Michal Augustovič

SAINT LADISLAUS IN RUS: HIDDEN ASPECTS OF THE SAINT LADISLAUS CULT

MA Thesis in Late Antique, Medieval and Early Modern Studies

Central European University Private University

Vienna

May 2022

SAINT LADISLAUS IN RUS: HIDDEN ASPECTS OF THE SAINT LADISLAUS CULT

by

Michal Augustovič

(Slovakia)

Thesis submitted to the Department of Medieval Studies,
Central European University Private University, Vienna, in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the Master of Arts degree in Late Antique, Medieval and Early Modern Studies.

Accepted in conformance with the standards of the CEU.

_____
Chair, Examination Committee

_____
Thesis Supervisor

_____
Examiner

_____
Examiner

Vienna

SAINT LADISLAUS IN RUS: HIDDEN ASPECTS OF THE SAINT LADISLAUS CULT

by

Michal Augustovič

(Slovakia)

Thesis submitted to the Department of Medieval Studies,
Central European University Private University, Vienna, in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the Master of Arts degree in Late Antique, Medieval and Early Modern Studies.

Accepted in conformance with the standards of the CEU.

_____

External Reader

Vienna
May 2022

SAINT LADISLAUS IN RUS: HIDDEN ASPECTS OF THE SAINT LADISLAUS CULT

by

Michal Augustovič

(Slovakia)

Thesis submitted to the Department of Medieval Studies,
Central European University Private University, Vienna, in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the Master of Arts degree in Late Antique, Medieval and Early Modern Studies.

Accepted in conformance with the standards of the CEU.

_____

External Supervisor

Vienna

Author's declaration

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

Vienna, 21 May 2022

_____

Signature

Abstract

The presented thesis focuses on the less known aspects of the cult of Saint Ladislaus, King of Hungary. The subject of the thesis is the most widespread narrative concerning the victorious heroic struggle of St. Ladislaus against the pagan warrior. The focus is primarily on the Russian variant of the story, referred to in Russian literature as the *Narrative of the killing of Batu,* which is relatively little reflected in Central European historiography.

The thesis offers a historiographical overview focusing on the authorship of the Russian Variant and explains the arguments of previous research. As attention is paid to those aspects of the cult that are related to the image of Ladislaus as a military saint, the basic attributes of Ladislaus in both the Hungarian and Russian traditions are pointed out. The fact that the story of Ladislaus found its way into Russian sources raises several questions. One of them is his place in the context of military saints in Russia, to which part of this research is devoted.

This research attempts to provide a background for understanding of the wider context in which the narrative of Saint Ladislaus spread to the Russian milieu.

Acknowledgements

At this point I would very to express my deep gratitude to my supervisor, Professor Gabor Klaniczay, for his great patience. I would also like to thank him for all the weekends and nights that he dedicated to helping me with my research and completing my assignments before the deadlines. I would very much like to thank Professor Katalin Szenda and Béla Zsolt Szakács for their enriching conversations, their valuable advice and their endless patience in answering my countless questions. Last but not least, I would like to sincerely thank Professor Martin Homza for his help with the choice of the topic and for his continuous support in all respects.

Table of contents

Introduction 1

Main Problems 2

Historical Background of the Cult 3

Primary sources 4

Legenda and *historia*: Narratives about Saint Ladislaus as a saint 4

Historia: The chivalric narrative of Ladislaus fighting a pagan 6

1 Authorship of the Russian version of *historia* 13

1.1 First reflections and modern analyses 13

1.2 Tendencies in the problem of authorship 21

2 Saint Ladislaus as a military saint: Attributes associated with Ladislaus in Hungarian and Russian tradition 23

2.1 The background of the image of Ladislaus as a military saint 23

2.2 Attributes of Saint Ladislaus as a military saint in the Hungarian tradition (written sources, visual material) 25

2.2 The Orthodox Ladislaus: Newly acquired attributes of Ladislaus in the Russian narrative 29

3 Military saints 35

3.1 Introduction to military saints 35

3.2 Military saints in Russia 37

3.2.1 Byzantine saints in Russia (George, Demetrios, Theodore) 38

3.2.2 Russian domestic saints 39

3.3 Ladislaus in the context of military saints in Russia 43

Conclusion 45

Bibliography 48

List of Abbreviations

SRH = Szentpétery, Emericus, ed. Scriptores Rerum Hungaricarum, vol. I-II. Budapest: Hungarian Historical Society, 1938.

PSRL = *Полное Собрание Русских Летописей* [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles]. vol. 1–43. Saint Petersburg: Typography of Edward Prats, 1841–2004.

Introduction

Saint Ladislaus is one of the most influential saints in the history of the Kingdom of Hungary.[1] Together with Saint Stephen and Saint Emeric, Saint Ladislaus was one of the main patrons of the Kingdom and from the Mid-Fourteenth Century he was part of the joint cult of *Sancti reges Hungariae*.[2] Numerous murals in churches in various parts of former Kingdom of Hungary (especially in Slovakia and Romania) testify to his cult to this day. These portray the popular narrative of the heroic deeds of Saint Ladislaus, which is often inaccurately referred to as the *Legend of Saint Ladislaus*. However, this narrative does not only have its visual form, but has also been preserved in several chronicles. Although the narrative recounts the heroic deeds of a military saint, St. Ladislaus, it is not a legend in the true sense of the word, as will be explained below. Thus, it is better to refer to this historical narrative as *historia*.[3] Despite the fact that the story depicting Ladislaus defending homeland and fighting with Cuman warrior is not a legend, it became the most frequently depicted fresco cycle of a domestic saint in the entire Kingdom of Hungary. Surprisingly, this history describing the heroic deeds of St. Ladislaus found its way into the Eastern Christian milieu in the Grand Duchy of Moscow and spread throughout the nascent Russian Empire.[4]

[1] *Ladislaus* is a name of Slavic origin, derived from *Ladislav*, originally *Vladislav*. In various languages of the former Kingdom of Hungary, different forms were and are used for the names of kings. Therefore, this work uses for the Hungarian monarchs the Latin forms of the names which can be found in the sources and can be considered neutral both in the present and in the past. The Hungarian form of the name is *László*, the Slovak is *Ladislav*.

[2] Dragoș-Gheorghe Năstăsoiu, *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)*, CEU Medieval Studies Department PhD Theses 2018/2 (Budapest: Central European University, 2018).

[3] The term is used by several authors and will be explained below: László Veszprémy, "King St Ladislas, Chronicles, Legends and Miracles," *Saeculum Christianum* 25 (2018): 141, Zsombor Jékely, "Transylvanian Fresco Cycles of Saint Ladislas in a New Light," *Hungarian Review* 5, no. 2 (2014): 98. Gábor Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses: Dynastic Cults in Medieval Central Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 390.

[4] The term "Russia" is used as a simplification in the thesis, although the author is aware of the problematic use of this term in the 15th and early 16th centuries. The term "Rus" ("Русь") was still used, but the term "Rossia" ("Россия") is also found in the sources. For the development of the name Rossia ("Россия") see: [B. M. Kloss] Б. М. Клосс, *О Происхождении Названия "Россия"* [On the origin of the name "Russia"] (Moscow: Manuscript documents of ancient Rus', 2012).

Main Problems

The present thesis focuses on the fundamental problems associated with the Russian version of St. Ladislaus' *historia*.[5] Although this text has been the subject of scholarly investigation since 1916, some fundamental questions remain still unanswered. This narrative has so far been approached mainly by Russian authors, who have focused more on problems related to Russian history. However, this version of *historia* is still relatively rarely reflected in Central European historiography. For this reason, it is necessary to define in the introductory section which narrative about St. Ladislaus the Russian sources reflect and in which sources this text about St. Ladislaus can be found. One of the fundamental problems in analysing the Russian version of the *historia* is the question of authorship, which will be the subject of Chapter 1 and will be discussed on the basis of a historiographical survey. The vast majority of studies on the Russian *historia*, suggests that the narrative was borrowed from the Hungarian tradition. However, Ladislaus is associated in the Russian version with several newly acquired miracles that are not present in the Hungarian version of the narrative. Chapter 2 will briefly introduce Ladislaus as a military saint in Hungary and then his image as a military saint in Russia, in both cases based on the texts of *historia*.[6] This chapter focuses primarily on the chronicles in the case of the Kingdom of Hungary, their relationship to the Russian version of the narrative, and the specifics of the Russian variant. In the future, this topic would deserve to be studied with more emphasis on the comparison of the mural paintings with the Russian narrative. Although the topic of Russian variant of the *historia* has been reflected upon by many authors in Russia over the last century, little emphasis has been paid to the question of Ladislaus

[5] In the present work, the text contained in the Russian sources and based on Ladislaus' *historia* is referred to as the *Russian variant*, the *Russian narrative*, or the *Russian historia* etc.
[6] The subject of the thesis are not other sources, for instance sermons, which also describe Ladislaus' miracles.

as a military saint. Nevertheless, it is thanks to the narrative of the *historia* that Ladislaus can be considered a military saint in the Kingdom of Hungary. Chapter 3 will present a brief development of military saints in Russia and the question of what place Ladislaus might have had in this context.

Historical Background of the Cult

The origins of the cult of Saint Ladislaus trace back to the end of the 12th century and are related to the reign of King Bela III of Hungary.[7] In earlier periods, between his death in 1095 and his canonization in 1192, there is no indication that a cult spontaneously formed around Ladislaus.[8] However, it is plausible that a local cult existed in particular churches and monasteries founded or donated by Ladislaus already prior to his canonization. Such a place could be the bishopric founded by him in Oradea (Romania),[9] where Ladislaus' tomb was placed, as well as the Benedictine monastery in Somogyvár.[10] Although the Polish *Chronicle of Gallus Anonymus*, written at the turn of the 11th and 12th centuries, implies that Ladislaus was held in very high regard: "They said that Hungary had never had such a great king. Never afterwards did the country bear so much fruit,"[11] this cannot be marked directly as a *fama sanctitatis*. Despite the absence of a *fama sanctitatis*, this does not necessarily imply that no

[7] In medieval sources mainly referred to as *Bela* (Hungarian: *Béla*, Slovak: *Belo*).
[8] Gábor Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses: Dynastic Cults in Medieval Central Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 174. Terézia Kerny, "László király szentté avatása és kultuszának kibontakozása (1095–1301) [The canonization of King Ladislaus and the unfolding of his cult (1095-1301)]," in *Ősök, táltosok, szentek. Tanulmányok a honfoglaláskor és Árpád-kor folklórjából* [Ancestors, shamans and saints. Studies in the folklore of the time of the "conquest" and the age of the Arpads], ed. Éva Pócs and Vilmos Voigt (Budapest: Hungarian Academy of Sciences, 1998), 175–97.
[9] Latin: *Varadinum*, Hung.: *Nagyvárad*, Slov.: *Veľký Varadín*.
[10] Veszprémy, "King St Ladislas, Chronicles, Legends and Miracles." Somogyvár has been considered by some sources to be the planned burial place of Ladislaus, although this is considered improbable by the majority of present-day scholars.
[11] *"Dicunt talem nunquam regem Vngariam habuisse, Neque terram iam post eum fructuosam sic fuisse."* Gallus Anonymus, *Gesta Principum Polonorum : The Deeds of the Princes of the Poles*, ed. János M. Bak and Frank Schaer (New York: CEU Press, 2003), 96.

particular respect was paid to Ladislaus prior to his canonization. Such expressions can be traced throughout the 12th century and are evidenced e.g. by the denarius of King Coloman I,[12] which bears the inscription *LADISLAUS* on the reverse, but also by the charter of King Geysa II,[13] who refers to Ladislaus as *pius Ladislaus rex*, and, not negligible, by the fact that so-called divine judgements were held at the grave of Ladislaus in Oradea.[14] Nevertheless, the starting point from which the cult of St. Ladislaus is surely evidenced is his canonization in 1192, which took place in Oradea.

Primary sources

Legenda and *historia*: Narratives about Saint Ladislaus as a saint

The most widespread image of St. Ladislaus over the centuries and especially since the 14th century became the image of Ladislaus as a military saint. On the contrary, the hagiographic text *Legenda Sancti Ladislai regis* written in connection with the canonization presents him primarily as a *confessor* or the one worthy of kingship.[15] The *Legenda* is preserved in two variants: *Legenda sancti Ladislai regis maior* and *Legenda sancti Ladislai regis minor*. According to Emma Bartoniek the *maior* and *minor* version are both based on a common original text, but according to the philological analysis they have not affected each

[12] Hungarian: Kálmán, Slovak: Koloman.
[13] Hung.: Géza, Slov.: Gejza.
[14] Gábor Klaniczay, "A Szent László-kultusz kialakulása [The formation of the cult of St. Ladislaus]," in *Nagyvárad és Bihar a korai középkorban. Tanulmányok Biharország történetéről* [Oradea and Bihar in the early middle ages. Studies on the history of Bihar], ed. Atilla Zsoldos, 1 (Oradea: Varadinum, 2014), 7–39.14.
[15] Imre Szentpétery, ed., *Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum*, vol. II (Budapest: Hungarian Historical Society, 1938), 507-27. Richard Pražák, *Legendy a kroniky koruny uherské* [Legends and chronicles of the Hungarian crown] (Praha: Vyšehrad, 1988), 132-44.

other but rather both versions independently reformulated the archetypal text.[16] Kornél Szovák concludes that the author of the *maior* version expanded the original text around 1204, and then around 1217 another author created an abridged text (*minor*) from the same original.[17] Bartoniek dated the work to the turn of the 12th and 13th centuries and Pražák identified the year of the archetypal work as 1210.[18] Since the Russian version of the *historia* of Saint Ladislaus is based on the chivalric narrative of Ladislaus, the hagiographical work *Legenda Sancti Ladislai regis* will not be the object of a deeper analysis.

The object of interest of the present work is a narrative significantly different from the *Legenda*, which portrays Ladislaus as a military saint. This narrative is neither found in the *Legenda Sancti Ladislai regis*, nor is it written in the hagiographic genre, although it is often referred to as a legend. On the contrary, it has been preserved in several chronicles from the fourteenth century onwards, and also in visual form on numerous church murals, where it is depicted as a legendary cycle and often occupies the entire length of the inner wall of the church. Furthermore, this story has also been preserved in the form of a pictorial legend accompanied by short annotations in the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary*. Finally, the narrative found its way into Russian sources, which will be discussed below.

[16] *SRH II*, 507-14. This interpretation is also confirmed by some other authors: Gábor Klaniczay, "A Szent László-kultusz kialakulása," 21-22. Kornél Szovák, "Szent László alakja a korai elbeszélő forrásokban [The figure of St. Ladislaus in the earliest narrative sources]", *Századok* 134 (2000): 141-42.
[17] Kornél Szovák, "The Image of the Ideal King in Twelfth-Century Hungary: Remarks on the Legend of St Ladislas," in *Kings and Kingship in Medieval Europe*, ed. Anne Duggan and Janet Nelson (London: King"s College London Centre for Late Antique and Medieval Studies, 1994), 241–65. Szovák, "Szent László alakja," 129, 141-42.
[18] Pražák, *Legendy a kroniky*, 132. *SRH II*, 509-14.

