

Doctoral Dissertation

**Between Personal Devotion and Political Propaganda:
Iconographic Aspects in the Representation of the *sancti reges Hungariae* in
Church Mural Painting (14th Century – Early-16th Century)**

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1. Introduction

This doctoral dissertation examines the cult and iconography of the holy kings of Hungary (*sancti reges Hungariae*) during the fourteenth to the early-sixteenth century as they appear from the perspective of religious mural painting. Judging by the great number of surviving murals with their image, the representation of the holy kings of Hungary on the walls of churches was a highly-popular phenomenon during the Late Middle Ages that served both religious and political purposes.

The collective depiction in church painting of the holy kings of Hungary – namely, St. Stephen, St. Emeric, and St. Ladislav – appeared as a consequence of their joint cult which emerged around the mid-fourteenth century in the royal milieu. During the reigns of King Louis I of Anjou (1342-1382) and King Sigismund of Luxemburg (1387-1437), this collective depiction spread in great extent among the noblemen of the kingdom. It then continued to be popular among the country's various estates and ethnic groups throughout the following century and until the spread of the Reformation (first half of the sixteenth century).

Secular and sacred figures alike, the three holy kings of Hungary were highly cherished for the role they have played in the existence of both the Hungarian Kingdom and its Catholic Church, having managed to acquire their sanctity precisely on account of their major part assumed during their lives in the country's political and religious affairs. The veneration of the *sancti reges Hungariae* by the kingdom's various estates and ethnic groups, and the subsequent commissioning of murals with their image functioned sometimes as a statement of the donor's political allegiance either to the king or directly to the kingdom. However, the political component of these depictions did not exclude the personal veneration of the three royal saints by the murals' commissioners, many of them being (or having their family members) named after them. The *sancti reges Hungariae* succeeded to become a powerful symbol of the country, which was used equally by Hungarian kings and nobility: the former for proving their legitimacy to rule the kingdom, whereas the latter for showing their political allegiance to the ruling king or – whenever the king's person was considered unsuitable to rule – directly to the kingdom and against the king himself. During the fifteenth century, the veneration of St. Stephen, St. Emeric, and St. Ladislav disseminated in various degrees among all the kingdom's estates (i.e., Hungarian and Szekler noblemen, Saxon citizens, etc.), ethnic groups (i.e., Hungarians, Saxons, Slovaks, Szeklers, Vlachs/Romanians, etc.), and even confessions (i.e., Catholic and Orthodox). The outcome of this long process was the final transformation of the *sancti reges Hungariae* into veritable symbols of the country/kingdom.

1. 1. Presentation of Research Topic

The research this dissertation deals with is an examination of the iconography of the holy kings of Hungary (*sancti reges Hungariae*) as reflected in religious mural painting between the fourteenth century and the early sixteenth century. This inquiry, which covers the territory of the medieval Kingdom of Hungary, has as main purpose the understanding of a significant aspect of medieval art in its complexity as a religious, political, and social phenomenon.

Contrarily to prevalent scholarly opinion, the medieval concept of the *sancti reges Hungariae* was not an immutable reality that designated throughout the Middle Ages the same three royal saints,¹ namely: St. Stephen (r. 1000/1001-1038), the founder of the Christian Kingdom of Hungary, who deserved his sanctity for having ruled as *rex iustus* and having converted his people to Christianity; St. Emeric (1000/1007-1031), the former's son, a pious and chaste prince, who was educated to become a virtuous Christian ruler, but died before succeeding his father to the throne; and St. Ladislav (r. 1077-1095), ideal ruler and knight, the country's defender against pagan enemies, and *athleta patriae*.² Depending on religious and political circumstances, this concept proved itself exclusive and inclusive throughout time, designating either: the effective rulers St. Stephen and St. Ladislav; the Árpadian royal trio which was traditionally accepted by art-historical scholarship and which included also St. Emeric; or other royal saints, too, like St. Sigismund of Burgundy (r. 516-523/4), the personal patron saint of Sigismund of Luxemburg, the ruling King of Hungary. It is, therefore, suitable for the time being to include in this concept all the iconic representations of holy kings, either collective or separate, in order to determine the meaning of the concept of the *sancti reges Hungariae* and to outline its evolution throughout the Middle Ages.

The choice for this temporal and spatial framework – the fourteenth century to the early-sixteenth century and the territory of the medieval Kingdom of Hungary, respectively – is not without motivation. As supported by surviving evidence, the representation of the *sancti reges Hungariae* in church mural painting emerged as a coherent phenomenon towards the end of the reign of King Charles I of Anjou (1301/1308-1342), and flourished during the reigns of King Louis the Great (1342-1382) and King Sigismund of Luxemburg (1387-1437). Later on, it competed with

¹ The three-king concept of the *sancti reges Hungariae* was taken for granted in previous scholarship until recently, when this opinion was challenged: Dragoş-Gheorghe Năstăsoiu, “*Sancti reges Hungariae* in Mural Painting of Late-medieval Hungary”, MA Thesis (Budapest: Central European University, 2009); idem, “Political Aspects of the Mural Representations of *sancti reges Hungariae* in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries”, *Annual of Medieval Studies at CEU* 16 (2010), 93-119. The research undertaken then opened new paths of investigation and offered the premises for the current doctoral research.

² For a typological approach to dynastic sainthood in medieval Central Europe, see Gábor Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses. Dynastic Cults in Medieval Central Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), esp. pp. 114-294 for the Hungarian dynastic saints.

the fifteenth- and sixteenth-century multiplication of pictorial media, and then decreased sensitively in number and importance after the middle of the sixteenth century, that is, in the aftermath of the particular treatment of images by the Reformation.³ The geographical framework covers the territory of the medieval Kingdom of Hungary, which included then parts of countries such as present-day Austria, Croatia, Hungary, Slovakia, Slovenia, Romania, and Ukraine. This is so, because the holy kings of Hungary were mainly regional saints, who have enjoyed a great popularity in this particular area, and because their veneration in other regions (e.g., medieval Italy) has been an occasional event determined by reasons pertaining to personal veneration and not having had major implications for their general cult and iconography.

Only by keeping in mind these three coordinates – namely, the variability of the *sancti reges Hungariae* concept, the more-than-two-century development in religious mural painting of this iconographic theme, and its regional distribution, respectively –, one can offer a new and integrative perspective, as well as a significant contribution to the research on the iconography of the holy kings of Hungary.

The main aim of this new research is to offer a better understanding of one of the most significant aspects of medieval religious art in Hungary by examining the various factors (i.e., religious, theological, devotional, political, social, etc.) that shaped the representation of the *sancti reges Hungariae* in religious mural painting, and to recover the various facets of meaning that these pictorial sources have had in the time of their creation. In other words, this research aims to examine the popularity of the cult of the holy kings of Hungary through its associated representations (viewed as means of promoting the cult and ensuring its success), as well as to emphasize the particular aspects of private devotion and artistic patronage (viewed as implements of this success) between the fourteenth century and the early-sixteenth century. The research starts from the assumption that the dual nature of Hungary's holy kings – both sacred (religious) and secular (political) characters, who played a significant role in the history of the Hungarian Church and State – is reflected also in their iconography in church decoration. This was a complex phenomenon likewise defined and configured by religious, theological and, sometimes, political thinking. Subsequently, one of the objectives of this research is to identify in what extent this dual nature is traceable in the pictorial representations of Hungary's holy kings and to emphasize the strategies employed to display visually the prominence of either religious/theological or political

³ For an overview of the cult and iconography of the *sancti reges Hungariae* from the thirteenth to seventeenth century, see Terézia Kerny, "A magyar szent királyok tisztelete és ikonográfiája a XIII. századtól a XVII. századig" [The cult and iconography of the Hungarian holy kings between the 13th century and 17th century], in *Az ezeréves ifjú. Tanulmányok szent Imre herceg 1000 évéről* [The one-thousand-year-old youth. studies on Saint Duke Emeric's 1000 years], ed. Tamás Lőrincz (Székesfehérvár: Szent Imre Templom, 2007), 79-123.

meaning, as well as their interaction. Another aim is to examine the great popularity of the cult and iconography of the *sancti reges Hungariae* by addressing the questions of medieval devotional practices and artistic patronage as means of spreading the cult and its iconography. Differently expressed, the research aims to examine the devotional and social factors contributing to the great success of this representation in religious mural painting.⁴ The objective of this research is, therefore, to examine the interaction of religious, theological, devotional, political, and social factors as means of shaping and spreading the representation in religious mural painting of the holy kings of Hungary.

1. 2. Relevance of the Topic for Scholarship

Art-historical scholarship regarded the iconography of the *sancti reges Hungariae* as a significant, but uniform product of medieval religious art. A previously-neglected aspect is represented by the processes of omission and addition of various royal saints occurring at different times in this iconography. These selective, iconographic processes are extremely meaningful, because they show the complex interplay of factors – e.g., the shift of emphasis from religious/theological to political, from political to religious/theological, or these two factors' interaction – which the pictorial representations of the holy kings of Hungary registered in different contexts and periods.⁵ They also reveal an iconography with variable meaning that needs ground-breaking investigation.

By revealing the devotional and political implications of the *sancti reges Hungariae* iconography, this research aims to recover the initial meaning of the pictorial sources and to provide for a more thorough knowledge of the way the holy kings were conceived and perceived by the commissioners and worshippers of their images. It also aims to better understand the visual strategies employed by medieval iconographers and painters to communicate or to emphasize these various sides of meaning.

The investigation of the devotional and social factors contributing to the diffusion of the iconography of the holy kings of Hungary enables the understanding of how the *sancti reges*

⁴ These research aims have equal importance in the dissertation, despite their listing here in a particular order which might suggest a certain hierarchy.

⁵ These aspects were only outlined in Năstăsoiu, “*Sancti reges Hungariae*”, 45-66; they were carried further partially in: idem, “Political Aspects”, 93-119; idem, “The Pillars of the Medieval Hungarian State and Church”, in *Matérialité et immatérialité dans l'Église au Moyen Âge. Actes du colloque organisé par: Le Centre d'Études Médiévales de l'Université de Bucharest, Le New Europe College de Bucharest et L'Université Charles-de-Gaulle Lille 3 à Bucarest les 22 et 23 octobre 2010*, ed. Stéphanie Diane Daussy et al. (Bucharest: Editura Universității din București, 2012), 453-466.

Hungariae were perceived and understood by a medieval audience, which venerated them and paid for their representation in church decoration. This aspect was explored by scholars only in connection with precise monuments where the depiction of the Hungarian royal saints occurs, but it was not regarded as a phenomenon connected specifically with them.⁶ Using such significant scholarly contributions (and attempting new ones for those cases when written evidence allows it and was not done before) is beneficial for the identification of commissioners, of their social status and political role, or of their particular devotion for the holy kings of Hungary. Considering the direct patronage attested by names, the vows or pledges made to these saints for specific reasons, the royal saints' invocation as a political statement, or their representation as a conveyer of social status, etc. – all these phenomena play a key-role in establishing the patterns of private devotion and artistic patronage, two aspects which are strongly interrelated. The examination of the social aspects surrounding the popularity and diffusion of the cult and iconography of the holy kings of Hungary brings a new contribution to scholarly knowledge and supplements with new data the understanding of phenomena of devotional practice and artistic patronage in medieval Hungary, situating them sometimes in the broader, Central and Western European contexts.

Last but not least, the uncovering of medieval wall paintings undertaken by restorers in recent years (especially in Transylvania) brought to light several new depictions of holy kings which were previously unknown, whereas the cleaning and restoration of other mural ensembles facilitated the analysis of older, already-known representations.⁷ This new, pictorial evidence

⁶ There are, however, several exceptions: Béla Zsolt Szakács, "Saints of the Knights – Knights of the Saints: Patterns of Patronage at the Court of Sigismund", in *Sigismund von Luxemburg: ein Kaiser in Europa. Tagungsband des internationalen historischen und kunsthistorischen Kongresses in Luxemburg, 8.-10. Juni 2005*, ed. Michel Pauly and François Reinert (Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern, 2006), 319-330; Terézia Kerny, "Patronage of St. Ladislav Fresco Cycles during the Sigismund Period in Connection with a Contract of Inheritance", in *Bonum ut pulchrum. Essays in Art History in Honour of Ernő Marosi on His Seventieth Birthday*, ed. Livia Varga et al. (Budapest: MTA Művészettörténeti Kutatóintézet, 2010), 259-272 (henceforth: Varga, *Bonum ut pulchrum*). When discussing patrons of particular monuments, scholars referred occasionally to these ones' devotion for the *sancti reges Hungariae*; for such studies, see especially: Tamás Bogyay, "A bántornyai falképek donátorairól" [On the donors of the wall paintings in Turnišče], *Ars Hungarica* 14/2 (1986), 147-158; Anca Gogăltan, "Patronage and Artistic Production: The Apafis and the Church in Mălâncrav (Fourteenth-Fifteenth Centuries)", PhD Diss. (Budapest: Central European University, 2003); Anca Gogăltan and Dóra Sallay, "The Church of Mălâncrav/Almakerék and the Holy Blood Chapel of Nicholas Apa", in *Arhitectura religioasă medievală din Transilvania. Középkori egyházi építészet Erdélyben. Medieval Ecclesiastical Architecture in Transylvania*, ed. Adrian Andrei Rusu and Péter Levente Szőcs (Satu Mare: Editura Muzeului Sătmărean, 2002), 2: 181-210; Béla Zsolt Szakács, "Palatine Lackfi and His Saints. Frescos in the Franciscan Church of Keszthely", in *Promoting the Saints. Cults and Their Contexts from Late Antiquity until the Early Modern Period. Essays in Honor of Gábor Klaniczay for His 60th Birthday*, ed. Ottó Gecser et al. (Budapest: CEU Press, 2011), 207-225 (henceforth: Gecser, *Promoting the Saints*); idem, "Three Patrons for a Single Church: the Franciscan Friary at Keszthely", in *Le plaisir de l'art du Moyen Âge. Commande, production et réception de l'oeuvre d'art. Mélanges en hommage à Xavier Barral i Altet*, ed. Rosa Alcoy et al. (Paris: Picard, 2012), 193-200; Zsombor Jékely, "Regions and Interregional Connections. A Group of Frescoes in the Kingdom of Hungary from around 1420", *Ars* 40/2 (2007), 158-162. I shall refer to other, relevant studies dealing with patrons and the problem of patronage also when addressing specific monuments in the dissertation.

⁷ For instance, since the beginning of my PhD research in September 2010, new representations of holy kings were uncovered in the following Transylvanian monuments: Bădești (St. Sigismund), Dârlos (Sts Stephen and Ladislav),

together with the older one should be taken into consideration and treated monographically alongside the secondary evidence, namely, the visual or written information on mural ensembles which are now lost or have been greatly damaged in the meantime. This type of secondary evidence includes, on the one hand, watercolor copies or drawings of murals made during the nineteenth and early-twentieth century, and, on the other hand, travel accounts containing descriptions of medieval monuments and their wall paintings. The integration of all this material in the iconographic analysis constitutes a new approach which can offer a more thorough knowledge of the complex phenomenon represented by the inclusion of the *sancti reges Hungariae* in the iconographic program of churches across the territory of the medieval Kingdom of Hungary.

1. 3. Overview of Previous Scholarship

The iconography of Sts Stephen, Emeric, and Ladislas was in the attention of Hungarian scholars already since the Interwar period, when several important studies were written on the topic of their pictorial representation.⁸ Brought together on account of their belonging to the same House of Árpád – which St. Elizabeth of Hungary/Thuringia was also part of, being subsequently included in the analysis – all four Árpadian saints represented the focus of these works. However, the iconography of each saint was regarded separately and, although noted, the collective depiction of the three holy kings of Hungary was seldom scrutinized as a distinct iconographic theme.⁹ After the World War II and up to present day, significant contributions to the topic of the pictorial representation of the *sancti reges Hungariae* have been continuously added to the theme.¹⁰ Art

Ighişu Nou (St. Oswald), Ormeniș (probably St. Emeric), Șmig (Sts Stephen and Ladislas), and Tătărlău (St. Emeric). The restoration of other mural ensembles (e.g., Remetea, Ribița, Sântana de Mureș, Sic, etc.) allows one now a better evaluation and analysis of the murals. Similar situations are encountered also in Hungarian, Slovak, or Ukrainian monuments.

⁸ András Péter, “Árpádházi Szent István, Szent Imre és Szent László a középkori művészetben (Ikonográfiai tanulmány)” [Saint Stephen, Saint Emeric, and Saint Ladislas of Árpád House in medieval art (Iconographic study)], PhD Diss. (Budapest: Magyar Királyi Pázmány Péter Tudományegyetem [Eötvös Lóránd Tudományegyetem], 1925); György Tarczai [Kornél Divald], *Az Árpádházi szentjei* [The Saints of the Árpád House] (Budapest: Szent István Tarsulat, 1930). András Péter’s doctoral dissertation was published recently in Mária Prokopp and Károly Tóth, ed., “Kettős kötődésben.” *Péter András (1903-1944) életműve. Írások a régi és a kortárs művészetről* [“In double binding.” The oeuvre of András Péter (1903-1944). Writings on old and contemporary art] (Budapest: Péter András Alapítvány, 2014), 25-75. Further mentioning of this work refers to the dissertation’s published version.

⁹ Another study should be added to the previous titles concerning the Interwar scholarship on the iconography of the holy kings of Hungary regarded individually: Antal Leopold, “Szent István király ikonográfiája” [Iconography of King Saint Stephen], in *Emlékkönyv Szent István halálának kilencszázadik évfordulóján* [Studies on the nine hundredth Anniversary of Saint Stephen’s death], ed. Jusztián Serédi, (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1938), 3: 113-154. As indicated by its title, this study is concerned only with St. Stephen’s iconography; this tendency of treating separately the iconography of each of the three holy kings was sometimes maintained also in later studies.

¹⁰ For historiographical and bibliographical overviews on the topic of the iconography of Hungary’s holy kings, either separate or collective, see: Kerny, “Magyar szent királyok XIII.-XVII. sz.”, 108-109 (on the three holy kings); eadem, ed., *Szent Imre 1000 éve. Tanulmányok Szent Imre tiszteletére születésének ezredik évfordulója alkalmából. 1000 Jahre*

historians like Ernő Marosi,¹¹ Terézia Kerny,¹² Tünde Wehli,¹³ or Györgyi Poszler¹⁴ directed their attention in various occasions to the topic of the iconography of the three holy kings of Hungary, an iconography which they regarded both individually and collectively. On the one hand, they were concerned with identifying the time when one can speak about the emergence of the collective representation of St. Stephen, St. Emeric, and St. Ladislav, and outlined subsequently the evolution of this iconography throughout the Middle Ages. On the other hand, by looking closely at parallels from diverse pictorial media, such as panel, mural and manuscript painting, numismatics, sculpture, etc., they established the iconographic particularities that were characteristic for the depiction of each of the three saints.

Because the earliest depictions of the Árpadian royal saints are connected not with the Kingdom of Hungary, but with medieval Italy, the focus was on these foreign, iconographic antecedents and on the circumstances of their emergence in Assisi and the Kingdom of Naples, respectively.¹⁵ After the death of the last Árpadian king, Andrew III (r. 1290-1301),¹⁶ the

heiliger Emmerich. Beiträge zu Ehren des heiligen Emmerich anlässlich seines 1000. Geburtstages (Székesfehérvár: Székesfehérvári Egyházmegyei Múzeum, 2007), esp. pp. 318-344 (on St. Emeric) (henceforth: Kerny, *Szent Imre 1000 éve*); eadem, “Szent László tiszteletének kutatástörténete (1977-2007)” [History of the research on Saint Ladislav’s cult (1977-2007)], *Arrabona* 46/1 (2008), 15-35 (on St. Ladislav).

¹¹ See especially: Ernő Marosi, “Der heilige Ladislaus als ungarischer Nationalheiliger. Bemerkungen zu seiner Ikonographie im 14.-15. Jh.,” *Acta Historiae Artium Hungariae* 33/3-4 (1987-1988), 211-256, esp. pp. 232-234 for the *sancti reges Hungariae* iconography; idem, *Kép és hasonmás. Művészet és valóság a 14-15. századi Magyarországon* [Image and likeness. Art and reality in 14th- and 15th-century Hungary] (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1995), 69; idem, “Saints at Home and Abroad. Some Observations on the Creation of Iconographic Types in Hungary in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries”, in Gecser, *Promoting the Saints*, 175-205. For his other studies, see below.

¹² See especially: Kerny, “Magyar szent királyok XIII.-XVII. sz.,” 80-88; eadem, “A magyar szent királyok tisztelete és ikonográfiája a XIV. század közepéig” [The Cult and iconography of the holy Hungarian kings around mid-14th century], in Kerny, *Szent Imre 1000 éve*, 73-82; eadem, “Szent László középkori tisztelete és ikonográfiája” [Saint Ladislav’s medieval cult and iconography], in *Ave Rex Ladislaus*, ed. Terézia Kerny and Zoltán Móser (Budapest: Paulus Hungarus Kairosz, 2000), 30-39; eadem, “Magyar szent királyok középkori kompozíciói a templomok külső falain” [Medieval compositions of Hungarian holy kings on the exterior walls of churches], in *Omnis creatura significans. Tanulmányok Prokopp Mária 70. születésnapjára. Essays in Honor of Mária Prokopp*, ed. Anna Tüskés (Budapest: CentrArt Egyesület, 2009), 81-88. For her other studies, see below.

¹³ See especially: Tünde Wehli, “Az 1083-ban kanonizált szentek kultusza középkori művészetünkben” [The cult of the saints Canonized in 1083 in medieval arts], in *Művelődéstörténeti tanulmányok a magyar középkorról* [Historical studies on the Hungarian Middle Ages], ed. Erik Fügedi (Budapest: Gondolat, 1986), 54-60; eadem, “Szent István kultusza a középkori magyarországi művészetben” [Saint Stephen’s cult in medieval Hungarian arts], in *Doctor et apostol. Szent István tanulmányok* [Doctor et apostol. Saint Stephen studies], ed. József Török (Budapest: Márton Áron Kiadó, 1994), 107-140 (henceforth: Török, *Doctor et apostol*); eadem, “Szent István király ábrázolása a középkori magyarországi művészetben” [King Saint Stephen’s representation in medieval Hungarian arts], in *Szent István és az államalapítás* [Saint Stephen and the state foundation], ed. László Veszprémy (Budapest: Osiris, 2002), 162-172 (henceforth: Veszprémy, *Szent István és az államalapítás*). For her other studies, see below.

¹⁴ Györgyi Poszler, “Az Árpád-házi szent királyok a magyar középkor századaiban” [The holy kings of the Árpád House along the centuries of Hungarian Middle Ages], in *Történelem – kép. Szemelvények múlt és művészet kapcsolatából Magyarországon. Geschichte – Geschichtsbild. Die Beziehung von Vergangenheit und Kunst in Ungarn*, ed. Árpád Mikó and Katalin Sinkó (Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Galéria, 2000), 170-187 (henceforth: Mikó and Sinkó, *Történelem – kép*).

¹⁵ For the veneration of the *sancti reges Hungariae* in medieval Italy and their occurrence in the religious art of this region, see especially: Mária Prokopp, “Magyar szentek az itáliai trecento festészetben” [Hungarian saints in Italian Trecento painting], in *Magyar szentek tisztelete és ereklyéi* [Cults and relics of Hungarian saints], ed. Pál Cséfalvy and Ildikó Kontsek (Esztergom: Keresztény Múzeum, 2000), 25-35; eadem, “Simone Martini: A Szt. Erzsébet kápolna

Neapolitan Charles Robert (Caroberto) of Anjou was the successful claimant to the Hungarian throne. Willing to prove his legitimate right to become king and his suitability to continue the work of his predecessors, Charles Robert resorted to the efficient strategy of asserting sacred ascendance and, consequently, promoted the Árpadian saints together with those of his own, Angevin dynasty. According to Gábor Klaniczay, King Charles I's attempt of legitimizing the newly-founded dynasty by means of holiness can be tracked not only at a political and propagandistic level, but also at the level of Charles' personal veneration and piety for his *beata stirps*, equally *Angevina* and *Arpadiana*.¹⁷ His successor, King Louis the Great, tried to relate the Hungarian dynastic cults to similar European ones – this had as natural consequence the forging of political capital for the purposes of the Angevin dynasty in the eyes of the political adversaries and allies of King Louis I.¹⁸ This was also the time when a more consistent and exclusive association of the three holy kings of Hungary occurred in written sources, a phenomenon which was paralleled also in the field of religious mural painting.¹⁹ Another change of dynasty in 1387 did not mean the end of the cult of Hungary's holy kings but its reinforcement, the veneration of the three royal saints spreading rapidly among the noblemen of the kingdom.²⁰ The *sancti reges Hungariae* succeeded soon to become a powerful symbol of the country that was used equally by Hungarian kings and nobility: the former for proving their legitimacy to rule the kingdom, whereas the latter resorting on it as a statement of political allegiance to the ruling king or, whenever the king's person was considered unsuitable to rule, directly to the kingdom and against the king himself.²¹ During the fifteenth century, the veneration of and reverence towards St. Stephen, St. Emeric, and St. Ladislav

falképei az Assisi Szt. Ferenc-bazilika also templomában” [Simone Martini: The frescoes of St. Elizabeth Chapel in the Lower Church of St. Francis in Assisi], *Ars Hungarica* 25/1-2 (1997), 47-55; eadem, “Szent Imre Itália művészetében” [Saint Emeric in Italian art], in Kerny, *Szent Imre 1000 éve*, 83-87; eadem, “Szent László középkori ábrázolásai Itáliában. Le rappresentazioni di S. Ladislao, re d’Ungheria in Italia”, in Edit Madas and Zoltán György Horváth, *Középkori prédikációk és falképek Szent László királyról. San Ladislao d’Ungheria nella predicazione e nei dipinti murali* (Budapest: Romanika Kiadó, 2008), 416-424, 456-459; Terézia Kerny, “Középkori Szent László- emlékek nyomában Nápolyban” [Tracing Saint Ladislav's medieval relics in Naples], *Ars Hungarica* 26/1 (1998), 52-65. Some of these works of art will be later discussed in the dissertation.

¹⁶ His name is connected to the iconography of Hungary's holy kings through a diptych, which is kept today in the Historisches Museum in Bern. On one of its panels, Sts Stephen, Emeric, and Ladislav are depicted together for the first time; they appear, however, in the company of St. Elizabeth of Hungary/Thuringia and various other saints. This diptych will be later discussed in the dissertation.

¹⁷ Gábor Klaniczay, “Rois saints et les Anjou de Hongrie”, *Alba Regia* 22 (1985), 57-66; idem, *Holy Rulers*, 324-326.

¹⁸ Ibid., 341-342.

¹⁹ Năstăsoiu, “*Sancti reges Hungariae*”, 23-31; idem, “Political Aspects”, 94-100.

²⁰ Gábor Klaniczay, “La noblesse et le culte des saints dynastiques sous les rois angevins”, in *La noblesse dans les territoires Angevins à la fin du Moyen Âge. Actes du colloque international organisé par l’Université d’Angers, Angers-Saumur, 3-6 juin 1998*, ed. Noël Coulet and Jean-Michel Matz (Rome: École française de Rome, 2000), 511-526 (henceforth: Coulet, *Noblesse dans les territoires Angevins*); Szakács, “Saints of the Knights”, 319-330.

²¹ The powerful symbol of one of Hungary's holy kings was used against the king himself in 1402, when Hungarian aristocracy conspired against Sigismund of Luxemburg and swore an oath on St. Ladislav's relics in Oradea. The anti-Sigismund coalition supported the claims for the Hungarian throne of Ladislav of Naples. This event will be later discussed in the dissertation.

disseminated in various degrees among all the kingdom's estates (Hungarian and Szekler noblemen, Saxon citizens, etc.), ethnic groups (Hungarians, Saxons, Slovaks, Szeklers, Vlachs/Romanians, etc.), and even confessions (Catholic and Orthodox). The outcome of this process was the transformation of the *sancti reges Hungariae* into veritable symbols of the country/kingdom.²² During the successive political changes of the fifteenth century, the iconography of the holy kings of Hungary continued unhindered its existence in church decoration, being reinforced by the new fashion of winged altarpieces and the rising popularity of printed books. All these artistic media knew as well the depiction of Hungary's holy kings.²³

Despite the significant number of studies dedicated to the topic of the iconography of the holy kings of Hungary, their authors did not offer generally a comprehensive and all-encompassing account for the meaning their representations had in the time of their creation. The opinion was somehow divided on the basis of national criteria. On the one hand, Hungarian scholars like Ernő Marosi²⁴ or Szilveszter Terdik²⁵ transformed the holy kings of Hungary into national symbols, stating that everyone in the Middle Ages – no matter of their ethnicity and confession – worshipped. They invested thus unequivocally the holy kings of Hungary with the quality of national symbols, a quality which they undoubtedly acquired in time, but did not possess from the very beginning of their representation in the Middle Ages. For instance, the intense promotion of the cult of the holy kings of Hungary by their direct descendant King Charles I (for whom the *sancti reges Hungariae* were holy predecessors and dynastic saints), or their representation in several Transylvanian churches founded by Romanian Orthodox noblemen (for whom Hungary's holy kings were Catholic saints and guarantors of their noble status) warns one against the undifferentiated understanding of Sts Stephen, Emeric, and Ladislas as national symbols (at least throughout the

²² Gábor Klaniczay, "National Saints on Late Medieval Universities", in *Die ungarische Universitätsbildung und Europa*, ed. Márta Font and László Szögi (Pécs: Tér Nyomdai és Grafikai Stúdió, 2001), 87-108.

²³ Kerny, "Magyar szent királyok XIII.-XVII. sz.", 97-101. The current doctoral research deals only with the iconography of the holy kings of Hungary in religious mural painting, both because of the coherence of this phenomenon and because of the great number of preserved visual sources. Even though this division is arbitrary, reference is made throughout the dissertation to images of holy kings created in various pictorial media (e.g., panel painting, book illumination, numismatics, goldsmith works, etc.) that are relevant from an iconographic point of view. The thorough examination of the iconography of the *sancti reges Hungariae* in all these media remains a possible direction for further research; however, this would be a task difficult to accomplish within the limits of this doctoral dissertation which analyzes an already-great number of murals. For representations of Árpadian dynastic saints (St. Elizabeth of Hungary included) in East-Slovak panel paintings in the fifteenth and early-sixteenth century, see: Veronika Vagaská, "Árpádovskí dynastickí svätci a ich mesto v tabuľovej maľbe 15. a počiatku 16. storočia na východnom Slovensku" [Árpadian dynastic saints and their place in panel painting in the 15th and the beginning of the 16th century in Eastern Slovakia], BA Thesis (Prague: Univerzita Karlova v Praze, 2014).

²⁴ Marosi, "Hl. Ladislaus als Nationalheiliger", 232-234; idem, *Kép és hasonmás*, 69.

²⁵ Szilveszter Terdik, "A magyar szent királyok ábrázolásai román orthodox templomokban" [The representation of the Hungarian holy kings in Romanian Orthodox churches], in Kerny, *Szent Imre 1000 éve*, 96-98.

fourteenth and early-fifteenth century).²⁶ These cases require a more nuanced interpretation, as well as more refined terms capable to encompass the versatility and polyvalence of the concept of the *sancti reges Hungariae*.²⁷ On the other hand, having been concerned mainly with the particular case of the depiction of Hungary's holy kings in Transylvanian Orthodox churches, Romanian scholars like Silviu Dragomir²⁸ or Vasile Drăguț²⁹ considered the theme's occurrence in church painting as the result of external, political pressure. Taking Dragomir's interpretation as historical fact, Liana Tugearu went even further and conceived Hungary's holy kings in terms of a compromise that "Romanian" Orthodox noblemen were forced to make in order to receive the permission of building

²⁶ Charles I's promotion of the cult of the *sancti reges Hungariae* and their representation in Transylvanian Orthodox churches, respectively, will be later discussed in the dissertation.

²⁷ The term "national" was sometimes used by scholars when referring to the character of the Árpáadian saints' cult: Marosi, "Hl. Ladislaus als Nationalheiliger", 211-256; Klaniczay, "National Saints on Universities", 87-108; these scholars did not interpret Hungary's holy kings in a national or nationalistic manner, but used the term in a conventional manner. In my opinion, however, this term should be avoided altogether when discussing phenomena that occurred during the Middle Ages, i.e., before the rise of the nation-states. As stated above, the cult of the *sancti reges Hungariae* was embraced in various degrees and by various estates (Hungarian and Szekler noblemen, Saxon citizens, etc.), ethnic groups (Hungarians, Saxons, Slovaks, Szeklers, Vlachs/Romanians, etc.), or confessions (Catholic and Orthodox), all of them coexisting in a complex political reality such as the medieval Kingdom of Hungary. Subsequently, discussing Hungary's holy kings in national terms is both inaccurate and anachronistic. Throughout the text of the dissertation, I have used instead expressions such as *patrons* or *patron saints of the kingdom/country* when referring to the *sancti reges Hungariae*, as they seem to reflect better the character of their cult. For an example of anachronistic usage of the term "national," see John Bergsagel, David Hiley, and Thomas Riis, ed., *Of Chronicles and Kings. National Saints and the Emergence of Nation States in the High Middle Ages* (Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, 2015). This is a collection of studies focusing on the cults of various Scandinavian saints, whom the editors conventionally call "national" before having acquired this quality; moreover, the collected studies fail also to touch upon the topic announced by the title, i.e., the emergence of nation states. For the rise of nation states, see especially: Ernest Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1983); Eric J. Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism since 1780: Programme, Myth, Reality* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990); Arthur Kemp, *Europa: The Making of the Nation States. Part Two of the "March of the Titans" Quadriology* (Burlington, IA: Ostara Publications, 2009); Ahmet Ersoy, Maciej Górny, and Vangelis Kechriotis, ed., *Modernism – The Creation of Nation States* (Budapest and New York: Central European University Press, 2010); Edward Weisband and Courtney I. P. Thomas, ed., *Political Culture and the Making of Modern Nation-states* (London and New York: Routledge, 2105). For the multiethnic character of the Hungarian Kingdom in the Middle Ages, see especially: Elemér Mályusz, "A magyarság és a nemzetiségek Mohács előtt" [Hungarians and nationalities before Mohács], in *Magyar művelődéstörténet. Magyar Renaissance* [Cultural history of Hungary. Hungarian Renaissance], ed. Sándor Domanovszky (Budapest: Magyar Történelmi Társulat, 1939), 2: 105-125; Leslie S. Domonkos, "The Multiethnic Character of the Hungarian Kingdom in the Later Middle Ages", in *Transylvania: The Roots of the Ethnic Conflict*, ed. John F. Cadzow et al. (Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press, 1983), 41-60, even though some of the author's interpretations should certainly be emended; Ioan-Aurel Pop, "The Ethno-confessional Structure of Medieval Transylvania and Hungary (9th-14th Centuries)", *Bulletin of the Center for Transylvanian Studies* 3/4 (1994), 1-48; idem, "Nations and Denominations in Transylvania (13th-16th Century)", in *Tolerance and Intolerance in Historical Perspective. Proceedings of a Conference Held in Cluj-Napoca, Romania, and Debrecen, Hungary, September 2003*, ed. Csaba Lévai and Vasile Vese (Pisa: Edizioni Plus, 2003), 111-123; idem, "Religiones and Nationes in Transylvania during the 16th Century: Between Acceptance and Exclusion", *Journal for the Study of Religions and Ideologies* 12/34 (2013), 209-236.

²⁸ Silviu Dragomir, "Vechile biserici din Zărând și ctitorii lor în secolele XIV și XV" [Old churches in Zărând and their ktetors in the 14th and 15th centuries], in *Anuarul Comisiunii Monumentelor Istorice. Secția pentru Transilvania pe anul 1929* [Annual of the Commission of Historical Monuments. Department for Transylvania on the year 1929] (Cluj-Napoca: Editura Tip. Cartea Românească S. A., 1930), 223-264, esp. pp. 231-234.

²⁹ Vasile Drăguț, *Pictura murală din Transilvania (sec. XIV-XV)* [Mural painting in Transylvania (14th-15th centuries)], (Bucharest: Editura Meridiane, 1970), 32, a point of view assumed also in the art historian's later studies.

stone churches and, consequently, to keep their confession.³⁰ Not particularly concerned with the topic of the iconography of the *sancti reges Hungariae*, Slovak scholars assigned to this depiction a mandatory character. Even though they did not specify which factors determined the theme's compulsoriness in medieval church decoration, they sometimes implied a political and propagandistic motivation.³¹ Finally, Croatian scholars understood such occurrences (whenever they appeared in the medieval art produced on the territory of this modern country) in terms of a relationship between center and periphery. Consequently, the cult and iconography of Hungary's holy kings was regarded as a tool of political propaganda employed by Hungarian kings for extending their political influence over these peripheral and (wrongfully-thought) somehow alien territories of the kingdom.³²

In their treatment of the iconography of the holy kings of Hungary, art historians focused only on the cases when St. Stephen, St. Emeric, and St. Ladislav are depicted collectively (i.e., as a trio within a single, iconographic composition) and, subsequently, endowed with uniform meaning their depiction in mural painting. They neglected, therefore, the processes of breaking into pieces the iconographic unit which was accomplished by depicting the holy kings on distinct, but conceptually-unifying wall surfaces (e.g., the pillars of the triumphal arch, where the holy kings

³⁰ Liana Tugearu, "Biserica Adormirea Maicii Domnului din satul Crișcior" [Church of the Dormition of the Holy Virgin in Crișcior village], and "Biserica Sf. Nicolae din com. Ribița (jud. Hunedoara)" [St. Nicholas Church in Ribița village (Hunedoara County)], in *Pagini de veche artă românească. Repertoriul picturilor murale medievale din România (sec. XIV-1450) V/1* [Pages of old Romanian art. Repertory of medieval mural paintings in Romania (14th century-1450) V/1], ed. Vasile Drăguț (Bucharest: Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste România, 1985), 71-97 and 129-147, esp. pp. 78 and 134 (henceforth: Drăguț, *Repertoriul picturilor*). Distinctively, Elena Dana Prioteasa, "The Holy Kings of Hungary in Medieval Orthodox Churches of Transylvania", *Ars Transsilvaniae* 19 (2009), 41-56, used iconographic, religious, social, and political evidence, in order to explain the ktetors' motivation for representing the Catholic royal saints in their Orthodox foundations.

³¹ This type of motivation was assumed as valid especially for St. Ladislav's narrative cycle: Vlasta Dvořáková, Josef Krása, and Karel Stejskal, ed., *Stredoveká nástenná mal'ba na Slovensku* [Medieval mural painting in Slovakia] (Bratislava: Tatran, 1978), 176-177; Vladimír Plekanec and Tomáš Haviar, *Gotický Gemer a Malohont. Italianizmy v stredovekej nástennej mal'be. Gothic Gemer and Malohont. Italianizing in Medieval Wall Painting* (Martin: Vydavateľstvo Matice slovenskej, 2010), passim; Milan Togner and Vladimír Plekanec, *Medieval Wall Paintings in Spiš* (Bratislava: Arte Libris, 2012), 234, 238; Peter Megyeši, "Poznámky k propagandistickému uplatneniu naratívnych cyklov zo života sv. Ladislava v nástennom maliarstve 14.-15. storočia na Slovensku" [Notes on the propagandistic interpretation of the narrative cycles of St. Ladislav's Life in mural painting in the 14th-15th centuries in Slovakia], in *Umenie na Slovensku v historických a kultúrnych súvislostiach 2011. Zborník príspevkov z vedeckej konferencie konanej v Trnave 26.-27. októbra 2011* [Art in Slovakia in historical and cultural contexts 2011. Proceedings of the scientific conference held in Trnava on 26-27 October 2011], ed. Marian Zervan (Trnava: Filozofická fakulta Trnavskej univerzity v Trnave, 2012), 142-156.

³² See especially: Maja Cepetić, "The Cult of St. Ladislav in Continental Croatia – Its Political and Cultural Context", in *Slovakia and Croatia: Historical Parallels and Connections (Until 1780). Slowakei und Kroatien. Historische Parallelen und Beziehungen (bis zum Jahre 1780)*, ed. Martin Homza et al. (Bratislava and Zagreb: Department of Slovak History at the Faculty of Philosophy of Comenius University Bratislava and PostScriptum, s. r. o., 2013), 308-15 (henceforth: Homza, *Slovakia and Croatia*); Maja Cepetić and Danko Dujmović, "St Peter at Novo Mesto Zelinsko. New Iconography for Claiming Political Continuity", *IKON* 5 (2012), 328; Rosana Ratković, "Hungarian Rulers in Gothic Wall Paintings in North Croatia", paper read at the International Workshop *Between Venice, the Kingdom of Hungary and the Habsburgs. The State and Religious Iconography and the Places of Its Dissemination during the Early Modern Period in the Historical Croatian Territories* (Zagreb: Institute of Art History, 2-3 June 2016), abstract available at: https://www.ipu.hr/content/dokumenti/VACOP_workshop_abstracts.pdf (accessed 3 November 2016).

relate to one another despite their obvious spatial separation). They also overlooked the omission or addition of various royal saints occurring in different contexts and periods.³³ These processes of iconographic selection were not made randomly, but were influenced by complex religious, theological, devotional, political, and social factors, and were operated by medieval iconographers or requested by patrons in order to convey specific messages. These deliberate choices and associations of saints (e.g., the exclusive depiction of the effective rulers Sts Stephen and Ladislav on the pillars of the triumphal arch; St. Emeric's inclusion alongside the other two holy kings after the middle of the fourteenth century; the association of the *sancti reges Hungariae* with the Prophets of the Old Testament and/or the Apostles of the New Testament in the iconographic program of several sanctuaries; or the inclusion around 1400 of St. Sigismund of Burgundy among the personages of the traditional royal trio)³⁴ denote a shift of emphasis in the meaning the mural representations of these holy kings were supposed to communicate, and these changes need to be further explored.³⁵

³³ Such observations were made in: Năstăsioiu, "*Sancti reges Hungariae*"; idem, "Political Aspects", 100-119; idem, "*Pillars of State and Church*", 453-466.

³⁴ Partial results of my research on these specific aspects in the iconography of the *sancti reges Hungariae* were already presented as: idem, "The *Apostles* of the Hungarian Church: The Altar Space Iconography of the Hungarian Kingdom's Medieval Churches", paper read at the International Colloquium *Matérialités et immatérialité de l'église au Moyen Âge* (Bucharest: New Europe College, 22-23 October 2010); idem, "The Pillars of the Hungarian State and Church: Shaping the Image of St. Stephen and St. Ladislav after the Old Testament Kings Solomon and David", paper read at the *International Medieval Congress in Leeds* (Leeds: University of Leeds, 1-4 July 2013); idem, "King Sigismund of Luxemburg's Promotion of St. Sigismund of Burgundy's Cult and Its Artistic Expression in Late-medieval Hungary", paper read at the *International Medieval Congress in Leeds* (Leeds: University of Leeds, 7-10 July 2014); idem, "A *sancta et fidelis societas... Hungarica*? The Cult and Iconography of St. Sigismund in Late-medieval Hungary", public lecture given within the framework of *The Middle Ages in Motion (Středověk v pohybu) Lecture Series* (Prague: Art History Institute of the Czech Academy of Sciences, 31 May 2016). However, the conclusions of my research on these iconographic aspects have much developed since.

³⁵ I am familiar with the work of Doina Elena Crăciun, "L'iconographie de la sainteté royale en Transylvanie médiévale et le patronage de la noblesse (XIVe-XVe siècles)", MA Thesis (Paris: École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, 2011). Since the author relies extensively on my MA thesis (defended in June 2009 and sent personally to the author in January 2011, i.e., several months before her thesis' defense), so that some of the ideas formulated first in my work, as well as some errors I made, passed into her research without always acknowledging their authorship or correcting them, respectively, I decided not to refer further to this work. The author's innovative perspective in eadem, "From *Adoption* to *Appropriation*: The Chronological Process of Accommodating the Holy Hungarian Kings in the Noble Milieus of Late Medieval Hungary", in *Cuius patrocinio tota gaudet regio. Saints' Cults and the Dynamics of Regional Cohesion*, ed. Stanislava Kuzmová *et al.* (Zagreb: Hagiotheca, 2014), 313-333, namely, "the location of the fresco [depicting the holy kings, a. n.] within the sacral space" (at p. 317) is in fact my innovative approach, cf. Năstăsioiu, "*Sancti reges Hungariae*", 64-66. The peculiar logic and lack of critical thinking of the author led her yet again to unsubstantiated claims and purely speculative conclusions in Doina Elena Crăciun, "L'image politique comme manifeste? Considérations sur la fresque des saints rois dans l'église (luthérienne) de Mălâncrav (XVe siècle)", *Bulletin du centre d'études médiévales d'Auxerre – BUCEMA* 19/2 (2015), <http://cem.revues.org/14066> (accessed 17 September 2016). It is beyond the scope of the current work to show the author's every ungrounded and, sometimes, fantastical interpretation of primary visual sources, and to point out to every incorrect reference or wrong attribution of ideas to authors in the critical apparatus of these works. Subsequently, I shall not refer to these works henceforward.

1. 4. Presentation of Primary and Secondary Sources

The primary sources this research on the iconography of the holy kings of Hungary deals with are visual sources, namely, the murals depicting the *sancti reges Hungariae* in the context of religious wall painting across the medieval Kingdom of Hungary. Additionally, a series of written sources in Latin is used throughout the research with the purpose of contextualizing the holy kings' depictions and of understanding their initial meaning. Although great in number and varied in character, these important written sources in Latin have here an ancillary function.

1. 4. 1. Primary Visual Sources – A Critical Exam

The collective depiction in religious mural painting of the *sancti reges Hungariae* gathers usually in a single composition the three Árpáadian holy rulers, namely: the *rex iustus* St. Stephen, founder of the Christian Kingdom of Hungary, organizer of its Church, and apostle of the Hungarians; the pious and chaste prince St. Emeric, who was educated to become a virtuous Christian ruler, but died before succeeding his father to the throne; and the *athleta patriae* St. Ladislav, ideal ruler and brave knight, defender *par excellence* of the country and its church.³⁶ Their highly-conventional and stereotypical portrayal shows frontally the holy kings' full, standing figures, which are characterized by hieratical appearance, static attitudes, and sometimes emphatic gestures.³⁷ The murals show with slight variation a similar picture: an old, white-bearded St. Stephen with crown, scepter, and orb; a young, beardless St. Emeric with orb and lily or lily-shaped scepter (i.e., the symbol of his chastity); and a mature, brown-bearded St. Ladislav holding a battle-axe (i.e., the reminder of his chivalric bravery). As the great number of preserved frescoes attests to, this age differentiation is in fact not an attempt at individualizing the three characters, but rather a standardized and uniform depiction. Either dressed in elegant court costumes or as full-armored knights, the three saints are depicted as kings, being equally invested with royal insignia (i.e., crown, scepter, and orb).³⁸ Despite the murals' great uniformity and repetitiveness, there was also room for variation and innovation. The group's unity was sometimes disrupted, the saints being placed on separate but conceptually-unifying wall surfaces (e.g., the pillars of the triumphal arch – in this position, the *sancti reges Hungariae* related to one another). In some cases, there were not three as usual, but either two or four royal saints, who were depicted either together (i.e., within a

³⁶ For an overview of their cults, see Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers*, 114-294.

³⁷ Năstăsioiu, "Sancti reges Hungariae", 47-49, 56, 65; idem, "Political Aspects", 101.

³⁸ Idem, "Sancti reges Hungariae", 45-65, 72-93; idem, "Political Aspects", 100-119.

single composition) or formed a coherent iconographic unit, despite their obvious spatial separation. Certainly, the holy kings of Hungary were not depicted exclusively in the company of similar, royal saints, but appeared also isolatedly or in the proximity of other categories of saints (e.g., holy bishops, warrior saints, holy virgins, etc.). Whereas their association with these saints seems to have been an occasional event determined by particular devotional reasons, the depiction of the *sancti reges Hungariae* in the proximity of the Old Testament Prophets and/or the Holy Apostles was a consistent iconographic practice. This practice seems to reflect a coherent theological thinking, the meaning of which cannot be fully recovered without the thorough examination of these representations' iconographic contexts.

Collecting and putting together all the mural paintings that have pictorial representations of the holy kings of Hungary (depicted either collectively or separately) are not easy tasks, since there is not yet a complete catalogue of monuments where such a theme occurs.³⁹ References are scattered in various studies dealing with one or another of the saints' iconographies,⁴⁰ with the

³⁹ Almost complete lists of monuments containing representations of Hungary's holy kings are given in: Kerny, "Magyar szent királyok XIII.-XVII. sz.", 80-123; eadem, "Magyar szent királyok a templomok külső falain", 81-88; Năstăsoiu, "*Sancti reges Hungariae*"; idem, "Political Aspects", 93-119. However, these studies should be updated with new evidence.

⁴⁰ For St. Stephen's iconography, see: Leopold, "Szent István", 113-154; Wehli, "1083-ban kanonizált szentek", 54-60; eadem, "Szent István kultusza", 107-140; eadem, "Szent István ábrázolása", 162-172. For St. Emeric's iconography, see the studies and bibliography compiled in Kerny, *Szent Imre 1000 éve*. For St. Ladislav's iconography, see: Marosi, "Hl. Ladislaus als Nationalheiliger", 211-256; Kerny, "Szent László középkori tisztelete", 30-39; eadem, "Szent László kultusz a Zsigmond-korban" [Saint Ladislav's cult during the Sigismund period], in *Művészet Zsigmond király korában, 1387-1437* [Art during King Sigismund's age, 1387-1437], ed. László Beke, Ernő Marosi, and Tünde Wehli (Budapest: no publisher, 1987), 1: 353-363 (henceforth: Beke, *Művészet Zsigmond király korában*); eadem, "Néhány dunántúli Szent László ábrázolásról" [On some depictions of Saint Ladislav in Transdanubia], in *Szent László király emlékei Dunántúlon* [Memories of King Saint Ladislav in Transdanubia], ed. Csaba Miklósi-Sikes and Terézia Kerny (Sümeg: Vár Múzeum, 2000), 69-88; eadem, "László király ikonográfiája (13-18. század)" [King Ladislav's iconography (13th-18th century)], in *Magyar Művelődéstörténeti lexikon, középkor és kora újkor* [Lexicon of Hungarian cultural history, Middle Ages and Modern Period], ed. Péter Kőszeghy and Zsuzsa Tamás (Budapest: Balassi Kiadó, 2006), 6: 411-453; József Lángi, "Szent László ábrázolásairól" [On Saint Ladislav's depiction], *Dolgozatok az Erdélyi Múzeum érem- és régiségtárából. Új sorozat* 6-7 (16-17) (2011-2012), 191-208. The latter studies treat also an important aspect of St. Ladislav's iconography, namely, his narrative cycle (the so-called "Legend of St. Ladislav"). This is an aspect not analyzed in the present work, which is concerned only with the holy knight's iconic representation. For St. Ladislav's Legend in church mural painting, see especially: Vlasta Dvořáková, "La légende de Saint Ladislav découverte dans l'église de Velká Lomnica. Iconographie, style et circonstances de la diffusion de cette légende", *Buletinul Monumentelor Istorice* 41/4 (1972), 25-42; Vasile Drăguț, "La légende du 'héros de frontière' dans la peinture médiévale de la Transylvanie", *Revue Roumaine d'Histoire de l'Art. Série Beaux-Arts* 12 (1975), 11-40; Gyula László, *A Szent László-legenda középkori falképei* [Saint Ladislav's Legend in medieval wall painting] (Budapest: Tájak-Korok-Múzeumok Egyesület, 1993); Ivan Gerát, "Willehalm und Ladislaus – Liebe und Kampf in Text und Bild", *Ars* 1-3 (1998), 49-91; idem, "Pictorial Cycles of St. Ladislav – Some Problems of Interpretation", in Homza, *Slovakia and Croatia*, 293-307; Terézia Kerny, "A kerlési ütközet megjelenése és elterjedése az irodalomban majd a képzőművészetben" [The emergence and diffusion of the Battle of Chiraleș in literature and then in the visual arts], *Folklór és vizuális kultúra* [Folklore and Visual Culture], ed. Ágnes Szemerikényi (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 2007), 202-257; Dragoș Gh. Năstăsoiu, "Nouvelles représentations de la Légende de Saint Ladislav à Crăciunel et Chileni", *Revue Roumaine d'Histoire de l'Art. Série Beaux-Arts*, 45 (2008), 3-22; Zsombor Jékely, "Transylvanian Fresco Cycles of Saint Ladislav in a New Light", *Hungarian Review* 5/2 (2014), 97-109; idem, "Narrative Structure of the Painted Cycle of a Hungarian Holy Ruler: The Legend of St. Ladislav", *Hortus Artium Medievalium. Journal of the International Research Center for Late Antiquity and Middle Ages* 21 (2015), 62-74. Vasile Drăguț's study was simultaneously published in Romanian as Vasile Drăguț, "Legenda 'eroului de frontieră' în pictura medievală din

analysis of particular monuments where the holy kings are depicted but their presence constitutes a secondary matter for those studies,⁴¹ or with new data made possible by recent restoration works. Major uncovering of medieval wall paintings undertaken by restorers in recent years brought to light new, previously-unknown depictions of Hungary's holy kings; simultaneously, the cleaning and restoration of other mural ensembles facilitated the examination of older, already-known representations.⁴² Older, art-historical literature contains, nonetheless, valuable information on depictions of the holy kings of Hungary, although this information should be sometimes corrected in what the murals' dating and the holy kings' identification are concerned.⁴³ One can add to these

Transilvania" [The legend of the 'frontier hero' in the medieval painting of Transylvania], *Revista Muzeelor și Monumentelor. Monumente Istorice și de Artă* 43/2 (1974), 21-40. Given the language of this dissertation, whenever two equivalent versions of the same study are available, I shall always refer to the one written in a language of wide circulation (e.g., English, French, German, or Italian) without mentioning its version in the national language (e.g., Hungarian, Romanian, Serbian-Croatian, Slovak, Slovenian, etc.); this does not mean that I am not aware of the latter version's existence. Whenever the two versions of the same study do not coincide completely in their content, reference will be made accordingly to the study used in that particular place.

⁴¹ Because the list would be an extensive one, such studies are included in the references of each monument, which is discussed either in the dissertation or in the Catalogue of Murals.

⁴² This type of information is partially published in like: József Lángi, "Új, eddig ismeretlen Szent László ábrázolások falképeken" [New and until-now-unknown mural depictions of Saint Ladislav], in *A szenttisztelet történeti rétegei és formái Magyarországon és Közép-Európában. A Magyar szentek tisztelete* [Layers and forms of the history of the cult of saints in Hungary and Central Europe. The cult of Hungarian saints], ed. Gábor Barna (Szeged: Néprajzi Tanszék, 2001), 80-97; József Lángi and Ferenc Mihály, *Erdélyi falképek és festett faberendezések* [Transylvanian murals and painted woodwork], vol. 1-3 (Budapest: Állami Műemlékhelyreállítási és Restaurálási Központ, [2002], 2004, and 2006); Zsombor Jékely and Loránd Kiss, *Középkori falképek Erdélyben. Értékmérés a Teleki László Alapítvány támogatásával* [Medieval mural paintings in Transylvania. Rescued by the László Teleki Foundation] (Budapest: Teleki László Alapítvány, 2008); Tibor Kollár, ed., *Falfestészeti emlékek a középkori Magyarországon északkeleti megyéiből* [Monuments with mural painting in the north-eastern counties of medieval Hungary] (Budapest: Teleki László Alapítvány, 2009) (henceforth: Kollár, *Falfestészeti emlékek*); idem, ed., *Középkori templomok a Tiszától a Kárpátokig. Középkori templomok útja Szabolcsban, Beregben és Kárpátalján* [Medieval churches from Tisa to Subcarpathia. Circuit of medieval churches in Szabolcs, Bereg, and Subcarpathia] (Nyíregyháza: Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg Megyei Területfejlesztési és Környezetgazdálkodási Ügynökség Nonprofit Kft., 2013) (henceforth: Kollár, *Középkori templomok a Tiszától a Kárpátokig*); idem, ed., *A szórvány emlékei* [Monuments abroad] (Budapest: Teleki László Alapítvány, 2013) (henceforth: Kollár, *Szórvány emlékei*); idem, ed., *Művészet és vallás a Felső-Tisza-vidéken* [Art and religion in the Upper-Tisa region] (Nagyvárad [Oradea] and Nyíregyháza: Királyhágómelléki Református Egyházkerület and SZSZBMFÜ Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg Megyei Területfejlesztési és Környezetgazdálkodási Ügynökség Nonprofit Kft., 2014) (henceforth: Kollár, *Művészet és vallás*).

⁴³ For such monographs, see especially: Flóris Ferencz Römer, *Régi falképek Magyarországon* [Old mural paintings in Hungary] (Budapest: Eggenberger-féle Akadémiai Könyvkeresés – Hoffmann és Molnár, 1874); Kornél Divald, *Szepesvármegye művészeti emlékei I. Építészeti emlékei* [Art memories of Szepes County. I. Architectural monuments] (Budapest: A Stephaneum R. T. Nyomda, 1905); idem, *Szepesvármegye művészeti emlékei II. Szobrászat és festészet* [Art memories of Szepes County. I. Sculpture and painting] (Budapest: A Stephaneum R. T. Nyomda, 1906); Borbála Jendrassik, *Szepes vármegye középkori falképei* [Medieval wall painting of Szepes County] (Budapest: Sárkány-Nyomda Részvénytársaság, 1938); I. D. Ștefănescu, *L'art byzantin et l'art lombard en Transylvanie. Peintures murales de Valachie et de Moldavie* (Paris: Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1938); Dénes Radocsay, *A középkori Magyarország falképei* [Mural paintings of medieval Hungary] (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1954); idem, *Wandgemälde im mittelalterlichen Ungarn* (Budapest: Corvina Kiadó, 1977); Virgil Vătășianu, *Istoria artei feudale în Țările Române* [History of feudal art in Romanian historical provinces] (Cluj-Napoca: Centrul de Studii Transilvane and Fundația Culturală Română, 1959, reed. 2001); Drăguț, *Pictura murală din Transilvania*; idem, "Iconografia picturilor murale gotice din Transilvania. Considerații generale și repertoriu de teme" [Iconography of Gothic mural paintings in Transylvania. General remarks and repertory of themes], in *Pagini de veche artă românească* [Pages of old Romanian art] (Bucharest: Editura Meridiane, 1972), 2: 9-81; idem, *Arta gotică în România* [Gothic art in Romania] (Bucharest: Editura Meridiane, 1979); Dvořáková, *Stredoveká nástenná mal'ba na Slovensku*; Milan Togner, *Stredoveká nástenná mal'ba na Slovensku. Súčasný stav poznania. Addenda et corrigenda* [Medieval mural painting in

sources also the secondary evidence, either visual (e.g., watercolor copies or drawings of murals made during the nineteenth and early-twentieth century)⁴⁴ or written (travel accounts or notes containing descriptions of medieval monuments and their wall paintings).⁴⁵ These secondary sources offer valuable information on mural ensembles which are now lost or have been greatly damaged in the meantime.

On the basis of all this information which was doubled by extensive, personal field research in various occasions, a list of iconic representations of holy kings in religious mural painting has been compiled. This list includes both the collective and isolated depictions of Hungary's holy kings that are found today in churches which were located during the Middle Ages on the territory of the Kingdom of Hungary. In order to form a complete picture and comprehend by contrast the size of this regional phenomenon, other known depictions of royal saints were added to this list: on the one hand, there are several representations of Hungarian holy kings found elsewhere than the territory of medieval Hungary (e.g., Assisi and Naples, present-day Italy; or Tropie, present-day Poland),⁴⁶ on the other hand, there are several depictions of other, "non-Hungarian" holy kings (e.g., St. Sigismund of Burgundy, St. Louis IX of France, or St. Oswald of Northumbria), which are found in churches located during the Middle Ages on the territory of the

Slovakia. Current state of knowledge. Addenda et corrigenda] (Bratislava: Tatran, 1988); Marius Porumb, *Dicționar de pictură veche românească din Transilvania. Sec. XIII-XVIII* [Dictionary of old Romanian painting in Transylvania. 13th-18th centuries] (Bucharest: Editura Academiei Române, 1998). More recent, art-historical monographs are equally useful: Mária Prokopp, *Középkori freskók Gömörben* [Medieval frescoes in Gemer] (Somorja [Šamorín]: Méry Ratio, 2002); Dušan Buran, ed., *Gotika. Dejiny slovenského výtvarného umenia* [Gothic. History of Slovak fine arts] (Bratislava: Slovenská Národná Galéria, 2003); Dana Jenei, *Gothic Mural Painting in Transylvania* (Bucharest: NOI Media Print, 2007); Mária Prokopp and Gábor Méry, *Középkori falképek a Szepességben* [Medieval mural paintings in Szepes] (Somorja [Šamorín]: Méry Ratio, 2009); Plekanec, *Gotický Gemer a Malohont*; Tognier, *Medieval Wall Paintings in Spiš*.

⁴⁴ Such secondary visual evidence is partially published in: Rómer, *Régi falképek*; Alexander Balega, ed., *Viktor Miškovský a súčasná ochrana pamiatok v Strednej Európe. Medzinárodná konferencia pri príležitosti 160. výročia narodenia Viktora Miškovského, Košice, Bardejov, 18.-21. mája 1998. Myskovszky Viktor és a mai műemlékvédelem Közép-Európában. Nemzetközi konferencia Myskovszky Viktor születésének 160. évfordulója alkalmából, Kassa, Bártfa, 1998. május 18-21* [Viktor Myskovszky and today's protection of monuments in Central Europe. International conference on the occasion of the 160th anniversary of Viktor Myskovszky's birthday, Košice, Bardejov, 18-21 May 1998] (Bratislava and Budapest: Pamiatkový ústav and Országos Műemlékvédelmi Hivatal, 1999); Zoltán Fejős, ed., *Huszka József, a rajzoló gyűjtő. József Huszka, Collector and Sketch Artist*, exh. cat. (Budapest: Néprajzi Múzeum, 2006); Mihály János, *Színek és legendák. Tanulmányok az erdélyi falfestmények kutatástörténetéhez* [Colors and legends. Studies on the history of the research on Transylvanian mural paintings] (Sepsiszentgyörgy [Sfântu Gheorghe] and Csíkszereda [Miercurea Ciuc]: Pallas-Akadémia Kiadó, 2008); idem, ed., *Huszka József székelgyöföldi falképmásolatai* [József Huszka's copies of murals in Szekler Land], exh. cat. (Sfântu Gheorghe: Charta, 2008). Some of these copies of murals are kept in the archives and libraries of the Néprajzi Múzeum and the former Forster Gyula Nemzeti Örökségvédelmi és Vagyongazdálkodási Központ in Budapest; for their precise location until recently, see below.

⁴⁵ Several travel accounts contain sometimes relevant information: John Paget, *Hungary and Transylvania; with Remarks on Their Condition, Social, Political, and Economical*, 2 vol. (London: John Murray, 1839); Auguste de Gerando, *La Transylvanie et ses habitants*, 2 vol. (Paris: Comptoir des Imprimeurs-unis, 1845). Additionally, Flóris Rómer's field notes were recently made available online at: http://romer2015.hu/?page_id=40 (accessed 20 September 2016).

⁴⁶ According to my knowledge, these are the only examples preserved outside the territory of the medieval Kingdom of Hungary, a fact which indicates the regional nature of the Hungarian holy kings' cult(s).

Hungarian Kingdom. However, these cases are not included in the proper iconographic analysis, although reference to them is made whenever it becomes relevant from an iconographic or devotional point of view.

This list includes, on the one hand, those images of holy kings which are still preserved and can be examined *in situ*, the depictions being, thus, safely assignable to this category through the saints' surviving, royal and personal attributes or accompanying inscriptions:⁴⁷ (1) Assisi (Italy); (2) Baktalórántháza (Hungary); (3) Banská Bystrica (Slovakia, Germ. *Neusohl*, Hung. *Besztercebánya*); (4) Bădești (Romania, Rom. var. *Badoc*, Hung. *Bádok*); (5) Biertan (Romania, Germ. *Birihalm/Birthalmen*, Hung. *Berethalom*);⁴⁸ (6) Bijacovce (Slovakia, Germ. *Biazowitz/Betendorf*, Hung. *Szepesmindszent/Biátfalva*); (7) Chimindia (Romania, Hung. *Kéménd*); (8-9) Chornotysiv (Ukraine, Ukr. *Чорнотисів*, Hung. *Feketeardó*);⁴⁹ (10) Crișcior (Romania, Hung. *Kristyór*); (11) Čerín (Slovakia, Hung. *Cserény*); (12) Dârlos (Romania, Rom. var. *Dârloș*, Germ. *Durles/Durlasch*, Hung. *Darlac/Darlasz/Darlóc*); (13) Fizeșu Gherlii (Romania, Hung. *Ördöngösfüzes*); (14) Hrušov (Slovakia, Hung. *Körtvélyes*); (15) Ighișu Nou (Romania, Rom. var. *Ibișdorf/Ibișdorful Săsesc/Ighișdorful Săsesc*, Germ. *Eibesdorf/Abesdorf*, Hung. *Szászivánfalva/Ivánfalva/Izséptelke*); (16) Jakubovany (Slovakia, Hung. *Magyarjakabfalva*); (17)

⁴⁷ Following the standard practice of scholarly literature in English, present-day place names are used throughout the text, a convention which does not strictly observe historical reality. This is the reason why, from now on, the first mentioning of a place (in Romanian, Serbian-Croatian, Slovak, Slovenian, or Ukrainian) is accompanied also by its Hungarian and German variants. Because German place names are sometimes only modern (i.e., Austro-Hungarian) inventions, they are given only for those places that were inhabited in the Middle Ages by Saxons and had, naturally, also German names. All these variants, however, are not repeated each time a place is mentioned again, the reader being kindly asked to consult the Concordance of Place Names in the Appendix. A reader specialized in medieval Hungarian art is anyway familiar with all these variants, as s/he usually consults a scholarly literature produced in all national languages, i.e., Hungarian, Polish, Romanian, Serbian-Croatian, Slovak, Slovenian, Ukrainian, etc. Although historically accurate, Latin place names were not included, due to their multiple versions and unstable spellings throughout the Middle Ages, which would make the reading extremely difficult. For instance, only the second place name in the initial list of murals (i.e., Baktalórántháza) has the following Latin variants that are attested by medieval documents: *Bactha* (1322, 1326); *Batka* (1323); *Bakta* (1323); *Bathka* (1325, 1328, 1378); *Bakth* (1326); *Baktha* (1343, 1405, 1420); for the sources mentioning these variants, see Juan Cabello and Péter Németh, "Baktalórántháza, római katolikus templom" [Baktalórántháza, Roman Catholic church], in Kollár, *Középkori templomok a Tiszától a Kárpátokig*, n. 20 on p. 79. The above convention does not apply to names of medieval administrative units, for which the historical name (either Hungarian or Latin) was used instead.

⁴⁸ For this representation, see especially: Jutta Reisinger, "Die Fresken des Katholischen Turmes zu Birtihalm", *Zeitschrift für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde* 14/2 (1991), 211-220; Dana Jenei, "Biertan, Picturile capelei din turnul catolicilor" [Biertan, the chapel's paintings in the Catholics' tower], in *Arhitectura religioasă medievală din Transilvania. Középkori egyházi építészet Erdélyben. Medieval Ecclesiastical Architecture of Transylvania*, ed. Daniela Marcu Istrate, Adrian Andrei Rusu, and Péter Levente Szöcs (Satu Mare: Editura Muzeului Sătmărean, 2004), 3: 260-280; Kerny, "Magyar szent királyok a templomok külső falain", 84, 87.

⁴⁹ This church has two depictions of holy kings, both placed on the lower register of the nave's northern wall: St. Louis IX of France (depicted together with St. Agnes on the western side), and the Coronation of St. Ladislav (eastern side). The images are distinctly framed and separated by another, poorly-preserved representation of Sts Margaret and Anthony, a fact which suggests that the holy-king representations were treated conceptually as two distinct depictions. For St. Louis' lost inscription, see: Rómer, *Régi falképek*, 79, fig. 57; József Lángi, "Feketeardó (Чорнотисів), római katolikus templom" [Chornotysiv (Чорнотисів), Roman Catholic Church], in Kollár, *Középkori templomok a Tiszától a Kárpátokig*, 295-6, 302, fig. 15; personal field research in April 2012.

Kameňany (Slovakia, Hung. *Kövi*); (18) Keszthely (Hungary); (19) Khust (Ukraine, Ukr. *Хуст*, Germ. *Chust*, Hung. *Huszt*); (20) Krásnohorské Podhradie (Slovakia, Hung. *Krasznahorkaváralja*); (21) Leles (Slovakia, Hung. *Lelesz*);⁵⁰ (22) Levoča (Slovakia, Germ. *Leutschau*, Hung. *Lőcse*); (23) Lónya (Hungary); (24) Mălâncrav (Romania, Germ. *Malmkrog*, Hung. *Almakerék*); (25) Napkor (Hungary); (26) Naples (Italy); (27) Novo Mjesto Zelinsko (Croatia, Hung. *Újhelyszentpéter*);⁵¹ (28) Ozora (Hungary); (29) Plešivec (Slovakia, Hung. *Pelsőc*); (30) Poniky (Slovakia, Hung. *Pónik*); (31) Poprad (Slovakia, Germ. *Deutschendorf*, Hung. *Poprád*);⁵² (32-33) Ragály (Hungary);⁵³ (34) Rattersdorf (Austria, Hung. *Rótfalva*); (35) Rákoš (Slovakia, Hung. *Gömörákos*); (36) Remetea (Romania, Hung. *Magyarremete/Biharremete*); (37) Ribița (Romania, Hung. *Ribice*); (38) Rimavská Baňa (Slovakia, Hung. *Rimabánya*); (39) Sălard (Romania, Hung. *Szalárd*); (40) Sântana de Mureș I (Romania, Hung. *Marosszentanna*);⁵⁴ (41) Sibiu (Romania,

⁵⁰ For these murals see especially: Zsombor Jékely, “A magyar királyok genealógiai ciklusa a leleszi premonstrei kolostorkápolna középkori falképein” [The genealogical cycle of Hungarian kings in the medieval murals of the chapel of the Premonstratensian convent in Leles], *Művészettörténeti Értesítő* 61 (2012), 175-186.

⁵¹ Besides St. Ladislav's narrative cycle (upper register of the northern wall of the nave), there is another, fragmentary depiction of a young, beardless holy king, who is placed under a three-lobed arcade (northern side of the triumphal arch). Additionally, Cepetić, “Cult of St. Ladislav”, 311, and Cepetić and Dujmović, “St Peter at Novo Mesto Zelinsko”, 328, identified hypothetically with Sts Stephen, Emeric, and Ladislav the three crowned but haloless (!) figures standing together with other personages under the mantle of the *Mater Misericordiae*. This identification is rejected as highly ungrounded, because crowned personages in this iconographic hypostasis denote the Holy Virgin's equal and undifferentiated protection of all humankind, regardless of status, and has no specific reference to precise characters. For this iconographic theme in medieval Hungary, see Beatrix Gombosi, “*Köpanyegem pedig az én irgalmasságom...*” *Köpanyeges Mária ábrázolások a középkori Magyarországon*. “*Mein weiter Mantel ist meine Barmherzigkeit...*” *Schutzmantelmadonnen aus dem mittelalterlichen Ungarn* (Szeged: Szegedi Tudományegyetem Néprajzi és Kulturális Antropológiai Tanszék, 2008); for this iconography generally, see Katherine T. Brown, *Mary of Mercy in Medieval and Renaissance Italian Art: Devotional Image and Civic Emblem* (Abingdon, Oxon and New York: Routledge, 2017).

⁵² Besides St. Stephen's and St. Ladislav's representations on the pillars of the triumphal arch, there is another, partially-preserved depiction of a crowned character, which is situated in the upper register, on the eastern side of the southern wall of the nave. However, this is so poorly preserved, that one can no longer ascertain the figure's gender, nor identify the round-shaped attribute it holds (either wheel or orb). Because of its poor state of preservation and uncertain identification (either a holy king or St. Catherine of Alexandria), this representation is excluded from the list, which includes, thus, only the depictions of Sts Stephen and Ladislav on the triumphal arch's pillars. Personal field research in April 2009 and April 2012.

⁵³ Besides St. Ladislav's representation on the southern pillar of the triumphal arch and the partially-preserved depiction of a character dressed in court costume (eastern side of the southern pillar of the triumphal arch, i.e., the side not visible from the nave), there is another, fragmentary depiction of a holy king. Dressed in tight tunic with belt, tight pants, white gloves, and mantle with white-fur inner side, this one holds partially-preserved attributes (probably scepter and a covered container), and is associated with St. Nicholas. The holy king and holy bishop are placed on the southern side of the nave's eastern wall, i.e., the triumphal arch's southern side. Although in proximity, St. Ladislav and the unidentified holy king (probably St. Oswald) are part of the decoration of the church's different interior spaces (i.e., sanctuary and nave, respectively), this indicating that they are, in fact, conceptually-distinct representations. St. Ladislav's depiction was published in József Lángi, “Ragály (egykor Gömör vármegye, ma Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén megye) Református templom” [Ragály (former Gömör County, current Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén County), Reformed church], in Kollár, *Falfestészeti emlékek*, 380-391, but no reference was made to the decoration of the nave's eastern wall, which was probably uncovered only afterwards. Personal field research in October 2016.

⁵⁴ There are two representations of holy kings in this church: one certain inside (eastern wall of the southern pillar of the triumphal arch) and another, hypothetical one outside (southern wall of the nave). It is the former which is referred to here, whereas the latter is addressed later together with the hypothetical representations of holy kings. Personal field research in July 2014.

Germ. *Hermannstadt*, Hung. *Nagyszeben*); (42-43) Sic (Romania, Hung. *Szék/Székakna*);⁵⁵ (44-45) Siklós (Hungary);⁵⁶ (46) Slatvina (Slovakia, Hung. *Szlatvin*); (47) Şmig (Romania, Germ. *Schmiegen*, Hung. *Somogyom*); (48) Štítník (Slovakia, Germ. *Schittnich*, Hung. *Csetnek*); (49) Tătărlăua (Romania, Germ. *Taterloch/Tatarloch/Tatarlau*, Hung. *Felsőtárlaka*);⁵⁷ (50) Tileagd (Romania, Hung. *Mezőtelegd*); (51-52) Tornaszentandrás (Hungary);⁵⁸ (53) Velemér I (Hungary);⁵⁹ (54) Žehra (Slovakia, Germ. *Schigra*, Hung. *Zsegra*); (55) Žilina (Slovakia, Germ. *Sillein*, Hung. *Zsolna*); and (56) Žíp (Slovakia, Hung. *Zsíp*).

On the other hand, there should be added to this list also a number of certain representations of holy kings that are no longer extant. These can be known from either earlier, black-and-white photographs, more or less detailed drawings and watercolor copies, or reliable written accounts/descriptions: (57) Bardejov (Slovakia, Germ. *Bartfeld*, Hung. *Bártfa*);⁶⁰ (58-59) Bistrița (Romania, Germ. *Bistritz/Nösen*, Hung. *Beszterce*);⁶¹ (60) Filea (Romania, Rom. var. *Filia*,

⁵⁵ There are two depictions of holy kings inside the church, i.e., that of St. Oswald (southern side of the eastern pillar separating the nave from the southern aisle) and that of a partially-preserved, unidentifiable holy king (eastern wall of the southern aisle). Personal field research in July 2014.

⁵⁶ Two representations of Sts Ladislav and Leonard have been painted one over the other, but in reversed position and at different dates in the southern niche of the castle chapel. Thanks to the restorers' work of separating the two layers of murals, both of them can be now examined in the castle chapel, Ildikó Fehér and Péter Menráth, "A restaurálás és a művészettörténeti kutatás átfedései. A siklósi várkapolna egyik, falról leválasztott freskójának helyreállítása és újraértékelése" [Overlapping of restoration and art-historical research. Restoration and re-evaluation of a fresco taken off the wall in the castle chapel in Siklós], *Műtárgyvédelem* 31 (2006), 45-54. Personal field research in September 2012.

⁵⁷ I am very grateful to restorer Loránd Kiss for notifying me about these murals, which were partially uncovered by his team during the summer of 2016, as well as for sending me some photographs with St. Emeric's representation. This partially-uncovered depiction is found on the eastern wall of the southern pillar of the triumphal arch. The frescoes' uncovering being ongoing, the iconographic context of this depiction is unclear yet.

⁵⁸ Two distinct representations of holy kings, dated to different periods, are preserved inside the church's sanctuary: an earlier one, which depicts St. Stephen and is placed on the pillar separating the two round apses attached to the square sanctuary; and two later, but coeval ones, which depict Sts Stephen and Ladislav and are placed on the pillars of the triumphal arch which separates the nave from the sanctuary. For the earlier representation and its inscription, see: Ildikó Hajdú, "Újabb szempontok a tornaszentandrási templom középkori falképeinek megítéléséhez" [Assessment of recent aspects of the medieval murals of the church in Tornaszentandrás], *Gesta. Fiatal miskolci történészek folyóirata* 4 (2004), 45-48. Personal field research in July 2011.

⁵⁹ There are two distinct representations of holy kings inside the church: one certain on the eastern side of the nave's northern wall (St. Ladislav), and another, hypothetical one in-between the eastern and central windows of the nave's southern wall. It is the former which is referred to here, whereas the latter is addressed below together with other hypothetical representations of holy kings. Personal field research in October 2016.

⁶⁰ Copies of the vanished fresco in Bardejov are published in: Viktor Myskovszky, *Bártfa középkori műemlékei. I. A Szent Egyed templomának műrégészeti leírása* [Medieval monuments of Bardejov. Archaeological description of Saint Giles Church] (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Könyvkiadó, 1879), pl. I, VI, fig. 15 (henceforth: Myskovszky, *Bártfa középkori műemlékei I*); Kornél Divald, "A bártfai Szent Egyed-templom" [Saint Giles Church in Bardejov], *Archaeologiai Értesítő. Új folyam* 35 (1915), 105-114, 310-335; Kerny, "Magyar szent királyok a templomok külső falain", 83-84, fig. 2.

⁶¹ Two holy kings – a young, beardless one standing and another mature, dark-bearded one kneeling – were depicted next to each other, but divided by a uniform, decorative border. This detail indicates that they were conceived separately and did not belong to the same scene. Whereas the identity of the standing holy king can no longer be established with certainty, the kneeling holy king could be either St. Ladislav in the saint's coronation scene or one of the three wise men in the Adoration of the Magi. Photos and drawings of the vanished murals in Bistrița are published in: Vătășianu, *Istoria artei feudale*, 408-409, fig. 370; Vasile Drăguț, "Date noi cu privire la picturile murale medievale din Transilvania" [New information concerning medieval mural paintings in Transylvania], *Studii și Cercetări de Istoria Artei. Seria Artă*

Hung. *Erdőfüle*);⁶² (61) Miszla (Hungary);⁶³ (62) Murska Sobota (Slovenia, Germ. *Olsnitz*, Hung. *Muraszombat*);⁶⁴ (63) Pădureni (Romania, Rom. var. *Beșeneu*, Hung. *Sepsibesenyő*);⁶⁵ (64) Sabinov (Slovakia, Germ. *Zeben*, Hung. *Kisszeben*);⁶⁶ (65) Sâncraiu de Mureș (Romania, Hung. *Marosszentkirály*);⁶⁷ (66) Sighetu Marmăției (Romania, Hung. *Máramarossziget*);⁶⁸ (67) Șinteu (Romania, Hung. *Sólyomkő*);⁶⁹ (68) Târgu Mureș (Romania, Hung. *Marosvásárhely/Székelyvásárhely/Vásárhely/Újszékelyvásár/Újvásár*);⁷⁰ and (69) Turnišče (Slovenia, Germ. *Thurnitz*, Hung. *Bántornya*).⁷¹

The photographs of the murals in Bistrița and Turnišče constitute faithful, but not very detailed witnesses of the holy kings' images; the other watercolors and drawings can no longer be confronted with the actual murals and, therefore, should be regarded with caution and examined critically. These visual documents attest indeed the existence of representations of holy kings in the decoration of those religious edifices, but one can no longer know for sure whether they are faithful

Plastică 1 (1972), 119-122; Tibor Rostás, "A Besztercei volt katolikus templom, ma görög katolikus templom" [Former Catholic church in Bistrița, now Greek-Catholic church], *Műemlékvédelmi Szemle* 2 (1998), 80, fig. 14-5.

⁶² For drawings of the vanished scene of the three holy kings in Filea, see: László Dávid, *A középkori Udvarhelyszék művészeti emlékei* [Art memories of medieval Szeklerland] (Bucharest: Kriterion, 1981), 103-108, fig. 97; Jánó, *Színek és legendák*, 102-104, fig. 52. Being extremely sketchy, however, these drawings should be treated critically.

⁶³ Radocsay, *Középkori Magyarország falképei*, 178; Kerny, "Magyar szent királyok a templomok külső falain", 86.

⁶⁴ A depiction of St. Stephen is mentioned in Péter, "Árpád-házi szentek", 35, 37. A watercolor of the murals showing a holy king with sword on the pillar of the triumphal arch is published in József Lángi, "Huszt (Xycr), református templom" [Khust (Xycr), Reformed church], in Kollár, *Középkori templomok a Tiszától a Kárpátokig*, 123, fig. 24. However, the saint's identification with St. Stephen is arguable.

⁶⁵ Watercolors of the vanished murals in Pădureni are published in: Jánó, *Színek és legendák*, 79-80, pl. VI; idem, *Husza József falképmásolatai*, 45-47, fig. 22-23.

⁶⁶ According to Imre Henszlmann's account addressed in 1876 to the Műemlékek Országos Bizottságánál, a crowned St. Stephen (?) and an armored St. Ladislav raising a weapon above his head were partially preserved on the sanctuary's southern wall. However, the frescoes (datable probably to the first half of the fifteenth century) were destroyed in the late-1880s; for their bibliography up to 1954, see Radocsay, *Középkori Magyarország falképei*, 156.

⁶⁷ For watercolors of the vanished murals in Sâncraiu de Mureș, see: Vătășianu, *Istoria artei feudale*, 769-770, fig. 732; Jánó, *Színek és legendák*, 56-57, fig. 25.

⁶⁸ Watercolors and drawings of the vanished murals in Sighet are published in: Rómer, *Régi falképek*, 88-94; Zsombor Jékely, "Máramarossziget elpusztult falképei és a legkorábbi magyarországi falképmásolatok" [The vanished wall paintings in Sighetu Marmăției and the earliest Hungarian copies of murals], in Kollár, *Szörvány emlékei*, 324-339; Zsombor Jékely, "Máramarossziget (egykor Máramaros vármegye, ma Sighetu Marmăției, Románia) Lebontott református templom" [Sighetu Marmăției (former Máramaros County, current Sighetu Marmăției, Romania) demolished Reformed church], in Kollár, *Falfestészeti emlékek*, 214-239.

⁶⁹ György Rettegi, *Emlékezetre méltó dolgok 1718-1784* [Memorable things 1718-1784], ed. Zsigmond Jakó (Bucharest: Kriterion Könyvkiadó, 1970), 106-107, records murals representing apostles, Hungarian kings, and other saints in the nave of the church which was already deserted at the time of his visit (i.e., May 1718): "Diebus mensis Aprilis et Maii az román papok fundusainak s külső appertinentiáinak excisójára járván, 2-da Maii Sólyomkőn lévén, az ott lévő pusztatemplomba bementem (mely templom igen régen, id est a Basta járáskor, melyről Fasching nevű historicus ír, pusztult volt el) s még a régi pápista világban tett festések a falon meglátszanak, úgymint az apostoloké, magyar királyoké s másoké."

⁷⁰ Brief description of St. Stephen's and St. Ladislav's images in Rómer, *Régi falképek*, 124-125.

⁷¹ Photos of the vanished scene in which St. Ladislav acted as intercessor for the donor kneeling in front of the Enthroned Madonna with Child are published in: Bogyay, "Bántornyai falképek", 147-158, fig. 2-5; Gorazd Bence, "Fragmenti stenske poslikave Janeza Akvile iz stare župnijske cerkve v Turnišču" [Fragments of Murals by Johannes Aquila in the Old Parish Church in Turnišče], BA Thesis (Maribor: Univerza v Mariboru, 2012), 16-20, fig. 3-4. Watercolors and drawings of the church's murals (however, not the donor's composition) are published also in: Rómer, *Régi falképek*, 24-32.

renditions of the images they copied or they are only biased, visual interpretations of the murals. The same statement is valid also for those written accounts on representations of Hungary's holy kings. For other, fortunate cases, both the holy kings' representations and their copies exist and, in this situation, the watercolors and drawings can be valuable witnesses for unfaithful restorations which were made in the historicizing (and often fanciful) spirit of the nineteenth century. Needless to say, these restorations affected sometimes greatly the medieval appearance of the frescoes (e.g., Banská Bystrica, Ččejevce, Levoča, or Tileagd). These watercolors and drawings are also valuable witnesses for some of the images' details, which were visible at the time the copies were made, but which faded out or were lost in the meantime (e.g., Chornotysiv, Leles, Sibiu, or Velemér).⁷²

Several other murals can be considered hypothetically as representations of holy kings, but their fragmentary or poor state of preservation, as well as their destruction since their recording prevents any final judgment on this matter: (70) Bratislava (Slovakia, Germ. *Pressburg*, Hung. *Pozsony*);⁷³ (71) Cserkút (Hungary);⁷⁴ (72) Ččejevce (Slovakia, Hung. *Csécs*);⁷⁵ (73) Ghelintă (Romania, Hung. *Gelence*);⁷⁶ (74) Lobor (Croatia, Hung. *Lobor*);⁷⁷ (75) Ormeniș (Romania, Germ. *Irmesch*, Hung. *Szászörményes*);⁷⁸ (76) Pécs (Hungary);⁷⁹ (77) Rakacaszend (Hungary);⁸⁰ (78)

⁷² This secondary evidence is critically examined either in the Catalogue of Murals or in the footnotes dealing with one or another monument; in this places, I attempt at establishing the degree of reliability of each witness.

⁷³ Dvořáková, *Středověká nástenná mal'ba*, 79, mentions a depiction of St. Stephen in the town hall chapel, but does not specify whether this saint is the Hungarian king or the protomartyr. Kerny, "Patronage of St. Ladislav", 265, 272, reports that St. Ladislav's figure holding a shield with double cross was depicted in this chapel. However, as it will be shown later, such heraldic shields were not the pictorial appanage of the *sancti reges Hungariae*, popular holy warriors being sometimes depicted holding such shields. In absence of other royal or personal attributes, the poorly-preserved representation retains its hypothetical character.

⁷⁴ Mentioned hypothetically in eadem, "Magyar szent királyok a templomok külső falain", 85. On the lower register of the round-shaped sanctuary and on its south-eastern side, there is a poorly-preserved fragment showing the feet of two standing characters with tight pants, pointed shoes, and long mantles with white-fur lining. These costume details seem to indicate the two characters' royal dignity, but they do not constitute sufficient proof for their identification with Hungary's holy kings. Personal field research in October 2013.

⁷⁵ This representation is discussed later in the context of St. Stephen's and St. Ladislav's depiction on the pillars of the triumphal arch.

⁷⁶ Several fresco fragments can be seen now on the church's northern, outer wall. One of them was identified hypothetically as a depiction of Hungary's three holy kings by Jenei, *Gothic Mural Painting*, 70, supported also by Kerny, "Magyar szent királyok a templomok külső falain", 82, n. 12. The fragment showing some haloed crowns is too poorly preserved to allow one its certain identification. However, the church's dedication to St. Emeric and the depiction of St. Ladislav's narrative cycle inside the church attest for the cult of Hungarian royal saints in Ghelintă, making possible a representation of the *sancti reges Hungariae* on the church's outer walls.

⁷⁷ Mentioned in *ibid.*, 86. On the jambs of the sanctuary's southern-wall window, there is probably the representation of a holy knight, but the fresco's poor state of preservation prevents any final judgment upon the saint's identity. For these frescoes, see: Krešimir Filipec, *Arheološko-povijesni vodič po svetištu Majke Božje Gorske u Loboru* [Archaeological and historical guide to the shrine of Our Lady of the Mountains in Lobor] (Zagreb and Lobor: Odsjek za arheologiju Filozofskog fakulteta Sveučilišta and Župni ured sv. Ane – Općina Lobor, 2008), 52-53, fig. 38.

⁷⁸ Recent testing made by Loránd Kiss' team (Summer of 2016) revealed several frescoed areas inside the church. Among these fragments, which are datable to the second half of the fifteenth century, there is also a partially-visible figure with short, curly hair and no beard. This saint has mantle and crown, and holds a flower in his right hand. The figure is partially uncovered, but the visible details seem to suggest St. Emeric's identity. However, until the whole figure and its surroundings are exposed, and the frescoes are restored, this poorly-preserved, holy-king representation is accepted hypothetically here.

Sântana de Mureș II,⁸¹ (79) Tropie (Poland);⁸² (80) Velemér II,⁸³ (81) Zagreb (Croatia, Germ. *Agram*, Hung. *Zágráb*);⁸⁴ and (82) Zolná (Slovakia, Hung. *Zolna*).⁸⁵

Other alleged representations of holy kings have been excluded on account of their high uncertainty: Banská Bystrica-Radvaň (Slovakia, Hung. *Radvány*);⁸⁶ Gombasek (Slovakia, Hung.

⁷⁹ Among the vanished murals of the cathedral church in Pécs, there was also the standing figure of a mature, bearded saint holding a sword and another, unpreserved attribute (scepter?). He had an undefined headgear (ducal hat?), a long mantle on his shoulders, short tunic, tight pants, and pointed shoes with spurs – all these details seem to suggest his both military and royal quality. For a watercolor copy of this mural, see: Ottó Szőnyi, “A pécsi székesegyház” [Pécs Cathedral], *Magyar művészet* 5/8 (1929), 470.

⁸⁰ Both sides of the window in the axis of the square-shape sanctuary, there are two fragments of frescoes showing two standing figures. One is dressed in courtly vestment composed of short tunic, tight pants, and long, patterned mantle, his hands being bent at the chest’s level as for holding some attributes (right side). The other, smaller fragment shows only the armor’s details (left side). The courtly and knightly costumes of the two fragmentary figures could indicate the representations of two holy kings, although they have been identified hypothetically with St. George and Holy Archangel Michael by Ildikó Hajdú, “Rakacaszend református templomának 14. századi freskói” [The 14th-century frescoes of the Reformed church in Rakacaszend], in *A Miskolci Egyetem Bölcsészettudományi Kara tudományos diákköri közleményei, 2. 2001-2001. évi dolgozatok* [Student scholarly publications, Miskolc University, Faculty of Arts, 2. Papers of the years 2001-2002], ed. Csaba Fazekas (Miskolc: no publisher, 2003), published online at: http://mek.oszk.hu/02100/02125/pdf/10_hajdu.pdf and http://mek.oszk.hu/02100/02125/pdf/10_hajdu_kep.pdf (accessed 22 September 2016). Personal research field in October 2016.

⁸¹ On the southern, outer wall of the nave, there is a poorly-preserved fresco fragment showing three haloed and crowned heads: Jékely, *Középkori falképek Erdélyben*, 213-242; mentioned also in Kerny, “Magyar szent királyok a templomok külső falain”, 83, n. 16. The presence of another holy king inside the church, i.e., on the triumphal arch’s pillar, makes probable a representation of holy kings on the church’s outer walls, but this cannot be categorically stated.

⁸² The church in Tropie is dedicated to St. Andrew Zoerard who, before having been canonized in 1083 together with Sts Stephen and Emeric by King Ladislas I, lived in Tropie as a monk. Several fresco fragments dated to the first half of the twelfth century are preserved inside the church. Among these, there is also the figure of a young, beardless holy king with crown and scepter, who was identified hypothetically either with St. Stephen or St. Wenceslas by József E. Dutkiewicz, “Romańskie malowidło ścienne odkryte w Tropiu” [Romanesque murals discovered in Tropie], *Folia Historiae Artium* 3 (1966), 5-22, esp. pp. 10, 19-20; see also Hanna Pieńkowska, “Znaczenie naukowe odkryć malowideł ściennych w Małopolsce południowej” [The scientific significance of the murals discovered in the South of Lesser Poland], *Ochrona Zabytków* 30/1-2 (116-117) (1977), 3-20, esp. p. 6. Given the connection of St. Andrew Zoerard with medieval Hungary, it is possible that the holy-king representation in Tropie is that of St. Stephen.

⁸³ Besides St. Ladislas’ depiction on the eastern side of the northern wall of the nave, there is another, hypothetical representation of a holy king. On the opposite, southern wall and in-between the three windows of the nave, there was painted a series of standing figures which are currently poorly preserved. Following St. Elizabeth of Hungary/Thuringia and in-between the eastern and central windows, there is a fragmentary figure showing several details (short tunic, tight pants, and long mantle with white-fur inner side) which might indicate its royal quality. The third figure in-between the central and western windows preserves only faded traces of green paint (the previous figures’ tunic and pants have the same color), whereas the fourth one on the southern wall’s western side seems to have a dark-red mantle over its green tunic. Römer, *Régi falképek*, 22-23, identified hypothetically the southern-wall figures with Sts Stephen, Emeric, Elizabeth of Hungary/Thuringia, and Blessed Margaret. Given the hypothetical identification of the second saint with a holy king (royal costume) and his association with St. Elizabeth, it is possible that on this wall, too, there were originally depicted other Hungarian royal saints. Personal field research in October 2016.

⁸⁴ The representation of the three holy kings of Hungary on the cathedral’s outer wall, i.e., above the sacristy, is hypothesized by Dénes Sokcsevits, “Szent István alakja a horvátoknál” [St. Stephen’s form among Croats], in *Hol vagy István király?* “A Szent István-hagyomány évszázadai” [“Where are you, King Stephen?” St. Stephen’s tradition throughout centuries], ed. Sándor Bene (Budapest: Gondolat Kiadó, 2006), 300; mentioned also in Kerny, “Magyar szent királyok a templomok külső falain,” 82, 84, n. 11. Given the cathedral’s dedication precisely to St. Stephen, it is highly possible that such representation existed there, if not of the three *sancti reges Hungariae* themselves, at least an image of the titular saint.

⁸⁵ The poorly-preserved and partially-uncovered figure of a mature holy king with brown-red beard and long hair (probably St. Ladislas) is found on the southern side of the intrados of the triumphal arch. Currently, no other murals are uncovered in the sanctuary, but most likely they do exist under the whitewash. Given the analogies in Poprad, Slatvina, Tornaszentandrás, Žehra, etc., it is possible that a similar, holy-king representation faced the already-visible one on the northern side of the triumphal arch. However, until the sanctuary’s murals are entirely uncovered and restored, this representation retains its hypothetical character.

Gombaszőg);⁸⁷ Kocel'ovce (Slovakia, Hung. *Gecelfalva*);⁸⁸ Óriszentpéter (Hungary);⁸⁹ Sekule (Slovakia, Germ. *Sekeln*, Hung. *Székelyfalva*); Szentkirály (Hungary);⁹⁰ Șumuleu Ciuc (Romania, Hung. *Csíksomlyó*).⁹¹

The representations of Hungarian kings in the castles of (83) Hunedoara (Romania, Germ. *Eisenmarkt*, Hung. *Vajdahunyad*) and (84) Zvolen (Slovakia, Germ. *Altsohl*, Hung. *Zólyom*) are no longer extant, but are mentioned in nineteenth-century accounts.⁹² They have been excluded from the list on account of their secular instead of religious context. The representations of Hungary's holy kings in (85) Armășeni (Romania, Hung. *Csikméναςág*)⁹³ and (86) Sânzieni (Romania, Hung.

⁸⁶ Péter, "Árpádházi szentek", 44, speaks of a fifteenth-century, frescoed representation of St. Emeric, which he knew from a watercolor copy kept in the Műemlékek Országos Bizottságánál, but he gives no reference number for it. Allegedly, the saint had a pronounced knightly appearance, being dressed in armor and holding a spear and shield in his hands, but the scholar does not mention any royal, nor personal attributes (crown or ducal hat, orb, lily or lily-shaped scepter). This representation is no longer preserved in the church (personal field research in April 2012), and I could not locate the watercolor copy mentioned without further reference by the scholar. Given its pronounced military appearance and absence of royal attributes, the depiction could have been equally that of any holy knight and is, subsequently, excluded on the basis of its high uncertainty.

⁸⁷ The church of the Pauline monastery in Gombasek and its murals no longer exist. Kerny, "Magyar szent királyok a templomok külső falain", 83, admitted as possible here a representation of Hungary's holy kings on account of the popularity of these saints in Gömör County, and the monastery's connection with the Bebek family; however, this argument is highly speculative. For the history of the monastery, see: Monika Skalská, "Pavlínský kláštor v Gombaseku (1371-1566)" [The Pauline Convent in Gombasek (1371-1566)], *Studia Historica Tyrnaviensia* 14-15 (2012), 160-185.

⁸⁸ Dvořáková, *Středověká nástenná mal'ba*, 100-105, mentions wrongly depictions of the three holy kings of Hungary on the pillars of the triumphal arch of the church in Kocel'ovce. However, out of these alleged holy kings, one is certainly St. Catherine of Alexandria (crowned, female saint with wheel) and another is probably a holy virgin (long-haired, beardless figure with diadem) – personal field research in April 2012.

⁸⁹ According to Kerny, "Magyar szent királyok a templomok külső falain", 82-83, 86-87, on the church's western, outer wall, there is a poorly-preserved holy knight holding a sword and shield with the Angevin coat of arms; the art historian identified hypothetically this saint with either St. Stephen or St. Emeric. Currently, the fresco fragment is so poorly preserved, that it can no longer be deciphered (personal field research in October 2016), whereas the saint's alleged knightly and Angevin qualities are anyways not enough proof for such identification.

⁹⁰ These two monuments are mentioned in Kerny, "Magyar szent királyok a templomok külső falain", 85-87. According to the art historian, the representation in Sekule has hypothetical character, whereas that in Szentkirály has vanished, but she gives no further reference in support of her statements concerning the holy kings' representations in these churches. Given the settlement's name, it is highly possible that a representation of the *sancti reges Hungariae* existed in Szentkirály, but it is not clear if such supposition was based on some other evidence than simply toponymy.

⁹¹ The fresco fragment in Șumuleu Ciuc is so poorly preserved that one can no longer ascertain the gender of the crowned saint; for the Savior's Chapel in this place, see Lángi and Mihály, *Erdélyi falképek és festett faberendezések*, 2: 19-21.

⁹² For brief descriptions of the murals, see: de Gérando, *Transylvanie et ses habitants*, 1: 358-364; Flóris Rómer, "Vajda-hunyadi falfestmények" [Murals of Hunedoara], *Archaeologiai Értesítő* 5/1 (1871), 21-22; Jolán Balogh, *A művészet Mátyás király udvarában* [Art at the court of King Mathias] (Budapest: Akadémiai, 1966), 1: 201-202. For a mention of Zvolen murals, see: Paget, *Hungary and Transylvania*, 1: 378-380.

⁹³ For watercolor copies of St. Ladislav and St. Emeric's representations, which are located on the southern wall of the sanctuary (i.e., western side of the window), and their seventeenth-century dating, see: János, *Huszka József falképmásolatai*, 22-25, fig. 7; idem, *Színek és legendák*, 123-133, pl. XXIX; idem, "A Csikméναςági román katolikus templom falképeinek kutatástörténete" [History of the research of the wall paintings of the Roman Catholic church in Armășeni], in *Csiki Székely Múzeum Évkönyve 2007-2008. Művelődéstörténet* [Annual of the Szekler Museum of Ciuc 2007-2008. Cultural history], ed. János Murányi (Csíkszereda [Miercurea Ciuc]: Csíki Székely Múzeum [Muzeul Secuiesc al Ciucului] and Pro-Print Kiadó, 2008), 131-168. Only minor, poorly-preserved fragments of the two saints survive now and they are difficult to evaluate. A similarly-shaped headgear visible on the same register, but on the window's eastern side, might indicate that also St. Stephen was depicted here initially; however, this statement is only hypothetical.

Kézdiszentlélek)⁹⁴ were equally left out on account of their late, seventeenth-century dating. However, the latter's relevance for the iconography of the *sancti reges Hungariae* in Mălâncrav is briefly discussed in the dissertation.

This rather dense discussion of primary visual sources was designed to show, through this significant number of preserved or attested murals, the popularity which the theme of the *sancti reges Hungariae* enjoyed in religious mural painting across the medieval Kingdom of Hungary. One can only assume the great size of such a phenomenon, considering the loss of wall paintings throughout time in many religious monuments, and their plastering-up or whitewashing during the iconoclasm of the Reformation. Whereas the destruction of medieval churches and murals is irretrievable, the Reformation's cancelling of religious images through their covering with whitewash or plaster can be sometimes recovered through the restorers' attentive and dedicated work. This process of uncovering and restoring the wall paintings of medieval churches, which was greatly initiated during the last two decades, has substantial consequences especially in Transylvania, where the murals' uncovering brings each year new and surprising evidence, which is meant to reshape one's understanding of medieval religious wall painting. Subsequently, the above list of murals with images of holy kings remains open, and only those depictions still surviving or vanished, but attested by strong evidence are considered in the analysis. The above list of murals does not contain depictions of the *sancti reges Hungariae* only, but includes also several images of other holy kings (e.g., St. Sigismund of Burgundy in Bădești, Lónya, and possibly Mălâncrav; St. Oswald of Northumbria in Ighișu Nou, Sic, Sâncraiu de Mureș, and probably Ragály; or St. Louis IX of France in Chornotysiv). These were included in the list for the purpose of suggesting that the three *sancti reges Hungariae* were not the only holy kings which were venerated and, subsequently, depicted in religious mural painting across medieval Hungary. By keeping this fact in mind, one can realize that the identification of uncertain depictions of holy kings – to whom the identity of one the three Hungarian holy kings was assigned somehow automatically until now – is no longer a simple issue, but is further complicated by the presence in the religious mural painting across medieval Hungary of these “non-Hungarian” holy kings.⁹⁵ Additionally, by considering these representations of “non-Hungarian” holy kings, one can better understand the size of the cult of the *sancti reges Hungariae* as compared to similar cults of other royal saints. However, because the current doctoral research is dedicated to the cult and iconography of the *sancti reges Hungariae*, a concept

⁹⁴ For these murals, see: Zoltán György Horváth and Béla Gondos, *Székelyföldi freskók a teljesség igényével. Fresken in Szeklerland mit Deutscher Zusammenfassung und Bilduntertiteln. Frescos in Székely-Hungarian Churches with English Summary and Captions* (Budapest: Romanika Kiadó, 2001), 101-103.

⁹⁵ Marosi, “Saints at Home and Abroad”, 198, has this caveat in connection only with the representation of St. Sigismund in Bădești, which was then newly-discovered; however, the art historian does not consider other possible depictions of holy kings such as those mentioned above.

understood as a specific but variable grouping of saints, and not to the cult and iconography of each of these royal saints regarded individually, only those cases which gather at least two holy kings are included in the Catalogue of Murals. The absence from the Catalogue of Murals of those isolated representations of individual holy kings does not mean that they are excluded completely from the iconographic analysis. Throughout the text, reference is made to these isolated depictions of individual holy kings (either one of the three holy kings of Hungary or any other royal saint), whenever their iconographic features become relevant for understanding the iconographic characteristics of the representation of the *sancti reges Hungariae* in religious mural painting.

Because the discussion of every single example in the iconographic analysis would become at some point repetitive, these representations are grouped according to their iconographic features, and each group is discussed separately in the dissertation together with the problems it raises. However, because they deserve equal attention, the majority of these occurrences of groupings of holy kings in religious mural painting are analyzed separately and included in the Catalogue of Murals in the Appendix. This catalogue represents the main working tool and permanent point of reference for the dissertation's iconographic analysis.

1. 4. 2. Secondary Written Sources

Besides the pictorial evidence gathering the representations of the *sancti reges Hungariae* in religious mural painting, a significant part is represented also by those written sources, which contain information on the three holy kings of Hungary, regarded either separately or collectively. These sources are preserved in great number, they belong to a multitude of genres, and can be divided roughly into political (e.g., chronicles, charters, letters, literary works, etc.) and hagiographical (e.g., saints' *vitae*, liturgical hymns and offices, sermons written on the three holy kings of Hungary, etc.) sources. Their discussion and analysis play a secondary, but nonetheless essential role within the economy of the dissertation, namely, the role of contextualizing and explaining the different layers of meaning in the iconography of the *sancti reges Hungariae*. These written sources, which are subjected to change and evolution, represent symptoms of particular times and spiritual milieus, and offer valuable information on how the holy kings of Hungary were perceived and what dominant mentalities configured their iconography. In this respect, the occasional investigation of contemporaneous, European parallels and their comparison with the cult of Hungary's holy kings has the purpose to integrate the latter into the wider spiritual context, and to emphasize the similarities and differences with the cults of other holy rulers of medieval Central

Europe. In several countries of this region, one can note as well the depiction and grouping of holy rulers occurring during roughly the same period.⁹⁶

1. 5. Working Hypotheses and Research Questions

During the presentation of the aims of the research on the iconography of the holy kings of Hungary in religious mural painting, these were grouped into two categories of equal importance. On the one hand, there is the examination of religious, theological, devotional, and political components of the cult of the *sancti reges Hungariae*, and the extent in which they are traceable at the level of its associated, visual depictions. On the other hand, there is the examination of those political and social factors, which contributed to the great popularity and diffusion of the cult and iconography of Hungary's holy kings. Keeping this distinction in mind, the former category of research aims is presented in the form of a set of working hypotheses, whereas the latter is addressed as a set of research questions.

Depending on a set of variables – such as the particular royal saints (or other category of saints they are associated with for that matter) which are selected to illustrate the iconography of the *sancti reges Hungariae*, and the place within the religious edifice or the iconographic context these representations occur in, respectively –, certain visual depictions of the holy kings of Hungary are more likely to express prominently either a religious/theological or political meaning. Others display equally these components in a particular synthesis, which is typical for medieval thinking, but makes difficult to ascertain the preponderance of one or another aspect. The prominence of one or the other components and their mixture is characteristic for the message the iconographers or commissioners of the murals intended to express.

When examining the representations of the *sancti reges Hungariae* in church mural painting, I shall try to find answers to several questions, such as: Which social category (nobility, clergy, townsmen, peasantry, etc.) did the murals' commissioners belong to, and what was their political status (supporters or opponents of royalty)? Did the commissioners' belonging to a certain social and political category influence the transmission and diffusion of the royal-originating iconography? Was the depiction of the *sancti reges Hungariae* in religious mural painting only a simple means of personal devotion (e.g., special veneration of one of the three saints determined by a direct patronage relationship), or was it a means for commissioners of making a political or social statement (e.g., the patron's close connection to royal court, imitation of the royalty's patterns of

⁹⁶ Idea expressed by Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers*, 341-342.

devotion and patronage by higher nobility, and of higher nobility by lesser noblemen)? What ethnical groups (Hungarians, Saxons, Slovak, Szeklers, Vlachs/Romanians, etc.) did the murals' commissioners belong to, and can one establish patterns of devotion towards Hungary's holy kings among these ethnical groups? What were the reasons Romanian Orthodox *ktetors* in Transylvania have had for depicting these Catholic saints in their churches? Can one speak of regional iconographic and patronage patterns (e.g., "Hungarian," "Saxon," "Slovak," "Szekler," "Romanian/Vlach," etc.) or are all the iconographic types ascribable to the whole medieval Kingdom of Hungary?

1. 6. Followed Steps and Applied Methods (Research Methodology)

The great number of mural representations where the holy kings of Hungary occur either separately or collectively, their different iconographic characteristics, their geographical distribution across a large territory belonging to several countries (i.e., present-day Austria, Croatia, Hungary, Italy, Poland, Romania, Slovakia, Slovenia, and Ukraine), and their chronology covering the large interval of the fourteenth century to the early-sixteenth century make difficult the shaping of a coherent vision on the iconography of the *sancti reges Hungariae* in religious mural painting.

The first step in this endeavor was to create an image database, which was useful in comparing the mural paintings and in establishing their main iconographic characteristics. Because in this research the images' intrinsic and extrinsic characteristics, as well as their chronology are very important, the murals were catalogued and analyzed as independent instances, following a strategy which implied several significant steps. The important aspects considered here were: (a) the place of the holy kings' scene in the church; (b) its iconographic context; (c-d) its iconographic and stylistic features; (e) and the mural's dating. Besides standard iconographic analysis or description of each mural representation, another important step is its stylistic analysis, this being often (whenever other type of information was absent) the only tool for framing chronologically a representation of Hungary's holy kings.

The results of this preliminary research stage were integrated in the Catalogue of Murals which contains the representations of Hungary's holy kings in medieval church wall painting. This catalogue constitutes an important working tool and a continuous point of reference for the analysis in the dissertation. Since not only the preserved murals are part of the analysis but also the lost ones, for which there is either written (traveler accounts/descriptions, diaries, reports, etc.) or visual (watercolor copies, drawings and sketches, photographs, etc.) evidence, it was important to evaluate

critically the information provided by this type of secondary evidence and to establish for each case its degree of reliability (representations analyzed on the basis of their autopsy). All these items (the Catalogue of Murals, Chronological Chart, Geographical/Regional Map of Distribution, and the secondary evidence, both visual and written) form the Appendix of the dissertation and its working tool.

On the basis of these preliminary observations, the outcome was grouped according to problems and, subsequently, discussed and analyzed. It was compared with the dominant ideas and mentalities surrounding the figures of the *sancti reges Hungariae* as they appear after the critical analysis of the written sources. The critical treatment of various types of written evidence, together with the data provided by the available information on devotional practices and artistic patronage were then juxtaposed to the outcome of the iconographic analysis of pictorial sources. This art-historical method, known generally as iconology, had the purpose of proving that not only the actual holy kings of Hungary were the consequence of medieval political and theological thinking (illustrated by their dual nature as symbols of the Hungarian State and Church), but also that their iconography was configured by particular syntheses of secular and religious actions (that reflected equally their role as secular rulers and sacred characters). The problem-oriented groupings of iconographic features of murals were then confronted with the set of research questions, in order to determine the religious, theological, devotional, political, and social aspects surrounding the cult and iconography of the *sancti reges Hungariae*.

Primarily, this doctoral research is an art-historical study dedicated to the iconography of the *sancti reges Hungariae* in church mural painting during the period comprised between the fourteenth century to the early-sixteenth century. However, given the multitude of aspects to be covered throughout the examination of the visual material (religious, theological and devotional, political, social, etc.), the iconographic research acquired an interdisciplinary character. Due to the richness of the material, it was not possible to exhaust the topic of the iconography of the *sancti reges Hungariae* in medieval church painting in the present doctoral dissertation and, therefore, several topics that are particular relevant for the devotional and political aspects of this iconography have been selected and analyzed in detail. Other important aspects were addressed only in passing, whereas others were completely left out for the time being.

Concerning the relationship between history and visual arts, one easily admits that visual production involves social reality, both being interconnected by means of strong and complex ties. Formal approaches to art, which take into account its visual nature, comes often to *ahistoricity*, as they disregard those social structures, economic conditions, and political coordinates that led to the

appearance of a work of art.⁹⁷ On the other hand, in its use of works of art, social history disregards often their formal side, missing consequently their individuality and the effect they had on viewers.⁹⁸ Whereas in application to medieval representations of saints, traditional methods of art history were satisfied with classifying images into iconographic types,⁹⁹ historians used works of art merely as illustrations of historical occurrences.¹⁰⁰ However, the relationship between historical reality and works of art shouldn't be formulated simply in terms of causality or direct reflection, neither in terms of dual streams of artistic and historical realms, which are discussed with their own vocabularies. Subsequently, art historians should simultaneously look for those social conditions which made possible for an image to appear, the ways this image is related to its artistic context, and the role of that image in a period's social and political practices. Thus, the combination of iconology and social history acknowledges the range of transformations of the subject matter, allowing the articulating of regularities and variations, and noting the meaning behind those sudden and unusual appearances, which otherwise would be considered as "deviations" in the framework of traditional art history.¹⁰¹

⁹⁷ On the danger of disregarding historical conditions and, simultaneously, the possibility to lose the autonomy of art history, see: Otto Pächt, *Questions de méthode en histoire de l'art* (Paris: Éditions Macula, 1994).

⁹⁸ For a critique of social-historical methods as applied to art, see: Mieke Bal and Norman Bryson, "Semiotics and Art History", *The Art Bulletin* 73/2 (1991), 174-298. Even though the authors insist on semiotics as the main tool for interdisciplinary studies of art and they search for "socially-constructed codes", in the case of medieval studies, one is faced with the problem that a large part of contexts is now lost or subjected to multiple interpretations.

⁹⁹ Erwin Panofsky, "Iconography and Iconology: An Introduction to the Study of Renaissance Art", in Erwin Panofsky, *Meaning in the Visual Arts* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1993), 58.

¹⁰⁰ For the use of images as evidence for historical sciences, see: Peter Burke, *Eyewitnessing: The Uses of Images as Historical Evidence* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2001).

¹⁰¹ For iconology as an art-historical method, see especially: Panofsky, "Iconography and Iconology", 51-82; Jaś Elsner and Katharina Lorenz, "The Genesis of Iconology", *Critical Inquiry* 38/3 (2012), 483-512. For various critiques of this method, see especially: Keith Moxey, "Panofsky's Concept of *Iconology* and the Problem of Interpretation in the History of Art", *New Literary History* 17/2 (1986), 265-274; W. J. T. Mitchell, *Iconology: Image, Text, Ideology* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1986); Hans Belting, "Image, Medium, Body: A New Approach to Iconology", *Critical Inquiry* 31 (2005), 302-319. For social history as a field of historical studies, see especially: Eric Hobsbawm, "From Social History to the History of Society", in *Historical Studies Today*, ed. Felix Gilbert and Stephen Graubard (New York: W. W. Norton, 1972), 1-26; Geoff Eley, "Some Recent Tendencies in Social Studies", in *International Handbook of Historical Studies. Contemporary Research and Theory*, ed. Georg G. Iggers and Harold T. Parker (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1979), 55-70; Antoine Prost, "What Has Happened to French Social History?", *The Historical Journal* 35/3 (1992), 671-679. For the relationship between art history and social history, see: T. J. Clark, "On the Social History of Art", in T. J. Clark, *Image of the People: Gustave Courbet and the 1848 Revolution* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 1973), 249-258; Peter Burke, "The Social History of Art", *The Historical Journal* 33/4 (1990), 989-992; Keith P. F. Moxey, "Semiotics and the Social History of Art", *New Literary History* 22/4 (1991), 985-999; Craig Clunas, "Social History of Art", in *Critical Terms for Art History. Second Edition*, ed. Robert S. Nelson and Richard Shiff (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2003), 465-477.

1. 7. Structure of Dissertation

The first chapter of the dissertation – *The Cult(s) and Iconography of the sancti reges Hungariae during the Árpáadian and Angevin Periods (Late-eleventh to Late-fourteenth Century)* – offers a general overview of the cults of the three holy kings of Hungary from their emergence as individual cults (around 1083 and around 1192, respectively) to their configuration as the cult of holy predecessors for the last Árpáadian and first Angevin rulers, and as a politically-motivated joint cult during the reign of King Louis the Great of Anjou. The combined discussion of both written and visual sources is meant to offer an integrative perspective to the complex cults of the three holy kings of Hungary, underlining their various stages of evolution. The chapter discusses first the characteristics of the holy kings' individual cults and then looks for evidence in the time's written sources for the merging of the individual cults into a joint cult of the holy predecessors of the Árpáadian and Angevin dynasts. It underlines the royal support of this cult and highlights its various purposes, i.e., to revere one's holy predecessors as a guarantee of things' good functioning, or to acquire sacred capital and political legitimacy. By looking both at the Hungarian (Árpáadian and Angevin) and foreign (Neapolitan Angevin) visual evidence, it establishes the moment of emergence of the iconography of the three *sancti reges Hungariae* around the mid-fourteenth century. Although the support of this cult is mainly a royal affair during the second half of the thirteenth and the first half of the fourteenth century, other supporters and promoters (ecclesiastical figures, noblemen, burghers, etc.) started to appear during the second half of the fourteenth century. These new supporters and promoters contributed to the generalization of the cult, that is, the spreading and transformation of the *sancti reges Hungariae* into the patron saints of the country. Because the first murals with the holy kings' collective image started to appear only during the late-fourteenth century, this first chapter has the purpose to offer the background information for the cult of Hungary's holy kings and the premises for understanding their representation in religious mural painting.

The iconographic analysis of the murals depicting Hungary's holy kings commences with the chapter entitled *Between Personal Devotion and Political Propaganda – The Depiction of the Three sancti reges Hungariae in Religious Mural Painting of Late-medieval Hungary*. This chapter examines the main iconographic features (both individual and collective) of the representation in religious mural painting of the Hungarian royal trio. By looking into the question of patronage and commissionship, it establishes that the donors' motivation for venerating the *sancti reges Hungariae* and for having their images in church decoration were both devotional and political. It then shows how the pictorial trio of Hungary's holy rulers was employed in various historical

circumstances for the purpose of political propaganda and how, by means of complex visual and heraldic strategies, the collective image of the *sancti reges Hungariae* conveyed efficiently ideological messages.

Continuing the iconographic analysis, the next chapter entitled *The Pillars of the Hungarian State and Church – Political-theological Implications in the Joint Representation of Sts Stephen and Ladislas* examines in detail another iconographic type which gathers only the effective rulers and excludes St. Emeric. After examining in detail the iconographic characteristics of this group of murals which selects Sts Stephen and Ladislas only, places them on the pillars of the triumphal arch, and depicts them in the company of the Old Testament Prophets, the analysis turns to the discussion of a number of various written sources (e.g., political-theoretical and historical works, saints' lives and offices, sermons, etc.). They reveal the attempt of medieval authors at shaping the image of the two holy kings after the model of the two Old Testament Kings Solomon and David, presenting thus St. Stephen as a predominantly wise and righteous ruler and St. Ladislas as a predominantly brave and strong ruler. These sources help one understand the reasons why the two Hungarian holy kings have been depicted in the company of the Old Testament Prophets, whereas the architectural symbolism of the place their images were located in (i.e., the pillars of the triumphal arch) reveals the awareness of medieval iconographers that Sts Stephen and Ladislas have been ambivalent figures, both sacred (saints) and secular (kings), and that they have been the embodiment of the two main royal virtues, namely, wisdom and strength. The examination of the frescoes' chronological distribution reveals that this iconographic type precedes the depiction of the *sancti reges Hungariae* as a trio, whereas looking into the problem of commissionership establishes another interesting devotional pattern for the donors of murals depicting Sts Stephen and Ladislas.

Examining both written and pictorial evidence, the next chapter (*Holy Kings and Royal Propaganda – sancti reges Hungariae, St. Sigismund of Burgundy, and King Sigismund of Luxemburg*) addresses the diffusion of St. Sigismund's cult from Bohemia to Hungary during the late-fourteenth century and the saint's subsequent transformation during the fifteenth century into one of the patrons of the country. In so doing, it assesses the significance of King Sigismund's actions to promote his personal patron in Hungary and shows that the king emulated the model of his father, Charles IV of Luxemburg. King Sigismund promoted his spiritual patron within his country and associated him with St. Ladislas, the traditional patron of Hungary; he succeeded, thus, to accommodate the foreign saint to a new home and to transform him for a short interval into one of Hungary's holy protectors. The natural consequence of this "holy and faithful fellowship" was the cult's transfer from the royal milieu to that of the kingdom's nobility. Willing to prove their loyalty to the king, Hungarian noblemen decorated their churches with St. Sigismund's image and

depicted him in the company of the *sancti reges Hungariae*. This chapter illustrates how a period's political transformations facilitated the spreading of a new saint's cult from his cult center to another region, and that a saint's veneration was sometimes motivated politically.

The next chapter entitled *Hybrid Art and Piety – Transgression of Artistic and Confessional Borders by the 'sancti reges Hungariae'* – is complex case study which examines in detail those representations of holy kings that have been commissioned or used by Orthodox Romanians, as well as those depictions made by painters of Byzantine tradition, who worked for either Catholic or Orthodox patrons. After a brief overview of scholarship and several methodological clarifications concerning the question of hybridity in medieval religious art, the pictorial and devotional hybridity of these images is analyzed at several levels, namely: the murals' internal features, the saints' accompanying inscriptions, the images' iconographic context, and their commissioners. This analysis reveals that the discussed levels of hybridity functioned in different ways, depending on the images' specific contexts of creation, commissioning, and usage. When painting these Catholic saints, the artists formed in the Byzantine, artistic tradition made continuous adjustments in the process for conveying the meaning requested by their commissioners, but their low familiarity with these saints has led to iconographic departures or peculiarities in the iconography of the *sancti reges Hungariae*. These saints' accompanying inscriptions in Old Church Slavonic or mixed languages reveal, on the one hand, the awareness that Hungary's holy kings belonged to a different cultural and confessional background than that of the painters and their commissioners, and, on the other hand, they show the artists' and patrons' attempt at assimilating these Catholic holy rulers. The examination of the relationship between these images and the neighboring representations in the Orthodox churches in Crișcior and Ribița indicates that their particular iconographic setting enriched the meaning of the three *sancti reges Hungariae*, who were perceived by the two churches' ktetors as originators and guarantors of legal rights. The discussion of donors established new patterns of devotion and artistic patronage which reveal that the artistic and devotional hybridity of these images was equally meaningful for their painters, commissioners, and medieval audience. The transgression of artistic and confessional borders by the three *sancti reges Hungariae* was undoubtedly the direct consequence of their high popularity during the Late Middle Ages, Hungary's holy kings succeeding to acquire a political, social, and also devotional relevance for the larger community of faithful, Catholic and Orthodox alike.

The concluding chapter of the dissertation summarizes the main findings of this new research on various devotional and political aspects in the iconography of the *sancti reges Hungariae* in religious mural painting between the fourteenth century and the early-sixteenth century.

2. The Cult(s) and Iconography of the *sancti reges Hungariae* during the Árpáadian and Angevin Periods (Late-eleventh to Late-fourteenth Century)

The collective representation of the *sancti reges Hungariae*, which is the subject matter of a high number of pictorial depictions decorating the walls of many medieval churches between the fourteenth century and the early-sixteenth century, is usually composed of the following Árpáadian royal saints: St. Stephen (r. 1000/1001-1038), the founder of the Christian Kingdom of Hungary and organizer of its Church; St. Emeric (1000/1007-1031), the son of the former, who never became king because of his premature death; and St. Ladislas (r. 1077-1095), the brave defender of St. Stephen's apostolic heritage. However, before proceeding to the iconographic analysis of the murals these three saints are featured in, it is important to know who they were as historical personages, what were the circumstances of their becoming sacred characters (i.e., the circumstances of their canonization), and which were the main features of their cults, either individual or collective. Because they were canonized in different moments of time and at the initiative of different persons, each of the three sacred rulers of the Árpáadian dynasty is briefly discussed separately. This discussion is then followed by an assessment of medieval textual evidence looking for traces of their collective cult in the written evidence of the time. The outcome of this textual evidence is then compared with the visual evidence, namely, those works of art displaying the *sancti reges Hungariae*. By assessing these works' iconographic features, the circumstances of their production and commissioning, as well as the function they were supposed to fulfill, this chapter seeks to understand the main characteristics of the cult and iconography of the holy kings of Hungary during the Late Middle Ages.

Because the textual and visual aspects of the medieval cult(s) of the *sancti reges Hungariae* are often strongly interrelated – the latter relying on the former and both contributing equally to the spread, popularity, and transformation of a saint's cult –, this chapter does not follow strictly the division between the textual and visual sides of the holy kings' cult(s), which would result into separate (sub)chapters belonging to distinct scholarly fields. It rather combines them and attempts at making them work together within a single scholarly discourse which is meant to fully retrieve the complexity of the joint cult of the *sancti reges Hungariae*. Needless to say, this confers to the present discussion an interdisciplinary character.

2. 1. *Rex iustus, dux castus, and athleta patriae* – Three Hypostases of Sacred Kingship

The first-at-hand, written information about each of the holy kings of Hungary is represented by their hagiographies, which were elaborated either shortly before their canonization or sometime after the event. However, they reflect not so much the real sacred characters, but rather the mentality of the times that generated them, offering thus valuable information on the promoters of the saints' cults and the objectives these promoters sought to achieve by means of making a person to be declared holy.¹⁰²

There are three medieval *vitae* of St. Stephen, the first Christian king of Hungary (from 1000/1001 to 1038) and the first holy king, who earned his sacred dignity not as a consequence of having suffered martyrdom, but for the merit of having converted his people to Christianity and having ruled as a Christian prince.¹⁰³ These hagiographical sources are: the so-called *Legenda maior* (written during the 1077-1083 period); the so-called *Legenda minor* (composed at the turn of the eleventh and twelfth centuries); and the compilation of the previous two versions by Bishop Hartvic (made either around 1100, or between 1112 and 1116).¹⁰⁴ Written prior to his canonization, the *Legenda maior* emphasizes the circumstances of the Hungarians' conversion to Christianity, and presents St. Stephen as a *miles Christi*, a missionary and ascetic king, founder of many churches, legislator and Church-organizer. Composed shortly after St. Stephen's canonization, the *Legenda minor* highlights in turn the saint's qualities as authoritative, but righteous ruler, who fights equally against the enemies of his country and of the Church, as well as against resilient pagans. Besides putting together the previous two texts and presenting St. Stephen as both a cruel but righteous and pious ruler, Bishop Hartvic's version enriches St. Stephen's life with a series of hagiographic motifs and references to matters of canon law (e.g., the papal crown and apostolic cross, or the *utroque jure* concept), which formed the time's political agenda.¹⁰⁵ The three hagiographers portray St.

¹⁰² In "The Cult of Saints. A Discussion Initiated by Maria Crăciun and Carmen Florea", *Colloquia* 1-2 (2005), 135-164, Trevor Johnson thinks that saints must be treated as witnesses of their canonization time, not of the period of their life, an opinion which supports Kathleen Ashley's view, expressed on the same occasion, that saints are, among other things, cultural phenomena.

¹⁰³ Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers*, 134; see also the entire chapter "*Rex iustus*: The Sainly Institutor of Christian Kingship", pp. 114-154, published in abridged from as: idem, "*Rex iustus*: The Sainly Institutor of Christian Kingship", *The Hungarian Quarterly* 41/158 (2000), 14-31.

¹⁰⁴ For the Latin text and the critical edition of these *vitae*, see: Emma Bartoniek, "Legendae Sancti Stephani Regis maior et minor, atque legenda ab Hartvico Episcopo conscripta", in *Scriptores Rerum Hungaricarum Tempore Ducum Regumque Stirpis Arpadianae Gestarum*, ed. Emericus Szentpétery (Budapest: Nap Kiadó, 1999), 2: 365-440 (reprint of the 1938 edition) (henceforth: Szentpétery, *Scriptores Rerum Hungaricarum*). For an English translation of Bishop Hartvic's legend, see: Nora Berend, "Hartvic, Life of King Stephen of Hungary", in *Medieval Hagiography. An Anthology*, ed. Thomas Head (New York: Garland Publishing, 2000), 375-398.

¹⁰⁵ For Hartvic's additions, see the introductory part and critical apparatus in Bartoniek, "Legendae Sancti Stephani", 375-377, 396-398; József Gerics, "A Hartvic-legenda mintáiról és forrásairól" [On the Patterns and Sources of the Hartvic Legend], *Magyar Könyvszemle* 97 (1981), 175-188. For the political context that determined the new version's

Stephen as a *rex iustus* capable of acting according to his secular authority, even though this went against the usual behavior of a sacred character. He defeats the enemies wanting to usurp his throne or to undermine the Church, and takes cruel measures executing those wreaking injustice on the innocent. Subsequently, St. Stephen is conceived as the instrument of God's will, which he imposes with an iron fist.¹⁰⁶

Less rich in biographical data, the mid-twelfth century Legend of St. Emeric¹⁰⁷ seems generally shaped after the model of the mirrors for princes (*specula principum*, i.e., medieval books of moral instructions for the king-to-be),¹⁰⁸ and particularly after the *Admonitions* of St. Stephen to his son.¹⁰⁹ The leitmotif of the *vita* is the ideal of chastity that Prince Emeric embodied during his short life (1000/1007-1031), this specificity of the text reflecting more the Church's program at that time than a real historical character.¹¹⁰ Having been able to preserve his virginity and purity even in

emergence, see József Deér, "Der Anspruch der Herrscher des 12. Jahrhunderts auf die apostolische Legation", *Archivum Historiae Pontificiae* 2 (1964), 117-186, esp. pp. 158-161. For analyses of St. Stephen's three *vitae* in their cultural contexts, see: Richard Pražák, "The Legends of King Stephen", *Hungarian Studies* 1/2 (1985), 163-178; Gábor Klaniczay, "Szent István legendái a középkorban" [Saint Stephen's Legends in the Middle Ages], in *Szent István és kora* [Saint Stephen and his age], ed. Ferenc Glatz and József Kardos (Budapest: MTA Történettudományi Intézete, 1988), 185-197 (henceforth: Glatz, *Szent István és kora*); idem, *Holy Rulers*, 412-415, with bibliography; Nora Berend, "Construcciones divergentes de la memoria real en el Reino de Hungría: Esteban I (997-1038) en las leyes, las crónicas y la hagiografía", in *La construcción medieval de la memoria regia*, ed. Pascual Martínez Sopena and Ana Rodríguez (Valencia: Universitat de València, 2011), 50-54.

¹⁰⁶ Emma Bartoniek, "Legenda S. Stephani regis ab Hartvico episcopo conscripto", in Szentpétery, *Scriptores Rerum Hungaricarum*, 2: 426-427. For King Stephen I's historical figure, see especially: György Györffy, *István király és műve* [King Stephen and his work] (Budapest: Gondolat, 1977), published also in English, in abridged form as: idem, *King Saint Stephen of Hungary* (Boulder: Social Science Monographs, 1994); Gyula Kristó, *Szent István király* [King Saint Stephen] (Budapest: Vince Kiadó, 2001); Marie-Madeleine de Cevins, *Saint Étienne de Hongrie* (Paris: Fayard, 2004); László Veszprémy, "Royal Saints in Hungarian Chronicles, Legends and Liturgy", in *The Making of Christian Myths in the Periphery of Latin Christendom (c. 1000-1300)*, ed. Lars Boje Mortensen (Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press and University of Copenhagen, 2006), 224-232.

¹⁰⁷ For the life's text, see: Emma Bartoniek, "Legenda Sancti Emerici Ducis", in Szentpétery, *Scriptores Rerum Hungaricarum*, 2: 441-460, with critical edition of the text. For the legend's dating to various periods during the first half of the twelfth century (i.e., either after 1108, between 1125 and 1127, or around mid-twelfth century), see: Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers*, 415-417. See also: Imre Madzsar, "Szent Imre herceg legendája" [The Legend of Duke Emeric], *Századok* 65 (1931), 35-61; Sarolta Tóth, "Magyar és lengyel Imre-legendák" [Hungarian and Polish Emeric Legends], *Acta Universitatis Szegediensis. Acta Historica* 11 (1962), 1-72; Gábor Bradács, "*Henricus filius Stephani, qui tantis miraculis claruit*. Szent Imre herceg a középkori európai történetírásban" [*Henricus filius Stephani, qui tantis miraculis claruit*. Duke Saint Emeric in Medieval European Historical Writings], *Történeti tanulmányok* 16 (2008), 51-72.

¹⁰⁸ Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers*, 416-417. For the genre of mirrors for princes, see especially: Hans Hubert Anton, *Fürstenspiegel und Herrscherethos in der Karolingerzeit* (Bonn: L. Röhrscheid, 1968); Sverre Bagge, *The Political Thought of the King's Mirror* (Odense: Odense University Press, 1987), with bibliography.

¹⁰⁹ One of the versions of St. Emeric's *vita* begins precisely with an outline of the exhortations of the prince's father. For this first work on the theory of state in medieval Hungary, see below.

¹¹⁰ Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers*, 416. For Prince Emeric's historical figure, see especially: János Bollók, "Szent Imre alakja középkori krónikáinkban" [Saint Emeric's figure in medieval chronicles], in *Művelődéstörténeti tanulmányok a magyar középkorról* [Studies of cultural history on the Hungarian Middle Ages], ed. Erik Fügedi (Budapest: Gondolat, 1986), 61-75; József Török, "Szent Imre a történelmi kutatások világánál" [Saint Emeric in the world of historical research], in Török, *Doctor et apostol*, 199-211.

marriage and having led his life according to Christian precepts, St. Emeric was a champion of virtue in general and of chastity in particular.¹¹¹

St. Stephen and his son were canonized in 1083 together with three other saints of the Hungarian Church – i.e., St. Gerard, Bishop of Csanád and martyr of the pagan revolt of 1046, and two hermit saints, St. Andrew Zoerard and St. Benedict – at the initiative of King Ladislas I (r. 1077-1095).¹¹² His decision fits in with the medieval practice of legitimizing rulership through the assertion of sacred ascendance and the accumulation of supernatural authority. King Ladislas had reasons to act this way, since he lacked the legitimacy of becoming king, which he did by depriving the legitimate and ruling King Solomon of the throne.¹¹³ On the other hand, St. Ladislas' canonization happened almost a century after his death (1192), at the initiative of King Béla III (r. 1173-1196) who, differently from his predecessor, did not need sacred legitimating for his rule, being already a direct successor of the Árpadian dynasty. The political and ideological reasons for St. Ladislas' canonization are not easy to identify. Gábor Klaniczay highlights Béla III's dream of leading a crusade, which only his illness prevented, much in the same way as Ladislas I's death allegedly prevented him to lead a Christian war, despite the request in this respect of the Frankish, Lotharingian, and Aleman kings. Knowing the legend of St. Ladislas, which presents him as a crusader (provided to have been written at that time), could have been a good announcement of Béla III's crusade intentions.¹¹⁴ Whatever Béla III's reasons, the cult of St. Ladislas started to develop from then on around his burial place in the Cathedral in Oradea Mare (Germ. *Großwardein*, Hung. *Nagyvárad*), the religious foundation of King Ladislas I himself. This was a different place than the cult center of the two other Árpadian royal saints, which was found in Székesfehérvár (Germ. *Stuhlweißenburg*). Székesfehérvár was the place of St. Stephen's residence as king, where he founded a cathedral which became later his burial place and that of his chaste son.

¹¹¹ Bartoniek, "Legenda Sancti Emerici Ducis", 455.

¹¹² Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers*, 123-134. For St. Gerard's personality, see more recently the collection of studies published in: Claudiu Mesaroş, ed., *Filosofia Sfântului Gerard de Cenad în context cultural și biografic* [The philosophy of Saint Gerard of Csanád in cultural and biographical context] (Szeged: JATE Press, 2013). For the cult of the holy hermits Andrew-Zoerard and Benedict, see especially: Szilveszter Sólmos, *Szent Zoerard-András (Szórárd) és Benedek remeték eléte és kultusza Magyarországon* [The lives and cults in Hungary of the hermits Saints Andrew Zoerard and Benedict] (Budapest: Magyar Egyháztörténeti Enciklopédia Munkaközösség, 1996); Marina Miladinov, "Lives of the Holy Hermits Zoerard the Confessor and Benedict the Martyr by Blessed Maurus, Bishop of Pécs", in *Vitae sanctorum aetatis conversionis Europae Centralis (saec. X-XI). Saints of the Christianization Age of Central Europe (Tenth-Eleventh Century)*, ed. Gábor Klaniczay (Budapest: CEU Press, 2013), 315-338.

¹¹³ Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers*, 129-131.

¹¹⁴ Ibid., 186-187. For St. Ladislas' "crusade", see: László Veszprémy, "Dux et praeceptor Hierosolimatorum. König Ladislaus (László) als imaginären Kreuzritter", 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: CEU Press, 1999), 470-477 (henceforth: Nagy, *Man of Many Devices*).

St. Ladislav's legend survives in two slightly different versions, which rely on the same source written shortly after his canonization.¹¹⁵ Even during this early period, one can easily note the chivalric traits of St. Ladislav's cult, the life and even the physical appearance of St. Ladislav having been shaped after those of the author of his canonization, i.e., King Béla III,¹¹⁶ much like the way the *vita* of St. Stephen expressed the governing principles of St. Ladislav.¹¹⁷ In Gábor Klaniczay's opinion,¹¹⁸ the description of St. Ladislav's physical harmony is the first example of *kalokagathia* in Hungarian Latin literature; the idea of physical beauty conceived as a manifestation of good designated also an important chivalric value for that matter.¹¹⁹ On the other hand, Kornél Szovák considers that the emphasis on St. Ladislav's physical harmony appearing in chronicles and legends was motivated by Ladislav's lack of legitimacy as king. Being technically the usurper of his cousin Solomon, Ladislav could not be presented, therefore, in these texts as a model of *rex iustus*; instead, their authors emphasized the king's piety and generosity in order to justify his suitability to rule.¹²⁰ The liturgical texts written not much after St. Ladislav's canonization call him *columpna milicie christianae* (pillar of Christian militia) and *defensor indefessus et athleta patriae* (invincible defender and athlete of the country/fatherland).¹²¹ Two sermons from around 1290 by Benedict, the Bishop of Nagyvárád, describe St. Ladislav as the absolute embodiment of chivalric values,¹²² an ideal knight-king, whose conduct is guided by four key-virtues – *veritas* (truthfulness), *providencia* (foresight), *humanitas* (humanity), and *strenuitas* (energy)¹²³ – and in whom the noblesse of birth

¹¹⁵ Emma Bartoniek, "Legenda Sancti Ladislai Regis", in Szentpétery, *Scriptores Rerum Hungaricarum*, 2: 509-527, with critical edition of the text. For St. Ladislav's figure in written sources, see: László Mezey, "Athleta patriae. A korai László-irodalom alakulása" [The formation of the early literature on Ladislav], in *Athleta patriae. Tanulmányok Szent László történetéhez* [Athleta patriae. Studies on the history of Saint Ladislav], ed. László Mezey (Budapest: Szent István Társulat, 1980), 19-55; László N. Szelestei, "A Szent László-legenda szövegahagyományozódásáról (Ismeretlen legendaváltozat)" [The textual tradition of Saint Ladislav's Legend (An unknown variant)], *Magyar Könyvszemle* 100 (1984), 184-196; Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers*, 417-419.

¹¹⁶ Kornél Szovák, "The Image of the Ideal King in Twelfth-century Hungary. Remarks on the legend of St. Ladislav", in *Kings and Kingship in Medieval Europe*, ed. Anne J. Duggan (London: King's College, Center for Late Antique and Medieval Studies, 1993), 241-264, analyzes the physical descriptions of King Béla III, who was literally endowed with a "kingly" stature, impressing his contemporaries. The author thus concludes that the twelfth-century King of Hungary could have been the model for St. Ladislav's profusion of corporeal gifts presented in his chronicles and *vitae*.

¹¹⁷ Gábor Klaniczay, "L'image chevaleresque du saint roi au XIIe siècle", in *La royauté sacrée dans le monde chrétien*, ed. Alain Boureau and Claude Sergio Ingerflom (Paris: Éditions de l'École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, 1992), 56.

¹¹⁸ Idem, *Holy Rulers*, 188.

¹¹⁹ Ágnes Kurcz, *A lovagi kultúra Magyarországon a 13-14. században* [Chivalric culture in Hungary in the 13th and 14th centuries] (Budapest: Akadémiai, 1988), 194, 211.

¹²⁰ Szovák, *Image of Ideal King*, 248-249.

¹²¹ Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers*, 188.

¹²² For medieval sermons on St. Ladislav, see: Edit Madas, *Sermones de sancto Ladislao rege Hungarie. Középkori prédikációk Szent László királyról* [Sermones de sancto Ladislao rege Hungarie. Medieval sermons on Saint King Ladislav] (Debrecen: Debreceni Egyetem, 2004); see also: Madas and Horváth, *Középkori prédikációk és falképek Szent László királyról*.

¹²³ Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers*, 189.

goes hand in hand with the noblesse of character. Additionally, the noble physical appearance is perfected by the noblesse of the intellect:

“[...] cum nobilitate generis morum nobilitate contendas [...] fuit autem sanctus rex Ladislaus non solum nobilitate carnali, que multis adest et plerisque ad periculum [...] sed etiam nobilitate mentali...”¹²⁴

Typologically, the three holy kings of Hungary belong to different categories of saints, each of them popular at a specific time.¹²⁵ After reconciling the incongruity between the prerogatives of a secular ruler, who should fight to defend his country, to punish the unjust, and to judge his subjects, with a moral life led by the holy man according to Christian precepts, the Church found a way to accept the sanctity of secular rulers by making them suffer martyrdom.¹²⁶ The context provided by the conversion of pagan peoples to Christianity by the will of their rulers gave rise to a change in the mentality of the Church, which thus became ready to accept the holiness of those kings, who played only the role of their countries' apostles and righteous rulers: St. Stephen is the case in point.¹²⁷ The Church's compromise was not irrevocable, since it tried to promote simultaneously the ideal of asceticism and chastity of the prince raised to become a Christian ruler, the most eloquent example being St. Emeric.¹²⁸ This ideal became unfashionable in the context of the holy war, which made possible a new type of saintly ruler: the knight-king fighting for Christian faith and defending his country against pagan invaders, as St. Ladislas did.¹²⁹ Consequently, the sanctity of the three holy kings of Hungary was generated by different mentalities and at different moments in time. Additionally, their cults served initially different purposes for their royal initiators and promoters, and developed afterwards independently from each other.

¹²⁴ “[...] to nobility of birth you add nobility of character [...] King Saint Ladislas had not only a noble physique, which many people have, and which is fraught with all kinds of danger, but also nobility of intellect...” For the Latin text, see: Pál Lukcsics, *Szent László király ismeretlen legendája* [Unknown legend of Saint Ladislas] (Budapest: no publisher, 1930), 30, 32; for the English translation, see: Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers*, 189. For Bishop Benedict's sermons on Ladislas, see: Otto Mazal and András Vizkelety, “Teológiai kolligátum. Benedek nagyvárad püspök (?) beszéde Szent Lászlóról” [Theological *colligatum*. Bishop of Nagyvárad Benedict (?), Discourse on Saint Ladislas], in *Kódexek a középkori Magyarországon. Kiállítása az Országos Széchényi Könyvtárban, Budapest, Budavári Palota, 1985. november 12.-1986. február 28* [Codices in medieval Hungary. Exhibition in the National Széchényi Library, Budapest, Buda Castle, 12 November 1985 – 28 February 1986], ed. Béla Belák and András Vizkelety (Budapest: Interpress, 1985), 94.

¹²⁵ For typological approaches to royal sanctity, see: Robert Folz, *Les saints rois du Moyen Âge en Occident (VIe-XIIIe siècles)* (Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1984) – this study includes only the actual rulers, excluding thus St. Emeric; Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers*, especially pp. 114-294 for the Hungarian dynastic saints.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, 134-147.

¹²⁷ Karol Górski, “Le roi-saint: un problème d'idéologie féodale”, *Annales: Histoire, Sciences Sociales* 24 (1969), 370-376; František Graus, “La sanctification du souverain dans l'Europe centrale des Xe et XIe siècles”, in *Hagiographie, cultures, sociétés. Actes du Colloque organisé à Nanterre et à Paris (2-5 mai 1979)* (Paris: Études Agustiniennes, 1981), 559-572.

¹²⁸ Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers*, 155-158.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, 173-194.

2. 2. *Beata stirps Arpadiana* – One Cumulative Hypostasis of Royal/Dynastic Sainthood

Besides the textual evidence which refers separately to each of the three royal saints of the Árpadian dynasty and which is more or less generous, written sources dealing with St. Stephen, St. Emeric, and St. Ladislav as a collective appear rarely throughout the twelfth and thirteenth century. These sources are scattered among various types of documents (e.g., charters, correspondence, chronicles, and hagiographies).

The first occurrence of a collective of Hungarian saints, but without specifying who these holy kings of Hungary are in fact, is found in the *Chronica Hungarorum* of *Anonymus Bele Regis Notarius*.¹³⁰ Soon after St. Ladislav's canonization (around 1200), the chronicler relied on an etymological-historical method for explaining the significance of the name Álmos, who was the father of the founder of the Árpadian dynasty:

“Vocatus est Almus, id est sanctus, quia ex progenie eius sancti reges et duces erant nascituri.”¹³¹

Although they are not specifically named, the particular mentioning of holy kings and princes seem to indicate precisely Sts Stephen and Ladislav, and St. Emeric, respectively. Several decades passed before the explicit mention of the holy kings of Hungary. However, they are this time in the company of King Coloman the Learned (r. 1095-1116), the immediate successor of St. Ladislav and his nephew.¹³² In his *Carmen Miserabile* (1243),¹³³ which describes the destruction of the

¹³⁰ For the chronicle's Latin text and critical edition, see: Aemilius Jakubovich and Desiderius Pais, “P. magistri, qui Anonymus dicitur, Gesta Hungarorum”, in Szentpétery, *Scriptores Rerum Hungaricarum*, 1: 13-118; another critical edition accompanied this time by the text's English translation is Anonymus, “Gesta Hungarorum. The Deeds of the Hungarians”, in *Anonymi Bele regis notarii Gesta Hungarorum. Anonymous, Notary of King Béla. The Deeds of The Hungarians. Magistri Rogerii Epistola in miserabile carmen super destructione Regni Hungarie per tartaros facta. Master Roger's Epistle to the Sorrowful Lament upon the Destruction of the Kingdom of Hungary by the Tartars*, ed. Martyn Rady, László Veszprémy, and János M. Bak (Budapest: CEU Press, 2010), XVII-XL, 2-129 (henceforth: Rady, *Gesta Hungarorum & Miserabile carmen*); another English translation was published also by Martyn C. Rady, “The Gesta Hungarorum of Anonymus, the Anonymous Notary of King Béla: A Translation”, *The Slavonic and East European Review* 87 (2009), 681-727.

¹³¹ Jakubovich, “P. magistri Gesta Hungarorum”, 38. “He was called Álmos, which means *saint* [in Latin], because his offspring would sire saintly kings and princes.” The Latin adjective *almus*, -a, -um can convey also the meaning of *sanctus* or *pious*, apud Rady, “Gesta Hungarorum”, n. 34.

¹³² For Coloman's figure, see especially: Márta Font, *Koloman the Learned, King of Hungary* (Szeged: Szegedi Középkorász Műhely, 2001); for his possible cult and the cult of St. Coloman, see especially: Terézia Kerny, “Szent Kálmán és Könyves Kálmán kultuszáról” [On the cult of Saint Coloman and Coloman the Learned], *Ars Hungarica* 29/1 (2001), 9-32.

¹³³ For its Latin text and critical editions, see Ladislaus Juhász, “Rogerii Carmen Miserabile”, in Szentpétery, *Scriptores Rerum Hungaricarum*, 2: 529-588; for its critical edition accompanied by the text's English translation, see Master Roger, “Epistola in miserabile carmen super destructione Regni Hungarie per tartaros facta. Epistle of the Sorrowful Lament upon the Destruction of the Kingdom of Hungary by the Tartars”, in Rady, *Gesta Hungarorum & Miserabile carmen*, XLI-LIII, 133-228.

Hungarian Kingdom by the Tartars in 1241, the Canon of Nagyvárad Rogerius compares the zeal for faith of King Béla IV (r. 1235-1270) with that of his sacred royal ancestors:

“Cum Bela rex Hungarie inter principes Christianos zelator katholice fidei nosceretur, ad instar progenitorum suorum Stephani, Emerici, Ladislai et Colomani regum, qui sanctorum cathalogo sunt ascripti [...].”¹³⁴

Noteworthy is the undifferentiated enumeration of these holy, royal predecessors, which made St. Emeric to be included in the same category with other effective rulers, despite his premature death which deprived him of the throne. Later on, in 1254, still in the disastrous aftermath of the Mongol invasion, King Béla IV himself invoked the merits of his sacred predecessors, i.e., the holy kings, in order to convince Pope Innocent IV (1243-1254) to grant his country with the favor of the papal help.¹³⁵ Considering that the letter refers generally to the “sanctorum regum, Praedecessorum nostrorum merita”,¹³⁶ and that it has no specific mention of who these holy kings are, one cannot be sure that King Béla IV did not include among these predecessors, like Master Roger did earlier, also King Coloman the Learned.

When confirming in 1271 the liberties of the Bishopric of Eger, that had been in existence since the time of the holy kings and that were born according to the order established by the same holy kings,¹³⁷ King Stephen V (r. 1270-1272) resorted in the charter’s *sanctio* to the spiritual authority of his sacred predecessors, whose wrath and vengeance were called upon those failing to observe the royal decree:

“Quicumque ergo nostrorum regum successorum, baronum aut nobilium cuiuscumque preeminentie dignitatis existant de omnibus premissis articulis vel eorum singulis aliquid quoquo modo immutare, diminuire, seu negare

¹³⁴ Ibid., 134-137. “Béla, King of Hungary, was known among Christian princes as a zealot of Catholic faith, following the example of his predecessors, the kings Stephen, Emeric, Ladislai, and Coloman, who are inscribed in the catalogue of saints [...]”

¹³⁵ A. Ch. 1254. *Idem Bela rumore Tartaricae irruptionis percitus, auxilii gratia sedi Apostolicae supplicat; seque contra iniquas cauillationes defendit*, in Georgivs Fejér, ed., *Codex diplomaticvs Hvyngariae ecclesiasticvs ac civilis. Tomvs Qvartvs. Volumen II* (Buda: Typis Typogr. Regiae Vniuersitatis Vngaricae, 1829), 218-224.

¹³⁶ Ibid., 223: “Supplicamus igitur, vt consideret Sancta Mater Ecclesia et si non nostra, *saltem sanctorum regum, Praedecessorum nostrorum merita* [my underlining], qui plena deuotione et reuerentia se et suum populum per eorum praedicationam orthodoxae fidei subiugatum, inter ceteros mundi Principes in puritate fidei et obedientiae seruauerunt, propter quae sibi et suis Successoribus, quamidu eis successerunt prospera, Apostolica sedes irrequisita, et interdum promitebat omnem gratiam et fauorem, si necessitas immineret.”

¹³⁷ “Quapropter nos humiliter postulavit, ut *omnes libertates, quibus a tempore sanctorum regum nostrorum progenitorum ipsa ecclesia Agriensis dignoscebatur fulciri...*” and “... cum idem episcopus Agriensis *ex statutis sanctorum regum locum nutricis teneat...*” [my underlining], Erzsébet Kondorné Látkóczki, ed., *Diplomata Aetatis Arpadiana in Archivo Comitatu Hevesiensis Conservata. Árpád-kori oklevelek a Heves Megyei Levéltárban* (Eger: Heves Megyei Levéltár, 1997), 4: 34.

presumpserint, iram et indignationem ipsius Dei omnipotentis et regum sanctorum similiter se noverint incurrisse.”¹³⁸

Two years earlier (1269), when he was only Junior King, Duke of Transylvania, and Lord of the Cumans (1260-1270), the future King Stephen V issued another charter granting to the *comes* of Doboka Mykud a series of land donations as reward for his faithful service and military help during the 1260s conflict of the Junior King with his father, King Béla IV.¹³⁹ Stephen V’s decision was repeated ten years later by his son, King Ladislav IV (r. 1272-1290), who confirmed his father’s earlier donations to the same nobleman Mykud, this time *banus* of Szöreny. Both royal charters are particularly significant, because the three Árpáadian holy kings (this time, individually named in both cases) are invoked together again in the charters’ *sanctio*¹⁴⁰ as guarantors of the irrevocability of the royal grants. In Stephen V’s donation charter, the curse of his saintly predecessors, namely, the holy kings Stephen, Emeric, and Ladislav, is specifically mentioned:

“Et si aliquis ex posteris nostris tam ab ipso Mykud comite, quam a suis heredibus, heredumve successoribus revocaret cum effectu, maledictionem sanctorum progenitorum nostrorum regum Stephani, Hemerici et Ladizlai predecessorum incurrat ipso facto atque nostrum.”¹⁴¹

In the *sanctio* of King Ladislav IV’s royal confirmation, the anger of God, the Holy Virgin, and of the Holy Apostles Peter and Paul adds up to the anathema of Sts Stephen, Emeric, and Ladislav (who are again individually named), enhancing thus the irrevocability of the royal charter:

“Statuimus insuper, ut quicumque nostrorum successorum predictam villam et terras prefatas a prefato Mykud bano vel eius posteritatibus successu temporum auferre, revocare, vel aliquo modo alienare attemptaverint, iram Dei omnipotentis se senciant incurrisse et sancte Dei genitricis semperque virginis Marie et

¹³⁸ Ibid., 38. “May anybody from our royal successors, or any of the barons, noblemen, or other persons of distinguished position, who tries to change, diminish, or deny in any way the above-mentioned points or any one of them, draw upon himself the wrath and indignation of God Almighty and of the holy kings.”

¹³⁹ For this event, see: Attila Zsoldos, *Családi ügy: IV. Béla és István ifjabb király viszálya az 1260-as években* [A family affair: the conflict between Béla IV and Junior King Stephen in the 1260s] (Budapest: MTA Történettudományi Intézet, 2007).

¹⁴⁰ For the *sanctio* in the structure of charters, see: Maria Milagros Carcel Orti, *Vocabulaire international de la diplomatie* (Valencia: Conselleria de Cultura and Universitat de Valencia, 1994), 64. The *sanctio* is composed of a *prohibitio* and *comminatio*, the most formalized parts of a charter, based on formulas of curses and invocations of God and various saints.

¹⁴¹ Doc. no. 275, Sigismundus Jakó, ed., *Codex diplomaticus Transsylvaniae. Diplomata, epistolae et alia instrumenta litteraria res Transsylvanas illustrantia. I. 1023-1300. Erdélyi okmánytár: oklevelek, levelek és más írásos emlékek Erdély történetéhez. I. 1023-1300* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1997), 218-219. “And if somebody of our successors were to revoke the effect [of this donation] equally from *comes* Mykud and from his heirs or [his] successor’s heirs, may the malediction of our holy ancestors [and] predecessors, the kings Stephen, Emeric, and Ladislav, together with ours, fall upon this fact.”

beatorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli, necnon sanctorum confessorum Stephani, Emerici atque Ladislai anathemate feriantur.”¹⁴²

The inclusion of a real or spiritual penalty (*sanctio*) among the final clauses of a donation charter was a wide-spread practice in the Latin West. These spiritual penalties took often the form of malediction, curse, anathema, or other type of anger, which could be manifested by God, the Holy Virgin, or by any other saints (referred to either generically or specifically) upon those breaching the terms of a legal act.¹⁴³ The function of this spiritual penalty was to ensure the inviolability of the legal act by conferring upon it sacred protection. The designation in this context of specific saints (either founders of states or dynasties) provided for additional, ancestral guarantees, revealing also those saints’ well-established cults and containing sometimes political and ideological implications.¹⁴⁴ In the case of the royal charters issued by Kings Stephen V and Ladislav IV, the three *sancti reges Hungariae* were not only the passive ancestors and predecessors of the issuers of those legal acts. Through their invocation, they became also active players in the country’s governing, watching over the keeping of the law and punishing its transgression.

The special veneration for the holy kings of Hungary of the two thirteenth-century rulers bearing the names of their sacred royal ancestors – i.e., the founder of the Hungarian Kingdom Stephen and its defender Ladislav, respectively – is shown also in other written evidence connected with them. In 1269, in a letter addressed to the father of the *iunior rex Ungarie* in order to arrange a

¹⁴² Doc. no. 193, Franz Zimmermann and Carl Werner, ed., *Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte der Deutschen in Siebenbürgen. Erster Band: 1191 bis 1342. Nummer 1 bis 582. Mit vier Tafeln Siegelabbildungen* (Hermannstadt: Franz Michaelis, 1892), 137-139. “Additionally, we decide that whoever of our successors would attempt to take away, revoke, or alienate in any other way the above-mentioned estate and the above-mentioned lands from the above-mentioned *banus* Mykud or, in future times, from his posterity, may that one feel the anger of God Almighty falling [upon him], and [the anger] of the Holy Mother of God and Always-Virgin Mary, and of the Blessed Apostles Peter and Paul, and also may [that one] be stricken by the anathema of the holy confessors Stephen, Emeric, as well as Ladislav.”

¹⁴³ Michel Zimmermann, “Protocoles and Préambules dans les documents Catalans du Xe au XIIe siècle: évolution diplomatique et signification spirituelle. I. Les protocoles”, *Mélanges de la Casa de Velázquez* 10 (1974), 41-76; idem, “Le vocabulaire latin de la malédiction du IXe au XIIe siècle. Construction d’un discours eschatologique”, *Atalaya. Revue Française d’études médiévales hispaniques* 5 (1994), 37-55; Milko Brković, “Sankcija u ispravama hrvatskih narodnih vladara” [Sanctions in the documents of Croatian rulers], *Croatica Christiana Periodica* 17/31 (1993), 11-24; Amedeo Feniello and Jean-Marie Martin, “Clausole di anatema e di maledizione nei documenti (Italia meridionale e Sicilia, Sardegna, X-XII secolo)”, *Mélanges de l’École Française de Rome* 123/1 (2011), 105-127; François Bougard, “Jugement divin, excommunication, anathème et malédiction: la sanction spirituelle dans les sources diplomatiques”, in *Exclure de la communauté chrétienne. Sens et pratiques sociales de l’anathème et de l’excommunication (IVe-XIIIe siècle)*, ed. Geneviève Bühner-Thierry and Stéphane Gioanni (Turnhout: Brepols, 2015), 215-238.

¹⁴⁴ For such political and ideological claims of charters’ *sanctiones* in the context of medieval Serbia, where the figures and cults of Sts Simeon and Sava, the dynastic Serbian saints, were employed in King Milutin’s political and ideological program, see: Smilja Marjanović-Dušanić, “Молитве светих Симеона и Саве у владарском програму краља Милутина” [The prayers of Saints Simeon and Sava in King Milutin’s royal program], *Зборник радова Византолошког института* 41 (2004), 235-250. See also: Marija Vasiljević, “Помени предака у повељама Немањића и легитимизација власти” [Mentions of ancestors in the charters of the Nemanjići and the legitimizing of power], *Initial. A Review of Medieval Studies* 1 (2013), 77-96. For the joint cult of Sts Simeon and Sava, see: Anna Adashinskaya, “The Joint Cult of St. Simeon and St. Sava under Milutin: The Monastic Aspect”, MA Thesis (Budapest: Central European University, 2009).

double dynastic union of the Angevin and Árpáadian houses, the King of Sicily Charles I of Anjou (r. 1266-1285) reminds King Béla IV that:

“Dominus Stephanus, Dei gratia, illustris rex Vngarie, Dux Transsiluanie, et Scлавонie, et Dominus Cumanorum, carissimus amicus noster; natus est de genere Sanctorum et maximorum Regum...”¹⁴⁵

This formula was more than a simple compliment on the part of King Charles I of Anjou, as it showed the awareness of the sanctity of the Árpáadian dynasty in the eyes of the Angevin royal house.¹⁴⁶ This latter dynasty itself was not at all foreign of the benefits that a holy lineage could bring to a ruling house by politically legitimizing it and by increasing its capital of sacred ancestry. The double dynastic union that the King of Sicily sought to arrange – on the one hand, between his son, the future King of Naples Charles II (r. 1285-1309), and Mary of Hungary, and on the other hand, between the future King Ladislas IV the Cuman and his daughter, Isabelle of Anjou – was meant to reinforce, by association, the holiness of both royal lines. Moreover, another proof for the consistency of this strategy within the Angevin house can be seen also in the efforts of the same Charles I to attach sanctity to his family by supporting, or at least desiring to start, the canonization of his brothers, King Louis IX of Anjou, Robert of Artois, and Alphonse of Poitiers.¹⁴⁷ The association of an Árpáadian king's name with the names of his saintly forebears seems to have become a *topos* in the texts of the second half of the thirteenth century. In the *Gesta Hungarorum*, written between 1282 and 1285 by King Ladislas IV's court cleric Simon of Kéza,¹⁴⁸ the Hungarian monarch is presented as a ruler, who relies in his actions both on his personal virtues and the intercession of his holy predecessors, namely, the holy kings Stephen, Emeric, and Ladislas:

“Egressus igitur de Albensi civitate velut Martis filius, cuius quidem constellatio conceptionis nativitatique ei deinde in audacia et caeteris virtutibus naturalibus subministrat, in virtute Altissimi et proavorum suorum, scilicet Stephani, Emirici atque Ladislai regum et sanctorum votivis praesumens confidensque suffragiis...”¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁵ A. Ch. 1269. *Idem Carolus etiam tabulas sponsalium conficiendas eisdem Legatis suis plena potestate defert*, in Georgivs Fejér, ed., *Codex diplomaticus Hungariae ecclesiasticus ac civilis. Tomus Quartus. Volumen III* (Buda: Typis Typogr. Regiae Universitatis Vngaricae, 1829), 510-512. “Lord Stephen, by God's grace illustrious King of Hungary, Duke of Transylvania and Slavonia, and Lord of the Cumans, our most beloved friend; was born from the house of the holy and great kings...”

¹⁴⁶ Klaniczay, “Rois saints”, 57.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁸ For the chronicle's critical edition and English translation, see László Veszprémy and Frank Schaer, ed., *Simonis de Kéza Gesta Hungarorum. Simon of Kéza. The Deeds of the Hungarians* (Budapest: Central European University Press, 1999); see also the introductory study in the same work by Jenő Szűcs, “Theoretical Elements in Master Simon of Kéza's *Gesta Hungarorum* (1282-1285)”, XXIX-CII.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 150-151. “He marched forth from Székesfehérvár with the royal banner flying like a son of Mars, whom the constellation at his conception and birth ever since endows with boldness and other natural virtues, expecting and

Although different in character, another type of document is especially relevant for the current discussion, namely, the hagiographic texts concerning the female royal saints of the Árpáadian house. The late-thirteenth century Franciscan *Legenda Maior* of St. Elizabeth of Hungary/Thuringia presents Béla IV's family as a veritable company of saints trying to imitate the conduct of their holy ancestors.¹⁵⁰ Keeping in mind and meditating upon the merits and virtues of the representatives of her saintly Árpáadian dynasty was also one of the duties of Blessed Margaret of Hungary, as her *Legenda Vetus* attests:

“Revolvebat crebrius secum et conferebat cum aliis interdum progenitorum suorum vitam et vite sanctitatem: Beati scilicet Stephani, primi regis et apostoli Ungarorum, cuius fidem et catholice fidei predicationem, qua suam convertit gentem ab ydolorum cultura, ecclesia narrat vulgarica; Beati Henrici, filii eiusdem Sancti Stephani regis sanctissimam virginitatem, qui cum haberet sponsam nobilissimam, utpote filiam imperatoris Romanorum divinitus facta sibi revelatione, ut in eius gestis habetur, virginalem cunctis diebus vite sue cum sua sponsa illibatam servavit castitatem, quod maxime testimonio eiusdem sponse sue fuit post obitum suum efficaciter comprobatum; Sancti quoque Ladislai regis, qui gloriosa regni gubernatione et defensione adversus invasores, maxime insultus paganorum partium orientalium, ut scriptum continet Ungarorum, amministrans frequentissime causam clericis iusticiis regalibus et in orationibus ac ceteris sanctis operibus vacans etiam quiete corporis relegata noctes ducebant insomnes, cuius sanctitati usque hodie curationis beneficia crebra perhibent testimonia: Beate etiam Elizabeth amite sue, cuius gloriosa merita pene cum gaudio celebrat ecclesia. In huiusmodi qui meditationibus et collationibus seipsam occupans alta trahebat suspiria, ut eorum imitari vestigia et consequi merita Dei munere digna efficeretur.”¹⁵¹

trusting in the power of the Almighty and the saintly intercession of his forefathers, the holy kings Stephen, Emeric, and Ladislas...”

¹⁵⁰ The excerpt I refer to is quoted in English in Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers*, 231, and is taken from “Vita sanctae Elizabeth viduae,” published in Henricus Sedulius, ed., *Historia Seraphica vitae B. P. Francisci Assisiatis, illustrorumque virorum et feminarum, qui ex tribus eius ordinibus relati sunt inter sanctos* (Antverpiae: no publisher, 1613): “This blessed royal family of the Hungarians [my underlining] is adorned with resplendent pearls that irradiate all the earth.” For an edition of St. Elizabeth's legend, see: Lori Pieper, “A New Life of St. Elizabeth of Hungary: The Anonymous Franciscan”, *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* 93/1-4 (2000), 29-78.

