-333.

<sup>232</sup> Lajos Huszár, *Münzkatalog Ungarn von 1000 bis heute* (Budapest: Corvina, 1979), 58, 61, nos. 242, 279, 280; Réthy, *Corpus Nummorum Hungariae*, I nos. 204, 309, II no. 51.

<sup>233</sup> Imre Takács, *Az Árpád-házi királyok pecsétjei: Royal Seals of the Árpád Dynasty* (Budapest: Hungarian National Archives, 2012), 66

Menadier identified the queen on **II.2** (and thus **II.3** as well) as Gertrude of Andechs-Meran (d. 1213), the first wife of Andrew II, suggesting that this coin was specifically minted to commemorate the couple's marriage.<sup>234</sup> Yet a more recent exhibition catalogue refers to the queen on this same coin as Yolanda of Courtenay, Andrew's second wife.<sup>235</sup> The main reason for this identification is that the crescent and star associated with Andrew II only appear on his seal after the death of Queen Gertrude.<sup>236</sup> Yolanda's presence on the coins seems best explained from the perspective of Andrew's policy towards the former Byzantine lands. Yolanda's parents were Peter II of Courtenay (r. 1216-1217) and Yolanda of Flanders (r. 1217-1219), both of whom ruled the Latin Empire of Constantinople. By marrying their daughter, Andrew II of Hungary entertained hopes of a personal union under his helm between the Hungarian kingdom and the Latin Empire. Ultimately, his efforts to sit on this throne were unsuccessful, but 1217 to 1219 were the years when his ambitions seemed closest to being realized, particularly during his leadership of the Fifth Crusade in 1217-1218.<sup>237</sup> While Andrew was in the Holy Land, we know Yolanda was back in Hungary. A charter of Andrew II from 1219 confirming a donation of land to the Knights Templar indicates not only that the Order had helped the queen manage affairs in his absence, but also that the donation was made at the queen's request.<sup>238</sup> This seems to confirm Jasperse's connection between queens depicted on coinage during periods of their husband's absence. The idea of co-rule might also be corroborated by the branch-like object between the king and queen on their denar (**Cat. II.1**), which based on a comparison to similar coins from mid-twelfth century Germany, could be a scepter. The presence of scepters on coins of Henry the Lion of Saxony (d. 1195) and Matilda of England (d. 1189) indicate a concept of authority which communicates co-rulership.<sup>239</sup> If this coin was minted during a period when Andrew II was off on the Fifth Crusade this would follow earlier patterns from the Holy Roman Empire. And if one

<sup>234</sup> Menadier, *Deutsche Münzen*, 130.

<sup>235</sup> Jusèp Boya, László Révész and Margarida Sala, *Princesses from Afar: Hungary and Catalonia in the Middle Ages* (Budapest: Hungarian National Museum, 2009), 12-13.

<sup>236</sup> In particular the seals of Andrew II used before 1216 (perhaps as early as 1214) until 1229. Takács, *Az Árpád-házi királyok pecsétjei: Royal Seals of the Árpád Dynasty*, 66, 169-170; Géza Érszegi, *Sigilla Regum – Reges Sigillorum: Királyportrék a Magyar Országos Levéltár pecsétgyűjteményéből* [Portraits of the kings from the seal collection at the Hungarian National Library] (Budapest, 2011), 44-49.

<sup>237</sup> Filip Van Tricht, *The Latin Renovatio of Byzantium: The Empire of Constantinople (1204-1228)* (Leiden & Boston: Brill, 2001), 413-419; Kosztolnyik, *Hungary in the Thirteenth Century*, 60-71.

<sup>238</sup> "...quo nobiscum et propter nos serenissimamque coniugem nostram Y(olantem) reginam sustinuit, pre oculis regie maiestatis habentes et insuper ad petitionem ipsius regine..." Tadija Smičiklas, *Codex diplomaticus regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae*, III. (Zagreb, 1905), 175; Miha Kosi, "The Age of the Crusades in the South-East of the Empire (Between the Alps and the Adriatic)", in *The Crusades and the Military Orders: Expanding the Frontiers of Medieval Latin Christianity*, ed. by Zolt Hunyadi and József Laszlovszky (Budapest: CEU Press, 2001), 137

<sup>239</sup> Jasperse, "A Coin Bearing Testimony to Duchess Matilda", 181-182.

coin features Yolanda in the more prominent position (to the viewer's left), it might even explain why it was minted in the king's absence.

### Coins of Béla IV featuring Maria Laskarina

The visual evidence suggests that in two coin types, Béla IV (r. 1235-1270), Andrew's son from his first marriage, employed a similar design featuring the portraits of two crowned rulers on the first type. A second type displays Béla's face on the obverse and has on its reverse the heraldic devices of the queen, a rarity in the case of Hungary. The busts of the two rulers are both rather gender-neutral, as it is very difficult to tell if a veil appears at all on one of the figures. Given that Béla's son Stephen (Stephen V, r. 1270-1272), was proclaimed junior king in 1245,<sup>240</sup> the coins could possibly feature him and his father. Nonetheless, the main reason for arguing that these coins depict Maria Laskarina (d.1270) is that a denar and obolus (**Cat. II.6** and **II.7**) feature her natal family's heraldry, namely the double-headed eagle. Although not straightforward copies, their iconography and composition recall the coins of Andrew II which feature Yolanda of Courtenay. Considering that Huszár only counts 48 different specimens of coins from the reign of Béla IV, the six specimens included here which may have images related to the queen (or the junior king) on them represent a significant portion of the king's coinage.<sup>241</sup> Perhaps there is nothing more to it than Béla following his father's model without wanting to communicate ideas about the theories and practices of co-rule. Yet the changes that were made by adding the references to Maria's natal family suggest that her heraldic devices were used to convey attitudes about dynastic legitimacy and international connections.

Réthy identifies two oboli of Béla IV that have the bust of a crowned ruler on the front and the crowned double-headed eagle of the Laskaris Dynasty on the back (**II.6** & **II.7**).<sup>242</sup> The double-headed eagle was originally a Hittite and Sumerian symbol that was then employed by the Seleucid Turks. While eagles with both single and double heads were associated more often with the Paleologoi, the first Byzantine emperor to adopt it as a symbol was Theodore I Laskaris, the father of Béla's wife Maria.<sup>243</sup> The iconography on these coins also has much in common with those issued by Béla's father Andrew II. There are typical heraldic items such as the double-barred Hungarian cross, the bust of the king, and the image of the king on the throne. Like Andrew, Béla also has the figures of the star and the crescent shown on one of the coins with two

<sup>240</sup> Kosztolnyik, *Hungary in the Thirteenth Century*, 190.

<sup>241</sup> i.e. 12.5% of the total coinage. Huszár, *Münzkatalog Ungarn*, 62-67.

<sup>242</sup> Réthy, *Corpus Nummorum Hungariae*, Vol. I, 31, nos. 249 & 250.

<sup>243</sup> Hubert Allcock, *Heraldic Design: Its Origins, Ancient Forms and Modern Usage* (Mineola, NY: Dover Publications, 2003), 20; Anthony Eastmond, *Art and Identity in thirteenth-century Byzantium: Hagia Sophia and the empire of Trebizond* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2003), 148-150.

busts (**II.4**). As mentioned above, a denar and obolus display the heraldic device of the queen's family, seemingly the only example in medieval Hungary (**II.6** and **II.7**). Huszár makes a curious discovery, saying that one of the coins of Béla IV that has two busts on the reverse has the Hebrew letter "tet" (ט) on the obverse.<sup>244</sup> There is also one coin (**II.8**) that has a large cat on the reverse of it; Réthy identifies it as a leopard while Huszár states it is a panther.<sup>245</sup> As the "Second Founder" of Hungary, Béla seems to have used coinage to convey images about his own royal power. Some coins mention him specifically by name (though not Maria Laskarina), and other coins feature him with features of rulership such as a crown, scepter or orb).

There does not seem to be a lot in the way of patterns regarding the position of the queen on her husband's coinage. One denar and one obolus (**II.4** and **II.5**) have the queen on the reverse, in the left hand position. The two oboli with the heraldry of the queen display the figure of the queen on the reverse (**II.6** and **II.7**). Meanwhile, the denar and obolus with the two crowned busts facing the viewer are depicted in such a way that one is unable to tell which is which. Since none of the coins of Béla IV can be dated precisely, it is practically impossible to connect them to any particular life events or absences of the king.

### **Coins of Ladislas IV 'the Cuman' and his mother Elizabeth the Cuman (?)**

There are a total of six different coins attributed to Ladislas IV (r. 1272-1290) that have an image of a queen on it. Considering that Huszár only lists 44 coins from the king's reign, this indicates that of all the rulers included in my survey, Ladislas IV minted the highest percentage of coins with a queen is depicted on them.<sup>246</sup> One clue as to the identity of the queen on the coinage is that the obverse of one of the denars (**Cat. II.11**) has the initials E and L, which according to Réthy stands for Elisabetha and Ladislas.<sup>247</sup> Interestingly enough, it seems that the queen's initial precedes the king's in this case. During the reign of Ladislas, there were two queens with the Latin name Elizabeth at the Hungarian court: the king's mother, Elizabeth the Cuman (d. 1290?), and the king's Neapolitan wife, Elizabeth (d. 1303) who is usually referred to as Isabella in the secondary literature to distinguish the two. Based on historical circumstances, it seems more likely that the queen depicted on coinage was his mother. Elizabeth the Cuman, who had a turbulent regency (the first queen to officially hold the position) between 1272-1277, was

<sup>244</sup> Huszár, *Münzkatalog Ungarn von 1000 bis heute*, 64, no. 312.

<sup>245</sup> Réthy, *Corpus Nummorum Hungariae*, Vol. I, 39, nos. 360 & 361; Huszár, *Münzkatalog Ungarn von 1000 bis heute*, 66, no. 339.

<sup>246</sup> 13.6%. Huszár, *Münzkatalog Ungarn von 1000 bis heute*, 69-73.

<sup>247</sup> Réthy, *Corpus Nummorum Hungariae*, Vol. I, 35, no. 319.



very active as dowager queen mother.<sup>248</sup> In an earlier regency from eleventh century Poland, Richenza of Lorraine's name appears on coinage during the regency of her son Casimir I the Restorer.<sup>249</sup> While Isabella of Naples lived at the Hungarian court from 1270 to 1299, the couple was not married until 1277 and their relationship was not always congenial; for a brief period Isabella was even imprisoned on Margaret Island.<sup>250</sup> Judith of Thuringia (d. 1191) is a similar case of a prince's mother appearing on coinage primarily within the context of regency and co-rule with their sons.<sup>251</sup> If Elizabeth the Cuman appeared on the coins during her regency it would explain why she appears most often on coins compared to the other queens in this survey. It would also explain the one instance why her initial seems to precede that of her son.

For the most part, the king and the queen mother appear on the obverse: on three specimens (**Cat. II.10-12**), the queen appears to be placed on the left while the king is on the right, while for the other three (**Cat. II.13-15**), the two figures are indeterminate. The denar in Cat. II.10 stands out as it has a legend (M(oneta) REGI(s) LADIZLAI = "Money of King Ladislas") that fully covers the obverse while the two crowned figures are on the reverse. There are a number of intriguing iconographic features on the coins of Ladislas IV and his mother, of which some are overtly religious in nature (including a cross, a shield with a cross, Christ enthroned, or stars and lilies). Other figural representations include an eagle (**Cat. II.12**), a cross flanked by a pair of wings (**Cat. II.14**), and a dragon (**Cat. I.13** and **II.15**).

### Coins of Andrew III featuring Tomasina Morisini (?)

There are two denars of Andrew III (r. 1290-1301) depicting two crowned figures facing each other. In one case, the two crowned figures are found on the obverse (**Cat. II.16**) with an eagle on the reverse, while the other has two busts flanking a cross on the reverse and a king with regalia on the obverse (**Cat. II.17**). The pairs on both coins appears to be very similar; the crowned heads are facing each other, and between the two of them is an object, either a cross (**Cat. II.17**) or a column (**Cat. II.16**) with a crowned letter "M" underneath.<sup>252</sup> It is extremely difficult to tell what distinguishes one crowned figure from another, though on II.16 it seems that

<sup>248</sup> For information on her charter activity, see: Attila Zsoldos and Imre Szentpétery, *Az Árpád-házi hercegek, hercegnők és a királynék okleveleinek kritikai jegyzéke* [A critical edition of the charters of the princes, princesses, and queens of the Árpád house] (Budapest: Magyar Országos Levéltár, 2008), 62-101.

<sup>249</sup> Kazimierz Stronczyński, *Dawne monety polskie dynastii Piastów i Jagiellonów* [Old coins of the Piast and Jagiellon dynasties] (Warsaw: Polskie Towarzystwo Numizmatyczne Zarząd Główny, 2005) Vol. I, 45f.

<sup>250</sup> Kosztolnyik, *Hungary in the Thirteenth Century*, 277-278, 287, 296.

<sup>251</sup> Judith and her sister Bertha of Lorraine in this case appear to be the primary forces behind minting coins with their images. Jitske Jasperse, "To Have and to Hold: Coins and Seals as Evidence for Motherly Authority" in *Royal Mothers and their Ruling Children: Wielding Political Authority from Antiquity to the Early Modern Era*, ed. by Elena Woodacre and Carey Fleiner (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), 89-96.

<sup>252</sup> Examples from the reign of Andrew II indicate that an "M" usually stands for "moneta", but Réthy proposes that a crowned letter "M" could also stand for Morisini, the maiden name of Andrew's mother Tomasina. Réthy, *Corpus Nummorum Hungariae*, I 27, 39, no. 359.

the figure on the left is wearing a veil and, thus, is probably the queen while on II.17, it seems that the figure on the right is shown wearing a veil.

For both of the coins, the king seems to be on the right while the queen appears wearing a veil on the left side. The imagery on the coins appears to be very standardized as on one side there is the bust of the king, and on the other side is a figure that both Réthy and Huszár identify as a harpy because it has the face of a person and the body of a winged creature (**Cat. II.16**).<sup>253</sup> It is possible that the object between the two figures on **II.16** could be a stylized scepter, indicating authority.

While there is no precise information on the minting or dating of these coins, a few clues emerge about the identification of the figure of the queen. We know that Andrew III was married twice, first to the Polish princess Fenenna of Kujava (1276-1295) and then after her death to the Habsburg princess Agnes of Austria (1280-1364). Both of Andrew's marriages were very brief, and his wives were rather young; Honneman comments that his marriage to Agnes was not particularly happy as the king was a "notorious womanizer".<sup>254</sup> It thus seems to be more likely that the woman depicted on the coinage of Andrew III is not one of his wives, but rather his mother, Tomasina Morosini (d. 1300). Tomasina was the wife of Prince Stephen of Slavonia, son of Andrew II and his third wife, Beatrice d'Este. While never queen herself, Tomasina was quite a powerful figure at the Hungarian court and Andrew III let his mother govern the lands between the Danube and the Adriatic, essentially ruling over Slavonia.<sup>255</sup> Tomasina's independence and good relationship with her son make her the most likely candidate to be featured on these coins. Andrew was not without opponents during his eleven year reign, since close relations of the Árpád dynasty all made claims to the kingdom. As the grandson of Andrew II, who was raised in Italy and initially a stranger to the Hungarian nobility, the appearance of his mother on some of the coinage may have been an effort on the part of the king to show some dynastic continuity. Conceivably, it could also be Tomasina's effort to express her regional autonomy in Slavonia. After Andrew's death in 1301, there was a period of an interregnum where Wenceslas (r. 1301-1305) and Otto (r. 1305-1307) both minted coins,<sup>256</sup> but the kingdom would not be stabilized until the reign of Charles I Robert of Naples.

<sup>253</sup> Réthy, *Corpus Nummorum Hungariae*, 39, no 359; Huszár, *Münzkatalog Ungarn von 1000 bis heute*, 73, nos. 408, 410.

<sup>254</sup> Volker Honneman, "A Medieval Queen and her Stepdaughter: Agnes and Elizabeth of Hungary", *Queens and Queenship in Medieval Europe: proceedings of a conference held at King's College London, April 1995*, Anne J. Duggan, ed. (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2002), 110.

<sup>255</sup> Kosztolnyik, *Hungary in the Thirteenth Century*, 359.

<sup>256</sup> Wenceslas minted 6 coins, Otto only 1. Huszár, *Münzkatalog Ungarn von 1000 bis heute*, 75-76.

## Coins of Charles I Robert featuring Elizabeth of Poland

Charles I Robert (r. 1308-1342) was known to have overhauled the system of minting coinage with new regulations in 1323, creating a much more stable currency.<sup>257</sup> During his reign, he issued a total of 71 different coins. There are six coins with the image of the queen on them; all seem to be minted after Charles Robert's marriage to Elizabeth of Poland (d. 1380) in 1320, dating from 1325-1326, with the exception of (**Cat. II.22**), which has been dated to 1332. 1326 was a particularly important year for the queen as she gave birth to her first son on March 5;<sup>258</sup> the first period of coinage with her image on it could come from the time of her pregnancy.

In five instances the queen is depicted on the obverse, together with her husband who is also portrayed on the reverse. In most cases the queen is on the right side of the coin while on one coin the two figures are indeterminate (see **II.23**). The coins of Charles I Robert in this study display many of the traditional items of Hungarian rulership that we already encountered on earlier coinage, including a bust of the king, the lily, and the double-barred cross. There are also some new features, such as have two indeterminate birds flanking busts of the king and queen (**Cat. II.18** and **II.19**), grape leaves (**Cat. II.20**) and the Angevin device of the ostrich head holding a horseshoe in its beak (**Cat. II.21** and **II.22**). Additionally, we encounter the so-called "Buda denar" has the crest of the city of Buda decorating one side while the busts of the king and queen are on the other (**Cat. II.24**). **II.21** and **II.22** are also notable in that they contain the initials of the queen; on the reverse there are the initials K (for Karolus) and E (for Elizabeth). The appearance of the queen's name or initials is a key indicator of power, and the case of Elizabeth the Cuman's name appearing on her son's coinage is more usual, considering she was the regent.

Elizabeth of Poland was known to be very powerful and influential during the reign of her son Louis I. Between 1370 and 1375, she was even regent of Poland for her son when he inherited the throne from his uncle. The assumption has been that Elizabeth's full power was recognized at the time of her widowhood, yet she appears on a significant portion of her husband's coinage during his lifetime; no queens appear on coins of her son, Louis I.<sup>259</sup> Part of this could be explained by changing attitudes towards imagery during this period and the greater importance of heraldry as a means of identification. Regarding her absence on the coinage during Louis' time as king of Poland (and thus her regency), there are two observations that need to be made. First is that the time of her regency was very troubled and there were only a few coins of

<sup>257</sup> Huszár, *Münzkatalog Ungarn von 1000 bis heute*, 11-12.

<sup>258</sup> Michael de Ferdinandy, "Ludwig I. von Ungarn (1342-1382)" in *Louis the Great: King of Hungary and Poland*, ed. S. B. Vardy et al. (Boulder: East European Monographs, 1986), 3.

<sup>259</sup> Réthy, *Corpus Nummorum Hungariae*, Vol. II, 17, nos. 108-110.

Louis minted in Poland. Second, there are only a few known or surviving artistic ventures by the Hungarian court into Poland during the time of King Louis. The main endeavor in Louis' artistic program was the red-marble tomb of his predecessor on the Polish throne, Casimir III the Great.<sup>260</sup> Elizabeth seal as regent of Poland (**Cat. I.16**) seems to have been significant enough to express her power as regent in that region, and considering the short period of rule it may not have been necessary to issue coinage with her name or face.

### Coins of Queen Mary (r. 1382-1395)

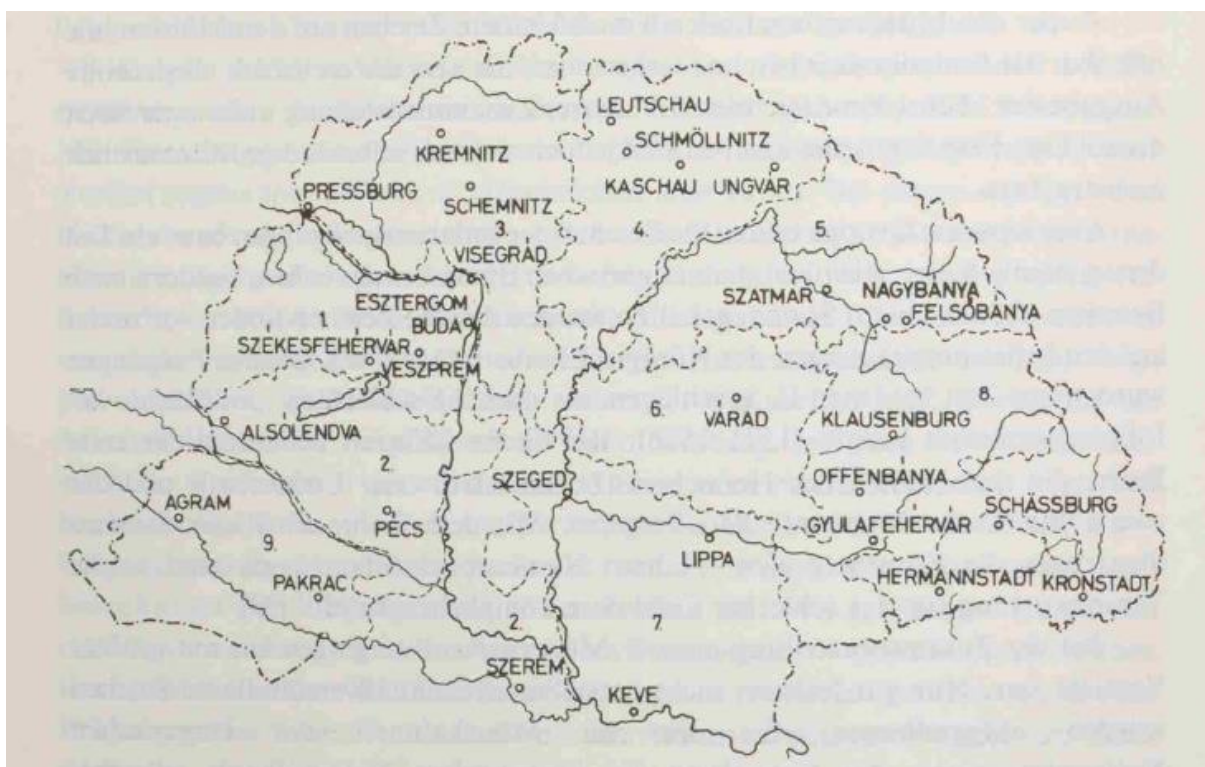
The daughter of Louis I 'the Great', Queen Mary is the only woman who minted coins in her own right in medieval Hungary. It is certainly clear that Queen Mary issued coinage of her own during the first few years of her reign which she ruled with her mother, Elizabeth Kotromanić (d. 1387) as regent. It is more difficult to determine whether she continued to issue coins after her marriage with Sigismund of Luxemburg in 1387. Stahl states that after her marriage, coins were issued in Sigismund's name only; on the other hand, there are at least one gold florin, one denar and two oboli that were minted from 1384 to her death in 1395 (**II.26, II.29, II.32-33**).<sup>261</sup> A recent auction catalog has turned up a coin of Queen Mary which is believed to have been issued during the period of conflict with Charles II of Naples in 1385-1386 due to stylistic similarities with other coins and elements borrowed from the Neapolitan court; it is possible that there might have been a corresponding denar as well.<sup>262</sup> Coins of Mary were minted in Székesfehérvár, Buda, Košice (in Slovakia, known as Kassa in Hungarian, Kaschau in German), Baia Mare (in Romania, also Nagybánya), Kremnica (in Slovakia, Körmöcbánya in Hungarian, Kremnitz in German), Sremska Mitrovica (in Serbia, also known as Szerem), Timisoara (in Romania, formerly Temesvár), Sibiu (in Romania, also Nagyszeben or Hermannstadt), Bratislava (in Slovakia, also Pozsony or Preßburg), and Oradea (in Romania, also Nagyvárád or Várád) (see **Map 1**).<sup>263</sup>

<sup>260</sup> Ewa Snieszynska-Stolot, "The Artistic Patronage of the Hungarian Angevins in Poland" *Alba Regia* 22 (1985): 21-22.

<sup>261</sup> Curiously enough, Stahl cites Huszár who includes coinage minted during the reign of her husband. Stahl, "Coinage in the Name of Medieval Women", 324; Huszár, *Münzkatalog Ungarn von 1000 bis heute*, 92-93; Csaba Tóth, "Mária királynő dénárjainak korrendje" [A Chronology of the denars of Queen Mary] *Az Érem* 58 (2002): 7-11.

<sup>262</sup> This recently discovered obolus has a crown of Queen Mary dated to the 1380s, but on the back there is a Latin-type cross, rather than the usual Hungarian double-barred cross. József Géza Kiss and Róbert Ujszászi, "Mária királynő obulusai" [The obols of Queen Mary] *Az Érem* LXXI (2014): 1-4.

<sup>263</sup> Pohl, *Münzzeichen und Meisterzeichen auf Ungarischen Münzen des Mittelalters 1300-1540*, Tables 30-33.



**Map 1** – Location of all the known mints in medieval Hungary (Pohl, 1982)

The imagery on the coinage of Queen Mary is conservative and this is hardly surprising since coins minted by women and under their authority rarely had feminine iconography.<sup>264</sup> The chronological development of the denars issued by Queen Mary suggest that the earliest of her coins had the St. Ladislav imagery which can be seen on the last coins minted by her father, and in fact remained a staple of Hungarian coinage until 1471.<sup>265</sup> This was followed by a denar with the Hungarian double-barred cross and a crowned letter “M”, and finally during the years of joint rule with Sigismund (1387-1395) we see denars with a Hungarian double-barred cross tipped with pearls and a crown above the mint mark.<sup>266</sup> The coins of Mary seem to have the usual heraldic fare: crowns, the double-barred Hungarian cross, the Hungarian-Angevin coat of arms, and the crowned letter “M”; here is also no animal imagery. This shift in favor of heraldic devices shows how important they had become at the Hungarian court, as evidenced in relevant chapters on heraldry and funerary monuments. The coins issued by Mary’s husband Sigismund in the 1380s and 1390s were very similar to his wife’s, consisting of the same heraldic devices with a

<sup>264</sup> Stahl, “Coinage in the Name of Medieval Women”, 323.

<sup>265</sup> Huszár, *Münzkatalog Ungarn von 1000 bis heute*, 12.

<sup>266</sup> Tóth, “Mária királynő dénárjainak korrendje” [A Chronology of the denars of Queen Mary], 7-11.

few of his own personal devices thrown in as well.<sup>267</sup> This was most likely part of his strategy to legitimize his fifty-year rule in Hungary, especially after the death of Mary. In a similar case, the Count of Provence who succeeded Joanna I of Naples (r. 1343-1381) to the title used the design of her coinage after her death, only changing his name. Joanna's numismatics makes for an interesting comparison with Mary of Hungary. While Joanna was more adventurous with her imagery, and at some points she is referred to as "Rex" along with her husband Louis of Taranto, his name always precedes hers.<sup>268</sup> Mary of Hungary is never referred to as "Rex", but coinage minted in her name features only her own name, even after her marriage.

A study involving X-ray fluorescence of coins in Central and Eastern Europe at the end of the fourteenth century reveals a development in the metallic composition of silver coins from the reign of Queen Mary and the early reign of King Sigismund from the period between ca. 1385 and 1400. An analysis of trace elements indicates the ore for the coins seems to have come from Transylvania under Queen Mary, and from both Transylvania and Croatia during the reign of her husband. However, the percentage of copper in the coinage of Queen Mary is significantly higher than coins minted in the name of Sigismund; for Queen Mary, the silver content is 55-75% and the copper content is 22-42% whereas Sigismund's coins are 70-97% silver and only 1-27% copper. The authors of the study point to the anarchy, civil wars, and conflict with Austria as a primary explanation for the lower silver content in the coins minted during Mary's reign.<sup>269</sup> Sigismund also ended the practice of the coins being exchanged and melted down on a yearly basis, which might explain the relative stability of the silver content in the coins, as well as the relatively small number of coins issued during his fifty year reign.<sup>270</sup> While the survey is unclear on which coins of Mary were included in the survey, it nonetheless shows the unique problems the queen faced issuing coins in her own right as a sole female ruler.

Examining the coins issued by Mary's younger sister, Queen Jadwiga of Poland (r. 1383-1399) offers a unique comparison of numismatic evidence issued by female rulers in medieval Central Europe. Jadwiga minted coins in Kraków and Poznań during her brief period of independent rule from 1384-1386 before her marriage with Jogaila of Lithuania (Wladyslaw II).<sup>271</sup> These coins featured an eagle on one side and the Hungarian-Angevin coat-of-arms on the

<sup>267</sup> For example, the Brandenburg eagle. Huszár, *Münzkatalog Ungarn von 1000 bis heute*, 93-95; Csaba Tóth, "Die Ungarische Münzprägung unter Sigismund von Luxemburg" in *Sigismundus Rex et Imperator: Kunst und Kultur zur Zeit Sigismunds von Luxemburg 1387-1437*, ed. by Imre Takács (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 2006), 171-172.

<sup>268</sup> William Monter, "Gendered Sovereignty: Numismatics and Female Monarchs in Europe, 1300-1800" *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* XLI:4 (2011): 540-541.

<sup>269</sup> B. Constantinescu, R. Bugoi, E. Oberländer-Târnoaveu, K. Pârvan, "Medieval Silver Coins Analyses by PIXE and ED-XRF Techniques", *Romanian Journal of Physics*, 54/5-6: 486-487.

<sup>270</sup> Huszár, *Münzkatalog Ungarn von 1000 bis heute*, 12.

<sup>271</sup> Stronczyński, *Dawne monety polskie dynastii Piastów i Jagiellonów*, Vol. II, 48.

other. This is a great contrast to the continued and extensive minting activities of her overlooked sister. The denars, oboli and florins issued by Mary also seem to have been minted all over the kingdom. **II.28** came from at least seven known mints, and **II.29** was minted in at least ten different places.<sup>272</sup> Overall, the picture that emerges is a complex one reflecting a desire for continuity in imagery, temporary instability in the metallic content, and a wide area of control in her minting activity.

## Conclusions

The situation of coins with depictions of queens in thirteenth and fourteenth century Hungary was different in comparison with those in German and Byzantine coinage. In Byzantium, for instance, women appeared on coinage in the eleventh century, as several became empress-regents, ruled in their own right, or were simply powerful and well-connected consorts.<sup>273</sup> There is a long tradition in the Holy Roman Empire of women appearing on coinage, even going back to the Carolingian empire, but this custom seems to be especially strong in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.<sup>274</sup> Poland and Bohemia seem to have followed the German example, as busts of the queens appear on the coinage minted in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.<sup>275</sup> In terms of the chronology of women appearing on Hungarian coinage, it seems that the kingdom is closer to the patterns of the Austrian duchy, wherein queens appear on coinage in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. There is a certain amount of sense in this because starting in the thirteenth century Hungarian coinage began to be heavily influenced by Friesach denars and Viennese pfennige.<sup>276</sup> The appearance of the queen on Hungarian coinage did not happen in a vacuum, but was part of a broader European trend. In the case of Hungary, the appearance of the queen consort (or queen regent) on a coin in the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries can be seen as a sign of how her power was perceived. While the king controlled the mint, the appearance of the queen on coinage during times of regency or during the absence of the king indicates the importance of her image in enforcing royal authority.

An examination of the coinage minted by Queen Mary shows both the possibilities and problems a Hungarian queen ruling in her own right encountered. On one hand, her marriage to

<sup>272</sup> Pohl, *Münzzeichen und Meisterzeichen auf Ungarischen Münzen des Mittelalters 1300-1540*, Tables 30-33.

<sup>273</sup> Eudokia Makrembolitissa, Theodora (r. 1042, 1055-1056), and Eirene Doukaina are examples of all three categories. Menadier, *Deutsche Münzen*, 103; Ioli Kalavrezou, et al. "Appendix: Byzantine Empresses," in *Byzantine Women and Their World*, ed. Ioli Kalavrezou, et al. (Cambridge, Harvard University Art Museums, 2003), 306-312.

<sup>274</sup> Stahl, "Coinage in the Name of Medieval Women", 328-332; Jasperse, "A Coin Bearing Testimony to Duchess Matilda as *Consors Regni*": 169-176.

<sup>275</sup> This dissemination seems to be based both geographically and temporally. In Bulgaria, women did not appear on coinage until the thirteenth century, while in Serbia and Georgia they do not appear until the fourteenth century. Menadier, *Deutsche Münzen*, 123-133.

<sup>276</sup> Huszár, *Münzkatalog Ungarn von 1000 bis heute*, 11.

Sigismund did not halt the production of her own coins, and can be traced back to at least ten different mints at their broadest manufacture. Yet at the same time the silver content of the coins shows how they had been devalued during the instability of her reign. Nonetheless, the conservative imagery and broad distribution shows that Mary was clearly aware of the potential for coins to show continuity between her and her father's reign. The coins minted in Hungary of her husband Sigismund show that he saw the prudence in continuing the imagery his wife used on her money.

The same use of imagery occurred after the death of Albert of Habsburg (r. 1437-1439), the duke of Austria and king of Bohemia and Hungary, his widow, Elisabeth of Luxemburg (d. 1442), the daughter of King Sigismund, began minting coins in the interregnum immediately after his death, particularly in the years 1439-1400. Rather than having new coins struck for the interregnum, it seems she continued minting Albert's coins.<sup>277</sup> Coinage was very clearly tied to the monetary aspects of medieval rulership, so the appearance of queens on coins and their active involvement in their minting shows that this is a new pathway that can be used to explore the interactions of queenship, power, and ideology at the medieval Hungarian court.

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<sup>277</sup> Pohl, *Münzzeichen und Meisterzeichen auf Ungarischen Münzen des Mittelalters 1300-1540*, Tables 62 & 63.



### III. Coats-of-arms of medieval Hungarian queens

A coat-of-arms in the heraldic sense is usually both hereditary and connected with armor.<sup>278</sup> However, as the practice of sealing became more popular amongst non-military classes such as women, the clergy, burghers, and Jews, heraldic devices were adopted off the battlefield as a means of visual identification. Medieval women in almost every case adopted the coat-of-arms either of their father or their husband. In Western Europe, some heiresses could display only their father's coat-of-arms while elements from the matrilineal line would only make rare, marginal appearances.<sup>279</sup> While women actively used and employed heraldic devices for various purposes, it nonetheless requires some subtlety to interpret the agency behind women using coats of arms.

As yet, no methodological guide exists for studying the material culture of heraldry. Nevertheless, in the case of royal standards, it is clear that heraldic devices can take many forms. Heraldic devices could be emblazoned in permanent material such as stone; the Eleanor Crosses, the burial monuments of Eleanor of Castile (d. 1290), queen of England, proudly display her natal arms of Ponthieu, Castile, Leon, and those of England.<sup>280</sup> St. Elizabeth of Aragon, Queen of Portugal (d. 1336, a great-niece of St. Elizabeth of Hungary, d. 1231), used the arms of her father, mother, and husband in her funerary monument, though in nearly every other heraldic use of hers, the arms of her husband and father are dominant.<sup>281</sup> Coats of arms could also be found in other permanent material such as floor tiles in religious institutions. The Chapter House of Westminster Abbey is a good example, displaying the arms of Henry III (r. 1216-1272).<sup>282</sup> Though fragile, stained glass was another option for displaying escutcheons. In a few cases, it is even possible to reconstruct aspects of the stained glass and see the direct contribution the queen made. There has been an extensive study on Marguerite of Burgundy, queen of Sicily (d. 1308), and her patronage of stained glass employing heraldic devices at Mussy and the hospital at Tonnerre.<sup>283</sup> Around the mid-twelfth century, seals of the queens start employing heraldic devices, such as the counter seal of Blanche of Castile, queen of France (d. 1252), bearing the

<sup>278</sup> Arthur Charles Fox-Davies, *A Complete Guide to Heraldry* (London: Bracken Books, 1929), 14.

<sup>279</sup> Brigitte Bedos-Rezak, "Heraldry" in *Women and Gender in Medieval Europe: An Encyclopedia*, ed. Margaret Schaus (London & New York: Routledge, 2006), 360-361.

<sup>280</sup> John Carmi Parsons, "'Never was a body buried in England with such solemnity and honour': The Burials and Posthumous Commemorations of English Queens to 1500" in *Queens and Queenship in Medieval Europe*, Anne J. Duggan, ed. (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1997), 327; John Steane, *The Archaeology of the Medieval English Monarchy*. (London & New York: Routledge, 1993), 49-51.

<sup>281</sup> Antonio de São Payo, "L'héraldique de la reine Sainte Elisabeth de Portugal, nièce de Sainte Elisabeth de Hongrie". in *Mélanges offerts à Szabolcs de Vajay*. (Braga, Livraria Cruz, 1971), 528.

<sup>282</sup> Steane, *The Archaeology of the Medieval English Monarchy*, 174.

<sup>283</sup> Tonnerre seems to include 600 examples of heraldic devices known at present. Meredith Parsons Lillich, *The Queen of Sicily and Gothic Stained Glass in Mussy and Tonnerre*. (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1998), ix-x, 79-80.

arms of Castile.<sup>284</sup> There was also a tradition of heraldic devices that could be worn on the body. Steane identifies three such categories in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries: livery worn on the head (chaperons); livery of cloth; and livery on badges or signs. The Dunstable Swan Jewel is an example of the latter category, a badge used by the house of Bohun and subsequently by Henry IV of England (r. 1399-1413) after he married the heiress of the lineage.<sup>285</sup> Heraldry was also prominent on elaborate fabric wall-hangings; the written evidence seems to indicate that for important ceremonial events, massive numbers of wall-hangings were ordered for events such as military victories or royal christenings.<sup>286</sup> Books and manuscripts could also be marked with the heraldic devices of the owner. In one example, the heraldic devices of the Hungarian kings were used as identifying marks in several escutcheons depicted in the *Hungarian Illuminated Chronicle*, though only in the illustrations and initials. The Angevin dynasty is differentiated by its combined use of the red and silver barry of eight<sup>287</sup> of the Árpáds combined with the blue field of lilies of the Angevin dynasty, which only appear in depictions related to those who would have used them, namely Charles I Robert (r. 1308-1342), Louis I ‘the Great’ (r. 1342-1382), and Elizabeth of Poland (d. 1380).<sup>288</sup> This is the same design that appears on the Hungarian-Angevin throne carpet.

In each of these categories there is some kind of evidence of survival in the case of the Hungarian queens. As mentioned in the sub-chapter on spaces of Hungary’s medieval queens, the only known grave monument to survive in Hungary is the fragmented tomb of Queen Gertrude of Meran (d. 1213). It is thus virtually impossible to say anything more explicit both for the kings and the queens than that there were probably heraldic devices of some kind on the graves. In the case of a gravestone found in the chapter house of the Abbey of Pilis, it was originally identified as that of Robert of Courtenay, the Latin Emperor of Constantinople (r. 1221-1228), and brother to the Queen of Hungary, Yolanda of Courtenay (d. 1233); the primary evidence for this was a decorated fragment of the tombstone believed to represent three circles, part of the Courtenay heraldry. Recent research, however, has suggested that while the gravestone is thirteenth century, the identification of who it originally commemorated remains unknown.<sup>289</sup>

<sup>284</sup> Kathleen Nolan, *Queens in Stone and Silver*, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 155-157.

<sup>285</sup> Steane, *The Archaeology of the Medieval English Monarchy*, 131-134.

<sup>286</sup> Steane, *The Archaeology of the Medieval English Monarchy*, 142.

<sup>287</sup> This is a field split into horizontal lines.

<sup>288</sup> Klára Gárdonyi-Csapodi, “Description and Interpretation of the Illustrations in the Illuminated Chronicle” in *The Hungarian Illuminated Chronicle: Chronica de Gestis Hungarorum*, ed. Dezső Dercsényi (Budapest: Corvina Press, 1969), 71, 82-83; Iván Bertényi, *A címertan reneszánsza* [The renaissance of heraldry]. (Budapest: Argumentum, 2010), 35-39; József Laszlovszky, *A magyar címer története* [A History of Hungarian Heraldry] (Budapest: Pytheas, 1989), 9, 13.

<sup>289</sup> To complicate this matter further, the body found within dates from the early sixteenth century. Attila Bárány, “Courtenay Róbert latin császár Magyarországon” [Robert of Courtenay, the Latin Emperor in Hungary] in *Francia-*

For the most part, the real explosion of heraldic devices comes in the fourteenth century with the Angevin dynasty. The orb bearing the double arms of Hungary and Angevins of Naples is an early example of this.<sup>290</sup> The badges, banners, and stained glass that survive will be explored below.

### Elements of the Hungarian coat-of-arms

The Árpadian crest comprised of red and silver (sometimes white) horizontal bars first appeared on the gold seal of King Imre (r. 1196-1204) in a document dated to 1202. There are eight stripes in total and the figures of lions can be discerned – three on the first and third rows, two on the fifth, and one on the seventh row.<sup>291</sup> It has been proposed that the inspiration for this came from Imre's queen, Constance of Aragon (d. 1222), and the red and gold vertical bars that make up the Aragonese coat-of-arms.<sup>292</sup> However, a recent article has challenged this notion, pointing out that the bars and lions are very common heraldic devices, and proposes that the silver horizontal bars in the Árpadian coat-of-arms could be derived from metal bands strengthening shields. It is possible that Béla III (r. 1173-1196) in the 1180s used lions as a decoration for the palace at Esztergom as well, so the motif of the lions on the silver and red escutcheon may not have originated with Imre, but possibly his father.<sup>293</sup> Takács further adds that since the device was used by Imre's brother, successor, and bitter rival, Andrew II (r. 1205-1235), it is doubtful that Andrew would have continued using the device if it had originated from his sister-in-law.<sup>294</sup> The coat of arms for the Hungarian Angevins is usually the Árpád red and silver barry on the left hand side of the shield and golden lilies on a blue field on the right. The incorporation of the Árpadian coat-of-arms into the Angevin coat-of-arms is an expression of descent from both families and an attempt to link the current dynasty with its predecessors. This

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*magyar kapcsolatok a középkorban*, [French and Hungarian Contacts in the Middle Ages], ed. Attila Györkös and Gergely Kiss (Debrecen: University of Debrecen Press, 2013), 168-171; Elek Benkő, "Abenteuerlicher Herrscher oder Gütiger Patron? Anmerkungen zu der Rittergrabplatte aus dem Zisterzienserkloster Pilis" *Acta archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungariae*, 59 (2008): 472.

<sup>290</sup> Éva Kovács and Zsuzsa Lovag, *The Hungarian Crown and Other Regalia*. (Budapest: Hungarian National Museum, 1986), 94; Éva Kovács, "Magyar országalma" [The Hungarian orb], in *Művészet I. Lajos Király korában, 1342-1382*. [Art in the age of King Louis I 1342-1382] (Budapest: MTA Művészettörténeti Kutató Csoport, 1982), 97-98.

<sup>291</sup> Imre Takács, *Az Árpád-házi királyok pecsétjei: Royal Seals of the Árpád Dynasty*. (Budapest: Hungarian National Archive, 2012), 69, 104-106, 166-167.

<sup>292</sup> Pál Engel, *The Realm of St Stephen: History of Medieval Hungary 985-1526*, (New York: I.B. Tauris, 2001), 86. György Szabados, "Aragóniai Konstancia magyar királyné" [Constance of Aragon, Queen of Hungary]. *Királylányok messzi földről: Magyarország és Katalónia a középkorban* [Princesses from afar: Hungary and Catalonia in the Middle Ages], ed. Ramon Sarobe and Csaba Tóth (Budapest and Barcelona: Hungarian National Museum and History Museum of Catalonia, 2009), 170-171.

<sup>293</sup> Iván Bertényi, "Az Árpád-házi királyok címere és Aragónia" [Royal escutcheons of the Árpád house and Aragon] *Királylányok messzi földről: Magyarország és Katalónia a középkorban* [Princesses from Afar: Hungary and Catalonia in the Middle Ages], ed. Ramon Sarobe and Csaba Tóth (Budapest: Hungarian National Museum, 2009), 193-197.

<sup>294</sup> Takács, *Az Árpád-házi királyok pecsétjei: Royal Seals of the Árpád Dynasty*, 69.

was used for much of the fourteenth century in Hungary, but it also occasionally finds its way across borders. For instance, a crystal beaker that has the name of Jadwiga Queen of Poland (r. 1386-1395) engraved on it has the Hungarian Angevin coat-of-arms on its base.<sup>295</sup> It seems that this coat-of-arms was directly related to the family, as it is even used in the seals of Coloman (d. 1375), the illegitimate son of Charles I Robert and the Bishop of Győr.<sup>296</sup> The Hungarian-Angevin crest with the ostrich head holding a horseshoe in its beak was first introduced by Charles I Robert in 1318, but its usage became very popular in the later fourteenth century, and was employed both by his son Louis I as well as his granddaughter, Mary (r. 1382-1395).<sup>297</sup> This also seems to have been strictly a personal, dynastic device.

There is also the fact that as a heraldic device, Andrew II seems to have preferred using the double-barred (the so-called Lotharingian) cross. The symbol first appears on the coinage of Béla III, dated to around the year 1190 and is an allusion both to Greek influence and the worship of the relic of the True Cross, as well as to the Crusading ventures of Andrew II in the following generation. The double-barred cross as a reference to the piece of the True Cross took on additional meaning under the reign of Andrew II when he was one of the leaders of the Fifth Crusade. One of the relics, a thorn from the crown of thorns, might have come to Hungary through Andrew's second wife, Yolanda of Courtenay (d. 1233); this emblem appears on a coin of Béla IV and the seals of Stephen V. Later, Béla IV took the initiative of putting the double-barred cross on the reverse of his seal inside of a shield.<sup>298</sup> While the Árpáadian-Angevin coat of arms was mostly used by members of the immediate family and those related by blood, the presence of the Hungarian double-barred cross as a representation of status outside the kingdom indicates that it was more likely used as a symbol for the kingdom of Hungary itself. At Königsfelden, the double-barred cross would become a device used by the convent due to the connection it had with one of the founders, Agnes of Habsburg (d. 1364), as will be discussed below. The seals of Agnes of Głogów (d. 1361) made use of both the Árpáadian barry and the

<sup>295</sup> She also uses this escutcheon on her coinage. Imre Takács, "Königshof und Hofkunst in Ungarn in der späten Anjouzeit," in *Sigismundus Rex et Imperator: Kunst und Kultur zur Zeit Sigismunds von Luxemburg 1387-1437*, ed. Imre Takács et al. (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 2006, 83-84; Lajos Huszár, "Das ungarische Wappen auf fremden Münzen im Mittelalter" in *Mélanges offerts à Szabolcs de Vajay*. (Braga, Livraria Cruz, 1971), 332.

<sup>296</sup> Ernő Marosi, "Cimeres középpecsét" [Heraldic seal] and "Titkos pecsét" [Privy seal] in *Művészet I. Lajos Király korában, 1342-1382*. [Art in the age of King Louis I 1342-1382] (Budapest: MTA Művészettörténeti Kutató Csoport, 1982), 148.

<sup>297</sup> Jenő Horváth, "The Pedigree of Louis the Great's Ewer (with illustrations)" *Louis the Great: King of Hungary and Poland*, S. B. Vardy, G. Grosschmid, & L. S. Domonkos, eds. (Boulder: East European Monographs, 1986), 331.

<sup>298</sup> Imre Takács, "Corona et Crux: Heraldry and Crusader Symbolism on 13<sup>th</sup> Century Hungarian Royal Seals" *Hortus Artium Medievalium* 21 (2015): 58-61; Takács, *Az Árpád-házi királyok pecsétjei: Royal Seals of the Árpád Dynasty*, 69-71; György Székely, "A kettős kereszt útja Bizáncból a latin Európába" [The path of the double-barred cross from Byzantium to Latin Europe], in Ede Ivánfi, *A magyar birodalom vagy Magyarország részeink címerei* [The Hungarian empire or parts of heraldry of Hungary], (Budapest: ÁKV-Maecenas, 1989), 117.

double-barred cross, but her second seal only uses the cross as an identifier of her claim as queen of Hungary (**Cat. I.9** and **I.10**). Though the double-barred cross does not appear at Walderbach until well after the death of Adelaide of Regensburg (**Cat. XII.4**), supposed wife of Stephen II (r. 1116-1131), its use further confirms that outside Hungary this emblem was the marker of the kingdom and the rank of the queen rather than of the dynasty or a specific person holding the office.<sup>299</sup>

### Heraldry of the queens on seals and coins

While heraldic banners and devices could be depicted realistically on the equestrian seals of men, the representation on the seals of medieval women is usually more figurative. From the mid-twelfth century onwards, women's seals could display heraldic devices flanking her on both sides or depicted as part of a cloth hanging, part of an idealized 'reality'.<sup>300</sup> While heraldry seems to appear on the seals of individuals first, in the case of Hungary it seems that the origins can be traced back rather to coinage; this, however, can easily be a problem related to survival, as coins are durable and enjoy a wide distribution and are much more likely to survive in the archaeological record than wax, textiles, or wood. The double-barred cross first features on coins of Béla III before its use was continued by his younger son, Andrew II.<sup>301</sup> The same is also true for the queens; one of the earliest instances in Hungary of the heraldic devices of a queen's natal kin comes from the mid-thirteenth century, when the reverse of a coin of Béla IV bears the double-headed eagle of the Laskarid dynasty, his in-laws (See **Cat. II.6** & **II.7**). Maria Laskarina, married to a grandson of Béla III, is the first known queen to employ heraldic devices on her seal (**Cat. I.2**), though it is possible that Yolanda of Courtenay might have had a similar device on the back of her seal which, at present, is unknown. On the reverse, she uses the double-barred cross, a feature which would appear on the reverse of practically every royal seal until the death of Queen Mary in 1395. As discussed in the chapter on seals, the double-barred cross on the seals of the queens is free-standing, usually with flowers at the base. Only two queens have the cross in a shield; one is Agnes of Głogów (d. 1361), second wife of Andrew III Otto of Bavaria (r. 1305-1308) who, though she never set foot in Hungary, is depicted with several escutcheons on the obverse of her seal.<sup>302</sup> The other is Queen Mary (r. 1382-1395), whose reverse has the cross in a

<sup>299</sup> My thanks to József Laszlovszky for pointing out the differentiation between the two.

<sup>300</sup> Brigitte Bedos-Rezak, "Heraldry" in *Women and Gender in Medieval Europe: An Encyclopedia*, 360.

<sup>301</sup> In the earlier works, some were identified as those of Béla IV. László Réthy, *Corpus Nummorum Hungariae: Magyar Egyetemes Éremtár*, Vol I (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Kiadása, 1899), Nos. 112, 263-264; Lajos Huszár, *Munzkatalog Ungarn*. (Budapest: Corvina, 1979) 40, Nos. 67, 69; Takács, *Az Árpád-házi királyok pecsétjei: Royal Seals of the Árpád Dynasty*, 70.

<sup>302</sup> György Pray, *Syntagma historicum de sigillis regum, et reginarum Hungariae pluribusque aliis* (Buda, 1805), Tab. IX, Fig 4; Takács, *Az Árpád-házi királyok pecsétjei: Royal Seals of the Árpád Dynasty*, 70.

shield (**Cat. I.19, I.20**). Since Mary was ruling in her own right, this aspect of the reverse of her shield follows more closely in the footsteps of the Hungarian kings rather than the queens consort. The open field with flowers on the reverse of the seals of the queens consort may be intended to display their lineage and status in a way that is more feminine and less martial.

After Béla IV used Maria Laskarina's emblem, no other king afterwards seems to have employed the heraldic devices of his wife on coinage. One possible exception might be the case of Louis I the Great who minted coins with the emblem of the Polish eagle on a few coins, but most likely it was in connection to his ascension to the Polish throne in 1370. In Bosnia, the fleur-de-lis, a symbol closely associated with the French kings (particularly the Angevins), first appears on the seal of Stefan II Kotromanić of Bosnia (r. 1322-1353), the father of Elizabeth Kotromanić, second wife of Louis I 'the Great' of Hungary.<sup>303</sup> It had originally been thought that the queen of Hungary brought the symbol of the lily to Bosnia, and while the chronology of this has recently been disputed, the Angevin influence is certainly a key factor in its appearance.<sup>304</sup> Nonetheless, the match was very important in boosting the prestige of medieval Bosnia, and many elements of chivalric culture found their way there through the Angevin court of Hungary.<sup>305</sup>

### **The Angevin Throne Carpet (Cat. III.1)**

On October 1999, a silk taffeta tapestry bearing the Hungarian-Angevin coat-of-arms was found in a ball of mud ten meters deep in a well near Buda Palace. After it was cleaned in the Budapest Historical Museum and restored in the Museum of Applied Arts, it was found to consist of 26 diamond-shaped (i.e. lozenge) escutcheons in appliqué patchwork featuring the red and white Árpadian coats of arms quartered the Neapolitan Angevin arms – a blue field featuring four golden fleur-de-lis and a red three-pointed label.<sup>306</sup> While the label would initially indicate the eldest son, many times it could also be used to indicate a cadet branch;<sup>307</sup> this would fit as Charles I of Naples (r. 1266-1285) was the youngest son of Louis VIII of France (r. 1223-1226). This tapestry is only known from its archaeological context, and it is thus difficult to determine

<sup>303</sup> Elma Hašimbegović, *Fleur-de-lis in Medieval Bosnia: Transmission of Cultural Influences*. (Saarbrücken: Dr. Müller, 2009), 9-10.

<sup>304</sup> Lajos Thallóczy, *Studien zur Geschichte Bosniens und Serbiens im Mittelalter* (Munich and Leipzig: Dunker and Humbolt, 1914), 282-283; Dženan Dautović, "Bosansko-ugarski odnosi kroz prizmu braka Ludovika I Velikog i Elizabete kćerke Stjepana II Kotromanića" [Relations between Bosnia and Hungary through the prism of the marriage between Louis the Great and Elizabeth, the Daughter of Stjepan II Kotromanić], *Radovi* XVII/3 (2014): 151.

<sup>305</sup> Hašimbegović, *Fleur-de-lis in Medieval Bosnia*, 21-23.

<sup>306</sup> Dorottya B. Nyékhelyi, *Középkori kútlelet a budavári szent György téren* [Medieval finds from the well at St. George Square in Buda Castle]. (Budapest: Budapest History Museum, 2003), 96-97.

<sup>307</sup> Fox-Davies, *A Complete Guide to Heraldry*, 477-479.

much about its commissioner and how it was originally used.<sup>308</sup> While it is known that Charles I Robert ordered forty ells of red, blue, and white textiles to be brought over from Naples for the purpose of making six Hungarian royal banners, this tapestry could have been used from the time of Charles I Robert, to the death of Queen Mary in 1395.<sup>309</sup> While it is rather unlikely that a Hungarian queen commissioned this throne carpet, it is also possible that it is connected to a royal woman; specifically the figure of Maria of Hungary, (d. 1323) queen of Charles II of Naples (r. 1285-1309) and grandmother of Charles I Robert. She is known to have used the fleur-de-lis with the three-pointed label, and the lozenge shape was known and popular at the Neapolitan court. These sort of heraldic devices feature heavily on her tomb monument in the Church of Santa Maria Donna Regina, as well as in an Angevin Bible from Mechelen which depicts her and King Robert I on a throne draped with a fabric that is almost identical to the Angevin throne carpet.<sup>310</sup> Heraldic banners like this could have been used as part of the coronation ritual, at a wedding ceremony, or for a funeral. Its rough edges could indicate that it was part of an original cloth. One of the suggestions for the gold fragments of oak leaves and spearheads tipped with acorns also found with the cloth is that they might have originally adorned the edges.<sup>311</sup> The seals of Charles I Robert, Louis the Great, Elizabeth Kotromanić, Queen Mary, and King Sigismund all depict the monarch with a tapestry like this one adorning the throne. Furthermore, Charles II of Durazzo (r. 1385-1386) cannot be excluded either as the owner of this throne carpet – he came over from Naples in 1385 and was killed in Buda Castle in 1386.<sup>312</sup>

Based strictly on the heraldry depicted on the throne carpet, it seems more likely that it was manufactured in Naples rather than in Hungary. All of the items depicting the Hungarian-Angevin coat-of-arms that were made in Hungary have the fleur-de-lis without the label of three points, while several examples from the Neapolitan court in the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries depict the Angevin coat-of-arms with the label.<sup>313</sup> The Orb features one point of the red label on the Angevin arms, but other than the fact that it was made around the year 1301, nothing

<sup>308</sup> For technical information on the manufacture of the cloth, see Judit B. Perjés, Katalin E. Nagy and Márta Tóth, “Conservation of the silk finds dating to the Anjou period (1301-1387),” in *Conserving Textiles: studies in honour of Ágnes Timár-Balázs* ed. István Éri (Rome: ICCROM, 2009), 6-14.

<sup>309</sup> The Hungarian text says “40 rőf”, i.e. 40 ells, but the English translation says 80 feet. Nyékhelyi, *Középkori kútlelet a budavári szent György téren* [Medieval finds from the well at St. George Square in Buda Castle], 53, 97.

<sup>310</sup> Nyékhelyi, *Középkori kútlelet a budavári szent György téren* [Medieval finds from the well at St. Georgy square in Buda Castle], 99.

<sup>311</sup> Perjés, Nagy and Tóth, “Conservation of the silk finds dating to the Anjou period (1301-1387)”, 17-18.

<sup>312</sup> Ibid., 100-101.

<sup>313</sup> Alex Brunet, “Pendant de harnais” and Danielle Gaborit-Chopin, “Pendentif en forme de feuille de lierre”, *L’Europe des Anjou: aventure des , princes angevins du XIII<sup>e</sup> au XV<sup>e</sup> siècle*, ed. Guy Le Goff and Francesco Aceto (Paris: Somogy Editions d’Art, 2001), 314.

has been said about where it was made (*Fig. 1*).<sup>314</sup> The Orb is also remarkable in that it is one of the only instances where the Árpáadian and Angevin arms are quartered rather than halved. The similarity in the heraldic design between the orb and the throne carpet seem to indicate that the two were made around the same time. While it is possible that Maria of Hungary, Queen of Naples, commissioned this for her grandson, it is still difficult to interpret its disposal in the well. The throne carpet was found at the top of an archaeological layer which was filled with coins of King Sigismund dating to 1390-1427, embroidered gold oak leaves and spearheads and several artifacts including a ceramic goblet with a Hebrew inscription. The near absence of pig bones and non-scaled fish below the throne carpet indicate that before the expansion of Buda palace, this part of town would have originally been the Jewish district. It seems possible that these artifacts (including the early-fourteenth century throne carpet) were thrown in the well in the early part of the fifteenth century, after the Jewish district in Buda had been forcibly moved to the northern part of the city, away from the castle.<sup>315</sup>

### **The Banners and Stained Glass Windows from Königsfelden (Cat. III.2 & III.3)**

As mentioned above, after the death of Andrew III of Hungary, his widow, Agnes of Habsburg (d. 1364) retired to the Abbey of Königsfelden and lived there for nearly half a century. One of the most remarkable things about her move there meant that over time her coat-of-arms as queen of Hungary eventually worked its way into the heraldic vocabulary of the monastery. As mentioned above, the gravestone of Agnes seems to have been decorated with the Hungarian double-barred cross (**Cat. XII.8**). This motif finds itself as well in other aspects of visual culture at Königsfelden, including several stained glass windows. Saint Elizabeth of Hungary (d. 1231) is standing before the kneeling couple of Albert II of Austria (r. 1330-1358) and his wife Joanna of Pfirt (d. 1351); the Saint is holding up the Hungarian double-barred cross. Two of the surviving windows in the nave are also adorned with a shield of the Hungarian double-barred cross and one is adorned with the Imperial shield.<sup>316</sup> These windows date from the early days of the abbey, as it is known that around the year 1360, Agnes would have replaced these heraldic windows in the nave with images of her family, including her brothers Albert II and Rudolf of Bohemia (r. 1306-1307). From later descriptions, the heraldic devices in these windows would have also included

<sup>314</sup> Kovács and Lovag, *The Hungarian Crown and Other Regalia*, 94; Kovács, “Magyar országalma”, 97-98.

<sup>315</sup> Nyékelyi, *Középkori kútlelet a budavári szent György téren* [Medieval finds from the well at St. Georgy square in Buda Castle], 23-25, 93-96; László Daróczi-Szabó, “Animal Bones as Indicators of Kosher Food Refuse from 14<sup>th</sup> century AD Buda, Hungary,” in *Behaviour Behind Bones: The Zooarchaeology of Ritual, Religion, Status and Identity*, ed. Sharyn Jones O’Day, Wim Van Neer and Anton Ervynck (Oxford: Oxbow, 2004), 252-261.

<sup>316</sup> Brigitte Kurmann-Schwarz, *Die Mittelalterlichen Glasmalereien der ehemaligen Klosterkirche Königsfelden*, (Bern: Stämpfli, 2008), 179-180, 486-487.



the Habsburg lion and the coat-of-arms of Austria as well.<sup>317</sup> By using this device throughout Königsfelden, the queen is highlighting her own status and identity and its ubiquity at the site serves as a constant reminder of this.

Another survival of the Hungarian coat-of-arms from Königsfelden comes in the form of eight knightly banners (**Cat. III.3**). Made in the mid-fourteenth century, they ostensibly served as banners for the funeral of Agnes after her death in 1364. Three of the original banners had the Hungarian coat-of-arms, two showed the imperial eagle, two more showed the Austrian coat-of-arms, and one showed the Carinthian escutcheon; these clearly show a hierarchy of importance in her own heraldic self-fashioning.<sup>318</sup> After they were used in her funeral possession it seems probable that it would have hung above her tomb before it came into the possession of the city of Berne (in Switzerland), either in 1415 or after the dissolution of the monastery in 1528.<sup>319</sup> This hierarchy of arms is also repeated on the stained-glass windows at Königsfelden, showing that while her identity as Queen of Hungary was important, Agnes also saw herself also as an Imperial princess associated with Austria and Carinthia.

### Heraldic Badges from Aachen

Six heraldic devices from the age of Louis I ‘the Great’ of Hungary featuring coats of arms directly connected to him are known from Aachen Cathedral. In 1357, his mother, Elizabeth of Poland, visited the famous site during her pilgrimage there with Holy Roman Emperor Charles IV (r. 1346-1378) and his wife, Anna of Schweidnitz (d. 1362). In 1358, Louis I charged Heinrich, the Abbot of Pilis with the task of constructing the Hungarian chapel at Aachen, and by 1367 the building was completed.<sup>320</sup> That year, Louis visited the chapel and donated the relics of the Hungarian royal saints Stephen, Emeric, and Ladislas, and furnished the chapel lavishly. However, the only items from the age of Louis I that survive are three icons of the Virgin Mary (*Fig. 2*), two monstresses (*Fig. 3*), two candlesticks (*Fig. 4*), two elaborate heraldic decorations (*Fig. 5*), and two pairs of crests with the Hungarian and Polish coat-of-arms (**Cat. III.4**).<sup>321</sup> While

<sup>317</sup> Brigitte Kurmann-Schwarz, “Die Präsenz der abwesenden Dynastie: Die Bilder und Wappen der Habsburger im Chor und im Langhaus der ehemaligen Klosterkirche von Königsfelden” *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Kunst und Denkmalpflege* LXVI (2012) 3/4, 310, 312.

<sup>318</sup> Wolfgang Jahn, “Ritterfahne mit dem ungarischen Wappen” in *Bayern – Ungarn, tausend Jahre. Katalog zur Bayerischen Landesausstellung 2001, Oberhausmuseum, Passau, 8 Mai bis 28. Oktober 2001*, ed. Wolfgang Jahn et al. (Passau, 2001), 125.

<sup>319</sup> Jahn, “Ritterfahne mit dem ungarischen Wappen”, 125-126.

<sup>320</sup> Stephan Szigeti, “Ludwig der Grosse und Aachen,” in *Louis the Great: King of Hungary and Poland*, ed. S. B. Vardy et al. (Boulder: East European Monographs, 1986), 272-273.

<sup>321</sup> Gábor Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses: dynastic cults in medieval central Europe*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 342; Herta Lepie, “Deux écus, appartenant à un mors de chape”, in *L’Europe des Anjou*, 337; László Gerevich, *The Art of Buda and Pest in the Middle Ages*. (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1971), 80; Dragoș Gheorge Nastasoiu, “Patterns of Devotion and Traces of Art. The Pilgrimage of Queen Elizabeth Piast to Marburg, Cologne, and Aachen in 1357” *Umění* LXIV (2016), 33-37.

the liturgical objects will be discussed in another chapter, this particular section will focus on the two massive heraldic ornaments and four escutcheons; two of the Hungarian Angevin arms and two of the Polish Piasts. By 1381, Ulrik, the abbot of Pilis, noted the presence of two elaborated decorated vesper mantles in the Hungarian chapel at Aachen.<sup>322</sup> Yet, it is not until a fire occurred in 1657 that these six coats of arms first appear in the chapel's inventory book. The two larger, elaborately decorated escutcheons have no fastening device in the back, and it has been proposed that these were originally attached to a hard surface, such as a book. The inscription "I want to enrich the word of God, I long for the glory [or teaching] of Mary" seems to support this theory. Earlier scholars have linked it to a Visitation Protocol of 1438 which contains two codices, a breviary and a missal (*Fig. 5*).<sup>323</sup>

The four other escutcheons are bucklers with eyelets on the back that indicate they were originally used for fastening garments, with the Hungarian-Angevin and Polish coats of arms joined together in a pair. These sorts of badges were popular in this period and would be popular in the coming years. In 1755, a badge of gold and grey-green enamel signifying the Order of the Dragon was found at Oradea (in Romania, also known as Nagyvárad), and it is thought that it was part of the funerary accessories for King Sigismund who was buried there, as there was also a crown and orb uncovered at the same time (*Fig. 6*).<sup>324</sup> Sigismund's daughter, Elizabeth (d. 1442) is also known to have pledged an enamel badge of a swan with a crown around its neck that may have originally been a gift to her father from the English court.<sup>325</sup> The Aachen Protocol from 1438 indicates that a certain alb was decorated with a coat-of-arms, possibly these very ones, though after the fire in 1657, they are listed separately. In the inventory from 1709, they are referred to as three halves and one whole "eagle", indicating that they were heavily damaged at that point.<sup>326</sup> On one side the Hungarian-Angevin crest is topped with a crowned tournament helmet; an ostrich with a horseshoe in its mouth rises out of the crown. On the other side, the Polish eagle sits in the center of a shield. Above it is a tournament helmet and on top of that an eagle wearing a crown. Kovács, who was under the impression that the objects were donated to

<sup>322</sup> Éva Kovács, "I. Lajos király címerei Aachenben", in *Művészet I. Lajos Király korában, 1342-1382*. [Art in the age of King Louis I 1342-1382], 107; Gábor Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses*, 342.

<sup>323</sup> The original inscription in German reads: "GOTTES LERE WOLD ICH MER ICH BEGER MARIA /L/ERE". Imre Takács, "Zwei Schmuckstücke mit Wappen" in *Sigismundus Rex et Imperator: Kunst und Kultur zur Zeit Sigismunds von Luxemburg 1387-1437*. (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 2006), 102.

<sup>324</sup> This Chivalric Order was founded after a victory in Bosnia in 1408 and was ostensibly an alliance of the King, Queen, and nobles against internal and external enemies (i.e. the Hussites and the Turks). Éva Kovács, "A gótikus *ronde-bosse* zománc a budai udvarban" [A Gothic *ronde-bosse* enamel in the court of Buda] *Művészettörténeti Értesítő* 31/2 (1982): 89-92; Pál Engel, *The Realm of St. Stephen* (New York: I.B. Tauris, 2001), 210; John Fine, *The Late Medieval Balkans* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1994), 465-466.

<sup>325</sup> Kovács, "A gótikus *ronde-bosse* zománc a budai udvarban", 89-92.

<sup>326</sup> Takács, "Zwei Schmuckstücke mit Wappen" in *Sigismundus Rex et Imperator*, 102; Kovács, "I. Lajos király címerei Aachenben", 108.

Aachen sometime between 1367 and 1381, thought that the presence of the Polish eagle did not refer to the Queen-Mother, Elizabeth of Poland (d. 1380), but rather that both symbols referred to Louis I as King of Hungary and heir to the Polish throne.<sup>327</sup> Other opinions state that the badges were made sometime before 1367; Takács notes that while it is doubtful they were made before the coronation of Louis I as King of Poland in 1371, that they should not be attributed to Elizabeth of Poland either.<sup>328</sup> Nastasoïu surmises that since the badges date after 1367, the most likely period they came to the Hungarian Chapel at Aachen sometime around 1370-1378 (most likely 1370-1373), shortly after Louis I was crowned King of Poland; he also points out that Louis I was mostly involved in not only the foundation and the provision of the Chapel, linking all of the artifacts in the Aachen Treasury solely with him.<sup>329</sup>

To elucidate the matter further, it would be useful to examine the heraldic devices of Louis I himself. From 1370 to 1382, Louis I used a seal that shows him seated on a throne and flanked by two escutcheons: the Hungarian-Angevin coat-of-arms and the Polish eagle.<sup>330</sup> Coins from the period of 1370-1382, minted in Poland by Louis, show the Polish eagle on the reverse.<sup>331</sup> In two surviving manuscripts from the court of Louis I, the bottom of the first folio is decorated with three heraldic devices. In the *Hungarian Illuminated Chronicle* (c. 1350s-1360s), there is the Hungarian Angevin coat-of-arms, the double-barred cross, and the emblem of the crowned ostrich. The *Secretum Secretorum* (1370s) rather has the cross, the Hungarian-Angevin coat of arms, and the Polish eagle.<sup>332</sup> Aside from the one seal and coinage of Louis I and the possible items at Aachen, the only other instances he uses the Polish eagle as part of his heraldic program is on his cross in Vienna (*Fig. 7*) and frames of the icons from Mariazell from the 1360s (*Fig. 8*).<sup>333</sup> Stove tiles uncovered at Visegrád from layers dating to the 1360s only employ the

<sup>327</sup> Kovács, "I. Lajos király címerei Aachenben", 107.

<sup>328</sup> Takács, "Zwei Schmuckstücke mit Wappen", 102; Lepie, "Deux écus, appartenant à un mors de chape", 337-338.

<sup>329</sup> Nastasoïu, "Patterns of Devotion and Traces of Art. The Pilgrimage of Queen Elizabeth Piast to Marburg, Cologne, and Aachen in 1357", 34-37.

<sup>330</sup> Franciszek Ksawery Piekosiński and Edmund Krystian Diehl, *Pieczęcie polski wieków średnich* [Seals of the Polish Middle Ages], Vol. I. (Kraków: nakładem własnym, 1899), 259-260.

<sup>331</sup> László Réthy, *Corpus Nummorum Hungariae: magyar egyetemes éremtár*, Vol. II. (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Kiadása, 1907), 17, #108-109; Lajos Huszár, *Munzkatalog Ungarn*, 91, Nos. 559 & 560. A third coin minted in Poland (CNH 110) just has the Hungarian-Angevin coat-of-arms.

<sup>332</sup> Dezső Dercsényi, "The Illuminated Chronicle and Its Period" in *The Hungarian Illuminated Chronicle*, ed. Dezső Dercsényi (Budapest: Corvina Press, 1969), 44-45; Emil Jakubovich, "Nagy Lajos király oxfordi kódexe, a Bécsi Képes Krónika kora és illuminátora" [The Oxford codex of King Louis the Great, the age and illuminators of the Viennese Illuminated Chronicle], *Magyar Könyvszemle*, 37 (1930): 382-393.

<sup>333</sup> Though admittedly, the date of this cross is also disputed. Éva Kovács, "I. Lajos király bécsi keresztye" [The Vienna Cross of Louis I] in *Művészet I. Lajos Király korában, 1342-1382*. [Art in the age of King Louis I 1342-1382] (Budapest: MTA Művészettörténeti Kutató Csoport, 1982), 98-99.

Hungarian-Angevin coat-of-arms and the crest of the ostrich with a horseshoe in its beak.<sup>334</sup> The same appears to be true around 1380, with stove tiles decorated with the ostrich and lilies from excavations in Pest.<sup>335</sup> In spite of the frequent agreements that Louis I would inherit the kingdom of Poland signed in 1339, 1351, and 1355 (the last one had Louis' mother Elizabeth representing the king in Poland)<sup>336</sup>, Louis was not in the habit of using the Polish coat-of-arms within the borders of Hungary before he became king of Poland. The only two exceptions outside the examples at Aachen are the icons at Mariazell and the Cross from Vienna. One other curious note is in the frames on the Mariazell and Aachen icons, the Hungarian-Angevin and Polish heraldic devices are visible. Thus far there has been no comment on the fact that these designs are found in both shields and lozenges. Lozenges are typically associated with women (unmarried or widowed) in heraldic tradition.<sup>337</sup> The Polish eagle only appears in shields, but the presence of the lozenges could be indicative of Elizabeth's interest in furnishing the Hungarian chapel.

Earlier authors have been hesitant to assign these badges to Elizabeth of Poland, with one possibility being that they were given as a gift to Louis I by Ladislas of Opole after he was made Polish palatine in 1379.<sup>338</sup> Nonetheless, if the badges date from the middle of the fourteenth century, Elizabeth of Poland seems to have been the only person using both the Hungarian-Angevin and Polish coats of arms. Both feature prominently in her great seal from 1338 (**Cat. I.13**) and her seal from 1372 as regent of Poland (**Cat. I.16**). She is known to have visited Aachen and her visit likely influenced the king to found the Hungarian chapel there. Over a century ago, Pór was of the opinion that while Louis founded the chapel by himself, the six badges and the third painting of the Madonna might date from her brief visit in 1357. He also connected her patronage to the donation of a wooden statue of St. Elizabeth to her church in Marburg where the saint is depicted wearing a cloak with stylized lilies on it.<sup>339</sup> While assigning agency to her either in the creation, alteration, or donation of these badges for liturgical use in the chapel is something that must be done with utmost caution, it nonetheless remains a fact that these emblems fit best with her own heraldic program. Until better techniques are developed for dating the heraldic badges though, it seems most likely that Louis I was behind furnishing the Hungarian Chapel at Aachen Cathedral; that being said, it is very important not to fall into

<sup>334</sup> Gergely Buzás, Edit Kocsis, and József Laszlovszky, "Catalogue of Objects and finds: Stoves from the Angevin Period", *The Medieval Royal Palace at Visegrád*, Gergely Buzás & József Laszlovszky, eds. (Budapest: Archaeolingua, 2013), 307-308.

<sup>335</sup> Etele Kiss, "Carreau de poêle avec le cimier de Louis le Grand" in *L'Europe des Anjou*, 332.

<sup>336</sup> Paul W. Knoll, "Louis the Great and Casimir of Poland", *Louis the Great: King of Hungary and Poland*, 112.

<sup>337</sup> William Berry, *An introduction to heraldry* (London: C. Roworth, 1810), 123-124.

<sup>338</sup> Kovács, "I. Lajos király címerei Aachenben", 107.

<sup>339</sup> Antal Pór, "Erzsébet királyné aacheni zarándoklása 1357-ben" [The pilgrimage of Queen Elizabeth to Aachen in 1357] *Századok* 35 (1901): 11-13.

circular logic in dating and identifying the donors of these artifacts, especially considering her donations to ecclesiastic institutions in Prague, Bari, Rome, and Naples.

## Conclusions

One of the most remarkable aspects of the examples of Hungarian queens' heraldry is that in addition to the queen bringing in heraldry from her natal kin to her new homeland, the queens could also incorporate the heraldic device of the Hungarian kingdom (i.e. the double-barred cross) for their own purposes. In the case of Agnes of Habsburg, her agency is very clear, and the connections that she personally had to Königsfelden are reinforced by the prevalence of the double-barred cross in the stained-glass, the banner, as well as the seal of Agnes herself. While only a claimant to the throne of Hungary, Agnes of Głogów's inclusion of the Hungarian escutcheon into her seals shows that she fashioned herself as the Queen of Hungary. Even the example of Adelaide of Regensburg shows the importance of the Hungarian cross in identifying the main patron by their status and rank, even when it is likely she was not the one who displayed those coats-of-arms herself.

While only a few examples survive of heraldry of the Hungarian queens from the court of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, it shows that there was a similar understanding of the utility of heraldry as elsewhere in Europe. In her seal and in coins of her husband, the heraldic devices of Maria Laskarina are the starting point of known, surviving heraldry of Hungarian queens. Agnes of Habsburg is the first queen to employ a full heraldic program which manifested itself in many public forms. Elizabeth of Poland likewise blended the heraldic devices of her natal family with her married family. Even Mary of Anjou managed to be completely independent in her heraldic devices; her husband had to use her heraldic devices as king of Hungary, but she kept the emblems and crests of her father while not using those of her husband. The full blossoming of heraldic devices would not become its strongest until the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, however. It is perhaps telling that the need to display the double-barred cross on the back of the queens' seals is also where, in the thirteenth century, the queen's own natal lineage is mentioned in the surrounding inscription. The importance of heraldic devices for the power of the queen shows not only her lineage and descent, but also her familial connections; this is why many queens (Mary of Hungary Queen of Naples, Agnes of Habsburg, Elizabeth of Poland, Jadwiga queen of Poland, to name a few) saw the value in quartering the coat-of-arms of their natal family with that of their husband's or with the ruler.

## ***Material Culture of the queen worn on the body and held***

### **IV. Regalia of the Hungarian Queens**

In the Eastern Roman Empire, Byzantine empresses wore crowns as early as the fifth century CE, while the first indication for a queen being crowned in the west comes from 754 CE, the coronation of Bertrada.<sup>340</sup> In describing the hierarchy of regalia of the English kings, John Steane lists (in order of importance) the crown, scepter and sword as the strongest symbols of royal power in the Middle Ages.<sup>341</sup> Other objects of royal insignia include crosses, rings, jewelry, horse harnesses, banners, mantles, spurs, belts, just to name a few.<sup>342</sup> For the monarchs of a medieval realm, the regalia could include both personal items of jewelry purchased and owned by the individual, as well as several objects with a ritual significance used for particular events such as a coronation; it seems that when regalia took on this sort of importance, it usually functioned to connect the current ruler to previous dynastic saints such as Edward the Confessor (r. 1042-1066), St. Stephen I of Hungary (r. 997-1038), or St. Wenceslas of Bohemia (r. 921-935).<sup>343</sup> The relationship between queens and their associated regalia however was not as defined, regulated, or documented as the regalia of the kings. Before analyzing the surviving and documented crowns of the medieval Hungarian queens, this chapter must frame these artifacts within the context of Hungarian coronation rituals and the question of which types of objects made up the queens' ever-shifting set of regalia. Only then can the relationship between gender and these symbols of royal power be further understood.

<sup>340</sup> Edward F. Twining, *European Regalia* (London: Batsford, 1967), 57.

<sup>341</sup> John Steane, *The Archaeology of the Medieval English Monarchy* (London and New York: Routledge, 1993), 14.

<sup>342</sup> Ferenc Makk, "Előszó" [Forward] in *Koronák, koronázási jelvények: Crowns, Coronation Insignia*, ed. by Livia Bende and Gábor Lőrinczy (Ópusztaszer: Nemzeti Történeti Emlékpark, 2001), 11.

<sup>343</sup> Gábor Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses: Dynastic Cults in Medieval Central Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 143, 329, 349; Jenny Stratford, *Richard II and the English Royal Treasure* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2008), 10.

**Table 1**  
Known Medieval Crowns in Hungary

Crown	Dates	Person	Notes
Crown of St. Stephen	c. 1000-1044	St. Stephen (r. 1000-1038)	Taken to Rome 1045 destroyed 16 <sup>th</sup> c.
<b>Crown of Queen Gisela of Bavaria</b>	<b>c. 1000-1217</b>	<b>Gisela of Bavaria to Yolanda of Courtenay</b>	<b>Melted down to fund Fifth Crusade</b>
<i>Monomachos crown</i>	<i>c. 1043-1070s?</i>	<i>Andrew I?, Anastasia of Kiev?, Salamon?, Judith of Swabia?</i>	<i>Possibly an arm-band, unknown use within Hungary</i>
<i>Corona graeca of Holy Crown of Hungary</i>	<i>c. 1070s-end of the 12<sup>th</sup> c.</i>	<i>Synadene, wife of Géza I of Hungary</i>	<i>Byzantine woman's crown for first part of its existence</i>
Croatian Crown of Dmitir Zvonimir	c. 1102-1165/mid-13 <sup>th</sup> century?	Koloman, Stephen II, Béla II, Géza II, Stephen III(?)	Used as crown for Croatian coronation,
<i>Holy Crown of Hungary</i>	<i>12<sup>th</sup> -13<sup>th</sup> century</i>	<i>Hungarian kings from Béla III (?) onwards</i>	<i>The crown used in Hungarian coronations</i>
<b>Burial Crown of Agnes of Antioch</b>	<b>c. 1184</b>	<b>Agnes of Antioch</b>	<b>Silver burial crown</b>
<i>Burial Crown of Béla III</i>	<i>c. 1196</i>	<i>Béla III</i>	<i>Silver burial crown</i>
<b>Crown of Gertrude of Meran</b>	<b>early 13<sup>th</sup> c.</b>	<b>Gertrude of Meran (d. 1213)</b>	<b>Donated to Wroclaw Cathedral</b>
<i>Burial Crown of Constance of Aragon</i>	<i>c. 1222</i>	<i>Constance of Aragon</i>	<i>Sicilian male crown buried with queen</i>
<i>Crown from vertical arm of Polish cross</i>	<i>13<sup>th</sup> century</i>	<i>Boleslaw the Shy or Kinga of Hungary</i>	<i>Brought to Poland by Hungarian princess?</i>
<i>Crown from lateral arm of Polish cross</i>	<i>13<sup>th</sup> century</i>	<i>Boleslaw the Shy or Kinga of Hungary</i>	<i>Brought to Poland by Hungarian princess?</i>
<i>Plock diadem</i>	<i>13<sup>th</sup> century</i>	<i>Yolanda or Constance of Hungary?</i>	<i>Brought to Poland by Hungarian princess?</i>
<i>Crown from Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum</i>	<i>13<sup>th</sup> century</i>	<i>Unknown</i>	<i>Unknown provenience</i>
<i>Private owned crown</i>	<i>13<sup>th</sup> century</i>	<i>Unknown</i>	<i>From Hungary</i>
<b>Crown from Margaret Island</b>	<b>End of 13<sup>th</sup> century (1270s-1290s?)</b>	<b>Elizabeth the Cuman?</b>	<b>Jeweled gold crown with fleur-de-lys</b>
<b>Crown of Elizabeth Piast</b>	<b>14<sup>th</sup> Century</b>	<b>Elizabeth Piast (d. 1380)</b>	<b>Possibly crown from Trogir?</b>
<i>Crown from Zadar</i>	<i>1370s-1380s</i>	<i>Elizabeth Kotromanić</i>	<i>From sarcophagus of St. Simeon</i>
<i>Krušedol Crown</i>	<i>14<sup>th</sup> century</i>	<i>Unknown</i>	<i>Part of mitre</i>
<b>Burial crown from Oradea/Nagyvárad</b>	<b>c. 1395</b>	<b>Queen Mary of Hungary (d. 1395)</b>	<b>Possibly crown of husband Sigismund or reliquary crown</b>

**Bold** = Crown associated with a Queen of Hungary  
Hungarian crowns and coronation regalia

*Italic* = Crown still extant

The Hungarian coronation regalia has survived throughout much of the Middle Ages and is one of the best preserved medieval royal ensembles, though there were many other crowns and pieces not associated with this type of regalia; they can be referenced on **Table 1**. There is an eleventh and twelfth century crown (the Holy Crown of Hungary), a scepter and a coronation mantle from the Árpád Period, a fourteenth century orb, and a sixteenth century sword (*Fig. 9*).<sup>344</sup> Two exchanges from the twelfth century show the importance of the Hungarian crown, in whatever form it had at the given time. Manuel I Komnenos (r. 1143-1180) was urged by the patriarch to occupy Székesfehérvár and take the crown in 1166, and the provost of Székesfehérvár wrote in 1198 that the country's honor depended on the safety of the crown.<sup>345</sup> Hartvik's Legend of St. Stephen (c. 1100) is the earliest source mentioning the regalia, and he is the one who claims that in 1000 Pope Sylvester himself sent the crown to St. Stephen I directly, though nothing is known of its appearance other than that it was presumably of gold and jeweled.<sup>346</sup> The *Hungarian Illuminated Chronicle* states that the original regalia and insignia of St. Stephen would have also been used at the second coronation of Peter Orseolo in 1044.<sup>347</sup> It is doubtful that there was an orb as part of the Hungarian regalia at this time.<sup>348</sup> After the Battle of Ménfő, where the German armies of Emperor Henry III (r. 1046-1056) defeated the Hungarian king Samuel Aba (r. 1041-1044) and reinstalled Peter Orseolo (r. 1038-1041, 1044-1046), Henry III took the Hungarian crown and lance, and a letter from Gregory VII indicates that they were sent to Rome. An inventory from 1509-1513 indicates that the crown, lance, and insignia of the Hungarian kings were kept in the Veronica chapel and were probably destroyed during looting in 1527.<sup>349</sup> While this would appear to be the end of St. Stephen's original set of regalia, one theory suggests it might have survived in altered form. Vajay has suggested that part of the reason the Holy Crown of Hungary is described as a sacred object is that he believes the golden cross on the

<sup>344</sup> Éva Kovács and Zsuzsa Lovag, *The Hungarian Crown and Other Regalia* (Budapest: Corvina Press, 1980), 7.

<sup>345</sup> Kovács and Lovag, *The Hungarian Crown and Other Regalia*, 8.

<sup>346</sup> "Benedictionis ergo apostolice litteris cum corona et cruce simul allatis presulibus cum clero, comitibus cum populo laudes congruas adclamantibus, dilectus deo Stephanus rex unctione crismali perunctus, diademate regalis dignitatis feliciter coronatur." Emma Bartoniek, "Legenda S. Stephani regis maior et minor, atque legenda ab Hartvico episcopo conscripta" in *Scriptores Rerum Hungaricarum*, ed. by Imre Szentpétery, Vol. II (Budapest: Academia Litter. Hungarica, 1938), 414; Éva Kovács and Zsuzsa Lovag, *The Hungarian Crown and Other Regalia* (Budapest: Corvina Press, 1980), 8; Szabolcs de Vajay, "Corona Regia – Corona Regni – Sacra Corona: Königskronen und Kronensymbolik im mittelalterlichen Ungarn" *Ungarn Jahrbuch* 7 (1976): 41-42.

<sup>347</sup> "...and after the royal crown had been restored with all due rights to King Peter and he had been decorated according to royal custom with the holy insignia of King St. Stephen, the emperor led him with his own hand to the church of the glorious mother of God, the Virgin Mary, and seated him in majesty upon the throne..." Dezső Dercsényi, ed., *The Hungarian Illuminated Chronicle: Chronica de gestis Hungarorum* (Budapest: Corvina Press, 1969), 110, chapter 77.

<sup>348</sup> János Bak, "Der Reichsapfel" in *Insignia Regni Hungariae*, edited by Zsuzsa Lovag (Budapest: Hungarian National Museum, 1986), 187.

<sup>349</sup> Vajay, "Corona Regia", 42-44.



top of the crown may originally have come from the orb of St. Stephen.<sup>350</sup> The current orb that is part of the Hungarian coronation regalia is a simple one topped with a double-barred cross and decorated with the Hungarian-Angevin coat-of-arms featuring a label which date it to ca. 1301; while an orb is not mentioned in the coronations of Charles I Robert in 1309 and 1310, it seems Charles was buried with one. A stylised orb appears on the fresco of Charles I Robert at Spišská Kapitula, Slovakia (i.e. Szepeshely).<sup>351</sup>

Crowns could also be made for one-time use for a particular occasion such as a wedding or burial. A stunning example of such a crown comes from a recent find from Środa Śląska (in modern day Poland, *Fig. 10*). This segmented crown is composed of plates topped with jeweled eagles holding rings in their mouths and golden floral elements at the hinges. Their presence indicates that it was most probably a crown made for the wedding of either John of Luxemburg (r. 1310-1346) and Elizabeth Přemyslid of Bohemia (d. 1330) in 1310, or Charles IV (r. 1346-1378) and Blanche of Valois (d. 1348) in 1323.<sup>352</sup> Though only a few burial crowns survive for the Hungarian monarchs, it can probably be assumed that most would have been buried with some form of crown on their head. Even when crowns are not found in tombs, there seems to be evidence they had been there earlier. In the case of Richard II of England (r. 1377-1399) and his wife, Anne of Bohemia (d. 1394), the copper crowns buried with the couple were looted over the centuries through the holes in the sides of the coffin.<sup>353</sup> The skull of Berengaria of Navarre (d. 1230), wife of Richard I of England (r. 1189-1199), was found with a pattern of staining indicating she was buried with a crown on her head which was subsequently vandalized.<sup>354</sup> In a few instances though, a king or queen could be buried without a crown. Though the effigy of King John of England (r. 1199-1216) shows him with a crown on his head, in reality he was buried with a monk's cowl and a sword, but no other markers of his official office.<sup>355</sup> A similar situation might have occurred with the Hungarian King, Stephen II (r. 1116-1131), who was buried in a monk's habit in the Premonstratensian monastery of Váradhegyfok (near the Cathedral of Nagyvárád) shortly after his death in 1131.<sup>356</sup>

<sup>350</sup> Vajay, "Corona Regia", 57-60.

<sup>351</sup> Bak, "Der Reichsapfel", 185-192.

<sup>352</sup> It is equally possible the crown could belong to Elizabeth Richenza, the Queen of Bohemia and Poland sometime in the early fourteenth century. Jacek Witecki, "The Treasure Discovery Circumstances and Presentation" in *A Royal Marriage: Elizabeth Přemyslid and John of Luxembourg, ~1310*, ed. by Klára Benešová (Prague: Muzeum hlavního města Prahy, 2011), 567.

<sup>353</sup> Twining, *European Regalia*, 307.

<sup>354</sup> Ann Trindade, *Berengaria: In search of Richard the Lionheart's Queen* (Portland: Four Courts Press, 1999), 189.

<sup>355</sup> Twining, *European Regalia*, 304-305.

<sup>356</sup> Dercsényi, *The Hungarian Illuminated Chronicle*, 136; Z. J. Kosztoľnyik, *From Coloman the Learned to Béla III (1095-1196)* (Boulder: East European Monographs, 1987), 92-93; Makk, *The Árpáds and the Comneni*, 134 n 108.

Where information exists, the coronation rites for the queens of Hungary differed slightly from that of the king. In the first two hundred years of Árpád rule, the only mention of the queen's coronation is in the *Legenda Maior* of St. Stephen where it is noted that the first queen, Gisela of Bavaria, would have been anointed, though it does not state explicitly that she was crowned like her husband was.<sup>357</sup> Two thirteenth century queens refer to the day of their coronation in their charters.<sup>358</sup> The first explicit mention comes from papal correspondence from the reign of Andrew II (r. 1205-1235) which resolved a dispute between the Archbishop of Esztergom and the Bishop of Veszprém over who had the right to crown his second wife, Yolanda of Courtenay (d. 1233).<sup>359</sup> For joint coronations that involved both the king and the queen, the Archbishop of Esztergom, the leading figure in the Hungarian church, would crown the couple while the Bishop of Veszprém had the right to anoint the queen. In situations where the queen was crowned alone, the Bishop of Veszprém would crown her while the Archbishop of Esztergom would anoint her.<sup>360</sup> The first queen to be crowned in this manner following the successful resolution of the ecclesiastical dispute was Elizabeth the Cuman (d. 1290) in 1270.<sup>361</sup> While the Hungarian kings had possession of the Croatian crown in the twelfth century and may have even been crowned at Biograd na Moru, its appearance and survival must remain in the realm of conjecture (*Fig. 11*);<sup>362</sup> it is even unknown if the queen was crowned separately in Croatia during the Middle Ages.

Mary of Anjou (r. 1382-1395) was crowned *rex Hungariae* in 1382 and after a dispute over who should crown her (the archbishop of Esztergom or the bishop of Veszprém), it was eventually decided that she would be crowned by the archbishop of Esztergom in the manner of the Hungarian kings.<sup>363</sup> The only Hungarian queen who was crowned with the Holy Crown of Hungary seems to have been Barbara of Celje (d. 1451), second wife of King Sigismund, on

<sup>357</sup> “ad Consortium vero regni, precipue causa sobolis propaganda ... Gillam nomine sibi in Matrimonio sociavit, quam unctione crismali perunctam gestamine corone sociam esse notificavit”. Emma Bartoniek, “Legenda St. Stephani regis maior et minor”, 384; Attila Zsoldos, *Az Árpádok és asszonyaik* [The Árpáds and their women] (Budapest: MTA Történettudományi Intézete, 2005), 18.

<sup>358</sup> In 1272 and 1276; “unde cum die appositionis corone capiti nostro promissimus iuramento, quod iura nobilium per antecessores nostros indebite alienata et iniuste occupata reddi faceremus et restituti”. János M. Bak, “Roles and Functions of Queens in Árpadian and Angevin Hungary”, 21; Zsoldos, *Az Árpádok és asszonyaik*, 23.

<sup>359</sup> Zsoldos, *Az Árpádok és asszonyaik*, 18-20.

<sup>360</sup> Endre Tóth and Károly Szelényi, *The Holy Crown of Hungary: Kings and Coronations* (Budapest: Kossuth Publishing Corp., 2000), 11.

<sup>361</sup> Zsoldos, *Az Árpádok és asszonyaik*, 22.

<sup>362</sup> Vajay, “Corona Regia”, 48-49, 58; Mario Jareb, “‘Old-Croatian Crown’ or the Construction and Use of a National and Political Symbol from the Late 19<sup>th</sup> Century to the World War II” *Studia Slavica et Balcanica Petropolitana* 2/16 (2014): 18; Ivo Omrčanin, *Sacred Crown of the Kingdom of Croatia* (Philadelphia: Dorrance, 1973), 13, 17-22, 23-27.

<sup>363</sup> Bak, “Roles and Functions of Queens”, 21-22; János M. Bak, *Königtum und Stände in Ungarn im 14.-16. Jahrhundert* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1973), 24-25.

December 6 1405.<sup>364</sup> From 1563 onward, with the coronation of Maria of Spain, wife of Maximilian (r. 1564-1576, known as Maximilian II in Austria), the queen was touched on the shoulder with the Holy Crown of Hungary as part of her coronation ritual.<sup>365</sup> This ritual would continue for the queens' coronation in the next three and a half centuries. One document from 1283 makes reference to a coronation ceremony for the queen taking place at the Church of St. Michael in Veszprém, but it seems that as a general rule, the royal basilica in Székesfehérvár was the site where the Hungarian queens were crowned until the sixteenth century.<sup>366</sup> Andrew II and his first wife Gertrude of Meran (d. 1213) were both crowned at Székesfehérvár on May 29, 1205 and the basilica was also the place where his second and third wives (Yolanda of Courtenay and Beatrice of Este) were crowned as well.<sup>367</sup>

### Queens' crowns and regalia

As a general rule, queens' crowns tended to be open circlets until the fifteenth century. By the end of the thirteenth century, the circlets would have more elaborate decorations such as the addition of the decorative Angevin lilies.<sup>368</sup> This simple form of crown was probably what the crown of the first queen of Hungary looked like. On his way to the Fifth Crusade, Andrew II (r. 1205-1235) took the crown of Gisela of Bavaria (d. 1065) from its vault in Veszprém along with other crown jewels and treasures from Tihány Abbey.<sup>369</sup> He makes two references to this diadem, first in 1217 and later in 1222. In both cases, the information is the same; the crown of Queen Gisela "of blessed memory" was worth a total of twelve gold marks not counting the precious stones and was sold in the Holy Land for 140 silver marks.<sup>370</sup> If the crown had the stones removed before it was sold, it is possible they were added to a later crown or piece of jewelry. Nothing is known of its appearance but two early eleventh century German crowns might give

<sup>364</sup> Tamás Pálosfalvi, "Barbara und die Grafen von Cilli" in *Sigismundus Rex et Imperator: Kunst und Kultur zur Zeit Sigismunds von Luxemburg, 1387-1437* Imre Takács, et al (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 2006), 296; Márta Kondor, "The Ginger Fox's Two Crowns: Central Administration and Government in Sigismund of Luxembourg's Realms, 1410-1419" (PhD. Diss: Central European University, forthcoming 2017), 83.

<sup>365</sup> Tóth and Szelényi, *The Holy Crown of Hungary*, 75.

<sup>366</sup> Hungarian National Archives DL DF 200 706 reads "ecclesia Beati Mychaelis archangeli de Wesprimio, in qua consueverunt regine regni Hungarie coronari" Zsoldos, *Az Árpádok és asszonyaik*, 22; Alan Kralovánszky, "The Settlement History of Veszprém and Székesfehérvár in the Middle Ages" in *Towns in Medieval Hungary*, ed. by László Gerevich (Boulder: Social Science Monographs, 1990), 58.

<sup>367</sup> András Smohay, "Székesfehérvár és II. András" in *II. András és Székesfehérvár*, ed. Terézia Kerny (Székesfehérvár: Székesfehérvári Egyházmegyei Múzeum, 2012), 28, 206.

<sup>368</sup> Twining, *European Regalia*, 58-59.

<sup>369</sup> Z. J. Kosztolnyik, *Hungary in the Thirteenth Century* (Boulder: East European Monographs, 1996), 68. Arnold Ipolyi, Imre Nagy, and Dezső Véghely, *Hazai Okmánytár* Vol. V (Győr 1873), 8-9.

<sup>370</sup> "scilicet coronam beate memorie Regine Gysele, duodecim marcas purissimi auri continentem. preter lapides preciosos. quam in ultra marinis partibus pro C. xl. marcis argenti expendimus," "scilicet coronam beate memorie Regine Gysle XII Marcas purissimi auri continentem preter lapides. quam in ultramarinis partibus pro c xl Marcis argenti expendimus." Ipolyi, Nagy and Véghely, *Hazai Okmánytár* Vol. V, 8-9; Tóth and Szelényi, *The Holy Crown of Hungary*, 11.

some clue as to its appearance. The crown of Gisela's sister-in-law, Empress Kunigunde (d. 1040), survives to present day due to its re-use on her head reliquary in Bamberg Cathedral shortly after her canonization in 1200 (*Fig. 12*). The crown itself is made up of five bent plates of engraved gold and gold filigree in the shape of a band with several rows of precious stones such as sapphires, amethyst, cornelian, pearls, as well as glass paste.<sup>371</sup> The crown could have been identified as Gisela's in the thirteenth century by either oral tradition, its association with the cathedral of Veszprém (for she was the founder), or a possible inscription on the crown itself. For example, a copper crown deposited in the grave of Empress Gisela (d. 1043), the wife of Conrad II, has "GISELA IMPERATRIX" inscribed on the circlet.<sup>372</sup> Two contemporary images of the queen show the queen with a banded crown that appears to be topped with lilies: the portrait of her on the Gisela Cross (**Cat. VI.2**) and the image of her on the Coronation Mantle (**Cat. VI.3**). While the appearance of Queen Gisela's crown can only be conjecture at this point, it seems to have been worth a considerable amount two centuries after its original use by the queen. Presumably all of the queens up to Gertrude of Andechs-Meran (d. 1213) or Yolanda of Courtenay (d. 1233) could have used this crown for ceremonial use. Yolanda of Courtenay came to Hungary in 1215 to become Andrew's second wife, so it is possible that if Andrew needed ready cash so desperately as to melt down Gisela's crown, Yolanda could have had her own or brought one with her. The charters from 1217 and 1222 which speak of the crown's disposal also mention *pro anima* donations for the soul of Queen Gertrude. The first queen of Andrew II seems to have worn several crowns in her lifetime. In the fifteenth century, Jan Długosz mentions that after the murder of Gertrude in 1213, the queen ordered that one of her crowns be donated to Wrocław Cathedral and melted down in order to be fashioned into a chalice. The only note on its appearance or function is that she wore it for ceremonial occasions.<sup>373</sup> Her sister, St. Hedwig, had been duchess of Silesia since 1201, which could explain why Wrocław was singled out to receive such favor.

In the medieval and early modern period, evidence for queens using regalia other than crowns for important rituals only comes up in a few cases. In France and England, scepters are mentioned in coronation *ordines* for the queens in 1364 and 1377 respectively, while in Poland and Sweden scepters were used in coronation rituals for the queens in the sixteenth century.<sup>374</sup>

<sup>371</sup> This crown, which had several later additions in the ensuing centuries, seems to have been made in a workshop from Lorraine, most probably Metz; Gisela on the other hand seems to have favored Bavarian goldsmiths. Herbert Brunner, "The Treasury of the Residenz Palace Munich" in *Royal Treasures*, ed. by Erich Steingraber (New York: Macmillan, 1968), 52-54.

<sup>372</sup> Twining, *European Regalia*, 303.

<sup>373</sup> Jan Długosz and Maurice Michael, *The annals of Jan Długosz* (Chichester: IM Publications, 1997), 160.

<sup>374</sup> Twining, *European Regalia*, 194-196.

Yet, there are other instances of queens using scepters in artistic representations such as on their seals or in statue columns.<sup>375</sup> In general, only queens regnant are depicted with an orb, but there are a few cases where the wives of kings have an orb of their own; Yolanda of Aragon (d. 1301), the wife of Alfonso X of Castile (r. 1254-1284) is shown with a scepter and orb on her seal, while Martin I of Aragon and his wife had orbs as part of their coronation regalia in 1399.<sup>376</sup> Other personal items could be associated with royal women that are not part of an official set of regalia, such as jewelry. Jeanne of Burgundy and Jeanne of Bourbon, two French queens from the mid-fourteenth century, were buried with spindles; Jeanne of Bourbon's was made of gilded wood.<sup>377</sup> No scepters survive for the medieval Hungarian queens, though several seals from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries clearly show the queens wielding scepters and in a few cases holding an orb. There are several crowns that still survive that can be linked with them, as well as possibly one orb. The analyses below will trace the lifecourse of each crown and seek to understand the queens' relationship with these pieces of regalia.

### Monomachos Crown

The so-called Monomachos crown is a set of mid-eleventh century Byzantine plates found in a Hungarian provenience (**Cat. IV.1**). The enamels were found in Ivánka pri Nitre, Slovakia (in Hungarian, Nyitra-Ivánka) in 1860 and sold in fragments from 1860-1870 to the Hungarian National Museum.<sup>378</sup> The seven plaques depict Constantine IX (r. 1042-1055), Empress Zoe (r. 1028-1050), and Empress Theodora (r. 1042-1056), as well as two dancing girls, followed by two allegorical figures depicting Humility and Truth, dating it to 1042-1050.<sup>379</sup> While there are many explanations for this crown's appearance in Hungary and how it originally would have originally been worn,<sup>380</sup> it seems the Monomachos crown was an *armilla* made for the court eunuch

<sup>375</sup> Kunigunde of Luxemburg, wife of Holy Roman Emperor Henry II, appears with a scepter and orb on her seal, and her example was followed by other queens such as Edith-Matilda of Scotland, wife of Henry I of England, and Yolande of Aragon, wife of Alfonso X of Castile. Statue columns meant to depict biblical queens in twelfth century France depict figures wielding scepters at sites that were connected in some way to Adelaide of Maurienne, wife of Louis VI of France. Nolan, *Queens in Stone and Silver*, 26-30, 73-75; Twining, *European Regalia*, 195.

<sup>376</sup> Twining, *European Regalia*, 218-219, 223.

<sup>377</sup> Twining, *European Regalia*, 306-307.

<sup>378</sup> Magda Bárány-Oberschall, *Konstantinos Monomachos császár koronája – The Crown of the Emperor Constantine Monomachos* (Budapest: Magyar Történeti Múzeum, 1937), 49; Etele Kiss, "The State of Research on the Monomachos Crown and Some Further Thoughts" in *Perceptions of Byzantium and its Neighbors (843-1261)*, ed. by Olenka Z. Pevny (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2001), 62-64.

<sup>379</sup> Bárány-Oberschall, *Konstantinos Monomachos császár koronája*, 56, 94-95; Nicolas Oikonomides, "La Couronne dite de Constantin Monomaque" *Travaux et Mémoires, Centre de Recherche d'Histoire et Civilisation de Byzance*, 12 (1994), 246-262; Kiss, "The State of Research on the Monomachos Crown," in *Perceptions of Byzantium and Its Neighbors: 843-1261*, ed. Olenka Z. Pevny (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2000), 65-76.

<sup>380</sup> The crown would have a circumference of just 32 cm while the circumference for an average woman's head is somewhere around 54 cm. Bárány-Oberschall, *Konstantinos Monomachos császár koronája*, 81; Kiss, "The State of

Stephen Pergamenos in 1043<sup>381</sup> and that it was deposited in Hungary towards the end of the eleventh century.<sup>382</sup>

While it is difficult to tell if this crown was ever worn by a queen, Kiss suggests that it could have come into the possession of the kings of Hungary either through Andrew I or his daughter-in-law, Judith of Swabia (d. 1102), the wife of King Salamon. A third possibility could be that it was a gift to Yaroslav I of Kiev (r. 1019-1054) that came to Hungary when his daughter Anastasia (d. 1096?) married Andrew I in 1050.<sup>383</sup> For instance, a list of gifts from Constantine IX to Emperor Henry III from 1049 survives, indicating that the Byzantine emperor made several of these kinds of gifts.<sup>384</sup> Since the site of Nyitraivanka lies between Nitra (Nyitra) and Komárno (Komárom), the *armilla* and a few other pieces could have been buried by an army that had been approaching from the west. If they had gone this way the camp would have been protected by the cover of forest and bypassed certain strongholds. Had troops from Komárno or Nitra been alerted, however, this crown could have been buried during retreat with the intention of recovering it later; the unsuccessful siege of Nitra by Salomon and Emperor Henry IV against Géza I in 1074 is a possible point in time for this deposition.<sup>385</sup> If this is the case, there seems to be a definite link to Salomon's army. After this defeat in 1074, Salamon went to the city of Mosonmagyaróvár where his mother was residing; after a tense moment where his wife stopped Salamon from slapping his mother, the *Hungarian Illuminated Chronicle* says that Salamon, his mother, and his wife would have fled Hungary together in 1074, the two ladies taking refuge in Admont Abbey.<sup>386</sup> It thus seems likely that the women had no involvement in the crown's deposition at the village near the camp. Finally, there is also the question of how the crown was used during its short time in Hungary. If it was originally an arm-band, it could have continued its use that way and had no connection to the queens other than as possibly a secondary gift. It could have possibly been a crown worn on the head but there is no evidence of this. The military context of its deposition suggests that rather this object was 1) recognized as having great and

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Research on the Monomachos Crown", 65; Timothy Dawson, "The Monomachos Crown: Towards a Resolution" *BYZANTINA SYMMEIKTA* 19 (2009): 184-186.

<sup>381</sup> Dawson, "The Monomachos Crown", 187-190.

<sup>382</sup> Thought it admittedly could have been deposited following the sack of Constantinople in 1204. Bárány-Oberschall, *Konstantinos Monomachos császár koronája*, 54-56; Kiss, "The State of Research on the Monomachos Crown", 64.

<sup>383</sup> The date is still up for debate as Wertner and Kosztolnyik suggests 1038-1039 while Długosz says after Andrew I became king (erroneously in 1049). Vajay, "Még egy királynénk...? I. Endre első felesége" [Still one more queen...? The first wife of Andrew I] *Turul* 72 (1999), 18; Wertner, *Az Árpádok családi története*, 120; Z. J. Kosztolnyik, *Hungary under the Early Árpáds, 890s-1063* (Boulder: East European Monographs, 2002), 344; Długosz & Michael, *The Annals of Jan Długosz*, 39.

<sup>384</sup> Kiss, "The State of Research on the Monomachos Crown", 65.

<sup>385</sup> Kiss, "The State of Research on the Monomachos Crown", 64-65.

<sup>386</sup> Dercsényi, ed., *The Hungarian Illuminated Chronicle*, ch. 123, 124-125; Wertner, *Az Árpádok családi története*, 120.

inalienable value, and 2) was most likely associated with martial (i.e. male) power, rather than that of the queens. In short, its deposition is most likely due to military considerations, but it could have originally come to Hungary through Anastasia of Kiev, Judith of Swabia, or as a diplomatic gift.

### The “corona graeca” and “corona latina” on the Holy Crown of Hungary

For every researcher on the subject, there are several opinions on the Holy Crown of Hungary (sometimes also referred to as the Crown of Saint Stephen), but it seems that most credible scholars agree on two points: that the crown was never worn by Saint Stephen and that the lower and upper parts have two different proveniences (**Cat. IV.2**).<sup>387</sup> The focus in this section will be on the relationship this crown might have had with Hungarian queens. The hypothesis of Bárány-Oberschall and Deér that the lower part of the Holy Crown (the ‘corona graeca’) was originally a woman’s crown has to date been the strongest argument for its origins. The tradition is that the crown arrived in Hungary as a gift from the Byzantine court upon the marriage of Géza I with a woman from the influential Synadenos family who was the niece of Byzantine emperor Nikephoros III Botaneiates (r. 1078-1081).<sup>388</sup> The main support for the arguments that it is a woman’s crown stem mostly from its larger size as well as the pinnacles on the top of the crown that only appear on Byzantine women’s crowns. Hilsdale also points out that the images of sovereignty, particularly the emperors, make sense on a female’s crown, especially since portraits worn on the body of Byzantine royal women suggest allegiance to those whose image is depicted.<sup>389</sup> This has not stopped critics from attempting to argue against this tradition, even going so far as to suggest that the (in their opinion male) crown might even have been worn by St. Stephen himself. In some cases, the arguments are worthwhile, particularly pointing out the fact that the pinnacles and possibly even the enamels might have been added at a later date.<sup>390</sup> Other arguments, however, devolve into jumbled up pseudo-science, with one article arguing that (in spite of the many changes and alterations impacting these pieces over the centuries), all of the

<sup>387</sup> The enamels on the lower part are in Greek while those on the upper part are in Latin. Endre Tóth, “A magyar koronázási jelvényekről” [About the Hungarian coronation insignia] in *Koronák, koronázási jelvények: Crowns, Coronation Insignia*, ed. by Livia Bende and Gábor Lőrinczy (Ópusztaszer: Nemzeti Történeti Emlékpark, 2001), 41; Bak, “Holy Lance, Holy Crown, Holy Dexter”, 59; László Péter, “The Holy Crown of Hungary, Visible and Invisible” *The Slavonic and East European Review* 81/3 (2003): 424-425.

<sup>388</sup> Usually she is just called Synadene. Magda Bárány-Oberschall, *Die Sankt Stephans-Krone und die Insignien des Königreichs Ungarn* (Vienna: Herold, 1961), 43-44, 63-76; Josef Deér, *Die Heilige Krone Ungarns* (Vienna: Hermann Böhlau, 1966), 62, 79.

<sup>389</sup> The images of secular rulers on this crown of course are Michael VII Doukas, Constantine Doukas, and Géza I of Hungary. Cecily Hilsdale, “The Social Life of the Byzantine gift: the Royal Crown of Hungary re-invented” *Art History* 31/5 (2008): 614-615, 617-618.

<sup>390</sup> Vajay, “Corona Regia”, 47-48, 56; Csaba Ferencz, András Fehér, Ilona Ferencz-Árkos, Sándor Hennel, and Mihály Beöthy, “Structure Analysis and other aspects in the investigation of the Holy Crown of Hungary and the Coronation Regalia” in *Sacra Corona Hungaria*, ed. Kornél Bakay (Köszeg: Városi Múzeum, 1994), 196.

Hungarian coronation regalia is mathematically proportional and derived from the Holy Crown of Hungary which they claim was the earliest surviving piece of regalia.<sup>391</sup> The first king who associated the Holy Crown of Hungary with St. Stephen seems to be Andrew III (r. 1290-1301) in 1293. He specifically requested that crown, though other sources speak of regalia connected to St. Stephen in the 1240s.<sup>392</sup> While the lower part of the Holy Crown of Hungary is connected with Synadene, there have been two hypotheses which connect the upper part (the ‘corona latina’) to a different queen: Agnes (Anna) of Antioch (d. 1184), first wife of Béla III (r. 1173-1196). Vajay states that the enamels of the apostles could have come from a book cover or the top of a reliquary shrine, and the Latin, Byzantine, and Arab elements present on the crown could have easily come from an object she owned or was gifted from the Holy Land.<sup>393</sup> While Vajay is of the opinion that the newly created crown was for Béla III as heir to both the Hungarian and Byzantine thrones, Deér is of the opinion that, since the crown has a female form, it was created for Agnes herself.<sup>394</sup> While the provenience and even original function of the upper part of the crown will continue to be hotly debated,<sup>395</sup> it nonetheless continues to prove the point that queens were often very heavily involved in cultural transfer that extended to crowns and other such regalia.

Ultimately, in spite of efforts to disconnect the lower part of the crown from Synadene, none of the arguments made against it thus far have been particularly convincing; it seems fairly clear that this crown was sent with Synadene as a diplomatic gift.<sup>396</sup> Indeed, while she returned to Byzantium, she left the crown behind in Hungary.<sup>397</sup> Considering that she was to return to Byzantium after her uncle became emperor and that she may have retired to monastic life, it seems probable that she neither needed nor cared to bring the crown back with her. The connection of the upper crown to Agnes of Antioch (and even Béla III) is a bit more difficult to make, however. One aspect of the crown that favors the idea that it was worn by Béla III is its

<sup>391</sup> In spite of some interesting insights, the volume this article belongs to draws several inaccurate and polemical conclusions. Ferencz, Fehér, Ferencz-Árkos, Hennel, and Beöthy, “Structure Analysis and other aspects in the investigation of the Holy Crown of Hungary”, 189-297.

<sup>392</sup> Erik Fügedi, “Coronation in Medieval Hungary” *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History* III (1980): 179; János M. Bak, “Holy Lance, Holy Crown, Holy Dexter: Sanctity of Insignia in Medieval East Central Europe” in *Studying Medieval Rulers and Their Subjects: Central Europe and Beyond*, ed. Balázs Nagy and Gábor Klaniczay (Burlington: Ashgate, 2010), 60.

<sup>393</sup> Unconvinced that the lower part of the crown could have been styled for a woman, he also suggests that the pinnae adorning the top of the crown could have come from a crown of hers that were added to the Holy Crown. Vajay, “Corona Regia”, 56.

<sup>394</sup> Deér, *Die Heilige Krone Ungarns*, 67-68.

<sup>395</sup> The upper crown has been proposed not only as originally covering the head reliquary of St. Stephen, but also even as an *asterisk*, a covering for the Eucharist. Kovács and Lovag even hypothesize that it was made in Hungary rather than in Byzantium. Kovács and Lovag, *The Hungarian Crown and Other Regalia*, 55-58.

<sup>396</sup> Bak, “Holy Lance, Holy Crown, Holy Dexter”, 58.

<sup>397</sup> Hilsdale, “The Social Life of the Byzantine gift”, 621-622.



size. The diameter of the *corona graeca* is 20.9 cm.<sup>398</sup> If we compare this to the funerary crown discovered in the tomb of King Béla, the diameter of that crown is very similar in size, about 20.7-21.2 cm.<sup>399</sup> However, since Béla grew up in the court of Constantinople, he would have been familiar with the sort of symbolism found on a crown like the *corona graeca*, which depicts the Hungarian king as cosmically and terrestrially subjugated to the Byzantine emperor. There is also the fact that while it has been argued that this crown is in the shape of a helmet (a *kamelaukion*) which Komnenos-era emperors would have worn as their crown, the appearance of Hungary's Holy Crown is not that of a *kamelaukion* but rather that of a crown band with intersecting arches. With this in mind, it has also been proposed that the crown was assembled, not during the reign of Béla III, but rather after the death of Béla IV in 1270 when the Hungarian regalia was briefly taken to Bohemia.<sup>400</sup> The hypothesis that the enamels of the *corona latina* could have originally belonged to Agnes is still possible considering their earlier, most-likely Italian manufacture, but there are many other equally valid possibilities out there, so her connection to the upper part of Hungary's crown can never be proven beyond a shadow of a doubt.

### Burial Crown of Agnes of Antioch

In December 1848, the graves of Béla III (r. 1173-1196) and Agnes of Antioch (d. 1184) revealed an assemblage of grave goods including two silver crowns. Érdy was the one to discover the couple, while Varsányi made the drawings of the tombs showing the crowns firmly on the skulls of the royal couple (**Cat. IV.3**).<sup>401</sup> From 1848 until 1898, the crown was kept in the Hungarian National Museum until it was re-buried with the queen in 1898 (though a display model is still visible to the public).<sup>402</sup> Agnes' crown seems to have been complete and whole in 1848, and her crown seems to have been found in a better state of repair than Béla's.<sup>403</sup> However, it was clearly damaged by the time of Henszlmann's excavations in 1864; restorations in 1967

<sup>398</sup> Endre Tóth, "A magyar koronázási jelvényekről" [About the Hungarian coronation insignia] in *Koronák, koronázási jelvények: Crowns, Coronation Insignia*, ed. by Livia Bende and Gábor Lőrinczy (Ópusztaszer: Nemzeti Történeti Emlékpark, 2001), 39.

<sup>399</sup> Béla Czobor, "III. Béla és hitvese halotti ékszerei" [The Funerary jewels of Béla III and his wife] in *III. Béla magyar király emlékezete*, ed. by Gyula Forster (Budapest: V. Hornyánszky, 1900), 208.

<sup>400</sup> Bak, "Holy Lance, Holy Crown, Holy Dexter", 59-60.

<sup>401</sup> Imre Henszlmann, *A székes-fehérvári ásatások eredménye* [The results of the excavations of Székesfehérvár] (Pest: Heckenast Gusztáv Bizománya, 1864) 205-206; Gábor Hutai, "III. Béla király és Antiochiai Anna sírleteinek restaurálásairól" [The restoration of the findings from the graves of King Béla III and Anna of Antioch] in *150 éve történt... III. Béla és Antiochiai Anna sírjának fellelése*, ed. Vajk Cserményi (Székesfehérvár: Szent István Király Múzeum, 1999), 56.

<sup>402</sup> Hutai, "III. Béla király és Antiochiai Anna sírleteinek restaurálásairól", 36-40; Twining, *European Regalia*, 58.

<sup>403</sup> Éva Kovács, "III. Béla és Antiochiai Anna halotti jelvényei" [The death insignia of Béla III & Anna of Antioch] *Művészettörténeti Ertéslítő* XXI (1972): 3.

and 1998 were carried out, but the crown has an oval shape due to this later damage.<sup>404</sup> Furthermore, the spacing of the crosses on the crown and the dimensions of the crosses on the top of the crown vary slightly among themselves.<sup>405</sup>

Nonetheless, the crown Agnes was buried with would have been of exceptionally high quality. The crown was over 98% silver with about 1-1.5% copper, and traces of lead and arsenic; only a small amount of the crown had deteriorated into silver-chloride. Originally, there would have been a thin layer of gold covering the crown of both Agnes and Béla III.<sup>406</sup> The analysis of the silver content of Béla's crown showed that it was composed of 98% silver and 2% copper, a composition that is very similar to Agnes' crown.<sup>407</sup> In contrast to other known royal grave goods, objects placed in burials are usually of inferior quality to those worn every day and made with lower quality materials. This is supported by the high number of copper gilt crowns in royal burials in the eleventh, twelfth, and fourteenth centuries as well as items like the gilded spindle found in the tomb of Jeanne de Bourbon (d. 1378), queen of Charles V of France (r. 1364-1380).<sup>408</sup> The high precious metal content could explain its fortunate survival, in comparison with other royal crowns which had deteriorated.

Joint burials of kings and queens in Árpád period Hungary are remarkably uncommon, so the two tombs in such close proximity represent an exception to this rule. The similar appearance of the crowns worn on the head by the king and queen are also significant and seem to show a certain amount of planning and coordination involved in the burials. Even though crowns of other shape were most likely in use during the time of Béla III (including quite possibly the Holy Crown of Hungary), the simple band with the four crosses seems to be a simple and powerful reminder of royal status. A crown form can be found on the head of the early thirteenth century statue of a king from Kalocsa Cathedral (*Fig. 19*). It also shows that these crowns had more in common with earlier western models of crowns (such as those worn by Empress Gisela in the eleventh century) rather than closed caps (i.e. *kamelaukions*) or pinnacled circlets like those used in Byzantium. A *kamelaukion* type of crown was found in the grave of Constance of Aragon (d. 1222), the widow of King Emeric of Hungary and wife of Holy Roman Emperor and King of Sicily, Frederick II (r. 1212-1250) (**Cat. IV.4**). Schramm's romantic hypothesis is that King Frederick, distraught by the sudden death of his wife, placed his own crown at the feet of his

<sup>404</sup> The diameter of her crown measures 180-195 mm because of this now. Hutai, "III. Béla király és Antiochiai Anna sírleleteinek restaurálásairól", 54-58.

<sup>405</sup> Czobor, "III. Béla és hitvese halotti ékszerei" [The Funerary jewels of Béla III and his wife], 216-217.

<sup>406</sup> Ibid., 208, 217.

<sup>407</sup> Hutai, "III. Béla király és Antiochiai Anna sírleleteinek restaurálásairól", 42-44.

<sup>408</sup> Twining, *European Regalia*, 291, 303-307.

deceased first wife as a token of his mourning.<sup>409</sup> While it is assumed that this is a male crown placed in a female grave, it was found in 1781 in her sarcophagus in a wooden box, suggesting that it was likely placed in the box during an exhumation in 1491.<sup>410</sup> This “male” and “Byzantine”<sup>411</sup> crown might have originally been buried on the queen’s head.

### Burial Crown from Margaret Island

The interest in the Dominican nunnery of Margaret Island stems in part from the discovery in 1838 of a silver crown that was uncovered on the property after the massive flood in that year (**Cat. IV.5**). The crown is made up of eight segments that have a band at the bottom with a six-petaled rosette, topped with an ornamental lily, and decorated at the top of the hinges with a pattern of three grape vine leaves. Initially, only six of the eight segments possessed lilies, though soldering on the other two indicated that they would have also originally been adorned with lilies as well. The crown itself is decorated with cabochon-cut gemstones such as amethysts, sapphires, turquoises, and pearls at the tips of the rosette petals.<sup>412</sup> While crowns topped with lilies are usually associated with the fourteenth century Angevin dynasty in Hungary, there are several existing examples of such crowns from the thirteenth century such as the one uncovered from the tomb of Gertrude-Anna of Hohenburg (d. 1281), the wife of Holy Roman Emperor Rudolf I of Habsburg (*Fig. 13*). It would seem that the crown uncovered on Margaret Island came from a French workshop at the end of the thirteenth century.<sup>413</sup> It seems that this crown was only used for a brief period before it was deposited in the tomb.

This crown has been identified as a woman’s crown, and its provenience is usually taken to be from the grave of Stephen V (r. 1270-1272) or a member of his family; his brother-in-law Béla, Duke of Macsó (d. 1269), has been proposed, as well as Stephen’s wife Elizabeth the Cuman (d. 1290), Isabella of Naples (d. 1303), wife of Ladislas IV ‘the Cuman’, Andrew III’s wife Fenenna of Kujava (d. 1295), and Andrew III’s mother Tomasina Morosini (d. 1300) have all been proposed as owners of this crown.<sup>414</sup> As mentioned in previous chapters, the presence of this crown in a high-status burial where fragments of silver lace and a chalcedony ring were also

<sup>409</sup> Percy Ernst Schramm, *Herrschaftszeichen und Staatssymbolik* Vol. III (Stuttgart: Anton Hirsemann, 1956), 884-886; Francesco Daniele, *I Regali Sepolcri del Duomo di Palermo riconosciuti e illustrati* (Naples: Stamperia del Re, 1784), 80.

<sup>410</sup> Daniele, *I Regali Sepolcri del Duomo di Palermo*, 79-82; Almut von Gladiß, “Krone der Konstanze” in *Kaiser Friedrich II. (1194-1250: Welt und Kultur des Mittelmeerraums*, Mamoun Fansa and Karen Ermete, eds. (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 2008), 356.

<sup>411</sup> Schramm, *Herrschaftszeichen und Staatssymbolik*, 885; Paul Hetherington, “The Jewels from the Crowns: Symbol and Substance in the Later Byzantine Imperial Regalia” *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 96/1 (2003): 158-159, 162 n 19.

<sup>412</sup> Czobor, “III. Béla és hitvese halotti ékszerei” [The Funerary jewels of Béla III and his wife], 221-222; Etele Kiss, “Couronne” *Hungaria regia, 1000-1800: fastes et défis* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1999), 120.

<sup>413</sup> Erzsébet Vattai, “A margitszigeti korona” *Budapest Régiségei* 18 (1958), 196-197.

<sup>414</sup> Vattai, “A margitszigeti korona”, 200-202; Kiss, “Couronne”, 120.

brought to light indicates that it is very likely that the crown was buried with a woman.<sup>415</sup> Feuerné-Tóth and Vattai have argued as well that the few notes on the crown's provenience indicate that it would have been found far from the tomb where late medieval sources say Stephen V was buried, so that further eliminates the possibility that this was his crown.<sup>416</sup> As mentioned in the chapter on burials, Isabella of Naples, Tomasina Morosini and Fenenna of Kujava were buried elsewhere, so the two women most likely associated with the crown are two whose burials we know nearly nothing about: Elizabeth the Cuman, wife of Stephen V of Hungary, and Anna of Hungary (d. 1274?), Duchess of both Galicia and Macsó. Anna's son Béla was killed on Margaret Island (one of the main reasons Vattai argues that he and his father were buried there and that the crown was possibly his), and Anna's daughter Margaret was a nun there as well. Anna seems to have been alive in 1274 (visiting the sick young king Ladislas IV) but after that the date of her death and place of burial are mostly unknown.<sup>417</sup> After the death of her father in May of 1270, she is known to have fled to Bohemia with many treasures from Hungary, including the crown, the coronation swords, as well as many pieces of jewelry and gold objects.<sup>418</sup> It is possible that Anna of Macsó, as the widow of the prince of Halich, could have been buried with a crown, but there is no possible way to know her place of burial. As one of the favorite daughters of Béla IV, it is possible she could have been buried with her parents and brother at the Franciscan friary in Esztergom.

This leaves Elizabeth the Cuman as the most likely owner of the crown. Feuerné-Tóth makes the argument that, while it seems likely that Elizabeth was buried in the Dominican convent of Margaret Island, modern historians had raised the possibility of her having taken her vows in her final years, and thus, she doubts the queen would have been buried with a crown, but rather that she would be buried in the robes of a nun.<sup>419</sup> This *argumentum ex silentio* is one that should seriously be re-evaluated. While it is possible that the queen may have taken vows like her contemporary Eleanor of Provence (d. 1291, wife of Henry III of England, r. 1216-1272), there is no hard evidence she did so, and furthermore, if she had it might not necessarily preclude her from being buried with a crown. The crown and the veil were important parts of the ceremony involved when a nun took her vows, and coronations of religious women are attested to from the

<sup>415</sup> Vattai, "A margitszigeti korona", 200-202; Rózsa Feuerné-Tóth, "V. István király sírja a margitszigeti domonkos apácakolostor templomában" [The grave of King Stephen V in the church of the Dominican nunnery on Margaret Island], *Budapest Régiségei* 21 (1964), 118.

<sup>416</sup> Feuerné-Tóth, "V. István király sírja", 118-122-125; Erzsébet Vattai, "A Margitszigeti korona és gyűrű" [The crown and the ring from Margaret Island] *Folia Archaeologica* 18 (1966-1967): 126-128.

<sup>417</sup> Wertner, *Az Árpádok családi története*, 472-474; Vattai, "A Margitszigeti korona és gyűrű", 131-134.

<sup>418</sup> These were later returned to Hungary two months later by Ottokar II of Bohemia. Wertner, *Az Árpádok családi története*, 471; Kovács and Lovag, *The Hungarian Crown and Other Regalia*, 9.

<sup>419</sup> Feuerné-Tóth, "V. István király sírja", 125.

tenth century.<sup>420</sup> Twining mentions three cases where abbesses were known to wear crowns, and the abbesses of St. George's convent in Prague were not only granted the title of princess but were even later given the right to crown Czech queens.<sup>421</sup>

This crown is an important artifact for several reasons. The goldsmith's work on the crown seems to imitate examples from the court of St. Louis IX in France, showing a shift in Hungary's style of decoration from Byzantine and Venetian traditions more towards western and specifically French ones.<sup>422</sup> The other important aspect of this crown is that this one, along with the crown in the tomb of Empress Gertrude-Anna of Hohenburg, represents the earliest known and surviving crowns topped with lilies. The open circlet type of crown adorned with lilies lasted in popularity, as the later crowns from Zadar, Oradea (Nagyvárad), and Trogir all demonstrate, so while this crown appeared towards the end of the Árpád dynasty, its form nonetheless reveals a good deal of stylistic continuity between the dynastic transition of the early fourteenth century.

### **Three thirteenth Century Hungarian crowns in Poland and two of unknown provenience**

Royal women of the Árpáadian dynasty should also be mentioned in connection with three thirteenth century crowns which ended up in Poland. Two of these crowns were joined together in the later fifteenth century (c. 1472-1488) in the form of an altar cross laid over a base of cypress wood and the base decorated with escutcheons depicting the Piast eagle, the three crowns of the chapter of Kraków and the arms of Bishop Jan Rzeszowski (*Fig. 14, 15*). The crown on the horizontal arm dates to 1239 while the vertical arm dates to the middle of the thirteenth century.<sup>423</sup> The first crown, on the vertical arm, is made up of twelve niello sections decorated with eagles, knights, and hunting scenes while the second crown decorating the horizontal axis is made up of fourteen heavily damaged sections adorned with eagles. While the crowns on the cross are decorated with various precious stones such as diamonds, rubies, emeralds, and pearls, it seems these were added in the fifteenth century. These two crowns, believed to be from a Venetian workshop from the first half of the thirteenth century, are traditionally linked to Hungary through the marriage of Boleslaw the Shy to St. Kinga (d. 1292), the daughter of Béla IV of Hungary; it is mentioned in the *Vita beatae Kunegundis* from 1320 (and repeated by Długosz) how she donated her crown to Wawel cathedral so that it could be made into a cross

<sup>420</sup> Jan Gerchow, et al., "Early Monasteries and Foundations (500-1200): an Introduction" in *Crown and Veil: Female Monasticism from the fifth to the fifteenth centuries*, ed. Jeffrey Hamburger and Susan Marti (New York: Columbia University Press, 2008), 13.

<sup>421</sup> Twining, *European Regalia*, 132-134; Karl Schwarzenberg, *The Prague Castle and its treasures* (New York: Vendome Press, 1994), 165.

<sup>422</sup> Kiss, "Couronne", 120.

<sup>423</sup> Helena Blumówna, ed. *1000 years of art in Poland* (London: Royal Academy, 1970), 52.

and the secondary literature proposed she would have most likely brought the crowns to Poland on the occasion of her wedding.<sup>424</sup> The vertical crown is made up of fourteen different segments while the horizontal crown is made up of twelve.<sup>425</sup> Kovács hypothesizes that the crowns were meant for a female head.<sup>426</sup> There is also a scene on one of the crowns depicting a scene from *Erec et Enide* by Chretien de Troyes. For this reason, it has been argued that one crown originated in the Upper Rhineland rather than Hungary. In this explanation, the crowns were most likely prizes at a tournament held in Burgundy during the time of Emperor Frederick II (r. 1212-1250).<sup>427</sup> The symbolism of the sparrow-hawk on the crown composing the vertical cross seems plausible,<sup>428</sup> but several important questions (such as how it got to Poland) remain unanswered in this framework. It should also be pointed out that the crown on the vertical arm of the cross appears to be much more disjointed than the one on the horizontal arm. As the vertical crown is the only one with the imagery of *Erec et Enide*, the relationship between the two crowns, however similar, is also something that should be questioned further.

There is also a crown called the Płock Diadem which now adorns the reliquary head of St. Sigismund in Płock Cathedral (*Fig. 16*).<sup>429</sup> This silver crown of fourteen segments could have come to Poland through the marriage of Yolanda of Hungary (d. 1298, sister of the aforementioned Kinga) who married Boleslaw the Pious in 1256-1258, but Conrad I of Masovia, and Constance of Hungary (d. 1288), wife of Leo of Halich (d. 1301) have also been suggested as the original owners as well.<sup>430</sup> It is a silver gilt crown with golden figures against a black niello background, very similar to the crowns mentioned above. Its workshop seems to have operated either in the Hungarian-Venetian style or a Mosan style. Furthermore, the possibility has been raised that the Coronation Sword for the Kings of Poland may have come from Hungary at this

<sup>424</sup> Éva Kovács, "Még egyszer a krakkói koronakeresztről" [Once again about the Crown-Cross from Kraków] *Species, Modus, Ordo: Válogatott tanulmányok* (Budapest: Szent István Társulat, 1998), 138; Stanisław Lorentz, *Treasures from Poland* (Chicago: The Art Institute of Chicago, 1967), no. 13; Rainer Sachs and Dariusz Nowacki, "Cross of ducal coronets," in *Artistic Culture of the Royal Court and the Cathedral*, ed. Magdalena Piwocka and Dariusz Nowacki (Cracow 2000), 189.

<sup>425</sup> Both crowns would have measured around 64.5 cm in diameter. Kovács, "Még egyszer a krakkói koronakeresztről" [Once again about the Crown-Cross from Kraków], 137.

<sup>426</sup> She also suggests that the cross made of the crowns would have been decorated with an image of the Virgin Mary in 1575; oddly enough, this image would have come from the Hungarian-Angevin court in the mid-fourteenth century. Éva Kovács, "Díszítő részletek a krakkói székesegyház Madonna-képéről" in *Művészet I. Lajos király korában, 1342-1382* (Budapest: MTA Művészettörténeti Kutató Csoport, 1982), 103-104.

<sup>427</sup> But still believed to date to c. 1250. Sachs and Nowacki, "Cross of ducal coronets", 188-190.

<sup>428</sup> Sparrow-hawks and other birds of prey appear frequently in the hands of women on their seals in the medieval West as they are primarily associated with hunting and the noble lifestyle. Loveday Lewes Gee, "Patterns of Patronage: Female Initiatives and Artistic Enterprises in England in the 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> Centuries," in Therese Martin, ed., *Reassessing the Roles of Women as 'Makers' of Medieval Art and Architecture*, vol. 2 (Leiden Boston: Brill, 2012), 579.

<sup>429</sup> Kovács, "Még egyszer a krakkói koronakeresztről" [Once again about the Crown-Cross from Kraków], 142-144.

<sup>430</sup> Sachs and Nowacki, "Cross of ducal coronets", 190.

time due to stylistic similarities between this crown and the Sword.<sup>431</sup> These three crowns all raise the issue as to whether or not Béla IV could have sent any of the crowns as part of a diplomatic gift. There are a few thirteenth century analogies for this sort of behavior taking place in the west: For instance, when Henry III of England sent his sister Isabella (d. 1241) to be married to Holy Roman Emperor Frederick II in 1235, she was sent with a crown containing the images of four English kings and saints.<sup>432</sup> Béla's son-in-law, Daniel of Halich (d. 1264), was sent a crown by the pope which he refused.<sup>433</sup> Considering the way Béla IV aggressively pursued neighboring allies after the devastation of the Mongol invasion of 1241-1242, it seems entirely plausible that he used crowns as a diplomatic gift in marriage negotiations, particularly if the potential sons-in-law had no royal title of their own. If the crowns were meant for his daughters, the king could display his royal status and wealth abroad and his daughters could still maintain their royal heritage as the wife of a prince or a duke.

There are also certain characteristics the Plock diadem seems to share with a Hungarian woman's crown of unknown origin. The crown was sold in Vienna in 1920 to a private collector and its only known provenience was that it was found in Hungary where it came from a woman's grave (**Cat. IV.6**).<sup>434</sup> The crown is made of silver gilt with five diamond shaped boxes filled with molten glass on the side and attached by a series of hinges. There are three palmettes on the top and the filigree pattern and pendilia indicate that this is a Byzantine crown with influences from Islamic (particularly Persian) art and parallels in Russia and the Balkans.<sup>435</sup> On the top of the rounded pinnacles adorning the crown there is an equestrian figure. Deér's hypothesis is that it dates from between the twelfth and fourteenth centuries and, as it has nothing in common with the Western pieces found at Székesfehérvár, this crown was imported.<sup>436</sup> Unfortunately, Deér's publication is the only one available about this crown (with the only photos available to the public). However, there are several possibilities to explain this crown based on the little that is known. First, the size of the crown (22 cm long, 6 cm high), makes it even smaller than the Monomachos crown, raising the question as to whether or not this 'crown' was meant to be worn on the head at all. The other question would be whether or not the original owner could be known. Considering that the crown most likely was not made in Hungary, there

<sup>431</sup> Marcin Biborski, Janusz Stępiński, and Janusz Stępiński, "Szczerbiec (the Jagged Sword) – The Coronation Sword of the Kings of Poland" *Gladius* XXXI (2001): 124, 138.

<sup>432</sup> Benjamin L. Wild, "The Empress's New Clothes: A Rotulus Pannorum of Isabella, Sister of King Henry III, Bride of Emperor Frederick II," *Medieval Clothing and Textiles* 7 (2011): 1.

<sup>433</sup> Z. J. Kosztolnyik, *Hungary in the Thirteenth Century* (Boulder: East European Monographs, 1996), 213.

<sup>434</sup> József Deér, "Mittelalterliche Frauenkronen in Ost und West", in *Herrschaftszeichen und Staatssymbolik*, ed. P. E. Schramm (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 1955), 441.

<sup>435</sup> Deér, "Mittelalterliche Frauenkronen in Ost und West", 442.

<sup>436</sup> *Ibid.*, 443.

are many possible royal women who could have brought the crown over to Hungary. Helen of Serbia (d. 1146?), Euphrosyne of Kiev (d. c. 1193), and Maria Laskarina (d. 1270) are all queens who came from a region where this type of crown might have been made. The grave goods of Agnes of Antioch are known, and since it is unknown whether or not Maria Komnene, wife of Stephen IV of Hungary, ever left Byzantium, it is doubtful that this piece could be associated with her. There are also further possibilities with Hungarian princesses like Margaret (d. 1223), wife of Isaac II Angelos (d. 1204), or Anna wife of Rostislav of Halich, whose burial places are unknown.<sup>437</sup> Assuming the grave it was recovered from was a royal one, it narrows the chronology of the crown to the mid-twelfth to thirteenth centuries based on the possible owners. However, until further investigation can be done on this privately-owned crown, its function and original owner shall remain a matter of speculation.

