

Doctoral Dissertation

***The garden watered by the Virgin Mary: The Marian Landscape of Medieval Hungary (1301–1437)***

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## ABBREVIATIONS

AkO	Kristó, Gyula. <i>Anjou-kori oklevéltár</i> [Angevin-era charters]. I–XL. Budapest, 1990–2014.
AO	Nagy, Imre, ed. <i>Anjoukori okmánytár</i> [Angevin-era documentary records]. I–VI. Budapest, 1878–1891.
ASav	Tóth, Endre and Balázs Czigány Zágorhidi, eds. <i>Források Savaria-Szombathely történetéhez a római kortól 1526-ig</i> [Sources for the history of Savaria-Szombathely from Roman times to 1526]. Szombathely: Panniculus Régiségtani Egylet, 1994.
ASzlavO	Thallóczy, Lajos and Sándor Horváth, eds. <i>Alsó-szlavóniai okmánytár (Dubicza, Orbász és Szana vármegyék). 1244-1718</i> [Lower Slavonia documentary library (Dubicza, Orbász, and Szana Counties). 1244-1718]. Budapest, 1912.
ÁÚO	Wenzel, Gustáv, ed. <i>Árpádkori új okmánytár</i> [New Árpád era document library]. Budapest, 1860–1874.
Bakács Hont	Bakács, István, ed. <i>Hont vármegye Mohács előtt</i> [Hont County before Mohács]. Budapest, 1971.
BalassaLvt	Borsa, Iván, ed. <i>A Balassa család levéltára 1193-1526</i> [The Balassa family archives 1193-1526]. Budapest, 1990.
Bándi 1985	Bándi, Zsuzsa. “Északkelet-magyarországi pálos kolostorok oklevelei (regeszták)” [Charters ( <i>regesta</i> ) of the Pauline monasteries of Northeastern Hungary]. <i>Borsodi levéltári évkönyv</i> 5 (1985): 557–726.
Bándi 1987	Bándi, Zsuzsa. <i>Körmend a középkorban</i> [Körmend in the Middle Ages]. Körmend, 1987.
BánffyO	Varjú, Elemér and Béla Iványi, eds. <i>Oklevéltár a Tomaj nemzetségbeli losonczi Bánffy család történetéhez</i> [Documentary archives on the history of the Tomaj clan of the Bánffy family of Losonczi]. Budapest, 1908–1928.
Bártfai	Bártfai, László Szabó. <i>Pest megye történetének okleveles emlékei 1002–1599</i> [Documentary records of the history of Pest County 1002–1599]. Budapest, 1938.
Beke, “Római emlékek”	Beke, Antal. “Római emlékek a magyar egyház XV-ik századi történetéből” [Roman monuments from the 15th century history of the Hungarian Church]. <i>Magyar Történelmi Tár</i> 4/1 (1900): 1–15.
Békefi	Békefi, Remig. <i>A Balaton környékének egyházai és várai a középkorban</i> [Churches and castles around Lake Balaton in the Middle Ages]. Budapest, 1907.

- Békefi Pásztó Békefi, Remig. *A pásztói apátság története 1190-1702* [History of the Pásztó Abbey 1190–1702]. Budapest, 1898.
- BiblHung Csapodi, Csaba and Klára Gárdonyi Csapodiné. *Bibliotheca Hungarica. Kódexek és nyomtatott könyvek a középkori Magyarországon 1526 előtt* [*Bibliotheca Hungarica. Codices and printed books in medieval Hungary before 1526*]. Budapest, 1988–1993.
- Binder Binder, Pál. *Beszterce és Radna-völgy történelmi személy- és helynevei* [Historical personal and place names of Banská Štiavnica and the Radna Valley]. Budapest, 1994.
- BlagayO Thallóczy, Lajos and Samu Barabás, eds. *A Blagay-család oklevéltára* [Charters of the Blagay family]. Budapest, 1897.
- BLÉ Borsodi Levéltári Évkönyv [Borsodi Archives Yearbook]. Miskolc.
- Bossányi I Bossányi, Árpád, ed. *Regesta supplicationum. A pápai kérvénykönyvek magyar vonatkozású okmányai. Avignoni időszak. I. VI. Kelemen pápa 1342–1352* [*Regesta supplicationum. Documents of the papal petition books relating to Hungary. Avignon period. I. Pope Clement VI 1342–1352*]. Budapest, 1916.
- Bossányi II Bossányi, Árpád, ed. *Regesta supplicationum. A pápai kérvénykönyvek magyar vonatkozású okmányai. Avignoni időszak. II. VI. Ince pápa 1352–1362., V. Orbán pápa 1362–1370., VII. Kelemen ellenpápa 1378–1394* [*Regesta supplicationum. Documents of the papal petition books relating to Hungary. Avignon period. Pope Ince VI II. 1352–1362, V. Pope Urban 1362–1370, Antipope Clement VII 1378–1394*]. Budapest, 1918.
- Brüsztle II Brüsztle, Josephus. *Recensio Universi Cleri Diocesis Quinqueecclesiensis*. Vol. II. Pécs, 1876.
- BTOE III Kumorovitz, Bernát L., ed., *Budapest történetének okleveles emlékei. Harmadik kötet (1382–1439), Monumenta Diplomatica Civitatis Budapest. Tomus Tertius (1382–1439)*. Budapest, 1987.
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- Buturac Buturac, Josip. “Popis župa zabrebačke biskupije 1334. i 1501. Godine” [Census of parishes of the Zagreb diocese in 1334 to 1501]. *Starine* 59 (1984): 43–108.
- Canivez Canivez, Jos. *Statuta Capitulorum Generalium Ordinis Cisterciensis I-III*. Louvain, 1933–1935.
- CDES Marsina, Richard, ed. *Codex diplomaticus et epistolaris Slovaciae*. Bratislava, 1971–1987.

CDP	Lukcsics, József, Péter Tusor, and Tamás Fedeles, eds. <i>Cameralia Documenta Pontificia de Regnis Sacrae Coronae Hungariae (1297-1536). I-II. Collectanea Vaticana Hungariae</i> . Vols. 9–10. Budapest-Rome, 2014.
COD	Smičiklas, Tade, ed. <i>Codex diplomaticus regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae</i> . Vols. 1–16. Zagreb 1904–1976.
ComCris	Heller, Georg. <i>Comitatus Crisiensis</i> . Die historischen Ortsnamen von Ungarn. Band 10. Munich, 1978.
ComMarmUg	Heller, Georg. <i>Comitatus Marmarosiensis. Comitatus Ugocsiensis</i> . Die historischen Ortsnamen von Ungarn. Band 18. Munich, 1985.
ComPos	Heller, Georg. <i>Comitatus Poseganensis</i> . Die historischen Ortsnamen von Ungarn. Band 3. Munich, 1975.
ComSirm	Heller, Georg and Karl Nehring. <i>Comitatus Sirmiensis</i> . Die historischen Ortsnamen von Ungarn. Band 1. Munich, 1973.
ComSzatm	Heller, Georg. <i>Comitatus Szathmariensis</i> . Die historischen Ortsnamen von Ungarn. Band 14. Munich, 1982.
ComVer	Heller, Georg. <i>Comitatus Veroecensis</i> . Die historischen Ortsnamen von Ungarn. Band 6. Munich, 1976.
ComZagr	Heller, Georg. <i>Comitatus Zagradiensis</i> . Die historischen Ortsnamen von Ungarn. Band 11/I–II. Munich, 1980.
ComZemp	Heller, Georg. <i>Comitatus Zempliniensis</i> . Die historischen Ortsnamen von Ungarn. Band 13. Munich, 1981.
CsákyO	<i>Oklevéltár a gróf Csáky család történetéhez</i> [Archives of the history of the Count Csáky family]. Vols. 1–2. Budapest, 1919.
Csánki	Csánki, Dezső. <i>Magyarország történelmi földrajza a Hunyadiak korában</i> [The historical geography of Hungary in the Hunyadi era]. Vols. I–V. Budapest, 1890–1913.
Csánki Körös	Csánki, Dezső. <i>Körösmegye a XV-ik században</i> [Körös County in the XVth c.]. Budapest, 1893.
DAP	<i>Documenta Artis Paulinorum</i>
Dávid	Dávid, Katalin. <i>Az Árpád-kori Csanád vármegye művészeti topográfiája</i> [The artistic topography of Árpád-era Csanád County]. Budapest, 1974.
DL-DF	<i>Magyar Országos Levéltár. Diplomatikai Levéltár; Diplomatikai Fényképgyűjtemény</i> . Budapest.

- DOŠ Uličný, Ferdinand. *Dejiny osídlenia Šariša* [History of the settlement of Šariš]. Košice: Východoslovenské vydavateľstvo, 1990.
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- GH *Gesta Hungarorum*
- Gyárfás Gyárfás, István. *A jász-kúnok története. Kecskemét, 1870-1873* [The history of the Jász-Kun. Kecskemét, 1870-1873]. Vol. III. Szolnok, 1883.
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- HO *Hazai okmánytár. Codex diplomaticus patrius*. Vols. I–VIII. Győr, 1865–1891.
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- Kovács Kovács, Béla. *Az egri egyházmegye története 1596-ig* [History of the diocese of Eger until 1596]. Budapest, 1987.
- Krassó 3 Pethy, Frigyes. *Krassó vármegye története. III. Oklevéltár* [History of Krassó County. III. Documentary archives]. Budapest, 1882.
- Kristó Kristó, Gyula. *Szemponatok „korai” helyneveink történeti tipológiájához* [Considerations for the historical typology of our “early” place names]. Szeged, 1976.



- KTL Kristó, Gyula, Pál Engel, and Ferenc Makk, eds. *Korai magyar történeti lexikon (9-14. század)* [Early Hungarian historical lexicon (9<sup>th</sup>–14<sup>th</sup> centuries)]. Budapest, 1994.
- LK *Levéltári Közlemények* [Archives Bulletins]. Budapest, 1923-.
- Lukcsics 1 Lukcsics, Pál. *XV. századi pápák oklevelei I. kötet. V. Márton pápa (1417–1431)* [Decrees of the 15<sup>th</sup> -century popes Volume I. Pope Martin V (1417–1431)]. Budapest, 1931.
- Lukcsics 2 Lukcsics, Pál. *XV. századi pápák oklevelei II. kötet. IV. Jenő pápa (1431–1447) és V. Miklós pápa (1447–1455)* [Deeds of the 15<sup>th</sup> -century popes, Volume II. Pope John IV (1431–1447) and Pope Nicholas V (1447–1455)]. Budapest, 1938.
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- ME Balázs, Éva H., Erik Fügedi, and Ferenc Maksay. *Társadalom- és művelődéstörténeti tanulmányok. Mályusz Elemér- emlékkönyv* [Studies in social and cultural history. Elemér Mályusz memorial book]. Budapest, 1984.
- MES *Monumenta Ecclesiae Strigoniensis. Ordine chron. disposuit, dissertationibus et notis illustravit Ferdinandus Knauz. Strigonii, 1874-1882. III: Collegit et edidit Ludovicus Crescens Dedek. Esztergom, 1924.*
- Mező Mező, András. *Patrociniumok a középkori Magyarországon* [Patrocinia in medieval Hungary]. Budapest: METEM, 2003.
- MHL Kovács, Sándor V. *Magyar humanisták levelei. XV-XVI. század* [Letters from Hungarian humanists. XV–XVI. Century]. Budapest, 1971.
- Miskolc története I Kunbinyi, András, ed. *Miskolc története I. A kezdetektől 1526-ig* [History of Miskolc I. From the beginnings to 1526]. Miskolc, 1996.
- MKA *Magyar Kamara Archivuma* [Hungarian Chamber Archives].
- MNy *Magyar Nyelv* [Hungarian Language]. A Magyar Nyelvtudományi Társaság Kiadványai. 1905-.

- Mollay Mollay, Károly. *Német-magyar nyelvi érintkezések a XVI. század végéig* [German-Hungarian language contacts until the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century]. Budapest, 1982.
- MonVat I/1 *Rationes collectorum pontificorum in Hungaria. Pápai tizedszedők számadásai. 1281–1375.* Budapest, 1887.
- MonVat I/3 *Monumenta Vatican Hungariae. Bullae Bonificacii IX. P. M. IX. Bonifác pápa bullái. 1389–1396.* Budapest, 1889.
- MonVat I/4 *Monumenta Vaticana historiam regni Hungariae illustrantia. Bullae Bonificacii IX. P. M. IX. Bonifác pápa bullái. 1396–1404.* Budapest, 1889.
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## INTRODUCTION

*The flower garden was  
famous in Pannonia,  
And this garden was watered faithfully  
by the Virgin Mary.<sup>1</sup>*

These florid lines from the Hungarian folk hymn to St. Stephen, Hungary's first Christian king, entitled "Ah, hol vagy, magyarok tündöklő csillaga" (Oh, where art thou, shining star of Hungarians), express how Hungary was transformed from a pagan desert into a lush, blooming garden by Stephen—explicitly referred to as a *kertész* (gardener) in the hymn—through his alleged dedication of the country to the Blessed Virgin Mary on his deathbed in 1038.<sup>2</sup> This garden metaphor appeared in early versions of the hymn in the seventeenth century, making its way into various forms of Hungarian literature, and even beyond Hungary's borders. In German-speaking lands it appeared as the *Ungarn als Garten Mariens* motif in eighteenth-century Jesuit plays.<sup>3</sup> One such play performed in Constance in 1745 evokes this imagery in one of its stanzas: "The garden will have bloomed, how many flowers Stephan planted in it, when he transformed the Kingdom of Hungary into a garden, and consecrated it to the Virgin."<sup>4</sup>

The garden metaphor illustrates the fertility of the Christian Hungarian Kingdom and represents the culmination of centuries of development of the Marian cult in Hungary.<sup>5</sup> The Virgin Mary herself is known as a garden, that is, through her title *Hortus conclusus*, and while this title alludes to her virginity, in these early modern works Mary clearly plays an active—

<sup>1</sup> "Virágos kert vala, híres Pannónia, Mely kertet öntözö, híven Szűz Mária."

<sup>2</sup> Gábor Tüskés and Éva Knapp, "Magyarország – Mária országa. Egy történelmi toposz a 16-18. századi egyházi irodalomban" [Hungary, the Land of the Virgin Mary. A historical topic in the ecclesiastical literature of the 16<sup>th</sup>–18<sup>th</sup> c.], *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények* 104 (2000): 592. Similar imagery described in: Gábor Tüskés and Éva Knapp, "Die ungarische Geschichte im lateinischen Jesuitendrama des deutsch-sprachigen Kulturraums," *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu* 78/155 (Jan.–June 2009): 84.

<sup>3</sup> In Eichstätt in 1746 (Jean-Marie Valentin, *Le Théâtre des Jésuites dans les Pays de Langue Allemande. Répertoire chronologique des Pièces représentées et des Documents conservés (1555–1773)*, vol. I (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 1984), 5799) and Freiburg in 1759 (Valentin, *Le Théâtre des Jésuites*, I:6844).

<sup>4</sup> "floruerit hortus, quot in eo flores plantavit Stephanus, dum Regnum Pannoniae in hortum mutavit, et Virgini sacrauit." Typis Joannis Ignatii Neyer (Constance, 1745), in Valentin, *Le Théâtre des Jésuites*, II:5715. For recent studies on Jesuit theater see, among others: Anne-Sophie Gallo, "Jesuit Theater," in *The Oxford Handbook of the Jesuits*, ed. Ines G. Zupanov (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), 575–97; Fidel Rädle, "Jesuit Theatre in Germany, Austria and Switzerland," in *Neo-Latin Drama in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Jan Bloemendal and Howard Norland (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 185–292; Jost Eickmeyer, "Between Religious Instruction and *theatrum mundi*: The Historiography of Jesuit Drama (Seventeenth to Twenty-First Centuries)," *Jesuit Historiography Online*, last modified Sept. 2018, [https://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/jesuit-historiography-online/between-religious-instruction-and-theatrum-mundi-the-historiography-of-jesuit-drama-seventeenth-to-twenty-first-centuries-SIM\\_192593](https://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/jesuit-historiography-online/between-religious-instruction-and-theatrum-mundi-the-historiography-of-jesuit-drama-seventeenth-to-twenty-first-centuries-SIM_192593). And on Jesuit drama in Hungary see: József Takács, *A jezsuita iskoladráma (1581–1773)*, vol. 2 (Budapest: Pray Rendtörténeti Munkaközösség, 1937); István Bartók, ed., *Companion to the History of the Neo-Latin Studies in Hungary* (Budapest: Universitas, 2005).

<sup>5</sup> Tüskés and Knapp, "Magyarország – Mária országa," 592.

and central—role in the fertility of the Hungarian landscape. From the eleventh century onwards, hundreds of places were dedicated to the Virgin through *patrocinia*, Marian images and objects were housed in special sacred spaces, and veneration of Mary was expressed through everything from grand donations and pilgrimages to important Marian sites to acts of personal, private piety. The late medieval period was central in this process, and it was upon this rich period that the blooming of the Marian cult in the early modern period was built, resulting in the late medieval period possessing an almost folkloric quality by the seventeenth century.

Devotion to the Virgin Mary, the most important person in the Catholic Church after Christ, is, as eloquently worded by Marina Warner, “a magic mirror like the Lady of Shalott’s, reflecting a people and the beliefs they produce, recount, and hold. It presents their history in a certain light and in a way that singles them out.”<sup>6</sup> This is reflected in how adaptable the figure of the Virgin Mary was and is; depending on the given context she could represent a compassionate mother, a more distant but noble Queen of Heaven, or even a militant figure, defending Christianity from its “enemies.” In late medieval Hungary she also had many faces, and the study of her cult can reveal both shared languages of devotion and the ways that devotional trends can cultivate a sense of belonging and a distinguishing of oneself and one’s community.

## 1. Research Aims

The primary goal of this thesis is to reconstruct the landscape of Marian places in medieval Hungary and to identify the major forces behind the creation, recreation, and development of these places using an interdisciplinary approach. The Marian landscape is both the physical presence of places—parish churches, monasteries, pilgrimage shrines, and even whole towns bearing the Virgin’s name, entrusted to her protection, and where her presence is thought to be especially present—and the web of sacred places held in the minds of medieval individuals. Marian places were imbued with meaning in the minds of medieval people—many of whom would never travel far from their place of birth but for whom these places were still very much real and intertwined with their own identities—and in the collective consciousness of communities.

The main research questions guiding this thesis are: How can Marian devotion be measured in the landscape? Who were the agents of Marian placemaking in Hungary and what

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<sup>6</sup> Marina Warner, *Alone of All Her Sex: The Myth and the Cult of the Virgin Mary* (NY: Random House, Inc., 1976), xxiii.

processes led to their creation? What purposes did Marian places serve for the agents of Marian placemaking? How did “external” Marian places affect the development of Marian places, and the Marian landscape overall, in Hungary? The concepts of the sacralization of space and placemaking, and to some extent cultural transfer and exchange, are the combined guiding processes with which I approach these questions. This study will map the physical places in the Hungarian landscape that the Virgin Mary was entrusted to protect, where her sacred presence manifested, and examine to what degree they developed as a result of intercultural exchange and autochthonous processes.

The subject of this thesis is novel in several respects. Monographs on the cult of the Virgin Mary in Hungary tend to focus on the early modern period or are ethnographic studies, and no studies exist that bring together the various aspects of the medieval cult of the Virgin Mary—considering written, material, and artistic sources—in Hungary and its presence in the landscape. This would also be one of the first studies in English on the cult of the Virgin Mary in Hungary. Linguistic barriers have long kept Western scholars from engaging in dialogue with medieval Hungarian history, and I hope this study will contribute to remedying this issue.

## 2. Chronological Framework

The events of the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries—the period beginning with the reign of the first Angevin king in Hungary, Charles I (r. 1301/08–1342), and ending with the death of the Holy Roman Emperor Sigismund (king of Hungary from 1387 to 1437)—are the most relevant to the thesis. This period coincided with a shift in Hungarian rulership, which necessitated the legitimization of a new dynasty; the cult of the Virgin Mary and foreign relations were integral in this. The more plentiful primary source evidence available from the fourteenth century onwards also makes the beginning of the Hungarian Angevins’ rule a helpful starting point.

The inclusion of Sigismund’s reign may seem arbitrary, since he was part of the Luxembourg rather than the Angevin dynasty, but their dynasties shared many parallel developments and were connected through marriage. The similarities between the Angevin and Luxembourg dynasties are evident from the reign of John of Luxembourg (also known as John of Bohemia or John the Blind; r. 1310–1346), who ruled Bohemia around the same time Charles I ruled Hungary, and who was, similarly to Charles, considered the “king from abroad” by his Bohemian subjects.<sup>7</sup> Charles and John actively engaged diplomatically with each other

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<sup>7</sup> The moniker was given to him by the Bohemian monk and historian Peter of Zittau. Jiří Fajt, “Charles IV: Toward a New Imperial Style,” in *Prague: The Crown of Bohemia*, 18n30. See also Lenka Bobková, *Velké dějiny*

and the Angevin and Luxembourg dynasties developed similarly.<sup>8</sup> Their first inter-dynastic marriage was the marriage of Charles I to his second wife Beatrice of Luxembourg, sister to John of Luxembourg. The next would be the marriage of Sigismund of Luxembourg to Mary of Anjou in 1385. Sigismund would continue to use the “devotional diplomacy,” including the use of the image of the Virgin Mary, that both Hungarian Angevin kings, Charles I and Louis the Great, had used, and which his own father, Charles IV of Luxembourg, had employed as Holy Roman Emperor

Following Sigismund’s reign, the Jagiellonian, Hunyadi, and Habsburg rulers of Hungary brought with them their own specific cultural contexts that provide an even more complex picture and thus deserve their own, separate studies. Matthias Corvinus (r. 1458–1490) especially used the cult of the Virgin Mary for both political and pious purposes; his promotion of the Marian cult deserves a thesis in itself.

After the mid-fourteenth century and increasingly into the early modern period there was a boom in Marian cult sites and pilgrimage in Hungary. Many of these places claimed medieval origins, and many of these claims have gone unchecked. Thus, reassessing the actual historical contexts of their origin and development will not only determine the veracity of these claims, but also evaluate what circumstances surrounding these places in the Middle Ages led to them being actively developed into pilgrimage sites and cult centers in the following centuries.

While this thesis will concentrate on the events of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, all medieval Hungarian *patrocinia* and indulgence data will be presented, from the establishment of the Hungarian Kingdom as a Christian state under Stephen I (ca. 1000) to the early sixteenth century, around the time of the Ottoman occupation and the Reformation.<sup>9</sup> An analysis of the Marian landscape that encompassed all of the medieval period in Hungary would be far too great of an undertaking for one thesis, however, I was able to collect all medieval Marian *patrocinia* and indulgence data so decided to include it in this thesis in order to present the most complete picture of the medieval Hungarian Marian landscape to this point

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*zemi Koruny české* [The Great History of the Lands of the Bohemian Crown], Vol. 4a, b 1310–1402 (Prague: Paseka, 2003), 210–12.

<sup>8</sup> Their relationship and the similarity between the Angevin and Luxembourg dynasties are explored in: Balázs Nagy, “Angevin-Luxemburg Diplomatic Relations in the Mid-fourteenth Century,” *La diplomatie des états Angevins aux XIIIe et XIVe siècles = diplomacy in the countries of the Angevin Dynasty in the thirteenth - fourteenth centuries : actes du colloque international de Szeged, Visegrád, Budapest : 13 -16 septembre 2007*, ed. Zoltán Kordé and István Petrovics (Rome-Szeged, 2010), 313–318.

<sup>9</sup> These are rough beginning and end points typically considered to encompass the medieval period in Hungary. The Battle of Mohács in 1526 is often given as the end point of the late Middle Ages in Hungary, however, strict temporal divisions are difficult if not impossible to determine.

and to make that material easily available to future researchers. However, commentary and analysis of this data will be focused on the late medieval period.

### 3. Previous Scholarship

The great significance of the Virgin Mary has inevitably made her a popular subject of study, even from the early history of Christianity. Theologians, monks, and reformers have long pondered Mary's life and her place in the Christian faith; the study of the theological questions surrounding the Virgin Mary has even resulted in her own branch of theology—Mariology. Modern historians have continued this tradition, analyzing the various facets of her figure and cult, from her appearance in the Gospels and apocrypha to other Marian literature, popular devotional trends, and iconography.

The most comprehensive and recent monographs published on the medieval Marian cult come from Brian Reynolds, Miri Rubin, Klaus Schreiner, Rachel Fulton, Donna Spivey Ellington, Sarah Jane Boss, Jaroslav Pelikan, Dominique Iogna-Prat, Gabriela Signori, and Marina Warner.<sup>10</sup> Valuable collections of studies on the Virgin Mary, focusing primarily on the Middle Ages but some also including early Christianity to the early modern period, have been edited by Chris Maunder, Sarah Jane Boss, R. N. Swanson, Claudia Opitz, Dieter R. Opitz, Hedwig Röckelein, Gabriela Signori, Guy P. Marchal, Jonas Carlquist, and Virginia Langum.<sup>11</sup> Some of these studies trace the development of the Marian cult chronologically,

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<sup>10</sup> Warner, *Alone of All her Sex*; Gabriela Signori, *Maria zwischen Kathedrale, Kloster und Welt: Hagiographische und historiographische Annäherungen an eine hochmittelalterliche Wunderpredigt* (Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 1995); Jaroslav Pelikan, *Mary Through the Centuries: Her Place in the History of Culture* (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1996); Dominique Iogna-Prat, *Marie: le culte de la Vierge dans la société médiévale* (Paris: Beauchesne, 1996); Sarah Jane Boss, *Empress and Handmaid: On Nature and Gender in the Cult of the Virgin Mary* (London: Cassell, 2000); Donna Spivey Ellington, *From Sacred Body to Angelic Soul: Understanding Mary in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 2001); Rachel Fulton, *From judgment to passion: devotion to Christ and the Virgin Mary, 800-1200* (NY: Columbia University Press, 2002); Klaus Schreiner, *Maria: Leben, Legenden, Symbole* (Munich: C.H. Beck Verlag, 2003); Idem, *Maria: Jungfrau, Mutter, Herrscherin* (Munich: Carl Hanser Verlag, 1994; repr. Cologne: Anaconda, 2006); Miri Rubin, *Mother of God: A History of the Virgin Mary* (London: Yale University Press, 2009); Miri Rubin, *Emotion and Devotion: The Meaning of Mary in Medieval Cultures* (Budapest: CEU Press, 2009); Brian Reynolds, *Gateway to Heaven: Marian Doctrine and Devotion, Image and Typology in the Patristic and Medieval Periods* (Hyde Park, NY: New City Press, 2012). On the early cult of the Virgin Mary the following works are also worthy of note: Chris Maunder, ed., *The Origins of the Cult of the Virgin Mary* (London: Burns and Oates, 2008); Stephen J. Shoemaker, *Mary in Early Christian Faith and Devotion* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016).

<sup>11</sup> Hedwig Röckelein, Claudia Opitz, and Dieter R. Opitz, eds., *Maria Abbild oder Vorbild? Zur Sozialgeschichte mittelalterliche Marienverehrung* (Tübingen: Ed. discord, 1990); Claudia Opitz, Hedwig Röckelein, Gabriela Signori, and Guy P. Marchal, eds., *Maria in der Welt: Marienverehrung im Kontext der Sozialgeschichte 10.–18. Jahrhundert* (Zürich: Chronos, 1993); R. N. Swanson, *The Church and Mary* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: The Boydell Press, 2004); Sarah Jane Boss, ed., *Mary: The Complete Resource* (London: Continuum, 2007); Claudia Chris Maunder, ed., *Oxford Handbook of Mary* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019); Jonas Carlquist and Virginia Langum, eds., *Words and Matter: The Virgin Mary in Late Medieval and Early Modern Parish Life* (Stockholm: Runica et Mediaevalia, 2015).

others analyze the various aspects of her cult (in art, literature, theology, popular devotion, etc.) or the manifestation of her cult in different contexts (ecclesiastical, monastic, royal, lay, etc.), or a combination of these approaches.

Certain characteristics of Mary's medieval cult have received more attention than others, especially in terms of dedicated monographs. Mariology has been a popular field of study for historians and theologians even from the early days of the Christian church. More recently, individual monographs have been dedicated to the topic in general, such as that by Sarah Jane Boss in 2004,<sup>12</sup> as well as specific aspects of Mariology, especially the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception.<sup>13</sup> Marian art and iconography have also been particularly popular. The Virgin Mary has, since the inception of her cult, been a favorite subject of artists. Her image proliferated in paintings, altars pieces, murals, statues, and stained glass, and these images were foci of religious devotion, conduits of spiritual power and presence, and objects of artistic appreciation and expression. The study of Marian art and iconography has, therefore, a long history. Hans Belting's *Bild und Kult—Eines Geschichte des Bildes vor dem Zeitalter der Kunst*, in which he analyzes holy images through their use and context, is a seminal work in the field of art history.<sup>14</sup> Marian images were among the most popular devotional images; thus, a large portion of the book is dedicated to her portraits. The function of Marian images in particular contexts and places has received increasingly growing attention from both art historians and (non-art) historians.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>12</sup> Sarah Jane Boss, *Mary* (London: Continuum, 2003).

<sup>13</sup> Marielle Lamy, *L'immaculée conception: étapes et enjeux d'une controverse au Moyen-Âge (XII<sup>e</sup>–XV<sup>e</sup> siècles)* (Paris: Institut d'Études Augustiniennes, 2000); Ulrich Horst, *Dogma und Theologie: Dominikanertheologen in den Kontroversen um die Immaculata Conceptio*, Quellen und Forschungen zur Geschichte des Dominikanerordens. Neue Folge, Band 16 (Berlin: Akademie Verlag GmbH, 2008); Christiaan W. Kappes, *The immaculate conception: why Thomas Aquinas denied, while John Duns Scotus, Gregory Palamas, and Mark Eugenikos professed the absolute immaculate existence of Mary* (New Bedford, MA: Academy of the Immaculate, 2014). On the iconography of the Immaculate Conception see: Mirella Levi D'Ancona, *The iconography of the immaculate conception in the Middle Ages and early Renaissance* (NY: College Art Assoc. Of America, 1957); Suzanne L. Stratton, *The immaculate conception in Spanish art* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

<sup>14</sup> Hans Belting, *Bild und Kult—Eines Geschichte des Bildes vor dem Zeitalter der Kunst* (Munich: Beck, 2020; originally published 1990). Published in English as: Hans Belting, *Likeness and Presence: A History of the Image before the Era of Art*, trans. Edmund Jephcott (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1994).

<sup>15</sup> The corpus of works on medieval Marian art is huge. Some of the most recent and comprehensive works include: Wolfgang Beinert and Heinrich Petri, eds., *Handbuch der Marienkunde* (Regensburg: Pustet, 1984); Ilene H. Forsyth, *The Throne of Wisdom: Wood Sculptures of the Madonna in Romanesque France* (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1972); Robert Ousterhout and Leslie Brubaker, eds., *Sacred Image East and West* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1995); Aina Trotzig, "The Iconography of the Enthroned Virgin with the Christ Child Standing in Her Lap," in *Images of Cult and Devotion: Function and Reception of Christian Images in Medieval and Post-Medieval Europe*, ed. Søren Kaspersen and Ulla Haastrup (Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, 2004), 245–54; Lasse Hodne, *The Virginity of the Virgin: A Study in Marian Iconography* (Rome: Scienze e Lettere, 2012).

From the late twentieth century, topics such as sexuality<sup>16</sup> and Mary's relation to Jewish and Islamic thought and communities,<sup>17</sup> as well as new historiographical trends including feminist theory and gender criticism,<sup>18</sup> have increasingly come to the forefront of Marian studies.

Most general studies on the Marian cult focus on examples from Western and, to a lesser extent, Central Europe. Studies on the medieval cult of the Virgin in particular regions or countries have also been published<sup>19</sup>; such studies in English are predominately confined to western Europe (although many valuable studies on the Marian cult in Byzantium have also been published<sup>20</sup>) and the Marian cult in the Hungarian context is rarely—or if it is, only very briefly—discussed.<sup>21</sup> While the Virgin Mary is a popular subject of study in East-Central and

<sup>16</sup> See, for example: Gary Waller, "The Virgin's 'Pryvytes': Walsingham and the Late Medieval Sexualization of the Virgin," in *Walsingham and English Culture: Landscape, Sexuality, and Cultural Memory*, ed. Dominic Janes and Gary Waller (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), 113–30; Gary Waller, "The Sexualization of the Virgin in the Late Middle Ages," in *The Virgin Mary in Late Medieval and Early Modern English Literature and Popular Culture*, Gary Waller (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 31–54.

<sup>17</sup> Kati Ihnat, *Mother of Mercy, Bane of the Jews: Devotion to the Virgin in Anglo-Norman England* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2017); Amy G. Remensnyder, *La Conquistadora: The Virgin at War and Peace in the Old and New Worlds* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014); Mary F. Thurkill, *Chosen among Women: Mary and Fatima in Medieval Christianity and Shi'ite Islam* (Notre Dame, IN: Notre Dame University Press, 2007). On the relationship between the Virgin Mary and Jewish communities in medieval Central Europe see also Chapter 2.

<sup>18</sup> Among others see: Tina Beattie, "Queen of Heaven," in *Queer Theology: Rethinking the Western Body*, ed. Gerard Loughlin (Oxford: Blackwell, 2007), 293–307; Tina Beattie, "Redeeming Mary: The Potential of Marian Symbolism for Feminist Philosophy of Religion," in *Feminist Philosophy of Religion: Critical Readings*, ed. Pamela Sue Anderson and Beverley Clack (London: Routledge, 2003), 107–22; Els Maeckelberghe, *Desperately Seeking Mary: A Feminist Appropriation of a Traditional Religious Symbol* (Kampen: Kok Pharos, 1991). Ivone Gebara and María Clara Bingemer apply both feminist and liberation theology in their study of the Virgin Mary, see Ivone Gebara and María Clara Bingemer, *Mary: Mother of God, Mother of the Poor* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1989, repr. Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 2004).

<sup>19</sup> For example: Steve Boardman and Eila Williamson, eds., *The Cult of Saints and the Virgin Mary in Medieval Scotland* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: The Boydell Press, 2010); Penny Schine Gold, *The Lady & the Virgin: Image, Attitude, and Experience in Twelfth-Century France* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1985); Gary Waller, *The Virgin Mary in Late Medieval and Early Modern English Literature and Popular Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011); Mary Clayton, *The Cult of the Virgin Mary in Anglo-Saxon England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990); Ludwig Hüttel, *Marianische Wallfahrten im süddeutsch-österreichischen Raum* (Cologne: Böhlau Verlag, 1985). While focusing on the early modern period, Bridget Heal's valuable monograph on the Marian cult in Germany also discussed medieval trends in terms of continuation: Bridget Heal, *The Cult of the Virgin Mary in Early Modern Germany: Protestant and Catholic Piety, 1500–1648* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

<sup>20</sup> Some of the most recent monographs include: Maria Vassilaki, ed., *Mother of God: Representations of the Virgin in Byzantine Art* (Milan: Skira editore, 2000); Bissera V. Pentcheva, *Icons and Power: The Mother of God in Byzantium* (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2006); Leslie Brubaker and Mary B. Cunningham, eds., *The Cult of the Mother of God in Byzantium: Texts and Images* (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2011); Leena Mari Peltomaa, Andreas Külzer, and Pauline Allen, eds., *Presbeia Theotokou: the intercessory role of Mary across times and places in Byzantium (4<sup>th</sup>–9<sup>th</sup> century)* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2015); Thomas Arentzen and Mary B. Cunningham, eds., *The Reception of the Virgin in Byzantium: Marian Narratives in Texts and Images* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019); Mary B. Cunningham, *The Virgin Mary in Byzantium, c. 400–1000: Hymns, Homilies and Hagiographies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2021).

<sup>21</sup> The Marian cult of Hungary is briefly mentioned in Miri Rubin's works (Miri, *Mother of God*, 112–13; Eadem, *Emotion and Devotion*, 17–19) and in Klaus Schreiner's monograph (Schreiner, *Maria: Jungfrau*, 198–9).



Eastern Europe as well,<sup>22</sup> such works are usually written in the local language and are less likely to be translated, so are usually less accessible to other scholars.

Because of the Virgin Mary's role as patroness of the Hungarian Kingdom and her connection to Hungarian identity, her cult has also received considerable attention from Hungarian scholars. The earliest literature concerning the medieval cult of Mary in Hungary belongs to the so-called *Atlas Marianus* genre, a cross between devotional literature and a travel guide, started by the Jesuit Wilhelm Gumpenberg in the seventeenth century with a four volume work containing more than 1,200 Marian shrines.<sup>23</sup> Prince Pál Esterházy of Galántha (1635–1713), an avid supporter of the cult of the Virgin Mary, translated the work into Hungarian and added important Hungarian sites and images.<sup>24</sup> His work was further enlarged and updated by Elek Jordánszky in the early nineteenth century.<sup>25</sup>

Historical studies on the Marian cult by Hungarian scholars, however, began in earnest in the early twentieth century. These works were typically shorter investigations—except for a valuable book by Flóris Kühár on Mary's place in eleventh- to twelfth-century Hungarian

<sup>22</sup> Studies in Mary's cult in Bohemia include: Markéta Holubová and Marcela Suchomelová, eds. *Salve Regina: Mariánská úcta ve středních Čechách* [Marian Devotion in Central Bohemia] (Prague: Etnologický ústav Akademie věd České republiky ve spolupráci se Státním oblastním archivem v Praze, 2014); Markéta Holubová, "Projevy mariánské religiozity v České republice - včera a dnes" [Manifestations of Marian Devotion in the Czech Republic - past and present] *Slovak Ethnology (Slovenský národopis)* 4 (2008): 361–72. The Virgin Mary is also a popular subject of study for Polish scholars. See, for example: Izabela Sołjan, "Pilgrimages to Our Lady's Sanctuaries in Poland on the Example of Carpathian Sanctuaries," in *Wallfahrten in der europäischen Kultur. Tagungsband Příbram, 26.-29. Mai 2004 = Pilgrimage in European Culture. Proceedings of the Symposium Příbram, May 26th-29th 2004, Europäische Wallfahrtsstudien*, ed. Daniel Doležal and Hartmut Kühne (Frankfurt: Lang, 2006), 415–26. Many studies have been written on the most important Marian pilgrimage site in Poland (and one of the most important in the region)—the Pauline monastery of Jasna Góra, which housed the Black Madonna of Częstochowa, founded in 1382. About the Jasna Góra monastery and the Black Madonna of Częstochowa see: Tadeusz Kos, *Fundacja klasztoru jasnogórskiego w świetle nowej interpretacji źródeł* [The Foundation of Jasna Góra monastery in the light of new source interpretation] (Cracow: Colonel, 2002); Anna Niedźwiedz, *The Image and the Figure: Our Lady of Częstochowa in Polish Culture and Popular Religion*, trans. Guy Torr (Cracow: Jagiellonian University Press, 2010); Edward Nowakowski, *O cudownych obrazach w Polsce Przenajświętszej Matki Bożej. Wiadomości historyczne, bibliograficzne i ikonograficzne* [About the miraculous images of the Virgin in Poland. History, bibliography, and iconography] (Cracow, 1902); Krystyna Pieradzka, *Fundacja klasztoru Jasnogórskiego w Częstochowie w 1382 r* [The establishment of the Jasna Góra monastery in Częstochowa in 1382] (Cracow: Druk W. L. Anczyca i Spółki, 1939); and Robert Maniura, *Pilgrimage to Images in the Fifteenth Century: The Origins of the Cult of Our Lady of Częstochowa* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2004); Jan Nalaskowski OSPPE, "Jasna Góra in Theological Reflections on the Marian Shrines," *Peregrinus Cracoviensis* 3 (1996): 23–35.

<sup>23</sup> Wilhelm Gumpenberg, *Atlas Marianus quo sanctae dei genitricis Mariae imaginum Miraculosarum origines Duodecim Historiarum Centurijs explicantur* (Monachii, 1657–1659). Recent French translation: Nicolas Balzamo, Olivier Christin, and Fabrice Flückiger, *L'Atlas Marianus de Wilhelm Gumpenberg Édition et traduction* (Neuchâtel: Éditions Alphil-Presses universitaires suisses, 2015).

<sup>24</sup> Pál Esterházy, *Az egész világon levő csudálatos Boldogságos Szűz képeinek rövideden föltett eredeti...* [Shortly presented origins of the wonderful images of the Virgin Mary from the whole world], Nagyszombat 1690, facsimile edition with the studies by Éva Knapp, Gábor Tüskés, and Géza Galavics (Budapest: Balassi Kiadó, 1994). Esterházy wrote another work devoted to the Virgin entitled: *Speculum immaculatum, quo demonstrator ex probatissimis authoribus beatissimam virginem Mariam sine labe originali essen conceptam* (Viennae Austriae: Voigt, 1698).

<sup>25</sup> Elek Jordánszky, *Magyarországban, s az ahhoz tartozó részekben levő boldogs. Szűz Mária kegyelemképeinek rövid leírása* (1836) [Short description of the images of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Hungary and in the parts belonging to it (1836)], ed. Gábor Tüskés and Éva Knapp (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1988).

liturgy<sup>26</sup>—into the dedication of the kingdom to the Virgin and the presence of her cult in the first centuries of Hungary’s existence as a Christian kingdom.<sup>27</sup> More recently, whole monographs—from Zsuzsanna Erdélyi,<sup>28</sup> János Hetény,<sup>29</sup> Mór P. Majsai,<sup>30</sup> and Gábor Barna<sup>31</sup>—have been written concerning the history of the Marian cult in Hungary.<sup>32</sup> These studies primarily cover the early modern and modern periods, though Majsai does dedicate about 15% of his book to the Marian cult in Hungary before the sixteenth century, Hetény makes reference to medieval traditions, and Barna includes two articles and Erdélyi one article

<sup>26</sup> Flóris Kühár, *Mária-tiszteletünk a XI. és XII. század hazai liturgiájában* [The cult of Mary in the Hungarian liturgy in the eleventh and twelfth centuries] (Budapest: Stephaneum, 1939).

<sup>27</sup> Margit Waczulik, “Szűz Maria tisztelete kereszténységünk első században” [Veneration of the Virgin Mary in the first century of Hungarian Christianity], *Regnum* 3 (1938/39): 59–74; Neda Relkovic, “Patrona Hungariae,” *Katholikus Szemle* 35 (1921): 265–81; László Németh, “A Regnum Marianum állameszme kialakulása” [The development of the concept of the state of Regnum Marianum], *Regnum egyháztörténeti évkönyv* 4 (1940–1941): 223–92 (for the medieval cult 223–7). A longer monograph was published in 1934, however, this is an overview of Catholic veneration of the Virgin Mary in general, not specifically in Hungary or in the medieval period, see Mihály Lévy, *A Boldogságos Szűz Mária élete, tisztelete, szenthelyei, legendái* [The life, veneration, shrines, and legends of the Blessed Virgin Mary] (Budapest: Franklin-Társulat Kiadása, 1934). From the second half of the twentieth century further brief summaries of the Marian cult in Hungary were published, see: Louis Nagyalussy, “Le culte de la Sainte Vierge en Hongrie, ‘Regnum Marianum,’” in *Marie, études sur la Sainte Vierge*, IV, ed. Hubert du Manoir (Paris: Beauchesne, 1956), 643–70; Kilián Szigeti, “A Magyarok Nagyasszonyának tisztelete történelmünk folyamán” [Veneration of Our Lady of the Hungarians throughout history], *Vigília* 38/8 (1973): 557–9 (on the medieval cult: p. 557); István Kállay, “A Regnum Marianum közjogi vonatkozásai. Szent István emlékülés” [Public law aspects of the Regnum Marianum. The commemorative meeting of St. Stephen], in *Szent István-emlékülés Székesfehérváron* [St. Stephen's commemorative meeting in Székesfehérvár], Fejér Megyei Levéltár közleményei 7, ed. Gábor Farkas (Székesfehérvár, 1989) 27–30; Dezső Dümmerth, “A ‘napbaöltözött asszony.’ A magyar történelem és a Mária-tisztelet [The “woman clothed with sun”: Hungarian history and worship of the Virgin Mary], *Katolikus Szemle* 1994/3–4 (1994): 323–39; József Gerics, “De Hungariae Beatae Mariae Virgini commendata,” *Magyar Egyháztörténeti Évkönyv* 2 (1996): 37–9.

<sup>28</sup> Zsuzsanna Erdélyi, ed., *Boldogasszony ága. Tanulmányok a népi vallásosság köréből* [Branch of the Blessed Virgin Mary. Studies in folk religiosity] (Budapest: Szent István Társulat, 1991).

<sup>29</sup> János Hetény, *A magyarok Máriája: Mária-tiszteletünk teológiája és néprajza* [The Mary of the Hungarians: The theology and ethnography of our devotion to Mary] (Budapest: Szent István Társulat, 2011). Other studies by János Hetény on the early modern and modern cult of the Virgin in Hungary include: János Hetény, *A győri vérrel könnyező Szűzanya kultusztörténete* [The history of the cult of the Our Weeping Lady of Győr] (Szeged : Néprajzi Tanszék, 2000); Idem, *Nagyboldogasszony virrasztása: a Karancs-hegy búcsú : egy terepkiutató jegyzetei 1951–1952* [The Assumption of the Virgin Mary vigil: The Karancs Hill pilgrimage: Notes from field research 1951–1952] (Szeged : Néprajzi Tanszék, 2000).

<sup>30</sup> Mór P. Majsai, *Szűz Mária tisztelete Magyarországon Szent István királytól napjainkig* [The cult of the Virgin in Hungary from Saint Stephen to the present day] (Budapest: Kossuth Nyomda, 1970).

<sup>31</sup> Gábor Barna, ed., *Boldogasszony: Szűz Mária tisztelete Magyarországon és Közép Európában* [Blessed Virgin: Devotion to the Virgin Mary in Hungary and Central Europe] (Szeged: Néprajzi Tanszék, 2001). Similar studies by Barna include: Idem, *Vallási néprajzi tanulmányok* [Religious ethnographic studies] (Szeged: SZTE BTK Néprajzi és Kulturális Antropológiai Tanszék, 2014), esp. 155–75; Idem, “A magyarok Máriája. Szűz Mária tisztelete Magyarországon” [Mary of the Hungarians. Veneration of the Virgin Mary in Hungary], in *Keresztény gyökerek és a boldog magyar élet* [Christian roots and a blessed Hungarian life], ed. Bernadett Rochlitz (Budapest: Keresztény Értelmiségek Szövetsége Miskolci Csoport - Eszmék és Értékek Alapítvány, 2010), 145–68.

<sup>32</sup> The following overviews of Mary’s cult in Hungary, including the medieval period, should also be noted: Terézia Kerny, “Magyarok Nagyhatalmú Szószólója” [Powerful Advocate of Hungarians], in *A Máriabesnyő Mária Múzeum - kiállítási katalógus* [The Máriabesnyő Mary Museum - Exhibition catalogue], ed. Mária G. Merva (Gödöllő, 2009), 59–94; Gábor Tüskés and Éva Knapp, “Ungarn. Frömmigkeitsgeschichte,” in *Marienlexikon*, VI, ed. Remigius Bäumer and Leo Scheffczyk (St. Ottilien: EOS Verlag, 1994), 532–38.

on the medieval Marian cult in their volumes.<sup>33</sup> These studies already from the early twentieth century began to explore the idea of Hungary as a *Mária országa/Regnum Marianum*.

Mary's cult can be analyzed from a multitude of angles—art, sermons and other literature, liturgy, cult sites, and pilgrimage to name but a few; a handful of studies analyze Mary's Hungarian medieval cult from one of these approaches. From the perspective of art history, a few Marian iconographic forms have received special attention.<sup>34</sup> Ernő Marosi discusses examples of Marian art in his work on medieval art in Hungary, however, in 1995 he stated that “medieval iconography of the Madonna, known as *Patrona Hungariae*, is completely unexplored.”<sup>35</sup> Beatrix Gombosi's book on examples of the Mary of Mercy iconography in Hungary and Marie Lionnet's work on the representations of the Virgin in Hungarian murals deserve special recognition.<sup>36</sup> The Virgin's place in the Hungarian liturgy during the Middle Ages has also received attention. Béla Holl and József Török contributed articles on the Virgin's place in medieval liturgy in Hungary in the monographs edited by Barna and Erdélyi, respectively.<sup>37</sup> Kühar's work on the Marian cult in high medieval Hungarian liturgy was completed already in 1939, and Sándor Bálint's monumental work on the Hungarian liturgical calendar, including Marian feast days, was published in 1977.<sup>38</sup>

<sup>33</sup> Béla Holl, “A Havi Boldogasszony hazai liturgikus tiszteletének középkori kezdetei” [Medieval Beginnings of the Liturgical Veneration of Our Lady of the Snows in Hungary], in Barna, *Boldogasszony*, 89–96; Zsuzsanna Erdélyi, “Szűz Mária a történeti, későközépkori imádságokban” [The Virgin Mary in historical, late medieval prayers], in Barna, *Boldogasszony*, 102–26; József Török, “A hazai és a lotharingiai liturgia kapcsolata a XI. században,” in Erdélyi, *Boldogasszony ága*, 223–8.

<sup>34</sup> On the Immaculate Conception in Hungary with some references to the medieval period see Pál Cséfalvay et al., *A Makulátlan. Mária szeplőtelen fogantatásának hite a középkortól napjainkig* [The Immaculate. The belief in the Immaculate Conception of Mary from the Middle Ages to the present day] (Esztergom: Keresztény Múzeum, 2009).

<sup>35</sup> Ernő Marosi, *Kép és hasonmás: Művészet és valóság a 14–15. századi Magyarországon* [Image and likeness: Art and Reality in 14<sup>th</sup>–15<sup>th</sup>-century Hungary] (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1995), 83.

<sup>36</sup> Beatrix Gombosi, *Köponyeges Mária ábrázolások a középkori Magyarországon. Schutzmantelmadonnen aus dem mittelalterlichen Ungarn* (Szeged: Néprajzi és Kulturális Antropológia Tanszék, 2008); Marie Lionnet, “Les peintures murales en Hongrie à la fin du Moyen âge (v. 1300-v. 1475) : la transmission des traditions iconographiques et les formes originales de leur appropriation locale sur les deux thèmes majeurs : la Mère de Dieu et le Jugement dernier” (PhD diss., University Paris X Nanterre, 2004); eadem, “La reception des formes iconographiques dans les régions frontières : Vierge de miséricorde et Jugement dernier dans les peintures murales du royaume de Hongrie au X<sup>IV</sup>e et X<sup>Ve</sup> siècles,” *Acta historiae atrium* 46 (2005): 25–49. Róbert Nátyi's studies on the examples of the *Mulier amicta sole* iconography is also of note. However, while some examples can be found from the medieval period, most originate in the sixteenth century and later, see: Róbert Nátyi, “A Napbaöltözött Asszony, mint Patrona Hungariae a magyar szent királyokkal az esztergomi misekönyvben” [The Woman Clothed with the Sun as Patrona Hungariae with the Hungarian holy kings in the Esztergom missal], *A Móra Ferenc Múzeum Évkönyve* 2015/2 (2015): 329–38; idem, “‘Tizenkét Tsillagú Korona’: Adalékok a Napbaöltözött Asszony szegedi kegyképének ikonográfiájához” [‘Crown of Twelve Stars’: Additions to the iconography of the icon of the Woman Clothed with Sun of Szeged], *A Móra Ferenc Múzeum Évkönyve* 2017/4 (2017): 355–62; idem, “A Napbaöltözött Asszony, mint a Patrona Hungariae ikonográfiai típusa” [The Woman Dressed in Sun, as an iconographic type of *Patrona Hungariae*] (PhD diss., Eötvös Loránd University, 2013).

<sup>37</sup> Holl, “A Havi Boldogasszony,” 89–96; Török, “A hazai és a lotharingiai liturgia,” 223–8.

<sup>38</sup> Sándor Bálint, *Ünnepi Kalendárium. A Mária-ünnepek és jelesebb napok hazai és közép-európai hagyományvilágából* [Calendar of Feasts. Marian and other important feasts from the Hungarian and Central European traditions], I–II (Budapest: Szent István Társulat, 1977).

Marian shrines and pilgrimage in Hungary have also received attention from scholars. Sándor Bálint and Gábor Barna's work on Hungarian pilgrimage includes extensive information on the most important Marian sites in Hungary.<sup>39</sup> Again, these and similar works cover almost exclusively early modern and modern sites and traditions. While many of these sites claim medieval origins, little evidence is given to support these claims. This is unsurprising, historical evidence of pilgrimages and miracles related to Hungarian Marian shrines—with a Marian image or statue at their center—is incredibly rich for the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The wealth of Marian art, literature, pilgrimage, and miracle records that emerge after the Middle Ages make the early modern age a particularly fruitful period of study. Indeed, in addition to the aforementioned authors, fascinating studies on various aspects of Mary's cult during this period have been completed by Anna Tüskés, Gábor Tüskés, Éva Knapp, Szabolcs Serfőző, and Zoltán Szilárdfy, among others.<sup>40</sup>

A current that underlies much of the research on the Marian cult in Hungary is the relationship between Hungarian rulers and Mary. The Virgin Mary played a significant part not only in royal piety and patronage, but in royal expressions of authority and power. The manifestation of this theme in medieval Hungary has been explored by scholars such as Gábor Klaniczay, Dezső Dümmerth, Marie Lionnet, Gábor Tüskés, and Éva Knapp in their work.<sup>41</sup>

<sup>39</sup> Sándor Bálint and Gábor Barna, *Búcsújáró magyarok. A magyarországi búcsújárás története és néprajza* [Hungarians on pilgrimage. The history and ethnography of pilgrimage in Hungary] (Budapest: Szent István Társulat, 1994). See also: Gábor Barna, *Búcsújáró és kegyhelyek Magyarországon* [Pilgrimage places and shrines in Hungary] (Budapest: Medicina Könyvkiadó Vállalat, 1990); Sándor Bálint, *Boldogasszony vendégségében* [Guests of the Blessed Virgin] (Budapest: Veritas Könyvkiadó, Budapest, 1944). Similar works have been published on Marian cult places in Hungary, though the volume by Bálint and Barna is the most comprehensive, see: István Szenthelyi-Molnár and Márta Mauks, *Magyarország Szűz Mária kegyhelyei. Búcsújárók könyve* [Shrines of the Virgin Mary in Hungary. Book of the pilgrims] (Budapest: Szent István Társulat, 1988); István Szenthelyi-Molnár, *A Boldogságos Szűz Mária kegyhelyei Magyarországon* [Shrines of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Hungary] (Budapest: Szent István Társulat, 1971).

<sup>40</sup> Zoltán Szilárdfy, Gábor Tüskés, and Éva Knapp, *Barokk kori kisgrafikai ábrázolások Magyarországi búcsújáróhelyekről* [Baroque-era small graphic depictions of pilgrimage sites in Hungary] (Budapest: Egyetemi Könyvtár, 1987); Zoltán Szilárdfy, *Ikonoграфия-kultusztörténet. Képes Tanulmányok* [Iconography-cult history: Studies with images] (Budapest: Balassi Kiadó, 2003); Szabolcs Serfőző, "A sasvári pálos templom és a kegyzobor kultusza a 18. században" [The cult of the Pauline church and cult-statue at Sasvár in the 18<sup>th</sup> c.] (PhD diss., ELTE, 2008); Idem, *A sasvári pálos kegyhely története* [The history of the Pauline shrine at Sasvár] (Budapest: Balassi Kiadó, 2012); Anna Tüskés, "The Cult of the Copies of Lucas Cranach's Mariahilf in the Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century in Hungary," in *Maria in der Krise: Kulturpraxis zwischen Konfession und Politik in Ostmitteleuropa*, ed. Agnieszka Gąsior (Cologne: Böhlau Verlag, 2014); Éva Knapp and Gábor Tüskés, "Der ungarische Atlas Marianus," *Bayerisches Jahrbuch für Volkskunde* (1995): 35–56; Knapp and Tüskés, "Magyarország—Mária országa. Egy történelmi toposz a 16–18. századi egyházi irodalomban," 17–25.