¹⁵¹ “She returned frequently to consideration of the lives of her ancestors, and sometimes discussed them with others, such as the holy life of the blessed Stephen, the first king and the Apostle of the Hungarians; the Church tells the story, in our native language, of his faith and preaching of Catholicism, by which he converted his own people from the cult of idols. She also meditated on the most holy virginity of the blessed Emeric, son of the same holy King Stephen. Although Emeric had a most noble spouse, the daughter of the emperor of the Romans, when it was divinely revealed to him that she should keep himself a virgin all the days of his married life, with the consent of his wife, he preserved unspotted chastity. This was conclusively proved after his death, particularly by the testimony of his wife. She also pondered the life of the holy King Ladislas, who gloriously governed the kingdom and defended it against invaders, particularly the incursions of pagans from the territories to the east, as the writings of the Hungarians relate. Frequently exercising royal justice in favor of churchmen, and absorbed in prayer and other good works, he passed sleepless nights, having renounced even bodily rest; to this very day, frequent miraculous cures furnish testimony to his sanctity. Margaret also pondered the life of her aunt the blessed Elizabeth, whose glorious merits almost the whole Church celebrates with joy. Occupying herself, therefore, with meditations and readings of this kind, she would heave deep sighs and pray that by God's grace she might be made worthy to follow in their footsteps and imitate their merits.”, Ildikó Csepregi, Gábor Klaniczay, and Bence Péterfi, ed., *Legenda Vetus, Acta Processus Canonizationis et Miracula*

Despite their heterogeneous character (i.e., excerpts of charters, letters, chronicles, and hagiography), the previously-discussed documents from the second half of the thirteenth century have in common the enumerating of the holy predecessors of the Árpadian royal branch, predecessors who are named either specifically or referred to generically. These documents show the awareness of the last Árpadians of the sanctity of their lineage, i.e., the *beata stirps Arpadiana*. These documents correspond also to a period when a new kind of hereditary sanctity, different from the early-medieval charismatic beliefs associated with the ruler's figure,¹⁵² manifested itself strongly among the royal houses of the Árpáds and the Angevins of Naples.¹⁵³ A new kind of dynastic/genealogical consciousness arose during this period, transforming the notion of sanctity into a sort of familial affair, sanctity that affected preferentially some members of the dynasty, but not all of them.¹⁵⁴ It is open to debate, as Hungarian scholars already have debated in the case of the House of Árpád,¹⁵⁵ whether every single member of the dynasty enjoyed this hereditary holiness or only the most worthy among them. Besides the obvious capital of dynastic prestige it asserted, the concept of *beata stirps* involved what Gábor Klaniczay calls the dimension of *sainteté oblige*, that is, the duty of proving oneself worthy of one's holy ancestors.¹⁵⁶ The most suitable for such an imitative behavior were the royal female saints of the thirteenth century. Their ascetic and pious conduct in various monastic orders, as well as their high reverence for their sacred forebears, made them the new sacred representatives of the dynasty, who enriched the pantheon of familial and royal saints.¹⁵⁷ St. Elizabeth of Hungary/Thuringia¹⁵⁸ and Blessed Margaret of Hungary¹⁵⁹ were the new

Sanctae Margaritae de Hungaria. The Oldest Legend, Acts of the Canonization Process and Miracles of Saint Margaret of Hungary (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2018), 58-61 (henceforth: Csepregi, *Legenda Vetus*).

¹⁵² For the sacred heredity of early-medieval rulers, see: Karl Hauck, "Geblütsheiligkeit", in *Liber Floridus. Mittellateinische Studien. Paul Lehmann zum 65. Geburtstag gewidmet*, ed. Bernhard Bischoff and Suso Brechter (Sankt Ottilien: Eos Verlag der Erzabtei St. Ottilien, 1950), 187-240.

¹⁵³ André Vauchez, "*Beata stirps*: sainteté et lignage en Occident aux XIII^e et XIV^e siècles", in *Famille et parenté dans l'Occident médiéval*, ed. Georges Duby and Jacques Le Goff (Rome: École française de Rome, 1977), 397-406; see also: Gábor Klaniczay, "Sainteté royale et sainteté dynastique au moyen âge. Traditions, métamorphoses et discontinuités", *Les Cahiers du Centre de Recherches Historiques* 3 (1989), 69-80.

¹⁵⁴ Idem, *Holy Rulers*, 229.

¹⁵⁵ For the idea of holiness of the entire Árpadian dynasty, see the critique in Emma Bartoniek, "A magyar királyválasztási jog a középkorban" [The right to elect the king in Hungary during the Middle Ages] *Századok* 70 (1936), 358-406, and the response by József Deér, *Pogány magyarság – keresztény magyarság* [Pagan Hungarians – Christian Hungarians] (Budapest: Egyetemi Nyomda, 1938). For a recent overview of the scholarship on this idea, see: Gábor Klaniczay, "La royauté sacrée des Arpadiens dans l'historiographie hongroise médiévale et moderne", *Académie des Inscriptions & Belles-Lettres. Comptes rendus des séances de l'année 2013 avril-juin* 2 (2013), 595-619.

¹⁵⁶ Idem, *Holy Rulers*, 229.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid., the chapter entitled "Saintly Princesses and Their Heavenly Courts", 195-294.

¹⁵⁸ For the cult of St. Elizabeth of Hungary/Thuringia, see: Jeanne Ancelet-Hustache, *Sainte Elisabeth de Hongrie* (Paris: Éditions Franciscaines, 1947); Ottó Sándor Gecser, "Aspects of the Cult of St. Elizabeth of Hungary with a Special Emphasis on Preaching, 1231-c.1500", PhD Diss. (Budapest: Central European University, 2007); Gábor Klaniczay, "Elisabeth von Thüringen und Ungarn. Zur 'Europäisierung' des Elisabeth-Kultes", in *Elisabeth von Thüringen: Eine Europäische Heilige. 2. Aufsätze*, ed. Dieter Blume and Matthias Werner (Petersberg: Imhof, 2007), 167-176; idem, "Saint Elizabeth of Hungary: A European Saint", in *Schola Europaea. Les valeurs de l'Europe – l'Europe des valeurs*, ed. Ladislaus Havas et al. (Debrecen and Budapest: Societas Neolatina Hungarica Sectio

members that the spiritual revival of the thirteenth century added to the holy dynastic branch of the Hungarians.

In the spiritual and cultural context of the *beata stirps* generally, and of the *beata stirps Arpadiana* particularly, can be situated also a work of art and piety, which is one of the first visual occurrences of a collective of saintly predecessors descended from the Árpadian dynasty. The Diptych of King Andrew III (r. 1290-1301) was created probably prior to his coronation in Venice, where the future King of Hungary and the last Árpadian ruler was educated by his mother Tomasina Morosini. This diptych represented the tool of private devotion and contemplation for the young and very spiritual prince, himself a Franciscan tertiary.¹⁶⁰ The iconography of the fields of the two panels gave Prince Andrew the opportunity to relive during the liturgical year the most important moments in the History of Salvation, whereas the panels' borders offered him the chance to venerate throughout the year a great range of holy figures (Fig. 2.1). These were selected in accordance with their relevance for the commissioner and grouped according to their belonging to certain categories: there are holy apostles and prophets, holy martyrs and confessor saints, holy bishops and monks, Franciscan and Dominican saints, and holy warriors and holy rulers – altogether 44 figures. On the upper border of the right panel – i.e., in a visually privileged position just above the representation of the Crucifixion –, there are Sts Stephen and Emeric, and Sts Ladislav and Elizabeth of Hungary/Thuringia. They are depicted in pairs in the company of two military saints and the Holy Emperors Sts Helena and Constantine (Fig. 2.2).

Debreceniensis and Collegium de Iosepho Eötvös nominatum, 2009), 201-222; Dávid Falvay, ed., *Árpád-házi Szent Erzsébet kultusza a 13-16. században* [The cult of Saint Elizabeth of the Árpád House in the 13th-16th centuries] (Budapest: Magyarok Nagyasszonya Ferences Rendtartomány, 2009).

¹⁵⁹ For the cult of St. Margaret of Hungary, see: Tibor Klaniczay, “La fortuna di Santa Margherita d’Ungheria in Italia”, in *Spiritualità e lettere nella cultura italiana e ungherese del basso medioevo*, ed. Sante Graciotti and Cesare Vasoli (Florence: Leo. S. Olschki, 1995), 2-27 (henceforth: Graciotti, *Spiritualità e lettere*); Tibor Klaniczay and Gábor Klaniczay, *Szent Margit legendái és stigmái* [The legends and stigmata of Saint Margaret] (Budapest: Argumentum, 1994); Gábor Klaniczay, “Il monte di San Gerardo e l’isola di Santa Margherita: gli spazi della santità a Buda nel medioevo”, in *Luoghi sacri e spazi della santità*, ed. Sofia Boesch Gajano and Lucetta Scaraffia (Turin: Rosenberg & Sellier, 1990), 267-284; idem, “Sacred Sites in Medieval Buda”, in *Medieval Buda in Context*, ed. Balázs Nagy et al. (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2016), 229-254, esp. pp. 236-247 (henceforth: Nagy, *Medieval Buda in Context*); idem, “Saint Margaret: Royal and Female Sanctity”, in Csepregi, *Legenda Vetus*, 3-30; József Laszlovsky, “Fama sanctitatis and the Emergence of St. Margaret’s Cult in the Rural Countryside”, in Gecser, *Promoting the Saints*, 103-125.

¹⁶⁰ Inv. no. 301, Historisches Museum, Bern. Jakob Stammer, “Der sogenannte Feldaltar des Herzogs Karls des Schönen von Burgund im historischen Museum zu Bern”, *Kath. Schweizer Blätter* 3-4 (1885), 1-25; Emil Maurer, “Das Altar-Diptychon des König Andreas III. von Ungarn”, in *Die Kunstdenkmäler der Schweiz. Bd. 32. Die Kunstdenkmäler des Kantons Aargau. Bd. 3. Das Kloster Königsfelden*, ed. Emil Maurer (Basel: Birkhäuser, 1954), 255-277; Susan Marti, “Königin Agnes und ihre Geschenke: Zeugnisse, Zuschreibungen und Legenden”, *Kunst + Architektur in der Schweiz. Art + architecture en Suisse. Arte + architettura in Svizzera* 47/2 (1996), 169-180; Georg Germann, *Ungarisches im Bernischen Historischen Museum. A Berni Történelmi Múzeum magyar emlékei* (Bern: Ungarisch Historischer Verein Zürich, 1996), 13-17; Dieter Blume, “Hausaltar des Königs Andreas III. von Ungarn”, in *Elisabeth von Thüringen: Eine europäische Heilige*, exh. cat., ed. Dieter Blume and Matthias Werner (Petersberg: Imhof, 2007), 308-312 (henceforth: Blume and Werner, *Elisabeth von Thüringen*); Ernő Marosi, “The Diptych of King Andrew III (1290-1301)”, in *On the Stage of Europe. The Millennial Contribution of Hungary to the Idea of European Community*, ed. Ernő Marosi (Budapest: Balassi Kiadó, 2009), 54-57 (henceforth: Marosi, *On the Stage of Europe*).



Fig. 2.1 – Diptych of King Andrew III, before 1290, wood, gilded silver, precious stones, pearls, porphyry, rock crystal, illuminated leaves, 44 x 38 x 4.6 cm, Bernisches Historisches Museum, inv. no. 301. Photo © flickr user Kotomi_



Fig. 2.2 – Detail of Sts Stephen, Emeric, Ladislas, and Elizabeth of Hungary/Thuringia, Diptych of King Andrew III, before 1290, wood, gilded silver, precious stones, pearls, porphyry, rock crystal, illuminated leaves, 44 x 38 x 4.6 cm, Bernisches Historisches Museum, inv. no. 301. Photo Source: Kerny, *Szent Imre 1000 éve*

Undoubtedly, this grouping of military, dynastic, and imperial saints responded to the devotional needs of the young prince preparing for kingship.¹⁶¹ As future king, Andrew was supposed to engage in military endeavors, to show his reverence towards his predecessors, and to follow the model of the ideal rulers *par excellence*. From an iconographic point of view, the images of the three holy kings of Hungary are atypical, this peculiarity being certainly owed to the Byzantine-Venetian painter who created their portraits. The three holy kings are crowned and hold scepters in their right hand, but their ages are not characteristic for their later depiction: St. Stephen is portrayed indeed as an old king with white hair and beard, but the other two male figures are treated undifferentiatedly, being both depicted as mature, bearded kings. Although the inscription next to St. Emeric's head shows him as *S(ANCTVS) EME/RICVS/REX*,¹⁶² some time had still to pass until the establishing of the iconographic theme of the *sancti reges Hungariae* with its conventional portrayal of Hungary's holy kings at the three ages of kingship. These atypical iconographic features were certainly owed to the painter, who was formed in a culturally-distinct ambiance (i.e., Byzantine-Venetian). He was certainly not familiar with the cult of these foreign holy kings and created, thus, their image on the basis of the (partial) information conveyed by his commissioner. Moreover, the presence of St. Elizabeth next to her male, saintly relatives indicates that this association had in view the sacredness of the entire *beata stirps Arpadiana* rather than that of the *sancti reges Hungariae* only. The idea of a joint and exclusive depiction of the *sancti reges Hungariae* was in the air, however, since even Prince Emeric was called (in an undifferentiated manner) *rex*.

Although created before his actual coronation and expressing the prince's private devotion for his holy predecessors, Andrew's diptych displays an iconography which betrays the commissioner's awareness of the benefits one may obtain by resorting to the sainthood of one's ancestors. Primarily, the depicted dynastic saints offered a model of behavior to the young prince aspiring to be king and, additionally, it transferred upon the future ruler the merits and virtues of his sacred predecessors, legitimizing thus the actions of the king-to-be in front of his people. As a matter of fact, the legitimacy of the "Venetian" King of Hungary Andrew III was questioned soon after his coronation by the Neapolitan Angevins, whose claims came to be successful in the end of a long and difficult process.¹⁶³ Whether King Andrew III resorted or not to the holiness of his predecessors during the contesting of his right to the Crown of St. Stephen is not clear. However,

¹⁶¹ Marosi, "Diptych of King Andrew III", 57.

¹⁶² Germann, *Ungarisches im Bernischen Museum*, 35.

¹⁶³ For these political events, see Pál Engel, *The Realm of St Stephen. A History of Medieval Hungary, 895-1526* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2001), 110-111, 128-130.

the successful claimant had an advantage over him, namely, that of a double sacred ascendance: certainly Árpadian, but also Angevin.

2. 3. *Magnificus princeps dominus Carolus, ex primorum sanctorum vera progenie propagatum* – Legitimizing the Angevin Rule of King Charles I (1301/1308-1342) over Hungary Through His Holy Predecessors of Double Lineage

The death in 1301 of Andrew III, the last of the Árpadians, offered the occasion to Charles Robert (Caroberto) of Anjou, one of the claimants to the Hungarian throne, to resort to the efficient medieval strategy of asserting sacred ascendance. Willing to prove Charles Robert's legitimate right to the Crown of St. Stephen and his suitability to continue the work of the Árpadian kings, his supporters displayed impressive rhetorical skills for the purpose of convincing the initially-hostile Hungarian nobility, which preferred instead his rival, Wenceslas of Bohemia.¹⁶⁴

Although he was backed by Pope Boniface VIII (1294-1303), who came out firmly against the Bohemian pretender, and despite his blood relation to the House of Árpád on his paternal grandmother's side,¹⁶⁵ Charles Robert faced for several years the hostility of Hungarian nobility.¹⁶⁶

¹⁶⁴ Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers*, 323. The third claimant to the Hungarian throne, Charles Robert's other opponent, was Otto of Bavaria. For the "interregnum" period, see especially: Pál Engel, "Az ország újraegyesítése. I. Károly küzdelmei az oligarchák ellen (1310-1323)" [The reunification of the country. Charles I's struggle against the oligarchs (1310-1323)], *Századok* 122/1-2 (1988), 89-144; idem, *Realm of St Stephen*, 128-130; Renáta Skorka, "With a Little Help from the Cousins – Charles I and the Habsburg Dukes of Austria during the Interregnum", *The Hungarian Historical Review. Acta Historica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae – New Series* 2/2 (2013), 243-260; see also: Mišo Petrović, "The Role of the Church in the Two Succession Crises in Hungary in the Fourteenth Century", *Annual of Medieval Studies at CEU* 22 (2016), 77-88.

¹⁶⁵ On his grandfather's side, Charles was related to holy figures such as the two Saints Louis, the King of France canonized in 1297 and the Bishop of Toulouse, whose canonization process started in 1307, being completed only a decade later (1317). On his paternal grandmother's side, none other than Mary of Hungary, Queen of Naples and daughter of King Stephen V of Hungary, he was the direct descendant of the Árpadian saints. Klaniczay, "Rois saints", 57-66.

¹⁶⁶ For persuading the Hungarian noblemen, the Dominican Bishop of Zagreb Augustine Kažotić allegedly pronounced on the Field of Rákos on 10 October 1307 an *oratio* which contained the most exhaustive inventory of the Angevin claimant's saintly forebears: "Sed Caroli iuribus illud quoque [...] quod ipsius stemma, Coelo teste, ex Sanctissimis Regibus nostris profluere comprobatur. Ut enim Bela Quertus ipsius Proavus Elizabetham sororem, Germaniae, aliam Elizabetham ex alia sorore neptem, Hispaniae, Margaretham filiam, Dalmatiae (tanquam concivem meatu, Tragurii nempe editam), Cunegundem, aliam filiam, Poloniae, sanctitatis gloriae syderibus insertas, produxisse laetatur, ita ex Maria Nepote Mater Caroli nostri, Ludovicum Sanctissimum Tolosae Praesulem, primo Italiae, in qua vitales hausit auras. Demum Galliae ex qua ad aeternitatis evolavit praemia. Caroli nostri fratrem, stirpem agnoscit suam. Perinde sicuti Coelo, Terraeque acceptissimus, Francorum Regum praestantissimus Ludovicus Nonus, qui ab adolescentia sua ad ultimum usque spiritum, nunquam sibi, sed Christo militavit regem nostrum Carolum, per fratrem Carolum pronepotem suum [...].", "Oratio S. Augustini Gazotti dicta in Campo Rakos pro Carolo anno Domini 1310", in Balthasar Adamus Kercselich, *Historiarum cathedralis ecclesiae Zagrabiensis partis primae tomus I* (Zagrabiae: no publisher, [1776]), 1: 111-114. An English translation of this text is published in Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers*, 325: "Charles' rights, as God and men will witness, stem from the fact that he derives his lineage from our most saintly kings. Elizabeth, the sister of his great-grandfather, King Béla IV, irradiated Germany with the glory of her saintliness; the other Elizabeth, the granddaughter of the same king's sister, shed the light of her holiness on Hispania; Béla IV's daughter, Margaret (who, incidentally, was born in Trogir, and is a fellow citizen of mine), lit up Dalmatia with the

After having gained the support of the Hungarian noblemen's assembly and after having arrived at his new court, Charles Robert, who had the Papal Legate Gentile Portino da Montefiore in his entourage, listened to the latter's address. This was delivered to the Hungarian Estates gathered at the Dominican Convent in Pest on 27 November 1308.¹⁶⁷ The new King of Hungary is portrayed as a true heir of the holy kings of Hungary, whose virtues were to be found also in Charles Robert himself. The possession of these qualities provided him with the means to grant to his country prosperity and fertility, the benediction of peace, and the unity of spirit:

“Sane, per divinam providentiam, regno Hungarie reges catholici prefuerunt, quorum primus, sanctus rex Stephanus, et alii nonnulli sanctorum cathalogo meruerunt ascribe, relinquentes ex se legitimos successores, sub quorum felici regimine regnum ipsum fertilitate floruit, obtinuit pacis dulcedinem, et inter ipsius incolas viguit unitas animarum. Ex quo non regum ipsum reges exteri usurpabunt, fertilitati sterilitas, pacis dulcedini tempestati fremitus, et concordibus animis dissensio detestanda successit. Nos itaque ad eiusdem regni status reformationem per sedem apostolicam destinati, cupientes super his omnibus salubre remedium adhibere, prelatorum, baronum et nobilium convocavimus generale concilium, in quo prelati et barones iidem communiter magnificum principem dominum Carolum, ex primorum sanctorum vera progenie propagatum, recognoverunt verum et legitimum regem Hungarie ac eorum dominum naturalem [...].¹⁶⁸

What is important in Cardinal Portino da Montefiore's argument is the aspect of legitimizing a new dynasty by means of holiness. Any connection with the sacred meant an indestructible link of the ruler to divine power, which thus granted the prosperity of the kingdom and discouraged any attempt to undermine the authority of a character associated with sanctity. Two centuries later, this

glory of her sanctity; and his other daughter, Cunegond, has illuminated Poland. In like manner, his granddaughter, Mary, our Charles' grandmother, has shed the light of holiness through that most saintly bishop, Louis of Toulouse, first on Italy, whose life-giving air he breathed, and then on Gaul, he took flight to his eternal reward. Our Charles is his brother's issue. And we must also mention Louis IX, that most outstanding of the kings of France and the king most highly approved in Heaven and on earth: from his adolescence to his last breath, he fought not for himself but for Christ's kingdom; he was an ancestor to our Charles through his brother, Charles, our Charles' grandfather.” However, this *oratio* was added later to the bishop's *vita*, which is preserved only in a seventeenth-century copy ascribed to Johannes Tomcus Marnavitus, and which was rightly considered a forgery, Sándor Bene, “A Szilveszter-bulla nyomában (Pázmány Péter és Szent-István-hagyomány 17. századi fordulópontja)” [Tracing the Sylvester-Bull (Péter Pázmány and the seventeenth-century turning point in the Saint-Stephen tradition)], in Veszprémy, *Szent István és az államalapítás*, 143-162.

¹⁶⁷ Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers*, 326.

¹⁶⁸ Antal Pór, ed., *Monumenta Vaticana Historiam regni Hungariae illustrantia. Vatikáni magyar okirattár. II. Acta legationis cardinalis Gentilis, 1307-1311. Gentilis bíboros magyarországi követségének okiratai, 1307-1311. Series Prima. Tomus 2* (Budapest: METEM, 2000), 269 (reprint of the 1885 edition). “By the grace of Divine Providence, the Kingdom of Hungary has had Catholic rulers for some time now. The first one, the saint king Stephen, has merited inclusion in the catalogue of saints, and so have several others. They left legitimate successors, under whose propitious reigns this kingdom was fertile and prospered, secure in the sweets of peace, and in the unity of spirit that bound its inhabitants to one another. Since foreign kings have usurped this kingdom, however, fertility has given way to sterility, the sweets of peace to the rumble of storms, and unity of spirit to detestable discord. We, who have been charged by the Holy See to reform the state of this kingdom, and aspire to find a salubrious remedy to all this, hereby summon the prelates, the barons and the nobles to a general council, where the prelates and the barons might, as a body, recognize the magnificent prince, the Lord Charles – a true descendant of the first saints – as the rightful and legitimate King of Hungary, and their natural sovereign.” For the English translation, see Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers*, 1-2.

discourse echoed St. Ladislav's gesture of 1083, when he canonized his predecessors in order to legitimize his rule, demonstrating the consistency of this medieval practice. The King of Hungary, Charles I of Anjou (r. 1308-1342), started thus his reign under the auspices of St. Stephen and other holy predecessors, and ended his life in a similar manner, i.e., under the same noble patronage. In the funeral sermon delivered in Székesfehérvár, where the body of King Charles I was carried in a solemn procession in order to join the human remains of St. Stephen and his son, as well as those of other Hungarian kings who were traditionally buried there, the Archbishop of Esztergom Csanád Telegdi (1330-1349) said the following:

“Imploranda ergo est unanimi consensu clementia dei omnipotentis pro eodem domino rege Karolo, ut cum anima ipsius clementer dispenset eidem indulgendo et in numerum ipsius animam ac cetum sanctorum confessorum omnium ac regum Stephani et Ladislai dignetur collocare, et prout quod in presenti seculo regali triumpho vixerit, ita atiam in future seculo cum angelis valeat exultare.”¹⁶⁹

As shown by David L. D'Avray, reciting the entire roster of family and dynastic saints was practically a *sine qua non* of a funeral sermon.¹⁷⁰ It is no wonder, therefore, that the Archbishop of Esztergom, too, resorted to this topos for glorifying the late King of Hungary.

King Charles I did not use the cult of his holy predecessors only in a political and propagandistic way for the purpose of proving the legitimacy of his right to the Crown of St. Stephen, and his suitability to continue the work of the first Árpadian kings. He also directed with consistency his personal piety to the veneration of his holy relatives from the Houses of Árpád and Anjou. When his status was still that of a contested candidate for the Hungarian throne, Charles I tried to revive unsuccessfully in 1306 the suspended process of canonization of Blessed Margaret, who had lived as a nun in the Dominican convent on the Rabbit Island.¹⁷¹ Later on, in 1319, his second wife, Beatrice of Luxemburg, renewed the privileges of this convent.¹⁷² The very same year, the king buried his wife in St. Ladislav's Cathedral in Oradea Mare, and seven years later, at the burial of his favorite Sándor Neksei in the same place, he referred to the saint as his “sainted predecessor.”¹⁷³ He renovated in 1318 and then rebuilt, after a fire destroyed it almost completely in

¹⁶⁹ Elisabet Galántai and Julius Kristó, ed., *Johannes de Thurocz Chronica Hungarorum* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1985), 156-157. For an English translation of this excerpt, see Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers*, 345: “So with one heart and soul let us pray God Almighty, that he have mercy on the lord King Charles, deal clemently with his soul and forgive him, and deign to place his soul in the company of his saints and confessors, kings Stephen and Ladislav, so that even as in this life he lived in royal splendor, so might he rejoice with the angels in the life to come.”

¹⁷⁰ David L. D'Avray, *Death and the Prince. Memorial Preaching before 1350* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), 53-57, 90-92.

¹⁷¹ Gábor Klaniczay, “Efforts at the Canonization of Margaret of Hungary in the Angevin Period”, *The Hungarian Historical Review. Acta Historica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 2/2 (2013), 313-340.

¹⁷² Idem, *Holy Rulers*, 326.

¹⁷³ Ibid.

1328, St. Stephen's foundation and burial place in Székesfehérvár.¹⁷⁴ Finally, he founded in 1325 together with his fourth wife, Elizabeth Piast, the Franciscan Convent in Lipova (Germ. *Lippa*, Hung. *Lippa*); this convent was dedicated to St. Louis of Toulouse, the Hungarian king's uncle.¹⁷⁵ Judging by the names he chose for some of his children – Charles (b. 1321 or 1323); Ladislav (b. 1324); Louis (b. 1326); Stephen (b. 1332); and Elizabeth (b. 1327–1332)¹⁷⁶ –, as well as by the repeated visits to the resting place of St. Ladislav in the Cathedral of Oradea Mare undertaken throughout his reign,¹⁷⁷ King Charles I had a high veneration for his *beata stirps*, equally *Arpadiana* and *Angevina*, and he repeatedly placed himself and his kinsmen under its divine protection. Therefore, it was only natural that his son and successor, King Louis I the Great (r. 1342-1382), to display later a similar respect for the cult of his holy predecessors.¹⁷⁸

2. 4. *Beata stirps Arpadiana* and the Neapolitan-Angevin Connection. The Veneration of the Árpadian Dynastic Saints by the Neapolitan Angevins – Two Case Studies: Assisi and Naples

No works of art and piety that display jointly the three holy kings of Hungary and that are directly connected with King Charles I's artistic patronage have been preserved. However, such examples are still extant in the milieu Charles I originated from, i.e., the Neapolitan-Angevin cultural milieu. By looking at these cases, one can better understand the devotional patterns the future King of Hungary could learn from his relatives. One can also grasp who was in fact responsible during Charles Robert's early education for instilling the cherishing of holy predecessors in the young boy, who was forced to leave his home when only twelve years old in

¹⁷⁴ Gábor Klaniczay, "Le culte des saints dynastiques en Europe centrale (Angevins et Luxembourg au XIV^e siècle", in *L'Église et le peuple chrétien dans les pays de l'Europe du Centre-est et du Nord (XIV^e-XV^e siècle). Actes du colloque de Rome, École Française de Rome (27-29 janvier)* (Rome: École Française de Rome, 1990), 228-229.

¹⁷⁵ Idem, *Holy Rulers*, 326, 333.

¹⁷⁶ Only his illegitimate son, Coloman (b. 1317/8), his supposed daughter Catherine (b. ca 1321), and his fourth son by Elizabeth Piast, Andrew (b. 1327), do not fall within this category. However, Coloman's name might have been inspired not only by the namesake saint, but also by one of Hungary's rulers, King Coloman the Learned, St. Ladislav's immediate successor. For Charles I's family, see: Gyula Kristó, "Károly Róbert családja" [Charles Robert's family], *Aetas* 20/2 (2005), 14-28; for St. Coloman's cult and King Coloman, see: Kerny, "Szent Kálmán," 9-32.

¹⁷⁷ Enikő Spekner, "Adalékok I. (Anjou) Károly király Szent-László kultuszához. Királyi vizitációk Szent László király váradi sírjánál" [Additions to the veneration of Saint Ladislav by King Charles I (of Anjou). Royal visitations to King Saint Ladislav's tomb in Oradea Mare], *Ars Hungarica* 39/2 (2013), 188-194.

¹⁷⁸ See, for instance, King Louis' charter issued in 1365 and conveying his intention to punish the Voivode of Wallachia Vladislav I (r. 1364-1377): "... nosque, prout a deo nobis iura nostra defendendi facultas attribuitur et potestas, circa reopontencione ipsius terre n^{ostre}, qui ex antiqua consuetudine sanctorum regum piorum nostrorum predecessorum, et consuetudine regni Hungarici approbata ad <te>stificandas metas et confinia regni nostri a faucibus quorumlibet rebellium rebellando ipsi regno nostro reapplicare et reannectare astricti et obligati totis nisibus inhyamus et toto posse anhelamus..." (my underlining), doc. no. 373, in Ștefan Pascu, ed., *Documenta Romaniae Historica. C. Transilvania. Volumul XII (1361-1365)* (Bucharest: Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste România, 1985), 386-387.

order fulfill his political destiny in Hungary. These “Italian” examples can serve as possible parallels for the “Hungarian” cult and iconography of the *sancti reges Hungariae*. If these cases cannot be accounted for as direct sources of inspiration for the collective depiction of Hungary’s holy kings, they are at least their iconographic antecedents. These antecedents help one understand better the spiritual context which formed Charles I’s devotional system and pious practices. Two such instances associating iconographically the Árpadian dynastic saints are preserved in medieval Italy, i.e., in Assisi and Naples, respectively. They are indirectly connected with King Charles I of Anjou, serving primarily as witnesses of the spiritual and cultural background the Hungarian Angevin ruler possessed. Secondly, they serve as illustrative examples of how dynastic ideology was expressed by means of art by other dynastic or royal actors.

On the lower register of the eastern and northern walls of the western transept of St. Francis’ Lower Basilica in Assisi, several figures of saints compose a frescoed altarpiece. These murals decorated the former altar dedicated to St. Elizabeth of Hungary/Thuringia.¹⁷⁹ Executed sometime between 1316 and 1319 by Simone Martini, the mural retable depicts the half-figures of a series of Franciscan and Angevin-Árpadian saints. Their problematic identifications generated a vast scholarship until now (Fig. 2.3).¹⁸⁰ All half-figures of saints are placed above an illusionistic marble parapet. The northern-wall figures are placed against a blue background and separated by golden *colonnettes en torsade*; these details seem to suggest that the saints stand in an open loggia. Contrastingly, the half-figures flanking the Madonna with Child on the eastern wall are placed against a golden background with punched and incised decoration, which suggests a brocade fabric and underlines the figures’ importance. Inscriptions in gold written in Gothic majuscules on the white frame surrounding the two frescoes accompanied originally the representations of saints. However, these have faded away greatly, so that one can no longer know for sure the saints’ identities, nor the murals’ date, author, and commissioner.

¹⁷⁹ For the altar’s dedication, see Adrian S. Hoch, “The Dedication of the St Elizabeth Altar at Assisi”, *The Burlington Magazine* 133/1054 (1991), 141-146.

¹⁸⁰ For overviews of earlier scholarship on the frescoes’ dating and authorship, as well as the saints’ identifications, see more recently: eadem, “Beata stirps, Royal Patronage and the Identification of the Sainted Rulers in the St Elizabeth Chapel at Assisi”, *Art History* 15/3 (1992), 279-295; and Diana Norman, “Sanctity, Kingship and Succession: Art and Dynastic Politics in the Lower Church at Assisi”, *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 73/3 (2010), 297-334. See also: Ferdinando Bologna, *Gli affreschi di Simone Martini ad Assisi* (Milan: Fratelli Fabbri, 1965); Robin Simon, “Towards a Relative Chronology of the Frescoes in the Lower Church of San Francesco at Assisi”, *The Burlington Magazine* 118/879 (1976), 361-366; Luciano Bellosi, “La barba di San Francesco (Nuove proposte per il problema di Assisi)”, *Prospettiva* 22 (1980), 13-14; Adrian S. Hoch, “Simone Martini’s St. Martin Chapel in the Lower Basilica of San Francesco, Assisi”, PhD Diss. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1983); eadem, “A New Document for Simone Martini’s Chapel of St Martin at Assisi”, *Gesta* 2 (1985), 141-146; Andrew Martindale, *Simone Martini. Complete Edition* (New York: New York University Press, 1988), 173-174; Prokopp, “Simone Martini”, 47-55.



Fig. 2.3 – Simone Martini, Altar of St. Elizabeth of Hungary/Thuringia, 1316-1319, fresco, 120 x 380 cm and 110 x 200 cm, northern and eastern walls of the western transept, Lower Church of the Basilica of St. Francis in Assisi. Photo © The Author



Fig. 2.4 – Simone Martini, St. Francis of Assisi, St. Louis of Toulouse, St. Elizabeth of Hungary/Thuringia, St. Agnes of Bohemia (?), and St. Emeric, 1316-1319, fresco, 120 x 380 cm, northern wall of the western transept, Lower Church of the Basilica of St. Francis in Assisi. Photo © The Author

Opening the series of saints on the northern wall, the first two figures are certainly those of St. Francis of Assisi (Franciscan holy friar with clearly visible stigmata) and St. Louis of Anjou, the Bishop of Toulouse (holy bishop holding an upside-down crown in his left hand) (Fig. 2.4). The

figure in the middle is that of a young, female saint with crown, braided hair, and richly-decorated vestment. Judging by the figure's central position and the altar's recorded dedication, she is most likely St. Elizabeth of Hungary/Thuringia.¹⁸¹ There follows a white-veiled, holy nun in grey monastic habit, who holds a frail, golden cross in her right hand. The double line of punch marks above her head, which is shaped as a coronet, indicates her dynastic belonging.¹⁸² However, her Franciscan habit rules out the identity of Blessed Margaret of Hungary, who was in turn a Dominican nun.¹⁸³ The most plausible identity among the multiples ones assigned to this saint¹⁸⁴ is that of St. Agnes of Bohemia (1205-1282); she was a Clarissan nun, the daughter of King Ottokar of Bohemia, and, most significantly, St. Elizabeth's first cousin.¹⁸⁵ The fifth figure on the northern wall represents a young, beardless male saint holding a white lily in his left hand. He is dressed in royal costume and has the same double line of punch marks above his head, which is an additional detail supporting his princely dignity. This saint is most likely St. Emeric.¹⁸⁶ The eastern-wall figures flanking the Madonna with Child are certainly two holy kings: they are depicted with royal insignia (crowns, scepters, and orbs) and are dressed in richly-decorated, court costumes. Both have long hair falling down their shoulders;¹⁸⁷ the one on the left side is mature and bearded, whereas the other one is young and beardless (right side) (Fig. 2.5). Judging by their depictions as holy kings (royal insignia, i.e., crowns, scepters, and orbs), their age difference (i.e., mature and young, respectively), and their proximity with St. Emeric on the adjoining wall, they are most likely St. Stephen (left) and St. Ladislav (right).¹⁸⁸ The royal attributes are missing from St. Emeric's representation, for he did not succeed in becoming king due to his premature death. Though uncharacteristic, St. Ladislav's depiction as a beardless, young man is probably owed to the painter Simone Martini; he was not completely familiar at that point with the iconography of this dynastic saint, whose cult was alien to the Italian Peninsula. However, Simone Martini became familiar later on with the saint's iconography, when he was commissioned a panel with the holy knight's image

¹⁸¹ Hoch, "Beata stirps", 279-280; Norman, "Sanctity, Kingship", 326-327.

¹⁸² Ibid., 327.

¹⁸³ For this identification, see: Asztrik Gabriel, *Les rapports dynastiques franco-hongrois au moyen âge* (Budapest: Imprimerie de l'Université, 1944), 36; Prokopp, "Simone Martini", 47-55; Cecilia Jannella, *Simone Martini* (Florence and New York: Scala and Riverside Books, 1989), 19; hypothetical identification in Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers*, 321-322.

¹⁸⁴ She was identified with St. Clare, Blessed Giacomina of Settesoli, Blessed Delphine of Signe, Blessed Isabelle of France, St. Elizabeth of Hungary, or St. Margaret of Antioch. For all these identifications, see Hoch, "Beata stirps", 282, n. 14.

¹⁸⁵ Ibid., 282; identification supported also by Norman, "Sanctity, Kingship", 327.

¹⁸⁶ This identification was first proposed by Bellosi, "Barba di San Francesco", 14.

¹⁸⁷ Their hair is similar with St. Emeric's hairstyle, but differs from St. Elizabeth's braided hair; these difference supports indeed the two saints' male gender.

¹⁸⁸ These identifications were first proposed by Bellosi, "Barba di San Francesco", 14, n. 12. The identification by Hoch, "Beata stirps", 283-286, of the figure on the right side with a second depiction of St. Elizabeth of Hungary has been rightly rejected with convincing arguments by Norman, "Sanctity, Kingship", 328-329; for an additional counterargument, see the previous note.

by Filippo di Sangineto, one of the leaders of the pro-Hungarian party in Naples, who had a special veneration for St. Ladislav and made him his personal patron saint.¹⁸⁹



Fig. 2.5 – Simone Martini, Madonna with Child flanked by St. Stephen (left) and St. Ladislav (right), 1316-1319, fresco, 110 x 200 cm, eastern wall of the western transept, Lower Church of the Basilica of St. Francis in Assisi. Photo © The Author

¹⁸⁹ The panel is kept today in the Museo Civico di Santa Maria della Consolazione, Altomonte, and its date of execution was placed in different moments spanning from 1315 to 1342. Depending on the panel's accepted dating, art historians looked for a possible commissioner, various names having been subsequently proposed: either Queen Mary of Hungary, Robert of Naples, Filippo di Sangineto, or Queen Elizabeth Piast. However, recent scholarship tends to agree upon the panel's dating to the mid-1320s and Filippo di Sangineto's commission. For the Altomonte St. Ladislav, see especially: Giovanni Paccagnini, "An Attribution to Simone Martini", *The Burlington Magazine* 90/540 (1948), 74-80; Irene Hueck, "Frühe Arbeiten des Simone Martini", *Münchener Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst* 19 (1968), 30-31; Joseph Polzer, "L'ultimo dipinto di Simone Martini", *Antichità viva* 19 (1980), 7-15; Andrew Martindale, "Innovazioni di Simone Martini: i problemi di interpretazione", in *Simone Martini. Atti del convegno; Siena, 27, 28, 29 marzo 1985*, ed. Luciano Bellosi (Florence: Centro Di, 1988), 233-237; Mária Prokopp, "Simone Martini Szent László képe Altomonteben, Szent László és Somogyvár" [Saint Ladislav's image by Simone Martini in Altomonte. Saint Ladislav and Somogyvár], in *Szent László és Somogyvár. Tanulmányok a 900 éves somogyvári bencés apátság emlékezetére* [Saint Ladislav and Somogyvár. Studies in commemoration of the 900-year-old Benedictine Abbey in Somogyvár], ed. Kálmán Magyar (Kaposvár: Somogy Megyei Múzeumok Igazgatósága, 1992), 1: 163-170; eadem, "Szent László középkori ábrázolásai Itáliában", 421-422, 457-458; Márta Lukács, "Santi ungheresi nel Trecento italiana", in *La civiltà ungherese e il cristianesimo. Atti del IV Congresso Internazionale di Studi Ungheresi Roma-Napoli 9-14 settembre 1996. A magyar művelődés és a kereszténység. A IV. Nemzetközi Hungarológiai Kongresszus előadásai Róma-Nápoly, 1996. Szeptember 9-14*, ed. István Monok and Péter Sárközy (Budapest and Szeged: Nemzetközi Magyar Filológiai Társaság and Scriptum Rt., 1988) 1: 163-170 (henceforth: Monok, *Civiltà ungherese*); eadem, "Az altomontei Szent László kép története" [The history of Altomonte image of Saint Ladislav], *Acta Historica Hungarica Turiciensis* 7/1 (2005), 198-201; Marosi, "Saints at Home and Abroad", 181-187; Maria Chiara Cozzi, Sante Guido, and Giuseppe Mantella, "Schede tecniche sullo stato di conservazione delle opere e sulla tecnica esecutiva", in *Arte di corte ad Altomonte. La nuova sezione del Museo Civico di Santa Maria della Consolazione*, ed. Fabio De Chirico and Rosa Anna Filice (Soveria Mannelli: Rubbettino Editore, 2015), 63-116, esp. pp. 41-45, 79-87.

This second time, the Sienese painter depicted the saint as a mature holy king with brown beard, axe, and the Árpadian heraldic elements.

In Assisi, the two Hungarian male saints, who fulfilled their political role as Kings of Hungary, are deliberately associated with the Holy Virgin, who is represented in her hypostasis as the Queen of Heaven. In turn, the dynastic saints, who renounced their secular dignity in favor of their spiritual perfection (either within or outside the Order of St. Francis), form a distinct group on the adjoining wall.¹⁹⁰ The twofold implications underlying the selection of saints in the frescoed altar of St. Elizabeth of Hungary/Thuringia – i.e., on the one hand, Franciscan saints (St. Francis of Assisi, St. Louis of Toulouse, St. Elizabeth of Hungary, and probably St. Agnes of Bohemia), and on the other hand, Angevin-Árpadian dynastic saints (St. Louis of Toulouse, St. Elizabeth of Hungary, St. Emeric, St. Stephen, St. Ladislav, and the Bohemian, but Árpadian-related St. Agnes of Bohemia) – suggest clearly a Neapolitan-Angevin patronage for this altar. Whereas both King Robert the Wise of Naples (r. 1309-1343) and King Charles I of Hungary have been previously suggested as the commissioner of the mural retable in Assisi,¹⁹¹ recent scholarship tends to agree upon the patronage of Mary of Hungary (ca 1261-1323). She was the Queen of Naples between 1285 and 1323, being the former king's mother and the latter king's grandmother.¹⁹² As King Stephen V's daughter, Mary of Hungary was the direct descendant of the Árpadian dynasty. She was greatly devoted to her Hungarian sacred predecessors and embraced additionally the cult of those saintly figures descended from her husband's Angevin lineage. Mary of Hungary was herself a source of sainthood through her son, St. Louis, the Bishop of Toulouse (d. 1297). He was canonized in 1317 primarily through the efforts of his father, King Charles II of Naples (r. 1285-1309), which were carried out by his son and Louis' younger brother, the future King Robert of Naples.¹⁹³ Finally, the queen's piety for her sacred relatives was manifested more than once through the commissioning of works of art, some of them having been addressed specifically to St. Francis' Basilica in Assisi and having been attested by written sources.¹⁹⁴

Mary of Hungary acted as patron also for the Clarissan Convent of Santa Maria Donna Regina in Naples, supporting its reconstruction between 1307 and 1316.¹⁹⁵ Although no written

¹⁹⁰ Norman, "Sanctity, Kingship", 329.

¹⁹¹ The idea of King Robert's patronage originates in Agnes Gosche, *Simone Martini: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Sienesischen Malerei im XIV. Jahrhundert* (Leipzig: Verlag von E. A. Seemann, 1889), 74, n. 1, whereas the idea of King Charles I's patronage originates in Joseph Polzer, "Simone Martini's Two Frescos in the Lower Right Transept of the Church of San Francesco in Assisi", *Arte Cristiana* 72/705 (1984), 353-368.

¹⁹² Hoch, "Beata stirps", 286-291; Norman, "Sanctity, Kingship", 328-331.

¹⁹³ For the Angevins' efforts at canonizing Louis, the Bishop of Toulouse, see especially Klaniczay, "Rois saints", 57-66, with bibliography.

¹⁹⁴ This evidence is discussed in Norman, "Sanctity, Kingship", 328-331.

¹⁹⁵ Currently, the Specialization School of Architectural Heritage and Landscape is based in the Church of Santa Maria Donna Regina Vecchia. The most recent work treating this monument somehow monographically is the collection of

evidence on the church's mural decoration has survived, there is indication that the Dowager Queen of Naples was directly involved in the conception of the iconographic program, assigning its execution to a workshop closely-related stylistically to Pietro Cavallini. This workshop decorated the church sometime between 1316 (when the building was almost completed and the Mass was being celebrated in the church) and 1323 (the year of Mary of Hungary's death), most likely during the 1320-1323 period.¹⁹⁶ A sign of the queen's special connection with the Clarissan convent is also her wish to be buried precisely in this church. Here, it is found her tomb which was commissioned later by her son, King Robert the Wise of Naples, to the workshop of Tino di Camaino, assisted by the Neapolitan architect Gagliardo Primario (1325-1326).¹⁹⁷ The walls of the choir loft, which was accessible only to the nuns and addressed the Clarissan and Franciscan audience in residence at the convent, were decorated – in addition to the scenes of Christ's Passion and a monumental Last Judgment – with extensive cycles narrating the Lives of St. Catherine of Alexandria, St. Agnes of Rome, and St. Elizabeth of Hungary.¹⁹⁸ On the church's northern wall, towards the eastern side of the area corresponding to the nuns' choir and below the Pentecost and Ascension scenes, there is a special, holy trio. They are placed against a background composed of alternating, red-and-white horizontal lines, i.e., a heraldic allusion to the patroness' Árpadian lineage (Fig. 2.6).¹⁹⁹

studies by Janis Elliott and Cordelia Warr, ed., *The Church of Santa Maria Donna Regina: Art, Iconography, and Patronage in the Fourteenth Century Naples* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), with extensive bibliography (henceforth: Elliott, *Santa Maria Donna Regina*). Two studies in this work address directly the question of patronage by Mary of Hungary: Samantha Kelly, "Religious Patronage and Royal Propaganda in Angevin Naples: Santa Maria Donna Regina in Context", and Matthew J. Clear, "Maria of Hungary as Queen, Patron and Exemplar", pp. 27-60. See also: Emile Bertaux, *Santa Maria di Donna Regina e l'arte senese a Napoli nel secolo XIV* (Naples: Stabilimento tipografico Francesco Giannini & Figli, 1899); Rosa Anna Genovese, *La chiesa trecentesca di Donna Regina* (Naples: Edizioni scientifiche italiane, 1993); Stephan Wolohojian, "Closed Encounters: Female Piety, Art, and Visual Experience in the Church of Santa Maria Donna Regina in Naples", PhD Diss. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University, 1994).

¹⁹⁶ Bertaux, *Santa Maria di Donna Regina*, passim; Irene Margaret Field, "Pietro Cavallini and His School: A Study in Style and Iconography of the Frescoes in Rome and in Naples", PhD Diss. (Madison: University of Wisconsin, 1958); Miklós Boskovits, "Proposte (e conferme) per Pietro Cavallini", in *Roma anno 1300. Atti della IV settimana di studi di storia dell'arte medievale dell'Università di Roma "La Sapienza" (19-24 maggio 1980)*, ed. Angiola Maria Romanini (Rome: L'Erma di Bretschneider, 1983), 297-330; Stefania Paone, "Gli affreschi di Santa Maria Donnaregina Vecchia: Percorsi stilistici nella Napoli Angioina", *Arte Medievale. Periodico internazionale di critica dell'arte medievale. Nuova serie* 3/1 (2004), 87-118.

¹⁹⁷ Tanja Michalsky, "Mater Serenissimi Principis: The Tomb of Maria of Hungary", in Elliott, *Santa Maria Donna Regina*, 61-77.

¹⁹⁸ For discussions of various aspects of the church's iconographic program, see: Tommaso M. Gallino, "La chiesa di Donna Regina di Napoli ed un suo ciclo pittorico su Sant'Elisabetta di Turinga", *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* 42 (1949), 338-344; Mária Prokopp, "L'ex-chiesa di Donnaregina a Napoli e i suoi affreschi", in Monok, *Civiltà ungherese*, 171-180; Cathleen A. Fleck, "To Exercise Yourself in These Things by Continued Contemplation: Visual and Textual Literacy in the Frescoes at Santa Maria Donna Regina", Adrian S. Hoch, "The Passion Cycle: Images to Contemplate and Imitate amid Clarissan *clausura*", Cordelia Warr, "The Golden Legend and the Cycle of the Life of Saint Elizabeth of Thuringia-Hungary", and Janis Elliott, "The Last Judgment: The Cult of Sacral Kingship and Dynastic Hopes for the Afterlife", in Elliott, *Santa Maria Donna Regina*, 109-194; Cathleen A. Fleck, "Blessed the Eyes That See Those Things You See: The Trecento Choir Frescoes at Santa Maria Donnaregina in Naples", *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 67/2 (2004), 201-224.

¹⁹⁹ The Árpadian (red-and-white, horizontal lines) and Angevin (golden lilies on dark-blue background) coat of arms are encountered many times inside the church, both in its painted and carved decoration, either separately or coupled.



Fig. 2.6 – Follower of Pietro Cavallini, St. Ladislav, St. Stephen, and St. Emeric, 1320-1323, fresco, northern wall of the nuns' choir, Church of Santa Maria Donna Regina in Naples. Photo © The Author

The three half-figures of saints are partially preserved, so that the attributes of the side saints have been destroyed probably by several fifteenth-century earthquakes. Additionally, a 1390 fire in the church muted the colors into shades of red and green, and a nineteenth-century overpainting obscured some of the fresco's original details.²⁰⁰ Generally, scholars agreed upon the identity of the first two saints. The mature, brown-bearded holy king on the left side was identified with St. Ladislav, whereas the old holy king with white hair and beard in the middle, who holds a golden orb (and probably a scepter, now faded-away), was identified with St. Stephen. However, the young, beardless saint on the right side, who holds a closed book and wore originally a headgear (probably a crown) has been identified either with St. Elizabeth of Hungary or St. Emeric.²⁰¹ Several arguments support in fact the latter identification. First, the alleged feminine features of the saint are not foreign to the iconography of St. Emeric, whose young age, chastity, and frailty were often rendered by means of almost-feminine, facial features (e.g., St. Emeric's figure in the frescoes of St. Elizabeth's altar in Assisi is the case in point). Second, the saint's costume details are similar with those of St. Ladislav, but different than those of St. Elizabeth in the adjacent, narrative cycle. Whenever bareheaded, the neighboring St. Elizabeth has longer and blonder hair, and most often than not she is represented crowned but veiled – the latter detail is obviously missing from the third saint's faded headgear. Finally, the closed book is a rare attribute in St. Elizabeth's iconography,

²⁰⁰ Elliot, *Church of Santa Maria Donna Regina*, 4, 6; Fleck, "Blessed the Eyes", 204.

²⁰¹ For St. Elizabeth's identity, see: Bertaux, *Santa Maria di Donna Regina*, 52; Fleck, "Blessed the Eyes", 203, 206, n. 17. For St. Emeric's identity, see: Prokopp, "L'ex-chiesa di Donnaregina", 176; Kelly, "Religious Patronage", 38.

but might represent in fact an allusion to St. Emeric's learned nature, which he acquired through his father's *Exhortations*.²⁰² Even though the three saints' attributes are not entirely preserved,²⁰³ the Árpadian royal trio was represented here at the three ages of kingship, i.e., old for St. Stephen, mature for St. Ladislás, and young for St. Emeric. The Árpadian royal trio in the church of Santa Maria Donna Regina in Naples can be considered, therefore, as the first iconographic instance when the grouping of Sts Stephen, Emeric, and Ladislás occurred in an articulated and coherent composition. Additionally, the iconographic program in the area of the nuns' choir comprises also other saints descended this time from the *beata stirps Angevina* – St. Louis IX of France and St. Louis of Toulouse are two of them.

This pictorial strategy displayed by both Neapolitan-Angevin commissions in Assisi and Naples fits in with the textual evidence from the time's sermons. For instance, Queen Mary's son Louis, the Bishop of Toulouse, who renounced at his right to rule as king in favor of his brother Robert, is described as descending from a double triad of saintly rulers: on the one hand, the Angevin-Capetian branch of (St.) Charlemagne and St. Louis IX of France, and on the other hand, the Árpadian branch represented by St. Stephen, St. Emeric, and St. Ladislás:

“Unde de ipso [Ludovico] in figura potest dici quod scribitur in Num. 24, *Orietur stella ex Iacob*. Quantum ad gentem francorum [...] de ista gente fuit iste et plures alii sancti canonizati, quorum unus est sanctus Carolus Magnus qui sepultum est ubi coronatur imperatores, alius rex francorum sanctus Ludovicus. Sequitur *Et exsurget homo ex Israel*, et istud est regnum Ungarie, qui est ad oriente [...] et sic ex stirpe francorum sunt tres sancti canonizati, ex stirpe Ungarie; et iste linee coniuncte fuerunt in sancto isto glorioso, qui de utraque parte traxit originem.”²⁰⁴

Undoubtedly, the Hungarian Angevins were aware of their Neapolitan relatives' veneration for the Árpadian saintly predecessors and of their endeavors to promote these saints together with those

²⁰² St. Elizabeth is depicted holding a closed book only in the panel representing the Miracle of the Cloak in the Altenberg Altar, dated to 1330 and kept in the Städelches Kunstinstitut in Frankfurt, Vagaská, “Árpádovskí dynastickí svätci”, 94, fig. 40. Her usual attribute, however, is a plate or bowl with food which she sometimes distributes to a miniature beggar found at her feet, *ibid.*, fig. 12-13, 56, 66, 68, 74, 81-82, 87, 97, 99, 105-109, 111-112. In the seventeenth-century murals in Sânzieni, St. Emeric is the one who is depicted holding and reading an open book. For this representation, see Horváth, *Székegyföldi freskók*, 101-103.

²⁰³ Judging by the position of his right hand and a faded, thin line which is positioned obliquely next to his halo, St. Ladislás held originally probably a scepter.

²⁰⁴ “What is written in Numbers 24, *A star shall come out of Jacob*, can be said of Louis. Regarding the French race [...] Louis] and several other canonized saints came from it, of whom one is Saint Charlemagne, buried where the emperors are crowned, and another Saint Louis, King of the French. There follows, *And a man shall rise out of Israel*, and this is the Kingdom of Hungary, which is in the East [...] and as there are three canonized saints from the French line, so from the Hungarian; and these lines were conjoined in this glorious saint [Louis of Anjou], who traces his origins from both sides.” The Latin excerpt together with its English translation is quoted in Samantha Kelly, *The New Solomon. Robert of Naples (1309-1343) and Fourteenth-century Kingship* (Boston: Brill Leiden, 2003), 124; for the assertion of King Robert's double sacred ascendance, see also pp. 119-129. For the parallel of French and Hungarian holy kings as a preachers' *topos* serving to organize the sainted predecessors of the Neapolitan-Angevin dynasty, see Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers*, 313-316.

descended from the Angevin dynasty. This was especially so, given the many contacts between the two kingdoms during the first half of the fourteenth century. Moreover, the future King Charles I of Hungary, while being only a seven-year-old, orphaned boy has been educated until the age of twelve (1295-1300) at the court of his grandmother, Queen Mary of Hungary. She transferred upon her grandson her legal claims for the Hungarian throne and, together with these, she also instilled in the little Caroberto her deep devotion for their Árpadian holy predecessors. Even though the Neapolitan evidence for the collective iconography of the *sancti reges Hungariae* appears to be earlier than the Hungarian one, a direct influence of the former upon the later cannot be stated, given the many differences of detail in the iconography of Hungary's holy kings. Neither can the opposite influence (i.e., from Hungary to Naples), hypothesized by Gábor Klaniczay in connection with Queen Elizabeth Piast's involvement in the commissioning of some of the frescoes in the Church of Santa Maria Donna Regina,²⁰⁵ be accepted, because the decoration of the church was already completed in 1343-1344, when the Hungarian Dowager Queen visited Naples.

2. 5. The Cult and Iconography of Hungary's Holy Kings in the Context of Hungarian Court Art (Mid-fourteenth Century)

Following closely in the footsteps of his father and predecessor, King Louis the Great (r. 1342-1382) understood the advantages of having several saints in the family and tried to acquire new political capital within the borders of his kingdom by means of his holy relatives. He tried also to increase his own prestige and that of his dynasty in the eyes of contemporaneous European ruling families through the support and promotion of the cult of his holy predecessors, particularly that of the *sancti reges Hungariae*.²⁰⁶ This "crusader king"²⁰⁷ had a special reverence for the holy knight St. Ladislav, whose tomb he visited twice as a pilgrim: first in 1342-1343, immediately after his coronation in Székesfehérvár, and then in 1352, after having recovered from an injury. It was with this occasion that he showed his gratitude by adorning the saint's reliquary with a silver crown.²⁰⁸ Moreover, Louis the Great replaced St. John the Baptist's effigy on the new golden florin he issued with that of St. Ladislav,²⁰⁹ whose *famulus* the king was thought to be, as attested by a fourteenth-

²⁰⁵ Ibid., 338.

²⁰⁶ Năstăsioiu, "Political Aspects", 94-100; idem, "*Sancti reges Hungariae*", 26-30.

²⁰⁷ Norman Housley, "King Louis the Great of Hungary and the Crusades, 1342-1382", *The Slavonic and East European Review* 62/2 (1984), 192-208.

²⁰⁸ Éva Kovács, "Magyarországi Anjou koronák" [Crowns of Hungarian Angevins], *Ars Hungarica* 4/1 (1976), 10-11; Klaniczay, "Culte des saints dynastiques," 232-233.

²⁰⁹ Ibid., 232.

century missal from a Dominican convent in Dalmatia.²¹⁰ On the reverse of the golden florin, which King Louis the Great issued throughout his reign, the standing figure of St. Ladislav is depicted as a mature, bearded saint with crown, orb, and axe with long handle (Fig. 2.7).²¹¹



Fig. 2.7 – King Louis the Great’s golden florin showing the Hungarian-Angevin coat of arms on the obverse and St. Ladislav on the reverse, 1358-1371, gold, diameter 0.22 cm, weight 3.57 g, Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum Éremtára, Budapest. Photo Source: <http://mek.oszk.hu/> (Accessed 11 November 2016)

Louis the Great’s high veneration for his saintly predecessors and promotion of their cult was doubled by the activity of his mother, Queen Elizabeth Piast (1305-1380, tenure 1320-1342). Her increasing political influence, especially after the death of her husband, and intense patronage of the arts spanned on a period of sixty years (1320-1380), leaving unfortunately more traces in the time’s written records than material remains.²¹² The Clarissan Convent of the Blessed Virgin Mary in

²¹⁰ Emma Bartoniek, ed., *Codices manu scripti Latini. I. Codices Latini Medii Aevi Bibliothecae Széchényi Musei Nationalis Hungarici* (Budapest: Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, 1940), 293-294.

²¹¹ Cat. no. 514-518, *Münzkatalog Ungarn von 1000 bis Heute*, ed. Lajos Huszár (Munich: Battenberg, 1979), 86.

²¹² For Queen Elizabeth’s complex personality, see: László Szende, *Piast Erzsébet és udvara (1320-1380)* [Elizabeth Piast and her court (1320-1380)], PhD Diss. (Budapest: Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem, 2007); idem, “Piast Erzsébet a hitves, az édesanya, a mecénás” [Elizabeth Piast, wife, mother, mecena], in *Károly Róbert és Székesfehérvár. King Charles Robert and Székesfehérvár*, ed. Terézia Kerny and András Smohay (Székesfehérvár: Székesfehérvári Egyházmegyei Múzeum, 2011), 78-100. For her political and diplomatic activity, see: Marianne Sággy, “Dévotions diplomatiques: Le pèlerinage de la reine mère Élisabeth Piast à Rome”, and László Szende, “Le rôle d’Élisabeth Piast dans la diplomatie de Hongrie”, in *La diplomatie des États Angevins aux XIII^e et XIV^e siècles. Diplomacy in the Countries of the Angevin Dynasty in the Thirteenth – Fourteenth Century. Actes du colloque international de Szeged, Visegrád, Budapest, 13-14 septembre 2007*, ed. Zoltán Kordé and István Petrovics (Rome and Szeged: Accademia d’Ungheria in Roma and JATEPress, 2010), 219-224 and 225-233 (henceforth: Kordé, *Diplomatie des États Angevins*). For the queen’s artistic patronage, see: Ewa Śnieżyńska-Stolot, “Queen Elizabeth as a Patron of Architecture”, *Acta Historiae Artium Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 20 (1974), 13-36; eadem, “Andegaweńskie dary złotnicze z

Óbuda, that is, Queen Elizabeth's foundation and burial place, might have fostered the dynastic saints' cult. However, besides a reference to St. Ladislav which appears in the queen's very detailed will from 1380, there is no information to this effect.²¹³ Only few surviving works of art attest equally to the magnificence of court art in medieval Hungary and its strong connections to the illustrious art on the Italian Peninsula.²¹⁴

The *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* (1328-1345)²¹⁵ and the *Hungarian Illuminated Chronicle* (before 1358)²¹⁶ are the two main manuscripts which were decorated with miniatures during the Angevin age and were commissioned by members of the Hungarian royal court. They display both subsidiarily some of the Árpadian/Angevin dynastic saints and attest to the Hungarian Angevins' reverence for the cult of their holy predecessors.

herbami polskimi w kaplicy węgierskiej w Akwizgranie" [Angevin goldsmith gifts with the Polish coat of arms in the Hungarian Chapel in Aachen], *Folia Historiae Artium* 11 (1975), 21-36; eadem, "Ze studiów nad kulturą dworu węgierskiego królowej Elżbiety Łokietkówny" [From the study of court culture of the Hungarian Queen Elizabeth Piast], *Studia Historyczne* 20 (1977), 181-190; eadem, "Studies on Queen Elizabeth's Artistic Patronage", *Critica d'arte* 44 /166-168 (1979), 97-112; eadem, "Tanulmányok Erzsébet királyné mecénási tevékenységéről (Liturgikus textiliák és paramentumok)" [Studies on the patronage activity of Queen Elizabeth (Liturgical textiles and paramenta)], *Ars Hungarica* 7/1 (1979), 23-31; eadem, "Tanulmányok Łokietek Erzsébet királyné műpártolása köréből (Ötvöstárgyak)" [Studies on Queen Elizabeth Piast's artistic patronage (Goldsmith items)], *Művészettörténeti Értesítő* 30/4 (1981), 233-254.

²¹³ Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers*, 336. For the last will's Latin text, see: Ernő Marosi, "A 14. századi Magyarország udvari művészete és Közép-Európa" [14th-century Hungarian court art and Central Europe], in *Művészet I. Lajos király korában. Katalógus* [Art during King Louis I's age. Catalogue], exh. cat., ed. Ernő Marosi et al. (Budapest: MTA Művészettörténeti Kutatócsoport, 1982), 51-77 (henceforth: Marosi, *Művészet I. Lajos király korában*).

²¹⁴ For overviews of Hungarian-Angevin court art, see especially: ibid.; Ernő Marosi, "L'art à la cour angevine de Hongrie", in *L'Europe des Anjou. Aventure des princes angevins du XIII^e au XV^e siècle*, exh. cat., ed. Guy Massin Le Goff et al. (Paris: Somogy Éditions d'Art, 2001), 178-193 (henceforth: Massin Le Goff, *Europe des Anjou*); idem, "Diplomatie et représentation de la cour sous le règne de Louis le Grand de Hongrie", in Kordé, *Diplomatie des États Angevins*, 187-193; 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*, Exh. Cat., ed. Imre Takács (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 2006), 68-86 (henceforth: Takács, *Sigismundus*); Vinni Lucherini, "L'arte alla corte dei re 'napoletani' d'Ungheria nel primo Trecento: un equilibrio tra aspirazioni italiane e condizionamenti locali", in *Arte di Corte in Italia del Nord. Programmi, modelli, artisti (1330-1402 ca.). Atti del convegno internazionale, Università di Losanna, Lausanne (24-26 maggio 2012)*, ed. Serena Romano and Denise Zaru (Rome: Viella, 2013), 415-440.

²¹⁵ For the Hungarian Angevin Legendary, see the most complete and to date analysis: Béla Zsolt Szakács, *The Visual World of the Hungarian Angevin Legendary* (Budapest: CEU Press, 2016), which is the updated English edition of idem, *A Magyar Anjou Legendárium képi rendszerei* [Visual Strategies in the Hungarian Angevin Legendary] (Budapest: Balassi, 2006). For facsimile editions, see: Ferenc Levárdy, ed., *Magyar Anjou Legendárium* [Hungarian Angevin Legendary] (Budapest: Magyar Helikon, 1973); Giovanni Morello, Heide Stamm, and Gerd Betz, ed., *Heiligenleben: "Ungarisches Legendarium: Codex Vat. Lat. 8541* (Zurich: Belser, 1990). See also: Tünde Wehli, "Magyar Anjou Legendárium" [Hungarian Anjou Legendary], in *Három kódex. Az Országos Széchényi könyvtár millennium kiállítása 2000. augusztus 17. – november 17.* [Three codices. The millennial exhibition of the National Széchényi Library, 17 August-17 November 2000], ed. Orsolya Karsai (Budapest: Osiris Kiadó, 2000), 73-87.

²¹⁶ For facsimile editions of the *Hungarian Illuminated Chronicle*, accompanied by studies of the manuscript, see: Ibolya Bellus, Gyula Kristó et al., ed., *Képes krónika. Chronicon pictum*, 2 vol. (Budapest: Helikon, 1987); József Hapák, László Veszprémy, and Tünde Wehli, ed., *The Book of the Illuminated Chronicle* (Budapest: Kossuth Publishing House, 2009). The manuscript is also available online at https://web.archive.org/web/20120304111134/http://konyv-e.hu/pdf/Chronica_Picta.pdf (accessed 12 November 2016). For another facsimile edition accompanied by the text's English translation, see: Dezső Dercsényi, ed., *The Hungarian Illuminated Chronicle. Chronica de gestis Hungarorum* (Budapest: Corvina Press, 1969). For the text's critical edition, see: Alexander Domanovszky, "Chronici Hungarorum compositio saeculi XIV," in Szentpétery, *Scriptores Rerum Hungaricarum*, 1: 239-505.

Created in the second quarter of the fourteenth century, probably in Bologna, and at the commission of an unidentified member of the royal court,²¹⁷ the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* illustrates through miniatures – the text is so reduced that it functions as simple captions for the images – the life of Christ and of various saints, following the model of the *Legenda aurea*.²¹⁸ The number of miniatures dedicated to each of the sacred personages reveals the importance of each of the saints' cult in the first half of the fourteenth century. St. Ladislav's cycle occupies a prominent place in the legendary with 24 images, St. Emeric has 8 images, whereas the number of miniatures depicting St. Stephen's life can be hardly reconstructed due to the manuscript's fragmentation and incomplete preservation.²¹⁹ The structure of the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* dictates an arrangement and grouping of miniatures according to saints' lives, it favors clusters of scenes narrating a saint's *vita* through its most significant episodes, and excludes the association of non-coeval saints, such as the holy kings of Hungary. However, the surviving narrative scenes dedicated to the lives of each of Hungary's holy kings allows one to distinguish their main characteristics: St. Stephen was depicted as an old holy king with white hair and beard (Fig. 2.8); St. Emeric was a young, beardless prince (Fig. 2.8); whereas St. Ladislav was represented as mature holy king with brown hair and beard, his battle-axe attribute being prefigured in the episode of the Cuman's Beheading by the beautiful Hungarian maiden (Fig. 2.9).

Created around 1358, most likely at the commission of King Louis the Great,²²⁰ the *Illuminated Chronicle* is primarily a historical work, which contains both iconic and narrative images. These images are dedicated to the most notable events which happened throughout the

²¹⁷ Basing on each of the saints' number of images, Ferenc Levárdy, "Il Leggendaro Ungherese degli Angiò conservato nella Bibiloteca Vaticana, nel Morgan Library e nell'Ermitage", *Acta Historiae Artium* 9 (1963), 75-138, argued that the legendary was intended for Prince Andrew, King Charles I's son, who spent his childhood in Naples and who could have used it as an educational tool (St. Andrew's Life is illustrated through 20 images). On the other hand, Béla Zsolt Szakács, "The Holy Father and the Devils, or Could the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* Have Been Ordered by a Pope?", in Nagy, *Man of Many Devices*, 52-60, stated that the high quality of the luxurious manuscript points out only to the uppermost level of the society (if not the Angevin court itself, probably another royal milieu, which intended it as a magnificent gift for the Hungarian Angevins).

²¹⁸ The codex is currently preserved in various places: Berkeley, Bancroft Library of the University of California, f.2MS2A2M2 1300-1337; New York, Metropolitan Museum, 1994.516; New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, M.360.1-26; Paris, Louvre, Département des Arts Graphiques; Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Lat. 8541; and Saint Petersburg, Hermitage Museum, No. 16930-16934. See also: Julia Bader and George Starr, "A Saint in the Family: A Leaf of the *Hungarian Anjou Legendary* at Berkley", *Hungarian Studies* 2/1 (1986), 3-12; Gyöngyi Török, "Neue Folii aus dem *Ungarischen Anjou-Legendarium*", *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 44/4 (1992), 565-577; eadem, "A Magyar Anjou Legendárium eddig ismeretlen lapja a Louvre-ban" [The hitherto unknown page of the Hungarian Anjou Legendary in Louvre], *Magyar Könyvszemle* 116/3 (2000), 357-372.

²¹⁹ Béla Zsolt Szakács, "Le culte des saints à la cour et le Légendaire des Anjou-Hongrie", in Massin Le Goff, *Europe des Anjou*, 195-201.

²²⁰ Budapest, Országos Széchényi Könyvtár Kézirattára, Cod. Lat. 404. For the *Illuminated Chronicle*'s commissioner as King Louis the Great, see especially: Marosi, "Art à la cour", 187; Kerny, "Magyar szent királyok XIII-XVII. sz.", 91. Additionally, the latter scholar considers that the manuscript reflects not so much the figure of the ruling king, but that of his father, King Charles I, and this one's efforts to prove the legitimacy of his claim to the Hungarian throne. See also: Vinni Lucherini, "Il *Chronicon pictum* ungherese (1358): racconto e immagini al servizio della costruzione dell'identità nazionale", *Rivista di Storia della Miniatura* 19 (2015), 58-72.

history of the Hungarian Kingdom.²²¹ Every series of images corresponding to the reign of each Hungarian king, either a saint or not, is arranged thus in chronological order. Differently than the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary*, where the text was limited to laconic captions accompanying the lavish images, the text of the *Illuminated Chronicle* plays the main role, the miniatures having the subordinate function of illustrating the text. Throughout the various episodes of his long reign, King Stephen I is represented accordingly either as a young, mature, or old holy king (Fig. 2.10).²²² Due to his early death, Prince Emeric is underrepresented from the point of view of the scenes' number, and he is depicted naturally at young age.



Fig. 2.8-2.9 – Scenes from the Lives of St. Emeric (left) and St. Ladislas (right), 1328-1345, illuminated leaves, *Hungarian Angevin Legendary*, fols. 78r and 82r, Vat. lat. 8541, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City. Photos © Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, http://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.lat.8541 (Accessed 30 April 2017)

²²¹ For the relationship between text and image inside the *Illuminated Chronicle*, see Krisztina Fügedi, “Modifications of the Narrative? The Message of Image and Text in the Fourteenth-Century Hungarian Illuminated Chronicle”, in *The Development of Literate Mentalities in East Central Europe*, ed. Anna Adamska and Marco Mostert (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004), 469-496 (henceforth: Adamska, *Development of Literate Mentalities*).

²²² For an analysis of St. Stephen’s depiction in the *Chronicon pictum*, see: Ilona Berkovits, *A Képes Krónika és Szent István királyt ábrázoló miniaturái* [The Illuminated Chronicle and King Saint Stephen’s miniature depictions] (Budapest: Királyi Magyar Egyetemi Nyomda, 1938).



Fig. 2.10 – Miniatures showing St. Stephen in narrative and iconic hypostases, before 1358, illuminated leaf, fol. 20v, Cod. Lat. 404, Országos Széchényi Könyvtár Kézirattára in Budapest. Photo Source: <https://web.archive.org/> (Accessed 12 November 2016)



Fig. 2.11 – Initial A decorated with St. Ladislav's standing figure, before 1358, illuminated leaf, fol. 47r, Cod. Lat. 404, Országos Széchényi Könyvtár Kézirattára in Budapest. Photo Source: <https://web.archive.org/> (Accessed 12 November 2016)

Surprisingly, the seventeen scenes illustrating King Ladislas I's life and reign emphasize the miraculous events and supernatural elements in the saint's life at the expense of the king's political acts.²²³ However, St. Ladislas' iconic depiction as a mature holy king holding a crucifer orb and a long-handle axe, similarly to his depiction on the reverse of Louis the Great's golden florin (Fig. 2.7), is included in one of the decorated initials of the *Illuminated Chronicle*. This was a sign that the holy knight's iconographic type was being configured during the reign of the "crusader king" (Fig. 2.11). Whereas the golden florin with St. Ladislas' image – due to the circulation of money – had a significant role in the spreading of the holy knight's iconography among the kingdom's noblemen, the two illuminated manuscripts had limited circulation and audience – and subsequently a low degree of visibility –, since they were meant for the private use of certain royal figures.

2. 6. Political Propaganda and Dynastic Ideology – Hungarian Angevins Traveling Abroad and the Promotion of Their Holy Predecessors' Cult

Three new trends regarding royal patronage of the cult of saints in medieval Central Europe have been noted by Gábor Klaniczay to emerge by the middle of the fourteenth century. First, journeys undertaken by the prince and his court for various reasons offered excellent opportunities to popularize dynastic saints. These could include pilgrimages to some dynastic saint's shrine, journeys to attend a wedding or to witness the coronation of a new king, or travels to conclude a diplomatic treaty. Second, within the context of the cult of the dead, dynastic cults were rapidly expanding. Finally, there was a new vogue for art objects, edifices, and works of literature produced specifically for purposes of personal piety.²²⁴ Throughout almost a century on the Hungarian throne,²²⁵ various members of the Angevin dynasty undertook several such journeys for either political or devotional purposes, or some combination of both. Such journeys gave the royal family opportunities to display the magnificence of their court abroad, to express their piety at the shrine of some important saint, and to show the prestige of their lineage through the promotion of saints descended from their own family. As shown by Vinni Lucherini, King Charles I's trip to Naples in 1333-1334 for arranging the marriage of his son, Prince Andrew, to Joanna, the

²²³ Béla Zsolt Szakács, "Between Chronicle and Legend: Image Cycles of St Ladislas in Fourteenth-century Hungarian Manuscripts", in *The Medieval Chronicle IV*, ed. Erik Kooper (Amsterdam and New York: Editions Rodopi, 2006), 149-175; idem, "Szent László a XIV. századi kódexfestészetben" [Saint Ladislas in 14th-century codex painting], *Csodaszarvas* 3 (2009), 105-117.

²²⁴ Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers*, 332-333.

²²⁵ For a historical overview of this century, see: Engel, *Realm of St Stephen*, 124-194.

granddaughter of the King of Naples, had a greater impact on the funerary politics of King Robert of Anjou than on the Hungarian Angevins' artistic patronage.²²⁶ On the other hand, Dowager Queen Elizabeth Piast's diplomatic and pious journey in 1343-1344 to Naples, Rome, Bari, and other Italian towns, and her joint Angevin-Luxemburg pilgrimage in 1357 to Marburg, Cologne, and Aachen had important consequences for the cult of Hungarian dynastic saints, especially for the cult of the *sancti reges Hungariae*. Taking along the saints of home when going abroad in pilgrimage to shrines of other saints was, for the Hungarian Angevins, an efficient self-representation tool that they repeatedly employed to increase their dynasty's political and sacral prestige.

2. 6. 1. The Diplomatic Journey of Queen Elizabeth Piast to Italy in 1343-1344

As pointed out previously,²²⁷ the Italian journey of the Hungarian queen had mainly a diplomatic purpose, namely, that of bolstering Prince Andrew's claims to the Neapolitan throne. His claims have been hindered by King Robert's change of terms in the agreement he concluded with Charles I during the latter's trip to Naples in 1333-1334. This agreement should have brought to Andrew, after Robert's death, the throne of the Kingdom of Naples, which was occupied then by his wife, Queen Joanna I (r. 1343-1382).²²⁸ One cannot overlook, however, in Queen Elizabeth's pilgrimage to Rome a personal pious motivation, namely, the queen's desire to visit the shrines of the Holy Apostles Peter and Paul and to venerate their relics. Accompanied by a large retinue²²⁹ and having with herself a significant capital in gold and silver,²³⁰ Queen Elizabeth left Visegrád on the feast of the Holy Trinity (June 8). She reached Naples more than one and a half months later, on the

²²⁶ Vinni Lucherini, "The Journey of Charles I, King of Hungary, from Visegrád to Naples (1333): Its Political Implications and Artistic Consequences", *The Hungarian Historical Review. Acta Historica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae – New Series*, 2/2 (2013), 341-362; see also: eadem, "Le tombe angioine nel presbiterio di Santa Chiara a Napoli e la politica funeraria di Roberto d'Angiò", in *Medioevo: I committenti. Atti del Convegno internazionale di studi di Parma, 21-26 settembre 2010*, ed. Arturo Carlo Quintavalle (Milan: Electa, 2011), 477-504.

²²⁷ This subchapter is based on my article Dragoş Gh. Năstăsoiu, "Patterns of Devotion and Traces of Art. The Diplomatic Journey of Queen Elizabeth Piast to Italy in 1343-1344", *Convivium. Exchanges and Interactions in the Arts of Medieval Europe, Byzantium, and the Mediterranean. Seminarium Kondakovianum Series Nova* 2/2 (2015), 98-111. For other studies addressing the same topic from a different perspective, see: János Karácsonyi, "Nagy Lajos anyja Rómában" [Louis the Great's mother in Rome], *Katolikus Szemle* 7 (1893), 50-63; Sággy, "Dévotions diplomatiques", 219-224.

²²⁸ For this agreement, see: Lucherini, "Journey of Charles I", 342-355. By concluding this agreement, Charles I hoped to ensure for his son the Neapolitan throne which was assigned by his grandfather, King Charles II of Naples, to his third-born son Robert, after the death in 1295 of his next-in-line son, Charles Martel (i.e., the Hungarian king's father), and the refusal the same year of the crown by his other son, Louis the Bishop of Toulouse.

²²⁹ Galántai, *Johannes de Thurocz*, 163-164. The chronicler's list of barons and clerics is not entirely accepted by modern scholarship; for discussions of this aspect, see: Karácsonyi, "Nagy Lajos anyja", 51-52; Szende, *Piast Erzsébet és udvara*, 134.

²³⁰ Galántai, *Johannes de Thurocz*, 162.

eve of St. James the Great's feast (July 24).²³¹ While in Naples, she sent an embassy to the Pope in Avignon to plead the case for Prince Andrew and later left for Rome on the feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross (September 14). When she finally arrived to St. Peter's Basilica, the queen was received by the entire papal court in a procession with great pomp and honor. She was allowed to adore Veronica's Veil twice, and she offered lavish gifts and made pious donations to the main altar of St. Peter and to other monasteries, churches, and holy places that she visited in the Eternal City.²³² She returned afterwards to Naples, where she could witness Queen Joanna's arrogance, ambitiousness, and unwillingness to renounce to the crown in favor of her husband. She also received the Pope's refusal to support Prince Andrew's claims to the Neapolitan throne there.²³³ Faced with this diplomatic failure and despite the huge capital which was spent vainly for the *captatio benevolentiae* of the parties opposing her son, Queen Elizabeth decided in late February 1344 to return to Visegrád, though not before having expressed her piety and generosity to St. Nicholas' shrine in Bari and having been compelled by the lack of available ships to celebrate Easter solemnly in Manfredonia (10 March - 4 April 4).²³⁴

The magnificent presentation of the Hungarian queen and her retinue, her excessive generosity and utmost piety are emphasized in the account of John, Archdeacon of Küküllő, on Queen Elizabeth's pilgrimage to Rome.²³⁵ His detailed and graphic description was more than just a literary *topos* attesting to the chronicler's literary skill – the lavish presentation of herself and her large retinue was in fact a medieval queen's duty.²³⁶ However, except for a specific reference in the chronicle of the *Anonimo Romano* to a large donation to a certain Franciscan friar Acuto which ensured the reconstruction of *Pons Milvius*,²³⁷ the accounts of the two chroniclers contain nothing specific on Queen Elizabeth's pious generosity.²³⁸ Looking at the inventory of the treasury of St. Peter's Basilica of 1361, among various liturgical garments and vestments which are ascribed as donations from the *Regina Ungarie*,²³⁹ one can notice an item which deserves special attention for its iconography. It is a dossal destined to St. Peter's main altar, which gathers the entire collection of Árpadian-Angevin holy figures, placed in the proximity of the Holy Mother of God and the Holy

²³¹ For the stops in Queen Elizabeth's itinerary and the dates of her stays, see: Szende, *Piast Erzsébet és udvara*, 25.

²³² Galántai, *Johannes de Thurocz*, 163.

²³³ *Ibid.*, 163-164.

²³⁴ *Ibid.*, 164. Prince Andrew was assassinated one year after Queen Elizabeth's Italian journey, most likely with the consent or knowledge of his wife Joanna.

²³⁵ *Ibid.*, 163.

²³⁶ Năstăsioiu, "Patterns of Devotion – Italy", 103-104.

²³⁷ Giuseppe Porta, ed., *Anonimo Romano, Cronica* (Milan: Adelphi Edizioni, 1979), 41-42.

²³⁸ Năstăsioiu, "Patterns of Devotion – Italy", 104.

²³⁹ Eugène Müntz and Arthur Lincoln Frothingham Jr., "Il Tesoro della Basilica di S. Pietro in Vaticano dal XIII al XV secolo con una scelta d'inventarii inediti", *Archivio della Società Romana di Storia Patria* 6 (1883), 1-137, especially pp. 14, 17, 32, 41, 44, 47-48.

Apostles Peter and Paul, respectively. The central figure of the Holy Virgin is flanked on her right by St. Paul, St. Stephen of Hungary, St. Emeric, and St. Louis, and on her left side by St. Peter, St. Ladislav, St. Elizabeth of Hungary, and Blessed Margaret, who was not yet canonized at that point:

“Item unum aliud dossale pro dicto altari de syndone violato, ornatum de novem ymaginibus, videlicet, cum nostra domina in medio et a dextris ejus sanctus Paulus, Sanctus Stephanus Rex Ungarie, Sanctus Erricus Dux Ungarie et sanctus Lodoycus, et a sinistris sanctus Petrus et sanctus Ladislaus Rex Ungarie, sancta Helisabet filia Regis Ungarie, et sancta Margarita filia Regis Ungarie, cum spicis aureis duplicatis inter ipsas ymagines et in circuitu una vitis de auro in sindone rubeo cum rosis aureis.”²⁴⁰

The dossal was meant to be displayed behind St. Peter’s main altar, i.e., in a privileged place and enjoying a high degree of visibility, presumably as an explicit statement of the dynastic saints’ place in the pantheon of universal saints and their implicit connection to the Hungarian Angevin House. The altar decoration or other items donated by Queen Elizabeth to St. Peter’s Basilica do not survive anymore and other descriptions in the inventory are rather vague, so one cannot attest to the level of artistry and the size of these lost donations.²⁴¹ These should have been rather high since the name of “dna Helysabeth consors relictæ dicti dni Regis Ungarie et filia bone memorie dni Ladislav regis Polonie” deserved to be inscribed later in St. Peter’s *Libro dei Benefactori*.²⁴² One cannot know either whether the dynastic saints featured more prominently or not in the iconography of the other items donated to St. Peter’s Basilica. Even so, the dossal’s particular selection of saints is indicative enough of the concern the Hungarian Angevins had for communicating their dynasty’s political and sacral significance to their contemporaries visiting the most important center of Western Christianity. Additionally, this impressive number of family saints belonging to the Celestial Court acted as direct intercessors next to Christ asking for His divine help and favorable outcome in the terrestrial endeavors of their relatives, namely, the Hungarian Angevins. The description of the dossal donated by Queen Elisabeth Piast to St. Peter’s Basilica recalls the selection of royal/dynastic saints and their placing around the Madonna with Child as they appear in the Assisi frescoed retable (Fig. 2.4). This was commissioned earlier (1316-1319) by Queen Mary of Hungary, another dowager queen concerned with the veneration and promotion of her family’s sacred ancestry. One can hypothesize only, but it is not excluded that the centrally-placed *nostra domina*

²⁴⁰ Ibid., 14. “Also another dossal for the said altar [St. Peter’s main altar, a. n.] [made] of purple, fine linen, decorated with nine images, namely, with Our Lady in the middle and, on her right side, Saint Peter, Saint Stephen the King of Hungary, Saint Henry (!) the Prince of Hungary, and Saint Louis, and, on the left side, Saint Peter, Saint Ladislav the King of Hungary, Saint Elisabeth the daughter of the King of Hungary, and Saint (!) Margaret the daughter of the King of Hungary, [and decorated] with doubled, golden grain-ears in-between those images, and all around [decorated with] a vine of gold on red, fine linen with golden roses.”

²⁴¹ Among these, however, there were not only liturgical garments and textiles.

²⁴² Müntz, “Tesoro della Basilica”, 133.

was represented according to her hypostasis of the Queen of Heaven, similarly to her representation in Assisi (Fig. 2.4-2.5) and in accordance with the princely and royal status of her sacred companions, i.e., the “Princes of the Apostles” Peter and Paul, and the Árpáadian-Angevin dynastic saints. An interesting analogy for this defunct dossal is an antependium, which was executed for St. Mary’s Church in Pirna during roughly the same time with the Hungarian Angevin donation (i.e., before 1350), most likely in one of the embroidery workshops closely connected to the royal court in Prague (Fig. 2.12).²⁴³

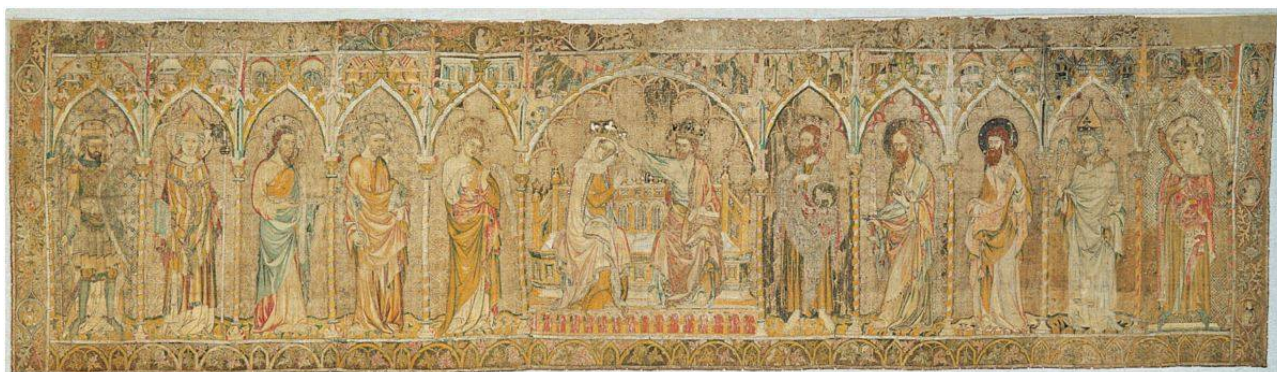


Fig. 2.12 – Antependium of Pirna with the Coronation of the Holy Virgin, St. John the Baptist, Holy Apostles and Evangelists, and Bohemian patron saints, before 1350, embroidery, silk, linen, goldthread, silver thread, 339 x 94 cm, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden, Dresden, inv. no. 37417. Photo Source: <http://www.pudilfamilyfoundation.org/> (Accessed 30 April 2017)

The “Pirna Antependium” has as central decoration the Coronation of the Holy Virgin, a scene which takes place in the presence of the Heavenly Court reduced to its most representative members, namely, St. John the Baptist, St. John the Evangelist, the Holy Apostles Peter and Paul, two other apostles and, most significantly, four of Bohemia’s patron saints: St. Wenceslas, St. Adalbert, St. Procopius, and St. Vitus. They, too, were summoned upon to act as divine intercessors for the good course of their country and for the successful actions of its Luxemburg rulers.²⁴⁴

One of the precious objects that Queen Elizabeth donated to Italian churches during her 1343-1344 diplomatic and pious journey still survives in the treasury of St. Nicholas’ Basilica in

²⁴³ Marie Schuette and Sigrid Müller-Christensen, *La broderie* (Paris: Editions Albert Morancé, 1963), 21, 41, fig. 252-255, with bibliography. See also Christa Maria Jeitner, “A cseh hímzések kézművesjegyeinek osztályozása és összehasonlító vizsgálata. Megjegyzések Hannelore Sachs feltevéseihez a cseh gótikáról Brandenburg tartományban” [Classification and comparative examination of craft emblems of Czech embroidery. Comments on Hannelore Sachs’ assumptions about Czech Gothic art in the Brandenburg Province], *Művészettörténeti Értesítő* 44/1/2 (1995), 79, 83, 90, 93-95, 99.

²⁴⁴ For the cult of dynastic saints at the Bohemian court of the Luxemburgs, see below. For other altar embroideries displaying patron saints within a local context, see: Hélène Papastavrou, “À propos d’un voile brodé venitien du XIVE siècle à Zadar”, *Zograf* 32 (2008), 91-99; and Silvija Banić, “Zadarski gotički vezeni antependij u Budimpešti” [The embroidered Gothic antependium of Zadar in Budapest], *Ars Adriatica* 4 (2014), 75-94.

Bari, appearing also in the fourteenth-century inventory of the treasury.²⁴⁵ Among these precious items donated or sent *per Regiam Ungarie*, there is also a lavishly-decorated reliquary which has the shape of a chapel and which displays prominently on its tower's roof the Hungarian coat of arms,²⁴⁶ one of the most convenient tools of self-representation for medieval dynasts.²⁴⁷ However, except for the statuette of the Holy Virgin with Child placed under the cross-crowned canopy and the representations of holy apostles, the other figures of saints cannot be identified. This is probably the only existing item which attests the high artistic level of Queen Elizabeth's donations of precious objects to Italian churches, illustrating additionally also the Hungarian Angevins' way of self-representation through pious deeds. During her almost one-year-long stay in Italy, the Hungarian queen also acted as a commissioner of works of art to local artists, as it happened probably with the altar with the Enthroned Madonna between St. Dominic and St. Elizabeth of Hungary, dated to around 1345 and attributed to the Sienese painter Lippo Vanni (active 1340-1375) (Fig. 2.13).²⁴⁸ Although variously identified,²⁴⁹ there are enough indications to support the thesis that the two donors whom the Child blesses are no others than Prince Andrew and his mother, Queen Elizabeth Piast.²⁵⁰ The male donor's white mantle and headgear decorated with *fleurs-de-lis* alternating with three horizontal lines could be a transformation in Angevin key of the Árpáadian coat of arms.²⁵¹ The bigger height of the female donor behind him could indicate a mother-son type of relationship between the two donors. Whereas the proximity of St. Elizabeth of Hungary holding

²⁴⁵ Eustachio Rogadeo, "Il Tesoro della Regia Chiesa di San Nicola di Bari nel secolo XIV", *L'Arte* 5 (1902), 320-333 and 408-421, esp. pp. 321-323, 327, 332-333, 409.

²⁴⁶ "Item Tabernaculum unum de argento deaurato cum campanili et Crucifixo et in capite cum ymaltis tribus in cruce ex parte ante et ex parte post cum ymaltis quinque et *in summitate campanilis ad arma Ungarie* [my underlining] et intus in eodem campanili cum ymagine beate Virginis tenentis filium in brachiis, ymaginibus duabus, una a dextris et altera a sinistris ymaltatis per totum cum fenestris quatuor cristallinis, que ymalti sunt in circulo inferiori cum ymaginibus Sanctorum et lapidibus viginti quatuor elevatum et positum supra quatuor leones de argento cum losingijs octo ad arma dicti quondam domini Petri de Morerijs, ponderis librarum tredecim et unciarum novem.", *ibid.*, 321.

²⁴⁷ For this chapel-shaped reliquary and its commissioning by Queen Elizabeth Piast during her Italian tour, see: Imre Takács, "Kápolna alakú ereklyetartó magyar címerrel, a bari San Nicola kincstárában" [The Chapel-shaped Reliquary with the Hungarian Coat of Arms in the Treasury of San Nicola in Bari], *Ars Hungarica* 26/1 (1998), 66-82; Francesco Abbate, *Storia dell'arte nell'Italia meridionale. Il Sud angioino e aragonese* (Rome: Donzelli, 1998), 21; Năstăsioiu, "Patterns of Devotion – Italy", 104-105, with bibliography.

²⁴⁸ Kress Collection of the Coral Gables Lowe Art Museum, Miami. For the altar's bibliography up to 1966, see: Fern Rusk Shaply, *Paintings from the Samuel H. Kress Collection. Italian Schools XIII-XV Century* (London: Phaidon Press, 1966), 57. The altar was first attributed to Lippo Vanni by Bernard Berenson, "Un antiphonaire avec miniatures par Lippo Vanni", *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 9 (1924), 257-285, an attribution accepted also by Ferdinando Bologna, *I pittori alla corte angioina di Napoli 1266-1414, e un riesame dell'arte nell'età fridericiana* (Rome: Ugo Bozzi Editore, 1969), 287-288.

²⁴⁹ For the donors' first identification with Queen Elizabeth and Prince Andrew, see: Wilhelm Suida, "The Altarpiece of Elżbieta Łokietkówna", *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 33 (1948), 201-208. For a summary of the donors' different identifications, ranging from Charles Duke of Calabria (d. 1328) and his wife Catherine of Habsburg (d. 1323) to Prince Andrew of Hungary and his wife Queen Joanna, see: Lucherini, "Arte alla corte", 429-430.

²⁵⁰ *Ibid.* 385-386; Năstăsioiu, "Patterns of Devotion – Italy", 106-107.

²⁵¹ Lucherini, "Arte alla corte", 429-430.

the roses in her mantle and the female donor depicted with crown and hands joined in prayer could be indicative of the commissioner's special veneration for her personal patron saint.²⁵²



Fig. 2.13 – Lippo Vanni, Enthroned Madonna with Child and donors between Sts Dominic and St. Elizabeth of Hungary/Thuringia, ca 1344, tempera on wood, height 125 cm (central panel), 99 x 52 cm (left and right panels), Collection of the Coral Gables Lowe Art Museum, Miami, S. H. Kress Foundation KF-187. Photo © Wikimedia Commons User Wmpearl

However, except for the direct relationship connecting strongly the donor and her namesake sacred protector, one should be aware also of the dynastic link suggested by the grouping of Queen Elizabeth, Prince Andrew, and St. Elizabeth, all three being important members of the same Hungarian ruling family.²⁵³

²⁵² Năstăsioiu, "Patterns of Devotion – Italy", 106-107.

²⁵³ Ibid.

It was not only the case of Queen Elizabeth acting as a pious donor and commissioner of works of art during her stay on the Italian Peninsula, but also that of her companions. An unnamed *comitissa sotia Regine Ungarie* appears in the 1361 inventory of St. Peter's treasury with two gifts, namely, a *planeta pulcra* and a *pannus Tartaricus*, both richly decorated with pearls and various animal and plant motifs.²⁵⁴ Although not attested among the members of the queen's retinue during her Italian tour,²⁵⁵ the Provost of Esztergom Nicholas Vásári was definitely in the area of Northern Italy in 1343, since he commissioned that year to the Bolognese painter known as *Illustratore*²⁵⁶ the decoration with miniatures of two legal codices: i.e., the *Decretales* of Boniface VIII and *Constitutiones* of Clement V.²⁵⁷ Whereas the decoration of the *Constitutiones* displays in its beginning scenes from the Life of St. Catherine of Alexandria, the miniatures on the title page of the *Decretales* depict four scenes from the Life of St. Stephen of Hungary, namely: Prince Géza's Dream, St. Stephen's Baptism and Coronation, and the Christianization of the Hungarians (Fig. 2.14). They are divided vertically by a decorative stripe displaying the three holy kings of Hungary, i.e., St. Stephen, St. Emeric, and St. Ladislás (Fig. 2.15).²⁵⁸ The *Illustratore* proves to be familiar with both the biography of the saint and the background of the commissioner, since he included in the scene of Prince Géza's Dream an inscription taken from one of the *vitae* of St. Stephen (Fig. 2.14).²⁵⁹ He also depicted the Hungarian Angevin coat of arms on the shield of one of Prince Géza's guards. The representation of the three holy kings of Hungary, however, follows an iconography, the sources of which come probably from the Italian milieu rather than the Hungarian one. The

²⁵⁴ Müntz, "Tesoro della Basilica", 41, 44.

²⁵⁵ His presence is possible for Karácsonyi, "Nagy Lajos anyja", 52, and certain for Ernő Marosi, who considers him either a clerk in the queen's entourage, Marosi, "Saints at Home", 184, or even her ambassador to Avignon, idem, "Diplomatie et représentation", 191.

²⁵⁶ For a reevaluation in light of new research of *Illustratore*'s activity, see: Jacky de Veer-Langezaal, "A Cutting Illuminated by the Illustratore (Ms. 13) and Bolognese Miniature Painting of the Middle of the Fourteenth Century", *The J. Paul Getty Museum Journal* 20 (1992), 121-138, with extensive bibliography. See also: Alessandro Conti, *La miniatura bolognese: scuole e botteghe, 1270-1340* (Bologna: Edizioni Alfa, 1981), 92. For other Hungarian commissioners of illuminated manuscripts to Italian artists in the fourteenth century, see: Zsombor Jékely, "Demeter Neksei and the Commission of His Bible", in Varga, *Bonum ut pulchrum*, 197-212.

²⁵⁷ Ms A.24, *Bonifacius papa VIII. liber sextus Decretalium cum apparatu Joannis Andreae*, and Ms A.25, *Clemens papa V. Constitutiones cum apparatu Johannis Andreae*, *Joannes papa XXII. Extravagantes*, Biblioteca Capitolare della Curia Vescovile, Padua. Lászlóné Gerevich, "Vásári Miklós két kódexe" [Nicholas Vásári's two codices], *Művészettörténeti Értesítő* 6/2-3 (1957), 133-137; Tünde Wehli, "A bolognai kódexek" [The Bolognese codices], in *Magyarországi művészet 1300-1470 körül* [Hungarian art around 1300-1470], ed. Ernő Marosi (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1987), 1: 363 (henceforth: Marosi, *Magyarországi művészet 1300-1470 körül*); Edith Hoffmann, *Régi magyar bibliofilek. Hasonmás kiadás és újabb adatok* [Old Hungarian bibliophiles. Facsimile edition and new data], ed. Tünde Wehli (Budapest: MTA Művészettörténeti Kutató Intézet, 1992), 221; and Ernő Marosi, "The *Decretales* Codex of Miklós Vásári, Provost of Esztergom", in Marosi, *On the Stage of Europe*, 61-63; Năstăsoiu, "Patterns of Devotion – Italy", 108-110.

²⁵⁸ The series of characters ends probably with the donor's figure joining his hands in prayer and a holy bishop with crozier and golden orb, probably St. Nicholas, the personal patron of Nicholas Vásári, Marosi, "*Decretales* Codex", 61.

²⁵⁹ The inscription reads: "No(n) t(ibi) c(on)cessu(m) e(st) q(uod) medit(aris) q[ui]a manu(s) polluta(s)/ hu(m)ano sa(n)gui(n)e gestis (!)." It is found in St. Stephen's first *vita*, the *Legenda maior*, Bartoniek, "Legendae Sancti Stephani", 370, and refers to the unworthiness of the saint's father to rule as a Christian king.

object held by St. Stephen (probably the model of a church)²⁶⁰ and St. Ladislav's almost-imperceptible beard are foreign details for these saints' Hungarian iconography. St. Ladislav and St. Emeric hold attributes recalling significant events in their lives (i.e., the battle axe as a reminder of the holy knight's bravery and the lily-shaped scepter alluding to the young prince's chastity), whereas St. Stephen holds a generic royal attribute (i.e., the golden orb).



Fig. 2.14 – *Illustratore*, Title page of *Bonifacius papa VIII. liber sextus Decretalium cum apparatu Joannis Andreae*, 1343, illuminated leave, fol. 1r, Ms A24, Biblioteca Capitolare della Curia Vescovile, Padua. Photo © The Author

Fig. 2.15 – *Illustratore*, St. Stephen, St. Emeric, and St. Ladislav, detail of the title page of *Bonifacius papa VIII. liber sextus Decretalium cum apparatu Joannis Andreae*, 1343, illuminated leave, fol. 1r, Ms A24, Biblioteca Capitolare della Curia Vescovile, Padua. Photo © The Author

²⁶⁰ This attribute of the founder-king is analyzed elsewhere in the dissertation.

All three holy rulers are crowned and they are portrayed at old (St. Stephen), mature (St. Ladislav), and young age (St. Emeric), respectively. Whatever the iconographic sources of the *Illustratore* may have been, it is clear that the painter followed the commissioner's wish to have the title page of the *Decretales* decorated with scenes from St. Stephen's life and the figures of the three *sancti reges Hungariae*. This attests to Nicholas Vásári's great reverence for the cult of Hungarian dynastic saints, as well as his desire to reflect his special devotion through a high-quality work of art. Additionally, his gesture emulates both the piety and artistic patronage of the Hungarian Dowager Queen, whose model he could get acquainted with while accompanying her throughout her journey on the Italian Peninsula.

During her pious and diplomatic journey in 1343-1344, Queen Elizabeth Piast visited important cult and pilgrimage centers, such as those in Rome and Bari, which attracted numerous pilgrims coming *ad limina apostolorum* to venerate the remnants of the Holy Apostles Peter and Paul, or to the *portus Sancti Nicolai* for expressing their devotion in front of the relics of the Bishop of Myra.²⁶¹ Subsequently, a part of these saints' prestige could be transferred to the travelling dynastic saints of Hungary, the crowds of pilgrims thus becoming familiar with the cult of these foreign saints. Queen Elizabeth's utmost piety was a two-fold one: first, towards the universally-accepted saints, whose thresholds she visited during her journey and, secondly, towards her family's saints, whose actual presence is grasped in the iconography of some of the items she donated or commissioned with the occasion of her devotional and diplomatic trip.

2. 6. 2. The Pilgrimage of Queen Elizabeth Piast to Marburg, Cologne, and Aachen (1357) and the Foundation of a Hungarian Chapel in Aachen by King Louis the Great (ante 1366)

In 1357, the Hungarian Dowager Queen Elizabeth Piast undertook together with Charles IV of Luxemburg, King of Bohemia (r. 1346-1378) and Holy Roman Emperor (r. 1355-1378), and his wife Anna of Schweidnitz (1339-1362), a pilgrimage to Marburg, Cologne, and Aachen.²⁶²

²⁶¹ For pilgrimages to Rome, see: Debra J. Birch, *Pilgrimage to Rome in the Middle Ages: Continuity and Change* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2000), passim; for pilgrimages to Bari, see: Paul Oldfield, *Sanctity and Pilgrimage in Medieval Southern Italy, 1000-1200* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 69-70, 98-101, 203-207, 249-252.

²⁶² This subchapter is based on my article Dragoş Gh. Năstăsoiu, "Patterns of Devotion and Traces of Art. The Pilgrimage of Queen Elizabeth Piast to Marburg, Cologne, and Aachen in 1357", *Umění/Art* 64/1 (2016), 29-43. For other studies dealing with the joint Angevin-Luxemburg pilgrimage from a different perspective, see: Antal Pór, "Erzsébet királyné acheni zarándoklása 1357-ben" [Queen Elizabeth's pilgrimage to Aachen in 1357], *Századok* 35 (1901), 1-14; Hans Peter Hilger, "Der Weg nach Aachen", in *Kaiser Karl IV. Staatsmann und Mäzen*, ed. Ferdinand Seibt (Munich: Prestel, 1978), 344-356 (henceforth: Seibt, *Kaiser Karl IV.*); Enikő Csukovits, *Középkori magyar zarándokok* [Medieval Hungarian pilgrimages] (Budapest: MTA Történettudományi Intézet, 2003), 72-73; eadem, *Magyarországról és a magyarokról. Nyugat-Európa magyar-képe a középkorban* [On Hungary and Hungarians. The

Queen Elizabeth met the imperial couple in Prague and they departed together in late April, having as first target-destination Marburg (18-20 May),²⁶³ the cult center of St. Elizabeth of Hungary/Thuringia.²⁶⁴ According to the *Cronica Treberorum Episcoporum*, the Hungarian Dowager Queen, the imperial couple, and their retinue celebrated the Ascension of the Lord in Marburg and participated in a solemn procession, during which St. Elizabeth's tomb-reliquary, adorned with gold, silver, and gemstones, was carried through the town.²⁶⁵ After having passed through Frankfurt and Mainz, the pilgrims were already in Cologne by 26 May. Between 29 and 31 May, there is evidence of their presence in Aachen, where they did not remain for long, as they were already in Koblenz on 2 June and back in Prague on 21 June.²⁶⁶

The piety, generosity, and magnificence that Elizabeth Piast, Charles IV of Luxemburg, and Anna of Schweidnitz manifested during their joint pilgrimage were probably in accordance not only with the royal and imperial rank of the pilgrims, but also with the royal and imperial rank of the cult centers they set as destinations for their pious journey. Marburg was the resting place of St. Elizabeth of Hungary/Thuringia, the holy princess descended from the Hungarian ruling family. According to Gábor Klaniczay, it represented a shared spiritual goal for both Elizabeth Piast and Anna of Schweidnitz.²⁶⁷ This is because Anna, after the death in 1345 of her father, the Polish Duke Henry II of Schweidnitz, had gone to live at the Hungarian court together with her mother, Catherine of Hungary, the daughter of King Charles I. She was thus raised from an early age in the court of the Hungarian Dowager Queen, who closely directed her education.²⁶⁸ It was undoubtedly there that the future Bohemian queen became acquainted with the Hungarian royal family's devotional practices, learning to cherish the cult of the Árpáadian/Angevin dynastic saints, who were equally her holy predecessors. The Cathedral in Cologne was the possessor of the relics of the Three Magi (Kings), which were solemnly translated there from Milan in 1164, as a consequence of the *furtum sacrum* arranged by the Holy Roman Emperor Frederick I Barbarossa (r. 1155-1190) and

Hungarian image in Western Europe in the Middle Ages], MTA Diss. (Budapest: MTA BTK, 2013), 84-85; Szende, *Piast Erzsébet és udvara*, 137-141.

²⁶³ According to Emperor Charles IV's itinerary, Eberhard Holtz, ed., *Itinerar Kaiser Karls IV. (1346-1378) – Work in Progress* (Berlin: 2013), http://www.regesta-imperii.de/fileadmin/user_upload/downloads/ri_viii_itinerar.pdf (accessed 15 October 2015), the Angevin-Luxemburg pilgrimage had the following route during its first part: 16 April – Prague; 27-28 April – Donaustauf; 2 May – Wischelburg; 7 May – Sulzbach; 10 May – Hersbruck; 12 May – Heilsbronn; 14-15 May – Mergentheim; 16 May – Miltenberg; 18-20 May – Marburg.

²⁶⁴ No. 6934, Alfons Huber, ed., *Die Regesten des Kaiserreichs unter Kaiser Karl IV. 1346-1378* (Innsbruck: Verlag der Wagner'schen Universitäts-Buchhandlung, 1877), 725.

²⁶⁵ Cod. Ms. Hist. 31b, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek (former Stadtbibliothek), Hamburg, apud Pór, "Erzsébet királyné", 2-3. Quoted partially also in: Thomas Franke, "Zur Geschichte der Elisabethreliquien im Mittelalter und in der frühen Neuzeit", in *Sankt Elisabeth. Fürstin, Dienerin, Heilige: Aufsätze, Dokumentation, Katalog*, ed. Paul Gerhard Schmidt (Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 1981), 176.

²⁶⁶ Holtz, *Itinerar Karls IV.*

²⁶⁷ Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers*, 342.

²⁶⁸ Balázs Nagy, "Angevin-Luxemburg Diplomatic Relations in the Mid-fourteenth Century", in Kordé, *Diplomatie des États Angevins*, 317.

by Rainald of Dassel (ca 1120-1167), his chancellor and Archbishop of Cologne.²⁶⁹ Frederick I's great interest in the cult of these royal saints and his attempts at reviving the concept of the *sacrum imperium* through the canonization of his predecessor Charlemagne were two of the many paths the emperor pursued for consolidating his imperial power, which ultimately became effective through his crowning as King of Burgundy in 1178.²⁷⁰ Almost two centuries after Frederick I's Burgundian coronation, Charles IV of Luxemburg was the next Holy Roman Emperor to be crowned King of Burgundy, thus becoming in 1365 the personal ruler of all the kingdoms of the Holy Roman Empire.²⁷¹ Besides their similar, imperial political goals, the two emperors also shared a high reverence for the cult of Charlemagne, with Frederick I obtaining his predecessor's canonization – pronounced in 1165 by the Antipope Paschal III – and Charles IV contributing to the cult's spread to Prague, especially after his 1349 coronation in Aachen, which is when the new emperor started increasingly to identify himself with his holy predecessor.²⁷² As a result, the Cathedral in Cologne with the shrine of the Three Magi and the imperial chapel in Aachen with Charlemagne's tomb were the focus of Charles IV during his pious journey, as the emperor's devotional patterns mirrored his imperial political goals. Additionally, the Cathedral in Aachen assembled a number of other important relics, such as the Cloak of the Holy Virgin, Christ's Swaddling Clothes and Loincloth, and the Beheading Cloth of St. John the Baptist. These attracted large crowds of pilgrims, who came for the *Aachener Heiligtumsfahrt* to venerate the relics displayed publicly every seven years.²⁷³ Undoubtedly, these relics, too, aroused the devotional interest of the three royal and imperial pilgrims.

²⁶⁹ Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers*, 342. For Cologne *translatio*, see: Richard C. Trexler, *The Journey of the Magi. Meanings in History of a Christian Story* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), 44, 78-79; Peter Munz, *Frederick Barbarossa. A Study in Medieval Politics* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1969), 238-239. For *furta sacra*, see: Patrick J. Geary, *Furta sacra: Thefts and Relics in the Central Middle Ages* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990).

²⁷⁰ Einat Segal, "The Magi on the Portal of Saint-Trophime in Arles: Meaning and Politics", *Arte medievale* 4/1 (2010-2011), 49-52.

²⁷¹ For the political significance of Charles' sixth coronation, see: Franz Machilek, "Privatfrömmigkeit und Staatsfrömmigkeit", and Peter Hilsch, "Die Krönungen Karls IV.", in Seibt, *Kaiser Karl IV.*, 99 and 111; Heinz Stoob, *Kaiser Karl IV. und seine Zeit* (Graz: Verlag Styria, 1990), 207-223.

²⁷² For Charles's interest in Charlemagne's cult, see: Zoë Opačić, "Karolus Magnus and Karolus Quartus: Imperial Role Models in Ingelheim, Aachen and Prague", in *Mainz and the Middle Rhine Valley: Medieval Art, Architecture and Archaeology*, ed. Ute Engel and Alexandra Gajewski (Leeds: The British Archaeological Association and Maney Publishing, 2007), 221-246; Jiri Fajt, "Karl IV. – Herrscher zwischen Prag und Aachen. Der Kult Karls des Großen und die karolinische Kunst", in *Krönungen. Könige in Aachen, Geschichte und Mythos. Katalog der Ausstellung*, ed. Mario Kramp (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 2000), 489-500; Jiri Fajt and Markus Hörsch, "Zwischen Prag und Luxemburg – eine Landbrücke in den Westen", in *Karl IV., Kaiser von Gottes Gnaden. Kunst und Repräsentation des Hauses Luxemburg, 1347-1437*, exh. cat., ed. Jiri Fajt (Munich: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2006), 357-361.

²⁷³ For the Aachen Treasury's relics and precious objects, see: Heinrich Schiffer, *Karls des Großen Reliquienschatz und die Anfänge der Aachenfahrt* (Aachen: Verlag Johannes Volk, 1951); Herta Schmitz-Cliever-Lepie, *The Treasury of the Cathedral of Aachen* (Aachen: Chapter of the Cathedral, 1986); Herta Schmitz-Cliever-Lepie and Georg Minkenber, ed., *Die Schatzkammer des Aachener Domes* (Aachen: Brimberg, 1995); Sophie Oosterwijk, "The Swaddling-Clothes of Christ: A Medieval Relic on Display", *Medieval Life* 13 (2000), 26-28. For the *Aachener Heiligtumsfahrt*, see: Erich

On the occasion of her pilgrimage, the Hungarian Dowager Queen made probably generous donations of precious objects to the cult centers she visited, but the material and written evidence in this respect is rather scarce.²⁷⁴ However, an important consequence of her visit to Aachen was that her son, King Louis the Great, subsequently founded a chapel in the *Münster*.²⁷⁵ The construction of this “Hungarian Chapel” was probably already complete by 1366. In 1367, through the care of Henry, the Abbot of Pilis, and at the expense of the Hungarian King, the Aachen chapel was already endowed with all the liturgical vestments, utensils, and books it needed for its proper functioning.²⁷⁶ In January 1370, King Louis the Great issued the chapel’s foundation charter, followed three years later by another charter having a very similar wording and bestowing freely upon the Aachen magistrates the care of his royal foundation.²⁷⁷ These two charters state that King Louis the Great founded and built this chapel

“... nos [...] Capellam nostram, quam ob spem et fiduciam nostram, et feruentis desiderii nostri affectus, quos ad beatissimos Stephanum et Ladislaum reges, et Emericum Ducem, piissimos progenitores nostros, sacratissimarum recordationum gerimus et habemus singulares, quorum corpora et venerabiles reliquiae in basilicis ipsorum diuersis corruscant miraculis, vestigia eorum, licet insufficientibus meritis, humiliter sequentes, sub honore eorundem sanctissimorum Progenitorum nostrorum, in eadem ciuitate Aquensi circa Capellam B. Virginis ibidem constructam, propriis nostris sumtibus et expensis construi fecimus et fundari...”²⁷⁸

Stephany, “Heiligtumsfahrt”, in *Rhein und Maas: Kunst und Kultur, 800-1400*, ed. Anton Legner (Cologne: Schnütgen Museum, 1972), 142-146; Birgit Lermen and Dieter P. J. Wynands, *Die Aachenfahrt in Geschichte und Literatur* (Aachen: Einhard-Verlag, 1986); Dagmar Preising, *Die Aachener Heiligtumsfahrt. Bildzeugnisse und Dokumente* (Aachen: Museen der Stadt Aachen, 1993); Dieter P. J. Wynands, *Die Aachener Heiligtumsfahrt. Kontinuität und Wandel eines mittelalterlichen Reliquienfestes* (Siegburg: Rheinlandia-Verl., 1996); Diana Webb, *Medieval European Pilgrimage, c. 700-c. 1500* (Houndmills and New York: Palgrave, 2002), 135-138.

²⁷⁴ For the queen’s donations to St. Vitus’ Cathedral in Prague, see: Ant. Podlaha and Ed. Šittler, ed., *Chrámový poklad u Sv. Víta v Praze. Jeho dějiny a popis* [St. Vitus Treasury in Prague. Its history and description] (Prague: Nákladem Dědictví Sv. Prokopa, 1903), XXVIII-XXX, XXXIX. For the Cologne donations, see: *Memorienbuch*, A II 55. Bl. 3a, Dombauarchiv, Cologne, apud Paul Clemen, *Der Dom zu Köln* (Düsseldorf: Druck und Verlag von L. Schwann, 1937), 324. No evidence is preserved in what Marburg is concerned. All these donations are discussed in Năstăsoiu, “Patterns of Devotion – Aachen”, 32-33.

²⁷⁵ For the chapel’s history, see: Edith Tömöry, *Az aacheni magyar kápolna története* [The history of the Hungarian Chapel in Aachen] (Budapest: Németh József Technikai Könyvkiadó, 1931); Klaus Winands, *Zur Geschichte und Architektur des Chores und der Kapellenbauten des Aachener Münsters* (Recklinghausen: Bongers, 1989); Gábor Barna, “Szent István, Szent Imre és Szent László kultuszemlékei Aachenben és Kölnben” [Memories of the cult of Saint Stephen, Saint Emeric, and Saint Ladislás in Aachen and Cologne], in Kerny, *Szent Imre 1000 éve*, 66-67. For its later history, see: Frank Pohle, “Die Ungarische Kapelle des Aachener Münsters in der Gegenreformation”, *Ungarn-Jahrbuch* 27 (2005-2007), 377-395.

²⁷⁶ Doc. no. XXXVI, Georgivs Fejér, ed., *Codex diplomaticvs Hvngrariae ecclesiasticvs ac civilis. Tomi IX. Volvmen IV. Ab anno Christi 1367-1374* (Buda: Typis Typogr. Regiae Vniuersitatis Vngaricae, 1834), 91-92.

²⁷⁷ Doc. no. CXXIII and CCCXXIV, in *ibid.*, 215-218, 561-564.

²⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 216. “... because of our hope and loyalty, and due to the feelings of fervent love which we bear and preserve as unique towards our most pious ancestors of most holy memory, the most Blessed Kings Stephen and Ladislás, and Duke Emeric, whose bodies and venerable relics are resplendent in their churches through various miracles; while following with humility their traces – although not through sufficient merits – we founded and built on our own expense

As attested by the 1367 endowment document, the Hungarian chapel in Aachen had been already endowed with the relics of its patrons, namely, the three holy kings of Hungary.²⁷⁹ Soon after Louis the Great's 1370 foundation charter, another one was issued by the king's envoy to Aachen – once again Henry, Abbot of Pilis. This charter recorded the arrangement with the chapter's dean for the terms on which the royal chapel should function.²⁸⁰ According to this document, the royal foundation was to have been attended to permanently by two chaplains, who were appointed by the king and subordinated to the Chapter of Aachen. Whenever they were unable to fulfill their function due to either death, resignation, or absence, the chapter's dean was to have ensured the normal activity of the chapel by appointing *locum tenentes* from the chapter's own serving clergy.²⁸¹ As indicated by the royal foundation charter, the two chaplains were to have always been natives of the Kingdom of Hungary.²⁸² Moreover, the terms for the chapel's establishment and the chaplains' admission were to have coincided with those drawn up for the altar established earlier in the same church by Emperor Charles IV of Luxemburg.²⁸³ Set up in 1362, this altar was dedicated to St. Wenceslas, the Bohemian patron saint *par excellence*, and was attended by a chaplain who had to be *nationis boemice* – or at least to know and be an accomplished speaker of *boemice lingue*.²⁸⁴

Looking at the similarities between the Hungarian chapel and the Bohemian altar in the Cathedral of the Blessed Virgin in Aachen, it is hard not to notice whose model the King of Hungary had followed. Both religious foundations were dedicated to the country's patron saints – namely, to the holy kings of Hungary Stephen, Ladislav, and Emeric, and to St. Wenceslas, respectively. Both had to be attended to by chaplains coming from the founders' countries, that is, from the Kingdoms of Hungary and Bohemia. Finally, the terms of the Hungarian chapel's establishment and its chaplains' admission had to coincide with the provisions made earlier by the

[our Chapel] in honor of the same most holy Ancestors of ours, in the same city of Aachen, next to the Chapel of the Blessed Virgin..." I thank Radu Mustățã for the English translation of this passage. Cf. *ibid.*, 561-562.

²⁷⁹ "... tres casulas, quatuor tunicas, quinque albas, cum stolis et manipulis, et tres cingulos de serico: tres ornatus integros diuersificatos pro Altari decorando; duos calices deauratos, duas ampullas deauratas, et alias duas ampullas argenteas, duo candelabra argentea, *tres monstrantias cum reliquiis Sanctorum, Stephani, Ladislai, et Henrici regum Hungariae* [my underlining]; duas tabulas cum argento coopertas, vnum librum Missalem." *Ibid.*, 91.

²⁸⁰ Doc. no. CLIX, *ibid.*, 265-267.

²⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 266. For a discussion of these provisions, see also: Tömöry, *Aacheni kápolna*, 9.

²⁸² "... ita tamen, quod Capellani, qui pro tempore fuerint in eandem deputandi, semper de regno nostro recipiantur." Fejér, *Codex diplomaticus Hungariae*, IX/4: 217.

²⁸³ "... recognoscimus, et publice profiteamur, nos cum eisdem Dominis Decano et Capitulo de institutione huius capelle, eiusque Capellanorum admissione non aliter concordasse, quam sub eisdem modis et formis, quibus illustrissimus Dominus Carolus, Romanorum Imperator, altare suum in eadem ecclesia Acquensi pridem institui fecit..." *Ibid.*, 266.

²⁸⁴ "... quod Capellanus ad dictum altare S. Wenceslai per Nos, nostros heredes et successores Boemie Reges, vt predicatur, presentandus et per Decanum et Capitulum assumendus debeat esse nationis boemice vel ad minus habere peritiam et perfectam locutionem boemice lingue et in Sacerdotio constitutus..." Doc. no. CCXCIX, Franz Martin Pelzel, ed., *Karl der Vierte König in Böhmen. Zweiter Teil, enthält die Jahre 1355-1378, nebst einem Urkundenbuche von ein hundert ein und vierzig itzt erst gedrukker Diplomen und Briefe* (Prague: no publisher, 1781), 332-334, esp. p. 333.

Chapter of Aachen for the Bohemian altar of Charles IV of Luxemburg. When founding his own, Hungarian chapel in Aachen, however, King Louis the Great not only emulated the model of his predecessor, but tried also to exceed it. He did not establish a mere altar, but rather a whole chapel, which he built and endowed at his own expense, and it was attended to by not one, but two Hungarian chaplains. These facts also hint at the certain rivalry between the two rulers that was in place especially after 1362, when Charles IV of Luxemburg publicly questioned the virtue of Dowager Queen Elizabeth Piast and gave Louis the Great a reason to go to war against the Bohemian King: to defend his mother's honor.²⁸⁵ Rivalry aside, the Hungarian royal chapel that Louis the Great had founded in Aachen as a consequence of his mother's earlier visit also represented the king's response to the needs of the Hungarian pilgrims, who participated in great numbers in the *Aachenfahrt*.²⁸⁶ Through his royal care, from that moment on, Hungarian pilgrims in Aachen could have their confessions heard by a clergy speaking a familiar language, venerate the cathedral's Passion and Marian relics, pray in front of other important saints' remains, and express their piety towards their own country's patron saints as well. This way, the *sancti reges Hungariae* could intercede directly for those pilgrims and penitents belonging to the Kingdom of Hungary. Moreover, by being part of the larger communion of saints gathered – through their relics – in the Aachen Cathedral, they increased their own sacred prestige, partially transferring it to the promoters of their cult, namely, the Hungarian Angevins.

The Hungarian chapel in Aachen, built around 1366 by King Louis the Great as a direct consequence of his mother's 1357 pilgrimage, still exists today, but its medieval appearance has been lost due to the building's late-Baroque, mid-eighteenth century transformations.²⁸⁷ Besides the above-mentioned 1367 inventory of the chapel's precious items, there is another one, dated to 1381 and drawn up by another Abbot of Pilis, whom the Hungarian king, out of great care for his foundation, sent forth to inspect the state of the Hungarian chapel.²⁸⁸ Comparing the two inventories, one can notice the growing prosperity of the royal foundation. Since 1367 it had acquired other precious objects: namely, three new chasubles and two choral cloaks with fitting

²⁸⁵ For this episode, see: Gyula Kristó, *Az Anjou-kor háborúi* [The wars of the Anjou period] (Budapest: Zrínyi Katonai Kiadó, 1988), 150-151; Szende, *Piast Erzsébet és udvara*, 62-63; Paul W. Knoll, "Louis the Great and Casimir of Poland", in *Louis the Great King of Hungary and Poland*, ed. S. B. Vardy et al. (Boulder: East European Monographs, 1986), 115-116.

²⁸⁶ For Hungarian pilgrims to Aachen, see: Stephan Beissel, *Die Aachenfahrt. Verehrung der Aachener Heiligtümer seit den Tagen Karls des Großen bis in unsere Zeit* (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1902), 86; Csukovits, *Középkori magyar zarándokok*, 30-33, 42-44; Dieter P. J. Wynands, "Die Aachenfahrt der Ungarn und das Heilige Köln", in *Fenster zur Welt. Fünfzig Jahre Akademie in Aachen*, ed. Hans Hermann Henrix (Aachen: Einhard, 2003), 216-226.

²⁸⁷ For the chapel's later history, see: Tömöry, *Aacheni kápolna*, 15-43; for its medieval appearance, see: Năstăsoiu, "Patterns of Devotion – Aachen", 34, fig. 1.

²⁸⁸ Doc. no. CCLXXXVI, Georgivs Fejér, ed., *Codex diplomaticvs Hvmgariae ecclesiasticvs ac civilis. Tomi IX. Volymen V. Ab anno Christi 1375-1382* (Buda: Typis Typogr. Regiae Vniuersitatis Vngaricae, 1834), 525-526.

adornment; in addition, the treasury of the Hungarian chapel received a considerable amount of money on that occasion.²⁸⁹ The chapel's liturgical textiles, which appeared in both inventories, probably vanished during the 1656 fire that completely destroyed the roof of the Hungarian chapel.²⁹⁰ However, a number of precious items are still extant in the cathedral's *Schatzkammer*, with their high level of artistry and the dynastic coats of arms that they display attesting to the magnificent art at the court of the Hungarian Angevins during the second half of the fourteenth century.²⁹¹

Out of these precious items, two identical ones are particularly relevant for the cult and iconography of the three *sancti reges Hungariae*. These two silversmith's pieces have a complex decoration built up around an enameled, Hungarian-Angevin shield, which is centrally-placed and surrounded by Gothic decorative architecture (Fig. 2.16).²⁹² Two winged dragons support the architecturally-framed heraldic element, which is flanked by two large griffins resting their claws on an undulating ribbon with inscriptions in German. Written in Gothic minuscule letters on enameled, blue background, the two similar inscriptions are an invocation of the Holy Virgin Mary: *gotes / lere / wold / ich mer / ich / beger(e) / maria / lere*. The heraldic shield is surmounted by a complex architecture with elaborate Gothic towers, which is composed of three tabernacles housing the standing figures of the three holy kings of Hungary (Fig. 2.17). Equally invested with royal attributes (crown, scepter, and crucifer orb), the three royal saints hold ostentatiously their scepters and are depicted at different ages: an old, bearded St. Stephen (right), a young, beardless St. Emeric (left), and a mature, bearded St. Ladislav (center). In contrast to the first two with their long vestments, the centrally-placed St. Ladislav is depicted in his guise as a holy knight – he is dressed in armor. In-between the three tabernacles housing the Angevins' holy predecessors, there are two

²⁸⁹ "... sex casulas, quinque albas cum stolis et manipulis, et tres cingulos de serico, tres ornatus integros pro altari decorando, duos calices deauratos, duas ampulas deauratas, at alias duas ampulas argenteas, duo candelabra argentea, tres monstrantias cum reliquiis Beatorum Stephani, et Henrici regum Hungariae; duas tabulas cum argento coopertas, vnum librum Missalem, duas cappas chorales cum decenti decoratu; census vero capellae supradictae pro tunc non extendebant se vltra nonaginta septem florenos; in reposito vero relinquimus trecentos quadraginta florenos; pro quibus fecimus comparari; etiam de censu perdicto sunt viginti tres floreni...", *ibid.*, 525. However, the 1381 inventory no longer mentions four tunics and St. Ladislav's relics.

²⁹⁰ Tömöry, *Aacheni kápolna*, 6.

²⁹¹ For these objects, see: Năstăsioiu, "Patterns of Devotion – Aachen", 34-38, with bibliography.

²⁹² Franz Bock, *Der Reliquienschatz des Liebfrauen-Münsters zu Aachen in seinen kunstreichen Behältern zum Andenken an die Heilighumsfahrt von 1860* (Aachen: C. H. Müller, 1860), 75; *idem*, "Die Geschenke Ludwig des Grossen, Königs von Ungarn und Polen an die Kronungskirche deutscher Könige zu Aachen", *Mittheilungen der K. K. Central-Commission zur Erforschung und Erhaltung der Baudenkmale* 7/5 (1862), 118; J. Hampel, "Die Metallwerke der ungarischen Kapelle in Aachener Münsterschatze", *Zeitschrift des Aachener Geschichtsvereins* 14 (1892), 58-62; Śnieżyńska-Stolot, "Andegaweńskie dary", 29-35; Christoph Machat, "Die Chormantelschließen Ludwigs des Großen von Ungarn im Aachener Domschatz", *Zeitschrift für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde* 1 (1985), 16-27; Schmitz-Cliever-Lepie, *Treasury of Aachen Cathedral*, 68; Éva Kovács, Cat. no. 14, in Marosi, *Művészet I. Lajos király korában*, 107-108; Imre Takács, Cat. no. 1.19, in Takács, *Sigismundus*, 101-102.

helmets, whose crests are decorated with a horseshoe-holding ostrich²⁹³ and a crowned, bearded head, respectively.

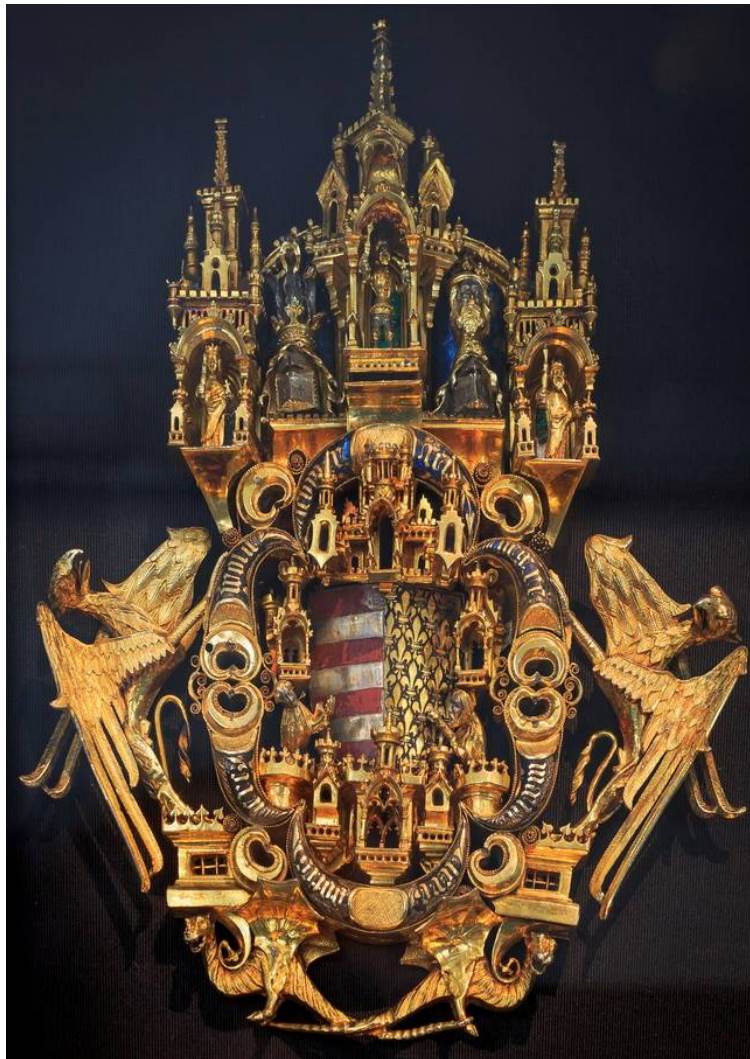


Fig. 2.16 – Hungarian Angevin heraldic piece with the *sancti reges Hungariae* and Marian inscription in German, 1370-1373 or 1381, height 21.9 cm, width 19 cm, thickness 3.4 cm, gilded silver, silver, enamel, Domschatzkammer, Aachen. Photo © CEphoto, Uwe Aranas / CC-BY-SA-3.

²⁹³ The ostrich was a widely-used symbol of Justice, its alleged ability to digest iron standing for patient examination of testimony and purging of any ignominy, while the evenness of length and design of its feathers denoted the law's equal treatment of disputants. Judith Resnik and Dennis Curtis, *Representing Justice. Invention, Controversy, and Rights in City-States and Democratic Courtrooms* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011), 76-79. See also: Albert Gárdonyi, "A magyar Anjouk címeres emlékei" [Memories of the Hungarian Anjou coat of arms], *Turul. A Magyar Herladikai és Genealógiai Társaság Közlönye* 50 (1936), 12-18; Iván Bertényi, "A magyarországi Anjouk herladikájának néhány kérdése" [Some questions on the Hungarian Angevins' heraldry], *Művészettörténeti Értesítő* 35/1-2 (1986), 56-67; idem, "Címerváltozatok a középkori Magyarországon" [Variations in the coat of arms of medieval Hungary], *Levéltári közlemények* 59/1 (1988), 9-16; idem, "Államcímerünk pajzson kívüli alkotó elemei" [Additional elements to the Hungarian coat of arms], *Pázmány Law Working Papers* 2011/15, <http://plwp.eu/evfolyamok/2011/123-2011-15> (accessed November 12, 2015). Although the ostrich symbolism was adopted earlier by King Charles I, it was his son who used it extensively in his official iconography, with the horseshoe-carrying ostrich later passing into the coats of arms of several Hungarian mining towns.

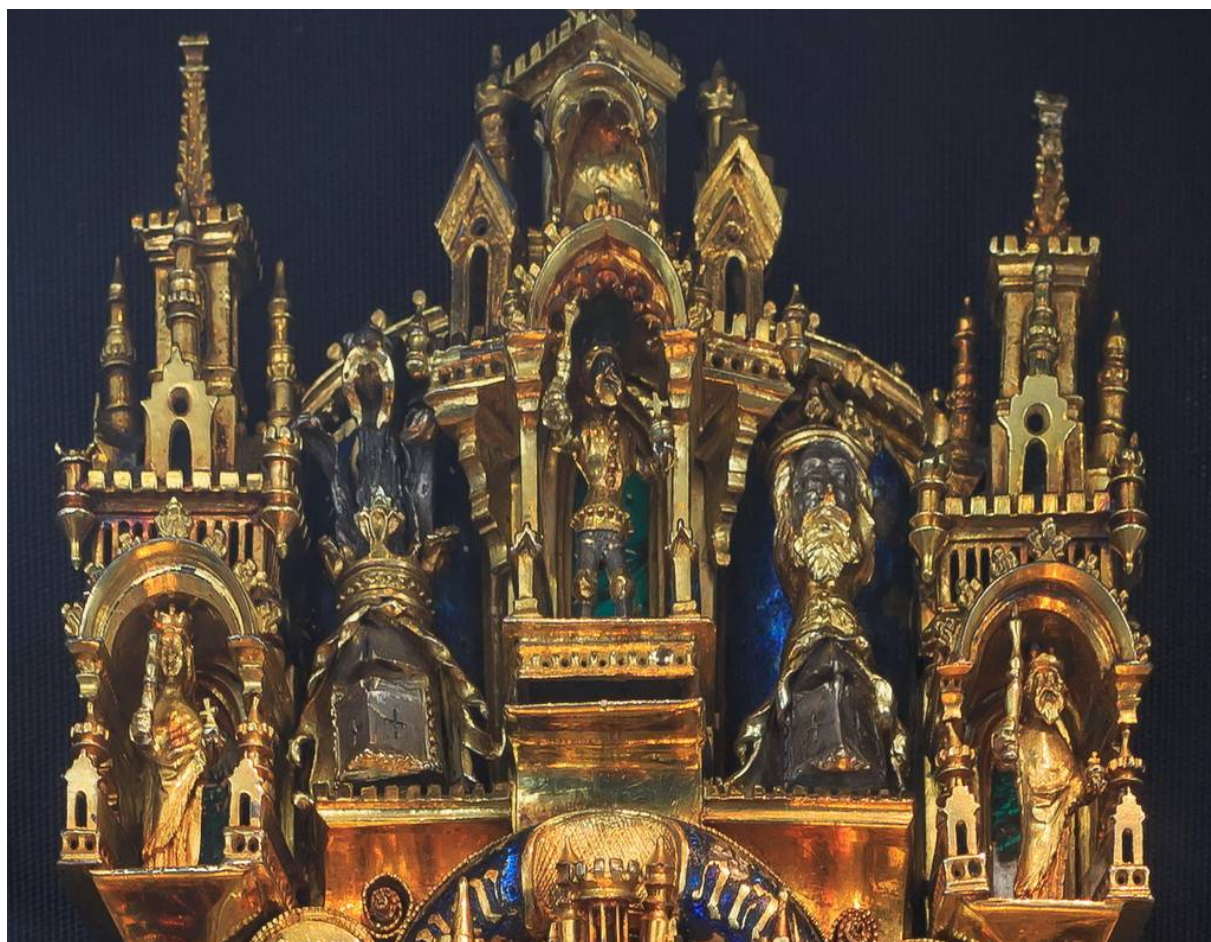


Fig. 2.17 – Detail of St. Emeric, St. Ladislas, and St. Stephen, Hungarian Angevin heraldic piece, 1370-1373 or 1381, gilded silver, silver, enamel, Domschatzkammer, Aachen. Photo © CEphoto, Uwe Aranas / CC-BY-SA-3.0

The latter was the coat of arms of the Polish County of Dobrzyń, which Louis the Great possessed starting with his 1370 coronation as King of Poland and until 1378, when he granted it as compensation to his former palatine, Vladislas II of Opole.²⁹⁴ It is very likely that the new King of Poland boastfully made use of this coat of arms immediately after 1370, when the Polish clergy and nobility declared void Casimir III's last will – which had bequeathed the counties of Sieradz, Łęczyca, and Dobrzyń to his grandson, Duke Casimir IV of Pomerania – as this declaration made Louis the Great the king of an undivided Poland.²⁹⁵ Subsequently, the two exquisite pieces of craftsmanship could be donated by King Louis the Great to the Hungarian chapel in Aachen during the 1370-1378 interval, most likely between 1370 and 1373, when – being the newly-crowned King

²⁹⁴ Jerzy Lukowski and Hubert Zawadzki, *A Concise History of Poland* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 28-29.

²⁹⁵ Ibid.; Robert Frost, *The Oxford History of Poland-Lithuania. Volume 1: The Making of the Polish-Lithuanian Union, 1385-1569* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 11-12.

of Poland and very concerned with defining by means of charters the chapel's status – the Hungarian king was more inclined to again manifest his pious generosity toward his royal foundation. The function of these new additions to the Hungarian chapel's treasury is uncertain – they could be the decorative elements of those *duas cappas chorales, cum decenti decoratu* mentioned in the chapel's 1381 inventory.²⁹⁶ However, their iconography is certainly a tool of dynastic self-representation, as it also was King Louis the Great's foundation in Aachen, built in honor of his own holy predecessors, the three holy kings of Hungary. Most likely, these heraldic pieces were commissioned by the Hungarian king specifically for his royal foundation in Aachen. This is so as the figures of Hungary's patron saints and the Marian inscriptions in German make reference to the particular situation of the Chapel of Sts Stephen, Emeric, and Ladislas built next to the Cathedral of the Holy Virgin in Aachen. Additionally, they illustrate the Marian patronage of Hungary, St. Stephen having entrusted his newly-Christened country to the protection of the Holy Virgin.²⁹⁷

The foundation of the Hungarian chapel in Aachen, which was built in honor of King Louis the Great's holy predecessors and his country's patron saints, namely, Sts Stephen, Emeric, and Ladislas, represented a trend among Central European ruling dynasties in the second half of the fourteenth century and had manifold implications. First, the establishing of a Hungarian chapel in an important pilgrimage center such as Aachen was an attempt at conferring to the cult of these regional (Hungarian) saints a new, global dimension. Through their addition to the numerous relics of saints and to the Passion and Marian memorials in the Cathedral of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Aachen, the relics of the *sancti reges Hungariae* enhanced the cathedral's spiritual glory, with a part of this fame being transferred back upon the Hungarian holy kings themselves. Second, the newly-acquired sacred prestige of the *sancti reges Hungariae*, the chapel's patrons, was further transferred upon King Louis the Great, the founder of the chapel and the promoter abroad of his holy predecessors' cult. Finally, besides increasing the sacral and political prestige of the Angevin dynasty, the Hungarian chapel also functioned as a sort of spiritual embassy for those Hungarian pilgrims coming in great number for the Aachen *Heiligtumsfahrt*. These Hungarian pilgrims thus found in the Cathedral of Aachen not only the spiritual comfort they were seeking, but also a clergy who spoke their language and, more importantly, the possibility of directly expressing their gratitude towards familiar saints, such as their country's spiritual patrons. That this was indeed an important aspect for Hungarian pilgrims travelling abroad is also illustrated by the newly-emerging trend of "Hungarian" altars and chapels founded in other German pilgrimage centers, such as

²⁹⁶ For an overview of their suggested functions, see: Năstăsioiu, "Patterns of Devotion – Aachen", 43, n. 82.

²⁹⁷ For this episode, see Hartvic's Life of St. Stephen in Bartoniek, "Legendae Sancti Stephani", 431.

Cologne and Bamberg. These altars, too, were dedicated to Hungary's patron saints, *sancti reges Hungariae* included; however, the initiative of their foundation belonged in this case not to the King of Hungary, but to Hungarian pilgrims themselves.²⁹⁸

2. 7. Ecclesiastical Patronage for the Joint Cult and Iconography of the *sancti reges Hungariae* during the Fourteenth and Early-Fifteenth Centuries

Other persons than the members of the royal court became interested in the joint cult of Sts Stephen, Emeric, and Ladislas roughly during the same period with the foundation of the Hungarian chapel in Aachen, i.e., before 1366. As it was shown, this chapel was dedicated to the joint cult of the three *sancti reges Hungariae*, was endowed with their relics, and was furnished through royal care with liturgical props meant to ensure its proper functioning. Some of these items were decorated either between 1370 and 1373 or before 1381 with the collective image of the chapel's spiritual patrons. Originating indeed at the royal level as a cult of holy predecessors for both the last Árpádians and the Hungarian Angevins, and subsequently promoted abroad by the latter as a means of dynastic self-representation and of acquisition of sacred prestige, the joint cult of the *sancti reges Hungariae* rapidly spread further to other layers of society: first among the kingdom's ecclesiastical and aristocratic élites, and then among the country's various walks of life. This downward diffusion of their joint cult did not leave unaltered the meaning attached to Hungary's holy kings, transforming their figures of sacred ancestors into those of spiritual patrons of either the country, a social or professional group, or of individual persons, in accordance with the holy kings' spiritual relevance for each of the categories that adopted them as patrons. Together with these categories' devotional interest towards the *sancti reges Hungariae*, the commissioning of works of art and piety with their image emerged. The first to act as patrons of such works were the kingdom's ecclesiastical élites; these acted thus as intermediaries for the collective cult and iconography of Hungary's three holy kings.

As it was shown already, the first ecclesiastical figure to do so was Nicholas Vásári who, during Queen Elizabeth Piast's diplomatic and pious journey on the Italian Peninsula in 1343-1344,

²⁹⁸ For the Cologne and Bamberg altars, see: Gyöngyi Török, "Egy 15. századi imádságkönyv a hónapképek és a magyar szent királyok ábrázolásával" [A 15th-century prayer book with month images and the depiction of the Hungarian holy kings], in *Tanulmányok a középkori magyarországi könyvkultúráról: az Országos Széchényi Könyvtárban 1986. február 13-14-én rendezett konferencia előadásai* [Studies on medieval Hungarian book culture: Papers of the conference held at the National Széchényi Library on 13-14 February 1986], ed. László N. Szelestei (Budapest: Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, 1989), 287-289 (henceforth: Szelestei, *Tanulmányok könyvkultúráról*); Barna, "Szent István, Szent Imre", 67-69; Edit Madas, "A magyar "szent királyok" közép-európai kultusza liturgikus és hagiográfiai források tükrében" [The Central-European Cult of the Hungarian "Holy Kings" in the Light of Liturgical and Hagiographical Sources], *Ars Hungarica* 29/1-2 (2013), 146.

commissioned the Bolognese painter known as *Illustratore* with the illumination of two legal codices. The title page of one of them, the *Decretales*, was decorated with four scenes of St. Stephen's Life, as well as with the collective depiction of the three *sancti reges Hungariae* (Fig. 2.14-2.15). At that point only Canon of Esztergom (he later became its Archbishop, 1350-1358) and maybe the queen's ambassador to the Papal Court in Avignon,²⁹⁹ Nicholas Vásári was certainly aware of the special reverence the Hungarian Angevins were paying to their holy predecessors and found a way to replicate this devotional pattern in his artistic commission. Slightly later, there was another ecclesiastical figure closely connected with the royal court, who expressed his special devotion towards Hungary's three holy kings. The Bishop of Zágráb James of Piacenza (1344-1348) – who was also former court doctor of King Charles I, *comes* of the royal chapel (1330), Provost of the Chapter of Pozsony (1331), and one of the royal envoys entrusted with preparing Charles I's journey to Naples (1332) – had throughout his episcopacy a seal which was probably decorated with the three standing figures of the *sancti reges Hungariae* (Fig. 2.18).³⁰⁰ Many of its details are obscured and lost after the seal's impression on a fragile medium such as wax, but the surviving features of the three crowned figures standing inside Gothic tabernacles argue for their identification with the *sancti reges Hungariae*. The central figure is slightly taller than the other two and is depicted with crown, scepter, probably orb (judging by the position of his left hand), and long vestment – he is most likely St. Stephen, who was also the patron saint of the Cathedral in Zagreb. On his right, equally in long vestment, there is St. Emeric represented probably beardless, with crown and scepter. Dressed probably in armor, the remaining, crowned figure is St. Ladislav, who holds most likely a battle axe. Above the *sancti reges Hungariae*, in the gable of the architectural setting, there is the Holy Virgin with Child, whereas in the seal's lower side, the kneeling bishop venerates the figures of his patron saints. St. Stephen's presence on the seal was naturally determined by the saint's patronage over the cathedral church and, given James of Piacenza's position at the royal court and especially his close relationship with King Charles I, one can easily realize who had inspired his devotion for the other two Árpadian holy rulers, who were also the Hungarian king's saintly predecessors.

²⁹⁹ This role was suggested by Marosi, "Diplomatie et représentation", 191, but there is no evidence (other than Vásári's presence in 1343 in Northern Italy, attested by the commissioning of his two legal codices) to support this claim. More recently, the art historian considered the Canon of Esztergom as only a clerk in the queen's entourage idem, "Saints at Home and Abroad", 184.

³⁰⁰ Elemér Mályusz, *Egyházi társadalom a középkori Magyarországon* [Ecclesiastical society in medieval Hungary] (Budapest: Műszaki, 1971), 198; Takács Imre, Cat. no. 43 in *A középkori Magyarország főpapi pecsétjei a Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Művészettörténeti Kutató Csoportjának pecsétmásolat-gyűjteménye alapján* [Pontifical seals of medieval Hungary based on the collection of seal copies of the Art History Research Group of the Hungarian Academy of Science], ed. Imre Bodor (Budapest: MTA Művészettörténeti Kutató Csoport, 1984), 47 (henceforth: Bodor, *Főpapi pecsétjei*).



Fig. 2.18 – Impression of the seal of the Bishop of Zágráb James of Piacenza, 1345-1348, 6.9 x 4.2 cm, casting, inv. no. 64100, Budapesti Történeti Múzeum Pecsétmásolatgyűjteménye, Budapest. Photo Source: Kerny, *Szent Imre 1000 éve*

Whereas Nicholas Vásári's illuminated *Decretales* would have had a restrained, specialized audience interested in the manuscript's legal content,³⁰¹ James of Piacenza's seal was certainly applied to a great number of charters during his four-year episcopacy. One can assume that these had circulated both inside and outside his diocese, communicating the seal's highly-symbolic iconography. In their quality of patron saints of the cathedral churches of the Bishoprics of Zágráb and Nagyvárad, respectively, St. Stephen and St. Ladislav featured repeatedly in the iconography of many bishops' seals, either separately, together, or in the company of other saints, who were

³⁰¹ In fact, both manuscripts commissioned by Nicholas Vásári never reached Hungary, their donor leaving them behind in Italy for unknown reasons.

relevant for the respective bishopric or its reigning bishop.³⁰² However, the presence of St. Emeric next to the other two Hungarian holy kings on James of Piacenza's seal is an isolated occurrence, which might have been inspired precisely by the devotional practices of the royal court, which the future Bishop of Zágráb got acquainted with while serving as the king's court physician.

Having had a far greater impact than the previous examples, another episcopal commission should be considered for its significant role in the spreading of the iconography of the *sancti reges Hungariae*, namely, their bronze statues displayed in St. Ladislás' cult center in Oradea Mare. These statues were commissioned around 1370 by the Bishop of Nagyvárad Demetrius Futaki to the sculptors Martin and George of Cluj (Germ. *Klausenburg*, Hung. *Kolozsvár*). These two brothers were the authors of the famous equestrian statue of St. George, which was ordered in 1373 by Emperor Charles IV of Luxemburg and set up on the southern side of St. Vitus Cathedral in Prague.³⁰³ The statues of the three holy kings of Hungary have been destroyed by the Turks in 1660, but a series of late-sixteenth and early-seventeenth century drawings and written accounts help one evaluate indirectly and partially their iconography. According to the 1609 *Diarium Stephani Miskolczy V. D. M. et Senioris per Tractum Zempliniensem*,

“E regione tres homines ibidem aenei pedes stantes. Primus ad sinistram habet ense in catena ex collo pententem, cum securi, calcaribus, & tabella cum hac Inscriptione: anno d. MCCC40 (sic !), *Serenissimo Principe regnante Domino Lodovico Rege hungariae XXXX venerabilis dominus Pater Demetrius episcopus Varadiensis fieri fecit has sanctorum imagines per Martinum & Georgium filios magistri Nicolai pictoris de Colosvar*. Secundus habet pomum aureum, cum Cruce gladio non evaginato catena ligato: habet quoque calcaria. Tertius imberbis est tenens sceptrum regale: qui habet gladium pugionem, calcaria &

³⁰² For representations of Sts Stephen and Ladislás on episcopal seals, see: cat. nos. 35 (St. Ladislás; Bishop of Várad Andrew Bátori; 1338 impression); 55 (St. Stephen; Bishop of Zágráb Demetrius; 1379 impression); 58 (Holy Virgin, symbol of St. John the Evangelist, and St. Ladislás; Bishop of Eger Emeric Cudar; 1379 and 1381 impressions); 60 (Holy Virgin, Sts Paul, Stephen, George, and Ladislás; Bishop of Zágráb Paul Horváti; 1385 impression); 62 (Holy Virgin, Sts Peter, Ladislás, Michael, and Stephen; Bishop of Győr John Hédervári; 1397 impression); 63 (Holy Virgin, Sts Adalbert, Ladislás, and Stephen; Archbishop of Esztergom John Kanizsai; 1391 and 1394 impressions); 64 (Holy Virgin, Sts Stephen and Ladislás; Bishop of Eger Stephen Cikó; 1390, 1395, and 1399 impressions); 68 (Holy Virgin, Sts Ladislás and Peter; Bishop of Várad Lucas Szántai; 1398 impression); 70 (Holy Virgin, Sts Catherine and Ladislás, *Imago Pietatis*; Bishop of Várad Andrew Scolari; 1422 impression); 78 (Holy Virgin, Sts Adalbert, John the Evangelist, and Stephen; Archbishop of Esztergom Thomas Bakócz; 1515 impression); and 79 (St. Stephen, Bishop of Zágráb Simon Erdődy; 1522 impression) in Bodor, *Főpapi pecsétjei*, 45, 51-57, 59-60.

³⁰³ See especially: Jolán Balogh, “Márton és György kolozsvári szobrászok” [Sculptors Martin and George of Cluj], *Erdélyi Múzeum* 38-39 (1934), 286-299; idem, *Varadinum: Várad vára* [Varadinum: Fortress of Oradea] (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1982), 1: 136, 210; Vătășianu, *Istoria artei feudale*, 319; Drăguț, *Arta gotică*, 273-276; Marosi, *Kép és hasonmás*, 93; idem, “A kolozsvári bronzöntő testvérektől Kolozsvári Mártonig és Györgyig” [The Cluj bronze-casting brothers Martin and George of Cluj], *A művész-személyiség, mint a művészettörténet alanya. Korunk, harmadik folyam* 12/7 (2001), 6-14; idem, “Gotische Skulptur in Grosswardein: zur Frage des Höfischen um 1400”, in *Künstlerische Wechselwirkungen in Mitteleuropa*, ed. Jiri Fajt and Markus Hörsch (Ostfildern: Jan Thorbecke, 2006), 91-102; Terézia Kerny, “6.2. Zeichnungen mit der Reiterstatue des heiligen Ladislaus in Großwardein sowie den Standbildern der drei heiligen ungarischen Könige Stephan, Ladislaus und Emmerich”, in Takács, *Sigismundus*, 494-495; eadem, “Magyar szent királyok XIII.-XVII. sz.”, 92.

tabellam cum nota duplicatae crucis. Horum nomina vulgo circumferentur, quod sint Ladislaus, Stephanus ac Emericus [...].”³⁰⁴

The three standing holy kings were represented probably as knights and were endowed with different attributes: St. Ladislaus was the first one on the left side and had sword, axe, and spurs; St. Stephen stood in the middle holding a golden, crucifer orb, and having spurs and his sheathed sword hanging on chain; whereas the beardless St. Emeric held a royal scepter and had sword, dagger, and shield with double cross. However, the variation in the holy kings’ attributes, as it appears in the written account, is in contradiction with the sketchy and standardized drawings of the figures, which were made in 1598 by Joris (Georg) Hoefnagel (Fig. 2.19).³⁰⁵ The drawing shows the crowned figures of the three holy kings standing on column-like pedestals. They are dressed in similar, knightly or courtly costumes, and have identical postures: left hands placed stereotypically on the waistline and scepters held ostentatiously in their right hands. Whereas Miskolczy’s account on a differentiated portrayal of the three holy kings is more likely, being in accordance, on the one hand, with other, coeval iconographic parallels and, on the other hand, with the two skilful sculptors’ creativeness, the ostentatiously-held scepters in Hoefnagel’s drawing should not be discarded either. This detail recalls the holy kings’ standard gestures in the Aachen heraldic pieces, where the three *sancti reges Hungariae* hold their scepters in a similar manner (Fig. 2.16-2.17). On the other hand, Evliya Çelebi’s picturesque description of the statues, which was made in 1660 when they were partially damaged and then taken away by the army of Seidi Ahmed Pasha, can hardly be taken as accurate, due to the author’s tendency to embellish and exaggerate those things which were unusual for an observer belonging to a different, Muslim culture.³⁰⁶

³⁰⁴ Quoted in: Jenő Gyalokay, “A nagyváradi királyszobrok helyéről” [On the place of the kings’ Statues in Oradea Mare], *Archeológiai Értesítő* 32/3 (1912), 265-268; Balogh, “Márton és György”, 287, and 289-290 for the year’s incorrect transcription. “On the other hand, three men were standing on round pedestals. First on the left has a sword hanging on a chain from his neck, with axe, spurs, and a tablet with this inscription: *in the year of Our Lord 1340 (!), during the reign of the Most Serene Prince [and] Lord Louis the King of Hungary XXXX, the venerable lord Father Demetrius, the Bishop of Nagyvárad, ordered these images of saints to Martin and George, the sons of Master Nicholas, the Painter of Cluj*. The second has golden orb with cross [and has his] unsheathed sword fastened by a chain: he also has spurs. The third is beardless holding a royal scepter: he has sword, dagger, spurs, and shield with the sign of the double cross. Whose names are spread around by people, that they are Ladislaus, Stephen, and Emeric.”

³⁰⁵ Kerny, “Zeichnungen mit Reiterstatue”, 494-495, with bibliography; eadem, “Magyar szent királyok XIII.-XVII. sz.”, 92. See also: Irina Baldescu, “Joris e Jacob Hoefnagel, artisti e viaggiatori: Territorio e vedute di città in *Civitates Orbis Terrarum, Liber Sextus* (Köln, 1617-1618)”, *Studia Patzinakia* 6 (2008), 7-35.

³⁰⁶ Mustafâ Ali Mehmet, “Evliya Celebi (1611-1684?)” [Evliya Çelebi (1611-1648?)], in *Călători străini despre țările române* [Foreign travelers on Romanian countries], ed. M. M. Alexandrescu-Dersca Bulgaru and Mustafa Ali Mehmet (Bucharest: Editura Științifică și Enciclopedică, 1976), 6: 311-753, esp. 527-528. “In front of the inner fortress of Oradea Mare, there were the talismans and statues of some famous rulers. Many were made of bronze and on horse. Ali aga of Făget [Hung. *Facsád*] said: *What kind of leprous idols are these?* And spurring his horse, he stroke his sword so strongly in one of the said bronze statues, that he cut its right hand by a single blow like a cucumber. Then others, too, jumped on this idol with their swords. Many had their swords broken into pieces, but Ali aga had a German sword and carved out with it many idols. These statues were so beautiful, that their gilding was shining and each of them was worth as much as a Greek *haraç*. They had their eyes made of stones which shine during the night, their nails were of twenty-carat diamonds, and in some of their hands there were bronze maces and spears inlaid with precious stones; they

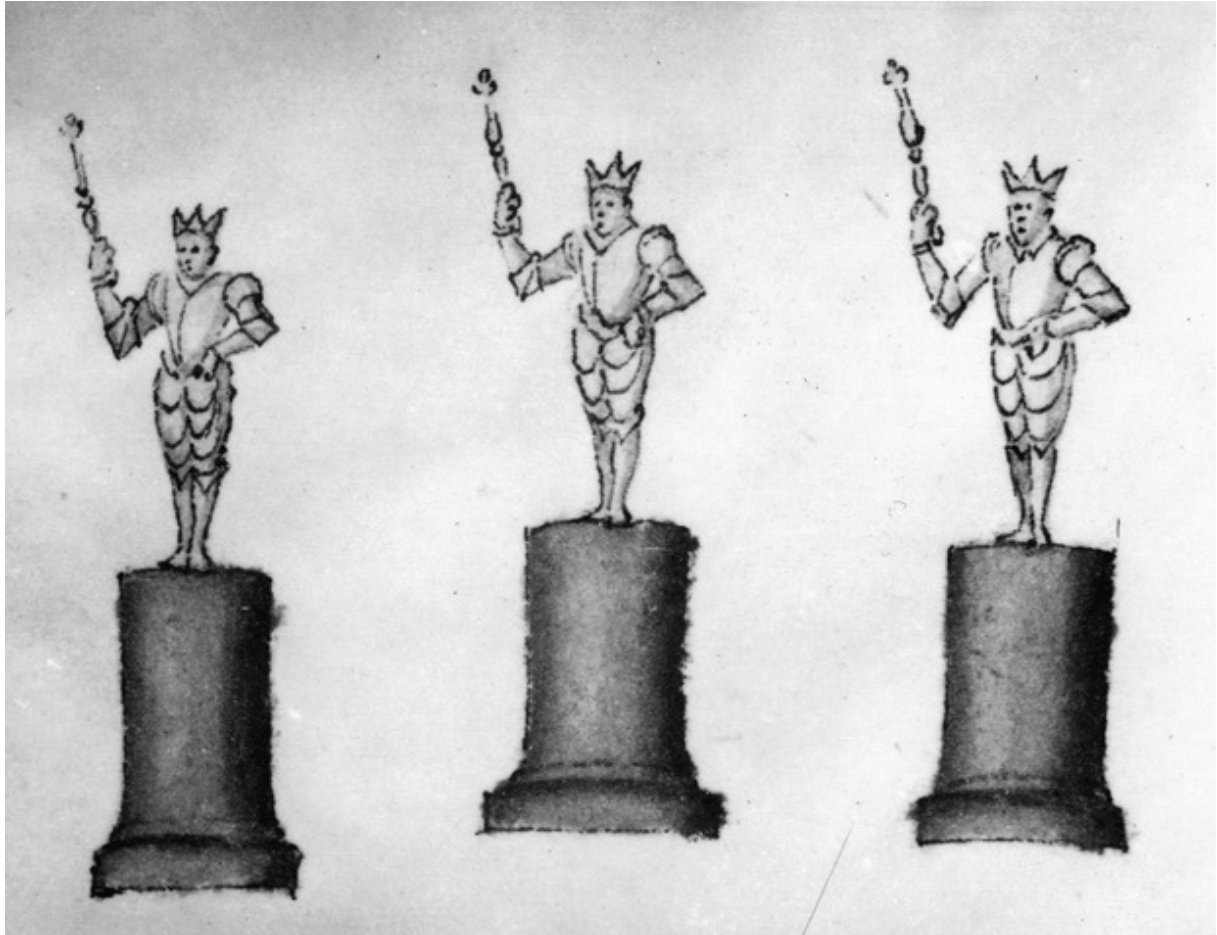


Fig. 2.19 – Joris (Georg) Hoefnagel, Drawing of the statues of the three *sancti reges Hungariae* made by sculptors Martin and George of Cluj, 1598, 5.4 x 6.9 cm, pen, ink, paper, fol. 126v, Cod. 9423, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek Handschriften- und Inkunabelsammlung in Vienna. Photo Source: Kerny, *Szent Imre 1000 éve*

had belts around their waists, and their shoulders were decorated with protective shields. Some were on horse, some on foot; looking at their horses, one thought they were alive. Each of them [the idols] was tall as two men.

I spoke about these statues to the captured priest this way: *Happy are these statues that nothing can harm them!* Then a priest told me: *Their metal was brought from the Persian Nakhchivan. Their bronze is composed of two metals: half tin, half copper. In order for the bronze to acquire that yellow color, zinc is added to it and one obtains bronze which is similar to pure gold. Presently, all canons of giaour lands, as well as the three hundred canons which are found in our citadel of Oradea Mare, all of them are cast of this alloy, and all are yellow and shining like gold. Our statues in Oradea Mare, which Ali aga cut into pieces with his sword, they were all made of bronze of Nakhchivan and didn't fear fire, nor file, for they could not be ruined in any way. But this Ali aga, how did he carve them out by his sword!* Saying this, the old priest was amazed by this deed.

I asked the priest if these were idols and if they worshipped them. The priest answered this way: *It is true that the Hungarian kind is part of Messiah's people, but they do not worship idols. In our churches, except for crosses and candles, we have nothing else of importance. All walls are white as pearls, but the walls and doors of German churches, and of those of Dunkirk and Denmark are covered entirely by drawings and crosses. May Allah be praised, there is no idol anymore in the churches of Oradea Mare, for all of them became Muslim places of worship! [...] Ali pasha did not store in Oradea Mare the valuable pray brought from Transylvania, but wanted to send it to Belgrade with one aga of his. This is why he inventoried according to the law and handed over to that aga various gold and silver cutlery, multitude of crosses and crucifixes, worked with artistry and decorated with precious stones, necklaces and diadems of gold and inlaid with pearls, diamonds, and sapphire, different merchandise, cloths, and linen. Then he loaded on carts – carried by twenty, thirty pairs of buffalos and oxen – the objects and strange statues mentioned above, marvelous paintings, thousands of bells, different big canons, golden canons, and other embellished weapons.*" [translation from the Romanian edition]

The statues of the three *sancti reges Hungariae* were placed in the proximity of another statue made of gilded bronze, which represented St. Ladislav on horse. This was made later, in 1390, by the same two masters of Cluj at the order of another Bishop of Nagyvárad, John Zudar.³⁰⁷ Judging by Stephen Szamosközy's written account³⁰⁸ and by the drawings of the Fortress of Oradea Mare made by Cesare Porta and Joris Hoefnagel in 1598-1599 and 1612-1618, respectively,³⁰⁹ all four statues were placed in a square in front of the cathedral's western entrance (Fig. 2.20).³¹⁰ Although both depictions show only St. Ladislav's equestrian statue, in Joris Hoefnagel's *veduta*, the *E* marking stands for *statua Regis equestris, et tres statuæ pedestres ex aere fusili*, a sign that the drawing of the holy knight on horse alone designated the approximate place of all four statues and that they were indeed close to each other. Subsequently, the four statues of Hungary's holy kings could be seen in front of the western façade of the Cathedral in Oradea Mare, which was also St. Ladislav's cult center and burial place. Many pilgrims were coming to this important cult center to worship the holy knight's relics and to ask for his intercession.³¹¹ They were leaving afterwards with the mental images of the valiant holy rider and of the three *sancti reges Hungariae*, the patron saints of the country. One should not fail to add that the cathedral chapter in Oradea Mare functioned also as a place of authentication (*locus credibilis*); ordeals by hot iron have been held there and oaths have been taken on St. Ladislav's relics in order to reach agreement with the help of divine justice.³¹²

³⁰⁷ For St. Ladislav's equestrian statue, see especially: Simon Bagyary, "Szent László nagyvárad-i lovasszobra" [Saint Ladislav's equestrian statue in Oradea Mare], *Archaeológiai Értesítő* 25 (1905), 211-212; Terézia Kerny, "Szent László lovas ábrázolásai" [Saint Ladislav's representations on horse], *Ars Hungarica* 21/1 (1993), 39-54; eadem, "6.1. Ansicht der Festung Großwardein vom Süden", in Takács, *Sigismundus*, 494; Irina Baldescu, "Arte e politica. Osservazioni intorno a due statue equestri medievali: S. Georgio, Praga, 1373; S. Ladislao, Oradea/Grosswardein, 1390", *Studia Patzinakia* 6 (2008), 103-128.