Finally, there is another thirteenth century crown with even less context (**Cat. IV.7**). It surfaced in the nineteenth century when a French collector bought four plates of a hinged crown topped with a lily that has no stem and is decorated in filigree, gemstones, and with a border of pearls. If there were eight plates total, the diameter would have been very small (11.5 cm), and the decorative similarity with other crowns and small size has inspired the hypothesis that it was originally a woman's crown.<sup>438</sup> The appearance of lilies and the filigree suggest that this crown could date sometime from the period of Andrew II to Béla IV, but this is just conjecture. If it was found in a burial context, it is possible the crown could be that of Yolanda of Courtenay (from Igrış Abbey), Maria Laskarina (from the Franciscan friary), but it could have easily belonged to a princess or even adorned the head of a reliquary at a later date. In theory, non-invasive techniques of metallic analysis such as Particle Induced X-ray Emission and Energy-Dispersive X-Ray Fluorescence could tell not only the metallic content of these crowns with unknown origins, but when compared with material from a known provenience, might even give some clue as to the place where the metal in the crown was mined; this technique was used on various coins in Central and Eastern Europe with great success.<sup>439</sup> For the moment though, the identity (and even the gender) of the crown's original owner must remain a matter of conjecture.

<sup>437</sup> Wertner, *Az Árpádok családi története*, 405-406, 472.

<sup>438</sup> There was also a fifth piece in the British Museum according to Kovács. Éva Kovács, "Egy Elveszett Magyar Korona" [A lost Hungarian crown] in *Species, Modus, Ordo: válogatott tanulmányok*, by Éva Kovács (Budapest: Szent István Társulat, 1998), 114.

<sup>439</sup> B. Constantinescu, R. Bugoi, E. Oberländer-Târnoveanu, K. Pârvan, "Medieval Silver Coins Analyses by PIXE and ED-XRF Techniques" *Romanian Journal of Physics*, 54/5-6 (2009), 486-487.



## Crowns from Zadar, Trogir and Krušedol

In 1932, the silver sarcophagus of St. Simeon in Zadar was opened up (**Cat. VI.15**), revealing a treasure trove of artifacts from the Hungarian-Angevin court. One of the objects that links some of the votive donations in the sarcophagus to Elizabeth Kotromanić (d. 1387), the Bosnian princess who was second wife of Louis I, is a handsome gilt silver crown which has been dated to the Hungarian Angevin Period (**Cat. IV.8**). The crown consists of ten plates in the shape of fleur-de-lys with pins connected each plate at the hinges.<sup>440</sup> The pins are in the shape of a human head flanked by animal heads and with leaves branching out in the shape of a tree, with pearls at the tips of the branches. The lily-shaped plates are decorated with precious stones in an alternating pattern based on their color. Petricioli refers to the stones as rubies and sapphires while Takács refers to them as red and green stones meant to represent rubies and emeralds; the latter also notes how it is likely that paste stones could have been used at some parts rather than more costly gems. It is estimated that there were originally 100 stones plus an additional 170 pearls adorning the crown. Until its restoration in the 1990s, the nine surviving crown pieces and six pins were sewn into part of a mitre.<sup>441</sup>

Petricioli's interpretation of the crown is that rather than representing a donation of the crown jewels, this crown was rather a personal crown worn by Elizabeth Kotromanić herself and that it would have been worn for state occasions.<sup>442</sup> Takács suggests that it is very likely the crown was deposited in the reliquary during a visit Queen Mary (and her mother) made to Zadar in 1382-1383.<sup>443</sup> The engravings on the back of the crown plate pieces indicate that they come from a workshop of some kind where the crown was assembled and the wear on the back indicates that the crown was worn intensively before it was deposited in the sarcophagus. There are thus several important moments in Elizabeth of Bosnia's lifecourse where she could have donated the crown, but most likely it would have been after the birth of her three daughters, possibly even after the death of her husband. It is very similar to crowns from the Hungarian Angevin court found at Oradea (**Cat. IV.11**), Trogir (Ciovo), and Krušedol.<sup>444</sup>

<sup>440</sup> One of the crown plates disappeared between 1901 and 1932. Nikola Jakčić, "Couronne féminine" in *L'Europe des Anjou: aventure des princes angevins du XIIIe et XIVe siècle*, Guy Le Goff et al (Paris: Somogy, 2001), 354.

<sup>441</sup> Ivo Petricioli, *St. Simeon's Shrine in Zadar* (Zagreb: Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, 1983), 23-24; Imre Takács, "Krone" in *Sigismundus Rex et Imperator: Kunst und Kultur zur Zeit Sigismunds von Luxemburg, 1387-1437* Imre Takács, et al (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 2006), 93.

<sup>442</sup> Petricioli, *St. Simeon's Shrine in Zadar*, 23.

<sup>443</sup> One charter from Queen Mary was issued in Zadar on October 24, 1383, and another from her mother the Queen Regent Elizabeth was issued in Zadar on November 5, 1383 – this seems like the ideal time to have made such a donation. Pál Engel and C. Norbert Tóth, *Itineraria Regum et Reginarum (1382-1438)* (Budapest: MTA Történettudományi Intézetében, 2005), 36, 162; Takács, "Krone", 93.

<sup>444</sup> Takács, "Krone", 93.

A contemporary, less ornate silver crown is in the form of four hinged places in the shape of fleur-de-lys that come from the Order of the Poor Clares (“Franciscan sisters”) in Trogir as well as a Franciscan monastery on Čiovo (**Cat. IV.9**). The alternating pattern of red and green stones and pearls on this crown mirrors the one from Zadar. Therefore the crown seems to date from 1350-1370 and it was apparently made in a Hungarian workshop either in Buda or Visegrád. Two more pieces of this crown were found on the hand reliquary of the Blessed John of Trogir in the Cathedral of Trogir; one hypothesis is that they would have originally crowned a holy icon.<sup>445</sup> Another possibility is that this crown could be associated with an Angevin queen. There is mention in the 1770s of a crown which may be attributed to Elizabeth Piast, wife of Charles I Robert. Ferenc Berchtold, Auxiliary Bishop of Esztergom, mentions a golden hinged crown decorated with pearls and jewels which had been in the possession of the Poor Clare Order from Óbuda. He attributed original ownership to Elizabeth of Poland.<sup>446</sup> Sadly, a great fire destroyed the episcopal residence in 1782 and it is probable that the crown could have been one of the many items lost; there seems to be no further reference to it.<sup>447</sup> There is a slim possibility that this crown could have found its way to Trogir and be the current surviving piece known from the Poor Clare convent and cloister, but at present this cannot be determined. If this crown does have an affiliation with any particular queen, it is possible that this could be a crown affiliated with Elizabeth Piast, as her support of the Poor Clare cloister is well-known. On the other hand, her daughter-in-law Elizabeth Kotromanić founded a cloister of the Poor Clares at Sárospatak in 1385, so her affiliation with the Order of the Poor Clares should not be overlooked either.<sup>448</sup>

There is also a plate of a crown from the monastery of Krušedol which is now in the Serbian Orthodox Church Museum in Belgrade (**Cat. IV.10**). Like the crown from Zadar, this was found sewn into the peak of a mitre which bears an embroidered inscription indicating that Irene Kantakuzena, the wife of George Branković of Serbia (d. 1456), and her sister-in-law Catherine, wife of Ulrich II of Celje, donated it to the Metropolitan of Belgrade.<sup>449</sup> Similar to the crown from Oradea and dating to the middle of the fourteenth century, Kovács proposed that

<sup>445</sup> Imre Takács, “Bruchstück einer Krone”, *Sigismundus Rex et Imperator: Kunst und Kultur zur Zeit Sigismunds von Luxemburg, 1387-1437* Imre Takács, et al (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 2006), 93-94; Ana Munk, “The Queen and her Shrine: an art historical twist on historical evidence concerning the Hungarian Queen Elizabeth Kotromanić, donor of the Saint Simeon Shrine” *Hortus Artium Medievalium* 10 (2004): 255.

<sup>446</sup> This community was then in Bratislava after the Turkish invasions. Vattai, “A margitszigeti korona”, 194; László Szende, “Piast Erzsébet és udvara (1320-1380)” [Elizabeth Piast and her court (1320-1380)] (PhD diss.: ELTE, 2007), 173 n1036.

<sup>447</sup> A. Aldásy, “Neusohl, Diocese of” in *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, Charles Herbermann, et al. (New York: Robert Appleman Co., 1911), Vol. X, 774.

<sup>448</sup> Beatrix Romhányi, *Kolostorok és társaskáptalanok a középkori Magyarországon* [Monasteries and Collegiate Chapters in Medieval Hungary] (Budapest: Pytheas, 2000), 48, 56.

<sup>449</sup> Kovács, “Magyarországi Anjou koronák”, 7.

Louis the Great of Hungary gave it to the Celje family.<sup>450</sup> A piece like this may possibly have been given as a diplomatic gift in the early fifteenth century and then incorporated into a mitre.<sup>451</sup> Ulrich II, husband of one of the donors, was the nephew of Barbara of Celje, the second wife of King Sigismund of Hungary; it is also possible that she could have given fragments of an older crown to her natal family. Unfortunately, since it was found in a secondary position, its original use and wearer(s) from the court of Louis I must remain unknown. Nonetheless, it shows the importance of royal women in transferring property such as crowns through not only the family but also through ecclesiastic institutions.

### Crown and Orb from Oradea

While digging for a well in June 1755 in the remains of the former cathedral of the city of Oradea (also known as Nagyvárad), the Fortress Commander Charles de Canon Marquis de Ville uncovered several pieces of royal regalia that were later dated to the end of the fourteenth century. He reports in two letters dated July 13 and 1755 to Maria Theresa (r. 1740-1780) that a female skeleton in a grave as well as a crown and orb were discovered. The six pieces of the crown were sent to Vienna in July 1755 (**Cat. IV.11**), as well as the orb and a small gold and enamel piece featuring the symbol of the Order of the Dragon, which has since been lost, and later still a faded silk brocade vestment with gold embroidery which has also been lost.<sup>452</sup> Upon finding the remains and the artifacts at the cathedral, Canon de Ville wrote to Maria Theresa that he was “happy to have enough power to send the remains of the first King Mary to Your Holy Majesty, a second King Mary.”<sup>453</sup> However, it has also been pointed out that King Sigismund was also buried at Oradea with Queen Mary, and some scholars have pointed out that the presence of the enamel piece with the Order of the Dragon on it could only have come from the grave of Sigismund as the Order was founded in 1408, thirteen years after Mary’s death; the conclusion they reach is that all the artifacts are thus from Sigismund’s grave alone.<sup>454</sup> However, it is impossible to tell not only where the grave in the cathedral was uncovered, but also whether

<sup>450</sup> Éva Kovács, “Liliomos korona egy ága Krušedol monostorból” [A piece of a lily crown from the monastery of Krušedol] in *Művészet I. Lajos király korában, 1342-1382* (Budapest: MTA Művészettörténeti Kutató Csoport, 1982), 101.

<sup>451</sup> Kóvacs, “Magyarországi Anjou koronák”, 11.

<sup>452</sup> Sándor Márki, *Mária, Magyarország Királynéja 1370-1395* (Budapest: A Magyar tört társulat kiadása, 1885), 149 n 3.

<sup>453</sup> “[H]eureux d’avoir assez Eté de pouvoir envoyer Les Vestiges de la premiere Marie Roy, the Sacré Votre Majesta, aussi la seconda Marie Roy” Márki, *Mária Magyarország Királynéja*, 149 n 3.

<sup>454</sup> Etele Kiss, “Six éléments d’une couronne” in *L’Europe des Anjou: aventure des princes angevins du XIIIe et XIVe siècle*, Guy Le Goff et al (Paris: Somogy, 2001), 338-339; Imre Takács, “Bruchstück einer Krone” in *Sigismundus Rex et Imperator: Kunst und Kultur zur Zeit Sigismunds von Luxemburg, 1387-1437* Imre Takács, et al (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 2006), 94-95.

or not the artifacts were recovered from a single grave or whether or not the contexts of two or more graves have been mixed up. Earlier in 1638, when parts of the inner castle were being reconstructed, several pieces of jewelry and fragments of vestments were found in the ground which at the time were attributed to the grave of St. Ladislás. A tomb with a “royal coffin” was opened and found to contain a crown, a scepter, a monstrance, and many golden ornaments and vestments, though sadly their provenience and current whereabouts are both unknown.<sup>455</sup> The ecclesiastic objects found with the grave suggest rather a more religious than secular orientation. Kovács has also suggested that the crown found in 1755 is not even from a grave context but rather that it adorned the head reliquary of St. Ladislás in the Cathedral as a gift from Louis the Great during his pilgrimage there in 1352.<sup>456</sup> In the following section, I will thus explore whether or not the crown and the orb from this grave could have been Mary’s and the significance of its context.

The date of the crown is a tricky question, and one of the closest stylistic examples comes from additions to the Pala d’Oro in Venice from 1342-1345. Kiss has posited that it dated from the mid-fourteenth century and came from a Hungarian workshop that was heavily influenced by the art of Venetian goldsmiths. If this was the case, the signs of wear can be explained by several decades of use. Kiss suggests that the crown segments could have been sewn onto fabric at some point, like the crown in Zadar.<sup>457</sup> This would support some part of Kovács’ hypothesis that the crown had a liturgical purpose, but it could also indicate that this crown might have been a royal donation to the Cathedral. This is all well and good, but it glosses over what little archaeological context remains concerning the uncovered regalia. The finds from 1755 were discovered while digging well, indicating that these objects were found at deeper depths than the finds from 1638. The total set of objects found suggest that the finds from 1638 were a set of liturgical objects while the finds from 1755 would be more keeping in line with traditional grave goods, in which case the suggestion that the crown fragments were sewn onto fabric for liturgical use seems highly unlikely.

As to the ownership of the crown, if it does originally date from the mid-fourteenth century, it would have most likely had its origins at the court of Louis I, sometime before Mary

<sup>455</sup> Terézia Kerny, “Begräbnis und Begräbnisstätte von König Sigismund”, in *Sigismundus Rex et Imperator: Kunst und Kultur zur Zeit Sigismunds von Luxemburg, 1387-1437* Imre Takács, et al (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 2006), 478.

<sup>456</sup> Kiss, “Six éléments d’une couronne”, 338-339; Éva Kovács, “Magyarországi Anjou koronák” [Hungarian Angevin Crowns] *Ars Hungarica* 62/1 (1976): 10.

<sup>457</sup> Kiss, “Six éléments d’une couronne” in *L’Europe des Anjou*, 338-339.

was even born. If the crown had originally belonged to Louis<sup>458</sup>, the most logical explanation for its appearance in a tomb at Oradea is that it was buried with his daughter and heir, Mary. In her own self-imaging, she uses devices and imagery associated with her father, and in certain donations (such as the bell at the hospital in Gyöngyös, **Cat.VI.17**), she refers to herself as the daughter of Louis, rather than the wife of Sigismund. While simpler in appearance than the crown from Zadar, it is still a well-made silver gilt piece, in keeping with the tradition of quality grave goods found in royal Hungarian tombs. While Sigismund was no doubt buried with all the pomp and circumstance due his rank, he was also the Holy Roman Emperor and King of Bohemia, so being buried with an open coronet nearly a century old only because of the connection it had with his father-in-law does not seem so likely. While the lost emblem of the Order of the Dragon found at the site was undoubtedly associated with him, it seems that given what is known of the piece, its context, and its history, Mary seems to be a better candidate as the original owner of this crown.

Lastly, the orb that was discovered at the site is worth mentioning (**Cat. IV.12**). It is a plain silver gilt orb consisting of two halves topped with a Latin cross.<sup>459</sup> It has also traditionally been ascribed to Sigismund, partly because orbs are usually associated with, not only male rule, but also specifically imperial rule. However, others have pointed out that the orb could also be buried with Queen Mary.<sup>460</sup> Stylistically, many queens are depicted holding an orb in their visual sources, but there is only one queen from 1000 to 1600 who is known to have been buried with an orb; curiously enough, this queen was Mary's sister, Jadwiga, the queen regnant of Poland (r. 1386-1399). Like Yolanda of Courtenay and her mother Elizabeth Kotromanić, Mary appears with an orb on her seal. As Mary had been crowned "king" in 1382, it seems entirely plausible that she would have had the full set of regalia used at her coronation as well as at her burial. Due to the orb's simple style it cannot be dated with any accuracy, so its owner for the foreseeable future will remain unknown. It is nonetheless important to evaluate earlier statements that the grave goods all belong to Sigismund based on finds with little to no context.

### Conclusions: Gendered Regalia

Over fifty years ago, Vattai made the observation that there is no significant difference between men and women's crowns in the medieval West.<sup>461</sup> Her observation is further

<sup>458</sup> This is, of course, does not exclude the possibility that his wife or his mother might have originally owned this crown also!

<sup>459</sup> Imre Takács, "Reichsapfel" in *Sigismundus Rex et Imperator: Kunst und Kultur zur Zeit Sigismunds von Luxemburg, 1387-1437* Imre Takács, et al (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 2006), 95.

<sup>460</sup> Twining, *European Regalia*, 201-206, 212.

<sup>461</sup> Vattai, "A margitszigeti korona", 195.

complicated by the fact that several crowns in this survey have gone from being a man's crown to a woman's crown or vice versa. Because of this, at first glance, it is tempting to see the crowns of the queens as entirely subjugated to the wills and whims of the kings. Andrew II melted down the crown of Queen Gisela, the crown of Synadene was re-purposed as a king's crown, Béla III most likely planned the funerary crowns for himself and his first wife, and the surviving crowns have traditionally been ascribed to the male rulers. Yet the gender fluidity is a fascinating element of regalia which, for queens, was the primary signifier of their own royal status. Unlike Byzantium, which had strict guidelines for male and female crowns, in Western and Central Europe, the gender assignment of the crown does not seem to have been so clearly circumscribed. The fact that Constance of Aragon and quite possibly Queen Mary of Hungary were buried with crowns that were originally worn by men is a testament to their own individual status and possibly their own personality and agency. The point in a queen's life when her crown was put into an archaeological context is also worth mentioning. Most of the crowns associated with queens survive due to a very important part of the queen's lifecourse: her death. While most of the crowns are only known from burial contexts, there are a few which survive as the result of a queen gifting it to an ecclesiastic institution. Royal women are seen in the transfer, preservation, and donation of royal crowns as the (possibly) Hungarian crowns in Poland and the fourteenth century crowns from Zadar (and possibly Krušedol) prove. While the latter two were unfortunately only found in secondary position, it nonetheless seems that Hungarian queens were behind their transfer to places where they ended up being preserved rather than melted down or destroyed. The crowns buried with the kings and queens also appear to be of exceptional quality and high silver content; the glass and paste stones used in some of the crowns are not particularly out of place in a medieval European context, especially when color schemes (such as the red and green alternating stones on the Angevin-era crowns) are particularly important. Indeed, the crowns that have lesser-quality workmanship seem to be the two crowns from the eleventh century that were most likely diplomatic gifts courtesy of Byzantium. The crowns of the medieval Hungarian queens ultimately show not only the high status and high quality of craftsmanship, but their use in diplomatic and display context and their disposal show that the queens were well aware of the significance of the crown as an ideological symbol as well as their connection with the royal authority derived from the king.

## V. Clothing and Jewelry

### **Pomp, power, and poverty**

Royal women like Clémence of Hungary, queen of France (d. 1328), had at least eighteen gowns consisting of multiple pieces of clothing such as a coat, a surcoat, a mantel and other garments.<sup>462</sup> English aristocrats could spend up to ten percent of their income on wardrobe alone.<sup>463</sup> In addition to clothing, jewels were also a key part in presenting and maintaining the image of the queen. In many of the coronation rites for western queens, part of the ritual involved her receiving a blessed ring after her head had been anointed with oil.<sup>464</sup> Nelson further remarks that the ring in question as part of the coronation *ordo* for early medieval ceremonies is not a wedding ring, but rather a gender-neutral amulet which serves to indicate her support of the church.<sup>465</sup> It is clear that the appearance of the queen shown bedecked in jewels was considered an important part of royal dignity.<sup>466</sup>

Where the necessary information exists, an entire dissertation could be written on the medieval wardrobe and jewels of a royal person, but for Hungary most of the immediate written evidence is lost. While it is unfortunate that in Hungary pictorial sources depicting queens and their clothing has a low rate of survival, there are several fortunate cases where the material itself survives. Most of the items in this chapter either come from excavations of the queens' burials or from votive donations the queens made to some ecclesiastic institution. In the latter case, there is a reliance on the members of the particular church documenting the connection as well as the queen being noteworthy or saintly enough to merit the preservation of such documents in some form. Sometimes the attributions are false. For instance, the so-called "Mantle of Béla IV of Hungary" in Trogir Cathedral depicting St. Martin offering his cloak to a beggar seems to neither come from the thirteenth century nor even from Hungary.<sup>467</sup> With this in mind, the present chapter thus has several aims: to discuss the written and pictorial evidence for clothing and

<sup>462</sup> Mariah Proctor-Tiffany, "Portrait of a medieval Patron: the Inventory and Gift Giving of Clémence of Hungary" (PhD Dissertation: Brown University, 2007), 96.

<sup>463</sup> John Steane, *The Archaeology of the Medieval English Monarchy* (London & New York: Routledge, 1993), 141.

<sup>464</sup> John Carmi Parsons, "Queens and Empresses: the West", *Women and Gender in Medieval Europe: an Encyclopedia*, ed. Margaret Schaus (New York: Routledge, 2006), 686; Janet L. Nelson, "An Anglo-Saxon Queen's Consecration", in *Medieval Christianity in Practice*, ed. Miri Rubin (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009), 327.

<sup>465</sup> Nelson specifically mentions patronage of missionary activity and care for the poor. Janet L. Nelson, "Early Medieval Rites of Queen-Making and the Shaping of Medieval Queenship", in *Queens and Queenship in Medieval Europe*, ed. Anne J. Duggan (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1997), 310.

<sup>466</sup> While crowns were included under the category of jewels in certain inventories, they have been examined separately in the previous chapter. Pauline Stafford, "Queens and Treasure in the Early Middle Ages," in *Treasure in the Medieval West*, ed. E. M. Tyler (York: York Medieval Press, 2000), 73.

<sup>467</sup> It seems to be a later garment from France. Marianna Birnbaum, "The Mantle of Béla IV" in *...The Man of Many Devices, Who Wandered Full Many Ways...: Festschrift in Honor of János M. Bak*, ed. Balázs Nagy and Marcell Sebök (Budapest: Central European University Press, 1999), 501.

jewelry of medieval Hungarian queens; to examine the material remains; and finally to understand how items of the medieval Hungarian queens worn on their bodies were representative of their power.

### Written sources

In Western Europe, there are many surviving written sources that illuminate the wardrobes of medieval queens. Three primary sources from the wardrobe accounts of Henry III of England (r. 1216-1272) offer specific details on the bridal trousseau of his sister Isabella (d. 1241) upon her marriage to Holy Roman Emperor Frederick II (r. 1212-1250) in 1235.<sup>468</sup> When Isabella of France (d. 1358) married Edward II of England (r. 1307-1327) in 1308, the *Flores Historiarum* describes in great detail the items she brought over. From France she brought over many gowns of baudekin (silk brocade with gold fabric), velvet, silk, and shot taffeta, and many furs. In addition, she brought over seventy-two headdresses, as well as two jeweled gold crowns.<sup>469</sup> Most of the clothing mentioned in the inventory of Clémence of Hungary, queen of France, is red and purple; considering that both dyes were very expensive, it could be that the queen favored these colors and wished to show her status.<sup>470</sup> Later on, the wedding trousseau of Philippa (d. 1430), sister of Henry IV of England (r. 1399-1413), provides an elaborate list of the items purchased for the princess before her marriage to Erik of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway. In addition to Philippa's wedding dress of white satin, velvet, and ermine, there were five complete gowns listed consisting of multiple elements and seven other separately listed garments such as tunics, gowns, mantels, and super-tunics. Only three pieces of headgear are mentioned in the rolls (a cap and two hoods), but a total of twenty-eight different shoes (boots, shoes, and punceons) are listed in varying detail. In addition, a number of raw materials were also included in the list for the queen's ladies to work with.<sup>471</sup> In thirteenth century Hungary, one entry from the inventory of Prince Stephen (later Stephen V, r. 1270-1272) in the decade before he became

<sup>468</sup> These documents comprise a wardrobe account on the exchequer pipe roll for the period of May 17, 1234; an inventory of royal gifts from November 11, 1234-June 26, 1235; and a roll pertaining to the acquisition and distribution of cloth October 28, 1234 to October 27, 1235. Benjamin L. Wild, "The Empress's New Clothes: A *Rotulus Pannorum* of Isabella, Sister of King Henry III, Bride of Emperor Frederick II", *Medieval Clothing and Textiles* 7, ed. by Robin Netherton and Gale R. Owen-Crocker (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2011), 2.

<sup>469</sup> Specific mention is made of six green gowns, another six marbled gowns and six of écarlate. Herbert Norris, *Medieval Costume and Fashion* (London: J. M. Dent and sons, 1927), 214.

<sup>470</sup> Clémence also possessed clothing in blue, black, white, and brown. Red may have been an appropriate color choice as the coat of arms of Hungary was red and white/silver. Proctor-Tiffany, "Portrait of a medieval Patron: the Inventory and Gift Giving of Clémence of Hungary", 101.

<sup>471</sup> There were a thousand pearls, 16.5 ounces of silver-gilt spangles, five silk chaplets, three tissues of silk, sixteen ells of cloth of 'Reyns', 18 ¾ ells of cloth of 'Champaign' and 5 ¼ ells of linen cloth of Brabant included as raw materials for her ladies to work with. W. Paley Baildon, "The Trousseaux of Princess Philippa, wife of Eric, King of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden" *Archaeologia* 67 (1916), 164-166.



king lists how Elizabeth the Cuman (d. 1290?) paid her jester with silk fabric from Lucca worth one and a half marks.<sup>472</sup>

For most medieval jewels related to queens, the best source would be surviving inventories. The Scottish inventory of 1561 lists 159 “necklaces, rings, girdles, earrings, vases and chains set with gems of every kind,” for Mary, Queen of Scots (r. 1542-1567).<sup>473</sup> Certain jewels however do not seem to be included in inventories. There are no bracelets, earrings, or chains in the Inventory of Clémence of Hungary, for instance.<sup>474</sup> There are no jewels recorded in the inventory of Philippa of England when going through the purchasing records for her wedding to King Eric of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, not even for a crown.<sup>475</sup> Even in the sixteenth century there were no jewels listed in the official inventories for the double wedding in 1521 of Anna Jagiellon (d. 1547) and the Habsburg princess Mary (d. 1558) with Emperor Ferdinand I (r. 1558-1564) and Louis II of Hungary (r. 1516-1526) respectively. However, there are supplementary records of Holy Roman Emperor Charles V (r. 1519-1556) ordering that the jewels of his grandfather’s second wife, Bianca Sforza (d. 1510), be divided equally amongst his “two sisters”.<sup>476</sup> Part of the reason for the lack of evidence for jewelry in some inventories could be that some of them were more personal gifts. In the will of Mary of Austria, Queen of Hungary, she lists as her most prized possession a necklace with a golden heart pendant that her husband also wore during his lifetime.<sup>477</sup> In some cases, jewels of the queens could be heavily politicized; when Sigismund of Hungary was trying to blockade the Venetian fleet in 1417, his wife Barbara of Celje (d. 1451) was nonetheless trying to import jewels from Venice.<sup>478</sup>

Another source of information on clothing in the medieval Hungarian kingdom comes from the surviving laws. In the early eleventh century, the law of St. Stephen only mentions clothing specifically with regard to widows or women whose husbands had abandoned them. If they remarry, they could only claim their own clothing so that their orphaned children would not be deprived.<sup>479</sup> The laws of Coloman the Book-Lover, probably originally from the early twelfth

<sup>472</sup> László Zolnay, “István ifjabb király számadása 1264-ből” [Inventory of Stephen the Young King from 1264] *Budapest Régiségi* 21 (1964): 100, 102.

<sup>473</sup> J. Duncan Mackie, “Queen Mary’s Jewels,” *The Scottish Historical Review* 18 No. 70 (1921): 84.

<sup>474</sup> Proctor-Tiffany, “Portrait of a medieval Patron: the Inventory and Gift Giving of Clémence of Hungary”, 67.

<sup>475</sup> The only headgear mentioned is a cap and two hoods, and the only mentions of precious metals (particularly silver) relate to household objects and the chapel. Baildon, “The Trousseaux of Princess Philippa”, 165, 168-169.

<sup>476</sup> Orsolya Réthelyi, “...Maria regina... nuda venerat ad Hungariam...” in *Mary of Hungary: The Queen and Her Court*, ed. by Orsolya Réthelyi (Budapest: Budapest History Museum, 2005), 123.

<sup>477</sup> It was melted down and given to the poor after her death. Réthelyi, “...Maria regina... nuda venerat ad Hungariam...”, 121.

<sup>478</sup> Daniela Dvořáková, “The Economic Background to and the Financial Politics of Queen Barbara of Cilli in Hungary (1406-1438)” in *Money and Finance in Central Europe during the Later Middle Ages*, ed. by Roman Zaoral, 114 (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016).

<sup>479</sup> János M. Bak, György Bónis, James Ross Sweeney, trans. and eds. *The Laws of the Medieval Kingdom of Hungary*, Vol. I (Bakersfield: Charles Schlacks, Jr., 1989), XXVI, 6.

century, specifically mentions that clerks were forbidden to wear secular clothing, with particular prohibitions on silk fabric, fur trimming, boots, and colorful items such as yellow gloves, red striped coats, and green mantles.<sup>480</sup> Cloth from Tournai was imported to Hungary by the thirteenth century, and in 1344 it was a mandatory inclusion in the outfits of Hungarian judges.<sup>481</sup> By the fourteenth century, sumptuary laws could be found in all corners of Europe prohibiting or restricting the wearing of certain colors and dyes, fur, false hair, or jewels for non-nobles.<sup>482</sup>

Another source that offers a lot of intimate details about clothing and the highest members of the Hungarian court comes from the mid-fifteenth century *Memoirs of Helene Kottaner*, the story of a trusted nurse to the children of Elizabeth of Luxemburg (d.1442), wife of Albert of Austria, Bohemia, and Hungary (r. 1437-1439). For the coronation of Ladislav Posthumous on May 15 1440, the king's mother Queen Elizabeth had originally sent for golden fabric to be brought to Székesfehérvár from Buda to be the infant's coronation gown. Unfortunately, as the messenger ended up being delayed, the queen and Helene Kottaner had to make a mantle out of a red and gold vestment that had formerly belong to King Sigismund; the narrator lists that she made the gown, the alb, the humeral veil, the stole, the maniple, the gloves, and the shoes for the infant king while she was secretly locked in the chapel.<sup>483</sup> When Albert II of Austria, Bohemia, and Hungary was apparently on his deathbed in 1439, his three year old daughter Elizabeth sent him a shift which she had worn in the hope that rubbing it on his body would ease his dysentery; after his health improved briefly, he sent it to the queen's castle where a servant made a pouch out of the shift which included a brooch and two amulets with pea-pods.<sup>484</sup> After the death of her father, it seems that the little princess wore a black gown until the birth of her younger brother, Ladislav the Posthumous, in 1440, when for his baptism Princess Elizabeth wore a gown of gold with red embroidery on it.<sup>485</sup> However, Helene Kottaner says little on the dress of Elizabeth of Luxemburg, save for one incident where Helene lifted up the Queen's dress after she had bathed and saw that not only was the Queen naked underneath, but also about to go into labor.<sup>486</sup> Though written slightly after the period of this study, this account shows the active processes the queen and her ladies in waiting took in creating clothing for ceremonial events and even for apotropaic

<sup>480</sup> "LXX. Nullus, qui in clero estimatur, vestibus utatur laicalibus, utpote fisso pellicio vel tunica sparsa, manica gilva, rubra stragula vel viridi clamide, caliga seu cappa, calceo picto vel sericato, camisa quoque et tunica et serico; non in pectore conserantur nodis vel fibulis, sed amplexantur collum quasi." Ibid., Vol. I, LXX, 31.

<sup>481</sup> Stella Mary Newton, *Fashion in the Age of the Black Prince: a study of the years 1340-1365* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1980), 2.

<sup>482</sup> Newton, *Fashion in the Age of the Black Prince*, 131-132.

<sup>483</sup> Maya Bijvoet Williamson, *The Memoirs of Helene Kottanner* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1998), 5, 40.

<sup>484</sup> Bijvoet Williamson, *The Memoirs of Helene Kottanner*, 22-23.

<sup>485</sup> Bijvoet Williamson, *The Memoirs of Helene Kottanner*, 35.

<sup>486</sup> Ibid., 33.

purposes. Undoubtedly, Hungarian queens would have created more quotidian items of clothing, so the events mentioned are undoubtedly special enough occasions to be noted down.

It is also noteworthy that some women took special pains as part of their religious devotions to eschew all worldly vanity, and clothing was a particularly popular place to start. Psellos commented that the eleventh century empress Zoe (r. 1028-1050) not only scorned the “beautiful dresses of her rank”, but that she also did not like weaving or spinning.<sup>487</sup> The famous Matilda of Tuscany (d. 1115) went to her marital bed with her hair shorn and wearing a hair shirt.<sup>488</sup> The rejection of worldly attire by royal women peaks in the early thirteenth century and continues on throughout the next century. St. Elizabeth of Hungary (d. 1231), when her husband, the margrave of Thuringia, was on Crusade, would wear only garments made of coarse wool or goat’s hair instead of gowns of purple and gold. She gave the Franciscan Order robes she herself had made while the Order was still in its infancy and in turn received a hair shirt from St. Francis of Assisi himself.<sup>489</sup> Saint Margaret of Hungary (d. 1271) seems to have been frequently given clothes and veils of excellent quality by her parents, but rather than wearing them herself she gave them to the other nuns, wearing instead clothes that were blackened with soot, ripped, or incredibly worn. For princesses who wished to express ideals of religious asceticism, following the examples of Saints Elizabeth and Margaret proved to be very popular, particularly in Central Europe.<sup>490</sup> In a similar vein (though less severe), Saint Hedwig of Silesia (d. 1243) ceased to wear jewelry as well as the colors purple and yellow, while her daughter in law Anne of Bohemia (d. 1265) gave up the practice of wearing tight-sleeved dresses and wore a grey tunic during Lent and Advent.<sup>491</sup> In the *Königsfelden Chronicle*, the Habsburg princess Agnes (d. 1364), second wife of Andrew III (r. 1290-1301) is described as being so small and modest that when she was a little girl back at the Austrian court she would simply wear the dresses cut from clothing that her sisters did not want any more instead of wearing new clothing.<sup>492</sup> While living at the Abbey of Königsfelden for many years as a widow, Agnes had papal permission to wear secular clothing, but it seems that she was buried in religious garb.<sup>493</sup> Princesses who rejected the clothing and

<sup>487</sup> Alicia Walker, “Adornment: Enhancing the Body, Neglecting the Soul?” in *Byzantine Women and Their World*, ed. Ioli Kalavrezou (Cambridge: Harvard Art Museums; New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2003), 236.

<sup>488</sup> Catherine Keene, *Saint Margaret, Queen of the Scots: A Life in Perspective* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 50.

<sup>489</sup> Gábor Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses: dynastic cults in medieval Central Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 249, 294.

<sup>490</sup> Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses*, 207-209, 264.

<sup>491</sup> *Ibid.*, 252-253.

<sup>492</sup> Volker Honemann, “A Medieval Queen and her Stepdaughter: Agnes and Elizabeth of Hungary” in *Queens and queenship in medieval Europe*, ed. Anne J. Duggan (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2002), 112.

<sup>493</sup> A garment with three ropes was found in her tomb in the eighteenth century. Franz Kreuter and Martin Gerbert, *Feyerliche Uebersetzung der Kaiserlich-Königlich auch Herzoglich Oesterreichischen Höchsten Leichen aus ihren Grabstädten Basel und Königsfelden in der Schweiz* (St. Blaise, 1770), 21.

jewels due to their status for religious reasons and who even rejected the marital bed were controversial in some aspects, but these actions allowed them some degree of independence and also won praise from the Church.

### Pictorial sources

When the material or written documentation does not survive, imagery can be very useful in reconstructing the outfits of medieval courtly women. Snyder's study of c. 150 column figures from mid-twelfth century France shows that women at the court would have worn different clothing based on their rank as well as their marital status.<sup>494</sup> Nolan points out the importance of aristocratic figures grasping the tie to their cloaks; this gesture, found on the seals and tombs of French queens in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, was meant to emphasize the importance of the class of the individual by drawing attention to the fact that they were of the social class that wore mantles.<sup>495</sup> The seals also demonstrate how fashion can illustrate certain chronological phenomena; the seals of Eleanor of Aquitaine (d. 1204) and other French and English queens from c. 1150-1200 have them wearing a *bliaut gironé*, a tight-fitting garment cinched at the waist that replaced the looser garments which hid the figure of the wearer. On the seal of Adele of Champagne (d. 1206), the figure-hugging garment and the queen's posture emphasize her femininity in a way that earlier seals with their rigid figures did not.<sup>496</sup> The tomb of Henry III of England shows the king wearing elaborately embroidered footwear depicting lions in lozenges.<sup>497</sup> A brief examination on the spread of the *krüseler* type of headdress in the fourteenth century shows that this layered veil (popular in the Holy Roman Empire, Bohemia, Hungary, the Netherlands, and even reaching Scandinavia and England) can be traced in these regions through funerary sculpture, missal illustrations, altarpieces, corbels, and other church sculptures.<sup>498</sup> In the Low Countries, it is most often associated with not only the highest level of the wealthiest nobility, but also with primarily urbanized centers. They were known to be extremely costly and in some cases even the number of layers was limited by local ordinances.<sup>499</sup>

In a rare survival, two eleventh century images of Queen Gisela of Bavaria (d. 1065) survive on the Gisela Cross (**Cat. VI.2**) and the Coronation Mantle (**Cat VI.3**). On the Gisela

<sup>494</sup> Janet Snyder, "From Content to Form: Court clothing in mid-twelfth-Century Northern French sculpture", in *Encountering Medieval Textiles and Dress: Objects, texts, images*, ed. Désirée G. Koslin & Janet E. Snyder. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), 86-89.

<sup>495</sup> Kathleen Nolan, *Queens in Stone and Silver: the Creation of a visual imagery of Queenship in Capetian France* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 152-153.

<sup>496</sup> Nolan, *Queens in Stone and Silver*, 83, 92-93.

<sup>497</sup> Steane, *The Archaeology of the Medieval English Monarchy*, 144.

<sup>498</sup> Newton, *Fashion in the Age of the Black Prince*, 87-99.

<sup>499</sup> Isis Sturtewagen, "Unveiling Social Fashion Patterns: A Case Study of Frilled Veils in the Low Countries (1200-1500)" *Medieval Clothing and Textiles* 7, (2011): 51-52, 55-56, 62.

Cross, which the queen commissioned herself shortly after her mother's death in 1006, Gisela and her mother appear in the garb of a queen and a nun, respectively. The main difference between the two is that the queen is wearing a crown topped with three lilies and facing the viewer, while her mother has a nun's veil and her gaze is directed to Christ.<sup>500</sup> Aside from the headwear, the outfits of the two women is nearly identical – a loose fitting gown that ends just above their feet and is cinched at the waist with a belt. The veils of the women seem to flow down on one side of their neck, though this could be artistic license rather than a habit of wearing the end of the veil on one side. On the coronation mantle of 1031, the queen and king appear in adjacent medallions; both appear to be wearing peaked crowns topped by three lilies (or possibly crosses) and seem to be wearing loose, hanging outer garments that are decorated at the hem with a band or with a pattern of small circles on the band.<sup>501</sup> The garments of the king and queen are very similar, though Stephen's collar is a bit more elaborate than the queen's. Even the headgear looks practically identical, and the queen's hair is bundled up tightly under her crown rather than under a cascading veil like in the Gisela Cross. The garments of the queen thus match both of these images – to a nun and her mother in the first and to her husband the king in the second. In pictorial sources, the clothing of the queen is presented in a very similar manner to the king, but by the end of the fourteenth century this would change. Fashion would place a much greater emphasis on the difference between the male and female bodies in the Later Middle Ages, so in these early examples when the structure of the court is still amorphous, it makes sense that the king and queen would be depicted in a similar manner and with a similar dress.

The seals of the queens can also impart some information about the dress of medieval queens. For the most part, the queens all seem to be wearing very similar outfits – long, flowing robes usually with a cloak that is tied at the collarbone. The hairstyle of the queens on their seals seems to be remarkable consistent for the period in question. For most of the women from Maria Laskarina (d. 1270) to Mary of Anjou (r. 1382-1395), the queen is depicted crowned with her long hair flowing unbound and without a veil. One notable exception to this rule is the young queen Fenenna of Kujava (d. 1295), first wife of Andrew III (r. 1290-1301), whose hair is braided. Considering how similar the seals of Fenenna and that of her predecessor Isabella of

<sup>500</sup> Éva Kovács, "Gizella királyné keresztje" [The Cross of Queen Gisela] In *Gizella királyné, 985 k.-1060.* (Veszprém, 2000), 158; Ottó Trogmayer and Lilla Visy, *Ecce Salus Vitae: íme az élet üdve; a Gizella-Kereszt.* [Ecce salus vitae: here is the salvation of the living; the Gisela Cross]. (Szeged: Agapé, 2000), 23.

<sup>501</sup> Katalin E. Nagy, Enikő Sipos, Ernő Marosi, "The picture fields of the mantle (1-43) fragments of the embroidered band" in *The Coronation Mantle of the Hungarian Kings*, ed. István Bardoly (Budapest: Hungarian National Museum, 2005), Field 6 154-155, Field 8 158-159.

Naples are,<sup>502</sup> this difference between the two is indeed noteworthy. The seal of Agnes of Austria (d. 1364) during her widowhood depicts her in the garb and veil of a nun. The great seal of Elizabeth Kotromanić (d. 1387) during her time as regent seems to show her wearing a krüseler type of headdress under her crown. Many of the queens are also shown with their hand by the clasp of their mantles, showing the importance of the outer mantle in indicating class and power as in the French examples. These images are, of course, heavy stylized and too small to depict any noticeable jewelry, other than the regalia.

Since the material does not survive, there are very few comprehensive studies on clothing at the Hungarian royal court. One notable exception to this is a paper by Kovács on court costume depicted in the fourteenth century *Hungarian Illuminated Chronicle*. She notes that while the court dress of the men in the chronicle is quite varied, the court dress of women is almost uniform throughout the centuries it depicts. The only real distinction is the fact that Elizabeth of Poland (d. 1380) is depicted wearing a krüseler type of headdress which was also popular throughout Central Europe. Anachronistically, Helen of Serbia (d. 1146?) the wife of Béla II ‘the Blind’ (r. 1131-1141), and St. Elizabeth of Hungary (d. 1231) are also shown wearing the same type of headdress, no doubt in an effort to show their very high status. The one deviation for women’s dress in the *Hungarian Illuminated Chronicle* seems to be the outfits of the “Cuman” women, shown wearing turban-like headdresses and caftan-style robes, emphasizing her otherness within the Christian narrative.<sup>503</sup>

Portraits from the later centuries offer a great deal of information on the appearance of jewels. In an example from twelfth-century Byzantium, Piroška of Hungary (d. 1134, known as Eirene, wife of John II Komnenos, r. 1118-1143), wears pear-shaped gold earrings with a red stone and three pearl pendants; Whittemore comments on how similar they look to Roman-style *crotalia* earrings.<sup>504</sup> The betrothal portrait of Ladislav V ‘the Posthumous’ (r. 1440-1457) and Madeleine of France (d. 1495) shows the couple bedecked in jewels; the princess wears red stones (possibly rubies), pearls and a bridal coronet while Ladislav wears a clasp with a blue stone (possibly sapphire) and a garland around his head with rosettes, probably made of enameled gold.<sup>505</sup> However, in this particular study the jewels that survive are not many in number, nor is there much in the way of reliable inventories to corroborate the evidence. In the

<sup>502</sup> Imre Takács, *Az Árpád-házi királyok pecsétjei: Royals Seals of the Árpád Dynasty*. (Budapest: Hungarian National Archive, 2012), 68.

<sup>503</sup> Annamária Kovács, “Courtly Costumes in Fourteenth-Century Hungary” in *“Quasi Liber et Pictura”: Studies in Honour of András Kubinyi on his Seventieth Birthday*, ed. Gyöngyi Kovács (Budapest: ELTE Institute of Archaeological Sciences, 2004), 307.

<sup>504</sup> Thomas Whittemore, *The Mosaics of St. Sophia at Istanbul* (Paris: The Byzantine Institute, 1933-1938), 26.

<sup>505</sup> Marian Campbell, *Medieval Jewellery in Europe 1100-1500* (London: Victoria and Albert Museum, 2009), 92-95.

nineteenth century, a gold ring was discovered in western Hungary with an inscription indicating that the owner was King Coloman (r. 1095-1116).<sup>506</sup> Both Béla III (r. 1172-1196) and his wife Agnes Châtillon (d. 1184) were found buried with gold rings set with almandine stones (**Cat. V.2**).<sup>507</sup> There are a total of six rings that survive with some connection to Hungarian queens; five of them were found in burial contexts, while the sixth was recovered from a reliquary sarcophagus. There is also a diamond bracelet possibly found in a burial context with a problematic history that will be discussed below.

### **Fabric remains and ring from the grave of Agnes of Antioch (Cat. V.1-2)**

The earliest known physical clothing remains associated with a Hungarian queen comes from the grave identified as that of Agnes of Antioch (d. 1184), the first wife of Béla III from her grave at Székesfehérvár (**Cat. V.1**). Very few of the textile fragments survive today in their original form at the time of excavation, though photos were taken that show the textile fragments can be divided into three groups: pieces of woven blue silk, golden silk in the form of a net, and two elaborate gold lace rosettes.<sup>508</sup> The gold silk net seems to have only been gilded on one side,<sup>509</sup> and it is most likely that it would have been part of a net for the queen's hair. The two gold lace rosettes would have been decorative embellishments on the queen's dress. As to the blue silk, it seems to have been worn under the queen's crown, though whether it covered her face or covered her hair is nearly impossible to determine.<sup>510</sup> Even though only the decorative elements remain of the queen's outfit, the fact that one layer of dress and two layers of head covering survive indicate that it would have been a sumptuous affair made from the finest available material. While red would have been a higher status color to wear at this point, blue was a very important medieval color due to its association with the Virgin Mary.<sup>511</sup>

Throughout medieval Europe, silk was an expensive and highly controlled commodity. Sumptuary Laws in Byzantium greatly restricted the availability of silk, purple dye, and

<sup>506</sup> József Hampel, "Kálmán király aranygyűrűje" [The gold ring of King Coloman], *Archaeologiai Értesítő* 28 (1908): 11-12.

<sup>507</sup> Etele Kiss, "Anneau d'Anned'Antioche", in *Hungaria Regia (1000-1800): fastes et défis*, ed. Sandor Őze and Luc Duerloo (Turnhout: Brepols, 1999), 118.

<sup>508</sup> Béla Czobor, "III. Béla és hitvese ékszerei" [Jewels of Béla III and his wife], in *III. Béla magyar király emlékezete*, ed. Gyula Forster (Budapest: Hornyánszky V, 1900), 218; Enikő Sipos, "Textilöredékek Antiochiai Anna sírjából" [Textile fragments from the grave of Anna of Antioch] in *150 Éve történet: III. Béla és Antiochiai Anna sírjának fellelése* [150 years ago: finding the tomb of Béla III and Anna of Antioch], ed. Gyula Fülöp (Székesfehérvár: A Szent István Király Múzeum, 1999), 60-61.

<sup>509</sup> Czobor, "III. Béla és hitvese ékszerei", 218.

<sup>510</sup> Sipos, "Textilöredékek Antiochiai Anna sírjából" [Textile fragments from the grave of Anna of Antioch], 64-68.

<sup>511</sup> Roberta Gilchrist, *Medieval Life: Archaeology and the Life Course* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2012), 73.

gemstones, so that a courtier's rank was immediately visible on his or her outfit.<sup>512</sup> As Agnes was raised first in Antioch and then later brought to Constantinople, it is possible that there was a connection to the Near East in terms of the fabric's original provenience. Silk was frequently used as a diplomatic gift to western powers in Italy and the Holy Roman Empire,<sup>513</sup> so it is entirely possible that this silk could have either been brought over from the Near East with Agnes, or it could have been a gift sent to Hungary. Her husband, Béla III, had been raised at the Byzantine court and undoubtedly knew of the great symbolic and diplomatic importance of this material. However, if the fabric may not have originated in Hungary, this is not to say that it was tailored abroad; the conclusion of the technical analysis of the Hungarian Coronation Mantle which had a base thread of silk covered in gold and silver ribbon was that it was most likely a local workshop and manufacture.<sup>514</sup> Later, it seems silk would also come to Hungary through Sicily and Naples. An account from 1264 shows that the young king (later Stephen V) received many rich goods from a Jewish merchant; cloth from Flanders and Italian silk are specifically mentioned.<sup>515</sup>

While the fabric found in the tomb of Agnes of Antioch could be seen as a straightforward connection to the queen, such grave goods and dress should be treated cautiously in the archaeological record. After all, in many cases others had to prepare the body after death, so while the clothes found in her grave would most likely have been ones she wore, their selection might represent the choice of another made with the potential audience in mind. One striking example of this is that of Isabella of France (d. 1358), wife of Edward II (r. 1307-1327), who chose to be buried in her wedding gown and red silk mantle.<sup>516</sup> Comparing her burial with that of other excavated royal tombs shows that there is a certain formula followed in many cases depending on the gender of the deceased. For instance, Agnes' husband Béla III was buried with a sword and set of spurs amongst his grave goods; Philip of Swabia (r. 1198-1208) and King John of England (r. 1199-1216) were also buried with spurs, and the latter had a sword by his side. One hundred and fifty years later, the French queens Jeanne of Burgundy (d. 1348) and Jeanne of

<sup>512</sup> Alicia Walker, "Adornment: Enhancing the Body, Neglecting the Soul?" in *Byzantine Women and Their World*, ed. Ioli Kalavrezou (Cambridge, MA: Harvard Art Museums; New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2003), 236.

<sup>513</sup> D. Jacoby, "Silk in Western Byzantium before the Fourth Crusade" *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 84-85, 2 (1992): 490; Anna Muthesius, "Silk in the medieval world" in *The Cambridge history of western textiles*, ed. David Jenkins (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 326.

<sup>514</sup> Enikő Sipos, "Proportions and Measurements: the Making of the Chasuble," in *Coronation Mantle of the Hungarian Kings*, ed. Zsuzsa Lovag and Tibor Kovács, et al. (Budapest: Hungarian National Museum, 2005), 102-106.

<sup>515</sup> Nora Berend, *At the Gate of Christendom: Jews, Muslims and 'Pagans' in Medieval Hungary c. 1000-c.1300* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 115.

<sup>516</sup> Gilchrist, *Medieval Life: Archaeology and the Life Course*, 70-71.



Bourbon (d. 1378) were buried with spindles, which are specifically gendered objects.<sup>517</sup> If this is a custom that had been practiced earlier, there are no survivals from royal burials that indicate this was the case.

A ring was also found in Agnes' tomb at Székesfehérvár along with the remnants of her dress (**Cat. V.2**).<sup>518</sup> It is a gold ring with an almandine stone in the shape of an oval bezel.<sup>519</sup> On the face of the stone there is a winged woman with the tail of a fish carved in bas-relief, holding a harp.<sup>520</sup> On his death in 1196, her husband Béla III was also buried with a gold ring set with an almandine, like his wife. The ring of Béla III had an Arabic inscription reading '*Abd Allāh ibn Muhammad* [Muhammad son of Abdullah] and was found on his right index finger.<sup>521</sup> Érdy was unable to determine whether the ring of Agnes sat on a particular finger, or even whether it originally sat on her right or left hand.<sup>522</sup> Kovács points to several other royal figures buried with rings. Edward the Confessor (r. 1042-1066) of England and the Holy Roman Emperor Frederick II (r. 1212-1250) were both buried with rings that are now lost (Frederick's was set with an emerald stone). The Holy Roman Emperor, Henry IV (r. 1056-1106), was buried with a gold ring with a large sapphire. Casimir III the Great of Poland (r. 1333-1370) was also buried with a ring.<sup>523</sup>

There are two very important questions related to the power of the queen regarding this ring; first, was it a signet ring, and second was the ring a reused one from the Antique period. Most signet rings do not survive, but occasionally queens could be buried with their seal matrices. Two twelfth-century French queens, Constance of Castile (d. 1160) and Isabelle of Hainaut (d. 1190) were buried with their intact silver seal matrices after their abrupt death in childbirth.<sup>524</sup> A silver ring found with a bunch of women's jewelry from medieval Kiev was engraved with a princely symbol, and one of the conclusions is that it might be the personal seal

<sup>517</sup> Edward F. Twining, *European Regalia*. (London: Batsford, 1967), 304-307.

<sup>518</sup> Imre Henszlmann, *A Székes-fehérvári ásatások eredménye* [The results of the excavations at Székesfehérvár] (Pest: Heckenast Gusztáv Bizománya, 1864), 206.

<sup>519</sup> Etele Kiss says that the stone is an almandine, but Éva Kovács lists it as a garnet; the rings of both Béla III & Agnes are identified as garnets according to Tamás Gestelyi and György Rácz. Kiss, "Anneau d'Anne d'Antioche", 118-119; Éva Kovács, "III. Béla és Antiochiai Anna halotti jelvényei" [The death insignia of Béla III and Anna of Antioch], *Művészettörténeti Értésítő* XXI (1972): 3; Tamas Gesztelyi and György Rácz, *Antik gemmapecsétek a középkori Magyarországon* [Antique gem seals in medieval Hungary] (Debrecen: Kossuth Lajos Egyetem, 2006), 12.

<sup>520</sup> Kiss, "Anneau d'Anne d'Antioche", 118-119.

<sup>521</sup> The Arabic name indicates that the stone was originally a seal. Gesztelyi and Rácz, *Antik gemmapecsétek a középkori Magyarországon*, 12; Péter T. Nagy, "'Islamic' Artifacts in Hungary from the Reign of Béla III (1172-1196): Two Case Studies" *Annual of Medieval Studies at CEU* 22 (2016): 51-52.

<sup>522</sup> Béla Czobor, "III. Béla és hitvese halotti ékszerei", in *III. Béla magyar király emlékezete*, ed. Gyula Forster (Budapest: Hornyánszky V., 1900), 217.

<sup>523</sup> Kovács, "III. Béla és Antiochiai Anna halotti jelvényei", 3.

<sup>524</sup> Nolan, *Queens in Stone and Silver*, 88-98.

ring of one of the wives of Prince Svyatopolk II of Kiev (r. 1093-1113).<sup>525</sup> While it is impossible to determine which finger her ring was worn on, signet rings were generally worn on the forefinger or the thumb.<sup>526</sup> Yet it seems doubtful this was a signet ring. There is no inscription on it indicating it was used that way, and the oval, cabochon shape of the stone makes it doubtful that this was functional as a signet ring. For instance, signet rings from sixth and seventh century Byzantium all have flat surfaces.<sup>527</sup> There is one signet ring impressed on the seals of Stephen III (r. 1161-1173), Béla III (r. 1173-1196), and Emeric (r. 1196-1204), but the figure on that seems to be a knight on a horse, and the size is 13 by 11 mm, while the ring of Agnes is 11 mm by 9 mm.<sup>528</sup> If it was a signet ring, there seems to be no evidence that Agnes used it as such.

Determining the age of the gem and the ring is quite difficult, but previous authors have called it ancient. Czobor was of the opinion that it was the work of a Greek master and the carving was of an excellent quality.<sup>529</sup> Gestelyi and Rácz state that the ring is believed to be an ancient one on the basis of the fish tail, though in the earliest depictions of sirens they are depicted as having the bodies of birds and the heads of women.<sup>530</sup> Much of the discussion has centered on the winged figure with the tail and harp; Kiss says that the figure is a Naiad and not a siren because of the type of fish tail the figure has, yet in classical mythology only sirens are depicted with tails, not Naiads.<sup>531</sup> However, the inclusion of the harp indicates that the figure is a siren; they are often depicted with musical instruments or in a musical setting.<sup>532</sup> Harpies and sirens are very difficult to distinguish, and both are rarely found on gems; sirens usually are shown as birds with women's heads or the upper part of a winged woman set on bird legs. Naiads are the nymphs of streams and fountains and are usually shown drawing water or carrying it in an urn, which does not fit the description of this figure.<sup>533</sup> A sphinx is usually depicted with wings and a tail, but the body (and tail) is that of a lion and there is no musical association, so it is doubtful that this is a sphinx.<sup>534</sup> Tóth is of the opinion that such a ring could have been in style at the Sicilian court; it is a crucial piece of evidence in his argument that the tomb of Agnes and

<sup>525</sup> It seems to be his third wife, either known as Irina or a Byzantine noblewoman named Barbara. Ljudmila Pekarska, *Jewellery of Princely Kiev: the Kiev Hoards in the British Museum and the Metropolitan Museum of Art and Related Material* (Mainz and London: Verlag des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums, 2011), 81-92.

<sup>526</sup> Campbell, *Medieval Jewellery in Europe 1100-1500*, 76-78.

<sup>527</sup> O. M. Dalton, *Byzantine Art and Archaeology* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1911), 537-541.

<sup>528</sup> Takács, *Az Árpád-házi királyok pecsétjei: Royal Seals of the Árpád Dynasty*, 164; Czobor, "III. Béla és hitvese halotti ékszerei", 218.

<sup>529</sup> Czobor, "III. Béla és hitvese halotti ékszerei", 217-218.

<sup>530</sup> Gesztelyi and Rácz, *Antik gemmapecsétek a középkori Magyarországon*, 12.

<sup>531</sup> Kiss, "Anneau d'Anne d'Antioche", 118-119.

<sup>532</sup> Nicholas J. Richardson, "Sirens" in *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, ed. Simon Hornblower, Anthony Spawforth, Esther Eidinow. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 1372.

<sup>533</sup> Duffield Osborne, *Engraved gems, signets, talismans and ornamental intaglios, ancient and modern* (New York: H. Holt and Co., 1912), 227, 251.

<sup>534</sup> Osborne, *Engraved gems, signets, talismans and ornamental intaglios*, 250.

Béla instead is that of King Coloman and his first wife, Felicia of Sicily.<sup>535</sup> The only option at this point would be to compare this intaglio with others from the period.

There are several diagnostic factors regarding the origin of this ring which can be found in the bizarrely cobbled features: the wings, the tail, the hair, the lyre, the fact that the subject is facing the viewer, and the stone. The wings have feathers carved near the back, but the three longer feathers are carved by hatching squares into the stone. The tail is made up of individual segments and the hair is made up of eight curved lines. The lyre has a square soundbox and three strings. There is a plasma intaglio of a siren with a human body above the knees, but the tail, feet, and wings of a bird; her lyre is adorned with ribbons. The earliest date assigned to it is the Hellenistic period, though it is possibly it could be later.<sup>536</sup> The theme and elements do coincide with Czobor's statement that Agnes' ring was crafted by a Greek master, even if it is not a direct match. However, there is a sard intaglio of a siren playing a lyre that dates to the time of Domitian in the first century CE; stylistically this one is the closest in appearance.<sup>537</sup> A gold ring with an amethyst intaglio from Constantinople is set with a stone with what appears to be a Nereid riding a Triton. While the ring looks Roman, the shape of it indicates that it was produced closer to the ninth or tenth centuries; the precise date of the stone, however, cannot be established and is either ancient or medieval.<sup>538</sup> Complicating the situation even further is the stone itself. Almandine is a variety of garnet, mostly used by the Romans and the Persians. Such stones only tended to be carved at a later date. Portraits of Sassanian monarchs appeared frequently on garnet, as the Persians conceived of it as a royal stone.<sup>539</sup> The Persian connection could be important as the almandine stone in the ring buried with Béla III originates from Persia in the eighth-tenth centuries; it was also a stone that was originally used as a seal and then later repurposed as a ring for Béla, though no longer as a seal ring.<sup>540</sup>

Overall, establishing a date for this ring has proven to be particularly difficult, yet in origin the stone seems to be Antique. With the ties that the ring, the stone, and the imagery had with the Eastern part of the Roman Empire, it is possible that this was a ring Agnes brought with her to Hungary from Antioch. Its burial with the queen bears a similarity with the two French

<sup>535</sup> Endre Tóth, "III. Béla vagy Kálmán?: A székesfehérvári királysír azonosításáról" [Béla III or Coloman? The identification of the royal graves from Székesfehérvár]. *Folia Archaeologica* LII (2005-2006): 154-155.

<sup>536</sup> Paul Fossig, *The Thorvaldsen Museum Catalogue of Antique Engraved Gems and Intaglios* (Copenhagen: Thorvaldsen Museum, 1929), 213, no. 1574.

<sup>537</sup> C. W. King, *Handbook of Engraved Gems* (London: G. Bell, 1885), 228.

<sup>538</sup> Marvin C. Ross, *Catalogue of the Byzantine and Early Medieval Antiquities in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection, Volume Two: Jewelry, Enamels, and Art of the Migration Period* (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2005), 83.

<sup>539</sup> C. W. King, *Antique Gems: their origin, uses, and value as interpreters of ancient history* (London: J. Murray, 1860), 20-21.

<sup>540</sup> Nagy, "'Islamic' Artifacts in Hungary from the Reign of Béla III", 51-53.

queens who died in childbirth and were then buried with their seal matrices. In the case of Constance and Isabelle, the silver seal matrices do not seem to have been used for the purpose of sealing.<sup>541</sup> Perhaps this was also the case for Agnes, since although it appears to be a signet ring it does not seem to have been used as one.<sup>542</sup>

### Three rings from the tomb of Constance of Aragon (Cat. V.3)

As mentioned in the chapter on burials, Constance, the widow of King Emeric of Hungary (r. 1196-1204) was buried in Palermo in the chapel that housed the remains of her second husband's family, the kings of Sicily. When her tomb was opened up in 1491 and later in the eighteenth century, it was noted that although she was originally buried with five rings – only three of them have survived to the present day.<sup>543</sup> One ring is set with an emerald, another with a false (presumably glass) sapphire, and the third is set with a cut cabochon ruby. All three seem to be of decent though by no means spectacular quality.<sup>544</sup> The three rings as well as the two missing rings are recorded in a drawing from 1784 after her tomb was re-opened a second time.<sup>545</sup> Some fragments of her funeral dress consisting of fragments of tattered crimson cloth adorned with pearls and gold foil were also recorded during this exhumation.<sup>546</sup> While the type of fabric is unknown, red silk was known to be highly valued at the Sicilian court, after purple; it was used on the Sicilian coronation mantle.<sup>547</sup>

While the monument and the crown she was buried with seem to be very much in the Sicilian style, it is impossible to tell the provenience of the rings Constance was buried with.<sup>548</sup> It is possible that the rings are from a Greek or Islamic workshop, but there does not seem to be enough comparative data with known contexts to further elucidate the matter. Also, if the workshop was influenced by Greek or Islamic styles, it is practically impossible to narrow down whether she acquired the rings in Aragon, Hungary, or Sicily. In a comparative case, the ring attributed to Irene Angelina, the Byzantine wife of the German King Philip of Swabia, has motifs which derive from the Greek world, but the ring itself was clearly made somewhere in the West.<sup>549</sup> The crown of Constance of Aragon (**Cat. IV.4**) shows a great deal of Byzantine

<sup>541</sup> Nolan, *Queens in Stone and Silver*, 88, 97.

<sup>542</sup> Takács, *Az Árpád-házi királyok pecsétjei: Royal Seals of the Árpád Dynasty*, 62.

<sup>543</sup> Francesco Daniele, *I regali sepolcri del Duomo di Palermo: riconosciuti e illustrati* (Naples: Nella Stamperia del re, 1784), 82.

<sup>544</sup> Almut von Gladiß, "IV.2 Drei Ringe aus dem Sarkophag der Kaiserin Konstanze", in *Kaiser Friedrich II. (1194-1250). Welt und Kultur des Mittelmeerraums*, ed. Mamoun Fansa. (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 2008), 356-357.

<sup>545</sup> Daniele, *I regali sepolcri del Duomo di Palermo*, Table M.

<sup>546</sup> Daniele, *I regali sepolcri del duomo di Palermo*, 80.

<sup>547</sup> Jacoby, "Silk in Western Byzantium before the Fourth Crusade", 464, 483.

<sup>548</sup> von Gladiß, "IV.2 Drei Ringe aus dem Sarkophag der Kaiserin Konstanze", 357.

<sup>549</sup> Eva Schurr, "Sogenannter Ring der Königin Irene (Replik)", in *Die Andechs-Meranier in Franken: europäisches Fürstentum im Hochmittelalter*, ed. Ursula Vorwerk and Lothar Hennig (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 1998), 308.

influence for instance, while many other objects of art from medieval Sicily indicate a strong Islamic influence.<sup>550</sup>

### **The Elisabethkleid (Queen Gertrude's coronation mantle?) (Cat. V.4)**

In Andechs Abbey there is a tunic made of twelve fragments of “grey-beige” silk similar to damask; in 1457, it was attributed to St. Elizabeth of Thuringia, the daughter of Andrew II of Hungary and his first wife Gertrude of Andechs-Meran. An inventory from 1518 elaborates that this was Elizabeth's wedding dress but that originally it had been the mantle Gertrude wore when she was crowned queen of Hungary.<sup>551</sup> The garment has been altered and there is evidence of earlier stitching from a previous period. An original seam shows that it was previously a garment of some kind, though its shape or function cannot be determined from the remains of the stitching left on the tunic.<sup>552</sup> On the fabric itself there are embroidered griffins and panthers within circular designs. The griffins have a ribbon at their neck and wings and are flanked by eight-petaled rosettes; there is a half-moon between each of their heads. The panthers also have ribbons of pearls with an eight-pointed star at their thighs. Between the circles are pairs of birds while the fields inside the circles are filled with rosettes in the shape of hearts.<sup>553</sup> Statues from twelfth-century France of court ladies show that the only cases where a lady is depicted without a mantle there is usually no veil as well;<sup>554</sup> it is quite probable that the queen would have worn a veil with this mantle. It seems that the tunic would have been made somewhere in the Islamic world (possibly Syria) in the eleventh century,<sup>555</sup> so it would have been in existence at the time when Gertrude was queen, though the three hundred years between her death and the mention of her ownership in the written sources should be taken with a certain grain of salt. The donation of a rich dress like this on the part of St. Elizabeth is entirely plausible, as mentioned in the examples illustrated above of her rejecting fancy dress in favor of a simple, ascetic aesthetic for clothing later in her life.

The “Elisabethkleid” was preserved mostly because of its association with Saint Elizabeth rather than the association it originally might have had as the coronation mantle of her mother. This seems to be typical of the period, when garments donated to monastic houses by elite

<sup>550</sup> Ibid., 356-357.

<sup>551</sup> “Das Grabfarb Stuckh eingefast in den Gruenen Tamast ist ein thail des Rockhs, Sant Elisabethen den sy zu dem gozhaus zu einem Mesgewandt hat gegeben, Darinn auch Ir Muetter gerdrutis ein Khönigin von Hungern gekhrndt ist worden, und auch heylig ist...” Rainer Rückert, “Brautkleid der Hl. Elisabeth” in *Der Schatz vom Heiligen Berg Andechs*, ed. Rainer Rückert (Andechs: Kloster Andechs, 1967), 20; S. Müller-Christensen, “Sog. Rock der hl. Elisabeth (auch sog. Krönungsmantel Gertruds),” in *Sankt Elisabeth: Fürstin Dienerin Heilige*, ed. Carl Graepler and Paul Gerhard Schmidt (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1981), 332-334.

<sup>552</sup> Müller-Christensen, “10. Sog. Rock der hl. Elisabeth (auch sog. Krönungsmantel Gertruds),” 332.

<sup>553</sup> Ibid., 332.

<sup>554</sup> Janet Snyder, “From Content to Form: Court clothing in mid-twelfth-Century Northern French sculpture”, 89.

<sup>555</sup> Müller-Christensen, “10. Sog. Rock der hl. Elisabeth (auch sog. Krönungsmantel Gertruds),” 332.

women were usually altered or changed for more practical purposes. Twelfth-century queens in France and England tended to donate their clothes to monasteries either for the purpose of making vestments or raising funds for the monastery; in other cases, the clothes were passed on to immediate family members.<sup>556</sup>

### **Ring and Gold lace/fringe/tassel remnants from Margaret Island (Cat. V.5)**

After the flood of the Danube in the spring of 1838 that revealed the crown (**Cat. IV.5**), a gold ring with a stone was uncovered there amongst the graves. Jankovich, who identified the tomb as that of Stephen V in the mid-nineteenth century, was of the opinion that the ring was set with a sapphire stone, and that the bits of fabric found with it constituted fringe-work. What ended up being recorded in the inventory of the Hungarian National Museum, however, was that the ring was set with chalcedony, and that the fabric remnants were golden lacework.<sup>557</sup> Vattai points out that there were two rings; one of chalcedony which she thinks in the chronological framework would have been from a site in Alcsút, while the sapphire ring would have been the ring found on Margaret Island.<sup>558</sup> She points to an undocumented gold ring from the Hungarian National Museum that has an oval sapphire stone in a hexagonal setting; the diameter of the setting with the stone is 2.6 cm, while the diameter of the hoop for the finger is 2.1-2.2 cm (**Cat. V.5**). It weighs 6.01 grams.<sup>559</sup> The provenience is more or less unknown, but it has been argued that it was found associated with the crown. The Holy Roman Emperor Henry IV was also buried with a sapphire ring after his death in 1106 and Jankovich was of the opinion that only those anointed with holy oil were allowed to wear this stone.<sup>560</sup>

Jankovich originally argued that the ring was a man's because it was too big to fit a woman's finger, and Vattai shares this opinion.<sup>561</sup> Rather than ascribing the ring to Stephen V (r. 1270-1272), Vattai is not satisfied with the find circumstances of the crown and ring and their association with the king and considers the possibility that these are grave accoutrements for the king's cousin, Béla, prince of Macsó and the son of Rostislav of Halich and Anna, daughter of

<sup>556</sup> Elizabeth Van Houts, *Memory and Gender in Medieval Europe 900-1200* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999), 115-117.

<sup>557</sup> Erzsébet Vattai, "A Margitszigeti korona és gyűrű" [The Crown and Ring from Margaret Island] in *Budapest Régiségei* XVIII (1966-1967): 123-124.

<sup>558</sup> The chalcedony ring has the inventory number 43/1847 at the Hungarian National Museum. Rózsa Feuerné-Tóth, "V. István király sírja a Margitszigeti domonkos apácakolostor templomában" [The Grave of King Stephen V in the Dominican nunnery of Margaret Island], *Budapest Régiségei* 21 (1964): 117-118; Vattai, "A Margitszigeti korona és gyűrű", 123-124.

<sup>559</sup> Vattai, "A Margitszigeti korona és gyűrű", 124.

<sup>560</sup> Feuerné-Tóth, "V. István király sírja a Margitszigeti domonkos apácakolostor templomában" [The Grave of King Stephen V in the Dominican nunnery of Margaret Island], 117, 121.

<sup>561</sup> Feuerné-Tóth, "V. István király sírja a Margitszigeti domonkos apácakolostor templomában", 117-118; Vattai, "A Margitszigeti korona és gyűrű", 123-124.

Béla IV of Hungary.<sup>562</sup> Even royal women such as Elizabeth the Cuman (wife of Stephen V), Tomasina Morosini (mother of Andrew III), or Fenenna of Kujava (first wife of Andrew III) have been proposed as the owner of the rich ensemble.<sup>563</sup> Yet the main problem with this argument of the ring being made for a man is that the only factor used to identify the gender of the ring's wearer is its size. If you compare the size of this ring with the others that survive, it is apparent that this ring is quite comparable in size to the rings of Agnes of Antioch and Constance of Aragon. The enamel ring with pearls from the sarcophagus of St. Simeon in Zadar (see below) even has a slightly bigger diameter. While the owner of this ring may never be known, if it does share a provenience with the crown found on the Dominican nunnery at Margaret Island, it is definitely worth raising the possibility as to whether or not this ring might also have been buried with Elizabeth the Cuman as well. This argument is, of course, predicated on the ring being found with a crown, fragments of gold lace, and those items originating in the grave of Elizabeth the Cuman rather than Stephen V or Béla of Macsó, yet it is still a possibility that has, to date, not been raised or addressed.

Amongst the finds from excavations at the Dominican nunnery of Margaret Island (such as the crown and the ring), the inventory book of the Hungarian National Museum also lists remains of gold lace from a woman's grave in connection with the crown found there after the floods of 1838. However, in the letter of Jankovich from 1838 to the palatine of Hungary József Nádor documenting the results of the discoveries, he does not mention any lace, but rather remnants of gold fringe/tassels.<sup>564</sup> Independent of these issues, if the gold fabric is, in fact, lace as suggested in the inventory, it is quite likely it could be a hairnet or ornamental bit of dress like the remnants of lace that were buried with Agnes of Antioch a century prior. Such a high-status fabric may be associated with the burial of an elite woman from Hungary, such as Elizabeth the Cuman. The confusion over the relationship of the artifacts (the gold fabric, the crown, the ring(s), the red marble fragment) means that for now they have to be viewed separately, but the connection of the gold lace/tassel to Elizabeth the Cuman is nonetheless a reasonable proposition.

### **Clothing and jewelry in the will of Elizabeth of Poland**

Some of the items in the will of Elizabeth of Poland (d. 1380) will be mentioned elsewhere, but it seems that many items of personal wear were given to her granddaughters Mary (later queen of Hungary r. 1382-1395) and Jadwiga (queen of Poland r. 1383-1399). Mary

<sup>562</sup> Vattai, "A Margitszigeti korona és gyűrű", 131-134.

<sup>563</sup> Vattai, "A margitszigeti korona" [The crown from Margaret Island] *Budapest Régiségei* XVIII (1958), 201-202; Feuerné-Tóth, "V. István király sírja a Margitszigeti domonkos apácakolostor templomában", 118

<sup>564</sup> Feuerné-Tóth, "V. István király sírja a Margitszigeti domonkos apácakolostor templomában", 117-118; Vattai, "A Margitszigeti korona és gyűrű", 123-124.

received a golden hairnet (“*crinale aureum*”), “two gold eagles”, a collar, and a belt while Jadwiga received one ornamented with lilies and gems (“*crinale liliis ornatum*”) as well as other clothes decorated with precious stones. Meanwhile her ladies in Hungary and Poland were given a thousand florins, carpets, bedding, jewelry and other clothing which is not further specified. During her lifetime she is known to have given her younger son Andrew a ring to protect him against poison before his untimely murder in 1345.<sup>565</sup> Beyond these examples though, the will gives no further information on clothing owned by the queen.

An analogous situation to that of Elizabeth of Poland is the death in 1327 of Clémence of Hungary, queen of France and sister-in-law to Elizabeth. After her death, several of her most valuable dresses were sold for extravagant sums, reflecting the importance of rich clothing associated with the queen. However, each of Clémence’s ladies in waiting received a gown in the queen’s will which are described in the inventory. While the queen’s most valuable dresses were made of silk or velvet and consisted of five or so garments, the outfits Clémence’s maids received were made of wool and consisted of four garments. This does not mean that they were shoddy dresses, as several of the queen’s dresses only comprised two or three garments. Furthermore, since garments trimmed with fur could only be worn by nobles, the fact that she gave several dresses trimmed with fur to her maids indicates that they were themselves noble.<sup>566</sup> It is possible that Elizabeth could have distributed her clothing in a similar manner amongst her ladies and even have been buried in her own clothing.

### **Possible veil and ring of Elizabeth of Bosnia from Zadar (Cat. V.6-7)**

Amongst the objects recovered from the sarcophagus of St. Simeon at Zadar is a veil; Jakčić says it is made of silk, while Petricioli calls it “flaxen”.<sup>567</sup> It is worked with silver and gold thread and features Gothic themes such as stylized trees and crowned figures walking dogs on leashes. Half the veil had been cut off sometime between its discovery in 1901 and 1932.<sup>568</sup> It is very probable that this could have been a donation of Elizabeth Kotromanić, the second wife of Louis I of Hungary. She was the one who commissioned the silver reliquary sarcophagus for the saint (**Cat. VI.15**), and there are other objects found in the sarcophagus that may also be

<sup>565</sup> Ernő Marosi, “A 14. századi Magyarország udvari művészettörténetírásban” [The fourteenth century Hungarian court in art historical writing], in *Művészet I. Lajos király korában 1342-1382. Katalógus*, ed. Ernő Marosi, Melinda Tóth, & Livia Varga. (Budapest: MTA Művészettörténeti Kutató Csoport, 1982), 73-74, n. 32; László Szende, “Mitherrscherin oder einfache Königinmutter Elisabeth von Lokietek in Ungarn (1320-1380)”, *Majestas* 13 (2005): 62.

<sup>566</sup> Proctor-Tiffany, *Portrait of a medieval Patron*, 99-100.

<sup>567</sup> “Flaxen” may just refer to its color, however. Nikola Jakčić, “Voile de coiffure (une moitié conservée),” in *L’Europe des Anjou: aventure des princes angevins du XIII<sup>e</sup> au XV<sup>e</sup> siècle*, ed. Guy Le Goff, et al. (Paris: Somogy éditions d’art, 2001), 354; Ivo Petriolici, *St. Simeon’s Shrine in Zadar*. (Zagreb, Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, 1983), 24.

<sup>568</sup> Petriolici, *St. Simeon’s Shrine in Zadar*, 24; Jakčić, “143. Voile de coiffure (une moitié conservée)”, 354.



associated with her such as the crown (**Cat. IV.8**) and several rings (**Cat. V.7**). It should of course be kept in mind that Elizabeth was not the only one donating objects; not only does the sarcophagus contain several rings put there after her death but also there is an embroidered apron with pearls written out in an inscription in Cyrillic characters that records it as an object donated by George Brankovic, despot of Serbia.<sup>569</sup> This donation of Elizabeth of Bosnia was preserved in a way that while her association was still recalled in the fifteenth century, it had largely been forgotten by the sixteenth and it was not until the end of the seventeenth century that interest in her resurged and the queen's connection was mentioned in the written records.<sup>570</sup>

The veil of the queen would have been worn with its edges loosely hanging over the ears. Elizabeth's mother-in-law is depicted wearing the krüseler type of headdress in the *Hungarian Illuminated Chronicle*, and many women on the sarcophagus of St. Simeon, including Elizabeth of Bosnia are shown wearing a crimped veil; Petricioli even comments how other depictions of Elizabeth Kotromanić show her wearing a kerchief like the one in the sarcophagus.<sup>571</sup> The Angevin dynasty in Hungary also had strong connections to France and Naples, and certain elements of fashion would have been shared between the three regions; a "Hungarian" or Tatar type of hat became very popular in the mid-fourteenth century, for instance.<sup>572</sup> What is interesting about this veil of the queen's is that it shows the high quality of embroidery, the high status of the piece of fabric, the status of the krüseler it would have originally been worn with and the very secular nature of the subject.

Along with the crown and the veil, twenty-two rings were recovered from the sarcophagus. It seems that they had been offered as votive donations before the year 1409.<sup>573</sup> Amongst the collection of rings are a fourteenth-century posy ring with a French inscription (**Cat. V.7**), two rings with stones cut like a mandorla and decorated with niello, one ring bearing the inscription "Ave Maria gracia p", and one with a blue stone in the shape of a pyramid surrounded by four rubies; the rest of the rings are much simpler in form and decorated with pearls.<sup>574</sup>

The posy ring is of particular interest, and Jakčić posits that it is connected either to the queen or one of her ladies.<sup>575</sup> It is a large ring of gilt silver most likely from a French workshop with blue enamel composed of four rectangular segments each flanked by two seed pearls with

<sup>569</sup> Petriolici, *St. Simeon's Shrine in Zadar*, 24.

<sup>570</sup> Petriolici, *St. Simeon's Shrine in Zadar*, 29-30.

<sup>571</sup> Ibid.

<sup>572</sup> Newton, *Fashion in the Age of the Black Prince*, 92-93.

<sup>573</sup> Petriolici, *St. Simeon's Shrine in Zadar*, 22-24.

<sup>574</sup> Petriolici, *St. Simeon's Shrine in Zadar*, 24.

<sup>575</sup> Nikola Jakčić, "Anneau avec inscription en vieux français." In *L'Europe des Anjou: aventure des princes Angevins du XIIIe au Xve siècle* ed. Guy Le Goff, et al. (Paris: Somogy, 2001), 353.

sixteen pearls in total adorning the ring. The French inscription reads “*cest – tout – mon – dezir*”.<sup>576</sup> Rings of this type tend to be connected to the Gothic International style, particularly associated with Paris in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries. Rings with scenes surrounded by seed pearls like this one are very rare; one ring from the mid fifteenth-century has a miniature lion, page, and nobleman with a red enamel background in the rectangular frame surrounded by seed pearls.<sup>577</sup>

Considering that the crown and veil are most likely connected with Elizabeth of Bosnia, it seems very probable that this ring is connected to her as well. Its high status and connections with France seem to be particularly important factors as the Hungarian Angevin dynasty kept up a great deal of contacts not only with the court of the Angevins in Naples but also in France. It is possible that other rings from the sarcophagus were Elizabeth’s though it would be nearly impossible to parse apart original ownership in such a context. There is also the fact that some of the rings were put in the sarcophagus after her violent death in 1387. Other neighboring nobles donated items that were interred in the sarcophagus as well; there is an embroidered apron from the first half of the fifteenth century with a Cyrillic inscription written out in embroidered pearls that states very clearly it was a votive offering from George Branković, the despot of Serbia (d. 1456).<sup>578</sup> Regardless of the exact connection this ring or others may have had to the queen, it nonetheless shows a remarkable connection across distances between the French and Hungarian courts. Oddly enough, the deposition of these objects meant that they were removed from circulation; they were thus not melted down or broken or destroyed. These pieces of clothing, offered as a gesture of thanks to St. Simeon, in some ways went from the secular to the celestial world. Even though they would not be seen by the eyes of contemporary viewers, they would be seen by those praying for the soul of the deceased and acting as an intermediary between the queen and St. Simeon.

### **Sixteenth century dress and chemise from Mariazell originally attributed to Elizabeth of Bosnia**

In the nineteenth century, the inventory of the church of Mariazell recorded two chemises, a man’s mantle, and a woman’s dress. Considering the strong associations between the shrine at Mariazell and Louis I ‘the Great’ of Hungary (r. 1342-1382), it was initially thought that these pieces of clothing represented the wedding costume of him and his second wife, Elizabeth

<sup>576</sup> Petriolici, *St. Simeon’s Shrine in Zadar*, 24; Jakčić, “Anneau avec inscription en vieux français”, 353.

<sup>577</sup> Sandra Hindman, Ilaria Fatone, and Angélique Laurent-di Mantova, *Toward an Art History of Medieval Rings: a Private Collection* (London: Paul Holberton, 2007), 170-173, 230.

<sup>578</sup> Petriolici, *St. Simeon’s Shrine in Zadar*, 24.

Kotromanić of Bosnia.<sup>579</sup> However, Höllrigl and Ember later were able to prove that the clothing came from a donation in 1522 by King Louis II (r. 1516-1526) and his wife, the Habsburg princess Mary (**Cat. V.8**).<sup>580</sup> It was thought that these were the wedding garments of this later pair. The green silk damask dress seems to have been of Italian manufacture, though the white linen undershirt could possibly have been produced in Hungary.<sup>581</sup> Stylistically the green dress dates from the last third of the fifteenth century, and it seems very unlikely that the poplin would have been used after 1500; the strongest hypothesis at the moment was that this originally would have been a dress belonging to Mary of Hungary's grandmother, Mary of Burgundy. The dress in question seems to be one that belonged to Mary of Hungary at the time of its donation to the shrine at Mariazell, though it would not have been made for her. It is still nonetheless a very important donation, especially since Mary of Burgundy's possessions meant that the Austrian Habsburgs gained all the wealth of the Low Countries. There is further evidence that in this period there was a re-use of clothing and jewelry; in 1521, in preparation for the dual marriage of Ferdinand of Austria to Anna Jagiellon and Louis II to Mary, Charles V ordered that the clothing and jewelry of his grandfather's second wife Bianca Sforza of Milan be divided equally amongst Mary and Anna.<sup>582</sup> A gold ring with the letter "M" in diamonds from Mariazell has also been attributed to Mary of Hungary, though it seems to date from after her death.<sup>583</sup>

### Bracelet attributed to Queen Mary of Anjou

Finally, this chapter will conclude with a little-researched object in the Hungarian National Museum that has been identified as a bracelet of Queen Mary of Anjou that supposedly came from her tomb at Oradea (in Romania, also called Nagyvárad; **Cat. VII.9**). It is a gold filigree bracelet with six diamonds that bears a lot of stylistic resemblance to fourteenth-century pieces from the Balkans and the Mediterranean.<sup>584</sup>

<sup>579</sup> The inventory reads: "73. In the wardrobe behind the altar the green silk wedding gown of Louis the Great, decorated with golden and pearl embroidery and his golden embroidered shirt, both donated by the king himself in 1364. 74. In the wardrobe on the side of the evangelary the wedding dress, the headdress and the golden embroidered undergarments of Queen Elisabeth Kotromanovich, Serbian princess, the wife of Louis the Great." Lilla Tompos, "Woman's Dress and Chemise, Donation of Louis II and Queen Mary of Hungary," in *Mary of Hungary: The Queen and Her Court 1521-1531*, ed. Orsolya Réthelyi, et al. (Budapest: Budapest History Museum, 2005), 179.

<sup>580</sup> *Ibid.*, 179.

<sup>581</sup> Katalin F. Dózsa, "Kleider Ludwigs II. und der Königin Maria" in *Ungarn in Mariazell – Mariazell in Ungarn: Geschichte und Erinnerung*, ed. Péter Farbaký and Szabolcs Serfőző, et al. (Budapest: Budapest Historical Museum, 2004), 371.

<sup>582</sup> Orsolya Réthelyi, "...Maria regina... nuda venerat ad Hungariam...", 123.

<sup>583</sup> Etele Kiss, "Diamond Ring", in *Mary of Hungary: The Queen and Her Court 1521-1531*, ed. Orsolya Réthelyi, et al. (Budapest: Budapest History Museum, 2005), 184.

<sup>584</sup> Etele Kiss, "Bracelet," in *Hungaria regia (1000-1800): fastes et défis*, ed. Sandor Öze and Luc Duerloo (Turnhout: Brepols, 1999), 124-125.

Bracelets from medieval Serbia tend to be fairly simple, being either of twisted wire, small plates, or from a single embossed piece of metal. In the later Middle Ages, bracelets are not found in Bosnian or Dalmatian graves.<sup>585</sup>

Unfortunately, this bracelet was mixed up with other objects in the nineteenth century and it is now impossible to tell whether it came from the objects found in the tomb attributed to Queen Mary or whether or not it came from the Jankovich collection of objects from the nineteenth century and the bracelet is a modern piece.<sup>586</sup> The problematic excavations at the cathedral at Nagyvárád have made it difficult to piece together where any of the burials of certain individuals were originally located. Furthermore, there were other objects uncovered from the site in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries with practically no provenience either, making further identification of such important pieces as the crown and orb found there extremely difficult. If the crown and orb are those of Queen Mary, it is highly unlikely that the bracelet is also hers. In that case it would likely either be contemporary or from the nineteenth century. If the crown and orb are not Queen Mary's, it is possible the bracelet was hers, but the evidence is regrettably circumstantial.

## Conclusions

As clothing is worn on the body, once it is removed from the context of enveloping its owner, much of the information encoded in it can be lost. Yet when there is even the slightest bit of context, medieval clothing and jewelry can say much about the social status and even the personal taste of the owner in some cases.<sup>587</sup> The medium (i.e. seal, manuscript, sculpture, etc.) as well as the part of the queen's life course (i.e. married, widowed, etc.) can also tell much about perceptions of the queen when such information is available. Difficult as it is to connect most medieval fashion to its owner, there is a dialectic process between the preservation and identification of queen's clothing from medieval Hungary. Within religious contexts these fragments survive in some cases because the queens originally intended them to be a religious donation expressing their piety, but over the centuries, the personal connection that the queen used to have to the garment often preserved it from being re-used or discarded. By the later Middle Ages it seems that attitude towards fabrics had changed and that there was less of a need to alter them for practical or liturgical purposes. Recording the donation and the association with particular queens, as we have seen in the above examples, seems to start in the later fifteenth

<sup>585</sup> Gordana Tomic, ed., *Nakit na tlu Srbije iz srednjovekovnih nekropola od IX-XV veka: Jewelry on the territory of Serbia from mediaeval necropolises from the 9th to the 15th centuries* (Belgrade: National Museum, Belgrade, 1982), 33.

<sup>586</sup> Kiss, "Bracelet", 124-125.

<sup>587</sup> Newton, *Fashion in the Age of the Black Prince: a study of the years 1340-1365*, 5.

century, and rather than having a religious connection, it seems to become the case that the association with a particular queen would become more important to the ecclesiastic institutions fortunate enough to receive her garments. This is particularly true of the Elisabethkleid, where a tunic is not only associated with the holy princess St. Elizabeth, but even her mother Gertrude's coronation. There is also the possibility that a queen making a donation of a dress or a ring to a particularly beloved saint would have more agency in choosing the piece in question. In the case of the veil and ring from Zadar, these items are of the highest quality and reflecting the current international Gothic style at the Hungarian court.

Queens could also express their own will in passing on clothing within their families. In the case of Elizabeth of Poland, while her granddaughters received very expensive pieces of jewelry the bulk of the queen's clothing and fabric goods was passed on to her ladies; her sister-in-law Clémence of Hungary seems to have done the same thing as well. At the time this took place, sumptuary legislation was already in full force in most medieval kingdoms, though this mostly left the nobility unaffected. However, earlier in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, examples exist of clothing passed on to immediate family members and monasteries. The only example of this seems to be the "Elisabethkleid" which could have come into St. Elizabeth's possession while her mother was still alive (and possibly as part of her lavish trousseau). Centuries later clothing is still given to female family members, such as the dress of Mary of Hungary from Mariazell which might have originally belonged to her grandmother, Mary of Burgundy.

It seems that clothes and jewelry were an important part of royal burials; around 300 Gothic textile fragments were uncovered during the excavations of the royal crypt at St. Vitus Cathedral in Prague.<sup>588</sup> The gold fragment that was found on Margaret Island might have come from a high status woman's grave, depending on its similarity to the pieces found in Agnes' grave. Five of the six rings and possibly the diamond bracelet were all recovered from graves, though since the queen was already dead by the time she was interred, it is very problematic to assert her own agency in her own grave goods. The jewels range from high quality re-used antique gemstones, such as that of Agnes of Antioch, to the more middling rings of Constance of Aragon, one of which had a false stone. In the former case, the purple color of the stone echoes and links to the ring of her husband found in his grave and could possibly have been significant considering the Byzantine connections of the royal couple. Even if she was not the one who chose the ring, it still says something about her identity as queen. Even the false sapphire of

<sup>588</sup> Milena Bravermanová, "The Mortal Remains of the Rulers," in *The story of Prague Castle*, ed. Gabriela Dubská, Lubomír Fuxa, et al. (Prague: Prague Castle Administration, 2003), 197.

Queen Constance does not necessarily mean that the queen's status was reduced; many medieval gems were made of paste. Sapphires were clearly desirable in high status graves, as evidenced by the inclusion of one in the grave from Margaret Island.

In whatever form or format, the clothing and jewelry of the medieval Hungarian queens usually show how richly the queens would have appeared in public. Their outfits would have been made from the finest material acquired from afar, as evidence by most of the surviving material being made of silk. The outfits mostly had intricate embroidery work as well, and would have been dyed bright and vibrant colors. What changes over time though is the attitude towards disposal of the clothing. It can be left as a pious donation, passed onto a relative, or given to noblewomen. And in cases where the clothing is preserved in an ecclesiastic context, it seems that these institutions moved from re-using the donated clothing for vestments, to preserving relics if there was a saintly association, and then finally to preserving clothing of the queen simply by virtue of her being the queen.

## *Religious objects and images of the queen*

### VI. Liturgical Objects donated by the queens

One of the expectations of medieval queens is that they would generously provide for the church. The *Legend of St. Stephen* mentions the many crosses, vessels, and woven paraments that Queen Gisela donated to the churches of the newly-Christianized realm.<sup>589</sup> Some objects the queens donated to churches were related to important events in her life course, such as marriage, birth, or death. After the birth of her son Ladislas the Posthumous in 1440, the widowed Queen Elisabeth of Luxemburg (d. 1442) gave many offerings to the Cathedral at Oradea (in Romania, or Nagyvárad) and she even sent a silver statue of a child to the Church of the Holy Blood of Wilsnack (in Brandenburg), as she had made vows to the guardians of both institutions.<sup>590</sup> In a famous example from the West, the Eleanor vase, the genealogy of this object was inscribed on this beautiful rock crystal vessel. It had been originally a gift from “Mitadulus”, an Iberian Muslim prince, to Eleanor of Aquitaine’s (d. 1204) grandfather William IX of Aquitaine. She had given the vase to Louis VII of France (r. 1137-1180) upon their marriage, and the king in turn had given it to Saint-Denis where he gave it a new metalwork base.<sup>591</sup> Earlier chapters have some overlap with these types of donations, as many books and manuscripts of queens that wound up in cathedral or monastic libraries could be counted as part of a queen’s pious donation to the church.

Distinctions also need to be made between items that a queen provided for her own liturgical service in comparison with gifts to the church across vast distances or with extremely political purposes. In the well-documented bridal trousseau of Philippa (d. 1430), wife of Eric of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway (r. 1396-1439), her personal chapel was outfitted with silver objects such as candlesticks, a pax, and a bell, and a cruet (for celebrating the Eucharist) along with several altar frontals, a full array of vestments, a chair, and a screen.<sup>592</sup> However, this list does not include relics or reliquaries as on one hand this is an inventory of items purchased for use and on the other hand there might have been other reliquaries which were purchased later. Clémence of Hungary (d. 1328) owned a good number of reliquaries, but the liturgical objects

<sup>589</sup> “Que qualis erga dei cultum ornandum extiterit, quam frequens et benefica circa deo servientium congregationes apparuerit, multarum ecclesiarum cruces et vasa vel paramenta opere mirifico facta vel contexta usque hodie testantur.” Imre Szentpétery, *Scriptores Rerum Hungaricarum* II (Budapest: Academia Litter. Hungarica, 1939), 415.

<sup>590</sup> Maya Bijvoet Williamson, *The Memoirs of Helene Kottanner* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1998), 36.

<sup>591</sup> Beech identifies “Mitadulus” as Imad al-dawla abd al-malik ibn Hud, prince of Saragossa (r. 1110-1130). George T. Beech, “The Eleanor of Aquitaine Vase” in *Eleanor of Aquitaine: Lord and Lady*, ed. Bonnie Wheeler and John C. Parsons (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 369-376; Kathleen Nolan, *Queens in Stone and Silver* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 113-114.

<sup>592</sup> Paley Baildon, “The Trousseaux of Princess Philippa, wife of Eric, King of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden” *Archaeologia* 67 (1916), 168-169.

specified for use in her chapels consisted of two chalices, two patens, four glass containers for wine and water, a censer, two bowls and two containers for holy water, and a *portepais* (a tray for the host during the elevation).<sup>593</sup> With all this in mind, in addition to the question of the queen's agency in donating these items to various churches, the intended audience and the message behind the items will be of considerable importance in understanding the relationship between the queens and their donations to the church.

### **The Metz Chasuble, the Gisela Cross, and the Coronation Mantle**

An antiquarian volume from the eighteenth century records a chasuble (**Cat. VI.1**) that had been donated c. 1049 by Pope Leo IX to the Treasury of the Benedictine Abbey of St. Arnulf at Metz bearing the inscription near the top "Stephen, King of Hungary, and his dear wife Gisela sent this gift to the Apostolic Lord John."<sup>594</sup> While unfortunately this chasuble was destroyed in 1792 during the French Revolution, the drawing and description made decades earlier give us some insight into this vestment that St. Stephen I (r. 997-1038) and Gisela of Bavaria (d. 1065) had originally sent as a gift to Pope John XVIII (XIX) (r. 1003-1009) around the year 1004.<sup>595</sup>

The chasuble was in the shape of a bell (oval when laid flat) with a red silk (which had faded to yellow by the eighteenth century) background; the decoration consisted of a tree topped with two birds facing each other. The embroidery is done in gold and red/purple silk. The chasuble is decorated with the figure of Christ and ten saints as well as Adam and Eve and several regal animals (lions, deer, dragons, and eagles) within medallions.<sup>596</sup> While it was thought in 1890 that the fabric was Arabic in origin, Szmik is of the opinion that the work is styled more after Byzantine embroidery and would have been stitched under her leadership at the abbey of the Greek nuns in Veszprémvölgy.<sup>597</sup> As pope, John XVIII approved of Holy Roman Emperor Henry II's (r. 1002-1024) elevation of the city of Bamberg to a bishopric primarily as a base for the conversion of Eastern Slavs.<sup>598</sup> Considering the delicate balance of power between the Papacy, the Holy Roman Empire, and the new kingdom of Hungary, this diplomatic gift from both the king and the queen shows not only the pair as a Christian couple, but also the rich material reflects their own power, wealth and status.

<sup>593</sup> Mariah Proctor-Tiffany, *Portrait of a Medieval Patron: the inventory and gift-giving of Clémence of Hungary* (PhD diss.: Brown University, 2007), 82.

<sup>594</sup> "(Stephanus) Ungorum rex et Gisla dilecta sibi coniux mittunt haec munera Domino apostolico Johanni." Béla Kövér, "Szent István és Gizella metzi miseruhája" *Archaeológiai Értesítő* 10 (1890): 332-333.

<sup>595</sup> Kövér, "Szent István és Gizella metzi miseruhája", 332-333;

<sup>596</sup> Béla Czobor, "A metzi kazula" [The chasuble of Metz] in *Gizella királyné (985 k.-1060)* ed. János Géczi (Veszprém, 2000), 188-189.

<sup>597</sup> Kövér, "Szent István és Gizella metzi miseruhája", 332-333; Antal Szmik, "Gizella királyné magyar hímzőiskolája" [The embroidery school of Queen Gisela] in *Gizella királyné (985 k.-1060)* ed. János Géczi (Veszprém, 2000), 195-196.

<sup>598</sup> Horace K. Mann, *The Lives of the Popes in the Early Middle Ages*, Vol. V (St. Louis: B. Herder, 1910), 138-141.



In 1006, the duchess of Bavaria, Gisela of Burgundy, died. Shortly afterwards, her daughter, the Hungarian Queen Gisela of Bavaria, commissioned a gold cross holding a relic of a piece of wood Christ was crucified on to mark the site of her mother's grave (**Cat. VI.2**). This seems to be the earliest instance of a sole donation by a Hungarian queen to the church, not counting Gisela's foundation of the Cathedral of Veszprém. The cross is decorated with rubies, sapphires, emeralds, pearls, and a large topaz. Christ is shown crucified and at his feet, in miniature, there are two figures of women. On one side there is a representation of a crowned queen, and on the other side there is a nun; the queen would be Gisela of Bavaria, and the nun is most likely Gisela of Burgundy.<sup>599</sup> The inscription on the cross makes it very clear that this was meant to be both a memorial for her mother as well as an item of liturgical use.<sup>600</sup> Several contemporary reliquary crosses survive from German nobles such as Emperor Otto III (r. 996-1002), Abbess Matilda of Essen (d. 1011), and even later Emperor Conrad II (r. 1027-1039) would commission reliquary crosses. It is worth noting that the Gisela Cross is similar within a few centimeters in high to the female reliquary crosses of the early eleventh century (the two Matilda Crosses, and the Cross of Theophanu) while the Lothar Cross of Otto III and the Imperial Cross of Conrad II are considerably taller.<sup>601</sup> The form of the Gisela Cross is very similar to many of these reliquaries, but the association with her mother and its purpose as a *pro anima* donation make it unique. Here, Gisela is able to make a personal memorial to her mother into a statement not only of her own religious convictions, but also her awareness of contemporary forms of *crux gemmata* and their frequently political overtones. The Gisela Cross will also be recalled later on in the eleventh century by Adelaide of Rheinfelden (see below, **Cat. VI.4**).

Though known since the twelfth century as the coronation mantle of the Hungarian kings, originally this was a chasuble donated by Stephen I and Gisela to the collegiate church of the Virgin Mary in Székesfehérvár in 1031 (**Cat. VI.3**). The church (which would later become one of the main burial sites for the Hungarian kings and queens) would have been partially complete

<sup>599</sup> Éva Kovács, "Gizella királyné keresztje" [The Cross of Queen Gisela] in *Gizella királyné, 985 k.-1060*. (Veszprém, 2000), 158; Béla Czobor, "A Gizella-kereszt leírása" [Writing on the Gisela Cross] *Századok* 35 (1901), 1018-1020.

<sup>600</sup> Czobor, "A Gizella-kereszt leírása", 1018-1020.

<sup>601</sup> The Gisela Cross is 45 cm high while the Matilda Crosses and the Theophanu Cross are between 44-46 cm. Robert Calkins, *Monuments of Medieval Art* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1979), 115; Patrick De Winter, *The Sacral Treasure of the Guelphs* (Cleveland: Cleveland Museum of Art, 1985), 8, 44-45; Hermann Fillitz, "Das Adelheid-Kreuz aus St. Blasien" In *Schatzhaus Kärntens: Landesausstellung St. Paul 1991: 900 Jahr Benediktinerstift* edited by Hartwig Pucker, Johannes, Grabmayer, Günther Hödl, and the Benediktinerstift St. Paul (Klagenfurt: Universitätsverlag Carinthia, 1991), 670; Hermann Schnitzler, "Die Regensburger Goldschmiedekunst" In *Wandlungen christlicher Kunst im Mittelalter*, edited by Johannes Hempel (Baden-Baden: Verlag für Kunst und Wissenschaft, 1953), 181.

by this point and originally would have been one by one of the priests for special occasions.<sup>602</sup> It is this initial period of use and the queen's involvement that will be of primary interest here. The Coronation Mantle used Byzantine silk, and for years it was thought that this impressive piece was embroidered at the Queen's court or by the Greek nuns at Veszprémvölgy.<sup>603</sup> Based on the style and iconographic program, however, Marosi argues that while the fabric is indeed a very valuable Byzantine silk, the gold embroidery seems to have more in common with material from southern Germany (Regensburg in particular), it recalls the iconography of Gisela's brother, Emperor Henry II, and the designer most likely would have been a well-educated cleric.<sup>604</sup> Nonetheless, while Gisela may not have applied the needle to the chasuble, the phrase "operata et data" on the vestment clearly indicates that Gisela and Stephen conceptualized that their funding of this piece was akin to making it with their own hands; this is a common trope in medieval art.<sup>605</sup>

A more fruitful line of enquiry to Gisela's involvement in the chasuble is the fact that she and St. Stephen I appear on it in a row of medallions depicting various saints. The upper tier of the chasuble is meant to represent Old Testaments prophets and Scenes from the life of the Virgin Mary while the lower tier represents the descent of the Heavenly Jerusalem to Earth.<sup>606</sup> St. Stephen and Gisela appear at the bottom, flanking the center portrait of a young man who was previously thought to be St. Emeric (d. 1031).<sup>607</sup> During the time of Maria Theresa, it was first proposed that Queen Gisela was holding the model of Veszprém Cathedral in the medallion portraying her. Kovács, however, would propose instead that the Queen holds a "lantern type" of reliquary in her hands, rather than the tower of a cathedral.<sup>608</sup> Gisela and Stephen are both crowned, though while he holds an orb and the Holy Lance, she holds a reliquary or a pyx. The Queen is paired with St. Vincent, the martyr. This is a curious inclusion as he is mostly associated with Spain and southern France at this time.<sup>609</sup> The visual pairing of the king and queen together recalls images of Emperor Henry II and his wife Kunigunde who also appear side

<sup>602</sup> Ernő Marosi, "The Székesfehérvár Chasuble of King Saint Stephen and Queen Gisela," in *The Coronation Mantle of the Hungarian Kings* ed. István Bardoly (Budapest: Hungarian National Museum, 2005), 110-113.

<sup>603</sup> György Györffy, *King Saint Stephen of Hungary* (Boulder: Social Science Monographs, 1994), 165; Zsuzsa Lovag, "A Short Historiography of Researching the Hungarian Coronation Mantle," in *The Coronation Mantle of Hungarian Kings* ed. István Bardoly (Budapest: Hungarian National Museum, 2005), 15-19.

<sup>604</sup> Marosi, "The Székesfehérvár Chasuble of King Saint Stephen and Queen Gisela", 123-124.

<sup>605</sup> Therese Martin, "Exceptions and Assumptions: Women in Medieval Art History" in *Reassessing the Roles of Women as 'Makers' of Medieval Art and Architecture* ed. by Therese Martin, Vol. I (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 2-5.

<sup>606</sup> Marosi, "The Székesfehérvár Chasuble of King Saint Stephen and Queen Gisela", 133.

<sup>607</sup> Lovag, "A Short Historiography of Researching the Hungarian Coronation Mantle", 18-19, 22.

<sup>608</sup> The first author in question was Franciscus Balassa. Lovag, "A Short Historiography of Researching the Hungarian Coronation Mantle", 14, 22.

<sup>609</sup> Patrick Geary, *Furta Sacra: Thefts of Relics in the Central Middle Ages* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990), 136-137.

by side on donations.<sup>610</sup> In Hungary, this phenomenon would not be seen again until the fourteenth century, when Charles I Robert is depicted with his wife (**Cat.VI.8, VI.10**). Ultimately, Gisela was known to be a rich benefactor to a church, both during the lifetime of St. Stephen I as well as during her widowhood. This would end up being a point of contention with both of her husband's successors on the Hungarian throne and their ill-treatment of her would eventually lead to her spending her final days at Niedernburg Abbey in Passau (**Cat. XII.1**).<sup>611</sup>

#### Adelaide Cross (Cat. VI.4)

The Adelaide Cross benefits from two primary sources (the twelfth century *Liber constructionis monasterii ad St. Blasien* and the sixteenth century *Liber Originum*) as well as an antiquarian source from the eighteenth century that documents all but one of the antique gemstones present on the Cross.<sup>612</sup> The Cross of Adelaide of Rheinfelden (d. 1090), wife of St. Ladislas I (r. 1077-1095) echoes the Gisela Cross of Hungary's first queen in many ways. Both were memorials to a dearly departed mother in the queen's homeland, and both were clearly meant to display the wealth and power of the young queen. The Adelaide Cross surpasses its contemporaries in height and would have originally been studded with 170 gemstones, including 38 re-used antique gems.<sup>613</sup> Adelaide donated this item along with 70 gold pieces to the Abbey of Saint Blaise in the Black Forest sometime after the death of her mother, Adelaide of Savoy, in 1079. The cross would have been a memorial for her mother, though the Abbey was also the burial place for Adelaide's brothers, Berthold and Otto.<sup>614</sup> Unfortunately, it seems that this cross was left unfinished (possibly even due to the queen's death in 1090) and it was not until nearly half a century later that Abbot Gunther (d. 1170) would complete the Cross and it would enter the liturgy; his image is the one that appears as the founder on the back of it, not Adelaide's.<sup>615</sup> The importance of this object is attested to in the fact that when it had fallen into disrepair in 1688, there was a Baroque copy made (*Fig. 17*), and when that was destroyed in the Napoleonic Wars, a third copy was made in 1810 (*Fig. 18*).<sup>616</sup>

<sup>610</sup> Eliza Garrison, *Ottoman Imperial Art and Portraiture: The Artistic Patronage of Otto III and Henry II* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), 131.

<sup>611</sup> Kosztolnyik, *Hungary Under the Early Árpáds*, 332-336.

<sup>612</sup> Franz Josef Mone, "Liber constructionis monasterii ad S. Blasium" in *Quellensammlung der badischen landesgeschichte*, Vol 4 (Karlsruhe: G. Macklot, 1867), 94-95, 136; Martin Gerbert, *Historia Nigrae Silvae ordinis Sancti Benedicti Coloniae* Vol. I (St. Blasien: Typis San Blasianis, 1783), 385-387.

<sup>613</sup> At present, there are only 147 stones that survive, including 24 antique gems and 3 Egyptian scarabs. Gerbert, *Historia Nigrae Silvae* I, 386-387; Karl Ginhardt, "Reliquienkreuz der Königin Adelheid" in *Die Kunstdenkmäler des Benediktinerstiftes St. Paul im Lavanttal und seiner Filialkirchen*, ed. Karl Ginhardt et al. (Vienna: Schroll, 1969), 217.

<sup>614</sup> Mone, "Liber constructionis", ch. 18, 94; Ginhardt, "Reliquienkreuz der Königin Adelheid", 220.

<sup>615</sup> Mone, *Liber constructionis*, 94-95; Fillitz, "Das Adelheid-Kreuz aus St. Blasien", 665-668.

<sup>616</sup> Fillitz, "Das Adelheid-Kreuz aus St. Blasien", 668-669; Ginhardt, "Reliquienkreuz der Königin Adelheid", 220.

Since the history of this cross is recorded elsewhere and the only inscriptions on the back were done under the leadership of Abbot Gunther, it might initially seem that Adelaide's presence and agency on this cross are minimal at best. Nonetheless, its similarities to the Gisela Cross go in tandem with other indications of Adelaide recalling the memory of Hungary's first queen. We have already seen the links between Adelaide and Veszprém, the cathedral founded by Gisela, and this reliquary seems not only to recall the earlier one, but the massive size and decorative program shows that this is clearly meant to dominate the earlier cross of Queen Gisela. Finally, there is the matter of the jewels on the cross. While it was popular to have some antique gemstones re-used on contemporary reliquaries (e.g. the Lothar Cross, the Gertrude Cross), none of them match the sheer number of ancient intaglios present on this one.<sup>617</sup> In some medieval cases, gemstones could be Christianized,<sup>618</sup> but this is not what happens here; on the Adelaide Cross, the figures of Jupiter, Apollo, Heracles, Mars, Pallas Athena, Venus, Victory, and even Domitian and his wife are all depicted in full Roman glory.<sup>619</sup> Considering that this was a memorial monument for her mother, the explanation for so much pagan imagery on a Christian object is very simple. Adelaide's father, the anti-king Rudolf of Swabia, made a bid for the title of Holy Roman Emperor that was ultimately unsuccessful. By encoding an object with a primarily religious, *pro anima* purpose, Adelaide was not only making a statement about her own wealth and status as queen of Hungary, but she was also proclaiming her natal family's "Roman-ness" at a site that would function in some capacity as a family mausoleum for her mother and her brothers.<sup>620</sup> In this case, Adelaide's agency in creating this object seems very clear, as she is more or less telling a family history that is not quite reflected in the reality of historical events.

Unfortunately, little is known of the queens' donations to the churches in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. It is known for sure that there were several important monastic foundations made during this period, but as far as practical donations for liturgical usage, those sorts of actions are mostly unknown until the Angevin period. This might seem dismaying, but this is also a period where very few religious artifacts of kings survive either. One of the few rare mentions is that of the hood from the mantle of Béla IV (r. 1235-1270); it seems he left this at Trogir Cathedral during the Mongol invasions. It was also the site of burial for his twin daughters, and

<sup>617</sup> De Winter, *The Sacral Treasure of the Guelphs*, 8; Calkins, *Monuments of Medieval Art*, 115.

<sup>618</sup> For example, a triple-mask with a medieval identification of it as the Holy Trinity. C. W. King, *Antique Gems: their Origin, Uses, and Value* (London: John Murray, 1860), 301.

<sup>619</sup> Christopher Mielke, "Lifestyles of the Rich and (in?)Animate: Object Biography and the Reliquary Cross of Queen Adelaide of Hungary" in *Queenship, Gendered, and Reputation in the Medieval and Early Modern West, 1060-1600*, ed. by Lisa Benz St. John and Zita Rohr (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), 25-27; Gerbert, *Historia Nigrae Silvae*, 385-387.

<sup>620</sup> Mielke, "Lifestyles of the Rich and (in?)Animate", 6-11, 16-18.

must be viewed through that lens as well.<sup>621</sup> While royal donations undoubtedly took place, it is not until the fourteenth century that material evidence survives in any great quantity, for both the kings and queens of Hungary.

### Gifts of Agnes of Habsburg to Königsfelden and Engelberg

An inventory from 1357 documents over two hundred items that Agnes of Habsburg (d. 1364) and her family would have given to the Abbey of Königsfelden (Canton Aargau, Switzerland). While the inventory records nothing about liturgical books or the library of the Abbey, the list is quite impressive, including many rich gold and silver vessels, altar decorations, jewels, and vestments.<sup>622</sup> About half of the items on this list would have been donated by Agnes herself; her mother would have contributed about one-fifth, and the rest of her brothers (and their wives) and her sisters would have contributed the rest.<sup>623</sup> Three items Agnes and her mother Elisabeth (d. 1313) donated together: a gold and silver cross adorned with gems and two gold boxes studded with gems.<sup>624</sup> While Agnes' mother had supplied Königsfelden with many rich vessels to perform the masses, Agnes' gifts consisted of church vestments, altar frontals, and relics with reliquaries.<sup>625</sup> The list of items Agnes donated includes albs, stoles, altar cloths, chasubles among others; one of the golden chasubles was even decorated with the shield of Hungary.<sup>626</sup> She was also known to have donated a thorn from Christ's crown of thorns and a vial of Christ's blood, in a golden reliquary.<sup>627</sup>

Most of Königsfelden's riches were sold off during the Reformation, but two items Agnes donated survive in the Bern Museum of History: the "Königsfelden diptych" (**Cat. VI.5**) and a red altar frontal (**Cat. VI.6**). The Königsfelden diptych is the one of twenty or so gold objects to survive from Agnes' time. Listed in the inventory of 1357 as "a large altar with crystals and two

<sup>621</sup> Marianna Birnbaum, "The Mantle of Béla IV" in ...*The Man of Many Devices, Who Wandered Full Many Ways...*: *Festschrift in Honor of János M. Bak*, ed. Balázs Nagy and Marcell Sebők (Budapest: Central European University Press, 1999), 501-502.

<sup>622</sup> Hermann von Liebenau and Theodor von Liebenau, *Hundert Urkunden zu der Geschichte der Königin Agnes, Wittve von Ungarn, 1288-1364* (Regensburg: G. J. Manz, 1869), 133-137.

<sup>623</sup> Susan Marti, "Königin Agnes und ihre Geschenke: Zeugnisse, Zuschreibungen und Legenden," *Kunst + Architektur in der Schweiz* 47 (1996): 170-171, 179 n 17, 18.

<sup>624</sup> "Von unser Lieben frowen und Mutter Chüngin Elisabeth und von uns mit einander: einen hohen Cristallen, ufgericht nach der Lengi uf ein silbrin Fuss verguldet und verwurket mit Gestein und Berlin und oben darauf ein guldin Crützlin mit fünf gar guten Steinen, darinen ist das Sakrament, in der Frowen Chor zwo Büchsen mit geschlagem Gold mit guten Steinen Berlen, in der einen ist das Sakrament us Fronaltar, in der andern treit mann das Sakrament, so (man) die Frowen bewaret." Liebenau and Liebenau, *Hundert Urkunden*, 134; Marti, "Königin Agnes und ihre Geschenke", 179 n 18.

<sup>625</sup> Marti, "Königin Agnes und ihre Geschenke", 171.

<sup>626</sup> The list also includes an "Umbler", "Listen", "Cornualia" and "Hantuann". Liebenau and Liebenau, *Hundert Urkunden*, 134-135.

<sup>627</sup> Marti, "Königin Agnes und ihre Geschenke", 171.

large stones held in the center and worked with stones and pearls”<sup>628</sup>, this diptych is divided into twenty-three frames with miniatures showing the lives of various saints and framing two large cameos showing scenes from the New Testament. Though there are no heraldic devices, the prevalence of saints special to Hungary (Stephen, Ladislas, Emeric) and Venice (Marina, Euphemia, Theodore), indicates that most likely this diptych was originally made for Agnes’ husband, Andrew III (r. 1290-1301) the son of prince Stephen of Hungary (d. 1271) and the Venetian noblewoman Thomasina Morosini (d. 1300). This rich diptych was most likely created in Venice sometime before or shortly after his ascension to the Hungarian throne in 1290, and upon his death Agnes brought it with her to Königsfelden where it then became part of the Abbey’s property.<sup>629</sup>

Two altar frontals survive from Königsfelden as well. One can clearly be identified in the inventory as a gift from the Queen’s brother, Albert II of Austria (r. 1330-1358), while the other one does not seem to be mentioned specifically. Nonetheless, this second altar cloth can be linked to Agnes through its imagery (**Cat. VIII.6**). Originally, this red altar frontal would have featured a scene of the Crucifixion flanked by St. Catherine and John the Baptist, but later Saints Agnes, Andrew, Peter, and Paul were added. Agnes and Andrew are the first two saints under the niches and the second-closest to the scene of the Crucifixion itself, right after the Virgin Mary and John the Baptist. This corroborates remarks from the Königsfelden Chronicle that Agnes was particularly devoted to Saints John the Evangelist, Mary Magdeline, Agnes, and Elizabeth of Hungary.<sup>630</sup> The addition of Agnes and Andrew in particular show the how the Queen’s religious devotion could have not only a personal note, but also be a reference to her status as Queen of Hungary.

While Königsfelden received the lion’s share of Agnes’ largesse, it was not the only recipient of her favor. Agnes clearly favored the Franciscan order and women’s (or double) communities, but she also supported the Benedictines of Engelberg, the Augustinians of Interlaken, the Poor Clares in Vienna and Wittichen, the Premonstratensians of Vienna and Himmelspforte, and the Dominican foundations of Töss and Katharinenthal.<sup>631</sup> At Engelberg, the so-called “Agnes Mantle” (**Cat. VI.7**) is a pluviale which has been attributed also to Agnes. The partial inscription on the outer border makes reference that it had once belonged to a noble lady and since Agnes was known to have been a great contributor she has seemed the most likely

<sup>628</sup> “Ein gross tavelen mit Cristallen und mit zwein grossen Steinen an Mitteninnen, gewürket mit gestein und Berlen.” Liebenau and Liebenau, *Hundert Urkunden*, 134.

<sup>629</sup> Marti, “Königin Agnes und ihre Geschenke”, 171.

<sup>630</sup> Marti, “Königin Agnes und ihre Geschenke”, 175-176.

<sup>631</sup> Ibid., 170.

candidate. The heraldic devices of lions and eagles within the lozenge-shaped pattern also seem to indicate an association with Agnes or a member of her family.<sup>632</sup> A seventeenth-eighteenth century legend from the Abbey of St. Andrew in Sarn mentions how in 1303 or 1306 Agnes would have given the foundation her wedding dress, a fragment of which still survives on a figure of the Christ Child. It is a rich piece of fabric, studded with metal decorations and lace, but whether it originally belonged to Agnes is a question which must remain open.<sup>633</sup>

### Surviving items donated to the church by Elizabeth of Poland

The so-called mantle of St. Ladislav (**Cat. VI.8**) is first mentioned in an inventory of the Zagreb Cathedral from 1394 as a black pallium made by the holy King Ladislav I (r. 1077-1095).<sup>634</sup> The history of this item clearly goes back much further, however. One popular theory has been that the mantle dates from 1094, when Ladislav I founded the bishopric of Zagreb. Another tradition suggests that Charles I Robert (r. 1308-1342) gave the St. Ladislav mantle as a gift to the Bishop of Zagreb before 1322 as thanks for his negotiations with the papacy.<sup>635</sup>

The base of the mantle is a black silk with a hexagonal pattern decorated with grape leaves and heart-shaped leaves. This part of the mantle and some of the gold decorative elements are stylistically closest to garments from the eleventh century. However, the embroidery of the figures of the king and the queen as well as the inscription on the border reading “Ladislav regis” seem to date from much later, most likely the thirteenth-fourteenth centuries, indicating later embroidery on an earlier vestment.

Some of the earlier literature identified the figure of the king as St. Ladislav (his name is on the mantle), and the queen as his sister, Helen/Jelena/Lepa (r. 1091), the widow of Croatian King Zvonimir (r. 1075-1089), but this is now thought not to be the case anymore.<sup>636</sup> It says a great deal of the general neglect of Adelaide of Rheinfelden that Ladislav’s own wife has never been considered as the figure of the queen. Considering the costume of the king and queen as well as the clearly later embroidery, Marosi has rather proposed that the figure represents Charles I Robert and one of his wives; considering the problematic chronology of this stitching, he suggests that the queen could either be Maria of Silesia (d. 1317) or Elizabeth of Poland (d.

<sup>632</sup> Ibid., 176-177.

<sup>633</sup> Ibid., 177-178.

<sup>634</sup> “Item inventa sunt ornamenta infra nominatim expressa: Et primo casula nigri coloris de palio sancti Ladislav regis facta.” Ernő Marosi, “A zágrábi Szent László casula” [The Saint Ladislav mantle from Zagreb] in *Károly Róbert és Székesfehérvár: King Charles Robert and Székesfehérvár*, ed. Terézia Kerny and András Smohay (Székesfehérvár: Székesfehérvári Egyházi Múzeum, 2011), 130.

<sup>635</sup> Enikő Sipos, “A Szent László palást metamorphozisa” [The metamorphosis of the Saint Ladislav mantle] *Folia Historica* 18 (1993): 255.

<sup>636</sup> Sipos, “A Szent László palást metamorphozisa”, 255; Marosi, “A zágrábi Szent László casula”, 132.

1380).<sup>637</sup> There is even the third option of Beatrice of Luxemburg (d. 1319), Charles' wife of only a year or so. While the literature has spoken of this object purely in terms of a donation of either St. Ladislav or Charles Robert, the presence of the queen on the mantle might indicate that this was a joint donation from a royal couple, most likely Charles Robert and one of his wives. If it does date from 1322, the queen would have to be Elizabeth of Poland.

Aside from the Ladislav mantle of Charles I Robert, of the many objects that Elizabeth of Poland was known to have donated to the church, only five survive: her shrine in the Cloisters, a reliquary from Spisska Nova Ves (in Slovakia, also Igló), the altar with her and her son prince Andrew (d. 1345), the Nativity figurines with her initial on them, and the possible brocade seat cover (which may have been a donation of her granddaughter, Queen Mary). The small, personal winged altar currently on display in the Cloisters features the Virgin Mary breastfeeding Jesus flanked by two angels whose wings have been removed holding reliquaries (**Cat. VI.9**).<sup>638</sup> On either side of the angels, next to the piers, are four very small statues of St. John the Baptist, St. Stephen the protomartyr, St. John the Evangelist, and St. Lawrence.<sup>639</sup> Since there are no specific heraldic elements on the shrine referring directly to Elizabeth, it seems that this shrine was purchased as a gift for the queen by her sister-in-law, Clémence, Queen of France (d. 1328).<sup>640</sup> The enamel work on this shrine indicates that it is some of the highest quality work from a Parisian workshop. Though meant for a private devotion, this small altar was able to find a use in the Poor Clares nunnery when the queen passed it on, and it was recognized as being valuable enough for the nuns to take with them when they fled Hungary.<sup>641</sup>

A reliquary cross from the parish church at Spisska Nova Ves (Igló) in Slovakia has preserved the image of Charles I Robert and Elizabeth of Poland at its base (**Cat. VI.10**). Christ is represented crucified and the arms of the cross are decorated with the Virgin Mary, St. John, St. Helena, and St. Constantine. It was originally thought that St. Helena and St. Constantine were also depicted at the bottom of the cross, but it seems that they represent the funders of this cross. It dates from the second quarter of the fourteenth century and is decorated with *basse taille* enamel.<sup>642</sup> While this piece was originally thought to be the work of the Sienese goldsmith Nicolaus Gallus based on the initials "NG" carved into the neck, more recent opinion is that it

<sup>637</sup> Marosi, "A zágrábi Szent László casula", 135-138.

<sup>638</sup> Margaret Freeman, "A Shrine for a Queen," *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 21/10 (1963): 333.

<sup>639</sup> László Szende, "Piast Erzsébet és udvara (1320-1380)" [Elizabeth Piast and her court (1320-1380)] (PhD diss.: ELTE, 2007), 172-173.

<sup>640</sup> Maria Proctor-Tiffany, "The Gift-giving of Clémence of Hungary", 208-210.

<sup>641</sup> Freeman, "A Shrine for a Queen", 336-339.

<sup>642</sup> Eva Sniezynska-Stolot, "Die Ikonographie der Königin Elisabeth", 18-19.



was from a local workshop.<sup>643</sup> Two observations showcase the importance of this item. The first is that this is the first joint donation of a surviving object since the time of Gisela of Bavaria, nearly three hundred years prior. Second, the association of Elizabeth of Poland with St. Helena seems indicative of the former's own self-representation. Throughout the Middle Ages, St. Helena was seen as a model for queenly behavior and religious devotion; many queens who later became saints themselves were described as following in her footsteps.<sup>644</sup> The inclusion of St. Helena and St. Constantine seems to be a very deliberate message on the part of Charles I Robert and Elizabeth of Poland indicating their own aspirations as Christian rulers.

Elizabeth of Poland might also appear on a Neapolitan altar triptych currently housed at the Lowe Art Gallery in Miami (**Cat. VI.11**). She is identified as the queen not only because she stands next to a boy wearing the Angevin fleur-de-lys on a blue background, but also because the pair are standing next to St. Elizabeth of Hungary. Even though the work is Italian, it has been postulated that this altar was made during the Queen's visit to Naples in 1343-1344 when she was trying to secure the succession of her son Andrew (d. 1345) to the title of King of Naples. This piece might have been painted by Lippo Vanni and the presence of St. Dominic indicates that it was most likely for a Dominican foundation, either Saints Sisto and Domenico in Rome or to the Dominican monastery in Naples.<sup>645</sup> One of the key reasons for the identification of Elizabeth as the donor is the presence of the queen and the young prince before St. Elizabeth of Hungary (d. 1231); St. Elizabeth, Elizabeth of Poland and Prince Andrew all would have been part of the same dynastic family.<sup>646</sup> One of her gifts to the basilica of St. Nicholas in Bari has survived to present day (**Cat. VI.12**). It is a reliquary of silver gilt in the shape of a chapel; the red and silver barry of the Hungarian kings survives on the roof and only the figure of the Virgin Mary, the infant Jesus and the apostles can be identified. The prominent placement of the coat-of-arms on the roof would have been clearly visible to pilgrims to the church.<sup>647</sup>

During her Italian sojourn, Elizabeth is known to have made many rich gifts to the Italian churches, including a silk altar cloth donated to the Basilica of St. Peter in Rome which featured not only the Virgin Mary, Peter, and Paul, but also the Hungarian and Angevin Saints Stephen,

<sup>643</sup> László Szende, "Piast Erzsébet és udvara (1320-1380)" [Elizabeth Piast and her court (1320-1380)] (PhD diss.: ELTE, 2007), 32.

<sup>644</sup> Gábor Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses: Dynastic Cults in Medieval Central Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 61, 112, 236.

<sup>645</sup> Eva Snieszynska-Stolot, "Die Ikonographie der Königin Elisabeth", 19-22.

<sup>646</sup> Dragoş Gheorge Nastasioiu, "Patterns of Devotion and Traces of Art during the Diplomatic Journey of Queen Elizabeth Piast to Italy in 1343–1344," in *Convivium: Exchanges and Interactions in the Arts of Medieval Europe, Byzantium, and the Mediterranean*, ed. Michele Bacci and Ivan Foletti (Turnhout: Brepols, 2015), 106-107.

<sup>647</sup> Imre Takács, "Kapolna alakú ereklyetartó magyar címerrel a bari San Nicola kincstárában" [Chapel-shaped reliquary with the Hungarian coat-of-arms in the treasury of Saint Nicholas in Bari] *Ars Hungaria* XXVI/1 (1998): 66-82; Nastasioiu, "Patterns of Devotion and Traces of Art during the Diplomatic Journey of Queen Elizabeth Piast to Italy in 1343–1344", 104-105.

Emeric, Ladislav, Elizabeth, Louis of Toulouse, and even the Blessed Margaret.<sup>648</sup> However, a recent interpretation has suggested that Elizabeth's daughter-in-law, Elizabeth Kotromanić, was the one who gave one of these altar frontals, so that must also be taken into consideration.<sup>649</sup> The inventory from 1361 also includes a number of liturgical textiles the Queen had donated to St. Peter's, such as an antependium for major holidays, a blue silk chasuble for the main altar, while dalmatics and tunics had gold embroidery added to it along with other rich fabrics. The items Elizabeth donated also include a gold chalice encrusted with gems and pearls, and a ciphus (i.e. a goblet or a cup) along with six hundred golden forints.<sup>650</sup>

A set of nativity figurines depicting the Adoration of the Magi are known to have provenience from the Convent of the Poor Clares in Kraków (**Cat. VI.13**). The Virgin Mary is marked with the letter "E" in tin, and the conclusion has thus been that these were a donation of Elizabeth Piast during her Regency in Poland (1370-1375). The figures would have most likely been displayed during the Feast of Epiphany.<sup>651</sup> The initial and the queen's known patronage of the Poor Clare Order means that she is the most likely candidate as the donor of these figures. Walczak's opinion is that the figures were most likely made earlier (mid-fourteenth century) by a workshop familiar with both Rhenish (particularly Cologne) and Moravian style. Only the figures of the Virgin Mary and Joseph survive, though the original scene would have featured the Three Kings and the baby Jesus (who would have originally rested in the hands of Mary). The headdress the Virgin Mary would have worn is no longer extant.<sup>652</sup> The international style of the figures is evident of Elizabeth of Poland's many Europe-wide contacts and their donation to the Poor Clares convent shows her devotion to that particular order.

There is also a brocade chair cover with original Hungarian embroidery and Italian red velvet added at a later date (**Cat. VI.14**). In the center is the image of the resurrected Christ rising from the grave with silver embroidery flanking him depicting six-pointed stars. The top strip depicts the Angevin coats of arms, double-barred crosses and fleur-de-lys, while the two vertical sides are decorated with vines and floral motifs and trimmed with modern tassels. Though badly worn, it was clear that this was an important piece of very high quality and status. When it was transferred from the sacristy of the chapel of the Kornis palace in Mănăstirea, Romania (also

<sup>648</sup> Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses*, 337-338.

<sup>649</sup> Ana Munk, "The Queen and her Shrine: an art historical twist on historical evidence concerning the Hungarian Queen Elizabeth Kotromanić, donor of the Saint Simeon Shrine" *Hortus Artium Medievalium* 10 (2004), 254.

<sup>650</sup> László Szende, "Piast Erzsébet és udvara (1320-1380)" [Elizabeth Piast and her court (1320-1380)] (PhD diss.: ELTE, 2007), 135-136.

<sup>651</sup> Marek Walczak "Czternastowieczne figurki jasełkowe w klasztorze Klarysek przy kościele św. Andrzeja w Krakowie: Uwagi o stylu, datowaniu, ikonografii i funkcji" [Fourteenth century Nativity scene figures in the convent of the Poor Clares at the Church of St. Andrew in Cracow. Some remarks on their style, dating, iconography and function] *Modus. Prace z historii sztuki* 2 (2001): 39.

<sup>652</sup> Walczak "Czternastowieczne figurki jasełkowe w klasztorze". 6, 9, 16.

Szentbenedek), it was thought that the brocade throne cover would have come from the Pauline monastery of Göncruszka, a possession of the Kornis family; later, Cséfalvy thought in the 1980s that this might be a throne carpet for a bishop's throne. When the fabric was purchased in 1941, it was originally thought that Mary of Anjou would have donated it to a Pauline foundation.<sup>653</sup> However, a recent hypothesis points to an embroidery workshop mentioned in the will of Elizabeth of Poland operating at the Clarisses cloister at Óbuda.<sup>654</sup> While the relationship between the Queen (either Elizabeth of Poland or Mary of Anjou) and this brocade chair cover is still not totally clear, the presence of the royal heraldry on it points to a connection with the Angevins in some fashion.

Lastly, it had been thought that the silver chalice from Orcna Sibiului, Romania (Vízakna) would have been a donation from the Angevins, but the lilies in the shields are not the type that the dynasty would have used, and its Tuscan origins and lack of clear heraldry indicate that it reached Hungary as a secondary destination sometime in the late fourteenth or early fifteenth centuries.<sup>655</sup>

### Items in the Will of Elizabeth of Poland

The majority of the liturgical items mentioned in the will of Elizabeth of Poland in 1380 were meant to go to her convent of the Poor Clares in Óbuda. She gives the nunnery three images (*plenaria*), one of gold with an eagle and the Hungarian royal symbols, the second which had been a gift from Sancha, Queen of Sicily (d. 1345), and the third which had an image of St. Ladislás. She also gave the nunnery two drinking vessels and a dragon's tongue along with any relics the queen would have owned (except for one image which was attributed to St. Luke).<sup>656</sup> There was also a "sacred ornament" made of golden satin and decorated with pearls that had originally been made at the nunnery which was to be donated there. One small gold chalice and vessels worth the weight of fifty silver marks were to be donated to the same cloister. A silver

<sup>653</sup> Pál Cséfalvay, "Anjou-kárpit" [The Angevin carpet], in *Művészet I. Lajos király korában 1342-1382*, 117-118; Etele Kiss, "Devant d'autel ou dorsal fait du brocart de trône des Angevins" in *L'Europe des Anjou: aventure des princes angevins du XIIIe au XVe siècle*, Guy Le Goff et al. (Paris: Somogy éditions d'art, 2001), 339.

<sup>654</sup> Elizabeth's will mentions a satin decoration which would have been decorated with pearls and made in the Poor Clares cloister of Óbuda. Kiss, "Devant d'autel ou dorsal fait du brocart de trône des Angevins", 339; Ernő Marosi, "A 14. századi Magyarország udvari művészettörténetírásban" [The fourteenth century Hungarian court in the art historical literature] in *Művészet I. Lajos király korában 1342-1382*, 74, n 32.

<sup>655</sup> The presence of St. John the Baptist could indicate that that this was made in Florence as he was the city's patron saint. Etele Kiss, "Calice" in *L'Europe des Anjou: aventure des princes angevins du XIIIe au XVe siècle*, Guy Le Goff et al. (Paris: Somogy éditions d'art, 2001), 336; Etele Kiss, "Calice", in *Sigismundus Rex et Imperator: Kunst und Kultur zur Zeit Sigismunds von Luxemburg, 1387-1437*, Imre Takács et al. (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 2006), 104.

<sup>656</sup> "...tria plenaria unum de auro purissimo, ex una parte aquile et ex alia regni Hungarie signa habens, secundum per dominam Sanctiam reginam Sicilie nobis datum, tercium vero ymaginem beati Ladislai regis in se continens," Ernő Marosi, "A 14. századi Magyarország udvari művészettörténetírásban", 73 n 32; László Szende, "Mitherrscherin oder einfach Königinmutter Elisabeth von Lokietek in Ungarn (1320-1380)" *Majestas* 13 (2005), 61.

gilt chalice weighing five marks, a silver censer, and two silver ampoules and two silver nuts (nuces) hanging above a processional curtain.<sup>657</sup> An eighteenth century inventory of items in the possessions of the Poor Clares from Óbuda compiled upon their return to central Hungary lists a gold chalice, a golden crown with jewels, a large gold cross, two gilt silver candlesticks, three silver patens, a white casula with pearls embroidered by the queen and a small silver chest used for relics as gifts from Elizabeth of Poland.<sup>658</sup> There is also the idea put forth that the central panel in one of the diptychs which she passed on to her daughter, Elizabeth of Bosnia, would then be passed on to Jadwiga of Poland and eventually become the famous Black Madonna of Częstochowa.<sup>659</sup>

Other churches in Hungary received gifts from the queen as well. The Church of the Blessed Virgin in Berehovo, Ukraine (Beregszász) received a vestment decorated with pearls in addition to fifty gold florins. The cloister in Aracha, Serbia (Aracs) also received a vestment of gold satin decorated with pearls, two silver ampoules, and two silver nuts for the curtains. A golden chalice decorated with pearls and gems was designated to go to the upper chapel of St. Louis in Lipova, Romania (Lippa). Some received simply gifts of land or cash. The queen's estate of Meed was donated to the altar of Prince Emeric in the basilica of Székesfehérvár. The Carmelite friars of Buda castle and the nuns of Margaret Island received one hundred florins while the parish church of Óbuda received three hundred florins.<sup>660</sup> These gifts of rich objects to these various churches were not only meant to show the queen's piety, but were also meant to provide the churches in question with rich items which would recall her memory when used for special services.

One of the remarkable aspects of the religious donations of Elizabeth of Poland is their broad geographical and institutional diversity. Like Agnes of Habsburg, while she has a favorite institution (the Poor Clares nunnery in Óbuda), she sees fit to donate to a variety of religious institutions (Franciscan, Dominican, cathedrals, parish churches, etc.). There is also the fact that while the bulk of her donations take place within the *medium regni*, she makes provisions for churches all over the rest of Hungary, including several places at the kingdom's borderlands. While Elizabeth is the first queen documented to undertake in such an activity, it is almost certain that other queens before her would have engaged in such activities.

<sup>657</sup> Marosi, "A 14. századi Magyarország udvari művészettörténetírásban", 73-74, n 32.

<sup>658</sup> Szende, "Piašt Erzsébet és udvara (1320-1380)", 171-172, n1036.

<sup>659</sup> Other traditions link this painting to the artistry of St. Luke himself with St. Helena discovering it later on. Ana Munk, "The Queen and her Shrine: an art historical twist on historical evidence concerning the Hungarian Queen Elizabeth Kotromanić, donor of the Saint Simeon Shrine" *Hortus Artium Medievalium* 10 (2004), 254; Stephen Benko, *The Virgin Goddess: studies in the pagan and Christian roots of Mariology* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2004), 215.

<sup>660</sup> Marosi, "A 14. századi Magyarország udvari művészettörténetírásban", 73-74, n 32.

## Reliquary Sarcophagus of St. Simeon and Chalice at Zadar

This impressive silver reliquary sarcophagus, meant to house the body of St. Simeon at what was then the church of St. Mary Maior in Zadar, was commissioned by Elizabeth Kotromanić (d. 1387) in 1377 and completed in 1380 (**Cat. VI.15**). The shrine of St. Simeon would also have originally been supported by four silver statues of angels; these were sold off in 1396 by the city of Zadar to King Sigismund (r. 1387-1437) so the city could buy the island of Pag.<sup>661</sup> This was not the only donation the queen made on the Dalmatian coast, as she also gave a golden crown for a head reliquary of St. Christopher on the island of Rab.<sup>662</sup> Two actions of Elizabeth of Poland might have been an inspiration for Elizabeth of Bosnia's donation of such a magnificent shrine. First, the elder Elizabeth visited Aachen in 1367 she donated a reliquary of St. Simeon to the pilgrimage site. Elizabeth Piast was also known to have donated a (now lost) silver shrine of Saint Gerard.<sup>663</sup> That being said, the size and scale of this immense reliquary have undergone many studies. Here, the focus will be primarily on Elizabeth's agency and self-fashioning as seen in this remarkable donation.