<sup>41</sup> Gábor Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses: Dynastic Cults in Medieval Central Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), esp. 136–42, 197–9; Idem, *Az uralkodók szentsége a középkorban. Magyar dinasztikus szentkultuszok és európai modellek* [The holiness of sovereigns in the Middle Ages. The cult of dynastic saints in Hungary and their European models] (Budapest: Balassi, 2000), 123–28; Marie Lionnet, "Mise en images des rapports entre culte de la Vierge et pouvoir royal en Hongrie à la fin du Moyen Âge: état de la question," in *Identités hongroises, identités européennes du Moyen Âge à nos jours*, ed. Piroska Nagy (Mont-Saint-Aignan: Universités de Rouen et du Havre, 2006), 51–70; Dezső Dümmerth, "A Mária országa-eszme és Szent István [The Regnum-Marianum idea and St. Stephen]," in *Doctor et apostol. Szent István-tanulmányok* [Doctor and apostle: Studies of St. Stephen], ed. József Török (Budapest: Márton Áron Kiadó, 1994), 171–98;

My research builds upon their work but brings the Virgin Mary to the center. Studies to date have focused on individual aspects of Mary's cult in Hungary rather than in its totality and studies on Marian cult sites in Hungary have often overlooked their medieval history in favor of their early modern past. This dissertation aims to fill this gap. This will also be the first study in English on the Hungarian Marian cult, as well as the first that makes Marian cult sites in Hungary the focus and considers the medieval cult in its totality, including art, material culture, *patrocinia*, royal and lay patronage, and devotional trends. With this work I hope to both make research on the Hungarian cult of the Virgin, and religiosity more generally, more accessible and also promote comparative and collaborative research on the medieval Marian cult that includes its rich manifestation in the Hungarian Kingdom.

#### 4. Approaching Landscape and Sacred Places

The “spatial turn” in the field of history is marked by historians’ growing interest in the concepts of space and place. One sub-field of these spatial studies is the study of *sacred* space/place, which, though a relatively new phenomenon in the field of medieval studies, has become an increasingly popular subject of study in the twenty-first century.<sup>42</sup> This subject of this thesis continues along this trajectory, bringing a focusing lens onto the processes of sacred placemaking and the broader sacralization of landscape.

The approach to these processes must begin by defining the relevant terms. A place is a (intentionally or unintentionally) chosen space, invested with meaning in such a way that human-beings become attached to it.<sup>43</sup> Sacred places are further demarcated by individuals and communities; in medieval Christian Europe they constituted a point in the landscape where one could experience or interact with the sacred, which for that individual could equate to the purely spiritual or metaphysical—the presence of God himself, the Virgin Mary, and the saints—or the spiritual intertwined with the physical through relics, sacred statues, or the like. Defining landscape requires us to take a broader view. Most simply, landscape is defined as “all the

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Gábor Tüskés and Éva Knapp, “Marianische Landespatrone in Europa unter besonderer Berücksichtigung Ungarns,” *Jahrbuch für Volkskunde* 25 (2002): 77–103.

<sup>42</sup> Among other studies: André Vauchez, *Lieux Sacrés, Lieux de culte, sanctuaires: Approches terminologiques, méthodologiques, historiques et monographiques* (Rome: École de française de Rome, 2000); Andrew Spicer and Sarah Hamilton, ed., *Defining the Holy: Sacred Space in Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (Hants, England: Ashgate, 2005, repr. 2008); Sofia Boesch Gajano and Lucetta Scaraffia, eds., *Luoghi sacri e spazi della santità* (Turin: Rosenberg & Sellier, 1990); Wendy Davies, Guy Halsall, and Andrew J. Reynolds, eds., *People and Space in the Middle Ages, 300-1300. Studies in the Early Middle Ages* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006); Sæbjørg Walaker Nordeide and Stefan Brink, eds., *Sacred Sites and Holy Places: Exploring the Sacralization of Landscape through Time and Space* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013).

<sup>43</sup> Tim Cresswell, *Place: A Short Introduction* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2004), 10.

visible features of an area of land.”<sup>44</sup> The term “visible” is key in this; in landscape painting the pictured landscape constituted all the natural and man-made elements that could be seen from a particular spot.<sup>45</sup> In this sense, “the viewer is outside of [the landscape],” in contrast to, according to Tim Cresswell, places, which “are very much things to be inside of.”<sup>46</sup> However, I believe the definition of “landscape” indicates a more intimate connection with the “viewer” than Cresswell suggests. The landscape is both external and internal to the viewer or subject, it exists outside of the subject but is “mediated through subjective human experience.”<sup>47</sup> In other words, “landscape is a way of seeing the world.”<sup>48</sup> Sacred landscape then, reflects how one sees the sacred manifesting in their world and their relationship to the sacred.

The medieval person’s perception of landscape “was not a two-dimensional representation from a very particular viewpoint. It was a ‘mosaic’-type representation with many different viewpoints and with many different ‘fix points’ for orientation.”<sup>49</sup> Their understanding of this landscape developed through active interaction with these points and was influenced by various religious, political, topographical, and other social and cultural processes.<sup>50</sup> Thus, landscape, in general and in the case of sacred landscape in particular, “has the potential to fulfil multiple and simultaneous meanings to different individuals, meanings which at times overlap and/or exist in polarity.”<sup>51</sup> It should also be kept in mind that while sacred places were demarcated, the boundaries between the sacred and the secular could be fluid, and “the mundane landscape was, and is, interwoven with sacred sites.”<sup>52</sup> This creates a complicated and layered picture, demonstrating that the medieval perception of the landscape was multivocal.<sup>53</sup>

<sup>44</sup> *Oxford Dictionary of English* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), s.v. “Landscape.”

<sup>45</sup> Cresswell, *Place*, 10. See also Denis E. Cosgrove, *Social Formation and Symbolic Landscape* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1984, repr. 1998); John Brinckerhoff Jackson, *Landscape in Sight: Looking at America* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1997).

<sup>46</sup> Cresswell, *Place*, 10.

<sup>47</sup> Cosgrove, *Social Formation*, 13.

<sup>48</sup> Cosgrove, *Social Formation*, 13.

<sup>49</sup> József Laszlovszky, “Space and Place: Text and Object, Human-Nature Interaction and Topographical Studies,” in *People and Nature in Historical Perspective*, ed. József Laszlovszky and Péter Szabó (Budapest: Archaeolingua, 2003), 86.

<sup>50</sup> Martin Locker, *Landscapes of Pilgrimage in Medieval Britain* (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2015), 19; Joanna Brück, “Experiencing the Past? The Development of a Phenomenological Archaeology in British Prehistory,” *Archaeological Dialogues* 12/1 (2005): 47.

<sup>51</sup> Locker, *Landscapes of Pilgrimage*, 19. See also Julian Thomas, “Archaeologies of Place and Landscape,” in *Archaeological Theory Today*, ed. Ian Hodder (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2012), 168.

<sup>52</sup> Sarah Hamilton and Andrew Spicer, “Defining the Holy: The Delineation of Sacred Space,” in *Defining the Holy*, 4.

<sup>53</sup> This stance was also taken by Hamilton and Spicer, see Hamilton and Spicer, *Defining the Holy*; and Locker, *Landscapes of Pilgrimage*, 19.

The complexity of the multivocal medieval landscape makes an interdisciplinary (and thus multi-source) approach necessary, and indeed, this thesis takes this approach.<sup>54</sup> Written sources—including chronicles, papal, royal, ecclesiastic, and monastic charters, indulgences, hagiography, and miracle records—are essential in this, but archaeological evidence (excavation reports and recovered artifacts) and artistic sources (murals, altarpieces, paintings, statues, and seals, etc.) are equally important. From these sources all of the sites connected to the figure of the Virgin in medieval Hungary were identified, and both quantitative and qualitative data about these sites was recovered. Other written, archaeological, and artistic sources give context and depth to this data. Because the most relevant source types vary from chapter to chapter in the thesis, the sources will be discussed in further detail in the chapter for which they are most relevant.

The concept of placemaking, first developed in the field of urban planning, provides a useful way to approach the collection and interpretation of this data.<sup>55</sup> Placemaking argues that places are not only equivalent to the built environment but are “the product of everyday practices”; places then are never finished, rather they are produced through continuous activity and repeated actions.<sup>56</sup> In other words, the process of placemaking “is defined as an activity of integrating various actors’ viewpoints and functions in order to transform urban spaces; by not only viewing place as static spatial aspect and designing the physical form but also taking into consideration the social processes that construct places.”<sup>57</sup> Placemaking also emphasizes reciprocity: we both shape and are shaped by the places we inhabit.

Placemaking has begun to be adopted and by other disciplines, including history. Asuman Lätzer-Lasar has adapted the approach to the study of ancient Roman religious sites, creating what she has termed “Religious Ancient Placemaking,” a grid of six elements with which to analyze the formation of religious landscapes.<sup>58</sup> It utilizes placemaking’s emphasis

<sup>54</sup> Sæbjørg Walaker Nordeide, “Introduction: The Sacralization of Landscape,” in *Sacred Sites and Holy Places*, 3.

<sup>55</sup> On placemaking see, among others: J. Boros and I. Mahmoud, “Urban Design and the Role of Placemaking in Mainstreaming Nature-Based Solutions. Learning From the Bibliotheca Degli Alberi Case Study in Milan,” *Frontiers in Sustainable Cities* 3 (2021): 1–13; Poeti Nazura Gulfira Akbar and Jurian Edelenbos, “Positioning place-making as a social process: A systematic literature review,” *Cogent Social Sciences* 7/1 (2021): 1–29; Mahyar Arefi, *Deconstructing Placemaking: Needs, Opportunities, and Assets* (London: Routledge, 2014); Melanie Lombard, “Constructing ordinary places: Place-making in urban informal settlements in Mexico. Progress in Planning,” *Progress in Planning* 94 (2014), 1–53.

<sup>56</sup> Cresswell, *Place*, 82.

<sup>57</sup> Akbar and Edelenbos, “Positioning place-making,” 3.

<sup>58</sup> For her conception and use of this term see Asuman Lätzer-Lasar, “The Dialectics of Religious Placemaking: Exploring the Relations between the Different Mater Magna Venerations in Republican and Imperial Rome,” in *Dialectics of Religion in the Roman World*, ed. Francesca Mazzilli and Dies Van Der Linde (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2021), 129–44. She also discussed this idea at several conferences, namely: Asuman Lätzer-Lasar, “‘Religious Ancient Placemaking’ in the Roman period” (keynote lecture, ERC MAP-conference, Naming and Mapping the Gods in the Ancient Mediterranean, Toulouse, France, February 10, 2021); eadem, “Religious Place-making in Urban Contexts” (lecture, AIA Annual Meeting, Chicago, IL, USA, December 14, 2021); eadem,

on recognizing the multi-layered, interactive processes that collectively create a place. Lätzer-Lasar argues “that the interactive relations between or the reciprocal enmeshment of the six elements [i.e., place, actor, object, practices, intellectual entities, and time] .... results in dynamics which create a transformative pushing force that ultimately shapes the religiouscape.”<sup>59</sup> The methods outlined by “Religious Ancient Placemaking” provide an ideal way to approach recreating and analyzing the Marian landscape of late medieval Hungary. Saints’ cults themselves comprise a variety of interrelating factors; combining the analysis of a saint’s cult with an analysis of place formation creates an even more complicated picture. By identifying the six analytical elements at the different levels of place-formation—from single sites to micro-landscapes (such as Saxon Transylvania or the region of Buda, Pest, and Óbuda) to the larger landscape of medieval Hungary as a whole—and acknowledging the reciprocal nature of these elements, the most comprehensive image of the Marian landscape, and all that entails, can be presented.

Lätzer-Lasar’s adaptation of placemaking is targeted towards ancient placemaking processes, thus the way she applies the identified analytical elements is best suited to that context. I use the analytical elements identified by her in a broad sense and adapted to meet the needs of the time and place of this study. They are:

- 1) Place: The topographical location and demarcated space at least partially defined by its connection to the Virgin Mary, that is, churches, monasteries, chapels, etc.<sup>60</sup>
- 2) Actor: Those individuals and groups existing and interacting with Marian places and who actively create, develop, and/or change these places. This encompasses both men and women and all levels of society, including royal, noble, monastic, ecclesiastic, and lay persons and groups.
- 3) Object: The material culture existing and/or created in Marian places that serve to represent or aid in communication or contact with the Virgin Mary, including sacred statues and images of the Virgin, rosaries, and coins and seals with her image.
- 4) Practices: The rituals and actions that define and are defined by the Marian place, for example: prayer, pilgrimage, and donations.

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“Placemaking of the Dead” (lecture, Death and the City in Premodern Europe, International Online Workshop, Erfurt, Germany, July 2, 2020).

<sup>59</sup> Lätzer-Lasar, “Religious Ancient Placemaking in Rome – Deathscapes.”

<sup>60</sup> Lätzer-Lasar includes here the topographical location and multi-level identity of a place. While constructing buildings to define a sacred space contributes to its identity, she places architecture (“spatial marking”) under the “Practices” category. While I decided to put architectural constructions under “place,” this is with the understanding that churches and other structures are also the result of a process enacted by individuals (Lätzer-Lasar, “Religious Ancient Placemaking in Rome – Deathscapes,”).



- 5) Intellectual entities: The religious ideas that make up and guide the development of the Marian cult and contribute to placemaking, such as the Immaculate Conception.
- 6) Time: This includes all factors of a temporal nature, including seasonal rituals such as Marian feast days and actions defined by life stages, like the inclusion of a Marian place in one's last will and testament. Also included here is the authority age inspires in the perception of a place, as in the way a medieval foundation legend lends a Marian shrine credibility and a certain gravitas.

These elements weave together to create the tapestry of a Marian place, or as worded by Lätzer-Lasar, “linked together in a network or...as a bundle of threads in a meshwork.”<sup>61</sup> There might not be extant evidence of every element for every Marian place, and some elements may be more pronounced in the historical record, but all mutually impact each other.

The places identified through this analysis are organized via databases and analyzed statistically. This data is also represented visually through graphs, and most importantly through maps created through Geographic Information Systems (GIS) in order to better present geographical trends since, as the old adage goes, “a picture is worth a thousand words.” All maps in the thesis are created by the author unless otherwise noted.<sup>62</sup> The data included in these maps is based on primary source evidence collected by the author, again, unless otherwise noted. The most important Marian sites and micro-landscapes and/or those for which we have the richest evidence are analyzed in greater detail by identifying the above detailed elements, and through these collective methods the presence and pervasiveness of the Marian cult in the Hungarian Kingdom can be identified.

## 5. Structure of the Thesis

The thesis is divided into five chapters, which both present the Marian landscape in Hungary from a macro viewpoint and offer examples of micro-landscapes and individual cases, which allow the processes of Marian placemaking to be observed within a specific context. Before the first chapter, a foreword, “The *Regnum Marianum* before the 14<sup>th</sup> Century,” presents a brief overview of the history of the concept of the Virgin Mary as the patron of Hungary before the beginning of Angevin rule ca. 1301. Throughout the thesis modern place names will be used; at the first instance of a place-name being used, the corresponding Hungarian (and

<sup>61</sup> Lätzer-Lasar, “Religious Ancient Placemaking in Rome – Deathscapes.”

<sup>62</sup> Many thanks to Beatrix Romhányi for her assistance with defining the borders of the Nitra (Nyitra) and Esztergom dioceses.

German if applicable) place-name will follow in parentheses and thereafter only the modern place-name will be used. If a Hungarian place-name does not have an equivalent modern place-name a description of the location is given in a footnote. A gazetteer is included in Appendix 1 containing the concordance of place-names. Also note that all Latin quotations are reproduced in the thesis exactly as they appear in the sources; no changes have been made to the Latin to “correct” the original spelling or grammar.

The **first chapter**, “Ecclesiastical Topography: Mapping Marian *Patrocinia*,” establishes Mary’s presence in the “ecclesiastical topography” of medieval Hungary. Starting with the cathedrals and then narrowing in on the ecclesiastical structure, from parish churches to non-parish churches, chapels, and altars, every instance of Marian *patrocinia* throughout the Middle Ages in Hungary is recorded and mapped. The Marian *patrocinia* of monasteries and hospitals, as well as evidence of the name of the Virgin Mary in Hungarian toponyms is also noted. This establishes a macro view of the geography of the Virgin Mary. Interpretive analysis of the data is focused on the periods of Angevin and Luxembourg rule. Geographical and chronological trends are identified and are considered in the relevant social, religious, and political contexts. The characteristics and trends identified in Hungary are compared to other regions in Europe where possible.

**Chapter two**, “Marian Devotion and Converted Spaces: The Lesser Virgin Mary Church of Buda,” is a case study of one church with a Marian *patrocinium* whose foundation can be linked to a particular manifestation of Marian devotion in the period. The church was founded by Holy Roman Emperor Sigismund of Luxembourg in Buda around 1410. The foundation of the church, built in the first Jewish quarter of Buda, was influenced by a medieval antisemitic devotional trend intertwined with the cult of the Virgin Mary in German-speaking lands, namely, the seizing and destruction of synagogues and construction of Christian churches—most often dedicated to the Virgin Mary—in their place. This case study demonstrates how foreign devotional trends relating to the Virgin Mary—through Hungarian rulers’ interactions in German lands, the German communities within Hungary, and the diffusion of these trends into Hungary through art, literature, and preaching—influenced Hungarian placemaking.

**Chapter three**, “The Landscape of Marian Pilgrimage: Dynastic Patronage and Marian Shrines Abroad,” analyzes what role the Virgin Mary played in the devotional program of the Angevin dynasty. Part of this program included the promotion of their dynasty at Marian sites abroad. For the Hungarian Angevins, the *Aachener Marienkirche* and the Benedictine monastery of the Virgin Mary in Mariazell were the most important places in this regard. Their

actions—and Sigismund of Luxembourg’s continued presence at and promotion of these sites—created a perpetual bond between Hungary and Hungarian rulers with these places.

The **fourth chapter**, “The Landscape of Marian Piety: Indulgences and Marian Shrines in Hungary,” presents the most important places associated with the Virgin Mary in Hungary during Angevin and Luxembourg rule. The sites discussed in the previous chapter had a direct influence on the landscape of Marian shrines in Hungary; these were not wholly independent processes. Our best evidence for the existence of Marian shrines in Hungary comes from indulgences, which together with records of miracles and donations allow us to construct a landscape of Marian sanctuaries in the Hungarian landscape. The three primary categories of Marian shrines during the Angevin and Luxembourg periods will be presented, namely: sites connected to royal representation and authority, sites belonging to monastic or mendicant networks, and sites of local Marian veneration.

**Chapter five**, “Bringing Mary Home: Marian Material Culture in Ecclesiastical and Secular Spaces,” is devoted to the ways in which medieval individuals interacted with the Virgin Mary in more intimate spaces, as expressed through material culture, particularly small finds. We are seldom able to explore the personal Marian devotion of regular medieval people, not filtered through the lens of the monastic, ecclesiastical, or elite spheres. Material culture offers us an opportunity to identify ways that Marian devotion physically manifested and created new sacred spaces. The object biographies of these small finds illustrate the permeability of ecclesiastical and secular spaces, their multicultural nature, and their unique contexts in the Hungarian landscape.

The dissertation ends with the close of the late Middle Ages and the birth of the early modern era, and with it yet another transformation in the cult of the Virgin Mary. The Reformation, Counter-Reformation, Ottoman invasions, and new rulers created new challenges and opportunities for the Marian cult to grow and transform. Marian places proliferated in the Hungarian landscape. The conclusion of the dissertation provides a summary of the central findings of each chapter and a synthesis of the results precipitating this proliferation.

## FOREWARD: THE *REGNUM MARIANUM* BEFORE THE 14TH CENTURY

St. Stephen is portrayed holding the sacred crown in his hands whilst dedicating the kingdom and his people to the “great Lady of the Hungarians.” To this day, the Hungarian people adhere so strongly to this act of dedication that Marian devotion has become a national characteristic...May the protection of the Blessed Virgin Mary, the Great Lady of the Hungarians...guide your ecclesiastical and civil leaders and your country in this millennium...<sup>63</sup>

In 2001, on the occasion of the Hungarian Millennium, Pope John Paul II concluded his apostolic letter to Cardinal László Paskai, the archbishop of Esztergom-Budapest, with the above remarks. His use of the term “great Lady of the Hungarians” refers to a role assigned to the Virgin Mary during the infancy of Hungary as a Christian kingdom, when the first Christian king, Stephen I (r. 1000–1038), put the kingdom under her protection. Over the centuries since this supposed act, the Virgin Mary’s role as *Magyarok Nagyasszonya* has evolved with the ecclesiastical and political needs of Hungary’s rulers and its people but remained a critical part of Hungarian identity, even into the new millennium. Thus, establishing the origin and evolution of this concept during the Middle Ages is critical before analyzing the evidence of the Virgin in the physical landscape of the Hungarian Kingdom in the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries.

The foundational narrative for Mary’s role as *Patrona Hungariae* is recorded in the *Legenda maior* (or *Vita maior*) of King Stephen, composed ca. 1083.<sup>64</sup> It states that: “by an oath and offering, amidst unceasing prayers, [Stephen] placed himself with his kingdom under the protection of the everlasting Virgin Mary, the Mother of God, whose honor and glory are so famous amongst the Hungarians, that even the feast of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary, without the addition of her proper name, is called the Day of the Queen in the Hungarian

<sup>63</sup> John Paul II, Apostolic letter of John Paul II to the Catholic people of Hungary for the conclusion of the “Hungarian Millennium” (Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 2001), accessed October 6, 2021, [https://www.vatican.va/content/john-paul-ii/en/apost\\_letters/2001/documents/hf\\_jp-ii\\_apl\\_20010725\\_millennio-hungarico.html](https://www.vatican.va/content/john-paul-ii/en/apost_letters/2001/documents/hf_jp-ii_apl_20010725_millennio-hungarico.html).

<sup>64</sup> The consensus in the relevant research is that the date of its composition is shortly before or in 1083, the date of the canonization of King Stephen. Nora Berend puts its composition between 1077 and 1083 (Nora Berend, “Hartvic, Life of King Stephen,” in *Medieval Hagiography: An Anthology*, ed. Thomas Head (NY: Routledge, 2000), 375.) See also Gyula Kristó, “A nagyobbik és a Hartvik-féle István-legenda szövegkapcsolatához” [The textual relationship between the greater legend and Hartvik’s legend of Stephen], in *Írások Szent Istvánról és koráról* [Writings on St. Stephen and his times], Gyula Kristó (Szeged: Szegedi Középkorász Műhely, 2000), 175–94; Gábor Thoroczkay, “Szent István legendái” [The legend of St. Stephen], in *István, a szent király* [Stephen, a holy king], ed. Terézia Kerny and András Smohay (Székesfehérvár: Székesfehérvári Egyházmegyei Múzeum, 2013), 28; Elemér Varjú, *Legendae Sancti Regis Stephani. Szent István király legendái* (Budapest: Singer & Wolfner, 1928), 83–9; Gábor Klaniczay, “Szent István legendái a középkorban,” [The legend of St. Stephen in the Middle Ages], in *Szent István és kora* [St. Stephen and his age], ed. Ferenc Glatz and József Kardos (Budapest: MTA Történettudományi Intézete, 1988), 185–96.

language.”<sup>65</sup> This event is connected to his foundation of the basilica of Székesfehérvár, dedicated to Mary, so “that he might be able to obtain the greater mercy of [the Virgin Mary’s] protection.”<sup>66</sup> The Virgin Mary plays a central role in other parts of the *Legenda maior* as well: Stephen puts down a pagan uprising with the help of the Virgin Mary (as well as St. Martin and St. George), thwarts an attack by Holy Roman Emperor Conrad II through the Virgin’s intercession, and invokes the Virgin to protect his only surviving son, Emeric.<sup>67</sup> King Stephen was canonized in 1083, around the time of the completion of his first *vita*, and Bishop Hartvic was later commissioned by King Coloman (r. 1095–1116) to write another life of St. Stephen, which added an episode that underlined Stephen’s dedication of the kingdom to the Virgin Mary.<sup>68</sup> According to the Hartvic legend, on Stephen’s deathbed he cried, “Queen of heaven, renowned restorer of the world, I commit the holy Church with its bishops and clergy, the kingdom with its chief lords and people to your protection in my last prayers, and saying my final farewell to them, into your hands I commend my spirit.”<sup>69</sup>

Stephen’s dedication of the country to Mary has been viewed as a method to evade the claims of both German lands and the papacy.<sup>70</sup> In a letter written in 1074 by Pope Gregory VII to King Solomon he chastised Solomon’s cooperation with the Germans, claiming that Rome had suzerainty over Hungary, since “Hungary, which King Stephen of old offered and handed over to St. Peter with all right and power, belongs to the Holy Church of Rome.”<sup>71</sup> A later letter written by Pope Urban II in 1096 to King Coloman made similar claims; he urged Coloman to

<sup>65</sup> “Erat vir iste fidelis, in omnibus actibus suis deo perfecte deditus, per votum et oblationem semet cum regno suo sub tutela perpetue virginis dei genitricis Marie precibus assiduis conferens, cuius honor et gloria tam celebris inter Ungaros habetur, quod etiam festivitas assumptionis eiusdem virginis sine additamento propria nominis ipsorum lingua regine dies vocitetur.” SRH II:385. This account was repeated in the legend by Bishop Hartvic, SRH II:417.

<sup>66</sup> “Et, ut maiorem ipsius defensionis misericordiam consequi valeret, in ipsa regalis sedis civitate, que dicitur Alba, sub laude virginis eiusdem perpetue, famosam et grandem basilicam opera miritico, celaturis in chori pariete distinctis, pavimento tabulis marmoreis strato construere cepit.” SRH II:385. This event is also recorded in the *Legenda minor* (SRH II:396), written sometime between 1095 and 1100, and in the later Hartvic legend: SRH II:417.

<sup>67</sup> SRH II:381, 390, 391. Repeated in the Hartvic legend: SRH II:423–4, 427. Oddly, Stephen being under the protection of the Virgin during the pagan uprising is not included in the Hartvic legend.

<sup>68</sup> The Hartvic legend was completed ca. 1100 or between 1112 and 1116. It drew heavily on both the *Legenda maior* and *Legenda minor*, and it was Hartvic’s *vita* that would become the official text. Berend, “Hartvic, Life of King Stephen,” 375.

<sup>69</sup> “Regina celi, reparatrix inclita mundi, tuo patrocinio sanctam ecclesiam cum episcopis et clero, regnum cum primatibus et populo subpremis precibus committo, quibus ultimum vale dicens minibus tuis animam meam commendo.” SRH II:431. English translation from Berend, “Hartvic, Life of King Stephen,” 392. On the Hartvic legend see also József Gerics, “A Hartvik legenda mintáiról és forrásairól” [About the models and sources of the Hartvic Legend], *Magyar Könyvszemle* 97 (1981): 175–88.

<sup>70</sup> Thoroczkay, “Szent István legendái,” 28; József Gerics, “Politikai és jogi gondolkodás Magyarországon VII. Gergely korában” [Political and legal thought in Hungary under Gregory VII], in *Egyház, állam és gondolkodás Magyarországon a középkorban* [Church, state, and thought in Hungary in the Middle Ages], ed. József Gerics (Budapest: METEM, 1995), 144–64.

<sup>71</sup> October 28, 1074. László Makkai and László Mezey, eds., *Árpád-kori és Anjou-kori levelek XI–XIV. század* [Árpadian and Angevin letters XI–XIV centuries] (Budapest: Gondolat Kiadó, 1960), 88. See also Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses*, 140.

obey and honor SS. Peter and Paul, the apexes of divine authority, just as Stephen had (supposedly) done.<sup>72</sup> Coloman's commission of the Hartvic legend with the inclusion of Hungary's dedication to Mary makes a lot of sense in this context. By promoting the idea that Stephen had offered the kingdom to the Virgin Mary instead of St. Peter, Hungarian rulers were able to circumvent the papacy's claim, deriving their authority instead from the Blessed Virgin herself.<sup>73</sup>

However, others believe Stephen's devotion to Mary—including putting the kingdom under her protection—was rather influenced by the Marian devotion of St. Adalbert (ca. 956–997), who had gone to Hungary as a missionary, and St. Gerard (Gellért; 977/1000–1046), the Venetian bishop of Cenad (Csanád) and tutor to Prince Emeric.<sup>74</sup> It was in St. Gerard's *vita* that the idea of Mary as *Magyarok Nagyasszonya* (Great Queen of the Hungarians) was first presented.<sup>75</sup> Other religious currents in the ocean of the Marian cult certainly had an influence as well. The Marian cult was intertwined with the religiosity of the Ottonian and Salian dynasties, which likely influenced Stephen and the development of Mary's cult in Hungary due to German missionary efforts and other religious, as well as political, transactions.<sup>76</sup> Byzantium, where the Marian cult first developed and took root, was also politically and religiously influential in Hungary during its early years of development into a Christian kingdom. In the West the monastic reform starting in Cluny in the first half of the eleventh century reenergized Mary's cult and could have travelled to Hungary via German lands.<sup>77</sup>

Regardless of the paucity of the dedication story, the legend developed into a substrative part of the Hungarian Kingdom's identity. By the thirteenth century the *Gesta*

<sup>72</sup> György Györffy, ed., *Diplomata Hungariae Antiquissima*, vol. 1 (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1992), 317–18.

<sup>73</sup> Dezső Dümmerth argues that the idea of Stephen dedicating Hungary to the Virgin was not invented solely for these political ends, and that it probably arose from existing traditions of Stephen's devotion. Dümmerth, "A Mária országa-eszme és Szent István," 171–97.

<sup>74</sup> Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses*, 140. A *vita* of St. Gerard was written around the same time as those of Stephen and Emeric. The earliest version of St. Gerard's life is the *Vita minor*, composed in the late eleventh or early twelfth centuries. The later version, the *Vita maior*, may have been finalized as late as the fourteenth century, though historians have suggested an earlier dating and the dating of both *vitae* has been hotly debated. On the dating see: Marina Miladinov, *Margins of Solitude: Eremitism in Central Europe between East and West* (Zagreb: Leykam international, 2008), 135–6; Lajos Csóka, "Szent Gellért kisebb és nagyobb legendájának keletkezéstörténete" [The history of the formation of the greater and lesser legends of Saint Gerard], in *Középkori kútforrások kritikus kérdései* [Critical questions concerning our medieval sources], ed. János Horváth and György Székely (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1974), 137–45. The *Vita maior* is transcribed in SRH II:480–506, the *Vita minor* in SRH II:471–9.

<sup>75</sup> "It is due to [Gerard's] influence that one does not really hear among the Hungarian people the name of the Mother of Christ, but one only hears '(our) Lady'..." (*Ipsius arbitrio ab Ungarica generatione nomen matris Christi non auditor, tantum domina resonat...*). Latin: SRH II:474; English translation: Cristian-Nicolae Gașpar, "The Minor Legend of Saint Gerard the Bishop of Morisena," unpublished manuscript; Gașpar is currently working on a critical edition of the minor legend.

<sup>76</sup> Ernst-Dieter Hehl, "Maria und das ottonisch-salische Königtum. Urkunden, Liturgie, Bilder," *Historisches Jahrbuch* 117 (1997): 271–310.

<sup>77</sup> Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses*, 142.

*Hungarorum* notes that it is “the holy Mary, His mother, through whose grace the kings of Hungary and noblemen have the kingdom for happy purpose here and ever after.”<sup>78</sup> A century later the Styrian rhyming chronicle (written between 1300 and 1320) recorded that King Andreas III (r. 1290–1301) named Hungary the property of Mary in his coronation oath.<sup>79</sup>

Stephen’s dedication of the country to the Virgin was the first of its kind in Europe,<sup>80</sup> but the “queenship” of the Virgin Mary and her integration into imperial and royal rhetoric had precedents in other parts of the Christian world. In the Byzantine Empire the figure of Mary was central to “the imperial vision of authority and orthodoxy,” and Rome later also promoted her imperial traits, especially through images.<sup>81</sup> In the Carolingian Empire the coronation rites of empresses made allusions to the Virgin Mary, and Marian imagery was adopted into the “imperial sphere” of the Ottonian and Salian dynasties.<sup>82</sup> Iconography depicting the Virgin Mary in a queenly manner appeared already in the early Middle Ages.<sup>83</sup> In the West this iconography could be found in the form of statue reliquaries (known as *Maiestas* or *Majesté*, depicting Mary as *sedes sapientiae*), the earliest extant example of which is the enthroned Virgin at the cathedral of Clermont-Ferrand from ca. 946.<sup>84</sup>

Examples of a city or ruler being placed under the protection of Mary also pre-date Stephen’s dedication. Perhaps the earliest example is from the Byzantine Empire, where she was credited for saving Constantinople from the Avars in 626 and later in 717 from the Arabs.<sup>85</sup> Examples from Europe contemporary to the legend of St. Stephen include an account written between 1015 and 1026, which recounted how a relic of the Virgin Mary (though later accounts just reference the Virgin Mary herself) saved Chartres from a Norman attack in 911 and a report from the year 1080, which detailed how Emperor Henry VI turned to the Virgin Mary, patroness of the cathedral of Speyer, before a battle.<sup>86</sup>

Still, Stephen’s dedication of the country was unique for its time and, even if the offering of the kingdom was a later invention, Stephen did promote the cult of the Virgin Mary

<sup>78</sup> “...sancte Marie matri eius, per gratiam cuius reges Hungarie et nobiles regnum habeant felici fine hic et in evum.” Anonymous and Master Roger, *Anonymi Bele regis notarii Gesta Hungarorum & Magistri Rogerii, Epistola in miserabile carmen super destructione Regni Hungarie per tartaros facta*, ed. and trans. Martyn Rady, László Veszprémy, and János M. Bak (Budapest: CEU Press, 2010), 5.

<sup>79</sup> Albinus Franciscus Gombos, ed., *Catalogus Fontium Historiae Hungaricae*, Bd. 3 (Budapest, 1938), 1868.

<sup>80</sup> János Hetényi, *A magyarok Máriaja*, 624.

<sup>81</sup> Rubin, *Mother of God*, 68, 98; Sarah Jane Boss, “The Development of the Virgin’s Cult in the High Middle Ages,” in *Mary, the Complete Resource*, 156–7.

<sup>82</sup> Boss, “The Development of the Virgin’s Cult in the High Middle Ages,” 156–7; Hehl, “Maria und das ottonisch-salische Königtum,” 271–310.

<sup>83</sup> Images of the Virgin Mary enthroned are found as already as the sixth century. Rubin, *Mother of God*, 63–4.

<sup>84</sup> Belting, *Likeness and Presence*, 300. See also on this type of Marian statue: Trotzig, “The Iconography of the Enthroned Virgin with the Christ Child Standing in Her Lap,” 245–53; Forsyth, *The Throne of Wisdom*.

<sup>85</sup> Bissera V. Pentcheva, “The supernatural protector of Constantinople: The Virgin and her icons in the tradition of the Avar siege,” *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 26 (2002): 2–41.

<sup>86</sup> Tüskés and Knapp, “Marianische Landespatrone in Europa,” 78.

during his reign in other ways. He dedicated many of the most important churches in the kingdom to the Virgin<sup>87</sup>: the Greek nunnery of Veszprémvölgy, the Benedictine monastery of Pécsvárad, and, most importantly, the collegiate church of Székesfehérvár—the sacred center of the kingdom and the eventual burial place of both Stephen and his son, Emeric.<sup>88</sup> Stephen's devotion to Mary is notable since the cult of the Virgin Mary only really gained momentum in western Europe in the twelfth century.<sup>89</sup> Stephen's successors followed his example, dedicating more churches to the Virgin—St. Gerard, for example, was buried in the Benedictine monastery of Cenad he had founded in honor of the Virgin Mary<sup>90</sup>—and expanding her cult. Under King Ladislaus (r. 1077–1095), the Synod of Szabolcs (1092) appointed three feast days in her honor: the feasts of the Purification (or Candlemas), the Assumption, and the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary.<sup>91</sup>

The most important image of the Virgin Mary, which illustrated the “instrumentalization of the figure of the Virgin in the service of royalty,” during the Árpadian period was commissioned by the King Béla III (r. 1172–1196). The image, known as the *Porta Speciosa* (Figure 1), refers to the adorned tympanum of the Esztergom cathedral, which Béla III and Archbishop Jób of Esztergom had commissioned between 1185 and 1196.<sup>92</sup> Although now destroyed, it can be reconstructed with historical records and the remaining fragments. On the outer tympanum the Virgin Mary and Christ Child are depicted seated on a throne, framed by the spiritual and temporal founders of Hungary—St. Stephen stands to the right of the Virgin, on the lintel are King Béla III and Archbishop Jób—and inscriptions accompanying these three allude to the dedication of the Kingdom of Hungary to the Virgin Mary.<sup>93</sup>

<sup>87</sup> Traditionally, King Stephen I was believed to have dedicated the cathedrals of Esztergom and Győr to the Virgin Mary. The cathedral of Esztergom was initially only dedicated to St. Adalbert by King Stephen. Evidence of a double *patrocinium*—St. Adalbert and the Blessed Virgin Mary—only exists from the fourteenth century. The cathedral of Győr was dedicated to the Virgin Mary, however, archaeologists and art historians have dated the church to the time of King Coloman (r. 1095–1116) (Béla Zsolt Szakács, “Cathedrals in the Early XIIIth century in Hungary,” in *Secolul al XIII-lea. Pe Meleagurile Locuite de Către Români* [The 13th century. On the lands inhabited by the Romanians], ed. Adrian Andrei Rusu (Cluj-Napoca, 2006), 181).

<sup>88</sup> Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses*, 138; József Laszlovszky, “Local Tradition or European Patterns? The Grave of Queen Gertrude in the Pilis Cistercian Abbey,” in *Medieval East Central Europe in a Comparative Perspective: From Frontier Zones to Lands in Focus*, ed. Gerhard Jaritz and Katalin Szende (London: Routledge, 2016), 86.

<sup>89</sup> Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses*, 138.

<sup>90</sup> Sándor Bálint, *Ünnepi Kalendárium*, 431.

<sup>91</sup> Bálint, *Ünnepi Kalendárium*, 42–8, 351–64, 405–12; Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses*, 138, 140. On the Hungarian liturgical calendar during this period see: Kühár, *Mária-tiszteletünk a XI. és XII. század hazai liturgiájában*.

<sup>92</sup> Lionnet, “Mise en images,” 52.

<sup>93</sup> Lionnet, “Mise en images,” 52. On the *Porta Speciosa* see also Dezső Dercsényi, *Az esztergomi Porta Speciosa* [The *Porta Speciosa* in Esztergom] (Budapest: Műemlékek Országos Bizottsága, 1947); Tamás Bogay, *L'iconographie de la “porta speciosa” d'Esztergom et ses sources d'inspiration* (Paris: Inst. français d'études byzantines, 1951); István Horváth, *Az esztergomi Porta Speciosa újabb töredéke : adatok az esztergomi Szt. Adalbert székesegyház építéstörténetéhez és pusztulásához* [A new fragment of the *Porta Speciosa* of Esztergom: Data on the history of the construction and the destruction of the Cathedral of St. Adalbert in Esztergom],





Figure 1. *Porta Speciosa*, Esztergom, ca. 1190. Depicted in a painting commissioned by György Klimó, canon of Esztergom (1741–51), and later bishop of Pécs (“Portal (*porta speciosa*),” *Képzőművészet Magyarországon. A kezdetektől a XX. század közepéig*, [https://www.hung-art.hu/frames.html?magyar/zmisc/faragvan/121\\_sz/speciosa.html](https://www.hung-art.hu/frames.html?magyar/zmisc/faragvan/121_sz/speciosa.html), accessed Sept. 30, 2021).

The figure of Mary as the source of royal authority—and sanctity—embodied in the *Porta Speciosa* was adopted into the religiosity of other prominent, saintly figures of the Árpadian dynasty including St. Ladislaus (r. 1077–1095), St. Elizabeth of Thuringia (also known as Elizabeth of Hungary; 1207–1231), and St. Margaret (1242–1270). The Marian devotion of Hungarian rulers, built upon St. Stephen’s offering of the kingdom to Mary, colored much of the iconography and devotional features of Mary’s cult in the Kingdom of Hungary from the eleventh century until today. Because of its use by Hungarian rulers in self-representation and diplomacy and its inclusion in Hungarian identity as a whole, it in many ways represents the cornerstone of the Virgin’s cult in medieval Hungary.

*Esztergom Évlapjai* 1979 (Esztergom, 1979): 13–37; Ernő Marosi, “Az esztergomi *Porta speciosa*” [The *Porta Speciosa* of Esztergom], in *Ezer év Szent Adalbert oltalma alatt. Strigonium antiquum, IV* [A thousand years under the protection of St Adalbert. *Strigonium antiquum, IV*], ed. András Hegedüs and István Bárdos (Esztergom: Primási Levéltár, 2000), 155–63; Endre Affay, “Az esztergomi Szent Adalbert székesegyház és a magyarországi gótika kezdetei [Gate *Porta Speciosa* in Esztergom: The beginning of Gothic art in Hungary],” in *Ars Perennis. Fiatal Művészettörténészek ii. Konferenciája, 2<sup>nd</sup> Conference of Young Art Historians, Budapest, 2009*, ed. Anna Tüskés (Budapest: CentrArt Egyesület, 2010), 23–30.

## CHAPTER 1. THE ECCLESIASTICAL TOPOGRAPHY: MAPPING MARIAN *PATROCINIA*

The central topic explored in this thesis, the “Marian landscape,” introduces a fundamental problem. How does one measure the Virgin Mary’s presence in the landscape? Looking at a map of medieval Hungary, can the relative pervasiveness of the Marian cult in the kingdom be identified? The most conspicuous, direct way of measuring the influence of the Marian cult in Hungary’s ecclesiastical topography is through *patrocinia*, the saint—or divine person, mystery, or object (e.g., the Holy Cross)<sup>94</sup>—to whom the main altar and church as a whole is consecrated, usually coinciding with the feast day the altar and/or church itself was consecrated. Interest in the study of *patrocinia* has increased in recent years, but it has a long history. The *Germania-Sacra-Forschungen* is one of the earliest examples of such a project, begun by Abbot Martin Gerbert of St. Blasius, with the goal of compiling the statistical data and history of the ecclesiastical institutions of the Holy Roman Empire.<sup>95</sup> Such studies reflect the devotional practices of individuals and communities, and how they expressed that devotion in particular special, sacred places.

A Marian *patrocinia* represented an intentional choice on the part of founders—rulers, bishops, nobles, and others—and perhaps influenced by the patron saint of the diocese or the desire of the local population, to put a structure and, by extension, an entire community under the protection of the Virgin Mary. She would be entrusted with the spiritual—and, to some extent physical—well-being of a family, a community, even an entire diocese. The average individual living in medieval Hungary would encounter these Marian places at least weekly if not daily, so they would be central to their religious and social life.

In medieval Hungary, the Virgin Mary was an incredibly popular choice. The number of churches, chapels, and monasteries dedicated to the Virgin Mary in medieval Hungary is huge; historians have put that number at almost 600 in the past.<sup>96</sup> In order to determine if this number is accurate, I have collected all extant examples of Marian *patrocinia* in medieval Hungary. I began with András Mező’s seminal work on medieval Hungarian *patrocinia*,<sup>97</sup> but

<sup>94</sup> Franz Hatheyer distinguishes between the consecration of a church to a saint and to a divine person, mystery, or *Leidenswerkszeug*. The former he gives the moniker *Patron*, while for the latter he states that only the term *titulus* can be applied. Franz Hatheyer, “Die Pfarrpatrozinien der Diözesen Österreichs,” *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie* 72/2 (1950): 213.

<sup>95</sup> The *Germania Sacra* project is ongoing and is currently based at the Academy of Sciences in Göttingen, see “Germania Sacra. Die Kirche des Alten Reiches und ihre Institutionen,” Akademie der Wissenschaft zu Göttingen, accessed February 25, 2022, <https://adw-goe.de/germania-sacra/>.

<sup>96</sup> Zsanett Lévai, “Patrocíniumi helynevek vizsgálata” [Examination of *patrocinium* place names] (MA thesis, University of Debrecen, 2008), 5; András Mező, “Boldogasszony és más asszonyok,” *Magyar Nyelvjárások. A KLTE Magyar Nyelvtudományi Tanszékének Évkönyve* 33 (Debrecen, 1996): 25–41.

<sup>97</sup> András Mező, *Patrocíniumok a középkori Magyarországon* [*Patrocinia in medieval Hungary*] (Budapest: METEM, 2003).

I also personally went through the fourteenth-century papal tithe registers for the Kingdom of Hungary (a rich, albeit problematic source, on which I will go into more detail below), as well as over one hundred collections of royal, ecclesiastical, family, and papal charters that contain information relating to medieval churches and monasteries in the Hungarian Kingdom.<sup>98</sup> Through this investigation I was able to add an additional forty-six examples of Marian *patrocinia* to Mező's collection, change or add additional important information to forty-six of the Marian *patrocinia* collected by Mező, as well as remove four examples of Marian *patrocinia* included by Mező due to insufficient evidence or misinterpretation (for the list of the *patrocinia* and primary source data see Appendix 2).<sup>99</sup> Beatrix Romhányi's catalogue of medieval Hungarian monasteries and collegiate churches is also a valuable source for *patrocinia* data.<sup>100</sup> I was able to assign thirteen additional Marian *patrocinia* not included by Romhányi to Hungarian medieval monasteries through my research (for the list of the *patrocinia* and primary source data see Appendix 2). In total I collected 943 examples of Marian *patrocinia* from churches, parish churches, chapels, monasteries, collegiate churches, and provostry churches—over 50% more than earlier estimates.<sup>101</sup>

It is difficult to define what proportion of medieval Hungarian churches, chapels, and monasteries were dedicated to the Virgin Mary, since no studies yet exist that critically quantify total *patrocinia* numbers for the whole of medieval Hungary, but a comparison to the *patrocinia* data collected by Mező results in Marian *patrocinia* constituting about 25% of the total known *patrocinia* of the medieval Kingdom of Hungary.<sup>102</sup> Mary emerges as the most

<sup>98</sup> Including: AkO; AO; ASav; ASzlavO; ÁÚO; Bakács Hont; BalassaLvt; Bándi 1985; Bártfai; Békefi; BlagayO; BLÉ; Bossányi; BpO; BTOE; Bucko; Buturac; CDES; CDP I–II; COD; DOŠ; EngelSzáz; ErdélyiO; CD; Gajáry; Gyárfás; GyömrőiLevt; HáziSopron; HéderváryO; HO; Hokl; Hudák; Ila; Jákó; JusthLevt; KárolyiO; Kiss; KJ; Koller HEQ; KolmJk; Koppány; Körmendi llt; Körmendy Ann; Kovács; Krassó 3; LK; Lukcsics I–II; MaksaiSzat; Marcali; MáriássyLevt; Méri; MES; MHL; Miskolc története I; Mny; Mollay; MonVat I/-I/4; MREV I–IV; MVV; MZsO; Ortway; Pécsv; PestReg; PestyERV; Popisi; PRT; RDES; Schmauk; SHKP; SMFN; Soós; SopronO; Sugár; Sümeghy; SzabSzat; SzO; SzSz; SztárayO; Theiner; TT; UB, 1–7; VasOkI; VespReg; VespRégTop; VRT; Wagner; ZalaO; ZO; Zounuk; ZsO; ZW. The full list of the sources used is included in the List of Abbreviations.

<sup>99</sup> I also do not include any of the *patrocinia* included by Mező or other sources dated to after the sixteenth century. At some sites it is known that a church existed during the medieval period, but evidence of a church with Marian *patrocinia* only exists for the early modern or modern period. Though it is possible that these are the same church and the *patrocinia* was the same in the medieval period, this cannot be proven and are thus not included in this study.

<sup>100</sup> Beatrix F. Romhányi, *Kolostorok és társaskáptalanok a középkori Magyarországon* [Monasteries and Collegiate Chapters in Medieval Hungary] (Budapest: Pytheas, 2000). Beatrix Romhányi also kindly offered additional, updated information concerning the information included in her catalogue.

<sup>101</sup> This number does not include Marian hagiotoponyms.

<sup>102</sup> This estimate is based on my calculations using Mező's data (Mező, *Patrociniumok*), and does not include any *patrocinia* data originating from after the sixteenth century. The 25% number should be taken with a grain of salt. Through my research I added or changed almost 100 examples of Marian *patrocinia* included by Mező and I expect that a thorough analysis of other saints' *patrocinia* would result in further additions and changes, which could alter the 25% estimate. Another approach to determining this proportion would be to compare the total number of Marian *patrocinia* to the total number of Hungarian monasteries and collegiate chapter churches (about 662; estimate based on Romhányi, *Kolostorok és társaskáptalanok*) and the estimated number of parishes (ca.

popular choice of *patrocinium* by far, St. Nicholas comes in second at 9% followed by SS. George and Martin with 8% and 7%, respectively.

While the large number of Marian *patrocinia* in Hungary is perhaps not surprising, her *patrocinia* were not monolithic, nor were they constant. As noted by Graham Jones, “even the most popular cults” like “that of Mary the mother of Jesus, have patterns of popularity whose non-randomness is full of significance.”<sup>103</sup> Multiple factors resulted in unique trends and developments in Marian *patrocinia* across the geography and chronology of medieval Hungary. In this chapter a systematic analysis of the institutions of the Hungarian ecclesiastical structure—from cathedrals to parish and other churches, chapels, altars, hospitals, monastic and other religious houses, as well as place-names derived from saints’ names—that were dedicated to the Virgin Mary will be undertaken. Through the reconstruction of the landscape of Marian *patrocinia*, the various actors, ideas, and practices underlying the placemaking process can be identified, as well as their connection to the cult of the Blessed Virgin Mary.

## 1. Cathedrals

A cathedral served as the center of both ecclesiastical and, to some extent, secular power in its diocese. It was the seat of a bishop or archbishop, and thus central to the functioning of the ecclesiastical structure of the diocese, but it was also often founded and supported by secular rulers, who used their connection and representation in the cathedral to demonstrate their authority and prestige. Accordingly, the *patrocinium* of a cathedral held great weight; it was the figure around whom the activity of the cathedral centered, and its protective power was thought to extend beyond the confines of the cathedral itself to the diocese as a whole. The definition of a diocesan saint, especially in the Middle Ages, is not clearly defined and is barely discussed in canon law or scholarship; however, beyond usually being analogous to the cathedral patron, the feast day of the diocesan saint would have been among the most important holidays for the entire diocese.<sup>104</sup> The diocesan saint also had an influence on the

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4,418; estimate based on Beatrix F. Romhányi, “Parishes and Hides: The Transformation of the Kingdom of Hungary around 1300,” 21, unpublished MS; Beatrix F. Romhányi, “A középkori magyar plébániák és a 14. századi pápai tizedjegyzék” [The Medieval Hungarian Parishes and the 14th-c. Papal Tithe Registers], *Történelmi Szemle* LXI/3 (2019): 339–60), resulting in Marian *patrocinia* representing about 19% of the total. This calculation is close to the 25% estimate; however, the 19% calculation is more likely to be skewed due to the exclusion of chapels and the fact that certainly more than one church existed in many Hungarian parishes, in addition to the fact that the parish, monastery, and collegiate church numbers contain a good deal of churches with unknown *patrocinia*. Many thanks to Beatrix Romhányi for sharing her unpublished manuscript with me on the parishes and hides of Hungary around 1300.

<sup>103</sup> Graham Jones, *Saints in the Landscape* (Stroud: Tempus, 2007), 13.

<sup>104</sup> Andreas E. Graßmann, *Das Patrozinium. Eine kirchenrechtliche Darstellung mit besonderer Berücksichtigung des titulus ecclesiae gemäß c. 1218 CIC/83* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2017), 26

choice of *patrocinium* for the other churches of the diocese.<sup>105</sup> Thus, establishing the *patrocinia* of Hungary's cathedrals is the first step in determining the presence and influence of Marian *patrocinia* in the kingdom.

According to the older legend of St. Stephen, the Hungarian saint-king divided the country into ten bishoprics—Veszprém, Győr, Pécs, Transylvania (Erdély), Eger, Cenad, Vác, and Bihar (Bihar; later moved to Oradea [Várad])—which were subordinated to the archbishoprics of Esztergom and Kalocsa.<sup>106</sup> Though the precise process is uncertain, by the mid-eleventh century the basic outlines of the Hungarian episcopal network had been formed.<sup>107</sup> The bishoprics of Zagreb (Zágráb) and Nitra (Nyitra) were created later by King Ladislaus I (r. 1077–1095) and King Coloman (r. 1095–1116), respectively.<sup>108</sup> The Virgin Mary can be identified as patron or co-patron at five of the bishoprics' cathedrals—at Esztergom (with St. Adalbert), Vác, Oradea, Győr, and possibly Zagreb (this is questionable, by the late Middle Ages, and perhaps before, the cathedral was dedicated to King St. Stephen) (Figure 2). The patron saints of the other cathedrals were St. John the Apostle (Eger), St. Peter (Pécs), St. Paul (Kalocsa<sup>109</sup>), St. Michael (Veszprém and Transylvania), St. George (Cenad), and St. Emmeram (Nitra).

Thus, in total, four to five of the bishoprics of the medieval Hungarian Kingdom were dedicated to the Virgin Mary or to the Virgin Mary and another saint at some point in their history during the Middle Ages. The Virgin Mary appears to have been the favored cathedral patron, followed by St. Michael. According to archaeologist Péter Németh, in the early county seats, two churches were usually mentioned, one located near or in the castle of the *ispán* usually dedicated to the Virgin, and one located below the castle in the settlement, typically dedicated to St. Michael; he hypothesized that the former became the churches of the diocese—the cathedrals—and the latter became parish churches.<sup>110</sup> Németh emphasizes that this is

<sup>105</sup> The *patrocinium* of the cathedral was typically also the *patrocinium* of the diocese. Helmut Flachenecker, "Researching *Patrocinia* in German-Speaking Lands," in *Saints of Europe: Studies Towards a Survey of Cults and Culture*, ed. Graham Jones (Donington: Shaun Tyas, 2003), 77, 80.

<sup>106</sup> In the "Greater Legend of St. Stephen," see: "Legenda Maior Sancti Stephani Regis," caput. 8, in SRH, II:383. Szakács, "Cathedrals in the Early XIIIth century in Hungary," 179.

<sup>107</sup> Szakács, "Cathedrals in the Early XIIIth century in Hungary," 179–180. See also on this subject: Gábor Thoroczkay, "Szent István egyházmegyéi — Szent István püspökei" [The dioceses of St. Stephen — the bishops of St. Stephen], in *Szent István és az államalapítás* [St. Stephen and the founding of the state], ed. László Veszprémy (Budapest: Osiris, 2002), 482–93.

<sup>108</sup> Szakács, "Cathedrals in the Early XIIIth century in Hungary," 180.