Historia: The chivalric narrative of Ladislaus fighting a pagan

Among the chronicles that contain the chivalric narrative of St. Ladislaus is the *Illuminated Chronicle* (*Chronicon Pictum*), probably the best known and most reflected of these chronicles. Due to the exceptionally high degree of proximity of the text of *Illuminated Chronicle* to other manuscript, they were, collectively referred to as *Chronicle Composition of the Fourteenth Century*, sometimes also the *National Chronicle*.[19] Alexander Domanovszky divided the chronicles of this composition into two primary groups, the first consisting of the aforementioned richly illuminated *Chronicon pictum* and the second represented mainly by the *Chronicon Budense* and the *Chronicon Dubnicense*.[20] Scholars place its origins between 1358 and 1370. Although the author Mark of Kalt refers to the year 1358 in the introduction of the Chronicle, a detailed analysis (mainly of the illuminarian work) has dated the work to a later period.[21] In the case of the *Illuminated Chronicle* and other chronicles of the composition, the existence of a common archetype, called by some scholars *Gesta Ladislai regis* or *Gesta ducum sive principum Nitriae*, is assumed. There are several probably later interpolations in the text, which differ from the rest of the text by referring to Ladislaus as *beatus*, *beatissimus*, *sanctus*.[22] It is therefore likely that these parts were added to the original text after Ladislaus' canonization. As Gábor Klaniczay has pointed out, it is unlikely that these appellations would have been associated with Ladislaus prior to his canonization. [23] Another argument to explain

[19] *SRH I*, 217-506. János M. Bak and László Veszprémy, eds., *Chronica de Gestis Hungarorum e Codice Picto Saec. XIV. The Illuminated Chronicle, Chronicle of the Dees of the Hungarians from the Fourteenth-Century Illuminated Codex* (Budapest: CEU Press, 2018). János M. Bak and László Veszprémy, eds., *Studies on the Illuminated Chronicle* (Budapest: CEU Press, 2018). Among the chronicles family, the work will focus on the text *Chronicon pictum* below.

[20] *SRH I*, 219-37. For *Chronicon Dubnicense*, see: Július Sopko, *Kronika uhorských kráľov zvaná Dubnická* [Chronicle of the kings of Hungary called Chronicle of Dubnica] (Budmerice: Rak, 2004) and Sándor Domanovszky, *A Dubniczi krónika kódexe* [Codex of the Chronicle of Dubnica] (Budapest: Hungarian Edition, 1899).

[21] For a detailed analysis, see the Editor-translators' preface in Bak and Veszprémy, *The Illuminated Chronicle*, XXXIX. For other analyses, see: *SRH* I, 219-237 and Pražák, *Legendy a kroniky*, 340-41.

[22] *SRH I*, 368-69.

[23] Gábor Klaniczay, "A Szent László-kultusz Kialakulása," 31.

why it can be argued that these parts were added to text later is the fact that if the chronicle had contained the legendary story of Ladislaus' battle with Cuman before, this legendary narrative would have been embedded in the legends and sermons from the end of the 12th century, but it did not happen. Other authors claim that liturgical sources deliberately do not mention chivalric narrative since it would shed a bad light on St. Ladislaus if he had murdered someone.[24]

These parts of the text differ from the rest of the text of the Chronicle by the fact that several miracles are associated with Ladislaus here and he is mentioned as a saint in these parts. However, one of these texts, which was probably added to the chronicle after Ladislaus' canonization, is a chivalric narrative describing his heroic deeds. The present thesis focuses specifically on this narrative of Saint Ladislaus, which describes his struggle with Cuman and the rescue of the kidnapped girl. The most well-known text of the story is contained in the Illuminated Chronicle:

> "Then, the most Blessed Duke Ladislas saw one of the pagans who was carrying off on his horse a beautiful Hungarian girl. The saintly Duke Ladislas though that it was the daughter of the Bishop of Oradea, and although he was seriously wounded, he swiftly pursued him on his horse, which he called by the name of Szög. When he caught up with him and wished to spear him, he could not do so, for neither could his own horse go any faster nor did the other's horse yield any ground, but there remained the distance of a man's arm between his spear and the Cuman's back. So the saintly Duke Ladislas shouted to the girl and said: "Fair sister, take hold of the Cuman by his belt and throw yourself to the ground." Which she did; and the saintly Duke Ladislas was about to spear him as he lay upon the ground, for he wished to kill him. But the girl strongly pleaded with him not to kill him, but to let him go. Whence it is to be seen that there is no faith in women; for it was probably because of strong carnal love that she wished him to go free. But after having fought for a long time with him and having cut his nerve, the saintly duke killed him. But the girl was not the bishop's daughter. Having killed almost all the pagans and having liberated all the Christians, the king and the dukes returned rejoicing in their triumph with

[24] Veszprémy, "King St Ladislas, Chronicles, Legends and Miracles," 149.

the victorious Hungarian army. There were great happiness in all Hungary, and with hymns and prayers they blessed God who had given them victory."[25]

The same texts as in the Illuminated Chronicle are also found in the *Bratislava Chronicle* (*Chronicon Posoniensis*) and the *Munich Chronicle* (*Chronicon Monacense*). Since their texts are identical to the text of the Illuminated Chronicle, except that they are abridged and do not contain any additional information compared to the text of the former, the thesis will not be devoted to a deeper analysis of these chronicles.[26]

The narrative of Ladislaus' heroic deeds is further contained in two chronicles of Heinrich of Mügeln: in the so-called *Rhymed chronicle* (*Chronicon rhythmicum*) and in the *Chronicle written in German language* (also referred to as *Ungarnchronik*),[27] while the latter was the first chronicle of Hungarian history written in the vernacular.[28] The Latin *Rhymed chronicle* is more poetic and thus deviates in content from other narratives. The story contained in the *Ungarnchronik*, most closely resembles the depiction of *historia* in the wall paintings and in the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary*, especially in the final section, which describes the killing of the Cuman. On the question of the dating and chronological order of these chronicles, there is no consensus among scholars. While Dániel Bagi, referring to Domanovszky, considers the *Ungarnchronik* to be the older one, from which Heinrich was to create a Latin version,

[25] *Vidit denique Beatissimus Ladizlaus dux unum paganorum, qui super dorsum equi sui ducebat unam puelam Hungaram speciosam. Sanctus ergo dux Ladizlaus putans illam esse filiam episcopi Waradiensis et quamvis esset graviter vulneratus, tamen illum celerrime persecutus est super equum illum, quem Zug nominabat. Cum autem attingeret ut eum lancearet, minime poterat, quia nec equus eius celerius currebat, nec equues illius aliquantulum remanebat, sed quasi brachium hominis erat inter lanceam et dorsum Cuni. Clamavit itaque sanctus dux Ladizlaus ad puellam et dixit: "Soror speciosa, accipe Cunum in cingulo et iacta te in terram:" Quod et fecit. Cumque Beatus Ladizlaus dux procul illum lanceasset in terra iacentem, voluit eum interficere. Quem puella valde rogavit, ne eum interficeret, sed ut dimitteret. Unde in hoc notatur, quodfides in mulieribus non sit, quiaforte amore stupri illum liberare voluit. Sanctus autem dux diu cum eo luctando et absciso nervo illum interfecit. Sed illa filia episcopi non fuit. Rex igitur et gloriosi duces fere omnibus paganis interfectis et omnibus Christianis a captivitate liberates, una cum felici embola totius Hungariae cum triumph victorie gaudentes redierunt. Facta este igitur Letitia magna tota Hungaria, et in ymnis et confessionibus benedicebant Deum, qui dedit eis victoriam.* Bak and Veszprémy, *The Illuminated Chronicle*, 196-99. For other variants, see: *SRH I*, 368-9.

[26] Chronicon Posoniense: *SRH II*, 7-52; Chronicon Monacense: *SRH II*, 53-86.

[27] Chronicon rhythmicum: *SRH II*, 225-72 Ungarnchronik, *SRH II*, 87-224.

[28] Dániel Bagi, "Az oroszlán, a sas, a szamár és az igaz mester: Mügelni Henrik két Magyar krónikájának keletkezési körülményei [The Lion, the Eagle, and the Donkey: The circumstances of the origins of the two Hungarian chronicles of the true master Heinrich von Mügeln]," *Századok* 152, no. 3 (2018): 591–622.

Gábor Klaniczay considers the original text to be the *Latin chronicle*, which he dates around 1352, and from which the *Ungarnchronik*, written around 1360, was then drawn.[29] Both chronicles, however, contain a significant change from the *Illuminated Chronicle*. While in the latter Ladislaus killed the Cuman with his own hand, in both Chronicles of Heinrich of Mügeln a pagan warrior was killed by the girl. A scene in the *Ungarnchronik* describes Ladislaus holding a pagan by the hair while a girl cuts his throat.

In the same way one can interpret the story depicted in the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary*.[30] The source, which is also referred to as *Acta Sanctorum pictis imaginibus adornata* or *Vatican Pictorial Legendarium*, is a parchment codex with painted and gilded images accompanied by succinct marginalia. The Legendarium no longer consists of a single codex but is found in multiple collections around the world. The most extensive collection is in Rome at the Vatican Apostolic Library. Other parts are in St. Petersburg at the Hermitage, in New York at the Morgan Library, in Berkeley at the Bancroft Library, in Washington at the Metropolitan Museum, and in Paris at the Louvre. The Legendarium was created as a collection containing the Legenda Aurea supplemented by Hungarian legends. The collection contains legends of saints important to the House of Anjou and contains only short texts to accompany each painting. The origin of Angevin Legendary has not yet been conclusively established. According to the current state of research, Bologna or Hungary can be considered as the place of origin of the legendarium.[31] The work is most often dated to the period between 1330 and 1345.

[29] For the dating, see: Bagi, "*Mügelni Henrik*." *SRH II*, 227-232. Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses*, 191.
[30] Béla Zsolt Szakács, *The Visual World of the Hungarian Angevin Legendary* (Budapest: CEU Press, 2016) and "Between Chronicle and Legend : Image Cycles of St Ladislas in Fourteenth-Century Hungarian Manuscripts," in *The Medieval Chronicle IV*, ed. Erik Kooper (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2006).
[31] Szakács, *The Visual World of the Hungarian Angevin Legendary*, 1-25.

However, the narrative of Ladislaus, who fought against pagan invaders and rescued a kidnapped girl, spread most widely through murals in several churches of the medieval Kingdom of Hungary. It was through this route that the story was best spread among the masses of the faithful. Such a visual representation of Ladislaus' *historia* can be described as a legendary cycle. It is highly probable that the St. Ladislaus cycles first appeared in the church of Veľká Lomnica (Slovakia).[32] However, in the following decades this fresco cycle, following the same pattern, spread throughout the Kingdom of Hungary. What was the reason that the *historia* of St. Ladislaus was so frequently pictured in churches can in most cases only be surmised. However, a single written document survives which records the commissioning of this fresco cycle for the church in Štós (Slovakia), therein one finds information about the "intellectual sophistication and devotion" of the inhabitants, and about the cost of commissioning the wall paintings as well.[33] The Ladislaus cycles offer a story usually interpreted as follows:

> "[...]Upon hearing of the invading Cumans, Prince Ladislas and the Hungarian army leaves the castle (generally identified as Várad); then a tumultuous battle against the Cumans ensues. Ladislas then notices a Cuman warrior, who has abducted a Hungarian girl, and proceeds to chase him on horseback. The Cuman shoots arrows back at Ladislas, who pursues him with lance in hand – but in vain. In the climax of the narrative, the heroes dismount, and a duel with bare hands follows: they pull at each other's belt and grab each other's shoulders, to no avail, until the rescued girl intervenes and cuts the Cuman's tendon with an axe or sword. The king and the girl then decapitate the Cuman; and finally, Saint Ladislas rests under a tree with his head on the girl's lap, as she touches the king's hair."[34]

[32] Veszprémy, "King St Ladislas, Chronicles, Legends and Miracles,"151.
[33] For research on mural paintings depicting St. Ladislaus cycle, see: Jékely, "Transylvanian Fresco Cycles of Saint Ladislas in a New Light." Terézia Kerny, "Patronage of St Ladislas 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*, ed. Lívia Varga and et al. (Budapest: Institute of Art History of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, 2010), 259–72. Gyula László, *A Szent László-legenda középkori falképei* [Medieval murals of the legend of St. Ladislas] (Budapest: Tájak-Korok-Múzeumok Egyesület, 1993). Tomáš Haviar et al., *Gotický Gemer a Malohont: Italianizmy v stredovekej nástennej malbe* [Gothic Gemer and Malohont: Italianizing in medieval wall painting] (Martin: Matica slovenská, 2010).
[34] Interpretation of a scene from the St. Ladislaus mural cycles: Jékely, "Transylvanian Fresco Cycles of Saint Ladislas in a New Light," 98.

In the territory of the Kingdom of Hungary, or in places associated with the Hungarian royal court the presence of the chivalric narrative of St. Ladislaus in both written and visual sources is understandable.[35] However, the story has made its way into Russian written sources, where its presence is surprising, especially when one realizes that Ladislaus, as a saint, was a product of Western Christianity. In Russian sources, the chivalric narrative about St. Ladislaus is supplemented with additional information and is known as the *Narrative of the Killing of Batu*.[36] The written sources, which contain this story, can be divided into two redactions: *chronicler*[37] and *menaion* version.[38] The shorter *chronicler version* is included in several Russian chronicles[39] and in the *Chronograph*,[40] while the longer one is found in the *menaion*[41] and is supplemented by the *Narrative of the killing of Michael of Chernigov*.[42] According to

[35] Especially the rulers of the Anjou dynasty were great supporters of the cult of the holy kings of Hungary, but particularly of Saint Ladislaus, who was presented as the protector of the homeland and the embodiment of Hungarian chivalric culture.

[36] The main representative of the enemy in the Russian version of the *historia* is Batu Khan (c. 1205 - 1255), a Mongol ruler and founder of the Golden Horde

[37] *Летопись* [letopis] - a literary genre popular in Rus, usually translated as "Chronicle."

[38] *Минея* [mineya] (gr. *menaion*) - the liturgical service book used in Eastern Orthodoxy and by Uniaths containing hymns and collects for each month. The book includes the invariable feasts of Christ, the Virgin Mary and other Christian and Old Testament saints. "Encyclopedia Britannica" accessed May 5, 2022, https://www.britannica.com/topic/Menaion.

[39] *Полное Собрание Русских Летописей* [Complete collection of Russian chronicles], 23 (Saint Petersburg: Typography of Edward Prats, 1910); *Полное Собрание Русских Летописей* [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles], 24 (Saint Petersburg: Typography of Edward Prats, 1921); *Полное Собрание Русских Летописей* [Complete collection of russian Chronicles], 25 (Moscow: Typography of Edward Prats, 1949).[A. A. Gorskij] A. A. Горский, "'Повесть о Убиении Батыя' и Русская Литература 70-х Годов XV в ["The narrative of the killing of Batu" and Russian literature of the 1570s]," in *Средневековая Русь [Medieval Rus]*, 3 (Moscow: Indrik, 2001).