³⁰⁸ István Szamosközy, *Erdély története (1598-1599, 1603)* [History of Transylvania (1598-1599, 1603)], ed. István Sinkovits (Budapest: Európa Könyvkiadó, 1981), 115-116.

³⁰⁹ Balogh, *Varadinum*, 1: fig. 48, 51, 99, 105-106, 108; Kerny, "Ansicht der Festung Großwardein", 494; eadem, "Zeichnungen mit Reiterstatue", 494-495; eadem, Kerny, "Szent László lovas", fig. 22; Baldescu, "Arte e politica", fig. 10-11; eadem, "Joris e Jacob Hoefnagel", 33-34.

³¹⁰ Gyalokay, "Nagyvárad-i királyszobrok", 265-268.

³¹¹ For pilgrimages to St. Ladislav's tomb, see more recently Tamás Fedeles, "*Ad visitandumque sepulchrum sanctissimi regis Ladislai*. Várad kegyhelye a késő középkorban" [*Ad visitandumque sepulchrum sanctissimi regis Ladislai*. The shrine in Oradea Mare during the Late Middle Ages], in "*Köztes-Európa*" vonzásában. *Ünnepi tanulmányok Font Márta tiszteletére* [In the allurement of the "in-between Europe." Festschrift in honor of Márta Font], ed. by Dániel Bagi et al. (Pécs: Kronosz, 2012), 163-182 with bibliography.

³¹² For the medieval institution of *loca credibilia* which replaced in great extent the notary public in the Kingdom of Hungary, see especially: Martyn Rady, *Nobility, Land and Service in Medieval Hungary* (London: Palgrave, 2000), 62-78; Tamás Köfalvi, "Places of Authentication (*loca credibilia*)", *Cronica* 2 (2002), 27-38; Zsolt Hunyadi, "Administering the Law: Hungary's *loca credibilia*", in *Custom and Law in Central Europe*, ed. Martyn Rady (Cambridge: Center for European Legal Studies, 2003), 25-37. For ordeals performed in Oradea Mare according to the *Regestrum Varadinense*, see especially: Mária Makó Lupescu, "Between the Sacred and Profane: The Trial by Hot Iron Ceremony Based on the *Regestrum Varadinense*", *Mediaevalia Transilvanica* 3/1-2 (1999), 5-26; Dorottya Uhrin, "A Várad-i Regestrum veneficiummal és maleficiummal kapcsolatos esetei" [Accusations of *veneficium* and *maleficium* in the *Regestrum Varadinense*], in *Micae Mediaevales III. Fiatal történészek dolgozatai a középkori Magyarországról és Európáról* [*Micae Mediaevales III. Thoughts of young historians on medieval Hungary and Europe*], ed. Judit Gál et al. (Budapest: ELTE BTK Történelemtudományok Doktori Iskola, 2013), 133-151; eadem, "Az istenítéletek társadalomtörténeti elemzése a Várad-i Regestrum alapján" [The social-historical analysis of the trial by ordeals based



Fig. 2.20 – Georg Braun, Frans Hogenberg, and Joris (Georg) Hoefnagel, Detail of Oradea Cathedral with St. Ladislav's equestrian statue (E) from *Varadinum vulgo Gros Wardein Transilvaniae oppidum, cum munitissimo propugnaculo: In provinciae introitu secundo, à Mahumeta Turcarum Imp. obsessum, et frustra tentatum*, in Georgius Braun and Franciscus Hohenbergius, *Civitates orbis terrarum* (Coloniae Agrippinae: Petrum à Brachel, 1612-1618), Bd. 6, Tfl. 40, KBK 2-234, Det Kongelige Bibliotek, Danmarks Nationalbibliotek, and Kobenhavns Universitetsbibliotek in Copenhagen. Photo Source: <http://www.kb.dk/>

Additionally, a medieval town's square was usually the place where symbolic and ritualized communication took place,³¹³ the statues of the holy kings of Hungary being thus integrated

on the *Regestrum Varadinense*], in *Mortun falu. 800 éves Kunszentmárton 1215-2015* [Mortun village. 800-year-old Kunszentmárton 1215-2015], ed. Gábor Barna (Kunszentmárton: Helytörténeti Múzeum, 2016), 28-43.

³¹³ For symbolic and ritualized communication in medieval public spaces, see especially: Marco Mostert, "New Approaches to Medieval Communication?", in *New Approaches to Medieval Communication*, ed. Marco Mostert (Turnhout: Brepols, 1999), 18-21; Gerd Althoff, "The Variability of Rituals in the Middle Ages", in *Medieval Concepts of the Past: Ritual, Memory, Historiography*, ed. Gerd Althoff, Johannes Fried, and Patrick J. Geary (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 71-87; Jacoba van Leeuwen, ed., *Symbolic Communication in Late Medieval Towns* (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2006), XIII-XVI. For the diversity of these communication acts in urban context in medieval Hungary, see: Dušan Zupka, "Communication in a Town: Urban Rituals and Literacy in the Medieval Kingdom of Hungary", in *Uses of the Written Word in Medieval Towns. Medieval Urban Literacy II*, ed. Marco Mostert and Anna Adamska (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014), 341-373.

physically to any of these communication acts which took place in the town's public space. As a consequence, the *sancti reges Hungariae* became active participants to these public events, equally overseeing and sanctioning them.

2. 8. The *sancti reges Hungariae* as Patron Saints of the Country/Kingdom – Concluding Remarks

Certainly, it was not only the kingdom's royal and ecclesiastical élite which supported and promoted throughout the fourteenth century the joint cult of the *sancti reges Hungariae*. However, their actions contributed in great extent to the spread of this cult and its associated iconography among the people belonging to various walks of life.

In July 1334, the German-origin Wulfing (Wrungus, Ulvingus) Nagel, *comes* of the Royal Minting Chamber and member of the town council (1317/8-1342), requested and received a papal indulgence for the visitors of the chapel he had founded and endowed in Buda.³¹⁴ According to László Zolnay, the religious foundation was found in the proximity of one of the founder's houses and nearby the parish church of the Holy Virgin.³¹⁵ Attended by four chaplains who were to celebrate daily the mass there, the vanished chapel was dedicated to the holy kings Sts Stephen, Ladislás, and Emeric, but also to St. Francis, the Eleven Thousand Virgins, and St. Helena.³¹⁶ Four years after the founder's death, in 1347, the rector of the chapel is referred to as *Iohannes Rector Capelle Comitiss Vlweny bone memorie in honorem sanctorum Regum Stephani et Ladislai*

³¹⁴ For Wulfing Nagel's religious foundation, see especially: László Zolnay, "A középkori budavári Szent László- és Szent Mihály-kápolna. Adatok a Nagyboldogasszony-templom déli oldalkápolnáinak történetéhez" [The medieval chapels of Saint Ladislás and Saint Michael in Buda Castle. Data on the history of the southern side Chapels of Our Lady's Church], *Budapest Régiségei* 21 (1964), 375-388; for his career, see: *ibid.*, 380; András Kubinyi, "A budai német patríciátus társadalmi helyzete családi összeköttetéseinek tükrében a XIII. századtól a XV. század második feléig" [The social status of the German patriciate of Buda in the light of their family connections from the 13th century until the second half of the 15th century], *Levéltári Közlemények* 42 (1971), 230-232.

³¹⁵ Zolnay, "Szent László-kápolna", 380, 386; see also Győző Gerő, "Adatok a budavári Szent Mihály-kápolna topográfiájához" [Data on the topography of Saint Michael's Chapel in Buda Castle], *Budapest Régiségei* 21 (1964), 389-393.

³¹⁶ "... Cupientes igitur, ut capella quam [...] nobilis vir comes Wrungus oppidanus Budensis, Vesprimiensis diocesis, in oppido Budensi dicte diocesis, sub honore et vocabulis sanctorum Stephani, Ladislai et Emerici regum ac beati Francisci confessoris et sanctorum undecim millium virginum nec non beate Elene, de bonis suis propriis canonice fundasse et construxisse dicitur, pariter et dotasse pro sustentatione quatuor sacerdotum perpetuorum capellanorum, qui divina officia in eadem capella quotidie celebrare debeant, congruis honoribus frequentetur, [...] omnibus vere penitentibus et confessis, qui in eorundem sanctorum Stephani, Ladislai et Emerici, ac beati Francisci et sanctorum undecim millium virginum nec non beate Elene festivitibus centum, illis vero qui per octavas festivitatum ipsarum prefatam capellam devote visitaverint annuatim quadraginta dies de iniunctis eis penitentibus [...] misericorditer relaxamus...", doc. no. LXXXIII in Guilelmus Fraknói, ed., *Monumenta Romana Episcopatus Vesprimiensis. Tomus II. 1276-1415. A Veszprémi Püspökség Római Oklevéltára. II. kötet. 1276-1415* (Budapestini: Franklin-Társulat Nyomdája, 1899), 85.

*beatorum, ac Sanctissimi Ducis Emerici dedicate.*³¹⁷ Later sources spanning from the late-fourteenth to the early-sixteenth century mention the chapel as having been dedicated either to Sts Ladislás and Emeric (sometimes specifying the existence of a separate altar dedicated to either one of the two saints) or, most often, to St. Ladislás only.³¹⁸ These mentions attest to the preeminence of the three *sancti reges Hungariae* as the chapel's main patron saints, as well as to the special devotion of the founder's family towards one of them, St. Ladislás being additionally also the personal patron of two of Wulfing Nagel's descendants, i.e., his grandson and great-grandson, respectively.³¹⁹ This case is especially relevant in the context of the present concluding remarks, as it illustrates how the joint cult of the three *sancti reges Hungariae* was embraced also by other social, professional, and ethnical categories of the kingdom. Wulfing Nagel was a prominent citizen of German origin of the town of Buda and, additionally, an important dignitary of the royal administration. His particular reverence for the *sancti reges Hungariae* was most likely infused by the time's devotional trends which were inspired, in their turn, by the Hungarian Angevins' veneration of their holy predecessors.

As previously stated, the Hungarian Angevins were not the sole supporters and promoters of the cult of the three *sancti reges Hungariae* during the first half of the fourteenth century. Most likely inspired by the royal and ecclesiastical patterns of devotion, members of the royal court and urban élite manifested their piety, too, towards Hungary's holy kings. These people venerated as well Hungary's three holy kings and expressed their piety towards these regional saints which acquired gradually during the fifteenth century the quality of spiritual patrons of the country/kingdom. However, before this transformation process took place and starting with the second half of the fourteenth century, the nobility of the kingdom adopted the joint cult of the three royal saints and, subsequently, decorated many of their churches with the image of the *sancti reges Hungariae*.³²⁰ Because the popularity of the joint cult continued throughout the fifteenth century, having this time the nobility as its main supporter and promoter, but finding its appeal among the kingdom's other social, professional, ethnical, or even confessional groups, too, the main features of the joint cult of Hungary's three holy kings are addressed in the following chapters together with the examination of the murals displaying the *sancti reges Hungariae*, images which form the actual topic of the dissertation. Various other aspects of the three royal saints' cult during the fifteenth and

³¹⁷ Doc. no. CCCVI, Georgivs Fejér, ed. *Codex diplomaticvs Hvmgariae ecclesiasticvs ac civilis. Tomi IX. Volvmen I. Ab anno Christi 1342-1350* (Buda: Typis Typogr. Regiae Vniversitatis Vngaricae, 1833), 556-559.

³¹⁸ These sources are quoted in Zolnay, "Szent László-kápolna", 380-381.

³¹⁹ For the Ulvings' genealogy, see: *ibid.*, 387; Kubinyi, "Budai német patríciátus", 231.

³²⁰ Klaniczay, "Noblesse et culte", 511-526; Szakács, "Saints of the Knights", 319-330.

the first half of the sixteenth century (such as its “privatization”³²¹ among the kingdom’s nobility, which was either closely-related to the royal court or not; its adoption by the mendicant orders, i.e., a medium and agent of diffusion which was most sensitive to regional confessional differences;³²² its assimilation by the late-medieval universities which found the ideal means of expressing their belonging to a country through the symbol of Hungary’s three holy kings;³²³ its instrumentalization for the purposes of proving the legitimacy to rule the country/kingdom of other rulers than the Hungarian Angevins; or its final transformation into the cult of a region’s/country’s sacred protectors together with other saints not necessarily belonging to the royal/dynastic category, but enjoying the same place of origin) are highlighted and further explored throughout the following chapters, whenever they become relevant for the understanding and contextualizing of the representation of the *sancti reges Hungariae* in religious mural painting.

³²¹ Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers*, 367.

³²² Sermons relying on the separate figures of the three holy kings with either Dominican or Franciscan provenance are published partially in Eduardus Petrovich and Paulus Ladislaus, ed., *Sermones compilati in studio generali Quinqueecclesiensi in regno Ungarie* (Budapest: Argumentum Kiadó, 1993); Madas, *Sermones de sancto Ladislao*. On the mendicant orders’ sermon literature, see especially: András Vizkelety, “I *sermonaria* domenicani in Ungheria nei secoli XIII-XIV”, in Graciotti, *Spiritualità e lettere*, 29-38; Edit Madas, “A Dominican Sermon-collection”, *Budapest Review of Books* 5 (1996), 193-199.

³²³ Klaniczay, “National Saints”, 87-108.

3. Between Personal Devotion and Political Propaganda – The Depiction of the Three *sancti reges Hungariae* in Religious Mural Painting of Late-medieval Hungary

One can safely assume that images with the individual depiction of each of the holy kings of Hungary started to appear in their cult centers in Székesfehérvár and Oradea Mare, respectively, soon after each of the three saints' canonization (i.e., in 1083 and 1192, respectively). Made up on the basis of the main features of each saint as conveyed by their hagiographies, these images contributed to the diffusion of the saints' cults to other places than their cult centers. However, such early iconographic instances are scarcely preserved,³²⁴ despite the great number of depictions of holy kings that survived up to present day or are recorded to have existed in religious mural painting across the Kingdom of Hungary during the late-medieval period.

3. 1. “Non-Hungarian” and Unidentifiable Holy Kings – St. Louis IX of France, St. Oswald of Northumbria (and St. Sigismund of Burgundy)

Nevertheless, not all the surviving images of holy kings are necessarily depictions of the *sancti reges Hungariae* (either separate or collective), other saintly rulers having been venerated and, subsequently, depicted in church decoration on the territory of the Kingdom of Hungary during the Late Middle Ages. For instance, when discussing in several occasions a series of Transylvanian depictions of holy kings, Vasile Drăguț has suggested the identity of the Angevin St. Louis IX of France for the representations of saintly rulers in the churches in Bistrița, Mălâncrav, Mediaș, Sâncraiu de Mureș, Sântana de Mureș, and Sic.³²⁵ The figures' accompanying inscriptions are no

³²⁴ Only two such early instances of murals, both depicting St. Stephen, have survived up to present day. Dated to the late-twelfth – early-thirteenth century and placed on the pillar separating the two round apses attached to the square sanctuary, the poorly-preserved fragment in Tornaszentandrás shows a male saint dressed in red, who is accompanied by the inscription: *STE/PHAN(VS) // RE/GIS/ CP (?)*. His features and costume details are greatly faded away, so that one can no longer infer more on St. Stephen's iconography, other than the royal red of his vestment. For this mural, see: Ilona Valter, “A tornaszentandrási r. k. templom kutatása” [Research on the Roman Catholic church in Tornaszentandrás], *A Herman Ottó Múzeum Évkönyve* 19 (1980), 119-120; Hajdú, “Újabb szempontok a tornaszentandrási templom”, 45-48; Peter Tajkov, *Sakrálna architektúra 11.-13. storočia na juhovýchodnom Slovensku* [Sacral architecture in the 11th-13th centuries in South-Eastern Slovakia] (Košice: Technická univerzita v Košiciach, 2012), 142-143; see also n. 58. Dated to the first half of the twelfth century, the representation of a young, beardless holy king holding a scepter in Tropie has been identified hypothetically either with St. Stephen or St. Wenceslas. The former identification has been suggested on the basis of the resemblance of the holy king's crown with the Hungarian Holy Crown. However, the church's connection with St. Andrew Zoerard discussed in n. 82 seems to support this hypothetical identification. For this mural, see: Dutkiewicz, “Romańskie malowidło”, 10, 19-20; Pieńkowska, “Znaczenie naukowe”, 6.

³²⁵ Vasile Drăguț, “Picturile murale din biserica evanghelică din Mălâncrav” [Mural paintings in the Evangelical church in Mălâncrav], *Studii și Cercetări de Istoria Artei. Seria Artă Plastică* 14/1 (1967), 87-88; idem, “Iconografia

longer preserved and his claim was based partly on the saint's alleged popularity during the reign of King Louis the Great (1342-1382), who had this holy ruler as his personal patron saint, and partly on the figures' attribute (i.e., the lily-shaped scepter), which was thought to represent an allusion to the Angevin *fleur-de-lis*. However, St. Louis' popularity during the reign of his Hungarian Angevin protégé antedates in the majority of cases the regarded representations of holy kings, which can be situated chronologically between the late-fourteenth and the first decades of the fifteenth century.³²⁶ Moreover, as it will be seen later, the lily-shaped scepter can be, in fact, the attribute of any Hungarian holy king, most likely St. Emeric's, representing thus a direct allusion to the chastity of the holy prince. Even though Vasile Drăguț's arguments can no longer be considered valid, St. Louis IX of France features next to St. Agnes in the badly-preserved and heavily-restored murals in Chornotysiv. They are dated to around 1400 and the holy king's identity has been offered originally by a now-lost inscription (Fig. 3.1-3.2).³²⁷ This beardless, saintly ruler was depicted as a holy knight dressed in armor and was equipped with sword attached to chains³²⁸ and a cross-bearing shield. He had a crown on his head and a scepter in his right hand but, ironically, the latter attribute did not end in a stylized lily. If it weren't for the accompanying inscription, this youthful and beardless holy knight would easily pass as St. Emeric, who can be represented as well under a knightly guise. St. Louis IX of France was usually depicted as a young, beardless holy king invested with royal insignia (i.e., crown, scepter, and orb), but was normally dressed in court costume.³²⁹

picturilor", 43, 76; idem, "Date noi", 120; idem, "Picturile murale de la Mediaș. O importantă recuperare pentru istoria artei transilvănene" [Mural paintings in Mediaș. An important recovery for Transylvanian art history], *Revista Muzeelor și Monumentelor. Monumente Istorice și de Artă* 45/2 (1976), 13-14; idem, *Arta gotică*, 214, 218, 224, 262, n. 69.

³²⁶ The vanished frescoes in Bistrița, known only from photographs taken in 1909, are difficult to frame chronologically, this being the reason why scholars assigned them to various periods during the fourteenth century: simply the fourteenth century – Tihamér Gyárfás, "Régi erdélyi falfestmények" [Old Transylvanian wall paintings], *Vasárnapi Újság* 57/4 (1910), 86; mid-fourteenth century – Vătășianu, *Istoria artei*, 408-409, fig. 370; second half of the fourteenth century, most likely during its second quarter, Drăguț, "Date noi", 122; or after 1400, most likely during the first two decades, idem, *Arta gotică*, 230-231. Based on an inscription, the murals in Mediaș are dated to around 1420, idem, "Picturile murale – Mediaș", 11-22; however, the holy king's representation is not an iconic, but a narrative image, this fact making the figure's identification with St. Louis doubtful. For the early-fifteenth century dating of the murals in Sâncraiu de Mureș and for the late-fourteenth century dating of the frescoes in Sântana de Mureș, see below. For a dating to around 1400 of the frescoes in Sic, see: Géza Entz and József K. Sebestyén, *A széki református templom* [The Reformed church in Sic] (Cluj-Napoca: Editura Minerva, 1947); Vătășianu, *Istoria artei*, 410-411.

³²⁷ For the murals' description, drawing, and accompanying inscriptions, see: Rómer, *Régi falképek*, 79, fig. 57; Lángi, "Feketeardó (Чорнотисів)", 295-296, 302, fig. 15. The latter study represents also the most recent evaluation of the murals and contains their earlier bibliography. The inscription reading *Sanctus.lu[dovicus...]* is now lost, but it was partially preserved in 1864, when the representation was drawn by Ferenc Schulcz. For the murals' restoration, see: Ferenc Springer, "A feketeadó (Чорнотисів) római katolikus templom falképeinek restaurálása" [The restoration of the wall paintings in Chornotysiv (Чорнотисів)], in Kollár, *Középkori templomok a Tiszától a Kárpátokig*, 299-300.

³²⁸ This detail is encountered also in the case of the holy kings' armors in the neighboring Khust (ca 35 km). Attaching weapons to armors by chains was intended for the knight not to lose his sword during the fight, even if he dropped it from his hand. For Khust frescoes, see *infra*; for this detail of military equipment, see Eduard Wagner, Zaroslava Drobná, and Jan Durdík, *Medieval Costume, Armour and Weapons* (Mineola, New York: Dover, 2000, 1958), 35-36.

³²⁹ For the iconography of King and Saint Louis IX of France, see especially: Émile Bertaux, "Les saints Louis dans l'art italien", *Revue des deux mondes* 158 (1900), 616-644; Émile Mâle, "La vie de Saint Louis dans l'art français du commencement du XIVe siècle", in idem, *Art et artistes du moyen âge* (Paris: Librairie A. Colin, 1927), 246-262;



Fig. 3.1 – Ferenc Schulz, Drawing of Sts Agnes and Louis IX of France in the Catholic Church in Chornotysiv, 1864, ink, paper, Forster Központ Tervtár, inv. no. FM 143. Photo Source: Lángi, “Feketeardó”

Fig. 3.2 – Detail of St. Louis IX of France, ca 1400, fresco, western side of the lower register of the nave's northern wall, Catholic Church in Chornotysiv. Photo © The Author (April 2012)

Comparing this sole, attested representation of St. Louis IX of France to the great number of images of the three *sancti reges Hungariae* surviving up to present day in church decoration, one can easily note the disparity which does not make up for the Angevin holy ruler's alleged popularity, previously stated by Vasile Drăguț.

Besides St. Louis IX of Anjou, other holy kings appeared as well in church decoration across medieval Hungary, namely, St. Sigismund of Burgundy and St. Oswald of Northumbria, their representation being attested by a number of recent discoveries and a series of older, but misidentified depictions. St. Sigismund was depicted around 1400 in the murals of the church in Bădești as a holy knight with armor, crown, orb, and white shield decorated with red cross. However, in 1413, he was represented probably in court costume in the fragmentary murals of the church in Lónya, where only his crown, scepter, crucifer orb, and mantle are partially visible. In both cases, St. Sigismund is safely identifiable by accompanying inscriptions. Whereas St. Sigismund's representation is addressed later in the dissertation in the context of King Sigismund of Luxemburg's support and promotion of the cult of his personal patron saint together with those of

Jeffrey M. Hoffeld, “An Image of Saint Louis and the Structuring of Devotion”, *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 29 (1971), 261-266; M. Cecilia Gaposhkin, “The King of France and the Queen of Heaven: The Iconography of the Porte Rouge of Notre-Dame of Paris”, *Gesta* 29/1 (2000), 58-72; Paula Mae Carns, “The Cult of Saint Louis and Capetian Interests in the Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux”, *Peregrinations: Journal of Medieval Art and Architecture* 2/1 (2005), available online at <http://digital.kenyon.edu/perejournal/vol2/iss1/4> (accessed 28 May 2014); Norman, “Sanctity, Kingship”, *passim*. For the saint's life and cult, see especially: Jacques Le Goff, *Saint Louis* (Paris: Gallimard, 1996); M. Cecilia Gaposhkin, *The Making of Saint Louis. Kingship, Sanctity and Crusade in the Later Middle Ages* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2008).

the *sancti reges Hungariae*, especially that of St. Ladislas, several thoughts should be expressed on St. Oswald's occurrence in the churches in Sic, Ighișu Nou, Sâncraiu de Mureș, and probably Ragály. On the southern side of the eastern pillar separating the nave from the southern aisle of the church in Sic (Fig. 3.3) and on the triumphal arch's northern pillar of the church in Ighișu Nou (Fig. 3.4), there are the isolated representations of St. Oswald, which have been executed sometime during the early-fifteenth century.³³⁰

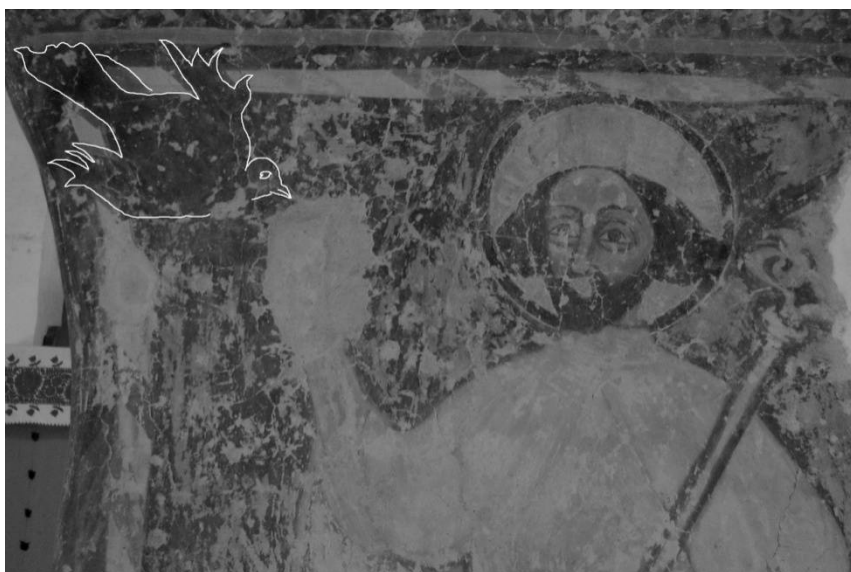


Fig. 3.3 – Overdrawing of the raven in St. Oswald's representation, early-15th century, fresco, southern side of the eastern pillar separating the nave from the southern aisle, Reformed Church in Sic. Photo & Drawing © The Author

Fig. 3.4 – Detail of St. Oswald, ca 1400, fresco, northern pillar of the triumphal arch, Lutheran Church in Ighișu Nou. Photo © The Author

In both cases, the saint is depicted as a mature holy king dressed in court costume and having royal insignia (crown and scepter), but also one of his personal attributes: the saint holds in his fingers a ring either taken or given back by a flying raven.³³¹ The cult of St. Oswald, King of Northumbria,

³³⁰ Because of a detail's low visibility, the holy king in Sic was previously misidentified as St. Louis IX of France, Entz, *Széki református templom*, 25-26, 33-36, fig. 19, identification accepted also by Vasile Drăguț in the studies mentioned in n. 325. Recent restoration work (Summer of 2014) by Loránd Kiss' teams made more visible a relevant detail in Sic and uncovered a new depiction of the same saint in Ighișu Nou. I am grateful to the restorer for allowing me to examine the frescoes during their restoration process. For the dating of the frescoes in Sic, see n. 326. The frescoes in Ighișu Nou are the work of the same painters active in the sanctuary of Mălâncrav and, subsequently, have a dating to around 1400; for the dating of the murals in the Mălâncrav sanctuary, see the dating section in the Catalogue of Murals. The frescoes in Ighișu Nou were recently published in Dana Jenei, "The Newly Discovered Murals inside the Church of Virgin Mary in Ighișu Nou, Sibiu County", *Revue Roumaine d'Histoire de l'Art. Série Beaux-Arts* 53 (2016), 47-62, although some of the saints are misidentified.

³³¹ In Sic, St. Oswald's hand holding the ring is damaged, but the flying raven is still visible with difficulty. According to the account of Antal Beke, *Az erdélyi egyházmegye a XIV. század elején* [Diocese of Transylvania in the beginning of the 14th century] (Budapest: no publisher, 1896), apud Ferenc Léstyán, *Megszentelt kövek. A középkori erdélyi*

flourished in England immediately after his death in 642, but was fully embraced in the German and Austrian continental areas only during the mid-twelfth century. This is the moment when he started to be venerated as a holy knight and became the hero of several poems originating in Regensburg (i.e., his new cult center) – poems which depict him as a mighty warrior in quest of a bride.³³² Consequently, the holy king acquired as one of his defining attributes the flying raven, a wondrous love messenger invested with human qualities.³³³ Besides generic royal attributes (i.e., scepter and crown), and the ring and raven referring to the motif of the bride quest, St. Oswald's other characteristic attributes are: a martyr's palm following his death in the Maserfield battle; the cross symbolizing his victory over the heathen; and a high, covered container, alluding to the silver dish he cut for distributing it to the poor. It is the latter attribute and not an orb that the fragmentary figure of a holy king seems to hold in the poorly-preserved frescoes in Ragály, which are situated on the southern side of the nave's eastern wall (i.e., of the triumphal arch) and were executed at the end of the fourteenth century (Fig. 3.5).³³⁴ In Sic and Ragály, St. Oswald is placed in the proximity of a blessing holy bishop, but only the one in the latter church is identifiable with St. Nicholas on the basis of a fragmentary inscription. Even when he appears in the company of the three *sancti reges Hungariae*, as it happens around 1478 on the wings of the main altar in St. Martin's Cathedral in Spišská Kapitula (Germ. *Zipser Kapitel*, Hung. *Szepeshely*),³³⁵ St. Oswald is depicted as a young holy king holding the raven with ring in its beak (Fig. 3.6). The Northumbrian saintly ruler is joined this time in the altar's upper, right panel by St. Louis of Toulouse and St. Louis IX of France. The latter saint is depicted here as a mature holy knight in armor, he is invested with royal insignia (i.e.,

püspökség templomai [Consecrated stones. Churches of the medieval Bishopric of Transylvania] (Budapest: A gyulafehérvári Római Katolikus Érsekség kiadása, 2000), available online at <http://mek.oszk.hu/04600/04684/html/index.html> (accessed 27 November 2017), there was another depiction of a holy king in St. Stephen Church in Sâncraiu de Mureș; this one held in one hand a cross, whereas a flying eagle (!) directed itself towards the ring held by the holy king in his other hand. This was most likely a depiction of St. Oswald and not of St. Stephen, as Antal Beke identified him with.

³³² For St. Oswald's cult in England and its propagation on the Continent, see: Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers*, 80-86, 168-170; Peter Clemons, *The Cult of St. Oswald on the Continent* (Jarrow: The Jarrow Lectures, 1983); Alan Thacker, "Membra disjecta: The Division of the Body and the Diffusion of the Cult", Dagmar Ó Riain-Raedel, "Edith, Judith, Matilda: The Role of Royal Ladies in the Propagation of the Continental Cult", and Annemiek Jansen, "The Development of the Saint Oswald Legends on the Continent", in *Oswald. Northumbrian King to European Saint*, ed. Clare Stancliffe and Eric Cambridge (Stamford: Paul Watkins, 1995), 97-127, 210-240.

³³³ For the bridal-quest literary motif, a continental development foreign to St. Oswald's English cult, see Jansen, "Development of St. Oswald", 230-240; for the raven's occurrence in St. Oswald's late-thirteenth century iconography and his other attributes, see Karl Heinz Göller and Jean Ritzke-Rutherford, "St. Oswald in Regensburg. A Reconsideration", in *Bavarica anglica. A Cross-cultural Miscellany Presented to Tom Fletcher*, ed. Otto Hietsch (Frankfurt am Main: Lang, 1979), 98-118.

³³⁴ Lángi, "Ragály", 380-391, with bibliography on p. 458. St. Oswald's hypothetical representation was uncovered after the publishing of this study, therefore, no reference is made to the triumphal-arch decoration. Personal field research in October 2016.

³³⁵ For this altar, see especially: Terézia Kerny, "A szepeshelyi főoltár táblaképe" [The Panels of the Main Altar in Spišská Kapitula], in Kerny, *Szent Imre 1000 éve*, 99-105, with bibliography; Poszler, "Árpád-házi szent királyok", 180-181, with bibliography; Ernő Marosi, "Szepeshely/Spišská Kapitula, Saint Martin High Altar", in Marosi, *On the Stage of Europe*, 72-74.

crown, scepter, and crucifer orb), and has a lavishly-decorated mantle on his shoulders. The presence of St. Oswald with his characteristic attribute (i.e., the ring-holding raven) among the holy figures on the altar's feast-day side made Tibor Gerevich to assume a certain connection or reference to King Matthias Corvinus (r. 1458-1490), St. Oswald's depiction being interpreted thus as a crypto-portrait of the king, whose family coat of arms displayed similarly a raven with ring.³³⁶ The significance of St. Oswald's cult in late-medieval Hungary still expects its investigation but, judging by the dating to around 1400 of the two mural examples, the Hunyadis were merely the receivers and subsequent promoters of an already-existing and relatively-popular cult among the Transylvanian Saxons in Sic and Ighişu Nou, who were familiarized with it through the mediation of their German places of origin.



Fig. 3.5 – Detail of St. Oswald (?), late-14th century, fresco, southern side of the triumphal arch (i.e., eastern wall of the nave), Reformed Church in Ragály. Photo © The Author (October 2016)

Fig. 3.6 – Sts Oswald of Northumbria, Louis of Toulouse, and Louis IX of France, ca 1478, 138 x 163 cm, tempera, wood, main altar of St. Martin's Cathedral in Spišská Kapitula. Photo Source: Kerny, *Szent Imre 1000 éve*

As already noted by Ernő Marosi in connection with St. Sigismund's recently-uncovered representations in Bădeşti and Lónya,³³⁷ the presence in medieval church decoration of a wider range of holy kings than previously conceived – saints who are depicted with either courtly or knightly appearance, but no distinguishing characteristics (i.e., personal attributes) – makes

³³⁶ Tibor Gerevich, "Korvin Mátyás művészeti politikája" [Matthias Corvinus' Artistic Politics], *Szépművészet* 3 (1942), 95-98.

³³⁷ Marosi, "Saints at Home and Abroad", 198.

doubtful earlier identifications with any of the three *sancti reges Hungariae* of these undefined, royal saints. To illustrate this, the art historian discusses the representation of a mature holy king with generic, royal attributes, who was depicted in the church in Čerín sometime during the first quarter of the fifteenth century (Fig. 3.7).³³⁸

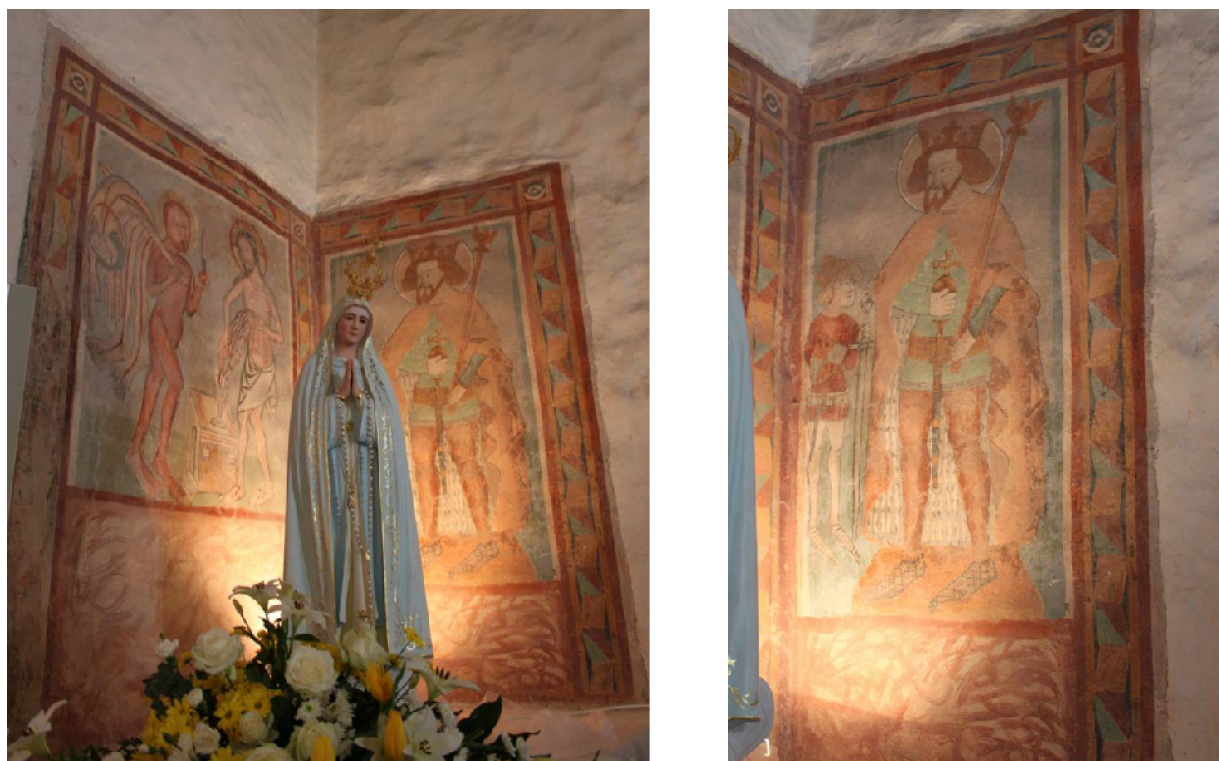


Fig. 3.7 – Mural retablo with St. Bartholomew, the Eucharistic Man of Sorrows, and an unknown holy king (left), and detail of the holy king accompanied by a page (right), first quarter of the 15th century, fresco, eastern and southern walls of the nave, Catholic Church of St. Martin in Čerín. Photo © The Author (April 2012)

The saintly ruler is accompanied by a shield- and sword-bearing page, who is probably the unknown commissioner of the mural retablo with Eucharistic emphasis. The retablo is situated on the nave's eastern and southern walls (i.e., next to the sanctuary) and includes also the representations of the Eucharistic Man of Sorrows and St. Bartholomew carrying his skin on a staff. The mature holy king with generic royal attributes (i.e., crown, scepter, and crucifer orb) has been previously identified either with St. Ladislav or St. Stephen.³³⁹ Ernő Marosi has once assumed that

³³⁸ Ibid. For the fresco, see: Radocsay, *Középkori Magyarország falképei*, 48, 127; idem, *Wandgemälde*, 136-137; Z. Bartošová, "Nástenné mal'by v kostole sv. Martina v Čeríne" [Wall paintings of St. Martin's Church in Čerín], *Zpravodaj strediska št. pam. starostlivosti a ochrany prírody v Ban. Bystrici* 10 (1967), 27-35; Dvořáková, *Stredoveká nástenná mal'ba*, 83-87.

³³⁹ For the holy king's identification with St. Ladislav, see: ibid., 86, and Ivan Gerát, *Stredoveké obrazové témy na Slovensku. Osoby a príbehy* [Medieval pictorial themes in Slovakia. People and stories] (Bratislava: VEDA Vydavateľstvo Slovenskej Akadémie Vied, 2001), 169; for St. Stephen's identity, see: Radocsay, *Wandgemälde*, 136, and Marosi, "Hl. Ladislaus als Nationalheiliger", 245.

the donor represented as the holy king's squire was a certain Stephen from the local noble family, whose tombstone of 1433 is still found in the church and who was documented as a *miles et familiaris* at the court of King Sigismund of Luxemburg.³⁴⁰ Given the undefined appearance of the holy king holding generic royal attributes and the loss of accompanying inscriptions, the saintly ruler could be either St. Stephen (i.e., the patron saint of the hypothetical donor Stephen), St. Sigismund (i.e., the personal patron of the ruling king, whose faithful subject the donor Stephen was), St. Ladislav (i.e., the sacred protector *par excellence* of the kingdom), or any other Christian knight in general³⁴¹ (i.e., the three *sancti reges Hungariae*, St. Sigismund, and St. Louis IX of France included). Subsequently, one should be aware of this caveat when attempting identifications of holy kings in church decoration across medieval Hungary based only on the saints' belonging to the category of holy rulers. The vanished representation of a young, beardless holy king, which was depicted once on the western wall of the demolished sacristy of the Minorite Convent in Bistrița,³⁴² is another case in point (Fig. 3.8). The holy king's standing figure, which was preserved fragmentarily in 1909, but is currently lost, was part of a larger program which decorated the former sacristy of the conventual church. One can assume, therefore, that this saintly ruler had a devotional relevance for the limited and almost-exclusively monastic audience which had access to this space; however, this can no longer be ascertained. The figure was identified on the basis of its royal insignia only (crown and crucifer orb) either with St. Ladislav, St. Emeric, or St. Louis IX of Anjou.³⁴³ However, the depiction is, in fact, atypical for any of these holy kings. On the one hand, the youthful appearance might be characteristic for either St. Emeric or St. Louis IX of France, but the spear with banner is typical only for St. Emeric, who holds sometimes this attribute in his late depictions.³⁴⁴ On the other hand, the weapon might be as well a remote echo of St. Ladislav's axe or halberd, but the young, beardless face is uncharacteristic for the holy knight, who is usually depicted at mature age.³⁴⁵

³⁴⁰ Ibid.

³⁴¹ Marosi, "Saints at Home and Abroad", 198.

³⁴² For these murals, see the relevant titles in nn. 326, where their uncertain dating is discussed, too.

³⁴³ For St. Ladislav's identity, see Michael Auner, "Beim Abbruch des alten Franziskanerklosters", *Korrespondenzblatt des Vereins für siebenbürgische Landeskunde* 32 (1909), 124-125. For St. Emeric's identity, see: Gyárfás, "Régi erdélyi falfestmények", 85-86; Vătășianu, *Istoria artei*, 409; Anca Gogâltan, "The Holy Hungarian Kings, the Saint Bishop and the Saint King in the Sanctuary of the Church at Mălâncrav", *Ars Transsilvaniae* 12-13 (2002-2003), 115. For St. Louis' identity, see Drăguț, "Date noi", 120, as well as the other studies mentioned in n. 325. For Rostás, "Besztercei volt katolikus templom", 80, the holy king can be either St. Ladislav or St. Emeric.

³⁴⁴ For a representation of St. Emeric in armor and holding a spear (however, without the banner), see the central panel of the Altar of Sts Stephen and Emeric in Matejovce (Germ. *Matzdorf*, Hung. *Mateóc*), dated to 1453, Gyöngyi Török, "A meteóci mester művészetének problémái" [The problem of the art of the Master of Matejovce], *Művészettörténeti Értesítő* 29/1 (1980), 49-80.

³⁴⁵ Next to the standing holy king, there was another, kneeling holy king, who was partially preserved at that time; the two figures were separated originally by a decorative border, which indicates the two figures' treatment as independent depictions. Given that the kneeling holy king could be either St. Ladislav depicted in the hypostasis of his coronation or



Fig. 3.8 – Photograph of the vanished holy-king representation situated on the western wall of the demolished sacristy, Church of the former Minorite convent in Bistrița, 1909. Photo Source: Kerny, *Szent Imre 1000 éve*

Fig. 3.9 – Head of a holy king under a three-lobed arch, second quarter of the 14th century, fresco, middle register of the northern side of the triumphal arch, St. Peter's Church in Novo Mjesto Zelinsko. Photo Source: Cepetić, "Cult of St. Ladislav"

Despite the stability of this feature in St. Ladislav's iconography, the fragmentarily-preserved figure of a holy king in Novo Mjesto Zelinsko, which is dated to the second quarter of the fourteenth century and represents a young, beardless saint placed under a three-lobed arcade on the middle register of the triumphal arch's northern side, was nonetheless identified with St. Ladislav (Fig. 3.9).³⁴⁶ The placing of the fragmentary figure in the proximity of the Legend of St. Ladislav on the upper registers of the adjoining, northern wall of the nave was unjustifiably considered as sufficient proof for the identification of the youthful holy king with St. Ladislav.³⁴⁷ However, the cults of the other two *sancti reges Hungariae* were equally popular in the same area during the first half of the fourteenth century³⁴⁸ and, given the pro-Angevin stance of the Knights Hospitaller who owned the

one of the three kings in the scene of the Adoration of the Magi, then St. Ladislav's identity is less probable for the standing holy king.

³⁴⁶ Ivan Srša, "Zidni oslici u lazi Crkve Sv. Petra u Novom Mjestu" [The wall paintings of St. Peter's Church in Novo Mjesto], in *Templari i njihovo naslijeđe. 800 godina od dolaska templara na Zemlju Sv. Martina* [The Templar Knights and their legacy. 800 years from the Templar Knights' arrival to the Land of St. Martin], ed. Mladen Houška (Sveti Ivan Zelina: Muzej Sv. Ivan Zelina, 2009), 40, 42; identification supported also by Cepetić, "Cult of St. Ladislav", 311.

³⁴⁷ For the discussion of another, ungrounded identification of the three *sancti reges Hungariae* in the same church, see n. 51. Unfortunately, no face of St. Ladislav survives in the neighboring narrative cycle which could serve as comparison for the iconic saintly ruler.

³⁴⁸ For lists of medieval churches dedicated to the three holy kings of Hungary individually, see Cepetić, "Cult of St. Ladislav", 312-315; for churches dedicated to St. Stephen, see Tajana Sekelj Ivančan, "Župna crkva ... *sancti Stephani*

church and probably commissioned the nave's decoration with frescoes,³⁴⁹ any Árpadian-Angevin holy king would be a suitable candidate for the identity of the fragmentary figure. Taking into account the holy king's youthful appearance, the identity of St. Emeric would seem more suitable for the fragmentary figure. In reality, however, this matter cannot be settled conveniently, as the Angevin St. Louis IX of France is as well represented as a young, beardless holy king in the murals of Chornotysiv (Fig. 3.1-3.2). The mature holy knight with dark beard, spurs, sword, atypical headgear (ducal hat?), and probably scepter, which was represented in the vanished murals on the northern pillar of the Cathedral Church in Pécs, dated hypothetically to the fifteenth century, was yet another, atypical figure of a holy king (Fig. 3.10).³⁵⁰



Fig. 3.10 – Watercolor representing a holy king (?) on the northern pillar of the Cathedral Church in Pécs. Photo Source: Szőnyi, “Pécsi székesegyház”

Fig. 3.11 – Holy king, first half of the 14th century, fresco, upper register of the eastern wall of the southern aisle, Reformed Church in Sic. Photo © The Author (May 2017)

This is impossible to identify now, as it is the fragmentarily-preserved holy king situated above the arch separating the southern aisle from the side chapel, which was recently brought to light in the church in Sic (Fig. 3.11). Based on its stylistic similarity with other frescoes found in the church's

regis circa Drauam – prilog tumačenju širenja ugarskoga političkog utjecaja južno od Drave. The Parish Church ... *sancti Stephani regis circa Drauam* – Contribution to the Interpretation of the Spread of Hungarian Political Influence South of the Drava”, *Prilozi Instituta za arheologiju u Zagrebu* 25 (2008), 97-118.

³⁴⁹ For the frescoes' commissioners, see: Cepetić, “Cult of St. Ladislav”, 308-315; Cepetić and Dujmović, “St Peter at Novo Mjesto Zelinsko”, 323-330.

³⁵⁰ Szőnyi, “Pécsi székesegyház”, 470.

sanctuary, this fragment is datable hypothetically to the first half of the fourteenth century. Dressed in court costume consisting of red mantle with white-fur inner side and white gloves with elongated cuffs, this figure holds a scepter and orb, but its missing head makes it a mysterious holy king.

In the majority of cases, the murals are in a bad state of preservation, the accompanying inscriptions are lost, and the holy kings have no specific, personal attributes. Normally, one should consider a number of additional evidence, such as the identity of the murals' commissioners, the church's dedication to a particular saint, the specificity of the iconographic context, etc., in order to determine the identity of a particular royal saint. However, such additional and clarifying information is missing most of the time, this fact making questionable these holy kings' previous identifications with the *sancti reges Hungariae*. These depictions of "unidentifiable" royal saints have been, therefore, excluded from the following discussion of iconographic features of the three holy kings of Hungary, which does not take into account the hypothetical representations either. However, reference is seldom made to the latter cases, whenever there is enough iconographic evidence, which passed unnoticed in previous scholarship and which can help one to suggest an identification for those holy kings.

The relatively great number of preserved murals forming the dissertation's corpus of pictorial evidence imposed their division into categories according to their iconographic characteristics. This was done for the purpose of facilitating the analysis, which focuses thus on problems and not on individual cases. However, the reference to the latter is not avoided, this being the reason of the catalogue of the mural paintings depicting the holy kings of Hungary. This catalogue represents the working tool of this analysis and a permanent reference point.³⁵¹ Many iconographic types/categories, however, present a series of notable exceptions or contaminations between iconographies, and one should acknowledge, therefore, the arbitrary character of such a typology or classification. Naturally, such iconographic sideslips are registered and further analyzed, but this is done when addressing one or another iconography. Due to their iconographic contaminations, some holy-king representations can be referred to several times throughout the

³⁵¹ The Catalogue of Murals consists of entries dedicated to most depictions of the three *sancti reges Hungariae* which are analyzed in the dissertation. Each entry includes a description and analysis of the representation, information about its place (location) inside the church, accounts of its iconographic context, the dating of the murals, and a selection of the most relevant titles dealing with the respective monument. The representations' dating was established usually after consulting the complete bibliography of the monument and as a consequence of its critical analysis; whenever previous dating hypotheses were considered unsatisfactory, new ones were attempted and, subsequently, proposed. Consequently, the information presented in the Catalogue of Murals is treated as common knowledge for the reader and, in order to avoid any unnecessary repetitions in the analysis, only references dealing with specific problems are offered throughout the text. In some cases, however, when the current opinion differs from that of previous scholars or when additional information is required, it is provided for it in the main text. Those titles encountered in the footnotes of the dissertation are quoted in the bibliographic entry of the catalogue in abbreviated form, and only those titles used for the first time in the catalogue are given in full; the complete information is repeated in the Bibliography of the dissertation.

analysis, depending on their immediate relevance within the discussion of a certain problem or iconographic type.

3. 2. General Iconographic Features in the Depiction of the Three *sancti reges Hungariae*

A significant number of murals (14) – Bardejov, Chimindia, Crișcior, Filea, Hrušov, Khust, Krásnohorské Podhradie, Napkor, Plešivec, Rattersdorf, Rákoš, Remetea, Ribița, and Tileagd – have similar iconography.³⁵² They display within the same iconographic unit the full, standing figures of the three holy kings of Hungary holding their specific attributes. The saints are either enclosed by a single decorative frame (Bardejov, Chimindia, Crișcior, Filea, Hrušov, Khust, Napkor, Plešivec, Rattersdorf, Rákoš, Remetea, Ribița, and Tileagd)³⁵³ or placed below arches supported by colonnettes (Krásnohorské Podhradie and Tileagd).³⁵⁴ Additionally, architectural elements (e.g., buttresses, cornices, windows, and pillars) define the isolating frame of the representations in Bardejov, Rákoš, Tileagd, and probably Bijacovce. In all these cases, the three saints clearly belong to a single group, which indicates that they were conceived as an independent composition. The figures are usually placed in a neutral setting, which consists of a ground of earth-like color (various shades of ochre, red, or green) on which the three holy kings stand, and a

³⁵² One can add hypothetically to this list the murals in Bijacovce and Kameňany. In Bijacovce, there are only two holy kings preserved or visible, but the depiction presents a similar iconographic context (Sts Stephen and Ladislav are situated in the same row with the standing apostles) and position (side wall of the sanctuary, close to the triumphal arch) with the holy kings' depiction in Rákoš. One can contemplate the idea that in Bijacovce, too, St. Emeric was originally depicted on the pillar of the triumphal arch adjoining the sanctuary wall, i.e., like in Rákoš. The restorers' recent testing revealed that there is still painted decoration hidden under whitewash on the sanctuary's northern wall, but this testing was not yet extended on the northern pillar's neighboring wall. Currently, in Kameňany, only the standing figure of a holy king is partially visible under the whitewash layer that covers in great extent the sanctuary's walls. Although the first testing was made by restorers in 1977, it is only recently (2012) that the frescoes' uncovering has been initiated; however, judging by the works' stage in October 2016, when I undertook a personal field research, there is still a long way until the murals will be completely uncovered, conserved, and restored. Stylistically, the murals in Kameňany are closely related to the ones in Rákoš, with whom they share also an important iconographic feature, namely, the holy kings' integration into the row of standing apostles in the sanctuary. Both churches have been part of the estate of the Bebek family, whose members were major supporters of the cult of the *sancti reges Hungariae*, and it is highly possible that in Kameňany the currently-visible holy king was part of the usual trio of Hungarian holy rulers. For the representation in Bijacovce and its iconographic context, see the relevant entry in the Catalogue of Murals; for the representation in Kameňany, see below.

³⁵³ The decorative frame of the holy kings' scene in Crișcior, Hrušov, and Plešivec survives only partially, but one can assume that, in these cases, too, the frame surrounded completely the three standing figures, isolating them from the neighboring representations. See the relevant entries in the Catalogue of Murals.

³⁵⁴ In Krásnohorské Podhradie, the series of arcades seems to continue after St. Ladislav's figure on the right (eastern) side, but the three holy kings are currently the only image exposed inside the church, so one cannot be sure whether other figures were included or not in the composition. However, in Tileagd, the isolation of the scene between the nave's medieval windows (now closed up) shows that there was no room for other saints to be depicted along with Hungary's three holy kings. See the relevant entries in the Catalogue of Murals.

background of sky-like color (blue)³⁵⁵ which defines the characters' silhouettes. Other elements occur sometimes, too, such as minimal suggestions of architecture (a medium-height wall in Bardejov, and arcades in Krásnohorské Podhradie and Tileagd), patterned decoration (a stencil pattern of four red lilies in Chimindia), or miniature plants on the ground (Rattersdorf and Rákoš). Certainly, these elements serve a purely decorative purpose. The bad and fragmentary state of preservation of some of these murals is characterized, on the one hand, by the fading out of many important details (e.g., Bijacovce, Chimindia, Hrušov, Kameňany, Khust, Napkor, Plešivec, Rákoš, Rattersdorf, Remetea, Ribița, and Tileagd) and, on the other hand, by the partial loss of one or two figures (Chimindia, Crișcior, Hrušov, Khust, Napkor, Plešivec, Remetea, Ribița, Tileagd, and probably Bijacovce).³⁵⁶ Additionally, the murals in Bardejov and Filea have vanished and can be known only from more or less detailed drawings, watercolors, and written accounts.³⁵⁷ All these elements make sometimes difficult the evaluation of the murals, but the scenes' treatment as a single iconographic unit can be safely assumed in the majority of cases.

The standing figures of the three holy kings are depicted conventionally.³⁵⁸ they are represented frontally and have hieratical and static attitudes, in accordance with the rules of iconic conception of image. Only seldom do the holy kings have emphatic gestures: for instance, on the one hand, in Crișcior and probably Ribița, St. Ladislav is depicted in a war-like posture, his arm being raised above his head as for striking with his battle axe; on the other hand, in Khust and Remetea, the right arm of the holy knight is positioned perpendicularly to his body, but in both cases the holy king's attribute is lost.³⁵⁹ Judging by the great number of similar depictions, even the individual treatment of the three characters – the old and white-bearded King St. Stephen; the young, beardless (King) St. Emeric; and the mature, bearded King St. Ladislav – points out to the

³⁵⁵ Only in Bardejov, Hrušov, Kameňany, Rattersdorf, and Ribița, the uniform background has different shades of yellow, ochre, or red.

³⁵⁶ The murals in Crișcior, Napkor, Plešivec, and Ribița are completely uncovered and great part of the figures of St. Ladislav in Crișcior and Ribița, of St. Stephen in Napkor, and of St. Emeric in Plešivec are almost completely lost. The holy kings in Hrušov and Kameňany are partially whitewashed and one can expect new information to occur after the murals' uncovering, cleaning, and restoration. The murals in Bijacovce show only two holy kings, but their already-mentioned similarity with the frescoes in Rákoš might indicate that a third figure was either whitewashed or lost. For Kameňany, see: Radocsay, *Középkori Magyarország falképei*, 160; Kerny, "Magyar szent királyok középkori kompozíciói a templomok külső falain", 86; for photographs of these murals, see <http://apsida.sk/c/3192/kamenany> (accessed 10 February 2017). For the other cases, see the relevant entries in the Catalogue of Murals.

³⁵⁷ The secondary evidence for the murals in Bardejov is quite detailed, but the drawings of the murals in Filea are rather sketchy and not completely reliable. For the indirect evidence concerning both monuments, see nn. 60 and 62.

³⁵⁸ Năstăsioiu, "*Sancti reges Hungariae*", 45-55; idem, "Political Aspects", 100-106.

³⁵⁹ Lángi, "Szent László ábrázolásairól", 197, has pointed out to this peculiar detail in St. Ladislav's depiction in Khust and Remetea. In Ragály, the holy knight holds the battle axe in his right hand which is positioned at 45° from his body, a position which is similar with that of St. Ladislav on Queen Mary's third majestic seal. For this seal, see Cat. No. I.21 in Christopher Mielke, "Every Hyacinth the Garden Wears: The Material Culture of Medieval Queens of Hungary (1000-1395)", PhD Diss. (Budapest: Central European University, 2017), 421-422. Since the battle axe is St. Ladislav's *sine-qua-non* attribute, it is very likely that in Khust and Remetea, too, the holy knight held originally the same weapon.

royal saints' conventional depiction at the three ages of kingship. This was probably influenced by the iconography of the Three Magi, which shows as well the three kings and wise men at old, mature, and young age, respectively.³⁶⁰ Terézia Kerny has suggested that a first impulse for such an iconographic development might have occurred in 1189, when Emperor Frederick I Barbarossa (r. 1155-1190) passed through Hungary on his way to the Holy Land and probably offered a piece from the relics of the Three Magi to King Béla III (r. 1172-1196).³⁶¹ The Hungarian king – who was also the initiator of St. Ladislás' canonization in 1192 for that matter – might have used the model of the Three Magi, which illustrated the idea of divine origin of royal power, for developing the cult of the three *sancti reges Hungariae*.³⁶² Anyway, another excellent opportunity for associating the holy rulers' two cults was provided for by the joint Angevin-Luxemburg pilgrimage of 1357, when the Dowager Queen Elizabeth Piast visited, among other important cult centers, also the Cathedral in Cologne, which housed the shrine with the relics of the Three Magi. As it was shown earlier, this pilgrimage had as direct consequence the foundation in Aachen by King Louis the Great of a Hungarian Chapel dedicated precisely to Hungary's three holy kings (before 1366). Only in Krásnohorské Podhradie and possibly Plešivec,³⁶³ St. Stephen is depicted as a mature, brown-bearded holy king but, in the great majority of cases, he is either white- or grey-haired. St. Emeric was always depicted without a beard and at young age, but the color of his hair varies: either blond (Khust, Napkor, Rattersdorf, and possibly Ribița) or brown (Bardejov, Crișcior, Krásnohorské Podhradie, Rákoš, and Remetea). St. Ladislás appears beardless only in Krásnohorské Podhradie, but this is an exception, as the holy knight is depicted in all the other cases as a mature king with either brown or dark hair and beard. The three characters are sometimes depicted wearing different costumes: full-plate armor for St. Ladislás, patterned mantle for St. Stephen, and long coat with white-fur lining for St. Emeric in Bardejov; long robes and mantles differently ornamented for Sts Emeric and Stephen, and armor with chest plate, coat of mail, and helmet for St. Ladislás in Krásnohorské Podhradie; and full-plate armor for St. Ladislás, medium-length tunic with belt and valuable ermine mantle for St. Stephen, and long tunic for St. Emeric in Rattersdorf. In all other

³⁶⁰ Ernő Marosi, "A XIV-XV. századi magyarországi művészet európai helyzetének néhány kérdése" [Some questions regarding 14th- and 15th-century Hungarian art in European context], *Ars Hungarica* 1 (1973), 34-36; Kerny, "Magyar szent királyok XIV. sz.", 75-76; eadem, "Magyar szent királyok XIII-XVII. sz.", 90.

³⁶¹ Eadem, "Magyar szent királyok XIV. sz.", 75-76.

³⁶² For the gradual transformation of the three wise men into holy kings between the tenth and twelfth centuries, see Mathieu Beaud, "Les Rois mages. Iconographie et art monumental dans l'espace féodal (Xe-XIIe siècle)", *Bulletin du centre d'études médiévales d'Auxerre BUCEMA* 17/1 (2013), available online at <http://cem.revues.org/13079> (accessed 27 November 2017).

³⁶³ Its exposure to the elements and to a mid-sixteenth century fire make the outer-wall fresco in Plešivec to be evaluated with difficulty: only the painters' preparatory incisions on the *intonaco* layer, the figures' outline, and faint traces of color are currently visible. St. Stephen's central figure seems to have brown hair and beard, but this cannot be stated with certainty. For this case, see the relevant entry in the Catalogue of Murals.

cases, however, the costumes of the three characters are rendered similarly and only their colors vary, a fact which supports the idea of uniform and standardized depiction in the iconography of the three *sancti reges Hungariae*. Only in Chimindia, are all three holy kings depicted in elegant court costumes composed of long, patterned robes with precious belts, patterned mantles, white gloves with elongated cuffs, and pointed shoes.³⁶⁴ In Khust, Plešivec, Rákoš, Remetea, Tileagd,³⁶⁵ and probably also in Hrušov, Kameňany, and Napkor,³⁶⁶ all three holy kings are represented equally as knights wearing different types of armor. The full-plate armors of the holy kings in Khust, Plešivec, and Tileagd have nicely-decorated pauldrons, couters, and poleyns which protect their joints; the holy kings in Plešivec, Rákoš, and Tileagd have chainmail shirts underneath their coat armors; whereas short and tight coat armors are worn over their armors by the holy kings in Rákoš, Remetea, and Tileagd.³⁶⁷ The costumes of the holy kings in Crișcior and Ribița have hybrid character, displaying a combination of both courtly and knightly elements; this fact was most likely owed to the partial understanding by the painters of Byzantine tradition of the holy kings' Western costumes, which were somehow unfamiliar to them.³⁶⁸ In Crișcior, Filea, Khust, Plešivec, and Ribița, all three holy kings have daggers hanging down their belts, whereas swords are attached to all saintly rulers' belts only in the murals in Rákoš and Remetea.³⁶⁹ Additionally, all three *sancti reges Hungariae* in Crișcior, Khust, Ribița, and probably Hrušov, only St. Ladislav in Remetea, and only St. Stephen in Plešivec prop shields against the ground.³⁷⁰ In some of these cases, the shields

³⁶⁴ The holy kings' gowns in the vanished murals in Filea seem to be equally court costumes (long tunics for Sts Ladislav and Stephen, and medium-length one for St. Emeric), but they seem to have armor elements underneath. However, the witnessing drawing is sketchy and not completely reliable. For this indirect evidence and its critical exam, see the relevant entry in the Catalogue of Murals.

³⁶⁵ The costume details of the three holy kings in Tileagd are not visible today. Their short tunics with belt, fringed coats of mail, and metal knee and elbow protectors with iron gloves are currently preserved in the general lines of the drawing and in the large surfaces of color, but they can be reconstructed with the help of József Huszka's watercolors made in July 1892, i.e., before the murals' unfaithful restoration. These copies are also important witnesses of the restoration practice in the late-nineteenth century, when the destroyed faces of St. Ladislav and St. Emeric were re-created according to the iconographic convention of the three ages of kingship, namely: a new, brown-bearded face for St. Ladislav, and a beardless one for the young, blonde St. Emeric. For these watercolors, see Fejős, *Huszka József*, 44-45. For the other holy kings' armors, see the relevant entries in the Catalogue of Murals.

³⁶⁶ The holy kings' costumes are either greatly destroyed (Napkor and Hrušov) or still covered by whitewash (Kameňany and Hrušov). However, judging by the few details which are hardly visible, one can assume hypothetically that in these three cases, too, the *sancti reges Hungariae* were depicted as holy knights. For these costumes, see the relevant entries in the Catalogue of Murals.

³⁶⁷ In Plešivec and Remetea, the coat armors have the same color for all three holy kings. However, it is only in Tileagd that the coat armors have different colors: either grey, light blue, or green for St. Ladislav, dark blue for St. Stephen, and red for St. Emeric. For these costumes, see the relevant entries in the Catalogue of Murals.

³⁶⁸ This aspect is addressed in detail in the chapter dedicated to the Orthodox representations of the *sancti reges Hungariae*.

³⁶⁹ In Hrušov, a sword is attached to St. Ladislav's belt, but the mural is so poorly preserved that it is impossible to know whether the other two holy kings had or not similar weapons. In Rattersdorf, it is only St. Stephen who does not have sword. For these examples, see the relevant entries in the Catalogue of Murals.

³⁷⁰ In Hrušov, Sts Ladislav and Emeric are surely depicted with shields, but St. Stephen's figure is partially covered by whitewash, so one cannot know for the time being whether this detail is or not present. Out of the two visible figures in Plešivec (i.e., Ladislav and Stephen), only the latter has shield. Despite the military appearance of all three figures in

are decorated either with a red cross (Crișcior, Remetea, and Ribița) or with a red cross on a background composed of red-and-white, horizontal stripes (Khust). The pronounced knightly outlook of some these compositions is further emphasized by the already-mentioned, war-like pose of St. Ladislav in Crișcior (and probably Ribița), or the hypothetical, ostentatious display of St. Ladislav's attribute in Khust and Remetea. All these weaponry elements contribute to the overall military and knightly appearance of the three *sancti reges Hungariae* which, judging by the number of preserved examples (Crișcior, Khust, Plešivec, Rákoš, Remetea, Ribița, Tileagd, and possibly Hrušov, Kameňany, and Napkor), was far more popular than their courtly (Chimindia and probably Filea) or mixed (Bardejov, Krásnohorské Podhradie, and Rattersdorf) iconographic variants.

The collection of attributes is the traditional one, referring to important events in the life of each saint: the battle-axe (Bijacovce, Filea, Plešivec, Rákoš, Rattersdorf, and probably Crișcior and Ribița) or halberd (Bardejov and Krásnohorské Podhradie) is a memento of St. Ladislav's bravery in fighting the pagan invaders and defending his country;³⁷¹ whereas the lily-shaped scepter (Krásnohorské Podhradie, Remetea, Tileagd, and probably Rattersdorf) or lily (Bardejov, Chimindia, Hrušov, Rákoš, Khust, and probably Napkor) recalls St. Emeric's chastity and pure life.³⁷² St. Stephen is depicted without personal attributes, but the (crucifer) orb and scepter³⁷³ he is holding in most of the cases symbolize his royal dignity. Only in the drawing copying the vanished murals in Filea is St. Emeric shown holding a battle axe larger even than St. Ladislav's. However, this indirect visual evidence should be taken with caution, as this would be the only representation of the holy prince with such an atypical attribute.³⁷⁴ Another attempt to standardize the depiction of the three characters is their equal investing with royal *insignia* (i.e., crown, crucifer orb, and scepter). A differentiation is, nonetheless, perceivable in the case of St. Emeric, as he is sometimes depicted wearing a ducal hat (Rattersdorf), probably a diadem (Remetea), or had no headgear at all (Bardejov). Most of the time, however, he holds the orb (Filea, Rákoš, Remetea, Tileagd, and

Remetea, it is only St. Ladislav who props a white shield against the ground and, although this is greatly destroyed, minor traces of red paint indicate that it was decorated with a red cross. For these shields, see the relevant entries in the Catalogue of Murals.

³⁷¹ In the remaining cases, St. Ladislav's attribute is no longer preserved (Chimindia, Hrušov, Khust, Napkor, Remetea, Ribița, and Tileagd) or currently not visible (Kameňany).

³⁷² St. Emeric's attribute is no longer preserved in Plešivec, or not yet visible in Kameňany.

³⁷³ In the majority of cases, the scepter has mace-like shape (Chimindia, Filea, Napkor, Plešivec, Rákoš, Rattersdorf, Remetea, and Tileagd). Its ending is sometimes an elegant, Gothic flower (Bardejov), has the shape of an x (Bijacovce), or resembles a blooming branch (Crișcior and Ribița – however, the latter attribute is held by St. Emeric, too, in these murals). Only in Krásnohorské Podhradie and Khust is the scepter missing, St. Stephen's hand being busy with propping a shield against the ground in the latter monument.

³⁷⁴ One can easily assume that this peculiarity was probably a mix-up from the part of Károly Gulyás, who recorded sketchily the vanished murals in 1897, i.e., shortly before the church's demolishing the very same year. These drawings are published in Jánó, *Szinek és legendák*, 102-104, fig. 52. Unfortunately, József Huszka's more detailed watercolors, made in 1882, copied only the Legend of St. Ladislav, but not the depiction of the three holy kings; for these watercolors, see: idem, *Huszka József*, 26, fig. 10; Fejős, *Huszka József*, fig. 67. See also the relevant entry in the Catalogue of Murals.

probably Chimindia and Napkor), whereas the lily is replaced by a stylized, lily-shaped scepter (Krásnohorské Podhradie, Rattersdorf, Remetea, and Tileagd) – these are indications that St. Emeric, too, was depicted like the other two holy kings in a royal hypostasis. In Bardejov, Plešivec, Rattersdorf, and probably Kameňany, St. Emeric props somehow ostentatiously a sword against the ground.



Fig. 3.12 – Feast-day side of the Altar of the Dormition of the Holy Virgin with the standing figures of Sts Stephen and Ladislav (left wing) and Sts Emeric and John the Almsgiver (right wing), ca 1490, 114 x 77 cm, wood, tempera, St. Martin's Cathedral, Spišská Kapitula. Photo Source: <http://www.meryratio.hu>

This detail, which seems rather surprising for the chaste, young prince, is in fact a consistent trait of his iconography appearing also in the murals in Sălărd³⁷⁵ and a number of late-fifteenth century winged altarpieces: e.g., St. Martin's Altar, ca 1478 (Fig. 3.17) and the Altar of the Dormition of the Holy Virgin, ca 1490 (Fig. 3.12), both in Spišská Kapitula;³⁷⁶ St. Catherine of Alexandria's Altar in Turany (Hung. *Turány*) / Spišský Štvrtok (Germ. *Donnersmark*, Hung. *Csütörtökhely*), ca 1490

³⁷⁵ For Sălărd fresco, see Gyula Borzási and Tamás Emödi, *Szalárd: Református templom* [Sălărd: Reformed church] (Kolozsvár [Cluj-Napoca]: Utilitas Könyvkiadó, 1996).

³⁷⁶ For St. Martin's Altar, see nn. 335-336. For the Dormition Altar, see: Dénes Radocsay, *A középkori Magyarország táblaképei* [Panel painting of medieval Hungary] (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1955), 439, with bibliography; Gábor Méry and Marcell Jankovics, *A szepeshelyi Szent Márton-székesegyház* [Saint Martin's Cathedral Church in Spišská Kapitula] (Somorja [Šamorín]: Méry Ratio, 2010), 91-92. One can easily notice the similarity between St. Emeric's depictions in this altar and in Bardejov, the former serving thus as an iconographic analogy for the vanished murals.

(Fig. 3.27);³⁷⁷ or the Holy Virgin's Altar in Arnutovce (Germ. *Emaus*, Hung. *Arnótfalva*), 1490s (Fig. 3.28).³⁷⁸ In what St. Ladislav is concerned, he is sometimes depicted holding the orb, but never the scepter, which is replaced by his personal attribute, i.e., the axe. Regarding the position of the three *sancti reges Hungariae* in the composition, one can easily note the tendency to place centrally St. Stephen, having St. Ladislav on his right and St. Emeric on his left (Bardejov, Chimindia, Filea, Khust, Krásnohorské Podhradie, Napkor, Plešivec, Rattersdorf, Rákoš, Remetea, and Tileagd), but the holy king's position inside the composition seldom varies.³⁷⁹ Noteworthy is also the three saints' undifferentiated depiction as holy kings. In reality, due to his death at young age and despite his father's intention to have his son as his follower, St. Emeric did not manage to succeed King Stephen I on the throne and never ruled as King of Hungary. In these murals, he is depicted, nonetheless, as one of the three *sancti reges Hungariae*, a fact which should not be understood as a reflection of St. Emeric's alleged status of Junior King of Hungary,³⁸⁰ as this institution appeared more than two centuries after the prince's death.³⁸¹ It is rather an idealized projection of sacred rulership which gathered all the male, saintly representatives of Hungarian kingship, regardless of their actual political or historical role, in order to guarantee, through as many as possible sacred protectors or intercessors, the good course of things for both the country and its rulers.

The scene of Hungary's three holy kings has no specific place within the church and it can be equally encountered in the nave (Chimindia, Crișcior, Filea, Hrušov, Khust, Krásnohorské Podhradie, Napkor, Ribița, and Tileagd),³⁸² the sanctuary (Bijacovce, Kameňany, Rákoš, Rattersdorf, and Remetea),³⁸³ and exterior decoration (Bardejov and Plešivec).³⁸⁴ In all these

³⁷⁷ For this altar, see below.

³⁷⁸ For this altar, see below.

³⁷⁹ In Hrušov, Crișcior, and Ribița, it is St. Emeric who is in the middle. Using a common iconographic prototype, the Orthodox representations of the three *sancti reges Hungariae* have St. Stephen on the left and St. Ladislav on the right; however, in Hrušov, it is St. Ladislav who is depicted on the left side. For these representations, see the relevant entries in the Catalogue of Murals.

³⁸⁰ Péter, "Árpádházi Szent István", 42-43, 45.

³⁸¹ Győző Bruckner, *A királyi hercegi intézmény (ducatus) és az ifjabb királyság (rex iunior)* [The institutions of the Royal Prince (ducatus) and Junior King (rex iunior)] (Miskolc: Ludvig Ny., 1934).

³⁸² Southern wall of the nave – Chimindia and Crișcior (lower register), and Tileagd (middle register); northern wall of the nave – Filea, Khust, and Ribița (lower register), and Krásnohorské Podhradie (probably the upper register); western wall of the nave – Hrušov (upper register); eastern wall of the nave – Napkor (lower register, southern side of the triumphal arch). See also the relevant entries in the Catalogue of Murals.

³⁸³ The position on walls can differ, but the scene is always placed in the first register above the decorative hanging curtains: northern wall – Bijacovce and Rattersdorf; southern wall – Rákoš; north-eastern side of the sanctuary – Kameňany and Remetea.

³⁸⁴ Bardejov – southern façade, above one of the entrances to the church, on the first level of the tower; Plešivec – southern façade of the sanctuary. The holy kings' representation on the outer walls of medieval churches has been examined recently by Kerny, "Magyar szent királyok a templomok külső falain", 81-88, where a series of other examples were considered hypothetically: southern wall of the sacristy of the cathedral church in Zagreb (vanished mural, second half of the thirteenth century); western side of the nave's northern wall of the church in Ghelintă (first half of the fourteenth century); western wall of the church in Óriszentpéter (first half of the fifteenth century); and southern wall of the nave of the church in Sântana de Mureș (late-fourteenth century). However, these fresco fragments

situations, the beholders' access to the representation of the three *sancti reges Hungariae* was not hindered in any way. The scene enjoyed, thus, high degrees of visibility, reaching the greatest audience through its placing on the church's outer walls or on the nave's different walls. In the former case, the churches in Bardejov and Plešivec were situated in the towns' market squares and the holy kings of Hungary could be seen by all passersby, whereas in the latter case the nave represented the place where the large community of faithful gathered during religious service. Additionally, the nave's northern wall offered a generous surface for painted decoration, as it was usually devoid of window and door openings; in those cases when the entrance to the church was situated oppositely to the wall decorated with the *sancti reges Hungariae* (Crișcior and Khust),³⁸⁵ one can infer that the image enjoyed a privileged place, as it was one of the first things one could see upon entering the church. Being a space destined to a number of selected people (i.e., the clergy and the family members of the church's founders or patrons), the sanctuary offered, nonetheless, a fair degree of visibility for the scene of the three holy kings, as the access to this space was not usually restricted to the common faithful. Moreover, the southern side of the sanctuary was usually the place where the church's founder and his family attended religious service and, subsequently, the placing of the *sancti reges Hungariae* on the sanctuary's southern wall (Rákoš) could express additional, personal links between the image of the three Hungarian saintly rulers and its commissioner(s).³⁸⁶ The commissioners were, naturally, aware of all these facts and probably asked for their commission to be placed accordingly, depending equally on its degree of visibility, the message it was supposed to convey, and the available, undecorated space. Another possible explanation for the absence of a specific place in the economy of the iconographic program would be that the iconic type which the depiction of the three holy kings of Hungary belongs to,³⁸⁷ was suitable for decorating any kind of wall surface, either narrow – i.e., the southern side of the triumphal arch (Napkor), in-between the triumphal arch and the sanctuary's window (Rákoš), or in-between two windows (Tileagd) – or generous (i.e., the nave's large walls in Chimindia, Crișcior, Filea, Hrušov, Khust, and Krásnohorské Podhradie). The lack of available space inside the church

are so poorly preserved, that their identification as depictions of the three *sancti reges Hungariae* is highly problematic, making some of the study's observations and conclusions highly hypothetical.

³⁸⁵ The original access to the church in Crișcior was situated on the western side of the nave's northern wall, i.e., precisely opposite to the holy kings' representation, which is situated on the western side of the nave's southern wall. For this door which is currently walled up, see Ecaterina Cincheza-Buculei, "Date noi privind pictura bisericii din Crișcior (sfârșitul secolului al XIV-lea)" [New data concerning the painting of the church in Crișcior (end of the 14th century)], *Studii și Cercetări de Istoria Artei. Seria Artă Plastică* 25 (1978), 40. For the two medieval doors of the church in Khust still existing in their original place, i.e., the western and southern walls of the nave, see Lángi, "Huszt (Xycr)", 111-112, fig. 3, 5-9.

³⁸⁶ This personal link between the images of the *sancti reges Hungariae* and their commissioners is explored later together with examples belonging to other iconographic types (e.g., Keszthely, Mălâncrav, Rákoš, etc.).

³⁸⁷ For the distinction between iconic and narrative, see especially: Sixten Ringbom, *Icon to Narrative. The Rise of the Dramatic Close-up in Fifteenth-century Devotional Painting* (Doornspijk: Davaco, 1983).

might have determined the depiction of the *sancti reges Hungariae* on the church's outer walls,³⁸⁸ although it is more likely that this privileged space was preferred, as it will be shown later, for communicating publicly ideological messages. The iconographic context of the representation of the three holy kings is either completely lost (Plešivec), has survived only in minor extent (Chimindia, Napkor, and Rattersdorf) or, for the time being, it can be known only partially (Hrušov, Krásnohorské Podhradie, and Tileagd).³⁸⁹ In other cases, the representation of Hungary's holy kings was placed next to various other saints and scenes, but one can no longer grasp whether there was or not a conceptual or intentional motivation leading to such spatial proximities: St. Christopher in Bardejov;³⁹⁰ an earlier, fragmentary composition of the Last Judgment in Chimindia;³⁹¹ the *Virgo lactans* and St. Ladislav's Legend in Filea;³⁹² *Noli me tangere* (?) and St. Helena with the Holy Cross in Khust; and probably the Coronation of the Virgin and a holy monk in Tileagd.³⁹³ However, in the remaining cases, an obvious relationship seems to have been established between the three *sancti reges Hungariae* and particular representations: on the one hand, the *ktetors'* votive composition, the military saints on horse, and St. Helena in the scene of the Discovery of the Holy Cross (Crișcior and Ribița) and, on the other hand, the Holy Apostles depicted on the walls of the sanctuary (Bijacovce, Kameňany, Rákoš, and Remetea).³⁹⁴

³⁸⁸ Kerny, "Magyar szent királyok a templomok külső falain", 84.

³⁸⁹ Although in Plešivec minor traces of frescoes are noticeable also on the nave's southern façade, these are greatly illegible now, partly due to their exposure to the elements, partly due to a mid-sixteenth century fire, which affected also the representation of Hungary's holy kings, turning it into shades of ochre. The decoration in Chimindia, Napkor, and Rattersdorf survives in minor degree, so that one can no longer reconstruct coherently the iconographic context of the holy kings' representation. The restorers' testing in Hrušov, Krásnohorské Podhradie, and Tileagd indicates that there are still frescoed areas around the scene of the holy kings, which still await their exploration. For the iconographic contexts of these cases, see the relevant entries in the Catalogue of Murals.

³⁹⁰ St. Christopher was often depicted on the façades of medieval Catholic churches, his oversized figure being perceivable from great distance and having protective function against sudden death: Drăguț, "Iconografia picturilor", 28-30; idem, "Picturi murale exterioare în Transilvania medievală" [Exterior mural paintings in medieval Transylvania], *Studii și Cercetări de Istoria Artei. Seria Artă Plastică* 12/1 (1965), 75-102. For the association between the images of the *sancti reges Hungariae* and St. Christopher, see below.

³⁹¹ For the church's different phases of decoration, see below.

³⁹² The association between the Holy Virgin and Hungary's holy kings, either separately or collectively, in the context of the *Patrona Hungariae* is a late-medieval iconographic development; for this aspect, see below. However, judging by the Virgin's nursing hypostasis, it was not the Marian patronage of Hungary which was regarded in the murals in Filea. Due to its great popularity during the fourteenth-fifteenth centuries, St. Ladislav's narrative cycle appears in many of the churches where the three *sancti reges Hungariae* are depicted: e.g., Bijacovce, Filea, Rákoš, and Remetea. One can add to this list also the representations of Hungarian holy kings belonging to other iconographic types: e.g., Pădureni, Turniște, Žehra, and probably Rimavská Baňa. For St. Ladislav's Legend, see n. 40. However, the iconic and narrative representations of Hungarian holy kings appear usually in different places inside the church, so one cannot establish a direct iconographic relationship between them, other than an utmost veneration of St. Ladislav; for this aspect see below.

³⁹³ Even though the representations found in the immediate proximity of the *sancti reges Hungariae* are currently whitewashed or destroyed in great extent, one can obtain this information from Huszka József's 1892 watercolors, Fejős, *Huszka József*, figs. 40-45. For the murals' iconographic context, see also the relevant entry in the Catalogue of Murals.

³⁹⁴ Both iconographic associations are addressed elsewhere in the dissertation.

Generally, the depiction of the three *sancti reges Hungariae* within a single composition is characterized by the conventional rendering of the characters at the three ages of kingship, and by the strong tendency to unify the figures' appearance. This is achieved by representing all of them in similar costumes (i.e., variations of either knightly or, more rarely, courtly elements), or by equally investing them with royal insignia (i.e., crown, scepter, and orb). The rigid and static attitudes of the three saints confer to the entire composition a solemn and official air, emphasizing thus the saints' royal status. The great majority of examples illustrating this iconographic type occurred after the moment when the analysis of the textual evidence indicated the emergence of the political concept of the three *sancti reges Hungariae*, namely, after the middle of the fourteenth century.³⁹⁵ Several murals were produced probably throughout the second half of this century: e.g., Filea (ca 1350) and Rattersdorf (1370-1380); however, these murals' dating is not easy to ascertain, due to the paintings' vanishing or their bad state of preservation, respectively, and also due to the indirect witness' inaccuracy or to the murals' extremely provincial character, respectively. Few of them were created during the first decades of the sixteenth century – e.g., Hrušov (1519) and Bardejov (1521) –, a fact which proves the long-lasting nature of this iconographic type. However, the great majority of the murals showing the three *sancti reges Hungariae* within a single composition occurred around 1400 – either during the last decade of the fourteenth century (e.g., Kameňany, Krásnohorské Podhradie, Plešivec, and Rákoš) or the first decades of the fifteenth century (Chimindia, Crișcior, Khust, Napkor, Remetea, Ribița, and Tileagd). This fact attests to the great popularity of this theme in a particular time period, namely, the turn of the fifteenth century, and this phenomenon requires further investigation.

As noted earlier, a significant number of murals depicting the three *sancti reges Hungariae* within a single composition is characterized by the holy kings' equal transformation into holy knights and defenders of Christian faith (Khust, Plešivec, Rákoš, Remetea, Tileagd, and probably Crișcior and Ribița), although only St. Ladislav is known for having truly played such role. As noted many times earlier by Terézia Kerny, Annamária Kovács, and Tünde Wehli in connection with St. Ladislav's military costume in the context of the holy knight's narrative cycle,³⁹⁶ his

³⁹⁵ For the murals' dating, see the relevant entries in the Catalogue of Murals.

³⁹⁶ Terézia Kerny, "Keresztény lovagoknak oszlopa (Művészettörténeti adalékok a kerlési ütközet ábrázolásaihoz)" [Column of Christian knights (Art-historical remarks on the representation of the Battle of Chiraleș)], in László, *Szent László-legenda*, 213-226, esp. p. 215; Annamária Kovács, "Costumes as Symbols of Warrior Sainthood: The Pictorial Representation of the Legend of Saint Ladislav in Hungary", *Annual of Medieval Studies at CEU* 6 (2000), 145-162, esp. p. 146; Tünde Wehli, "Szent László viselete középkori ábrázolásain" [Saint Ladislav's apparel in medieval depictions], *A Hadtörténeti Múzeum Értésítője* 4 (2001), 45-51. See also Miroslav Huťka, "Reflexia rytierstva v stredovekej sakrálnej ikonografii na Slovensku" [The reflection of knighthood in medieval sacral iconography in Slovakia], in *Rytierstvo element v živote stredovekého človeka. Zborník príspevkov z rovnímenného sympózia Trnava, 5.-7. novembra 2004* [The chivalric element in the life of the medieval man. Proceedings of the homonymous symposium, Trnava, 5-7 November 2004], ed. Jozef Meliš (Trnava: Kon-Press, 2005), 68-88. The holy kings' costumes

armored depiction had always followed closely European fashion trends. Most often than not, St. Ladislás is represented wearing the most up-to-date dress and weaponry of the period, as it befitted the holy knight's military prowess and spirit of justice. These were two of the chivalric values excellently embodied by the holy king, who is presented as *defensor indefessus et athleta patriae* in the hagiographical and liturgical sources produced on him at the turn of the thirteenth century.³⁹⁷ The prominent knightly appearance of all three *sancti reges Hungariae* in these murals finds partially its motivation in the strong revival of chivalric culture, which characterized the Kingdom of Hungary throughout the fourteenth century.³⁹⁸ Originating at the court of King Louis the Great (r. 1342-1382), who was the embodiment of the ideal "knight king" for that matter,³⁹⁹ the strong chivalric component continued to characterize medieval culture and art produced also during the reign of King Sigismund of Luxemburg (r. 1387-1437).⁴⁰⁰ The already-mentioned statues of the three *sancti reges Hungariae* together with St. Ladislás' equestrian hypostasis in Oradea Mare, which have been commissioned around 1370 and 1390, respectively, and were displayed until 1660 in front of the cathedral's western façade (Fig. 2.19-2.20), were probably one of the first examples showing Sts Stephen, Emeric, and Ladislás both as holy knights in armors and as holy kings with royal insignia. Their uniform, knightly and royal appearance represented probably an influential model for the murals which depicted indistinctly the three *sancti reges Hungariae* as holy knights. These murals occurred between the late-fourteenth and the early-fifteenth century, that is, in a period characterized, among others, by the Ottomans' more-than-ever menacing advance, which first reached Hungary in 1389. The following failure of the crusader army to oppose the Turks during the Battle of Nicopolis (25 September 1396) subsequently exposed Hungary year after year to the Ottomans' plundering raids.⁴⁰¹ Most likely, the uniform depiction as knights of the three *sancti reges Hungariae* was also a consequence of these troubled times.⁴⁰² Additionally, the decoration of their shields with crosses (Khust, Remetea, Crișcior, and Ribița) was meant to evoke

are described throughout the Catalogue of Murals, where this type of information is sometimes used as evidence for dating those murals which lack other type of information necessary for framing them chronologically.

³⁹⁷ Klaniczay, "Image cheveresque", 56-58.

³⁹⁸ Kurcz, *Lovagi kultúra Magyarországon*. For various aspects of knightly life in medieval Hungary, see László Veszprémy, *Lovagvilág Magyarországon. Lovagok, keresztesek, hadmérnökök a középkori Magyarországon. Válogatott tanulmányok* [Knightly world in Hungary. Knights, crusaders, and military engineers in medieval Hungary. Selected studies] (Budapest: Argumentum, 2008); for chivalric life in medieval Europe, see Werner Paravicini, *Die ritterlich-höfische Kultur des Mittelalters* (Munich: R. Oldenbourg Verlag, 1994).

³⁹⁹ Engel, *Realm of Saint Stephen*, 185-187; Housley, "King Louis the Great", 192-208.

⁴⁰⁰ Pál Lövei, "Hoforden im Mittelalter, unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des Drachenordens", and Zsombor Jékely, "Die Rolle der Kunst in der Repräsentation der ungarischen Aristokratie unter Sigismund von Luxemburg", in Takács, *Sigismundus*, 251-263, 298-310.

⁴⁰¹ For the history of this period, see Engel, *Realm of Saint Stephen*, 202-204.

⁴⁰² Péter, "Árpád-házi Szent István", *passim*, has suggested that St. Stephen's and St. Emeric's knightly appearance was probably determined by their iconographic association with the popular holy knight Ladislás. Although this remains a possible explanation, it is more likely that the historical context described above influenced significantly this iconographic development.

the holy kings' facet of Christian warriors called to oppose precisely the pagan threat represented by the Ottoman Turks. However, holding shields decorated with crosses on their field is not the exclusive characteristic of the three *sancti reges Hungariae* only, as such elements alluding to the idea of Crusade and Holy War featured frequently on the shields of many other holy warriors or knights: e.g., St. Louis IX of France in Chornotysiv (Fig. 2.1), St. Sigismund of Burgundy in Bădești (Fig. 5.2), or St. George in Čerín, Fântânele (Germ. *Gielekonten*, Hung. *Gyulakuta*), or Mălâncrav.⁴⁰³ This illustrates, in fact, the wide relevance the model of knightly sainthood has had among the commissioners of these images, who needed often such holy warriors to intercede for them during their frequent military endeavors against the Ottomans.

3. 3. The Question of the Donors of the Images Showing the Three *sancti reges Hungariae*

It is difficult to establish a direct connection between the murals depicting the three *sancti reges Hungariae* and specific commissioners. This is so, because, on the one hand, there are usually no surviving dedicatory inscriptions on the murals that would record their donors and, on the other hand, medieval written sources that refer to a particular church, settlement, or a settlement's owner are either scarce or incomplete. Even when these written documents do exist, they seldom are directly connected with commissioners of specific murals, this type of information being usually inferred and having most of the time only a hypothetical character.

In a number of cases, the written information on a church or settlement and its noble owners is scarce and, moreover, does not correspond to the murals' period of execution, being either too early (e.g., Bijacovce)⁴⁰⁴ or too late (e.g., Chimindia).⁴⁰⁵ Sometimes, this type of information either lacks altogether (e.g., Filea or Rattersdorf) or is inconclusive (e.g., Khust). Church dedications offer occasionally indirect answers, pointing out to the special veneration for one or another of the three *sancti reges Hungariae* and motivating their presence in church decoration. For instance, no donors' names are traceable for the church in Napkor, but a document

⁴⁰³ For Chornotysiv and Čerín, see nn. 49, 327-328, 338-341; for Bădești, see below; for Mălâncrav, see the below and the Catalogue of Murals. In Mălâncrav, however, it is not St. George's shield, but his red coat armor which is decorated with a white cross. For Fântânele, see Lángi, *Erdélyi falképek és festett faberendezések*, 1: 42-43; an image of this mural is available online at: http://www.telekialapitvany.hu/joomla/images/images/rendezvenyek/gyulakuta/IMG_1907.jpg (accessed 30 May 2017).

⁴⁰⁴ Although the settlement was granted to German colonists by King Béla IV in 1258 and the church's dedication to All Saints is documented two years later, safe information on the settlements' noble owners dates only to the second half of the fifteenth century, i.e., later than the church's murals, Tognier, *Medieval Wall Paintings in Spiš*, 254. A certain Jacob Szepesi is recorded as deceased in 1380, a date which is rather early for ascribing this name to the murals' patronage, Prokopp, *Középkori falképek a Szepességben*, 10.

⁴⁰⁵ For this aspect, see *infra*.

from 1319 refers to it as *ecclesia Sancti Regis Stephani*,⁴⁰⁶ explaining thus, through the church's dedication, the presence of the image of the Hungarian royal trio in the mural decoration of this religious edifice. In a significant number of cases, a church's surviving iconographic program illustrates the great veneration that one of the three holy kings of Hungary had enjoyed. For instance, in Bijacovce, Filea, Rákoš, Remetea, and probably Khust, besides the collective depiction of the three *sancti reges Hungariae*, there was also a St. Ladislav's narrative cycle painted. Although the iconic and narrative representations are rarely in a direct relationship,⁴⁰⁷ the presence of both types of images in the general iconographic program of a single church is, nonetheless, indicative of the great veneration the cult of St. Ladislav has received during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. This was even more so for the church in Remetea, which was decorated around 1400 with frescoes including both the iconic image of the *sancti reges Hungariae* and the narrative cycle of St. Ladislav. Here, the visual emphasis on the cult of Hungarian holy rulers finds its motivation not only in the settlement's location in the proximity of Oradea Mare (i.e., St. Ladislav's cult center), but also in the settlement's ownership: starting with 1318 and until around the mid-fifteenth century, the village of Remetea occurs in written sources as part of the estate of the Bishop of Nagyvárad,⁴⁰⁸ i.e., the main promoter of the holy knight's cult. Although no precise names can be attached to the commissionership of the mural depicting the three *sancti reges Hungariae* in Tileagd, it is known that the settlement was the main residence of the Telegdi family.⁴⁰⁹ Some of its members held important ecclesiastical offices, Thomas being Archbishop of Kalocsa (1358-1367) and Esztergom (1367-1375), whereas his uncle, Csanád Telegdi, had been earlier Bishop of Eger (from 1322), Archbishop of Esztergom (from 1330 until his death, in 1349), but also King Charles I's advisor.⁴¹⁰ It was Csanád Telegdi who, in his quality of Primate of Hungary, pronounced in Székesfehérvár in 1342 the king's funerary sermon, recalling the spiritual and political model that Charles I had

⁴⁰⁶ József Lángi, "Napkor (egykor Szabolcs vármegye, ma Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg megye) Római katolikus templom" [Napkor (former Szabolcs County, current Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg County) Roman Catholic church], in Kollár, *Falfestészeti emlékek*, 266. One cannot be sure whether the patronage of St. Ladislav for the church in Kameňany reflects or not its original dedication, as there are no medieval sources in this respect.

⁴⁰⁷ The murals in Filea are one of these exceptions, as both the iconic and narrative depictions of Hungarian holy rulers are placed in superposed registers on the nave's northern wall, Dávid, *Udvarhelyszék művészeti emlékei*, fig. 97. In Khust, a minor fresco fragment found on the nave's northern wall, i.e., in the proximity of the *sancti reges Hungariae*, was hypothetically identified with a scene of St. Ladislav's Legend, Lángi, "Huszt (Хуст)", 119, fig. 19. Even if the identification is correct, a direct connection between the two representations should be taken with caution, as they are not coeval and, moreover, the narrative image has covered (and partially obscured) the earlier iconic depiction of the three *sancti reges Hungariae*. A direct iconographic relationship should be equally excluded for the murals in Rákoš, Remetea, and Bijacovce, as the iconic and narrative images of Hungarian holy kings are quite remote from one another, being found in different spaces inside the church, i.e., in the sanctuary and nave, respectively. For these churches' iconographic programs, see the relevant entries in the Catalogue of Murals.

⁴⁰⁸ Szakács, "Saints of the Knights", 329, n. 70; Lángi, *Erdélyi falképek és festett faberendezések*, 71; see also below.

⁴⁰⁹ For the family's history, see Iván Nagy, *Magyarország családai czimerekkel és nemzékrendi táblákkal* [Families of Hungary with coats of arms and chronological tables] (Pest: Kiadja Ráth Mór, 1865), 11: 139-144.

⁴¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 140-141.

followed throughout his life, namely, that of his holy predecessors Stephen and Ladislav.⁴¹¹ Csanád Telegdi's devotion for these saintly rulers inspired probably his family's later members to name some of their male children precisely after the two holy kings: Csanád Telegdi's nephew by his brother Nicholas I was named Stephen, whereas Thomas' nephew by his brother Clement was named Ladislav (d. 1390).⁴¹² Additionally, the church in Tileagd was dedicated precisely to one of Hungary's holy kings, namely, to St. Stephen.⁴¹³

Four of the churches where one can find the representations of the three *sancti reges Hungariae* (i.e., Kameňany, Krásnohorské Podhradie, Plešivec, and Rákoš) were located in Gömör County, on settlements which belonged to the estate of the so-called "Pelsöci" branch of the Bebek family.⁴¹⁴ Throughout the second half of the fourteenth century, some of this family's members held high dignities and offices, which allowed them to play an important political role in the kingdom, as well as to cumulate an impressive wealth.⁴¹⁵ Both sons of George Bebek (1330-1389), himself the queen's *magister tavarnicorum* (1360-1390), rose to important positions in the kingdom's affairs: Emeric Bebek (d. 1395) was Ban of Croatia and Dalmatia (1380-1382), Voivode of Rus' (1382), comes of Sáros and Szepes (until 1385/6), Bereg (1388-1390), Liptó and Turóc (1390-1392), Judge Royal (1386), governor of Bars County (until 1388), Voivode of Transylvania (1392-1393), and the queen's *magister tavarnicorum* (until 1395). His brother Detre (Detricus) Bebek (mid-fourteenth century – after 1404) was the queen's steward (1379), royal standard-bearer and *magister curiae regiae* (1388), Ban of Croatia, Dalmatia, and Slavonia (1389-1392, 1394-1397), Ban of Szöreg and Temes (1392-1393), and finally Palatine of Hungary (1397-1402). In 1396, the Pelsöci Bebeks alone owned seven castles,⁴¹⁶ three of them being situated in Gömör County, in the proximity of their estates where the churches in Kameňany, Rákoš, Plešivec, and Krásnohorské Podhradie were

⁴¹¹ See n. 169.

⁴¹² Nagy, *Magyarország családai*, 11: 140.

⁴¹³ Tamás Emödi, "A Telegdi család és a Reneszánsz művészet néhány emléke a 16. századi Bihar és Bereg vármegyékben" [The Telegdi family and some Renaissance art relics in Bihar and Bereg Counties in the 16th century], *Művészettörténeti Értesítő* 47/3-4 (1998), 177.

⁴¹⁴ For the settlements' history and their ownership by the Pelsöci Bebeks, see Samu Borovszky, ed., *Magyarország vármegyéi és városai (Magyarország monografiája). A Magyar Korona Országai történetének, földrajzi, képzőművészeti, néprajzi, hadügyi és természeti viszonyainak, közművelődési és közgazdasági állapotának enciklopédiája. Gömör-Kishont vármegye* [Hungary's counties and towns (Monograph of Hungary). Encyclopedia of history, geography, fine arts, ethnography, military and natural conditions, public education and economic status of the countries of the Hungarian Crown. Gömör-Kishont County] (Budapest: Apollo Irodalmi Társaság, 1903), 60-67, 77-78, 84-85; see also Eva Benková, "Prítomnosť Mariášovcov v Gemeri v kontexte súdneho sporu s Bubekovcami a pánmi zo Štítnika o majetky panstiev Brzotín a Krásna Hôrka" [The presence of the Mariáši in Gömör in the context of the litigation with the Bebeks and the lords of Štítnik for the ownership of the possessions of Brzotín and Krásna Hôrka], *Historia Nova* 1/2 (2010), 32-52.

⁴¹⁵ Nagy, *Magyarország családai*, 1: 256-263; Borovszky, *Gömör-Kishont vármegye*, 633; Pál Engel, *Magyarország világi archontológiája 1301-1457* [Secular archontology of Hungary 1301-1457] (Budapest: MTA Történettudományi Intézete, 1996), 2: 103-104.

⁴¹⁶ Engel, *Realm of St Stephen*, 200.

also located. Their main residence was in the town of Plešivec, an important link between the commercial roads of Buda and Košice to Poland. It was in this town that their main family church was founded which, during the late-fourteenth century, was decorated (both inside and outside) with exquisite murals bearing the imprint of the so-called “Italian Trecento style”;⁴¹⁷ roughly the same time, a remarkable burial chapel – where the tombstone of Ladislas Bebek is still found – was added on the church’s northern side.⁴¹⁸ As attested by the high quality of the remaining frescoes, the artistic patronage of the Pelsőci Bebeks extended during the same period also to other churches situated on their properties, Kameňany, Rákoš, and Krásnohorské Podhradie being only three other religious edifices that preserve, in various degrees, their original mural decoration. Judging by their naming practices throughout the fourteenth and the first half of the fifteenth century, it is not surprising that the depiction of the three *sancti reges Hungariae* was found in (at least) four of their churches, as the members of the Bebek family were often named Ladislas (6 times), Stephen (3 times), and Emeric (3 times).⁴¹⁹ The Bebeks’ close, personal link with their spiritual patrons is clearly expressed visually in the murals of the church in Rákoš, where the three *sancti reges Hungariae* are depicted on the sanctuary’s southern wall, that is, in the immediate vicinity of the place where the church’s patrons were usually attending religious service. However, besides the Bebeks’ personal motivation in venerating and depicting the Hungarian royal saints in their churches, one can assume behind these representations also a political and ideological reasoning, which becomes obvious in the political context of the early-fifteenth century.

Dissatisfied with King Sigismund’s dependence on his foreign counselors and fearing that their considerable wealth and political influence might come to an end, the kingdom’s barons imprisoned the king in the castle of Buda on 28 April 1401.⁴²⁰ They were led in this endeavor by the Archbishop of Esztergom John Kanizsai (1387-1418) and by Palatine Detre Bebek. In the following period, the former styled himself “chancellor” and became the head of a council composed of prelates and barons, which issued orders under the seal of the Holy Crown and assumed the governing of the country. Released from captivity on 31 August 1401 (through the mediation of Nicholas Garai, who handed over his own son and brother as hostages), King Sigismund begun immediately to reinforce his authority through a series of measures which provoked again the barons’ discontent. Subsequently, the leaders of the opposition offered the crown to Ladislas of

⁴¹⁷ For stylistic considerations on the murals of Gömör County in the late-medieval period, see: Mária Prokopp, *Italian Trecento Influence on Murals of East Central Europe, Particularly Hungary* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó), passim; eadem, “Gömöri falképek a XIV. században” [Wall paintings in Gömör in the 14th century], *Művészettörténeti Értesítő* 18/2 (1969), 128-148; eadem, *Középkori freskók Gömörben*, 21-26, 28-30; and Togner, Milan, *Stredoveká nástenná malba v Gemeri* [Medieval wall painting in Gömör] (Bratislava: Tatran, 1989), passim.

⁴¹⁸ Szakács, “Saints of the Knights”, 323.

⁴¹⁹ Nagy, *Magyarország családai*, 1: 256-263; Engel, *Magyarország világi archontológiája*, 2: 103-104.

⁴²⁰ For this episode, see Engel, *Realm of St Stephen*, 206-208.

Naples who, on the basis of his Angevin lineage, had previously pronounced his claims to the Hungarian throne and had already an army waiting in Dalmatia. Around Christmas 1402, Hungarian noblemen took an oath of allegiance to Ladislás of Naples, swearing on St. Ladislás' relics which were kept in the Cathedral of Oradea Mare.⁴²¹ By the early 1403, the revolt broke out, Archbishop John Kanizsai and Palatine Detre Bebek being joined this time by the Archbishop of Kalocsa, the Bishops of Eger, Nagyvárad, Transylvania, and Győr, the Prior of Varna Emeric Bebek (Palatine Detre's own son), the Voivodes of Transylvania Nicholas Csáki and Nicholas Marcali, and by nearly all the magnates, with the exception of the Garais and their kinsmen. Although Archbishop Kanizsai crowned Ladislás of Naples in Zadar on 5 August, King Sigismund managed, with the help of his barons, household, and the towns, to restore the order by the Spring of 1404, securing thus his complete victory and pacifying the whole kingdom. As a consequence, Detre Bebek and John Kanizsai were removed from their offices, but were granted a special pardon, and some of their castles were confiscated.⁴²²

By utilizing during this political crisis the cult of St. Ladislás, the Hungarian barons led by Archbishop Kanizsai and Palatine Bebek transformed the holy king into a powerful symbol of the country. By swearing oath on St. Ladislás' relics, they united their minds and forces around the ideal figure of the holy king and knight, who became thus the embodiment of the kingdom which, according to the rebels' views, King Sigismund was no longer suited to represent. Whether Ladislás of Naples embodied or not the holy king's virtues, it is subjected to discussion, but as the saint's namesake, he enjoyed (at least theoretically) the spiritual protection of St. Ladislás. Several of the high prelates involved in the anti-Sigismund coalition were clearly attached not only to the cult of St. Ladislás, but also to that of St. Stephen, as they chose to be self-represented in their ecclesiastical functions through the images of the two holy kings. On the seals of Archbishop John Kanizsai and Bishop of Győr John Hédervári (1386-1418), the figures of Sts Ladislás and Stephen

⁴²¹ "... quidam prelati et Barones necnon proceres maior scilicet pars dicti Regni nostri Hungarie in opprobrium nostre celsitudinis in quo freti consilio in vnum conspirantes Waradinum conuenerunt, vbi prestito Juramento super capite sancti Regis Ladislai corporaliter facto nos dyademate Regnisque Hungarie Dalmacie Croacie nostris Regys pretitulatis que fere annis sedecim gubernauimus more Regio in eisdem Imperantes priuare de eisdem Regnis nostris excludere, ac ignotum eis alium Regem scilicet predictam Ladizlaum filium condam Karuli de Duracio inducere, pro eorumque domino eligere et assummere conati extiterunt." – doc. no. 401, Arnold Ipolyi *et al.*, ed. *Codex Diplomaticus Patrius Hungaricus. Tomus VII. Hazai Okmánytár. VII. kötet* (Budapest: Kocsi Sándor, 1880), 432-445, esp. pp. 439-440. See also: Vince Bunyitay, *A váradi püspökség története alapításától a jelenkorig. Első kötet. A váradi püspökök a püspökség alapításától 1566. évig* [History of the Bishopric of Nagyvárad from its foundation up to present day. First volume. Bishops of Nagyvárad from the foundation of the Bishopric until the year 1566], (Nagyvárad [Oradea]: no publisher, 1883), 221; Klaniczay, "Noblesse et culte", 525.

⁴²² Engel, *Realm of St Stephen*, 208.

feature prominently together with those of other important saints, such as the Holy Virgin with Child, St. Adalbert, St. Peter, and St. Michael (Fig. 3.13-3.14).⁴²³



Fig. 3.13 – Impression of the seal of Archbishop of Esztergom John Kanizsai, 1391-1394, 9.0 x 5.3 cm, casting, Arch. Saec. Acta Rad. R. No. 8, Primási Leveltár, Esztergom. Photo Source: Bodor, *Főpapi pecsétjei*

Fig. 3.14 – Impression of the seal of Bishop of Győr John Hédervári, 1397, 8.5 x 4.6 cm, wax, DL 87647, Magyar Országos Leveltár, Budapest. Photo Source: <https://archives.hungaricana.hu/>

The iconography of these seals combines thus, in their self-representational function, the devotional and political aspirations of the two prelates, who actively participated in the conspiracy against King Sigismund. Archbishop John Kanizsai's personal devotion towards St. Ladislás did not cease even after his anti-Sigismund coalition failed and he reconciled with the king, playing again subsequently an important role in the kingdom's political and diplomatic affairs. This is illustrated by one of the archbishop's artistic and pious commissions happening most likely during the

⁴²³ Cat. nos. 62 (seal of John Hédervári, impressed in 1397 with the figures of the Holy Virgin, Sts Peter, Ladislás, Michael, and Stephen;) and 63 (seal of John Kanizsai, impressed in 1391 and 1394 with the images of the Holy Virgin, Sts Adalbert, Ladislás, and Stephen), Bodor, *Főpapi pecsétjei*, 53-54. One can add also the seal of Lucas Szántai, Bishop of Nagyvárád (1387-1406), impressed in 1398 with the figures of the Holy Virgin and Sts Ladislás and Peter, cat no. 68, *ibid.*, 56; however, in this case, the Holy Virgin and St. Ladislás were the patron saints of the Cathedral in Oradea Mare. See also Poszler, "Árpád-házi szent királyok", 176, n. 51.

Summer of 1416, when John Kanizsai is attested in Basel.⁴²⁴ While being there, Archbishop John Kanizsai ordered for the church of the former Carthusian monastery a series of stained glass windows meant to decorate the area of the church's spiral stairs.⁴²⁵ Varying in size, the three stained glasses display the archbishop's coat of arms⁴²⁶ and his image as a donor praying to St. Ladislav (Fig. 3.15). Having his halo inscribed *Ladislaus rex ungarie*, the crowned holy knight holds a crucifer orb, the battle axe, and a red shield decorated with the Hungarian double cross. Introduced by King Béla III as a symbol of royal majesty, the double cross came to symbolize by the end of the fourteenth century the realm (*regnum*), as opposed to the changing person of the king.⁴²⁷ This reinforces the suggestion that St. Ladislav was revered as the patrons saint of the country/kingdom.

One cannot help but wonder whether Palatine Detre Bebek, as one of the heads of the anti-Sigismund coalition, or his son, Prior Emeric Bebek, as an active participant in the rebellion, followed or not the model set up by the two ecclesiastical figures and employed in a political and propagandistic manner the images of the three *sancti reges Hungariae* that they and their family members commissioned repeatedly around 1400 in their churches. There are reasons to assume that they did so in, at least, one instance. Placed on the outer wall of their main family church (i.e., on the sanctuary's southern wall), the image of the three *sancti reges Hungariae* in Plešivec did not fulfill an immediate liturgical function.

⁴²⁴ Márta Kondor, "A királyi kúria bíróságaitól a kancelláriáig. A központi kormányzat és adminisztráció Zsigmond-kori történetéhez" [From the court of the royal house to the chancery. The history of central government and administration in the time of Sigismund], *Századok* 142/2 (2008), 436.

⁴²⁵ After having been kept for a long time in the Historisches Museum Basel, the windows were returned to their initial owner, but they were relocated at the basis of the choir's central window. The archbishop's name is inscribed also in the monastery's book of benefactors (Ms 1b *Wohltäterbuch der Karthause*, Basler Staatsarchiv in Basel, fol. 249): „III. reverendissimus pater dominus Johannes Archiepiscopus Strigoniensis de Ungaria dedit XX florenos pro fenestra vitrea prope cocleam.", apud Géza Szentmártoni Szabó, "Kanizsai János esztergomi érsek korabeli portréja és cimere Bázalban" [The period portrait and coat of arms of the Archbishop of Esztergom John Kanizsai in Basel], *Turul. A Magyar Történelmi Társulat, a Magyar Országos Levéltár és a Magyar Heraldikai és Genealógiai Társaság Közlönye* 81/4 (2011), 137-139. For these stained glasses, see also: Rudolf Friedrich Burckhardt, "Die gotischen Glasgemälde der ehemaligen Karthäuserkirche, jetzigen Waisenhauskirche zu Basel", in *Jahresberichte und Rechnungen des Vereins für das Historische Museum und für Erhaltung baslerischer Altertümer und der Kommission zum historischen Museum, Jahr 1915*, ed. Rudolf Friedrich Burckhardt (Basel: Basler Druck- und Verlags-Anstalt, 1916), 18-27; Frigyes Verzár, "Régi magyar vonatkozások Bázalban" [Old Hungarian aspects in Basel], *Debreceni Szemle* 5 (1931), 310-314; Cusimir Hermann Baer, "Die Kartause in Klein-Basel", in *Die Kunstdenkmäler des Kantons Basel-Stadt. Band III. Die Kirchen, Klöster und Kapellen. Erster Teil. St. Alban bis Kartause*, ed. Cusimir Hermann Baer, Rudolf Riggensbach, and Paul Roth (Basel: Birkhäuser, 1941), 449-594.

⁴²⁶ For the coat of arms of Osl kindred which the Kanizsai family belonged to, see Tamás Körmenyi, "Az Osl nemzetség címerváltozásai a középkorban" [The Coat of Arms of Osl genus in the Middle Ages], *Turul. A Magyar Heraldikai és Genealógiai Társaság Közlönye* 83/1 (2010), 3-24.

⁴²⁷ Bernát L. Kumorovitz, "A magyar címer kettőskeresztje" [The double cross of the Hungarian coat of arms], *Turul. A Magyar Heraldikai és Genealógiai Társaság Közlönye* 55/3-4 (1941), 45-62; Bertényi, "Címerváltozatok a középkori Magyarországon", 3-80.



Fig. 3.15 – St. Ladislas (left), Archbishop John Kanizsai (middle), and the archbishop's coat of arms (right), 1416, 123 x 48 cm, 74.5 x 48 cm, and 45 x 45 cm, stained glass, Waisenhauskirche (former church of the Carthusian monastery), Basel. Photo Source: Szentmártoni Szábó, “Kanizsai János esztergomi érsek”

Although it is currently poorly and partially preserved, this image enjoyed a high degree of visibility, being accessible to everybody who happened to be in the town square, and it was probably intended to satisfy its commissioners' need for self-representation. Judging by their naming practices and their personal devotional ties with the three holy kings, one can assume that the Pelsöci Bebeks tried to emulate the model of their spiritual patrons, seeking to embody the set of saintly and political virtues that the *sancti reges Hungariae* stood for. The Bebeks' self-identification with and self-representation through other important symbols of the country was made manifest also in their repeated usage – after the middle of the fourteenth century – of the two-barred cross on their coat of arms (Fig. 3.16).⁴²⁸

⁴²⁸ For the Bebeks' coat of arms, see József Csoma, “Magyar sírkövek. I. Bebek György sírköve 1371. II. Bebek László sírköve 1401” [Hungarian tombstones. I. George Bebek's tombstone 1371. II. Ladislas Bebek's tombstone 1401], *Turul. A Magyar Heraldikai és Genealógiai Társaság Közlönye* 6 (1888), 159-164. For another version of their arms



Fig. 3.16 – Drawings of the tombstones of George Bebek (d. 1371), kept in the church in Hrhov (Hung. *Tornagörgő*) (left), and Ladislav Bebek (d. 1401), kept in the church in Plešivec (right), showing the Bebek family's coat of arms.

Photo Source: Csoma, *Magyar sírkövek*

The incorporation of this symbol of the country into their heraldry signified that the Bebeks identified themselves strongly with the realm, whose proud and wealthy noblemen they were. By appropriating this heraldic element, the Bebeks vainly asserted their self-importance and expressed their conviction that their family was meant to play a significant and decisive part on their country's political stage. The exterior wall paintings in Plešivec are greatly damaged now, so one can no longer know whether the Bebeks' coat of arms (and of their country for that matter) featured or not on the shields of the *sancti reges Hungariae*. However, one can assume that, having been deeply involved in the political crisis of the early-fifteenth century, when the powerful symbol of the holy kings was repeatedly employed in their favor by the members of the anti-Sigismund coalition, Detre and Emeric Bebek had attempted as well to utilize the images of the *sancti reges Hungariae* as a means of expressing political and ideological messages – this, of course, in addition to their personal devotion towards Sts Ladislav, Emeric, and Stephen.

displaying two shields with double crosses which flank the heraldic symbol of the Ákos kindred, see Nagy, *Magyarország családai*, 1: 262-263.

As it seems, the cult and iconography of the three *sancti reges Hungariae* was popular not only among the kingdom's Catholic noblemen, but it spread also, during the first decades of the fifteenth century, among Romanian (Vlach) Orthodox noblemen in Zaránd County. After 1404 and in 1411, respectively, *jupani* Vladislavu and Miclăușu of Ribița, and *jupan* Bălea of Crișcior commissioned for their family churches wall paintings with the image of the Catholic trio of Hungarian holy kings. Despite the founders' belonging to a different confession, the Catholic *sancti reges Hungariae* found their appeal among Romanian Orthodox noblemen, who revered them as guarantors of their social status and legal rights.⁴²⁹ Seemingly, a new model of artistic patronage for the cult of the three *sancti reges Hungariae* and their associated representations has emerged during the first decades of the sixteenth century. Two late examples illustrate that other social and professional categories expressed as well their devotion for Hungary's holy kings, commissioning murals with their image. On the one hand, the poorly-preserved wall paintings of the *sancti reges Hungariae* in St. Anne's Chapel in Hrušov, which are dated by their accompanying inscription to 1519, were probably the commission of priest John.⁴³⁰ As recorded by a 1522 graffito inside the chapel, he undertook roughly the same time the renovation of this small building, and it is not excluded that he was also responsible for the chapel's (re)decoration with murals.⁴³¹ On the other hand, the vanished depiction of the three *sancti reges Hungariae* in Bardejov which, according to its accompanying inscription has been executed in 1521,⁴³² represented a public commission initiated and paid for by the town's administration. According to an entry in the town's book of expenses for that year, the administration of the town of Bardejov had paid then 35 florins to *Joannes Emerici et Krausz*, who painted the images of St. Christopher and the three (holy) kings (of Hungary), as well as the clock in the tower of the main parish church of St. Giles.⁴³³ As it will be shown in the subchapter dedicated to the discussion of heraldic elements integrated to the iconography of the *sancti reges Hungariae*, this public commission was clearly intended to serve the town's ideological claims.

⁴²⁹ These Orthodox representations of the Catholic *sancti reges Hungariae* are discussed in detail elsewhere in the dissertation.

⁴³⁰ For the murals' dating and inscription, see the relevant entry in the Catalogue of Murals.

⁴³¹ For this graffito, see: István Kardos, "Körtvélyes-Hárskút: hangsúlyok és kérdőjelek két jelentős műemlékünk történelmi párhuzamainak vizsgálatában" [Hrušov-Lipovník: emphases and questions in the study of historical parallelism of two major monuments], *Új mindenes gyűjtemény* 6 (1986), 15; Sebestyén Sárközy, *A történelmi Torna megye településtopográfiája a kezdetektől a 18. század elejéig* [Historical topography of Torna County from the beginning until the late-18th century] (Miskolc: Perkupa, 2006), 62.

⁴³² Myskovszky, *Bártfa középkori műemlékei I*, 28-29, pl. I, VI; Kerny, "Magyar szent királyok a templomok külső falain", 83-84, fig. 2.

⁴³³ Myskovszky, *Bártfa középkori műemlékei I*, 29.

3. 4. Heraldic Devices, Political Propaganda, and Urban Ideology in the Iconography of the *sancti reges Hungariae*

3. 4. 1. Heraldic Elements in the Iconography of the *sancti reges Hungariae*

As noted earlier, the shields of the three holy kings in Khust are decorated with red crosses placed on a background composed of alternating, red-and-white stripes that are placed horizontally. This was an allusion to the Árpáadian coat of arms, which represented an easily-perceivable hint for medieval beholders. As mentioned before, the two-barred or double cross on the Hungarian coat of arms symbolized by the late-fourteenth century the realm (*regnum*), as opposed to the changing person of the king.⁴³⁴ According to Ernő Marosi, St. Ladislav was frequently depicted with the Hungarian double cross on his shield, a detail which reflected probably his particular position as patron saint of the country/kingdom.⁴³⁵ Additionally, the presence of this heraldic detail attested to St. Ladislav's special veneration among the kingdom's noblemen, who identified themselves with the realm and sometimes came into opposition with the ruling king himself.⁴³⁶ An incentive for such an iconographic association was most likely the double majestic seal of Queen Mary (r. 1382-1395), which she used throughout her sole reign (1382-1386) (Fig. 3.17).⁴³⁷ On one of its sides, the seal shows, above a heraldic shield, the bust of the crowned St. Ladislav holding the crucifer orb and battle axe. The shield is decorated with the Hungarian double cross and is flanked by two ostriches with horseshoes in their beaks. In this hypostasis, St. Ladislav hovers over the symbol of the realm providing for its sacred protection, as a patron saint should normally do. Deriving indirectly from this authoritative iconographic model, many narrative depictions of St. Ladislav created around and after 1400 feature, subsequently, on the holy knight's shield either the Hungarian, two-barred cross or the Árpáadian, red-and-white stripes: e.g., Chileni (Hung. *Sepsikilyén*), Filea, Ighişu Nou, Kraskovo (Hung. *Karaszko*), Moacă (Hung. *Maksa*), Turnišče, or Žehra.⁴³⁸ The white, double cross decorates also St. Ladislav's red shield in iconic representations, both in mural and panel

⁴³⁴ See n. 427.

⁴³⁵ Marosi, "Hl. Ladislaus als Nationalheiliger", 246.

⁴³⁶ See the previous discussion about the two Bebeks' involvement in the anti-Sigismund coalition of 1402-1403 and their coat of arms.

⁴³⁷ Marosi, "Hl. Ladislaus als Nationalheiliger", 244; idem, "55. Kettős felségpecsét" [55. Double majestic seal], in Marosi, *Művészet I. Lajos király korában*, 150-151; idem, "Der grosse Münzsiegel der Königin Maria von Ungarn: Zum Problem der Serialität Mittelalterlicher Kunstwerke", *Acta Historiae Artium* 28/1-2 (1982), 3-22; Mielke, "Every Hyacinth", 45-48, cat. nos. I.19, I.21, 418-422.

⁴³⁸ For Chileni, see Năstăsoiu, "Nouvelles représentations", 3-22. In this narrative cycle, both Hungarian and Cuman armies fight behind striped, red-and-white shields. This was interpreted by Kerny, "Patronage of St. Ladislav", 263, as a possible tactical ruse of the Cuman army, in order to confuse the Hungarian enemy; however, St. Ladislav's shield is the only one displaying the double cross. For Ighişu Nou, see n. 330. For the remaining narrative cycles, see: Marosi, "Hl. Ladislaus als Nationalheiliger", passim; Kerny, "Patronage of St. Ladislav", 262-263.

painting, the latter medium being illustrated by examples such as those on the Spišská-Kapitula Dormition Altar (Fig. 3.12) or on St. Anne's Altar in Jazernica-Markovice (Hung. *Márkfalva*, 1517) (Fig. 3.33).⁴³⁹ Once again, however, this was not the exclusive attribute of St. Ladislav only.



Fig. 3.17 – Impression of the reverse of Queen Mary's double majestic seal, 1382-1386, Ø 9.4 cm, casting, inv. no. V.1.69, Magyar Országos Levéltár, Budapest. Photo Source: Mielke, "Every Hyacinth"

A number of murals show instead St. George fighting the dragon and having either his shield or armor decorated with the two-barred cross: e.g., Zolná (1370-1380), Daia (Hung. *Székegyháza*, late-fourteenth – early-fifteenth century), Tarpa (early-fifteenth century), or Szentsimon (1423).⁴⁴⁰ In these cases, the double cross denotes generally a holy knight's role of *miles Christi*, a quality which both St. Ladislav and St. George shared. Sometimes, however, the two-barred cross was also

⁴³⁹ For this altar, see below.

⁴⁴⁰ In Daia, both holy knights Ladislav and George face each other on opposite walls, Kerny, "Patronage of St. Ladislav", 262; Lángi, *Erdélyi falképek és festett faberendezések*, 1: 104-105. For Zolná, see: Magdaléna Brázdilová, "Peripetie pamiatkovej obnovy a reštaurovania rímskokatolíckeho Kostola sv. Matúša v obci Zolná" [Monument conservation and restoration of the Roman-Catholic Church of St. Matthew in Zolná village], in *Interdisciplinárne problémy pri reštaurovaní pamiatok: zborník referátov z kolokvia konaného 30.11.2000 v SNG v rámci Odborného veľtrhu ochrany a spoločenského uplatenia kultúrneho dedičstva NOSTALGIA Expo Bratislava 2000* [Interdisciplinary problems in monument restoration: proceedings of the colloquium held on 30 November 2000 at the SNG within the Professional fair for protection and social application of cultural heritage NOSTALGIA Expo Bratislava 2000], ed. Martin Vančo (Bratislava: Knihárstvo Surý, 2001), 67-78; for Tarpa, see József Lángi, "Tarpa (egykor Bereg vármegye, ma Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg megye) Református templom" [Tarpa (former Bereg County, current Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg County) Reformed church], in Kollár, *Falfestészeti emlékek*, 412-421, 459; for Szentsimon, see Marosi, "Hl. Ladislaus als Nationalheiliger", 246, fig. 49.

understood as a precise reference to the kingdom/country. For instance, this was certainly the case of the image belonging to the first decoration phase in the southern niche of the castle chapel in Siklós. The mural was commissioned around 1420 by the members of the Garai noble family, in whose possession the castle was already since 1395, when they received it as donation from King Sigismund of Luxemburg, who thus repaid the Garais for their loyalty (Fig. 3.18).⁴⁴¹ Depicted in the company of the shackle-holding St. Leonard, who was the patron saint of captives and prisoners, St. Ladislás holds a red shield decorated with white double cross.



Fig. 3.18 – Sts Leonard and Ladislás, ca 1420, fresco, southern niche of the castle chapel in Siklós. Photo © The Author

Under his crown, he has a tied scarf, which is the insigne of the Order of the Scarf established by King Wenceslas IV of Bohemia (r. 1378-1419).⁴⁴² As shown previously,⁴⁴³ there is plenty of evidence that connects the Garais to this commission, pointing out to their special devotion towards the two saints. First, John Garai was captured in 1315, while leading an army into Bosnia; after his

⁴⁴¹ For these frescoes, see especially: Zsombor Jékely, “Art and Patronage in Medieval Hungary – the Frescoes of the Augustinian Church at Siklós”, PhD Diss. (New Haven: Yale University, 2003), 236-244; idem, “Regions and Interregional Connections”, 158-162; Szakács, “Saints of the Knights”, 322; Marosi, “Saints at Home”, 200-203.

⁴⁴² This aspect and its related iconography are examined in Ildikó Fehér, “Szent László és Szent Lénárd freskói a siklósi várkapolna kegyúri fülkéjében” [Frescoes of Saint Ladislás and Saint Leonard in the patron’s niche of the castle chapel in Siklós], *Magyar Műemlékvédelem* 14 (2007), 77-80.

⁴⁴³ I follow here the arguments presented in Jékely, “Art and Patronage”, 236-244, reprised in idem, “Regions and Interregional Connections”, 158-162.

release, he gave his shackles to the Benedictine Abbey in Báta, honoring thus the relics of the Holy Blood that were kept there. This motivates the presence of St. Leonard in the image. Second, in August 1401, Nicholas Garai became a member of the Bohemian Order of the Scarf, this insigne featuring also on the armorial letter he received in 1416. Finally, Nicholas' son and successor as Palatine of Hungary (1433) was named precisely after St. Ladislás. Generally, the holy king represented a model of ideal knighthood to be followed closely by any nobleman of the country, but especially by the young Ladislás Garai, who had the saint as his personal patron. Subsequently, the holy king and knight Ladislás embodied perfectly the set of chivalric virtues that the young Ladislás Garai was supposed to emulate. Simultaneously, the Hungarian double cross on the saint's shield referred to the realm, which the future Palatine of Hungary Ladislás Garai was called to serve, as his predecessors have loyally served it earlier.

Even though St. Ladislás seems to have been preferentially depicted around and after 1400 with the Árpadian and Hungarian coats of arms, the other two *sancti reges Hungariae* received occasionally these armories, too. Leonard Nofri was a Hungarian nobleman of Florentine origin, son of one of King Sigismund's financial advisors, Onofrio di Bardo. He held several offices relevant for the kingdom's financial affairs and, finally, in 1438, he became the *thesaurarius supremus* of King Albert I (r. 1437-1439).⁴⁴⁴ Around 1432, he commissioned a prayer book which was decorated towards its end with an image of the three *sancti reges Hungariae*, and contains also several prayers addressed to St. Stephen (Fig. 3.19).⁴⁴⁵ Both textual and visual materials (fols. 142v-143r) were put in close connection with the prayers addressed to the Three Magi (fols. 140r-142r); accordingly, this implied the divine origin of Hungarian royal power. Hungary's three saintly rulers are equally represented as knights in armors. St. Emeric wears a fur hat with ear-flaps, holds a white lily in his left hand, and props a sword against the ground. St. Ladislás has both his shield and banner decorated with the Hungarian double cross, whereas St. Stephen holds only a banner with the Árpadian stripes. These heraldic symbols establish thus an obvious link between the holy kings and their country, which the commissioner of the manuscript served, too, through the financial offices he held throughout his career. Additionally, the presence of the three holy kings in Leonard

⁴⁴⁴ For his career, see Krisztina Arany, "Florentine Families in Hungary in the First Half of the Fifteenth Century", PhD Diss. (Budapest: Central European University, 2014), 45, 50, 54, 143-144, 151-152, 223-224, with bibliography.

⁴⁴⁵ During the sixteenth century, the prayer book became part of a composite manuscript: *Calendarium cum versibus et picturis de unoquoque mense et cum expositione tabularum* (Kalender des Johannes von Lefantovce). *Preces multae rhythmis et prosa oratione conscriptae ad Mariam et ad Sanctos*, Clm 21590, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich. Its commissioner has been recently identified by Ferenc Soós, "Elefánti János kalendáriuma. Matúš Kučera: Kalendár Jána z Lefantoviec. Matica Slovenská 2002, 96 lap, illusztrált" [John Elefánti's calendar. Matúš Kučera: Kalendár Jána z Lefantoviec. Matica Slovenská 2002, 96 pages, illustrated], *Művészettörténeti Értesítő* 56/1 (2007), 162-167. For this prayer book, see: Kinga Körmeny, "Egy 1432-ből származó imádságoskönyv magyar vonatkozásai" [Hungarian aspects deriving from a 1432 prayer book], in Szelestei, *Tanulmányok a könyvkultúráról*, 259-272; Török, "Egy 15. századi imádságkönyv", 273-296.

Nofri's prayer book illustrates the relevance that the *sancti reges Hungariae* have had for a relatively newcomer to the country.



Fig. 3.19 – Sts Emeric, Stephen, and Ladislav on a prayer book's page, ca 1432, 15 x 9.5 cm, illuminated leaf, fol. 142v, Ms Clm 21590, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich. Photo Source: Kerny, *Szent Imre 1000 éve*

Another example is the feast-day side of the main altar of St. Martin's Cathedral in Spišská Kapitula (ca 1478), which was mentioned already twice in connection with the depiction of foreign, dynastic saints and St. Emeric's sword attribute, respectively. The full, standing figures of the three *sancti reges Hungariae* are represented on the altar's left, upper panel (Fig. 3.20). They have as counterparts the figures of Sts Oswald of Northumbria, Louis of Toulouse, and Louis IX of France, who are depicted on the panel's right, upper side (Fig. 3.6). Patron saint *par excellence* of medieval rulers, the mature, brown-bearded St. Louis IX of France is portrayed in a knightly and royal

hypostasis, which matches perfectly St. Ladislav's depiction as a mature, brown-bearded holy knight and king. The two panels' central figures are St. Emeric and St. Louis of Toulouse, respectively. They are two saints of royal descent well-known for their extreme piety, who share also another significant quality: they are both unfulfilled secular rulers, though the latter was deliberately so. Finally, Sts Stephen and Oswald mirror each other in their capacity of missionary holy rulers, who contributed to the spread of Christianity in their countries.⁴⁴⁶



Fig. 3.20 – Sts Ladislav, Emeric, and Stephen, ca 1478, 138 x 163 cm, tempera, wood, main altar of St. Martin's Cathedral in Spišská Kapitula. Photo Source: Kerny, *Szent Imre 1000 éve*

In addition to their iconographic features, age types, and personal attributes, the elegant figures of the three *sancti reges Hungariae* are identified also by identical coats of arms that are depicted at their feet: three crowned, quartered shields having on their fields the Hungarian, double-barred cross and the Árpáadian, red-and-white stripes. Similarly crowned, the escutcheons of their

⁴⁴⁶ Marosi, "Szepeshely/Spišská Kapitula", 72-73; for the interpretation of the mirroring representations in St. Martin's main altar as a spiritually-motivated criticism of contemporary rulers, see idem, "Saints at Home and Abroad", 205-206.

counterparts help one identify these three dynastic saints: the Plantagenets' three golden lions on red background stand for St. Oswald, whereas golden lilies of different size and number on a blue background refer to the remaining Angevin saints.

Through the mediation of Hungarian pilgrims or close family ties, the veneration of the three *sancti reges Hungariae* spread also abroad, reaching throughout the fifteenth century not only the neighboring countries (e.g., Austria, Bohemia, and Poland), but also more distant regions (e.g., Bavaria, the Low Countries, or Italy) – a number of late-medieval, liturgical and hagiographical sources attest to this fact.⁴⁴⁷ As vehicles of diffusion of a saint's cult, pictorial depictions of the holy kings of Hungary appeared as well in these foreign places. In this external context, it became customary by the mid-fifteenth century for the *sancti reges Hungariae* to be associated in undifferentiated manner with the country's heraldic symbols. For instance, the three *sancti reges Hungariae* feature on one of the panels of the Holy Trinity Altar, which was executed in 1447 for the church of the Cistercian convent in Klagenfurt (Fig. 3.21).⁴⁴⁸ Having been somehow instructed about the general iconographic characteristics of these foreign (Hungarian) saints, the German painter proved to be, in fact, not a good connoisseur of their cults, mixing up the attributes, age types, and inscriptions of the three holy kings. Subsequently, he depicted the old, white-bearded holy king on the left side with a halberd, but called him, surprisingly, *S(anctus) emericus kunig*. The mature, brown-bearded holy king on the right side is depicted with spear with banner, and is called *S(anctus) ladislaus kunig*, whereas St. Emeric is represented with ducal hat and crucifer orb, a martyr's palm branch replaces his lily, and is called instead *S(anctus) stefan(us) kunig*. Despite the general confusion, however, both holy knights on the left and right sides hold shields decorated with two-barred crosses, although the Hungarian heraldic colors were not strictly observed.

⁴⁴⁷ Madas, "Magyar szent királyok", 145-152.

⁴⁴⁸ Since 1884, the altar is kept in the Viennese Stephansdom, but was found at some earlier point in the possession of the Neukloster in Wiener Neustadt. For this altar, see especially: Gyöngyi Török, "A magyar szent királyok ábrázolása 1447-ben a bécsi Szent István Dóm bécshelyi oltárán" [The depiction of the Hungarian holy kings on the 1447 altar of Wiener Neustadt in St. Stephen's Cathedral in Vienna], in *Memoriae tradere. Tanulmányok és írások Török József hatvanadik születésnapjára* [*Memoriae tradere. Studies and writings on József Török's sixtieth birthday*], ed. Ádám Füzes and László Legeza (Budapest: Mikes Kiadó, 2006), 373-392, with earlier bibliography.



Fig. 3.21 – “St. Emeric,” “St. Stephen,” and “St. Ladislav” on one of the week-day panels of the Holy Trinity Altar, 1447, 137 x 68.5 cm, wood, tempera, St. Stephen’s Cathedral, Vienna. Photo Source: Kerny, *Szent Imre 1000 éve*

Another important example is the second volume of the *matricula nationis hungaricae* of the University in Vienna, which was begun in 1453 and continued up to 1630.⁴⁴⁹ This manuscript contains two initials decorated with the figures of the holy kings of Hungary. On fol. 5r, there is St. Ladislav’s emblematic fight with the Cuman (Fig. 3.22, left), whereas on fol. 15v, there are the full, standing figures of Sts Stephen and Emeric (Fig. 3.22, right). St. Stephen and his son are dressed in lavishly-decorated court costumes and are invested with royal insignia, i.e., crowns, crucifer orbs, and scepters. The *natio hungarica* at the University of Vienna was placed under St. Ladislav’s patronage, it received in 1414 the permission to organize its annual celebration on 27 June (i.e., St. Ladislav’s feast day), and, besides Hungarians, it gathered also Polish, Bohemian, and Moravian students. This is the reason why the Árpádian stripes on St. Ladislav’s depiction are juxtaposed to the Bohemian rampant lion, the Polish-Lithuanian knight on horseback, and the Moravian eagle on blue background. Similarly, the Polish and Bohemian heraldic symbols are repeated on the other initial,

⁴⁴⁹ Cat. no. 7.72 in Takács, *Sigismundus*, 630; Károly Schrauf, *A bécsi egyetem magyar nemzetének anyakönyve 1453-tól 1630-ig* [The matricula of the Hungarian nation at the University of Vienna from 1453 until 1630] (Budapest: Kiadja a Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1902); Klaniczay, “National Saints”, 87-108. For Hungarian students at the Vienna University, see: Anna Tüskés, *Magyarországi diákok a bécsi egyetemen 1365 és 1526 között. Students from Hungary at the University of Vienna between 1365 and 1526* (Budapest: Az Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem Levéltára, 2008).

being placed above the crowned figures of Sts Stephen and Emeric. Subsequently, the multiple coats of arms decorating the two initials reflected the composite character of the *natio Hungarica* at the University of Vienna, whereas Hungary's three holy kings alone fulfilled the function of patron saints for students coming from several, neighboring countries. In these examples produced and used outside Hungary around mid-fifteenth century, the heraldic devices attached to the image of the three *sancti reges Hungariae* served not only the purpose of identifying these royal saints and denoting their place of origin, but also that of designating visually their quality of sacred protectors of the Kingdom of Hungary or the Central European region, respectively.



Fig. 3.22 – Details of the initials decorated with the images of St. Ladislaus fighting the Cuman (left) and Sts Stephen and Emeric (right) on the *Matricula nationis hungaricae*, 1453, 29.5 x 28 cm, illuminated leaf, fols. 5r and 15v, Ms N. H. 1., Archiv der Universität, Vienna. Photo Sources: <http://mek.oszk.hu/> and Kerny, *Szent Imre 1000 éve*

By the late-fifteenth century, the association of the three holy kings with the kingdom's coats of arms became a pictorial *topos*, as attested by a number of examples which substantiate the idea that the *sancti reges Hungariae* fulfilled indeed the function of patron saints of the country. For instance, the three holy kings of Hungary holding their traditional attributes are depicted in the company of the enthroned Queen of Heavens on the back of the title page of *Missale secundum*

chorum almae ecclesiae Strigoniensis, published in Lyon in 1501 (Fig. 3.23),⁴⁵⁰ and on the title page of *Missale secundum chorum et rubricam almi episcopatus Zagrabiensis Ecclesiae*, published in Venice in 1511 (Fig. 3.24).⁴⁵¹



Fig. 3.23 – *Patrona Hungariae* with Sts Stephen, Ladislas, and Emeric on the back of the title page of *Missale secundum chorum almae ecclesiae Strigoniensis* (Lugduni: [Jacques Sacon], 1501), 35.5 x 26.5 cm, fol. 1v, Inc. XVI. I. 114, Főszékesegyházi Könyvtár, Esztergom. Photo Source: Kerny, *Szent Imre 1000 éve*

Fig. 3.24 – *Patrona Hungariae* with Sts Stephen, Emeric, and Ladislas on the title page of *Missale secundum chorum et rubricam almi episcopatus Zagrabiensis Ecclesiae* (Venezia: Petrus Lichtenstein pro Johanne Muer, 1511), 34.2 x 22.7 cm, fol. 1r, Inc. XVI. I. 143, Főszékesegyházi Könyvtár, Esztergom. Photo Source: Kerny, *Szent Imre 1000 éve*

⁴⁵⁰ Inc. XVI. I. 114, Főszékesegyházi Könyvtár, Esztergom. See especially: Ilona Hubay, *Missalia Hungarica. Régi magyar misekönyvek* [*Missalia Hungarica. Old Hungarian Missals*] (Budapest: Kiadka a Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum Országos Széchényi Könyvtára, 1938), 7, 47-48; Zoltánné Soltész, *A magyarországi könyvdisztés a XVI. században* [*Book Decoration in Hungary in the 16th Century*] (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1961), 19; Árpád Mikó, “II-5. Patrona Hungariae a magyar szent királyokkal az esztergomi misekönyvben” [II-5. Patrona Hungariae with Hungarian Holy Kings in the Esztergom Missal], in Mikó and Sinkó, *Történelem – kép*, 151-152.

⁴⁵¹ Inc. XVI. I. 143, Főszékesegyházi Könyvtár, Esztergom. Hubay, *Missalia Hungarica*, 53-55; István Genthon, ed., *Esztergom műemlékei. I. rész. Múzeumok, kincstár, Könyvtár* [Monuments of Esztergom. Part I. Museums, treasury, library] (Budapest: Kiadja a Műemlékek Országos Bizottsága, 1948), 322; Ilona Berkovits, *Magyar kódexek a XI–XVI. században* [*Hungarian codices in 11th-16th century*] (Budapest: Magyar Helikon, 1965), 87-88, fig. 447; Árpád Mikó, “II-6. Patrona Hungariae a magyar szent királyokkal a zágrábi misekönyvben” [II-6. Patrona Hungariae with Hungarian holy kings in the Zagreb Missal], in Mikó and Sinkó, *Történelem – kép*, 152.

In the former case, each saintly ruler holds shields decorated with the combined, Árpadian and Hungarian coats of arms, and they are labeled together as *Diuini ac tutelares regni Hungarorum patroni*. In the latter example, two shields with these heraldic elements are placed at the holy kings' feet, and the Holy Virgin is called *S(ANCTA) MARIA PATRONA REGNI HVNGARIE*. Although the idea of the Virgin's patronage over Hungary is a political-theological concept that developed much later,⁴⁵² its origin is found, nonetheless, in St. Stephen's *Legenda maior*. Here, one can read the episode of the holy king who, having found himself on the death bed, commended his country to the guardianship of the Holy Mother of God.⁴⁵³ Most certainly, this type of iconographic association between the three *sancti reges Hungariae* and the *Patrona Hungariae*, respectively, received a strong impulse during the reign of King Matthias Corvinus (r. 1458-1490). As Terézia Kerny has shown,⁴⁵⁴ the king's reverence and piety towards the traditional patron saints of the country took the form of monarchic and state representation, receiving a visual expression in the iconography of Matthias Corvinus' double majestic seal, which the king used after 1464 (Fig. 3.25).⁴⁵⁵ On its obverse, King Matthias is depicted with full royal insignia and sits on a throne placed within an elaborate, Gothic architectural setting, which has on its sides angels supporting shields with the country's and the king's multiple coats of arms. In a composition reminiscent of that of the Aachen heraldic pieces (Fig. 2.16-2.17), the throne's canopy is decorated with the busts of the three *sancti reges Hungariae*, who are inserted in tabernacles and hold their usual attributes. In this hypostasis, they are the patron saints of both the kingdom and its king, interceding by means of their spiritual authority for the prosperity and good fate of the country.

⁴⁵² For the concepts of *Maria Patrona Hungariae* and *Regnum Marianum*, see especially: Gábor Tüskés and Éva Knapp, "Magyarország – Mária országa. Egy történelmi toposz a 16-18. századi egyházi irodalomban" [Hungary – Mary's country. A historical topos in the ecclesiastical literature of the 16th-18th centuries], *Irodalomtörténeti közlemények* 104 (2000), 573-602. For recent scholarship overviews which discuss a series of early iconographic instances, see also: Marie Lionnet, "Mise en images des rapports entre culte de la Vierge et pouvoir royal en Hongrie à la fin du Moyen Âge: état de la question", in *Identités hongroises, identités européennes du Moyen Âge à nos jours*, ed. Piroska Nagy (Mont-Saint-Aignan Cedex: Publications des Universités de Rouen et du Havre, 2006), 51-68; Vinni Lucherini, "Raffigurazione e legittimazione della regalità nel primo Trecento: una pittura murale con l'incoronazione di Carlo Roberto d'Angiò a Spišská Kapitula", in *Medioevo: Natura e Figura. Atti del Convegno internazionale di studi Parma, 20-25 settembre 2011*, ed. Arturo Carlo Quintavalle (Milan: Skira, 2015), 675-687.

⁴⁵³ Bartoniek, "Legendae Sancti Stephani", 389-390.

⁴⁵⁴ Terézia Kerny, "Veneration of St. Ladislav and the Hungarian Saints in the Court of Matthias Corvinus. Personal Devotion, State and Monarchic Representation", in *Matthias Corvinus, the King: Tradition and Renewal in the Hungarian Royal Court, 1458-1490, Budapest, History Museum, 19 March – 30 June 2008*, exh. cat., ed. Péter Farbaky et al. (Budapest: Budapest History Museum, 2008), 397-400.

⁴⁵⁵ Bernát Lajos Kumorovitz, "Mátyás király pecsétjei" [King Matthias' seals], *Turul. A Magyar Heraldikai és Genealógiai Társaság Közlönye* 46 (1932), 8-9; Tünde Wehli, "Mátyás kettős vagy felségi pecsétje" [Matthias' double or majestic seal], in *Megpecsételt történelem. Középkori pecsétek Esztergomból* [Sealed history. Medieval seals from Esztergom], ed. András Hegedűs (Esztergom: Turul, 2000), 60; Ernő Marosi, "Die Herrscherrepräsentation des Königs Matthias in der Kunstgeschichte", in *Matthias Rex 1458-1490. Hungary at the Dawn of the Renaissance. Proceedings of the International Conference, May 20-25, 2008. Budapest*, ed. Iván Horváth (Budapest: Eötvös Loránd University Faculty of Humanities, 2013), 3-4, 8, available online at <http://renaissance.elte.hu/wp-content/uploads/2013/09/Erno-Marosi-Die-Herrscherrepräsentation-des-Konigs-Matthias-in-der-Kunstgeschichte.pdf> (accessed 1 June 2017) (henceforth: Horváth, *Matthias Rex*).



Fig. 3.25 – Impression of the obverse of King Matthias' double majestic seal, 1464, Ø 12.3 cm, wax, DL 15675, Magyar Országos Levéltár, Budapest. Photo Source: <http://renaissance.elte.hu/>

It is known that King Matthias Corvinus had a particular veneration for the Holy Virgin, in her quality of spiritual guardian of the country.⁴⁵⁶ It was most likely such devotion that prompted her effigy to be struck on the golden florin the king issued starting from 1471 on (Fig. 3.26). On King Matthias Corvinus' golden florin, the *Patrona Hungariae* shares the protective duties over the country with St. Ladislav, as his iconic figure continued to feature on the coins' reverse. Here, the holy knight is depicted with battle axe and royal insignia, and has the quality of patron saint of the realm.⁴⁵⁷ Subsequently, in this iconographic instance, the Holy Virgin is added to the country's traditional, sacred protectors, augmenting the number of intercessors and enhancing the chances of a flourishing fate for the Kingdom of Hungary.

⁴⁵⁶ András Kubinyi, "Mátyás király tisztelete a Patrona Hungariae iránt" [King Matthias' veneration towards Patrona Hungariae], in András Kubinyi, *Főpapok, egyházi intézmények és vallásosság a középkori Magyarországon* [High priests, ecclesiastical institutions, and religiosity in medieval Hungary] (Budapest: Magyar Egyháztörténeti Enciklopédia Munkaközösség, 1999), 335-339. For Matthias Corvinus' veneration of various cults of saints, see: Gábor Klaniczay, "Matthias and the Saints", in Horváth, *Matthias Rex*, 1-18.

⁴⁵⁷ Cat. nos. 677-689 in Huszár, *Münzkatalog Ungarn*, 107-109; Ferenc Soós, "Patrona Hungariae a magyar pénzekben" [*Patrona Hungariae* on Hungarian coinage], *Éremitani Lapok* 34/3 (1995), 3-12. For King Matthias' monetary reform, see Márton Gyöngyössi, "Die Große Geld- und Münzreform von Matthias Corvinus", in Horváth, *Matthias Rex*, 1-9.



Fig. 3.26 – King Matthias Corvinus’ golden florin showing the *Patrona Hungariae* on the obverse and St. Ladislav on the reverse, 1472, gold, Ø 0.21 cm, weight 3.54 g, Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum Éremtára, Budapest. Photo Source: Wikipedia <https://hu.wikipedia.org/> (Accessed 1 June 2017)

3. 4. 2. Heraldry, *sancti reges Hungariae*, and Urban Ideology – Two Case Studies: Sibiu (1445) and Bardejov (1521)

Given these iconographic developments in the representation of the three *sancti reges Hungariae* and their increasing role throughout the fifteenth century as patron saints of the country, it is not surprising that marks of this special position of Hungary’s three holy kings were reflected sometimes also in their iconography in church mural painting. If one accepts the identification of the three saintly figures depicted on the triumphal arch’s pillars in the church in Čečejevce with Hungary’s three holy kings, then St. Emeric, too, was represented during the first half of the fourteenth century as a holy warrior holding a spear and shield decorated with the red-and-white, Árpáadian stripes.⁴⁵⁸ Painted sometime around 1400 on the back of the *sedilia* in the sanctuary in Šmig,⁴⁵⁹ the partially-uncovered figures of Sts Ladislav and Stephen are depicted as knights with coat armors rendered in Hungarian heraldic colors (Fig. 6.24). The former saint has the red-and-white stripes arranged obliquely on his chest, whereas the latter has a white, double cross decorating his red, tightly-fitted coat armor.

⁴⁵⁸ This identification is hypothetical; for these murals and a discussion of the problematic identification of the three poorly-preserved figures with royal and military attributes, see below.

⁴⁵⁹ The only partial evaluation of the murals in Šmig is: Gábor Gaylhoffer-Kovács, “Alexandriai Szent Katalin legendája három szászöldi freskón. Somogyom, Homoróddaróc, Darlac” [The Legend of Saint Catherine of Alexandria in three frescoes of the Saxons’ Land. Šmig, Drăușeni, Dârlos], in Kollár, *Szórvány emlékei*, 286-323.

Roughly the same time, the three *sancti reges Hungariae* in Khust were represented uniformly as knights holding shields decorated with red crosses on a red-and-white background. Although the Árpadian heraldic symbolism was obvious, reference was not made to the Hungarian Kingdom's coat of arms, as the red crosses on these shields were simple, not double-barred. Both heraldic elements were at that point in use for a couple of centuries, but the painter(s) in Khust chose instead to emphasize the Hungarian holy kings' hypostasis of Christian warriors. The settlement in Khust was founded by royal *hospites* most probably during the last decades of the thirteenth century. Later on, in 1329, King Charles I conferred the status of free royal towns upon Vyshkovo (Ukr. *Вишкovo*, Hung. *Visk*), Tyachiv (Ukr. *Тячів*, Hung. *Técső*), Khust, and Câmpulung la Tisa (Hung. *Hosszúmező*).⁴⁶⁰ Far from the main commercial roads, these royal towns, which were inhabited by both Saxons and Hungarians, were located on the Tisa River Valley and owed their economic importance to salt mining.⁴⁶¹ The building around mid-fourteenth century of a castle bolstered the importance of Khust among the five free royal towns of Máramaros County.⁴⁶² Although after 1370 Sighetu Marmației became the center of the county, this did not lead to a decrease in the significance of the town of Khust, as the *comes* of Máramaros, who was also *comes camerarum salium regalium*, resided in this castle and collected taxes from the settlements and possessions belonging administratively to the Khust District.⁴⁶³ In 1392, King Sigismund of Luxemburg donated Khust and Sighet to the *comites* of Máramaros and Ugocsa, namely, the Romanian voivodes Dragoș and Balița.⁴⁶⁴ However, the king took them back in 1403, after the two voivodes' participation in the anti-Sigismund rebellion,⁴⁶⁵ Khust becoming a free royal town again. Although the dedication to St. Elizabeth of Hungary/Thuringia of the parish church in Khust is attested only in 1470-1474,⁴⁶⁶ this was most likely the initial dedication of the church, which was built in a single stage during the second half of the fourteenth century (most likely towards its

⁴⁶⁰ Doc. no. 4, in János Mihály, ed., *Máramarosi diplomák a XIV. és XV. századból* [Charters of Máramaros in the 14th and 15th century] (Máramaros-Sziget [Sighetu Marmației]: Mayer és Berger Könyvnyomdája, 1900), 8-11.

⁴⁶¹ Carol Kacso, "Date cu privire la exploatarea timpurie de sare din Maramureș" [Data concerning early salt exploitation in Máramaros], in *Sarea, Timpul și Omul. Catalog de Expoziție* [Salt, time, and man. Exhibition catalogue], ed. Valeriu Căvruș and Andrea Chiricescu (Sfântu Gheorghe: Editura Angustia, 2006), 97-121.

⁴⁶² For the history of Khust Castle, see: Dezső Csánki, *Magyarország történelmi földrajza a Hunyadkorában* [Historical geography of Hungary during the age of the Hunyadis] (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1890), 1: 444-445; Radu Popa, *Țara Maramureșului în veacul al XIV-lea* [Maramureș Land in the 14th century] (Bucharest: Editura Enciclopedică, 1997), 46-47, 84, 232; Alajos Deschmann, *Kárpátalja Műemlékei* [Monuments of Transcarpathia] (Budapest: Tájak-Korok-Múzeumok Egyesület, 1990), 165-168.

⁴⁶³ Ioan Drăgan, *Nobilimea românească din Transilvania, 1440-1514* [Romanian Nobility in Transylvania, 1440-1514] (Bucharest: Editura Enciclopedică, 2000), 237.

⁴⁶⁴ Doc. no. 386 and 388, Antonius Fekete Nagy and Ladislaus Makkay, ed., *Documenta Historiam Valachorum in Hungaria Illustrantia usque ad annum 1400 p. Christum* (Budapestini: Sumptibus Instituti Historici Europae Centro-Orientalis in Universitate Scientiarum Budapestinensis, 1941), 432-435.

⁴⁶⁵ Lángi, "Huszt (Xycr)", 109. For this episode, see below.

⁴⁶⁶ Ibid.; Csánki, *Magyarország történelmi földrajza*, 1: 457.

end).⁴⁶⁷ Its *plebanus* acted as Vicar General of Máramaros County⁴⁶⁸ and, by the mid-fifteenth century, he was one of the few Saxon-origin noblemen of the county.⁴⁶⁹ Following shortly the completion of the construction of the church, the nave's northern and eastern walls were decorated with frescoes. This happened probably around 1400, a series of stylistic features which the frescoes in Khust share with a number of other monuments in the area pointing out to such dating.⁴⁷⁰ The large-size composition of the three *sancti reges Hungariae* was prominently placed above the eye level on the northern wall of the nave, being one of the first images one could see upon entering the church through its southern, medieval door. Additionally, all three figures had initially crowns shaped as three lilies, which were made either of gilded metal or metal-colored wood, and which were attached to their foreheads by metal bolts.⁴⁷¹ It would be tempting to assume that the emphasis put in this manner on the holy kings' royal status was a consequence of Khust's regaining after 1403 of the status of free royal town. However, this particularity is encountered elsewhere in the area (e.g., only the crown of the Holy Virgin, but not St. Ladislav's in the scene depicting the Coronation of this saint in the neighboring church in Baktalórántháza)⁴⁷² and might represent in fact a mere technical characteristic. The donor(s) of the murals on the northern and eastern walls of the nave in Khust is/are unknown. However, the figure of a hypothetical supplicant/donor on one of the coeval and neighboring representations⁴⁷³ suggests that motivations pertaining to personal devotion behind the representation of the *sancti reges Hungariae* should not be overlooked either. After all, the church was dedicated to one of the relatives of the three holy kings, namely, St. Elizabeth of Hungary/Thuringia, which implies that the Árpadian saints' cults were not unknown in this town inhabited by both Saxons and Hungarians. The decoration of the holy kings' shields is freely rendered (simple, not double crosses on backgrounds composed of red-and-white, horizontal stripes) and indicates that heraldic accuracy did not represent a priority for the painter(s) of the image in Khust. These have been more concerned instead with achieving for the three *sancti reges Hungariae* a pronounced knightly appearance, i.e., in accordance with their hypostasis of *miles*

⁴⁶⁷ Lángi, "Huszt (Xycr)", 125.

⁴⁶⁸ Doc. no. 195 and 202, in László Blazovich and Lajos Géczi, ed., *Anjou-kori oklevéltár. Documenta Res Hungaricas Tempore Regum Andegavensium Illustrantia 1301-1387. X. 1326* (Budapest and Szeged: Agapé Ferences Nyomda és Könyvkiadó Kft., 2000), 137, 140-141. See also Drăgan, *Nobilimea românească*, 257.

⁴⁶⁹ Marian Horvat, "Considerații generale privind nobilimea românească din comitatul Maramureș în timpul regelui Matia Corvin (1458-1490)" [General remarks concerning Romanian nobility in Máramaros County during King Matthias Corvinus (1458-1490)], *Buletinul Cercurilor Științifice Studențești* 22 (2016), 125.

⁴⁷⁰ Lángi, "Huszt (Xycr)", 115, 117, 127; Zsombor Jékely, "Középkori falfestészet a Felső-Tisza-vidéken" [Medieval wall painting in the Upper-Tisza region], in Kollár, *Művészet és vallás*, 57-59.

⁴⁷¹ Lángi, "Szent László ábrázolásairól", 196; idem, "Huszt (Xycr)", 117. These crowns are now lost, but their traces which were left in the raw mortar still indicate their initial presence. See also the relevant entry in the Catalogue of Murals.

⁴⁷² Jékely, "Középkori falfestészet", 58.

⁴⁷³ For the church's iconographic context, see the relevant entry in the Catalogue of Murals.

Christi. This quality of Christian warriors which the *sancti reges Hungariae* had in common with other holy knights, such as St. George, St. Louis IX of France, or St. Sigismund, had great relevance around 1400, in the context of the increasing Ottoman threat. With time's passing, however, the heraldic symbolism and ideological content attached to the representation of the three *sancti reges Hungariae* in religious mural painting became more complex, being enriched with additional meanings that had immediate significance in specific political contexts and for particular audiences. Two interesting cases attest to this fact.

The northern wall of the sanctuary of the main parish church in Sibiu, which was dedicated to the Holy Virgin, was decorated in 1445 by painter *Iohannes de Rozenaw* with a monumental Crucifixion. This scene is composed of numerous personages taking part in the sacred event, and is surrounded by an illusionistic architectural structure that is decorated with additional figures and heraldic elements. Dressed in lavishly decorated costumes, invested both with royal insignia, and depicted according to their respective age types, St. Stephen and St. Ladislav stand in the two lateral niches of the Gothic, illusionistic architecture, and gaze from aside at the colorful multitude gathered at the feet of the three crosses. The complex Crucifixion scene suffered multiple repainting throughout time, the most significant one having happened in 1650, when the local painter Georg Herman restored the damaged parts and refashioned the upper side of the monumental composition, so that it accorded with Lutheran theology.⁴⁷⁴ In brief, Georg Herman replaced then the original figure of the *Regina Coeli* hovering in the composition's apex with the Hebrew *Tetragrammaton*,⁴⁷⁵ added in the Gothic crowning of the painted architectural structure three new scenes illustrating Christ's Nativity, Ascension, and Baptism,⁴⁷⁶ and he supplemented the upper, canopied niches with the allegorical figures of Humility and Glory.⁴⁷⁷ Additionally, Herman reworked the colors and shapes of the heraldic shields placed on the lintel of the Gothic architectural crowning, however,

⁴⁷⁴ Ágnes Bálint and Frank-Thomas Ziegler, "Wer hat das schöne Himmelszelt hoch über uns gesetzt? Zu den Übermalungen des Rosenauer-Wandbildes in der Hermannstädter Stadtpfarrkirche", *Zeitschrift für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde* 34/1 (2011), 1-28.

⁴⁷⁵ Ibid., 6, 9, 20, fig. 8-10.

⁴⁷⁶ Ibid., 6, 20-21, fig. 2-3.

⁴⁷⁷ Evelin Wetter, "Da solch kirchenngepreng war, bald fingenn die Wiedersacher an zu predigenn wider das Abendmahl des Hern... Zu Strategien konfessioneller Selbstverortnung in Siebenbürgen", in Varga, *Bonum ut pulchrum*, 504-506; Bálint, "Wer hat das schöne Himmelszelt", 12. The two allegorical figures replaced probably two unknown, late-medieval figures, as it is unlikely for the mid-fifteenth century painter to have left empty these canopied niches placed above St. Stephen's and St. Ladislav's depictions. One can only hypothesize, but these original figures could have been other patron saints of the country, such as St. Emeric and St. Elizabeth of Hungary. For later iconographic analogies depicting Hungarian patron saints in niches of illusionistic architecture, see the tile page of the second edition of Peter Pázmány's *Guide to Divine Truth* (Bratislava, 1623) and King Ferdinand II's charter granting a coat of arms to Stephen Bornemissza (Vienna, 1628); for these representations, see below.

without affecting them radically, for these coats of arms still retain their mid-fifteenth century political relevance.⁴⁷⁸

Typical for Late Gothic art, the complex compositional treatment of the culminating moment in Christ's Passion, namely, the Crucifixion, is characterized by the agglomeration of personages at the feet of the crosses. Either directly involved in the event's tragicallness or simple observers, these personages are usually dressed in lavish, contemporaneous costumes, and are surprised in pathetic attitudes, which accentuate the episode's theatrical character and make it resemble medieval religious drama.⁴⁷⁹ Placed on the margins, but gazing at the people gathered near the three crosses, the easily-recognizable Sts Stephen and Ladislav watch from aside the biblical event of Christ's Crucifixion. This way, they become the witnesses of this tragic event of sacred history, bringing it closer, both spatially and temporally, to the beholder. In addition to the biblical characters' contemporaneous costumes, this bringing-up-to-date of the biblical episode is further achieved by the placing of heraldic shields above the figures of Hungary's two holy kings and on the lintel resting on the two painted piers. The coats of arms displayed on the lintel shields are the Hungarian, double-barred cross (left side), the eagle of the Holy Roman Empire (center), and the crowned, rampant lion of Bohemia (right side). Additionally, the shield above St. Stephen represents the red-and-white, Árpáadian coat of arms, whereas the one above St. Ladislav is the red-and-white blazon of the Austrian Duchy. Such heraldic display was a direct reference to the political order of the kingdom, which was ruled at that point by Ladislav V the Posthumous, King of Hungary (r. 1440 or 1444-1457), but also Duke of Austria (r. 1440-1457), future King of Bohemia (r. 1453-1457), and a dynast of imperial descent through his belonging to the House of Habsburg. During the five-year political struggle (1440-1445) between the partisans of the "Bohemian" Ladislav (i.e., the future King Ladislav V) and the "Polish" Ladislav (i.e., the actual King of Hungary Wladislav I, r. 1440-1444), the town of Sibiu was briefly on the side of the former (until 1441), but later passed on the latter's side.⁴⁸⁰ However, the Hungarian king's death as a crusader in Varna in 1444 concluded this period of civil war with the unexpected victory of Ladislav V. He

⁴⁷⁸ Bálint, "Wer hat das schöne Himmelszelt", 11, 25. These heraldic deviations are discussed in Albert Arz von Straußenburg, "Die Wappen des großen Wandgemäldes in der Hermannstädter Kirche und ihre Deutung", *Deutsche Forschungen im Südosten* 2 (1943), 344-352, esp. p. 346.

⁴⁷⁹ Drăguț, *Arta gotică*, 239-240, 264-265. For medieval religious drama, see: Karl Young, *The Drama of the Medieval Church* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1933), 2 vol.; Sandro Sticca, ed., *The Medieval Drama. Papers of the Third Annual Conference of the Center for Medieval and Early Renaissance Studies, State University of New York at Binghamton, 3-4 May 1969* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1972); Peter Meredith and John E. Tailby, *The Staging of Religious Drama in Europe in the Later Middle Ages: Texts and Documents in English Translation* (Kalamazoo, Michigan: Medieval Institute Publications, Western Michigan University, 1983); Dunbar H. Ogden, *The Staging of Drama in the Medieval Church* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2002); Richard D. McCall, *Do This. Liturgy as Performance* (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 2007).