<sup>109</sup> It was later rededicated to the Assumption of the Virgin Mary in 1738 by Archbishop Gábor Patachich of Kalocsa. Tamás Tóth, *A Kalocsa-Bácsi Főegyházmegye 18. századi megújulása Patachich Gábor és Patachich Ádám érsekek idején (1733-1784)* [The 18<sup>th</sup> -century renewal of the Archdiocese of Kalocsa-Bács under Archbishops Gábor Patachich and Ádám Patachich (1733-1784)] (Budapest: Magyar Egyháztörténeti Enciklopédia Munkaközösség, 2014).

<sup>110</sup> Péter Németh, "*Civitas et suburbium* (Adatok Sopron korai várostörténetéhez)" [Civitatis et suburbium (Data on the early urban history of Sopron)], *Soproni Szemle* 35/1 (1981): 59–67.

usually the case, as St. Michael became the patron of the cathedrals of both Veszprém and Transylvania.<sup>111</sup> According to Gábor Thoroczkay, recent research has disputed this hypothesis, since other types of churches and chapels have been identified as predecessors of the main sees<sup>112</sup>; however, it is true, as Németh notes, that the Virgin Mary and St. Michael were popular patron saints of the churches of early Árpád county seats, which would mean that there was a greater chance for one of the two to be chosen as the *patrocinium* of the church of the diocese.<sup>113</sup> Why Mary and Michael were particularly popular in this context cannot be determined conclusively; however, that St. Michael was a patron of the Holy Roman Empire<sup>114</sup> and the Virgin Mary the patron of Constantinople<sup>115</sup> by the time of the foundation of the first bishoprics of Hungary could certainly have had an effect.<sup>116</sup> The Byzantine Empire certainly did impact the nascent Christian kingdom; an Eastern Orthodox diocese—the Metropolitanate of Tourkia—under the jurisdiction of the Patriarchate of Constantinople even operated in Hungary during the eleventh and twelfth centuries.<sup>117</sup>

The other saints chosen as patrons of the cathedrals of Hungary were in concordance with the categories popular in other regions of medieval Europe. Apostolic saints—like SS. Peter (Pécs), Paul (Kalocsa), and John the Evangelist (Eger)—were particularly popular. Martyrs like St. Emmeram (Nitra), who as an early bishop and missionary fulfills other popular diocesan saint categories, were also popular; St. George (Cenad) was also a martyr and so falls

<sup>111</sup> Németh, “Civitatis et suburbium,” 54–55.

<sup>112</sup> Gábor Thoroczkay, “A középkori Magyar Királyság egyházigazgatásának néhány kérdése” [Some questions of church administration in the medieval Kingdom of Hungary], *Egyháztörténeti Szemle* XX/4 (2019): 6.

<sup>113</sup> Németh, “Civitatis et suburbium,” 48, 55.

<sup>114</sup> On the early medieval cult of St. Michael the Archangel see Daniel F. Callahan, “The Cult of St. Michael the Archangel and the Terrors of the Year 1000,” in *The Apocalyptic Year 1000: Religious Expectation and Social Change, 950–1050*, ed. Richard Landes, Andrew Gow, and David C. Van Meter (Oxford, 2003), 181–204; Tsvetelin Stepanov, “Venerating St. Michael the Archangel in the Holy Roman Empire and in Bulgaria, 10th–11th Centuries: Similarities, Differences, Transformations,” *Medieval Worlds* 3 (2016): 41–64; John Charles Arnold, *The Footprints of Michael the Archangel: The Formation and Diffusion of a Saintly Cult, c. 300 – c. 800* (New York, 2014).

<sup>115</sup> Averil Cameron, “The Theotokos in Sixth-Century Constantinople,” *The Journal of Theological Studies* 29/1 (1978): 79–108.

<sup>116</sup> Németh, “Civitatis et suburbium,” 55. Queen Gisela (r. 1000–1038) is traditionally connected to the St. Michael Cathedral of Veszprém, and the Life of St. Stephen by Bishop Hartvic confirms this: “How [Gisela] stood out in adorning the worship of God, and how fervent and beneficent she showed herself [to be] to the congregations serving God is proved to this day by many churches’ crosses, vessels, and ornaments made or woven by marvelous work. And above all the building of the bishopric of Veszprém [proves this] which she adorned nobly, beginning from the foundations, with every necessary thing for the service of God in gold and silver, and a multiplicity of vestments” (Berend, “Hartvic, Life of King Stephen of Hungary,” 385). In the context of a link between German lands and St. Michael, the connection between Veszprém and the queen from Bavaria (and her possible contribution to the choice of *patrocinium*) makes sense.

<sup>117</sup> István Baán, “The Metropolitanate of Tourkia: The Organization of the Byzantine Church in Hungary in the Middle Ages,” in *Byzanz und Ostmitteleuropa 950–1453: Beiträge zu einer table-ronde des XIX International Congress of Byzantine Studies, Copenhagen 1996*, ed. Günter Prinzing and Maciej Salamon (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 1999), 46. A hypothesis was also put forward that the archbishopric of Kalocsa was of the Byzantine rite, though more recent scholarship has refuted this, see László Koszta, “Byzantine Archiepiscopal Ecclesiastical System in Hungary?” in *A Kárpát-medence, a magyarság és Bizánc. The Carpathian Basin, the Hungarians and Byzantium*, ed. Terézia Olajos (Szeged: Szegedi Tudományegyetem, 2014), 127–144.



into this category, but St. George himself was not a popular diocesan saint. Notably, St. Emmeram was also the patron of the diocese of Regensburg, where the wife of King Stephen, Queen Gisela of Bavaria, had been raised. György Györffy has suggested that the cathedral was dedicated to St. Emmeram after Stephen's marriage to Gisela, who perhaps brought with her a relic of St. Emmeram from Regensburg that could have been placed in the new church's main altar.<sup>118</sup>

Certainly though, the *patrocinia* of Hungarian cathedrals points to the Virgin Mary being a very important part of the religiosity of the ecclesiastical sphere in Hungary, especially as she was one of the patrons of the archbishopric of Esztergom. Below, the connection between these cathedrals and their Marian *patrocinia* will be expounded upon, bringing special attention to the presence of the Virgin—through her cult, imagery, and chronicles—at these holy places in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

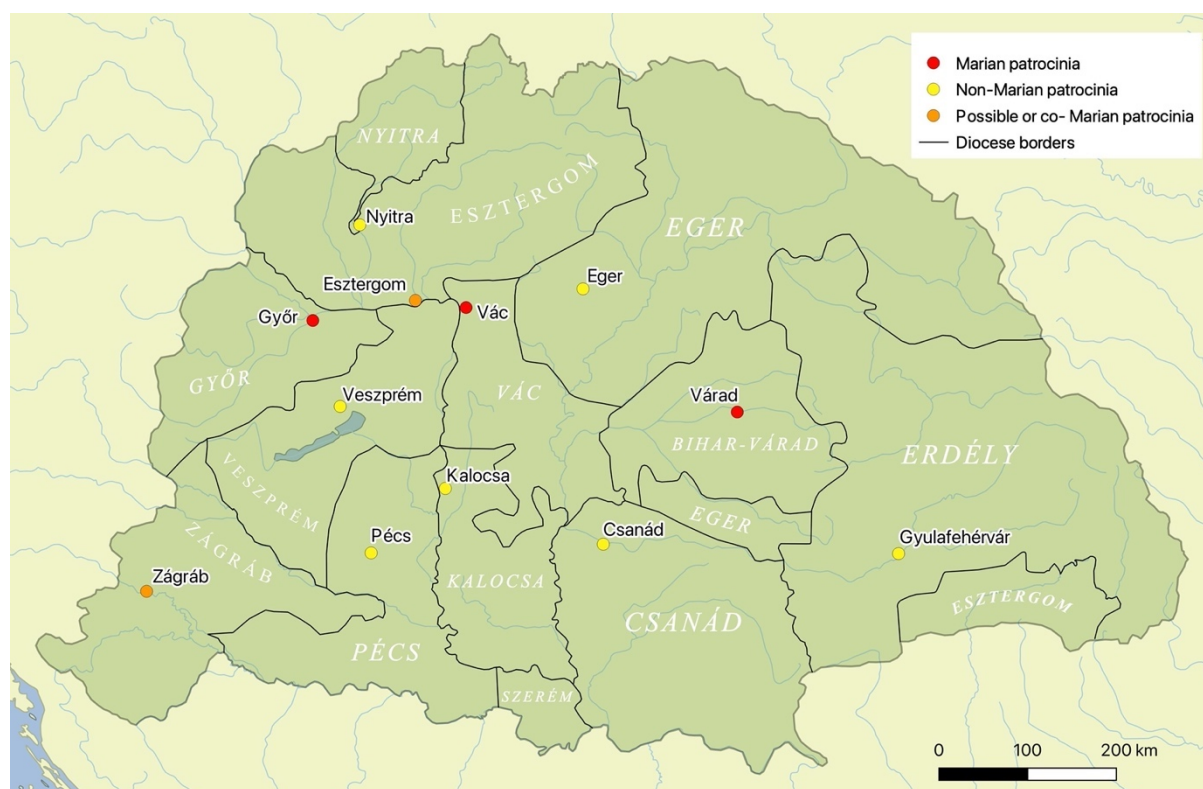


Figure 2. Dioceses and cathedrals of medieval Hungary. Cathedrals dedicated to the Virgin Mary are marked in red, those dedicated to a saint other than the Virgin are marked in yellow, and cathedrals possibly dedicated to the Virgin or that are dedicated to Mary and another saint are marked in orange.

### Esztergom

The Esztergom cathedral, founded by St. Stephen, was originally dedicated only to St. Adalbert, but the Virgin Mary's presence at the cathedral could be strongly felt already in its early history. The first documentary evidence of the cathedral is from an 1156 document, which

<sup>118</sup> György Györffy, *István király és műve* (Budapest: Gondolat, 1977), 115.

describes the foundation of an altar in honor of the Blessed Virgin Mary by Archbishop Martyrius, who would also be buried under the altar following his death two years later.<sup>119</sup> The presence and significance of the Virgin at Esztergom was also apparent in the *Porta Speciosa*, as discussed above.

By the fourteenth century a stronger connection to the Virgin Mary's patronage emerges at Esztergom. While the three known seals of the cathedral chapter depict a side view of the church (twelfth century), St. Adalbert (before 1241), and the crowning of the king (between 1319 and 1326), the Madonna can be seen on the pontifical seal of Archbishop Bolesław of Esztergom (1321–1328).<sup>120</sup> The co-patronage of the cathedral is explicitly noted in a document dated by Ferenc Kollányi to 1397, which records the canonical visitation of the cathedral; it states that King St. Stephen founded the cathedral “sub vocabulo B. Marie virginis et S. Adalberti.”<sup>121</sup> However, as convincingly argued by Norbert C. Tóth, the charter was more likely completed in 1459.<sup>122</sup> His dating is further confirmed by the fact that following renovations of the cathedral undertaken by Archbishop Dénes Szécsi,<sup>123</sup> an indulgence was issued, and the cathedral was reconsecrated in honor of the Virgin Mary and St. Adalbert on November 15, 1450.<sup>124</sup>

What prompted Archbishop Dénes Szécsi's choice to include the Virgin in the *patrocinium* is difficult to say. Dénes Szécsi was a native Hungarian but was educated at the universities of Vienna, Bologna, and Padua. He was an influential individual in the struggle for the Hungarian throne, a supporter of the heirs of Sigismund, and a staunch enemy of the

<sup>119</sup> István Horváth, Márta H. Kelemen, and István Torma, *Komárom megye régészeti topográfiája. Esztergom és a Dorogi Járás* [Archaeological topography of Komárom County. Esztergom and the Dorog District] (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1979), 101, 101n14.

<sup>120</sup> Imre Takács, *A magyarországi káptalanok és konventek középkori pecsétjei* [Seals of medieval Hungarian chapters and convents] (Budapest: MTA Művtört. Kut. Int., 1992), 31, 58–9.

<sup>121</sup> Fejér X/2:519, no. 281.

<sup>122</sup> Norbert C. Tóth, *Az esztergomi székeskáptalan a 15. században. I. rész. A kanonoki testület és az egyetemjárás* [The Cathedral Chapter of Esztergom in the fifteenth century. Volume 1. Canonical body and university studies] (Budapest: MTA TKI, 2015), 8–41.

<sup>123</sup> Construction works continued after the consecration, however, and the consecration of the cathedral and authorization of an indulgence was probably done to raise money for the continuing reconstruction. For an analysis of this process see Krisztina Tóth, “Szécsi Dénes érsek építkezései Esztergomban” [Constructions of Archbishop Dénes Szécsi in Esztergom], *Fons XXIV* (2018): 3–29.

<sup>124</sup> “...ecclesia intemerata Virginis Marie ac Sancti Adalberti pontificis et martiris...” DL-DF 249010. The dating of the reconsecration of the cathedral has been debated. Most recently Krisztina Tóth has made the most convincing argument for the dating of the reconsecration to November 15, 1450 (C. Tóth, “Szécsi Dénes érsek építkezései Esztergom,” 7). Tóth includes an updated transcription of the 1450 charter, as well as other contemporary materials related to Szécsi's construction works in Esztergom (C. Tóth, “Szécsi Dénes érsek építkezései Esztergom,” 9–29). It should also be noted that two chapels dedicated to the Virgin Mary were also founded in the cathedral during the Middle Ages. In 1396 John of Kanizsa, then archbishop of Esztergom, founded a chapel in honor of the Virgin Mary (Tóth, *Az esztergomi székes- és társaskáptalanok archontológiája 1100–1543*, 112; DL-DF 237647; ZsO, I:481, no. 4353). Another chapel dedicated to the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary was founded by Archbishop Tamás Bakóc of Esztergom in 1506 (C. Tóth, *Az esztergomi székes- és társaskáptalanok archontológiája 1100–1543*, 115).



Hussites. Any number of these factors could have influenced Szécsi's inclusion of Mary; the nature of Mary was a frequent topic at the universities of late medieval Europe so Szécsi's education may have played a part. It may also have been emblematic of the Catholic "doubling-down" on Marian devotion in response to the Hussite movement or a hearkening back to Árpadian veneration of Mary. It is also possible that King Ladislaus V (r. 1440–1457), the ruling Hungarian monarch at the time of the cathedral's reconsecration, was instrumental in the inclusion of Mary. After all, he had struggled to first gain and then maintain his rule in Hungary, and any action to substantiate his place in the hereditary line of Hungarian monarchs—of which Marian devotion was a noted characteristic—would help in that action.

### Vác

The cathedral of Vác, according to tradition, was founded by King Géza I (r. 1074–1077), who was later buried there.<sup>125</sup> The first reference to its dedication to the Virgin Mary—"episcopalibus sancte Marie Wacensis civitatis"—comes from the foundation charter of the Benedictine monastery of Garamszentbenedek from 1075.<sup>126</sup> But stronger evidence for the cathedral's special connection to the Virgin arose in the fourteenth century, in the form of the *Illuminated Chronicle* (*Chronicon Pictum*, *Képes Krónika*), an illustrated chronicle of the Hungarian Kingdom completed between 1358 and 1370 and commissioned by King Louis the Great.<sup>127</sup> It attributes the cathedral's inception to an event involving Ladislaus I and Géza I's struggle for the Hungarian throne against their cousin Solomon. According to the chronicle, while waiting with their army in Vác, "seated on their horses at the spot where now stands the stone chapel of the blessed apostle Peter,"<sup>128</sup> Ladislaus witnessed an angel come down from heaven holding a golden crown and was thus assured that Géza would become king. In response Géza stated: "If the Lord God will be with us and guard us from our enemies, and if this vision shall be fulfilled, I will build a church here for His mother, the most holy Virgin Mary."<sup>129</sup> A

<sup>125</sup> Vilmos Sági, ed., *Vác története* [History of Vác], vol. I, Studia Comitensia 13 (Szentendre: Pest Megyei Múzeumok Igazgatósága, 1983), 49. On the excavations of the first cathedral of Vác: Imre Takács, "Das Kloster von Martinsberg (Pannonhalma)," in *Europas Mitte um 1000*, ed. Alfried Wiczorek and Hans Hinz, vol. II (Stuttgart, 2000), 617–20; Tettamanti Sarolta, "A váci vár" [The castle of Vác], in *Váci könyvek* 7 (1994): 101–74.

<sup>126</sup> CDES, I:56.

<sup>127</sup> Ernő Marosi, "The Illuminations of the Chronicle," in *Studies on the Illuminated Chronicle*, ed. János M. Bak and László Veszprémy (Budapest: CEU Press, 2018), 29–30; János M. Bak and László Veszprémy, ed. and trans., *The Illuminated Chronicle: Chronicle of the Deeds of the Hungarians from the Fourteenth-Century Illuminated Codex* (Budapest: CEU Press, 2018), XXXIV.

<sup>128</sup> "... duces quodam mane in equis causa consiliandi stabant in loco, ubi modo est capella lapidea Beati Petri apostoli..." Bak and Veszprémy, *The Illuminated Chronicle*, 220 (Latin); 221 (English).

<sup>129</sup> "Si dominus Deus fuerit nobiscum et custodierit nos ab inimicis nostris et visio hec fuerit adimpleta, edificabo hic in loco isto ecclesiam sacratissime Virginis Marie, genitricis sue." Bak and Veszprémy, *The Illuminated Chronicle*, 222 (Latin); 223 (English).

further vision clarified the exact position where the cathedral was to be built. Following his coronation, King Géza I and Ladislaus went back to the site where the vision had occurred. As they gazed at the site:

... a stag appeared to them with many candles burning upon its horns, and it began to run swiftly before them towards the wood, and at the spot where is now the monastery, it halted and stood still. When the warriors shot their arrows at it, it leapt into the Danube, and they saw it no more. At this sight the blessed Ladislas said: "Truly that was not a stag, but an angel of God." And King Géza said: "Tell me, beloved brother, what may all the candles signify which we saw burning on the stag's horns." The blessed Ladislas answered "They are not horns, but wings; they are not burning candles, but shining feathers. It has shown to us that we are to build the church of the Blessed Virgin on the place where it planted its feet, and not elsewhere. But in order that the site of the first vision should not be without an edifice, King Géza and his brothers decreed that a chapel should be erected there in honor of the blessed Peter, chief of the apostles. King Géza therefore founded the church of Vác and endowed it with many villages and possessions."<sup>130</sup>

The insertion of the founding of the chapel dedicated to St. Peter into the chronicle was done to strengthen "its claims against the bishops of Vác concerning ecclesiastical privileges."<sup>131</sup> Even so, the presumed sacred intervention in the creation of the Blessed Virgin Mary cathedral of Vác helped to solidify her special presence there. Her presence as patron can be seen on the seal of the Vác chapter from 1227, on which she is depicted enthroned with the Christ Child in her lap.<sup>132</sup> The same image can be seen on a 1268 seal from the chapter (Figure 3),<sup>133</sup> as well as on the chapter's seal from multiple documents in the fifteenth century,<sup>134</sup> and on the seal of the city from 1689 (Figure 4).<sup>135</sup>

While St. Michael is named as the co-patron of the cathedral today, this innovation only arose in the eighteenth century. During Ottoman rule the cathedral of Vác had been destroyed, so the bishop took control of the church of St. Michael in the upper town (the only church that had remained operating as a church during the Ottoman occupation). Later a new cathedral was

<sup>130</sup> "... apparuit eis cervus habens cornua plena ardentibus candelis, cepitque fugere coram eis versus silvam et in loco, ubi nunc est monasterium, fixit pedes suos. Quem cum milites sagittarent, proiecit se in Danubium, et eum ultra non viderunt. Quo viso Beatus Ladizlaus ait: Vere non cervus, sed angelus Dei erat. Et dixit Geysa rex: Dic michi, dilecte frater, quid fieri volunt omnes candeles ardentes vise in cornibus cervi. Respondit Beatus Ladizlaus: Non sunt cornua, sed ale, non sunt candelae ardentes, sed penne fulgentes, [88] pedes vero fixit, quia ibi locum demonstravit, ut ecclesiam Beate Virgini non alias, nisi hic edificari faceremus. Ut autem locus prime visionis non sit sine edificio, a Geysa<a><sup>a</sup> rege et suis fratribus decretum est, ut ibi capella in honore Beati Petri, principis apostolorum fundaretur. Rex igitur Geysa fundavit ecclesiam Vaciensem et dotavit eam prediis multis et possessionibus." Bak and Veszprémy, *The Illuminated Chronicle*, 230, 232 (Latin); 231, 233 (English).

<sup>131</sup> Bak and Veszprémy, *The Illuminated Chronicle*, 22n572.

<sup>132</sup> DL-DF 134; Takács, *A magyarországi káptalanok és konventek középkori pecsétjei*, 92.

<sup>133</sup> DL-DF 65704.

<sup>134</sup> For instance, in 1444 (DL-DF 13811) and in 1457 (DL-DF 15177; DL-DF 59470).

<sup>135</sup> Sági, *Vác története*, I:112. She could be found on official imagery well into the early modern period: her image was repainted on the vault of the council chamber in 1800 and until 1840 the market town of Püspökvác had a large seal of the Virgin Mary (Sági, *Vác története*, I:208).

constructed, and, due to these events, was consecrated in 1772 to the Assumption of the Virgin Mary and St. Michael the Archangel.<sup>136</sup>



Figure 3. Seal of the chapter of Vác showing the Virgin Mary and Christ Child. “SIGILLUM CAPITULI WACIENSIS.” 1268, DL-DF 65704 (“A középkori Magyarország levéltári forrásai” [The archival sources of medieval Hungary], Hungaricana Cultural Heritage Portal, accessed May 14, 2021, <https://archives.hungaricana.hu/en/charters/view/6584/?pg=6&bbox=-1202%2C-2760%2C3754%2C-73>).



Figure 4. Seal of the city of Vác depicting the Virgin Mary and Christ Child. “Sigillum Civitatis Waciensis O. Anni 1689.” OL. V-5 (Sápi, *Vác története*, I:112).

<sup>136</sup> Sápi, *Vác története*, I:188, 199

### Oradea (Várad)

The bishopric of Oradea is traditionally believed to have been founded by the brother and successor of King Géza I, King Ladislaus I, who also may have moved the seat from Bihar to Oradea. When the seat of a bishopric was moved it was not uncommon for its *patrocinium* to change.<sup>137</sup> The *patrocinium* of the Bihar bishopric is unknown. A church is mentioned to exist in the town in the thirteenth century, but not until 1438 is a *patrocinium* mentioned, namely, St. Peter.<sup>138</sup> It is possible that this church served as the “cathedral” of the Bihar bishopric, founded perhaps by King Andrew I (r. 1046–1060), who was noted for his support of St. Peter.<sup>139</sup> If the transfer of the bishopric indeed transpired during the reign of King Ladislaus, then this would have occurred during a time of tension with the papacy under Pope Gregory VII.<sup>140</sup> The change in *patrocinium* from St. Peter to the Virgin Mary would have thus had greater political weight, reflecting the dedication of the Hungarian kingdom to the Virgin by King Stephen, itself often viewed in the context of contention with the papacy.

A change in *patrocinium* and its circumstances cannot be proven, but, like the cathedral of Vác, the founding of the Oradea cathedral did gain further context in the fourteenth-century *Illuminated Chronicle*. It stated that Ladislaus “was hunting in the county of the castle of Bihar on the river Kriş, he found a place where he resolved, being advised by an angel, to build a monastery in honor of the Virgin Mary; and he named this place Oradea.”<sup>141</sup> While this early institution is referred to as a “monasterium” in the *Illuminated Chronicle*, the *Chronicon Waradiense* (1374) calls it an “ecclesia” devoted to the Blessed Virgin Mary, which had a chapter of twenty-four canons, and which was raised to a bishopric sometime later.<sup>142</sup> It should be noted, however, that the use of the term “monasterium” did not necessarily indicate a monastery in the traditional sense. In Hungary before the end of the thirteenth century, a

<sup>137</sup> László Koszta, “A bihari püspökség alapítása: A bihari püspökség alapításának historiográfiája” [The foundation of the Bishopric of Bihar: The historiography of the foundation of the Bishopric of Bihar], in *Nagyvárad és Bihar a korai középkorban* [Oradea and Bihar in the early Middle Ages], ed. Gábor Klaniczay et al. (Oradea, 2014), 77.

<sup>138</sup> 1213: Györffy 1:602 (the document is a transcription from 1550 of a 1213 charter); 1438: Lukcsics, 2:165.

<sup>139</sup> King Andrew made the feast of St. Peter one of the most important in the kingdom and ordered that three days of vigils should be held before the feast day. Koszta, “A bihari püspökség alapítása,” 78.

<sup>140</sup> Koszta, “A bihari püspökség alapítása,” 78.

<sup>141</sup> “Post hec in parochia castri Bihor inter flumen Keres in venatione sua invenit locum, ubi angelico amonitu proposuit constituere monasterium in honore Virginis Marie, quem locum Varad nominavit.” Bak and Veszprémy, *The Illuminated Chronicle*, 258 (Latin); 259 (English).

<sup>142</sup> “Fundavit autem ipsam ecclesiam et dedicavit in honore beatissime matris Marie virginis, instituens primo in ea prepositum et canonicos numero viginti quatuor, computato preposito, et tandem erexit ipsam in episcopalem.” “Chronicon Waradiense,” in *SRH* I, 203. For the building history of the early church see: Imre Takács, “Várad Árpád-kori székesegyháza. Történeti források és kőfaragványok a 12–13. Századból” [The Árpád-era cathedral of Várad. Historical sources and stone carvings from the 12<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>th</sup> centuries], in *Várad kőtöredékei*, [Stone Fragments of Oradea], ed. Terézia Kerny (Budapest, 1989), 21–38.

“monasterium” could refer both to a monastery of monks as well as a building that housed canons, the latter of which is likely the case at Oradea.<sup>143</sup>

King Ladislaus was later buried in this cathedral, and following his canonization in 1192, the center of his cult developed at Oradea. By the late Middle Ages, St. Ladislaus’ cult, the Virgin Mary, and the cathedral of Oradea were inextricably linked.

### Győr

Traditionally, the cathedral of Győr was believed to have also been built by St. Stephen, however, archaeologists and art historians have dated the church to the time of King Coloman (r. 1095–1116).<sup>144</sup> Unlike Esztergom, Vác, and Oradea, there was no notable development or further contextualization in connection to its *patrocinium* in the late Middle Ages. A few remarks should be made on the most significant evidence of Marian presence at the cathedral before the fourteenth century, however. The earliest written evidence of the church comes from the *Agenda Pontificalis* of Bishop Hartvik of Győr (1088–1105), in which he references the high altar dedicated to the Virgin.<sup>145</sup> In his description of the rites of Epiphany, Bishop Hartvik makes reference to an image of the Virgin and Child (*imaginem sancta marie tenentis dominum parvulum in manibus*), seemingly on the central altar. It describes how the cleric should point to the image while reciting certain verses related to the visit of the three magi.<sup>146</sup> It is interesting to find such an early description of the role of a Marian devotional image in the rites of a Hungarian church, especially considering that in the seventeenth century an image of Mary and the sleeping Christ Child—the so-called Weeping Madonna of Győr—would become

<sup>143</sup> As argued by László Koszta, “11. századi bencés monostor a Szepességben?” *Századok* 142 (2008): 339–57. Thanks to Anna Kinde for clarifying the use of this term. It should also be noted that a smaller cathedral chapter, also dedicated to the Virgin Mary, was constructed near the cathedral. It is first mentioned in 1320 as being founded by Provost Csanád of Oradea, who requested an indulgence for the church (Theiner, I:467–8). Archaeological evidence suggests that a church existed before the Mongol Invasion, see Nándor Mihálka, “Múlt és jelen a váradi várban: A középkori püspökvár reprezentatív épületei és védelmi rendszere a 2010 és 2015 közötti helyreállítás előtt és után” [Past and present in the castle of Oradea: The representative buildings and the defense system of the medieval bishop's castle before and after the restoration between 2010 and 2015], in *A tuzséri Lónyay-kastély jövőbeni hasznosítási lehetősége a kulturális turizmus kínálta kereteken belül* [The future potential of the Lónyay Castle in Tuzser within the framework of cultural tourism], ed. Ferenc Klicsu and Zsuzsanna Opra (Tuzsér: Klicsu Ferenc elnök, 2019), 147–57.

<sup>144</sup> Szakács, “Cathedrals in the Early XIIIth century in Hungary,” 181. On the excavations of the earliest phase of the Győr cathedral: Károly Kozák and András Uzsoi, “A győri székesegyház feltárása” [The excavation of the cathedral of Győr], *Arrabona - Múzeumi közlemények* 12 (1970): 111–64.

<sup>145</sup> Károly Kozák, “Adatok a győri vár középkori történetéhez” [Data on the medieval history of Győr Castle], *Arrabona - Múzeumi közlemények* 9 (1967): 68.

<sup>146</sup> “...et duo cleris (c)appis induti stantesque iuxta imaginem sancta marie tenentis dominum parvulum in manibus imponant hunc uersum: Qui sunt hi quos Stella...Iuxta stantes imaginemque domini digito monstrantes, dicant ad magos: Ecce puer adest...Tunc salutantes tres magi dominum dicant: Salve princeps populorum.” Károly Kniewald, “Hartwick győri püspök agenda pontificalis-a,” *Magyar Könyvszemle* 65/1 (1941): 13.

renowned for supposedly miraculously weeping tears of blood on March 17, 1697, and a cult would emerge in its wake at the cathedral of Győr.<sup>147</sup>

The Győr cathedral chapter is known to have had three different seals that featured the Virgin Mary and Christ Child, from the early thirteenth century, from before 1271, and from around 1273, respectively.<sup>148</sup> The characteristics of the image on the seals suggest a connection to Byzantine iconography, which Imre Takács suggests alludes to “the mediating role of a Byzantine icon.”<sup>149</sup> That this Byzantine icon of the Virgin and Child is the image referred to by Bishop Hartvik is certainly a possibility, but one that cannot be confirmed with certainty.

## Zagreb

The possibility that the cathedral of the Zagreb diocese—believed to have been created in the late eleventh century by King Ladislaus I—was dedicated to the Virgin Mary at some point in its early history is debated. It has been suggested that the first cathedral was dedicated to the Virgin Mary,<sup>150</sup> others believe it was originally dedicated to King St. Stephen,<sup>151</sup> and still others that is changed from Mary to Stephen when King Andrew II visited Zagreb in 1217, when he rededicated the new, larger cathedral to King St. Stephen.<sup>152</sup> Certainly by 1217 its *patrocinium* appears to have been King St. Stephen since a charter from this year, in which Andrew II confirms the privileges of the churches of Zagreb, refers to the cathedral as a “monasterium in honore sancti regis Stephani.”<sup>153</sup> The use of the term “monasterium” has caused some confusion amongst researchers, but, as was the case with the Oradea cathedral, the term “monasterium” at this time did not necessarily indicate a monastery of monks.<sup>154</sup>

<sup>147</sup> The image, according to tradition, was brought to Hungary in 1652 by Bishop Walter Lynch of Clonfert, who was fleeing persecution of the Catholics under Oliver Cromwell. The day the image miraculously wept blood was, notably, the feast day of St. Patrick. On the image and the cult surrounding it see: Szaboles Serfőző, “A győri székesegyház Szűz Mária-kegyoltára” [The Virgin Mary shrine of the Győr Cathedral], *Művészettörténeti Értesítő* 48/1–4 (1999): 87–112.

<sup>148</sup> Takács, *A magyarországi káptalanok és konventek középkori pecsétjei*, 64–65.

<sup>149</sup> *Ibid.*, 24.

<sup>150</sup> Ivana Šimunić and Marina Šimunić Buršić, “Svod sakristije zagrebačke katedrale / Vault of the Sacristy of Zagreb Cathedral,” *Prostor* 23/2 (2015): 346n1. See also: Antun Ivandija, *Stara zagrebačka katedrala. Historijsko-umjetnička rasprava, I dio: Arhitektura* [Old Zagreb Cathedral. Historical and Artistic Debate, Part I: Architecture] (Zagreb, 1948), 29.

<sup>151</sup> Danko Šourek, “Arpadian Royal Cult in the Zagreb Cathedral: From Gothic to Baroque,” *Rad. Inst. povij. umjet.* 41 (2017): 47.

<sup>152</sup> Josip Stošić, “Srednjovjekovna umjetnička svjedočanstva o zagrebačkoj biskupiji” [Medieval artistic testimonies about the Zagreb diocese], in *Sveti trag: devetsto godina umjetnosti Zagrebačke nadbiskupije 1094-1994* [The holy trail: Nine hundred years of art of the Zagreb Archdiocese 1094-1994], ed. Tugomir Lukšić and Ivanka Reberski (Zagreb: Zagrebačka nadbiskupija, Institut za povijest umjetnosti, Muzejsko-galerijski centar, 1994), 104.

<sup>153</sup> *Monumenta historica episcopatus Zagradiensis: saec. XII & XIII*, vol. I, ed. Ivan Krstitelj Tkalčić (Zagreb, 1873), no. 33, 45.

<sup>154</sup> Nada Klaić discusses this topic and other ambiguities around the foundation of the cathedral, see Nada Klaić, “Tobožnji Ladislavov ‘monasterium sancti Stephani regis’ u Zagrebu,” [Ladislaus’ “monasterium sancti Stephani regis” in Zagreb], *Peristil: zbornik radova za povijest umjetnosti* 24/1 (1981): 35–40. See also: Ana Bedenko,

It is outside the scope of this dissertation to determine the historically correct *patrocinium* of the Zagreb cathedral before the fourteenth century.<sup>155</sup> What can be definitively stated is that by the fourteenth century the patron role of the cathedral was filled by St. Stephen. However, the representation of the Virgin Mary on the late fourteenth-century seal of the cathedral deserves further remark because of its connection to the Hungarian Angevin dynasty's use of Marian iconography.<sup>156</sup> In 1373 a charter from King Louis the Great to the Zagreb chapter describes the new seal of the chapter as depicting "the most holy King Stephen" offering "the replica of the church" to "the glorious Virgin carrying her Son" (Figure 5).<sup>157</sup> This image could be interpreted as the founder offering the cathedral to the cathedral's patron saint, and indeed, some have interpreted the seal as depicting St. Ladislaus offering the church to Mary.<sup>158</sup> More likely is that the seal hearkens back to the Greater Legend of St. Stephen, in which Stephen dedicated the Hungarian Kingdom to the Virgin. This legend and its artistic representations, which in practice symbolized Hungary's independence from papal and other external secular power including decisions regarding royal succession, took on renewed life during the Hungarian Angevin dynasty's struggle for the Hungarian throne. It is this motif that the Angevin Louis may have been drawing from for the imagery of the chapter's seal.

There is another iconographic antecedent that may have inspired the seal. On the reliquary of Charlemagne (ca. 1215) housed in Aachen Cathedral, the emperor can be seen on his knees, holding a model of the Aachen palace chapel before the Virgin Mary. The motif can also be found on the city seal of Aachen (engraved sometime before 1328) and on the various memorabilia associated with the Aachen pilgrimage. It is precisely during the time when the

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"Povijest izgradnje zagrebačke katedrale Uznesenja Blažene Djevice Marije s posebnim osvrtom na gradnju lađa u 14. i 15. Stoljeću" [History of the construction of the Zagreb Cathedral of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary with special reference to the construction of naves in the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> centuries] (MA thesis, University of Zagreb, 2013), 8.

<sup>155</sup> It should be remarked, however, that after the Mongol Invasion, renovations of the cathedral were headed by Bishop Timothy (1263–1287), including the altar of the Virgin Mary in the southern apse, which was consecrated in 1284 and where a few years later Timothy would be buried in 1287. Šimunić and Šimunić Buršić, "Svod sakristije zagrebačke katedrale," 347; Ivan Krstitelj Tkalčić, *Prvostolna crkva zagrebačka nekoć i sada* [The Zagreb Metropolitan Church in the Past and in the Present] (Zagreb, 1885), 11.

<sup>156</sup> The two earlier seals of the Zagreb cathedral chapter, the first used during the later twelfth to early thirteenth centuries and the second known from 1323, depict St. Stephen. Takács, *A magyarországi káptalanok és konventek középkori pecsétjei*, 98–99.

<sup>157</sup> "... sigillum novum oblongum, in quo ymago virginis gloriose cum dyademate filium in brachio gestantis, cui idem sanctissimus rex Stephanus coronam in capite baiulans et ante eandem virginem gloriosam filium baiulantem, flexis genibus provoluntus, effigiem templi materialis eidem offert, adorando, sculpta expresse continetur, in circumferentia vero eiusdem sigilli novi manifeste id notatur seu declarator: sigillum capituli ecclesie zagrabiensis..." *Monumenta historica liberae regiae civitatis Zagrabiae*, vol. I, ed. Ivan Krstitelj Tkalčić (Zagreb, 1889), no. 253, 241.

<sup>158</sup> See the comments on this interpretation in Takács, *A magyarországi káptalanok és konventek középkori pecsétjei*, 33.



seal was made that the Hungarian royal court had developed a closer relationship with the cult site at Aachen, so the influence of the motif on the Zagreb seal should also not be discounted.<sup>159</sup>



Figure 5. Seal of the chapter of Zagreb Cathedral. S(IGILLVM)•CAPITVLI•ECCLESIE•ZAGRABIENSIS. Feb. 1, 1384. DL-DF 474.

### *Cathedrals & Diocesan Patrocinia in Medieval Europe*

Mary's prominence amongst the patrons of Hungarian cathedrals is evident, but is this a universal European trend during the Middle Ages? According to the research of Aleksandra Witkowska, the Virgin Mary (often the Assumption of the Virgin Mary in particular) is by far the most popular patron of Polish cathedrals and co-cathedrals.<sup>160</sup> Marian *patrocinia* ranked “quantitatively above all other titles” in the cathedrals of early medieval Provençal.<sup>161</sup> A cursory analysis of the situation in France overall renders a similar result: she is the most popular cathedral patron, being the patron of about 40% of the cathedrals of northern France and 28% of southern France.<sup>162</sup> In England Nicholas Orme lists SS. Peter and Paul as popular

<sup>159</sup> For more details on the iconographic details and influences of the 1371 seal see Takács, *A magyarországi káptalanok és konventek középkori pecsétjei*, 33–5.

<sup>160</sup> Aleksandra Witkowska, *Titulus ecclesiae. Wezwania współczesnych kościołów katedralnych w Polsce* [Titulus ecclesiae. Invocations of contemporary cathedral churches in Poland] (Warsaw: Instytut Wydawniczy Pax, 1999), 249–50. However, Witkowska considers *patrocinia* up to the present day, which could mean that the situation during the Middle Ages was different or that the Virgin's prominence was not as stark.

<sup>161</sup> Graßmann, *Das Patrozinium*, 112; Eugen Ewig, “Die Kathedralpatrozinien im römischen und fränkischen Gallien,” in *Spätantikes und fränkisches Gallien. Gesammelte Schriften (1952–1973)*, vol. I, ed. Eugen Ewig and Hartmut Atsma (Munich, 1979), 265f.

<sup>162</sup> Calculated from the cathedrals and *patrocinia* presented in: Francis Miltoun, *The Cathedrals of Northern France* (Boston: L. C. Page & Company, 1903) and Francis Miltoun, *The Cathedrals of Southern France* (Boston: L. C. Page & Company, 1904).



choices for cathedral *patrocinia* and makes no mention of the Virgin Mary;<sup>163</sup> however, in medieval Scotland all the of most important cathedrals were dedicated to the Virgin Mary and another saint, such that “the absence of a Marian dedication stands out as the exception to the rule.”<sup>164</sup>

I have completed a more thorough analysis of the diocesan saints of the neighboring Holy Roman Empire in order to serve as a point of comparison with the situation in Hungary. Surprisingly, in the Holy Roman Empire the Virgin Mary does not appear to be the most popular diocesan saint. Only four of the forty-five dioceses and archdioceses (i.e., about 9%) of the medieval Holy Roman Empire had the Virgin Mary as their patron saint, namely, Cologne (Köln; in the form of the Immaculate Conception,<sup>165</sup> with St. Peter<sup>166</sup>), Havelberg (with St. Lawrence),<sup>167</sup> Speyer (with St. Stephen),<sup>168</sup> and Verden (with St. Andrew, St. Fabian, and St. Cecilia).<sup>169</sup> There are several dioceses where the Virgin Mary is patron of the cathedral—at Hamburg, Hildesheim, Verdun, and Würzburg—but not the diocese itself, as well as a few cases where the *patrocinium* of the diocese is unclear.<sup>170</sup> The Virgin Mary was also a patron saint of other dioceses—such as Aachen, Essen, and Freiburg—but these were established after the Middle Ages so cannot be included amongst those medieval dioceses that

<sup>163</sup> Nicholas Orme, *The History of England's Cathedrals* (La Vergne: Impress Books, 2017), ch. 2.

<sup>164</sup> Matthew H. Hammond, “Royal and aristocratic attitudes to saints and the Virgin Mary in twelfth- and thirteenth-century Scotland,” in *The Cult of Saints and the Virgin Mary in Medieval Scotland*, 74.

<sup>165</sup> Karl-Heinz Tekath, “Die Unbefleckte Empfängnis Mariens – Hauptpatronin des Erzbistums Köln,” in *Bistumspatrone in Deutschland*, ed. August Leidl (Munich: Schnell & Steiner, 1984), 58–77.

<sup>166</sup> According to Flachenecker, “Researching *Patrocinia* in German-Speaking Lands,” 77.

<sup>167</sup> St. Lawrence is often listed as the only patron of the Havelberg diocese, however. For Mary’s inclusion as a patron, see Christian Popp, “Gründung und Frühzeit des Bistums Havelberg,” *Mitteilungen des Vereins für Geschichte der Prignitz* 3 (2003): 67–68. St. Lawrence was patron of the diocese only from the twelfth century according to Hans K. Schulz, “Heiligenverehrung und Reliquienkult in Mitteldeutschland,” in *Zur Geschichte und Volkskunde Mitteldeutschlands*, ed. Walter Schlesinger (Cologne: Böhlau, 1968), 306.

<sup>168</sup> Han Ammerich, “Maria Patrona Spirensis. Zur Marienverehrung im Bistum Speyer,” in *Bistumspatrone in Deutschland*, 32–41.

<sup>169</sup> Flachenecker, “Researching *Patrocinia* in German-Speaking Lands,” 82; Thomas Vogtherr, *Iso von Wölpe, Bischof von Verden (1205-1231): Reichsfürst, Bischof, Adliger : eine Biographie* (Stade, 2008), 47; Thomas Vogtherr, “Bistum und Hochstift Verden bis 1502,” in *Geschichte des Landes zwischen Elbe und Weser*, Band 2: Mittelalter, ed. Hans-Eckhard Dannenberg and Heinz-Joachim Schulze (Stade, 1995), 283–86, 292.

<sup>170</sup> The Virgin Mary is the patron of the Hamburg cathedral, though she is not the patron of the diocese. She is also the patron of the cathedral of Hildesheim, but I have not seen her described as the patron of the diocese, rather that position is held by St. Gotthard of Hildesheim (see Friedrich Eymelt, “Der Hildesheimer Mariendom und der heilige Godehard – Patron des Bistums Hildesheim,” in Leidl, *Bistumspatrone in Deutschland*, 215–23). The cathedral of Verdun was dedicated to the Nativity of the Virgin Mary in the Middle Ages (Michaël George, “Le chapitre cathédral de Verdun à la fin du Moyen Âge (fin XIIe - début XVIe siècle) : étude d’une communauté ecclésiastique séculière” (PhD diss., Université de Lorraine, 2016), 291n1207), and while the website of the diocese claims the Assumption of the Virgin Mary as patron (“Histoire du diocèse,” Diocèse de Verdun, accessed May 28, 2021, <https://catholique-verdun.cef.fr/diocese/presentation-du-diocese/histoire-du-diocese/>), I have not found any evidence that Mary was the diocese’s patron during the Middle Ages. Additionally, Eric Knibbs notes that both the Virgin Mary and St. Kilian were patrons of Würzburg, but I have not found any other sources that would confirm the inclusion of the Virgin Mary (Eric Knibbs, *Ansgar, Rimbert and the Forged Foundations of Hamburg-Bremen* (London: Routledge, 2016), 56). On the *Bistumspatrone* of the empire, particularly in the south and west, see Leidl, *Bistumspatrone in Deutschland*. See also Flachenecker, “Researching *Patrocinia* in German-Speaking Lands,” 74–6; and Graßmann, *Das Patrozinium*, 66–73.

had her as patron; however, they do indicate a likelihood of pre-existing Marian devotion in the location of the diocese (this is most definitely the case in Aachen). Collectively, the Virgin Mary was well-represented in the cathedrals and dioceses of German lands. Nevertheless, more popular as diocesan saints in the Middle Ages were the apostolic saints Peter and Paul, who, together or separately, can be identified as patron(s) at nine dioceses and archdioceses, about 20% compared to the Virgin's 9%. St. Peter is a patron saint of the dioceses of Osnabrück (with SS. Crispin, Crispinian, and Josef),<sup>171</sup> Brandenburg,<sup>172</sup> and Minden,<sup>173</sup> the archdioceses of Cologne (with the Virgin Mary) and Bremen (with St. Ansgar),<sup>174</sup> and was patron of the cathedral of Regensburg<sup>175</sup>; St. Paul is the patron saint of the diocese of Münster (with St. Ludger)<sup>176</sup>; and SS. Peter and Paul are patron saints of the dioceses of Gurk (with St. Rupert von Salzburg and St. John the Baptist), Worms, and Naumburg. St. Stephen the Martyr was also popular; he was the patron of the dioceses of Speyer (with the Virgin Mary), Toul,<sup>177</sup> Metz,<sup>178</sup> Halberstadt,<sup>179</sup> and Vienna, as well as the cathedral of Passau.<sup>180</sup> Other diocesan patrons were selected from apostolic saints, or, very frequently, the first bishop or missionary of the region.<sup>181</sup>

<sup>171</sup> Wolfgang Seegrün, "Unter dem Schutz von Petrus, Crispin und Crispinian, Josef – die Patrone des Bistums Osnabrück," in Leidl, *Bistumspatrone in Deutschland*, 105–12.

<sup>172</sup> Thomas Marin, *Von Stanesdorp nach Stahnsdorf. Karl Heinrich Schäfers Forschungen zum Mittelalter in Stahnsdorf* (Norderstedt: BoD, 2014), 10.

<sup>173</sup> Nathalie Kruppa, "Emanzipation vom Bischof. Zum Verhältnis zwischen Bischof und Stadt am Beispiel Mindens," in *Bischof und Bürger : Herrschaftsbeziehungen in den Kathedralstädten des Hoch- und Spätmittelalters*, ed. Uwe Grieme, Nathalie Kruppa, and Stefan Pätzold (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2004), 77.

<sup>174</sup> St. Peter was also the patron of the cathedral and became patron of the diocese in the course of the tenth and eleventh centuries according to Wilhelm Kaltenstadler, *Die jüdisch-christlich-islamische Kultur Europas: Wurzeln – Strukturen – Entwicklungen* (Leipzig: Engelsdorfer Verlag, 2014), ch. 5.

<sup>175</sup> The cathedral is dedicated to St. Peter; however, the patrons of the diocese are usually listed as St. Emmeram, St. Erhard, and St. Wolfgang.

<sup>176</sup> Flachenecker, "Researching *Patrocinia* in German-Speaking Lands," 77. On St. Ludger see Herbert W. Wurster, "Der heilige Liudger – Erzbischof und Patron des Bistums Münster," in Leidl, *Bistumspatrone in Deutschland*, 97–104.

<sup>177</sup> Frank G. Hirschmann, *Verdun im hohen Mittelalter: eine lotharingische Kathedralstadt und ihr Umland im Spiegel der geistlichen Institutionen*, Volume 2, (Verlag Trierer Historische Forschungen, 1996), 786.

<sup>178</sup> Hirschmann, *Verdun im hohen Mittelalter*, 786.

<sup>179</sup> Michael Matheus, *S. Maria dell'Anima: zur Geschichte einer "deutschen Stiftung" in Rom* (De Gruyter, 2010), 171.

<sup>180</sup> St. Stephen is the patron of the cathedral; however, St. Conrad of Parzham, St. Maximilian of Celeia, and St. Valentine are typically listed as the patrons of the archdiocese (August Leidl and Herbert W. Wurster, "Der heilige Valentin und der heilige Maximilian – die Patrone des Bistums Passau," in Leidl, *Bistumspatrone in Deutschland*, 149–57).

<sup>181</sup> Flachenecker, "Researching *Patrocinia* in German-Speaking Lands," 77. The other diocesan saints not mentioned above are: St. Willibald (Eichstätt); St. Vigilius von Trient, Cassianus von Imola, Ingenuin von Säben, and Albuin von Säben-Brixen (Brixen); St. Ulrich, St. Afra, St. Simpert (Augsburg, see Hilda Thummerer, "Der heilige Ulrich, die heilige Afra und der heilige Simpert – die Patrone des Bistums Augsburg," in Leidl, *Bistumspatrone in Deutschland*, 137–48); St. Sixtus and St. Sebastian (Chiemsee; see Johann Sallaberger, "Der Chiemseer Bischof Berthold Pürstinger (1464/65-1543) Biographische Daten zu seinem Leben und Werk," *Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für Salzburger Landeskunde* 130 (1990): 446); St. Rupert von Salzburg and Virgilius von Salzburg (Seckau); St. Rupert (Salzburg); St. Maurice and Norbert von Xanten (Magdeburg; the cathedral is dedicated to St. Sebastian); St. Matthew (Trier, see Joachim Schiffhauer, "Der Apostel Matthias –

Overall, the Virgin does not emerge in the top spot of diocesan *patrocinia* of the Holy Roman Empire, but she is still amongst the more popular saints after SS. Peter and Paul and St. Stephen the Martyr. The Virgin Mary appears to have been selected as a diocesan saint in Hungary three times more often than in the Holy Roman Empire.<sup>182</sup> Of course, comparing the *patrocinia* of the dioceses and cathedrals of the Holy Roman Empire and Hungary can be problematic. The processes that formed the dioceses in the two regions were very different and we cannot treat the Holy Roman Empire as a monolith, so a strict comparison is not possible. Suffice to say that it is not a given that the Virgin Mary would emerge as the most popular diocesan saint. While in places like Hungary, Poland, France, and Scotland, this does appear to be the case, the situation is markedly different in other regions, like England and the Holy Roman Empire. The placemaking processes behind cathedrals are complex and particular to each context, influenced by the wills of rulers and bishops, the relationship with the papacy, the political situation, and devotional trends.

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Patron des Bistums Trier,” in Leidl, *Bistumspatrone in Deutschland*, 113–28); St. Peter is the patron of the cathedral); St. Martin (Mainz [see Helmut Hinkel, “St. Martin – Patron des Bistums Mainz,” in Leidl, *Bistumspatrone in Deutschland*, 174–181] and Utrecht [in Utrecht the medieval cathedral was dedicated to the Holy Savior, see Knibbs, *Ansgar, Rimbert and the Forged Foundations of Hamburg-Bremen*, 24]); St. Lucius von Chur (Chur; see Albert Fischer, *Reformatio und Restitutio: das Bistum Chur im Zeitalter der tridentinischen Glaubenserneuerung : zugleich ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Priesterausbildung und Pastoralreform (1601-1661)* (Zürich: Chronos, 2000), 801); St. Liborius of Le Mans (Paderborn, see Alfred Cohausz, “St. Liborius aus Le Mans – Patron des Erzbistums Paderborn,” in *Bistumspatrone in Deutschland*, 192–198); St. Lawrence (Merseburg, see Lorenz Weinrich, “Laurentius-Verehrung in ottonischer Zeit,” *Jahrbuch für die Geschichte Mittel- und Ostdeutschlands* 21 (1972): 65); St. Lambert von Lüttich (Lüttich; see Holger Kunde, *Das Zisterzienserkloster Pforte: die Urkundenfälschungen und die frühe Geschichte bis 1236* (Cologne: Böhlau Verlag Köln Weimar, 2003), 154); St. Korbinian (Freising, see Stephanie Haarländer, “Von der ‘Destruktion’ eines Heiligen. Zum Umgang Lothar Vogels mit Hagiographie,” *Zeitschrift für bayerische Landesgeschichte* 64/1–2 (2001): 49–50); St. Konrad and St. Pelagius (Konstanz, see Franz Xaver Bischof, *Das Ende des Bistums Konstanz: Hochstift und Bistum Konstanz im Spannungsfeld von Säkularisation und Suppression (1802/03-1821/27)* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1989), 558, 560); St. Kilian (Würzburg, see Erik Soder von Guldenstubbe, “Der heilige Kilian – Patron des Bistums Würzburg,” in Leidl, *Bistumspatrone in Deutschland*, 42–56); St. John the Baptist (Oldenburg [later Lübeck]); St. Henry, St. Cunigunde, and St. Otto (Bamberg, see Bruno Neundorger, “Der heilige Kaiser Heinrich, die heilige Kunigunde und der heilige Bischof Otto – die Patrone des Erzbistums Bamberg, in Leidl, *Bistumspatrone in Deutschland*, 10–22); St. Emmeram, St. Erhard, and St. Wolfgang (Regensburg [the cathedral was dedicated to St. Peter], see Paul Mai, “Der heilige Emmeram, der heilige Erhard und der heilige Wolfgang – die Patrone des Bistums Regensburg,” in Leidl, *Bistumspatrone in Deutschland*, 158–166); St. Benno (Meissen); St. Arbogast von Straßburg (Strassburg, see Franz Grillparzer, *Sämtliche Werke: Ausgewählte Briefe, Gespräche, Berichte*, Vol. 2 (Munich: Hanser, 1970), 1252); St. Ansgar (Hamburg [see Ottfried Jordahn, “Der Heilige Ansgar als Patron der Kirche und Ökumene von Hamburg,” in *A Cloud of Witnesses: The Cult of Saints in Past and Present*, ed. Marcel Barnard, Paulus Gijbertus Johannes Post, and Els Rose (Leuven: Peeters, 2005), 369–78; Knibbs, *Ansgar, Rimbert and the Forged Foundations of Hamburg-Bremen*]); and St. Adalbert (Lebus). I was not able to identify the diocesan saints of Mecklenburg (later Schwerin) or St. Andrä.

<sup>182</sup> If we discount Zagreb, the Virgin Mary was patron of about 31% of Hungarian cathedrals (that is, four out of thirteen, the twelve cathedrals but including another in the total to account for the double *patrocinium* of Esztergom). If we include Zagreb that number jumps to about 38%.

## 2. Parish Churches

While the cathedrals were the spiritual center of the diocese, the parish church served as the center of the spiritual life of the average medieval person. In Hungary, the earliest reference to the parish system comes from a statute attributed to King Stephen, but likely written only in the mid-eleventh century:

*De regali dote ad ecclesiam. Decem ville ecclesiam edificent, quam duobus mansis totidemque mancipiis dotent, equo et iumento, sex bubus et duabus vaccis, XXX minutis bestiis. Vestimenta vero et coopertoria rex provideat, presbiterum et libros episcopi.*<sup>183</sup>

It states that every ten villages should build and furnish a church; the king would provide vestments, while the bishops would provide them with priests and books. The importance of the Church (and churches) was also codified in other early laws: amongst the laws of St. Stephen is the obligation to attend church on Sundays, which was reaffirmed during the synod of Szabolcs in 1092, and shortly after, the code of Coloman stated that Christians should be buried around churches.<sup>184</sup> It is debated, however, to what extent these decrees were actually put into practice.<sup>185</sup> Although an ecclesiastical network began to develop in the first half of the eleventh century with village churches appearing in the late eleventh century, an actual parish network only began to be established in the twelfth century.<sup>186</sup> Building churches was expensive, and many villages may not have been able to afford such an undertaking. In fact, most of the known early churches in the kingdom were royal foundations, and some were communal foundations of lesser nobles.<sup>187</sup> However, by the 1320s, the average size of a parish

<sup>183</sup> Quoted from: Levente Závodszy, *A Szent István, Szent László és Kálmán korabeli törvények és zsinati határozatok forrásai* [Sources of laws and synod decisions at the time of St. Stephen, St. Ladislaus, and Kalman] (Budapest: A Szent-István-Társulat, 1904), 153.