[40] *Хронограф* [chronograph] - a specific literary genre occurring in Russia since the second half of the 15th century which attempt to capture world history in a systematic way, while also having a moralising character.

[41] The work aims to provide to provide only a basic overview of sources to the Russian version of *historia*. For a more detailed analysis of the sources, see study of Gorskij, in which he compares the diverse variants of *historia* contained in Russian sources and explains their relationship: [Gorskij, Anton Anatoljevič] Горский, Антон Анатольевич, '"Повесть о Убиении Батыя" и Русская Литература 70-х Годов XV в ["The tale of the killing of Batu" and Russian literature of the 1570s]', in *Средневековая Русь* [Medieval Rus], 3 (Moscow: Indrik, 2001), 191-221. See also: [O. L. Novikova] О. Л. Новикова, "Материалы Для Изучения Русского Летописания Конца XV —Первой Половины XVI в.: I. Летописные Подборки Рукописи Погод. 1956 [Materials for the study of Russian chronicle writing from the end of the 15th to the first half of the 16th Century: I. Chronicle collections of the manuscript Pogod, No. 1596]," in *Очерки Феодальной России [Essays on feudal Russia]*, vol. 11 (Moscow, 2007), 161–64.. From older works: [S.P. Rozanov] С. П. Розанов, 'Повѣсть Объ Убіеніи Батыя [The narrative of the killing of Batu]', in *Извѣстія Отдѣленія Русскаго Языка и Словесности Императорской Академіи Наукъ* [News of the department of Russian language and literature of the Imperial Academy of Sciences], vol. 21, 1, 1916, 109-10.

[42] This is the name that the story of Michael of Chernigov is usually referred to by Russian scholars. Solovjev titled the story *The Life of St. Michael of Chernigov*, however, we use the title *The Narrative of the Killing of Michael of Chernigov*, since it better expresses the content of the story.

Rozanov, who was the first Russian scholar to identify the *Narrative of the killing of Batu* as an adaptation of the *historia* of Saint Ladislaus, the chronicler version is best preserved in *Archivskaja* and *Typografskaja* chronicle.[43] According to Gorskij, the earliest version of the *Narrative of the killing of Batu* is contained in *Archivskaja chronicle*, and in the *Uvarov* and *Hermitage*[44] copies of the *Moscow Code* of 1479.[45] The texts of Ladislaus' *historia* are almost identical in them. However, Rozanov cites the text of Typografskaja chronicle, as he considers it to be the most similar to the *menaion* version of the story.[46] He identified two key sources from which the author of the Russian version of Ladislaus' story drew. The first is the Hungarian *historia* of Saint Ladislaus[47] and the second is Domentian's version of *The Life of Saint Sava*,[48] according to which the Serbian Archbishop Sava converted a Hungarian king to Orthodoxy. An important fact regarding dating is that the *Narrative of the killing of Batu* (Russian variant of Ladislas' *historia*) is not present in the older chronicles that were written before the middle of the 15th century. The oldest chronicle works in which the story is found date from the 70s - 80s of the 15th century.[49] In the *menaion* version, the *Narrative of the killing of Batu* is connected with the *Narrative of the killing of Michael of Chernigov* and the oldest preserved documents are from the 16th century.[50] The text of the Russian version of Ladislaus' story will be presented in chapter 2, in which it will be analysed.

[43] [S.P. Rozanov] С. П. Розанов, "Повѣсть Объ Убіеніи Батыя [The narrative of the killing of Batu]."109-10 *Полное Собрание Русских Летописей* [Complete collection of Russian chronicles], vol. 24 (Saint Petersburg: Typography of Edward Prats, 1921), 96-8.
[44] *PSRL*, 1910, 23.
[45] *PSRL*, 1949, 25.
[46][A. A. Gorskij] А. А. Горский, "The Narrative of the Killing of Batu," 196-97.
[47] The relationship of the Russian narrative to the diverse Hungarian versions of *historia* will be discussed below.
[48] Domentijan, *Zitije Svetog Save*, ed. Dimitrije Bogdanović (Beograd: Gregorić, 1984).
[49] [A. A. Gorskij] А. А. Горский, "The Narrative of the Killing of Batu," 191-92.
[50] Macarius, *Великие Минеи Четьи, Собранные Всероссийским Митрополитом Макарием* [Great menaion reader, collected by the All-Russian metropolitan Macarius] (Saint Petersburg, 1869). A detailed analysis of the relationship between the individual sources, see: [A. A. Gorskij] А. А. Горский, "The Narrative of the Killing of Batu," 191-92.

1 Authorship of the Russian version of *historia*

1.1 First reflections and modern analyses

In tracing how the chivalric narrative of Ladislaus got to Russia, one of the main problems is the question of authorship.[51] However, the study of individual manuscripts, their analysis and the identification of authorship would require a high knowledge of the Russian language and more time than can be devoted to this work. Moreover, since the original text was not written in modern Russian and, according to most authors, it contains linguistic elements from other Slavic languages, qualitative research would necessitate a linguistic analysis as well. For these and other reasons, the thesis will only provide an overview of the authors and their research on this topic instead of doing its own analysis. This overview focuses primarily on Russian historiography and complements it with some researches from other countries that have addressed this topic. The survey of historiography will be supplemented in the future with the missing Serbian historiography.[52]

The first scholar who identified the *Narrative of the killing of Batu* contained in Russian written sources as an independent text was S. M. Solovjev. However, he did not recognize the narrative as the *historia* of St. Ladislaus, assuming instead that the text describes the story of how the Bohemian Duke Jaroslav of Šternberg defeated and killed the son of the Mongol leader Kublai Khan in the surroundings of the Moravian city of Olomouc.[53] Given by the fact that

[51] Since the protagonist of the *Narrative of the Killing of Batu* is the Hungarian king Ladislaus and the story contains the main storyline of the Hungarian version of Ladislaus' historia, this Russian text can be considered as a variant of the chivalric narrative of Ladislaus. The *Narrative of the killing of Batu* can thus be called the *Russian historia* of St. Ladislaus and these terms will be used synonymously throughout the thesis.

[52] The main emphasis in this chapter is on the authorship problem of the Russian variant of *historia*. It is not the intention of the thesis to do research on individual manuscripts, nor to determine the order of their composition, nor to date them precisely. However, a number of scholars, especially in Russia, have addressed this complex topic. For recent detailed research, see: [A. A. Gorskij] А. А. Горский, "The Narrative of the Killing of Batu."

[53] This narrative was not based on real facts and originates from the Manuscripts of Dvůr Králové, which has been identified as a *falsum*. See: Dalibor Dobiáš, *Rukopisy královédvorský a zelenohorský v kultuře a umění* [Manuscripts of Dvůr Králové and Zelená Hora] (Praha: Academia, 2019) and Tomáš Garrigue Masaryk, *Z bojů*

Narrative of the killing of Batu is connected with the *Narrative of the killing of Michael of Chernigov* and that the text includes a short narration about the Serbian archbishop St. Sava, Solovjev claims there is no doubt the work originated in the region of the South Slavs and later was brought to Russia by the well-known Serbian monk Pachomius Logofet.[54] As will be seen below Pachomius, is referred to by several authors as the author of the Russian version of the *historia*. Pachomius was a monk originally from Serbia who probably lived for a time on the Mount Athos in the Serbian monastery of Chilandar. He came to Novgorod in 1430 and is best known in Russian historiography as a particularly active author and compiler in the monastery of the Holy Trinity of St. Sergius in Zagorsk near Moscow, where he arrived in 1440. Here Pachomius created or compiled several lives of saints, including the *Narrative of the killing of Michael of Chernigov*, also known as the *Life of Michael of Chernigov*.[55] However, there are several indications which associate Pachomius also with the origin of the Russian variant of *historia*.[56] Another author who identified the text as an independent narrative was V. O. Ključevskij. He considered the text of *historia* as a folk song of South Slavic origin, adapted by Pachomius and combined with the *Narrative of the killing of Michael of Chernigov*, of which he was the author as well. Ključevskij dated this revision to before 1473.[57] Neither him, nor M. G. Halanskij recognized that the *Narrative of the killing of Batu* was based on the Hungarian *historia*. The latter pointed out that the Batu's narrative contain the motif of the kidnapped girl who had fallen in love with a pagan, but he considered it to be a motif from folk narratives which in Halanskij's time were still well known among the Serbs, Bulgarians, Little Russians

o rukopisy: Texty z let 1886 - 1888 [From the struggle for manuscripts: Texts from 1886 - 1888], ed. Jana Svobodová, 1. vyd, Spisy T. G. Masaryka [The works of T. G. Masaryk] 19 (Praha: Ústav T. G. Masaryka, 2004).

[54] [S.M. Solovjev] С. М. Соловьёв, *Сочинения* [Compositions], 2 (Moscow, 1988).615-616, 679.

[55] Martin Dimnik, *Mikhail, Prince of Chernigov and Grand Prince of Kiev, 1224-1246* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1981), 151.

[56] In his study Perényi discusses in detail the question of the authorship of Pachomius, see: [József Perényi] Йожеф Перени, "Легенда о Святом Владиславе в России [The legend of Saint Vladislav in Russia]", *Studia Slavica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 1 (1955): 227-44.

[57] [V. O. Ključevskij] В. Ó. Ключе́вский, *Древнерусские Жития Святых Как Исторический Источник* [Ancient Russian lives of the saints as a historical source] (Moscow: Publication of K. Soldatenkov, 1871),128, 147.

and Great Russians, with the only difference in the modern versions, that the kidnapped *sister* was replaced by the *bride*.[58] Similarly to Ključevskij, also Halanskij considered Pachomius to be the author, who combined the Batu's narrative with the *Narrative of the killing of Michael of Chernigov* and dated the origin of the text between the end of the 15th century or the beginning of the 16th century. He compared the narrative with a Serbian stories of Banovich Strakhyna,[59] Marko Kralevich[60] and with the Russian *bylina* about Ivan Godinovich.[61] V. S. Ikonnikov considers Pachomius to be the author of the *Narrative of the killing of Batu*, although he does not explain the reasons why and adopts Solovjev's misinterpretation that the narrative describes a battle near Moravian city of Olomouc, where the Czech duke Jaroslav of Šternberg defeated the Tatars.[62] N. I. Serebrjanskij assumed that the *historia* was created by Pachomius together with the Michael's narrative as an expression of revenge against Batu.[63]

However, the first scholarly analyses focused specifically on the Russian variant of the *historia* did not occur until the beginning of the 20th century. It seems that the year 1916 was quite productive, since two important works were created. In Russia, it was S. P. Rozanov who first identified the *Narrative of the killing of Batu* as an adaptation of the *historia* of St. Ladislaus and his struggle with the pagan. Although Rozanov assumed that the text was written by a Serbian in Oradea and later reworked into its present form in Russia, he did not see any trace that Pachomius would have been the author. On the contrary, he assumed that if

[58] In this case, the thesis uses the terminology of Halanskij to avoid misinterpretation of the author's claim. However *Little Russians* are usually identified with modern Ukrainians, while *Great Russians* with modern Russians.
[59] Valtazar Bogišić, *Narodne pjesme iz starijih, najčešće primorskih zapisa I* [Folk songs from ancient, mostly coastal records I] (Beograd: Serbian Learned Society, 1878),106.
[60] Eva March Tappan, *Russia, Austria-Hungary, The Balkan States, and Turkey*, The World's Story: A History of the World in Story, Song and Art 6 (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1914), 415-19.
[61][M.G. Halanskij] М. Г. Халанский, *Великорусские Былины Киевского Цикла* [Great Russian "byliny" of the Kiev cycle] (Warsaw: Printing house of Mikhail Zemkevich, 1885), 111-15. For Ivan Godinovich, see: James Bailey, *An Anthology of Russian Folk Epics* (Routledge, 2015).177-87.
[62]Present work uses the contemporary term *Tatars* instead of the self-identifying term *Mongols*. For Ikonnikov see: [V. S. Ikonnikov] В. С. Иконниковъ, *Опытъ Русской Исторіографіи Исторіографіи* [Experience of Russian historiography], vol. 2, 2 (Kiev: University of St. Vladimir, 1908). 1784-5.
[63] [N.I. Serebrjanskij] Николай Ильич Серебрянский, *Древнерусские Княжеские Жития* [Ancient Russian lives of princes] (Moscow: Synodal Printing House, 1915). 127-28.

Pachomius was the one who combined the text of Ladislaus' *historia* with the *Narrative of the killing of Michael of Chernigov*, then he took an already finished text of Russian version of *historia*. According to Rozanov, there were two popular narratives about Saint Ladislaus in Oradea at the time when the author visited the city, which may have been a source of inspiration for the author of the Russian version: the *historia* of Saint Ladislaus and the "legend" of a Tartar Invasion where their defeat was caused by a military miracle of the head reliquary of Saint Ladislaus.[64] Thanks to the Serbian author, according to Rozanov, the story of Ladislaus found its way into the Russian chronicles, from where it was later taken and combined with the *Narrative of the killing of Michael of Chernigov* and in this form then included in the *menaion*.[65] In the same year, the first scholarly reflection on the Russian version of the story was made by the Ruthenian scholar Anton Hodinka as well. He published four texts of Russian chronicles, concerning Hungarian history, including the text of the Russian version of Ladislaus' *historia*. Although Hodinka accompanied the text with a short commentary, he did not devote a detailed study to the topic of the *historia*. While Hodinka agreed with Ikonnikov's view that the Serbian monk Pachomius was the author of the text, he opposed his claim that the *Narrative of the killing of Batu* describes the Battle of Olomouc and Jaroslav of Šternberg. Instead, Hodinka identified the text as an adaptation of the Hungarian narrative of Ladislaus. Regarding the identification of the author of the work, Hodinka stated that even in the case that Ikonnikov did not identify Pachomius as the author, the Serbian origin of the author is evident from the use of some Serbianisms.[66] The authorship of the Russian variant of *historia* is the subject of a more detailed study by another Hungarian scholar, József Perényi. He attempted

[64] In this case, one cannot speak of true legends as a hagiographic genre, but rather of an oral tradition, which, however, may also have been recorded in written form. The motive for the miraculous intervention of the relic of Saint Ladislaus will be discussed below.

[65] [S.P. Rozanov] С. П. Розанов, "Повѣсть Объ Убіеніи Батыя [The narrative of the killing of Batu]."