Vidas has argued that the main purposes for Elizabeth of Bosnia commissioning this shrine focused on not only authenticating the body of St. Simeon held in Zadar, but also highlighting the queen's own ambition, achievements, and also her own deeply held religious beliefs (specifically denying any support her family had given to dualist heretics).<sup>664</sup> The choice of St. Simeon had many political overtones, not only as a piece of Hungarian-Angevin propaganda, but also as a deliberately anti-Venetian statement at a time when Dalmatia was contested between Hungary and Venice.<sup>665</sup>

Most importantly, the sarcophagus itself tells of many scenes that led to its creation. An effigy lies on top of the sarcophagus, but the panels on the sides depict scenes such as the entry of Louis I of Hungary into Zadar (which would have taken place in 1357), a scene of Queen Elizabeth stealing the relic of St. Simeon and suffering for it, a scene of an uncrowned Elizabeth mourning the death of her father, Ban Stephen II of Bosnia (r. 1322-1353), and finally a scene of Elizabeth and three of her daughters presenting the sarcophagus.<sup>666</sup> The inscription on the panel underneath the saint's feet reads "Simeon the Just, who in his arms held Jesus, born of the Virgin,

<sup>661</sup> Marijana Kovačević, "The Omnipresent Death in the Iconography of Saint Simeon's Shrine in Zadar" *IKON* 4 (2011): 214.

<sup>662</sup> Ana Munk, "The Queen and her Shrine: an art historical twist on historical evidence concerning the Hungarian Queen Elizabeth Kotromanić, donor of the Saint Simeon Shrine" *Hortus Artium Medievalium* 10 (2004), 255.

<sup>663</sup> Munk, "The Queen and her Shrine", 254.

<sup>664</sup> Marina Vidas, "Elizabeth of Bosnia, Queen of Hungary, and the Tomb Shrine of St. Simeon in Zadar: Power and Relics in fourteenth-century Dalmatia" *Studies in Iconography* 29 (2008): 136-137.

<sup>665</sup> Munk, "The Queen and her Shrine", 255.

<sup>666</sup> Ivo Petricoli, *St. Simeon's Shrine in Zadar* (Zagreb: Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, 1983), 12-22.

lies peacefully in this chest, which was offered with gentle pledges by the Queen of Hungary, the mighty, glorious and exalted Elizabeth the younger, in the year 1380. This work was made by Franjo of Milan.”<sup>667</sup>

The three panels depicting the queen on such a precious object have been interpreted in a variety of different ways. Kovačević rightly observes how the scene of the queen mourning her father devoid of insignia is the first known instance of such a scene in royal imagery.<sup>668</sup> The scene of a noblewoman stealing the finger of St. Simeon might have originally been unconnected to the queen, but during her lifetime it clearly became connected with her.<sup>669</sup> Yet the scene of her presenting the sarcophagus with her three daughters is one of the most significant. Since the queen is known to have wanted a son, it is usually tied into this narrative. One of the explanations for the presence of the ostrich egg in the scene where Elizabeth and her three daughters are presenting the shrine was tied to the queen’s wish for a male heir.<sup>670</sup> Yet given the heavy imagery, the several appearances of both the king and the queen together on an object she commissioned, the heraldry and initials “L. R.” (Lodovicus Rex) on the gables,<sup>671</sup> it is possible that this was a pre-emptive measure on the part of the queen in the event of her daughters ascending the throne. At this point, agreements had been made with Sigismund of Luxemburg and Wilhelm of Austria (d. 1406). The presentation of the queen’s three young daughters in such a context could be interpreted as Elizabeth attempting to prepare the audience for its future Queen of Hungary.

In addition, one of the items found deposited in the St. Simeon sarcophagus was a silver gilt and enamel chalice (**Cat. VI.16**) dating to around 1371-1380 which would have originally been a gift to the Church of Saint Mary Maior (sv. Marija Velika, later the Church of St. Simeon). The long stem is decorated with eight knobs featuring the Hungarian-Angevin coats of arms, and the base is likewise decorated, with the addition of an ostrich holding a horseshoe in its beak alternating with rosettes. The bottom of the cup is decorated with six saintly figures: Christ, the Virgin Mary, St. John the Baptist, St. Catherine of Alexandria, and two Hungarian saints, St. Stephen (or possibly St. Ladislav), and St. Elizabeth of Thuringia. While Petricioli and Jakčić are of the opinion that the one figure is St. Stephen, Kerny argues that rather the figure is St.

<sup>667</sup> “Symeon hic iustus Jesum de Virgine natum ulnis qui tenuit, hac archa pace quiescit, Hungarie regine, potens, illustris et alta, Elyzabet iunior quam voto contulit almo. Anno milleno, trecento octuageno. Hoc opus fecit Franciscus de Mediolano.” Petricioli, *St. Simeon’s Shrine in Zadar*, 17.

<sup>668</sup> Kovačević, “The Omnipresent Death in the Iconography of Saint Simeon’s Shrine in Zadar”, 212.

<sup>669</sup> Petricioli, *St. Simeon’s Shrine in Zadar*, 20.

<sup>670</sup> The ostrich with a horseshoe in its mouth was also a symbol heavily associated with the Angevin dynasty. Marijana Kovačević, “The Omnipresent Death in the Iconography of Saint Simeon’s Shrine in Zadar” *IKON* 4 (2011), 212.

<sup>671</sup> Petricioli, *St. Simeon’s Shrine in Zadar*, 20.

Ladislas, based on contemporary iconographic parallels.<sup>672</sup> The presence of St. Elizabeth of Hungary seems to have been a significant figure for both Elizabeth of Poland as well as Elizabeth of Bosnia, and the presence of St. Catherine most likely refers to the oldest daughter of Louis I and Elizabeth; Kerny thinks that the chalice can thus be dated to 1371, shortly after the princess' birth.<sup>673</sup> This chalice is very similar in style to the objects donated to Aachen and was most likely brought from Hungary to Zadar when Elizabeth Kotromanić commissioned the shrine.<sup>674</sup> It is most probable that it would have been a donation from either Louis I or Elizabeth Kotromanić that was originally accompanied by a paten, but Kerny doubts that it would have had any relation to the silver sarcophagus of St. Simeon.<sup>675</sup>

### Lost items donated by Mary of Hungary

In the nineteenth century, Mailáth records two liturgical objects supposedly donated by Mary of Hungary (r. 1382-1395). Referencing him in English, Higgins states: “[A] chalice is shown at Torna, an estate of Count Keglevich, which bears the inscription ‘Mary, Queen of Hungary, daughter of Louis’”.<sup>676</sup> This very chalice survives to present day, however, and is in no way connected to the queen. It is a silver and enamel cup dating from the first part of the fifteenth century and the inscriptions instead read “maria hilf” and “hic est calix novi testamenti in meo sanguine”, a reference to Luke 22:20.<sup>677</sup> Another nineteenth century scholar tried to (erroneously) link the chalice to Maria Laskarina, wife of Béla IV, interpreting the Maria “hilf” inscription as Maria VI. L F, with the initials standing for “vidua Laskaris filia”, or “Maria, widow, daughter of [Theodore] Laskaris”.<sup>678</sup> However, Lövei is of the opinion that this object could have been commissions by Pál Besenyő of Özdöge (Ezdege), the lord of Torna between 1409 and 1432/1435.<sup>679</sup> As this is the most likely scenario, it should be mentioned that this chalice has some connection to Barbara of Celje (d. 1451), King Sigismund's second wife. The figure of St. Barbara appears first at the foot of the chalice, above a black enamel portrait of a crowned

<sup>672</sup> Nikola Jakčić, “Calice avec armoiries angevines” in *L'Europe des Anjou: aventure des princes angevins du XIIIe au XVe siècle*, Guy Le Goff et al. (Paris: Somogy éditions d'art, 2001), 353-354; Petricioli, *St. Simeon's Shrine in Zadar*, 22-23; Terézia Kerny, “Calice,” In *Sigismundus Rex et Imperator: Kunst und Kultur zur Zeit Sigismunds von Luxemburg, 1387-1437*, ed. Imre Takács et al. (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 2006), 104-105.

<sup>673</sup> Kerny, “Calice”, 104-105.

<sup>674</sup> Jakčić, “Calice avec armoiries angevines”, 353-354.

<sup>675</sup> Petricioli, *St. Simeon's Shrine in Zadar*, 22-23; Terézia Kerny, “Calice”, 104-105.

<sup>676</sup> Johann Mailáth, *Geschichte der Magyaren*, Vol. II (Vienna: F. Tendler, 1828), 118; Sophia Elizabeth Higgins, *Women of Europe in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries*. Vol I. (London: Hurst and Blackett, 1885), 333-334.

<sup>677</sup> Etele Kiss, “Calice de Torna”, in *Sigismundus Rex et Imperator: Kunst und Kultur zur Zeit Sigismunds von Luxemburg, 1387-1437*, Imre Takács et al. (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 2006), 390.

<sup>678</sup> Terézia Kerny, “Bibliográfiai adalék a tornai kehely kutatás-történetéhez” [Bibliographic additions to the research history of the Torna Chalice] *Ars Hungaria* 21 (1993): 219-220.

<sup>679</sup> Pál Lövei, “Néhány címeres emlék a 14-15 századból” *Művészettörténeti Értesítő* 40 (1991), 49-67.

princess, and also at the base of the cup. It is possible there is some hidden reference to the queen in this artistic program.<sup>680</sup>

However, there is another reference in Mailath and Higgins to a bell that was cast by Mary to be rung in the Hospital Church in Gyöngyös; it apparently was still extant in 1828 (**Cat. VI.17**).<sup>681</sup> While similar concerns about Mailath's reliability in this issue are warranted, this donation seems plausible. Over half of the hospitals with a known foundation date in Hungary date from c. 1350-1450, so if Mary had taken an interest in a regional hospital it would have been at the peak of their foundations.<sup>682</sup> The earliest historical document referring to this hospital is only known from 1550, but it seems that the hospital would have been established nonetheless sometime around the turn of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries outside the city gate.<sup>683</sup> Like many other hospitals in Hungary, the one in Gyöngyös had St. Elizabeth of Hungary as its patron saint.<sup>684</sup> While this is the only known reference to this particular bell, it does seem that there is something known of bells at this particular site. Two bells were given to the church in 1649 and bells ordered in 1803 proved to be too big for the tower. Sadly, one year after a restoration in 1943, a bomb fell on this hospital church, causing the entire vault to collapse.<sup>685</sup> If this bell had even still existed at this point, it was most likely destroyed then. What is unique about this donation is that, unlike the others, it was heard and not seen. The other items on this list would all have had some sort of visibility in an enclosed, ecclesiastic space. This hospital bell would not only be heard in the building complex, but also in the neighboring area as well. While some liturgical object like the brocade chair cover (**Cat. VI.14**) might be associated with this Queen Regnant, the presence of the bell is a unique donation for a unique queen.

## Conclusions

The objects that the queens donated to various churches took shape of several forms. In the eleventh century, Gisela of Bavaria made (amongst many others) two massive gifts of chasubles, one to the basilica at Székesfehérvár, and another to the Pope in Rome. Gisela of

<sup>680</sup> The only other saints who seem to appear twice are the Apostles Peter and Paul. Kiss, "Calice de Torna", 390-391.

<sup>681</sup> Higgins refers to the city as Gijon. Mailáth, *Geschichte der Magyaren*, Vol. II, 118; Higgins, *Women of Europe in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries*. Vol. I, 333.

<sup>682</sup> Judit Majorossy and Katalin Szende, "Hospitals in Medieval and Early Modern Hungary," in *Europäisches Spitalwesen. Institutionelle Fürsorge in Mittelalter und Früher Neuzeit: Hospitals and Institutional Care in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, ed. Martin Scheutz et al. (Vienna and Munich: R. Oldenbourg Verlag, 2008), 417-418.

<sup>683</sup> Ilona Valter, "A gyöngyösi Szent Erzsébet – a volt ispotály – temploma" [The St. Elizabeth – former Hospital – Church in Gyöngyös] in *Quasi Liber et Pictura: Studies in Honour of András Kubinyi on his Seventieth Birthday* ed. Gyöngyi Kovács (Budapest, 2004), 607-608.

<sup>684</sup> Where patron saints of hospitals are known, she is the most popular, followed by the Holy Spirit. Majorossy and Szende, "Hospitals in Medieval and Early Modern Hungary", 431-432.

<sup>685</sup> Valter, "A gyöngyösi Szent Erzsébet – a volt ispotály – temploma", 608-609.



Bavaria and Adelaide of Rheinfelden would both donate impressive reliquary crosses to the abbeys where their mothers were buried back in the Holy Roman Empire. These eleventh century queens were most active during the lives of their husbands. Unfortunately, after this period, the liturgical donations of the queens remain mostly unknown until the fourteenth century. The activities of Agnes of Habsburg and the Hungarian-Angevin queens experience a huge explosion of information about items the queens donate to various church institutions.

The donations of church furnishings by Agnes of Habsburg and Elizabeth of Poland have many parallels. Both favored one particular institution (Königsfelden and the Óbuda Poor Clares respectively) while still spreading their donations far and wide. The presence of their husbands also played a small part in their donations; in the case of Agnes, the Königsfelden diptych was originally a Venetian altar made for her husband, and Elizabeth of Poland appears to be a joint donor with her husband on the Cross from Spisska Nova Ves (and possibly the St. Ladislav mantle as well). Both queens also are favored with inventories that give some glimpse into the lavish liturgical objects they bestowed upon their institutions. There is also a personal touch in some of these items, as Agnes donated objects belonging to her husband and father to Königsfelden while Elizabeth passed on a small altar that had been a gift from her sister-in-law, Clémence of Hungary. Elizabeth Kotromanić's donation of the massive reliquary altar and possibly the chalice to the shrine of St. Simeon in Zadar in many ways is a continuation of the pious activities of her mother-in-law, Elizabeth of Poland, but its sheer size, scale, and program of images showcase the Queen as not only a rich benefactress but also a powerful figure staking her claim in diplomatic and religious battles. Finally, the bell that Mary of Anjou would have donated to the hospital church in Gyöngyös is an important, if singular, contribution. While the pious donations of her grandmother and sister (Jadwiga of Poland) are more famous, it nonetheless shows that she understood donating objects of liturgical use to the church as part of her royal duties. Public in nature and seen (or heard) in their respective contexts, items donated by the queens to various churches and monasteries are able to showcase not only personal objects related to memory, but could even play an active role in shaping the religious experience of the participants involved.

### Books of the medieval Hungarian queens

Nolan's brief study on the manuscripts associated with Blanche of Castile reveals two research goals: understanding the queen's active role in creating and shaping the codices, and comparing the imagery of queenship that appears in her books to other contemporary source material.<sup>686</sup> This chapter will deal with the first point regarding the known manuscripts that medieval Hungarian queens would have interacted with, while the chapter on the image of the queen in illuminated manuscripts will consider the second point; the latter is complicated by the fact that in the surviving examples, the queens themselves usually had no hand in their initial manufacture. Survival is also a tricky issue regarding known medieval manuscripts. For instance, Clemence of Hungary (d. 1328), queen of Louis X of France (r. 1314-1316) was known to have owned forty-three books and seven notebooks at the time of her death, while only two thought to have belonged to her have survived.<sup>687</sup> For all the known books produced in the medieval Kingdom of Hungary, about 1-2% are estimated to have survived to present day; of these, an estimated 70-80% are known at present.<sup>688</sup> In the present chapter, I will seek to understand the queens' agency behind seventeen books which have some connection to the Hungarian queens by studying their content, how the queens interacted with them, how they acquired them, and how they disposed of them. The text of six of these works survives to present, but only three seem to survive in their original manuscript form. Due to the sporadic nature of preservation, the focus in this chapter will concentrate more on surviving, better known examples.

A rare insight into book ownership in the Middle Ages comes from a Lectionary of Queen Elizabeth Rejčka (d. 1335), widow of Wencelas II of Bohemia. A note there explains that the reason for the lavish expenditure on the two volumes is that the queen wished for her and her family, both the living and the dead, to be remembered regardless of which monastery the book would eventually end up in.<sup>689</sup> This statement already reveals several complicated and interwoven aspects of book ownership for medieval noble women. Books were, at one level, practical and functional (intended for liturgical, contemplative, didactical, or entertainment purposes), and there could be multiple owners over time. The concept of a single owner is a problematic one; when books were handed down, the original commissioner and the "owner" of a

<sup>686</sup> Kathleen Nolan, *Queens in Stone and Silver*, 129.

<sup>687</sup> The surviving manuscripts are the Petersborough Psalter and the *Ovide moralisé*, in Rouen. Mariah Proctor-Tiffany, *Portrait of a Medieval Patron: the inventory and gift-giving of Clémence of Hungary* (PhD diss.: Brown University, 2007), 123.

<sup>688</sup> Csaba Csapodi and Klára Gárdonyi Csapodiné, *Bibliotheca Hungarica: Kódexek és nyomtatott könyvek Magyarországon 1526 előtt* [Bibliotheca Hungaria: Codices and printed books in Hungary before 1526], Vol. I (Budapest: MTA Könyvtára, 1988), 7-8.

<sup>689</sup> This lectionary is now in the National Library of Vienna, Codex 1772-1773. Alfred Thomas, *Anne's Bohemia: Czech Literature and Society, 1310-1420* (Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press, 1998), 40-41.

book could be different. Furthermore, books could be read aloud for several people in close proximity so the audience of a certain book is never uniform. In this way, analyzing books through the concept of object biography will be most helpful. When the relationship between the patron or owner and the book is known, it is possible to gain a clearer picture of the private individual involved as well as their literary tastes and concerns; when passed down, it could even indicate what was thought “appropriate” for the recipient of the older volume. However, most of the books that would have existed at the Hungarian court sadly do not survive in their original context.<sup>690</sup> The majority of those analyzed in this study refer to books which either quickly passed through the Hungarian court in a generation or two, those which are mentioned in the historical records, or those which survive in a context external to medieval Hungary.

Thus far, most of the literature on the subject of Hungary’s royal libraries has focused on the *Bibliotheca Corvina*, the library of King Matthias Corvinus which, at its apex, was said to be the second largest one in Christendom.<sup>691</sup> There has even been a monograph on the library of the king’s second wife, Beatrice of Aragon (1457-1508).<sup>692</sup> Part of the problem in studying the library of Queen Beatrice has been that older literature has assumed that codices featuring the joint Hungarian arms of Matthias and the Aragonese-Neapolitan arms of Beatrice were assumed to be the part of his collection that she had use of. Recent literature has rather revealed that these sorts of books were part of her own personal library. To date, 25 different codices of hers have been identified. It is assumed that her personal library would have been much bigger as her sister Eleanor had a collection of 74 books.<sup>693</sup> Since the bulk of King Matthias’ collection dates from 1485-1490 (rather than 1476), and as the majority of Italian books in Matthias’ collection come from northern Italy rather than Naples, it has been extremely easy in some studies to downplay the importance of Beatrice in the creation of the Bibliotheca Corviniana, especially since she had one of her own.<sup>694</sup> What is known of her collection is that in addition to containing a lot of

<sup>690</sup> Tünde Wehli, “Megjegyzések a középkori magyarországi könyvgyűjtőkről és könyvgyűjtési szokásaikról” [Remarks on medieval Hungarian bibliophiles and their collection habits] *Ars Hungarica* 23 (1995): 5-7. For a comprehensive overview of all the known surviving manuscripts from medieval Hungary, see Csaba Csapodi and Klára Gárdonyi Csapodiné, *Bibliotheca Hungarica: Kódexek és nyomtatott könyvek Magyarországon 1526 előtt*, Vol. I-III (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos akadémia Könyvtára, 1988-1994).

<sup>691</sup> The first would have been the library at the Vatican. For further information, see Ilona Berkovits, *Illuminated Manuscripts from the Library of Matthias Corvinus* (Budapest: Corvina Press, 1964); Csaba Csapodi, Klára Gárdonyi Csapodiné and Tibor Szántó, *Bibliotheca Corviniana* (New York: Praeger, 1969); Marcus Tanner, *The Raven King: Matthias Corvinus and the Fate of His Lost Library* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008).; Erzsébet Tóth, “A long way from traditional Corvinian codices to digitized ones,” *Universitas Gedanensis* 45 (2013): 113-133.

<sup>692</sup> Csaba Csapodi, *Beatrix királyné könyvtára* [The library of Queen Beatrix] (Budapest: Bibliotheca Academiarum Hungaricae, 1964).

<sup>693</sup> Árpád Mikó and József Hapák, *The Corvinas of King Matthias in the National Széchényi Library* (Budapest: Kossuth Publishing and National Széchényi Library, 2008), 130.

<sup>694</sup> Csapodi and Csapodi-Gárdonyi, *Bibliotheca Corviniana 1490-1990*, 16.

religious books, there would have been several works of ancient history and several pieces of contemporary music as well as printed books appearing next to richly illuminated manuscripts.<sup>695</sup> However, as Beatrice was a product of a fifteenth century humanist environment, her vast library is already a departure from the book collection of earlier queens and it is thus essential to define from the start what should be understood about the agency of the Árpadian and Angevin queens in the fragments known from their books. Most of the known books of the queens in this present study consist of small-scale, mostly religious texts. Nonetheless, as the following table shows, there is still a wide range of books that the Hungarian queens used, commissioned, donated, and passed on in ways that tell us much about gender and power at the Hungarian court (**Table 2**).

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<sup>695</sup> Csapodi, *Beatrix királyné könyvtára* [The library of Queen Beatrix], 20-22.

**Table 2**

## Known books of the Hungarian queens

Book	Queen	Date	Notes
Evangelary	Gisela of Bavaria	Early 11 <sup>th</sup> Century	Donated by Queen to Bakonybél Abbey
Liber Evangelorum/ St. Emmeram's Gospel Book	Judith of Swabia	Late 11 <sup>th</sup> Century	Given by Judith to the Kraków Cathedral chapter?
The Gertrude/Egbert/ Trier Psalter	Gertrude of Meran?	c. 980, modified late 11 <sup>th</sup> Century	Given to St. Elizabeth by Gertrude? ( <b>Cat. VII.1</b> )
Life of St. Walpurgis	Agnes of Habsburg	14 <sup>th</sup> Century	Dedicated to Agnes
Book of Divine Consolation	Agnes of Habsburg	c. 1315	Dedicated to Agnes
Prayers and Benedictions of Muri	Agnes of Habsburg	12 <sup>th</sup> Century	Ascribed to Agnes in 19 <sup>th</sup> C. ( <b>Cat. VII. 2</b> )
A German Bible	Agnes of Habsburg	14 <sup>th</sup> Century?	Owned by queen
Commentary on St. John by Alexander of Hales	Agnes of Habsburg	13 <sup>th</sup> Century?	Purchased for the Library at the Abbey of Königsfelden
Commentary on St. Luke & St. Matthew by Nikolaus of Lyra	Agnes of Habsburg	mid-15 <sup>th</sup> Century	Purchased for the Library at the Abbey of Königsfelden
Breviary	Elizabeth Piast	before 1380	Given to Elizabeth of Bosnia in her will
Breviary	Elizabeth Piast	before 1380	Given to Clara Pukur and later Óbuda Clarisses in will
Breviary	Elizabeth Piast	14 <sup>th</sup> Century	Mentioned in 1606
Psalter	Elizabeth Piast	c. 1260	French origin, gift from Anna of Schweidnitz?
Manual of instruction	Elizabeth of Bosnia	c. 1370	Written by the Queen
<i>Carmen</i> of Lorenzo de Monacis	Mary of Anjou		Commissioned by Queen Mary
Psalter in Hungarian	Mary of Anjou	14 <sup>th</sup> Century?	Mentioned by János Rimai
The Florian Psalter	Mary of Anjou?	End of 14 <sup>th</sup> C.	Gift to/from Jadwiga of Poland? ( <b>Cat. VII.3</b> )

## Books of the Hungarian court in the eleventh and twelfth centuries

Many book lists survive for ecclesiastic institutions. For instance, a charter issued by Ladislas I (r. 1077-1095) in 1093 to the Abbey of Pannonhalma records eighty volumes; these codices would have contained multiple works, so at that particular time about 200-250 works would have been present at that monastic library. Later charters alluding to the late eleventh century seem to indicate that similar book lists existed for the Benedictine Abbeys of Pécsvárad and Bakonybél. The former would have comprised thirty-five codices, the latter eighty-four, included one illuminated with golden letters and two with silver letters. The volumes include a mix of books for strictly liturgical use while there are also many books with texts that date back to classical times.<sup>696</sup> The book list of Bakonybél is particularly important because in 1508 it listed an evangeliary which Queen Gisela (d. 1065) would have donated to the Abbey.<sup>697</sup> While such detail can be recovered for certain monasteries, it ultimately cannot be recovered for the Hungarian court at this time.

Nevertheless, fragmentary glimpses can reveal aspects of literary activity at the Hungarian royal court even in the early period. The earliest known book from this time would be the so-called Admonitions (*Libellus de institutione morum*) directed at Prince Emeric (d. 1031), son of St. Stephen I (r. 997-1038).<sup>698</sup> Originally thought to be written around the year 1015, it has only survived in two codices from the late-fifteenth and mid-sixteenth centuries. While St. Stephen's hagiographer Hartvik insists that St. Stephen himself wrote this as a guideline of behavior for his son in the tradition of the Mirror of the Prince body of literature, authorship of the work has been attributed to Bishop Gerard of Csanád (thought to be Emeric's instructor), Archbishop Astrik of Esztergom, Thangmar of Hildesheim, or even simply an anonymous cleric.<sup>699</sup> The Admonitions are divided into ten different chapters of advice, based on the Ten Commandments in the Old Testament. They are clearly influenced by the Bible and Church fathers such as St. Augustine

<sup>696</sup> Nora Berend, Przemysław Urbańczyk, and Przemysław Wiszewski, *Central Europe in the High Middle Ages: Bohemia, Hungary and Poland c. 900-c. 1300* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 403; Előd Nemerkenyi, "Latin Classics in Medieval Libraries: Hungary in the Eleventh Century" *Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 43 (2003): 252-255.

<sup>697</sup> Attila Zsoldos, *Az Árpádok és asszonyaik: a királynéi intézmény az Árpádok korában* [The Árpáds and their women: the office of the queen in the age of the Árpáds] (Budapest: MTA Történettudományi Intézete, 2005), 32-33.

<sup>698</sup> Joseph Balogh (ed.) "Libellus de institutione morum," *Scriptores Rerum Hungaricarum* Vol. II, ed. Imre Szentpétery (Budapest: Academia Litter. Hungarica, 1938), 613-627; See also Jenő Szűcs, "Szent István Intelmei: az első magyarországi államelméleti mű" [The Exhortations of St. Stephen: The first Hungarian work on political theory] in *Szent István és kora*, ed. Ferenc Glatz and József Kardos (Budapest: MTA Történettudományi Intézet, 1988), 32-53; Előd Nemerkenyi, "The Religious Ruler in the Admonitions of Saint Stephen of Hungary," in *Monotheistic Kingship: the Medieval Variants*, ed. Aziz Al-Azmeh and János M. Bak (Budapest: CEU Medievalia, 2004), 231-247; Előd Nemerkenyi, *Latin Classics in Medieval Hungary: Eleventh Century* (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2004), 31-71.

<sup>699</sup> Nemerkenyi, "The Religious Ruler in the Admonitions of Saint Stephen of Hungary", 231-232.

and Isidore of Seville as well as several authors of the Carolingian Renaissance such as Hincmar of Reims.<sup>700</sup>

The Latin inscriptions on the Gisela Cross and Hungarian Coronation mantle seem to indicate that Gisela (or at least a member of her entourage) was familiar with Latin (**Cat. VI.2** and **VI.3**). Among the many objects the Legend of St. Stephen mentions Queen Gisela donating to the Church, books are unfortunately not mentioned.<sup>701</sup> This could simply reflect a different attitude towards book ownership and donation in the eleventh century. One of the law codes from the reign of St. Stephen indicate that it was the king's duty to provide furnishings for the church, but that it was the duty of the bishop to provide priests and books.<sup>702</sup> While she was never queen of Hungary as Cosmas of Prague claims, Judith of Schweinfurt (d. 1058, wife of Břetislav I of Bohemia and alleged second wife of Peter I Orseolo) was sent by her parents to learn her Psalter at a monastery where Břetislav later kidnapped her and married her after her parents rejected his suit.<sup>703</sup> St. Margaret of Scotland (d. 1093) would have presumably been educated in her formative years in Hungary; a Gospel-Book of hers (reputed to be her favorite one) has survived to the present day at the Bodleian Library in Oxford.<sup>704</sup>

In Poland, the cathedral chapter libraries contain several German books from the late eleventh century. It has been postulated that these were brought over when Judith of Swabia (d. 1102), the widow of King Salamon of Hungary (r. 1063-1074) married Wladyslaw II Hermann of Poland (r. 1079-1102).<sup>705</sup> It is possible that a similar phenomenon might have taken place in her first marriage. Elements in three prayers known as the *benedictio principis* from the late eleventh century *Pontificale Romano-Germanicum* show elements taken over from the Anglo-Saxon

<sup>700</sup> The titles are “De observanda catholica fide”, “De continendo ecclesiastico statu”, “De impendende honore pontificum”, “De honore principum et militum”, “De observatione iudici et patientie” “De detentione et nutrimento hospitum” “De magnitudine consilii” “De executione filiorum” “De observatione orationis” and “De pietate et misericordia, ceterisque virtutibus”. Joseph Balogh (ed.) *Libellus de institutione morum, Scriptores Rerum Hungaricarum* II, 627; Előd Nemerkenyi, “The Religious Ruler in the Admonitions of Saint Stephen of Hungary”, 232-233.

<sup>701</sup> “Que qualis erga dei cultum ornandum extiterit, quam frequens et benefica circa deo servientium congregationes apparuerit, multarum ecclesiarum cruces et vasa vel paramenta opere mirifico facta vel contexta usque hodie testantur.” Imre Szentpétery, *Scriptores Rerum Hungaricarum* II (Budapest: Academia Litter. Hungarica, 1939), 415.

<sup>702</sup> Előd Nemerkenyi, “Latin Classics in Medieval Libraries: Hungary in the Eleventh Century”, 246-247; János M. Bak et al, *The Laws of the Medieval Kingdom of Hungary, 1000-1301*, Vol. I (Idyllwild, CA: Charles Schlacks, Jr., 1999), 9-10.

<sup>703</sup> Cosmas of Prague and Lisa Wolverton, trans., *The Chronicle of the Czechs* (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 2009), 101-102, 135.

<sup>704</sup> Rebecca Rushforth, *St. Margaret's Gospel-book: the favourite book of an eleventh-century Queen of Scots* (Oxford: Bodleian Library, 2007), 25-51, 63-104; Catherine Keene, *Saint Margaret, Queen of the Scots: a life in perspective* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 31, 79, 82.

<sup>705</sup> Oscar Halecki, W. F. Reddaway, J. H. Benson, *The Cambridge History of Poland, from the origins to Sobieski* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1950), 71.

coronation *ordo*;<sup>706</sup> as such patterns were likely used in the liturgy used for the coronation of Hungarian kings, it has been proposed that Judith was a mediating figure in establishing this tradition at the court of Wladyslaw II.<sup>707</sup> One of these books might have been the so-called *Liber Evangelorum* or St. Emmeram's Gospel Book.<sup>708</sup> The two letters that Pope Gregory VII wrote to Judith of Swabia and Adelaide of Rheinfelden (d. 1090) also indicate that there was some literary capacity for the queens at the Hungarian court. The letter he wrote to Adelaide in 1081 even indicates that she was the one who initiated the correspondence.<sup>709</sup>

Most of the known literature from the Hungarian court in the late eleventh and twelfth can be found in two forms: hagiographies and chronicles. After the canonization of the five Hungarian saints in 1083, legends were created and King Coloman 'the Booklover' (r. 1095-1116) ordered a legend on Hungary's first king to be written by Hartvik, Bishop of Győr. He also ordered the collection of earlier written chronicles of the Hungarian kings which could have been written from the reign of Andrew I (r. 1046-1060) to Ladislas I (r. 1077-1095), and the events of his own reign would have been added as well. Even though Coloman was known for his erudition and praised for his education by Pope Urban II, other than this brief glimpse, nothing else is known of his literary tastes or personal library.<sup>710</sup> The first legend of St. Emeric, the son of St. Stephen, appears around the mid-twelfth century.<sup>711</sup> After this, the *Gesta Hungarorum* written by the anonymous (probably French) monk appears most likely to have been written under the reign of Béla III (r. 1172-1196); it is the oldest extant Hungarian chronicle.<sup>712</sup> A single manuscript of this text from the thirteenth century survives, but it seems that no other medieval author used his account of the Hungarian conquest of the Carpathian Basin.<sup>713</sup> While nothing explicit is known of the literary involvement of the queens in this period, this is nonetheless a glimpse to the literary milieu of the Hungarian court at this time.

<sup>706</sup> József Laszlovszky, "Angolszász koronázási Ordo Magyarországon" [Anglo-Saxon Coronation Ordo in Hungary] in *Angol-Magyar Kapcsolatok a középkorban*, ed. by Attila Bárány, József Laszlovszky and Zsuzsanna Papp, I (Máriabesnyő: Attraktor, 2008), 91-113.

<sup>707</sup> Zbigniew Dalewski, "Vivat Princeps in Eternum: Sacrality of Ducal Power in Poland in the Earlier Middle Ages," in *Monotheistic Kingship: the Medieval Variants*, ed. Aziz Al-Azmeh and János M. Bak (Budapest: CEU Medievalia, 2004), 217-219, 223-224.

<sup>708</sup> Archives of the Cracow Cathedral Chapter, MS 208.

<sup>709</sup> H. E. J. Cowdrey, *The Register of Pope Gregory VII 1073-1085: an English Translation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 133-134, 396.

<sup>710</sup> Edit Madas and István Monok, *A Könyvkultúra Magyarországon: a kezdetektől 1730-ig* [Book culture in Hungary: from the beginning to 1730] (Budapest: Ballasi Kiadó, 1997), 36; Márta Font, *Koloman the Learned, King of Hungary* (Szeged, 2001), 25-28.

<sup>711</sup> Gábor Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses: dynastic cults in medieval Central Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 158.

<sup>712</sup> Martyn Rady and László Veszprémy, *Anonymous, Notary of King Béla: The Deeds of the Hungarians* (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2010), xvii-xxiv; Edit Madas and István Monok, *A Könyvkultúra Magyarországon*, 37.

<sup>713</sup> C. A. Macartney, *The Medieval Hungarian Historians: A Critical and Analytical Guide* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1953), 36, 59-65.



## The Gertrude/Egbert/Trier Psalter

The Gertrude Psalter represents several different layers of ownership, and it is possible that for a very brief period it spent its time either at the court of Gertrude of Meran (d. 1213), first wife of Andrew II of Hungary (r. 1205-1235) or her sister, Hedwig the duchess of Silesia (d. 1243). Originally though, the Psalter dated from c. 980 and came from Reichenau as a present for Egbert, the Archbishop of Trier – the Gertrude Psalter thus is also called the Trier Psalter or the Egbert Psalter. It came into the possession of Ehrenfried-Ezzo of Lorraine (d. 1034), who seems to have given it to his daughter Richenza (d. 1063) as part of her dowry upon her marriage with Mieszko II of Poland (r. 1025-1031). It came into his hands after riots in Trier during the early years of the eleventh century and at this point went from being a liturgical book for festivals to being a private prayer book for his family.<sup>714</sup> In the eleventh century, the book made its way to the Kievan court where it came into the possession of Gertrude of Poland (d. 1108), the daughter of Mieszko II and Richenza and wife of Iziaslav I of Kiev (d. 1078). Among the alterations she made were the addition of prayers for her family as well as five lavish illuminations on the pages the earlier illuminator had left blank including a family portrait (**Cat. VII.1**) showing Gertrude and her son Yaropolk (d. 1087).<sup>715</sup> The Psalter then made its way back to Poland when Gertrude's granddaughter Zbyslava of Kiev (d. 1114) married Boleslaw III Wrymouth (r. 1107-1138); after her death, the Psalter went to Boleslaw's daughter by his second wife Salome of Berg (d. 1144). This daughter, named Gertrude, became a nun at the Abbey of Zweifalten around 1140, later dying there in 1160. While neither Zbyslava nor Gertrude left traces of their ownership in the Psalter, the Abbey at Zweifalten did at this point add the names of several families connected to this nun to the necrology, including the counts of Andechs.<sup>716</sup> While it is not possible to know the path of the Psalter after 1160, it nonetheless seems to have entered the hands of the family of Andechs-Meran before it was given to St. Elizabeth. Either Elizabeth's mother Gertrude or her aunt St. Hedwig of Silesia gave the book to St. Elizabeth, and in 1229 Elizabeth in turn gave it to the Cathedral at Cividale on the advice of her uncle Berchtold, Patriarch of Aquileia, where it remains to this day.<sup>717</sup>

<sup>714</sup> Brygida Kürbis, "Die Gertrudanischen Gebete im Psalterium Egberti: Ein Betrag zur Geschichte der Frömmigkeit im 11 Jahrhundert" in *Europa Slavica – Europa Orientalis: Festschrift für Herbert Ludat zum 70 Geburtstag* ed. Klaus-Detlev Grothusen and Klaus Zernack (Berlin: Duncker and Humbolt, 1980), 249-251.

<sup>715</sup> The prayers are undoubtedly for Gertrude, but it has also been proposed that the female figure is not Gertrude, but rather her son Yaropolk's wife, Cunigunde of Meissen. Ioannis Spatharakis, *The Portrait in Byzantine Illuminated Manuscripts* (Leiden: Brill, 1976), 39-43.

<sup>716</sup> Brygida Kürbis, "Die Gertrudanischen Gebete im Psalterium Egberti", 250.

<sup>717</sup> Katharina Bierbrauer, "Sog. Egbert Psalter" in *Sankt Elisabeth: Fürstin, Dienerin, Heilige*, ed. Philips-Universität Marburg, Hessisches Landesamt für Geschichtliche Landeskunde, Elisabethskirche, (Marburg. Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1981), 336-338.

The Psalter can be divided into four sections: a Calendar with a necrology, the Prayers of Gertrude (‘Folia Gertrudiana’) added by Gertrude of Poland, the Psalter, and the other liturgical texts such as the litany of All Saints, the Confessions, and the Officium declarations. The Calendar and Prayers seem to come from the time of Gertrude and Iziaslav’s exile in the second half of the eleventh century while the Psalter and liturgical texts come from the late tenth century, presumably when Egbert of Trier was the owner. The Prayers of Gertrude of Poland have the formula ‘ego Gertrude’ constantly repeated.<sup>718</sup> It seems that there were no alterations made after the late eleventh century, but rather that it went through several generations as a specifically female heirloom. The fact that two of its known owners were named Gertrude seems to be a strong argument in favor of Gertrude of Andechs-Meran being a third owner with the same name. While this text was not written or altered at the Hungarian court, it would be an example of a queen bringing in a private object to her new country. Gertrude of Andechs-Meran also appears next to Andrew II in folio 175 of the Landgrafenpsalter, which will be discussed in the next chapter. Though the connection is a tenuous one, it does seem that the first wife of Andrew II took an active interest in religious devotion and dynastic heirlooms, at least in the capacity as a recipient and transmitter of manuscripts along the female branch of her family.

Little else is known of books at the royal court of Hungary in the thirteenth century. Many of the codices owned by the kings and queens may have been destroyed in the Mongol invasions of 1241-1242; the *Carmen miserabile* of Rogerius of Apulia is a testament to the destruction of this era.<sup>719</sup> The Legend of St. Margaret of Hungary (d. 1271) makes several references to her devotional reading of the psalms.<sup>720</sup> There is even a Psalter dated to the mid-thirteenth century which has been attributed to St. Margaret of Hungary; the beautiful decorations attest to the high-quality of manuscript illumination at the Hungarian court under Béla IV (r. 1235-1270).<sup>721</sup> In 1268, after the death of Salome of Poland, the wife of Coloman son of Andrew II of Hungary, her books were left to the Franciscan cloister in Skała, in Poland.<sup>722</sup> The *Gesta Hunnorum et*

<sup>718</sup> Brygida Kürbis, “Die Gertrudanischen Gebete im Psalterium Egberti”, 251-253.

<sup>719</sup> No manuscript of this survives, though it is known first from a printing done first in Brno, then in Augsburg from 1488. János M. Bak and Martyn Rady, *Master Roger’s Epistle to the Sorrowful Lament upon the destruction of the Kingdom of Hungary by the Tatars* (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2010), xli-lii; Macartney, *The Medieval Hungarian Historians*, 88.

<sup>720</sup> “Az vr vachorayan · az manda tum vtan · ez zent z”z be nem megÿen vala ev agÿaban · de jmadkozÿk vala nagÿ aytatossag gal · es oluas vala soltart · al van ev labaÿn az carban.” “... meg olvasa tellyessegegel az zent dauid sltarat · es ez soror tezen vala mynden spalmosnak vegen venÿat.” János P. Balázs, *Szent Margit élete 1510* [Life of Saint Margaret 1510] *Régi Magyar kódexek* 10 (Budapest, 1990), 60-63, 185.

<sup>721</sup> This Manuscript is currently in the Herzog August Bibliothek, in Wolfenbüttel; it is Cod. Guelf Helmst. 52, and Csapodi has dated it c. 1255-1261. Gábor Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses*, 270; Csaba Csapodi, “XIII. századi magyarországi Psalterium Wolfenbüttelben” [A thirteenth-century Hungarian Psalter book in Wolfenbüttel] *Magyar Könyvszemle* 91 (1975): 231-242.

<sup>722</sup> Csaba Csapodi and Klára Gárdonyi Csapodiné, *Bibliotheca Hungarica: Kódexek és nyomtatott könyvek Magyarországon 1526 előtt*, Vol. III, 49 Item 285.

*Hungarorum* was written by a priest in the court of Ladislas IV (r. 1272-1290) named Simon of Kéza during the 1280s.<sup>723</sup>

### The personal library of Agnes of Habsburg

As a resident of the Abbey of Königsfelden for nearly half a century, Agnes (d. 1364), the widow of Andrew III of Hungary (r. 1290-1301), took an active part in literary life at the monastery. For Königsfelden's library, she not only wrote instructions about what to do with the books in the monastery's collection, but she even ordered two books to be purchased for the institution; a thirteenth-century Franciscan commentary on John the Evangelist and a commentary on the Gospels of Luke and Matthew by a Parisian scholar.<sup>724</sup> This study will focus on books directly commissioned, owned, or had dedicated to Agnes, a total of four known books from after she left Hungary: a *Life of Saint Walpurgis*, the *Book of Divine Consolation*, the *Prayers and Benedictions of Muri*, and finally a German language Bible.<sup>725</sup>

The *Life of Saint Walpurgis* in question was written by Philip of Rathsamhausen, the Bishop of Eichstatt. He was a famous Cistercian who had been present at the funeral of her father, and whom she asked for spiritual advice concerning the operation of Königsfelden.<sup>726</sup> In the vein of asking for advice, it is hinted that she asked about Saint Walpurgis, an eighth century English princess who became a nun at Heidenheim. In any event, soon after he wrote a *Life of Walpurgis* which he dedicated to Agnes and sent her the text.<sup>727</sup> This particular life was published (with the dedication) in the nineteenth century as part of the *Acta Sanctorum* series,<sup>728</sup> though at present there is no information on the manuscript it originally came from, it seems that nonetheless the text survives from an early printing of Philip of Rathsamhausen's text that dates from 1616.<sup>729</sup> Agnes is also credited with spreading the cult of Saint Walpurgis in Hungary,<sup>730</sup>

<sup>723</sup> Simon Kézai, *Gesta Hungarorum: Simon of Kéza, The Deeds of the Hungarians* (Budapest: Central European University Press, 1999), xv, xx-xxii; Macartney, *The Medieval Hungarian Historians*, 89-109.

<sup>724</sup> The authors were Alexander of Hales (d. 1245) and Nikolaus of Lyra (d. 1349). A total of fifteen surviving manuscripts have been attributed to the Library of Königsfelden though undoubtedly there were many more originally. Martina Wehrli-Johns, "Von der Stiftung zum Alltag. Klösterliches Leben bis zur Reformation" in *Königsfelden: Königsmord, Kloster, Klinik*, ed. by Simon Teuscher and Claudia Modellmog (Baden: Hier und Jetzt, 2012), 82, 83.

<sup>725</sup> Volker Honneman, "A Medieval Queen and her Stepdaughter: Agnes and Elizabeth of Hungary" in *Queens and Queenship in Medieval Europe*, Anne Duggan, ed. (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2002), 115.

<sup>726</sup> Volker Honneman, "A Medieval Queen and her Stepdaughter: Agnes and Elizabeth of Hungary", 115.

<sup>727</sup> The dedication reads "Excellentissimae Dominae suae Ungarorum Reginae, necnon felicis recordationis Domini Alberti quondam Regis Romanorum filiae, Frater Philippus miseratione divina Eystetensis Episcopus, quidquid potest reverentie et honoris, et si quid valeant orationes peccatoris." Hermann Holzbauer, *Mittelalterliche Heiligenverehrung: Heilige Walpurgis* (Kövelaer: Butzon & Bercker, 1972), 434-435; Volker Honneman, "A Medieval Queen and her Stepdaughter: Agnes and Elizabeth of Hungary", 115.

<sup>728</sup> Philipp von Rathsamhausen, *Acta Sanctorum*, February III (Paris and Rome, 1865), 553-563.

<sup>729</sup> My thanks to Gábor Klaniczay for pointing this out to me. Philip von Rathsamhausen, *Commentarius de vita et rebus gestis S. Walpurgae virginis: abbatisae monasterii in Heidenheim* ed. Petrus Stevartius (Ingolstadt: Amgermaria vidua, 1616).

though the only known evidence for her interest in the saint comes after leaving the country, so this is rather doubtful.

Master John Eckhart, one of the most important medieval German mystics, addressed his *Book of Divine Consolation* (Das Buch der göttlichen Trostung) to Agnes.<sup>731</sup> The German language *Book* is actually one half of Eckhart's "Liber benedictus" which features the work dedicated to Agnes as well as a work entitled *On the Nobleman*.<sup>732</sup> The work bears a great deal of similarity to his Latin works and expounds on issues such as metaphysics (what is real and unreal), rationality, and ethics in terms of man's relationship with God.<sup>733</sup> While Théry originally dated the work to 1308-1311, recent works have put the date to 1315, seven years after her father's death.<sup>734</sup> It is doubtful that Eckhart would have ever met the queen and consolation is offered to Agnes in a very general way.<sup>735</sup> Nonetheless it shows that Agnes was seen as an important and well-informed patroness during the early years of her time in Königsfelden.

The link between the *Prayers and Benedictions of Muri* (**Cat. VII.2**) and Agnes is a questionable one, though tradition states that she would have used it; in fact, a nineteenth century label on the inside cover proclaims that she was the owner.<sup>736</sup> The content of the book is quite varied, with blessings and invocations for morning prayers, travel blessings, and formulas to restore conjugal bliss. It also contains a strong magical element to it, with instructions for gestures, actions, and times of day that would make the prayers more potent.<sup>737</sup> The fact that it

<sup>730</sup> Holzbauer, *Mittelalterliche Heiligenverehrung: Heilige Walpurgis*, 435.

<sup>731</sup> It seems that the original is in the Basil University Library Archives, B IX 15. Théry also hypothesizes about other members of the royal family the book could have been donated to, but concludes that Agnes is the best fit. G. Théry, "Le Benedictus Deus de Maître Eckhart" in *Mélanges Joseph de Ghellinck*, S. J. Vol. II (Gembloux: Éditions J. Duculot, 1951), 905, 908-917; an English version of the text can be found in Meister Eckhart, Edmund Colledge and Bernard McGinn, *The Essential sermons, commentaries, treatises and defense* (New York: Paulist Press, 1981), 209-239.

<sup>732</sup> Meister Eckhart, et al. *The Essential sermons, commentaries, treatises and defense*, 68.

<sup>733</sup> Jan A. Aertsen, "Meister Eckhart" in *A Companion to Philosophy in the Middle Ages* ed. Jorge J. E. Gracia, Timothy B. Noone (Malden: Blackwell, 2003), 440-441.

<sup>734</sup> Théry, "Le Benedictus Deus de Maître Eckhart", 935; Aertsen, "Meister Eckhart", 440.

<sup>735</sup> Kurt Ruh, *Meister Eckhart: Theologe, Prediger, Mystiker* (Munich: C. H. Beck, 1985), 115-117, 135; Volker Honneman, "A Medieval Queen and her Stepdaughter: Agnes and Elizabeth of Hungary", 115.

<sup>736</sup> It reads "Hoc libro precum utebatur Regina Agnes uxor Andreae III. Hungarorum regis filia Alberti I. Austriaci, SRJ Imperatoris, quae occiso patre vixit et obiit pia vidua Monasterio from ipsa fundato Konigsfelden anno 1364". Charlotte Bretscher-Gisiger and Rudolf Gamper, *Katalog der mittelalterlichen Handschriften der Klöster Muri und Hermetschwil* (Dietikon-Zürich: Urs Graf, 2005), 255; an online version can be found as well: Sarnen, Benedictine College, Cod. Membr. 69, front - Prayer Book (<http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/de/list/one/bks/membr0069>).

<sup>737</sup> A full list of the prayers includes a prayer against damage (1r-3v), a community devotional for nine women (3v-4v), a set of prayers, blessings and exorcisms (4v-19v), instructional alms for a happy journey (19v-20v), an intercession for a friend (20v-22r), a confession and remission of sins (22r-27v), a hymn and a prayer about St. John the Baptist (27v-31r), a devotion to St. Erasmus (31r-33v), a Sequence of St. Mary from Muri (33v-36r), a prayer of Mary (36r-41v), prayers for the protection of God and the saints (41v-44v), a Treatise on the passion of Margaret (45v-71v), prayer of Greatory (72r-76r) supplemental texts (76r-76v), prayer for Mass (76v-79v), Continuation of the passion of Margaret (80r-85r), Prayers to Nicholas (85v-87r), Prayer to Gregory (87r-87v), Prayers for Mass (88r-92r), prayers for conjugal love (92r-94r), morning prayers (94r-95v). Bretscher-Gisiger and Gamper, *Katalog der mittelalterlichen Handschriften der Klöster Muri*, 255-257.

has both a Latin and a German text has been the main reason it has been interpreted that it was made originally for a woman owner.<sup>738</sup> Compared to the other surviving codices, it is much smaller and much less decorated. There are only a few illustrations, such as a haloed woman, the Crucifixion with the Virgin Mary and John, and the head of a dog or dragon. The text itself is written in Late Carolingian minuscule in black ink with red only used for the capital letters.<sup>739</sup> However, the charms, the protective prayers, and the contents all indicate a great degree of personalization for the original commissioner of this manuscript.

In the fourteenth century, elite royal women in Central Europe were privy to translations of the Bible in the vernacular. According to John Wyclif, Anne of Bohemia (d. 1394), wife of Richard II of England, owned copies of the New Testament in Latin, German, and Czech. This is not to say, however, that she would have had Lollard sympathies; Anne's education would have been carefully supervised and controlled and it seems that the works she was more familiar were those more orthodox in character.<sup>740</sup> All that is known of Agnes' German bible though only comes from an offhand remark that she owned one.<sup>741</sup> Mary of Hungary, the queen of Naples (d. 1323), and her granddaughter Clémence of Hungary, the queen of France (d. 1328), both would have owned Bibles. Clémence's Bible was a two volume work written in French, and thus it would have been classified as a romance rather than a chapel book.<sup>742</sup> Regarding the German Bible, the Life of St. Walburg, and the Prayers and Benedictions of Muri, it is difficult to know when these books came into the possession of Agnes; she could have acquired them during her brief time as queen in Hungary, or in the many decades she spent afterwards as a widow in Königsfelden.<sup>743</sup>

### **Elizabeth of Poland and the Illuminated Chronicle, Hungarian Angevin Legendary, and books mentioned in her will**

Both Charles I Robert (r. 1308-1342) and his son Louis I (r. 1342-1382) seem to have taken an interest in books, though little of their taste is known and only a few fragments of information survive from manuscripts of this era.<sup>744</sup> Nonetheless Elizabeth of Poland, the

<sup>738</sup> Achim Masser, "Gebete und Benediktionen von Muri," in *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters Verfasserlexikon* II, ed. Wolfgang Stammeler et al. (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1980), 1110-1111.

<sup>739</sup> Bretschler-Gisiger and Gamper, *Katalog der mittelalterlichen Handschriften der Klöster Muri*, 254.

<sup>740</sup> Alfred Thomas, *Anne's Bohemia: Czech Literature and Society, 1310-1420*, 2, 12.

<sup>741</sup> "... als die der Königin Agnes, von der uns vdHagen erzählt, sie habe eine deutsche Bibel besessen." Hermann von Liebenau, *Hundert Urkunden zu der Geschichte der Königin Agnes, Wittwe von Ungarn, 1288-1364* (Regensburg: Georg Joseph Manz, 1969), 137.

<sup>742</sup> Mariah Proctor-Tiffany, *Portrait of a Medieval Patron*, 155-157.

<sup>743</sup> Csaba Csapodi and Klára Gárdonyi Csapodiné, *Bibliotheca Hungarica: Kódexek és nyomtatott könyvek Magyarországon 1526 előtt*, Vol. III, 57 Items 321-322.

<sup>744</sup> Edit Madas and István Monok, *A Könyvkultúra Magyarországon*, 49-51; Tünde Wehli, "Könyvfestészet a Magyarországi Anjou-udvarban" [Book Illumination at the Hungarian-Angevin Court] in *Művészet I Lajos király*

matriarch of the Hungarian Angevins, seems to have shared their enthusiasm for books, though this aspect of her has thus far generated little interest. While there are two heraldic devices from the Treasury at Aachen indicating that the Hungarian court donated a possible missal and breviary to the Hungarian Chapel there, they only contain the Hungarian-Angevin coat of arms; it is doubtful Elizabeth of Poland would have donated them.<sup>745</sup> Nonetheless, among the many items listed in the will of Elizabeth of Poland from 1380, two breviaries are mentioned. The first breviary mentioned is given to her daughter-in-law Elizabeth Kotromanić, along with the queen's castle of Óbuda, a golden cup and an image of the Virgin Mary embellished with a jeweled frame.<sup>746</sup> Another breviary was given to one of her ladies of honor, Clara Pukur who was given the book for the duration of her life, after which its ownership would revert to the nunnery of the Blessed Virgin (in Óbuda).<sup>747</sup> The particular contents of these breviaries are not known, but both of them ended up being given to women who were very close to the queen. Furthermore, it seems that the queen owned two other books during her lifetime in addition to the ones mentioned above. According to Győry, in 1606, a doctor by the name of Pravotius recorded an inscription from a breviary that was in the hands of Francis Podogastri of Cyprus that he identified as having belonged to St. Elizabeth of Hungary (d. 1231), daughter of Andrew II (r. 1205-1235). The inscription however, refers to Elizabeth, queen of Hungary, who is in her seventy-second year and is recording a recipe that a hermit gave her when her eyesight was failing; based on the queen's age and her title, Győry identifies the queen not only as Elizabeth of Poland, but that the recipe is linked to the famous "Queen of Hungary's water", which was very popular in the seventeenth century.<sup>748</sup> There is also a mention of a psalter that would have been owned by a female member of the Hungarian dynasty. This was a thirteenth century psalter from Paris (numbering 203 parchment folios) and written in Gothic minuscule characters. A calendar with

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*korában. Katalógus* ed. Ernő Marosi et al. (Budapest: MTA Művészettörténeti Kutató Csoport, 1982), 119-129; Edith Hoffman, *Régi magyar bibliofilek* [Old Hungarian Bibliophiles] Budapest: Magyar Bibliophil Társaság, 1992.

<sup>745</sup> A missal and breviary are mentioned in an inventory from 1438, but Dercsényi thinks there only would have been one book, possibly a Missal. Imre Takács, "Zwei Schmuckstücke mit Wappen" in *Sigismundus Rex et Imperator: Kunst und Kultur zur Zeit Sigismunds von Luxemburg 1387-1437*. (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 2006), 101-102; Dezső Dercsényi, "The Illuminated Chronicle and Its Period" in *The Hungarian Illuminated Chronicle: Chronica de Gestis Hungarorum*, ed. Dezső Dercsényi (Budapest: Corvina Press, 1969), 42

<sup>746</sup> "...exceptis uno plenario per sanctum Lucam evangelistam manibus propriis..." "Item iam dicte domine regine filie nostre castrum Veteris-budense cum suis pertinentiis, unam cuppam auream et unum plenarium ymaginem beate Virginis habens, in superiori parte auro et inferiore argento tectum, et unum brevarium in quo legimus legamus." Hungarian National Archive, DL 6692. Ernő Marosi, "A 14. századi Magyarország udvari művészettörténetírásban", [Art history of the Hungarian court in the fourteenth century] in *Művészet I. Lajos király korában 1342-1382. Katalógus*, Ernő Marosi et al. (Budapest: MTA Művészettörténeti Kutató Csoport, 1982), 73 n 32.

<sup>747</sup> "Item domine Elene [sic] de Pukur... et unum breuiarium nostrum legamus eo modo, quod vsque vitam suam horas legat in eodem, suumque post decessum claustrum beate Virginis relinquatur." Ernő Marosi, "A 14. századi Magyarország udvari művészettörténetírásban", 73-74, n 32.

<sup>748</sup> The work of Joannes Pravotius that he cites is the Medicus Roviensis. Tibor Győry, "Monumentumok a magyar orvosi rend történetéből" *Századok* (1901): 49-50; Csaba Csapodi and Klára Gárdonyi Csapodiné, *Bibliotheca Hungarica: Kódexek és nyomtatott könyvek Magyarországon 1526 előtt*, Vol. II, 289 Item 3040.

red ink included entries for Saints Stephen, Ladislav, Elizabeth, and Sigismund and an endpaper also mentions Wenceslas II and III, Otto, Charles, Louis, and Vladislav. It seems that the original codex would most likely have been produced in Paris in the second half of the thirteenth century, possibly around 1260. The initials of W and the inscribed name of Ludovico appear towards the end of the codex with a woman in courtly dress praying for the person in question. It has been hypothesized that the original codex, referring to the “W” would have stood for Wenceslas, and that it was possibly the psalter of Elizabeth Rejčka, the second wife of Wencelsas II of Bohemia (though it was also suggested that it could be the psalter of Elizabeth, the daughter of Andrew III of Hungary). The fact that the name Ludovicus is mentioned suggests that the most likely subsequent owner of this book would have been Elizabeth of Poland; Szabó even suggested it could have been a gift to her from Anna of Schweidnitz (d. 1362).<sup>749</sup> Anna was not only a granddaughter of Charles I Robert, but had even been raised at the Hungarian court at Visegrád under Elizabeth’s supervision.<sup>750</sup>

Elizabeth has also been linked to two of the most famous codices produced at the Hungarian Angevin court: the Hungarian Angevin Legendary and the Hungarian Illuminated Chronicle. The commissioner and the place of execution for the Hungarian Angevin Legendary remain unknown at present, but in earlier research it was suggested that Elizabeth – either by herself or with her husband Charles I – commissioned this illustrated volume on the lives of various saints.<sup>751</sup> The codex seems to be from someone familiar with the illumination style of Bologna, but at present its origins (even when it dates to) remains shrouded in mystery. There is a similar problem with the origins of the Hungarian Illuminated Chronicle. Markus Kalti was originally thought to be the author of the text. Supposedly the document was authored in 1358 onwards, when Kalti became the canon warden of the basilica at Székesfehérvár. Originally, Kalti was first mentioned in 1336 as a cleric employed in the chapel of Queen Elizabeth Lokietek.<sup>752</sup> His authorship has since been questioned in the more recent literature. The queen and a possible author of the text are linked, but that is no definitive proof that she was behind the manuscript; usually the codex is linked to her son Louis I ‘the Great’ and that is the end of the

<sup>749</sup> It was sold in 1959 to the New York antiquarian H. P. Kraus for £24,000. György Szabó, “Egy újabb magyar vonatkozású kódexről” *Új Látóhatár* VI/2 (1963): 178-18; Csaba Csapodi and Klára Gárdonyi Csapodiné, *Bibliotheca Hungarica: Kódexek és nyomtatott könyvek Magyarországon 1526 előtt*, Vol. II, 336 Item 3322.

<sup>750</sup> Dragoş Gheorge Nastasoiu, “Patterns of Devotion and Traces of Art. The Pilgrimage of Queen Elizabeth Piast to Marburg, Cologne, and Aachen in 1357” *Umění* LXIV (2016), 32.

<sup>751</sup> Béla Zsolt Szakács, *The Visual World of the Hungarian Angevin Legendary* (Budapest: Central European University, 2016), 9.

<sup>752</sup> Dercsényi, “The Illuminated Chronicle and Its Period”, 23.

discussion.<sup>753</sup> Until new evidence comes to light, the queen's relationship with these works will remain a possibility, but nothing more. Nevertheless, the queen can be definitely connected to three breviaries and one psalter. By contrast, her husband Charles I Robert was known definitively to have possessed one book, a Legend of St. Stephen.<sup>754</sup> The only other private individual in the fourteenth century whose library rivals Elizabeth's is her son's, Louis I 'the Great'; he is identified as the owner of at least thirteen books, three of which survive.<sup>755</sup> Louis also most likely would have inherited some volumes from the court of Robert 'the Wise' of Naples; the library of the Neapolitan Angevins numbered over a hundred codices.<sup>756</sup> In this environment, Elizabeth of Poland was clearly a significant book collector, donator, and commissioner at the Hungarian court in the fourteenth century.

### Manual of instruction written by Elizabeth Kotromanić for her daughters

Geoffroy de la Tour-Landry's *Book of the Knight of the Tower*, a book of deportment for his daughters, mentions how a Hungarian queen had written a book of deportment for her daughters. The original was written sometime around 1371-1372, and an English translation by William Caxton was made the following century in 1484.<sup>757</sup> While both Elizabeth of Poland (d. 1380) and her daughter-in-law Elizabeth Kotromanić (d. 1387) would have had daughters of their own, it is assumed that the latter was the author of the book for two reasons. One is that the wife of Louis I only had three daughters and no sons, and the other is that by 1374, the queen's three

<sup>753</sup> Csapodi and Gárdonyi Csapodiné, *Bibliotheca Hungarica*, Vol. I, 263 Item 916; Pál Engel, *Realm of St. Stephen: A History of Medieval Hungary 895-1526* (London: Tauris, 2005), 158-159.

<sup>754</sup> Csapodi and Gárdonyi Csapodiné, *Bibliotheca Hungarica*, Vol. III, 67-68, Item 384.

<sup>755</sup> The three surviving books are the *Hungarian Illuminated Chronicle*, a work on surgery by Albucasis, and the *Secretum Secretorum* by Pseudo-Aristoteles. The lost books include a Book of Genesis, another commenting on Genesis, a *Gesta* of St. Ladislav, a history of the translation of St. Paul the first desert hermit, a Biography of himself written by János Kükölli, a work written for him possibly by Francesco Petrarch, *De re militari* by Vegetius, a work of Giovanni da Ravenna, and possibly several astronomical works which are not further specified. Csapodi and Gárdonyi Csapodiné, *Bibliotheca Hungarica*, Vol. I 131, Item 346; 263 Item 916; Vol. II 132 Item 2332; Vol. III 69-70, Items 391-401.

<sup>756</sup> Isabelle Heullant-Donat, "Une Affaire d'hommes et de livres, Louis de Hongrie et la dispersion de la bibliothèque de Robert d'Anjou", in *La noblesse dans les territoires angevins à la fin du Moyen Âge*, éd. Noël Coulet – Jean-Michel Matz, 689-709 (Rome, 2000); Cornelia C. Coulter, "The Library of the Angevin Kings at Naples", *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association*, 75 (1944): 141-155.

<sup>757</sup> In the original French, it reads "Si les devoit l'en tout au commencement prendre à chastier courtoisement par bonnes exemples et par doctrines, si comme faisoit la Roïne Princes, qui fut roïne de Hongrie, qui bel et doucement sçavoit chastier ses filles et les endoctriner, comme contenu est en son livre." The English verse of Caxton is as follows "For they ben yong and lital and dysgarnysshed of al wytte and reson, wherfor they ought at begynnyng to be taught and chastysed curtoisly by good ensamples and doctrynes as dide a quene – I suppose she was Quene of Hongry – whiche fayre and swetely chastysed her doughters and them endoctrined, as is conteyned in her book." Geoffrey de la Tour-Landry and Anatole de Montaiglon, *Le livre du chevalier de La Tour Landry, pour l'enseignement de ses filles* (Paris: P. Jannet, 1854), 2; Jocelyn Wogan-Browne, Nicholas Watson, Andrew Taylor, and Ruth Evans, *The Idea of the Vernacular: an Anthology of Middle English Literary Theory 1280-1520* (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1999), 201, lines 24-28, 203.



surviving daughters (Catherine, Mary, and Hedwig/Jadwiga) were all born.<sup>758</sup> Catherine and Mary were born around the time of la Tour-Landry's book for his own daughters, which would indicate that the book was written and known in France before 1371-2. In the 1370s, negotiations were ongoing between the Hungarian court and the French court for a marriage alliance between Louis (d. 1407), the son of Charles V of France and Catherine, the eldest daughter of Louis I and Elizabeth Kotromanić. While the alliance was terminated in 1378 with the death of Princess Catherine, the intent on the part of both courts was very real.<sup>759</sup> Jansen states that a copy of the book was sent to Prince Louis in 1374 as part of the negotiations,<sup>760</sup> though there seems to be no other surviving evidence for its presence in France other than the reference in the manuscript of la Tour-Landry.

While the content cannot be known specifically, its presence is nonetheless extremely important for understanding the personal and familial power the queen possessed at this time. In the first years of the 1370s, Elizabeth's mother-in-law was then regent of Poland, and thus the younger queen had the first opportunity to act with some independence. This also coincided with the birth of her three daughters as well. Authoring this book seems to be an exceptional action that other queens apparently do not undertake until the end of the fifteenth century;<sup>761</sup> the book not only represented a way for the young queen to differentiate herself from the elder Queen Elizabeth, but also be a means of ensuring control over the upbringing of her own children in a way that recalls the Admonitions written for St. Emeric in the eleventh century. It is also a rare insight into the unofficial power queens had over the education of their children. In France, there is a surviving psalter manuscript from Leiden University Library that Louis VIII of France (r. 1223-1226) brought back from England, although a later annotation remarks that Louis' wife Blanche of Castile (r. 1252) used it to teach her son St. Louis IX (r. 1226-1270) how to read.<sup>762</sup> Elizabeth Kotromanić also made sure to include the image of her three daughters on the sarcophagus of St. Simeon in Zadar (**Cat. VI.15**). Regrettable as the book's loss may be, it nonetheless shows a different side of the younger Queen Elizabeth who is usually only

<sup>758</sup> One Polish historian notes that a short-lived daughter would have been born to the couple in 1365. Oscar Halecki and Tadeusz Gromada, *Jadwiga of Anjou and the Rise of East-Central Europe* (Boulder: Social Science Monographs, 1991), 49.

<sup>759</sup> Marianne Sághy, "Mézières Magyarországról. A késő Anjou-kori kormány francia kirtikája" [Mézières from Hungary: a late Angevin period criticism of the French government] in *Francia-magyar kapcsolatok a középkorban*, ed. by Attila Györkös and Gergely Kiss (Debrecen: Debrecen University Press, 2013), 248; Paul Rousselot, *Histoire de l'éducation des femmes en France* (Paris: Didier et cie, 1883), 63; Alice Hentsch, *De la Littérature didactique du moyenâge, s'adressant spécialement aux femmes* (Cahors: A. Coueslant, 1903), 135; Sharon Jansen, *Anne of France: lessons for my daughter* (Woodbridge: D. S. Brewer, 2004), 13 n 43.

<sup>760</sup> Jansen, *Anne of France: lessons for my daughter*, 13 n 43.

<sup>761</sup> There were several non-royal contemporaries of Elizabeth's offering up works on deportment, such as the aforementioned de la Tour Landry as well as Christine de Pizan. Jansen, *Anne of France*, 12-13.

<sup>762</sup> Nolan, *Queens in Stone and Silver*, 129.

remembered for her problematic regency in Hungary after the death of Louis I. Here is evidence for a queen displaying not only her own education but also maternal care in a material way that would impact the next generation which garnered praise from abroad.

### **The Carmen of Lorenzo de Monaci written for Queen Mary of Hungary, her Hungarian prayer book, and the University of Óbuda**

Shortly after Elizabeth Kotromanić was strangled while imprisoned in 1387, a Venetian delegation rescued her daughter Mary (r. 1382-1395), Hungary's first queen regnant, from the Dalmatian town of Senj (now in Croatia). According to one of their chief diplomats by the name of Lorenzo Monaci, the young queen asked him personally to write a chronicle of contemporary events pertinent to Hungary's recent history. The result is that rather than a chronicle of Hungary, it is a 560 line poem in Latin hexameter. Instead of the focus being on the queens, it is on the murder of Charles II of Hungary (r. 1385-1386) and the villainy of the Neapolitans; the title of the work, *Carmen seu historica Carolo II cognomento Parvo Rege Hungariae* is indicative of this.<sup>763</sup> Monaci claims that the poem is meant to refute Tuscan gossip that Elizabeth and Mary invited Charles II specifically to kill him, and it manages a deliberately pro-Venetian interpretation of the events in Hungary. Mary herself serves rather as a placeholder between her father and her husband as the occupant of the Hungarian throne.<sup>764</sup> A Venetian official, Monaci was present in Hungary from 1386-7, in 1389 and 1390, and later in his life he would be chancellor of Crete. None of his other poetry (which would have been written in the Venetian dialect) has survived, though a great chronicle, the *Chronicon de rebus Venetis* composed in 1421-1428 appears to be one of the first western chronicles to explicitly use Byzantine primary source material.<sup>765</sup> While Mary is the recipient of the dedicatory letter of his *Carmen*, he admits that he has also addressed the poem to Peter Aimò, the Venetian captain of Crete. With this in mind, Ferenczi makes the argument that the poem's audience was not only the queen and the Hungarian court, but also the literate public in northern Italy.<sup>766</sup>

<sup>763</sup> Marianne Sághy, "Aspects of Female Rulership in Late Medieval Literature: the Queens' reign in Angevin Hungary" *East Central Europe* 20-23/1 (1993-1996): 77-79.

<sup>764</sup> Sághy, "Aspects of Female Rulership", 78-79.

<sup>765</sup> Șerban Marin, "A Venetian Chronicler in Crete: the Case of Lorenzo de' Monaci and His Possible Byzantine Sources" in *Italy and Europe's Eastern Border: 1204-1669* Iulian Mihai Damian et al (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2012), 240-242, 247-257; Ilona Ferenczi, "Poetry of Politics: Queen Mary of Hungary in Lorenzo Monaci's *Carmen* (1387)" (MA thesis: Central European University, 2008), 7-10.

<sup>766</sup> Ferenczi, "Poetry of Politics," 38-39.

The most accessible version of this poem is known from an eighteenth century publication; ostensibly, there is a record of it in the Vatican Library as Vat.Lat.11507.<sup>767</sup> Most historians of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries have taken this work at face value and the image of Queen Mary as a dynastic puppet caught between her mother's regency and her husband's rulership still predominates.<sup>768</sup> Nonetheless, Ferenczi has examined the poem as a piece of literature and her conclusions are that this work is a literary construct that has a very pro-Venetian bias which accounts for much of the image of Mary's helplessness. And yet, in comparison with Monaci's depiction of Charles as a rapacious, inept, and proud ruler whose disastrous end is justified, Mary is by contrast the legitimate ruler whose royal attributes are gender-neutral; the fact that she is a woman seems only to come up in her relationship with her mother and to her husband who she is still loyal too in spite of the fact that he is not present.<sup>769</sup> Part of the problem of the poem Mary commissioned from Monaci lies in its success at achieving what she most likely sought from it; vindication for her own actions during the turbulent years of her sole reign and her mother's regency. Blame gets placed not only on Charles II but also the regency of Elizabeth Kotromanić and Mary emerges as a wronged martyr caught in the web of intrigues of others. Yet this pervasive view has obscured Mary's actions to the point where she is considered a total nonentity. Her strong presence in the material record tells quite a different story.

In studying the queen's dynastic propaganda within literature, her commissioning of Lorenzo Monaci's work to tell her story of recent events is extremely important. It shows an awareness of her own position as well as the importance of historical writings. There is also a note from János Rimai, writing over two hundred years after the death of Queen Mary, on how she would have originally owned a Hungarian language prayer book. Considering the literary patronage of the women in her immediate family, this is a highly probable.<sup>770</sup> There is also the issue of the founding and re-founding of the University of Óbuda, first in 1395, then again in 1410. The first charter of the university has been dated to October 6, 1395, and Sigismund is usually given agency in the university's foundation. However, several aspects point to Mary's involvement before her death on May 17, 1395. The man appointed the Chancellor of the University of Óbuda was named Lukács Szántai, the provost of Óbuda. He appears in a document

<sup>767</sup> Lorenzo de Monaci, "Laurentii de Monacis Veneti carmen seu historia Carolo II cognomento Parvo Rege Hungariae" in *Laurentii de Monacis Veneti Crete cancelarii chronicon de rebus Venetis etc.*, ed. Flaminius Cornelius (Venice, 1758), 321-338; Ferenczi, "Poetry of Politics," 2.

<sup>768</sup> Saghý's assessment is that "The young queen never possessed actual political power in her country: this was held first by her mother and then by her husband. In the eight remaining years of her life Mary was involved only in royal donations of property and in charitable work." Saghý, "Aspects of Female Rulership", 77.

<sup>769</sup> Ferenczi, "Poetry of Politics," 35-36, 41-49.

<sup>770</sup> Csapodi and Gárdonyi Csapodiné, *Bibliotheca Hungarica*, Vol. III, 73 Item 427.

from 1392 as the provost of the Church of St. Peter in Óbuda as well as Queen Mary's secret chancellor, while in another he appears as a provost of the King. Furthermore, as Queen Mary would have owned part of the city of Óbuda, she was in a much more advantageous position to offer space to the fledgling university than her husband.<sup>771</sup> Mary's sister Jadwiga took an active interest in strengthening universities in Central Europe. Jadwiga is perhaps best remembered as stipulating in her will that her jewels were to be spent re-founding the University of Kraków which her great-uncle Casimir III the Great (r. 1333-1370) had first established in 1364, but which had been slowly dissolved.<sup>772</sup> Before that, she also sponsored a college at the University of Prague to aid in the conversion of her new Lithuanian subjects.<sup>773</sup>

Sigismund (r. 1387-1437) inherited the libraries of his older brother, Wenceslas IV of Bohemia (r. 1378-1419), and through him part of the collection of books of their father, Charles IV (r. 1346-1378). After the death of Sigismund's son-in-law Albert (r. 1437-1439), these books would have gone to Austria to the court of Frederick III (r. 1452-1493), guardian of Ladislas V (r. 1440-1457); later on the boy-king claimed some of these books back. Some of them make up part of the Corvina collection of books.<sup>774</sup> The books owned by Sigismund are better documented than his predecessors, yet there is the general impression that he took only a more passive interest in literature during his exceptionally long reign. Several books are dedicated to him, but his personal library seems to consist of a few interesting bits of translated works (for instance, a copy in Latin of Dante as well as a life of Alexander the Great).<sup>775</sup> Virtually nothing is known about the books of his second wife, Barbara of Celje (d. 1451). There is a tradition that she owned a fifteenth century manuscript by Guido da Columna called the "Bellum Troyanum, versio Germanica". The only evidence to support this claim comes from the fact that Martinus Opifex, an Austrian illuminator, seems to have made other manuscripts for Sigismund, which is not a

<sup>771</sup> László Domonkos, "The History of the Sigismundean Foundation of the University of Óbuda (Hungary)" in *Studies on the University of Óbuda 1395-1995*, ed. László Domonkos et al. (Budapest: Eötvös University Press, 1995), 4-6; György Székely, "Hungarian Universities in the Middle Ages: the University of Óbuda" in *Studies on the University of Óbuda 1395-1995*, ed. László Domonkos et al. (Budapest: Eötvös University Press, 1995), 30-31; László Domonkos, "The Founding (1395) and Refounding (1410) of the University of Óbuda" in *Universitas Budensis 1395-1995*, ed. by László Szögi and Júlia Varga (Budapest: Archive of the Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest, 1997), 20, 24.

<sup>772</sup> It seems the jewels were mostly from a collection of the Angevin dynasty. Benedek Lang, *Unlocked Books: Manuscripts of Learned Magic in the Medieval Libraries of Central Europe* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2008), 244; Stanislaw Dziedzic, *Alma Mater Jagellonica* (Kraków: Fundacja dla Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, 2005), 21; Karol Estreicher, *The Collegium Maius of the Jagiellonian University in Cracow* (Warsaw: Interpress Publishers, 1973), 12-13.

<sup>773</sup> Václav Chaloupecký, *The Caroline University of Prague, its foundation, character and development in the fourteenth century* (Prague: Orbis 1948), 81; Stanislaw Dziedzic, *Alma Mater Jagellonica*, (Kraków: Fundacja dla Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, 2005), 21.

<sup>774</sup> Csapodi and Csapodi-Gárdonyi, *Bibliotheca Corviniana 1490-1990* (Budapest: National Széchényi Library, 1990), 14; Madas and Monok, *A Könyvkultúra Magyarországon*, 51; Hoffman, *Régi magyar bibliofílek*, 9-12.

<sup>775</sup> Sigismund's copy of Dante's *Divine Comedy* still survives in the Eger Cathedral Library, P. V. 1. Csapodi and Gárdonyi Csapodiné, *Bibliotheca Hungarica*, Vol. I, 318 Item 1158; Vol. III 134 Items 1168-1176..

particularly strong argument.<sup>776</sup> Hints at Barbara's intellectual interests only come from secondary pieces of information, such as the fact that the alchemist Jan of Laz was part of her court.<sup>777</sup> The lack of interest on the part of Barbara in literature is echoed in many other aspects of material culture, indicating that with the death of Mary in 1395 there was a deliberate shift away from the strategies of using material culture that were formerly second nature to Hungarian queens.

### The Florian Psalter

The modern history of the Sankt Florian Psalter dates from its discovery at the Sankt Florian monastery in Linz in 1827 (**Cat. VII.3**). It was a psalter with each verse written consecutively in Latin, Polish and German. The first publication discussing this psalter ascribed it to Margaret of Luxemburg (d. 1349), the first wife of Louis I of Hungary.<sup>778</sup> The Psalter is divided into two parts; the first part goes up to folio 61v and comprises psalms 1-36, while the second part follows from 62v onwards. The first part has been dated by art historians to the end of the fourteenth century, while the second part was finished in the first part of the fifteenth century. The use of the vernacular and the initials depicting famous women of the Old Testament in seven different cases indicates that the commissioner was a woman, but the size indicates that the Psalter would have been used for public reading and singing, rather than private devotional use.<sup>779</sup> The primary means for identification seems to be from folios 50v and 53v, which have two identifying features: two letters MM which intersect with each other, and the Hungarian Angevin coat of arms complete with the crest of the ostrich with a horseshoe in its beak.<sup>780</sup> Since Margaret died when she was very young, the idea was that this could be a Psalter meant primarily as a means of instruction; its unfinished state was originally attributed to her sudden demise at the age of fourteen in 1349. It was also put forth at this time that the psalter could also be that of Louis' daughter Mary (r. 1382-1395), rather than his first wife.<sup>781</sup> In the nineteenth century Jadwiga was mostly seen as a way that the Psalter was transmitted to Catherine of Austria (d 1572), third wife of Sigismund II of Poland (r. 1548-1572), who herself bequeathed it to the

<sup>776</sup> Csapodi and Gárdonyi Csapodiné, *Bibliotheca Hungarica*, Vol. I, 70, Item 141;

<sup>777</sup> Milena Bartlová, "The Magic of Image: Astrological, Alchemical and Magical Symbolism at the Court of Wenceslas IV" in *The Role of Magic in the Past: Learned and Popular Magic, Popular Beliefs and Diversity of Attitudes*, ed. Blanka Szeghyova (Bratislava: Pro Historia, 2005), 22.

<sup>778</sup> Stanisław Dunin-Borkowski, *Psalterz Królowej Małgorzaty pierwszej małżonki Ludwika I. Króla Polskiego I węgierskiego córki Króla czeskiego I Cesarza Karola IV*. [Psalter of Queen Margaret, first wife of Louis I King of Poland and Hungary, daughter of Emperor Charles IV] (Vienna: Strauss, 1834), vi-viii.

<sup>779</sup> Éwa Snieżyńska-Stolot, "Psalterz Floriański z punktu widzenia historyka sztuki" [The Sankt Florian Psalter from the perspective of an art historian] *Rocznik Biblioteki Narodowej* XLII (2011): 87-89.

<sup>780</sup> Snieżyńska-Stolot identifies the ostrich as a Polish eagle. Snieżyńska-Stolot, "Psalterz Floriański z punktu widzenia historyka sztuki", 89.

<sup>781</sup> Dunin-Borkowski, *Psalterz Królowej Małgorzaty*, vi-viii.

monastery of Sankt Florian in Linz;<sup>782</sup> it would only be in the twentieth century that Jadwiga would be established as the psalter's commissioner and owner. Csapodi and Gárdonyi were of the opinion that the interlinked letter 'M's indicated that the Florian Psalter was first owned by Mary of Hungary before her sister Jadwiga.<sup>783</sup> A change in ownership of some kind can be detected as on folios 5r, 41r, and 50r there are parts of the original decoration that have been replaced with decoration that occurs eighteen times in the second half of the manuscript.<sup>784</sup> The original ownership of the psalter is usually discussed and divided along nationalist lines, but the Hungarian-Angevin coat of arms, the chronology, and the inclusion of Polish in addition to German and Latin make Jadwiga of Poland the strongest candidate.

A strong strain of determinism has run through interpretations regarding the chronology of the Psalter. Older literature confidently dated this codex to the time of Queen Jadwiga's pregnancy from September 1398-June 1399 on the basis of what was interpreted as astrological symbolism.<sup>785</sup> As two horoscopes were made for the Queen's infant while she was pregnant, the tendency has been to see a vast array of astrological signs in the Psalter, such as the planet Venus being represented by an eagle with a human head on folio 31r, or even the intertwined MM being a sign for the queen's zodiac sign of Pisces.<sup>786</sup> A recent article by Ożóg has challenged several of these notions, however. He makes the observation that identifying the queen's astrological sign as Pisces is highly problematic as the date of her birth is unknown; it would have most likely been sometime between October 3, 1373 and February 18, 1374.<sup>787</sup> He also challenges her identification of the main scribe of the Florian Psalter; she identified Bartołomiej of Jasło as the main author, while another miniaturist painted details such as the angel holding the coat of arms and the MM letters.<sup>788</sup> Ożóg points to other examples of Bartołomiej of Jasło's handwriting and notes where not only the handwriting is different, but also none of the other works associated with him have marginalia, decorations, or drawings of any kind. He clinches his argument with the fact that from 1397/8 to the spring of 1400, he was in the city of Prague, and thus, would not have been in Kraków during the critical time when the Psalter was made.<sup>789</sup> Furthermore, he

<sup>782</sup> Ibid., x-xi; Wladislaus Nehring, *Psalterii Florianensis Partem Polonicam ad Fidem codicis* (Poznań: J. K. Żupański, 1883), vi-viii.

<sup>783</sup> Csapodi and Gárdonyi Csapodiné, *Bibliotheca Hungarica*, Vol. II, 197 Item 2590.

<sup>784</sup> Sniezynska-Stolot, "Psalterz Floriański z punktu widzenia historyka sztuki", 87.

<sup>785</sup> September was represented by the symbol of Sagittarius, the time when the horoscope told the queen her child would be born. Krzysztof Ożóg, "Krakowskie środowisko umysłowe na przełomie XIV i XV wieku a problem powstania Psalterza floriańskiego" [The Intellectual Circles in Cracow at the Turn of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries and the Problem of the Creation of the Sankt Florian Psalter] *Rocznik Biblioteki Narodowej* XLII (2011): 106.

<sup>786</sup> Sniezynska-Stolot, "Psalterz Floriański z punktu widzenia historyka sztuki", 90-91.

<sup>787</sup> Ożóg, "Krakowskie środowisko umysłowe na przełomie", 106.

<sup>788</sup> Sniezynska-Stolot, "Psalterz Floriański z punktu widzenia historyka sztuki", 89.

<sup>789</sup> Ożóg, "Krakowskie środowisko umysłowe na przełomie", 104-105.

expands the argument against the astrological strain by pointing out what is known of the queen's piety and religious devotion. The two horoscopes prepared for her daughter Elizabeth Bonifacia were carried out by Jan de Saccis of Padua, who was to become rector of the University of Kraków in 1425. Ożóg sees in her personal taste more of a connection with the devotion of St. Louis IX of France and particularly notes that the reading list of the two was very similar.<sup>790</sup> What is known of her library includes the Old and New Testament, a collection of homilies, several hagiographies, and the works of St. Bernard, St. Ambrose, and St. Bridget.<sup>791</sup> Finally, his explanation of the MM monogram is that it is a sign of devotion to the biblical figures of Mary and Martha, keeping with the ideas of earlier literature which say that as well.<sup>792</sup>

With this in mind, it is clear that there are two different phases in the biography of the Psalter with the earlier one dating to the end of fourteenth century. The rupture seems to have been caused by a death, but I would like to suggest another possible idea; the death was that of Queen Mary, Jadwiga's sister. Even though Ożóg's work casts a deeply critical eye on various problems related to the Psalter, it nonetheless operates under the assumption that it was produced in the final years of Jadwiga's life and that the MM monogram is strictly a religious one. There are several factors suggesting that this psalter was a gift from one sister to the other. In the first place, while there is a good deal of evidence indicating Jadwiga's devotion to the two saints, it seems an overly simple explanation. Second, the two sisters were known to have given each other gifts; when they met in 1395, Jadwiga gave Mary a yellow velvet saddle shortly before the latter's death from falling off a horse while pregnant.<sup>793</sup> Finally, Jadwiga was known to have ordered several books in the year 1394; Bartołomej of Jasło himself was commissioned for five books of Solomon (*Proverbia*, *Ecclesiastes*, *Canticum canticorum*, *Sapientia*, and *Ecclesiasticus*) and a scribe named Bernard was paid six szkojce, but we are not informed what type of work he was asked to do.<sup>794</sup> Until further evidence comes to light, this will remain conjecture, but the date of the manuscript, the abrupt end of the manuscript, and the tradition of gift-giving between the two sisters make a strong case that this psalter could have been a gift to or from Jadwiga of Poland and Mary of Hungary.

<sup>790</sup> Ożóg, "Krakowskie środowisko umysłowe na przełomie", 108, 111.

<sup>791</sup> Csapodi and Gárdonyi Csapodiné, *Bibliotheca Hungarica*, Vol. III, 63 Items 358-364.

<sup>792</sup> Ożóg, "Krakowskie środowisko umysłowe na przełomie", 108-109; Sniezynska-Stolot, "Psalterz Floriański z punktu widzenia historyka sztuki", 90.

<sup>793</sup> Monica Gardner, *Queen Jadwiga of Poland* (Dublin: Browne and Nolan, 1944), 158.

<sup>794</sup> Ożóg, "Krakowskie środowisko umysłowe na przełomie", 102.

## Conclusions

What this survey has demonstrated so far is that for the first four centuries of the Hungarian kingdom, the queens were known to have owned a total of seventeen books, with only three surviving in their present form. We can associate Gisela of Bavaria with one, Judith of Swabia with one, Gertrude of Andechs-Meran with one, Agnes of Habsburg with six, Elizabeth of Poland with four, Elizabeth of Bosnia with one (later she was to inherit another from her mother-in-law), and Queen Mary owned two books; the list expands by one if the Florian Psalter is included, though its relation to the queen within the context of a gift is still undetermined. If the books of Hungarian princesses such as the two Saint Margarets, Mary the wife of Charles II of Naples and Jadwiga of Poland, the total number of documented books associated with women from the Hungarian court expands to fifty-nine.<sup>795</sup> Considering the aforementioned estimate of destruction, this is quite a remarkable corpus of codices to consider. While the bulk of evidence comes from the fourteenth century, there are several indicators that earlier queens, particularly in the eleventh century, were active in contemporary literary circles. In addition to the well-documented literary activities of Agnes of Habsburg, Elizabeth of Poland, Elizabeth of Bosnia, and Queen Mary of Hungary, it seems that Gisela of Bavaria, Judith of Poland, and Gertrude of Andechs-Meran had some interest in the commission, production, distribution, and promotion of literary activity at the Hungarian court. It is also worth pointing out that while once again widowed queens in the fourteenth century seem to be most active as literary patrons, there is much more of an indication of the queens' interest in books during the lives of their husbands. This could also possibly be due to female connections with books, as evidenced in particular by the case of the Gertrude Psalter and the Manual of Instruction by Elizabeth of Bosnia. We can also see more of a presence of princesses in the material culture of books, though most of what is known about this is from religious and hagiographic sources.

A conservative estimate indicates that of the seventeen known books, one was written by a queen herself, one was commissioned by the queen, one queen was the recipient of two dedications, six would have been donated by the queen for liturgical purposes, three are known to have been passed on from one female family member to another, and the relationship of the queens to the remainder is unclear. The Florian Psalter, Hungarian Angevin Legendary, and even the *Hungarian Illuminated Chronicle* may also represent active commissions on the part of the queen, but for now such a statement must remain conjecture. The queens would no doubt have been part of a network of exchange for literary material; for instance, the Inventory of Clémence

<sup>795</sup> Mary of Hungary, queen of Naples, is known to have owned 31 books and Jadwiga of Poland would have had seven others aside from the Florian Psalter. Csapodi and Gárdonyi Csapodiné, *Bibliotheca Hungarica*, Vol. III 42-44, Items 219-249; 63 Items 358-364.



of Hungary's library shows that several of the books in her possession were ones which she had borrowed.<sup>796</sup> With the exception of Agnes' German Bible, the multi-lingual Florian psalter and Queen Mary's Hungarian prayer book, the language of these books is predominately Latin. There would have had to have been some degree of bilingualism at the Hungarian court, though the earliest direct evidence for a Hungarian queen speaking Hungarian refers to Elisabeth of Luxemburg saying something in Hungarian.<sup>797</sup> The subject material of the books of the queens is also more religious and less multifarious than the wide interests of a figure like Louis I 'the Great'. Even with this in mind, there are several aspects of the queens' collections of books that shed an interesting light on their character. The *Prayers and Benedictions of Muri* for instance is a prayer book, but one that incorporates a lot of ritualistic magic into its practices. Elizabeth Kotromanić wrote a book of courtly behavior and deportment for her daughters many decades before other women authors were known to have done so. Finally, the poem Mary of Hungary commissioned for Lorenzo de Monacis indicates not only an interest in chronicling contemporary events relevant to herself, but also a desire for her own voice to be heard through literary means.

Some remarks can even be ventured on the display of the books and the space they would have occupied. Unfortunately, the location of the queen's collection of books in the Hungarian royal castles is something that shall have to remain a mystery. Only the location of the most famous Bibliotheca Corviniana is known to have existed within Buda castle; it would have been located beside the two-story chapel, comprising two tall halls with net vaulting, large windows, and walls decorated with horoscopes for King Matthias (r. 1458-1490) and later King Wladyslaw II Jagiellon (r. 1490-1516).<sup>798</sup> Its scale is clearly on a much larger, more ornate one than any space that would have been provided for a queen's books. In the case of the Gertrude Psalter, it is known that its function was originally for a public reading, so its size is reflective of that public role even if later it was turned into a more private, devotional psalter that was passed down the family line. The size of the Florian Psalter also indicates that the tri-lingual book was meant for public recitation. This is in contrast with the smaller size of the "Prayers and Benedictions of Muri". The pages of this humble prayer book are also much less decorated than the other, larger codices that survive. The size and illuminations of the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* and

<sup>796</sup> Mariah Proctor-Tiffany, *Portrait of a Medieval Patron*, 141-142.

<sup>797</sup> When her son was tapped with a sword a little too roughly at his confirmation, the queen remarked "For God's sake, don't hurt him." János M. Bak, "A Kingdom of Many Languages: The Case of Medieval Hungary" in *Forms of Identity: Definitions and Changes*, ed. Ladislaus Löb, István Petrovics and György Szőnyi (Szeged: Attila József University, 1994), 48-49; Bijvoet-Williamson, *The Memoirs of Helene Kottanner*, 43.

<sup>798</sup> András Végh, "Buda" in *Medium Regni: Medieval Hungarian Royal Seats* ed. Julianna Altmann et al. (Budapest: Nap Kiadó, 1999), 188.

*Illuminated Chronicle* also indicate their status as representative showpieces, though connections with the Hungarian queens are more tentative.

## *Images of the Hungarian queens*

### Public images of Hungarian queens

#### **Defining a public image**

The public images of a monarch could be depicted on media such as statue columns (both at the base and capital), stained glass, frescos, coins, stove tiles and even floor tiles. For the most part, funerary sculpture, as discussed in a later chapter, is the sole means by which queens represented themselves in a public context. However, in a few rare instances, the queen's image could be used in a variety of public places, though there are only a few examples known and even fewer discussed in the secondary literature. Part of this scarcity is connected to the difficult question of knowing who exactly is supposed to be represented in these public sculptures. For example, it seems to be the case that the statues erected as part of Abbot Suger's renovation of the west portal of St. Denis in Paris (ca. 1137-1140) are various Old Testament figures and one of the crowned women present could be interpreted as the Queen of Sheba. Earlier, they had been identified as Merovingian kings and queens.<sup>799</sup> Further complicating the issue is the fact that the face of the monarch could sometimes be used in certain allegorical representations, though this becomes more common in the later Middle Ages. In the Later Middle Ages, royal women usually found themselves appearing as allegorical figures in literature, rather than in imagery.<sup>800</sup> Regardless of whether the kings represented in such public sculptures were from the nearest court or from the Old Testament, the connection between the two remained very strong and such commemoration could only enhance the prestige of the ruling dynasty.<sup>801</sup> In visual representations of the Holy Kings of Hungary from the fourteenth century, St. Stephen is depicted in ways to remind the viewer of King Solomon, while St. Ladislav is meant to represent a youthful King David.<sup>802</sup>

In spite of these difficulties, the queen's presence behind these sorts of public monuments can still be divined in some examples. Nolan compared the presence of statue columns in three churches contemporary to Adelaide of Maurienne (d. 1154), wife of Louis VI of France: St. Denis in Paris, Notre-Dame in Étampes and Chartres Cathedral. At Chartres, a site dedicated to

<sup>799</sup> Kathleen Nolan, *Queens in Stone and Silver*, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 72, 206 n 124.

<sup>800</sup> For example, the Lady Bird in Chaucer's Parliament of the Fowles has been suggested to be modeled on Philippa of Lancaster (d. 1415), later wife of João I of Portugal. Edith Rickert, "A New interpretation of the Parlement of Fowles" in *Modern Philology* 18/1 (1920): 15.

<sup>801</sup> John Steane, *The Archaeology of the Medieval English Monarchy*. (London & New York: Routledge, 1999), 18.

<sup>802</sup> Dragoş Gheorge Nastasioiu, "The Pillars of the Medieval Hungarian State and Church" *Matérialité et immatérialité dans l'Eglise au Moyen-Âge*. Stéphanie Daussy-Turpain, Catalina Gîrbea, Brînduşa Grigoriu, Anca Oroveanu, and Mihaela Voicu, et al. (Bucharest: Editura universităţii din Bucureşti, 2012), 463.

the Virgin Mary, there are several representations of crowned queens, some even holding scepters. This also seems to be the case at Étampes, where Adelaide's son Henry was abbot; while none of the heads survive, one of the women was clearly depicted with a scepter in hand. This is in contrast to St. Denis, the seat of Adelaide's rival Abbot Suger. Here, the proportion of women depicted on the portal is not only lower, but the figures are crowned although none hold a scepter. While it is difficult to conclude anything more from these fragments of information, the sites closer to Adelaide and with a stronger female presence do seem to have supported figural representation of women, while the more conservative Benedictine foundations like St. Denis had fewer women and symbols of power associated with them.<sup>803</sup>

The image of the queen could also be used in a public way to show resistance to a current regime. Two royal figures from the twelfth century depicted on the town gates of Milan mock a king and a queen; the queen in particular is shown lifting up her skirt and exposing herself. Though this figure is carved from a re-used Roman gravestone, it has nonetheless been hypothesized that these figures are meant to represent Frederick I Barbarossa (r. 1155-1190) and Beatrice of Burgundy (d. 1184) after their military excursion against the city.<sup>804</sup> Nonetheless, statues of queens could be found in all sorts of public places. A rather exceptional example of this would be the statues of John of Luxemburg (r. 1310-1346) and Elisabeth of Bohemia (d. 1330) dating from 1310-1315 on what would have been the original Gothic façade of the Stone Bell House in Prague.<sup>805</sup>

There are a few examples known of Hungarian kings depicted in medieval public sculpture. One of the earliest is the head of a king from Kalocsa cathedral dating to the 1220s-1230s. The crown with the three crosses is reminiscent of the one found in the graves of Béla III (r. 1173-1196) and Agnes of Antioch (d. 1184); some scholars speculate that this representation of a king could be the first Hungarian king, St. Stephen, while other arguments suggest that it is either a biblical king or a crowned Christ (*Fig. 19*).<sup>806</sup> At the church of St. Martin in Spišská Kapitula, Slovakia (Szepeshely) there is a fresco from 1317 depicting The Virgin Mary crowning Charles I Robert (r. 1308-1342) (*Fig. 20*). Behind the king is his reeve (presumably Frank

<sup>803</sup> Kathleen Nolan, *Queens in Stone and Silver*, 72-75.

<sup>804</sup> Beatrice along with others had helped raised funds and troops against the city. Otto of Freising, Charles Christopher Mierow (trans.). *The Deeds of Frederick Barbarossa*. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1953/2004), ch. xxviii, 265 & ch. xlvi, 278; Julian Gardner, "An Introduction to the Iconography of the Medieval Italian City Gate", *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, Vol. 41. Studies on Art and Archaeology in Honor of Ernst Kitzinger on His Seventy-Fifth Birthday (1987): 208.

<sup>805</sup> Klára Benešová, "Architectonic Sculpture of the Stone Bell House in the period context" *A Royal Marriage: Elisabeth Premyslid and John of Luxembourg ~1310*, ed. Klára Benešová. (Prague: Muzeum hlavního města Prahy, 2011), 80-87.

<sup>806</sup> Gyöngyi Török, "King's head from Kalocsa" *A Thousand years of Christianity in Hungary: Hungariae Christinae Millennium*, ed. István Zombori, Pál Cséfalvay, Maria Antionietta De Angelis, (Budapest: 2001), 275.

Sempesi), while on the right side of the painting, Thomas, the archbishop of Esztergom, holds another crown and Henrik, the provost of Szepes holds an orb; the lattermost ordered the fresco, according to the inscription. Charles I Robert had to go through several coronations before he was finally and universally accepted as King of Hungary, so a painting like this could have proved to be very important in legitimizing the king's authority.<sup>807</sup> In the fourteenth century, Louis I of Hungary (r. 1342-1382) and his mother Elizabeth of Poland (d. 1380) were heavily involved in promoting the cult of the three Holy Kings of Hungary (St. Stephen, St. Emeric, and St. Ladislas). Their efforts resulted in a program of frescoes of the three saintly kings appearing in many churches across the realm.<sup>808</sup> It would be another century before a portrait would survive of a Hungarian king. An unknown artist painted Sigismund of Luxemburg (r. 1387-1437) sometime in the decade and a half before his death in 1437, showing him as an old man in a large fur hat without any marks of royal office (*Fig. 21*).<sup>809</sup> The first portrait like this with a Hungarian royal wife in mind is the engagement portrait of Ladislas V 'the Posthumous' (r. 1440-1457) with Madeleine (d. 1495), the daughter of Charles V of France (*Fig. 22*) by an unknown Austrian artist. The two appear sumptuously dressed with the princess offering the king a carnation. An unusual feature is how the two do not make eye contact – this is probably because two individual portraits were combined. While the embassy Ladislas sent to Tours was received very well and given gifts, news soon came that Ladislas had died and the marriage never took place.<sup>810</sup>

The images covered in this study comprise a variety of different forms, functions, and types. Most of the paintings, portraits, and stone carvings date from the fourteenth century. One possible exception to this might be the fresco of Yaroslav the Wise (r. 1019-1054) at the Hagia Sophia Cathedral in Kiev which depicts him and his family. This representation is hotly contested because Anastasia would have only been a princess in the fresco and since identifying her among

<sup>807</sup> Mária Prokopp and Gábor Méry, *Középkori falképek a Szepességben*. [Medieval wall paintings in Szepes county]. (Bratislava, Méry Ratio, 2009), 18-27.

<sup>808</sup> Dragoş Gheorge Nastasioiu, "The Pillars of the Medieval Hungarian State and Church", 454-456. While the kings and queens of England appear on thirteenth century floor tiles from the Chapter House of Westminster Abbey, no such images survive for Hungary if they ever existed. John Steane, *The Archaeology of the Medieval English Monarchy*, 174-175.

<sup>809</sup> Ulrike Jenni, "Porträt Sigismunds von Luxemburg" in *Sigismundus Rex et Imperator: Kunst und Kultur zur Zeit Sigismunds von Luxemburg 1387-1437*, ed. Imre Takács et al. (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 2006), 153-154.

<sup>810</sup> Emese Sarkadi Nagy, "Verlobungsporträt von Ladislaus V. (Postumus) und der Magdalena von Frankreich," in *Sigismundus Rex et Imperator: Kunst und Kultur zur Zeit Sigismunds von Luxemburg 1387-1437*, ed. Imre Takács et al. (Frankfurt: Philipp von Zabern, 2006), 507-508; M. P. Horvathy, "Le Mariage manqué de dame Magdaleine de France et de Lancelot Roy de Hongrie (Tours, Decembre 1457)" *Bulletin de la Société archéologique de la Touraine* 45 (1998): 529-541; Attila Györgökös, "V. László francia házassági terve: diplomácia fordulat 1457-ben?" [The French marriage plans of Ladislas V: a diplomatic revolution in 1457?] in *Francia-magyar kapcsolatok a középkorban*, ed. by Attila Györgökös and Gergely Kiss (Debrecen: University of Debrecen Press, 2013), 272.

the five princesses is nearly impossible, this fresco will not be discussed here.<sup>811</sup> Another outlier, but one included in this study is an early fifteenth century image of Gertrude of Andechs-Meran (d. 1213) depicted in a cycle of her daughter, St. Elizabeth of Hungary (d. 1231).

In the eleventh century, Hungarian queens were depicted in public formats but on a relatively small scale. Their representations in churches were mostly confined to objects of liturgical use, such as the miniature portrait of Gisela of Bavaria (d. 1065) on the Gisela Cross (**Cat. VI.2**), as well as the Coronation Mantle (**Cat. VI.3**). It is also possible that it was intended that the back of the Adelaide Cross (**Cat. VI.4**), unfinished at the time of Adelaide of Rheinfelden's death in 1090, was originally intended to include the queen's image.<sup>812</sup> However minimal, Hungarian queens do have a public presence in the eleventh century. By the twelfth century this is no longer the case, and with one or two exceptional examples, queens in this period are rather invisible in general. Helen of Serbia's (d. 1146) role in governance during the reign of her blind husband, and Euphrosyne of Kiev's (d. 1193) co-foundation of the Hospitaller Order and power brokering during her widowhood speak to the different dynastic concerns of the queens for this period. Their authority was expressed without the use of images, but in this way the same can be said of Hungarian kings of the period; no twelfth century images of the kings seem to survive. In the thirteenth century, the queen's image appears on seals and coins, and it is possible that depictions of the queen may have appeared on public statuary at this point. Not only are there several massive construction projects associated with queens such as Maria Laskarina, but there are also contemporary queens in France, the Holy Roman Empire, and England who appear in such contexts. Nevertheless, the only surviving material for the Hungarian case comes from the fourteenth century, which is where the bulk of this chapter will be focused.

### Lost stained glass of Agnes at Königsfelden

As will be shown in the section on monastic residence of the queens, Agnes of Habsburg (d. 1364), second wife of Andrew III of Hungary (r. 1290-1301), embarked on a lavish program of dynastic self-promotion at the Abbey of Königsfelden. The stained glass windows in the nave represent some of the earliest parts of this self-promotion (such as the stained glass windows with

<sup>811</sup> Andrzej Poppe, "Building of the Church of St Sophia in Kiev" *Journal of Medieval History* 7 (1981): 15-66; Viktor Lazarev, "New Data on the Mosaics and Frescoes of the Cathedral of St. Sophia in Kiev: The Group Portrait of Yaroslav's Family" in *Studies in Early Russian Art*, Viktor Lazarev, ed. (London, The Pindar Press, 2000), 386-426; Elena Boeck, "Believing is Seeing: Princess Spotting in St. Sophia of Kiev," in *Dubitando: Studies in History and Culture in Honor of Donald Ostrowski*, ed. Brian J. Boeck, Russell E. Martin & Daniel Rowland (Bloomington: Slavica Publishers, 2012), 167-179; Szabolcs de Vajay, "Még egy királynénk...? I. Endre első felesége" [Another of our queens...? The first wife of Andrew I] *Turul* 72 (1999), 18.

<sup>812</sup> Christopher Mielke, "Lifestyles of the Rich and (in?)Animate: Object Biography and the Reliquary Cross of Queen Adelaide of Hungary", in *Queenship, Gendered, and Reputation in the Medieval and Early Modern West, 1060-1600*, ed. Lisa Benz St. John and Zita Rohr (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), 3-27.

the Hungarian double-barred cross from ca. 1312, **Cat. III.2**). Agnes is also known to have had a portrait in stained glass of herself along with her extended family. Unfortunately, most of these windows were destroyed at some point and only a few donor portraits survive, including Albert II and Johanna von Pfirt kneeling before St. Elizabeth of Hungary (d. 1231) and Agnes' other brother, Duke Leopold (d. 1326) and his wife, Catherine of Savoy (d. 1336).<sup>813</sup> Several illustrations survive from the sixteenth-eighteenth centuries,<sup>814</sup> but differences between their depictions as well as renovations in the nineteenth century make it a difficult task to reconstruct the original placement. Nonetheless, it seems most probable that there were two windows featuring the portrait of Agnes: one on the south side of the choir, and one in the nave.

The choir of Königsfelden was built ca. 1329-1330 and the stained glass would have dated either contemporaneously or ca. 1340. While the choir would have mostly served the needs of the Franciscan brothers, Agnes would have had her residence to the East of the church choir. From her residence she would have had her own means of ingress to the part of the church featuring portraits of her brother Leopold I and his wife in stained glass as well as the legend of St. Claire.<sup>815</sup> While only a few of the north-side family portraits survive in the choir, Kurmann-Schwarz is of the opinion that the presence of Agnes' brothers in such a space make it very likely that Agnes, her father, and her mother would all be buried there, since her mother founded the Abbey on the site where her father Emperor Albert I (r. 1298-1308) was murdered. According to this hypothesis, Agnes' parents Albert I and Elizabeth of Tyrol (d. 1312) would have had central prominence at the bottom of the most visible window in the center of the apse, which depicts the Passion of Christ.<sup>816</sup> As such, it seems most likely that a stained-glass window featuring Agnes and her husband Andrew III of Hungary would have appeared on the easternmost window on the south side of the choir (s III in the diagram of Königsfelden, *Fig. 55*), opposite the window which still depicts Agnes' brother Albert II and his wife Joanna of Pfirt. In addition to this placement being the second most important for a window in the choir, the surviving remnants above where

<sup>813</sup> Brigitte Kurmann-Schwarz, "Die Präsenz der abwesenden Dynastie: Die Bilder und Wappen der Habsburger im Chor und im Langhaus der ehemaligen Klosterkirche von Königsfelden" *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Kunst und Denkmalpflege* LXVI (2012) 3/4: 312; Brigitte Kurmann-Schwarz, *Die Mittelalterlichen Glasmalereien der ehemaligen Klosterkirche Königsfelden*. (Bern: Stämpfli, 2008), 279-291.

<sup>814</sup> These are the ÖNB Codex 8614, Vienna, Ms. LM 22737 from the Zürich SLM, Ms. 124 from the Luzern ZHB, Ms. L 94 from the Zürich, ZB. These date to c. 1555, 1560, 1580, and 1628 respectively. Martin Gerbert et al., *Monumenta Augustae Domus Austricae*, 3, 2 (Vienna: 1773); Kurmann-Schwarz, *Die Mittelalterlichen Glasmalereien der ehemaligen Klosterkirche Königsfelden*, 32, 74-75, 210-214.

<sup>815</sup> Brigitte Kurmann-Schwarz, "Seeing and Understanding Narrative and Thematic Method in the Stained Glass of the Choir of Königsfelden ca. 1330-1340" in *The Four Modes of Seeing: Approaches to Medieval Imagery in Honor of Madeline Harrison Caviness*, ed. by Evelyn Staudinger Lane, Elizabeth Carton Pastan and Ellen M. Shortell (Burlington: Ashgate, 2009), 260; Kurmann-Schwarz, *Die Mittelalterlichen Glasmalereien der ehemaligen Klosterkirche Königsfelden*, 362-373.

<sup>816</sup> Window I. Kurmann-Schwarz, *Die Mittelalterlichen Glasmalereien der ehemaligen Klosterkirche Königsfelden*, 211.

Agnes and Andrew III would have originally been include a scene of the stoning of St. Stephen the protomartyr. Since Albert II and Joanna are depicted flanking St. Elizabeth of Hungary, Kurmann-Schwarz posits that St. Stephen of Hungary might have appeared between Agnes and Andrew III.<sup>817</sup> While no evidence survives for such windows for the parents or husband of Agnes, it is possible that an illustration of this window of Agnes in the choir survives. An illustration from the *Monumenta Augustae Domus Austricae* series from 1773 depicts her presenting a model of the church (as is typical for a founder) and wearing a wimple, but unlike other earlier illustrations, the queen is shown kneeling in front of a pillow on the ground that has a crown (**Cat. VIII.1**). Since she is also shown facing to the right (and thus would have been to the viewer's left), not only does this suggest it is a different image from the lost stained glass of her in the nave, but also that after her parents, she would have been depicted in the most prominent spot in the choir.<sup>818</sup>

In addition, the nave of the Abbey would have had a series of fourteen Habsburg family portraits done in stained glass from around 1360, shortly before Agnes' death.<sup>819</sup> Of the fourteen original windows, only those of Albert II (r. 1330-1358) and Rudolf King of Bohemia survive (r. 1306-1307).<sup>820</sup> Nonetheless, illustrations of these windows from the Early Modern period depict what the windows featuring Agnes and her family would have looked like. While the colors of Agnes' garments vary in the different Early Modern illustrations, they all show Queen Agnes on her knees and usually facing left while holding a model of the church (**Cat. VIII.2**). The oldest illustration shows her wearing a light dress covered by a dark mantle trimmed with ermine while the later three show her in a blue dress with a pink mantle wrapped around her with no fur. While her mother is crowned, Agnes is simply wearing a veil. While it is unknown where in the nave this window might have been placed, it seems that based on the illustrations, Agnes' window would have been paired with her mother, Elizabeth of Tyrol, while Agnes' father and husband would have been paired together.<sup>821</sup> Agnes is described as the Queen of Hungary, the daughter of Albert I who completed the monastery.<sup>822</sup> As one portrait in a set of stained glass portraits of her family, both windows depicting Agnes show her both as a humble, devoted patroness of the Abbey as well as a Queen in her own right, even if the crown was not on her head.

<sup>817</sup> Ibid., 211-212.

<sup>818</sup> Ibid., 212; Gerbert et al., *Monumenta Augustae Domus Austricae*, 3, 2, Table 18.

<sup>819</sup> Kurmann-Schwarz, *Die Mittelalterlichen Glasmalereien der ehemaligen Klosterkirche Königsfelden*. 27, 30, 32, 39, 80, 230.

<sup>820</sup> There are also fragments for the windows of Agnes' two brothers Henry and Leopold I as well as her husband, Andrew III. Ibid., 386-392.

<sup>821</sup> One potential issue is that these illustrations make no distinction between images in the nave and in the choir. Kurmann-Schwarz, *Die Mittelalterlichen Glasmalereien der ehemaligen Klosterkirche Königsfelden*. 231-232.

<sup>822</sup> Ibid., 233-234.



## Representations of Elizabeth Piast

There are several carved stone pieces which could possibly represent the formidable Elizabeth of Poland (d. 1380), last wife of Charles I Robert (r. 1308-1342). The main problem of identification though comes from the fact that unlike the stained glass windows of Agnes, these pieces are much more ambiguous. Not only are identifying features such as an inscription missing, in most cases there are no corroborating features such as a crown or coat-of-arms to further the case that a particular statue was meant to represent Elizabeth of Poland. It is thus necessary to be cautious in treating these images as direct depictions of the queen since they could just as well be decorative, allegorical, or meant to represent someone totally different.

In the first case, a grey andesite keystone was found in 1934 in the western wing of the castle of Diósgyőr, 30-40 cm above the cellar (**Cat VIII.3**). The kruseler-type headdress and elaborate neckline have dated the carving stylistically to the second half of the fourteenth century, particularly the 1360s. It is a very realistic portrayal of the woman who has a wide nose and somewhat matronly appearance; the sculpture greatly resembles others executed in the Parler style.<sup>823</sup> The Parler style highlights these stylistic features and the Cathedrals of Prague and Vienna are fine examples of the work of Peter and Wenzel Parler, masters of their namesake style.<sup>824</sup> Either Elizabeth of Poland (the mother of Louis I) or his second wife Elizabeth Kotromanić (d. 1387) have been suggested as the identity of the woman on this keystone. Arguments for this keystone depicting Elizabeth of Poland point to the fact that the queen wears a headdress like this one in the *Hungarian Illuminated Chronicle*, while the exact same argument is made for Elizabeth Kotromanić, pointing to a similar veil in depictions of her on the sarcophagus of St. Simeon from Zadar (**Cat. VI.15**).<sup>825</sup> The first reference in the charters to Diósgyőr as a royal residence indicate that it was part of Elizabeth of Poland's property and undoubtedly she had a significant role in renovating the castle. This particular keystone would have come from the upper floor rooms of Diósgyőr which had cross vault ceilings with figured keystones in the center. Other keystones found include a dragon's nest and a grotesque. Czeglédy suggested that they would have embellished the dining room in the upper floor of the western wing.<sup>826</sup> An interesting characteristic of the keystone from Diósgyőr is that she is not crowned. The top of her head is damaged, so it is difficult to tell if there would have been a crown originally, but if there

<sup>823</sup> Ilona Czeglédy, "Zárókő női fejfel" [Keystone with the head of a woman] in *Művészet I. Lajos király korában 1342-1382*. (Budapest: MTA Művészettörténeti Kutató Csoport, 1982), 240-241.

<sup>824</sup> László Gerevich, *The Art of Buda and Pest in the Middle Ages* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1971), 71; Robert Odell Bork, *The Geometry of Creation: Architectural Drawing and the Dynamics of Gothic d5esign* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), 231.

<sup>825</sup> Czeglédy, "Zárókő női fejfel" [Keystone with the head of a woman], 241.

<sup>826</sup> Ilona Czeglédy, *The Castle of Diósgyőr* (Budapest: Corvina Press, 1971), 10-11, 31.

was it would have been very small, given the dimensions. In spite of the absence of a crown, considering that this castle was Elizabeth's property, it is likely (though not completely certain) that such a keystone was meant to represent herself, especially if came from such a public space.

In the second case (**Cat. VIII.4**), several capitals from the Angevin period were uncovered at the St. Mary Gate of the Church of Our Lady in Buda (the site of the present-day Matthias Church). Some of the fragments that survived and had plaster casts made of them were identified as being the likenesses of King Louis I and his mother, Elizabeth of Poland. In particular, the main analogy for identifying the king is the statue of him at Mariazell Cat. VIII.6).<sup>827</sup> In the case of the queen, the crown and veil were used as the primary means of identifying her. As with the keystone, the face is depicted in a very realistic manner with the wide nose and matronly figure. The wide nose on the woman depicted on this capital bears a strong resemblance to the woman depicted on the capital found at the Church of Our Lady in Buda (**Cat. VIII.3**). Elizabeth of Poland was known to have had an active influence in contributing to rebuilding, renovation, and construction of many different buildings in Hungary. In the vicinity of Buda and Óbuda, she was instrumental in sponsored construction projects on the Franciscan convent of St. Clara on Margaret Island in the Danube River, the Premonstratensian monastery of the Archangel Michael also on Margaret Island, the Dominican nunnery on Margaret Island as well, the Poor Claires cloister in Óbuda, the collegiate churches of Our Lady and St. Peter in Óbuda, an Augustinian monastery and church of St. Stephen in lower Buda, the church of the Carmelites in Buda, the chapel of St. Martin in Buda and the Chapel of Our Lady in Buda castle for a total of ten ecclesiastic institutions.<sup>828</sup> This capital from the Church of Our Lady in Buda has been dated to around 1370-1380, so this capital of the queen could have been made after the queen's death.<sup>829</sup> While there does not seem to be any evidence for her contributing directly to any significant building projects at the Church of Our Lady in Buda, it is still possible that this capital of a crowned woman could nonetheless be Elizabeth of Poland. Furthermore, its presence at the St. Mary Gate of the church indicates that the audience for such an image would have been much wider than inside a monastic church (such as Königsfelden) or in a public room of a castle (such as Diósgyőr).

Finally, there is a curious keystone from a Gothic Hall at the main Market Square in Kraków (**Cat. VIII.5**). The vaulting and sculptural decoration had been dated to 1386, but others have argued that it could date to 1375. If it dates from the 1370s, the possibility has been raised

<sup>827</sup> József Csemegi, *A budavári főtemplom középkori építéstörténete* [The medieval building history of the main church of Buda Castle] (Budapest: Képzőművészeti Alap Kiadóvállalata, 1955), 96-97.

<sup>828</sup> Éva Sniezynska-Stolot, "Queen Elizabeth as a patron of Architecture" *Acta Historiae Artium* 20 (1974): 13-28.

<sup>829</sup> Csemegi, *A budavári főtemplom*, 97.

that the keystone is Elizabeth, who at the time was Regent of Poland on behalf of her son Louis I the Great. The main argument that it might be Elizabeth is the fact that she is wearing a large headdress similar to a *kruseler* as seen in other depictions of her. She is not crowned in this keystone, but there are also other depictions of Elizabeth without a crown, such as the image of her on the reliquary cross from Spišská Nová Ves (**Cat. VI.10**). There is also the fact that she was never queen of Poland, but rather her office there was only that of regent.<sup>830</sup> If the keystone and vaulting do in fact date from 1386, it is possible that considering the age of the woman represented, it might be Elizabeth's granddaughter, Jadwiga of Poland (r. 1384-1399). Unlike the examples in Buda and Diósgyőr, the woman depicted here looks younger. In dating this piece to 1386, the lack of a crown and other personal attributes as well as the age of the young woman in this keystone makes the argument that this keystone is Elizabeth of Poland unlikely.

These three stone carvings depicting medieval women all raise the question of to what extent individualized features were used to convey identity at this point in time. In late fourteenth century France, there are several instances where physiognomic likeness was used to differentiate important royals and noblemen (and women) along with costume and inscription. In some cases individualized features are present but nonetheless idealized, as in the instance of an image of Jeanne de Bourbon, Queen of France (d. 1378), where apparently she was depicted being much slimmer than in real life.<sup>831</sup> In the case of the keystone from Diósgyőr and the capital from Buda, the unidealized depiction of the woman (in one case crowned) with a matronly appearance, and a wide nose and mouth are probably what made earlier scholars attribute the sculptures to the Parler school. Not only was the workshop of Peter Parler innovative in its realism, it was also intimately tied with the Central European courts at Vienna and Prague. While the intended identity of these three women may never be known, it seems most possible that the sculptures at Diósgyőr and Buda represent Elizabeth of Poland.

### Representations of Elizabeth Kotromanić

There are two images in carved stone thought to feature Elizabeth of Bosnia (d. 1387), the second wife of Louis I 'the Great' (r. 1342-1382). The best known example can be found at the shrine of Mariazell in Austria (**Cat. VIII.6**). A shrine had been present at Mariazell for centuries, but in 1340 the Gothic portion of the eastern choir was begun. Louis I did not intervene in the construction of the shrine there until 1363, where one chronicler states that he saw the Virgin Mary in a vision encouraging him against an army of Turks who outnumbered him. When he was

<sup>830</sup> Éva Sniezyska-Stolot, "Die Ikonographie der Königin Elisabeth", *Acta Historiae Artium* 17 (1971): 27.

<sup>831</sup> Stephen Perkinson, *The likeness of the king: a prehistory of portraiture in late medieval France* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009), 141-142, 207-208.

victorious, he surrounded the existing shrine with a Gothic church and central tower. The construction was continued around 1380 with a three-nave Gothic hall church, and finally around 1400, the middle tower was completed with funds from the Hungarian king.<sup>832</sup> While in Baroque times the Gnadenkapelle (“Chapel of Grace”) was demolished and rebuilt, there are still some fourteenth century elements that remain. In particular, the Gnadenkapelle has an elaborately carved Gothic canopy and in the front and center of it there is a double portrait of a king and queen traditionally identified as Louis the Great and Elizabeth Kotromanić. While their original context is not known, it seems plausible that the portraits adorned the rood screen separating the nave and choir.<sup>833</sup> The king appears to be a man of about fifty years old wearing an open crown and with a full beard and flowing hair. The queen appears to be much younger and is wearing a crown very similar to the king’s over a veil which covers her hair. Their clothing is nondescript and between the two of them there are richly carved grape vines and leaves. Szamosi has drawn particular attention to the queen’s mouth, comparing it to a carving from Prague of Anna of Schweidnitz, queen of Charles IV of Bohemia; he concluded both were carved by the same workshop, namely the aforementioned Peter Parler.<sup>834</sup> Due to this association with the Prague sculptures, earlier scholarship dated the stone work to 1369-1370, after Louis’ donation in 1367 and around the time he gained the Polish crown.<sup>835</sup> However, if this was part of the rood screen, it raises a problem of chronology. The rood altar was consecrated in 1369, three more altars in 1383, and the papal letter of indulgence from 1399 indicates the church would have been completed at this time. For these reasons, and comparing stylistic examples from the second half of the fourteenth century, Marosi believes that this image would have been carved around 1383, after the king’s death indicating that he had no involvement the creation of his image in this medium.<sup>836</sup>

If this is the case, it raises the possibility that Elizabeth herself may have been involved in creating this image after the death of her husband. If the carving dates from 1383, as Marosi thinks, it makes one wonder if this commission had anything to do with the marriage between Elizabeth’s daughter Jadwiga (Queen of Poland r. 1384-1399) and Wilhelm of Austria (d. 1406). While it is unknown whether Elizabeth ever made it to the shrine of Mariazell, she was present at

<sup>832</sup> József Szamosi, “König Ludwig der Grosse: Bauten und Denkmäler in Mariazell” in *Louis the Great: King of Hungary and Poland*, ed. S. B. Vardy et al. (Boulder: East European Monographs, 1986), 291, 294.

<sup>833</sup> Ernő Marosi, “Mariazell und die Kunst Ungarns im Mittelalter,” in *Ungarn in Mariazell – Mariazell in Ungarn: Geschichte und Erinnerung*, ed. Péter Farbaky, Szabolcs Serfőző (Budapest: 2004), 31.

<sup>834</sup> Szamosi, “König Ludwig der Grosse: Bauten und Denkmäler in Mariazell”, 303-304.

<sup>835</sup> Szamosi, “König Ludwig der Grosse: Bauten und Denkmäler in Mariazell”, 303.

<sup>836</sup> Marosi, “Mariazell und die Kunst Ungarns im Mittelalter”, 31-32.

Hainburg for the betrothal of Jadwiga and Wilhelm in 1377.<sup>837</sup> To say that the situation with Austria was a complicated one after the death of Louis I would be an understatement. Elizabeth Kotromanić did not view the match with Wilhelm of Austria favorably, and she took no action when the Polish nobles broke the engagement between the pair in 1383. However, in 1385 Leopold III (r. 1365-1386) sent his son over to assert his rights as Jadwiga's husband – at this time, Elizabeth had angered the Luxemburgs by trying to break her eldest daughter's engagement with Sigismund while facing an invasion from Charles of Durazzo (r. 1385-1386), who would in turn depose her daughter while she awaited the arrival of Louis of France (d. 1407), who she was seeking as a bridegroom for Mary (r. 1382-1395). While Elizabeth may not have welcomed Wilhelm's arrival, it was clear that she was in no position to anger the Austrian court.<sup>838</sup> If Elizabeth did commission this rood screen, it would have enhanced her own image abroad, shown pious devotion to a shrine of international importance, and possibly mollified her Habsburg allies at a tense moment. If this was not the case, Mariazell still had an immense international reputation as a place for pilgrimage.<sup>839</sup> Sadly, since the heads of this king and queen are removed from their original context, it cannot be said if any other identifying features were present.

If this rood screen does depict Louis I and Elizabeth of Bosnia, this would be the first instance of a Hungarian king and queen appearing together as husband and wife; the only other possibly preceding example is the capitals of Louis I and his mother Elizabeth of Poland at St. Mary's Gate in the Church of Our Lady in Buda (**Cat. VIII.4**). Elsewhere, there were many examples to draw from of royal couples depicted in public statuary: Freising cathedral shows Frederick I Barbarossa (r. 1155-1190) and Beatrix of Burgundy (d. 1184) enthroned together in the western portal, a bridge in Regensburg depicts Philip of Swabia (r. 1198-1208) and his Byzantine wife Irene Angelina (d. 1208), and a thirteenth century sculpture from Magdeburg cathedral has its founders, Otto I (r. 936-973) and Edith of England (d. 946), depicted in a place which most likely was located some place on the central portal of the rood screen.<sup>840</sup> For the shrine at Mariazell, the figures of Louis and Elizabeth continued to hold importance in the

<sup>837</sup> Szamosi, "König Ludwig der Grosse: Bauten und Denkmäler in Mariazell", 290.

<sup>838</sup> Oscar Halecki and Tadeusz Gromada, *Jadwiga of Anjou and the Rise of East Central Europe* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1991), 100-101, 116, 131.

<sup>839</sup> In the mid-fifteenth century, Helene Kottanner prayed that if she survived the theft of the Hungarian crown that she would make a pilgrimage barefoot to the shrine of Mariazell Maya Bijvoet Williamson, *The Memoirs of Helene Kottanner* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1998), 30.

<sup>840</sup> Klára Benešová, "Architectonic Sculpture of the Stone Bell House in the period context" *A Royal Marriage: Elisabeth Premyslid and John of Luxembourg ~1310*, ed. Klára Benešová. (Prague: Muzeum hlavního města Prahy, 2011), 86-87.

coming centuries – in the seventeenth century there are Baroque plaster figures of the pair offering up their crowns to the Mother of God.<sup>841</sup>

Elizabeth Kotromanić also engaged in a program of public representation in the city of Zadar. There she donated a massive reliquary sarcophagus along with certain personal objects including (but not limited to) a crown as well as possibly a veil and some finger rings (**Cat. VI.15, V.6 and V.7**). Furthermore, Queen Elizabeth is shown in a stone relief on the right side kneeling before St. Simeon, which could have been from the same church (**Cat. VIII.7**).<sup>842</sup> The saint is in the center of the relief while on the viewer's left, two angels flank what appears to be a blank escutcheon with a helmet on the top of it. Though the figure of the queen is rather badly worn, it can be discerned that she is wearing a crown under which her hair is bundled up. She ties a cloak at her breast with a pin. While there has been little published on this relief, it has nonetheless been hypothesized that this stone relief is the work of Pavao from Sulmona.<sup>843</sup> He was a very prominent artist in Zadar, and is responsible for works such as the tomb of Archbishop Nikola Matafur as well as the chapel of St. Simeon next to St. Mary Major. He was active from 1386 to 1405 on the basis of other works,<sup>844</sup> so based on this it seems that this relief was in all likelihood erected after the death of Louis the Great in 1382. The question then arises whether this relief was made and erected before or after Elizabeth's death in 1387. If it was made while she was alive, it would be one of Pavao's earliest attributed works, contemporaneous with the tomb of Nikola Matafur. On the other hand, if it was made after her death, the person most likely responsible for commissioning the stone would have been her daughter, Queen Mary of Hungary. Mary is also known to have erected a white marble sarcophagus for her mother at the royal basilica in Székesfehérvár after moving her remains from the Church of St. Chrysogonus in Zadar, so perhaps this could have been part of Mary's program of preserving her mother's memory. It is difficult to tell much about the original site for such a monument, but its drastic weathering seems to indicate that it spent a great deal of time outside; perhaps this relief may have been on the exterior of the church and visible to all who passed by as a memorial to her mother's devotion.

<sup>841</sup> Szamosi, "König Ludwig der Grosse: Bauten und Denkmäler in Mariazell", 308.

<sup>842</sup> In 1983, Ivo Petricioli believed that the relief came from the Church of St. Mary Maior in Zadar, but a more recent article of his states that it would have also come from the Church of St. Simeon with all the other accoutrements. Ivo Petricioli, *St. Simeon's Shrine in Zadar* (Zagreb: Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, 1983), 6; Ivo Petricioli, "Još o Pavlo iz Sulmone – graditelj pročelja crkve u Starom Pagu" [Pavao of Sulmona – builder of the façade of the church in Old Pag] *Ars Adriatica* 3 (2013): 111-120.

<sup>843</sup> Petricioli, *St. Simeon's Shrine in Zadar*, 6.

<sup>844</sup> Petricioli, "Još o Pavlo iz Sulmone", 111-120.

## Frescos of the Queen of Hungary at Runkelstein

In Southern Tyrol, the so-called “Knight’s Hall” in the western palace of the Castle of Runkelstein is decorated with three frescos of various courtly scenes. One of the central figures possibly represents a Hungarian queen. In one scene, she is playing ball, in another she is part of a fishing party, and in the most elaborate one, she is leading a courtly dance (**Cat. VIII.8**). In all three images, the woman wears the same outfit: she has a crown on her fair, plaited hair and wears a blue dress with long, flowing sleeves and golden accessories. The main arguments for the identification of this woman as a Hungarian queen essentially stem from the prominent placement of the Hungarian-Angevin coat-of-arms; furthermore, the crown on her head resembles that of crowns found in the *Hungarian Illuminated Chronicle*.<sup>845</sup> However, problems arise when attempting to place a name to the depicted queen.

In the 1890s, historians suggested that Queen Mary (r. 1382-1395) was the subject of this painting.<sup>846</sup> However, a very influential article by Pór from 1901 postulated that the queen is Mary’s grandmother, Elizabeth of Poland. His main argument why the image is of Elizabeth rather than Mary is that in his view, the shield depicted at Runkelstein depicts heraldry from the era of Charles I. He states that the red and silver Árpáadian stripes were on the left and the blue field of lilies were on the right in both the fresco and in the time of Charles I, while in the time of Louis I ‘the Great’ and Mary, the devices were reversed (the lilies on the left and the red and silver bars on the right).<sup>847</sup> Pór came to this conclusion based on the assumption that these scenes represented an anti-Luxemburg discussion at Passau in July 1362 between Louis of Hungary, Rudolf IV of Austria, Meinhard III of Tyrol, and Casimir III of Poland (the latter does not appear in the frescos, and there is no indication that Elizabeth was present there either).<sup>848</sup>

Problems start to arise with these identifications on closer inspection, especially since they are made based on the heraldic devices depicted and the belief that the fresco was commissioned sometime in the 1360s. Recent opinion has held that this fresco dates from around

<sup>845</sup> Antal Pór, “Magyar vonatkozású fali képek Runkelsteinben” [Hungarians of relevance on the wall paintings in Runkelstein], *Archaeológiai Értesítő* 20 (1900): 195; László Szende, “Piast Erzsébet és udvara (1320-1380)” [Elizabeth Piast and her Court (1320-1380)] (PhD diss.: ELTE, Budapest, 2007), 38.

<sup>846</sup> Sándor Szilágyi, *A magyar nemzet története*, [The Hungarian National History] Vol. 3, (Budapest: Athenaeum, 1895), 404.

<sup>847</sup> One example of this is **Cat. I.23**, Mary’s second signet ring from 1387. Pór, “Magyar vonatkozású fali képek Runkelsteinben”, 196.

<sup>848</sup> In the scene of the ball game, Pór also identifies figures such as Meinhard III of Tyrol and his wife Margaret of Habsburg, Rudolf IV of Austria and his wife Catherine of Luxemburg, Stephen of Bavaria and his wife Margaret of Hohenzollern, Frederick of Bavaria and his wife Anna of Neussen, and Margaret Maultausch as well as Klara Pokori/Pekri, Elizabeth of Poland’s maid, János Lichtenwert, provost of Brixen, and either a servant or the painter of the image. Pór, “Magyar vonatkozású fali képek Runkelsteinben”, 195-208; Szende, “Piast Erzsébet és udvara (1320-1380)” [Elizabeth Piast and her Court (1320-1380)], 38-39.

1388, after Niklaus and Franz Vintler purchased the castle in 1385.<sup>849</sup> This would mean that the meticulous identifications made by Antal Pór are all erroneous; after all, many of the figures would have been dead by that point. It also seems odd that such a political meeting, which took place at Passau would be depicted in Tyrol featuring courtly scenes more related to entertainment than to political negotiations. Other researchers have suggested that the crowned woman is instead Queen Mary (r. 1382-1395), daughter of Louis I.<sup>850</sup> The date, the figure of the crowned woman, and the proximity of the Hungarian-Angevin coat of arms make this a plausible argument, but the question still remains as to why a Hungarian queen would be present on a fresco at such a place. Considering that rooms in Runkelstein also depict many fictional scenes such as the stories of King Arthur as well as Tristan and Isolde in close proximity, it is possible that these three scenes could simply be allegorical. Furthermore, Queen Mary is not known to have gone to the region (or, for that matter, to have left her kingdom during her thirteen year reign).<sup>851</sup> Finally, while the Hungarian-Angevin coats-of-arms are present on the border of the scenes, they do not seem to be directly related to the central figure. Absent of any inscriptions, it seems most likely that this is meant to be an allegorical courtly scene rather than depictions of concrete events or people.

### Posthumous altar painting of Gertrude of Andechs-Meran

The final, curious entry on our list concerns two panel paintings from the Church of the Holy Ghost in Lübeck (**Cat. VIII.9**). Twenty-three panels were painted around 1420-1430 by an artist attributed to the school of Conrad of Soest on the subject of the life of St. Elizabeth of Thuringia (d. 1231), daughter of Andrew II of Hungary (r. 1205-1235). The cycle of St. Elizabeth appears above arches leading to another passage in the church. The second panel depicts the queen, Gertrude of Andechs-Meran giving birth to Elizabeth, and the ninth panel depicts the brutal murder of the queen in 1213.<sup>852</sup> Her appearance in these depictions of the Life of St. Elizabeth is interesting as Elizabeth's hagiographers have a somewhat ambivalent attitude towards her. In the works of Theodoric of Apolda, the murdered queen later appears to Elizabeth

<sup>849</sup> Szende, "Piašt Erzsébet és udvara (1320-1380)" [Elizabeth Piašt and her Court (1320-1380)], 38-40.

<sup>850</sup> László Zolnay, *Ünnep és hétköznapi a középkori Budán* (Budapest: Gondolat, 1969), 198; Iván Bertényi, "A középkori művelődés" in *Magyar művelődéstörténet* ed. László Kósa (Budapest: Osiris Kiadó, 1998), 102.

<sup>851</sup> Pál Engel and C. Norbert Tóth, *Királyok és királynék itineráriumai, 1382-1438* [The itineraries of the kings and queens, 1382-1438] (Budapest: MTA, 2005), 35-46; Szilárd Süttő, *Anjou-Magyarország Alkonya: Magyarország politikai története Nagy Lajostól Zsigmondig, az 1384-1387 évi belviszályok okmánytárával*, [The Twilight of Angevin Hungary: Hungary's political history from Louis the Great until Sigismund, 1384-1387 the years of internal strife in the charters] Vol. I (Szeged: Belvedere Meridionale, 2003), 221-259.

<sup>852</sup> See Tamás Köröndi, "A Gertrúd királyné elleni merénylet körülményei" [The circumstances of the assassination of Queen Gertrude,] in *Egy történelmi gyilkosság margójára: Merániai Gertrúd emlékezete, 1213-2013* edited by Judit Majorossy (Szentendre: Ferenczy Múzeum, 2014), 95-124.



begging for prayers in the afterlife as “she had lived carelessly”. At the other extreme is Caesarius of Heisterbach who presents her murder as a holy martyrdom and presents Elizabeth’s sanctity as coming from her mother rather than her father.<sup>853</sup>

The first panel featuring Gertrude shows her recumbent on a bed after giving birth to her daughter, who she holds in the crook of her shoulder. The king and four ladies are looking on while a smaller woman sits near the cradle eating something out of a bowl. Andrew is crowned while Gertrude appears only in a simple veil covering her head. The vessels, fabric, and the king’s ermine-trimmed robe all indicate this scene was meant to be very sumptuous. The panel depicting Gertrude’s murder is much more dramatic. The queen is in the center wearing a richly embroidered dress, a crown on her flowing blonde hair, and an ermine trimmed mantel. Her assailant is plunging a sword into her breast while three conspirators look on. In the background there are the turrets of a castle and trees indicating the sylvan setting of the attack; the painter was clearly familiar with certain details of the queen’s murder. This altar cycle represents the two most well-known aspects of Gertrude’s life within the context of her daughter’s biography: St. Elizabeth’s birth and Gertrude’s murder.