<sup>184</sup> Závodszy, *A Szent István, Szent László és Kálmán*, “Sancti Stephani Decretorum Liber Primus,” I.X, 144; “Sancti Ladislai Regis Decretorum Liber Primus,” I.XI, 160; “Colomanni Regis Decretorum Liber Primus,” LXXIII, 192. See also: Csilla Aradi, “Some Aspects of Parish Organization in Medieval Hungary,” *Beiträge zur Mittelalterarchäologie in Österreich* 21 (2005): 197. These laws can also be found in the recently published János M. Bak, *Online Decreta Regni Mediaevalis Hungariae. The Laws of the Medieval Kingdom of Hungary*, All Complete Monographs 4 (2019), [https://digitalcommons.usu.edu/lib\\_mono/4](https://digitalcommons.usu.edu/lib_mono/4).

<sup>185</sup> Aradi, “Some Aspects of Parish Organization,” 197. For an overview of the research on parish churches in medieval Hungary see: Áron Petneki, “Mittelalterliche Pfarreigeschichte in Ungarn nach 1945: Ein Forschungsüberblick,” in *Pfarreien im Mittelalter. Deutschland, Polen, Tschechien und Ungarn im Vergleich*, ed. Nathalie Kruppa (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2008), 99–120.

<sup>186</sup> Romhányi, “A középkori Magyar plébániák,” 342.

<sup>187</sup> Aradi, “Some Aspects of Parish Organization,” 197.

was 38.5 hectares, meaning that a parish church was built for every two to three villages, though this was certainly not uniformly applied throughout the kingdom.<sup>188</sup>

What is certain though is that the parish church played a huge part in the life of the average Christian in the Middle Ages. It was the center of the community, both in a spiritual sense—with the attendance of weekly masses and the administration of the sacraments—and, very often, in a secular sense as well. While not to the extent of cathedral chapter schools or universities, parish churches also played a role in education in medieval towns. In his research on the school system, István Mészáros showed how medieval parish schools were transformed into new humanist schools in the late fifteenth to early sixteenth centuries, of which the *Liebfrauenschule* of the Virgin Mary Parish Church of Buda is a striking example.<sup>189</sup> They also held an economic function. The majority of churches in Hungary were founded as patronal churches; in such cases both divided patronage and, less frequently, communal patronage can be found. A family could found a parish church and retain the patronage by inheritance. Such foundations could eventually become economic enterprises, where patronage could be bought and sold along with the church's holdings.<sup>190</sup>

The *patrocinia* of Hungarian parish churches can be ascertained from a variety of sources. The papal tithe register of 1332–1337 is the earliest source of its kind and one of the most important sources for information on the parish network in the Hungarian Kingdom. A related source, the register of the diocese of Zagreb, compiled in 1334, provides additional valuable data. While an excellent source, it can be problematic both chronologically and geographically. The parishes of the diocese of Győr are completely missing from the register, and gaps can also be found in the Spiš (Szepes; Zips) region, Țara Bârsei (Barcaság; Burzenland), and vast areas of the Great Hungarian Plain.<sup>191</sup> Some of these areas are missing because their church superiors paid for them, but the reason for the absence of the diocese of Győr is unknown.<sup>192</sup> However, the missing areas have been almost completely reconstructed by Beatrix Romhányi in her 2019 article on the subject using archaeological and contemporary

<sup>188</sup> Ibid., 198; Marie-Madeleine de Cevins, *L'Église dans les villes hongroises à la fin du Moyen Âge (vers 1320 – vers 1490)* (Budapest: Institut Hongrois, 2003), 28–9, this volume is also available in Hungarian: eadem, *Az egyház a késő-középkori magyar városokban* [The church in Hungarian towns in the late Middle Ages] (Budapest: Szent István Társulat, 2003)

<sup>189</sup> István Mészáros, *Az iskolaiügy története Magyarországon 996-1777 között* [The History of the School System in Hungary 996-1777] (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1981), 34–37, 78–82, 131–169; István Mészáros, *XVI. századi városi iskoláink és a „studia humanitatis”* [Our city schools in the 16<sup>th</sup> century and the “studia humanitatis”] (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1981), 16–32, 149–152; Petneki, “Mittelalterliche Pfarregeschichte in Ungarn,” 110.

<sup>190</sup> Aradi, “Some Aspects of Parish Organization,” 199.

<sup>191</sup> Romhányi, “A középkori magyar plébániák,” 340–41.

<sup>192</sup> Ibid., 340.

historical sources to fill in the gaps.<sup>193</sup> Though the parish network itself can be reconstructed, some gaps still exist in these areas when it comes to the *patrocinia* of the parish churches since this information is not always included in the historical record.<sup>194</sup> Further, while archaeological excavations have proven that many more churches existed in Hungary than are included in the papal tithe registers, the absence of corresponding *patrocinia* data results in them being excluded from my analysis.

The gaps also create problems chronologically. Papal lists and bulls, and royal, ecclesiastical, monastic, and family charter collections originating after the completion of the papal tithe registers until the sixteenth century can fill in the regions missing from the papal tithe registers. While many of the churches referenced in these fourteenth- to sixteenth-century sources may have very well existed earlier, this cannot be definitively proven. Indeed, many of the churches listed in the papal tithe register were probably founded far before the time of the register's completion, but without a historical source (which includes *patrocinia*) this cannot be proven. This is also the case with the churches discovered archaeologically that existed during or before the time of the papal tithe registers; without evidence of their *patrocinia* they cannot be included. It should be thus kept in mind that the following statistical information and visualizations of Marian *patrocinia* data reflect the chronology of their first appearance in the historical record, not the chronology of their foundation, though in many instances these dates are the same or fairly close chronologically.

Even with these caveats the papal tithe registers are a very rich source, but by also using over one hundred other collections of primary source material we can begin to reconstruct the landscape of Marian *patrocinia*.<sup>195</sup> Through this analysis I have identified 225 parish churches dedicated to the Virgin Mary (or the Virgin Mary and another saint) in medieval Hungary (Figure 6), representing about 30% of the total number of medieval Hungarian parish churches with known *patrocinia*. I also identified a further 401 churches, which cannot be labelled parish churches, dedicated to the Virgin Mary (or the Virgin Mary and another saint) (Figure 7), representing about 19% of the total number of churches with known *patrocinia* in medieval Hungary.

<sup>193</sup> Ibid., 339–60.

<sup>194</sup> For example, while the parish network of the Spiš region can be reconstructed via a 1298 charter (Wagner I:266–68), no *patrocinia* is included. Similarly, the 1184 census of the income of King Béla III (Gyula Forster, ed., *III. Béla magyar király emlékezete* [In memory of King Béla III of Hungary] (Budapest, 1900), 140) can also be used to reconstruct the network but again no *patrocinia* information is included.

<sup>195</sup> See the List of Abbreviations for the full list of sources used.

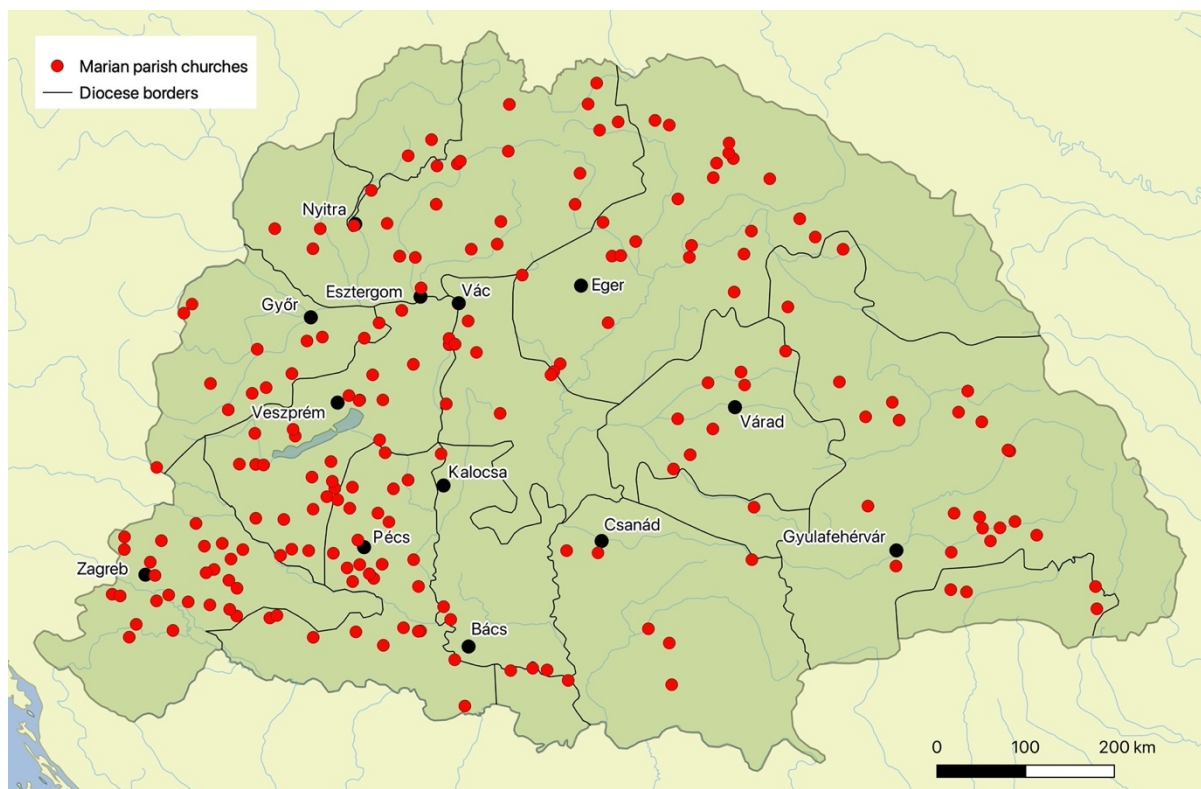


Figure 6. Parish churches dedicated to the Virgin Mary or the Virgin Mary and another saint(s) in the medieval Hungarian Kingdom.

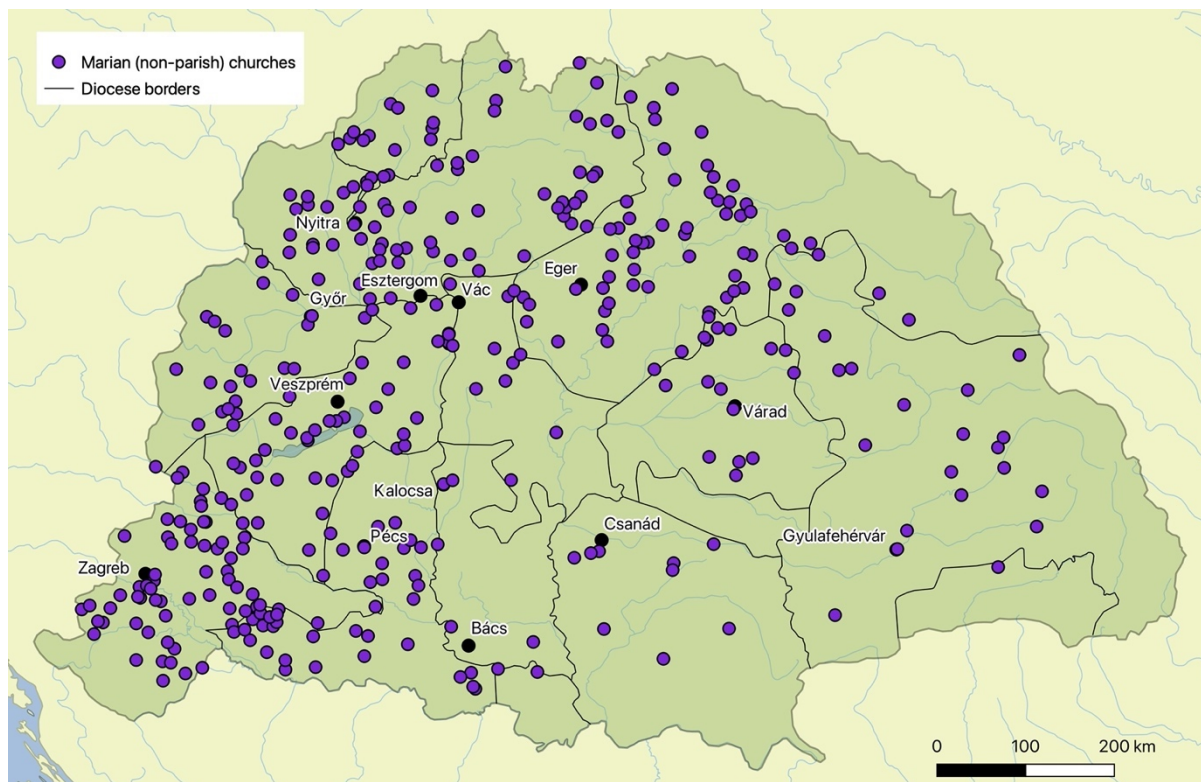


Figure 7. (Non-parish) churches dedicated to the Virgin Mary or the Virgin Mary and another saint(s) in the medieval Hungarian Kingdom.

In the statistical analysis, I differentiate between those churches explicitly referred to as parish churches and those that are simply called *ecclesia*.<sup>196</sup> Beyond the legal differentiation between parish and non-parish churches, it should be noted that there was also a legal differentiation between *plebania* and *ecclesia parochialis*.<sup>197</sup> *Plebania*, also known as exempt churches, were primarily royal foundations or were located in the territory of the Transylvania Saxons (in the deaconries of Braşov [Brassó; Kronstadt] and Sibiu [Nagyszeben; Hermannstadt]), who had received this right by *antiqua consuetudo*—meaning they had purchased the right themselves. Such churches had certain privileges including the right to the whole tithe (*libera decima*), the right to elect their own priests, and legal papal authority in certain cases. A second type of *plebania*, connected to later urbanization, had the same rights listed above but were only under the authority of the bishop (and exempt from the authority of the archdeanery). A third group of parish churches were subject to a yearly visit by the archdeanery and the payment of the cathedraicium.<sup>198</sup> However, in this study I include all of the types of *plebania* as well as *ecclesia parochialis* under the category of “parish church.”<sup>199</sup> Additionally, those entries listing a Marian church with a *plebanus* are counted as parish churches.

Through the analysis of these parish and non-parish churches, significant chronological and geographical trends can be identified, and the development of Mary’s presence in the ecclesiastical topography can be traced.

### *Chronological Trends*<sup>200</sup>

<sup>196</sup> While the churches only referred to as *ecclesia* could have operated as parish churches they are not explicitly referred to as such and are thus not included in the total parish church count. For further reasons why not to equate references to a church in the papal tithe register with the parish church see Romhányi, “Parishes and Hides.” Additionally, at forty-three of the parish church-sites there is mention of a Marian church existing earlier than the first reference to a Marian parish church. These could have been two separate Marian churches, or it is possible that the Marian church was later elevated to the level of a parish church.

<sup>197</sup> Elemér Mályusz, *Egyházi társadalom a középkori Magyarországon* [The Structure of Ecclesiastical Society in Medieval Hungary] (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1971), 124, 127. See also Aradi, “Some Aspects of Parish Organization,” 199–200.

<sup>198</sup> For the definition of *plebania* and their varieties see Aradi, “Some Aspects of Parish Organization,” 200.

<sup>199</sup> A more in-depth study looking at the any correlations between *patrocinia* and the legal differentiations of parish churches could be of interest in further study but is not considered in this analysis.

<sup>200</sup> A note on dating: If the foundation or first mention of a church cannot be tied down to a single year, but rather a range of dates, the mean date is used for calculations. If the source is a copy of an earlier source, the original date is used unless the copy is believed to be a fake or the copy was made after the sixteenth century. When the dating of a church can only be described as “medieval,” it is not included in the chronological analysis. Where there are contestations over the dating between an earlier and a later dating, the later dating is chosen. Finally, there are instances when a Marian church is mentioned to exist at a site where it is known that a church (with no mention of *patrocinium*) existed earlier from historical or archaeological data. Though these could very well be the same church and the *patrocinium* could apply to this earlier date, this would be conjecture, and thus only the date where the *patrocinium* is explicitly given is used.



The chronological distribution of the churches dedicated to the Virgin Mary (Figure 8), shows a gradual rise in references to parish churches in the historical record until the period between 1401 and 1450, when there is a sharp increase, and then a sharp drop after 1450. Non-parish churches show a different trend; there is a gradual rise until the 1301–1350 period, when an even sharper increase occurs followed by a significant decrease.

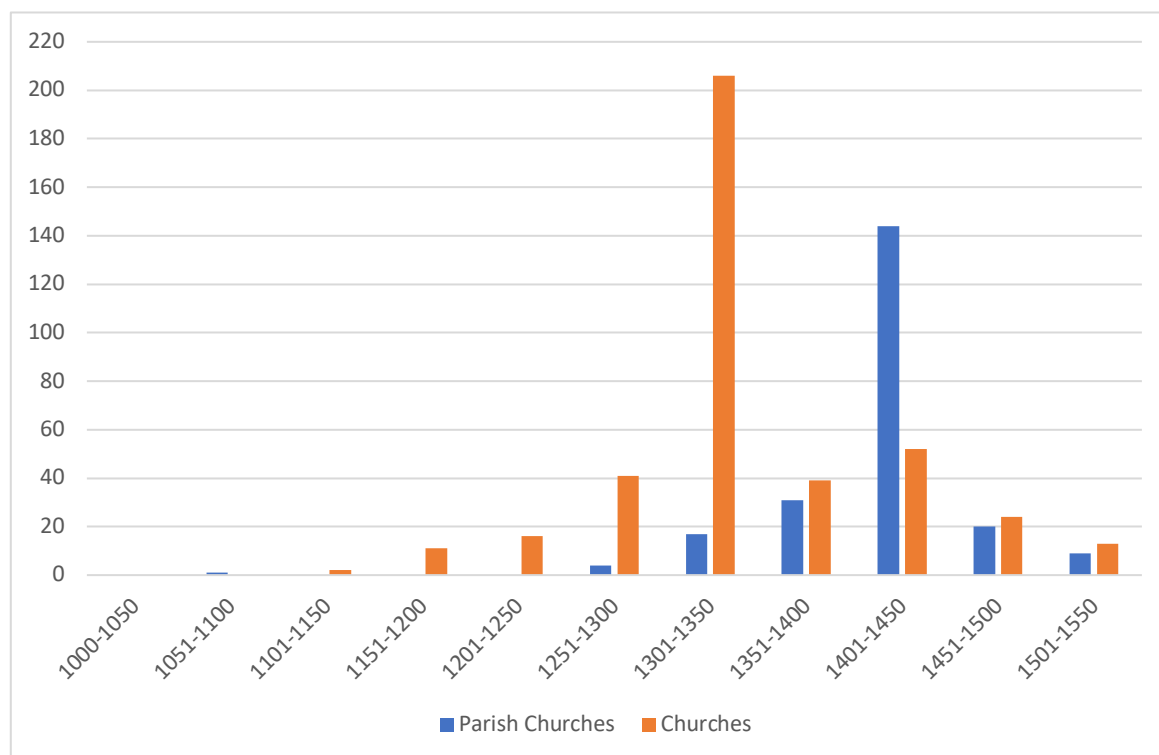


Figure 8. Number of parish churches (blue) and other churches (orange) with Marian patronia organized via their first reference in the historical record throughout the Middle Ages in the Kingdom of Hungary.

The dramatic spike during the period between 1301 and 1350 is due to the appearance of the papal tithe registers during this time. It might be surprising that this spike only applies to non-parish churches; the appearance of parish churches in the record did increase at this time but not significantly. This could be explained by the late development of the parish system; while we have evidence for the makings of a parish church system in the laws of St. Stephen in the mid-eleventh century, it was not until after the thirteenth century that it began to be developed, and even then, we do not have evidence of the widespread adoption of the system until the fifteenth century. It is possible that many of the Marian churches first mentioned in 1301–1350 were elevated to the level of parish churches in the fifteenth century, which would account for the spike of Marian parish churches in 1401–1450.

The chronology illustrated in Figure 8 should be viewed critically. Many more churches existed in pre-1300 Hungary than is reflected in the historical record,<sup>201</sup> and many of the

<sup>201</sup> On this topic (with earlier literature) see: Mária Vargha, “The Archaeology of Christianisation of the Rural Countryside of Medieval Hungary” (PhD diss., Central European University, 2019). This work is soon to be

churches mentioned in the fourteenth-century papal tithe register were founded in the decades and centuries prior to the register's completion. Nevertheless, from the many other sources where *patrocinia* information was gleaned, a rise (however gradual) can be seen up to 1301, and it can be safely assumed that that trend in upward movement would have continued. Thus, while it cannot be said that in the first half of the fourteenth century the number of churches in Hungary increased as dramatically as the progression in Figure 8 might lead one to believe, there definitely would have been an increase in the appearance of new churches during this period.

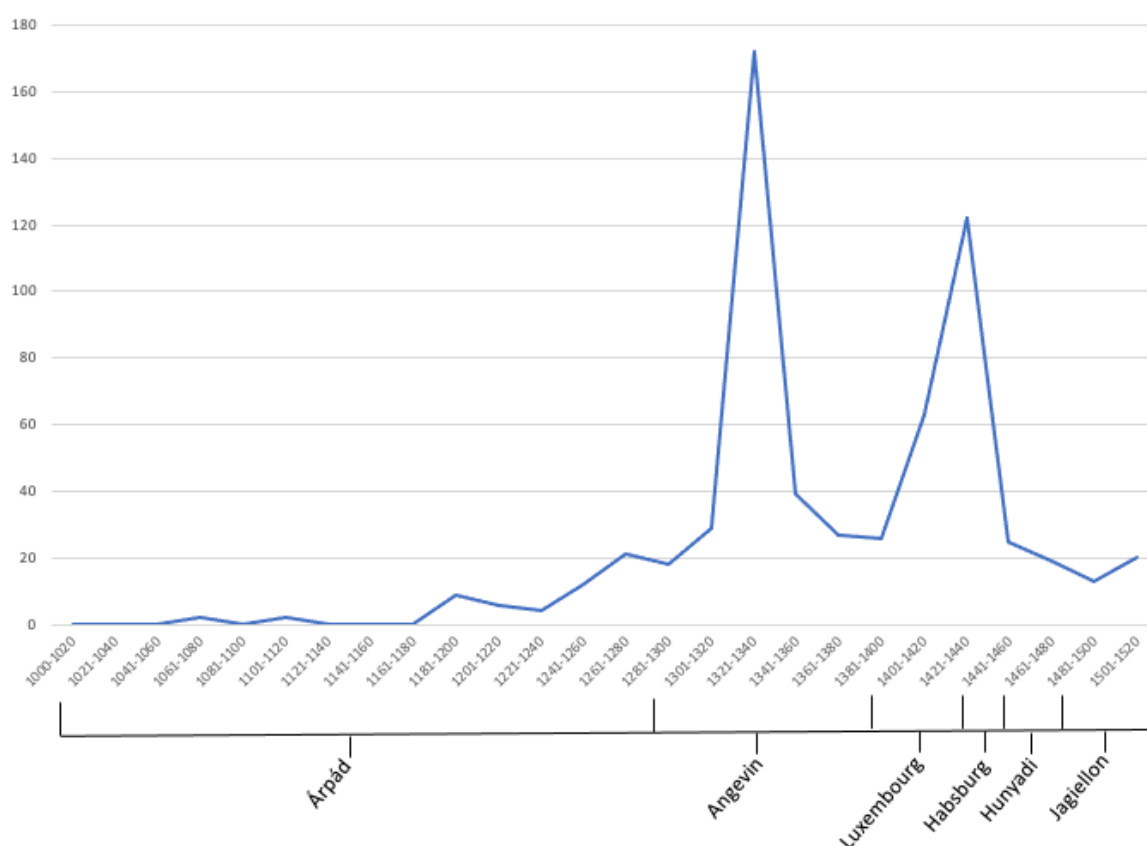


Figure 9. Number of churches (both parish and non-parish) with Marian patrocinia in Hungary, organized via the year of first mention. The ruling dynasty is noted under the years of their rule. Note that the Přemyslid and Wittelsbach dynasties ruled very briefly, in 1301–1305 and 1305–1307, respectively. The Jagiellon dynasty also ruled briefly from 1400–1404.

It is also useful to compare the *patrocinia* data to the dynastic chronology. Figure 9 illustrates the number of Marian parish and non-parish churches organized via the date of their first mention. The rate at which new Marian churches are mentioned is the highest by far in the Angevin and Luxembourg periods, that is, about 3 churches per year and 4 churches per year,

respectively.<sup>202</sup> Even taking the chronological issues of the papal tithe registers into account, it is not surprising to see such an increase in the Angevin period, a period that, especially during the reign of Louis the Great, is often referred to as a golden age, and both the Angevin and Luxembourg periods have been described as “the apogee of medieval Hungary.”<sup>203</sup> Thus, that a great number of new churches would be founded during these periods is not unexpected. Additionally, according to Csilla Aradi, it was around this time period, from 1390, that an increasing number of chapels and altars were established (though she does not specify parish churches in particular), probably in connection to a revival of the faith—and an increase in the financial capabilities—of the lesser nobles.<sup>204</sup>

Part of the reason behind the spike in Marian *patrocinia* during the reign of King Sigismund may also be due to the large number of indulgences requested and granted during the pontificate of Pope Boniface IX (r. 1389–1404) and the early years of the pontificate of Pope Eugene IV (r. 1431–1447). The reasons behind the large number of indulgences from these periods will be discussed in further detail in Chapter 4, suffice to say that the existence of these sources could have had an effect on the chronological trends of *patrocinia*.

Population growth also need to be considered. There was steady population growth in Hungary between the tenth and mid-thirteenth centuries.<sup>205</sup> A decline in the population following the Mongol Invasion was followed by a considerable increase in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.<sup>206</sup> The gradual increase in Marian churches of any type until 1300 and the significant jump in their number in the fourteenth and first half of the fifteenth centuries would be congruous with the trends in population growth. The increase in Marian churches during this period could have also been compounded by the general increase in the popularity of the Marian cult in general at this time. We might be tempted to connect the decrease in churches dedicated to the Virgin Mary in the second half of the fifteenth and first half of the sixteenth centuries to what some researchers have suggested was a decrease in the population and economic decline during these early years of the Ottoman conquest. However, as András

<sup>202</sup> Compared to the following dynastic periods: Árpadian: .24/year; Habsburg: 1.5/year; Hunyadi: .9/year; Jagiellon: .7/year. The rate of the Přemyslid, Wittelsbach, and earlier Jagiellon periods (1440–1444) are all about 1/year.

<sup>203</sup> Pál Engel, *The Realm of St. Stephen: A History of Medieval Hungary, 895–1526* (London: I.B. Taurus, 2001), xv.

<sup>204</sup> Aradi, “Some Aspects of Parish Organization,” 201.

<sup>205</sup> András Kubinyi and József Laszlovszky, “Demographic Issues in Late Medieval Hungary: Population, Ethnic Groups, Economic Activity,” in *The Economy of Medieval Hungary*, ed. József Laszlovszky, Balázs Nagy, Péter Szabó, and András Vadas (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 50.

<sup>206</sup> The effect of the Mongol Invasion on the population of Hungary is debated. Kubinyi and Laszlovszky estimate that it could have led to the death of about 15–20% of the population. Other, older estimates claim the percentage was much higher, up to 40–50%. Kubinyi and Laszlovszky, “Demographic Issues,” 54. Cf. related studies in Balázs Nagy, ed., *Tatárjárás* [Mongol invasion] (Budapest: Osiris, 2003).

Kubinyi and József Laszlovszky have noted, the Hungarian Kingdom actually did not face any dramatic population decrease until the end of the sixteenth century, during the Fifteen Years' War (also known as the Long Turkish War or the Thirteen Years' War).<sup>207</sup> The decrease in new Marian churches during the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries could be accounted for by stagnate or minimal population growth at the time or the decrease in Mary's popularity in response to the Reformation.<sup>208</sup>

### *Geographical trends*

The highest density of Marian parish churches was located in southwestern Hungary, in the dioceses of Zagreb, Veszprém, and Pécs; from the perspective of secular boundaries, the counties of Körös, Somogy, and Baranya contained the highest numbers of Marian parish churches. The picture is fairly similar regarding non-parish churches with Marian *patrocinia*, with the diocese of Zagreb having the highest density, followed by Veszprém, Pécs, Eger, and Esztergom, the latter four having a similar density of Marian churches. In terms of county divisions, the highest numbers of Marian churches were located in Zagreb, Körös, and Zala Counties. This picture could simply be a reflection of the fact that these regions are amongst those with the highest population densities in the Hungarian Kingdom; however, Zagreb County had a comparatively low population density.<sup>209</sup>

The relative lack of Marian churches (parish or otherwise) in the diocese of Győr is surprising, as well as the stark emptiness of the Great Hungarian Plain. As discussed above, the diocese of Győr and large parts of the Great Hungarian Plain are missing from the fourteenth-century papal tithe register. Other historical sources and the presence of Marian hagiotoponyms help to fill in some of these areas, however, about 10% of all of the churches with Marian *patrocinia* are known solely from the papal tithe register of 1332–1337, so there is surely a number of Marian *patrocinia* missing from these regions. Notably, however, none of the Hungarian parish churches with Marian *patrocinia* that I have been able to identify are known only from the papal tithe register. This does not mean that there are no other Marian parish churches in these regions, only that their absence from the papal tithe register probably has not *dramatically* impacted the map of Marian parish churches in Figure 6.

<sup>207</sup> Kubinyi and Laszlovszky, "Demographic Issues," 59.

<sup>208</sup> To elucidate if this chronological distribution is specific to Marian parish churches, or true to parish churches in general, a comprehensive analysis of the medieval Hungarian parish churches of all *patrocinia* would need to be completed. Unfortunately, such an undertaking goes beyond the limits of this thesis but would clarify the situation and fill a gap in the scholarship.

<sup>209</sup> Engel, *The Realm of St. Stephen*, 376; Kubinyi and Laszlovszky, "Demographic Issues," 57.

It is difficult to make assumptions about the geographical significance of this data compared to the *patrocinia* of other saints in medieval Hungary. However, there are a number of important studies that have examined the ecclesiastical topography of specific regions or counties in medieval Hungary, which, together with the Marian data, can help us identify any geographical tendencies. It should be noted, however, that many of these studies use the collective *patrocinia* of each saint, that is, parish church, non-parish church, chapel, monastic, and altar *patrocinia* are all included together, which results in disparities between my own numerical results and theirs (especially considering that I do not include altar *patrocinia* in my analysis).

For Somogy County Csilla Aradi identified forty-six Marian *patrocinia*, representing about 17% of the total known *patrocinia* in the county.<sup>210</sup> From other studies the proportion of Marian *patrocinia* can also be ascertained for a number of other counties, including Pest (14%), Zala (14%), and Veszprém (15%).<sup>211</sup> Béla Kovács's work on the *patrocinia* of Hungary up to the mid-fourteenth century measured church dedications by geographic region, namely, northwestern Hungary (with 13% of the total *patrocinia* being Marian), northeastern Hungary (15%), Transdanubia (10%), the area between the Danube and Tisza (11%), Tiszántúl and Bánát (Temesköz) (11%), Transylvania and Partium (6%), and the area between the Drava and Sava Rivers and the areas south of the Sava (17%).<sup>212</sup> Kovács's numbers are in contrast to those ascertained by Katalin Éder in her thesis on the parish churches of market towns in medieval Hungary. While her estimate of Marian *patrocinia* for southern Transdanubia (only 9%, and actually tied for the most frequent *patrocinium* with St. George) is similar to that of Kovács, her percentage for northeastern Hungary is considerably higher at 24%.<sup>213</sup> This could be the result of their difference in timescale. Kovács's research considered *patrocinia* only to the mid-fourteenth century, while Éder's extended into the fifteenth century; so the increase could be due to a considerable increase in Marian dedications in the fifteenth century. It is also

<sup>210</sup> Csilla M. Aradi, "Somogy megye Árpád-kori és középkori egyházszerkezetének létrejötte és megszilárdulása" [The establishment and consolidation of the Árpadian and medieval church organization of Somogy County] (PhD diss., ELTE, 2007), 156. Her dissertation is also published: Csilla M. Aradi, *Somogy megye Árpád-kori és középkori egyházszerkezetének rekonstrukciója. Somogy megye középkori templomainak adattára* [Reconstruction of the Árpadian era and medieval church organization of Somogy County. Database of medieval churches of Somogy County] (Kaposvár, 2016).

<sup>211</sup> Edit Tari, *Pest megye középkori templomai* [Medieval churches of Pest County], Studia Comitatus 27 (Szentendre: Museums of Pest County, 2000); Ilona Valter, *Romanische Sakralbauten Westpannoniens* (Eisenstadt: Ed. Roetzer, 1985); Tamás Guzsik, "Veszprém megye középkori templomépítészetének kutatási kérdései" [Research questions concerning the medieval church architecture of Veszprém County], *VMMK* 14 (1979): 163–202. See also Aradi's discussion of these counties' *patrocinia* and their comparison to Somogy County: Aradi, "Somogy megye," 155–60.

<sup>212</sup> Béla Kovács, "Magyarország középkori patrocíniumai," [Medieval *Patrocinia* of Hungary], *Agria. Annales Musei Agriensis* 25/26 (1989/90): 407–20.

<sup>213</sup> Katalin Éder, "Mezővárosi plébániatemplomok középkori városmentes tájakon" [Market town parish churches in medieval landscapes without cities] (PhD diss., ELTE, 2010), 97–101.

possible that the high number of Marian parish churches in the market towns of northeastern Hungary could be a characteristic of the market towns in that region in particular. Northeastern Hungary is also notable for its significant German population, and the large number of Marian parish churches could be a feature of a more intense cult of the Virgin in the German communities there. A similar disparity can be seen in Kovács's estimate of Marian churches in Transylvania and Partium (only 6%), and the number calculated by Aradi, who estimated the number of Marian *patrocinia* in Transylvania to be 16%.<sup>214</sup> Again this could be due to a population change, and like the Spiš region, Transylvania had a significant population of German-speaking settlers.

The percentage of Marian *patrocinia* can also be organized and analyzed in respect to other (arguably more useful<sup>215</sup>) geographic divisions, like dioceses. As discussed above, the Virgin Mary was a patron or co-patron saint of four (possibly five) of the cathedrals of medieval Hungary, and by extension four to five of the dioceses: Esztergom, Győr, Oradea, Vác, and perhaps Zagreb.<sup>216</sup> The dioceses of Esztergom, Győr, Oradea, and Vác do not have a noticeably higher number of Marian churches than the other dioceses of Hungary. If we consider the Marian *patrocinia* numbers from the studies described above, Marian *patrocinia* (of all kinds) in the above four dioceses would make up ca. 10–15% of the total *patrocinia*. Compare this to the diocese of Eger, which is dedicated to St. John, where the Virgin Mary makes up a similar percentage of the total *patrocinia* at 14%.<sup>217</sup>

Thus, it does not appear that the Virgin's presence as diocesan patron had much or any influence on the choice of *patrocinia* in said diocese. This would lead to the assumption that the founders and local community may have had more influence on the final choice of *patrocinia* of their churches. Alternatively, one could say that rather than the Virgin's position as patron of a certain diocese positively affecting the number of Marian *patrocinia* in that

<sup>214</sup> Ferenc Lestyán, *Megszentelt kövek* [Sacred stones], vols. I–II (Transylvania, 2000). See also Aradi's discussion of these dioceses' *patrocinia* and their comparison to Somogy County (Aradi, "Somogy megye," 155–60). Aradi also notes that the *patrocinia* included in Lestyán, *Megszentelt kövek* are not all medieval, so the percentage of Marian dedications in the diocese of Transylvania may not reflect the actual picture in the Middle Ages (Aradi, "Somogy megye," 155n781).

<sup>215</sup> Helmut Flachenecker, in reference to the *patrocinia* of German lands, has argued that diocesan borders (along with liturgy and tradition) can reveal much more about the "landscape of patronage" than political-geographic regions. Flachenecker, "Researching *Patrocinia* in German-Speaking Lands," 80.

<sup>216</sup> Aradi, "Somogy megye," 159; Kristó Gyula, *A vármegyék kialakulása Magyarországon* [The formation of counties in Hungary] (Budapest: Magvető Könyvkiadó, 1988), 395. Diocesan saints are not always identical to their respective cathedrals' saints, but they do appear to be equivalent in medieval Hungary.

<sup>217</sup> Aradi, "Somogy megye," 155, fig. 13; János Győző Szabó, "Adatok a patai főesperesség korai történetéhez" [Data on the early history of the Archdiocese of Pata], *Tanulmányok Gyöngyösről* (1984): 21–89.

diocese, her absence as patron of another diocese did not negatively affect the number of Marian *patrocinia* in that diocese.<sup>218</sup>

### *Variations of Marian Patrocinia*

The vast majority of the Marian parish churches in medieval Hungary were dedicated simply to the Virgin Mary. Nonetheless, there are examples of other forms of Marian *patrocinia* as well, namely: the Assumption of the Virgin Mary (Sered' [Szered], 1507),<sup>219</sup> Annunciation of the Virgin Mary (Kálmánca, 1455),<sup>220</sup> Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary (Szákszend, before 1502),<sup>221</sup> and the Nativity of the Virgin Mary (Kajdacs, 1433<sup>222</sup>; Saschiz [Szászkézsd; Keisd],<sup>223</sup> 1422).<sup>224</sup> The dedications to Marian devotions and feasts then represent a very small percentage of the overall Marian *patrocinia*, only about 2%. This is double the percentage of Marian devotional dedications of non-parish Marian churches, that

<sup>218</sup> It would be helpful to combine the *patrocinia* details from the discussed studies. The problem with aggregating this material is that these numbers represent data with differing parameters and the information needed to do a statistical analysis (i.e., each title's location, date, county, diocese, etc.) is not consistently included in each study. Additionally, the studies from which the above data originates looked at Marian *patrocinia* overall and they also encompass differing time periods. A digital database containing Hungarian *patrocinia* to which researchers could collaboratively add and edit would certainly be a worthwhile project for future research and would be able to produce a comprehensive and accurate image of the geographical distribution of *patrocinia* in medieval Hungary. A similar project, an international cooperative survey of *patrocinia* entitled the Transnational Atlas and Dataset of Saints' Cults (TASC), was started by Graham Jones with the cooperation of an international research team. The datasets had been hosted by the Leicester University website but are unfortunately no longer available. Members of the project, however, are still actively pursuing research into *patrocinia*. Most recently Jones has published work on the holy topography of a single saint, St. Guthlac: Graham Jones, "Guthlac in the Landscape," in *Guthlac: Crowland's Saint*, ed. Jane Roberts and Alan Thacker (Donington: Shaun Tyas, 2020), 353–84. For more information see Jones' website: "Graham Jones," accessed May 8, 2020, <http://graham-jones.info/>. Many thanks to Graham Jones for his insights into *patrocinia* research and updates on the TASC project. Additionally, a new project, "Mapping Lived Religion. Medieval Cults of Saints in Sweden and Finland," based at the Linnaeus University and Centre for Digital Humanities of the University of Gothenburg is an exciting development in the field of *patrocinia* studies, which makes use of GIS and interactive maps. The project is available online at: "Mapping Lived Religion. Medieval Cults of Saints in Sweden and Finland," Mapping Saints, accessed February 27, 2022, <https://saints.dh.gu.se/>.

<sup>219</sup> PRT, 7:611.

<sup>220</sup> DL-DF 14915.

<sup>221</sup> DL-DF 73168.

<sup>222</sup> Lukcsics, 1:208.

<sup>223</sup> This parish church may have been only dedicated to the Virgin Mary (as it is called in TT, 1900:7). However, there is also a chapel located in the same town that received an indulgence on the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary about thirty years earlier (leading to the assumption that that is the *patrocinia*). Mező believes the chapel was later elevated to a parish, which would have retained the Nativity *patrocinium* (Mező, *Patrociniumok*, 463). See also: Lukcsics 1:122, no. 453; and TT 1900:2, 7.

<sup>224</sup> There is an extensive number of parish churches dedicated to Marian devotional *patrocinia* (primarily the Assumption, but also the Annunciation, Nativity, Visitation, Name of the Virgin Mary, and Mary of the Snows, among others) identified in the lists of clergy and parish churches in Hungary and Transylvania from 1842–1843, which were supposedly medieval parish churches. At some of these sites a parish church is mentioned in the medieval historical record (without *patrocinium*), but because this source is so far removed from the Middle Ages, these parish churches are not included in the analysis. The nineteenth-century *patrocinia* are recorded in *Universalis schematismus ecclesiasticus venerabilis cleri romano- et graeco-catholici saecularis et regularis incliti Regni Hungariae Partiumque eidem adnexarum nec non Magni Principatus Transilvaniae, sub Benigno-Gratiosa Protectione excelsi consilii locumtenentialis Hungarici per Alyosim Reesch de Lewald pro anno 1842–3* (Buda: Typis Regiae Scientiarum Universitatis Hungaricae, 1843).

is: the Assumption of the Virgin Mary (Skalka nad Váhom [Szkalka], 1520)<sup>225</sup>; Immaculate Conception (Coroi [Kóród], 1533)<sup>226</sup>; Matris Misericordie (Máriacsalád, 1331)<sup>227</sup>; and Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary (Prečín [Precsin], Middle Ages).<sup>228</sup>

The *patrocinium* of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary deserves special attention. Scholars have sometimes referred to certain churches and chapels in medieval Hungary as being dedicated to the Assumption of the Virgin Mary, while in the historical documents the church is only ever referenced as being dedicated simply to the Virgin Mary. The equation of the two may be due to churches being consecrated on the day of the Assumption. The Hartvic legend states that “[the Virgin Mary’s] glory and honor are so famous among Hungarians, that even the feast of the Assumption of this Virgin is called the Day of the Lady in their language, without the addition of her proper name.”<sup>229</sup> So the “Assumption of the Virgin Mary” and the “Virgin Mary” may have been perceived as synonymous *patrocinia* in medieval Hungary. However, certain churches are explicitly recorded as being dedicated to the Assumption of the Virgin Mary in the medieval historical record, indicating that for some churches there was a conscious effort to associate these churches with the feast.

Parish churches that were dedicated to the Virgin Mary in addition to another saint were also rare, representing only about 1.8% of the total. There are only four examples: the Virgin Mary and St. Lambert (Vasad/Waschad, 1361)<sup>230</sup>; Virgin Mary and St. Stanislaus (Staré [Sztára], 1418)<sup>231</sup>; Virgin Mary and St. Margaret (Poroszló, 1420)<sup>232</sup>; and the Virgin Mary and St. Oswald (Csomád, 1433).<sup>233</sup> There are even fewer double dedications at non-parish churches, less than 1% of the total, namely: the Virgin Mary and St. George (Sălacea [Szalacs], 1433<sup>234</sup>; Levanjska Varoš [Névna], 1324<sup>235</sup>); and the Virgin Mary and St. Martin (Fáncs,

<sup>225</sup> MVV, 537.

<sup>226</sup> KolmJk 2:545.

<sup>227</sup> MES, 3:200. Located in the vicinity of today’s Veľké Lovce, Slovakia.

<sup>228</sup> VSOS, 2:438. A church in Csizics—located in the vicinity of Klátova Nová Ves (Tőkésújfalú)—should also be mentioned. It is first referenced in 1332 as being dedicated to the Virgin Mary (MonVat, I/1:184). However, in 1561 a Marian church at the same location has the *patrocinium* of the Nativity of the Virgin Mary (Bucko, 159).

<sup>229</sup> Berend, “Life of King Stephen,” 385.

<sup>230</sup> DL-DF 39261.

<sup>231</sup> Lukcsics, 1:53.

<sup>232</sup> ZsO, 7:543.

<sup>233</sup> Lukcsics, 2:93.

<sup>234</sup> Lukcsics, 2:89.

<sup>235</sup> AO, 2:157; AkO, 8:201. Gerd Zimmerman notes the double patronage of the Virgin Mary and St. George in the late Middle Ages, which he states is a symptom of late medieval religiosity, especially amongst orders committed to mysticism (Gerd Zimmerman, “Patrozinienwahl und Frömmigkeitswandel im Mittelalter dargestellt an Beispielen aus dem alten Bistum Würzburg,” *Würzburger Diözesangeschichtsblätter Frömmigkeitswandel* 21 (1959): 48). It is difficult to conjecture the reasons behind the double patronage of the churches of Levanjska Varoš and Sălacea, in present-day Croatia and Romania, respectively, almost a hundred years apart. I have not been able to identify any monastic communities (with a commitment to mysticism or otherwise) existing at those settlements that may have had an influence on the choice of *patrocinia*. The double patronage could be a



1391).<sup>236</sup> The issue of double (or triple) dedications has not been discussed in previous studies on Hungarian *patrocinia*, probably because it is so uncommon (neglecting those saints that seem to come as a pair more often than not, such as SS. Peter and Paul and SS. Cosmas and Damian). Though the percentage of Marian churches that had one or more additional patron saints seems low, an overview of the existing Hungarian *patrocinia* data indicates that by far the majority of double and triple dedications included the Virgin Mary. Since the Virgin Mary is such a universally loved saint and because the choice of a church's patron saint usually involved the agreement of multiple individuals, perhaps the founder or the community could more successfully slip into the title their favorite, more obscure saint (like St. Oswald) with the Virgin Mary than with other saints.

### *Choosing Mary*

Who made the decision to dedicate a parish church to the Virgin Mary? The choice of patron saint may have been influenced by the bishop, founder, or even whole community, though ultimately the bishop had to give his permission to use the determined *patrocinium*. Even so, as pointed out by János Győző Szabó in his study on the parish churches of the archdiocese of Pata, the highest ecclesiastical leadership did not have a decisive role in the choice of *patrocinia* for village churches.<sup>237</sup> Monastic orders may have played a role in the *patrocinia* of a certain region as well. Csilla Aradi notes that the rise in Marian *patrocinia* in Hungary from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries was influenced by the presence of the Franciscan and Cistercian Orders in the area.<sup>238</sup> Usually multiple factors came into play when deciding on a church's patron saint.

Sometimes the church would be dedicated to the namesake of the founder. For instance, in the mid-eleventh century King Andrew I founded the Greek monastery of Visegrád in honor of St. Andrew, and the Johannite monastery in Csurgó was dedicated to St. Margaret at the end of the twelfth century by King Béla III, presumably for his sister of the same name.<sup>239</sup> There does not seem to be a strong connection between founders' names and Marian *patrocinia* in particular in Hungary. While Mary (Mária) existed as a personal name in medieval Hungary

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consequence of a particular form of late medieval religiosity as Zimmerman suggests, or simply the result of two fellows named György playing a role in the foundation of the churches.

<sup>236</sup> ZsO, 1:237. The Marian church of Sátoraljaújhely, first mentioned in 1418, may also have had a double *patrocinium*, that is, the Virgin Mary and St. Emeric. The reference to the church—"de indulg. ecclesias B. Marie V., S. Agathe, S. Michaelis, S. Nicolai, S. Johannis, S. Dominici de Pathak, S. Egidii, S. Emerici et S. Marie V. de Wyhel" (Lukcsics, 1:56)—is ambiguous, as it could refer to one church with a double *patrocinium* or two separate churches.

<sup>237</sup> Tari, *Pest megye középkori templomai*, 209; Szabó, "Adatok a patai főesperesség korai történetéhez," 74.

<sup>238</sup> Csilla Aradi, personal correspondence, April 27, 2021.

<sup>239</sup> Aradi, "Somogy megye," 27.

(and notably of several Hungarian queens), its presence was minimal, occurring rarely in the eleventh through thirteenth centuries and then only slightly more in the following centuries.<sup>240</sup> It has been hypothesized that its rarity was due to a taboo that had formed around the name of the mother of Christ.<sup>241</sup> Because the name was uncommon (only the eleventh most popular female name in the Middle Ages until 1400 according to the calculations of Mihály Hajdú<sup>242</sup>), it stands to reason that there would not be a strong correlation between Marian churches and founders of that name.<sup>243</sup> That is not to say there are not examples. Queen Maria Laskarina, wife of Béla IV, founded a Franciscan monastery in Virovitica (Verőce) in 1247 in honor of the Virgin Mary (though the Franciscans' promotion of the Marian cult could have also played a part), and with her husband founded a Dominican nunnery also dedicated to the Virgin Mary on Margaret Island (Margitsziget) in Buda in 1252.<sup>244</sup>

More influential in the choice of *patrocinium* seem to be the church holidays. Béla Kovács has argued that in Hungary the potential patron saint of a church was chosen from the saints associated with the compulsory holidays as defined in the Code of St. Ladislaus. Since *patrocinium* “means in a narrow sense the feast day of the consecration of an altar or a church; in a wider sense the consecration of the altar or the church itself,”<sup>245</sup> it makes sense that the patron would be selected from amongst the already established holidays. Kovács collected the *patrocinia* of churches (not including monasteries) up to the mid-fourteenth century and organized the material into seven regions, ultimately determining that the patron saint was chosen from among the compulsory holidays in 80% of the cases.<sup>246</sup> He found that the Virgin

<sup>240</sup> Mariann Slíz, “Cults of Saints and Naming in Medieval Hungary,” in *Byzance et l'Occident : Rencontre de l'Est et de l'Ouest*, ed. Emese Egedi-Kovács (Budapest: Collège Eötvös József ELTE, 2013), 237; eadem, *Personal Names in Medieval Hungary* (Hamburg: Baar Verlag, 2017), 112–113. On the significance of King Louis the Great naming his second daughter “Mary” see: eadem, “Cult of saints, politics and name-giving in Angevin Hungary,” *Rivista Italiana di Onomastica* 26/1 (2020): 204.

<sup>241</sup> Béla Büky, “Keresztnévadási szokások Budán 1470–1541 között” [First name customs in Buda between 1470–1541], in *Névtudományi előadások. II. Névtudományi Konferencia 1969. Nyelvtudományi Értekezések 70* [Onomastic lectures. II. Onomastics Conference 1969. Linguistic Treatises 70], ed. Miklós Kázmér and József Végh (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1970), 144; Illés Horpácsi, “Kultusz és divat szerepe a névadásban (Különös tekintettel az Anna és a Mária névre)” [The role of cult and fashion in naming (especially Anne and Mary)], in *Névtudomány és művelődéstörténet. A IV. Magyar névtudományi konferencia előadásai Pais Dezső születésének 100. évfordulóján* [Onomastics and cultural history. Lectures of the IVth Hungarian Onomastics Conference on the 100<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the birth of Dezső Pais] (Budapest: Magyar Nyelvtudományi Társaság, 1989), 236; Slíz, *Personal Names*, 112.

<sup>242</sup> Mihály Hajdú, “Adalék nőneveink korai divatjához” [Data on the early fashion of our female names], in *Studia in honorem P. Fábrián, E. Rácz, I. Szathmári oblata a collegitis et discipulis* (Budapest: ELTE BTK, 1988), 63.

<sup>243</sup> Further, according to Slíz, “no proportional connection can be devised from the number of patronages, settlement names referring to the patron saint of the church and the frequency of personal names.” Slíz, *Personal Names*, 119.

<sup>244</sup> Karácsonyi Szt. Ferencz, 294–6; Beatrix Romhányi, “The Monastic Topography of Medieval Buda,” in *Medieval Buda in Context*, ed. Balázs Nagy, Martyn Rady, Katalin Szende, András Vadas (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 210.

<sup>245</sup> Herbert W. Wurster, “Patrozinium,” in *Theologische Realenzyklopädie* 26 (1998): 114.

<sup>246</sup> Kovács, “Magyarország középkori patrociniumai,” 414.

Mary was the most frequently chosen saint in all of the regions except Transylvania, where it ranked fifth.<sup>247</sup> According to Kovács's rationale the popularity of Mary is not surprising since three of the compulsory holidays are feasts of the Virgin Mary—Candlemas, the Assumption of the Virgin, and the Nativity of the Virgin. While this indicates that the range of saints to choose from was constricted, those choosing the *patrocinia* of a church still were making a deliberate choice.

The type of settlement may also have been a determining factor in the choice of the *patrocinium* of the settlement's parish church. Market towns are one kind of settlement that could be considered. Katalin Éder set out in her analysis of the *patrocinia* of market towns to determine if saints associated with "urban" functions, such as merchants and commerce, would be more often connected to the parish churches of market towns compared to the national average. She found that St. Nicholas—considered a protector of merchants, pilgrims, sailors, and other travelers—could be connected to certain market towns (namely, Kállósemjén, Hajdúböszörmény, Sajószentpéter, and Mohács); however, the number of parish churches of market towns dedicated to St. Nicholas is not statistically significant.<sup>248</sup> In fact, it is actually the Virgin Mary that is the most prominent, especially in northeastern Hungary, where 24% of the *patrocinia* are the Virgin Mary or a Marian feast.<sup>249</sup> This is in contrast with southern Transdanubia, where only 9% of the parish churches of market towns are dedicated to the Virgin, tied with St. George.<sup>250</sup> Thus, the region or other factors may have been more influential in the choice of *patrocinium* than the type of settlement.

But other types of settlements should also be considered. A wide array of settlements chose the Virgin Mary as patron of their parish church, including royal seats (Buda, Óbuda, Visegrád), bishops' seats (notably though, only Nitra), mining towns (Baia de Arieș [Aranyosbánya; Offenburg], Banská Štiavnica [Selmezbánya; Schemnitz], Solivar [Sóvár; Salzburg], Telkibánya), and the Saxon cities of Transylvania (e.g., Brașov, Sibiu, Sebeș [Szászsebes; Mühlbach]). Marian parish churches can also be found in settlements of varying levels of centrality, as defined by András Kubinyi, from towns of primary importance (level I: Buda, Pest), smaller cities and market towns with significant urban functions (III: Gyula, Miskolc, Óbuda, Szikszó, Vasvár), market towns with a medium urban function (IV: Ozora, Sonta [Szond]), market towns with a partial urban function (V: Vršac [Érsomlyó], Poroszló, Somogyvár, Solivar), average market towns and market town type villages (VI: Aracs, Cefa

<sup>247</sup> Ibid.

<sup>248</sup> Éder, "Mezővárosi plébániatemplomok," 102.

<sup>249</sup> Ibid., 97–8.

<sup>250</sup> Ibid., 99–101.

[Cséffa; Tscheppendorf], Mátraverebély), to minor market towns and villages with a central function (VII: Besenyő,<sup>251</sup> Berveni [Börvely], Szászberek, Szombathely).<sup>252</sup> But the overwhelming majority of the Marian parish churches could be found in villages and settlements without any central function.