[66] Anton Hodinka, *Az Orosz évkönyvek Magyar vonatkozásai* [Hungarian aspects of the Russian annals] (Budapest: Hungarian Academy of Science, 1916). 458-83. Hodinka points out that the author used Serbian terms instead of Russian ones: *память* [pameť] ("memory") instead of Russian *память* [pamjať] and *краль* [kraľ] ("king") instead of *король* [koroľ]. However, these terms are the same in some West Slavic languages. Compare, e.g., with the Slovak language: *kraľ* - *kráľ* a *pameť* - *pamäť* [pameť]. For Serbianisms in text see: Ibid., 483.

to analyse the intellectual background of the author of the Russian text and to trace possible inspirations for the writing of the *Narrative of the killing of Batu*. Similarly to other authors, Perényi deduced that the author of the text was of Serbian origin which is confirmed by the fact that the author was familiar with the *Life of Sava* and uses some Serbian linguistic elements in the text.[67] Perényi considered Pachomius to be the author of the Russian narrative and tried to trace his possible journeys and stays. Perényi aimed to explore the intellectual background of the monk Pachomius and therefore to trace the places he might have visited. He reported that Pachomius mentions in some of his works[68] that he came to Russia from a monastery in Athos, but on the other hand, in the *Life of Nikon of Radonezh*,[69] he claims that he came to Russia from Serbia. Although no evidence of Pachomius' stay in the Serbian monastery of Chilandar on Mont Athos has been found, Perényi still believed that the former spent there some time for study purposes. He also considered it probable that Pachomius stayed for a certain time in the Serbian monastery of Manasija,[70] since the monastery was an important intellectual centre of the Serbia and Pachomius had the opportunity to acquire better knowledge there than at Athos. According to Perényi, in the context of the Russian variant of Ladislaus' *historia*, it is significant that, the author personally visited Oradea, where he had the opportunity to see the statue of St. Ladislaus with his own eyes and where he got acquainted with the *historia* of St. Ladislaus from the local inhabitants. Perényi supposed Pachomius had visited the city between 1410 and 1438 and considered 1438 to be the last possible year of the visit, since the latter was already in Russia in the same year. From this, Perényi deduced which sources and what knowledge Pachomius could have worked with: (1) the Hungarian *historia* of Saint Ladislaus and his battle with the Cumans, (2) stories told to him by the inhabitants of

[67] The edition of the Life of St. Sava and the Serbian language elements are cited above.
[68] Perényi does not specify which ones he is referring to.
[69] Nataliya Pak, "The Third Pachomian Edition of the Life of Nikon of Radonezh," *Slavianovedenie*, no. 4 (2020): 50–67.
[70] A monastery located near the town of Despotovac, founded by the despot Štefan Lazarević between 1406 and 1407. "Fortified Manasija Monastery" accessed May 3, 2022, https://whc.unesco.org/en/tentativelists/5536/.

Oradea, (3) his own observation of the realities in the city, (4) the *Life of St. Sava* by Theodosius,[71] (5) and information from some Balkan sources about the Christianization of the Hungarians by the Byzantines. According to Perényi, Pachomius thus introduced to Russia a new genre - the *chronograph* - concerning world history and linked it to a positive example of victorious heroic struggle against the Tartars (meant *historia*), which was to be a model for the Russian princes.[72] Like Perényi, Serbian literary scholar Đorđe Radojičić, assumed a Serbian author of the Russian narrative, since it is obvious that the author was familiar with the *Life of St. Sava*. He also claimed the author had evidently visited Oradea in person and had spoken to its inhabitants. Radojičić mentioned the famous equestrian statue of St. Ladislaus, which was situated in the town, and which is mentioned in the Russian version of the *historia*, but he mistakenly claimed that it was destroyed by the Turks in 1474.[73] Based on this misunderstanding, he concluded that the Russian version of history was written before that year. Since he linked the Serbian author's activity with the acquisition of possessions in the area by the despot Štefan Lazarevič in 1411, he assumed that the work must have been written between 1411 and 1474. Radojičić excluded the possibility that the author of the text was Pachomius. He argued that the *Chronograph* written by Pachomius contains an abridged version of the *historia* and the author would not have abbreviated his own text.[74] The American historian Charles J. Halperin is opposed to the authorship of Pachomius as well and suggests that the text was written without any political aim. Nevertheless, Halperin misinterprets the text of the Russian narrative, when he claims that Ladislaus built a column in Oradea, while in

[71] Although Rozanov assumes that the author worked with the Life of Domentian, Perényi assumes working with the version by the Serbian monk Theodosius the Hilandarian (1246-1328), see: [Teodosije] Теодосије, Житије Светог Саве [Live of Saint Sava]. Ed. Данијел Дојчиновић [Danijel Dojčinović] (Banja Luka: Art Print, 2016).
[72] [József Perényi] Йожеф Перени, *Легенда о святом Владиславе в России* [The legend of St Vladislav in Russia] (Budapest: Studia Academica Scientarum Hungaricae, 1955), 227-44.
[73] The statue was destroyed during the Turkish attack in 1660. More information below.
[74] [Ђорђе Radojičić] Ђорђе Радојичић, "Стара Српска Књижевност у Средњем Подунављу (Од XV До XVIII Века) [Old Serbian Literature in Central Danubian Region (from the 15th to the 18th Century)]," *Годишњак Филозофског Факултета у Новом Саду* [Annual review of the Faculty of Philosophy in Novi Sad] 2 (1957): 239–70.

fact the equestrian statue was erected in 1390. According to Halperin, "The 'Tale' may […] be described as an anonymous work of a writer of unknown ethnic identity, unquestionably addressed to a Muscovite audience."[75] On the contrary O. M. Uljanov links the appearance of the text to the hostile sentiment against the Golden Horde in the Russian milieu, which culminated in the Great Stand on the Ugra River[76] in 1480 and he dates text to the 1480s. Uljanov considers the authorship of Pachomius possible, but in any case he connects the emergence of the text, apart from anti-Horde sentiments, with the distrust towards Western Christianity after the Union of Florence in 1439 and with the intellectual immigration to Russia from the Balkans as a consequence of Ottoman expansion. However, he makes no mention at all of textual variants other than the *chronicler version* of the Russian *historia*.[77] In a recent, detailed study, A. A. Gorskij claims that the belief Pachomius was considered the author of the Russian narrative is based on the fact that the *Narrative of the killing of Batu* was placed after Pachomius' redaction of the *Narrative of the killing of Michael of Chernigov* (which is known to have been composed by Pachomius). However, Batu's narrative is placed together with the Michael of Chernigov's narrative only in the *menaion* edition of the Michael of Chernigov and not in the other two *chronicler editions - Solovetsky* and *Archivsky* chronicle. Gorskij has made a detailed analysis of the various variants of the Russian *historia* and the *Narrative of the killing of Michael of Chernigov* and by comparing the variants concluded that the author of Russian *historia* can indeed be considered Pachomius. Gorskij identified certain characteristic elements of Pachomius's style, which are, for instance, repeated references to the same work already existing in the literature before him. From the complex analysis of it is, according to Gorskij

[75] Charles J. Halperin, "The Defeat and Death of Batu," *Russian History* 10, no. 1 (1983): 60-3.
[76] A military encounter between the armies of Grand Prince Ivan III of Moscow and Akhmatov Khan of the Great Horde in 1480 on the banks of the Ugra River, which was concluded with the departure of the Tatars without conflict.
[77] [O.M. Uljanov] О. М. Ульянов, "Смерть Батыя (к Вопросу о Достоверности Летописного Сообщения о Гибели в Венгрии Золотоордынского Хана Батыя) [The death of Batu (On the reliability of the chronicle account of the death of the Golden Horde Khan Batu in Hungary)]," in *Сборник Русского Исторического Общества* [Collection of the Russian Historical Society], vol. 11 (Moscow: Russkaja panorama, 1999).

clear, that the Russian *historia* was not written as a complement to the *narrative of the killing Michael of Chernigov*, but it was written before the latter. One of the reasons why the monk Pachomius can be considered to be the author of both the Russian *historia* and the *Narrative of the killing of Michael of Chernigov* is the usage of the same vocabulary in both texts. In both narratives, Batu is referred to as *окаянный*[78] and *безбожный*,[79] then the labeling of the Tatars as *варвары*,[80] a terms not widely used in Russia before the 16th century but the terms used by Pachomius. Gorskij concluded the question of authorship by stating the author of the Russian version of the *historia* is Pachomius, composing the work no later than 1477.[81] Pachomius was also identified as the author by G. M. Prokhorov, who in his study dedicated to the former described his literary production. Prokhorov dated the creation of Russian *historia* before 1473, but, like Ključevskij, considers the model for this narrative to be a South Slavic folk song. However, according to Prokhorov, it is not clear whether Pachomius should have written the Russian narrative or whether he was just a compiler.[82] The topic of the authorship was addressed by the Hungarian linguist and the slavist András Zoltán, who presented a review of the literature related to the composition of the Russian *historia*. Zoltán underlined that the two versions of the narrative have different lengths. On this basis, he suggests it unlikely that the shorter and the longer versions would have been written by the same author, since it is improbable that the author of the *menaion* version would have abridged his text into the chronicler version. Moreover, according to Zoltán, there is no evidence that Pachomius was still alive at the time of the creation of the *Chronograph*, which should have been in the 1490s.[83]

[78] "Cursed."
[79] "Godless."
[80] "Barbarians."
[81] [A. A. Gorskij] А. А. Горский, "The Narrative of the Killing of Batu."
[82] [G. M. Prokhorov] Г. М. Прохоров, "Пахомий Серб (Логофет) [Pachomius the Serbian (Logofet)]," in *Словарь Книжников и Книжности Древней Руси* [Dictionary of scribes and bookishness of ancient Rus], ed. [D. S. Lihačev] Д. С. Лихачев, vol. 2, Вторая Половина XIV – XVI в. [Second half of the 14th to the 16th century] 2 (Saint Petersburg: Nauka, 1989).
[83] András Zoltán, "Szent László és Batu kán [Saint Ladislaus and Batu Khan]," in *Ad vitam aeternam: Tanulmánykötet Nagy István 70. születésnapjára* [Study booklet for the 70th birthday of István Nagy], ed. Mária Gyöngyösi (Budapest: ELTE, 2017), 355–61.

On the other hand, R. J. Počekaev suggested that the author of both, the killing of Batu and the chronograph, was Pachomius. Počekaev, however, was more concerned with the reasons why the *Narrative of the killing of Batu* was written than by whom, and regards it as a political rather than a historical work.[84] A. B. Strakhov employed the information of Pachomius being the author of the text as a fact without arguing it. Although he offered no justification for identifying Pachomius as the author, he did describe the political background under which the text of the Russian *historia* was written and also the motivations the author may have had for writing the text. However, Strakhov's field is political science, and this corresponds to his point of view on the issue of authorship.[85]

1.2 Tendencies in the problem of authorship

The purpose of this chapter was to provide an overview of the authors who have explored the issue of authorship of the Russian version of *historia*. The presented chapter is meant to provide a historiographical overview, however, the author of this thesis cannot be a judge on this topic and take a definite position, as explained above. However, some tendencies in the problem of authorship of the Russian narrative can be noted.

Most of the authors considered it plausible that the author of the narrative was of Serbian origin. There are several arguments leading to this. First of all, it is the fact that the author was familiar with the *Life of St. Sava*, and secondly, it is the linguistic elements that the authors consider to be of Serbian origin. Some authors, however, saw a connection with the

[84] [R. J. Počekaev] Р. Ю. Почекаев, *Батый: Хан, Который Не Был Ханом* [Batu Khan: The khan who was not khan] (Moscow: Evrazija, 2006).
[85] [A.B. Strakhov] А.Б. Страхов, "О Духовно–Политических Смыслах 'Слова Об Убиении Злочестивого Царя Батыя' [On the spiritual and political implications of the 'Word of the killing of the evil tsar Batu']," *Историческое Образование* [History Education] 2 (2014): 100–5.

Serbian milieu even more in the fact that they consider Serbian folk songs to be a precursor of the Russian narrative. However, most scholars consider the Serbian monk Pachomius to be the author of the narrative. The argument for his authorship is mainly based on his Serbian origin, his high education, and the fact that he was the author and compiler of many lives of saints, including the *Life of Michael of Chernigov*, which he linked to the *Narrative of the killing of Batu*. On the contrary, the most common argument against Pachomius' authorship is that Pachomius, as the author of the *Chronograph*, must have abridged his own text, the text found in a longer version in the *menaion*, which is considered unlikely by some scholars.

A problematic point in the survey is the ambiguity of the authors, in which the question of the authorship of the Russian version of the *historia* itself, on the one hand, and their entry in the Russian *chronicles* and *menaion*, on the other hand, are often conflated. Indeed, the narrative may have existed earlier and been written by one author and later inscribed in Russian sources by a second author.

2 Saint Ladislaus as a military saint: Attributes associated with Ladislaus in Hungarian and Russian tradition

Although the image of Saint Ladislaus as a knight and *athleta patriae* became the most widespread, such an image was preserved in the manuscripts of chronicles and in wall paintings that were created as early as the 14th century, but not in his *legenda*. The popularisation of the chivalric image of Ladislaus is especially associated with the reign of the Anjou dynasty, which came to power at the beginning of the 14th century and during whose reign the aforementioned Hungarian chronicles and numerous wall paintings were created. Thus, in the middle of the fourteenth century, Saint Ladislaus became the most popular saint in the Kingdom of Hungary.[86] However, many scholars have demonstrated that the origins of the *historia* are traced back to the reign of Bela III and they have pointed to many aspects of his life that confirm this. Hence, in order to obtain a deeper understanding of the cult of Saint Ladislaus as a military saint, it is essential to first introduce King Bela III, who, initiated his canonization.[87] But what was the motivation for the canonization of St. Ladislaus and where can the roots of his chivalric cult be found?

2.1 The background of the image of Ladislaus as a military saint

One of the reasons seems to be the already existing local cult, which could have developed in the monasteries and churches founded and donated by Ladislaus.[88] However,

[86]Veszprémy, "King St Ladislas, Chronicles, Legends and Miracles," 157.
[87] The aim of this section is to emphasize only a few elements of the life of Bela III associated to the cult od Ladislaus, rather than to provide a thorough account of his life.
[88] Veszprémy, "King St Ladislas, Chronicles, Legends and Miracles," 141.

further motivations can be found in the life of Bela III himself and his complicated accession to the Hungarian throne. In 1163 Bela III had been dispatched to the court of the Byzantine Emperor Manuel Komnenos, whose mother Irene - Piroska was the daughter of St. Ladislaus. He was given the name Alexios, the title of despot, and was intended as the successor of Manuel, thus as the future emperor of the Byzantine Empire. He grew up in an environment of high courtly culture, where military saints were venerated, and, moreover, it was already there where he was able to get familiar with the stories about St. Ladislaus.

This period in Bela's life could probably explains the presence of several elements of Eastern origin in the cult of St. Ladislaus, and specifically in Ladislaus' *historia* and *legenda*. During this period, the cult of military saints enjoyed great popularity in the Byzantine court, which was reinforced by the organization of the Crusades, and this cult may have influenced Bela. Another motif pointed out by Terézia Kerny is the marble plate from Ephesus soaked with the tears of the Virgin Mary found in Constantinople, while a similar motif of a marble stone soaked with tears can be found in the centre of the cult of Saint Ladislaus in Oradea, and this motif also made its way into the Russian version of the story, which will be discussed below.[89] Some scholars also point to the possible influence of the 10th-century narrative *Digenis Akritas* updated in the age of the Comneni, which may have affected Ladislaus' fresco cycles.[90] However, other influences that may have determinated the intellectual background of Bela and those close to him must also be taken into account. Important may have been the impact of his wife Agnes de Châtillon, who was the daughter of Renaud de Châtillon, one of the most prominent crusaders, a French knight and prince of Antioch. It is plausible that the developed chivalric culture of the court of Bela's father-in-law, brought to Hungary through Agnes, that may have been the inspiration for the creation of the *historia* of St Ladislaus. This

[89] Kerny, "László király szentté avatása," 177.
[90] Denison B. Hull, trans., *Digenis Akritas: The Two-Blood Border Lord.The Grottaferrata Version* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1972). For further literature see: Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses*, 194.

was further strengthened by the second marriage of Béla to Margaret of France, who had come to Hungary with her court and brought the traditions of French court culture.