## Conclusions

The presence of the queen on monumental sculpture is still an area of study that has been tackled only on a case-by-case basis. Nonetheless, an examination of the surviving Hungarian examples has revealed quite a bit. Aside from the possible fresco of Anastasia (wife of Andrew I) as a princess in Kiev, there are no extant public images of queens until the fourteenth century. While there are plenty of examples of queens appearing on public sculpture in France, England, and the Holy Roman Empire in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, such an absence of both the king and the queen in the Hungarian Kingdom appears odd. Part of the absence of public images of royalty can be explained by the patrons ordering these statues of kings to be erected. In England, most of the statues of kings in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries were erected by bishops in cathedrals to be displayed on the west portal. It is not until the reign of Richard II in the later fourteenth century that the king himself took an active interest in promoting himself.<sup>854</sup> The depictions of Agnes of Habsburg, Elizabeth of Poland, and Elizabeth of Bosnia, show the

<sup>853</sup> Anja Petrakopoulos, “Sanctity and Motherhood: Elizabeth of Thuringia” in *Sanctity and Motherhood: Essays on Holy Mothers in the Middle Ages*, ed. Anneke B. Mulder-Bakker (New York: Garland, 1995), 279-282; Gábor Klaniczay, “A királyné mint bűnkban, mártír és szent a középkori Európában” [The Queen as Scapegoat, Martyr and Saint in Medieval Europe], in *Egy történelmi gyilkosság margójára: Merániai Gertrúd emlékezete, 1213-2013*, ed. Judit Majorossy (Szentendre: Ferenczy Múzeum, 2014), 149-150, 154-155.

<sup>854</sup> In 1385 he ordered thirteen statues of kings to be erected at the Great Hall in Westminster Palace. Steane, *The Archaeology of the Medieval English Monarchy*, 18-20.

way these queens took a very active part in forming their own public image in the fourteenth century. These queens commissioned the most important sculptors and painters for these images and the high quality of these images attests to their importance. Despite the ambiguity of some possible identifications of these pieces, these three queens understood the importance of using stained glass and sculpture as a medium for self-representation.

It is also interesting to compare the sort of setting and audience these images may have had. In the case of Agnes, her stained glass portrait at Königsfelden fit in entirely with her program of family self-promotion at the Abbey, which we have seen in other chapters. However, like the other objects, her activities remain confined to Königsfelden. Elizabeth of Poland had her image carved in stone in Buda and Diósgyőr (although the keystone from Kraków remains a mystery). While her image is certainly a recognizable one, she only appears in this medium in royal centers. Her image at the gate of a city's parish church and the keystone of her in a public room at a palace both indicate an awareness of the importance of having a wide audience. On the other hand, Elizabeth of Bosnia appears in two churches far from the royal centers of power, in Zadar and Mariazell. While the image in Zadar is certainly religious in nature showing the queen paying homage to St. Simeon, the queen's ties to the city and the public nature of the image nonetheless reinforce it as a political act. The dual portrait of the king and queen from Mariazell could even be the result of the queen finishing something started by her husband. The paintings depicting Gertrude of Meran appear high up, in a prominent position at the central part of the church. The other interesting thing is that if the chronology is right, the major programs of queenly self-promotion in the fourteenth century took place when they are widowed. Agnes of Habsburg, Elizabeth of Poland, and Elizabeth of Bosnia all only promote this sort of public self-image after the death of their husbands. There is also the case of queens who took it upon themselves to depict other members of their family; the best known example seems to be Mary of Hungary's involvement with her mother's image at Zadar. It would be nearly a century before Beatrice of Aragon (1457-1508), wife of King Matthias Corvinus (r. 1458-1490) would resume a tradition of public imagery of the Hungarian queen in monumental carving, portraiture, and sculpture.

### Image of Hungarian queens in Illuminated Manuscripts

Several important works have tackled the image of the queen in various illuminated manuscripts from the Middle Ages. One manuscript image from a *Bible moralisée* from the 1230s is attributed to Blanche of Castile (d. 1252). The scene, on folio 8r, depicts her and her son Louis IX (r. 1226-1270) at the top of the page. While Louis is holding the orb and scepter, the symbols of authority, he and his mother are both crowned, the same size, and seated on impressive thrones with backs and armrests. The queen's mantle is trimmed with ermine (unlike her son's), and her gestures indicate that she is giving instructions to her son, perhaps an indication of her activity as regent.<sup>855</sup> In another manuscript (Vienna ÖNB 2554), the focus of the imagery in the manuscript is overwhelmingly related to reginal authority, succession, and childbirth, and has been seen not only as a projection of Blanche's own power in the early years of her regency, but also that the manuscript itself was originally intended for a female audience.<sup>856</sup> Meanwhile in the Latin East, Folda has examined 51 different manuscripts which contain pictures of Melisende, the queen of Jerusalem (r. 1131-1153). He asks questions about when and why she appears, her associated iconography, as well as regional variations in depictions of her.<sup>857</sup> In Naples, the Anjou Bible (c. 1340), believed to have been commissioned by Robert I (r. 1309-1343) for his daughter Joanna's (r. 1343-1382) marriage to Andrew of Hungary (d. 1345), shows Joanna in a much more prominent position, repeatedly emphasizing her sovereignty and her status as primary heir to the throne.<sup>858</sup> These successful case studies depend on a large body of illustrations to work from as well as a fairly tight chronology.

This chapter will focus on the eighteen surviving illuminated manuscripts that depict Hungarian queens and attempt to gauge various markers of their status, such as their place on the page, their size, their manner of dress, their actions, and their gestures. Garnier's work on the meaning of symbolism and gestures in medieval art will aid in understanding what the intended actions for these queens were in these images.<sup>859</sup> An amount of description for some of the images cannot be avoided, but in the analysis I will try to focus on the many ways the image of the queen was used within the contexts of these codices which they mostly had minimal

<sup>855</sup> Nolan, *Queens in Stone and Silver*, 130.

<sup>856</sup> Tracy Chapman Hamilton, "Queenship and Kinship in the French *Bible moralisée*: The Example of Blanche of Castile and Vienna ÖNB 2554," in *Capetian Women*, ed. Kathleen Nolan (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 177-195.

<sup>857</sup> Jaroslav Folda, "Images of Queen Melisende in Manuscripts of William of Tyre's History of Outremer: 1250-1300" *Gesta* 32/2 (1993): 98.

<sup>858</sup> Admittedly, this could be an example of Robert's agency rather than Joanna's, but the hierarchy between the two figures is still clear. Michelle M. Duran, "The Politics of Art: Imaging Sovereignty in the Anjou Bible" in *The Anjou Bible: A Royal Manuscript Revealed, Naples 1340*, ed. by Lieve Watteeuw and Jan Van der Stock (Leuven: Peeters, 2010), 73-74.

<sup>859</sup> François Garnier, *Le langage de l'image au Moyen Âge* (Paris: Le Léopard d'Or, 1982-1989) Vol. I and II.

involvement (if any) in their creation. There is also the issue that in this chapter most of the illustrations will be from the fourteenth century as most of the original material seems most likely to have been destroyed.<sup>860</sup>

Even in the surviving material there are some omissions of the queens' presence in illuminations. The focus in the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* is on the lives of various popular saints, so it is no real surprise that there are no depictions of Hungarian queens on its pages. Gisela of Bavaria (d. 1065), the mother of St. Emeric (d. 1031), does not appear on any of the eight images from his life, and the Legend of St. Stephen is missing, so it is currently unknown if she was illustrated together with her husband. The Hungarian maiden rescued from the Cuman warrior appears in three scenes from the Legend of St. Ladislav, yet his wife Adelaide of Rheinfelden (d. 1090) is nowhere to be found.<sup>861</sup> This is hardly surprising as she is missing from hagiographic sources of his life and only known from chronicles or charters that mention her.<sup>862</sup> As she does not appear in other examples of his cycle, it is doubtful she would have appeared in any of the original illuminations of his legends. Even some queens who were exceptionally powerful at a personal level fail to show up in manuscript illuminations. For instance, Agnes of Habsburg (d. 1364), second wife of Andrew III (r. 1290-1301), had her own extensive library, yet the only images of her in manuscripts comes from centuries later depicting her and her family in a set of now-lost stained glass windows from the Abbey of Königsfelden (**Cat. VIII.1** and **Cat. VIII.2**).

### Gertrude of Meran in the Landgrafenpsalter and Hedwig Codex

The earliest surviving example of a Hungarian queen in an illuminated manuscript is the depiction of Gertrude of Andechs-Meran (d. 1213) in the so-called "Landgrafenpsalter" (*Fig. 24*). The Psalter, which is believed to be from Lower Saxony and has been dated to the years 1211-1213, depicts three royal couples in quick succession: the Landgrave Hermann of Thuringia (d. 1217) with his wife Sophia, Andrew II of Hungary (r. 1205-1235) and Gertrude (d. 1213), and King Ottokar I of Bohemia (r. 1197-1230) and his second wife, Constance of Hungary (d.

<sup>860</sup> Since this chapter is focusing on Hungarian queens, it will not include the image of Judith of Schweinfurt being abducted by Břetislav I of Bohemia in the Dalimil Chronicle, as her status as Hungarian queen is doubtful (*Fig. 23*). Alena Ježková and Zdeněk Uhlíř, *Tales from the Chronicle of Dalimil: the Paris fragment of the Latin translation* (Prague: Gloriet with the National Library of the Czech Republic, 2005), 28-31; Cosmas of Prague, Lisa Wolverson, trans., *The Chronicle of the Czechs* (Washington D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 2009), 101-103.

<sup>861</sup> Béla Zsolt Szakács, *The Visual World of the Hungarian Angevin Legendary* (Budapest: Central European University, 2016), 124-126.

<sup>862</sup> Christopher Mielke "Lifestyles of the Rich and (in?) Animate: Object Biography and the Reliquary Cross of Queen Adelaide of Hungary in *Queenship, Gendered, and Reputation in the Medieval and Early Modern West, 1060-1600*, ed. Lisa Benz St. John and Zita Rohr (New York, Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), 5.

1240).<sup>863</sup> Ottokar was a cousin of Hermann of Thuringia, and Constance was Andrew II's sister. It is believed that this psalter was commissioned sometime between the betrothal of St. Elizabeth to the landgrave's son, and the death of Gertrude in 1213, as it is highly unlikely that Gertrude would be depicted as queen after Andrew married Yolanda of Courtenay (d. 1233) in 1215.<sup>864</sup> Of the three couples, only Hermann and Sophia of Thuringia are named; the king and queen of Bohemia and Hungary are just referred to by their title. The two kings are crowned and wielding scepters while Hermann is wearing a red cap and holding nothing. All three of the women though are crowned and holding books. Gertrude is wearing a crown with three pinnacles and holding a closed book with the cover facing the viewer; Constance is wearing a banded crown with her two braids showing under her veil and holding a book with open pages to the viewer; finally Sophia of Thuringia is wearing a covered crown, a wimple, and holding an open book with writing in it towards the viewer. Though all three hold books, Sophia's hands cannot be seen, Constance is shown with one hand on the center crease of the book, and Gertrude appears with her right hand on the book and her left hand with an open palm towards the viewer. The gesture that she makes with her open palm seems to be one of obedience, acceptance, or submission to authority.<sup>865</sup>

Gertrude also appears with her natal family in an illustration from the Hedwig, or Schlackenwerther Codex (*Fig. 25*). This large manuscript has been dated to 1353, with a probable provenience from Silesia is believed to have been commissioned by Duke Ludwig I of Liegnitz and Brieg (d. 1398), a great grandson of St. Hedwig of Silesia. The illustration of the Andechs-Meran family appears on the upper half of folio 10v, emphasizing the international and important political connections of the family.<sup>866</sup> It shows Berthold VI (d. 1204) and his wife Agnes in the center and flanked by their many illustrious children, the sons on their father's left, and the daughters on their mother's right. Closest to the matriarch is presumably St. Hedwig of Silesia (d. 1243). Next to her and slightly smaller is Agnes (d. 1200), the third wife of Philip II Augustus of France (r. 1180-1223). Gertrude comes after her, the smallest of the three sisters, and finally the smallest is Gertrude's daughter, Saint Elizabeth (d. 1231).<sup>867</sup> Gertrude is crowned like her sister Agnes, but even though her sister is larger, Gertrude holds an orb in her right hand.

<sup>863</sup> Renate Kroos, "Sog. Landgrafen psalter" in *Sankt Elisabeth: Fürstin Dienerin Heilige*, Paul Gerhard Schmidt, et al. (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1981), 350.

<sup>864</sup> Kroos, "Sog. Landgrafen psalter", 350-351.

<sup>865</sup> Garnier, *Le langage de l'image au Moyen Âge*, Vol. I, 174.

<sup>866</sup> The manuscript is currently in Cologne, at the Schnütgen Museum, Ludwig Ms. XI 3. Wilhelm Störmer, "Die Familie der Gertrud von Andechs-Meranien" in *Sankt Elisabeth: Fürstin Dienerin Heilige*, Paul Gerhard Schmidt, et al. (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1981), 329-332.

<sup>867</sup> The sons of Berthold and Agnes are, from left to right, Berthold the Patriarch of Aquileia, Egbert Bishop of Bamberg, Otto, Duke of Meran, and Henry, Margrave of Istria. There is also another sister, identified as Matilda the Abbess of Kitzingen am Main sitting at the feet of the couple. Störmer, "Die Familie der Gertrud von Andechs-Meranien", 329.

With her left hand, points at her saintly daughter. An index finger pointing horizontally usually signifies an affirmation of ideas although the act of pointing at someone is meant to draw the focus on that person.<sup>868</sup> In this case, Gertrude is an important royal figure in the genealogy, but her role as mother of St. Elizabeth is emphasized heavily here.

### **Margaret of France in the *Chronique de France ou de St Denis***

This image is found in the copy of the *Grandes Chroniques* of John II of France (r. 1350-1364), British Library Royal 16 G VI, folio 341 (*Fig. 26*). It features the arms of John II as Duke of Normandy. It probably dates from c. 1335-1340. After John, the manuscript passed into the hands of John Chandos, the lord of Fownhope, and later Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester (d. 1447).<sup>869</sup> It seems that two masters worked on the illuminations: Mahiet (the Master of the *Vie de Saint Louis*) and the Master of the Cambrai Missal.<sup>870</sup> It is structured in a similar manner as the previous *Grandes Chroniques* dating from the time of Philip III (r. 1270-1285) and has 418 illustrations comprising over 600 individual scenes going up to the life of St. Louis IX.<sup>871</sup> The scene with Margaret appears during the program of Philip II Augustus (r. 1180-1223), which is illustrated over the course of 60 folios from his birth to his death (folios 329 to 383). The illustration in folio 341 depicts Philip Augustus twice; he is seated on the left hand and holding a scepter while addressing an envoy who appears before him on one knee, and he also appears in the right part standing and holding his sister's hand and pointing to her while addressing another group of envoys. Margaret appears in the center of this manuscript, with Philip holding her right hand while her left hand turns upward with an open palm to the viewer. She wears a plain, blue-grey dress and mantle, her hair is not veiled but gathered up around her head and she is crowned. Her outfit appears to be very simple in comparison with her brother's mantle decorated with the fleur-de-lys and bright red and gold tunic. And other than the inscriptions indicating that Philip was receiving envoys from the King of Hungary, there is no other indication in the image (such as heraldic devices, for example) to indicate anything about her identity.

In spite of her partially obscured portrait and plain dress, there are several important things about Margaret in this illumination. She is clearly depicted in the center of the image and Philip pointing his index finger at her shows the importance given to her in this scene as a diplomatic agent. Her brother clasps her right hand while her left hand is raised at the elbow with her palm open and facing the viewer. An open palm facing the viewer has many different

<sup>868</sup> Garnier, *Le langage de l'image au Moyen Âge*, Vol. I, 165, 170.

<sup>869</sup> Anne D. Hedeman, *The Royal Image: Illustrations of the Grandes Chroniques de France, 1274-1422* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1991), 187.

<sup>870</sup> Hedeman, *The Royal Image: Illustrations of the Grandes Chroniques de France*, 184.

<sup>871</sup> Hedeman, *The Royal Image: Illustrations of the Grandes Chroniques de France*, 51-54.

meanings, but in this case it seems to be a gesture of either availability or acceptance.<sup>872</sup> The inclusion of Margaret in this narrative could possibly be indicative of relations between France and Central Europe – this particular manuscript was made only a few years after John’s own marriage with Bonne (Judith) of Bohemia (d. 1349).<sup>873</sup> The Hungarian kings were distantly related to the new Valois dynasty through the Neapolitan Angevin branch. Charles I Robert’s second wife Beatrice of Luxemburg (d. 1319) was Bonne’s aunt as well as a sister to Marie of Luxemburg (d. 1324), who was briefly the wife of Charles IV of France (r. 1322-1328).

### Images of the Queen in the Hungarian Illuminated Chronicle

A total of seven Hungarian queens are depicted in the *Hungarian Illuminated Chronicle*: Sarolta of Transylvania, wife of Prince Géza (r. 975-997) appears once, Gisela of Bavaria, wife of Stephen I (r. 997-1038) three times, Helena of Serbia (d. 1146), wife of Béla II (r. 1131-1141) appears once, Maria Laskarina (d. 1270), wife of Béla IV (r. 1235-1270) once, Mary of Bytom (d. 1317), wife of Charles I Robert (r. 1308-1342) once, Elizabeth of Poland (d. 1380), wife of Charles I Robert, once, and one appearance of Elizabeth Kotromanić (d. 1387), wife of Louis I ‘the Great’ (r. 1342-1382).

The first queen to appear in the folio seems to have been the contemporary queen, Elizabeth Kotromanić (*Fig. 27*). Under a portrait showing Louis I at court, the king and queen appear in the initial A. They appear in contemporary dress, with the queen wearing a krüseler style headdress, an ermine lined mantle and tight fitting sleeves. Both of them appear to be praying to St. Catherine of Alexandria who is holding a palm leaf and broken wheel.<sup>874</sup> This miniature has led to a lot of debate, particularly about the manuscript’s provenience and purpose. Marosi points out that St. Catherine is often the embodiment of the personification of wisdom and that her inclusion could signify that the codex was made at the St. Catherine chapel in Székesfehérvár.<sup>875</sup> What is known of the *Hungarian Illuminated Chronicle* indicate that George Branković (d. 1456) received a copy of the Chronicle from the French king as a gift, and then it later made its way back to Vienna, probably through the Hungarian royal library.<sup>876</sup> This French connection originally supposed that this illuminated manuscript was a gift to the French court on

<sup>872</sup> Garnier, *Le langage de l’image au Moyen Âge*, Vol. I, 174.

<sup>873</sup> Joni Hand, *Women, Manuscripts and Identity in Northern Europe, 1350-1550* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013), 12.

<sup>874</sup> Klára Gárdonyi-Csapodi, “Description and Interpretation of the Illustrations in the Illuminated Chronicle” in *The Hungarian Illuminated Chronicle: Chronica de Gestis Hungarorum*, ed. Dezső Dercsényi (Budapest: Corvina Press, 1969), 71.

<sup>875</sup> Ernő Marosi “Das Frontspiz der Ungarischen Bilderchronik” *Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 46-47 (1994): 363.

<sup>876</sup> This is known from a 1462 copy of the codex kept in the library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. Dezső Dercsényi, ed. *The Hungarian Illuminated Chronicle: Chronica de Gestis Hungarorum*. (Budapest: Corvina Press, 1969), 16.

the betrothal of the Princess Catherine (d. 1378), daughter of Louis the Great to Louis, the son of Charles V. This would date the production of the Chronicle to 1374-1376. However, after Louis' ascension as King of Poland in 1370, it is difficult to believe that a royally commissioned manuscript would not include the Polish coat-of-arms in addition to the Hungarian Angevin ones. Dercsényi thus believes that the chronicle would have been prepared in the early years of the 1360s.<sup>877</sup>

The Birth of St. Stephen is depicted on folio 19 (*Fig. 28*). His mother, the bellicose Sarolta of Transylvania, appears in full court regalia, crowned and wearing a wimple and mantle, while the naked infant rests on her lap. St. Stephen, the first martyr, offers her a golden crown on behalf of her son which she accepts.<sup>878</sup>

Gisela of Bavaria (d. 1065) appears three times in the *Hungarian Illuminated Chronicle*. The first instance is on folio 21 where she and her husband St. Stephen are shown founding the Church of SS Peter and Paul in Óbuda (*Fig. 29*).<sup>879</sup> She is depicted crowned and wearing a wimple and loose, flowing mantle. Her husband however, dominates the scene not only as a larger figure but also as the one closer to the viewer.

The next instance where Gisela of Bavaria appears (folio 22) is slightly more sinister. At the funeral of her son St. Imre, St. Stephen laments the death of his son, but Gisela's eyes are focused upwards in the badly damaged miniature where her envoy Sebös is depicted gouging out the eyes of Prince Vazul (*Fig. 30*).<sup>880</sup> Though her hands are not shown, her eyes are possibly directed to the scene of the blinding. Combined with the text, this image may implicate Gisela in the blinding of Vazul.<sup>881</sup> Recent literature on the subject has of course challenged this notion and shown that the queen in this instance served as a convenient scapegoat for the incident, a trope that would repeat itself for many other Hungarian queens to come.<sup>882</sup>

The last time Queen Gisela appears is at the funeral of her husband St. Stephen, depicted in folio 23. She is standing at the foot of his coffin at the far left of the scene and with her hands clasped (*Fig. 31*).<sup>883</sup> There are other analogies to the queen's presence at the death of the king, such as Queen Edith (d. 1075) appearing at the foot of Edward the Confessor's (r. 1042-1066)

<sup>877</sup> Dezső Dercsényi, ed. *The Hungarian Illuminated Chronicle*, 42-44.

<sup>878</sup> Gárdonyi-Csapodi, "Description and Interpretation of the Illustrations in the Illuminated Chronicle", 74.

<sup>879</sup> Gárdonyi-Csapodi, "Description and Interpretation of the Illustrations in the Illuminated Chronicle", 75.

<sup>880</sup> Gárdonyi-Csapodi, "Description and Interpretation of the Illustrations in the Illuminated Chronicle", 75.

<sup>881</sup> Z. J. Kosztolnyik, *Hungary under the Early Árpáds, 890 s to 1063* (Boulder: East European Monographs, 2006), 301; Marosi "Das Frontspiz der Ungarischen Bilderchronik", 370.

<sup>882</sup> János M. Bak, "Queens as Scapegoats in Medieval Hungary" in *Queens and Queenship in medieval Europe* ed. by Anne J. Duggan (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1997), 224-226.

<sup>883</sup> Gárdonyi-Csapodi, "Description and Interpretation of the Illustrations in the Illuminated Chronicle", 76.



death bed in the Bayeux Tapestry.<sup>884</sup> A depiction of Melisende of Jerusalem (r. 1132-1153) at the funeral of her husband Fulk of Anjou (d. 1131-1143) shows a marked similarity in the posture and gestures of Queen Gisela.<sup>885</sup>

The council of Arad is depicted on folio 57 (*Fig. 32*). This event from the reign of Béla II shows the blind king sitting on the far left while next to him and in the center of the image is his queen, Helen of Serbia (d. 1146). She is depicted wearing a veil under a crown and with her arms outstretched (her right hand is open while her left is clenched) ordering the deaths of the 68 nobles who were complicit in blinding her husband as a child.<sup>886</sup> Representations of closed fists tend to be rare in medieval manuscripts, perhaps because of their aggressive, martial context (i.e. holding a weapon). Connotations with a closed fist in medieval art usually point to either episodes of violence or the assertion of authority; in this scene, it could quite possibly mean both.<sup>887</sup>

Folio 64 depicts the coronation of Stephen V (r. 1270-1272) as a junior king (*Fig. 33*). The queen stands behind the king with her mantle completely covering her body while Béla IV (r. 1235-1270) places the crown on his son's head. Interestingly enough, in an earlier image in the *Hungarian Illuminated Chronicle* where Andrew I (r. 1046-1060) is crowning his young son Salamon (r. 1063-1074) as junior king and thus appointing him his successor, neither Andrew's wife Anastasia (d. 1096) nor Salamon's wife Judith appear (d. 1102). This could possibly be due to the different political circumstances, as Stephen V was much older than Salamon, and Andrew was designating Salamon his heir to counter the claims of his brother, Béla I (r. 1060-1063). In early fifteenth-century versions of the *Grandes Chroniques de France*, the queen can appear as both an arbiter of peace, as well as one who ensures the transition of government upon the death of the king. This is particularly evident in depictions of Queen Clotilda after the kingdom had been divided amongst her sons.<sup>888</sup> In the Holy Land, depictions of Melisende of Jerusalem at the coronation of her son Baldwin III (r. 1143-1163) are very scarce, yet in western illustrations it is the most common depiction of her, showing a degree of regional variation in depicting queens in this manner.<sup>889</sup>

<sup>884</sup> Catherine E. Karkov, "Gendering the Battle? Male and Female in the Bayeux Tapestry," in *King Harold II and the Bayeux Tapestry*, ed. Gale R. Owen-Crocker (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2005), 139-140.

<sup>885</sup> The manuscript is Paris fr. 2824. Folda, "Images of Queen Melisende", 105-106.

<sup>886</sup> Gárdonyi-Csapodi, "Description and Interpretation of the Illustrations in the Illuminated Chronicle", 80; John Tuzson, *István II (1116-1131): a chapter in medieval Hungarian historiography* (Boulder: East European Monographs, 2002), 143-145.

<sup>887</sup> Garnier, *Le Langage de l'Image au Moyen Âge I*, 161-164.

<sup>888</sup> Hedeman, *The Royal Image*, 171-172.

<sup>889</sup> Folda, "Images of Queen Melisende", 100-101.

The only medieval image of Mary of Bytom (d. 1317) aside from her unpublished seal (**Cat. I.12**) comes from folio 70, in a scene in the initial A depicting her burial at the royal basilica of Székesfehérvár (*Fig. 34*).<sup>890</sup> The dead queen, crowned and wearing a wimple and ermine-trimmed mantle, is being laid to rest in a red stone sarcophagus on rocky ground while two clergymen wearing pointed white hats look on. Though images depicting the burial of queens are rare, the queens' burial could be used as a tool of dynastic propaganda, displaying her lineage, connections, status and even in some cases, references to her children.<sup>891</sup>

Elizabeth of Poland (d. 1380) is the most prominent queen in this codex. She first appears on the same folio as Mary of Bytom's funeral, her betrothal announced by trumpets bearing the Hungarian-Angevin coat-of-arms (*Fig. 35*).<sup>892</sup> She wears a rich red mantle and a crown, but her fair hair is left unbound, indicating that she is still unmarried.

The following page (also folio 70) depicts Queen Elizabeth three times: first a portrait of her and her five children (the only such portrait of a queen, *Fig. 36*), then her and Charles Robert founding the church of Lipova, Romania (Lippa, *Fig. 37*), and finally the birth of Louis I in 1326 (*Fig. 38*).<sup>893</sup> In the portrait she appears wearing a crown and a krüseler and ermine lined mantle while she is standing with her five children. Both Wehli and Sniezyska-Stolot comment on how this particular image with her children is modeled on Marian imagery.<sup>894</sup> Next, she appears on the left side of the scene and holding up the church of Lipova, a mirror image of the church in Óbuda founded by St. Stephen and Gisela. Unlike the earlier figure, however, Queen Elizabeth is depicted on the left and is shown much closer to the viewer; her husband, while the bigger figure, is further away from the reader. In the last scene, the queen is lying on a bed wearing a crown and a wimple and wearing a tight red garment while reaching for her son Louis, depicted as an infant with a crown in the arms of a lady in waiting accompanied by two women courtiers wearing crowns. In the background is a castle with many turrets.

On the facing page, the last depiction of Queen Elizabeth shows the assassination attempt of Felician Zach (*Fig. 39*). Zach attacks the king with a sword, who is seated on the far right, while John the cup-bearer stabs him in the back.<sup>895</sup> The queen is seated to the king's right

<sup>890</sup> Gárdonyi-Csapodi, "Description and Interpretation of the Illustrations in the Illuminated Chronicle", 83.

<sup>891</sup> John Carmi Parsons, "'Never was a body buried with such solemnity and honour': The Burials and Posthumous Commemorations of English Queens to 1500" in *Queens and Queenship in medieval Europe* ed. by Anne J. Duggan (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1997), 333.

<sup>892</sup> Gárdonyi-Csapodi, "Description and Interpretation of the Illustrations in the Illuminated Chronicle", 83.

<sup>893</sup> Gárdonyi-Csapodi, "Description and Interpretation of the Illustrations in the Illuminated Chronicle", 83.

<sup>894</sup> Éva Sniezyska-Stolot, "Die Ikonographie der Königin Elisabeth" *Acta Historiae Artium* 17 (1971), 26; Tünde Wehli, "Könyvfestészet a Magyarországi Anjou-Udvárban" in *Művészet I. Lajos király korában 1342-1382*, Ernő Marosi et al. (Budapest: MTA Művészettörténeti Kutató Csoport, 1982), 125.

<sup>895</sup> Gárdonyi-Csapodi, "Description and Interpretation of the Illustrations in the Illuminated Chronicle", 83.

(viewer's left), and while she is more central in the image, it does not show how she lost four fingers from her right hand protecting the king from the assassin.

There are a few observations to be made about the depiction of the queens in this codex. They are all crowned, but aside from that there are no other objects or signifiers of their authority such as an orb or a scepter. The clothing of the queens appears to be sumptuous in its nature, but very concealing; usually the figure of the queen is hidden behind a mantle and rendered shapeless. There are no depictions of the queens' heraldic devices anywhere in the miniatures as well, so while their identity can be guessed based on the context there are very few elaborate signs as to their identity.

### Queen Mary in fifteenth century chronicles

In 1488, János Thuroczy had two versions of his *Chronica Hungarorum* published, one in Augsburg and the other in Brno.<sup>896</sup> She is the only queen to be depicted in either version of the chronicle, as the various monarchs ruling over Hungary are the only ones depicted (*Fig. 40*). While heavily stylized, the ruler, always depicted seated on a throne, is marked by various different features of individualization; for instance, Koloman (r. 1095-1116) is shown with a bishop's mitre on his head, Béla II 'the Blind' (r. 1131-1141) is depicted with his eyes closed, and Mary's husband Sigismund (r. 1387-1437) is shown wearing three crowns (Hungary, Bohemia, and the Imperial crown).<sup>897</sup> Like her male counterparts, Mary (r. 1382-1395) is crowned and shown seated on a throne with a back and holding a scepter and an orb. Her dress is distinctly feminine; the crown rests on a large white turban (similar to some of the more elaborate *krüselers* seen, for instance, in Kraków, **Cat. VIII.5**) with a bit of her braid poking out. The neckline of her dress is cut in a deep V-shape, her sleeves and hem are lined with ermine and her shoes are pointy.

At first glance, the illustration of Sigismund with Mary of Hungary and Barbara of Celje (d. 1451) in the *Cronecken der Sassen* shows a clear hierarchy (*Fig. 41*). The king is in the center wearing rich robes and a crown and holding a scepter and orb while of his two wives, he is looking at Mary who is gesturing to him with an open palm and wearing a crown which is more visible than the one on the headdress of the more-distant Barbara.<sup>898</sup> Yet it would do little good to dwell very closely on this representation, as it is exactly identical to other representations in the book, such as a picture of Louis I the Pious, depicted with his second wife Judith to his right,

<sup>896</sup> Pál Engel, *The Realm of St. Stephen: A History of Medieval Hungary* (London: Tauris, 2005), 321.

<sup>897</sup> Johannes de Thurocz, *Chronica Hungarorum* (Bavaria, c. 1490), folios 61, 66, and 116, accessed April 09, 2015 <http://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/cpg156/0001?sid=ca5084c579e0a4911c93d011787f1907>.

<sup>898</sup> Ágnes Tóvizi, "Konrad Bote (?): Cronecken der Sassen" in *Sigismundus Rex et Imperator*, ed. Imre Takács et al. (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 2006), 496.

rather than his first wife Ermengarde, or Henry II of Austria with his wives, Gertrude of Supplinburg and Theodora Komnena (who is called Martha).<sup>899</sup> A similar composition is replicated for ducal and princely houses such as Flanders and Brandenburg, showing that at least a difference in rank is recognized. The only identifying factors in this picture of Mary and Barbara would be their heraldic devices, and the indication that Barbara gave Sigismund a daughter, Elizabeth. The only individualization in terms of dress occurs for the composition of Maximilian I of Austria depicted with his first wife Maria of Burgundy (who appears in a hennin) and his betrothed, Anne of Brittany.

Sigismund's second wife also appears in many other manuscripts as well. The depiction of the planet Venus shows a woman on horseback with the Celje coat of arms on her banner in a copy of Konrad Bote's *Bellifortis* (c. 1420-1430) that was once owned by Sigismund (*Fig. 42*); it has been suggested that this might be a portrait of the queen, though the stylized figure and lack of royal attributes show the problems in such an identification.<sup>900</sup> She is also present in a procession of Ulrich of Richenthal's *Chronicle of the Council of Constance*, though again this is a stylized image.<sup>901</sup> Yet several points should be made here. Not only are these images of Barbara heavily stylized, they are also dwarfed by the number of times Sigismund appears in an artistic program.<sup>902</sup> Considering that most of these would have been German manuscripts, some of them published well after her death, her image in these lacks any individuality. Considering how her image does not appear anywhere else, it is assumed that either those manuscripts were not preserved, or Barbara herself had little interest in self-representation.

## Conclusions

There were many encountered difficulties in this attempt to understand the agency of the Hungarian queens embodied in their depictions in illuminated manuscripts. In cases where the queens commissioned manuscripts, the image appears much stronger (as in the case of Blanche of Castile), or when there is a large sample size, regional variations can be traced (as in the case of Melisende of Jerusalem). This chapter, in examining eighteen different scenes from illuminated manuscripts depicting ten different women over the course of four hundred years lacks the strengths of the case studies for the other two queens and until more scenes come to

<sup>899</sup> Conrad Bote, *Cronecken der Sassen* (1492), 69, 247, 474 accessed April 09, 2015 <http://bildsuche.digitale-sammlungen.de/index.html?c=viewer&lv=1&bandnummer=bsb00025661&pimage=00025661&suchbegriff=&l=en>.

<sup>900</sup> Ernő Marosi, "Bellefortis (Fragment)" in *Sigismundus Rex et Imperator*, ed. Imre Takács et al. (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 2006), 397-398; Milena Bartlová and Dušan Buran, "Comparing the Incomparable?: Wenceslas IV and Sigismund, their Queens, and their Images," in *Kunst als Herrschaftsinstrument: Böhmen und das Heilige Römische Reich unter den Luxemburgen im europäischen Kontext*, ed. Jiří Fajt and Andrea Langer (Munich: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2009), 372-373.

<sup>901</sup> Bartlová and Buran, "Comparing the Incomparable?," 372.

<sup>902</sup> Bartlová and Buran, "Comparing the Incomparable?," 374.

light, the agency of the queens in illuminated scenes will only represent a biased, partial point of view.

Some small patterns can be observed in examining the symbols of power associated with queens in these depictions. In all seventeen images, the queens are shown wearing crowns, even in situations such as giving birth or warding off assassinations. Only two queens are shown holding an orb; Gertrude of Meran in the Hedwig Codex and Mary in the Thuróczy Chronicle. The latter illustration is also the only example wherein the queen wields a scepter. The crown is the only marker of the queen in the *Hungarian Illuminated Chronicle*, even in the depiction of the Council of Arad where the queen is the one shown acting, but the king is the one with the scepter. In the Landgrafenpsalter, Gertrude is depicted holding a book. A few images from the late fourteenth and fifteenth century show a small plait of hair poking through the headdress, but the only image that fully shows the queen with loose hair is the one showing Elizabeth of Poland's engagement to Charles I Robert. In ten of the eighteen images, the queen appears with her husband. Twice she appears in a state of betrothal, twice she appears giving birth, and twice she appears with her children. There are only two instances where the queen is depicted by herself: the burial of Maria of Bytom in the *Hungarian Illuminated Chronicle* and the depiction of Mary of Anjou enthroned in the *Thuróczy Chronicle*. This reinforces the idea that the queen is most often depicted as a married woman and mother; for those creating these illuminations, these are the most important parts of her life course.

Finally, a word must be said on the gestures of the queens. While gestures could imply that the person in the image was speaking or acting, five of the twelve images of the queens in the *Hungarian Illuminated Chronicle* render the queens mute by showing their arms firmly confined within their mantles. In several cases, the gestures of the queens are those indicating relatives with more renown or those indicating acceptance or submission. Three of the eighteen images show queens in the act of prayer and offering – these all occur in the *Hungarian Illuminated Chronicle*, and in every case they are paired with their husband, showing that the pious activity of the queens in these contexts takes place only with the king. In two of the images, the queens are shown shortly after giving birth, but crowned and in full regalia in these heavily stylized scenes. The most active and independent gestures appear in two rather unique situations. One is the violent gestures of Helen of Serbia at the Council of Arad, depicted nearly two hundred years after it took place. The other is the regal portrait of Mary in the Thuroczy chronicle which shows her with a crown, scepter, and orb, and rightfully placed along all the male rulers of Hungary. The queens are a necessary presence in the Illuminated Chronicles but their figures and gestures in these surviving scraps of material show a very stereotyped, almost passive presence for the

most part. This phenomenon should be taken together with evidence of self-representation of the queens (such as on seals or public sculpture) as showing the complex problem of the image of the queen and the many different possible levels of meaning ascribed to them by others and which meanings in other cases they ascribed to themselves.

## *Spaces of the Hungarian queens*

### Palaces of the Medieval Hungarian queens

#### **Introduction**

In addition to objects of material culture, queens also had the potential to create, alter, and even destroy several types of space. The nature of the space could vary considerably in its function: it could be civil, ecclesiastic, monastic, or residential. The last category was one of the spaces most familiar to the medieval queen, and this chapter will thus focus on the residential spaces of the queens within the royal palaces in Hungary. In the case of ninth and tenth century French queens, several were heavily involved in the construction of castles on their own. The royal women in this period were charged with not only supervising day-to-day operations, but could even actively take part as defenders of a sieged castle themselves.<sup>903</sup>

One ambitious study of the relationship between medieval queens and the space within the royal palaces is Richardson's ambitious article creating access analysis diagrams for seven royal palaces in England as well as analyzing the program of imagery in the apartments of the queens when it is known. In tracing the development of Westminster palace from the time of Eleanor of Aquitaine (d. 1204) onward, she points out that in the twelfth century the king's and queen's apartments were relatively the same size and that access to either of the connected apartments was more or less similar, while in the later years, such as the re-modeling of the 1260s, the chambers of the royal couple were still similar in size, but the queen's apartments (still accessible by the king) now had to be reached through an additional staircase and two lobbies indicating that the queen's space was more secluded, difficult to reach, and further away from public space. This sort of phenomenon would only become more exaggerated as time went on and as the court life became more hierarchical.<sup>904</sup> In Carolingian and early Capetian France, the female space in the castle seemed to comprise of the chamber and the chapel; usually these were found in the keep<sup>905</sup> which, while the most defensible part of the castle, also meant that access there was structured to restrict entry.

In Hungary, there were several royal centers that were part of the governance of the kingdom; the area between the cities of Esztergom, Székesfehérvár and Buda is usually referred

<sup>903</sup> Annie Renoux, "Elite Women, Palaces, and Castles in Northern France (ca. 850-1100)" in *Reassessing the Roles of Women as 'Makers' of Medieval Art and Architecture*, Vol. II ed. Therese Martin (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2012), 743-746.

<sup>904</sup> Amanda Richardson, "Gender and Space in English Royal Palaces c. 1160-1547: A Study in Access Analysis and Imagery" *Medieval Archaeology* 47 (2003), 132-139.

<sup>905</sup> Renoux, "Elite women, Palaces, and Castles in Northern France", 755-759.

to as the *medium regni* because of their importance. While the Hungarian kings were involved in the exhaustive process of itinerant kingship, most of the royal residences are concentrated in this area, with a few notable exceptions.<sup>906</sup> Since this chapter seeks to understand the role and presence of the Hungarian queen in these spaces, the parameters for this chapter will focus on a few main points of interests. The first will be looking at the issue on a broader scale of where the queens were in residence based mostly off of their charters, and then comparing that data with the patterns of the kings. Once a pattern is established for where the queens were residing, then a closer look at the palace complexes will be attempted. Within the palaces themselves, it will be imperative to identify (if possible) the spaces used, shaped, and altered by the queens. Access to the rooms themselves as well as the relationship of these rooms to each other will be part of this study, taking after Richardson's methodology.<sup>907</sup> While it would not be feasible to do access analysis diagrams for these palaces in the way Richardson has, it still should be possible to speak of other issues related to space such as the size of the rooms, their proximity to public/private space, and how connected they are to other points of passage.

While most of the royal residences will be discussed in some detail (**Map 3**), some sites must be omitted. In spite of the importance of the two buildings identified as palaces at Székesfehérvár (including 52 known royal visits from the late tenth century to 1313), nothing of their interior space can be reconstructed and nothing of substance can be concluded about the residences of the queens in that important city.<sup>908</sup> From the end of the eleventh to the beginning of the twelfth centuries, there was a royal residence at Dömös; Béla I (r. 1060-1063) died there when the throne collapsed on him. Prince Álmos was known to have founded a provostry there in 1107, after it came into his possession. Dömös, situated at the northern edge of the Pilis forest, was also in close proximity to royal hunting lodges nearby in Pilisszentkerest, Keszthely, Pilisszentlászló, and Pilisszentlélek.<sup>909</sup> The residential "curia" would have been a rectangular building joining the choir of the church at a right angle, though the interior spaces were not connected suggesting the two were built at different times; the first phase of this palace shares

<sup>906</sup> András Kubinyi, "Preface", in *Medium Regni* Julianna Atlmann et al. (Budapest: Nap Kiadó, 1999), 5-8.

<sup>907</sup> Richardson, "Gender and Space in English Royal Palaces", 132.

<sup>908</sup> There is even the question whether or not there was a royal palace. Gyula Siklósi, "Székesfehérvár," in *Medium Regni: Medieval Hungarian Royal Seats*, ed. Julianna Atlmann et al. (Budapest: Nap Kiadó, 1999), 45, 85-86; István Feld, "Királyi várak az Árpád-kori medium regni területén" [Royal Castles on the Territory of the Medium Regni in the Árpadian Age] in *In medio regni Hungariae. Régészeti, művészettörténeti és történeti kutatások 'az ország közepén': Archaeological, Art Historical, and Historical Researches 'in the Middle of the Kingdom'* ed. by Elek Benkő and Krisztina Orosz. (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 2015), 678-681.

<sup>909</sup> Péter Szabó, *Woodland and forests in medieval Hungary* (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2005), 93.



much in common with eleventh century Byzantine buildings.<sup>910</sup> However the presence of female space here is ephemeral and will thus not be discussed in greater detail. Likewise, it was known that Tolna was briefly the site where Béla II and his wife Helen of Serbia (d. 1146) lived between their marriage in 1129 and Béla's ascension to the Hungarian throne in 1131.<sup>911</sup> This is the extent of knowledge about the site at present, and will thus have to await further archaeological scrutiny for further analysis. The focus will thus be on the residential buildings. We know more about the estates of the queen in the fifteenth century; the traditional dower properties of the queens awarded to Barbara of Celje (d. 1451) after her marriage in 1405 included Óbuda, Csepel Island, Diósgyőr castle, the town of Kecskemét, the town of Tolnavár, and the Queen's Cumans, though she acquired many other properties.<sup>912</sup> Only a few of these will be discussed here.



Map 3 – Palaces associated with the Hungarian queens

<sup>910</sup> László Gerevich, "The Royal Court (villa), the Provost's Residence and the Village at Dömös" *Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 35 (1983): 387, 397-402; László Gerevich, "Dömös" *Műemlékvédelem* 36 (1992): 77-78.

<sup>911</sup> Ferenc Makk, *The Árpáds and the Comnenig: Political Relations between Hungary and Byzantium in the 12th Century* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1989), 29.

<sup>912</sup> Barbara also acquired the castles of Buják and Szanda, Verőce County and during her time as queen she received many other towns, castles and counties as pledges from her husband Sigismund. Daniela Dvořáková, "The Economic Background to and the Financial Politics of Queen Barbara of Cilli in Hungary (1406-1438)" in *Money and Finance in Central Europe during the Later Middle Ages*, ed. by Roman Zaoral, 111 (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016).

## The itinerary of the Hungarian queens

In some cases, broader trends can be observed for Hungary as a whole when examining the itinerary of the Hungarian queens (**Appendix I**). Charters as well as chronicles can give some input about where the queen was when certain documents were issued or when certain events take place. Regrettably, since charters do not survive for the queens before the thirteenth century, chronicles must be relied on for this sort of evidence which presents a rather skewed view on the topic. In the eleventh century, for instance, most of the entries related to the whereabouts of the queen concern where they fled to during times of strife and chaos. Rather than buildings or palaces they may have been intimately familiar with or even shaped themselves, these glimpses only offer a very partial view of their life on the fringe at a very uncertain time. Starting at the end of the eleventh century, there is more of a standard view in the chronicles which records where and when the kings and queens were married. For the Árpád dynasty, there were three (possibly four) marriages celebrated at Székesfehérvár, and one celebrated at Esztergom; outside of Hungary, there were two marriages celebrated in Vienna, and two in Constantinople.<sup>913</sup> Most of what is known of the births of royal children comes from hagiographic sources. While St. Emeric (d. 1031) was born in Esztergom (1007), St. Elizabeth (d. 1231) was born in Sárospatak (1207) and St. Margaret (d. 1271) was born in Klis (in Croatia, 1242) while the royal family was fleeing from the Mongols.<sup>914</sup> Ladislas IV ‘the Cuman’ (r. 1272-1290) seems to have been born in Sárospatak in 1263, but this was while his father Stephen V (r. 1270-1272) was still junior king.<sup>915</sup>

After the Mongol invasion, when charters survive in a more systematic fashion, broader trends can be detected in where documents were issued from. The earliest queen that such a pattern can be discerned in Maria Laskarina (d. 1270). Discounting the known periods of extended stay in Austria and Croatia during the Mongol invasion it seems that most of the charters from this queen were issued from Buda, and one from Margaret Island, indicating the importance of this city as a royal residence during the reign of Béla IV. A similar pattern is visible for Isabella of Naples (d. 1303), Fenenna of Kujava (d. 1295), and Agnes of Habsburg (d. 1364), indicating the predominance of Buda, Székesfehérvár, and Esztergom in the royal

<sup>913</sup> Mór Wertner, *Az Árpádok családi története* (Nagybecskerek: Pleitz, 1892), 321, 360-1, 430, 572, 577; Szablocs de Vajay, “Byzantinische Prinzessinnen in Ungarn” *Ungarn Jahrbuch* 10 (1979), 22; Z. J. Kosztolnyik, *From Coloman the Learned to Béla III (1095-1196)*, (Boulder: East European Monographs, 1987), 28; Makk, *The Árpáds and the Comneni*, 99, 167; András Smohay, “Székesfehérvár és II. András” in *II. András és Székesfehérvár* [King Andrew II and Székesfehérvár] ed. by Terézia Kerny and András Smohay (Székesfehérvár: Székesfehérvári Egyházmegyei Múzeum, 2012), 18.

<sup>914</sup> Alán Kralovánszky, “The Settlement History of Veszprém and Székesfehérvár” in *Towns in Medieval Hungary*, László Gerevich, ed. (Boulder: East European Monographs, 1990), 58.

<sup>915</sup> Károly Ráth, *A magyar királyok és erdélyi fejedelmek: hadjárati, utazási és tartózkodási helyei* [The Hungarian kings and Transylvanian princes: their campaigns, travel, and accommodation sites] (Győr 1866), 26.

itineraries.<sup>916</sup> The situation for Elizabeth the Cuman, however, is totally different from her peers. On one hand, unlike the other four late thirteenth century Árpadian queens, Elizabeth the Cuman's charters mostly survive only from her period as dowager queen and regent on behalf of her son Ladislas IV 'the Cuman'. Unlike the other queens who are mostly confined to the *Medium Regni*, Elizabeth's charters are issued from northern and southern Hungary as well as the power centers in Buda, Székesfehérvár, and Esztergom. Part of her activity in southern Hungary relates to her taking on the title of duchess of Macsó, which she would use until 1284. Thomasina Morosini (d. 1300), mother of Andrew III (r. 1290-1301), issues most of her documents from Slavonska Pozega, Croatia (Pozsegavár), in her capacity as duchess of Slavonia.<sup>917</sup>

For the most part, the itinerary of the Angevin-era queens follows the placement of the royal court. The court was in Timisoara from 1315-1323, Visegrád from 1323-1347 Buda from 1347-1355, and Visegrád from 1355 until the early fifteenth century.<sup>918</sup> As Appendix I illustrates, for the most part the charters of the queens were issued from the current royal centers.<sup>919</sup> Two notable exceptions to this are Elizabeth of Poland's (d. 1380) journeys to Italy in 1343-1344,<sup>920</sup> and to Aachen, Marburg and Prague in 1357.<sup>921</sup> After 1364, Elizabeth of Poland travels around frequently within the *medium regni*, dividing her time between Visegrád and Buda in particular. She also begins issuing documents from Diósgyőr and Óbuda as well. These castles were in her possession for over a decade (the former from 1340, the latter from 1343)<sup>922</sup>, but it is only in the 1370s that she visits either, and in a much smaller proportion compared to Buda and Visegrád. As queen consort, Elizabeth of Bosnia (d. 1387) followed mostly the same pattern of issuing documents from the royal centers, but as widow and regent (**Map 4**), she and her daughter, the Queen Regnant Mary (r. 1382-1395), have a wide and varied itinerary from 1382-1386 (**Map 5**).

<sup>916</sup> Attila Zsoldos, *Az Árpádok és asszonyaik: a királynéi intézmény az Árpádok korában* [The Árpáds and their women: the office of the queen in the Árpadian age] (Budapest: MTA Történettudományi Intézete, 2005), 91-92.

<sup>917</sup> Zsoldos, *Az Árpádok és asszonyaik*, 90-1.

<sup>918</sup> István Petrovics, "The fading glory of a former medieval royal seat: the case of medieval Temesvár" in ...*The Man of Many Devices, Who Wandered Full Many Ways...: Festschrift in Honor of János M. Bak*, ed. Balázs Nagy and Marcell Sebők (Budapest: Central European University Press, 1999), 530; Gergely Buzás, "Visegrád," in *Medium Regni: Medieval Hungarian Royal Seats*, Julianna Atlmann et al (Budapest: Nap Kiadó, 1999), 157; András Végh, "Buda," in *Medium Regni: Medieval Hungarian Royal Seats*, Julianna Atlmann et al (Budapest: Nap Kiadó, 1999), 208-209.

<sup>919</sup> A few notable exceptions to this would be Mary of Bytom's charter from Buda and some of Elizabeth of Poland's charters from sites on Hungary's frontier.

<sup>920</sup> Marianne Sághy, "Dynastic Devotion: The Pilgrimage of Queen Elizabeth Piast to Rome", unpublished paper; Dragoş Gheorge Nastasioiu, "Patterns of Devotion and Traces of Art during the Diplomatic Journey of Queen Elizabeth Piast to Italy in 1343–1344," in *Convivium: Exchanges and Interactions in the Arts of Medieval Europe, Byzantium, and the Mediterranean*, ed. Michele Bacci and Ivan Foletti (Turnhout: Brepols, 2015), 98-111.

<sup>921</sup> Antal Pór, "Erzsébet királyné acheni zárandoklása 1357-ben" [The Aachen pilgrimage of Queen Elizabeth in 1357] *Századok* 25 (1901), 1-14; Dragoş Gheorge Nastasioiu, "Patterns of Devotion and Traces of Art. The Pilgrimage of Queen Elizabeth Piast to Marburg, Cologne, and Aachen in 1357" *Umění* LXIV (2016), 29-39.

<sup>922</sup> Czeglédý, *The Castle of Diósgyőr*, 11; László Szende, "Les châteaux de reines comme résidence dans la Hongrie des Anjou", in *Archaeologia dei castelli nell'Europa angioina (secoli XIII-XV)*, Paolo Peduto, et al. (Borgo San Lorenzo [Florence]: All'Insegna del Giglio, 2011), 163.

Though the bulk of their time was spent in the royal centers, particularly in Buda, Visegrád, and Diósgyőr, the two queens travelled all around the country, a pattern more in common with ruling kings than with queen consorts.<sup>923</sup> Tóth has examined and compared the itineraries of Mary and Sigismund from their period of joint rule from 1387 to her death in 1395. He has tried to argue that the relationship between the couple was not as antagonistic as secondary literature has claimed, pointing to the fact that they would have spent over half of their time (55%) together in those eight years, citing the Turkish campaigns as the main reason the couple spent time separately.<sup>924</sup> In particular, he calls attention to places where Mary issued the majority of her documents: Buda (roughly half), Diósgyőr (one-fifth), Csepel Island (9%), Timisoara (Temesvár, 6%), Virovitica (Verőce, 4%), Szikszó (3%), Visegrád (3%), and Oradea (Nagyvárad, 2%), proving that the majority of the queen's visits come from the *medium regni* and the castle at Diósgyőr. Her pattern of visits shows that she is close to the court (often someplace nearby while Sigismund is off fighting on the frontier), but that she is not totally dependent on the proximity of the king like many of her predecessors.<sup>925</sup> Mary of Anjou is also one of the few queens where evidence survives of her visiting one of Hungary's royal hunting lodges, from a visit with her husband Sigismund in the autumn of 1388.<sup>926</sup> The widowed queen regent Elizabeth the Cuman, the widowed queen regent Elizabeth of Bosnia, and the queen regnant Mary all seem to be the

<sup>923</sup> C. Norbert Tóth, *Királyok és királynék itineráriumi (1382-1438)* (Budapest: MTA Történettudományi Intézetében, 2005), 35-46, 161-166; Szilárd Süttő, *Anjou-Magyarország alkonya II* (Szeged: Belvedere, 2003), 2-470.

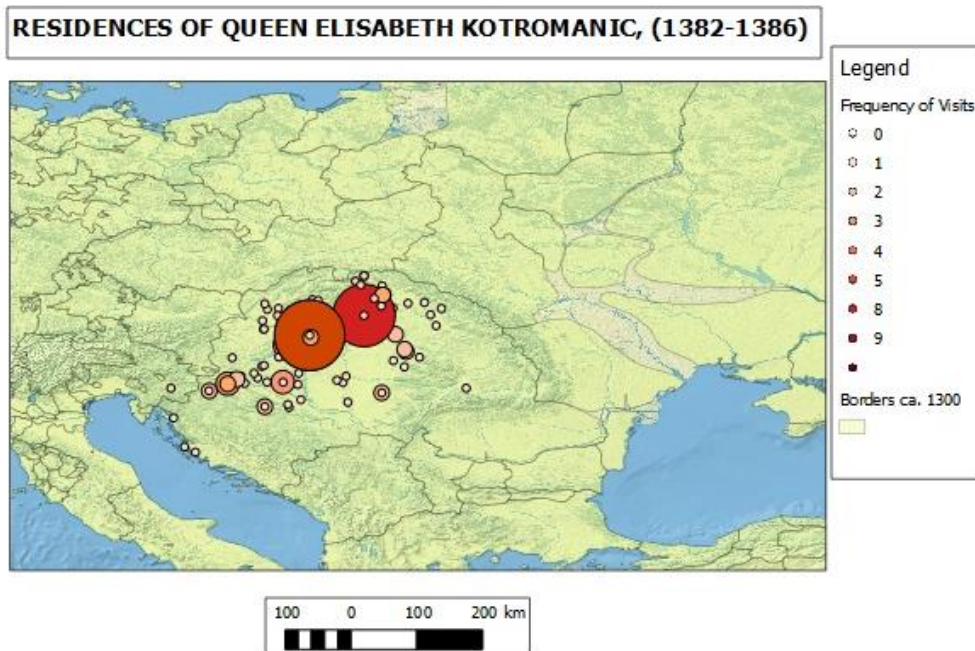
<sup>924</sup> C. Norbert Tóth, "Királynőből királyné: Mária és Zsigmond viszonya a források tükrében" [From ruling queen to royal consort: The relationship between Mary of Anjou and Sigismund of Luxemburg in the written sources] *Acta Universitatis Szegediensis Acta Historica* CXXXII (2011), 65-66.

<sup>925</sup> Tóth, "Királynőből királyné", 69-70.

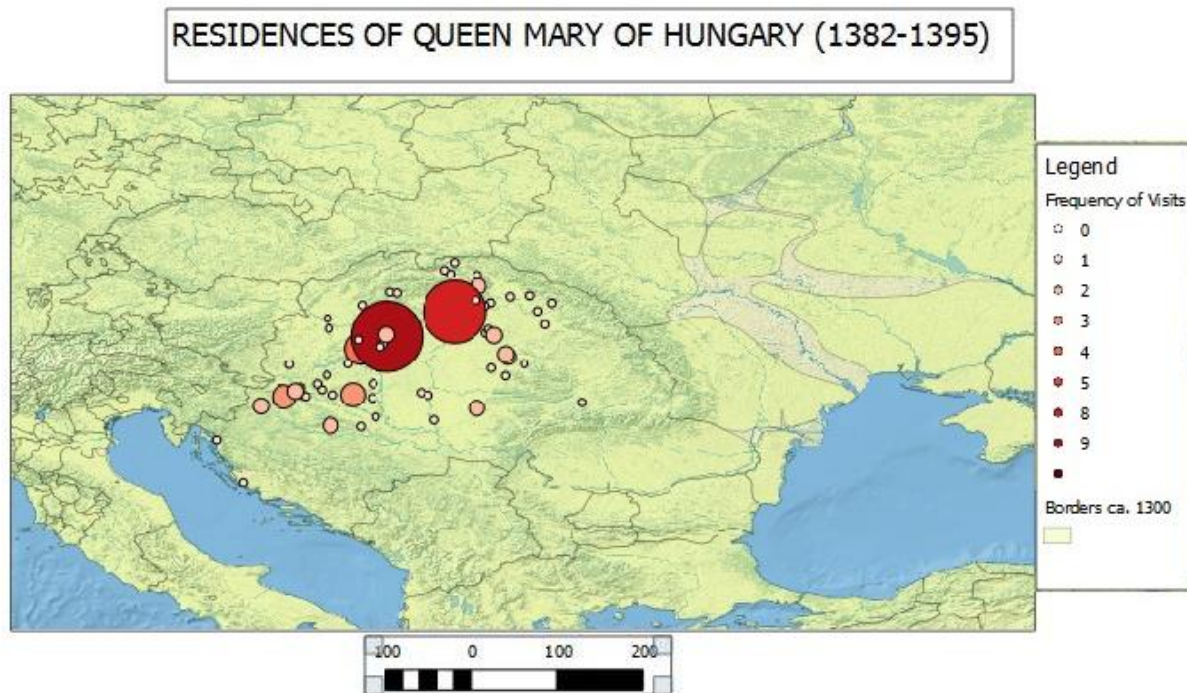
<sup>926</sup> This was the hunting lodge at Gesztes; the only other queen known to have visited there is Isabella of Naples a century prior. Gergely Buzás, "Királyi rezidenciák és szálláshelyek a késő középkori Magyarországon" [Royal Residences and Lodging places in Late Medieval Hungary] in *In medio regni Hungariae. Régészeti, művészettörténeti és történeti kutatások 'az ország közepén': Archaeological, Art Historical, and Historical Researches 'in the Middle of the Kingdom'* ed. by Elek Benkő and Krisztina Orosz. (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 2015), 711.



most highly mobile of the queens in this survey.



Map 4 – The Itinerary of Elizabeth of Bosnia, 1382-1386



Map 5 – The itinerary of Queen Mary (r. 1382-1395)

In some cases, certain parts of the year were spent traditionally at certain castles. While Béla III spent the Christmas of 1198 in Óbuda, Andrew II and Béla III spent the Easter and Lent

season there respectively.<sup>927</sup> From 1373-1382, the spring and autumn months as well as Christmas were spent at the castle of Diósgyőr; as Louis of Hungary was also king of Poland in those years, this castle held a particularly strategic location.<sup>928</sup>

Overall, the general picture that emerges is that it seems Hungarian queens spent relatively little time on their own estates. Isabella of Naples spending August to October of 1289 in Somogy county (home to several of the queens' estates) is a rather rare exception; in this case, after the queen was restored to favor, it seems she was re-visiting lands which had been given back to her.<sup>929</sup> Since proximity to the king is an important matter, it would be in the best interest of the queen consort to be a continued presence at the royal court. For the most part, it is only in widowhood that queens pursued a separate itinerary of their own, but even still they never seem to be too far removed from the action at court.

## Esztergom

While it is possible that the palace complex at Esztergom had a predecessor in the Roman fortress at Solva, the medieval palace can be traced all the way back to the tenth century, when prince Géza (r. 975-997) erected a residence on what would become the northern part of the castle hill (*Fig. 43*).<sup>930</sup> A canonical visitation from 1397 affirms that the entry of the chapel dedicated to St. Stephen the protomartyr was the traditional birthplace of Hungary's first king, St. Stephen.<sup>931</sup> While the church of St. Stephen the protomartyr is mostly known from its thirteenth century form, there are eleventh century elements present; one hypothesis is that in the early years this chapel could have served as the royal chapel originally attached to the palace and served by the archbishop of Esztergom.<sup>932</sup> Though attached to the church, there is some disagreement about the orientation of this palace: Gerevich and Buzás show it attached to the south side of the chapel, while Horváth shows it attached to the north side.<sup>933</sup> Little has been said

<sup>927</sup> Julianna Altman, "Óbuda," in *Medium Regni: Medieval Hungarian Royal Seats*, ed. Julianna Atlmann et al, (Budapest: Nap Kiadó, 1999), 93.

<sup>928</sup> Ilona Czeglédy, *The Castle of Diósgyőr* (Budapest: Corvina Press, 1971), 12.

<sup>929</sup> Attila Zsoldos, *Az Árpádok és asszonyaik: a királynéi intézmény az Árpádok korában* [The Árpáds and their women: the office of the queen in the Árpadian age] (Budapest: MTA Történettudományi Intézete, 2005), 89-90.

<sup>930</sup> Gergely Buzás, "Az Esztergomi vár román kori és gotikus épületei" [the buildings of Esztergom castle in Romanesque and Gothic], *Az Esztergomi Vármúzeum kőtárának katalógusa* [The Esztergom Castle Museum Lapidary catalog] Gergely Buzás, Gergely Tolnai, eds. (Esztergom: Esztergom Castle Museum, 2004), 7; István Horváth, "Esztergom" in *Medium Regni: Medieval Hungarian Royal Seats*, Julianna Atlmann et al (Budapest: Nap Kiadó, 1999), 11.

<sup>931</sup> Emese Nagy, "Reconstitution de la Topographie de la colline d'Esztergom a l'haute époque arpadienne" *Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 34 (1982): 52-53; Buzás, "Az Esztergomi vár", 9.

<sup>932</sup> Analogies to this setup can be seen in contemporary Paderborn, Magdeburg, and Speyer. Buzás, "Az Esztergomi vár", 9.

<sup>933</sup> The church of St. Stephen the protomartyr was about 20 m in length. László Gerevich, "The Rise of Hungarian towns along the Danube" in *Towns in Medieval Hungary*, ed. László Gerevich, (Boulder: East European

about the queen's residence in this palace, though if St. Stephen had been born in the quarters of his mother, Sarolta of Transylvania, it is likely then that at that time that her rooms would have been relatively close to the church, assuming the chapel of St. Stephen the protomartyr was the royal chapel in the tenth century. While it is possible that remnants of this palace may have still existed in a plan from the eighteenth century, the levelling of the site for the construction of the cathedral has destroyed any possibility of archaeological research.<sup>934</sup>

Sometime during the reign of St. Stephen, the king moved the royal palace the southern part of the castle hill. A room originally identified as the birthplace of St. Stephen was discovered in the 1930s but has now been dated to the twelfth century (*Fig. 44*).<sup>935</sup> Other than small modifications made to the walls by Stephen I and Coloman 'the Book-Lover', a fire in 1180s destroyed most of the remains of this palace.<sup>936</sup> It is now believed that the newer palace on the southern side of the castle hill was renovated during the time of Béla III and his son Emeric after a fire ran through the fortified hill in the 1180s.<sup>937</sup> The end of the twelfth century is thus the only period that any aspects of the palace can be understood. At this time, Béla III constructed the keep on the southern end of the complex which would serve as the royal residence; only the residential keep, the northwestern wing and the eastern wing from this period have survived to present day.<sup>938</sup> Unlike western counterparts, the royal residences in the keep were separated from the public space and the great hall; instead it was a separate tower next to the main chapel. On the lower floor of the tower there was most likely an *aula* just after the entrance with a *camera* in an interior space. A large staircase from the hallway and a small, winding staircase from the *aula* led to the upper stories. The smaller staircase might have been attached to the queen's suite which would have been on the second floor.<sup>939</sup> This residential pentagonal tower was known as the "White Tower", which was connected by a double-door to a passageway which led to the so-

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Monographs, 1990), 31; István Horváth, "Esztergom", in *Medium Regni: Medieval Hungarian Royal Seats*, Julianna Atlmann et al (Budapest: Nap Kiadó, 1999), 11, 16; Buzás, "Az Esztergomi vár", 9, 28.

<sup>934</sup> István Horváth, Marta Kelemen and István Torma, *Komárom megye régészeti topográfiája: Esztergom és a dorogi járás* [Komárom County archaeological topography: Esztergom and Dorog tourism] (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1979), 91.

<sup>935</sup> The later royal palace in the southern part of the hill was uncovered in archaeological excavations in the 1930s, and later in the 1960s. Gerevich, "The Rise of Hungarian towns along the Danube", 31.

<sup>936</sup> István Horváth, "Az Esztergomi Várhegy régészeti kutatása, 1966-1969" [Archaeological Researches on Esztergom's Castle Hill, 1966-1999] in *In medio regni Hungariae. Régészeti, művészettörténeti és történeti kutatások 'az ország közepén': Archaeological, Art Historical, and Historical Researches 'in the Middle of the Kingdom'* ed. by Elek Benkő and Krisztina Orosz. (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 2015), 245-248.

<sup>937</sup> Horváth, "Esztergom", 16; Horváth, "Az Esztergomi Várhegy régészeti kutatása, 1966-1969", 245-246.

<sup>938</sup> Ernő Marosi, *Die Anfänge der Gotik in Ungarn: Esztergom in der Kunst des 12-13 Jahrhunderts* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1984), 42-43.

<sup>939</sup> Gergely Buzás, "The Functional Reconstruction of the Visegrád Royal Palace", in *The Medieval Royal Palace at Visegrád*, ed. Gergely Buzás and József Laszlovszky (Budapest: Archaeolingua Press, 2013), 163.

called “throne room”, the room beneath was called the St. Stephen’s room, as in the 1930s it was alleged to be the birthplace of St. Stephen.<sup>940</sup>

Before 1313, there were 22 documented royal visits to Esztergom. As a testament to the problematic nature of the source material, only eight of those visits were from the time when the court had a primary residence in Esztergom; the rest date from after the period when Béla IV moved the court to Buda.<sup>941</sup> Charters indicate that László IV, Isabella of Naples (d. 1303), Fenenna of Kujavia (d. 1295) and Andrew III visited Esztergom.<sup>942</sup> The city of Esztergom was destroyed in the Mongol invasion, causing a massive change to the Hungarian royal centers. Two deeds from 1249 and 1256 affirm that the damaged royal palace was given to the archbishop of Esztergom.<sup>943</sup> As a final coda, the palace on the southern end of Esztergom’s castle hill would once again serve as the residence for a Hungarian queen at the end of the fifteenth century; Beatrice of Aragon, widow of Matthias Corvinus, would live here from 1498-1500.<sup>944</sup> While a letter to the queen’s brother hints at Beatrice living in shabby conditions, the presence of rich furniture and luxurious fabric indicates that the queen was living in comfort relative to her court in Buda.<sup>945</sup>

## Veszprém

During the eleventh century, the city of Veszprém was home to about 1000-1200 people and full of winding, zig-zag streets that followed the natural terrain and a good deal of empty space.<sup>946</sup> Though Kralovánszky disagrees with many of the established traditions that link the city of Veszprém with the queens of Hungary, he does concede three points: the foundation of the Cathedral by Queen Gisela of Bavaria (d. 1065), the right of the Bishop of Veszprém to crown

<sup>940</sup> István Horváth, Marta Kelemen and István Torma, *Komárom megye régészeti topográfiája: Esztergom és a dorogi járás* [Komárom County archaeological topography: Esztergom and Dorog tourism] (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1979), 97-98.

<sup>941</sup> Three of these early visits are from St. Stephen himself. Kralovánszky, “The Settlement History of Veszprém and Székesfehérvár”, 58; Károly Ráth, *A magyar királyok és erdélyi fejedelmek: hadjárati, utazási és tartózkodási helyei* [The Hungarian kings and Transylvanian princes: their campaigns, travel, and accommodation sites] (Győr 1866), 1-32.

<sup>942</sup> In 1283, 1290, 1291 and 1301 respectively. Horváth, Kelemen and Torma, *Komárom megye régészeti topográfiája*, 97; Horváth, “Az Esztergomi Várhegy régészeti kutatása, 1966-1969”, 247-248.

<sup>943</sup> Gerevich, “The Rise of Hungarian towns along the Danube”, 34.

<sup>944</sup> Buzás, “Az Esztergomi vár”, 9.

<sup>945</sup> The furniture included benches, beds, tables, cabinets, bins, crates and other sundry items. Krisztina Orosz, “Mozgó udvar – mozgó háztartás. Állandó vagy ideiglenes berendezés a késő középkori király és nemesi otthonokban?” [Itinerant Courts – Itinerant Households. Permanent or Temporary Furnishings in Royal and Noble Homes in the Late Middle Ages?] *In medio regni Hungariae. Régészeti, művészettörténeti és történeti kutatások ‘az ország közepén’: Archaeological, Art Historical, and Historical Researches ‘in the Middle of the Kingdom’* ed. Elek Benkő and Krisztina Orosz (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 2015), 127-128.

<sup>946</sup> Tibor Lenner, “Life in Veszprém, in the ‘town of queens’” *Revija za geografijo - Journal for Geography*, 7/2, (2012): 88, 91.



the queen at Székesfehérvár, and the seat reserved for the queen in the cathedral of Veszprém.<sup>947</sup> Other assertions of his have been proven wrong, as there are two charters of Andrew II that indicate the crown of queen Gisela was stored at the cathedral of Veszprém until the early thirteenth century.<sup>948</sup>

Yet the pertinent question concerns to what extent Veszprém functioned as a queen's residence in the Árpadian era. Before 1313, there were only three known royal visits to the city of Veszprém, indicating that it received much less attention than the seats of Buda, Esztergom, or Székesfehérvár.<sup>949</sup> Admittedly though, the itinerary for the kings (and especially the queens) is known best after the Mongol invasions, but it nonetheless indicates that the importance of Veszprém from the thirteenth century onwards was nowhere near its peak in the eleventh century. The earliest known association of Veszprém with the queens is the report that St. Stephen's mother Sarolta of Transylvania fled from prince Koppány after the death of her husband in 997 when Koppány had wanted to seize her in order to marry her and strengthen his claim to the throne; she took refuge in Veszprém.<sup>950</sup> The secondary literature is full of many references that Veszprém was her favorite residence.<sup>951</sup> According to Gutheil, the royal palace in the eleventh century was immediately to the south of the Gizella chapel, under the site of the present day bishop's palace. He states that in the eighteenth century most of the remains of this earlier palace were destroyed during the renovation of the bishop's palace and that at that point only the Gizella chapel (which he refers to as the chapel of the royal palace) and a bakery on the southern wing known as the "Queen's kitchen" were still extant, though even the latter would be destroyed.<sup>952</sup> However, this is not the only interpretation for the site of the royal palace within the city of Veszprém. This explanation relies a great deal on the opinion of eighteenth century writers and the assumption that the bishop's palace would be built on top of the remains of the royal residence. One interpretation of archaeological evidence indicates that the eleventh century royal palace was situated immediately to the west of the Chapel of St. George and the present-day St. Michael Cathedral (*Fig. 45*).<sup>953</sup> The two corners seem to indicate that the Cathedral (a twelfth century building) may indeed have built upon the foundation of this palace, as by the twelfth-

<sup>947</sup> Kralovánszky, "The Settlement History of Veszprém and Székesfehérvár", 59.

<sup>948</sup> Arnold Ipolyi, Imre Nagy és Dezső Véghely, *Hazai okmánytár* Vol. V (Győr 1873), 8-10.

<sup>949</sup> There is also one other unconfirmed visit. Kralovánszky, "The Settlement History of Veszprém and Székesfehérvár", 58.

<sup>950</sup> Kralovánszky doubts her presence in Veszprém at this time. The territory ruled by Koppány seems to have been around Somogy county, south of Balaton and the main clash between Koppány and Stephen was at Veszprém. Z. J. Kosztolnyik, *Hungary under the Early Árpáds, 890s to 1063* (Boulder: East European Monographs, 2002), 128, 139-140; Kralovánszky, "The Settlement History of Veszprém and Székesfehérvár", 57.

<sup>951</sup> Jenő Gutheil, *Az Árpád-kori Veszprém* [Veszprém in the age of the Árpáds] (Veszprém: Veszprém Megyei Levéltár, 1979), 67; Kosztolnyik, *Hungary under the Early Árpáds*, 305.

<sup>952</sup> Gutheil, *Az Árpád-kori Veszprém* [Veszprém in the age of the Árpáds], 67-68.

<sup>953</sup> Kralovánszky, "The Settlement History of Veszprém and Székesfehérvár", 64 Fig 7.

thirteenth centuries, a new palatial complex was built to the south of the new cathedral. This position of the royal palace on the northern end of the fortress area would have naturally been the most defensible due to the steep slope of the terrain carved into the landscape by the River Séd.<sup>954</sup> While this is the most likely explanation, sadly all that can be known about the site of the early Árpáadian age royal palace is that it would have only been used until c. 1100, most of its remains are likely under St. Michael's Cathedral, and it would have been located in a part of the city that made it naturally defensible. As Adelaide of Rheinfelden (d. 1090) was most likely buried in the city, it is possible she was one of the last queens to have made use of this palace, and from the twelfth century onwards the city did not serve as a royal residence in any significant capacity.

### Segesd

During the time of the Mongol invasion, Segesd as a royal estate was assigned to Coloman, the younger son of Andrew II (r. 1205-1235) and Gertrude of Meran (d. 1213) who was also duke of Slavonia. While fleeing from the Mongols, the queen (Maria Laskarina, Coloman's niece by marriage) was waiting for her husband at Segesd before the family fled for Zagreb.<sup>955</sup> The first sign of Segesd being part of the queen's estate is in 1248 where it would have been the property of Maria Laskarina. While there was some question over its ownership in the 1260s, it would later be the property of Isabella of Naples (who donated it to the church of Veszprém) and Thomasina Morosini.<sup>956</sup> The Árpáadian age castle here consisted of an oval tower, flanked by residential wings and then medieval buildings.<sup>957</sup> Sometime from 1290-1295, Fenenna of Kujavia, first wife of Andrew III, completed the Franciscan house at Segesd most likely founded by her predecessor, Isabella of Naples.<sup>958</sup>

Presumably this residence was used by the Angevin queens as well; when Louis I returned from his first expedition against Naples, Elizabeth Piast welcomed him back to Hungary with the court at Segesd.<sup>959</sup> A plan of the castle made in 1664 gives an idea of the castle, which was positioned to the north of the city (*Fig. 46*). The inner part of the castle was 80 x 24 m, while the outer walls covered a territory of 140 x 80 m. The fourteenth century castle had a U-shape, but later it was transformed to the plan from the seventeenth century.<sup>960</sup> While it was a queen's

<sup>954</sup> Lenner, "Life in Veszprém, in the 'town of queens'", 88.

<sup>955</sup> Anonymous and Master Roger, *Anonymi Bele regis notarii Gesta Hungarorum. Epistola in miserabile carmen super destructione regni Hungarie per Tartaros facta*, ed. Martyn Rady, László Veszprémy, János M. Bak, eds. (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2010), 185, 195.

<sup>956</sup> Zsoldos, *Az Árpádok és asszonyaik*, 40-41.

<sup>957</sup> Szende, "Les châteaux de reines", 164.

<sup>958</sup> Beatrix Romhányi, *Kolostorok és társaskáptalanok a középkori Magyarországon* (Budapest: Pytheas, 2000), 57; Pál Gerő Bozsoky, *Királyok és királynék városa: Segesd* (Segesd, 2001), 161-162.

<sup>959</sup> Szende, "Les châteaux de reines", 163.

<sup>960</sup> Szende, "Les châteaux de reines", 164.

property, the only other documented visit of a queen in this period is Mary's visit in March of 1391.<sup>961</sup> Segesd thus does not seem to have been a particularly important part of the queen's itineraries.

## Óbuda

Óbuda was an important stopping point on Frederick I's journey to the Holy Land, where the Emperor journeyed with Béla III (r. 1173-1196) and his second wife Margaret of France (d. 1197) after his reception in Esztergom. His envoys returned later that year around Christmastime and found Béla III at Óbuda after the emperor had left for the Holy Land. Not much is known of this building, but it would have likely been grand enough to receive Frederick I; Altmann suggests it would be near the provostry.<sup>962</sup> A second royal residence in Óbuda was built some time during the reign of Andrew II at 2-4 Kalvin köz, a square building in the southwestern corner of the town. Spekner has hypothesized that the reason Andrew II built this new palace could be tied either to his participation in the Fifth Crusade, or perhaps to his marriage in 1215 with Yolanda of Courtenay (d. 1233).<sup>963</sup> This in turn would be devastated by the Tatars, along with most of Óbuda. Its state at the end of the thirteenth century is unknown as Agnes of Habsburg ordered for carpentry and masonry work to be done on the castle. She mentioned Óbuda castle as her permanent residence in 1296 and before she left Hungary in 1301 she gave orders about payment for the masonry and carpentry work done at the Óbuda residence.<sup>964</sup> However, Óbuda's importance as a royal center would reach its peak during the middle of the fourteenth century when Louis I endowed the castle to his mother Elizabeth of Poland in 1343.<sup>965</sup>

Construction on the palace was begun in the thirteenth century. The inner palace would have occupied a space of 60 x 60 meters, surrounded by a moat, and then an outer wall enclosing the palace in an area of 100 x 100 meters (*Fig. 47*). The entrance to the palace was from the north with a bridge spanning the moat from the outer to the inner walls. Following this was a tower with an interior space of roughly 6.5 x 6 meters which was attached on the east to the chapel of

<sup>961</sup> Pál Engel and Norbert C. Tóth, *Királyok és királynék itineráriumi (1382-1438)* (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Támogatott Kutatóhelyek Irodája, 2005), 42.

<sup>962</sup> Altman, "Óbuda", 92-93.

<sup>963</sup> Enikő Spekner, "Buda királyi székhellyé alakulásának kezdetei a 13. század első felében," *Urbs. Magyar Várostörténeti Évkönyv* 7 (2012): 111; Krisztina Havasi, "A király új palotája. Megjegyzések a kora 13. századi óbudai rezidencia művészettörténeti helyéhez" [A new palace for the king. remarks on the place in art history of the early 13<sup>th</sup>-century royal residence at Óbuda] in *In medio regni Hungariae. Régészeti, művészettörténeti és történeti kutatások 'az ország közepén': Archaeological, Art Historical, and Historical Researches 'in the Middle of the Kingdom'* ed. Elek Benkő and Krisztina Orosz (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 2015), 410, 468.

<sup>964</sup> Altman, "Óbuda", 93-94; Szende, "Les châteaux de reines", 163; Hermann and Theodor von Liebenau, *Urkundliche Nachweise zu der Lebensgeschichte der verwittweten Königin Agnes von Ungarn: 1280-1364.* (Aarau: Lucern, 1867), 10-11.

<sup>965</sup> Julianna Altmann, "Neueste Forschungen der Burg der Königin in Óbuda" *Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungariae* 34 (1982): 222.

St. Elizabeth. The exposure of the eastern and western wings indicates that the palace was U-shaped; both the western and eastern wings bear buttresses from the time of Elizabeth of Poland's renovations.<sup>966</sup> The sacristy in St. Elizabeth's chapel and the hall in the southeastern corner of the palace are also part of her building renovations, but it has been conjectured that her major renovations would have taken place on the upper floors, which have not survived; a hint of these might be seen in the seal of Óbuda dating from the fourteenth century.<sup>967</sup>

In spite of all this, Szende contends that Óbuda should not be considered a fixed residence of the queen.<sup>968</sup> There is a certain logic to this as even though Elizabeth of Poland took possession in 1343, it is not until 1365 that her first charter is issued from Óbuda; this could perhaps be explained by construction works going on at this time, as Buzás suggests that these were most likely undertaken in the second half of the 1340s.<sup>969</sup> From 1365 to her death in 1380, Buda and Visegrád are the sites where most of her charters were issued from followed by Óbuda and Diósgyőr. One possibility could be with documentation; Buda is usually listed as "Bude" and Óbuda as "Bude veteri" in these documents, but in some documents the distinction might not have been made clear, and "Bude" could have referred to a document issued from Óbuda in some cases. Charters issued by Elizabeth of Poland and Elizabeth of Bosnia do not always distinguish which queen was issuing the document, and it can be nearly impossible to tell simply from the language. One other possibility is that if Óbuda was meant as a place of retirement, it means that the queen could have been more active in issuing charters from royal centers connected to the king's court and this palace was more of a retreat. In any case, the queen was meticulous to leave the palace to her daughter-in-law Elizabeth of Bosnia in her will.<sup>970</sup> The presence of the younger queen Elizabeth and her daughter Mary (r. 1382-1395) is much more limited; Elizabeth only has one charter issued from Óbuda after taking possession, and Mary only has two.<sup>971</sup> Though Óbuda's importance waned after the death of Elizabeth of Poland, other royal women would occasionally associate themselves with the palace. Barbara of Celje would expand the palace in

<sup>966</sup> Altmann, "Neueste Forschungen der Burg der Königin in Óbuda", 225-230; Altman, "Óbuda", 103.

<sup>967</sup> Altmann, "Neueste Forschungen der Burg der Königin in Óbuda", 230-231.

<sup>968</sup> Szende, "Les châteaux de reines", 163.

<sup>969</sup> Gergely Buzás, "History of the Visegrád Royal Palace", in *The Medieval Royal Palace at Visegrád*, ed. Gergely Buzás and József Laszlovsky (Budapest: Archaeolingua Press, 2013), 30-32.

<sup>970</sup> "Item iam dicte domine regine filie nostre castrum Veteris-budense cum suis pertinentiis, unam cuppam auream et unum plenarium ymaginem beate Virginis habens, in superiori parte auro et inferiore argento tectum, et unum brevarium in quo legimus legamus." Ernő Marosi, "A 14. századi Magyarország udvari művészettörténetírásában", 51-77 in *Művészet I. Lajos király korában 1342-1382. Katalógus* (Budapest: MTA Művészettörténeti Kutató Csoport, 1982), 73-75 n 32; László Szende, "Mitherrscherin oder einfach Königinmutter Elisabeth von Lokietek in Ungarn (1320-1380)" *Majestas* 13 (2005), 62.

<sup>971</sup> MOL DL-DF 69710; Engel and Tóth, *Királyok és királynék itineráriumi (1382-1438)*, 36, 45; Süttő, *Anjou-Magyarország alkonya* II, 128-129.

1425 with the help of Viennese bricklayers, and Elizabeth Szilágyi (the mother of Matthias Corvinus) and Mary, the wife of Louis II of Hungary, would both take up residence in Óbuda.<sup>972</sup>

## Buda

In the Árpáadian age, Buda was the site of the most royal visits, a total of 67 documented entries.<sup>973</sup> This might be deceiving, however, as most of these occur after Béla IV's move to the city in the second half of the thirteenth century.<sup>974</sup> Immediately after the Mongol Invasion, Béla IV (r. 1235-1270) established the fortified settlement on the hill on the other side of the river from the town of Pest. Since Pest had suffered a great amount of destruction, Béla moved the (mostly German) settlers to the new fortification and transferred their rights and privileges.<sup>975</sup> Regarding the royal palace in the city, there were three royal residences in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries: the "Kammerhof" in the northern part of the city, the Stephen Tower, and the palace Louis I and his successors built attached to the Stephen Tower.

The first written mention of the Kammerhof occurs in the Styrian Rhyming Chronicle when talking about Wenceslas of Bohemia (r. 1301-1305) claiming the Hungarian throne in 1310, stating that it was where the king held court. A charter from 1354 affirms that this building was next to the house of Tamas Szécsényi, and another from 1416 states that this house was on St. Nicholas Street (*Fig. 48*). These all point to the location of this palace being on the site of No. 9 Táncsics Mihály utca. An illustration from 1598 indicates that the Kammerhof was still standing, though it was probably destroyed shortly thereafter.<sup>976</sup> The excavations from the 1960s uncovered the gatehouse which opened up to the thirteenth century ramparts. Regrettably the southern excavations were unable to turn up the enclosure of the fortification.<sup>977</sup> This palace would have also been home to Buda's mint during the time of Béla IV.<sup>978</sup> A tower with a ground plan of 13 meters by 13 meters and a courtyard were uncovered, but there is still much archaeological work to be done. Only 450 square meters out of 6000 of this palace complex has

<sup>972</sup> Barbara of Celje would have at least three documented periods of stay in Óbuda: June 20 1413, September 10-November 15 1428, and November 26-December 3 1430. Altmann, "Neueste Forschungen der Burg der Königin in Óbuda", 222; Engel and Tóth, *Királyok és királynék itineráriumai (1382-1438)*, 171-177.

<sup>973</sup> Kralovánszky, "The Settlement History of Veszprém and Székesfehérvár", 58.

<sup>974</sup> Though Béla III and Andrew II did visit the city a few times beforehand. Ráth, *A magyar királyok és erdélyi fejedelmek*, 13-15.

<sup>975</sup> András Végh, "Buda", in *Medium Regni: Medieval Hungarian Royal Seats*, Julianna Atlmann et al (Budapest: Nap Kiadó, 1999), 166.

<sup>976</sup> Zoltán Bencze, "A budavári Táncsics Mihály utca 7-9. rövid története" [A short history of No. 7-9 Táncsics Mihály Street in Buda Castle] *Archaeologia – Altum Castrum Online* (2014), 5-6.

<sup>977</sup> Végh, "Buda", 171-172.

<sup>978</sup> Katalin H. Gyürky, "A Szent Márton kápolna régészeti maradványai Budán" [The archaeological remains of the St Martin Chapel in Buda] *Archaeologiai Értesítő* 111 (1984): 39-40.

been excavated however, so little can be said until further excavations take place.<sup>979</sup> Overall, there can be two groups of buildings linked to this royal palace: a hall and gatehouse attached to the city wall in the center, and another group next to St. Martin's chapel.<sup>980</sup>

While precious little can be said of the residential quarters of the Kammerhof, a word on the relationship between the queens and the palace chapel might be spared. The palace chapel dedicated to St. Martin was founded by Elizabeth Piast and Louis I in 1349, during the time where Louis I had court in Buda rather than Visegrád.<sup>981</sup> St. Martin's chapel was oriented east-west with the east end in a polygon of three sides and most likely would have been around 15 meters in length on the outside with an interior space 11.70 m long by 7.70 m wide. The façade did not extend to the street and most likely would not have been visible from the street.<sup>982</sup> One of the carvings found in the chapel depicts a lion with a woman's head in between the paws, a possible connection to the queen who founded the chapel.<sup>983</sup> The "Kammerhof" most likely would have been the residence of Elizabeth of Poland during the second half of the fourteenth century; it has even been suggested that she could have written her will here in 1380.<sup>984</sup> In the autumn of 1381, her son Louis I gave this building to the Pauline Orders for the purpose of safekeeping the relic of St. Paul the Hermit.<sup>985</sup>

Constructed at the most vulnerable point of defense on the southern end of Buda's Castle Hill, for a long time it was believed that the name of the tower is derived from Stephen, duke of Slavonia, a younger son of Charles I Robert. The first literary reference to it as the Stephen Tower comes from a decree of Sigismund from 1434 which indicates that the crown jewels were placed in the treasury next to the tower of prince Stephen.<sup>986</sup> The Stephen Tower (*Fig. 49*) was believed to have been built by a member of Stephen of Slavonia's entourage, a stone mason called Master János of Szepesség.<sup>987</sup> However, Spekner has proposed that the Stephen tower refers to an earlier prince, King Stephen V, and posits that this Tower would have been constructed while he was still a prince sometime in the thirteenth century. Her main points of

<sup>979</sup> László Zolnay, "Ásatások a budai I. Táncsics Mihály utca 9. területén. A XIII-XIV. századi budavári királyi rezidencia kérdéséhez" [Excavations undertaken on a plot in the 1<sup>st</sup> district of Buda, 9 Táncsics Mihály Street. Additions to the question of the 13<sup>th</sup>-14<sup>th</sup> royal residence in Buda] *Archaeologiai Értesítő* 94 (1967): 40; Bencze, "A budavári Táncsics Mihály utca 7-9. rövid története", 7.

<sup>980</sup> Buzás, "History of the Visegrád Royal Palace", 25-26.

<sup>981</sup> Zolnay, "Ásatások a budai I. Táncsics Mihály utca 9. területén": 40-42.

<sup>982</sup> Gyürky, "A Szent Márton kápolna", 33; Bencze, "A budavári Táncsics Mihály utca 7-9. rövid története", 3.

<sup>983</sup> Gyürky, "A Szent Márton kápolna", 34.

<sup>984</sup> Zolnay, "Ásatások a budai I. Táncsics Mihály utca 9. területén", 43; Szende, "Les châteaux de reines", 162.

<sup>985</sup> Végh, "Buda", 167, 208.

<sup>986</sup> Enikő Spekner, "Adalékok a Budavári István torony névadójának kérdéséhez" [Contributions to questions of the so-called Stephen Tower in Buda Castle] *Budapest Régiségei* XXXV (2002): 403.

<sup>987</sup> László Gerevich, *The Art of Buda and Pest in the Middle Ages* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1971), 65-67; Végh, "Buda", 189.

argument against linking the tower with the fourteenth century prince Stephen of Slavonia consist of the fact that he would have only stayed in Buda for a brief period from 1349-1352, and that the tower itself seems to originate from the thirteenth century.<sup>988</sup> The tower itself would have been a square donjon with a courtyard and wings following the topography of the rocky landscape and joining up with the fortifications.<sup>989</sup> If it does date from the thirteenth century, it could date from Stephen's stay in Buda from 1257-1258 or from 1265-1266.<sup>990</sup> If this is the case, the Stephen Tower could have been where Elizabeth the Cuman issued two charters from 1272 and 1281.<sup>991</sup> However, further evidence is needed to conclusively prove this hypothesis. The only conjecture one could make about the female space in this keep tower is that it would have likely been on the upper floors.

Though Buda fell out of royal favor after supporting Wenceslas of Bohemia and Otto of Bavaria against Charles I Robert, it would once again serve as a royal seat from 1347-1355.<sup>992</sup> In the latter half of the fourteenth century Louis I began building a new palace onto the Stephen Tower. Regarding the roots of the modern palace, Gerevich originally thought that it was only in the later years of King Sigismund's reign that the new southern palace began to be built off of the Stephen Tower, but recent works have suggested that these additions were begun by Louis I as early as the 1370s.<sup>993</sup> This phase was completed by Sigismund and Mary in the 1390s, with additional renovations by Sigismund completed by the 1420s after he moved the capital back to Buda in 1308.<sup>994</sup> The move of the royal palace from the north of Buda to the south might also be connected with Louis I's expulsion of the Jews from the city in 1360. They were allowed to re-settle in 1364, but not in their former territory, on the southern part of the city, but rather in the northern part.<sup>995</sup> From the middle to the end of the fourteenth century the Stephen tower on the southernmost point of the palace complex was the site of the treasury; there was also a chapel in the southern end. The western wing joined onto this tower was comprised of three or four rooms, believed to be the royal suite. The northern wing would have had a great hall, and towards the end of the fourteenth century there would have been an eastern wing joining to the hall which could have been the apartments of the queen. The central room of this wing would have had a

<sup>988</sup> Spekner, "Adalékok a Budavári István torony", 410-413.

<sup>989</sup> Végh, "Buda", 189.

<sup>990</sup> Spekner, "Adalékok a Budavári István torony", 416-417.

<sup>991</sup> Attila Zsoldos and Imre Szentpétery, *Az Árpád-házi hercegek, hercegnők és a királynék okleveleinek kritikai jegyzéke* [A critical edition of the charters of the princes, princesses, and queens of the Árpád house] (Budapest: Magyar Országos Levéltár, 2008), 69, 92.

<sup>992</sup> Végh, "Buda", 167; Szende, "Les châteaux de reines", 161.

<sup>993</sup> Gerevich, *The Art of Buda and Pest in the Middle Ages*, 84; Végh, "Buda", 167, 188.

<sup>994</sup> Végh, "Buda", 192-193.

<sup>995</sup> Károly Magyar, "Der Königspalast in Buda" in *Budapest im Mittelalter*, ed. by Gerd Biegel, 202 (Brunswick: Braunschweigischen Landesmuseums, 1992); Zolnay, "Ásatások a budai I. Táncsics Mihály utca 9. területén", 43.

hypocaust floor.<sup>996</sup> In the time of Queen Mary and King Sigismund, a second sizeable tower was built on the western palace wing, attached to the second courtyard. This rectangular tower was divided into six parts, and its huge size for such a private dwelling of a queen might have been meant to emphasize the queen regnant's power. It was never finished, however, and would end up being used as a prison in the fifteenth century.<sup>997</sup> Queen Mary commissioned Lorenzo de Monacis to write a chronicle in verse detailing the earlier part of her reign (see relevant chapter on Books of the Queens), and he refers to several rooms in Buda palace. Unfortunately, Queen Mary's impact on this building is difficult to parse apart and her involvement in construction from 1382 to 1395 has remained elusive.<sup>998</sup>

While the apartments of the queen remain elusive even in later periods, there are several sixteenth century descriptions which offer some clues as to the appearance of the queen's rooms from this period. The bedchamber of Queen Isabella Jagiellon (d. 1559), wife of János Zápolya (r. 1526-1540), would have been somewhere in the southern part of the palace complex, in between a hall and the king's bedchamber. The interior was painted azure blue, and decorated with figures, one author identifying them as figures of the Virtues. This was identified as the queen's room from an inscription Isabella herself had carved into the wall reading "Sic fata volunt, Isabella regina."<sup>999</sup> The presence of the Virtues is worthy of note. At the Renaissance palace at Nonsuch in England, the imagery on the queen's side of the inner court would have displayed the three theological and four cardinal virtues, along with the seven liberal arts, classical goddesses, and the Queen of the Amazons at the entrance. Richardson interprets the presence of the Arts and Virtues as representative of an earlier program invoking the passive character expected of the queen.<sup>1000</sup> However, the presence of the virtues can be found at another Renaissance palace in Hungary. The study hall of János Vitéz in his archbishopric palace at Esztergom is decorated with the seven Cardinal virtues as well as a triumphal procession, while the ceiling is decorated with the zodiac.<sup>1001</sup> This one glimpse into the decorative program of the queen shows that it was not an isolated example, neither for queens consort nor in Hungary.

<sup>996</sup> Magyar, "Der Königspalast in Buda", 212-219; Buzás, "The Functional Reconstruction of the Visegrád Royal Palace", 169.

<sup>997</sup> Buzás, "The Functional Reconstruction of the Visegrád Royal Palace", 172.

<sup>998</sup> Monacis describes a "Castrum regale", a "regis cubilis", a "thalamus", and a high tower. Magyar, "Der Königspalast in Buda", 202, 204.

<sup>999</sup> Károly Magyar, "Et... introivit ad Hungariam sola germanica ancilla nomine Maria..." in *Mary of Hungary: The Queen and Her Court 1521-1531*, Orsolya Réthelyi, et al. (Budapest: Budapest History Museum, 2005), 114-115.

<sup>1000</sup> Richardson, "Gender and Space in English Royal Palaces", 158-160.

<sup>1001</sup> Dezső Dercsényi, *The Royal Palace of Esztergom* (Budapest: Corvina Press, 1965), 7, 26-27.



## Timisoara

In the interregnum following the death of Andrew III of Hungary in 1301, the citizens of Buda had been extremely antagonistic to Charles I Robert of Anjou, who eventually beat out all of his competition. As a result, Charles I moved the court from Buda and was faced with the decision to move either north to Lipova (Lippa), or south to Timisoara (Temesvár).<sup>1002</sup> Eventually Timisoara won the king's favor and from 1315-1323 the king's court was situated there. While an earthwork fortress had existed in Timisoara in the late thirteenth century, by 1315 it had been replaced with a stone structure with walls, towers and bastions. The castle itself was in the shape of a square, with the royal palace adjacent to its southeastern corner. Not much is known of the interior of this building, so there is no information about the queen's apartments available.<sup>1003</sup> An assassination attempt was made on King Charles I at this palace sometime in 1317.<sup>1004</sup> His first wife Queen Maria of Bytom was known to have died in Timisoara that same year as well, and it is entirely possible she died at the palace.<sup>1005</sup> A total of four charters were issued by queens from Timisoara during its period as the primary residence: one by Beatrix of Luxemburg in 1318, and three by Elizabeth Piast in 1322.<sup>1006</sup> Though the court moved to Visegrád in 1323, Timisoara still remained an important, growing town in the fourteenth century. Sadly, most medieval traces of the town were destroyed in the sixteenth-eighteenth centuries during the struggles with the Ottomans.<sup>1007</sup>

## Visegrad

During the eleventh and thirteenth centuries, Visegrád was the site of several royal construction projects, but it was not until 1323 that the site became a royal seat mostly due to its central location and strong fortifications.<sup>1008</sup> Charles I Robert built his mansion in the Hungarian part of the town, and it was here where he and his family were attacked by Felician Zách in 1330.<sup>1009</sup> While it is difficult to untangle the constantly changing history of the space at Visegrád,

<sup>1002</sup> István Petrovics, "The fading glory of a former medieval royal seat: the case of medieval Temesvár" ... *The Man of Many Devices, Who Wandered Full Many Ways...: Festschrift in Honor of János M. Bak*, edited by Balázs Nagy and Marcell Sebők (Budapest: Central European University Press, 1999), 529

<sup>1003</sup> Petrovics, "The fading glory of a former medieval royal seat", 530; László Szende, "Les châteaux de reines comme résidence dans la Hongrie des Anjou", 161.

<sup>1004</sup> A similar one was also made that year in Sárospatak. Petrovics, "The fading glory of a former medieval royal seat", 530-531.

<sup>1005</sup> Dezső Dercsényi, ed. *The Hungarian Illuminated Chronicle* (Budapest: Corvina Press, 1969), 145.

<sup>1006</sup> Gyula Kristó, *Anjou-kori oklevéltár V. 1318-1320* (Budapest and Szeged: 1998), 157; *Anjou-kori oklevéltár VI. 1321-1322* (Budapest and Szeged, 2000), 184, 231, 233.

<sup>1007</sup> Petrovics, "The fading glory of a former medieval royal seat", 529-531.

<sup>1008</sup> St. Stephen constructed the bailiff's castle by 1002 and the environs were used for hunting. Andrew I and Salomon built churches in the town; the next phase of construction would not be until 1249 when Maria Laskarina would build the citadel, as shall be detailed in next chapter. Buzás, "Visegrád", 118-119.

<sup>1009</sup> Buzás, "Visegrád", 120.

it seems that in the earliest phase of the palace complex at Visegrád, two stone buildings on the north end (under the western wing of the northeastern palace) seem to be the likeliest candidates. One of the buildings seems to be a large hall (or some type of public space), with the partially-excavated remnants of its wall measuring 31 x 23 m with several column bases.<sup>1010</sup> The residential house was a two-story stone building with a hypocaust floor with a ground plan of 14 x 28 meters. The ground floor had a fireplace and tile stove and was supported by two rows of wooden poles, with two entrances on the eastern and northern walls. The hypocausts indicate that the upper story (most likely a residential suite) would have been divided into several rooms. Its similarity in size and scale to the Kammerhof in Buda indicates that this was most likely the rooms of the royal family.<sup>1011</sup> The upper floor with the residential quarters had a hall in the center flanked on either side by a suite each consisting of two rooms.<sup>1012</sup> It is likely that two of Elizabeth Piast's children (Louis and Ladislav) were born here.<sup>1013</sup> There would have been a separate chapel dedicated to St. George as part of this complex, but its location and date of construction are unsure; the most likely case is that it was constructed c. 1323-1326 in the vicinity of the northern yard of the Franciscan friary.<sup>1014</sup> Towards the end of Charles Robert's life (from 1339 onwards), the royal family would be living in the citadel until 1347, when the court moved to Buda.<sup>1015</sup> It is possible that Elizabeth of Poland could have been behind the foundation of an Augustinian monastery dedicated to St. Ladislav, though its existence is not certain.<sup>1016</sup>

In the time of Louis I, the royal suite would have been in the northeastern quarter of the palace, where the ground floor consisted of central hall with two suites of three rooms each on either side (*Fig. 50*). The second floor was most likely a mirror of the first. Bonfini mentions how the three rooms consisted of first a private dining room, then a reception hall, and finally the most interior rooms were the bedchamber. Buzás postulates that the second floor suite would have most likely been used by a queen or a female member of the Angevin dynasty as there was a bath and had access to the oratory and a flower garden. The suite below would have most likely been the apartments of the kings. Buzás also notes that the northern parts of the palace were more private spaces while the southern rooms were more accessible to the public.<sup>1017</sup> The queens were also involved in the shaping of religious spaces in the palace; Elizabeth Piast also asked the pope in 1366 for more indulgences for the chapel of the Virgin Mary that Louis I and Elizabeth

<sup>1010</sup> Buzás, "History of the Visegrád Royal Palace", 23-24.

<sup>1011</sup> Buzás, "History of the Visegrád Royal Palace", 22-26

<sup>1012</sup> Buzás, "the Functional Reconstruction of the Visegrád Royal Palace", 164.

<sup>1013</sup> Szende, "Les châteaux de reines", 161.

<sup>1014</sup> Buzás, "History of the Visegrád Royal Palace", 26.

<sup>1015</sup> Charles I Robert died in the citadel. Buzás, "History of the Visegrád Royal Palace", 26-27.

<sup>1016</sup> Szende, "Les châteaux de reines", 161.

<sup>1017</sup> Buzás, "the Functional Reconstruction of the Visegrád Royal Palace", 172-3.

Kotromanić had built in the palace of Visegrád.<sup>1018</sup> Several coins of Queen Mary were found in debris layers of the southern (i.e. more public) parts of the Visegrád palace, indicating that earlier buildings had been demolished under her reign.<sup>1019</sup>

In 1378, Queen Elizabeth exchanged one stone house (with other buildings) in the German quarter with the Bánfi Alsólendvai family. In 1378, the queen would have also owned two other properties in the city.<sup>1020</sup> This demonstrates that even in royal centers queens could still have town houses and properties of their own.

## Diósgyőr

Like Veszprém, Segesd, and Timisoara, the royal center at Diósgyőr is outside the *medium regni*. Diósgyőr became a royal property in 1323, and the first reference to it as the queen's castle is from 1340 (*Fig. 51*).<sup>1021</sup> As the castle was the property of three fourteenth century queens (Elizabeth of Poland, Elizabeth of Bosnia, and Mary of Anjou), it is clear that this palace shares a lot of features in common with the queen's residence at Óbuda.<sup>1022</sup> In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, Diósgyőr was given as a wedding present to Elizabeth of Luxemburg, Catherine of Podebrady, Beatrice of Aragon, Anne de Foix, and Mary of Habsburg.<sup>1023</sup> Though the castle was in Elizabeth Piast's possession from 1340, she only began issuing charters from Diósgyőr in 1369. In total, Elizabeth of Poland, Elizabeth of Bosnia, and Queen Mary only issued 23 charters from Diósgyőr from 1369 to 1395 (See **Appendix I**).

During the middle of the fourteenth century, the castle was renovated as a French-style donjon with four towers around a central courtyard. The north wing of the palace had a great hall with two naves, while the eastern wing had two chapels, one on the upper story directly above the other.<sup>1024</sup> This phase of construction is usually attributed to Louis I 'the Great', but there are several indications that the queens were directly involved in shaping the castle. On one hand, a keystone with the image of an older woman believed to be Elizabeth Piast, mother of Louis I, was found in the western wing (See **Cat. IV.3**). On the other hand, a find from 1960 of a relief of

<sup>1018</sup> Szende, "Les châteaux de reines", 161.

<sup>1019</sup> Buzás, "History of the Visegrád Royal Palace", 63.

<sup>1020</sup> Szende thinks it's Elizabeth Piast, while Mészáros thinks it's Elizabeth of Bosnia. Szende, "Les châteaux de reines", 161; Orsolya Mészáros, "The Reconstructed Topographical Gazetteer," in *The Medieval Royal Town at Visegrád: Royal Centre, Urban Settlement, Churches*, ed. Gergely Buzás, József Laszlovszky, and Orsolya Mészáros (Budapest: Archaeolingua, 2014), 117-118.

<sup>1021</sup> Czeglédy, *The Castle of Diósgyőr*, 11; Szende, "Les châteaux de reines", 164.

<sup>1022</sup> Particularly the care paid to local monastic establishments. Szende, "Les châteaux de reines", 164.

<sup>1023</sup> Czeglédy, *The Castle of Diósgyőr*, 14-16.

<sup>1024</sup> Szende, "Les châteaux de reines", 164.

nine Biblical figures has been attributed to Elizabeth Kotromanić, as the closest parallels with this sort of relief can be found in the Balkans.<sup>1025</sup>

The royal residences were on the upper floor; though they have not survived to present, a survey from 1758 shows that there were three three-room suites on the eastern and southern wings. Buzás hypothesizes that the two identical suites on the eastern wing would have accommodated Louis I and Elizabeth of Bosnia, the larger, more independent southern wing would have housed the dowager queen Elizabeth of Poland.<sup>1026</sup> The two eastern suites have their main entrance in the middle flanked by two smaller rooms; the two rooms near the chapel were connected to the chapel's upper level, and the rooms in the corner had a privy. The entrance to the southern suite was in the middle room, preceded by a large staircase from the courtyard. The easternmost of the three rooms was a hall which could be access from the corridor, and to the west was an oratory which led to a private room with a privy.<sup>1027</sup>

## Conclusions

Overall, the apartments of the queens within royal castles tend to conform to expected patterns. For most of the queens consort, they tend to issue most of their documents from royal centers, though the journeys of Elizabeth the Cuman and Elizabeth of Poland during their widowhood show a slight break from this tradition. The journeys of Elizabeth of Bosnia and Queen Mary of Anjou also show a decisive break with the pattern as they were queen regent and queen regnant respectively. Within the royal apartments, the general assumption seems to be that the queens residences were above the apartments of the kings, and as such more difficult to access. The reconstruction of the residences at Esztergom, Buda castle, and certain phases of the palace at Visegrád seem to reinforce this. However, there are some interesting notes about the setup of the queens' apartments that show a slight difference. In one case, the upper floor of Diósgyőr, it has been argued that the biggest suite of rooms would have been that of the Queen Mother, Elizabeth Piast. As the castle was in her ownership from 1340 onwards, it is on one hand hardly surprising, and yet it would be an unusual setup of female space within fourteenth century. Palaces such as Visegrád indicate that the apartments of the queen were accessible to a flower garden and oratory, indicating seclusion and restriction of movement. Yet the example of Esztergom shows that the king's and queen's apartments were both removed from the public space of the hall which existed in the separate building. The presence of the dining area and hall space in the apartments of the queens at Visegrád and Diósgyőr shows that, while restricted, there

<sup>1025</sup> Szende, "Les châteaux de reines", 164.

<sup>1026</sup> Buzás, "the Functional Reconstruction of the Visegrád Royal Palace", 169.

<sup>1027</sup> The oratory was the only entrance to the room in this corner tower. Buzás, "the Functional Reconstruction of the Visegrád Royal Palace", 169.

were public spaces as part of the queens' rooms. Finally, the actions of Elizabeth Piast and Mary of Anjou show that both queens took a very active interest in re-shaping the royal space at the Hungarian courts. It is entirely possible other queens would have participated in shaping the palaces in Hungary, though most likely their presence would have been felt in less permanent things such as furnishings or the gardens. Two English queens were known to have brought gardeners over from their homeland;<sup>1028</sup> it is entirely possible a similar situation could have happened in Hungary. Overall, the picture of the queen's spatial activities in medieval Hungary reveal a complicated picture of gender and power that does not always conform to preconceived ideas about queenship.

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<sup>1028</sup> John Steane, *The archaeology of the medieval English monarchy* (London and New York: Routledge, 1993), 21-122.

Monastic constructions and residences of the queens within cloisters

Monastic foundations were an important part of the social and religious fabric of medieval Europe, and often royal activity can be traced in founding, renovating, and even living in convents. In France, Spain, England, and the Holy Roman Empire there are well-documented cases of queens being very influential in founding and supporting monastic institutions.<sup>1029</sup> Byzantium in particular has its own rich tradition of royal women founding monasteries, though certain women at certain times take more of an interest in doing so.<sup>1030</sup> In Central Europe, the influence of the Church of St. Elizabeth of Hungary (d. 1231) in Marburg had significant consequences for monasteries founded by royal women in Trzebnica, the Agnes monastery in Prague, and in Brno amongst other places. This example is particularly relevant here because many of the references to St. Elizabeth in these places generate from the Andechs-Meran dynasty which Queen Gertrude (d. 1213), the mother of St. Elizabeth, hailed from.<sup>1031</sup> In Hungary, there have only been a few studies done of individual queens which touch on their associations with founding and building churches, primarily from an architectural perspective.<sup>1032</sup>

Understanding the power of the queen through monastic foundation has its own set of difficulties. Monasteries could be founded by lay patrons for many different reasons: as a chantry foundation (prayers for the soul of the deceased founder), a place for their burial or even in some cases, as a mark of penance.<sup>1033</sup> Female patrons of monastic foundations could not only showcase their wealth and status, but also benefit from the prayers such visibility would accord her. Many

<sup>1029</sup> Most of the examples from Earenfight surveying queenship in the Middle Ages as a whole come from the Early Middle Ages; after 1000, most of the examples cited of queens patronizing monasteries come from Byzantium. Theresa Earenfight, *Queenship in Medieval Europe* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 57-62, 89-90, 122, 170; József Laszlovszky, "Local Tradition or European Patterns? The grave of Queen Gertrude in the Pilis Cistercian Abbey" in *Medieval East Central Europe in a Comparative Perspective: from Frontier Zones to Lands in Focus*, edited by Gerhard Jaritz and Katalin Szende (New York: Routledge, 2016), 86-92.

<sup>1030</sup> Barbara Hill, *Imperial Women in Byzantium 1025-1204: Power, Patronage and Ideology* (New York, 1999); Gyula Moravcsik, *Szent László leánya és a bizánci Pantokrator monostor* [The daughter of Saint Ladislás and the Pantokrator Monastery] (Budapest and Constantinople: 1923). Vassiliki Dimitropoulou, "Imperial Women Founders and Refounders in Komnenian Constantinople" in *Founders and Refounders of Byzantine Monasteries* (Belfast: Byzantine Texts in Translation, 2007): 87-106.

<sup>1031</sup> Paul Crossley, "The Architecture of Queenship: Royal Saints, Female Dynasties and the Spread of Gothic Architecture in Central Europe" in *Queens and Queenship in Medieval Europe: Proceedings of a Conference Held at King's College, London, April 1995*, ed. by Anne J. Duggan (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1997), 276-277.

<sup>1032</sup> Eva Sniezynska-Stolot, "Queen Elizabeth as Patron of Architecture," *Acta Historiae Artium* 20 (1974): 13-36; Eva Sniezynska-Stolot, "Tanulmányok Łokietek Erzsébet királyné műpártolása köréből (Ötvöstárgyak)" [Studies on the scope of the art patronage of Queen Elizabeth Łokietek (Goldsmith work)], *Művészettörténeti Értesítő* 30 (1981/4): 233-254, László Szende, "Piast Erzsébet és udvara (1320-1380)" [Elizabeth Piast and her court (1320-1380)] (PhD diss.: ELTE, 2007), 163-201.

<sup>1033</sup> In the latter example, Battle Abbey in England. Roberta Gilchrist and Barney Sloane, *Requiem: The Medieval Monastic Cemetery in Britain* (London: Museum of London Archaeology Service, 2005), 61-62; Eric Fernie, *The Architecture of Norman England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 102.

noblewomen funded monasteries or nunneries as a means of living as a widow.<sup>1034</sup> For the queens of Hungary, in most cases, even the question of whether or not they founded a monastery in the first place is the difficult question to answer. That being said, by examining instances where queens founded monasteries, one can discuss matters such as the type of Order the foundation belonged to (i.e. Benedictine, Mendicant, etc.), whether it was a male or female religious community, if it was a sole or joint donation (or even if the king founded it at the queen's suggestion), and even in a few cases the size and relative wealth of the community. Since most of the original buildings have not survived, most of the discussion on this topic must center on documentary rather than archaeological evidence. Nonetheless, this discussion of the queens' monastic foundations aims to shed light on how and why queens chose to found their own religious institutions.

This chapter will thus focus on two aspects of queenly power in relation to monastic communities. In the first part, I will chart a chronology of the queens' monastic foundations within Hungary in order to understand how patronage worked and changed over time. Secondly, I will analyze the space of the queens within certain monastic communities. Either as widows or as occasional visitors, these queens (both in Hungary and abroad) would often stay for extended periods of times within the claustral precinct; in some cases, they might even become nuns. By examining the relationship of the queens from both perspectives, the aim is to understand how queens used their patronage of monasteries in order to express their own agency and power.

### **Monasteries founded by Queens of Hungary**

In the eleventh century Hungary, the presence of royal women in monastic foundations is considerably vague. Usually, the queen's connection to a monastery must be inferred since the king is the only one whose name is mentioned in the foundation document. Mention must be made of Queen Gisela's (d. 1065) foundation of the Cathedral of Veszprém. Györffy has dated the foundation to sometime between 997 (the time of Gisela's marriage) and 1001 (the foundation of the bishopric of Esztergom). Veszprém, the first permanent episcopal seat in Hungary, would have originally had its church located somewhere in the royal castle.<sup>1035</sup> A Bavarian princess, Gisela would have been the sister and sister-in-law of the saintly Henry II (r. 1002-1024) and Kunigunde of Luxemburg (d. 1040). Gisela would have been familiar with the activities of earlier German queens such as St. Matilda of Westphalia (d. 968) who founded the

<sup>1034</sup> Loveday Lewes Gee, "Patterns of Patronage: Female Initiatives and Artistic Enterprises in England in the 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> Centuries," in Therese Martin, ed., *Reassessing the Roles of Women as 'Makers' of Medieval Art and Architecture*, vol. 2 (Leiden Boston: Brill, 2012), 567.

<sup>1035</sup> Györffy, *King Saint Stephen of Hungary*, 104.

Abbey of Quedlinburg and St. Adelaide of Burgundy (d. 999) who founded Selz Abbey.<sup>1036</sup> A more subtle nod to the queen's presence in the earliest days of the Hungarian kingdom may come from a chapel near the residence at Nyitra; this building was dedicated to St. Emmeran, undoubtedly named after the patron saint of one of the princely abbey's in Regensburg, the city of Gisela's upbringing.<sup>1037</sup>

There are many explanations for the foundation of the Greek nunnery at Veszprémvölgy. It could have been founded by St. Stephen I (r. 997-1038) himself upon the marriage of his son St. Imre (1007-1031) with a Byzantine princess; she would have been placed in Gisela's care, while the nunnery would have served her entourage.<sup>1038</sup> Pointing to the language of King Coloman's (r. 1095-1116) confirmation of privileges in 1109, earlier scholarship entertained the idea that this convent could have been founded by a member of St. Stephen's family, perhaps even his mother Sarolta due to the fact that she had been baptized in the Byzantine rite. Révész points to the archaeological finds (particularly the burials) at the abbey which are associated with the Eastern Orthodox Church and concludes that while the Abbey was not part of a network of proselytization, it suggests Sarolta can be associated with this site, possibly as founder.<sup>1039</sup> Other suggestions as to the identity of the founder have pointed to Stephen's wife, Gisela of Bavaria, or even his sister, the repudiated wife of Gabriel Radomir, Tsar of Bulgaria (r. 1014-1015).<sup>1040</sup> While it is not the place here to ascribe this foundation to any member of St. Stephen's family, the salient point is how such a foundation likely could have been founded by the king's mother, wife, or sister.

Latin and Greek-rite monasteries founded during the reign of Andrew I (r. 1046-1060) may also reflect the influence of royal women. In 1055, he is known to have founded the Benedictine monastery at Tihany as well as a monastery at Visegrád dedicated to St. Andrew. There is also the mixing of Greek and Latin monks at sites such as the monastery of St.

<sup>1036</sup> Sean Gilsdorf, ed. *Queenship and Sanctity: The Lives of Mathilda and the Epitaph of Adelheid* (Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press, 2004), 98-100; Earenfight, *Queenship in Medieval Europe*, 76-77, 135-136.

<sup>1037</sup> Györffy, *King Saint Stephen of Hungary*, 81.

<sup>1038</sup> Györffy, *King Saint Stephen of Hungary*, 151; Miklós Komjáthy, "Quelques problèmes relatifs à la charte de fondation du couvent des religieuses de Veszprémvölgy" in *Mélanges offerts à Szabolcs de Vajay à l'occasion de son 50e anniversaire* (1971), 371-372, 379-380; Nora Berend, Przemysław Urbańczyk, Przemysław Wiszewski, *Central Europe in the High Middle Ages: Bohemia, Hungary and Poland, c. 900-c. 1300* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 357.

<sup>1039</sup> Éva Révész, "A keleti kereszténység: szerep, hatás vagy jelenlét?: A veszprémvölgyi monostor" [Eastern Christianity: role, impact or presence?: The Veszprémvölgy Monastery] *Belvedere*, 21 (2009): 52-56.

<sup>1040</sup> Szabolcs de Vajay, "The Role of the Byzantine Church in Medieval Hungary", *The American Slavic and East European Review* 6 (1947), 143-144.



Hippolytus at Zobor.<sup>1041</sup> What is curious about the Greek foundations of Andrew is the unusual role ascribed to his wife, Anastasia of Kiev (d. 1096?). The Greek monastery at Visegrád is usually attributed to the king's desire to please the queen while the monastery at Tihany, dedicated to the Frankish St. Anian, usually is explained by the presence of Anastasia's sister, Anne of Kiev, at the French court as the wife of King Henry I.<sup>1042</sup> An elaborate network of caves near Visegrád (at Zebegény) and near Tihany (at Óvár) are explained by the presence of Russian monks who used them as individual cells when they arrived in the region around the same time as Andrew I and Anastasia; in the thirteenth century there is evidence at Visegrád for a mixed Latin-Greek monastic community.<sup>1043</sup> Andrew himself had lived at the court of Kiev for some time, and likely he also would have been familiar with such monastic traditions.<sup>1044</sup> If Andrew married Anastasia in 1050, it is likely that several Russian eremitic monks could have accompanied her in her entourage, as there were several cave-type of monastic settlements in Kiev, Pskov and Zymne.<sup>1045</sup> There is also a remark from the Anonymous Chronicler that one of the reasons Andrew I bought the forest of Patak was because his wife Anastasia liked it because it was closer to her homeland in Kiev.<sup>1046</sup> All of this evidence indicates that Anastasia's presence at the Hungarian court influenced certain decisions made by Andrew I in monastic patronage. Andrew's will is present, and he undoubtedly would have been familiar with the monastic traditions from the Orthodox world that he sponsored in Hungary. Yet the possibility can nonetheless be raised that royal support for such institutions could have either been joint donations from the king and queen, or at the very least done with the queen's encouragement and support.

Serbian tradition links the foundation of an Orthodox monastery at Ráckeve on Csepel Island with Helen of Serbia, the wife of Béla II 'the Blind',<sup>1047</sup> though the building itself seems to only date from the thirteenth century. A reference from 1211 indicates that it would have been dedicated to St. Abraham and most likely it would have been founded by a member of the royal

<sup>1041</sup> Catherine Keene, *Saint Margaret, Queen of the Scots: a Life in Perspective* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 20; Marina Miladinov, *Margins of Solitude: Eremitism in Central Europe between East and West* (Zagreb: Leykam International, 2008), 158.

<sup>1042</sup> Kosztolnyik, *Hungary under the Early Árpáds*, 398, 400.

<sup>1043</sup> Keene, *Saint Margaret, Queen of the Scots*, 20-21.

<sup>1044</sup> Kosztolnyik, *Hungary under the Early Árpáds*, 339-340.

<sup>1045</sup> Vajay, "Még egy királynénk...? I. Endre első felesége" [Still one more queen...? The first wife of Andrew I] *Turul* 72 (1999), 18; Miladinov, *Margins of Solitude*, 181-161

<sup>1046</sup> Anonymous and Master Roger, *Gesta Hungarorum and Epistle to the Sorrowful Lamen upon the destruction of the Kingdom of Hungary by the Tatars*, János M. Bak and Martyn Rady, trans. (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2010), 43-45; Péter Szabó, *Woodland and forests in medieval Hungary* (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2005), 88, 92.

<sup>1047</sup> Гласник Српскога ученог друштва [*Gazette of the Serbian Learned Society*] 67 (1887), ix.

family. Two of its towers seem to have survived until the end of the nineteenth century.<sup>1048</sup> That said, it is possible that this datum is anachronistic as the Serbian community in Ráckeve did not arrive until the fifteenth century. Most of this community fled from Kovin after the Ottoman incursions of the 1440s; two charters of Wladyslaw I of Varna from 1440 refer to the church as “*ecclesia deserta*”.<sup>1049</sup> It seems that in 1788 and 1913 most of this monastic church was destroyed and a Romanesque church found on the site was most likely a parish church, rather than the monastery of St. Abraham.<sup>1050</sup>

During the reign of Béla II the Blind, his brother-in-law, the Ban Belus, and his wife Helen of Serbia were very influential.<sup>1051</sup> Thus, it is extremely difficult to discern the queen’s actions apart from that of her husband or brother. Csepel Island itself was an important part of the royal estate; two generations after Helen of Serbia, Margaret of France and Béla III would entertain Emperor Frederick I Barbarossa there on his way to the Holy Land.<sup>1052</sup> While it is known that the royal manor house would have stood on the northern part of Csepel Island, archaeological excavations have not taken place there at present.<sup>1053</sup> If Csepel Island was one site of a royal estate, then the possibility that the monastery of St. Abraham could have been founded in some capacity by the queen herself increases.

The convent of the Hospitallers at Székesfehérvár was founded, in part, by Euphrosyne of Kiev, wife of Géza II. The earliest charter related to its foundation is a confirmation of Béla III from 1193 of earlier privileges, issued sometime presumably after the death of Euphrosyne herself. This foundation was started by Archbishop Martirius of Esztergom, but after his death in 1157 it was then completed by the Queen; she finished the construction and donated many properties to this foundation. While earlier works assumed that this Hospitaller foundation was started by members of the Order who stayed in Hungary when Louis VII of France and Emperor Conrad III were passing through on the Second Crusade, that explanation has been recently

<sup>1048</sup> Beatrix Romhányi, *Kolostorok és társaskáptalanok a középkori Magyarországon: katalógus* [Monasteries and collegiate chapters in medieval Hungary: a catalog] (Pytheas, 2000), 62.

<sup>1049</sup> Marija Ilić, *Discourse and Ethnic Identity: The Case of the Serbs from Hungary* (Munich: Verlag Otto Sagner, 2014), 291; Edit Tari, *Pest megye középkori templomai* (Szentendre: Studia Comitatus, 2000), 120.

<sup>1050</sup> Tari, *Pest megye középkori templomai*, 120.

<sup>1051</sup> John V. A. Fine, *The Early Medieval Balkans: A Critical Survey from the Sixth to the Late Twelfth Century* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1983), 236; Z. J. Kosztoľnyik, *From Coloman the Learned to Béla III (1095-1196)* (Boulder: East European Monographs, 1987), 99-107.

<sup>1052</sup> The royal party is known to have hunted there; Kosztoľnyik describes Csepel Island as the summer home of the queen though it is unclear where this evidence comes from. Z. J. Kosztoľnyik, *From Coloman the Learned to Béla III (1095-1196)* (Boulder: East European Monographs, 1987), 215.

<sup>1053</sup> György Terei, “Régészeti adatok a Csepel-sziget északi részének középkori történetéhez” [Archaeological data on the history of the northern part of Csepel Island in the Middle Ages] in *In medio regni Hungariae. Régészeti, Művészettörténeti és történeti kutatások ‘az ország közepén’: Archaeological, Art Historical, and Historical Researches ‘in the Middle of the Kingdom’* ed. by Elek Benkő and Krisztina Orosz. (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 2015), 577-578.

questioned in the secondary literature.<sup>1054</sup> The princes of Euphrosyne's natal family in Kiev were in the habit of erecting churches that they would later be buried in, as evidenced by the burial of her father at St. Fedor in Kiev, a church he had founded in 1129 and was buried at in 1132. The role of royal women in the foundation of churches in Kiev is not as clearly delineated, but two examples do show that princesses were active in overseeing the burials of their husbands.<sup>1055</sup> Hunyadi points out that the text of the 1193 charter gives no indication as to the original intent of Martirius to donate it to the Hospitallers. Since the Order did not completely take on its militaristic character until after the Third Crusade, it is most likely that Euphrosyne meant this to be a charitable foundation to serve the poor, rather than a military venture. Euphrosyne's son Béla III and her daughters Elizabeth and Margaret would also go on to be patrons of the Order.<sup>1056</sup> Euphrosyne's gift was a generous one. 55 properties of hers in total were donated in the 1193 charter; some of these lands would even branch off and form their own separate preceptories.<sup>1057</sup> In many ways, this behavior was typical for queens. While some like Ida (d. 1101?), margravine of Austria and Eleanor of Aquitaine (d. 1204) famously went on Crusades themselves, other royal women often supported Military Orders associated with the Crusader Kingdoms.<sup>1058</sup>

In the thirteenth century, a different pattern emerged; rather than founding new monasteries, queens seemed to support ones that were currently in existence. There are numerous gifts from Hungarian queens to churches and monastic institutions in this period (see sub-chapter on gift giving), but there only seem to be three thirteenth century foundations where the queens' involvement was explicit. The first is the Dominican nunnery of Margaret Island. Though it was founded by Béla IV, the site of the construction was on land that was formerly owned by the

<sup>1054</sup> Zsolt Hunyadi, *The Hospitallers in the Medieval Kingdom of Hungary c. 1150-1387* (Budapest: CEU Press, 2010), 23-24.

<sup>1055</sup> Martin Dimnik, "Dynastic Burials in Kiev before 1240" *Ruthenica* VIII (2008): 82-83, 99-100.

<sup>1056</sup> Hunyadi, *The Hospitallers in the Medieval Kingdom of Hungary*, 24-27; Zsolt Hunyadi, "The Hospitallers in the Kingdom of Hungary: Commanderies, Personnel, and a Particular Activity up to c. 1400", in *The Crusades and the Military Orders: Expanding the frontiers of Medieval Latin Christianity*, ed. by Zsolt Hunyadi and József Laszlovszky (Budapest: CEU Medievalia, 2001), 253-255.

<sup>1057</sup> Such as estates at Csurgó, Aracs, Újudvar and Gyánt. Hunyadi, *The Hospitallers in the Medieval Kingdom of Hungary*, 29, 115, 117, 121, 128.

<sup>1058</sup> Agnes of Châtillon (d. 1184), first wife of Béla III (r. 1173-1196) came from a Crusader dynasty and his second wife, Margaret of France (d. 1197) died on pilgrimage to the Holy Land as well. Natasha R. Hodgson, *Women, Crusading and the Holy Land in Historical Narrative* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2007), 211-212; Conor Kostick, "Eleanor of Aquitaine and the women of the Second Crusade", in *Medieval Italy, Medieval and Early Modern Women: Essays in honour of Christine Meek* ed. Conor Kostick (Portland: Four Courts Press, 2010), 202-205; Christopher Mielke, "Medieval queens and the diaspora of escort, conquest, the Crusades and Military Orders" in *Military Diasporas*, ed. Georg Christ and Patrick Sängner (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, forthcoming 2017).

queen.<sup>1059</sup> Even the seal of the nunnery shows both Béla IV and Maria Laskarina offering their daughter St. Margaret to the convent.<sup>1060</sup> This foundation will be discussed in the second half of the chapter, focusing on the site as a queen's residence. Maria Laskarina was also the founder of the Franciscan conventual cloister at Vitrovica, Croatia (Verőce) sometime after the Mongol Invasion and before 1250.<sup>1061</sup>

The final exception to Hungarian queens making new foundations is the Franciscan conventual monastery in Segesd dedicated to the Virgin Mary which was founded in the 1290s.<sup>1062</sup> Luke Wadding in the seventeenth century writes that the monastery would have been founded in 1290 before the arrival of Andrew III, while in 1295 the Bishop of Veszprém consecrated the Church of the Virgin Mary at the Franciscan friary in Segesd. Since Segesd was part of the queen's estate at this point, one explanation is that the Franciscan house might have been founded originally by Isabella of Naples in 1290 and then completed by her successor Fenenna of Kujavia, the first wife of Andrew III, sometime before her death in 1295.<sup>1063</sup> None of the surviving charters of Queen Fenenna mention that she founded Segesd.<sup>1064</sup> Whether or not the parents of Fenenna of Kujavia also supported the Mendicant Orders is still to be determined. The foundation apparently was large enough to host a provincial meeting in 1301 and 1305, around 45-50 monks total.<sup>1065</sup>

As Isabella of Naples would later go on to live in a Dominican nunnery, it shows her interest in the Mendicant Orders, an interest shared by her natal family as well. Isabella's father, Charles I of Naples, seemed to favor the Cistercians, but in reality his architectural patronage was more passive and reactive; he would respond to specific requests, but he does not seem to have pursued a program of his own. Isabella's brother, Charles II of Naples seems to have been an active patron of the Dominican Order, while his wife, Mary of Hungary, showed special favor to the Franciscans, particularly her Poor Clares foundation at Santa Maria Donnaregina.<sup>1066</sup> Mary of Hungary would also be very influential in the Dominican nunnery of St. Pietro a Castello in Naples, which will be discussed below. There is also the possibility that from 1290 to 1299,

<sup>1059</sup> Simon Kézai, László Veszprémy, Frank Schaer, *The Deeds of the Hungarians* (Budapest: CEU Press, 1999) 148-149; Gábor Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses: Dynastic Cults in Medieval Central Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 261.

<sup>1060</sup> Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses*, 205-206.

<sup>1061</sup> Romhányi, *Kolostorok és társaskáptalanok a középkori Magyarországon*, 72.

<sup>1062</sup> Romhányi, *Kolostorok és társaskáptalanok a középkori Magyarországon*, 57.

<sup>1063</sup> Pál Gerő Bozsoky, *Királyok és királynék városa: Segesd* (Segesd, 2001), 161-162.

<sup>1064</sup> Attila Zsoldos and Imre Szentpétery, *Az Árpád-házi hercegek, hercegnők és a királynék okleveleinek kritikai jegyzéke* [A critical edition of the charters of the princes, princesses, and queens of the Árpád house] (Budapest: Magyar Országos Levéltár, 2008), 160-170.

<sup>1065</sup> Bozsoky, *Királyok és királynék városa: Segesd*, 162.

<sup>1066</sup> Caroline Bruzelius, *The Stones of Naples: Church Building in Angevin Italy, 1266-1343* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), 11, 95-103.

Isabella of Naples might have lived near her foundation. While it is doubtful she would have stayed within the walls of the precinct (since it was a male monastery) she might have elected to stay at a nearby residence.

In the many decades that Elizabeth of Poland was queen, she founded, rebuilt, reconstructed and renovated at least twenty-five monasteries and churches in Hungary; a full list can be seen in **Map 6** and **Table 4**. In the fourteenth century, Elizabeth of Poland began a massive program of founding monasteries and constructing churches. Her earliest foundations date from shortly after the birth of several of her children. In 1325-1327, Charles I Robert and Elizabeth founded the Franciscan convent of St. Louis of Toulouse in Lipova, Romania (Lippa).<sup>1067</sup> Shortly after she founded her own Franciscan convent dedicated to the Virgin Mary in 1328 in Satu Mare, Romania (Szatmár).<sup>1068</sup> In 1329, she founded a Pauline convent at Nizniye Riemiety, Ukraine (Remete).<sup>1069</sup> Her first building activity on Margaret Island was renovating the Franciscan friary and building a tower there around the years 1331 to 1334.<sup>1070</sup> Shortly afterward the queen founded the Poor Clares nunnery of Óbuda, which would be the site of her burial after her death in 1380.<sup>1071</sup> She also built a structure onto the Premonstratensian friary located on Margaret Island in the second half of the fourteenth century.<sup>1072</sup> Elizabeth's most significant contribution to Margaret Island may have been inviting the sculptor Tino di Camaino to make the sepulchral monument for St. Margaret (d. 1271).<sup>1073</sup> In 1347, she and Ladislas of Dobrzyń founded a Convent of the Knights of the Holy Sepulchre at Rypin, in Poland.<sup>1074</sup> Then in 1349 she renovated an Augustinian convent dedicated to St. Anne in Esztergom.<sup>1075</sup> In 1361, she

<sup>1067</sup> Sniezynska-Stolot, "Queen Elizabeth as Patron of Architecture", 29; Klára Gárdonyi-Csapodi, "Description and Interpretation of the Illustrations in the Illuminated Chronicle" in *The Hungarian Illuminated Chronicle: Chronica de Gestis Hungarorum*, ed. Dezső Dercsényi (Budapest: Corvina Press, 1969), 83; Brian McEntee, "Queen Elizabeth of Hungary (1320-1380) and Óbuda: Patronage, Personality and Place," in *La diplomatie des États Angevins au XIIIe et XIVe siècles*, ed. Zoltán Kordé and István Petrovics (Rome and Szeged, 2010), 211-212.

<sup>1068</sup> Sniezynska-Stolot, "Queen Elizabeth as Patron of Architecture", 29; Romhányi, *Kolostorok és társaskáptalanok a középkori Magyarországon*, 60.

<sup>1069</sup> Sniezynska-Stolot, "Queen Elizabeth as Patron of Architecture", 29; Romhányi, *Kolostorok és társaskáptalanok a középkori Magyarországon*, 55.

<sup>1070</sup> Sniezynska-Stolot, "Queen Elizabeth as Patron of Architecture", 13.

<sup>1071</sup> Herta Bertalan, "Das Klarissenkloster von Óbuda aus dem 14. Jahrhundert" *Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 34 (1982), 151-175; McEntee, "Elizabeth, Queen of Hungary and the Óbuda Clares", 210-218; Herta Bertalan, "Óbudai Klarissza Kolostor" [The Óbuda Poor Clares Cloister], *Budapest Régiségei* 27 (1976): 269-272.

<sup>1072</sup> The original building dates from the thirteenth century. Sniezynska-Stolot, "Queen Elizabeth as Patron of Architecture", 19-20.

<sup>1073</sup> Gábor Klaniczay, "Sacred Sites in Medieval Buda", in *Medieval Buda in Context*, ed. Balázs Nagy, Martyn Rady, Katalin Szende and András Vadas (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2016), 245; Pál Lövei, "The Sepulchral Monument of Saint Margaret of the Árpád Dynasty", *Acta Historiae Artium* 26 (1980): 175-222.

<sup>1074</sup> Sniezynska-Stolot, "Queen Elizabeth as Patron of Architecture", 29.

<sup>1075</sup> Though the documents claim the queen built the church, it had been standing since 1272. Sniezynska-Stolot, "Queen Elizabeth as Patron of Architecture", 29; Szende, "Piast Erzsébet és udvara (1320-1380)", 200.

renovated a Benedictine convent dedicated to St. Gerard in Cenad, Romania (Csanád).<sup>1076</sup> In 1366 and the 1370s, she built or reconstructed Franciscan convents at Orăștie, Romania (Szászváros), and in Vitrovica, Croatia (Verőce), and Koprivnica, Croatia (Kapronca). She also funded reconstructions at a Franciscan convent dedicated to St. Nicholas out of a thirteenth century Benedictine foundation at Vranjevo, Serbia (Aracs), and a former Hospitaller convent at Berehovo, Ukraine (Beregszász).<sup>1077</sup> She and her son Louis reconstructed a Pauline convent and the Corpus Christi church at Diósgyőr.<sup>1078</sup> She also reconstructed a convent of the Templars in Stradom (near Kraków) which had been founded by her brother, Casimir III.<sup>1079</sup> In 1372, Elizabeth of Poland and Louis I founded a Carmelite cloister in Taschentál, a suburb of Buda.<sup>1080</sup>

Of her known foundations, six were Franciscan, two were Pauline, two were Augustinian, two were Templar, and there was one each of Benedictine, Premonstratensian and Carmelite Orders. Conspicuously, the queen makes no Dominican foundations. The Templar foundations were both co-foundations in Poland. The Carmelite house was a joint foundation and the Premonstratensian house was a renovation. The queen's fondness for the Franciscan Order is quite apparent, not only from her burial in a Poor Clares foundation but also the six monasteries which enjoyed her favor. Contemporaries of Elizabeth, such as Sancha Queen of Naples (d. 1343) and Elisenda de Montcada (d. 1364), Queen of Aragon, also founded Poor Clares convents. Sancha's foundation of Santa Chiara was erected in 1317, the year St. Louis of Toulouse became a saint.<sup>1081</sup> Elisenda built the Poor Clares convent at Pedralbes in 1326 with support of her husband and spent her retirement living in a palace adjacent to the convent as a lay member of the community.<sup>1082</sup> The other fascinating aspect of Elizabeth's patronage is the wide geographical variety of the foundations; practically every corner of the kingdom had a cloister she had participated in building.

<sup>1076</sup> Sniezynska-Stolot, "Queen Elizabeth as Patron of Architecture", 29.

<sup>1077</sup> The one from Orăștie was an earlier building the queen renovated. It has also been suggested that Elizabeth of Bosnia, the queen's daughter-in-law could have founded one of these convents. Sniezynska-Stolot, "Queen Elizabeth as Patron of Architecture", 29; Romhányi, *Kolostorok és társaskáptalanok a középkori Magyarországon*, 9, 12; Szende, "Piaśt Erzsébet és udvara (1320-1380)", 198-199.

<sup>1078</sup> Sniezynska-Stolot, "Queen Elizabeth as Patron of Architecture", 29.