The most magnificent parish churches were in the free royal cities: Buda, Pest, Košice (Kassa; Kaschau), Bratislava (Pozsony; Preßburg), Sopron, Trnava (Nagyszombat; Tyrnau), Bardejov (Bártfa; Bartfeld), Prešov (Eperjes; Eperies), and Levoča (Lőcse; Leutschau).<sup>253</sup> The Lower and Upper Hungarian mountain towns, including Banská Bystrica (Besztercebánya; Neusohl), Kremnica (Körmöcbánya; Kremnitz), and Banská Štiavnica, as well as the large trading towns of Transylvania, such as Braşov, Sibiu, Sighişoara (Segesvár), and Sebeş, also had impressive parish churches.<sup>254</sup> Two of the most important parish churches, in two of the most important Hungarian cities—Buda and Pest—were dedicated to the Virgin Mary. The Virgin Mary parish church of Buda (now known as the Assumption of the Virgin Mary, Matthias, or Coronation Church at Szentháromság tér 2) served the German population, while the other, dedicated to St. Mary Magdalene, belonged to the Hungarians of Buda.<sup>255</sup> A significant and influential German population had existed in Buda since its foundation as a city, in fact, Germans actually outnumbered Hungarians around the time Buda was founded.<sup>256</sup>

<sup>251</sup> Located around Apatin, Serbia.

<sup>252</sup> András Kubinyi, *Városfejlődés és vásárhálózat a középkori Alföldön és a Alföld szélén - Dél-Alföldi évszázadok, 14.* [Urban development and market networks in the medieval Great Plain and on the edge of the Great Plain – Centuries of the Southern Great Plain, 14] (Szeged, 2000). The number of centrality points was not calculated for every settlement with a Marian parish church, only a sample was taken of the most important settlements. The points for some of the listed settlements were calculated by Katalin Éder, “Centrality and Parish Towns in the Middle Ages in Regions without Towns of Hungary,” *Prace Historyczne* 143/1 (2016): 13–36.

<sup>253</sup> Petneki, “Mittelalterliche Pfarreigeschichte in Ungarn,” 112.

<sup>254</sup> Ibid.

<sup>255</sup> There was also another parish church near Buda, first mentioned in the first half of the thirteenth century, dedicated to St. Gerard near today’s St. Gerard’s Hill, which served the Kelenföld (Kispest; Kreinfeld) community (Nagy et al., *Medieval Buda in Context*, 12). Germans had settled here by the thirteenth century (Enikő Spekner, “Buda before Buda: Óbuda and Pest as Early Centers,” in *Medieval Buda in Context*, 87–8; András Végh, “Buda-Pest 1300 – Buda-Pest 1400. Two Topographical Snapshots,” in *Medieval Buda in Context*, 187). On the Parish Church of Our Lady in Buda see József Csemegi, *A budavári főtemplom középkori építéstörténete* [Medieval building history of the main church in Buda castle] (Budapest, 1955); Miklós Jankovich, “Buda-környék plébániáinak kialakulása és a királyi kápolnák intézménye” [The origins of the parishes surrounding Buda and the institution of the royal chapels], *Budapest Régiségei* 19 (1959): 57–98; de Cevins, *L’Église dans les villes hongroises*, 32, 35, 38, 40, 46–7, 123, 127, 154–6, 158, 160–2, 171–2, 174, 176, 191, 229, 238–9, 248; Péter Farbaky, Lilla Deklava Farbakyné, Balázs Mátéffy, and Enikő Róka, eds., *Mátyás-templom. A budavári Nagyboldogasszony-templom évszázadai (1246–2013)* [Matthias Church. Centuries of the Church of Our Lady of the Assumption in Buda (1246–2013)] (Budapest: Budapesti Történeti Múzeum, 2015).

<sup>256</sup> András Végh, “Buda, the multi-ethnic capital,” in *Segregation – Integration – Assimilation: Religious and Ethnic Groups in the Medieval Towns of Central and Eastern Europe*, ed. Derek Keene, Balázs Nagy, and Katalin Szende (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), 91. Most of Buda’s German residents came from cities along the Danube; many of the burghers of Buda came from Regensburg (especially in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries) and Austria in particular, and there is even record of second-generation settlers coming from the northern and eastern peripheries of the Carpathian Basin, including Trnava, Krupina (Korpona; Karpfen), and Rodna (Radna; Rodenau) (Katalin Szende, “Iure Theutonico? German settlers and legal frameworks for immigration to Hungary in an East-Central European perspective,” *Journal of Medieval History* 45/3 (2019): 364; István Draskóczy, “Commercial

King Béla IV built a fortified city in Buda following the Mongol Invasion and moved many of the Germans that had previously lived in Pest—which had been burned during the attacks—to the new settlement.<sup>257</sup> A church on Buda Hill is mentioned in a charter from 1247, and a year later the church is mentioned in another document, this time it is noted to be dedicated to the Virgin Mary.<sup>258</sup> A few years later, in 1255, Béla refers to the construction of this Marian church in Buda (*ecclesia S. Mariae, in ipso castro construenda*).<sup>259</sup> This Marian church served as the parish church of the Virgin Mary, as evidenced by its exempt status, and the Germans had the right to elect their own priest.<sup>260</sup> The Virgin Mary parish church had jurisdiction over the church of the Hungarians until 1439, when it finally became an independent parish.<sup>261</sup>

The earliest parish church dedicated to the Virgin Mary in Pest also served a large German community. In Master Roger's account of the Mongol Invasion, completed between 1242 and 1244, he calls Pest "the great and rich German village of Pest" because there was such a large German population there, even though Hungarians as well as Slavic and Muslim settlers also lived there.<sup>262</sup> According to György Györffy, these Germans came to Pest between 1218 and 1225 from Austria.<sup>263</sup> But a Marian church had existed in Pest prior to the settlement of the Germans there. The *Minor Legend* of St. Gerard states that following his martyrdom by pagans in 1046 he was buried in the Virgin Mary Church of Pest (though his body was later moved to Cenad). The later parish church of the Virgin Mary (now at Március 15. tér)—thought to have been constructed between the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries<sup>264</sup>—likely stood on the same site as the earlier church (and royal chapel) mentioned in the late eleventh- to early

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Contacts of Buda along the Danube and beyond," in *Medieval Buda in Context*, 279). More and more German immigrants arrived to Buda from Nuremberg by the second half of the fourteenth century, as trade with the city increased and Nuremberg merchants received certain privileges as early as 1357 (András Kubinyi, "Zur Frage der deutschen Siedlungen im mittleren Teil des Königreichs Ungarn (1200-1541)," in *Die deutsche Ostsiedlung des Mittelalters als Problem der Europäischen Geschichte*, ed. Walter Schlesinger (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1975), 559. On the privileges of Nuremberg see: Gerhard Hirschmann, "Nürnberg's Handelsprivilegien, Zollfreiheiten und Zollverträge bis 1399," in *Beiträge zur Wirtschaftsgeschichte Nürnbergs*, ed. Stadtarchiv Nürnberg, vol. 1 (Nuremberg: Stadtrat, 1967), nos. 74–5).

<sup>257</sup> Végh, "Buda, the multi-ethnic capital," 91.

<sup>258</sup> 1247: DL-DF 262491; BTOE, I:48, no. 33. 1248: DL-DF 200013; BTOE, I:48–9, no. 34; Györffy, 4:596.

<sup>259</sup> BTOE, I:54–5, no. 40; Fejér, 4/2:320.

<sup>260</sup> András Végh, *Buda város középkori helyrajza* [Medieval topography of the city of Buda], vol. I (Budapest: Budapesti Történeti Múzeum, 2006), 61; Nagy et al., *Medieval Buda in Context*, 12–13.

<sup>261</sup> Végh, "Buda, the multi-ethnic capital," 91–2.

<sup>262</sup> "...magna et ditissima Theutonica villa, que pesth dicitur." Bak and Rady, "Master Roger's Epistle," in *Anonymi Bele regis notarii Gesta Hungarorum & Magistri Rogerii, Epistola*, Latin: 160, English: 161.

<sup>263</sup> György Györffy, "Budapest története az Árpádokkorban" [History of Budapest during the Árpadian age], in *Budapest Története I* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1975), 284; Katalin Irásné-Melis, "Die Herausbildung und Entwicklung der Stadt Pest bis 1241," in *Budapest im Mittelalter. Ausstellungskatalog (Veröffentlichungen des Braunschweigischen Landesmuseums, 62)*, ed. Gerd Biegel (Braunschweig: Braunschweigisches Landesmuseum, 1991), 141.

<sup>264</sup> Tamás Pál Horogszegi, "A pesti belvárosi plébániatemplom építéstörténetének összefoglalása a templom korábbi kutatástörténetének tükrében" [A summary of the history of the parish church in the city center of Pest in light of previous research on the church], *Műemlékvédelem* 54/6 (2010): 374.

twelfth-century *legenda*.<sup>265</sup> The Marian *patrocinium* of the later church could have been the result of a conscious effort to establish a continuity between the old and new church, Marian devotion on the part of the German settlers, promotion of the Marian cult on the part of ecclesiastical officials involved in the foundation, or a combination of these factors. Marian devotion continued to be important for the church; a gothic fresco of the Madonna Enthroned—probably originally a retable of the high altar—was discovered in a niche in the middle of the chancel wall and restored in 2010 (Figure 10).<sup>266</sup>

<sup>265</sup> Spekner, “Buda before Buda,” 81, 87. On the legend: “Chronici Hungarici compositio saeculi XIV,” in SRH, 1:339–34; “Legenda Sancti Gerhardi episcopi,” in SRH, 2:477–478 and 2:501–505; László Gerevich, *The Art of Buda and Pest in the Middle Ages* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1971), 13–14. On the archaeological excavations see: Katalin Irásné-Melis, “A pesti városlaprajz kialakulása és változásai a középkorban,” [The formation and the changes of the ground plan of Pest in the Middle Ages] in *Társadalomtörténeti tanulmányok a közeli és a régmúltból. Emlékkönyv Székely György 70. születésnapjára* [Studies in social history from the recent past and the bygone. Studies in honor of György Székely on his 70th birthday], ed. Ilona Sz. Jónás (Budapest: ELTE Bölcsészettudományi Kara, Egyetemes Történeti Tanszék, 1994), 90; Irásné-Melis, “Die Herausbildung und Entwicklung der Stadt Pest,” 132–3; Katalin Irásné-Melis, “Archaeological traces of the last medieval town planning in Pest,” in “*Quasi liber et pictura*”. *Tanulmányok Kubinyi András hetvenedik születésnapjára* [Studies in honor of András Kubinyi on his 70<sup>th</sup> birthday] (Budapest: ELTE Régészettudományi Intézet, 2004), 235. See also: László Gerő, *A pesti belvárosi plébániatemplom* [The inner-city parish church of Pest] (Budapest, 1956).

<sup>266</sup> A gothic-era mural of a bishop, perhaps St. Gerard, was also discovered and restored in the church. Éva Derdák, “Trónoló Madonna a gyermek Jézussal és püspökszent - A Budapest belvárosi Nagyboldogasszony templom szentélyében 2010-ben újonnan felfedezett két gótikus falkép feltárása és helyreállítása” [Madonna Enthroned with the Child Jesus and the Bishop saint - Excavation and restoration of two Gothic wall paintings newly discovered in 2010 in the sanctuary of the Church of Our Lady of the Assumption in downtown Budapest], *Műtárgyvédelem* 36 (2011): 213–24; Imre Bodor, “A pesti Belvárosi Nagyboldogasszony főplébániatemplom középkori építéstörténete” [The medieval construction history of the main parish church of Our Lady of the Assumption in Pest], *Műtárgyvédelem* 36 (2011): 207.



Figure 10. Restored mural of the Madonna Enthroned in a niche of the parish church of Pest (“The inner city parish church Budapest,” accessed November 30, 2021, <https://fromplacetoplace.travel/hungary/budapest/inner-city-parish-church-budapest/>).

Many towns in Hungary with significant German populations had Marian parish churches. In the most prominent “German” or “Saxon” towns of Transylvania she was the patron saint of the parish churches of Biertan (Berethalom; BIRTHÄLM), Sibiu, Braşov, and Sebeş. The Virgin Mary is similarly well represented in the parish churches of *Zipserland* in north-central Hungary. A parish church dedicated to the Virgin could be found in Spišské Podhradie (Szepesvárálja; Kirchdrauf), Podolíneć (Podolin; Pudlein),<sup>267</sup> Spišská Nová Ves (Igló; Neudorf),<sup>268</sup> and possibly Szepesófalú (Spišská Stará Ves; Altendorf).<sup>269</sup> This may have been a practice brought from German lands. In the diocese of Würzburg, for example, the Virgin Mary was often the patron of parish churches, and those towns who had a parish church dedicated to another saint also pushed to have their own Marian shrine (not just a Marian altar);

<sup>267</sup> According to Ortway Tivadar, construction of the parish church began in 1295 (Ortway, 2:804).

<sup>268</sup> MonVat, I/3, CLXI; Győző Bruckner, *Igló Kir. Korona- és Bányaváros története* [History of Spišská Nová Ves as a crown and mining town] (Budapest, 1929), 50–51.

<sup>269</sup> Mező, *Patrociniumok*, 422–3, 427, 454, 467. The Marian church of Spišská Stará Ves is only called an “ecclesiam beate Virginis in Antiqua Villa” in the one known reference to the church (Csaba Csapodi and Klára Csapodiné Gárdonyi, *Bibliotheca Hungarica. Kódexek és nyomtatott könyvek a Magyarországon 1526 előtt I* [Bibliotheca Hungarica. Codices and printed books in medieval Hungary before 1526] (Budapest, 1988). 414). By 1842 the parish church of the town was dedicated to the Assumption of the Virgin Mary, and the *Universalis schematismus ecclesiasticus* claims it was constructed in the Middle Ages (*Universalis schematismus ecclesiasticus*, 841).

thus, “citizens of almost every wealthy city built a *Marienkappelle*, especially at the market or in its vicinity as a market chapel.”<sup>270</sup> In central and eastern Germany Mary’s patronage was typical of those parish churches under *stadtherrlicher* order, in other words, she was the typical *Ratspatrozinium*.<sup>271</sup> This may not have been a universal trend across all German lands. According to Franz Hatheyer, 18% of the parish churches of Austria have Marian *patrocinia*, a number far lower than the ca. 30% of Hungarian parish churches with Marian *patrocinia*.<sup>272</sup>

Katalin Éder has pointed out that a situation similar to that of Buda, that is, the existence of two parish churches serving two different ethnic/language communities in a settlement, may have been present in Szikszó, where Germans had settled in the fourteenth century.<sup>273</sup> A church dedicated to the Virgin Mary is mentioned here in 1406, and by 1429 it is called a parish church.<sup>274</sup> Another church dedicated to the Holy Trinity is mentioned earlier in 1387.<sup>275</sup> Györffy believes there were two churches in the settlement, since the papal tithes were paid by two to three priests.<sup>276</sup> If this is true it could indicate the presence of different churches serving the different ethnic groups that inhabited the settlement, in which case we could have any other situation where a Marian church served the German population specifically in a Hungarian settlement. However, the Holy Trinity is only mentioned once, in 1387, and thereafter only reference to the Virgin Mary parish church is given, leading to the conclusion—as suggested by Éder—that two churches existed in the settlement until sometime in the fourteenth century, when one of the churches began to be neglected and subsequently only one church existed in the town.<sup>277</sup> If this is true then the Virgin Mary parish church would have served all members of the community—German or otherwise.<sup>278</sup>

While the situation surrounding the use of the parish church(es) could be unclear or even a source of tension,<sup>279</sup> not all or even most of the settlements in Hungary with mixed

<sup>270</sup> Zimmerman, “Patrozinienwahl und Frömmigkeitswandel,” 89.

<sup>271</sup> Karlheinz Blaschke, “Kirchenorganisation und Kirchenpatrozinien als Hilfsmittel der Stadtkernforschung,” in *Stadtkernforschung. (Städteforschung. Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für vergleichende Städtegeschichte in Münster, Reihe A: Darstellungen Bd. 27*, ed. Helmut Jäger (Cologne, 1987), 45.

<sup>272</sup> According to Franz Hatheyer, “Die Pfarrpatrozinien der Diözesen Österreichs,” 213–22. It should be noted, however, that this study includes parishes up to the year 1900, so the medieval situation was probably different.

<sup>273</sup> Éder, “Centrality and Parish Towns,” 26.

<sup>274</sup> 1406: “ecclesie beate virginis de ... Zikzow” (ZsO, II, 449–450). 1429: “par. eccl. B. Marie V. de Sizo” (Lukcsics, I:212).

<sup>275</sup> ZsO, I:3

<sup>276</sup> Györffy, I:148.

<sup>277</sup> Éder, “Mezővárosi plébániatemplomok,” 154.

<sup>278</sup> At least one other example exists of two parish churches serving the Hungarian and German populations, respectively, in the Hungarian town of Nagybörzsöny. Here, however, no Marian *patrocinia* can be found. Originally there was only one parish church in the settlement, the Church of St. Stephen, built by the Hungarian population. Following the immigration of Germans to the area to work in the local mines, another church dedicated to St. Nicholas (also known as the miners’ church [*bányásztemplom*]) was constructed in the town. Tari, *Pest megye középkori templomai*, 94–5.

<sup>279</sup> In Cluj-Napoca, for example, where Germans had been settling since the thirteenth century, there were not separate churches for each community per se, but the city’s churches did become the setting of conflict between



populations had separate parish churches. Rather than having separate parish churches in “ethnically mixed parishes,” it was more common to have multiple priests who spoke the relevant languages of the community.<sup>280</sup> In Sopron, for example, there was no spatial segregation of the different ethnic groups that made up the town, and there was only one parish church of the town dedicated to St. Michael.<sup>281</sup> It should be noted, however, that the priests of the archdeacon’s church of the Virgin Mary in Sopron (known as the *Várarokmenti Boldogasszony templom* and also referred to as a chapel in some sources) held the title of parish priest.<sup>282</sup> There was an attempt in 1434 to raise this church to a parish church, but the effort was ultimately unsuccessful, and neither the attempt nor its refusal appear to be rooted in ethnic divisions.<sup>283</sup>

Turning back to the Marian parish churches of Buda and Pest, one might be led to believe that the parish churches of the other prominent Hungarian cities were also be dedicated to the Virgin Mary. In fact, none of the other free royal cities had Marian parish churches. The parish church of Košice was dedicated to St. Elizabeth, Sopron to St. Michael (though the Virgin Mary church had some parish rights, as described above), Trnava to St. Nicholas, Bardejov to St. Giles, Prešov to St. Nicholas, and Levoča to St. James.<sup>284</sup> Bratislava had three parish churches in its vicinity: St. Martin within the city walls, St. Lawrence to the east, and

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the German and Hungarian communities. Germans made up the majority of the population within the city walls, where, by the early fourteenth century, they held most of the positions of power. This led to tensions between the two communities including over the use of the church of St. Peter (also referred to as the church of SS. Peter and Paul, see Mező, *Patrociniumok*, 384), located outside the city walls where there was a greater Hungarian population. The Germans denied the parish rights of the church of St. Peter and overrode the Hungarians’ right to elect their priest “by nominating a chaplain who was subordinated to the parish priest of the St. Michael’s church on the main square” (Katalin Szende, “Neighbourhoods, Suburbs and Ethnic Quarters in the Hungarian Towns, Thirteenth to Fifteenth Centuries,” in *Cities - Coins - Commerce: Essays presented to Ian Blanchard on the Occasion of his 70th Birthday*, ed. Philipp Robinson Rösener (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2012), 61). The conflict was resolved by establishing a mixed administration, half of which had to be Hungarian and the other half German; this was also applied to the parish church of St. Michael, where from 1568 the parish priest would be selected from the German and Hungarian populations on alternating years (Szende, “Neighbourhoods, Suburbs and Ethnic Quarters,” 61).

<sup>280</sup> In Prešov in 1454, for instance, the parish priest was “obliged to keep two preachers who should preach God’s word to the people, one to the Germans and one to the Hungarians” (“...debeat et teneatur servare duos predicatorum, qui verbum Dei populo predicant, unum teutonorum, alium vero Hungarorum.” Town Archives of Prešov, No. 278. English translations from Katalin Szende, “Integration through Language: The Multilingual Character of Late Medieval Hungarian Towns,” in *Segregation – Integration – Assimilation*, 223n64). Other examples can be identified in towns like Banská Bystrica, Trnava, and Levoča, where Germans and Hungarians had separate preachers; in certain large towns like Bratislava and Košice, Germans and Hungarians—as well as Slovaks—had their own preachers (Szende, “Integration through Language,” 223–4).

<sup>281</sup> Szende, “Neighbourhoods, Suburbs and Ethnic Quarters,” 49.

<sup>282</sup> “Pharrer ze vnser frawen Chirichen” (HáziSopron, I/1:225).

<sup>283</sup> 1434: HáziSopron, I/3:79. See also on this church Péter Németh, “Civitas et suburbium,” 51–2; Katalin Szende, “Settlement structure and topography in Sopron between the Hungarian Conquest and the late seventeenth century,” in *Sopron, Hungarian Historical Atlas of Hungarian Towns No. 1*, ed. Ferenc Jankó, József Kücsán, and Katalin Szende (Sopron: Sopron Archives of Győr-Moson-Sopron County, 2010), 15

<sup>284</sup> Petneki, “Mittelalterliche Pfarreigeschichte in Ungarn,” 113; Imre Holl, “The Development and Topography of Sopron in the Middle Ages,” in *Towns in Medieval Hungary*, ed. László Gerevich (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1990), 96–102.

St. Michael to the north.<sup>285</sup> Rather than Marian parish churches being a characteristic of the free royal cities, perhaps we could speak of them being a characteristic of the “center” of the kingdom, that is, Buda and its immediate surroundings, with Marian parish churches in Buda, Pest, and Óbuda,<sup>286</sup> as well as the (perhaps earliest) church in Óbuda, also known as the *Alba ecclesia*, which was dedicated to the Virgin,<sup>287</sup> a chapter with six canons dedicated to the Virgin Mary in Óbuda,<sup>288</sup> and later, a second Marian parish church in Buda (first mentioned in 1512).<sup>289</sup>

### 3. Chapels & Altars

In addition to parish and other types of churches, other ecclesiastical sites—like chapels, hospitals, and altars—could take the Virgin as their patron. I have identified 101 chapels—of various kinds, including royal, castle, and cemetery chapels—dedicated to the Virgin Mary, constituting about 27% of the total number of medieval Hungarian chapels with known *patrocinia* (see Appendix 2).<sup>290</sup>

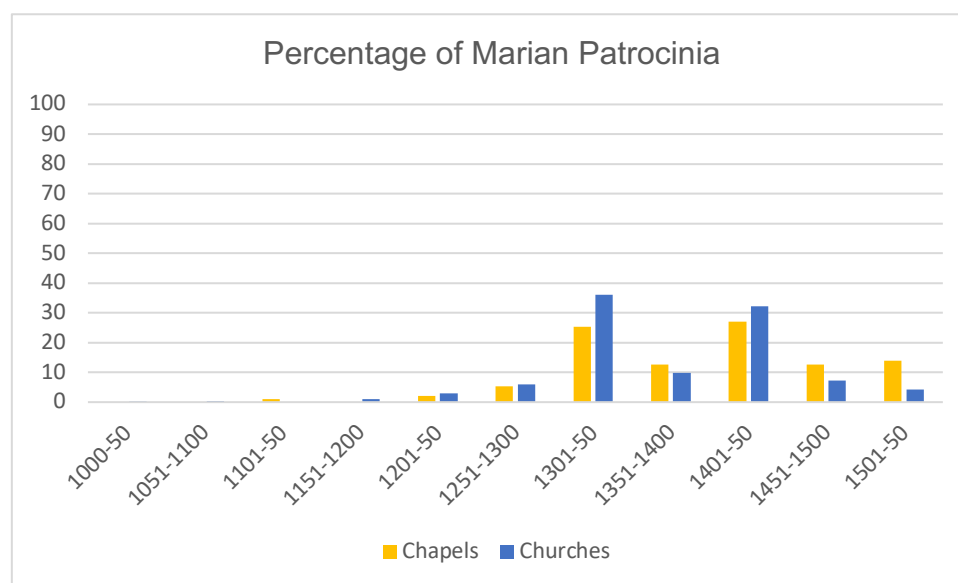


Figure 11. Percentage of total Marian patrocinia over time. Both parish churches and other churches are included in the “Churches” category.

<sup>285</sup> On the religious topography of Bratislava see Judit Majorossy, *Piety in Practice: Urban Religious Life and Communities in Late Medieval Pressburg (1400–1530)* (Budapest: CEU Press, 2021).

<sup>286</sup> Lukcsics, 1:218; Lukcsics, 2:199.

<sup>287</sup> Végh, “Buda-Pest 1300 – Buda-Pest 1400,” 185–6.

<sup>288</sup> The chapter was accommodated in a Marian chapel, which stood in the cemetery of the larger Óbuda chapter dedicated to St. Peter (Végh, “Buda-Pest 1300 – Buda-Pest 1400,” 185). See also Mező, *Patrociniumok*, 448–9.

<sup>289</sup> Bátfai, 335; PRT, 3:722.

<sup>290</sup> Ambiguities arise at sites where a Marian chapel is referenced, and later a Marian church is mentioned at the same location. It is possible that these were two separate entities existing separately from each other. It is also possible that the chapel was later converted and “upgraded” into a church. There are also situations where a structure dedicated to Mary is alternately referred to as a chapel and a church in the historical record.

Figure 11 illustrates what percentage of chapels dedicated to the Virgin Mary were founded or first referenced in the historical record over the course of the Middle Ages, compared to the combined numbers of parish and other churches. Interestingly, the change over time for the churches and the chapels is almost identical. The dates of origin of the extant sources might account for this similarity—namely the appearance of the papal tithe registers, in which chapels were also listed—but changes in population (as detailed above) certainly played a factor. If we adjust the time range and look at just the years of the reign of Emperor Sigismund, we find that 27% of Marian chapels were founded or noted during this period (the same percentage as the peak in 1301–50 and 1401–50), indicating that there may have been an increase in displays of devotion to the Virgin through the establishment of chapels dedicated to the Virgin at this time (or perhaps there was an increase in chapel foundations of all *patrocinia* as a public display of piety in general in this period). Certainly, as noted in the discussion on the chronological trends of Marian parish churches, there was an increase in the number of chapels and altars established from 1390 in connection to a revival of the faith and economic potential of the lesser nobles.<sup>291</sup>

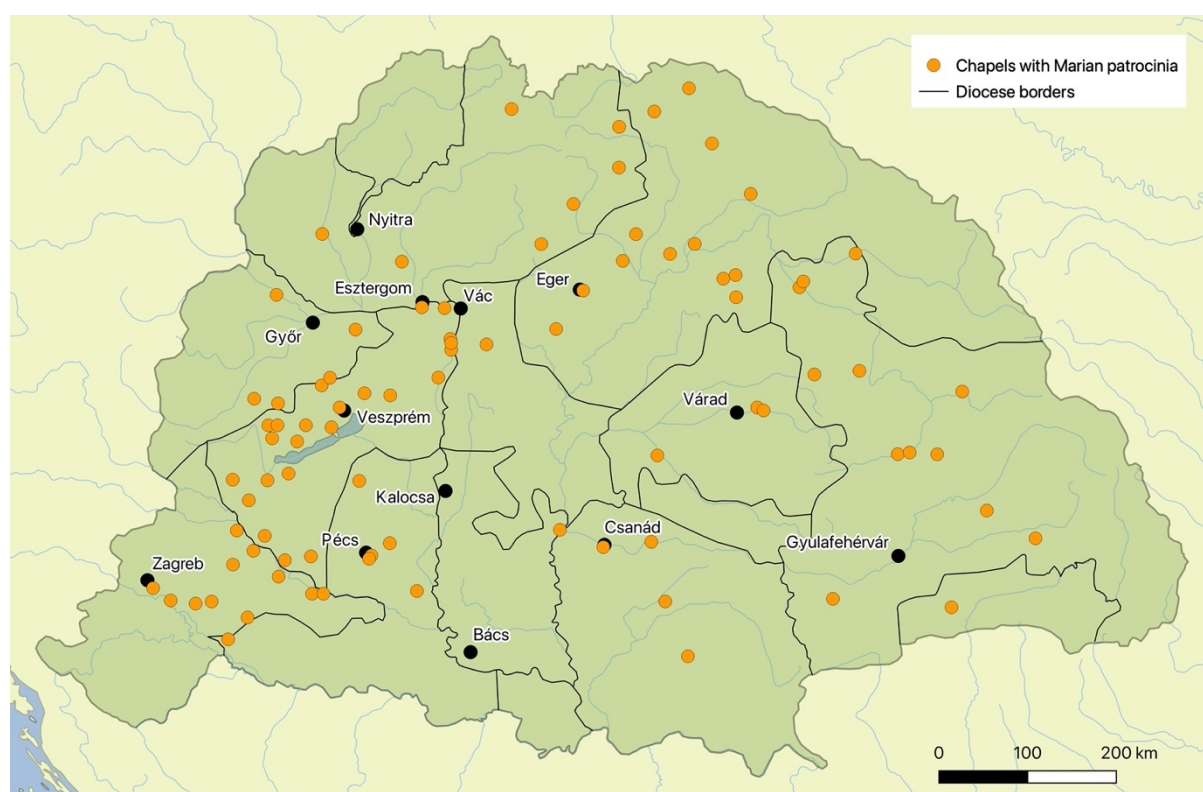


Figure 12. Chapels with Marian patrocinia in the medieval Hungarian Kingdom.

The geographic tendencies of Marian chapels, which appear to be concentrated in southwestern Hungary, are somewhat similar to those of Marian parish churches (Figure 12).

<sup>291</sup> Aradi, "Some Aspects of Parish Organization," 201.

The diocese of Veszprém has the most Marian chapels, and in terms of secular boundaries Körös has the most Marian *patrocinia*, followed by Zala County and Veszprém County. The geographical and chronological problems of the papal tithe register, discussed above, should be kept in mind when evaluating the Marian chapel data. However, only 5% of the Marian chapels I have identified are referenced solely in the papal tithe register; therefore, the effects of the register's pitfalls are probably minimal.

The majority of Marian chapels were simply dedicated to the Virgin Mary. There are five variations of Marian *patrocinia* at nine sites: the Annunciation of the Virgin Mary (Szeged, 1501<sup>292</sup>; Vranov nad Topľou [Varannó; Frö(h)nel] in 1519<sup>293</sup>), Assumption of the Virgin Mary (Babócsa, 1455<sup>294</sup>; Miskolc, 1489<sup>295</sup>; Százhalom, 1477<sup>296</sup>; Nyaláb [Korolevo] in 1516<sup>297</sup>), Nativity of the Virgin Mary (Saschiz, 1422),<sup>298</sup> the Pietà (Pécs, 1483),<sup>299</sup> and the Immaculate Conception, Stephen the Martyr, and King St. Stephen (Hajnáchka [Ajnácskő; Pirsenstein]), early sixteenth century, before 1516).<sup>300</sup> This equates to about 9% of the total *patrocinia* of Marian chapels, far higher than the percentage of Marian parish and non-parish churches dedicated to a Marian feast or devotion. It is possible that since it was easier to found a chapel (in comparison to a whole church or monastery), that more individuals were able to participate in late medieval Marian devotion characterized by an increased interest in specific manifestations of the Virgin Mary through the foundation of chapels. Notably only two chapels had additional patrons in addition to Mary (ca. 2%): the chapel of Sásová (Zólyomszászfalu) dedicated to the Virgin Mary and St. Anthony and the chapel of Hajnáchka dedicated to the Immaculate Conception, St. Stephen the Martyr, and King St. Stephen.<sup>301</sup> It is feasible that chapels were less likely to have double and triple dedications because chapels are smaller; churches are a more costly enterprise and usually involved more people in their founding so people might want to get “more bang for their buck” with the chosen *patrocinium*.

On the smallest scale in terms of size, we should also mention the foundation of altars dedicated to the Virgin Mary. The altar “is an independent *locus sacer* within another sacred

<sup>292</sup> János Reizner, *Szeged története* [History of Szeged], vol. 4 (Szeged, 1900), 90.

<sup>293</sup> HéderváryO, 1:564–5.

<sup>294</sup> DL-DF 14915.

<sup>295</sup> DL-DF 83949; *Miskolc története*, I:227.

<sup>296</sup> ZalaO, 2:606.

<sup>297</sup> TT 1903, 128.

<sup>298</sup> This chapel may have been dedicated just to the Virgin Mary. However, it received an indulgence on the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary leading to the assumption that that is the *patrocinia*. Mező believes the chapel was later elevated to a parish and that it retained the Nativity *patrocinium* (Mező, *Patrociniumok*, 463). See also: Lukcsics, 1:122, no. 453; and TT 1900, 2, 7.

<sup>299</sup> ZO, 11:345, no. 190.

<sup>300</sup> JAMÉ 2001, 287–8.

<sup>301</sup> The chapel of Sásová is known from an indulgence from 1415 (ZsO, 5:382, no. 1372). The chapel of Hajnáchka is also known from an indulgence awarded in 1516 (JAMÉ 2001, 287–8).

place, prescribed for the celebration of the Eucharist... which receives its character as a sacred place through dedication or benediction.”<sup>302</sup> One or more Marian altars could probably be found in most Hungarian churches, indeed in most of the churches throughout medieval Europe. A full accounting of all the altars dedicated to the Virgin Mary in Hungary is not feasible to include in this dissertation for several reasons. Firstly, the number of Marian altars in medieval Hungary would be in the thousands and thus too large an undertaking to include in one thesis. Secondly, the extant data concerning medieval Hungarian altars is incomplete and inconsistent, so the results of an accounting of these altars would probably not be representative of the medieval situation. Finally, an accurate account of medieval altars would require detailed archival work to be completed in every (as much as possible) Hungarian settlement, and while such work has been completed at some settlements—such as Buda, Sopron, and Bratislava—there is still much to do in others.

Thus, while a full accounting of medieval altars in Hungary would be a useful collaborative project for future researchers, a few remarks here on their extent should suffice. By the late fifteenth to early sixteenth centuries it was not uncommon to find four to five altars in the church of an *oppidum*, five to fifteen in a bigger city, and thirty to fifty in a bishop’s seat.<sup>303</sup> For instance, thirty priests supposedly said mass at as many altars in the parish church of the Virgin Mary in Buda in 1391, and twenty-six at the parish church of the Virgin Mary in Sibiu in 1474.<sup>304</sup> The Virgin Mary was the most frequent patron saint of altars in medieval Hungary (though by the end of the Middle Ages altars dedicated to All Saints were also plentiful), and the representation of the Virgin Mary in altar dedications was even more pronounced than in other ecclesiastical structures (that is, churches, chapels, and monasteries).<sup>305</sup> One could even find the Virgin Mary outside; one such example is an “open-air” altar, with an image of the Virgin Mary on the estate of Túr, referenced in a document describing the sale of land on April 24, 1429.<sup>306</sup>

#### 4. Hospitals

<sup>302</sup> Graßmann, *Das Patrozinium*, 74–5.

<sup>303</sup> Aradi, “Some Aspects of Parish Organization,” 201.

<sup>304</sup> de Cevins, *L’Église dans les villes hongroises*, 38; Aradi, “Some Aspects of Parish Organization,” 201.

<sup>305</sup> Aradi, “Some Aspects of Parish Organization,” 201; Aradi, “Somogy megye,” 155.

<sup>306</sup> Aradi, “Somogy megye,” 140; Iván Borsa, “A somogyi konvent oklevelei az Országos Levéltárban. (Forrásközlés) (Nyolcadik közlemény) 1421-1440” [The documents of the convent of Somogy in the National Archives (Publication of historical source) (Publication Nr. 8) 1421-1440], *Somogy megye múltjából - Levéltári évkönyv* 33 (Kaposvár, 2002), 25, no. 859; DL-DF 45150.

Hospitals served an important role “as shelters for travelers and others in need,” rooted “in the institutional framework of Western Christianity in the tenth–eleventh centuries.”<sup>307</sup> The earliest hospitals in Hungary were also founded during this time, under King St. Stephen, and reached the peak of their development at the end of the fifteenth century. Of the 128 hospitals known to have existed in medieval Hungary, most (whose foundation date is known) were founded in the second half of the fourteenth century and the first half of the fifteenth century.<sup>308</sup> They were founded almost predominately in important cities or market towns: 53.5% in the royal or episcopal cities, 41% in market towns (*oppida*), and only 4.7% in villages.<sup>309</sup>

Like churches, chapels, and altars, hospitals were also entrusted into the care of a patron saint. Surprisingly, the Virgin Mary was selected as patron in only four cases: one founded before 1382 in Kremnica and three founded in the late fifteenth century in Prešov,<sup>310</sup> Zagreb,<sup>311</sup> and Veszprém<sup>312</sup> (the latter two of which were dedicated to the Annunciation of the Virgin Mary in particular). There is also a tangentially related *patrocinium*—a chapel dedicated to the Virgin Mary, which belonged to the SS. Cosmas and Damian hospital in Čazma (Csázma).<sup>313</sup> By far the most frequent *patrocinium* for hospitals in medieval Hungary was actually St. Elizabeth, closely followed by the Holy Spirit (Figure 13).<sup>314</sup> The choice of St. Elizabeth of Thuringia could be explained by the fact that her figure was strongly connected to the care of the poor. The popularity of the Holy Spirit is connected to the Order of the Holy Ghost, which ran hospitals throughout Europe; however, not all hospitals dedicated to the Holy Spirit belonged to this order.<sup>315</sup> It appears then that hospitals are the one ecclesiastic institution where the Virgin Mary did not reign supreme.

<sup>307</sup> Judit Majorossy and Katalin Szende, “Hospitals in Medieval and Early Modern Hungary,” in *Europäisches Spitalwesen. Institutionelle Fürsorge in Mittelalter und Früher Neuzeit*, MIOG, Ergb. 51, ed. Martin Scheutz, Andrea Sommerlechner, Herwig Weigl, and Alfred Stefan Weiß (Vienna: R. Oldenbourg Verlag, 2008), 409.

<sup>308</sup> Majorossy and Szende, “Hospitals in Medieval and Early Modern Hungary,” 409, 417.

<sup>309</sup> Ibid., 418. For more on hospitals see also: András Kubinyi, “Ispotályok és városfejlődés a késő középkori Magyarországon” [Hospitals and urban development in late medieval Hungary], in *Várak, templomok, ispotályok. Tanulmányok a magyar középkorról* [Castles, churches, hospitals. Studies on the Hungarian Middle Ages], ed. Tibor Neumann (Budapest: Argumentum Kiadó–Pázmány Péter Katolikus Egyetem, 2004), 187–195; András Kubinyi, “Fragen der städtischen Gesundheitspflege in den mittelalterlichen Städten Ungarns,” in *Stadt und Gesundheitspflege*, ed. Bernhard Kirchgässner and Jürgen Sydow, *Stadt in der Geschichte* 9 (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1982), 95–107.

<sup>310</sup> Kovács, 60, 178; Csánki, 1:286; TT, 1909, 443, 447.

<sup>311</sup> Körmeny Ann, 89, no. 166.

<sup>312</sup> Békefi, 15, 57.

<sup>313</sup> ZsO, V:307, no. 1071.

<sup>314</sup> Majorossy and Szende, “Hospitals in Medieval and Early Modern Hungary,” 432. See also András Kubinyi, *Főpapok, egyházi intézmények és vallásosság a középkori Magyarországon* [High priests, ecclesiastical institutions, and religiosity in medieval Hungary] (Budapest: Magyar Egyháztörténeti Enciklopédia Munkaközösség, 1999), 262. It should also be noted that for hospitals change in *patrocinium* was much more common than in the case of parish churches, though the exact reason for this is unknown (Majorossy and Szende, “Hospitals in Medieval and Early Modern Hungary,” 431; Éder, “Mezővárosi plébániatemplomok,” 101–2.)

<sup>315</sup> Majorossy and Szende, “Hospitals in Medieval and Early Modern Hungary,” 431–2.

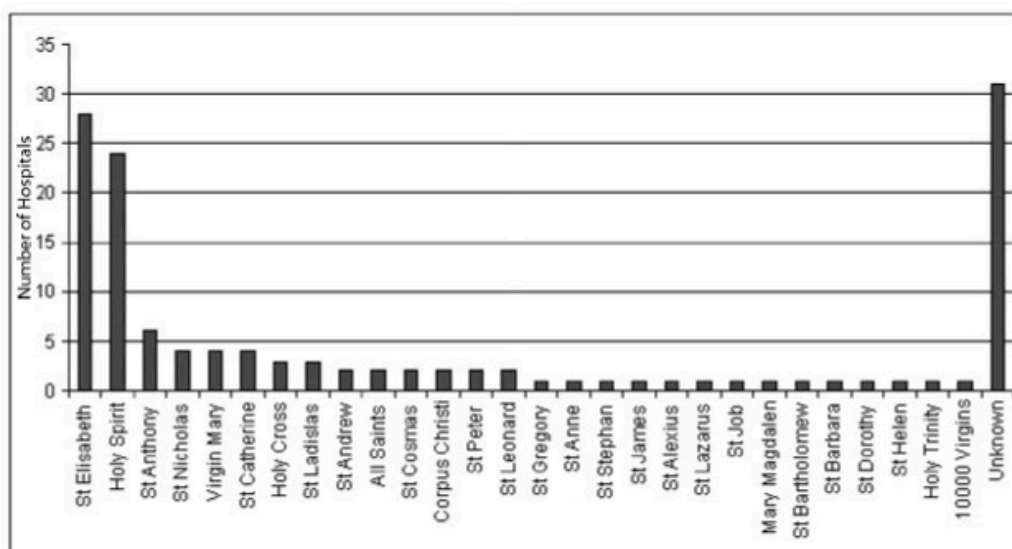


Figure 13. Patronage of hospitals in medieval Hungary (Majorossy and Szende, “Hospitals in Medieval and Early Modern Hungary,” 432).

## 5. Monasteries, Cloisters, and Collegiate Churches

Additional factors come into play when considering the *patrocinia* of monastic and mendicant institutions and collegiate churches compared to those places that have been discussed thus far.<sup>316</sup> Secular influences could still come into play, as the founders of these institutions—Hungarian rulers, ecclesiastical officials, nobles, etc.—and the devotional trends of local communities could have contributed to the choice in *patrocinium*. However, the orders’ own *patrocinia* conventions, devotional trends, and agendas, in general and in Hungary in particular, were equally if not more important determining factors. For such research we are fortunate to have the catalogue of the medieval monasteries and collegiate churches of Hungary completed by Beatrix Romhányi, which includes the *patrocinia* of these institutions, so a statistical analysis comparing Marian *patrocinia*, order by order, could be more easily accomplished.<sup>317</sup> I was able to assign primary source data concerning the Marian *patrocinia* of these institutions using the resources I described on above. From my research I was able to add an additional thirteen examples of Marian *patrocinia* to sites where the *patrocinia* was previously unknown, the Virgin was made a co-patron, or the *patrocinia* changed to the Virgin

<sup>316</sup> The terminology for churches included in the “collegiate church” category varies in the literature. In Hungarian they are often referred to interchangeably as “társaskáptalanok” and “prépostsági templomának.” In English these institutions have been referred to as “collegiate churches,” “collegiate chapter churches,” and “provosty churches,” and may also be royal chapels. It is outside the scope of this dissertation to delve into the variations, and I will refer to them simply as “collegiate churches.” For uses of and explanation of these terms see: Nora Berend, Przemysław Urbańczyk, and Przemysław Wiszewski, eds., *Central Europe in the High Middle Ages: Bohemia, Hungary and Poland, c.900–c.1300* (Cambridge University Press, 2013), 338; Spekner, “Buda before Buda,” 75, 77.

<sup>317</sup> Romhányi, *Kolostorok és társaskáptalanok*.



Mary. Two-hundred and sixteen monastic and mendicant houses and collegiate churches in medieval Hungary were dedicated to the Virgin Mary or to the Virgin Mary and another saint, representing about 39% of the total *patrocinia* (Figure 14).<sup>318</sup> See Appendix 2 for the localization, dating, primary source data, and visualizations of the monastic and mendicant Marian *patrocinia* of Hungary. In the following section the Marian *patrocinia* of these institutions will be presented; a more thorough account of the orders' expressions of Marian devotion and their most important Marian places in medieval Hungary will be presented in Chapter 4.

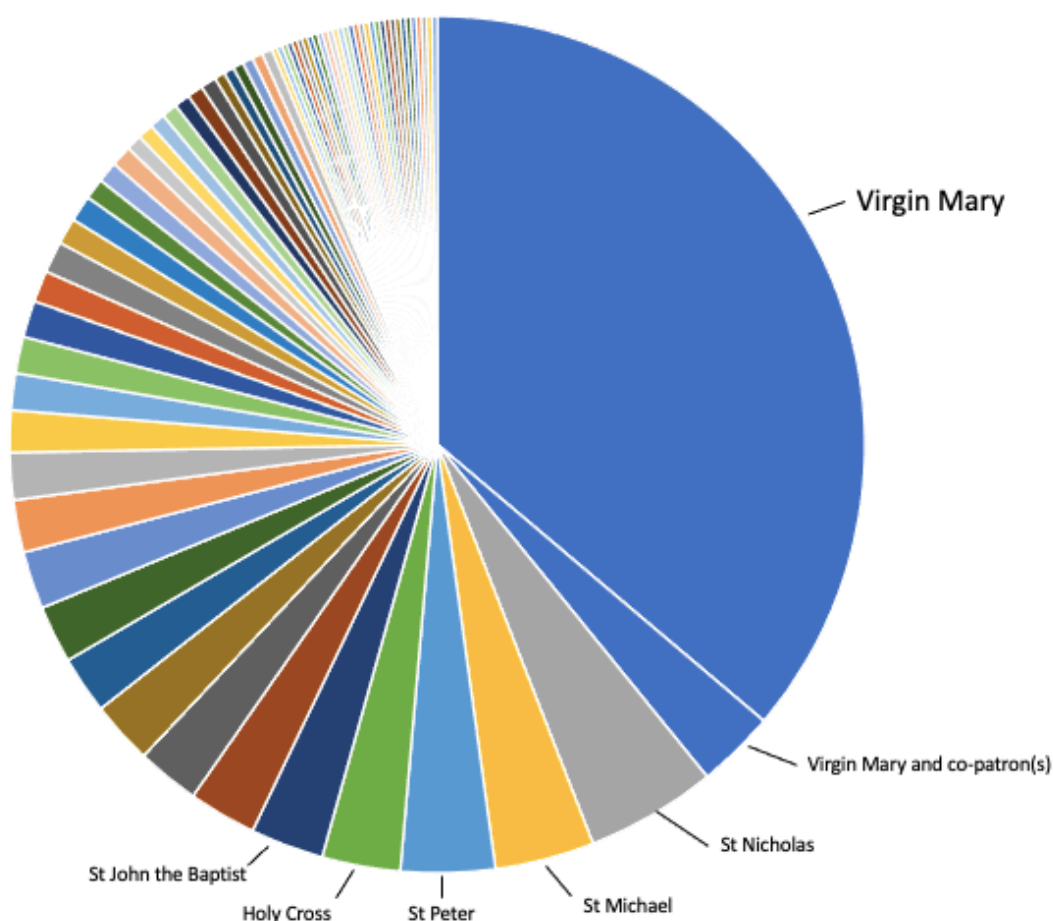


Figure 14. Patrocinia of the houses of religious orders in medieval Hungary. The Virgin Mary was the most popular, followed by St. Nicholas, St. Michael, St. Peter, the Holy Cross, and St. John the Baptist. Only the top six patrocinia are included here, for a full accounting of the patrocinia see Appendix 2.<sup>319</sup>

The monastic orders had an active relationship with the cult of the Virgin in Hungary already from the Christianization period. Several important monasteries dedicated to the Virgin were founded at this time, such as the Benedictine abbey in Pécsvárad and the Greek nunnery

<sup>318</sup> This does not include unknown *patrocinia*. If the *patrocinium* of a site changed both the original and the new *patrocinia* are included. Instances when an order received an already existing monastery or convent and the *patrocinium* was not changed are not included in the statistical analysis, since the *patrocinium* would not reflect an intentional action on the part of the order.

<sup>319</sup> Variations of Marian *patrocinia*, such as Our Lady of Sorrows or the Visitation of the Virgin Mary, are included in the “Virgin Mary” category.



in Veszprémvölgy. Both the Benedictine Order and Greek orders may have influenced King Stephen I's piety and the early prominence of Mary's cult.<sup>320</sup> The importance of the Virgin in the Eastern Church is not reflected in the *patrocinia* of the Hungarian monasteries of the Greek rite. Only 9% of male Greek monasteries were dedicated to the Virgin.<sup>321</sup> This is in sharp contrast to Greek nunneries in Hungary, 100% of which were dedicated to the Virgin, though this is due to the fact that only three Greek nunneries were founded in Hungary during the Middle Ages and the *patrocinium* is only known for one of these—the nunnery of Veszprémvölgy founded by King Stephen I before 1020.<sup>322</sup>

While the Benedictines are not known for their veneration of the Virgin as much as, for example, the Cistercians later came to be known for, she was still an important figure—featuring prominently in prayers, sermons, and other writings as well as art. At the time of Stephen's reign, the Benedictine Abbot Odilo of Cluny, a man characterized by his great devotion to the Virgin, was spearheading a spiritual revival in Cluny, which was very likely felt in Hungary as well.<sup>323</sup> Even so, the Benedictine Order is among the orders in Hungary with the lowest proportion of Marian *patrocinia*: 27% of the male Benedictine monasteries and 33% of the female Benedictine houses of medieval Hungary were dedicated to the Virgin Mary.

From the mid-twelfth century the foundations of two orders known for their devotion to the Virgin and the predominance of her *patrocinia*—the Premonstratensians and the Cistercians—began to appear in Hungary.<sup>324</sup> About 39% of the Premonstratensian abbeys in Hungary were dedicated to the Virgin, most of which were founded in the first half of the twelfth century. There are only two female Premonstratensian foundations that did not take over existing nunneries with existing *patrocinia* and for which the *patrocinia* is known: the nunnery of Ivanić (Ivanics) dedicated to the Virgin and that of Szeged dedicated to the Holy Spirit.

The Virgin Mary was better represented in Hungarian Cistercian abbeys. Every Cistercian house was traditionally dedicated to the Virgin, likely a tradition inherited from

<sup>320</sup> The terminology for the monasteries and nunneries of the orders following the Greek or Byzantine rite founded in Hungary can be problematic and runs the risk of being anachronistic. For this study I follow the example of Marianne Sághy and refer to these institutions simply as Greek monasteries or nunneries (see Marianne Sághy, "Greek Monasteries in Early Árpadian Hungary," in *Piroska and the Pantokrator: Dynastic Memory, Healing, and Salvation in Komnenian Constantinople*, ed. Marianne Sághy and Robert G. Ousterhout (Budapest: CEU Press, 2019), 11–38). These orthodox Greek monasteries are distinguished from the orthodox monasteries founded later in the Middle Ages that are connected to the Serbian Orthodox Church. On the connection between Greek monasteries, the Marian cult in Byzantium, and the Marian cult in Árpadian Hungary see Etele Kiss, "Piroska-Eirene and the Holy Theotokos," in *Piroska and the Pantokrator*, 261–90.

<sup>321</sup> However, the Greek monasteries founded later in the Middle Ages and connected to the Serbian Orthodox Church paint a different picture. In their case 50% were dedicated to the Virgin Mary.

<sup>322</sup> Romhányi, *Kolostorok és társaskáptalanok*, 73.

<sup>323</sup> Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses*, 138, 140.

<sup>324</sup> Flachenecker, "Researching *Patrocinia* in German-Speaking Lands," 77, 80

Molesme Abbey, which was dedicated to the Virgin Mary and founded by Robert of Molesme, a founder of the Cistercian Order.<sup>325</sup> It is no surprise then that all of the male Cistercian abbeys that did not assume control of existing monasteries in Hungary were dedicated to the Virgin Mary. Of those Cistercian communities that received existing monasteries—none of which were dedicated to the Virgin—most kept the original *patrocinia*.

The Cistercian abbey of Pásztó is an exception. It was originally a Benedictine monastery dedicated to St. Nicholas.<sup>326</sup> The monastery was given to the Cistercians by King Béla III in 1191, but it was not referred to as the abbey of the Virgin Mary until the fourteenth century.<sup>327</sup> The Cistercian abbey of Pornó had also originally belonged to the Benedictines but was transferred to the Cistercian Order between 1219 and 1221.<sup>328</sup> The original *patrocinium* of St. Margaret appears to have been kept, but in 1499 it is referred to as “monasterio beatissimae Virginis Mariae aliter in honorem sanctae Margarithae Virginis fundando in Porno.”<sup>329</sup>

The *patrocinia* of the Cistercian nunneries of Hungary is unusual. Only the Cistercian nunnery of Veszprémvölgy was dedicated to the Virgin, but this *patrocinium* was inherited from the Greek nunnery that had occupied the site until ca. 1220. The other three nunneries were dedicated to St. Catherine (Braşov) and St. Mary Magdalene (Ivanić and Bratislava). The non-Marian *patrocinia* may be a result of the Cistercian nuns moving into already existing, probably Benedictine (or Premonstratensian in the case of Braşov) nunneries.<sup>330</sup> Certainly in Hungary it appears to be the norm that when a new order moved into an existing monastery or nunnery the *patrocinia* was not changed; only a handful of cases prove otherwise. However, it is possible that one or more of these nunneries chose a non-Marian *patrocinium* due to the strength of their cults in the area or their founders' inclination. “Among Cistercian nunneries there was a great variety of ‘being Cistercian’” not only in “frontier” regions but throughout the order, so we do not necessarily have to assume that a different order had originally occupied a Cistercian house that was not dedicated to the Virgin.<sup>331</sup>

As the Middle Ages progressed, the number of new Cistercian, Benedictine, and Premonstratensian houses dropped dramatically in Hungary, a trend that can be witnessed elsewhere in Europe as well. The Augustinian Canons and Augustinian Hermits began to

<sup>325</sup> Emilia Jamroziak, *The Cistercian Order in Medieval Europe, 1090-1500* (London: Routledge, 2013), 14.

<sup>326</sup> Romhányi, *Kolostorok és társaskáptalanok*, 50.

<sup>327</sup> Békefi Pásztó, 262.

<sup>328</sup> Ernő Horváth, *A pornói apátság története* [The history of the Pornó abbey] (Pécsett, 1930), 12–13; Romhányi, *Kolostorok és társaskáptalanok*, 53.

<sup>329</sup> DL-DF 20827; see also Horváth, *A pornói apátság*, 26.

<sup>330</sup> Daniela Marcu Istrate, “Betrachtungen zur Entwicklungsgeschichte der Schwarzen Kirche in Kronstadt aufgrund neuer archäologischer Untersuchungen,” *Zeitschrift für siebenbürgische Landeskunde* 42 (2019): 15n32; Romhányi, *Kolostorok és társaskáptalanok*, 53, 73.