⁴⁸⁰ Bálint, "Wer hat das schöne Himmelszelt", 18.

returned, thus, the House of Habsburg on the Hungarian throne, being accepted as King of Hungary by the estates through the diet of April 1445 (i.e., the same year *Iohannes de Rozenaw* completed his work), in which the towns, exceptionally, were represented for the first time.⁴⁸¹ The unusual, urban participation in the affairs of the realm was the consequence of the gravity of this political crisis, whereas the diet's outcome (i.e., the acceptance of Ladislas V as King of Hungary) most likely determined the town of Sibiu to return to its former Habsburg sympathies. Hence, the heraldic content on the Gothic, illusionistic architecture framing the monumental Crucifixion, which was previously understood as an emphatic act of homage to the returned ruling house.⁴⁸²

Snapshots of both sacred and secular history – i.e., the episode of Christ's Crucifixion and the heraldic construct reflecting faithfully the time's political situation, respectively – are brought together by the insertion in the general composition of the figures of Sts Stephen and Ladislas. These holy kings were themselves ambivalent models, namely, paradigms of both sainthood and statehood, of sacred and secular realms. That the two Hungarian holy rulers were represented in this case in their quality of patron saints of the kingdom/country is further confirmed by the image of the *Regina Coeli*, which came recently to light from under the *Tetragrammaton* painted in 1650 by Georg Herman.⁴⁸³ The Queen of Heaven's sunray-emanating figure which hovers above in the apex of the entire composition is most likely an early hypostasis of the *Patrona Hungariae* iconography, which received an impetus starting with King Matthias Corvinus' reign. Side by side with the heraldic/political overtone of the general composition, one should not disregard the devotional aspect of the image either. Christ's Passion in the central Crucifixion is further emphasized by the devotional image of the *Vir dolorum* displaying his wounds in the central illusionistic niche that was painted on the base of the pseudo-architectural frame. Whereas its formal qualities have been affected by heavy repainting in the early-twentieth century,⁴⁸⁴ the general iconography of the whole image is most likely close to the original, late-medieval one, and it can be understood as a pictorial reflex of the iconography of Late-Gothic sacrament houses.⁴⁸⁵ These were usually placed on the sanctuary's northern wall, therefore, the general Christ- and Eucharist-centered composition of the image in Sibiu functioned primarily as a pictorial illustration of the rite happening at the nearby, main altar of the church. Additionally, the composition satisfied also the special veneration of the *Corpus Christi* which is plentifully documented for the town's main parish church and for the town

⁴⁸¹ For this episode, see Engel, *Realm of St Stephen*, 280-295.

⁴⁸² Bálint, "Wer hat das schöne Himmelszelt", 18.

⁴⁸³ Ibid., 6, 9, 20, fig. 8-10.

⁴⁸⁴ Ibid., 8.

⁴⁸⁵ Ciprian Firea, "Pictura murală Crucificarea din biserica evanghelică din Sibiu" [The mural painting Crucifixion in the Evangelical church in Sibiu], in *Confluente. Repere europene în arta transilvăneană. Catalog de expoziție. Palatul Brukenthal, Sibiu, 2007* [Confluences. European landmarks in Transylvanian art. Exhibition catalogue. Brukenthal Palace, Sibiu, 2007], ed. Daniela Dâmboiu and Iulia Mesea (Sibiu: Altip, 2007), 29-32.

itself.⁴⁸⁶ The urban community in Sibiu was not completely ignorant of the cult of Hungary's holy kings either, since the *Praepositura* of Hermannstadt was created in 1191 through a royal initiative, being placed under the direct jurisdiction of the Archbishopric of Esztergom and receiving later the spiritual patronage of St. Ladislav.⁴⁸⁷ In 1424, through another royal initiative, part of the functions of this provostry and all of its assets were transferred to the town of Sibiu and its parish church.⁴⁸⁸ Subsequently, from that moment on, the *plebanus* of Sibiu directly supervised the liturgical activity of St. Ladislav Church of the collegiate chapter. On the same occasion, it was also established that fifteen masses were to be said daily by fifteen priests in the main parish church of the town and its dependent churches. Out of the two solemn masses sung daily, the first was naturally dedicated to the Holy Virgin, who was the patron saint of the town's main parish church, whereas the second one changed its dedication daily, the Tuesday mass being celebrated in honor of St. Ladislav.⁴⁸⁹ According to another document dated to 1432 and in accordance with the saint's royal specificity, one finds out that the Tuesday mass dedicated to St. Ladislav was to be performed at the altar of other royal saints preferentially associated with Hungary's holy kings, namely, the altar of the Three Magi.⁴⁹⁰ As one finds out from an indulgence issued in Vienna in 1448, i.e., three years after the execution of the Crucifixion on the choir's northern wall, the holy knight was not the only Hungarian holy king particularly venerated in the church, all three *sancti reges Hungariae* being included among the multitude of patron saints of a new choir that was to be added to the main church.⁴⁹¹ As previously suggested, this multiple dedication was not unusual at all and its purpose

⁴⁸⁶ Ibid.; Ciprian Firea, "Liturgie médiévale et architecture gothique dans l'église paroissiale de Sibiu (1350-1550)", in *Arhitectura religioasă medievală din Transilvania. Középkori egyházi építészet Erdélyben. Medieval Ecclesiastical Architecture of Transylvania*, ed. Péter Levente Szöcs (Satu Mare: Editura Muzeului Sătmărean, 2012), 5: 275-318.

⁴⁸⁷ Karl Reinert, "Die freie königliche St. Ladislaus-Propstei zu Hermannstadt und ihr Kapitel", *Deutsche Forschung im Südosten. Zeitschrift der Forschungsinstituts der Deutschen Volksgruppe in Rumänien* 3 (1942), 319-361; Hans-Werner Schuster, "Zur Autonomie der Hermannstädter Propstei", *Ungarn-Jahrbuch. Zeitschrift für die Kunde Ungarns und verwandte Gebiete* 16 (1988), 1-9; Șerban Turcuș, "Fondarea prepozitiei sașilor ca proiect al Sfântului Scaun" [The foundation of the Saxons' provostry as project of the Holy See], *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie "George Barițiu". Series Historica* 49 (2010), 21-37.

⁴⁸⁸ Doc. no. 1956, in Gustav Gündisch, ed., *Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte der Deutschen in Siebenbürgen. Vierter Band 1416-1437* (Hermannstadt [Sibiu]: Verein für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde, 1937), 217-220.

⁴⁸⁹ "Qui quidem sacerdotes quindecim missas ut puta in dicta ecclesia sancti Ladislai, unam de eodem sancto Ladislao legendo, item unam pro peccatis in hospitali de eadem Cibinio cantando, in ecclesia quoque parochiali beatae Mariae virginis de eadem Cibinio singulis diebus puta die dominico post missam beatae Mariae virginis, quae omni die dicitur cantando, secundum missam de sancta trinitate, item consequenter feria secundo eadem hora pro defunctis, feria autem tertia de sancto Ladislao rege et feria quarta de sancto Nicolao, feria vero quinta de corpore Christi, feria siquidem sexta de sancta cruce vel de passione domini, sabbato autem de sancta Katherina vel de sanctis angelis cum commemoratione omnium sanctorum devote et sollempniter modo simili cantando, et ibidem ac in eadem ecclesia alias undecim missas legendo, praeterea unam in capella beati Jacobi apostoli in cimiterio eiusdem parochialis ecclesiae sita de eodem sancto Jacobo consimiliter legendo, cunctis diebus perpetuis futuris temporibus sine intermissione peragere possint et debeant effective...", *ibid.*, 219-220.

⁴⁹⁰ Doc. no. 2147, in *ibid.*, 461-462; Firea, "Liturgie médiévale", 289.

⁴⁹¹ Doc. no. 2634, in Gustav Gündisch, ed., *Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte der Deutschen in Siebenbürgen. Fünfter Band 1438-1457. Nummer 2300-3098. Mit 9 Tafeln* (Bucharest: Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste România, 1975), 242-243. "Cupientes igitur, ut nova capella ecclesiae parochialis beatae Mariae virginis in Cibinio a retro annexa

was to meet the devotional needs of as many pilgrims as possible and to attract additional funds for supporting the new building.⁴⁹² However, the inclusion of Sts Stephen, Ladislav, and Emeric among the chapel's or the main altar's patron saints is indicative of the holy kings' popularity and high devotional relevance for the urban community in Sibiu. Seemingly, some of the town's craftsmen or patricians were especially attached to the cult of St. Ladislav, as the following two examples attest to. On the one hand, according to the 1485 statutes of the tailors' guild, one finds out that these craftsmen had St. Ladislav as their spiritual patron, since one of their regulations stipulated that a chanted divine service had to be performed each year at St. Ladislav's altar on his feast day.⁴⁹³ On the other hand, one is informed that, in the eve of the Reformation, a private chapel dedicated to St. Ladislav functioned also in the towering house of Lutsch family, whose members belonged to the town's patriciate.⁴⁹⁴

The general devotional content of the entire composition has also a personal aspect through the presence of the two donors who kneel both sides of the Man of Sorrows. These laymen were originally accompanied by their coats of arms, which are currently obscured by later repainting.⁴⁹⁵ Both coats of arms were shaped as escutcheons decorated in their fields with another, smaller shield and three smaller shields, respectively. The shields' *mise en abyme* is usually the heraldic symbol of the painters' guild⁴⁹⁶ and, as Ciprian Firea has rightly pointed out,⁴⁹⁷ the inscription above the Man of Sorrows' "sacrament niche" should be understood not only as the painter's signature, but also as marker of commissionership for the entire fresco. *Iohannes de Rozenaw* was, thus, not only the painter of the monumental composition of the Crucifixion on the choir's northern wall, but also one of its commissioners, most likely the main one. The identity of his associate playing the secondary role in this endeavor remains for the time being unknown, his coat of arms not having been recognized until now. From the perspective of documentary

et in honore eiusdem virginis Mariae nec non beatorum Laurencii, Wolfgangi, Anthonii, Francisci, Floriani, Stephani ac Ladislai regum et Emerici ducis ac Katherinae, Barbarae, Dorotheae, Ceciliae, Elisabeth et Clarae martirum construenda et aedificanda...". For the suggestion that this *nova capella... a retro annexa* was a new choir for the church that was never accomplished and the possibility that this multiple dedication reflected, in fact, the patronage of the church's main altar, see Firea, "Liturgie médiévale", 294.

⁴⁹² Ibid.

⁴⁹³ Doc. no. 66, in Monica Vlaicu, ed., *Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Hermannstadt. Band 2. Handel und Gewerbe in Hermannstadt und in den Sieben Stühlen 1224-1579. Documente privind istoria oraşului Sibiu. Volumul II. Comerţ şi meşteşuguri în Sibiu şi în cele Şapte Scaune 1224-1579* (Sibiu: Editura Hora, 2003), 168-175.

⁴⁹⁴ Briccium Lutsch is mentioned in 1507 as administrator of the revenues pertaining to the former Provostry of Hermannstadt, whereas Johannes Lutsch is mentioned in 1509 as *vitricus* of the Holy Spirit Hospital, Carmen Florea, "Relics at the Margins of Latin Christendom: The Cult of a Frontier Saint in the Late Middle Ages", in *Reliques et sainteté dans l'espace médiéval*, ed. Jean-Luc Deuffic (Saint-Denis: PECIA Ressources en médiévistique, 2005), 490.

⁴⁹⁵ Bálint, "Wer hat das schöne Himmelszelt", fig. 6-7.

⁴⁹⁶ Ibid., 24-25, 28; Ciprian Firea, "Blazonul breslei pictorilor şi urme ale folosirii sale în Transilvania (sec. XV-XVI)" [The coat of arms of the painters' guild and traces of its usage in Transylvania (15th-16th c.)], *Ars Transsilvaniae* 21 (2011), 64-65, fig. 13-15.

⁴⁹⁷ Ibid.

information, *Iohannes de Rozenaw* remains still an enigmatical figure, about which one can only hypothesize that he lived indeed in Sibiu (hence, his decision to sponsor the execution of the Crucifixion), that he owned a house in the close proximity of the parish church (a sign of his flourishing economic position, too),⁴⁹⁸ that he maybe had a son studying at the University of Vienna in 1454,⁴⁹⁹ and that he presumably belonged to the town's economic and administrative élite as a consequence of his lucrative profession.⁵⁰⁰ His possible involvement in the commissioning of the Crucifixion fresco – which he additionally authored, too – and especially his representation as a wealthy donor belonging to the urban patriciate recommend *Iohannes de Rozenaw* as a prominent and proud citizen of his town.

The Crucifixion mural was primarily a cult image meant to illustrate the general theological message of the Eucharistic rite happening at the church's neighboring, main altar. Secondarily, it had a devotional implication for its two sponsors, who chose to represent themselves as worshipping donors in the composition's lowermost side. Their devotion was directed generally towards Christ (i.e., towards His Passion and suffering) and the reality of His Body and Blood in the Eucharist, respectively, but also towards Sts Stephen and Ladislav, whom they revered as important local saints, but to whom, seemingly, they were not tied by personal patronage bounds: interestingly, *Iohannes de Rozenaw* is placed below St. Stephen, who was not his namesake, personal patron. Moreover, a number of external elements argue for another, possible reading or understanding of the Crucifixion's message. These are the large size of the fresco, its prominent position on the sanctuary's northern wall, the complexity and immediacy of its heraldic display, as well as its location in a space which represented the meeting point of the town's spiritual and secular life. It is known, for that matter, that important civic events or meetings were earlier on held precisely in the choir of the main parish church and sanctioned or ratified through oaths or celebrations of the mass at the main altar.⁵⁰¹ It is not excluded, therefore, that the painted architectural frame of the Crucifixion served also the political purpose of representing the country's ruler and of rendering homage to the king, who was the originator and guarantor of the town's special status. Sibiu was not simply a free royal town, but also the *Hauptstuhl* of Hermannstadt, that is, the main administrative body of all Transylvanian Saxons leaving on the *Fundus Regius*. They enjoyed a special legal status set up by the 1224 *Andreanum* and repeatedly confirmed by later kings. In exchange for their full loyalty and services to the king, Transylvanian Saxons gained a series of autonomous rights, the most significant ones being their placing directly under the

⁴⁹⁸ Ibid., 65.

⁴⁹⁹ Radocsay, *Wandgemälde*, 32.

⁵⁰⁰ Firea, "Blazonul breslei pictorilor", 64-65.

⁵⁰¹ Idem, "Liturgie médiévale", 282.

jurisdiction of the king (represented by a *comes* elected locally by the Saxons and confirmed by the king), and their free election of judges and local representatives. As both free royal town and main administrative seat, Sibiu was certainly proud of its special legal status and prominent position among Transylvanian Saxons, but also aware of the royal-originating source of its privileged place.⁵⁰² As a matter of fact, immediately after he reached the age of 18 and his rule became effective (1453), King Ladislas V plentifully rewarded the town of Sibiu and the *Hauptstuhl* of Hermannstadt (and, through them, Transylvanian Saxons generally). In 1453, he exempted Saxon merchants from taxes throughout the territory of the kingdom,⁵⁰³ and reinstated their right to be judged exclusively by the royal court.⁵⁰⁴ He also confirmed that year the Saxons' liberties and privileges granted by previous rulers,⁵⁰⁵ and bestowed upon them the honor to use red wax for sealing.⁵⁰⁶ In 1453, King Ladislas V granted Transylvanian Saxons the collecting of custom and royal taxes from Turnu Roșu (Germ. *Rothenturm*, Hung. *Vöröstorony*) for their own benefit, on condition to consolidate the border's defensive system,⁵⁰⁷ whereas one year later, he supported directly through a royal donation the extension of the fortifications of Sibiu.⁵⁰⁸ In 1455, he commissioned John Hunyadi to protect the Saxons' land possessions from the attacks of Hungarian nobility,⁵⁰⁹ he granted Saxon freedoms to the shoemakers' guild in Sibiu,⁵¹⁰ and in 1456, he commissioned the Voivode of Transylvania to investigate those cases when Transylvanian Saxons were alienated from their possessions during the period of the king's minority.⁵¹¹ As pictorial illustration of theological and liturgical aspects, on the one hand, and as expression of personal devotion, on the other hand, the two-folded meaning of the Crucifixion in Sibiu can easily be reconciled with its third hypostasis, namely, that of being a way of proclaiming political loyalties. As probably prominent citizens of their town, the two pious donors, namely, the painter *Iohannes de Rozenaw* and his unknown partner, certainly adhered to the civic and political values embraced by the community they were part of. Their work became, thus, through their religious/artistic commission, the voice for expressing such ideological message and for taking a political stance.

Another similar example is the representation of the *sancti reges Hungariae* which was executed in 1521 on the outer wall of the south-western tower of the main parish church of St. Giles

⁵⁰² Ágnes Flóra, "The Matter of Honour. The Leading Urban Elite in Sixteenth Century Cluj and Sibiu", PhD Diss. (Budapest: Central European University, 2014), 49-55.

⁵⁰³ Doc. no. 2814 and 2852 in Gündisch, *Urkundenbuch V*, 372, 402.

⁵⁰⁴ Doc. no. 2828, *ibid.*, 383-384.

⁵⁰⁵ Doc. no. 2819, 2832, and 2851, *ibid.*, 376-377, 387-388, 401-402.

⁵⁰⁶ Doc. no. 2831, *ibid.*, 386.

⁵⁰⁷ Doc. no. 2812 and 2829, *ibid.*, 374-375, 384.

⁵⁰⁸ Doc. no. 2905, *ibid.*, 442.

⁵⁰⁹ Doc. no. 2954, *ibid.*, 279-280.

⁵¹⁰ Doc. no. 2973, *ibid.*, 495-496.

⁵¹¹ Doc. no. 3011, *ibid.*, 524-525.

in Bardejov. In this defunct image, Hungary's three holy kings were represented according to their usual age types, but in a differentiated manner.⁵¹² The crowned and armored St. Ladislav with halberd and sword stood on the left side, next to the central image of the crowned St. Stephen, who held a scepter and crucifer orb. In his lavish vestment, the crownless St. Emeric stood on the right side of the composition holding a lily and sword. Together with a monumental depiction of St. Christopher, this image was placed on the southern façade of the tower, right above one of the two southern-side entrances to the church.⁵¹³ Consequently, the two images enjoyed a high degree of visibility, being perceivable from afar and from various angles of the medieval square. Both depictions were coeval and represented a public commission initiated and sponsored by the town's administration. As one finds out from the town's book of expenses, in 1521, the town officials of Bardejov had paid 35 florins to *Ioannes Emerici* and [*Iohannes*] *Krausz* for their work consisting of the painting of the images of St. Christopher and the three (holy) kings, as well as the clock in the church's tower.⁵¹⁴ No longer extant, the murals are known today only from the evidence – both written and visual – that Viktor Myskovszky had produced during the 1860s and 1870s, when the frescoes were still clearly visible. On the right (eastern) side of the holy kings' image, there was the monumental depiction of St. Christopher carrying the Christ Child on his shoulder. This was a common representation on the façade of medieval Catholic churches, St. Christopher's oversized figure being perceivable from great distance and having protective function against sudden death.⁵¹⁵ Below the holy kings' image, two kneeling angels flanked a framed inscription recording the murals' date of execution: *ANNO DOM(INI):MI:/LESI(M)O QVIGENT/SI(M)O VIG(E)SI(M)O PRIMO*.⁵¹⁶ On the register above the depictions of the *sancti reges Hungariae* and St. Christopher (i.e., above the carved, Gothic cornice marking the floors' division), two painted coats of arms – held each by one angel – corresponded to each of the two lower images. Above the representation of the *sancti reges Hungariae*, there was the coat of arms of the ruling King of Hungary and

⁵¹² Watercolors and drawings showing the vanished image of Hungary's three holy kings are kept in the archives of the Kulturális Örökségvédelmi Hivatal in Budapest; they were made by Viktor Myskovszky between 1867 and 1874 (inv. no. 30.700), and probably by Kálmán Lux in 1878 (inv. no. 00.104). Some of these copies are published in: Myskovszky, *Bártfa középkori műemlékei I*, 28-29, pl. I, VI; Kery, "Magyar szent királyok a templomok külső falain", 83, fig. 2.

⁵¹³ On its southern side, the church had two entrances: the western one ensured the access to both the church's western side and the upper levels of the tower and choir loft, whereas the eastern one was covered by a built porch and allowed the access to the middle of the nave.

⁵¹⁴ "Anno 1521 Item fecimus hoc Anno depingi imaginem Sti Christophori et trium Regum, atque horologium in turri Ecclesiae per Joannem Emerici et Krausz ratione ejus laboriseidem solvimus fl. 35.", *Rationale inchoatum sub Indicatu prudentis ac circumspici Alexii Glauchner Anno Domini 1509*, apud Myskovszky, *Bártfa középkori műemlékei I*, 29.

⁵¹⁵ See n. 390. As pointed out by Kery, "Magyar szent királyok a templomok külső falain", 84, one should not overlook either the fact that St. Christopher's feast day on 25 July is close to the *depositio* of St. Ladislav on 29 July; subsequently, the chronological proximity of the two feasts may have motivated the iconographic association, too.

⁵¹⁶ Myskovszky, *Bártfa középkori műemlékei I*, 29, pl. VI; Kery, "Magyar szent királyok a templomok külső falain", 83, fig. 2.

Bohemia, Louis II Jagiełło (r. 1516-1526). This coat of arms consisted of a shield, whose field was divided into four subfields; these were decorated with the red-and-white, horizontal stripes of the Árpáds and the Hungarian double cross (upper half), and the three lion heads with crowns of Dalmatia and Bohemia's crowned, rampant lion (lower half). Additionally, the Polish crowned eagle was centrally placed in a separate, smaller shield. Corresponding to St. Christopher's image, there was the town's coat of arms, which was granted in 1453 to Bardejov by King Ladislas V the Posthumous (r. 1440-1457).⁵¹⁷ This coat of arms consisted of a shield divided horizontally into two halves: the lower one was decorated with the Árpáds' red-and-white stripes, whereas the upper one featured, on blue background, two crossed axes having above a crown and below the Angevin, golden lily.

As mentioned already, the direct involvement of the town officials in the commissioning of the tower's murals is attested not only by the coat of arms of the town, but also by the 1521 entry in the town's book of expenses. In fact, between 1505 and 1509, the urban administration of Bardejov had been involved in the considerable project of building for itself a new and more imposing town hall.⁵¹⁸ Throughout the following decade, this building was embellished with a whole iconographic program including painted heraldic elements and carved moralizing inscriptions,⁵¹⁹ which were aimed at municipal self-representation. For instance, in 1509, Theophilus Stanzel of Levoča had been commissioned with the painting of the new building's upper wall (i.e., one of its pinions), and the same painter was responsible in 1510-1511 for decorating the municipal building's western façade with a Last Judgment composition.⁵²⁰ In 1517, Bardejov's town officials commissioned two other craftsmen to decorate the town hall building – both inside and outside – with a series of coats of arms.⁵²¹ In 1521, that is, the very same year the murals depicting the *sancti reges Hungariae* and St. Christopher were accomplished, the town commissioned one of its two painters, i.e., *Johannes Krausz*, with the decoration of a heraldic shield and the renewal of the town hall's pinion painting,

⁵¹⁷ Viktor Myskovszky, “Bártfa város legrégebb pecsétjei és címere” [The oldest seal and coat of arms of the town of Bardejov], *Turul. A Magyar Heraldikai és Genealógiai Társaság Közlönye* 10 (1892), 125-136.

⁵¹⁸ For this representational building, see: idem, *Bártfa középkori műemlékei. II. A városház s a város erődítményeinek műrégészeti leírása* [Medieval monuments of Bardejov. Archaeological description of the town hall and town fortifications] (Budapest: A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Könyvkiadó Hivatala, 1880), 28-104 (henceforth: Myskovszky, *Bártfa középkori műemlékei II*); Kornél Divald, “A bártfai városháza” [The town hall of Bardejov], *Művészet* 4/2 (1905), 89-97; Árpád Mikó, “A bártfai városháza. Adalékok a Jagelló-kori Reneszánsz történetéhez Felső-Magyarországon” [The town hall of Bardejov. Data on the history of Jagellonian Renaissance in Upper Hungary], *Művészettörténeti Értesítő* 53/1-4 (2004), 19-52. For an overview of town halls in medieval Hungary, see Judit Majorossy, “From the Judge's House to the Town's House: Town Halls in Medieval Hungary”, in *Rathäuser als multifunktionale Räume der Repräsentation, der Parteiongen und des Geheimnisses*, ed. Susanne Claudine Pils et al. (Innsbruck, Vienna, and Bosen: Studien Verlag, 2012), 155-208.

⁵¹⁹ Myskovszky, *Bártfa középkori műemlékei II*, 44-70, pl. I-III.

⁵²⁰ Myskovszky, *Bártfa középkori műemlékei II*, 74, 75, 114; Mikó, “Bártfai városháza”, 38, 46.

⁵²¹ “Anno 1517. Item Magistro Jacobo Glossetzer de labore impositorum insigniorum in fenestras Stubi pretorii majoris dedimus ... fl. 8”, and “Anno 1517. Magistro Jacobo de Epperyes de pictura armorum testudini appositorum ... fl. 19”, Myskovszky, *Bártfa középkori műemlékei II*, 76.

which had been executed more than a decade before by painter Theophilus Stanzel.⁵²² Obviously, the pictorial program of the town hall building, which still stands today in the middle of the town square, was not confined to the exterior of the municipal building only, but extended also to the neighboring edifices which were in a direct relationship with it, the main parish church of St. Giles being one of them. After all, it was in this church's sacristy that the urban administration of Bardejov kept its archive until 1511, when it was moved to the new town hall.⁵²³ Extending presumably on the outer walls of the most representative buildings in the town square, the pictorial program envisaged by the urban officials of Bardejov can now be only grasped partially, but its purpose of municipal self-representation and of taking over the town's main public space still reverberates.⁵²⁴

The association between the image of the three *sancti reges Hungariae* (i.e., the traditional patron saints of the country/kingdom), the coat of arms of the ruling king, and the coat of arms of the town of Bardejov, respectively, advertized in the main public space of the town – through complex pictorial and heraldic devices – the prominent position that the town had managed to acquire in the kingdom's economic life and political affairs. Situated on the north-eastern border of the kingdom, Bardejov was a free royal town that owed its prosperity partly to the flourishing commerce between the kingdoms of Hungary and Poland, and partly to its strategic position which allowed it to play a key military role in the kingdom's defense.⁵²⁵ Free royal town since 1376, Bardejov had consequently a great number of privileges: the town could elect its own magistrates,

⁵²² “Anno 1521. Sexta ante Johannis Baptistae Johanni Krausz pro renovatione picturae in apice praetorii et pro una scutella picta ... fl. 5”, *ibid.*

⁵²³ Katalin Szende, “The Uses of Archives in Medieval Hungary”, in Adamska, *Development of Literate Mentalities*, 119; Myskovszky, *Bártfa középkori műemlékei II*, 115.

⁵²⁴ For examples of similar ideological-iconographic programs of medieval and early-modern town hall buildings, see: Ágnes Flóra, “Jelkép, erény, reprezentáció. A kora újkori Kolozsvár tanácsháza mint a városvezetés egyik reprezentációs színtere” [Symbol, virtue, representation. The early-modern town hall of Cluj as a representational area of town administration], in *Liber discipulorum. Tanulmányok Kovács András 65. születésnapjára* [*Liber discipulorum. Studies on András Kovács' 65th birthday*], ed. Zsolt Kovács *et al.* (Kolozsvár [Cluj-Napoca]: Erdélyi Múzeum-Egyesület [Societatea Muzeului Ardelean] and Entz Géza Művelődéstörténeti Alapítvány [Editura Fundației de Istoria Culturii Enzt Géza], 2011), 149-165; eadem, “Symbols, Virtues, Representation. The Early Modern Town Hall of Kolozsvár as a Medium of Display for Municipal Government”, *The Hungarian Historical Review. Acta Historica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 1/1-2 (2012), 3-21; Robert Tittler, *Architecture and Power. The Town Hall and the English Urban Community, c. 1550-1640* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991); Susan Tipton, *Res publica bene ordinata. Regentenspiegel und Bilder vom guten Regiment. Rathausdekorationen in der Frühen Neuzeit* (Hildesheim: G. Olms, 1996); Stephan Albrecht, “Das Rathaus – Ein bürgerliches Baukunstwerk”, in *Rathäuser im Spätmittelalter und in der Frühen Neuzeit. VI. Symposium des Weserrenaissance-Museums Schloss Brake in Zusammenarbeit mit der Stadt Höxter vom 17. bis zum 20. November 1994 in Höxter*, ed. Vera Lüpkes and Heiner Borggreffe (Marburg: Jonas Verlag, 1997), 23-32; Thomas Weller, “Der Ort der Macht und die Praktiken der Machtvisualisierung. Das Leipziger Rathaus in der Frühen Neuzeit als zeremonieller Raum”, in *Machträume der frühneuzeitlichen Stadt*, ed. Christian Hochmuth and Susanne Rau (Konstanz: UVK Verlagsgesellschaft, 2006), 285-307.

⁵²⁵ Pavol Hudáček, “Bardejov” [Bardejov], in *Lexikon stredovekých miest na Slovensku* [Lexicon of medieval towns in Slovakia], ed. Ján Lukačka and Martin Štefánik (Bratislava: Prodoma, 2010), 79-98 (henceforth: Lukačka, *Lexikon stredovekých miest*); Stanisław A. Sroka, *Sredniowieczny Bardiow i jego kontakty z Małopolską* [The relations between Bardejov and Little Poland in the Middle Ages] (Cracow: Societas Vistulana, 2010).

no royal dignitary could intervene in its internal affairs, its elected officials had full jurisdiction inside the city walls (including the so-called *ius gladii*), the town paid yearly a fixed tax of 500 florins, it was entitled to a weekly market (later on, an annual fair), and the town's traders were exempted from paying royal customs throughout the entire territory of the kingdom.⁵²⁶ The burghers of Bardejov were entitled to elect their own parish priest, however, they were not authorized to administer the incomes of the tithe.⁵²⁷ Together with Buda, Košice, Pressburg, Trnava, Prešov, and Sopron, Bardejov was one of the seven towns of the kingdom which, by the mid-fifteenth century, attended the court of the *tavernicus*, assisting him in determining which relevant urban law was to be applied. During the second half of the fifteenth century, these seven towns established their own code of laws, which included institutions such as the Outer Council or the Council of One Hundred Citizens (*centumviri*), and the Committee of Twenty-four Citizens that oversaw taxation.⁵²⁸ Additionally, from the early-fifteenth century on, Bardejov's municipal treasury was filled with money from the export-oriented production and manufacture of linen, the town enjoying for many years a monopoly on the bleaching, buying off, and selling of linen.⁵²⁹ Permanent need of money determined King Louis II to resort repeatedly to the financial help the Hungarian towns could provide him with for carrying out his military campaigns against the Ottomans. In 1522, i.e., several years before the fatal Battle of Mohács and only one year after the completion of the mural showing the *sancti reges Hungariae* together with the town's and the king's coat of arms, Louis II asked the towns of Košice and Bardejov to supply him with gun-founders, their assistants, and a considerable quantity of gunpowder on account of their future taxes.⁵³⁰ The town officials readily obliged, as they did earlier on (21 February 1522) when they furnished the king with 300 florins to be spent on his expedition against the Turks.⁵³¹

Capitalized throughout the fifteenth century and reaching a peak during the early-sixteenth century, the town's economic, political, and social significance was publicly and proudly advertized in several prominent places of the main town square, such as the façades of the new town hall and the southern, outer wall of the tower of St. Giles parish church. In the latter place, the main patron saints of the country together with royal and urban heraldic elements were visually associated in

⁵²⁶ János Incze, "My Kingdom in Pledge. King Sigismund of Luxemburg's Town Pledging Policy. The Case Studies of Segesd and Bártfa", MA Thesis (Budapest: Central European University, 2012), 48-51.

⁵²⁷ Béla Iványi, *Bártfa szabad királyi város levéltára 1319-1526* [City archives of the free royal town of Bardejov 1319-1526] (Budapest: Athenaeum, 1910), 79, 145, 210.

⁵²⁸ Martyn Rady, "The Government of Medieval Buda", in Nagy, *Medieval Buda in Context*, 318-320.

⁵²⁹ Sándor Gyarmati, "The Great Linen Register of Bardejov (Bártfa)", *Annual of Medieval Studies at CEU* 20 (2014), 113-132.

⁵³⁰ Norbert C. Tóth, ed., *Politikatörténeti források Bátori István első helytartóságához (1522-1523)* [Sources of political history for the first regency of Stephen Bátori (1522-1523)] (Budapest: Magyar Országos Levéltár, 2010), 145-146.

⁵³¹ *Ibid.*, 32.

this vanished and partially-known pictorial program. The purpose for such an association and ostentatious display was the proud affirmation of urban status (i.e., the key-role the free royal town of Bardejov had managed to play in the kingdom's public affairs), as well as its loyalty towards the kingdom's sovereign (i.e., the originator and guarantor of its privileges and autonomy). The civic awareness of the town in Bardejov received, thus, during the early-sixteenth century a visual expression in the decorative program on the outer walls of the town hall and parish church, that is, in the main symbolic space of the community. Similarly to the bronze statues of the *sancti reges Hungariae* in Oradea Mare, the representation of the holy kings in Bardejov was integrated physically to any ritualized communication that took place in the town's square. One can assume that, during the inaugural ceremony of the town council – which included normally the oath-swearing in the town hall, the ritualized presentation of the newly-elected members through a walk in the main public space, and their attendance of church service signifying the divine legitimacy of their office –, the *sancti reges Hungariae* became the overseeing and ratifying agents of this civic event.⁵³² Additionally, the holy kings' association with St. Christopher, who was a saint greatly venerated for his protective role, invested them with a similar function and transformed the three *sancti reges Hungariae* into helpers of the citizens of Bardejov and spiritual guardians of their town.

3. 5. Patterns of Iconographic Association – The Three *sancti reges Hungariae* as Patron Saints of the Country

During the last quarter of the fifteenth century, in the context of the increasing popularity of winged altarpieces, a new pattern of iconographic association emerged in the pictorial representation of Hungary's three holy kings. In a number of examples, the Árpadian royal trio tends to be depicted in the company of various other saints having had certain relevance for the medieval Kingdom of Hungary. This fact substantiates the claim that the three *sancti reges Hungariae* came to be regarded during this later period as patron saints of the country.⁵³³

⁵³² István H. Németh, "Városi tisztújítások királyi Magyarországon a XVI-XVII. században" [Urban elections in royal Hungary in the 16th-17th century], *Arrabona* 45/2 (2007), 57-96; idem, "Pre-modern State Urban Policy at a Turning Point in the Kingdom of Hungary: The Elections to the Town Council", in *Urban Elections and Decision-making in Early Modern Europe, 1500-1800*, ed. Rudolf Schlögl (Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2009), 276-298; Ágnes Flóra, "Between Sacred and Profane. Council Election in the Lived Space of the Medieval and Early Modern Town of Cluj", *Annual of Medieval Studies at CEU* 17 (2011), 133-144; Zupka, "Communication in Town", 355-372.

⁵³³ This subchapter resumes loosely the argument presented in my article dedicated to St. Adalbert's cult and iconography in medieval Hungary: Dragoș Gh. Năstăsioiu, "A Holy Bishop among Holy Kings in the Frescoes of Mălâncrav (I)", *Transylvanian Review/Revue de Transylvanie* 26/1 (2017), 90-104; idem, "A Holy Bishop among Holy Kings in the Frescoes of Mălâncrav (II)", *Transylvanian Review/Revue de Transylvanie* 26/2 (2017), 94-110.

For instance, the weekday side of the Altar of St. Catherine of Alexandria (ca 1490), kept today in the Church of St. Galla in Turany, but coming probably from Spišský Štvrtok,⁵³⁴ has the Annunciation scene depicted on its two upper panels (Fig. 3.27).



Fig. 3.27 – Weekday side of the Altar of St. Catherine of Alexandria showing the Annunciation (upper panels) and Sts Adalbert, Ladislav, Stephen, and Emeric (lower panels), ca 1490, 68 x 86 cm (each panel), tempera, wood, Roman-Catholic Church of St. Galla (former St. Nicholas) in Turany. Photo © Institut für Realienkunde des Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit in Krems an der Donau

On its lower half, there are four standing figures of saints depicted in pairs: the old St. Stephen holding a scepter and orb stands next to his young, beardless, and long-haired son, who has a white lily and sword as his attributes (right panel). The mature and armored St. Ladislav with halberd and orb has as his immediate companion a beardless holy bishop with mitre, crozier, and open book (left panel). Despite the fact that he lacked his usual attributes (i.e., either three golden stones on a book, three purses, or three golden coins), this holy bishop with generic, episcopal attributes has been previously identified with St. Nicholas.⁵³⁵ However, other examples showing similar patterns of

⁵³⁴ Libuše Cidlinská, *Gotické křídlové oltáře na Slovensku* [Gothic winged altarpieces in Slovakia] (Bratislava: Tatran, 1989), 59; Kristina Potuckova, “Virginity, Sanctity and Image: The *virgines capitales* in Upper Hungarian Altarpieces of the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries”, MA Thesis (Budapest: Central European University, 2007), 30, 37-38, 69.

⁵³⁵ For this identification, see Radocsay, *Középkori Magyarország táblaképei*, 294. For St. Nicholas’ iconography, see Engelbert Kirschbaum, ed., *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie. VIII. Ikonographie der Heiligen, Meletius bis zweiundvierzig Martyrer* (Freiburg: Herder Verlag, 1990), 45-58; see also Năstăsioiu, “Holy Bishop among Holy Kings

iconographic association point, in fact, to the identity of St. Adalbert, the Bishop of Prague and patron saint of the Cathedral Church in Esztergom.⁵³⁶ The church in Arnutovce, a village belonging to the nearby Carthusian monastery in Letanovce (Germ. *Lethensdorf*, Hung. *Létánfalva*), was endowed in the 1490s, probably by the *comes* of Szepes and later Palatine Stephen Szapolyai and his wife Hedwig of Teschen, with an altar dedicated to the Holy Virgin (Fig. 3.28).⁵³⁷



Fig. 3.28 – Weekday side of the Altar of the Holy Virgin showing Sts Martin and Adalbert (upper panels) and Sts Stephen, and Emeric (lower panels), 1490s, 60 x 80 cm (each panel), tempera, wood, Roman-Catholic Church of St. Helena in Arnutovce. Photo © Institut für Realienkunde des Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit in Krems an der Donau

(II)”, 99-101. St. Nicholas holding a book with three golden stones appears in the company of Hungary’s holy kings on the wings of the altar of St. Nicholas Church in Selo (ca 1490), kept today in the Hungarian National Gallery; however, this association was most likely determined by the church’s dedication to the holy bishop of Myra. For this altar, see: Radocsay, *Középkori Magyarország táblaképei*, 407-408; György Poszler, cat. no. II-1, in Mikó and Sinkó, *Történelem – kép*, 144-145.

⁵³⁶ Năstăsoiu, “Holy Bishop among Holy Kings (II)”, 94-110; for St. Adalbert’s iconography in medieval Hungary, see also Tünde Wehli, “Szent Adalbert ábrázolása a középkori magyarországi művészetben” [Saint Adalbert’s depiction in medieval Hungarian art], in *Ezer év Szent Adalbert oltalma alatt* [One thousand years under the protection of Saint Adalbert], ed. András Hegedűs and István Bárdos (Esztergom: Primási Levéltár Kiadványai, 2000), 165-172.

⁵³⁷ Divald, *Szepesvármegye művészeti emlékei*, 2: 36-37; Radocsay, *Középkori Magyarország táblaképei*, 259; János Végh, Cat. No. 4.56, in Buran, *Gotika*, 725-726; Ivan Gerát, Cat. No. 255, in Blume and Werner, *Elisabeth von Thüringen*, 386-387; Éva Gyulai, “Andechs-Szilézia-Thüringia-Szepesség. Árpád-házi/Thüringiai Szent Erzsébet és Sziléziai Szent Hedvig ábrázolása az arnótfalvi Szűz Mária-oltáron (1490 körül)” [Andechs-Silesia-Thuringia-Szepes. The depiction of Saint Elizabeth of Hungary/Thuringia and Saint Hedwig of Silesia on Virgin Mary’s Altar in Arnutovce (ca 1490)], *Debreceni Szemle* 16/2 (2008), 230-254; eadem, “Árpád-házi Szent Erzsébet és sziléziai Szent Hedvig kultusza a késő középkori Szepességekben” [The cult of Saint Elizabeth of Árpád House and Hedwig of Silesia in late-medieval Szepes], *A Herman Ottó Múzeum Évkönyve* 48 (2009), 5-52.

Its weekday side shows on the lower panels the old St. Stephen with scepter and crucifer orb and the young, beardless St. Emeric holding again a lily and sword, whereas on the upper panels, there are two beardless holy bishops with generic, episcopal attributes (i.e., mitre, crozier, and book). Additionally, one of the two holy bishops has a white goose depicted at his feet, which is one the attributes of St. Martin of Tours, a reminder of old pagan customs and of the fact that the saint's feast at the beginning of winter coincided with the migration of these birds.⁵³⁸ The other holy bishop is most likely again St. Adalbert.⁵³⁹ St. Martin appears again in a similar royal company – however, this time in a military hypostasis, namely, cutting his cloak with a sword for cladding the miniature beggar depicted next to him⁵⁴⁰ – on the south-eastern corbel of St. Barbara's Chapel, which is located on the northern side of the Church of the Assumption of the Holy Virgin in Banská Bystrica (Fig. 3.29). This chapel was renovated throughout the first decade of the sixteenth century by Barbara Glocknitzer and her husband Peter Eisenman, an important owner of mines in the area and notable citizen of the town.⁵⁴¹ Dated to 1504 on the basis of two inscriptions appearing in the chapel,⁵⁴² the decoration of the other corbels gathers, besides St. Martin, also the three *sancti reges Hungariae*, namely, St. Emeric (north-eastern corbel), St. Stephen (northern corbel), and St. Ladislav (north-western corbel). Additionally, there are also St. John the Almsgiver, who wears a distinctive hat and has a small beggar next to his right hand which holds an open book (southern corbel), and again a beardless holy bishop with mitre, crozier and an open book (south-eastern corbel). Throughout time, the corbels have been heavily restored, some of the figures' attributes have got lost and then replaced, the accompanying inscriptions were renewed, so that they can no longer be judged as early-sixteenth century evidence, and some of the busts have even been replaced in later periods.⁵⁴³ The holy bishop is accompanied now by the inscription *Sanctus /*

⁵³⁸ For this attribute of St. Martin, see Endre Tóth, "Szent Márton lúdja" [Saint Martin's goose], *Vasi Szemle* 6 (2007), 643-656.

⁵³⁹ Năstăsioiu, "Holy Bishop among Holy Kings (II)", 99-103.

⁵⁴⁰ For St. Martin's military iconography, see especially: Tünde Wehli, "Köpeny és kard: Szent Márton a kódexfestészetben" [Cloak and sword: Saint Martin in codex painting], Beatrix Gombosi, "A palástos oltalmazás jelentősége Szűz Mária és Szent Márton középkori ábrázolásain" [The significance of holy protection in the medieval depiction of the Holy Virgin and Saint Martin], and Györgyi Poszler, "Szent Márton a középkori magyarországi táblaképfestészetben" [Saint Martin in medieval Hungarian panel painting], in *Szent Márton-kutatás legújabb eredményei* [Latest results of research on Saint Martin], ed. Mónika Zsámbéky (Szombathely: Szombathelyi Képtár, 2009), 64-73, 74-84, 85-95 (henceforth: Zsámbéky, *Szent Márton-kutatás*).

⁵⁴¹ Gábor Endrődi, "Grosse Kunst aus Hass und Neid: Überlegungen zu Bauarbeiten und zur Ausstattung der Neusohler Pfarrkirche um 1500", *Acta Historiae Artium* 47 (2006), 37-78, with bibliography; see also idem, "Két búcsúbulla a besztercebányai plébániatemplom Szent Borbála-kápolnájának javára" [Two testamentary bequests in favor Saint Barbara's Chapel of the parish church in Banská Bystrica], in *Jankovich Miklós (1772-1846) gyűjteményei* [Collections of Miklós Jankovich (1772-1846)], ed. Árpád Mikó, exh. cat. (Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Galéria, 2002), 296-299 (henceforth: Mikó, *Jankovich Miklós*).

⁵⁴² Discovered in 1972, the inscription *Anno domini / 1504* appears on the chapel's western wall, the same year occurring on one of the jambs of the small, western-wall door, Endrődi, "Grosse Kunst aus Hass und Neid", n. 5.

⁵⁴³ St. Emeric's and St. Stephen's busts were replaced in the Baroque age and the nineteenth century, respectively, whereas St. Emeric's and St. Ladislav's missing attributes have been supplemented at some point, *ibid.*, nn. 125, 127.

Adalbertus, but this is a later repainting which, given the fact that St. John the Almsgiver was labeled wrongly at some point as *Sanctus Hieronimus*, cannot be considered as an indubitable proof.



Fig. 3.29 – Corbels decorated with the busts of Sts Ladislas (North-West), Stephen (North), Emeric (North-East), Martin (South-East), John the Almsgiver (South), and Adalbert (South-East), 1504, ca 70 cm height, painted and gilded limestone, St. Barbara's Chapel, Church of the Assumption of the Holy Virgin in Banská Bystrica. Photo © Institut für Realienkunde des Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit in Krems an der Donau

However, later iconographic evidence reveals that the inscription accompanying the holy bishop was correctly read by its “restorer”. The title-page of Peter Pázmány's second edition of his *Guide to the Divine Truth* (1623),⁵⁴⁴ where St. Adalbert is depicted holding two spears, i.e., the instruments of his martyrdom, displays several saints, who are placed in the niches of the

One should also note that the cult of Hungary's holy kings enjoyed a certain popularity in Banská Bystrica, as the images of Sts Stephen and Ladislas were painted earlier, i.e., in the 1460s-1470s, together with various other saints (holy virgins and martyrs, apostles, evangelists, and Latin Church Doctors) on the walls of the built porch protecting the church's south-western entrance. Heavily-repainted during the late-nineteenth century, these images were copied earlier by József Huszka, his watercolors attesting to the murals' state before July 1893 (Néprajzi Múzeum in Budapest, NM R 10185-10187). For these murals, see especially: Arnold Ipolyi, *A besztercebányai egyházi műemlékek története és helyreállítása* [The history and restoration of church monuments in Banská Bystrica] (Budapest: A Magyar Tud. Akadémia Könyvkiadóhivatala bizománya, 1878), 1: 39-41, 57; Radocsay, *Középkori Magyarország falképei*, 118-119; Dvořáková, *Středověká nástěnná malba na Slovensku*, 19, 33, 72.

⁵⁴⁴ Ágnes Wojtilláné Salgó, “Pázmány Péter Igazságra vezérlő kalauzájának második kiadása” [Péter Pázmány's second edition of *Guide to Divine Truth*] and Árpád Mikó, “Karomi Bornemissza István címerbővítő oklevele” [Charter granting the coat of arms of Stephen Bornemissza of Karom], in *Jankovich Miklós (1772-1846) gyűjteményei* [Collections of Miklós Jankovich (1772-1846)], ed. Árpád Mikó, exh. cat. (Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Galéria, 2002), 285-286, 300 (henceforth: Mikó, *Jankovich Miklós*).

illusionistic, Baroque architecture containing a cartouche with the book's title, its author, place, and year of publication (Fig. 3.30). This time, the saints are identifiable by their accompanying inscriptions: the *PATRONA HVNGARIAE* is flanked by *S(ANCTVS) ADALBERTVS* and *S(ANCTVS) MARTINVS*, whereas on the lower levels, one can see *S(anctus) Stephanus, Apost(olus) et Rex Hung(ariae)*, *S(anctus) Ladislaus, Rex Hung(ariae)*, *S(anctus) Emericus, Dux Hung(ariae)*, and *S(ancta) Elisabeth, Regina Hung(ariae)*.⁵⁴⁵

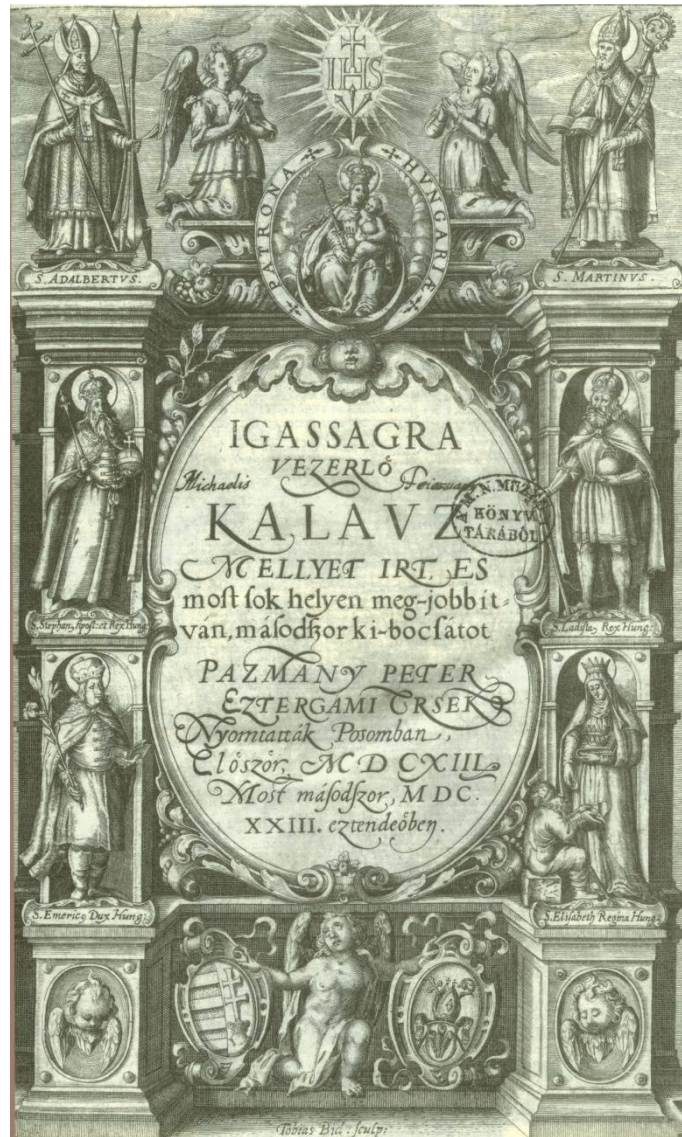


Fig. 3.30 – Title page of Péter Pázmány's second edition of *Guide to the Divine Truth* (Pozsony [Bratislava]: 1623).
Photo Source: <http://deba.unideb.hu/deba/emlekezethely/index.php> (Accessed 8 February 2018)

⁵⁴⁵ The title-page of the *Guide*'s first edition, published in 1613 in Bratislava, displays the same saints, except for the two holy bishops; for an illustration, see the Ernő Marosi, "Front Cover for the Work *Isteni igazságra vezérő Kalauz* [Guide to Divine Truth] by Péter Pázmány", in Marosi, *On the Stage of Europe*, 136-137.

Except for the *Patrona Hungariae*, the same group of saints appears in another architectural setting also on a charter issued on 10 August 1628 by King Ferdinand II (1618-1637), who granted a coat of arms to the Prefect of the Royal Post in Bratislava, Stephen Bornemissza.⁵⁴⁶ Two holy bishops appear again in the company of Hungary's three holy kings in the poorly-preserved frescoes of St. Stephen's Chapel in Sânzieni, dated to the seventeenth century (Fig. 3.31).⁵⁴⁷



Fig. 3.31 – *Sancti reges Hungariae* (Sts Ladislas, Stephen, and Emeric) with Sts Adalbert of Prague and Martin of Tours, 17th century, fresco, apse of St. Stephen's Chapel in Sânzieni. Photo © <http://hereditatum.ro/> (Accessed 8 February 2018)

Crowned by flying angels, Sts Ladislas and Stephen are invested with their traditional, royal attributes, but St. Emeric wears a ducal hat, holds an atypical, open book, and has a sword hanging down his belt. Even though the two holy bishops who flank the three *sancti reges Hungariae* no longer bear inscriptions attesting their identity, one can assume, on account of the previous iconographic evidence, that Sts Adalbert and Martin are usually the two holy bishops who

⁵⁴⁶ For this charter and its illustration, see Árpád Mikó, “Karomi Bornemissza István címerbővítő oklevele” [Charter granting the coat of arms to Stephen Bornemissza of Karom], in Mikó, *Jankovich Miklós*, 300, where the author identifies hypothetically the holy bishop without attributes with St. Gerard; for the charter's text, see Antal Áldásy, *A Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum Könyvtárának címereslevelei* [Charters with coats of arms from the Library of the Hungarian National Museum] (Budapest: Kiadja Dr. Áldásy József, 1904), 1: 139.

⁵⁴⁷ Horváth and Gondos, *Székegyházi freskók*, 101-103; Mihály János, *A kézdiszentléleki Szent-István kápolna* [Saint Stephen Chapel in Sânzieni] (Kézdivásárhely [Târgu Secuiesc]: Ambrózia, 2015).

accompany the three Hungarian holy kings. For instance, in the altar painting of the Jesuit Church in Győr, dated to 1642, it is precisely St. Adalbert holding three spears and St. Martin with a beggar at his feet who appear next to St. Ladislav and St. Emeric, whereas St. Stephen kneels in front of the Virgin with Child.⁵⁴⁸

With the exception of those cases when the holy kings are depicted separately and not as a group, or when a church's or altar's dedication or the local significance of a saint determined a different grouping of sacred characters, the three *sancti reges Hungariae* tend indeed to be associated with saints who have played a similar role as patron saints of the kingdom or have had a special significance for the country.⁵⁴⁹ This was also the case of St. Elizabeth of Hungary/Thuringia, who was the descendant of the same *beata stirps Arpadiana* as Hungary's holy kings and who was depicted next to her male relatives not only on King Andrew III's Diptych (Venice, ca 1290) or on Péter Pázmány's 1623 edition of his *Guide*, but also in the sanctuary of the church in Žilina. Dedicated to the first Hungarian holy King, St. Stephen's Church in Žilina had the conch of its round apse decorated sometime during the fifteenth century with the standing figures of the four Árpadian saints (Fig. 3.32).⁵⁵⁰ Except for the corbels of St. Barbara's Chapel in Banská Bystrica, the three *sancti reges Hungariae* appear quite often in the company of another holy figure, namely, St. John the Almsgiver. It is the case of the already-mentioned feast-day side of the Altar of the Dormition of the Virgin in Spišská Kapitula (ca 1490, Fig. 3.12),⁵⁵¹ and of the panels of the weekday side of St. Anne's Altar in Jazernica-Markovice (1517, Fig. 3.33).⁵⁵²

⁵⁴⁸ For this painting, see Géza Galavics, "The Offering of Hungary to the Virgin Mary and Hungarian Saints for Protection from the Ottoman", in Marosi, *On the Stage of Europe*, 141-142; see also idem, "A Barokk művészet kezdetei Győrben" [The beginning of Baroque art in Győr], *Ars Hungarica* 1 (1973), 97-126, esp. p. 104.

⁵⁴⁹ Năstăsoiu, "Holy Bishop among Holy Kings", 101.

⁵⁵⁰ Due to the murals' bad state of preservation, the restorers cancelled in 2008-2009 the image of the four Árpadian saints in favor of the earlier, Romanesque paintings consisting of decorative elements and dating to the second half of the thirteenth century. For these murals, see: Dušan Buran, "Nástenné maľby v Kostole sv. Štefana v Žiline", *Pamiatky a múzeá* 2 (2010), 14-19; idem, *Gotika*, 78-81, 603, 794; Štefan Podolinský, *Románske kostoly* [Romanesque churches] (Bratislava: Dajama, 2009), 57-61; Jozef Dorica, "The New Discoveries of Restoration and Archaeology in the Church of King St. Stefan in Žilina, Slovakia", *e-conservation. The Online Magazine* 15 (2010), 54-65.

⁵⁵¹ For this altar, see n. 376. Four statues from Košice representing Sts Stephen, Ladislav, Emeric, and John the Almsgiver, dating to the 1490s, came probably from the crowning of a single altar, Dénes Radocsay, *A középkori Magyarország faszobrai* [Wood statues of medieval Hungary] (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1967), 178.

⁵⁵² Radocsay, *Középkori Magyarország táblaképei*, 387-388; Buran, *Gotika*, 764-765.



Fig. 3.32 – View of the sanctuary decoration in its state before 2008-2009 showing the 13th-century decorative paintings and the 15th-century figures of Sts Ladislav, Stephen, Emeric, and Elizabeth, St. Stephen's Church in Žilina. Photo © <http://apsida.sk/> (Accessed 8 February 2018)



Fig. 3.33 – Weekday side of the Altar of St. Anne showing Sts Stephen and Ladislav (left, upper panel), Sts John the Almsgiver and Martin of Tours (right, upper panel), Sts Cosmas and Damian (left, lower panel), and Sts Emeric and Leopold (lower, right panel), 1517, tempera, wood, Roman-Catholic Church of St. Anne in Jazernica-Markovice. Photo © Institut für Realienkunde des Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit in Krems an der Donau

St. John the Almsgiver appears here on the same panel with St. Martin, whereas on the other panels, there are the following pairs of saints: Sts Stephen and Ladislav, Sts Cosmas and Damian, and Sts Emeric and Leopold III, the Margrave of Austria, who was canonized in 1485.⁵⁵³ According to Arnold Buchelius' *Diarium* accounting for his travel to Germany in 1587, the relics of the three holy kings of Hungary together with their inscribed statues were kept also in St. Catherine's Chapel in the Holy Maccabees Convent in Cologne.⁵⁵⁴ Other late-sixteenth century sources record additionally the statues of Sts John the Almsgiver and Adalbert, who were again identified by inscriptions.⁵⁵⁵ The statues and their inscriptions no longer exist, but the selection of saints indicates clearly that the altar was dedicated precisely to saints who were particularly venerated during the Late Middle Ages on the territory of the Kingdom of Hungary.

Consequently, one can state that, during the late-fifteenth century, a new pattern of iconographic association started to emerge in the pictorial representation of the Árpadian royal trio, which was enriched with new saints who played similarly the role of Hungarian patrons. The joining of the three *sancti reges Hungariae* by Sts Adalbert of Prague, Martin of Tours, and John the Almsgiver finds its motivation in the special significance that these three saints have had for medieval Hungary. On the one hand, St. Adalbert (Vojtěch by his Slavic name) was born around 956 in Libice into one of Bohemia's leading noble families, the Slavníks, and fulfilled the function of Bishop of Prague in two turns (983-989 and 992-994).⁵⁵⁶ After short stays at the courts of the Hungarian Prince Géza and Polish King Boleslas, Adalbert was martyred on 23 April 997, near Gdańsk, during his evangelization mission among the pagan Prussians. St. Adalbert's Bohemian origin and Prague episcopacy, his martyrdom on Polish land, and his missionary activity at the Hungarian and Polish courts transformed the holy bishop and martyr into a patron saint of Central

⁵⁵³ St. Leopold is identified with St. Henry in Radocsay, *Középkori Magyarország táblaképei*, 387-388; for St. Leopold's identity, see Năstăsoiu, "Holy Bishop among Holy Kings", 102-103.

⁵⁵⁴ Hermann Keussen, "Die drei Reisen des Utrechters Arnoldus Buchelius nach Deutschland, insbesondere sein Kölner Aufenthalt", *Annalen des Historischen Vereins für den Niederrhein insbesondere die alte Erzdiözese Köln* 84 (1907), 58-59.

⁵⁵⁵ Georg Braun, *Rhapsodiae Colonienses* (Kölner Stadtarchiv, Sammlung Alter nr. 44) and *Museum Meringianum* (Kölner Archiv I 452), both cited in Hans Vogts, "Die Machabäerkirche in Köln, eine Kunststätte der Spätgotik", *Jahrbuch des Kölnischen Geschichtsvereins* 5 (1922), 95-6. See also: Török, "Egy 15. századi imádságkönyv", 289-90; Barna, "Szent István, Szent Imre", 67-69.

⁵⁵⁶ The most complete monograph on St. Adalbert is Gerard Labuda, *Święty Wojciech: biskup-męczennik, patron Polski, Czech i Węgier* [Saint Adalbert: Bishop-martyr, patron of Poland, Bohemia, and Hungary] (Wrocław: Funna, 2000), apud Cristian Gașpar, "The Life of Saint Adalbert Bishop of Prague and Martyr", in *Vitae Sanctorum Aetatis Conversionis Europae Centralis (Saec. X-XI). Saints of the Christianization Age of Central Europe (Tenth-Eleventh Centuries)*, ed. Gábor Klaniczay (Budapest: CEU Press, 2013), 79-80. For an English overview of St Adalbert's life, see Ian Wood, *The Missionary Life. Saints and the Evangelisation of Europe, 400-1050* (London: Longman, 2001), 207-225. For a bibliography on his cult and life up to 1999, see Aleksandra Witkowska and Joanna Nastalska, *Święty Wojciech: życie i kult: bibliografia do roku 1999* [Saint Adalbert: life and cult: bibliography until the year 1999] (Lublin: Tow. Nauk. Katolickiego Uniwersytetu Lubelskiego, 2002).

Europe, an authentic “bridge builder between Eastern and Western Europe”.⁵⁵⁷ His cult was popular throughout this region during the Middle Ages and his figure was equally claimed by medieval Bohemia, Poland, and Hungary. St. Adalbert’s great significance for medieval Hungary was very likely the consequence of his disciples’ intense promotion of their spiritual leader: one of them, Astricus-Anastasius, became the first Archbishop of Esztergom and worked together with King Stephen in the organization of the Hungarian Church.⁵⁵⁸ It was owed to Astricus-Anastasius’ efforts and King Stephen’s reverence for St. Adalbert that the cult of the holy bishop and martyr originated and flourished in the Cathedral Church in Esztergom, which was dedicated precisely to the holy bishop and martyr. On the other hand, St. Martin, the Bishop of Tours, was born in the fourth century in Savaria (today, Szombathely), a settlement in the Roman province of Pannonia. He was generally regarded as one of the patron saints of medieval Hungary, as attested by both the *Legenda maior* and Hartvic’s version of St. Stephen’s *vita*.⁵⁵⁹ His cult was mainly fostered by the Benedictine Abbey of Pannonhalma,⁵⁶⁰ as well as by the *praepositura* of Szepes, which had the holy bishop as its patron.⁵⁶¹ Subsequently, during the late-fifteenth and the early-sixteenth century, St. Martin appeared often in the company of the three *sancti reges Hungariae* in series of other works of art and piety.⁵⁶² Finally, the presence of St. John the Almsgiver in the company of Hungary’s traditional, royal patrons, is owed to the fact that the relics of the early-seventh century Patriarch of Alexandria were given as sign of reverence by the Turkish Sultan to King Matthias Corvinus (1458-1490). The Hungarian king transferred them during a solemn ceremony to the royal chapel in Buda on 10 November 1489, making thus the first step in the spreading of the saint’s cult as a locally-significant one in late-medieval Hungary.⁵⁶³

⁵⁵⁷ This expression is taken from Hans Hermann Henrix, ed., *Adalbert von Prag – Brückenbauer zwischen dem Osten und Westen Europas* (Baden-Baden: Nomos Verlagsgesellschaft, 1997).

⁵⁵⁸ For St. Adalbert’s significance for medieval Hungary, see: Thomas Bogyay, “Adalbert von Prag und die Ungarn – ein Problem der Quellen-Interpretation”, *Ungarn-Jahrbuch* 7 (1976), 9-36; Ryszard Grzesik, “Die Ungarnmission des Hl. Adalberts”, in Nagy, *Man of Many Devices*, 230-240; László Veszprémy, “Der Heilige Adalbert im Wissenschaftlichen Gespräch ungarischer Historiker”, *Bohemia* 40 (1999), 87-102.

⁵⁵⁹ Bartoniek, “*Legendae Sancti Stephani*”, 383-384, 409-410.

⁵⁶⁰ László Koszta, “Szent Márton tiszteletének magyarországi kezdete. Megjegyzések Pannonhalma alapításához” [Saint Martin’s cult in early Hungary. Notes on the foundation of Pannonhalma], *Tiszatáj* (2001), 79-84; Iván Kápolnai and Tamás Szávai, “Pannóniai Szent Márton és tiszteletének emlékei a Kárpát-medencében” [Saint Martin of Pannonia and traces of his cult in the Carpathian Basin], *Magyar Egyháztörténeti Vázlatok* 1-2 (2010), 21-33.

⁵⁶¹ Terézia Kerny, “Szent Márton tisztelete a szepeshelyi prépostságban” [Saint Martin’s cult in the *praepositura* of Szepes], in Zsámbéky, *Szent Márton-kutatás*, 111-126.

⁵⁶² For such examples, see Năstăsoiu, “Holy Bishop among Holy Kings (II)”, 101-102.

⁵⁶³ János Végh, “Alamizsnás Szent János a budai várban” [Saint John the Almsgiver in the Castle of Buda], *Építés- és Építészettudomány* 10 (1980), 455-467; Zsuzsanna Boda, “Alamizsnás Szent János kultusza és annak emlékei Magyarországon” [The cult of Saint John the Almsgiver and Its Traces in Hungary], in Mikó and Sinkó, *Történelem – kép*, 220-230; Klaniczay, “Matthias and the Saints”, 10-11.

3. 6. Concluding Remarks

The representation as a group (i.e., within a single image) of the three *sancti reges Hungariae* in religious mural painting started to emerge around the middle of the second half of the fourteenth century. This occurrence corresponded chronologically to the actions of the royal and ecclesiastical promoters of the holy kings' joint cult. However, this collective depiction registered its peak of popularity during the late fourteenth and first decades of the fifteenth century, when it acquired the coherence and stability of an iconographic phenomenon. Although the *sancti reges Hungariae* continued to be depicted together until the first decades of the sixteenth century, the frequency of this joint representation in religious mural painting decreased sensitively during the second half of the fifteenth century. This was probably owed to the multiplication of pictorial media, the popularity during this period of winged altarpieces and printing replacing partially the function previously fulfilled by religious mural painting.

From an iconographic perspective, the collective representation of the three *sancti reges Hungariae* was a rather standardized and uniform product of medieval religious art. Certainly, the three saints retained their individual features that distinguished them from one another and that were derived from their hagiographies. However, the individuality conferred by their distinct age types and personal attributes was leveled up, on the one hand, through the saints' equal investment with royal insignia and, on the other hand, through their similar depiction under a knightly guise. Although historically inaccurate, both iconographic hypostases were purposefully created for conveying specific messages, depending on the emphasis on either royal or knightly qualities. Far more popular around 1400 than the royal hypostasis, the iconographic variant showing all three saints first as holy warriors, and then as holy kings was most likely the consequence of the revival of chivalric culture at the courts of King Louis I the Great and King Sigismund of Luxemburg. The appeal of this *miles-Christi* iconographic variant among the noblemen of the kingdom is explainable also by the period's historical context, which is characterized by the threatening advance of the Ottomans and by the noblemen's involvement in the military campaigns led against them.

At the turn of the fourteenth and fifteenth century, it was primarily the nobility of the kingdom that acted as commissioners for the murals depicting the three *sancti reges Hungariae*. These noble donors belonged either to the higher, middle, or lower nobility, and their motivation for commissioning such images was equally of devotional and political nature, a fact that coincided with the holy kings' own dual nature as religious and secular characters. The holy kings of Hungary were certainly venerated for their saintly quality which they plentifully deserved, but the role St. Ladislav and St. Stephen had played throughout the kingdom's history, made them acquire also a

political symbolism which was employed in various political situations. Whether devotional or political, the revering of the *sancti reges Hungariae* transgressed occasionally confessional borders, for there were not only Catholics, but also Orthodox among those sponsoring the painting of their images in church decoration. The devotion towards Hungary's holy kings functioned also as a cohesive factor among the kingdom's various ethnic groups, as there is evidence that Hungarians, Saxons, and Romanians alike had painted images with these holy rulers in their churches. The passage of time brought with it also the social-professional diversification among the commissioners of the holy kings' images which, between the middle of the fifteenth century and the first decades of the sixteenth century, were also painters, priests, or town officials. This diversification marked a new stage in the joint cult and collective iconography of the *sancti reges Hungariae*, which was characterized, besides the private side, also by its public character. The social, professional, ethnical, and even confessional diversity of the audience of the joint cult of the *sancti reges Hungariae* argues in favor of the holy kings' quality of patron saints of the country. Besides its personal devotional side, the collective depiction of the *sancti reges Hungariae* served sometimes a political purpose, too, and the examined cases illustrate how – by means of complex pictorial strategies and heraldic devices – an ideological message was conveyed to various audiences. As it will be shown in the following chapter, however, the political aspect of the iconography of the *sancti reges Hungariae* was not the only meaning that their images were supposed to communicate.

4. The *Pillars* of the Hungarian State and Church – Political-theological Implications in the Joint Representation of Sts Stephen and Ladislav

Besides the wall paintings featuring the collective representation of the three *sancti reges Hungariae* within a single composition, there is another significant group of murals which share a number of consistent iconographic features. These murals have in common: the selection of two of the three holy kings; the apparent fragmentation of the collective representation and the saints' distribution on distinct, but conceptually-unified wall surfaces; and the two holy kings' identical location inside the church and resemblance of iconographic contexts.

4. 1. General Iconographic Features in the Joint Depiction of Sts Stephen and Ladislav

In the churches in Poprad, Slatvina,⁵⁶⁴ Tornaszentandrás, and Žehra, it is only St. Stephen and St. Ladislav, who are depicted facing each other on the pillars of the triumphal arch (Fig. 4.1-4.2). In these four cases, the two holy kings retain their iconic features, namely, the figures' frontality, their hieratical and static attitudes, as well as their conventional age types, royal insignia, and personal attributes. Subsequently, in all instances, St. Stephen is represented as an old, white- or grey-haired holy king, who holds in his hands the crucifer orb and a differently-shaped scepter,⁵⁶⁵ whereas St. Ladislav is depicted as a mature, dark-haired holy king, who holds the crucifer orb and his personal attribute, i.e., the battle axe.⁵⁶⁶ Seemingly, both holy kings are crowned and depicted in similar court costumes, although their details and colors often vary.

⁵⁶⁴ For the sanctuary frescoes, see especially the studies published after their recent uncovering and restoration: Vladimír Plekanec, "Reštaurátorský výskum stredovekých nástenných malieb Kostola Nanebovzatia Panny Márie v Slatvine" [Restoration research of the medieval wall paintings of the Church of the Assumption of the Holy Virgin in Slatvina], in *Umenie na Slovensku v historických a kultúrnych súvislostiach 2007: zborník príspevkov z vedeckej konferencie, konanej v Trnave 24. a 25. októbra 2007* [Art in Slovakia in historical and cultural contexts 2007: proceedings of the scientific conference held in Trnava on 24 and 25 October 2007], ed. Michaela Timková and Ivan Gojdič (Trnava: Trnavská univerzita v tlačiarňi BEN, Turčianske Teplice, 2008), 139-148; Judita Krličková, "Nástenné maľby v presbytériu rímskokatolíckeho kostola Nanebovzatia Panny Márie v Slatvine" [Wall paintings in the sanctuary of the Roman-Catholic Church of the Assumption of the Holy Virgin in Slatvina], MA Thesis (Bratislava: Univerzita Komenského v Bratislave, 2011); Togner and Plekanec, *Medieval Wall Paintings in Spiš*, 206-225.

⁵⁶⁵ These attributes can only be assumed for St. Stephen's figure in Poprad, which survives fragmentarily: only the holy king's halo, crown, and grey hair are partially preserved. However, in the remaining three cases, St. Stephen has the scepter and crucifer orb as his attributes.

⁵⁶⁶ The battle axe survives only for St. Ladislav's representation in Tornaszentandrás. In Poprad, St. Ladislav holds a flower-shaped scepter and another, partially-preserved attribute with thick handle, which could be either a battle axe, halberd, spear, or banner. In Slatvina, the holy knight's upper, right half has not survived, being supplemented by restorers in lighter shades, whereas in Žehra, the handle of St. Ladislav's partially-surviving attribute is much thicker than the handle of St. Stephen's scepter, a detail which might indicate that the former holy king held originally a battle axe.



Fig. 4.1 – Sts Stephen (left) and Ladislav (right) on the southern and northern pillars of the triumphal arch first, early-15th century, fresco, Catholic Church of the Assumption of the Holy Virgin in Slatvina. Photos © The Author



Fig. 4.2 – Sts Ladislav (left) and Stephen (right) on the southern and northern pillars of the triumphal arch, late-14th century, fresco, Catholic Church of St. Andrew. Photos © The Author

Only in Slatvina, St. Ladislav and St. Stephen are depicted in different types of vestments, the former wearing armor with golden ornaments, coat of mail, and sword, whereas the latter is dressed in court costume composed of short tunic, tight pants, and long mantle on his shoulders (Fig. 4.1). No accompanying inscriptions survive in any of the four cases, but the saints' royal insignia, specific age types, and personal attributes argue in favor of their identification with Sts Stephen and Ladislav. As previously stated, their full, standing figures face each other on the pillars of the triumphal arch, though their position is sometimes interchangeable.⁵⁶⁷ Despite their spatial separation, the two holy kings obviously relate to one another, this fact qualifying St. Stephen's and St. Ladislav's depiction on the pillars of the triumphal arch as a conceptually-unified, group representation.

Besides their identical location inside the church, these representations have in common another significant feature, namely, their resembling iconographic context. In all four cases, on the intrados of the triumphal arch, i.e., immediately above the two holy kings' figures, there are medallions with busts of Old Testament Prophets holding scrolls inscribed with their names. The prophets' inscriptions in Žehra are no longer preserved and, out of the ten medallions with their images, only King David is still identifiable by his crown and harp – he is placed in the middle of the intrados' northern half, i.e., on the side corresponding to St. Stephen's image. Arranged each side of the *Agnus Dei* in the apex of the intrados of the triumphal arch, six medallions with Old Testament Prophets are depicted in Tornaszentandrás. However, only some of them can still be identified: above St. Stephen's figure, there are Noah and Daniel, whereas above St. Ladislav's figure, there are King David, identifiable by crown and lute, and probably Elijah. Out of the six prophets in Slatvina, only the three ones on St. Stephen's southern half can be identified – namely, Habakkuk, Jeremiah, and King David –, whereas above St. Ladislav, there is another crowned prophet, probably King Solomon. Finally, the identifiable Old Testament Prophets on the intrados of the triumphal arch in Poprad are the following: Daniel, Ezekiel, and Jacob (northern half, above St. Ladislav), and Elijah, Moses, and Jonah⁵⁶⁸ (southern half, above St. Stephen). Two other prophets can no longer be identified.

A number of other representations that have in common either the royal saints' position on the pillars of the triumphal arch, their placing in the company of Old Testament Prophets, or both, can be added hypothetically to this group of four murals featuring the pairs of Sts Stephen and

⁵⁶⁷ St. Ladislav is usually depicted on the northern pillar, whereas St. Stephen is represented on the southern one; in Žehra, however, the holy kings' position is reversed.

⁵⁶⁸ For the reading of this prophet's inscription as *IE[REMIAS]*, see Mária Novotná, "Stredoveké nástenné maľby Kostola svätého Egídia v Poprade" [Medieval wall paintings of St. Giles Church in Poprad], in *Terra Scepusiensis: Stavbádania o dejinách Spiša* [Terra Scepusiensis: Historical overview of Szepes], ed. Ryszard Gładkiewicz and Martin Homza (Wrocław and Levoča: Kláštorisko, 2003), 196.

Ladislás. Their hypothetical character is owed either to the murals' current, fragmentary state of preservation or to their vanishing, respectively. In the latter case, they can be evaluated today only on the basis of indirect, visual or written evidence. For instance, in the murals of the church in Čečeňovce, which are dated to the first half of the fourteenth century, the poorly-preserved busts of two crowned figures having no surviving features and holding atypical attributes (probably swords) face each other on the pillars of the triumphal arch (Fig. 4.3, left and right).⁵⁶⁹

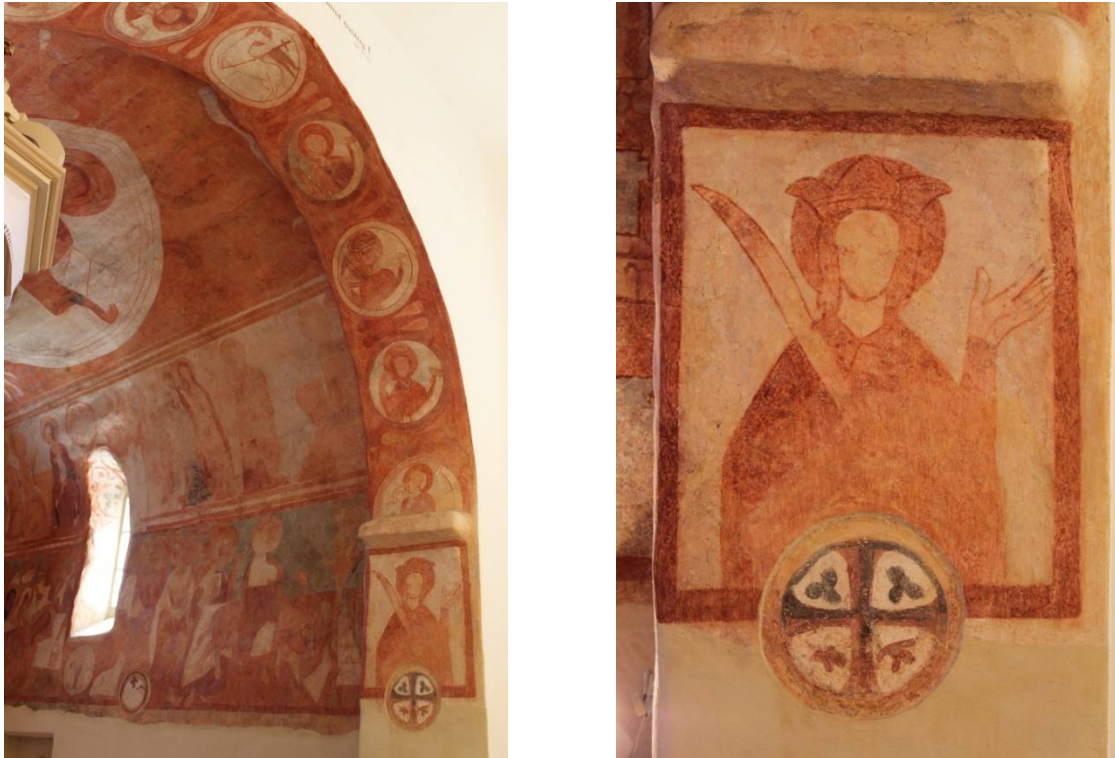


Fig. 4.3 – View of the southern half of the intrados of the triumphal arch (left) and detail of a holy king (?) (right), first half of the 14th century, fresco, Calvinist Church in Čečeňovce. Photos © The Author

⁵⁶⁹ In the watercolor copies made in 1898, they are called *two kings with swords*, József Huszka, “Csécsi falképek” [Wall paintings of Čečeňovce], *Archaeológiai Értesítő* 19/3 (1899), 212. Subsequently, they were identified with Sts Stephen and Ladislás in: Péter, “Árpádházi Szent István”, 43; Radocsay, *Középkori Magyarország falképei*, 125-126; Dvořáková, *Středověká nástěnná malba*, 82; Năstăsioiu, “*Sancti reges Hungariae*”, 8, 56, 61, 65-66, 69, 75; idem, “Political Aspects”, 107; idem, “Pillars of State and Church”, 453, 455-456, 463, 465-466. However, Tekla Szabó, “Női viseletek az őraljaboldogfalvi falképen. Nyugat és Bizánc találkozása” [Women’s costumes in the wall paintings of Sântămăria-Orlea. Meeting of West and Byzantium], in Kollár, *Szörvány emlékei*, 200-201, figs. 33-34, interpreted the two figures as female holy martyrs, which are allegedly depicted with crowns and holding palm branches in their hands. This interpretation is doubtful, however, as the attribute is sometimes present in Byzantine iconography, but is unusual for Western tradition, where holy martyrs are depicted holding crosses as their characteristic attribute. Watercolors of these murals made by Viktor Myskovszky in 1893 and by József Huszka in 1898 are kept in the archives of the Kulturális Örökségvédelem Hivatal (Ltsz. K52) and Néprajzi Múzeum (NM R 10278) in Budapest, respectively. For these murals, see also: Viktor Myskovszky, “A csécsi templom és régi falfestményei” [The church in Čečeňovce and its old wall paintings], *Archaeológiai Értesítő* 13/4 (1893), 324-327; Alexander Balega, “Reštaurovanie fresiek v evanjelickom reformovanom kostole v Čečeňovciach” [Restoration of the frescoes of the Reformed, Lutheran church in Čečeňovce], *Pamiętki a múzeá: Revue pre kultúrne dedičstvo* 1 (1996), 18-21. Personal field research in April 2009 and April 2012.

On its intrados, flanking the Lamb of God in the arch's apex, there are altogether eight medallions with busts of Old Testament Prophets (Fig. 4.3, left), out of which only Moses and David can still be identified by their attributes, i.e., a snake on a stick and a triangular zither, respectively. In the murals of the church in Fizeșu Gherlii, which are dated to the first third of the fourteenth century, a mature, brown-haired holy king with no surviving attributes other than his crown (probably St. Ladislav) is still visible on the southern half of the intrados of the triumphal arch (Fig. 4.4, left).⁵⁷⁰



Fig. 4.4 – Holy king (left) and partially preserved figure in court costume (right), first third of the 14th century, fresco, intrados of the triumphal arch, Calvinist Church in Fizeșu Gherlii. Photos © The Author

His counterpart on the intrados' northern half is a fragmentary figure dressed in elegant court costume (only its lower half is still preserved, Fig. 4.4, right). In the late-fourteenth century frescoes of the church in Sântana de Mureș, it is only a seated holy king with light hair and lily-shaped scepter that survives partially on the eastern side of the southern pillar of the triumphal arch (Fig. 4.5, left and right).⁵⁷¹ Judging by his sitting hypostasis, this holy king can be hypothetically

⁵⁷⁰ For these frescoes, see: Radocsay, *Középkori Magyarország falképei*, 194; Vătășianu, *Istoria artei*, 775; Drăguț, *Arta gotică*, 209, 260; Kerny, "Magyar szent királyok a templomok külső falain", 86. Personal field research in July 2014.

⁵⁷¹ For these frescoes, see more recently: Dana Jenei, Loránd Kiss, and Péter Pál, "Sântana de Mureș. Picturile murale din biserica reformată" [Sântana de Mureș. Mural paintings in the Reformed church], in *In memoriam Radu Popa. Temeiuri ale civilizației românești în context european* [In memoriam Radu Popa. Fundaments of Romanian civilization

identified with St. Stephen, who is similarly depicted in a number of other instances.⁵⁷² Above him, on the eastern side of the triumphal arch, there is placed the Parable of the Wise and Foolish Virgins, whereas on the intrados, there are again ten medallions with Old Testament Prophets holding scrolls with their names (mostly illegible now). The only prophet depicted without scroll can be identified by the crown on his grey hair and the zither he holds in his hands – King David (close to apex, but on the northern half). The remaining, identifiable prophets on the southern half of the intrados are Jeremiah, Enoch, and Elijah.



Fig. 4.5 – View from the East of the southern half of the triumphal arch (left) and St. Stephen (?) (right), late-14th century, fresco, Calvinist Church in Sântana de Mureș. Photos © The Author

In the murals of the church in Jakubovany, which are dated to the first half of the fourteenth century, the full, standing figure of a young, beardless holy king holding a scepter is placed on the

in European context], ed. Daniela Marcu Istrate *et al.* (Cluj-Napoca: Editura Accent, 2003), 429-437; Zsombor Jékely, “A Kolozs megyei Bádok falképei és az erdélyi falfestészet” [The wall paintings of Kolozs County and Transylvanian wall decoration], in *Colligite Fragmenta!: Örökségvédelem Erdélyben* [Colligite Fragmenta! Heritage protection in Transylvania], ed. Tímea N. Kis (Budapest: ELTE BTK, 2010), 198-205; idem, “Les ateliers de peinture murale en Transylvanie autour de 1400”, *Ars Transsilvaniae* 23 (2013), 33-37; Jékely and Kiss, *Középkori falképek Erdélyben*, 214-243.

⁵⁷² For this aspect, see below.

southern pillar, being the only depiction of a royal saint still preserved on the triumphal arch's pillars (Fig. 4.6).⁵⁷³



Fig. 4.6 – Three sitting holy apostles and one standing holy king, first half of the 14th century, fresco, lower register of the southern wall and southern pillar of the triumphal arch, Catholic Church of St. Lawrence in Jakubovany. Photo Source: <https://www.slovakiana.sk/> (accessed 26 November 2017)

In the church in Zolná, the restorers' recent testing revealed under the whitewash, on the southern half of the triumphal arch, i.e., in a position similar to that of St. Ladislav in Fizeșu Gherlii, the crowned head of a mature, brown-bearded holy king (probably St. Ladislav).⁵⁷⁴ This is currently the only mural fragment exposed in the triumphal arch's area, and one can expect new data to be revealed, once the paintings' uncovering is resumed.

Besides two distinct versions of St. Ladislav's narrative cycle dated to different periods (i.e., first third of the fourteenth century and early-fifteenth century, respectively), the watercolor copies of the vanished frescoes of the church in Pădureni (made in late-May 1882 by József Huszka) record also the representation of a holy king with white hair and brown beard, seating and holding

⁵⁷³ Dvořáková, *Středověká nástěnná malba*, 98-99. Although I was present in Jakubovany in December 2016, the priest unexplainably did not allow me to enter the church and, subsequently, I am not directly acquainted with this mural.

⁵⁷⁴ For these murals see Brázdilová, "Peripetie pamiatkovej obnovy", 67-78; photographs are available online at <http://apsida.sk/c/25/zolna> (accessed 26 November 2017).

an orb and the model of a church (Fig. 4.7).⁵⁷⁵ No other paintings were preserved at that point on the intrados of the triumphal arch and one can no longer know if the saint had originally another holy king as his counterpart, nor what did the iconographic context of this representation consist of. Judging by its stylistic similarity with the murals of the workshop active in Ghelînța, Crăciunel (Hung. *Homoródkarácsonyfalva*), Mărtiniș (Hung. *Homoródszentmárton*), and probably Fizeșu Gherlii, this representation can be dated hypothetically to the first third of the fourteenth century.⁵⁷⁶



Fig. 4.7 – József Huszka, St. Stephen (left) and Holy Apostle Matthew (right) on the southern pillar of the triumphal arch and the southern wall of the sanctuary of the church in Pădureni 1882, paper, watercolor, drawing, 28 x 21 cm, inv. no. NM R 10222, Néprajzi Múzeum in Budapest. Photo Source: <http://www.neprajz.hu/gyujtemenyek>

The unusual, seated posture of this saint and his uncommon attribute recall the representation of St. Stephen on the title page of Nicholas Vásári's *Decretales* (1343), who is depicted in a similar manner, that is, sitting and holding a church's model (Fig. 2.14-2.15). Similarly, it is precisely this gift that St. Stephen offers to the Holy Virgin with Child on the seal of the cathedral chapter in Zagreb (1371).⁵⁷⁷ This attribute specific to the iconography of donors or founder kings⁵⁷⁸ finds an

⁵⁷⁵ Drawings and watercolors of the murals in Pădureni are kept in the archives of the Néprajzi Múzeum (NM R 10217 – NM R 10226) and Kulturális Örökségvédelem Hivatal (Ltsz. FM 60 – FM 61) in Budapest; they are partially published in: János, *Színek és legendák*, 79-80, pl. VI; idem, *Huszka József falképmásolatai*, 45-47, fig. 22-23.

⁵⁷⁶ Năstăsioiu, "Nouvelles représentations", 8-10.

⁵⁷⁷ Imre Takács, ed., *A magyarországi káptalanok és konventek középkori pecsétjei* [Seals of medieval Hungarian chapters and convents] (Budapest: MTA Művtört. Kut. Int., 1992), 32-35.

explanation in St. Stephen's work as organizer of the local, Hungarian Church and founder of many religious institutions, both inside and outside his kingdom.⁵⁷⁹ A seated holy king – seemingly, white-haired, holding a crucifer orb, and making a telling gesture (probably St. Stephen) – was depicted also on the southern pillar of the triumphal arch in the vanished murals of St. Stephen Church in Sâncraiu de Mureș (Fig. 4.8).⁵⁸⁰



Fig. 4.8 – Ödön Nemes, frescoes on the southern wall of the sanctuary and southern pillar of the triumphal arch of the church in Sâncraiu de Mureș, 1893-1894, paper, watercolor, unknown size, unknown location. Photo Source: Vătășianu, *Istoria artei*

In his proximity, i.e., on the western side of the sanctuary's southern wall, there was another, standing holy king, who was depicted at mature age, was dressed in armor, and held a spear and orb in his hands (probably St. Ladislav).⁵⁸¹ Most likely, on the intrados of the triumphal arch, i.e., above

⁵⁷⁸ Anne Lombard-Jourdan, "L'invention du *roi fondateur* à Paris au XIIe siècle: de l'obligation morale au thème sculptural", *Bibliothèque de l'école des chartes* 155/2 (1997), 485-582.

⁵⁷⁹ These pious actions are described in St. Stephen's *vita*, Bartoniek, "Legendae Sancti Stephani", 409-413, 415-419.

⁵⁸⁰ Watercolors of the vanished murals in Sâncraiu de Mureș, made by Ödön Nemes in 1893-1894, are published in Vătășianu, *Istoria artei feudale*, 769-770, fig. 732, reproduced also in Jánó, *Színek és legendák*, 56-57, fig. 25. Two additional drawings dated to 1897 and signed by the same Ödön Nemes (however, they do not feature the holy kings) are published in Lajos Kelemen, *Művészettörténeti tanulmányok* [Studies of art history], ed. Margit B. Nagy (Bucharest: Kriterion Könyvkiadó, 1982), 2: 381, fig. 1-2. Since their publishing by Virgil Vătășianu in 1959, when they were kept in the Lapidarium of the Institute of History in Cluj-Napoca, these watercolors have vanished. Mihály Jánó assumes that they are probably kept in the archives in Cluj-Napoca, Jánó, *Színek és legendák*, 185-186; however, my attempts at locating these watercolors in any of the archival funds of this city in May 2017 were fruitless, and their current location is still unknown. For the church's history and its dedication to St. Stephen, see Léstyán, *Megszentelt kövek*.

⁵⁸¹ For St. Oswald's additional, hypothetical representation in this church, see n. 331.

St. Stephen's hypothetical figure, the Parable of the Wise and Foolish Virgins was painted. The murals in St. Stephen Church in Sâncraiu de Mureș are difficult to date only on the basis of the existing copies, but Mihály János has already pointed out to the murals' apparent, stylistic similarity with the frescoes of the workshop active in Dârjiu (Hung. *Székelyderzs*), Feliceni (Hung. *Felsőboldogfalva*), Homorod (Germ. *Hamruden*, Hung. *Homoród*), Mihăileni (Hung. *Csikszentmihály*), Rodeș (Germ. *Radeln*, Hung. *Rádos*), and Tomești (Hung. *Csikszenttamás*), and their possible dating to the first decades of the fifteenth century.⁵⁸²

Besides these fragmentary murals, either still extant or documented visually, one should consider hypothetically also a series of written accounts. Josephus Brüstle's brief account of 1733 mentions depictions of Hungarian holy kings on the triumphal arch of the church in Miszla, but these are no longer preserved.⁵⁸³ According to Flóris Rómer's description of 1874, in the fortress of Târgu Mureș, in a chapel situated on the northern side of the main church, there was at that point a series of very deteriorated murals.⁵⁸⁴ Among these, on the pillars of the triumphal arch, there were also the figures of two holy kings with lily-shaped crowns and orbs, whom the author identified with St. Ladislav – he held additionally a battle axe – and St. Stephen. According to Béla Karácson's 1897 account, besides St. Ladislav's Legend and the *sancti reges Hungariae* on the nave's northern wall, the church in Filea had, before its demolishing, two more depictions of holy kings on the pillars of the triumphal arch.⁵⁸⁵ The author does not detail this information, nor did he visually record these representations; however, the presence inside a single church of three distinct representations of Hungarian holy kings is – if true – rather extraordinary.⁵⁸⁶

As it has been shown, all this evidence which is preserved fragmentarily or only documented (both visually and textually) presents significant iconographic characteristics with the group of murals in Poprad, Slatvina, Tornaszentandrás, and Žehra. Although the location of Sts Stephen and Ladislav on the pillars of the triumphal is not always mandatorily accompanied by an

⁵⁸² János, *Színek és legendák*, 56-57; for this workshop's activity, see Jékely, "Ateliers de peinture", 38-41.

⁵⁸³ "... In arcu sanctuarii imagines divorum Regum Hungariae integrae visuntur...", Josephus Brüstle, *Recensio universi cleri dioecesis Quinqueecclesiensis, distincte a tempore amotae cum exitu seculi 17-mi tyrannidis turciae, restitutaque in his patribus tranquillitatis, usque ad praesens tempus, commentariis historicis illustrata* (Quinqueecclesiis [Pécs]: no publisher, 1879), 3: 728. See also: Radocsay, *Középkori Magyarország falképei*, 178; Kerny, "Magyar szent királyok a templomok külső falain", 86, where these vanished murals are dated hypothetically to the second half of the fourteenth century.

⁵⁸⁴ Rómer, *Régi falképek*, 125-126.

⁵⁸⁵ Béla Karácson, "A fülei régi református templom történetére vonatkozó adatok" [Relevant data on the history of the former Reformed church in Filea], *Protestáns Közlöny* 27 (1897), 325-326, apud Dávid, *Udvarhelyszék művészeti emlékei*, 104, 106-107, fig. 97, with bibliography on p. 108.

⁵⁸⁶ The murals in Lónya, Štítňik, and Žip, which present similar iconographic features with this group, are discussed later, in the context of St. Sigismund's association with the *sancti reges Hungariae*. In the watercolor copies of the vanished murals in Sighetu Marmației, the fragmentary figures of two holy kings were placed on two of the nave's pillars, presenting thus a remotely-similar location (i.e., on pillars). For these watercolors, see: Jékely, "Máramarossziget elpusztult falképei", fig. 17-18; idem, "Máramarossziget", 234.

Old-Testament themed setting,⁵⁸⁷ one should admit hypothetically that this four-mural group could have originally included in fact a larger number of examples, but some of these have either vanished in the meantime or are preserved now only fragmentarily. However, given the unquestionable iconographic consistency of this group, one should look for possible explanations, on the one hand, for the reason why Sts Stephen and Ladislás were depicted in the company of the Old Testament Prophets and, on the other hand, for the reason why the holy kings occupied this particular place inside the church. These two questions are justifiable also because – as shown in the previous chapter – the other iconographic type depicting collectively the three *sancti reges Hungariae* within a compositional unit has no consistency as to its position in the iconographic program, the scene being represented on different registers and in various places on the church walls, either sanctuary, nave, or exterior decoration.⁵⁸⁸

4. 2. Wisdom and Strength as Royal Virtues – St. Stephen as *novus (alter) Salomon* and St. Ladislás as *novus (alter) David*

In the early-eleventh century *Libellus de institutione morum*, attributed to St. Stephen, but written by a monk formed somewhere in the Western Europe, the founder of the Christian Kingdom of Hungary gives a series of advices to his son, Prince Emeric, whom he had appointed as his legal successor.⁵⁸⁹ Following the example of Western mirrors for princes, the *Libellus* outlines the portrait of the ideal monarch, by offering a model of behavior for the king-to-be and by presenting

⁵⁸⁷ For instance, in Ragály, St. Ladislás featured together with probably another holy king – only the lower part of his court costume is preserved – on the northern and eastern sides of the southern pillar of the triumphal arch. However, St. Ladislás had a holy bishop as his counterpart on the southern side of the northern pillar, whereas the intrados of the triumphal arch was occupied by the full, standing figures of St. Helena and a holy virgin, who flanked the *Mandylion* in the apex.

⁵⁸⁸ The following discussion focusing on the shaping of the image of Sts Stephen and Ladislás after that of the Old Testament Kings Solomon and David resumes loosely the argument published in my article, Năstăsoiu, “*Pillars of State and Church*”, 453–466.

⁵⁸⁹ For the text, see Iosephus Balogh, “*Libellus de institutione morum*”, in Szentpétery, *Scriptores Rerum Hungaricarum*, 2: 613–627; see also the latest critical edition accompanied by Hungarian translation: Ladislaus Havas, ed., *Sancti Stephani Regis primi Hungariae Libellus de institutione morum sive admonitio spiritualis. Szent István erkölcsstanító könyvecske avagy intelmek* (Debrecini: ex officina typographica Universitatis Scentiarum Debreceniensis, 2004); for an English translation, see János M. Bak and James Ross Sweeney, “De Institutione Morum ad Emericum Ducum. To Prince Emeric Concerning Instruction in Virtuous Conduct”, *The New Hungarian Quarterly* 29/112 (1988), 98–105. For evaluations of this first Hungarian work of theory of state, see: Jenő Szűcs, “König Stephans *Institutionen* – König Stephans Staat”, in *Nation und Geschichte. Studien*, ed. Jenő Szűcs (Cologne: Böhlau, 1981), 245–262; idem, “King Stephen’s Exhortations and His State”, *The New Hungarian Quarterly* 29/112 (1988), 89–97; idem, “Szent István Intelmei: az első magyarországi államelméleti mű” [St. Stephen’s Exhortations: the first Hungarian work on the theory of state], in Glatz, *Szent István és kora*, 32–53; Francesco Stella, “Ungheria imago Europae: l’*“Institutio morum”* di re Stefano I e le radici della multiculturalità mitteleuropea”, in *Dal centro dell’Europa: culture a confronto fra Trieste e i Carpazi. Atti del Secondo Seminario Internazionale Interdisciplinare Pécs, 26–29 settembre 2001*, ed. Eszter Rónaky and Beáta Tombi (Pécs: Imago Mundi, 2002), 197–207.

him with the main duties of a ruling king. According to the ten chapter headings, these duties are: the observance of Catholic faith, the reverence for the clerical order, the honor due to prelates, the honoring of magnates and warriors, the practicing of justice and patience, the reception and fostering of guests, the keeping of council, the following of elders by their sons, the observance of prayer, and the practicing of piety and mercy and other virtues.⁵⁹⁰ Like in many other examples pertaining to the *specula principum* genre, King Stephen admonishes his son to follow the model of the Old Testament kings in general and, particularly, that of Kings David and Solomon.⁵⁹¹ In the text, they are mentioned either directly or indirectly, namely, through biblical quotations from the *Psalms*, *Proverbs*, *Book of Wisdom*, and *Ecclesiasticus*, i.e., precisely those texts the authorship of which was attributed by medieval theologians specifically to the two Old Testament Kings.⁵⁹² Out of King David's three explicit occurrences in the text of the *Libellus*, he is mentioned in connection with a king's divine anointing, spirit of justice, and moderation;⁵⁹³ whereas King Solomon's name occurs four times throughout the text, twice in connection with a son's obedience towards parents and twice in connection with his proverbial wisdom:

“Si enim gradieris cum sapientibus, sapiens efficeris, si versaris cum stultis, sociaberis illis fatente spiritu sancto per Salomonem: Qui cum sapientibus graditur sapientum erit amicus, nec stultorum erit similis.”

“Tu autem fili mi, quotienscumque ad templum dei curris, ut deum adores cum Salomone, filio regis et ipse semper rex dicas: Emitte domine sapientiam de sede magnitudinis tue, ut mecum sit et mecum laboret, ut sciam, quid acceptum sit coram te omni tempore. Et iterum: Domine pater et deus vitae meae, ne derelinquas me in cogitatu maligno. Extollentiam oculorum meorum ne dederis michi et desiderium malignum averte a me. Domine aufer a me concupiscentiam et animo irreverenti et infrunito ne tradas me domine.”⁵⁹⁴

Seemingly, the model of the two Old Testament Kings was of special relevance during the eleventh century not only for St. Stephen, but also for other rulers of the Árpáadian dynasty. This is so,

⁵⁹⁰ Balogh, “*Libellus de institutione morum*”, 620.

⁵⁹¹ An observation made also by Gábor Klaniczay, “Conclusion: North and East European Cults of Saints in Comparison with East-Central Europe”, in *Saints and Their Lives on the Periphery: Veneration of Saints in Scandinavia and Eastern Europe (c. 1000-1200)*, ed. Haki Antonsson and Ildar H. Garipzanov (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010), 292.

⁵⁹² The precise scriptural references are: *Psalms* [104: 15; 71: 2; 98: 4; 17: 26], *Proverbs* [1: 8; 4: 10; 13: 20], *Book of Wisdom* [9: 10], and *Ecclesiasticus* [23: 4-6].

⁵⁹³ Balogh, “*Libellus de institutione morum*”, 623-625.

⁵⁹⁴ Balogh, “*Libellus de institutione morum*”, 625-627. “For if you walk with the wise you will be wise; if you associate with fools, you will be their fellow. As the Holy Ghost says through Solomon: He that walketh with the wise, shall be wise; a friend of fools shall become like them [Prov. 13: 20].” and “My son, every time you enter God's church in order to adore Him, you should say with Solomon, a king's son and ever king himself: Send out, O lord, wisdom from the throne of thy glory, that she may be with me, that I may know what is acceptable with Thee [Wis. 9: 10] at all times. And again: O Lord father, and God of my life, leave me not to their devices. Give me not haughtiness of my eyes; and turn away from me all coveting. Lord, let not the lusts of the flesh take hold of me, and give me not over, Lord, to a shameless and foolish mind [Ecclus. 23: 4-6].”, Bak, “*De Institutione Morum*”, 104-105.

because one of them, King Andrew I (r. 1047-1060), had his sons christened precisely Solomon and David after he had ascended to the throne.⁵⁹⁵ In a passage of the royal chronicle written under King Géza II's reign (1140-1160), which castigates King Stephen II's rulership (1116-1131) and criticizes harshly King Coloman (r. 1095-1116) who had ordered the blinding of King Géza II's father, the model of the two Old Testament Kings is invoked again for the purpose of contrasting it with the unworthy King Stephen II:

“Putabatque rex in consilio equalem se Salomoni, in fortitudine Samsoni, in audacia David, sed illis equalis non erat.”⁵⁹⁶

Not only were the prelates and clerks of the royal chancery judging the extent in which the king was suitable to rule by comparing him with the two Old Testament Kings, but the ruler himself was doing the same. This is attested by a document issued in 1223 by King Andrew II (r. 1205-1235), which proves the persistence of this common place in the Hungarian royal milieu:

“[Stephanus] Sedens itaque in cathedra, cum David, sapientissimus princeps, omne malum infidelitatis secundum illa tempora [...] suo intuitu dissipavit.”⁵⁹⁷

József Gerics has identified the liturgical source for this reverence of the two Old Testament Kings in the so-called *Egbert (Dunstan) Coronation Ordo*, which was also used in Hungary during the eleventh century.⁵⁹⁸ This *ordo* refers to Solomon in the moment of the king's anointing (“uncserunt salomonem”) and to David when the scepter is handed over to the king (“daviticum... sceptrum”), and it recalls also the peaceful reign of King Solomon: “... sicut salomonem fecisti regnum obtinere pacificum...”.⁵⁹⁹ Generally, King David and King Solomon were perceived both in the West⁶⁰⁰ and

⁵⁹⁵ Szovák, “Image of Ideal King”, 260; Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers*, 128.

⁵⁹⁶ Domanovszky, “Chronici Hungarici”, 463. “The king thought he was equal in council to Solomon, in strength to Samson, and in courage to David, but he was not their equal.”

⁵⁹⁷ Richard Marsina, ed., *Codex diplomaticus et epistolaris Slovaciae. Slovenský diplomatár* (Bratislava: Academia Scientiarum Slovaca, 1971), 1: 299. “[Stephen] Sitting on the throne like David, the very wise king, dispersing all evil of faithlessness, [...] as it had happened in those [old] times.”

⁵⁹⁸ József Gerics, “Az úgynevezett Egbert (Dunstan)-ordo alkalmazásáról a XI. századi Magyarországon” [On the application of the so-called Egbert (Dunstan) coronation ordo in 11th-century Hungary], in *Eszmetörténeti tanulmányok a magyar középkorról* [Studies of history of ideas on the Hungarian Middle Ages], ed. György Székely (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1984), 243-254. For Bishop Egbert's revision of the Dunstan Coronation *Ordo*, drawn up between 960 and 973, see Leopold G. Wickham Legg, *English Coronation Records* (London: Archibald Constable, 1901), 3-9.

⁵⁹⁹ William Greenwell, ed., *The Pontifical of Egbert, Archbishop of York, A. D. 732-766* (Durham: George Andrews, 1853), 100-105.

⁶⁰⁰ See especially: Percy Ernst Schramm, “Das Alte und das Neue Testament in der Staatslehre und Staatssymbolik des Mittelalters”, in *La Bibbia nell'alto medioevo* (Spoleto: Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, 1963), 10: 229-255, esp. pp. 234-240; Donald Bulloch, “*Imagines regum* and Their Significance in the Early Medieval West”, in *Studies in Memory of David Talbot Rice*, ed. Giles Robertson and George Henderson (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1975), 223-276; Kelly, *New Solomon*, passim; Gábor Klaniczay, “The Ambivalent Model of Solomon for Royal Sainthood and Royal Wisdom”, in *The Biblical Models of Power and Law. Papers of the International Conference, Bucharest, New Europe College 2005. Les modèles bibliques du pouvoir et du droit. Actes du colloque international*,

the Byzantine Commonwealth⁶⁰¹ as models of ideal rulers. Consequently, medieval Western kings and Byzantine emperors were frequently compared to them, or their image was continuously adjusted and reshaped by medieval authors, in order to resemble the main features of their Old-Testament, royal predecessors. This is apparent also in the *vitae* and liturgical texts written on the two holy kings of Hungary.

In Bishop Hartvic's early-twelfth century version of St. Stephen's *vita* that relies greatly on the previous two versions – i.e., the *Legenda maior* (before 1083) and *Legenda minor* (late-eleventh century) –, the holy king is presented as a righteous ruler,⁶⁰² whose conduct of life and judgment were made manifest in the statutes which King Stephen I decreed and in which he formulated the antidote of each sin.⁶⁰³ He loved justice most of all and had as virtues mercy and truth (*misericordia et veritas*), for which only he deserved preeminence in earning the joy of eternal life.⁶⁰⁴ However, the quality which is found in all three variants of St. Stephen's life, but which forms the *leitmotif* of Hartvic's account, is wisdom – a quality which King Solomon possessed above all.⁶⁰⁵ The fame of St. Stephen's right and wise judgments spread to remote corners of the world, various peoples coming to hear his words. On one of these occasions, when sixty men of the Pechenegs were robbed and their companions killed by the king's men, King Stephen proved his very prudent spirit in judgment by cautiously examining the guilty ones:

“Fama nominis sui in auribus multarum gentium secularium difusa et iudicis oris
sui celebri laude ubique innotessentibus [...]. Rex, ut erat prudentioris animi, non

Bucarest, *New Europe College* 2005, ed. Ivan Biliarsky and Radu G. Păun (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang Internationaler Verlag der Wissenschaften, 2008), 75-92 (henceforth: Biliarsky, *Biblical Models*). For a later period, see Friedrich Pelleross, “Between Typology and Psychology: The Role of the Identification Portrait in Updating Old Testament Representations”, *Artibus et Historiae*, 24 (1991), 75-117.

⁶⁰¹ See especially: Suzanne Spain Alexander, “Heraclius, Byzantine Imperial Ideology, and the David Plates”, *Speculum* 2 (1977), 220-234; Henry Maguire, “The Art of Comparing in Byzantium”, *The Art Bulletin*, 1 (1988), 88-103; Elka Bakalova, “The Image of the Ideal Ruler in Medieval Bulgarian Literature and Art”, in *Les cultes des saints souverains et des saints guerriers et l'idéologie du pouvoir en Europe Centrale et Orientale. Actes du colloque international 17 janvier 2004*, *New Europe College, Bucarest*, ed. Ivan Biliarsky and Radu G. Păun (Bucharest: New Europe College, 2007), 34-80 (henceforth: Biliarsky, *Cultes des saints souverains*); eadem, “King David as Model of the Christian Ruler: Some Visual Sources”, in Biliarsky, *Biblical Models*, 93-132; Claudia Rapp, “Old Testament Models for Emperors in Early Byzantium”, and Ivan Biliarsky, “Old Testament Models and the State in Medieval Bulgaria”, in *The Old Testament in Byzantium*, ed. Paul Magdalino and Robert Nelson (Washington D. C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2010), 175-198, 255-278; Sandro Nikolaishvili, “Byzantine Imperial Ideology and Political Thinking: Model for the 12th-century Georgian Kingship”, *Phasis* 13-14 (2010-2011), 346-353.

⁶⁰² For St. Stephen as *rex iustus*, see Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers*, 123-147.

⁶⁰³ The passage is identical in both the *Legenda maior* and Hartvic's version, Bartoniek, “Legendae Sancti Stephani”, 384, 415.

⁶⁰⁴ It is Hartvic who added these two virtues to the previous text of the *Legenda maior*, *ibid.*, 387, 420.

⁶⁰⁵ Benjamin W. Wells, “How Solomon Was Wise”, *The Sewanee Review*, 4 (1921), 449-460. For King Solomon as *sedes sapientiae* in literature and art, see Daniel H. Weiss, “Architectural Symbolism and the Decoration of the Ste.-Chapelle”, *The Art Bulletin*, 2 (1995), 310-314; for medieval rulers as “New Solomons” having wisdom as chief virtue, see: Kelly, *New Solomon*, 242-286; Klaniczay, “Ambivalent Model of Solomon”, 75-92; Manuel Alejandro Rodríguez de la Peña, *Los reyes sabios. Cultura y poder en la Antigüedad Tardía y la Alta Edad Media* (Madrid: Editorial Actas s. l., 2008), with bibliography.

vultu, non verbis minatus es eos, sed sustinens, ut scribitur, ‘prudens spiritum reservet in posterum’ [Prov. 29: 11]...”⁶⁰⁶

In all he did, King Stephen kept judgment and justice before his eyes, acting according to King Solomon’s words:

“Scripturarum divinarum, quibus adprime flagrabat non immemor, iudicium et iustitiam in oculis proponebat iuxta illud Salomonis: ‘audiens sapiens’ disciplinam ‘sapientior erit et intelligens gubernacula possidebit’ [Prov. 1: 5].”⁶⁰⁷

Additionally, King Stephen is contrasted to Saul by the text’s author precisely for his wisdom:

“Tandem hostibus devictis, ex parte cesis et ex parte captis dux victor cum suis victoriae dona reportavit. Quapropter de possessionibus eorum tam in agris, quam in villis sapienter diiudicavit, non sicut quondam Saul, qui devicto Amalech, de spoliis eius domino prohibente meliora elegerant [1Reg. 15: 9].”⁶⁰⁸

In his account, Hartvic goes further and relates that King Stephen, during one of his night vigils and prayers, asked God for guidance in the daily scrutiny of his judgments, echoing thus King Solomon’s request for an understanding heart in order to judge his people and to discern between good and evil:

“Idem quoque rex beatus sollicitudine regalium dispositionum occupatus tempus diurnum colloquiis et consiliis transiens per noctis silentium vigiliis et orationibus instare, contemplationi vacare, lacrimas fundere, deum alloqui precibus operam dabat, iustique iudicis moderationem super cottidianas iudiciorum discussiones misericorditer descendere flagitabat [1Reg. 3: 9].”⁶⁰⁹

⁶⁰⁶ Bartonek, “*Legendae Sancti Stephani*”, 425-426; compare with *Legenda minor* which shows a slightly different version, *ibid.*, 398-399. “The fame of his name reached the ears of many secular people, and the judgments from his mouth having become known everywhere by famous praise [...]. The king, because he was of very prudent spirit, threatened them neither by expression, nor by words, but holding back – as it is written, *a wise man holds back* [Prov. 29: 11]...”, Berend, “Hartvic, Life of King Stephen”, 389-390.

⁶⁰⁷ Bartonek, “*Legendae Sancti Stephani*”, 407-408; slightly distinct in *Legenda minor*, *ibid.*, 394. “Not forgetting the Holy Scriptures, for which he was zealous above all, he kept judgment and justice before his eyes, according to the words of Solomon: *The wise man also may hear discipline and increase in learning, and the man of understanding acquire government* [Prov. 1: 5].”, Berend, “Hartvic, Life of King Stephen”, 381.

⁶⁰⁸ Bartonek, “*Legendae Sancti Stephani*”, 409; minor alterations of the text of the *Legenda minor*, *ibid.*, 395. “Finally, defeating the enemy, some of them having been killed and others captured, the victorious leader took home the gifts of victory with his troops. And so he disposed wisely of their possessions, both the fields and the villages, not as Saul had done when, having defeated Amalech, he chose the best of the spoils despite the Lord’s prohibition [see 1Sam 15: 1-9].”, Berend, “Hartvic, Life of King Stephen”, 382.

⁶⁰⁹ Bartonek, “*Legendae Sancti Stephani*”, 425. “And that blessed king occupied by the cares of daily administration, passing the time by day with discussions and counsels, exerted himself in the silence of the night to be zealous in vigils and prayers, to have time for contemplation, to pour out tears, to address God by supplications, asking that the restraint of the just judge mercifully descended upon the daily scrutiny of his judgments.”, Berend, “Hartvic, Life of King Stephen”, 389.

Like King Solomon, who is the alleged author of a series of texts accepted by biblical tradition, St. Stephen is the alleged author of the *Libellus de institutione morum*, that collection of exhortations for the king-to-be, from which both the anonymous author of the *Legenda maior* and Hartvic offer several examples.⁶¹⁰ The only comparison of St. Stephen with King David does not occur in Hartvic's account on the saint's life, but in the previous *Legenda minor*, where it is stated that God helped King Stephen to avoid the Pecheneg danger similarly to the way the divine favor was granted to David, when he was faced with the Philistines.⁶¹¹ The first version of St. Stephen's office, which is preserved in the *Codex Albensis* and dates to before the 1280s,⁶¹² multiplies the comparisons with Old Testament characters, adding, for instance, Judge Samson.⁶¹³ However, the office contains also a series of references to St. Stephen's wisdom and his double hypostasis as king and preacher, a position which was held by King Solomon as well: "Sapienter dispensare / norat donum domini" and "Rex erat et predicator".⁶¹⁴ The sequence *Corde uoce mente pura*,⁶¹⁵ which is preserved in the same codex, compares St. Stephen's work of founding churches and of endowing them with gifts with Solomon's own construction of the Temple:

"Hic ad instar salomonis
struit templa ditat donis,
ornat gemmis et coronis
cruces et altaria."⁶¹⁶

Although the Solomonic reference is not explicit, this is an aspect which is developed also in Bishop Hartvic's version of the legend, which records the numerous religious foundations that King Stephen had undertaken both inside and outside Hungary, as well as his work of organizing the local Church of Hungary.⁶¹⁷ Moreover, for describing St. Stephen's physical excellence as a child, the author of the sequence resorts to a comparison which is often encountered in connection with

⁶¹⁰ Bartoniek, "Legendae Sancti Stephani", 390-391, 428-429.

⁶¹¹ Ibid., 398.

⁶¹² For the office's text, see Josephus Dankó, ed., *Vetus hymnarium ecclesiasticum Hungariae* (Budapest: Franklin, 1893), 194-204; for its dating and analysis, see: Terézia Dér, "A liturgikus énekek Szent Istvánja" [The liturgical songs of Saint Stephen], *Tiszatáj* 8 (2003), 85-92; József Török, "Szent István tisztelete a liturgiában" [Saint Stephen's cult in the liturgy], in *Allamalapítás, társadalom, művelődés* [Foundation of state, society, education], ed. Gyula Kristó (Budapest: Magyar Történelmi Társulat, 2001), 107-117.

⁶¹³ "Magnus sampson ad dominandum / leonem innititur / ad vngaris predicandum / rex fortis eligitur", Dankó, *Vetus hymnarium*, 199.

⁶¹⁴ Ibid., 201, 198.

⁶¹⁵ For its text, see *ibid.*, 211-213; for opinions on the sequence, see: Terézia Dér, "Gondolatok egy Szent István-szekvencia kapcsán" [Thoughts in connection with a sequence on Saint Stephen], *AETAS. Journal of History and Related Disciplines* 2 (2003), 110-119; Török, "Szent István tisztelete liturgiában", 110-111.

⁶¹⁶ Dankó, *Vetus hymnarium*, 212. "This one, like Solomon, builds temples, enriches [them] with gifts, [and] decorates crosses and altars with precious stones and crowns."

⁶¹⁷ Bartoniek, "Legendae Sancti Stephani", 409-413, 415-419.

King Solomon or in his alleged writings: “infans crescens exaltatur, / ut cedrus in lybano”.⁶¹⁸ Although references to other Old Testament characters are sometimes found in the written sources dealing with St. Stephen, one can easily notice that their authors relied particularly and consistently on those biblical texts which have as focus King Solomon, or on his writings. They tried, thus, to parallel St. Stephen’s actions and qualities with those of King Solomon, emphasizing the resemblance of the Hungarian holy king with his biblical predecessor.

If for St. Stephen a corollary of moral qualities was made up by his hagiographers and authors of liturgical texts for the purpose of making him to resemble King Solomon, the written sources dealing with St. Ladislav emphasize instead the profusion and excellence of his corporeal gifts.⁶¹⁹ The two versions of St. Ladislav’s legend, which are traceable back to a single, original *vita* written at the turn of the twelfth-thirteenth centuries,⁶²⁰ have as tendency, as Emma Bartoniek has pointed out, the definition of the ruler’s suitability: King Ladislav could not be presented as a *rex iustus*, since he was technically an usurper and ruled in opposition to the legitimately-crowned king.⁶²¹ The text of an earlier chronicle preserved in a fourteenth-century copy describe Ladislav as a king endowed with all virtues, Catholic faith, excelling in piety, munificent in generosity, and outstanding in charity. The catalogue of virtues is then followed in the chronicle’s text by an eulogy consisting of quotations from the *Ecclesiasticus*, the first three describing the high priest Simon, who built the Temple, protected his people from destruction, and defended the city from its enemies, whereas the last three refer directly to King David, who was bright and gleaming as the stars, fought lions and bears without fear, killed Goliath, and expelled the enemies of his people:

“Omnes enim noverant ipsum esse vestitum consumatione virtutum [Eccli. 50: 11], fide catholicum, pietate precipuum, largitate munificum, caritate conspicuum. Emicuit quippe quasi stella matutina in medio nebule, fugans tedia tenebrarum et quasi luna plena lucet in diebus suis, velut etiam sol refulgens, sic effulsit in populo suo [Eccli. 50: 6-7]; quasi adeps separatus a carne [Eccli. 47: 2]. Et cum leonibus et ursibus lusit, quasi cum agnis ovium. Numquid non occidit gygantem et abstulit opprobrium ex Israel? Convertit enim inimicos suos undique et extirpavit adversarios [Eccli. 47: 8]. Erat enim magnus...”⁶²²

⁶¹⁸ Dankó, *Vetus hymnarium*, 212. The other scriptural references encountered in the sequence are from *Ecclesiasticus* [24: 17], *1 Kings* [4: 32-33; 5: 6-10], and *Psalms* 91; for these, see Josse Clichtove, *Elucidatorium ecclesiasticum: ad officium ecclesiae pertinentia planius exponens, et quatuor libros complectens... Iudoco Clichtoveo explanatore* (Apud inclytam Germaniae Basileam: Io. Frobe. typis excudebat, [1517]), fol. 211v, apud Dér, “Gondolatok Szent István-szekvencia”, 112-113.

⁶¹⁹ Szovák, “Image of Ideal King”, 241-264.

⁶²⁰ József Gerics, “Textbezüge zwischen den ungarischen Chroniken und der Sankt-Ladislav-Legende”, *Acta Historica Scientiarum Hungaricae* 19 (1973), 273-303.

⁶²¹ Bartoniek, “Legenda Sancti Ladislai”, 509-514; for the text of the *vitae*, see *ibid.* 515-527. This idea was further developed in József Gerics, “Legkorábbi Gesta-szerkesztéseink keletkezésrendjének problémái” [Problems of order of emergence of the earliest Gesta], *Értekezések a történelmi tudományok köréből* 22 (1961), 88-112.

⁶²² Domanovszky, “Chronici Hungarici”, 404. “Indeed, everyone knew this one to have been clothed in the perfection of virtues [Eccli. 50: 11], of Catholic faith, excelling in piety, bountiful in munificence, [and] illustrious in charity. He

These references to King David are not at all fortuitous, since he was, in fact, the biblical archetype of medieval rulers, whose source of royal power emanated directly from God.⁶²³ It was God who conferred this power upon his chosen ones, as he did also with St. Ladislav, whose physical excellence was emphasized in the legend's text for the purpose of presenting him as worthy to rule and of justifying his right to the royal crown:

“In naturalibus autem bonis divine miserationis gratia speciali eum prerogativa preeminentie supra communem hominum valorem pretulerat. Erat enim manu fortis et visu desiderabilis et secundum phisonomiam leonis magnas habens extremitates statura quippe procerus ceterisque hominibus ab humero supra preeminens ita, quod exuberante in ipso donorum plenitudine ipsa quoque corporis species regio dyademate dignum ipsum declararet.”⁶²⁴

Emma Bartoniek noted that the idea of the ruler's physical excellence had its origins in the twelfth- and thirteenth-century theories about the state,⁶²⁵ whereas Kornél Szovák proved that, according to medieval etymologies, the expression *manu fortis et visu desiderabilis* was “the hallowed etymology of David's name”, which can be found in biblical exegesis throughout the Middle Ages.⁶²⁶ According to the historian, the lion-metaphor that accompanies the previous expression originated in the Aristotelian idea that an individual's good and bad qualities were to have been made manifest by physical marks. This idea was later used by medieval exegetes writing on the model of the ideal king, from Jerome's treatise on Hebrew names, Isidore of Seville's *Etymologies*, and Pseudo-Ruffinus' commentaries on Psalms and up to the eleventh-century *Deliberatio* of St. Gerard, Bishop of Csanád.⁶²⁷ He concludes that the author of St. Ladislav's legend had in mind David's image, but in his re-working of the source, he chose instead a “more scientific method”,

certainly shone forth like a morning star amidst clouds, chasing away the weariness of darkness, and like a full moon he shines in his days, and also just as the reflecting sun, so he shines among his people [Eccli. 50: 6-7]; just like lard separated from flesh [Eccli. 47: 2]. And he played with the lions and bears, just as with the lambs of sheep. Didn't he kill the giant and take away the contempt from Israel? He indeed drove back completely his enemies and he exterminated his adversaries [Eccli. 47: 8]. He was indeed great...”

⁶²³ See especially: Schramm, “Alte und neue Testament”, 234-240; Ernst H. Kantorowicz, *Laudes Regiae. A Study in Liturgical Acclamations and Medieval Ruler Worship* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1958), 56-70; Hugo Steger, *David rex et propheta. König David als vorbildliche Verkörperung des Herrschers und Dichters im Mittelalter nach Bilddarstellung des 8-12. Jahrhunderts* (Nuremberg: Verlag Hans Carl, Nuremberg, 1961); Spain Alexander, “Heraclius, Byzantine Imperial Ideology”, 220-234; Bakalova, “King David as Model”, 93-132.

⁶²⁴ Bartoniek, “Legenda Sancti Ladislai”, 517. “As far as the natural assets go, the favor of divine grace had exalted him above the common strength of men through a special grant of superiority. For he had strong hands, an attractive face, and large limbs like the body of a lion; he was tall, standing from the shoulder above other men, so that, besides the overflowing plenty of his gifts, the very appearance of his body proclaimed him as worthy of the royal crown.” (translation by Cristian Gașpar)

⁶²⁵ Bartoniek, “Magyar királyválasztási jog”, 377.

⁶²⁶ Szovák, “Image of Ideal King”, 259-260.

⁶²⁷ Ibid., 255-260.

namely, that of using the etymology of David's name in order to project a particular image on Ladislás.⁶²⁸ The idea of the excellence of corporeal gifts relying on the lion-metaphor occurs also in a series of sermons on St. Ladislás, like that written by Benedict, Bishop of Nagyvárád, who, speaking about a noble person's characteristics, says:

“[...] prima est, quod sit magnanimus ad agrediendum ardua, sicut fuit David, qui Golyam interfecit et ursum ac leonem superavit. Talis autem fuit beatus Ladizlaus, qui fuit miles probissimus et audacissimus.”⁶²⁹

Moreover, the author of another sermon, preserved in the fourteenth-century *Heiligenkreuz Sermonarium*, chose to elaborate precisely on this comparison, which proves the consistency of this literary topos:

“Conveniens est comparacio leonis ad regem, quia mores regio inter alia animalia propius exprimit leonis proprietates et natura, ideo de beato rege Ladizlao possumus dicere, quod ipse similis factus fuerit leoni...”⁶³⁰

Although the metaphor of the lion associated with St. Ladislás does not explicitly occur in the liturgical texts written on him until the early-sixteenth century, when it appears in a sequence in the *Peer Codex*,⁶³¹ which reads “tu corde audax more leonis ad hoc es dictus bator Ladislaus”,⁶³² there is plenty of reference in St. Ladislás' office to his harmonious appearance, strength, and physical excellence. To quote only a few examples – “Innaturalibus bonis gratuitisque donis / ipsum natura prerogativa pretulerat...”,⁶³³ “Ladislai species digna fuit imperio...”,⁶³⁴ “Sanctus iste indutus est

⁶²⁸ Ibid., 261-262.

⁶²⁹ Pál Lukács, ed., *Szent László ismeretlen legendája* [Saint Ladislás' unknown legend] (Budapest: no publisher, 1930), 30. “[...] the first one is that he is brave up to a high degree, just as David had been, who killed Goliath and surpassed the bear, as well as the lion. Also so great was blessed Ladislás, who was a very honest and courageous soldier.” Bishop Benedict continues, offering also the Aristotelian explanation: “... dicit Aristoteles de leone, qui est rex animalium...”.

⁶³⁰ Madas, *Sermones de Sancto Ladislao*, 54. “The comparison of the lion with the king is appropriate, because the quality and character of the lion among other animals express more closely the royal behavior, therefore, we can say about the blessed King Ladislás, that he had been made similar to the lion...”

⁶³¹ György Volf, ed., *Nyelvelmlétár. Régi magyar codexek és nyomtatványok. II. kötet. Régi magyar codexek: Weszprémi C. – Peer C. – Winkler C. – Sándor C. – Gyöngyösi C. – Thewrewk C. – Kriza C. – Bod Codex* [Language repository. Old Hungarian codices and incunabula. 2nd volume. Weszprémi C. – Peer C. – Winkler C. Sándor C. – Gyöngyösi C. – Thewrewk C. – Kriza C. – Bod Codex] (Budapest: A M. T. Akadémia Könyvtári Hivatala, 1874), 51-108; Sándor Géza Kozocsa, Andrea Kacsócs-Reményi, and Beatrix Oszkó, ed., *Régi magyar kódexek. 25. szám. Péter-Kódex. A Nyelvelmlék Hasonmása és betűhű átirata bevezetéssel és jegyzetekkel* [Old Hungarian Codices. Number 25. Péter Codex. Facsimile and transcription of the language relic with introduction and notes] (Budapest: Argumentum Kiadó and Magyar Nyelvtudományi Társaság, 2000).

⁶³² Dankó, *Vetus hymnarium*, 394; Volf, *Nyelvelmlétár*, 97.

⁶³³ Dankó, *Vetus hymnarium*, 179. These verses resemble the above-quoted excerpt from St. Ladislás' legend, see n. 624.

⁶³⁴ Ibid.

decorem, / [...] nam est eius fortitude / sempiterna sanctitudo...”;⁶³⁵ or “... ladislaum [...] / qui mira potentia...”.⁶³⁶ As in St. Stephen’s case, who was predominantly, but not exclusively compared to King Solomon, St. Ladislás is occasionally compared with other Old Testament characters, too, such as Isaac⁶³⁷ or Moses,⁶³⁸ but the Davidic association is a prominent trait.

Presenting St. Stephen as a predominantly wise and righteous king, and St. Ladislás as a predominantly brave and strong ruler had as consequence the two holy kings’ resemblance with Solomon and David, the two Old Testament Kings. This re-working of their identity/image by medieval authors was the reflection of a long-lasting, medieval tradition, which selected the two biblical, royal figures for the purpose of defining the medieval institution of kingship and of illustrating the prerogatives of medieval kings. These ones needed Solomon’s and David’s virtues for becoming suitable to rule. Differently stated, possessing the appropriate spiritual and physical qualities represented the basis on which someone was considered as fitting to be king.⁶³⁹ St. Stephen and St. Ladislás possessed both features – as references to the former’s physical excellence and to the latter’s moral superiority do occur in their *vitae* and *officia* –, but their authors chose instead to emphasize wisdom for St. Stephen and strength for St. Ladislás, respectively. They distinguished, thus, between two hypostases of kingship which were, however, difficult to separate in reality.⁶⁴⁰ The shaping of the image of the two holy kings of Hungary as *alter (novus) Salomon* and *alter (novus) David*, respectively, that has been operated by medieval theologians can give an insight into the reasons why, in the churches in Poprad, Slatvina, Tornaszentandrás, Žehra (and probably others, too), medieval iconographers tended to depict St. Stephen and St. Ladislás in the proximity of their sacred predecessors. One should recall that, with the exception of Poprad where other prophets seem to have been selected, in the remaining monuments, King David was certainly depicted on the intrados of the triumphal arch and probably King Solomon, too, though this cannot be stated with certainty due to the murals’ fragmentary state of preservation and to the problems of identification the prophets’ figures pose. The depiction of Sts Stephen and Ladislás on the pillars of the triumphal arch and in the company of the Old Testament Prophets, respectively,

⁶³⁵ Ibid., 181.

⁶³⁶ Ibid., 182.

⁶³⁷ “Ut Ysaac exiens in agrum meditabatur, / dum diuinae celsitudinis speciem contemplabatur.”, *ibid.*, 178.

⁶³⁸ “Egros curans sanos fecit, / et salutis opem iecit, / moysi officio”, *ibid.*, 186, or “Tulit ergo unusquisque ex animalibus, quantum sibi sufficebat [2Mos. 16: 16] laudantes et glorificantes deum in sancto suo, per quem talem misericordiam fuerant cosecuti.”, Bartoniek, “Legenda Sancti Ladislai”, 520.

⁶³⁹ For the significance of possessing adequate spiritual and physical features by medieval rulers, see especially Manuel Alejandro Rodríguez de la Peña, “*Rex strenuus valde literatus*: Strength and Wisdom as Royal Virtues in Medieval Spain (1085-1284)”, in *Princely Virtues in the Middle Ages 1200-1500*, ed. István P. Bejczy and Cary J. Nederman (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007), 33-51.

⁶⁴⁰ Szóvák, “Image of Ideal King”, 257, rightly disagrees with Gyula Kristó, “Legitimitás és idoneitás (Adalékok Árpád-kori eszméletörténetünkhöz)” [Legitimacy and suitability (Data on the history of ideas during the Árpadian age)], *Századok* 108 (1974), 585-621, who separates firmly corporeal from spiritual suitability.

represents an attempt at translating an instance of political-theological thinking into the pictorial medium. Thus, by comparing the two holy kings of Hungary with the two kings of the Old Testament, Sts Stephen and Ladislav were transformed into ideal rulers, who had wisdom and physical excellence as their main qualities, whereas the Hungarian royal institution received vetero-testamentary implications.

The busts of the Old Testament Prophets were usually placed in medallions on the intrados of the triumphal arch in many Hungarian Catholic churches,⁶⁴¹ and the prophets' location within their iconographic programs explains partially the place of Sts Stephen and Ladislav on the pillars of the triumphal arch. However, this was not the only symbolic meaning that was attached to their representation. Following Jérôme Baschet's argument concerning the axial dynamics of a ritual space from the West to the East, as well as Roberta Gilchrist's thesis concerning the varying degrees of sanctity attached to the inner space of a religious edifice having the main altar as its sacred epicenter,⁶⁴² one can note the special position occupied by the images of the two holy kings of Hungary. Sts Stephen and Ladislav are integrant part of the decoration of the triumphal arch, which represents the area marking physically the separation between the space of the nave and that of the sanctuary. In architectural-symbolical terms, this is the place that separates one of the church's less sacred spaces from its most sacred one; it is the permeable border between the area destined to the laymen and the area destined to the clergy. That this was indeed a transitional area is endorsed also by the fact that, in church iconography across medieval Hungary, the triumphal arch was often decorated with a highly-symbolic iconography, such as the Parable of the Wise and Foolish Virgins.⁶⁴³ Having its source in the Gospel of Matthew (25: 1-13), the eschatological

⁶⁴¹ Besides their already-discussed images in Čečevojce, Poprad, Sântana de Mureș, Slatvina, Tornaszentandrás, or Žehra, one can also add the examples in Lónya, Čerín, Rákoš, Rimavská Baňa, or Žíp – to name only the monuments discussed in this dissertation in connection with the iconography of the *sancti reges Hungariae*.

⁶⁴² Jérôme Baschet, "L'image et son lieu: quelques remarques générales", in *L'image médiévale: Fonctions dans l'espace sacré et structuration de l'espace culturel*, ed. Cécile Voyer and Éric Sparhubert (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011), 179-204, and Roberta Gilchrist, *Norwich Cathedral Close: The Evolutions of the English Cathedral Landscape* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2005), esp. pp. 236-262. For various reflections on Western sacred space, see also: Sarah Hamilton and Andrew Spicer, "Defining the Holy: The Delineation of Sacred Space", in *Defining the Holy. Sacred Space in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, ed. Sarah Hamilton and Andrew Spicer (London: Routledge, 2006), 1-10; Jeanne Halgren Kilde, *Sacred Power, Sacred Space. An Introduction to Christian Architecture and Worship* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008); Madeleine Gray, "Images of Words: Iconographies of Text and the Construction of Sacred Space in Medieval Church Wall Painting", in *Sacred Text – Sacred Space. Architectural, Spiritual and Literary Convergences in England and Wales*, ed. Joseph Sterrett and Peter Thomas (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2011), 15-34; Daniel Dumitran and Ileana Burnichioiu, "Why Sacred Space in Central and Eastern Europe?", *Annales Apulensis. Series Historica* 18/1 (2014), 7-19; Anne Beaud and Joëlle Tardieu, ed., *Organiser l'espace sacré au Moyen Âge. Topographie, architecture et liturgie (Rhône-Alpes – Auvergne)* (Lyon: Association de liaison pour le patrimoine et l'archéologie en Rhône-Alpes et en Auvergne and Publications de la Maison de l'Orient et de la Méditerranée, 2014).

⁶⁴³ In addition to the two instances mentioned above (i.e., Sântana de Mureș and Sâncraiu de Mureș), there are plenty of examples in medieval Hungary having this parable placed in the area of the triumphal arch: e.g., Cislădioara (Germ. *Michelsberg* / *Michaelsberg* / *Michelsdorf*, Hung. *Kisdísznód*), Dârlos, Hărman (Germ. *Honigberg*, Hung.

meaning of this parable resided in its interpretation as a warning addressed to Christians to be always well prepared for the Day of the Last Judgment, which could happen at any time. Highly-popular in the West during the Late Middle Ages, this iconographic theme was often placed in the proximity of doors, portals, triumphal arches, etc., alluding thus to the Gate of Paradise through which the Wise Virgins have passed, but which remained closed to the unprepared Foolish Virgins.⁶⁴⁴ The placing of this parable in the area of the triumphal arch hinted, thus, to a double passage. On the one hand, there was the physical passage from the secular space of the nave to the church's sacred epicenter (i.e. the sanctuary) and, on the other hand, there was the symbolical passage from the secular to the sacred realm, from the terrestrial to the heavenly kingdom. In addition to this area's ambivalence, one should consider also the dual nature of Hungary's holy kings, who were both religious and secular characters. As political figures, King Stephen I and King Ladislas I played a significant part in the history of their country, whereas as spiritual figures, St. Stephen and St. Ladislas played a meaningful role in the organization and defense of the local, Hungarian Church. One can assume that it was not by chance that the images of Sts Stephen and Ladislas, as representatives of both the Hungarian State and Church, were placed in the area of the triumphal arch that marked symbolically the division between secular and sacred realms. Similarly, it was not by chance that the pillars of the triumphal arch were chosen to receive their depiction, since St. Stephen and St. Ladislas represented actually the *pillars* (i.e., the fundamentals) of the local State and Church – the former as the first Christian ruler, Apostle of the Hungarians, and organizer of the Church, whereas the latter as a mighty and valiant defender of faith and country. As mentioned before,⁶⁴⁵ in the liturgical sources written on him not much after his canonization, St. Ladislas is recurrently called *columpna milicie christianae* (pillar of Christian militia), this appellation hinting at an additional, possible motivation for the holy knight's placing on one of the pillars of the triumphal arch. However, in St. Stephen's case, there are no matching epithets that might explain his position on the triumphal arch's other pillar. Anyway, the depiction of Hungary's two holy kings as *pillars* represents a fortunate attempt at translating an instance of thinking pertaining to the sphere of political theology into the pictorial medium of religious mural painting.

Szászhermány), Suseni (Hung. *Marosfelfalu*), Murska Sobota, Chyžné (Hung. *Hizsnyó*), probably Kameňany, Poniky, Rákoš, or Žip – to name only several monuments. For Cisnădioara, Hărman, and Suseni, see Drăguț, “Iconografia picturilor”, 79; for Murska Sobota, see Lángi, “Huszt (Xyct)”, 123, fig. 24; for Chyžné, see Tognier, *Stredoveká nástenná malba v Gemerí*, 129; for the remaining monuments, see the relevant places in the dissertation.

⁶⁴⁴ See especially: Regine Körkel-Hinkfoth, *Die Parabel von den klugen und törichten Jungfrauen (Mt. 25, 1-13) in der bildenden Kunst und im geistlichen Schauspiel* (Frankfurt am Main and Berlin: Peter Lang, 1994); Jacqueline E. Jung, “Dynamic Bodies and the Beholders Share: The Wise and Foolish Virgins of Magdeburg Cathedral”, in *Bild und Körper im Spätmittelalter*, ed. Kristin Marek et al. (Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 2006), 135-160; Isa Ragusa, “Terror Demonum and Terror Inimicorum: The Two Lions of the Throne of Solomon and the Open Door of Paradise”, *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 40/2 (1977), 93-114.

⁶⁴⁵ See n. 121.

4. 3. Chronology and Donors of the Images of Sts Stephen and Ladislav on the Pillars of the Triumphal Arch

Considering the chronology of the group of four murals depicting Sts Stephen and Ladislav on the pillars of the triumphal arch, one can note that the earliest example is that of the church in Poprad, the sanctuary of which has been probably decorated either around 1330 or around the middle of the fourteenth century. The sanctuary of the church in Žehra follows chronologically, as its decoration was probably executed during the 1370s-1380s period. The remaining two examples have a dating to around 1400, either during the last decade of the fourteenth century (e.g., Tornaszentandrás) or during the first decade of the fifteenth century (e.g., Slatvina). As it seems, this iconographic type reveals a different pattern of chronological distribution than the one established for the collective representation of the three *sancti reges Hungariae*, the murals in Poprad being the earliest ones. If one brings into discussion the hypothetical depictions of Sts Stephen and Ladislav on the pillars of the triumphal arch, another earlier group occurs, too, and this is composed of murals that have been produced during the first half of the fourteenth century (e.g., Čečešovce, Fizeșu Gherlii, Jakubovany, Pădureni, and probably Filea). Subsequently, one can advance the hypothesis that the iconographic type showing Sts Stephen and Ladislav on the pillars of the triumphal arch occurred earlier than the iconographic type showing the three *sancti reges Hungariae* within a single composition. Setting aside the vanished murals with unknown dating, the remaining, hypothetical frescoes are situated again around 1400, i.e., 1390s for Sântana de Mureș and the first decades of the fifteenth century for Sâncraiu de Mureș. These two later frescoes correspond to the peak of popularity that the cult of the *sancti reges Hungariae* and its associated representations reached at the turn of the fourteenth and fifteenth century. Consequently, although the iconographic type showing Sts Stephen and Ladislav on the pillars of the triumphal arch and in the company of the Old Testament Prophets appeared earlier, i.e., during the first half of the fourteenth century, its existence continued in parallel with the collective depiction of the three *sancti reges Hungariae*, at least until the early-fifteenth century.

First attested through the mentioning of the settlement and its parish priest in 1256 and 1268, respectively, Poprad was one of the smaller towns inhabited by the Saxons of the County of Szepes.⁶⁴⁶ The walls of the sanctuary and the intrados of the triumphal arch – the images of Sts Stephen and Ladislav on the pillars included – have been decorated in a single stage, which followed most likely the petition for indulgence addressed in 1326 to Pope John XXII by John and Henry of Deutschendorf (Nemecká Ves) for the benefit of the visitors of the parish church of St.

⁶⁴⁶ Togner, *Medieval Wall Paintings in Spiš*, 270.

Giles in Poprad.⁶⁴⁷ The two petitioners were most likely involved afterwards in the commissioning of the sanctuary's decoration, as the representation of two lay donors feature in the church's murals. Their kneeling and praying figures flank the episodes developed *en frise* of the Innocents' Massacre and the Flight into Egypt, which are located on the upper register of the northern wall. Although nothing else is known about the two petitioners, one of the two figures of donors is accompanied by the cross of the Knights Hospitaller, a detail which implies his connection with the knightly order.⁶⁴⁸ The unusual association of the two donors with these scenes taken from Christ's early life, i.e., the dramatic and brutal episode of the Massacre of the Innocents and the anxious chapter of the Flight into Egypt, has been interpreted as a response to a similarly dramatic event that happened in 1330, namely, Felician Záh's unsuccessful attempt at assassinating King Charles I and the royal family.⁶⁴⁹ Although one cannot say more about the donors of the sanctuary murals, the veneration of Sts Stephen and Ladislav by the Saxons living in Poprad is attested by the presence around 1330 in their parish church of the two holy kings' images.

Both located in the vicinity of the castle of Szepes, the churches in Žehra and Slatvina have been built on two neighboring settlements which, starting with the mid-thirteenth century and until the mid-fifteenth century, belonged to the Sigray noble family.⁶⁵⁰ The Sigrays had their main residence in Žehra and, most likely, they exercised their patronage rights over the two religious edifices. Following John of Sigray's holding of the office of *comes* of Szepes around mid-thirteenth century, the members of this noble family no longer held important official duties throughout the fourteenth century and, although they occur occasionally in written sources,⁶⁵¹ their mentioning does not correspond with the murals' periods of execution, i.e., the 1370s-1380s and the early-fifteenth century, respectively. Stylistically unrelated, the sanctuaries of the two churches display, nonetheless, a close iconographic kinship,⁶⁵² although the decoration of the sanctuary in Slatvina comprises a greater number of scenes than those included in the iconographic program of the sanctuary in Žehra. The decoration of the two sanctuaries not being coeval, it is very likely that the workshop active in Slatvina took as a model and, simultaneously, developed the iconographic program executed earlier on by the painters of the Žehra sanctuary – after all, both churches had as patrons the same noble family. Seemingly, judging by the two donor portraits in the two sanctuaries, they have been decorated at the initiative of different commissioners. In Žehra, a

⁶⁴⁷ Novotná, "Stredoveké nástenné maľby", 193-201.

⁶⁴⁸ Prokopp, *Középkori falképek a Szepességben*, 64.

⁶⁴⁹ Togner, *Medieval Wall Paintings in Spiš*, 274. For this assassination attempt, see: Henri Marczali, "Le procès de Félicien Záh. Une cause célèbre du XIV^e siècle", *Revue Historique* 107/1 (1911), 43-48; Marianne Sággy, "Les femmes de la noblesse angevine en Hongrie", in Coulet, *Noblesse dans les territoires Angevins*, 170-172.

⁶⁵⁰ Togner, *Medieval Wall Paintings in Spiš*, 206, 226.

⁶⁵¹ Nagy, *Magyarország családai*, 10: 177-181.

⁶⁵² Togner, *Medieval Wall Paintings in Spiš*, 211, 230.

tonsured cleric, depicted in a worshipping posture and accompanied by a scroll with now-illegible inscription, was included in the scene of Christ's Flagellation, which is placed on the lower register of the eastern wall, i.e., on its southern side.⁶⁵³ Although his identity remains unknown, it has been suggested that this clergyman was most probably connected with both the Sigray family and the neighboring Chapter of Szepes, probably a canon of this chapter.⁶⁵⁴ As an educated member of the clergy, it is very likely that the patron of the sanctuary murals in Žehra was also involved in the conception of its theologically-subtle iconographic program⁶⁵⁵ and that he was acquainted, too, with the vetero-testamentary understanding of Sts Stephen and Ladislav. Placed on the northern side of the lower register of the sanctuary's eastern wall, the votive image in Slatvina depicts instead a mature, brown-bearded layman who, together with a smaller, male figure (probably his son), kneels and prays in front of a holy princess or holy virgin holding some sort of container (probably St. Elizabeth of Hungary/Thuringia).⁶⁵⁶ The inscription on the scroll of the older donor has not been yet deciphered and his identity remains unknown, but he was most likely a secular member of the Sigray family. Although the donors of the murals in the sanctuaries in Žehra and Slatvina can no longer be identified with precision, one can assume that they venerated generally the *sancti reges Hungariae* and particularly St. Ladislav, as the holy knight's narrative cycle was painted on the northern wall of the nave in both churches, and a certain *Ladislaus de Sygra* is attested by written sources during the late-fourteenth century.⁶⁵⁷

No donor portraits are currently preserved in the mural decoration of St. Andrew Church in Tornaszentandrás.⁶⁵⁸ However, it is known that the settlement became part of the estate of the "Pelsőci" Bebek sometime during the second half of the fourteenth century, as in 1388 an administrator of the future Palatine Detre Bebek already resided in the village.⁶⁵⁹ It was most likely this wealthy and influential family that, after the middle of the fourteenth century, undertook the

⁶⁵³ For an illustration of this scene, see Divald, *Szepesvármegye művészeti emlékei*, 2: 5, fig. 2.

⁶⁵⁴ Dvořáková, *Stredoveká nástenná maľba na Slovensku*, 176.

⁶⁵⁵ For the sanctuary's iconographic program, see the relevant entry in the Catalogue of Murals.

⁶⁵⁶ For this identification, see Togner, *Medieval Wall Paintings in Spiš*, 207.

⁶⁵⁷ Doc. no. CCXXV, in Georgivs Fejér, ed., *Codex diplomaticus Hungariae ecclesiasticus ac civilis. Tomi X. Volumen II. Ab anno Christi 1392-1400* (Buda: Typis Typogr. Regiae Universitatis Vngaricae, 1834), 389-390.

⁶⁵⁸ Mária Prokopp, "A tornaszentandrási templom középkori falképei" [The medieval wall paintings of the church in Tornaszentandrás], in *Társadalomtörténeti tanulmányok a közeli és a régmúltból. Emlékkönyv Székely György 70. Születésnapjára* [Studies of social history from recent and distant past. Festschrift for György Székely's 70th birthday], ed. Ilona Jónás (Budapest: Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem Bölcsészettudományi Kara, Egyetemes Történeti Tanszék, 1994), 66, has assumed that the three lay figures in the scene of the Finding of the Holy Cross (nave, southern side of the triumphal arch) were disguised portraits of donors, whereas Ilona Valter, *Tornaszentandrás. Plébániatemplom* [Tornaszentandrás. Parish church] (no place: Tájak-Korok-Múzeumok Egyesület, 1998), 11, has suggested that only the smaller and allegedly kneeling figure would be that of a donor. In reality, however, these laymen are the Jews (one digging and two mistrustful), who are sometimes included in the Western iconography of the Finding of the Holy Cross, Elena Dana Prioteasa, "Medieval Wall Paintings in Transylvanian Orthodox Churches and Their Donors", PhD Diss. (Budapest: Central European University, 2011), 117-119.

⁶⁵⁹ Valter, "Tornaszentandrási r. k. templom kutatása", 103.

enlarging of the building of the older church,⁶⁶⁰ as well as the nave's and triumphal arch's subsequent decoration with murals. This happened during the late-fourteenth century and the inclusion of images of Sts Stephen and Ladislav – however, without St. Emeric this time – in the iconographic program of the church in Tornaszentandrás fits in perfectly with the patterns of devotion and artistic patronage of the “Pelsőci” Bebeks, as it has been described in the previous chapter in connection with the Bebeks' veneration for the cult of the *sancti reges Hungariae* and the presence of these royal saints' images in their churches in Kameňany, Krásnohorské Podhradie, Plešivec, and Rákoš.

Unfortunately, for the remaining, hypothetical representations of Sts Stephen and Ladislav on the pillars of the triumphal arch, the scarcity of written sources does not allow one to determine who were the donors of the murals, and what were their reasons for commissioning paintings with the two Hungarian holy kings. However, the Szeklers living in Sâncraiu de Mureș derived their rights and liberties directly from St. Stephen, as attested by a 1239 charter which speaks of *siculi de S. Rege*,⁶⁶¹ King Stephen's legal protection over the settlement – reflected also in its medieval toponym⁶⁶² – was a spiritual one, too, as its parish church was naturally dedicated to St. Stephen. Subsequently, one should not be surprised – given this double patronage of the Hungarian king and saint – that the church in Sâncraiu de Mureș had inside a significant number of images of holy kings.

Though less varied and covering a shorter time interval, the model of patronage for the images of Sts Stephen and Ladislav on the pillars of the triumphal arch is, nonetheless, interesting: the two donors in Poprad were Saxon citizens and probably notable members of their urban community, whereas the donors in Slatvina, Žehra, and Tornaszentandrás were noblemen with diverse social-professional backgrounds. Additionally, one of the two associated donors in Poprad was connected to the Order of Knights Hospitaller and chose to emphasize this quality in his depiction. Not as wealthy and politically influential as the Bebeks, the donors belonging to the Sigray family were equally lay- and churchmen, the latter category having been naturally more prone to grasp the political-theological implications of the iconographic type showing Sts Stephen and Ladislav on the pillars of the triumphal arch and in the company of the Old Testament Prophets.

⁶⁶⁰ Ibid., 120; Ilona Schönerné Pusztai, “A tornaszentandrási r. k. helyreállítása” [The restoration of the Roman Catholic church in Tornaszentandrás], *A Herman Ottó Múzeum Évkönyve* 19 (1980), 131-141. For the architecture of earlier church, see also Tajkov, *Sakrálna architektúra 11.-13. storočia*, 142-144.

⁶⁶¹ Léstyán, *Megszentelt kövek*.

⁶⁶² Ibid., the settlement occurs in written sources with similar names: *Zentkirály* (1339); *Zenthkyral* (1350/1370); and *Székelyszentkirály* (1474).

5. Holy Kings and Royal Propaganda – *sancti reges Hungariae*, St. Sigismund of Burgundy, and King Sigismund of Luxemburg

An important number of murals depicting the *sancti reges Hungariae* either as a group (i.e., within a single composition) or as a coherent iconographic unit despite their spatial separation (i.e., on the pillars of the triumphal arch) display a curious feature. There are not two or three holy kings – as one might expect – but four royal saints who are represented together, according to the two iconographic patterns of association discussed in the previous chapters. Seemingly, these murals feature the country's traditional patrons, namely, Sts Stephen, Emeric, and Ladislav, who are atypically associated with a fourth holy king. The latter's identity is most likely that of St. Sigismund of Burgundy, the personal patron saint of the ruling king, Sigismund of Luxemburg (1387-1437). A closer examination of these wall paintings and of the background of their commissioners is destined to suggest possible explanations for the way in which St. Sigismund's cult was transferred from the royal milieu to that of the nobility.⁶⁶³

5. 1. Iconographic Features in the Collective Depiction of Four Holy Kings

On the middle register of the southern wall of the Gothic sanctuary of the church in Mălâncrav, there is a unitarily-conceived group of saints which is surrounded by a single decorative frame. Dressed in fashionable court costumes and having elegant postures, five saintly figures are placed against a uniform, blue background and stand on a rocky ground. The group starts on the left side with an old holy bishop with miter and crozier; he is shown blessing and has been previously identified either with St. Gerard of Csanád, St. Nicholas of Myra, or St. Adalbert of Prague.⁶⁶⁴ The mature, brown-bearded St. Ladislav holding a crucifer orb and battle axe then follows, and he has next to him the old, white-bearded St. Stephen with scepter and crucifer orb. Having the same attributes as St. Stephen, another mature, brown-bearded holy king stands in his proximity. The group ends on the image's right side with the young, beardless St. Emeric, who has blond, curly hair, and holds an orb and originally a lily (now faded away).⁶⁶⁵ Except for the holy bishop, the other saints are certainly holy kings, as clearly indicated by their royal insignia (i.e., orbs, scepters,

⁶⁶³ This chapter has been published as: Dragoş Gh. Năstăsoiu, "A New *sancta et fidelis societas* for Saint Sigismund of Burgundy: His Cult and Iconography in Hungary during the Reign of Sigismund of Luxemburg", *The Hungarian Historical Review. Acta Historica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 5/3 (2016), 587-617; however, the present chapter has been revised and presents several important additions.

⁶⁶⁴ For an overview of the complex issue of the holy bishop's identity, see: idem, "Holy Bishop among Holy Kings (I)", 90-104; idem, "Holy Bishop among Holy Kings (II)", 94-110.

⁶⁶⁵ Gogăltan, "Holy Hungarian Kings", 114.

and crowns).⁶⁶⁶ The three ages of kingship (i.e., mature, old, and young, respectively), as well as St. Ladislav's personal attribute (i.e., the battle axe) point clearly to the identity of the three *sancti reges Hungariae*. However, because the accompanying inscriptions are no longer visible, it is difficult to ascertain the identity of the mature holy king, who is depicted with generic royal attributes and is placed in between St. Stephen and St. Emeric.⁶⁶⁷ Anca Gogâltan identified him hypothetically with St. Sigismund of Burgundy on the basis of the historical background of the frescoes, the donor's attachment to the king, and the efforts of Sigismund of Luxemburg to promote the cult of his patron throughout the kingdom.⁶⁶⁸ In his medieval, Bohemian iconography, St. Sigismund was indeed depicted as a middle-aged holy king, dressed in royal garments, holding scepter and orb, but not having other distinguishing attributes.⁶⁶⁹

Four holy kings – two on each pillar and in superposed registers – seem to have faced each other originally on the pillars separating the nave from the southern aisle of the church in Štítník, but currently only three of them are visible. The mural decoration of the church's southern aisle – the paintings on the pillars and on the intrados of the two arches included – is iconographically coherent and corresponds to a single phase of decoration.⁶⁷⁰ The figures on the pillars are poorly preserved and their individual identification is problematic, but one can notice a mixture of knightly, courtly, and royal elements in their costumes and attributes. The saint on the eastern pillar's upper register has chainmail under his tight tunic which is long to his knees, and holds a shield and an undefined attribute with long handle (either spear, banner, or halberd). His young age and light brown hair seem to suggest the identity of St. Emeric, who is sometimes depicted under a knightly guise and has a spear as his attribute, but this identification is only hypothetical. His counterpart on the western pillar is fully armored, wears either a crown or ducal hat, and props a

⁶⁶⁶ Ibid., 108. The crowns are effaced now, but three of the four holy kings had definitely a headgear, as attested by minor traces of paint and incision-less areas on their halos' upper part. Although St. Emeric's halo does not show these features, it is possible that he had a different type of headgear.

⁶⁶⁷ This saint's identification with St. Louis IX of France, previously proposed by Vasile Drăguț, is no longer valid, as it was based on analogies with depictions of misidentified holy kings, such as those in Bistrița, Mediaș, Sâncraiu de Mureș, Sântana de Mureș, or Sic. For these depictions and the dismissal of Drăguț's identification, see above.

⁶⁶⁸ Gogâltan, "Holy Hungarian Kings", 117-121.

⁶⁶⁹ For St. Sigismund's Bohemian iconography, see: Milada Studničková, "Kult des heiligen Sigismund (Sigmund) in Böhmen", in *Die Heiligen und ihr Kult im Mittelalter*, ed. Eva Doležalová (Prague: Filosofia, 2010), 299-339; eadem, "Kult svatého Zikmunda v Čechách" [The cult of Saint Sigismund in Bohemia], in *Světcí a jejich kult ve středověku* [Saints and their cult in the Middle Ages] ed. Petr Kubín *et al.* (České Budějovice: Ústav dějin křesťanského umění Katolické teologické fakulty Univerzity Karlovy v Praze, 2006), 283-323; eadem, "*Sancta et fidelis societas*. Svaté a věrné společenství sv. Václava a sv. Zikmunda v pražské katedrále sv. Víta" [*Sancta et fidelis societas*. The holy and faithful fellowship of St. Wenceslas and St. Sigismund in St. Vitus Cathedral in Prague], in *Čechy jsou plné kostelů. Boemia plena est ecclesiis. Kniha k poctě PhDr. Anežky Merhautové, DrSc.* [Bohemia is full of churches. Boemia plena est ecclesiis. Book in honor of Dr. Anežka Merhautová, DrSc.], ed. Milada Studničková (Prague: Nakladatelství Lidové Noviny, 2010), 446-453.

⁶⁷⁰ For the iconographic program of the murals covering the church's southern aisle and the various stages of painted decoration occurring inside the church, see the relevant entries in the Catalogue of Murals.

shield and sword against the ground. He holds a similar, long-handle attribute with destroyed upper side, which could be either a spear, halberd, pollaxe, or banner – this suggests possibly St. Ladislav's identity. Below him, a mature holy king in court costume and crown holds a crucifer orb and a badly-preserved attribute, probably a scepter. He has curly hair and beard covering only the lower part of his jaw; however, the brown color of his hair and beard rules out the identity of St. Stephen, who is rarely depicted as a mature holy king. The representation facing him on the lower register of the eastern pillar was replaced later by the figure of a holy monk, but the partial detachment of the paint in certain places reveals that there was another, earlier saint painted there. Several noticeable details suggest that this older figure represented a male saint, who was dressed in a red-brown vestment with a relatively large sleeve.⁶⁷¹ His left arm was bent as for holding an attribute, probably a scepter or orb by analogy with his counterpart, who holds precisely these attributes. His halo, partially visible next to that of the holy monk, has the same color and outline as the halo of the saint facing him.⁶⁷² Both saints were placed under trefoil, ogee arches with plant decoration on their spandrels. Subsequently, all these features indicate that the two figures on the lower registers of the pillars are coeval, as they are with those on the upper registers.⁶⁷³ Faced with this evidence, one can hypothesize that in Štítník, too, the traditional, Hungarian royal trio was enriched with another holy king, although the individual identification of the saints can be only hypothesized. The curly hair and distinctively-shaped beard of the holy king on the western pillar's lower register recall the features of King Sigismund of Luxemburg and, implicitly, those of his personal patron, St. Sigismund of Burgundy, whose facial traits resembled often those of his royal and imperial protégé. As Bertalan Kéry has shown,⁶⁷⁴ Sigismund of Luxemburg was identified visually with his personal patron saint, the emperor's iconography crossing often the borderline between the sacred and the profane, between religious piety and personal representation.⁶⁷⁵ Consequently, it was probably on

⁶⁷¹ This detail is encountered also in the court costume of the saint facing him; contrarily, the sleeves of the military costumes of the saints in the upper registers are tight. For descriptions of the holy kings' costumes, see the relevant entries in the Catalogue of Murals.

⁶⁷² Their halos have now unusual colors (red for the unidentified holy king on the lower side of the western pillar and green for St. Ladislav, whereas St. Emeric's halo has lost completely its paint layer), these being caused by either chemical alteration, later repainting, or damage. For analyses of the holy kings' halos, see the relevant entry in the Catalogue of Murals.

⁶⁷³ For a more detailed analysis of this area and an image highlighting its various stages of decoration, see the relevant entries in the Catalogue of Murals.

⁶⁷⁴ Bertalan Kéry, *Kaiser Sigismund. Ikonographie* (Vienna: Schroll, 1972), 41-52.

⁶⁷⁵ For such examples, see also: George Szabó, "Emperor Sigismund with St Sigismund and St Ladislav: Notes on a fifteenth-century Austrian Drawing", *Master Drawings* 5/1 (1967), 24-31, 85; Marilyn Aronberg Lavin, "Piero della Francesca's Fresco of Sigismondo Pandolfo Malatesta before St. Sigismund: ΘΕΩΙ ΑΘΑΝΑΤΩΙ ΚΑΙ ΘΗ ΠΟΛΕΙ", *The Art Bulletin* 56 (1974), 345-374; Ernő Marosi, "Újabb Zsigmond-portrék" [A new Sigismund portrait], in *Horler Miklós hetvenedik születésnapjára tanulmányok* [Studies for Miklós Horler's seventieth birthday], ed. Pál Lövei (Budapest: Országos Műemlékvédelmi Hivatal, 1993), 133-141; idem, "Saints at Home and Abroad", 197-198; Vilmos Tátrai, "Die Darstellung Sigismunds von Luxemburg in der italiensichen Kunst seiner Zeit" and cat. no. 2.12, in Takács,

the lower register of the eastern pillar that St. Stephen was initially painted, only to be replaced later – for unknown reasons – by the figure of the holy monk. Additionally, on the intrados of the eastern arch, i.e., the one above the holy kings' figures, there are medallions with the Parable of the Wise and Foolish Virgins, whereas on the intrados of the western arch, there are illusionistic niches containing eleven busts of Old Testament Prophets. They hold each a scroll inscribed with their names, the arch's apex being occupied by the crowned figures of Solomon and David.⁶⁷⁶ The characteristics of the iconographic context of the four holy kings in Štítník make them resemble those instances when Sts Stephen and Ladislav are depicted facing each other on the pillars of the triumphal arch. Even though their location in the church is different, the holy kings are depicted, nonetheless, on pillars.

In Mălâncrav and Štítník, none of the accompanying inscriptions survives and the identification with St. Sigismund of Burgundy of the fourth holy king – who is depicted as a mature saint with dark hair and beard, but no other personal attribute besides the generic, royal ones – is only hypothetical. However, the inscriptions have survived in two other mural ensembles and they confirm this hypothesis. In the frescoes of the church in Lónya, painted in 1413 either by or at the commission of *magister* Nicolaus,⁶⁷⁷ two holy kings are integrated to the sanctuary's now-incomplete row of standing apostles (Fig. 5.1, left). Dressed in fashionable court costumes similar to those of the holy kings in Mălâncrav, the two standing figures with crowns and crucifer orbs are identified by inscriptions; they are *·s(anctus)·dux / ·meri[c]us* and *·s(anctus)· / rex / [s]tepha/nu[s]*. Their facial features are damaged, though one can clearly see that the former is brown-haired and holds a white lily, whereas the latter has white hair and beard, and holds a mace-like scepter. They are placed on the sanctuary's southern wall, in the proximity of the pillar of the triumphal arch, where another partially preserved holy king is placed under a canopy. This one has a similar crown on his head, mantle on his shoulders, and crucifer orb and scepter with flower-shaped ending in his hands. His face is completely damaged, but the accompanying inscription – written in the same Gothic-minuscule script as those next to the other royal saints – identifies him with *·s(anctus)· / ·sigism[undus]* (Fig. 5.1, right). The sanctuary's decoration is now incompletely preserved and St.

Sigismundus, 143-152, 161-162. For another similar example in the former Augustinian church in Constance, see below.

⁶⁷⁶ All prophets can be identified by inscriptions and they are: on the arch's western side – Elisha, Enoch, Daniel, Ezekiel, and Solomon; and on the arch's eastern side – David, Jeremiah, Isaiah, Amos, Elijah, and Zachariah.

⁶⁷⁷ For the murals in Lónya, see especially: József Lángi, "Előzetes beszámoló a lónyai református templom falképeinek kutatásáról, feltásáról" [Preliminary report on the research and exploration of the wall-paintings of the Calvinist church of Lónya], *Műemlékvédelem* 48 (2004), 357-374; Zsombor Jékely and József Lángi, "Lónya (egykor Bereg vármegye, ma Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg megye) Református templom" [Lónya (former Bereg County, current Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg County) Reformed church], in Kollár, *Falfestészeti emlékek*, 184-213, 457; Béla Zsolt Szakács, "Lónya, református templom" [Lónya, Reformed church], in Kollár, *Középkori templomok a Tiszától a Kárpátokig*, 270-273.

Ladislás is missing; however, given his great popularity, it is unlikely that the holy knight was not depicted inside the church. The eastern and northern walls were decorated with standing apostles, the only place for the hypothetical depiction of St. Ladislás being the triumphal arch's northern pillar, i.e., as St. Sigismund's counterpart.⁶⁷⁸ Additionally, on the intrados of the triumphal arch, there are several surviving, four-lobed medallions with busts of Old Testament Prophets holding scrolls, but their inscriptions are no longer legible – this is another instance resembling the iconographic type of Sts Stephen and Ladislás on the pillars of the triumphal arch.