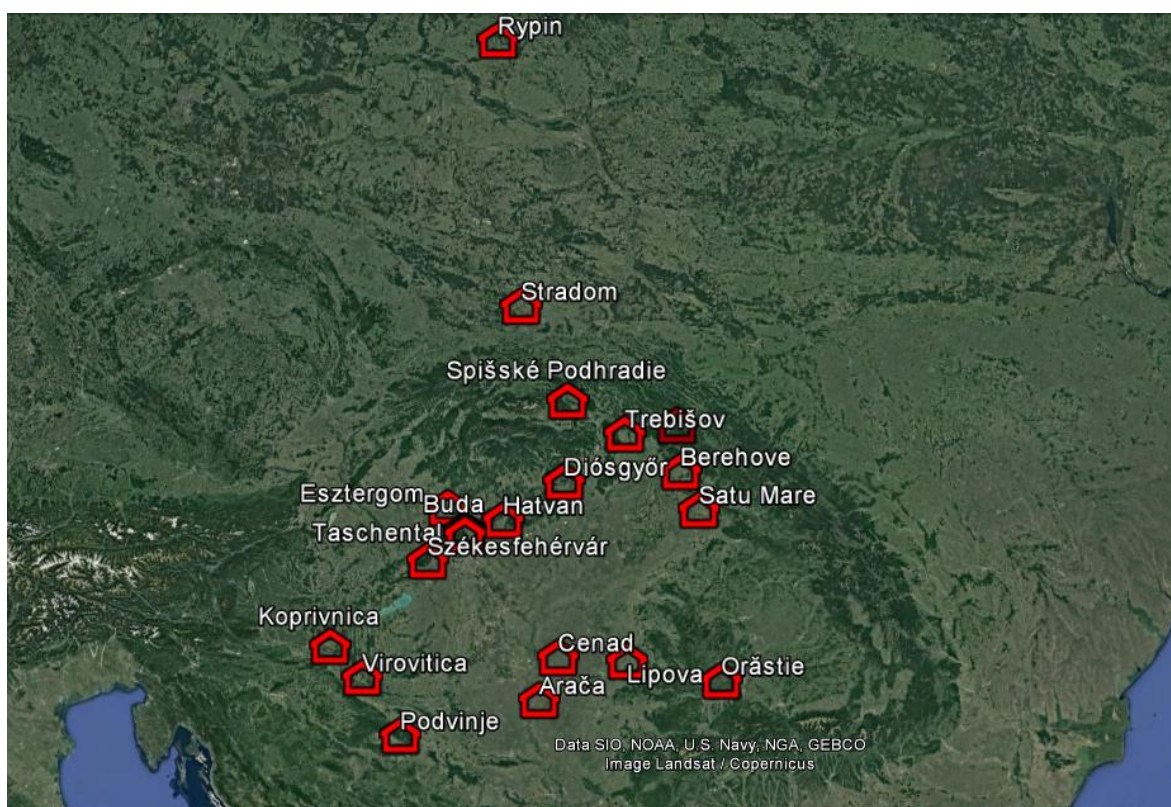
<sup>1079</sup> He had begun work on the hospital church of St. Jadwiga c. 1360 and after the queen's re-foundation in 1375, it was given to the Miechowites in 1377. The original complex did not survive the Swedish wars. Paul Crossley, *Gothic Architecture in the Reign of Kasimir the Great* (Kraków: Ministerstwo Kultury i sztuki, zarząd muzeów i ochrony zabytków, 1985), 182; Sniezynska-Stolot, "Queen Elizabeth as Patron of Architecture", 29.

<sup>1080</sup> The same year, the Bishop of Pécs also founded a Carmelite cloister in Pécs. Romhányi, *Kolostorok és társaskáptalanok a középkori Magyarországon*, 16, 50-51.

<sup>1081</sup> Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses*, 316.

<sup>1082</sup> Eileen McKiernan-González, "Reception, Gender, and Memory: Elisenda de Montcada and Her Dual-Effigy Tomb at Santa Maria de Pedralbes," in *Reassessing the Roles of Women as 'Makers' of Medieval Art and Architecture*, ed. Therese Martin (Leiden & Boston: Brill, 2012), 314-315.

Elizabeth of Poland was also heavily involved in the construction of parish churches outside the field of monasticism. The queen funded church buildings such as St. Martin in Buda (1347-1349) and Our Lady in Buda Castle; the latter was founded with her son, Louis I.<sup>1083</sup> Between 1330 and 1348 Elizabeth of Poland built the Church of Our Lady in Óbuda.<sup>1084</sup> She built other churches in the kingdom as well; in 1347, the Corpus Christi church at Trebišov in Slovakia (Terebes), St. Martin's Church in Hatvan in 1349, and Our Lady's Church in Podvinje, Croatia (Podvinna) in 1363.<sup>1085</sup> If we compare the ecclesiastic foundations with those of her brother, Casimir III of Poland (r. 1333-1370), the king is known to have built twenty-seven churches and monasteries in Lesser Poland, a figure which just surpasses that of his sister Elizabeth.<sup>1086</sup> Most of Elizabeth of Poland's work in founding monasteries seem to be either renovating, reconstructing, or building additions onto already existing structures; there are only a few of these many examples she founds herself from scratch.



Map 6 – Monasteries associated with activities of Elizabeth of Poland (d. 1380)

<sup>1083</sup> Ibid., 20, 26.

<sup>1084</sup> Sniezynska-Stolot, "Queen Elizabeth as Patron of Architecture", 18.

<sup>1085</sup> The location of St. Martin's church is somewhat uncertain. Ferenc Sebők, ed. *Anjou-kori Oklevéltár XXXIII. 1349* (Budapest and Szeged, 2015), 118; Sniezynska-Stolot, "Queen Elizabeth as Patron of Architecture", 29.

<sup>1086</sup> Seventeen of the foundations were made with a royal lodge or workshop. This figure does not include other provinces in Poland, admittedly. Crossley, *Gothic Architecture in the Reign of Kasimir the Great*, 15.

**Table 4**  
Foundations and Renovations of Elizabeth of Poland

Foundation	Year	Location	Activity	Source	Notes
Franciscan convent of St. Louis of Toulouse	1325-1327	Lipova, Romania (Lippa)	Co-founded	Dercsényi, ed. (1969), 145-146.	with Charles I Robert
Augustine cloister of St. Elizabeth	Before 1328	Spišské Podhradie, Slovenia (Szepesváralja)	Founded?	Romhányi (2000), 65	Either Elizabeth of Charles I Robert is the founder
Conventual Franciscan friary of the Virgin Mary	1328	Satu Mare, Romania (Szatmár)	Founded or renovated	Snieszynska-Stolot (1974), 29; Romhányi (2000), 60	Possibly an earlier convent (c. 1285)
Pauline Convent	1329	Nizhny Remeti, Ukraine (Remete)	Founded	Snieszynska-Stolot (1974), 29; Romhányi (2000), 55	
Franciscan friary	1331-1334	Margaret Island	Built addition	Snieszynska-Stolot (1974), 13	
Clarisses cloister	1334	Óbuda	Founded		Queen's burial place
Church of Our Lady	1330-1348	Óbuda	Founded	Snieszynska-Stolot (1974), 18	Parish church
Premonstratensian friary	2 <sup>nd</sup> half of 14 <sup>th</sup> century	Margaret Island	Built addition	Snieszynska-Stolot (1974), 19-20	
Convent of the Guards of the Holy Sepulchre	1347	Rypin, Poland	Co-founded	Snieszynska-Stolot (1974), 29	with Ladislav of Dobrzyń
Corpus Christi Church	1347	Trebišov, Slovakia (Terebes)	Built	Snieszynska-Stolot (1974), 29	parish church
Church of St. Martin	1347-1349	Buda	Founded	Snieszynska-Stolot (1974), 29	
Augustinian Convent of St. Anne	1349	Esztergom	Renovated	Snieszynska-Stolot (1974), 29	
St. Martin's Church	1349	Hatvan	Founded	Snieszynska-Stolot (1974), 29	parish church
St. Peter	1350-	Székesfehérvár	Founded	Romhányi	



Collegiate chapter	1367			(2000), 61	
Benedictine convent of St. Gerard (Gellert)	1361	Cenad, Romania (Csanád)	Renovated	Snieszynska-Stolot (1974), 29	
Our Lady's Church	1363	Podvinje, Croatia (Podvinna)	Built	Snieszynska-Stolot (1974), 29	parish church
Church of Our Lady	1366	Buda castle	Co-founded	Snieszynska-Stolot (1974), 20, 26	with son Louis I
Franciscan Convent	1366	Orăștie, Romania (Szászváros)	Renovated	Snieszynska-Stolot (1974), 29	
Franciscan Convent	1370s	Virovitica, Croatia (Verőce)	Reconstructed	Snieszynska-Stolot (1974), 29	
Franciscan Convent	1370s	Koprivnica, Croatia (Kapronca)	Built	Snieszynska-Stolot (1974), 29	
Carmelite cloister	1372	Taschental (suburb of Buda)	Co-founded	Romhányi (2000), 16	with son Louis I
Templar convent	1375	Stradom, Poland	Renovated	Snieszynska-Stolot (1974), 29	Founded by her brother, Casimir I
Pauline convent & Corpus Christi Church	1376	Diósgyőr	Reconstructed	Snieszynska-Stolot (1974), 29	with son Louis I
Conventual Franciscan Convent of the Virgin Mary	1377	Berehovo, Ukraine (Beregszász)	Renovated	Snieszynska-Stolot (1974), 29; Romhány (2000), 12	Former Hospitaller convent
Franciscan convent of St. Nicholas	1380	Arača, Serbia (Aracs)	Renovated	Snieszynska-Stolot (1974), 29; Romhányi (2000), 9	Included in will

Around 1385, a Poor Clares cloister was founded at Sárospatak by Queen Elizabeth Kotromanić and dedicated to St. Anne; it was built adjacent to the Franciscan monastery

there.<sup>1087</sup> Her mother-in-law, Elizabeth of Poland, had famously been a patron of the Poor Clares as well, so it is interesting to see the younger Elizabeth support the same Order during her time of regency and relative independence (assuming this convent was not founded earlier by the elder Elizabeth). Sárospatak as a site for such a convent is also important for the dynasty as it was described as the birthplace of St. Elizabeth in 1207.<sup>1088</sup> The dedication to St. Anne is worth noting. St. Anne was particularly revered by childless women, particularly older women who still wished to conceive. St. Anne was also often depicted in Western Europe in her role as teacher to the Virgin Mary, particularly in England.<sup>1089</sup> Depending on the younger Elizabeth's involvement in this foundation, it is possible the dedication to St. Anne could refer to Elizabeth Kotromanić's own education of her three daughters as evidenced by the book of instruction she wrote for them. This cloister later came into the hands of the Perényi family and in the mid-sixteenth century it was eventually moved to a safer location in Trnava, Slovakia (Nagyszombat).<sup>1090</sup>

The Carmelite cloister of Prešov, Slovakia (Eperjes) is thought to have been founded by Mary of Anjou around 1388. It was dedicated to the Holy Trinity but it seems that Queen Mary did not live to see its completion as several buildings were still unfinished in 1398. This building has not been surveyed, but the nave of the church would have been about 40 m long and 12.5 m wide. The Carmelite Order was very small in Hungary; only four houses are known, and of the other three examples, one of them was founded partially by Elizabeth of Poland.<sup>1091</sup> The Carmelites enjoyed royal favor in other parts of Europe at the end of the fourteenth century as well. Henry IV of England and his father John of Gaunt were both patrons of the order; in Aragon, Carmelites even acted as royal confessors for most of the fourteenth century.<sup>1092</sup> It is possible that Mary's (or Sigismund's) foundation of this cloister could reflect a more international interest in the order at other European courts. For the moment, this is the best explanation for the queen's interest in the order as it does not seem she took interest either in founding other monasteries or even expressing other interest in the Carmelites in general.

## Monastic Residences of Queens

<sup>1087</sup> Romhányi, *Kolostorok és társaskáptalanok a középkori Magyarországon*, 57; Béla Kovács, *Az egri egyházmegye története 1596-ig* [The history of the diocese of Eger until 1596] (Eger, 1987), 113.

<sup>1088</sup> Z. J. Kosztolnyik, *Hungary in the Thirteenth Century* (Boulder: East European Monographs, 1996), 404.

<sup>1089</sup> Roberta Gilchrist, *Medieval Life: Archaeology and the Life Course* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2012), 134, 174.

<sup>1090</sup> Romhányi, *Kolostorok és társaskáptalanok a középkori Magyarországon*, 57.

<sup>1091</sup> Elizabeth of Poland's co-founded cloister was in Taschental, a suburb of Buda from 1372; the other two were in Pécs and Prievidza (Slovakia). Romhányi, *Kolostorok és társaskáptalanok a középkori Magyarországon*, 16, 23, 50-51, 54.

<sup>1092</sup> Frances Andrews, *The other friars: the Carmelite, Augustinian, Sack and Pied friars in the Middle Ages* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2006), 29-31.

A word should be said here on the cases where queens resided for some length of time within the walls of a monastic foundation. It is a trope that upon the death of the king, the widowed queen retires to a monastery to live out her last days in contemplation and seclusion, but so far no survey has been carried out on the relationship between queens and monasteries aside from a few particular case studies. Looking at French examples from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, Anne of Kiev, Bertrade de Montfort, Adelaide of Maurienne, Eleanor of Aquitaine and Ingeborg of Denmark all seem to be buried at monastic institutions they spent some time at shortly before their death. Adela of Champagne and Blanche of Castile both founded monasteries where they were buried, but they do not seem to have resided there, and four other French queens in the period under study were buried in cathedrals, rather than monasteries.<sup>1093</sup> The same is true for English cases, where queens like Berengaria of Navarre and Eleanor of Provence were famous for the many years they spent as widows living in the monastery of their choice, while some queens like Margaret of France lived out their years on their dower lands and others like Adeliza of Louvain or Isabella of Anouglême remarried. Isabella of France is an interesting example of a queen who spent most of her widowhood at Castle Rising before becoming a Poor Clare nun shortly before her death.<sup>1094</sup> Recalling the aforementioned cases of Sancha, Queen of Naples and Elisenda, Queen of Aragon, not only were their widowhood and burials similar to Elizabeth of Poland, but Elisenda was depicted on her tomb in the habit of a Poor Clare nun; even though she never took vows, this would not have prohibited her burial in a nun's habit.<sup>1095</sup>

In Hungary, the situation is slightly different. The vast majority of Hungarian queens outlived their husbands and these widows tended overwhelmingly to leave Hungary where they usually retired to a monastic life; only a handful remained in Hungary as widows and their accommodations can only be guessed at present.<sup>1096</sup> There are many reasons for this phenomenon connected to dynastic disputes, hostile courts controlled by rivals, and plays for power. As a result, there are only five total monasteries where it can be said a queen lived for an extended period of time. The only such monastery in Hungary is the Dominican nunnery on Margaret Island; the other four are the Abbey of Niedernburg in Passau, the Abbey of Gemmola in Italy, the Abbey of San Pietro a Castello in Naples, and the Abbey of Königsfelden in Canton Aargau (Switzerland). While Elizabeth of Poland's foundation of the Poor Clares convent in Óbuda is

<sup>1093</sup> Nolan, *Queens in Stone and Silver*, 9-10, 35, 56, 101, 114-119, 125-126.

<sup>1094</sup> Anne Crawford, ed. *Letters of the Queens of England* (Thrupp: Sutton Publishing, 2002), 25, 44, 50, 58, 78, 86.

<sup>1095</sup> McKiernan-González, "Reception, Gender, and Memory: Elisenda de Montcada and Her Dual-Effigy Tomb at Santa Maria de Pedralbes", 323.

<sup>1096</sup> Christopher Mielke, "No country for old women: burial practices and patterns of Hungarian queens of the Árpád dynasty," (MA Thesis: University of Maryland, College Park, 2010), 55-105.

noteworthy, it is doubtful she ever resided there since her own palace was right next door. There are two observations that can be made from this short list: most of the periods where queens are definitely residing in monastic enclaves are from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries and all but three enclaves are based outside of Hungary.

A word must also be spared for monastic institutions which are not included in this present study. The cases of these five queens all show the problems of understanding a queen's life at a monastic complex after her death, especially (as is true in these cases) when the queen left Hungary after her husband's death. While Tuta of Formbach (d. 1055), the wife of Peter Orseolo (r. 1038-1041, 1044-1046) may have lived at the Abbey of Suben before her death and eventual burial there, no hard evidence survives indicating that is the case; her relationship with that abbey is discussed in more detail in the section on the burials of the queens. The fourteenth century *Hungarian Illuminated Chronicle* notes how after King Salomon (r. 1063-1074) was defeated and his cousin Géza I (r. 1074-1077) ascended the throne, Salomon's mother Anastasia of Kiev (d. 1096?) and his wife Judith of Swabia (d. 1102?) would have retired to the Abbey of Admont.<sup>1097</sup> However, there are several reasons to doubt that either of them spent any time there. After Salomon was given his freedom in 1083, he went to Regensburg where Judith was living, but she refused to see him.<sup>1098</sup> Furthermore, she would later marry Wladyslaw I of Poland.<sup>1099</sup> In addition, while Admont was founded in 1074, the nunnery there was not founded until the early twelfth century (c. 1116-1121);<sup>1100</sup> if Anastasia had been a guest at this Abbey, it begs the question where she would have stayed. A more likely explanation is put forth by Kosztolnyik who claims that in her widowhood she remarried a certain Count Potho.<sup>1101</sup> The most likely explanation for this inclusion in the *Hungarian Illuminated Chronicle* is that the author confused Anastasia and Judith (who he calls Sophia) with Sophia, the daughter of Béla II 'the Blind' who would have been a nun at Admont in the mid-twelfth century.<sup>1102</sup> Euphemia of Kiev (d. 1138) returned to Kiev after Coloman 'the Book-Lover' (r. 1095-1116) divorced her in 1113; it is known that she would have become a nun.<sup>1103</sup> After nearly twenty-five years of living a nun,

<sup>1097</sup> Dezső Dercsényi, ed., *The Hungarian Illuminated Chronicle* (Budapest: Corvina Kiadó, 1969), 129.

<sup>1098</sup> Z. J. Kosztolnyik, *Hungary under the Early Árpáds, 890s to 1063* (Coulter: East European Monographs, 2002), 384-385.

<sup>1099</sup> Jan Długosz, Maurice Michael ed., *The Annals of Jan Długosz*, (Chichester: IM Publications, 1997), 62; Anonymous Gallus, Paul W. Knoll and Frank Schaer, *Gesta Principum Polonorum: Deeds of the Princes of the Poles* (Budapest: CEU Press, 2003), 117.

<sup>1100</sup> Rudolf List, *Stift Admont, 1074-1974: Festschrift zur Neunhunderjahrfeier* (Reid im Innkreis: Oberösterreichischer Landesverlag, 1974), 43-44.

<sup>1101</sup> Kosztolnyik, *Hungary under the Early Árpáds*, 361-362.

<sup>1102</sup> List, *Stift Admont, 1074-1974*, 51-52; Jonathan R. Lyon, "The Letters of Princess Sophia of Hungary, a Nun at Admont" in *Writing Medieval Women's Lives*, ed. by Charlotte Newman Goldy and Amy Livingstone (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 58.

<sup>1103</sup> Ivakin, "Некрополь церкви Спаса на Берестове", 109.

Euphemia was buried at the Church of the Holy Savior in Berestovo, near Kiev. Since the church had a monastic community, it is possible that Euphemia was a nun at this institution. A sister of Euphemia, Maritsa (d. 1146) would have also been a nun who was buried at the same institution where she took vows; Dimnik suggests that this was also the Holy Savior in Berestovo.<sup>1104</sup> That being said, there is no concret evidence Euphemia lived there as a nun. In the case of Euphrosyne of Kiev's (d. 1193?, wife of Géza II, r. 1141-1161) alleged stay at two monasteries (a Greek one dedicated to St. Sabbas and a Convent of the Hospitallers in Jerusalem), it seems she was confused with Euphrosyne of Polotsk, a saintly Russian princess who followed the path in question to the Constantinople and Jerusalem.<sup>1105</sup> Lastly, In April 1208, Constance of Aragon (d. 1222), widow of Emeric of Hungary (r. 1196-1204) and her sister-in-law, Maria the Queen of Aragon were entertained at the monastery of Sigena in a feast given to the dedication of the temple. Constance's mother, Sancha of Castile, was a long-time resident of the monastery at Sigena, along with her two daughters, Dulce and Leonor. It is very difficult to tell if Constance spent any significant time at Sigena with her mother though; Sancha's mention of Constance in April 1208 was sent from Ceste, while Constance is a witness in a document of her brother's in October 1208 which came from Huesca.<sup>1106</sup> In April 1217, Constance of Aragon sent several documents related to her marriages (both to Emeric of Hungary and Frederick II of Sicily) to the convent of Sigena.<sup>1107</sup> While it is challenging to know how these women spent their lives as widows, the following five cases offer an insight to the options available to widowed queens who left their husband's homeland.

### **Dominican Nunnery, Margaret Island**

The Dominican Nunnery on Margaret Island is a unique situation for several reasons. Founded by Béla IV and Maria Laskarina, the royal couple had pledged their daughter to God if they were delivered from the devastating Mongol invasions of 1241-1242. The nunnery was built shortly thereafter on "Rabbit's Island", near Buda.<sup>1108</sup> The site the nunnery was built at was a royal center which had not only a residence for the king, but also a residence for the queen. The main evidence for this is the text of the Legend of St. Margaret which refers to a house on the

<sup>1104</sup> Martin Dimnik, "Dynastic Burials in Kiev before 1240" *Ruthenica* VIII (2008): 84.

<sup>1105</sup> Hunyadi, *The Hospitallers in the Medieval Kingdom of Hungary*, 25.

<sup>1106</sup> Agustín Ubieta Arteta, *Documentos de Sigena* I (Valencia: Anubar, 1972), 86, 88; E. L. Miron, *The queens of Aragon, their lives and times* (New York: Brentano's, 1913), 77-79.

<sup>1107</sup> Luis García-Guijarro Ramos, "The Aragonese Hospitaller Monastery of Sigena: its Early Stages, 1188-c.1210" in *Hospitaller Women in the Middle Ages*, ed. by Anthony Luttrell and Helen J. Nicholson (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), 125; Ubieta Arteta, *Documentos de Sigena*, 130.

<sup>1108</sup> Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses*, 205-206.

property of the monastery where the queen would stay while visiting with her daughter.<sup>1109</sup> There are also two charters from 1248 and 1276 which also make reference to the queen's house close to the nunnery.<sup>1110</sup>

Since it was an important site of royal residence in the thirteenth century, it was of immense interest to archaeologists to locate the rooms the kings and queens inhabited during their stay on Margaret Island. Earlier interpretations of the site postulated that a building on the northern side of the western courtyard of the convent complex would have been the queen's rooms (*Fig. 52*).<sup>1111</sup> The building in question has four rooms adjacent to each other with two points of access. A main point of access seems to be from the western courtyard. From this point, one entered the second of four rooms with the biggest room in the west. Another point of entry was through the courtyard to the north of the main sanctuary, which allows entry to the fourth and easternmost room which also has access to the other three. Within the context of the monastic complex, this building manages to be close to the main church, but it is also distant from more serviceable parts of the nunnery, such as the kitchen, the refectory or the infirmary.<sup>1112</sup>

However, recent archaeological research has indicated that the royal residence may be another building near the monastery. Located to the east and north of the apse of the convent church, these buildings had a foundation that pre-dates the monastery, making it much more likely that these buildings comprised the royal court that the nunnery was built near.<sup>1113</sup> The queen's residence here comprises four rooms which are about 33 m long total and the interior space is about 12 m wide. Stone elements found in debris layers indicate that this residence would have been decorated with acanthus and sedge leaves, much like other royal buildings from

<sup>1109</sup> "Ez dolgok va lanak egý nemevnemev hazban mely hazban zokot vala marad nýa kyalne azzon zent margýt azzonnak anýa mykron ju vala ez clastromhoz es vala ez dolog zent margýt azzonnak halala elevt evt eztendevuel." János P. Balázs, *Szent Margit élete 1510* [Life of Saint Margaret 1510] *Régi Magyar kódexek* 10 (Budapest, 1990), 190-191.

<sup>1110</sup> The king's residence was demolished in 1276. Katalin Iránsné Melis, "A Budapest-Margit-szigeti középkori királyi udvarhely és a domonkos apácakolostor kutatása. Régészeti, történeti adatok" [Research on the medieval royal court of Budapest's Margaret Island and the Dominican nunnery] in *A középkor és a kora újkor régészete Magyarországon: Archaeology of the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Period in Hungary*, I ed. Elek Benkő and Gyöngyi Kovács (Budapest: Archaeological Institute of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, 2010), 422.

<sup>1111</sup> László Gerevich, *The Art of Buda and Pest in the Middle Ages* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1971), 31; Rózsa Feuerné-Tóth, *Margitsziget* (Képzőművészeti alap kiadványllalata, 1955), 26; Iránsné-Melis, "Die Margaretinsel und ihre Klöster im Mittelalter", 413.

<sup>1112</sup> Rózsa Feuerné-Tóth, "A margitszigeti domonkos kolostor" [The Dominican nunnery on Margaret Island] *Budapest Régiségei* XXII (1971): 247, 262-266.

<sup>1113</sup> This construction phase is dated to c. 1243. Katalin Iránsné Melis, "A margitszigeti királyi udvarhely átépítése és a domonkos apácakolostor alapítása (1243-1255)" [The reconstruction of the royal court on Margaret Island and the foundation of the Dominican nunnery (1243-1255)] in *A tatárjárás (1241-1242)* ed. Ágnes Ritoók (Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, 2007), 115-116; Eszter Kovács, "Budapest, XIII. Margitsziget, domonkos apácakolostor" *Régészeti kutatások Magyarországon* I (2005): 208.

mid-thirteenth century Buda.<sup>1114</sup> The other building which had been mentioned as a royal residence in this scheme seems to be either a stone workshop or a guesthouse.<sup>1115</sup>

Seven charters from the second half of the thirteenth century indicate that queens resided at Margaret Island somewhat regularly.<sup>1116</sup> This is not the case for the fourteenth century where none of the charters issued by the Angevin queens of Hungary originated from Margaret Island. The same pattern is true for the Hungarian kings as well; only seven charters were issued from Margaret Island between 1243 and 1283, and then no visits were recorded afterward or in the fourteenth century.<sup>1117</sup> This space would not be used as a royal residence again until 1472, in the person of Elizabeth Szilágyi, mother of King Matthias (r. 1458-1490).<sup>1118</sup> It is also interesting to compare the itineraries of the kings and queens; while both Béla IV and Maria Laskarina were at Margaret Island sometime in 1248, none of the other visits of the monarchs match up. This can partially be explained by circumstances external to the convent itself; Elizabeth the Cuman (d. 1290) issues two charters from Margaret Island the month after her husband died there.<sup>1119</sup> While Isabella of Naples (d. 1303) issued two charters from Margaret Island in 1276 and 1277, her husband's movements are mostly unknown, but during the time of her second charter, May 1277, Ladislas IV lived relatively nearby on Csepel Island, south on the Danube River. The same is true for her third charter sent from the island; while hers was issued from the nunnery, his was issued from nearby Buda.<sup>1120</sup> While relatively few charters were issued at Margaret Island, it was nonetheless an important religious center.<sup>1121</sup> Both Béla IV and Stephen V died there in 1270 and 1272 respectively.<sup>1122</sup> A letter of Isabella of Naples from 1290 indicates that during a contentious

<sup>1114</sup> Iránsné Melis, "A margitszigeti királyi udvarhely átépítése", 116-119; Iránsné Melis, "A Budapest-Margit-szigeti középkori királyi udvarhely", 435-436.

<sup>1115</sup> Iránsné Melis, "A Budapest-Margit-szigeti középkori királyi udvarhely", 437.

<sup>1116</sup> One from Maria Laskarina, three from Elizabeth the Cuman, three from Isabella of Naples. Maria Laskarina's charter from 1248 indicates it was issued near the Premonstratensian monastery of St. Michael. Zsoldos and Szentpétery, *Az Árpád-házi hercegek, hercegnők és a királynék okleveleinek*, 46, 64, 69, 109, 110, 143; Katalin Iránsné-Melis, "Die Margaretinsel und ihre Klöster im Mittelalter" in *Budapest im Mittelalter*, ed. by Gerd Biegel (Brunswick: Braunschweigisches Landesmuseum, 1991), 410.

<sup>1117</sup> Four charters from Béla IV, one from Stephen V, and two from Ladislas IV. Károly Ráth, *A magyar királyok és erdélyi fejedelmek hadjárati, utazási és tartózkodási helyei* [The Hungarian kings and Transylvanian princes: their campaigns, travel, and accommodation sites] (Győr: Sauervein, 1866), 18-93, particularly 18-28.

<sup>1118</sup> Iránsné Melis, "A Budapest-Margit-szigeti középkori királyi udvarhely", 423.

<sup>1119</sup> He died in August 1272, while Elizabeth issues one charter from Buda on September 22 1272, and two from Margaret Island on September 29 1272. See Appendix I.

<sup>1120</sup> Her second charter was from May 6 1277, his was from May 23; her third charter dates from July 1 1287, his from July 6, 1287. Ráth, *A magyar királyok és erdélyi fejedelmek*, 27, 29.

<sup>1121</sup> Klaniczay, "Sacred Sites in Medieval Buda", 239-241.

<sup>1122</sup> Ráth, *A magyar királyok és erdélyi fejedelmek*, 23, 25; Wertner, *Az Árpádok családi története*, 499; Iránsné-Melis, "Die Margaretinsel und ihre Klöster im Mittelalter", 411-412.

period in her marriage, her husband confined her in the nunnery on Margaret Island.<sup>1123</sup> Her quarters in the mid-1280s might have been the same as those used formerly by her predecessors.

One aspect of this royal residence that is unique is that the queens (and for that matter, the kings) spent time there while the king was still alive. In other words, unlike most reginal monasteries, this was not a place where the queen retired to in widowhood, though perhaps that might have been the idea when Béla IV and Maria Laskarina founded the convent. In practice, Maria Laskarina, Elizabeth the Cuman and Isabella of Naples spent time there as wives, not widows, making the queens' relationship with this monastery rather unique. Ultimately, the queen's presence to this nunnery is tied to the king's; the interest Béla IV had in his daughter Margaret as well as his successors paying homage to this important shrine of pilgrimage. In this respect, however, it shows how the queen's power can be felt in very subtle ways; the size of a residence connected to a very influential nunnery that the royal couple built together.

### Abbey of Niedernburg, Passau

The gravestone of Gisela of Bavaria (d. 1065?) at the Abbey of Niedernburg in Passau makes reference to the fact that before she died she could have served as abbess, indicating that she lived there for quite some time.<sup>1124</sup> We know that she left Hungary sometime in 1045 due to ill treatment at the hands of her husband's successors; with the support of Holy Roman Emperor Henry III (r. 1039-1056), Gisela became abbess of the convent after the death of her predecessor, Thekla, in 1045.<sup>1125</sup> Gisela would have lived at the Abbey for around twenty years, dying sometime around 1065.

While the eighteenth-century Chronicle of the Niedernburg Abbey states that the queen entered the convent because of her devotion to the Virgin Mary (which the Abbey was dedicated to),<sup>1126</sup> it is a greater likelihood that she came to the convent because of her family's association with it. In 1010, Gisela's brother gave Niedernburg Abbey the title of Imperial monastery.<sup>1127</sup>

Gisela's activities as abbess are mostly unknown due to two fires from the seventeenth century that destroyed many documents. Nonetheless, it seems she successfully petitioned Henry

<sup>1123</sup> György Fejér, *Codex diplomaticus Hungariae ecclesiasticus ac Civilis* (Buda, 1832), VII-2, 127-129; Kosztolnyik, *Hungary in the Thirteenth Century*, 291-292.

<sup>1124</sup> "...Gisula, soror sancti Hainrici Imperatoris uxor Regis Stephani Ungariae, abatissa huius monasterii." Andras Uzsoki, "Die Echtheit des Grabes der Ungarischen Königin Gisela in Passau", 19-20.

<sup>1125</sup> Wolfherius Wilhelm von Giselbrecht and Edmund von Oefe, *Annales Altahenses Maiores* (Hanover: Impensis Bibliopolii Hahnai, 1891), 33; Richard Faas, *Kloster Niedernburg, Passau: Die Geschichte von 888 bis zur Gegenwart* (Oberhaching: Mogenroth Media, 2014), 245-246

<sup>1126</sup> Faas, *Kloster Niedernburg, Passau*, 245-246.

<sup>1127</sup> Uzsoki, 73.



III to grant the abbey land in the unsettled Bavarian forests so that those who accompanied her on her flight from Hungary could settle there.<sup>1128</sup>

A plan of Niedernburg Abbey (*Fig. 53*) indicates that while the church itself dates from the Romanesque period of Gisela's tenure as abbess, the cloister and ancillary buildings are all from the Gothic period and thus later. It is practically impossible to say anything further about the space occupied by Gisela during her widowhood.<sup>1129</sup>

### Abbey of Gemmola

After the death of Andrew II (r. 1205-1235), his young widow, Beatrice d'Este (d. 1245), fled Hungary while pregnant. Dressed as a stable boy, the queen and the Palatine Dénes (Gyínes) fled the country together after the latter was accused by Béla IV of having an affair with the queen.<sup>1130</sup> During her flight, the Queen ran into envoys of Emperor Frederick II and then made her way to the Holy Roman Empire. While in Werda she gave birth to her posthumous son, Stephen the father of the future Hungarian King Andrew III (r. 1290-1301). After a year or so in the German lands, she returned to Italy, reaching Verona on August 1, 1236. She continued to battle for her rights and the rights of her son. Innocent IV, taking pity on the queen, granted her revenue from 35 monasteries while she tried in vain to find support. After Venice concluded peace with Hungary in 1245, she gave up and retired to the monastery of St. John the Baptist in Gemola (Gemmola, Gemula), in Baone, and died there sometime that year.<sup>1131</sup>

It is also worth noting that the aunt of Beatrice of Este, Queen of Hungary (the aunt is the Blessed Beatrice of Este, d. 1226) revitalized the monastery. Beatrice's cousin (Saint Beatrice of Este, d. 1262) also lived at the monastery for the brief time the former Hungarian queen was in residence there.<sup>1132</sup>

### Dominican nunnery of San Pietro a Castello, Naples

After the death of Ladislas IV 'the Cuman' in 1290, his widow Isabella of Naples (d. 1303) remained in Hungary until 1299.<sup>1133</sup> It seems that already in November 1297 Isabella borrowed a thousand ounces of gold in order to begin her journey home. In February 1299, she passed through Slavonia and returned to Naples where her brother Charles II gave her 40 ounces

<sup>1128</sup> Faas, *Kloster Niedernburg, Passau*, 246-247.

<sup>1129</sup> Faas, *Kloster Niedernburg, Passau*, 214.

<sup>1130</sup> Kosztolnyik says Stephen was born in Italy although Wertner says he was born in Werda, in Germany. Kosztolnyik, *Hungary in the Thirteenth Century*, 122, 342; Mór Wertner, *Az Árpádok családi történeti* [A family history of the Árpáds] (Nagybecskerek: Pleitz, 1892), 546.

<sup>1131</sup> Wertner, *Az Árpádok családi történeti*, 435.

<sup>1132</sup> Agnes B. C. Dunbar, *A dictionary of saintly women*, (London: G Bell, 1904), Volume I, 107.

<sup>1133</sup> Z. J. Kosztolnyik. *Hungary in the Thirteenth Century*, 296.

of gold per month. She renounced income from the city of Gravina in order to begin her life as a Dominican nun.<sup>1134</sup> Others have hinted that her interest in leaving Hungary might possibly have to do with the arrival of Andrew III's second wife, Agnes of Habsburg in 1297.<sup>1135</sup> Wertner (who states that Isabella returned to Naples only in 1300) notes that she would have been staying in Manfredonia in July of 1300.<sup>1136</sup> In 1301, Pope Boniface VIII gave permission to Mary of Hungary, the Queen of Naples, for an old monastery in the Castel dell'Ovo of Naples to be transformed into a Dominican community for Isabella. The monastery in question had originally been a Byzantine (i.e. Basilite) foundation, and then later a Benedictine monastery.<sup>1137</sup> Charles II granted privileges to San Pietro a Castello on February 2, 1303.<sup>1138</sup> Isabella died there in October 1303 and the nunnery was later destroyed by a fire in 1427; nothing remains of it.<sup>1139</sup> The Dominicans were a favorite order of her brother, Charles II of Naples, and a letter from him dated to November 3, 1303 requests that the Dominicans pray for the soul of his deceased sister; a sermon by Jacobus of Viterbo confirms that she died sometime between the feast of St. Luke and All Saints' Day, near the end of October 1303.<sup>1140</sup>

There was also the fact that Isabella's sister-in-law, Elizabeth of Hungary (the Queen of Serbia) was also a nun at San Pietro a Castello.<sup>1141</sup> This Elizabeth was also known to be a big supporter of the Dominican Order, particularly the Dominican Nunnery on Margaret Island. She persuaded Ladislas IV (her brother) to give the island to the Nunnery.<sup>1142</sup> Elizabeth, the sister of the Neapolitan Queen Mary of Hungary, wife of Charles II of Naples, arrived in Manfredonia in July 1300, indicating she most likely travelled with Isabella of Naples. There are documents from 1303 and 1306 indicating that she had issues with her income and debts, but it is not until 1305 that Elizabeth of Hungary is mentioned living as a nun at San Pietro a Castello, several years

<sup>1134</sup> Camillo Minieri-Riccio, *Genealogia di Carlo I. di Angiò: Prima Generazione* (Naples: Vincenzo Priggiobba, 1857), 36.

<sup>1135</sup> Pál Gerő Bozsoky, *Királyok és királynék városa: Segesd* (Segesd, 2001), 156-157.

<sup>1136</sup> Wertner, *Az Árpádok családi története*, 539.

<sup>1137</sup> The Queen of Naples was Isabella's sister-in-law; her brother was Ladislas IV, and her sister was Elizabeth of Hungary, Queen of Serbia. Bruzelius, *The Stones of Naples*, 99, 234 n 124; Jürgen Krüger, *S. Lorenzo Maggiore in Neapel: Eine Franziskanerkirche zwischen Ordensideal und Herrschaftsarchitektur* (Wern: Dietrich-Colde Verlag, 1985), 177.

<sup>1138</sup> Minieri-Riccio, *Genealogia di Carlo I. di Angiò: Prima Generazione*, 36.

<sup>1139</sup> Kosztolnyik mistakenly states that she died in 1304. Z. J. Kosztolnyik, *Hungary in the Thirteenth Century*, 296; Caroline Bruzelius, *The Stones of Naples: Church Building in Angevin Italy, 1266-1343* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), 99.

<sup>1140</sup> David Anderson, "'Dominus Ludovicus' in the Sermons of Jacobus of Viterbo (Arch. S. Pietro D. 213)" in *Literature and Religion In the Later Middle Ages: Philological Studies in Honor of Siegfried Wenzel*, ed. by Richard G. Newhauser and John. A. Alford (Binghamton: Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies, 1995), 281-282.

<sup>1141</sup> Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses*, 304.

<sup>1142</sup> The Franciscan and Premonstratensian Orders also had some small territory of their own on the island. Iráné-Melis, "Die Margaretinsel und ihre Klöster im Mittelalter", 412.

after the death of Isabella of Naples.<sup>1143</sup> Since the convent was founded in 1301 by Elizabeth's sister, Queen Mary of Naples, it is possible that both Elizabeth of Hungary and Isabella of Naples could have been living there at the same time. While the interior space of this convent unfortunately cannot be reconstructed, the intersection of the lives of these three women (Isabella of Naples, Mary of Hungary and Elizabeth of Hungary) shows a great interest in providing adequate space and resources for female family members.

### **Königsfelden Abbey**

After only a few years of living in Hungary as queen, Agnes of Habsburg would spend nearly fifty years living at the double monastery of Königsfelden founded by her and her mother. Examining the twenty-eight documents issued by Agnes from 1318 to 1362, all but two of them were issued in Königsfelden (See **Table 3**). Of all the monastic residences of Hungarian queens, this one was the most significant and with the best evidence.

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<sup>1143</sup> The last mention of her seems to be from 1313. Krüger, *S. Lorenzo Maggiore in Neapel*, 177; Wertner, *Az Árpádok családi története*, 529.

**Table 3 The Itinerary of Agnes of Habsburg, 1318-1362**

<b>Location</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Reference</b>
Strasbourg	March 10, 1318	Liebenau (1869), 31-34
Königsfelden	Jan 18, 1322	MOL DL-DF 98338
Königsfelden	Sept. 29, 1329	Liebenau (1869), 46-47
Königsfelden	Feb. 2, 1330	Liebenau (1869), 47-50
Königsfelden	Oct. 18, 1332	Liebenau (1869), 56-57
Thun	Feb. 3, 1333	Liebenau (1869), 58-60
Königsfelden	Aug. 15, 1335	Liebenau (1869), 61-65
Königsfelden	June 20, 1337	MOL DL-DF 258363
Königsfelden	Aug. 9, 1340	Liebenau (1869), 75-80
Königsfelden	Dec. 28, 1341	Liebenau (1869), 84
Königsfelden	April 23, 1343	Liebenau (1869), 90-93
Königsfelden	Jan. 6, 1344	Liebenau (1869), 93-94
Königsfelden	Dec. 22, 1345	Liebenau (1869), 95-96
Königsfelden	Jan. 17, 1346	Liebenau (1869), 96-97
Königsfelden “in dem Closter”	May 12, 1350	Liebenau (1869), 104-105
Königsfelden	July 6, 1350	Liebenau (1869), 105-106
Königsfelden	Feb. 25, 1351	Liebenau (1869), 110-111
Königsfelden	Oct. 12, 1351	Liebenau (1869), 116-118
Königsfelden	Nov 24, 1351	MOL DL-DF 258364
Königsfelden	Feb. 4, 1354	Liebenau (1869), 120-121
Königsfelden	March 28, 1355	Liebenau (1869), 126
Königsfelden	Sept. 28, 1355	Liebenau (1869), 127-128
Königsfelden	July 28, 1357	Liebenau (1869), 133-137
Königsfelden	May 26, 1358	Liebenau (1869), 141-142
Königsfelden	June 1, 1359	Liebenau (1869), 151-152
Königsfelden	July 22, 1359	Liebenau (1869), 152-153
Königsfelden	July 30, 1359	Liebenau (1869), 153
Königsfelden	April 13, 1362	Liebenau (1869), 163-164

Archaeological excavations from the 1980s have posited that Agnes' residence would have been just outside the monastic precinct, bordering the sacristy, the cloister for the Poor Clares and south of the apse of the church (*Fig. 54*).<sup>1144</sup> There would have been a passageway between the Queen's apartments to the south of the church and the choir of the Abbey which featured portraits in stained glass of her family. After her death, this entrance to the choir would have been walled up.<sup>1145</sup> The window above the entrance to Agnes' quarters would have featured not only the life of St. Clare but also portraits of her brother Leopold I and his wife Catherine of Savoy.<sup>1146</sup> Agnes herself indicated that after her death, she wished for her residence to be demolished, but there are indications that after she died in 1364 the Poor Clares requested that the buildings be used for economic purposes, a request which was evidently granted to them.<sup>1147</sup> Illustrations of the grounds of Königsfelden from the seventeenth century onwards do not show any building on this site, indicating that if it had existed at this location, it had been destroyed by then. While nothing can be said about the size or interior setup of the space here, its location within the spiritual framework and proximity to the residence of the nuns and the sacristy both speak to the central importance of her quarters. It is also worth noting that at this institution the monks have a northern cloister while the nuns have a southern cloister; nunneries were more likely to have a northern cloister.<sup>1148</sup> This indicates the special prominence the Poor Clares were given at this double monastery.

## Conclusions

For the most part the monasteries founded by queens tend to reflect contemporary fashions in Hungary, particularly following the patterns established by the kings. There are nonetheless many innovations; for instance, the Hospitaller convent finished by Euphrosyne of Kiev in the twelfth century, well before the militarization of the Order. The Greek monasteries at Veszprémvölgy and Rackéve (which may or may not have been founded by Hungarian royal women) could be tied to known royal women with familial ties to Byzantium. After the Mongol Invasion, queens favored the Mendicant Orders, particularly the Dominicans and Franciscans. It

<sup>1144</sup> Brigitte Kurmann-Schwarz, *Die Mittelalterlichen Glasmalereien der ehemaligen Klosterkirche Königsfelden*, (Bern: Stämpfli, 2008), 44.

<sup>1145</sup> Brigitte Kurmann-Schwarz, "Seeing and Understanding Narrative and Thematic Method in the Stained Glass of the Choir of Königsfelden ca. 1330-1340" in *The Four Modes of Seeing: Approaches to Medieval Imagery in Honor of Madeline Harrison Caviness*, ed. by Evelyn Staudinger Lane, Elizabeth Carton Pastan and Ellen M. Shortell (Burlington: Ashgate, 2009), 260.

<sup>1146</sup> Kurmann-Schwarz, *Die Mittelalterlichen Glasmalereien der ehemaligen Klosterkirche Königsfelden*, 362-373.

<sup>1147</sup> Tobias Hodel, "Das Kloster in der Region. Herrschaft, Verwaltung und Handeln mit Schrift" in *Königsfelden: Königsmord, Kloster, Klinik*, ed. by Simon Teuscher and Claudia Modellmog (Baden: Hier und Jetzt, 2012), 111-112.

<sup>1148</sup> Gilchrist, *Gender and Material Culture*, 128-133.

seems customary that a queen would found one or two monasteries during her lifetime, though as the founder, builder and renovator at least twenty six monasteries, chapels and parish churches Elizabeth of Poland is certainly a major exception.

One point must be made on the gender of the queens' foundations. Of the many monasteries and churches founded, co-founded or renovated by medieval Hungarian queens, only three of them were female convents; if the founder of the Greek nunnery at Veszprémvölgy was a royal woman of some kind, that number increases to four. In England, women who wished to bestow patronage on new, fashionable or innovative orders tended to found male monasteries rather than nunneries.<sup>1149</sup> If this fact is combined with the high degree of royal power in supporting monastic orders (especially the Cistercians and Mendicants) it is hardly surprising that nunneries, on average, are under-represented. Furthermore, nunneries in general were much less numerous than their male foundations in Hungary. Only 42 nunneries are known from medieval Hungary. If we compare their presence with male orders, there were 30 Basilite male monasteries compared to 3 nunneries, 131 Benedictine monasteries for monks compared to 5 nunneries, 23 male Cistercian foundations to 4 female ones, 35 Premonstratensian male houses to 8 female, 50 Dominican male friaries to 14 female friaries, and 62 Franciscan friaries compared with 8 Poor Clares convents. There were no female Augustinian, Pauline, Carthusian, or Carmelite foundations in the medieval Hungarian Kingdom.<sup>1150</sup> The foundations of the queens fit in with the pattern of what is known of monastic patronage in Hungary, particularly the lack of interest in founding large-scale nunneries. The only exceptions to this are the Dominican nunnery of Margaret Island (founded by Béla IV and Maria Laskarina) and the Poor Clares convent in Óbuda (founded by Elizabeth of Poland). When queens left Hungary as widows, they tended to find a monastery near their natal family to retire to; most widowed queens who remained in Hungary seem to have remained at court and not taken the veil.

As to the interior spaces of the queens' monastic residences, regrettably the only feasible example to look at is the questionable identification of such space at Margaret Island (a temporary royal residence for the Hungarian court rather than a widowed queen) and Königsfelden. Assuming that these areas were, in fact, where the queens lived, they appear adjacent to important liturgical and residential space, but nonetheless separated. The size of the queen's residence at Margaret Island seems to correspond to three-and four-room dwellings in fourteenth century Hungarian palaces, while the size and layout of the rooms at Königsfelden is yet to be determined. The question of access is also problematic. While both seem to be located

<sup>1149</sup> Roberta Gilchrist, *Gender and Material Culture: The Archaeology of Religious Women* (London and New York: Routledge, 1994), 41.

<sup>1150</sup> Romhányi, *Kolostorok és társaskáptalanok a középkori Magyarországon*, 140-154.

in an outer part of the precinct, in the case of Margaret Island, access was only possible from rather deep parts of the cloister. This rather vague picture seems to confirm what little is known of residential space in royal palaces of Hungary.

## Grave monuments and burial sites of Hungarian queens

### **Introduction**

Of the thirty queens included in this study, there are only seven whose grave monuments have left material or textual evidence, and only one of those monuments lies within the borders of Hungary. The rest have all been destroyed by the ravages of time or are still awaiting discovery. Yet of the known material, there are several aspects of the graves themselves that can be instructive. In several cases, the monuments themselves do not survive, but the inscription on them was recorded elsewhere. In other cases, nothing is known of the monument, but the place of burial within the walls of the church was recorded. Even the sparsest information on the burial of a known person can deliver a lot of information.

This study is, of course, aided by the fact that there have been several other studies involving the burials of queens in countries that have much better documentation and preservation, such as in England or France. Parsons, for instance, has written an excellent overview of the burial customs and patterns for English queens, showing how in many cases the death of a queen was used to reinforce attitudes towards the legitimacy of the current dynasty as well as their prestigious international connections.<sup>1151</sup> The Eleanor Crosses in particular show how the death of the queen could be used as a permanent sort of dynastic propaganda.<sup>1152</sup> In both of these cases, the image of the queen is a tool used by the monarch after the queen's death; her agency here is more passive, but the traits ascribed to her (i.e. her femininity, status, family connections, virtues, etc.) can still be instructive. Nolan has argued that many French queens in the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries can and did exercise agency in their choice of location for burial, as well as the particular monument used to commemorate her. While some of the examples suffer from a lack of evidence, there is nonetheless a good argument throughout the work that one can detect a very strong relationship between the queen and her place of burial from the charter evidence and from the iconography used which indicates how strong the queen's agency could be.<sup>1153</sup> The internal space of the church where the queen was buried is also an important factor in determining her status. A hierarchy of space could be determined by

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<sup>1151</sup> John Carmi Parsons, "‘Never was a body buried in England with such solemnity and honour’: The Burials and Posthumous Commemorations of English Queens to 1500” in *Queens and Queenship in Medieval Europe*, ed. Anne Duggan (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1997), 319-320; John Steane's great study on burials of the medieval royal family tends only to examine the queens when they were buried in the same foundation as their husband, with the main exception being Eleanor of Castile. John Steane, *The Archaeology of the Medieval English Monarchy*, (London: Batsford, 1993), 41-70.

<sup>1152</sup> For instance, see David Parsons, ed., *Eleanor of Castile 1290-1990: Essays to Commemorate the 700<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of her death: 28 November 1290* (Stamford: Watkins, 1991).

<sup>1153</sup> Kathleen Nolan, *Queens in Stone and Silver: the creation of a visual imagery of queenship in Capetian France*. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 3-10.



proximity to the high altar, certain relics, or even images of saints.<sup>1154</sup> Crossley, examining Polish and Bohemian examples, demonstrates how royal women of the thirteenth and fourteenth century used architecture as a means of imitating the burial place of St. Elizabeth of Hungary (d. 1231) in buildings that ended up being their eternal resting place.<sup>1155</sup> The Angevin dynasty in Naples (relations of the Hungarian Angevins) had originally planned a central burial place, but when others chose to be buried elsewhere, a separate dynastic program of self-promotion had to be developed at each place.<sup>1156</sup>

At first, a quick examination of the Hungarian material seems less promising. For instance, in Rainer's study on the Árpadian queens, he was only able to account for thirteen known burial places of the 27 women he listed as Hungarian queens of the Árpád Dynasty in the years from 1000 to 1301.<sup>1157</sup> Little is known of the role of the queen in caring for the dead, and only three (Adelaide of Rheinfelden, d. 1090, Agnes Habsburg, d. 1364, and Elizabeth of Poland, d. 1380) are known to have taken part in the sepulchral arrangements for their families; in all three cases it was for natal kin. Yet even creating a simple list of the places of burial for the kings and queens of Hungary from the eleventh through the fourteenth centuries makes clear trends that are in tandem with the rest of contemporary Europe. In the eleventh century, as Hungary is being set up as a centralized Christian monarchy, the trend seems to be for both kings and queens to be buried in either monastic foundations of their own or cathedrals or collegiate churches they were particularly attached to. After the canonization of St. Stephen I (r. 1000-1038) in 1083, King Coloman I (r. 1095-1116) began a trend for many subsequent kings to be buried in the basilica of Székesfehérvár, the saint's final resting place. It is possible that two twelfth century queens were buried there as well, but the evidence is mostly circumstantial; from the death of Adelaide of Rheinfelden in 1090 until the time Agnes of Antioch becomes queen (1184), there is practically no surviving material culture of the queens and the twelfth century remains something of a mystery in this sense. In the thirteenth century, two trends are observable, namely burial in monasteries becomes fashionable once again, but only for the Reform and Mendicant Orders, such as the Cistercians, the Franciscans, and the Dominicans. The thirteenth century also seems to be the time when there is data indicating the highest number of kings and queens being buried

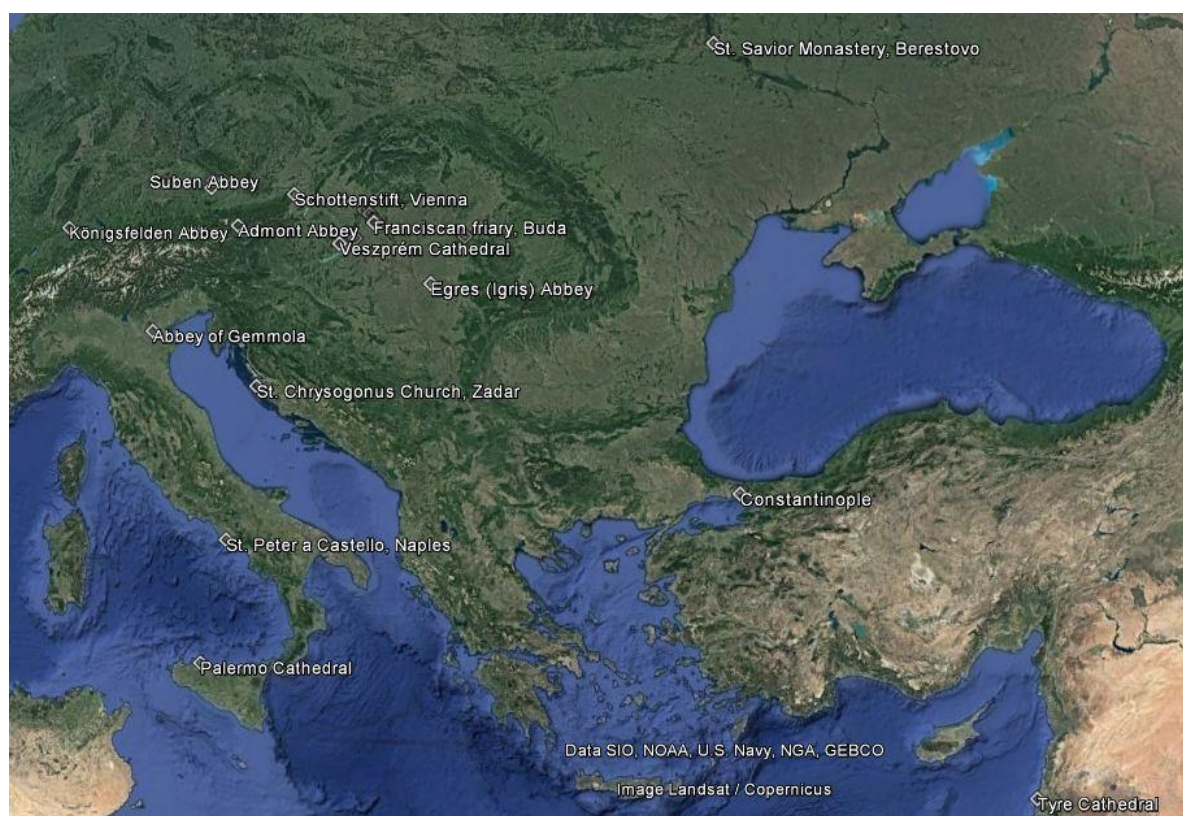
<sup>1154</sup> Roberta Gilchrist and Barney Sloane, *Requiem: The Medieval Monastic Cemetery in Britain* (London: Museum of London Archaeological Service, 2005), 56–60; Christopher Daniell, *Death and Burial in Medieval England, 1066–1550* (London: Routledge, 1997), 95.

<sup>1155</sup> Paul Crossley, "The Architecture of Queenship: Royal Saints, Female Dynasties and the Spread of Gothic Architecture in Central Europe" (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1997), 277–287.

<sup>1156</sup> Tanja Michalsky, "Mater Serenissimi Principis: The tomb of Maria of Hungary" in *The Church of Santa Maria Donna Regina: art, iconography and patronage in fourteenth-century Naples*, ed. by Janis Elliott, 61. (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004).

<sup>1157</sup> Pál Rainer, "Der Königinnen von Ungarn zu Zeit der Árpáden," in *Gizella és kora: Felolvasóúlések az Árpád-korból* ed. Zsuzsa Fodor (Veszprém 1993), 94–95.

together in the same house.<sup>1158</sup> Finally, with the Angevin Dynasty in the fourteenth century, there is a deliberate emphasis to connect themselves with their predecessors. Thus, for the most part, burial at places like Székesfehérvár and Oradea (in Romania, also Nagyvárad), the resting place of King St. Ladislas I (r. 1077-1095), become fashionable once again. The most obvious departure in terms of burial patterns for the kings and the queens is the fact that most of Hungary's queens were buried outside the borders of the kingdom (See **Map 2**). There are many and varied reasons for this phenomenon but suffice to say it is rather unusual when compared to patterns of burials elsewhere in Europe.<sup>1159</sup> For this reason, the structure of this chapter will separate study of the burials into two parts: those within Hungary and those outside of it. Within these sections, the text will start with the place of burial and follow the history of the queens buried there chronologically. When possible, the important question of space and visibility will be considered in this attempt to understand both the queens' self-representation as well as dynastic efforts to promote ideas about their own legitimacy and status through monuments and graves of queens as well.



**Map 2** - Burial locations of the Hungarian Queens

<sup>1158</sup> Christopher Mielke, "No Country for Old Women: Burial practices and patterns of Hungarian Queens of the Árpád Dynasty (975-1301)" (Master's thesis, University of Maryland-College Park, 2010), 123.

<sup>1159</sup> Mielke, "No Country for Old Women", 100-105.

## Monuments within Hungary

### Cathedral of St. Michael, Veszprém

The earliest known grave monument of a queen within the borders of the Hungarian kingdom appears to be that of Adelaide of Rheinfelden (d. 1090), the wife of St. Ladislav I (r. 1077-1095). It does not survive, and the only source known for it is from the fifteenth century work of Bonfini (**Cat. XII.3**). Uzsoki states that the translation (“*Ladislav regis consortum hic ossa quiescunt*”) is how the text appears in the sixteenth century copies of Bonfini, while the text published in 1936 reads “*Ladislav sancissimorum Pannoniae regum consortum hic ossa quiescunt*”.<sup>1160</sup> This is a significant memorial as Veszprém has often had the distinction of being cited as the “town of the queens.”<sup>1161</sup>

Adelaide has an immediate familial connection to massive grave monuments. After the death of her father, Rudolf of Swabia, in 1080, he was honored with a full-scale bronze tomb effigy, the first of its kind in Europe.<sup>1162</sup> Upon the death of Adelaide’s mother, Adelaide of Savoy, the Queen of Hungary requested a magnificent reliquary cross decorated with gold and gemstones to honor her memory at the Abbey of St. Blaise in the Black Forest (**Cat. VI.4**). It would thus seem surprising that Adelaide’s grave monument would be mentioned so sparingly, but it is possible that she did not commission it herself. There is also the fact that gravestones of noblewomen in the later eleventh century tended to be simple in appearance. Matilda of Flanders (d. 1083), the wife of King William I ‘the Conqueror’ of England (r. 1066-1087), was buried with a very simple black marble slab with an inscription bearing the date of the queen’s death. Bertrade de Montfort (d. 1118), the wife of Philip I of France (r. 1060-1108) had a black marble slab with red copper writing.<sup>1163</sup> It is possible Adelaide of Rheinfelden may have had a similar type of monument.

In addition, there is another monument from the sixteenth century that was meant to serve as a memorial stone for not only Gisela of Bavaria, but also for Adelaide of Rheinfelden, the wives of St. Stephen and St. Ladislav. It seems that this monument, dating to around 1510, was originally intended to be erected somewhere in the St. Michael cathedral at Veszprém. However,

<sup>1160</sup> Antonius de Bonfinius, *Rerum Ungaricarum decades quator, cum dimidia* (Basel: Oporinus, 1568), Dec. II, Liber III, 260; Antonius de Bonfinius, *Rerum Ungaricarum Decades* (Lipsiae: Teubner, 1936), Decas II, Liber IV, 91; András Uzsoki, “Die Echtheit des Grabes der ungarischen Königin Gisela in Passau” in *Bayern und Ungarn: Tausend Jahre enge Beziehungen*, ed. Ekkehard Völkl, 14.

<sup>1161</sup> The question of Veszprém as the “town of the queen” will be discussed below in the section on palaces, but for the background on this issue, see: Alan Kralovánszky, “The Settlement History of Veszprém and Székefehérvár in the Middle Ages” in *Towns in Medieval Hungary*, ed. by László Gerevich (Boulder: Social Science Monographs, 1990), 51-95; Jenő Gutheil, *Az Árpád-kori Veszprém* [Veszprém in the age of the Árpáds] (Veszprém: Veszprém Megyei Levéltár, 1979).

<sup>1162</sup> Ian Robinson, *Henry IV of Germany 1056-1106*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 204.

<sup>1163</sup> Nolan, *Queens in Stone and Silver*, 39-41.

it never left the quarry it was carved in at Makranc (now Mokrance, Slovakia).<sup>1164</sup> The text of it reads “Dedicated to the best and greatest God. To the founder of this holy church, Gisela and Adelaide, blessed wives of Stephen and Ladislaus, the kings of Pannonia, the excellent father, Lord Peter, titular bishop of St. Cyriacus, cardinal priest of the Roman Church, Riegynus, bishop of Veszprém. For the sake of memory and veneration.”<sup>1165</sup> This memorial stone was commissioned by Pietro Isvalies, the Bishop of Veszprém (1503-1511). Mikó is of the opinion that this monument and the earlier one mentioned in Bonfini shared a common source.<sup>1166</sup> He also points out the innovation that this monument not only has a script which is meant to recall antique writing, but that it also begins with the formula D(eo) OP(timo) MAX(imo) S(acrum). The DM (Dis manibus) inscription was very common for gravestones in the antique period, and it seems that this monument to Gisela and Adelaide was meant to imitate older formula in a style that recalls earlier gravestones. There are three other contemporary monuments from Hungary that begin with a similar formula, and their use occurs amongst varied social classes: one is for a Hungarian nobleman, another is for an Italian canon in Eger, and yet another for the German wife of a citizen of Buda.<sup>1167</sup> While unfortunately, the original architectural connection this stone would have had with the cathedral will remain unknown,<sup>1168</sup> it shows how important the connection of these eleventh century queens was to a sixteenth century Bishop fashioning his own self-image. While the connection between the Hungarian queens and the city of Veszprém will be elaborated on in the following chapter, this promotion of Gisela and Adelaide even at such a late date shows how queens could be used for various means of self-promotion.

As a coda to this story, a confusion in the secondary literature asserted for a long time that Felicia of Sicily, the first wife of King Coloman the Book-Lover (r. 1095-1116) was also buried at Veszprém. In the eighteenth century, Schier misread the same quote from Bonfini regarding

<sup>1164</sup> Uzsoki, “Die Echtheit des Grabes der ungarischen Königin Gisela in Passau”, 14-15; Árpád Mikó, “D. O. M. All’antica feliratok és a reneszánsz stílus a Jagelló-kori Magyarországon,” in “*Nem süllyed az emberiség!*”: *Album amicorum Szörényi László LX. születésnapjára*, ed. József Jankovics (Budapest: MTA Irodalomtudományi Intézet, 2007), 1195-1198.

<sup>1165</sup> D(eo) OP(timo) MAX(imo) S(anctifi catus est)  
 HVIVS SACRI TEMPLI CONDIT  
 RICI GESLAE STEFANI ET OLAY  
 THI LADISLAI SANCTOR(um) PANNO  
 NIAEREGVM DIVIS CONIVGIBVS  
 AMPLISS(imus) PATER D(omi)N(u)S PETRVS T(iT(ularis)  
 SAN(c)TI CYRIACI S(anctae) R(omanae) E(cclesiae) P(res)B(ite)R  
 CAR(dinalis) (R)IEGYNVS EP(iscopu)S VESPRIMIEN(sis)  
 AP

MEMORIAE VENER(ationi)  
 Uzsoki, “Die Echtheit des Grabes der ungarischen Königin Gisela in Passau,” 14–15.

<sup>1166</sup> Mikó, “D. O. M. All’antica feliratok és a reneszánsz stílus a Jagelló-kori Magyarországon”, 1196.

<sup>1167</sup> Mikó, “D. O. M. All’antica feliratok és a reneszánsz stílus a Jagelló-kori Magyarországon”, 1195-1198.

<sup>1168</sup> Mikó, “D. O. M. All’antica feliratok és a reneszánsz stílus a Jagelló-kori Magyarországon”, 1196.

the burial of the queens at Veszprém, thinking that “Gesla” was a mistake for “Busila”, a name which refers to Felicia in the older literature.<sup>1169</sup> Others have also proposed that Felicia was buried at Székesfehérvár (see below), but that is doubtful; the only thing known about her death is essentially that she died sometime between 1101 and 1112.<sup>1170</sup>

### Székesfehérvár royal basilica

The burial site of St. Stephen I (d. 1038) and his son St. Imre (d. 1031), the royal basilica at Székesfehérvár was an important burial site for the Árpáadian and Angevin dynasties. Fifteen kings, possibly seven queens, six princes, and two princesses were buried at this site over the five-hundred years this site was in use.<sup>1171</sup> That being said, while the excavations at the royal basilica of Székesfehérvár have been quite extensive in the past 150 years, the documentation has not always been pursued with the same rigor. Remains of around 935 skeletons have been found there over the years (including twelve from specially dug crypts), but the finds have been mixed, lost or forgotten over the years, making an analysis of the original context for the bones nearly impossible.<sup>1172</sup> Before the eleventh century it is nearly impossible to say if any queens were buried there. It has been claimed that Felicia of Sicily (d. 1102-1112? wife of Coloman the Learned, r. 1095-1116) and Helen of Serbia (d. 1146?, wife of Béla II ‘the Blind’ r. 1131-1141) were buried there,<sup>1173</sup> but none of the primary sources mention this, and it mostly seems to be circumstantial evidencesuch as the location of Coloman’s grave being ascribed based on regulations of intramural burials during his time as king. The first excavation at the basilica in the mid-nineteenth century proposed that Coloman and Felicia were buried together in a double grave with a sandstone base and a red marble top.<sup>1174</sup> Regarding Helen of Serbia, Henszlmann found a skeleton assumed to be a woman about thirty years old during his excavations from the mid-1800s. He believed that she died in 1139, but there is a charter indicating Helen was still alive in 1146, so it most likely this not her skeleton.<sup>1175</sup> In 1137, Béla II ‘the Blind’ had his

<sup>1169</sup> Xystus Schier, *Reginae Hungariae primae stirpis* (Vienna, 1776), 88-89; Ildikó Hankó, *A magyar királysírok sorsa: Géza fejedelemtől Szapolyai Jánosig* (Budapest: Magyar Ház, 1987), 133.

<sup>1170</sup> These dates are first the birth of her twin sons, Stephen and Ladislav and then the date of her husband’s remarriage to Euphemia of Kiev. Dezső Dercsényi, ed., *The Hungarian Illuminated Chronicle* (Budapest: Corvina Kiadó, 1969), ch. 146 & 149, 132.

<sup>1171</sup> Kinga Éry, “Az embertani vizsgálatok” [Anthropological Studies] in *A székesfehérvári királyi bazilika embertani leletei 1848-2002*, ed. Kinga Éry (Budapest: Balassi Kiadó, 2008), 15.

<sup>1172</sup> Éry, “Az embertani vizsgálatok” [Anthropological Studies], 15-30, 573.

<sup>1173</sup> Hankó, *A magyar királysírok sorsa*, 133.

<sup>1174</sup> Imre Henszlmann, *A székes-fehérvári ásatások eredménye* [The excavation results of Székesfehérvár] (Pest: Heckenast Gusztáv Bizománya, 1864) 204-205; Dezső Dercsényi, *A székesfehérvári királyi bazilika* [The Székesfehérvár royal basilica] (Budapest: Műemlékek Országos Bizottsága, 1943) 5.

<sup>1175</sup> Henszlmann, *A székes-fehérvári ásatások eredménye*, 211; Mór Wertner, *Az Árpádok családi Története* (Nagybecskerek: Pleitz, 1892), 302; Pál Engel, “Temetkezések a középkori székesfehérvári bazilikában,” [Burials in the medieval basilica of Székesfehérvár] *Századok* 121 (1987): 620.

father, Prince Álmos, buried in the basilica of Székesfehérvár; Engel thought it likely that his wife Predslava of Kiev, the mother of Béla II, would likewise either be buried there or in Byzantium.<sup>1176</sup> There is primary source material and archaeological evidence for the burials of Agnes/Anna de Châtillon of Antioch (d. 1184, first wife of Béla III r. 1173-1196), Maria of Bytom (d. 1317, first wife of Charles I Robert, r. 1308-1342), Margaret of Luxemburg (d. 1349, first wife of Louis I ‘the Great’ r. 1342-1382) and Elizabeth of Bosnia (d. 1387, second wife of Louis I ‘the Great’). This section will thus focus more on those four women.

The undisturbed graves of Agnes of Antioch and her husband Béla III were discovered in the excavations that took place at the basilica in 1848.<sup>1177</sup> Her tomb contained a wooden coffin. She was found with a silver gilt crown (**Cat. VI.3**), a gold ring (**Cat. VII.2**) and remnants of gold or silver thread embroidery and some dark blue fabric.<sup>1178</sup> The osteological report indicates that she would have been about 161 cm tall and around 49.3 kg in life.<sup>1179</sup> There was a slight discrepancy in the age suggested by the bones, as they indicate an average age for the queen of 37-41 years, while the historical data indicates she would have been 28-31 years, but this is explained by conditions inside the tomb; the absence of lesions on the joints also points to a younger biological age.<sup>1180</sup>

Maria of Bytom died at Timisoara, Romania (Temesvár) which Charles I Robert had briefly turned into the official royal residence. Her body was then taken to Székesfehérvár where she was later buried.<sup>1181</sup> The main source for this information is the *Hungarian Illuminated Chronicle* which depicts the queen wearing an open crown and veil and wearing a fastened cloak which is completely closed. She is being laid to rest in a stone sarcophagus sitting on a pile of stones by one man while two men in ecclesiastical garb look on.<sup>1182</sup> The fact that the second wife of Charles I Robert was buried in Oradea (in Romania, formerly Nagyvárad) and the distance Maria of Bytom’s body was taken for burial suggests that the burial of this queen in the basilica of Székesfehérvár is significant. For Charles I Robert, a king who struggled with issues of

<sup>1176</sup> Engel, “Temetkezések a középkori székesfehérvári bazilikában”, 619.

<sup>1177</sup> An alternate view that the bodies are of King Coloman ‘the Book-Lover’ and his wife Felicia of Sicily has been suggested by Endre Tóth. One of the cornerstones of his argument is that the ring of the queen is also found in Sicily rather than in just the Near East. Endre Tóth, “III. Béla vagy Kálmán?: A székesfehérvári királysír azonosításáról” [Béla III or Coloman? The identification of the royal graves from Székesfehérvár]. *Folia Archaeologica* LII (2005-2006): 141-161.

<sup>1178</sup> Béla Czobor, “III. Béla és hitvese ékszerei” [Jewels of Béla III and his wife], in *III. Béla magyar király emlékezete*, [The Memory of the Hungarian king Béla III], Gyula Forster, ed. (Budapest: Hornyánszky V, 1900), 216-218.

<sup>1179</sup> Kinga Éry, Antónia Marcsik, János Nemeskéri, Ferenc Szalai, “Az épített sírok csontvázletelei (I. csoport),” in *A székesfehérvári királyi bazilika embertani leletei 1848-2002*, ed. Kinga Éry (Budapest: Balassi Kiadó, 2008), 83.

<sup>1180</sup> *Ibid.*, 86.

<sup>1181</sup> Hankó, *A magyar királysírok sorsa*, 137.

<sup>1182</sup> Dezső Dercsényi, ed., *The Hungarian Illuminated Chronicle*, 145, folio 139.

legitimacy in the first years of his reign, burying his wife at Székesfehérvár when the last royal burial would have taken place over a century prior (Ladislas III in 1205), this seems to be a clear and deliberate use of the queen's body to connect himself with the Árpád dynasty. While such a burial could have been Maria of Bytom's own choice, this seems more likely to be Charles I Robert's clever usage of the queen's memory, especially when compared to his second wife's burial at Oradea (see below).

There are three skeletons from the northwestern part of the basilica identified as numbers I/5, I/6, and I/7. Significant portions of the skeletons are missing, but the remaining bones seem to indicate that they are all roughly from the fourteenth century. I/5 is of a man aged roughly 52-58, I/6 is of a woman aged roughly 40-49, and I/7 is of a child of indeterminate gender aged 9-13 years.<sup>1183</sup> Considering the ages of the bodies and their dating, Kralovánszky proposed that these were the bodies, not only of Louis I 'the Great' (r. 1342-1382, I/5), but also his first wife Margaret of Luxemburg, (d. 1349 aged fourteen, I/7) and his second wife, the strangled Elizabeth Kotromanic of Bosnia (d. 1387, aged forty-eight, I/6).<sup>1184</sup> Both I/6 and I/7 (supposedly Elizabeth and Margaret) are missing their skulls so it is impossible to tell much more about them, though the length of the bones in I/6 indicates that this woman would have been around 168 centimeters tall. The fragmentation of Elizabeth's body could be due either to this reburial or to later grave-robbing.<sup>1185</sup> Elizabeth of Bosnia was strangled while she and her daughter Queen Mary (r. 1382-1395) were held captive at Novigrad, and originally her body was buried at the Church of St. Chrysogonus in Zadar. Later, her body was disinterred by her daughter and buried in Székesfehérvár beneath a life-size marble effigy.<sup>1186</sup> However, the only artifacts recovered near the bodies themselves were the coffin nails so it is very difficult to determine much more about the burials, even if they were, in fact, the bodies of two of Hungary's queens.<sup>1187</sup> A more recent study of the skeletal material indicates that this might be Charles I Robert (r. 1308-1342), not his son Louis I 'the Great'.<sup>1188</sup> If this is indeed the case, it is highly doubtful that either of the skeletons buried in the same chamber would belong to his wife. The only known wife of Charles I to be buried at Székesfehérvár was Maria of Bytom who would have been 20-22 years old at her death.<sup>1189</sup> Margaret of Luxemburg is believed to have died of the plague,<sup>1190</sup> so further tests on the remains of I/7 might aid in establishing whether or not it is her skeleton. A further insight into

<sup>1183</sup> Éry, Marcsik, Nemeskéri, Szalai, "Az épített sírok csontvázletelei (I. csoport)", 95, 100-102.

<sup>1184</sup> Éry, Marcsik, Nemeskéri, Szalai, "Az épített sírok csontvázletelei (I. csoport)", 98, 101.

<sup>1185</sup> Éry, Marcsik, Nemeskéri, Szalai, "Az épített sírok csontvázletelei (I. csoport)", 100.

<sup>1186</sup> Ibid., 100; Hankó, *A magyar királysírok sorsa*, 137.

<sup>1187</sup> Éry, Marcsik, Nemeskéri, Szalai, "Az épített sírok csontvázletelei (I. csoport)", 100-102.

<sup>1188</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1189</sup> Engel, "Temetkezések a középkori székesfehérvári bazilikában": 622.

<sup>1190</sup> Hankó, *A magyar királysírok sorsa*, 137; Engel, "Temetkezések a középkori székesfehérvári bazilikában": 623.

the pattern of burial at the basilica is the fact that of the nearly one thousand skeletons studied, of those that could be sexed, 70.69% of the adults were male while 29.31% of the skeletons were female. Within the walls of the church and in chapels 1 and 2, males make up more than 80% of the skeletons uncovered.<sup>1191</sup>

In any case, it is very difficult to understand how gender related to the issue of burial in the basilica at Székesfehérvár when the clues are so fragmentary and so much has been destroyed. After the fourteenth century, Székesfehérvár continued to be a burial site of nominal importance. People such as Albert (r. 1437-1439) of Austria and his wife, King Sigismund's daughter, Elisabeth of Luxemburg (d. 1442), King Matthias Corvinus (r. 1457-1490), Vladislaus II (r. 1490-1516) and his third wife Anne of Foix-Candale (d. 1506) were all buried there. The remains of Louis II (r. 1516-1526) were buried there in later years after he fell at the Battle of Mohács, as was the body of János Szapolyai (r. 1526-1540).<sup>1192</sup>

### **Székesfehérvár Hospitaller convent**

This convent was the foundation of Euphrosyne of Kiev (d. c. 1193). She built it with Archbishop Martyrius of Esztergom (d. 1157); her burial there is something of a complicated story. After the death of her husband, Géza II (r. 1141-1161), Euphrosyne played a significant role during the reign of her oldest son, Stephen III (r. 1161-1173), though upon his death, she supported her younger son Géza against the ambitions of her second son, Béla III (r. 1173-1196) who had been raised at the Byzantine court. At first she was exiled to Braničevo, Serbia, in 1186. Later, she journeyed to Jerusalem where she took the veil as a nun with the Knights of St. John and was buried at the Theotocos church of St. Theodosius havra in Jerusalem.<sup>1193</sup> Zsolt Hunyadi points out that parts of Euphrosyne's story is confused with another Russian princess named Euphrosyne who became a saint, so aspects of her time in Jerusalem must be read very critically.<sup>1194</sup> Furthermore, Denys Pringle believes that there was no church of St. Theodosius in Jerusalem and it is a misreading of the text.<sup>1195</sup> The foundation of the Hospitaller convent at

<sup>1191</sup> Kinga Éry, ed., *A székesfehérvári királyi bazilika embertani leletei 1848-2002*, 575.

<sup>1192</sup> Hankó, *A magyar királysírok sorsa*, 137-144; Engel, "Temetkezések a középkori székesfehérvári bazilikában":624-626.

<sup>1193</sup> Moravcsik says that "according to tradition", her remains were taken back to Russia, but this does not seem to have been the case. Ferenc Makk, *The Árpáds and the Comneni*, 177, n 149; Gyula Moravcsik, *Byzantium and the Magyars* (Amsterdam: Adolf M. Hakkert, 1970), 91.

<sup>1194</sup> Zsolt Hunyadi, *The Hospitallers in the Medieval Kingdom of Hungary c. 1150-1387* (Budapest: CEU Medievalia, 2010), 24-26.

<sup>1195</sup> Denys Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem: a Corpus*, Vol. III The City of Jerusalem, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 386.



Székesfehérvár was the first dedicated to the order in Hungary. It is known from a document dated in 1272 that Euphrosyne was buried there.<sup>1196</sup>

### Pilis Cistercian Abbey

One of the more spectacular finds in the past thirty years of excavation in Hungary has been the discovery of the sarcophagus of Gertrude of Andechs-Meran (d. 1213), first wife of Andrew II of Hungary (r. 1205-1235) at the Cistercian Abbey of Pilis (**Cat. XII.7**). To date, it is the only surviving grave monument for a Hungarian queen on the soil of the medieval Hungarian kingdom. On September 28, 1213, while entertaining her brother, Berthold the Archbishop of Kalocsa and Leopold VI of Austria, Queen Gertrude was brutally murdered in the forests of Zemplén. Only one of the murderers, Peter the son of Töre (Turoy) has been identified beyond a shadow of a doubt (though four others are mentioned in the sources), and even the motivation for the murder is still unknown, though usually attributed to her nepotism and fear of German influence. The queen's body was carried to Pilis Abbey and subsequently buried there.<sup>1197</sup> In 1981, excavations at the site uncovered a grave featuring the disturbed skeletons of a man and a woman at the crossing of the church, in grave 57.<sup>1198</sup> While the man's skeleton dates from the mid-fifteenth century, the woman's skeleton was C-14 dated to 1030-1220; her skeleton was estimated to be 30-40 years old, indicating that it is possible (though not beyond a shadow of a doubt) that this could be the body of Queen Gertrude.<sup>1199</sup> Of the 65 pieces of Gertrude's grave monument recovered at Pilis, the vast majority were found in a 5 meter radius of grave 57.<sup>1200</sup> At the time of her death, this section of the church had been finished which might explain why she was not buried in the sanctuary, closer to the altar, or near the sanctuary, as these areas had not

<sup>1196</sup> Hunyadi, *The Hospitallers in the Medieval Kingdom of Hungary*, 25.

<sup>1197</sup> Körmendi's reasoning for the murder taking place at a forest aside from Pilis was the burial of certain parts of her body at the Premonstratensian monastery of Lelesz. Tamás Körmendi, "A Gertrúd királyné elleni merénylet körülményei" [The circumstances of the assassination of Queen Gertrude], in *Egy történelmi gyilkosság margójára: Merániai Gertrúd emlékezete, 1213-2013* edited by Judit Majorossy (Szentendre: Ferenczy Múzeum, 2014), 101-120.

<sup>1198</sup> József Szentpéteri, Csilla Siklódi and József Laszlovsky were the ones to discover the grave which was drawn and photographed. József Laszlovsky and József Szentpéteri, "...scripta manent. Emlékképek a pilisi úgynevezett Gertrúd-sír megtalálási körülményeiről" ["...Scripta manent". Memories of Excavating the So-called Gertrude Grave of Pilis] in *Egy történelmi gyilkosság margójára: Merániai Gertrúd emlékezete, 1213-2013* edited by Judit Majorossy (Szentendre: Ferenczy Múzeum, 2014), 165-171.

<sup>1199</sup> Sadly, it seems that a piece of her skull uncovered in 1981 has not been able to be recovered. Elek Benkő, "Gertrúd királyné sírja a pilisi ciszterci monostorban" [The Grave of Queen Gertrude in the Cistercian Monastery of Pilis] in *Egy történelmi gyilkosság margójára: Merániai Gertrúd emlékezete, 1213-2013* ed. by Judit Majorossy (Szentendre: Ferenczy Múzeum, 2014), 180-185.

<sup>1200</sup> Imre Takács, "A Gertrúd-síremlék rekonstrukciójának kérdései" [The Questions of the Reconstruction of Queen Gertrude's Funerary Monument] in *Egy történelmi gyilkosság margójára: Merániai Gertrúd emlékezete, 1213-2013* ed. by Judit Majorossy (Szentendre: Ferenczy Múzeum, 2014), 193.

yet been finished or consecrated.<sup>1201</sup> Also, since the monument seems to have been four-sided, its location meant the sarcophagus had a high degree of visibility from visitors to the Abbey. Indeed, the body of the queen was such a prized possession that the monks of Pilis were loath to relinquish it and were quite insistent on her husband being buried next to her upon his death in 1235.<sup>1202</sup>

The queen's monument depicted her lying on her back with an angel holding a pillow under her head, possibly with a censer in hand.<sup>1203</sup> On the long side of the sarcophagus facing the viewer there were seven arcaded niches with statues of the saints in the alcoves; the cornices in between the tops of the arches are reminiscent of carvings at Chartres cathedral, and it shows the international contacts present at the Hungarian court of the Árpáds.<sup>1204</sup> Between the effigy of the queen and the sides of the sarcophagus, there was an inscription cut into red marble; the only legible words are "ANNO" and "PERHENNIS".<sup>1205</sup> The rest of the grave, including the effigy and the sides of the sarcophagus seem to be made of limestone. The figures in the niches of the arcades would have been both male and female in bright scarlet and blue clothing with gold trim, some of them even holding regalia; the architectural features were mostly painted gold.<sup>1206</sup> Initially Gerevich thought that the artist who designed the monument might have been Villard de Honnecourt, who had journeyed through Hungary sometime in the 1220s, and who illustrated a set of tiles at a Hungarian Abbey which are remarkably similar to those found at Pilis.<sup>1207</sup> While it now seems unlikely that Villard de Honnecourt designed the sarcophagus, the carvings on the foliage, the statue heads, and the drapery are very similar to the south transept portal at Chartres, and the architecture on the tomb is reminiscent of the choir at Reims Cathedral.<sup>1208</sup> Due to the sudden nature of her death, the chronology seems to indicate that the queen had no hand in designing the grave monument herself and that it was sculpted sometime in the 1220s.

<sup>1201</sup> Admittedly, Elek Benkő is not convinced of this, stating grave 57 most likely belonged to an abbot and that the queen's funerary monument was nearby, possibly in the apse. Imre Takács, "An early Gothic rib vault in Hungary and the Question of the cerce" in *Bonum ut Pulchrum: essays in art history in honour of Ernő Marosi on his seventieth birthday* (Budapest: Hungarian Academy of Sciences, 2010), 152; Benkő, "Getrúd királyné sírja a pilisi ciszterci monostorban", 185.

<sup>1202</sup> Dercsényi et al., *The Hungarian Illuminated Chronicle*, 171, n. 506; Kosztolnyik, *Hungary in the Thirteenth Century*, 116.

<sup>1203</sup> Takács, "A Gertrúd-síremlék rekonstrukciójának kérdései", 197-198.

<sup>1204</sup> László Gerevich, "Ausgrabungen in der Ungarischen Zisterzienserabtei Pilis," *Analecta Cisterciensia* XXXIX, 39 (1983): 291-293; Crossley, "The Architecture of Queenship", 270.

<sup>1205</sup> Takács, "A Gertrúd-síremlék rekonstrukciójának kérdései", 195.

<sup>1206</sup> Imre Takács, "Getrudis királyné síremléke" [Queen Gertrude's tomb], in *Pannonia Regia: Művészet a Dunátúl* ed. Árpád Mikó and Imre Takács (Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Galéria, 1994), 248; Takács, "A Gertrúd-síremlék rekonstrukciójának kérdései", 197-198.

<sup>1207</sup> László Gerevich, "Grabmal der Gertrud von Andechs-Meranien in Pilis," in *Sankt Elisabeth: Fürstin Dienerin Heilige*, (Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 1984), 335.

<sup>1208</sup> Gerevich, "Ausgrabungen in der Ungarischen Zisterzienserabtei Pilis," 292; Crossley, "The Architecture of Queenship", 270.

Nonetheless, there are a few very important points to be made about this grave monument and its significance for medieval Hungary. It is one of the earliest tomb effigies in the medieval kingdom, a style of funerary representation that does not become fashionable by and large until the fourteenth century. Vernei-Kronberger is aware of only four tombs in Hungary in the eleventh-thirteenth centuries that have an image of the deceased on their tombs.<sup>1209</sup> The fact that she was given such a stylish, sophisticated monument shows her importance at court in the decades after her death. The western influence in the monument shows the cosmopolitan nature of art at the Hungarian court. The central location of the queen's grave monument also indicates that her burial there was meant to be very visible.

### Igriş Cistercian Abbey

When Yolanda of Courtenay, the second wife of Andrew II (r. 1205-1235), died in 1233 she was buried at the Cistercian Abbey of Igriş (in Romania, also known as Egres);<sup>1210</sup> two years later, her husband died and was buried with her. Igriş had been founded in 1179 by Andrew's father Béla III as a direct filiation to Pontigny, one of the four great daughter houses of the Cistercian Abbey at Cîteaux. Bácsatyai has suggested that Igriş was founded largely due to the activity of Pontigny's Abbott Peter who wished to expand the order.<sup>1211</sup> The first generation of monks at Igriş came direction from France (the first of its kind in Hungary) and half of the members of the Abbey were French even as late as the 1230s.<sup>1212</sup> Whether Yolanda came to Hungary from France or from the Near East, this French connection is of critical importance in the social and familial network of the queen.<sup>1213</sup> Andrew II had a significant interest in the monastery, giving several donations from 1224 onwards, most likely with the encouragement of Yolanda of Courtenay.<sup>1214</sup>

<sup>1209</sup> Emil Vernei-Kronberger, *Magyar középkori siremlékek: Medieval tombstones of Hungary* (Budapest: Officina, 1939), 78-79.

<sup>1210</sup> "Regina Hoilenz de Hungaria in presentia Iacobi cardinalis et episcoporum moritur et in abbatia de Egris sepelitur. Qui cardinalis per Hungariam hoc anno concilia sua tenuit." P. Scheffer-Boichorst, ed. "Chronica Alberici monachi Trium Fontium", *Monumenta Germaniae historica, Scriptores*, XXIII, 933, lines 7-9; Dezső Dercsényi, ed., *The Hungarian Illuminated Chronicle*, 171, n. 506.

<sup>1211</sup> Dániel Bácsatyai, "Az egresi ciszterci monostor korai történetének kérdései" [Problems of the Early History of the Cistercian Monastery of Igriş] *Századok* 149 (2015:2): 268-273.

<sup>1212</sup> Bácsatyai, "Az egresi ciszterci monostor korai történetének kérdései": 263; "The Role of the Cistercians in Medieval Hungary: Political Activity or Internal Colonization?" *Annual of Medieval Studies at the CEU* I (1993-1994): 198.

<sup>1213</sup> While Takács says the queen left for Hungary from Namur, two charters mention Yolanda journeying to Hungary from Constantinople in the presence of Peter the Bishop of Győr and a man named Vruz. Imre Takács, "The French Connection: on the Courtenay Family and Villard de Honnecourt apropos of a 13<sup>th</sup> Century Incised slab from Pilis Abbey," in *Künstlerische Wechselwirkungen in Mitteleuropa*, ed. J. Fajt and M. Hörsch. (Ostfildern, Thorbecke, 2006), 16; Bácsatyai, "Az egresi ciszterci monostor korai történetének kérdései": 274.

<sup>1214</sup> Beatrix Romhányi, *Kolostorok és társaskáptalanok a középkori Magyarországon: katalógus* [Monasteries and the collegiate chapters of medieval Hungary: a catalog] (Budapest: Pytheas, 2000), 22; Bácsatyai, "Az egresi ciszterci monostor korai történetének kérdései": 274.

This latter point is the most important in uncovering the agency of Yolanda in her burial at Igrış since her widowed husband, Andrew II, would have been responsible for overseeing the queen's interment.<sup>1215</sup> Yolanda's family had made significant donations not only to the Cistercian Order, but even to the Abbey of Pontigny, the mother-house of Igrış.<sup>1216</sup> Pontigny should also be mentioned as the burial site of a French Queen, Adela of Champagne, the third wife of Louis VII of France.<sup>1217</sup> Yolanda's burial was clearly important enough to merit the presence of Jacobus de Pecorara, the abbot of Trois-Fontaines Abbey among the guests of honor at her funeral.<sup>1218</sup> That being said, it is extremely difficult to parse apart the queen's individual presence considering the influence that Andrew II had before he was buried at the same spot in 1235. Andrew II ensured that the abbey was enlarged, and it has been proposed that this was for the purpose of having it as a royal burial ground. Excavations have uncovered a Romanesque brick basilica of three aisles and apses.<sup>1219</sup> The Cistercian chronicler Alberic of Trois-Fontaines wrote that Andrew had originally intended to be buried at Oradea (Nagyvárad), near the tomb of St. Ladislav I (r. 1077-1095), but the monks at Pilis apparently demanded he be buried with his first wife, Gertrude. The compromise reached was that the king was buried at Igrış with his second wife Yolanda.<sup>1220</sup> Part of the reason for this confusion could be that the burial place of Andrew II at Igrış was destroyed so thoroughly in the Mongol Invasion, prompting the competing narratives about burial sites at Igrış, Pilis and Oradea.<sup>1221</sup> Another important factor in Andrew's burial at Igrış can be explained by the relationship his son and successor, Béla IV, had with his father; Igrış was an acceptable compromise that would see his father buried at a suitable site, but not a site like Pilis that was near the royal centers and the site of his murdered mother's burial.<sup>1222</sup> Aside from the burials at Oradea near the shrine of St. Ladislav, most Hungarian queens were buried in the central part of the kingdom, part of the dense clusters of settlements making up the core of the administration (the *medium regni*). Considering her using her own seal and appearing on coinage, the location of Igrış, the presence of French monks, and that it was a secondary choice for Andrew II to be

<sup>1215</sup> József Laszlovszky, "Local Tradition or European Patterns? The grave of Queen Gertrude in the Pilis Cistercian Abbey" in *Medieval East Central Europe in a Comparative Perspective: from Frontier Zones to Lands in Focus*, edited by Gerhard Jaritz and Katalin Szende (New York: Routledge, 2016), 87.

<sup>1216</sup> Bácsatyai, "Az egresi ciszterci monostor korai történetének kérdései": 274.

<sup>1217</sup> Nolan, *Queens in Stone and Silver*, 101.

<sup>1218</sup> Laszlovszky, "Local Tradition or European Patterns?", 87.

<sup>1219</sup> Florin Curta, *Southeastern Europe in the Middle Ages, 500-1250* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 354.

<sup>1220</sup> Dercsényi et al., *The Hungarian Illuminated Chronicle*, 171, n. 506; Kosztolnyik, *Hungary in the Thirteenth Century*, 116.

<sup>1221</sup> Though Igrış Abbey was rebuilt and repopulated after its destruction from the Mongols, it ceased functioning by 1514. Bácsatyai, "Az egresi ciszterci monostor korai történetének kérdései": 283; Romhányi, "The Role of the Cistercians in Medieval Hungary", 182, 201; Romhányi, *Kolostorok és társaskáptalanok a középkori Magyarországon*, 22.

<sup>1222</sup> Laszlovszky, "Local Tradition or European Patterns?", 87-88.

buried there, it is quite possible that Yolanda played a greater role in the life of the Abbey and that her burial there reflects her own interest in the site.

### **Esztergom Franciscan Friary**

Béla IV of Hungary died on May 3, 1270 and his wife Maria Laskarina followed him to the grave a few months afterwards, sometime in the month of July.<sup>1223</sup> There was a dispute between the Archbishop of Esztergom and the Franciscan friary of Esztergom after the death of Béla and Maria, as the Archbishop felt that the Cathedral should be the eternal resting place of the royal couple and their son.<sup>1224</sup> Béla IV, Maria Laskarina and their younger son Béla were all eventually laid to rest in the Franciscan friary in the royal town of Esztergom. The king had founded the institution in 1235, and archaeological investigations of the twentieth century have put the site of the building in the proximity of Esztergom's present-day parish church.<sup>1225</sup> The king and the queen were finally buried with their younger son in the crypt of the Franciscan friary in the city of Esztergom, the second biggest church in the royal town. The royal couple was buried next to each other in front of the altar and under a decorated red marble tomb.<sup>1226</sup>

In spite of the fact there is practically no archaeological context to speak of, there are several aspects about this burial that can offer some insight into the queen's burial at this site. Both Béla IV and Maria Laskarina were active patrons of the Mendicant Orders. Béla showed a particular devotion to the Franciscans, even becoming a Franciscan tertiary.<sup>1227</sup> Maria Laskarina on the other hand seemed to favor the Dominican Order, particularly singling out her daughter's nunnery on Margaret Island. Nonetheless, as a widow, Maria Laskarina was buried next to her husband and her favorite son. Most thirteenth-century Hungarian monarchs were buried next to their wives, and in this case the person responsible for organizing the queen's burial would not have been her husband as he was already dead. It is thus entirely plausible that she chose to be buried with her family rather than create a separate foundation for her own burial like her earlier predecessors.

<sup>1223</sup> The *Necrologium Saeldentalense* gives the date of her death as July 16, while the *Necrologium Althae Superioris* gives it as July 24. Dezső Dercsényi, ed., *The Hungarian Illuminated Chronicle*, ch. 170, 140; Franz Ludwig Baumann, ed., "Necrologium Saeldentalense," *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Antiquitates*, Vol. 3 (1905), 365; "Necrologium Althae Superioris," *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Antiquitates*, Vol. 3, 231.

<sup>1224</sup> Melina Rokai, "Poverty and the Franciscan Order in Southeast Europe", *Istraživanja* 22 (2011): 147.

<sup>1225</sup> Romhányi, *Kolostorok és társaskáptalanok a középkori Magyarországon*, 24; István Horváth, Marta Kelemen and István Torma, *Komárom megye régészeti topográfiája: Esztergom és a dorogi járás* [Komárom County archaeological topography: Esztergom and Dorog tourism] (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1979), 146.

<sup>1226</sup> Hankó, *A magyar királysírok sorsa*, 136; Z. J. Kosztolnyik, *Hungary in the Thirteenth Century*, 248; István Horváth, "Esztergom," in *Medium Regni: Medieval Hungarian Royal Seats*, ed. Julianna Atlmann et al. (Budapest: Nap Kiadó, 1999), 32.

<sup>1227</sup> Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses*, 231.

## Dominican Nunnery on Margaret Island

The *Hungarian Illuminated Chronicle* states very clearly that the Hungarian king Stephen V (r. 1270-1272) was buried at the Dominican Nunnery on an island in the middle of the Danube known initially as Rabbit's Island, and later called Margaret Island after his sister St. Margaret, a nun at the church who died in 1271. Concerning Stephen's wife, Elizabeth the Cuman, neither the date of her death nor her place of burial is mentioned in the primary sources, but it is often thought that she died around the year 1290 or 1295. She was then buried with her husband and sister-in-law at Margaret Island,<sup>1228</sup> perhaps in one of the six brick- or stone-lined graves in the main part of the church before the altar. There were more than twenty graves uncovered in the sanctuary beneath the brick pavement; about ten were paved with bricks and the rest of the dead seem to be buried in wooden coffins.<sup>1229</sup> When the nineteenth century excavators discovered the tomb that the crown was thought to belong to, they found a fragment of a tombstone with the inscription "Hic sepultus".<sup>1230</sup>

After a great flood of the Danube in 1838, a crown was found (**Cat. IV.5**) in the ruins of the nunnery and an investigation was launched, though the documentation was shoddy and the results not published until ten years later. There was also a sapphire or chalcedony ring and several fragments of gold-covered threads.<sup>1231</sup> Furthermore, the skeleton found associated with the crown has since been lost, so no anthropological study could be carried out.<sup>1232</sup> Initially the crown was identified as that of Stephen V, though Vattai was the first to propose that the crown was made for a female, not a male; she proposed that the crown could have belonged to Fenenna of Kujava (the wife of Andrew III), Tomasina Morosini (the mother of Andrew III) or Elizabeth the Cuman (the wife of Stephen V).<sup>1233</sup> A new examination of the Venetian account of Donato Contarini indicates that Tomasina died in Venice in 1311 or 1315, which seems to be more likely than the Styrian Rhyming Chronicle's account of her being poisoned, so the crown in question is probably not hers.<sup>1234</sup> The burial place of Fenenna of Kujava is not known but she is usually thought to be buried at the Franciscan cloister in Buda (see below). The crown in question was

<sup>1228</sup> János M. Bak, "Roles and Functions of Queens in Árpadian and Angevin Hungary", in *Medieval Queenship*, John C. Parsons ed., 24; Hankó states 1295 as her date of death. Hankó, *A magyar királysírok sorsa*, 136.

<sup>1229</sup> Rózsa Feuerné-Tóth, "V. István király sírja a Margitszigeti domonkos apácakolostor templomában" [The Grave of King Stephen V in the Dominican nunnery of Margaret Island], *Budapest Régiségei* 21 (1964): 116.

<sup>1230</sup> Feuerné-Tóth, "V. István király sírja", 117.

<sup>1231</sup> The ring unfortunately seems to have been lost. *Ibid.*, 117-118.

<sup>1232</sup> Rózsa Feuerné-Tóth, "V. István király sírja", 115.

<sup>1233</sup> Erzsébet Vattai, "A margitszigeti korona," *Budapest Régiségei* 18 (1958): 200-202; Rózsa Feuerné-Tóth, "V. István király sírja", 117.

<sup>1234</sup> Martin Štefánik, "The Morosinis in Hungary under King Andrew III and the two versions of the death of the Queen of Hungary Tommasina," *Historický Časopis* 56 (2008): 12-15.

also found with remnants of lace which, while they do not survive,<sup>1235</sup> show a parallel to the fabric recovered from the grave of Agnes Châtillon at Székesfehérvár indicating that the grave attributed to Stephen V in the nunnery could be a woman's grave. However, due to the lack of documentation, it is very difficult to assess whether or not the finds all came from the same grave or even if the grave attributed to one of the royal couple is in fact theirs.

While the exact burial place of Elizabeth the Cuman within the nunnery may remain unknown, the position of the five graves from the thirteenth century located in front of the altar (excluding the sixth grave containing the remains of St. Margaret) indicates that Elizabeth and her husband were not buried side by side; the five graves are all placed up against the walls.<sup>1236</sup> Considering Elizabeth's long widowhood and period as official regent for her young son, it thus seems possible that rather than being buried in the same tomb as her husband, she opted to have her own place of burial, most likely a three-sided tomb located along the wall between the high altar and the tomb of St. Margaret.

### **St. John's church, Franciscan friary, Buda (?)**

Fenenna of Kujava, the first wife of Andrew III (r. 1290-1301) seems to have died sometime in December 1295, during the season of Advent.<sup>1237</sup> Her place of burial is unknown and not mentioned in the primary sources, but in the secondary literature it has been assumed that she was buried with her husband at the Franciscan friary in Buda which had been established by 1270.<sup>1238</sup> One reason for suggesting this is that in thirteenth century Hungary, most of the kings were buried with their wives (Andrew II, Béla IV, and most probably Stephen V). One of the queen's earliest charters is a re-affirmation of certain rights to land of a widow for a Beguine house that happens to be near the St. John's friary in Buda, but that seems to be the only connection to the queen and a place of burial in the written record.<sup>1239</sup> Fenenna does seem to have been a supporter of the Franciscan order; while queen, she seems to have completed the Franciscan friary in Segesd which would have most likely been founded by her predecessor, Isabella of Naples.<sup>1240</sup> For Andrew, Fenenna's death could have been used as an opportunity to strengthen his own dynastic legitimacy (like his successor Charles I Robert would do).

<sup>1235</sup> Feuerné-Toth, "V. István király sírja", 118.

<sup>1236</sup> Pál Lövei, "The Sepulchral Monument of Saint Margaret of the Árpád Dynasty", *Acta Historiae Artium* 26 (1980): 186

<sup>1237</sup> Imre Szentpetery, *Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum*, (Budapest: Academia litter. hungarica atque Societate history, 1937-1938) Vol. I, 477, lines 22-25.

<sup>1238</sup> Hankó, *A magyar királysírok sorsa*, 137; István Soltész, *Árpád-házi királynék*, (Budapest: Maecenas, 1999), 209; Romhányi, *Kolostorok és társaskáptalanok a középkori Magyarországon*, 16.

<sup>1239</sup> Imre Szentpétery and Attila Zsoldos, *Az Árpád-házi hercegek, hercegnők és a királynék okleveleinek kritikai jegyzéke*. (Budapest: Magyar Országos Levéltár, 2008), 160.

<sup>1240</sup> Romhányi, *Kolostorok és társaskáptalanok a középkori Magyarországon*, 57; Pál Gerő Bozsoky, *Királyok és királynék városa: Segesd* (Segesd, 2001), 161-162.

Considering the queen's young age, the fact that she pre-deceased her husband and only left behind a daughter, and the total uncertainty of her place of burial, it is most likely that Andrew III would have been charge of whatever burial arrangements transpired.

### Oradea (Nagyvárad) Cathedral

The main significance of the Cathedral at Oradea was the fact that from the late twelfth century onwards, it was the pilgrimage site for St. Ladislav I (r. 1077-1095), Hungary's chivalric warrior saint. Though there is some confusion regarding his final resting place,<sup>1241</sup> his cult centered on the cathedral he founded at Oradea. In later centuries, Stephen II (r. 1116-1131) and Ladislav IV 'the Cuman' (r. 1272-1290) chose to be buried at the cathedral. Queens however, were not buried there until the fourteenth century. In 1319, after the sudden death of his second wife, Beatrice of Luxemburg, Charles I Robert buried her at the cathedral of Oradea.<sup>1242</sup> Two years earlier, he had his first wife, Maria of Bytom, buried at Székesfehérvár. Both wives died rather young and it seems that Charles saw to it that they were buried in close proximity to dynastic saints of his Árpadian forbears, acts that showcase the concern he had in tying his own image with that of previous rulers. The fact that one wife was buried in the church associated with St. Stephen while the other was buried in the church associated with St. Ladislav seems to fit in with Charles I Robert's interest in his own dynastic legitimacy and connection with the Árpáds. Only one charter from Beatrice survives before she died at the age of 14 years, a renewal of the privileges of the Dominican nunnery of Margaret Island, the burial place of St. Margaret.<sup>1243</sup> A Statute from 1375 seems to indicate that the young Beatrice was buried near the altar of Saint Vincent and Saint Louis of Toulouse (who seems to have been added to the altar after her death).<sup>1244</sup> In the Middle Ages, the Cathedral had over fifty altars, but it seems that the queen would have been buried in a prominent place. The only note of its location in the church is that the altar of St. Vincent was south of the altar dedicated to the Holy Cross. The St. Vincent altar was erected sometime shortly before the queen's death, while the Holy Cross altar had been erected around 1258; the only other altars were those dedicated to the Virgin Mary, Saints Stephen and Imre, and St. Ladislav. While Beatrice's tomb does not seem to be associated with the most important religious points of the cathedral, it would still be fairly central and visible.<sup>1245</sup>

There is slightly more information on the other queen buried in there, Queen Mary (r. 1382-1395), the first wife of Sigismund (r. 1387-1437), and queen in her own right. The queen

<sup>1241</sup> Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses*, 175 -176.

<sup>1242</sup> Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses*, 326.

<sup>1243</sup> Hungarian National Archives, DL 1955; Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses*, 326.

<sup>1244</sup> Jolán Balogh, *Varadinum: Várad Vára* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1982), Vol. II, 283.

<sup>1245</sup> Balogh, *Varadinum: Várad Vára*, 276-278.



died very unexpectedly on May 17, 1395 in a horse riding accident in the Vértes Mountains while expecting her first child. She was buried on June 7 in the Cathedral at Oradea, by the feet of St. Ladislás.<sup>1246</sup> As her death was unexpected, it is most probable that Sigismund undertook the funeral arrangements. Her husband King Sigismund was also buried in the same cathedral after his death in 1437 after his body was first brought to Bratislava, Slovakia (also known as Preßburg or Pozsony), Komárno (Komárom), Esztergom, Visegrád, Vác, and Buda.<sup>1247</sup> Henszlmann believed that the two of them were buried near the grave of St. Ladislás, with the Queen lying to the east and Sigismund to the west, and that a large vaulted grave uncovered during the excavations was Sigismund's.<sup>1248</sup> In the month of July 1755, while digging a well in the fortress of the city, they came across a skeleton of a person buried with fragments of a crown and an orb (**Cat. IV.11-12**). Initially, the body was identified as that of Queen Mary, and Canon de Ville, the marquis general of the cavalry enthusiastically wrote to Maria Theresa that he was happy to send her, "the second Queen Mary", the remains of the first Queen Mary from the fourteenth century.<sup>1249</sup> However, since then, the remains have been identified as those of King Sigismund, on the basis of a find from the same grave of an emblem of the Order of the Dragon; Sigismund and his second wife Barbara of Celje founded the order in 1408 as a chivalric order to combat the Turks, so the finds from the grave as well as the body itself have been identified as that of Sigismund. There remains a drawing of the emblem of the Order of the Dragon, but since its discovery in 1755, it has been lost.<sup>1250</sup> Likewise, the current whereabouts of the skeleton are unknown; József Salamon, the canon of Oradea witnessed the re-burial of the bones, but Vay merely comments that they were taken back to Vienna and buried there.<sup>1251</sup>

The documented archaeological investigations at the cathedral of Nagyvárád have so far been very limited – aside from the earlier finds from the seventeenth and eighteenth century. In 1881-3, Romer examined the site, in 1884 Henszlmann attempted to find the grave of Sigismund, and then in 1911-12, the Archaeological and Historical Society for the county of Bihar and

<sup>1246</sup> C. Norbert Tóth, "Királynőből királyné. Mária és Zsigmond viszonya a források tükrében" [From ruling queen to royal consort. Queen Mary of Anjou and Sigismund of Luxemburg in the Mirror of Historical Sources] *Acta Universitatis Szegediensis. Acta Historica* CXXXII (2011): 71.

<sup>1247</sup> Terézia Kerny, "Begräbnis und Begräbnisstätte von König Sigismund," in *Sigismundus Rex et Imperator: Kunst und Kultur zur Zeit Sigismunds von Luxemburg 1387-1437*, ed. Imre Takács. Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 2006), 476-477.

<sup>1248</sup> The queen's grave in the image is marked with the Greek letter beta, while that of Sigismund is marked with the Greek letter delta. Jolán Balogh, *Varadinum: Várad Vára*, Vol. II, 283.

<sup>1249</sup> "Été d'avoir assez les heureux de pouvoir envoyer vestiges de la première Marie Roy, the Sacré Votre majesté, Marie aussi la seconde roy". Sándor Márki, *Mária Magyarország királynéja 1370-1395* (Budapest: A Magyar történelmi társulat kiadása, 1885), 149 n3.

<sup>1250</sup> Ibid.; Éva Kovács, "A gótikus *ronde-bosse* zománc a budai udvarban" [A Gothic *ronde-bosse* enamel in the court of Buda] *Művészettörténeti Értesítő* 31/2 (1982): 89.

<sup>1251</sup> Márki, *Mária Magyarország királynéja 1370-1395*, 149-151, n 3.

Oradea carried out further archaeological research.<sup>1252</sup> The excavations from 1911 uncovered a new grave near the axis of the church and near the well fountain that was initially identified as the grave of Beatrix of Luxemburg, but a coin found in the grave from the period of Louis I ‘the Great’ meant that the team later revised their opinion, claiming it was the burial place of Queen Mary.<sup>1253</sup>

### Nunnery of the Poor Clares, Óbuda

The earliest mention of the Clarisses convent in Óbuda comes from 1334, where Elizabeth of Poland (d. 1380), with of Charles I Robert (r. 1308-1342) was granted papal permission to build the convent shortly after the death of her father Wladyslaw I Lokietek of Poland. The convent was primarily built for the salvation of the souls of herself and her parents.<sup>1254</sup> The papal letters regarding Óbuda are written exclusively to the queen, and it thus seems that this foundation was exclusively connected to the queen. The endowment of the monastery was enormous, with about one hundred nuns in residence.<sup>1255</sup> The large size of the church (65 m by 20 m) puts it on par with some of the largest churches found in neighboring Austria. According to Bertalan, the architectural style of the nunnery was contemporary with the south German and Austrian style.<sup>1256</sup> It is quite possible that both the nunnery and the queen’s palace in Óbuda would have been built in a similar manner.<sup>1257</sup> Its proximity to the lavishly endowed Dominican nunnery on Margaret Island would also have made it a complementary religious center for elite women in Hungary. The Poor Clares, the female branch of the Franciscans was made popular through the cult of the Árpáadian saint Elizabeth of Thuringia.

Elizabeth’s choice to be interred by herself in a foundation of her own is a unique case for burials in the medieval kingdom of Hungary. When Hungarian queens were buried outside the realm, it was often sole burials in institutions they had founded themselves. In Hungary only Gertrude of Andechs-Meran is known to have been buried by herself, though the circumstances of her death and burial are admittedly exceptional. Elizabeth stipulated in her will that she wished

<sup>1252</sup> Kerny, “Begräbnis und Begräbnisstätte von König Sigismund,” 478.

<sup>1253</sup> Kerny, “Begräbnis und Begräbnisstätte von König Sigismund,” 478.

<sup>1254</sup> McEntee, “Queen Elizabeth of Hungary (1320-1380) and Óbuda”, 211; Brian McEntee, “The Burial Site Selection of a Hungarian Queen: Elizabeth, Queen of Hungary(1320–1380), and the Óbuda Clares’ Church”, *Annual of Medieval Studies at the CEU* 12 (2006), 69-71; Eva Sniezynska-Stolot, “Queen Elizabeth as Patron of Architecture”: 14-15.

<sup>1255</sup> Eva Sniezynska-Stolot, “Queen Elizabeth as Patron of Architecture”: 16.

<sup>1256</sup> Herta Bertalan, “Das Klarissenkloster von Óbuda aus dem 14. Jahrhundert” *Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 34 (1982), 158-160; McEntee, Elizabeth, Queen of Hungary and the Óbuda Clares, 39.

<sup>1257</sup> Herta Bertalan, “Óbudai Klarissza Kolostor” [The Obuda Poor Claires Cloister], *Budapest Régiségei* 27 (1976): 272.

to be buried in the Corpus Christi chapel of the Clarisses cloister at Óbuda she had founded.<sup>1258</sup> Furthermore, while several members of Queen Elizabeth's immediate court such as the her Polish equerry, the knight Mroczko, magister Paul Magyar, his wife Margaret, Ladislav Magyar and his mother, were buried in the same foundation as the founder, the queen received her own chapel for burial; the nuns and other nobles were buried elsewhere in the complex.<sup>1259</sup> The original floorplan for the Corpus Christi chapel is unknown, but as Elizabeth's tomb it had a single aisle comprising three sides of an octagon, with a later expansion. Her tomb would originally have stood along the southern wall.<sup>1260</sup> Most likely it would have been a three-sided monument; the tomb for her brother Casimir III 'the Great' of Poland (d. 1370) was originally designed with only three sides.<sup>1261</sup> It is quite possible that Elizabeth of Poland or her son Louis I brought a sculptor from Hungary to carve her brother's tomb during her time as regent of Poland (1370-1375). The effigy of Casimir is incomplete in certain sections, and one of the reasons proposed for this is that Elizabeth had to leave the country suddenly in 1375 due to either illness or political troubles.<sup>1262</sup>

Nothing is known of Elizabeth's sepulchral monument, as it was probably destroyed when the convent was demolished during the Turkish siege of 1541.<sup>1263</sup> Furthermore, most of the Corpus Christi chapel interior was destroyed during the digging of a well, and thus, nothing is known about it.<sup>1264</sup> Nonetheless, the choice of location within the church is rather unusual and deserves some attention here. Elizabeth of Poland was not buried within the walls of the church proper like her husband Charles I Robert, but access to her tomb could be gained both from the interior of the convent as well as from the church itself. McEntee speculates that perhaps her burial in the monastic precinct was a testament to her desire to become part of the monastic community.<sup>1265</sup>

<sup>1258</sup> László Szende, "Mitherrscherin oder einfach Königinmutter Elisabeth von Lokietek in Ungarn (1320-1380)", *Majestas* 13 (2005), 61.

<sup>1259</sup> Sniezynska-Stolot, "Queen Elizabeth as Patron of Architecture", 16-18; McEntee, "Elizabeth, Queen of Hungary and the Óbuda Clares," 41.

<sup>1260</sup> Bertalan, "Das Klarissenkloster von Óbuda aus dem 14. Jahrhundert", 166; Brian McEntee, "Elizabeth, Queen of Hungary and the Óbuda Clares," 40.

<sup>1261</sup> Długosz is particularly critical of her regency. Jan Długosz, Maurice Michael ed., *The Annals of Jan Długosz*, (Chichester: IM Publications, 1997), 323-331; Agnieszka Sadraei, "The Tomb of Kazimir the Great in the Wawel Cathedral of Cracow", *Acta Historiae Artium* 42 (2001): 89, 107.

<sup>1262</sup> Sadraei, "The Tomb of Kazimir the Great in the Wawel Cathedral of Cracow", 110.

<sup>1263</sup> McEntee, "Queen Elizabeth of Hungary (1320-1380) and Óbuda", 217-8; Bertalan, "Óbudai Klarissza Kolostor", 269.

<sup>1264</sup> McEntee, "Elizabeth, Queen of Hungary and the Óbuda Clares", 39.

<sup>1265</sup> McEntee, "Elizabeth, Queen of Hungary and the Óbuda Clares", 40, 67-68.

## Grave monuments outside of Hungary

The general trend for Hungarian queens of the Árpád dynasty (975-1301) is that the majority were buried abroad, rather than in Hungary. In terms of the study of the monuments of these queens this circumstance has been a bit more fortunate in terms of the survival of their monuments. More can be said of the monuments that have been preserved, but where that is not the case, even the most fundamental facts of the queens burials outside of Hungary are lost.

There is virtually nothing known regarding the burials of the Byzantine princesses who became Hungarian queens. Synadene, the second wife of Géza I (r. 1074-1077) returned to Byzantium in the month of October, either in 1079 or 1080, and nothing is known of her fate after that.<sup>1266</sup> Her uncle, Byzantine Emperor Nikephoros III (r. 1078-1081) retired to the monastery of St. Mary Peribleptos after his death, and considering it had both male and female members, it is possible Synadene retired and was buried there.<sup>1267</sup> The date of death of Maria Komnene, wife of anti-king Stephen IV (r. 1163-1165) is unknown; she was most likely buried in Byzantium, though Hankó mentions Zemun (now part of the city of Belgrade, Serbia; Hung.: Zimony) as a possibility.<sup>1268</sup>

The *Hungarian Illuminated Chronicle* states that two eleventh century Hungarian queens were buried in the Abbey of Admont in Styria: Anastasia of Kiev, daughter of Yaroslav the Wise and wife of King Andrew I (r. 1046-1060) and Judith of Swabia, sister to Holy Roman Emperor Henry IV and wife of King Salamon of Hungary (r. 1063-1074).<sup>1269</sup> Hankó thinks that Judith of Swabia would have died in Poland at around 27-28 years of age, for after her time as queen of Hungary she married the king of Poland.<sup>1270</sup> Furthermore it was not until after Anastasia's death that the Abbey of Admont would have allowed women or nuns to live in the community. Two thirteenth century queens were buried in Italy; Beatrice d'Este (d. 1245), the third wife of Andrew II (r. 1205-1235), was buried at the Abbey of St. John the Baptist at Gemmola,<sup>1271</sup> while

<sup>1266</sup> Makk, *The Árpáds and the Comneni*, 125, n. 1; Raimund Kerbl, "Byzantinische Prinzessinnen in Ungarn zwischen 1050-1200 und ihr Einfluß auf das Árpádenkönigreich", 55.

<sup>1267</sup> Mielke, "No Country for Old Women: Burial practices and patterns of Hungarian Queens of the Árpád Dynasty (975-1301)", 73; Ken Dark, "The Byzantine church and monastery of St Mary Peribleptos in Istanbul", in *The Burlington Magazine*, Vol. 141, No. 1160 (Nov., 1999), 656.

<sup>1268</sup> Stephen IV died in Zemun, but his body was later taken to be buried at Székesfehérvár. Hankó, *A magyar királysírok sorsa*, 134; Z. J. Kosztolnyik, *From Coloman the Learned to Bela III (1095-1196)* (Boulder: East European Monographs, 1987), 187.

<sup>1269</sup> Dercsényi et al., *The Hungarian Illuminated Chronicle*, ch. 136, 129; Simon of Kéza, *Gesta Hungarorum*, ch. 61, 137.

<sup>1270</sup> Hankó, *A magyar királysírok sorsa*, 132.

<sup>1271</sup> Wertner, *Az Árpádok családi Története*, 435; Luciano Chiappini, *Gli Estensi*, (Milan: Dall'Oglio, 1967), 37.

Isabella of Naples (d. 1304), the wife of Ladislas IV ‘the Cuman’ (r. 1272-1290) was buried at the monastery of San Pietro a Castello, in Naples.<sup>1272</sup>

### The Abbey of Niedernburg, Passau

Just before the outbreak of World War One, in 1908, Dr. Schmid discovered a gravestone in the Abbey of Niedernburg in Passau with the inscription “Gisyla Abbatissa”.<sup>1273</sup> For a long time, it was assumed that the queen was buried at the Cathedral of Veszprém in Hungary; not only had the queen founded the bishopric, but there was also a reference in Bonfini saying that she was buried there with Adelaide of Rheinfelden, the wife of St. Ladislas.<sup>1274</sup> At times the debate became rancorous, with some Hungarian publications insisting that since the queen had founded the bishopric in Veszprém she must be buried there.<sup>1275</sup> However, the archaeological and historical evidence seems to support the idea that the gravestone(s) found in Passau are those of Gisela, the first queen of Hungary.

First, a word is necessary on how and why the Queen left Hungary and was instead buried in Bavaria. Gisela was the daughter of Duke Henry II ‘the Quarrelsome’ of Bavaria and Gisela of Burgundy; she was also sister to the Holy Roman Emperor Henry II (r. 1002-1024). The eleventh century sources on Gisela show her to be a pious woman actively involved in setting up the young church in Hungary (see **Cat. VI.1-3**). Later Chronicles, particularly in the fourteenth century, however, blame her for blinding Duke Vazul, and for conspiring with the unpopular king Peter Orseolo (r. 1038-1041, 1044-1046), and for much of the evil that occurred in the mid-eleventh century following the death of Stephen. Alberic of Troisfontaines even falsely claims that eventually she was justly murdered.<sup>1276</sup> In reality, the situation was much different. Queen Gisela seems to have lived in retirement after the death of Stephen, and after a few years, Peter Orseolo, the new king, placed her under house arrest and confiscated her possessions ostensibly because she was too charitable with her income; furthermore, she was coerced into swearing an oath that no more donations would be made without the king’s consent. Her situation did not improve in 1041 when Stephen’s brother-in-law Samuel Aba (r. 1041-1044)

<sup>1272</sup> Sadly nothing remains of the structure after a fire in 1427. Caroline Astrid Bruzelius, *The stones of Naples: church building in Angevin Italy, 1266-1343*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), 99; Kosztolnyik, *Hungary in the Thirteenth Century*, 296; Wertner, *Az Árpádok család története*, 540.

<sup>1273</sup> András Uzsoki, “Das Passauer Gizella-grab im Spiegel der neuen Forschungen“, In *Gizella és kora: felolvasóulések az Árpád-korból* [Gizella and her time: character reading in the age of the Árpáds] (Veszprém, 1993), 70-71.

<sup>1274</sup> See Uzsoki for the disparity between the sixteenth century and the 1936 versions. Antonius de Bonfinius, *Rerum Ungaricarum decades quator, cum dimidia* (Basel: Oporinus, 1568), Dec. II, Liber III, 260; Antonius de Bonfinius, *Rerum Ungaricarum Decades* (Lipsiae: Teubner, 1936), Decas II, Liber IV, 91; András Uzsoki, “Die Echtheit des Grabes der ungarischen Königin Gisela in Passau.” in *Bayern und Ungarn: Tausend Jahre enge Beziehungen*, ed. Ekkehard Völkl, 14.

<sup>1275</sup> Uzsoki, “Das Passauer Gizella-grab im Spiegel der neuen Forschungen”, 70-71.

<sup>1276</sup> Bak, “Queens as Scapegoats in Medieval Hungary”, 224-226.

seized the throne after promising to restore the queen's possessions.<sup>1277</sup> In May 1045, Emperor Henry III visited King Peter at Székesfehérvár after helping Peter regain the throne. Not only did the emperor take the crown of St. Stephen and the Holy Lance with him back to the territory of the Holy Roman Empire, but Queen Gisela followed as well. Her brother Henry II had made the Abbey of Niedernburg in Passau an Imperial foundation in 1010, and it seems that once she had returned to her homeland she was given the title of abbess there.<sup>1278</sup>

The grave of the queen was found in the southern part of the nave, in immediate proximity to the altar. Later, a vaulted cenotaph in the Gothic style was built her eleventh century gravestone around the year 1420. Beneath it lay a brick vaulted chamber with the mostly intact skeleton (bits of the spine, the arms, and the legs were missing). Dr. Birkner of the University of Munich analyzed the bones estimating that the woman was roughly 170 cm tall and estimated the age of the skeleton to be roughly 60-70 years old.<sup>1279</sup> This is rather interesting as the gravestone from the fifteenth century mentions that her date of death is May 7 1095; as 985 is usually given as the date of her birth, most would doubt that she lived to be 110. Schmid came to the conclusion that Gisela died between 1055 and 1060, while others have listed 1065 as the date of her death.<sup>1280</sup> It is possible that there is a similar situation with Tuta of Formbach (see below) where 1136 is given as Tuta's date of death when in reality it seems to be the date the monument was erected; 1095 could be the date that the grave monument for Gisela was created.

The eleventh century gravestone is made of limestone and adorned with a processional cross with a spiral handle flanked by two eagles with stretched wings (**Cat. XII.1**). The phrase "CRVX XP[ist]I" appears at the four points of the cross and on top of the stone is inscribed with the abbreviation NON[is] MAI[i], indicating the queen died on the seventh of May. On the sides of the cross, the phrase "GISYLA ABBATISSA" (i.e. Abbess Gisela) is written vertically. One church historian believes that under the two eagles sat the letters R E, which he states make up the first two letters of the word "Regina", i.e. "Queen", as further proof that this is the resting place of Gisela.<sup>1281</sup> The fifteenth century grave slab is currently preserved resting on a series of Gothic niches above the earlier one. Its elements are very similar to the earlier one except that it is in red marble. The newer grave slab is also decorated with several Gothic style elements that are not present on the earlier stone; the Gothic trefoil in the arches on top, the circles in the mound at the bottom, and the script on the stone.

<sup>1277</sup> Z. J. Kosztolnyik, *Hungary Under the Early Árpáds* (Boulder: East European Monographs, 2002), 332-336.

<sup>1278</sup> Uzsoki, "Das Passauer Gizella-grab im Spiegel der neuen Forschungen", 73.

<sup>1279</sup> Uzsoki, "Das Passauer Gizella-grab im Spiegel der neuen Forschungen", 74-5.

<sup>1280</sup> Uzsoki, "Das Passauer Gizella-grab im Spiegel der neuen Forschungen", 75.

<sup>1281</sup> Uzsoki, "Das Passauer Gizella-grab im Spiegel der neuen Forschungen", 76.

The gravestone from 1420 is 194 cm long, 72 cm wide, and 12 cm thick and made of red marble. More importantly, it is the 15<sup>th</sup> century Gothic gravestone that specifically identifies the woman buried beneath it as that of the “...venerable mistress Gisula, sister of the holy Emperor Heinrick, wife of King Stephen of Hungary and abbess of this monastery.”<sup>1282</sup>

The grave is also very similar to one found in the crypt of Tihány Abbey which has been identified as that of King Andrew I (r. 1046-1060), who would have died around the same time as Gisela. The grave attributed to Andrew I is adorned with a similar processional cross, but unlike Gisela’s, it has no eagles on it.

### Abbey of Suben

The identity of the wife of Peter Orseolo (r. 1038-1041, 1044-1046) is still part of an ongoing debate,<sup>1283</sup> and one of the factors is a gravestone from the fifteenth century of an eleventh century woman at the Abbey of Suben (currently on the Austrian-German border) that shows her with regalia and refers to time she spent in Hungary (**Cat. XII.2**). Starting with the analysis of the inscription, it is rather vague as to the identity of Tuta itself. In English, it reads: “Here lies the highborn of royal descent / in Hungary called Tuta / donator of this present house of God / died here in Suben in 1136, month of May”.<sup>1284</sup> It mentions her descent as being royal (“*königliche*”), and that she spent some time in Hungary and then came back, but it is unclear whether Tuta married a king or a prince related to the early Árpáds; Vajay believes that King Peter is the only viable candidate to be her husband.<sup>1285</sup> Little is known of her time as queen of Hungary other than the Chronicle of Jan Długosz stating that when King Peter was captured and later killed in 1046, his queen was mistreated and later turned out of her home.<sup>1286</sup>

The woman in question is Tuta, the daughter of Henry of Formbach-Neuburg,<sup>1287</sup> who was proposed to be the wife of Peter Orseolo.<sup>1288</sup> Not much is known about her (for instance,

<sup>1282</sup> “Anno Domini millesimo nonagesimo quinto, Nonis Maii obiit Venerabilis Domina Gisula, soror sancti Heinrici Imperatoris, uxor Stephani Regis Ungariae, abbatissa huius monasterii. Hic sepulta.” András Uzsoki, “Az első magyar királyné, Gizella sírja”, *A Veszprém Megyei Múzeumok Közleményei* XVI (1982): 160.

<sup>1283</sup> For instance, Cosmas of Prague is of the opinion that Judith of Schweinfurt (d. 1058), the widow of Břetislav I of Bohemia, was the wife of Peter Orseolo. This is something of a chronological impossibility considering that Peter died in 1046 and Judith was not widowed until 1055. Cosmas of Prague, *The Chronicle of the Czechs* (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America, 2009), Book II, 135; Mielke, “No Country for Old Women: Burial practices and patterns of Hungarian Queens of the Árpád Dynasty (975-1301)”, 60-62.

<sup>1284</sup> “Hye leyte die hochgeporen / chünichleychis geschlechtes czu ungern genant Tuta / stifterin decz gegenwertigen / gotshaus hie czu Suben gestorben MCXXXVI Kls Maj”. Franz Engl, “Grabstein der Stifterin Tuta (Abguss)”, in 900 Jahre Stift Reichersberg Augustiner Chorherren zwischen Passau und Salzburg : Ausstellung des Landes Oberösterreich, 26. April bis 28. Oktober 1984 im Stift Reichersberg am Inn ed. Dietmar Straub (Linz, 1984), 329.

<sup>1285</sup> Vajay, “Byzantinische Prinzessinnen in Ungarn”, 16.

<sup>1286</sup> Długosz mistakenly has it under the year 1047. Jan Długosz, Maurice Michael ed., *The Annals of Jan Długosz*, (Chichester: IM Publications, 1997), 38.

<sup>1287</sup> Bernhard Schütz, *Stift Suben am Inn*, (Munich: Schnell & Steiner, 1970), 3.

Wertner knew she was related to the Árpáds, but could not establish the exact connection),<sup>1289</sup> but it seems that she flourished between the years 1020-1080.<sup>1290</sup> The fifteenth century tombstone mentions that she died in May of 1136, but this was disputed in later sources – considering the second foundation of the Abbey was around this time, the date of 1136 probably refers to the date that the original tombstone was erected.<sup>1291</sup> Secondary sources have referred to either 1046 or 1055 as possible dates for Tuta's death.<sup>1292</sup> The fact of the matter is the monks considered her tombstone there to be important enough to create a separate version with many parallels with the Gothic tombstone of Queen Gisela of Bavaria. The precious material it was made from is also a testament to the importance the brothers placed on having such a connection with the founder.

### Church of the Holy Savior at Berestovo

After only a year as Queen of Hungary, Euphemia of Kiev (d. 1138), the second wife of King Coloman (r. 1095-1116), was accused of adultery and sent back to her homeland in Russia in 1113 where she gave birth to a son named Boris.<sup>1293</sup> She was known to have been buried at the Church of the Holy Savior in Berestovo (now in Kiev).<sup>1294</sup> Berestovo was known to be the residence of the princes of Kiev and it was a very important center of power for Euphemia's father, Vladimir II Monomakh, the prince of Kiev. While it is known that Euphemia, her half-brother Yuri Dolgoruki and Yuri's son Gleb and his wife were buried there, it is possible that Monomakh's third wife and one of his daughter's (a sister of Euphemia) were buried there as well.<sup>1295</sup>

Excavations around the Church of the Holy Savior in 1989-1990 uncovered 78 burials from the twelfth to seventeenth centuries; three sarcophagi were found outside the church. One sarcophagus found north of the church contained the skeleton of a woman about 35-40 years old, 1.55 m tall who had been laid to rest with her hands on her stomach in a sarcophagus that had a depression for her head to rest in, a feature usually found in monastic burials. Due to her age and

<sup>1288</sup> Raimund Kerbl thought that she might be the wife of Béla I (r. 1060-1063), but this is pure conjecture. Raimund Kerbl, "Byzantinische Prinzessinnen in Ungarn zwischen 1050-1200 und ihr Einfluß auf das Árpádenkönigreich", (Ph.D. diss., University of Vienna, 1979), 12-13; Vajay, "Byzantinische Prinzessinnen in Ungarn", 16.

<sup>1289</sup> Wertner, *Az Árpádok családja története*, 586-588.

<sup>1290</sup> Fritz Dworschak, "Neunhundert Jahre Stift Suben am Inn," *Oberösterreichische Heimatblätter* 6/3 (1952) 298.

<sup>1291</sup> Dworschak, "Neunhundert Jahre Stift Suben am Inn", 304; Schütz, *Stift Suben am Inn*, (Munich: Schnell & Steiner, 1970), 3.

<sup>1292</sup> Bak, "Roles and Functions of Queens in Árpadian and Angevin Hungary", 23.

<sup>1293</sup> She gave birth to her son Boris shortly after her arrival. Dezső Dercsényi, ed. *The Hungarian Illuminated Chronicle* (Budapest: Corvina Press, 1969), 132.

<sup>1294</sup> Her half-brother Yuri Dolgoruki and his son were also buried with her at this church. Martin Dimnik, "Dynastic Burials in Kiev before 1240" *Ruthenica* VIII (2008): 83; G. Ivakin, "Некрополь церкви Спаса на Берестове в Киевсе и погребение Юрия Долгорукого" [The necropolis of the Kiev Church of the Savior on Berestovo and the 'grave of Yuri Dolgorukiy] *Российская археология* 2 (2008): 108.

<sup>1295</sup> Dimnik, "Dynastic Burials in Kiev before 1240", 92; Ivakin, "Некрополь церкви Спаса на Берестове", 109.



the presence of a veil, she was identified as Euphemia, the repudiated Queen of Hungary.<sup>1296</sup> Ivakin points out that if the skeleton was Euphemia's, it means that she would have had to go to Hungary when she was fourteen; this seems to match with secondary literature as Font estimates that Euphemia would have been around fifteen or 16 years old.<sup>1297</sup> That being said, the three sarcophagi were found in the churchyard rather than in the church; Ivakin points out that such high-status graves would have most likely had central positions inside the church itself; these tombs would have been destroyed during the renovations inside the church in the seventeenth through nineteenth centuries.<sup>1298</sup> All things considered, Euphemia's burial at this church demonstrates that even after Euphemia's divorce she retained her rank and family connections. A good comparison that gives evidence for Euphemia's high status at the Russian court after the birth of her son is Evpraksia-Adelaide (d. 1109), Euphemia's aunt. After publicly denouncing her husband, Holy Roman Emperor Henry IV (r. 1056-1106), for forcing her to participate in all sorts of orgies, Evpraksia returns to Kiev, retires as a nun in the last three years of her life and is buried at the prestigious Caves Monastery in Kiev, after fulfilling her familial duties by serving as an ally out west.<sup>1299</sup>

### Walderbach Cistercian Cloister

There is a historiographical controversy regarding a tombstone of a woman from the twelfth century who has claims to the title of queen of Hungary. The literature from the nineteenth century onwards has identified her as Adelaide, the daughter of Stephen, the burgrave of Regensburg, and the second wife of Stephen II (r. 1116-1131), though this has been disputed in recent literature.<sup>1300</sup> The abbey of Walderbach was founded by Otto, the brother of Adelaide, and it seems that after her time in Hungary, she was buried in the cloister church there. She was buried in a crypt together with her family, as the epitaph recorded suggests (**Cat. XII.4**). Considering the pattern of burials it seems probable that her grave would have originally been located near her brothers. While Adelaide's gravestone does not survive to present, the inscription on it was recorded in 1488 by Hartmann Schedel. The relevant inscription reads "The

<sup>1296</sup> The bodies in the other two sarcophagi were also initially identified as Yuri Dolgoruki and his son Gleb, who was buried with his wife. Ivakin, "Некрополь церкви Спаса на Берестове", 112-114.

<sup>1297</sup> Ivakin, "Некрополь церкви Спаса на Берестове", 116; Márta Font, *Koloman the Learned, King of Hungary* (Szeged, 2001), 79.

<sup>1298</sup> The only way to truly test if this is Euphemia's body is with DNA testing, though sadly the current technology is unable to extract it from her remains. Ivakin, "Некрополь церкви Спаса на Берестове", 116-117.

<sup>1299</sup> Christian Raffensperger, "The Missing Russian Women: The Case of Evpraksia Vsevolodovna" in *Writing Medieval Women's Lives*, ed. by Charlotte Newman Goldy and Amy Livingstone (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 76-80.

<sup>1300</sup> John Tuzson for instance doubts that Stephen II ever married her in the first place. John Tuzson, *István II (1116-1131): A chapter in medieval Hungarian history* (Boulder: Eastern European Monographs, 2002), 67.

noble Queen of Hungary who was the sister of which lies here in this land having returned to her people.”<sup>1301</sup>

### Schottenstift, Vienna

Agnes of Austria (1154-1182), the daughter of the Babenberg duke Heinrich II ‘Jasomirsgott’ was the wife of Hungarian king Stephen III (r. 1161-1173). After the death of Stephen, a pregnant Agnes returned to Austria and then was married to Herman I of Carinthia.<sup>1302</sup> After the death of Herman, Agnes returned to Vienna and was buried with her parents in the Schottenstift that was founded by her parents.<sup>1303</sup> Henszlmann does not exclude the possibility that Agnes was buried at Székesfehérvár, but it seems more likely that she was buried with her parents.<sup>1304</sup> Heinrich Jasomirsgott had a high grave sarcophagus with an effigy in stone, and it is possible that his wife Theodora and daughter Agnes were buried nearby. Currently the three are buried in a neo-Romanesque sarcophagus from the first half of the nineteenth century, with Heinrich the only one mentioned on the grave.<sup>1305</sup>

### Cathedral of Tyre

After the death of her second husband Béla III (r. 1173-1196), Margaret of France, daughter of Louis VII and Constance of Castile, sold most of her holdings in Hungary to her stepson, King Emeric (r. 1196-1204) in order to go to the Holy Land. The Continuation of the Chronicle of William of Tyre is the main primary source for her visit to the Holy Land, and it states that the queen placed a great deal of confidence in the efforts of the Third Crusaders to retake the city of Jerusalem.<sup>1306</sup> She played a great ceremonial role as hostess when the forces of

<sup>1301</sup> “Hoc in sarcophago pausat generosa propago  
De Steffning comitum tegit hos marmorque politum.  
Quorum progenitor fuit Lantgravius Otto  
Fit genitus genitor genitis Fridericus in octo.  
Otto comes victu monachos sectans et amictu  
Mundum cum flore spreuit virtutis amore.  
Nobilis Vngariae regina fuit soror horum  
Reddita quae patriae iacet hic in sorte suorum.  
Stirps dicta haec pia condidit atria, sint quibus aequae  
Turba monastica cantica mistica nocte dieque.”

Georg Hager, *Die Kunstdenkmäler von Oberpfalz & Regensburg* (Munich and Vienna: R. Oldenbourg Verlag, 1981), 199

<sup>1302</sup> Wertner, *Az Árpádok családi Története*, 331; Franz Gall, “The ‘Schottenkloster’ in Vienna”, in *Die Babenberger, und was von ihnen blieb (The Babenbergs, and what they left to us)*, ed. Christine Wessely, (Vienna: Verb. d.