<sup>331</sup> Personal communication, Emilia Jamroziak, June 21, 2021.

appear in the kingdom in the late twelfth and mid-thirteenth centuries, respectively. Thirty-five percent of the houses of the Augustinian Canons were dedicated to the Virgin Mary or the Virgin Mary and another saint, most of which were founded between ca. 1217 and 1314. A similar proportion of Augustinian Hermits had Marian *patrocinia*, about 33%; the majority were founded in the fourteenth century. The Augustinian Hermits are another order that are noted to have been “particularly attached to the Virgin Mary,” and though they do have a larger proportion of foundations with Marian *patrocinia* than the Benedictine Order, their attachment to Mary does not appear to have manifested in their *patrocinia* choices.<sup>332</sup>

The fourteenth century saw the arrival of the Carmelite Order in the Hungarian Kingdom. The Carmelites, or Order of the Brothers of the Blessed Virgin Mary of Mount Carmel, had a special connection to the Virgin Mary; their first community was dedicated to her and in the tradition of the order the Virgin Mary had appeared to the prior of the Carmelites, Simon Stock, and given him the scapular of their order in 1251.<sup>333</sup> Four Carmelite monasteries were founded in Hungary.<sup>334</sup> Only one of these had a Marian *patrocinium*, the monastery of Buda, which was founded by King Louis the Great and his mother Elizabeth in 1372 in honor of the Mary of Mercy (*Mater Misericordiae*; in some sources alternatively the Three Marys), the only Hungarian monastery to hold that title.<sup>335</sup>

The Carthusian Order also appeared in Hungary in the fourteenth century and again only a small number were founded.<sup>336</sup> The Carthusian monasteries of Ercsi and Váradhegyfok<sup>337</sup> had previously belonged to other orders and so the Carthusians adopted the previous *patrocinia* of St. Nicholas and St. Stephen the First Martyr, respectively. Of the remaining four, three were dedicated to the Virgin or had her as a co-patron, namely, Tárkány (Felsőtárkány), Letanovce (Menedékkő; with the St. John the Baptist and St. Margaret), and Červený Kláštor (Lečnic; with St. John the Baptist and St. Anthony the Abbot). The inclusion of St. John the Baptist and St. Anthony as co-patrons is not unexpected since they were favored

<sup>332</sup> Frances Andrews, *The Other Friars: The Carmelite, Augustinian, Sack and Pied Friars in the Middle Ages* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2006), 127.

<sup>333</sup> Andrews, *The Other Friars*, 54–4.

<sup>334</sup> The Carmelites also were invited to Nógrádverőce but did not up settling there. Péter Tóth, “‘Szent Zsigmondnak ő azt felnevezteté.’ Luxemburgi Zsigmond és a magyarországi dinasztikus szentkultusz” [‘He called him St. Sigismund.’ Sigismund of Luxembourg and the dynastic cult of saints in Hungary], *Századok* 139/2 (2005): 378–9.

<sup>335</sup> Judit Benda, “Előzetes jelentés a budai középkori karmelita kolostor feltárásáról” [Preliminary report on the excavation of the medieval Carmelite monastery in Buda], *BudRég* 37 (2003): 138.

<sup>336</sup> On the development of the Carthusian Order in Hungary with earlier literature see Beáta Vida, “Fejezetek a karthauzi rend kutatástörténetéből” [Chapters in the history of research on the Carthusian Order], in *Középkortörténeti tanulmányok 7. A VII. Medieviztikai PhD-konferencia (Szeged, 2011. június 1–3.) előadásai* [Studies in medieval history 7. Papers presented at the VII Medieval History PhD Conference (Szeged, 1–3 June 2011)], ed. Attila P. Kiss, Ferenc Piti, and György Szabados (Szeged: Szegedi Középkorász Műhely, 2012), 103–15.

<sup>337</sup> Now located in modern Oradea, Romania.

saints of the order.<sup>338</sup> The Carthusians could also claim a special connection to the Virgin Mary because their founder, St. Bruno of Cologne, was known for his devotion to Mary, and he dedicated both of the churches built by him to her. It was also a Carthusian monk, Dominic of Prussia (1348–1460), who had designed a new form of Marian veneration—the rosary—the use of which spread throughout the order.<sup>339</sup>

It was the Dominicans, however, who popularized the rosary in the late Middle Ages on a larger scale. Sixteen Dominican friaries were founded in Hungary before the first Marian foundation was made, that is, in Gelnica (Gölnic; Göllnitz) before 1266, but afterwards the rate of Marian foundations increased.<sup>340</sup> In total, 37% of Dominican friaries and thirty percent of Dominican nunneries were dedicated to the Virgin Mary, including three variations of Marian *patrocinia*: the nunnery of the Annunciation of the Virgin Mary in Bistrița (Beszterce; Bistritz; founded in 1485), Our Lady of the Angels in Lábátlan (founded in 1489), and the Assumption of the Virgin in Sombor (Coborszentmihály, founded in 1479).<sup>341</sup> Like the rosary, the choice of Marian *patrocinia* for Dominican houses was a characteristic of late medieval Dominican practice.

In Hungary, the predominance of Marian *patrocinia* can be seen most clearly in the houses of the Franciscan Order. The first Franciscan friaries appeared in the mid-thirteenth century, but the majority were founded after 1300. Fifty-four percent of Conventual Franciscan houses and 68% of Observant houses were dedicated to the Virgin or the Virgin Mary and another saint. The Franciscans also possessed, by far, the most *patrocinia* of a specific Marian devotion or title, namely: Mary Help of Christians (Esztergom, 1235); Visitation of the Virgin Mary (Gyöngyös, 1332–1370); Assumption of the Virgin Mary (Nagykanizsa, 1423); Our Lady of the Angels (Okoličné [Okolicsno], 1476); Our Lady of the Snows (Szeged, ca. 1480); and Our Lady of Sorrows (Skalica [Szakolca; Skalitz], 1467).<sup>342</sup> Two Franciscan friaries, originally dedicated to another saint, also later added the Virgin Mary as a co-patron or were rededicated to the Virgin. The first, the Conventual Franciscan friary at Sibiu, was originally founded in late thirteenth century in honor of St. Elizabeth. However, by 1444 it was referred to as the convent of both St. Elizabeth and the Virgin Mary.<sup>343</sup> The second is the Conventual Franciscan friary of Bratislava, originally dedicated to St. John the Evangelist. Following its

<sup>338</sup> Flachenecker, “Researching *Patrocinia* in German-Speaking Lands,” 33.

<sup>339</sup> Rubin, *Mother of God*, 333.

<sup>340</sup> Romhányi, *Kolostorok és társaskáptalanok*, 28.

<sup>341</sup> Bistrița: Romhányi, *Kolostorok és társaskáptalanok*, 13; KolmJk, 2:200. Lábátlan: Romhányi, *Kolostorok és társaskáptalanok*, 40; Harsányi, 81. Sombor: Rupp, 3:38; Romhányi, *Kolostorok és társaskáptalanok*, 18.

<sup>342</sup> Romhányi, *Kolostorok és társaskáptalanok*, 24, 28, 34, 48–9, 59–61.

<sup>343</sup> “Supplicatur, ut indulgentiae, quae conventibus in Alba, in Warasco, in Winezia, in Molbata et in Czibinio Praedicatorum et Minorum ordinum in terra Transilvaniae existentibus concessae sunt, etiam conventum B. Mariae et S. Elizabeth in Czybinio dictorum ordinum visitantibus concedantur” (Lukcsics, 2:216).

destruction during an attack by King Ottokar Přemysl II of Bohemia (r. 1253–1278), the convent was rebuilt and rededicated to the Annunciation of the Virgin Mary in 1297.<sup>344</sup>

Marian *patrocinia* is also well represented in the Hungarian foundations of the second branch of the Franciscan Order, the Poor Clares. Seven Clarissan nunneries were founded in Hungary. In Bratislava they were given an existing nunnery dedicated to St. Mary Magdalene, and in two cases (Sibiu and Cluj-Napoca [Kolozsvár; Klausenburg]) the *patrocinia* is unknown. Half of the remaining houses had the Virgin as a co-patron—in Trnava (also dedicated to All Saints) and Óbuda (also dedicated to St. Clare)—and the other half were, notably, dedicated to the mother of the Virgin Mary, St. Anne.<sup>345</sup>

Much of the support for the Poor Clares and the Franciscans in the fourteenth century came from the Angevin dynasty. The Order of St. Paul the First Hermit, a Hungarian order formed in the mid-thirteenth century, also received considerable support from the Angevin dynasty (particularly King Louis the Great) and it is largely due to this support that the order was able to flourish. Louis the Great founded four Pauline houses (Gönc, Marianka [Máriavölgy; Marienthal], Márianosztra, and Remeti Técső [Remete]) dedicated to the Virgin Mary and an additional Pauline house (Toronyalja) in honor of St. Michael. His mother Elizabeth Piast may have also founded a Pauline house in Nyzhni Remety (Remete) in honor of the Virgin Mary in 1329.<sup>346</sup> Collectively, 44% of Pauline houses were dedicated to the Virgin or the Virgin and another saint.

The shift in the Angevin period is also notable in the *patrocinia* of collegiate churches. Overall, 21% of collegiate churches were dedicated to the Virgin Mary or had the Virgin as a co-patron. Only one collegiate church (though arguably the most significant) founded in the Árpáadian period was dedicated to the Virgin Mary—the church of Székesfehérvár founded by King Stephen I—which represents less than 4% of the total *patrocinia* of collegiate churches founded during the Árpáadian Age. The percentage of Marian *patrocinia* of newly founded collegiate churches jumps to 40% in the Angevin period. It is noteworthy that a collegiate church's *patrocinia* was also changed during this period. The collegiate church of Óbuda had been dedicated to St. Peter, but its *patrocinium* was changed to the Virgin Mary when it was rebuilt in the 1330s by Queen Elizabeth Piast.<sup>347</sup> An important collegiate church dedicated to

<sup>344</sup> It was consecrated on the Annunciation, which leads to the presumption of the new title: "...in titulum excellentissime Marie virginis dedicando consecrauit et consecrando, in annuis dedicacionis eiusdem Ecclesie reuolucionibus, in festo videlicet annunciacionis eiusdem Virginum Virginis gloriose..." (MES, 2:400). However, its *patrocinium* is usually just the Virgin Mary in references to the church in later documents.

<sup>345</sup> Romhányi, *Kolostorok és társaskáptalanok*, 46, 48.

<sup>346</sup> Ibid., 28, 43, 47, 55, 69.

<sup>347</sup> The chapter of St. Peter had been destroyed during the Mongol Invasion. In 1311 a smaller chapter dedicated to the Virgin Mary was founded next to church of St. Peter. After Queen Elizabeth had rebuilt the church of St.

Mary was also founded during the reign of King Sigismund, the so-called Lesser Virgin Mary or St. Sigismund collegiate church, which also served as a royal chapel and an important part of royal ceremonies. The circumstances of the founding of this church will be discussed in detail in Chapter 2.

The popularity and power of certain orders obviously changed over time, as did Marian *patrocinia* (Figure 15).

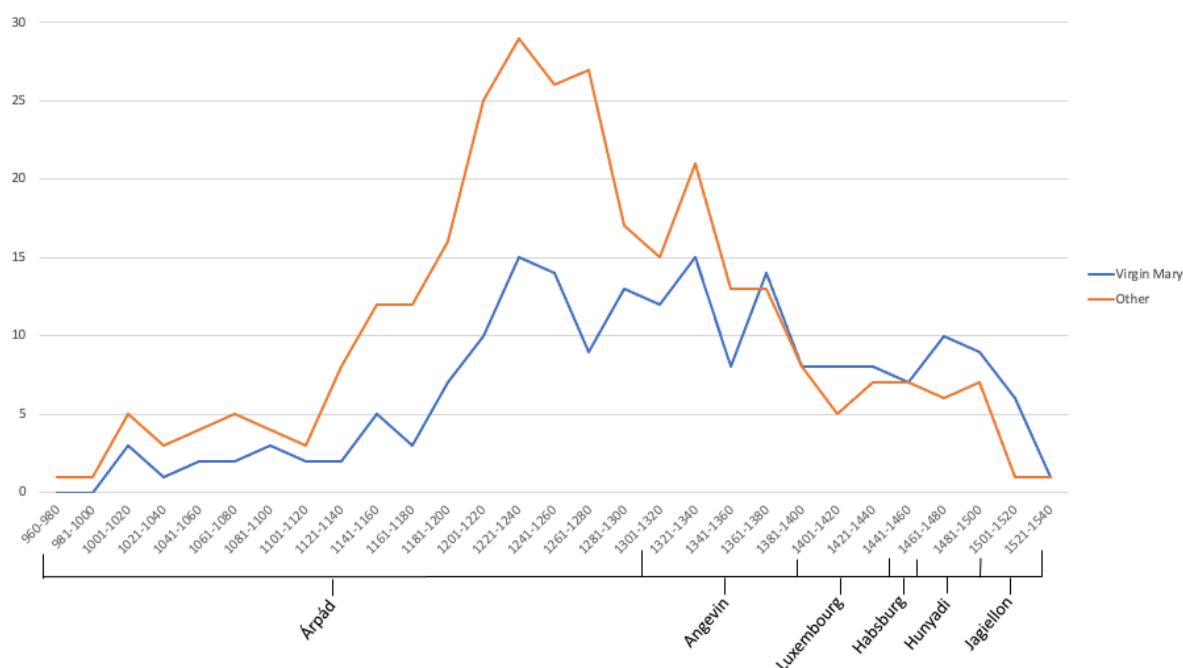


Figure 15. Number of Marian and non-Marian monasteries, convents, and collegiate churches founded in medieval Hungary. Note that the Přemyslid and Wittelsbach dynasties ruled very briefly, in 1301–1305 and 1305–1307, respectively. The Jagiellon dynasty also ruled briefly from 1400–1404.

While the number of new Marian foundations increased as the Árpáadian period progressed, their proportion decreased. From the beginning of Angevin rule the proportion of new Marian foundation again increased (with some fluctuations). This is reflected in the percentage of new foundations that had Marian *patrocinia* considered according to the period of dynastic rule: 31% of dedications were Marian in the Árpáadian period, 45% in the Angevin, 59% in the Luxembourg, 56% in the Habsburg, 63% in the Hunyadi, and 60% in the Jagiellon. Royal support for orders that had a close affiliation with the Virgin Mary was one of driving factors in the proliferation of those orders and Marian *patrocinia* in the monastic landscape. The first rise in Marian foundations coincided with royal support of the Cistercian Order, and in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries royal support of the mendicant and Pauline Orders contributed to the increased proportion of Marian *patrocinia* in those periods. The initial strong

Peter the smaller chapter ceased to function, probably in the 1350s. Romhányi, *Kolostorok és társaskáptalanok*, 48.

royal support for these orders was followed by noble foundations in emulation of royal devotional trends.

The percentage of double or triple Marian *patrocinia* compared to the total Marian *patrocinia* of the monastic, mendicant, and collegiate churches of Hungary is significantly higher than those of the other institutions discussed so far—ca. 9% compared to about 2% of parish churches, 1% of non-parish churches, and 1% of chapels. At many of these Marian monastic and mendicant churches the co-patrons were saints associated with the order, for example: the Benedictine abbey of Pécsvárad was dedicated to the Virgin Mary and St. Benedict, the Poor Clares nunnery of Óbuda to the Virgin Mary and St. Clare, and the Franciscan friary of Sibiu to the Virgin Mary and St. Elizabeth. The Carthusian monasteries of Červený Kláštor and Letanovce each had triple dedications, namely the Virgin Mary, St. John the Baptist, and St. Anthony the Abbot and the Virgin Mary, St. John the Baptist, and St. Margaret.<sup>348</sup> The Virgin Mary, St. John the Baptist, and St. Anthony the Abbot are closely affiliated with the Carthusians. The most multi-patron Marian churches belonged to the Pauline Order, but the choice of co-patrons of these churches do not seem to have been dictated by the conventions of the order, but rather by the particular context of each of the foundations.

Variations of Marian *patrocinia* are also more plentiful in monastic, mendicant, and collegiate churches than in parish churches and non-parish churches. Six percent of the former possess Marian *patrocinia* of eight varieties, compared to 2% of parish churches and 1% of non-parish churches (though the percentage of chapels was higher with 8%; this is likely reflective of the greater amount of experimentation in *patrocinia* that could happen with a smaller structure like a chapel). This is likely due to the desire of certain orders to promote a certain Marian feast, devotion, or dogma. For example, while no Franciscan friaries were dedicated to the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary—which the Franciscans strongly supported—there were friaries dedicated to the Assumption (Nagykanizsa) and the Annunciation (Bratislava), both of which were considered to be integral to the dogma of the Immaculate Conception.<sup>349</sup> The role of the Franciscans in spreading Marian veneration through placemaking and their relationship to the dogma of the Immaculate Conception will be explored in detail in Chapter 4.

<sup>348</sup> Flachenecker, “Researching *Patrocinia* in German-Speaking Lands,” 77; Jessica Brantley, *Reading in the Wilderness: Private Devotion and Public Performance in Late Medieval England* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008), 33.

<sup>349</sup> Maria Crăciun, “Mendicant Piety and the Saxon Community, c.1450–1550,” in *Communities of Devotion: Religious Orders and Societies in East Central Europe, 1450–1800*, ed. Maria Crăciun and Elaine Fulton (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), 47–58.

## 6. Marian Toponyms

Another way to judge the influence of a saint's cult is to look at place-names derived from the name of a saint, sometimes referred to as "hagiotoponyms" or "patrocinium settlement names."<sup>350</sup> In these cases the names of certain settlements appear to have been named after a church located in the settlement sometime in its history or even before the foundation of the settlement.<sup>351</sup> Graham Jones notes that this phenomenon is particularly evident in Wales, as well as in a number of southern countries on the European continent.<sup>352</sup> The practice can also be found in Hungary; Szentendre (named for St. Andrew) and Szigetszentmiklós (named for St. Nicholas) are two such examples of "egyházi helységnév" or "vallási helynevek."<sup>353</sup> In Hungary it appears that saintly place-names became popular from the second half of the thirteenth to the first half of the fourteenth centuries, and ultimately make up about 7% of medieval Hungarian place-names—1,390 out of 20,000 place-names in total.<sup>354</sup>

<sup>350</sup> Graham Jones, "Diverse Expressions, Shared Meanings: Surveying Saints in the Context of 'European Culture,'" in *Saints of Europe: Studies Towards a Survey of Cults and Culture*, edited by Graham Jones (Donington: Shaun Tyas, 2003), 19; Valéria Tóth, ed., *Patrocinium Settlement Names in Europe*, *Onomastica Uralica* 8 (Debrecen: Debrecen Egyetemi Kiadó, 2011).

<sup>351</sup> Maria Crăciun and Carmen Florea, "The Cult of Saints in Medieval Transylvania," in *Saints of Europe: Studies Towards a Survey of Cults and Culture*, edited by Graham Jones (Donington: Shaun Tyas, 2003), 51. It is possible that these hagiotoponyms could indicate the *patrocinium* of the local parish church whose existence cannot be confirmed by the archaeological or historical record; however, because this cannot be confirmed I do not consider hagiotoponyms as direct evidence of Marian parish churches in my analysis.

<sup>352</sup> Jones, "Diverse Expressions, Shared Meanings," 19.

<sup>353</sup> There is no official Hungarian technical term for saintly toponyms, "egyházi helységnév" and "vallási helynevek" have been suggested by András Mező and István Kniezsa, respectively (András Mező, *A templomcím a magyar helységnevekben* [The church title in Hungarian place names] (Budapest: Magyar Egyháztörténeti Enciklopédia Munkaközösség, 1996), 23; István Kniezsa, *Magyarok és románok* [Hungarians and Romanians], vol. I (Budapest, 1943), 129). "Patrociniumi helynevek" is also used by Mező as well as others such as Loránd Benkő and István Hoffman. See, among others, Loránd Benkő, "Opponensi vélemény Mező Andrásnak „Magyarország patrociniumi helységnevei” című akadémiai doktori értekezéséről” [Opposition opinion on the academic doctoral thesis of András Mező on "The patrocinium place names of Hungary"], *Névtani Értesítő* 18 (1996): 93–8; István Hoffman, "Névrendszertani megjegyzések a patrociniumi helységnevek történetéhez" [Nomenclatural notes on the history of patrocinium in place names] *Névtani Értesítő* 21 (1999): 66–70; András Mező, "Patrociniumi helységneveink és névadók mennyiségi összefüggései" [Quantitative relationships between our patrocinian place names and their namesakes], *Névtani Értesítő* 17 (1995): 25–29. Settlement names based on *patrocinia* can be considered to belong to the category of "clerical names," which also include toponyms based on a physical church building (e.g., *Fehéregyház*, "white church") and ecclesiastic individuals or organizations (e.g., *Apáti*, "abbot's"). See Valéria Tóth, "Patrocinium Settlement Names in the Carpathian Basin," *Onomastica Uralica* 8 (2011): 177; Mező, *A templomcím a magyar helységnevekben*, 23–4. For more on the study of hagiotoponyms in Hungary see: Andrea Bölcskei, "Changes of Toponyms Reflecting Ecclesiastical Possession in Medieval Hungary," in *ICOS 2014: 'Names and Their Environment': Proceedings of the 25th International Congress of Onomastic Sciences*, University of Glasgow, ed. Carole Hough and Daria Izdebska (Glasgow: University of Glasgow, 2016), 109–18; Andrea Bölcskei, "Medieval Settlement Names of Ecclesiastical Reference: A Cross-Cultural Approach," *Acta Onomastica* 57 (2017): 34–52; Loránd Benkő, "Rolle der Schutzheiligen in der mittelalterlichen ungarischen Namengebung," in *Forschungen über Siebenbürgen und seine Nachbarn. Festschrift für Attila T. Szabó und Zsigmond Jakó*, ed. Kálmán Benda, Thomas von Bogyay, Horst Glassl, and Zsolt K. Lengyel (Munich, 1987), 1:303–15.

<sup>354</sup> Gyula Kristó, *Tájszemlélet és térszervezés a középkori Magyarországon* [Landscape perception and spatial organization in medieval Hungary] (Szeged: Szegedi Középkorász Műhely, 2003), 55; Kniezsa, *Magyarok és románok*, 131; Mező, *A templomcím a magyar helységnevekben*, 308.



A considerable number of villages named for the Virgin Mary existed during the Middle Ages in the Kingdom of Hungary (Figure 16). These names appeared in several different forms,<sup>355</sup> namely, variations of *Boldogasszony* (e.g., “ecclesie beate Virginis, Benedictus sacerdos de Bodughassunfolua”),<sup>356</sup> *Szentmária* (e.g., “Zenthmaria alio nomine Palfelde”),<sup>357</sup> and, less often, *Somorja* (e.g., “Samaría prope aquas Drawa”).<sup>358</sup> The Latin form, *Sancta Maria*, is also frequently found (e.g., “Johannes sacerdos de villa Sanctae Mariae,” in reference to the village of Sîntămăria-Orlea [Óraljaboldogfalva]).<sup>359</sup> Two or more of these variations, which refer to the same settlement, can appear in the record. For example, the town of Orgovány was referred to as *Zenmaria* in 1359 and *Bodogazzoneggháza* in 1423.<sup>360</sup>

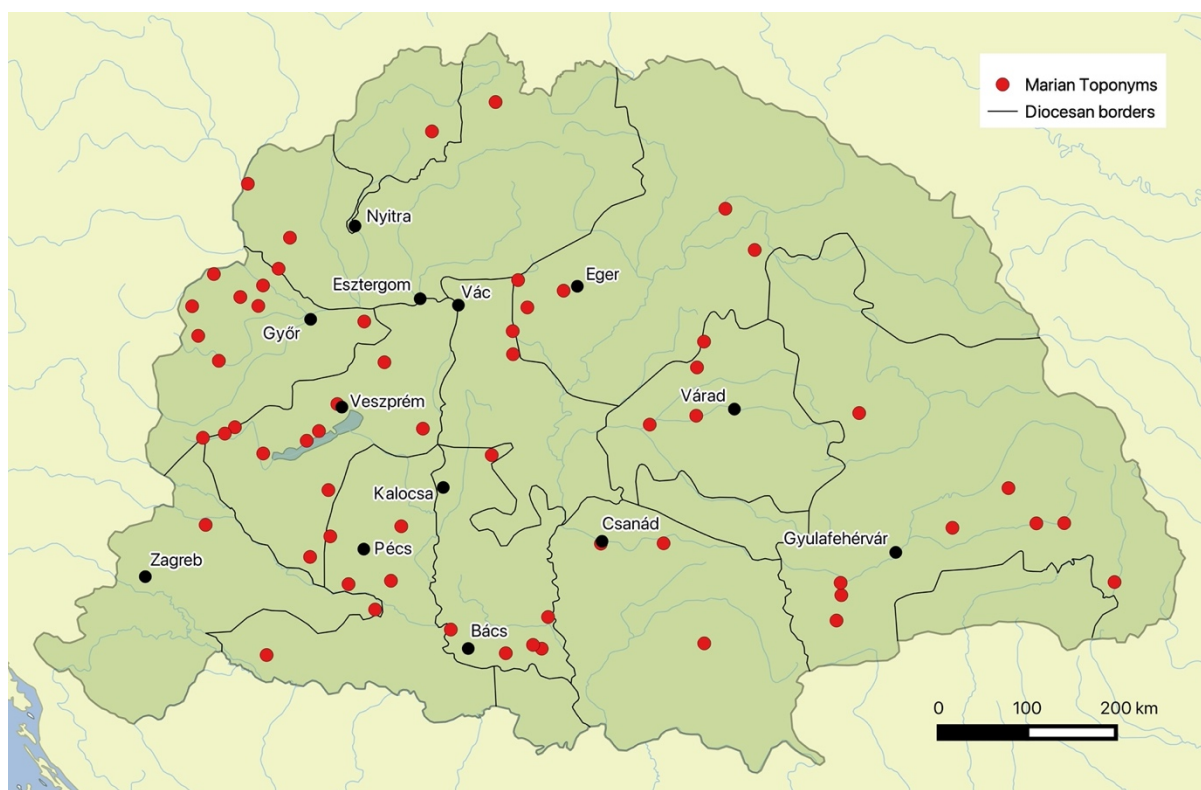


Figure 16. Marian hagiotoponyms identified in medieval Hungary.<sup>361</sup>

A total of sixty-six places were named for the Virgin Mary in medieval Hungary.<sup>362</sup> The earliest reference to a Marian toponym comes from 1222, when the village of

<sup>355</sup> For an analysis of Marian toponyms in medieval Hungary from an etymological point of view see Mező, “Boldogasszony és más asszonyok,” 25–41.

<sup>356</sup> MonVat I/1: 265, 273, 284.

<sup>357</sup> Csánki, I:362.

<sup>358</sup> ÁÚO, XII:332; KJ, 2/2–3: 282.

<sup>359</sup> MonVat, I/4:94.

<sup>360</sup> Györffy, 2:425; Gyárfás, III:578.

<sup>361</sup> Marian toponyms derived from Mező, *Patrociniumok*, 397–480; can also be seen in Mező, *A templomcím a magyar helységnevekben*, 206–15. Six Marian place-names listed by Mező could not be identified geographically.

<sup>362</sup> András Mező identified sixty-eight Marian toponyms in medieval Hungary in his monograph on hagiotoponyms (Mező, *A templomcím a magyar helységnevekben*, 206–15), however, two of these entries were

Unterfrauenhaid (Lók) is referenced as “Villa Sanctae Marie.”<sup>363</sup> The lack of earlier Marian toponyms is not surprising, even in German-speaking lands it was not until the twelfth century that settlements began to be named for the Virgin Mary.<sup>364</sup> About 18% of the extant references to Marian toponyms in Hungary come from the thirteenth century (12). About half (47%, 31 total) originate from the fourteenth century, 30% from the fifteenth century (20), and the final 5% from the sixteenth century (3). The first half of the fourteenth century is particularly well represented in the chronology, when about one-third of the Marian toponyms were first recorded. This was certainly also a period of urban development and increasing population density in certain parts of the kingdom.<sup>365</sup> The importance of the fourteenth century was not restricted to Marian toponyms, it is at this time that place-names based on *patrocinia* begin to appear with “overwhelming impetus.”<sup>366</sup> The sharp drop in toponyms in the sixteenth century is not unexpected, since by the beginning of the sixteenth century the practice of naming settlements after saints had essentially ended, due to factors such as the Ottoman invasion and the expansion of Protestantism.<sup>367</sup>

The sixty-six Marian toponyms are located in thirty-one counties, with one to four toponyms located in each of the identified counties.<sup>368</sup> The most Marian place-names were identified in Baranya, Moson, and Zala Counties, each with four, followed by Bács, Bihar, Fejér, Heves, Hunyad, Bratislava, Somogy, and Vas Counties each with three. Baranya County’s high number of Marian toponyms could be explained by its high population. Zala County was also fairly populous, but Moson is an outlier in this regard as its population density seems to have been much lower.<sup>369</sup> According to Mező, hagiotoponyms occur most often in south-western, southern, and western Transdanubia.<sup>370</sup> While this does appear to be generally true in the case of Marian toponyms in particular, the distribution is perhaps not as stark as in the case of hagiotoponyms as a whole. It is also interesting to note the cluster of Marian toponyms along the western border near Bratislava, an area where surprisingly few Marian parish churches can be identified in the historical *patrocinia* data. These toponyms may

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left out of his more recent volume on *patrocinia* in Hungary (Mező, *Patrociniumok*, 397–479), so my data will reflect his more recent research, making the total number of Marian place-names sixty-six.

<sup>363</sup> Elemér Schwartz, “A vizek és a helységnevek Nyugat-Magyarországon” [The names of place names and bodies of water in West-Hungary], *Magyar Nyelv* 23 (1927): 222.

<sup>364</sup> Fritz Curschmann, “Die Stiftungsurkunde des Bisthums Havelberg,” *Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde* 28 (1903): 416–17.

<sup>365</sup> See Kubinyi and Laszlovszky, “Demographic Issues,” 48–63; Katalin Szende, “Continuity and Change in the Urban Network of Hungary in the Early Angevin Period,” *Banatica* 26/2 (2016): 53–76.

<sup>366</sup> Tóth, “Patrociny Settlement Names in the Carpathian Basin,” 183.

<sup>367</sup> *Ibid.*, 176.

<sup>368</sup> The correlating counties of six of the Marian place-names could not be identified.

<sup>369</sup> Engel, *The Realm of St. Stephen*, 376.

<sup>370</sup> Mező, *A templomcím a magyar helységnevekben*, 229.

indicate the presence of parish churches dedicated to the Virgin that have been lost in the historical record. The fact that the diocese of Győr, as well as some other regions, are missing from the papal tithe register might lead one to believe that more Marian hagiotoponyms probably existed in those areas, which is possible. However, no Marian hagiotoponyms are known only from the papal tithe register so it is unlikely that the missing regions would have made much of an impact on the resulting map of Marian place-names.

The location of Marian toponyms near or on diocesan borders is also of note. I hypothesize that settlements with Marian churches located near borders would be more likely to develop Marian toponyms than settlements with Marian churches located elsewhere because the former would be more likely to be frequently referred to in oral or written testimony, such as in directions, perambulations, etc. In other words, a charter might include something like “the count owned the land from the mill to the church of the Virgin Mary of...” or “he bequeathed to his nephew all his lands until the church of the Virgin Mary of...” and eventually the Marian church became such a habitual marker that the settlement’s name was dropped and some form of “Virgin Mary Church” was adopted. I do not know if such a trend in Marian hagiotoponyms can be identified in other parts of medieval Europe. I have not seen this trend commented upon in hagiotoponymic studies, and, unfortunately, most studies of medieval hagiotoponyms do not include maps, especially ones which distinguish by saint, so the testing of this theory would require further collaborative research.

Mary, despite her popularity, does not possess the most hagiotoponyms in medieval Hungary. St. Nicholas (with 124 toponyms), St. George (with 119), the Holy Cross (109), St. Martin (106), St. Michael (86), and St. Peter (84) all have a greater number of places named for them.<sup>371</sup> Valéria Tóth remarks on this disparity in her review of *patrocinia* place-names in the Carpathian Basin; she notes that while a Marian dedication developed into a place-name less than 7% of the time, a dedication to *Szent Kereszt* became a toponym almost 40% of the time.<sup>372</sup>

Zsanett Lévai found similar results in her study of *patrocinium* place-names, focusing on Kőrös, Abaúj, and Torda Counties. She noted that while the Virgin Mary was the most popular saint when it came to church *patrocinia* in all three counties, there is no record of her name being used as a toponym in the counties of Kőrös, Abaúj, or Torda.<sup>373</sup> It is likely that churches named for the Virgin Mary were just too common, so it would not make sense to distinguish a place by its Marian church. Lévai states that lesser-known saints became

<sup>371</sup> Mező, *A templomcím a magyar helységnevekben*, 79–84, 113–18, 152–8, 161–6, 169–74, and 185–9.

<sup>372</sup> Tóth, “Patrociny Settlement Names in the Carpathian Basin,” 179.

<sup>373</sup> Lévai, “Patrocíniumi helynevek vizsgálata,” 35, 41.

settlement names much more often precisely because of their rarity or uniqueness.<sup>374</sup> Although this is true to an extent, it is actually the middling saints that seem to have been chosen most often as place-names. While the Virgin Mary was many times more popular as a church patron, George, the Holy Cross, Martin, Michael, and Peter followed immediately behind in terms of *patrocinia* popularity.

The incidence of Marian place-names in other regions of medieval Europe appears to be different. In Poland most of the hagiotoponyms were derived from the name of the Virgin Mary, although St. John and St. Anne stand close behind,<sup>375</sup> and in Italy Marian toponyms are also the most frequent.<sup>376</sup> In German lands, though hagiotoponyms themselves are rare,<sup>377</sup> Marian toponyms appear to be the most popular. This is the case at least in Eastern Germany (the regions of Saxony, Sachsen-Anhalt, Thuringia, Brandenburg, and Mecklenburg-Vorpommern) and the northwestern territories of Germany (the area comprising the German federal states of Schleswig-Holstein, Hamburg, Bremen, and Lower Saxony, as well as the North Rhine-Westphalian territories of Westphalia and Lippe).<sup>378</sup> France appears to be an exception, more in line with the Hungarian situation; Gérard Taverdet and Stéphane Gendron could only identify two settlements named for the Virgin, though “she is best represented in terms of church dedications.”<sup>379</sup>

It is debated whether foreign naming traditions influenced the use of hagiotoponyms in Hungary. This is certainly possible as this naming tradition can be identified in regions surrounding Hungary before the practice began in Hungary; Valéria Tóth notes that “Italian, South Slavic, German, and perhaps Czech priests had a role in spreading this custom, characteristic of west and southwest Europe, to Hungary.”<sup>380</sup> However, Mező has argued that it is not necessary to look for foreign influence in the transformation of a church’s *patrocinium* into a place-name, as the evidence encourages us to look at the practice as an internal development.<sup>381</sup> Indeed, it seems like a natural development for a place-name to derive from

<sup>374</sup> Ibid., 41.

<sup>375</sup> Barbara Czopek-Kopciuch, “Geographical Names Deriving from Saints’ Names (Patrocinia) in Poland,” in *Patrocinia Settlement Names in Europe*, 239–40.

<sup>376</sup> Carla Marcato, “Patrocinia Settlement Names in Italy,” in *Patrocinia Settlement Names in Europe*, 94.

<sup>377</sup> Karlheinz Hengst, “Patrocinia Settlement Names in Eastern Germany,” in *Patrocinia Settlement Names in Europe*, 105; Kirstin Casemir, “Patrocinia Place Names in the North-Western Territories of Germany,” in *Patrocinia Settlement Names in Europe*, 130.

<sup>378</sup> Hengst, “Patrocinia Settlement Names in Eastern Germany,” 111; Casemir, “Patrocinia Place Names in the North-Western Territories of Germany,” 105–31.

<sup>379</sup> According to Taverdet and Gendron this was due to the fact that “when places of worship started to be dedicated to the Virgin (from the thirteenth century), most villages had already received a name and the onomastic importance of the Mother of Christ was greatly lessened in this area. Gérard Taverdet and Stéphane Gendron, “Patrocinia Settlement Names in France,” in *Patrocinia Settlement Names in Europe*, 45.

<sup>380</sup> Tóth, “Patrocinia Settlement Names in the Carpathian Basin,” 178.

<sup>381</sup> Mező, *A templomcím a magyar helységnevekben*, 44. Cf. Géza Bárczi, Loránd Benkő, and Jolán Berrár, *A magyar nyelv története* [History of the Hungarian language] (Budapest: Tankönyvkiadó, 1967), 387.

the most important institution of said place, which, in medieval Europe, would very often be the church. I am therefore more inclined to believe which saints were more likely to be adopted into place-names in the Hungarian Kingdom was influenced more by internal structures and motivations than foreign influence. External factors might emerge in certain situations, for example, the adoption of place-names derived from a characteristically “German” saint such as St. Gotthard (i.e., Vasasszentgothárd [Doboka County; now Sucutard, Romania] and Szentgotthárd [Vas County]) may have been influenced by German populations (be it the local population or ecclesiastical officials), but such factors are harder to identify in the context of place-names derived from the names of universal saints like the Virgin Mary. In the context of Marian hagiotoponyms in Hungary, their appearance and spread were likely influenced by a variety of coexisting factors, including the rate of Christianization, the development of settlements, the manifestation of the Marian cult in Hungary, and the naming conventions of particular communities and populations within the Hungarian Kingdom.

## 7. Conclusion

A substantial amount of data was processed and analyzed in the above investigation, the Marian *patrocinia* of almost one thousand parish and other churches, chapels, monasteries, friaries, nunneries, collegiate churches, and hagiotoponyms in the Hungarian Kingdom. The image that emerges from the *patrocinia* is of a state where the Virgin Mary was central to the religiosity of the rulers, ecclesiastical hierarchy from bishops to parish priests, and to local communities. By the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries Mary’s role as the patron or co-patron of four of Hungary’s cathedrals was reflected in both the material record—through seals—and the written record, especially in the *Illuminated Chronicle*, which recorded how both the cathedrals of Vác and Oradea were chosen Marian places determined by sacred intervention and connected to Hungarian rulers.

Hungarian rulers likewise played a part in the increase in the proportion of Marian *patrocinia* of the churches of the monastic and mendicant orders and collegiate chapters. The appearance and spread of orders with a strong attachment to the Virgin, particularly the Pauline and Franciscan Orders, and their support from the Angevin and Luxembourg rulers (followed later by the support of local nobles) were the driving force behind the increasing proportion of Marian *patrocinia*.

During this period the number of parish and other types of churches, chapels, and altars dedicated to Mary rose gradually until the fourteenth century, when, due to the development of the parish system, the appearance of the papal tithe registers, and an increase in population,

the number of Marian *patrocinia* rose significantly. A revival of faith, of which Marian devotion was central, and the increased financial capabilities of the lesser nobles also contributed to this trend. Mendicant devotional trends including increased devotion to the Virgin and certain aspects of her cult also surely impacted *patrocinia* choices in their communities.

She was the patron of churches of both important settlements—royal seats, bishops' seats, and market towns—and the villages of the everyday medieval Hungarian resident. However, the number and proportion of Marian *patrocinia* was by no means uniform across Hungary. The regions, counties, and dioceses varied widely. Looking only at numbers, population density clearly played a role; the most Marian churches and chapels could usually be found in the areas with the highest population densities. The proportion of Marian *patrocinia* is more difficult to nail down, but, combining my own research with that of previous *patrocinia* studies, a few major trends emerge. Transdanubia, and especially southern Transdanubia, proportionally appear to have less Marian *patrocinia* than the other regions of Hungary, while the diocese of Zagreb (more specifically the area between the Drava and Sava rivers and the areas south of the Sava) and northeastern Hungary have more. The *patrocinia* trends in the former region would have been influenced by the *patrocinia* of Italy and the Virgin's strong presence there—both by the presence of important Marian churches such as the Santa Maria Maggiore, which houses the venerated Marian icon *Salus Populi Romani*, and in the pure number of Marian churches—would certainly have had an impact on the Eastern Adriatic and even farther inland.

The popularity of Marian *patrocinia* was not limited to particular communities in Hungary. The Virgin Mary was incredibly popular in Hungarian communities, but German and mixed population settlements also chose to consecrate their parish churches, and by extension their own communities, to the Virgin. The Marian parish churches of Buda and Pest and those of the German communities of the Spiš region and Saxon Transylvania demonstrate that for many German settlers a Marian parish church was, more often than not, the norm. In settlements with mixed ethnic/language populations—including also Italians, Slavs, and Romanians, in addition to Hungarians and Germans—a Marian parish church may have also been a favorable choice because she was such a universal saint.

The ascendancy of the Virgin Mary as reflected in her increasing *patrocinia* in fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Hungary is not as universal as one might imagine. A study analyzing the *patrocinia* of parish, filial, and monastery churches, as well as solitary public chapels in Moravia from the ninth century to beginning of the Hussite Wars found that while the Virgin Mary was the most popular patron saint across most of the Middle Ages (except

between 1350–1419), the curve of her popularity permanently declined.<sup>382</sup> The author theorizes that this is less to do with the decrease in the popularity of Mary and rather indicative of the increasing popularity of other saints.<sup>383</sup> This is in stark contrast to Hungary, where Marian *patrocinia* seemed to have gradually risen in the early Middle Ages and then shot up drastically in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. In other regions the Virgin was not even the most popular patronal saint. For instance, in medieval Finland, a study of the patronal saints of churches, chapels, and altars found that St. Olaf held that honor (with 15% of the total *patrocinia*), followed by the Virgin Mary and St. Michael (both with 12%).<sup>384</sup>

In Hungary it is only in the patronage of hospitals and hagiotoponyms where the Virgin's presence is more minor. Her minimal presence in hospital *patrocinia* conforms with the general European tendency—the Holy Spirit reigned supreme here. The infrequency of Marian toponyms in Hungary is unusual, however, as Marian toponyms were typically the most numerous in other parts of Europe. Perhaps the fact that Hungary was Christianized later, and to an extent more rapidly, than many other parts of Europe could somehow have played a role, but the exact processes that led to this anomaly require further investigation.

The Virgin Mary may have been universally loved in medieval Europe, but she was loved differently in different times and places, to different degrees, and for different reasons. In late medieval Hungary the map of Marian *patrocinia* was built upon a tradition of Marian devotion linked to the kingdom's conception and the resulting special relationship between Mary and Hungarian rulers, monastic and mendicant devotional trends, and the increasing participation of nobles in late medieval Marian piety.

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<sup>382</sup> The author was able to identify 499 dedications from the beginning of Christianity in Moravia to about 1419. Petr Jokeš, "Medieval South Moravian Patron Saints – A Survey," *Prace Historyczne* 143/3 (2016): 487.

<sup>383</sup> *Ibid.*, 488.

<sup>384</sup> The study found 206 dedications of churches, chapels, and altars and did not include hagiotoponyms as evidence. Jukka Korpela, "The Patronal Saints of the Medieval Finnish Churches and Altars," in *Saints of Europe: Studies Towards a Survey of Cults and Culture*, edited by Graham Jones (Donington: Shaun Tyas, 2003), 199–209.

## CHAPTER 2. MARIAN DEVOTION AND CONVERTED SPACES: THE LESSER VIRGIN MARY CHURCH OF BUDA

A sacred landscape is a mosaic of sacred places, each of which emerge, develop, and function in a unique context. Unfortunately, it is often the case that the layers of processes and ideas involved in the making of a place devoted to the Virgin Mary in medieval Hungary are lost to time, leaving no historical or archaeological record except the evidence that they existed at a certain time and place. The so-called Lesser Virgin Mary Church, also known as the St. Sigismund Church, founded in Buda shortly before 1410 by King Sigismund of Luxembourg (later Holy Roman Emperor Sigismund) is a fascinating exception, which can serve as a case study of the placemaking process of an individual Marian place in the Hungarian landscape. The circumstances of its foundation connect it to a phenomenon in late medieval German-speaking lands where the Marian cult, Jewish persecution, and medieval antisemitic<sup>385</sup> rhetoric combined in a unique form in the urban environment: the destruction of synagogues and construction of Christian churches, most often dedicated to the Virgin Mary, in their place.

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<sup>385</sup> In this text I use the term “antisemitism” rather than “anti-Judaism.” In my opinion, using the term “anti-Judaism” puts too much emphasis on purely theological prejudice or discrimination, whereas, even in the Middle Ages, hostility towards Jews was much more nuanced and complex (on this dichotomy see Jeanne Favret-Saada, “A fuzzy distinction: Anti-Judaism and anti-Semitism (An excerpt from *Le Judaïsme et ses Juifs*),” *HAU: Journal of Ethnographic Theory* 4, no. 3 (Winter 2014): 335–340). In response to the accusation that the use of the term “antisemitism” before the nineteenth century is an anachronism, François Soyer—in his recently published book on the topic—points out that dividing the history of anti-Jewish rhetoric “into a ‘religious’ pre-modern period and a ‘racial’ modern period” can be, in many respects, “even more of a historical anachronism” (François Soyer, *Medieval Antisemitism* (Leeds: Arc Humanities Press, 2019), 87). This division both “overlooks the fact that the origins of many of the key modern antisemitic tropes can be traced back to medieval ideas about Jews” and the existence of a late medieval “understanding of Judaism as a hereditary, biological trait of the Jews” (Soyer, *Medieval Antisemitism*, 88, 89). As such, I agree with Susannah Heschel who notes that she and many other scholars “no longer find the distinction between theological anti-Judaism and antisemitism to be helpful” (Susannah Heschel, “Historiography of Antisemitism versus Anti-Judaism: A Response to Robert Morgan,” *Journal for the Study of the New Testament* 33/3 (March 1, 2011): 258). Additionally, I use “antisemitism” instead of “anti-Semitism” to underline its use as a unified term. In addition to the works cited above, for more on the definition and history of these terms see, for example: Matthew Chalmers, “‘Anti-Semitism’ Before ‘Semites’: The Risks and Rewards of Anachronism,” *The Public Medievalist*, July 30, 2017, <https://www.publicmedievalist.com/anti-semitism-before-semite/>; Robert Chazan, *Medieval Stereotypes and Modern Antisemitism* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997); Raimo Tapani Hakola, “Anti-Judaism, Anti-Semitism in the New Testament and its Interpretation,” in *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Biblical Interpretation*, ed. S. L. McKenzie, vol. 1 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 27–35; Kyle Jantzen, “Article Note: On Christian Anti-Judaism and Antisemitism,” *Contemporary Church History Quarterly* 20/3 (September 2014), <https://contemporarychurchhistory.org/2014/09/on-christian-anti-judaism-and-antisemitism/>; Gavin Langmuir, *Toward a Definition of Antisemitism* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996, c1990); William I. Brustein, *Roots of Hate: Anti-Semitism in Europe before the Holocaust* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2003); David Nirenberg, *Anti-Judaism: The Western Tradition* (NY: W. W. Norton & Company, 2013); Joshua Trachtenberg, *The Devil and the Jews: The Medieval Conception of the Jew and Its Relation to Modern Anti-Semitism* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1943, repr. 1983); Rosemary Ruether, *Faith and Fratricide: The Theological Roots of Anti-Semitism* (NY: Seabury Press, 1997); Uriel Tal, “Religious and Anti-Religious Roots of Modern Anti-Semitism,” in *Religion, Politics and Ideology in the Third Reich: Selected Essays* (New York: Routledge, 1984), 171–90.



The known cases of synagogue-to-Marian church conversion are clustered in German lands and western Bohemia, the closest site to Hungary would probably be Munich (München), a distance of about 560 km from Buda. Such an example in Hungary certainly would seem to be an outlier. The idea that there could be a connection between this phenomenon—and one German example of this occurrence in particular—and the Lesser Virgin Mary Church was first suggested by Bernát L. Kumorovitz and András Végh.<sup>386</sup> There is still room to build on their work, however. In this chapter I will further contextualize the Lesser Virgin Mary Church's construction and test the validity of its connection to the wider synagogue-turned-Marian church phenomenon by examining Sigismund's relationship with Jewish communities in Hungary and the Holy Roman Empire more widely and his connection to the conversion of synagogues into Marian churches in other towns of the Holy Roman Empire, which has not yet been considered in this context. It is also important to explore what other evidence, if any, of this combination of antisemitic rhetoric and Marian devotion existed in Hungary contemporaneously to the erection of the Lesser Virgin Mary Church, something that has, up to this point, not been explored.

The practice of converting synagogues into Marian churches is restricted to a period of 170 years—from 1349 until 1519—in a total of 16 cities (Figure 17). Except for one example from Cologne, these occurrences seem to be confined exclusively to Bavaria, Franconia, Saxony, and Bohemia.<sup>387</sup> Hedwig Röckelein's seminal study on this topic collected the names of these cities and the relative dates of conversion, they are (listed alphabetically with the date of the murder or expulsion of the Jews followed by the first evidence of the Christian rite at the site of the synagogue): Amberg (1391, 1401), Bamberg (1349, before 1370), Cheb (Eger; 1430, 1468<sup>388</sup>), Halle an der Saale (1493, shortly after 1493), Heidelberg (1391, 1391), Ingolstadt (1: 1384, 1384; 2: 1397, 1397), Cologne (Köln; 1424, 1426), Magdeburg (1493, shortly after 1493), Miltenberg (1429, 1429), Munich (München; 1440, 1442), Nuremberg

<sup>386</sup> Bernát L. Kumorovitz, "A budai várkapolna és Szent Zsigmond-prépostság történetéhez" [The history of the castle chapel in Buda and of St. Sigismund Provostry], *Tanulmányok Budapest Múltjából* 15 (1963): 109–51; András Végh, "Adatok a budai kisebb Szűz Mária, más néven Szent Zsigmond templom alapításának történetéhez," *Budapest Régiségei* 33 (1999): 25–34. It should be noted that Judit Majorossy also suggested that the Lesser Virgin Mary/St. Sigismund Church could be an example of the converting of a former synagogue into a Christian church in Judit Majorossy, "A Krisztus Teste Konfraternitás helye a középkori pozsonyi polgárok életében" [The place of the Corpus Christi Confraternity in the life of medieval citizens of Bratislava], *Történelmi Szemle* 46/1–2 (2004): 83.

<sup>387</sup> Hedwig Röckelein, "Marienverehrung und Judenfeindlichkeit in Mittelalter und früher Neuzeit," in *Maria in der Welt. Marienverehrung im Kontext der Sozialgeschichte 10. - 18. Jahrhundert*, ed. Claudia Opitz and Hedwig Röckelein (Zurich: Chronos, 1993), 280, 282. Also important on this subject is another article by Hedwig Röckelein, which focuses on Christian dealings with synagogues and cemeteries, see: Hedwig Röckelein, "Die grabstein, so vil tasent guldin wert sein: Vom Umgang der Christen mit Synagogen und jüdischen Friedhöfen im Mittelalter und am Beginn der Neuzeit," *Aschkenas. Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Kultur der Juden* 5/1 (1995): 11–45.

<sup>388</sup> Röckelein lists this date as 1448 (Röckelein, "Marienverehrung und Judenfeindlichkeit," 280).

(Nürnberg; 1349, 1352?–1358), Regensburg (1519, 1519), Rothenburg ob der Tauber (1: 1397, 1404; 2: 1519, 1520), Weißenburg in Bayern (1520, 1520), Wertheim (1447, before 1452), and Würzburg (1349, before 1372).<sup>389</sup>



Figure 17. Sites of synagogues converted into churches in late medieval Central Europe.<sup>390</sup>

The motivations behind these conversions are multi-faceted and not always clear, however, a combination of factors can be identified, including: religious fervor, antisemitic rhetoric (within the cult of the Virgin Mary and in general), pragmatism (regarding the expansion/reorganization of cities), tensions between different civic groups, and the specific form of Marian devotion in the regions where the conversions have been identified.<sup>391</sup> Certainly, during the fourteenth to sixteenth centuries expulsions and violence against the

<sup>389</sup> Röckelein, “Marienverehrung und Judenfeindlichkeit,” 280, see also 302–3 for studies related to each site.

<sup>390</sup> Site locations identified from: J. M. Minty, “*Judengasse* to Christian Quarter: The Phenomenon of the Converted Synagogue in the Late Medieval and Early Modern Holy Roman Empire,” in *Popular Religion in Germany and Central Europe, 1400–1800*, ed. Bob Scribner and Trevor Johnson (NY: Macmillan, 1996), 58–86; Röckelein, “Marienverehrung und Judenfeindlichkeit”; Majorossy, “A Krisztus Teste Konfraternitás,” 82–3; Végh, “Adatok a budai kisebb Szűz Mária.” Note that I do not include a few of the sites included by Minty due to lack of evidence (Deutz, Erfurt); I also do not include Trento since it is outside the scope of this study, cf. Minty, “*Judengasse* to Christian Quarter,” 61.

<sup>391</sup> The most thorough investigations on this topic are Röckelein, “Marienverehrung und Judenfeindlichkeit,” 279–307; and Minty, “*Judengasse* to Christian Quarter,” 58–86.

Jews—ignited, for example, by plague prosecutions in the mid-fourteenth century and accusations of host desecration—opened the way for the seizure of synagogues.<sup>392</sup> While the conversion of seized synagogues into Marian churches was a notable trend, it was certainly not the rule. Many were simply destroyed, entered private hands, or converted for secular use.<sup>393</sup> Others were converted into religious buildings; in addition to Marian churches there are examples of synagogues being replaced by churches dedicated to other saints—for example, St. Adalbert (Jauer, 1438), St. Salvator (Passau, 1479–1484), and St. Margaret (České Budějovice/Budweis, ca. 1516)—as well as other kinds of religious edifices, such as the synagogue of Brühl, which was converted into a house for the Observant Franciscans in 1491.<sup>394</sup>

The Virgin Mary was by far the most common patron of converted synagogues in the late Middle Ages, however. J. M. Minty lists three factors that can be connected to this phenomenon: “1) Mary as symbol of the New Eve and of *Ecclesia*; 2) the general popularity of the Marian cult; 3) the desire to retaliate for Mary’s persecution by the Jews.”<sup>395</sup> Evidence of antisemitic themes can be found in Marian legends and literature from the early Middle Ages but gained popularity from the eleventh and twelfth centuries.<sup>396</sup> Late medieval theologians and preachers too can be cited as contributing to the dichotomy of the Virgin Mary and the Jews, in particular by emphasizing the Jews’ rejection of Mary as the mother of God as a sign

<sup>392</sup> On this topic see: František Graus, *Pest - Geissler – Judenmorde: das 14. Jahrhundert als Krisenzeit* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1994); and Mitchell B. Merback, *Pilgrimage and Pogrom: Violence, Memory, and Visual Culture at the Host-Miracle Shrines of Germany and Austria* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012).

<sup>393</sup> Examples of synagogues adapted to secular use include a granary (Basel, ca. 1350), a brewery (Freiburg, ca. 1350), and a flour mill (Korneuburg, ca. 1420s). We should also mention here the destruction of a synagogue in Vienna, following persecution of the city’s Jewish population, and the reuse of its stones in a new wing of the university in 1421. Minty, “*Judengasse to Christian Quarter*,” 60.

<sup>394</sup> *Ibid.*, 59, 223n23, 224n33, 224n37.

<sup>395</sup> *Ibid.*, 80. On the “*Ecclesia-Synagoga*” iconography and the Virgin Mary’s connection to it see: Rubin, *Mother of God*, 168; Miri Rubin, “*Ecclesia and Synagoga: The Changing Meanings of a Powerful Pairing*,” in *Conflict and Religious Conversation in Latin Christendom: Studies in Honour of Ora Limor*, ed. Israel Yuval and Ram Ben-Shalom (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014): 55–86; E. Kirschbaum, ed., *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, 8 vols. (Rome, 1968–76), vol. I, col. 994; vol. III, cols. 562–563; W. Seiferth, *Synagogue and Church in the Middle Ages*, trans. L. Chadeayne and P. Gottwald (NY, 1970), 136, 138, 146, 156; Hans Liebeschütz, *Synagoge und Ecclesia* (Heidelberg: Lambert Schneider, 1983); Nina Rowe, *The Jew, the Cathedral and the Medieval City: Synagoga and Ecclesia in the Thirteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011).