The connection between Bela and Ladislaus is also suggested by other indications. In the *Legenda sancti Ladislai regis*, Ladislaus is described as a man of extremely tall stature, to whom others only reached his shoulders. Such a description, however, also fits Bela III, whose remains have survived and prove his extraordinary height. Further confirmation that Ladislaus is Bela embodied is information from the same source according to which Ladislaus was asked by the crusade organizers to command their army. This information, however, cannot be linked to Ladislaus since the crusade was proclaimed only after his death. However, it can be linked to Bela III, who promised the participation of his sons in the crusade.[91]

2.2 Attributes of Saint Ladislaus as a military saint in the Hungarian tradition (written sources, visual material)

The chivalric *historia* of St. Ladislaus has been the subject of a number of high-quality researches. The sources and literature related to the cult of St. Ladislaus as a military saint have been partly discussed in the Introduction chapter. This chapter will therefore not be devoted to a detailed analysis of their origins, interrelationship or dating, but rather will focused on the narrative depicting Ladislaus as a military saint in the Hungarian tradition, and then the Russian narrative describing this story of St. Ladislaus will be presented. Emphasis will be placed on specific motifs associated with the cult of Saint Ladislaus as a military saint in the Hungarian tradition, and then the innovations brought to this cult by the Russian version of the narrative will be pointed out.

[91] Klaniczay, "A Szent László-Kultusz Kialakulása."

At the centre of the Hungarian *historia* is Ladislaus depicted as a warrior defending his homeland from the attack of the unbelievers. In some variants, these are represented by the *Cumans*,[92] in others by the *Tartars*.[93] In the Hungarian tradition the main antagonist is the leader of the Cumans (or Tatars) *Osul*,[94] who can be interpreted as a symbolic representative of evil. The dominant motif of the legend is the chasing of the pagan who kidnapped a Hungarian girl and Ladislaus' subsequent struggle with him. This entire scene is interwoven with the victorious battle at Kyrieleis (rom. Chiraleș, hung. Kerlés) against the pagans. The main topic of the story - the struggle of Christian knights as representatives of the light fighting against the demonic realm of darkness, has been popular since at least the Carolingian period. Centuries later, Bernard of Clairvaux, in his work *De laude novae militiae*, advocates the idea of knights defending their homeland, arms in hand, against infidels.[95] A knight, however, cannot kill just for his personal benefit, but to protect the church against the attacks of unbelievers.[96] Following this pattern, St. Ladislaus has become a symbol of such a righteous warrior as portrayed by his *historia*. There are some mural paintings even beginning with a scene depicting the Bishop of Oradea and according to several written sources, Ladislaus considered the kidnapped girl to be the bishop's daughter. There can be no doubt, therefore, that Ladislaus is fighting on the side of the Church and defending it. Shortly after Ladislaus' canonization, a similar motif was repeated in various liturgical texts, calling him "*the pillar of*

[92] Chronicon pictum: *Cuni*. There is also a manuscript marked V4 in which is a reference to the *Tatars*: *Devastant Cuni Hungariam quos vocant Tartaros* in *SRH I*, 366. In the case of the murals, the pagan warrior is also identified as Cuman, mainly because of the headdress referred to as the "Cuman cap."

[93] Chronicon rhythmicum Henrici de Mügeln: *Tartari*, *Huni* in *SRH II*, 269; Chronicon Henrici de Mügeln Germanice conscriptum (Ungarnchronik): *Tatter*, *Täter* in *SRH II*, 177 ; Hungarian Angevin Legendary: *Tartari*, *Comani*.

[94] Chronicon Pictum: *Osul* in *SRH I*, 367; Other version is in both chronicles of Heinrich of Mügeln: *Osla*, in *SRH II*, 177, 269.

[95] Bernard of Clairvaux, *In Praise of the New Chivalry: De Laude Novae Militiae*, trans. Dr Leon Roger Hunt (CreateSpace Independent Publishing Platform, 2018). See also: Malcolm Barber. *The New Knighthood* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

[96] Ivan Gerát, *Svätí bojovníci v stredoveku: úvahy o obrazových legendách sv. Juraja a sv. Ladislava na Slovensku* [Holy warriors in the Middle Ages: reflections on the pictorial legends of St. George and St. Ladislaus in Slovakia] (Bratislava: Veda, 2011), 18-9.

the Christian militia" and the "*defensor indefessus et athleta patria*" (invincible defender and athlete of the fatherland). Chivalric qualities were also attributed to Ladislaus by two sermons by Benedict, Bishop of Oradea in 1290.[97]

However, it would be impossible to talk about chivalric culture without the horse, which was one of the major attributes of a knight. In the case of Ladislaus, even his name, Zug, is known.[98] Several scholars have pointed out that it could be an element brought from the East.[99] One reason why the author paid such attention to the horse may be that he was inspired by stories about famous warriors and their horses such as Alexander the Great and his horse *Bukefalos*, or the Song of Roland and Charlemagne's horse *Tencendur*.[100] One other characteristic thing for Ladislaus and his main attribute by which he can be recognised in various visual representations is his battle-axe. Ladislaus' battle-axe is, on the one hand, part of the chivalric *historia* depicted in the wall paintings, while on the other hand, it is also part of the depictions of St. Ladislaus as part of the joint cult of the holy Hungarian kings (Ladislaus, Stephen, Emeric). It is important to note that the battle-axe is, in addition to Ladislaus, also the symbol of St. Olaf of Norway. Moreover, in the process of Christianisation and in the creation of the cult of saints, many similarities can be found in the development between the Kingdom of Hungary and Scandinavia.[101] Along with Ladislaus' fight with the Cuman, the main storyline of the legend is the rescue of a kidnapped girl, who in some versions of the legend is referred to *puella* in some others as *virgo*.[102] This story is very close to the chivalric romances that were

[97] Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses*, 188.
[98] Chronicon pictum: *Zug* in *SRH I*, 368; Ungarnchronik: *Zaug* in *SRH II*, 177.
[99] Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses*, 194.
[100] Dorothy L. Sayers, trans., *The Song of Roland* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1957), 38, accessed March 4, 2021, https://archive.org/details/songofroland00saye/page/38/mode/2up.
[101] Gábor Klaniczay also points out the connection between the cult of St. Olaf and St. Ladislaus: Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses*, 170-171, 185. The international project led by Nora Berend "Christianization and the Rise of Christian Monarchy" highlighted several parallels between Scandinavia and the Kingdom of Hungary: "Christianization and the Rise of Christian Monarchy," accessed March 3, 2022, https://christianization.hist.cam.ac.uk/menu.html.
[102] Chronicon pictum: *puella*; Chronicon rhythmicum: *virgo*; Ungarnchronik: *die jungefrauen*, *junckfrauen*, *mait*.

popular especially in Western Europe. The rescue of a kidnapped girl from the hands of an unbeliever, a chivalric duel, and finally the reward for the knight in the form of the love of a rescued girl are frequent themes of such narratives. However, the texts about Ladislaus do not ascribe to him virtues typical of romances such as loyalty or devotion (*triuwe*). On the other hand, in the pictorial representation of the legend of St. Ladislaus, one may notice a scene that is not included in the text variants, and which is more similar to typical chivalric romances. It is a very intimate romantic scene in which Ladislaus rests on the lap of a girl after a struggle with the pagan. This similarity of Ladislaus' *historia* to a chivalric romance raises the question to what extent one can speak of a military saint if the story is inspired by a chivalric epic that was closer to the aristocratic court than to the church.[103] A comparison of Saint Ladislaus and Willehalm, who is the main protagonist of the "Chanson de Guillaume" and who, like Ladislaus, was worshiped as a saint (canonized in 1066), can help to understand the overlap of these influences. The specific feature of chivalric romances was that they were intended for an aristocratic audience. Therefore, unlike legends written in Latin, these narratives were usually written in vernacular languages. Like the romances about Willehalm written in Middle German, the text that most closely resembles the wall depictions of the *historia*, the *Ungarnchronik* of Heinrich von Mügeln, is written in Middle German. This raises the question: for whom was the text, which in visualised form has found its way onto the walls of many churches, intended? For secular or ecclesiastical purposes? However, motifs similar to St. Ladislaus' *historia* can also be found in secular character narratives. One such example is the *Codex Manesse*, which contains several illustrations depicting a chivalric tournaments. One such illumination depicts a knight chasing a rider with a Cuman cap, shooting arrows at him, which bears a striking resemblance to a scene from the St. Ladislaus *historia*.[104] In Veldeke's

[103] Although the thesis avoids the term *legend* in the case of Ladislaus' *historia*, this narrative essentially fulfilled the role of a legend, and was the basis for the image of Ladislaus as a military saint. In particular, its visual form is frequently referred to as a legend.
[104] Mainly its visual representation in Angevin Legendary and in wall paintings.

Eneide one can find a scene that we find only on the visual representation of the chivalric narrative of St. Ladislaus - intimate moments in nature, while the scene consists of a tree and standing horses. Thus, it can be said that the St. Ladislaus' *historia* combines elements of several genres and does not contain strictly only hagiographic motifs, although it was the basis for the image of Ladislaus as a military saint.

2.2 The Orthodox Ladislaus: Newly acquired attributes of Ladislaus in the Russian narrative

The *historia* of Ladislaus reached Russia at the end of the 15th century in a modified form, but the essence of the story remained unchanged. Some elements contained in the original Hungarian tradition were further strengthened and acquired a miraculous character. Others have been modified according to the author's intention. Several elements of Eastern Christianity can also be identified in the story. For a better understanding, here is an excerpt from the legend:

> "This ruler (Ladislaus - M.A.), when he saw the wrath of God on the earth, wept, could do nothing, endured many days, tasted neither bread nor water, but remained on the aforementioned pillar, because he saw that he might be killed by the wicked. But his sister fled to him into the city; and when the barbarians came to her, they took her captive and led her away to Batu. But when King Vladislaus saw all this he began to weep, and began to pray to God, saying: "Lord, these are thy mercies, for their blood, which thou hast shed without sin, for our sins thou hast delivered us to the King of the Law, and to the most faithful of all the earth. But do not deliver us up to the end for your name's sake." What will the torturer say: where is their God? Help me, O Lord my God, and save us by thy mercy; and we shall all understand that thou art the only Lord of all the earth. And the woman shed many tears, and the tears that flowed from her eyes were like pearls; and when she fell upon the marble, she passed through it to know the help of God. And someone stood before the man and said to him: "For thy tears the Lord will give thee victory over the wicked king." But they began to look into the face of the man who spoke, and they did not see him. He came down from the pillar and saw a saddled horse, on which no one was standing, and an axe on it, and from this he understood that God's help was more secure. So the king mounted his horse, and rode out of the city upon those who

opposed him, with as many soldiers as he could find by him. When they (the Tartars - M.A.) saw the adversaries, fear seized them, and they were defeated. When they (the Hungarians - M.A.) followed them, they destroyed a great number of the wicked barbarians, and took away their possessions, though they were few in number, and took the rest alive. When they saw that, with God's help, they had left the city and defeated the adversaries, they went out of the city with their little ones, their wives and children taking up the courage of men, and they also defeated the wicked barbarians and did not resist them in any way. And we also reckon that the wicked Batu, who flees to the mountains of Hungary, receives the end of his life at the hands of the monarch Vladislav. And of his (Ladislaus's) sister, who was taken prisoner, and who afterwards fled with Batu, no one speaks but a living man who lives there. And when Vladislaus later wrestled with Batu, his sister sided with Batu, and the monarch killed them both. When they were taken captive, the barbarians mercilessly put them to death, but if they wanted to believe in Christ, they abandoned them. And the king was made of brass, sitting on a horse and with a battle-axe in his hand, and was set up on that pillar to be seen and remembered to this day. The Lord says: "I will avenge myself and take vengeance." And here the story of Batu ends."[105]

[105] *Тъй же самодръжець, видевъ божий гневъ пришедъ на землю, плакааше, не имый что сътворити, на многи же дни пребысть, ни хлеба, ни воды вкоушаа, но пребываше на предреченнем столпе, зря бываемаа от ъ безбожныхъ. Сестра же его бежаше к нему въ градъ; тя же варвари, достигше ю, плениша и к Батыю отведоша. Король же Владиславъ сиа видевъ и тако сугубый плачь на рыдание приложивъ, начатъ Бога молити, глаголя: "Сиа ли суть щедроты твоя, Владыко, яко за ихъ же кровь свою прольалъ еси безгрешне, грехъ ради нашихъ предалъ еси насъ в роуце царю законопрестоупноу и лоукавхнейшю паче всеа земля. Но не предай же насъ до конца имени твоего ради. Что бо речеть мучитель: где есть Богъ ихъ? Помози ми, Господи Боже мой, и спаси насъ по милости твоей и разумеють вси, яко ты единъ Господь по всей земли." Сиа же ина многа плача глаголаше, слезам же текоущимъ отъ очию его, речьнымъ быстринамъ подобящеся, и идеже аще падааху на мраморие, оно проходяхоу насквозе, еже есть познаша помощи Божией быти. Ста же некто предъ кралемъ и рече ему: "Сего ради твоихъ слезъ даеть ти Господь победити царя злочестиваго." Начаша же смотрити лице глаголющаго и не видеша его ктому. И съшедше съ столпа оного, видеша конь оседланъ, никим же дръжимъ, о себе стоащь, и секира на немъ, и отъ сего избестнейши разумеша помощи Божией быти. И тако самодръжець вседъ на коня оного и изыде на противныхъ изъ града с вой, елико обретошяся с нимъ. Видевше же спротивнии, и абие страхъ нападе на нихъ, и на оубешание устремишяся. Они же вследъ женоуще, толикое множество безбожныхъ варватъ погубиша и богатство ихъ взяша, елико и числа не бы, и иныхъ живыхъ яша. Видевше же иже бъ граде оставшей помощь Божию и победоу на противныхъ, изидоша изъ града с малою чадию, рекше жены и дети мужескоую храбрость въсприимше, и ти такоже нечестивыхъ побиваху, никомоу же противящюся. И якоже рехомъ, безбожному оному Батыю къ Оугорскимъ планинамъ бежащю, зле житию конець приемлеть отъ роукы самого того самодръжца Владислава. Глаголють же неции иже тамо живоущей человеци, яко сестра того Владислава, еюже плениша, и та тогды бежащи бяше с Батыемъ. И бысть повнегда сплестися Владиславу с Батыемъ, тогда сестра его помагаше Батыю, ихже самодръжець обою погоуби. Оугри же сташа своимъ с пленомъ, не сведоуще бывшаго; Оугри же пленъ отъимающе, самыихъ же варваръ немилостивно погубляхоу, токмо елици въцхотеша веры еже во Христа, техъ оставиша. Створен же бысть меднымъ деланиемъ король на кони седя и секироу в роуце держа, еюже Батя оуби, и въдороуженъ на томъ столпе на видение и на память родоу и до сего дне. И тако сбысрься реченное: "Мне отмщение и азъ въздамъ месть, глаголеть Господь" До зде оубо аже о Батый повесть конець приатъ.* For the text of the Russian version of the historia, see: [S.P. Rozanov] С. П. Розанов, *Повѣсть Объ Убіеніи Батыя*, 110-14. The English text is not a professional translation, but only an approximate translation by the author of this thesis. Attention is paid mainly to the content and individual motifs, not to the exact translation of the text. Other editions of the sources are given in the Primary Sources section.