Wissenschaftl. Gesellschaften Österreichs, 1975), 85-88.

<sup>1303</sup> A. W. Leeper, *History of Medieval Austria* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1941), 262; Wertner, *Az Árpádok családi Története*, 331.

<sup>1304</sup> Hankó, *A magyar királlysírok sorsa*, 134.

<sup>1305</sup> Heinrich Ferenczy and Christoph Merth, *Das Schottenstift und seine kunstwerke* (Vienna: Orac, 1980), 26.

<sup>1306</sup> Peter W. Edbury, *The Conquest of Jerusalem and the Third Crusade* (Brookfield: Ashgate, 1998), ch. 183, 142-143.

Emperor Frederick I Barbarossa was travelling through Hungary, so it does seem that she took an active interest in affairs in the Holy Land.<sup>1307</sup> During her first marriage, Margaret would have been in close proximity to William Marshal who had vowed to go on Crusade.<sup>1308</sup> While she stopped in the city of Tyre (Ptolemais), she was visited by Henry II of Champagne, the King of Jerusalem after becoming third husband to Isabella I, Queen of Jerusalem. Henry of Champagne was also Margaret's nephew, the son of her stepsister Marie. Unfortunately, eight days after her arrival in Tyre, Margaret was dead. Henry II saw that she was buried in the choir of the Cathedral of Tyre and the bulk of her wealth went to him after her death.<sup>1309</sup>

While Margaret died in Tyre, the Cathedral was a very important center for the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem as the site of dynastic marriages and coronations in the thirteenth century. Frederick I Barbarossa was buried there as well when he died in 1190. The first excavations there in the nineteenth century were aimed at finding the body of the emperor.<sup>1310</sup> There were several ways to transport the bones of those who died on the Crusades back home, and the fact that this did not happen with Margaret shows that her relatives in the Holy Land attached a great deal of importance to her reflected status even in death.<sup>1311</sup>

### Palermo Cathedral

Constance of Aragon, wife of King Emeric of Hungary (r. 1196-1204) was buried in Palermo after her second marriage to Holy Roman Emperor and King of Sicily Frederick II (r. 1216-1250). Everything about her burial relates to her capacity as Queen of the Romans and Queen of Sicily and has virtually nothing to do with her status as Queen of Hungary. Nonetheless, as a comparative case, the information that can be gleaned from her burial and later exhumation reveals a few interesting things. She died in 1222 and was buried in a chapel along the west wall in a recycled sarcophagus from the Roman era with a lion hunt scene on it (**Cat. XII.5**). Deér is of the opinion that the sarcophagus is not the greatest quality. Unlike her predecessors she was not buried in a porphyry sarcophagus.<sup>1312</sup> Her tomb was opened up in 1491 and then in 1781; her body had been wrapped in red cloth, she had three finger rings and with a wooden box at her feet containing a magnificent Byzantine style crown. Strands of her fair hair

<sup>1307</sup> Z. J. Kosztolnyik, *From Coloman the Learned to Bela III (1095-1196)* (Boulder: East European Monographs, 1987), 215.

<sup>1308</sup> József Laszlovszky, "Angol-Magyar kapcsolatok a 12 század második felében" [English-Hungarian relations in the second half of the twelfth century] *Angol-Magyar kapcsolatok a középkorban* [English-Hungarian contacts in the Middle Ages] I, ed. by Attila Bányai, József Laszlovszky and Zsuzsanna Papp (Máriabesnyő: Attraktor, 2008), 156-157.

<sup>1309</sup> Edbury, *The Conquest of Jerusalem and the Third Crusade*, ch. 183, 142-143.

<sup>1310</sup> Denys Pringle, "The Crusader Cathedral of Tyre" in *Levant* 33 (2001), 171.

<sup>1311</sup> Estella Weiss-Krejci, "Restless corpses: 'secondary burial' in the Babenberg and Habsburg dynasties" *Antiquity*, 75 (2001), 770-771.

<sup>1312</sup> József Deér, *Dynastic Porphyry Tombs*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1959), 19, 79.

with parts of a headdress and Byzantine ornaments were still preserved.<sup>1313</sup> There is also the inscription accompanying the sarcophagus that refers to Constance's death in the city of Catania and her status as Queen of Sicily and Queen of the Romans.<sup>1314</sup> In addition, there is a small silver disc which has an accompanying inscription which parrots a lot of the writing on the epitaph (**Cat. XII.6**).<sup>1315</sup> Her grave goods show that she was buried not only with an item of reginal power (the crown), but also with personal items that nonetheless her high status (the rings).

### Königsfelden Abbey

Agnes, the daughter of Holy Roman Emperor Albert I, the Habsburg duke of Austria was only queen for a few years, before the death of her husband Andrew III in 1301. Shortly afterwards, her brother Rudolf and Herman of Landenburg came to Buda and helped negotiated Agnes' return to Vienna – the queen was able to take not only a considerable amount of treasures, but also her stepdaughter, the son of Andrew by his first wife who was then betrothed to Andrew's successor as king of Hungary, Wenceslas (III) of Bohemia and Poland.<sup>1316</sup> In 1308, Agnes and her mother Elizabeth of Görz-Tyrol founded the Abbey of Königsfelden at the site of the murder of Albert of Habsburg in 1308, not only for the glory of Christ, the Virgin Mary and all the Saints, but also for the salvation of the ancestors of Albert and Elizabeth.<sup>1317</sup> It was founded as a double monastery for Franciscan nuns and friars, and Agnes even had her own residence built into the complex on the east side of the church, between the residences of the brothers and the sisters.<sup>1318</sup>

The bodies of the Habsburgs have had a colorful afterlife, so there are some complications in an analysis of her original grave monument. In 1770, after Habsburg influence had decreased in the Swiss territories, the body of Agnes, ten of her relatives from Königsfelden, and three from Basel Cathedral were transferred to the Abbey of St. Blaise in the Black Forest, at the initiative of

<sup>1313</sup> Almut von Gladiß, "IV. Die Grabbeigaben der Konstanze von Aragon, der ersten Gattin Friedrichs II. Palermo, Tesoro della Cattedrale" In *Kaiser Friedrich II. (1194-1250). Welt und Kultur des Mittelmeerraums*, ed. Mamoun Fansa. (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 2008), 355-357.

<sup>1314</sup> "Hoc est corpus Dominae Constantiae, III Romanorum Imperatricis semper Augustae, et Reginae Sicilae, uxoris Domini Imperatoris Friderici et Sicilae Regis et filiae Regis Aragonum. Obiit autem anno Incarnationis 1222 23. Junii 10 ind. in civitate Catanae". Wertner, *Az Árpádok családi Története*, 373.

<sup>1315</sup> HOC:EST:CORPVS:D[omi]NE:CONSTANCIE:ILLVSTRIS:ROMANORUM:IMPERATRICE:SEMPER:AVGUSTE:ET:REGINE:SICILIE:VXORIS:DOMINI:IMPERATORIS:FREDERICI:ET:FILIE:REGIS:ARAGONUM:OBITT:AVTEM:ANNO:DOMINICE:INCARNACIONIS:MILLESIMO:CC:XX:II:XXII:IVNII:X:INDICTI:IN:CIVITATE:CATANIE:" von Gladiß, "IV. Die Grabbeigaben der Konstanze von Aragon," 357.

<sup>1316</sup> Volker Honemann, "Agnes and Elizabeth of Hungary" in *Queens and Queenship in Medieval Europe*, Anne J. Duggan, ed., 110.

<sup>1317</sup> The first foundation charter seems to date from 1311. Carola Jäggi, "Eastern Choir or Western Gallery? The Problem of the Place of the Nuns' Choir in Königsfelden and Other Early Mendicant Nunneries", *Gesta* 40 (2001): 80; Brigitte Kurmann-Schwartz, *Die mittelalterlichen Glasmalereien der ehemaligen Klosterkirche Königsfelden* (Bern: Stämpfli, 2008), 27-30.

<sup>1318</sup> Honnemann, "A medieval queen and her stepdaughter: Agnes and Elizabeth of Hungary", 110; Jäggi, "Eastern Choir or Western Gallery?", 81.

their Abbot, Martin Gerbert.<sup>1319</sup> When the Abbey was secularized in 1807, the 14 bodies were moved to Spital am Pyhrn. Two years later, the monks moved to St. Paul im Lavanttal, taking the bones and after several intramural relocations, they bones of the early Habsburgs laid to rest in a crypt under the main altar in 1936.<sup>1320</sup> Gerbert, the Abbot who had requested that the bodies be moved, made a major contribution by continuing the work of Marquard Herrgott in the extensive “*Monumenta Augustae Domus Austriacae*”, which is a valuable antiquarian source for the tombs of the Habsburgs at Königsfelden.<sup>1321</sup>

Agnes’ mother Elizabeth died in Vienna in 1313 and in 1316 her remains were taken to Königsfelden. She was buried in the Habsburg family vault in the nave of the church.<sup>1322</sup> Documents from 1319 and 1322 detail how this double monastery was not only intended as a burial place for the Habsburgs, but also detailed instructions on the prayers and services meant for the members of the family.<sup>1323</sup> The crypt in question was marked by a massive black and white marble cenotaph that to date has not yet been studied extensively from an art historical point of view (**Cat. XII.8**). The grave of Agnes’ grandparents, Rudolf I of Austria and his wife Gertrude-Anna of Hohenburg was embellished with an effigy of the deceased, but at Königsfelden there are no figures on the grave monuments. Indeed, the next time there is a figural grave of an Austrian Habsburg it is upon the death of Rudolf IV (d. 1365) and his wife Catherine of Luxemburg. Rather than reading this as a weakness of the power of the queens or a desire for the female Habsburgs to imitate “Franciscan simplicity”, Kurmann-Schwarz is of the opinion that the monument itself evokes the monument of the Salian emperors at Speyer. This connection is very important as both Rudolf I and Albert were buried there.<sup>1324</sup> There is also the fact that Agnes, Elizabeth, and other members of the Habsburg family were commemorated in stained glass in the nave, though the depictions of Agnes and Elizabeth only seem to survive in illustration.<sup>1325</sup> There is also the fact that the grave was occasionally adorned with precious fabric: the treasury records a yellow velvet textile adorned with three black eagles which was made from the tunic of Albert, and the most plausible explanation for its presence in the grave is

<sup>1319</sup> Brigitta Lauro, *Die Grabstätten der Habsburger: Kunstdenkmäler einer europäischen Dynastie* (Vienna: Brandstätter, 2007), 240, 247.

<sup>1320</sup> Estella Weiss-Krejci, “Restless Corpses' Secondary Burial' in the Babenberg and Habsburg Dynasties” *Antiquity* 75, 775-776.

<sup>1321</sup> The drawing was done by Salomon Kleiner. Martin Gerbert, Marquardt Herrgott, Rusten Heer, *Monumenta Augustae Domus Austriacae*. (Vienna: 1772), Vol. IV, p. II, Table X.

<sup>1322</sup> Carola Jäggi, “Eastern Choir or Western Gallery?”, 80.

<sup>1323</sup> Kurmann-Schwartz, *Die mittelalterlichen Glasmalereien*, 68.

<sup>1324</sup> Kurmann-Schwartz, *Die mittelalterlichen Glasmalereien*, 70-71.

<sup>1325</sup> Brigitte Kurmann-Schwarz, “Die Präsenz der abwesenden Dynastie: Die Bilder und Wappen der Habsburger im Chor und im Langhaus der ehemaligen Klosterkirche von Königsfelden” *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Kunst und Denkmalpflege* LXVI (2012) 3/4: 317-318.

that it was used in the cult of his death.<sup>1326</sup> It is possible that a banner with the Hungarian double-barred cross found at Königsfelden (**Cat. III.3**) could have served a similar purpose.

The grave monument currently in the church dates from around 1315-1320.<sup>1327</sup> In addition, there is a drawing from that time by Salamon Kleiner showing both the cenotaph and the state of the crypt when it was opened. It shows the bones of the eleven Habsburgs in vertical layers with their heads pointing to the west. Beneath the drawing of the inside of the crypt, there is another of what appears to be a grave slab displaying a simple cross slab with an escutcheon at the bottom of the slab showing the Hungarian double-barred cross on a mound; this would later become the coat-of-arms for the abbey of Königsfelden. The label for the grave slab appears to say “ad num. 6”, indicating that there is some connection to Agnes, though there is no real elaboration on what exactly this connection might be.

## Conclusions

In spite of a significant amount of data suffering obliteration, the material that survives reflects a few important patterns. The burials within Hungary show that in cases where there is a scrap of data, the memory of the queen was used in a way that recalls the English model described by Parsons. Adelaide of Rheinfelden at Veszprém and Gertrude of Andechs-Meran at Pilis both had monuments built after their deaths as a testament to the strength of the dynasty and the residual power of the queen’s image. The joint burials of Béla III and his first wife Agnes of Antioch as well as Béla IV and Maria Laskarina are remarkable in their contrast to the later cases of Stephen V and Elizabeth the Cuman (and possibly King Sigismund and Queen Mary) wherein the husband and wife were buried in the same building but not side by side; this is definitely a case meriting further study. Finally, the case of Elizabeth of Poland at the Clarisses Cloister in Óbuda is remarkable for its extensive documentation and the clear and consistent pattern of choice and agency on the part of the queen in shaping her own burial monument as well as playing a primary role in preserving the memory of the deceased for her immediate family. Her case definitely provides hope that the examples of the earlier queens, such as Euphrosyne of Kiev and those buried in the main cathedrals exercised an agency of their own regarding the place of their burial.

The examples of the queens buried outside of Hungary show that while they may not have been buried in their capacity as Hungarian queen, it nonetheless shows the power and the status of the queen abroad and the many attempts to strengthen the prestige of the monastic house that

<sup>1326</sup> Kurmann-Schwartz, *Die mittelalterlichen Glasmalereien*, 71.

<sup>1327</sup> Kurmann-Schwartz states the grave dates from 1314/1316, while Lauro thinks it dates to around 1320. Kurmann-Schwartz, *Die mittelalterlichen Glasmalereien*, 71; Lauro, *Die Grabstätten der Habsburger*, 245.

held her body by virtue of her secular status. The case of Constance of Aragon is an exception in this regard as she was buried as Queen of Sicily and Queen of the Romans in connection with her second marriage, and thus no mention is made of her first marriage or her time in Hungary.

While the glimpses are still ephemeral, there is nonetheless an important thread through most of the queenly burials outside of Hungary with any sort of data that the queen in question exercised her own choice in terms of her burial place.

This study also shows the danger of measuring the power of the queen strictly on the basis of economic or political factors. Many of the queens who ended up leaving Hungary and being buried abroad usually did so in the eleventh and twelfth centuries because of power struggles after the death of the king where the queen supported the losing side. There are also many examples of the queen leaving of her own volition to retire to a particular monastery in her homeland, or even to visit the Holy Land. The relationship between the living and the dead was a complex, reciprocal one, and the foundation holding the body of a queen could find itself in a very favorable position indeed, as her status in life could result in a higher status for her resting place. This sort of spiritual and secular capital explains the refurbishments given to places such as Veszprém, Pilis, Niedernburg in Passau, Suben, Walderbach, and Königsfelden.

### Other construction projects

Most of the construction projects the queens undertook either involved ecclesiastic institutions or palaces of their own, as we have seen. There are, however, a few small cases where the queens were involved in constructions related to infrastructure, defense, or even public hygiene. Before her death in 1184, Agnes of Antioch founded a communal bath (*balneum commune*) in the city of Esztergom, which would eventually become the property of the Hospitaller community.<sup>1328</sup> Maria Laskarina, the wife of Béla IV, was involved in many construction projects, though her involvement in them has thus far only received a passing mention. In the aftermath of the Mongol invasions, Maria was heavily involved in constructing the citadel overlooking Visegrád. Her primary reason for this was as means of protecting the Dominican nuns of Margaret Island, a community her daughter was part of; a letter from Pope Urban IV seems to confirm this.<sup>1329</sup> In 1259 the queen was given the citadel along with the county and the royal forest of Pilis.<sup>1330</sup> Though only two towers and a curtain wall survive of the queen's construction, originally there would have been a tower, a gatehouse with a drawbridge (a new feature in Hungarian construction), a portcullis and a palace, as well as a cistern and other unknown ancillary buildings.<sup>1331</sup>

Of the many construction projects of Elizabeth of Poland, one of the buildings founded to service the Poor Clares nunnery of Óbuda was a "*mansione apotecariorum*", which sold medicine, soap, wax, paper and clothes.<sup>1332</sup> She seems to have built several ancillary buildings for institutions important to her. In 1367 she erected a bath complex out of stone at her palace in Óbuda. She also ordered (with her son Louis) that a mill at Felhévíz transfer ownership from Óbuda castle to the Poor Clares convent in Óbuda that she would eventually be her burial place.<sup>1333</sup> Elizabeth of Poland erected or refurbished roughly twenty-six monasteries and

<sup>1328</sup> The bath was apparently called Tapolca (*Toplica*). Zsolt Hunyadi, *The Hospitallers in the Medieval Kingdom of Hungary c. 1150-1387* (Budapest: CEU Medievalia 2010), 37, 119;

<sup>1329</sup> Gergely Buzás, "Visegrád" in *Medium Regni: Medieval Hungarian Royal Seats*, Julianna Atlmann et al (Budapest: Nap Kiadó, 1999), 118-119; Lajos Bozóki, "A visegrádi fellegrvár" [The Citadel at Visegrád] in *In medio regni Hungariae. Régészeti, művészettörténeti és történeti kutatások 'az ország közepén': Archaeological, Art Historical, and Historical Researches 'in the Middle of the Kingdom'* ed. Elek Benkő and Krisztina Orosz (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 2015), 613.

<sup>1330</sup> Péter Szabó, "The Royal Forest of Pilis in the Middle Ages" in *Egy történelmi gyilkosság margójára: Merániai Gertrúd emlékezete, 1213-2013* [To the Margin of a Historical Murder: Commemorate Gertrude of Andechs-Meran, 1213-2013], ed. by Judit Majorossy (Szentendre, 2014), 77.

<sup>1331</sup> Records from 1251 and 1255 attest to the land ownership of the citadel, but construction could have begun on it as early as 1249. Bozóki, "A visegrádi fellegrvár", 613-615, 627; István Feld, "Királyi várak az Árpád-kori medium regni területén" [Royal Castles on the Territory of the Medium Regni in the Árpadian Age] in *In medio regni Hungariae. Régészeti, művészettörténeti és történeti kutatások 'az ország közepén': Archaeological, Art Historical, and Historical Researches 'in the Middle of the Kingdom'* ed. by Elek Benkő and Krisztina Orosz. (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 2015), 684.

<sup>1332</sup> This dates to 1369. Éva Sniezynska-Stolot, "Queen Elizabeth as a Patron of Architecture", *Acta Historiae Artium Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 20 (1974), 16.

<sup>1333</sup> Sniezynska-Stolot, "Queen Elizabeth as a Patron of Architecture", 28.



churches in Hungary and Poland while her brother Casimir III (r. 1333-1370) built twenty-seven in Lesser Poland. In spite of this similarity, their building activities are very clear in their secular structures, as Casimir was also responsible for building a total of fifty-five castles, twenty-five of them in Lesser Poland.<sup>1334</sup> These small glimpses show a few tantalizing clues that indicate the public building projects of the queens were largely related to religious or community health purposes. In many ways, this is typical; comparative building projects in England, Thuringia and Bohemia all point to queens being active in building hospitals, leprosaria, even stone bridges.<sup>1335</sup>

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<sup>1334</sup> Paul Crossley, *Gothic Architecture in the Reign of Kasimir the Great* (Kraków: Ministerstwo Kultury i sztuki, zarząd muzeów i ochrony zabytków, 1985), 203.

<sup>1335</sup> Christopher Mielke, “‘Out Flies the Web and Floats Wide:’ Multi-disciplinary Possibilities in Queenship Studies” *Annual of Medieval Studies at CEU* 19 (2013), 211-212.

## *Gifts, donations and patronage*

### Gifts and Hungarian queens

The gift and all its social and personal ramifications has been studied by several generations of anthropologists, archaeologists, and historians. The basis of studying this concept in the sphere of anthropology is the work of Mauss, who concluded that the social relations surrounding the gift means that in spite of its context, the nature of the renders it reciprocal and obligatory; often, it is accompanied by a particular event or celebration such as a marriage, birth, illness, or even moments of trade.<sup>1336</sup> More recent scholars have taken a more nuanced and subtle approach to understanding the practice of exchanging gifts. Hénaff advocates for classifying gifts according to three different types: ceremonial gifts, gratuitous gifts, and gifts of mutual aid. The first category he identifies as an archaic type no longer present in modern society, the second is a spontaneous type which can be either public or private, and the third type is evident of a social dimension, either when the recipient is known or unknown.<sup>1337</sup> While charitable gifts tend to exist in the third category, most of the gifts in this chapter will be the ceremonial gifts which would have taken on a very public nature. Finally, a gift must be understood by means of three characteristics: its context (i.e. the donor, recipient, occasion), its premeditation (i.e. the fact that it is not planned), and its separation from commerce and transaction.<sup>1338</sup> In giving a gift that is not reciprocated, the party accepting it is rendered inferior;<sup>1339</sup> as such, most of the gifts given and received in this study have a highly reciprocal element in their nature.

By creating, shaping, donating, and receiving particular objects within the vast repertoire of material culture, medieval queens reinforced and, ideally, strengthened their own positions. One strategy that a queen could successfully employ was the practice of giving carefully chosen gifts. Earenfight has said of queens, “[t]hey used gifts and gift-giving as an expression of both piety and power, and these gift exchanges are recorded in chronicles and preserved in museums, libraries, churches and noble family houses.”<sup>1340</sup> Proctor-Tiffany has argued that in the case of Clémence of Hungary, the French queen gave many gifts that were laden with social and religious meanings, but their ritualized nature does not invalidate her generosity. The queen’s gifts re-affirmed her own status, but also had a benefit to the recipient which had a certain

<sup>1336</sup> Marcel Mauss, *The Gift: The form and reason for exchange in archaic societies* (London and New York: Routledge, 2002), 4-5, 11.

<sup>1337</sup> Marcel Hénaff, “Ceremonial Gift-Giving: The Lessons of Anthropology from Mauss and Beyond,” in *The Gift in Antiquity*, ed. Michael L. Satlow (Chichester: John Wiley and Sons, 2013), 16.

<sup>1338</sup> Michael L. Satlow, “Introduction,” in *The Gift in Antiquity*, ed. Michael L. Satlow (Chichester: John Wiley and Sons, 2013), 2-3.

<sup>1339</sup> Mauss, *The Gift*, 83.

<sup>1340</sup> Theresa Earenfight, *Queenship in Medieval Europe* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 23.

implied social reciprocity.<sup>1341</sup> The queen could also be the recipient of gifts which were usually made with an express political purpose; famously, the Archbishop of Durham attempted to influence the ecclesiastic policy of Henry I of England, the Archbishop offered the king a thousand silver marks, and the queen, Edith-Matilda of Scotland, one hundred silver marks. This “gift” was ultimately unsuccessful.<sup>1342</sup>

With all of these thoughts in mind, this chapter aims to understand the gift-giving strategies of Árpadian and Angevin queens according to the following points: gifts given to the queens, diplomatic gifts made by the queens, gifts to courtiers and nobles within Hungary, and finally gifts the queens made to the Church. The ultimate aim is to understand how the power of the queen manifests itself in giving and receiving gifts.

### Gifts to queens

Unfortunately, there are only a handful of items known from the written record that refer to gifts given to Hungarian queens in this period. Hilsdale has already discussed the idea of the lower part of the Holy Crown of Hungary within the context of Byzantine gift-giving.<sup>1343</sup> Nonetheless, it is worth emphasizing that the gift was ostensibly from the Byzantine emperor Michael VII to be worn by Synadene; in spite of this, the princess would return to Constantinople soon after she became a widow, while her crown would remain behind. Considering how the crown would have been worn by the queen originally, its continued presence in Hungary (in contrast to her later absence) suggests that this crown may have become the personal possession of her son Prince Álmos. It was not absorbed into the Hungarian treasury until later. In a similar manner, the Monomachos crown could have come to Hungary as a gift to any of the following royal personages: Andrew I of Hungary; Anastasia of Kiev, his wife; or Judith of Swabia, his daughter-in-law. Of the three thirteenth century Hungarian crowns now in Poland, it has been conjectured that these were originally a gift from the Hungarian king to his daughter(s) for her wedding(s).

Queens could also receive books as gifts from a variety of sources. As mentioned in an earlier chapter, Gertrude of Meran (or her sister St. Hedwig of Silesia) could have received the Gertrude/Engelbert/Trier Psalter from her natal family and then subsequently passed it on to the Hungarian princess St. Elizabeth. Agnes of Habsburg had the *Book of Divine Consolation* and the *Life of St. Walpurgis* dedicated to her; she would even have received the manuscript of the latter. A thirteenth century French psalter owned by Elizabeth of Poland might have been a gift from the

<sup>1341</sup> Mariah Proctor-Tiffany, “The Gift-giving of Clémence of Hungary”, 175.

<sup>1342</sup> Lois Huneycutt, *Matilda of Scotland: A Study in Medieval Queenship* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2003), 59-61.

<sup>1343</sup> Cecily Hilsdale, “The Social Life of the Byzantine Gift: the Royal Crown of Hungary Re-Invented” *Art History* 31/5 (2008), 611-622.

Bohemian Queen, Anna of Schweidnitz.<sup>1344</sup> In a sense, the book of instruction Elizabeth of Bosnia wrote for her young daughters could be seen as a gift to them, regardless of ownership. And finally, the Florian Psalter may possibly have been a gift between Queen Mary of Hungary and her sister Queen Jadwiga of Poland. Medieval books in this sense can be understood as inalienable possessions, items with an inherent value related to the identity of the original owner which become an inalienable possession by being passed down from one generation to the next and its social memory kept alive. These objects function not only as a re-creation of the past, but they are also above traditional gift-giving and exchange networks.<sup>1345</sup>

In particular, Elizabeth of Poland's renown was such that she was the recipient of several gifts from other queens. In addition to the aforementioned French psalter, there is a surviving reliquary shrine currently in the cloisters that most likely was a gift from her sister-in-law, Clémence, the queen of Louis X of France. Since this piece lacks any distinctive heraldry, it has been proposed that this shrine was already made when it was purchased by the queen.<sup>1346</sup> One of the images (*plenaria*) listed in the will of Elizabeth of Poland was originally a gift from Sancha, the Queen of Naples.<sup>1347</sup>

One of the last known gifts to the Queen of Hungary in this period was an ornamented saddle covered in yellow velvet with silk tassels that Jadwiga, Queen of Poland, gave to her sister, Queen Mary just a few months before the latter's death (oddly enough on horseback).<sup>1348</sup> This meeting most likely took place in early February 1395 in the town of Nowy Sącz, on Poland's border with Hungary.<sup>1349</sup> In addition to being a personal meeting, there were also strong political overtones. Sigismund was in need of allies (he would be headed to Nikopol the following year), but there was also the dispute over Ruthenia. After the death of Louis I and the split of Hungary and Poland, both queens laid claim to the province, but Jadwiga was the one to successfully occupy and incorporate the land into her kingdom. At this meeting, the question

<sup>1344</sup> György Szabó, "Egy újabb magyar vonatkozású kódexről." *Új Látóhatár* (1963) VI/2, 178-181; Csaba Csapodi and Klára Gárdonyi Csapodiné, *Bibliotheca Hungarica: Kódexek és nyomtatott könyvek Magyarországon 1526 előtt*, Vol. II, 336 Item 3322.

<sup>1345</sup> Annette B. Weiner, *Inalienable Possessions: The Paradox of Keeping-While-Giving* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), 6, 149-155.

<sup>1346</sup> Mariah Proctor-Tiffany, "The Gift-giving of Clémence of Hungary", 208-210.

<sup>1347</sup> "...secundum per dominam Sanctiam reginam Siclie nobis datum..." Ernő Marosi, "A 14. századi Magyarország udvari művészettörténetírásban" in *Művészet I. Lajos király korában 1342-1382. Katalógus*, 73 n 32; László Szende, "Mitherrscherin oder einfach Königinmutter Elisabeth von Lokietek in Ungarn (1320-1380)" *Majestas* 13 (2005), 61.

<sup>1348</sup> Długosz mistakenly puts the date of this meeting as 1394. Jan Długosz, Maurice Michael, ed. *The Annals of Jan Długosz* (Chichester: I.M. Publications, 1997), 356; Monica M. Gardner, *Queen Jadwiga of Poland* (St. Louis: B. Herder Book Co., 1934), 157-158.

<sup>1349</sup> The two queens also met at the border on June 1392. Oscar Halecki and Tadeusz Gromada, *Jadwiga of Anjou and the Rise of East Central Europe* (Boulder: East European Monographs, 1991), 214-216.

seems to have been resolved fairly peacefully.<sup>1350</sup> This gift from Jadwiga could not only have been tailored to Queen Mary's taste, but also part of a coordinated plan of creating a careful alliance and smoothing over any disputed claims regarding Ruthenia.

These gifts to the Hungarian queens come from a variety of sources, but they can be distilled to essentially a few categories: gifts of crowns from male members of her natal family (usually the father), gifts of books in the form of donations and dedications to the queens from male authors, and finally gifts to queens from female family members, again, usually from her natal family. This last category has, by far, the most examples, as well as the reflecting most varied relationships. The reciprocity expected of a father giving a crown or a scholar dedicating a book is very clear; one wanted the obedience while the other wanted patronage. Yet the gifts given to queens from their mothers, sisters, great-nieces, or distant cousins are much more nuanced. Admittedly, the fact that no gifts are recorded from sons to mothers or from husbands to wives most likely has more to do with the fact that such gifts were not recorded in this period, possibly because they were given on a regular basis. This is also to say nothing of the king's personal effects being inherited by the queen. This is the case for Charles I Robert's seal being used by Elizabeth Piast decades after his death (see **Cat. I.11**), or the gold locket worn first by Louis II of Hungary and later by his widow, the Habsburg princess Mary.<sup>1351</sup> Nonetheless, the fact remains that the overwhelming majority and most impressive gifts to the Hungarian queens in this study come from women in their natal kin. The only gifts from in-laws seem to be the altar from Clémence of Hungary and the painting from Sanchi of Naples. Clémence's gift was most likely made during her widowhood, when the queen was vulnerable and in need of allies, and Sancha's gift was likely part of the marriage negotiations between her husband's granddaughter, Joanna I, and Elizabeth's son, Prince Andrew of Hungary. Anna of Schweidnitz, Elizabeth's great-niece, would have given her a psalter both as a young relation, and also in her own capacity as queen of Bohemia. These gifts ensured not only that family ties were maintained when a queen was in a new land, but also how they could be intimately linked with broader dynastic policies.

Lastly, when the queens of Hungary held towns in their properties, their duties could be paid in rich items. The town of Bratislava, Slovakia (also known as Preßburg or Pozsony) presented to King Sigismund and Queen Barbara in 1432 consisted of six bolts of cloth and a pair

<sup>1350</sup> Halecki and Gromada, *Jadwiga of Anjou and the Rise of East Central Europe*, 223.

<sup>1351</sup> Orsolya Réthelyi, "'...Maria regina... nuda venerat ad Hungariam...'" The Queen's treasures" in *Mary of Hungary: The Queen and Her Court 1521-1531* (Budapest 2005), 121.

of goblets with their corresponding coat of arms. Payments such as these to queens could take the forms of fabric, silver dishes like goblets and bowls, and even cash on the rare occasion.<sup>1352</sup>

### Gifts from queens

#### **Diplomatic gifts of queens**

The eleventh century chronicler Lambert of Aschaffenburg (or Lambert of Hersefeld) relates how the so-called Sword of Attila was passed from person to person in the eleventh century. Since Otto of Nordheim, Duke of Bavaria, was so instrumental in seeking aid from the German emperor to restore King Salamon of Hungary, Salamon's mother, Anastasia of Kiev, presented him with a certain sword, presumably around the year 1063 (**Cat. XIV.1**).<sup>1353</sup> Lampert identified this as the sword of Attila the Hun, described by the Greek historian Priscus.<sup>1354</sup> He, in turn, gave the sword to Dedus, the younger son of Marquis Dedus; after his death and his possessions divided up, Henry IV gave the sword to Leopold of Merseburg who, in 1071, fell off his horse and was impaled upon his own sword.<sup>1355</sup> Eventually, the sword made its way to the Habsburg treasury and then into the Imperial Treasury in Vienna, where it remains to present day.

While some legends link this sword with Attila the Hun, other legends link it to Charlemagne. One legend says that Otto III found it in Charlemagne's grave when he opened it in 1000; another suggests he used it against the Avars in 796 CE, while a third suggestion was that it was a gift from Harun al Rashid, the Abbasid Caliph.<sup>1356</sup> An analysis of the object itself indicates that the sword belongs to a type characteristic of the second half of the ninth century or first half of the tenth century; it would have most likely been used on the steppes by some leading Hungarian warrior.<sup>1357</sup> Schramm was personally of the opinion that there was no possible way the

<sup>1352</sup> Daniela Dvořáková, "The Economic Background to and the Financial Politics of Queen Barbara of Cilli in Hungary (1406-1438)" in *Money and Finance in Central Europe during the Later Middle Ages*, ed. by Roman Zaoral, 123 (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016).

<sup>1353</sup> "Hunc siquidem regina Vngariorum, mater Salomonis regis, duci Baioariorum Ottoni dono dederat, cum eo fuggerente atque annitente, rex filium eius in regnum paternum restituisset." Johann Pistorius, et al., *Illustrium veterum scriptorum qui rerum a Germanis per multas aetas gestarum historias vel annales posteris reliquerunt*, Vol. I (Frankfurt, 1613), 185; P.E. Schramm, "'Atillas Schwert', ein ungarischer Säbel des 9/10 Jahrhunderts, zum Kaiserschatz seit der Salischen Zeit gehörend", in *Herrschaftszeichen und Staatssymbolik: Beiträge zu ihrer Geschichte vom dritten bis zum sechzehnten Jahrhundert II* (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1955), 489.

<sup>1354</sup> Patrick J. Geary, *Living with the Dead in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca, NY and London: Cornell University Press, 1994), 63.

<sup>1355</sup> Pistorius, *Illustrium Veterum Scriptorum*, 185-186; Z. J. Kosztolnyik, *The Dynastic Policy of the Árpáds, Géza I to Emery (1074-1204)* (Boulder: East European Monographs, 2006), 12.

<sup>1356</sup> David Alexander, "Swords and Sabers during the early Islamic Period" *Gladius* XXI (2001): 212.

<sup>1357</sup> The wood and leather are more recent and the only original parts might be the three silver bands with jewels. Hermann Fillitz, *Kunsthistorisches Museum Schatzkammer (The crown jewels and the ecclesiastical treasure chamber)* (Vienna: Kunsthistorisches Museum, 1963), 38; Luc Duerloo, "Sabre d'Attila ou de Charlemagne (copie)." In *Hungaria regia (1000-1800): Fastes et défis* (Brussels: Brepols, 1999), 113.

sword in Vienna could have been the sword Anastasia passed on to Otto of Bavaria.<sup>1358</sup> Nonetheless, if this was the item that Lampert speaks of, the precious metals (gold, silver, copper), and the precious stones on the sword would have made it valuable enough. However, by the time Anastasia gave this sword to Otto of Bavaria it would have been at least a hundred years old, and likely would have had a new history ascribed to it by the Hungarian court.

One interesting episode from the Third Crusade is recorded by Arnold of Lübeck. When Emperor Frederick I Barbarossa was on his way to the Holy Land, he passed through Hungary and was greeted at Esztergom by Béla III and his second wife, Margaret of France. The king donated two silos full of flour to the imperial army, but the queen's gift was a unique, personal gift offered directly to the emperor. Margaret bestowed a portable tent upon the emperor, lined on the inside with scarlet wool; it could be dismantled and taken in three wagons. Within the tent there were four chambers, one for an ivory throne, and another for a poster bed and curtains with white hunting dogs on them.<sup>1359</sup> The scarlet fabric and ivory throne indicate that these were imported gifts (rather than made in Hungary), and very costly items as well, fit not only for an Emperor but also the leaders of the Crusades.<sup>1360</sup>

After this gift was made, the queen asked a favor of the emperor; namely for him to release Béla's brother Géza from imprisonment. Géza had tried on many occasions to claim the Hungarian throne for himself, so the request of the queen's seems odd at first. Given that Géza was imprisoned for eleven years at this point, sending him on the Crusade under the protection of the Emperor must have seemed an ideal solution to get rid of a troublesome rival. Géza was given two thousand knights and was ordered to act as a guide for the Emperor and the German crusaders while Béla, agreeing to the request of his wife and the intercession of his guest the emperor, emerged from a delicate situation in a manner befitting a Christian monarch. The queen for her part played the role of both hospitable host and intercessor in this episode, and would return to the role of hostess when Béla organized a hunting expedition on the emperor's journey at the queen's summer estate on Csepel Island.<sup>1361</sup>

When St. Elizabeth, the daughter of Andrew II and Gertrude of Meran, was sent off to her fiancé's family in Thuringia in 1211, she was sent with a silver crib, a silver bathtub, jewelry, silk garments, and at least eight thousand silver marks. The queen herself had promised that she

<sup>1358</sup> Geary, *Living with the Dead in the Middle Ages*, 63; P.E. Schramm, "Attilas Schwert", 489.

<sup>1359</sup> Arnold of Lübeck and Georg Heinrich Pertz, ed., *Arnoldi Chronica Slavorum* (Hanover: Hahn, 1868), 129-130; Kosztolnyik, *From Coloman the Learned to Béla III*, 215.

<sup>1360</sup> Balázs Nagy, "The Towns of Medieval Hungary in the Reports of Contemporary Travellers." in *Segregation, Integration, and Assimilation: Religious and Ethnic Groups in the Medieval Towns of Central and Eastern Europe*, ed. by Derek Keene, Balázs Nagy and Katalin Szende (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), 175.

<sup>1361</sup> Kosztolnyik, *From Coloman the Learned to Béla III*, 215.

would double her gift of a thousand marks from her own purse should Elizabeth live.<sup>1362</sup> One chronicle goes so far to say that the queen was “generous and friendly towards the Germans, wherever they came from, and tried to help them in every possible way.”<sup>1363</sup>

One cannot speak about diplomatic gifts of queens without including the journeys of Elizabeth of Poland (d. 1380) abroad. In the quest to secure the crown of Naples for her younger son Andrew (d. 1345), the queen brought seventeen thousand gold marks (plus an additional four thousand Louis I sent after her) and twenty-seven thousand silver marks in order to buy support for Andrew. One course claims she was sent away from Rome after three days due to the crowd of beggars who mobbed her for money.<sup>1364</sup> The treasuries from Prague and Cologne attest to richly ornamented items the queen gave to the respective cathedral which were decorated with the Hungarian-Angevin coat-of-arms.<sup>1365</sup>

We can thus see that the examples of Anastasia of Kiev, Margaret of France, and Gertrude of Meran all constitute outstanding diplomatic gifts that were made with strings attached. Anastasia’s gift of the sword was directly made with a reciprocal request for military assistance. It is also worth pointing out just how much this gift crossed lines of gender as gifts of swords from women were rare in the Middle Ages.<sup>1366</sup> The lavish tent Margaret Capet gave to Frederick I Barbarossa was not merely for his comfort on the perilous journey to the Holy Land, but it was met with a request to take away her troublesome brother-in-law as well. Gertrude’s lavish trousseau for her daughter Elizabeth has often been interpreted as exemplifying her own greed and nepotism, but there were also two interesting underlying messages to her in-laws. On the one hand, it was a display of not only the wealth of the kingdom, but also her own wealth. On the other hand, her boast that she would double the amount if her daughter reached the age of maturity and married contained is something of a veiled threat, i.e. if her daughter was taken care of, they would benefit, but if she was not cared for, they would have to answer to the queen. This

<sup>1362</sup> Kosztolnyik, *Hungary in the Thirteenth Century*, 40; Charles Montalembert, *The Life of Saint Elizabeth of Hungary, Duchess of Thuringia* (New York: Sadlier, 1848), 9-10.

<sup>1363</sup> Pál Engel, *The Realm of St. Stephen: A History of Medieval Hungary 895-1526* (London & New York: I. B. Tauris, 2001), 90; Georg Heinrich Pertz, et al. “Annales Marbacenses” in, *Monumenta Germaniae Historiae, Scriptores XVII* (Hanover: Impensis Bibliopolii A vlici Hahniani, 1861), 173.

<sup>1364</sup> Seventeen thousand marks of gold is about the total gold production from Hungary for one year. Dragoş Gheorge Nastasoïu, “Patterns of Devotion and Traces of Art during the Diplomatic Journey of Queen Elizabeth Piast to Italy in 1343–1344,” in *Convivium: Exchanges and Interactions in the Arts of Medieval Europe, Byzantium, and the Mediterranean*, ed. Michele Bacci and Ivan Foletti (Turnhout: Brepols, 2015), 102.

<sup>1365</sup> Among these items were embroidered vestments, a chalice, a paten, two ampullae and several other piece. Dragoş Gheorge Nastasoïu, “Patterns of Devotion and Traces of Art. The Pilgrimage of Queen Elizabeth Piast to Marburg, Cologne, and Aachen in 1357” *Umění LXIV* (2016), 33.

<sup>1366</sup> One rare example is the deathbed gift from Philippa of Lancaster (d. 1415), Queen of Portugal to her three sons. Jennifer R. Goodman, *Chivalry and Exploration, 1298-1630* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1998), 142-145.



gift and the message accompanying it is very clear; the Queen could be a very benevolent friend, but if provoked she could also be a very dangerous enemy.

### Gifts to courtiers and staff known from charters

The organization of the queen's court in the early years of the Árpadian dynasty is still shrouded in mystery. It is not until the time of Margaret of France that there is evidence for a separate reginal household independent of the king's.<sup>1367</sup> In the thirteenth century, gifts the queens made to members of the nobility associated with the royal court began to be more regularized and notable. In the early years of the thirteenth century, these gifts seem to be more often associated with ladies the queens brought with them. Upon the marriage of Constance of Aragon's lady Tota to the Hungarian count Benedict, the king and queen provided a dowry in the form of the town of Martinsdorf.<sup>1368</sup> When Yolanda of Courtenay's lady Ahalyz married a Hungarian nobleman, the queen granted Ahalyz property as a dowry.<sup>1369</sup>

By the reign of Béla IV, one can see greater evidence for the queens giving gifts of land to Hungarian members of staff at the royal court. One of the charters of Maria Laskina refers to a donation (made with the consent of Béla IV) to Chethy, son of Aladár, because he had told the royal couple of the birth of their grandson, the future Ladislas IV.<sup>1370</sup> Other charters of Maria Laskarina make donations to the bailiff Benedek as well as some of her cooks.<sup>1371</sup> Elizabeth the Cuman donated the village of Fancsal to her cook Thomas, while another diploma marks a donation to a bailiff and his wife (nurse to Ladislas IV) amongst many other donations to the church and to local noble families.<sup>1372</sup> Isabella of Naples had given estates in Felnémeti and Középnémeti (present-day Tornyosnémeti) to Menna, the nurse of Ladisla IV and her son George, respectively. However, as Attila Zsoldos has successfully demonstrated, a charter supposedly issued by Agnes of Habsburg was forged in 1346; this charter would have given the nurse both those villages as well as Alnémeti in 1295, a year before Agnes' engagement in 1295.<sup>1373</sup> In some cases, provisions were made for family members; two of Isabella of Naples' lost charters contain donations to the widow of a certain "Master Moys".<sup>1374</sup>

<sup>1367</sup> János Bak, "Roles and Functions of Queens in Árpadian and Angevin Hungary", 19.

<sup>1368</sup> Simon of Keza, *Gesta Hungarorum*, 173; György Szabados, "Aragóniai Konstancia magyar királyné" [Constance of Aragon, Hungarian queen in *Királylányok messzi földről: Magyarország és Katalónia a középkorban* (Budapest: Hungarian National Museum, 2009), 169-170.

<sup>1369</sup> János Bak, "Roles and Functions of Queens in Árpadian and Angevin Hungary", 17.

<sup>1370</sup> Two charters of Elizabeth the Cuman make reference to this donation. Szentpétery and Zsoldos, *Az Árpád-házi hercegek, hercegnők és királynék okleveleinek*, 71, 78, 185.

<sup>1371</sup> Szentpétery and Zsoldos, *Az Árpád-házi hercegek, hercegnők és királynék okleveleinek*, 52-54.

<sup>1372</sup> Szentpétery and Zsoldos, *Az Árpád-házi hercegek, hercegnők és királynék okleveleinek*, 66, 73.

<sup>1373</sup> Zsoldos, "The Problems of dating the Queens' charters", 154-156; Szentpétery and Zsoldos, *Az Árpád-házi hercegek, hercegnők és királynék okleveleinek*, 113-115, 170-171.

<sup>1374</sup> Szentpétery and Zsoldos, *Az Árpád-házi hercegek, hercegnők és királynék okleveleinek*, 187-188.

Two charters from Fenenna of Kujavia attest to separate donations the queen made to Martin, the court's deputy chief justice; both cases involved land near Pápa.<sup>1375</sup> One of Maria of Bytom's letters to her husband asked permission to donate land to a youth in her service while two others were gifts to men in the former service of Isabella of Naples.<sup>1376</sup> In addition to these donations of land, gifts of livery were often part of the way a royal or noble person paid their staff; usually they were given clothing or badges that were not only rich in their material, but that also when worn enhanced the giver's prestige.<sup>1377</sup>

In the will of Elizabeth of Poland, the queen mentions several lavish gifts to be given to her family, which are mentioned elsewhere in this dissertation. She mentions one lady (Helen of Pukur) by name, as well as the provost John of Óbuda and the nun Margaret who lived at her house and was given fifty florins; the queen's confessor is mentioned but not named. Her Polish and Hungarian ladies received gifts of cash, carpets, mattresses, clothing and jewelry while her servants were given cash and horses; six of the horses were to go to Helen of Pukur.<sup>1378</sup> These are all very rich gifts, but their nature and appearance and the lack of specific recipients unfortunately tells us little about the relationship the queen had with her staff. Only Helen of Pukur seems to be particularly singled out in favor. In comparison, the will of Elizabeth's sister-in-law, the French Queen Clémence of Hungary, provided cash for her servants who numbered more than one hundred. Her most important ladies got her finest gowns while other dresses of the queen were given to poor women with a good reputation. While gifts of precious objects could be given to fellow members of the aristocracy, to employees and institutions, the queen gave cash, in keeping with the attitudes of the time.<sup>1379</sup>

The question of the appointment of royal staff could lead to deadly problems. During the problematic regency of Elizabeth the Cuman, the position of the palatine was changed a total of six times from 1272-1276, indicating a great deal of instability.<sup>1380</sup> A century later, one of the chief complaints against the regency of Elizabeth of Bosnia in the early years of her daughter Mary's reign in Hungary, was her very clear support of Miklós Garai, the Palatine. Tensions erupted in 1384 when Elizabeth replaced several key offices such as the judge royal and the

<sup>1375</sup> Attila Zsoldos, "The Problems of dating the Queens' charters of the Árpadian Age" (Eleventh-Thirteenth Century) in *Dating Undated Medieval Charters*, Michael Gervers, ed. (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2000), 153;

<sup>1376</sup> Gyula Kristó, *Anjou-kori oklevéltár II* (Budapest and Szeged, 1992), 26; Gyula Kristó, *Anjou-kori oklevéltár III* (Budapest and Szeged, 1994), 192, 214.

<sup>1377</sup> Proctor-Tiffany, 179-180.

<sup>1378</sup> Ernő Marosi, "A 14. századi Magyarország udvari művészettörténetírásban" in *Művészet I. Lajos király korában 1342-1382. Katalógus*, 73-74 n 32; László Szende, "Mitherrscherin oder einfach Königinmutter Elisabeth von Lokietek in Ungarn (1320-1380)" *Majestas* 13 (2005), 62.

<sup>1379</sup> Proctor-Tiffany, 213, 221-227.

<sup>1380</sup> Kosztolnyik, *Hungary in the Thirteenth Century*, 256-257.

master of the treasury with her own supporters.<sup>1381</sup> This nepotism would eventually lead to Elizabeth and Mary being ambushed in 1386 and Miklós Garai cut down and beheaded defending the two queens. Elizabeth and Mary would be imprisoned in Novigrad where the former was killed in 1387.<sup>1382</sup> For his part in liberating Queen Mary from imprisonment, the Venetian captain John Barbadico was richly rewarded by the Queen and Sigismund.<sup>1383</sup> Gifts to people who held key positions could enhance the queen's own power, but as this case shows that imbalanced support could lead to conflict and even the death of the queen.

### Gifts to religious organizations

Since one of the previous sections of this thesis has dealt with material gifts the Hungarian queens gave to the church, this section will focus more on gifts to the church known from the written record. In the eleventh and twelfth centuries, all of the known charters of the queens are donations of land to churches or monastic institutions. A fifteenth century list of assets for the monastery of Bakonybél mentions two charters of Queen Gisela from 1023-1038 wherein she would have given the monastery sufficient lands including vineyards, mills, and fishponds. There are two, possibly three other charters featuring the queen donating land to the Archbishopric of Veszprém.<sup>1384</sup> Later charters mention a donation by Adelaide of Rheinfelden, the wife of Ladislas I, to Veszprém as well, though one of these later charters has been proven to be a forgery.<sup>1385</sup> A charter of Béla III from 1193 mentions an earlier donation in which his mother Euphrosyne of Kiev gave several settlements to the Hospitallers Foundation of Székesfehérvár, her eventual burial place.<sup>1386</sup> Anna of Antioch, first wife of Béla III, would have given the monastery of St. Margaret in Meszes income from Zalău, Romania (Zilah).<sup>1387</sup> Before her journey to Hungary in 1186, Margaret of France (second wife to Béla III and widow of Henry 'the Young King' of England) left instructions regarding the burial and annual memorial services of her husband at Rouen Cathedral, stating that the Abbot of Clairvaux would perform the annual services for the Young King's soul after receiving three hundred marks from the Hungarian

<sup>1381</sup> Pál Engel, *The Realm of St. Stephen: A History of Medieval Hungary 895-1526* (London and New York: I.B. Tauris, 2001), 196-197.

<sup>1382</sup> János Thuróczy, *Chronicle of the Hungarians* (Bloomington: Indiana University, 1991), 196.

<sup>1383</sup> Sándor Márki, *Mária Magyarország királynéja*, 110-112.

<sup>1384</sup> Imre Szentpétery and Attila Zsoldos, *Az Árpád-házi hercegek, hercegnők és királynék okleveleinek kritikai jegyzéke* (Budapest: Magyar Országos Levéltár, 2008), 44-45, 183.

<sup>1385</sup> This was a donation of the village of Merenye with several plots of arable land and forests. A charter of Ladislas I from 1082 mentioning this transaction has been proven to be a forgery, but a later charter of Imre from 1203 confirming this donation seems to be genuine. Szentpétery and Zsoldos, *Az Árpád-házi hercegek, hercegnők és királynék okleveleinek*, 184.

<sup>1386</sup> Zsolt Hunyadi, *The Hospitallers in the Medieval Kingdom of Hungary c. 1150-1387* (Budapest: CEU Medievalia, 2010), 24; Szentpétery and Zsoldos, *Az Árpád-házi hercegek, hercegnők és királynék okleveleinek*, 184.

<sup>1387</sup> Szentpétery and Zsoldos, *Az Árpád-házi hercegek, hercegnők és királynék okleveleinek*, 60, 184.

king.<sup>1388</sup> One charter issued by Queen Yolanda of Courtenay (second wife to Andrew II), provides for the Cathedral of Veszprém to be exempt from tolls in her lands.<sup>1389</sup> Maria Laskarina donated land to the Abbey of St. Andrew in Dömös, Pannonhalma Abbey, and confirmed an earlier donation to the Abbey of St. Margaret in Meszes, as well as regular donations to the Cathedral of Veszprém.<sup>1390</sup> Elizabeth the Cuman donated vineyards and land to the see of Veszprém and Fenenna of Kujavia would make several donations to the provost of Veszprém as well as her chancellor, the bishop.<sup>1391</sup> It also comes as no surprise that Maria Laskarina, Elizabeth the Cuman, Isabella of Naples, and Fenenna of Kuavia all supported the Dominican nunnery on Margaret Island.<sup>1392</sup> Agnes of Habsburg was only Hungarian queen for five years and the majority of her charters concern either reaffirming earlier donations queens had made to Veszprém.<sup>1393</sup> In her later years, she would be a generous supporter of the Franciscans, living fifty years of her extended widowhood in a Franciscan foundation.<sup>1394</sup> The short-lived Beatrix of Luxemburg renewed privileges granted to the nunnery on Margaret Island in 1319.<sup>1395</sup>

Several studies have already been written on the charitable activities of Elizabeth of Poland. In one estimate, the queen was responsible for the construction, upkeep, or renovation of at least thirty churches within Hungary,<sup>1396</sup> a figure on par with her brother Casimir ‘the Great’ of Poland. Elizabeth seems to have been fond of the Franciscan Order, even choosing burial at a Poor Clares cloister. However the Dominicans, Franciscans, Augustinians, Carthusians, and Paulines were also remembered in her will, with some monasteries even being mentioned by name. The Franciscan monastery at Berehove, Ukraine (Beregszasz), the monastery at Arača, Serbia (Aracs), the Franciscan house at Lipova (Lippa), the Carmelites of Buda, the Dominican nunnery on Margaret Island, and the altar of St. Emeric at Székesfehérvár and the church of St.

<sup>1388</sup> László Fejérpataky, “Margit királyné két oklevele” [Two charters of Queen Margaret] in *III. Béla magyar király emlékezete* (Budapest: V. Hornyánszky, 1900), 352; József Laszlovszky, “Angol-Magyar kapcsolatok a 12 század második felében” [English-Hungarian relations in the second half of the twelfth century] *Angol-Magyar kapcsolatok a középkorban* [English-Hungarian contacts in the Middle Ages] I, ed. by Attila Bárány, József Laszlovszky and Zsuzsanna Papp (Máriabesnyő: Attraktor, 2008), 159.

<sup>1389</sup> Another charter from 1226 donates land to ban Miklós Csak, brother of Archbishop Ugrin of Esztergom. Szentpétery and Zsoldos, *Az Árpád-házi hercegek, hercegnők és királynék okleveleinek*, 45-46.

<sup>1390</sup> Szentpétery and Zsoldos, *Az Árpád-házi hercegek, hercegnők és királynék okleveleinek*, 50-1, 60-61.

<sup>1391</sup> Szentpétery and Zsoldos, *Az Árpád-házi hercegek, hercegnők és királynék okleveleinek*, 75-77, 160-168.

<sup>1392</sup> Szentpétery and Zsoldos, *Az Árpád-házi hercegek, hercegnők és királynék okleveleinek*, 160, 186; Kosztolnyik, *Hungary in the Thirteenth Century*, 292-293.

<sup>1393</sup> Szentpétery and Zsoldos, *Az Árpád-házi hercegek, hercegnők és királynék okleveleinek*, 171-176; Hermann and Theodor von Liebenau, *Urkundliche Nachweise zu der Lebensgeschichte der verwittweten Königin Agnes von Ungarn: 1280-1364*. (Aarau: Lucern, 1867), 9-10.

<sup>1394</sup> Volker Honneman, “A Medieval Queen and her Stepdaughter: Agnes and Elizabeth of Hungary”, 110.

<sup>1395</sup> Gyula Kristó, *Anjou-kori oklevéltár V* (Budapest and Szeged, 1996), 157; Gábor Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses: Dynastic Cults in Medieval Central Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 326.

<sup>1396</sup> She was the main founder of thirteen convents (including convent churches) as well as three parish churches. Eva Snieszynska-Stolot, “Queen Elizabeth as Patron of Architecture” *Acta Historiae Artium* 20 (1974), 29.

Peter's in Óbuda all received donations from the queen in her will.<sup>1397</sup> The gifts of Elizabeth Kotromanić and her daughter the Queen Regnant Mary have thus far not been the object of any study, other than a general comment from the nineteenth century which asserts that after Mary's marriage to Sigismund, her many donations to the church were the result of her husband ousting her from the political sphere.<sup>1398</sup> While interest in the queen has been growing, these views still hold sway in the literature.

Gifts from the queens to cathedral chapters and to monastic institutions seemed to benefit people the queen was acquainted with in some way. Gifts such as those donated to the Cathedral of Veszprém were most likely made to benefit members of the church hierarchy the queen was intimately acquainted with; the bishop of Veszprém for instance was usually the queen's chancellor.<sup>1399</sup> Theoretically, members of a claustral community were supposed to keep to themselves, though an important exception to this would be the foundation of the Dominican nunnery on Margaret Island by Princess Margaret's parents Béla IV and Maria Laskarina. Clerics trained by various monastic orders could often make their way into the royal circle, and queens could make donations to these orders as a gift that benefitted someone in her acquaintance, even if she is not familiar with the members of the community who benefitted from her generosity. In turn, when monastic institutions were given land, they offered prayers for the soul of the donor and, in some cases, even burial rights that others would be excluded from. There were even instances of monks providing material goods of their own for their benefactors after receiving a donation of land.<sup>1400</sup>

In short, all categories of gift-giving in relation to the medieval Hungarian queens reflects a certain amount of reciprocity; when they were the recipients of gifts there was usually a political undertone of some type, and when giving gifts it was often part of maintaining a larger network of favors, services, or connected to issues of social esteem. Most of these gifts are traditional in nature, and many of the charters issued by the queens often confirm donations their predecessors had made. The murder of Gertrude of Meran and Elizabeth Kotromanić as well as the problematic regency of Elizabeth the Cuman show what happens when a queen appeared too generous to a certain group with her gifts while excluding others. The practice of giving gifts was a delicate balancing act, as these examples show.

<sup>1397</sup> Szende, "Mitherrscherin oder einfach Königinmutter Elisabeth von Lokietek", 62-63.

<sup>1398</sup> Sophia Elizabeth Higgins, *Women of Europe in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries*, Vol I (London: Hurst and Blackett, 1885), 333-334.

<sup>1399</sup> János Bak, "Roles and Functions of Queens in Árpadian and Angevin Hungary", 17-19.

<sup>1400</sup> Annette Weiner, *Inalienable Possessions*, 34.

## Conclusions

The purpose of this study has been to assess the power of queens in medieval Hungary through the many ways they used material culture and space. As mentioned in the introduction, the reason for undertaking such a project is to assess the claims that the queens of medieval Hungary left no lasting cultural legacy outside of a few episodic trifles.<sup>1401</sup> What has become clear from the preceding chapters is how seals, coins, heraldry, regalia, clothing, liturgical objects and books could be used to understand the queen's own display of power and self-fashioning. Images of the queen (both public and private) can tell us much about contemporary views of queenship in Hungary and offer a good counterpoint to items like seals where the queens had more of a hand in creating their image. Finally, spaces like palatial residences, monasteries and burials offer a unique insight not only to the visibility of the spaces queens used and created, but also questions of access to these spaces. Having examined it from the perspective of the objects, images and spaces, it is now worth a brief look at the queens themselves in order to trace how their relationship with material culture and space changed over time.

Gisela of Bavaria, the first Queen of Hungary, was extremely active during the reign of her husband as evidenced by the chasubles she and Stephen I gave to the pope and to the basilica at Székesfehérvár and the reliquary known as the Gisela Cross which she donated as a memorial to her mother. Her crown was known to have survived until the Fifth Crusade in the early thirteenth century as well. She was instrumental in founding the Cathedral at Veszprém and even after her retirement to the Abbey of Niedernburg in Passau, the nuns made sure that her grave monument was not only preserved but given an update in the fifteenth century. She was known to have issued several charters which are known mostly from notes on them recorded in the Later Middle Ages. Two of the three objects related to her survived outside Hungary, though there are several references to the many gifts she bestowed upon the church. Her activities as queen mostly took place during the lifetime of her husband; as a widow, she was deprived of her resources and forced to leave Hungary.

In some capacity, the activities of other eleventh century queens emulate those of Gisela. The funeral monument to Tuta of Formbach, possible wife of Peter Orseolo (r. 1038-1041, 1044-1046) has much in common with Gisela's own gravestone, though the eleventh century monument to Tuta has not survived. Anastasia of Kiev, wife of Andrew I (r. 1046-1060), made her presence known in several ways. Shortly after her marriage, her father included her in a

<sup>1401</sup> Attila Zsoldos, *Az Árpádok és asszonyaik: a királynéi intézmény az Árpádok korában* [The Árpáds and their women: the office of the queen in the age of the Árpáds] (Budapest: MTA Történettudományi Intézete, 2005), 178.

fresco at the Hagia Sophia Church in Kiev. During the reign of her husband, Andrew purchased the forest in Patak ostensibly because Anastasia said it reminded her of her homeland. Finally, as a widow, she was heavily involved in securing aid from the Holy Roman Empire to ensure the crown for her young son, King Salomon (r. 1063-1074); evidence of this is the so-called “Sword of Attila” she would have passed on to Otto, Duke of Bavaria. King Salamon’s wife, Judith of Swabia, was very young when she came to Hungary and not much is known of her activity as Queen, particularly since her mother-in-law Anastasia was still present. Nonetheless, when Judith re-married to Wladyslaw I of Poland, she brought with her several liturgical books which became part of the Kraków Cathedral treasury. The second wife of Géza I (r. 1074-1077), the Byzantine noblewoman from the Synadenos family, would have brought with her and most likely worn the *corona graeca* which would later become the lower part of the Holy Crown of Hungary. Finally, Adelaide of Rheinfelden, the wife of King St. Ladislav I (r. 1077-1095), seems to have actively pursued a policy imitating Queen Gisela. She made one very rich donation to Gisela’s foundation, the Cathedral of Veszprém and was likely buried there herself. She also commissioned a huge reliquary cross (the Adelaide Cross) as a memorial for her mother. Furthermore, a letter from Gregory VII indicates that she initiated a correspondence with the papacy. This is all the more remarkable considering her relative obscurity in the written sources and total absence from the hagiographies of her husband. For the most part, eleventh century queens had the peak of their activity during the life of their husband; Anastasia of Kiev and Judith of Swabia seem to be the main exceptions to this.

During the twelfth century, however, the activities of the queens are much more difficult to detect, especially in the material record. For Felicia of Sicily, Euphemia of Kiev (first and second wife of King Coloman, r. 1095-1116), Adelaide of Regensburg (possible wife of Stephen II, r. 1116-1131), Agnes of Babenberg (wife of Stephen III, r. 1161-1173), and Maria Komnena (wife of Stephen IV, r. 1163-1165), only their place of burial is known. For the most part, the queen’s burial in these places ends up being mostly due either to external factors (i.e. pre-deceasing the husband), or ties with their natal kin. There is some evidence for the activities of Helen of Serbia, wife of Béla II ‘the Blind’ (r. 1131-1141), and Euphrosyne of Kiev, wife of Géza II (r. 1141-1161). Helen of Serbia appears in an illumination from the fourteenth century *Hungarian Illuminated Chronicle*, ordering the deaths of those who blinded her husband at the Council of Arad. In this case, however, it is complicated by the fact that for most of Béla’s rule, her brother, the ban Belus, held real political power, so separating her activities from those made in the king’s name would be practically impossible. Euphrosyne of Kiev co-founded the first Hospitaller convent in Hungary and would later be buried there. She was also known to have

been active as a widow, particularly in defense of her son Stephen III and raising conflict with her younger son, Béla III, though there is no material trace of this. With Helen and Euphrosyne, it is nearly impossible to separate their actions from the actions of the Hungarian court since they were so heavily involved in the affairs of their husband and son respectively.

It is not until the reign of Béla III (r. 1173-1196) that queens once again have evidence of activity beyond singular events. His first wife, Agnes of Antioch, is primarily known for her extensive grave goods, including the crown and ring she was buried with; she also founded a communal bath in Esztergom. The bath and the ring are both indications of her upbringing in the Near East influencing her activities in Hungary. In many ways, the same could be said of Béla's second wife, Margaret of France. Not only did she bring a troubadour with her from France, but she participated in the Crusading fervor of the late twelfth century, eventually selling her belongings, going to the Holy Land, and being buried in a place of honor at Tyre Cathedral. The lavish gifts she gave to Emperor Frederick I Barbarossa showcase not only her own wealth but also her knack for diplomacy. Evidence from a charter issued by her before coming to Hungary indicates that she might have been the first Hungarian queen to employ a seal, but it is still unknown if she used one in Hungary. Constance of Aragon, wife of Emeric (r. 1196-1204), has much more material surviving from her time later as Queen of Sicily, but her presence in Hungary was originally linked to the creation of the Árpád coat of arms (though this has been challenged of late). Her burial in Palermo Cathedral was loaded with many grave goods, including five rings and a richly decorated covered crown. The origin of the rings is still up for debate.

There is much more evidence of the material culture of queens starting in the thirteenth century. Gertrude of Andechs-Meran, the first wife of Andrew II (r. 1205-1235), was known for her lavish gift-giving, such as in the case of the trousseau she sent off for her young daughter, St. Elizabeth. The Queen's imbalanced gift-giving and nepotism would eventually lead to a conspiracy in 1213 that ended in her murder. Andrew II's seal disappears at around this time, and the Queen may have been in possession of it when she was killed. She appears associated with a few manuscripts, such as the Landgrafenpsalter and the Gertrude/Egbert/Trier Psalter and her sarcophagus was recovered from the Abbey of Pilis in the 1980s. This is the only known tomb of a medieval Hungarian queen surviving within Hungary. Andrew's second wife, Yolanda of Courtenay, has been overlooked in many aspects yet there is evidence that not only was she the first known queen to employ her own (unpublished) seal, but she also appears on some of the coinage of Andrew II. She was known to support the Cistercian Order and the *Life of St. Salome* indicates that she was fond of tournaments. It is likely her burial at a Cistercian foundation



reflects some involvement of her own in choosing a burial site. With Yolanda of Courtenay, it is clear that in many ways the artifacts associated with the office of the queen (particularly her seal) make their first definitive appearance, even if there had been now-lost antecedents. Andrew's third wife, Beatrice of Este, was only in Hungary very briefly and after a controversial pregnancy she left and spent the last few years at the Abbey of Gemmola, a site associated with female members of her family.

Maria Laskarina, wife of Béla IV (r. 1235-1270), continued the activities of her predecessors. Her intact seal still survives, her family's emblem appears on coinage of Béla IV, and several charters of hers survive. She was also known to have been heavily involved in construction projects, not only of the Dominican nunnery on Margaret Island, but also selling her jewelry to build the citadel at Visegrád, a very strategic fortress. Her burial place with her husband and younger son at a Franciscan friary in Esztergom was likely one of her own choosing. Curiously enough, more personal items of the queen like books or objects donated to a particular church do not seem to survive; rather Maria seems to have preferred more official images and monuments.

Elizabeth the Cuman, wife of Stephen V (r. 1270-1272) is mostly known for the problematic regency during the reign of her son, Ladislas IV 'the Cuman'. Yet her two surviving seals also show not only how the queen chose to display herself, but also how this self-fashioning changed rather dramatically. She also seems to be included on coins of her son, another nod to her role as regent. She was likely buried on Margaret Island, and it seems very plausible that a crown and a sapphire ring found there could have originally been buried with her. Isabella of Naples, wife of Ladislas IV (r. 1272-1290), only has her two seals but they are of vital importance as she is the first queen depicted on her seal seated on a throne that has a back to it. The seal of Fenenna of Kujavia, first wife of Andrew III (r. 1290-1301), is modeled after Isabella's second seal, but distinguishes itself in the queen's hairstyle. These queens were mostly active while their husbands were alive, with the major exception of Elizabeth the Cuman. That being said, Elizabeth the Cuman's first seal, where she is first princess, then queen consort, than queen regent is a much stronger display of power than her second seal which was only used in her widowhood.

While the thirteenth century saw a strengthening of the queen's power in material culture, the fourteenth century is really when the queens have a peak not only in their power, but also in the objects and spaces they created. Agnes of Habsburg, second wife of Andrew III (r. 1290-1301), spent most of her 63 years as a widow at the Abbey of Königsfelden, which she co-founded with her mother. Here she made lavish donations to the Abbey and others nearby, and

several of these pieces survive to present. She was also the recipient of several books published in her honor, and would have even owned a German language Bible. She is also one of the earliest queens to extensively employ the use of heraldic devices on more than just her seals.

Maria of Bytom and Beatrice of Luxemburg, the first and second wives of Charles I Robert (r. 1308-1342), did not live long enough to be heavily involved in an artistic program. Maria's seal is published for the first time in this dissertation and she is also depicted in one scene from the *Hungarian Illuminated Chronicle*, while Beatrice of Luxemburg has only one charter from her brief time as queen. Elizabeth of Poland, the third wife of Charles I Robert, would have a very different experience as queen. She is involved in some fashion with every possible category of material culture in this dissertation, both from her time as a queen as well as from her long widowhood. Her will from 1380 is an excellent source of information on how she disposed of various possessions, yet there is so much out there that is not mentioned in it either. She is the first queen to systematically appear in individualized depictions on public monuments such as column capitals and keystones. She also seems to have owned or donated the second-highest amount of books and manuscripts in fourteenth century Hungary, only exceeded by her son Louis I. She was also an extensive builder, not only of her own palace in Óbuda, but also of many monastic communities and parish churches.

It was initially thought that the Florian Psalter would have been the possession of the young Margaret of Luxemburg, the first wife of Louis I 'the Great' (r. 1342-1382), but that hypothesis has been discarded and it seems no material culture related to her has survived. His second wife, Elizabeth Kotromanić of Bosnia, has much more material, though the bulk of it only seems to come from the period after she started having surviving children. One of her most significant accomplishments is the authorship of a book of instruction written explicitly for her young daughters. Elizabeth would have also ordered a massive silver sarcophagus for the body of St. Simeon to be housed in Zadar; many effects of hers, including a crown, were recovered from this context. While mostly remembered for her problematic regency (which would cost her life), She utilized many of the same strategies of self-representation employed by her mother-in-law, and in some cases even tried to outdo her.

The last queen in our study is Mary of Anjou (r. 1382-1395), Queen Regnant of Hungary in her own right. In spite of secondary literature downplaying her role or casting her only as a victim, she seems to have understood the importance of material culture in her own unique role. She mints her own coinage, even after her marriage with Sigismund of Luxemburg, her name appears on donations of public monuments and even a bell in a hospital church, and she also took an active interest in literature, owning a Hungarian-language psalter and commissioning a

chronicle of her time in captivity. It is possible she was even buried with a crown and orb, though the context of these finds is much disputed. Overall, her strategies of employing material culture mimics that of the queens before her, but their public nature and wider audience suggest that she was able to push their boundaries in a more kingly direction.

Several patterns can be observed from the changes observed in these nearly four hundred years. The potential for action on the part of the queens peaks and remains high during the eleventh century, and most of the activities take place during the lives of their husbands then. In the twelfth centuries, more queens predecease their husbands (or are divorced for adultery), so between the death of Adelaide of Rheinfelden in 1090 and the appearance of Agnes of Antioch in 1173, only Euphrosyne of Kiev stands out as an active queen with her foundation of the Hospitaller convent in Székesfehérvár. Starting at the end of the twelfth century, the court hierarchy becomes more formalized and a separate queen's court begins to emerge. By the beginning of the thirteenth century it seems that the queen has her own seal, though this could be due to the fact that this is the period when original charters of the queens begin to survive. Maria Laskarina undertook a few ambitious building projects of her own, but it is not until the Angevin queens of the fourteenth century that Hungarian queens display a wide-ranging interest in self-representation and display of power in means that survive to present. In the time of Árpadian rule, most of the queens lived and exercised their power during the lives of their husbands. This would explain in some cases why separating their action and agenda from the king is nearly impossible and in some cases can only be hinted at. The situation is much clearer in the fourteenth century, where three widowed queens (Agnes of Habsburg, Elizabeth of Poland and Elizabeth of Bosnia) all seem to have exercised a great deal of power as widows.

What does this all tell us about the power of the queen in Hungary at this time? In revisiting earlier statements that the queens had little power, little continuous funding, and little impact on broader artistic forms, the material discussed here provides a more nuanced, less pessimistic view. While it may be true that Árpád-era queens had funding on an ad hoc basis, in items meant for public use they certainly employed the highest-quality materials, such as gold and semi-precious stones. The clothing of the queens was usually richly embroidered and made with high-status material like silk. Even if some of the jewelry of the queens was made with glass paste or had mediocre craftsmanship, that's not atypical for the period when these items were meant to be seen from afar rather than through a jeweler's eye. Seals, coinage, statues, and illuminations depicted the queens crowned and sometimes with various forms of regalia. Ultimately, what is known of the funding systems of the queens is very fragmentary, and in spite of that the queens depicted themselves in a very rich, even ostentatious manner. The queens were

seen as being wealthy in contemporary images, and while wealth does not always equal power, it does mean that efforts were taken to give the impression of both; efforts that were ultimately very successful.

The nature of the queen's power is more complicated, but if it is understood as the capacity to act (as defined in the introduction), there is a great body of evidence indicating that the queens were responsible for a great many actions in the period under consideration, from small donations to the church to the erection of massive buildings. Joint activities with the king (such as a donation or a burial together) suggest that the overtly expressed power of the queen may be hidden or more of a form of 'soft power'. In many ways, there is a move away from studying queens as independent, finite units when recent views indicate that studying the concept of "rulership" is more fruitful. In the medieval mindset, the king and queen functioned as a complementary pair, with the queen taking on more feminine roles such as intercession.<sup>1402</sup> In moments where the queen is seen as superceding her power, disaster occurs, such as the murder of Gertrude of Andechs-Meran and Elizabeth of Bosnia. The queen's power was also subject to the king and for Euphemia of Kiev and Isabella of Naples, the king's disinterest could entail divorce or imprisonment. For most of the queens in this study, part of the reason their presence has been so nebulous is that they understood the roles expected of them and acted accordingly. One cannot speak about the action of the queens without considering the actions of the kings and the many joint actions between the royal couple (donations to churches, monastic foundations, etc.) are testament to the queen being tied to the king, both by her "office" as well as by her person. When viewed in this light, the picture that emerges is not of four centuries of weak, penniless queens with two or three exceptions, but rather a long-term process which fluctuates from queens in the eleventh century making a strong personal mark on Hungarian rulership to the growth of it as a more "official" aspect of the court which is more dependent on the king.

Finally, a word must be said about the power of the queens in terms of the capacity for individual action. The personality of the queen is very difficult to gauge (especially when primary sources are so biased), but interactions with the material culture can show several instances where particular queens stand out. Gisela of Bavaria, a powerful and active queen, seems to have followed a model of queenship similar to her sister-in-law, St. Kunigunde; both women are known for joint donations to the church and a great amount of activity supporting Christianity. Adelaide of Rheinfelden modeled herself quite explicitly after Gisela of Bavaria, in some ways even seeking to outdo her predecessor; she would be the last queen of Hungary to do

<sup>1402</sup> Henric Bagerius and Christine Ekholst, "The Unruly Queen: Blanche of Namur and Dysfunctional Rulership in Medieval Sweden", in *Queenship, Gendered, and Reputation in the Medieval and Early Modern West, 1060-1600*, ed. Lisa Benz St. John and Zita Rohr (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), 104.

so. Agnes of Antioch and Margaret of France both brought a great many cultural ideas with them to Hungary. Yolanda of Courtenay is the first queen to employ her own seal, and as a result is the first one to offer a glimpse (however poor) of her own self-fashioning. Agnes of Habsburg's constructions at the Abbey of Königsfelden show how much she saw herself within the framework of her natal family. Elizabeth of Poland is the first queen to show individual elements in her depictions (such as her wide mouth, nose, and mature age). And Mary of Anjou was able to blend elements of queenly and kingly behavior into her activities.

In some ways, research related to the medieval queens of Hungary will always be an ongoing task. In asking new questions about the actions and potential for action in the material culture and spaces of the Hungarian queens, a clearer picture emerges of exactly going beyond the words of the chroniclers and the few surviving charters can impart a totally different story about how the queens were able to promote their own self-image, transfer culture among their family, and alter space to their will.

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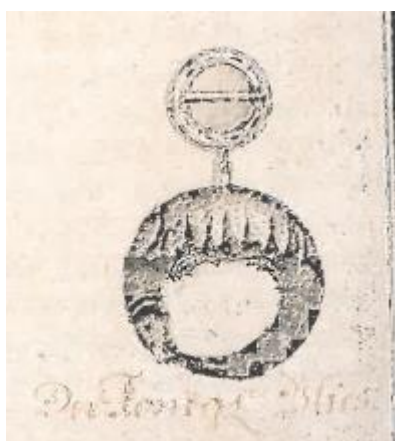


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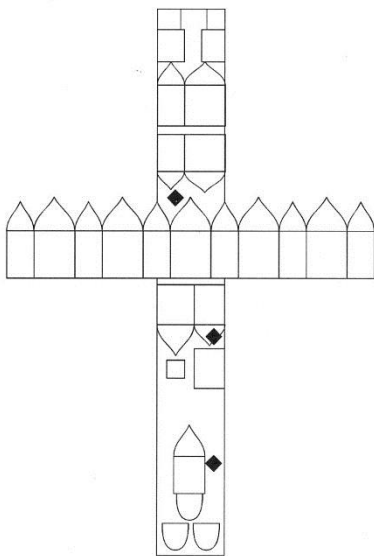


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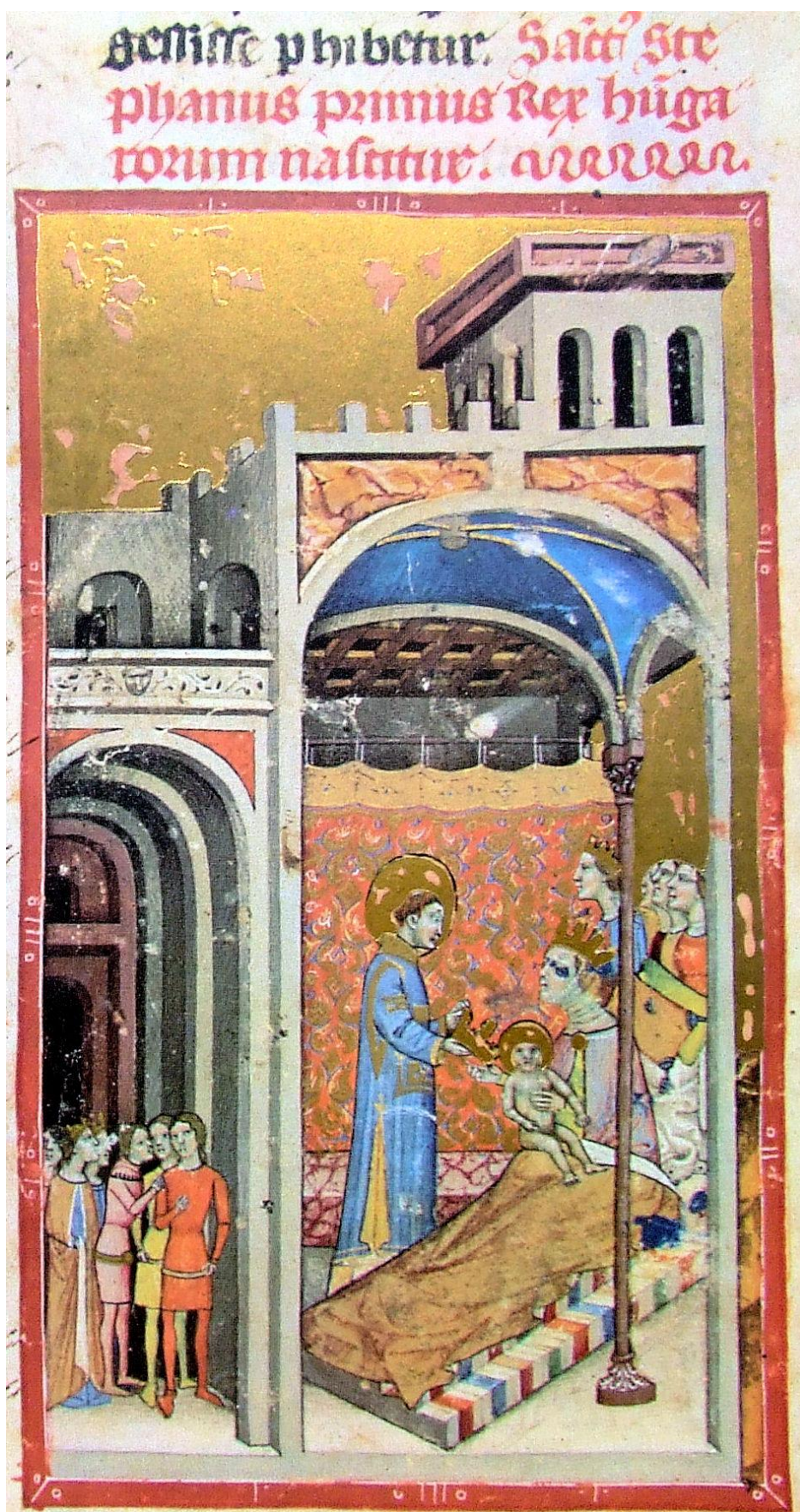


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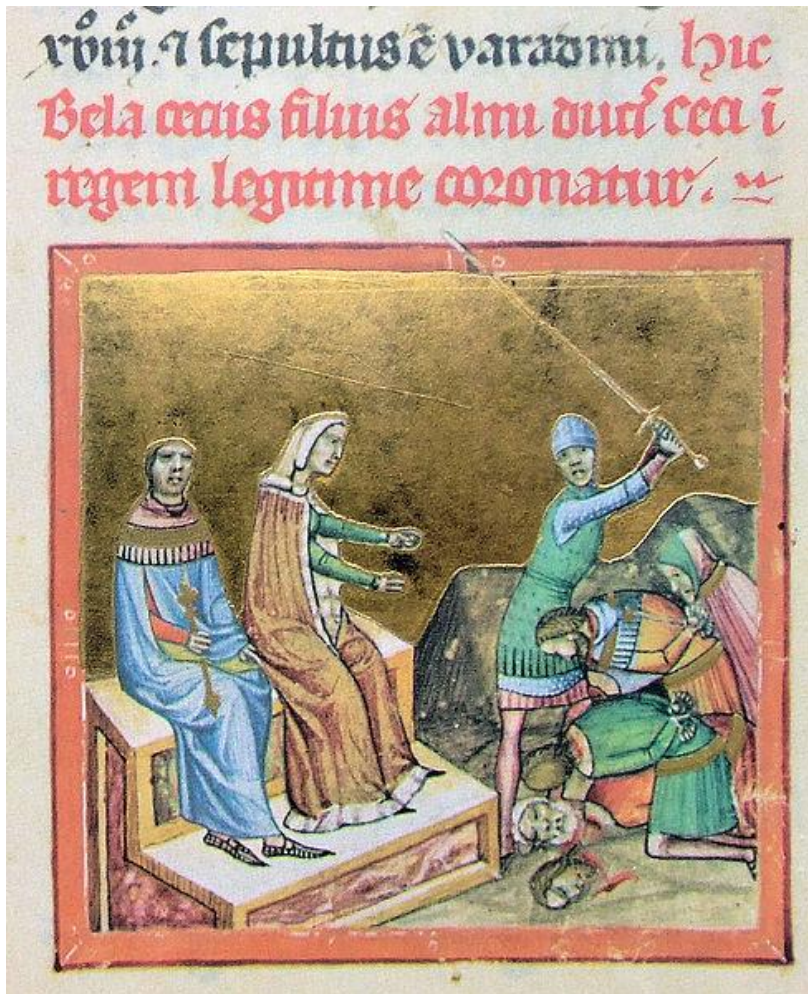


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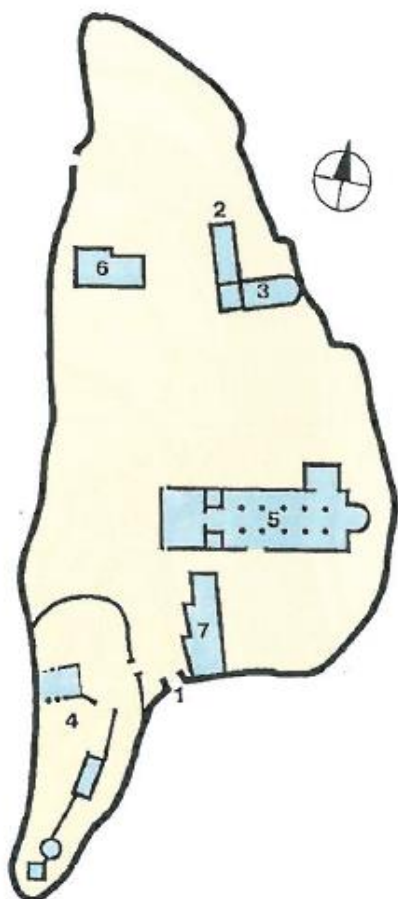


Fig. 43 – Esztergom castle in the eleventh century

Source: Horváth, István. "Esztergom." In *Medium Regni: Medieval Hungarian Royal Seats*, edited by Julianna Atlmann et al., 9-37. Budapest: Nap Kiadó, 1999.

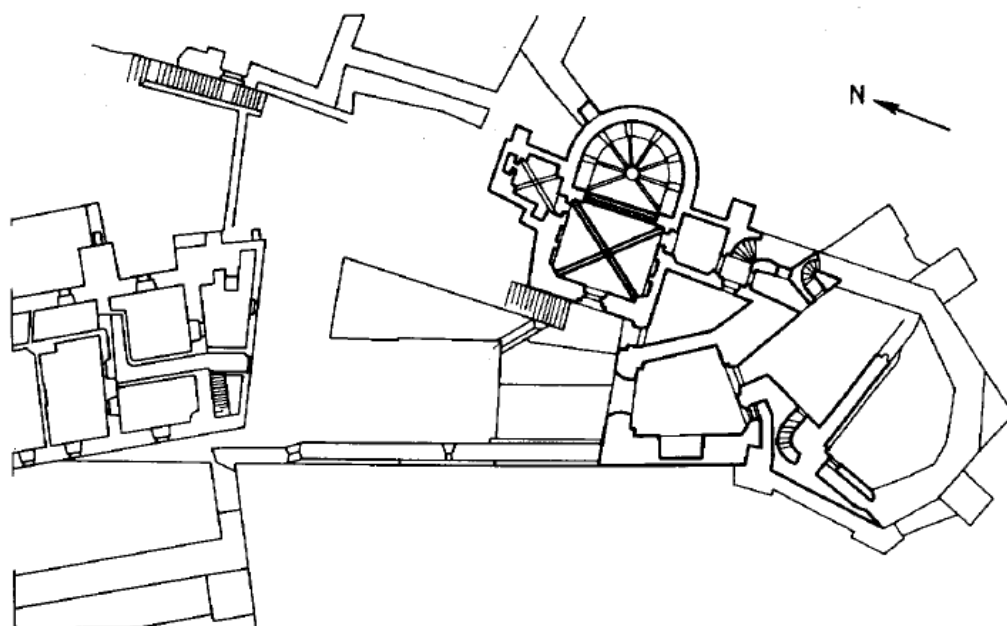


Fig. 44 – Ground plan of the royal palace at Esztergom

Source: Marosi, Ernő. *Die Anfänge der Gotik in Ungarn: Esztergom in der Kunst des 12-13 Jahrhunderts*. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1984.

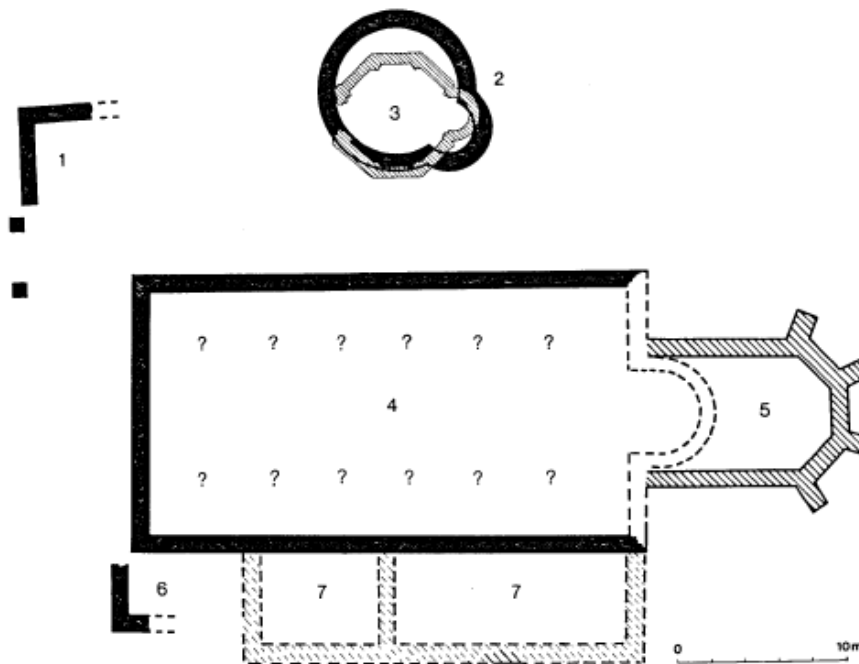


Fig. 45 – Veszprém castle (marked #1)

Source: Kralovansky, Alán. "The settlement history of Veszprém and Székesfehérvár in the Middle Ages." In *Towns in Medieval Hungary*, edited by László Gerevich, 51-95. Boulder: Social Science Monographs, 1990.

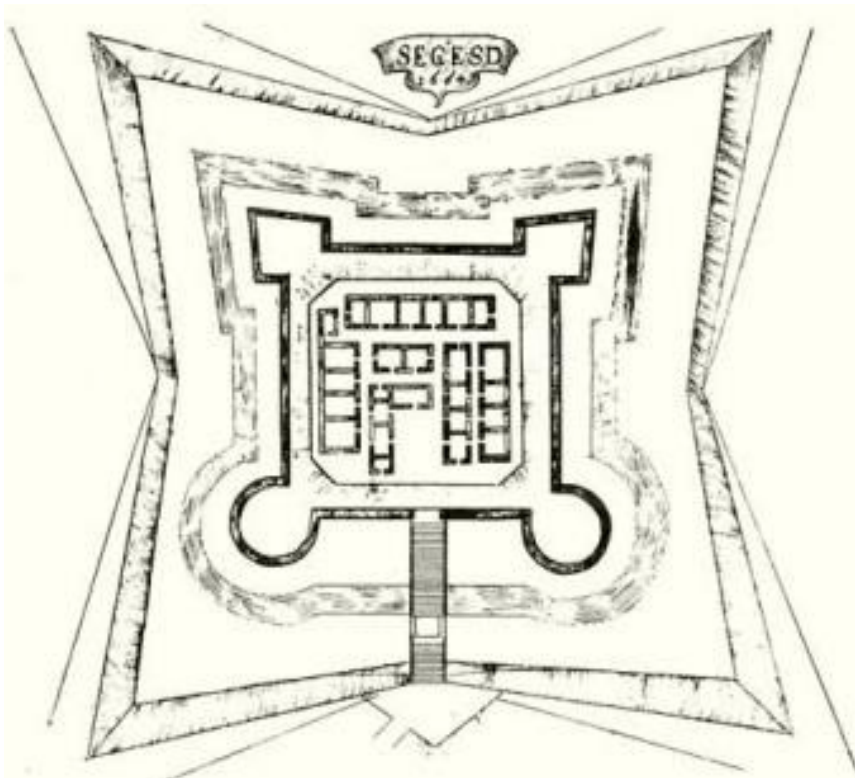


Fig. 46 – Ground plan of Segesd castle from 1664

Source: Merényi, Lajos and Zsigmond Bubics. *Herczeg Esterházy Pál nádor, 1635-1713, Vol IV.* Budapest: A Magyar Történelmi Társulat kiadása, 1895.

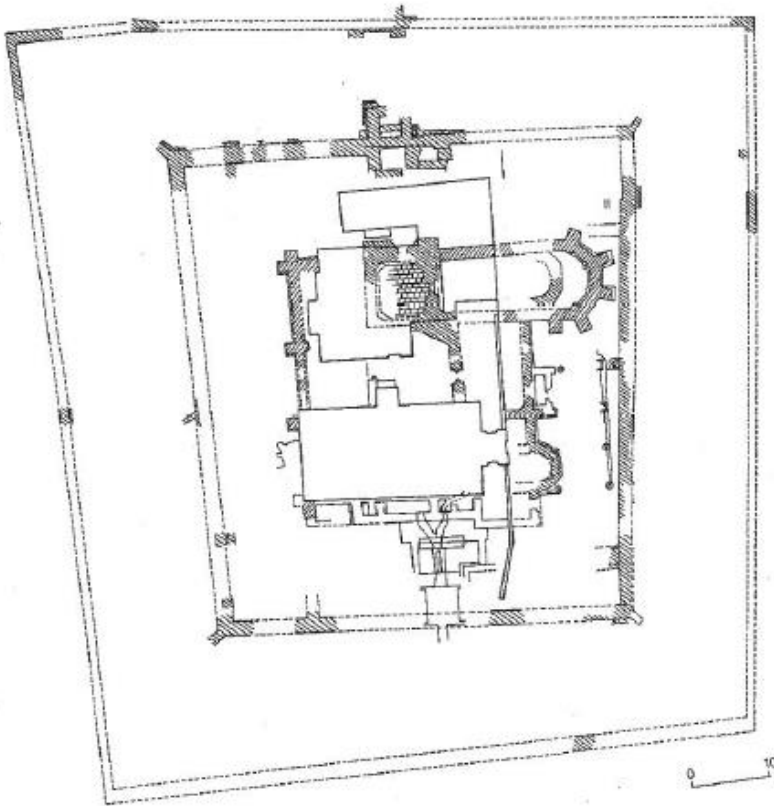


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Source: Altman, Julianna. "Óbuda." In *Medium Regni: Medieval Hungarian Royal Seats*, edited by Julianna Atlmann et al, 89-109. Budapest: Nap Kiadó, 1999.

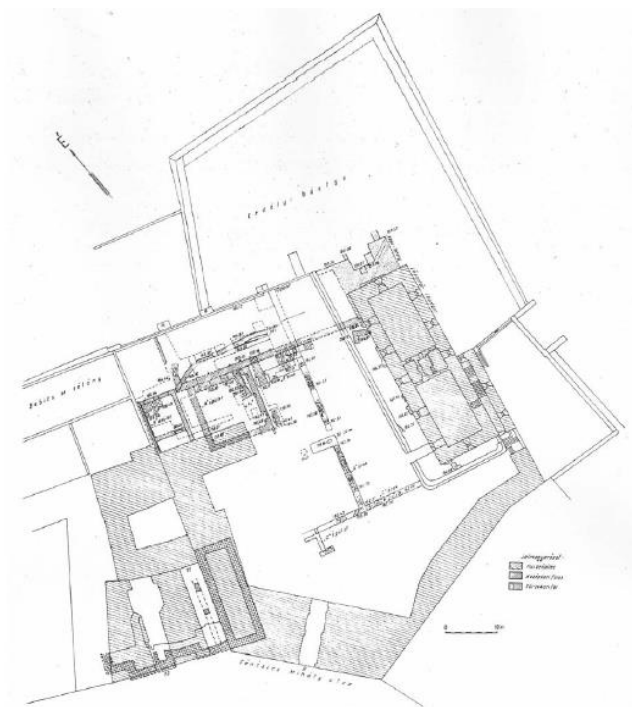


Fig. 48 – The Kammerhof in the northern part of Buda castle

Source: Bencze, Zoltán. “A budavári Táncsics Mihály utca 7-9. rövid története.” [A short history of No. 7-9 Táncsics Mihály Street in Buda Castle] *Archaeologia – Altum Castrum Online* (2014): 2-9.

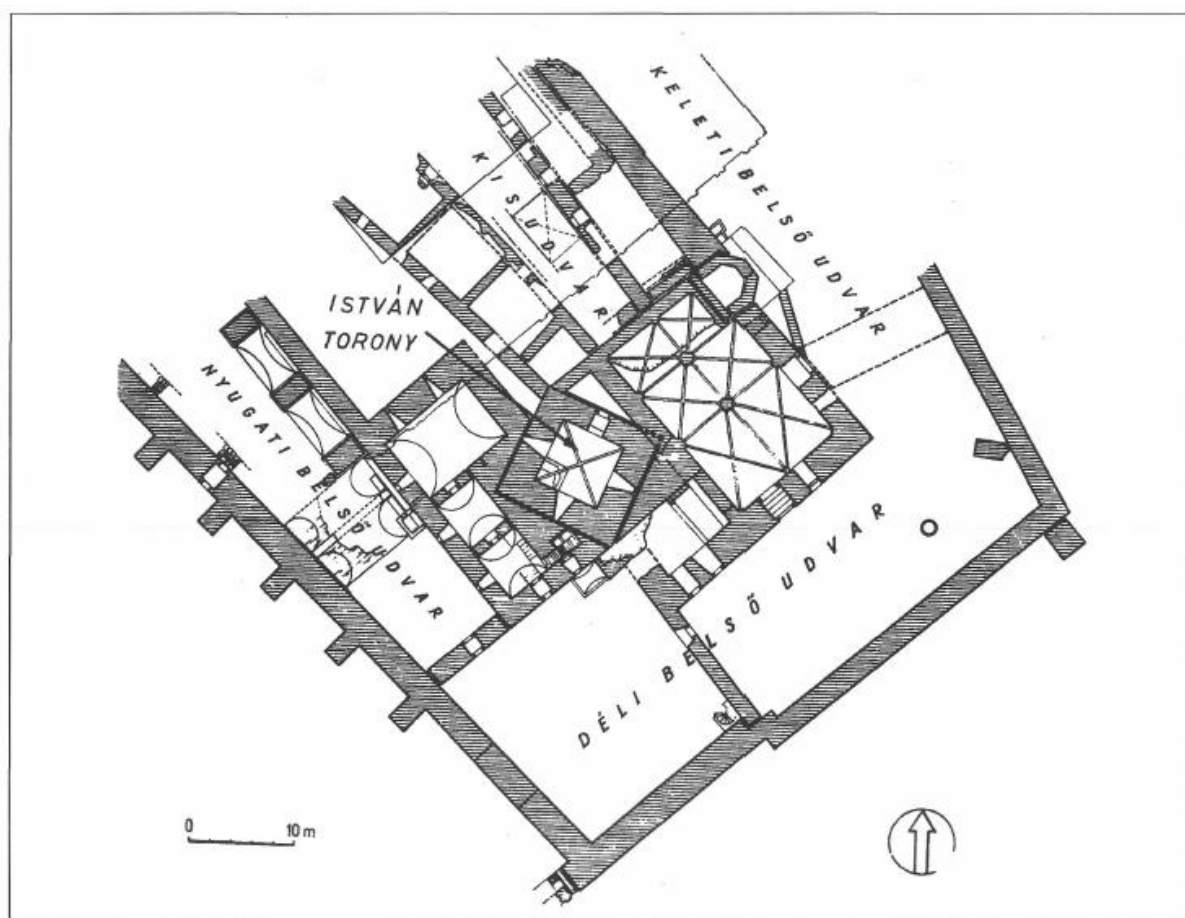


Fig. 49 – The Stephen Tower in Buda Castle

Souce: Spekner, Enikő. "Adalékok a Budavári István torony névadójának kérdéséhez."

[Contributions to questions of the so-called Stephen Tower in Buda Castle]. *Budapest Régiségei* XXXV (2002): 403-425.

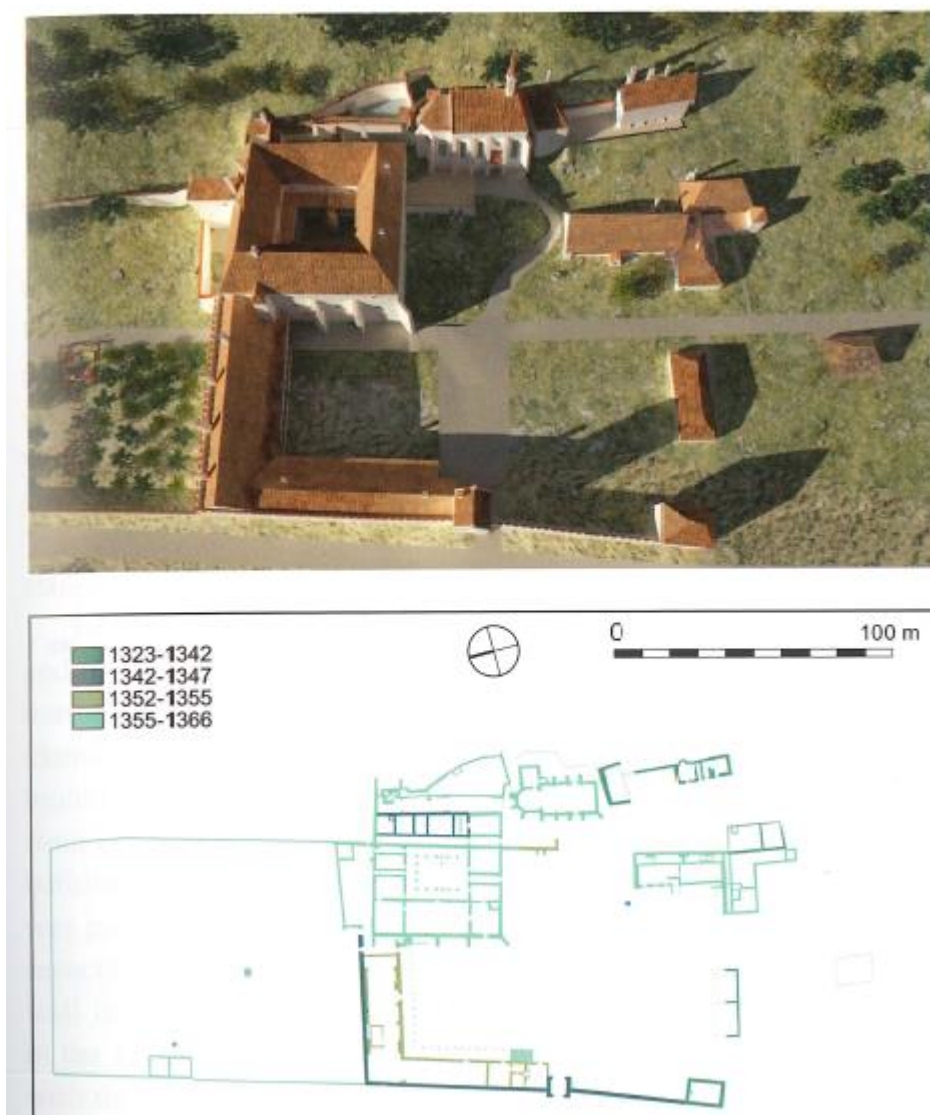


Fig. 50 – Visegrád Castle circa 1366

Source: Buzás, Gergely. "History of the Visegrád Royal Palace." In *The Medieval Royal Palace at Visegrád*, edited by Gergely Buzás and József Laszlovszky, 17-140. Budapest: Archaeolingua Press, 2013.

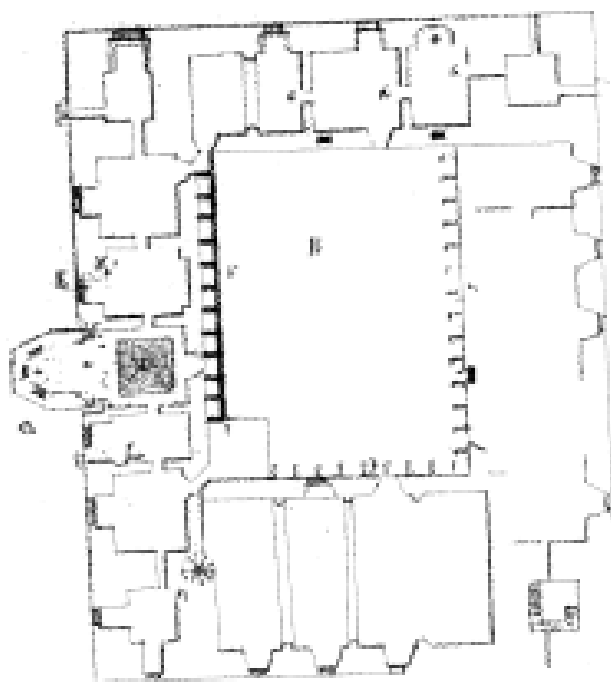


Fig. 51 – Upper floor of Diósgyőr Castle

Source: Buzás, Gergely. “History of the Visegrád Royal Palace.” In *The Medieval Royal Palace at Visegrád*, edited by Gergely Buzás and József Laszlovszky, 17-140. Budapest: Archaeolingua Press, 2013.

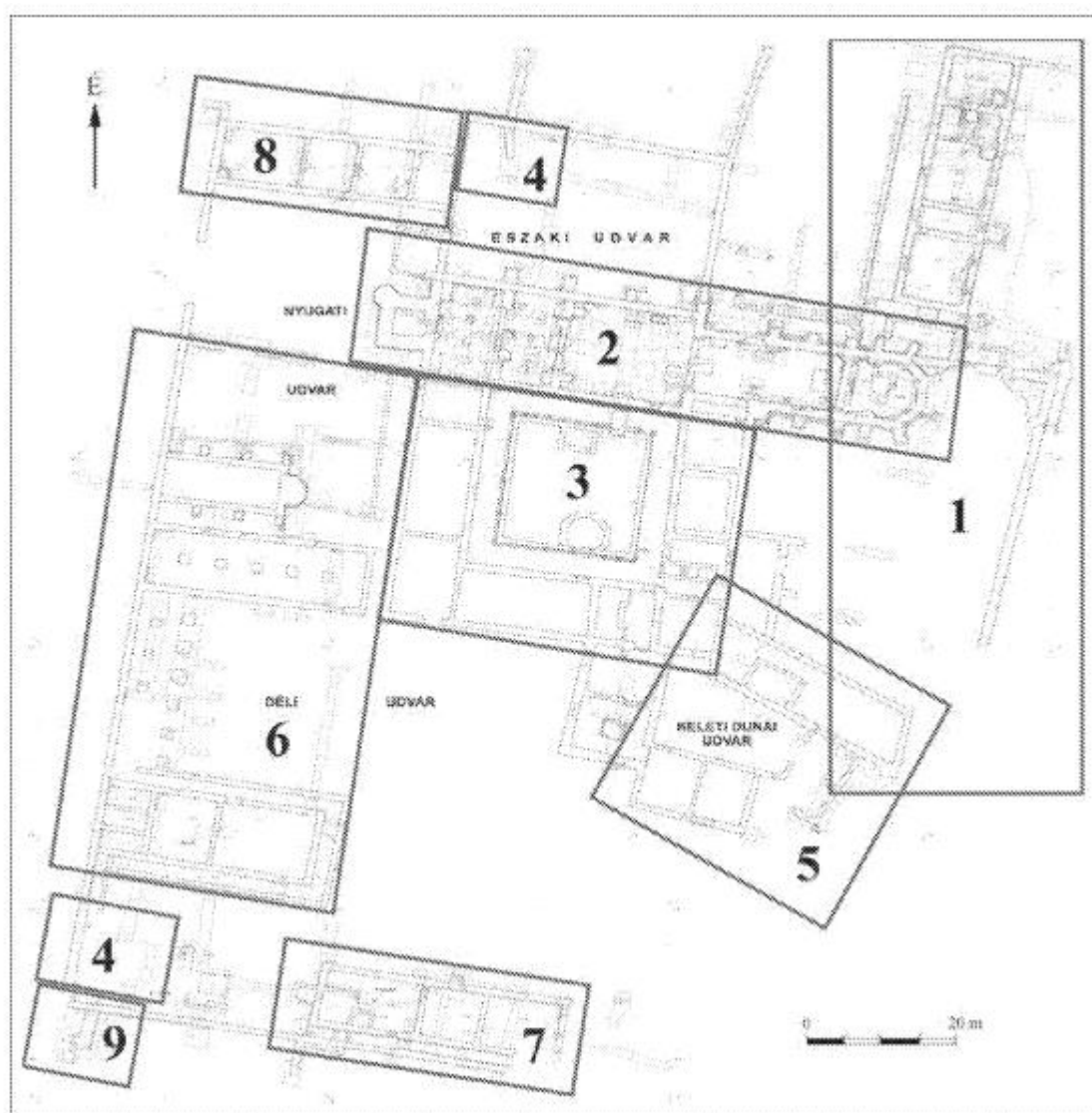


Fig. 52 – Floorplan of the Dominican nunnery of Margaret Island

The royal residence is identified as #1 – in the 1950s it was identified as #8

Source: Iránsné Melis, Katalin. “A Budapest-Margit-szigeti középkori királyi udvarhely és a domonkos apáca kolostor kutatása. Régészeti, történeti adatok” [Research on the medieval royal court of Budapest’s Margaret Island and the Dominican nunnery]. In *A középkor és a kora újkor régészete Magyarországon: Archaeology of the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Period in Hungary*, I-II edited by Elek Benkő and Gyöngyi Kovács, 421-437. Budapest: Archaeological Institute of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, 2010.



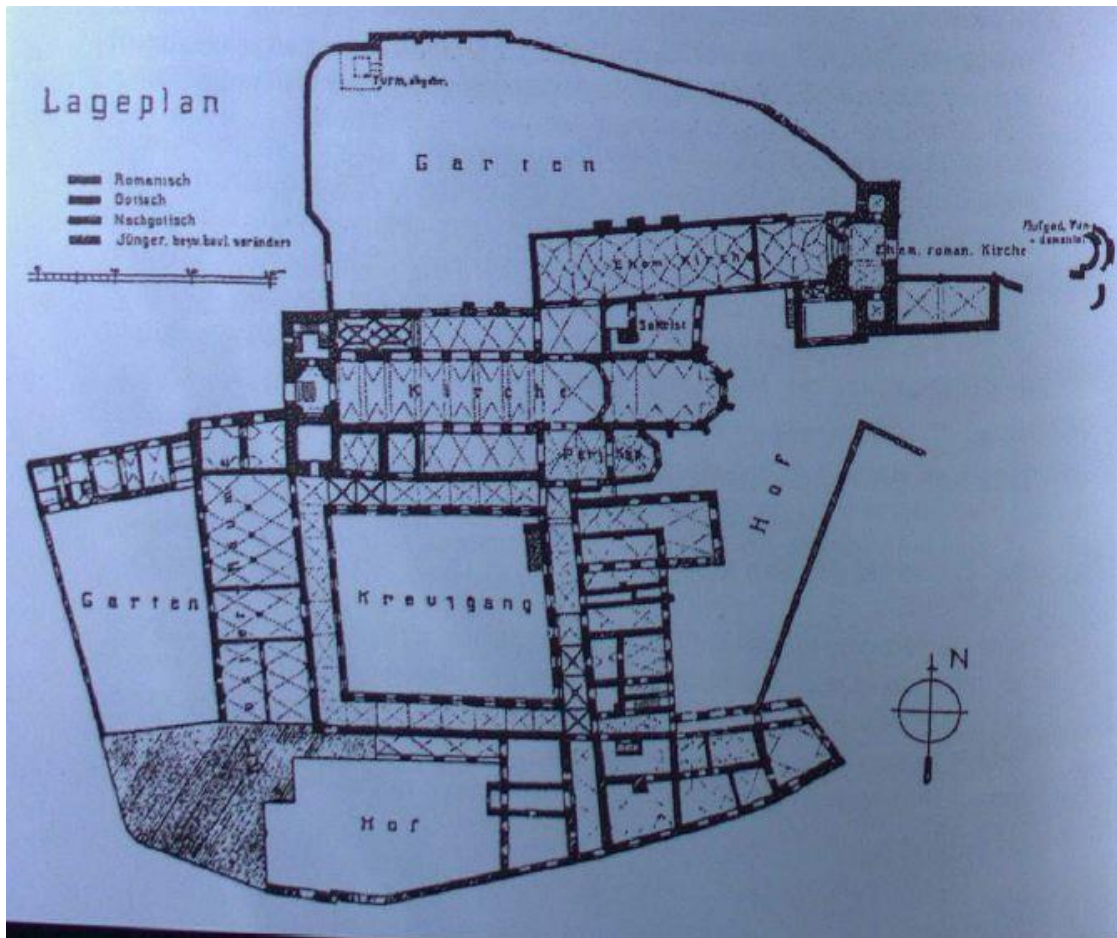


Fig. 53 – Floor plan of the Abbey of Niedernburg, Passau

Source: Faas, Richard. *Kloster Niedernburg, Passau: Die Geschichte von 888 bis zur Gegenwart*. Oberhaching: Mogenroth Media, 2014.

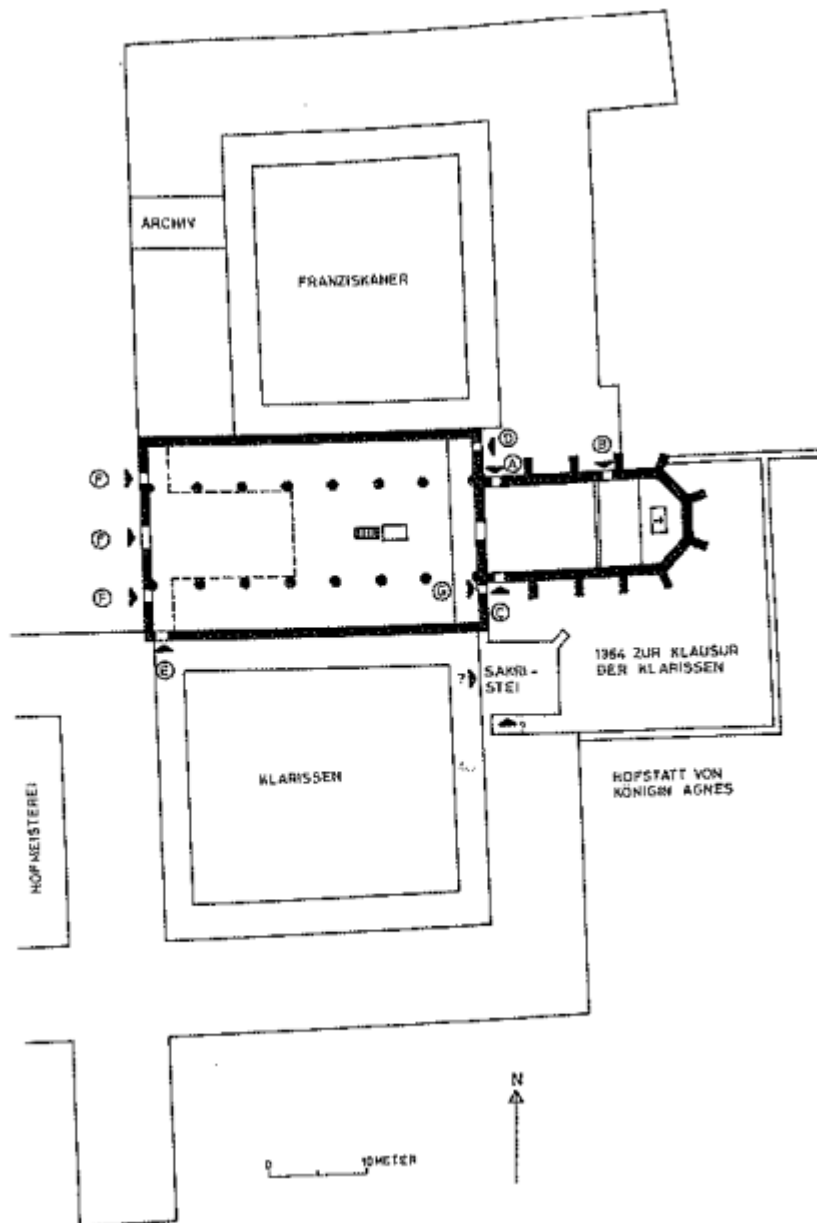


Fig. 54 – Floorplan of Königsfelden

Source: Kurmann-Schwartz, Brigitte. *Die mittelalterlichen Glasmalereien der ehemaligen Klosterkirche Königsfelden*. Bern: Stämpfli, 2008.

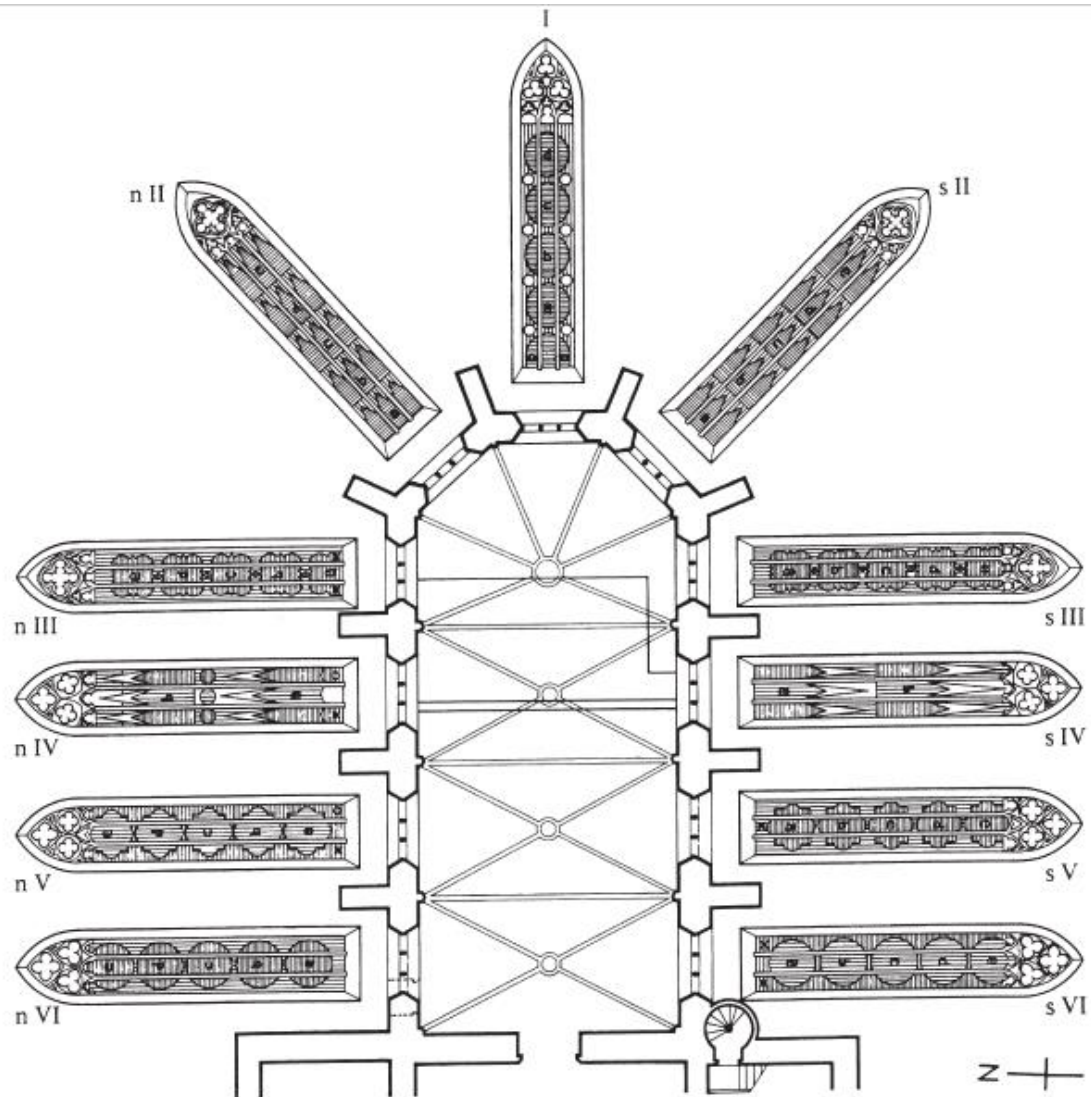


Fig. 55 – Layout of stained glass windows in the choir of Königsfelden

Source: Kurmann-Schwartz, Brigitte. *Die mittelalterlichen Glasmalereien der ehemaligen Klosterkirche Königsfelden*. Bern: Stämpfli, 2008.

*Appendix I: Itinerary of the Medieval Hungarian queens*

Place	Queen	Date	Reference	Notes
Székesfehérvár	Gisela of Bavaria	1007	Siklósi 1999, 45	Birth of St. Emeric
Melk	Anastasia of Kiev	1060-1061	Wertner 1892, 120	
Moson	Anastasia of Kiev	1074	Dercsényi, ed. 1969, 124-125.	
Moson	Judith of Swabia	1074	Dercsényi, ed. 1969, 124-125.	
Regensburg	Judith of Swabia	c. 1074-1088	Wertner 1892, 132-133	
Kraków	Judith of Swabia	1088	Wertner 1892, 133	Remarriage to Polish king
Constantinople	Synadene	Oct. 1079/80	Kerbl 1979, 55-57	Left Hungary
Biograd na Moru	Felicia of Sicily	May 1097	Mór 1892, 221.	Landed in Hungary
Székesfehérvár	Felicia of Sicily	May 1097	Kosztolnyik 1987, 28	Wedding
Kiev	Euphemia of Kiev	April 1138	Dimnik 2008, 83	Death
Tolna	Helen of Serbia	c. 1129-1131	Makk 1989, 29	
Arad	Helen of Serbia	1131	Makk 1989, 31	Council of Arad
Bratislava	Euphrosyne of Kiev	1161	Wertner 1892, 313	Retreat
Braničevo	Euphrosyne of Kiev	1177-1186	Makk 1989, 177	Exile
“Byzantium”	Euphrosyne of Kiev	1186	Makk 1989, 177	Exile
Jerusalem (disputed)	Euphrosyne of Kiev	1186-c.1193	Makk 1989, 177	Nun
Vienna	Agnes of Babenberg	end of 1166	Wertner 1892, 321; Makk 1989, 99, 167	Wedding to Stephen III
Constantinople	Maria Komnena	1156	Vajay 1979, 22	Wedding to Stephen IV
Constantinople	Agnes Châtillon	1168	Wertner 1892, 360-361	Wedding to Béla III
Esztergom	Margaret Capet	1189	Altmann 1999, 93	Barbarossa's visit
Óbuda	Margaret Capet	1189	Altmann 1999, 93	Barbarossa
Csepel Island	Margaret Capet	1189	Altmann 1999, 93	Barbarossa
Tyre	Margaret Capet	1197	Edbury 1998, 142-3	Death
Esztergom	Constance of Aragon	1198	Wertner 1892, 371	Wedding to Emeric
Austria	Constance of Aragon	1204-1205	Wertner 1892, 372	
Sárospatak (or	Gertrude of	1207	Kosztolnyik 1996,	Birth of St.

poss. Bratislava)	Meran		404	Elizabeth
Forest of Zemplén	Gertrude of Meran	Sept 28 1213	Körmendi 2014	Her murder
Székesfehérvár	Yolanda of Courtenay	Feb. 1215	Smohay 2012, 18.	Wedding to Andrew II
Székesfehérvár	Beatrix of Este	May 14, 1234	Wertner 1892, 430	Wedding to Andrew II
Székesfehérvár	Maria Laskarina	1220	Wertner 1892, 460	Coronation
Austria	Maria Laskarina	1223	Wertner 1892, 461	
Hainburg	Maria Laskarina	Lent 1241	Anonymous & Roger 2010, 161	Fleeing Mongols
Austrian border	Maria Laskarina	After April 11 1241	Anonymous & Roger 2010, 193	After Battle of Muhi
Split	Maria Laskarina	Summer of 1241	Thomas of Split 2006, 287	
Klis	Maria Laskarina	Summer-Sept. 1241	Thomas of Split 2006, 287	Preferred Klis to Split
Klis	Maria Laskarina	Jan. 27 1242	Klaniczay 2000, 205	Birth of St. Margaret
Margaret Island	Maria Laskarina	1248	Zs & Sz 2008, 46	
Knin	Maria Laskarina	After 1250	Thomas of Split 2006, 387	Conflict w/ Spalatins
Split	Maria Laskarina	After 1250	Thomas of Split 2006, 387	
Klis	Maria Laskarina	After 1250	Thomas of Split 2006, 387	
Visegrád	Maria Laskarina	1251	Zs & Sz 2008, 47	
Buda	Maria Laskarina	Jan. 20 1258	Zs & Sz 2008, 47	
Buda	Maria Laskarina	Jan. 20 1258	Zs & Sz 2008, 48	
Zagreb	Maria Laskarina	1261	Zs & Sz 2008, 50	
Buda Castle	Maria Laskarina	Oct. 27 1268	Zs & Sz 2008, 57	
Buda	Maria Laskarina	Nov. 2 1268	Zs & Sz 2008, 59	
Bihács	Maria Laskarina	May 1 1269	Zs & Sz 2008, 59	
Székesfehérvár	Maria Laskarina	May 17 1270	Kosztolnyik 1996, 248	Coronation of Stephen V
Sárospatak	Elizabeth the Cuman	1263	Ráth 1866, 26	Birth of Ladislas IV
Székesfehérvár	Elizabeth the Cuman	June 9-12 1270	Zsoldos 2005, 191	Coronation
Margaret Island	Elizabeth the Cuman	Sept. 7 1271	Zs & Sz 2008, 64	
Szikszo	Eliz. the Cuman	Dec. 7 1271	Zs & Sz 2008, 65	
Bereg	Eliz. the Cuman	Dec. 24 1271	Zs & Sz 2008, 66	
Buda	Eliz. the Cuman	Sept. 22 1272	Zs & Sz 2008, 69	
Margaret Island	Eliz. the Cuman	Sept. 29 1272	Zs & Sz 2008, 69	
Margaret Island	Eliz. the Cuman	Sept. 29 1272	Zs & Sz 2008, 69	

Ösöd	Eliz. the Cuman	May 9 1273	Zs & Sz 2008, 70	
Székesfehérvár	Eliz. the Cuman	July 2 1274	Zs & Sz 2008, 72	
Szepesvár	Eliz. the Cuman	Dec. 13 1274	Zs & Sz 2008, 79	
Zsigra	Eliz. the Cuman	Nov. 6 1280	Zs & Sz 2008, 87	
Buda	Eliz. the Cuman	Jan. 2 1281	Zs & Sz 2008, 92	
Beremen	Eliz. the Cuman	Mar. 31 1282	Zs & Sz 2008, 92	
Mohács	Eliz. the Cuman	Sept. 30 1282	Zs & Sz 2008, 95	
Slavonska Pozega	Eliz. the Cuman	Jan. 13 1283	Zs & Sz 2008, 96	
Virovitica	Eliz. the Cuman	Nov. 18 1283	Zs & Sz 2008, 97	
Aranyos	Eliz. the Cuman	May 3 1290	Zs & Sz 2008, 100	
Székesfehérvár	Isabella of Naples	July 11-16 1273	Zsoldos 2005, 192	Coronation
Buda	Isabella of Naples	July 14 1274	Zs & Sz 2008, 102	
Buda	Isabella of Naples	Oct. 6 1275	Zs & Sz 2008, 104	
Buda	Isabella of Naples	Oct. 6 1275	Zs & Sz 2008, 105	
Torna?	Isabella of Naples	May 10 1276	Zs & Sz 2008, 107	
Margaret Island	Isabella of Naples	Nov. 27 1276	Zs & Sz 2008, 109	
Margaret Island	Isabella of Naples	May 6 1277	Zs & Sz 2008, 110	
Székesfehérvár	Isabella of Naples	Nov. 15 1277	Zs & Sz 2008, 111	
Buda	Isabella of Naples	Jan. 20 1278	Zs & Sz 2008, 112	
Sáros	Isabella of Naples	Oct. 28 1278	Zs & Sz 2008, 112	
Buda	Isabella of Naples	1278	Zs & Sz 2008, 115	
Buda	Isabella of Naples	Feb. 24 1280	Zs & Sz 2008, 117	
Kölesér	Isabella of Naples	Jan. 13 1282	Zs & Sz 2008, 125	
Near Buda	Isabella of Naples	Dec. 7 1282	Zs & Sz 2008, 126	“Buda mellett”
Esztergom	Isabella of Naples	Mar. 31 1283	Zs & Sz 2008, 128	
Buda	Isabella of Naples	Sept. 15 1283	Zs & Sz 2008, 129	
Székesfehérvár	Isabella of Naples	Nov. 29 1283	Zs & Sz 2008, 130	
Buda	Isabella of Naples	Feb. 11 1284	Zs & Sz 2008, 132	
Buda	Isabella of Naples	July 13 1284	Zs & Sz 2008, 140	

Margaret Island	Isabella of Naples	July 1 1287	Zs & Sz 2008, 143	
Geszte (Várgeszte?)	Isabella of Naples	Aug. 11 1289	Zs & Sz 2008, 146	
Pátró	Isabella of Naples	Aug. 16 1289	Zs & Sz 2008, 147	
Hács	Isabella of Naples	Oct. 17 1289	Zs & Sz 2008, 147	
Esztergom	Isabella of Naples	Jan. 28 1290	Zs & Sz 2008, 149	
Esztergom	Isabella of Naples	Feb. 8 1290	Zs & Sz 2008, 150	
Naples	Isabella of Naples	1300-1304	Kosztolnyik 1996, 296	Nun at San Pietro
Székesfehérvár?	Fenenna of Kujava	December 1290	Wertner 1892, 572	Wedding to Andrew III
Esztergom	Fenenna of Kujava	Oct. 31 1291	Zs & Sz 2008, 164	
Esztergom	Fenenna of Kuj.	Nov. 2 1291	Zs & Sz 2008, 164	
Buda	Fenenna of Kuj.	Sep. 1 1294-5	Zs & Sz 2008, 169	
Buda	Fenenna of Kuj.	Sept. 8 1295	Zs & Sz 2008, 170	
Vienna	Agnes of Habsburg	Feb. 5 1296	Wertner 1892, 577	Wedding to Andrew III
Buda	Agnes of Habsburg	May 1 1299	Zs & Sz 2008, 171	
Buda	Agnes of Habsburg	Jan 15 1301	Anj Okl I, 45	
Vienna	Agnes of Habsburg	May 3 1313	Anj Okl III, 227	
Vienna	Agnes of Habsburg	Nov 6 1313	Anj Okl III, 281	
For Agnes' life from 1313 onwards, see Table 3				
Buda	Mary of Bytom	Apr 9 1313	Anj Okl III, 214	
Timisoara	Mary of Bytom	1317	Dercsényi, ed. 1969, 145	Death
Timisoara	Beatrix of Luxemburg	Mar. 1 1319	Anj Okl V, 157; MOL DL-DF 1955	
Timisoara	Elizabeth Piast	Mar 18 1322	Anj Okl VI, 184	
Timisoara	Elizabeth Piast	Jun 10 1322	Anj Okl VI, 231; Nagy 1881 II, 21	Great seal?
Timisoara	Elizabeth Piast	Jun 14 1322	Anj Okl VI, 233	
Buda	Elizabeth Piast	Oct 7 1322	Anj Okl VI, 293	
Visegrád	Elizabeth Piast	July 22 1323	Anj Okl VII, 176	
Visegrád	Elizabeth Piast	Sep 12 1323	Anj Okl VII, 211; Nagy 1881 II, 86	
Visegrád	Elizabeth Piast	Aug 21 1324	Anj Okl VIII, 196	Lozenge seal?
Visegrád	Elizabeth Piast	Oct 1 1324	Dercsényi, ed. 1969, 145	Birth of son Ladislás

Visegrád	Elizabeth Piast	July 6 1325	Anj Okl IX, 173	
Visegrád	Elizabeth Piast	Oct 21 1325	Anj Okl IX, 264	
Levice	Elizabeth Piast	Aug 9 1326	Anj Okl X, 208	
Visegrád	Elizabeth Piast	Sept 12 1327	Anj Okl XI, 209; Nagy 1888 II, 323	
Visegrád	Elizabeth Piast	July 31 1328	Anj Okl XII, 199; Nagy 1881 II, 370	Great seal (fragment)
Visegrád	Elizabeth Piast	May 13 1329	Anj Okl XIII, 160	
Visegrád	Elizabeth Piast	June 10 1329	Anj Okl XIII, 186	
Visegrád	Elizabeth Piast	Sep 21 1329	Anj Okl XIII, 311	Great seal
Visegrád	Elizabeth Piast	Sep 27 1329	Anj Okl XIII, 316	
Buda	Elizabeth Piast	Nov 18 1329	Anj Okl XIII, 358	Year unsure
Visegrád	Elizabeth Piast	July 28 1330	Anj Okl XIV, 269	
Visegrád	Elizabeth	Dec 1330/1380	Anj Okl XIV, 349	
Visegrád	Elizabeth Piast	Jan 18 1331	Anj Okl XV, 25	
Visegrád	Elizabeth Piast	Feb 3 1331	Anj Okl XV, 29	Great seal
Visegrád	Elizabeth Piast	Feb 9 1331	Anj Okl XV, 31	Great seal
Visegrád	Elizabeth Piast	Mar 4 1331	Anj Okl XV, 47	
Visegrád	Elizabeth Piast	Mar 4 1331	Anj Okl XV, 48	
Visegrád	Elizabeth Piast	Mar 7 1331	Anj Okl XV, 50	
Visegrád	Elizabeth Piast	Apr 14 1331	Anj Okl XV, 81	Great seal
Visegrád	Elizabeth Piast	Aug 20 1331	Anj Okl XV, 191	
Visegrád	Elizabeth Piast	Sep 21 1331	Anj Okl XV, 219; Nagy 1881 II, 549	Great seal?
Visegrád	Elizabeth Piast	Sep 21 1332	MOL DL-DF 29117	
Visegrád	Elizabeth Piast	May 1 1333	Anj Okl XVII, 105	Great seal?
Visegrád	Elizabeth Piast	July 7 1333	Anj Okl XVII, 156	
Visegrád	Elizabeth Piast	July 7 1333	Anj Okl XVII, 156	
Visegrád	Elizabeth Piast	Sep 7 1333	Anj Okl XVII, 187	
Visegrád	Elizabeth Piast	Sep 19 1333	Anj Okl XVII, 192	
Visegrád	Elizabeth Piast	Oct 6 1333	Anj Okl XVII, 204	
Visegrád	Elizabeth Piast	Nov 22 1333	Anj Okl XVII, 222	
Visegrád	Elizabeth Piast	May 23 1334	MOL DL-DF 72; DL-DF 233616	
Visegrád	Elizabeth Piast	June 2 1336	Anj Okl XX, 221	
Visegrád	Elizabeth Piast	Feb 21 1337	Anj Okl XXI, 46	
Visegrád	Elizabeth Piast	Mar 28 1337	Anj Okl XXI, 83	
Tököl	Elizabeth Piast	May 22 1337	Anj Okl XXI, 151-2	Signet ring?
Visegrád	Elizabeth Piast	Jul 16 1337	Anj Okl XXI, 239-40	
Visegrád	Elizabeth Piast	Jul 26 1337	Anj Okl XXI, 251	Great seal
Visegrád	Elizabeth Piast	Aug 26 1337	Anj Okl XXI, 280	
Visegrád	Elizabeth Piast	Sep 16 1337	Anj Okl XXI, 301	
Visegrád	Elizabeth Piast	Jan 7 1338	Anj Okl XXII, 13	
Visegrád	Elizabeth Piast	Feb 10 1338	Anj Okl XXII, 49	Great seal
Visegrád	Elizabeth Piast	Sep 24 1338	Anj Okl XXII, 297	
Visegrád	Elizabeth Piast	Sep 24 1338	Anj Okl XXII, 297	
Visegrád	Elizabeth Piast	Oct 5 1338	Anj Okl XXII, 308	
Visegrád	Elizabeth Piast	Apr 2 1339	Anj Okl XXIII, 83	



Visegrád	Elizabeth Piast	May 8 1339	Anj Okl XXIII, 129	
Visegrád	Elizabeth Piast	July 3 1339	Anj Okl XXIII, 190	
Visegrád	Elizabeth Piast	July 13 1339	Anj Okl XXIII, 203	
Visegrád	Elizabeth Piast	Sept 5 1339	Anj Okl XXIII, 251	
Visegrád	Elizabeth Piast	Apr 3 1340	Anj Okl XXIV, 95	Great seal
Visegrád	Elizabeth Piast	July 13 1340	Anj Okl XXIV, 205	
Visegrád	Elizabeth Piast	Jan 23 1341	Anj Okl XXV, 37	
Visegrád	Elizabeth Piast	Jan 23 1341	Anj Okl XXV, 37	
Visegrád	Elizabeth Piast	Feb 17 1341	Anj Okl XXV, 61	Great seal
Visegrád	Elizabeth Piast	Aug 15 1341	Anj Okl XXV, 272	
Visegrád	Elizabeth Piast	Aug 29 1341	Anj Okl XXV, 283	
Visegrád	Elizabeth Piast	Sept 29 1341	Anj Okl XXV, 330	With Charles
Visegrád	Elizabeth Piast	Feb 24 1342	Anj Okl XXVI, 94	
Visegrád	Elizabeth Piast	Aug 1 1342	Anj Okl XXVI, 289	Great seal
Buda	Elizabeth Piast	Aug 14 1342	DL-DF 237254	Charles' seal
Visegrád	Elizabeth Piast	Sept 3 1342	Anj Okl XXVI, 324	Great seal?
Visegrád	Elizabeth Piast	Sept 13 1342	Anj Okl XXVI, 331	
Visegrád	Elizabeth Piast	Sept 16 1342	Anj Okl XXVI, 336	
Visegrád	Elizabeth Piast	Sept 19 1342	Anj Okl XXVI, 337	Lozenge seal?
Visegrád	Elizabeth Piast	Oct 21 1342	DL-DF 275168	Great seal?
Visegrád	Elizabeth Piast	Nov 15 1342	Anj Okl XXVI, 393	
Visegrád	Elizabeth Piast	Dec 9 1342	Anj Okl XXVI, 425	
Visegrád	Elizabeth Piast	Feb 3 1343	Anj Okl XXVII, 79	Great seal?
Visegrád	Elizabeth Piast	Feb 11 1343	Anj Okl XXVII, 82	
Visegrád	Elizabeth Piast	Apr 4 1343	Anj Okl XXVII, 131	Great seal
Visegrád	Elizabeth Piast	Apr 6 1343	Anj Okl XXVII, 137	
Visegrád	Elizabeth Piast	Apr 24 1343	Anj Okl XXVII, 153	Great seal?
Visegrád	Elizabeth Piast	May 2 1343	Anj Okl XXVII, 175	
Visegrád	Elizabeth Piast	May 3 1343	Anj Okl XXVII, 177	
Visegrád	Elizabeth Piast	May 21 1343	Anj Okl XXVII, 222	Great seal?
Visegrád	Elizabeth Piast	May 21 1343	Anj Okl XXVII, 222	
Visegrád	Elizabeth Piast	June 8 1343	Nastasoïu 2015, 102	
Koprivnica	Elizabeth Piast	June 19 1343	Anj Okl XXVII, 267;	
Naples	Elizabeth Piast	July 24 1343	Nastasoïu 2015, 102	Italian trip
Rome	Elizabeth Piast	Sept 14-17 1343	Nastasoïu 2015, 102	Italian trip
Naples	Elizabeth Piast	Sep? 1343- Feb 1344	Nastasoïu 2015, 102- 103	Italian trip
Bari	Elizabeth Piast	Mar 1344	Nastasoïu 2015, 103	Italian trip
Manfredonia	Elizabeth Piast	Mar 10-Apr 4 1344	Nastasoïu 2015, 103	Italian trip
Buda	Elizabeth Piast	May 14 1344	Anj Okl XXVIII, 217	Lozenge seal?
Visegrád	Elizabeth Piast	Sept 30 1344	Anj Okl XXVIII, 372-3	
Buda	Elizabeth Piast	Oct 9 1344	Anj Okl XXVIII, 382	Lozenge seal?
Visegrád	Elizabeth Piast	Jan 11 1345	Anj Okl XXIX, 54	
Visegrád	Elizabeth Piast	Jan 15 1345	Anj Okl XXIX, 69	
Visegrád	Elizabeth Piast	Mar 13 1345	Anj Okl XXIX, 127	
Visegrád	Elizabeth Piast	Apr 19 1345	Anj Okl XXIX, 178	

Visegrád	Elizabeth Piast	May 1 1345	Anj Okl XXIX, 189	Lozenge seal?
Visegrád	Elizabeth Piast	Jul 12 1345	Anj Okl XXIX, 271	Charles' seal
Buda	Elizabeth Piast	Aug 1 1345	Anj Okl XXIX, 286	
Visegrád	Elizabeth Piast	Dec 11 1345	Anj Okl XXIX, 478	
Visegrád	Elizabeth Piast	Feb 5 1346	Anj Okl XXX, 58	
Visegrád	Elizabeth Piast	Mar 18 1346	Anj Okl XXX, 131	
Visegrád	Elizabeth Piast	Mar 18 1346	Anj Okl XXX, 131	
Visegrád	Elizabeth Piast	May 6 1346	Anj Okl XXX, 220	
Visegrád	Elizabeth Piast	May 24 1346	Anj Okl XXX, 256	
Visegrád	Elizabeth Piast	Jul 13 1346	Anj Okl XXX, 313	
Visegrád	Elizabeth Piast	Aug 26, 1346	Anj Okl XXX, 352	
Petrovaradin	Elizabeth Piast	Oct 11 1346	Anj Okl XXX, 410	
Buda	Elizabeth Piast	Dec 17 1346	Anj Okl XXX, 517	Charles' seal?
Buda	Elizabeth Piast	Sept 24 1347	Anj Okl XXXI, 464	
Debrecen	Elizabeth Piast	Nov 28 1347	Anj Okl XXXI, 555	Charles' seal?
Buda	Elizabeth Piast	Dec 05 1347	DL-DF 41064	Charles' seal
Buda	Elizabeth Piast	Mar 31 1348	Anj Okl XXXII, 102	Charles' seal?
Buda	Elizabeth Piast	Aug 23 1348	Anj Okl XXXII, 277-278	[Signet]
Buda	Elizabeth Piast	Jan 3 1349	Anj Okl XXXIII, 39	[Signet]
Buda	Elizabeth Piast	Mar 23 1349	Anj Okl XXXIII, 123	Charles' seal?
Buda	Elizabeth Piast	May 14 1349	Anj Okl XXXIII, 170-171	
Buda	Elizabeth Piast	Jun 1 1349	Anj Okl XXXIII, 203	
Buda	Elizabeth Piast	Jul 6, 1349	Anj Okl XXXIII, 255	
Buda	Elizabeth Piast	Dec 4 1349	Anj Okl XXXIII, 439	
Buda	Elizabeth Piast	Jan 8 1350	Anj Okl XXXIV, 51	[Signet]
Buda	Elizabeth Piast	Jan 29 1350	Anj Okl XXXIV, 87	
Senj	Elizabeth Piast	Mar 2 1350	Anj Okl XXXIV, 127	
Buda	Elizabeth Piast	July 18 1350	Anj Okl XXXIV, 301	
Bratislava	Elizabeth Piast	Oct 21 1350	Anj Okl XXXIV, 384	Charles' seal
Buda	Elizabeth Piast	Mar 27 1351	DL-DF 4152	
"Liblyo"	Elizabeth Piast	May 19 1351	DL-DF 212727	
Inuzegh?	Elizabeth Piast	Oct 12 1351	DL-DF 77006	[Signet]
Pilis	Elizabeth Piast	Jun 27 1352	DL-DF 37040	
Buda	Elizabeth Piast	Jun 6 1353	Nagy VI 1891, 88-9	
Buda	Elizabeth Piast	1354	Anj Okl XXXVIII, 372	
Presov?	Elizabeth Piast	May 18 1355	DL-DF 285826	
Buda	Elizabeth Piast	Aug 29 1355	DL-DF 38165	"Q. of Hung. and Poland"
Visegrad	Elizabeth Piast	Dec 03 1355	DL-DF 51691	Charles' seal?
Visegrád	Elizabeth Piast	Jan 29 1356	Anj Okl XL, 77	Lozenge seal?
Visegrád	Elizabeth Piast	May 27 1356	Anj Okl XL, 181	Charles' seal?
Visegrád	Elizabeth Piast	May 28 1356	DL-DF 232798	[Signet]
Pilis	Elizabeth Piast	July 30 1356	Anj Okl XL, 227	Great seal?
Visegrád	Elizabeth Piast	Apr 6 1357	Nagy VI 1891, 553	Charles' seal?
Prague	Elizabeth Piast	Apr/May 1357	Szende 2007, 139	Aachen trip

Pilsen	Elizabeth Piast	May 7 1357	Szende 2007, 139	Aachen trip
Sulzbach	Elizabeth Piast	May 9 1357	Szende 2007, 139	Aachen trip
Heilbronn	Elizabeth Piast	May 12 1357	Szende 2007, 139	Aachen trip
Mergentheim	Elizabeth Piast	May 14 1357	Szende 2007, 139	Aachen trip
Frankfurt	Elizabeth Piast	May 17 1357	Szende 2007, 139	Aachen trip
Marburg	Elizabeth Piast	May 21 1357	Szende 2007, 139	Aachen trip
Cologne	Elizabeth Piast	May 26 1357	Szende 2007, 139	Aachen trip
Aachen	Elizabeth Piast	May 28 1357	Szende 2007, 139	Aachen trip
Visegrád	Elizabeth Piast	Jul 25 1357	DL-DF 51757	Lozenge seal?
Visegrád	Elizabeth Piast	Mar 21 1358	Nagy VII 1920, 124	Ovoid seal
Visegrád	Elizabeth Piast	May 27 1358	Nagy VII 1920, 230	Charles' seal
Visegrád	Elizabeth Piast	Jun 20 1358	Nagy VII 1920, 255	
Visegrád	Elizabeth Piast	Jul 1 1358	Nagy VII 1920, 262	
Oradea	Elizabeth Piast	Sep 20 1358	Nagy VII 1920, 375	
Visegrád	Elizabeth Piast	Dec 24 1358	Nagy VI 1920, 531	Lozenge seal?
Visegrád	Elizabeth Piast	Feb 4 1359	Nagy VII 1920, 587	Charles' seal
Visegrád	Elizabeth Piast	Aug 22 1359	DL-DF 228473	[Signet]
Visegrád	Elizabeth Piast	May 29 1360	DL-DF 64057	Charles' seal
Visegrád	Elizabeth Piast?	Jun 05 1360	DL-DF 4902	
Pest	Elizabeth Piast	Apr 8 1361	DL-DF 41475	Charles' seal
Esztergom	Elizabeth Piast	Aug 27 1361	DL-DF 62507	Charles' seal
Visegrád	Elizabeth Piast	Aug 29 1361	DL-DF 87371	Great seal?
Visegrád	Elizabeth Piast	Nov 1 1361	DL-DF 5109	
Visegrád	Elizabeth Piast	Mar 20 1362	DL-DF 5109	
Visegrád	Elizabeth Piast	Jun 5 1362	DL-DF 5127	Great seal
Visegrád	Elizabeth Piast	Dec 8 1363	DL-DF 41552	Charles' seal?
Visegrád	Elizabeth Piast	Mar 5 1364	DL-DF 4289	Charles' seal?
Berehovo?	Elizabeth Piast	Sep 27 1364	DL-DF 41592	
Luppertzaza	Elizabeth Piast	Sep 30 1364	DL-DF 41594	
Karul	Elizabeth Piast	Oct 8 1364	DL-DF 83295	
Székesfehérvár	Elizabeth Piast	Dec 8 1364	DL-DF 83299	
Óbuda	Elizabeth Piast	Jun 26 1365	DL-DF 5402	Great seal
Óbuda	Elizabeth Piast	Jun 27 1365	DL-DF 219535	
Buda	Elizabeth Piast	Feb 15 1366	DL-DF 269197	
Berengh?	Elizabeth Piast	May 5 1366	DL-DF 286766	
Visegrád?	Elizabeth Piast	Sep 4 1366	DL-DF 219569	
Buda	Elizabeth Piast	Oct 28 1366	DL-DF 41688	
Buda	Elizabeth Piast	Apr 28 1367	DL-DF 41705	
Pécs	Elizabeth Piast	Jun 3 1367	DL-DF 92656	
Verőce	Elizabeth	Jun 8 1367	DL-DF 238838	[Signet]
Buda	Elizabeth	Oct 20 1367	DL-DF 257993	With Louis I
Visegrád	Elizabeth	Apr 12 1368	DL-DF 290271	
Visegrád	Elizabeth Piast	May 30 1368	DL-DF 41750	Charles' seal
Buda	Elizabeth Piast	Jun 8 1368	DL-DF 5671	Charles' seal
Visegrád	Elizabeth Piast	Jun 9 1368	DL-DF 5675	Charles' seal
Buda	Elizabeth Piast	Apr 22 1369	DL-DF 5730	Charles' seal
Verőce	Elizabeth	Jun 1 1369	Arh. Hrv. Akad. DL U 432	"Vereuche"
Verőce	Elizabeth	Jun 2 1369	Arh. Hrv. Akad.	"Vereu..."