<sup>396</sup> Röckelein, “*Marienveneration und Judenfeindlichkeit*,” 273. See also on this topic: Gabriela Signori, “*Judenfeindschaft ohne Juden. Die Marienmirakel des englischen Benediktinermönchs Wilhelm von Malmesbury, (ca. 1095 bis ca. 1143)*,” *Mittelalterliches Jahrbuch* 46 (2011): 1–14; and Peter Michael Spangenberg, “*Judenfeindlichkeit in den altfranzösischen Marienmirakeln. Stereotypen oder Symptome der Veränderung der kollektiven Selbsterfahrung?*” in *Die Legende vom Ritualmord. Zur Geschichte der Blutbeschuldigung gegen Juden (Dokumente, Texte, Materialien, Bd. 6)*, ed. Erb Rainer (Berlin, 1993), 157–77. Antisemitic themes can also be identified in late medieval Marian imagery, see Klaus Schreiner, “*Antijudaismus in Marienbildern des späten Mittelalters*,” in *Rituale, Zeichen, Bilder. Formen und Funktionen symbolischer Kommunikation im Mittelalter. Festschrift für Klaus Schreiner zum 80. Geburtstag*, ed. Ulrich Meier, Gabriela Signori, and Gerd Schwerhoff (Cologne, 2011), 243–81.

of wickedness and associating the murder of Jesus Christ by the Jews with the motherhood of Mary.<sup>397</sup>

Combined with these factors was the more “pragmatic” matter of city expansion and/or reorganization. At times Jews owned land that, due to urban growth, became more and more valuable. This was especially true because Jewish communities were often originally built near city limits or walls that, as towns grew, became central.<sup>398</sup> Thus, the Jews were sometimes encouraged or forced to relocate, or leave a city entirely, in order for city leaders—royal or otherwise—to undertake building projects. Minty lists four synagogue conversions—in Nuremberg (1350), Landshut (ca. 1350–1410), Cologne (1424),<sup>399</sup> and Frankfurt (1462)—where urban growth and town planning had a large role in the conversion.<sup>400</sup> Two additional, and often interrelated, pragmatic factors in synagogue conversion concerned “chamber serfdom” (*servitudo camerae/Kammerknechtschaft*) and the rights to the property of slain Jews.<sup>401</sup> These pieces of legislation essentially meant that the Jews—and their properties—belonged to the king. Because the Jews were under royal protection, they were often at the center of conflicts between civic leaders and the king. Therefore, synagogue conversion was also often intermingled with the concept of urban autonomy.<sup>402</sup>

## 1. The Lesser Virgin Mary Church in the Urban Topography of Buda

The Lesser Virgin Mary Church was built by King Sigismund shortly before 1410 as a royal collegiate church, in front of the royal castle, between St. John’s Street (today’s Színház utca) and the Jewish Street (today’s Szent György utca), as revealed by archaeological excavations (Figure 18).<sup>403</sup> In August of 1410 Pope John XXIII issued two charters concerning

<sup>397</sup> Röckelein, “Marienverehrung und Judenfeindlichkeit,” 292; Minty, “Judengasse to Christian Quarter,” 80. See also on these themes: Johannes Heil and Rainer Kampling, eds., *Maria - Tochter Sion? Mariologie, Marienfrömmigkeit und Judenfeindschaft* (Paderborn: Verlag Ferdinand Schöningh GmbH, 2001); Rubin, *Mother of God*, 161–8; Lionel Rothkrug, *Religious Practices and Collective Perceptions: Hidden Homologies in the Renaissance and Reformation, Historical Reflections*, 7/1 (Waterloo, Ontario, 1980), 68, 87; Markus J. Wenninger, *Man bedarf keiner Juden mehr: Ursachen und Hintergründe ihrer Vertreibung aus den deutschen Reichsstädten im 15. Jahrhundert* (Vienna: Hermann Böhlhaus Nachf., 1981), 28.

<sup>398</sup> Minty, “Judengasse to Christian Quarter,” 65.

<sup>399</sup> A volume on the excavation of the Cologne synagogue and medieval Jewish quarter and the development of a museum at the site has recently been published, see Sven Schütte and Marianne Gechter, eds., *Von der Ausgrabung zum Museum - Kölner Archäologie zw. Rathaus und Prätorium. Ergebnisse 2006-2012* (Cologne: Stadt Köln, 2012).

<sup>400</sup> Minty, “Judengasse to Christian Quarter,” 65–76.

<sup>401</sup> Ibid., 73. It is debated whether the term “chamber serfdom” is an appropriate term to use in relation to the status of Jews in Hungary; on this topic see Nora Berend, *At the Gate of Christendom: Jews, Muslims and ‘Pagans’ in Medieval Hungary, c. 1000-c. 1300* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 74–84.

<sup>402</sup> Röckelein, “Marienverehrung und Judenfeindlichkeit,” 288–290.

<sup>403</sup> Végh, *Buda város középkori helyrajza*, I:70. The remains of the church were discovered during excavations in 1988 and 1994–1996 (Végh, *Buda város középkori helyrajza*, I:70). On the excavations see: István Feld, Anna Gyuricza, Erzsébet Hanny, Andrea Pölös, and András Végh, “I. Szent György tér” [I St. George Square], in “A

the newly built church—the first issued August 3 stating that King Sigismund had founded a chapel in honor of the Virgin Mary and the second issued August 18 containing an indulgence for those who would visit the new chapel on certain Marian feast days.<sup>404</sup> We also know of the church's construction from a contemporary chronicle by Eberhard Windecke, who noted that in the year 1424 King Sigismund had founded a new chapter church in honor of St. Sigismund on the Jewish Street (*in der Judengassen*).<sup>405</sup> The fact that the churches referred to by the above documents are actually the same church with a double *patrocinia*, and not two separate churches, was first pointed out by Kumorovitz.<sup>406</sup>

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Középkori Osztály munkatársainak ásatásai és leletmentései 1981–1991 között” [Excavations and finds by the staff of the Medieval Department between 1981-1991], *BudRég* 29 (1992): 242–4; Gergely Buzás and István Feld, eds., *A budavári Szent Zsigmond templom és gótikus szobrai* (Budapest, 1996); István Feld, “Beszámoló az egykori budai Szent Zsigmond templom és környéke feltárásáról” [Report on the excavation of the former church of St. Sigismund in Buda and its surroundings], *BudRég* 33 (1999): 35–50.

<sup>404</sup> Bologna, Aug. 3, 1410: “. . . de bonis tibi a deo collatis in honorem ac sub vocabulo beate virginis Marie decrevisti collegiatam ecclesiam pro uno preposito et certis canonicis in partibus huiusmodi et in civitate Bude erigere et sufficienter dotare . . .” BTOE, III:287–8, no. 553. Bologna, Aug. 18, 1410: “Johannes (XXIII. papa) . . . fratri Brande episcopo Placentino referendario nostro in Ungarie et aliis regnis et partibus . . . Sigismundo regi Ungarie . . . subiectis . . . pro nobis et Romana ecclesia reformatori . . . Tue . . . fraternitati . . . omnibus vere penitentibus et confessis, qui b. Marie virg. in castro Budensi et extra idem castrum capellas regias in nativité, assumpt., annunt., purificat, et visitationis . . . ac dedicationis capellarum earundem festivitatibus devote visitaverint, annuatim, singulis vidl. festivitatibus huiusmodi . . . vigintiquinque annos et totidem quadragenas de iniunctis eis penitentiis auctoritate nostra relaxandi plenam . . . concedimus facultatem . . .” Doc. no. 554, in BTOE, III:288. See also: Végh, “Adatok a budai kisebb Szűz Mária,” 25.

<sup>405</sup> “CCI. Hie macht konig Sigemont zü Ofen ein halp thümherrnstift in der Judengassen. [209.] In der selben wilen stifte konig Sigemont ein halp thumherrnstift in der stat zu Ofen in der Juden gassen in der nuwen capellen in gotes ere und ouch in sant Sigemunts ere; zu dem selben stifte das meist teil gap er des Schalagas güter, also das der selbe stift volbrocht wart.” Wilhelm Altmann, ed., *Eberhart Windeckes: Denkwürdigkeiten zur Geschichte des Zeitalters Kaiser Sigmunds* (Berlin: R. Gaertners Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1893), 179. For a full collection of later references to the Lesser Virgin Mary Church see Végh, *Buda város középkori helyrajza*, I:70.

<sup>406</sup> Kumorovitz, *A budai várkapolna és Szent Zsigmond-prépostság történetéhez*, 109–51.

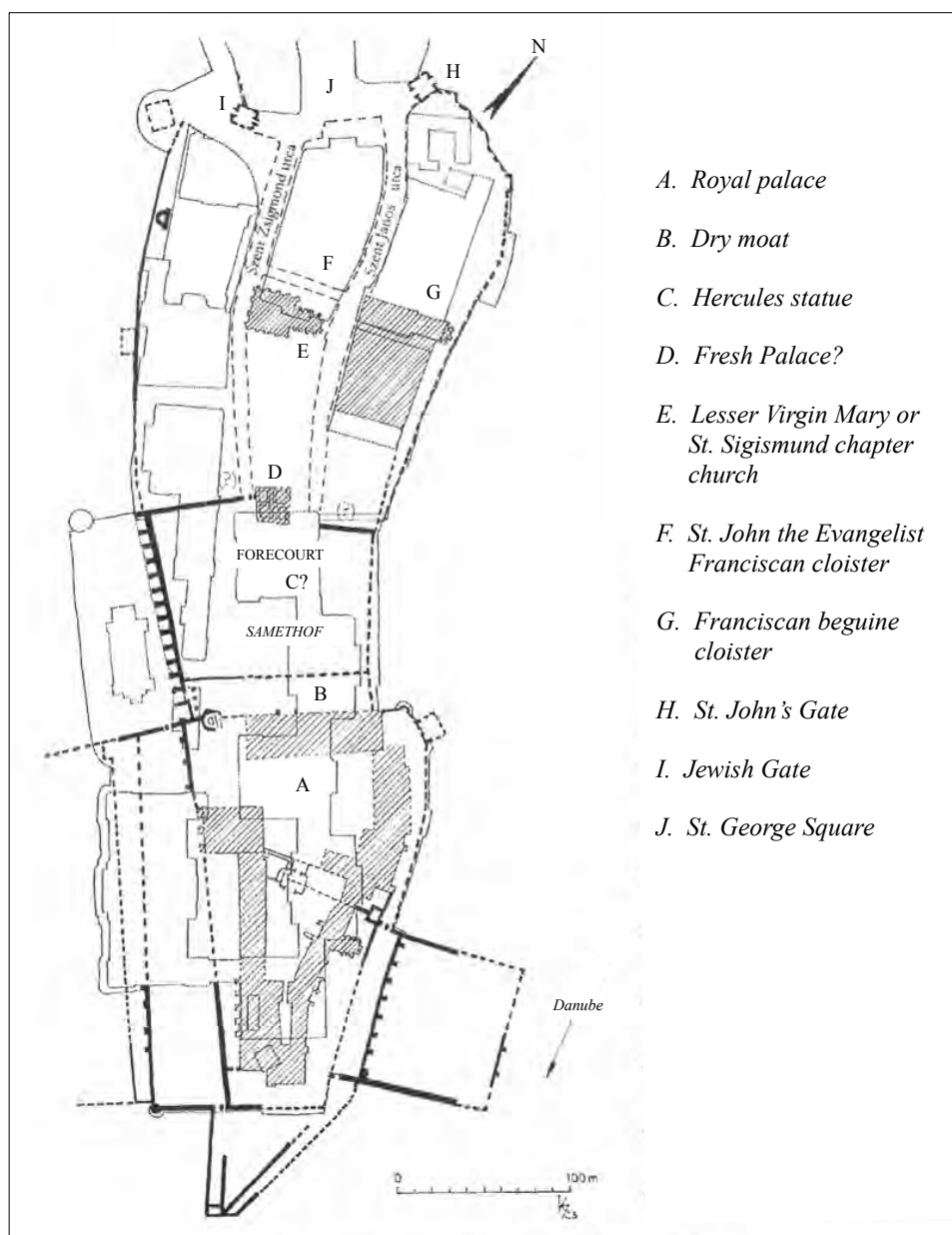


Figure 18. Location of the Lesser Virgin Mary/St. Sigismund Church (E) in Buda (Végh, “Középkori városnegyed a királyi palota előterében,” 28).<sup>407</sup>

The new collegiate church’s location on the Jewish Street meant that it was located in the first Jewish quarter of Buda.<sup>408</sup> The Jewish quarter was situated in the area of St. George

<sup>407</sup> Text from map translated into English by the author. C refers to a bronze statue of Hercules that Matthias Corvinus had commissioned in memory of his brother and erected in the palace courtyard (see András Végh, *Buda, I. kötet, 1686-ig / Part I. to 1686*, Magyar Várostartörténeti Atlasz 4. / Hungarian Atlas of Historic Towns No. 4 (Budapest: MTA Történettudományi Intézete, 2015), 44). For information on individual owners/residents of plots in this area see Végh’s original map (András Végh, “Középkori városnegyed a királyi palota előterében a budavári Szent György tér és környezetének története a középkorban” [Medieval City Quarter in the Foreground of the Royal Palace (History of the St. George Square and its Surroundings in Buda)], *Tanulmányok Budapest Múltjából* 31 (2003): 28). This information has been removed from the version of the map included here since the information is not relevant for the current analysis.

<sup>408</sup> On the first Jewish quarter in Buda see: Katalin Szende, “Traders, ‘Court Jews’, Town Jews: The Changing Roles of Hungary’s Jewish Population in the Light of Royal Policy between the Eleventh and Fourteenth Centuries,” in *Intricate Interfaith Networks in the Middle Ages: Quotidian Jewish-Christian Contacts*, ed. Ephraim Shoham-Steiner (Turnhout: Brepols, 2016), 135–7; András Végh, “Buda város első zsidónegyedének emlékei az újabb ásatások fényében [The remains of the first Jewish quarter of Buda in the light of recent

Square (Szent György tér) in the southwestern part of Castle Hill.<sup>409</sup> The first mention of the Jewish Street comes from 1384, but the old Jewish quarter's synagogue was referenced earlier, in a chronicle discussing events that took place in 1307.<sup>410</sup> However, it is believed that the Jewish quarter existed from the time of the foundation of the town of Buda, since the discovery of several early tombstones from the medieval Jewish cemetery (located in the valley of today's Pauler utca in Krisztinaváros) under the Jewish Gate (Fehérvári kapu), the earliest dating to 1278.<sup>411</sup>

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excavations],” *Régészeti kutatások Magyarországon* 2005 (2006): 125–46; József Laszlovszky, “Crown, Gown and Town: Zones of Royal, Ecclesiastical and Civic Interaction in Medieval Buda and Visegrád,” in *Segregation — Integration — Assimilation*, 192–203.

<sup>409</sup> For the history and archeological excavations at St. George's Square see: Végh, “Középkori városnegyed a királyi palota előterében,” 7–42; idem, “A Szent György utca 4-10. számú telkek régészeti ásatása” [Archaeological excavation of plots 4-10 St. George Street], *Tanulmányok Budapest Múltjából* 31 (2003): 167–90; Dorottya B. Nyékhelyi, *Középkori kútlet a budavári Szent György téren* [Medieval well in St. George's Square in Buda Castle] (Budapest: Budapesti Történeti Múzeum, 2003).

<sup>410</sup> Esztergom, April 24, 1384: “...in platea Iudeorum...” (DL-DF 238323; BTOE, III:7, no. 18). The events that took place in 1307 are recorded in the Hungarian Illuminated Chronicle. They recount how László, son of Werner, invaded the city of Buda by entering through the gate located next to the synagogue: “Quo facto in eisdem eventibus Ladizlaus filius Wernerii de captivitate regis Venczelai anno fere tertio liberator et cum Iohanne filio Chaak castrum Budense per portam, que est iuxta synagogam Iudeorum, feria quinta post festum Beate Petronelle virginis, noctis in silentio subintravit...” (SRH, I:485). See also: Végh, “Buda város első zsidónegyedének emlékei,” 125–6.

<sup>411</sup> Végh, “Buda város első zsidónegyedének emlékei,” 126.

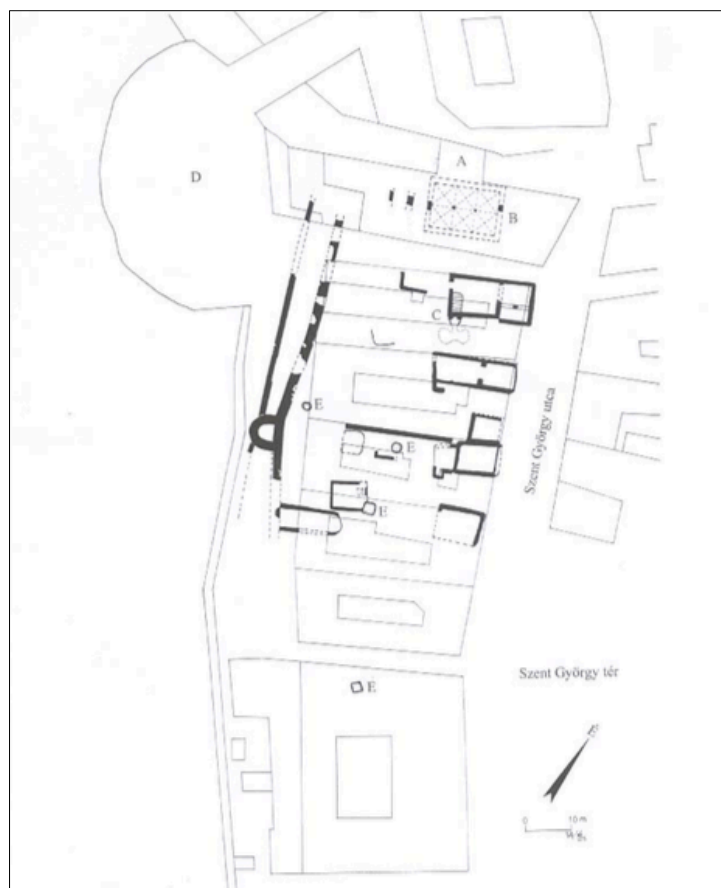


Figure 19. Location of the synagogue and houses and wells from the 13<sup>th</sup> to 14<sup>th</sup> centuries on the medieval Jewish Street in Buda. A= Jewish gate. B= synagogue. C= ritual bath. D= Fehérvári round bastion. E= wells. (Végh, “Buda város első zsidónegyedének emlékei,” 146, fig. 11)

The exact location of the synagogue has long been uncertain, recent excavations, however, have revealed the location to be near today’s 12 St. George’s Street, on the southern side of and directly next to the Jewish Gate (Figure 19).<sup>412</sup> It had been previously hypothesized that the Lesser Virgin Mary Church was built directly on the site of the synagogue.<sup>413</sup> Archaeological research has proved that this is not the case, so considering this vital factor, the construction of the Lesser Virgin Mary Church does not seem to fit the criteria for synagogue-to-Marian church conversion. Nevertheless, it was still constructed in the Jewish quarter, which is significant.

Earlier scholarship maintained that the Jewish quarter of Buda had, for almost fifty years, been relocated to the north by the time of the building of the collegiate church.<sup>414</sup> In

<sup>412</sup> On the archaeological excavations see: Végh, “Buda város első zsidónegyedének emlékei,” 125–46; idem, “Buda első zsinagógája és korai zsidónegyedének régészeti emlékei” [The First Synagogue of Buda and the Archaeological Findings from the Early Jewish Quarter], *Magyar Múzeumok* 13/3 (2007): 13–17; idem, “Les synagogues de Buda (XIV<sup>e</sup> et XV<sup>e</sup> siècles) : fouilles récentes,” in *Archéologie du judaïsme en France et en Europe. Colloque international, Paris, 14 et 15 janvier 2010*, ed. Paul Salmona and Laurence Sigal (Paris, 2011), 215–24.

<sup>413</sup> Végh, “Adatok a budai kisebb Szűz Mária,” 29–31.

<sup>414</sup> Alexander Scheiber, *Jewish Inscriptions in Hungary: From the 3rd Century to 1686* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1983), 83; László Zolnay, *Buda középkori zsidósága és zsinagógáik* [The medieval Jews of Buda and their



1360 King Louis the Great had expelled the Jews from Hungary<sup>415</sup>; five years later, however, they were readmitted. It was thought that after the Jews were expelled, Jewish properties, including the synagogue, were taken over by Louis and given to his followers.<sup>416</sup> Finding that they could not return to their former location, a new Jewish quarter along with a new synagogue was established in the northern part of Buda, on 23 Táncsics Mihály Street, located east of the *Kammerhof*—which had served as the royal residence in Buda in the fourteenth century (and possibly also the second half of the thirteenth century (Figure 20)).<sup>417</sup> This presumption is not based on any source, however, and András Végh has shown that the theory that the Jewish quarter moved to the north in the mid-fourteenth century is based on the misidentification of a house.<sup>418</sup> Additionally, according to an inscription found during the excavation of the synagogue on Táncsics Mihály Street, it was constructed in 1461, further giving credence to the theory that the movement of the Jewish quarter occurred later.<sup>419</sup>

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synagogues] (Budapest: Statisztikai Kiadó Vállalat, 1987), 16–17; András Kubinyi, “A magyarországi zsidóság története a középkorban” [The History of the Hungarian Jews in the Middle Ages], *Soproni szemle* 49 (1995): 7.

<sup>415</sup> On the dating of the expulsion see Róbert Dán, “Mikor űzte ki I. Lajos a zsidókat?” [When did Louis I expel the Jews?], *Tanulmányok Budapest múltjából* 24 (1991): 9–16.

<sup>416</sup> Scheiber, *Jewish Inscriptions in Hungary*, 83; Kubinyi, “A magyarországi zsidóság története,” 7.

<sup>417</sup> Végh, *Buda Part I to 1686*, 50. Another, later Jewish prayer house was discovered nearby at 26 Táncsics Mihály Street. Végh, *Buda város középkori helyrajza*, I:71.

<sup>418</sup> Végh, “Adatok a budai kisebb Szűz Mária,” 29; Végh, “Buda város első zsidónegyedének emlékei,” 126; Végh, “Középkori városnegyed,” 14–15, 21. Cf. Scheiber, *Jewish Inscriptions in Hungary*, 81–5; Zolnay, *Buda középkori zsidósága és zsinagógáik*, 16–17.

<sup>419</sup> Végh, “Adatok a budai kisebb Szűz Mária,” 30; Scheiber, *Jewish Inscriptions in Hungary*, 83–4. This is presumably the same synagogue as one mentioned in litigations in 1462 (*super facto domorum Sinagoge et Jacobhaza*). MZsO, VIII:78, no. 59. See also Végh, *Buda város középkori helyrajza*, I:71.

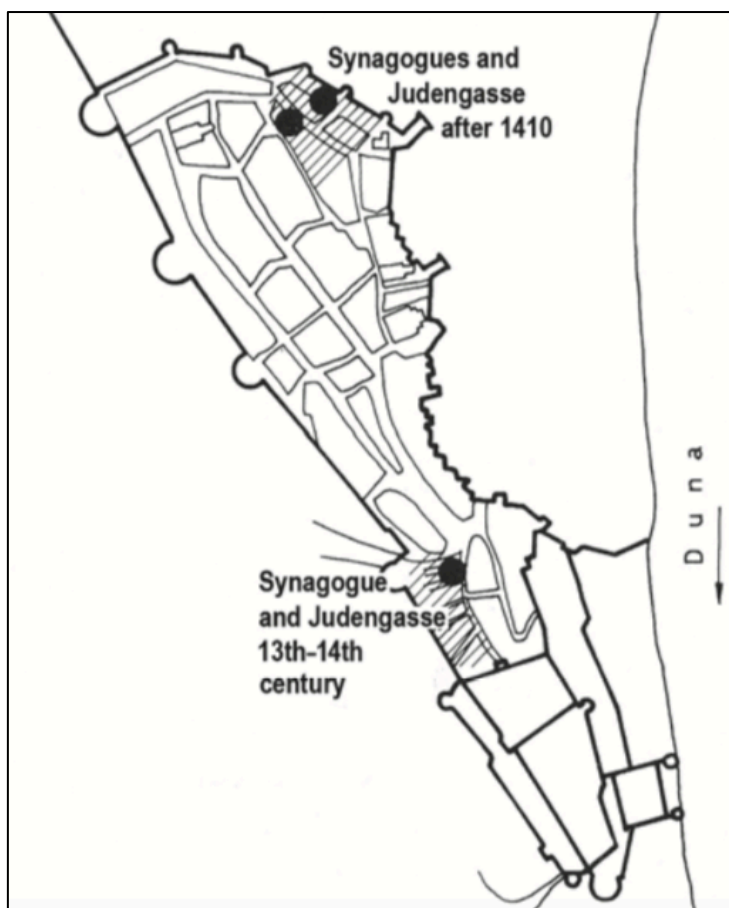


Figure 20. Locations of the old and new Jewish quarters of Buda (Szende, “Traders, ‘Court Jews,’ Town Jews,” 134, fig. 3.2a).

What is still unclear, however, is exactly when and why the Jewish quarter moved north. It should be noted that it does not seem that the old Jewish Quarter was inhabited exclusively by Jews, a charter concerning parish boundaries from the year 1390 states that the parish church of Mary Magdalene had under its jurisdiction the area from the Jewish Street and St. John Street up to the royal court.<sup>420</sup> Similarly, the late fourteenth-century documents that mention the Jewish Street are actually deeds referring to Christian householders.<sup>421</sup> However, the association of the Jewish community with the area of the old Jewish Quarter was still strong enough that in Eberhard Windecke’s chronicle the street was called *der Juden gassen* in 1424,<sup>422</sup> and in a deed from 1511, almost a century later, the street was referred to as “the place formerly inhabited by the Jews” (*in vico sew plathea antiqua per Iudeos quondam inhabitata*).<sup>423</sup>

<sup>420</sup> Buda, Dec. 1, 1390: “... item platea Iudeorum, et a sancto Iohanne usque ad curiam regis...” BTOE, III:50–1, no. 1111; Végh, “Középkori városnegyed,” 15; Végh, “Buda város első zsidónegyedének emlékei,” 126.

<sup>421</sup> Végh, “Buda város első zsidónegyedének emlékei,” 126.

<sup>422</sup> Altmann, *Eberhart Windeckes*, 179.

<sup>423</sup> 1511/1514: DL-DF 22563.

It is possible that the transition from the old Jewish Quarter to the new one was a gradual process,<sup>424</sup> and that by the completion of the new synagogue in 1461 most if not all the Jews of Buda had moved to the new quarter. We do not have any sources directly relating to the relocation but given the documentary evidence we do have and the fact that King Sigismund had moved his residence from Visegrád to Buda in 1408 the impetus behind the move can be surmised. As result of the move of his residence, King Sigismund began an expansion of the royal palace and construction of new buildings, necessitating a systematic rearrangement of the foreground of the palace.<sup>425</sup> As a result, the old Jewish quarter became very valuable property, and the Jewish Street became the most direct route leading up to the royal palace.<sup>426</sup> These construction works could not have occurred without the removal of the Jewish community from the area. I am not aware of any evidence showing that the Jews were forcefully relocated, nor that they were compensated for their properties in some way. Archaeological research does not shed much more light on this issue: excavations have shown that the old synagogue was demolished during King Sigismund's reign, sometime between the turn of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, but the exact time is unknown.<sup>427</sup> The buildings that occupied the area where the Lesser Virgin Mary Church would later be built, as well as the plots surrounding it, were demolished from the north to the south in the early fifteenth century, but again the exact timeline is unknown.<sup>428</sup> In any case, the result of the expansion of the royal palace was the movement of the Jewish Quarter.

By the building of a Marian church on a formerly Jewish area (even if not directly on the synagogue) Sigismund was echoing a similar building project that his father, the Holy Roman Emperor Charles IV, had enacted in the city of Nuremberg.<sup>429</sup> On October 2, 1349 Charles IV granted the city of Nuremberg a privilege that would absolve them from any responsibility for violence the people might inflict on the Jews of the city.<sup>430</sup> Two months later the Jews of Nuremberg did become targets of violence: hundreds were murdered, their houses and synagogue destroyed, and the Jewish cemetery was pillaged.<sup>431</sup> No Jews remained in the

<sup>424</sup> Suggested by: Végh, "Középkori városnegyed," 21.

<sup>425</sup> Végh, "Középkori városnegyed," 42.

<sup>426</sup> Ibid.

<sup>427</sup> Végh, "Buda város első zsidónegyedének emlékei," 132.

<sup>428</sup> Zoltán Kárpáti, "A Szent Zsigmond-templom és környéke: Régészeti jelentés" [The St. Sigismund Church. Archaeological Report], *Tanulmányok Budapest múltjából* 31 (2003): 224–5.

<sup>429</sup> This connection first suggested by: Kumorovitz, "A budai várkapolna és Szent Zsigmond-prépostság történetéhez," 109–51; and Végh, "Adatok a budai kisebb Szűz Mária," 25–34.

<sup>430</sup> David C. Mengel, "Emperor Charles IV, Jews and Urban Space," in *Christianity and Culture in the Middle Ages*, ed. David Mengel and Lisa Wolverton (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2015), 299.

<sup>431</sup> Mengel, "Emperor Charles IV, Jews and Urban Space," 299–300. The Jewish gravestones that had been pillaged were reused as building materials, including in the renovation of another church in the city—St. Lorenz (St. Lawrence). Mengel, "Emperor Charles IV, Jews and Urban Space," 300. On the Jewish cemetery of Nuremberg see also: Karl Kohn, "Die Lage des Nürnberger Judenfriedhof im Mittelalter," *Mitteilungen des*

city and the following year, Charles issued a charter in which, in the words of David C. Mengel, “he fully legitimized the plundering of all Jews’ property and other wealth in the city.”<sup>432</sup> In fact, Charles had already issued his so-called Market Charter in November of 1349, which ordered that in place of the synagogue a church in honor of the Virgin Mary should be built.<sup>433</sup> And it was, the new *Frauenkirche* of Nuremberg was completed in 1358.<sup>434</sup>

It should not be surprising that Emperor Sigismund would look to Nuremberg for architectural inspiration. Nuremberg was both Sigismund’s birthplace and his favorite imperial city.<sup>435</sup> He awarded the city numerous privileges—he confirmed 42 existing rights and granted the city a further 33.<sup>436</sup> Perhaps most significantly he placed the imperial regalia in the city, which had been transferred from Karlštejn first to Visegrád and finally to Nuremberg in 1423.<sup>437</sup> The enduring connection between Nuremberg and Sigismund was underlined by the city council commissioning Albrecht Dürer in 1510 to paint a portrait of Emperor Sigismund (along with Emperor Charlemagne) on the occasion of the transfer of the imperial regalia.<sup>438</sup> The city was also economically and politically important for Sigismund: the citizens of Nuremberg lent the emperor the largest sums of money ever lent to him and Nuremberg was the only city among the free and imperial cities to stay in continuous contact with Sigismund during the contentious years leading up to his election as Holy Roman Emperor.<sup>439</sup> There were also strong artistic connections between Nuremberg—and the *Frauenkirche* in particular—and

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*Vereins für Geschichte der Stadt Nürnberg* 70 (1983): 13–27; Günter Heinz Seidl, “Die Denkmäler des mittelalterlichen Jüdischen Friedhofs in Nürnberg,” *Mitteilungen des Vereins für Geschichte der Stadt Nürnberg* 70 (1983): 43–51.

<sup>432</sup> Mengel, “Emperor Charles IV, Jews and Urban Space,” 300. The charter was issued from Prague, Oct. 12, 1350: “sagt den rath und die bürger von Nürnberg ledig aller schulden an Juden, lebende oder todte, da alle Juden in seine und des reichs kammer gehören und er mit ihrem leib und gut thun möge, was er wolle.” J. F. Böhm, *Regesta Imperii VIII. Die Regesten des Kaiserreichs unter Kaiser Karl IV 1346–1378*, ed. Alfons Huber (Innsbruck: 1877), no. 1335, 107.

<sup>433</sup> Prague, Nov. 16, 1349: “...man aus der Judenschul sol machen eine kirchen in sant Marien ere unser frawen und di legen uf den grozzern platz an ain sulch stat, da ez die burger aller peste dunket.” Margarete Kühn, ed., *Dokumente zur Geschichte des Deutschen Reiches und seiner Verfassung: 1349*, Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Constitutiones et acta publica imperatorum et regum 9 (Hanover: Hahn, 1983), 481, no. 616

<sup>434</sup> Nuremberg was not the only place where Charles IV was involved with the conversion of a synagogue into a Marian church. Following a pogrom in Würzburg, Charles IV gave the synagogue to the bishop of Würzburg who converted into a Marian chapel, which quickly became a center of pilgrimage. Röcklein, “Marienverehrung und Judenfeindlichkeit,” 287–8.

<sup>435</sup> Zsombor Jékely, “Painting at the Court of Emperor Sigismund: The Nuremberg Connections of the Painter Thomas de Coloswar,” *Acta Historiae Artium* 58 (2017): 78.

<sup>436</sup> Frank Matthias Kammel, “Kaiser Sigismund und die Reichsstadt Nürnberg: Künstlerische Zeugnisse der Beziehung und des Nachruhms,” in *Sigismundus Rex et Imperator. Kunst und Kultur zur Zeit Sigismunds von Luxemburg 1387–1437*, ed. Imre Takács (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 2006), 480.

<sup>437</sup> Kammel, “Kaiser Sigismund und die Reichsstadt Nürnberg,” 480; Jékely, “Painting at the Court of Emperor Sigismund,” 78.

<sup>438</sup> Peter Fleischmann, “Zeremoniell und Memoria Kaiser und Reich in Nürnberg,” in *Kaiser - Reich - Stadt: Die Kaiserburg Nürnberg, Begleitbuch zur Ausstellung "Kaiser - Reich - Stadt. Die Kaiserburg Nürnberg" in der Kaiserburg Nürnberg, 13. Juli bis 10. November 2013* (Petersberg, 2013), 29.

<sup>439</sup> Kammel, “Kaiser Sigismund und die Reichsstadt Nürnberg,” 480.

Hungary.<sup>440</sup> This is illustrated in the example of Thomas de Coloswar's Calvary altarpiece from Garamszentbenedek (today's Hronský Beňadik, Slovakia), completed in 1427 and commissioned by Nicholas, chaplain of the royal chapel of Buda castle. Zsombor Jékely has argued that Thomas's painting style was strongly influenced by that found in Nuremberg in the early fifteenth century, and in particular can be connected to the workshops that developed in Nuremberg following the completion of the *Frauenkirche*'s main altar.<sup>441</sup>

Architecturally, the Lesser Virgin Mary Church in Buda is very similar to the Church of Our Lady in Nuremberg. Both ground plans follow the same pattern common to urban churches: a square nave with two aisles (which had straight, not rounded, eastern sides), a main chancel and nave of the same length, and the width of the main chancel being about one-third of the width of the nave.<sup>442</sup> Both the Nuremberg and Buda churches also possessed two patrons, one being the Virgin Mary in each case. In Nuremberg, the church was given the double *patrocinium* of the Virgin Mary and St. Wenceslaus (the name-sake saint of Charles IV, as Wenceslaus was his birthname) in 1358.<sup>443</sup> The Buda church was consecrated to the Virgin Mary and St. Sigismund, again the personal patron saint of the founder—King Sigismund.<sup>444</sup> Further, both churches served as court chapels in one of the most important cities in their respective kingdoms and their bodies formed a chapter.<sup>445</sup> All of these similarities are surely

<sup>440</sup> The possibility, degree, and variety of artistic connections and exchanges between Hungary and Nuremberg, and the Holy Roman Empire more widely, introduces a plethora of additional research questions, problems, and debates. It is outside the scope of this dissertation to comment on these issues; the idea of an artistic connection is included here only to provide another example of a possible contemporary link between Nuremberg and Hungary.

<sup>441</sup> Jékely, "Painting at the Court of Emperor Sigismund," 69–72, 78. On the high altar of the *Frauenkirche* of Nuremberg see Gerhard Weilandt, "Das Hochaltarretabel der Nürnberger Frauenkirche. Ein Hauptwerk der Kunst um 1400. Standortstudien V," in *Kunst als Herrschaftsinstrument. Böhmen und das Heilige Römische Reich unter den Luxemburgern im Europäischen Kontext*, ed. Jiří Fajt and Andrea Langer (Berlin–München, 2009), 196–221.

<sup>442</sup> Végh, "Adatok a budai kisebb Szűz Mária," 28–9.

<sup>443</sup> Ibid., 26.

<sup>444</sup> It should be noted that Charles IV was also a great supporter of the cult of St. Sigismund, especially after he was crowned the King of Burgundy in 1365. See: Végh, "Adatok a budai kisebb Szűz Mária," 27; Dragoş Gh. Năstăsoiu, "A New 'sancta et fidelis societas' for Saint Sigismund of Burgundy: His Cult and Iconography in Hungary during the Reign of Sigismund of Luxemburg," *Hungarian Historical Review* 5/3 (2016): 589–91; Franz Machilek, "Reliquientransfer und Politik. Zur Verehrung des hl. Burgunderkönigs Sigismund (um 474–524), unter besonderer Berücksichtigung Polens, Böhmens und Ungarns im 14. und 15. Jahrhundert," *Brücken: Germanistisches Jahrbuch Tschechien-Slowakei* 21/1–2 (2013): 59–98. See the entirety of Năstăsoiu's article ("A New 'sancta et fidelis societas,'" 587–617) for a discussion of King Sigismund's veneration of his holy name-sake, as well as: Péter Tóth, "Patronus regis–patronus regni. Kaiser Sigismund und die Verehrung des heiligen Sigismund in Ungarn," *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 1 (2008): 80–96.

<sup>445</sup> Végh, "Adatok a budai kisebb Szűz Mária," 26. The church in Buda was a collegiate church from 1457, see Végh, *Buda város középkori helyrajza*, I:70; András Kubinyi, "A Budavári Szent Zsigmond káptalan a késő középkorban" [he Chapter of St. Sigismund of Buda in the late Middle Ages], *Budapest Régiségei* 33 (1999): 19–23. According to the foundation charter of the *Frauenkirche* in Nürnberg, it was to have "tres presbiteros, unum videlicet vicarium principalem et duos mansionarios," and was subject to the Prague Cathedral Chapter (July 8, 1355; Gelasius Dobner, *Monumenta Historica Boemiae*, vol. III (Prague: Clauser, 1774), 346, no. 14; *Regesta Imperii*, VIII:176, no. 2168; RDES, VI/I: 36, no. 60). The vicar later became a provost, and the two *mansionares* were developed into seven canons (Végh, "Adatok a budai kisebb Szűz Mária," 26; thanks to András Végh for his clarification on the status of the *Nürnberg Frauenkirche* via personal correspondence, May 3, 2021).

not coincidental, Sigismund was clearly following his father's example in constructing the Lesser Virgin Mary Church in Buda.<sup>446</sup>

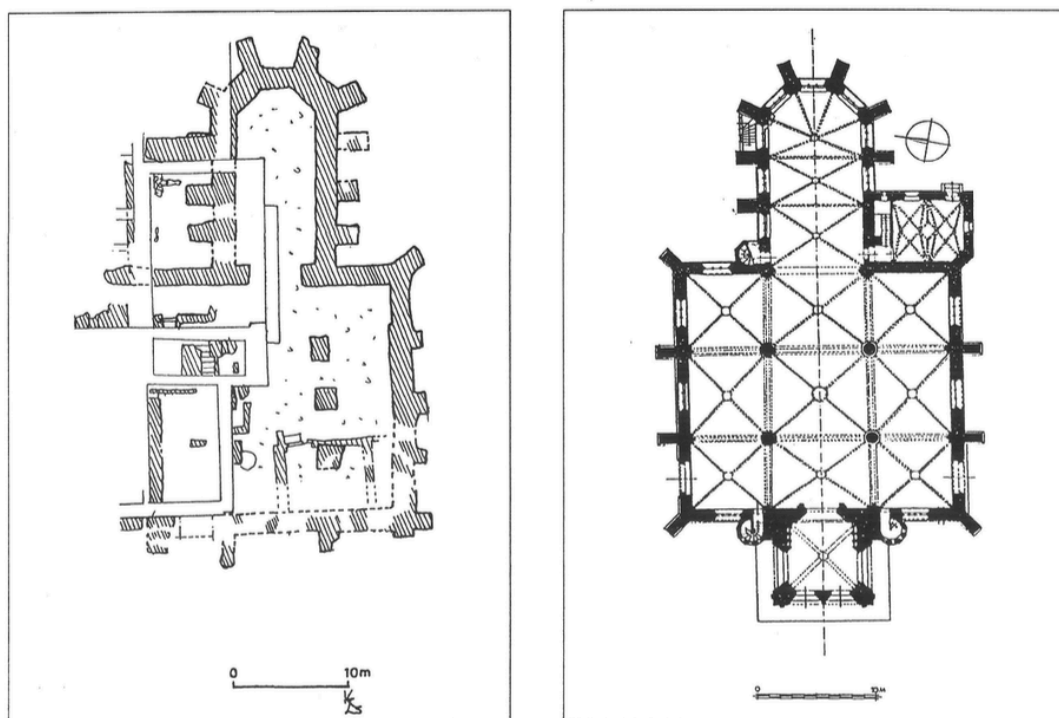


Figure 21. Architectural ground plans of the Lesser Virgin Mary Church (L) and Nuremberg Frauenkirche (R) (Végh, "Adatok a budai kisebb Szűz Mária," 28).

Even one of the differences between the building of the Buda and Nuremberg churches echoes the similar policies of Charles IV and his son towards the Jews. Even if the Jews in Buda were forced to move to another quarter of the city, they were allowed to remain in the city, and still enjoyed certain rights and privileges in Hungary that they would not have enjoyed in many other parts of medieval Europe. Similarly, when Charles IV expanded and revitalized the city of Prague, Charles invited the Jews to participate and benefit from the expansion, and the Jewish community in Prague flourished as a result.<sup>447</sup> It would seem that the attitude of both father and son towards the Jewish communities in their kingdoms was contextual and not fixed—it was highly determinate on the specific geography of a given city and the political situation in a given context. Mengel makes this argument in the context of Charles IV's seemingly conflicting treatment of the Jews in Nuremberg and Prague: "I suggest that the Nuremberg Jews suffered, while those of Prague did not, because of the location of their houses and synagogue within Nuremberg's late medieval walls ... It was geography that saved Prague's Jews from the fate of those in Nuremberg."<sup>448</sup>

<sup>446</sup> Kumorovitz, "A budai várkapolna és Szent Zsigmond-prépostság történetéhez"; Végh, "Adatok a budai kisebb Szűz Mária," 25.

<sup>447</sup> Mengel, "Emperor Charles IV, Jews and Urban Space," 298–99.

<sup>448</sup> Ibid., 315.

Nuremberg was not the only place where a synagogue had been converted into a Marian church that also served as a court chapel by the time of Sigismund's erection of the Lesser Virgin Mary Church. The synagogue of Amberg was converted into a Marian chapel in 1391 and "generously endowed" by Elector Palatinates Rupert II (r. 1390–1398) and Rupert III (r. 1398–1410; King of Germany 1400–1410), both from the House of Wittelsbach. From 1401 it served as the royal church of the electors palatinate and royal family.<sup>449</sup> The ground plan of the Amberg *Frauenkirche* differed from those of Nuremberg and Buda—it was a three-aisled hall church without a separate choir, so would not have architecturally influenced Sigismund's building strategy (Figure 22). However, that another dynastic family—and one with whom the Luxembourg dynasty was competing with for power at the turn of the fourteenth century—had their own royal chapel dedicated to the Virgin on the site of a former synagogue could have provided further impetus for Sigismund to found his own such church.

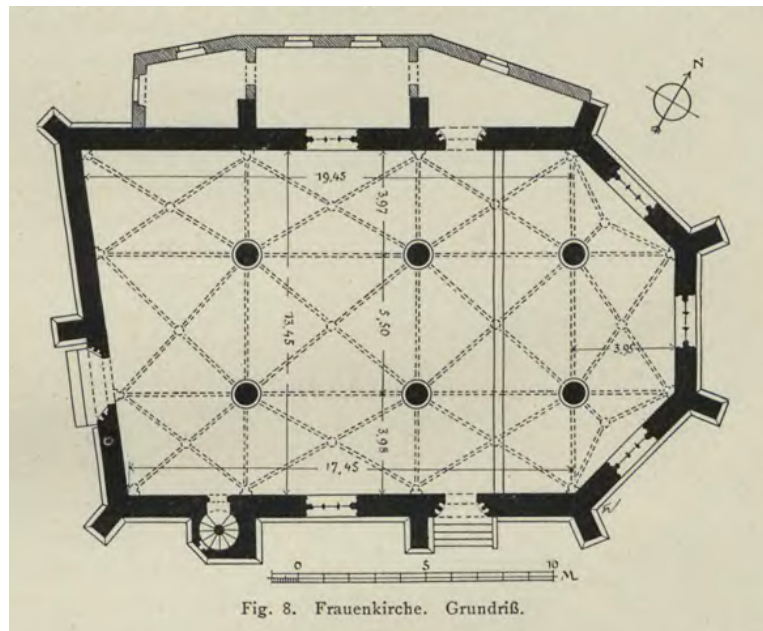


Figure 22. Ground plan of the Marian church of Amberg (Hager, *Die Kunstdenkmäler*, 25, fig. 8).

## 2. Sigismund of Luxembourg and Synagogue Conversion in the Holy Roman Empire

While the Marian church in Buda was not built directly on the site of the synagogue, King Sigismund did order the destruction of a synagogue and building of a Marian church straightforwardly in another city, though not in Hungary. According to a letter dated October 3, 1430, King Sigismund had expelled the Jews from Cheb (Eger, located in western Bohemia,

<sup>449</sup> Röckelein, "Marienverehrung und Judenfeindlichkeit," 284; Georg Hager, *Die Kunstdenkmäler des Königreichs Bayern. Zweiter Band: Oberpfalz und Regensburg. Stadt Amberg* (Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 1909), 25.

not to be confused with the Eger in northern Hungary) and ordered that the city “should use the synagogue as a chapel in honor of God and our beloved Virgin Mary.”<sup>450</sup> However, it seems that Sigismund’s wishes were not implemented immediately, in 1434 the Jews were allowed to settle once again in Cheb,<sup>451</sup> but by 1468 their synagogue was finally seized and its conversion into a church dedicated to the Virgin Mary began.<sup>452</sup> This did not go uncontested: in 1469 Heinrich XIII the Younger, Lord of Gera, wrote to the council of Cheb stating that the Jews had complained to him that their synagogue had been seized and requested that it be returned to them. The council denied his request and was able to refer to the privilege from 1430 to affirm their right to the synagogue.<sup>453</sup>

The impetus behind the proposed 1430 expulsion, however, did not originate from King Sigismund, but rather, from the city of Cheb itself. Cheb had suffered during the Hussite Wars, but because of certain privileges afforded to the Jews by the king’s protection, in the eyes of Cheb’s citizens the Jews had not had to make the same sort of sacrifices that they had.<sup>454</sup> This ignited tensions that had long existed between the king and the city concerning the privileges and autonomy of the Jews of Cheb.<sup>455</sup> Imperial pressure brought to a head conflicts that had

<sup>450</sup> “...usz der Synagoge eyn Capellen got, vnd vnszer lieben frawen zulob Stifften...” Jakob Simon, “Urkundliches Material zur Geschichte der Egerer Judengemeinde,” in *Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums* 44 (1900): 306, no. 6. According to *Regesta imperii* XI/2: no. 7824, the date of Sigismund’s decree is (falsely) given as 5 October (reference to this document can also be found in the recently revised edition of *Regesta Imperii* XI, see: J. F. Böhmer, *Regesta Imperii XI: Regesten Kaiser Sigismunds (1410–1437). Nach Archiven und Bibliotheken geordnet. Band 2: Die Urkunden und Briefe aus den Archiven und Bibliotheken West, Nord- und Ostböhmens*, ed. Petr Elbel, Stanislav Bárta, Přemysl Bar, and Lukáš Reitingier (Vienna, 2015), 30, no. 83. See also: Röckelein, “Marienverehrung und Judenfeindlichkeit,” 294; Wolfgang Glüber, “‘Die Judengaßen thet man zerstören / der hymelkünigin zu eren’ : Synagogenzerstörung und Marienkirchenbau,” in *Maria - Tochter Zion?*, 182; P. Drivok, *Geschichte der deutschen Reichsstadt Eger* (Leipzig 1875), 197; Eduard Reichl, “Der Judenmord im Jahre 1350 in Eger,” in *Egerer Jahrbuch* 6 (1876): 119–32; Bernhard Grueber, *Die Kaiserburg zu Eger und die an dieses Bauwerk sich anschließenden Denkmale* (Beiträge zur Geschichte Böhmens, Abt. 111/2) (Prague, 1864), 47–8; Richard Krautheimer, *Mittelalterliche Synagogen* (Berlin: Frankfurter Verlags-Anstalt, 1927), 214–16.

<sup>451</sup> Issued October 1, 1434: Simon, “Urkundliches Material zur Geschichte der Egerer Judengemeinde,” no. 7, 307–9.

<sup>452</sup> Glüber, “Die Judengaßen thet man zerstören,” 183. However, according to Dieter Demandt the synagogue conversion was initiated in 1469 (Dieter Demandt, “Die Judenpolitik der Stadt Eger im Spätmittelalter,” *Bohemia* 24 (1983): 13–14). Herbert Rimpl puts the date back even further, stating that the church was not built until 1510 (Herbert Rimpl, *Eger, Die städtebauliche Entwicklung einer deutschen Stadt* (Berlin: Wiking, 1944), 119n453.

<sup>453</sup> Demandt, “Die Judenpolitik der Stadt Eger im Spätmittelalter,” 14–15.

<sup>454</sup> *Ibid.*, 9.

<sup>455</sup> For the history of the Jewish community in Eger see: Demandt, “Die Judenpolitik der Stadt Eger im Spätmittelalter”; Rimpl, *Eger, Die städtebauliche Entwicklung einer deutschen Stadt*; Armin Wilkowitzsch, “Geschichte der Juden in Eger,” in *Die Juden und Judengemeinden Böhmens in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart* I, ed. Hugo Gold (Bruno, 1934), 121–9; Hirsch Horowitz, “Die jüdische Gemeinde Eger und ihre Gelehrten (I),” *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte der Juden in der Tschechoslowakei* 3 (March 1932): 186–9; Hirsch Horowitz, “Die jüdische Gemeinde Eger und ihre Gelehrten (II),” *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte der Juden in der Tschechoslowakei* 1 (1934): 5–9; Helmut Klaubert, “Das Judentum in Eger,” *Zeitschrift für Geschichte der Juden* 2 (1965): 59–64; Eva Dolezalová, “Geschichte der jüdischen Bevölkerung von Eger (Cheb) im Mittelalter,” in *Jüdische Spuren im ehemaligen Sudetenland - Beiträge einer internationalen Tagung in Cheb (Eger)*, ed. Wilfried Heller (London, 2018), 25–37; Daniel Polakovič, “Medieval Hebrew Inscriptions in Cheb (Eger),” *Judaica Bohemiae* XLII (2007): 5–51.



existed between a city and their Jewish population also at other times during Sigismund's reign. For example, in Rothenburg ob der Tauber Sigismund's demand for an extraordinary tax in 1414 led the city council to arrest all the Jews in the area until they agreed to pay the tax.<sup>456</sup>

In the case of Cheb, the synagogue turned Marian church was a symbol of urban autonomy, a symbol present in other cities such as Magdeburg and Cologne, as pointed out by Hedwig Röckelein.<sup>457</sup> This is articulated in the account of the chronicler of Nuremberg, Sigmund Meisterlin, for whom—in reference to the events in Nuremberg detailed above—a Marian church represented a city's self-confidence and wealth.<sup>458</sup> He connects this to the presence of Jews in the city:

It was a great lack in Nuremberg that the Queen of Heaven, the noble Virgin Mary, who gave birth to God, had no church of her own. In my opinion, the mother of the crucified fled the murderers who had killed her beloved child and wanted nothing to do with a place where so many of them lived.<sup>459</sup>

Following the construction of the Nuremberg *Frauenkirche*, he saw the situation solved: “Now you have a beautiful history, and also a beautiful chapel, and also a beautiful market, for that reason praise God and Mary, his dear mother.”<sup>460</sup>

Unlike the situation in Hungary, Sigismund had limited control and influence over the towns of Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia; however, they were vitally important in terms of warfare and politics.<sup>461</sup> Cheb was especially vital in this regard, because of its central position on the western Bohemian border and at the forefront of the crusade against the Hussites.<sup>462</sup> Sigismund had developed a close relationship with the important settlement. In 1396 he had granted the merchants from Cheb the same free trade privileges enjoyed by the traders of Prague and Nuremberg, and further privileges followed, including the right to mint coins in

<sup>456</sup> Karel Hruza, “König Sigismund und seine jüdischen Kammerknechte, oder: Wer bezahlte ‘des Königs neue Kleider’?” in *Kaiser Sigismund (1368-1437): zur Herrschaftspraxis eines europäischen Monarchen* (Vienna: Böhlau, 2012), 82–3.

<sup>457</sup> Röckelein, “Marienverehrung und Judenfeindlichkeit,” 288.

<sup>458</sup> Ibid.

<sup>459</sup> “Es was ein großer mangel zu Nurenberg, daß die kaiserin der himel, die gottes gebererin, die edel junkfrawe Maria kein eigen kirchen hett in der stat. ich mein, daß die mutter des gekreutzigen fluhe das mörderisch geschlechte, das ir liebes kint getötet hett, und wolt nit besonder wesen haben, do ir so vil wonenten.” “Sigmund Meisterlins Chronik der Reichsstadt Nürnberg 1488,” in *Die Chroniken der Deutschen Städte 3: Die Chroniken der fränkischen Städte*, Bd. 3: Nürnberg, ed. Historische Kommission bei der Königlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften (Leipzig: S. Hirzel, 1864), 158. English translation from Minty, “*Judengasse* to Christian Quarter,” 82.

<sup>460</sup> “Nun hastu eine schöne histori, und auch ein schöne cappellen, und auch ein schönen Markt, darumb lob got und Mariam sein liebe mutter.” “Sigmund Meisterlins Chronik,” 161. English translation by author. See also Röckelein, “Marienverehrung und Judenfeindlichkeit,” 288.

<sup>461</sup> Katalin Szende, “Between Hatred and Affection: Towns and Sigismund in Hungary and in the Empire,” in *Sigismund von Luxemburg. Ein Kaiser in Europa*, ed. Michel Pauly and François Reinert (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 2006), 201.

<sup>462</sup> Szende, “Between Hatred and Affection,” 202.

1420 and the right to levy a land tax in 1422.<sup>463</sup> Despite of their “long-standing cooperation and mutually beneficial relationship”<sup>464</sup> (or perhaps because of it), Sigismund’s influence over the city was limited and because of Cheb’s importance, it is not surprising that the king would accommodate the request of Cheb’s citizens and allow the expulsion of “his” Jews.