The Russian version of the *historia* introduces many significant changes and additions. What can be seen as important, the narrative is located to the same place as in Hungarian tradition – Oradea (here *Великий Варадин* [Velikij Varadin]) and its surroundings. The fundamental difference from the Hungarian sources is that Ladislaus is presented as an orthodox believer. This transformation was probably necessary for his acceptance as a positive symbol by orthodox believers. The romantic story in which Ladislaus rescues a Hungarian girl kidnapped by a pagan warrior has been replaced by a story in which Ladislaus rescues his own sister. Another addition is the passage about the marble column, which was supposed to be located in the centre of Oradea and which played an important role in the Russian version of the narrative. This information suggests that the author of the Russian text did indeed visit the city, where he saw a work of art of extraordinary quality. Since 1390, the bronze equestrian statue of Saint Ladislaus made by the brothers Martin and Georg of Cluj had been located in the city.[106] The story begins with the Tartar invasion of the Kingdom of Hungary, whereby the Tartars ravaged the country and led by Batu came to Oradea. King Ladislaus could not quickly gather his army and so, after his moaning and fasting, he climbed a pillar and began to pray to God at the top of the column. On the one hand, the ascetic life, involving ascetic life - fasting and prayer are aspects that can be associated with the saint in general,[107] but on the other hand, in view of the probable Orthodox background of the author of the Russian narrative, this scene depicting Ladislaus praying on a pillar and fasting earlier is highly reminiscent of the Eastern type of eremite, *stylite*, with which the ascetic life on the pillar was associated.[108] In contrary, Alexander Mayorov, compared this motif to the opening scene of the legend of Saint Ladislaus included in the Hungarian Angevin legendary, which portrays Ladislaus and the cross. This

[106] "Painting and Sculpture in Medieval Hungary" accessed May 5, 2022. https://www.hung-art.hu/tours/kolozs_e.html. "Oradea" accessed May 5, 2022 https://familypedia.fandom.com/wiki/Oradea.
[107] Gerát, *Holy warriors in the Middle Ages*, 60.
[108] *Stylite* – "a Christian ascetic who lived standing on top of a column (Greek: stylos) or pillar" in "Encyclopaedia Britannica," accessed March 6, 2022, https://www.britannica.com/topic/stylite.

scene, according to Mayorov, depicts Ladislaus praying to the cross, and was later the inspiration for the scene of the prayer on the pillar in the Russian narrative. In fact, the text related to this scene states that Ladislaus holds the cross and drives away the demon, not that he prays to the cross, thus Mayorov's interpretation can be seen as a misunderstanding.[109] In the following scene, which describes that during Ladislaus' prayer his tears were flowing down the pillar, there is interesting information that the tears are still visible on the marble (at the time when the author of the text visited the town). This information is important in the context that in the sermons of Bishop Benedict of Oradea from the 13th century, it is really mentioned that there is a stone relic in Oradea soaked with the tears of St. Ladislaus. This tradition may have been brought to Oradea as the centre of the cult of Saint Ladislaus by Bela III himself. In 1169, during his stay at the Byzantine court, the Pantokrator monastery received as a gift from Ephesus a stone on which the body of Jesus Christ was supposed to lie and which was soaked with the tears of the Virgin Mary. The information from the Russian version of the *historia* about the stone soaked with tears may therefore be based on local tradition.[110]

As in the Hungarian tradition another important chivalric attribute of Ladislaus, is his special horse. While in Hungarian sources the importance of the horse was emphasized by the fact that chronicles mentioned its name, in Russian legend it has an even more mythical character. In this version, the horse miraculously appeared after Ladislaus' prayer, during which he was visited by a stranger who predicted his victory over the Tatars.[111] What is more, the horse appeared with the main attribute of St. Ladislaus, with a battle-axe. This weapon is attributed to him in Hungarian written and visual sources, and in the Russian narrative St.

[109][A. V. Mayorov] А. В. Майоров, 'К Вопросу Об Исторической Основе и Источниках "Повести о Убиении Батыя" [On the question of the historical basis and sources of "The legend of the murder of Batu"]', *Средневековая Русь: Проблемы Политической Истории и Источниковедения* [Medieval Rus: Problems of political history and source studies] 11 (2014): 135.
[110] Kerny, "László király szentté avatása," 177.
[111] The appearance of the stranger may symbolize the appearance of Jesus Himself. "For I was hungry and you gave me food, I was thirsty and you gave me drink, I was a stranger and you welcomed me." Matthew 25:35.

Ladislaus used this weapon with his own hands to kill his enemies, contrary to the Hungarian tradition. Moreover, this act is referred to as a "miracle." Similarly to the Hungarian sources, Ladislaus also defeated and killed the arch-enemy (here represented by Batu), who is said at the beginning to have previously subverted many countries, thus reinforcing the significance of Ladislaus' deed. In addition, the story has an alternate ending in which Ladislaus not only murders the representative of evil, Batu, but also his own sister since she has decided to escape with Batu. Since, unlike many Hungarian sources in which a pagan warrior is killed by a girl, in the Russian version of the legend the pagan is killed by Ladislaus himself, and in an alternative version Ladislaus also kills a girl, his own sister, the story excludes the romantic plot of a chivalric romance and, unlike the visual Hungarian tradition, does not end with an intimate scene between Ladislaus and the girl.[112]

Also important is the problem of where the author of the Russian narrative drew from. It is likely that he drew from a tradition that was alive in the city of Oradea. This tradition represents the story of Ladislaus cultivated by the local clergy, since Oradea was the centre of the cult of Saint Ladislaus and his relics were kept there. Another source of information for the author of the story may have been the oral narratives of the local inhabitants of the town and the surrounding area, as well as the murals depicting the *historia* of Saint Ladislaus. It is also problematic to combine Ladislaus and the Tatars into one story, since Ladislaus was not a contemporary of the Tatars, although such an updating of the story already occurred in the Hungarian tradition, which lists both Cumans and Tatars as pagan enemies. In addition, there is another reference, found in the *Chronicon Dubnicense*, which describes Ladislaus fighting

[112] In this passage the Russian narrative is most reminiscent of the *Chronicon Pictum*, in which a girl fell in love with a pagan and Cuman was murdered by Ladislaus himself. The author of the Hungarian story did not forget to add the remark that women can never be trusted because the girl intended to free Cuman for the sake of sensual love.

against the Tartars.[113] According to this narrative, the Szeklers, together with the Hungarians, campaigned against the Tartars and engaged in battle. During the fight, a head-reliquary of Saint Ladislaus disappeared from a cathedral in Oradea. The tale continues as Ladislaus, described as a giant soldier with a golden crown riding a great horse, helped to bring the victory to the Szeklers. Since this tradition was associated with the Szeklers living in Transylvania, it is plausible to speculate that this tradition may have been still alive at the time of the Russian author's visit to Oradea.

[113] Sopko, *Kronika uhorských kráľov*, 125-26. For more on the Chronicon Dubnicense see: Sándor Domanovszky, *A Dubniczi Krónika Kódexe* [Codex of the hronicle of Dubnica] (Budapest: Hungarian Edition, 1899), 64-72.

3 Military saints

3.1 Introduction to military saints

Although saints are sometimes referred to as *miles Christi*, it is the military saints who perhaps most embody the meaning of this term. Therefore, to better understand the role Ladislaus played as a military saint in Russia, it is necessary to outline some basic aspects associated with this type of saint.

The desire of men for the intervention of divine force in a battle in their favour is as old as the war itself. Even in ancient works, one can read about appeals for the intervention of supernatural forces. For instance, Homer describes the religious rituals performed by the Achaeans and Trojans before the battle to secure a subsequent victory.[114] In Greek and Roman culture, certain members of the Pantheon were considered able to intervene on behalf of their favoured army, and thus offerings were given to them before and after battle to secure their favour. Christians in the Roman army were even punished if they refused to participate in such rituals.[115]

Nevertheless, how can a Christian doctrine that teaches Christians to love their enemy work together with the worship of a warrior who by his very nature must shed blood?[116] Although the aim of the work is not to explain the entire development that led to the veneration of military saints, a brief overview of the development will help to better understand the problem of military saints in Russia.[117] The martyr saints can be considered as a kind of forerunner of the military saints. However, the link between the army and Christian doctrine

[114] Homer, *Iliad*, ed. A. T. Murray, 2nd edition, Loeb Classical Library 170–171 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999).
[115] Monica White, *Military Saints in Byzantium and Rus, 900-1200* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 1.
[116] "But I say to you, love your enemies and pray for those who persecute you." Matthew 5:44.
[117] For detailed description of the development of military saints, see: White, *Military Saints*.

was made possible by Constantine I when he supported the spread of Christianity in the Roman army by providing suitable conditions for its development. One of the means of achieving this aim was that the priests accompanied the army on its campaigns. The celebration of the Eucharistic liturgy or special prayers recited prior to battle thus became part of military life and persisted within the Byzantine army for centuries. Along with the growing cult of saints, soldiers, commanders and rulers began to pray more and more frequently to specific saints, believing that they had the power to intervene in battle on behalf of their faithful.[118] However, a similar development can be observed in the Christian West in the Carolingian Empire, where the army was accompanied by clerics as well. While the connection between sanctity and violence seems paradoxical, the association probably evolved out of the pragmatic need of clerics to protect church property as well as their own lives from robbers, heretics, or pagan raiders. This is one of the reasons why clerical authors often defended their benediction to knighthood with pragmatic arguments about the necessity of their own protection.[119] Hence, the idea of chivalry gradually acquired greater theological support during the Middle Ages. One of the most influential advocates of the idea of holy war, who had a great influence on its theological justification, was Bernard of Clairvaux.[120] The union of sanctity and chivalric struggle was further strengthened during the Crusades, when the cult of military saints developed significantly. Similarly, in the life of St. Louis IX, Joinville presents his military campaign as an *imitatio Christi*, and compares his good fight and suffering for the people to Christ himself.[121]

[118]White, 2.
[119] Richard W. Kaeuper, *Holy Warriors: The Religious Ideology of Chivalry* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009), 9-10.
[120] Bernard of Clairvaux, *In Praise of the New Chivalry*.
[121] Geoffroi de Villehardouin and Jean Joinville, *Chronicles of the Crusades*, ed. Margaret R. B Shaw (London: Penguin Books, 1963), 167. For more on *imitatio Christi* see: Kaeuper, *Holy Warriors*., 120-30.

3.2 Military saints in Russia

Particularly important for the cult of military saints in Russia was historical development within Eastern Christianity. To better understand the situation in Russia, it is necessary to briefly describe some aspects of the cult of military saints within the Byzantine Empire. Due to the fact that Kievan Rus was Christianized by the Byzantine Empire strong Byzantine influences and patterns were implemented into the environment of the Eastern Slavs. This influence did not exclude the military saints whose cult spread in Rus. Among the military saints, the cult of the three saints, which developed in the milieu of the Byzantine imperial court, was the most important for the further development in Rus: George, Demetrios and Theodore. Under the influence of the Macedonian dynasty, these three saints began to be venerated together from the 10th century onwards as military patrons of the Byzantine army. The history of how individual saints became military saints is diverse. While the image of St. Demetrios had changed from a martyr saint to a warrior and the military aspect of the cult of St. George had to be strengthened, in the case of St. Theodore, military attributes are associated with him even in the oldest extant text.[122] As early as the fourth century, Gregory of Nyssa mentions Theodore's ability to intervene in a battle.[123] However, during the reign of the Macedonian dynasty, the cults of these saints were transformed to such an extent that they formed a "distinct phalanx of comrades-in-arms."[124] Thanks to the Christianization of Russia, their cult reached the Eastern Slavs and was adopted by the Russian Principality, where the saints were venerated as protectors of the princes. Ironically, the first mention of a military saint appears in the oldest Russian chronicle, the *Primary Chronicle*, during the attack of the army of Rus on Constantinople under the leadership of Oleg in 907, where one can read: "This is not Oleg but

[122] Kaeuper, *Holy Warriors*, 20-26.
[123] Christopher Walter, *The Warrior Saints in Byzantine Art and Tradition* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2002), 45. Friedhelm Mann, ed., *Gregorii Nysseni Sermones Pars II* (Leiden: Brill, 1990).
[124] Kaeuper, *Holy Warriors*, 94.

St Demetrios sent against us from God."[125] Thanks to the translations of Greek religious texts about the saints into Slavic and the spread of Byzantine iconographic traditions, their worship resembled that of the Byzantine Empire. However, the sources indicate that the relationship to military saints in Russia was in many ways different in comparison to the Byzantine empire as will be discussed below.[126]

3.2.1 Byzantine saints in Russia (George, Demetrios, Theodore)

Although there is continuity with the Byzantine tradition in the Russian Church, local princes promoted a more individual and martial image of military saints. Whereas in Byzantium the three military saints were venerated as a group of martyr-warriors, in Rus they were mainly venerated as individual patrons emphasizing on their warrior qualities rather than on their martyrdom.[127] It is impossible to reconstruct precisely which military saint reached Russia as the first. However, it is evident, that these saints were known in the Slavic world for a long time, thanks to contacts with the Byzantine Empire thanks to the mission of Cyril and Methodius to Great Moravia in the second half of the 9th century as well. A special place among the military saints seems to have been reserved for Saint Demetrios, who was, not coincidentally, the patron saint of Cyril and Methodius's hometown of Thessalonica. As early as in the *menaion* dated 1096, however, is documented the veneration of St. George, who is referred to as "the all-glorious commander of Christ."[128] The veneration of St Theodore is

[125] Nestor, *The Pověsť vremennykh lět: an interlinear collation and paradosis*, ed. Donald G Ostrowski (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2003), 174-83. See also: White, *Military Saints*, 94-6.
[126] White, 97.
[127] White, 130-31.
[128] Vatroslav Jagić, *Menaea Septembris Octobris Novembris Ad Fidem Vetustissimorum Codicum* (Saint Petersburg: Imp. Academiae scientianum socius, 1886), 473-74.

documented as early as the 11th century as well. Both, however, are presented as a saints on the borderline between the categories of martyr saint and military saint.[129] Although these saints, taken from Byzantine tradition, were venerated as military saints in Rus, they could not have been the same unifying element for the local population as a domestic saint would have been. The domestic saint is more predisposed to become a national symbol and to embody the protector of the country.

3.2.2 Russian domestic saints

3.2.2.1 Boris and Gleb

The confirmation that there was an obvious need among the elites in Rus for domestic saints who could fulfil the role of protectors of the homeland and the "national" symbol was the canonization of the first domestic saints, Boris and Gleb, in 1072.[130] They were brothers and princes belonging to the Rurik dynasty, and according to the legend they were murdered by their brother Svjatopolk in order to secure his rule over the whole of Rus.[131] The veneration of Saints Boris and Gleb in Rus is in many ways similar to Byzantine martyr-warrior ideal and similarly to Byzantine saints, the holy brothers were venerated primarily for their martyrdom.