Fig. 5.1 – Sts Emeric and Stephen on the southern wall of the sanctuary and St. Sigismund of Burgundy on the southern pillar of the triumphal arch (left) and detail of St. Sigismund's figure and his accompanying inscription (right), 1413, fresco, Calvinist church in Lónya. Photo © The Author

As already mentioned, in his Bohemian iconography, St. Sigismund was depicted as a middle-aged holy king, dressed in royal garments and holding scepter and orb, though not having other distinguishing attributes. However, in the recently-discovered murals of the church in Bădești,

⁶⁷⁸ Năstăsioiu, "*Sancti reges Hungariae*", 57-58, 69, 80; idem, "Political Aspects", 114. The corresponding layer of paint fell down in this area, making visible the sanctuary's earlier decoration; although incompletely preserved, the northern wall's decoration seems to have consisted entirely of standing apostles.

which were painted during the late-fourteenth century on the lower register of the nave's northern wall, St. Sigismund was depicted also under a knightly guise (Fig. 5.2, left).⁶⁷⁹



Fig. 5.2 – St. Sigismund of Burgundy (left) and detail of St. Sigismund's accompanying inscription (right), ca 1400, fresco, lower register of the nave's southern wall, Calvinist church in Bădești. Photo © The Author

His partially preserved figure shows a full-armored knight holding in his right hand a white shield decorated with a red cross, whereas his left hand, bent in front of his chest, probably held an orb (now destroyed). The saint's features are no longer preserved, his head having been intentionally damaged at some later point; however, the upper side of the damaged area has the shape of a crown, which the holy knight originally had on his head.⁶⁸⁰ If it were not for the accompanying inscription that clearly reads *S(ANCTVS)·SIGIS/MVND(VS)* (Fig. 5.2, right), this holy warrior would easily pass for St. Ladislav due to his pronounced knightly appearance. It was probably the iconographic type of this popular Hungarian patron saint that the painter of the small rural church used when conceiving the appearance of the new saint, whose cult was only emerging in medieval Hungary.⁶⁸¹

⁶⁷⁹ Lóránd Kiss, "A bádoki reformatus templom falképei" [The Wall paintings of the Reformed church in Bădești], *Műemlékvédelem* 52 (2008), 30-34; Jékely and Kiss, *Középkori falképek Erdélyben*, 32-37; Jékely, "Kolozs megyei Bádok falképei", 194-208; idem, "Ateliers de peinture", 32-37; Marosi, "Saints at Home and Abroad", 196.

⁶⁸⁰ A similar, crown-shaped damage on the head of the neighboring St. Catherine supports the idea of intentional destruction, for whatever reasons.

⁶⁸¹ Marosi, "Saints at Home and Abroad", 194-198. Doubting that the painting was executed immediately after 1387, the art historian proposed a dating one quarter of a century later. The figure's knightly appearance, however, could

Differently stated, not having been familiar with the new saint's iconography, the painter copied the already-known iconography of St. Ladislav, with whom St. Sigismund shared anyway a number of features. In Bădești, however, St. Sigismund is depicted as part of a series of saints composed of St. Catherine of Alexandria, St. Helena (northern wall), St. John the Baptist, and the Enthroned Madonna with Child (eastern wall) – a sign that he was not exclusively associated with Hungary's holy kings. As noted by Ernő Marosi⁶⁸² for the already-discussed representation in Čerín, painted on the nave's southern wall during the first quarter of the fifteenth century (Fig. 3.7), the mature holy king with generic royal attributes and accompanied by a shield- and sword-bearing page – who was previously identified either with St. Ladislav or St. Stephen – could be in fact any other royal saint, Sigismund included. As mentioned earlier on, the presence in medieval Hungarian iconography of a wider range of holy kings than previously conceived – saints with either courtly or knightly appearance, but no distinguishing characteristics, such as St. Louis IX of France or St. Sigismund of Burgundy – calls indeed for a reevaluation of earlier identifications of holy kings.

To this group of murals depicting St. Sigismund either in the company of the *sancti reges Hungariae* or not, one should hypothetically consider a number of other cases which are now poorly preserved. However, despite their fragmentary character, they present a series of characteristics which might indicate either the original depiction of a holy-king quartet or the identification of a certain royal saint with St. Sigismund. For instance, in the early-fifteenth century frescoes of the church in Žip,⁶⁸³ there are reasons to believe that, on the triumphal arch's pillars, there were painted again four holy kings, but only three representations survive today in the church's poorly-preserved mural decoration. On the northern side of the northern pillar, there is a mature, brown-bearded holy king with crown and crucifer orb, who holds a thick-handle attribute, probably a battle-axe⁶⁸⁴ – all these details suggest St. Ladislav's identity (Fig. 5.3). On the eastern side of the same pillar, the greatly-damaged representation preserves only the figure's silhouette and some of the facial features of a seemingly young and beardless male saint (Fig. 5.3). Judging by the outline of the lily-shaped scepter visible next to his head with blond or brown hair, he was probably St. Emeric. The figure of

equally indicate an earlier dating, i.e., to a period when painters were not very familiar with the new saint's iconography, copying thus that of St. Ladislav. As it is shown later, St. Sigismund's cult made its presence felt in Hungary in the 1370s-1380s; subsequently, the dating of the frescoes during the late-fourteenth century is highly possible.

⁶⁸² Ibid., 198; see also nn. 338-341.

⁶⁸³ For these murals, dated stylistically to the first decade of the fifteenth century, see: Radocsay, *Középkori Magyarország falképei*, 242; Katarína Biathová, "Pamiatková obnova kostola v Žípe" [Monument restoration of the church in Žip], *Ars* 20/2 (1987), 7-22; Togner, *Stredoveká nástenná maľba v Gemeri*, 52, 56, 61-62, 65, 78, fig. 189; Peter Kresánek, ed., *Slovensko. Ilustrovaná encyklopédia pamiatok* [Slovakia. Illustrated encyclopedia of monuments] (Bratislava: Simplicissimus, 2009), 436; Năstăsioiu, "*Sancti reges Hungariae*", 8, 57-58, 60-61, 69, 03; idem, "Political Aspects, 110-111, 114, 116-117, 119.

⁶⁸⁴ The attribute's upper part is lost, but its handle is thicker than that held by other saints, this detail suggesting rather a battle-axe than scepter, *ibid.*, 114.

the male saint on the eastern side of the southern pillar (i.e., St. Emeric's pendant) is again partially preserved, only the right side of his body's lower half being visible (Fig. 5.4). He is dressed in court costume similar with that of the two other saints,⁶⁸⁵ and holds an orb (still visible) and – judging by his right hand's position – probably a scepter (faintly visible handle).



Fig. 5.3 – St. Ladislav and St. Emeric, early-15th century, fresco, northern and eastern sides of the northern pillar of the triumphal arch, Calvinist church in Žip. Photo © The Author

Fig. 5.4 – St. Sigismund of Burgundy (?), early-15th century, fresco, eastern side of the southern pillar of the triumphal arch, Calvinist church in Žip. Photo © The Author

His facial features are effaced, but his head's upper side indicates that he was dark-haired, a detail which is unusual for St. Stephen's iconography. St. Ladislav's counterpart on the southern side of the southern pillar is no longer preserved, the paint layer having been completely lost in this area. On the intrados of the triumphal arch, there are four-lobed medallions with Old Testament Prophets, but the inscriptions on their scrolls are no longer legible. Visible only from the sanctuary, the Parable of

⁶⁸⁵ The saints' costumes have various colors, but they are typologically similar: all three are dressed in patterned tunics with an undulating line of buttons on their chest; the tunic's lower part, divided by belt, is long below the knee and decorated with vertical stripes alternating in color.

the Wise and Foolish Virgins is placed on the triumphal arch's eastern side. The iconographic analogies in Poprad, Slatvina, Tornaszentandrás, Žehra, etc., where one can see Sts Ladislav and Stephen facing each other on the triumphal arch's pillars, might suggest that in Žíp, too, one could find initially the image of the old, white-haired St. Stephen depicted as St. Ladislav's counterpart. Subsequently, one can hypothesize that the pillars of the triumphal arch of the church in Žíp were decorated initially with the figures of four holy kings, namely, the usual three *sancti reges Hungariae* and another, dark-haired holy king who, like in the previous cases, is unidentifiable by his generic royal attributes only (probably St. Sigismund).

Possibly, a similar four-holy king iconographic logic was followed also in the mural decoration of Filippo Scolari's castle chapel in Ozora, executed toward the end of the 1416-1426 period.⁶⁸⁶ However, the frescoes' fragmentary state of preservation calls for a cautious consideration, their discussion here being again only hypothetical. On the northern wall of the chapel's sanctuary apse, in a position reminiscent of the holy kings' triumphal-arch iconography, there are the partially-preserved figures of two holy kings (Fig. 5.5). On the northern side, the brown hair and beard, crown, and battle axe next to the head of the saint on the right indicate clearly St. Ladislav's identity,⁶⁸⁷ but the other holy king's figure is so heavily-damaged that only his halo, crown, and brown hair are hardly visible. The representations on the apse's southern wall are no longer preserved, but a small fresco fragment still visible in the place where St. Ladislav's counterpart should have been reveals a small portion of a saint's head and halo, a shoulder covered by mantle, and probably a heraldic shield (Fig. 5.6). This might indicate again the depiction of another, unknown holy king. Considering the place of St. Ladislav and of the other, brown-haired holy king on a surface equivalent to that of the triumphal arch's pillars, that a four-holy king iconography could be depicted in the apse's space, and that the two wall surfaces could not accommodate more than two characters each, it is possible that in Ozora, too, there was initially another instance of replacing the traditional royal trio with a holy-king quartet. However, one should stress again the hypothetical character of this interpretation.

⁶⁸⁶ For the dating of the mural fragments in Ozora, their alleged authorship, and commissioner, see: Miklós Boskovits, "Il percorso di Masolino. Precisioni sulla cronologia e sul catalogo", *Arte Cristiana* 75 (1987), 47-66; Szakács, "Saints of the Knights", 320-321; Zsombor Jékely, "Masolino in Hungary", in *Renaissance Studies in Honor of Joseph Connors. Villa I Tatti Series 29*, ed. Machtelt Israëls and Louis A. Waldman (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2013), 114-121.

⁶⁸⁷ Ibid., 118; Szakács, "Saints of the Knights", 321.



Fig. 5.5 – Holy king and St. Ladislav, before 1426, fresco, northern side of the apse, Chapel of the Holy Apostle Philipp and St. Barbara, castle in Ozora. Photo © The Author

Fig. 5.6 – Partially preserved saint, before 1426, fresco, southern side of the apse, Chapel of the Holy Apostle Philipp and St. Barbara, castle in Ozora. Photo © The Author

Another equivocal figure is worth being mentioned here, in the context of hypothetical representations of St. Sigismund of Burgundy. It is the isolated holy-king representation in Rimavská Baňa, which was executed sometime between 1390 and 1410, i.e., after the completion of St. Ladislav's cycle on the upper register of the nave's northern wall.⁶⁸⁸ This holy king is placed below the Legend of St. Ladislav together with other self-standing, iconic depictions of saints coming from different periods (Fig. 5.7).⁶⁸⁹ The standing holy king is dressed in elegant, patterned court costume, his crown is no longer preserved,⁶⁹⁰ and holds an orb and an oversized, lily-shaped scepter – he was identified previously either with St. Emeric, St. Ladislav, or St. Louis IX of France.⁶⁹¹

⁶⁸⁸ Radocsay, *Középkori Magyarország falképei*, 202; Dvořáková, *Stredoveká nástenná malba*, 136-139; Togner, *Stredoveká nástenná malba v Gemerí*, 180-181; Prokopp, "Gömöri falképek", 141-143, 145, fig. 26; Kresánek, *Slovensko*, 422-423; Plekanec, *Gotický Gemer a Malohont*, 172-173.

⁶⁸⁹ A badly-preserved representation of a female saint, isolated by a decorative frame, was added after St. Ladislav's cycle was completed. She was differently identified as either: St. Catherine of Alexandria, Dvořáková, *Stredoveká nástenná malba*, 138; St. Elizabeth of Hungary, Prokopp, "Gömöri falképek", 141-142, Plekanec, *Gotický Gemer a Malohont*, 172; or St. Barbara, Kresánek, *Slovensko*, 423. On the right (eastern) side of this female saint and separated by a portion of approximately 1 meter of undecorated wall, there is an even more poorly-preserved representation which was identified with St. Lawrence's Martyrdom, Dvořáková, *Stredoveká nástenná malba*, 138; Kresánek, *Slovensko*, 423). Together with the holy king's image and St. Ladislav's Legend, all four paintings have been executed at different moments of time, being most probably motivated by distinct pious gestures.

⁶⁹⁰ There are no traces of paint on the saint's halo, but the incised, horizontal lines on his head's upper part suggest a sort of diadem or crown, which might have been separately attached, as it happens with the crowns in Khust or Baktalórántháza.

⁶⁹¹ For St. Emeric's identity, see: Prokopp, "Gömöri falképek", 142; Kresánek, *Slovensko*, 423. For St. Ladislav's identity, see: Dvořáková, *Stredoveká nástenná malba*, 142; Prokopp, *Középkori freskók Gömörben*, 52; Buran, *Gotika*, 142-143. For St. Louis' identity, see: Marosi, *Magyarországi művészet 1300-1470 körül*, 1: 602, n. 27, fig. 4b; Plekanec, *Gotický Gemer a Malohont*, 172.



Fig. 5.7 – St. Sigismund of Burgundy (?), 1390-1410, fresco, lower register of the northern wall of the nave, Lutheran Church in Rimavská Baňa. Photo © The Author

The holy king is accompanied by a poorly-preserved inscription partially and arguably read as *Salvator mundi*⁶⁹² – needless to say, this reading would be a rather surprising occurrence next to a holy king's depiction (Fig. 5.8). Although its longish text has not been yet deciphered, the inscription might refer to the genitive singular form of *Sigismundus*,⁶⁹³ opening thus a series of new possibilities: either (a) that the holy-king representation was executed during the reign of (King) *Sigismund*, (b) that it showed the patron saint of (a certain) *Sigismund*, or (c) that it depicted the image of (Saint) *Sigismund*. Concluding this paragraph on hypothetical depictions of St. Sigismund of Burgundy, one cannot be certain that the examples in Žíp, Ozora, or Rimavská Baňa depict

⁶⁹² Dvořáková, *Stredoveká nástenná malba*, 138.

⁶⁹³ The partially-preserved inscription reads: S[... ..] / S[... ..]s mundi [...]. The inscription's first word is short, probably the abbreviated *Sanctus*, followed by the saint's name. On the right side of the saint's head, it continues with a three- or four-letter word beginning and ending with *s*, this excluding the word's earlier reading as *Salvator*, even if rendered in abbreviated form. The word following *mundi* cannot be deciphered, but its last letter, probably an *o*, overlaps the scene's frame, which suggests the later inscribing of the saint's figure, either immediately after its completion or any time after, as long as the Gothic-minuscule script was still in use. Between S[... ..]s and *mundi*, there is indeed a space, but it cannot be ruled out that a confused scribe offered the genitive of the name *Sigismundus* in atypical, two-word form. Definitely, such a reading is arguable, but possible nonetheless, and until another attempt at deciphering this long-time neglected inscription is made, it is admitted here hypothetically. I wish to express my gratitude to, on the one hand, Katalin Szende and Pál Lövei and, on the other hand, to Vladimir Agrigoroaei, for expressing their thoughts on this reading.

indeed this royal saint, but the presence of the Burgundian holy king in church decoration across the Kingdom of Hungary leaves indeed open the possibility for new interpretations and identifications.



Fig. 5.8 – Details of the inscription of the holy king in the Lutheran Church in Rimavská Baňa. Photo © The Author

Concerning the chronology of these representations of St. Sigismund of Burgundy, one should note an important fact: all cases, either certain or hypothetical, correspond to the reign of King Sigismund of Luxemburg (1387-1437). The frescoes in Bădești, Rimavská Baňa, and Žíp are dated on stylistic basis to around 1400 (either the last decade of the fourteenth century or the first decade of the fifteenth century). Based on a graffito and an inscription, respectively, the murals of the sanctuaries in Mălâncrav and Lónya have been executed shortly before 1404/1405 and in 1413. The decoration of the southern aisle of the church in Štítník was accomplished during the 1420s, whereas the mural fragments in the Castle in Ozora can be dated to before 1426, but not earlier than 1416. Accordingly, one can infer that the cult of St. Sigismund of Burgundy enjoyed a sudden and relatively high popularity in Hungary at the turn of the fourteenth and fifteenth century, and this should be further investigated. However, before examining how this had happened, it is worth outlining a portrait of the sixth-century royal martyr, St. Sigismund of Burgundy.

5. 2. One Saint – Two Cult Centers: St. Sigismund of Burgundy between Agaune and Prague

King Sigismund of Burgundy (r. 516-524) was a convert from the Arian faith of his forebears to the orthodoxy of the Church of Rome and the founder of the Abbey of Saint-Maurice d'Agaune in Valais, Switzerland (515), which he endowed generously in order to allow to the monks to carry unabashedly the practice of perpetual psalmody.⁶⁹⁴ However, he was an impulsive and violent-tempered ruler, who had his son Sigeric killed mercilessly at the instigation of his new

⁶⁹⁴ For Sigismund's foundation charter, forged at the turn of the eighth and ninth centuries, see Barbara H. Rosenwein, "One Site, Many Meanings: Saint-Maurice d'Agaune as a Place of Power in the Early Middle Ages", in *Topographies of Power in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. Mayke de Jong and Frans Theuvs (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 285-286.

wife (522). Shortly after the murder of the king and his family by Frankish King Chlodomer, the Abbot of Saint-Maurice Venerandus became interested in the remains of his monastery's founder and brought them for burial to Agaune from a well at Saint-Pérvay-la-Colombe near Orléans, where the king's body was lying together with his massacred family (535). From that moment on, the cult of the holy king and martyr Sigismund started its gradual development in the shadow of the cult of St. Maurice and his fellow Theban martyrs.⁶⁹⁵ The monks of Agaune managed by late-sixth century to create for the founder of their abbey an aura of sanctity revolving around St. Sigismund's healing power over fevers. This was reflected by the *Missa sancti Sigismundi regis pro febricitantibus*, a votive mass composed initially for the forgiveness of King Sigismund's sins, later sung as a means of seeking cure through the saint's intercession.⁶⁹⁶ As attested by the distribution of relics, church dedications and commemoration through liturgical and hagiographical texts,⁶⁹⁷ St. Sigismund's cult was present until the mid-fourteenth century, mainly in Southern France, Italy, Switzerland, Germany, and the Low Countries.⁶⁹⁸ This regional diffusion indicates a moderate veneration of St. Sigismund, who was known, though not popular in other parts of Europe.

The situation changed through the actions of Charles IV of Luxemburg, King of Bohemia (1346-1378) and Holy Roman Emperor (1355-1378), whose great knowledge of the cults of saints, understanding of the power and value of relics, and intense piety made him a passionate collector of relics.⁶⁹⁹ He acquired first in 1354, from the Benedictine Monastery in Einsiedeln, a piece of St. Sigismund's skull, which ended up in St. Vitus Cathedral in Prague, as attested by a gilded head

⁶⁹⁵ For St. Sigismund's cult and life, see: Robert Folz, "Zur Frage der heiligen Könige: Heiligkeit und Nachleben in der Geschichte des burgundischen Königtums", *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 14 (1958), 317-344; idem, *Saints rois*, 23-25; Frederick S. Paxton, "Power and the Power to Heal. The Cult of St. Sigismund of Burgundy", *Early Medieval Europe* 2 (1993), 95-110; idem, "Liturgy and Healing in an Early Medieval Saint's Cult: The Mass in *honore sancti Sigismundi* for the Cure of Fevers", *Traditio* 49 (1994), 23-43; Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers*, 67-69.

⁶⁹⁶ Paxton, "Liturgy and Healing", 23-43. Although St. Sigismund's specialization in curing fevers has been connected to the king's own account of miraculous cure of the same illness by St. Apollinaris' cloak, Folz, *Saints rois*, 29, it has been shown persuasively that Sigismund's connection to fevers could be a consequence of Agaune's reputation as healing site since pagan times, long before the monastery was founded, Paxton, "Power to Heal", 97-106.

⁶⁹⁷ Except for the votive mass *pro febricitantibus* originating in Agaune, a *passio* of the saint appeared elsewhere than his main cult center at the turn of the eighth and ninth centuries, idem, "Liturgy and Healing", 29, 36. For the *passio*'s text, see "Passio sancti Sigismundi regis", in Bruno Krusch, ed., *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptorum Rerum Merovingicarum. Tomus II. Fredegarii et aliorum chronica. Vitae sanctorum* (Hanover: Bibliopolis Hahniani, 1883), 329-340.

⁶⁹⁸ Folz, "Zur Frage der Heiligen Könige," 340-341; Paxton, "Liturgy and Healing," 26, 33.

⁶⁹⁹ For Charles IV's passion for relics, see: Rudolf Chadraha, "Kaiser Karls IV. devotio antiqua", *Mediaevalia Bohemica* 1 (1969), 51-69; Machilek, "Privatfrömmigkeit", 87-101; David Charles Mengel, "Bones, Stones, and Brothels: Religion and Topography in Prague under Emperor Charles IV (1346-78)", PhD Diss. (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame, 2003), 263-372; Karel Otavský, "Reliquien im Besitz Kaisers Karl IV., ihre Verehrung und ihre Fassungen", in *Court Chapels of the High and Late Middle Ages and Their Artistic Decoration*, ed. Jiří Fajt (Prague: Národní Galerie v Praze, 2003), 129-141 and 392-398. For his political propaganda through the cult of royal saints and associated works of art, see: Iva Rosario, *Art and Propaganda. Charles IV of Bohemia, 1346-1378* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2000); Paul Crossley, "The Politics of Presentation: The Architecture of Charles IV of Bohemia", in *Courts and Regions in Medieval Europe*, ed. Sarah Rees Jones et al. (Woodbridge: York Medieval Press, 2000), 99-172.

reliquary appearing one year later in the cathedral's inventory.⁷⁰⁰ However, it was only in 1365, when Charles IV was crowned King of Burgundy and strengthened his imperial power in the region, that he took great interest in the cult of the sixth-century holy king, whose successor he claimed to be from that point on.⁷⁰¹ Detouring to Agaune from his coronation site in Arles, Charles IV took with him, despite the abbot's reluctance to hand them over, the axe of St. Maurice's martyrdom and St. Sigismund's skull and half the body, i.e., a significant part of the holy king's relics.⁷⁰² He arranged for their transfer to Prague through a series of well-orchestrated actions, which resulted in the rapid transformation of St. Sigismund of Burgundy into one of Bohemia's patron saints.⁷⁰³

As convincingly argued by David Ch. Mengel,⁷⁰⁴ the Burgundian royal martyr was placed from very beginning in the *sancta et fidelis societas* of St. Wenceslas,⁷⁰⁵ the tenth-century royal martyr and Bohemia's traditional patron.⁷⁰⁶ St. Sigismund's relics arrived to Prague on the vigil of St. Wenceslas (September 27), when the town was filled with people coming for one of the annual fairs. They were transferred the next day to St. Vitus Cathedral, which was miraculously illuminated during the office of matins – a sign of St. Sigismund's previous merits and future miracles, and a symbol of St. Wenceslas' rejoicing in such *holy and faithful companionship*. The relics were then placed in a prominent chapel situated opposite the shrine of St. Wenceslas.⁷⁰⁷ The

⁷⁰⁰ Mengel, "Bones, Stones, and Brothels" 327-328.

⁷⁰¹ For the political significance of Charles' sixth coronation, which made him the personal ruler of all the kingdoms of his empire, see n. 271.

⁷⁰² Mengel, "Bones, Stones, and Brothels", 332-336.

⁷⁰³ For St. Sigismund as new Bohemian patron saint, see: Jaroslav Polc, "Zapomenutý český patron" [The forgotten Bohemian patron], in *Se znamením kříže* [In the sign of the cross], ed. František Dvorník (Rome: Křesťanská akademie v Římě, 1967), 127-131; Mengel, "Bones, Stones, and Brothels", 325-372; idem, "A Holy and Faithful Fellowship: Royal Saints in Fourteenth-century Prague", in *Evropa a Čechy na konci středověku. Sborník příspěvků věnovaných Františku Šmahelovi* [Europe and Bohemia in the Late Middle Ages. Proceedings of the seminars devoted to František Šmahel], ed. Eva Doležalová *et al.* (Prague: Centrum Mediévistických Studií, 2004), 145-158; idem, "Remembering Bohemia's Forgotten Patron Saint", in *The Bohemian Reformation and Religious Practice. Papers from the Sixth International Symposium on the Bohemian Reformation and Religious Practice Sponsored by the Philosophical Institute of the Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic Held at Vila Lana, Prague 23-25 June 2004*, ed. Zdeněk V. David and David R. Holec (Prague: Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic Main Library, 2007), 17-32; idem, "Emperor Charles IV (1346-1378) as Architect of Local Religion in Prague", *Austrian History Yearbook* 41 (2010), 15-29; Studničková, "Kult des heiligen Sigismund", 299-339.

⁷⁰⁴ Mengel, "Holy and Faithful Fellowship", 145-158.

⁷⁰⁵ Expression taken from the collection of miracles recorded by the resident priests of St. Vitus Cathedral and kept in the sacristy; the only fragmentary copy of this *libellus* is National Library of France, Paris, NAL 1510, published as "Miracula sancti Sigismondi martyris, per ipsum in sanctam Pragensem ecclesiam manifeste demonstrata", in *Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum latinorum antiquiorum saeculo XVI qui asservantur in Bibliotheca Nationali Parisiensi ediderunt Hagiographi Bollandiani* (Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1893), 3: 463. "... Quis dubitet sanctissimum patronum nostrum Wenceslaum apud Deum sanctum Sigismondum sibi obtinuisse in socium, qui adhuc positus in humanis sanctum sibi impetravit et vicum. O sancta et fidelis societas, que nullo potuit violari certamine, quaeque adunata corporibus pro delictis populorum staret et mente..."

⁷⁰⁶ For St. Wenceslas' cult, see Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers*, 101-108, 163-167, 329-331, 347-348, with bibliography.

⁷⁰⁷ Mengel, "Bones, Stones, and Brothels", 336-338; idem, "Holy and Faithful Fellowship", 148-150; idem, "Remembering Bohemia's Patron", 25-26. For the expression in art of St. Wenceslas' and St. Sigismund's *sancta et fidelis societas*, see Studničková, "Sancta et fidelis societas", 446-453. The lines connecting St. Sigismund's and St.

diocese-wide proclamation of the advent of St. Sigismund's relics requested by the Archbishop of Prague during a diocesan synod (17 October 1365)⁷⁰⁸ and the numerous miracles occurring immediately at the saint's new shrine⁷⁰⁹ testify to the cult's carefully planned promotion by the archbishop and emperor, and to the great impact that the transfer of the holy king's relics had in Bohemia. St. Sigismund attracted numerous pilgrims seeking to be healed to Prague, both Archbishop John Očko of Vlašim and Charles IV himself being cured of fevers through the holy king's miraculous intervention (late January of 1366 and summer of 1371).⁷¹⁰ The cult's rapid success and its strong support from Charles IV – who named his third-born son, i.e., the future King of Hungary and Holy Roman Emperor Sigismund of Luxemburg, after St. Sigismund in 1368 – led finally to the establishment of the saint as one of the country's patrons.⁷¹¹ Consequently, at the 1366 diocesan synod in Prague, St. Sigismund's feast day was moved from 1 May to 2 May, so that he could have a separate celebration on a different date from those of the Holy Apostles Philip and James. This was an honor usually granted to a country's patron saint and was granted to Sigismund “on account of his great and glorious miracles”.⁷¹²

St. Sigismund's newly-acquired significance was reflected also in the religious art commissioned by his two promoters, the Burgundian holy king appearing twice in the early 1370s in the company of Bohemia's traditional patrons, namely, St. Wenceslas, St. Adalbert, St. Vitus, St. Procopius, and St. Ludmila. For instance, the two-register panel ordered before 1371 by Archbishop John Očko of Vlašim, possibly for the Holy Virgin Chapel in his castle in Roudnice nad Labem, shows the two cult promoters together with the patrons of the Bohemian Kingdom and Church (Fig. 5.9).⁷¹³

Wenceslas' chapels with the shrine of St. Vitus and the planned tomb of St. Adalbert formed the arms of a cross, which had the relics of the four Bohemian patrons at its ends, Jaromír Homolka, “Ikonoografie katedrály sv. Víta v Praze” [The iconography of St. Vitus Cathedral in Prague], *Umění/Art* 26 (1978), 566.

⁷⁰⁸ Mengel, “Bones, Stones, and Brothels”, 339-340.

⁷⁰⁹ “Miracula sancti Sigismondi”, 462-469. Mengel, “Bones, Stones, and Brothels”, 352-370, analyzes the 31 miracles that occurred just in the first four months after the transfer of the relics.

⁷¹⁰ Both miracles attest to the familiarity of the cured ones with Sigismund's specialized healing power, *ibid.*, 357-358, 371. When Charles fell ill, his wife vowed to walk the distance of around 30 kilometers from Karlštejn to Prague to express her piety at St. Sigismund's shrine; she then donated a large amount of gold to be used for adorning the saint's skull, Studničková, “Kult des heiligen Sigismund”, 307-308.

⁷¹¹ Charles' first son was named after the patron of Bohemia, St. Wenceslas. For Charles' naming practice, see: Machilek, “Privatfrömmigkeit”, 88-92; Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers*, 330-331.

⁷¹² “... propter preclara et grandia miracula annotatus est cum aliis patronis ecclesie Pragensis et Regni Boemie... Huius festi fit specialis in dyocesi Pragensi tam in officio quam in celebracione memoria die sequenti post Philippi et Jacobi quia cum per miraculorum magnitudinem sit factus patronus Boemie decens fuit ut specialem pro sua festiuitate habeat diem”, *apud* Mengel, “Bones, Stones, and Brothels”, 341.

⁷¹³ Inv. no. O 84, Anežský klášter, Národní galerie v Praze. Václav Ryneš, “K osudům a ikonografické náplni votivního obrazu Jana Očka z Vlašimi” [On the fate and iconographic content of the votive image of John Očko of Vlašim], *Umění/Art* 15/1 (1967), 104-108; Jan Royt, “Jan Očko z Vlašimi jako objednavatel uměleckých děl: Votivní obraz Jana Očka z Vlašimi – jednota sacerdotia a imperia” [John Očko of Vlašim as commissioner of works of art: The votive image of John Očko of Vlašim – Unity of *sacerdotium* and *imperium*], in *Lesk královského majestátu ve středověku*:



Fig. 5.9 – Votive panel of Archbishop of Prague John Očko of Vlašim, before 1371, 181.5 x 96.5 cm, wood, tempera, inv. no. O 84, Anežský klášter, Národní galerie in Prague. Photo © Wikimedia Commons PD-Art photographs (UAGHLiWA1bO_HA at Google Cultural Institute)

pocta prof. PhDr. Františku Kavkovi, CSc. k nedožitým 85. narozeninám [The shine of royal majesty in the Middle Ages: tribute to prof. František Kavka, PhD, on his unattended, 85th birthday], ed. Lenka Bobková and Mlada Holá (Prague: Paseka, 2005), 259-264; Corine Schleif, “Hands That Appoint, Anoint, and Ally: Late Medieval Donor Strategies for Appropriating Approbation through Painting”, *Art History* 16/1 (1993), 9-15.



Fig. 5.10 – Detail of the Last Judgment showing the kneeling figures of Bohemia's patron saints (Sts Procopius, Sigismund, Vitus, Wenceslas, Ludmila, and Adalbert) and the imperial donors, 1370-1371, mosaic, southern façade (so-called "Golden Gate") of St. Vitus Cathedral in Prague. Photo © The Author

In the upper register, the kneeling figures of Charles IV and his son Wenceslas are introduced to the Enthroned Virgin with Child by their personal patrons, Sts Sigismund and Wenceslas; whereas in the lower register, the kneeling archbishop is touched protectively by St. Adalbert and St. Vitus, the patron saints of the Prague Archdiocese and cathedral church, respectively. The composition of the panel's lower half is rounded up by the figures of Sts Procopius and Ludmila, the other two patrons of Bohemia. Only five years after the relics' transfer to Prague (1370-1371), the mosaic decoration above the Golden Gate of the southern façade of St. Vitus Cathedral displayed similarly St. Sigismund in the company of Bohemia's traditional patrons

(Fig. 5.10).⁷¹⁴ The six sacred protectors are part of a monumental composition of the Last Judgment, where the Bohemian saints appear as supplicants below the judging Christ, while Charles IV and his wife echo their supplicatory posture in a joint prayer for the salvation of Bohemia.

5. 3. Two Sigismunds in Late-medieval Hungary – St. Sigismund of Burgundy and King Sigismund of Luxemburg

As shown by Péter Tóth, the presence of St. Sigismund's cult in medieval Hungary was mediated by the transfer of the saint's relics to Prague and the advent as King of Hungary of Sigismund of Luxemburg, who was the son of Charles IV and who promoted his personal patron in the region.⁷¹⁵ Before this date, there is scant evidence of St. Sigismund's veneration in Hungary: some of the earliest Hungarian calendars do, nevertheless, contain the feasts of his martyrdom (1 May) and the *translatio* of his relics (15/16 October); however, the holy king's *passio*, office, and votive mass are missing from these eleventh- to fourteenth-century liturgical manuscripts,⁷¹⁶ and only the church in Kopačevo (Hung. *Kopács*) is attested in 1299 as *ecclesia in honorem Sancti Sygismundy Regis*.⁷¹⁷ This indicates that the cult of the first medieval royal saint was confined in limited form to Hungarian church practice and did not manage to become popular until the end of the fourteenth century, when the situation changed radically.

St. Sigismund's reputation seemingly spread rapidly outside Bohemia and news of the translation of his relics to Prague soon reached the neighboring Kingdom of Hungary. The gilded-silver statue of St. Sigismund was donated by a *certain nobleman from Hungary* to the saint's shrine and appeared in the 1374 inventory of St. Vitus' treasury.⁷¹⁸ In 1375, the *Statuta capituli Varadiensis* recorded the existence of an altar dedicated to St. Sigismund in the Cathedral of Oradea

⁷¹⁴ Zuzana Všecková, "Monumentální středověká malba" [Medieval monumental painting], in *Katedrála sv. Víta v Praze: k 650 výročí založení* [St. Vitus Cathedral in Prague: 650 years since its foundation] ed. Anežka Merhautová (Prague: Academia, 1994), 96-104; eadem, "The Iconography of the Last Judgment Mosaic and Its Medieval Context", and Marie Kostílková, "The Last Judgment Mosaic: The Historical Record, 1370-1910", in *Conservation of the Last Judgment Mosaic, St. Vitus Cathedral, Prague*, ed. Francesca Piqué and Dusan Stulik (Los Angeles: Getty Publications, 2005), 21-32, 3-10; Karel Otavský, "Das Mosaik am Prager Dom und drei Reliquiare in Prag und Wien. Karls IV Kunstaufträge aus seiner Spätzeit", in *Künstlerische Wechselwirkungen in Mitteleuropa*, ed. Jiří Fajt and Markus Hörsch (Ostfildern: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 2006), 53-72.

⁷¹⁵ Péter Tóth, "Patronus regis – patronus regni. Kaiser Sigismund und die Verehrung des heiligen Sigismund in Ungarn", *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 1 (2008), 80-96.

⁷¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 85.

⁷¹⁷ Doc. no. 508, in Gusztáv Wenzel, ed., *Codex diplom. Arpadianus continuatus. Árpádkori új okmánytár* (Budapest: Eggenberger Ferdinánd M. Akadémiai Könyvtár, 1874), 12: 642.

⁷¹⁸ "Item alia imago argentea deaurata sancti Zigmundi cum corona parva sine gemmis et cum sceptro et pomo donata per quemdam nobilem de Hungaria.", *Podlaha Chrámový poklad u sv. Víta*, XXIX. The description is relevant also from the point of view of St. Sigismund's iconographic, royal attributes, i.e., crown, scepter, and orb.

Mare.⁷¹⁹ Sometime between 1364 and 1380, the chaplain of King Louis the Great requested permission to venerate St. Sigismund's relics kept in the Cathedral of Olomouc since the early-thirteenth century.⁷²⁰ The Hungarian altars and churches dedicated to the new Bohemian patron correspond to the reign of Sigismund of Luxemburg and were obviously inspired by the king's devotion to his personal patron: the altar in Kremnica (Hung. *Körmöcbánya*, 1391),⁷²¹ the royal chapter church in Buda (1410-1424), the Pauline monastery in Verőce (1414-1433), and the churches and chapels in Niva (1422), Uzovce, (Hung. *Úszfalva*, 1429), and Haşag (Hung. *Hásság*, 1446).⁷²² St. Sigismund gradually made his presence felt in liturgical writings as well. His feasts originating in Bohemian liturgical practice – i.e., the martyrdom of the saint (2 May) and the *translatio* of his relics (27 September) – appear in several late-fourteenth century or fifteenth-century missals with either Hungarian provenance or use.⁷²³ St. Sigismund's Life was known in Hungary by the early-fifteenth century, when a *Legenda aurea* manuscript (copied in Italy in the second half of the fourteenth century) was augmented by two Hungarian users with several legends, including that of St. Sigismund, the incipit of which is *Tempore Tiberij senioris augusti...*⁷²⁴ The votive mass *in honore sancti Sigismundi regis pro febricitantibus* is featured in two fifteenth-

⁷¹⁹ "... et altare sancti Sigismundi regis per Georgium dictum Vamos civis (!) Waradiensis (!) existunt instituta.", Vince Bunyitay, *A váradi káptalan legrégebbi statútumai* [The oldest statutes of the Chapter of Nagyvárad] (Oradea: no publisher, 1886), 74. St. Sigismund's altar is mentioned again in 1423, "... Johannem de Zederhey rectorem altaris sancti Sigismundi regis in ecclesia nostra predicta...", Hungarian National Archives, Budapest, DL 97021, and also in 1437, "... discretum virum Ladislaum presbiterum rectorem altaris beati Sigismundi in dicta ecclesia nostra fundati...", Kálmán Géresi, ed., *Codex diplomaticus comitum Károlyi de Nagy-Károly. A nagy-károlyi gróf Károlyi család oklevéltára. Második kötet. Oklevelek 1414-1489* (Budapest: Kocsi Sándor, 1883), 196. See also Balogh, *Varadinum*, 2: 36, 44, 278.

⁷²⁰ "Honorab. virum Ser. principis d. regis Ungarie capellanum, ostensorem presencium, ad visitandum sacras s. Sigismundi reliquias magna quidem invitavit devocio ... committo amicicie vestre supplicans, quatenus eidem alias eciam reliquias adeo placido et benigno vultu procuretis ostendi, ut qui unum duntaxat sanctum visitaturus advenerat, se de multis aliis consolacionem accipere gloriatur...", doc. no. 121 (352), Ferdinand Tadra, "Cancellaria Johannis Noviforensis Episcopi Olomucensis (1364-1380). Briefe und Urkunden des Olmützer Bischofs Johann von Neumarkt", *Archiv für österreichische Geschichte* 86/1 (1886), 101. For St. Sigismund's relics in Olomouc preceding Charles IV's 1354 and 1365 acquisitions, see Studničková, "Kult des heiligen Sigismund", 300-301.

⁷²¹ Radocsay, *Középkori Magyarország táblaképei*, 37.

⁷²² András Mező, *A templomcím a magyar helységnevekben (11-15. század)* [Church dedications in Hungarian place names (11th-15th century)] (Budapest: Magyar Egyháztörténeti Enciklopédia Munkaközösség, 1996), 254; idem, *Patrociniumok a középkori Magyarországon* [Church dedications in medieval Hungary] (Budapest: Magyar Egyháztörténeti Enciklopédia Munkaközösség, 2003), 496. For the double dedication to St. Ladislav and St. Sigismund of the monastery in Kysbathe / Gerchen (1383-1384), as well as for the dedications of Buda and Verőce, see below.

⁷²³ The missals are kept in the National Széchényi Library, Budapest. For the May 2 feast, see: *Missale Ecclesiae Hungaricae saec. XIV*, Clmae 395; *Missale Posoniense (Codex "A") saec. XIV*, Clmae 214; and *Missale Ecclesiae Polonicae 1379*, Clmae 451, Polykarpus Radó, ed., *Libri liturgici manu scripti bibliothecarum Hungariae* (Budapest: Országos Széchényi Könyvtár Kiadványai, 1947), 73-74, 77-79, and 111-112; Tóth, "Patronus regis", 86. For Prague *translatio*, see: *Missale Hungariae Superioris s. XIV*, Clmae 93, Radó, *Libri liturgici*, 67-69.

⁷²⁴ Cod. Lat. 44 *Iacobus de Voragine: Legenda Aurea. Legendae Sanctorum*, University Library, Budapest. László Mezey, ed., *Codices Latini medii aevi Bibliothecae Universitatis Budapestinensis* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1961), 65.

century missals,⁷²⁵ and two *orationes* (*Sancti Sigismundi martiris* and *Rex et martyr, Sigismunde, Ihesu Christo preces funde...*) appear in a prayer book written around the year 1460 in Southern Germany or Bohemia, though used in Upper Hungary.⁷²⁶ The final outcome of this slow process was the inclusion of St. Sigismund among Hungary's patron saints, as attested by the *Legende sanctorum regni Hungarie in lombardica historia non contente* (Strasbourg, 1484-1487)⁷²⁷ and its subsequent editions published in Venice (1498 and 1512).⁷²⁸ In this collection of saints' lives which are relevant for Hungary, though omitted by the *Legenda aurea*, one can also read the *vita* of St. Sigismund: he was naturalized at last and enjoyed the company of Hungary's traditional patrons, i.e., the three *sancti reges Hungariae* – Stephen, Emeric, and Ladislas.⁷²⁹

Regarded as a zealous promoter of his patron's cult,⁷³⁰ King Sigismund indeed tried to promote his namesake saint in Hungary. His actions are better understood when compared to the practices of veneration and promotion employed by Sigismund's father, Charles IV of Luxemburg. Soon after moving his residence from Visegrád to Buda (1408), King Sigismund started the construction next to his new court of a royal chapter church, a project on which he spent many thousands of florins by the year 1410. This attracted the praise of Pope John XXIII in a letter issued on 3 August, followed fifteen days later by another one authorizing the access of visitors to the church in Buda on certain Marian feasts.⁷³¹ The construction of the chapter church was completed during the years 1419-1424, as attested by accounts of visitors to the church, which received the double patronage of the Holy Virgin and St. Sigismund.⁷³² As noted by András Végh,⁷³³ there are

⁷²⁵ LI 7 *Missale Posoniense* (Codex "I") saec. XV, Cathedral Library, Esztergom, Nyelvelmékek 17, *Missale in usum Balth. Batthyány Capitanei de Kőszeg 1489*, National Széchényi Library, Budapest, Radó, *Libri liturgici*, 126-132, 169-172.

⁷²⁶ Cod. Lat. 109, *Orationes*, University Library, Budapest. Péter Tóth, ed., *Catalogus Codicum Latinorum Medii Aevi Bibliothecae Universitatis Budapestinensis* (Budapest: 2008), <http://www.manuscripta-mediaevalia.de/hs/kataloge/budapest.pdf> (accessed 10 December 2017). For its illustrations, see: Anna Tüskes, "E. S. mester-metszetek ismeretlen példányai a budapesti Egyetemi Könyvtárban" [Unknown examples of Master E. S.'s engravings in the University Library in Budapest], *Művészettörténeti Értesítő* 54/3-4 (2005), 301-307; eadem, "Master ES in a Budapest Manuscript", *Print Quarterly* 23/2 (2006), 173-176.

⁷²⁷ *Lege[n]de S[an]cto[rum] regni Hungarie in lombardica historia non co[n]tente* (Strasbourg: Johann Prüss, ca 1484-1487), https://digitalis.uc.pt/en/fundo_antigo/legende_sanctorum_regni_hungarie_lombardica_historia_non_contente/ (accessed 12 December 2017).

⁷²⁸ Edit Madas, "La Légende dorée – *Historia lombardica* – en Hongrie", in Gracioti, *Spiritualità e lettere*, 59-60.

⁷²⁹ According to their order in the calendar, the saints included in this collection are: Adalbert, Sigismund, Stanislas, Anthony of Padua, Ladislas, Andrew-Zoerard and Benedict, Stephen of Hungary, Gerard, Wenceslas, Demetrius, Emeric, and Elizabeth of Hungary/Thuringia. The collection contains also several feasts significant for medieval Hungary; for St. Sigismund's *vita*, see *Lege[n]de S[an]cto[rum] regni Hungarie*, fols. 3r-4r.

⁷³⁰ Folz, "Zur Frage der heiligen Könige", 338.

⁷³¹ Doc. no. 553-554, in Bernát L. Kumorovitz, ed., *Budapest Történetének Okleveles Emlékei. Harmadik Kötet (1382-1439). Monumenta Diplomatica Civitatis Budapest. Tomus Tertius (1382-1439)* (Budapest: Budapesti Történeti Múzeum, 1987), 287-288.

⁷³² For the history of the chapter church, see especially: idem, "A budai várkapolna és Szent Zsigmond-prépostság történetéhez" [The history of the castle chapel in Buda and of St. Sigismund Provostry], *Tanulmányok Budapest Múltjából* 15 (1963), 109-151; András Végh, "Adatok a budai kisebb Szűz Mária, más néven Szent Zsigmond templom alapításának történetéhez" [Data on the history of the foundation of the Minor Virgin Mary Church in Buda,

too many similarities between King Sigismund's religious foundation in Buda and that of Charles IV in Nuremberg (1355-1358)⁷³⁴ not to notice whose model of devotion and artistic patronage the Hungarian king followed. Both churches were located outside, though close to the royal residence, on the site of a former Jewish quarter.⁷³⁵ As far as one can judge by the ground plan of the vanished church in Buda, they both displayed similar architectural features and sculptural decoration.⁷³⁶ Both fulfilled the function of court chapels and collegiate chapter churches.⁷³⁷ Most significantly, they enjoyed a similar double patronage, being placed first under the protection of the Holy Virgin and, second, under that of the founder's patron saint, that is, St. Sigismund, for the church in Buda⁷³⁸ and St. Wenceslas for the church in Nuremberg, the founder of which was *Karolus, qui et Wenceslaus*.⁷³⁹

also known as Saint Sigismund], *Budapest Régiségei* 33 (1999), 25-34; György Laczlavik, "A budavári kisebb Szűz Mária-, avagy Szent Zsigmond-prépostság történetéhez" [On the history of the Minor Virgin Mary or Saint Sigismund Provostry in Buda], in *Studia Professoris – Professor Studiorum. Tanulmányok Érszegi Géza hatvanadik születésnapjára* [Studia Professoris – Professor Studiorum. Studies on Géza Érszegi's Sixtieth Birthday], ed. Tibor Almási *et al.* (Budapest: Magyar Országos Levéltár, 2005), 197-209.

⁷³³ Végh, "Adatok a budai kisebb Szűz Mária", 25-26.

⁷³⁴ For the Frauenkirche in Nuremberg, see especially: Günther Bräutigam, "Gmünd-Prag-Nürnberg. Die Nürnberger Frauenkirche und der Prager Parlerstil vor 1360", *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen* 3 (1961), 38-75; idem, "Die Nürnberger Frauenkirche. Idee und Herkunft ihrer Architektur", in *Festschrift für Peter Metz*, ed. Ursula Schlegel and Claus Zöge von Manteuffel (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1965), 170-197; Hermann Maué, "Nuremberg's Cityscape and Architecture", in *Gothic and Renaissance Art in Nuremberg 1300-1550* (Munich: Prestel-Verlag, 1986), 34-35; Paul Crossley, "Our Lady in Nuremberg, All Saints Chapel in Prague, and the High Choir of Prague Cathedral", in *Prague and Bohemia: Medieval Art, Architecture and Cultural Exchange in Central Europe*, ed. Zoë Opačić (Leeds: Maney Publishing, 2009), 64-80.

⁷³⁵ For the Nuremberg Jewish quarter, see: Maué, "Nuremberg's Cityscape", 34-35; Mengel, "Bones, Stones, and Brothels", 296-297. For the Jewish quarter in Buda, see: István Feld, "Beszámoló az egykori budai Szent Zsigmond templom és környéke feltárájáról" [Report on the exploration of the former Saint Sigismund Church and its neighborhood in Buda], *Budapest Régiségei* 33 (1999), 35-49; Zoltán Kárpáti, "A Szent Zsigmond-templom és környéke. Régészeti jelentés" [Saint Sigismund Church and its surroundings. Archaeological report], *Tanulmányok Budapest Múltjából* 31 (2003), 205-240; József Laszlovsky, "Crown, Gown and Town: Zones of Royal, Ecclesiastical and Civic Interaction in Medieval Buda and Visegrád", in *Segregation – Integration – Assimilation. Religious and Ethnic Groups in the Medieval Towns of Central and Eastern Europe*, ed. Derek Keene *et al.* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), 192-199.

⁷³⁶ Végh, "Adatok a budai kisebb Szűz Mária", 25-26. For the church's fragmentary sculptures, see: Gergely Buzás and István Feld, ed., *A budai Szent Zsigmond templom és gótikus szobrai. Kiállítási katalógus* [Saint Sigismund Church in Buda and its Gothic sculptures. Exhibition catalogue] (Budapest: Budapesti Történeti Múzeum, 1996); Gergely Buzás, "A budai Szent Zsigmond templom kőfaragványai" [The stone carvings of Saint Sigismund Church in Buda], *Budapest Régiségei* 33 (1999), 51-65.

⁷³⁷ Végh, "Adatok a budai kisebb Szűz Mária", 25-34; Kumorovitz, "Budai várkapolna", 109-151.

⁷³⁸ Ibid., 113-121.

⁷³⁹ Charles IV was named Wenceslas at birth (1316), but was re-Christened Charles during his confirmation (1323) by his uncle, Charles IV the Fair of France, at whose court Charles was educated, Reinhard Schneider, "*Karolus, qui et Wenceslaus*", in *Festschrift für Helmut Beumann zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Kurt-Ulrich Jäschke *et al.* (Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 1977), 365-387; Balázs Nagy, "Saints, Names, and Identities. The Case of Charles IV of Luxembourg", in Gecser, *Promoting the Saints*, 167-169. For Wenceslas' cult in Nuremberg Frauenkirche, see: Filip Srovnal, "Kult svatého Václava při norimberské Frauenkirche" [The cult of Saint Wenceslas in the Nuremberg Frauenkirche], in *Ve službách českých knížat a králů. Kniha c poctě profesora Jiřího Kuthana* [Serving Bohemian princes and kings. Book in honor of professor Jiří Kuthan], ed. Miroslav Šmied *et al.* (Prague: Nakladatelství Lidové Noviny, 2013), 233-248.

King Sigismund understood the importance of relics in the promotion of a saint's cult and, like his father, he endeavored to acquire St. Sigismund's relics in order to distribute them within his kingdom. A seventeenth-century copy of a document dated 30 June 1414 accounts for King Sigismund's visit to Agaune with the explicit intention to acquire some of his patron's relics and take them to Hungary.⁷⁴⁰ More precisely, to a chapel the king was going to build in *Voarenza*, a deserted place in the Diocese of Vác, which was found next to an island adjoining an island on Danube, a location lying in the proximity of the royal palace in Visegrád and identified recently with Verőce.⁷⁴¹ The chapel was to be dedicated to St. Sigismund and entrusted to the care of the Pauline monks. The document also offers relevant information on King Sigismund's devotion to his patron saint and his intention to spread and ensure the continuity of the royal martyr's cult across the kingdom, the Pauline monks representing not only a Hungarian-origin monastic order, but also an economically-prosperous and rapidly-growing one.⁷⁴² After referring to the relic-oriented visit of Charles IV to Agaune⁷⁴³ and to Sigismund's desire to follow in the footsteps of his father,⁷⁴⁴ the document contains an account of the miraculous opening of the reliquary. This represented St. Sigismund's consent for his new and partial relocation of relics, i.e., a small bone, a piece of the saint's arm, and a skull portion of one of the saint's sons, which King Sigismund took away to Hungary.⁷⁴⁵ Although the document mentions only the church in Verőce, it is unlikely that the Pauline monastery was the exclusive recipient of St. Sigismund's relics, especially if one thinks that in the moment of the king's pious visit and acquisition of relics, the church in Buda was being built and dedicated precisely to the Burgundian saint. It is unknown what relics the church in Buda

⁷⁴⁰ *Copiae Henrici Macognini de Petra canonici Agaunensis anno 1634-35*, bookcase no. 19, fols. 36/33r-38/35r, Historical Archives of the Abbey of Saint-Maurice d'Agaune; the text is published in Tóth, "*Patronus regis*", 94-96.

⁷⁴¹ "... quendam capellam per dictum regem inclytum constructam sub vocabulo Sancti Sigismondi in Regno Ungarie cis flumen Danubii, propter quendam Insulam Insulatos (sic!) vocatam, in quodam ibidem existente loco deserto, ex donatione dicti Serenissimi Regis domini nostri, pertinenti ad dioecesim Voachiensem, Et inter villam regalem Marus, et villam dicti Voachiensis episcopo Voarenzae vocatam existente ampliare, aedificare, et ad statum maiorem reducere, et ibidem eremitas ordinis Beati Pauli primi eremite laudabiliter collocare necessariis eandem dotando.", *ibid.*, 95. For identifying the chapel's location, see: József Laszlovszky, "The Royal Palace in the Sigismund Period and the Franciscan Friary at Visegrád. Royal Residence and the Foundation of Religious Houses", in *The Medieval Royal Palace at Visegrád*, ed. Gergely Buzás and József Laszlovszky (Budapest: Archaeolingua, 2013), 213-218.

⁷⁴² For the Paulines' economic role in late-medieval Hungary, see: Beatrix Fülöp-Romhányi, "Die Wirtschaftstätigkeit der ungarischer Pauliner im Spätmittelalter (15-16. Jh.)", in *Die Paulinerorden. Geschichte – Geist – Kultur*, ed. Gábor Sarbak (Budapest: SZIT, 2010), 129-199; eadem, "Life in the Pauline Monasteries of Late Medieval Hungary", *Periodica Polytechnica. Architecture* 43/2 (2012), 53-56.

⁷⁴³ "... sed duci petivit devotissime et ardentem ad ecclesiam dicti Sancti Sigismondi, ob cuius reverentiam sic vocatur, quem sanctum visitaverat inclytae memoriae dictus eius genitor, unde caput exportavit, qui dum rediret ad partes sui Regni Boemiae invenit foelicissimam augustam quae enixerat et peperat praelibatum eius inclytum genitum, quem vocari voluit Sigismondum ob reverentiam Sancti antedicti.", Tóth, "*Patronus regis*", 94.

⁷⁴⁴ "... praefatus vero dominus noster foelix accedens ad praelibati foelicissimae memoriae Augusti sui genitoris devotionem, et volens et ardentem cupiens ex causis praemissis, in exaltationem nominis Sancti Sigismondi, devotionem et statum ecclesiae augmentum, ut de eiusdem sancti devotissimis orationibus apud Altissimum sit protinus gaudens...", *ibid.*, 95.

⁷⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 95-96.

possessed, but like the Nuremberg Frauenkirche, which had a side altar dedicated to St. Wenceslas,⁷⁴⁶ it is highly possible that King Sigismund provided the secondary altar of his foundation with the relics of his personal and the church's associated patron.⁷⁴⁷ The existence before 1375 in the Cathedral of the Holy Virgin and St. Ladislav in Oradea Mare of an altar dedicated to St. Sigismund makes one reflect upon the possibility that part of the saint's relics were intended also for King Sigismund's favorite cathedral. In any case, in 1424, the Cathedral in Oradea Mare housed St. Sigismund's relics, transferred temporarily from Prague by King Sigismund, who tried to protect them from the rage of the Hussites.⁷⁴⁸

Choosing the Cathedral in Oradea Mare for the temporary relocation of St. Sigismund's relics was not without motivation. This was the cult center and burial place of one of Hungary's holy kings, St. Ladislav, with whose cult Sigismund of Luxemburg became acquainted shortly after he arrived to the Hungarian court (1379) and for whom he maintained high devotion throughout his life.⁷⁴⁹ During his reign, King Sigismund was present in Oradea Mare on numerous occasions⁷⁵⁰ and, after the death of his wife, Queen Mary of Hungary, and her burial next to the tomb of St. Ladislav (1395), the king directed his attention repeatedly toward the cathedral and his holy predecessor's remains.⁷⁵¹ In 1401 and 1434, King Sigismund requested papal indulgences for the pilgrims who visited the cathedral and venerated the holy king's miracle-working relics.⁷⁵² He took

⁷⁴⁶ Végh, "Adatok a budai kisebb Szűz Mária", 26-27; Srovnal, "Kult svatého Václava", 235-237.

⁷⁴⁷ After having attended on 5 January 1501 the evening service in the church of the Holy Virgin and St. Sigismund in Buda, the Polish Duke Sigismund Jagiełło was allowed to venerate its relics, but the account offers no specific information on them: "Item vespere sacerdoti, qui venerat cum reliquis in aulam domini principis, quum processiones cum columbatione a Beata Virgine et Sancto Sigismundo ad dominum regem venerant...", Adorján Divéky, *Zsigmond lengyel herceg budai számadásai* [The Buda accounts of Polish Duke Sigismund] (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Kiadása, 1914), 85.

⁷⁴⁸ The information occurs in a late-fifteenth century source, Veit Arnpeck's *Chronica Baioariorum* (1491-1495): "Corpus vero S. Sigismundi regis et martyris cum matre et filia in Bohemiam ad castrum Pragensem est allatum per Carolum IV. Romanorum imperatorem et regem Bohemie ex Agauno anno domini 1364. Postea anno Christi 1424. Sigismundus Romanorum rex et Hungariae, filius eius, ob Hussitarum metum in Hungariam in civitatem Baradiensem deferri fecit, ubi ipse imperator postea sepultus est.", Georg Leidinger, ed., *Veit Arnpeck, sämtliche Chroniken* (Munich: M. Rieger'sche Universitäts-Buchhandlung, 1915), 200. This isolated occurrence made scholars assume that the relics either returned afterward to Prague, Végh, "Adatok a budai kisebb Szűz Mária", 27, or have never been to Oradea, Tóth, "Patronus regis", 88.

⁷⁴⁹ For Sigismund's veneration of St. Ladislav, see: Kerny, "Szent László kultusz a Zsigmond-korban", 355; eadem, "Begräbnis und Begräbnisstätte von König Sigismund", in Takács, *Sigismundus*, 475-476; Szakács, "Saints of the Knights", 319-320.

⁷⁵⁰ Sigismund's presence in Oradea Mare is recorded fifteen times between 1387 and 1426, Pál Engel, "Az utazó király: Zsigmond itineráriuma" [The traveling king: Sigismund's itinerary], in Beke, *Művészet Zsigmond király korában* 70-71; Pál Engel and Norbert C. Tóth, ed., *Itineraria regum et reginarum (1382-1438). Subsidia ad historiam medii aevi Hungariae inquirendam. Királyok és királynék itineráriumai (1382-1438). Segédletek a középkori magyar történelem tanulmányozásához* (Budapest: MTA Történettudományi Intézete, 2005), 1: 55-131, 157.

⁷⁵¹ Oradea Mare as Queen Mary's burial place appears first in connection to King Sigismund in a royal donation charter issued in 1401, doc. no. I, in Georgivs Fejér, *Codex diplomaticus Hungariae ecclesiasticus ac civilis. Tomi X. Volumin IV. Ab anno 1401-1409* (Buda: Typogr. Regiae Universitatis Vngaricae, 1841), 54-55.

⁷⁵² For the 1401 papal letters following Sigismund's request, see *Monumenta Vaticana historiam regni Hungariae illustrantia. Series I. Vatikáni Magyar Okirattár. Series I* (Budapestini: Franklin-Társulat Nyomdája, 1889), 1/4: 347-348, 367, 373. For the 1434 papal indulgences, see Pál Lukcsics, ed., *Monumenta Hungariae Italica. Diplomata*

part himself in such a pilgrimage together with King Władysław II Jagiełło, spending fifteen days and celebrating Easter in Oradea Mare. Sigismund's expression of piety toward St. Ladislav came after his conclusion of a peace treaty with the Polish ruler (1412).⁷⁵³



Fig. 5.11 – St. Ladislav's bust reliquary, second half of the 14th century or early-15th century (head), after 1406 (bust), and 1600 (crown), gilt silver, enamel, height 64.7 cm, width 51.4 cm, Cathedral of the Holy Virgin Mary in Győr. Photo © Takács, *Sigismundus*

pontificum saec. XV. Tomus 2. Eugenius Papa IV (1431-1447), Nicolaus Papa V (1447-1455). Olaszországi magyar oklevéltár. XV. századi pápák oklevelei. 2. Kötet. IV. Jenő Pápa (1431-1447) és V. Miklós Pápa (1447-1455) (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1938), 333, 347.

⁷⁵³ Ioannes Ludovicus Gleditschivs and Mavritivs Georgivs Weidmann, ed., *Ioannis Dhygossi sev Longini Canonici qvondam Cracoviensis, Historiae Polonicae Libri XII* (Frankfurt: 1711), Liber Vndecimvs, 327; doc. no. CL-CLII, Georgivs Fejér, *Codex diplomaticvs Hvmgariae ecclesiasticvs ac civilis. Tomi X. Volvmen V. Ab anno 1410-1417* (Buda: Typogr. Regiae Vniversitatis Vngaricae, 1842), 343-344.

After a fire in the early 1400s that destroyed the cathedral's sacristy and melted down St. Ladislav's head reliquary – though it left the relics unharmed –, King Sigismund was likely involved in the commissioning of the holy king's exquisite, new reliquary, kept today at the Cathedral of Győr (Fig. 5.11).⁷⁵⁴ He also supported the cathedral's partial rebuilding in the years 1406-1407 through the royal confirmation of privileges and donations.⁷⁵⁵ It is in one of these charters that King Sigismund entrusted his salvation to the intercession of St. Ladislav and expressed his desire to be buried next to the holy king's sepulcher in the Cathedral of Oradea Mare.⁷⁵⁶ He maintained his wish even after he became Holy Roman Emperor,⁷⁵⁷ a fact that serves to point out to the king's utmost devotion for one of Hungary's patrons. In 1424, when he transferred the assets of St. Ladislav's *Praepositura* of Hermannstadt to the parish church in Sibiu, King Sigismund pointed out to the displeasing state of ruin and decay the provostry was held in,⁷⁵⁸ and motivated his gesture by his high devotion and hope for obtaining St. Ladislav's intercession in both earthly and heavenly matters.⁷⁵⁹ One should not forget that the immediate result of this royal donation was the establishing of two masses sung in the holy king's honor – one held in St. Ladislav's provostry

⁷⁵⁴ The most recent work on the Győr reliquary is Lilla Alida Kristóf, Zoltán Lukácsi, and Lajos Patonay, ed., *Szent király, lovagkirály. A szent László-herma és a koponyaereklye vizsgálatai* [Holy king, knight king: Investigations of Saint Ladislav's bust reliquary and skull relic] (Győr: Győri Hittudományi Főiskola, 2017). See also: Terézia Kerny, "4.91. Reliquienbüste des hl. Ladislaus", in Takács, *Sigismundus*, 378-382; Gyula László, "Szent László győri ereklyetartó mellszobráról" [Statue reliquary of Saint Ladislav in Győr], *Arrabona* 7 (1966), 157-209; Scott B. Montgomery and Alice A. Bauer, "Caput sancti regis Ladislai: The Reliquary Bust of Saint Ladislav and Holy Kingship in Late Medieval Hungary", in *Decorations for the Holy Dead. Visual Embellishments on Tombs and Shrines of Saints*, ed. Stephen Lamia and Elizabeth Valdez del Álamo (Turnhout: Brepols, 2002), 77-90.

⁷⁵⁵ For the 1406 confirmation of privileges and possessions, see doc. no. CCXXXIII-CCXXXV, in Fejér, *Codex diplomaticus Hungariae*, 10/4: 518-528; for the 1407 donations, see *ibid.*, doc. no. CCXCII, 613-614.

⁷⁵⁶ "... quibusdam diebus in venationum Solatiis iocunde deductis, mentem nostram salubri et fructuosa affectionem mouente, nos personaliter Varadinum accessissemus, gloriosissimi Regis Ladislai sepulchrum, et reliquias venerandas visitaturi, vt illic temporibus agendis pro modo nostrae possibilitatis expeditius ad aeternae felicitatis brauium aspirando, eiusdem Beatissimi Regis interuentu, salutis antidota, affectuosissimarum precum effusione prosceremus, nec non, vt inter ceteras intentiones locum illum, tam gloriosi Corporis iugi, praesentia radiantem, multorumque aliorum sanctorum reliquiis honorabilem, visitationis nostrae participem facientes, concupitum quondam cordis nostri propositum sequente monstraremus effectum, facta nempe electione nostrae sepulturae in Basilica Cathedralae Varadiensi, ac idem condignis donariis, dotibus atque dispositionibus, vti regale liberalitatem decenter adhibitis prout in diuersis aliis literis nostris lucidus claret.", doc. no. CCXXXIII, in *ibid.*, 519-520.

⁷⁵⁷ For King Sigismund's burial in the Cathedral of Oradea Mare, see: Kerny, "Begräbnis und Begräbnisstätte", 475-479; eadem, "Zsigmond király halála, temetése és síremléke Tinódi Sebestyén Zsigmond király és császárnak krónikája című költeményében" [King Sigismund's death, funeral, and tomb in Sebestyén Tinódi's poem entitled *The Chronicle of King and Emperor Sigismund*], in *Tinódi Sebestyén és a magyar verses epika. A 2006. évi budapesti és kolozsvári Tinódi-konferenciák előadásai* [Sebestyén Tinódi and Hungarian epic verse. Proceedings of the Tinódi conference in Budapest and Cluj-Napoca in the year 2006], ed. István Csörsz Rumen (Cluj-Napoca: Kriterion, 2008), 143-159.

⁷⁵⁸ "Sane considerantes et non sine intima cordis nostri compassione oculata fide cernentes, quod praepositura ecclesiae beati Ladislai regis de Cibinio ex incuria ut creditur suorum praesidentium ad nihilum quodam modo redacta diurnis et nocturnis divinis officiis totaliter exstitit destituta, quod nedum in nostrae claritatis displicentiam, verum etiam quod super omnia metuendum est, in maximam divinae maiestatis offensam videtur hactenus processisse.", doc. no. 1956, in Gündisch, *Urkundenbuch IV*, 218.

⁷⁵⁹ "... ob spem et devotionem, quam in beatissimo rege Ladislao, cuius praecipuis nedum in terris verum etiam in coelesti patria speramus indubie precibus confoveri, gessimus et gerimus incunctanter...", *ibid.*, 219.

church and another in Sibiu's main parish church⁷⁶⁰ – which indicates King Sigismund's involvement in and support of the cult of St. Ladislav.



Fig. 5.12 – King Sigismund of Luxemburg's golden florin showing the Hungarian-Bohemian coat of arms on the obverse and St. Ladislav on the reverse, 1387-1437, gold, diameter 0.21 cm, weight 3.55 g, Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum Éremtára in Budapest. Photo © <http://mek.oszk.hu/> (accessed 14 November 2016)

That the holy king was indeed important for King Sigismund is illustrated also by the king's keeping of the golden florin with St. Ladislav's figure on the reverse (Fig. 5.12). In 1427, he also issued a silver ducat with the saint's iconic image bearing a crown, crucifer orb, and battle axe.⁷⁶¹ All these facts attest not only to King Sigismund's personal piety toward one of Hungary's patrons, but also to his understanding of St. Ladislav as a powerful symbol of the Kingdom of Hungary and an efficient tool for political legitimizing and self-representation. Subsequently, given King Sigismund's high devotion towards St. Ladislav, one can assume that the usage of the holy knight's cult by Hungarian noblemen during the anti-Sigismund movement in 1402-1403 was matched by a similar support of (and investment in) the cult of St. Ladislav which came this time from the contested king himself.

The possibility cannot be excluded, however, that King Sigismund also revered Hungary's other holy kings, although except for a 1404 royal confirmation of privileges addressed to the

⁷⁶⁰ See nn. 488-489.

⁷⁶¹ Cat. no. 572-574, 584-585, in Huszár, *Münzkatalog*, 93-95. See also: Csaba Tóth, "Die ungarische Münzprägung unter Sigismund von Luxemburg", and cat. no. 3.24-3.25, 3.29, in Takács, *Sigismundus*, 170-172, 191-192; Szakács, "Saints of the Knights", 319, fig. 1-2.

Cathedral in Székesfehérvár (i.e., the cult center of St. Stephen and St. Emeric and traditional burial site of Hungarian kings), no other evidence points to such devotion.⁷⁶²



Fig. 5.13 – St. Sigismund of Burgundy, 1417, fresco, western side of the northern wall of the nave, Holy Trinity (former Augustinian) Church in Constance. Photo © Wikimedia Commons PD-Art photographs (User:Fb78)

Nevertheless, St. Ladislav, the sacred protector *par excellence* of the Hungarian kingdom, was associated with the king's personal patron, St. Sigismund, not only during the latter saint's temporary relocation of relics to Oradea Mare. Two other instances speak of King Sigismund's deliberate association of St. Ladislav with St. Sigismund, reminding one of the *holy and faithful*

⁷⁶² For this document, see: *ELTE Egyetemi Könyvtár. Elektronikus könyvek – Kéziratok. ELTE University Library. e-Books – Manuscripts III. Catalogus Manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Reg. Scient. Universitatis Budapestinensis. Tomus II. Pars III. Catalogus Collectionis Kaprinayanae et Supplementa Budapestini 1907* (Budapest: 2006), 215, available online at: <http://mek.oszk.hu/03500/03518/pdf/catalogus3.pdf> (accessed 9 December 2017).

fellowship established earlier on by Charles IV between the Burgundian royal martyr and St. Wenceslas, i.e., Bohemia's traditional patron saint. On the one hand, in 1395, King Sigismund made a donation to St. Martin's Chapel in Braşov (Germ. *Kronstadt*, Hung. *Brassó*), establishing there the celebration in perpetuity of the cults of Sts Ladislav and Sigismund among others;⁷⁶³ in 1437, the king reconfirmed this donation and added new gifts, demonstrating thus his determination in instilling the (joint) veneration of the two holy kings within the religious life of the town of Braşov.⁷⁶⁴ On the other hand, in 1417, St. Sigismund was portrayed under the physical appearance of his protégé in the murals of the Augustinian Church in Constance, which were commissioned and partly ideated by King Sigismund himself during his stay there for the council (Fig. 5.13).⁷⁶⁵ According to an early-twentieth century report, the Austrian and Hungarian coat of arms appeared once and twice, respectively, next to the painted figures.⁷⁶⁶ It is possible, therefore, that at least two Hungarian holy kings were included initially in the series of saints, i.e., in the proximity of St. Sigismund. No longer identifiable in its entirety, the gallery of enthroned holy kings, princes, bishops, and female saints seems to reflect Sigismund's personal piety for Sts Sigismund and Ladislav, endorsing also his political and dynastical claims. This association of the two royal saints by the King of Hungary makes one think of the double dedication to St. Ladislav and St. Sigismund of the Pauline monastery in *Kysbathe* (*Gerchen*), which Nicholas Zámbo de Mezölak, former Castellan of Óbuda and Master of the Treasury (1382-1384, 1385-1388), founded prior to the years 1383-1384,⁷⁶⁷ that is, sometime after Sigismund's stay at the Hungarian court (1379-1381) and close to the time of his marriage to his betrothed, Queen Mary of Hungary (1385). Their marriage, threatened by Elizabeth of Bosnia's intention to marry her daughter to Louis of Orléans, was

⁷⁶³ "... ex speciali devotione, quam ad beatum Martinum gerimus, ad laudem et gloriam eiusdem omnipotentes dei et honorem ipsius beati Martini duximus instituendum et tenore praesentium perpetuo et irrevocabiler ex mera liberalitate et motu proprio certaue scientia et munificentia nostris regiis instituimus ex nunc, quod in capella ad honorem et sub vocabulo eiusdem beati Martini in monte Brassouiensi seu de Corona Strigoniensis diocesis constructa loci plebanus eiusdem scilicet Brassouiensis seu de dicta Corona qui nunc est et erit pro tempore perpetuo per idoneum sacerdotem singulis secunda de sancto Martino, quarta de sancto rege Ladislao et quinta feriis de sancto Sigismundo, ac Sabbati beatae Mariae virginis et aliis diebus sese sequentibus continuo successive missas in diebus illis et secundum cursum dictorum dierum et temporum celebrandas debite celebrari facere debeat inconcusse.", doc. no. 1346, in Franz Zimmermann, Carl Werner, and Georg Müller, ed., *Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte der Deutschen in Siebenbürgen. Dritter Band: 1391 bis 1415. Nummer 1260 bis 1785. Mit 5 Tafeln Siegelabbildungen* (Hermannstadt: Franz Michaelis, 1902), 131-133.

⁷⁶⁴ Doc. no. 2296, in Gündisch, *Urkundenbuch IV*, 642-643.

⁷⁶⁵ For these frescoes, see: Kéry, *Kaiser Sigismund*, 44-46; "2.12. Die Wandmalereien in der ehemaligen Augustinerkirche von Konstanz", in Takács, *Sigismundus*, 161-162, with bibliography.

⁷⁶⁶ Josef Gramm, "Kaiser Sigismund als Stifter der Wandgemälde in der Augustinerkirche zu Konstanz", *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft* 32 (1909), 391-406.

⁷⁶⁷ "... dictus dominus Nicolaus prius habebat propositum construendi monasterium, nomine Sanctorum Ladislai et Sigismundi regum donaveratque quondam possessionem suam Kysbathe seu Gerche vocatam...", István Molnár, "A magyarországi pálosok *Zöld Kódex*-ének Somogy megyei regesztái" [Regests of the *Green Codex* of the Hungarian Paulines in Somogy County], *Somogyi Múzeumok Közleményei* 2 (1975), 219-220; *Documenta Artis Paulinorum* (Budapest: A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Művészettörténeti Kutató Csoportjának forráskiadványai, 1975 and 1978), 1: 209, 3: 31-35. For Nicholas Zámbo's career, see Incze, "My Kingdom in Pledge", 31-34.

personally supported by Nicholas Zámbo and others, who openly opposed the queen mother and renounced their allegiance to her (August 1384).⁷⁶⁸ The monastery's double dedication to St. Ladislav and St. Sigismund by a dignitary of the royal court (and supporter of the future king, for that matter) antedates the actions of Sigismund of Luxemburg, but shows that others were aware as well of the benefits this *sancta et fidelis societas* (i.e., between the sacred protector of Sigismund's adoptive country and his personal patron saint) could have in making a newcomer accepted as the new King of Hungary.

5. 4. From King to Nobleman, with Devotion – The Diffusion of St. Sigismund of Burgundy's Cult Among the Noblemen of the Kingdom

As revealed by the examination of the written sources, the reputation of St. Sigismund of Burgundy spread to Hungary shortly after the *translatio* of the saint's relics to Prague, that is, during the 1374-1384 period, when the piety of Hungarian pilgrims travelling abroad was first directed toward the new Bohemian patron saint. However, his cult started to take shape in Hungary only through the king's consistent efforts to promote his personal patron saint throughout his kingdom, Sigismund of Luxemburg being directly responsible for acquiring and distributing the relics of the Burgundian royal martyr within the Hungarian Kingdom (at least for the Pauline Monastery in Verőce, 1414), and for founding churches dedicated to his personal patron saint (at least the collegiate chapter church in Buda, 1410-1424, and the Paulines' church in Verőce, 1414-1433). As mentioned before, it is precisely to this period coinciding with King Sigismund's reign (1387-1437) that the mural ensembles with St. Sigismund's representations can be ascribed to: late-fourteenth century (Bădești) to the 1420s (Štítňík). The king's actions to promote his personal patron saint were meant to establish and ensure the solidity of St. Sigismund's new, Hungarian cult and they show striking similarities with those undertaken by the king's father, Charles IV of Luxemburg, who managed in only five years to transform St. Sigismund into one of the sacred protectors of the Bohemian Kingdom by associating from the very beginning the holy newcomer with Bohemia's traditional patron saints, especially St. Wenceslas. As attested by written sources, King Sigismund had indeed a high devotion for both his namesake patron and for the patron saint of his new country, and he associated the cults of the two holy kings in several occasions (during the 1395 donation to St. Martin's Chapel in Braşov, in the 1417 gallery of dynastic saints in Constance, or during St. Sigismund's temporary relocation of relics to St. Ladislav's cult center in Oradea

⁷⁶⁸ Engel, *Realm of St Stephen*, 196-197.

Mare), attempting thus a new *sancta et fidelis societas* within his kingdom, which was meant to ensure the status of Hungarian patron for St. Sigismund. This association once achieved, it was only natural for the Burgundian royal martyr to enjoy also the companionship of the other two *sancti reges Hungariae*, who were St. Ladislas' usual iconographic companions.

As attested by the above-discussed murals (be they certain or hypothetical depictions of the new Bohemian patron), St. Sigismund of Burgundy was depicted either as a holy king or a holy knight, and was placed in the company of either the *sancti reges Hungariae* or other popular saints. His image in these churches reflects his certain popularity at the turn of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. By looking at the donors of the frescoes whenever such information is available, one can hypothetically reconstruct the transfer of St. Sigismund's cult from the royal level to that of the nobility.

The donor of the sanctuary frescoes in Mălâncrav was Nicholas Apafi,⁷⁶⁹ who was *aule miles* (1410-1441), *comes* of Vranduk, Srebrenik, and Dubočac (1414-1418) and, together with his brother George, *comes* of Biertan (1418-1440).⁷⁷⁰ His presence in Constance is attested during the council (1418), when King Sigismund issued a series of charters granting privileges to Biertan and confirming some land possessions inherited by the wife of Nicholas, himself called *fidelis noster dilectus egregius miles Nicolaus filius Apa de Almakerek* and commended for his great bravery and remarkable assistance during the king's military campaigns in Bosnia.⁷⁷¹ However, before his flourishing career took its course and he was only one of the *familiares* of the two Voivodes of Transylvania, Nicholas Apafi participated in 1402-1403 in the anti-Sigismund coalition led by Archbishop John Kanizsai and Palatine Detre Bebek. Yet after King Sigismund's unquestionable victory, Nicholas Apafi laid down his arms in the interval requested by the king and, subsequently, his repentance made the victorious ruler to forgive the nobleman for his *nota infidelitatis* sometime in early-December 1403.⁷⁷² As attested by a graffito on the murals recording the year 1404/1405,⁷⁷³ the sanctuary in Mălâncrav was decorated shortly after Nicholas Apafi had obtained the royal pardon, and the inclusion of the king's personal patron in the composition displaying the *sancti reges Hungariae*, i.e., the country's traditional patron saints, can be understood as the donor's way of expressing his gratitude to the magnanimous ruler.

⁷⁶⁹ For the Apafis' artistic patronage over their family church in Mălâncrav, see: Gogâltan, "Patronage and Artistic Production"; Gogâltan and Sallay, "Church of Mălâncrav", 181-210.

⁷⁷⁰ For his career, see: Gogâltan, "Patronage and Artistic Production", 47-50; eadem, "Church of Mălâncrav", 181-186; Petre Munteanu Beșliu, "Rolul lui Nicolae de Apa în emanciparea Biertanului" [The Role of Nicholas of Apa in the emancipation of Biertan], *Analele Brăilei* 2/1 (1993), 277-285.

⁷⁷¹ Doc. no. 1835-1837, Gündisch, *Urkundenbuch IV*, 63-67.

⁷⁷² Doc. no. 1495, in Zimmermann, *Urkundenbuch III*, 301-302.

⁷⁷³ For the graffito's various readings, see the relevant entry in the Catalogue of Murals.

Ladislás Csetneki was the commissioner of the southern-aisle murals in Štítník and an illustrious prelate holding throughout his career the ecclesiastical offices of Canon of Esztergom (from 1397), Provost of Budafelhévíz and Esztergom-Zöldmező (1408-1424), governor of the Archdiocese of Esztergom (1420, 1439), *comes* of the royal chapel (1423), chancellor to the queen (1432-1437), and Bishop of Nitra (1439-1448).⁷⁷⁴ Like Nicholas Apafi, he also was present in Constance during King Sigismund's stay there for the council, and he could get directly acquainted with the king's commission in the former Augustinian church. This gallery of dynastic saints could inspire him later, i.e., during the 1420s when the decoration of the southern aisle was accomplished, to associate the *sancti reges Hungariae* with the ruler's personal patron saint. Whereas almost no information has survived on the notables of Bădești,⁷⁷⁵ it is known that the owners of Lónya belonged at the turn of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries to the kingdom's lower nobility, but no *magister Nicolaus* seems to be attested by documents during this period.⁷⁷⁶ This fact makes rather surprising the good quality of their sanctuary's 1413 decoration, but finds analogy in the exquisite decoration of the sanctuary in Mălâncrav executed in a period when Nicholas Apafi was only beginning his social ascension. One should not forget either Nicholas Zámbo de Mezölak, Master of the Treasury and early supporter of Sigismund of Luxemburg, who dedicated his monastic foundation in *Kysbathe (Gerchen)* to both St. Ladislás and St. Sigismund, i.e., precisely to the patrons of the country and the future king.

If one adds to this discussion of donors also the hypothetical depictions of St. Sigismund, nothing significant occurs for the settlement in Žíp, whose owners are not known for the period corresponding to the murals' date of execution, i.e., the beginning of the fifteenth century. The settlement in Rimavská Baňa had the status of landlord township and, since 1334, was found in the ownership of the Széchenyi family.⁷⁷⁷ In 1413, the son of Stibor of Stiboricz married Dorothea, Francis Széchenyi's daughter, and he subsequently commissioned the refashioning of the church's

⁷⁷⁴ Engel, *Magyarország világi archontológiája*, 1: 52. For his commissioning of the murals in Štítník and overviews of his career, see: Mária Prokopp, "A csetneki evangélikus templom középkori falképei" [The medieval wall paintings of the Lutheran church in Štítník], *Credo* 6/1-2 (2000), 59; eadem, *Középkori freskók Gömörben*, 31-33; Milan Togner, "Nástenné mal'by v Štítníku" [Wall paintings in Štítník], in Buran, *Gotika*, 687-689; Szakács, "Saints of the Knights", 325; Jékely, "Regions and Interregional Connections", 163.

⁷⁷⁵ The settlement appears in written sources at a much later date than the period indicated by the frescoes. For these documents, see: Jékely and Kiss, *Középkori falképek Erdélyben*, 32-37; Jékely, "Kolozs megyei Bádok falképei", 194-208.

⁷⁷⁶ Nagy, *Magyarország családai*, 7: 156-168; János Karácsonyi, *Az első Lónyaiak. Családtörténeti tanulmány* [The first Lónyas. Study on the family history] (Nagyvárad [Oradea]: no publisher, 1904); idem, *Die ersten Lónyay* (Bratislava: no publisher, 1912). See also doc. no. 125, 130, 136-137, 147, 159-161, in Tibor Neumann, ed., *Bereg megye hatóságának oklevelei (1299-1526)* [Charters of the authorities of Bereg County (1299-1526)] (Nyíregyháza: Kiadja a Móricz Zsigmond Könyvtár, 2006), 63-65, 68, 72.

⁷⁷⁷ For the settlement's history, see Vladimír Rábik, "Rimavská Baňa" [Rimavská Baňa], in Lukačka, *Lexikon stredovekých miest*, 371-375.

sanctuary, as his coat of arms appears on the vault's keystone.⁷⁷⁸ However, the holy king on the northern wall of the nave seems to be earlier (i.e., the 1390-1410 interval), and the image's seemingly votive character can make it the donation of either a member of the Széchenyi family or any other wealthy commissioner related to this gold mining town. Needless to mention in detail the *cursus honorum* of Filippo Scolari (Pippo Spano, Pipo of Ozora), the owner of the castle in Ozora and one of the most influential members of the royal court, who played a key role in the economic, military, and diplomatic affairs of the kingdom from the beginning of the fifteenth century until his death in 1426.⁷⁷⁹

Consequently, the presence of St. Sigismund in the company of the three *sancti reges Hungariae* was inspired by the high devotion of Sigismund of Luxemburg for both his personal patron and the kingdom's holy protectors. This inspired, in turn, a similar piety among the country's noblemen, who were either in close or distant connection with the king and belonged equally to the higher and lower levels of nobility.⁷⁸⁰ They emulated the devotional and artistic patterns of the royal court, illustrating in their churches the Hungarian-Bohemian *sancta et fidelis societas* and being aware of the utmost devotion of the king for St. Sigismund. They sometimes made obvious the link between the ruler and his personal patron by lending the features of the former to the latter, as it very likely has happened in Štítňik. That the cult of the Burgundian royal martyr and his representation in the company of Hungary's holy kings were inspired by King Sigismund's piety and were determined by the political transformations of the time is likewise obvious from the chronological distribution of the mural ensembles. This coincides exclusively with the reign of Sigismund of Luxemburg and endorses Péter Tóth's opinion that *patronus regis* was, in fact, *patronus regni* – at least as long as the king was reigning.⁷⁸¹

⁷⁷⁸ Kresánek, *Slovensko*, 422.

⁷⁷⁹ For his career, see especially: Pál Engel, "Ozori Pipo" [Pipo of Ozora], in *Ozori Pipo emlékezete* [The memory of Pipo of Ozora], ed. Ferenc Vadas (Szekszárd: Múzeumi Füzetek, 1987), 53-88; Ioan Hațegan, *Filippo Scolari. Un condottier italiano pe meleaguri dunărene* [Filippo Scolari. An Italian condottiero on Danubian lands] (Timișoara: Editura Mirton, 1997); Gizella Németh and Adriano Papo, "Filippo Scolari, un toscano al servizio di Sigismondo di Lussemburgo", *Studi Finno-Ugrici. Annali Università degli Studi di Napoli "L'Orientale"* 4 (2002-2005), 73-108; Arany, "Florentine Families in Hungary", 233-234; Katalin Prajda, "Ozori Pipó: Cittadino fiorentino – baro Regni Hungariae. Egy ismert életút kihagyott részletei" [Pipo of Ozora: Cittadino fiorentino – baro Regni Hungariae. Omitted details of a well-known life], *Aetas* 1 (2014), 74-83; Katalin Prajda and Tamás Fedeles, "Olyan vallásosan, szűkösen és életmódjában olyan mértéktartóan élt. Adalékok Filippo Scolari és családja vallásosságához" [He lived so piously, exhibiting moderation in his manners and habits. Data on the religiosity of Filippo Scolari and his family], *Történelmi Szemle* 56/3 (2014), 357-382.

⁷⁸⁰ For the Hungarian nobility's devotion for the *sancti reges Hungariae*, see: Klaniczay, "Noblesse et culte de saints", 511-526; Szakács, "Saints of the Knights", 319-330; Fedeles, "Ad visitandumque sepulchrum sanctissimi regis Ladislai", 163-182.

⁷⁸¹ Tóth, "Patronus regis", 80-96.

6. Hybrid Art and Hybrid Piety – Transgression of Artistic and Confessional Borders by the *sancti reges Hungariae*

The representation of the three Catholic *sancti reges Hungariae* occurs also in a number of churches, where their identity is offered by inscriptions in Old Church Slavonic. This detail seems to suggest that the commissioners of the images were Orthodox Romanians (Vlachs) at the time the murals were created, namely, the first two decades of the fifteenth century. It is the case of the churches in Crișcior, Ribița, and possibly Chimindia. Whereas the images in Crișcior and Ribița were executed by different painters, but both trained in a stylistically-similar, Byzantine/Orthodox milieu, the frescoes in Chimindia were created by a painter trained in a Western ambiance, his manner displaying features characteristic for the International Gothic style of the early-fifteenth century. Additionally, there are two other mural ensembles featuring Hungary's holy kings and displaying a hybrid character, even though their hybridity is of a different nature. On the one hand, there is the ensemble in Dârlos, which was executed sometime during the late-fourteenth century by a workshop of Byzantine tradition working for Catholic commissioners. On the other hand, there is the mural ensemble in Remetea, which was created in distinct stages throughout the fifteenth century, initially for Catholic (early-fifteenth century) and later for Orthodox (mid-fifteenth century) commissioners. The latter kept the image of Hungary's holy kings which the former had previously ordered to be painted in the sanctuary of their church. Even though they reveal different types of hybridity, all these mural ensembles need to be addressed together precisely on account of their hybrid character. Whereas the representations of the *sancti reges Hungariae* in Crișcior, Ribița, and Remetea are known for almost a century and received considerable attention from previous scholarship,⁷⁸² the depictions in the churches of Chimindia and Dârlos were uncovered during the last two decades and were only partially integrated to the art-historical discourse.⁷⁸³ Additionally, the murals' uncovering and restoration undertaken during the last five decades in the churches in Crișcior (1968), Ribița (intermittently between 1994 and 2012 – currently interrupted, but not completed), and Remetea (early 2000s) brought to light new information, which was

⁷⁸² First extensive discussion of the murals in Crișcior and Ribița and their commissioners is Dragomir, "Vechile biserici din Zărand", 223-264. The frescoes in Remetea were first discussed in greater extent by Gyula Némethy, "A remetei középkori templom falfestményei" [The mural decoration of the medieval church in Remetea], *Nagyvárad* 5 (June 13, 1927), republished first in Ottó Szőnyi, "A bihar-remetei falfestmények" [The mural decoration in Remetea], *Archaeologiai Értesítő* 42 (1928), 234-237, and later in Terézia Kerny, "Dokumentumok a magyarremetei falfestményekről" [Documents on the mural decoration of Remetea], *Ars Hungarica* 27/2 (1999), 424-426.

⁷⁸³ The murals in Chimindia were uncovered between 1999 and 2004, their first extensive analysis being owed to Jékely and Kiss, *Középkori falképek Erdélyben*, 140-153. Initiated in 2009, the uncovering of the frescoes in Dârlos is still ongoing, only two partial analyses having been published until now: Gaylhofer-Kovács, "Alexandriai Szent Katalin", 289-290, 296-300, 314-322; Erika N. Feketics, "A darlaci középkori falképek vizsgálata" [The examination of the wall paintings in Dârlos], *Dolgozatok az Erdélyi Múzeum érem- és régiségtárából. Új sorozat* 8 (18) (2013), 107-132.

assimilated in various degrees by the art-historical scholarship.⁷⁸⁴ All the above reasons make opportune a reexamination and reassessment of the murals depicting the *sancti reges Hungariae* in these five churches.

6. 1. Overview of Scholarship and Methodological Clarifications

Differently than the representations of the *sancti reges Hungariae* in the churches in Chimindia, Dârlos, and Remetea, the inclusion of the three Catholic saints in the iconographic program of the two Orthodox churches in Crişcior and Ribiţa was long ago noticed and discussed by historical and art-historical scholarship.⁷⁸⁵ Even though their wording often differs, all the proposed interpretations acknowledge that these depictions represented an expression of loyalty of Romanian Orthodox noblemen towards the Hungarian royal power. However, the scholars' various emphases and fields of expertise – and sometimes even their nationality – determined different explanations for the motivation of so unusual an occurrence.

In a first stage, Romanian scholars envisaged the presence of the three Catholic royal saints in the two Orthodox churches in Crişcior and Ribiţa as the result of external pressure, and they interpreted it as a compulsory element in church decoration which, subsequently, allowed Orthodox Romanians to build stone churches. Referring to a decision of the Synod of Buda (1279), Silviu Dragomir has interpreted the representation of Hungary's holy kings in the two churches as an homage which Romanian Orthodox noblemen needed to pay to Hungarian kingship.⁷⁸⁶ The historian's reference to this decision was incorrectly understood later by Liana Tugearu as an explicit interdiction for Orthodox Romanians to build stone churches unless they represented the

⁷⁸⁴ Partial evaluations of these murals made after their restoration is published in various studies. For Crişcior, see: Cincheza-Buculei, "Date noi privind pictura", 35-44; Tugearu, "Biserica Adormirea Maicii Domnului", 71-97. For Ribiţa, see: Ecaterina Cincheza-Buculei, "Ipoteze şi certitudini în frescele descoperite la Ribiţa (jud. Hunedoara)" [Hypotheses and certitudes in the frescoes discovered in Ribiţa (Hunedoara County)], *Ars Transsilvaniae* 5 (1995), 85-91. For Remetea, see: Lángi and Mihály, *Erdélyi falképek és festett faberendezések*, 2: 71-74. Additionally, other studies addressed one or another monument in connection to specific problems; for these studies, see below.

⁷⁸⁵ Though often mentioned in connection to the iconography of the *sancti reges Hungariae*, the significance of their depiction in Remetea was not assessed individually, being only occasionally discussed in connection to other representations: Porumb, *Dicţionar de pictură*, 333 (together with Crişcior and Ribiţa); Lángi, "Szent László ábrázolásairól", 191-208 (together with other representations of St. Ladislav, both iconic and narrative). It was only recently (i.e., after the mural's uncovering) that the image of the Hungarian holy kings in Chimindia was appended to the scholarly discourse on the Crişcior-Ribiţa pair: Prioteasa, "Holy Kings of Hungary", 41-56; slightly revised versions of this study are published as: eadem, "Medieval Wall Paintings", 65-85; eadem, *Medieval Wall Paintings in Transylvanian Orthodox Churches. Iconographic Subjects in Historical Context* (Bucharest and Cluj-Napoca: Editura Academiei Române and Editura Mega, 2016 [2017]), 61-76. On the basis of its Slavonic inscriptions only, the author considers, in her first two studies, that the church in Chimindia was Orthodox at the time the holy kings' image has been created. The representation of Sts Ladislav and Stephen in Dârlos has not received until now a separate analysis.

⁷⁸⁶ Dragomir, "Vechile biserici din Zărând", 233-234; for a similar opinion, see: Drăguţ, *Pictura murală din Transilvania*, 39; Cincheza-Buculei, "Date noi privind pictura", 44.

holy kings of Hungary inside them.⁷⁸⁷ As noted by Elena Dana Prioteasa, the synod decision forbade, in fact, Schismatics to own or build new churches or chapels unless they had the approval of the bishop in whose diocese they lived.⁷⁸⁸ Subsequently, there is no historical basis for interpreting the representation of Hungary's three holy kings in Crișcior and Ribița as mandatory, nor as the result of outer stimuli.

In a second stage, Hungarian scholars considered that the Orthodox founders included Hungary's holy kings in the decoration of their churches as a consequence of their inner conviction. This was first formulated by Ernő Marosi as the desire of Orthodox Romanians to acquire noble status through the veneration of the patron saints of the country; in this respect, they followed the model of Hungarian noblemen, who resorted often to these saints in their quality of national symbols.⁷⁸⁹ Subsequently, this deliberate choice of Romanian Orthodox noblemen was formulated in a multitude of ways, this time by both Hungarian and Romanian scholars. Consequently, the presence of the three Catholic holy kings of Hungary in the two Orthodox churches in Crișcior and Ribița was understood as: (a) an expression of loyalty (*fidelitas*) by Romanian Orthodox noblemen towards the supreme ruler of the kingdom, which was developed on the background of their acquiring of a noble-class conscience;⁷⁹⁰ (b) the imitation by these noblemen of the devotional patterns of Hungarian nobility, which was found in a more privileged position and which replicated in its turn Hungarian courtly patterns;⁷⁹¹ (c) the sign of an emerging cultural assimilation of this Romanian and Orthodox noble layer, which had begun during the early-fifteenth century its integration into the ranks of Hungarian nobility and which had been found in a religiously- and ethnically-diverse area with rich cultural interactions;⁷⁹² (d) the acknowledging of the holy kings as ideal rulers and an expression of loyalty towards the Hungarian Crown, which guaranteed and protected the newly-acquired privileges of Romanian Orthodox noblemen,⁷⁹³ or (e) a means of

⁷⁸⁷ Tugearu, "Biserica Adormirea Maicii Domnului", 78; eadem, "Biserica Sf. Nicolae din Ribița", 134; this idea is present also in Porumb, *Dicționar de pictură*, 333.

⁷⁸⁸ Prioteasa, "Holy Kings of Hungary", 49-50. The text in question is: "Perpetuo prohibemus edicto: quod schismatici sacerdotes, in terris nostrae legationis officiare ecclesias non sinantur, nec permittantur habere vel aedificare absque dioecesanorum, in quorum dioecesibus vel jurisdictionibus commorantur, licentia et consensu nova oratoria vel capellas...", Șerban Turcuș, *Sinodul general de la Buda (1279)* [The general synod of Buda (1279)] (Cluj-Napoca: Presa Universitară Clujeană, 2001), 212.

⁷⁸⁹ Marosi, "Hl. Ladislaus als Nationalheiliger", 230, 232, 245; idem, *Kép és hasonmás*, 80; for a similar idea, see: Kerny, "Szent László kultusz a Zsigmond-korban", 357. In his studies, Ernő Marosi specifies that the *sancti reges Hungariae* found their way into the range of holy figures depicted on the walls of Transylvanian Orthodox churches in their quality of national saints, and not through the mediation of Orthodox liturgical traditions, Marosi, "Hl. Ladislaus als Nationalheiliger", 230. For the anachronistic usage of the term "national" in these studies, see n. 27.

⁷⁹⁰ Adrian Andrei Rusu, *Ioan de Hunedoara și românii din vremea sa. Studii* [John Hunyadi and the Romanians of his age. Studies] (Cluj-Napoca: Editura Presa Universitară, 1999), 137.

⁷⁹¹ Szakács, "Saints of the Knights", 326-328.

⁷⁹² Terdik, "Magyar szent királyok ábrázolásai", 96-98.

⁷⁹³ Prioteasa, "Holy Kings of Hungary", 41-56; eadem, "Medieval Wall Paintings", 65-85; eadem, *Medieval Wall Paintings*, 61-76.

Romanian and Orthodox church founders to legitimate themselves through the invocation of the three Hungarian saints, or even to attach themselves to them through their depiction, this having happened on the background of the noblemen's gratitude to King Sigismund of Luxemburg, who was a ruler favorably-disposed toward them.⁷⁹⁴ As previously stated, the multitude of scholarly opinions on the matter has as common denominator the recognition of the fact that the depiction of the Catholic holy kings of Hungary in the two Orthodox churches represented an expression of loyalty of Romanian Orthodox noblemen towards the Hungarian royal power.⁷⁹⁵ However, the scholars' different focus – political, social, religious/devotional, cultural, etc. – added sometimes important nuances to the general interpretation.

In what follows, I intend to look at the representations of the three Catholic saints in the two Orthodox churches of Ribița and Crișcior not isolatedly, but rather as integrant part of a coherent iconographic program, which betrays an essentially Byzantine/Orthodox thinking. This iconographic program reflects the complex social, political, and spiritual reality of the founders, who were Orthodox noblemen under Latin/Catholic rule and strived to achieve a higher social position and the acknowledging of their rights by the sources of power. For a better understanding of this phenomenon of cultural entanglement, the present chapter examines also those instances of hybridity in religious art which are strictly connected to the representation in mural painting of the *sancti reges Hungariae*. First, there is the image of Sts Ladislav and Stephen in Dârlos, which was ordered by Catholic commissioners to a workshop trained in the Byzantine tradition, its painters trying to adapt their knowledge and skills to the requirements of their patrons. Second, there is the depiction of Hungary's holy kings in the church in Chimindia, executed presumably for Catholic

⁷⁹⁴ Vladimir Agrigoroaei, "An *Interpretatio Wallachica* of Serbian Patterns: The Cases of Ribița, Streisângeorgiu and Crișcior (but also Râmneț)", *Acta Universitatis Apulensis. Series Historica* 16/2 (2012), 123-128.

⁷⁹⁵ The only exception is Valentin Trifescu, *Bisericile cneziale din Ribița și Crișcior (începutul secolului al XV-lea)* [The knezial churches in Ribița and Crișcior (beginning of the 15th century)] (Cluj-Napoca: Editura Eikon, 2010), 79-82. The author states that "... ei trebuie să fi reprezentat pentru ctitorii zărândeni dovada recunoașterii statutului lor social privilegiat de către autoritățile feudale" [they (the holy kings, a. n.) should have represented for the ktetors of Zărând the proof of the acknowledgement of their privileged social status by feudal authorities], *ibid.*, 57. One can only wonder how the commissioning of the holy kings' image by one agent (the ktetors of Crișcior and Ribița) means the recognition of privileged social status by another agent (the feudal authorities) for the first agent (the founders). The peculiar logic of this statement is found throughout the author's monographic treatment of the two churches, a prematurely-published BA thesis which augments regrettably the corpus of scholarly literature on the two monuments, and brings nothing significant or new on the topic. A similar, disconcerted reasoning is encountered also throughout the author's other studies on the two monuments, which determined me not to refer further to them: *idem*, "Arhitectura bisericilor de la Ribița și Crișcior. Țara Crișului Alb (începutul secolului al XV-lea)" [The architecture of the churches in Ribița and Crișcior. White Criș Land (beginning of the 15th century)], in *Sub semnul istoriei. De la debut spre consacrare* [Under the sign of history. From debut to affirmation], ed. Nicolae-Emilian Bolea and Oana-Mihaela Tămaș (Cluj-Napoca: Presa Universitară Clujeană, 2009), 375-389; *idem*, "Le message des églises médiévales roumaines de Ribița et Crișcior", in *Text și discurs religios. Lucrările Conferinței Naționale "Text și discurs religios", Iași, 12-13 noiembrie 2010. Ediția a III-a* [Religious text and discourse. Proceedings of the National Conference "Religious text and discourse", Iași, 12-13 November 2010. 3rd edition], ed. Alexandru Gafton *et al.* (Iași: Editura Universității "Alexandru Ioan Cuza", 2011), 299-307.

patrons by painters who were trained in the West and who, surprisingly, inscribed the image in Old Church Slavonic. Finally, there is also the representation of the three *sancti reges Hungariae* in Remetea which was commissioned by Catholic patrons to painters trained in the West; this image was kept by the church's new, Orthodox patrons, who later used the church and commissioned other murals destined to serve their Eastern rite. In Chimindia and Remetea, the hybrid character did not pertain to the images themselves, but was acquired either simultaneously, through the mural's accompanying by inscriptions in Old Church Slavonic (Chimindia), or *post factum*, through the change of the church's patrons and, possibly, confessional regime. In addition to considering the murals' internal, quasi-internal (i.e., accompanying inscriptions), and external characteristics (i.e., iconographic contexts), an equal attention is given to the commissioners of these images, whenever written and visual sources allow one to ascertain their identity and devotional practices.

Religious mural painting during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries in the southern part of the Voivodate of Transylvania and the south-eastern counties of the Kingdom of Hungary – especially in the District of Hátszeg and the County of Zaránd – represents an art created in a border area which was situated across the contact zone of two cultural traditions. The meeting point of Eastern and Western cultures represented by these *districta* or *terrae Valachorum* was also the place where two artistic traditions met. On the one hand, this crossroad of cultures left deep traces in the religious art of Orthodox Romanians, which was influenced both stylistically and iconographically by Western art, and on the other hand, it occasionally reached also the religious art of the dominant, Catholic group. This art produced by painters with different backgrounds and unequal levels of training was meant to answer the religious sensibilities of its commissioners, and reflects a dynamic world which traditional, art-historical categories seem unable to encompass. The religious art of this area challenges the dichotomous categories which are usually accepted by the historians of medieval art, namely, “Orthodox” versus “Catholic”, “Eastern” versus “Western”, or “Byzantine” versus “Gothic”. By accepting the hybridity of this art, on the one hand, one might better comprehend the complexity and dynamism of medieval religious art in the south-eastern counties of the Kingdom of Hungary and the Voivodate of Transylvania, respectively, and on the other hand, one can grasp in a greater extent the devotional practices and spiritual life of the Orthodox and Catholics living together in this space during the Middle Ages.⁷⁹⁶

⁷⁹⁶ For discussing this area's medieval religious art in terms of hybridity, cultural entanglement, or cultural contact zones, see: Dragoș Gh. Năstăsioiu, “*East Meets West: The Iconography of Orthodox Mural Painting in Transylvania during the Fifteenth Century*”, paper read at the International Workshop “*Post-Byzantine Art: Orthodox Christian Art in a Non-Byzantine World?*” (Budapest: Center for Eastern Mediterranean Studies and Central European University, May 15-16, 2013); idem, “*Transgressing Boundaries: Mural Painting in the Orthodox Churches of Fourteenth- and Fifteenth-century Transylvania*”, paper read at the 19th Annual Medieval Postgraduate Student Colloquium “*Boundaries in Medieval Art and Architecture*” (London: The Courtauld Institute of Art, February 1, 2014); idem, “*Between East and*

The concept of “hybridity” used throughout this chapter is most certainly not the one that was coined by postcolonial studies and defined as a strategy of the suppressed and subaltern against their suppressors in a colonial context.⁷⁹⁷ It is rather the concept that is used by archaeology and is applied to those objects which seem to resist classification within predefined taxonomies.⁷⁹⁸ Contrarily to the opinion of Homi K. Bhabha⁷⁹⁹ and as Philipp W. Stockhammer has shown,⁸⁰⁰

West: The Iconography of Donors in Orthodox Mural Painting of South-western Transylvania during the Fifteenth Century, public lecture given within the framework of the “ARCS Fall 2014 Lecture Series” (Sofia: American Research Center in Sofia, October 15, 2014); idem, “Hybrid Art or Hybrid Piety? The Representation of the Catholic Holy Kings of Hungary in Medieval Orthodox Churches of Transylvania”, paper read at the conference “Art Readings 2015: Heroes/Cults/Saints. On the Occasion of the 500th Anniversary since the Martyrdom of St George the New Martyr of Sofia” (Sofia: Institute of Art Studies, Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, May 8-9, 2015); idem, “Painters of Byzantine Tradition Working for Catholic Patrons, Western Painters Working for Orthodox Commissioners. The Evidence of Transylvanian Murals (14th-15th C.)”, paper read at the International Conference “Art Readings 2017 – Old Art Module: Byzantine & Post-Byzantine Art: Crossing Borders” (Sofia: Institute of Art Studies, Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, March 31 – April 2, 2017). Some of the conclusions of my research have already appeared in print or await to be published; for these studies, see below.

⁷⁹⁷ “Hybridity is the sign of the productivity of colonial power, its shifting forces and fixities; it is the name for the strategic reversal of the process of domination through disavowal (that is, the production of discriminatory identities that secure the ‘pure’ and original identity of authority). Hybridity is the revaluation of the assumption of colonial identity through the repetition of discriminatory identity effects. It displays the necessary deformation and displacement of all sites of discrimination and domination. It unsettles the mimetic or narcissistic demands of colonial power but reimplicates its identifications in strategies of subversion that turn the gaze of the discriminated back upon the eye of power. For the colonial hybrid is the articulation of the ambivalent space where the rite of power is enacted on the site of desire, making its objects at once disciplinary and disseminatory.”, Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London and New York: Routledge, 1994), 112.

⁷⁹⁸ For the concept of “cultural hybridity” in general, see especially: Peter Burke, *Cultural Hybridity* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2009); Andreas Ackermann, “Cultural Hybridity: Between Metaphor and Empiricism”, in *Conceptualizing Cultural Hybridization. A Transdisciplinary Approach*, ed. Philipp Wolfgang Stockhammer (Berlin and Heidelberg: Springer-Verlag, 2012), 5-26 (henceforth: Stockhammer, *Conceptualizing Cultural Hybridization*). For the concept’s theoretical and practical aspects in the field of archaeology, see: W. Paul van Pelt, ed., *Archaeology and Cultural Mixture*, special issue of the *Archaeological Review from Cambridge* 28/1 (2013); James G. Cusik, *Studies in Culture Contact. Interaction, Culture Change, and Archaeology* (Carbondale: Center for Archaeological Investigations and Southern Illinois University Press, 1998); Philipp W. Stockhammer, “Conceptualizing Cultural Hybridization in Archaeology”, in Stockhammer, *Conceptualizing Cultural Hybridization*, 43-58; Magdalena Naum, “Difficult Middles, Hybridity and Ambivalence of a Medieval Frontier: The Cultural Landscape of Lolland and Falster (Denmark)”, *Journal of Medieval History* 83/1 (2012), 56-75.

⁷⁹⁹ “To grasp the ambivalence of hybridity, it must be distinguished from an inversion that would suggest that the originary is, really, only an ‘effect’. Hybridity has no such perspective of depth or truth to provide: it is not a third term that resolves the tension between two cultures, or the two scenes of the book, in a dialectical ‘play of recognition’. The displacement from symbol to sign creates a crisis for any concept of authority based on a system of recognition: colonial specularity, doubly inscribed, does not produce a mirror where the self apprehends itself; it is always the split screen of the self and its doubling, the hybrid.”, Bhabha, *Location of Culture*, 114.

⁸⁰⁰ “From an epistemological point of view, the hybrid is what falls between the analytical categories defined by us. One could call it the double bias of the hybrid: it is ‘in-between’ our categories; it comprises myriad features that remain unclassified; it is the accidental remainder that does not fit into the arbitrarily classified. As our categories are never all-inclusive, we should not wonder that there are always remaining phenomena that cannot be attributed to a certain type of class. Something always remains outside. In archaeology, this ‘something’ most often comprises unique objects with singular features or uncommon combinations of features. However, it is only the second step which transforms the by-product of any classification (the ‘unclassifiable’) into a category of its own that is considered as meaningful in its perception of past human beings. In the end, we propose that those phenomena which we were not able to include in our categories were also meaningful and perceived as being in-between by past human beings. We force the hybrid to speak and suggest that it has always done so. We forget the genesis of this category and try to emphasize the particular character of the hybrid, instead of considering its dynamic and creative character as an artificial bridge between artificial categories.”, Philipp W. Stockhammer, “From Hybridity to Entanglement, from Essentialism to Practice”, *Archaeological Review from Cambridge* 28/1 (2013), 11-28, esp. pp. 13-14.

these “unclassifiable”, hybrid objects are meaningful in themselves and, most importantly, were perceived as meaningful and as in-between by past human beings. By emphasizing their particular character, one can hope to recover both the meaningfulness and meaning of these hybrid objects of the past. Less concerned with defining its theoretical aspects, historians of medieval art have operated extensively during the last decades with the concept of “hybridity”, applying it to those works of art which were produced in cultural contact zones and escaped the usual, art-historical categories of classification. A significant number of scholars have produced important studies on particular works of art and piety, and these studies’ content – even though it did not always regard the concept of “hybridity” from a theoretical perspective – has offered valuable paradigms of an applied methodology.⁸⁰¹

6. 2. Internal Hybridity of the Images Depicting the *sancti reges Hungariae*

The Orthodox churches in Crișcior and Ribița are situated in a short distance from one another (ca 10 km), and both representations of the *sancti reges Hungariae* were executed

⁸⁰¹ One cannot exhaust the topic of hybridity in religious medieval art in a simple footnote; however, several authors and their studies should be, nonetheless, mentioned: Thomas E. A. Dale, “Cultural Hybridity in Medieval Venice: Reinventing the East at San Marco after the Fourth Crusade”, in *San Marco, Byzantium, and the Myths of Venice*, ed. Robert S. Nelson and Henry Maguire (Washington, D. C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2010), 151-191; Monika Hirschbichler, “The Crusader Paintings in the Frankish Gate at Nauplia, Greece: A Historical Construct in the Latin Principality of Morea”, *Gesta* 44/1 (2005), 13-30; Sophia Kalopissi-Verti, “Aspects of Patronage in Fourteenth-century Byzantium. Regions under Serbian and Latin Rule”, in *Byzantium and Serbia in the 14th Century. Βυζάντιο και Σερβία κατά τον ΙΔ΄ αιώνα* (Athens: National Hellenic Research Foundation, Institute for Byzantine Research, 1996), 363-379; eadem, “Relations between East and West in the Lordship of Athens after 1204: Archaeological and Artistic Evidence”, in *Archaeology and the Crusades. Proceedings of the Round Table, Nicosia, 1 February 2005*, ed. Sophia Kalopissi-Verti and Peter Edbury (Athens: Pierides Foundation, 2007), 1-33; eadem, “Monumental Art in the Lordship of Athens and Thebes under Frankish and Catalan Rule (1212-1388): Latin and Greek Patronage”, in *A Companion to Latin Greece*, ed. Nickiphoros I. Tsougarakis and Peter Lock (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2015), 369-417; Ioannis E. Eliades, “Italy and Cyprus during the Byzantine, Frankish, and Venetian Era in Cyprus (1191-1571)”, in *Cyprus and Italy during the Time of the Byzantine Empire. Historical and Artistic Testimonies of the Period of the Latin Rule in Cyprus (1191-1571). Hall of Temporary Exhibitions of the Byzantine Museum of the Archbishop Makarios III Foundation. Lefkosia, 1 June-30 November 2010. Exhibition Catalogue*, ed. Ioannis E. Eliades (Lefkosia: Archbishop Makarios III Foundation, Cyprus Tourism Organization, and Embassy of Italy, 2010), 15-39; Allan Langdale, “History and Hybridity in the Trapeza Church near Famagusta/Gazimağusa”, in *Northern Face of Cyprus. New Studies in Cypriot Archaeology and Art History*, ed. Latife Summerer and Hazar Kaba (Istanbul: Ege Yayınları, 2016), 365-392; Michele Bacci, “Una maniera latina nel Levante tardomedievale?”, in “*Conosco un ottimo storico dell’arte...*” *Per Enrico Castelnovo. Scritti di allievi e amici pisani*, ed. Maria Monica Donato and Massimo Ferretti (Pisa: Edizioni della Normale, 2012), 141-147; idem, “The Holy Name of Jesus in Venetian-ruled Crete”, *Convivium. Exchanges and Interactions in the Arts of Medieval Europe, Byzantium, and the Mediterranean. Seminarium Kondakovianum Series Nova* 1/1 (2014), 190-205; idem, “Veneto-Byzantine Hybrids: Towards a Reassessment”, *Studies in Iconography* 35 (2014), 73-106; Umberto Bongianino, “The King, His Chapel, His Church. Boundaries and Hybridity in the Religious Visual Culture of the Norman Kingdom”, *Journal of Transcultural Medieval Studies* 4/1-2 (2017), 3-50. For other studies, see below.

sometime during the early-fifteenth century: probably in 1411 (Crișcior)⁸⁰² and after 1404 (Ribița).⁸⁰³ The geographical and chronological proximity of the two representations, as well as the many similarities between the two images indicate that their painters used a common iconographic prototype, even though the model in Ribița appears in a somehow simplified variant.⁸⁰⁴ The three holy kings are depicted frontally, they have static and hieratical attitudes, and their gestures are highly stereotypical. The two images in Crișcior and Ribița have in their left side an old, white-bearded St. Stephen, and a young, beardless St. Emeric in the middle. St. Ladislav's depiction on the right side has been greatly damaged in both cases and none of the saint's facial features has survived.⁸⁰⁵ However, judging by the fact that the two murals follow the established age types of the other holy kings, it is highly possible that St. Ladislav was depicted originally as a mature, dark-bearded holy king. The three characters are dressed in similar court costumes, which are composed of tight tunics with atypical, short sleeves that are worn over long-sleeved, white shirts.⁸⁰⁶ Their colors are the same for all three saints in each of the two churches: purple in Crișcior and initially blue in Ribița.⁸⁰⁷ They have long mantles which are richly decorated with various brocade patterns on the outside and atypical, pearl motifs on their fur lining.⁸⁰⁸ The holy kings' sumptuous appearance is complemented by their white gloves with elegantly-elongated cuffs, and their pearl-decorated kidney daggers hanging down their belts. Sts Stephen and Emeric have lily crowns on their heads. In their right hands, they hold atypical scepters which end in a small bouquet of stylized

⁸⁰² A Latin description of the murals in Crișcior and their accompanying inscriptions, which was made in 1773 by some alleged descendants of the noble family in Crișcior, mentions the year 1411, a detail which is no longer preserved. This dating is accepted in: Tugearu, "Biserica Adormirea Maicii Domnului", 74; Porumb, *Dicționar de pictură*, 91-93; Sorin Ullea, *Arhanghelul de la Ribița. Angelologie, estetică, istorie politică* [The archangel of Ribița. Angelology, esthetics, political history] (Bucharest: Editura Cerna, 2001), 16-31; Dragoș Gh. Năstăsoiu, "The Social Status of Romanian Orthodox Noblemen in Late-medieval Transylvania According to Donor Portraits and Church Inscriptions", in *Études Byzantines et Post-Byzantines*, ed. Nicolae Șerban Tanașoca and Alexandru Madgearu (Bucharest and Brăila: Editura Academiei Române and Muzeul Brăilei "Carol I" – Editura Istros, 2016), 7: 208.

⁸⁰³ Various readings have been proposed until now for the lost year in the partially-preserved dedicatory inscription of the church in Ribița: 1404 (Ödön Nemes, 1868); 1414-1415 (Silviu Dragomir, 1917); 1417 (Silviu Dragomir, 1929); 1414 (Adrian Andrei Rusu, 1991); 1407 (Irina Popa, 1995). All these dating hypotheses are discussed in: Dragoș Gh. Năstăsoiu and Anna Adashinskaya, "New Information on the Dating of the Murals of St. Nicholas Church in Ribița. A Hypothesis", *MuseIKON. A Journal of Religious Art and Culture. Revue d'Art et de Culture Religieuse* 1 (2017), 25-44. In this study, new dating hypotheses are proposed for the church's frescoes: 1393 – for the murals of the sanctuary and partially the nave; and after 1404 – some images in the nave (the representation of Hungary's holy kings included).

⁸⁰⁴ Opinion advanced first by Tugearu, "Biserica Sf. Nicolae din Ribița", 134, and accepted by subsequent authors.

⁸⁰⁵ St. Ladislav's representation in Crișcior has been damaged by the creation in 1852 of a new window on the western side of the nave's southern wall, whereas his figure in Ribița was greatly destroyed by one of the pillars that were attached to the nave's walls in 1869-1870 for supporting the new vault. For these architectural alterations, see the relevant entries in the Catalogue of Murals.

⁸⁰⁶ As shown by Prioteasa, "Medieval Wall Paintings", 66-68, the tunics could be either coat armors (worn usually over armors or chainmail, not over simple shirts) or *doublets* (they normally have long sleeves). In both cases, however, the tunics seem unusual and may reflect the painters' unfamiliarity with Western, knightly or courtly dress.

⁸⁰⁷ For the chemical alteration of the azurite pigment of the tunics into malachite (green), see the relevant entry in the Catalogue of Murals.

⁸⁰⁸ Prioteasa, "Medieval Wall Paintings", 66, has interpreted the pearl motif as another sign of the Western, royal costume's partial understanding by the Eastern painters.

lilies. All three holy kings prop against the ground triangular shields which are decorated with red crosses on their fields. St. Ladislav's raised hand with unpreserved attribute in Crișcior suggests that he was depicted with a battle axe (i.e., his usual attribute), but in a rather warlike pose. The identity of the three holy kings in Ribița is offered by Old Church Slavonic inscriptions in Cyrillic, whereas for the holy kings in Crișcior a mixture of Latin and Old Church Slavonic – written in both alphabets – has been used.

The inscriptions in Old Church Slavonic and the paintings' provincial, Byzantine style clearly indicate that the mural decoration of the two churches was commissioned to painters of Byzantine tradition by the members of the two noble families, who appear in the neighboring votive compositions and who were Orthodox Romanians (Vlachs). The manner of conceiving the holy kings' faces in the two churches attests to the painters' Byzantine training. On the one hand, intermediary shades have been applied on a dark-red (Crișcior) or green (Ribița) *proplasma* (color base), which was outlined in dark-brown color and was highlighted by bright lines of expression above the cheeks, on the foreheads, and around the eyes. On the other hand, the holy kings' faces have long, thin noses, delicately-small lips, almond-shaped eyes with penetrating gaze, and arched eyebrows. These technical and facial details contrast greatly with the seemingly Western appearance of the three holy kings. On a closer look, however, one can easily note their hybrid costumes, which evoke in great extent the courtly and royal costumes characteristic for the International Gothic style, but which in fact exhibit details that have not always been correctly understood: they wear atypical, short-sleeved and tight tunics over white shirts, and their long mantles with brocade-like pattern are decorated with unusual, pearled fur-lining. The figures' royal dignity is emphasized by St. Stephen's and St. Emeric's lily-shaped scepters, but the precise reference to the latter saint's chastity and purity is diminished by the equal investing of his father with a similar attribute.⁸⁰⁹ Additionally, the holy kings' costumes recall also knightly attires through the triangular shields with red crosses and the daggers hanging down the belts. The overall, military appearance of the saints is further emphasized in Crișcior (and probably in Ribița, too) by St. Ladislav's attribute which he held in a warlike posture.⁸¹⁰ Although the holy knight holds sometimes ostentatiously his battle axe (e.g., Khust, Remetea, or Ragály), this unusual pose was most likely the painters' own way of understanding and visualizing St. Ladislav's chivalric and heroic sides. The mixture of Eastern and Western elements in Crișcior and Ribița attests to, on the one hand, the

⁸⁰⁹ For similarly-shaped scepters of royal figures represented this time on a stove tile and in a Catholic context, see eadem, *Medieval Wall Paintings*, 63, n. 17.

⁸¹⁰ The brown, thicker handle of St. Ladislav's attribute in Crișcior suggests indeed that this was a battle axe and not a scepter. The scene in Ribița being completely destroyed in its upper part, one can no longer know what attribute had St. Ladislav or how he held it. However, given the many similarities between the two images, it is highly possible that here, too, the holy knight was depicted in a way similar to his partially-preserved figure in Crișcior.

Byzantine painters' attempt at Westernizing the appearance of the three holy kings of Hungary and, on the other hand, the painters' attempt at combining in their images the holy kings' royal and knightly facets. Subsidiarily, these efforts betray also the painters' awareness that the Catholic saints they needed to depict belonged to a different cultural area (and confession) than their own and, indirectly, that/those of the murals' commissioners.

Despite its selective iconography which retains only two saintly figures, the representation of the holy kings in the Catholic (now Lutheran) church in Dârlos presents several common features with the depictions in Crişcior and Ribiţa. The image of the two holy kings was painted probably during the late-fourteenth century⁸¹¹ by a fairly-trained painter of Byzantine tradition,⁸¹² who most likely worked for Catholic commissioners. Placed within the *sedilia* on the sanctuary's southern-wall, the full, standing figures of two holy kings are depicted frontally, they have static attitude, hieratical appearance, and standard gestures, and they are both represented as mature, brown-bearded kings. The two crowned figures hold royal and personal attributes: crucifer orb and battle axe for the saint on the left side, and probably scepter⁸¹³ and sword for the saint on the right side, respectively. They are dressed in identical costumes composed of white tunics or robes⁸¹⁴ with golden decoration on their sleeves, and long, dark-red mantles with golden border, white fur-lining, and large, ermine collars which cover completely their shoulders.⁸¹⁵ The inscriptions accompanying the two saints are no longer preserved, but these were probably in Latin and written in Gothic majuscule letters, like the rest of the inscriptions inside the sanctuary.

Whereas the appearance of the saint on the left side follows St. Ladislav's established iconography (mature, brown-bearded holy king with battle axe and crucifer orb), the appearance of the saint on the right side is unusual for any of his two other companions, namely, the old, white- or

⁸¹¹ The frescoes of the church, both outside and inside the sanctuary, were ascribed by previous scholarship to various periods: the fourth decade of the sixteenth century, but before 1544 – Drăguţ, *Pictura murală din Transilvania*, 70; the beginning of the sixteenth century, possibly earlier – Gaylhoffer-Kovács, "Alexandriai Szent Katalin", 300; or at the end of the Middle Ages and beginning of the Renaissance (?), but before 1520s – Feketics, "Darlaci középkori falképek", 118. The interior frescoes are not yet fully uncovered, but the paleographical features of several, undated graffiti on the sanctuary's lower register, the murals' epigraphic material, the frescoes' technical and stylistic features, and ultimately the devotional and naming practices of the church's hypothetical patrons seem to suggest a much earlier dating: late-fourteenth century. Certainly, until further research on the church's architecture and mural decoration is undertaken (i.e., the establishing of the building's phases of construction and of the frescoes' possible stylistic analogies), and until the uncovering and restoration of the murals is completed, this dating remains a working hypothesis. For a detailed discussion on the frescoes' dating, see the relevant entry in the Catalogue of Murals.

⁸¹² For the frescoes' Byzantine style, see: Drăguţ, *Pictura murală din Transilvania*, 68-70; Gaylhoffer-Kovács, "Alexandriai Szent Katalin", 289-290, 296-300, 314-322; Feketics, "Darlaci középkori falképek", 107-120.

⁸¹³ The attribute's upper part is no longer preserved, its identification as scepter being hypothetical.

⁸¹⁴ In both cases, the vestment's lower side has not survived, so one cannot know for sure what type of dress they were represented in.

⁸¹⁵ The white collars' black, decorative elements resembling dots and comas suggest indeed ermine fur. These details are not present on the inner side of the mantles, but the similar, light-grey shadows on the mantles' linings suggest that they, too, were made of white fur.

grey-bearded St. Stephen and the young, beardless St. Emeric, respectively. Judging by the fact that, whenever depicted as a duo, St. Ladislav (whose representation in Dârlos is certain) is always accompanied by St. Stephen and never by St. Emeric (e.g., Poprad, Sibiu, Slatvina, Șmig, Tornaszentandrás, or Žehra), and that St. Emeric is either blond- or brown-haired, and always young and beardless, St. Ladislav's companion in Dârlos is most likely St. Stephen, who appears very rarely as a mature, brown-bearded holy king (e.g., only in Krásnohorské Podhradie and possibly Plešivec). St. Stephen's uncommon depiction is probably owed to the unfamiliarity of the Byzantine painter with the iconography of this Catholic saint. The painter was certainly instructed by his commissioner upon St. Ladislav's age type and personal attribute, but did not receive probably any specific information on St. Stephen's age; subsequently, he pictured him in a similar way, namely, as a mature, brown-bearded holy king. The saints' seemingly Western, royal appearance – indicated by their open crowns decorated with three palmettes and the red mantles adorned with ermine collars and white-fur lining – contrasts again with their faces, which are conceived in Byzantine manner. On the one hand, white pigment was added in various layers on a brown-ochre *proplasma*, creating a striking effect of light and shadow. On the other hand, dark-ochre pigment outlines their features, which are characterized by moderately-arched eyebrows, almond-shaped eyes with black pupils and penetrating gaze, long and thin noses, and narrow mouths.⁸¹⁶ As indicated by the neighboring image of Sts Constantine and Helena flanking the Holy Cross, the painters in Dârlos knew how to depict Byzantine imperial garments, as they vested the emperor in one – however, Constantine's crown is of Western, open type. Seemingly, they knew how to depict Western costumes as well, as the emperor's mother is dressed in a royal vestment of Western type, which is composed of long, white dress, dark-red mantle with white-fur lining, and *Kruseler* type of headdress.⁸¹⁷ The painters took great care in Westernizing the vestments of Sts Ladislav and Stephen, so that they resembled generally Western kings, who were usually depicted in long, red mantles decorated with ermine collars. However, they also “improvised” some decorative elements on the saints' tunics, unconsciously betraying their Eastern training and their belonging to a Byzantine cultural milieu. The sleeves of the holy kings' tunics are decorated with golden cuffs and arm-bands (armlets). The latter detail was a costume element uncommon for Western royal vestments, but it was instead characteristic for tunics of warriors or emperors during the Middle-Byzantine period, an element which was later incorporated also into the vestment of Byzantine-Slavic rulers or aristocrats (Fig. 6.1, 6.2, 6.13, 6.15 left and right, 6.19 left, 6.20 left and right, 6.21 left, 6.22).

⁸¹⁶ For a detailed analysis of the frescoes' technical characteristics, see Feketics, “Darlaci középkori falképek”, 107-132.

⁸¹⁷ For descriptions of the two saints' costumes, see also: Prioteasa, “Medieval Wall Paintings”, 87-89, 116-117.



Fig. 6.1 – *Sebastokrator* Kaloyan and *Sebastokratorissa* Desislava (left), and Tsar Konstantin Tikh and Tsaritsa Irina (right), 1259, fresco, lower register of the northern and eastern walls of the narthex, St. Nicholas Church in Boyana.
Photo Source © <http://www.culture-mfa.bg/> (Accessed 18 December 2017)

These arm-bands or armlets were inspired by the *tirāz* worn by Muslim noblemen and became a common decorative element of Byzantine imperial dress, which symbolized military prowess.⁸¹⁸ This was a quality which at least one of Hungary's holy kings abundantly possessed for that matter. All these clothing inconsistencies or innovations reveal the efforts of the Byzantine-trained painters to fulfill the requirements of their Catholic commissioners, but betray additionally the fact that the saints they represented were not assimilated as their own, making in the process several adjustments for conveying the holy kings' royal and military characteristics requested by their commissioners. Additionally, the combining of Eastern and Western elements in the costumes of the royal and imperial saints might reflect also the belonging of the painters in Dârlos to a multicultural milieu⁸¹⁹ or even to a mixed workshop, as only in these cases they could be familiar with the iconographic

⁸¹⁸ Tamara Talbot Rice, "Some Reflections on the Subject of Arm Bands", in *Forschungen zur Kunst Asiens. In memoriam Kurt Erdmann*, 9. September 1901 – 30. September 1964, ed. Oktay Aslanapa and Rudolf Naumann (Istanbul: Baha Matbaası, 1969), 262-277; Maria G. Parani, *Reconstructing the Reality of Images. Byzantine Material Culture and Religious Iconography (11th-15th Centuries)* (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 54, 58, 95, 109; eadem, "Optional Extras or Necessary Elements? Middle and Late Byzantine Male Dress Accessories", in *Δασκάλα. Απόδοση τιμής στην Καθηγήτρια Μαίρη Παναγιωτίδη-Κεσίσογλου*, ed. Platon Petridis and Vicky Foskolou (Athens: ACCESS Graphikes Tehnes A. E., 2014), 413-414.

⁸¹⁹ This was suggested also by Feketics, "Darlaci középkori falképek", 118, both in connection with the frescoes' iconography and technique. The origin of the painters in Dârlos is still a question to be explored by future research.

particularities of both the East and the West. Even though the combination of Byzantine and Western elements is more balanced in Dârlos and favors the latter component, the situation recalls remotely the one in the murals of St. Stephen Church in Duljevo near Budva (Paštrovići, present-day Montenegro).⁸²⁰ Located 30 km South-East of Kotor, in a multicultural region which belonged during the Middle Ages to the coastal area (*Maritima*) of the medieval Serbian state, the church in Duljevo was founded by King Stefan Uroš III Dečanski (r. 1321-1331) and painted around 1340 at the initiative of his son King Stefan Dušan (r. 1321-1346). The two royal founders appear together in a votive composition, but only Stefan Dečanski holds the model of the church and offers it to its patron, St. Stephen the Protomartyr (Fig. 6.2).



Fig. 6.2 – Votive composition (left) and its drawing (right) showing St. Stephen the Protomartyr, King Stefan Uroš III Dečanski, and King Stefan Dušan, ca 1340, fresco, lower register of the southern wall of the nave, St. Stephen Church of the Monastery in Duljevo. Photo © <http://citymagazine.me/> (Accessed 12 December 2017); Drawing Source © Vojvodić, “Српски владарски портрети”

They are both dressed in hybrid costumes composed equally of Eastern and Western elements: on the one hand, Byzantine imperial *sakkos* and *loros*, and golden arm-bands, and on the other hand, open crown of Gothic type with tassels and golden spurs of Romanesque-Gothic or Early-Gothic

⁸²⁰ Dragan Vojvodić, “Прилог проучавању цркве светог Стефана у манастиру Дуљево” [Contribution to the study of St. Stephen Church of the Monastery in Duljevo], *Саопштења* 39 (2007), 83-100. I am grateful to Svetlana Pejić for calling my attention upon this case.

type, which they wear underneath their unusually-short *sakkoi*.⁸²¹ As attested by the costumes of the two royal figures appearing in their other depictions elsewhere, this is not how they were usually dressed. These hybrid costumes are the imaginative product of a painter who had lived in the multicultural society of the *Maritima*, i.e., in the westernmost area of the medieval Serbian state, and had assimilated elements of a mixed, pictorial vocabulary. This imaginative product resembles that of the painters in Dârlos, but also those of the painters in Crişcior and Ribiţa.

Unlike the previous examples which are the work of different painters trained in various, Byzantine artistic milieus, the representations of the holy kings of Hungary in the churches of Chimindia and Remetea were made by painters displaying fully in their craft features specific for a Western artistic training and Latin cultural belonging. The two representations, which are dated to the first decades of the fifteenth century and belong stylistically to two related variants of the International Gothic,⁸²² follow a similar, Western iconographic pattern. They show the three full, standing figures, which are represented frontally, have static attitude, hieratic appearance, standard gestures, and are invested with their usual attributes. Both images have in their left side the mature, brown-bearded St. Ladislav, the old, grey-haired St. Stephen stands in the middle, and the young, beardless St. Emeric ends the unitarily-conceived composition on the right side. In Chimindia, the faces of Sts Ladislav and Emeric are destroyed, but traces of a brown beard are still visible in the former's case. Judging by the fact that the image was created by a Western painter familiar with the common iconography of the *sancti reges Hungariae* and that it follows the saints' established age types, it is highly possible that St. Emeric was depicted as a young, beardless holy king or prince. However, despite the stylistic and iconographic similarities of the two frescoes, there are also several differences, the most notable of them being the vestments of the three holy kings. In Remetea, they are equally conceived as holy knights: they are dressed in short, red-brown coat armors and chainmail shirts and pants, having protection elements at the level of their shoulders (pauldrons), elbows (couters), knees (poleyns), and shins (greaves). They have swords with cross-

⁸²¹ Idem, "Српски владарски портрети у манастиру Дуљеу" [Portraits of Serbian rulers in Duljevo Monastery], *Zograf* 29 (2002-2003), 143-160.

⁸²² The fresco in Chimindia is stylistically similar to the works of the atelier active around 1419 in Dârjiu, Mihăileni, Feliceni, Tomeşti, and possibly Sâncraiu de Mureş; subsequently, they can be dated to the second decade of the fifteenth century. For this group, see n. 582. The frescoes of the sanctuary in Remetea belong to a similar, stylistic and cultural ambiance, but judging by their less-pronounced decorativism, they are datable to the beginning of the fifteenth century: Drăguţ, *Pictura murală din Transilvania*, 37-40; idem, *Arta gotică*, 230-231; Lángi and Ferenc, *Erdélyi falképek és festett faberendezések*, 2: 74; Szakács, "Saints of the Knights", 329. For a discussion of stylistic relationships between the frescoes of Remetea and the Dârjiu Group, see Jékely, "Ateliers de peinture", 31-54. The author discusses the style of Chimindia frescoes together with the murals in Strei (Hung. *Zeykfalva*), Hălmagiu (Hung. *Nagyhalmagy*), Crişcior, and Ribiţa, and regards all of them as part of a single group which is characterized by a mixture of Western and Byzantine artistic features; their discussion together should have definitely been more nuanced.

shaped hilts hanging down their belts⁸²³ and, additionally, St. Ladislav holds a triangular shield decorated probably with a red cross, a detail which enhances his military guise and role of Christian warrior.⁸²⁴ In contrast, the three holy kings in Chimindia are dressed in courtly garments which stress their royal dignity and authority.⁸²⁵ They all have long tunics with richly-decorated belts, long mantles with fur lining, white gloves with elegantly-elongated cuffs, and pointed shoes. Although the colors of the costumes are various combinations of shades of red, blue, and green, their vestments are all typologically similar, being decorated with a red or white pattern composed of four lilies arranged around a five-dot cross. These patterned ornaments embellish also the neutral, blue background of the representation, enhancing its decorativeness. Although only St. Stephen's crown is currently preserved partially, all three had probably a similar type of headgear. In their left hands which are covered by their mantles, Sts Ladislav and Stephen hold crucifer orbs; these royal attributes are held, too, by St. Emeric and probably by St. Stephen in Remetea.⁸²⁶ The holy kings' personal attributes in the representations of the two churches are also similar: St. Stephen holds a mace-like scepter (though differently-shaped in both cases), and St. Emeric holds an oversized, lily-shaped scepter in Remetea and a flower-shaped one with thin, brown handle in Chimindia. The longer, brown shaft of St. Ladislav's attribute in the latter monument indicates that he held originally a battle axe (no longer preserved), whereas in Remetea one can no longer know what kind of attribute St. Ladislav held originally in his right hand, which was atypically positioned perpendicularly to his body.⁸²⁷ Despite the holy kings' knightly and royal appearance in Remetea and Chimindia, respectively, the two frescoes follow a similar, Western iconographic model originating in the spiritual ambiance of the International Gothic. This model assigns to St. Stephen the central position, both physically and conceptually, and places St. Ladislav on the left and St. Emeric on the right side. Contrarily, the representations in Crișcior and Ribița display the three characters in "chronological" order (from left to right), conferring visually to St. Emeric a prominent/central role, which the chaste prince did not have the chance to play historically, due to his premature death. In Chimindia, the identities of the three *sancti reges Hungariae* are given by inscriptions in Old Church Slavonic, which come in contrast with the formal, International-Gothic features of this representation; subsequently, the hybridity of this image resides in its inscriptions, having thus a quasi-internal character. The representation in Remetea displays no intrinsic or quasi-

⁸²³ St. Stephen's sword is no longer preserved, but judging by the characters' pronounced and uniform knightly appearance, it is very likely that he, too, had a sword hanging down his belt.

⁸²⁴ Only the triangle-shaped ending of the cross' horizontal, left arm is partially visible now.

⁸²⁵ Detail remarked also by Prioteasa, "Medieval Wall Paintings", 69.

⁸²⁶ St. Stephen's figure in Remetea has been greatly destroyed, but judging by the position of his left elbow, similar with that of St. Emeric's, it is highly possible that the central character had the same royal attribute.

⁸²⁷ This atypical position of St. Ladislav's arm is encountered also in Khust; however, there, too, the holy knight's attribute was lost due to the fresco's damage in its left, upper side; see n. 359.

internal features which could suggest its hybridity, as the three Catholic saints were painted by a Western painter indebted to the formal and spiritual ambiance of the International Gothic, and they are as customarily accompanied by Latin inscriptions. However, as it will be shown later on, the “in-betweenness” of this image was subsequently acquired through the church’s change of patrons.

6. 3. Quasi-internal Hybridity in the Inscriptions Accompanying the Images of the *sancti reges Hungariae*

In Ribița and Chimindia, the identity of the three holy kings of Hungary is offered by Old Church Slavonic inscriptions in Cyrillic. In the former church, they are identified as: **с(вє)ти стєфан** / **кр[а]лѣ** (St. Stephan the King); **с(вє)ти амєри[хъ] кр[а]лѣ** (St. Ambrich the King); and probably **[с(вє)ти владиславъ]**⁸²⁸ / **кралѣ** (St. Vladislav the King). In Chimindia, the identities of Sts Ladislav and Stephen are given as **[с(вє)ти] / ладиславъ / кралъ** (St. Ladislav the King) and **с(вє)ти / штефан[н]ъ / кра[лѣ]** (St. Shtephan the King), whereas St. Emeric’s name is no longer preserved: **с(вє)ти** / [... / **кралъ**] (St. ... the King). Contrarily, the inscriptions in Remetea are in Latin: **[S(ANCTVS)] LA[D]/IZLAZ** for St. Ladislav and **S(ANCTVS) S/TE/FA/NE** for St. Stephen, but for St. Emeric, the partially-preserved name is now illegible: **S(ANCTVS) [... / ...]**. The two holy kings’ inscriptions in Dârlos are no longer preserved, but these were most likely in Latin and used the same Gothic majuscules as all the other inscriptions surviving in the sanctuary. The inscriptions in Crișcior are a curious case, as they consist of a mixture of Latin and Old Church Slavonic, using accordingly the respective alphabets. St. Stephen’s inscription has not survived, but this was probably **[S(AN)C(TV)S / штефанъ / кралѣ]**⁸²⁹ (Sanctus Shtephan the King); **S(AN)C(TV)S**⁸³⁰ / **ам[бр]іхъ / кра[лѣ]** (Sanctus Ambrich the King); and **S(AN)C(TV)S / вл[ад]н/сл[авъ] / [кралѣ]** (Sanctus Vladislav the King).

⁸²⁸ This hypothetical name reconstruction is based on analogy with St. Ladislav’s name in Crișcior. Although a different version occurs in Chimindia (**ладиславъ**), the suggested variant is more likely, since it is also the name of one of the two male ktetors of the church in Ribița: **владиславъ**.

⁸²⁹ As attested by the inscriptions where St. Stephen’s name is preserved, both name variants – **стєфан** (Ribița) and **штефанъ** (Chimindia) – are possible. However, the variant **штефанъ** is considered more likely, as this is how the name of the youngest son of the ktetor in Crișcior was rendered in a now-defunct inscription, which was recorded before 1929 by Dragomir, “Vechile biserici din Zărand”, 242. Even though not impossible, it is unlikely that two variants of the same name would occur within the practice of a single workshop.

⁸³⁰ The word *sanctus* was first transcribed as **sas** by Tugearu, “Biserica Adormirea Maicii Domnului”, 91, and **sās** by Prioteasa, “Holy Hungarian Kings”, 44, eadem, “Medieval Wall Paintings”, 68. However, judging by the fact that the initial and final letters are the Latin majuscule *S*, it is very likely that the letter in the middle is equally a Latin majuscule, and this seems to be an uncial *C* covered by an almost-full, oval stroke (*Abschlußstrich*). Although the central letter reminds to an uninformed eye the minuscule *a*, it would be curious to use randomly majuscules (initial and final letters) and minuscules (middle letter) in the very same word. Even more odd would be to leave out all the

Based on Anna Adashinskaya's and my own personal, paleographical observations,⁸³¹ the holy kings' titles and names in Ribița and Crișcior – even though written by different hands – are both characterized by tall, elegant letters displaying mannerist ornamentations and a pronounced Gothic decorativism. Compared to other inscriptions inside both churches, the “Gothicizing manner” of the holy kings' names and titles is encountered only in the inscriptions of the votive composition in Crișcior and maybe that of St. Helena in Ribița. Though still perceivable, the Gothicizing manner in the inscriptions of Chimindia is less angular than that of the inscriptions in Crișcior and Ribița, displaying a tendency towards the curving of the letters and their slight inclination towards left. Simultaneously, the Slavic inscriptions in all three churches – i.e., Ribița, Crișcior, and Chimindia – reveal particular manners of writing some of the letters, manners which are not specific to scribes having been trained primarily in Cyrillic writing and, implicitly, having had a Slavic language as their native one. This might indicate that the images in Ribița and Crișcior were inscribed either by their painters who belonged to the Byzantine-Slavic tradition or by a different person who had Old Church Slavonic as a secondary language and Cyrillic as a secondary alphabet. In all three cases, the names of Hungary's holy kings have been adapted according to the Slavic language which was used in the Eastern-rite churches in the area: St. Stephen is called either Stephan (СТЕФАН) or Shtephan (ШТЕФАНЬ, possibly written also ШЕФАНЬ), St. Emeric is called Ambrich (АМБРИХЪ), whereas St. Ladislav is called either Vladislav (ВЛАДИСЛАВЪ) or Ladislav (ЛАДИСЛАВЪ). Both variants of St. Ladislav's name are possible in Slavic-speaking areas, although the second one (Ladislav) tends to appear more often in regions characterized by a marked, Latin and/or Hungarian influence. Normally, the usual Slavic variant for Stephen is Stephan (СТЕФАН) like in Ribița,⁸³² and not Shtephan (ШТЕФАНЬ or ШЕФАНЬ), as it appears in Chimindia and probably in Crișcior. This name variant is uncharacteristic for Slavic speakers, but it is, in turn, characteristic for Romanian speakers (i.e., Ștefan, pronounced *Shtephan*). One can assume, therefore, that the scribes in Chimindia and probably Crișcior were familiar with this name's Romanian pronunciation

intermediary consonants and keep only one of the vowels of the abbreviated word. However, the Latin inscription *SCS* or *S(AN)C(TV)S* is atypical when compared to the church's other inscriptions in Old Church Slavonic.

⁸³¹ Published partially in: Năstăsioiu and Adashinskaya, “New Information”, 25-44. For Romanian-Slavic paleography generally, see: Emil Vîrtosu, *Paleografia româno-chirilică* [Romanian-Cyrillic paleography] (Bucharest: Editura Științifică și Enciclopedică, 1968); Damian P. Bogdan, *Paleografia româno-slavă. Tratat și album* [Romanian-Slavic paleography. Treatise and album] (Bucharest: Direcția Generală a Arhivelor Statului din Republica Socialistă România, 1978); Demir Dagnev and Ion Gumenăi, *Paleografia slavo-română și româno-chirilică* [Slavic-Romanian and Romanian-Cyrillic paleography] (Kishinev: Editura Civitas, 2003). For Slavonic written culture in Romanian countries generally, see: D. J. Deletant, “Slavonic Letters in Moldavia, Wallachia and Transylvania from the Tenth to the Seventeenth Centuries”, *The Slavonic and East European Review* 58/1 (1980), 1-21.

⁸³² This variant appears also in Densuș (Hung. *Demsus*): СТЕФАН – Monica Breazu, “Studiu epigrafic” [Epigraphic study], in Drăguț, *Repertoriul picturilor*, 57; Ecaterina Cincheza-Buculei, “Din nou despre pictura Bisericii Sf. Nicolae din Densuș” [Again on the painting of St. Nicholas Church in Densuș], *Ars Transsilvaniae* 19 (2009), 91, 94; Năstăsioiu, “Social Status”, 235-236.

in the region. As the later discussion of the inscriptions in Chimindia will reveal, it would be inadvertent to postulate the painters' ethnicity or origin on the basis of this evidence only.

In Crișcior, besides the three holy kings who are called *sanctus*, all other depicted saints are called accordingly **СВЕТИ** or **СВЕТА**. The surviving epigraphic evidence indicates that the titles of the *sancti reges Hungariae* were the only Latin transgression in the church. According to the classification derived from sociolinguistics and proposed by Linda Safran,⁸³³ the holy kings' inscriptions in Crișcior are an example of *intrasentential language mixing*, a type which is confined to a single sentence or text (i.e., inscription or *titulus*) and which begins in one language and ends in – or is interrupted by – another. Other types include the *intra-monumental language mixing* (when a minority of inscriptions in a church is rendered in a language different than the one extensively used throughout) and *bilingual monuments* (when two languages are equally used within a church which served regularly more than one speech community). Most sociolinguists believe that such language (code) switches are meaningful when occurring orally, and presumably this was even more so when the switch was publicly recorded in writing. Even though they are not as widespread as the latter types of language mixing, the intrasentential one occurs sometimes in epigraphy in the multicultural society of Southern Italy, where both Greek and Latin were frequently spoken during the Middle Ages. For instance, in the anonymous cave crypt in Gravina di Riggio near Grottaglie (Taranto), among the multiple fresco fragments dated to the tenth and eleventh centuries, but belonging to the first stage of decoration, there is also the scene of Prophet Elijah handing over his mantle to Elisha (Fig. 6.3).⁸³⁴ The epigraphs of the cave crypt are exclusively in Greek; however, Elisha's fragmentary name ends not in *-AIOC* as one might expect, but surprisingly in *-EVC*.⁸³⁵ This

⁸³³ Linda Safran, "Language Choice in the Medieval Salento: A Socio-linguistic Approach to Greek and Latin Inscriptions", in *Zwischen Polis, Provinz und Peripherie. Beiträge zur byzantinischen Geschichte und Kultur*, ed. Lars M. Hoffmann (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2005), 853-882; eadem, *The Medieval Salento. Art and Identity in Southern Italy* (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014), 38-57. For a similar classification applied earlier to Late-Antique, epigraphic material, see: Martti Leiwo, "From Contact to Mixture: Bilingual Inscriptions from Italy", in *Bilingualism in Ancient Society. Language Contact and the Written Text*, ed. J. N. Adams, Mark Janse, and Simon Swain (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 168-194. For other examples of language mixing in epigraphy, see: Barbara Zeitler, "'Urbs felix dotata populo trilinguo': Some Thoughts about a Twelfth-century Funerary Memorial from Palermo", *Medieval Encounters* 2/2 (1996), 114-139; Margit Mersch and Ulrike Ritzerfeld, "'Lateinisch-griechische' Begegnungen in Apulien. Zur Kunstpraxis der Mendikanten im Kontaktbereich zum orthodoxen Christentum", in *Lateinisch-griechisch-arabische Begegnungen. Kulturelle Diversität im Mittelmeerraum des Spätmittelalters*, ed. Margit Mersch and Ulrike Ritzerfeld (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2009), 219-284.

⁸³⁴ Marina Falla Castelfranchi, *Pittura monumentale bizantina in Puglia* (Milan: Electa, 1991), 90-99; Angelofabio Attolico, "Cultura artistica bizantina in un territorio a Nord Est di Taranto: la decorazione pittorica della chiesa maggiore della Gravina di Riggio a Grottaglie", and Maria Rosaria Marchionibus, "Profeti, apostoli e martiri, 'tamquam lapides vivi' (1 Pt. 2, 5)", in *Le aree rupestri dell'Italia Centro-Meridionale nell'ambito delle civiltà italiane: conoscenza, salvaguardia, tutela. Atti del IV Convegno internazionale sulla civiltà rupestre, Savelletri di Fasano (BR), 26-28 novembre 2009*, ed. Enrico Menestò (Spoleto: Fondazione Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, 2011), 381-393, 223-246, esp. pp. 230-241.

⁸³⁵ Safran, "Language Choice", 858.

phonetic deviation was interpreted as a possible sign of Latinization of Greek language which was spoken by people living in close contact with Latin (Romance) speakers.⁸³⁶



Fig. 6.3 – Detail of Elisha receiving the mantle from Prophet Elijah, 10th century, fresco, upper register of the eastern wall (in-between the two apses), anonymous cave crypt in Gravina di Riggio near Grottaglie (Taranto). Photo Source: Falla Castelfranchi, *Pittura monumentale bizantina*

A Roman marble reused for the altar of St. Agatha Cathedral in Gallipoli (Lecce) was inscribed before 1268 with the text of an epigram composed by George of Gallipoli.⁸³⁷ The Greek text of the learned author records the donation of a liturgical candelabrum and transcribes the Latin *patronus* as *πάτρωνος*, probably due to the absence of available Greek words that would match the prosody of the epigram.⁸³⁸ Attached sometime between 1309 and 1379 to the southern façade of the Church of Santa Maria della Strada in Taurisano (Lecce), a round-shape sundial of stone contains the formula $\cdot\text{IC}\cdot\cdot\text{XC}\cdot\cdot\text{NT}\cdot\cdot\text{KA}\cdot$ (i.e., *Ἰησοῦς Χριστός Νικά* = *Jesus Christ Conquers*), which is carved in its upper and lower sides, respectively, as well as the rubric $\cdot\text{AI}\cdot\omega\rho[\alpha\iota]\cdot[\cdot\text{τη}]_{\varsigma}\eta\mu[\acute{\epsilon}\rho]_{\alpha}\varsigma\cdot$ (i.e., *The*

⁸³⁶ Attolico, “Cultura artistica bizantina”, 387.

⁸³⁷ Pasquale Vergara and Gianfranco Fiaccadori, “Un cippo iscritto da Gallipoli e un nuovo epigramma di Giorgio Cartofilace”, *La parola del pasato* 38 (1983), 303-316; André Jacob, “Le chandelier à trois branches de l’évêque Pantaléon: à propos de l’inscription de Georges de Gallipoli”, *Bolletino della Badia greca di Grottaferrata* 53 (1999), 187-199.

⁸³⁸ Safran, *Medieval Salento*, 51, 277.

Hours of the Day, Fig. 6.4).⁸³⁹ Corresponding to each hourly divide, there are the Greek initials Π, Τ, C, Ν, Β, and Κ that stand for the six canonical hours which are expressed, however, in Latin, namely: *Prima*, *Tertia*, *Sexta*, *Nona*, *Vespera*, and *Completorium*.⁸⁴⁰



Fig. 6.4 – Sundial, 1309-1379, stone, southern façade of the Church of Santa Maria della Strada in Taurisano (Lecce). Photo © <http://www.japigia.com/> (Accessed 28 December 2017)

A stone stele from Andrano (Lecce) records the foundation in 1372/1373 of a hostel or hospice (ξενόνας) by George Longo (Longou) and his wife, Gemma.⁸⁴¹ The text is entirely in Greek, but its author wished to clarify the word ξενόνας by adding to it the vernacular explanation “that is, *spitali*” (σπιτάλη), a term that was derived from the Latin *hospitale* and that must have been more familiar to some members of the inscription’s intended audience.⁸⁴² Among the multiple donor images in Sts Stephens Cave Church in Vaste near Poggiardo (Lecce), there is also the kneeling figure of priest

⁸³⁹ André Jacob, “Le cadran solaire ‘byzantin’ de Taurisano en Terre d’Otrante”, *Mélanges de l’École française de Rome. Moyen-Âge, Temps modernes* 97/1 (1985), 7-22; Paul Arthur *et al.*, “La chiesa di Santa Maria della Strada, Taurisano (Lecce). Scavi 2004”, *Archeologia Medievale* 32 (2005), 173-205, esp. pp. 182-183; Safran, *Medieval Salento*, 51, 327.

⁸⁴⁰ Jacob, “Cadran solaire ‘byzantin’”, 13-15.

⁸⁴¹ Inv. no. 54, 46.5 x 46 x 21 cm, Museo Provinciale Sigismondo Castromediano in Lecce. Idem, “Une fondation d’hôpital à Andrano en Terre d’Otrante (inscription byzantine du Musée provincial de Lecce”, *Mélanges de l’École française de Rome. Moyen-Âge, Temps modernes* 93/2 (1981), 683-693; Safran, *Medieval Salento*, 50-51, 93-94, 188, 226-227, 244-245.

⁸⁴² This detail was noted by Jacob, “Fondation d’hôpital à Andrano”, 688-689, but was interpreted this way by Safran, “Language Choice”, 858-859.

George, who appears next to the image of the Holy Virgin with Child, on one of the pillars painted in 1379/1380.⁸⁴³ Placed above George's tonsured head, the devotional inscription in Greek designates the cleric as St. Stephen's *ὀβφέρτος*, a term deriving from the Latin *offerre* and meaning possibly *oblate*.⁸⁴⁴ Finally, a partially-preserved, Greek inscription, which was carved between 1385 and 1391, and was placed above the right-side door of St. Catherine Church in Galatina (Lecce), identifies the religious edifice as *καππελλα*, a term obviously derived from the Latin or vernacular *cappella*.⁸⁴⁵ Undoubtedly, all these examples attest the impact that the dominant language has had on the alloglot (minority) one, Greek borrowing from Latin or vernacular various words, at both an elevated and common level. The adaptation by transliteration of these Latin or vernacular terms indicates a certain degree of their appropriation and internalization by Greek language. Anyway, this was probably not the case of the holy kings' inscriptions in Crișcior, where two languages and their corresponding alphabets were used instead.

However, there are other cases when a syntactic unit in one language – i.e., either letter, morpheme, word, or sentence – was embedded in a text of a different matrix language, and these seem to be closer to the intrasentential example encountered in Crișcior. For instance, the small Chapel of St. Nicholas, located on the ground floor of a later, rectangular tower in Celsorizzo near Acquarica del Capo (Lecce), was painted in 1283 at the commission of John of Ugento, seigneur of the *casale* of Cicivizzo, and of his wife.⁸⁴⁶ The authors of this mural ensemble are N... Melitinos and Nicholas, two Greek-Salentine painters, whose formal language displays a close affinity with the “Crusader art” of that period and is characterized by a synthesis of Western and Late-Comnenian elements.⁸⁴⁷ That Greek was indeed the native language of the two painters is illustrated

⁸⁴³ Falla Castelfranchi, *Pittura monumentale bizantina*, 233-238; André Jacob, “Vaste en Terre d’Otrante et ses inscriptions”, *Aevum* 71/2 (1997), 243-271; Linda Safran, “Deconstructing ‘Donors’ in Medieval Southern Italy”, in *Female Founders in Byzantium and Beyond*, ed. Lioba Theis, Margaret Mullett, and Michael Grünbart (Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 2013), 135-151, esp. pp. 141-145 (henceforth Theis, *Female Founders*); eadem, “Betwixt or Beyond? The Salento in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries”, in *Renaissance Encounters. Greek East and Latin West*, ed. Marina S. Brownlee and Dimitri H. Gondicas (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2013), 115-144, esp. pp. 120-130.

⁸⁴⁴ Jacob, “Vaste en Terre d’Otrante”, 259; Safran, *Medieval Salento*, 51, n. 76, 334.

⁸⁴⁵ Ibid., 51, 275; eadem, “Public Textual Cultures: A Case Study in Southern Italy”, in *Textual Cultures of Medieval Italy: Essays from the 41st Conference on Editorial Problems*, ed. William Robins (Toronto, Buffalo, and London: University of Toronto Press, 2005), 115-144, esp. pp. 124-125; Mersch and Ritzerfeld, “Lateinisch-griechische Begegnungen”, 260-261.

⁸⁴⁶ Michel Berger and André Jacob, “Un nouveau monument byzantin de Terre d’Otrante: la chapelle Saint-Nicolas de Celsorizzo, près d’Acquarica del Capo, et ses fresques (an. 1283)”, *Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici* 27 (1990), 211-257; Michel Berger, “Les fresques du chevet de la chapelle Saint-Nicolas de Celsorizzo (an. 1283): Une image de la vision théophanique et l’illustration de la divine liturgie”, in *Puer Apuliae. Mélanges offerts à Jean-Marie Martin*, ed. Errico Cuozzo et al. (Paris: Association des Amis du Centre d’Histoire et Civilisation de Byzance, 2008), 1: 39-50; Safran, “Language Choice”, 858-859, 875-879; eadem, *Medieval Salento*, 52, 243.

⁸⁴⁷ Berger and Jacob, “Nouveau monument byzantin”, 241; Maria Stella Calò Mariani, “Echi d’Oltremare in Terra d’Otranto. Impresse pittoriche e committenza feudale fra XIII e XIV secolo”, in *Il Cammino di Gerusalemme. Atti del II Convegno Internazionale di Studio (Bari-Brindisi-Trani, 18-22 maggio 1999)*, ed. Maria Stella Calò Mariani (Bari:

by a phonetic distortion in the Latin title of St. Hyppolitus of Rome, who was bilingually labeled as: *O AG(IOC) IIIΠOΛYT(OC)* and *S(AN)C(TV)S VPOLIT(VS)*, respectively.⁸⁴⁸ The act of the religious foundation was recorded in the eight-line text of the chapel's painted, dedicatory inscription, which was written for the most part in Latin (five lines), but concluded with the painters' mark of authorship, namely, their signatures in Greek (lines 6-8, Fig. 6.5).

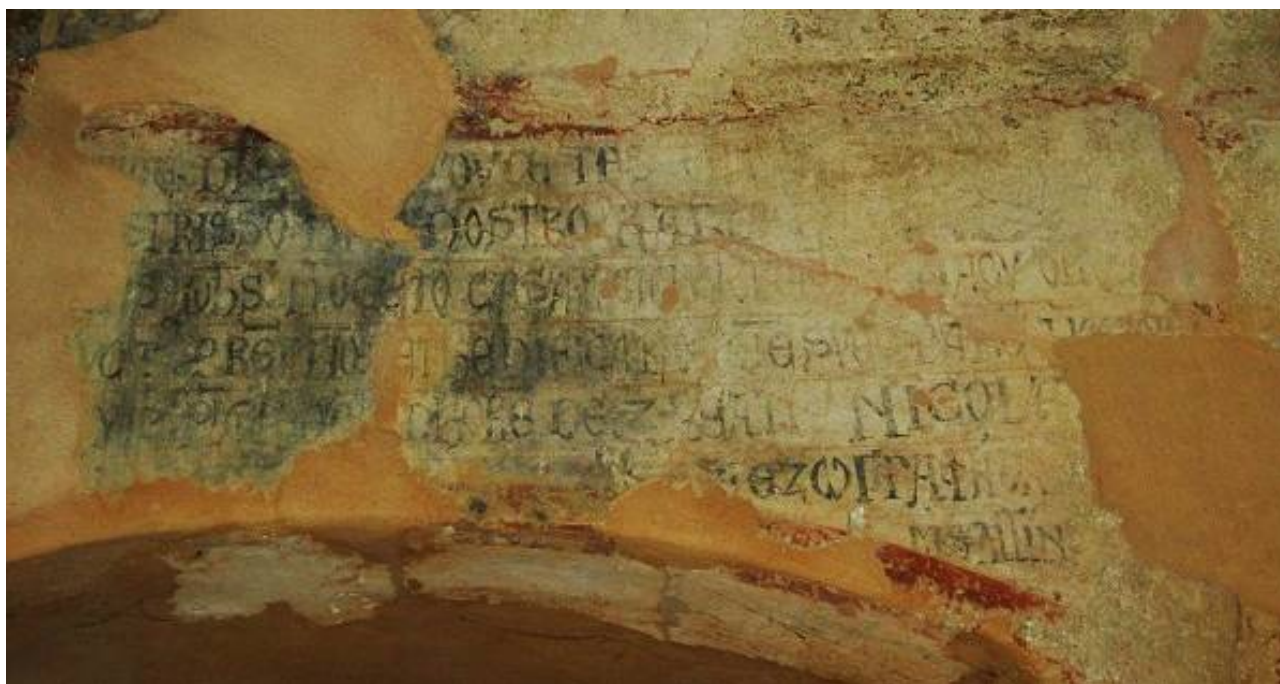


Fig. 6.5 – Detail of the dedicatory inscription in Latin (lines 1-5) and Greek (lines 6-8), 1283, fresco, western wall above the former entrance, St. Nicholas Chapel in Celsorizzo near Acquarica del Capo (Lecce). Photo © <http://www.salentoacolory.it/> (Accessed 28 December 2017)

In addition to the main text of the dedicatory inscription, several titles of saints in the lower register (i.e., Sts Vincent of Saragossa, Stephen the Protomartyr, Hippolytus, Cosmas, and an unidentified female saint), as well as Christ's inscribed book are all in Latin. The remaining inscriptions are, however, in Greek – namely, the *tituli* of the saints in the narrative scenes on the vault and the scrolls of the saints grouped in the proximity of the sanctuary, including the celebrating holy bishops in the apse (Fig. 6.6). The fact that the majority of the inscriptions are in Greek accords with a number of iconographic and architectural features indicating that the chapel was indeed

Adda Editore, 2002), 238; Anthi Andronikou, "Southern Italy, Cyprus, and the Holy Land: A Tale of Parallel Esthetics?", *The Art Bulletin* 99/3 (2017), 10, 12, 25.

⁸⁴⁸ Berger and Jacob, "Nouveau monument byzantin", 235; Safran, "Language Choice", 876; eadem, *Medieval Salento*, 48. Similar distortions of some saint names are encountered also in Dârlos and they might betray the painters' native language and possible origin.

destined to serve the Eastern rite.⁸⁴⁹ The Latin epigraphs inside St. Nicholas' chapel were most likely owed to its Latin-rite patron, who had built the religious edifice for the Greek-speaking community living on a settlement found under his jurisdiction.⁸⁵⁰



Fig. 6.6 – Detail of St. Stephen and his accompanying inscription in Latin (left), and detail of St. John the Baptist in the *Anastasis* scene and his accompanying inscriptions in Greek (right), 1283, fresco, lower register of the southern wall of the nave and northern side of the vault of the nave, St. Nicholas Chapel in Celsorizzo near Acquarica del Capo (Lecce). Photos © Bibliotheca Hertziana

John of Ugento's choice of Latin for the main dedicatory inscription of the chapel was only natural, as this was the official language in thirteenth-century South Italy, Latin representing then the language of political power and a conveyer of status and prestige. This is also suggested by the Latin text inscribed on the book held by Christ, who is represented in the conch in His *Pantokrator* hypostasis, namely, as an All-powerful Ruler. However, below Him, in the lower register of the sanctuary, the officiating holy bishops hold scrolls containing liturgical excerpts in Greek. The Latin titles of some of the standing saints depicted on the nave's lower register were probably owed to the Catholic patron's partial involvement in the mural decoration of this Eastern-rite chapel. This way, John of Ugento emphasized his particular devotion and spiritual connection with some of the

⁸⁴⁹ Berger and Jacob, "Nouveau monument byzantin", 211-257; Berger, "Fresques du chevet", 39-50; Safran, "Language Choice", 876.

⁸⁵⁰ I follow here the arguments presented in *ibid.*, 876-878.

saintly figures included in the iconographic program of his religious foundation: Hyppolitus was a holy warrior, protector of horses, and a popular saint in Salento, whereas Vincent was the titular saint of the Cathedral in Ugento, where the residence center of the patron was located.⁸⁵¹

Another interesting case is illustrated by the epigraphs of St. Stephen Church in Soleto (Lecce), which was founded for the local, Greek community and patronized by the noble family of Balzo Orsini, its various members sponsoring the church's decoration with murals in multiple stages between the 1380s and the 1440s.⁸⁵² The complex, but hybrid illustration of the liturgical rite of the *Anaphora* (Eucharistic Prayer) in the small apse of the sanctuary⁸⁵³ was painted sometime during the 1380s by a workshop displaying archaic, Byzantinizing features, which are encountered also in several other areas in the lower register of the nave, where standing figures of saints are depicted.⁸⁵⁴ Despite the fact that all the inscriptions on scrolls and halos are in Greek, the *titulus* of St. John Chrysostom reads *S(anctus) / ΙΩ(άννης)* (Fig. 6.7, left),⁸⁵⁵ the abbreviated *Sanctus* being encountered also in the nave, next to the holy figure with unpreserved name, but identified with St. Simon (Fig. 6.7, right).⁸⁵⁶ This example of intrasentential language mixing resembles closely the one in Crișcior, but its motivation seems to be different. One cannot be sure how these Latin inadvertences occurred, but a possible explanation might be the painters' first language which belonged to the Romance group, as well as their knowledge of both Latin and Greek alphabets. When inscribing with theological and liturgical excerpts the scrolls of the sacred personages in the apse, they probably followed attentively the model prepared by their iconographer. Such model lacked for the shorter texts of the saints' titles, hence their Latin-Greek hybridization for St. John Chrysostom and probably St. Simon, a hybridization which was most probably owed to some automatism on the part of the painter(s).