			DLU 512	
Buda	Elizabeth	Jun 24 1369	DL-DF 5669	Charles' seal?
Buda	Elizabeth	Jul 6 1369	DL-DF 230527	
Óbuda	Elizabeth Piast	Jul 9 1369	DL-DF 5671	Charles' seal
Diósgyőr	Elizabeth Piast	Oct 29 1369	DL-DF 52140	Charles' seal
Óbuda	Elizabeth	Jan 26 1370	DL-DF 5853	[Signet]
Óbuda	Elizabeth	Feb 1 1370	DL-DF 283931	
Buda	Elizabeth	Mar 6 1370	DL-DF 229929	[Signet]
Diósgyőr	Elizabeth	Jun 7 1370	DL-DF 219632	
Buda	Elizabeth	Sep 25 1370	DL-DF 41826	[Signet]
Óbuda	Elizabeth	Oct 3 1370	DL-DF 66174	[Signet]
Kraków?	Elizabeth Piast	Jan 7 1371	DL-DF 258978	
Buda	Elizabeth	Mar 23 1371	DL-DF 261929	
Visegrád	Elizabeth Piast	May 24 1371	DL-DF 269300	“Senior”
Visegrád	Elizabeth Piast	May 24 1371	DL-DF 269301	“Senior”
Petrovaradin?	Elizabeth	June 7 1371	DL-DF 219670	
Presov	Elizabeth	Nov 10 1371	DL-DF 83333	1371 Copy
Buda	Elizabeth Piast	Nov 24 1371	DL-DF 228481	“Senior”
Visegrád	Elizabeth	Feb 7 1372	DL-DF 219693	
Buda	Elizabeth	Apr 24 1372	DL-DF 279578	
Buda	Elizabeth Piast	Feb 22 1373	DL-DF 6096	“Senior”
Buda	Elizabeth	Mar 13 1373	DL-DF 25141	
Diósgyőr	Elizabeth Piast	Sep 15 1373	DL-DF 6140	[Signet]
Buda	Elizabeth	Nov 27 1373	DL-DF 26929	Hanging seal
Visegrád	Elizabeth Piast	Mar 23 1374	DL-DF 238906	“Senior”
Tămașeni	Elizabeth Piast	Jun 3 1374	DL-DF 64092	“in Waralya” Charles' seal
Levoča?	Elizabeth	Jun 4 1374	DL-DF 6222	[Signet]
St. Martin?	Elizabeth Piast	Jun 4 1374	DL-DF 64093	Charles' seal D. p. Corp. Ch. in Sancto Martino
Košice	Elizabeth	Sep 19 1374	DL-DF 69699	[Signet]
Visegrád	Elizabeth Piast	Dec 5 1374	DL-DF 68936	Lozenge seal?
Visegrád	Elizabeth	Jun 27 1375	DL-DF 238922	
Visegrád	Elizabeth	Aug 1 1375	DL-DF 227015	
Diósgyőr	Elizabeth	Jan 28 1376	DL-DF 6330	[Signet]
Buda?	Elizabeth Piast	May 22 1376	DL-DF 274900	“Senior”
Buda	Elizabeth	Jul 13 1376	DL-DF 6370	[Signet]
Buda	Elizabeth Piast	Apr 15 1377	DL-DF 58602	Charles' seal
Buda	Elizabeth	Jun 8 1377	DL-DF 281828	
Buda	Elizabeth Piast	Oct 5 1377	DL-DF 238952	“Senior”
Buda	Elizabeth Piast	Dec 14 1377	DL-DF 42064	Shield seal
Visegrád	Elizabeth Piast/Elizabeth of Bosnia?	Apr 25 1378	DL-DF 6523	Shield seal
Buda	Elizabeth	Apr 27 1378	DL-DF 238958	
Buda	Elizabeth	Sep 15 1378	DL-DF 269302	
Visegrád	Elizabeth	Oct 22 1378	DL-DF 6569	

Pizaz?	Elizabeth	Nov 10 1378	DL-DF 274901	
Buda	Elizabeth	Feb 22 1379	DL-DF 6596	
Óbuda?	Elizabeth Piast	Jun 9 1379	DL-DF 6625	“Buda Corpus Christi” Lozenge seal
Palisy?	Elizabeth	Jul 20 1379	DL-DF 35261	
Diósgyőr	Elizabeth	Sep 12 1379	DL-DF 87522	
Buda	Elizabeth	Oct 2 1379	DL-DF 227029	
Buda	Elizabeth	Nov 9 1379	DL-DF 77760	[Signet]
Visegrád	Elizabeth	Jan 27 1380	DL-DF 27437	
Buda	Elizabeth Piast	Apr 6 1380	DL-DF 6692	Great seal
Buda	Elizabeth Piast	May 10 1380	DL-DF 102356	Lozenge seal
Buda	Elizabeth Piast	Aug 15 1380	DL-DF 6732	Lozenge seal
Lumperthaza	Elizabeth	Sep 24 1380	DL-DF 42165	
Zizi	Elizabeth	Sep 30 1380	DL-DF 219885	
Som	Elizabeth	Oct 10 1380	DL-DF 42166	
Buda	Elizabeth	Nov 13 1380	DL-DF 42170	
Buda	Eliz. of Bosnia	Jun 20 1353	Długosz 1997, 303	Wedding to Louis I
Diósgyőr	Elizabeth of Bosnia	Feb 20 1370	DL-DF 77442	“junior” queen & seal
Gamb?	Eliz. of Bosnia	Nov 16 1370	DL-DF 5891	
Visegrád	Eliz. of Bosnia	Mar 21 1371	DL-DF 5916	“Junior”
Visegrád	Eliz. of Bosnia	Aug 24 1371	DL-DF 5955	“Junior”
Visegrád	Eliz. of Bosnia	Dec 6 1371	DL-DF 238877	“Junior”
Visegrád	Eliz. of Bosnia	Jul 5 1372	DL-DF 238889	“Junior”
Damir?	Eliz. of Bosnia	Jan 3 1373	DL-DF 77535	“Junior” & Seal
Buda	Eliz. of Bosnia	after October 3 1373	Halecki 1991, 56	Birth of Jadwiga
Visegrád	Eliz. of Bosnia?	Nov 14 1374	DL-DF 262197	Ostrich seal
Buda	Eliz. of Bosnia	May 1 1378	DL-DF 6525	“Junior”, Ostrich seal
Visegrád	Eliz. of Bosnia	Jun 1 1378	DL-DF 4128	
Csepel	Eliz. of Bosnia	Oct 27 1379	DL-DF 6650	Ostrich seal
Buda	Eliz. of Bosnia	Jun 30 1380	DL-DF 6716	Óbuda? Petri et Pauli
Buda	Eliz. of Bosnia	Jul 2 1380	DL-DF 6720	Óbuda? Petri et Pauli
Diósgyőr	Eliz. of Bosnia	Jul 10 1380	DL-DF 89487	“Junior”
Buda	Eliz. of Bosnia	Aug 17 1380	DL-DF 219887	“Junior”
Visegrád	Eliz. of Bosnia	Nov 24 1380	DL-DF 238988	“Junior”
Óbuda	Eliz. of Bosnia	Jan 12 1381	DL-DF 69710	
Buda	Eliz. of Bosnia	Feb 2 1381	DL-DF 207427	
Buda	Eliz. of Bosnia	Mar 25 1381	DL-DF 42181	
Buda	Eliz. of Bosnia	Jun 12 1381	DL-DF 77818	
Wepelin?	Eliz. of Bosnia	Jun 24 1381	DL-DF 212222	
Buda	Eliz. of Bosnia	Jul 29 1381	DL-DF 42200	
Diósgyőr	Eliz. of Bosnia	Sep 1 1381	DL-DF 96566	

Zagreb	Eliz. of Bosnia	Jan 14 1382	Ráth 1886, 75	
Visegrád	Eliz. of Bosnia	Mar 14 1382	Ráth 1886, 75; Süttö 2003 II, 2	
Visegrád	Eliz. of Bosnia	Apr 23 1382	Ráth 1886, 75	
Zvolen	Eliz. of Bosnia	Jul 23/24 1382	Ráth 1886, 75; Süttö 2003 II, 3	
Gradna Szent-Miklós	Eliz. of Bosnia	Aug 8 1382	Ráth 1886, 75	
Székesfehérvár	Elizabeth of Bosnia	Sep 16-17 1382	En & To 2005, 161	
Šintava	Elizabeth of Bosnia	Sep 24-Oct 5 1382	En & To 2005, 161	
Malzenice	Eliz. of Bosnia	Oct 11 1382	En & To 2005, 161	
Nitra	Eliz. of Bosnia	Oct 13-Nov 3 1382	En & To 2005, 161; Süttö 2003 II, 7	
Drienovec	Eliz. of Bosnia	Nov 4 1382	En & To 2005, 161	
Tvrdošovce	Eliz. of Bosnia	Nov 7 1382	En & To 2005, 161	
Buda	Eliz. of Bosnia	Nov 14-Dec 4 1382	En & To 2005, 161; Süttö 2003 II, 9	
Csepel Island	Eliz. of Bosnia	Dec 13 1382	En & To 2005, 161	
Buda	Eliz. of Bosnia	Dec 20 1382-Apr 30 1383	En & To 2005, 161; Süttö 2003 II, 10-68	
Košice	Eliz. of Bosnia	May 19-21 1383	En & To 2005, 161	
Buda	Eliz. of Bosnia	Jun 18-Jul 13 1383	En & To 2005, 162; Süttö 2003 II, 20	
Diósgyőr	Eliz. of Bosnia	Jul 19-Aug 1 1383	En & To 2005, 162; Süttö 2003 II, 21-23	
Buda	Eliz. of Bosnia	Sep 7-19 1383	En & To 2005, 162; Süttö 2003 II, 24-25	
Zadar	Eliz. of Bosnia	Nov 5 1383	En & To 2005, 162; Süttö 2003 II, 25	“Jadre”
Zagreb	Eliz. of Bosnia	Nov 25-Dec 3 1383	En & To 2005, 162; Süttö 2003 II, 26-27	
Križevci	Eliz. of Bosnia	Dec 20 1383	En & To 2005, 162	
Susica	Eliz. of Bosnia	Jan 3 1384	En & To 2005, 162; Süttö 2003 II, 29	“in villa Sushica”
Gorjani	Eliz. of Bosnia	Feb 2-4 1384	En & To 2005, 162; Süttö 2003 II, 34-35	“in “Gara”
Sremska Mitrovica	Eliz. of Bosnia	Mar 3 1384	En & To 2005, 162; Süttö 2003 II, 43-44	
Buda	Eliz. of Bosnia	Mar 24-May 20 1384	En & To 2005, 162	
Csepel Island	Eliz. of Bosnia	May 27 1384	En & To 2005, 162	
Buda	Eliz. of Bosnia	Jun 2-Jul 20 1384	En & To 2005, 162; Süttö 2003 II, 98-115	
Timisoara	Eliz. of Bosnia	Aug 14-Sep 10 1384	En & To 2005, 162; Süttö 2003 II, 119-26	

Visegrád	Eliz. of Bosnia	Aug 25-27 1384?	Süttő 2003 II,123-4	Year uncertain
Szeged	Eliz. of Bosnia	Sep 16 1384	En & To 2005, 162; Süttő 2003 II,127-8	
Košice	Eliz. of Bosnia	Sep 29 1384	En & To 2005, 162; Süttő 2003 II, 131	
Stará L'ubovňa	Eliz. of Bosnia	Oct 5-6 1384	En & To 2005, 162; Süttő 2003 II,132-3	
Kežmarok	Eliz. of Bosnia	Oct 10-11 1384	En & To 2005, 163; Süttő 2003 II, 133-4	
Levoča	Eliz. of Bosnia	Oct 19 1384	En & To 2005, 163; Süttő 2003 II,137-8	
Moldava nad Bodvou	Eliz. of Bosnia	Oct 25 1384	En & To 2005, 163; Süttő 2003 II, 138	
Buda	Eliz. of Bosnia	Nov 27 1384 -Jan 13 1385	En & To 2005, 163; Süttő 2003 II, 142-63	
Pécs	Eliz. of Bosnia	Jan 23 1385	En & To 2005, 163; Süttő 2003 II, 173	
Slavonska Pozega	Eliz. of Bosnia	Feb 19 1385	Süttő 2003 II,186-7	
Slavonska Pozega	Eliz. of Bosnia	Mar 4-May 18 1385	En & To 2005, 163; Süttő 2003 II, 190-222	
Buda	Eliz. of Bosnia	May 25 1385	Süttő 2003 II, 223-4	
Križevci	Eliz. of Bosnia	Jun 12-19 1385	En & To 2005, 163; Süttő 2003 II, 233-4	
Székesfehérvár	Eliz. of Bosnia	Jun 27 1385	En & To 2005, 163; Süttő 2003 II, 236	
Buda	Eliz. of Bosnia	Jul 6-22 1385	En & To 2005, 163; Süttő 2003 II, 238-47	
Buda	Eliz. of Bosnia	Aug 3 1385	Süttő 2003 II, 249	
Timisoara	Eliz. of Bosnia	Aug 14 1385	Ráth 1886, 80; Süttő 2003 II,118-9	
Buda	Eliz. of Bosnia	Aug 30 1395	Süttő 2003 II, 258-60	
Buda	Eliz. of Bosnia	Sep 29-Oct 16 1385	Süttő 2003 II, 264-75	
Buda	Eliz. of Bosnia	Nov 13 1385	Süttő 2003 II, 285-60	
Buda	Eliz. of Bosnia	Nov. 21 1385	Süttő 2003 II, 290-1	
Székesfehérvár	Eliz. of Bosnia	Dec 30-31 1385	En & To 2005, 163	Coronation of Charles II
Buda	Eliz. of Bosnia	Jan 24-Apr 2 1386	En & To 2005, 164; Süttő 2003 II, 322-54	Apr 2 charter poss. Mary's
Győr	Eliz. of Bosnia	May 1-2 1386	En & To 2005, 164; Süttő 2003 II, 368-71	
Buda	Eliz. of Bosnia	Jun 9-25 1386	En & To 2005, 164; Süttő 2003 II, 392-9	
Apátirév	Eliz. of Bosnia	Jul 11 1386	En & To 2005, 164; Süttő 2003 II,402	
Diakovo	Eliz. of Bosnia	Jul 22 1386	En & To 2005, 164; Süttő 2003 II, 404-5	
Kapronca	Eliz. of Bosnia	Sep 4 1386	Süttő 2003 II, 414	

Novigrad	Eliz. of Bosnia	Jul 1386-Jan 1387	Engel 2005, 198-199	Imprisoned & killed here
Buda	Mary of Anjou	Feb 22 1376	Ráth 1886, 75	
Buda	Mary of Anjou	Jan 5 1382	Ráth 1886, 75	
Székesfehérvár	Mary of Anjou	Sep 16-17 1382	En & To 2005, 35	Coronation?
Buda	Mary	Nov 26 1382 -Apr 25 1383	En & To 2005, 35; Süttő 2003 II, 10	
Nagyhatvan/Olcsvár	Mary	May 7 1383	En & To 2005, 35; Süttő 2003 II, 16	‘in Naghocvwar’
Eger	Mary	May 11 1383	En & To 2005, 35	
Diósgyőr	Mary	May 15 1383	Ráth 1886, 76	
Košice	Mary	May 17-21 1383	En & To 2005, 35	
Diósgyőr	Mary	May 30-31 1383	En & To 2005, 35; Süttő 2003 II, 17	
Buda	Mary	Jun 2-29 1383	En & To 2005, 35; Süttő 2003 II, 18-20	
Esztergom	Mary	Jun 11 1382	Ráth 1886, 76	
Diósgyőr	Mary	Jul 16-Aug 9 1383	En & To 2005, 36	
Buda	Mary	Aug 29-Sept 15 1383	En & To 2005, 36	
Zadar	Mary	Oct 24 1383	En & To 2005, 36	
Vrána	Mary	Nov 4 1383	En & To 2005, 36	
Zagreb	Mary	Nov 29-Dec 8 1383	En & To 2005, 36	
Križevci	Mary	Dec 29 1383	En & To 2005, 36	
Koprivnica	Mary	Jan 1 1384	En & To 2005, 36; Süttő 2003 II, 29	“in Kaproncha”
Virovitica	Mary	Jan 4 1384	En & To 2005, 36; Süttő 2003 II, 30	“in Wereuche”
Slavonska Pozega	Mary	Jan 13-19 1384	En & To 2005, 36; Süttő 2003 II, 30-33	“in Posegawar”
Szekszárd	Mary	Jan 14 1384	Ráth 1886, 78	
Buda	Mary	Feb 5 1384	Ráth 1886, 78	
Buda	Mary	Feb 9 1384	Süttő 2003 II, 35-6	
Buda	Mary	Feb 12-14 1384	Ráth 1886, 78; Süttő 2003 II, 37-41	
Sremska Mitrovica	Mary	Mar 3 1384	Ráth 1886, 78	
Esztergom	Mary	Mar 6-13 1384	En & To 2005, 36; Süttő 2003 II, 44-47	
Buda	Mary	Mar 24-Apr 3 1384	En & To 2005, 36; Süttő 2003 II, 47-57	
Visegrád	Mary	Apr 3 1384	Süttő 2003 II, 58	
Buda	Mary	Apr 4-Jun 2 1384	En & To 2005, 36; Süttő 2003 II, 58-85	
Visegrád	Mary	Jun 2 1384	Ráth 1886, 78; Süttő	



			2003 II, 58	
Buda	Mary	Jun 5 1384	Süttő 2003 II, 87	
Visegrád	Mary	Jun 7 1384	Süttő 2003 II, 89	
Buda	Mary	Jun 8-9 1384	Süttő 2003 II, 90	
Visegrád	Mary	Jun 10-19 1384	Süttő 2003 II, 92-96	
Buda	Mary	Jun 20 1384	Süttő 2003 II, 96	
Buda	Mary	Jul 1-4 1384	Süttő 2003 II, 103-6	
Buda	Mary	Jul 17-Aug 2 1384	Süttő 2003 II, 113-116	
Esztergom	Mary	Aug 15-24 1384	En & To 2005, 36; Süttő 2003 II, 120-3	
Esztergom	Mary	Sep 3 1384	Ráth 1886, 78	
Buda/Óbuda	Mary	Sept 21 1384	En & To 2005, 36; Süttő 2003 II, 128-9	One charter from each city
Visegrád	Mary	Nov 6 1384	Süttő 2003 II, 138	
Buda	Mary	Nov 27-Dec 31 1384	En & To 2005, 37; Süttő 2003 II, 142-57	
Buda	Mary	Jan 4-12 1385	En & To 2005, 37; Süttő 2003 II, 158-62	
Székesfehérvár	Mary	Jan 15 1385	En & To 2005, 37; Süttő 2003 II, 164-5	
Szekszárd	Mary	Jan 19 1385	En & To 2005, 37; Süttő 2003 II, 165	
Visegrád	Mary	Jan 20 1385	Süttő 2003 II, 167-73	
Visegrád	Mary	Jan 24 1385	Süttő 2003 II, 174-5	
Pécs	Mary	Jan 25 1385	En & To 2005, 37; Süttő 2003 II, 175-7	
Visegrád	Mary	Feb 1-Mar 3 1385	Ráth 1886, 80; Süttő 2003 II, 177-190	
Visegrád	Mary	Mar 26 1385	Süttő 2003 II, 196-7	
Slavonska Pozega	Mary	Apr 9-May 18 1385	En & To 2005, 37; Süttő 2003 II, 199-223	
Visegrád	Mary	May 19 1385	Ráth 1886, 80	
Visegrád	Mary	May 23 1385	Süttő 2003 II, 223	
Visegrád	Mary	May 26 1385	Süttő 2003 II, 224	
Visegrád	Mary	May 30 1385	Ráth 1886, 80; Süttő 2003 II, 225-7	
Križevci	Mary	May 31-June 8 1385	En & To 2005, 37; Süttő 2003 II, 227-32	
Buda	Mary	July 2-Aug 2 1385	En & To 2005, 37; Süttő 2003 II, 239-49	
Visegrád	Mary	Aug 8 1385	Ráth 1886, 80	Citadel
Visegrád	Mary	Aug 18 1385	En & To 2005, 37; Süttő 2003 II, 255-6	Citadel
Buda	Mary	Aug 1385	En & To 2005, 37	Wedding with Sigismund
Visegrád	Mary	Sept 14 1385	En & To 2005, 37;	

			Süttő 2003 II, 260-1	
Buda	Mary	Sep 17-Dec 21 1385	En & To 2005, 37; Süttő 2003 II, 261-307	
Székesfehérvár	Mary	Dec 30-31 1385	En & To 2005, 37	Coronation of Charles II
Buda	Mary	Jan 25-Apr 17 1386	En & To 2005, 38; Süttő 2003 II, 324-64	
Győr	Mary	Apr 30-May 11 1386	En & To 2005, 38; Süttő 2003 II, 368-80	
Buda	Mary	May 18-Jun 22 1386	En & To 2005, 38; Süttő 2003 II, 381-98	
Buda	Mary	Jun 24 1386	Ráth 1886, 82; Süttő 2003 II, 398-9	
Székesfehérvár	Mary	Jun 25 1386	En & To 2005, 38	
Buda	Mary	Jun 25 1386	Süttő 2003 II, 399	
Buda	Mary	Jun 28 1386	Süttő 2003 II, 400	
Apátirév	Mary	Jul 11 1386	En & To 2005, 38; Süttő 2003 II, 402	
Esztergom	Mary	Jul 15 1386	Süttő 2003 II, 402-3	
Diakovo	Mary	Jul 22 1386	En & To 2005, 38; Süttő 2003 II, 404-5	
Gorjani	Mary	Jul 25 1386	En & To 2005, 38	
Buda	Mary	Jul 27 1386	Süttő 2003 II, 406-7	
Gomnec	Mary	July-August 1386	En & To 2005, 38	
Esztergom	Mary	Aug 24 1386	Süttő 2003 II, 409-10	
Székesfehérvár	Mary	Aug 30 1386	Süttő 2003 II, 412	
Novigrad	Mary	Aug 1386-June 4 1387	En & To 2005, 38; Ráth 1886, 84	In prison
Koprovnic	Mary	Sep 4 1386	Süttő 2003 II, 414	
Buda	Mary	Nov 4-5 1386	Süttő 2003 II, 430-32	
Buda	Mary	Jan 7 1387	Süttő 2003 II, 436	
Lucse	Mary	Jun 5 1387	En & To 2005, 38	
Senj	Mary	Jun 22-30 1387	En & To 2005, 38; Süttő 2003 II, 450-1	
Zagreb	Mary	Jul 4-28 1387	En & To 2005, 38; Süttő 2003 II, 451-5	
Retkovec	Mary	Jul 31 1387	En & To 2005, 39; Süttő 2003 II, 455	
Zagreb	Mary	Aug 3 1387	En & To 2005, 39; Süttő 2003 II, 455-6	
Križevci	Mary	Aug 6 1387	En & To 2005, 39; Süttő 2003 II, 456-7	
Nagykanizsa	Mary	Aug 11 1387	En & To 2005, 39; Süttő 2003 II, 459	
Vác	Mary	Aug 27 1387	En & To 2005, 39; Süttő 2003 II, 460	

Koprivnica	Mary	Sep 4 1387	Ráth 1886, 84	
Oradea	Mary	Sep 10 1387	En & To 2005, 39	
Debrecen	Mary	Sep 14 1387	En & To 2005, 39; Süttő 2003 II, 460-1	
Diósgyőr	Mary	Sep 24 1387	Ráth 1886, 84	
Visegrád	Mary	Nov 3 1387	En & To 2005, 39; 461-2	
Buda	Mary	Dec 6 1387	En & To 2005, 39; Süttő 2003 II, 462	
Buda	Mary	Jan 11-17 1388	En & To 2005, 39	
Buda	Mary	Jan 22 1388	Ráth 1886, 86	
Buda	Mary	Feb 21 1388	En & To 2005, 39	
Diósgyőr	Mary	Mar 8-Apr 22 1388	En & To 2005, 39	
Buda	Mary	Apr 26 1388	En & To 2005, 39	
Visegrád	Mary	May 1 1388	En & To 2005, 39	
Debrecen	Mary	May 8 1388	Ráth 1886, 86	
Pilis	Mary	May 21 1388	En & To 2005, 39	
Buda	Mary	Jun 2 1388	En & To 2005, 39	
Esztergom	Mary	Jun 11 1388	En & To 2005, 39; Süttő 2003 II, 464	
Visegrád	Mary	Jun 16-18 1388	En & To 2005, 40	
Rétság/Ipolság	Mary	Jul 3 1388	En & To 2005, 40	
Zvolen	Mary	Jul 9-15 1388	En & To 2005, 40	
Csepel Island	Mary	Aug 22 1388	En & To 2005, 40	
Szentmartón	Mary	Sep 16 1388	En & To 2005, 40	
Várgesztes	Mary	Oct 30 1388	En & To 2005, 40	
Buda	Mary	Nov 25-Dec 16 1388	En & To 2005, 40	
Buda	Mary	Jan 18 1389	En & To 2005, 40	
Kishatvan	Mary	Jan 28 1389	En & To 2005, 40	
Buda	Mary	Feb 9 1389	En & To 2005, 40	
Szentmárton	Mary	Feb 16 1389	En & To 2005, 40	
Szikszó	Mary	Mar 30 1389	En & To 2005, 40	
Levoča	Mary	Apr 28 1389	En & To 2005, 40	
Hajduböszörmény	Mary	May 6 1389	En & To 2005, 40	
Debrecen	Mary	May 7 1389	En & To 2005, 40	
Timisoara	Mary	Jun 24 1389	Ráth 1886, 87	
Buda	Mary	Jul 6-8 1389	En & To 2005, 40	
Pata	Mary	Jul 27 1389	En & To 2005, 41	
Buda	Mary	Aug 12 1389	En & To 2005, 41	
Csepel Island	Mary	Aug 16 1389	En & To 2005, 41	
Buda	Mary	Sep 5 1389	En & To 2005, 41	
Znjacevo	Mary	Oct 8 1389	En & To 2005, 41	
Vincky	Mary	Oct 16 1389	En & To 2005, 41	
Satu Mare	Mary	Oct 23 1389	En & To 2005, 41	
Satu Mare	Mary	Oct 25-29	En & To 2005, 41	

		1389		
Timisoara	Mary	Oct 28 1389	Ráth 1886, 87	
Vary	Mary	Nov 8 1389	En & To 2005, 41	
Timisoara	Mary	Nov 30 1389 - Jan 25 1390	En & To 2005, 41	
Tamašda	Mary	Feb 5 1390	En & To 2005, 41	
Diósgyőr	Mary	Feb 20 1390	En & To 2005, 41	
Taraston	Mary	Feb 23 1390	En & To 2005, 41	
Buda	Mary	Feb 26-May 8 1390	En & To 2005, 41	
Diósgyőr	Mary	May 24-Jun 11 1390	En & To 2005, 42	
Jelšava	Mary	Jun 15 1390	En & To 2005, 42	
Csepel Island	Mary	Jun 25-26 1390	En & To 2005, 42	
Buda	Mary	Aug 7 1390	En & To 2005, 42	
Ciumeghiu	Mary	Sep 1 1390	En & To 2005, 42	
Timisoara	Mary	Sep 25 1390	En & To 2005, 42	
Diósgyőr	Mary	Oct 18 1390	En & To 2005, 42	
Szikszó	Mary	Oct 25 1390	En & To 2005, 42	
Sárospatak	Mary	Nov 4-6 1390	En & To 2005, 42	
Olaszliszka	Mary	Nov 7 1390	En & To 2005, 42	
Buda	Mary	Nov 19-Dec 21 1390	En & To 2005, 42; Süttő 2003 II, 466-7	
Csepel Island	Mary	Dec 16 1390	Ráth 1886, 88	
Buda	Mary	Jan 7-Feb 12 1391	En & To 2005, 42	
Cseh	Mary	Mar 17 1391	En & To 2005, 42	
Lábad	Mary	Mar 18 1391	En & To 2005, 42	
Segesd	Mary	Mar 21-28 1391	En & To 2005, 42	
Zákány	Mary	Apr 6 1391	En & To 2005, 43	
Hampovica	Mary	Apr 12 1391	En & To 2005, 43	
Durdevac	Mary	Apr 13 1391	En & To 2005, 43	
Virovitica	Mary	Apr 21-May 7 1391	En & To 2005, 43; Süttő 2003 II, 467-8	
Buda	Mary	Aug 6-9 1391	En & To 2005, 43	
Mohács	Mary	Aug 22 1391	En & To 2005, 43	
Szentmárton	Mary	Oct 7 1391	En & To 2005, 43	
Csepel Island	Mary	Oct 9 1391	En & To 2005, 43	
Buda	Mary	Oct 19-26 1391	En & To 2005, 43	
Tard	Mary	Nov 4 1391	En & To 2005, 43	
Buda	Mary	Nov 20 1391	En & To 2005, 43	
Buda	Mary	Dec 14 1391	Ráth 1886, 89	
Buda	Mary	Jan 5-20 1392	En & To 2005, 43	

Buda	Mary	Mar 12-13 1392	En & To 2005, 43	
Diósgyőr	Mary	Mar 22 1392	En & To 2005, 43	
Buda	Mary	Apr 11 1392	En & To 2005, 44	
Diósgyőr	Mary	May 1 1392	En & To 2005, 44	
Nemcovce	Mary	Jun 1 1392	En & To 2005, 44	
L'ubica	Mary	Jun 9 1392	En & To 2005, 44	
Stará L'ubovňa	Mary	Jun 15 1392	En & To 2005, 44	
Presov	Mary	Jun 20 1392	En & To 2005, 44	
Košice	Mary	Jun 22-23 1392	En & To 2005, 44	
Ózd-Sajóvárkony	Mary	Jul 17 1392	En & To 2005, 44	
Vác	Mary	Jul 28 1392	En & To 2005, 44	
Víglaš	Mary	Aug 12 1392	En & To 2005, 44	
Buda	Mary	Oct 3 1392	En & To 2005, 44	
Tököl	Mary	Oct 5 1392	En & To 2005, 44	
Buda	Mary	Jan 23-Feb 10 1393	En & To 2005, 44	
Diósgyőr	Mary	Mar 30-Apr 6 1393	En & To 2005, 44	
Buda	Mary	Apr 13 1393	En & To 2005, 44	
Diósgyőr	Mary	Apr 24-May 9 1393	En & To 2005, 44	
Szikszo	Mary	May 21 1393	En & To 2005, 45	
Muhi	Mary	May 30 1393	En & To 2005, 45	
Esztergom	Mary	Jun 12 1393	Ráth 1886, 91	
Buda	Mary	Jun 15 1393	En & To 2005, 45	
Óbuda	Mary	Jul 10 1393	En & To 2005, 45	
Buda	Mary	Aug 24-Sep 27 1393	En & To 2005, 45	
Buda	Mary	Jan 1 1394	En & To 2005, 45	
Ercsi	Mary	Jan 6 1394	En & To 2005, 45	
Pécs	Mary	Jan 25 1394	En & To 2005, 45	
Virovitica	Mary	Feb 7 1394	En & To 2005, 45	
Esztergom	Mary	Mar 12 1394	Ráth 1886, 92	
Buda	Mary	Mar 24-May 22 1394	En & To 2005, 45	
Leles	Mary	Aug 7 1394	En & To 2005, 45	
Streda nad Bodrogom	Mary	Aug 10 1394	En & To 2005, 45	
Vizsoly	Mary	Aug 13 1394	En & To 2005, 45	
Buda	Mary	Aug 18 1394	Ráth 1886, 92	
Drienovec	Mary	Sep 13 1394	En & To 2005, 45	
Diósgyőr	Mary	Sep 23 1394	En & To 2005, 45	
Virovitica	Mary	Jan 7-25 1395	En & To 2005, 45; Süttő 2003 II, 470	
Koprivnica	Mary	Feb 14 1395	En & To 2005, 46	
Ivorych	Mary	Mar 1 1395	En & To 2005, 46	
Pécs	Mary	Mar 21 1395	En & To 2005, 46	

Vértes mountains	Mary	May 17 1395	En & To 2005, 46	Place of death
Oradea	Mary	Jun 7 1395	En & To 2005, 46	Burial

## *Appendix II: Queens of the Árpadian and Angevin Dynasties\**

Queen	Husband
Sarolta of Transylvania (d. 1008)	Prince Géza (r. 975-997)
Gisela of Bavaria (985-c.1065)	St. Stephen I (r. 997-1038)
Tuta of Formbach (d. 1055?)	Peter Orseolo (r. 1038-1041, 1044-1046)
*Judith of Schweinfurt (d. 1059)	Peter Orseolo (r. 1038-1041, 1044-1046)
Unknown princess of Hungary	Samuel Aba (r. 1041-1044)
Adelaide of Brunswick (d. 1048/1049)	Andrew I (r. 1046-1060)
Anastasia of Kiev (d. c. 1096)	Andrew I (r. 1046-1060)
Richenza (Adelaide?) of Poland	Béla I (r. 1060-1063)
Judith of Swabia (1047-1102?)	Salamon (r. 1063-1074)
Synadene Synadenos (d. after 1079)	Géza I (r. 1074-1077)
Adelaide of Rheinfelden (d. 1090)	St. Ladislav I (r. 1077-1095)
Felicia of Sicily (d. 1102-1112)	Coloman (r. 1095-1116)
Euphemia of Kiev (d. 1138)	Coloman (r. 1095-1116)
Unknown princess of Capua	Stephen II (r. 1116-1131)
*Adelaide of Regensburg	Stephen II (r. 1116-1131)
Helen of Serbia (d. 1146/1157?)	Béla II (r. 1131-1141)
Euphrosyne of Kiev (1130?-1193)	Géza II (r. 1141-1161)
Agnes Babenberg (1154-1182)	Stephen III (r. 1161-1172)
Maria Komnene (d. after 1165)	Stephen IV (r. 1163-1165)
Agnes/Anna of Antioch (d. 1184)	Béla III (r. 1173-1196)
Margaret of France (1158-1197)	Béla III (r. 1173-1196)
Constance of Aragon (1179-1222)	Imre (r. 1196-1204)
Gertrude of Meran (d. 1213)	Andrew II (r. 1205-1235)
Yolanda of Courtenay (d. 1233)	Andrew II (r. 1205-1235)
Beatrice d'Este (d. 1245)	Andrew II (r. 1205-1235)
Maria Laskarina (d. 1270)	Béla IV (r. 1235-1270)
Elizabeth the Cuman (d. 1290?)	Stephen V (r. 1270-1272)
Isabella of Naples (d. 1303)	Ladislav IV (r. 1272-1290)
Fenenna of Kujava (1276-1295)	Andrew III (r. 1290-1301)
Agnes Habsburg (1281-1364)	Andrew III (r. 1290-1301)
[Agnes of Glogau (d. 1361)	Otto of Bavaria (r. 1305-1307)
*Maria of Galicia (d. 1309)	Charles I Robert (r. 1308-1342)
Maria of Bytom (d. 1317)	Charles I Robert (r. 1308-1342)
Beatrice of Luxemburg (d. 1319)	Charles I Robert (r. 1308-1342)
Elizabeth of Poland (d. 1380)	Charles I Robert (r. 1308-1342)
Margaret of Luxemburg (d. 1349)	Louis I (r. 1342-1382)
Elizabeth of Bosnia (d. 1387)	Louis I (r. 1342-1382)
Mary (r. 1382-1395)	Sigismund (r. 1387-1437)**

\* Asterisk denotes a problematic identification as Hungarian queen; brackets indicate wife of a Hungarian queen who never lived in Hungary.

\*\* Sources consulted for this list come from Attila Zsoldos, *Az Árpádok és asszonyaik* [The Árpáds and their women] (Budapest: MTA Történettudományi Intézete, 2005), 183-192; Roles and Functions of Queens in Arpadian and Angevin Hungary (1000-1386)' in *Medieval Queenship*, ed. John Carmi Parsons (Stroud: Sutton, 1998), 23-24; Gyula Kristó, "Károly Róbert családja" [The Family of Charles Robert] *Aetas* 20:4 (2005): 14-28.

## Catalog

### I.1 Seal of Yolanda of Courtenay (d.1233)

Second wife of Andrew II (r. 1205-1235)

Part of Lifecourse: Queen Consort

Item of power 1: Possibly a crown

Item of power 2: Possibly an orb

Associated Iconography: Unknown

Place of issue: Unknown

Date of issue of document: 1226

Dates of seal in use: 1224-1233(?)

Type of wax: Natural

Condition of seal: Four fragments

Shape of seal: Round

Size: Approximately 37 cm

Obv. inscription: ...IE+...

No reverse

Archive: Hungarian National Archive

Inventory Number: DL 61126

State of Research: Unpublished

Description:

This seal is very badly damaged and preserved in four wax parts. On top is a circular shape, possibly part of the queen's head. There is a ridged band on the top of her head, which may indicate the presence of a crown. To the right of the queen's head is a big of wax in a lighter shade with the only text preserved reading "...IE+". It is possible that this fragment is in the wrong place, and it could be the end of the formula "REGINA VNGARIE" with the cross at top. If this is the case, then it should be to the upper left of Queen Yolanda's head, not to the right of it. The two lower fragments are more difficult. The lower left fragment looks like it might be the queen's right arm, but it's really too damaged to tell. The lower right fragment appears to have a couple of things, including some Gothic tracery work as well as what might be the queen holding an orb in her left hand. This seal seems to have been used on her charters from 1224 and 1226 and might have been used until her death in 1233.

Bibliography:

Kumorovitz, Bernát. *A magyar pecséthasználat története a középkorban* [History of using seals in medieval Hungary]. Gödöllő: Szent Norbert Gimnázium, 1944.





**I. 2 Seal of Maria Laskarina (d. 1270)**

Wife of Béla IV (r. 1235-1270)

Part of Lifecourse: Queen Consort

Item of power 1: Throne seat

Item of power 2: Scepter

Item of power 3: Crown

Item of power 4: possibly an orb

Associated Iconography: None

Place of issue: Unknown

Date of issue of document: 1269

Dates of seal in use: 1248-1270

Type of wax: Natural

Condition of seal: Mostly intact

Shape: Round

Size: 82 mm

Obv. Inscription: "MARIA [dei gra]CIA REGINA HVNGARIE"

Rev. Inscription: "MAR[ie filie imperator graecaru]M"

Archive: Hungarian National Archive

Inventory Number: DL 686

Description:

On the obverse, the seated queen is crowned and on a stool with pillows and Gothic arched. She holds in her right hand a scepter and in her left hand an object that might be an orb. She is also wearing an open crown and her hair is unbound. The obverse shows a floating double-barred cross. The writing is badly damaged on both sides, and in the reverse, the inscription "MARIE FILIE" can be made out on the seal from a charter issued by Maria the year before.

Bibliography:

Kumorovitz, Bernát. *A magyar pecséthasználat története a középkorban* [History of using seals in medieval Hungary]. Gödöllő: Szent Norbert Gimnázium, 1944.

Orságová, Zuzana. *Maria Laskaris and Elizabeth the Cuman: two examples of Árpáadian Queenship*. Budapest: CEU MA Thesis, 2009.

Takács, Imre. *Az Árpád-házi királyok pecsétjei: Royal Seals of the Árpád dynasty*. Budapest: Hungarian National Library, 2012.





**I. 3 First Seal of Elizabeth the Cuman (?-1290?)**

Wife of Stephen V (r. 1270-1272)

Part of Lifecourse: Queen Regent for young son

Item of power 1: Crown

Item of power 2: Throne seat flanked by two lion's heads

Associated Iconography: Flowers

Place of issue: Unknown

Date of issue of document: 1273

Dates of seal in use: 1264 (?) - 1279

Type of wax: Natural

Condition of seal: Intact, but discolored

Shape: Round

Size: 85 mm

Obv. Inscription: "ELISABET DEI GRATIA REGINA VNGARIE ET FILIA IMPERATORIS  
CVMANORVM"

Rev. Inscription: "S. VXORIS STEFANI REGIS QVINTI QVARTI BELI ILVSSTRIS REGIS  
FILII"

Archive: Hungarian National Archive

Inventory Number: DL 844

Description:

This is a seal from the beginning of her regency for her young son involving a donation to Dominic of the Csak family. On the obverse, the queen is crowned and seated on a throne that has no back, but is flanked by the heads of two wolves. The wolves' heads are unique to this seal and there are no known analogies at present. Though regent, Elizabeth is shown holding no symbols of power, but her hands seem to be clasped at her chest. Her hair is unbound and she has a three-lobed crown on her head. Another break with tradition is that she refers to her origins on the obverse, rather than the reverse of the seal. Nora Berend has commented on her use of the phrase "daughter of the emperor of the Cumans" to indicate posturing of her own suitability to rule, rather than her Cuman lineage as others have speculated. On the reverse, the seal refers to her husband, Stephen V (r. 1270-1272) in another innovation. The reverse has the letters in a beaded border, and the double-barred Hungarian cross on the back, like echoing her contemporaries. This seems to be the earliest known seal where there are flowers (possibly roses) springing up from the foot of the cross. Aspects such as the reference to her Cuman ancestry and the throne seat with the wolves' heads are not present on her seal from 1282.

Bibliography

Berend, Nora. *At the Gate of Christendom: Jews, Muslims, and "pagans" in Medieval Hungary, c. 1000-c. 1300*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001.

Kumorovitz, Bernát. *A magyar pecséthasználat története a középkorban* [History of using seals in medieval Hungary]. Gödöllő: Szent Norbert Gimnázium, 1944.

Országová, Zuzana. *Maria Laskaris and Elizabeth the Cuman: two examples of Árpadian Queenship*. Budapest: CEU MA Thesis, 2009.

Takács, Imre. *Az Árpád-házi királyok pecsétjei: Royal Seals of the Árpád dynasty*. Budapest: Hungarian National Library, 2012.





**I. 4 Second Seal of Elizabeth the Cuman (r. 1290?)**

Wife of Stephen V (r. 1270-1272)

Part of Lifecourse: Queen Dowager, post-regency

Item of power 1: Crown

Item of power 2: Throne seat (no back)

Item of power 3: Scepter

Associated Iconography: Flowers

Place of issue: Unknown

Date of issue of document: 1280

Dates of seal in use: 1279-1290?

Type of wax: Natural

Condition of seal: Mostly intact, light wear on the edges

Shape: Round

Size: 80 mm

Obv. Inscription: “+ELISABET DEI GRACIA REGINA VNGARIE

Rev. Inscription: “+S VXORIS STEPHANI REGIS QVINTI QVARTI BELE ILLVSTRIS  
REGIS FILI”

Archive: Hungarian National Archive

Inventory Number: DL 63612

Description:

This is Elizabeth’s second seal, in use from 1279 to the end of her life. Unlike her first one, this is more traditional, with the queen sitting on a throne and holding a scepter. The background is blank, and the throne is only adorned with a pillow. The inscription on the front refers to her only as queen of Hungary, while the inscription on the reverse only mentions her connection to the Árpáds via her husband and father-in-law. The plants on the reverse of the seal seem to be two bulbous sprouts. The reason for the change to this seal is unknown at present.

Bibliography:

Berend, Nora. *At the Gate of Christendom: Jews, Muslims, and “pagans” in Medieval Hungary, c. 1000-c. 1300*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001.

Kumorovitz, Bernát. *A magyar pecséthasználat története a középkorban* [History of using seals in medieval Hungary]. Gödöllő: Szent Norbert Gimnázium, 1944.

Takács, Imre. *Az Árpád-házi királyok pecsétjei: Royal Seals of the Árpád dynasty*. Budapest: Hungarian National Library, 2012.





**I. 5 First (?) Seal of Isabella of Naples (d. 1304)**

Wife of Ladislas IV 'the Cuman' (r. 1272-1290)

Part of Lifecourse: Queen Consort

Item of power 1: Throne

Item of power 2: Scepter (possibly)

Associated Iconography: Unknown

Place of issue: Unknown

Date of issue of document: 1275

Dates of seal in use: 1274-1276

Type of wax: Natural

Condition of seal: Only central part remains

Shape: Round

Size: 45 x 50 cm

Obv. Inscription: None surviving

Rev. Inscription: None surviving

Archive: Hungarian National Archive

Inventory Number: DL 921

Description:

This is one seal fragment from DL 921 that shows a person seated on a throne with their right hand extended. This does not match the other seals of Isabella, her husband, or her mother-in-law. The back shows part of a cross with no plants underneath.

Bibliography:

Bodor, Imre. "Árpád-kori pecsétjeink, I." *Turul* 74 (2001): 1-20.

Novak, Ádám. "Izabella (Erzsébet) királyné pecsétjeiről" [The Seals of Queen Isabella (Elizabeth)] *Turul* LXXXVII (2014): 109-111.





**I. 6 Seal of Isabella of Naples (d. 1304)**

Wife of Ladislas IV 'the Cuman' (r. 1272-1290)

Part of Lifecourse: Queen Consort

Item of power 1: Crown

Item of power 2: Throne with back

Item of power 3: Scepter topped with lily

Associated Iconography: Flowers

Place of issue: Unknown

Date of issue of document: 1276

Dates of seal in use: 1276-1290

Type of wax: Natural

Condition of seal: Broken in half horizontally, left and right sides missing.

Shape: Round

Size: 85 mm

Obv. Inscription: +ELISAB[et]...REGINA [...Hv]NGARIE

Rev. Inscription: "+S[igillum] ELISABET {fil]IE CARVL[i II]LVSTRI[s Regi]S CICILIE

Archive: Hungarian National Archive

Inventory Number: DL 954

Description:

This shows Isabella as a crowned young woman seated on a throne and holding a scepter. Her hair is unbound, a possible reference either to her youth or to the coronation ritual. The crown is an open one with three visible lobes. Her right hand is near her hip, holding the base of the scepter. Her left hand is at her breast, clasping the ties to her cloak, a sign seen on seals of contemporary queens such as Eleanor of Castile, wife of Edward I of England. The throne has small Gothic niches on the stool, and the back of the seat is decorated with miniature lilies in a diamond lozenge pattern. The two ends of the seat are decorated with larger fleur-de-lys. The reverse of the seal is very typical, displaying the Hungarian double-barred cross and presumably mentioning her own lineage. The cross is decorated with small embellishments either in the shape of lilies or of miniature crosses. Like the seal of Elizabeth the Cuman from 1273, there are flowers blossoming at the base of the cross.

#### Bibliography:

Novak, Ádam. "Izabella (Erzsébet) királyné pecsétjeiről" [The Seals of Queen Isabella (Elizabeth)] *Turul* LXXXVII (2014): 109-111.

Takács, Imre. *Az Árpád-házi királyok pecsétjei: Royal Seals of the Árpád dynasty*. Budapest: Hungarian National Library, 2012.





**I. 7 Seal of Fenenna of Kujava (1276-1295)**

First wife of Andrew III (r. 1290-1301)

Part of Lifecourse: Queen Consort

Item of power 1: Crown

Item of power 2: Throne seat

Item of power 3: Orb

Associated Iconography: Flowers

Place of issue: Unknown

Date of issue of document: 1291

Dates of seal in use: 1291-1295

Type of wax: Natural

Condition of seal: Lower half and fraction of upper half preserved.

Shape: Round

Size: 90 mm

Obv. Inscription: “+ S(igillvm) F[ENENNE ...DEI GRAC]IA REGINE...”

Rev. Inscription: “+S(igillum): FENENNE DEI GRACIA: FILIE: ZEMO[SILI]”

Archive: Hungarian National Archive

Inventory Number: DL 1320

Description:

Though heavily damaged, this seal shows the young queen seated and crowned on a throne like her predecessors. Her left hand is holding either the clasp of her cloak or an orb, and though one cannot see her right hand, it is possible that it originally held a scepter as well. Her crown seems to be open, and her hair seems to be plaited. This is rather unusual (though charming), as it is neither covered like most married women, nor unbound like many queens depicted in part of their coronation ritual. It does not seem to be that there would have been a back for the throne in this seal, and while the seat has niches, they do not seem to be as typically Gothic in character as that of Isabella of Naples. The reverse is similar as well, mentioning her paternal lineage in the inscription and depicting an embellished double-barred cross with flowers sprouting from the base.

Bibliography:

Piekosiński, Franciszek Ksawery & Edmund Krystian Diehl. *Pieczęcie polskie wieków średnich*. Kraków: nakładem własnym, 1899.

Pray, György. *Syntagma historicum de sigillis regum, et reginarum Hungariae pluribusque aliis*. Buda, 1805.

Takács, Imre. *Az Árpád-házi királyok pecsétjei: Royal Seals of the Árpád dynasty*. Budapest: Hungarian National Library, 2012.





**I. 8 First Seal of Agnes of Austria (1281-1364)**

Second wife of Andrew III (r. 1290-1301)

Part of Lifecourse: Queen of Hungary

Item of power 1: Hungarian double-barred cross

Associated Iconography: Quatrefoil lobing

Place of issue: Unknown

Date of issue of document: Unknown

Dates of seal in use: Unknown

Type of wax: Unknown

Condition of seal: Known from Illustration

Shape: Round

Size: Unknown

Obv. Inscription: Unknown

Rev. Inscription: + S(igillum) AGNETIS REGINE VNGARIE

Archive: Archives of the Hungarian National Museum

Inventory Number: Unknown

Description:

Known from a late nineteenth century drawing by Nándor Malachovsky, this seal of Agnes of Habsburg features presumably the reverse, featuring a Hungarian double-barred cross in a field of quatrefoil lobing, and a beaded border containing the queen's name and rank. It is also curious as it is the first time the reverse of a queen's seal does not appear to have flowers springing up from the base of the cross.

Bibliography:

Szilágyi, Sándor ed. *A Magyar Nemzet Története* [Hungarian National History], Vol. III. Budapest: Athenaeum Irodalmi, 1895.





**I. 9 Second Seal of Agnes of Austria (1281-1364)**

Second wife of Andrew III (r. 1290-1301)

Part of Lifecourse: Queen Dowager, Abbess at Königsfelden

Item of power 1: Crown, throne seat

Associated Iconography: Branch with three leaves

Place of issue: Vienna?

Date of issue of document: 1311

Dates of seal in use: Unknown

Type of wax: Natural

Condition of seal: Intact

Shape: Round

Size: ca. 9 cm

Obv. Inscription: +SIGILLVM AGNETIS DEI GR[aci]A REGINE HVNGARIE

Rev. Inscription: +S(igillvm) AGNETIS FILIE DOMINI ALBERTI DVCIS AVSTRIE

Archive: Vienna

Inventory Number: Unknown

Description:

Agnes sits on a cushioned throne without a back, wearing a crown rimmed with pearls and with her hair uncovered. She holds the tie to her cloak in her left hand and a branch with three leaves in the right. The background of the obverse has the letters A and G, while the reverse has the letters N, and ES (Maria of Bytom's seal would employ a similar design). The back of the seal has the Hungarian double-barred cross with flowers in the background and a bird resting on the second arm of the cross. The front of the seal proclaims her as Queen of Hungary, while the back says she is the daughter of Duke Albert.

Bibliography:

Nevismal, Alfred. "Königin Agnes von Ungarn: Leben und Stellung in der habsburgischen Politik ihrer Zeit." PhD diss.: University of Vienna, 1951.



**I.10 First Seal of Agnes of Glogów (d. 1361)**

Second wife of Otto of Bavaria (r. 1305-1307)

Part of Lifecourse: Duchess of Bavaria

Item of power 1: Throne

Associated Iconography: Escutcheons

Place of issue: Landschut

Date of issue of document: 1320

Dates of seal in use: Unknown

Type of wax: Unknown

Condition of seal: Known from drawing

Shape: Round

Size: Unknown

Obv. Inscription: +AGNES DEI GRA. REGINA VNGAR. PALAT. COM.RENI.DUCISSA  
BAWARIE.

Archive: Unknown

Inventory Number: Unknown

Description:

György Pray has a drawing of Agnes' seal from 1805 that shows her seated on a throne in the garment of a nun. She is flanked by four shields depicting an eagle, the Árpád coat of arms, the Hungarian double-barred cross, and a greyhound. The inscription refers to her as queen of Hungary, but other than that and the coats of arms there are no references to her as queen of Hungary. On the back, from a document in the Aargau archives, Switzerland, it is clear that there is the Hungarian cross.

Bibliography:

Bodor, Imre. "Árpád-kori pecsétjeink, I." *Turul* 74 (2001): 1-20.Pray, György. *Syntagma historicum de sigillis regum, et reginarum Hungariae pluribusque aliis*. Buda, 1805.



**I.11 Second Seal of Agnes of Glogów (d. 1361)**

Second wife of Otto of Bavaria (r. 1305-1307)

Part of Lifecourse: Duchess of Bavaria

Item of power 1: Throne

Associated Iconography: Escutcheons

Place of issue: Unknown

Date of issue of document: 1343

Dates of seal in use: Unknown

Type of wax: Unknown

Condition of seal: Known from drawing

Shape: Round

Size: Unknown

Obv. Inscription: +S(igillum) AGNETIS REGINE VNGAR[i]E.

Archive: Unknown

Inventory Number: Unknown

Description:

Seal of Agnes featuring her crowned, on a throne seat, and flanked by the Hungarian and Bavarian escutcheons.

Bibliography:

Bodor, Imre. "Árpád-kori pecsétjeink, I." *Turul* 74 (2001): 1-20.

Pray, György. *Syntagma historicum de sigillis regum, et reginarum Hungariae pluribusque aliis*. Buda, 1805.



**I. 12 Seal of Mary of Bytom (?-1317)**

First wife of Charles Robert (r. 1308-1342)

Part of Lifecourse: Queen Consort

Item of power 1: Crown

Item of power 2: Throne seat (no back)

Associated Iconography: Letters

Place of issue: Unknown

Date of issue of document: 1312

Dates of seal in use: 1306-1317

Type of wax: Natural

Condition of seal: Broken, though mostly intact – upper right and middle left of outer ring missing.

Shape: Round

Size: 92 mm

Obv. Inscription: "... I GRACIA R[e]GI... ..NGARIE"

Rev. Inscription: "MARIE·FILI... SIMIR ..."

Archive: Hungarian National Archive

Inventory Number: DL 1814

Description:

This seal shows Mary seated and presumably crowned and with her hair unbound on a throne with no back. In her right hand, she holds a foliate form of some kind with three branches, and with her left hand she clasps the tie to her cloak. The throne seat has two elaborately stylized, curving armrests. The reverse keeps the double cross form, but it is not elaborated as heavily as it was at the end of the 13<sup>th</sup> century. It is also difficult to tell whether there are flowers springing from the base as well. It seems the queen's name MARIA is spelled out between the two horizontal bars of the Cross.

Bibliography:

Unpublished



**I. 13 Great Seal of Elizabeth of Poland (1300/5-1380)**

Third/Fourth wife of Charles Robert (r. 1308-1342)

Part of Lifecourse: Queen Consort

Item of power 1: Crown

Item of power 2: Throne with back

Item of power 3: Scepter

Associated Iconography: Two shields on the sides – the Árpád bars with the Polish eagle

Place of issue: Visegrád

Date of issue of document: February 10 1338

Dates of seal in use: 1322?-1369

Type of wax: Natural

Condition of seal: Very Good

Shape: Round

Size: 94 mm

Obv. Inscription S.ELIZABETH:GRA(cia):HUNGARIE:REGINA:PRINCEPS:  
SALERINITANA

Rev. Inscription: +S:ELISABETH:REGINE:FILIE:LADIZLAI:REGIS:POLONIE.

Archive: Hungarian National Archive

Inventory Number: DL DF 3137

Description:

This seal shows Elizabeth crowned and seated on a throne while holding a scepter. The throne has a back with a stretched fabric covering it, and the queen is flanked by two shields with the coat of arms for Hungary and Poland. The queen's feet rest on a raised platform. Her left hand is clutching at the tie of her cloak. The reverse of the cross is typical as well, with flowers blooming at the base, and the cross is flanked by the shields of Hungary and Poland.

Bibliography:

Marosi, Ernő. 34. Kettős pecsét. In Marosi, Ernő, Melinda Tóth, Livia Varga, & István Király Múzeum. *Művészet I. Lajos király korában, 1342-1382: katalogus*. Budapest: MTA Művészettörténeti Kutató Csoport, 1982, 144.







**I. 14 Signet ring of Elizabeth of Poland (1300/5-1380)**

Third/Fourth wife of Charles Robert (r. 1308-1342)

Part of Lifecourse: Queen Mother

Items of power: N/A

Associated Iconography: Hungarian-Angevin coat-of-arms in lozenge

Place of issue: Buda

Date of issue of document: August 15 1380

Dates of seal in use: 1324?-1380

Type of wax: Red

Condition of seal: Edges worn

Shape: Round

Size: 16 mm

Inscription: S.E.R..GINE...

Archive: Hungarian National Archives

Inventory Number: DL DF 6732

Description:

This signet ring has the Hungarian-Anjou coat of arms in the center in a diamond pattern.

Surrounding the coat of arms is the inscription, probably something akin to "Seal of Elizabeth, Queen of Hungary."

Bibliography:

Marosi, Ernő. 36. Gyűrűs pecsét. In Marosi, Ernő, Melinda Tóth, Livia Varga, & István Király Múzeum. *Művészet I. Lajos király korában, 1342-1382: katalógus*. Budapest: MTA Művészettörténeti Kutató Csoport, 1982, 145.



**I. 15 Signet ring of Charles Robert used by Elizabeth of Poland (1300/5-1380)**

Third/Fourth wife of Charles Robert (r. 1308-1342)

Part of Lifecourse: Queen Dowager

Item of power: None

Associated Iconography: Letter “K”

Place of issue: Óbuda (Buda veteri)

Date of issue of document: June 8, 1368

Date of seal in use: 1342-1377

Type of wax: Red

Condition of seal: Good

Shape: Round/Octagonal

Size: 11 mm

Inscription: “K +SIGILLUM.SECRETUM”

Archive: Hungarian National Museum

Inventory Number: DL DF 5671

Description:

A majuscule letter “K” surrounded by the phrase “secret seal” in an octagonal frame. The letter K indicates that this ring most likely belonged to Elizabeth’s husband originally who had died 27 years before this particular document was issued, indicating that Elizabeth kept it and occasionally used it after his death.

Bibliography:

Marosi, Ernő. 32. Gyűrűs pecsét Erzsébet királyné oklevelén. In Marosi, Ernő, Melinda Tóth, Livia Varga, & István Király Múzeum. *Művészet I. Lajos király korában, 1342-1382: katalógus*. Budapest: MTA Művészettörténeti Kutató Csoport, 1982, 143.



**I. 16 Seal of Elizabeth of Poland as Queen of Hungary and Poland (1300/5-1380)**

Third/Fourth wife of Charles Robert (r. 1308-1342)

Part of Lifecourse: Regent of Poland/Queen Mother

Item of power 1: Crown

Associated Iconography: Lion

Place of issue: Kraków?

Date of issue of document: July 20 1372

Dates of seal in use: 1370-1375?

Type of wax: Unknown

Condition of seal: Mostly intact

Shape: Round

Size: 34 mm

Obv. Inscription: +ELISABET.HUNGARIE.REGINA.POLONIE...

Archive: Budapest History Museum (original in Kraków City Archive)

Inventory Number: BTM 66.1974

Description:

This is the secondary seal of Elizabeth as regent of Poland. Inside a quatrefoil are the coat of arms of Angevin Hungary, the coat of arms of Poland, a crown on top, and a lion underneath. There are lilies at the four points of the quatrefoil.

Bibliography:

Marosi, Ernő. 35. Erzsébet magyar és lengyel királyné pecsétje. In Marosi, Ernő, Melinda Tóth, Livia Varga, & István Király Múzeum. *Művészet I. Lajos király korában, 1342-1382: katalógus*. Budapest: MTA Művészettörténeti Kutató Csoport, 1982, 144.





**I. 17 Great Seal of Elizabeth of Bosnia (?-1387)**

Second wife of Louis I the Great (r. 1342-1382)

Part of Lifecourse: Queen Regent/Queen Mother – Joint charter with Queen Mary

Items of Power: Crown, scepter, orb

Associated Iconography: Hungarian-Angevin and Bosnian escutcheons

Place of issue: Buda Castle

Date of issue of document: July 6 1383

Dates of seal in use: 1382?-1386

Type of wax: Natural

Condition of seal: Good

Shape: Round

Size: 80 mm

Inscription:

S.ELIZABETH.DEI.GRACIA.HVGARIE.DALMACIE.XROACIE.RAME.SERVIE.  
GALICIE.LODOMERIE.

Archive: Hungarian National Archives

Inventory Number: DL. 39380

Description:

The queen is seated on a throne holding a scepter in her right hand and resting an orb in her lap. She is crowned and there is a folded veil covering her hair. The throne is outlined with a Gothic decoration. On the left there is the seal of Angevin Hungary while on the right there is a shield depicting a horse. The field of the seal is decorated with lilies in a diaper pattern. The great seal of Elizabeth's daughter Queen Mary (r. 1382-1395) is also attached to the document

Bibliography:

Marosi, Ernő. 54. Nagy felségpecsét. In Marosi, Ernő, Melinda Tóth, Livia Varga, & István Király Múzeum. *Művészet I. Lajos király korában, 1342-1382: katalógus*. Budapest: MTA Művészettörténeti Kutató Csoport, 1982, 150.





**I. 18 Signet ring of Elizabeth of Bosnia (?-1387)**

Second wife of Louis I the Great (r. 1342-1382)

Part of Lifecourse: Queen Regent/Queen Mother

Items of power: Crown

Associated Iconography: Ostrich, plumage, horseshoe, stars (?)

Place of issue: Buda

Date of issue of document: March 25 1385

Dates of seal in use: 1370-1386

Type of wax: Red

Condition of seal: Mostly intact

Shape: Round

Size: 8 mm

Inscription: N/A

Archive: Hungarian National Archive

Inventory Number: DL-DF 77896

Description:

This small signet ring shows in the center an ostrich head with a horseshoe in its mouth. Around the border it looks like there are stars.

**Bibliography:**

Marosi, Ernő. 53. Gyűrűs pecsét. In Marosi, Ernő, Melinda Tóth, Livia Varga, & István Király Múzeum. *Művészet I. Lajos király korában, 1342-1382: katalogus*. Budapest: MTA Művészettörténeti Kutató Csoport, 1982, 150.



**I. 19 First Majestic seal of Queen Mary (1371-1395)**

Queen regnant, later wife of King Sigismund (r. 1397-1437)

Part of Lifecourse: Queen regnant

Items of power: Crown, Throne, Scepter, Orb

Associated Iconography: Escutcheons, St. Ladislav, Ostriches, Angels

Place of issue: Unknown

Date of issue of document: 1383

Dates of seal in use: 1382-1386/1388

Type of wax: Natural

Condition of seal: Good

Shape: Round

Size: 94 mm

Obv. Inscription: +MARIA.DEI.GRA(cia).HVNGARIE.DALMACIE.CROACIE.RAME.  
SERVIE.GALICIE.LODOMERIE.COMANIE.BVLGARIE QVE

REGINA.PRINCEPS.SALLERNITANA.ET.HONORIS.AC.MONTIS.SANCTI.ANGELI.DOM  
INA

Rev. Inscription: +ALIVD.PAR.SIGILLI.DOMINE.MARIE.DEI.GRA(cia).REGINE.  
HVNGARIE.ET.ALOIR(um).REGNORVM.IN.ALIO.PARI.EXP(re)SSO(rum).

Archive:

Inventory Number: O.L. V. 1. 68,69. MKCS.369

Description:

On the front the queen is sitting on a throne in a rounded niche holding a scepter and an orb. She is crowned and behind her there is a diamond pattern with lilies inside of the niche. On the top and bottom of the alcove there are elements of Gothic architecture. On the left there is the coat of arms of the Angevin Hungarians while on the right there is the Hungarian double-barred cross. On the back of the cross there is the Hungarian cross in the center while there is a half-portrait of St. Ladislav holding an axe and an orb. To the right and left of the cross there are two ostriches holding horseshoes in their mouths, while on the bottom there is a lion underneath. In the top corners of the quatrefoil there are two angels, while in the bottom corners there are two dragons. The field within the quatrefoil is decorated with lilies in a diamond pattern.

Bibliography:

Marosi, Ernő. "Der grosse Münzsiegel der Königin Maria von Ungarn: Zum Problem der Serialität Mittelalterlicher Kunstwerke" *Acta Historiae Artium* XXVIII (1982): 3-22.

Marosi, Ernő. 55. Kettős felségpecsét. In Marosi, Ernő, Melinda Tóth, Livia Varga, & István Király Múzeum. *Művészet I. Lajos király korában, 1342-1382: katalógus*. Budapest: MTA Művészettörténeti Kutató Csoport, 1982, 150-151.





**I. 20 Second Majestic seal of Queen Mary (1371-1395)**

Queen regnant, later wife of King Sigismund (r. 1387-1437)

Part of Lifecourse: Queen regnant

Items of power: Crown, scepter

Associated Iconography: Escutcheons, Gothic tracery

Place of issue: Buda

Date of issue of document: 24 June 1386

Dates of seal in use: 1386-1390?

Type of wax: Natural

Condition of seal: Fragmented

Shape: Round

Size: 50 mm

Inscription: S.MARIE.REGINE [Hu]NGARIE DALMACIE.CROACIE.ET C.

Archive: Hungarian National Archive

Inventory Number: 201060

Description:

The queen is crowned and holding a scepter in her right hand. The queen is framed by Gothic arches and flanked by the shields of the Angevin Hungarians and the double-barred cross.

Bibliography:

Marosi, Ernő. "Kisebb felségpecsét." In Marosi, Ernő, Melinda Tóth, Livia Varga, & István Király Múzeum. *Művészet I. Lajos király korában, 1342-1382: katalogus*. Budapest: MTA Művészettörténeti Kutató Csoport, 1982, 151.



**I. 21 Third Majestic seal of Queen Mary (1371-1395)**

Queen regnant, later wife of King Sigismund (r. 1387-1437)

Part of Lifecourse: Queen regnant

Items of power: Crown, scepter

Associated Iconography: St. Ladislav

Place of issue: Timisoara?

Date of issue of document: 02 December 1389/08 February 1390

Dates of seal in use: 1388-1390/1392

Type of wax: Natural

Condition of seal: Fragmented

Shape: Round

Size: 50 mm

Inscription: S.MARIE.REGINE...DALMACIE.CROACIE.ETC.

Archive: Hungarian National Archive

Inventory Number: DL-DF 7659

Description:

The queen is crowned and holding a scepter in her right hand. The queen is framed by Gothic arches and flanked by the shields of the Angevin Hungarians and the double-barred cross. On the back, there is the Hungarian double-barred cross in a shield topped by St. Ladislav, who is holding an orb in one hand and an axe in his extended right hand. The seal is highly fragmented, but nonetheless it seems to be a third type of majestic seal for Queen Mary, based on the top of her throne chair and the position of St. Ladislav's right arm. This seal is mostly used in the second half of Mary's reign, after her marriage with Sigismund of Luxemburg in 1387.

Bibliography:

Unpublished







## **I. 22 First Signet Ring of Queen Mary (1371-1395)**

Queen regnant, later wife of King Sigismund (r. 1387-1437)

Part of Lifecourse: Queen regnant

Items of power: N/A

Associated Iconography: Escutcheon with the Árpadian and Angevin coat-of-arms

Place of issue: Buda

Date of issue of document: 25 November 1385

Dates of seal in use: 1382?/1384-1386

Type of wax: Red

Condition of seal: Mostly intact

Shape: Round

Size: 25 mm

Inscription: S(igillum) SECRETV(m) MA[ria R]EGI(n)E HVNGAR(ie) ET C(roacie)

Archive: Hungarian National Archives

Inventory Number: DL-DF 201891

Description:

This is a small privy seal which has the coat of arms of Anjou and Hungary in the center. The inscription declares it the secret seal of Queen Mary of Hungary. This seal is mostly used in the first part of her reign, under the regency of her mother, Elizabeth of Bosnia.



**I. 23 Second Signet Ring of Queen Mary (1371-1395)**

Queen regnant, later wife of King Sigismund (r. 1387-1437)

Part of Lifecourse: Queen regnant

Items of power:

Associated Iconography:

Place of issue: Vác?

Date of issue of document: 25 August 1387

Dates of seal in use: 1387

Type of wax: Red

Condition of seal: Broken

Shape: Round

Size: 22 mm

Inscription: +S(igillvm) MARIE D[ei] G[racia] REGINE HVNGARIE E(t) C(roacie)

Archive: Hungarian National Archives

Inventory Number: DL-DF 7304

Description:

This seal, which appears on only one document from shortly after Mary's restoration to the Hungarian throne, features the Hungarian-Angevin coat-of-arms in reverse (with the Angevin lilies on the viewer's left and the Árpád red and silver barry on the viewer's right) and the inscription "Seal of Mary, by the grace of God Queen of Hungary and Croatia". Since the heraldry is reverse, it could be that this seal was hastily made as a temporary device until the manufacture of her third signet ring.

Bibliography:

Pray, György. *Syntagma historicum de sigillis regum, et reginarum Hungariae pluribusque aliis*. Buda, 1805.



**I. 24 Third Signet Ring of Queen Mary (1371-1395)**

Queen regnant, later wife of King Sigismund (r. 1387-1437)

Part of Lifecourse: Queen regnant

Items of power: Helmet topping Hungarian-Angevin coat-of-arms

Associated Iconography: Ostrich with a horseshoe in its mouth

Place of issue: Diósgyőr

Date of issue of document: 11 March 1388

Dates of seal in use: 1388-1395

Type of wax: Red

Condition of seal: Mostly intact

Shape: Round

Size: 30 mm

Inscription: + S(igillum) MARIE REGINE HUNGARIE ET C.

Archive: Hungarian National Archives

Inventory Number: DL-DF 77972

Description:

This is the third signet ring of Queen Mary, the one used most frequently in the second half of her reign, after her marriage with Sigismund of Luxemburg in 1388. It features an ostrich with a horseshoe in its beak on top of a helmet which rests on the Hungarian-Angevin coat-of-arms in an octagonal field. It is the largest of her three seals and the inclusion of the helmet is unique for Hungarian queens.

Bibliography:

Pray, György. *Syntagma historicum de sigillis regum, et reginarum Hungariae pluribusque aliis*. Buda, 1805.





**I. 25 Seal of the Dominican Nunnery on Margaret Island**

Part of Lifecourse: N/A

Items of power: King Béla IV and Queen Maria Laskarina

Associated Iconography: Virgin Mary and Jesus

Place of issue: Unknown

Date of issue of document: 1282

Dates of seal in use: Late 13<sup>th</sup> century

Type of wax: Natural

Condition of seal: Good

Shape: Ovoid

Size: Unknown

Inscription: SIGILLUM CONVENTUS DE INSULA S(an)C(t)E MARIE

Archive: Hungarian National Archive

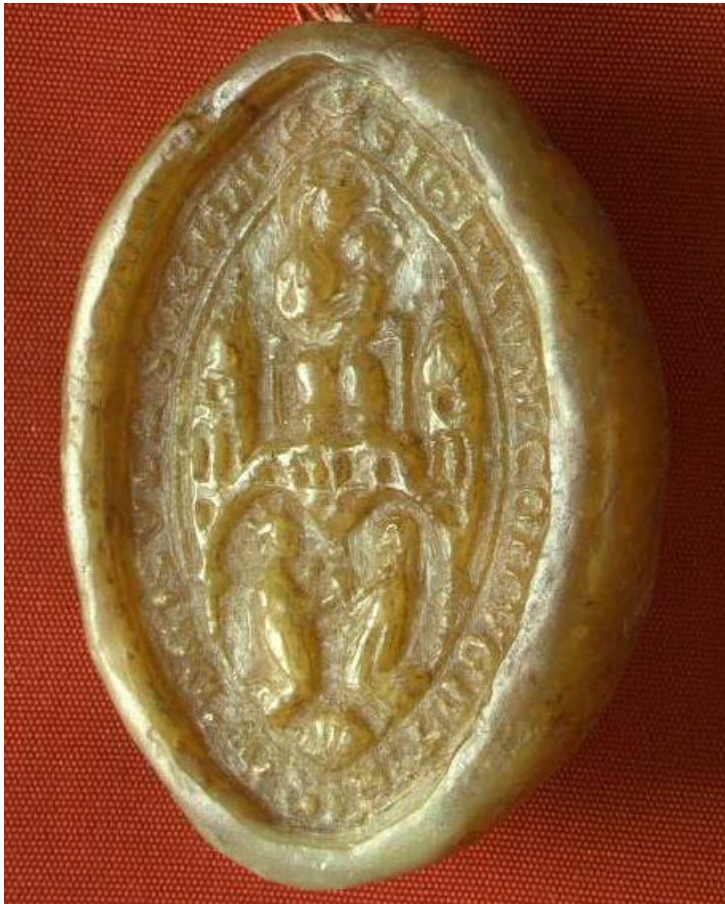
Inventory Number: DL 1130

Description:

This ovoid seal was used by the Dominican Convent of Margaret Island. The seal shows the Virgin Mary holding the infant Jesus over the Abbey while Béla IV and Maria Laskarina offering their infant daughter Margaret up. This shows the king and queen as equal donors to the Convent, as well as the importance of the recently deceased Margaret in the nunnery's own self-presentation. This seal is used in a document issued by Princess Elizabeth, daughter of Stephen V (r. 1270-1272), during her time at the convent.

Bibliography:

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



**I. 26 Óbuda Town Seal Matrix**

Part of Lifecourse: N/A

Items of power: Castle

Associated Iconography: The Hungarian-Angevin coat of arms, the Piast eagle, fleur-de-lys

Place of issue: N/A

Date of issue of document: N/A

Dates of seal in use: After 1355-?

Material: Silver

Shape: Round

Size: Unknown

Inscription: SIVILLUM CIVITATIS VETERI BUDENSIS

Archive: Hungarian National Museum

Inventory Number: Unknown

Description:

This is the silver seal matrix of the city of Óbuda which would date from sometime around the mid-fourteenth century. It features a building, presumably the queen's palace, as well as the queen's coat-of-arms, namely the Hungarian-Angevin escutcheon as well as the Polish eagle. The field also features a fleur-de-lys and the Polish eagle as well. This shows the importance of the person of the queen in the town's self-fashioning.

**Bibliography:**

Snieszynska-Stolot, Eva. "Queen Elizabeth as Patron of Architecture," *Acta Historiae Artium* 20 (1974): 13-36.



**II. 1 Denar with Andrew II & Yolanda de Courtenay at 3/4**

Second wife of Andrew II (r. 1205-1235)

Part of Lifecourse: Queen consort

Item of power: Crown

Associated iconography: Castle, Árpadian coat of arms

Ornamentation: Flower, two trees.

Place of minting: Unknown

Dates in use: c.1215-1233?

Denomination: Denar

Position: Queen is on the left side of the obverse, King is on the right.

Material: Silver

Inscription: None

Numismatic reference number: *Corpus Nummorum Hungariae* I 204; Huszár 242

Description:

The obverse depicts the king and the queen facing the viewer at three-quarters with a bloom of some kind between them over a stylized mound. On the reverse there is a castle in the center flanked by two trees and under a shield with horizontal stripes, most likely the Árpadian coat of arms.

Bibliography:

Huszár, Lajos. *Münzkatalog Ungarn: von 1000 bis heute*. Budapest: Corvina Kiadó, 1979.

Réthy, László. *Corpus Nummorum Hungariae: Magyar Egyetemes éremtár*. Vol I. Budapest: A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia kiadása, 1899.

**II. 2 Denar with Andrew II & Yolanda in profile**

Second wife of Andrew II (r. 1205-1235)

Part of Lifecourse: Queen consort

Item of power: Crown

Associated iconography: Castle, shields with Hungarian double-barred cross

Ornamentation: Crescent moon and star

Place of minting: Unknown

Dates in use: c.1215-1233?

Denomination: Denar

Position: King is on the left of the obverse side under a crescent moon, queen is on the right under a star.

Material: Silver

Inscription: None

Numismatic reference number: *Corpus Nummorum Hungariae* I 309; Huszár 279.

Description:

On the obverse there are two crowned heads facing each other under a crescent moon and a star. On the reverse there is a tower in the center beneath a star and flanked by two shields featuring

the Hungarian double-barred cross. László Réthy identifies this coin as that of István V (r. 1270-1272).

**Bibliography:**

Huszár, Lajos. *Münzkatalog Ungarn: von 1000 bis heute*. Budapest: Corvina Kiadó, 1979.

Réthy, László. *Corpus Nummorum Hungariae: Magyar Egyetemes éremtár*. Vol I. Budapest: A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia kiadása, 1899.



### II. 3 Obolus with Andrew II & Yolanda in profile

Second wife of Andrew II (r. 1205-1235)

Part of Lifecourse: Queen consort

Item of power: Crown

Associated iconography: Two shields bearing the Hungarian double-barred cross.

Ornamentation: Crescent moon, star, a castle tower

Place of minting: Unknown

Dates in use: c.1215-1233?

Denomination: Denar

Position: King is on the left of the obverse side under a crescent moon, queen is on the right under a star.

Material: Silver

Inscription: None

Numismatic reference number: *Corpus Nummorum Hungariae* II 51; Huszár 280.

**Description:**

On the obverse there are two crowned heads facing each other under a crescent moon and a star.

On the reverse there is a tower in the center beneath a star and flanked by two shields featuring the Hungarian double-barred cross. Same as II.2, only smaller.

**Bibliography:**

Huszár, Lajos. *Münzkatalog Ungarn: von 1000 bis heute*. Budapest: Corvina Kiadó, 1979.

Réthy, László. *Corpus Nummorum Hungariae: Magyar Egyetemes éremtár*. Vol I. Budapest: A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia kiadása, 1899.



### II. 4 Denar of Béla IV with crowned king and queen on reverse

Maria Laskarina (d. 1270)

Wife of Béla IV (r. 1235-1270)

Part of Lifecourse: Queen consort

Item of power: Crown, Bust of King

Associated iconography: Double barred cross

Ornamentation: Star, crescent

Place of minting: Unknown



Dates in use: Unknown

Denomination: Denar

Position: Queen is on the left side of the reverse, King is on the right – both are under a cross.

Material: Silver

Inscription: ·REX – BELA (obverse)

Numismatic reference number: *Corpus Nummorum Hungariae* I 248; Huszár 315.

Description:

On the obverse there is a crowned head facing forward with the inscription “REX BELA” and a flower. On the reverse there is a double-bared cross flanked by a star, a moon, and two crowned busts.

Bibliography:

Huszár, Lajos. *Münzkatalog Ungarn: von 1000 bis heute*. Budapest: Corvina Kiadó, 1979.

Réthy, László. *Corpus Nummorum Hungariae: Magyar Egyetemes éremtár*. Vol I. Budapest: A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia kiadása, 1899.



## II. 5 Obolus of Béla IV with two crowned figures on reverse

Maria Laskarina (d. 1270)

Wife of Béla IV (r. 1235-1270)

Part of Lifecourse: Queen consort

Item of power: Crown

Associated iconography: Hebrew letter “Teth”

Ornamentation: stars

Place of minting: Unknown

Dates in use: Unknown

Denomination: Obolus

Position: Queen is on the left side of the reverse, King is on the right

Material: Silver

Inscription: +BELAE REG/ BELAE REX (obverse)

Numismatic reference number: Huszár 312.

Description:

Huszár thinks that the obverse has the phrase Belae REX with the Hebrew letter Teth in the center. On the reverse there is a double arch with two crowned busts underneath them; above in the center is a shield with a cross, and above the arches there are two stars.

Bibliography:

Huszár, Lajos. *Münzkatalog Ungarn: von 1000 bis heute*. Budapest: Corvina Kiadó, 1979.



## II. 6 Obolus with Laskarid heraldry on the reverse

Maria Laskarina (d. 1270)

Wife of Béla IV (r. 1235-1270)

Part of Lifecourse: Queen consort  
 Item of power: Seated king on throne  
 Associated iconography: Laskarid heraldry  
 Ornamentation: Beaded circle  
 Place of minting: Unknown  
 Dates in use: Unknown  
 Denomination: Obolus  
 Position: Image of queen not on the coin  
 Material: Silver  
 Inscription: None

Numismatic reference number: *Corpus Nummorum Hungariae* I 249; Huszár, 316

Description:

On the obverse is a king from the knees up crowned and holding an orb in the right hand and a scepter in the left. The reverse has the badge of the queen, the double-headed eagle of the Laskarids.

Bibliography:

Huszár, Lajos. *Münzkatalog Ungarn: von 1000 bis heute*. Budapest: Corvina Kiadó, 1979.

Réthy, László. *Corpus Nummorum Hungariae: Magyar Egyetemes éremtár*. Vol I. Budapest: A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia kiadása, 1899.



## II. 7 Obolus with Laskarid heraldry on the reverse

Maria Laskarina (d. 1270)

Wife of Béla IV (r. 1235-1270)

Part of Lifecourse: Queen consort

Item of power: Seated king on throne

Associated iconography: Laskarid heraldry

Ornamentation: Beaded circle

Place of minting: Unknown

Dates in use: Unknown

Denomination: Obolus

Position: Image of queen not on the coin

Material: Silver

Inscription: None

Numismatic reference number: *Corpus Nummorum Hungariae*, I 250; Huszár, 317

Description:

On the obverse is a king from the knees up crowned and holding an orb in the right hand and a scepter in the left. The reverse has the badge of the queen, the double-headed eagle of the Laskarids. Same as II.6, only smaller.

Bibliography:

Huszár, Lajos. *Münzkatalog Ungarn: von 1000 bis heute*. Budapest: Corvina Kiadó, 1979.

Réthy, László. *Corpus Nummorum Hungariae: Magyar Egyetemes éremtár*. Vol I. Budapest: A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia kiadása, 1899.



## II. 8 Denar of Béla IV with crowned king and queen on

Maria Laskarina (d. 1270)

Wife of Béla IV (r. 1235-1270)

Part of Lifecourse: Queen consort

Item of power: Crown

Associated iconography: Cross, Panther

Ornamentation: Beaded circles

Place of minting: Unknown

Dates in use: Unknown

Denomination: Denar

Position: Two crowned heads on obverse – both are under a cross.

Material: Silver

Inscription: None

Numismatic reference number: *Corpus Nummorum Hungariae* I 360; Huszár 339.

Description:

On the obverse there are two crowned busts facing the viewer. In between them there is a cross which terminates at the bottom in a crescent. On the reverse there is the figure of a panther.

Réthy identified this as a coin of Andrew III.

Bibliography:

Huszár, Lajos. *Münzkatalog Ungarn: von 1000 bis heute*. Budapest: Corvina Kiadó, 1979.

Réthy, László. *Corpus Nummorum Hungariae: Magyar Egyetemes éremtár*. Vol I. Budapest: A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia kiadása, 1899.



## II. 9 Obolus of Béla IV with crowned king and queen on obverse

Maria Laskarina (d. 1270)

Wife of Béla IV (r. 1235-1270)

Part of Lifecourse: Queen consort

Item of power: Crown

Associated iconography: Cross, Panther

Ornamentation: Beaded circles

Place of minting: Unknown

Dates in use: Unknown

Denomination: Obolus

Position: Two crowned heads on obverse – both are under a cross.

Material: Silver

Inscription: None

Numismatic reference number: *Corpus Nummorum Hungariae* I 361; Huszár 340.

Description:

On the obverse there are two crowned busts facing the viewer. In between them there is a cross which terminates at the bottom in a crescent. On the reverse there is the figure of a panther. Réthy identified this as a coin of Andrew III. Like II.8, only smaller.

**Bibliography:**

Huszár, Lajos. *Münzkatalog Ungarn: von 1000 bis heute*. Budapest: Corvina Kiadó, 1979.

Réthy, László. *Corpus Nummorum Hungariae: Magyar Egyetemes éremtár*. Vol I. Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia kiadása, 1899.



**II. 10 Denar with László the Cuman and a queen (poss. Elizabeth the Cuman) on reverse**

Elizabeth the Cuman

Wife of István V (r. 1270-1272)

Part of Lifecourse: Queen Regent for László IV (r. 1272-1290)

Item of power: Crown

Associated iconography: Shield with Cross

Ornamentation: Crenellated arches

Place of minting: Unknown

Dates in use: Unknown

Denomination: Denar

Position: Queen on left, King on right?

Material: Silver

Inscription: M · R | EGIL | ADIZ | LAI

Numismatic reference number: *Corpus Nummorum Hungariae* I 312; Huszár 364.

**Description:**

On the obverse there are four horizontal lines with proclaim the coin to be the money of king Ladislas. On the reverse there are two crowned heads facing each other under two crenellated arches with a shield on top of where the arches meet featuring a Latin Cross.

**Bibliography:**

Huszár, Lajos. *Münzkatalog Ungarn: von 1000 bis heute*. Budapest: Corvina Kiadó, 1979.

Réthy, László. *Corpus Nummorum Hungariae: Magyar Egyetemes éremtár*. Vol I. Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia kiadása, 1899.



**II. 11 Denar with László the Cuman and a queen (poss. Elizabeth the Cuman) on obverse**

Elizabeth the Cuman

Wife of István V (r. 1270-1272)

Part of Lifecourse: Queen Regent for László IV (r. 1272-1290)

Item of power: Crown

Associated iconography: Christ on throne

Ornamentation: Star, lily

Place of minting: Unknown

Dates in use: Unknown

Denomination: Denar

Position: Queen on left, King on right

Material: Silver

Inscription: E – L (Elisabetha, Ladislaus)

Numismatic reference number: *Corpus Nummorum Hungariae* I 319; Huszár 371.

Description:

On the obverse of the denar there are two crowned busts facing each other with a lily in between them. Above them there is a stylized rounded arch with the letters E & L and a star in the center of the arch. On the reverse there is a figure of an enthroned Christ with a halo and extending his arms.

Bibliography:

Huszár, Lajos. *Münzkatalog Ungarn: von 1000 bis heute*. Budapest: Corvina Kiadó, 1979.

Réthy, László. *Corpus Nummorum Hungariae: Magyar Egyetemes éremtár*. Vol I. Budapest: A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia kiadása, 1899.



## II. 12 Denar with László the Cuman and a queen (poss. Elizabeth the Cuman) on obverse

Elizabeth the Cuman

Wife of István V (r. 1270-1272)

Part of Lifecourse: Queen Regent for László IV (r. 1272-1290)

Item of power: Crown

Associated iconography: Cross, eagle, star

Ornamentation: Crenellated arches

Place of minting: Unknown

Dates in use: Unknown

Denomination: Denar

Position: Queen on left, king on right?

Material: Silver

Inscription: None

Numismatic reference number: *Corpus Nummorum Hungariae* I 329; Huszár 383.

Description:

There are two crowned busts facing each other on the obverse under two crenellated arches. In the center of the arches there is a cross, and above the top there are two stars. On the reverse there is an eagle with its wings spread.

Bibliography:

Huszár, Lajos. *Münzkatalog Ungarn: von 1000 bis heute*. Budapest: Corvina Kiadó, 1979.

Réthy, László. *Corpus Nummorum Hungariae: Magyar Egyetemes éremtár*. Vol I. Budapest: A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia kiadása, 1899.





## II. 13 Denar with László the Cuman and a queen (poss. Elizabeth the Cuman) on obverse

Elizabeth the Cuman

Wife of István V (r. 1270-1272)

Part of Lifecourse: Queen Regent for László IV (r. 1272-1290)

Item of power: None

Associated iconography: Stars, Cross, Dragon

Ornamentation: Crenellated arches

Place of minting: Unknown

Dates in use: Unknown

Denomination: Denar

Position: Facing each other

Material: Silver

Inscription: None

Numismatic reference number: *Corpus Nummorum Hungariae* I 336; Huszár 390.

Description:

There are two uncrowned busts facing each other on the obverse under two crenellated arches. In the center of the arches there is a cross within a shield, and above the top there are two stars. On the reverse there is a dragon with a curled tail.

Bibliography:

Huszár, Lajos. *Münzkatalog Ungarn: von 1000 bis heute*. Budapest: Corvina Kiadó, 1979.

Réthy, László. *Corpus Nummorum Hungariae: Magyar Egyetemes éremtár*. Vol I. Budapest: A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia kiadása, 1899.



## II. 14 Denar with László the Cuman and a queen (poss. Elizabeth the Cuman) on obverse

Elizabeth the Cuman

Wife of István V (r. 1270-1272)

Part of Lifecourse: Queen Regent for László IV (r. 1272-1290)

Item of power: None

Associated iconography: Cross, wings

Ornamentation: Crenellated Arches

Place of minting: Unknown

Dates in use: Unknown

Denomination: Denar

Position: Facing each other

Material: Silver

Inscription: None

Numismatic reference number: Huszár 392.

**Description:**

There are two uncrowned busts facing each other on the obverse under two crenellated arches. The obverse is the same as II.13 with the exception that there are two circles instead of stars above the arches. The reverse has a long cross flanked by two wings.

**Bibliography:**

Huszár, Lajos. *Münzkatalog Ungarn: von 1000 bis heute*. Budapest: Corvina Kiadó, 1979.

Réthy, László. *Corpus Nummorum Hungariae: Magyar Egyetemes éremtár*. Vol I. Budapest: A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia kiadása, 1899.

**II. 15 Obolus with László the Cuman and a queen (poss. Elizabeth the Cuman) on obverse**

Elizabeth the Cuman

Wife of István V (r. 1270-1272)

Part of Lifecourse: Queen Regent for László IV (r. 1272-1290)

Item of power: None

Associated iconography: Stars, Cross, Dragon

Ornamentation: Crenellated arches

Place of minting: Unknown

Dates in use: Unknown

Denomination: Obolus

Position: Facing each other

Material: Silver

Inscription: None

Numismatic reference number: *Corpus Nummorum Hungariae* I 337; Huszár 391.

**Description:**

There are two uncrowned busts facing each other on the obverse under two crenellated arches. In the center of the arches there is a cross within a shield, and above the top there are two stars. On the reverse there is a dragon with a curled tail. Same as II.13, only smaller.

**Bibliography:**

Huszár, Lajos. *Münzkatalog Ungarn: von 1000 bis heute*. Budapest: Corvina Kiadó, 1979.

Réthy, László. *Corpus Nummorum Hungariae: Magyar Egyetemes éremtár*. Vol I. Budapest: A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia kiadása, 1899.

**II. 16 Denar Andrew III and a queen (poss. Tomasina Morosini?)**

Tomasina Morosini?

Mother of Andrew III (r. 1290-1301)

Part of Lifecourse: Mother of Andrew III (r. 1290-1301)

Item of power: Crown

Associated iconography: Victory column, Harpy

Ornamentation: None

Place of minting: Unknown



Dates in use: Unknown

Denomination: Denar

Position: Queen on left, King on right (?)

Material: Silver

Inscription: M

Numismatic reference number: *Corpus Nummorum Hungariae* I 359; Huszár 410.

Description:

This is a coin from the reign of Andrew III depicting two crowned figures on the obverse facing each other with a victor's column in between them as well as a crowned letter "M". On the reverse there is a winged harpy. The crowned woman in question is probably the king's mother, Tomasina Morosini.

Bibliography:

Huszár, Lajos. *Münzkatalog Ungarn: von 1000 bis heute*. Budapest: Corvina Kiadó, 1979.

Réthy, László. *Corpus Nummorum Hungariae: Magyar Egyetemes éremtár*. Vol I. Budapest: A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia kiadása, 1899.



## II. 17 Denar Andrew III and a queen (poss. Tomasina Morosini?)

Tomasina Morosini?

Mother of Andrew III (r. 1290-1301)

Part of Lifecourse: Mother of Andrew III (r. 1290-1301)

Item of power: Crown

Associated iconography: Cross

Ornamentation: Ring of beads

Place of minting: Unknown

Dates in use: Unknown

Denomination: Denar

Position: Queen on left, King on right (?)

Material: Silver

Inscription: M

Numismatic reference number: *Corpus Nummorum Hungariae* I 358; Huszár 408.

Description:

On the obverse of the coin there is a crowned bust of a king encircled by a ring of beads with the inscription on the outside border. On the reverse there is a cross in the center flanked by two crowned figures facing each other. Under the cross there is a crowned letter "M". The crowned woman in question is probably the king's mother, Tomasina Morosini.

Bibliography:

Huszár, Lajos. *Münzkatalog Ungarn: von 1000 bis heute*. Budapest: Corvina Kiadó, 1979.

Réthy, László. *Corpus Nummorum Hungariae: Magyar Egyetemes éremtár*. Vol I. Budapest: A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia kiadása, 1899.



**II. 18 Denar with Charles I Robert and Elizabeth of Poland on the reverse**

Elizabeth of Poland (d. 1380)

Fourth wife of Charles I Robert (r. 1308-1342)

Part of Lifecourse: Queen Consort

Item of power: Crown

Associated iconography: Lilies, birds.

Ornamentation: Beaded ring

Place of minting: Unknown – no mint mark.

Dates in use: c. 1325

Denomination: Denar

Position: King on left and Queen on right (?)

Material: Silver

Inscription: +MOnETA REGIS KARVLI

Numismatic reference number: *Corpus Nummorum Hungariae* II 51; Huszár 459.

Description:

On the obverse there is the bust of crowned head facing forward with the inscription circling the border. On the reverse there is a double-barred cross flanked by two lilies, two birds, and two facing crowned busts.

Bibliography:

Huszár, Lajos. *Münzkatalog Ungarn: von 1000 bis heute*. Budapest: Corvina Kiadó, 1979.

Réthy, László. *Corpus Nummorum Hungariae: Magyar Egyetemes éremtár*. Vol II. Budapest: A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia kiadása, 1907.

**II. 19 Obolus with Charles I Robert and Elizabeth of Poland on the reverse**

Elizabeth of Poland (d. 1380)

Fourth wife of Charles I Robert (r. 1308-1342)

Part of Lifecourse: Queen Consort

Item of power: Crown, double-barred cross

Associated iconography: Lilies, birds.

Ornamentation: Beaded ring

Place of minting: Unknown – no mint mark

Dates in use: c. 1325

Denomination: Obolus

Position: King on left, Queen on right (?)

Material: Silver

Inscription: +M REGIS KARVLI

Numismatic reference number: *Corpus Nummorum Hungariae* II 52; Huszár 460.

Description:

On the obverse there is the bust of crowned head facing forward with the inscription circling the border. On the reverse there is a double-barred cross flanked by two lilies, two birds, and two facing crowned busts. Like II.17, just smaller

Bibliography:

Huszár, Lajos. *Münzkatalog Ungarn: von 1000 bis heute*. Budapest: Corvina Kiadó, 1979.

Réthy, László. *Corpus Nummorum Hungariae: Magyar Egyetemes éremtár*. Vol II. Budapest: A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia kiadása, 1907.



## II. 20 Parvus with Charles I Robert and Elizabeth of Poland on the reverse

Elizabeth of Poland (d. 1380)

Fourth wife of Charles I Robert (r. 1308-1342)

Part of Lifecourse: Queen Consort

Item of power: Crown, Bust of a king

Associated iconography: Double-barred cross

Ornamentation: Quatrefoil

Place of minting: Unknown – no mint mark

Dates in use: c. 1325

Denomination: Parvus

Position: King on left, Queen on right (?)

Material: Silver

Inscription: R – K

Numismatic reference number: *Corpus Nummorum Hungariae* II 53; Huszár 461.

Description:

On the obverse there is a bust of the king facing the viewer from inside a quatrefoil and possibly holding a scepter. On the reverse there is a double-barred cross flanked by two grape leaves, the letters R & K, and two crowned busts facing each other, most probably the king and the queen.

Bibliography:

Huszár, Lajos. *Münzkatalog Ungarn: von 1000 bis heute*. Budapest: Corvina Kiadó, 1979.

Réthy, László. *Corpus Nummorum Hungariae: Magyar Egyetemes éremtár*. Vol II. Budapest: A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia kiadása, 1907.



## II. 21 Obolus with Charles I Robert and Elizabeth of Poland on the obverse

Elizabeth of Poland (d. 1380)

Fourth wife of Charles I Robert (r. 1308-1342)

Part of Lifecourse: Queen Consort

Item of power: Crown

Associated iconography: Ostrich

Ornamentation: None visible

Place of minting: None indicated

Dates in use: c. 1326?

Denomination: Obolus

Position: King on Left, Queen on Right

Material: Silver

Inscription: K E

Numismatic reference number: *Corpus Nummorum Hungariae* II 38; Huszár 464.

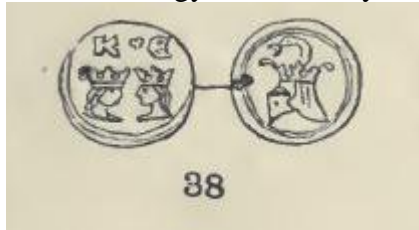
Description:

The obverse has the heads of King Charles I Robert and Elizabeth of Poland facing each other underneath the initials K & E. On the back there is a helmet with the Angevin crest of an ostrich head holding the horseshoe in its mouth. There is no place of minting recorded.

Bibliography:

Huszár, Lajos. *Münzkatalog Ungarn: von 1000 bis heute*. Budapest: Corvina Kiadó, 1979.

Réthy, László. *Corpus Nummorum Hungariae: Magyar Egyetemes éremtár*. Vol II. Budapest: A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia kiadása, 1907.



## II. 22 Parvus of Charles I Robert with initials of king and queen

Elizabeth of Poland (d. 1380)

Fourth wife of Charles I Robert (r. 1308-1342)

Part of Lifecourse: Queen Consort

Item of power: Bust of a king

Associated iconography: Ostrich

Ornamentation: Beaded ring

Place of minting: Unknown – no mint mark

Dates in use: c. 1332

Denomination: Parvus

Position: King's initial on left of reverse, Queen's initial on right or reverse

Material: Silver

Inscription: K E

Numismatic reference number: *Corpus Nummorum Hungariae* II 31; Huszár 478.

Description:

On the obverse there is a bust of the king facing the viewer. On the reverse there is an ostrich flanked by the letters K and E for Karolus and Elizabeth.

Bibliography:

Huszár, Lajos. *Münzkatalog Ungarn: von 1000 bis heute*. Budapest: Corvina Kiadó, 1979.

Pohl, Artur. *Münzzeichen und Meisterzeichen auf ungarischen Münzen des Mittelalters, 1300-1540*. Graz & Budapest: Akademische Druck- u. Verlagsanstalt & Akadémiai Kiadó, 1982.

Réthy, László. *Corpus Nummorum Hungariae: Magyar Egyetemes éremtár*. Vol II. Budapest: A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia kiadása, 1907.



## II. 23 Denar of with the busts of Charles I Robert and Elizabeth of Poland

Elizabeth of Poland (d. 1380)

Fourth wife of Charles I Robert (r. 1308-1342)

Part of Lifecourse: Queen Consort

Item of power: Hungarian-Angevin coat of arms

Associated iconography: Two lilies, two stars, two birds

Ornamentation: Beaded ring

Place of minting: Unknown – no mint mark

Dates in use: c. 1323

Denomination: Denar

Position: Reverse

Material: Silver

Inscription: +MOnETA REGIS KARVLI

Numismatic reference number: *Corpus Nummorum Hungariae* II 54A & B; Huszár 455.

Description:

On the obverse there is the Hungarian-Angevin coat of arms with the inscription circling the border. On the reverse there is a double-barred cross flanked by two lilies, two birds, and two facing crowned busts. Bibliography:

Huszár, Lajos. *Münzkatalog Ungarn: von 1000 bis heute*. Budapest: Corvina Kiadó, 1979.

Pohl, Artur. *Münzzeichen und Meisterzeichen auf ungarischen Münzen des Mittelalters, 1300-1540*. Graz & Budapest: Akademische Druck- u. Verlagsanstalt & Akadémiai Kiadó, 1982.

Réthy, László. *Corpus Nummorum Hungariae: Magyar Egyetemes éremtár*. Vol II. Budapest: A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia kiadása, 1907.



## II. 24 Denar from the City of Buda with Charles I Robert and Elizabeth of Poland

Elizabeth of Poland (d. 1380)

Fourth wife of Charles I Robert (r. 1308-1342)

Part of Lifecourse: Queen Consort

Item of power: Crown, throne

Associated iconography: Buda coat of arms

Ornamentation: None visible

Place of minting: None indicated, possibly Buda

Dates in use: c. 1321-1326

Denomination: Denar

Position: Side by side, facing viewer

Material: Silver

Inscription: None

Numismatic reference number: *Corpus Nummorum Hungariae* II 39; Huszár 500.

Description:

This coin was minted by the city of Buda and shows the king and the queen sitting on thrones and facing the viewer in the obverse. The reverse has the image of a three-towered castle, the escutcheon of the city of Buda.

Bibliography:

Huszár, Lajos. *Münzkatalog Ungarn: von 1000 bis heute*. Budapest: Corvina Kiadó, 1979.

Réthy, László. *Corpus Nummorum Hungariae: Magyar Egyetemes éremtár*. Vol II. Budapest: A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia kiadása, 1907.





## II. 25 Golden florin of Queen Mary

Queen Mary of Hungary (r. 1382-1395)

First wife of King Sigismund (r. 1387-1437)

Part of Lifecourse: Queen Regnant

Item of power: Escutcheon

Associated iconography: Hungarian-Angevin coat of arms, St. Ladislaus

Ornamentation: Gothic hexafoils

Place of minting: Unknown, Esztergom, Unknown

Dates in use: c. 1383-1384

Denomination: Florin

Position: Image of queen not on coin

Material: Gold

Obverse Inscription: +MARIE·D·G·R·VnGARIE

Reverse Inscription: ·S·LADISL·AVS·REX·

Numismatic reference number: *Corpus Nummorum Hungariae* II 112; Huszár 563.

Description:

On the obverse, there is an escutcheon with the Hungarian-Angevin coat of arms surrounded by several Gothic hexafoils and the inscription proclaiming Mary as Queen of Hungary by the grace of God. On the Reverse there is the image of St. Ladislaus standing and bearded with an axe in his right hand and an orb in the left. The mark of the mint on this coin is beneath the orb in the Saint's left hand.

Bibliography:

Huszár, Lajos. *Münzkatalog Ungarn: von 1000 bis heute*. Budapest: Corvina Kiadó, 1979.

Réthy, László. *Corpus Nummorum Hungariae: Magyar Egyetemes éremtár*. Vol II. Budapest: A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia kiadása, 1907.



## II. 26 Golden florin of Queen Mary

Queen Mary of Hungary (r. 1382-1395)

First wife of King Sigismund (r. 1387-1437)

Part of Lifecourse: Queen Regnant

Item of power: Escutcheon

Associated iconography: Hungarian-Angevin coat of arms, St. Ladislav

Ornamentation: Gothic hexafoils

Place of minting: Unknown, Unknown, Unknown

Dates in use: c. 1385-1395

Denomination: Florin

Position: Image of the queen not on the coin

Material: Gold

Obverse Inscription: +MARIE·D·G·R·VnGARIE

Reverse Inscription: ·S·LADISL·AVS·REX·

Numismatic reference number: *Corpus Nummorum Hungariae* II 111; Huszár 564.

Description:

On the obverse, there is an escutcheon with the Hungarian-Angevin coat of arms surrounded by several Gothic hexafoils and the inscription proclaiming Mary as Queen of Hungary by the grace of God. On the Reverse there is the image of St. Ladislav standing with an axe in his right hand with the hilt at his hip and an orb in the left. The mark of the mint on this coin is beneath the hands of St. Ladislav.

Bibliography:

Huszár, Lajos. *Münzkatalog Ungarn: von 1000 bis heute*. Budapest: Corvina Kiadó, 1979.

Réthy, László. *Corpus Nummorum Hungariae: Magyar Egyetemes éremtár*. Vol II. Budapest: A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia kiadása, 1907.



## II. 27 Denar of Queen Mary

Queen Mary of Hungary (r. 1382-1395)

First wife of King Sigismund (r. 1387-1437)

Part of Lifecourse: Queen Regnant

Item of power: Escutcheon

Associated iconography: Hungarian-Angevin coat of arms, St. Ladislav

Ornamentation: Circle of beading & lilies around shield

Place of minting: Székesfehérvár

Dates in use: c. 1382

Denomination: Denar

Position: No image of queen on the coin

Material: Silver

Obverse Inscription: +MARIE·D·G·R·VnGARIE

Reverse Inscription: ·S·LADIS·LAVS·REX·

Numismatic reference number: *Corpus Nummorum Hungariae* II 113; Huszár 565.

Description:

Hungarian-Angevin coat of arms surrounded by a circle of beading and three lilies. On the Reverse is St. Ladislav standing and holding an orb at his waist, with the mark of the mint to



the viewer's right. These were the earliest denars used by Mary as they are very similar to the last coins minted by Louis I before his death.

#### Bibliography:

Huszár, Lajos. *Münzkatalog Ungarn: von 1000 bis heute*. Budapest: Corvina Kiadó, 1979.

Pohl, Artur. *Münzzeichen und Meisterzeichen auf ungarischen Münzen des Mittelalters, 1300-1540*. Graz & Budapest: Akademische Druck- u. Verlagsanstalt & Akadémiai Kiadó, 1982.

Réthy, László. *Corpus Nummorum Hungariae: Magyar Egyetemes éremtár*. Vol II. Budapest: A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia kiadása, 1907.

Tóth, Csaba. "Mária királynő dénárjainak korrendje" [A chronology of the denars of Queen Mary] *Az Érem* 58 (2002): 7-12.



## II. 28 Denar of Queen Mary

Queen Mary of Hungary (r. 1382-1395)

First wife of King Sigismund (r. 1387-1437)

Part of Lifecourse: Queen Regnant

Item of power: Crown, Double-barred Cross

Associated iconography: The letter "M"

Ornamentation: Circular beading

Place of minting: Buda, Esztergom, Kremnica/Körmöcbánya, Kosiče, Baia Mare/Nagybánya, Syrmia, Timisoara

Dates in use: c. 1383

Denomination: Denar

Position: Image of queen not on coin

Material: Silver

Obverse Inscription: +MOnETA·MARIE

Reverse Inscription: +REGInE·VnGARIE

Numismatic reference number: *Corpus Nummorum Hungariae* II 114; Huszár 566.

#### Description:

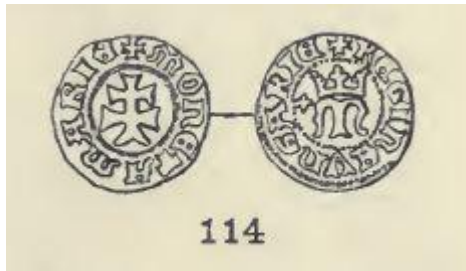
On the front is the Hungarian double-barred cross enclosed in a ring of beads with the inscription on the border. The reverse has the letter "M" with a crown in the center and a ring of beads and the inscription on the border. The mint mark is in the field to the viewer's left.

#### Bibliography:

Huszár, Lajos. *Münzkatalog Ungarn: von 1000 bis heute*. Budapest: Corvina Kiadó, 1979.

Réthy, László. *Corpus Nummorum Hungariae: Magyar Egyetemes éremtár*. Vol II. Budapest: A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia kiadása, 1907.

Tóth, Csaba. "Mária királynő dénárjainak korrendje" [A chronology of the denars of Queen Mary] *Az Érem* 58 (2002): 7-12.



## II. 29 Denar of Queen Mary

Queen Mary of Hungary (r. 1382-1395)

First wife of King Sigismund (r. 1387-1437)

Part of Lifecourse: Queen Regnant

Item of power: Crown, double-barred Hungarian cross

Associated iconography: None

Ornamentation: Circular beading

Place of minting: Esztergom, Kosiče, Kremnica, Oradea, Nagybánya, Pressburg, Sibiu, Syrmia, Székesfehérvár, Timisoara

Dates in use: c. 1384/6-1395

Denomination: Denar

Position: No image of the queen on the coin.

Material: Silver

Obverse Inscription: +MARIE D R VGARIE

Reverse Inscription: +MONETA·MARIE R

Numismatic reference number: *Corpus Nummorum Hungariae* II 116; Huszár 569.

Description:

On the obverse there is an open crown topped with lilies inside a circle of beads with the inscription on the outside. The place of mint is indicated beneath the crown. On the reverse is the double-barred cross with pearls at the corners and the inscription on the outside. This is the so-called “crown denar”. These seem to be the latest denars used by Mary as they match coins minted by Sigismund during their period of joint rule.

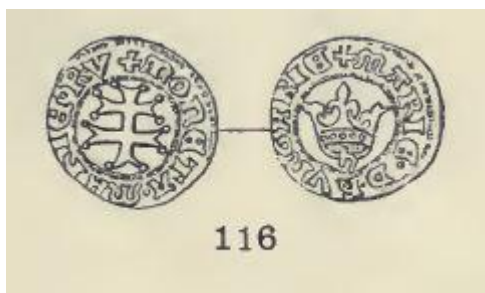
Bibliography:

Huszár, Lajos. *Münzkatalog Ungarn: von 1000 bis heute*. Budapest: Corvina Kiadó, 1979.

Pohl, Artur. *Münzzeichen und Meisterzeichen auf ungarischen Münzen des Mittelalters, 1300-1540*. Graz & Budapest: Akademische Druck- u. Verlagsanstalt & Akadémiai Kiadó, 1982.

Réthy, László. *Corpus Nummorum Hungariae: Magyar Egyetemes éremtár*. Vol II. Budapest: A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia kiadása, 1907.

Tóth, Csaba. “Mária királynő dénárjainak korrendje” [A chronology of the denars of Queen Mary] *Az Érem* 58 (2002): 7-12.



## II. 30 Obolus of Queen Mary

Queen Mary of Hungary (r. 1382-1395)  
 First wife of King Sigismund (r. 1387-1437)  
 Part of Lifecourse: Queen Regnant  
 Item of power: Crown, double barred Hungarian cross.  
 Associated iconography: The letter “M”  
 Ornamentation: Circle of beads  
 Place of minting: Kosiče?  
 Dates in use: c. 1383  
 Denomination: Obolus  
 Position: No image of the queen on the coin.  
 Material: Silver  
 Obverse Inscription: +MONETA LODOHICI  
 Reverse Inscription: +REGInE·VnGARIE  
 Numismatic reference number: Huszár 567.  
 Description:

This coin is a hybrid wherein the obverse is a coin of Louis I, Mary’s father, a double-barred cross with Louis’ name in the inscription while the reverse is the same as the reverse in II.24, a crowned letter M with the inscription “Queen of Hungary”. The mint mark is two lilies, to the side of the letter “M” on the reverse.

#### Bibliography:

Huszár, Lajos. *Münzkatalog Ungarn: von 1000 bis heute*. Budapest: Corvina Kiadó, 1979.



## II. 31 Obolus of Queen Mary

Queen Mary of Hungary (r. 1382-1395)  
 First wife of King Sigismund (r. 1387-1437)  
 Part of Lifecourse: Queen Regnant  
 Item of power: Crown, Double-barred Cross  
 Associated iconography: The letter “M”  
 Ornamentation: Circular beading  
 Place of minting: No mint indicated  
 Dates in use: c. 1383  
 Denomination: Obolus  
 Position: No image of the queen on the coin.  
 Material: Silver  
 Obverse Inscription: +MOnETA·MARIE  
 Reverse Inscription: +REGInE·VnGARIE  
 Numismatic reference number: *Corpus Nummorum Hungariae* II 115; Huszár 568.  
 Description:

On the front is the Hungarian double-barred cross enclosed in a ring of beads with the inscription on the border. The reverse has the letter “M” with a crown in the center and a ring of beads and the inscription on the border. The mint mark is in the field to the viewer’s left. Like CNH II 114 & Huszár 566, but smaller.

#### Bibliography:

Huszár, Lajos. *Münzkatalog Ungarn: von 1000 bis heute*. Budapest: Corvina Kiadó, 1979.

Réthy, László. *Corpus Nummorum Hungariae: Magyar Egyetemes éremtár*. Vol II. Budapest: A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia kiadása, 1907.



## II. 32 Obolus of Queen Mary

Queen Mary of Hungary (r. 1382-1395)

First wife of King Sigismund (r. 1387-1437)

Part of Lifecourse: Queen Regnant

Item of power: Crown, double-barred cross

Associated iconography: None

Ornamentation: Circular beading

Place of minting: Kremnica/Körmöcbánya

Dates in use: c. 1384-1395

Denomination: Obolus

Position: No image of the queen on the coin.

Material: Silver

Obverse Inscription: +MAR R VGAR

Reverse Inscription: +MOnETA·MARIE·R

Numismatic reference number: *Corpus Nummorum Hungariae* II 117; Huszár 570.

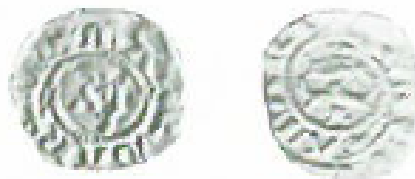
Description:

There is an open, lily-topped crown on the obverse with the inscription encircling the center and the place of mint beneath the crown. On the reverse there is the the double-barred Hungarian cross around the inscription. Huszár notes that this might possibly be a contemporary forgery.

Bibliography:

Huszár, Lajos. *Münzkatalog Ungarn: von 1000 bis heute*. Budapest: Corvina Kiadó, 1979.

Réthy, László. *Corpus Nummorum Hungariae: Magyar Egyetemes éremtár*. Vol II. Budapest: A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia kiadása, 1907.



## II. 33 Obolus of Queen Mary

Queen Mary of Hungary (r. 1382-1395)

First wife of King Sigismund (r. 1387-1437)

Part of Lifecourse: Queen Regnant

Item of power: Crown, double-barred cross.

Associated iconography: None

Ornamentation: None visible

Place of minting: None indicated

Dates in use: c. 1384-1395

Denomination: Obolus

Position: No image of the queen on the coin.

Size: 13 mm

Material: Silver

Obverse Inscription: +M·A...RI...E

Reverse Inscription: +R·Vn...GA·R·

Numismatic reference number: Huszár 571.

Description:

On the obverse there is an open crown with a few letters of the queen's name. On the reverse there is the double-barred Hungarian cross with the continuation of her title. There is no specified place of mint, and the coin seems to have been in use most of Queen Mary's reign.

Bibliography:

Huszár, Lajos. *Münzkatalog Ungarn: von 1000 bis heute*. Budapest: Corvina Kiadó, 1979.

Pohl, Artur. *Münzzeichen und Meisterzeichen auf ungarischen Münzen des Mittelalters, 1300-1540*. Graz & Budapest: Akademische Druck- u. Verlagsanstalt & Akadémiai Kiadó, 1982.



## II. 34 Obolus of Queen Mary

Queen Mary of Hungary (r. 1382-1395)

First wife of King Sigismund (r. 1387-1437)

Part of Lifecourse: Queen Regnant

Item of power: Crown, cross

Associated iconography: None

Ornamentation: Pearl border, rosettes

Place of minting: Buda?

Dates in use: c. 1385-6

Denomination: Obolus

Position: No image of the queen on the coin.

Size: 12 mm

Material: Silver

Obverse Inscription: mARIE \* REG \*

Reverse Inscription: mOnETA \* VnG \*

Numismatic reference number: N/A

Description:

This coin was recently discovered when it was put up for auction. It is a small coin with a low weigh (about 0.24 grams) featuring a crown on one side and an equilateral cross on the other side. Kiss and Ujszászi are of the opinion that based on its imagery and low weight it was probably minted c. 1385-1386, during the time when Charles of Naples was claiming the Hungarian throne. The cross also seems to be a Mediterranean motif.

Bibliography:

Kiss, József Géza and Róbert Ujszászi. "Mária királynő obulusai" [The obols of Queen Mary] *Az Érem* LXXI (2014): 1-6.





### III.1 Angevin Throne Carpet

Possibly commissioned by Maria of Hungary (d. 1323), queen of Naples. Charles I Robert, Louis I 'the Great' and Charles II of Durazzo have also been named as potential commissioners

Wife of: Charles II of Naples, daughter of Stephen V of Hungary

Relationship to Queen: Possibly commissioned for her grandson, Charles I Robert to support his claim for the throne of Hungary

Part of Lifecourse: Dowager queen of Naples

Provenience: Naples/Hungary

Visibility: Possibly used as drapery over the throne, or as a wall hanging

Date of creation: early fourteenth century (?)

Dates of use: early fourteenth century to 1390-1427 (?)

Material: Silk taffeta appliqué

Size: 240 x 110 cm

Museum: Budapest History Museum

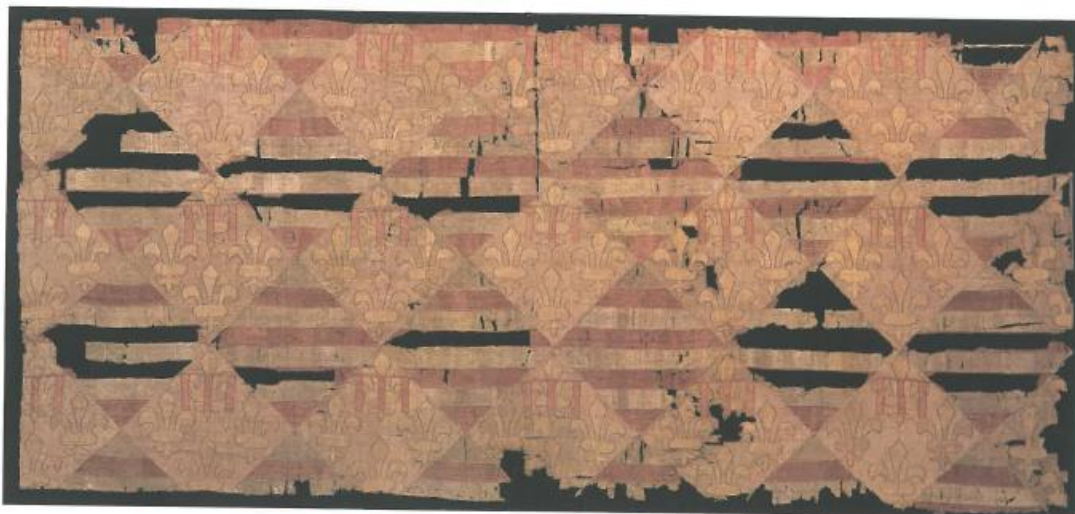
Inventory Number: 2001.1.1

Description:

This silk taffeta throne carpet was found in 1999 in a ball of mud ten meters below the present-day surface of St. George Square in the present day Buda Castle district, and seems to have been deposited there sometime at the end of the fourteenth or beginning of the fifteenth centuries. It depicts the Árpadian coat-of-arms (the red and silver barry) and the Angevin coat of arms (four gold lilies on a blue field with a three-pointed red label). The presence of the label seems to indicate that it originated at the Neapolitan court. It is possible that this throne carpet was commissioned by Mary of Hungary, queen of Naples, and grandmother of Charles I Robert (r. 1308-1342) for use in a royal ceremony such as a coronation, wedding, or funeral. This throne carpet could conceivably have been used (or commissioned) during the century of Angevin rule in Hungary, and while specifics are scarce, it bears a great deal of resemblance to throne carpets covering the seats of the Angevin rulers from Charles I Robert to Queen Mary and Sigismund on their seals.

Bibliography:

Nyékhelyi, Dorottya, B. *Középkori kútlelet a budavári szent György téren* [Medieval finds from the well at St. George Square in Buda Castle]. Budapest: Budapest History Museum, 2003.





**III.2 Stained Glass windows associated with Agnes of Habsburg (d. 1364)**

Second wife of: Andrew III (r. 1290-1301)

Relationship to Queen:

Part of Lifecourse: Queen Dowager

Provenience: Abbey of Königsfelden

Visibility: In the nave of the church

Date of creation: c. 1312/1313

Dates of use: c. 1312/1313 to present

Material: Stained glass

Size: 66.8 x 43.9 cm; 66.6 x 44 cm

Museum: Abbey of Königsfelden

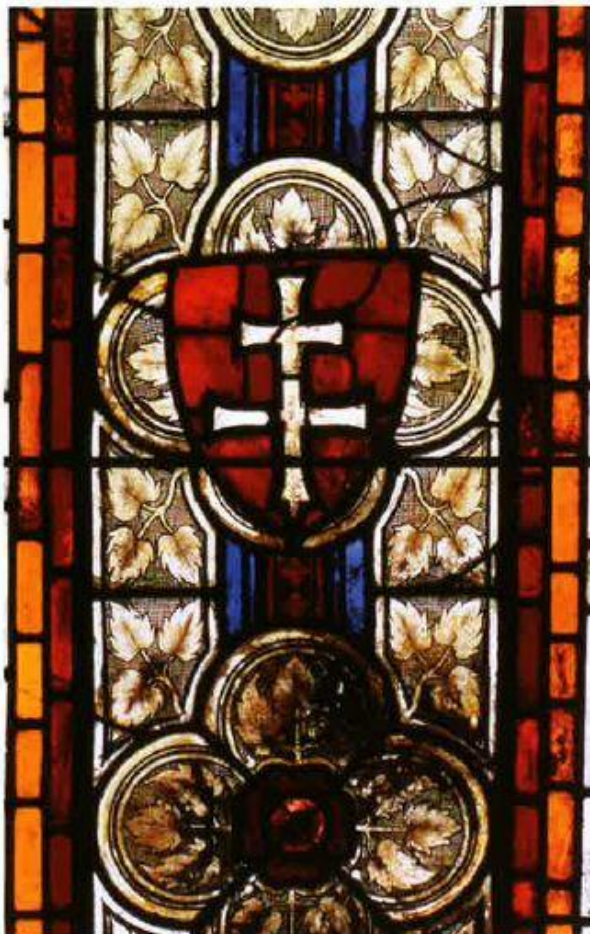
Inventory Number: N/A

Description:

These three surviving stained-glass windows from the fourteenth century at the Abbey of Königsfelden, depict the Hungarian double-barred cross. It was part of the program of self-representation at the Abbey which was designed to be a mausoleum for the Habsburgs by Elizabeth of Tyrol, the widow of Holy Roman Emperor Albert I, and their daughter Agnes, widow of Andrew III of Hungary. The coats-of-arms of Hungary appear in many places in the Abbey due to the connection with Agnes. One appears in the main part of the church while two others appear in the nave.

Bibliography:

Kurmann-Schwarz, Brigitt. *Die mittelalterliche Glasmalereien der ehemaligen Klosterkirche Königsfelden*. Bern: Stämpfli, 2008.





### III.3 Funerary Banner of Agnes (Habsburg) of Austria (d. 1364)

Second wife of: Andrew III (r. 1290-1301)

Relationship to Queen:

Part of Lifecourse: Queen Dowager

Provenience: Abbey of Königsfelden

Visibility: Possibly carried in a funeral procession, then later hung by the tomb

Date of creation: ca. 1350

Dates of use: second half of the fourteenth century

Material: embroidered textile

Size: 112 x 71 cm

Museum: Bern Historical Museum

Inventory Number: (125-131)

Description:

This banner was one of originally eight banners possibly produced in the middle of the fourteenth century for the funeral of Agnes, the daughter of the Habsburg Holy Roman Emperor Albert I of Austria. Of the eight banners, three depicted the Hungarian coat-of-arms, two depicted an imperial eagle, two more show the Austrian coat-of-arms, and one showed the crest of Carinthia. These banners would probably have been used in her funeral procession, and later might have hung over her grave. Either in 1415 or after the dissolution of the monastery in 1528, the banner came into the possession of the city of Bern.

Bibliography:

Jahn, Wolfgang. Ritterfahne mit dem ungarischen Wappen. In *Bayern – Ungarn: Tausend Jahre*. Augsburg: Haus der Bayerischen Geschichte, 2001, 125-126.





### III.4 Mantle agraffes with the Hungarian-Angevin and Polish coat of arms

Possible connection to Elizabeth of Poland (d. 1380)

Wife of: Charles I Robert (r. 1342-1380)

Relationship to Queen:

Part of Lifecourse: Queen Mother

Provenience: Aachen Treasury

Visibility: Originally worn on garments, possibly worn on church vestments in the fifteenth century

Date of creation: 1350s-1360s

Dates of use: 1360s

Material: Silver gilt, red and blue enamel

Size: Height – 14.4-15 cm; Width – 7.5-11.1 cm; Depth – 1.8-3.4 cm

Museum: Aachen Treasury

Inventory Number: N/A

Description:

Of the six heraldic badges from the fourteenth century donated to the Hungarian Chapel in Aachen, two seem originally to have been book covers, while the four seem to be two pairs of buckles or garment fasteners based on the presence of eyelets on the backs. One side depicts the Hungarian Angevin coat-of-arms surmounted by a crowned tournament helmet and with an ostrich rising out of the crown with a horseshoe in its beak. The other features a shield with the Polish coat-of-arms topped with a tournament helmet which has a crowned Polish eagle resting on top of it. It seems that these two pairs of heraldic badges were part of the vestements in the fifteenth century, though by the seventeenth century they were already separated and in disrepair.

Bibliography:

Lepie, Herta. “Deux écus, appartenant à un mors de chape”, in *L'Europe des Anjou*, 337-338.

Kovács, Éva. “I. Lajos király címerei Aachenben”, in *Művészet I. Lajos Király korában, 1342-1382*. [Art in the age of King Louis I 1342-1382], 107-108.

Takács, Imre. “Zwei Schmuckstücke mit Wappen” in *Sigismundus Rex et Imperator: Kunst und Kultur zur Zeit Sigismunds von Luxemburg 1387-1437*. Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 2006.



**IV.1 Monomachos Crown**

Possibly owned by Andrew I, Salamon, Anastasia of Kiev, or Judith of Swabia

Date of creation: c. 1042-1050

Dates of use: mid to late eleventh century

Date of deposition: c. 1074?

Provenience: Ivánka pri Nitre, Slovakia

Workshop: Byzantium, most probably Constantinople

Quality of workmanship: Poor

Composition: Gold, enamel

Dimensions: 22 cm long, 11.5 cm highest

Ornamentation: Stylized trees, Greek inscriptions

Connection to queen: Possibly brought to Hungary by either Anastasia of Kiev or Judith of Swabia?

Worn as: Queen widow or Queen consort?

Description:

This crown consists of seven different hinged plates. At the center is Emperor Constantine IX Monomachos, flanked by his co-empresses Zoe and Theodora. Next to the two empresses are two dancing figures, and the last two (and smallest) plates represent allegories of Truth and Humility. Due to its shape, it was originally thought that this would be a queen's crown, though recently it has been argued that this could in fact be an arm-band awarded as a military prize; this would explain the dancing and allegorical figures. It is possible it came to Hungary through either Anastasia or Judith, or it equally could have been a gift directly to the king of Hungary, either Andrew I or Salomon; it seems to have been buried hastily during a military retreat.

Bibliography:

Bárány-Oberschall, Magda. *Konstantinos Monomachos császár koronája – The Crown of the Emperor Constantine Monomachos*. Budapest: Magyar Történeti Múzeum, 1937.

Dawson, Timothy. "The Monomachos Crown: Towards a Resolution" *BYZANTINA SYMMEIKTA* 19 (2009), 183-193.

Kiss, Etele. "The State of Research on the Monomachos Crown and Some Further Thoughts" in *Perceptions of Byzantium and its Neighbors (843-1261)*, ed. by Olenka Z. Pevny. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2001, 60-83.

Oikonomides, Nicolas. "La Couronne dite de Constantin Monomaque" *Travaux et Mémoires, Centre de Recherche d'Histoire et Civilisation de Byzance*, 12 (1994), 241-262



## IV.2 The Holy Crown of Hungary

Originally crown of Synadene Synadenos (d. after October 1079/1080)

Second wife of Géza I (r. 1074-1077)

Date of creation: 1070s

Dates of use: as possible queen's crown, late 11<sup>th</sup> century; as king's crown, 12<sup>th</sup>-20<sup>th</sup> centuries

Provenience: Byzantium (Constantinople?)

Workshop: Byzantine

Quality of workmanship: Average-Poor

Composition: Gold, enamel, gemstones, glass, pearls

Dimensions: Inner circumference 63.6 cm, Outer circumference 68.5 cm, Thickness 1.5 mm.

Ornamentation: Byzantine enamels, saints, apostles, secular figures

Connection to queen: Possible bridal gift to the queen by a Byzantine emperor

Worn as: Queen consort, later Kings regnant

Description:

This crown originally consisted of a large coronet adorned with various enamels representing various celestial figures as well as three secular figures: Michael VII Doukas, Constantine Doukas, and Géza I of Hungary on the back. The colors stones are in an alternating pattern. In the 12<sup>th</sup> or 13<sup>th</sup> century, the two crossed bands on the top were added; these show depictions of Christ Pantokrator and eight of the twelve apostles with Latin inscriptions. It was believed that this crown, originally a diplomatic gift to Synadene, wife of Géza I of Hungary, was left in Hungary after her return to Byzantium, and a century or so later re-used as a king's crown.