[129] The work aims not to make a detailed analysis of the development of the question of military saints in Rus, but to provide a basic overview, focusing on some aspects. The overview does not include all the military saints who were venerated on the territory of Rus, as there were a number of local cults of military saints and martyr saints. The thesis focuses on the main military saints and attempts to explain the context in which St. Ladislaus can be placed as a military saint, not to provide detailed information on the circumstances of their occurrence. For more information on how the cult spread to Rus see: White, 94-131.

[130] [D.I. Abramovič] Д. И. Абрамович, *Жития святых мучеников Бориса и Глеба и службы им* [Lives of the holy martyrs Boris and Gleb and divine services for them], Памятники древнерусской литературы [Monuments of Old Russian Literature] 2 (Saint Petersburg: The typography of the Imperial academy of sciences, 1916).

[131] There are speculations that the brothers may have been murdered by their second brother Jaroslav the Wise. In connection with their canonization, it is highly probable that the inspiration for their legend may have been Saint Wenceslas. For more on the relationship of Boris and Gleb and Saint Wenceslas see: Henrik Birnbaum, Michael S. Flier, and Norman W. Ingham, eds., "The Martyred Prince and the Question of Slavic Cultural Continuity in the Early Middle Ages," in *Medieval Russian Culture* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), 31-53. Marina Paramonova, "The Formation of the Cult of Boris and Gleb and the Problem of External Influences," in *Saints and Their Lives on the Periphery: Veneration of Saints in Scandinavia and Eastern Europe (c.1000 - 1200)*, ed. Haki Antonsson and Ildar Garipzanov (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010), 259-82.

However, the narrative of their lives does not describe them as battle-experienced soldiers, but they were to acquire these qualities only after death. Similarly to the military saints in Byzantium, holy brothers were primarily worshipped together and considered to be the protectors of the army, the Rus and the princely house.[132] Within the context of the later turbulent development caused by the Tatar invasion, however, the cult of Boris and Gleb had several deficiencies. Although they were martyrs, holy brothers were not victims of pagans, but rather of political and family intrigues. And they certainly could not be seen as triumphant over the heathen, which was in demand in the later period. The fact that they were not killed by pagans raises the question of whether they can be considered traditional martyrs, since the reason for their murder was not their faith.

3.2.2.2 Michael of Chernigov

Similarly, St Michael of Chernigov fulfilled the characteristics of a martyr-warrior model rather than being an example of a victorious warrior. In contrast, he better fulfilled the demands of the time, since he was murdered by the pagans, and therefore his death was presented by the Orthodox Church as a moral victory over the pagans, which earned him the martyr's crown. The central motif of the story is the scene in which the ruler of the Golden Horde, Batu, had ordered Michael to prostrate himself before the image of Genghis Khan, which Michael refused to do. Batu was enraged to such an extent that he ordered Michael to be murdered. Paradoxically, the latter was later commemorated as the prince who defended Russia against the Tatar invasion (similar to the Russian version of Ladislaus' *historia*) and by the Orthodox Church was counted as one of the military saints. The most important centres of his cult were Kiev and Novgorod whence the cult was adopted by the Muscovite princes. In an attempt to

[132] White, 131-43.

unite the Russian principalities, the latter aimed to establish an ideological link with Kievan Rus. The symbol of this continuity was Michael as the representative of pre-Tatar Rus, whose remains were later during the reign of Ivan IV transferred to the Moscow Kremlin. This act can alternatively be interpreted as an attempt to ideologically unite southern and northern Rus.[133] Although Michael was perceived as a warrior against the Tatars, he symbolized rather passive resistance. During the Tatar yoke, the Orthodox Church attempted to find a *modus vivendi* with the Tatar rulers, therefore, especially from the second quarter of the 14th century, the Church enjoyed relative religious freedom from the rulers of the Golden Horde.[134] The widespread interpretation in this period is that the Tartar invasion was God's punishment for sins of the inhabitants of Rus.[135] Texts from this period are full of lamentations over a demoralized society where traditional Russian principles are not respected, and bribery is flourishing. Indeed, there are several legendary stories about the heroes fighting against the Tatars, but their struggle ends in their deaths.[136]

3.2.2.2 Alexander Nevskij

Into this environment, however, had entered a new military saint, Alexander Nevskij, who, in contrast to the previous ones, fulfilled the criteria of a successful warrior who had defeated the enemies of his fatherland. His life was first chronicled in 1377 by the monk Lavrentij and is found in several manuscripts dating from the 14th century onwards.[137] The cult of St Alexander

[133] Dimnik, *Mikhail, Prince of Chernigov and Grand Prince of Kiev, 1224-1246*, 130-146.
[134] George Fedotov, *The Russian Religious Mind*, vol. II, 1966, 5.
[135] Gerhard Podskalsky, *Христианство и богословская литература в Киевской Руси (988–1237 гг.)* [Christianity and theological literature in Kievan Rus' (988-1237)], Subsidia Byzantinorossica 1 (Saint Petersburg: Vizantinorossika, 1996), 142. This may be interesting in the context of the Greek term *Tartarus* (Ancient Greek: *Τάρταρος*), denoting in a simplified way the underworld, by which the Tatars were later referred to. Thus the Tartars can be interpreted as representative of the underworld. "Encyclopedia Britannica" accessed May 10, 2022, https://www.britannica.com/topic/Tartarus.
[136] Fedotov, *The Russian Religious Mind*, 6-8.
[137] V. J. Mansikka [В. Й. Мансикка], ed., *Житие Александра Невского. Разбор Редакции и Текст* [Life of Alexander Nevskij. Editorial review and text] (Saint Petersburg, 1913).

had several aspects and gradually evolved. Although Alexander Nevskij also embodied the ideal ruler, this paper focuses on the military aspects of his cult, and thus on the image of Alexander that was most widely held, the image of the defender.[138] Over time, the patriotic aspect of his cult was further strengthened and he became the embodiment of the protector of the entire Russian nation, religion and culture. While Ladislaus, as a military saint, protected his kingdom from raids from the East and his image as an ideal knight was cultivated, who was even asked to lead a crusade, in the case of Alexander Nevskij one can see the hero on the opposite side of the barricade. Alexander defended his homeland from the West, against the Crusaders who led the "Catholic expansion" against Russia. Moreover, Alexander not only did not fight against the enemies from the East, but even cooperated with the Tatars. Besides other qualities, Alexander was also respected for finding a way to coexist with the khan of the Golden Horde.[139] The main heroic deed ascribed to Alexander, however, was his famous victorious battle against the Crusaders, referred to as the Battle of the Ice.[140] The victory was attributed primarily to "Alexander's prayers, the heavenly miracle and the biblical models of the ideal warrior kings."[141] The Livonian Rhymed Chronicle, however, gives a markedly different view of the event and claims that Alexander Nevskij thanks to overwhelming numerical superiority.[142]

[138] Isoaho divided the image of Alexander as a defender into three categories: defender of the frontiers, defender of the interests of the dynasty, and defender of orthodoxy. Mari Isoaho, *The Image of Aleksandr Nevskiy in Medieval Russia: Warrior and Saint* (Boston: Brill, 2006), 67-102.
[139] Isoaho, 67.
[140] Heroic victory over the German knights is described in the Life of Alexander Nevskij: [J. K. Begunov] Ю. К. Бегунов, ed., "Повесть о Житии и о Храбрости Благородного Великого Князя Александра Невского [The Tale of the Life and Bravery of the Noble Grand Duke Alexander Nevskij]," in *Памятник Русской Литературы XIII Века : "Слово о Погибели Русской Земли"* [A monument of Russian Literature of the thirteenth century: "The word about the destruction of the Russian Land"] (Moscow: Nauka, 1965).
[141] Isoaho, 76.
[142] Leo Mayer, ed., *Die Livländische Reimchronik* (Paderborn: F. Schöningh, 1876). verses 2241-2268.

3.3 Ladislaus in the context of military saints in Russia

Alexander was that military saint who fulfilled several attributes required by the growing self-confidence of the Russian princes. Especially the Muscovite princes behaved increasingly assertive towards the Tatar rulers, which culminated especially in the second half of the 15th century. Interestingly, many scholars place the emergence of the Russian version of Ladislaus' narrative in this period. This raises a number of questions, such as why, at a time when the Russian principalities were liberating themselves from Tatar domination, a narrative occured in Russian sources that describes a hero who killed the founder of the Golden Horde, Batu? A related question is, for what reason was Ladislaus included in the *menaion* among the other saints venerated in Russia? One possible explanation is offered by Perényi, who argues that Russia lacked a positive example of a heroic victory over the Tatars.[143] It was thus desirable to have a narrative of a heroic warrior who could serve as an exemplum in the struggle against the Tatars. Ladislaus could have been such an example. Although Ladislaus is not mentioned as a saint in the *Narrative of the killing of Batu*, nor can this text be described as a life of saint, Ladislaus is the main positive protagonist of the story and some miracles are associated with him. Even the Hungarian chronicle or hagiographic tradition does not attribute these miracles to him, as was presented in the previous chapter, but only the Russian version of the *historia*. The connection with the *Narrative of the killing of Michael of Chernigov* is probably not accidental either. In the story of Michael, the latter is murdered by Batu; on the other hand, the Russian narrative in which Ladislaus killed Batu can be interpreted as revenge. The latter, however, is not just one of the khans, he is the founder of the Golden Horde himself and thus a significant symbol of the Tatar suppression. In connection with the liberation process of the Russian principalities from the Tatar yoke, the example of the killing of Batu may also

[143] [József Perényi] Йожеф Перени, "The Legend of Saint Vladislav in Russia."

symbolize the possibility of defeating the Golden Horde. However, in order for Ladislaus to be accepted by the Orthodox believers, it was necessary to insert a passage in the Hungarian *historia* about Ladislaus' encounter with Saint Sava, who converted him to Orthodoxy. Whether Pachomius was the author or not, the truth remains that he was an admirably productive author who rewrote a dozen of the lives of Russian saints and established hagiographical canon in Russia for almost three centuries. His activities were related to the efforts of the Moscow princes to consolidate power and create a solid ideological cornerstone for the future Russian Tsardom.[144]

[144] In Russia, there was probably also a cult of other saints who can be considered successful warriors against the Tatars. However, many of them were venerated only locally. One of the military saints who successfully fought against the Tatars was Dmitrij Donskoj, who, however, was canonized only in 1988. However, none of these military saints were associated with the defeat and killing of Batu.

Conclusion

Saint Ladislaus was not only the most frequently depicted Hungarian saint, but the narrative describing his heroic deeds made its way to the milieu of Rus, where it has been preserved in written sources. The authorship, according to most scholars, is attributable to an intellectual of Serbian origin, which is indicated mainly by linguistic elements and knowledge of Serbian realities, especially the inclusion of the *Life of St. Sava* in the narrative. It is plausible that Ladislaus' *historia* has been adapted to the Russian milieu and made its way here in the course of the 15th century. However, this does not necessarily mean that all the data contained in the Russian version of the narrative, which at the same time are lacking in the Hungarian written and visual sources, could not have already existed in the milieu of the Kingdom of Hungary. Perhaps some of such information, not preserved in the Hungarian written tradition, was merely adopted by the author of the Russian version. Although this thesis has attempted to illuminate the origins of several aspects of the Russian narrative, no reliable answer to this controversy can be given for the time being.

However, the Russian *historia* of Ladislaus also mirrors the time in which it was written, probably the 15th century. This period is characterized by number of significant political and social changes. The Ottoman Empire was successfully expanding to the territories of the Balkans and was capturing territories from local sovereigns. This resulted in the exodus of many scholars to a territory that was also Orthodox, to Rus. It was here that continued their intellectual work and contributed to the richness of Russian culture and scholarship, bringing many innovations. Among other things, they introduced new genres such as *chronograph* and *menaion*. When Constantinople definitely fell in 1453, Moscow was growing in importance and began to build its image as the new Rome and the head of Orthodoxy. The period of the 15th century is also the period of liberation of the Russian principalities from the Tartar yoke.

All these circumstances contributed to creating the conditions for Moscow to lay a solid basis for a strong state. All this was made possible thanks to the strong intellectual support of immigrants from the Balkans, among whom was the monk Pachomius, the eventual author of the Russian narrative of the heroic deeds of St. Ladislaus.

The Moscow elites first attempted to ideologically justify their privileged place among the Russian principalities and to create a concept of continuity with Kievan Rus. One of these symbols was Michael of Chernigov, whose remains were transferred to Moscow as a symbol of continuity. However, it is also a symbol of the suffering of the Russian population under the Tatar yoke. The function of the mythical protector of Russia from the Western crusaders and the victorious warrior is fulfilled by Alexander Nevskij. In the period of the zenith of Tatar power, however, the story of coexistence and cooperation with the Tatars does not fit the needs. It is during this period that the narrative of St. Ladislaus occurred in the Russian sources, which seems to fill this gap and which is dedicated to the military saint who killed the founder of the Golden Horde. It is a paradox of history that a story which is associated with the beginnings of the Tartar oppression appears at its eve.

Certainly, it can be argued that the Russian narrative of Ladislaus is not a true legend and Ladislaus is not referred to as a saint here. On the other hand, the story describes his heroic deeds, attributes Ladislaus with miracles, and made him part of the menaion, which is not the work of chance. Ladislaus thus represents a warrior with whom miracles are associated and who is the humiliator of the arch-enemy Batu - the personification of the Tartars.

Research on the Russian version of the *historia* of Saint Ladislaus, however, raises more questions than it answers for the author of the present thesis. Future research on the relationship between the Russian narrative and the mural paintings depicting the St. Ladislaus cycle would be particularly interesting, as the author of the Russian history probably saw these murals and

worked with the local tradition in Oradea and its surroundings. Indeed, it is difficult to imagine that he might have had access to the chronicles that were kept in the royal courts. In this context, however, the story of the Chronicle of Dubnica, which some scholars associate with Oradea, may be interesting. And this is where the steps of the author of this thesis will be directed in the future.

The author believes that this study will contribute in bringing to the light lesser-known aspects of the posthumous life of St. Ladislaus.

Bibliography

Primary Sources

Bak, János M., and László Veszprémy, eds. *Chronica de Gestis Hungarorum e Codice Picto Saec. XIV. The Illuminated Chronicle, Chronicle of the Dees of the Hungarians from the Fourteenth-Century Illuminated Codex*. Budapest: CEU Press, 2018.

Bernard of Clairvaux. *In Praise of the New Chivalry: De Laude Novae Militiae*. Translated by Dr Leon Roger Hunt. CreateSpace Independent Publishing Platform, 2018.

Bogišić, Valtazar. *Narodne pjesme iz starijih, najčešće primorskih zapisa I* [Folk songs from ancient, mostly coastal records I]. Beograd: Serbian Learned Society, 1878.

Domanovszky, Sándor. *A Dubniczi krónika kódexe* [Codex of the Chronicle of Dubnica]. Budapest: Hungarian Edition, 1899.