⁸⁵¹ See also: Linda Safran, "The Art of Veneration: Saints and Villages in the Salento and the Mani", in *Les Villages dans l'Empire byzantin (IVe-XVe siècle)*, ed. Jacques Lefort, Cécile Morisson, and Jean-Pierre Sodini (Paris: Lethielleux, 2005), 181-182.

⁸⁵² Michel Berger and André Jacob, *La chiesa di S. Stefano a Soleto. Tradizioni bizantine e cultura tardogotica* (Lecce: Argo, 2007); Luigi Manni, *La chiesa di Santo Stefano di Soleto. Epigrafia a cura di Francesco G. Giannachi* (Galatina: Mario Congedo, 2010); Paola Durante and Sofia Giammaruco, ed., *La chiesa di Santo Stefano a Soleto. Indagini e approfondimenti* (Lecce: In-Cul.Tu.Re, 2015); Sergio Ortese, "Sequenza del lavoro in Santo Stefano a Soleto", in *Dal Giglio all'Orso. I Principi d'Angiò e Orsini del Balzo nel Salento*, ed. Antonio Cassiano and Benedetto Vetere (Galatina: Mario Congedo Editore, 2006), 337-395.

⁸⁵³ Michel Berger, "Les peintures de l'abside de S. Stefano à Soleto. Une illustration de l'anaphore en Terre d'Otrante à la fin du XIVe siècle", *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome. Moyen-Âge, Temps modernes* 94/1 (1982), 121-170; Safran, "Betwixt or Beyond?", 130-135.

⁸⁵⁴ Ortese, "Sequenza del lavoro", 347-354.

⁸⁵⁵ Berger, "Peintures de l'abside", 135; Safran, "Language Choice", 857-858; eadem, *Medieval Salento*, 52.

⁸⁵⁶ Ortese, "Sequenza del lavoro", fig. 7, table 4.



Fig. 6.7 – Detail of Christ as *Logos-Sophia* flanked by a holy bishop and St. John Chrysostom with their accompanying inscriptions in Greek and Latin (left), and detail of St. Simon with his Latin title (right), 1380s, fresco, lower register of the small apse on the eastern wall and lower register of the northern wall of the nave, St. Stephen Church in Soletto (Lecce). Photos © <http://www.salentoacolory.it/> (Accessed 28 December 2017)



Fig. 6.8 – Annunciation, detail of Archangel Gabriel, 1420s, fresco, southern side of the triumphal arch, St. Stephen Church in Soletto (Lecce). Photo © Mario Sorcinelli

During the 1420s, the decoration of the nave's lower register was supplemented with new, standing figures of saints, including an Annunciation depicted on the southern side of the triumphal arch.⁸⁵⁷ All these frescoes display formal features which are specific for an Italian variant of the Late Gothic style and are accompanied by inscriptions in Greek. The epigraphic exception, however, is the scene of the Annunciation which – despite the Holy Virgin's reply in Greek – consists of Archangel Gabriel's abbreviated salutation in Latin: *AVE* [G. P.] *D. T.*, that is, *Ave, Maria, gratia plena, Dominus tecum* (Fig. 6.8).⁸⁵⁸ As shown by Linda Safran,⁸⁵⁹ intra-monumental language mixing occurs sometimes when the dominant code is switched for the purpose of indicating speech acts by holy persons, a similar example being encountered also in the thirteenth-century Annunciation scene in St. Peter Church in Otranto. In both cases, the powerful words of Holy Archangel Gabriel are conveyed in a language that is not used elsewhere in coeval murals inside the church (i.e., Latin), whereas the use of Greek by the Holy Virgin makes her look more human, as she uses the language of the rest of the church and, presumably, the language of its speech community. During the third, extensive painting campaign happening in the 1430s, the upper registers of St. Stephen's Church were completely decorated with murals narrating episodes taken from the Lives of Christ (northern wall) and St. Stephen the Protomartyr (southern wall), as well as the compositions of the Last Judgment (western wall) and the *Parousia* (eastern wall).⁸⁶⁰ Again, the style displayed by these frescoes is another, later variant of the Italian Late Gothic, but all accompanying inscriptions are in Greek. The omission of the final *s* in the inscriptions naming some of the damned and the heretics in the Last Judgment composition (e.g., *ο πλούσιο*, *Αριο*, *Καβελιο*, or *Νεστορηο*) has been interpreted as a possible vernacular influence.⁸⁶¹ Some of the Latin inadvertencies occurring in the inscriptions of St. Stephen Church in Soleto – especially those belonging to the modest, intrasentential type (e.g., St. John Chrysostom's and probably St. Simon's Latin titles) – might have been unplanned, but they are no less informative: they indicate that the painters were familiar enough with Latin as to use it in a limited way.

Concerning the Latin labeling of Hungary's holy kings in Crișcior, Vladimir Agrigoroaei has interpreted it as a naïve attempt of the painter to denote the (Latin) authenticity of these Catholic saints.⁸⁶² In my opinion, the example of intrasentential language mixing in Crișcior presupposes, on the one hand, a limited knowledge of Latin from the part of the painters, and maybe

⁸⁵⁷ Ibid., 354-359, tables 3-4, 6.

⁸⁵⁸ Safran, "Language Choice", 867.

⁸⁵⁹ Ibid., 866-867.

⁸⁶⁰ Ortese, "Sequenza del lavoro", 359-393.

⁸⁶¹ Safran, *Medieval Salento*, 50, 311.

⁸⁶² Vladimir Agrigoroaei, "Pauper Paulus și mănăstirea tainică de la Sântămărie Orlea: scenele pictate în secolul al XV-lea sub tribuna de vest" [*Pauper Paulus* and the mysterious monastery in Sântămăria-Orlea: the scenes painted in the 15th century below the western tribune], *Ars Transsilvaniae* 24 (2014), 216.

from the part of their intended audience, too, which was, after all, represented by speakers of a Romance language. One should not disregard either that Latin was the official, administrative language in the Kingdom of Hungary, a language that was generally associated with political power; presumably, the painters in Crișcior wanted to express in a rather straightforward and innocent manner the holy kings' political (secular) authority, in addition to their sacred one. On the other hand, their Latin labeling implies a certain alterity for the three *sancti reges Hungariae* when compared to the other saints in the church, who were identified entirely in Old Church Slavonic and were assimilated as one's own, belonging thus to the cultural and spiritual background of the murals' painter and commissioner. Obviously, since he decided to have their image painted inside his family foundation, the Orthodox commissioner had a certain devotion for these Catholic saints. However, the manner of denoting them implies that the (confessional) otherness of the holy kings of Hungary was perceived by either the painter or commissioner of the image. A case which resembles in a certain extent the holy kings' mixed inscriptions in Crișcior is found in the mural decoration of the Church of the Dormition of the Holy Virgin in Mržep (Bay of Kotor, present-day Montenegro). The frescoes of this church were commissioned in 1451 by Stefan Kalodurde (Kalodurdević), translator and notary of Venetian administration in Kotor; he entrusted Mikhail, a Slavic painter of Byzantine training coming from the same town, with the mural decoration of his religious foundation.⁸⁶³ Similarly to the main inscription in St. Nicholas' Chapel in Celsorizzo, the dedicatory inscription in Mržep consists of two parts (Fig. 6.9, left). Placed above, a lengthier text records in Venetian dialect the church's date of completion, dedication, and main feast, as well as the founder's name and titles. The shorter text below is in Slavic and marks the authorship of painter Mikhail of Kotor, as well as his professional credentials, namely, that he was the disciple of painter Jova of Debar, a settlement located in present-day Macedonia, ca 300 km away from Mržep, North-West of Lake Ohrid. In addition to the dedicatory inscription's bilingualism, the murals commissioned by the Latin-rite patron for embellishing his religious foundation gather also a series of inscriptions indicating in either Greek or Old Church Slavonic (i.e., the two languages of the same Eastern rite) the titles of the depicted scenes and saints. Byzantine in its overall conception, the iconographic program of this small church embraced also several Western themes and motifs, painter Mikhail representing according to their Catholic iconography both St. Sebastian, i.e., the protector against the plague, and St. Tryphon, i.e., the spiritual patron of the town of Kotor.

⁸⁶³ Vojislav J. Đurić, "У сенци фирентинске Уније: Црква Св. Госпође у Мржепу (Бока Которска)" [In the shadow of the Union of Florence: The church of the Holy Virgin in Mržep (Bay of Kotor)], *Зборник радова Византолошког института* 35 (1996), 9-56.

However, the sole exclusively-Catholic saint in this church is St. Francis of Assisi, who is also the only one inscribed differently, in Latin, as *S(ANCTUS) FRA(N)CISQUS* (Fig. 6.9, right).

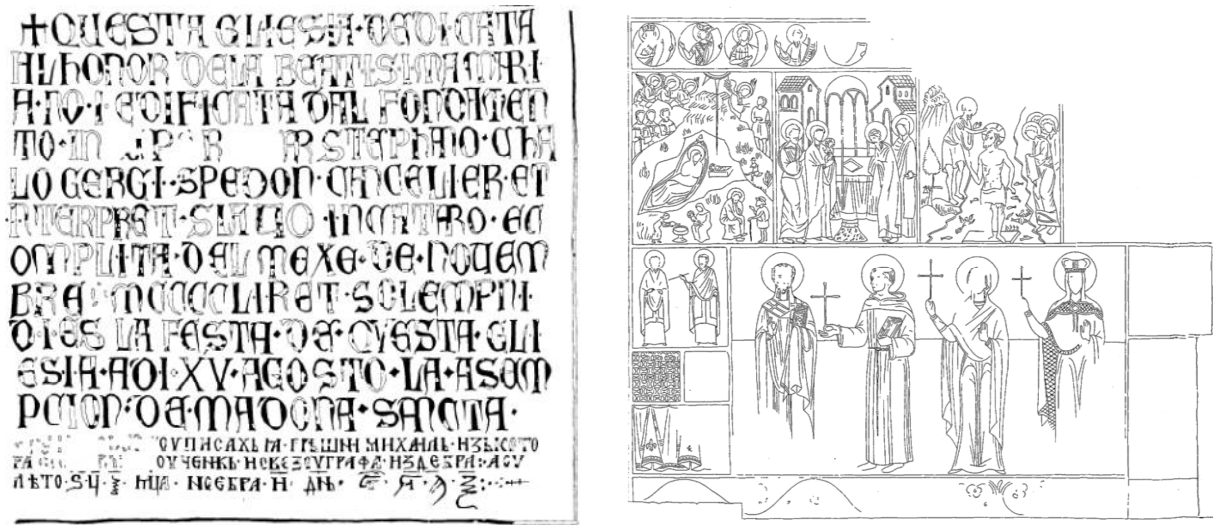


Fig. 6.9 – Drawing of the founder's and painter's inscriptions in Venetian dialect and Old Church Slavonic, respectively (left), and iconographic drawing of the mural decoration of the southern wall of the nave (right), fresco, 1451, Church of the Dormition of the Holy Virgin in Mržep. Drawings Source © Đurić, “У сенци фирентинске Уније”

His inclusion in the iconographic program was most certainly owed to the Catholic founder's close connection to the Franciscans of Kotor, whose church he later chose as his resting place.⁸⁶⁴ Even though the commissioner's high devotion for St. Francis is undeniable, it was most likely the painter of Byzantine tradition who perceived the confessional otherness of this saint and, similarly to the painters of Hungary's holy kings in Crișcior, he decided to inscribe the saint accordingly, that is, in the language corresponding to the Church which had sanctified St. Francis. The founder of the church was probably not bothered by the remaining saints' inscribing in either Greek or Slavic, as he knew well at least the latter language – after all, he was the Venetians' Slavic-Latin/Venetian translator and interpreter. Additionally, it is very likely that the patron of the church in Mržep, Stefan Kalodurđe, was greatly influenced by the Unionist ideology,⁸⁶⁵ being thus more permissive towards the abolishing of linguistic and confessional borders.

Even though one can no longer verify its content, one should mention that, seemingly, a defunct inscription in the church in Ribița implied somehow a similar, confessional situation. According to Ödön Nemes' 1868 account, on the northern wall of the nave, i.e., on the same wall

⁸⁶⁴ Ibid. See also: Branislav Cvetković, “Franciscans and Medieval Serbia: The Evidence of Art”, *IKON* 3 (2010), 254; Valentina Živković, *Религиозност и уметност у Котору XIV-XVI век* [Religion and art in Kotor in the 14th-16th century] (Belgrade: Institute for Balkan Studies, Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, 2010), 202, 232, 257.

⁸⁶⁵ Đurić, “У сенци фирентинске Уније”, 9-56; Cvetković, “Franciscans and Medieval Serbia”, 254.

with Hungary's holy kings, there was at that point an inscription which recorded the fact that the church in Ribița was built in 1404 under the shepherding of Pope Gregory and Anastasius.⁸⁶⁶ Adrian Andrei Rusu has identified the two ecclesiastical figures with Pope Gregory XII (1406-1415) and the Metropolitan of Szöreny Athanasius, hypothesizing that Orthodox Romanians in the area acknowledged a double, political and religious authority, namely, one Western and another one Eastern.⁸⁶⁷ However, according to the latest research, the latter hierarch disappeared completely from public life after December 1403 or August 1405, most likely as a consequence of his failure to depose the Patriarch of Constantinople Matthew I (1397-1410), Metropolitan Athanasius' shepherding years (1387-1403/1405) no longer crossing with those of Pope Gregory XII.⁸⁶⁸ The mentioning of ecclesiastical and political authorities as sources of legitimacy in the context of church inscriptions is a relatively widespread practice in the Byzantine and Byzantine-Slavic Commonwealth.⁸⁶⁹ However, the mention together of two hierarchs – one Orthodox and the other one Catholic – in an Eastern-rite church would be a unique occurrence (if true).⁸⁷⁰ Even though the information conveyed by Ö. Nemes seems inaccurate and the content of the inscription can no longer be verified, this reference should not be rejected categorically either, as the political and religious context of the first decades of the fifteenth century is generally characterized by King Sigismund's sustained efforts at achieving the Church Union and by his religious tolerance towards his Eastern-rite subjects.⁸⁷¹

Although the accompanying inscriptions of the *sancti reges Hungariae* in Chimindia are in Old Church Slavonic, the few other inscriptions preserved in the church are in Latin. According to the date occurring on several consecration crosses, these inscriptions were made in 1482.⁸⁷² The

⁸⁶⁶ Ödön Nemes, "A ribicei templom 1404-ből" [The church in Ribița from 1404], *Hazánk s a külföld* 4/4 (1868), 63-64.

⁸⁶⁷ Adrian Andrei Rusu, "Biserica românească de la Ribița (județul Hunedoara)" [The Romanian church in Ribița (Hunedoara County)], *Revista Monumentelor Istorice* 60/1 (1991), 7-8.

⁸⁶⁸ Năstăsoiu, "Social Status", 216-217; Năstăsoiu and Adashinskaya, "New Information", 31-33.

⁸⁶⁹ This aspect of church inscriptions has been examined in connection with medieval Orthodox Transylvania by: Năstăsoiu, "Social Status", 217.

⁸⁷⁰ The closest example I could find is de bilingual (Latin and Greek), dedicatory inscription of the Nativity Church in Bethlehem, which mentioned together the Byzantine Emperor Manuel I Komnenos, the King of Jerusalem Amalric I, and the Latin Bishop of Jerusalem Raoul. However, this case is not analogous to Ribița, as the three political and ecclesiastical figures were directly involved in the joint sponsoring of the church's redecoration in 1167-1169. This bilingual, dedicatory inscription was the direct consequence of the three associated donors' confessional languages. For its text, see: Sabino De Sandoli OFM, *Corpus Inscriptionum Crucesignatorum Terrae Sanctae 1099-1291. Testo, traduzione e annotazioni* (Jerusalem: Franciscan Printing Press, 1974), 197-199; see also Gustav Kühnel, "Palestinian Monasticism and Political Iconography", in *The Sabaite Heritage in the Orthodox Church from the Fifth Century to the Present*, ed. Joseph Patrich (Leuven: Peeters, 2001), 359.

⁸⁷¹ For this aspect, see: Dan Ioan Mureșan, "Une histoire de trois empereurs. Aspects des relations de Sigismond de Luxembourg avec Manuel II et Jean VIII Paléologue", in *Emperor Sigismund and the Orthodox World*, ed. Ekaterini Mitsiou et al. (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2010), 41-101, esp. pp. 62-74.

⁸⁷² Ileana Burnichioiu, "Cruci de consacrare medievale din Transilvania și din vestul României" [Medieval consecration crosses in Transylvania and Western Romania], *Annales Universitatis Apulensis. Series Historica* 18/1 (2014), 53, 70-71.

situation is repeated in Remetea, where the inscriptions accompanying the Gothic-style paintings in the sanctuary and nave are in Latin, whereas several inscriptions in Old Church Slavonic occur on the paintings which decorate the room below the church's western tower.⁸⁷³ However, in both cases, the Latin and Slavonic inscriptions are dated to different ages, but their chronology is reversed: in Chimindia, the Slavonic inscriptions occurred first, whereas in Remetea, it was the Latin inscriptions that preceded the Cyrillic ones. This paradigm of intramonumental language mixing is encountered elsewhere in the region. For instance, in the case of the murals of the Church of the Holy Virgin in Sântămăria-Orlea (Germ. *Mariendorf/Liebfrauen*, Hung. *Őraljaboldogfalva*), the first inscriptions which accompany the frescoes in the nave are in Latin and date probably to 1311, whereas later epigraphs which inscribe the images of the Holy Apostles in the sanctuary are in Old Church Slavonic and date probably to the second half of the fifteenth century.⁸⁷⁴ During the early-fourteenth century when the Latin-inscribed frescoes were executed, the religious edifice served the local Catholic community which had settled previously in the vicinity of the royal *castrum* of Hațeg (Hung. *Hátszeg*). However, in 1447, John Hunyadi donated the settlement to the Romanian noble family of Căndeia, who probably exercised its patronage right over the older church found on their newly-acquired estate. It was most likely under their patronage that the building was renovated after two Turkish raids which occurred in 1420 and 1438, respectively, and that the interior of the church was partially redecorated with new murals bearing inscriptions in Old Church Slavonic.⁸⁷⁵ By analogy with the case in Sântămăria-Orlea and given the successive character of the inscriptions, one may hypothesize that a change in the patrons' confession – from Orthodox to Catholic for Chimindia, and from Catholic to Orthodox for Remetea, respectively – determined the coexistence within a single church of inscriptions associated with both the Greek and Latin rite. As it will be shown later, this was probably the case of Remetea, but the status of the church in Chimindia is further complicated by the following discussion of analogies with other cases of Gothic-style paintings inscribed in Old Church Slavonic.

As Ileana Burnichioiu has shown, the image of the *sancti reges Hungariae* in Chimindia is so closely related formally to the fragments of frescoes currently visible in the sanctuary of the

⁸⁷³ For a discussion of these unpublished, Slavic inscriptions, see below.

⁸⁷⁴ For the church's dedicatory inscription in Latin, see: Géza Entz, "A középkori Magyarország falfestészetének bizánci kapcsolatairól" [On the Byzantine relationship of mural decoration in medieval Hungary], *Művészettörténeti Értesítő* 16/4 (1967), 245-249. For the Old Church Slavonic inscriptions, see: Anca Bratu, "Biserica reformată Sf. Fecioară din com. Sântămărie Orlea (jud. Hunedoara)" [Reformed Church of the Holy Virgin in the commune of Sântămăria-Orlea (Hunedoara County)], in Drăguț, *Repertoriul picturilor*, 212-215.

⁸⁷⁵ For the church's history, see: Adrian Andrei Rusu, *Ctitori și biserici din Țara Hațegului până la 1700* [Founders and churches in Hațeg Land until 1700] (Satu Mare: Editura Muzeului Sătmărean, 1997), 309-315; Ileana Burnichioiu, "Biserici parohiale și capele din comitatele Alba și Hunedoara (1200-1550)" [Parish churches and chapels in Fehér and Hunyad Counties (1200-1550)], PhD Diss., (Bucharest: Universitatea Națională de Arte București, 2009), 307-312.

church in Abrud (Germ. *Großschlatten*, Hung. *Abrudbánya*), that one can safely attribute these murals to a single workshop.⁸⁷⁶ Although the fragments in Abrud are poorly preserved and incompletely recovered, there is enough evidence to make one acknowledge that the frescoes in both churches display similar features in what their technique, style, chromatics, and decorative elements are concerned. Seemingly, even though the inscriptions in Abrud are either no longer preserved or currently covered,⁸⁷⁷ the noted similarity can be extended also to the epigraphic features of the frescoes in the two churches. According to the 1873 account of Otto Benndorf and Otto Hirschfeld,⁸⁷⁸ in the nave and sanctuary of the church, there were at that point several frescoed areas, which the authors described in detail, though not always with accuracy. They also made on that occasion two drawings of some of the inscriptions which were then visible in the church. On the basis of the two authors' written and visual account, one can recognize that the martyrdom of St. Erasmus was depicted on the southern wall of the nave (probably together with other narrative scenes taken from the saint's life), whereas on the upper register of the sanctuary's southern wall, there was a fragmentary representation of the Adoration of the Magi. Both scenes were accompanied by inscriptions in either Latin – :s(anctus): *erasmus* (St. Erasmus) – or Old Church Slavonic – с(вѣ)та мати / божна (Holy Mother of God). The two authors noted also that the image in the apse seemed painted more carefully and with greater knowledge than the images in the nave.⁸⁷⁹ This fact might indicate a certain stylistic difference between the Latin- and Slavic-inscribed frescoes in the two rooms of the church and, subsequently, their different dating and authorship. Following the research of the sanctuary walls in 2002, it became apparent that the scene of the Adoration of the Magi and its Cyrillic inscription have not survived; it was on that occasion, however, that the fresco fragments which are stylistically related to the holy kings in Chimindia were uncovered on the lower register of the southern wall of the sanctuary, namely, below the place where the Cyrillic-inscribed Adoration of the Magi was originally located.⁸⁸⁰ Even though one can no longer establish its degree of accuracy, the 1873 drawing of the defunct, Cyrillic inscription in Abrud shows surprisingly many a similarity with the epigraphs on the image of Hungary's holy kings in Chimindia (Fig. 6.10). The paleographical comparison of the two inscriptions clearly indicates their contemporaneousness and reveals that the manner of shaping the titla is somehow

⁸⁷⁶ Ibid., 110-111, 345.

⁸⁷⁷ In November 2017, a research team headed by Loránd Kiss and Ileana Burnichioiu has initiated the uncovering of the murals in Abrud, but this work is not completed yet, nor are any conclusions currently published.

⁸⁷⁸ Otto Benndorf and Otto Hirschfeld, "Vorläufiger Bericht über eine archäologisch-epigraphische Reise in Dacien", *Mittheilungen der K. K. Central-Commission zur Erforschung und Erhaltung der Baudenkmale* 18 (1873), 328-333.

⁸⁷⁹ Ibid., 330.

⁸⁸⁰ Burnichioiu, "Biserici parohiale și capele", 109-110; the testing made then on the nave's southern wall was inconclusive, so one cannot know for the time being whether St. Erasmus' Legend is still found under whitewash or not.

similar, whereas the manner of writing those letters which occur in both inscriptions (i.e., **а**, **с**, **т**, and **н**) is very similar. The angular shape of some of the letters (i.e., **л**, **д**, **в**, or **к**) indicates that the scribe was somehow influenced by Gothic culture, whereas the manner of writing some of the letters (i.e., **л**, **д**, **в**, **б**, **к**, or **р**) suggests that he was not trained primarily in Cyrillic writing and that he only acquired it subsequently.



Fig. 6.10 – Drawing of the defunct Cyrillic inscription in Abrud (up), and Cyrillic inscriptions accompanying the Holy Kings of Hungary in Chimindia (down). Drawing Source: Benndorf and Hirschfeld, “Vorläufiger Bericht”; Photos © The Author

Putting in relation the similarity of the stylistic and paleographic data offered by the evidence in Chimindia and Abrud, one can safely assume that it was probably not a different person (i.e., a separate scribe) who inscribed the frescoes, but the painter(s) himself/themselves did so. Normally, the formal features of the frescoes in Abrud and Chimindia are specific for painters trained in a Western cultural milieu. However, despite its Western training and well-assimilated Gothic manner, the workshop which executed the Adoration of the Magi in Abrud and the *sancti reges Hungariae* in Chimindia inscribed the two images in Old Church Slavonic. Seemingly, the workshop did so in a period when – as far as one can judge by the preserved written evidence – both churches served the local, Catholic communities.⁸⁸¹ As Ileana Burnichioiu has shown, this peculiarity might have included other Transylvanian cases, too.⁸⁸²

⁸⁸¹ For historical information on the two churches, see *ibid.*, 107-108, 116, 341, 347-348, as well as below.

⁸⁸² *Ibid.*, 111, 348. According to older literature, Drăguț, “Iconografia picturilor”, 81, there once existed in the church in Fântânele some paintings inscribed with Cyrillic letters which depicted Greek saints; however, the art historian’s account was not very specific. The fresco fragment in the ruined church in Orman (Hung. *Ormány*), which is poorly preserved and depicts either a *Vir Dolorum* or a Crucifixion, is labeled as *HC XC*. According to Tamás Emödi and Loránd Kiss, “Az ormányi református templom kutatása” [The research of the Reformed church in Orman], *Dolgozatok az Erdélyi Múzeum Érem- és Régiségtárából* 1 (11) (2006), 149-158, and Burnichioiu, “Biserici parohiale și capele”,

Anyway, the examples in Abrud and Chimindia warn one against the frailty of those conventions scholars usually operate with, and challenge one's expectations and preconceived categories. As the previously-discussed, South-Italian examples have revealed, the coexistence of Latin and Greek inscriptions within a single church is not necessarily an indicator that the respective religious edifice had served either one or another of the rites corresponding to these languages. Other type of evidence (e.g., iconographic, architectural, historical, etc.) should be taken into account, too, when determining the ritual finality of a particular religious edifice. Similarly, the coexistence of inscriptions in Latin and Old Church Slavonic in a single church should not be taken for granted as evidence that the respective church had served either the Western or the Eastern rite.⁸⁸³ Even though it was mostly so, exceptions did occur during the Middle Ages in multicultural, multilingual, and biconfessional areas, and this seems to have also been the case of the regions where the settlements of Chimindia and Abrud were located in, namely, the Transylvanian counties of Hunyad and Fehér, respectively.⁸⁸⁴ Judging by its manner and technique, the workshop of Chimindia and Abrud had Western training, but the inscribing of its work in Old Church Slavonic makes one aware that its cultural and linguistic background was more varied and not exclusively Western. Even though one cannot be sure now who precisely (either the painters themselves or different scribes) inscribed these images, a similar, hybrid situation is encountered also in the murals of the church in Strei (Hunyad County) and of the sanctuary in Hălmagiu (Zaránd County), which were executed sometime during the first third of the fourteenth century and around 1400, respectively, by painters of Western training who worked, nonetheless, for Orthodox patrons.⁸⁸⁵ These Western-style paintings are accompanied by inscriptions in Old Church Slavonic and the churches' iconographic programs and architectural features indicate their usage by the Orthodox. Judging by the preserved historical and iconographic evidence (despite its fragmentary character), the churches in Chimindia and Abrud served the Latin rite at the time when the *sancti reges Hungariae* and the Adoration of the Magi were painted, but these images' inscriptions in Old

111, this fragment is closely related, both technically and stylistically, to the mural in Chimindia. I was not able to directly examine this fresco, but I should point out to the fact that Greek abbreviations of Christ's and the Virgin's *nomina sacra* were frequently used in Latin contexts, so that they may have often lost any linguistic specificity. However, the abbreviation's Slavic variant in Orman (having *H* instead of *I*) might constitute in fact another argument in support of the hypothesis advanced by Ileana Burnichioiu.

⁸⁸³ This erroneous judgment in connection with the fresco in Chimindia is present in: Prioteasa, "Holy Hungarian Kings", 41-42; eadem, "Medieval Wall Paintings", 23, 65, 199; however, the author recently adopted a more cautious position in eadem, *Medieval Wall Paintings*, 61.

⁸⁸⁴ Burnichioiu, "Biserici parohiale și capele", 107, 116, 348; for Chimindia, see also below.

⁸⁸⁵ For a discussion of these two cases, see: Dragoș Gh. Năstăsoiu, "Painters of Western Training Working for Orthodox Patrons – Remarks on the Evidence of Late-medieval Transylvania (14th-15th Century)", in *Изкуствоведски Четения. Тематичен рецензиран годишник за изкуствознание в два тома 2017. I – Старо изкуство. Византийско и поствизантийско изкуство: пресичане на граници. Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Art: Crossing Borders. Art Readings. Thematic Peer-reviewed Annual in Art Studies, Volumes I-II 2017. I – Old Art*, ed. Emmanuel Moutafov and Ida Toth (Sofia: Institute of Art Studies, Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, 2018), 369-390.

Church Slavonic make one aware that little is known, in fact, about the speech communities that had used the two churches during the Middle Ages. Seemingly, the painters of the workshop responsible for the frescoes in Abrud and Chimindia knew at least Old Church Slavonic and its corresponding, Cyrillic alphabet. Had they known also Latin, then why didn't they use instead this language and alphabet for denoting the images they have authored? Was the usage of this language motivated also by the commissioners' desire? In addition to Latin, used in church and administration, the speech communities in Abrud and Chimindia were theoretically cognizant in various degrees of other languages, too, such as Hungarian or German (i.e., Saxon dialect), but probably only very few people (if any) knew also Old Church Slavonic, i.e., the ritual (not spoken!) language of Orthodox Romanians.⁸⁸⁶ However, a person having oral proficiency in a certain language did not necessarily know also how to read and write in that respective language. During the Middle Ages, literacy was confined to a limited number of people within a certain community, though the percentage was definitely higher in the urban rather than the rural milieu.⁸⁸⁷ Theoretically, at least the priests in Chimindia and Abrud should have recognized that the inscriptions accompanying some of the images painted in their churches were in a different language and alphabet than the rest of the epigraphs there. Had they been able to realize this, then were they also able to read and understand these short texts or they deemed the mere presence of inscriptions valuable?⁸⁸⁸ In reality, one cannot satisfactorily answer these questions for the time being and, hopefully, the following subchapters discussing the images' iconographic contexts and donors will shed some light on these aspects, too.

⁸⁸⁶ Starting with the reign of Sigismund of Luxemburg, Hungarian kings have had occasionally in their chancelleries scribes who used Slavic languages and script for diplomatic correspondence with foreign rulers, Neven Isailović and Aleksandar Krstić, "Serbian Language and Cyrillic Script as a Means of Diplomatic Literacy in South Eastern Europe in 15th and 16th Centuries", *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie "G. Barițiu". Series Historica. Supplement 1 "Literacy Experiences Concerning Medieval and early Modern Transylvania"* 54/1 (2015), 185-195. However, Slavic literacy outside Slavic and Romanian ethnic groups is hard to imagine in the fifteenth-century Kingdom of Hungary.

⁸⁸⁷ For literacy in medieval Hungary, see especially: Erik Fügedi, "Verba volant...: Oral Culture and Literacy among the Medieval Hungarian Nobility", in idem, *Kings, Bishops, Nobles and Burgers in Medieval Hungary*, ed. János M. Bak (London: Variorum Reprints, 1986), 1-25; László Veszprémy, "The Birth of a Structured Literacy in Hungary", in *The Development of Literate Mentalities in East Central Europe*, ed. Anna Adamska and Marco Mostert (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004), 161-181 (henceforth: Adamska, *Development of Literate Mentalities*); Katalin Szende, "Testaments and Testimonies. Orality and Literacy in Composing Last Wills in Late Medieval Hungary", in *Oral History of the Middle Ages: The Spoken Word in Context*, ed. Gerhard Jaritz (Budapest: CEU Press, 2001), 49-66; eadem, "Towns and the Written Word in Medieval Hungary", in *Writing and Administration of Medieval Towns: Medieval Urban Literacy I*, ed. Marco Mostert and Anna Adamska (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014), 123-148; Zupka, "Communication in Town", 341-372. For a later period, see also: István György Tóth, *Literacy and Written Culture in Early Modern Central Europe* (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2000).

⁸⁸⁸ For such attitude of medieval beholders towards the written word, see: Safran, "Language Choice", 875, with bibliography.

6. 4. *Sancti reges Hungariae* in (Iconographic) Context – The Relationship between the Depictions of Hungary’s Holy Kings and the Neighboring Images

6. 4. 1. *Sancti reges Hungariae* as Originators and Guarantors of Legal Rights for the Orthodox Founders in Crișcior and Ribița

The similarity between the representations of the three holy kings of Hungary in the Orthodox churches in Crișcior and Ribița is not limited only to the images’ internal characteristics, but extends also to the general features of the iconographic programs of the two religious edifices. The *sancti reges Hungariae* are depicted in the proximity of (or in obvious connection with) other representations, namely: the founders’ votive composition, the scene of the Finding of the Holy Cross, and depictions of military saints on horse.⁸⁸⁹

In Crișcior, the image of the holy kings is placed in the lower register, on the western side of the nave’s southern wall, and continues the founders’ votive composition on the southern and western walls. Represented on the western wall, the main ktetor, *jupan* Bălea, holds together with his wife, *jupanița* Vișe, the model of the church, while flying angels approach it as for taking it to the upper register, where it is depicted the scene of the Dormition of the Holy Virgin reflecting the dedication of the church. One of their sons, little Ștefan, is depicted below the church’s model, whereas their older sons, Iuca and Laslo/Laslău, are represented like their parents under semicircular arches supported by columns, but on the adjoining, southern wall.⁸⁹⁰ The apparent caesura between Hungary’s holy kings and the founders’ votive composition was, in fact, created by the opening in 1852 of one of the modern windows which destroyed partially St. Ladislav’s representation and the votive composition. It was probably in this place that the founders’ two daughters, *Szor* and *Filka*, mentioned in 1773 in a Latin description of the church and its founders, were initially depicted.⁸⁹¹

⁸⁸⁹ The iconographic connection between the votive composition, Hungary’s holy kings, and St. Helena in the scene of the Finding of the Holy Cross was first noted for Crișcior by Tugearu, “Biserica Adormirea Maicii Domnului”, 78-79, as St. Helena’s image in Ribița was still covered at that point. For the connection between the ktetors and the military saints on horse in Crișcior and Ribița, see: Ecaterina Cincheza-Buculei, “Implicații sociale și politice în iconografia picturii medievale românești din Transilvania, secolele XIV-XV. Sfinții militari” [Social and political implications in the iconography of Romanian medieval painting in Transylvania, 14th-15th century], *Studii și Cercetări de Istoria Artei. Seria Artă Plastică* 28 (1981), 3-34, esp. p. 31. For putting in relation all four scenes, see: Prioteasa, “Holy Hungarian Kings”, 42; eadem, “Medieval Wall Paintings”, 64, 85, 194-196. For connecting the votive compositions in the two churches with Hungary’s holy kings, see: Agrigoroaei, “*Interpretatio Wallachica*”, 123-128. I have recently dealt with the same topic in two occasions: Năstăsioiu, “Hybrid Art or Hybrid Piety?”; idem, “Social Status”, 219-220.

⁸⁹⁰ For a recent analysis of this votive composition, see *ibid.*, 208-209, 214, 218-220, 230-234, where also its inscriptions are critically analyzed, being read, transcribed, and translated again.

⁸⁹¹ The text of this description is published, among others, in: László Réthy, *Az oláh nyelv és nemzet megalakulása* [The formation of Romanian language and nation] (Nagybecskerek: Pleitz Fer. Pál Könyvnyomdája, 1890), 146; Dragomir, “Vechile biserici din Zărand”, 236-237. For this particular place of the daughters within the votive composition, see:

In Ribița, Hungary's holy kings on the northern wall of the nave are directly faced on the opposite, southern wall by the founders in the votive composition; both images are placed in the lower register. In the votive composition, the main ktetor, *jupan* Vladislavu, offers the model of the church to its patron, St. Nicholas, who accepts and blesses the donation. Vladislavu's kneeling figure is followed by those of his brother and associated ktetor (*jupan* Miclăușu), his wife (*jupanița* Stana), and Miclăușu's wife (*jupanița* Sora), who are depicted in a similar, kneeling posture.⁸⁹² Today, only the figure of little Ana, Vladislavu's and Stana's daughter, is visible below the model of the church. However, it is possible that other members of the two brothers' families were depicted originally on the western side of the votive composition, which was greatly destroyed by nineteenth-century architectural alterations.⁸⁹³ As suggested by Ödon Nemes' 1868 description,⁸⁹⁴ other members of the founders' families seem to have been included originally in the votive composition, or at least alluded to in the main dedicatory inscription which survived only partially.⁸⁹⁵ Subsequently, at least another figure could have been included initially in the votive composition in the place affected by the architectural alterations, that is, in between the partially-preserved figure of *jupanița* Sora and the representation of the Bosom of Abraham.

In Crișcior, on the left (eastern) side of the image of Hungary's holy kings, there is a poorly-preserved representation of the scene of the Finding of the Holy Cross.⁸⁹⁶ The creation in 1852 of a modern door destroyed greatly St. Helena's depiction, so that only her crown, *Kruseler*, and accompanying inscription are now partly visible. However, the detail of the Holy Cross being supported or lifted up by three hands, as well as the sleeve of a rich vestment of another personage standing on the left side of the Cross are still discernible.⁸⁹⁷ In Ribița, on the right (western) side of the three holy kings, there is the partially-preserved, standing figure of St. Helena. She is dressed in a sumptuous, royal or imperial vestment, has a crown on her head, and a *Kruseler* type of headgear

Cincheza-Buculei, "Date noi privind pictura", 35-38, accepted also by Năstăsioiu, "Social Status", 208; for a different opinion, see Dragomir, "Vechile biserici din Zărand", 240.

⁸⁹² For recent analyses of this votive composition, see: Năstăsioiu, "Social Status", 209-210, 214-220, 238-240; Năstăsioiu and Adashinskaya, "New Information", 25-44.

⁸⁹³ Ibid., 27.

⁸⁹⁴ Nemes, "Ribicei templom", 63-64, informs that the "Serbian" inscriptions existing then in the church stated that the brothers *Mátyás* (?), *Vratisláv* (Vladislavu) and *Miklós* (Miclăușu) *de Ribice*, together with daughters *Anna* (Ana) and *Johanka* (Stanca/Stana?) have built the church in 1404.

⁸⁹⁵ For critical exams of the information conveyed by Nemes, see: Rusu, "Biserica românească", 7-9; Năstăsioiu and Adashinskaya, "New Information", 29-33.

⁸⁹⁶ Cincheza-Buculei, "Date noi despre pictura", 38-40, followed by Tugearu, "Biserica Adormirea Maicii Domnului", 75, 78-80, 92, and reprised in Cincheza-Buculei, "Ipoteze și certitudini", 89, identified the scene this way. For a recent analysis of these scenes in Crișcior and Ribița and their placing in the context of Byzantine and Western iconography, see Prioteasa, "Medieval Wall Paintings", 86-126, where the scenes are called *Exaltation of the Cross*, despite their Western iconography. Henceforward, I shall designate the two images according to their name in Western iconography, highlighting thus their hybrid character.

⁸⁹⁷ For drawings reconstructing the poorly-preserved scene, see: Cincheza-Buculei, "Date noi privind pictura", pl. I; Tugearu, "Biserica Adormirea Maicii Domnului", fig. 11.

covers her hair.⁸⁹⁸ A partially-preserved character dressed in a richly-decorated vestment was depicted behind the holy empress, who points with one hand to (and probably supports with another hand) the Holy Cross. The depiction of the precious relic is no longer extant, the left side of the scene having been completely destroyed by the creation in this place in 1869-1870 of a modern window, which affected partially also St. Ladislav's representation.

Judging by the surviving evidence, the image of the *sancti reges Hungariae* in the Orthodox churches in Crișcior and Ribița had in its immediate proximity a depiction of the scene of the Finding of the Holy Cross. In both cases, the scene was placed close to the churches' triumphal arch.⁸⁹⁹ As convincingly shown by Elena Dana Prioteasa, this scene did not follow the usual, Byzantine iconographic model, but a Western one.⁹⁰⁰ This Western/Catholic iconography depicts sometimes St. Helena, either assisted or not by members of her retinue, during the unearthing of the Cross by the Jews, who are shown in smaller scale digging up the precious relic and supporting it. The scene is often encountered in Catholic mural painting across medieval Hungary (Fig. 6.11-6.12)⁹⁰¹ and, as suggested by the surviving details in the scenes of Crișcior and Ribița, it may have served as model to the painters of the two Orthodox churches. In Catholic practice, this representation referred generally to any feast associated with the Holy Cross or St. Helena, but it addressed specifically the feast of the *Exaltatio Sanctae Crucis*, celebrated on September 14. This feast commemorated the recovery by Emperor Heraclius in 631 of the Holy Cross, which had been previously captured by the Persians in 614.⁹⁰² The same day of September 14, the Orthodox Church marks the Raising Aloft (Elevation) of the Honored and Life-giving Cross (*Ὑψωσις τοῦ Τιμίου καὶ Ζωοποιοῦ Σταυροῦ* or *воздвижение честнаго животворящего креста*). This was a feast commemorating two separate events: on one hand, the finding of the Cross on Golgotha in 326 by Empress Helena and, on the other hand, its recovery in 631 by Emperor Heraclius – that is, the

⁸⁹⁸ For a detailed description of St. Helena's hybrid vestment composed of both Byzantine and Western elements, see Prioteasa, "Medieval Wall Paintings", 86-88.

⁸⁹⁹ The nineteenth-century extension towards East of the church in Crișcior has led to the demolishing of the medieval, triumphal arch and sanctuary, but St. Helena's image was indeed depicted in this place originally. The scene in Ribița is found still in its original place.

⁹⁰⁰ Prioteasa, "Medieval Wall Paintings", 122-125; eadem, *Medieval Wall Paintings*, 102-104.

⁹⁰¹ Eadem, "Medieval Wall Paintings", 102-121, 126-145; eadem, *Medieval Wall Paintings*, 88-102, 105-113.

⁹⁰² For the cult of the Holy Cross in the West, see: Sible de Blaauw, "Jerusalem in Rome and the Cult of the Cross", in *Pratum Romanum. Richard Krautheimer zum 100. Geburtstag*, ed. Renate L. Colella et al. (Wiesbaden: Dr. L. Reichert, 1997), 55-73; Louis van Tongeren, *Exaltation of the Cross. Toward the Origins of the Feast of the Cross and the Meaning of the Cross in Early Medieval Liturgy* (Leuven: Peeters, 2000); idem, "*Crux mihi certa salus*. The Cult and Veneration of the Cross in Early Medieval Europe", *Territorio, sociedad y poder* 2 (2009), 349-370; Jan Willem Drijvers, "Helena Augusta, the Cross and the Myth: Some New Reflections", *Millennium* 8 (2011), 125-174. For the historical event involving the seventh-century Byzantine emperor, see: idem, "Heraclius and the *Restitutio Crucis*: Notes on Symbolism and Ideology", in *The Reign of Heraclius (610-641): Crisis and Confrontation*, ed. Gerrit J. Reinink and Bernard H. Stolte (Leuven: Peeters, 2002), 175-190; Constantin Zuckerman, "Heraclius and the Return of the Holy Cross", in *Constructing the Seventh Century*, ed. Constantin Zuckerman (Paris: Association des Amis du Centre d'Histoire et Civilisation de Byzance, 2013), 197-218.

finding and triumph of the Holy Cross, respectively.⁹⁰³ The Orthodox feast was illustrated by a different iconography than the Western one, the former displaying usually a bishop on an ambo holding up the Cross to an audience which could sometimes include, besides various figures, a haloed emperor generally, or specifically the Holy Emperors Constantine and Helena.⁹⁰⁴ However, this representation was extremely rare in Byzantine iconography, appearing mainly within painted calendar cycles (*menologia* or *synaxaria*).⁹⁰⁵ Whenever this was absent from the iconographic program of a church, it could be replaced by the usual and more popular image of Sts Constantine and Helena flanking the Holy Cross (Fig. 6.15 left, 6.17-6.18, 6.20 right, 6.21 left, 66.22).⁹⁰⁶ That in the Orthodox churches in Crișcior and Ribița a Western iconographic model of the Finding of the Holy Cross was preferred by the painters of Byzantine tradition is obvious also in the few surviving details of the two scenes. In Crișcior, the Cross is held or lifted up by two small-size characters, whereas in Ribița, St. Helena was accompanied by members of her retinue, one of them being still partially visible. However, the identity of the character standing on the right side of the Holy Cross in Crișcior (and hypothetically also in Ribița) can no longer be established. This one could be either: St. Macarius, the Bishop of Jerusalem (312-335), who assisted Empress Helena in the finding of the Cross and was the first to elevate the precious relic for everybody to see and venerate it;⁹⁰⁷ Judas Cyriacus, the Jew who helped the empress to find the True Cross and converted later to

⁹⁰³ For the cult of the Holy Cross in the East, see : P. Bernardakis, “Le culte de la Croix chez les Grecs”, *Échos d'Orient* 5 (1901-1902), 257-264; Holger A. Klein, “Constantine, Helena, and the Cult of the True Cross in Constantinople”, and Bernard Flusin, “Les cérémonies de l'Exaltation de la Croix à Constantinople au XIe siècle d'après le *Dresdensis A 104*”, in *Byzance et les reliques du Christ*, ed. Bernard Flusin and Jannic Durand (Paris: Association des Amis du Centre d'Histoire et Civilisation de Byzance, 2004), 31-60, 61-89.

⁹⁰⁴ For the Byzantine iconography of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross, see: Sirapie der Nersessian, “La Fête de l'Exaltation de la Croix”, *Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et Histoire Orientales et Slaves* 10 (1950), 193-198; Andreas Stylianou and Judith Stylianou, *By This Conquer* (Nicosia: Zavallis Press, 1971), 99-106; Christopher Walter, *Art and Ritual of the Byzantine Church* (London: Variorum Publications, 1982), 153-155; idem, *The Iconography of Constantine the Great, Emperor and Saint. With Associated Studies* (Leiden: Alexandros Press, 2006), 116-121; Michał Janocha, “Exaltation de la Sainte Croix dans le cadre des cycles illustratifs d'Invention de la Sainte Croix dans la peinture monumentale Post-Byzantine de la fin du XVe et du XVIe siècle”, *Niš i Vizantija. Simpozijum* 3 (2005), 309-318.

⁹⁰⁵ The Exaltation of the Holy Cross appears outside the *menologion* in several Cretan churches dated to the first half of the fifteenth century: St. Paraskevi Church in Arkadi (Mylopotamos, Rethymnon, ca 1400), St. George Church in Ano Viannos (Viannos, Herakleion, 1401), Sts Constantine and Helena Church in Avdou (Pedias, Herakleion, 1445). Equally rare in Byzantine art, the Finding of the Holy Cross appears in the *Homilies of Gregory of Nazianzus* (Paris. gr. 510, fol. 440r, dated to 879-882), and two Cretan churches: Church of the Mother of God in Spina (Chania, late-fourteenth century), and the already-mentioned church in Avdou. For these examples, see Prioteasa, “Medieval Wall Paintings”, 96-99 with bibliography.

⁹⁰⁶ For the iconography of Sts Constantine and Helena flanking the Holy Cross, see: Natalia Teteriatnikov, “The True Cross Flanked by Constantine and Helena. A Study in the Light of the Post-Iconoclastic Evaluation of the Cross”, *Δελτίον της Χριστιανικής Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας* 18 (1995), 169-188; Georgi Gerov, “L'image de Constantin et Hélène avec la Croix: étapes de formation et contenu symbolique”, *Niš i Vizantija. Simpozijum* 2 (2004), 227-240; Walter, *Iconography of Constantine*, 65-76, 111-126; Ioannis P. Chouliarás, “The Depiction of Saint Constantine in Post-Byzantine Monumental Art in Epirus and Macedonia. Iconographical Particularities”, *Niš i Vizantija. Simpozijum* 12 (2013), 433-442.

⁹⁰⁷ For this identification, see: Cincheza-Buculei, “Date noi privind pictura”, 38-40; Ullea, *Arhanghelul de la Ribița*, 44-47; alternate identification in Prioteasa, “Medieval Wall Paintings”, 123.

Christianity, becoming the Bishop of Jerusalem martyred later by Julian the Apostate (ca 360),⁹⁰⁸ or even Emperor Constantine,⁹⁰⁹ whose presence in the place where the Cross was found is, in fact, without any historical basis. However, Emperor Constantine's strong connection with the cult of the Cross, which was manifested through his vision and victory in its name, and through his role of initiator of Helena's quest for the relic, are frequently encountered in hagiographical and liturgical sources.⁹¹⁰ This connection undoubtedly ensured him a place in the Western iconography of the scene of the Finding of the Holy Cross, especially in German and Bohemian religious art. Here, Emperor Constantine is depicted sometimes together with his mother, assisting her in the finding and testing of the True Cross.⁹¹¹ Despite the fact that Emperor Constantine was not recognized as saint by the Roman Church, he appears nonetheless in his saintly quality in several Catholic churches of medieval Hungary: e.g., Vizsoly (mid-fourteenth or first half of the fifteenth century), Crăciunel (first half of the fifteenth century), Tornaszentandrás, and Dârlos (Fig. 6.11-6.12).⁹¹² In these cases, Constantine is depicted as a haloed emperor of a slightly smaller size than St. Helena. She is represented either holding the Holy Cross together with her son (e.g., Crăciunel, Dârlos, and Vizsoly) or assisting its unearthing by the Jews (e.g., Tornaszentandrás). Anyway, Constantine was usually depicted in Byzantine art next to St. Helena and the precious relic (Fig. 6.15 left, 6.17-6.18, 6.20 right, 6.21 left, 6.22), this popular iconography being undoubtedly known to the Orthodox painters in Crișcior and Ribița. Judging by the fact that similar compositions do exist in Catholic iconography across medieval Hungary and that St. Helena is depicted in Crișcior and Ribița dressed in a composite vestment gathering Byzantine and Western elements, it is highly possible that the painters of the two Orthodox churches were familiar with the holy empress' Catholic iconography.

⁹⁰⁸ Alternate identification in *ibid.*, 122.

⁹⁰⁹ Alternate identification in *ibid.*, 122-123.

⁹¹⁰ Amnon Linder, "The Myth of Constantine the Great in the West: Sources and Hagiographic Commemorations", *Studi Medievali* 16 (1975), 43-95.

⁹¹¹ For such examples, see: Karl Adolf Wiegel, *Die Darstellung der Kreuzauffindung bis zu Piero della Francesca*, PhD Diss. (Cologne: Universität zu Köln, 1973), 69-72, 88-92, 196-209; Barbara Baert, *A Heritage of Holy Wood: The Legend of the True Cross in Text and Image* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2004), 257-263; Rudolf Chadraha, "Der zweite Konstantin: zum Verhältnis von Staat und Kirche in der karolinischen Kunst Böhmens", *Umění/Art* 26 (1978), 505-520; Kateřina Kubínová, "Karl IV. und die Tradition Konstantins des Grossen", in *Kunst als Herrschaftsinstrument unter den Luxemburgen. Böhmen und das Heilige Römische Reich im mitteleuropäischen Kontext. Beiträge des internationalen Symposiums, Prag 9.-13. Mai 2006*, ed. Jiří Fajt and Andrea Langer (Munich: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2009), 320-327; Dušan Buran, "Die Ausmalung der Freidhofskapelle in Riffian. Meister Wenzel, Südtirol und böhmische Kunst um 1400", *Umění/Art* 54 (2006), 309-310; Prioteasa, "Medieval Wall Paintings", 119-120. Falling in the same line of historical inaccuracy, St. Helena was more rarely associated with the seventh-century Emperor Heraclius. For such examples, see: Jaroslav Folda, *The Art of the Crusaders in the Holy Land, 1098-1187* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 233-240; Baert, *Heritage of Holy Wood*, 164; José Manuel Escarraga, *El retablo de la Santa Cruz de la Villa de Blesa* (Zaragoza: Institución Fernando el Católico, 1970); Marisa Arguis Rey, "El retablo de la Santa Cruz de la villa de Blesa", *Comarca de las Cuencas Mineras. Boletín Oficial de Aragón* 26 (2007), 129-132.

⁹¹² For Vizsoly, see: Zsombor Jékely, "Vizsoly (egykor Abaúj vármegye, ma Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén megye) Református templom" [Vizsoly (former Abaúj County, current Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén County) Reformed church], in Kollár, *Falfestészeti emlékek*, 422-451, 459. For Crăciunel, see: Năstăsoiu, "Nouvelles représentations", 3-22. For Tornaszentandrás, see above. For Dârlos, see the relevant entries in the Catalogue of Murals.

They relied probably on it and represented St. Helena in the company of her son, a saint who was venerated equally by themselves and by their commissioners, and who appeared also in Hungarian Catholic iconography, despite him not having been accepted as a saint by the Catholic Church. When relying on the Western iconography of the Finding of the Holy Cross, the painters added up, thus, another element to the multiple, hybrid ones already existing inside the two Orthodox churches.



Fig. 6.11 – Sts Helena and Constantine flanking the Holy Cross, mid-fourteenth or first half of the fifteenth century, sinopia, lower register of the northern wall of the nave, Reformed Church in Vizsoly. Photo Source: Kollár, *Falfestészeti emlékek*

Fig. 6.12 – Sts Constantine and Helena flanking the Holy Cross, first half of the fifteenth century, fresco, lower register of the northern wall of the nave, Reformed Church in Crăciunel. Photo © The Author

The lower register of the two churches' naves which, in Byzantine church decoration, is usually reserved to standing figures of saints comprises representations of military saints on horse and various other saints, widely venerated during the Middle Ages in the Byzantine-Slavic Commonwealth. In Crișcior, the ktetors' votive composition on the southern side of the western wall has as pendant on the northern side of the same wall two military saints on horse: Sts Demetrius and Theodore.⁹¹³ Although both scenes have similar size, the holy warriors are placed on a higher level than the founders' composition and take approximately one third of the height of the upper-register, narrative scene,⁹¹⁴ a fact which confers emphasis to the riding holy warriors. Additionally, on the eastern side of the nave's northern wall, that is, opposite the images of the *sancti reges Hungariae* and the Finding of the Holy Cross, there is also St. George on horse fighting

⁹¹³ Tugearu, "Biserica Adormirea Maicii Domnului", 94.

⁹¹⁴ The upper register of the nave is decorated with narrative episodes illustrating the Christological Cycle. For the nave's iconographic program, see the relevant entry in the Catalogue of Murals.

the dragon. Blessed by an angel appearing in a cloud, St. George has next to him the sorrowful princess covering her face.⁹¹⁵ Having been demolished in 1852 when the nave of the church was extended towards East, one can no longer know what scenes decorated the wall of the triumphal arch.⁹¹⁶ However, judging by the relatively small size of the medieval nave, the representations of military saints on horse played a rather prominent role in the iconographic program of the church. Considering that the original entrance was placed on the northern wall, i.e., towards the nave's western side, the representations one could see first when entering the church were those located on the opposite, southern wall, namely, the ktetors' votive composition, the *sancti reges Hungariae*, and the Finding of the Holy Cross.

In Ribița, Hungary's holy kings are directly faced by the ktetors' votive composition on the opposite, southern wall; they are flanked by the Finding of the Holy Cross (eastern side) and military saints on horse (western side). Greatly damaged by the 1869-1870 architectural changes, the scene comprised at least two riding holy warriors: a horse's head is still visible on the left side, whereas on the right side, there is the partially-preserved figure of St. George on horse.⁹¹⁷ The small-size princess at the horse's feet leads the tamed dragon by her girdle. Whereas the nave's upper register is decorated with narrative episodes taken from Christ's Life and Passion, the lower register gathers a number of iconic depictions of important saints: St. Nicholas (i.e., the patron of the church), St. John the Baptist, St. Panteleimon, pillar saints, etc.⁹¹⁸ Additionally, the western side of the church's lower register was decorated with the Last Judgment, but only two scenes are currently identifiable: the Bosom of Abraham (following the ktetors on the western side of the nave's southern wall), and the Damned in Hell (southern wall of the room below the western tower, which communicated freely with the nave).⁹¹⁹

Faced with these common features of the two churches' iconographic programs, one cannot help but notice echoes coming from Byzantine iconography, probably through the mediation of the neighboring, Byzantine-Slavic states of the Balkans, especially medieval Serbia⁹²⁰ or Bulgaria. Here, the western side of a church – either its narthex or the nave's western zone – is usually decorated with votive compositions depicting the founders together with members of their

⁹¹⁵ Tugearu, "Biserica Adormirea Maicii Domnului", 95-96.

⁹¹⁶ Additionally, on the lower register of the nave's northern wall, there are also the iconic image of St. Marina hammering a devil, and the narrative episode of Christ Carrying the Cross, *ibid.*, 94-95, pl. II, fig. 15.

⁹¹⁷ For the saint's accompanying inscription, see Tugearu, "Biserica Sf. Nicolae", 141.

⁹¹⁸ For the nave's iconographic program, see the relevant entry in the Catalogue of Murals.

⁹¹⁹ Cincheza-Buculei, "Ipoteze și certitudini", 88.

⁹²⁰ For the artistic relationship between Orthodox Transylvania and Serbia during the Middle Ages, see: Corina Popa, "La peinture murale orthodoxe en Transylvanie au XIVe siècle et ses relations avec le monde serbe", *Revue Roumaine d'Histoire de l'Art. Série Beaux-Arts* 33 (1996), 3-19. See in this respect also: Agrigoroaei, "Interpretatio Wallachica", 123-128; Năstăsioiu, "East Meets West".

families. They are portrayed in the act of their gift-giving, that is, offering the model of the church to Christ, either directly or through the intercession of a saint, who is usually the patron saint of the church.⁹²¹ The iconographic context of these votive compositions is usually a highly-elaborated *mise-en-scène*, which gathers other important depictions, such as the portraits of the representatives of secular and religious authority (i.e., the effective ruler and church hierarchs), the Holy Emperors Constantine and Helena flanking the Holy Cross, or sometimes military saints. In this situation, the effective ruler and church hierarchs are represented in their quality of political and ecclesiastical sources of legitimacy.⁹²² Their presence in church decoration meant the sanctioning or approval of

⁹²¹ The depiction of founders in Byzantine church decoration is a topic with an extremely rich scholarship which examines the phenomenon either globally or in connection with particular cases. This reference cannot make justice to all significant contributions to the topic, but several titles should still be mentioned: Maria Ana Musicescu, "Introduction à une étude sur le portrait de fondateur dans le sud-est européen. Essai de typologie", *Revue des Études Sud-Est Européennes* 7/2 (1969), 281-310; Tania Velmans, "Le portrait dans l'art des Paléologues", in *Art et société à Byzance sous les Paléologues. Actes du colloque organisé par l'Association Internationale des Études Byzantines à Venise en Septembre 1968* (Venice: Institut Hellénique d'Études Byzantines et Post-byzantines de Venise, 1971), 91-148; Mirjana Tatić-Đurić, "Iconographie de la donation dans l'ancien art serbe", in *Actes du XIVe Congrès International des Études Byzantines (Bucarest, 6-12 septembre 1971). Communications*, ed. Mihail Berza and Eugen Stănescu (Bucharest: Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste România, 1976), 3: 311-322 (henceforth: Berza, *Actes du XIVe Congrès*); Kostadinka Paskaleva-Kabadaieva, "Le portrait de donateur dans la peinture murale bulgare du XVe siècle", *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinik* 32/5 (1982), 531-543; Lisa Bernardini, "Les donateurs des églises de Cappadoce", *Byzantion. Revue Internationale des Études Byzantines* 62 (1992), 118-140; Sophia Kalopissi-Verti, *Dedicatory Inscriptions and Donor Portraits in Thirteenth-century Churches of Greece* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1992); Lyn Rodley, "Patron Imagery from the Fringes of the Empire", in *Strangers to Themselves: The Byzantine Outsider. Papers from the Thirty-second Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, University of Sussex, Brighton, March 1998*, ed. Dion C. Smythe (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000), 163-174; Tania Kambourova, "Ktitor: le sens du don des panneaux votifs dans le monde byzantin", *Byzantion. Revue Internationale des Études Byzantines* 78 (2008), 261-278; Leslie Brubaker, "Gifts and Prayers: the Visualization of Gift Giving in Byzantium and the Mosaics at Hagia Sophia", in *The Languages of Gift in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. Wendy Davies and Paul Fouracre (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 33-61; Jean-Michel Spieser and Élisabeth Yota, ed., *Donation et donateurs dans le monde byzantin: Actes du colloque international de l'Université de Fribourg, 13-15 mars 2008* (Paris: Desclée De Brouwer, 2012); Theis, *Female Founders*; Branislav Cvetković, "The Portraits in Lapušnja and Iconography of Joint Ktitorship", *Niš i Vizantija. Simpozijum* 11 (2013), 87-100; Lilyana Yordanova, "Maîtriser la langue commune de la donation: l'apport des portraits de donateurs du Second royaume bulgare (1185-1396)", in *La culture des commanditaires. L'œuvre et l'empreinte. Actes de la journée d'étude organisée à Paris le 15 novembre 2013*, ed. Sulamith Brodbeck and Anne-Orange Poilpré (Paris: Université Paris 1 Panthéon Sorbonne, Centre de Recherche HiCSA, 2015), 174-192.

⁹²² For this aspect, see especially: Vojislav J. Đurić, "La symphonie de l'État et de l'Église dans la peinture murale en Serbie médiévale", in *Međunarodni naučni skup "Sveti Sava u srpskoj istoriji u tradiciji"* [International scientific conference "Saint Sava in Serbian history and tradition"], ed. Sima Ćirković (Belgrade: Srpska akademija nauka i umetnosti, 1998), 203-224; idem, "La royauté et le sacerdoce dans la décoration de Žiža", in *Манастир Жича – Зборник радова* [Žiža Monastery – Collection of works] ed. Gojko Subotić (Kraljevo: Narodni muzej – Zavod za zaštitu spomenika kulture, 2000), 123-147; Dragan Vojvodić, "Портрети владара црквених достојанственика и племића у наосу и припрати" [Portraits of rulers, ecclesiastical dignitaries, and noblemen in the nave and narthex], in *Зидно сликарство манастира Дечана* [Wall painting of Dečani Monastery], ed. Vojislav J. Đurić and Gordana Babić (Belgrade: Srpska akademija nauka i umetnosti, 1995), 265-299; idem, "Владарски портрети српски деспота" [Ruler portraits of Serbian despots], in *Манастир Ресавица – историја и уметност* [Resava Monastery – history and art], ed. Vojislav J. Đurić (Despotovac: Narodna biblioteka Resavska škola, 1995), 65-98 (henceforth: Đurić, *Манастир Ресавица*); idem, "Персонални састав слике власти у доба Палеолога. Византија – Србија – Бугарска" [The Personal composition of the image of power in the age of the Palaiologoi. Byzantium – Serbia – Bulgaria], *Зборник радова Византолошког института* 46 (2009), 409-433; idem, "Слика световне и духовне власти у српској средњовековној уметности" [The image of secular and spiritual authorities in Serbian medieval art], *Зборник Матице Српске за Ликовне Уметности* 38 (2010), 35-78; Smilja Marjanović-Dušanić and Dragan Vojvodić, "The Model of Empire – the Idea and Image of Authority in Serbia (1299-1371)", in *Byzantine Heritage and Serbian Art. III.*

the ktetors' foundation, which was a religious institution existing and functioning in a world governed by laws issued precisely by these secular and religious authorities.⁹²³ Sometimes, the ktetors themselves were political actors – either rulers of states or of smaller political entities – and their subordination to one another, as well as their religious foundation's subordination to an ecclesiastical structure was often made explicit in church decoration by means of either text (i.e., church inscriptions)⁹²⁴ or image (i.e., portraits of rulers). These rulers were represented similarly to the ktetors, that is, together with their spouses, heirs, or designated successors, this whole iconographic construct allowing one to visualize in a religious setting the secular structure (i.e., political reality) of a certain society at a given time and space. For illustrating this paradigm of political theology, it is worth recalling at random several famous examples of decorative programs which occurred in either royal or aristocratic religious foundations. For instance, in the inner narthex of Mileševa Monastery, decorated between 1222 and 1228,⁹²⁵ King Stefan the First-crowned, his son and co-ruler Radoslav, and his second son and ktetor Vladislav (the only one depicted holding the model of the church for that matter) follow in the footsteps of their spiritual forefathers, St. Simeon Nemanja and Archbishop Sava, who are represented on the adjacent, eastern wall (Fig. 6.13). The latter have as pendant on the southern side of the door Sts Constantine and Helena, and the Byzantine Emperor, to whom the Serbian rulers were at that point vassals. In the narthex of St. Nicholas Church in Boyana (1259), the church-holding ktetor *Sebastokrator* Kaloyan and his wife Desislava (represented on the northern wall, Fig. 6.1, left) are faced by their suzerains, *Tsar* Konstantin Tikh and his wife Irina (southern wall, Fig. 6.2, right).⁹²⁶ The latter couple of rulers have as their pendant Sts Constantine and Helena, who follow after an arcosolium on the southern

Sacral Art of the Serbian Lands in the Middle Ages, ed. Dragan Vojvodić and Danica Popović (Belgrade: The Serbian National Committee of Byzantine Studies, P. E. Službeni Glasnik, and Institute for Byzantine Studies, Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, 2016), 299-315.

⁹²³ For foundation of religious institutions as a legal practice in medieval Serbia, see: Vasilije Marković, “Ктитори, њихове дужности и права” [The ktetors, their duties and rights], *Прилози за књижевност, језик, историју и фолклор* 5 (1925), 100-125; Sergije Troicki, “Ктиторско право у Византији и Немањинској Србији” [Ktetorial law in Byzantium and Serbia of the Nemanjići], *Глас Српске краљевске академије* 168 (1935), 57-68. See also: Ivan M. Đorđević, *Зидно сликарство српске властеле у доба Неманића* [Wall painting of Serbian nobility in the time of the Nemanjići] (Belgrade: Filozofski Fakultet, 1994).

⁹²⁴ For this aspect in the context of dedicatory inscriptions in Orthodox Transylvania, see Năstăsioiu, “Social Status”, 215-217, 238-239, 242-243.

⁹²⁵ Vojislav J. Đurić, “Српска династија и Византија на фрескама у манастиру Милешеви” [Serbian Dynasty and Byzantium in the Frescoes of Mileševa Monastery], *Zograf* 22 (1992) 13-27; Cvetković, “St Constantine the Great in Mileševa Revisited”, *Niš i Vizantija. Simpozijum* 12 (2013), 271-284; idem, “The Painted Programs in Thirteenth-century Serbia: Structure, Themes, and Accents”, in *Orient et Occident méditerranéens au XIII^e siècle. Les programmes picturaux*, ed. Jean-Pierre Caillet and Fabienne Joubert (Paris: Picard, 2012), 161-163; Adashinskaya, “Joint Cult”, 29-30.

⁹²⁶ Krustyu Miyatev, *The Boyana Murals* (Dresden and Sofia: VEB Verlag der Kunst and Bulgarski Hudozhnik Publishing House, 1961), 5-23, figs. 1, 5, 39, 43-44, 46-53; André Grabar, *Боянската църква. L'église de Boïana* (Sofia: Naouka i izkoustvo, 1978), 21-23, 29-38, 68-71; Biserka Penkova, “Les saints apôtres Constantin et Hélène dans les fresques de l'église de Boïana”, *Niš i Vizantija. Simpozijum* 8 (2010), 273-281.

wall, whereas the remaining saints on the lower register of the narthex walls are in majority holy warriors or holy martyrs.



Fig. 6.13 – Portraits of Nemanjids, 1222-1228, fresco, lower register of the northern and eastern walls of the inner narthex, Church of the Monastery in Mileševa. Photo © Anna Adashinskaya



Fig. 6.14 – First founders Gregory and Abasios Pakourianos (left), and second founders monks George and Gabriel (mid-left), in the niches on the northern wall of the narthex of the lower church; Tsar Ivan Alexander (mid-right), and Sts Constantine and Helena (right), north-western and south-western niches of the narthex of the upper church, 1344-1363, fresco, Ossuary of the Monastery in Bachkovo. Photos © Anna Adashinskaya

Under the patronage of Tsar Ivan Alexander (1344-1363), the Ossuary of Bachkovo Monastery was partially rebuilt and repainted.⁹²⁷ On that occasion, additional portraits were added to the renewed portraits of the monastery's first and second ktetors (i.e., Gregory Pakourianos and his brother Abasios, and monks George and Gabriel, respectively), who were depicted on the northern wall of the narthex of the crypt (lower church). Subsequently, in the walled-up arcades of the narthex of the upper church, one can see also Tsar Ivan Alexander (north-western niche), who has next to him his patron, St. John the Theologian (north-eastern niche), and is faced by the ideal rulers Sts Constantine and Helena (south-western niche, Fig. 6.14). In the church of the Monastery of Holy Archangel Michael in Lesnovo, the founder Despot Jovan Oliver appears twice.⁹²⁸ In the nave's 1346/1347 frescoes, he is alone in his quality of ktetor holding the model of the church (northern wall), and has Sts Constantine and Helena in his vicinity, in the register of standing saints on the western wall. However, in the 1349 frescoes of the narthex, he appears again on the northern wall, this time together with his wife Anna Maria and his son Kraiko (Fig. 6.15). Jovan Oliver's political subordination is expressed visually through the scene's placing right below the divine investiture of Emperor Stefan Dušan, who has Jelena, his wife, next to him, as well as their son. In the narthex of St. Nicholas Monastery in Psača (1365-1371),⁹²⁹ due to the change of political circumstances, King Vukašin's portrait was painted over another, earlier portrait of a ruler. He has next to him the figure of Emperor Stefan Uroš V, who is followed by the standing figures of Sts Constantine and Helena (Fig. 6.16, left). Facing these real and ideal rulers on the opposite, southern wall, there are the monastery's associated ktetors, namely, Knez Paskać and Sebastokrator Vlatko; they hold jointly the model of the church and are accompanied by their wives and children (fig. 6.16, right). In the nave of St. Demetrius Monastery ("Markov Manastir") in Sušica (1376/1377),⁹³⁰ Sts Constantine

⁹²⁷ Elka Bakalova, "Images of the 14th Century", in *The Ossuary of the Bachkovo Monastery*, ed. Elka Bakalova (Plovdiv: Pygmalion, 2003), 117-123, with bibliography; eadem, "Image of Ideal Ruler", 42, 51; eadem, "The Perfect Ruler in the Art and Literature of Medieval Bulgaria", *Studia Ceranea* 1 (2011), 76, 84.

⁹²⁸ Smiljka Gabelić, *Манастир Лесново. Историја и сликарство* [Lesnovo Monastery. History and painting] (Belgrade: Reporter, 1998), 52-53, 112-118, 156, 167-172; Zaga Gavrilović, "Divine Wisdom as Part of Byzantine Imperial Ideology. Research into the Artistic Interpretations of the Theme in Medieval Serbia. Narthex Programmes of Lesnovo and Sopoćani", in *The Expansion of Orthodox Europe. Byzantium, the Balkans and Russia*, ed. Jonathan Shepard (Aldershot: Ashgate Variorum, 2007), 377-402, esp. pp. 384-386; Elizabeta Dimitrova, "The Portal to Heaven. Reaching the Gates of Immortality", *Niš i Vizantija. Simpozijum* 5 (2007), 373-374.

⁹²⁹ Đorđević, *Зидно сликарство*, 117-119, 172-173, fig. 21; Frank Kämpfer, "Die Stiftungskomposition der Nikolauskirche in Psača – zeichentheoretische Beschreibung eines politischen Bildes", *Zeitschrift für Balkanologie* 10/2 (1974), 39-61; Zagorka Rasolkovska-Nikolovska, "О историјским портретима у Псаћи и времену њиховог настанка" [On the historical portraits in Psača and the time of their creation], *Zograf* 24 (1995), 38-51; Dimitrova, "Portal to Heaven", 377-378.

⁹³⁰ Saška Bogevska, "Les peintures murales du monastère de Marko: un programme iconographique au service de la propagande royale", in *Culture de commanditaires. Actes de la journée d'étude tenue à l'Université de Paris 1, 13 mai 2011*, ed. Quitterie Cazes and Christiane Prigent, <http://hicsa.univ-paris1.fr/documents/pdf/MondeRomainMedieval/Bogevska%20Sa%C5%A1ka.%20publication.%20texte.pdf> (accessed 17 December 2017); Branislav Cvetković, "Sovereign Portraits at Markov Manastir Revisited", *IKON* 5 (2012), 185-198; Dimitrova, "Portal to Heaven", 378-379.

and Helena are depicted alongside King Marko (responsible for the church's painting) and his parents, King Vukašin (responsible for the monastery's foundation and building) and Queen Jelena (Fig. 6.17).



Fig. 6.15 – Portraits of rulers (up) and founders (down), 1349, fresco, northern wall of the narthex, Church of the Monastery of Holy Archangel Michael in Lesnovo. Photo © Anna Adashinskaya

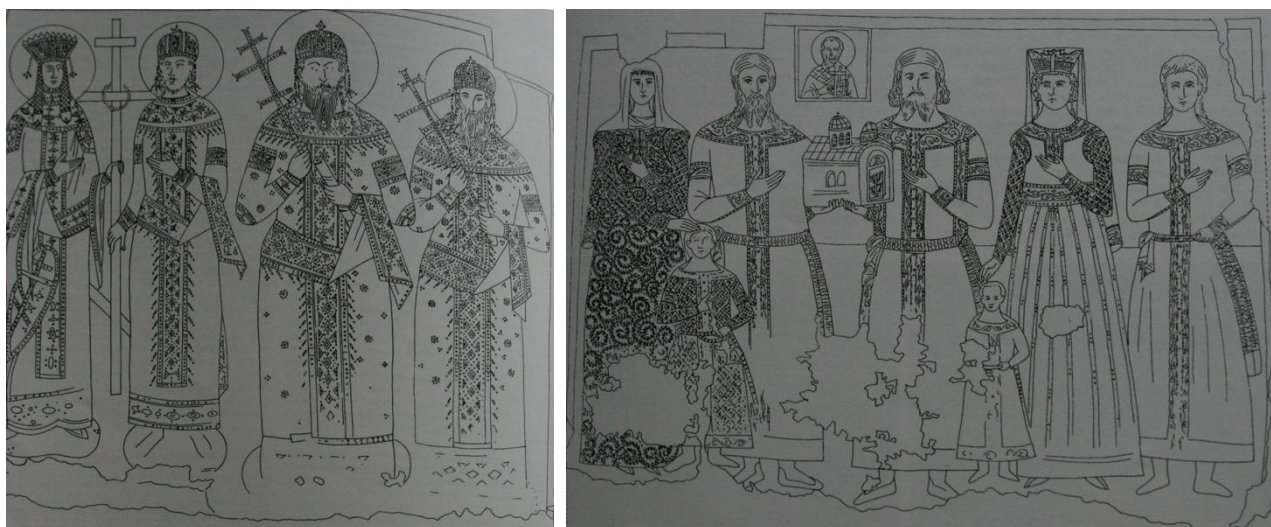


Fig. 6.16 – Drawings showing Sts Helena and Constantine, Emperor Stefan Uroš V, and King Vukašin (left), and the ktetors' votive composition (right), 1365-1371, fresco, lower register of the northern and southern walls of the narthex, St. Nicholas Monastery in Psača. Drawings Source: Rasolkovska-Nikolovska, "О историјским портретима"

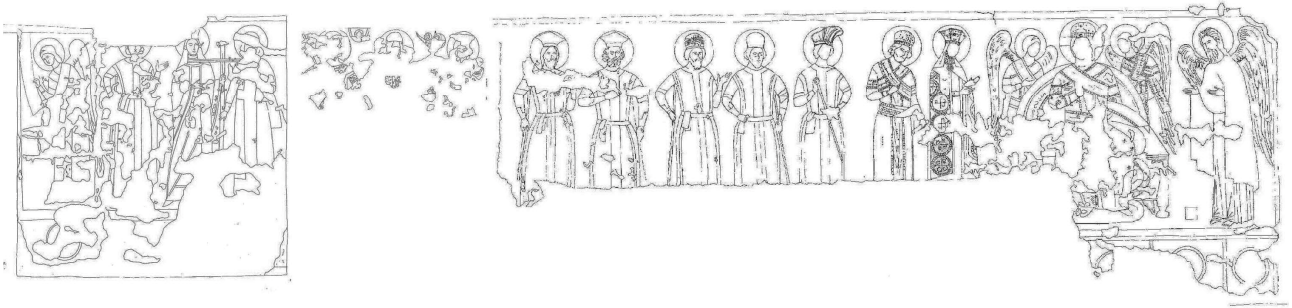


Fig. 6.17 – Iconographic scheme of the lower register of the western and northern walls of the nave, 1376/1377, fresco, St. Demetrius Monastery in Sušica (‘Markov Manastir’). From left to right: Archangel Gabriel, holy warrior, Sts Helena and Constantine, Kings Marko and Vukašin, Queen Jelena, five military saints, Prophet David, Holy Virgin as Queen, Enthroned Christ with angels, and St. John the Baptist. Drawing Source: Bogevska, ‘Peintures murales’

Next to them, there is a complex representation of the ‘royal court’ or ‘royal Deesis’, which includes also a series of holy warriors. Finally, to conclude this illustrative enumerating of examples, in the Church of the Holy Mother of God in Donja Kamenica (either first quarter or second half of the fourteenth century),⁹³¹ two male ktetors hold the model of the church on the southern side of the nave, having next to them two other monastic donors (Fig. 6.18). The two founders’ pendant on the northern wall of the nave is represented by the Holy Emperors Constantine and Helena flanking the Holy Cross. The legitimating source of power, Despot Mikhail and his wife Anna, are represented in the neighboring room, namely, on the western wall of the narthex (Fig. 6.19, left). Only one of the two male ktetors is represented again, this time together with his family (i.e., his wife and two children), in the room above the narthex, for the sponsoring of which he was probably directly responsible (Fig. 6.19, right).

⁹³¹ Liljana Mavrodinova, *Църквата в Долна Каменица. Стенописи от времето на Михаил Шишман* [The church in Donja Kamenica. Wall paintings from the time of Michael Shishman] (Sofia: Bulgarski hudozhnik, 1969); Dora Panayotova, ‘Les portraits des donateurs de Dolna Kamenica’, *Зборник радова Византолошког института* 12 (1970), 143-156; Machiel Kiel, ‘The Church of Our Lady of Donja Kamenica (Dolna Kamenica) in Eastern Serbia’, in Berza, *Actes du XIVe Congrès*, 2: 159-166; Tania Kambourova, ‘Le don de l’église – une affaire de couple?’, in Theis, *Female Founders*, 213-229.



Fig. 6.18 – View to the western side of the nave, either first quarter or second half of the 14th century, fresco, Church of the Holy Mother of God in Donja Kamenica. Photo © The Author



Fig. 6.19 – Anna and Despot Mikhail on the western wall of the narthex (left), and votive composition of the founder and his family on the western wall of the gallery above the narthex (right), either first quarter or second half of the 14th century, fresco, Church of the Holy Mother of God in Donja Kamenica. Photos © The Author

As revealed already by many of the previous examples, the portraits of rulers were often paired on church walls with the image of the Cross-holding Holy Emperors Constantine and Helena. Emperor Constantine was regarded both in Byzantium and the West as an ideal ruler, pious and peace-loving, defender of Christian faith, and triumphant under the sign of the Holy Cross; it was him who achieved, among other things, the unity and harmony of the Church and State.

Subsequently, many Byzantine and Western rulers were fashioned as *New* or *Second Constantines*,⁹³² whereas the holy imperial duo was regarded as the fundament and model of Christian rulership.⁹³³ In Byzantine church decoration, this political-theological concept was visually expressed precisely through the close association between the portraits of rulers and the image of Sts Constantine and Helena flanking the Holy Cross.⁹³⁴ In this context, their figures functioned as a paradigm of ideal rulers which was meant to be emulated by those secular figures portrayed in their proximity. Occasionally, this visual association could be used by the portrayed secular figures for the purpose of proving their legitimacy to rule or for supporting additional, political and ideological claims. The image of Sts Constantine and Helena flanking the Holy Cross was kept in the proximity of the ktetors' votive composition even in those cases when such ideological claims are difficult to substantiate, when rulers were depicted in other areas or rooms inside of a church, or even when the latter were not depicted at all. Analyzed by Tatjana Starodubcev,⁹³⁵ the numerous cases encountered in Serbian church decoration during the time of the rulers of the Lazarević and Branković families (1371-1459) are worth being mentioned here, due to their geographical and chronological proximity with the Orthodox churches in Crișcior and Ribița. These examples are: the monasteries of the Presentation of the Holy Virgin at the Temple in Veluče

⁹³² For this political-theological concept in Byzantium, see: Ruth Macrides, "The New Constantine and the New Constantinople – 1261?", *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 6/1 (1980), 13-41; Mario Gallina, "Novus Constantinus – Νέος Κωνσταντίνος: Temi di memoria costantiniana nella propaganda imperiale a Bisanzio", *Annali della Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia* 27 (1994), 33-56; Paul Magdalino, ed., *New Constantines. The Rhythm of Imperial Renewal in Byzantium. 4th-13th Centuries* (Aldershot: Ashgate Variorum, 1994); Cecily J. Hilsdale, *Byzantine Art and Diplomacy in an Age of Decline* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), esp. the subchapter "A New Constantine for the Capital of a New Empire", pp. 99-108. For the same concept in the West, see: Eugen Ewig, "Das Bild Constantins des Grossen in den ersten Jahrhunderten des Abendländischen Mittelalters", *Historisches Jahrbuch* 75 (1956), 133-192; Linder, "Myth of Constantine", 43-95; Chadraha, "Zweite Konstantin", 505-520; Kubínová, "Karl IV. und die Tradition", 320-327; Matthew Gabrielle, *An Empire of Memory. The Legend of Charlemagne, the Franks, and Jerusalem before the First Crusade* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 17, 20-22, 30, 41, 74-77, 79, 100; Janet L. Nelson, "Religion and Politics in the Reign of Charlemagne", in *Religion und Politik im Mittelalter. Deutschland und England im Vergleich. Religion and Politics in the Middle Ages. Germany and England by Comparison*, ed. Ludger Körntgen and Dominik Waßenhoven (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2013), 17-29.

⁹³³ For St. Helena as archetype of female rulership, see: Jan Willem Drijvers, "Helena Augusta Exemplary Christian Empress", *Studia Patristica* 24 (1993), 85-90; Jo Ann McNamara, "'Imitatio Helenae': Sainthood as an Attribute of Queenship", in *Saints, Studies in Hagiography*, ed. Sandro Sticca (Binghamton, New York: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1996), 51-80; Martin Homza, *'Mulieres suadentes' – Persuasive Women. Female Royal Saints in Medieval East Central Europe* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2017), esp. the chapter "Christian Female Ruler Archetype of Empress St. Helena", pp. 33-79.

⁹³⁴ For such examples across the medieval Balkan states, see: Vojislav J. Đurić, "Le nouveau Constantin dans l'art serbe medieval", in *Αιθίοστροτον: Studien zur byzantinischen Kunst und Geschichte. Festschrift für Marcell Restle*, ed. Birgitt Borkopp and Thomas Steppan (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 2000), 54-65; idem, "Српска династија и Византија", 13-27; Cvetković, "St Constantine the Great", 271-284; idem, "Sovereign Portraits", 185-198; Bogevska, "Peintures murales"; Kämpfer, "Stiftungskomposition der Nikolauskirche", 39-61; Bakalova, "Image of Ideal Ruler", 34-80; eadem, "Perfect Ruler in Art", 71-86; Penkova, "Saints apôtres Constantin et Hélène", 273-281; Ana Popova, "The Assimilation of Stefan Dušan with Constantine the Great and Archangel Michael in the Church of St. George at Pološko", *Patrimonium.mk. Periodical for Cultural Heritage – Monuments, Restoration, Museums* 10/15 (2017), 247-258.

⁹³⁵ Tatjana Starodubcev, "Свети Константин и света Јелена у зидном сликарству у земљама Лазаревића и Бранковића (1371-1459)" [Saint Constantine and Saint Helena in wall painting in the countries of the Lazarevići and Brankovići], *Niš i Vizantija. Simpozijum* 12 (2013), 361-378.

(1373-1377, Fig. 6.20) and Nova Pavlica (last decade of the fourteenth century, Fig. 6.21), Rudenica Monastery (1403-1405, Fig. 6.22), the Church of the Dormition of the Holy Virgin in Ljubostinja (second layer of frescoes of 1406-1408), Church of the Presentation of the Holy Virgin in Kalenić Monastery (third decade of the fifteenth century), or St. Nicholas Church in Ramaća (probably 1457).⁹³⁶



Fig. 6.20 – Portraits of noblemen on the lower register of the northern wall of the narthex (left) and Sts Constantine and Helena in the south-eastern corner of the narthex (right), 1373-1377, fresco, Church of the Monastery of the Presentation of the Holy Virgin at the Temple in Veluč. Photos © The Author



Fig. 6.21 – Sts Constantine, Helena, and Peter (left), and St. Paul and the founders Stefan and Lazar Musić (right), lower register of the western wall of the nave (i.e., both sides of the door), 1390s, fresco, Church of the Monastery of the Presentation of the Holy Virgin to the Temple in Nova Pavlica. Photo Source: <http://www.svilajnac001.co.rs/> (Accessed 17 December 2017)

⁹³⁶ For more information on the mural decoration of these churches, see also: eadem, *Српско зидно сликарство у земљама Лазаревића и Бранковића. Књиге I и II* [Serbian wall painting in the countries of the Lazarevići and Brankovići. Books I and II] (Belgrade: Dosije Studio, 2016).



Fig. 6.22 – View to the western wall of the nave showing the relationship between the representations of founders (left) and Sts Constantine and Helena (right) on the lower register (i.e., both sides of the door), 1403-1405, fresco, church of the Monastery in Rudenica. Photo © The Author

These examples attest not only to the great popularity of the holy emperors, but also to their devotional relevance for the portrayed church founders. Additionally, they confirm the stability of these saints' iconographic setting in fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Byzantine church painting, namely, the western walls of the nave (more rarely, the narthex), and in the proximity of the ktetors' votive compositions. Certainly, in Byzantine church iconography there was always room for variation and there are rarely uniform or identical iconographic programs; however, certain iconographic consistencies or visual *topoi* are usually encountered, and the one described above is one of them.

Assigned equally to the western areas of a church, holy warriors were often included, among various other saintly figures, in the lower register of standing saints. Their proximity to the founders' votive compositions attests to the great relevance of these saints for the noble commissioners.⁹³⁷ Highly-venerated everywhere in the East and West, military saints were often

⁹³⁷ For the cult and iconography of holy warriors in Byzantium, see especially: Alexander Kazhdan, "Military Saints", in *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, ed. Alexander Kazhdan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), 1374; Alexander F. C. Webster, "Varieties of Christian Military Saints: From Martyrs under Caesar to Warrior Princes", *St. Vladimir's Theological Quarterly* 24/1 (1980), 3-36; Christopher Walter, "The Intaglio of Solomon in the Benaki Museum and the Origins of the Iconography of Warrior Saints", *Δελτίον της Χριστιανικής Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας* 15 (1989-1990), 35-42; idem, *The Warrior Saints in Byzantine Art and Tradition* (Aldershot and Burlington: Ashgate, 2003); Miodrag Marković, "О иконографији светих ратника у источно-хришћанској уметности и о представама ових светитеља у Дечанима" [On the iconography of holy warriors in Eastern-Christian art and on the performances of these saints in

invoked on account of their role as protectors and helpers in battle, or on account of their apotropaic function. Since the twelfth century on, they became the usual component of any iconographic program in churches across the Byzantine and Byzantine-Slavic Commonwealth. Portrayed either simply standing or riding a horse, they are sometimes represented in a more bellicose hypostasis, that is, fighting against the evil which took often the form of a dragon or serpent.⁹³⁸ Even though it is found almost everywhere in the East during the Middle Ages, their representation on horse and fighting against the evil seems to be more common in those border areas where military encounters with the enemy or the infidel were very frequent, or in those places where the influence of the Crusades was directly felt (e.g., Cappadocia, Crete, Cyprus, Egypt, Georgia, South Italy, Southern Morea, Syria, etc.).⁹³⁹ In the particular context of church decoration in fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Orthodox Transylvania, military saints such as George, Theodore, or Demetrius (represented either standing or riding) play indeed a prominent role among other depictions through their significant location, large size, and great number. This fact has been interpreted initially by Ecaterina Cincheza-Buculei as a defensive reaction of Romanian Orthodox noblemen, who tried this way to keep their national and religious identity threatened by the dominant culture, Hungarian and Catholic alike.⁹⁴⁰ However, considering the ktetors' military role and Transylvania's status of border region, Elena Dana Prioteasa has interpreted the depictions of military saints not exclusively as holy protectors, but also as a reflection of the social status and aspirations of the commissioners,

Dečani], in *Зидно сликарство манастира Дечана. Грађа и студије* [Wall painting of Dečani Monastery. Materials and studies], ed. Vojislav J. Đurić (Belgrade: SANU, 1995), 567-630; idem, "Свети ратници. Иконографска анализа" [Holy warriors. Iconographic analysis], in Đurić, *Манастир Ресава*, 191-217; Heather A. Badamo, *Image and Community: Representations of Military Saints in the Medieval Eastern Mediterranean*, PhD Diss. (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 2011); Monica White, *Military Saints in Byzantium and Rus, 900-1200* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013); Melina Paissidou, "Warrior Saints as Protectors of Byzantine Army in the Palaiologan Period: the Case of the Rock-cut Hermitage in Kolchida (Kilkis Prefecture)", in *Герои, култове, светци. Heroes, Cults, Saints*, ed. Ivanka Gergova and Emmanuel Moutafov (Sofia: Institut za izsledvane na izkustvata, BAN, 2015), 181-199.

⁹³⁸ For the iconography of mounted holy warriors, see especially: Mat Immerzeel, "Divine Cavalry: Mounted Saints in Middle Eastern Christian Art", in *East and West in the Crusader States. Context – Contacts – Confrontations*, ed. Krijnie Ciggaar and Herman Teule (Leuven: Peeters, 2003), 265-286; idem, "Holy Horsemen and Crusader Banners. Equestrian Saints in Wall Paintings in Lebanon and Syria", *Eastern Christian Art* 1 (2004), 29-60; Oya Pancaroğlu, "The Itinerant Dragon-slayer: Forging Paths of Image and Identity in Medieval Anatolia", *Gesta* 43/2 (2004), 151-164; Bas Snelders and Adeline Jeudy, "Guarding the Entrances: Equestrian Saints in Egypt and North Mesopotamia", *Eastern Christian Art* 3 (2006), 103-140.

⁹³⁹ Cincheza-Buculei, "Implicații sociale și politice", 26; Sharon E. J. Gerstel, "Art and Identity in the Medieval Morea", in *The Crusades from the Perspective of Byzantium and the Muslim World*, ed. Angeliki E. Laiou and Roy Parviz Mottahedeh (Washington, D. C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2001), 269-273; Jaroslav Folda, *Crusader Art in the Holy Land, from the Third Crusade to the Fall of Acre, 1187-1291* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 339, 637; Tolga B. Uyar, "Thirteenth-century 'Byzantine' Art in Cappadocia and the Question of Greek Painters at the Seljuq Court", in *Islam and Christianity in Medieval Anatolia*, ed. A. C. S. Peacock *et al.* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2015), 222-231.

⁹⁴⁰ Cincheza-Buculei, "Implicații sociale și politice", 3-34.

who served in the army and whose military exploits were the main path to social advancement and acknowledging of noble status.⁹⁴¹

When compared with the votive compositions' complex *mise-en-scène* in the Byzantine-Slavic Commonwealth, the iconographic setting of the ktetors' representations in the Orthodox churches in Crișcior and Ribița reveals a striking resemblance. In both cases, the founders and their family members are closely related to the depictions of the *sancti reges Hungariae*, the Finding of the Holy Cross, and the holy warriors. This iconographic association evokes the Byzantine-Slavic interweaving of representations, namely, the one between the founders' votive composition, the portraits of rulers, Sts Constantine and Helena flanking the Holy Cross, and the military saints. Seemingly, the painters in Crișcior and Ribița – following probably their iconographers' or commissioners' specific request – have adapted the familiar, Byzantine-Slavic model to the immediate political reality of the church founders, who were Romanian Orthodox noblemen leaving in a Hungarian Catholic state. One should not forget either that the portraits of founders and rulers in Byzantine church decoration were themselves faithful reflections of political order in a particular time and space. The transgression of the confessional border seems not to have mattered very much in this case, as the painters readily substituted the image symbolizing the effective political authority (i.e., the portraits of rulers) with the image of Hungary's holy kings, which functioned similarly and reflected faithfully the social and political reality of the Orthodox founders, who were Romanian noblemen living in the Catholic Kingdom of Hungary. As both political and spiritual symbols, the *sancti reges Hungariae* represented a double source of legitimacy for those who invoked them, their summoning in either a political or legal context signifying the approval or sanctioning of a certain event, as well as the guaranteeing of legal rights for different social categories or individual persons. As István Tringli has shown,⁹⁴² liberties derived from the holy kings – either from St. Stephen only, from St. Ladislav only, or from both holy rulers – appear systematically in Hungarian legal practice from the end of the twelfth century on. According to the written sources, these liberties originating from the holy kings could belong to certain churches (be they royal foundations or not), to the nobility or the country, to certain privileged people, to certain towns, and even to the peasants. When somebody referred to the liberty of the holy kings, that person expressed the antiquity, continuity (“uninterruptedness”), and legitimacy of rights or privileges. Such statement was invested with great authority and prestige, and had as purpose to ensure the preservation of those questioned rights or privileges. It so happened that, sometimes, the

⁹⁴¹ Prioteasa, “Medieval Wall Paintings”, 58-64; eadem, *Medieval Wall Paintings*, 54-60.

⁹⁴² István Tringli, “The Liberty of the Holy Kings. Saint Stephen and the Holy Kings in the Hungarian Legal Heritage”, in *Saint Stephen and His Country. A Newborn Kingdom in Central Europe: Hungary. Essays on Saint Stephen and His Age*, ed. Attila Zsoldos (Budapest: Lucidus Kiadó, 2001), 127-179.

liberties ascribed to the holy kings did not have, in fact, a certified source; what mattered most in these cases, however, was the petitioner's conviction that such authentic basis existed, as it allowed him to hope for the keeping or improving of his questioned condition. Such documents deriving certain rights or privileges from the liberty of the holy kings are indeed numerous throughout the Hungarian Late Middle Ages, and they are encountered sometimes also in connection with Romanian Orthodox noblemen. These documents can help one understand how the *sancti reges Hungariae* were perceived by this social category which Romanian Orthodox founders belonged to. They offer simultaneously a motivation for the holy kings' presence in Orthodox church decoration on the place traditionally occupied by the rulers' portraits as sources of political and legal legitimacy for church founders.

Responding to the concerns raised by Antipope John XXIII (1410-1415) in connection with the fate of Catholic faith in Hungary, a kingdom found in too close a proximity with the heresies propagated by the Cumans, Philistines (Alans), Tartars, and Vlachs, King Sigismund of Luxemburg expressed his refusal to adopt discriminatory measures against the latter people living on the territory of his kingdom.⁹⁴³ In his letter issued in Buda on January 14, 1412, the king reminded the pope that – similarly to other Hungarian noblemen, Saxons, and Szeklers – the Vlachs and other Schismatics in Transylvania enjoyed many and great liberties, both in the secular and ecclesiastical spheres, that have been granted to them by his predecessors, the holy and Catholic kings of Hungary (*diui et katholici Reges Hungarie predecessores nostri*).⁹⁴⁴ Adrian Andrei Rusu has called the attention upon several other documents that, similarly, ascribe the legitimacy of the rights and privileges of Romanian Orthodox noblemen to the beginnings of the state and to its founder, King and Saint Stephen I.⁹⁴⁵ In 1445, the noblemen Petru, Mândrea, Nan, Costea, Sandrin, Nicolae Popa, and Micula *de possessione Viso-Kenesy* addressed the authorities of Máramaros County with a complaint. Desiring to obtain a charter confirming their ownership over a certain

⁹⁴³ For the historical context of this document, see Mureșan, “Histoire de trois empereurs”, 73-74. I am grateful to the author for calling my attention upon this document.

⁹⁴⁴ “Sanctissime pater et domine Reuerendissime Exacti temporis antiquitas fideliter edocet et describit Quod diui et katholici Reges Hungarie predecessores nostri partes Transiluanas que promiscuarum gencium et linguarum (lingvarum) Nobilium videlicet Hungarorum, Saxonum et Siculorum et eciam cohabitancium Valachorum ac aliorum Scismaticorum permixte dinoscuntur eo magis pre ceteris Regionibus sibi subiectis sue potencie clipeo protexerunt, quo magis pocioribus, saltim propter incredulorum vicinium egere conspexerunt, eosque multis et immensis libertatibus multifarie in temporalibus et ecclesiasticis ampliarunt, et nihilominus in suis munificencijs erga illos immensitatem solam pro mensura ponentes...”, doc. no. CCCCIV, in Eudoxiu de Hurmuzaki, ed., *Documente privitoare la Istoria Românilor 1346-1450 culese, adnotate și publicate de Nic. Densușianu. Cu șese tabele facsimile heliografice și cu două apendice . Documente slavone însoțite de traduceri latine 1198-1459* [Documents regarding the history of Romanians 1346-1450 collected, annotated, and published by Nic. Densușianu. With six heliographical, facsimile tables and two appendices. Slavonic documents accompanied by Latin translations 1198-1459] (Bucharest: I. V. Socecă, 1890), 491 (henceforth: Hurmuzaki, *Documente privitoare la Istoria Românilor 1346-1450*); doc. no. 1572, in Elemér Mályusz, ed., *Zsigmondkori Oklevéltár III. 1411-1412* [Diplomatics of Sigismund age III. 1411-1412] (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1993), 396.

⁹⁴⁵ Rusu, *Ioan de Hunedoara*, 190-191.

property, they claimed that their forefathers Negrilă and Radomir used that land ever since the time of the very holy Stephen, the King of Hungary (*temporibus sacratissimi regis Stephani Hungariae utifacti fuissent*), and that this land possession was granted to them on account of their loyalty by the same very holy King Stephen (*sacratissimus rex Stephanus eisdem primis parentibus Nequile et Radamer vocati et nominati propter fidelitatem pretia exhibens*).⁹⁴⁶ In a similar way (though without explicitly mentioning the holy king), the noblemen of Măciș claimed in 1452 in front of the two Bans of Szőreny that they owned their possession in Dobregoste de Jos since the year 1000 (*ipsi Nobiles de Matskas in Dominio ipsius possessionis Also Dobrogozt, ab Annis Domini Millenis permansissent*).⁹⁴⁷ By this statement, they wanted to prove the legitimacy of their right of ownership which descended uninterruptedly since the foundation of the Hungarian Christian state by King Stephen I. In a charter addressed to the tax collectors of Doboka County in 1472, King Matthias Corvinus confirmed that the Vlachs established in *Districtu Radna Völgye* were long ago donated to the town of Bistrița by his predecessors, the Holy Kings of Hungary (*per Divos Reges Hungariae nostros scilicet praedecessores*). Although their liberties have been previously infringed upon, the king decided that they should enjoy them still, according to the donations granted to them by those kings (*secundum Donationes praefatorum Regum*).⁹⁴⁸ Ioan Drăgan noted as well a significant detail occurring in a document issued in 1444, in which Despot Đurađ Branković (1427-1456) commends Voivode John Hunyadi for his efforts, zeal, and expenses in recovering the lost Serbian lands from the Turks, and hands him over as a reward the royal *castrum* of Șiria (Hung. *Világosvár*), which the Serbian despot had previously received (1439) from the King of Hungary.⁹⁴⁹ Together with all the estates depending on the royal *castrum*, the Serbian despot transferred also its conditional noblemen, Hungarian and Romanian alike, who belonged to it since old times,

⁹⁴⁶ "... quomodo prefatorum keneziorum primi parentes seu avi ipsorum, puta Nequile et Radamer vocati et nominati, temporibus sacratissimi regis Stephani Hungariae utifacti fuissent, quasdam terras solitudinem montium alpinatis gremio et de presenti in eisdem utens quas quidem sacratissimus rex Stephanus eisdem primis parentibus Nequile et Radamer propter fidelitatem pretia exhibens cum omnibus utilitatibus et pertinentiis...", doc. no. 106, in Adrian Andrei Rusu, Ioan Aurel Pop, and Ioan Drăgan, ed., *Izvoare privind Evul Mediu românesc. Țara Hațegului în secolul al XV-lea (1402-1473)* [Sources concerning the Romanian Middle Ages. Hátszeg Land in the 15th century (1402-1473)], (Cluj-Napoca: Editura Dacia, 1989), 133-135.

⁹⁴⁷ Doc. no. X, in Eudoxiu de Hurmuzaki, ed., *Documente privitoare la Istoria Românilor 1451-1510 culese, adnotate și publicate de Nic. Densușianu. Cu ună apendice. Documente slavone însoțite de traduceri latine 1451-1517* [Documents regarding the history of Romanians 1451-1510 collected, annotated, and published by Nic. Densușianu. With one appendix. Slavonic documents accompanied by Latin translations 1451-1517] (Bucharest: I. V. Socec, 1891), 14-15.

⁹⁴⁸ "... quod licet alias Universi Valachi in Districtu Radna Völgye commorantes, per Divos Reges Hungariae nostros scilicet praedecessores eidem Civitati in perpetuum donatum fuisset, tamen his praeteritis temporibus Dicator. nostror. ab eadem Civitate ipsos Valachos separasset, et in medium nobilium Cottus. praedicti numerasset, atque dicasset, in praejudicium Libertatum eorum, et damnum non modicum. Unde fidelitate vestrae firmiter mandamus, quatenus perceptis praesentibus, si sic est, ut nobis expositum exstitit, ex tunc per amplius ipsos Valachos in medium nobilium non dicetis, sed ad ipsam Civitatem secundum Donationes praefatorum Regum pertinere, ac in omnibus libertatibus, quibus alias usi fuerint uti permittatis, et permitti facere debeatis.", doc. no. CXCIX, in *ibid.*, 221-222.

⁹⁴⁹ Drăgan, *Nobilimea românească*, 210-211, 314.

conditioning the voivode to preserve them untouched in their nobility, rights, and liberties which were assigned to them by the holy kings (*item nobilibus Ungaris et Walachis castrensibus, semper et ab antiquo ad ipsum castrum spectantibus, sic, quod eisdem, in eorum nobilitate, iuribus et libertatibus, per divos reges ipsis concessis*). Interestingly enough, this donation included also the right of patronage over several town parish churches and all churches and chapels located on the estates of the royal fortress and belonging to both (Catholic) Christians and (Orthodox) Vlachs (*simulcum iure patronatus ecclesiarum parochialium in Syri, Galza, Mezth, Keresbanya, Kisbanya, ac cunctarum aliarum ecclesiarum et capellarum, tam Christianorum quam Walachorum, ubivis in pertinentiis dicti castri habitarum*).⁹⁵⁰ This transfer of ecclesiastic patronage confirms the idea that in medieval Hungary, too, religious foundations – Catholic and Orthodox alike – were institutions that existed and functioned also in a secular reality, being subordinated to and requiring confirmation from a political authority.

The meaning of the word *divus* appearing in these documents did not exactly correspond to the meaning of *sanctus* and *beatus* or their superlatives, but as István Tringli has shown, the expression *divi reges* (i.e., *late kings*) was often translated as *holy kings* at the end of the Middle Ages, and *the liberty of the late kings* came to be hardly differentiated from *the liberty of the holy kings*.⁹⁵¹ When someone referred to the liberty of a *divus rex*, that person did not simply mean the favor of a deceased king, but wanted to express the antiquity and legitimacy of a liberty granted to him by a sovereign, who had lived long ago and whose figure enjoyed great authority, as the holy kings of Hungary did. One should not forget that, besides their occurrence in documents as originators of legal rights, the *sancti reges Hungariae* appeared also as guarantors of these rights in the charters' *sanctiones*. These included sometimes spiritual penalties under the form of malediction, curse, or anathema manifested by various holy figures upon those breaching the terms of a legal act.⁹⁵² The inclusion of the *sancti reges Hungariae* in such a hypostasis was meant to provide for sacred protection and to guarantee that a legal act will not be violated. That this was a widely-spread practice in Hungarian chanceries is confirmed also by another document issued by

⁹⁵⁰ "... castrum eorum Vilagosvar vocatum, cum oppidis Syri et Galsa, Mezth, Keresbanya, alio nomine Cybebanya, Kisbanya, alio nomine Medwepataka, item districtibus Kaladwa, Aranyag, Kapolna, Chwch, Feyerkeres, Halmagh, Ribiche, ac possessionibus et villis, item nobilibus Ungaris et Walachis castrensibus, semper et ab antiquo ad ipsum castrum spectantibus, sic, quod eisdem, in eorum nobilitate, iuribus et libertatibus, per divos reges ipsis concessis, permanentibus, necnon urburis in Nagybanya et Kisbanya predictis ac alias ubivis, habitis, ad predictam castrum pertinentibus, in comitatu de Zarand et Orodienzi existentibus, habitum, simulcum iure patronatus ecclesiarum parochialium in Syri, Galza, Mezth, Keresbanya, Kisbanya, ac cunctarum aliarum ecclesiarum et capellarum, tam Christianorum quam Walachorum, ubivis in pertinentiis dicti castri habitarum...", doc. no. 274, in Ștefan Pascu *et al.* ed., *Documenta Romaniae Historica D. Relații între țările române Volumul I (1222-1456)* [Documenta Romaniae Historica D. Relations between Romanian countries Volume I (1222-1456)] (Bucharest: Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste România, 1977), 379-383 (henceforth: *DRH-D*).

⁹⁵¹ Tringli, "Liberty of Holy Kings", 152-163.

⁹⁵² See nn. 137-144.

Vladislav I (1367-1377), *woyuoda Transalpinus, banus de Zerinio et dux nove plantacionis terre Fugaras*. Acting in 1372 on behalf of King Louis the Great, his suzerain, and of himself, Voivode Vladislav I granted to Ladislav of Doboka, his relative, a number of possessions in his newly-acquired fiefdom of Fogaras, as a reward for Ladislav's faithful service. Through the voice of his Latin clerk, the Wallachian ruler guaranteed the donation's perpetual inviolability by invoking the *indignatio* of God, the Holy Virgin, All Saints, and of Hungary's three holy kings, who were individually named.⁹⁵³ In such context, the *sancti reges Hungariae* became, through their invocation, guarantors of legal rights, whose main duty was to watch over the keeping of the law and punish its transgression.

6. 4. 2. *Sancti reges Hungariae* in (Western) Context – The Images in Dârlos, Chimindia, and Remetea and Their Iconographic Surroundings

The workshop responsible for creating the image of Sts Ladislav and Stephen in Dârlos was undoubtedly trained in the spirit of Byzantine tradition, somewhere either in the Byzantine Commonwealth or in a multicultural milieu, where the Byzantine component was an integrant – if not dominant – part. This workshop was not responsible for the overall conception of the iconographic program of the space where these saints appeared, namely, the sanctuary of a Catholic church. It was this workshop, however, that was accountable for some of the departures from the usual iconographic *topoi* of a Catholic sanctuary.⁹⁵⁴ Contrarily to Byzantine sanctuaries which have a very stable and highly-symbolical iconography meant to fulfill specific liturgical functions,⁹⁵⁵ the iconography of Catholic sanctuaries is characterized by a higher degree of freedom in the choice of themes and subjects. Although symbolical images are present here as well, the predilection of

⁹⁵³ "... eciam si nos vel aliquis successorum nostrorum in posterum litteras nostras presents et donacionem presentem suprascriptam revocare intenderet, inpedire reicpere vellet et presente karte contradiceret et donacioni, fiet super talem aut tales furor et indignatio dei, beate virginis Marie, omnium sanctorum, indignatio sanctorum regum Stephani, Ladyslai et Emerici.", doc. no. 60, in *DRH-D*, 1: 103-106, esp. p. 104.

⁹⁵⁴ For the iconographic program of the sanctuary in Dârlos, see the relevant entry in the Catalogue of Murals. In the context of medieval Catholic art in Transylvania, one cannot speak about a rigorous iconographic program of different church spaces as it happens in Byzantium. However, some common iconographic tendencies (e.g., the preference for certain representations and their placing in particular architectural settings) can be surely encountered here, as elsewhere in Central and Western Europe for that matter. See in this respect: France Stelè, "Slovenska gotska podružnica in njen ikonografski kanon" [The Slovenian Gothic branch and its iconographic canon], *Sbornik Narodog Muzeja* 4 (1964), 315-328; Drăguț, "Iconografia picturilor", 7-8; Dragoș Năstăsioiu, *Gothic Art in Romania* (Bucharest: NOI Media Print, 2011), 106-125.

⁹⁵⁵ For an overview on the iconographic program of Byzantine sanctuaries, see: Sharon E. J. Gerstel, *Beholding the Sacred Mysteries. Programs of the Byzantine Sanctuary* (Seattle and London: College Art Association and University of Washington Press, 1999), with bibliography.

Gothic sensitivity for the narrative tends to dominate the overall iconographic program.⁹⁵⁶ This is apparent in the sanctuary of Dârlos through the Legend of St. Catherine of Alexandria, which occupies almost its entire southern wall,⁹⁵⁷ and possibly through the Christological cycle on the vault.⁹⁵⁸ The eschatological aspect is equally emphasized through the Parable of the Wise and Foolish Virgins placed as usual on the intrados of the triumphal arch (partially uncovered), through Byzantine-type images of cherubs and seraphs scattered on the walls, and through the complex composition of the Last Judgment which occupies entirely the northern wall. Although this location was unconceivable according to Byzantine iconography, which assigns the Last Judgment to the church's less-sacred, western spaces (e.g., narthex or exonarthex),⁹⁵⁹ the painters of Byzantine tradition in Dârlos complied instead with the requirements of their commissioner(s), as eschatological themes are sometimes encountered in Catholic sanctuaries.⁹⁶⁰ The selection of saints depicted on the windows' jambs, the southern wall of the sanctuary, and the lunettes below the vault's webbing confirms the involvement of the Catholic commissioner(s) in the overall conception of the iconographic program, and additionally the usage of this religious edifice by the Catholics. Besides Old Testament Prophets and saints venerated both in the East and the West (e.g., Sts Anthony the Great, Catherine of Alexandria, Dorothea of Caesarea, Helena, Margaret of Antioch/Marina, Martin of Tours, Nicholas, etc.), there are also saints associated mainly (if not exclusively) with Catholic devotional practice (e.g., St. Claire of Assisi, St. Dominic, and naturally Hungary's holy kings, Sts Ladislav and Stephen). The latter two saints are singled out from the rest of the sanctuary's mural decoration by their particular position on the southern wall within the stone *sedilia* crowned by Gothic gable. During the Middle Ages, the *sedilia* were used by the officiating

⁹⁵⁶ For the emotional function of narrative painting, see especially: William Tronzo, "The Prestige of Saint Peter's: Observations on the Function of Monumental Narrative Cycles in Italy", and Hans Belting, "The New Role of Narrative in Public Painting of the Trecento: *Historia* and Allegory", in *Studies in the History of Art. Vol. 16. Symposium Papers IV: Pictorial Narrative in Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, ed. Herbert L. Kessler and Marianna Shreve Simpson (London: University Press of New England, 1985), 93-112, 151-168; Marilyn Aronberg Lavin, *The Place of Narrative. Mural Decoration in Italian Churches, 431-1600* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1990).

⁹⁵⁷ For an analysis of St. Catherine's Legend in Dârlos together with two other Transylvanian examples, see Gaylhofer-Kovács, "Alexandriai Szent Katalin", 286-322.

⁹⁵⁸ This statement is hypothetical, as only two scenes are currently uncovered on the vault, namely: *Noli me tangere* and the Samaritan Woman at the Well.

⁹⁵⁹ For the Byzantine iconography of Last Judgment, see especially: Desanka Milošević, *Das jüngste Gericht* (Recklinghausen: A. Bongers, 1963); Beat Brenk, "Die Anfänge der byzantinischen Weltgerichtsdarstellung", *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 57 (1964), 106-126; idem, *Tradition und Neuerung in der christlichen Kunst des ersten Jahrtausends. Studien zur Geschichte des Weltgerichtsbildes* (Vienna: Böhlau, 1966); Marcello Angehen, "Les Jugements derniers byzantins des XIe-XIIe siècles et l'iconographie du jugement immédiat", *Cahiers Archéologiques* 50 (2003), 105-134; Valentino Pace, ed., *Le Jugement dernier entre Orient et Occident* (Paris: Cerf, 2007). For cases that are similar in many respects to Dârlos, see: Robert S. Nelson, "A Byzantine Painter in Trecento Genoa: The Last Judgment at S. Lorenzo", *The Art Bulletin* 67/4 (1985), 548-566; Ortese, "Sequenza del lavoro", 374-391.

⁹⁶⁰ For eschatological themes in Catholic sanctuaries, see Drăguț, "Iconografia picturilor", 13-22; for a Last Judgment composition located similarly on the northern wall of the sanctuary of a Catholic church, see the late-fourteenth century fresco in Čerín, n. 338-341.

priest and his assistants (i.e., the deacon and sub-deacon) during the early parts of the Mass, namely, before commencing the proper celebration of the Eucharist at the altar; their decoration – either carved or painted – is extremely varied.⁹⁶¹ However, Sts Ladislav and Stephen appear also in the painted decoration of the *sedilia* of the church in Šmig, a settlement that was situated very close to Dârlos (ca 7 km North-East) and was found for sometime in the ownership of the same noble family as Dârlos.⁹⁶² The presence of Sts Ladislav and Stephen in a similar setting in the two neighboring churches seems to indicate that the two holy kings had either a special significance (maybe liturgical) for this particular location or a personal-devotional relevance for the two churches' patrons (Fig. 6.24).

As mentioned before, the depiction of Emperor Constantine together with St. Helena is another curious hybrid. Represented according to their Byzantine iconography, the two figures flank the Holy Cross, but it is only Constantine who is dressed in Byzantine imperial vestment; his mother, instead, is dressed in Western attire. The hybrid character of this image is not limited to the saints' vestments only, but extends also upon their identity. Although Emperor Constantine is haloed, he was not a saint according to the Roman Church; as previously mentioned, he appeared, nonetheless, in his saintly quality in several Catholic churches across medieval Hungary.⁹⁶³ Sts Constantine and Helena are placed in the immediate proximity of Hungary's two holy kings, i.e., on their left (eastern) side, and both iconic images are environed by the extensive cycle narrating the multiple martyrdoms of the Alexandrine holy virgin and princess (eight scenes). Besides the two Old Testament Prophets depicted on the jambs of the southern window and the Man of Sorrows depicted on the gable of the *sedilia*, all other saints are either imperial (Sts Constantine and Helena), royal (Sts Ladislav and Stephen), or princely (St. Catherine of Alexandria),⁹⁶⁴ a fact which confers a certain conceptual axis to the selection of saintly figures on the southern wall of the sanctuary. Moreover, the iconic features of the two double images and the saints' belonging to similar categories (imperial and royal, respectively) make them stand out from the rest of narrative representations on the southern wall, creating an additional, conceptual link between the images of Sts Constantine and Helena, and Sts Ladislav and Stephen, respectively.

⁹⁶¹ For the function and decoration of *sedilia*, see: Lucy Wrapson, "The Material and Techniques of the c. 1307 Westminster Abbey Sedilia", in *Medieval Painting in Northern Europe. Technique, Analysis and Art History. Studies in Commemoration of the 70th Birthday of Unn Plahter*, ed. Jilleen Nadolny (London: Archetype Publications, 2006), 114-136; James Alexander Cameron, *Sedilia in Medieval England*, PhD Diss. (London: The Courtauld Institute of Art, University of London, 2015); idem, "Sedilia in choro sunt fracta: The Medieval Nomenclature of Seating in Churches", *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* 168 (2015), 111-130.

⁹⁶² For the possible donors of the murals in Dârlos and Šmig, see *infra*.

⁹⁶³ Whether St. Constantine enjoyed a real cult in medieval Hungary or his presence next to his mother in the decoration of these Catholic churches was only the consequence of an increasing cult of the Holy Cross on the background of the fight against the Ottoman threat, it is a question to be explored by further research.

⁹⁶⁴ In half of the cycle's episodes, St. Catherine is represented wearing a crown.

Besides the Orthodox cases in Crișcior and Ribița, there are several other Catholic occurrences of the *sancti reges Hungariae* in the proximity of St. Helena. On the one hand, in Ragály, St. Ladislav is placed on the southern pillar of the triumphal arch and is depicted under his knightly guise holding ostentatiously the battle axe, whereas the image of St. Helena holding the cross is located on the intrados of the triumphal arch, but on its opposing, northern half. Together with an unidentified holy princess, St. Helena flanks Veronica's Veil placed in the apex of the triumphal arch. St. Ladislav's counterpart is a poorly-preserved, unidentifiable holy bishop. On the other hand, in the early-fifteenth century murals of the former Catholic church in Khust, the three *sancti reges Hungariae* and St. Helena are placed next to each other on the lower register of the nave's northern wall. Although fragmentarily preserved, the Holy Empress holds the Cross and is placed on the wall's eastern side, i.e., close to the triumphal arch, in a similar location with her images in Crișcior and Ribița. The Cross held by St. Helena echoes the red crosses depicted on each of the shields of the three *sancti reges Hungariae*, who are represented under a knightly guise. Their uniform and prominent knightly appearance indicates that it was not the royal hypostasis that prevailed in Khust, but rather their side of *miles Christi*. As Christian warriors, Hungary's holy kings were venerated as protectors in battle and defenders of faith, and their association with St. Helena further emphasized their aspect of soldiers fighting in the name of the Holy Cross.⁹⁶⁵

Despite its personal-devotional character and its royal commissioner, another work of art and piety should be mentioned again in the context of this particular iconographic association, namely, the Diptych of the future King of Hungary, Andrew III (Fig. 2.1-2.2).⁹⁶⁶ Tool of private devotion and contemplation for the young and very spiritual prince, this diptych represents entirely the art of multicultural Venice. Among the 44 iconic depictions of saints which surround the central, narrative images, there are also the busts of Hungary's three holy kings, who appear in the company of their relative, St. Elizabeth of Hungary. In their immediate proximity, there are also the busts of Sts George and Theodore (left side), and Sts Helena and Constantine (right side). Undoubtedly, this grouping of military, dynastic, and imperial saints responded to the devotional needs of the young prince preparing for kingship:⁹⁶⁷ as future king, Andrew was supposed to engage in military endeavors, to show his reverence towards his holy predecessors, and to follow the model of the ideal rulers *par excellence*. As previously mentioned, the typology of the three holy kings does not correspond to their later, Hungarian one, and the Árpadian saints' appearance was most

⁹⁶⁵ In Tornaszentandrás, St. Helena (southern side of the nave's eastern wall) is spatially close to St. Stephen (southern pillar of the triumphal arch). However, their proximity is not a conceptual one, as the two images belong to different church spaces (i.e., nave and sanctuary, respectively), and there are plenty of places inside the church, where the two images are not seen together simultaneously.

⁹⁶⁶ See nn. 160-163.

⁹⁶⁷ Marosi, "Diptych of King Andrew III", 57.

likely the result of the imaginative process of their author, an anonymous painter trained in the Venetian-Byzantine tradition. The grouping of these particular categories of saints reminds one the similar iconographic association encountered in Crișcior and Ribița. Having had certainly a different level of artistry and training, the authors of the three ensembles of images had probably a similar reasoning when grouping the respective saints, a reasoning which was akin to the Byzantine way of thinking in pictorial and typological categories. Trying to meet their commissioners' expectations, these different painters working in different conditions relied on both the information conveyed by their iconographers and their previous knowledge on saints, and this led to similar associations. It is very likely that, in these painters' view, an imperial and military company seemed natural for some royal saints they did not know much about and who did not belong to their cultural and spiritual background.⁹⁶⁸ In Catholic church painting, the *sancti reges Hungariae* do occur sometimes in the company of either holy knights or St. Helena, but as far as the preserved evidence indicates, the holy kings are not simultaneously associated with both. According to the patterns of iconographic association encountered in Catholic mural decoration across medieval Hungary, St. Helena's image tends to be placed next to various other female saints, the *Schutzmantelmadonna*, *Anna Selbdritt*, the Holy Kindred, or different Passion scenes,⁹⁶⁹ whereas the iconographic context of the *sancti reges Hungariae* is indeed extremely varied.⁹⁷⁰

The mural decoration of the nave of the church in Chimindia is preserved only partially and its surviving fragments come from at least three different periods. Regarded together, these fragments of murals reflect the common practice of Gothic wall painting which, besides unitarily-conceived mural ensembles, displays very often the *patchwork effect* of decoration produced in multiple stages and different ratios. In most of the cases, they have been created at the initiative of various commissioners and their painters have had unequal skills and distinct manners, a fact which is visible in the heterogeneous stylistic features of the general mural ensemble.⁹⁷¹ A fragment showing several sinners driven by devils in the open mouth of the Leviathan is still visible on the western side of the nave's southern wall. This fragment was certainly part of a larger composition of the Last Judgment, and it is dated stylistically to the second half of the fourteenth century. The image of Hungary's three holy kings has been subsequently painted on the eastern side of the Leviathan fragment during the first decades of the fifteenth century. This decoration stage was more extensive, as another fragment – the Holy Virgin with Child partially visible outside, in the lunette

⁹⁶⁸ For a different interpretation of the diptych's iconographic content as a sort of collective invocation of God coming from a long Carolingian and Ottonian tradition, see Kerny, "Magyar szent királyok XIII.-XVII. sz.", 83.

⁹⁶⁹ Prioteasa, "Medieval Wall Paintings", 111.

⁹⁷⁰ For such patterns of association, see above and below.

⁹⁷¹ Năstăsoiu, *Gothic Art*, 108-109.

of the southern portal – displays the same technical and stylistic features with the scene of the *sancti reges Hungariae*.⁹⁷² As mentioned earlier, judging by the similarity concerning their technique, style, chromatics, and inscriptions, both representations are most likely owed to the same workshop responsible for the now-fragmentary frescoes of the church in Abrud.⁹⁷³ After this stage and following a fire that affected partially its mural decoration, the church was reconsecrated in 1482, as attested by three consecration crosses painted *a secco* on the nave's southern wall and inscribed, this time, in Latin.⁹⁷⁴ It was probably after this fire – namely, during the late-fifteenth century – that the northern wall of the nave was decorated with a large composition of the Last Judgment which occupies almost entirely the nave's southern wall, but which survives now in a very fragmented state. The eastern consecration cross overlaps with the decorative frame and partially the feet of Sts Ladislav and Stephen in the scene of Hungary's three holy kings, indicating thus that it was added later. The middle cross is placed on the same height in an area with no surviving medieval decoration, whereas the western cross (partially preserved) was painted over the fourteenth-century fresco layer, in the open mouth of Leviathan. Their somehow careful placing on the same height and in positions which do not obscure significant and meaningful areas of the previous frescoes, as well as a graffito containing the year 148[...] on Leviathan's lower side⁹⁷⁵ indicate that the two previous scenes – i.e., the fourteenth-century Last Judgment and the early-fifteenth century *sancti reges Hungariae* – were both left at sight during the second half of the fifteenth century and were probably still visible even after the 1482 reconsecration and redecoration of the church. Subsequently, the three *sancti reges Hungariae* were added during the early-fifteenth century to the church's partially-surviving, fourteenth-century decoration, and so was later added to the previous two stages of decoration the late-fifteenth century Last Judgment on the northern wall. However, it is not certain whether, during these three decoration campaigns, the church's nave was covered or not completely with murals. The holy king's scene in Chimindia was part of a composite mural ensemble or a pictorial palimpsest, which was created in distinct stages in the course of almost two centuries and which lacked the conceptual coherence of a unitarily-conceived iconographic program. Even though their personal manners differ, all painters were trained in the West and the hybridity of the holy kings' scene in Chimindia resides only in its accompanying, Cyrillic inscriptions, a detail that contrasts with the other Latin inscriptions surviving in the church.

⁹⁷² Burnichioiu, “Biserici parohiale și capele”, 345, corrected the earlier opinion which assigned the portal's painted decoration to the previous, fourteenth-century stage of decoration, Jékely and Kiss, *Középkori falképek Erdélyben*, 141.

⁹⁷³ Burnichioiu, “Biserici parohiale și capele”, 110-112, 345.

⁹⁷⁴ Jékely and Kiss, *Középkori falképek Erdélyben*, 140-141; Burnichioiu, “Biserici parohiale și capele”, 346. For these consecration crosses especially, see: Năstăsoiu, “*Sancti reges Hungariae*”, 52-53; Burnichioiu, “Cruci de consacrare”, 53, 70-71.

⁹⁷⁵ Transcribed by Vladimir Agrigoroaei, this graffito is mentioned by Ileana Burnichioiu in her unpublished study on the murals in Chimindia and Abrud. I am grateful to the author for sharing with me a draft version of her new study.

In contrast with Chimindia, both the nave and sanctuary of the church in Remetea have been decorated during the early-fifteenth century at the initiative of the Catholic commissioners who owned the settlement.⁹⁷⁶ These murals are the work of a single workshop trained in the West, which created a coherent and unitary iconographic program. The three *sancti reges Hungariae* are placed on the right side of the sanctuary's Eucharistic niche, namely, on the lower register of the north-eastern wall of the pentagonal, Gothic choir. In-between the Eucharistic niche and the sacristy door, i.e., on the lower register still, there are two fragmentary representations of Holy Apostle Bartholomew, namely: his martyrdom through skinning and his naked, flayed figure holding his skin on a staff. The location of these representations next to the Holy Gifts' niche is not accidental, as the sacrifice and bloody martyrdom of St. Bartholomew are sometimes associated with Eucharistic themes, as it happens in the mural retablo in Čerín, where the skinned apostle is placed next to the Eucharistic *Vir dolorum* (Fig. 3.7, left).⁹⁷⁷ St. Bartholomew appears a third time in the decoration of the sanctuary, namely, in the row of standing Apostles depicted in the upper register, and his figure is placed right above that of St. Emeric in the register below. Following the representation of the *sancti reges Hungariae* in the lower register, there is a long portion of decorative, hanging curtains, which ends with three standing saints separated by draperies, but only Holy Archangel Michael holding a sword above his head is currently identifiable. The upper register of the sanctuary is entirely reserved to depictions of Holy Apostles, who are represented either in iconic or narrative hypostases, but only some of them are currently identifiable by their attributes, accompanying inscriptions, or actions. These are: St. Judas Thaddeus or Iscariot, probably St. Philip, St. James the Greater, St. Peter, St. Paul, St. Bartholomew, St. Thomas checking Christ's side wound, and probably St. John. Another, unidentifiable apostle pointing by his finger to a closed book and turning his back to the Flagellation of Christ concludes the series. During the Middle Ages, the Holy Apostles depicted standing and holding attributes are often placed in the lower register of the sanctuary and they form an integrant part of the iconographic program of the altar space in many Catholic churches.⁹⁷⁸ Sometimes, when they are represented in the sanctuary, the *sancti reges Hungariae* are clearly associated with the Holy Apostles, being included in the same row (e.g., Bijacovce, Kameňany, Levoča, Lónya, Rákoš, Sâncraiu de Mureș,

⁹⁷⁶ For the church's owners until the first decades of the fifteenth century, see n. 408. For the church's iconographic program and the murals' dating, see the relevant entries in the Catalogue of Murals.

⁹⁷⁷ For Čerín murals, see n. 338-341; for St. Bartholomew's Eastern and Western iconography, see Prioteasa, "Medieval Wall Paintings", 183-191; for the iconography of the Eucharistic Man of Sorrows, see Dóra Sallay, "The Eucharistic Man of Sorrows in Late Medieval Art", *Annual of Medieval Studies at CEU* 6 (2000), 45-80.

⁹⁷⁸ Drăguț, "Iconografia picturilor", 13-16.

Fig. 4.8), or at least depicted in their proximity (e.g., Jakubovany, Fig. 4.6).⁹⁷⁹ This association clearly enriched the meaning of the image of the *sancti reges Hungariae*, indicating their apostolic rank.⁹⁸⁰

Even though it was executed during the same phase, the decoration of the nave can be regarded as a distinct iconographic unit than that of the sanctuary, as the two interior divisions of the church were separated initially by a triumphal arch.⁹⁸¹ The image of the *sancti reges Hungariae* was not directly related to the decoration of the nave, although one can specify that St. Ladislav was particularly venerated in Remetea, his narrative cycle having been placed in the upper register of the northern wall of the nave. As shown earlier, St. Ladislav's special veneration in this place is connected with the settlement's and the church's ownership by the Bishops of Nagyvárad throughout the fourteenth and the first half of the fifteenth century.⁹⁸² Other murals in the nave are poorly preserved and their identification is problematic, but the narrative component was present here not only through St. Ladislav's Legend, but also through the cycle of St. Margaret of Antioch which was placed on the lower register of the nave's southern wall. This narrative cycle is uncovered partially, only two martyrdom scenes being currently visible. Additionally, on the northern wall of the nave, there are two other fragments of murals that – unlike the previous frescoes which display formal features characteristic for the early-fifteenth century variant of the International Gothic – belong to a provincial Byzantine style encountered elsewhere in the area around the mid-fifteenth century.⁹⁸³ These Byzantine-style murals cover partially earlier representations and they are poorly and fragmentarily preserved. However, they most likely depict the Nativity of Christ (almost two registers on the eastern side of the nave's northern wall, close to the triumphal arch) and the Holy Virgin dressed in red *maphorion* and accompanied by two angel-

⁹⁷⁹ In Sâncraiu de Mureș, out of the two holy kings visible in Ödön Nemes' copy, St. Stephen is depicted sitting on the southern pillar of the triumphal arch, whereas St. Ladislav is represented standing in his proximity, but on the lower register of the sanctuary, where figures of standing apostles were originally included. The only holy-king figure preserved in Jakubovany is placed on the southern pillar of the triumphal arch, whereas several seated Holy Apostles follow naturally on the lower register of the sanctuary's southern wall. In the sanctuary of the Church of St. James the Greater in Levoča, the heavily-repainted, standing figures of Sts Stephen and Ladislav are depicted in the company of Old Testament Prophets and Holy Apostles, both categories holding scrolls with verses of the Credo; this visual statement of Christian belief with complex, theological and doctrinal emphases was created around 1400. For the Levoča murals, see especially: Dušan Buran, *Studien zur Wandmalerei um 1400 in der Slowakei. Die Pfarrkirche St. Jakob in Leutschau und die Pfarrkirche St. Franziskus Seraphicus in Poniky* (Weimar: Verlag und Datenbank für Gisteswissenschaften, 2002), 13-112, with rich bibliography.

⁹⁸⁰ Szakács, "Saints of the Knights", 330. The author assumes that this association was clearly motivated politically, but does not detail this aspect.

⁹⁸¹ Currently, the interior of the church appears like a single, continuous space, but during the Middle Ages, the nave and sanctuary were separated by a triumphal arch; this was later demolished, but its position was marked during the building's restoration and the murals' uncovering, Lángi and Mihály, *Erdélyi falképek és festett faberendezések*, 2: 71-72.

⁹⁸² See n. 408.

⁹⁸³ Their later date than the other murals of the nave is confirmed also by the frescoes' stratigraphy, Lángi and Mihály, *Erdélyi falképek és festett faberendezések*, 2: 74.

deacons (halfway the northern wall's lower register, right below the episode of St. Ladislav's Fight with the Cuman). According to restorer József Lángi,⁹⁸⁴ these two frescoes have similar style and technical characteristics with other Byzantine murals which are accompanied by inscriptions in Old Church Slavonic and are encountered in the same church, namely, in the room below the western tower, which represented during the Middle Ages the main access to the nave. All Byzantine-style murals in this church were most likely executed during the same decoration campaign and represented the activity of a single workshop. The images in the room below the western tower depict Christ Judge on the vault (partially preserved), the four Evangelists with two six-winged seraphs (side walls), the Holy Mother of God *Glykophilousa* (above the entrance to the nave), and probably either the Descent from the Cross or the Entombment of Christ (above the western door). Even though abbreviated, the eschatological and funerary emphases of this iconographic program are self-explanatory and they recall one remotely the function of Byzantine narthexes, this transitional space having been employed also for Orthodox funerary services and commemoration of the dead.⁹⁸⁵ Even though coming from different periods of the Middle Ages, the presence in the same church of Gothic-style frescoes accompanied by Latin inscriptions alongside Byzantine-style murals accompanied by Cyrillic inscriptions is, nonetheless, surprising. However, this situation is addressed in detail in the following subchapter, which discusses the commissioners of the frescoes and their devotional practices.

The examination of the iconographic contexts in these five churches revealed that the images of the *sancti reges Hungariae* in the Orthodox churches in Crișcior and Ribița were integrated to a complex iconographic program, which displays strong conceptual links between neighboring images, such as the *ktetors'* votive composition, St. Helena and possibly St. Constantine in the scene of the Finding of the Holy Cross, and the military saints on horse. The association of Sts Ladislav and Stephen with Sts Constantine and Helena is present also in the Catholic church in Dârlos, being owed to a workshop of Byzantine tradition which worked for Catholic commissioners and saw fit to associate these four saints on account of their royal and imperial qualities. On the other hand, the *sancti reges Hungariae* in the churches in Dârlos and

⁹⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁹⁸⁵ This function of the space below the tower is hypothetical, a possible counterargument being its relatively small size (i.e., ca 2.5 x 2 m), but chapels with similar size and function are known to exist in the Byzantine and Byzantine-Slavic Commonwealth. For the narthex's funerary and commemorative function, see: Slobodan Ćurčić, "The Twin-domed Narthex in Paleologan Architecture", *Зборник радова Византолошког института* 13 (1971), 333-344; Vasileios Marinis, *Architecture and Ritual in the Churches of Constantinople. Ninth to Fifteenth Centuries* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 73-76; Nebojša Stanković, "At the Threshold of the Heavens: The Narthex and Adjacent Spaces in Middle Byzantine Churches of Mount Athos (10th-11th Centuries) – Architecture, Function, and Meaning", PhD Diss. (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University, 2017), 226-250.

Remetea were integrated to iconographic programs which reveal their deep belonging to Catholic spirituality, despite the numerous iconographic departures owed to a workshop of Byzantine tradition in Dârlos and the later, Orthodox additions to the initial Catholic iconography in Remetea. The iconographic context of the church in Chimindia is simultaneously too fragmented and composite to generate meaningful associations between its scenes. However, it is important to note that the scene of the *sancti reges Hungariae* was kept in the church's mural decoration even when the edifice needed renovation and redecoration. This fact indicates the devotional relevance of the image and, implicitly, of the Catholic saints it depicted throughout the long period of almost one century.

6. 5. Hybrid Patterns of Devotion and Patronage – The Question of the Donors of the Images of the *sancti reges Hungariae*

Situated in a short distance from one another (ca 10 km), the Orthodox churches in Crișcior and Ribița were located during the Middle Ages on settlements that were subordinated administratively to the royal *castrum* of Șiria, which was usually led by the *comes* of Zaránd, one of the south-eastern counties of the Kingdom of Hungary.⁹⁸⁶ In the 1444 document recording Șiria's transfer of ownership from Despot Đurađ Branković to Voivode John Hunyadi, among the estates pertaining to this royal fortress, there are listed also the districts of Fehér-Körös (*Feyerkeres*) and Ribice (*Ribiche*), where precisely the villages of Crișcior and Ribița were located.⁹⁸⁷ It should be recalled that, on this occasion, together with all the estates depending on the royal *castrum*, the Serbian despot transferred also its conditional noblemen – Hungarian and Romanian alike – providing that they were preserved unchanged in their nobility, rights, and liberties that were assigned to them by the holy kings. According to Ioan Drăgan,⁹⁸⁸ the ktetors in Crișcior and Ribița were the representatives of the special social and juridical category of conditional noblemen (*nobiles castrenses* or *nobiles castrî*), whose nobility depended on the land they owned, but which belonged in fact to the estate of the *castrum* and in exchange for which they had to fulfill a number

⁹⁸⁶ David Prodan, "Domeniul cetății Șiria la 1525" [The estate of Șiria fortress in 1525], *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie din Cluj* 3 (1960), 37-102; Eugen Ghiță, "Populație și habitat pe domeniul cetății Șiria la începutul secolului al XVI-lea" [Population and habitat on the estate of Șiria fortress in the beginning of the 16th century], *Studii de Istorie* 2-3 (2006-2007), 13-23; Sorin Bulboacă, "Cnezi, nobili și districte românești în comitatul Zarand în secolul al XV-lea" [Knezes, noblemen, and Romanian districts in Zarand County in the 15th century], in *Administrație românească arădeană. Studii și comunicări din Banat – Crișana. 95 de ani de la Marea Unire* [Romanian administration in Arad. Studies and communications from Banat – Crișana. 95 years since the Great Union], ed. Doru Sinaci and Emil Arbonie (Arad: "Vasile Goldiș" University Press, 2013), 7: 24, 31-33.

⁹⁸⁷ See nn. 949-950.

⁹⁸⁸ Drăgan, *Nobilimea românească*, 211-212.

of obligations (mainly military). They were not entirely subjected to (but only *familiares* of) the estate owner, they often held paid jobs or offices, and were donated together with the *castrum*, despite their non-servile condition. The keeping of their noble status was conditioned at some point by the possession of charters which were issued by royal officials and confirmed their land possessions. After almost a century of persecution by the Angevin rulers and their Catholic proselytism, when being a schismatic meant an inferior social standing and a decay from former rights as *iniusti possessores*,⁹⁸⁹ Romanian Orthodox noblemen registered a more fruitful period in the fifteenth century. King Sigismund of Luxemburg's religious tolerance and zeal for the Church Union created a favorable context not only for the development of the spiritual life of Romanian Orthodox noblemen, but also for the improvement of their social, economic, and political standing.⁹⁹⁰ It was during the fifteenth century that the country was also heavily faced with the Ottomans' advance and, subsequently, the Kings of Hungary needed to resort also to the military help Romanians could provide them with.⁹⁹¹ Consequently, throughout the fifteenth century, Romanian Orthodox noblemen received royal charters confirming their land possessions, their services to the king were rewarded with privileges and offices, and their military help was highly valued and praised.⁹⁹²

⁹⁸⁹ Zenovie Pâclișanu, "Propaganda catolică între Românii din Ardeal și Ungaria înainte de 1500" [Catholic propaganda among Romanians in Transylvania and Hungary before 1500], *Cultura creștină* 9/1-2 (1920), 4-34; Ioan-Aurel Pop, "Un privilegiu regal solemn de la 1366 și implicațiile sale" [A solemn, royal privilege of 1366 and its implications], *Mediaevalia Transilvanica* 1/1-2 (1997), 69-86; Viorel Achim, "Considerații asupra politicii față de ortodocși a regelui Ludovic I de Anjou, cu referire specială la chestiunea dijmelor" [Remarks on the politics towards the Orthodox of King Louis I of Anjou, with special reference to the issue of tithes], in *Vocația Istoriei. Prinos Profesorului Șerban Papacostea* [The Vocation of History. Tribute to Professor Șerban Papacostea], ed. Ovidiu Cristea and Gheorghe Lazăr (Brăila: Muzeul Brăilei and Editura Istros, 2008), 69-73; Adrian Magina, "Răufăcători sau... schismatici? Statutul ortodocșilor bănățeni în jurul anului 1400" [Villains or... schismatics? The status of the Orthodox in Banat around 1400], in *Românii în Europa medievală (între Orientul bizantin și Occidentul latin). Studii în onoarea profesorului Victor Spinei* [The Romanians in medieval Europe (between the Byzantine East and the Latin West). Studies in honor of professor Victor Spinei], ed. Dumitru Țicu and Ionel Cădea (Brăila: Muzeul Brăilei and Editura Istros, 2008), 283-294.

⁹⁹⁰ For Sigismund's involvement in the preparations leading to the Ferrara-Florence Council (1438-1439), see: Márta Kondor, "Latin West and Byzantine East at the Dawn of the Renaissance: Emperor Sigismund and the Union with the Greeks", in *Infima aetas Pannonica. Studies in Late Medieval Hungarian History*, ed. Péter E. Kovács and Kornél Szovák (Budapest: Corvina, 2009), 79-96; Mureșan, "Histoire de trois empereurs", 62-74. For the council's consequences in Transylvania and the Romanians' flourishing during this period, see: Rusu, *Ioan de Hunedoara*, esp. the chapter "Sinodul de la Florența și urmările lui în regatul Ungariei și în Transilvania" [The Council of Florence and its consequences in the Kingdom of Hungary and Transylvania], pp. 77-123.

⁹⁹¹ Konrad G. Gündisch, "Cnezii români din Transilvania și politica de centralizare a regelui Sigismund de Luxemburg" [The Romanian knezes of Transylvania and the centralizing policy of King Sigismund of Luxemburg], in *Ștefan Mateș la 85 de ani. Studii și documente arhivistice* [Ștefan Mateș at 85 years. Archive studies and documents], ed. Alexandru Matei (Cluj-Napoca: Direcția Generală a Arhivelor Statului, 1977), 235-237; Ștefan Pascu, "Rolul cnezilor din Transilvania în lupta antiotomană a lui Iancu de Hunedoara" [The role of the knezes in Transylvania in the anti-Ottoman fight of John Hunyadi], *Studii și Cercetări de Istorie* 8 (1957), 33-41.

⁹⁹² Ioan-Aurel Pop, "Privilegii obținute de români în epoca domniei lui Matia Corvinul" [Privileges obtained by Romanians during the age of the reign of Matthias Corvinus], *Revista Istorică* 2/7-8 (1991), 667-677; Ligia Boldea, "Înnobilare și confesiune în lumea feudală din Banat (sec. XIV-XV)" [Ennoblement and confession in the feudal world of Banat], *Banatica* 13/2 (1995), 27-44; eadem, "Nobili și cnezi bănățeni – noi reflecții asupra unor mutații sociale

Between 1402 and 1404, i.e., during the anti-Sigismund coalition organized by the Hungarian magnates led by Archbishop John Kanizsai and Palatine Detre Bebek, the contested king tried to attract on his side the townsmen and lower nobility of the kingdom.⁹⁹³ By the Spring of 1404, King Sigismund managed to completely secure his victory, restoring the order and pacifying the whole country. Subsequently, the ruler rewarded with generosity those who took his side in the conflict and pardoned with magnanimity those who surrendered within the required interval, restoring them to their previous state. In August-September 1404, King Sigismund directed with consistency his attention towards a number of Romanian Orthodox noblemen, for whom either the king himself or his officials issued charters confirming their land possessions, putting them in possession, or exempting them from taxes.⁹⁹⁴ Seemingly, this was also the case of the two noble families in Crișcior and Ribița. On the one hand, *jupan* Bălea of Crișcior is attested by a series of documents issued in 1404 and 1415, respectively, which are preserved only as nineteenth-century copies and which were previously considered as forgeries made by Count József Kemény.⁹⁹⁵ However, these copies might contain in fact authentic information, as their content is often confirmed by the evidence coming from diplomatics (e.g., other charters issued by the king on 25 August 1404 on behalf of other Romanian Orthodox noblemen),⁹⁹⁶ the votive composition and inscriptions themselves (e.g., the ktetor and his two older sons appear equally in diplomatic,

(1350-1450)” [Noblemen and knezes of Banat – new reflections on some social changes (1350-1450)], *Analele Banatului, Arheologie-Istorie, Serie Nouă* 16 (2008), 137-154; eadem, “Veleități și oportunități ale nobilimii bănățene în vremea lui Sigismund de Luxemburg” [Ambitions and opportunities of the nobility of Banat during Sigismund of Luxemburg], *Banatica* 18 (2008), 197-228; eadem, “Aspects du Cursus Honorum dans le Banat à l’époque du roi Matthias Corvin: noblesse patrimoniale et noblesse de fonction”, *Banatica* 20/2 (2010), 77-96; Ionuț Costea, “Considerații privind elita românească din Transilvania în timpul domniei lui Matia Corvinul (1458-1490)” [Remarks regarding Romanian elite in Transylvania during the reign of Matthias Corvinus (1458-1490)], *Annales Universitatis Apulensis. Series Historica* 1 (1997), 13-20; Cosmin Popa-Gorjanu, “From Kenezii to Nobiles Valachi: The Evolution of the Romanian Elite of the Banat in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries”, *Annual of Medieval Studies at CEU* 6 (2000), 109-128; idem, “Privilegiul nobililor români din Lugoj din anul 1444 și formarea nobilimii românești în Banat” [The privilege of Romanian noblemen in Lugoj in the year 1444 and the formation of Romanian nobility in Banat], *Annales Universitatis Apulensis. Series Historica* 6 (2002), 37-43.

⁹⁹³ Konrad G. Gündisch, “Siebenbürgen und der Aufrühr von 1403 gegen Sigismund von Luxemburg”, *Revue Roumaine d’Histoire* 15/3 (1976), 399-420; idem, “Cnezii români din Transilvania”, 235-237; for this event, see also nn. 420-422.

⁹⁹⁴ Năstăsoiu, “Social Status”, 218-219. Among these Romanian Orthodox noblemen, there were also Ioan Căndea of Râu de Mori (Hung. *Malomvíz*), Mușina and Ioan of Răchitova (Hung. *Reketyefalva*), Căndreș and Lațcu of Streisângeorgiu (Hung. *Sztrigyszentgyörgy*), Barbu of Râu Bărbat (Hung. *Borbátvíz*), and Dionisie of Silvașu (Hung. *Szilvás*). The first three families are known in art-historical scholarship in connection with the Orthodox churches they have founded, some of them still preserving their mural decoration in various extents. For these charters, see: doc. nos. 7-20, in Rusu, *Izvoare privind Evul Mediu românesc*, 40-51.

⁹⁹⁵ These four documents are published in: G. József Kemény, “Magyar hazákban létező oláhok hajdani vajdaságaikról” [On the former Voivodate of the Vlachs existing in our Hungarian country], *Új Magyar Múzeum* 4/2 (1854), 125-129; one document is published also in: Hurmuzaki, *Documente privitoare la Istoria Românilor 1346-1450*, doc. no. CCCLVII, pp. 433-434. For dismissing these documents as fakes, see: Dragomir, “Vechile biserici din Zărand”, 240-246.

⁹⁹⁶ This has been pointed out also by Elemér Mályusz, “Gróf Kemény József oklevélhamisítványai” [Fake charters of count József Kemény], *Levélári közlemények* 59/2 (1988), 197-216, esp. p. 212, n. 58.

pictorial, and epigraphic sources),⁹⁹⁷ and archaeological evidence (e.g., two of the tombs excavated inside the church can be identified as belonging to the beheaded founder Bălea and to his younger son Ștefan).⁹⁹⁸ Certainly, this evidence was not available around mid-nineteenth century to József Kemény and, subsequently, it is hard to believe that he could produce (or predict) the information on Bălea and his sons with such great accuracy. According to the three documents issued on 25 August 1404, *jupan* Bălea of Crișcior (*Bolya filius Boar de Kereztur/Kereztor/Krisztio!*) received as *nova donatio* from King Sigismund several villages in the District of Fehér-Körös, namely, Crișcior, Rișca (Hung. *Riska*), Zdrapți (Hung. *Zdrápc*), and Tărățel (Hung. *Cerecel*).⁹⁹⁹ This donation was meant as a reward for Bălea's loyalty, services brought to the kingdom and the crown, and probably for having been on Sigismund's side during the conflict against the king. On the other hand, the members of the noble family in Ribița appear in written sources only around mid-fifteenth century,¹⁰⁰⁰ but the 1868 account on the church and its founders confirms partially the evidence offered by the votive composition and its accompanying epigraphs, and supplements one's knowledge on the church's founders.¹⁰⁰¹ According to this account, brothers *Mátyás* (?), *Vratisláv* (Vladislavu), and *Miklós* (Miclăușu) *de Ribice*, together with daughters *Anna* (Ana) and *Johanka* (Stanca or Stana?), have built the church in 1404 as a sign of gratitude that King Sigismund had returned to them *nova donatione mediante* the family properties, namely, the neighboring villages of Ribița, Mesteacăn de Jos (Hung. *Alsó-Mesztáka*), Mesteacăn de Sus (Hung. *Felső-Mesztáka*), Brad (Hung. *Brád*), and probably Țebea (Hung. *Cebe*).¹⁰⁰² These properties had been previously lost by the founders' father, another *Vratisláv*, on account of his *nota infidelitatis* toward the king.¹⁰⁰³ Even though it is not attested by written sources, the confiscation of the properties followed by their recovery in 1404 is highly possible, as it follows the events of 1402-1404, when King Sigismund was strongly opposed by Hungarian noblemen.¹⁰⁰⁴ Unlike *jupan* Bălea of Crișcior, father *Vratisláv* was most likely on the side opposing the king, but the sons' repentance of the deed of their father ensured them the returning of the family properties, as King Sigismund also forgave those who have laid down the arms within the interval specified by the ruler. Seemingly, such a

⁹⁹⁷ Năstăsioiu, "Social Status", 208.

⁹⁹⁸ Mircea Dan Lazăr, Mihai David, and Eugen Pescaru, "Biserica românească de la Crișcior" [The Romanian church in Crișcior], *Sargetia. Acta Musei Devensis* 21/4 (1988-1991), 123-125, fig. 1, 3.

⁹⁹⁹ Kemény, "Magyar hazákban létező oláhok", 125-129.

¹⁰⁰⁰ For a discussion of these documents, see Rusu, "Biserica românească din Ribița", 7.

¹⁰⁰¹ Nemes, "Ribicei templom", 63-64. Rusu, "Biserica românească din Ribița", 7, informs that Ö. Nemes was a native of Ribița and descendant of the noble family itself, and that he possibly used documents from his family's archive. One should also note that the informant had read the dedicatory inscription before its partial destruction in 1869-1970 and that he may have had access to information which is now irretrievably lost.

¹⁰⁰² For the villages' identification, see *ibid*.

¹⁰⁰³ Nemes, "Ribicei templom", 64.

¹⁰⁰⁴ Năstăsioiu, "Social Status", 218-219; Năstăsioiu and Adashinskaya, "New Information", 30.

hypothesis is supported also by the information conveyed by the partially-preserved dedicatory inscription which records two distinct events – i.e., one that has happened in the days of King Sigismund and another, later one that refers most likely to the church's construction and decoration –, as well as a charter for one's sons, offspring, and patrimony.¹⁰⁰⁵ Being an event with major significance in the existence of the Ribița noble family, it is possible that the charter's acquirement in 1404 was mentioned in the dedicatory inscription as a sign of remembering the royal generosity. This mention was equally understood as the two brothers' way of showing their gratitude towards the king, of recalling how they overcame a difficult moment in their family's existence, and of making sure that their possessions will not be at risk again. Another partially-preserved inscription painted in the sanctuary could indicate an earlier dating for the church's mural decoration (1393) and it is possible that the dedicatory inscription in the votive composition was only updated in 1404 or soon after, so that it reflected the new social and legal status of the noblemen in Ribița, who regained the king's favor and recovered their family's lost properties.¹⁰⁰⁶ As indicated by a series of technical features encountered only in the case of the votive composition, the three *sancti reges Hungariae*, and the military saints on horse in the lower register of the southern and northern walls of the nave,¹⁰⁰⁷ it cannot be excluded either that these images have been added after 1404 to the nave's earlier iconographic program.¹⁰⁰⁸ In the spirit of this reading, the iconographically-connected images of the ktetors' votive composition and the three *sancti reges Hungariae* can be interpreted as the immediate consequence of the events that had happened around 1404 and had deeply affected the founders' noble family in Ribița.

What is particularly interesting in the case of the Orthodox churches in Crișcior and Ribița is the two iconographic programs' adaptation of Byzantine iconography to the immediate social, political, and confessional reality of the local, Orthodox noblemen. *Jupan* Bălea of Crișcior and *jupani* Vladislavu and Miclăușu of Ribița are portrayed in their religious foundations in close proximity or in obvious relationship with the representations of the three *sancti reges Hungariae*, the scene of the Finding of the Holy Cross, and the depictions of military saints on horse. As shown

¹⁰⁰⁵ Ibid., 29-30.

¹⁰⁰⁶ The partially-preserved dedicatory inscription in Ribița displays a striking difference between the upper half with tall, elegant letters and the lower half with small, crowded, almost cursive letters, which might indicate that the dedicatory inscription was at some later point remade: Năstăsioiu, "Social Status", 218; Năstăsioiu and Adashinskaya, "New Information", 30.

¹⁰⁰⁷ According to Irina Popa, "Les peintures murales du Pays de Zarand (Transylvanie) au début du XVème siècle. Considérations sur l'iconographie et la technique des peintures murales", MA Thesis (Paris: Université de Paris I, 1995), 68, the malachite green pigment has been used exclusively for these three scenes. Subsequently, one can assume that all three representations are the work of a single atelier which created these images during a single decoration campaign. It cannot be excluded either that the painters used preferentially this expensive pigment for the most representative and status-conveying images in the church.

¹⁰⁰⁸ Năstăsioiu and Adashinskaya, "New Information", 39-40; until the frescoes' uncovering and restoration are completed, this statement retains its hypothetical character.

previously, the image of Hungary's holy kings was extremely popular among the kingdom's Catholic noblemen, who expressed in this way their political allegiance either to the king or the kingdom. It is possible, therefore, that the founders in Crișcior and Ribița – who had their properties in the County of Zaránd, were noblemen of the Kingdom of Hungary, and owed to the king their loyalty and military assistance – have emulated the devotional patterns of Catholic nobility which was found in a more favorable situation, a position that they, too, aspired to attain. Consequently, these Romanian Orthodox ktetors, portrayed in their religious foundations in a moment of their social affirmation, found a *sui generis* way to refer to the kingdom's political hierarchy as a legitimizing source of their local power. The iconographic interweaving of images which grafted Catholic motifs on an Orthodox/Byzantine tissue represented the founders' particular way of expressing the place they had within the political hierarchy of the kingdom. The Romanian Orthodox noblemen sought to be integrated into its social and political hierarchy/structure and understood the central royal power as a legitimizing source for their local authority.

Even though the donors of the murals intended primarily the image of the *sancti reges Hungariae* as a reflection of their social and political status, one cannot rule out completely the veneration of these Catholic holy kings by the Orthodox noblemen in Crișcior and Ribița. After all, they have paid for the execution of the paintings and they wanted to have in their religious (Orthodox) foundations the image of the three Catholic saints. Judging by the naming practices occurring within the founders' families, two of the three holy kings might have responded additionally to the devotional needs of some of the family members.¹⁰⁰⁹ In absence of an Orthodox equivalent, Laslo/Laslău of Crișcior and Vladislavu of Ribița could enjoy the spiritual protection of the Catholic St. Ladislav (*Szent László/Свѣти Владиславъ*), the former's name having been obviously inspired by that of the Hungarian holy king and knight. Additionally, little Ștefan of Crișcior could enjoy a double sacred protection, Orthodox and Catholic alike, namely: the spiritual patronage of St. Stephen the Protomartyr, but also that of St. Stephen of Hungary, the first saint and Christian king of the country. St. Ladislav's higher popularity than those of the two other holy kings determined the frequent occurrence of his name in the Late Middle Ages not only among the Catholics of the country,¹⁰¹⁰ but also among the Orthodox living in the south-eastern areas of the kingdom: Hungarian- or Slavic-inspired name variants such as Laslo/Laslău, Lațcu/Lațco, or Vladislav(u) occur often in written sources among Romanian Orthodox noblemen. That St. Ladislav

¹⁰⁰⁹ Terdik, "Magyar szent királyok ábrázolásai", 97; Năstăsoiu, "*Sancti reges Hungariae*", 50-55.

¹⁰¹⁰ Șerban Turcuș, ed., *Antroponimia în Transilvania medievală (secolele XI-XIV). Evaluare statistică, evoluție, semnificații* [Anthroponymy in medieval Transylvania (11th-14th centuries). Statistical evaluation, evolution, significations] (Cluj-Napoca: Editura Mega, 2011), 1: 108-109, 124, 161-162, 175, 180-181, 221, 292, 294-301, 335-336, 2: 623-680.

had enjoyed indeed a high prestige among this ethnical, confessional, and social category is also indicated by several instances occurring in the Orthodox milieu and illustrating the reshaping of the saint's image, so that it met the specific needs of the other confession. In his *Chronicle of the Ancientness of Roman-Moldavian-Vlachs* (first written in Latin between 1719 and 1722, and subsequently translated into Romanian), Demetrius Cantemir recorded the story of the King of Hungary St. Ladislav occurring in a "Bulgarian" chronicle.¹⁰¹¹ According to this source, the King of Hungary Laslău, during an armed conflict with the "Bulgarian" King Stefan, was persuaded by means of prayers and miracles by Sava, the latter's brother and the "Metropolitan of All Bulgaria", not only to drop his military intentions, but also to abandon his Latin faith in favor of the Eastern one.¹⁰¹² In addition to King Laslău's conversion and baptism as Vladislav, the chronicle accounts also for his knightly exploits against the pagans fashioned this time as Tartars, as well as for the pursuit of their chieftain who had abducted not any Hungarian maiden, but the king's sister herself.¹⁰¹³ In his critical treatment of this story, the early-Enlightenment scholar himself established its degree of inaccuracy,¹⁰¹⁴ but the surviving evidence points out in fact to the medieval origin of this fabricated episode, as a similar story is told in the *vita* of St. Sava (ca 1174-1235), the first Archbishop of the autocephalous Serbian Church (r. 1219-1235), which was written around 1253 by the Athonite monk Domintijan.¹⁰¹⁵ Even though he does not name the Hungarian king, Domintijan reports that, following the coronation of King Stefan the First-Crowned and as a consequence of troubled Serbian-Hungarian relations at that point, St. Sava was present for diplomatic purposes at the Hungarian court, where he sojourned for some time, most probably between 1215 and 1217.¹⁰¹⁶ While being there, the holy man persuaded the cruel King of Hungary – by means of similar "meteorological" miracles as in Cantemir's account, as well as through his prayer and preaching – to profess the confession of true (i.e., Eastern) faith. Subsequently, from that moment on, by keeping St. Sava's teachings in his heart and by observing them closely, the "converted" Hungarian king showed constantly mercy and humility during his life, succeeding to be a great miracle-worker

¹⁰¹¹ Principele Dimitrie Cantemir, *Hronicul vechimei a romano-moldo-vlahilor publicat sub auspiciile Academiei Române de pre originalul manuscript al autorului, păstrat în Archivele Principale din Moscva ale Ministerului de Externe* [The chronicle of the ancientness of Roman-Moldavian-Vlachs published under the auspices of the Romanian Academy after the author's original manuscript, kept in the Main Archives in Moscow of the Foreign Affairs Ministry], ed. Gr. G. Tocilescu (Bucharest: Inst. de Arte Grafice "Carol Göbl", 1901), 139-144.

¹⁰¹² Ibid., 141.

¹⁰¹³ Ibid., 141-143.

¹⁰¹⁴ Ibid., 144-150.

¹⁰¹⁵ For the dating of Domintijan's Life of St. Sava, see Mihailo J. Dinić, "Доментијан и Теодосије" [Domintijan and Teodosije], *Prilozi za književnost, jezik, istoriju i folklor* 25/1-2 (1959), 5-12.

¹⁰¹⁶ For this episode in St. Sava's *vita* by Domintijan, see Đure Dančić, ed., *Живот светоза Симеуна и светоза Саве. Написао Доментијан* [The Life of Saint Simeon and Saint Sava. Written by Domintijan] (Belgrade: Državna štamparija, 1865), 248-257; for Serbian-Hungarian relations during this period, see Stanoje Stanojević, "О нападу угарског краља Андрије II на Србију" [On the attack on Serbia of the Hungarian King Andrew II], *ГЛАС Српске краљевске академије* 161 (1934), 107-130.

after his death, that is, a saint. The great similarity between the two accounts on the Hungarian king's alleged confession to the Eastern faith indicates that the earlier, Serbian version influenced the later, "Bulgarian" one, whereas the episode's persistence in Byzantine-Slavic literature shows that it enjoyed a certain popularity among the Orthodox living in the vicinity of the Catholic Kingdom of Hungary. The motif of St. Ladislav's conversion to Orthodoxy is present also in the so-called *Gesta of Roman and Vlachata*, which is preserved in the *Moldavian-Russian Chronicle* included in the sixteenth-century collection of Russian chronicles *Voskresenskaya Letopis*.¹⁰¹⁷ This *gesta* tells the story of the "Old Romans", the descendants of Roman and Vlachata, who, on account of their military support during King Vladislav's confrontation with the Tartars, have received the permission to settle in *Maromarus*, between the rivers *Moresh* and *Tieya*, which was called *Krizhi*. According to this source, the Hungarian King, who had been baptized by his uncle, the Serbian Archbishop Sava, kept secretly in his heart the (Orthodox) faith in Christ, even though he was Latin in language and royal custom. This probably explains why he allowed to the descendants of Roman and Vlachata to keep their Greek Christian Law, while being the Hungarian king's subjects and taking wives from the Latin Law to their own Christian faith. According to current research, the "Bulgarian" chronicle appeared probably between 1365 and 1373 in Banat or Bihar areas, in a period of strong Catholic proselytism, whereas Roman's and Vlachata's story was probably drawn up around 1400 in Máramaros in either an ecclesiastical milieu – namely, the Monastery in Khrushovo (Ukr. *Грушово*, Hung. *Szentmihálykörtvélyes*, Rom. *Peri*) – or a noble environment.¹⁰¹⁸ Be it as it may, the presence of King and Saint Ladislav in medieval Slavic writings illustrates that his figure had a certain appeal among the Orthodox who, by fabricating the episode of his conversion to the Eastern faith, attempted in a way at assimilating the Hungarian holy king into their own culture and at appropriating his figure into their own religious tradition and confession.

The hybridity of Romanian noblemen's Orthodoxy which was professed in a Catholic environment was the consequence of the particular social and political reality of the medieval Kingdom of Hungary. Similar phenomena of transgression occurred elsewhere, too, as it happened sometimes in the case of those Byzantine territories found under Latin rule. For instance, in the murals of some Orthodox churches in Venetian-ruled Crete, one can encounter several representations of Saint Francis of Assisi dating to the fourteenth and fifteenth century; this is a

¹⁰¹⁷ Petre P. Panaitescu, ed., *Cronicle slavo-române din sec. XV-XV, publicate de Ion Bogdan* [Slavic-Romanian chronicles, published by Ion Bogdan] (Bucharest: Editura Academiei Republicii Populare România, 1959), 158-159.

¹⁰¹⁸ Ovidiu Pecican, *Troia, Veneția, Roma* [Troy, Venice, Rome] (Cluj-Napoca: EuroPress Group, 2007), 1: 249-286, 334-338, 470-471, 477-478. For the *gesta* of Roman and Vlachata, see also: Matei Cazacu, "Aux sources de l'autocratie russe. Les influences roumaines et hongroises, XVe-XVIe siècles", *Cahiers du monde russe et soviétique* 24/1-2 (1983), 7-41, esp. pp. 17-23; Ovidiu Pecican, "Die Gesta des Roman und Vlachata", in *Intherethnische- und Zivilisationsbeziehungen im siebenbürgischen Raum. Historische Studien*, ed. Sorin Mitu and Florin Gogâltan (Cluj-Napoca: Asociația Istoricilor din Transilvania și Banat, 1996), 64-99.

rather surprising occurrence indicating the veneration of a popular Catholic saint by the Orthodox in the rural and confessionally-conservative areas of medieval Crete.¹⁰¹⁹ Saint Francis' standing figure appears in the Orthodox churches of Panagia Kera in Kritsa (Mirabello, fourteenth century), Holy Archangel Michael in Kato Astrakon (Pediada, fifteenth century), Eisodion Church in Sklaverohori (mid-fifteenth century), whereas the saint's stigmatization is depicted in Zoodochos Pege Church in Sambas (late-fourteenth – early-fifteenth century).