Bibliography:

Bak, János M. "Holy Lance, Holy Crown, Holy Dexter: Sanctity of Insignia in Medieval East Central Europe" in *Studying Medieval Rulers and Their Subjects: Central Europe and Beyond*, ed. by Balázs Nagy and Gábor Klaniczay. Burlington: Ashgate, 2010, 56-65.

Bárány-Oberschall, Magda. *Die Sankt Stephans-Krone und die Insignien des Königreichs Ungarn*. Vienna: Herold, 1961.

Deér, Josef. *Die Heilige Krone Ungarns*. Vienna: Hermann Böhlaus, 1966.

Hilsdale, Cecily. "The Social Life of the Byzantine gift: the Royal Crown of Hungary re-invented" *Art History* 31/5 (2008), 602-631.

Kovács, Eva & Lovag, Zsuzsa. *The Hungarian Crown and Other Regalia*. Budapest: Corvina Kiadó, 1980.

Vajay, Szabolcs de. "Corona Regia – Corona Regni – Sacra Corona: Königskronen und Kronensymbolik im mittelalterlichen Ungarn" *Ungarn Jahrbuch* 7 (1976), 37-64.





**IV.3 Burial crown of Agnes of Antioch (d. 1184)**

First wife of Béla III (r. 1173-1196)

Date of creation: 12<sup>th</sup> century (?)

Dates of use: 12<sup>th</sup> century

Date of deposition: c. 1184

Provenience: Basilica at Székesfehérvár

Workshop: Hungarian?

Quality of workmanship: Good

Composition: Silver gilt

Dimensions: Diameter: 18-19.5 cm, Height: 10.1 cm

Ornamentation: Four simple crosses

Connection to queen: Buried with queen

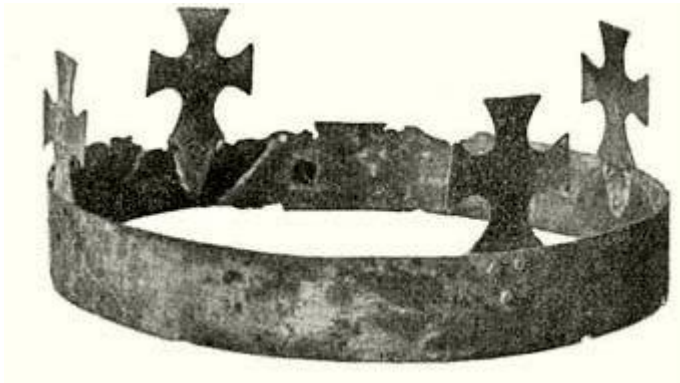
Worn as: Queen consort

Description:

**Bibliography:**

Czobor, Béla. “III. Béla és hitvese halotti ékszerei” [The Funerary jewels of Béla III and his wife] in *III. Béla magyar király emlékezete*, ed. by Gyula Forster. Budapest: V. Hornyánszky, 1900, 207-230.

Hutai, Gábor. “III. Béla király és Antiochiai Anna sírleteinek restaurálásairól” [The restoration of the findings from the graves of King Béla III and Anna of Antioch] in *150 éve történt... III. Béla és Antiochiai Anna sírjának fellelése*, ed. by Vajk Cserményi. Székesfehérvár: Szent István Király Múzeum, 1999, 36-59.



**IV.4 Burial Crown of Constance of Aragon (1179-1222)**

Wife of Emeric (r. 1196-1204), First wife of Frederick II of Sicily & Holy Roman Emperor (r. 1212-1250)

Date of creation: Early 13<sup>th</sup> Century?

Dates of use: Early 13<sup>th</sup> Century

Date of deposition: 1222

Provenience: Found in Constance's tomb in the Cathedral of Palermo

Workshop: Sicilian, Byzantine?

Quality of workmanship:

Composition: Gold, gilded silver, gemstones, pearls

Dimensions: Diameter 18.5 cm, Pendilia 20.5 x 10 cm

Location: Palermo, Cathedral Treasury

Ornamentation: pendilia, lilies around the band

Connection to queen: Burial crown, possibly worn originally by king

Worn as: Queen consort of Sicily

Description:

This crown, in the shape of a male crown called a *kamelaukion*, was found in 1781 buried at the feet of Constance, queen of Hungary, though the placement of the pendilia indicates that it would have originally been on her head when she was buried. This crown has a metal frame with two crossed straps at the top and is dotted with red, green, and blue stones believed to be emeralds, rubies (or garnets), and sapphires cut into various cabochons, including a ruby with three lines in Arabic.

Bibliography:

Daniele, Francesco. *I Regali Sepolcri del Duomo di Palermo riconosciuti e illustrati*. Naples: Stamperia del Re, 1784.

Gladiß, Almut von. "Die Grabbeigaben der Konstanze von Aragon, der ersten Gattin Friedrichs II. Palermo, Tesoro della Cattedrale" In *Kaiser Friedrich II. (1194-1250: Welt und Kultur des Mittelmeerraums*, Mamoun Fansa and Karen Ermete, eds. (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 2008), 355-357.





#### IV.5 Crown from Margaret Island

Possible crown of King Stephen V (r. 1270-1272) or his wife, Elizabeth of the Cumans (d. 1290?)

Connection to queen: Possible burial crown of her or her husband

Worn as: Queen widow (?)

Provenience: Found in burial on the Dominican nunnery on Margaret Island

Date of creation: c. 1260-1270

Dates of use: end of the thirteenth century

Date of deposition: c. 1270-1290 (?)

Workshop: Hungarian (?)

Quality of workmanship:

Ornamentation: Fleur-de-lys, rosettes

Composition: Silver gilt (embossed and engraved), with amethysts, sapphires, turquoises, and pearls

Dimensions: height of band, 6.2 cm; height of fleur-de-lys, 6.5 cm; diameter, ?

Location: Hungarian National Museum, Budapest

Item No. 1847.43.a

Description:

After a devastating flood hit Budapest in 1838, this crown was found unearthed at the Dominican convent on Margaret Island. There are eight hinged segments of the crown each topped with a fleur-de-lys, and decorated with a rosette with six petals on the lower part. The fleur-de-lys are set with a pearl center surrounded alternately by sapphires or amethysts while the lower part of the crown is decorated with amethysts, sapphires, or turquoises.

Bibliography:

Feuer-Tóth, Rózsa. "V. István király sírja a margitszigeti domonkos apácakolostor templomában", *Budapest Régiségei* 21 (1964), 115-131.

Kiss, Etele. "Couronne" In Palais des beaux-arts. *Hungaria regia (1000-1800): Fastes et défis*. Brussels: Brepols, 1999, 120.

Vattai, Erzsébet. "A margitszigeti korona" *Budapest Régiségei* 18 (1958), 191-210.

Vattai, Erzsébet. "A Margitszigeti korona és gyűrű" *Folia Archaeologica* 18 (1966-1967), 123-135.





#### IV.6 Woman's Crown in Private Collection

Unknown Owner – Helen of Serbia, Euphrosyne of Kiev, Maria Laskarina?

Date of creation: 12<sup>th</sup>-13<sup>th</sup> centuries

Dates of use: 12<sup>th</sup>-13<sup>th</sup> centuries

Date of deposition: Unknown

Provenience: A woman's grave in Hungary

Workshop: Byzantium

Quality of workmanship:

Composition: Silver gilt, glass

Dimensions: 22 cm long, 6 cm high

Ornamentation: palmettes, pendilia

Connection to queen: Unknown

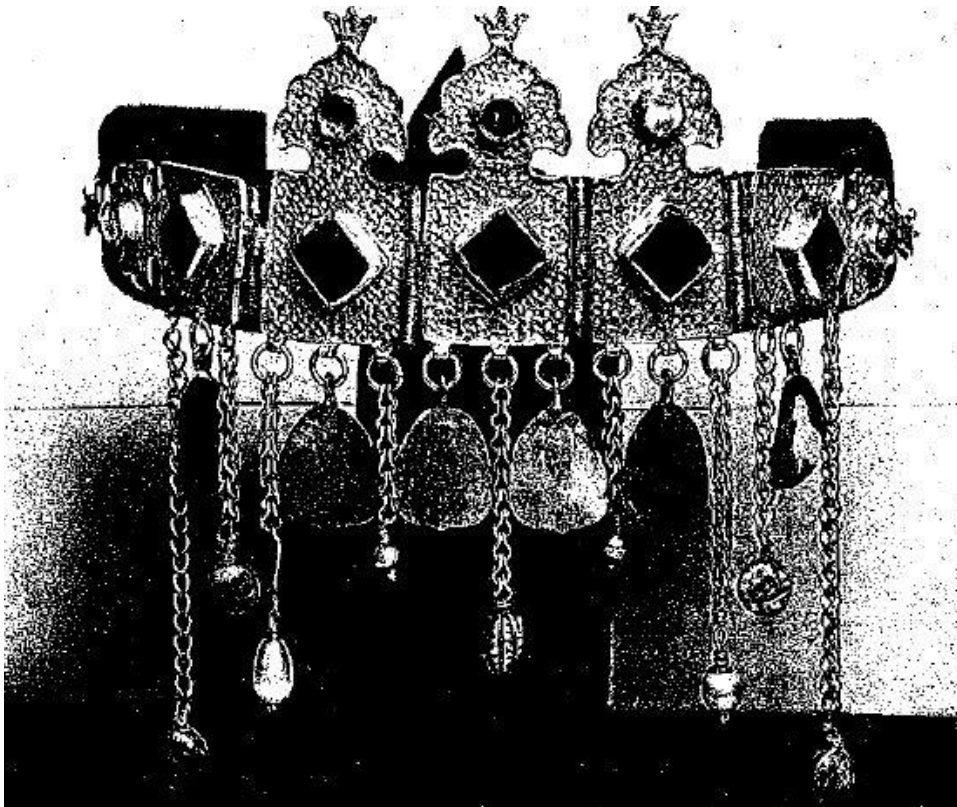
Worn as: Unknown

Description:

This small crown in a Byzantine-Eastern style was purchased by a private collection identified only as APJ in 1920, the only information on its provenience is that it came from a woman's grave in Hungary. It consists mainly of five plates with a glass jewel in the center, three of those plates topped with an Eastern style palmette, and with various pendilia hanging off of it. It has been dated to the Árpáadian age, and if it is a queen's crown, it is possible that it could belong to the grave of a queen with Byzantine connections of some kind such as the three listed above. However, its shape, size, and questionable provenience call into question whether it was worn on the head at all or even found in the grave of a woman.

Bibliography:

Deér, Josef, "Mittelalterliche Frauenkronen in Ost und West", In *Herrschaftszeichen und Staatssymbolik*, ed. by P. E. Schramm. Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 1955, 418-449.



#### IV. 7 Crown from the Hungarian National Museum

Unknown Owner – Yolanda of Courtenay or Maria Laskarina?

Date of creation: c. 13th Century

Dates of use: 13<sup>th</sup> century?

Date of deposition: Unknown

Provenience: Unknown

Workshop: Hungarian?

Quality of workmanship:

Composition: gold, precious stones, pearls

Dimensions: diameter – 11.5 cm?

Ornamentation: lilies or trefoils

Connection to queen: Unknown

Worn as: Unknown

Description:

Hardly anything is known of this crown other than that it is a crown attributed to thirteenth century Hungary and its presumed size and decoration have led others to assume that it was a woman's crown. In its current form it consists of five pieces, with each plate consisting of a strip decorated with gemstones and topped with a trefoil reminiscent of a lily; the hinges are joined together by a jeweled pin adorned with three pearls. If this is indeed a woman's crown it is possible that it could have been associated with either Yolanda of Courtenay, Maria Laskarina, or any possible number of royal women from thirteenth century Hungary

Bibliography:

Kovács, Éva. "Egy Elveszett Magyar Korona" [A lost Hungarian crown] In *Species, Modus, Ordo: válogatott tanulmányok*, by Éva Kovács. Budapest: Szent István Társulat, 1998, 112-115.





**IV.8 Crown from Zadar, possibly former crown of Elizabeth of Bosnia (1339?-1387)**

Second wife of Louis I 'the Great' (r. 1342-1382)

Date of creation: 1350-1370

Dates of use: second half of the fourteenth century

Date of deposition: end of the fourteenth century

Provenience: Found in the sarcophagus of St. Simeon in the Cathedral of Zadar, Croatia

Workshop: Buda or Visegrád

Quality of workmanship: Good

Composition: Gilded silver, red and green stones, colored glass beads

Dimensions: Individual piece – 8.5 cm high, 5.7 cm wide; Circumference, 57 cm

Location: Stalna izložba crkvene umjetnosti, Zadar

Ornamentation: Crowned busts, leaves, animal heads

Connection to queen: Votive offering

Worn as: Queen Consort or Queen Regent

Description:

The most elaborate of the Hungarian-Angevin crowns, this ten-plated silver gilt crown was discovered as a votive offering in the sarcophagus of St. Simeon, with the plates originally sewn into a mitre (now removed). The plates consist of a lily on top with an alternating pattern of ten red and green gemstones surrounded by pearls. The plates are held together with pins which are adorned with a crowned bust flanked by leaves and possibly animal heads. It was believed that this crown was originally worn by Elizabeth Kotromanić and left as a votive offering to the Church of St. Simeon, a favorite shrine of hers, and possibly left there during a visit she and her daughter made in the Autumn of 1383.

Bibliography:

Petricioli, Ivo. *St. Simeon's Shrine in Zadar*. Zagreb: Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, 1983.

Takács, Imre. "Krone" In *Sigismundus Rex et Imperator: Kunst und Kultur zur Zeit Sigismunds von Luxemburg, 1387-1437* Imre Takács, et al. Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 2006, 93.



#### IV.9 Crown from Trogir, possibly the crown of Elizabeth of Poland

Third wife of Charles I Robert of Hungary (r. 1308-1342)

Date of creation: c. 1350-1370

Dates of use: second half of the fourteenth century

Date of deposition: Unknown

Provenience: Four pieces from the Clarisses cloister of Trogir, Two pieces from the Cathedral of Trogir

Workshop: Hungarian

Quality of workmanship: Good

Composition: Silver gilt with red and green stones and pearls

Dimensions: 9 cm high, 5.2-5.6 cm wide (individual plate)

Ornamentation: pearls, lily shape

Connection to queen: Possibly originally donated to Clarisses cloister in Óbuda?

Worn as: Queen Widow?

Description:

Recently six crown fragments were discovered in two ecclesiastic sites in the city of Trogir, on the Dalmatian coast. The crown seems to have the same appearance as other crowns from the reign of Louis I of Hungary, from the lily-shaped plate to the alternating red and green gemstones. In the eighteenth century, a crown was described as belonging to Elizabeth of Poland was put to liturgical use, though after a great fire in 1782, there was no more trace of its existence. It is possible that the crown fragments that came to Trogir could have been pieces from this crown, particularly when considering the links to the Poor Clares order.

Bibliography:

Takács, Imre. "Bruchstück einer Krone", In *Sigismundus Rex et Imperator: Kunst und Kultur zur Zeit Sigismunds von Luxemburg, 1387-1437* Imre Takács, et al (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 2006), 93-94.



**IV.10 Segment of a lily-shaped crown from Krušedol**

Unknown Owner

Date of creation: 14<sup>th</sup> century

Dates of use: 14<sup>th</sup>-15<sup>th</sup> centuries?

Date of deposition: early fifteenth century, then after 1509-1514

Provenience: Monastery of Krušedol

Workshop: Hungarian?

Quality of workmanship:

Composition: Gilt silver, precious stones, pearls

Dimensions: Unknown

Location: Serbian Orthodox Church Museum, Belgrade (Serbia)

Ornamentation: Plate in the shape of a lily decorated with gems

Connection to queen: Possible gift from Barbara of Celje to her sisters in law?

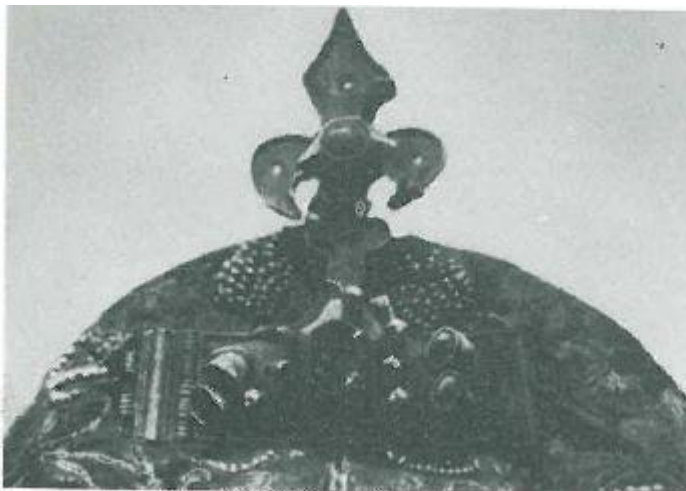
Worn as: Unknown

Description:

This crown survives in the form of a single plate from a lily-shaped crown which was sewn into the top of a mitre which was donated by Irene Kantakuzena and Catherine of Celje. It appears to be a crown segment most likely from the court of Louis I of Hungary, though by the fifteenth century it was sewn into this mitre which the two sisters-in-law donated to the Metropolitan of Belgrade before later being donated to the Monastery at Krušedol. It is possible the two women were given this crown piece (in part or in whole) by their relation, Barbara of Celje, wife of King Sigismund, but this is only conjecture.

Bibliography:

Kovács, Éva, "Liliomos korona egy ága Krušedol monostorból" [A piece of a lily crown from the monastery of Krušedol] In *Művészet I. Lajos király korában, 1342-1382* (Budapest: MTA Művészettörténeti Kutató Csoport, 1982), 101.



**IV.11 Crown from Nagyvárád/Oradea Cathedral**

Crown of either King Sigismund (r. 1387-1437) or Queen Mary (r. 1382-1395)

Date of creation: Middle of the 14<sup>th</sup> century

Date of deposition: End of the 14<sup>th</sup> or first half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century

Provenience: Found in a tomb at the cathedral of Nagyvárád (Oradea)

Workshop: Hungarian (Buda or Visegrád)

Quality of workmanship: Good

Composition: Gilt silver with rubies and emeralds

Dimensions: Height of segments, 8.2cm; Length of segments, 4.9-5.1 cm; Diameter (?)

Location: Hungarian National Museum, Budapest

Inventory No. 1934.415.a

Ornamentation: Fleur-de-lys

Connection to queen: Burial crown of her or her husband

Worn as: Queen or King regnant

Bibliography:

The crown has six segments, mounted with their original hinge. The segments are a rectangular shape surmounted by a fleur-de-lys and decorated with nine precious stones surrounded by pearls. This crown was found in 1755 at the Cathedral of Nagyvárád/Oradea and was originally thought to be the crown of Queen Mary. An orb and a badge with the emblem of the Order of the Dragon on it (now lost) was also turned up, leading some to conclude that it was the burial crown of Mary's husband, Emperor Sigismund. A third explanation is that it is very similar to the reliquary crowns adorning the reliquary of St. Simeon in Zadar and that this crown was not a burial crown, but rather that it adorned the reliquary of St. Ladislav and was the gift of Louis the Great in 1352 to the Cathedral.

Bibliography:

Kerny, Terézia. "Begräbnis und Begräbnisstätte von König Sigismund" In *Sigismundus Rex et Imperator: Kunst und Kultur zur Zeit Sigismunds von Luxemburg, 1387-1437* Imre Takács, et al. Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 2006, 475-478.

Kiss, Etele. "Liliomos korona hat ága Nagyváradról" In In Marosi, Ernő, Melinda Tóth, Livia Varga, & István Király Múzeum. *Művészet I. Lajos király korában, 1342-1382: katalógus*. Budapest: MTA Művészettörténeti Kutató Csoport, 1982, 99-100.

Kiss, Etele. 11. Fragments de couronne. In Palais des beaux-arts. *Hungaria regia (1000-1800): Fastes et défis*. Brussels: Brepols, 1999, 124.

Márki, Sándor. *Mária, Magyarország Királynéja 1370-1395*. Budapest: A Magyar tört. társulat kiadása, 1885.

Takács, Imre. "Bruchstück einer Krone" In *Sigismundus Rex et Imperator: Kunst und Kultur zur Zeit Sigismunds von Luxemburg, 1387-1437* Imre Takács, et al. Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 2006, 94-95.





**IV.12 Orb from Nagyvárad/Oradea Cathedral**

Date of creation: Late 14<sup>th</sup>/early 15<sup>th</sup> century?

Date of deposition: c. 1437

Provenience: Found in the cathedral of Nagyvárad/Oradea, possibly in the tomb of Sigismund

Workshop: Hungarian (Buda or Visegrád)

Quality of workmanship: Simple, with slight secondary dents and cracks

Composition: Silver gilt

Dimensions: Height, 17.6 cm; Diameter, 9.4cm, Horizontal arm of the cross 8.8 cm

Location: Hungarian National Museum, Budapest.

Inventory No. 1934.415.b

Ornamentation: Double-barred cross on top

Connection to queen: In tomb of the queen or her husband the king.

Used as: Queen/King regnant

Description:

This orb was also found in the ruins of the Cathedral at Nagyvárad/Oradea in 1755, along with the now lost insignia with the crest of the Order of the Dragon. As the Order was founded by Sigismund in 1408, it is assumed that all three items belong to his tomb, though the context was not particularly well documented. This orb is very similar to the Imperial orb in Vienna, but with a Latin cross on top. It is possible this globe was made specifically as a grave good.

Bibliography:

Kiss, Etele. "Globe" In Palais des beaux-arts. *Hungaria regia (1000-1800): Fastes et défis*. Brussels: Brepols, 1999, 124.

Takács, Imre. "Reichsapfel" In *Sigismundus Rex et Imperator: Kunst und Kultur zur Zeit Sigismunds von Luxemburg, 1387-1437* Imre Takács, et al (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 2006), 95.



**V.1 Veil, dress, and hairnet fragments of Agnes of Antioch (d. 1184)**

First wife of Béla III (r. 1173-1196)

Date of creation: c. twelfth century

Dates of use: c. twelfth century

Date of deposition: c. 1184

Provenience: Found in her tomb in the basilica of Székesfehérvár

Composition: silk, gold thread

Color: light blue, gold

Dimensions: many scraps of 1-3 cm

Ornamentation: Rosettes

Connection to queen: Remnants of the queen's burial garb

Worn as: Queen consort

Museum: Hungarian National Museum

Inventory Number: 61.2026

Description:

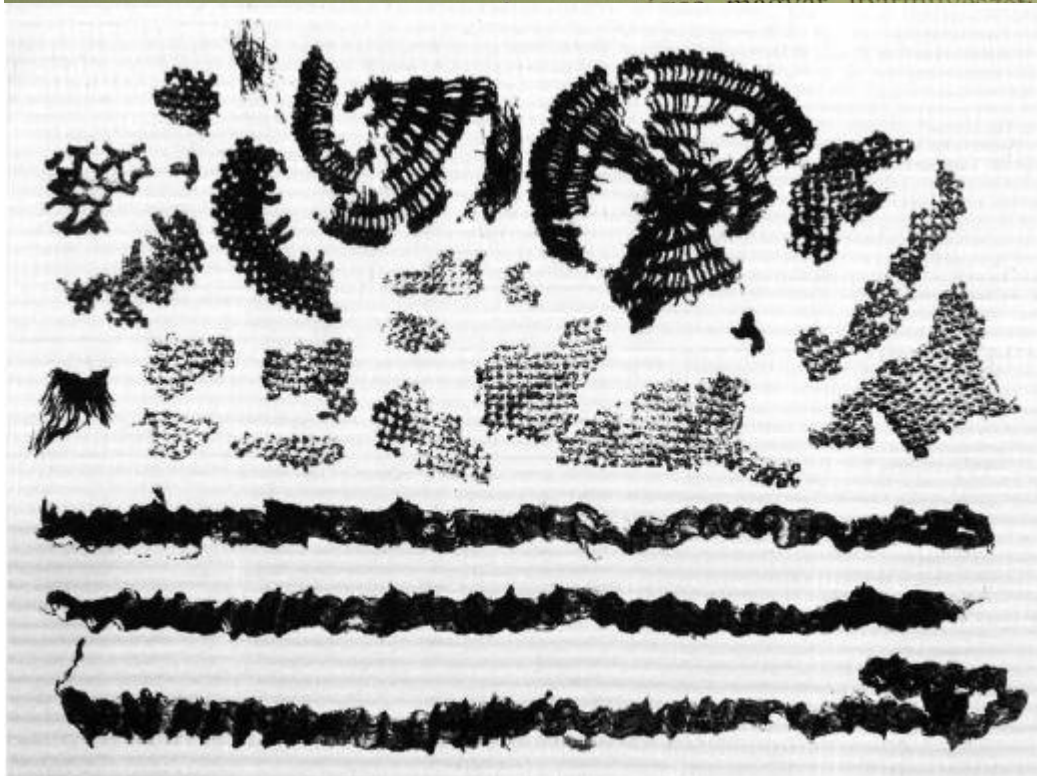
These scraps of fabric are from the grave at Székesfehérvár believed to be that of Agnes of Antioch, the first wife of Béla III. They can be divided into three categories: gold lace rosettes; a net of gold silk; and blue silk remnants. It seems to be the case that the gold net was a hairnet and the rosettes would have been ornamentation on the queen's dress. It is possible that the blue silk covered either the head or the face of the queen.

Bibliography:

Czobor, Béla. "III. Béla és hitvese ékszerei" [Jewels of Béla III and his wife]. In *III. Béla magyar király emlékezete*. Ed. Gyula Forster. Budapest: Hornyánszky V, 1900, 207-230.

Sipos, Enikő. "Textiltöredékek Antiochiai Anna sírjából" [Textile fragments from the grave of Anna of Antioch]. In *150 Éve történet: III. Béla és Antiochiai Anna sírjának fellelése* [150 years ago: finds from the graves of Béla III and Anna of Antioch]. Ed. Gyula Fülöp. Székesfehérvár: A Szent István Király Múzeum, 1999, 60-68.





**V.2 Ring of Agnes of Antioch (d. 1184)**

First wife of Béla III (r. 1173-1196)

Part of Lifecourse: Queen consort

Provenience: Székesfehérvár

Date of creation: Unknown – twelfth century setting?

Date of use: late twelfth century

Date of deposition: ca. 1184

Material: Gold with an almandine intaglio

Types of precious stones: Almandine

Ornamentation: Intaglio of a winged siren with a tail playing a harp

Workshop: Unknown

Size: 2.5 cm high

Hungarian National Museum, Budapest

Item number 1848.61.2

Description:

This ring was found in the tomb of Agnes (Anna) of Antioch (d. 1184), first wife of Béla III (r. 1073-1096). She was buried next to her husband at the basilica of Székesfehérvár and in addition to the ring, the excavation of their tombs in 1848 also found a silver gilt funerary crown and fragments of blue and gold fabric, part of her veil and dress. The ring itself is gold with an almandine stone; carved into the stone is the image of a winged siren (or naiade) playing the harp. It is quite possible that this gemstone is an antique one that was reused for personal wear in the 12<sup>th</sup> century.

Bibliography:

Forster, Gyula. *III. Béla magyar király emlékezete* [Studies on King Béla III]. Ed. Gyula Forster. Budapest: Hornyánszky V. császári és király udvari könyvnyomdája, 1900.

Kiss Etele. “Anneau d’Anne d’Antioche. In Palais des beaux-arts.” *Hungaria regia (1000-1800): Fastes et défis*. Turnhout: Brepols, 1999, 118-119.



**V.3 Three rings from the tomb of Constance of Aragon (1179-1222)**

Wife of King Emeric (r. 1196-1204), Later wife of HRE Frederick II (r. 1212-1250)

Part of Lifecourse: Widow of Emeric, Queen consort to Frederick

Provenience: Tomb of Queen Constance, Palermo

Date of creation: Early thirteenth century?

Dates of use: Early thirteenth century

Date of deposition: 1222

Material: Gold rings with precious stones

Types of precious stones: Emerald, Ruby, False Sapphire

Ornamentation: Filigree wire on the ruby ring

Workshop: Unknown, possible Greek or Arabic influence

Quality of workmanship: Mediocre

Size: Emerald 2.8 x 2.2 cm; False sapphire: 2.5 x 2.3 cm; Ruby ring only has data for stone

Museum: Palermo Cathedral Treasury

Inventory Number: Unknown

Description:

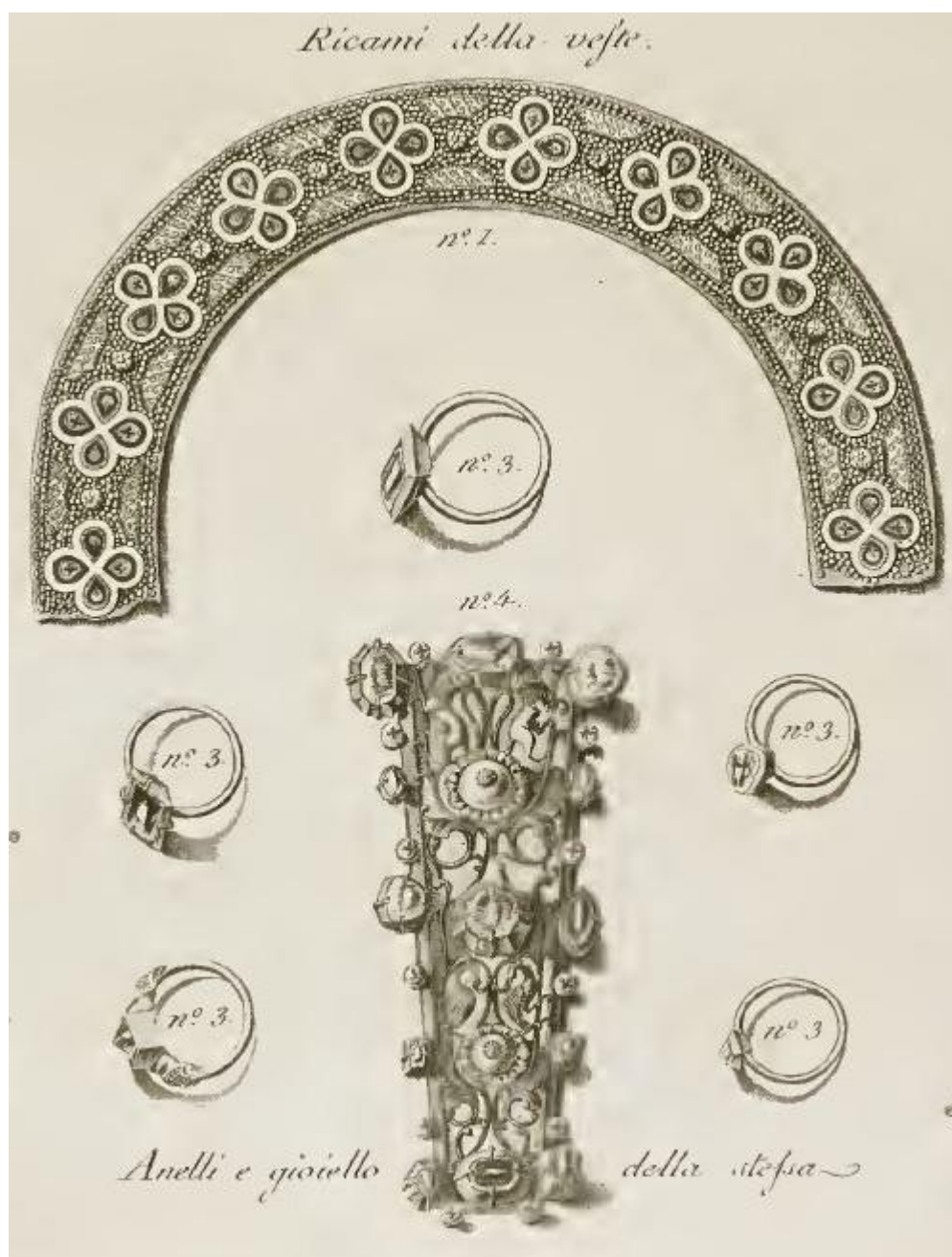
Of the five rings recovered from the sarcophagus of Constance of Aragon, only three survive to present day. The emerald ring has a box-shaped fitting and a rectangular fitting for the stone. The false sapphire ring is held with four prongs in a square setting. The ruby ring has a polished but not cut stone and the ring itself is decorated with wrapped filigree wire, unlike the other two. Their place of origin is unknown, but it is possible they could have Greek or Arabic influence in their design. They were buried with Constance as she was the queen of Sicily at the time of her death.

Bibliography:

Daniele, Francesco. *I regali sepolcri del Duomo di Palermo: riconosciuti e illustrati*. Naples: Nella Stamperia del re, 1784.

Gladiß, Almut von. "Die Grabbeigaben der Konstanze von Aragon, der ersten Gattin Friedrichs II. Palermo, Tesoro della Cattedrale", In *Kaiser Friedrich II. (1194-1250). Welt und Kultur des Mittelmeerraums*. Ed. Mamoun Fansa. (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 2008), 355-357.







#### V.4 The “Elisabethkleid” – the former coronation mantle of Queen Gertrude of Andechs-Meran

First wife of Andrew II (r. 1205-1235)

Date of creation: eleventh-twelfth centuries

Dates of use: thirteenth century

Dates of deposition: thirteenth century?

Provenience: Andechs-Erling, Pfarrkirchenstiftung St. Vitus

Composition & Material: Silk fabric

Color: Grey-beige

Dimensions: 70 x 165 cm, shoulder width 64 cm

Ornamentation: Griffins, panthers, half-moons, birds

Connection to queen: Alleged to be the former coronation mantle of Queen Gertrude

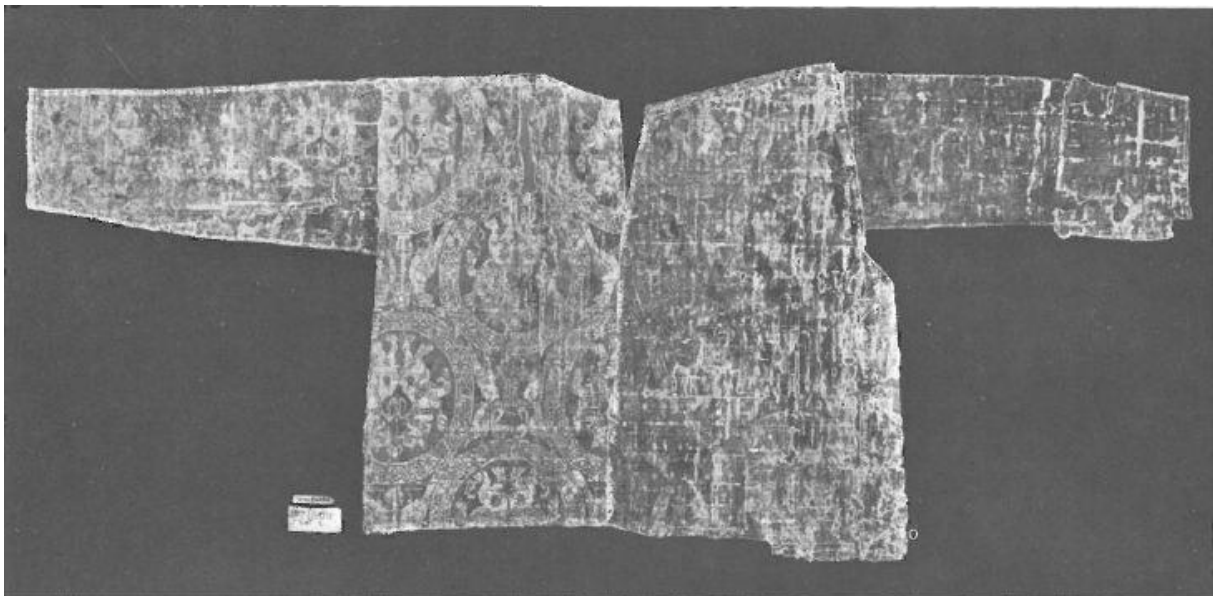
Worn as: Queen consort

Description:

This is a hip-length tunic with long sleeves cut from silk. Original stitching is visible on parts of the tunic, though it is difficult to tell what sort of garment the original would have been. The fabric is decorated with motifs of encircled griffins and panthers with ribbons of pearls around their necks; between the circles are pairs of birds, and in the background of the circles are rosettes in the shape of hearts. The attribution of this garment as the wedding dress of St. Elizabeth of Thuringia begins with a mention of it in 1457. Later, in 1519, there is a reference in the inventory to it first being the coronation mantle of Queen Gertrude, Elizabeth's mother. The silk fabric dates from the eleventh century and is of Islamic (possibly Syrian) origin, so it predates even Queen Gertrude herself.

#### Bibliography:

Verwerk, Ursula. “Sog. Rock der hl. Elisabeth”. In Hans Zehetmair, ed. *Die Andechs-Meranier in Franken: Europäisches Fürstentum im Hochmittelalter*. Mainz: Verlag Philip von Zabern, 1998, 295.



### V.5 Ring from Margaret Island

Affiliated either with Stephen V (r. 1270-1272), Béla the duke of Macsó (d. 1272), or Elizabeth the Cuman, (d. 1290?) wife of Stephen V.

Part of Lifecourse: Queen regnant (if it is Elizabeth's)

Provenience: The Dominican nunnery on Margaret Island

Date of creation: Before the end of the 13<sup>th</sup> century

Dates of use: Second half of the 13<sup>th</sup> century?

Date of deposition: End of the 13<sup>th</sup> century (?)

Material: Gold and sapphire

Types of precious stones: Sapphire

Ornamentation: Hexagonal frame

Workshop: Unknown

Quality of workmanship: Mediocre

Size: setting – 2.6 cm, diameter of hoop – 2.1-2.2 cm

Museum: Hungarian National Museum

Inventory Number: N/A

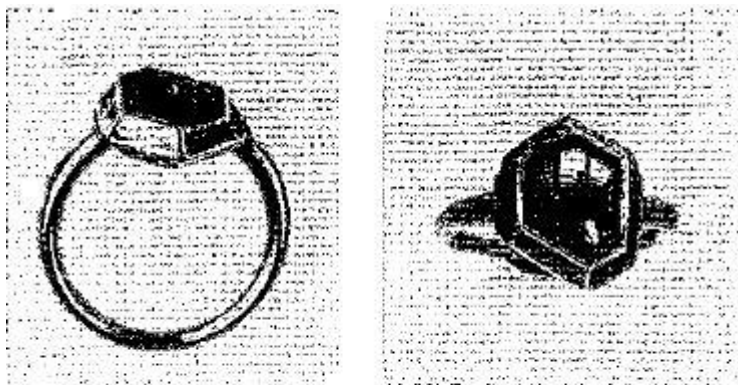
Description:

In the ruins of the Dominican nunnery on Margaret Island there was a ring recovered in 1838 that the excavator documented as a gold ring with a sapphire stone. There was some confusion, as it was thought that only a chalcedony ring was recorded in 1847, but that one might have come from Alcsút. The sapphire ring in question has no known provenience, but it has been suggested that this is the one from Margaret Island, as it appears to be from the 13<sup>th</sup>-14<sup>th</sup> centuries. It is a gold ring with an irregular hexagonal setting and a rounded stone that fits loosely in the socket. As the context is unknown, if the ring did come from Margaret Island, it is possible that it could be in the tomb of either King Stephen V, his cousin Béla of Macsó, or Stephen's wife, Elizabeth the Cuman.

Bibliography:

Feuer-Tóth, Rózsa. "V. István király sírja a Margitszigeti domonkos apácakolostor templomában" [The Grave of King Stephen V in the Dominican nunnery of Margaret Island], *Budapest Régiségei* 21 (1964): 115-131.

Vattai, Erzsébet. "A Margitszigeti korona és gyűrű" [The Crown and Ring from Margaret Island] in *Budapest Régiségei* XVIII (1966-1967): 123-138.



56. ábra

**V.6 Veil of Elizabeth of Bosnia (?)**

Second wife of Louis I 'the Great' (r. 1342-1382)

Date of creation: c. fourteenth century

Dates of use: end of the fourteenth century

Date of deposition: c. 1380s?

Provenience: Sarcophagus of St. Simeon, Zadar

Composition: Silk

Color: Flaxen background with red and green and gold thread

Dimensions: 57 x 23 cm (114 x 23 cm originally)

Ornamentation: crowned figures walking dogs and stylized trees

Connection to queen: Possibly worn by her before votive offering

Worn as: Queen consort, possibly queen regent/widow

Description:

This was found with other deposits in the Sarcophagus of St. Simeon in Zadar. Soemtime between 1901 and 1932 the veil was cut in half, down to its current size. It features crowned figures walking dogs, stylized trees with birds and what appear to be rabbits. It could possibly represent a hunting scene.

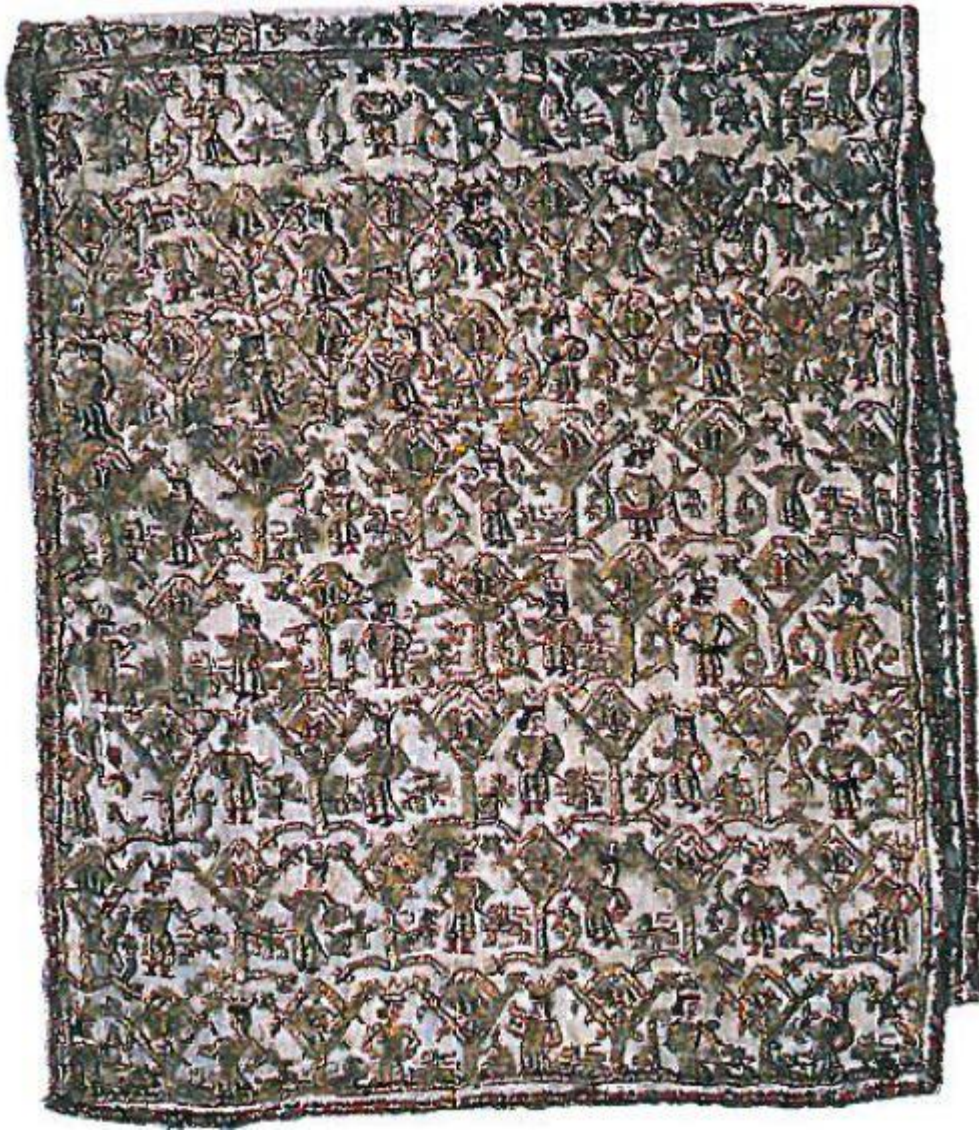
Bibliography:

Jakčić, Nikola. "Voile de coiffure (une moitié conservée)." In *L'Europe des Anjou: aventure des princes angevins du XIII<sup>e</sup> au XV<sup>e</sup> siècle*. Ed. Guy Le Goff. Paris: Somogy éditions d'art, 2001, 354-355.

Petriolici, Ivo, Nikolina Jovanović, trans. *St. Simeon's Shrine in Zadar*. Zagreb: Monumenta Artis Croatiae, 1983.







### V.7 Ring from the Reliquary Sarcophagus of St. Simeon, possibly originally owned by Elizabeth of Bosnia

Second wife of Louis I 'the Great' (r. 1342-1382)

Part of Lifecourse: Queen consort

Provenience: Church of St. Simeon, Zadar (Croatia)

Date of creation: Second half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century

Dates of use: Second half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century

Date of deposition: End of the 14<sup>th</sup> century (?)

Material: Gilt silver with enamel, engraving, and pearls

Types of precious stones: Pearls

Ornamentation: Gothic decoration, six-petaled flowers on the hinges.

Workshop: Unknown French workshop

Quality of workmanship: Excellent

Size: 23 x 10 mm

Museum: Church of St. Simeon, Zadar (Croatia)

Inventory Number: Unknown

Description: This large ring, deposited in the reliquary sarcophagus of St. Simeon in Zadar could possibly have been the gift of Elizabeth of Bosnia, the wife of Louis I 'the Great' of Hungary and Poland; Elizabeth was also the donor of the sarcophagus, and this ring and other objects might have some personal connection either to her or to a member of her entourage. The ring is composed of four rectangles alternating with square segments. The inscription on the ring reads "cest – tout – mon – dezir", and each portion is flanked by two pearls – there are 16 pearls on the ring overall.

Bibliography:

Jakčić, Nikola. "140. Anneau avec inscription en vieux français." In *L'Europe des Anjou: aventure des princes Angevins du XIII<sup>e</sup> au X<sup>e</sup> siècle*. Ed. Guy Le Goff, Francesco Aceto, Anney of Fontevault et al. Paris: Somogy, 2001, 353.

Petriolici, Ivo; Nikola Jovanović trans., *St. Simeon's Shrine in Zadar*. Zagreb, Monumenta Artis Croatiae, 1983.



### **V.8 Late fifteenth century dress & chemise attributed originally to Elizabeth of Bosnia, now attributed to Mary of Hungary**

Second wife of Louis I 'the Great' (r. 1342-1382); wife of Lajos II (r. 1516-1526)

Date of creation: End of the fifteenth/beginning of sixteenth century

Dates of use: End of the fifteenth/beginning of sixteenth century

Date of deposition: 1522?

Provenience: The Shrine at Mariazell

Composition: Silk damask with gold thread; linen with silver thread

Color: Green dress; white chemise

Dimensions: Green dress: 58 cm wide, 30 cm long from the waist on the front, 36 cm long on the back, 107 cm long on skirt of front, 123 cm long skirt on back circumference 780 cm, length of sleeve 71 cm; white chemise 180 cm wide, 125 cm long, width of sleeve 122 cm, length of sleeve 65 cm.

Ornamentation: Rosettes with pomegranates, palmettos, leaves, fleur-de-lys

Connection to queen: Donated to the shrine at Mariazell shortly after marriage

Worn as: Queen consort

Description:

This green silk damask gown and white linen chemise was found in the treasury of the Shrine at Mariazell and originally attributed to the fourteenth century couple Louis I of Hungary and his second wife, Elizabeth of Bosnia. It is now known that these garments were owned by Mary of Hungary, wife of Louis II (r. 1516-1526), and that she donated them in 1522, shortly after her wedding. Furthermore, it is possible based on the style of the gowns that originally it could have been her grandmother's, Mary of Burgundy.

Bibliography:

F. Dózsa, Katalin. "Kleider Ludwigs II. und der Königin Maria." In *Ungarn in Mariazell – Mariazell in Ungarn: Geschichte und Erinnerung*. Ed. Péter Farbaký and Szabolcs Serfőző, et al. Budapest: Budapest Historical Museum, 2004, 371-373.

Tompos, Lilla. "II-7. a-b. Woman's Dress and Chemise, Donation of Louis II and Queen Mary of Hungary" *Mary of Hungary: The Queen and Her Court 1521-1531*. Ed. Orsolya Réthelyi, Beatrix F. Romhányi, Enikő Spekner, and András Végh. Budapest, 2005, 177-179.





**V.9 Possible bracelet of Queen Mary**

Queen regnant from 1382 to 1395, first wife of King Sigismund (r. 1387-1437)

Date of creation: Fourteenth Century (Nineteenth Century?)

Date of deposition: c. 1395

Possibly found at Nagyvárad/Oradea

Workshop: Unknown

Gold, filigree, diamonds

Dimensions: 2.5 cm high, diameter 7.2 cm

Hungarian National Museum, Budapest

Inventory No. 1900.87

Description:

This gold bracelet is made of two parts attached with two hinges. the top and bottom are braided, while the middle part has six hemispheres with a diamond alternating with six prisms.

Unfortunately, in the 19<sup>th</sup> century this bracelet was mixed up and it is unknown whether it came from the objects found in the tomb of Mary of Anjou, or whether or not it is from the Jankovich collection of 19<sup>th</sup> century objects. There has not been a lot of research on this object as its origin is uncertain, but there are analogies of style with other 14<sup>th</sup> century bracelets from the Balkan and Mediterranean.

Bibliography:

Kiss, Etele. "Bracelet." In *Hungaria regia (1000-1800): Fastes et défis*. Turnhout: Brepols, 1999, 124-125.



**VI.1 Chasuble donated to Pope John by Stephen I & Gisela of Bavaria**

Wife of King St. Stephen I (r. 997-1038)

Age at donation: around 20 years old

Date of object: ca. 1004

Provenience: First the papal treasury, then the Benedictine Church of the Abbey of St. Arnulf of Metz

Workshop: Greek nunnery at Veszprémvölgy?

Period of liturgical use: 1004-1049, 1049-1792 (?)

Composition: Silk, gold thread, pearls

Size: Neck opening, 90 cm; medallions 5.4 cm

Visibility: N/A

Inscription: "S(tephanus) Ungrorum rex et Gisla dilecta sibi coniux mittunt haec munera Domino apostolico Johanni."

Type of institution: Papacy; Benedictine

Purpose: Gift to Pope John XVIII/XIX

Joint donation with husband

Commissioned as: Queen Consort

Description:

A now-lost chasuble donated by Stephen I and Gisela of Bavaria to the Pope. The opening for the neck was made of purple silk. It was decorated with the seated figure of Christ making a gesture of benediction, and flanked by representations of the alpha ( $\alpha$ ) and the omega ( $\Omega$ ). The border across the shoulders and down the back is decorated with figures of Saints Peter, Paul, James, Thomas, Thaddeus, Simon, Matthias and three others whose names do not appear (most probably the other apostles). Where the shoulders meet, there are the figures of Adam and Eve as well as lions, deer, dragons, and eagles depicted in twelve medallions.

Bibliography:

Czobor, Béla. "A metzi kazula" [The chasuble of Metz] in *Gizella királyné (985 k.-1060)* ed. by János Géczi (Veszprém, 2000), 188-189.

Kövér, Béla. "Szent István és Gizella metzi miseruhája" *Archaeológiai Értesítő* 10 (1890) p. 332-333.

Szmik, Antal. "Gizella királyné magyar hímzőiskolája" [The embroidery school of Queen Gisela] in *Gizella királyné (985 k.-1060)* ed. by János Géczi (Veszprém, 2000).





**VI.2 Reliquary Cross of Gisela of Bavaria (c. 985-1065)**

Wife of King St. Stephen I (r. 997-1038)

Part of Lifecourse: Queen Consort

Purpose: Memorial for her mother.

Age at donation: around 20 years old

Sole donation

Provenience: Niedermünster Abbey, Regensburg, currently in the Treasury of the Munich Residenz.

Type of Institution: Benedictine

Date of creation: ca. 1006

Period of liturgical use: eleventh-nineteenth centuries

Workshop: Bavarian, possibly Regensburg

Composition: Gold, rubies, sapphires, emeralds, pearls, topaz.

Size: 45 cm high

Visibility: High

Inscription on front: ECCE/SALVS VITE/P QVA/MORS/MOR/TVA/MORE/TE. VNDE-SVAE/MATRISQVE/ANIMAE POSCENDO SALVTE(m).HANC REGINA. CRVCE(m) FABRICARI GISILA IVSIT. QVAMSIQVIS/DEMIT HINC DA/NETUR MORTE PENNI.

Inscription on back: HANC CRVCE(m) GISILA DEVOTA REGINA AD TVMVLV(m) SVE MATRIS GISILE DONARE CVRAVIT. (Cruc)EM DOMINI XPT (Christi) SVB HONORE SACRATAM ANGELICI CIVES QVAM XPT...GLORIFICANT STIPANT VENERANTVR ADORANT.

Type of institution: Benedictine monastery

Museum: Munich Residence, Treasury

Inventory Number:

Description:

This rich reliquary cross was donated to the Abbey of Niedermünster in Regensburg as a memorial for the Queen's mother, Gisela of Burgundy. It features the queen and her mother at the feet of Jesus.

Bibliography:

Kovács, Éva. "Gizella királyné keresztje", In *Gizella királyné, 985 k.-1060*, edited by János Géczi, 157-160. Veszprém: 2000.

Kovács, Éva. "Gizella királyné keresztjének feliratai és ikonográfiája", In *Gizella királyné, 985 k.-1060*, edited by János Géczi, 160-164. Veszprém: 2000.

Schnitzler, Hermann. "Die Regensburger Goldschmiedekunst". In *Wandlungen christlicher Kunst im Mittelalter*, edited by Johannes Hempel, 171-188. Baden-Baden: Verlag für Kunst und Wissenschaft, 1953.



**VI.3 Coronation Mantle**

Wife of King St. Stephen I (r. 997-1038)

Age at donation: c. 45

Joint donation

Date(s) of object: 1031

Provenience: Originally at the basilica at Székesfehérvár, now currently at the Hungarian National Museum

Workshop: Hungarian?

Period of liturgical use: 11<sup>th</sup>-12<sup>th</sup> century, 12<sup>th</sup>-20<sup>th</sup> century

Composition: Silk, gold thread

Dimensions: Height – 136 cm; Diameter – 284 cm; Circumference of semi-circle – 438 cm

Visibility: Special occasions

Type of institution: Basilica

Purpose of donation: Furnishing the new church

Joint donation with husband

Commissioned as: Queen consort

Museum: Hungarian National Museum

Inventory Number: N/A

Description:

Originally, this was a chasuble donated by Stephen I and Gisela in 1031 to the newly constructed basilica of the Virgin Mary at Székesfehérvár. It features the king and queen appearing amidst a line of various saints, mostly the early martyrs (the Queen is paired with St. Vincent). The King holds an orb and the Holy Lance while the Queen holds a tower or a pyx-type reliquary.

Bibliography:

Nagy, Katalin E. & Bardoly, István. *The coronation mantle of the Hungarian kings*. Budapest: Hungarian National Museum, 2005.



**VI.4 Reliquary Cross of Queen Adelaide of Hungary (“Adelheid-Kreuz”)**

Wife of King St. Ladislav I (r. 1077-1090)

Age at donation: 20s?

Sole donation

Date(s) of object: 1080s-1108 (front) – 1141-1170 (back)

Provenience: Originally at the Abbey of St. Blaise in the Black Forest

Workshop: Southwestern German (possibly Reichenau)

Period of liturgical use: Mid-12<sup>th</sup> century to 17<sup>th</sup> century

Composition: Gold, silver, copper, 147 gemstones, pearls, wood.

Size: 82.9 cm High, 65.4 cm Wide, 7.4-7.8 cm Thick

Visibility: Altar Cross, though several decades after Adelaide's death

Type of institution: Benedictine monastery

Purpose of donation: Memorial for her mother, reliquary of a piece of the True Cross

Sole donation

Commissioned as: Queen consort

Museum: St. Paul im Lavanttal (Austria)

Inventory Number:

Description:

This gemstone encrusted reliquary was commissioned by Adelaide of Rheinfelden (d. 1090), wife of Hungarian king St. Ladislav I (r. 1075-1090) shortly after the death of her mother in 1079.

Originally there were 170 gemstones, but now there are 147 stones consisting of amethysts, cornelians, agates, quartes, moonstones, garnets, chalcedonies, onyxes, almandines, heliotropes, turquoises, beryl, serpentines, lapis lazuli, emerald, milk opal, and smoky quartz, in addition to numerous pearls. There are 24 antique gems and 3 Egyptian scarabs, though an account from 1783 lists 38 antique gems total. A 12<sup>th</sup> century history of the Abbey of St. Blaise says that Adelaide received a particle of the True Cross from her husband's (deceased) older brother, Géza I (r. 1074-1077) and she then donated the reliquary along with 70 gold pieces to the Abbey where her mother and presumably two of her brothers were buried as well. In the mid-12<sup>th</sup> century, the abbot Gunther finished the cross (which at that time had no back) and it was then used in liturgy after the relics had been authenticated. Originally intended as an altar cross, the fittings at the bottom show that it was later used for processions. The relic was translated to two other reliquaries, first in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, and then again in 1810 until the original was reconstructed to its present form in 1959 and 1960. Of the 11<sup>th</sup> century reliquary crosses, the Adelaide Cross is by far the biggest, eclipsing even the Imperial Reichkreuz and all of its predecessors. The presence of reused Roman intaglios is also noteworthy, first for their proportion as a total of the gemstones, and secondly as a possible message to the viewers of the cross of her family's imperial connections.

Bibliography:

Beuckers, Klaus Gereon. Adelheid-Kreuz (Reichskreuz). In Gerfried Sitar, Martin Kroker.

*Macht des Wortes. Benediktinisches Mönchtum im Spiegel Europas. Band II: Katalog.* Regensburg: Schnell & Steiner, 2009, 348-350.

Fillitz, Hermann. Das Adelheid-Kreuz aus St. Blasien. In Pucker, H & Grabmayer, J & Hödl, G & benediktinerstift St. Paul, et al. *Schatzhaus Kärntens: Landesausstellung St. Paul 1991: 900 Jahr Benediktinerstift.* Klagenfurt: Universitätsverlag Carinthia, 1991, 665-680.

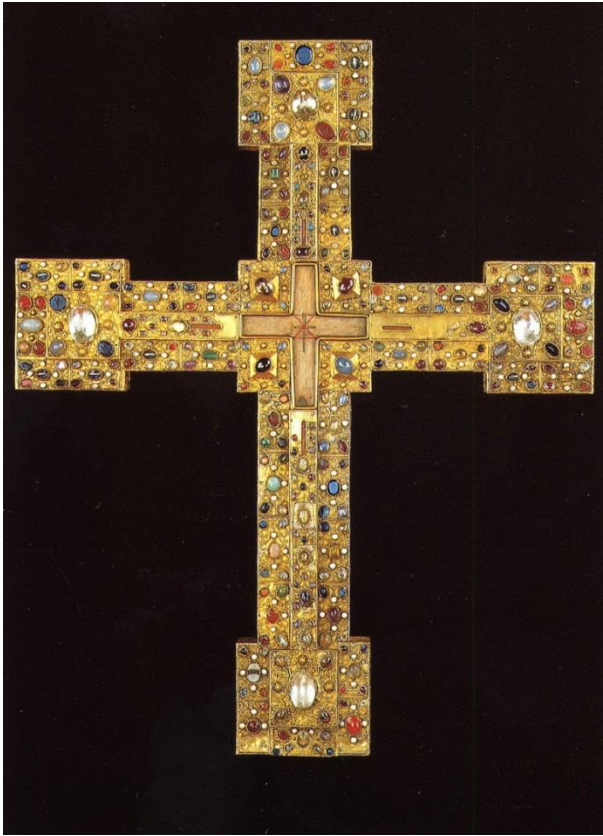
Gerbert, Martin. *Historia Nigrae Silvae ordinis Sancti Benedicti Coloniae.* Vol. I. St. Blasien: Typis San Blasianis, 1783.

Ginhart, Karl. Reliquienkreuz der Königin Adelheid. In *Die Kunstdenkmäler des Benediktinerstiftes St. Paul im Lavanttal und seiner Filialkirchen*, Karl Ginhart & Franz Balke, et al, 217-225. Vienna: Schroll, 1969.



Mone, Franz Josef. Liber Constructionis. In *Quellensammlung der badischen landesgeschichte*. Karlsruhe: G. Macklot, Vol. 4, 1867, 76-142.

Schulze-Dörrlamm, Mechthild. *Die Kaiserkrone Konrads II. (1024-1039): eine archaeologische Untersuchung zu Alter und Herkunft der Reichskrone*. Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 1991.



### VI.5 Königsfelden Diptych

Agnes of Habsburg (1280-1364), second wife of Andrew II of Hungary (r. 1290-1301)

Relationship to Queen: Donated by the Queen

Part of Lifecourse: Queen Dowager

Purpose of Donation: Not explicitly stated – used to furnish abbey next to queen's residence

Sole donation

Provenience: Königsfelden Abbey

Type of institution: Franciscan double monastery (friary and nunnery)

Date of creation: c. 1280/1290

Period of liturgical use: Before 1357-1528

Workshop: Venetian

Composition: Wood core, gold, pearls, precious stones

Size: 44 x 38 x 4.6 cm

Visibility: Originally private, later use more public

Inscription: None

Museum: Berne Historisches Museum

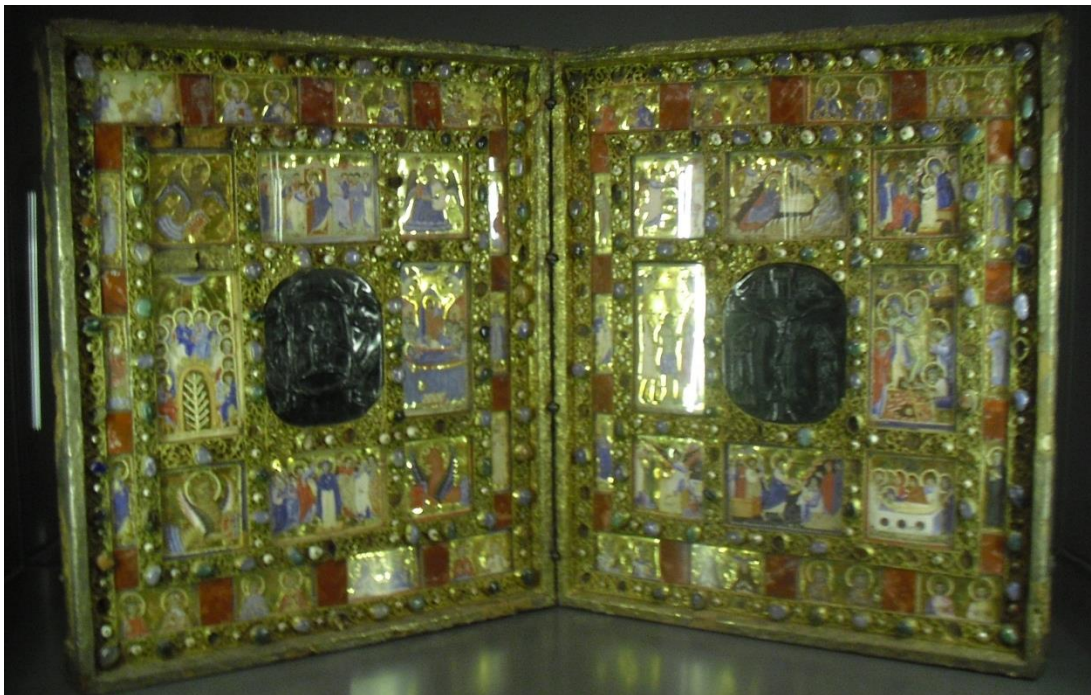
Inventory Number 301

Description:

This is a small diptych made in Venice originally for Andrew III of Hungary, but which was then donated to the Abbey of Königsfelden by his widow, Agnes of Habsburg. The inside has two large stones in the center and the rest of the frame is divided into twenty-three frames with miniatures showing the lives of various saints and framing two large cameos showing scenes from the New Testament. Though there are no heraldic devices, saints are mainly special to Hungary (Stephen, Ladislas, Emeric) and Venice (Marina, Euphemia, Theodore).

Bibliography:

Marti, Susan. "Königin Agnes und ihre Geschenke: Zeugnisse, Zuschreibungen und Legenden." *Kunst + Architektur in der Schweiz* 47 (1996): 169-180.



**VI.6 Königsfelden Altar frontal**

Agnes of Habsburg (1280-1364), second wife of Andrew II of Hungary (r. 1290-1301)

Relationship to Queen: Donated by the Queen

Part of Lifecourse: Queen Dowager

Purpose of Donation: Not explicitly stated – used to furnish abbey next to queen's residence

Sole donation

Provenience: Königsfelden Abbey

Type of institution: Franciscan double monastery (friary and nunnery)

Date of creation: c. 1334-1364

Period of liturgical use: mid-fourteenth century-1528

Workshop: Upper Rhine

Composition: Red fabric

Size: 318 x 90 cm

Visibility: High

Inscription: None

Museum: Berne Historisches Museum

Inventory Number 19

Description:

This alter frontal would have originally featured the Crucifixion flanked by St. Catherine and John the Baptist, but St. Agnes, St. Andrew, St. Peter, and St. Paul were added later. The presence of Agnes and Andrew indicates that the widowed Queen Agnes was most likely behind this donation.

**Bibliography:**

Marti, Susan. "Königin Agnes und ihre Geschenke: Zeugnisse, Zuschreibungen und Legenden." *Kunst + Architektur in der Schweiz* 47 (1996): 169-180.





### VI.7 The “Agnes Mantle”

Agnes of Habsburg (1280-1364), second wife of Andrew II of Hungary (r. 1290-1301)

Relationship to Queen: Donated by the queen

Part of Lifecourse: Queen Dowager

Purpose of Donation: Unknown

Sole donation

Provenience: Engelberg Abbey

Type of institution: Benedictine

Date of creation: c. 1318

Period of liturgical use: Fourteenth century - ?

Workshop: Unknown

Composition: Fabric

Size: 150 cm high, 297 cm wide, outer width 470 cm.

Visibility: Worn as a pluviale

Inscription: None

Museum: Engelberg Abbey

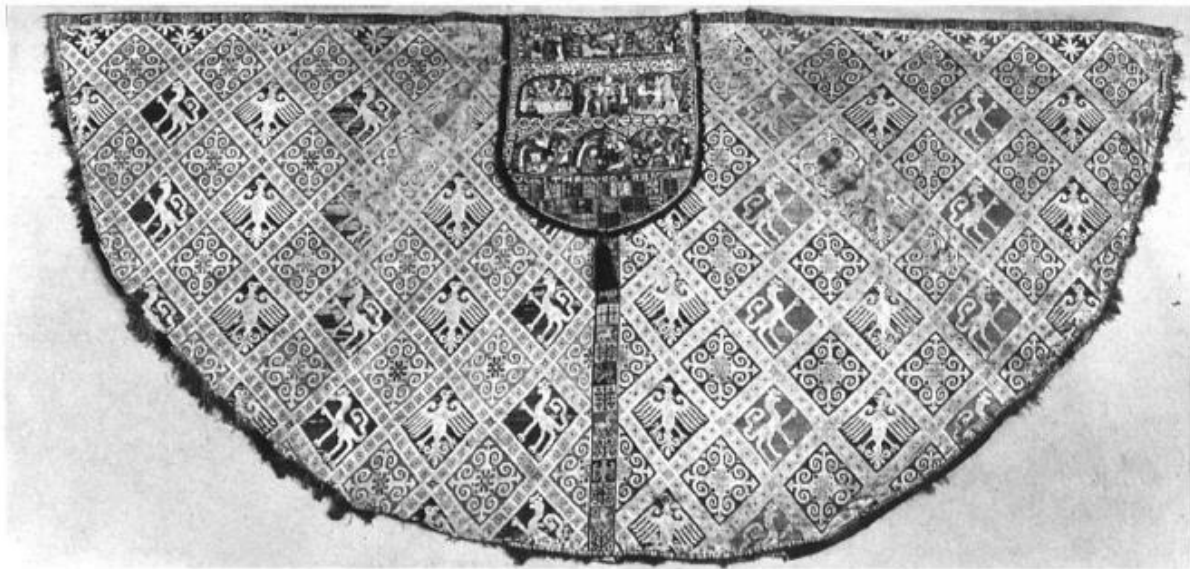
Inventory Number: N/A

Description:

This is a priestly vestment which was originally attributed to a donation from Agnes of Habsburg. It is decorated with lions and eagles within a lozenge-shaped pattern. It is possible that this was originally a richly embroidered garment of Agnes' that was then re-worked into a pluviale for liturgical use.

Bibliography:

Marti, Susan. “Königin Agnes und ihre Geschenke: Zeugnisse, Zuschreibungen und Legenden.” *Kunst + Architektur in der Schweiz* 47 (1996): 169-180.



**VI.8 St. Ladislav mantle, Zagreb**

Donated by Charles I Robert and possibly one of his three wives: Mary of Bytom (d. 1317), Beatrice of Luxemburg (d. 1319) or Elizabeth of Poland (d. 1380)

Relationship to Queen: Unknown

Part of Lifecourse: Queen Consort

Purpose of Donation: Thanks for negotiation with the papacy?

Joint donation (?)

Provenience: Zagreb

Type of institution: Cathedral

Date of creation: c. 1322?

Period of liturgical use: 14<sup>th</sup>-19<sup>th</sup> centuries?

Workshop: Unknown

Composition: Black silk, gold thread

Size: 230 cm wide, 150 cm long

Visibility: Worn on body of bishop or priest

Inscription: "Ladislav regis"...

Museum: Zagreb Cathedral Chapter

Inventory Number: N/A

Description:

This is a black silk mantle decorated with figures of a king and queen, most likely dating to the thirteenth or fourteenth centuries. The inscription links the chasuble to St. Ladislav, but the identity of the figures have been proposed to be either St. Ladislav and his sister, Jelena Queen of Croatia, or Charles I Robert and one of his wives.

**Bibliography:**

Marosi, Ernő. "A zágrábi Szent László casula." [The Saint Ladislav mantle from Zagreb]. In *Károly Róbert és Székesfehérvár: King Charles Robert and Székesfehérvár*, edited by Terézia Kerny and András Smohay, 127-138. Székesfehérvár: Székesfehérvári Egyházi Múzeum, 2011.

Sipos, Enikő. "A Szent László palást metamorphozisa." [The metamorphosis of the Saint Ladislav mantle]. *Folia Historica* 18 (1993): 255-265.



**VI.9 Reliquary Shrine of Elizabeth of Poland**

Third wife of Charles I Robert (r. 1308-1342)

Relationship to Queen: Gift from sister-in-law Clémence of Hungary, Queen of France

Part of Lifecourse: Queen Consort

Purpose of Donation: Possibly donated after her death

Sole donation

Provenience: Óbuda Clarisses convent

Type of institution: Poor Clares

Date of creation: 1325-1350

Period of liturgical use: 14<sup>th</sup>-18<sup>th</sup> (?) centuries

Workshop: French – attributed to Jean de Touyl (d. 1349/1350)

Composition: Silver gilt, translucent enamel, paint

Size: 25.4 cm high, 20 cm wide, 9.2 cm thick

Visibility: Private (originally)

Inscription: None

Museum: The Cloisters Collection, NYC

Inventory Number: 1962 (62.96)

Description:

This is a small, private alter which features the Virgin Mary breastfeeding Jesus in the center and two angels holding reliquaries next to her. The sides of the center panel are decorated with small statues of St. John the Baptist, St. Stephen the protomartyr, St. John the Evangelist, and St. Lawrence.

Bibliography:

Freeman, Margaret. "A Shrine for a Queen." *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 21/10 (1963): 327-339.

Marosi, Ernő. 1. Erzsébet királyné házioltára. In Marosi, Ernő, Melinda Tóth, Livia Varga, & István Király Múzeum. *Művészet I. Lajos király korában, 1342-1382: katalogus*. Budapest: MTA Művészettörténeti Kutató Csoport, 1982, 96-97.





**VI.10 Reliquary Cross from the Parish Church in Spisska Nova Ves (Igló)**

Third wife of Charles I Robert (r. 1308-1342)

Relationship to Queen: Unknown

Part of Lifecourse: Queen Consort

Purpose of Donation: Unknown

Joint donation with husband

Provenience: Spisska Nova Ves

Type of institution: Parish Church

Date of creation: Second quarter of the fourteenth century (c. 1325-1350)

Period of liturgical use: Fourteenth century - ?

Workshop: Unknown

Composition: Enamel

Size: Unknown

Visibility: On top of altar?

Inscription: "NG"

Museum: Parish Church in Spisska Nova Ves

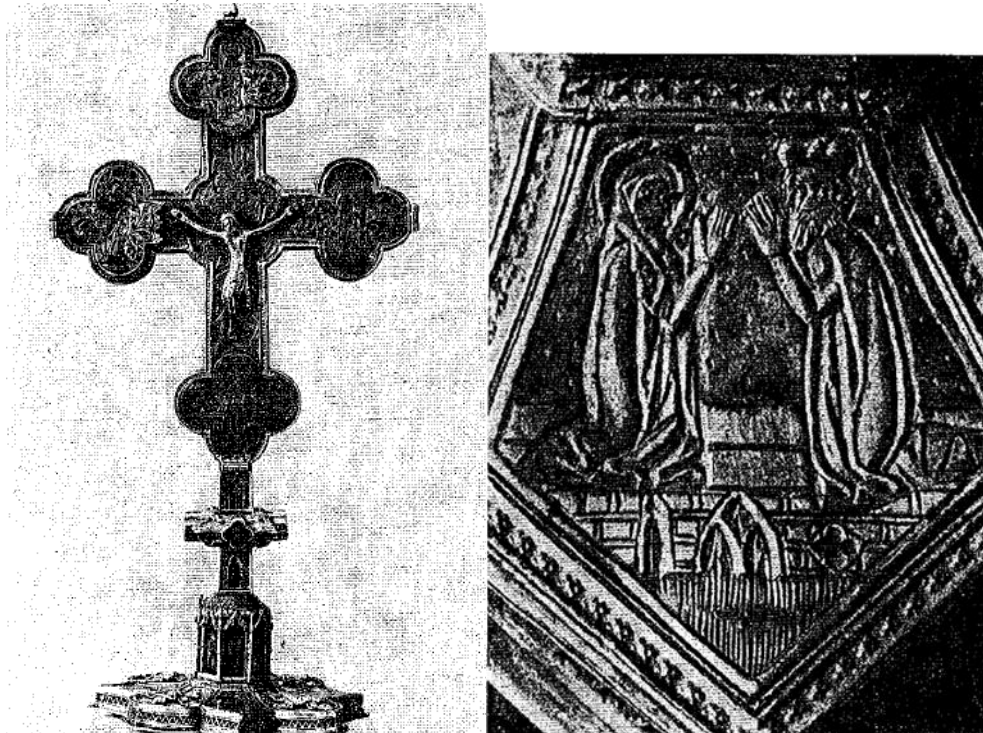
Inventory Number: N/A

Description:

This reliquary cross features the image of Charles I Robert and Elizabeth of Poland at the base. Christ is crucified and the sides are directed with the figures of the Virgin Mary, St. John, St. Constantine, and St. Helena.

Bibliography:

Sniezynska-Stolot, Eva. "Die Ikonographie der Königin Elisabeth." *Acta Historiae Artium* 17 (1971): 17-29.



**VI.11 Triptychon Altar with Elizabeth of Poland and her son Prince Andrew of Naples**

Third wife of Charles I Robert (r. 1308-1342)

Relationship to Queen: Donated while in Italy

Part of Lifecourse: Queen Widow

Purpose of Donation: Possible gift to the Dominican Order

Donation with her younger son Prince Andrew?

Provenience: Santo Domenico in Rome or the Dominican Monastery in Naples?

Type of institution: Dominican

Date of creation: c. 1343-1344

Period of liturgical use: Fourteenth-nineteenth centuries(?)

Workshop: Lippo Vanni of Siena (active 1340-1375)

Composition: Wood, paint

Size: Unknown

Visibility: High?

Inscription: None

Museum: Joe and Emily Lowe Art Gallery in Miami

Inventory Number: K-1355A, K-1355B, K-1355C

Description:

This is an altar with a picture of the Madonna and Child enthroned in the center and flanked by St. Dominic and St. Elizabeth of Hungary and the donors, most probably Elizabeth of Poland and her son, Prince Andrew of Naples. The kneeling, crowned woman has wears her fair hair up and under a crown while the uncrowned prince wears a white tunic decorated with blue lilies.



**VI.12 Chapel-shaped reliquary donated by Elizabeth of Poland**

Fourth wife of Charles I Robert (r. 1308-1342)

Relationship to Queen: Donated by the Queen on her Italian journey

Part of Lifecourse: Queen Widow

Purpose of Donation: Reliquary

Sole donation

Provenience: Church of Saint Nicholas in Bari

Type of institution: Church

Date of creation: c. 1343-1344

Period of liturgical use: Fourteenth century - ?

Workshop: Unknown

Composition: Silver gilt, gemstones, rock crystal/enamel

Size: 57 x 33 x 16.3 cm

Visibility: High?

Inscription: None

Museum: Treasury of St. Nicholas in Bari

Inventory Number: N/A

Description:

This is a small silver gilt reliquary in the shape of a chapel decorated with the Hungarian (Árpádian) coat-of-arms on the roof. Only the figures of the Virgin Mary, baby Jesus, and some of the apostles can be identified; the rest remain unknown. The reliquary is studded with gems and the “windows” of the reliquary are fitted either with rock crystal or translucent enamel.

**Bibliography:**

Nastasoiu, Dragoş Gheorge. “Patterns of Devotion and Traces of Art during the Diplomatic Journey of Queen Elizabeth Piast to Italy in 1343–1344.” In *Convivium: Exchanges and Interactions in the Arts of Medieval Europe, Byzantium, and the Mediterranean*, edited by Michele Bacci and Ivan Foletti, 98-111. Turnhout: Brepols, 2015.

Takács, Imre. “Kapolna alakú ereklyetartó magyar címerrel a bari San Nicola kincstárában” [Chapel-shaped reliquary with the Hungarian coat-of-arms in the treasury of Saint Nicholas in Bari]. *Ars Hungaria* XXVI/1 (1998): 66-82.





**VI.13 Nativity Figurines at the Poor Clares Cloister in Kraków**

Elizabeth of Poland, third wife of Charles I Robert (r. 1308-1342)

Relationship to Queen: Donated by Queen

Part of Lifecourse: Queen Widow

Purpose of Donation: For Feast of Epiphany

Sole donation

Provenience: Kraków

Type of institution: Poor Clares convent

Date of creation: c. 1350?

Period of liturgical use: c. 1370s - ?

Workshop: Rhenish/Bohemian?

Composition: tin?

Size: 35.5 cm tall (Mary); 34.5 cm tall (Joseph)

Visibility: Only on special occasions (the Feast of Epiphany)

Inscription: the letter "E" crowned

Museum: Church of St. Andrew in the Convent of the Poor Clares, Kraków

Inventory Number: N/A

Description:

This Nativity set, comprising at present of only the Virgin Mary and Joseph, would have also had the infant Jesus (resting on Mary's lap), and the Three Kings; they would have been displayed during the Feast of the Epiphany. The workshop style shows that the artist who made it would have been familiar with patterns both in the Rhineland area as well as in the Moravian style. The headdress of the Virgin Mary is missing. It has been linked with Elizabeth due not only to its provenience in a Poor Clares foundation, but also due to the crowned letter "E" on the bottom of the Virgin Mary. While the figures would have been made in the middle of the fourteenth century, they would have later been donated to this foundation, most likely during the period of Elizabeth's Regency in Poland (1370-1375).

Bibliography:

Walczak Marek. "Czternastowieczne figurki jasełkowe w klasztorze Klarysek przy kościele Św. Andrzeja w Krakowie: Uwagi o stylu, datowaniu, ikonografii i funkcji" [Fourteenth century Nativity scene figures in the convent of the Poor Clares at the Church of St. Andrew in Cracow. Some remarks on their style, dating, iconography and function] *Modus. Prace z historii sztuki* 2 (2001): 5-42.



**VI.14 Brocade chair cover of Elizabeth of Poland (d. 1380) or Queen Mary**

Relationship to Queen: Unknown

Part of Lifecourse: Unknown

Purpose of Donation: Chair cover

Sole donation?

Provenience: Göncruszka (?)

Type of institution: Pauline (?)

Date of Creation: Fourteenth Century

Period of liturgical use: Fourteenth – Sixteenth Centuries?

Workshop: Hungarian (Óbuda Poor Clares convent?)

Composition: Italian velvet with silver embroidery

Size: 128 x 274 cm

Visibility: Unknown, likely high

Inscription: None

Museum: Esztergom, Főszékesegyházi Kincstár

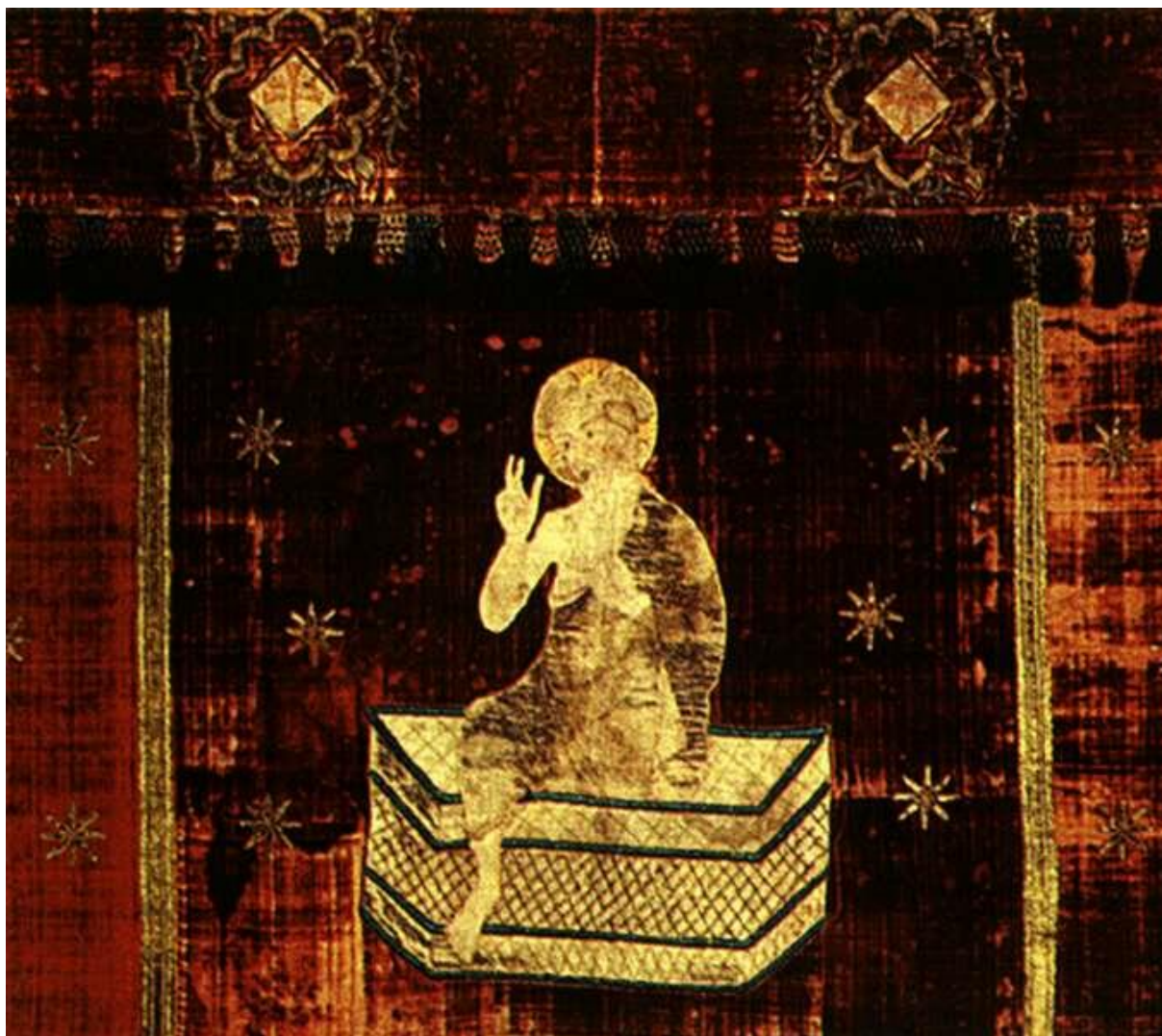
Inventory Number: 1964.317.

Description:

This is a cover for a chair made of silver embroidery and Italian red velvet (which was added later). The cover features the figure of Christ and decorations of the Hungarian-Angevin coat-of-arms, double-barred crosses, and lilies in addition to vines and other floral motifs. Found at the chapel of the palace of the Kornis family in Mănăstiera (Hung.: Szentbenedek), it was thought that it might have originally come from the Pauline monastery of Göncruszka. A fabric worked by the Óbuda Poor Clares convent was mentioned in the will of Elizabeth of Poland, so it is possible this cloth originates from either her or her granddaughter, Queen Mary (r. 1382-1395).

Bibliography:

Cséfalvay, Pál. 22. Anjou-kárpit. In Marosi, Ernő, Melinda Tóth, Livia Varga, & István Király Múzeum. *Művészet I. Lajos király korában, 1342-1382: katalógus*. Budapest: MTA Művészettörténeti Kutató Csoport, 1982, 117-118.





**VI.15 Reliquary sarcophagus of St. Simon, Zadar**

Second wife of Louis I the Great (r. 1342-1382)

Relationship to Queen: Donation by her

Part of Lifecourse: Queen Consort

Purpose of Donation: To house the body of St. Simeon

Sole donation

Provenience: Church of St. Mary Maior, Zadar (now Church of St. Simeon)

Type of institution: Church

Date of creation: c. 1377-1380

Period of liturgical use: c. 1380-present

Workshop: Franjo of Milan

Composition: Silver gilt, enamel

Size: 192 cm long, 62.5 cm wide, 71 cm high

Visibility: Highly visible, resting originally on silver statues of four angels in the central part of the church

Inscription: "Symeon hic iustus Jesum de Virgine natum ulnis qui tenuit, hac archa pace quiescit, Hungarie regine, potens, illustris et alta, Elyzabet iunior quam voto contulit almo. Anno milleno, trecento octuageno. Hoc opus fecit Franciscus de Mediolano."

Museum: Zadar, Permanent Exhibition of Sacred Art

Inventory Number: N/A

Description:

This is a massive silver gilt reliquary sarcophagus which the Queen commissioned from Franjo of Milan in 1377 and was completed by 1380. It features many scenes on the side, such as Queen Elizabeth mourning for her father, Ban Stephen II of Bosnia, Louis I of Hungary entering the city of Zadar in 1357, the Queen trying to steal a finger of St. Simeon, and finally Queen Elizabeth and her three daughters (Catherine, Mary, and Jadwiga) presenting the sarcophagus.

Bibliography:

Kovačević, Marijana. "The Omnipresent Death in the Iconography of Saint Simeon's Shrine in Zadar" *IKON* 4 (2011): 211-222.

Munk, Ana. "The Queen and her Shrine: an art historical twist on historical evidence concerning the Hungarian Queen Elizabeth Kotromanić, donor of the Saint Simeon Shrine" *Hortus Artium Medievalium* 10 (2004): 253-262.

Petricioli, Ivo. *St. Simeon's Shrine in Zadar*. Zagreb: Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, 1983.

Vidas, Marina. "Elizabeth of Bosnia, Queen of Hungary, and the Tomb Shrine of St. Simeon in Zadar: Power and Relics in fourteenth-century Dalmatia." *Studies in Iconography* 29 (2008): 136-175.







**VI.16 Chalice at Zadar, possible donation of Elizabeth Kotromanić**

Second wife of Louis I the Great (r. 1342-1382)

Relationship to Queen: Possible donation by her or her husband

Part of Lifecourse: Queen Consort

Purpose of Donation: For church's liturgy, special occasions?

Sole donation?

Provenience: Sarcophagus of St. Simeon in the (former) Church of St. Mary Maior, Zadar

Type of institution: Church

Date of creation: c. 1380

Period of liturgical use: Late fourteenth century - ?

Workshop: Hungarian?

Composition: Silver gilt, enamel

Size: 28 x 16 cm

Visibility: Unknown (Found in sarcophagus)

Inscription: None

Museum: Zadar, Permanent Exhibition of Sacred Art

Inventory Number: N/A

Description:

This chalice was originally found in the sarcophagus of St. Simeon in Zadar, though it would have originally been used to celebrate the mass. The base is hexagonal and the stem is decorated with incised figures of Christ, the Virgin Mary, St. John the Baptist, St. Stephen of Hungary and St. Elizabeth of Hungary. It is also decorated with four shields bearing the Hungarian-Angevin coat-of-arms, as well as figures of the ostrich with the horseshoe in its beak. It was most likely brought to this site from Hungary by Elizabeth Kotromanić, though whether it was deposited by the Queen or at a later date has yet to be determined.

**Bibliography:**

Jakčić, Nikola. "Calice avec armoiries angevines." In *L'Europe des Anjou: aventure des princes angevins du XIIIe au XVe siècle*, edited by Guy Le Goff et al, 353-354. Paris: Somogy éditions d'art, 2001.



**VI.17 Bell donated by Queen Mary (r. 1382-1395)**

Queen regnant, wife of King Sigismund I (r. 1387-1437)

Age at donation: late teens/early 20s

Date(s) of object: End of the 14<sup>th</sup> century

Provenience: Hospital Church at Gyöngyös

Workshop: Unknown

Period of liturgical use: End of the 14<sup>th</sup> – 19<sup>th</sup> century

Composition: Unknown metal

Size: Unknown

Visibility: Heard more than seen

Type of institution: Hospital

Purpose of donation: Unknown (related to foundation of hospital?)

Sole donation (?)

Commissioned as: Queen regnant

Description:

This bell is only known from a note by Mailáth in 1828 saying that there was a bell that Queen Mary had donated to the Hospital Church of St. Elizabeth in the town of Gyöngyös. He states this right after he erroneously attributed the Chalice of Torna to Mary (it dates from the early fifteenth century instead), but it is still possible that such a bell existed. He states that the bell was cast at her order, which implies that this was known either through church tradition or perhaps through an inscription on the bell itself.

Bibliography:

Mailáth, Johann. *Geschichte der Magyaren*, Vol. II. Vienna: F. Tendler, 1828.

**VII.1 Gertrude Psalter (aka The Egbert Psalter or the Trier Psalter)**

Queen: Possibly once owned by Gertrude of Meran (d. 1213)

Wife of: Andrew II (r. 1205-1235)

Relationship to queen: Possibly passed on to her daughter St. Elizabeth

Method of acquisition: Heirloom from natal kin

Part of Lifecourse: Queen consort

Provenience: Cividale, Italy

Place of creation: Reichenau

Author: Unknown

Contents: Psalms, prayers for the family of Gertrude of Poland

Date of creation: c. 980

Dates of use: end of the 10<sup>th</sup> century to beginning of 13<sup>th</sup> century, from 13<sup>th</sup> century in cathedral library

Original owner: Egbert, Bishop of Trier (973-996), Gertrude of Poland (d. 1108), wife of Izyaslav of Kiev

Subsequent owner(s): Abbey of Zweifalten, St. Elizabeth of Hungary (d. 1237), Cathedral of Cividale

Number of folios: 233

Language: Latin

Material of pages: Parchment

Ornamentation: Images of the family of Gertrude of Poland, saints

Size: Height – 23.9 cm; Width – 18.7 cm

Museum: Museo Archaeologico Nazionale, Cividale, Italy

Inventory Number: Ms. CXXXVI

Description:

This psalter was originally commissioned from Reichenau in about 980 for Egbert, the Archbishop of Trier, but in the eleventh century it worked its way to the Kievan court where Gertrude of Poland (d. 1108), wife of Iziaslav I of Kiev added more illuminations to it. Through her granddaughter at the Abbey of Zweifalten, the Psalter seems to have made its way to the Andechs-Meran family, and either Queen Gertrude or her sister Jadwiga, the duchess of Silesia gave it to St. Elisabeth. In turn, St. Elisabeth gave it to the Cathedral at Cividale which is where it remains preserved to this day.

Bibliography:

Bierbrauer, Katharina. "12. Sog. Egbert Psalter" in *Sankt Elisabeth: Fürstin, Dienerin, Heilige*, edited by Philips-Universität Marburg, Hessisches Landesamt für Geschichtliche Landeskunde, Elisabethskirche, 336-338. Marburg. Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1981.

Kürbis, Brygida. "Die Gertrudanischen Gebete im Psalterium Egberti: Ein Betrag zur Geschichte der Frömmigkeit im 11 Jahrhundert." In *Europa Slavica – Europa Orientalis: Festschrift für Herbert Ludat zum 70 Geburtstag* edited by Klaus-Detlev Grothusen and Klaus Zernack, 249-261. Berlin: Duncker and Humbolt, 1980.

Spatharakis, Ioannis. *The Portrait in Byzantine Illuminated Manuscripts*. Leiden: Brill, 1976.





Christ crowning the family of Gertrude of Poland, princess of Kiev

**VII.2 Prayers and Benedictions of Muri**

Queen: Agnes of Habsburg (d. 1364)  
 Second wife of: Andrew III of Hungary (r. 1290-1301)  
 Relationship to queen: Possibly an owner  
 Method of acquisition: Unknown  
 Part of Lifecourse: Queen Dowager  
 Provenience: Monastery of Muri-Gries, Sarnen Convent  
 Place of creation: Holy Roman Empire?  
 Author: Unknown  
 Contents: Prayers, Benedictions  
 Date of creation: Twelfth century  
 Dates of use: 12<sup>th</sup>-14<sup>th</sup> century  
 Original owner: Unknown  
 Subsequent owner(s): Unknown  
 Number of pages: 98  
 Language: Latin and German  
 Material of pages: Parchment  
 Ornamentation: Minimal black and white illustrations  
 Size: 9 x 6.5 cm  
 Archive: Monastery of Muri-Gries, Sarnen Convent  
 Inventory Number: MS. 69

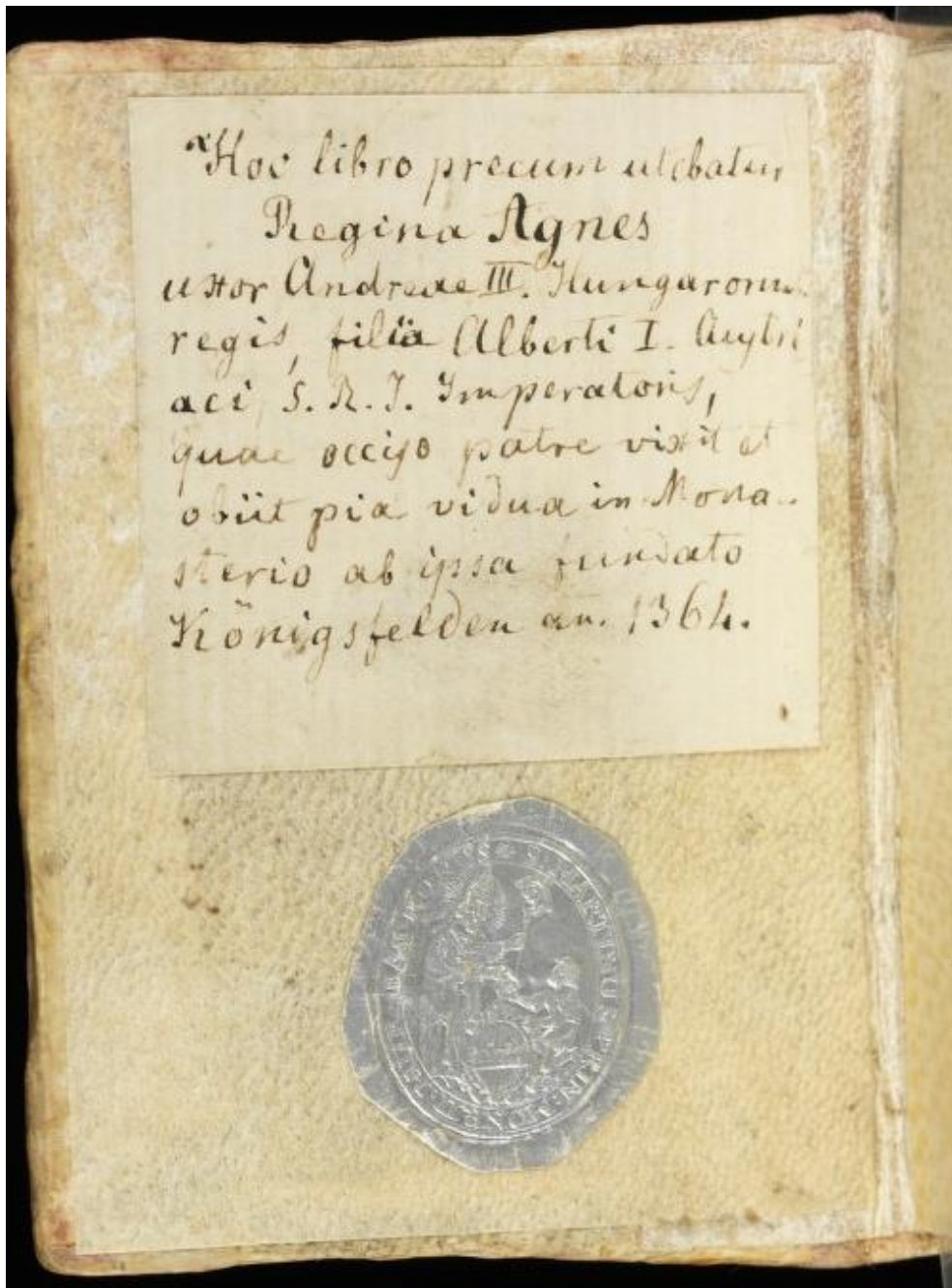
**Description:**

This is a very small twelfth century book that describes all sorts of prayers and blessing based on a number of subjects such as morning prayers, travel mercies, and towards the end even a prayer to restore happiness between husband and wife. There are also several prayers for protections and invocations to various saints such as John the Baptist, St. Erasmus, and several treatises on the passion of Margaret. There is a strong magical and mystical element to some of the prayers which advocate for the best time of the day and gestures to make to make the prayer more effective. A nineteenth century label on the inside of the front cover attributes the prayer book to Agnes.

**Bibliography:**

- Sarnen, Benedictine College, Cod. Membr. 69, front - Prayer Book (<http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/de/list/one/bks/membr0069>).  
 Bretscher-Gisiger, Charlotte and Rudolf Gamper. *Katalog der mittelalterlichen Handschriften der Klöster Muri und Hermetschwil*. Dietikon-Zürich: Urs Graf, 2005, 254-257.  
 Honneman, Volker. "A Medieval Queen and her Stepdaughter: Agnes and Elizabeth of Hungary" In *Queens and Queenship in Medieval Europe*, Anne Duggan, ed. Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2002, 109-119.  
 Masser, Achim. "Gebete und Benediktionen von Muri" In *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters Verfasserlexikon II*, Wolfgang Stammer et al. Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1980, 1110-1111.







gine si ich gulegnot so  
 got die drei Knappen  
 gulegnote die dr chu  
 nach nabucho donosor  
 wolte vurbrennen.  
 Sidrac Mdaac. ab de  
 nago. Kinet. x. K. Pat. n.  
 ✠



The inside cover and illustration of the female saint from the Prayers and Benedictions of Muri

**VII.3 Florian Psalter**

Queen: Jadwiga of Poland, possibly Mary of Hungary?

Daughter of: Louis I of Hungary

Relationship to queen: Book of psalms commissioned by Jadwiga of Poland, gift for her sister Mary?

Method of acquisition: Commissioned by Queen of Poland

Part of Lifecourse: Queen regnant

Provenience: Sankt Florian Monastery, Austria

Place of creation: Kraków?

Author: Bartołomiej of Jasło?

Contents: Psalms 1-150

Date of creation: end of 14<sup>th</sup> Century, Beginning of 15<sup>th</sup> Century

Dates of use: end of 14<sup>th</sup> Century?

Original owner: Jadwiga of Poland

Subsequent owner(s): Katherine of Austria?, Sankt Florian Monastery

Number of folios: 298

Language: German, Latin, and Polish

Material of pages: parchment

Ornamentation: Heraldic devices,

Binding: from 1564, boards covered with embossed leather with brass fitting at the corners

Size: 32 x 22.5 cm

Museum: National Library of Poland, Warsaw

Inventory Number: rps III 9002

Description:

**Bibliography:**




Csapodi, Csaba and Klára Gárdonyi Csapodiné. *Bibliotheca Hungarica: Kódexek és nyomtatott könyvek Magyarországon 1526 előtt*, Vol. I-III. Budapest: Magyar Tudományos akadémia Könyvtára, 1988-1994.

Dunin-Borkowski, Stanisław. *Psalterz Królowej Małgorzaty pierwszej małżonki Ludwika I. Króla Polskiego I węgierskiego corki Króla czeskiego I Cesarza Karola IV. Najstarszy Dotąd Znany Pomnik Pismiennictwa Polskiego*. Vienna: Strauss, 1834.

Ożóg, Krzysztof. "Krakowskie środowisko umysłowe na przełomie XIV i XV wieku a problem powstania Psalterza floriańskiego" [The Intellectual Circles in Cracow at the Turn of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries and the Problem of the Creation of the Sankt Florian Psalter] *Rocznik Biblioteki Narodowej* XLII (2011), 93-114.

Snieszynska-Stolot, Éwa. "Psalterz Floriański z punktu widzenia historyka sztuki" [The Sankt Florian Psalter from the perspective of an art historian] *Rocznik Biblioteki Narodowej* XLII (2011), 87-92.



forchtinden in unde ynden  
 dy do hoffin uf syne larme  
 herrikeyt   
**U**t eruat amoute annuas  
 eorum et alat eos infame  
**A**bi witaigl zelinertu du  
 se gich ykamlie wglodze  
**D**as her beneme von tote  
 ire zelen unde futele sy in  
 dem himgu   
**A**nima nostra sustinet  
 dominum quoniam adiu  
 tor et protector noster est  
**D**u ka naka cirpi gospo  
 dia bo pomocnik yod  
 gimca naka iest   
**U**nsir zele uf hilt got wen  
 her ist unsir hulfer unde  
 vnsir beschirmer ist her  
**Q**uia meo letabitur cor  
 nostrum et in nomine s  
 cto eius sperauimus  
**B**o wuem weseleze se bo  
 die seze nake ywiego f  
 swote ymo pwali iesu  
**W**en in ym irfrewit wnt

unsir herke unde in syne  
 name den heyligen hofte  
 wir 

**E**rat misericordia tua  
 domine super nos quemad  
 modum sperauimus in te

**B**od: miloserdze twoye  
 naduamy iacoz pwaly  
 iesu wcz 

**I**s werde dine barmheer  
 tikeyt got uf uns glidur  
 wise als wir gehoffit ha  
 bin indich 

**B**enedicam dominum 33  
 in omni tem  
 pore semper laus eius in  
 ore meo 

**O**hwaleze bodo gospodia  
 wkasoy cras wes di dawa  
 la iego wuszech mogich

**I**ch lobe gotu in allu er  
 allis ist syn lop in minem  
 munde 

**I**n domino laudabitur  
 anima mea audiant ma  
 nifesti et letentur 

Folio 53v, showing both the MM monogram and the Hungarian-Angevin coat of arms on the bottom

### VIII.1 – Lost Choir Window of Agnes of Habsburg

Image of: Agnes of Habsburg (d. 1364)

Second Wife of: Andrew III (r. 1390-1301)

Connection to queen: Funded by Queen

Part of Lifecourse: Dowager Queen

Church: Königsfelden Abbey

Location within church: Choir, window s III

Date of image: c. 1340

Material: Stained glass

Size: c. 100 x 45 cm (based on surviving glass panels)

Ornamentation: The Hungarian double-barred cross

Description:

This window features Agnes on her knees in the habit of a nun, presenting a model of Königsfelden and kneeling on a pillow with a crown resting on it. Due to its dissimilarity with other depictions, Kurmann-Schwarz believes that this stained glass (known only from a 1773 drawing) would have originally been in the choir of the church. It would have most likely been across the stained glass windows depicting her brother Albert II and his wife Joanna of Pfirt, while Agnes' parents Albert I and Elizabeth of Tyrol would have had the most central windows in the apse of the church.

Bibliography:

Gerbert, Martin, Marquardt Herrgott and Rusten Heer. *Monumenta Augustae Domus Austriacae*. Vienna: 1772.

Kurmann-Schwartz, Brigitte. *Die mittelalterlichen Glasmalereien der ehemaligen Klosterkirche Königsfelden*. Bern: Stämpfli, 2008.





## VIII.2 – Lost Nave Window of Agnes of Habsburg

Image of: Agnes of Habsburg (d. 1364)

Second Wife of: Andrew III (r. 1390-1301)

Connection to queen: Funded by Queen

Part of Lifecourse: Dowager Queen

Church: Königsfelden Abbey

Location within church: Nave

Date of image: c. 1360

Material: Stained glass

Size: c. 80 x 50 cm (based on surviving glass panels)

Ornamentation: Crowned escutcheon featuring the Hungarian double-barred cross

Description:

This stained glass window would have been in the nave of the church at Königsfelden. While the original is lost, several illustrations from the Early Modern period survive. The oldest illustration shows her wearing a light dress covered by a dark mantle trimmed with ermine while the later three show her in a blue dress with a pink mantle wrapped around her with no fur. While her mother is crowned, Agnes is simply wearing a veil. While it is unknown where in the nave this window might have been placed, it seems that based on the illustrations that Agnes' window in this case would have been paired with her mother, Elizabeth of Tyrol. The inscriptions describe her as Queen of Hungary, daughter of Albert and the one who completed the building of the Abbey.

Bibliography

Kurmann-Schwartz, Brigitte. *Die mittelalterlichen Glasmalereien der ehemaligen Klosterkirche Königsfelden*. Bern: Stämpfli, 2008.



**VIII.3 Keystone of a woman (Elizabeth of Poland?) at Diósgyőr**

Image of: Elizabeth of Poland (d. 1380) OR Elizabeth Kotromanić of Bosnia

Wife of: Charles I Robert OR Louis I

Connection to queen: Depiction of her at the royal residence

Part of Lifecourse: Queen Dowager/Queen Consort

Location: Diósgyőr castle

Location within castle: Western wing of the palace, originally someplace on a floor above the cellar

Date: Second half of the 14<sup>th</sup> Century (around 1360)

Material: Grey andesite

Size: 46 cm high, Diameter 41 cm

Ornamentation: A five-petaled flower in the background

Museum: Diósgyőri Vármúzeum

Inventory Number: 69.4.1.

Description:

This keystone shows the bust of a woman wearing a frilled “kruseler” type of headdress with a similarly frilled neckline. Behind the queen the keystone’s background is that of a five-petaled flower. This sort of costume was in popular particularly in the 1360s, so it would most likely date from the second half of the fourteenth century. It has been proposed that this is either Elizabeth of Poland or Elizabeth of Bosnia, the mother and second wife of Louis I of Hungary respectively. This is based off of similarities to the headdress found in the *Chronicon Pictum* as well as on the Sarcophagus of St. Simeon. Nevertheless, the age of the woman and the similarity with **Cat. VIII.4** indicate that it is most likely meant to depict Elizabeth of Poland.

Bibliography:

Czeglédy, Ilona. *The Castle of Diósgyőr*. Budapest: Corvina Press, 1971.

Czeglédy, Ilona. “Zárókő női fejfel.” In Marosi, Ernő, Melinda Tóth, Livia Varga, & István Király Múzeum. *Művészet I. Lajos király korában, 1342-1382: katalógus*. Budapest: MTA Művészettörténeti Kutató Csoport, 1982, 240-241.



**VIII.4 Stone carving of a Queen at the Chapel of Our Lady, Buda Castle**

Image of: Elizabeth of Poland (d. 1380)  
 Wife of: Charles I Robert (r. 1308-1342)  
 Connection to queen: Possibly part of a renovation of the Church  
 Part of Lifecourse: Dowager Queen  
 Church: Church of Our Lady, Buda (i.e. Mathias Church)  
 Location within church: Capital of a pillar  
 Date of image: c. 1370-1380  
 Material: Stone (plaster)  
 Size: Unknown  
 Ornamentation: Foliage  
 Museum: Unknown  
 Inventory Number: N/A

Description:

This plaster cast was taken from a Late Medieval alteration to the Church of Our Lady in Buda. It depicts an older woman with a large nose and wide, smiling mouth wearing a veil and crown. It appears that portraits of Louis I of Hungary and his mother, Elizabeth Piast, would have adorned the capitals of columns at this particular church.

Bibliography:

Csemegi, József. *A budavári főtemplom középkori építéstörténete* [The medieval building history of the main church of Buda Castle]. Budapest: Képzőművészeti Alap Kiadóvállalata, 1955.  
 Gerevich, László. *The Art of Buda and Pest in the Middle Ages*. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1971.





### VIII.5 Keystone depicting Queen Elizabeth, Regent of Poland, in Kraków

Image of: Elizabeth of Poland (d. 1380)

Fourth Wife of: Charles I Robert (r. 1308-1342)

Connection to queen:

Part of Lifecourse: Regent of Poland, Dowager Queen

Building: Room with the Coat of Arms in Market Square #17 (Rynek Główny 17), Kraków

Location within church: Vaulting of the ceiling

Date of image: c. 1375/1386

Material: Stone

Size: Unknown

Ornamentation: Minimal

Location: Room with the Coat of Arms in Market Square #17, Kraków

Description:

This keystone depicts an uncrowned woman wearing an elaborate veil, with a scooping neckline. It has been assumed that this would be Elizabeth of Poland from around 1375, the time when she was regent of Poland. However, the room itself seems to date from 1386, so it is possible it represents Elizabeth's granddaughter, Jadwiga of Poland instead. Nevertheless, there are other iconographic similarities between other depictions of Elizabeth of Poland.

Bibliography:

Snieszynska-Stolot, Éva. "Die Ikonographie der Königin Elisabeth" *Acta Historia Artium* 17 (1971) 17-29.



### VIII.6 Stone carving of Elizabeth of Bosnia & Louis the Great at Mariazell

Image of: Elizabeth Kotromanić of Bosnia (d. 1387)

Second Wife of: Louis I 'the Great' (r. 1342-1382)

Connection to queen: Commissioned by Queen?

Part of Lifecourse: Queen Consort/Queen Dowager?

Church: The Gnadenkapelle at Mariazell Basilica, Austria

Location within church: Currently at the top of the central chapel

Date of image: Second half of the 14th Century (c. 1370s-1380s?)

Material: Red marble (?)

Size: Unknown

Ornamentation: grape leaves and vines

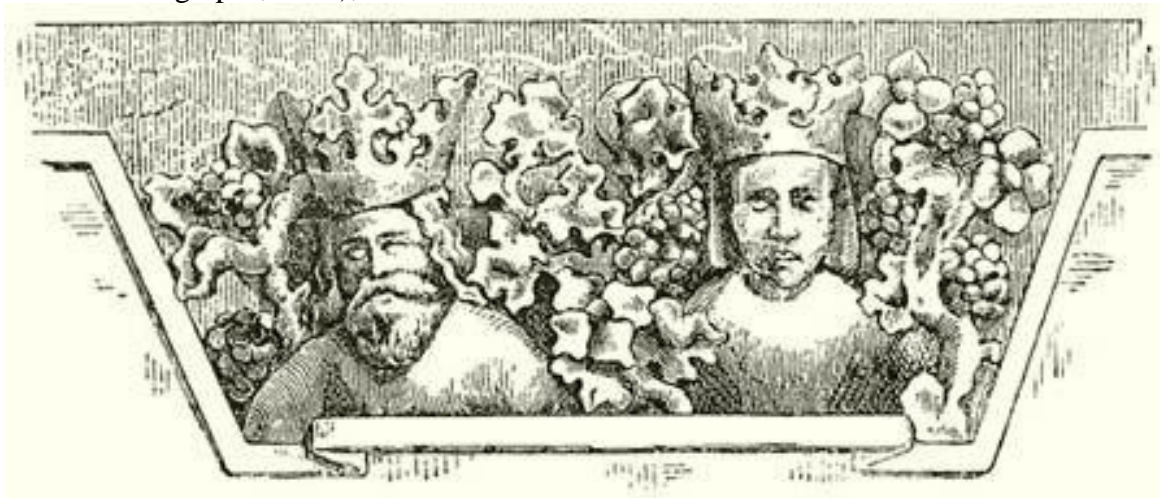
Description:

A double-portrait in stone of a king and queen from the later 14<sup>th</sup> century has been attributed to Louis I 'the Great' and his second wife, Elizabeth of Bosnia. The king appears to be a man of about fifty years old wearing an open crown and with a full beard and flowing hair. The queen appears to be much younger and is wearing a crown very similar to the king over a veil which covers her hair. Their clothing is nondescript and between the two of them there are richly carved grape vines and leaves. It seems that this would have originally been part of the rood screen.

Bibliography:

Marosi, Ernő. "Mariazell und die Kunst Ungarns im Mittelalter" in *Ungarn in Mariazell – Mariazell in Ungarn: Geschichte und Erinnerung* (Budapest: 2004), 28-38.

Szamosi, József. "König Ludwig der Grosse: Bauten und Denkmäler in Mariazell" *Louis the Great: King of Hungary and Poland*, S. B. Vardy et al. (Boulder: East European Monographs, 1986), 285-323.



**VIII.7 Stone relief of Elizabeth of Bosnia at Zadar**

Image of: Elizabeth Kotromanić of Bosnia (d. 1387)

Second Wife of: Louis I 'the Great' (r. 1342-1382)

Connection to queen:

Part of Lifecourse: Queen Dowager (?)

Church: St. Mary Maior, Zadar

Location within church:

Date of image: c. 1380s?

Material: Limestone

Size: 217 x 118 cm

Ornamentation: Oak leaves

Museum: National Museum Zadar

Inventory Number: MGZ-356

Description:

In the center of this relief is the figure of St. Simeon, wearing a cloak and depicted with long hair and a beard; in his left hand there is an unfolded scroll with two lines of writing. The queen appears to his right, wearing a crown over gathered hair, and kneeling before him. She is kneeling on a hassock and the bodice and sleeves of her garment hang rather loosely; her cloak is tied at her breast with a pin. To the left of St. Simeon, two angels are holding up a blank coat of arms; behind it there is a helmet. Oak leaves can be found under the escutcheon and between the legs of the angels.

Bibliography:

Petricioli, Ivo. *St. Simeon's Shrine in Zadar*. Zagreb, 1983.

Petricioli, Ivo. "Još o Pavlo iz Sulmone – graditelju pročelja crkve u Starom Pagu" [Pavao of Sulmona – builder of the façade of the church in Old Pag], *Ars Adriatica* 3 (2013), 111-120.





**VIII.8 Frescos at Runkelstein (Roncolo) Castle**

Image of: Queen Mary of Hungary (r. 1382-1395)?

Wife of: Sigismund of Luxemburg (r. 1386-1437)

Connection to queen: Unknown

Part of Lifecourse: Queen Regnant

Castle: Runkelstein

Location within castle: The “Knight’s Hall”

Date of image: c. 1388

Material: Paint

Size: Unknown

Ornamentation: Heraldry, floral patterns

Museum: Runkelstein

Inventory Number: N/A

Description:

Three frescoes in the so-called “Knight’s Hall” of Runkelstein depict a crowned woman under the Hungarian-Angevin coat-of-arms; she is depicted playing ball, leading a dance, and fishing with a group of courtiers. In all three images, the woman wears the same outfit; she has a crown on her fair, plaited hair and wears a blue dress with long, flowing sleeves. Underneath she is wearing a closer-fitted white sleeve, and her collar and belt are gold. The blue outer dress is decorated with a gold pattern that is mostly faded. While Antal Pór identified the woman as Elizabeth Piast, widow of Charles I Robert of Hungary, the dating of the renovation and style indicates that rather the woman would be Mary, the queen regnant of Hungary.

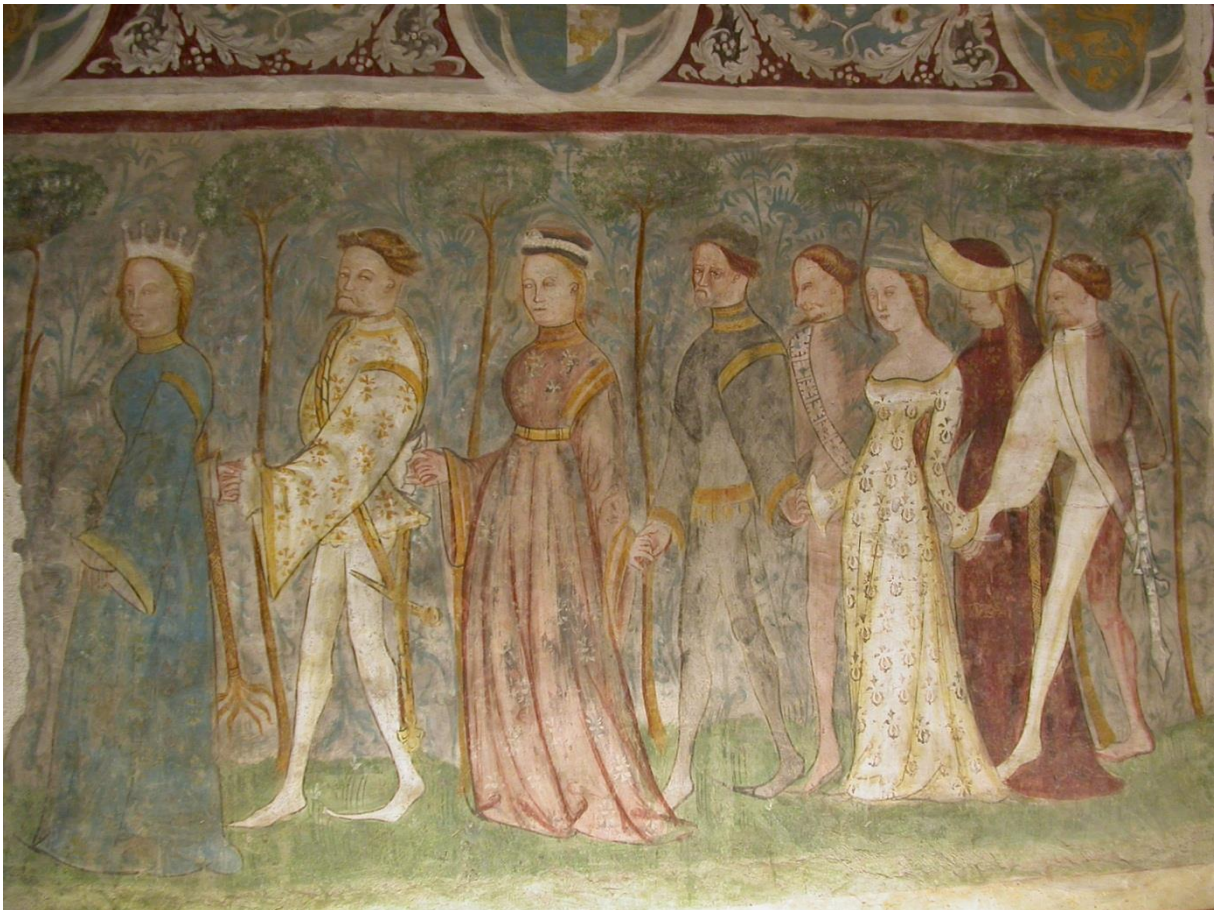
**Bibliography**

Antal Pór, “Magyar vonatkozású fali képek Runkelsteinben” [Hungarians of relevance on the wall paintings in Runkelstein], *Archaeológiai Értesítő* 20 (1900), 193-208.

László Szende, “Piast Erzsébet és udvara (1320-1380)” [Elizabeth Piast and her Court (1320-1380)] (PhD diss.: ELTE, Budapest, 2007).







### VIII.9 Wall Paintings of Queen Gertrude

Image of: Gertrude of Andechs-Meran (d. 1213)

First Wife of: Andrew II (r. 1205-1235)

Connection to queen: Depicted posthumously in *Vita* of her daughter, St. Elizabeth

Part of Lifecourse: Queen Consort

Church: Heiligen Geist Spital, Lübeck

Location within church: In the nave, above the rood screen

Date of image: c. 1420-1430

Material: Painting on canvas

Size: Unknown

Ornamentation: Gothic decoration

Museum: N/A

Inventory Number: N/A

Description:

The first panel featuring Gertrude shows her recumbent on a bed after giving birth to her daughter, who she is now nursing in the crook of her shoulder. The king and four ladies are looking on while a smaller woman sits near the cradle eating something out of a bowl. Andrew is crowned while Gertrude has only a simple veil covering her head. The vessels, fabric, and the king's ermine-trimmed robe all indicate this scene to be very sumptuous. The panel of Gertrude's murder is much more dramatic. The queen is in the center, wearing a richly embroidered dress, a crown on her flowing blonde hair, and an ermine trimmed mantel. Her assailant is plunging a sword into her breast while three conspirators look on. In the background there are the turrets of a castle and trees indicating the sylvan setting of the attack.

Bibliography:

Petrakopoulos, Anja. "Sanctity and Motherhood: Elizabeth of Thuringia" in *Sanctity and Motherhood: Essays on Holy Mothers in the Middle Ages*, ed. Anneke B. Mulder-Bakker  
New York: Garland, 1995, 259-296.









**XII. 1 Grave of Gisela of Bavaria (985-1060)**

Wife of King St. Stephen, (r. 997-1038)

Commissioned: Possibly as Queen Dowager, before death

Item(s) of power: Two eagles flanking the main cross

Burial place: Abbey of Niedernburg, Passau

Monastic Order: Benedictine

Location within church: Against southern wall of the most southern of the three apses, in close proximity towards the altar, and with the head facing west

Date of Tombstone: second half of the 11<sup>th</sup> century, gothic copy of it made in the 15<sup>th</sup> century

Material of tombstone: Limestone in the 11<sup>th</sup> century, red marble in the 15<sup>th</sup> century

Proximity to other graves: Near to the Abbess Heilika

Setting: The 15<sup>th</sup> century grave is in a raised cenotaph over the 11<sup>th</sup> century grave

Size: 154 x 54 cm

Ornamentation: On the 11<sup>th</sup> century grave, the main ornamentation is a cross with a spiralled decoration flanked by two eagles. The 15<sup>th</sup> century grave in red marble has very similar elements, but in a Gothic script, and with the addition of Gothic niches at the top of the monument.

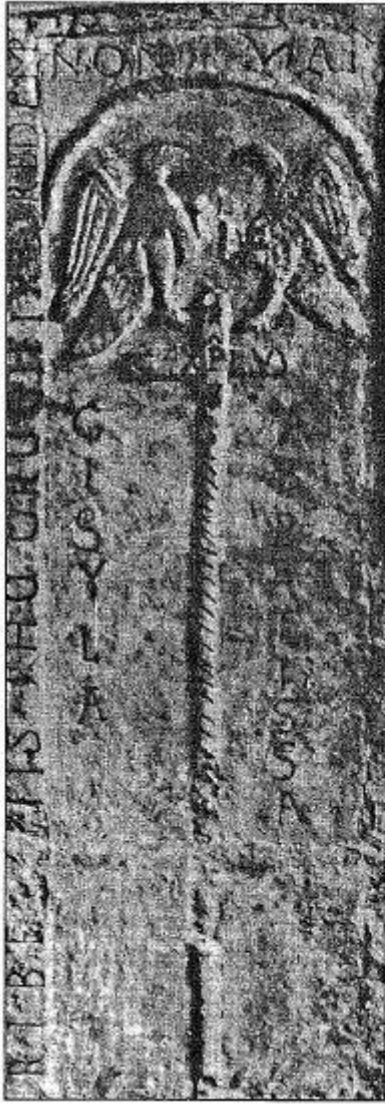
Inscription: Anno Domini millesimo nonagesimo quinto, Nonis Maii obit Venerabilis Domina Gisula, soror sancti Hainrici Imperatoris uxor Stephani Regis Ungariae, abbatissa huius monasterii. Hic sepulta. Gisyla Abbatissa.

Description:

The gravestone of Gisela of Bavaria, originally a simple cross flanked by two eagles and with the inscription of her identity. Later hidden under a fifteenth-century cenotaph.

Bibliography:

Uzsoki, András. "Die Echtheit des Grabes der ungarischen Königin Gisela in Passau." In *Bayern und Ungarn: Tausend Jahre enge Beziehungen*, ed. Ekkehard Völkl, 13-22. Regensburg: Lassleben, 1988.



11<sup>th</sup> Century monument



14<sup>th</sup> century monument

**XII. 2 Grave of Tuta of Formbach (?-1055?)**

Possibly the wife of Peter Orseleo (r. 1038-1041, 1044-1046)

Commissioned: After death of the queen

Item of power 1: Crown

Item of power 2: Scepter

Burial place: Abbey of Suben, present-day Austria

Monastic Order: Augustine

Date of Tombstone: ca. 1430

Material of tombstone: Red Marble

Location within church: Currently on the western wall of the north transept.

Setting: Currently on the western wall of the north

Accessibility:

Size: 230 x 118 cm

Inscription: *Hye leyt die hochgeporen / chiinichleychis geschlechtes czu ungern genant Tuta / stifterin decz gegenwertigen / gotshaus hie czu Suben gestorben MCXXXVI Kls May.*

(Here lies the highborn of royal descent / in Hungary called Tuta / donator of this present house of God / died here in Suben in 1136, month of May.)

Ornamentation: Head resting on a pillow in front of quatrefoil. At the bottom there are two escutcheons, one with the Hungarian-Angevin coat of arms, and the other with the coat of arms for Suben.

Description:

A fifteenth century red marble tombstone, most likely an updated version of an earlier eleventh century one. Tuta, the founder of this abbey, is never referred to as Hungarian queen, but her time in Hungary is referenced to.

Bibliography:

Schütz, Bernhard. *Stift Suben am Inn*. Munich: Schnell & Steiner, 1970.



**XII. 3 Epitaph of Adelaide of Rheinfelden (?-1090)**

Wife of King St. Ladislav (r. 1077-1095)

Burial place: Cathedral of Veszprém

Location within church: Unknown

Date of Tombstone: Late 11<sup>th</sup> century?

Material of tombstone: Unknown

Size: Unknown

Inscription: Ladislav regis consortium hic ossa quiescunt.

Item of power: Unknown

Ornamentation: Unknown

Proximity to other graves: Unknown

Commissioned: After death of the queen?

Description:

A simple reference to Adelaide's tombstone from a fifteenth century source, sadly the original does not seem to survive.

Bibliography:

Bonfinius, Antonius. *Rerum Ungaricarum Decades*. Leipzig: Teubner, 1936.

**XII. 4 Epitaph of Adelaide of Regensburg**

Possible wife of Stephen II (r. 1116-1131)

Burial place: Walderbach Cloister, Bavaria

Monastic Order: Cistercian

Location within church: First in the Chapter House, then the northern most of three apses, and then finally at the crossing (?)

Date of the tombstone: Sometime between the mid-12<sup>th</sup> century and 1488

Material of tombstone: Unknown

Size: Unknown

Inscription: Hoc in sarcophago pausat generosa propago/ De Stephning Comitum, tegit hos marmorque politum/ Quorum progenitor fertur Landgravius Otto./ Fit genitos genitor genitis Fridericus in octo./ Otto Comes victu Monachos sectans amictu,/ Mundum cum flore spremit virtutis amore,/ Nobilis Vngariae Regina... fuit horum,/ Reddita quae patria iacet hic in sorte suorum.

Item of power: Unknown

Ornamentation: Unknown

Description:

Referenced in the fifteenth century, the original does not seem to have survived.

Bibliography:

Wertner, Mór. *Az Árpádok családi Története*. Nagybecskerek: Pleitz, 1892.

**XII. 5 Sarcophagus of Constance of Aragon (1179-1222)**

Wife of Emeric (r. 1196-1204), First wife of Holy Roman Emperor Frederick II (r. 1212-1250)

Burial place: Palermo Cathedral

Location within church: First chapel along the west wall

Date of Tombstone: Roman era; c. 1222

Material of sarcophagus: White Marble

Size: Unknown

Inscription: +SICANIE REGINA FVI CONSTANTIA CONIVNX AVGVSTA HIC HABITO NVNC FEDERICE TVA

Ornamentation: Battle scene on a re-used Roman sarcophagus

Proximity to other graves: Buried with members of the de Hauteville and Hohenstaufen dynasties

Commissioned: Re-used Roman sarcophagus, most likely ordered by her second husband, Frederick II

Description:

A re-used white marble Roman sarcophagus depicting a hunting scene which was then used to house the body of Constance of Aragon.

Bibliography:

Tünde Mikes. "Katalónia és Magyarország: történelem, politika, dinasztikus kapcsolatok."

[Cataluña and Hungary: history, politics, and dynastic relations] In Marina Miquel,

Romon Sarobe, Ferenc Makk, Csaba Tóth, coordinators, *Királylányok messzi földről:*

*Magyarország és Katalónia a középkorban.* [Princesses from afar: Hungary and Catalonia in the Middle Ages]. Budapest & Barcelona: Hungarian National Museum & Catalanian History Museum, 2009, 27-45.



**XII. 6 Epitaph of Constance of Aragon (1179-1222)**

Wife of Emeric (r. 1196-1204), First wife of Holy Roman Emperor Frederick II (r. 1212-1250)

Burial place: Cathedral of Palermo

Location within church: Inside sarcophagus

Date of Tombstone: c. 1222

Material of epitaph: Silver

Size: Diameter 12 cm, Thickness 0.1 cm

Inscription:

HOC:EST:CORPVS:D[omi]NE:CONSTANCIE:ILLVSTRIS:ROMANORUM:IMPERATRICIS  
:SEMPER:AVGUSTE:ET:REGINE:SICILIE:VXORIS:DOMINI:IMPERATORIS:FREDERICI:  
ET:FILIE:REGIS:ARAGONUM:OBITT:AVTEM:ANNO:DOMINICE:INCARNACIONIS:MIL  
LESIMO:CC:XX:II:XXII:IVNII:X:INDICTI:IN:CIVITATE:CATANIE:

Item of power: None, just text

Ornamentation: None, just text

Proximity to other graves: Buried with members of the de Hauteville and Hohenstaufen dynasties

Commissioned: c. 1222

Description:

A small silver plate identifying the deceased as Constance of Aragon, Queen of Sicily.

Bibliography:

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**XII. 7 Sarcophagus of Gertrude of Meran (1185-1213)**

First wife of Andrew II (r. 1205-1235)

Burial place: Pilis Abbey

Monastic Order: Cistercian

Location within church: Western part of the crossing (Grave # 57)

Date of Tombstone: 1220-1230

Material of sarcophagus: Red marble and limestone

Size: 215 x 115 cm

Inscription: ...ANNO... PERHENNIS...

Item of power 1: Possibly a crown

Ornamentation: Gothic architecture, Angels, Apostles.

Commissioned: After the murder of the queen

Description:

This sarcophagus would have depicted the Queen lying in state with her head resting on a pillow that an angel would have been holding.

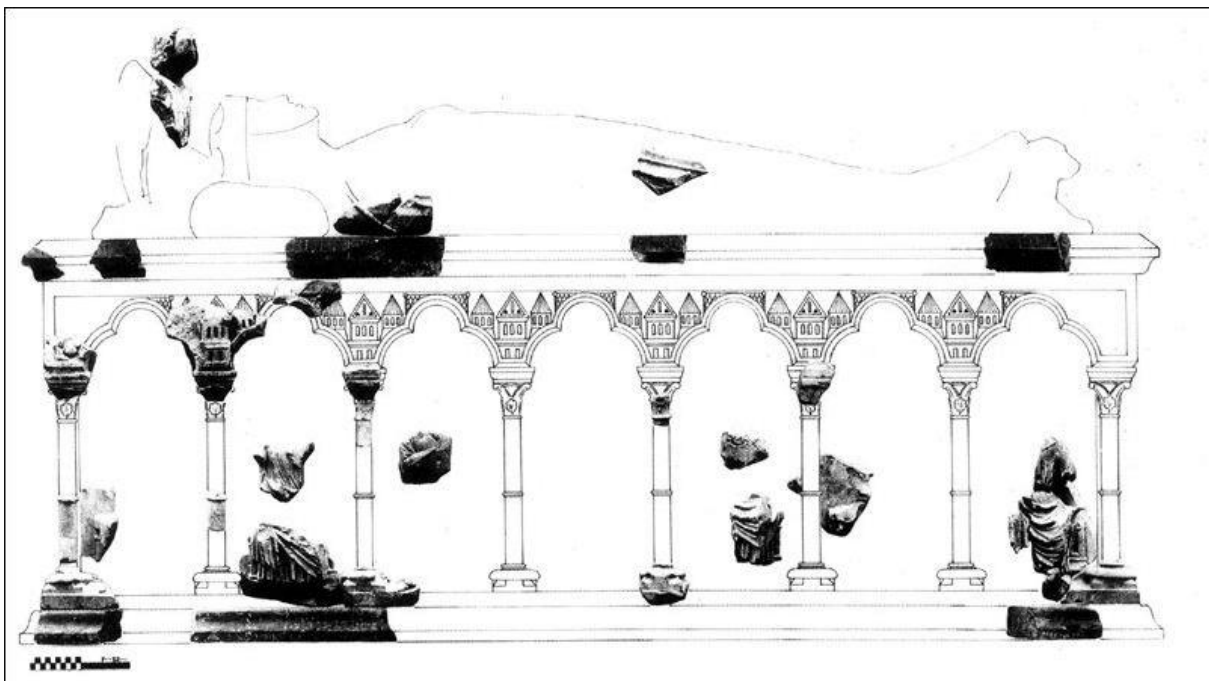
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**XII. 8 Grave of Agnes (Habsburg) of Austria (1281-1364)**

Second wife of Andrew III (r. 1290-1301)

Burial place: Abbey of Königsfelden

Monastic Order: Clarisses (Franciscan)

Location within church: Central

Date of Tombstone: Late 14<sup>th</sup> century (?)

Material of tombstone: Stone

Size: Large

Inscription: in German

Ornamentation: Rounded niches

Proximity to other graves: Graves of the Habsburg family

Commissioned: By Agnes

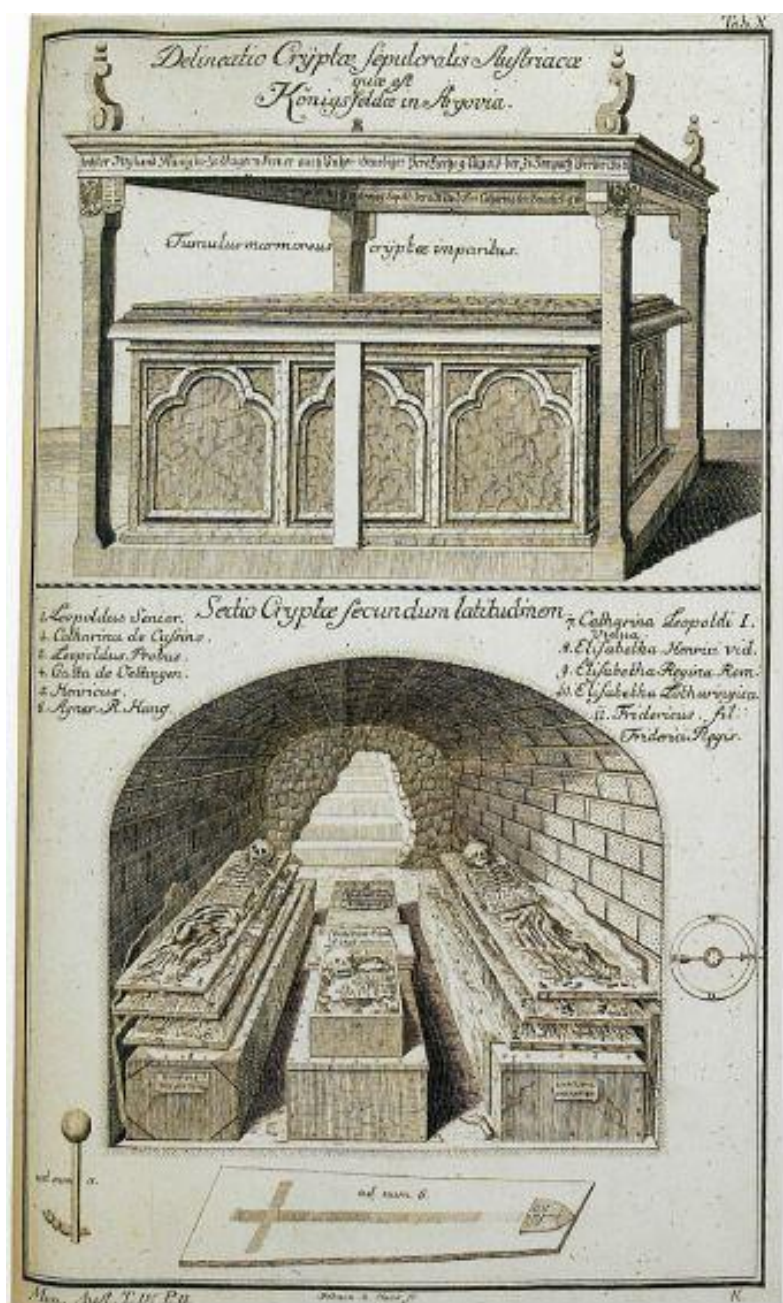
Description:

This cenotaph in the center of the Abbey Church for the Königsfelden double monastery would have housed the remains of several members of Agnes' family. Her own grave in the crypt would have been distinguished by a slab incised with a cross featuring a small double-barred Hungarian cross in a shield at the base.

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Lauro, Brigitta. *Die Grabstätten der Habsburger: Kunstdenkmäler einer europäischen Dynastie*. Vienna: Brandstätter, 2007.



#### XIV.1 Sword of Attila

First half of the 10<sup>th</sup> century

Central-Eastern European workshop

Sabre: steel, copper, gold, wood, fish skin, silver, precious stones; Handle: wood, leather, and gold.

Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna (formerly in Aix-la-Chapelle Rathaus).

Length: 90.5 cm

Inventory No. XIII 5

Gift: from Anastasia of Kiev to Otto of Bavaria (late eleventh century)

Description:

This sword was probably originally made for a leading Hungarian warrior, and was used mostly on the steppes. Nonetheless, the legend surrounded it that it had originally been the sword of Attila the Hun, and that it made its way to Charlemagne after his campaign against the Avars in 796. It wound its way to the Hungarian court where Anastasia of Kiev presented it as a gift to Otto of Bavaria to secure his aid in recapturing the Hungarian throne for her son, Salamon.

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