Domentijan. *Zitije Svetog Save*. Edited by Dimitrije Bogdanović. Beograd: Gregorić, 1984.

Gallus Anonymus. *Gesta Principum Polonorum : The Deeds of the Princes of the Poles*. Edited by János M. Bak and Frank Schaer. New York: CEU Press, 2003.

Hodinka, Anton. *Az Orosz Évkönyvek Magyar Vonatkozásai* [Hungarian aspects of the Russian annals]. Budapest: Hungarian Academy of Science, 1916.

Homer. *Iliad*. Edited by A. T. Murray. 2nd edition. Loeb Classical Library 170–171. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999.

Jagić, Vatroslav. *Menaea Septembris Octobris Novembris Ad Fidem Vetustissimorum Codicum*. Saint Petersburg: Imp. Academiae scientianum socius, 1886.

Mansikka, V. J. [Мансикка, В. Й.], ed. *Житие Александра Невского. Разбор Редакции и Текст* [Life of Alexander Nevskij. Editorial review and text]. Saint Petersburg, 1913.

Nestor. *The Povĕst' vremennykh lĕt: an interlinear collation and paradosis*. Edited by Donald G Ostrowski. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2003.

[Perényi, József] Перени, Йожеф. "Легенда о Святом Владиславе в России [The legend of Saint Vladislav in Russia]." *Studia Slavica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 1 (1955): 227–44.

Полное Собрание Русских Летописей [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles]. 23. Saint Petersburg: Typography of Edward Prats, 1910.

Полное Собрание Русских Летописей [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles]. 24. Saint Petersburg: Typography of Edward Prats, 1921.

Полное Собрание Русских Летописей [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles]. 25. Moscow: Typography of Edward Prats, 1949.

Pražák, Richard. *Legendy a kroniky koruny uherské* [Legends and chronicles of the Hungarian crown]. Praha: Vyšehrad, 1988.

[Rozanov, S.P.] Розанов, С. П.. "Повѣсть Объ Убіеніи Батыя [The carrative of the killing of Batu]." In *Извѣстія Отдѣленія Русскаго Языка и Словесности Императорской Академіи Наукъ* [News of the Department of Russian Language and Literature of the Imperial Academy of Sciences], Vol. 21. 1, 1916.

Sayers, Dorothy L., trans. *The Song of Roland*. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1957.

Sopko, Július. *Kronika uhorských kráľov zvaná Dubnická* [Chronicle of the Kings of Hungary called Chronicle of Dubnica]. Budmerice: Rak, 2004.

Szentpétery, Emericus, ed. *Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum*. Vol. I. Budapest: Hungarian Historical Society, 1937.

———, ed. *Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum*. Vol. II. Budapest: Hungarian Historical Society, 1938.

Villehardouin, Geoffroi de, and Jean Joinville. *Chronicles of the Crusades*. Edited by Margaret R. B Shaw. London: Penguin Books, 1963.

Secondary Sources

[Abramovič, D.I.] Абрамович, Д. И. *Жития святых мучеников Бориса и Глеба и службы им* [Lives of the Holy Martyrs Boris and Gleb and Divine Services for them]. Памятники древнерусской литературы [Monuments of Old Russian Literature] 2. Saint Petersburg: The typography of the Imperial academy of sciences, 1916.

Bagi, Dániel. "Az oroszlán, a sas, a szamár és az igaz mester: Mügelni Henrik két Magyar krónikájának keletkezési körülményei [The lion, the eagle, and the donkey: The circumstances of the origins of the two Hungarian chronicles of the true master Heinrich von Mügeln]." *Századok* 152, no. 3 (2018): 591–622.

Bailey, James. *An Anthology of Russian Folk Epics*. Routledge, 2015.

———, eds. *Studies on the Illuminated Chronicle*. Budapest: CEU Press, 2018.

[Begunov, J. K.] Бегунов, Ю. К., ed. "Повесть о Житии и о Храбрости Благородного Великого Князя Александра Невского [The tale of the life and bravery of the noble grand duke Alexander Nevskij]." In *Памятник Русской Литературы XIII Века : "Слово о Погибели Русской Земли"* [A Monument of Russian Literature of the Thirteenth Century: "The Word about the Destruction of the Russian Land"]. Moscow: Nauka, 1965.

Birnbaum, Henrik, Michael S. Flier, and Norman W. Ingham, eds. "The Martyred Prince and the Question of Slavic Cultural Continuity in the Early Middle Ages." In *Medieval Russian Culture*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984.

Dimnik, Martin. *Mikhail, Prince of Chernigov and Grand Prince of Kiev, 1224-1246*. Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1981.

———. *Mikhail, Prince of Chernigov and Grand Prince of Kiev, 1224-1246*. Studies and Texts (Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies) 52. Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1981.

Dobiáš, Dalibor. *Rukopisy královédvorský a zelenohorský v kultuře a* umění [Manuscripts of Dvůr Králové and Zelená Hora]. Praha: Academia, 2019.

Fedotov, George. *The Russian Religious Mind*. Vol. II, 1966.

[Gorskij, A. A.] Горский, А. А. "'Повесть о Убиении Батыя' и Русская Литература 70-х Годов XV в ["The Narrative of the Killing of Batu" and Russian literature of the 1570s]." In *Средневековая Русь* [Medieval Rus]. 3. Moscow: Indrik, 2001.

Gerát, Ivan. *Svätí bojovníci v stredoveku: úvahy o obrazových legendách sv. Juraja a sv. Ladislava na Slovensku* [Holy warriors in the Middle Ages: reflections on the pictorial legends of St. George and St. Ladislaus in Slovakia]. Bratislava: Veda, 2011.

[Halanskij, M.G.] Халанский, М. Г. *Великорусские Былины Киевского Цикла* [Great Russian "Byliny" of the Kiev Cycle]. Warsaw: Printing house of Mikhail Zemkevich, 1885.

Halperin, Charles J. "The Defeat and Death of Batu." *Russian History* 10, no. 1 (1983).

Haviar, Tomáš, Edita Kušnierová, Monika Skalská, and Vladimír Plekanec. *Gotický Gemer a Malohont: Italianizmy v stredovekej nástennej maľbe* [Gothic Gemer and Malohont: Italianizing in medieval wall painting]. Martin: Matica slovenská, 2010.

Hull, Denison B., trans. *Digenis Akritas: The Two-Blood Border Lord. The Grottaferrata Version*. Athens: Ohio University Press, 1972.

[Ikonnikov, V. S.] Иконниковъ, В. С. *Опытъ Русской Исторіографіи Исторіографіи* [Experience of Russian Historiography]. Vol. 2. 2. Kiev: University of St. Vladimir, 1908.

Isoaho, Mari. *The Image of Aleksandr Nevskiy in Medieval Russia: Warrior and Saint*. Boston: Brill, 2006.

Jékely, Zsombor. "Transylvanian Fresco Cycles of Saint Ladislas in a New Light." *Hungarian Review* 5, no. 2 (2014): 97–109.

[Kloss, B. M.] Клосс, Б. М. *О Происхождении Названия "Россия"* [On the Origin of the Name "Russia"]. Moscow: Manuscript documents of ancient Rus', 2012.

Kaeuper, Richard W. *Holy Warriors: The Religious Ideology of Chivalry*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009.

Kerny, Terézia. "László király szentté avatása és kultuszának kibontakozása (1095–1301) [The canonization of King Ladislaus and the unfolding of his cult (1095-1301)]." In *Ősök, táltosok, szentek. Tanulmányok a honfoglaláskor és Árpád-kor folklórjából* [Ancestors,

shamans and saints. Studies in the folklore of the time of the "conquest" and the age of the Arpads], edited by Éva Pócs and Vilmos Voigt, 175–97. Budapest: Hungarian Academy of Sciences, 1998.

———. "Patronage of St Ladislas 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*, edited by Lívia Varga and et al., 259–72. Budapest: Institute of Art History of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, 2010.

Klaniczay, Gábor. "A Szent László-Kultusz Kialakulása [The formation of the cult of St. Ladislaus]." In *Nagyvárad És Bihar a Korai Középkorban. Tanulmányok Biharország Történetéről* [Oradea and Bihar in the early middle ages. Studies on the History of Bihar], edited by Atilla Zsoldos, 7–39. 1. Oradea: Varadinum, 2014.

———. *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses: Dynastic Cults in Medieval Central Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002.

[Ključevskij, V. O.] Ключе́вский, В. О́. *Древнерусские Жития Святых Как Исторический Источник* [Ancient Russian lives of the saints as a historical source]. Moscow: Publication of K. Soldatenkov, 1871.

László, Gyula. *A Szent László-legenda középkori falképei* [Medieval murals of the legend of St. Ladislas]. Budapest: Tájak-Korok-Múzeumok Egyesület, 1993.

Macarius. *Великие Минеи Четьи, Собранные Всероссийским Митрополитом Макарием* [Great menaion reader, collected by the All-Russian metropolitan Macarius]. Saint Petersburg, 1869.

Mann, Friedhelm, ed. *Gregorii Nysseni Sermones Pars II*. Leiden: Brill, 1990.

Masaryk, Tomáš Garrigue. *Z bojů o rukopisy: Texty z let 1886 - 1888* [From the struggle for manuscripts: Texts from 1886 - 1888]. Edited by Jana Svobodová. 1. vyd. Spisy T. G. Masaryka [The Works of T. G. Masaryk] 19. Praha: Ústav T. G. Masaryka, 2004.

Mayer, Leo, ed. *Die Livländische Reimchronik*. Paderborn: F. Schöningh, 1876.

[Mayorov, A. V.] Майоров, А. В.. "К Вопросу Об Исторической Основе и Источниках "Повести о Убиении Батыя" [On the question of the historical basis and sources of 'The Narrative of the Killing of Batu']." *Средневековая Русь: Проблемы Политической Истории и* Источниковедения [Medieval Rus: Problems of Political History and Source Studies] 11 (2014): 105–46.

Năstăsoiu, Dragoș-Gheorghe. *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)*. CEU Medieval Studies Department PhD Theses 2018/2. Budapest: Central European University, 2018.

[Novikova, O. L.] Новикова, О. Л. "Материалы Для Изучения Русского Летописания Конца XV —Первой Половины XVI в.: I. Летописные Подборки Рукописи Погод. 1956 [Materials for the study of Russian chronicle writing from the end of the 15th to the first half of the 16th century: I. Chronicle collections of the manuscript Pogod, No.

1596].” In *Очерки Феодальной России* [Essays on feudal Russia], 11:161–64. Moscow, 2007.

Pak, Nataliya. “The Third Pachomian Edition of the Life of Nikon of Radonezh.” *Slavianovedenie*, no. 4 (2020): 50–67.

Paramonova, Marina. “The Formation of the Cult of Boris and Gleb and the Problem of External Influences.” In *Saints and Their Lives on the Periphery: Veneration of Saints in Scandinavia and Eastern Europe (c.1000 - 1200)*, edited by Haki Antonsson and Ildar Garipzanov. Turnhout: Brepols, 2010.

[Perényi, József] Перени, Йожеф. “Легенда о Святом Владиславе в России [The legend of Saint Vladislav in Russia].” *Studia Slavica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 1 (1955): 227–44.

[Počekaev, R. J.] Почекаев, Р. Ю. *Батый: Хан, Который Не Был Ханом* [Batu Khan: The Khan Who Was Not Khan]. Moscow: Evrazija, 2006.

Podskalsky, Gerhard. *Христианство и богословская литература в Киевской Руси (988–1237 гг.)* [Christianity and Theological Literature in Kievan Rus’ (988-1237)]. Subsidia Byzantinorossica 1. Saint Petersburg: Vizantinorossika, 1996.

[Prokhorov, G. M.] Прохоров, Г. М. “Пахомий Серб (Логофет) [Pachomius the Serbian (Logofet)].” In *Словарь Книжников и Книжности Древней Руси* [Dictionary of scribes and bookishness of ancient Rus], edited by [D. S. Lihačev] Д. С. Лихачев, Vol. 2. Вторая Половина XIV – XVI в. [Second half of the 14th to the 16th century] 2. Saint Petersburg: Nauka, 1989.

[Radojičić, Ђорђе] Радојичић, Đorđe. “Стара Српска Књижевност у Средњем Подунављу (Од XV До XVIII Века) [Old Serbian literature in Central Danubian region (from the 15th to the 18th century)].” *Годишњак Филозофског Факултета у Новом Саду* [Annual review of the Faculty of Philosophy in Novi Sad] 2 (1957): 239–70.

[Serebrjanskij, N.I.] Серебрянский, Н. И. *Древнерусские Княжеские Жития* [Ancient Russian lives of princes]. Moscow: Synodal Printing House, 1915.

[Solovjev, S.M.] Соловьёв, С. М. *Сочинения* [Compositions]. 2. Moscow, 1988.

[Strakhov A.B.] Страхов, А.Б. “О Духовно–Политических Смыслах ‘Слова Об Убиении Злочестивого Царя Батыя’ [On the spiritual and political implications of the ‘Word of the Killing of the Evil Tsar Batu’].” *Историческое* Образование [History Education] 2 (2014): 100–105.

Szakács, Béla Zsolt. “Between Chronicle and Legend : Image Cycles of St Ladislas in Fourteenth-Century Hungarian Manuscripts.” In *The Medieval Chronicle IV*, edited by Erik Kooper. Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2006.

———. *The Visual World of the Hungarian Angevin Legendary*. Budapest: CEU Press, 2016.

Szovák, Kornél. “Szent László Alakja a Korai Elbeszélő Forrásokban [The figure of St. Ladislaus in the earliest narrative sources].” *Századok* 134 (2000).

———. “The Image of the Ideal King in Twelfth-Century Hungary: Remarks on the Legend of St Ladislas.” In *Kings and Kingship in Medieval Europe*, edited by Anne Duggan and Janet Nelson, 241–65. London: King’s College London Centre for Late Antique and Medieval Studies, 1994.

Tappan, Eva March. *Russia, Austria-Hungary, The Balkan States, and Turkey*. The World’s Story: A History of the World in Story, Song and Art 6. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1914.

[Uljanov, O. M.] Ульянов, О. М. “Смерть Батыя (к Вопросу о Достоверности Летописного Сообщения о Гибели в Венгрии Золотоордынского Хана Батыя) [The death of Batu (On the reliability of the chronicle account of the death of the Golden Horde Khan Batu in Hungary)].” In *Сборник Русского Исторического Общества* [Collection of the Russian Historical Society], Vol. 11. Moscow: Russkaja panorama, 1999.

Veszprémy, László. “King St Ladislas, Chronicles, Legends and Miracles.” *Saeculum Christianum* 25 (2018): 140–63.

Walter, Christopher. *The Warrior Saints in Byzantine Art and Tradition*. Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2002.

White, Monica. *Military Saints in Byzantium and Rus, 900-1200*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013.

Zoltán, András. “Szent László és Batu kán [Saint Ladislaus and Batu Khan].” In *Ad vitam aeternam: Tanulmánykötet Nagy István 70. születésnapjára* [Study booklet for the 70th birthday of István Nagy], edited by Mária Gyöngyösi, 355–61. Budapest: ELTE, 2017.