Fig. 6.23 – Detail of St. Francis of Assisi (left) and view of the church's nave from the West (right), 14th century, fresco, Church of Panagia Kera in Kritsa (Mirabello). Photo Source © <http://orthodoxcrete.com/> and Flickr User Nicholas Kaye

¹⁰¹⁹ For St. Francis' representations in Orthodox monumental art of medieval Crete, see: Giuseppe Gerola, "I Francescani in Creta al tempo del dominio veneziano", *Collectanea Franciscana* 2/3 (1932), 301-325, esp. pp. 302-3; Kostas E. Lassithiotakis, "Ο Άγιος Φραγκίσκος και η Κρήτη", in *Πεπραγμένα του Δ' Διεθνούς Κρητολογικού Συνεδρίου: Ηράκλειο, 29. Αυγούστου-3. Σεπτεμβρίου 1976* (Athens: Panepistemion Kretes, 1980), 2: 146-154; Maria Vassilakis-Mavarakakis, "Western Influences in the Fourteenth Century Art of Crete", in *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik*. 32/5. XVI. Internationaler Byzantinistenkongress, Wien, 4.-9. Oktober 1981. Akten II Teil, 5. Teilband. Kurzbeiträge 10. *Die Stilbildende Funktion der byzantinischen Kunst*, ed. Herbert Hunger (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1982), 301-306, esp. p. 304, fig. 6; Anne Derbes and Amy Neff, "Italy, the Mendicant Orders, and the Byzantine Sphere", in *Byzantium. Faith and Power (1261-1557)*, ed. Helen C. Evans (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), 449-461, 603-606, esp. p. 453, n. 48; Thanasis Dialektopoulos, *Iconography as a Research Source on Religious Affairs in Greek Lands under Venetian Rule* (Thessaloniki: City Publish, 2012), 111-113; Angeliki Lymberopoulou, "Regional Byzantine Monumental Art from Venetian Crete", in *Byzantine Art and Renaissance Europe*, ed. Angeliki Lymberopoulou and Rembrandt Duits (Burlington: Ashgate, 2013), 61-100, esp. pp. 65, 88. For St. Francis' representations on medieval Cretan icons, see: eadem, "Audiences and Markets for Cretan Icons", in *Viewing Renaissance Art*, ed. Kim W. Woods, Carol M. Richardson, and Angeliki Lymberopoulou (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), 170-206, esp. pp. 196-199.

Identified by both stigmata and inscription in Greek, St. Francis is depicted in the Church of Panagia Kera in Kritsa as a tonsured monk dressed in dark-brown cassock and holding a book (Fig. 6.23, left); he appears in a company composed exclusively of Orthodox saints, the holy friar being the only Catholic occurrence in the church's pictorial decoration (Fig. 6.23, right). The presence of St. Francis in these Cretan Orthodox churches was most likely the consequence of his great sacred prestige that transgressed confessional borders: fourteenth-century last wills of Orthodox residents of Candia include sometimes bequests to Franciscans, Dominicans, and Augustinians,¹⁰²⁰ whereas later, seventeenth-century evidence points out directly to the high devotion that the Greek-rite faithful have had towards this popular saint of Western Christianity.¹⁰²¹ Early miracles performed by St. Francis in Greece when it was under Frankish control, which include also the episode of the saint's intervention to save a Greek man falsely accused of theft, may have encouraged the cult of this holy friar in the region.¹⁰²² Undoubtedly, no Cretan-Transylvanian artistic interaction can be stated, nor the influence of one area upon another – as it could not be stated earlier when discussing the South-Italian examples of language mixing in inscriptions for that matter –, but rather a parallel evolution which has led to resembling and hybrid artistic manifestations under specific social, political, and confessional circumstances, that are common for all these cultural contact zones.

During the Middle Ages, the settlement in Dârlos was a noble estate situated in a short distance from the town of Mediaş (Germ. *Mediasch*, Hung. *Medgyes*), in an area found in-between the territories of the Saxons' *Septem sedes* and the County of Küküllő, but belonging administratively to the latter.¹⁰²³ Its first written mention dates to 1317, when King Charles I confirmed Ban Simon of Szalók (Slavkovce) in the possession of three neighboring properties, i.e., Alma (Rom. var. *Alma Săsească* / *Alma Dumbrăveni*, Germ. *Almen* / *Almaschken*, Hung.

¹⁰²⁰ Sally McKee, *Uncommon Dominion. Venetian Crete and the Myth of Ethnic Purity* (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000), 100-132.

¹⁰²¹ In 1602, Proveditor General Benedetto Moro wrote in his report: "But what shows mostly the respect of the Greeks to the Latin doctrine is a general devotion to Saint Francis. On his commemoration day everyone goes to visit his church and for the most serious diseases of their children it is common to make a vow to the saint and dress them in traditional Franciscan hooded robe, actions which have never been seen before in the Kingdom. In Sfakia, in fact, many of those people, by devotion to the saint, name their children after him.", Chrysa A. Maltezou, *Η Κρήνη στη διάρκεια της περιόδου της Βενετοκρατίας (1211-1669)* (Crete: Syndesmos Topikon Enoseon Demon & Koinoteton Kretes, 1988), 152, apud Dialektopoulos, *Iconography as Research Source*, 112.

¹⁰²² Derbes and Neff, "Italy, Mendicant Orders", 604, who record also the opposite attitude of the Greek Orthodox towards Latins and Latin church ritual; for this latter aspect, see also Lymberopoulou, "Regional Byzantine Monumental Art", 88-89.

¹⁰²³ Hermann Fabini, *Atlas der siebenbürgisch-sächsischen Kirchenburgen und Dorfkirchen* (Heidelberg: Arbeitskreis für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde, 1999), 1: 162; Alexandru Gh. Sonoc and Claudiu Munteanu, "Monumentele romane zidite în biserica din Dârlos, (jud. Sibiu)" [Roman monuments in-built in the church in Dârlos (Sibiu County)], *Bruckenthal. Acta Musei* 1/1 (2006), 124-125. For other information on the settlement and church in Dârlos, and their noble owners in the fourteenth to sixteenth century, see also: Fabini, *Atlas*, 1: 161-164; Juliana Fabritius-Dancu, *Sächsische Kirchenburgen aus Siebenbürgen* (Hermannstadt [Sibiu]: Zeitschrift Transilvania, 1980), 60; Feketics, "Darlaci középkori falképek", 107.

Küküllőalmás / Szászalmás / Almás/ Szászkisalmás), Dârlos, and Șmig; on that occasion, the king also assigned to him the protection of the Saxon *hospites* living already on these possessions, as well as of those willing to settle down in the future in the area.¹⁰²⁴ After Ban Simon's death around 1325, his heirs divided the patrimony, the *possessio Dorlaz* and other estates coming in the ownership of one of Simon's sons, Nicholas.¹⁰²⁵ A church existed in Dârlos already since 1332 (however, not the building in its present form), when its priest, *Hermannus sacerdos de Dorlako*, appeared on the list of papal tithes within the Archdeaconate of Küküllő;¹⁰²⁶ the priest's name indicates his Saxon origin and suggests that the religious edifice was equally used as parish church by the community of Saxon settlers and the local noble family. The property in Dârlos remained in the possession of *magister Nicolaus filius quondam Symonis bani de Dorlaz* until around 1377, when he disappears from written sources and instead the names of his three sons – namely, Stephen, Thomas, and Ladislas – are associated in documents between 1377 and 1391 with their father's various properties, the one in Dârlos included.¹⁰²⁷ Only in 1405, Thomas' son Anthony is still associated with Dârlos,¹⁰²⁸ but in 1413, the village seems to have changed its ownership.¹⁰²⁹ In 1479, Dârlos was already owned by *magister Ladislaus Tabiasy*, one of the members of the neighboring noble family in Ațel (Germ. *Hetzeldorf*, Hung. *Ecel*),¹⁰³⁰ in whose ownership the settlement remained until around 1501.¹⁰³¹ The mural decoration of the church, both inside and outside the sanctuary, has been executed probably during the late-fourteenth century,¹⁰³² when the settlement in Dârlos was in the ownership of the heirs of Nicholas, the son of Ban Simon. These were probably involved in the commissioning of the frescoes, the iconographic program of which seemingly reflected their devotional patterns and practices of artistic patronage. This was so, because all the members of the noble family in Dârlos appearing in the written sources during the second half of the fourteenth century have their correspondents among the saints depicted in the

¹⁰²⁴ Doc. no. 349, in Zimmermann, *Urkundenbuch I*, 321-322.

¹⁰²⁵ Doc. no. 434, in *ibid.*, 394.

¹⁰²⁶ Doc. no. 1117, in Zsigmond Jakó, ed., *Codex Diplomaticus Transsylvaniae. Diplomata, epistolae et alia instrumenta litteraria res Transsylvanas illustrantia. II. 1301-1339. Erdély Okmánytár. Oklevelek, levelek és más írásos emlékek Erdély történetéhez. II. 1301-1339* (Budapest, Magyar Országos Levéltár, 2004), 404-405.

¹⁰²⁷ Doc. no. 697, 766, 1064, 1120, 1176, in Franz Zimmermann, Carl Werner, and Georg Müller, ed., *Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte der Deutschen in Siebenbürgen. Zweiter Band: 1342 bis 1390. Nummer 583 bis 1259. Mit sieben Tafeln Siegelabbildungen* (Hermannstadt [Sibiu]: W. Krafft, 1897), 113-114, 177-178, 456-457, 519, 574; doc. no. 1274, in Zimmermann, *Urkundenbuch III*, 25-26.

¹⁰²⁸ Doc. no. 1526, in *ibid.*, 338-339.

¹⁰²⁹ Doc. no. 1719, 1721, in *ibid.*, 574-576.

¹⁰³⁰ Doc. no. 4292, 4298, in Gustav Gündisch, Herta Gündisch, Konrad G. Gündisch, and Gernot Nussbächer, ed., *Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte der Deutschen in Siebenbürgen. Siebenter Band. 1474-1486. Nummer 3980-4687. Mit 5 Tafeln* (Bucharest: Editura Academiei Române, 1991), 205, 208.

¹⁰³¹ Fabini, *Atlas*, 1: 162.

¹⁰³² For the dating of the frescoes in Dârlos, see the detailed discussion of the relevant entry in the Catalogue of Murals; it should be recalled that, as long as the sanctuary's uncovering is still ongoing, this hypothetical dating is only a working hypothesis.

sanctuary: Nicholas (d. ca 1377), his sons Stephen, Thomas, and Ladislav (active during the 1370s-1390s period), and Anthony, Thomas' son (attested in 1405). The particular position within the *sedilia* of two of Hungary's holy kings might attest to the special veneration of these royal saints by the members of the noble family, *Nicolaus de Dorlaz* having named two of his sons precisely after St. Stephen and St. Ladislav; their brother was probably alluded to in the row of seating apostles within the Last Judgment composition, the young St. Thomas being the first apostle to be depicted on the left (western) side of the Heavenly Court. Written sources are salient, however, about the female members of the noble family, but the extensive, narrative cycle of St. Catherine of Alexandria painted on the sanctuary's southern wall seems to suggest the devotional relevance of this holy princess and martyr for the commissioners of the frescoes.



Fig. 6. 24 – General view of the *sedilia* (left) and detail of Sts Ladislav and Stephen (right), ca 1400, fresco, southern wall of the sanctuary, Lutheran church in Şmig (Photos © The Author)

That this was probably so is suggested also by the surviving decoration of the church in Şmig, a neighboring settlement which was found throughout the fourteenth century in the possession of various members of the same noble family who owned Dârlos. Executed roughly during the same period (i.e., around 1400) by a workshop trained this time in the West, the interior decoration of the church in Şmig presents a number of iconographic similarities with the frescoes of the sanctuary in Dârlos: in both places, Sts Ladislav and Stephen are depicted within the *sedilia* on the southern wall of the sanctuary (Fig. 6.24), whereas St. Catherine of Alexandria enjoys a privileged position through having dedicated to her extensive narrative cycles, which are located on the northern wall of the nave (Şmig) and southern wall of the sanctuary (Dârlos), respectively. Moreover, St. Ladislav enjoyed a special devotional relevance for the community in Şmig, as the holy king's narrative cycle has been partially uncovered recently on the northern wall of the nave, i.e., in the register above the Legend of St. Catherine. Besides similar devotional patterns expected from Catholics, the

mural decoration of the two churches reveals additionally the two-fold artistic taste of their patrons. Unlike the painters of the sanctuary in Dârlos, whose training was greatly indebted to the Byzantine tradition, the interior decoration of the church in Șmig was executed by a workshop whose painters were trained in the Western ambiance of the International Gothic. However, the outer decoration of the latter church's sanctuary (now, poorly preserved)¹⁰³³ was most likely the oeuvre of the same workshop responsible for the embellishment of the sanctuary in Dârlos with Byzantine-style murals. The commissioning of workshops of both Western and Eastern tradition by the same patrons indicates the flexibility of their artistic taste, whereas the repeated employment of the Byzantine-trained team suggests that the patrons were not only ready to embrace different aesthetic solutions than those they were normally accustomed to, but also that they were satisfied with the result of the painters' work.

The settlement of Chimindia was situated in a multicultural, multilingual, and biconfessional area, found very close to the royal *castrum* of Deva (Germ. *Diemrich/Schlossberg/Denburg*, Hung. *Déva*), which was the administrative seat of Hunyad County, one of the seven counties of the *Voivodat* of Transylvania.¹⁰³⁴ Even though the parish church features on the list of papal tithes of 1333-1336, it is only in 1497 that one of its parish priests is recorded (*N. plebanus de Kemend*).¹⁰³⁵ The noblemen of Kemend, who owned the settlement and may have exercised their *ius patronatus* over the parish church, had minor administrative duties throughout the fifteenth and sixteenth century. They occur in written documents in 1433, 1467, 1496, and 1520, respectively,¹⁰³⁶ i.e., in periods quite remote from the date of the fresco depicting the three *sancti reges Hungariae* (i.e., the early-fifteenth century) and, subsequently, one cannot point to a specific commissioner for this image. Despite its scarcity, all written evidence concerning the church and its patrons during the Middle Ages indicates that the religious edifice served a Catholic community, a fact which seems rather surprising when considering the inscriptions in Old Church Slavonic that accompany the Western-style painting of Hungary's three holy kings. As shown earlier when discussing in detail the image's inscriptions, this peculiarity seems to have been one of the specific traits of the workshop of Chimindia and

¹⁰³³ Only traces of St. Christopher's figure and the image of the Man of Sorrows flanked by the Holy Virgin and St. John are faintly visible now on the sanctuary's outer walls, but their formal and technical features point out to the authorship of the workshop of Dârlos. Like in this case, St. Christopher's monumental figure in Șmig was placed on the sanctuary's southern, exterior wall.

¹⁰³⁴ András W. Kovács, "Administrația Comitatului Hunedoara în evul mediu" [The administration of Hunyad County in the Middle Ages], *Sargetia. Acta Mvsei Devensis* 35-36 (2007-2008), 203-240, esp. p. 215; idem, "Megyeszékhelyek a középkori Erdélyben" [County centers in medieval Transylvania], in *Emlékkönyv Egyed Akós születésének nyolcvanadik évfordulójára* [Festschrift on the occasion of Akós Egyed's eightieth birthday], ed. Judit Pál and Gábor Sipos (Kolozsvár [Cluj-Napoca]: Erdélyi Múzeum-Egyesület [Societatea Muzeului Ardelean], 2010), 182-183.

¹⁰³⁵ Burnichioiu, "Biserici parohiale și capele", 341.

¹⁰³⁶ Kovács, "Administrația comitatului Hunedoara", 215, 233-234.

Abrud, whose painters were trained in a Western cultural milieu and had well assimilated the Gothic manner and technique, but they inscribed, nonetheless, their images (also) in Old Church Slavonic, even when they worked for Catholic patrons. Seemingly, the workshop's cultural and linguistic background was varied and not exclusively Western, but little is known in fact about the speech communities that used the church in Chimindia during the Middle Ages. An interesting working hypothesis has been advanced by Ileana Burnichioiu, who has shown that the later onomatology of the noble family in Chimindia reveals names with both Hungarian (Catholic) and Romanian (Orthodox) resonance, the latter situation occurring mostly on the female side.¹⁰³⁷ For instance, Isaac of Kemend married Eva of Mățești in 1452, and their son Ferencz took later Maria of Tuștea (Hung. *Tustya*) as his wife, whereas Stephen Varadi, a descendant of the same noble family, married Eva of Peșteana (Hung. *Pestény*) sometime during the second half of the fifteenth century. Their son Nicholas took Clara of Ostrov as his wife and the couple had five children, some of them having been called by Romanian-inspired names, i.e., Iancu and Lascu; later on, during the first half of the sixteenth century, their sister Sofia married Petru of Densuș. Occurring frequently from the second half of the fifteenth century on, the evidence of mixed matrimonial alliances for the Catholic noblemen in Chimindia, who took as wives women coming from various Romanian and Orthodox noble families of the confessionally-diverse area of Hátszeg, makes one contemplate the possibility of an earlier practice of mixed marriages inside this noble family. If this was the case, then the holy kings' inscriptions in Old Church Slavonic might have had an audience after all.

Finally, the settlement of Remetea was found in the very proximity of the town of Beiuș (Hung. *Belényes*), which was located in the homonymous district of Bihar County, one of the south-eastern counties of the Kingdom of Hungary.¹⁰³⁸ The first written mention of the settlement in Remetea dates back to 1318, when Jákó and Cikó, Chaaz's grandchildren, sold the village to Ivánka, the Bishop of Nagyvárád, and to his brothers; a short time afterwards, i.e., in 1324, the village is mentioned again.¹⁰³⁹ Although the church does not feature in any of the fourteenth-

¹⁰³⁷ Burnichioiu, "Biserici parohiale și capele", 348 and genealogical table 10.

¹⁰³⁸ Aladár Vende, "Bihar vármegye községei" [Villages of Bihar County], in Borovszky, *Magyarország vármegyéi és városai (Magyarország monográfiája). A magyar korona országai történetének, földrajzi, képzőművészeti, néprajzi, hadügyi és természeti viszonyainak, közmívelődési és közgazdasági állapotának enciklopédiája. Bihar vármegye és Nagyvárád* [Counties and towns of Hungary (Monograph of Hungary). Encyclopedia of public education and economic status of the history, geography, art, folklore, military affairs, and natural conditions of the country of the Hungarian Crown. Bihar County and Oradea Mare], ed. Samu Borovszky (Budapest: "Apolló" Irodalmi Társaság, 1901), 46-47, 138; Anita Rácz, *A régi Bihar vármegye településneveinek történeti-etimológiai szótára* [Historical-etymological dictionary of place names in the former County of Bihar] (Debrecen: Debreceni Egyetem Magyar Nyelvtudományi Tanszék, 2007), 179-180, 208, 232. For approximate data regarding the ethnic composition of Bihar County generally and Belényes District particularly at the end of the sixteenth century, see Valér Veres, "A 16-18. századi Bihar vármegye történeti demográfiai irodalmának kritikai elemzése" [Critical analysis of the literature on historical demography in 16th- to 18th-century Bihar County], *Történeti Demográfiai Évkönyve* (2004), 182.

¹⁰³⁹ Kerny, "Dokumentumok a magyarremetei falfestményekről", 423.

century lists of papal tithes,¹⁰⁴⁰ it seems that the settlement remained in the possession of the Bishop of Nagyvárád for more than one century, having been included among the bishop's properties also in 1422.¹⁰⁴¹ In 1445, however, Franko de Thalovac, Ban of Slavonia and Governor of Nagyvárád Bishopric, gave the possession of Remetea to Ladislas, the son of Ladislas Boț, the Romanian Voivode of Belényes, as a reward for his help during the last war against the Turks.¹⁰⁴² Remetea was still in the property of Orthodox Romanians in 1491, when the Bishop of Nagyvárád donated it to Ștefan Iancău of Boț kindred, who owned it according to the same rights as it has been done previously by Voivode Ștefan *de Chycze*; the donation was a reward for Ștefan Iancău's faithful deeds and an incentive for this one to prove himself more willing and zealous in fulfilling his duties and in administering and protecting the bishop's *terrae wolachales*.¹⁰⁴³ It was certainly the settlement's change of ownership in 1445 from Catholics to Orthodox Romanians that made possible the occurrence of Byzantine frescoes accompanied by inscriptions in Old Church Slavonic in the church's nave and room below the western tower, as the settlement's new Orthodox, Romanian owners also exercised their right of patronage over the local church. What is particularly interesting in this case, is the fact that the Orthodox owners of the church commissioned naturally new frescoes according to the requirements of their Eastern rite (i.e., funerary and eschatological iconography for the transitional space of the narthex, Byzantine painter or workshop, and Old Church Slavonic inscriptions), but kept also the work of their Latin-rite predecessors, i.e., the mural decoration of the sanctuary and nave with its Western iconography and Catholic saints, the *sancti reges Hungariae* included. The new scenes accompanied by inscriptions in Old Church Slavonic are not iconographically connected with the representation of the *sancti reges Hungariae*, but their presence inside the very same church sheds light on the attitude of the faithful towards religious images during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The new, Orthodox patrons did not destroy, nor cover the representation of Hungary's holy kings, but used it together with the church's other painted images, both old and new, Catholic and Orthodox alike. As indicated by the history of the new Orthodox owners of the church in Remetea, they proved to be very tolerant and versatile in matters pertaining to religion/confession, as they soon converted to Latin Christianity in the decades following the receiving of their new possession, and later on, in the sixteenth century, they became Calvinist.¹⁰⁴⁴ This situation was facilitated by the location of the settlement of Remetea in a

¹⁰⁴⁰ Lángi, *Erdélyi falképek és festett faberendezések*, 2: 71.

¹⁰⁴¹ Szakács, "Saints of the Knights", 329.

¹⁰⁴² Drăgan, *Nobilimea românească*, 214-215; Lángi, *Erdélyi falképek és festett faberendezések*, 2: 71; Szakács, "Saints of the Knights", 329.

¹⁰⁴³ Drăgan, *Nobilimea românească*, 215.

¹⁰⁴⁴ Lángi, *Erdélyi falképek és festett faberendezések*, 2: 71; Szakács, "Saints of the Knights", 329.

confessionally-mixed area of the Hungarian Kingdom, i.e., Bihar County, where Orthodox Romanians lived alongside Catholic Hungarians.¹⁰⁴⁵

Subsequently, the five representations of the *sancti reges Hungariae* that were examined throughout this chapter offer various instances of hybridity which can be found mostly in the images' internal features, but are also of circumstantial nature (external). First, there are the Byzantine-style images of these Catholic saints, which were commissioned either by Orthodox Romanians (Crișcior and Ribița) or by Catholic Hungarians/Saxons (Dârlos) to painters of Byzantine tradition. The painters' training and their cultural and confessional belonging gave birth to iconographically atypical representations of the holy kings of Hungary. Second, there are the International-Gothic images of these Catholic saints which were executed by Western/Catholic painters, but were probably commissioned or used at a certain point by Orthodox Romanians (Chimindia and Remetea). In the case of the fresco in Chimindia, there are not iconographic characteristics, but quasi-internal features which alert one on the depiction's hybrid character: the Old Church Slavonic inscriptions, typical for Byzantine-Slavic culture and Orthodox confession, respectively, are atypical for images displaying stylistic features specific to the International Gothic, a style usually associated with Western culture and Catholic confession. However, in the case of the mural in Remetea there is no internal indicator of hybridity, because the holy kings' image has Western-style appearance and is accompanied by Latin inscriptions. Its hybridity is, therefore, not intrinsic, nor intentional, but was acquired *post factum* through the specific conditions this image was used in: the Western-style depiction of the three Catholic saints was commissioned by Catholic Hungarians to a Western/Catholic workshop, but was used later (at least for a short while) by Orthodox Romanians, when these became the new patrons of the church.

¹⁰⁴⁵ Drăgan, *Nobilimea românească*, 214-215.

7. Conclusions

The aim of this study was to assess the dynamic development of the cult and iconography of the *sancti reges Hungariae* from the fourteenth until the early-sixteenth century. What has become clear from the preceding chapters is how the veneration and pictorial representation of the holy kings of Hungary was continuously reshaped across the culturally- and ethnically-diverse territory of the Kingdom of Hungary during the Late Middle Ages. The images of the *sancti reges Hungariae* in religious mural painting underwent permanent rethinking through the transfer of the cult from the royal milieu to that of the ecclesiastic and aristocratic élites, from the level of the magnates to that of the middle and lower nobility, and finally through its appropriation by the various social, ethnic, and confessional groups of the country. This continuous refashioning of the holy kings' iconography went through changes of pictorial language, in accordance with their usage as either devotional or political tools. The cult and iconography of the *sancti reges Hungariae* were not examined as self-standing phenomena, but analyzed in close connection with one another and in their application to the political struggles and events of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, in connection with the place they held within church rituals and public ceremonies, and in their usage for both religious and political purposes.

King Stephen I (r. 1000/1001-1038) and his son, Prince Emeric (1000/1007-1031), were canonized in 1083 at the initiative of King Ladislas I (r. 1077-1095), who lacked the legitimacy of being ruler and needed additional, sacred capital for making himself accepted as King of Hungary. After more than a century, in 1192, King Ladislas joined the community of saints through the actions of King Béla III (r. 1173-1196), who felt a personal affinity toward his royal and knightly predecessors. From the moments of their canonizations on, the cults of the three holy kings developed independently from one another around their burial places in Székesfehérvár and Oradea Mare, respectively. Throughout the thirteenth century, the figures of the three royal saints were often invoked either as models of pious and ascetic behavior by their female relatives (namely, St. Elizabeth of Hungary/Thuringia and Blessed Margaret of Hungary, themselves aspirants to sainthood), or as sacred guarantors for the country's secular affairs by their male successors acting as rulers of the kingdom (especially the holy kings' namesake descendants, namely, King Stephen V, r. 1270-1272, and King Ladislas IV, r. 1272-1290). The new dynastic consciousness that emerged during this period transformed sanctity into a sort of familial affair and the Árpádians, similarly to the Neapolitan Angevin dynasty, enhanced their political prestige by resorting often to their *beata stirps* which included, besides Sts Stephen, Emeric, and Ladislas, also the holy princesses St. Elizabeth and Blessed Margaret. During the political struggle generated by the

change of dynasty in the beginning of the fourteenth century, King Charles I of Anjou (r. 1301/1308-1342) and his supporters relied with consistency on the cult of the holy predecessors, Angevin and Árpáadian alike, for the purpose of proving the Angevin claimant's legitimacy to rule the country and for making him accepted by the Hungarian noblemen. Once the political stability was achieved at home, his son, King Louis I the Great (r. 1342-1382), through the assistance of his politically-influential mother, Dowager Queen Elizabeth Piast (1305-1342, tenure 1320-1342), endeavored to increase the prestige of his lineage in the eyes of his contemporaries – political adversaries and allies alike – by means of promoting abroad, in spiritually-prestigious places such as Rome (1343) or Aachen (1357-1366), the cults of those saints descended from his own family. It was around the middle of the fourteenth century that the gender-exclusive and politically-motivated association of Sts Stephen, Emeric, and Ladislás started to take shape in the royal milieu, the joint cult of the *sancti reges Hungariae* spreading afterwards gradually among other social and professionals categories. Following the model set by the royalty, first the ecclesiastical élite of the country commissioned works of art and piety with the image of Hungary's three holy kings, which served either private-devotional purposes or were meant for public display. The statues of the three *sancti reges Hungariae*, commissioned around 1370 by the Bishop of Nagyvárad Demetrius Futaki (1345-1372) and exhibited in the cathedral's main square, contributed to the success of the joint cult and played the role of authoritative disseminators of iconography. The downward diffusion of the joint cult of the *sancti reges Hungariae* did not leave unaltered the meaning attached to the holy kings, their figures of sacred ancestors having been transformed, subsequently, into those of spiritual patrons of either the country, a social or professional group, or of individual persons, in accordance with the spiritual relevance they had for each of the categories that adopted and venerated them. At the turn of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the members of the nobility, in their quality of new supporters of the joint cult, decorated many of their churches with the collective depiction of the three *sancti reges Hungariae*, the commissioning of murals with their image serving at satisfying both devotional and political needs.

The visual representation of the *sancti reges Hungariae* registered various changes over time which are expressed in the diversification of their iconography. These visual changes did not occur independently from the cult of Hungary's holy kings, but were introduced for the purpose of better accommodating the differences in the social and political perception of their cult. This “functionalized” iconography responded to the needs of each social group that adopted the depiction of Sts Stephen, Emeric, and Ladislás.

The collective representation in church mural painting of the *sancti reges Hungariae* was a highly conventional and stereotype portrayal that displayed frontally the three holy kings and

captured them in hieratical and static attitudes. Judging by the great number of similar depictions, even the individual treatment of the three characters – namely, the old and white-bearded St. Stephen, the young, beardless St. Emeric, and the mature, bearded St. Ladislav – indicates the royal saints' conventional depiction at the three ages of kingship, which was probably influenced by the iconography of the Three Magi. Only seldom the holy kings were represented in differentiated costumes, the general tendency having been that of standardizing their appearance and of presenting them equally as royal saints. The collection of personal attributes referred to important events in the life of each saint: the battle-axe or halberd was a memento of St. Ladislav's bravery in fighting the pagan invaders and in defending his country, whereas the lily-shaped scepter or lily recalled St. Emeric's chastity and pure life. The saints were equally invested with royal *insignia*, namely, crown, crucifer orb, and scepter, despite the fact St. Emeric did not have the chance to play historically the role of ruler of his kingdom. Many depictions are characterized by the holy kings' equal transformation into holy knights and defenders of Christian faith, despite the fact that only St. Ladislav is known for having truly played such role. The prominent knightly appearance of the three *sancti reges Hungariae* in these murals finds its motivation partly in the strong revival of chivalric culture which characterized the Kingdom of Hungary especially during the reigns of King Louis I the Great and King Sigismund of Luxemburg. The majority of these murals occurred indeed between the late-fourteenth and the early-fifteenth century, that is, in a period characterized also by the Ottomans' menacing advance, and the uniform depiction as knights of the three *sancti reges Hungariae* was partly a consequence of these troubled times, too.

The image of Hungary's three holy kings had no specific place within the church and it could be equally encountered in the nave, the sanctuary, or exterior decoration. The depiction enjoyed, thus, various degrees of visibility, reaching the greatest audience through its placing on the church's outer walls. The lack of available space inside the church might have determined the depiction of the *sancti reges Hungariae* in exterior decoration, although this privileged location was sometimes preferred for communicating publicly ideological messages. Being a space destined to a number of selected people, the sanctuary offered, nonetheless, a fair degree of visibility for the image, as the access to this space was not restricted to the common faithful. Moreover, the southern side of the sanctuary was usually the place where the church's founder and his family attended religious service and, subsequently, the placing of the *sancti reges Hungariae* on the sanctuary's southern wall could express additional, personal links between the image of the Hungarian saintly rulers and its commissioners.

Besides the wall paintings featuring the collective representation of the three *sancti reges Hungariae* within a single composition, there is another group of murals which have consistent,

iconographic features. These images are characterized by the selection of only Sts Stephen and Ladislás, the saints' distribution on distinct, but conceptually-unified wall surfaces, and the two holy kings' identical location inside the church (namely, the pillars of the triumphal arch) and resemblance of iconographic contexts (namely, the company of the Old Testament Prophets). Sts Stephen and Ladislás are integral part of the decoration of the triumphal arch which, in architectural-symbolical terms, represents the transition between the secular space of the nave and the church's sacred epicenter (i.e., the sanctuary), a symbolical passage from the secular to the sacred realms, from the terrestrial to the heavenly kingdoms. The ambivalence of this area reflected also the dual nature of Hungary's holy kings, who were both religious and secular characters: as political figures, King Stephen I and King Ladislás I played a significant part in the history of their country, whereas as spiritual figures, St. Stephen and St. Ladislás played a meaningful role in the organization and defense of the local, Hungarian Church. The depiction of Sts Stephen and Ladislás as *pillars* represents an attempt at translating an instance of political-theological thinking into the pictorial medium of religious mural painting. In written sources, St. Stephen is presented as a predominantly wise and righteous king, whereas St. Ladislás is fashioned as a predominantly brave and strong ruler, in accordance with the main qualities of the Old Testament Kings Solomon and David, who had as chief virtues wisdom and physical excellence, respectively. The re-working of St. Stephen's and St. Ladislás' identities was the reflection of a long-lasting, medieval tradition, which selected the two biblical, royal figures for the purpose of defining the medieval institution of kingship and of illustrating the prerogatives of medieval kings, who needed Solomon's and David's virtues for becoming suitable to rule. This iconographic type showing Sts Stephen and Ladislás on the pillars of the triumphal arch might have occurred earlier (namely, around the middle of the fourteenth century) than the iconographic type showing the three holy kings within a single composition.

The research analyzed also the social aspects in the cult and iconography of the *sancti reges Hungariae*, establishing the role they had in shaping the social and political identity of different groups, which expressed by means of pictorial representations their allegiance (loyalty) or opposition to the time's political power. The majority of those who commissioned the collective image of the *sancti reges Hungariae* around 1400 were noblemen of the kingdom, their motivation having had equally a personal-devotional and political nature. Even though the donors belonged to different noble families, the Pelsőci branch of the Bebek family appears among the most fervent supporters of the cult of Hungary's holy kings and their associated representations. The members of this noble family managed to accumulate during the second half of the fourteenth century an impressive wealth and several figures rose to key political positions in the country at the turn of the

fifteenth century. Five of the churches patronized by this family (i.e., Kameňany, Krásnohorské Podhradie, Plešivec, Rákoš, Tornaszentandrás) preserve today depictions of the *sancti reges Hungariae* and, as attested by the Bebek's naming practices and political actions, the images of the holy kings served both devotional and propagandistic purposes. During the political crisis of the early-fifteenth century, the Hungarian magnates who were directly affected by the king's measures which hindered greatly their influence formed a coalition against Sigismund of Luxemburg and supported the claims for the Hungarian Crown of Ladislav of Naples. This anti-Sigismund coalition was headed by the Archbishop of Esztergom John Kanizsai (1387-1418) and by the Palatine Detre Bebek (1397-1402), who utilized the cult of St. Ladislav for reaching their political goals and, subsequently, transformed the holy king into a powerful symbol of the country. By swearing oath on St. Ladislav's relics in Oradea Mare, the Hungarian barons united their minds and forces around the ideal figure of the holy king and knight, who became the embodiment of the kingdom which, according to the rebels' views, King Sigismund was no longer suited to represent. As their naming practices and their personal-devotional ties with the three holy kings attest to, the Pelsőci Bebek emulated the model of their spiritual patrons, seeking to embody the set of saintly and political virtues that the *sancti reges Hungariae* stood for. Their self-identification with the holy kings and self-representation through important symbols of the country represented an expression of the Bebek's conviction that they were meant to play a significant and decisive part on the country's political stage.

King Sigismund of Luxemburg (r. 1387-1437) counteracted the political actions of his adversaries with determination and a similar embracing of St. Ladislav's cult, which he supported with consistency throughout his long reign, revering highly the holy knight as the patron saint *par excellence* of the Kingdom of Hungary. Emulating the model of his father, King Charles IV of Luxemburg (r. 1346-1378), King Sigismund associated St. Ladislav with his personal patron, St. Sigismund of Burgundy, whom he endeavored to promote in his new country through the acquisition and distribution of relics and through the foundation of new churches dedicated to the Burgundian royal martyr. King Sigismund's high devotion for both his personal patron and the kingdom's traditional holy protectors inspired, in turn, a similar piety among the noblemen of the country, who were either in close or distant connection with the king and belonged equally to the higher and lower levels of nobility. Being politically loyal to their ruler, these noblemen emulated the royal, devotional and artistic patterns and illustrated in their churches the Hungarian-Bohemian "holy and faithful fellowship". Subsequently, a rather significant number of murals produced during the first decades of the fifteenth century feature the three *sancti reges Hungariae* alongside St. Sigismund, the personal patron saint of the ruling King of Hungary. This group of murals illustrates

how the political changes of a certain period facilitated the transfer of a new saint's cult from his cult center to another region, and that the veneration of a saint was sometimes politically motivated.

Through the mediation of Hungarian pilgrims or close family ties, the veneration of the three *sancti reges Hungariae* spread also abroad, reaching throughout the fifteenth century not only the neighboring countries (e.g., Austria, Bohemia, and Poland), but also more distant regions. As vehicles of diffusion of a saint's cult, the pictorial depictions of the holy kings of Hungary appeared as well in these foreign places. In this external context, it became customary by the mid-fifteenth century for the *sancti reges Hungariae* to be associated with the country's heraldic symbols. In a number of examples produced and used outside Hungary around mid-fifteenth century, the heraldic devices attached to the image of the three *sancti reges Hungariae* served not only the purpose of identifying these royal saints and of denoting their place of origin, but also that of designating visually their quality of sacred protectors of the Kingdom of Hungary. In internal context, the association of the three holy kings with, on the one hand, the kingdom's coats of arms and, on the other hand, the *Patrona Hungariae* became a pictorial *topos* which, during the reign of King Matthias Corvinus (r. 1458-1490), took the form of monarchic and state representation. This model passed later in the milieu of Hungarian towns, where the pictorial association between the *sancti reges Hungariae*, the country's heraldic symbols, and the coat of arms of the ruling king denoted civic awareness and represented a means of proud affirmation of urban status and a statement of loyalty towards the sovereign of the country, who was the originator and guarantor of a town's privileges and autonomy. The physical integration of the image of Hungary's holy kings into the main public and symbolic spaces of a town transformed yet again the *sancti reges Hungariae* not only into passive witnesses of ritualized and symbolic communication, but also into active agents who, on the one hand, oversaw and ratified civic events and, on the other hand, played the role of spiritual guardians of an urban community. During the last quarter of the fifteenth century, in the context of the increasing popularity of winged altarpieces, one can note the multiplication of Hungary's sacred protectors and a new pattern of iconographic association emerging in the pictorial representation of the holy kings. Other saints who have played a similar role as spiritual patrons of the kingdom or have had a special significance for the country started to be depicted in the company of the *sancti reges Hungariae*: St. Elizabeth of Hungary, St. Adalbert of Prague, St. Martin of Tours, or St. John the Almsgiver were the holy figures who enriched the pantheon of Hungarian patron saints during this later period.

The passage of time brought with it also the social-professional diversification among the commissioners of the holy kings' images which, between the middle of the fifteenth century and the first decades of the sixteenth century, were also painters, priests, town officials, or Saxon citizens.

All these categories embraced the cult of the *sancti reges Hungariae* and their associated iconography. During the first decades of the fifteenth century, however, this diversification was marked also by its interconfessional aspect, as the cult and iconography of Hungary's holy kings was popular not only among the Catholic noblemen of the kingdom, but reached also several Romanian Orthodox noblemen in the County of Zaránd. Despite the founders' belonging to a different confession, the Catholic *sancti reges Hungariae* found their appeal among this social, ethnic, and confessional category, who revered them as guarantors of social status and legal rights. The images' iconographic setting in these Orthodox churches reveals close affinity with the complex *mise-en-scène* encountered in Byzantine monumental painting, which creates strong, conceptual links between the portraits of ktetors and rulers, and reflects faithfully the political order of a particular time and space. Seemingly, the painters of these Orthodox churches in Zaránd have adapted the familiar, Byzantine model to the commissioners' immediate political reality, substituting the image of the effective political authority (i.e., the portraits of rulers) with the image of the *sancti reges Hungariae*. These saints functioned in a similar way and reflected faithfully the social and political reality of the Orthodox founders, who were Romanian noblemen living in the Catholic Kingdom of Hungary. As both political and spiritual symbols, the *sancti reges Hungariae* represented a double source of legitimacy for those who invoked or represented them, their summoning in either a political, legal, or pictorial context signifying the approval or sanctioning of a certain event, as well as the guaranteeing of legal rights for different social categories or individual persons.

During the fifteenth century, the veneration of Sts Stephen, Emeric, and Ladislas disseminated in various degrees among all the kingdom's estates (i.e., Hungarian and Szekler noblemen, Saxon citizens, etc.), ethnic groups (i.e., Hungarians, Saxons, Szeklers, Romanians, etc.), and even confessions (i.e., Catholic and Orthodox). The social, professional, ethnical, and even confessional diversity of the commissioners of the images showing the *sancti reges Hungariae* argues in favor of the holy kings' final transformation into veritable symbols of the country/kingdom. Besides its personal devotional side, the collective depiction of the *sancti reges Hungariae* served sometimes a political, propagandistic purpose, and the examined cases illustrate how – by means of complex pictorial strategies – an ideological message was sometimes conveyed to various audiences.

Catalogue of Murals

Cat. No. 1. *Sancti reges Hungariae*, southern façade of the Catholic Church of St. Giles in Bardejov (Germ. *Bartfeld*, Hung. *Bártfa*), Sáros County (Present-day Slovakia), 1521

A. Place: The south-western tower of the church was decorated on its southern façade, at the level of its first floor, with several frescoed representations. The standing figures of the three *sancti reges Hungariae* were placed on the left (western) side of the exterior wall of the tower's first floor and in between the western, stepped buttress and the narrow, round-ending window which pierced the tower's first floor. In 1774, after several calamities, the tower was reduced to the nave's height and both were covered by a common roof, but between 1879 and 1898, according to Imre Steindl's design, the upper floors of the tower were reconstructed, the church receiving the appearance it has today.

B. Description: Currently, only several faded traces of paint are visible from the tower's former decoration and the depiction of the *sancti reges Hungariae* vanished almost in its entirety. This state is the consequence of the late-nineteenth century restoration of the church and reconstruction of its tower. During the 1860s and 1870s, Viktor Myskovszky recorded on several occasions the decoration of the church's southern façade, when this was still greatly legible. However, in 1904, the murals were greatly damaged and, in 1915, Kornél Divald could register only some minor fragments surviving in the tower's outer decoration. Viktor Myskovszky's drawings, watercolors, and written accounts of the mural decoration on the church's southern façade are quite detailed and they can help one reconstruct in great extent the appearance of the scene of the three *sancti reges Hungariae*. According to his 1879 written account (I quote here directly the English translation of the Hungarian passage): *The entire surface of the first floor of the tower is divided into two parts by black bands; on the left-side panel, the figures of St. Stephen, St. Ladislav, and St. Duke Emeric are painted, whereas the field of the right-side image is filled in with the colossal figure of St. Christopher carrying the Child Jesus on his shoulder. King Saint Stephen is depicted with long beard and long hair, wearing a three-lily crown on his head, in his left hand he holds an orb decorated with a double cross, and in his right hand he holds a Gothic-style scepter, whose upper end is decorated with a nice cross. A picturesque cloak of red brocade with golden flowers envelops St. Stephen's well-drawn figure; on the left side of the image, King St. Ladislav is armored, on his head he wears a Gothic-style lily crown, his left hand rests on the grip of his cross-guard sword, whereas his right hand leans against the long shaft of his halberd; finally, on the right side of the image, next to the narrow window with semicircular opening of the tower, Duke St. Emeric is depicted with a young and salient figure, his head is uncovered and his long hair, split in the middle, falls on his shoulders, in his left hand he hold a three-flower lily, the symbol of his innocence and virginity, whereas his right hand grips the blade of a sword with cross-guard and pommel. His long robe of bright-green color and with split sleeves was decorated with greenish-brown flowers and has white-fur (ermine) collar and trimming. Below the row of images, two kneeling angels hold a frame, on which there is an inscription of the year 1521, which reads like this: 'ANNO DOM MI / LSIO QIGENTE / SUO VIGSIO PRIMO / [...]'.* (Myskovszky, *Bártfa középkori műemlékei I*, 28-9). Confronting this detailed, written description with the existing drawings and watercolor copies of the fresco, little can be added. The three standing figures of

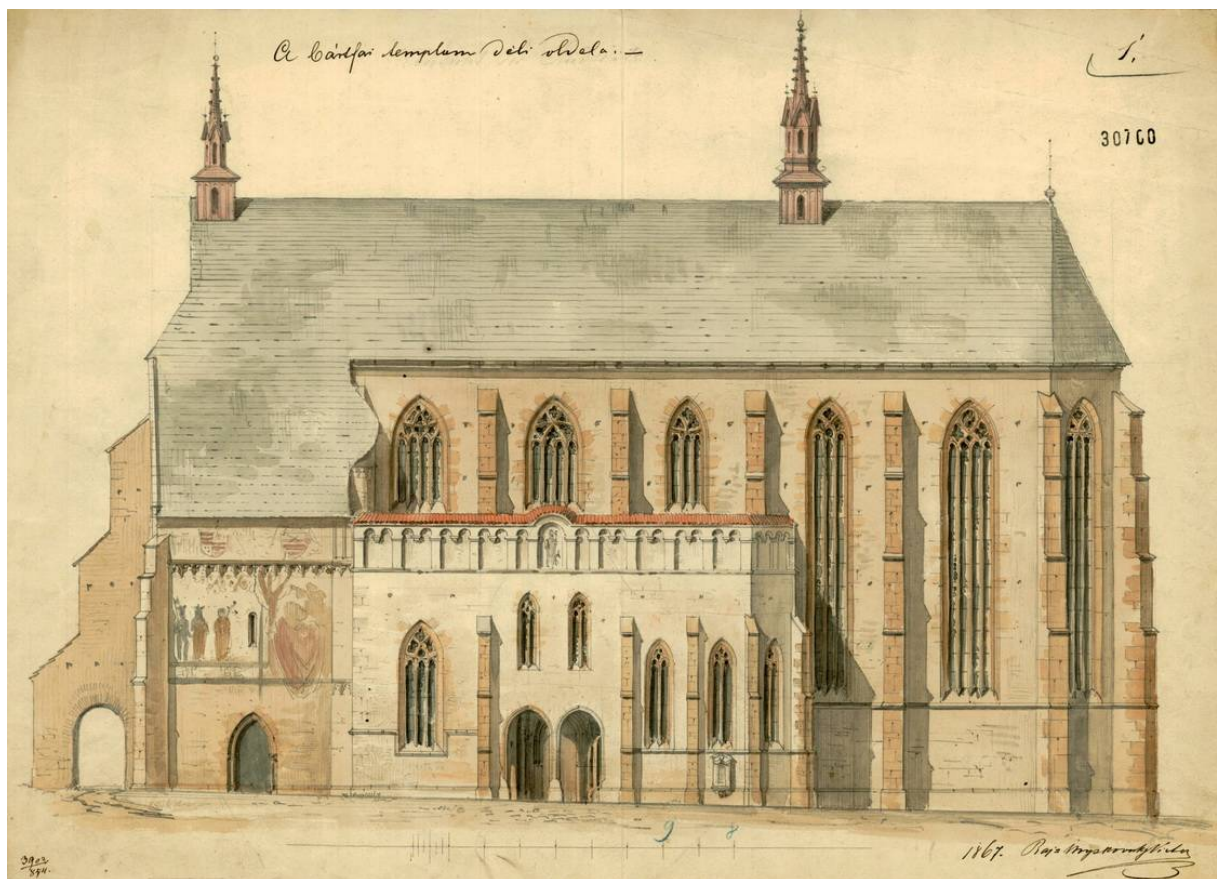
Hungary's holy kings were depicted according to their usual iconography showing in the middle the old, white-bearded St. Stephen flanked on the left side by the mature, dark-bearded St. Ladislav, and on the right side by the young, beardless St. Emeric. St. Ladislav had a pronounced knightly appearance (armor, halberd, and sword), whereas St. Stephen and his son were dressed in differently-conceived court costumes. Both St. Ladislav and St. Stephen were crowned, however, the latter's royal dignity was further emphasized by his attributes, i.e., scepter and crucifer orb. Without any royal attribute, St. Emeric was depicted holding the symbol of his chastity (i.e., the lily) and propped against the ground a sword. Seemingly, the three standing figures were projected against a sketchy architectural background; however, the scene's upper ending consisted of an intricate, painted decoration with curly stems, light flowers, and hanging garlands, which was combined with a series of carved, three-lobed arches belonging to the Gothic cornice marking the tower's distinct floors.

C. Iconographic Context: During the 1860s and 1870s, the medieval tower existed only partially and one should be aware that any decoration, either painted or carved, which might have existed on the tower's upper floors, was completely lost at that point. The whole surface corresponding to the tower's first-floor, southern façade was covered with murals. These were placed directly above the tower's outer access and next to another important access, which was placed in the middle of the church's southern façade and was further emphasized by a built porch flanked by two chapels. Consequently, the tower's mural decoration enjoyed a great degree of visibility, being perceivable from afar and from various angles of the medieval square. On the right (eastern) side of the holy kings' image, there was a monumental depiction of St. Christopher carrying the Christ Child on his shoulder. Below the image of the *sancti reges Hungariae*, there was painted an inscription which was placed within a framework carried by two kneeling angels and which conveyed the year the tower's mural decoration was completed, namely, 1521. On the register above the depictions of the *sancti reges Hungariae* and St. Christopher, i.e., above the carved Gothic cornice marking the floors' division, two painted coats of arms, supported each by one angel, were placed above each of the two lower scenes. Corresponding to the representation of the *sancti reges Hungariae*, there was the coat of arms of the ruling King of Hungary and Bohemia Louis II Jagiello (r. 1516-1526). Corresponding to St. Christopher's image, the town's coat of arms granted in 1453 to Bardejov by King Ladislav V the Posthumous (r. 1440-1457) was placed. The direct involvement of the town officials in the commissioning of the tower's mural decoration is attested not only by the town's coat of arms, but also by an entry in the *Rationale inchoatum sub Indicato prudentis ac circumspici Alexii Glauchner Anno Domini 1509*, the town's book of expenses, which reads: "... item fecimus hoc Anno depingi imaginem Sti Christophori et trium Regum, atque horologium in turri Ecclesiae per Joannem Emerici et Krausz ratione ejus laboris eisdem solvimus fl. 35." (Myskovszky, *Bártfa középkori műemlékei I*, 29). The association between the image of the three *sancti reges Hungariae*, the traditional patron saints of the country/kingdom, the coat of arms of the ruling king and the coat of arms of the town of Bardejov, respectively, advertised in the main public space of the town, through complex pictorial and heraldic devices, the prominent position that the town managed to acquire in the kingdom's economic life and political affairs.

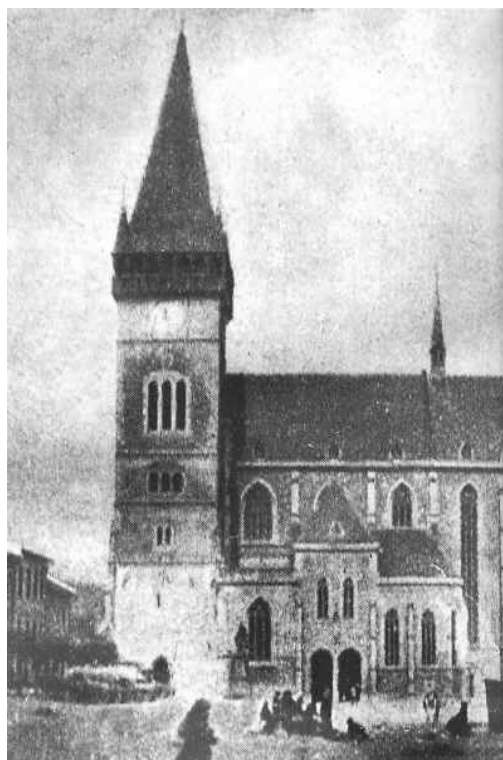
D. Dating: According to an entry in the town's book of expenses, the administration of Bardejov commissioned that year the masters John Emeric and John Krausz with the painting of the image of

St. Christopher, the three (holy) kings, and the clock in the tower of the church, an work for which 35 florins were paid (Myskovszky, *Bártfa középkori műemlékei I*, 29). According to the inscription placed below the image of the three *sancti reges Hungariae*, i.e., within the framework of the panel supported by the two kneeling angels, the year 1521 is given as the date of the murals' execution: *ANNO DOM(INI):MI:/LESI(M)O QVIGENTE/SI(M)O VIC[E]SI(M)O PRIMO*.

E. Selective Bibliography: Divald, “Bártfai Szent Egyed-templom”, 105-14, 310-35; Dvořáková, *Stredoveká nástenná malba na Slovensku*, 33, 61-2, 73; Kerny, “Magyar szent királyok középkori kompozíciói a templomok külső falain”, 81, 83-4, 87; Myskovszky, Viktor, “Die St. Egidius-Pfarrkirche zu Bartfeld in Ungarn”, *Mittheilungen der K. K. Central-Commission zur Erforschung und Erhaltung der Baudenkmale* 16 (1871), 112-3; Myskovszky *Bártfa középkori műemlékei I*, 28-9; Myskovszky, Ernő, “Műemlékeink pusztulása. I. Felvidéki műemlékeink sorsa”, *Művészet* 3 (1904), 179; Radocsay *Középkori Magyarország falképei*, 114-5; Szokolszky, Bertalan, *A bártfai Sz. Egyed-templom története és leírása*, Eperjes, Kosch Árpád Könyv, 1898, 18; Šášky, Ladislav, “Farský kostol v Bardejove”, *Pamiatky a múzeá* 5/1 (1956), 12-22; Wehli, “Szent István kultusza”, 126.



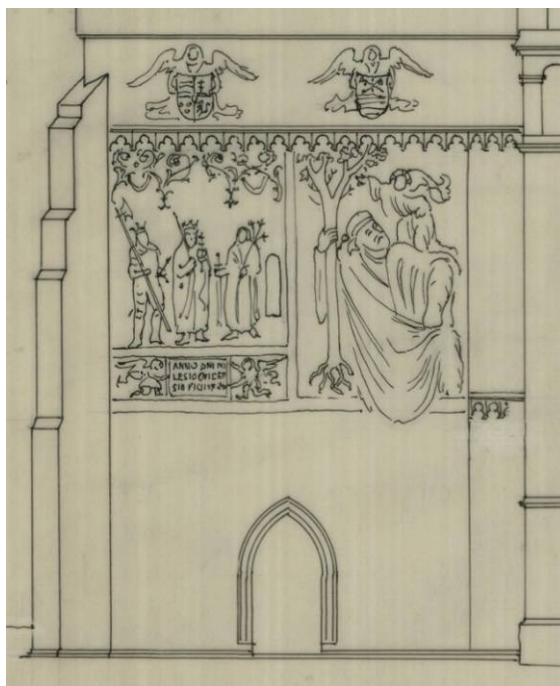
1. View of the southern façade of St. Giles Church in Bardejov as seen in 1869 by Viktor Myskovszky, Archive of the Kulturális Örökségvédelmi Hivatal, Budapest, No. 30.700 (Source: Kerny, *Szent Imre 1000 éve*)



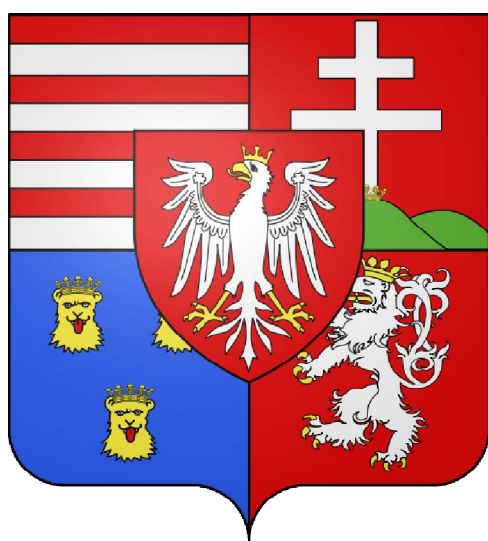
2. Photograph showing partially the southern façade of St. Giles Church in Bardejov as it appears in 1899, i.e., immediately after the church's historicist restoration (Photo Source: <http://www.obnova.sk/>)



3. Current state of the mural decoration on the southern, outer wall of the tower's first floor (Photo: © The Author, April 2012)



4. Detail with the murals on the tower's southern façade from an ink drawing showing the entire southern façade of St. Giles Church in Bardejov made in 1878 probably by Kálmán Lux, Archive of the Kulturális Örökségvédelmi Hivatal, Budapest, No. 00.104 (Source: Kerny, *Szent Imre 1000 éve*)



5. Coat of arms of Louis II Jagiello, King of Hungary and Poland (1516-1526) (Photo: © WikimediaCommons User Jimmy44)
6. Detail of the coat of arms of Bardejov, King Louis V's illuminated charter granting the coat of arms to the town of Bardejov, 1453, Town Archives, Bardejov (Source: WikiBooks)



7. Drawing of the mural painting depicting the figures of Sts Ladislav, Stephen, and Emeric made between 1867 and 1874 by Viktor Myskovszky, Archive of the Kulturális Örökségvédelmi Hivatal, Budapest, No. 30.700 (Source: Kerny 2009, fig. 2)

Cat. No. 2. Sts Stephen and Ladislav, sanctuary of the Catholic Church of All Saints in Bijacovce (Germ. *Biazowitz* / *Betendorf*, Hung. *Szepesmindszent* / *Biátfalva*), Szepes County (Present-day Slovakia), 1390s

A. Place: On the first register above the area of decorative painting and on the northern wall of the square-shape sanctuary, there are two representations of holy kings. They are placed on the left (western) side of the sacristy door, i.e., in the proximity of the triumphal arch.

B. Description: Currently, the figures of the two standing holy kings are partially visible: the paint layer is completely whitewashed in the area below their hips, whereas the area corresponding to the upper part of their heads is lost but repainted. As revealed by the restorers' recent testing, the whitewashed area below the two characters' hips still preserves traces of painting. The area corresponding to the upper part of the two figures' heads was repainted in slightly lighter shades during the restoration campaign carried out by Mária Mariánová in 1960. The painted area is generally in a mediocre state of preservation, being characterized by the colors' diminution in intensity, detaching of the layer of color through scratches, and the loss of support and color layers on small portions but spread throughout the entire surface of the painting. These deteriorations obscured some important details in the mural, leading some art historians to the two characters' misidentification: because they are depicted in the same row with four apostles, the two figures were thought to belong to this category of saints. The character on the left side is an old, male saint with white, forked beard and long hair falling down his shoulders. His head is surrounded by a golden halo bordered by a thin, dark-red stripe. His body is completely draped in a pink mantle with white inner side, the folds of which are graphically rendered through long, cursive brushstrokes in shades of burgundy and white. In his right hand, he holds an unusual but elegant, x-shaped scepter with long, thin handle. His white-gloved, left hand is bent in front of his chest as for holding something, but this area is poorly preserved; however, his fingers' curvature and the round, golden area above his palm suggest that it was an orb he was holding. Similarly placed against a uniform, blue background, the figure on the right side has his head surrounded by halo and represents a mature, brown-haired male saint with pointed beard and long hair falling down his shoulders. The area corresponding to his costume is very badly preserved and he seems to be similarly draped in a white mantle. However, the long, yellow brushstrokes depicting its folds, the barely-perceivable silhouette of his torso, waistline, and hips, as well as his visible tight-sleeved arms indicate that the mantle covered only his chest and shoulders, falling thus down his back. He was probably dressed in a tight tunic with belt as the horizontally-curved, black line seems to suggest. His right, white-gloved hand holds a battle axe which is propped against the saint's upper arm. Similarly bent in front of his chest, the left arm has its hand partially preserved, but the position of its two visible fingers and the small, yellow area above them indicate that this saint, too, was depicted holding a golden orb. Judging by the saints' royal attributes (scepter and orbs), the male figures represent two holy kings. The old and mature age, as well as the second saint's personal attribute (battle axe), point to the identities of St. Stephen (left side) and St. Ladislav (right side). The bad state of preservation of the murals and the two characters' depiction in the same row with four apostles made the restorer misunderstand the royal category the two saints belonged to. Subsequently, she reconstructed in a lighter shade the lost, upper side of the holy kings' heads in a similar manner

with the uncovered heads of the apostles. She overlooked thus that the two saints with white gloves, golden orbs, scepter, and battle axe might have had also a headgear, which was most probably a crown. The restorer's misconstruction is explainable in a certain extent, as there are apostles represented holding an axe as attribute, a reminder of their martyrdom (e.g., St. Matthias and St. Judas Thaddeus). However, there are no apostles who have scepters as attribute, nor are any apostles depicted in white gloves. Additionally, the identification with St. Stephen of the white-bearded figure holding an orb and scepter, and with St. Ladislav of the brown-bearded saint with orb and battle axe is supported by the iconographic analogy in Rákoš, dating roughly to the same period. Here, too, the three *sancti reges Hungariae* are depicted on the sanctuary's wall, close to the triumphal arch, and in the same register with the holy apostles. Whether in Bijacovce, too, St. Emeric was depicted like in Rákoš on the western side of the triumphal arch, i.e., on the side not visible from the nave, one can no longer tell as the wall is completely whitewashed in this area.

C. Iconographic Context: The lower register of the northern wall of the sanctuary, i.e., the one the two holy kings belong to, is covered with murals on its entire length. However, this longitudinal fragment is the only one which is currently exposed in the sanctuary. Recent testing made by restorers after my personal field researches (April 2009 and April 2012) revealed that painted areas are found both above and below the register which is currently visible on the sanctuary's northern wall. The murals' complete uncovering and future restoration will definitely bring to light new information and, until this will happen, the present discussion of the holy kings' iconographic context has partial and provisional character. Other fragments of murals on the northern wall of the nave – episodes of St. Ladislav's Legend – are currently covered by the mid-eighteenth century Baroque vault; however, these are not iconographically connected with the sanctuary's mural decoration. On the right side of the two holy kings and above the door to the sacristy, there is an Enthroned Christ blessing with his right hand. His head was damaged and completely repainted in 1960 by M. Mariánová. On Christ's right side, there are the representations of four apostles standing under three-lobe arches supported by colonnettes. This setting is characteristic only for the apostles, St. Stephen and St. Ladislav being placed simply against a uniform, blue background. This detail is an additional argument for the holy kings' non-belonging to the category of holy apostles, as their settings are differently conceived. Judging by the attributes they hold, the four apostles are: St. Peter with oversized key, St. Paul holding a sword, probably St. Andrew holding a fisherman's net with the soul's symbol (a naked child), and St. James the Greater holding the pilgrim's shell and staff. The remaining eight apostles were probably represented on the lower register of the sanctuary's eastern and southern walls, together with other symbolic images, as it is customary in the iconographic programs of medieval altar spaces. Nothing else from the mural decoration of the sanctuary is currently visible, but new information is expected after the uncovering of the murals on the northern wall.

D. Dating: Although there is no direct written evidence to shed light on this aspect, art historians generally agree on the basis of the murals' style that St. Ladislav's Legend on the upper register of the northern wall of the nave was executed sometime around 1400. Due to their bad state of preservation and unfaithful repainting in 1960, the murals on the northern wall of the sanctuary are more difficult to evaluate and did not receive a proper and detailed analysis until now. However, they were assumed to be part of the same decoration campaign as the murals in the nave and,

subsequently, dated to around 1400. Certainly, the murals' complete uncovering, cleaning, and restoration makes the attempt at their evaluation only preliminary and hypothetical, but several observations can still be made in connection to their style. This is characterized by both a strong Italian *Trecento* filiation and a certain closeness to the morphological characteristics of the International Gothic. The personages' facial typology with almond-shaped but slightly-bulging eyes, or the range of color shades which are bright but pale simultaneously present striking similarities with a number of Transylvanian frescoes characterized by this late-14th century Italian *Trecento* influence (e.g., Bădești, Sântana de Mureș, Vlaha, etc.). Subsequently, a dating to the last decade of the fourteenth century is very likely for the sanctuary murals in Bijacovce.

E. Selective Bibliography: Dvořáková, *Stredoveká nástenná malba na Slovensku*, 74-7; Gerát, "Pictorial Cycles of St. Ladislav", 300, 303-4, 306-7; Gerát, *Stredoveké obrazové témy na Slovensku*, 268; Kresánek, *Slovensko. Ilustrovaná encyklopédia pamiatok*, 796; Năstăsoiu, "Political Aspects", 119; Năstăsoiu, "*Sancti reges Hungariae*", 8, 65-6, 72; Prokopp, *Italian Trecento Influence*, 185; Togner, *Stredoveká nástenná malba na Slovensku*, 32; Togner and Plekanec, *Medieval Wall Paintings in Spiš*, 254-64.



1. Mural decoration on the lower register of the sanctuary's northern wall (Photo: © The Author, April 2012)



2. Drawing on the fresco marking the medieval layer (I) and the restorer's 1960 repainting (II) (Photo & Drawing: © The Author)



3. St. Stephen and St. Ladislav, lower register of the sanctuary's northern wall (Photo: © The Author, April 2012)



4. Detail of St. Stephen's orb-holding hand (Photo: © The Author, April 2012)



5. Detail of St. Ladislav's battle-axe attribute and orb-holding hand (Photo: © The Author, April 2012)



6. Mural decoration on the lower register of the sanctuary's northern wall showing the restorers' recent testing
(Photo: © www.apsida.sk, December 2016)

Cat. No. 3. *Sancti reges Hungariae*, nave of the Calvinist (former Catholic, unknown medieval dedication) church in Chimindia (Hung. *Kéménd*), Hunyad County (Present-day Romania), early-15th century

A. Place: A representation of three standing holy kings was painted on the lower register of the southern wall of the nave, next to the sanctuary.

B. Description: Surrounded by a rich decorative frame with geometric motifs and placed on blue background with stylized, red lilies, three holy kings are depicted in court costumes: long tunics of different colors (dark-red, blue, and light-red) with gemmed belts, elegant white gloves with pointed cuffs, long two-side mantles differently colored (light red and blue, dark and light red, and green and blue), and tight pants with pointed shoes. The mantles and tunics are decorated with similar four-lily pattern as the background, though the former is smaller in size and of different colors for each character. Only the face of the saint in the middle is partially preserved, his grey hair and beard and his crown surrounded by halo being still visible. The other two saints' faces were damaged by the loss of a portion of the fresco layer and by the creation of a new window, respectively. A fragment from the brown beard of the saint on the left side is still visible. They all had halos and held crucifer orbs in their left hand (that of the saint on the right side is now lost) and attributes in their right hand: a long-handle attribute, the upper part of which is no longer preserved (battle axe?), mace-like and lily-shaped scepters, respectively. The identity of the first two holy kings (St. Ladislav and St. Stephen) is offered by Cyrillic inscriptions – [C(BE)TH]/ ΛΑΔΗΣΛΒ / ΚΡΑΛЬ and C(BE)TH/ ЦТЄΦА[Н]Ь/ ΚΡΑ[ΛЬ] –, while that of the third lacks precisely the saint's name – C(BE)TH/ [.../ ΚΡΑΛЬ] –, but he can be identified as St. Emeric by his lily-shaped attribute.

C. Iconographic Context: The mural decoration of the church is fragmentarily preserved, but despite this fact, three stages of painting can be identified: a fragment of Last Judgment on the lower register of the nave's southern wall, dated to the second half of the fourteenth century; the representation of holy kings; and a late-fifteenth century Last Judgment of huge size, on the northern wall of the nave. None of the Last Judgment representations is coeval or connected to that of the holy kings. There are also three (re)consecration crosses on the southern wall of the nave and these are related to the late-fifteenth century reconsecration of the church. They offer a *post quem* for the last stage of mural decoration which happened after a fire that affected greatly the interior of the church. None of the inscriptions in Gothic minuscule letters is entirely preserved, but the damages of the consecration crosses are differently located, so one can reconstruct hypothetically their standard content: (1) *p.* / [a.] / 1482/ [...]; (2) [p.] / [a.] / 14(82)/ [...]; (3) [p.] / a./ [1482]/ [...].

D. Dating: The strong decorative character of the painting (the four-lily pattern present on the background and the saints' costumes), as well as the elegant court costumes of the holy kings point to the International Gothic style which made itself felt in the first decades of the fifteenth century. The presence of Cyrillic inscriptions offering the identity of the holy kings of Hungary joins the depiction in Chimindia to the other two representations of Hungarian royal saints in the Orthodox churches in Zaránd County, i.e., Crișcior and Ribița, which were executed at the turn of the fourteenth and fifteenth century. Stylistically, the holy kings' scene shares a series of features with other Transylvanian mural ensembles, among which the one in Dârjiu is safely dated by an

inscription to 1419. Consequently, the time interval for the execution of the fresco representing the three holy kings of Hungary could be the first and second decades of the fifteenth century. This dating is generally accepted by scholars, the only notable difference being János Vég, who considers that the feature of the holy kings' feet which overlaps with the decorative frame of the scene is a detail which doesn't appear in North-Italian painting earlier than the mid-fifteenth century, this being also the period the scholar indicated as possible for the execution of the holy kings' fresco. However, this opinion is contradicted by a similar detail occurring in the holy kings' representation in Tileagd, dated to the beginning of the fifteenth century.

E. Selective Bibliography: Burnichioiu, "Biserici parohiale și capele", 341-8; eadem, "Cruci de consacrare", 41, 51-3, 70-1; Gogâltan, "Holy Hungarian Kings", 111-2; Jékely, "Ateliers de peinture", 40-1; Jékely and Kiss, *Középkori falképek Erdélyben*, 140-53; Kerny, "Magyar szent királyok középkori kompozíciói a templomok külső falain", 85; Lángi, József, "Erdélyi falképfelmérések", *Műemlékvédelmi Szemle* 11 (2001), 210-3; Lángi and Mihály, *Erdélyi falképek és festett faberendezések*, 1: 54-5; Léstyán, *Megszentelt kövek*, 2: 168; Năstăsoiu, "Political Aspects", 100-2, 106; Năstăsoiu, "*Sancti reges Hungariae*", 52-3; Prioteasa, "Holy Kings of Hungary", 41-56; Prioteasa, "Medieval Wall Paintings", 65, 68-9; Prioteasa, *Medieval Wall Paintings*, 61, 64, 67; Szakács, "Saints of the Knights", 326-8; Terdik, "Magyar szent királyok ábrázolásai", 96-8; Vég, János, "Középkori falképek Erdélyben. Értékmentés a Teleki László Alapítvány támogatásával. Szerk. Kollár Tibor, írta Jékely Zsombor, Kiss Loránd, fényképezte Mudrák Attila. Teleki László Alapítvány. Budapest, 2008", *Ars Hungarica* 36 (2008), 422.



1. St. Ladislav, St. Stephen, and St. Emeric, lower register of the southern wall of the nave (Photo: © The Author)



2. Detail of the holy king's representation (Photo: © The Author)



3. Detail of the holy kings' inscriptions (Photo: © The Author).



4. Detail of the consecration cross overlapping the holy kings' representation (Photo: © The Author)

Cat. No. 4. *Sancti reges Hungariae*, naves of the Orthodox Church of the Dormition of the Holy Virgin in Crișcior (Hung. *Kristyór*), Zaránd County (Present-day Romania), 1411

A. Place: On the lower register of the southern wall of the nave and in between the modern door and western window, which were both created in 1852 on this wall, there is a partially-preserved group representation of three holy kings. Judging by the results of the archaeological investigations which took place in 1989, the nave of the medieval church was much smaller than it appears today, so that the representation of the holy kings was found initially halfway the southern wall of the nave and not towards its western side, as it currently seems. The representation was, thus, found in a privileged place, enjoying a great degree of visibility upon one entering the church through the door (now walled-up) on the opposite, northern wall.

B. Description: The representation of the three standing holy kings was partially damaged by the creation around mid-nineteenth century of the new door and western window on the nave's southern wall. The door's opening destroyed the right elbow and hip, as well as the area below the knees of the figure on the left side, whereas the window's opening damaged in a greater extent the figure on the right side – only a small portion of the standing figure's right side is now preserved. The paint layer is completely lost on large portions of the representation's lower side, as well as on numerous, smaller areas throughout its surface. The latter damage indicates that the walls were intentionally hammered at some point and then plastered up. The holy kings' scene is divided from the upper register by a dark-red, uniform strip bordered by two thinner, white lines. One can no longer know how was the scene delimited on its lower side, because the mural is completely destroyed in this area. The three standing figures of holy kings are placed against a uniform, blue background. They are dressed in identical costumes, the only significant difference being the various colors and pattern decorations of the long mantles on their shoulders. The head of the saint on the right side is no longer preserved, but the saint on the left side and the one in the middle have on their heads crowns with three-lily top. Both the crowns and halos surrounding the saints' heads have white outline, a detail visible also in the case of the saint on the right side, whose halo is partially preserved (one can assume that this saint, too, had originally a crown on his haloed head). The unusual, light-red color of the crowns and halos is a consequence of chemical alteration following the fire which affected the church during the 1848-1849 Revolution. All three saints are dressed in tight and short purple tunics with atypical, short sleeves, underneath which they wear white shirts. Daggers with three-lobe pommels and tear-shaped cross-guards hang down their thin belts decorated with a white-pearl motif which appears also on the daggers' pommel and grip. All three saints wear white gloves with elongated cuffs and they all hold in their left hands triangular shields, placed similarly and stereotypically in front of their left legs. The shield of the saint on the left side is half preserved and only a minor portion (left, upper side) survives from the shield of the saint on the right side, together with the tips of two white-gloved fingers. Better preserved, the shield of the central figure is decorated with a large, dark-red cross on a lighter-red background. The red cross being partially visible also on the shield of the saint on the left side, one can safely assume that all three shields had initially the same decoration on their fields. The three saints' costumes differ only in the color and pattern decoration of the long mantles covering their shoulders. Even though

similarly conceived, the decoration of the inner side of the latter saints' mantles differs in color. In their right hands, which are similarly bent in front of their chests, the left and central holy kings hold scepters with thin, white handles and stylized endings resembling a blooming branch. Unlike his predecessors, the saint on the right side has his arm raised and holds a partially-preserved attribute, the handle of which is thicker. The figure on the left side is that of an old, male saint with white beard and hair; his beard with handlebar moustache is pointed and his hair with curls at the ears' level is cut short. His face preserves almost entirely its features. Having a similar hairstyle, though this time the hair's color is dark-brown, the central figure is beardless and great part of his face's lower, left side was destroyed by a hammer stroke. The manner of conceiving the two characters' faces indicates that the painter had Byzantine training. On the left side of the halos of the central and right figures, there are inscriptions partly in Latin, partly in Old Church Slavonic offering the identities of the two saints (the new door's opening in the mid-19th century lead to the destruction of the inscription next to the old holy king's head). Hardly legible now, the inscription (white on blue background) next to the young, beardless holy king reads: *S(AN)C(TV)S / AM[BR]IXЪ / KPA[Λ]Ѣ* = *Sanctus* Ambrich the King (St. Emeric). Almost effaced now, the inscription next to the head of the saint whose face did not survive reads: *S(AN)C(TV)S / BΛ[AD]H[CA]BѢ* / *[KPAΛ]Ѣ* = *Sanctus* Vladislav the King (St. Ladislav). Based on these pieces of information, the vanished inscription next to the head of the old holy king read probably: *[S(AN)C(TV)S / ... / KPAΛ]Ѣ* = *Sanctus* ... the King. Judging by their accompanying inscriptions, royal attributes (crowns and scepters), and the conspicuous combination of courtly and knightly costumes, the three male saints are the holy kings of Hungary – namely, the old St. Stephen (left), the young and beardless St. Emeric (center), and St. Ladislav (right, partially-preserved figure). These identifications are accepted by the great majority of scholars who dealt with the church's murals. This depiction presents many iconographic similarities with the murals in Ribița, equally the work of a painter trained in a Byzantine milieu, who worked for Romanian Orthodox commissioners.

C. Iconographic Context: As indicated by archaeological research, the nave of the medieval church was smaller than the present-day edifice: the medieval nave and square-shaped sanctuary (now demolished) fitted entirely into the nave of the present-day church, which was enlarged after the mid-nineteenth century partial destruction of the building (the sanctuary with pentagonal ending and round interior is a modern addition). The length of the initial nave's southern and northern walls corresponds roughly to the painted wall surfaces as they are presently preserved. Although the medieval nave's southern, western, and northern walls were incorporated into the new building, the walls of the triumphal arch (eastern wall of the nave) and sanctuary were demolished on that occasion. The decoration of the medieval sanctuary was probably barely visible from the nave, as indicated by the remnants of foundation of a built iconostasis with two doors, excavated during the 1989 archaeological works. Subsequently, except for the decoration of the triumphal arch which is irretrievably lost, the iconographic program of the medieval nave can be recovered in great extent. However, its reading is made somehow difficult by the architectural changes and alterations which the edifice suffered both during the 1848-1849 Revolution and subsequent renovation in 1852. The murals have been completely uncovered and restored in 1968 by the painter Traian Trestioreanu and, following the 1989 archaeological investigations, they were cleaned again in 2005-2007. Subsequently, the iconographic program of the southern, western, and northern walls of the

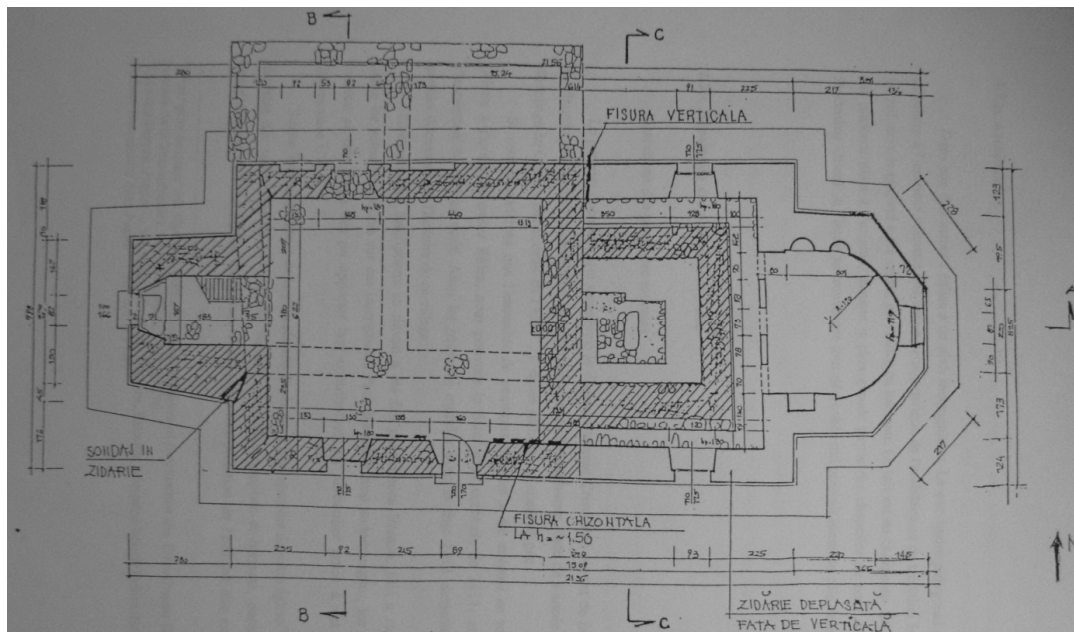
medieval nave can be reconstructed in high degree, the guiding idea of the upper registers being that of illustrating the Christological Cycle through a number of narrative episodes and that of the lower register of offering a selection of important (relevant) saints, as well as the founders' votive composition. In the lower register of the northern wall, from east to west, there are: St. George on horse fighting the dragon; Christ on the Road of the Cross; medieval door, now walled-up, having above it a modern window; and St. Marina. The lower register of the nave's western wall is divided into two distinct parts by the tall, round arch ensuring the access to the lower floor of the western tower, which freely communicated initially with the nave, but is currently covered by a wooden wall with door (no mural decoration survives in this transitional area, however). On the northern side, there are the higher representations of Sts Demetrius and Theodore on horse, and on the southern side, there is the votive composition which continues also on the adjoining, southern wall. Placed under painted arcades supported by columns, the founder and his family are depicted in the act of offering their religious foundation to the Holy Mother of God, the patron of the church. She is absent from the proper composition, only the inscription next to the main *ktetor* alluding to her, but she is present in the register above, in the episode of the Dormition of the Holy Virgin. This scene reflects the medieval dedication of the church. According to the accompanying inscriptions, the family of the founder is composed of the following persons: *jupan* Bălea; his wife, *jupanița* Vișe; their younger son Ștefan, depicted below the church's model; their older son Laslo or Laslău, following the depiction of his mother, but on the adjoining (southern) wall; and their other son Luca, following his older brother. The mid-nineteenth century window created on the western side of the nave's southern wall destroyed the representations of the founders' two daughters *Szor* and *Filka*, mentioned in a description of the frescoes and its inscriptions, which was made in 1773 by the descendants of the noble family of Crișcior. The scene of the three holy kings of Hungary was, thus, placed in the immediate proximity of the votive composition, following *jupan* Bălea's two daughters, whose representations, together with that of St. Ladislav, were destroyed when the new window was opened on this wall. The creation of the southern door affected partially St. Stephen's representation and destroyed greatly the following scene of the Finding of the Holy Cross. Judging by the length of the nave's medieval walls and by the surface decorated with murals on the opposite, northern wall, the poorly-preserved scene of the Finding of the Holy Cross ended probably the decoration of the lower register of the nave's southern wall. The decoration of the triumphal arch (eastern wall of the nave) was destroyed in 1852, when the church was extended to the east and its square-shaped sanctuary demolished (the iconography of this space was not usually accessible to the faithful, its visibility being prevented in great extent by the built iconostasis). However, the iconographic program of the nave can be reconstructed in great extent, offering a glimpse into the medieval iconographer's thinking. Several allusions to the Holy Cross (the scene of the Finding of the Holy Cross, the crosses on the shields of the holy kings of Hungary, the placing in the lower register of the narrative episode of Christ on the Road of the Cross), as well as the presence of military saints in this register emphasize the idea of crusade and holy war, which was reinforced at the turn of the fourteenth and fifteenth century on the background of the Ottomans' advance.

D. Dating: The complete uncovering of the nave's walls provided art historians with a larger material for analysis, whereas the murals' cleaning and restoration in 1968 allowed scholars to investigate more closely their iconographic and stylistic characteristics, this leading to the

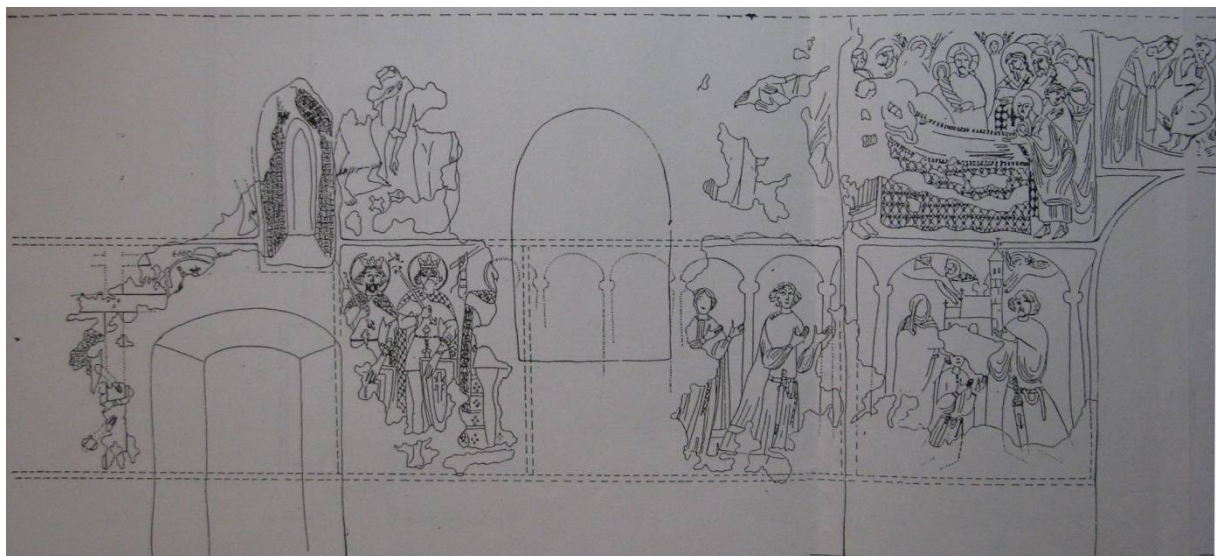
narrowing down of the paintings' execution period to the late-fourteenth – early-fifteenth century. Whereas some art historians tended to prefer on stylistic grounds the end of the 14th century, other scholars confronted both visual and written evidence and reexamined it critically, seeing no strong reason to reject the 1411 dating given by a vanished inscription in the church. According to a genealogy which was drawn up in Latin in 1773 by some descendants of the Kristyóri noble family, who wanted to prove during a legal dispute their property right over some villages, and which was based in part on the inscriptions in Old Church Slavonic visible at that point in the founders' votive composition, the inscriptions contained also the year 1411: [...] *Csukam in donationalibus sub A. A. ac inscriptionibus vetustissimis Anni 1411 sub C. memoratum. Filias: MCCCCXI. Szor et Filka utrasque adtunc in capilis constitutas prout antiquissimae picturae inscriptionisque rascianicae anni 1411 in praefato pervetusto templo Kristoriensi valachico hodiedum inviolabiliter extantes manifeste perhibent sub. Lit. C. et Nro 37.* (Dragomir, "Vechile biserici din Zărand", 236-7). Additionally, such a dating is supported also by the murals' stylistic and iconographic characteristics which bring them closer to the frescoes in Ribîța, similarly executed during the first decades of the fifteenth century.

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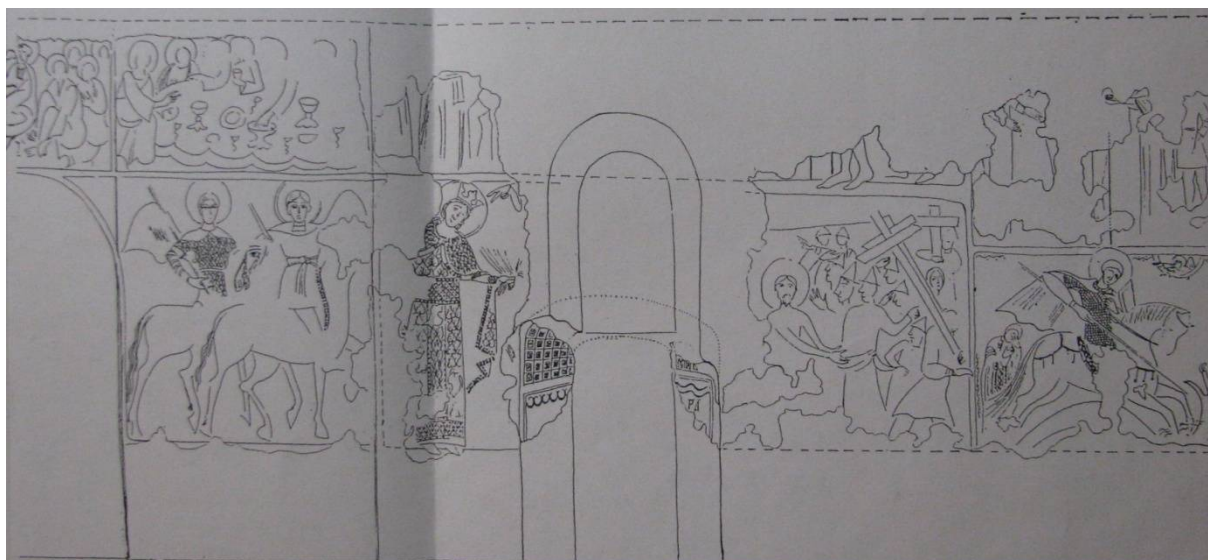
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1. Ground plan of the church with its medieval and modern phases (Lazăr et al., 1988-91)



2. Iconographic scheme of the nave's southern and western walls (Cincheza-Buculei, 1978)



3. Iconographic scheme of the nave's western and northern walls (Cincheza-Buculei, 1978)



4. The holy kings of Hungary and votive composition, lower register of the southern and western walls of the nave (Photo: © The Author)



5. St. Stephen, St. Emeric, and St. Ladislav, lower register of the southern wall of the nave (Photo: © The Author)



6. Detail of the holy kings of Hungary (Photo: © The Author)

Cat. No. 5. Sts Ladislas and Stephen, sanctuary of the Lutheran (former Catholic, unknown medieval dedication) church in Dârlos (Ro Var. *Dârloș*, Germ *Durles* / *Durlasch*, Hu *Darlac* / *Darlasz* / *Darlóc*), Küküllő County (Present-day Romania), late-14th century

A. Place: On the southern wall of the church's pentagonal Gothic sanctuary, there are *sedilia* which are partly recessed in the wall's thickness, partly surrounded by a thin stone frame which is crowned by a triangular gable (partially damaged and improperly repaired on its right, lower side). The crowning of the *sedilia* is marked by two three-lobed arches (both partially preserved, the one on the right side in a lower degree). Comprised from the very beginning in the sanctuary's architectural layout (judging by their recessing in the thickness of the wall and by their formal features, similar to those of the niche destined to the keeping of the Eucharist), the very tall *sedilia* received subsequently a painted decoration on their back wall and the gable of their crowning, respectively. On the *sedilia*'s back wall, there are the partially-preserved, full-standing figures of two holy kings.

B. Description: The two full, standing figures are singled out from the rest of the sanctuary's mural decoration by their special position within the *sedilia*: both their stone frame and double arcade, with each of its arches placed above the two saints' heads, act as a three-dimensional frame for the painted figures. Interrupted in the mid-upper part by the gable's masonry, the *sedilia*'s back wall was decorated in the two areas behind the three-lobed arches with a yellow-ochre plant motif on white background. This plays the role of background decoration for the two arches' openings. The side walls of the *sedilia* were equally frescoed, their now partially-preserved decoration consisting of a net of black rhombuses on white background, which is bordered by a similar, dark-red strip. Given its practical function, the lower part of the *sedilia*'s frescoed back wall had worn off throughout time in various degrees, especially in the area corresponding to the legs of the two standing figures (i.e. the area regularly touched by the back of the seated persons). Additionally, the fresco presents throughout its surface numerous other damages in smaller areas (e.g., fading-away of color layer, accidental or intentional scratches of the fresco layer). The full, standing figures of the two male saints are depicted frontally; they are dressed in identical costumes, are placed against a uniform, dark-blue background, and they stand on a white-grey ground which starts above the level of their knees. They are both mature men with dark-brown hair and beard, and their facial features are preserved in great extent. The hair of the saint on the right side is long and its curls fall down the character's shoulders, whereas the hair of the left figure is probably equally long, but it falls down his back, being partially hidden. The brown beard of the latter is shorter than the former's beard, which is in addition forked. Their heads have yellow-ochre halos which are identically bordered by two thin lines of white and brown-ochre colors; the halos' color layer has partial exfoliations throughout their surface, leaving visible the dark-blue background here and there. They were both depicted with crowns, but these have so greatly faded away, that almost none of their details is now perceivable: only minor traces of dark-brown outline are visible above their heads and the crowns' yellow-ochre, horizontal parts pass across their brown hair. Judging by the minor, surviving traces of paint and by analogy with other crowned characters inside the church, the crowns of the two male saints had a relatively low base and probably a three-lily top. The facial

features of the saint on the right side have faded away in a greater extent than those of the saint on the left side. Even though this one's facial features are better preserved, the face of the saint on the left side has lost the color layer on small portions throughout its surface. Despite these obliterations and erosions, however, it is still clearly visible in the manner of conceiving the two saints' faces that the painter who created them had Byzantine training. Both holy kings are dressed in identical costumes composed of white tunics and dark-red mantles with white inner side, but because the color layer has greatly faded away in the fresco's lower side, one can no longer know whether the tunics were short or long, and what kind of pants and shoes the two saints were originally depicted in. Partially hidden below their wide mantles, the tunics of the two holy kings have tight sleeves, which are decorated with wide, golden ribbons on their cuff and upper arm; the sleeves' and tunics' outline is dark-brown and light-red, and the folds are graphically rendered with light-red and light-grey lines. The dark-red mantles have their upper part made of ermine fur which covers completely the holy kings' shoulders, they are bordered by a continuous, golden ribbon, and have white inner side which, judging by the subtle, whitewashed-grey lines and shadows, was made of white fur. In both cases, the dark-red color layer of the mantles has faded away in great extent, making visible the white basis the color was applied on, but judging by the better-preserved details of the mantle of the right holy king, their folds were rendered with white and light-pink lines. The mantles are fastened above the figures' right shoulders, but because the ermine covers completely this area of the body, their fastening is not visible. The holy kings' right arms emerge below the mantles' splitting on the level of the shoulders, and their left forearms come in sight below the white fur, which is elegantly-turned inside out and hangs from above the elbows' level. In his right hand positioned in front of his chest, the holy king on the left side holds a battle axe, and in his left hand, positioned below his waist, he has a relatively large crucifer orb. Placed at the waist's level, the right hand of the saint on the right side holds an attribute with long, dark-brown handle, but its upper part is no longer preserved (probably a scepter?); with his left hand, the holy king props against the ground a poorly-preserved sword, but traces of black outline and small patches of yellow color indicate that it had golden hilt. Judging by his royal characteristics (crown and crucifer orb), mature age, and personal attribute (battle axe), the holy king on the left side is clearly St. Ladislav, but his companion's mature age is not typical for any of the other holy kings of Hungary, as St. Stephen is usually depicted as an old, wise holy king, and St. Emeric as a young, beardless holy king or prince. Given that in none of his depictions the latter appears mature and bearded, that the former can be depicted seldom as a mature, brown-bearded holy king (e.g. Krásnohorské Podhradie and possibly Plešivec), and that when depicted as a duo, St. Ladislav is usually accompanied by St. Stephen and never by St. Emeric (e.g. Levoča, Poprad, Sibiu, Tornaszentandrás, Žehra, and possibly Čičejovce), St. Ladislav's companion in Dârlos is most likely St. Stephen. His unusual appearance is owed probably to the unfamiliarity of the Byzantine painter with the iconography of St. Stephen; he created in Dârlos a unique representation of Sts Ladislav and Stephen, whose appearance evokes remotely that of Byzantine holy warriors, despite the saints' obvious royal attributes and the painter's attempt at Westernizing their costumes. The identification of the two holy kings with Sts Ladislav and Stephen is supported also by the account of a foreign traveler, who visited the church in Dârlos before 1845 and could see the not-yet-whitewashed frescoes. Relying either on now-lost inscriptions or the tradition-based information conveyed by the church's pastor, Auguste de Gérando specified that: *Ailleurs, dans une niche (!) gothique, le Christ, et au-dessous, les deux rois saints de Hongrie, Etienne et Ladislav.* (de Gérando, 1845, 2: 209). The identification

of the two holy kings in Dârlos with St. Ladislav and St. Stephen is generally accepted in art-historical scholarship.

C. Iconographic Context: Whereas the outer frescoes were always at sight and have been sometimes mentioned in art-historical scholarship, the existence of mural decoration inside the sanctuary remained unknown until the 1970s when, following the architectural consolidation of the building in 1972, patches of frescoed areas came to light in the sanctuary. These fragments of painted draperies in the sanctuary's lower register and of the two holy kings on the *sedilia*'s back wall were still the only frescoed areas which were visible inside the sanctuary in November 2007, when I first visited the church. No attempt at uncovering the frescoes was made until 2009, when restorer Loránd Kiss' team began the gradual uncovering of the sanctuary's mural decoration, which is still ongoing. The tests made then by the restorer throughout the interior of the church revealed that there is no preserved mural decoration in the nave, whereas the works undertaken until now revealed that the sanctuary was fully frescoed, great extent of the uncovered murals being in a relatively good shape (except for the lower registers of the sanctuary's northern wall, which were damaged greatly by humidity and human action). At the time of my last visit (August 2016), the northern, north-eastern, eastern, south-eastern, and southern walls of the polygonal sanctuary were fully uncovered, whereas the vault and triumphal arch only partially: only the vault's north-eastern infilling and a small area on the northern base of the intrados of the triumphal arch were then visible, but other tests made in various places on the vault and triumphal arch revealed the existence of mural decoration in these areas, too. Although the sanctuary's frescoes are uncovered in great extent, the analysis of the iconographic program can be done only partially and, subsequently, some of the observations made here have partial and hypothetical character. Judging by the similarities in style and technique, the sanctuary's exterior decoration is coeval with its interior murals, but since the former does not directly communicate iconographically with the latter, the present discussion is limited to the iconographic program inside the sanctuary. The northern wall of the sanctuary was decorated with a monumental composition of the Last Judgment, divided into three registers of unequal size: Christ in *mandorla* flanked by the supplicatory figures of the Holy Virgin and St. John the Baptist; the Heavenly Court of the Holy Apostles divided into two groups of six by the River of Fire; the depictions of Heaven and Hell (heavily damaged). The demolishing of the sacristy in 1900 left unprotected from humidity the sanctuary's northern wall, whereas a high number of graffiti were made throughout time directly on the fresco layer – these two factors contributed significantly to the fresco's degradation. Only minor traces of color scattered throughout the tall, lower register indicate that here, too, there were originally depicted decorative, hanging curtains, situated in between the openings of the sanctuary's northern wall (i.e., two stone door frames and the Eucharistic niche/tabernacle). Because the sanctuary's north-eastern, eastern, and south-eastern narrow walls are pierced by three tall, pointed-arch windows, only small wall surfaces were available to be decorated with painting. In the three lunettes above the Gothic windows, there were depicted holy virgins and princes (e.g., St. Margaret of Antioch, St. Dorothea of Caesarea), and the crowned Holy Virgin with Christ Child. Below this register, on the wall surfaces both sides the windows' pointed arches, there are several apocalyptic representations, depicted according to their Byzantine iconography: cherubs, seraphs, and "thrones" according to Ezekiel's vision. The jambs of the three tall windows are decorated with full, standing figures of saints, arranged in two superposed registers, two figures on each side of the window. The three windows' upper registers

are decorated with representations of prophets, which are accompanied by inscriptions in Gothic majuscules: Solomon, David, Daniel, Moses, Elijah, and Habakkuk. Two more representations of Old Testament Prophets were depicted on the jambs of the shorter, pointed-arch window on the western side of the southern wall of the sanctuary: Isaiah and another, unidentifiable prophet. On the lower register of the three windows' jambs, there are the following saints: St. Clare; unidentified holy princess; St. Martin; St. Nicholas; St. Anthony; and St. Dominic. The tall, lowermost register of the sanctuary's walls (north-eastern, eastern, south-eastern, and southern) is occupied by a wide, decorative border with stylized-plant and geometric motifs (upper side, below the windows), and by hanging curtains (lower side). Besides the two prophets in the window's jambs, the southern wall of the sanctuary is decorated with the narrative cycle of St. Catherine of Alexandria's Life (eight scenes) and the iconic image of several other saints. The wall is divided into five registers, but several representations have bigger height and either occupy two registers (St. Catherine's Burial) or partially pervade the space of the register above them (decoration of the *sedilia*). From up downwards, the narrative cycle of St. Catherine of Alexandria's Life is composed of the following episodes: St. Catherine condemning or rejecting pagan sacrifices; St. Catherine before Emperor Maxentius; one of St. Catherine's tortures; St. Catherine's Scourging; St. Catherine in Prison; Miracle of the Wheel; Beheading of St. Catherine; and Burial of St. Catherine. Although the narrative cycle of St. Catherine's Life misses some key-episodes, such as St. Catherine's Dispute with Pagan Philosophers or their Execution, it is unlikely that the cycle extends also on the vault, because the cycle starts with one of the earliest moments in St. Catherine's pictorial life (the saint condemning pagan sacrifices) and follows a certain logic in the order/chronology of episodes, skipping indeed some important moments in the life of the holy martyr and princess. Dedicated almost exclusively to this narrative cycle, the decoration of the sanctuary's southern wall contains also on the left side of its fourth register an image of the Holy Emperors Constantine and Helena, who are depicted both sides of the cross they hold, according to iconographic patterns which are common in the Byzantine world. It is between the images of Sts Constantine and Helena and St. Catherine's Burial that the *sedilia* decorated with the two full, standing figures of Hungarian holy kings is placed. Additionally, the *sedilia*'s gable is decorated with the Man of Sorrows, his bust emerging from the sarcophagus and having behind it the cross inscribed with the Greek Christogram. On the left side of the *sedilia* and on the hanging curtain's level, there is also a small niche with unknown function. Currently, only the north-eastern webbing of the sexpartite vault is uncovered and this displays two episodes taken from Christ's life: *Noli me tangere* and the Samaritan Woman at the Well. Judging by Auguste de Gérando's 1845 account, which is that of a Westerner astonished by the spectacle of the sanctuary fully decorated with frescoes, one can expect that future restoration work will bring to light on the sanctuary's vault other representations, such as the Last Supper and the figures of the four Evangelists: *Dès mon entrée dans la petite église, je fus comme assailli par l'armée des saints qui couvrait les murs. Les parois et la voûte du chœur, tout était peint. Au dessus de l'autel, la cène, et autour les quatre évangélistes ; à droite et à gauche, des martyrs, des miracles, des figures de toutes grandeurs dominées par un Salomon et un David. Ailleurs, dans une niche (!) gothique, le Christ, et au-dessous, les deux rois saints de Hongrie, Etienne et Ladislas. Entre ces divins personnages sont jetées de fantastiques figures (!) formées par quatre ailes, dont deux s'élèvent et deux s'abaissent, et portant, au point où elles se joignent, deux pieds et deux mains ouvertes. Ici les ailes sont complètement noires, là parfaitement blanches. Un des côtés du chœur est occupé par deux groupes significatifs. De petits moines à l'œil doux se*

dirigent saintement vers un Christ de grandeur naturelle, en compagnie de plusieurs religieuses ; rien n'est plus édifiant. Mais, tout près d'eux, et pour que le contraste soit plus frappant, sont représentés de véritables diables fort laids et fort méchants, lesquels, cela s'entend, sont occupés à conduire en enfer une troupe de laïques, reconnaissables à leur longue chevelure. Ce n'est pas la seule page où les religieux triomphent. Entre les figures de diverses grandeurs qui sont peintes sur tous les murs, il y a toujours de très petits moines qui s'introduisent et semblent prendre possession de ce lieu. (de Gérando, 1845, 2: 209-10). Additionally, a small fragment uncovered on the northern side of the intrados of the triumphal arch, which displays a crowned female figure holding a burning torch and a bottle of oil (a wise virgin), indicates that the intrados is destined to an illustration of the Parable of the Wise and Foolish Virgins. This theme with clear eschatological message seems to follow a Western iconographic model: although in Catholic iconography the wise virgins are not crowned, their depiction mirroring that of the foolish virgins is often placed in the proximity of the triumphal arch (e.g. Sântana de Mureș, Chyžné, Rákoš, Žíp, etc.). Judging by the tests made by restorers on the still-whitewashed walls, the eastern side of the triumphal arch (i.e. the side not visible from the nave) seems to be decorated with the *Mandylion* flanked by two angels (only one is partially visible on the southern side). Needless to say, until the complete uncovering of the frescoes is accomplished, any conclusion on the sanctuary's iconography has only a partial and hypothetical character. However, one can easily note the eschatological accents of the iconographic program (the Last Judgment composition occupying the entire northern wall, the images of cherubs, seraphs, and thrones scattered throughout the choir's walls, or the Parable of the Ten Virgins on the triumphal arch's intrados), and the fact that the selection of saints follows widespread patterns of veneration both in the West and medieval Hungary.

D. Dating: Although a church in Dârlos is attested first in 1332, the art historians dealing with the building's architecture considered that this is not the one referred to in the list of papal tithes, but did not reach a consensus concerning the dating of the existing building, placing its execution in various periods between the late-fourteenth and early-sixteenth century. The edifice is all the more difficult to frame chronologically, as the elements of decorative sculpture preserved inside the sanctuary have no direct analogy and display an archaic repertory of forms, combining quasi-Romanesque, stocky figures with Gothic decorative elements, which can be equally placed anytime during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, due to their pronounced provincial character. The obvious differences between, on the one hand, the forms of decorative sculpture inside the sanctuary and, on the other hand, the distinct forms of the western portal's various parts, as well as several architectural changes occurring throughout time in the nave of the church, seem to suggest distinct construction phases for the church's different spaces. Currently, the architecture of the church and its elements of decorative sculpture lack a proper and systematic analysis. Only such an analysis focusing on the stratigraphy of the masonry, the architectural features of the building, and the morphology of decorative sculpture (both inside and outside the church), which should be naturally corroborated with the conclusions of archaeological research (whenever this will be undertaken), can clarify the construction phases of the edifice and frame them chronologically. Until historians of architecture and archaeologists will have their saying on the church, establishing thus a firm dating for the building's various architectural parts, the dating of the murals inside and outside the sanctuary does not have yet a reliable *terminus post quem* and any discussion of the time the frescoes were created remains hypothetical. The first opinion expressed on the murals' dating is

that of Auguste de Gérando who, after having rejected the pastor's claim of an early-twelfth century dating for the frescoes (more precisely, to 1101, an year allegedly contained by one of the sanctuary's inscriptions and reiterated later in the 1845 inscription marking the renovation of the church), assumed that the accompanying inscriptions cannot be earlier than the end of the fifteenth century. Recognizing the frescoes' Byzantine character, he assumed that the wall paintings represented: *un dernier reflet de l'art bysantin, l'œuvre de quelque pauvre fugitif de Constantinople, triste peintre inconnu chassé par les Barbares. A cette époque la plus grande partie des Grecs demandèrent une patrie à l'Occident, où ils réveillèrent le goût des arts et des sciences. Mais un certain nombre des exilés se rappelèrent qu'au nord de Bysance vivait le peuple qui avait été le dernier rempart de l'empire, et ils vinrent chercher refuge en Hongrie.* (de Gérando, 1845, 2: 211-2). Because the frescoes inside were at that point whitewashed, Vasile Drăguț could examine only the mural decoration on the sanctuary's outer walls and, in absence of other, direct analogy, he related them to the Moldavian school of exterior painting, which was active during Peter Rareș's reigns (1527-1538 and 1541-1546); he assumed thus that the creator of the outer-wall frescoes in Dârlos was probably a painter formed on an workshop active within one of the Moldavian monasteries, who sojourned in Transylvania sometime during the fourth decade of the sixteenth century, but before 1544, when the Transylvanian Saxons became the adepts of the Reformation. Examining the recently-uncovered cycle of St. Catherine of Alexandria's Life on the southern wall of the sanctuary, Gábor Gaylhoffer-Kovács placed the murals in the beginning of the sixteenth century; he recommended simultaneously that future research should consider also the wider post-Byzantine context (former Byzantium and the Balkans included, not only exclusively medieval Moldavia), when trying to establish whether the murals in Dârlos can be dated or not to the fifteenth century and when looking for stylistic analogies for the frescoes in Dârlos. Focusing on the murals' technical features and the painters' manner of painting, restorer Erika N. Feketics established that both the frescoes inside and outside the sanctuary are the work of a single workshop, composed of two painters, the workshop master being more detailed and attentive to details than his assistant; the manner of conceiving their compositions from inside out and the technical characteristics of preparing their fresco are indicative of a solid Byzantine training which is aware, however, also of Western/Central European traditions. Based on these technical observations, the restorer concluded that the painters of Dârlos came certainly from a Greek- or Slavic-speaking area, but simultaneously had knowledge of local painting techniques and combined the two methods probably in a period at the end of the Middle Ages and the beginning of the Renaissance; referring to the information conveyed by Gaylhoffer-Kovács, but unpublished in his study, Feketics specified that the existence of a 1520s graffito on the holy kings' image and the art historian's earlier statements are supported by the restorer's findings. However, several other significant remarks should be made additionally when discussing the dating of the frescoes of the sanctuary in Dârlos. First, among the multitude of graffiti inside the sanctuary, there are several, undated ones which are placed on the register of draperies on the sanctuary's various walls. Although they do not contain dates, these graffiti display palaeographical features typical for the fifteenth century (some of them even for the first half of this century) and suggest that the 1520s graffito on the holy kings' image is not the earliest one in the church. The presence in the sanctuary of several graffiti made on the fresco layer throughout the fifteenth-century indicates that the graffito referred to by G. Gaylhoffer-Kovács can no longer be considered an exception, but rather a common occurrence, and shows that the sanctuary's decoration existed already during this time, for

long enough a period for several graffiti displaying fifteenth-century, palaeographical features to appear on the walls (further research needs to inventory the sanctuary's graffiti, to record, transcribe, and translate them, whenever possible). Second, the epigraphic material on the sanctuary's frescoes, i.e. the inscriptions accompanying the representations of saints, is relatively well preserved and is characterized by the usage of Gothic majuscules. These appeared in medieval Hungary around mid-thirteenth century and became dominant in Hungary proper, Slovakia, and Transylvania especially in the fourteenth century; although Gothic minuscules took their place in great extent by the end of the fourteenth century, they appeared seldom on works of art until the early-sixteenth century. Gothic majuscules stayed indeed in use for a long period of time, but the shapes of letters did not remain unchanged and suffered a certain evolution, some features being more typical for one period or another during the three-century interval. The shape of some of the letters used in the inscriptions of Dârlos are characterized by features that find direct analogies in the types of letters encountered on several works of art dated to the second half of the fourteenth century. Third, the frescoes in Dârlos are difficult to frame chronologically also from a stylistic point of view, as there are no direct parallels surviving in medieval Transylvania or the neighboring territories, a fact which shows the special position of the Transylvanian mural ensemble. Not its uniqueness, however, as there are other cases of Byzantine painters who have worked for Catholic commissioners in Transylvania – e.g. Bunești, Sântămăria Orlea, the exterior murals in Șmig, etc. The closest stylistic analogies one can find for the frescoes in Dârlos, analogies which recall in a certain extent (though not completely) the manner of conceiving the characters' faces (but less the vestments' folds), the concise way of composing the narrative episodes, and the overall appearance of the murals, are again dated to the last quarter of the fourteenth century. Certainly, future research on the style of the frescoes in Dârlos needs to explore new possibilities, extending the range of stylistic analogies to evidence preserved in other cross-cultural regions; however, similarly to the inscriptions' epigraphic features which point out to the middle of the second half of the fourteenth century, the stylistic characteristics of the sanctuary's murals in Dârlos seem to indicate the late-fourteenth century as a possible period for their execution. An indirect proof for such dating, which in the current state of research remains strictly a working hypothesis, is also the fact that all the members of the noble family in Dârlos appearing in written sources during the second half of the 14th century have their correspondents among the saints depicted in the sanctuary: Nicholas (d. ca 1377), his sons Stephen, Thomas, and Ladislás (active during the 1370s-90s period), and Anthony, Thomas' son (attested in 1405). The particular position within the *sedilia* of two of Hungary's holy kings might attest to the special veneration of these royal saints by *Nicolaus de Dorlaz*, who named two of his sons precisely after St. Stephen and St. Ladislás.

E. Selective Bibliography: de Gérando, Auguste, *La Transylvanie et ses habitants*, Paris, Comptoir des Imprimeurs-unis, 1845, 2: 207-12; Drăguț, *Arta gotică*, 76-7, 260, 295-6; Drăguț, Vasile, *Dicționar enciclopedic de artă medievală românească*, Bucharest, Editura Științifică și Enciclopedică, 1976, 128; Drăguț, "Iconografia picturilor", 30, 64; Drăguț, *Pictura murală din Transilvania*, 68-70; Drăguț, "Picturi murale exterioare", 93-5; Fabini, *Atlas*, 1: 161-4; Fabritius-Dancu, *Sächsische Kirchenburgen*, 60; Feketics, "Darlaci középkori falképek", 107-32; Gaylhoffer-Kovács, "Alexandriai Szent Katalin", 289-90, 296-300, 314-22; János, *Színek és legendák*, 29-31, 40, 179-80, 244; Jékely, "Ateliers de peinture", 41; Kiss, Loránd, "Falképek kutatása és helyreállítása az erdélyi szász evangélikus templomokban", *Certamen* 1 (2013), 386-7; Léstyán,

Megszentelt kövek, 2: 279; Năstăsoiu, *Gothic Art*, 118, 125; Năstăsoiu, “Political Aspects”, 119; Năstăsoiu, “*Sancti reges Hungariae*”, 53, 66, 76; Porumb, *Dicționar de pictură*, 102-3; Porumb, *Pictura românească din Transilvania*, 1: 58-9; Prioteasa, *Medieval Wall Paintings*, 87-9, 116, 128; Radocsay, *Középkori Magyarország falképei*, 130; Sonoc and Munteanu, “Monumente romane”, 113-39; Vătășianu, *Istoria artei feudale*, 553, 583, 773-4.



1. Partial view of the sanctuary's southern wall, August 2016 (Photo: © The Author)



2. View of the *sedilia*, southern wall of the sanctuary November 2007 (Photo: © The Author)



3. View of the *sedilia*, southern wall of the sanctuary, August 2015 (Photo: © The Author)



4. Detail of the 1520s graffito, below St. Ladislav's right elbow, August 2015 (Photo: © The Author)



5. Sts Ladislav and Stephen, *sedilia*'s back wall, southern wall of the sanctuary, August 2015 (Photo: © The Author)

Cat. No. 6. *Sancti reges Hungariae*, vanished representation, nave of the former Catholic church (unknown medieval dedication) in Filea (Rom. var. *Filia*, Hung. *Erdőfüle*), Szeklerland (Present-day Romania), ca 1350 (?)

A. Place: Below the narrative cycle dedicated to St. Ladislav, that is, on the lower register of the northern wall of the nave and in the proximity of the triumphal arch, there was until the late-nineteenth century a joint depiction of three holy kings. Additionally, on the pillars of the triumphal arch, two other representations of saintly rulers might have been depicted in the church. All these representations are no longer preserved.

B. Description: The mural decoration on the northern wall of the nave and the intrados of the triumphal arch has vanished in 1897 together with the church which was at that point demolished and then rebuilt. The secondary evidence which bears witness to these murals consists of: watercolors copying the Legend of St. Ladislav (however, not the three holy kings' depiction), which were made in 1884 by József Huszka; a brief description of the paintings made on the occasion of the church's demolishing (1897) by the pastor Béla Karácson; and sketchy drawings made shortly before the edifice's pulling down by Károly Gulyás, a drawing teacher from Târgu Mureș. This indirect evidence allows one to form only a very partial idea about the representations of holy kings which existed once in the medieval church. According to the 1897 written account, the three kings' figures had real-life size, they were similarly dressed, and all of them were invested with the same attributes, namely, battle axes (!), golden orbs, and royal crowns. Based on its placing below St. Ladislav's narrative cycle, this royal trio has been interpreted by Béla Karácson as a depiction of the capturing of King Solomon by Dukes Géza and Ladislav. Károly Gulyás' sketchy drawing shows indeed three standing figures of kings, but only the left one has a halo surrounding his head; they all have crowns on their heads and orbs in their left hands. Only the central figure holds a mace-like scepter, whereas the side kings have both differently-sized battle axes (surprisingly, the battle axe of the younger king on the right side is bigger than that of the mature holy king on the left side). The central and left figures are dressed similarly (long tunics with decorated belts and daggers) and they seem to depict mature kings (they have beard and mustache, respectively), whereas the figure on the right side has a shorter tunic and is that of a young, beardless king. The feet's drawing seems to suggest that all three characters had some sort of armor underneath their tunics. On the basis of both the written and visual accounts, the three standing figures probably depicted the three *sancti reges Hungariae*, namely, St. Ladislav (left side, mature holy king with battle axe), St. Stephen (center, mature king with scepter), and St. Emeric (right side, young king with battle axe!). The latter figure's investing with this weapon should be taken with caution, as this would be the only representation of the holy prince with such an atypical attribute. This peculiarity was most probably a mix-up from the part of Károly Gulyás. These sketchy, visual and written accounts are, therefore, not entirely reliable and the partial information they offer helps one only to establish that a representation of the three *sancti reges Hungariae* was once painted in the church. Concerning the representation of royal figures on the intrados of the triumphal arch, Béla Karácson informs that they were placed two meters above the ground and that they formed an unitary ensemble with the carved decoration of this area, but neither Károly Gulyás, nor József Huszka have left visual testimonies of these depictions.

C. Iconographic Context: According to the available, secondary evidence (both written and visual), the iconographic context of the image of the three *sancti reges Hungariae*, which was painted on the lower register of the northern wall of the nave, consisted of several representations. St. Ladislas' Legend formed a continuous, narrative cycle in the upper register of the nave's northern wall, whereas the lower register was occupied by several independent depictions: a holy monk with open book, a reclining saintly figure, and birds and animals (?); the *Maiestas Domini* (Christ in *mandorla* with swords in his mouth and trumpeting angels); the Enthroned Madonna with Child as *Virgo lactans*; and the three *sancti reges Hungarie*. Nothing else is known about the iconographic context of the royal figures depicted on the pillars or intrados of the triumphal arch.

D. Dating: Even though there is no basis to substantiate this claim, it has been assumed by previous scholarship that the representation of the *sancti reges Hungariae* was probably painted during the same period with St. Ladislas' Legend, which is documented visually in a more detailed manner. On the basis of the existing secondary evidence, one can only hypothesize that the image of Hungary's holy kings was painted sometime during the second half of the fourteenth century, although the fifteenth century would be as well possible.

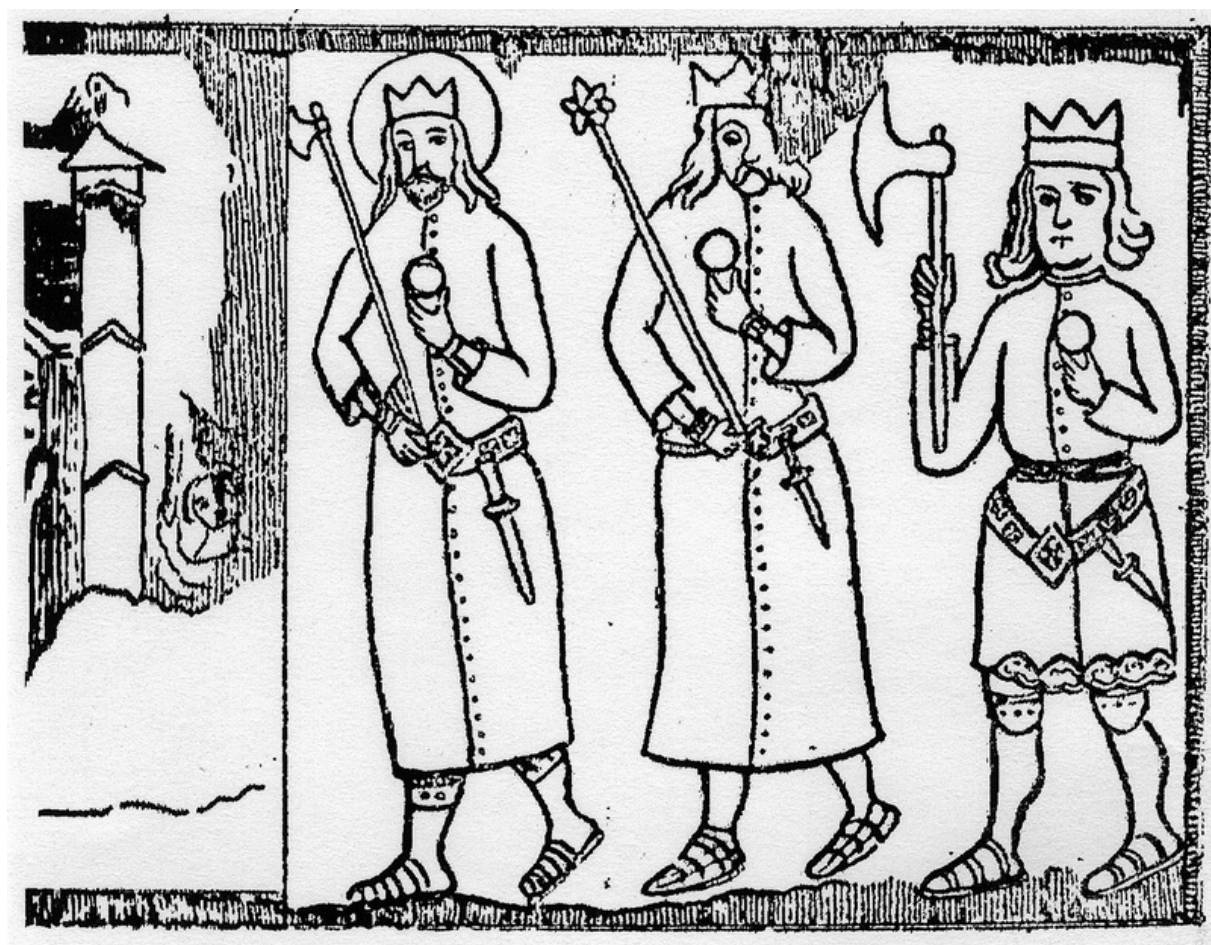
E. Selective Bibliography: Dávid, *Középkori Udvarhelyszék művészeti emlékei*, 103-8, fig. 97; Drăguț, "Iconografia picturilor", 42, 76; Jánó, *Színek és legendák*, 102-4, fig. 52; Karácson, "Fülei régi református templom", 325-6; Kerny, "Magyar szent királyok középkori kompozíciói a templomok külső falain", 86; Radocsay, *Középkori Magyarország falképei*, 55, 133; Vătășianu, *Istoria artei feudale*, 555-6, 773.



1. Drawing showing the disposition of scenes on the northern wall of the nave (Drawing source: Dávid 1981)



2. Károly Gulyás, Drawing of the scenes on the lower register of the nave, 1897 (Photo Source: János 2008)



3. Károly Gulyás. Detail of Sts Ladislav, Stephen, and Emeric, 1897 (Photo Source: János 2008)

Cat. No. 7. *Sancti reges Hungariae*, nave of the Catholic Chapel of St. Anne in Hrušov (Hung. *Körtvélyes*), Torna County (Present-day Slovakia), 1519

A. Place: On the left side of the western wall of the nave and on the register starting on the upper level of the chapel's former entrance (now walled-up), there is a partially-uncovered representation of three holy kings.

B. Description: The fresco fragment is very badly preserved, the wall presenting several major cracks and numerous hammer strokes, as well as portions covered by successive layers of white and pale-pink lime (lower and upper part of the fresco), which occurred during the Reformation's whitewashings of the chapel. The surviving surfaces of color and traces of preparatory drawing are almost illegible, but careful examination can reveal the silhouettes of three characters placed against a white background. The one on the left is taller than the one in the middle and the surface of yellow paint and minor traces of drawing suggest that he has halo and crown on his head. No feature is preserved on the pink area which represents his face and this is interrupted by the loss of the layer of paint. Judging by the surface of dark-red going down the character's shoulders and by its shape, he wears a mantle with probably inner, white side. On the short, white tunic or armor, there are some remnants of drawing and brown paint which suggest a belt and sword, respectively. A yellow and pink surface of paint in the lower part suggests the color of his pants, but no other detail is preserved. Judging by the position of his hands, he held an attribute (scepter?) and an orb. These royal *insignia*, however, are no longer visible. Paler, yellow and pink areas of color and traces of outline suggest the halo and face of the shorter character in the middle, but no detail of his headgear is preserved. He still has the outline of his eyes and nose, but the lower part of his face is completely damaged. He wears probably a short, green tunic and yellow and pink pants. The inner side of his mantle was either yellow or white, but the mantle's outer color is completely effaced. The pink areas of color placed against the green background of his tunic suggest the character's hands: his right hand points downwards, while his right one, placed in front of his chest, holds a flower, whose outline is preserved on the right side of his head. To the right side of both characters' feet, there are two uniform surfaces of color (green and red, respectively) with a rectangular upper ending, which might suggest that the characters were depicted with shields propped against the ground. The third character on the right is more than half covered by lime, only the red area of color, similar in shape with that of the character on the left, suggests that this one, too, wears a mantle on his shoulders. Some complex traces of outline are preserved at the level of his elbow, probably an armor's elbow-cop, but no other detail of costume is perceivable. On the level of the character's right shoulder, there are some traces of outline which suggest that he holds a scepter. The scene was surrounded by a decorative frame with yellow and green intersecting stalks, which are partially preserved on the left of the first character. Above the head of the shorter character in the middle, the outline of what appears to be a hand with pointing finger (?) directs the attention toward an inscription offering the year 1519: ·1·1·1·9 (this reading was suggested by Pál Lővei and communicated personally by Katalin Szende). Judging by the number of characters (three), their warrior-like appearance (sword, shields, and armor), costumes (short tunics and mantles), and gestures (hands holding lost or badly-preserved attributes, like the flower and scepter), as well as by the crown of the character on the left side, this scene represents most likely a depiction of the holy

kings of Hungary. However, only the central St. Emeric can be certainly identified by the flower he holds in his left hand.

C. Iconographic Context: Except for the representation of the holy kings of Hungary, on the same register, but on the northern wall of the nave, there are two other fragments of mural decoration. Because of their poor state of preservation and partial uncovering, their identification is for the time being impossible (figures of saints?). The rest of the chapel's walls are still covered by several layers of lime, but judging by the state of preservation of the visible fragments (extensively hammered areas and major effacing of the layer of color), a future restoration might bring only limited data concerning the iconographic context. If other fragments of mural decoration might still exist under the lime layer in the nave, this is not the case of the chapel's semicircular apse, which was rebuilt probably in the eighteenth century.

D. Dating: The earliest written reference to the chapel belongs to the early seventeenth century and does not concern its mural decoration. The murals' bad stage of preservation prevents any stylistic judgment and, subsequently, makes their dating impossible. However, judging by the choice of color (same shade of red, green, and ochre), the fresco fragments on the nave's western and northern walls could belong to the same stage of decoration. The inscription found above the representation of the holy kings of Hungary offers the year 1519 and, on one of the walls, there is a *graffito* which mentions one renovation of the chapel, undertaken in 1522 by the priest John of Hrušov. The proximity of the two dates points out to a renovation which took place between 1519 and 1522 and makes likely the year 1519 as the date of completion of the chapel's mural decoration.

E. Selective Bibliography: Buran, *Gotika*, 66, 93-5; Dienes, Dénes, *Református egyház-látogatási jegyzőkönyvek: 16-17. század*, Budapest, Osiris, 2001, 72; Kardos, "Körtvelyés-Hárskút", 7-33; Kerny, "Magyar szent királyok XIII.-XVII. sz.", 95; Kerny, "Magyar szent királyok középkori kompozíciói a templomok külső falain", 83; Năstăsoiu, "Political Aspects", 100, 105; Năstăsoiu, "*Sancti reges Hungariae*", 6, 45-6, 49, 68, 77; Sárközy, *Történeti Torna megye településtopográfiája*, 60-2.



1. View of the nave from the sanctuary (Photo: © The Author)



2. Detail of the inscription above St. Emeric's head (Photo: © The Author)



3. Holy king, St. Emeric, and another holy king on the western wall of the nave (Photo: © The Author)



4. Outline of the representation of the holy kings of Hungary (Drawing & Photo: © The Author)

Cat. No. 8. *Sancti reges Hungariae*, nave of the Calvinist (former Catholic) Church (of St. Elizabeth of Hungary) in Khust (Ukr. *Xycm*, Germ. *Chust*, Hung. *Huszt*, Rom. *Hust*), Máramaros County (Present-day Ukraine), early-15th century

A. Place: Towards the eastern side of the northern wall of the nave and at a height of approximately 1.8 m from the current floor level, there is the representation of three standing holy kings. Although the scene is placed at certain height, the lowermost register of this wall was only partially painted with decorative motifs. These are either geometric or architectural elements and flank the holy kings' representation; below it, however, the wall was only plastered up and left undecorated. The access to the church is ensured by two medieval doors, which are situated halfway the western and southern walls of the nave, respectively. Currently, the view of the holy kings' scene is partially blocked by the Late-Baroque tribune, which was attached to the nave's western and northern walls during the eighteenth century. However, during the Late Middle Ages, the standing figures of the three holy kings, placed above the eye level, were one of the first images one could see upon entering the church through its southern, medieval door.

B. Description: After their exploration in 1888 by Ottó Sztehlo, when the scene of the three holy kings was partially visible below the northern tribune, the frescoes in the nave and sanctuary were plastered up. With the support of the László Teleki Foundation, they were explored again by József Lángi between 2002 and 2004, when the frescoes in the nave and sanctuary were partially uncovered. It was on this occasion, that the standing figures of the three holy kings were completely brought to light. However, the scene is preserved only partially, presenting scratches and graffiti throughout its surface, general fading-out of colors, and significant losses of fresco layer in several areas. The latter damage was produced in several phases: (a) the nave's northern wall received during the second half of the fifteenth century a new decoration (currently, only two fragments are still preserved and they were identified hypothetically with two episodes of St. Ladislav's Legend), which destroyed partially the earlier representations, i.e., the upper, right side of the holy kings' scene (St. Emeric's figure) and the neighboring depiction of St. Helena with the Holy Cross; (b) the building of the tribune in the eighteenth century damaged the left, upper side of the holy kings' scene together with the upper side of the neighboring representation of the *Noli me tangere*; (c) the setting up of electric wires and lighting devices led to the loss of the fresco layer on small but significant portions. Despite all this damage, the standing figures of the three holy kings can still be examined and evaluated in great extent. They are part of a unitarily-conceived composition isolated from the neighboring scenes by a decorative frame, which was differently designed on all its four sides. The lower border contained initially a black-on-white inscription written in Gothic minuscule letters which have greatly faded out, so that it can no longer be read. According to J. Lángi, who used as analogy traces of inscriptions visible on the scenes' lower borders in the neighboring churches in Chornotysiv and Velika Bijhany, the inscription in Khust probably offered originally the names of the three standing figures. However, judging by the size of the Gothic minuscules, whose faded-out traces are scattered throughout the lower border which is almost three-meter long, and by a possible [...] *Anno·d(omi)n[i ...] · m[illesimo...]* which I could read below St. Ladislav's left foot, the inscription might have contained additional information, such as the image's execution date and/or its commissioner. This data, however, is irretrievably lost and other readable letters,

either isolated or grouped, do not convey relevant information. The figures of the three holy kings stand on a uniform, red ground and are projected against a uniform background, whose blue color has faded out in great extent. They are depicted frontally, have static and rigid poses, are dressed in similar, knightly costumes, and hold identical shields in their left hands. The halos surrounding the heads of the left and central figures are reddish, whereas that of the right figure is yellow. This difference in color which is perceivable also in the armors' decorative details (red decoration for the first two figures and golden for the third one) is probably the consequence of different chemical alterations which the scene was subjected to throughout time. Approximately half century after its execution, the right figure was covered partially by another fresco, which preserved its colors in a state closer to its original one, whereas the other two figures remained visible for a longer period. This led to the wearing out their colors, which were later affected by their late-nineteenth century covering-up with a cement layer. One can conclude, therefore, that the colors of the third, right figure are closer to the original, late-medieval ones. Subsequently, the heads of the three figures were surrounded by golden halos decorated with white, thin rays and bordered by a red line adorned with white pearls. The most worn-out face is that of the saint on the left side, but one can still perceive with ease his brown hair and beard. Even though the fresco layer is lost in several small patches in this area, the face of the saint on the right side was that of a young, beardless man with blond hair. Better preserved than the previous two, the face of the saint in the middle was that of a mature man with brown beard and grey, long hair falling down his shoulders. All three figures had initially crowns shaped as three lilies, made either of gilded metal or metal-colored wood, which were attached to their foreheads by metal bolts; these crowns are now lost, but their traces which were left in the raw mortar still indicate their initial presence. Based on this information, the figures of the three holy kings represented at distinct ages can be safely identified with St. Ladislav (the mature, brown-bearded holy king on the left side), St. Stephen (the older, grey-haired holy king in the middle), and St. Emeric (the young, beardless holy king with blond hair on the right side). This is confirmed also by their attributes: St. Emeric props an effaced flower (lily?) against his right shoulder, whereas St. Stephen holds in front of his chest a faded-out, golden orb. The eighteenth-century tribune destroyed the attribute of St. Ladislav, which was held in his right arm positioned perpendicularly to his body; this attribute was most likely a battle axe which is usually the holy knights' insigne (the arms' curious position is encountered also in St. Ladislav's representation in Remetea, but neither there the attribute is preserved). All three *sancti reges Hungariae* have identical, knightly appearance, being dressed in full armors decorated with red/yellow, flower-shaped protectors for shoulders, elbows, and knees. Red/yellow stripes decorated with white pearls define horizontally the armors' neckline, waistline, and lower side, whereas a similarly-decorated stripe divides vertically their chest piece into two equal parts. All three holy kings have swords with cross-guards and pommels which hang down their belts laterally, whereas long daggers with decorated sheaths hang in front of them. Both weapons are attached to chains which are fixed to the armors' chest pieces. The holy knights' shoes are made of chainmail and, additionally, have spurs. Enhancing their military appearance, all three saints hold in their metal-gloved, left hands rectangular shields, which are curved on one side. These shields are decorated with red crosses on a background composed of alternating, red-and-white lines arranged horizontally, an allusion to the Árpadian coat of arms; however, the red cross is not the double-barred one, a heraldic symbol which referred to the Kingdom of Hungary. Subsequently, the three *sancti reges Hungariae* in Khust are represented under both royal and knightly guises, this double hypostasis being

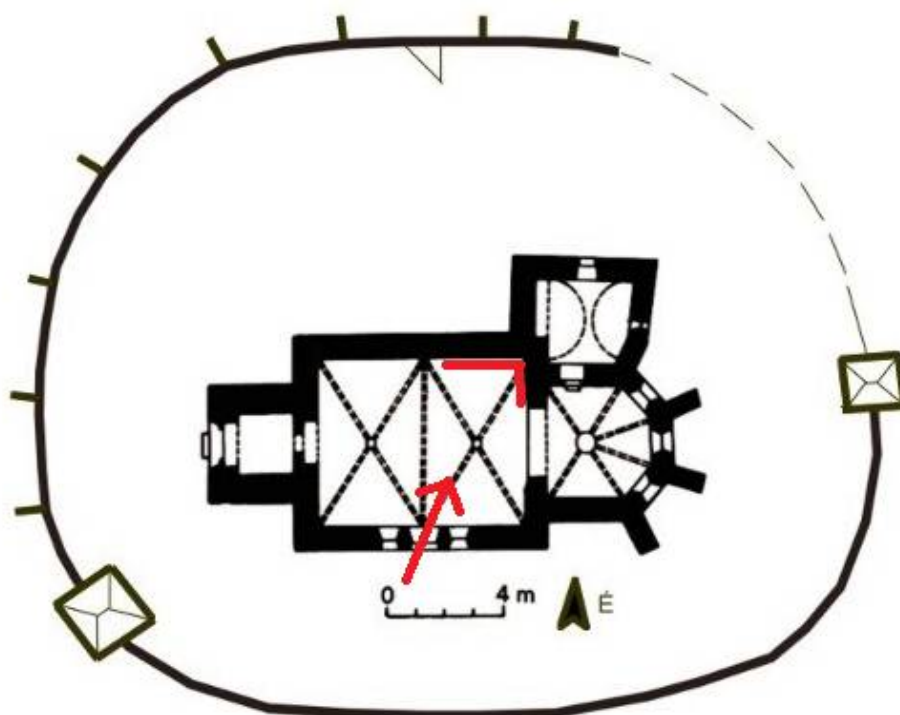
characteristic for their iconography at the turn of the fifteenth; however, their prominent military appearance which standardizes their individual depiction dominates the composition.

C. Iconographic Context: As revealed during the murals' partial exploration by József Lángi in 2002-2004, the decoration on the nave's northern and eastern walls (i.e., the northern side of the triumphal arch) was executed during a single stage. This was probably one of the earliest in the church and it did not cover completely the nave's northern wall. During the murals' 1888 exploration by Ottó Sztehlo, frescoed areas were revealed in the sanctuary, too, and these were partially exposed again during the 2002-2004 campaign, together with a number of other fragments on the nave's western wall. Judging by their stylistic features, the sanctuary's southern-wall and triumphal-arch decoration, as well as the fragment on the nave's western wall were executed later, i.e., around mid-fifteenth century and the late-fifteenth or early-sixteenth century, respectively. Consequently, these have no direct iconographic connection with the decoration phase which covered the nave's northern and eastern walls with a number of scenes. The composition of the three *sancti reges Hungariae* was, thus, executed during a unitary stage together with several other scenes which flank it on the left (western) and right (eastern) sides. All images are delimited by individual decorative frames, a fact which indicates that they were regarded as separate iconographic units. On the left side of the holy kings' standing figures, there is probably the fragmentary scene of the *Noli me tangere*. On the right side of the three holy kings, there is the partially preserved figure of St. Helena holding the Holy Cross, which concludes the decoration on the nave's northern wall. On the adjoining, eastern wall, there is a composition showing several, partially-preserved figures represented in prayer posture. One figure is that of a haloed woman and another one depicts a smaller, beardless figure with short hair, no halo, and secular costume: probably a lay, male suppliant. Out of a third, taller figure, only its praying hands are preserved. In Ottó Sztehlo's 1888 drawing, one of the kneeling figures held also a bell and probably a knife, but this are no longer preserved. All three supplicants seem to address their prayer to another, larger figure which is placed on the image's right side. This one is partly damaged, partly covered by plaster and whitewash, but it was most likely another saintly figure, which seems to be enthroned and is barefooted: either Christ or a holy apostle. Until the remaining layer of plaster is removed and another examination of this mural is possible, it is not excluded that the eastern-wall image showed a young, male donor being recommended to the Enthroned Christ (?) by the female saint found behind him and playing the role of intercessor. Certainly, this identification has hypothetical character. Both below this composition on the eastern wall and below St. Helena's image on the northern wall, it was painted an illusionistic, Gothic architecture, which consists of a row of niches resembling the back of choir stalls. This illusionistic architecture could either serve a purely decorative purpose, could designate the sitting place of certain people (maybe the family members of the hypothetical donor represented above), or could form the background decoration of a secondary altar (the latter function was suggested also by J. Lángi). The four scenes which decorate the nave's northern and eastern walls were executed during a single decoration phase and formed a coherent iconographic program, despite the scenes' apparent, composite character: *Noli me tangere*, *sancti reges Hungariae*, St. Helena, and the hypothetical, votive composition. The red crosses on the holy kings' shields find a direct parallel in the attribute held by the Holy Empress, whereas the royal saints' prominent military appearance places them in the hypostasis of valiant defenders of

Christianity. By the middle of the fifteenth century, St. Helena's and St. Emeric's images were covered by new murals, out of which only two minor fragments presently survive.

D. Dating: There is no direct written evidence which has been preserved and which would help one in framing chronologically the murals on the nave's northern and eastern walls. The effaced inscription written in Gothic minuscules and placed below the holy kings' scene probably contained originally this type of information, but this is no longer preserved. The inscription recorded by Béla Czobor and conveyed by Ottó Sztéhlo in 1888 – *fecit pater elias arci par(ochus) h(ustiensis) anno d(omi)ni 1455* – referred most likely to other, later works carried on in the church; during the 2002-2004 campaign, József Lángi could no longer locate this inscription. Although the dedication to St. Elizabeth of Hungary/Thuringia of the parish church in Khust is attested only in 1470-1474, this was most likely the initial dedication of the church which was built in a single stage during the second half of the fourteenth century, most likely towards its end. Following shortly the completion of the construction of the church, the nave's northern and eastern walls were decorated with frescoes. This happened probably around 1400, most likely during the first decades of the fifteenth century, a series of stylistic features which the frescoes in Khust share with a number of other monuments pointing out to such dating.

E. Selective Bibliography: [Sztéhlo Ottó], "A huszti ref. templom", *Archaeológiai Értesítő* 8 (1888), 447-8; Czobor, Béla, *Egyházi emlékek a történelmi kiállításon*, 122-3, 126; Deschmann, Alajos, *Kárpátalja Műemlékei*, Budapest: Tájak-Korok-Múzeumok Egyesület, 1990, 168-172, 217; Jékely, "Középkori falfestészet a Felső-Tisza-vidékben", 51, 55, 57-9; Kerny, "Magyar szent királyok középkori kompozíciói a templomok külső falain", 86; Kovács, Sándor and Zoltán György Horváth, *Kárpátalja kincsei. Die Schätze von Kárpátalja mit deutscher Zusammenfassung und Bilduntertiteln. Treasures of Kárpátalja with English Summary and Captions*, Budapest, Masszi Kiadó and Romanika Kiadó, 2002, 126-33; Lángi, József, "Kárpátalja, falképfelmérés", 47-9; Lángi, "Szent László ábrázolásairól", 195-7; Lángi, József. "Huszt (Хуст)", 108-29; Năstăsioiu, "Sancti reges Hungariae", 8, 45-7, 51, 68, 78; Năstăsioiu, "Political Aspects", 100-3, 106; Prioteasa, "Medieval Wall Paintings", 82, 129; Radocsay, *Középkori Magyarország falképei*, 148-9; Rómer, *Régi falképek Magyarországon*, 110.



1. Ground plan of the church marking the position of the early-15th century murals and the nave's southern door
(Drawing © The Author; Photo Source: <http://varak.hu/>)



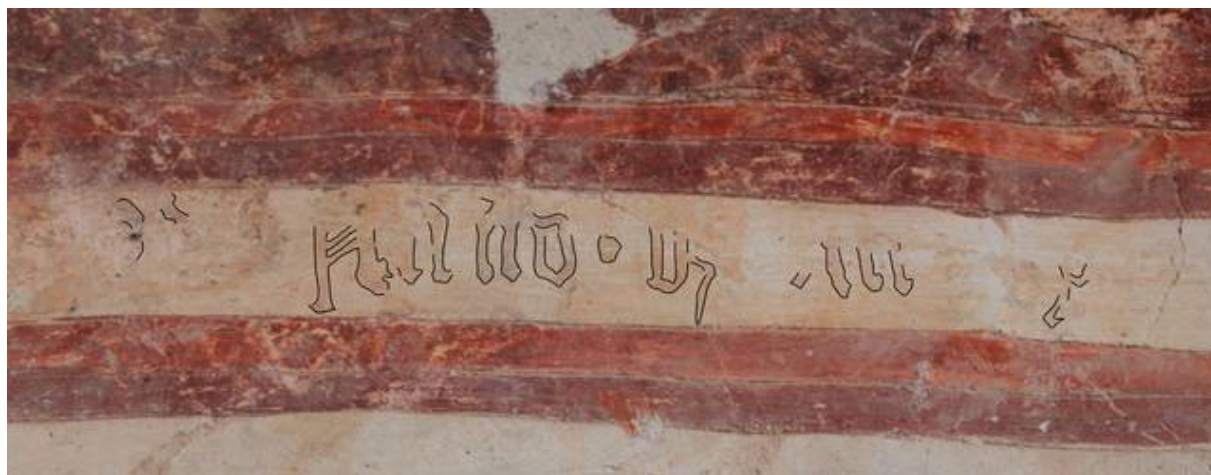
2. Painted decoration on the nave's northern and eastern walls (Photo © The Author)



3. Sts Ladislás, Stephen, and Emeric, lower register of the northern wall of the nave (Photo © The Author)



4. Detail of the lower half of the scene of the three holy kings (Photo © The Author)



5. Overdrawing of the inscription below St. Ladislav's left foot (Photo & Drawing © The Author)



6. Detail of St. Ladislav's figure (Photo © The Author)



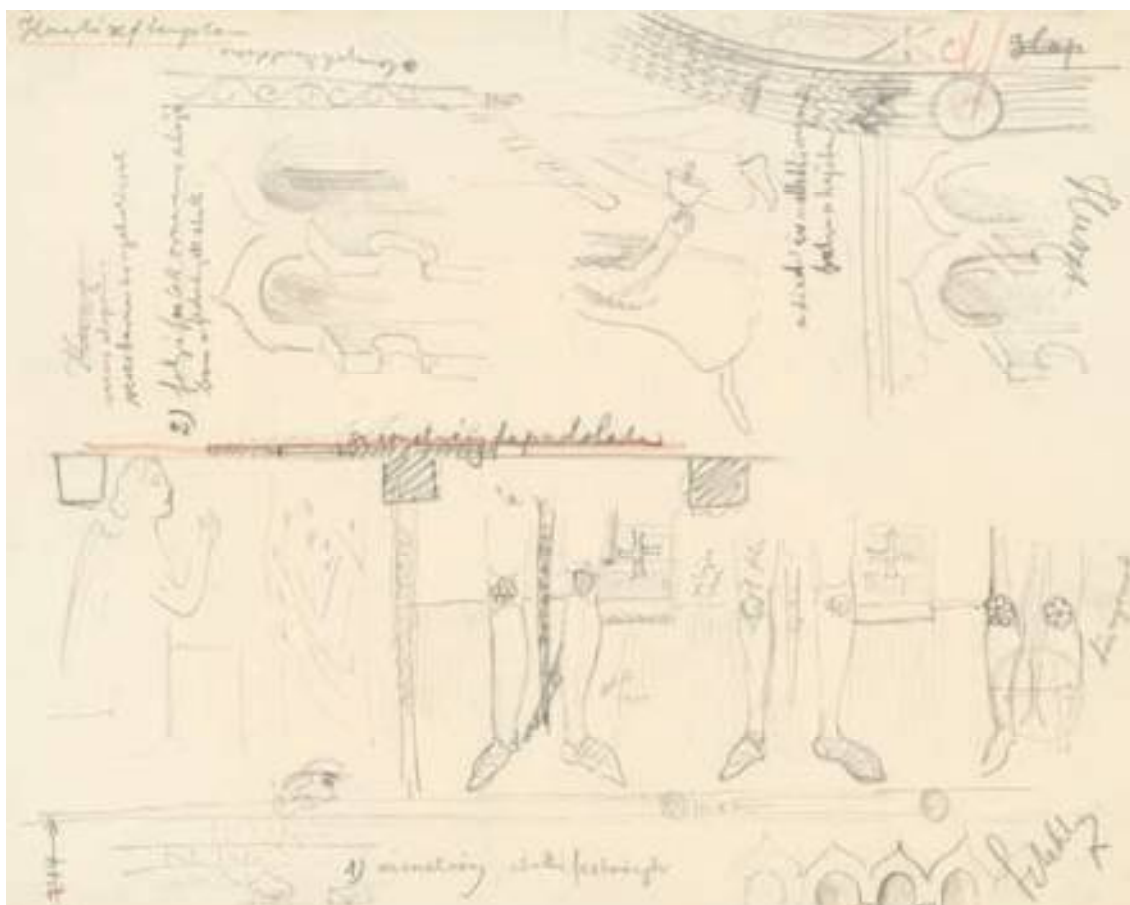
7. Detail of St. Stephen's figure (Photo © The Author)



8. Overdrawing of photograph marking the succession of fresco layers: (I) St. Emeric's figure and (II) fragment of St. Ladislav's Legend (?) (Photo & Drawing © The Author)



9. Detail of St. Ladislav's armor and shield (Photo © The Author)



10. Ottó Sztéhlo, Drawings after the murals on the nave's northern and eastern walls, 1888, inv. no. K 2736, Forster Központ, Tervtár (Photo Source: Lángi 2013)

Cat. No. 9. *Sancti reges Hungariae*, nave of the Catholic Church of All Saints in Krásnohorské Podhradie (Hung. *Krasznahorkaváralja*), Gömör County (Present-day Slovakia), late-14th century

A. Place: A representation of three holy kings is situated on the upper register of the northern wall of the nave, relatively close to the sanctuary. Due to the fact that the church was extensively renovated in the end of the nineteenth century and part of the medieval walls were incorporated into the new structure, it is impossible to know, without further archaeological exploration and continuation of the murals' uncovering, what was the precise place of the scene on the nave's northern wall: upper or middle register, close to or half-way from the sanctuary.

B. Description: The three holy kings of Hungary (i.e., from left to right, St. Emeric, St. Stephen, and St. Ladislav) are placed on blue background and under Gothic, three-lobed arcades supported by thin columns with capitals. Even though the representation is relatively well preserved, portions of the background are effaced and the fresco's right lower part is damaged: St. Stephen's and St. Ladislav's feet are no longer visible. There are no surviving inscriptions, but the characters' attributes and typology makes their identity clear. The young, beardless St. Emeric has a crown on his long and curly, brown hair. He wears a long, sleeveless tunic in dark-red and white colors, a red undercoat, dark-grey shoes, and a red, long mantle with thin, white border. In his right hand, he holds a scepter ending with the Angevin *fleur-de-lis*, while with his left, open palm makes an indefinite gesture. The brown-bearded St. Stephen in the middle has long, curly hair and wears a long, red tunic with pattern (a four-petal flower in rhombus) and white-border ornament on its lower part. Underneath his tunic, he wears a red undercoat with stripes of darker red, while a dark-red mantle with white on its inner side rests on his shoulders. St. Stephen wears a crown, while with his both hands supports an orb having an over-sized cross on top. On the right side, St. Ladislav is represented as knight, but the details of his white armor are badly preserved. He wears over his armor a dark-red, sleeveless tunic with white decoration (horizontal rows of dots, lines, and fringes) and belt. His crown rests on a chainmail hood which surrounds closely St. Ladislav's face, hiding whether he is bearded or not. He holds a shield with the Angevin red-and-white horizontal stripes, whereas in his right hand he has a long-handle halberd. All three holy kings wear similar crowns (three-lily-shaped crowns) and their heads are surrounded by red halos with thin, white border.

C. Iconographic Context: The representation of the three holy kings is the only fragment of mural decoration which has been uncovered in the church; it is likely that the continuation of the restoration will reveal other fresco fragments. Until such work will be carried out, the iconographic context of the scene remains unknown. However, judging by the fact that the fourth column on St. Ladislav's right side shows the beginning of a fourth arcade, similar with the other ones, it is possible that the three holy kings of Hungary do not represent an independent scene, but are part of a row of saints. If this was dedicated exclusively to the category of holy kings, it is still an open question.

D. Dating: There is no direct evidence which could shed light on this aspect. Judging by the technical and stylistic characteristics of the fresco, J. Lángi suggests the beginning of the fourteenth century. However, the poor color gamut (shade variations of red and white), the emphasis on the thick line of contour enclosing large surfaces of uniform color, the characters' incorrect anatomy

(extremely large hands) and their stereotypical faces (big eyes and shy attempts to individualization), and the slight inclination to decorativism (St. Stephen's and St. Ladislav's costumes) suggest an extremely provincial version of the Gothic linear-narrative style of a painter of modest artistic training and skills. It is, therefore, safer, until the rest of the mural decoration will be uncovered, to assign this fresco fragment to a later period of time, such as the late-fourteenth century.

E. Selective Bibliography: Kerny, “Magyar szent királyok XIII.-XVII. sz.”, 95; Kerny, “László király ikonográfiája”, 449; Kerny, “Magyar szent királyok középkori kompozíciói a templomok külső falain”, 83, 86; Kušnierová, Edita and Gábor Tökölly, “Középkori falkép-festészet a gömöri bányavidéken”, *Bányászattörténeti közlemények* 6 (2008), 46-7, 50-1; Lángi, “Új, eddig ismeretlen Szent László ábrázolások”, 84, 95; Năstăsoiu, “Political Aspects”, 100-6; Năstăsoiu, “*Sancti reges Hungariae*”, 45-8, 68, 79; Wehli, “Szent István király ábrázolása”, 171.



1. Northern wall of the nave (Photo: © The Author, taken with the permission of the Roman Catholic Bishop of Rožňava, Slovakia)



2. St. Emeric, St. Stephen, and St. Ladislav, upper register of the nave's northern wall (Photo: © The Author, taken with the permission of the Roman Catholic Bishop of Rožňava)

Cat. No. 10. Sts Adalbert of Prague, Ladislas, Stephen, Sigismund of Burgundy, and Emeric, sanctuary of the Lutheran (former Catholic) Church (of the Holy Blood of Christ) in Mălâncrav (Germ. *Malmkrog*, Hung. *Almakerék*), Fehér County (Present-day Romania), before 1404/1405

A. Place: In the western bay of the Gothic choir, on its southern wall and on the second register counting from up downwards, there is the representation of one holy bishop and four holy kings. It is found on the right side of the circular window.

B. Description: The register which the representation of the holy bishop and four holy kings belongs to, is delimited by two thick ornamental stripes in dark-blue and red, decorated with plant motifs in medallions and rhombuses separated by cartouches (upper stripe), and human faces in medallions and rhombuses alternated with confronting, fantastic animals in cartouches (lower stripe). On the scene's left side, there is a thinner, red stripe decorated with white-flower motifs, while on the right side, the red stripe is even thinner and without any decoration. The five figures of saints which belong, thus, to a single compositional unit, are placed against a blue, uniform background and stand on a rocky, brown-yellow ground with cracks. The standing figure on the scene's very left side represents an old holy bishop with white beard and curly hair, who makes the benediction gesture with his right hand and holds a richly decorated crozier in his left one. He wears white mitre decorated with two red bands arranged horizontally and vertically. His head is surrounded by white halo with incised, radiating lines and red border (a similar type of halo surrounds the head of the next three figures of holy kings). The holy bishop wears white gloves and green chasuble with white inner part, large cross on its front and pattern decoration, the latter's minor traces being hardly visible now. Underneath his chasuble, he has dark-red dalmatic and alb. The second figure, a mature man with long, brown hair and forked beard, wears short, green tunic with long sleeves and tight, green pants of lighter shade than the tunic. He wears green pointed shoes and long, dark-red mantle with ermine inner side, fastened above his right shoulder. Both the mantle's outer side and tunic were decorated with patterned motif, but these details are almost effaced. In his left hand, he holds a crucifer orb, while with his right hand, he props against his shoulder a battle axe. The interruption of incised, radiating lines on his halo indicates that he had a headgear, but this one is no longer visible; judging by the crucifer orb he holds in his hand, the headgear was most likely a crown. This is no longer visible in the case of the third figure either. He is an old male saint with long, white hair and forked beard. He wears black, pointed shoes over his green, tight pants, long, red tunic, and green mantle with ermine inner side, fastened above the right shoulder. The mantle's layer of color is extensively detached, so that only minor traces of its black-pattern decoration are now visible. In his left hand, he holds a crucifer orb, whereas in his right hand he has a scepter with flower-like ending. Differently than the previous three saints who turn to their left, the next two are turned towards right, i.e., to the former group of saints. The fourth character is a mature man with short brown hair and beard, who wears short, white tunic decorated with red flower-pattern, tight, white pants and pointed shoes. His long, red mantle is decorated with blue stripes (?), has ermine inner side and is fastened above his right shoulder. Like the previous holy king, he holds an orb in his left hand, flower-ending scepter in his right, and minor traces of paint belonging to his headgear, probably a crown, interrupt the incised upper part of his halo. The

fifth saint ending the scene on the right side is a young, beardless man with short, blond hair with curls. His integrally preserved halo is red and decorated with radiating white lines, but no traces of headgear are visible. He wears short, red tunic, tight pants and pointed shoes, and has a green mantle on his shoulders; this is decorated with brocade-like pattern (partially preserved) and ermine inner side. He holds an orb in his right hand, while his left one is raised at his shoulder's level as for either making a gesture or holding an attribute which is now effaced. His body posture seems to indicate that he is stepping towards the holy king next to him. No surviving inscription accompanies the five male saints with thin silhouettes, elegant postures and dressed in fashionable court costumes, but their royal (orb and scepter) and personal (battle axe) attributes, as well as their ages made art historians to agree upon the identity of certain characters. Viktor Roth makes notable exception: despite the characters' halos, he interpreted them initially as the Bishop of Alba Iulia participating in the consecration of the church which was founded by the Apafi family, four of its members being, thus, depicted in the same composition. The royal *insignia* (orb and, probably, crown), personal attribute (battle axe), and mature age of the holy king next to the holy bishop points to St. Ladislav's identity. By association, the old holy king next to him and young, blond prince on the right side of the scene are identified as St. Stephen and St. Emeric; they are usually depicted as royal saints with crown, scepter and orb, appear in St. Ladislav's company and are portrayed at old and young age, respectively. If art historians could agree upon the identity of the three Árpadian holy kings, who appear depicted together as a compositional unit in many churches on the territory of the medieval Hungarian Kingdom, the consensus could not be reached in what the other holy king and holy bishop are concerned. The presence of a fourth holy king was accepted as unusual by some scholars, but left without explanation. Others attempted different interpretations: either St. Louis IX of Anjou (Vasile Drăguț) or St. Sigismund of Burgundy (Anca Gogâltan; Dragoș Gh. Năstăsoiu). The holy bishop accompanying the holy kings' quartet was identified first by László Éber with St. Gerard, Bishop of Cenad and St. Emeric's teacher. He was canonized in 1083 together with St. Stephen and his pupil at King Ladislav I's initiative. This identification was subsequently accepted with caution by Virgil Vătășianu, Vasile Drăguț, Anca Gogâltan, or Béla Zsolt Szakács. More recently, he was identified also with St. Nicholas, a very popular saint in medieval Transylvania and Nicholas Apafi's personal patron saint (alternate identification proposed by Anca Gogâltan) or with St. Adalbert, Bishop of Prague, Apostle of the Hungarians, and patron saint of the Cathedral Church in Esztergom (Dragoș Gh. Năstăsoiu).

C. Iconographic Context: The mural painting of the sanctuary is preserved in great extent and was executed in a single stage of decoration. Consequently, the reading of the iconographic program can be almost completely retraced. Except for the sanctuary's murals, there are other frescoes decorating the nave's northern wall, but these are generally assigned to around or shortly after mid-fourteenth century. The infilling of the rib vault covering the western bay of the sanctuary is decorated with scenes from Christ's Childhood – Annunciation and Nativity (western webbing), Adoration of the Magi and Presentation of Christ at the Temple (northern webbing) – and representations of the Four Doctors of the Church sitting at their writing desks and being accompanied by the Evangelists' winged symbols. On the infillings of the sexpartite rib vault covering the pentagonal ending of the Gothic sanctuary, i.e., its eastern bay, there are representations of holy virgins sitting on thrones with elaborate canopies: Sts Apollonia and Dorothea of Caesarea (northern webbing); Sts Ursula and St. Catherine of Alexandria (north-eastern

webbing); a female saint receiving a lily (?) from a flying angel (identified wrongly as the sixteenth-century St. Angela) and St. Margaret of Antioch (eastern webbing); Sts Barbara and Agnes of Rome (south-eastern webbing); Sts Lucia and Agatha of Sicily (southern webbing). On the western side of the pointed triumphal arch, there is a representation of the Madonna of the Mantle. Below this representation, St. Paul holding the sword and St. Peter with the key are depicted on quasi-triangular surfaces on the southern and northern sides of the same western side of the triumphal arch. The northern and north-eastern walls of the sanctuary are decorated with episodes of Christ's Passion, which are arranged in a way disregarding the events' usual chronology. On the eastern, south-eastern and southern walls of the sanctuary, each side of the tall, pointed windows, there are representations of saints arranged into two registers, but the absence of preserved inscriptions and personal attributes, as well as the bad state of preservation of the female saints in the lower register make their identification impossible. The upper register is assigned to ten figures of standing male saints, mostly depicted at mature age (only two have white or gray hair), who are placed under three-lobed arcades or canopies. They are dressed in elegant court costumes, composed of short tunic, tight pants, pointed shoes, and mantle with ermine inner side, recalling the costumes of the four holy kings. The ten male saints rest softly one of their hands on their waist and display graciously crosses with the other, a sign that they belong to the category of either confessor or martyr saints. The ten holy women on the lower register are placed as well under three-lobed arcades, they wear long dresses and mantles, and two pairs seem to be engaged in conversation. Their bad state of preservation, however, makes difficult to ascertain their identity or the presence of personal attributes. The row of female saints is ended on the right side of the window belonging to the eastern bay of the southern wall by the representation of Sts Cosmas and Damian. On the bay corresponding to these saints and on the uppermost register, right side of the pointed window, the depiction of Prophet Joel occurs among various decorative motifs with plants. The western bay of the southern wall of the sanctuary displays a heterogeneous selection of saints, depicted iconically and arranged in groups. The representation of St. George on horse killing the dragon is the only narrative exception abounding in anecdotic details. On the right side of St. George, i.e., on the upper register of the southern wall's western bay, there are the figures of Archangel Michael killing the dragon, (placed under an architectural setting) and the partially-preserved St. Lawrence with the gridiron. On the left side of the representation of the holy bishop and four holy kings, i.e., on the middle register, there are two holy monks placed under three-lobed arcades: either St. Dominic or St. Anthony of Padua, and St. Francis of Assisi. The window's inner side displays, among several decorative motifs, the images of the *Agnus Dei* and the self-sacrificing pelican feeding its young. On the lower register, there are the Coronation of the Virgin, St. Anne with the Virgin and Child (*Mettercia*), together with Mary Salome and Mary Cleophas with their sons, and St. Christopher carrying the Child Christ on his shoulder (represented on two registers). Despite the heterogeneous character of the numerous saints depicted on the eastern, south-eastern and southern walls, one can notice a certain gender-assigned logic of selection: male saints of different categories (confessor or martyr saints, military saints, holy monks, holy bishops, and holy kings) in the upper registers, and female saints or Mariological themes (the ten holy women flanking the windows, Coronation of the Virgin, and *Mettercia* with the Holy Family) in the lower register. However, the unity of the female lower register is interrupted by the insertion of Sts Cosmas and Damian and St. Christopher. On the register below the windows' level, there are badly preserved representations of busts of saints in architectural settings (north-eastern, eastern and south-eastern walls). They are arranged both sides

of the *Vir Dolorum* in the sanctuary's axis (below this representation, there is a rectangular niche, probably for housing the church's relics). Only the saints flanking the Man of Sorrows can be identified as holy bishops: they are depicted with mitre and crozier. A female saint holding a three-aisled basilica (northern wall) can be safely identified with St. Hedwig of Silesia, who holds usually this attribute (wrong identification as St. Elizabeth of Hungary/Thuringia by Dana Jenei). The other saints are so badly preserved that their identification is no longer possible; some of the figures lack halos.

D. Dating: There is no direct evidence pointing out to the date of execution of the sanctuary's frescoes, but art historians generally agree that it followed either shortly or after several decades the Gothic sanctuary's completion in the last quarter of the fourteenth century. The International Gothic style which the frescoes in the sanctuary display, is made manifest in the elegant and richly decorated costumes of the characters, their graceful and almost dancing attitudes and postures, the high decorativeness of the patterned fabrics used either as costumes or settings, or the insertion of contemporary details into the biblical/historical narrative. It can be encountered in Transylvania between the last decades of the fourteenth and the first decades of the fifteenth century. The presence on the lowermost register of the south-eastern wall of the sanctuary and on the actual layer of mural decoration of a graffito mentioning the year 1404/1405 offers a *terminus ante quem* for the sanctuary's mural decoration. This graffito was variously read throughout time: *Hic fuit anno millesimo quadringensimo quarto/quinto* (Viktor Roth 1903); *anno domini millesimo quadringentesimo quinto... dominus Nicolaus... extitisset dampnum* (Viktor Roth, 1912); *Anno Domini millesimo quadringentesimo quinto Nicolaus... extitisset fugitivus propter dampnum* in (Viktor Roth, 1934); and *Anno [...] Anno Domini Millessimo/ Quadrigesimo qu^oto [...] Dominus Nico[laus] Voluisset fugitivus/ da[m]pnium [...] Marie virginis* (Dana Jenei, 2015). Various dating hypotheses have been, consequently, suggested: the 1380-1400 interval (Dénes Radocsay); end of the fourteenth century (Virgil Vătășianu); or around 1400 (Vasile Drăguț and Dana Jenei). The founders of the church in Mălâncrav were the members of the Apafi family which owned the village starting with 1305. It is commonly accepted that the sanctuary's decoration represented the initiative of Nicholas Apafi who, around 1404/1405, was in the beginning of his military career and accumulation of estates, having the means of extending and embellishing his family's church. His 1424 request of papal indulgence for the faithful visiting the chapel of the Holy Blood of Christ calls him ... *Nicolaus Abe, miles, dicti loci in Malenkrach in temporalibus dominus, capelle predicte fundator...* It mentions once the church's beauty – ... *potiori pro tempore venustatis munificencia a fidelibus frequentetur eisdem...* – and twice the need for restoration and donations to be directed to the church – ... *in suis structuris et edificiis restauracionem suscipiat et sublevamen...* and ... *ad illius restauracionem ac fabricam manus porrigentibus...* This means that, at the time of the supplication (1424), the sanctuary and its mural decoration were already completed for several decades, being in need for restoration.

E. Bibliography: Drăguț, *Arta gotică*, 221-5, 263; Drăguț, “Iconografia picturilor”, 26-9, 32, 34-6, 43-5, 65, 75, 80, figs. 11-2, 18-21; Vasile Drăguț, “Les peintures murales de l'église évangélique de Mălâncrav”, *Revue Roumaine d'Histoire de l'Art. Série Beaux-Arts* 5 (1967), 61-71; Drăguț, *Pictura murală*, 51; Drăguț, “Picturile murale Mălâncrav”, 79-93; Éber, László, “Tanulmányok Magyarország középkori falfestményeiről”, in *Magyarország műemlékei*, ed. Gyula Forster,

[illegible]

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2. Various saints on the southern wall of the sanctuary (Photo: © The Author, July 2014)



3. Sts Adalbert, Ladislav, Stephen, Sigismund of Burgundy, and Emeric, middle register of the southern wall's western bay (Photo: © The Author, July 2014)

Cat. No. 11. *Sancti reges Hungariae*, nave of the Catholic Church of St. Stephen in Napkor, Szabolcs County (Present-day Hungary), around 1400

A. Place: On the lower register of the southern side of the triumphal arch (i.e., the eastern wall of the nave), there is a poorly-preserved representation of three holy kings.

B. Description: The image of the royal trio is fragmentarily preserved – large portions of the fresco layer have been completely detached (the lower halves of the side figures and great part of the central figure are now lost) and the colors have been greatly faded off. Subsequently, the mural can be evaluated only with difficulty. The three figures are isolated on the left and upper sides by a red-and-white decorative border, and occupy completely this area of the triumphal arch. They are placed against a uniform, blue background. The saint on the left side has no surviving facial features, but the remaining surfaces of color indicate that he has brown hair and beard. He has a crown on his head surrounded by halo and holds a long-handle attribute, the upper part of which is no longer preserved (either scepter or battle axe). The few traces of color that survive in this area indicate that he has a white mantle on his shoulders, an undefined, grey (?) costume, and white gloves. Only small portions of his crown, halo, blue costume, green mantle, and golden belt are preserved for the central figure, who holds a scepter with mace-like ending. No facial features are preserved for the saint on the right side, but he has long, blond hair and he seems to have been depicted beardless. He was probably dressed in a green, tight tunic with pattern decoration, his waist is surrounded by a brown belt, and has white gloves with elongated cuffs in his hands. The undulating shaft of his partially-preserved attribute suggests that he held initially not a scepter, but probably a lily. No inscriptions survive, but judging by the saints' royal and personal attributes, as well as by their age types, the three holy kings are most likely the *sancti reges Hungariae*: St. Ladislav (i.e., the mature holy king with probably battle axe on the left side), St. Stephen (the holy king with scepter in the middle), and St. Emeric (the young, beardless and blond prince with probably lily on the right side). Such identification is supported also by the church's medieval dedication to Hungary's first holy king, St. Stephen.

C. Iconographic Context: Only a few other fragments of murals survive partially in the church. A Pietà is the counterpart of the holy kings' image on the northern side of the triumphal arch. Its pillars were decorated with standing figures of saints, but only the fragment on the southern pillar, i.e., in the proximity of the holy kings' image, can be identified with a holy princess. Although found in vicinity, the images of the *sancti reges Hungariae* and the holy princess belong to different rooms of the church. Subsequently, one can no longer grasp the iconographic context of Hungary's three holy kings.

D. Dating: It is very difficult to evaluate stylistically the image of the *sancti reges Hungariae*, due to its fragmentary character and bad state of preservation. Some elements of costume (e.g., white gloves with elongated cuffs, tunic with pattern decoration) seem to point to the first decades of the fifteenth century for the image of Hungary's holy kings. The formal features of the other fragments preserved in the church seem to confirm this dating, as they indicate as well the first half of the same century. Subsequently, the depiction of Sts Ladislav, Stephen, and Emeric was probably executed sometime during the first decades of the fifteenth century.

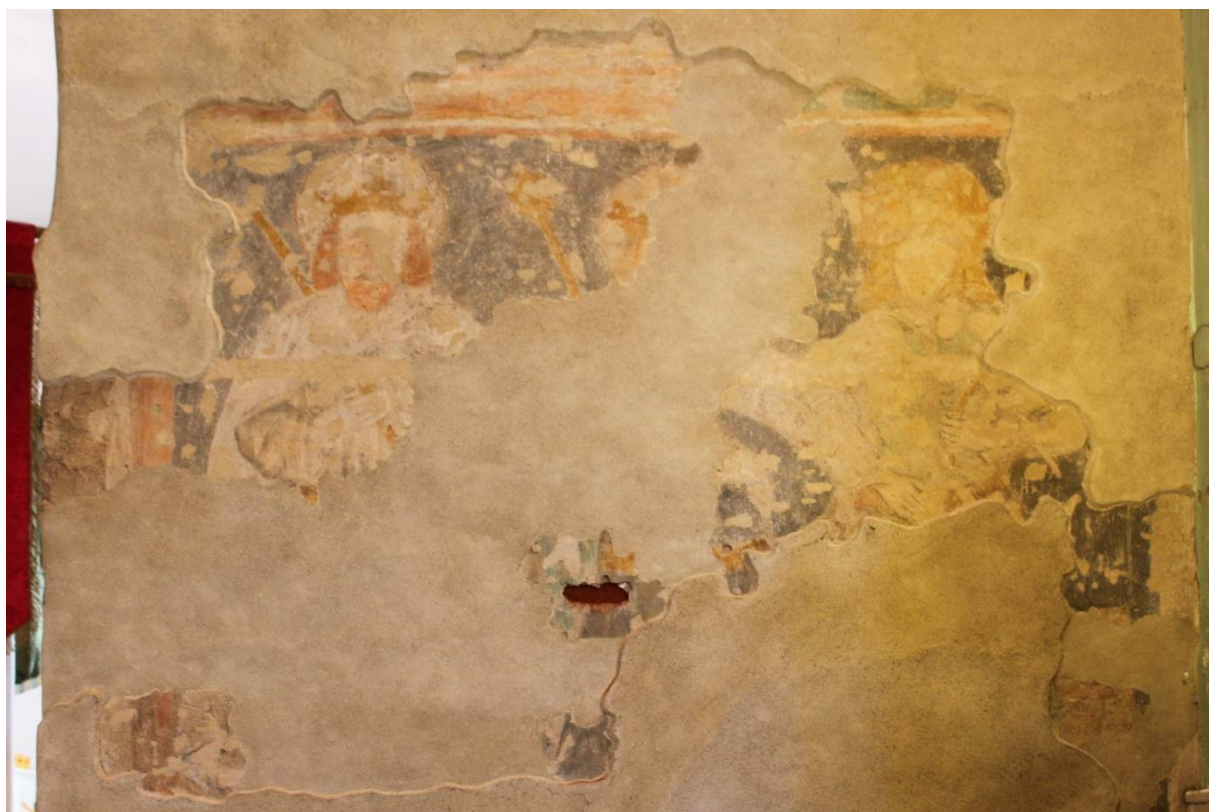
E. Bibliography: Kerny, Terézia. “Magyar szent királyok középkori kompozíciói a templomok külső falain”, 86; Lángi, “Napkor”, 266-73, 457; Lángi, “Új, eddig ismeretlen Szent-László ábrázolások”, 83-4; Năstăsoiu, “*Sancti reges Hungariae*”, 9, 45-6, 48-9, 68, 82; Năstăsoiu, “Political Aspects”, 102-3, 108; Szatmáriné Mihucz, Ildikó and János Kopka, *Középkori templomok Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg megyében* (Nyíregyháza: Kelet Press, 2000), 31.



1. View to the triumphal arch and sanctuary (Photo © The Author)



2. Holy princess and *sancti reges Hungariae* on the southern side of the triumphal arch (Photo © The Author)



3. Sts Ladislav, Stephen, and Emeric, lower register of the southern side of the triumphal arch (Photo © The Author)

Cat. No. 12. *Sancti reges Hungariae*, southern façade of the choir of the Calvinist (former Catholic) Church (of the Holy Virgin and St. George) in Plešivec (Hung. *Pelsőc*), Gömör County (Present-day Slovakia), around 1400

A. Place: On the southern, exterior wall of the sanctuary, right above its western window and below the roof line, there is a partially preserved representation of three holy kings.

B. Description: Surrounded by a thin, ochre frame and on beige, uniform background, there is the partially preserved representation of three holy kings. The scene is damaged in its lower part, making visible the initial layer of decoration of the façade. The figures of saints are so poorly preserved that only the preparatory graffiti and *sinopia* drawing give an idea of their costumes, attributes, and faces. Their reddish appearance is the consequence of a sixteenth-century fire which affected the exterior murals of the church. On the left side, there is the representation of a male saint with brown, long hair and beard, whose facial features are almost effaced: only his right eye and eyebrow are partially preserved. His head is surrounded by an incised halo in relief, which is interrupted above the character's head; his headgear is no longer preserved, but he was probably wearing a crown. The surviving *sinopia* underpainting shows that he wears armor, whose joints at the level of the shoulders, elbows, and knees are decorated with discs; the intersecting graffiti lines on the sleeves' upper half might describe a chainmail. Hanging on his belt, a sword with cross-shaped handle and dagger (?) are hardly visible. His gloved hands hold demonstratively a battle axe (right hand) and an orb (left hand). The saint in the middle wears the same type of armor with similar details: discs at the shoulders' and elbows' level, gloves, and belt with sword with cross-shaped handle and dagger. His head is surrounded by the incised halo in relief which is interrupted in its upper part. The details of his face are better preserved. He holds in his right hand a mace-like scepter, while his left hand rests on a shield propped against the ground. Both characters' feet are no longer visible because of the loss of the fresco layer, but their frontal, rigid attitude, although differing in the position of their hands, is similar and evokes the same warrior-like appearance. Only a small part of the third character on the right side is preserved, i.e., his right hand resting on a sword with similar handle as those of the other two saints. Judging by the battle-axe attribute of the saint on the left side, he is St. Ladislav, whereas the saint in the middle depicted with scepter and at mature age might be St. Stephen. Based on iconographic analogies, the third character with sword was most likely St. Emeric, who is usually depicted together with the other two holy kings and who received sometimes a warrior-like appearance whenever his companions were portrayed as knights (e.g., Khust, Tileagd, Remetea, etc.).

C. Iconographic Context: The fresco fragment representing the three holy kings is the sanctuary's only surviving fragment of exterior decoration, the plaster being nowadays completely removed from this area. Tests made in the area of the nave's eastern windows, where later layers of plaster still exist, revealed some traces of painted decoration (*Cosmatesque* motifs), which await their full uncovering. However, this would not belong to the immediate iconographic context of the holy kings' representation, which is now completely irretrievable.

D. Dating: The bad state of preservation of the fresco makes impossible its dating on stylistic ground and there is no direct written evidence which might shed light in this respect. The

fragmentary and poorly-preserved mural decoration on the church's interior walls has been assigned to the Italian *Trecento* influence, which made itself present in the area during the last decades of the fourteenth century. This could have been mediated by the influential members of the Bebek family, who held high offices at the royal court and whose center and main chapel was in Plešivec. Subsequently, judging by the few available elements (e.g., Cosmatesque decoration, incised halos in relief), one can hypothetically date the murals on the church's outer walls to a period around 1400.

E. Selective Bibliography: Buran, *Gotika*, 327-8; Dvořáková, *Středověká nástěnná malba na Slovensku*, 48; Kerny, “Magyar szent királyok XIII.-XVII. sz.”, 95; Kerny, “László király ikonográfiája”, 449; Kerny, “Magyar szent királyok középkori kompozíciói a templomok külső falain”, 82-4, 88; Kušnierová and Tökölly, “Középkori falkép-festészet”, 46, 52; Năstăsoiu, “Political Aspects”, 100, 103, 106; Năstăsoiu, “*Sancti reges Hungariae*”, 9, 45-9, 68, 83; Prokopp, “Gömöri falképek”, 128-48; Prokopp, *Italian Trecento Influence*, 174; Prokopp, *Középkori freskók Gömörben*, 28-30; Radocsay, *Középkori Magyarország falképei*, 196; Szakács, “Saints of the Knights”, 323; Szakálos, Éva, “A pelsőci templom 14. századi falképei”, *Ars Hungarica* 39/2 (2013), 212-9; Togner, Milan, *Stredoveká nástenná malba v Gemeri*, 93, 178-9; Wehli, “Szent István kultusza”, 128.



1. Southern side of the sanctuary with marking of the holy king's scene (Photo & Drawing © The Author)



2. St. Ladislav, St. Stephen, and a partially-preserved St. Emeric, upper register of the southern façade of the sanctuary (Photo: © The Author)



3. Drawing on the holy kings' representation (© The Author)

Cat. No. 13. Sts Stephen and Ladislav, pillars of the triumphal arch of the Catholic Church of St. Giles in Poprad (Germ. *Deutschendorf*, Hung. *Poprád*), Szepes County (Present-day Slovakia), either around 1330 or around 1350

A. Place: Two partially-preserved representations of holy kings are depicted facing each other on the pillars of the triumphal arch, i.e., on their northern and southern side, respectively.

B. Description: More extensively, though not satisfactorily preserved, the representation on the southern pillar of the triumphal arch depicts a mature, probably standing holy king with brown hair and beard. He wears light-green tunic and purple mantle, which is fastened with two buttons and decorated with zigzag border around the neck. He holds a scepter with flower ending in his left hand and props it against his shoulder. In his right hand, he holds a long-handle attribute, the upper part of which is no longer preserved. The yellow halo with radiating, white stripes and his golden crown shaped like lily flowers are partially lost. This is also the case of the lower part of the royal saint's body: the paint layer is completely detached here, leaving visible only the upper part of a red circle, i.e., the remains of a consecration cross belonging to the church's initial stage of decoration. This representation, as well as its counterpart on the northern pillar, are placed on uniform, blue background and are surrounded by a red border. Only a small fragment of the second holy king's head is now preserved, but his yellow halo with radiating, white stripes, lily-flower crown, and grey hair are partially visible. The pink shade of his face, however, does not preserve any feature. The two characters' obvious belonging to the royal saints' category (they both wear crowns), their different ages (mature and old, respectively), the supplementary attribute of the holy king on the southern pillar (probably battle axe or halberd), and the analogy with other depictions of royal saints facing each other on the pillars of the triumphal arch make probable, in absence of any preserved inscription, their identification as St. Ladislav (southern pillar) and St. Stephen (northern pillar).

C. Iconographic Context: The mural decoration of the church has been executed in several stages, at the end of which all the walls of the square-shape sanctuary and two-nave body of the church were covered completely by a composite iconographic program with different conceptual emphases. However, the church's murals have been greatly damaged by several events, which happened throughout the history of the church. Major architectural changes taking place between 1360 and 1380 led to the transformation of the single-nave church into a two-aisle one, the subsequent Gothic vaulting of the nave, and the attachment of a new chapel and sacristy on the church's northern wall. A major fire in 1708 destroyed partially the building of the church, its tower, and the archives of the parish. Several late-Baroque redecorations of the church interior had as result the building of a western tribune in 1696 and the creation in several phases of new windows – one on the sanctuary's southern wall, two on the nave's northern wall, and another two, differently-shaped windows on the northern wall of the nave. The frescoes were repainted in oil in 1877 by Felix Daberto, and the church's state of decay between 1930 and 1974, when the building was structurally unsecure, had as consequence the closing of the church. Despite all misfortunes, the church's archaeological and architectural research (1974-1989) was followed by the restoration of the frescoes in several stages spanning from 1992 to 1998, which had as result the complete recovery of the medieval frescoes. The restoration of the church revealed multiple stages of mural decoration and made possible the integral reading of its iconographic program. Several consecration crosses – one on the lower

register of the sanctuary's southern wall, two below the holy-king representations on the northern and southern pillars of the triumphal arch, and another one on the lower register of the nave's southern wall – are still visible in the places where later layers of paint have been detached. They belong to the church's initial stage of decoration, following shortly the building's completion and the church's taking into use. Two times after the church's consecration, but before the transformation of the simple nave into a two-aisle one, the sanctuary and northern wall of the nave were decorated with mural painting in two different stages. These are still discernible, despite the medieval architectural transformations and late-Baroque major alterations. The northern wall of the square-shaped sanctuary, the decoration of which is preserved in great extent, narrates episodes of the early Life of Christ. They are arranged into two registers, but the events' usual chronology is not followed: Annunciation, Visitation, Nativity, Shepherds' Annunciation, Presentation in the Temple (these two scenes were partially destroyed in their lower side by the later creation of a rectangular niche in the decorative register of hanging curtains), and *Infantia Christi* are assigned to the lower register; the upper register is decorated with a frieze composed of the Massacre of the Innocents and Flight into Egypt. These scenes are flanked by the images of two kneeling donors, one of whom is accompanied by the cross of the Knights Hospitaller. The three registers of the eastern wall of the sanctuary, although damaged in greater extent, were decorated with scenes of the martyrdom of the apostles: St. Peter's martyrdom and an unidentifiable scene (upper register); St. Andrew's and St. Bartholomew's martyrdoms (middle register); and the *Mandylion* supported by angels, a consecration cross in the sanctuary's axis, exactly below the window, and the martyrdoms of St. Simeon and St. Judas Thaddeus depicted in a single scene (lower register). The scenes of the three registers of the eastern wall of the sanctuary are separated vertically by the pointed-arch window in the axis, the jambs of which are decorated with the standing figures of two holy bishops with mitre and crozier (one of them holds also a book). They were hypothetically identified with St. Giles and St. Valentine, the patrons of the church and of the northern chapel, respectively. Traces of paint in the register above the two holy bishops reveal the lower side of similar costumes and attest that two other figures of saints, belonging probably to the same category, were depicted in the window's jambs, but these are no longer preserved. The southern wall's decoration, which was initially arranged into three registers, was greatly damaged by the window's enlargement during the late-Baroque period. Only two scenes on the left side of the window, probably part of another cycle of Christ's Passion, can be identified today: Arrest of Christ (?) (middle register) and Crucifixion (lower register). The latter, poorly-preserved scene was identified also as the *Volto Santo*, but the presence of four figures next to the crucified Christ, one of whom is definitely a soldier, does not support this identification. The three registers of the sanctuary's eastern and southern walls are separated by two horizontal scrolls which contained initially lengthy inscriptions, as attested by the scattered letters preserved throughout them. However, only a few letters survive nowadays above the scenes of the *Mandylion*, Sts Simeon's and Judas Thaddeus' martyrdoms, and Crucifixion. The inscriptions can no longer be read (Mária Novotná suggests that the inscription above the *Mandylion* might be read as *Hoc est corpus meum, quod pro vobis tradetur. Hoc facite in meam commemorationem*, 1 Cor. 11: 24-25, a plausible reading if one takes into consideration that the inscription and scene are placed above the Holy Gifts' niche). The sanctuary's lowermost register is greatly damaged (only a decorative drapery is still visible on the eastern side of the northern wall). The four webbings of the sanctuary's cross-vault were decorated with large figures in medallions, flanked by smaller medallions with angels holding either a crucifer orb or a long-handle attribute –

probably a scepter or spear. Due to the fragmentary state of preservation of the vault's decoration, only the representations of the eastern and northern medallions can be nowadays identified as Christ in Glory (?) and the Virgin *Orans* with Child, respectively. On the intrados of the pointed triumphal arch, i.e., above the two holy kings' representations, there are depictions of eight Old Testament Prophets in four-lobe medallions. They hold scrolls with their names written with Gothic majuscules. The inscriptions above St. Ladislav read: *DANI[E]L*, *IESECHI[EL]*, *I[...]* (?), and *IAKOV*; above St. Stephen, the preserved inscriptions are: *ELIA[S]*, an unpreserved scroll, *[I]ON[AS]* (?) – read also as *IE[REMIAS]* (Novotná, 2003, 196) – and *MOI[...]**SE[S]*. This coherent iconographic program, covering completely the walls of the sanctuary and of the triumphal arch was executed during a single phase of mural decoration and should be taken into consideration when analyzing the representations of holy kings. Except for the frescoes of the sanctuary, other murals decorated the walls of the church, but these are not coeval with those above described.

D. Dating: There is no direct written evidence which could help one in framing chronologically the mural paintings of the church, the dating of the various phases of decoration being supported equally by stylistic analysis and the close observation of the succession of layers of paint. The walls of the sanctuary and the intrados of the triumphal arch – the images of Sts Stephen and Ladislav on the pillars included – have been decorated in a single stage, which followed most likely the petition for indulgence addressed in 1326 to Pope John XXII by John and Henry of Deutschendorf (Nemecká Ves) for the benefit of the visitors of the parish church of St. Giles in Poprad. The two petitioners were most likely involved afterwards in the commissioning of the sanctuary's decoration, as the representation of two lay donors feature in the church's murals. Their kneeling and praying figures flank the episodes developed *en frise* of the Innocents' Massacre and the Flight into Egypt, which are located on the upper register of the northern wall. Although nothing else is known about the two petitioners, one of the two figures of donors is accompanied by the cross of the Knights Hospitaller, a detail which implies his connection with the knightly order. The unusual association of the two donors with these scenes taken from Christ's early life, i.e., the dramatic and brutal episode of the Massacre of the Innocents and the anxious chapter of the Flight into Egypt, has been interpreted as a response to a similarly dramatic event that happened in 1330, namely, Felician Záh's unsuccessful attempt at assassinating King Charles I and the royal family. Although one cannot say more about the donors of the sanctuary murals, the veneration of Sts Stephen and Ladislav by the Saxons living in Poprad is attested by the presence around 1330 in their parish church of the two holy kings' images. From a stylistic point of view, the formal features of the sanctuary murals indicate a dating either around 1330 or around 1350, a fact which corresponds with the documentary information about the two donors. The frescoes are equally characterized by a prevalence of contour which encloses uniform surfaces of color, without much variation of light and shadow; this is replaced simply by black outline, which confers a certain graphic quality to the depictions and barely suggests three-dimensionality. The figures have incorrect anatomies with slightly elongated and thin limbs, which makes them appear agitated and caught in the middle of their action (e.g., the soldiers in the scene of the Massacre of the Innocents), but despite their agitation, the figures lack the elegance and affectation of Gothic-painting characters. A certain concern for decorativeness is perceivable in the treatment of backgrounds, the figures being placed either against painted walls of bricks or rectangular blocks of stone (e.g., the martyrdom scenes on the sanctuary's eastern wall), or inserted between decorative, miniature trees (e.g., the scene of the

Flight into Egypt). However, the consistent, though highly-provincial presence of Gothic morphology, such as the three-lobed row of canopies above the frieze of the Massacre of the Innocents and Flight into Egypt, the four-lobed medallions of the Old Testament Prophets on the intrados of the triumphal arch, the meanders of the scrolls held by the characters of the two Annunciations on the sanctuary's northern wall, or the four-lobed decoration on the manger in the Nativity scene, attests an inchoate Gothic style, which is supported also by the character of the surviving inscriptions with Gothic majuscule or minuscule letters.

E. Selective Bibliography: Divald, *Szepesvármegye művészet emlékei II*, 16-7, figs. 12-3; Jendrassik, *Szepes vármegye középkori falképei*, 38-9, 63, fig. 14; Năstăsoiu, "Political Aspects", 107-9, 119; Năstăsoiu, "*Sancti reges Hungariae*", 9, 56, 61, 65-6, 69, 84; Năstăsoiu, "*Pillars of Hungarian State and Church*", 453, 455-6, 463, 465; Novotná, Mária, "K reštaurovaniu nástenných malieb kostola sv. Egídia v Poprade", in *Studia Theologica Scepusiensia – Pohľady do histórie, Spišské Podhradie, Kňazský seminár biskupa Jána Vojaššáka*, 2002, 43-56; Novotná, "Stredoveké nástenné maľby", 193-201; Prokopp, *Középkori falképek a Szepességben*, 62-9; Togner and Plekanec, *Medieval Wall Paintings in Spiš*, 270-83.



1. View with the decoration of the sanctuary and intrados of the triumphal arch (Photo: © The Author)



2-3. Southern pillar of the triumphal arch and detail of St. Ladislav's representation (Photo: © The Author)



4. Detail of St. Stephen's representation on the northern pillar of the triumphal arch (Photo: © The Author)

Cat. No. 14. *Sancti reges Hungariae*, sanctuary of the Catholic Church of the Holy Virgin in Rattersdorf (Hung. *Rőtfalva*), Vas County (Present-day Austria), 1370-1380

A. Place: The choir of the polygonal, Gothic sanctuary of the church is composed of two bays. On the middle register of the northern wall of the choir's eastern bay, there is a representation of three holy kings.

B. Description: The three full, standing figures are surrounded by a single decorative frame composed of a zigzag, decorative motif. They are placed against a red background and stand on a yellow-ochre ground decorated with red-ochre plant motifs. The haloed head of the figure on the left side is completely damaged and there are no surviving features on his face. Judging by the preserved details of his costume, he is fully armored: pointed, chainmail shoes, disk-like protection elements for elbows, and yellowish surcoat. A sword with round pommel and cross-guard hangs down his belt, whereas in his right hand the saint holds a battle axe. The crowned, central character has no surviving facial features, but patches of color suggest that his long hair and forked beard are grey. This saint has yellow, pointed shoes and pants, long, red tunic with golden belt below his waist, and a long, ermine mantle with large collar covers his shoulders and back. He holds a golden orb in his left hand, whereas his left one holds a mace-like scepter. The blond, short-haired saint on the right side wears a ducal hat on his head, has pointed shoes in his feet, and is dressed in tight a tunic with ample skirt with yellow folds on the margins. The tunic's color appears now grey-green, but it was probably blue originally. The saint holds his left hand on the cross-guard of his sword with round pommel, which is attached to a golden belt. In his right hand he holds probably a scepter with lily-shaped ending. The scene is poorly preserved, many of its details and colors having faded away in great extent. Judging by their knightly and courtly costumes, personal and royal attributes, and age types, the three saints are the *sancti reges Hungariae*: St. Ladislav (the holy knight with battle axe on the left side), St. Stephen (the grey-haired holy king with scepter and orb in the middle), and St. Emeric (the blond, beardless holy duke with lily-shaped scepter on the right side).

C. Iconographic Context: Belonging to the same stage of decoration with the image of the three *sancti reges Hungariae*, other paintings decorated originally the walls of the sanctuary. However, these are so poorly or fragmentarily preserved, that their identification is very difficult. Judging by the remaining fragments on the middle register of the western bay of the northern wall, other standing saints continued *en frize* the depiction of Hungary's holy kings, but only their heads and halos are now partially visible. However, the *sancti reges Hungariae* were conceived as a compositional unit, as attested by both their enclosing, decorative frame and the choir's attached pier which separates the representations. On the middle register of the southern wall corresponding to the western bay, St. George fights the dragon while the princess waits impatient on the side. The upper register of the walls of the sanctuary received figurative representations in medallions surrounded by decorative stars. However, these are so poorly preserved, that their identification is impossible. Only the outline of a mandorla surviving on the upper register of the northern wall's western bay suggests that the Last Judgment was depicted in this place. The immediate, iconographic context of the image of the three *sancti reges Hungarie* can no longer be retrieved.

D. Dating: Even though all the scenes are poorly and fragmentarily preserved, the formal features of the images seem to indicate the second half of the fourteenth as their period of execution. The ornamental elements (geometric and plant decoration), the slim, but heavy silhouette of the characters, and their costume details seem to indicate the middle of the second half of the fourteenth century, therefore, the 1370-1380 period seems acceptable.

E. Selective Bibliography: Berg, Friedrich, “Bemerkungen zur Ikonographie der ‘Bilderwand’ von Rattersdorf”, in *Zur Landeskunde des Burgenlandes. Festschrift Hanns Schmid*, ed. Gerald Schlag and Lieselotte Weghofer (Eisenstadt: Burgenländischer Landesmuseum, 1998), 223-230; Kerny, “Magyar szent királyok középkori kompozíciói a templomok külső falain”, 86; Kerny, “Néhány dunántúli Szent László ábrázolásról”, 127; Kerny, “Szent László középkori tisztelete”, 34; Lángi, “Új, eddig ismeretlen Szent László-ábrázolások”, 84, 95; Năstăsoiu, “Political Aspects”, 102-4, 107-8; Năstăsoiu, “*Sancti reges Hungariae*”, 9, 45-8, 51, 68, 85; Vancsa-Tirinie, Eva Maria, “Zu Baugeschichte und Restaurierung der Pfarrkirche in Rattersdorf”, *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Kunst und Denkmalpflege* 51/2 (1997), 343-4; Wehli, “Szent István király ábrázolása”, 171.



1. View to the northern wall of the sanctuary (Photo © The Author)



2. Sts Ladislav, Stephen, and Emeric, middle register of the northern wall of the sanctuary (Photo © The Author)

Cat. No. 15. *Sancti reges Hungariae*, sanctuary of the Catholic Church of the Holy Trinity in Rákoš (Hung. *Gömörrákos*), Gömör County (Present-day Slovakia), 1390s

A. Place: On the lower register of the southern wall of the sanctuary and on the portion of wall situated between the southern wall's window and the pillar of the triumphal arch, there are two standing figures of holy kings. Continuing this representation, on the eastern side of the triumphal arch's southern pillar, i.e., on the side not visible from the nave, there is another figure of a holy king. There are altogether three full, standing holy kings in the sanctuary.

B. Description: Even though they are situated on different, but adjacent walls of the sanctuary (southern and western), the three standing figures of saints are unified by the continuous, brown ground and light-blue background they are placed against. The row of saints is defined in its upper and lower sides by two horizontal decorative ribbons with leaf motif which is outlined by a double, red and brown-yellow line. The yellow line of the upper ribbon continues perpendicularly, following the window's edge, until it unites with the horizontal yellow line of the lower ribbon. It delimits, thus, together with the window, the scene's left border; its right border is defined by the end of the eastern wall of the triumphal arch's southern pillar. Although the support layer is preserved almost integrally in this area, the layer of color has lost its freshness through the fresco's whitewashing. It presents numerous scratches on its surface, especially on the scene's lower half. All these facts had as consequence the loss of many details of the characters' costumes and faces. The saint on the scene's left side is a mature man with short, brown hair and pointed beard, who wears a crown on his head which is surrounded by a halo bordered by a white line. Now the halo is dark-blue, the unusual color being a consequence of the fresco's chemical deterioration; older photographs reveal that the leaf of a gold alloy applied on the halos of all the saints in the sanctuary was highly affected by this chemical process. He wears a short, sleeveless red tunic decorated with a thick, yellow-brown line on its lower side and a white, thin line crossing his chest from the left shoulder to the waist. Below his waist, a sword with cross-shaped handle is hanging on his left side by a thin, yellow-brown belt. The rest of the costume, i.e., its sleeves and tight pants, seems to be white, but minor traces of grey color and black outline preserved on the saint's pointed shoes attest that it is, in fact, an armor he is wearing. The saint holds a battle axe in his right hand and a crucifer orb in his left one. He is turned slightly to the saint with short, white hair and beard in the middle. This one is depicted frontally, being dressed, despite the greater loss of the layer of color and multiple scratches on its surface, in a similar knight costume with short, sleeveless yellow tunic and a sword with cross-shaped handle hanging from the belt below his waist. He is depicted with similar halo, crown on his head and he holds a scepter with oval ending in his right hand. In his left one, bent in front of his chest, he holds a crucifer orb. The young, beardless saint on the eastern side of the triumphal arch's southern pillar has longer, brown hair and wears similar crown. This is barely visible among the numerous scratches covering his halo and head inclined to his right side. He wears a similar costume as the previous two saints, with armor, sword with cross-shaped handle, and short, sleeveless purple tunic decorated with a thick, yellow line on its lower side. His left hand, bent in front of his chest, holds a crucifer orb, while his right one holds a white lily. Judging by the saints' age types (mature, old, and young, respectively), their royal *insignia* (crown, crucifer orb, and scepter) and knight costumes, as well as by their personal attributes (battle axe for the saint on

the left and lily for the saint on the eastern side of the triumphal arch's pillar), the composition gathers the three holy kings of Hungary, namely, St. Ladislav (left), St. Stephen (middle), and St. Emeric (right).

C. Iconographic Context: As attested by the stylistic unity and coherence of the iconographic program, the mural decoration of the entire sanctuary, preserved in great extent, was executed in a single stage. The conch and vault of the sanctuary with semicircular ending is covered by a monumental representation of Christ in Glory (*Maiestas Domini*). Both sides of the mandorla supported by angels, there are the four Doctors of the Latin Church sitting and writing at their desks. Each of them is associated with the symbols of the Evangelists. The bearded saint with scroll and unpreserved inscription, kneeling below the mandorla, is probably one of the Old Testament Prophets, who had the vision of God's divine manifestation – either Ezekiel or Isaiah. The register below the vault is occupied by representations of busts of prophets in four-lobed medallions. The loss of any identifying and scroll inscription makes impossible to establish their identity. There are altogether ten representations of prophets. On the lower register of the apse, between the window in the axis of the sanctuary and that of the southern wall, i.e., continuing the representation of the three holy kings of Hungary, there are the representations of four standing apostles holding scrolls with their names inscribed in Gothic minuscule letters. From right to left, there are: St. John; St. Bartholomew; and two unidentified apostles with illegible inscriptions. On the left side of the pointed-arch window in the sanctuary's axis, there is a composition depicting an angel with covered hands behind an altar table, which was positioned right above the rectangular niche for the Holy Gifts. The full-length figure of naked Christ with traces of tortures on his body, pointing with his left hand to his side wound and with his right one to the Holy Host in the chalice placed on the altar table, is supported by the Holy Virgin (Eucharistic Man of Sorrows). She has next to her St. John the Baptist with scroll with illegible inscription. The scene was conceived as a compositional unit, as attested by the yellow vertical line which defines it on its left side. The rest of the lower register on the sanctuary's northern wall and above the sacristy's door was completely damaged, almost no traces of fresco or support layer being preserved in this area. Here, there were probably other representations of standing apostles. St. Emeric's counterpart on the eastern side of the triumphal arch's northern pillar is the standing figure of a young, beardless saint with raised hand. He holds a scroll with unpreserved inscription. The iconographic type corresponds to the other depictions of apostles or young, beardless prophets in the sanctuary. Taking into consideration that the saint was placed in the apostles' row, he was most likely depicting one of the twelve. The eastern side of the triumphal arch was decorated with the Parable of the Wise and Foolish Virgins. They are depicted in medallions and flank the representation of Veronica's Veil in the arch's apex. The intrados of the slightly-pointed triumphal arch is decorated with four-lobed medallions with the busts of six other Old Testament prophets, three on each side: only David can be identified by his crown and lute. Facing each other on the pillars of the triumphal arch, there are the full-length figures of two standing saints: a young, bearded saint making a gesture with his hand and holding a scroll (southern pillar) and the partially-preserved representation of a mature, bearded saint holding a closed book (northern pillar). Their iconographic type and attributes correspond as well to the representations of apostles or prophets in medallions and, not having any preserved inscription on their scroll or next to them, it is difficult to ascertain their belonging to one of the two categories of saints. The lower register of the sanctuary's apse, which corresponds to the level of the two standing

saints on the pillars, was decorated with representations of holy kings, the Eucharistic *Vir dolorum*, and holy apostles. The windows jambs of the sanctuary have representations of two pairs of female saints placed on pedestals: St. Catherine of Alexandria and St. Barbara (southern window), and probably St. Elizabeth of Hungary with another female saint. The sanctuary's lowermost, decorative register is almost completely unpreserved: it lost even the fresco's support layer. The initial stage of decoration, which the frescoes of the sanctuary belong to, includes also the decoration of the upper two registers of the northern wall of the nave (St. Ladislav's Legend and Last Judgment) and eastern wall of the triumphal arch: final scenes of St. Ladislav's cycle and Last Judgment, and the Virgin of Mercy (northern side), and uncovered-yet frescoes in the upper registers and Holy Trinity (southern side). However, these coeval depictions do not have an immediate connection with the iconographic program of the sanctuary.

D. Dating: Despite their accelerated degradation during the last decades since the church is in need for urgent conservation and restoration, the frescoes still preserve traces of their high quality. The murals' stylistic characteristics – combinations of complementary colors (e.g., the pale shades of pink and green on the costume of the Holy Trinity); subtle variations of light and shadow (e.g., on the faces of the Church Fathers); the saints' facial typology with almond-shaped eyes; decorative repertory combining *Cosmatesque* ornaments with refined plant motifs; or the golden leaf applied to the saints' halos – as well as some of their iconographic features (the highly symbolic and complex representation of the Eucharistic *Vir dolorum* in the sanctuary) reveal strong Italianizing features. These were made manifest throughout the Hungarian Kingdom during the second half of the fourteenth century. These characteristics, combined with a strong tendency towards decorativism, perceivable in the costumes of the apostles which are embellished with lily-pattern, anticipate new artistic trends specific to the International Gothic style of the end of the fourteenth century and beginning of the following. This is also the moment when several members of the Bebek family, owners of large estates in the Gemer area, including the village of Rákoš and its surroundings, played an influential role at the royal court. It is probably through their mediation that the transfer of a fashionable morphologic vocabulary and up-to-date iconographic traits occurred in their family chapel during the 1390s, when the frescoes of the sanctuary in Rákoš can be safely dated to.

E. Selective Bibliography: Barna, Bálint, "A középkori Szent Imre-kép", *Studia Caroliensia* 3-4 (2006), 102; Biathová, Katarína, "Príspevok k dejinám gotických nástenných malieb v Gemeri", *Pamiatky a múzeá* 1/7 (1958), 29-35; Dvořáková, *Středověká nástenná malba na Slovensku*, 135-6; Kerny, "Magyar szent királyok XIII.-XVII. sz.", 95; Kerny, "László király ikonográfiája", 449; Kerny, "Magyar szent királyok középkori kompozíciói a templomok külső falain", 83, 85; Kušnierová, Edita, "Středověká nástenná malba z Rákoša", *Pamiatky a múzeá* 2/44 (1995), 1-17; Kušnierová and Tökölly, "Középkori falkép-festészet", 52-3; Marosi, "Hl. Ladislaus als Nationalheiliger", 228, 231, fig. 36; Năstăsoiu, "Political Aspects", 118-9; Năstăsoiu, "*Sancti reges Hungariae*", 9, 65-7, 86; Péter, "Árpád-házi Szent István", 44; Plekanec and Haviar, *Gotický Gemer a Malohont*, 48-50; Poszler, "Árpád-házi szent királyok", 178, 186; Prokopp, *Italian Trecento Influence*, 79-80, 174, 176; Prokopp, *Középkori freskók Gömörben*, 21-6; Radocsay, *Középkori Magyarország falképei*, 142; Szakács, "Saints of the Knights", 323, 330, fig. 8; Togner, *Středověká nástenná malba v Gemeri*, 51-3, 55, 60-2, 64-5, 73, 77-81, 179-80, fig. 42; Wehli, "Szent István kultusza", 127.



1. View of the mural decoration of the sanctuary (Photo: © The Author)



2. Old Testament Prophets in medallions, Holy Apostles, and Sts Ladislav and Stephen on the southern side of the sanctuary (Photo: © The Author)



3. View to the southern wall of the sanctuary and the southern pillar of the triumphal arch (Photo: © The Author)



4. Sts Ladislav, Stephen, and Emeric, lower register of the southern wall of the sanctuary (Photo: © The Author)

Cat. No. 16. *Sancti reges Hungariae*, sanctuary of the Calvinist (former Catholic, unknown medieval dedication) Church in Remetea (Hung. *Magyarremete* / *Biharremete*), Bihar County (Present-day Romania), early-15th century

A. Place: On the lower register of the north-eastern wall of the church's pentagonal, Gothic sanctuary, there is a group scene composed of three standing figures of holy kings. As indicated by archaeological research, the sanctuary of the church was initially polygonal, both outside and inside. Because its walls were built of river stones of irregular shape and size, the masons and painters smoothened the wall surfaces and, subsequently, attenuated the articulations of the pentagon to an almost semicircular shape.

B. Description: The representation of the three holy kings is surrounded by a decorative frame which indicates that the group forms a compositional unit. The trio is defined in the scene's upper side by the decorative band which divides the sanctuary's two registers, whereas the frame on the image's right and left sides is similarly conceived. The lower side of the representation is partly damaged, partly whitewashed, so one cannot know how was the scene delimited in this area. The three figures are placed against a dark-blue, uniform background and stand on a yellow-ochre, uniform ground, which goes up to the level of the their waist and elbow. The representation is partially preserved, the fresco layer having been lost on large portions: a major, damaged area on the left side of the image corresponds to the raised, right arm of the figure on the left side and descends then down to its right leg; a smaller, damaged area is located on the shield of the same figure; and another major, damaged portion destroyed the torso and area below the waist of the central figure. Additionally, the scene presents in its lower side partial loss of the color layer, so that the area corresponding to the three characters' feet is hardly legible, and there are also several graffiti and numerous scratches throughout the scene's surface. The three standing figures are depicted frontally, have stiff attitudes, and are dressed in similar, knightly costumes. All three have their heads surrounded by identical, golden halos which are bordered by a continuous, dark-red line decorated with a white-pearl motif, an ornament which is visible also on the halos' surfaces, but the pearls are arranged this time in the shape of a flower, i.e., six dots surrounding another, central one. The halos' decorative elements are better preserved for the saint on the left side. This one has on his head an open crown, the top of which is composed of alternating, three-petal flowers and triangles ending in a small circle. Judging by the minor traces of color and outline, the saint in the middle had probably a similar crown on his head, whereas the saint on the right side has his head covered only by a horizontal strip, a headgear resembling probably a diadem (?). The faces of the three male saints are similarly conceived. On one hand, they have elongated face with long, thin, and straight nose; elongated, almond-shaped eyes situated very close to the nose; thin and short eyebrows; and narrow mouths. On the other hand, their faces are pink, have red shadows at the cheeks' and temples' level, white lines highlight their eyebrows, upper and lower eyelids, and nose, and dark-color lines define the shape of their eyebrows, eyes, nose, and mouth. However, the three saints are individualized by the different colors and shapes of their hair and beards: the saint on the left side is brown-haired, his hair is slightly curled and cut short below the ears' level, and he has short, forked beard with thin moustache; the saint in the middle is white-haired, he has long hair and forked beard with thin moustache; whereas the saint on the right side is beardless and has yellow-brown hair,

slightly longer than that of the saint on the left side. Although only the costume of the young, beardless saint is wholly preserved (that of the old saint is almost entirely destroyed and that of the mature saint has lost a big portion on its left, lower side), judging by the surviving details, one can safely assume that the three holy kings were dressed in identical, knightly costumes. They all wear short, tight tunics of red-brown color, and chainmail shirt and pants; their shoulders and elbows are protected by flower-shaped pauldrons and couters having the same color as their tunics and darker-red outline, whereas their knees are covered by rectangular poleyns (partially preserved in all cases, but probably red-brown), and their shins are defended by metal greaves (white with black outline). The fresco being badly preserved, no other details of the holy kings' costumes can be currently perceived, besides four (?) dark-red circles (buttons?) decorating their tunics' upper side, right below the neckline (visible only on the mature holy king's tunic). Minor traces of outline and color indicate that the holy knights on the right and left side have swords hanging down their belts; the swords' hilts with cross-guard, grip, and large, round pommel are partially visible behind the saints' left hips. The scene being destroyed in its left, upper side, one can no longer know whether the mature holy king on the left side had or not an attribute in his right arm which is raised perpendicularly in relation to his body. Though atypical, the arm's position is encountered also in St. Ladislav's representation in Khust, dating roughly to the same period and displaying similar armor and costume details; here, too, the representation of the holy king is only partially preserved and the saint's attribute has not survived (he held probably a battle axe). In his left hand, the mature holy king in Remetea holds a partially-preserved, triangular shield which covers partially his left leg; the shield is of white color, it has dark-red outline and another thin, dark-red line defines its border, whereas the shield's field was probably decorated with a dark-red cross (only a small, triangular patch of dark-red paint seems to suggest the cross' horizontal, left arm). The greatly-destroyed, central figure, i.e., the old holy king, holds a mace with thin, long handle in his right hand, but one can no longer know whether he held an orb or not in his left hand. The young, beardless holy prince on the right side holds in his right hand a scepter with long and thin handle ending in a stylized, oversized lily; in his left arm which is bent in front of his chest, he holds a poorly-preserved orb. The identities of the three royal and knightly saints are offered by partially-preserved inscriptions written in Gothic majuscules (white on dark-blue background, both sides of the three male saints' heads): [S(ANCTVS)] LA[D]/IZLAZ (uncertain, last letter which could be equally an S) for the mature holy king on the left side; S(ANCTVS) S/TE/FA/NE (!) (uncertain, last letter) for the old holy king in the middle; and S(ANCTVS) [.../...] (poorly-preserved, illegible inscription) for the young, beardless holy prince on the right side. The representations in Remetea follow the usual iconography of the *sancti reges Hungariae* in what the age types (mature for St. Ladislav, old for St. Stephen, and young for St. Emeric) and generic (royal and princely crowns, scepters, and orbs) and personal (battle axe (?), and mace-like and lily-shaped scepters) attributes are concerned. Despite the painter's attempt at individualizing the three characters through their different ages and personal attributes, the representation in Remetea is highly standardized: the holy kings are depicted frontally, they are represented in stiff postures, they are dressed in identical costumes, and all have knightly appearance. This is more pronounced in the case of St. Ladislav, who holds additionally a shield decorated with red cross, emphasizing thus his prominent role as a Christian warrior. One can note, too, St. Emeric's distinctly-shaped crown (a sort of diadem), which indicates his princely and not royal status.

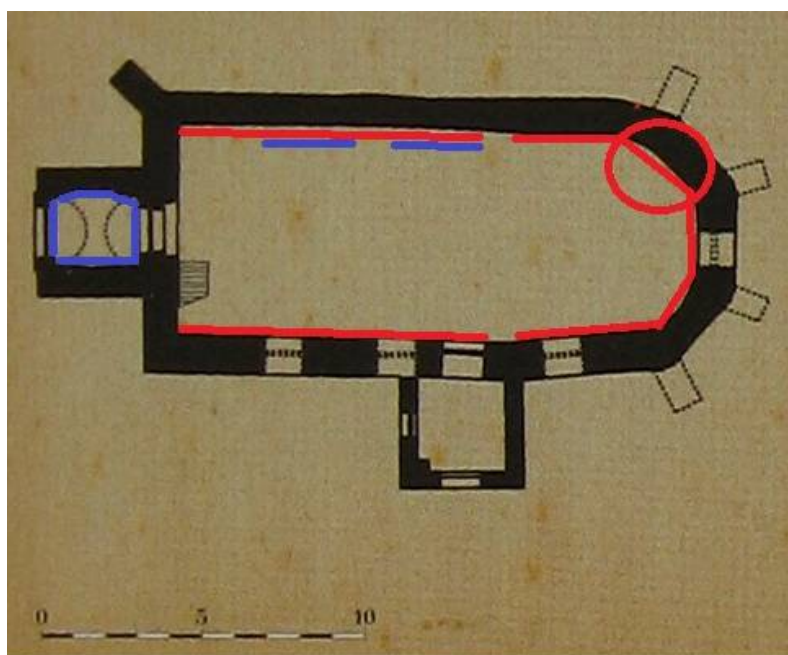
C. Iconographic Context: The church's sanctuary, nave, and room below the western tower have been integrally decorated with frescoes in two distinct phases during the fifteenth century; the iconographic program of the church can be reconstructed in great extent, although portions of decoration have been damaged or destroyed, while other areas are still under the layer of plaster and whitewash. Several architectural changes affected the medieval appearance of the building and contributed to the frescoes' partial damage: the polygonal, Gothic sanctuary was heightened up to the level of the nave and the walls of the triumphal arch were demolished, so that the sanctuary and nave received the appearance of a single, continuous room; the sanctuary's and nave's medieval windows were walled-up and new, taller and wider openings were created in 1882; the vault covering the nave was partially demolished in 1837 and its remaining parts were pulled off in 1878, a wooden ceiling taking its place; another, large-scale refurbishment of the church took place in 1920; and a new door with semicircular ending was created on the nave's southern wall at some point. The frescoes of the sanctuary and partially those of the nave's northern wall were uncovered in 1927, but despite the initiators' attempts to continue the uncovering of the murals and undertake the conservation of the church, the efforts of Gyula Némethy, Jenő Pozsonyi, and János Karácsonyi did not have any consequence among the authorities responsible for the preservation of cultural heritage in Hungary. During the early-2000s, the church was architecturally investigated by Tamás Emődi and large, frescoed areas in the sanctuary and nave were uncovered and restored by József Lángi, allowing thus a better understanding of the appearance of the medieval church, of the succession of its decoration phases, and of the church's iconographic program. Although there are still areas in the nave which are covered by plaster and whitewash, the iconographic program of the three interior divisions of the church can be reconstructed in great extent. The representation of Hungary's holy kings belongs to the first stage of decoration. The sanctuary's mural decoration was divided into two registers, the upper one having been destined to representations of standing apostles, whereas the lower one was decorated with representations of various saints. The standing figures of the upper register are isolated from one another by vertical, decorative divisions, the gallery of holy apostles being composed of the following characters: St. Judas Thaddeus or Iscariot; probably St. Philip; St. James the Greater; unidentifiable holy apostle; St. Peter; St. Paul; St. Bartholomew; St. Thomas, who checks the side wound of Christ; unidentifiable holy apostle; St. John; unidentifiable, holy apostle turning his back to the scene of the Flagellation of Christ. The sanctuary's lower register starts on the northern wall with an area decorated with hanging curtains, placed both on the left side and above the door's stone frame. On the same northern wall, following the door (now walled-up) leading to the demolished sacristy, there is a separately-framed scene depicting the Martyrdom of St. Bartholomew. Traces of a consecration cross, incised later on the sanctuary's frescoes, are still visible above the holy martyr's head. Below the niche destined to the keeping of the Eucharist, there is again the partially-preserved figure of St. Bartholomew holding his flayed skin on a stick. On the right side of the partially-preserved, Eucharistic niche, there is the representation of the three holy kings of Hungary (north-eastern wall). The whole lower register of the sanctuary's eastern wall is occupied by depictions of hanging curtains. They continue partially on the south-eastern wall, where there is the poorly-preserved representation of a standing saint; this has a short beard, he is dressed in a long robe, and has a purse (?) hanging down his belt. Other hanging curtains separate this representation from another, poorly-preserved image showing an unidentifiable, saintly figure, dressed probably in a long robe. Following another hiatus of painted, hanging curtains, below which there is a small, rectangular niche with unknown function, there is

the partially-preserved representation of Archangel Michael holding a sword above his head. Although the wall of the triumphal arch was demolished probably in the nineteenth century, the latest restoration identified and marked its position within the church; however, the decoration of this dividing wall was irretrievably lost. The southern wall of the nave has been uncovered only partially during the early-2000s restoration and several fragments of mural decoration came to light on the wall's middle and lower registers: Adoration of the Magi; two martyrdom scenes of St. Margaret of Antioch's Legend; St. Ladislav's Legend. All the above-mentioned scenes and figures of saints are the work of a single workshop and belong to the church's first phase of decoration, which was an extensive one and covered almost entirely the walls of the sanctuary and nave. Although not all representations can be now identified, one can easily note the inclusion of both narrative and iconic images in the church's iconographic program. Additionally, on the nave's northern wall, there are two other fragmentarily-preserved scenes which, unlike the previous frescoes which are characterized by their stylistic belonging to the International Gothic of the early-fifteenth century, present features specific to a provincial Byzantine style, encountered elsewhere in Transylvania around mid-fifteenth century. The examination of the frescoes' stratigraphy by restorer József Lángi indicates that these two fragments are indeed later than the previous ones. Occupying almost two registers on the eastern side of the nave's northern wall, there is a partially-preserved scene of Nativity, but only several fragments can be identified with certainty now. The other Byzantine fresco is located halfway the northern wall's lower register, right below the episode of St. Ladislav's Fight with the Cuman. These fragments show the figure of the Holy Virgin, who is dressed in a red *maphorion* decorated with pearled flowers; she is flanked by two partially-preserved angel-deacons, the one on the right side touching the Virgin's left arm and shoulder. According to the restorer's report, the two frescoes in the nave have similar technical characteristics with the Byzantine frescoes in the room below the western tower (the main access to the church's nave was through this narthex during the Middle Ages); this fact indicates that they were probably executed during the same decoration campaign, being the work of a single workshop. The barrel vault of the room below the western tower was decorated with the image of Christ Judge on blue background with white stars, but this depiction survives only partially. The four Evangelists are represented on the vault's lower sides, two on each lateral wall and flanking the image of a seraph with six red-and-blue wings decorated with many eyes. Above the entrance to the nave, on the room's eastern wall, there is a partially-preserved representation of the Holy Mother of God *Glykophilousa*. Opposite this image, above the western tower's entrance, i.e., on the western wall of the room, there is another partially-preserved image depicting probably the Entombment of Christ. The frescoes of Byzantine provincial style are accompanied by inscriptions in Old Church Slavonic.

D. Dating: It is probably the first half of the fourteenth century that the construction of the church in Remetea can be assigned to and its architectural features (single-nave church with pentagonal, Gothic sanctuary, both inside and outside, and western tower) seem to suggest its building and usage by the local, Catholic community. Judging by the frescoes' stylistic features belonging to the International Gothic, which was made manifest during the first half of the fifteenth, and by their close resemblance (not identity, however) with a series of other Transylvanian murals (the frescoes in Remetea seem to be an inchoate variant of the style of the workshop active around 1419 in Dârjiu, Mihăileni, Feliceni, etc., displaying only a moderate decorativism, but a similar manner of conceiving the characters' faces and similar details of costume and armor), the mural decoration of

the sanctuary and nave in Remetea has been most likely created during the early-fifteenth century. Although the second-phase, mural additions have been dated variously by art historians, it is most likely that the Byzantine frescoes occurred around mid-fifteenth century in the church. Their provincial, Byzantine style, very similar to that of the pillars' frescoes in St. Nicholas Church in Densuș, dated by an inscription to 1445, represents a strong argument for the dating to the middle of the fifteenth century of the murals on the nave's northern wall and the room below the western tower.

E. Selective Bibliography: Burnichioiu, “Biserici parohiale și capele”, 294, 312, 345; Burnichioiu, “Cruci de consacrare”, 85; Crișan, Gabriela, “Un monument de artă medievală – biserica din Remetea”, *Biharea* 1 (1973), 227-40; Drăguț, *Arta gotică*, 230-1, 264, fig. 265-6; Drăguț, “Iconografia picturilor”, 2, 75, 80; Drăguț, *Pictura murală din Transilvania*, 37-40; Gogâltan, “Holy Hungarian Kings”, 112; Jékely, “Ateliers de peinture”, 38-41; Kerny, “Dokumentumok a magyarremetei falfestményekről”, 423-9; Kerny, “*Keresztény lovagoknak oszlopa*”, 211; Kerny, “Magyar szent királyok középkori kompozíciói a templomok külső falain”, 86; Lángi, “Szent László ábrázolásairól”, 197, 201; Lángi and Mihály, *Erdélyi falképek és festett faberendezések*, 2: 71-4; Năstăsoiu, *Gothic Art*, 113, 123; Năstăsoiu, “Political Aspects”, 100-1, 103, 106; Năstăsoiu, “*Sancti reges Hungariae*”, 8, 45-8, 51, 53, 68, 87; Némethy, Gyula, “Remetei középkori templom”; Petranu, *Art roumain de Transylvanie*, 14-5, 28; Porumb, *Dicționar de pictură*, 332-3; Porumb, *Pictura românească din Transilvania*, 1: 29; Radocsay, *Középkori Magyarország falképei*, 168-9; Szakács, “Saints of the Knights”, 329; Szőnyi, Ottó, “Bihar-remetei falfestmények”, 234-7; Ștefănescu, *Art byzantin et art lombard*, 7-12, 15; Vătășianu, *Istoria artei feudale*, 124, 245, 761-2; Wehli, “*Szent István kultusza*”, 126.



1. Ground plan of the church marking in red the early-15th century, Gothic frescoes (continuous line) and the holy king's position in the sanctuary (red circle) and in blue, the mid-15th century, Byzantine frescoes (After: Lángi & Mihály 2004)



2. Interior view of the polygonal Gothic sanctuary (Photo: © The Author)



3. View of the northern walls of the nave and sanctuary (Photo: © The Author)



4. Northern wall of the nave marking in red the position of the mid-15th century, Byzantine frescoes (Photo & Drawing: © The Author)



5. View of the mid-15th century murals on the northern, eastern, and southern walls of the room below the western tower (Photo: © The Author)



6. Sts Ladislav, Stephen, and Emeric, lower register of the sanctuary's north-eastern wall, early-15th century
(Photo: © The Author)



7. Detail of St. Ladislav and his accompanying inscription (Photo: © The Author)



8. Detail of St. Ladislav's feet and shield (Photo: © The Author)



9. Detail of St. Stephen and his accompanying inscription (Photo: © The Author)



10. Detail of St. Emeric and his accompanying inscription (Photo: © The Author)

Cat. No. 17. *Sancti reges Hungariae*, nave of the Orthodox Church of St. Nicholas in Ribița (Hung. *Ribice*), Zaránd County (Present-day Romania), after 1404

A. Place: On the lower register of the northern wall of the nave, halfway but slightly on its eastern side, there is a partially preserved representation of three holy kings.

B. Description: The holy kings' depiction was partially damaged by the building in 1869-1870 of one of the pillars applied to the wall, which were meant to support the newly-erected vault *a vela* replacing the older, wooden ceiling of the nave. Only a minor part of the character's tunic, shield, left arm, and inscription survived from the representation of the standing figure on the depiction's right (eastern) side. Although it destroyed irretrievably great part of the frescoed area it covered, the pillar simultaneously stopped the darkening and deterioration of the surviving layer of color during the 1870-1994 period. The process resumed, however, after 1993-1994, when the conservation of the frescoes was initiated, but their uncovering, cleaning, and restoration which started then were too many a time postponed, so that they are not completed even today. As compared to the area of the other two holy kings, exposed already before 1929 to the blackening effect of candle-burning inside the church, the small frescoed area formerly covered by the pillar presents fresher colors. Additionally, the area below the knees of the three standing figures lost completely the color layer and even the support layer here and there. This damage was caused by various factors, such as high capillary moisture, the placing of church furniture too close to the wall, or the leaning against the wall of various objects. All these damages, together with the partial darkening of the fresco due to candle-burning, make difficult the examination of the holy kings' representation, many of its details being hardly perceivable now. The three standing figures are placed against a uniform, red background and are conceived as a compositional unit, this being suggested by the continuous frame which surrounds the scene on its left, upper, and right sides. Only the heads of the left and central figures are now preserved and these are surrounded by a yellow halo bordered by a thin, white line. They both have yellow crowns with three-lily top and dark-ochre outline, but no other detail of the crowns' decoration can be currently perceived. The two male saints have similar hairstyles (hair cut short with rich curls both sides of their ears), but the hair's color is different: white for the saint on the left side and yellow-brown for the central figure. The former has a white beard with long, pointed end and handlebar moustache, whereas the latter is beardless. Their faces preserve almost entirely their features and, judging by the manner of conceiving them, they are the work of a painter having had Byzantine training. The three characters are depicted in identical costumes, the only difference being the various colors and pattern decorations of the long mantles covering their shoulders. They are dressed in tight tunics with short sleeves, a wide, yellow belt around their waist, and the tunic's skirt covers their knees only, leaving visible their legs in tight, white pants. Heavily darkened by smoke, the tunics of the left and central figures seem to be dark-blue or black, whereas the partially-preserved tunic of the right figure, which was covered a longtime by the nave's pillar, is light-green with dark-grey folds. This difference in color, however, indicates that the pigment used for the tunics of all three standing figures was the azurite, a relatively expensive, bright-blue pigment which changes into malachite (bright-green pigment) through hydration or darkens through calcination. Having been subjected throughout time to different chemical processes (the holy king on the right side was covered by a pillar, whereas the

other two were affected by smoke and dust deposits, variation of temperature, etc.), the tunics' colors appear now different, but they probably had the same color initially: bright blue (azurite). Underneath their tunics, the three saints have white-blue shirts, this element of costume being visible for the old holy king only through the slightly-opened chest of his tunic, whereas for the central and right figures the left sleeves of their shirts are clearly visible, having been both covered by the former pillar. All three saints have similar, long mantles covering their shoulders, but their colors and pattern decorations vary, although the latter details are not always easy to discern due to the frescoes' heavy darkening. The hands of the three saints are dressed in white gloves with elegantly-elongated cuffs, similar to those of the holy kings in Crișcior and Chimindia. The old and young holy kings have their right arms bent in front of their chests and hold a white scepter with thin, curved handle which ends in a blooming branch, similarly to the scepters of the holy kings in Crișcior. Judging by the surviving evidence, the three standing figures are represented frontally and having rather stereotypical attitudes and gestures: except for the scepter-holding, right hand of the first two saints, all three figures prop against the ground with their left hand a triangular shield. These triangular shields have their fields decorated with dark-red crosses having four small lilies at their arms' intersection. Although this detail is now completely covered by smoke for the young holy king and only barely perceivable for the old holy king, all three saints had daggers hanging down their belts: the dagger's cross-guard and grip are partially, but clearly visible for the saint on the right side. Below the upper frame of the scene and both sides the three characters' heads, very darkened inscriptions in Old Church Slavonic (white on red background) offer the identity of the three standing figures dressed in costumes composed of courtly, knightly, and royal elements. The inscriptions read: $\overline{\text{C}}\text{TИ CTEΦAN} / \text{KP}[\text{A}]\text{ЛѢ} = \text{St. Stephan the King}$ (both sides the head of the old holy king); $\overline{\text{C}}\text{TИ AMEPH}[\text{XЪ KP}]\text{AЛѢ} = \text{St. Ambrich the King}$ (left side of the young holy king's head); and $[\overline{\text{C}}\text{TИ} \dots] / \text{KP}AЛѢ = [\text{St.} \dots] \text{the King}$ (both sides of the head of the partially-preserved figure on the right side). Subsequently, the three standing figures in Ribița are the holy kings of Hungary. Judging that St. Stephen and St. Emeric are depicted as usual at old and young age, respectively, one can safely assume that the partially-lost figure on the right side depicted a mature St. Ladislav with brown hair and beard. Even though highly probable, the presence of St. Ladislav's usual attribute and unusual, warrior-like attitude are hypothetical, his representation having been partially and irretrievably destroyed by the nave's pillar.

C. Iconographic Context: St. Nicholas Church in Ribița is one of the few, rare monuments which preserve in great extent their medieval decoration in all the divisions of its interior space, i.e., sanctuary, nave, and room below the western tower. However, the reading of its iconography is sometimes made difficult by the various architectural changes and numerous whitewashings of the walls which the building endured throughout time, as well as by the fact that the restoration of the murals is not yet completed and the frescoes are not entirely uncovered and cleaned. In 1869-1870, incisive architectural changes affected considerably the murals of the church: the nave's wooden ceiling was replaced then by a vault *a vela* supported by four pairs of pillars attached to the northern and southern walls; and four tall and large windows with semicircular ending were created on the side walls of the nave (two on each wall), whereas the window in the axis of the sanctuary was enlarged. Additionally, the walls of the church were multiple times whitewashed, only in the sanctuary having being registered by restorers 12 such layers of paint. The restoration of the church was initiated only in 1994 and is not yet completed, being interrupted since 2012 and pending until

the necessary funds are raised. Although the church's frescoes are uncovered in great extent, they are not yet cleaned, nor fully restored, and the examination of their iconographic program is sometimes made with difficulty, having in some cases only a hypothetical and partial character, at least until the restoration of the murals will be completed. As indicated by remnants of a stone foundation, the sanctuary of the church was originally separated from its nave by a built iconostasis. Subsequently, the access to the sanctuary was restricted to the larger community of faithful and its iconographic program would have been hardly visible from the nave. Archaeological research revealed also that the room below the western tower was separated initially from the nave by a wall with door, but this division was demolished relatively soon after its construction (as indicated by the surviving murals in this area, the wall no longer existed at the time the murals were created). Besides the lowermost register of draperies which has vanished completely, the walls of the nave are divided into two rows and the upper register was destined to a selection of scenes from Christ's Life and Passion, whereas the lower one was decorated with iconic depictions of relevant saints, the founders' votive composition, and various scenes belonging to the cycle of the Last Judgment. The triumphal arch (i.e., eastern wall of the nave) was decorated with the *Mandylion*, Annunciation, and Nativity. Both sides the opening of the sanctuary, on the lower register of the triumphal arch (eastern wall of the nave), there are two iconic representations of standing saints: St. Nicholas, the patron of the church, and a female holy martyr. The series of standing figures of saints continues on the lower register of the nave's southern wall with the partially-preserved representation of St. John the Baptist, St. Panteleimon/Pantaleon, the founders' votive composition, the Bosom of Abraham, On the adjacent, western wall, there is the figure of a stylite saint. Judging by the remaining traces of decoration, the counterpart of this representation on the northern side of the western wall was another, pillar-saint. On the northern wall's lower register, there are two military saints on horse (unidentified holy warrior and St. George), the three holy kings of Hungary, the Finding of the Holy Cross.

D. Dating: Various scholars expressed throughout time their opinion on the dating of the mural decoration in Ribița, but the fragmentary character of the information offered by the church's Old Slavonic inscriptions lead them to hypotheses which placed the murals in various moments during the first two decades of the fifteenth century: 1393, 1404, 1407, 1414, 1414/1415, and 1417. As long as the restoration of the murals is not completed, any discussion of the dating of the frescoes in Ribița remains hypothetical. A partially-preserved inscription painted on the sanctuary's northern wall could indicate, however, an earlier dating for the mural decoration of the sanctuary at least, if not for the whole church: 1393. It is possible, therefore, that the main dedicatory inscription in the votive composition was only updated in 1404, or soon after, so that it reflected the new social and legal status of the noblemen in Ribița, who regained the king's favor and recovered their family's lost properties. Whenever the frescoes' restoration will be completed, art historians will be able to appreciate better the style of the painters in the church, their stylistic relation to other mural ensembles in the area, to examine thoroughly the epigraphic material in the church and to distinguish between scribes' hands, to analyze the succession of fresco layers and technical characteristics of the frescoes (materials used for the preparation of support layers, choice of pigments, etc.). Only the moment this data will be available, art historians can expect to have more firm conclusions; until then, it is admitted hypothetically that the frescoes in the nave of the church in Ribița could have been executed sometime during the interval 1393-1417, more likely after 1404.

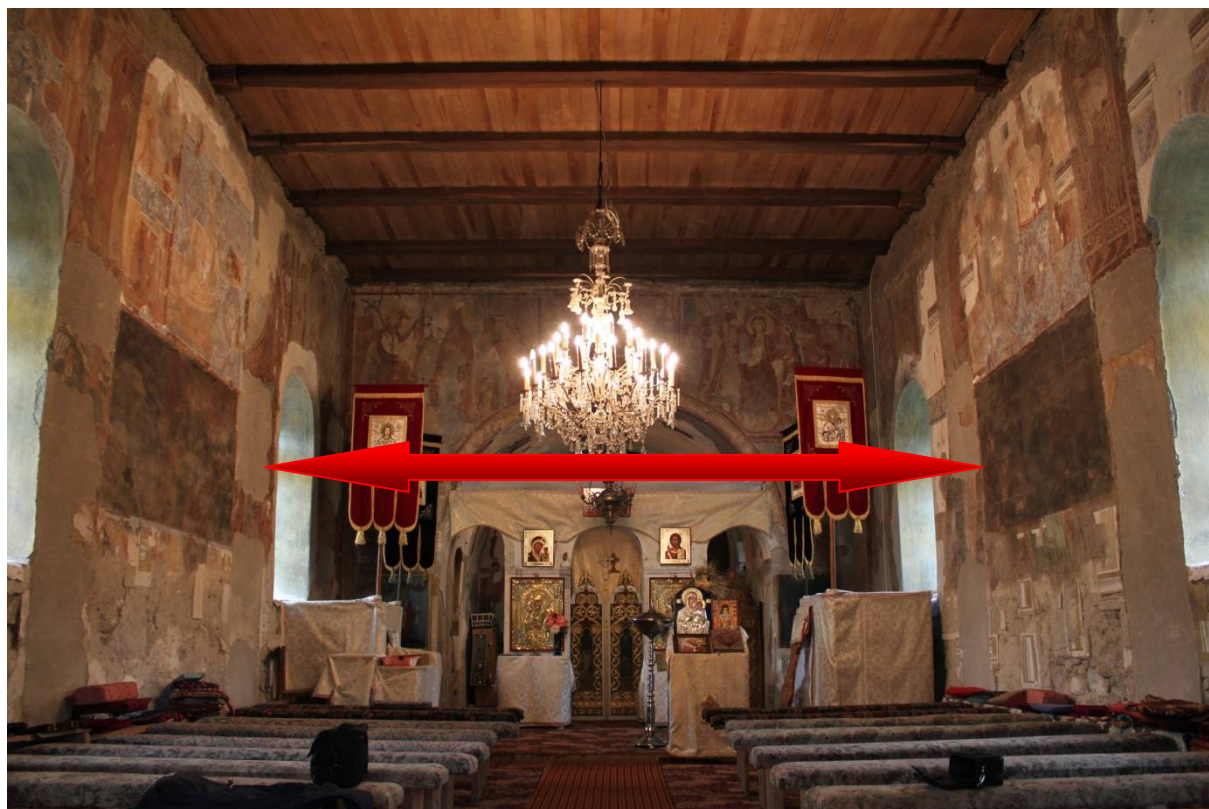
E. Bibliography: Agrigoroaei, “*Interpretatio Wallachica*”, 109-12, 116-9, 122-9; Binder, “Considerații asupra artei”, 91; Breazu, “Studiu epigrafic”, 35, 38-43, 55-63; Cincheza-Buculei, “Implicații sociale si politice”, 12-3; Cincheza-Buculei, “Ipoteze și certitudini”, 85-91; Dobrei, *Bisericile ortodoxe hunedorene*, 12, 21, 78, 80, 82, 87, 89, 90-3; Dragomir, “Studii de istoria mai veche”, 18, 25; Dragomir, “Vechile biserici din Zărand”, 244-58; Drăguț, *Pictura murală din Transilvania*, 34-6; Drăguț, *Vechi monumente hunedorene*, 9-10, 48-50; Gogâltan, “Holy Hungarian Kings”, 110; Jékely, “Ateliers de peinture”, 40; Kerny, “Magyar szent királyok középkori kompozíciói a templomok külső falain”, 86; Marosi, “Hl. Ladislaus als Nationalheiliger”, 232, 252; Năstăsoiu, “Political Aspects”, 100-1, 103, 106; Năstăsoiu, “*Sancti reges Hungariae*”, 8, 50-5, 68, 74, 88, 95, 96; Năstăsoiu, “Social Status”, 205-64; Năstăsoiu and Adashinskaya, “New Information”, 25-44; Nemes, “Ribicei templom”, 63-4; Petranu, *Art roumaine de Transylvanie*, 36; Popa, “Peinture murale orthodoxe”, 3, 5-6, 8-16; Popa, “Peintures murales du Pays de Zarand”, 21-36, 56-61, 65-75, 86-8, 94-8; Popa, “Vechile biserici de zid”, 223-42; Porumb, “Ctitori și artă românească”, 104-7; Porumb, *Dicționar de pictură*, 333-6; Porumb, *Pictura românească din Transilvania*, 1: 26-8; Prioteasa, “Medieval Wall Paintings” 3-4, 35-9, 55-9, 64-5, 67-8, 77-90, 112, 122-5, 150-1, 159, 161-2, 166-7, 169-81, 193-6, 230-6; Prioteasa, “Holy Kings of Hungary”, 41-56; Radocsay, *Középkori Magyarország falképei*, 71, 202; Rauca, “Pictura murală a bisericilor”, 55-62, 70, 83, 91, 95, 97, 100-1, 103, 106-7, 109-11, 113, 116, 127, 130, 138, 147-9, 151, 153-4, 159-61, 165, 167, 170, 172; Rauca, “Pictura murală din bisericile”, 218-229; Rusu, “Biserica românească de la Ribița”, 3-9; Rusu, *Dicționarul mănăstirilor*, 216-7; Rusu, “Geografia și evoluția picturii medievale românești din județul Hunedoara. Câteva răspunsuri domnului Sorin Ullea”, *Studia Universitatis Babeș-Bolyai. Historia* 48-49 (2003-2004), 109-116; Rusu, *Ioan de Hunedoara*, 122, 165, 250, 261-2, 278; Szakács, “Saints of the Knights”, 327-8, fig. 15; Ștefănescu, *Art byzantin et art lombard*, 46, 77; Terdik, “Magyar szent királyok ábrázolásai”, 96-8; Tugearu, “Biserica Sf. Nicolae”, 129-48; Ullea, *Arhanghelul de la Ribița*, 15-6, 55-6, 97-104, 112-28; Vătășianu, *Istoria artei feudale*, 403-4, fig. 361-2.



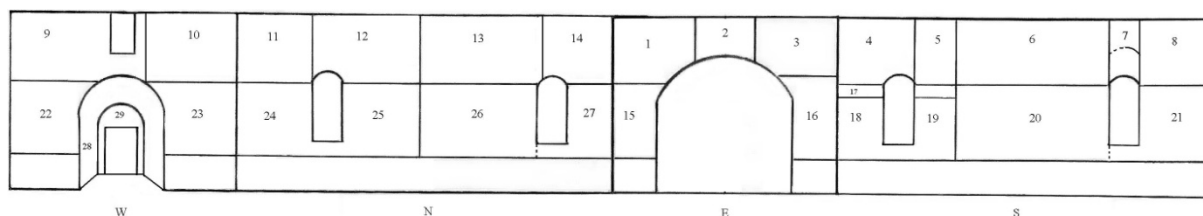
1. View to the northern wall of the nave, July 2014 (Photo: © The Author)



2. View to the southern wall of the nave, July 2014 (Photo: © The Author)



3. Nave of the church as seen from the west with marking of the relationship between the holy kings of Hungary (left) and the founders in the votive composition (right) (© The Author)



4. Iconographic scheme of the mural decoration of the nave and room below the western tower (Drawing after Prioteasa, 2011): 1. Annunciation; 2. *Mandylion*; 3. Nativity; 4. Presentation of Christ at the Temple; 5. partially-preserved, unidentifiable representation; 6. Baptism; 7. martyr saint; 8. Transfiguration; 9. two poorly-preserved, unidentifiable scenes; 10. poorly-preserved, unidentifiable scene; 11. Arrest of Christ; 12. Crucifixion; 13. Descent of Christ to Hell; 14. Ascension of Christ; 15. St. Nicholas; 16. female holy martyr (St. Varvara/Barbara?); 17. partially-preserved inscription; 18. St. John the Baptist; 19. St. Panteleimon/Pantaleon; 20. founder's votive composition; 21. Bosom of Abraham; 22. St. Simeon Stylites (?); 23. stylite saint (?); 24. poorly-preserved, unidentifiable scene; 25. military saint on horse and St. George killing the dragon; 26. holy kings of Hungary; 27. Finding of the Holy Cross; 28. Damned in Hell; 29. Holy Virgin *Platytera* with Christ Emmanuel.



5. Votive composition, lower register of the nave's southern wall, July 2014 (Photo: © The Author)



6. St. George killing the dragon and the holy kings of Hungary, lower register of the nave's northern wall, July 2014 (Photo: © The Author)



7. St. Stephen, St. Emeric, and St. Ladislav, lower register of the nave's northern wall, July 2014, (Photo: © The Author)



8. Detail of St. Stephen, July 2014 (Photo: © The Author)



9. Detail of St. Emeric, July 2914 (Photo: © The Author)



10. Detail of St. Ladislav's partially-preserved figure, July 2014 (Photo: © The Author)

Cat. No. 18. Sts Stephen and Ladislas, sanctuary of the Lutheran (former Catholic) Church (of the Holy Virgin Mary) in Sibiu (Germ. *Hermannstadt*, Hung. *Nagyszeben*), Hermannstadt Seat (Present-day Romania), 1445

A. Place: In addition to its pentagonal ending, the Gothic sanctuary of the church is composed of two rectangular bays. On the northern wall of the second bay, above the door leading to the sacristy, there is painted a monumental Crucifixion (ca 9.5 x 5.1 m), whose lower edge begins at about 3.1 m from the floor level. The field of the painted image is delimited laterally by two compound piers which are attached to the wall and support the vault segment; the image's field continues up to the level of the quadripartite rib vault. The Crucifixion scene is surrounded by a painted architectural frame, which displays Gothic morphological features: a tripartite gable decorated with pinnacles, finials, and fleurons rests on a lintel, the tracery of which is composed of trefoils; this structure is supported by two lateral piers provided with either canopied niches or simple socles for accommodating standing figures; and, finally, the two piers rest on a base consisting of side niches, quatrefoil tracery, and a painted "sacrament house." Right above the base of this illusionistic, architectural structure, in the two lower niches of the lateral piers, there are the standing figures of two holy kings.

B. Description: Although they are placed at the same ground-level with the personages participating in the biblical event of Christ's Crucifixion, the full figures of the two holy kings stand laterally, in two separate niches, on the left and right side of the image, respectively. These niches are part of the two piers which support the illusionistic architectural structure which frames the Crucifixion scene. Judging by their marginal position and by the direction of their gaze, the two holy kings witness the tragic event of sacred history, but are not integrant part of the crowd gathered at the feet of the three crosses. Although the holy kings' costume details seem to fit generally the mid-fifteenth century fashion, one should be aware that the Crucifixion scene suffered multiple repainting throughout time, the most significant one having happened in 1650, when the local painter Georg Herman restored the damaged parts and refashioned the monumental composition, so that it accorded with Lutheran theology. According to the observations of painters Nikolaus Anton Voik and Karl Nikolaus Voik, who were hired in 1959 to clean the painting, the two holy kings' faces, halos, and clothes showed clear signs of reworking. Most likely, this repainting did not imply radical changes like in the composition's upper part, where new scenes and figures were added in 1650, but it affected nonetheless the details and colors of the costumes of the two holy kings. Subsequently, their real medieval appearance is a question to be clarified by the fresco's future exploration with modern techniques, which were not available during the middle of the twentieth century. Accordingly, a detailed description of the two holy kings is abandoned in favor of a more general discussion of their iconography. The standing figure on the left (western) side is that of an old king with long, white beard and curly, white hair. He holds a crucifer orb in his left hand, a scepter with flower-shaped ending in his right hand, and has his head covered by a crown of imperial type. His sumptuously-decorated costume is composed of a long robe trimmed with brown fur and a mantle with golden border embellished with precious stones and pearls; additionally, the two golden ribbons crossing his chest are a depiction of the imperial *loros*. This old king or emperor has no visible halo; however, golden rays surround the head of his counterpart on the right (eastern)

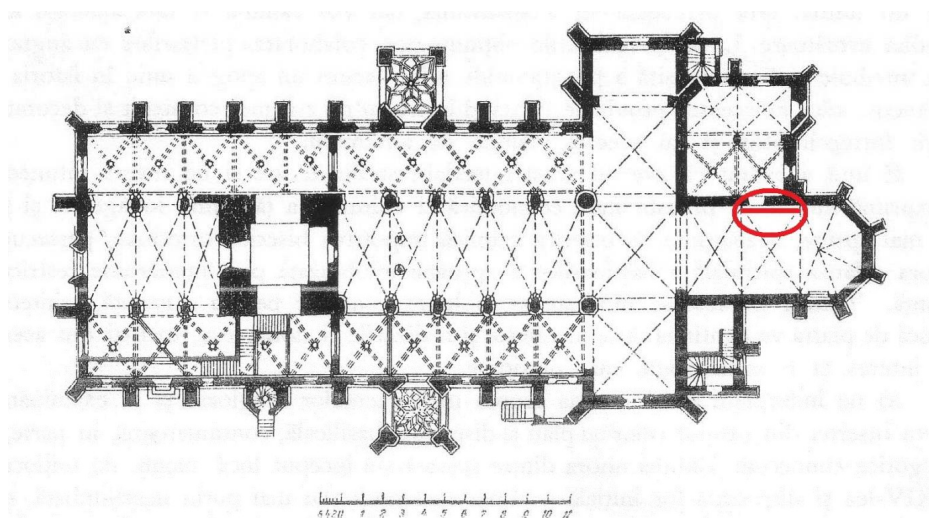
side. This saint is a mature, brown-bearded holy king with lily-shaped crown laid on a twisted, white scarf. He holds a crucifer orb in his left hand and a battle axe in his right one. His full armor has golden detailing, whereas his lavish brocade mantle has ermine collar and lining. Judging by their age types (old and mature, respectively), royal insignia (crowns, crucifer orbs, and scepter, respectively), and personal attribute (battle axe), the two holy kings in the lower niches of the two lateral piers are most likely St. Stephen (left side) and St. Ladislav (right side). This identification is supported also by a number of analogies, where precisely these two saints are iconographically associated, but depicted on distinct wall surfaces, such as the pillars of the triumphal arch (e.g., Poprad, Slatvina, Tornaszentandrás, Žehra, etc.) – their position at the bases of the two piers which support the illusionistic Gothic architecture evokes precisely such an iconographic context. The halo's absence for the old figure is most likely the consequence of one of the modern "restorations" of the fresco. Until it is undertaken the fresco's future exploration with modern technology which will allow one to establish the late-medieval aspect of the two royal figures (i.e., the precise details and colors of their costumes or the original shape and nature of their insignia of power), it is probably safer to leave aside the discussion of these type of particulars. Nevertheless, the figures' identification with Sts Stephen and Ladislav is admitted hypothetically but having a high degree of certainty, as their depiction in Sibiu matches well the traditional iconography of these two royal saints, whose veneration is plentifully attested in the town's parish church.

C. Iconographic Context: Currently, the northern-wall, monumental composition of the Crucifixion which Sts Stephen and Ladislav belong to is the only painted image visible on the sanctuary's walls. However, according to several accounts from the mid-seventeenth and mid-nineteenth century, respectively, areas decorated with murals were found also on the choir's southern wall and vault. Traces of this polychromy (be it decorative or figurative painting) were still visible during the second half of the twentieth century and, according to the 1959 observations of painters Voik, traces of paint were visible also below the lower edge of the Crucifixion itself, which might indicate that the composition extended in this area, too. Subsequently, one can no longer know if the Crucifixion scene was integrated into a larger iconographic program which decorated other wall surfaces in the sanctuary, if it was conceived independently from other neighboring depictions, nor if it included other significant elements in its lower side. Additionally, the late-medieval Crucifixion was greatly overpainted in 1650 by Georg Herman, who not only freshened up the faded-out colors all over the field of the image, affecting thus the formal qualities of the fresco, but also refashioned the content of the composition's upper part which, subsequently, came in accord with Protestant theology. Broadly speaking, the changes made in 1650 consist of the following elements: (a) the Hebrew *Tetragrammaton* surrounded by sunrays and hovering in the composition's apex replaced the original figure of the *Regina Coeli*, which became visible again between 1987 and 1990 during restorer Liviu Ciungan's intervention; (b) the Gothic crowning of the painted architectural structure, which existed in a form or another (probably without figurative elements) also in the late-medieval version, was decorated with three scenes illustrating Christ's Nativity (left side), Ascension (center), and Baptism (right side); (c) two allegorical figures – Christ with the instruments of Passion inscribed *HUMILITAS* and God with sword in His mouth inscribed *GLORIA* – were added in the upper, canopied niches replacing probably two unknown, late-medieval figures. The shape of the inscribed pedestals of the two allegorical figures does not fit late-medieval morphology, a fact which cannot be stated about their elaborate, Gothic canopies.

These significant changes which multiplied the representations of Christ placing them in antithetical pairs were meant to illustrate, among other ideas, the dialectics of *descensus ad inferna* and *ascensus ad coelos* so often encountered in Martin Luther's sermons. Additionally, the late-medieval composition of the Crucifixion was affected also by multiple other overpaintings which occurred throughout centuries and for which there is either direct or indirect evidence. All these alterations, either major or minor, affected substantially the composition of the late-medieval Crucifixion and, consequently, one can reconstruct now only partially the iconographic context which Sts Stephen and Ladislav belonged initially to. As indicated by the 1959 report of painters Voik, the central image of the Crucifixion displays numerous signs of reworking. The bringing-up-to-date of the biblical episode is achieved by the placing of heraldic shields above the figures of Hungary's two holy kings and on the lintel resting on the two painted piers. The shield above St. Stephen is the red-and-white, Árpadian coat of arms, whereas that above St. Ladislav is the red-and-white blazon of the Austrian Duchy. The deviations concerning the heraldic elements of the lintel shields are owed in fact to their repeated reworking of colors and shapes. Subsequently, the coats of arms displayed on these shields can be safely identified with the Hungarian, double-barred cross (left side), the eagle of the Holy Roman Empire (center), and the Bohemian crowned, rampant lion (right side). Such a heraldic display was a direct reference to the political order of the realm, which was ruled at that point by Ladislav V the Posthumous, King of Hungary (r. 1440 or 1444-1457), but also Duke of Austria (r. 1440-1457), future King of Bohemia (r. 1453-1457), and a dynast of imperial descent through his belonging to the House of Habsburg. The Queen of Heaven's sunray-emanating figure which hovers above in the apex of the entire composition is most likely an early hypostasis of the *Patrona Hungariae* iconography. Christ's Passion in the central Crucifixion is further emphasized by the devotional image of the *Vir dolorum* (Man of Sorrows) displaying his wounds in the central illusionistic niche, which was painted on the base of the pseudo-architectural frame. Whereas its formal qualities have been affected by heavy repainting in the early-twentieth century, the iconography of the image is most likely the original, late-medieval one, and it can be understood as a pictorial reflex of the iconography of Late-Gothic sacrament houses. These were usually placed on the sanctuary's northern wall, therefore, the general Christ- and Eucharist-centered composition of the image in Sibiu functioned primarily as a pictorial illustration of the rite happening at the nearby, main altar of the church. The devotional aspect of the general composition is confirmed also by the presence of the two donors kneeling in the lower side of the image, both sides of the Man of Sorrows. Painters Voik's 1959 close examination of the fresco revealed that the two donors were originally accompanied by their coats of arms, which are obscured now by later repainting. These were found on the two quatrefoils of the illusionistic architecture, in-between the two donors' images and the central *Vir dolorum*, respectively. The eastern-side donor had next to him an escutcheon furnished with another, smaller shield, whereas the western side-donor was accompanied by a coat of arms decorated with three smaller shields, which is usually the heraldic symbol of the painters' guild. Subsequently, the inscription on the upper side of the Man of Sorrows' "sacrament niche" should be understood not only as the painter's signature, but also as marker of the commissionership of the entire fresco. Iohannes de Rozenaw was not only the painter of the monumental composition of the Crucifixion on the choir's northern wall, but also one of its commissioners, most likely the main one. The identity of his associate playing the secondary role in this endeavor remains for the time being unknown.

D. Dating: On the upper frame of the illusionistic “sacrament niche” containing the image of the Man of Sorrows, that is, on the base of the Crucifixion’s painted architectural frame and in-between the two donors’ depictions, there is an inscription which informs one upon the fresco’s painter and commissioner, as well as upon its date of execution. The inscription written in Gothic minuscule letters reads: *Hoc opus fecit magister / iohanne(s) de Rozenaw Anno domini millesi / mo quadringentesim^o / xlv*. Subsequently, the Crucifixion on the northern wall of the sanctuary was painted in 1445 by Master John of Rozenaw. He acted also as commissioner of this work together with an unknown associate. They are both represented as kneeling and praying donors in the composition’s lower side, both sides the central *Vir dolorum*. In-between this image and those of the two donors, there are two quatrefoils which contained originally depictions of the donors’ coats of arms. The major transformation of the Crucifixion’s upper part in 1650 is attested by the painter’s signature, which is written in humanistic minuscules and is placed in a frame above the main scene: *Georg Herman pictor cib(îbiniensis) 1650 fe(cit)*.

E. Selective Bibliography: Bálint and Ziegler, “*Wer hat das schöne Himmelszelt*”, 1-28; de Gérando, *Transylvanie*, 2: 16; Drăguț, *Arta gotică*, 239-40, 264-5, fig. 281-2; Firea, “*Pictura murală Crucificarea*”, 29-32; Firea, “*Blazonul breslei pictorilor*”, 64-5; Firea “*Liturgie médiévale*”, 275-318; Firea, “*The Great Altarpiece of the Passion from Sibiu and Its Painters*”, *Brykenthal. Acta Mvsei* 7/2 (2012), 229-46; Jánó, *Színek és legendák*, 21, 29, 40, 61-2, 67-8, 233, 253, 277-8, fig. 30-1; Jenei, *Gothic Mural Painting*, 57; Kövári, *Erdély régiségei*, 248-9; Năstăsoiu “*Political Aspects*”, 116, 121; Năstăsoiu, “*Sancti reges Hungariae*”, 109; Năstăsoiu, “*Pillars of the Hungarian State*”, 463; Péter, “*Árpádházi Szent István*”, 37; Radocsay, *Középkori Magyarország falképei*, 43, 184-6; Radocsay, *Wandgemälde*, 31-2, 164, fig. 74-5; Reissenberger, Ludwig and Imre Henszlmann, *A nagyszebeni és a székesfehérvári régi templom*; Roth, *Deutsche Kunst*, 34-5, 126-8; Römer, *Régi falképek*, 140-1; Sigerus, Emil, “*Rosenauers Kreuzigungsbild*”. *Die Karpathen. Halbmonatsschrift für Kultur und Leben* 20 (1907-1908), 23-6; Vătășianu, *Istoria artei feudale*, 129, 430-4, fig. 394; Wetter, “*Da solch kirchenngepreng war*”, 504-5.



1. Ground plan of the church marking the position of the Crucifixion on the sanctuary’s northern wall (Photo Source: Vătășianu, *Istoria artei feudale*; Drawing © The Author)



2. Crucifixion, northern of wall of the sanctuary's second bay (Photo © The Author)



3. St. Stephen (Photo © The Author)



4. St. Ladislaus (Photo © The Author)



5. The late-medieval Crucifixion without the 1650 additions and changes (Photo & Drawing © The Author)



6. Detail of the Árpadian coat of arms above St. Stephen's figure (Photo © The Author)



7. Detail of the Austrian coat of arms above St. Ladislav's figure (Photo © The Author)



8. Details of the coats of arms of Hungary, Holy Roman Empire, and Bohemia on the lintel of the illusionistic architectural structure (Photo © The Author)



9. Detail of the 1445 *Regina Coeli* emerging from under the 1650 *Tetragrammaton* in the apex of the Crucifixion composition (Photo © The Author)



10. Man of Sorrows flanked by two donors, Johannes de Rozenaw (left) and his unknown associate (right) (Photo © The Author)



11. Nikolaus Anton Voik and Karl Nikolaus Voik, Two coats of arms found in 1949 on the quatrefoils next to the two donors (left) and Tentative reconstruction of one of the coats of arms (right), Arhiva Centrală a Bisericii Evanghelice C. A., Sibiu, quota 400/276, 3568. Photo Source: Bálint & Ziegler 2011b



12. Detail of the inscription of the painter/donor on the upper border of the "sacrament niche" (Photo © The Author)

Cat. No. 19. Sts Ladislav, Emeric, (Stephen) and Sigismund of Burgundy, pillars of the southern aisle of the Lutheran (former Catholic) Church (of the Holy Virgin Mary) in Štítník (Germ. *Schittnich*, Hung. *Csetnek*), Gömör County (Present-day Slovakia), 1420s

A. Place: The three-nave basilica has its interior partitions, i.e., its nave and two aisles, marked by two pairs of pillars connected between themselves and the western wall of the nave through slightly pointed arches. On the southern pair of pillars, on their western and eastern sides, i.e., the sides facing each other, there are four representations of holy kings, two on each pillar and in superposed registers.

B. Description: On the eastern side of the western pillar, above the nonfigurative lower register painted in light-red, there is the poorly preserved representation of a standing holy king. He is placed against a uniform, light-green background and under a three-foiled ogee arcade; the arcade's upper part is decorated with a plant motif in red and white and its inner side is outlined by a thick, dark-brown line following the arcade's shape. The mature holy king, whose features are still visible, has short, curly brown hair and beard covering only the lower part of his jaw. He wears a five-arm crown decorated with three flowers with pearls, and his head is surrounded by a red halo bordered by two thin, white and brown lines. He holds a crucifer orb in his left hand, while his right one holds an undefined attribute: short-handle scepter (?). The layer of color depicting his costume is in great extent detached, only the outline of the holy king's elegant silhouette being still visible. The lower part of the figure is heavily damaged and improperly repainted. It seems, however, that he wears a court costume whose color is no longer perceivable – light-green or light-grey (?); the costume is composed of a long tunic with a draped lower part, a golden belt surrounding loosely his hips, white gloves, and a long mantle on his shoulders. Other details are no longer visible. Above him, on a uniform, dark-blue background and under a three-foiled cusped arcade with red-and-white geometric decoration, there is the elegant, slightly-counterposed figure of another holy king with knightly appearance. His face, whose features are barely visible, seems beardless and he has short brown hair. He wears a three-arm crown or ducal hat and his head is surrounded by a partly red and partly-green halo; however, the crown's and halo's atypical color – green (!) – shows that the area suffered chemical alteration. With his right hand, he props against the ground a half-white-half-brown shield and a sword, placed behind the shield. In his left hand, he holds a long-handle attribute, whose upper part is no longer preserved: spear or halberd (?). The holy king is dressed in full armor, but its details, except for the chainmail around his neck and waist, are hardly perceivable. He wears a brown belt around his hips and a red mantle on his shoulders with poorly-preserved pattern decoration and green inner side. Both figures of holy kings, arranged in superposed registers on the eastern side of the western pillar, are depicted looking on their right side, i.e., toward the western aisle. On the lower register of the eastern pillar, there is the partially preserved representation of a holy monk placed against a dark-blue background. A closer examination of the fresco, however, reveals that this is a repainting covering a previous representation, now partially visible. The upper part of the scene ends in a red ogee arch decorated with brown plant motif. Its sudden interruption (right above the holy monk's head) and continuation with the blue background of darker shade than that immediately below the arcade indicate two

different stages of decoration. Except for the ogee arch with color, shape and decoration similar to those of the holy king on the lower register of the western pillar, portions of the initial stage of decoration are visible in other areas as well: a fragment of a red halo with thin, white and brown borders situated above the holy monk's yellow halo and similar with that of the holy king on the lower register of the western pillar; a folded left arm with hand holding an attribute right below the monk's folded, left arm; dark-red surfaces of color on the holy monk's green vestment indicating the color of the initial character's dressing; and a fragment of the lighter, blue background and red-and-white frame on the lower, left side of the fresco. The similarity between the decorative upper parts of the two representations on the lower registers of the western and eastern pillars indicates that the two scenes are coeval. On the upper register of the eastern pillar, on a uniform, blue background and under a three-foiled arcade decorated with plant motif in various shades of red, there is the figure of a young, beardless saint with short, brown hair. His face with partially preserved features is damaged in its lower part and his head is surrounded by a white halo; this unusual shade can be explained by the partial loss of the layer of color. He holds in his left hand a long-handle attribute, whose upper part is no longer preserved: spear (?). With his right hand, he props against the grey ground a white, rectangular-shaped object, probably a shield. The significant loss of the layer of color makes unperceivable the details of his costume, but the surviving traces and shades indicate that he wears a tunic long to his knees, a brown or yellow belt hanging loosely around his hips, green tight pants, and white gloves. This saint, too, looks toward the western aisle and his slightly-counterposed attitude and elegant silhouette evoke those of the holy kings on the western pillar, indicating the same stylistic and chronological belonging. Even though the royal attributes are clear only for the saints on the western pillar, there are known cases where four holy kings, i.e., St. Stephen, St. Emeric, St. Ladislav, and St. Sigismund, are depicted on various sides of the triumphal arch's pillars. It is also possible that one of the saints' royal *insignia*, i.e., St. Emeric's, to be absent from his depiction. The majority of the identifications suggested by art historians for the four saints depicted on the western pillars agrees on the traditional trio of the holy kings of Hungary, namely, St. Stephen, St. Emeric, and St. Ladislav, but varies in the case of the fourth saint – St. Stephen the Protomartyr (Dénes Radocsay); St. Wenceslas and St. Sigismund together with St. Ladislav and St. Emeric, but no St. Stephen (Vlasta Dvořáková *et al.*); unknown saint (Milan Togner); or St. Sigismund (Mária Prokopp; Zsombor Jékely; Dragoș Gh. Năstăsoiu). There is also great variation in assigning a particular identity to a particular representation. Because there are no preserved inscriptions or defining attributes which could shed light on this aspect and its clarification would require supplementary evidence provided by the iconographic context and the commissioner's background, it is accepted the identification of the four holy kings as St. Stephen, St. Emeric, St. Ladislav, and St. Sigismund, without the possibility of firmly establishing the place of depicting some of the saints.

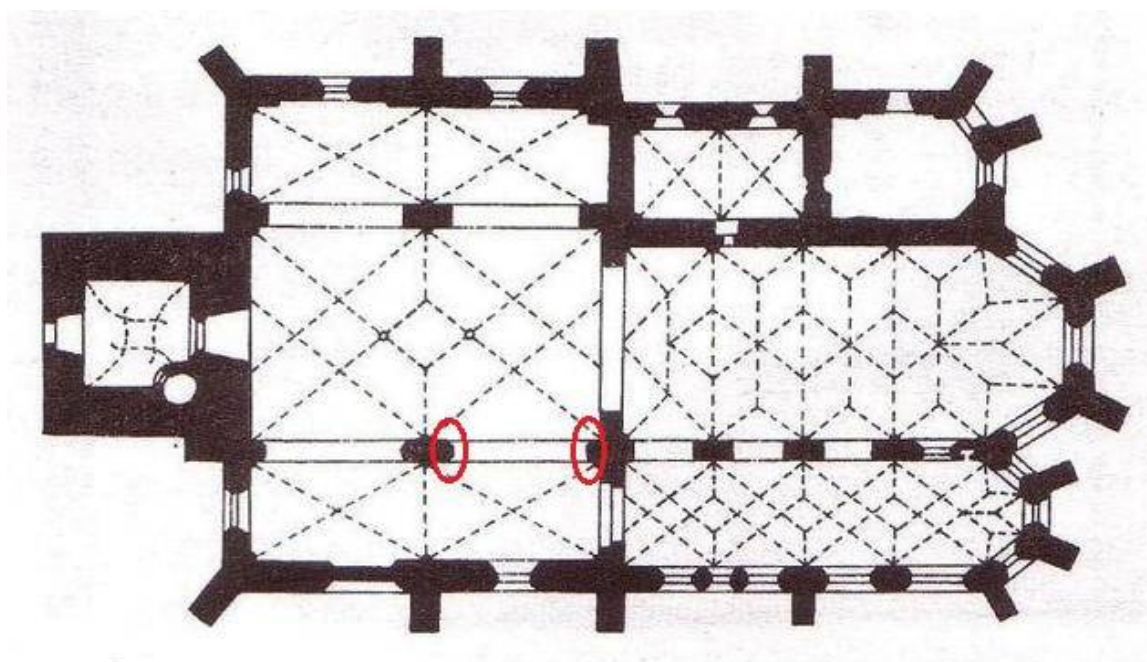
C. Iconographic Context: The interior decoration of the church spanned on more than one century and, despite its long-lasting, the campaigns which can be identified today have not been able to cover entirely with figurative painting the walls' vast surface. Often, later paintings disregarded the already-existing iconographic programs and replaced or doubled certain representations: for instance, several scenes of the mid-fourteenth century Passion cycle on the northern wall of the choir were painted again during the last decades of the same century on the northern wall of the northern aisle, this time as part of a Marian-Christological cycle; or to the late-fourteenth century

Prophets in medallions on the western arch of the northern aisle other Prophets have been added during the 1420-1430 decade on the western arch of the southern aisle, some of them, like King David, being represented twice. This indicates that the church's different stages of decoration can be regarded as distinct iconographic programs, functioning independently in the various interior spaces of the church. The stylistic unity and coherent iconographic reading of the paintings covering the southern and western walls of the southern aisle's two bays, as well as that of the murals decorating the pillars (to which the holy kings' representations belong) and their connecting arches, prove that the entire southern aisle was decorated with frescoes during a single painting campaign and that the iconographic program they form can be unitarily interpreted. On the upper register of the eastern bay of the southern aisle, each side of the pointed-arch window, there is a representation of the Annunciation, with Archangel Gabriel on the left side and the Virgin Mary on the right. The following two registers, divided into four scenes – horizontally by four bands with partially preserved inscriptions and vertically by the pointed-arch window –, depicts Matthew's version (25: 14-30) of the Parable of the Talents. On the upper part of the inner side of the pointed-arch window, there are representations of the Seven Liberal Arts in medallions, each allegory being accompanied by partially-preserved inscriptions. On the lower part of the window's jambs, following the allegories of the Liberal Arts, the holy martyrs Felix and Adauctus are represented holding a sword, the instrument of their martyrdom. The wall of the western bay of the southern aisle, which corresponded to the church's former main entrance that was walled up in the beginning of the fifteenth century, when the western entrance was created, displays the representation of the Seven Sacraments, i.e., the Confirmation, Baptism, Penance or Reconciliation (upper register), Eucharist, Marriage (lower register), Anointing of the Sick, and Holy Orders (triangular niche corresponding to the tympanum of the former southern portal). The place corresponding to the lower register, but situated below the upper register and on the portal tympanum's left side, partially preserves the representation of a kneeling angel who makes the gesture of blessing above an open book. The only figurative representation that the western wall of the southern aisle received is that of St. Antony the Great, who is depicted on the upper register and on the right side of the pointed-arch window (being smaller in size, its left side has not received any decoration). The interior of the window was painted only with a decorative motif this time. The intrados of the western pointed-arch next to St. Antony's representation, i.e., the arch connecting the western wall and pillar, was decorated with ten busts of Old Testament Prophets, five on each side of the arch. They hold scrolls with inscriptions and are placed under semicircular-ending niches and against a uniform, black background, which increases the representations' illusion of depth. Starting from St. Antony's proximity, the Old Testament Prophets are: Elisha, Enoch, Daniel, Ezekiel, Solomon, David, Jeremiah, Isaiah, Amos, Elijah, and Zachariah. Below Prophet Zachariah, i.e., on the western side of the western pillar, St. Leonard of Noblac (Limoges) was represented. He is placed against a dark-blue background and under a red three-foiled cusped arcade, decorated with white plant motif and ending with crenels. These details of setting evoke those of the holy kings. Above the latter saints, i.e., on the intrados of the eastern arch of the southern aisle, the Parable of the Ten Virgins (Matthew, 25: 1-13) was represented according to its common iconography. Placed in four-lobed medallions, five wise virgins on the eastern half of the arch hold burning lamps, while the other five foolish virgins on the arch's western half hold upside-down lamps. Finally, on the crown of the pointed-arch connecting the eastern pillar with the southern wall of the aisle, a depiction of Prophet

Jonah was painted. The remaining wall surfaces, i.e., the vaults' infillings and their ribs, were painted in dark-blue and various decorative motifs, respectively.

D. Dating: Various dating hypotheses have been proposed for the church's different stages of decoration and, sometimes, various authors assigned to different painting campaigns the same part of the church's mural decoration, being thus difficult to find a common opinion among art historians. Some authors saw two distinct phases of decoration in the southern aisle of the church. Dénes Radocsay dated the representations of the Parable of the Virgins, the holy kings, the Old Testament Prophets, and St. Leonard to the early fifteenth century, while the depiction of Prophet Jonah, the decoration of the southern walls of the southern aisle's two bays, and St. Antony's representation were assigned either to the mid-fifteenth century or second half of the same century. Speaking about a synthesis between Central and Western European Gothic art and the Italian influence specific to the Gemer region, Milan Togner dated all the representations of the southern aisle to the end of the first half of the fifteenth century, except for those of the Seven Liberal Arts which he assigned to the end of the same century. Other authors agreed on a single stage of decoration for the southern aisle of the church, but their opinion varied upon the specific period of the iconographic program's execution: around 1400 (Terézia Kerny), beginning of the fifteenth century (Dvořáková *et al.*), 1410-1420 (Béla Zsolt Szakács), or the 1420-1430 period (Mária Prokopp, Zsombor Jékely, Dragoș Gh. Năstăsoiu). The majority of art historians agreed that the murals are indebted stylistically to the International Gothic present at King Sigismund of Luxemburg's court during the first decades of the fifteenth century and traceable in the elegant, slightly-counterposed figures of the holy kings. Zsombor Jékely connects the frescoes of the southern aisle to a group of murals belonging more or less to this period (e.g., Siklós, Kyjatice, Suatu, Poniky, or Dârjiu) and accompanied by lengthy inscriptions proving the high degree of literacy and theological knowledge of the iconographers who conceived or commissioned them. Such a learned cleric was also Ladislav Csetneki, whose family owned the village of Štítník and who had an impressive ecclesiastical career during the reign King Sigismund of Luxemburg. This well-educated cleric was most likely involved in the conception of the extremely coherent and theologically complex iconographic program of the southern aisle of the church in Štítník. This could have been executed during the 1420-1430 decade.

E. Selective Bibliography: Buran, *Gotika*, 51, 83, 144, 151, 184, 209, 247-9, 343, 358, 643, 687-8, 768, 771; Dvořáková, *Středověká nástěnná malba na Slovensku*, 154-60; Éber, "Tanulmányok Magyarország középkori falfestményeiről", 72, 89-90; Gerát, *Stredoveké obrazové témy na Slovensku*, 166; Jékely, Zsombor, "4.149 Csetnek, Pfarrkirche, Fresken an der Südwand", in Takács, *Sigismundus rex et imperator*, 426-7; Jékely, "Regions and Interregional Connections", 157-67; Kerny, "Magyar szent királyok középkori kompozíciói a templomok külső falain", 86; Kušnierová and Tökölly, "Középkori falkép-festészet", 55-6; Năstăsoiu, "Political Aspects", 116-7; Năstăsoiu, "*Sancti reges Hungariae*", 8, 58, 60-1, 69, 89; Plekanec and Haviar, *Gotický Gemer a Malohont*, 12-5; Prokopp, "Csetneki evangélikus templom", 58-60; Prokopp, "Gömöri falképek", 134; Prokopp, *Italian Trecento Influence*, 148-9; Prokopp, *Középkori freskók Gömörben*, 31-40; Radocsay, *Középkori Magyarország falképei*, 127; Radocsay, *Wandgemälde*, 137-8; Rómer, *Régi falképek*, 103; Szakács, "Saints of the Knights", 323, 325; Togner, "Nástenné malby v Štítniku", 687-9; Togner, *Stredoveká nástěnná malba v Gemeri*, 68, 81-2, 72, 186-8.



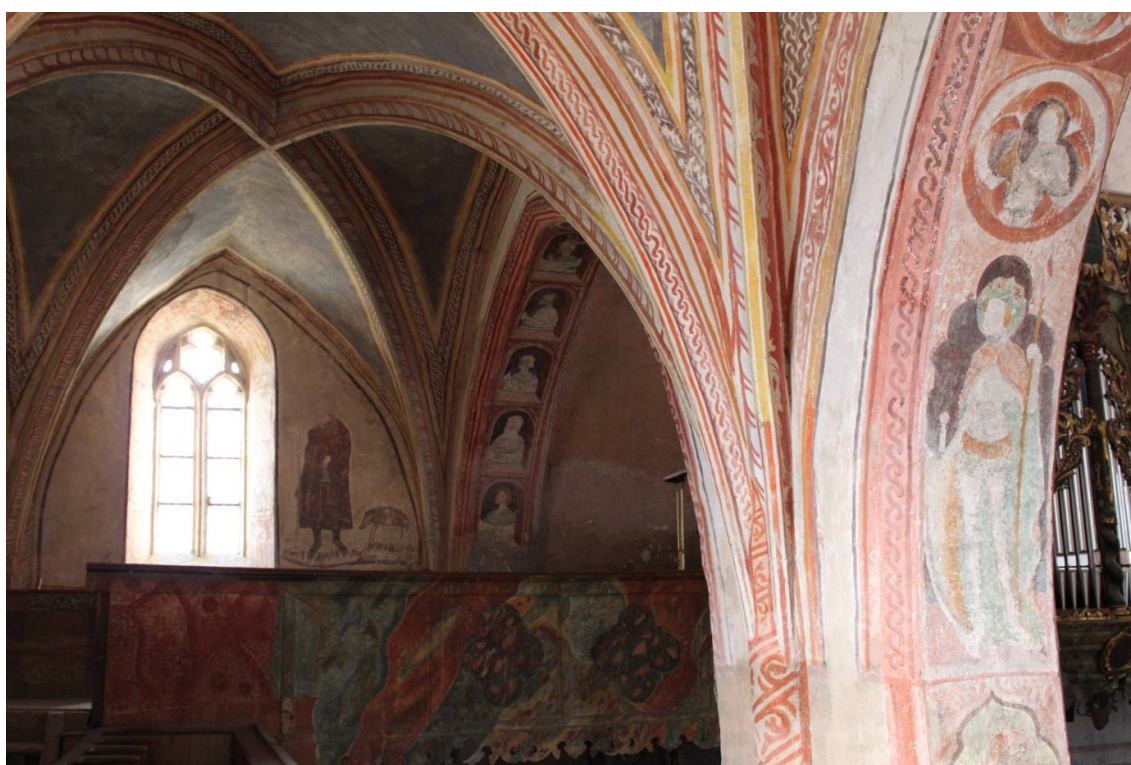
1. Ground plan of the church marking in red the position of holy kings images on the pillars of the southern aisle
(Drawing © The Author)



2. View to the southern aisle (Photo: © The Author)



3. Eastern bay of the southern aisle (Photo: © The Author)



4. View to the western wall of the southern aisle (Photo: © The Author)



5-6. St. Sigismund (lower register) and St. Ladislav (upper register), eastern side of the western pillar (Photos: © The Author)



7-8. Holy-monk representation over a partially-visible holy-king representation (lower register), and St. Emmerich (upper register), eastern side of the eastern pillar (Photos: © The Author)



9. Drawing with succession of paint layers: (I) holy-king layer, (II) holy-monk layer; lower register of the western side of the southern aisle's eastern pillar (Photo & Drawing: © The Author)

Cat. No. 20. *Sancti reges Hungariae*, nave of the Calvinist (former Catholic) Church (of St. Stephen of Hungary) in Tileagd (Hung. *Mezőtelegd*), Bihar County (Present-day Romania), early-15th century

A. Place: On the middle register of the southern wall of the nave and in-between the two former elongated windows with semicircular ending (now walled-up) of this wall, there were painted the figures of three holy kings. The length of this image occupies entirely the space between the two windows, but its height is shorter than theirs.

B. Description: The image of the three holy kings is fragmentary (the faces of the saints on the left and right side are completely and partially damaged, respectively) and its colors have lost their freshness, due to the murals' whitewashing and plastering-up. The cancelling of the image during the Reformation has led to the loss of many of the painting's details, this situation aggravating after its uncovering and unfaithful repainting. Some of these details, however, can be partially understood with the help of the watercolors and drawings made by József Huszka in July 1892. Subsequently, this description takes into account both the actual state of the image and its state before the last decade of the nineteenth century (as witnessed by József Huszka's invaluable work), trying to reconstruct as closer as possible the medieval appearance of the saints. The holy kings' three full figures stand on a red ground high up to their knees and are projected against a washed out background which, originally, was most likely dark blue. The image was framed on the left and right sides by a simple, decorative band consisting of variations of shades of white and red, whereas its upper and lower frames were wider and more elaborate, being decorated with both geometric and plant motifs (currently, only the lower frame is exposed, the upper one being still covered by plaster). The figures stand below semicircular arches supported by thin colonnettes. Judging by the costume details appearing in the secondary evidence produced by József Huszka, they were fully armored: their armor had decorative and protective elements at the level of the elbows and knees, and they wore metal gloves (none of these details are currently visible). Over their armor, the three saints had chainmail shirts with fringe-endings in their lower side and short-sleeved surcoats of different color (blue-green for the central saint and red for the saints on the side). In their current state, the tunics are differently colored: grey for the saint on the left, dark-blue for the saint in the middle, and red for the saint on the right side. Around their waists, the three armored men have belts. The face of the saint on the left side is completely damaged, but his attributes (i.e., orb and battle axe) point to St. Ladislas' identity, who was most likely depicted as a mature holy king. The face of the central figure is poorly preserved, but traces of color and drawing allow one to ascertain that he was white-haired and had a forked beard. He has a four-fleuron crown on his head and holds a crucifer orb and a mace-like scepter – he can be safely identified with St. Stephen. The face of the saint on the right side is currently completely damaged, but details appearing in József Huszka's watercolor suggest that he was a young, beardless holy king with brown hair. His crown is still partially visible and he is invested with royal attributes, namely, golden orb and lily-shaped scepter – he is most likely St. Emeric. The orb was not visible in the 1892 watercolors and it is probably owed to a later repainting; however, the saint's bent arm suggests that he certainly held an object in his left hand. The feet of the three *sancti reges Hungariae* stepped over the lower, decorative frame, a detail that is encountered also in the murals of Chimindia. The saints' depiction as both knightly

and royal saints, their position within the group, and their investing with royal and personal attributes follows the general iconographic type encountered at the turn of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

C. Iconographic Context: Currently, the representations found in the vicinity of the three *sancti reges Hungariae* are either plastered over or partially uncovered. However, with the help of the indirect, visual evidence produced during the last decade of the nineteenth-century, one can reconstruct partially the composite, iconographic surroundings of Hungary's holy kings. The fresco fragment found right above the royal saints is insufficiently exposed, so one cannot proceed to its identification. Separated by the left (eastern) window from the *sancti reges Hungariae*, two Marian scenes were depicted in the same, middle register: the Annunciation (visible) and Coronation of the Virgin (greatly damaged during the 1890s, currently plastered-up). Below the eastern window, there was the figure of a tonsured holy monk with book and staff (now covered). On its left side, there was probably St. Anne holding the Holy Virgin and Christ in her arms, whereas the two other Maries flanked the central figures. Following this image, a miraculous scene taken from St. Nicholas' Life was painted in the lower register. Judging by the available evidence, the Last Judgment was depicted on the southern side of the triumphal arch (the Heavenly Court and the Leviathan are partially visible in superposed registers), together with the standing figure of a blessing holy bishop with mitre and crozier (lower register). All these scenes were most likely executed during the same period by a single workshop and they formed a composite iconographic program. Other fragments of frescoes in the sanctuary are not coeval and display different formal features.

D. Dating: The murals in the nave of the church (the *sancti reges Hungariae* included) are difficult to frame chronologically, due to their misfortunes throughout time. As far as one can ascertain judging by the available elements (stylistic characteristics, types of knightly costumes, iconographic particularities, and decorative elements), the mural decoration of the southern wall of the nave and southern side of the triumphal arch have been probably executed during the same decoration campaign by a single workshop. This has happened probably around 1400.

E. Selective Bibliography: Dragomir, "Vechile biserici din Zărand", 257-8, fig. 13; Drăguț, *Arta gotică*, 209, 260-1; Drăguț, "Iconografia picturilor", 75; Drăguț, "Légende du 'héros de frontière'", 37; Emödi, "Telegdi család és Reneszánsz művészet", 177-98; Fejős, *Huszka József*, 44-5; Gogâltan, "Holy Hungarian Kings", 112; Huszka, József, "A mező-telegdi ev. ref. templom falképei", *Archaeologiai Értesítő* 12/5 (1892), 385-98; Kerny, "Magyar szent királyok középkori kompozíciói a templomok külső falain", 85; Lángi, "Új, eddig ismeretlen Szent László ábrázolások", 83; Lángi and Mihály, *Erdélyi falképek és festett faberendezések*, 2: 82-3; Marosi, "Hl. Ladislaus als Nationalheiliger", 229; Năstăsoiu, "Political Aspects", 102-3, 105, 108; Năstăsoiu, "*Sancti reges Hungariae*", 8, 45-9, 68, 90; Péter, "Árpádházi Szent István, Szent Imre", 36, 44, 54; Poszler, "Árpád-házi szent királyok", 178; Prokopp, *Italian Trecento Influence*, 80, 83, 101; Radocsay, *Középkori Magyarország falképek*, 177-8; Vătășianu, *Istoria artei feudale*, 768-9; Wehli, "1083-ban kanonizált szentek kultusza", 57; Wehli, "Szent István kultusza", 126.



1. View to the southern wall of the nave and triumphal arch in their current state (Photo © The Author, July 2014)



2. Wall paintings on the southern wall of the nave as seen in July 1892 by József Huszka, Archive of the Néprajzi Múzeum, Budapest, NM R 10208 (Source: Fejős, *Huszka József*)



3. Sts Ladislás, Stephen, and Emeric, current state (Photo © The Author, July 2014)



4. Photograph of the mural of the *sancti reges Hungariae* taken after their restoration in 1892 (Source: Fejős, Huszka József)



5. Detail of Fig. 2 showing the *sancti reges Hungariae*



6. Drawing showing the *sancti reges Hungariae* (Source: Huszka, "Mező-telegdi ev. ref. templom")

Cat. No. 21. Sts Stephen and Ladislav, pillars of the triumphal arch of the Catholic Church of the Holy Spirit in Žehra (Germ. *Schigra*, Hung. *Zsegra* / *Zsigra*), Szepes County (Present-day Slovakia), 1370s-1380s

A. Place: Two standing figures of holy kings face each other on the pillars of the triumphal arch, i.e., on their northern and southern sides, respectively.

B. Description: Both full, standing figures of holy kings are placed against a uniform, light-blue background, which is defined by a decorative frame composed of several continuous lines of different thickness and color (red, white, yellow, dark-ochre). The representation on the northern pillar is partially preserved (a large portion below the saint's bent arms is completely gone, having lost both its support and color layers), while that on the southern pillar is preserved in greater extent. However, this one presents numerous scratches, partial fading-out of colors, loss of support and color layers on small areas (especially on the pillar's lower side and the saint's beard), and several graffiti on the lower side of the saint's costume. The analysis of the representation on the northern pillar is made difficult by the attaching of a Baroque, wooden pulpit which obscures the upper part of the saint's attribute and his right elbow. His facial features are preserved in great extent, only a round-shaped, damaged area below his nose indicating that his lips were probably destroyed by a hammer stroke. He has long, grey hair falling in waves down his shoulders and long, forked beard, similarly grey. His head is covered by a low, three-palmette crown and is surrounded by a golden halo bordered by two thin lines, dark-ochre and white, respectively. Only his left hand is preserved now, but his both arms were probably bent in front of his chest for holding two attributes: a golden orb in his visible, left hand and a long, thin-handle attribute in his unpreserved, right hand. The upper part of the latter attribute is covered now by the canopy of the Baroque pulpit, but it is probably a scepter the old, male saint is holding. The scepter's ending, however, cannot be known in the representation's current state (lily or mace-like ending?). Judging by the surviving details of his costume, the royal saint was dressed in a light-pink or purple tunic or robe with tight sleeves, and had his shoulders covered by a mantle of the same color. This was decorated throughout its surface with flowers composed of six white dots arranged around another, central one (several flowers are still visible, others being effaced). Both the sleeves and mantle had a golden ribbon on their margins; the ribbon was decorated with white circles and dots, still visible on the mantle's low neckline and border. The latter falls transversely over the saint's right shoulder. Judging by the pink-reddish area corresponding to his feet, i.e., below the destroyed surface in the middle of the representation, the saint was probably dressed in a long robe. However, the layer of color is too faded and damaged in this area to allow one to perceive any other details of costume. The counterpart of the old holy king, i.e., the figure on the southern pillar of the triumphal arch, is a mature, male saint with long, brown hair falling down his shoulders and brown, forked beard. Similarly, he is depicted frontally in a frozen-like attitude and has on his head a low crown decorated with three palmettes. His head is surrounded by a golden halo bordered by the same two thin lines, dark-ochre and white, respectively. The saint holds in his left hand a golden, crucifer orb, while in his right one he holds a long-handle attribute, the upper part of which has faded away completely. The attribute's handle is considerably thicker than that of the saint on the southern pillar, which suggests that this saint held a different object: it was not a scepter, but probably a

battle axe. The saint is dressed in a long, dark-red robe with tight sleeves and white or yellow border on its lower side. Over this tunic, he has a brown-yellow dalmatic with white inner side and short sleeves. These are bordered by yellow ribbons decorated with white rhombuses and thin, white tassels. The dalmatic's low neckline has a similar yellow border, but the area presents numerous scratches, making difficult to assert whether it was decorated or not with similar, white rhombuses. The folds of the dalmatic are rendered with dark-ochre, almost-parallel lines which give certain weight and rigidity to this piece of costume. The dark-red robe underneath the dalmatic has in its lower front two vertical, white bands which end in sharp angles and are decorated with short, undulating black lines, details suggesting possibly ermine fur. Two graffiti are scratched both sides of this vertical band on the robe's lower side, the one on the left containing probably the saint's name – *s(an)ct(u)s rex ladislaus* [...]. The one on the right, read by Flóris Rómer as *hic fuit Andreas de berzewicze scolasticus / Anno Mcccc^o9 deo grat³*, offers a *terminus ante quem* for this representation. The saint's feet are visible below his long robe and he seems to have light-brown boots placed on a white-grey ground, but the representation is more damaged in this area. Judging by the two saints' royal (crowns, orbs, and scepter) and personal (probably battle axe) attributes and age types (old and mature, respectively), the two holy kings are St. Stephen (northern pillar) and St. Ladislav (southern pillar). There are several iconographic analogies to support such identification also (e.g., Poprad, Slatvina, or Tornaszentandrás). This identification is shared by all art historians referring to the two representations on the pillars of the triumphal arch.

C. Iconographic Context: The mural decoration of the church covers the whole sanctuary, the inner and eastern sides of the triumphal arch, northern wall of the nave, and tympanum of the southern portal; however, these wall surfaces were embellished during different stages of decoration. The church's murals have been repainted at least once in the seventeenth century (the inscription *AD 1638 RENOVATVM EST* is still visible on the lower register of the nave's northern wall) and whitewashed sometime afterwards; the architecture endured multiple repairs, some of them having had negative consequences for the paintings (repairs took place in 1638, 1769, 1928, and 1940, respectively). The murals were uncovered in the 1870s by Flóris Rómer together with the church's priest and chaplain, Ján Duchoň and Ján Gurský, respectively, and later on, during the first decades of the last century, they suffered repeated damages due to the church's bad roofing and humidity. The murals' restoration in the 1940s and 1950s revealed the existence of several phases of decoration: a) the sanctuary's paintings together with the inner side of the triumphal arch and the tympanum of the southern portal were made during the first phase; b) two isolated scenes on the northern wall of the nave (Living Cross and Pietà) were uncovered in 1940 under a newer layer of painting and were executed during a second phase of decoration; and c) the nave's northern and eastern (i.e., the triumphal arch) walls were entirely decorated during a third phase of decoration. The restoration which started in 1940 and was concluded in 1959 was undertaken by various restorers (Petr Július Kern – 1940; Pavol Fodor – 1954; Michal Standt, Mária Mariánová, and Andrej Kuc – 1956-1959, Togner and Plekanec, 2012, 229) and consisted of the cleaning of the murals, the removal of later overpaintings, and uncovering of earlier layers of decoration. Hopefully, the new restoration which was initiated in 2009 by Ivan Havasi and Marek Holomaň will cancel the multiple repaintings owed to the restorers themselves. It is, subsequently, difficult to evaluate the badly-preserved murals on account of their formal qualities, but judging only by their technical characteristics, the murals of the square-shaped sanctuary, inner side of the triumphal

arch, and southern-portal tympanum were executed during a single period. All murals in the church are painted *a secco*, but the nave's paintings on the northern wall and triumphal arch are technically distinct from those of the sanctuary. Whereas the portal decoration (Crucifixion with the Holy Virgin and St. John the Evangelist having a poorly-preserved, kneeling donor on the left side) is too remote from the altar space, the iconography of the sanctuary and inner side of the triumphal arch forms a coherent iconographic program. The walls of the square-shaped and cross-vaulted sanctuary were divided into three registers of almost equal size by two decorative stripes with painted *Cosmatesque* motifs. The lowermost register (almost one third of the walls' height) was decorated with hanging curtains. On the upper register of the sanctuary's northern wall, there is the Coronation of the Virgin, and on the lower register, there are the Last Supper (left side of the sacristy door) and Arrest of Christ (right side of the sacristy door). Divided into two unequal parts by the pointed-arch window placed asymmetrically, the eastern wall of the sanctuary (covered now almost completely a huge Baroque altar) was decorated with the following scenes: Annunciation (upper register, both sides of the window), Christ before Pilate (lower register, northern side), Man of Sorrows (small, square area below the window), and Flagellation (lower register, southern side). The latter scene shows the centrally-placed Christ at the column being whipped by two torturers, while a male figure dressed in church vestment kneels and prays next to the tortured Christ (on the scene's right side). The tonsured figure without halo has a scroll above his head with no-longer preserved inscription and represents one of the two donors of the church, most likely the donor of the sanctuary's murals. The widening of the southern window destroyed in certain extent the representations painted there: Sts Cosmas and Damian (upper register, both sides of the window), Crucifixion (lower register, left side), and Descent from the Cross (lower register, right side). Below the sanctuary's southern window, in a square-shaped area, there is a verse inscription in Gothic minuscule letters; it represents a glorification of the Eucharist and refers additionally to a twenty-day indulgence for the visitors of the church granted by a pope John. The pope mentioned in the inscription was thought to be either Pope John XXII, the Antipope John XXIII, whereas other scholars were unable to decide upon this matter. The inscription was understood either as belonging to the same stage of decoration as the rest of the sanctuary's murals or as reflecting a later renovation of the church which recorded also this important event in the church's history. The sanctuary being under restoration in April 2009 and its walls blocked by scaffolding, I was not allowed during my visit to read the inscription, examine the layers' succession. I was allowed, however, to take a few photographs of the triumphal-arch representations. No photograph of the inscription and succession of layers has been published until now and, thus, I cannot decide upon this matter. The infillings of the quadripartite rib vault of the sanctuary are decorated with the following images: a poorly-preserved representation of *Majestas Domini* (eastern webbing), a three-headed Holy Trinity (northern webbing), Abraham's Bosom (southern webbing), and the Holy Virgin *orans* with Christ Child and the Sun and Moon (*Platytera* type, western webbing). Except for the depiction of Abraham's Bosom, all the representations on the vault of the sanctuary are flanked by representations of standing angels. On the intrados of the triumphal arch, above the figures of Sts Stephen and Ladislav on the pillars, there are ten Old Testament Prophets in medallions, five on each half of the pointed arch. They are relatively badly-preserved, are represented at different ages, bare-headed (only one wears a triangular hat, while another, a crown), and hold scrolls with no preserved inscription. The only prophet identifiable by the crown on his head and the harp he holds in his hands is the mature, brown-bearded figure in the middle of the

pointed arch's northern half: Prophet David. The iconographic program of the sanctuary was probably conceived by the tonsured donor in church vestment appearing in the Flagellation scene; as the accompanying inscription on his scroll is lost, the donor's identification is no longer possible. He was responsible for the implications of the sanctuary's iconography which synthesizes key concepts of Christian theology.

D. Dating: The church in Žehra is attested first by a charter issued in 1245 by the Provost of Spiš Matthew allowing to John Sigray, *comes* of Spiš, to build a church on his property and to dedicate it to the Holy Spirit. Although the provost himself endowed it with an additional property in vicinity on account of his soul's salvation and exempted it from paying the tithe, the building of the church in Žehra was postponed for several decades, probably due to the difficult situation of the country in the aftermath of the Mongol invasion (1241-1242). John Sigray asked again in 1274 another Provost of Spiš, Muthmerius, for permission to build his church, which was probably completed shortly afterwards and decorated subsequently with murals in different periods. However, these phases of decoration are not attested by any written sources and the paintings' bad state of preservation makes difficult their chronological framing. Relying on the dates offered by the two documents, some art historians assumed that the church was decorated immediately after its building, part of the sanctuary's murals (including the inner side of the triumphal arch) being made during the last quarter of the thirteenth century. Admitting that the church could be decorated shortly after its construction, others refuted the idea that the existing murals are witnesses of this early age in the church's history and suggested various dates for the sanctuary's murals: 1300-1330 (Dénes Radocsay); around 1350 (Terézia Kerny); 1360s (Mária Prokopp); or around 1370-1380 (Vlasta Dvořáková; Dušan Buran; Milan Togner). As pointed out by Slovak art historians, the sanctuary inscription referring to the indulgence granted to the church's visitors by Pope John was made on a newer layer, offering thus two possible *termini ante quem* and no safe date for the murals: either 1334 (Pope John XXII's death year) or 1415 (Antipope John XXIII's year of deposition). The inscription, however, designated most likely the Antipope John XXIII (1410-1415) and not Pope John XXII (1316-1334). Taking into account the vaulting features of the sanctuary and nave (quadripartite rib vault and complex rib vault supported by a central pillar, respectively), which were made in the '80s of the fourteenth century, Milan Togner and Vladimír Plekanec noted that the mural decoration was not affected by these architectural changes, being thus subsequent. Whereas the Living Cross and Pietà were probably made before 1410 and the nave's northern wall and triumphal arch were painted either around or shortly after mid-fifteenth century, the decoration of the sanctuary and inner side of the triumphal arch followed closely the new vaulting of the church. Although extremely abbreviated, the iconographic program of the sanctuary shows obvious affinity with the iconography of the sanctuaries of a number of churches belonging to the so-called "Gemer School", active in the last third of the fourteenth century (e.g., Slatvina, Ochtiná, or Kocel'ovce). The latter two monuments display also a close stylistic kinship with the sanctuary's paintings in Žehra. The overall provincial aspect of the sanctuary's murals, which betrays the survival in an archaized manner of those Italian-Byzantine morphological features manifested around mid-fourteenth century in Slovak mural painting, supports a hypothetical dating of the paintings to the 1370s-1380s, i.e., immediately after the church's new Gothic vaulting.

E. Selective Bibliography: Buran, *Gotika*, 100, 106, 136, 143, 147, 154-7, 326, 359, 629, 664, 675, fig. 111-2; Chalupecký, Ivan, Marián Soják, and Anton Karabinoš, “Výskum v Kostole Svätého Ducha v Žehre”, *Pamiatky a múzeá* 2 (2007), 9-12; Divald, *Szepesvármegye művészet emlékei II*, 6-15, fig. 1-9; Dvořáková, *Středověká nástěnná malba na Slovensku*, 174-81; Gerát, *Stredoveké obrazové témy na Slovensku*, 66; Hradzsky, József, *A zsegrai templomra és a gróf Sigray családra vonatkozó adatok a XIII. századból*, Spišské Podhradie, Zipser Bote., 1884; Jendrassik, *Szepes vármegye középkori falképei*, 10-4, 25-8, 49-50, 59, fig. 1-4, 9-10; Kerny, “Magyar szent királyok középkori kompozíciói a templomok külső falain”, 86; Kerny, “Patronage of St Ladislav”, 263, 269-70; Kresánek, *Slovensko*, 798-801; Năstăsoiu, “Political Aspects”, 107, 109, 119; Năstăsoiu, “*Sancti reges Hungariae*”, 8, 56, 61, 65-6, 69, 92; Năstăsoiu, “*Pillars of Hungarian State*”, 445-6, 463-4; Péter, “Árpádházi Szent István, Szent Imre”, 32-4, 37, 49-50; Prokopp, *Italian Trecento Influence*, 191; Prokopp, *Középkori falképek a Szepességben*, 46-61; Puškárová, Blanka, “Kostol sv. Ducha v Žehre”, *Pamiatky a príroda* 17 (1986): 46-51; Radocsay, *Középkori Magyarország falképei*, 27, 45, 54, 240-2, pl. XXXVI-XXXVII; Radocsay, *Wandgemälde*, 22-3, 182-5, fig. 88-90; Rómer, *Régi falképek*, 34, 58-69; Togner, *Stredoveká nástenná malba na Slovensku*, 70; Togner and Plekanec, *Medieval Wall Paintings in Spiš*, 226-45; Vajdovszky, János, “A zsegrai (szepesmegyei) templom falfestményei”, *Új Magyar Sion* 2 (1871), 617-25; Vajdovszky, “A zsegrai templomszentély boltozatán legújabbán fölfedezett falképek megismertetése”, *Archaeologiai Értesítő* 11/6 (1877), 178-82.



1-2. St. Stephen, northern pillar of the triumphal arch. Left: the representation's state in April 2009 (Photo: © The Author). Right: the representation with repainted areas in the 1980s (Photo: © Institut für Realienkunde des Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit, Krems)



3. Detail of St. Stephen's representation in its 1906 state
(Photo: © Divald, 1906, fig. 6)



4. Detail of St. Stephen's representation, April 2009 (Photo: © The Author)



5-6. St. Ladislav, southern pillar of the triumphal arch. Left: the representation's state in April 2009 (Photo: © The Author). Right: the representation with repainted areas in the 1980s (Photo: © Institut für Realienkunde des Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit, Krems)



7. St. Ladislav, southern pillar of the triumphal arch, April 2009 (Photo: © The Author)



8-9. Old Testament Prophets in medallions, intrados of the triumphal arch, watercolor copies by Vilmos Forberger (Photos: © Divald, 1906, fig. 6-7)



10. Partial view of the triumphal arch's intrados, April 2009 (Photo: © The Author)

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List of the Mural Representations of the Holy Kings of Hungary and Other Royal Saints

No.	Place	Depicted Saints	Place in the Church	Dating	Observations
1.	Armășeni (Romania)	Ladislav, Emeric (Stephen?)	Southern wall of the sanctuary	17 th century	poorly preserved, watercolors by József Huszka (1881, 1889, 1890)
2.	Assisi (Italy)	Francis of Assisi, Louis of Toulouse, Elizabeth of Hungary, Agnes of Bohemia (?), Stephen, Holy Virgin with Child, Ladislav	Northern and eastern walls of the western transept of the Lower Church of the Basilica	1316-1319	Simone Martini
3.	Baktalórántháza (Hungary)	Ladislav, Holy Virgin	Northern wall of the nave	First half of the 15 th century	
4.	Banská Bystrica (Slovakia)	Stephen, Dorothea of Caesarea, Barbara, Ladislav, Paul	Southern porch	1460s	heavily repainted, watercolors by József Huszka (1893)
5.	Bardejov (Slovakia)	Ladislav, Stephen, Emeric	Southern façade of the western tower	1521	Johannes Emerici and Johannes Krausz vanished, watercolors and drawings by Viktor Myskovszky (1867-1874), Kálmán Lux (1878)
6.	Bădești (Romania)	Sigismund of Burgundy, Catherine of	Northern and eastern walls of the nave	ca 1400	

		Alexandria, Helena, John the Baptist, Holy Virgin with Child			
7.	Biertan (Romania)	Ladislav, Holy Virgin with Child	Above the entrance to the “Catholics’ Tower”	Late-15 th century	
8.	Bijacovce (Slovakia)	Stephen, Ladislav, Holy Apostles	Northern wall of the sanctuary	ca 1400	ongoing uncovering and restoration of the murals
9.	Bistrița (Romania)	Emeric (?), Ladislav (?)	Western wall of the sacristy	14 th century	vanished, photographs (1909)
10.	Chimindia (Romania)	Ladislav, Stephen, Emeric	Southern wall of the nave	First decades of the 15 th century	
11.	Chornotysiv (Ukraine)	Louis IX of France Ladislav, Holy Virgin	Northern wall of the nave	ca 1400	heavily repainted, drawings by Ferenc Schultz (1864)
12.	Crișcior (Romania)	Stephen, Emeric, Ladislav	Southern wall of the nave	1411	
13.	Čerín (Slovakia)	Holy King	Eastern wall of the nave	First quarter of the 15 th century	
14.	Dârlos (Romania)	Ladislav, Stephen	<i>Sedilia</i> on the southern wall of the sanctuary	Late-14 th century (?)	ongoing uncovering and restoration of the murals
15.	Filea (Romania)	Ladislav, Stephen, Emeric	Northern wall of the nave	ca 1350 (?)	vanished, drawings by Károly Gulyás (1897)
16.	Fizeșu Gherlii (Romania)	Ladislav (?), Stephen (?)	Intrados of the triumphal arch	First third of the 14 th	

				century	
17.	Hrušov (Slovakia)	Ladislav (?), Emeric, Stephen (?)	Western wall of the nave	1519	
18.	Hunedoara (Romania)	Hungarian (holy) kings (?)	(?)	(?)	written accounts
19.	Ighișu Nou (Romania)	Oswald of Northumbria Holy king (?)	Northern pillar of the triumphal arch	ca 1400	
20.	Jakubovany (Slovakia)	Holy king (?)	Southern pillar of the triumphal arch	First half of the 14 th century	
21.	Kameňany (Slovakia)	Stephen (?), Emeric, Ladislav (?)	North-eastern wall of the sanctuary	ca 1400	ongoing uncovering and restoration of the murals
22.	Keszthely (Hungary)	Holy kings of Hungary together with seven other holy kings (?)	Southern side of the sanctuary	Before 1397	
23.	Khust (Ukraine)	Ladislav, Stephen, Emeric	Northern wall of the nave	Early-15 th century	
24.	Krásnohorské Podhradie (Slovakia)	Emeric, Stephen, Ladislav	Northern wall of the nave	Late-14 th century	
25.	Leles (Slovakia)	Árpáadian kings	St. Michael's Chapel	ca 1400	watercolors by István Gróh (1907)
26.	Levoča (Slovakia)	Stephen, Ladislav, Holy Apostles, Old Testament Prophets	Sanctuary	ca 1400	heavily repainted
27.	Lónya (Hungary)	Emeric, Stephen Sigismund of Burgundy	Southern wall of the sanctuary and southern pillar of the triumphal arch	1413	
28.	Mălâncrav (Romania)	Adalbert of Prague (?), Ladislav, Stephen, Sigismund of	Southern wall of the sanctuary	Before 1404/1405	

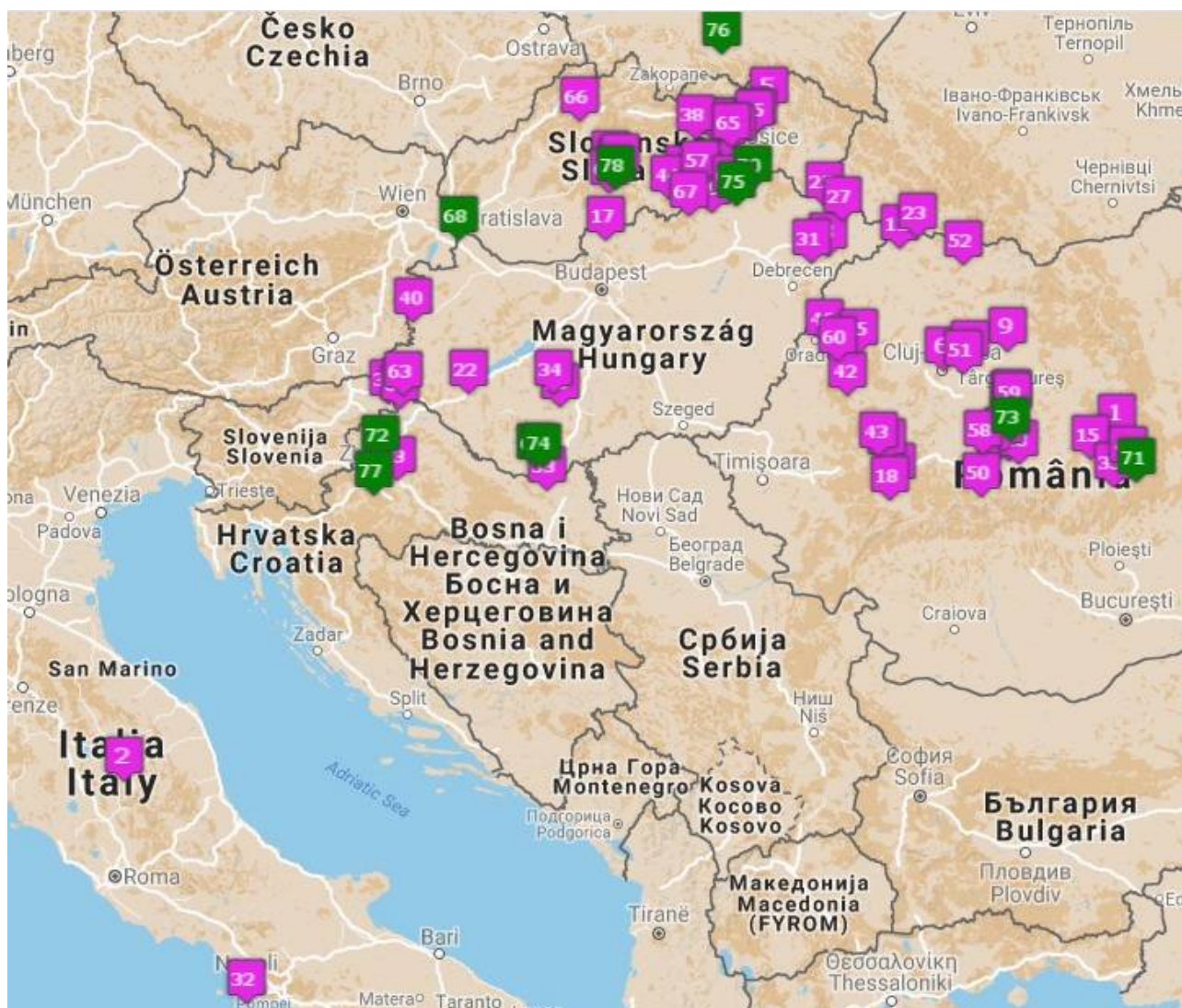
		Burgundy, Emeric			
29.	Miszla (Hungary)	Holy kings of Hungary (?)	Triumphal arch	(?)	written account
30.	Murska Sobota (Slovenia)	Holy king (?)	Southern pillar of the triumphal arch	ca 1400	vanished, watercolors by István Gróh
31.	Napkor (Hungary)	Ladislás, Stephen, Emeric	Southern side of the triumphal arch (eastern wall of the nave)	ca 1400	
32.	Naples (Italy)	Ladislás, Stephen, Emeric	Santa Maria Donnaregina, northern wall of the nuns' choir	1320-1323	Follower of Pietro Cavallini
33.	Novo Mjesto Zelinsko (Croatia)	Holy king (?)	Northern side of the triumphal arch (eastern wall of the nave)	Second quarter of the 14 th century	
34.	Ozora (Hungary)	Holy king(s) (?), Ladislás	Apse of the castle chapel	Before 1426	
35.	Pădureni (Romania)	Stephen	Southern pillar of the triumphal arch	First third of the 14 th century	vanished, watercolors by József Huszka (1882)
36.	Plešivec (Slovakia)	Ladislás, Stephen, Emeric	Southern exterior wall of the sanctuary	ca 1400	
37.	Poniky (Slovakia)	Ladislás	Northern wall of the nave	1478	magister Michael
38.	Poprad (Slovakia)	Stephen, Ladislás	Pillars of the triumphal arch	Either around 1330 or around 1350	
39.	Ragály (Hungary)	Ladislás, holy king (?) Oswald of Northumbria (?)	Pillar of the triumphal arch Southern side of the triumphal arch (eastern wall of the nave)	ca 1400	

40.	Rattersdorf (Austria)	Ladislav, Stephen, Emeric	Northern wall of the sanctuary	1370-1380 (?)	
41.	Rákoš (Slovakia)	Ladislav, Stephen, Emeric	Southern wall of the sanctuary	ca 1400	
42.	Remetea (Romania)	Ladislav, Stephen, Emeric	North-eastern side of the sanctuary	ca 1400	
43.	Ribița (Romania)	Stephen, Emeric, Ladislav	Northern wall of the nave	After 1404	
44.	Rimavská-Baňa (Slovakia)	Sigismund of Burgundy (?)	Northern wall of the nave	1390-1410	
45.	Sabinov (Slovakia)	Ladislav, Stephen (?)	Southern wall of the sanctuary	First half of the 15 th century (?)	written accounts
46.	Sălărd (Romania)	Holy bishop, Catherine of Alexandria, Holy Virgin with Child, Stephen, Emeric	Southern wall of the sanctuary	ca 1400	
47.	Sâncraiu de Mureș (Romania)	Stephen, Ladislav Oswald of Northumbria (?)	Southern pillar of the triumphal arch, southern wall of the sanctuary Unknown	First decades of the 15 th century	vanished, watercolors by Ödön Nemes (1893-1894)
48.	Sântana de Mureș (Romania)	Stephen (?)	Eastern side of the southern pillar of the triumphal arch	ca 1400	
49.	Sânzieni (Romania)	Adalbert of Prague (?), Ladislav, Stephen, Emeric, Martin of Tours (?)	Apse of the chapel	17 th century	
50.	Sibiu (Romania)	Stephen, Ladislav	Northern wall of the sanctuary	1445	Johannes de Rozenaw
51.	Sic (Romania)	Oswald of Northumbria Holy king (?)	Southern side of the eastern pillar separating the nave from the southern aisle	Early-15 th century First third of the 14 th century	

			Eastern wall of the southern aisle		
52.	Sighetu Marmăției (Romania)	Holy kings (?)	Pillars of the nave (?)	ca 1400	vanished, watercolors by Miklós Barabás (1845)
53.	Siklós (Hungary)	Leonard, Ladislás, Ladislás, Leonard	Southern niche of the castle chapel	ca 1420 ca 1450	
54.	Slatvina (Slovakia)	Stephen, Ladislás	Pillars of the triumphal arch	First decade of the 15 th century	
55.	Șinteu (Romania)	Holy Apostles, holy kings, other saints	Nave (?)	(?)	written account
56.	Șmig (Romania)	Ladislás, Stephen	<i>Sedilia</i> on the southern wall of the sanctuary	ca 1400	ongoing uncovering and restoration of the murals
57.	Štítňik (Slovakia)	Ladislás, Sigismund of Burgundy, Emeric, Stephen (?)	Pillars separating the nave from the southern aisle	1420s	
58.	Tătărlău (Romania)	Emeric	Eastern wall of the southern pillar of the triumphal arch	ca 1400	ongoing uncovering and restoration of the murals
59.	Târgu Mureș (Romania)	Stephen, Ladislás	Pillars of the triumphal arch	(?)	vanished (?), written account
60.	Tileagd (Romania)	Ladislás, Stephen, Emeric	Southern wall of the nave	ca 1400	watercolors by József Huszka (1892)
61.	Tornaszentandrás (Hungary)	Stephen, Ladislás	Pillars of the triumphal arch	ca 1400	
62.	Turnišče (Slovenia)	Ladislás, donors, Holy Virgin with Child	Northern wall of the sanctuary	ca 1400	vanished, photographs (1928)
63.	Velemér (Hungary)	Ladislás, Nicholas	Northern wall of the nave	1378	

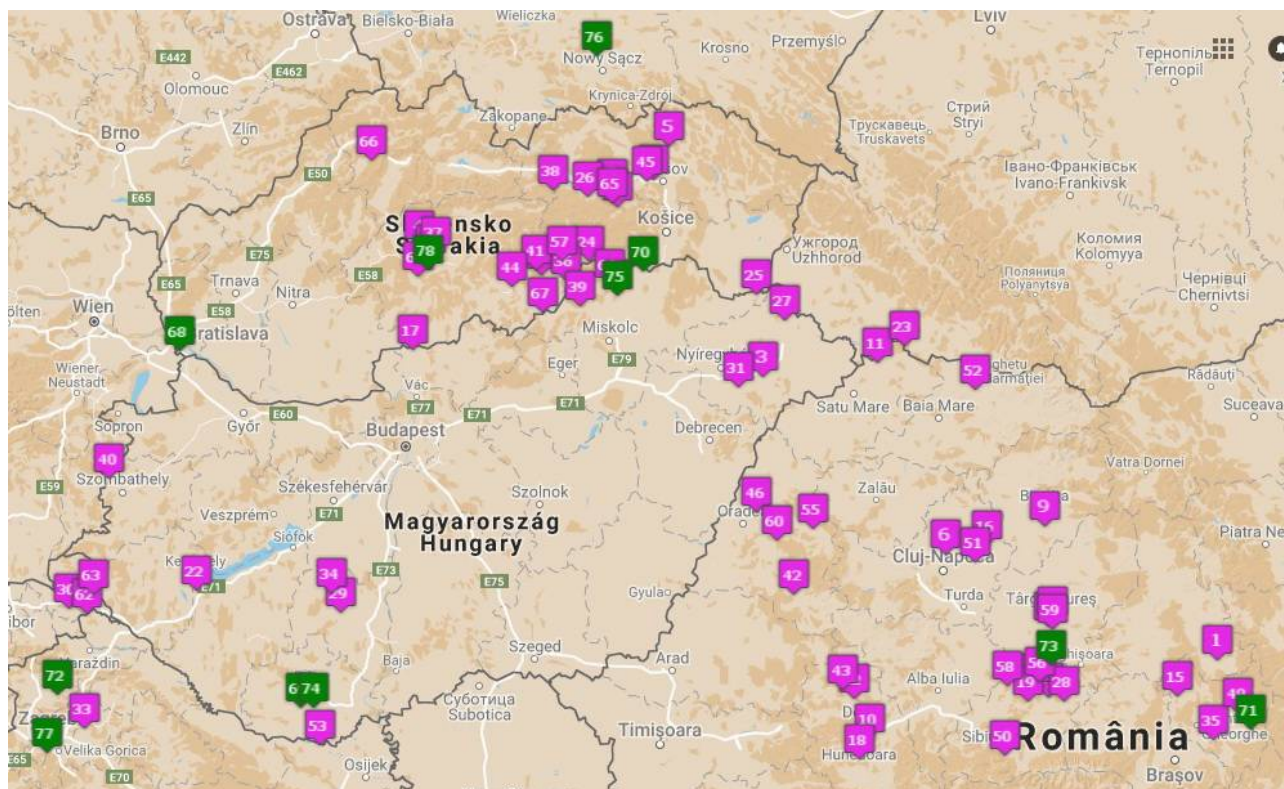
		Elizabeth of Hungary, Árpádian saints (?)	Eastern wall of the nave, southern wall of the nave		
64.	Zvolen (Slovakia)	Ladislav (?), Stephen (?)	Intrados of the triumphal arch	ca 1400 (?)	
65.	Žehra (Slovakia)	Stephen, Ladislav	Pillars of the triumphal arch	1370s- 1380s	
66.	Žilina (Slovakia)	Ladislav, Stephen, Emeric, Elizabeth of Hungary	Conch of the sanctuary	Mid-15 th century	covered, recent photographs
67.	Žíp (Slovakia)	Ladislav, Emeric, Sigismund of Burgundy (?)	Pillars of the triumphal arch	ca 1400	

Maps



Map 1 (Extended) – Regional/geographical distribution of the murals showing the holy kings of Hungary and other royal saints (in green – attested cases; in pink – hypothetical cases)

1. Armășeni; 2. Assisi; 3. Baktalórántháza; 4. Banská Bystrica; 5. Bardejov; 6. Bădești; 7. Biertan; 8. Bijacovce; 9. Bistrița; 10. Chimindia; 11. Chornotysiv; 12. Crișcior; 13. Čerín; 14. Dârlos; 15. Filea; 16. Fizeșu Gherlii; 17. Hrušov; 18. Hunedoara; 19. Ighișu Nou; 20. Jakubovany; 21. Kameňany; 22. Keszthely; 23. Khust; 24. Krásnohorské Podhradie; 25. Leles; 26. Levoča; 27. Lónya; 28. Mălâncrav; 29. Miszla; 30. Murska Sobota; 31. Napkor; 32. Naples; 33. Novo Mjesto Zelinsko; 34. Ozora; 35. Pădureni; 36. Plešivec; 37. Poniky; 38. Poprad; 39. Ragály; 40. Rattersdorf; 41. Rákoš; 42. Remetea; 43. Ribița; 44. Rimavská Baňa; 45. Sabinov; 46. Sălard; 47. Sâncraiu de Mureș; 48. Sântana de Mureș; 49. Sânzieni; 50. Sibiu; 51. Sic; 52. Sighetu Marmației; 53. Siklós; 54. Slatvina; 55. Șinteu; 56. Șmig; 57. Štítník; 58. Târlău; 59. Târgu Mureș; 60. Tileagd; 61. Tornaszentandrás; 62. Turnišče; 63. Velemér; 64. Zvolen; 65. Žehra; 66. Žilina; 67. Žip; 68. Bratislava; 69. Cserkút; 70. Čečejevce; 71. Ghelinta; 72. Lobor; 73. Ormeniș; 74. Pécs; 75. Rakacsazend; 76. Tropie; 77. Zagreb; 78. Zolná.



Map 2 (Narrow) – Regional/geographical distribution of the murals showing the holy kings of Hungary and other royal saints (in green – attested cases; in green – hypothetical cases)

1. Armășeni; 2. Assisi; 3. Baktalórántháza; 4. Banská Bystrica; 5. Bardejov; 6. Bădești; 7. Biertan; 8. Bijacovce; 9. Bistrița; 10. Chimindia; 11. Chornotysiv; 12. Crișcior; 13. Čerín; 14. Dârlos; 15. Filea; 16. Fizeșu Gherlii; 17. Hrušov; 18. Hunedoara; 19. Ighișu Nou; 20. Jakubovany; 21. Kameňany; 22. Keszthely; 23. Khust; 24. Krásnohorské Podhradie; 25. Leles; 26. Levoča; 27. Lónya; 28. Mălâncrav; 29. Miszla; 30. Murska Sobota; 31. Napkor; 32. Naples; 33. Novo Mjesto Zelinsko; 34. Ozora; 35. Pădureni; 36. Plešivec; 37. Poniky; 38. Poprad; 39. Ragály; 40. Rattersdorf; 41. Rákoš; 42. Remetea; 43. Ribița; 44. Rimavská Baňa; 45. Sabinov; 46. Sălard; 47. Sâncraiu de Mureș; 48. Sântana de Mureș; 49. Sânzieni; 50. Sibiu; 51. Sic; 52. Sighetu Marmației; 53. Siklós; 54. Slatvina; 55. Șinteu; 56. Șmig; 57. Štítník; 58. Tătârlaui; 59. Târgu Mureș; 60. Tileagd; 61. Tornaszentandrás; 62. Turnišče; 63. Velemér; 64. Zvolen; 65. Žehra; 66. Žilina; 67. Žip; 68. Bratislava; 69. Cserkút; 70. Čečejevce; 71. Ghelintă; 72. Lobor; 73. Ormeniș; 74. Pécs; 75. Rakacaszend; 76. Tropie; 77. Zagreb; 78. Zolná.

Concordance of Place Names

- Alma (Romania, Rom. var. *Alma Săsească / Alma Dumbrăveni*) – *Almen / Almaschken* (Germ.) – *Kükküllőalmás / Szászalmás / Almás/ Szászkisalmás* (Hung.)
- Abrud (Romania) – *Großschlatten* (Germ.) – *Abrudbánya* (Hung.)
- Armășeni (Romania) – *Csikméναςág* (Hung.)
- Arnutovce (Slovakia) – *Emaus* (Germ.) – *Arnótfalva* (Hung.)
- Ațel (Romania) – *Hetzeldorf* (Germ.) – *Ecel* (Hung.)
- Banská Bystrica (Slovakia) – *Neusohl* (Germ.) – *Besztercebánya* (Hung.)
- Banská Bystrica-Radvaň (Slovakia) – *Radvány* (Hung.)
- Bardejov (Slovakia) – *Bartfeld* (Germ.) – *Bártfa* (Hung.)
- Bădești (Romania, Rom. var. *Badoc*) – *Bádok* (Hung.)
- Beiuș (Romania) – *Belényes* (Hung.)
- Biertan (Romania) – *Birthälm/Birthalmen* (Germ.) – *Berethalom* (Hung.)
- Bijacovce (Slovakia) – *Biazowitz/Betendorf* (Germ.) – *Szepesmindszent/Biátfalva* (Hung.)
- Bistrița (Romania) – *Bistritz/Nösen* (Germ.) – *Beszterce* (Hung.)
- Brad (Romania) – *Brád* (Hung.)
- Brașov (Romania) – *Kronstadt* (Germ.) – *Brassó* (Hung.)
- Bratislava (Slovakia) – *Pressburg* (Germ.) – *Pozsony* (Hung.)
- Câmpulung la Tisa (Romania) – *Hosszúmező* (Hung.)
- Chilieni (Romania) – *Sepsikilyén* (Hung.)
- Chimindia (Romania) – *Kéménd* (Hung.)
- Chyžné (Slovakia) – *Hizsnyó* (Hung.)
- Chornotysiv (Ukraine, Ukr. *Чорнотисів*) – *Feketeardó* (Hung.)
- Cisnădioara (Romania) – *Michelsberg / Michaelsberg / Michelsdorf* (Germ.) – *Kisdisznód* (Hung.)
- Cluj (Romania) – *Klausenburg* (Germ.) – *Kolozsvár* (Hung.)
- Crăciunel (Romania) – *Homoródkarácsonyfalva* (Hung.)
- Crișcior (Romania) – *Kristyór* (Hung.)
- Čečejevce (Slovakia) – *Csécs* (Hung.)
- Čerín (Slovakia) – *Cserény* (Hung.)
- Daia – *Székydália* (Hung.)
- Dârjiu (Romania) – *Székyderzs* (Hung.)
- Dârlos (Romania, Rom. var. *Dârloș*) – *Durles/Durlasch* (Germ.) – *Darlac/Darlasz/Darlóc* (Hung.)
- Densuș (Romania) – *Demsus* (Hung.)

- Deva (Romania) – *Diemrich/Schlossberg/Denburg* (Germ.) – *Déva* (Hung.)
- Făget (Romania) – *Facsád* (Hung.)
- Fântânele (Romania) – *Gielekonten* (Germ.) – *Gyulakuta* (Hung.)
- Felicești (Romania) – *Felsőboldogfalva* (Hung.)
- Filea (Romania, Rom. var. *Filia*) – *Erdőfüle* (Hung.)
- Fizeșu Gherlii (Romania) – *Ördöngösfüzes* (Hung.)
- Ghelița (Romania) – *Gelence* (Hung.)
- Gombasek (Slovakia) – *Gombaszög* (Hung.)
- Hașag (Romania) – *Hásság* (Hung.)
- Hălmagiu (Romania) – *Nagyhalmagy* (Hung.)
- Hărman (Romania) – *Honigberg* (Germ.) – *Szászhermány* (Hung.)
- Homorod (Romania) – *Hamruden* (Germ.) – *Homoród* (Hung.)
- Hrhov (Slovakia) – *Tornagörgő* (Hung.)
- Hrušov (Slovakia) – *Körtvélyes* (Hung.)
- Hunedoara (Romania) – *Eisenmarkt* (Germ.) – *Vajdahunyad* (Hung.)
- Ighișu Nou (Romania, Rom. var. *Ibișdorf/Ibișdorful Săsesc/Ighișdorful Săsesc*) – *Eibesdorf/Abesdorf* (Germ.) – *Szászivánfalva/Ivánfalva/Izséptelke* (Hung.)
- Jakubovany (Slovakia) – *Magyarjakabfalva* (Hung.)
- Jazernica-Markovice (Slovakia) – *Márkfalva* (Hung.)
- Kameňany (Slovakia) – *Kövi* (Hung.)
- Khrushovo (Ukraine, *Грушово*) – *Szentmihálykörtvélyes* (Hung.) – *Peri* (Rom.)
- Khust (Ukraine, Ukr. *Хуст*) – *Chust* (Germ.) – *Huszt* (Hung.)
- Kocetovce (Slovakia) – *Gecelfalva* (Hung.)
- Kraskovo (Slovakia) – *Karaszko* (Hung.)
- Krásňohorské Podhradie (Slovakia) – *Krasznahorkaváralja* (Hung.)
- Kremnica (Slovakia) – *Körmöcbánya* (Hung.)
- Leles (Slovakia) – *Lelesz* (Hung.)
- Letanovce (Slovakia) – *Lethensdorf* (Germ.) – *Létánfalva* (Hung.)
- Levoča (Slovakia) – *Leutschau* (Germ.) – *Lőcse* (Hung.)
- Lobor (Croatia) – *Lobor* (Hung.)
- Matejovce (Slovakia) – *Matzdorf* (Germ.) – *Mateóc* (Hung.)
- Mălâncrav (Romania) – *Malmkrog* (Germ.) – *Almakerék* (Hung.)
- Mărtiniș (Romania) – *Homoródszentmárton* (Hung.)
- Mediaș (Romania) – *Mediasch* (Germ.) – *Medgyes* (Hung.)

Mesteacăn de Jos (Romania) – *Alsó-Mesztáka* (Hung.)
 Mesteacăn de Sus (Romania) – *Felső-Mesztáka* (Hung.)
 Mihăileni (Romania) – *Csikszentmihály* (Hung.)
 Moacșa (Romania) – *Maksa* (Hung.)
 Murska Sobota (Slovenia) – *Olsnitz* (Germ.) – *Muraszombat* (Hung.)
 Novo Mjesto Zelinsko (Croatia) – *Újhelyszentpéter* (Hung.)
 Oradea Mare (Romania) – *Großwardein* (Germ.) – *Nagyvárad* (Hung.)
 Orman (Romania) – *Ormány* (Hung.)
 Ormeniș (Romania) – *Irmesch* (Germ.) – *Szászörményes* (Hung.)
 Pădureni (Romania, Rom. var. *Beșeneu*) – *Sepsibesenyő* (Hung.)
 Peșteana (Romania) – *Pestény* (Hung.)
 Plešivec (Slovakia) – *Pelsőc* (Hung.)
 Poniky (Slovakia) – *Pónik* (Hung.)
 Poprad (Slovakia) – *Deutschendorf* (Germ.) – *Poprád* (Hung.)
 Rattersdorf (Austria) – *Rőtfalva* (Hung.)
 Răchitova (Romania) – *Reketyefalva* (Hung.)
 Râu Bărbat (Romania) – *Borbátvíz* (Hung.)
 Râu de Mori (Romania) – *Malomvíz* (Hung.)
 Rákoš (Slovakia) – *Gömörrákos* (Hung.)
 Remetea (Romania) – *Magyarremete/Biharremete* (Hung.)
 Ribița (Romania) – *Ribice* (Hung.)
 Rimavská Baňa (Slovakia) – *Rimabánya* (Hung.)
 Rișca (Romania) – *Riska* (Hung.)
 Rodeș (Romania) – *Radeln* (Germ.) – *Rádós* (Hung.)
 Sabinov (Slovakia) – *Zeben* (Germ.) – *Kisszeben* (Hung.)
 Sălard (Romania) – *Szalárd* (Hung.)
 Sâncraiu de Mureș (Romania) – *Marosszentkirály* (Hung.)
 Sântana de Mureș (Romania) – *Marosszentanna* (Hung.)
 Sântămăria-Orlea (Romania) – *Mariendorf/Liebfrauen* (Germ.) – *Őraljaboldogfalva* (Hung.)
 Sânzieni (Romania) – *Kézdiszentlélek* (Hung.)
 Sekule (Slovakia) – *Sekeln* (Germ.) – *Székellyfalva* (Hung.)
 Sibiu (Romania) – *Hermannstadt* (Germ.) – *Nagyszeben* (Hung.)
 Sic (Romania) – *Szék/Székakna* (Hung.)
 Sighetu Marmăției (Romania) – *Marmaroshsiget* (Germ.) – *Máramarosziget* (Hung.)

- Silvaşu (Romania) – *Szilvás* (Hung.)
- Slatvina (Slovakia) – *Szlatvin* (Hung.)
- Spišská Kapitula (Slovakia) – *Zipser Kapitel* (Germ.) – *Szepeshely* (Hung.)
- Spišský Štvrtok (Slovakia) – *Donnersmark* (Germ.) – *Csütörtökhely* (Hung.)
- Strei (Romania) – *Zeykfalva* (Hung.)
- Streisângeorgiu (Romania) – *Sztrigyszentgyörgy* (Hung.)
- Suseni (Romania) – *Marosfelfalu* (Hung.)
- Székesfehérvár (Hungary) – *Stuhlweißenburg* (Germ.)
- Şinteu (Romania) – *Sólyomkő* (Hung.)
- Şmig (Romania) – *Schmiegen* (Germ.) – *Somogyom* (Hung.)
- Şumuleu Ciuc (Romania) – *Csíksomlyó* (Hung.)
- Štítňik (Slovakia) – *Schittnich* (Germ.) – *Csetnek* (Hung.)
- Tărăţel (Romania) – *Cerecel* (Hung.)
- Tătărlăua (Romania) – *Taterloch/Tatarloch/Tatarlau* (Germ.) – *Felsőtatárlaka* (Hung.)
- Târgu Mureş (Romania) – *Marosvásárhely/Székelylvásárhely/Vásárhely/Újszékelylvásár/Újvásár* (Hung.)
- Tileagd (Romania) – *Mezőtelegd* (Hung.)
- Tomeşti (Romania) – *Csíkszenttamás* (Hung.)
- Turany (Slovakia) – *Turány* (Hung.)
- Turnišče (Slovenia) – *Thurnitz* (Germ.) – *Bántornya* (Hung.)
- Turnu Roşu (Romania) – *Rothenturm* (Germ.) – *Vöröstorony* (Hung.)
- Tuştea (Romania) – *Tustya* (Hung.)
- Tyachiv (Ukraine, Ukr. *Тячів*) – *Técső* (Hung.)
- Țebea (Romania) – *Cebe* (Hung.)
- Uzovce (Slovakia) – *Úszfalva* (Hung.)
- Vyshkovo (Ukraine, Ukr. *Вишковое*) – *Visk* (Hung.)
- Zagreb (Croatia) – *Agram* (Germ.) – *Zágráb* (Hung.)
- Zdrapţi (Romania) – *Zdrápc* (Hung.)
- Zolná (Slovakia) – *Zolna* (Hung.)
- Zvolen (Slovakia) – *Altsohl* (Germ.) – *Zólyom* (Hung.)
- Žehra (Slovakia) – *Schigra* (Germ.) – *Zsegra* (Hung.)
- Žilina (Slovakia) – *Sillein* (Germ.) – *Zsolna* (Hung.)
- Žíp (Slovakia) – *Zsíp* (Hung.)