Cheb was not the only city where Emperor Sigismund permitted or ordered the expulsion of a city’s Jewish population. In 1424 Sigismund allowed the city of Freiburg im Breisgau to expel its Jewish inhabitants, as well as in Cologne in 1424 (although in Cologne it would be more appropriate to say that he “tacitly accepted” an expulsion that had already been carried out).<sup>465</sup> In Cologne too a Marian chapel was constructed in place of the synagogue. The 1424 expulsion in Cologne that led to the conversion of the Cologne synagogue into a council chapel dedicated to the Virgin Mary of Jerusalem in 1426.<sup>466</sup> The *Schreinsbuch* of Cologne states that in 1426 Johannes Hindale, priest of the St. Laurence church of Cologne and the city’s mayor, converted the synagogue into a chapel: “in praise and honor of Almighty God and His precious mother, the royal Virgin Mary (in order to destroy the manifold great dishonor that the Jews had done to her and her dear child our Lord many a year ago, since they were residents in Cologne, especially in the Jewish school [synagogue] opposite the town hall) ... in order to atone for such heresy of the Jews and to offer henceforth all honor and reverence to the dear Lord God and His tender Mother.”<sup>467</sup> Every year on the Feast of the Nativity thereafter, to commemorate the expulsion of the Jewish community, the city council would attend Mass in the chapel and a banquet would be held.<sup>468</sup> In both Cologne and Freiburg im Breisgau, like in Cheb, the expulsions were instigated by the city, and the emperor’s compliance with the cities’ demands were a part of his own political maneuverings and in the end his lack of political capital to prevent the expulsions.<sup>469</sup>

<sup>463</sup> František Kubů, “Sigismund von Luxemburg und der Stadtstaat Eger,” in *Sigismund von Luxemburg: Kaiser und König in Mitteleuropa 1387–1437. Beiträge zur Herrschaft Kaiser Sigismunds und der europäischen Geschichte um 1400*, ed. Josef Macek, Ernő Marosi, and Ferdinand Seibt (Warendorf: Fahlbusch Verlag, 1994), 165, 167.

<sup>464</sup> Kubů, “Sigismund von Luxemburg und der Stadtstaat Eger,” 170.

<sup>465</sup> Hruza, “König Sigismund und seine Jüdischen Kammerknechte,” 84–5, 109. For the Freiburg case see also Wenninger, “*Man bedarf keiner Juden mehr*,” 70–73, and for Cologne 74–101.

<sup>466</sup> Röckelein, “Marienverehrung und Judenfeindlichkeit,” 288.

<sup>467</sup> “zu Lob und Ehren des allmächtigen Gottes und seiner werthen Mutter, der königlichen Jungfrau Maria, (um zu zerstören die mannigfaltige große Unehre, welche die Juden derselben und ihrem lieben Kinde unserm Herrn manches Jahr her, da sie zu Cöln wohnhaftig waren, angethan und erwiesen haben, sonderlich in der Judenschule gegenüber dem Rathhause) ... [um] solche Unzucht der Juden [zu] sühnen und dem lieben Herrgott und seiner zarten Mutter fortan alle Ehre und Reverenz.” *Schreinsbuch* of the City of Cologne, *Scabinorum Judaeorum*, cited in Röckelein, “Marienverehrung und Judenfeindlichkeit,” 294, and Carl Brisch, *Geschichte der Juden in Cöln und Umgebung. Aus ältester Zeit bis auf die Gegenwart*, vol. 2 (Cologne, 1882), 44.

<sup>468</sup> Röckelein, “Marienverehrung und Judenfeindlichkeit,” 294, 296.

<sup>469</sup> See Hruza, “König Sigismund und seine Jüdischen Kammerknechte,” 75–136, for an in-depth analysis of these events.

A similar situation can be seen in the pogroms that occurred in some of the cities in the Lake Constance region in 1429/1430. Following accusations of ritual murder in Ravensburg, there were waves of persecution of the Jews in the towns around Lake Constance, including Buchhorn (Friedrichshafen), Constance, Lindau, Meersburg, St. Gallen, Überlingen, and Zurich.<sup>470</sup> Sigismund made some efforts to prevent the condemnation and execution of the Jews in order to protect his financial interests. In 1430 he personally went to Ravensburg to try to suppress the cult that had risen up around the boy, Ludwig von Brugg, the Jews had been accused of killing. Sigismund went to the pilgrimage place, “zur Tannen,” forbade the pilgrimage, and burnt down the church building that had been erected there. Ultimately, however, Sigismund’s insufficient administrative and political power in the region resulted in him giving the towns permission to execute the Jews in the area.<sup>471</sup>

During the reign of Holy Roman Emperor Sigismund, his son-in-law Duke Albert V of Austria (later known as Albert II of Germany when elected King of the Romans) was also responsible for the persecution and expulsion of a Jewish community and the repurposing of parts of their synagogue, an event known as the Vienna Gesera of 1420/21.<sup>472</sup> On May 23, 1420, Duke Albert V had all the Jews of Vienna and Lower Austria imprisoned and their property confiscated. Later that year the poorest Jews were expelled from Austria, set adrift on rafts down the Danube. Many of them were allowed by Sigismund to settle in Hungary, Bohemia, and Moravia. The following year Albert had the remaining wealthy Jews tortured and many forcibly baptized. Some Jews committed suicide to avoid forced baptism, and in March of 1421 between 210 and 240 Jews were burned at the stake in Vienna. Along with other buildings of Vienna’s Jewish quarter, the synagogue was destroyed, and the building material repurposed, this time not for a church but for a new building belonging to the University of Vienna.<sup>473</sup>

Albert’s motives for these violent acts are not entirely clear, and they are especially surprising considering the fact that Vienna’s Jewish population had not previously suffered any persecutions as a result of the Black Death or blood libel accusations.<sup>474</sup> The duke’s financial situation is frequently believed to have been the primary motivating factor in his actions.

<sup>470</sup> On the circumstances surrounding the accusations and their aftermath see Stefan Lang, “Die Ravensburger Ritualmordbeschuldigung von 1429/30. Ihre Vorläufer, Hintergründe und Folgen,” *Ulm und Oberschwaben. Zeitschrift für Geschichte, Kunst und Kultur* 55 (2007): 114–53.

<sup>471</sup> Hruza, “König Sigismund und seine Jüdischen Kammerknechte,” 87–88, 94–95.

<sup>472</sup> The name derives from a contemporary Yiddish chronicle called the *Winer gesere*. For the most recent published edition in German see: Artur Goldmann, ed., “Die ‘Wiener Gesera’ und die Urteils-Verkündigungen vom Jahre 1421,” in *Das Judenbuch der Scheffstraße zu Wien (1389–1420)*, ed. Artur Goldmann (Vienna: W. Braumüller, 1908), 112–33.

<sup>473</sup> Marthe Keil, “A Minority in Urban Space: The Jewish Community,” in *A Companion to Medieval Vienna*, ed. Susana Zapke and Elisabeth Gruber (Leiden: Brill, 2021), 344–7.

<sup>474</sup> Keil, “A Minority in Urban Space,” 344.

Albert, an ally of Sigismund since 1411, had participated in the Hussite wars, which were exceptionally costly. Around the time of the expulsions and killings Albert had also been betrothed to Elizabeth of Luxembourg, Sigismund's daughter with his second wife Barbara of Cilli, opening the way for Albert to inherit the kingdoms of Hungary, Germany, and Bohemia, but the marriage negotiations had resulted in further financial stress on Albert. Thus, the expulsion of Jewish communities and seizing of their possessions in Vienna and Lower Austria may have served to refill Albert's coffers.<sup>475</sup>

However, the forced baptisms, torture, and murders point to motivations beyond financial ones.<sup>476</sup> Albert V was a very religious man whose religious zealotry increased over time.<sup>477</sup> At the same time, theologians at the University of Vienna, representative of which Albert had frequent conversations with, accused the Jews of having aided the Hussites.<sup>478</sup> This purported collaboration, as well as a host desecration charge, which had supposedly taken place in Enns several years earlier, were pointed to as justifications for the murders of 1421.<sup>479</sup>

The university then aided in both the persecution and murder of the Jews of Vienna and in the transformation of the synagogue through the repurposing of its building materials. They were not the only university to do so. In 1391 the University of Heidelberg was given the Marian chapel that had been constructed in the place of the city's synagogue following the expulsion of the Jews earlier that year.<sup>480</sup> The new building of the University of Vienna constructed from the destroyed synagogue was used by all the faculties, and on this conversion the faculty of theology stated: "And, see the miracle, the Synagogue of the old law was transformed in a marvelous way into a school of virtues of the new law."<sup>481</sup> This statement is strikingly reminiscent of *ecclesia* and *synagoga* iconography, the typically female

<sup>475</sup> Petr Elbel and Wolfram Ziegler underline Albert's financial situation as the motivating factor in Albert's actions, see Petr Elbel, Martha Keil, Klaus Lohrmann, and Simon Neuberg, "Q&A on the Vienna Gesera. Four perspectives on the history of the dispossession, expulsion, and murder of the Viennese Jewish community in 1420/21," in *Our Medieval City! The First Jewish Community in Vienna*, ed. Astrid Peterle, Adina Seeger, Domagoj Akrap, and Danielle Spera (Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 2021), 107–8; Petr Elbel and Wolfram Ziegler, "Die Wiener Gesera. Neue Überlegungen zu einem alten Forschungsproblem," in *'Avigdor, Benesch, Gitl' – Juden in Böhmen und Mähren im Mittelalter: Samuel Steinherz zum Gedenken*, ed. Pavel Kocman, Milan Řepa, and Helmut Teufel (Prague: Historický ústav, 2016). It is also discussed by Martha Keil, see Keil, "A Minority in Urban Space," 344–5.

<sup>476</sup> On the fate of the Jews who were forcibly baptized see Martha Keil, "What happened to the 'new Christians'?" The 'Viennese Geserah' of 1420/21 and the forced baptism of the Jews," in *Jews and Christians in Medieval Europe: The Historiographical Legacy of Bernhard Blumenkranz*, ed. Philippe Buc, Martha Keil, and John Victor Tolan (Turnhout 2016), 97–114.

<sup>477</sup> Martha Keil argues that a religious motivation is most likely, see Elbel, Keil, Lohrmann, and Neuberg, "Q&A on the Vienna Gesera," 106; Keil, "A Minority in Urban Space," 345.

<sup>478</sup> Elbel, Keil, Lohrmann, and Neuberg, "Q&A on the Vienna Gesera," 107; Keil, "A Minority in Urban Space," 344–5.

<sup>479</sup> Keil, "A Minority in Urban Space," 346–7; Keil, "What happened to the 'new Christians'?" 100–1.

<sup>480</sup> Röckelein, "Marienverehrung und Judenfeindlichkeit," 290.

<sup>481</sup> "Et, ecce mirum, Synagoga veteris legis in scholam virtutum nove legis mirabiliter transmutatur." English translation from Keil, "A Minority in Urban Space," 347n124, see also 347.

personifications of the Church and Synagogue, the former depicted confident and triumphant, the latter blindfolded and defeated. *Ecclesia* often resembled the Virgin Mary, an association that “operated through the powerful and long-standing habit of identifying the church as Mary.”<sup>482</sup> It is this very opposition of Mary as *ecclesia* and *synagoga* that helped contribute to the conversion of synagogues into Marian churches.

Later Hungarian kings and Holy Roman Emperors would also expel the Jewish population from certain cities, often at the cities’ “request.” For example, King Ladislaus V of Hungary expelled the Jews from Olomouc in 1454 and Holy Roman Emperor Maximilian I expelled the Jews from Nuremberg in 1498, Ulm in 1499, Schwäbisch Gmünd in 1501, and Nördlingen in 1506.<sup>483</sup>

### 3. Jews, Germans, and Marian Devotion in Hungary

Sigismund of Luxembourg’s foundation of the Lesser Virgin Mary Church of Buda occurred in a wider context of synagogue conversion that was well known to him. The relationship between the collegiate church of Buda and the *Frauenkirche* of Nuremberg is clear, and Sigismund was connected to other instances of synagogue conversion in the Holy Roman Empire, but can the factors that contributed to synagogue conversion in German lands also be identified in Hungary and in Buda specifically? As mentioned above, a factor that could have influenced this phenomenon concerns the specific form of Marian devotion in German-speaking regions where synagogues were destroyed and Marian churches erected.<sup>484</sup> During the Middle Ages, Buda had a significant German population—sources referring to these German inhabitants refer to them as *Saxones* (from the Lower Rhine area) and *Teutonici* (from southern German regions).<sup>485</sup> Germans settled in large numbers in Buda from the thirteenth century onwards; a majority of these came from cities along the Danube, “but there were also second-generation settlers from the northern or eastern fringes of the Carpathian Basin.”<sup>486</sup> From the last quarter of the fourteenth century the German and Hungarian populations began to struggle for power in the city—probably arising from the increasing population and

<sup>482</sup> Rubin, *Mother of God*, 168.

<sup>483</sup> Hruza, “König Sigismund und seine Jüdischen Kammerknechte,” 77. On this topic see: Katalin Szende, “Scapegoats or Competitors? The Expulsion of Jews from Hungarian Towns on the Aftermath of the Battle of Mohács (1526),” in *Expulsion and Diaspora Formation: Religious and Ethnic Identities in Flux from Antiquity to the Seventeenth Century*, ed. John Victor Tolan (Turnhout, 2015), 51–84.

<sup>484</sup> Röckelein, “Marienverehrung und Judenfeindlichkeit,” 280.

<sup>485</sup> András Végh, “Buda: The Multi-ethnic Capital of Medieval Hungary,” in *Segregation – Integration – Assimilation*, 90.

<sup>486</sup> It should be noted that these German immigrants also settled in large numbers in western Hungary, including—importantly for this study—in Bratislava (as well as Sopron and Kőszeg), in addition to southern Transylvania and northeastern Hungary (Spiš). Szende, “Iure Theutonico?” 363–4.

influence of Hungarians in Buda—culminating in 1439 with a decree that attempted to divide power equally amongst the two factions.<sup>487</sup> However, the German population was still considerable by the time of the construction of the Lesser Virgin Mary Church, and, in fact, it primarily occupied the area around St. George’s Market (Szent György piac), the area of the old Jewish quarter and the church.<sup>488</sup> Since much of the German population originated from southern Germany, the primary region where synagogues converted into Marian churches have been identified (and significantly, according to Zsombor Jékely, “the strongest faction of German citizens in Buda at this time also come from Nuremberg”<sup>489</sup>), it is possible that the special structure of Marian devotion in this particular area influenced the development of Marian devotion in Buda, and further that this demographic in Buda may have been aware of this phenomenon occurring in German lands. By the time of the Lesser Virgin Mary Church’s construction, synagogues had been converted into Marian churches in at least seven southern German cities (six in Bavaria and one in the Palatinate).

The specific characteristics of the kind of Marian devotion practiced in areas where synagogue conversions have been identified, their relation to other forms of antisemitic activity or rhetoric, and their explanations require further investigation. An initial comparison of the regions where synagogue conversions haven been identified to other antisemitic trends—namely, *Judensau* iconography and violence following host desecration accusations—shows some overlap in southern German lands, particularly Bavaria, as well as along the border of Hungary and the Holy Roman Empire (Figure 23). Thus, there is a connection between the conversion of synagogues and other examples of antisemitic trends (including, notably, violence following host desecration accusations, in which the Virgin Mary was often a common element) in certain regions; however, the exact nature of this correlation requires further research.

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<sup>487</sup> Végh, “Buda: The Multi-ethnic Capital,” 92.

<sup>488</sup> Végh, *Buda Part I to 1686*, 19.

<sup>489</sup> Jékely, “Painting at the Court of Emperor Sigismund,” 78.

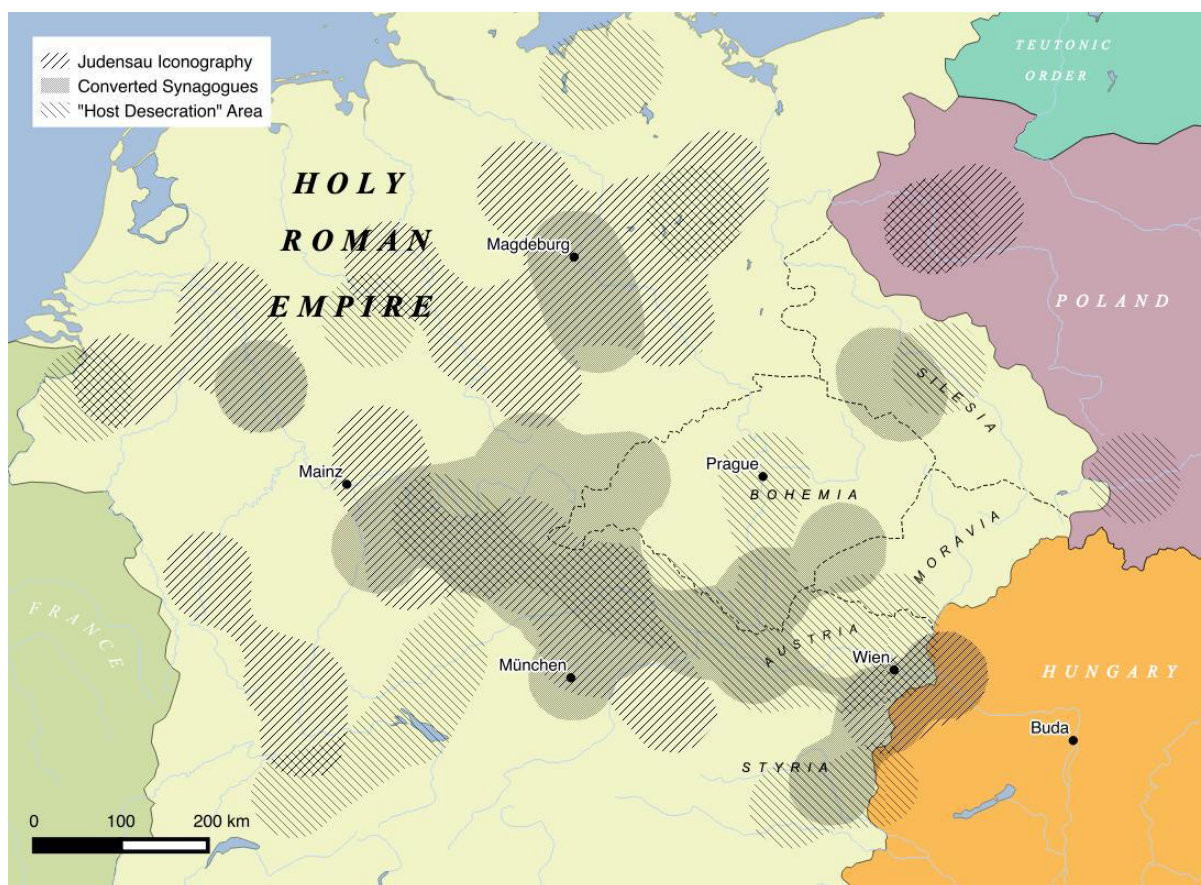


Figure 23. Comparison of regions where antisemitic trends have been identified in the late Middle Ages.<sup>490</sup>

Certainly though, in the German lands where the synagogue-to-Marian-church phenomenon can be found, antisemitic rhetoric—especially in connection with the Marian cult—formed part of the impetus behind synagogue conversion. This kind of rhetoric can also be found in medieval Hungary and may have formed part of the ideological framework that influenced the moving of the first Jewish quarter of Buda and the construction of the Lesser Virgin Mary Church. Pál Engel has noted that religious intolerance—including the expelling of the Jews in 1360—that characterized some of King Louis the Great's reign can be attributed to the predominance of the Franciscans in the period, and indeed the Franciscan Monastery of St. John the Evangelist was located just on the other side of the Castle Hill area from where the first synagogue of Buda was located.<sup>491</sup> The Franciscans were devotees of the Virgin Mary and proponents of Mary's Immaculate Conception in particular, which, by the fourteenth century, they enthusiastically promoted in their writing and preaching; it was a Franciscan pope, Sixtus

<sup>490</sup> Sites of *Judensau* iconography identified by Shachar, *The Judensau: A Medieval Anti-Jewish Motif and its History* (London: The Warburg Institute, 1974). Sites of violence or trials following accusations of host desecration identified by Miri Rubin, *Gentile Tales: The Narrative Assault on Late Medieval Jews* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999). It should be noted that Rubin also identifies sites outside of the region focused on here, for example, as far as in Segovia in Castile. Shachar also identified sites of *Judensau* iconography outside of Central Europe, namely, Aarschot in today's Belgium and Uppsala, Sweden.

<sup>491</sup> Engel, *The Realm of St. Stephen*, 172.

IV, who introduced the feast of the Immaculate Conception in the late fifteenth century.<sup>492</sup> Concurrent to their promotion of the cult of the Virgin Mary, from the mid-fifteenth century the Franciscans also increasingly preached against and debated with the Jews—two notable examples from the Holy Roman Empire were those sermons of the Observant Franciscan St. John of Capistrano and the Dominican Peter Schwarz.<sup>493</sup> Mendicant preaching in the fifteenth century also contained many Marian sermons with outright antisemitic content or the potential for agitating antisemitic violence.<sup>494</sup> In one of the cities focused on here, Cheb, a monk preaching on Christ's suffering by the Jews in Cheb's Franciscan church on Maundy Thursday, March 25, 1350, incited the bloody massacre of most of the Jews in the city.<sup>495</sup> Mendicants can also be linked to the conversion of at least one synagogue into a Marian church. In Magdeburg the brotherhood of the blacksmiths and cobblers, with the support of the Franciscans, forced the archbishop to expel the Jews in 1493, and the synagogue was converted soon after.<sup>496</sup>

We can see the trend of mendicant antisemitic preaching in Hungary in the Marian sermon collection (*Stellarium corone benedictae Marie virginis*) of one of the most famous Observant Franciscans in Hungary, Pelbart of Temesvár.<sup>497</sup> Most notable from Pelbart's *Stellarium* is a lengthy re-telling of a Marian miracle story in which a boy is murdered by the Jews for singing *Gaude Maria*, but is later resurrected by the Virgin Mary.<sup>498</sup> This sermon

<sup>492</sup> On the Franciscans support and promotion of Mary's Immaculate Conception see: D'Ancona, *The Iconography of the Immaculate Conception*; Lamy, *L'Immaculée conception*, esp. 396–408.

<sup>493</sup> Christopher Ocker, "Contempt for Friars and Contempt for Jews in Late Medieval Germany," in *The Friars and Jews in the Middle Ages and Renaissance*, ed. Susan E. Myers and Steven J. MacMichael (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 128–32. See also Röckelein, "Die grabstein, so vil tasent guldin wert sein," 16. On the history of mendicant antisemitism see Jeremy Cohen, *The Friars and the Jews. The Evolution of Medieval Anti-Judaism* (London: Cornell University Press, 1982).

<sup>494</sup> Hans-Martin Kirn, "Maria - Mutter der (Un-)Barmherzigkeit? Zum marianisch-mariologischen Antijudaismus in der spätmittelalterlichen Predigtliteratur," in *Maria - Tochter Zion?*, 117–38.

<sup>495</sup> Röckelein, "Die grabstein, so vil tasent guldin wert sein," 34n131; Reichl, "Der Judenmord im Jahre 1350 in Eger," 119–32; Zvi Avneri, ed., *Germania Judaica, II/1, von 1238 bis zur Mitte des 14. Jahrhunderts* (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1968), 186.

<sup>496</sup> This was preceded in the mid-fifteenth century by the emergence in the city of the Augustinian Johannes Busch, provost of the Neuwerk monastery, a reformer who promoted antisemitic propaganda. Röckelein, "Die grabstein, so vil tasent guldin wert sein," 18, 34n131. See also Fritz Backhaus, "Judenfeindschaft und Judenvertreibung im Mittelalter. Zur Ausweisung der Juden aus dem Mittelaltelraum im 15. Jahrhundert," *Jahrbuch für die Geschichte Mittel- und Ostdeutschlands* 36 (1987): 279–91.

<sup>497</sup> Kirn, "Maria - Mutter der (Un-)Barmherzigkeit?," 134–6. On the sermons of Pelbárt of Temesvár and Observant preaching more broadly in Hungary see: Ottó Gecser, "Predicazione, formazione scolastica e modelli culturali nell'Osservanza Francescana ungherese alla fine del medioevo," in *Osservanza francescana e cultura traQuattrocento e primo Cinquecento: Italia e Ungheria a confronto*, ed. Francesca Bartolacci and Roberto Lambertini (Rome: Viella, 2014), 33–52; Piusz Berhidai, "Temesvári Pelbárt helye a ferences irodalmi hagyományban" [The place of Pelbárt of Temesvár in Franciscan literary traditions], accessed January 30, 2022, [http://sermones.elte.hu/?az=341tan\\_plaus\\_piusz](http://sermones.elte.hu/?az=341tan_plaus_piusz); Edina Ádám, "Képi ábrázolások reflexiói Temesvári Pelbárt prédikációiban" [Reflections on pictorial representations in the sermons of Pelbárt of Temesvár], accessed January 30, 2022, [http://sermones.elte.hu/?az=353tan\\_plaus\\_aedina#\\_ftn31](http://sermones.elte.hu/?az=353tan_plaus_aedina#_ftn31).

<sup>498</sup> Liber XII, Pars tertia, Capitulum 1: "S(e)c(un)d(u)m Miraculu(m) de R(espo)nsorio Gaude maria v(ir)go (etc.) Quida(m) etia(m) puer fert(ur) q(uod) cu(m) in scolis didicisset istud r(espo)nsoriu(m) Gaude maria virgo cu(n)ctas hereses sola interemisti (etc.) q(uod) r(espo)nsoriu(m) cantat(ur) in festo purificat(i)o(n)is b(ea)te v(ir)g(in)is. Et cum pulchra voce per plateas (et) ciuiu(m) portas hoc deca(n)taret porrigebant(ur) sibi pl(ur)ime



collection was not published until 1498, and the type of preaching against the Jews described above seems to have become a trend many decades after the construction of the Lesser Virgin Mary Church. However, a pejorative image of the Jews can be found in an earlier Hungarian sermon collection, compiled in the second half of the thirteenth century in Hungary, probably at the *studium generale* of the Dominicans in Buda.<sup>499</sup> In the text Jews are referenced as “the people of darkness” (*gens tenebrarum*),<sup>500</sup> murderers of Christ for which crime they will suffer in Hell.<sup>501</sup> Further, an *exemplum* describes a Jew using the sign of the cross to ward off the devil; while the gesture saves him from the devil, according to the text it is not enough to save his soul because it is empty (*vas vacuum sed bene signatum*).<sup>502</sup>

Instances of antisemitic themes in visual sources from Hungary in contemporary and earlier imagery can also be identified. For example, a series of images detailing the Assumption

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elemosine (et) cibo(rum) reliquie. Judei aut(em) q(ua) plurimi in illa ciuitate co(m)morabant(ur) cu(m) audire(n)t pue(rum) canente(m) multu(m) doleba(n)t eo q(uod) matre(m) iesu laudaret (et) iudeos p(er) r(espo)nsoriu(m) hoc (con)funderet di(cens) Erubescat iude(us) infelix q(ui) dicit (Christu)m ex ioseph se(m)i(n)e natu(m) (etc.) Stomachatus igit(ur) in vicinatu platee vn(us) iudeoru(m) cu(m) pueru(m) talia cane(n)te(m) audiret pl(ur)ies Accessit (et) vocauit quasi aliq(ui)d puta pomu(m) vel si(mi)le se datu(rum) assere(n)do: (et) sic p(ro)mission(n)ib(us) ac exeniis fructuum ip(su)m in domu(m) sua(m) aduocauit tanq(uam) si cantu(m) istu(m) vellet ab eo audire puer simplicitate p(re)ditus secut(us) e(st) p(ro)mittente(m) iudeu(m) (et) mox iste habita opportunitate. Ip(su)m pue(rum) in gutture cultro cede(n)do occidit. Cu(m)q(ue) m(ate)r ei(us) vidua paup(er)cula diuti(us) q(uae)situ(m) no(n) i(n)ueniret dictum(m) e(st) a (con)uicaneis q(uod) visus e(st) a pl(ur)imis portas illi(us) iudei intrasse. S(ed) q(ui)d fuerit vel vt(rum) sanus inde exierit null(us) testimonio(m) poterat ferre. M(ate)r ergo iudice(m) adiit (et) iudex iudeos coegit: (et) facta lite cu(m) p(ro)batio incu(m)beret ip(s)i m(at)ri pueri: eo q(uod) co(n)tra eam iudei insurrexissent nec p(ro)bare quic(um)q(ue) de hac re mater posset anxia pro filio p(er)dito in hoc se obligauit q(uod) req(ui)rerent(ur) om(n)es domus iudeo(rum) (et) si inuenire(tur) apud eos su(us) filius dep(er)dit(us): o(mn)es iudei co(m)burerent(ur): aut si no(n) mulier ip(s)a calu(m)nie co(n)uicta co(m)bureret(ur). Q(uo)d cu(m) placuisset iudeis (et) iudices app(ro)bassent. Ecce q(uae)stione facta nullibi co(m)p(er)tus est apud iudeos puer occisus: qui t(ame)n sub modio iacebat occultatus in co(n)clauis. Tunc m(u)lier lata s(e)n(tent)ia ad cremandu(m) ducit(ur) ab om(n)i p(o)p(u)lo: exulta(n)t iudei co(m)pati(e)nt(ur) (et) dole(n)t noti (christ)iani ac vicini s(cilicet) mulieris illi(us) plurimu(m) quoq(ue) plorat ip(s)a. q(ua) p(er)dito filio se ip(s)am etia(m) amiserit (etc). Cu(m)q(ue) nullu(m) h(abe)ret refrigeriu(m) q(ua) insultantib(us) iudeis tanq(uam) victorib(us) ad incendiu(m) duci coibat(ur) sic educa(n)do cu(m) p(ro)pe eccl(es)iam b(ea)te v(ir)ginis p(er)uenissent atq(ue) recordata de b(ea)ta v(ir)gine inuocaret ip(s)am lachrymabiliter: cepit audire dulces sonos ac si fili(us) suos ca(n)taret illud respo(n)soriu(m) solitu(m) s(cilicet). Gaude maria v(ir)go (etc.) Cepitq(ue) p(ro)tendere collu(m) (et) p(o)p(u)l(u)m co(m)monere si audire(n)t: et ecce omnes audientes populi cantu(m): co(m)moti sunt (et) illuc accesseru(n)t vbi audiebat(ur) vox sonare. Et sic co(m)pereru(n)t q(ua) i(n) domo illi(us) iudei sub modio absco(n)sus fuerat puer occisus. Subleua(n)tes modiu(m) videru(n)t pueru(m) in gutture cruentatu(m) cum angelis pluribus dulciter illud responsoriu(m) et co(n)cinentem. Quo viso miraculo (et) puero interrogato ac o(mn)ia facta enarra(n)te p(er) ordinem sc(ilicet) quomo(do) p(er) beata(m) v(ir)gine(m) fuerit sanatus in gutture vulnerato (et) dulcit(er) inter angelo(rum) agmina fotus. Ecce om(n)es in laude(m) beate virginis (christ)iani p(ro)rupe(ru)n(t) (et) iudeos co(m)busserunt: ac pueru(m) sanu(m) matri restitueru(n)t sicq(ue) p(re)cibus (et) meritis b(ea)te v(ir)g(in)is saluata est mulier (et) filius (etc).” (Transcription by author). Pelbárt Temesvári, *Stellarium corone benedictae virginis Marie in laudem eius pro singulis predicationibus elegantissime coaptatum* (1497), University of Debrecen Electronic Archive, <https://dea.lib.unideb.hu/dea/handle/2437/130581>.

<sup>499</sup> Eduardus Petrovich and Paulus Ladislaus Timkovics, eds., *Sermones compilati in studio generali*

*Quinqueecclesiensi in regno Ungarie* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1993). The extant manuscript of the sermon collection is a copy made around the turn of the fourteenth century in Germany. For the confirmation of the dating and provenance of the text see Edit Madas, “A Dominican Sermon Collection. Eduardus Petrovich—Paulus Ladislaus (eds.): *Sermones compilati in studio generali Quinqueecclesiensi in regno Ungarie*,” *Budapest Review of Books* 4 (1996): 193–9.

<sup>500</sup> Petrovich and Timkovics, *Sermones compilati*, 52.

<sup>501</sup> Ibid., 125, 246, 368, 388. See on this topic: Berend, *At the Gate of Christendom*, 200–201.

<sup>502</sup> Petrovich and Timkovics, *Sermones compilati*, 247. See also Berend, *At the Gate of Christendom*, 201, 201n61.

of the Virgin Mary in the *Angevin Legendary* includes an image of an angel striking down with its sword a group of Jews attempting to disturb the burial procession of the Virgin Mary—a straightforward example of the depiction of Jews as the enemy of Mary.<sup>503</sup> Examples of *Ecclesia* and *Synagoga* iconography can be found, for instance, in a fresco dating to ca. 1300 from a church in Zsigra (Žehra) and a *Biblia pauperum* drawing from the early fourteenth century in Budapest (now in the Szépművészeti Múzeum) (Figure 24).<sup>504</sup> An example of a *Judensau* image—an antisemitic motif, which depicts Jews in obscene contact with (e.g., riding, surrounding, suckling from, having intercourse with) a female pig, an unclean animal in Jewish tradition—served as a gargoyle on the tower of the Franciscan church of the Virgin Mary in Bratislava erected in the first half of the fourteenth century. It depicts a Jewish man, distinguished by his belted caftan and pointed hat, riding a pig.<sup>505</sup>

<sup>503</sup> Béla Zsolt Szakács, *The Visual World of the Hungarian Angevin Legendary* (Budapest: CEU Press, 2016), 212, 290.

<sup>504</sup> Edit Lajta, “Az Ecclesia és Synagoga ábrázolása a középkori művészetben: A zsegrai templom freskója az Ecclesia és Synagoga ábrázolás fejlődésében” [The Representation of Ecclesia and Synagoga in Medieval Art: The Fresco of the Church of Zsigra (Žehra) and the Evolution of Ecclesia and Synagoga], *Művészettörténeti Értesítő* 10/1 (1961): 145–65; for the *Biblia pauperum* image see 155–156.

<sup>505</sup> Shachar, *The Judensau*, 33–4; Birgit Wiedl, “Laughing at the Beast: The Judensau: Anti-Jewish Propaganda and Humor from the Middle Ages to the Early Modern Period,” in *Laughter in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Times: Epistemology of a Fundamental Human Behavior, its Meaning, and Consequences*, ed. Albrecht Classen (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2010), 325–64. On this example in Bratislava see also: A. Scheiber, “Von zwei mittelalterlichen Darstellungen des Juden,” *Orientalia Suecana* 16 (1967): 97; Tivadar Ortway, *Pozsony város története* [History of the city of Bratislava], II/2 (Bratislava, 1898), 285; Samuel Weingarten, *History of the Jews of Bratislava (Pressburg)* (Jerusalem, 1960), 9; Viktor Maszárík, *A Szűz Máriáról nevezett Sz. Ferencrendű tartomány pozsonyi zárdájának, templomának, kápolnáinak és goth stílű templom tornyának...* [The Bratislava convent, church, chapels, and gothic-style church tower of the Franciscan Friary of St. Francis of Assisi, named after the Virgin Mary...] (Bratislava, 1897), 115. On the distinguishing clothing Jews were required to wear see Berend, *At the Gate of Christendom*, 232; Birgit Wiedl, “Anti-Jewish Legislation in the Middle Ages,” in *Comprehending Antisemitism through the Ages: A Historical Perspective*, ed. Armin Lange, Kerstin Mayerhofer, Dina Porat und Lawrence H. Schiffman (Berlin: DeGruyter, 2021), 183–215.



Figure 24. Ecclesia and Synagoga iconography in medieval Hungary. Left: Mural in a church in Zsigra (Žehra), ca. 1300. Right: Biblia pauperum, early 14<sup>th</sup> c., Budapest. (Lajta, "Az Ecclesia és Synagoga ábrázolása," 147, 155)

Perhaps most significantly, the conversion of a synagogue into a Christian church was not without precedent in Hungary. Early in Sigismund's reign, less than fourteen years before the erection of the Lesser Virgin Mary Church, a synagogue was converted into a Christian church within the Kingdom of Hungary. The synagogue in question was located in Bratislava, near the Judenhof, which lay just west of the city's Fisherman's Gate (Halász kapu; Fischertor) (Figure 25). Several pieces of evidence point to the synagogue's existence at this location in the fourteenth century, including a Hebrew inscription reading "Zakhor /Kavod A[donaj]" (remember the glory of the Lord) discovered inside a door frame at the site, suggesting the presence of a synagogue.<sup>506</sup> As pointed out by Judit Majorossy, this inscription can be connected to a document from 1335, in which the abbot of the Cistercian abbey of Pilis, with Pope Benedict XII, bemoaned the Jews' *maligno spiritu*: the supposed noisiness of the Jews' synagogue located next to a Bratislava chapel—which belonged to the abbot—was disrupting the monks' worship and ceremonies there.<sup>507</sup>

<sup>506</sup> Majorossy, "A Krisztus Teste Konfraternitás," 81n55. English translation from Szende, "Traders, 'Court Jews', Town Jews," 139.

<sup>507</sup> November 13, 1335: "...in eadem villa existat magna copia Iudeorum, qui ad impediendum divinum officium, quod in eodem oratorio seu capella monachi celebrant, maligno spiritu concitati de novo Synagogam construxerunt iuxta dictum oratorium seu capellam, ita quod pre clamore, quem in dicta synagoga Iudei faciunt antedicti, prefati monachi non possunt dicere canonicas horas suas, nec domino reddere vota sua." Theiner, I:608, no. 907. See also Majorossy, "A Krisztus Teste Konfraternitás," 82; Szende, "Traders, 'Court Jews', Town Jews," 139.

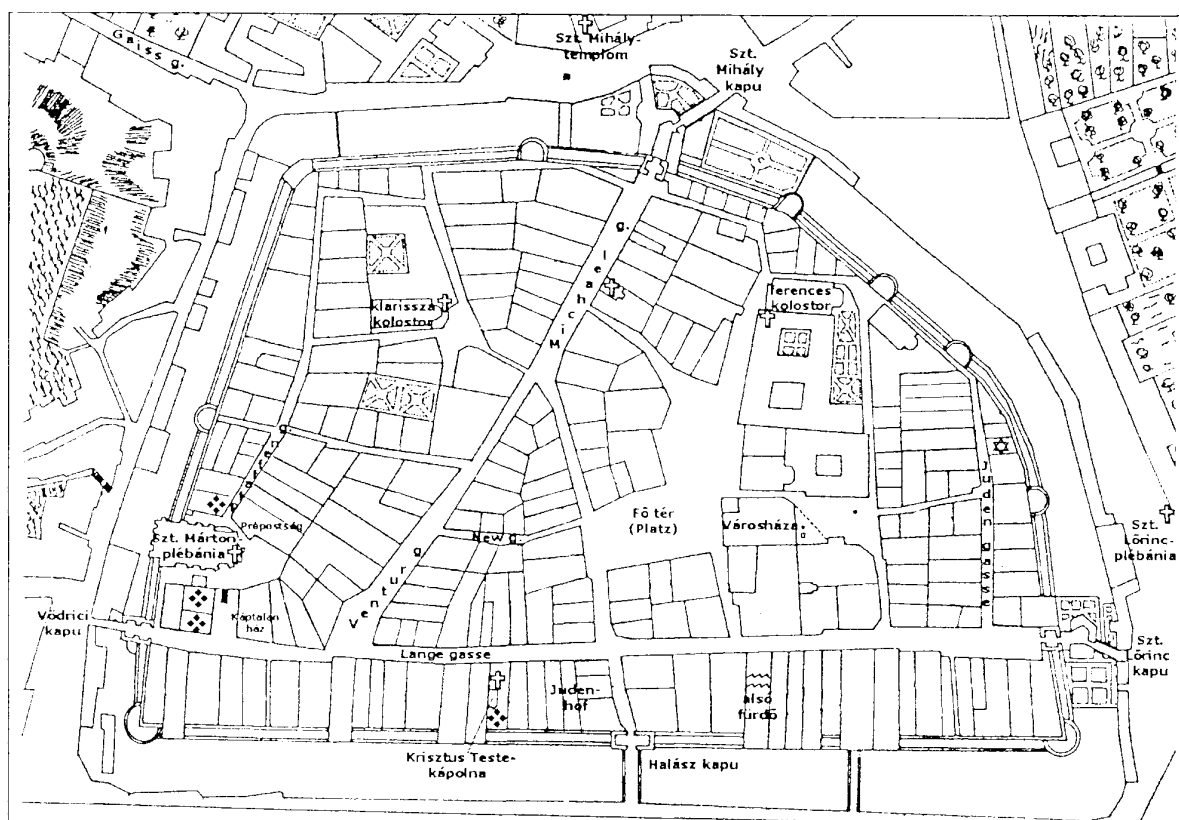


Figure 25. Bratislava city center at the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century (Majorossy, “A Krisztus Teste Konfraternitás,” 80, fig. 1)

The monks were not disturbed for long, however. One year after King Louis the Great had expelled the Jews from the Hungarian Kingdom in 1360 he gifted the Bratislava synagogue to his physician Master Franciscus (Master Ferenc). In 1396 the Venturi family—a family of Italian origin who had received several privileges from Sigismund—owned the property and built a chapel dedicated to the Corpus Christi on the site of the synagogue.<sup>508</sup> A new synagogue located east of the Fisherman’s Gate is mentioned in 1416, however, in the next few decades the Jewish quarter appears to have moved further east, just north of St. Lawrence’s Gate (Szt. Lőrinc kapu) along a street later known as the Judengasse.<sup>509</sup> By 1434 a synagogue located in the new Jewish quarter on the Judengasse is referenced in tax records.<sup>510</sup> Katalin Szende has noted that this movement of the Jewish quarter to a more peripheral location could be connected to “King Sigismund’s wish to create a new residence in Pressburg, closer to his imperial territories,” mirroring the effects of his building activity in Buda.<sup>511</sup>

<sup>508</sup> Judit Majorossy, “A Krisztus Teste Konfraternitás,” 83; Scheiber, *Jewish Inscriptions in Hungary*, 85; Krisztina Arany, “Florentine Families in Hungary in the First Half of the Fifteenth Century” (PhD diss., Central European University, 2014), 47, 124, 239.

<sup>509</sup> Majorossy, “A Krisztus Teste Konfraternitás,” 82n56.

<sup>510</sup> Majorossy, “A Krisztus Teste Konfraternitás,” 82n56; Scheiber, *Jewish Inscriptions in Hungary*, 85.

<sup>511</sup> Szende, “Scapegoats or Competitors?” 59.

A little over a decade later, on the feast of the Corpus Christi, June 16, 1446, a mob broke into the Jewish Street and robbed the Jews' houses as well as the new synagogue.<sup>512</sup> The path of the Corpus Christi procession likely passed the Judengasse,<sup>513</sup> making them a target of inflamed passions and religious fervor that often accompanied important religious events.<sup>514</sup> The mayor of Bratislava, Ludwig Königsfelder, wrote a letter in which he describes and attempts to distance himself from the events:

...On the same day as the date of this letter and the case, the looting of the Jews occurred here, their synagogue and their houses were broken into violently and thus were robbed, this was done by the bath servants as well as the common people that come here to work, we have several of these people in prison, including some in the service of Count Jörgens, and this is a bad affair, but we hope we will come to the correct cause of these events...<sup>515</sup>

Thus, we have two instances of the Corpus Christi cult overtaking Jewish sacred space in Bratislava—first gradually with the transformation of the fourteenth-century synagogue into a Corpus Christi chapel, and second with the looting of a synagogue during the religious fervor of the Corpus Christi feast in 1446. As in the case of the cult of the Virgin Mary, there are ties between the Corpus Christi cult and antisemitic rhetoric and sometimes violence. This is evident in host desecration stories and blood libel accusations (e.g., in Trnava in 1494 such accusations led to the murder of many Jews in the city<sup>516</sup>), which, from the thirteenth century, also increasingly featured the Virgin Mary as an element in these related miracle stories.<sup>517</sup> As in Marian miracle stories, miracles about the Eucharist often feature Jews as the “typical wrongdoer.”<sup>518</sup> An accusation of host desecration did actually occur in Bratislava in the mid-

<sup>512</sup> Majorossy, “A Krisztus Teste Konfraternitás,” 89; Scheiber, *Jewish Inscriptions in Hungary*, 85.

<sup>513</sup> Majorossy, “A Krisztus Teste Konfraternitás,” 89.

<sup>514</sup> Michael E. Goodich, *Violence and Miracle in the Fourteenth Century: Private Grief and Public Salvation* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), 21.

<sup>515</sup> “An hewtigem tag datum des brieffs geleich vnd der process ein sackman über dÿ juden ist gangen hÿe den hat man jere schül vnd hawser aufgeprochen mit gewalt vnd sew beraubt das haben getan padknecht vnd auch das gemain volk das her in dy arbeit ist komen der wir ettlich in unser fencknüss haben darunder auch ettlich graff Jörgens holden sind, vnd ist ein pöse sach gar genug doch hoffen wir werden komen auff denn rechten grund derselben sachen.” DL-DF 239889. Transcription by Judit Majorossy, translation by author. See also Majorossy, “A Krisztus Teste Konfraternitás,” 89; MZsO, IV:XCIII.

<sup>516</sup> Kubinyi, “A magyarországi zsidóság története,” 14

<sup>517</sup> On the complex factors and functions of these stories see, for example: Miri Rubin, *Gentile Tales*, 11–28; Alan Dundes, ed., *The Blood Libel Legend: A Casebook in Anti-Semitic Folklore* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1991); Caroline Walker Bynum, *Wonderful Blood: Theology and Practice in Late Medieval Northern Germany and Beyond* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007), esp. 68–73, 80–1; Caroline Walker Bynum, *Holy Feast and Holy Fast: The Religious Significance of Food to Medieval Women* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987), 63–4; Denise L. Despres, “Mary of the Eucharist: Cultic Anti-Judaism in Some Fourteenth-Century English Devotional Manuscripts,” in *From Witness to Witchcraft: Jews and Judaism in Medieval Christian Thought*, ed. Jeremy Cohen (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 1996), 375–402; Denise Despres, “Cultic Anti-Judaism and Chaucer's Littel Clergeon,” *Modern Philology* 91/4 (1994): 413–27; Mitchell B. Merback, “Fount of Mercy, City of Blood: Cultic Anti-Judaism and the Pulkau Passion Altarpiece,” *The Art Bulletin* 87.4 (2005): 589–642.

<sup>518</sup> Miri Rubin cites two examples where a Jew irreverently attempted to feed the eucharist to an animal—in the first a Jew tried to feed it to some pigs who refused to eat it (J. T. Welter, ed., *Speculum laicorum* (Paris, 1914),

thirteenth century. The accused, a Jewish man named Jonah, attempted to escape the city dressed as a woman, but was caught and executed; Jewish properties were looted following his murder.<sup>519</sup> With all this in mind it “was not by accident, then, that the feast of Corpus Christi also became a principal occasion on which to celebrate the triumph of the body of Christ, ecclesiastical and eucharistic, over those perpetual and inveterate threats to Christ's bodily integrity, the Jews.”<sup>520</sup> Additionally, violence against Jews often occurred during the Passion period, underlining a Christological connection (in contrast, violence against the Jews was an exceptional occurrence during Marian feast days).<sup>521</sup>

The cult of the Corpus Christi had strong ties to the Marian cult, and thus can to an extent be connected to the synagogue turned Marian church phenomenon. In fact there are at least two other sites where a synagogue was converted in a Corpus Christi chapel around the same time period as in Bratislava: in Iglau (Jihlava) ca. 1426 and in Schweidnitz (Świdnica) in 1455.<sup>522</sup> It should also be mentioned that following miracles associated with alleged host desecration by Jews, a chapel typically dedicated to the Corpus Christi (or to the Holy Blood) would often be built on or near the site of the desecration (which was not necessarily the site of a synagogue).<sup>523</sup> Thus, the Corpus Christi cult, like that of the Virgin Mary, had the potential to create sacred places connected in some way to antisemitic rhetoric.

I am not aware of any other examples of synagogue to church conversion occurring in the Kingdom of Hungary during the Middle Ages. There are other examples of the seizing of synagogues: in Székesfehérvár in 1490 Maximilian I seized the city's synagogue and awarded

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no. 269, 53; also in a fourteenth-century German collection, Arundel 506, fol. 3<sup>rb</sup>, British Library, London; and J. Klapper, ed., *Exempla aus Handschriften des Mittelalters* (Heidelberg, 1991), no. 77, 62), and in the second a Jew attempted to feed it to his dog, but the dog refused and in turn attacked the Jew (*Speculum laicorum*, 52, no. 264; in a late fourteenth-century English collection, Burney 361, fol. 149<sup>rb</sup>, British Library, London; and from a fifteenth-century sermon, W.O. Ross, ed., *Middle English Sermons*, EETS 209 (London, 1940), 128–30), see Miri Rubin, *Corpus Christi: The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994, repr.), 124.

<sup>519</sup> Berend, *At the Gate of Christendom*, 199–200. Jonah is listed as a martyr in the memory book of Nuremberg: “Die Märtyrer Pressburgs. R. Jona und seine Genossen.” Siegmund Salfeld, ed. and tr., *Das Martyrologium des Nürnberger Memorbuches* (Berlin, 1898), 154; for the original Hebrew see p. 24.

<sup>520</sup> Robert C. Stacey, “From Ritual Crucifixion to Host Desecration: Jews and the Body of Christ,” *Jewish History* 12/1 (Spring, 1998): 13.

<sup>521</sup> Röcklein, “Marienverehrung und Judenfeindlichkeit,” 294.

<sup>522</sup> Minty, “*Judengasse to Christian Quarter*,” 61.

<sup>523</sup> Rubin, *Gentile Tales*, 90. Rubin details a variety of examples including Laa-an-der-Thaya in northern Austria (1294), Lauda, Germany (ca. 1300), Büren (Westphalia; 1299), and Pulkau in Lower Austria, Deggendorf (Bavaria) and Poznań (Poland) in the fourteenth century (Rubin, *Gentile Tales*, 90–1). See also Rubin's other works on this theme, including: Miri Rubin, “Desecration of the host: the birth of an accusation,” in *Medieval religion. New approaches. Rewriting histories*, ed. Constance Hoffman Berman (London: Routledge, 2005), 363–75; eadem, “Imagining the Jew: the late medieval eucharistic discourse,” in *In and Out of the Ghetto. Jewish-Gentile Relations*, ed. R. Po-chia Hsia and Hartmut Lehmann (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 177–208; eadem, “Desecration of the host: the birth of an accusation,” *Studies in Church History* 29 (1992): 169–85.

it to one of his knights—Florian Waldauf von Waldenstein.<sup>524</sup> A later example occurs in 1539, when the Jews of Trnava were expelled from the city, however, a charter from the king allowed them to at least sell their properties and keep the profits<sup>525</sup>; they sold their synagogue to the provost of Pécs, Albert Peregi.<sup>526</sup> I have not discovered any evidence that these synagogues were converted to Marian churches, or indeed any other religious institution.

Although Jews faced occurrences of persecution in Hungary and evidence of antisemitic rhetoric can be identified within Hungary, instances of persecution were rarer in Hungary than many other parts of Europe during the Middle Ages.<sup>527</sup> The legal status of the Jews of Hungary can be best ascertained from the privileges issued by King Béla IV in 1251, which included stipulations related to Jewish religious practice, including the protection of synagogues.<sup>528</sup> King Béla IV's privileges were renewed nine times, five of which (in 1396, 1406, 1422, 1431, and 1436) occurred during the reign of King Sigismund.

Unlike many of the German cases—as well as the examples of synagogue conversion in Cheb, Vienna, and Bratislava—no evidence survives of quarrels with or violence against the Jews of Buda at the time of the construction of the Lesser Virgin Mary Church, which is not to imply that nothing like this occurred, only that there is not enough extant historical evidence to determine whether or not such actions occurred. Because we have no extant evidence concerning the relocation of the Jewish quarter around the time of the church's construction we do not know if the Jews' properties were seized, and the Jews forcibly moved or if they were offered compensation. It does not seem like some underlying tension with the Jews contributed to the moving of the Jewish quarter and the erection of the Marian church. The only evidence of antisemitic themes comes from the fact that the Lesser Virgin Mary's Church's model was the *Frauenkirche* of Nuremberg. Even then, the Buda church differs from the *Frauenkirche* in one very key characteristic: it is not actually built on the exact spot of the synagogue, but rather, a little less than 100 m south of it. It seems odd that Sigismund would be so meticulous in his imitation of his father's church in Nuremberg, but then disregard this key point of his father's foundation.

The key, I believe, lies in Buda's topography. The first synagogue of Buda was built in an “uncommon and eminent” position directly next to the Jewish Gate, on the western side of

<sup>524</sup> Scheiber, *Jewish Inscriptions in Hungary*, 99. For the charter, dated November 17, 1490, describing these events, see: MZsO, XVIII:451–53, no. 802. In addition to the synagogue, Florian Waldauf was awarded the houses and lands of wealthy Jews in the town. On Florian Waldauf see: Ernst Verdroß-Droßberg, *Florian Waldauf von Waldenstein : Festschrift zur 450-Jahr-Feier der Haller Stubengesellschaft* (Innsbruck: Universitätsverlag Wagner, 1958), esp. 19–21.

<sup>525</sup> MZsO, VIII:203–4, no. 227.

<sup>526</sup> Scheiber, *Jewish inscriptions in Hungary*, 101–103; MZsO, VIII:206, no. 232.

<sup>527</sup> Berend, *At the Gate of Christendom*, 199.

<sup>528</sup> Ibid., 79; Kubinyi, “A magyarországi zsidóság története,” 5.



the Jewish Street.<sup>529</sup> This is in contrast with the synagogue in Nuremberg, which (though located near the mid-thirteenth-century wall) was located virtually in the center of the city.<sup>530</sup> Because King Sigismund was conducting extensive building works in and around his palace, including the area of the old Jewish quarter, he had numerous sites to choose from for his new royal church. The site of the old synagogue would have put the new church in an awkward position. The Lesser Virgin Mary Church would become the site of important symbolic ceremonies; processions and significant royal rituals would be performed there. If the church had been located directly next to the gate, it may have made movement in and around the church difficult, especially if large crowds were present. The actual site of the Lesser Virgin Mary Church, on the main street leading to the palace, sat comfortably between the palace and the gate, offering “a place for ceremonies of significance staged in the transitional zone between the two worlds,” the royal world and that of the common people.<sup>531</sup> In the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries royals would attend mass at the church on important feast days, and, as access to the royal court became more difficult toward the end of the fifteenth century, the royal church became a place where it was possible to meet the king. For example, King Matthias Corvinus began the celebration of the Feast of the Annunciation of the Virgin Mary by attending vespers at the Lesser Virgin Mary Church, and following the service the public was allowed to bring their petitions to the king.<sup>532</sup> Similarly, King Louis II (r. 1516–1526) used “the church for symbolic communication with his subjects” when he visited the church and prayed there for the success of his campaign against the Turks.<sup>533</sup> It was also a focal point for important visitors to the king, such as Prince Sigismund Jagiellon, who on January 5, 1501 made a procession to the king from the Lesser Virgin Mary Church.<sup>534</sup> In the absence of sources clarifying the situation I can only speculate, but it would seem that King Sigismund was indeed

<sup>529</sup> Végh, “Buda város első zsidónegyedének emlékei,” 133.

<sup>530</sup> Mengel, “Emperor Charles IV, Jews and Urban Space,” 307, Map 12.1, 312.

<sup>531</sup> Antonín Kalous, “The Last Medieval King Leaves Buda,” in *Medieval Buda in Context*, 521.

<sup>532</sup> Kornél Szovák, “King and Church, Matthias Corvinus and Religion,” in *Matthias Corvinus, the King: Tradition and Renewal in the Hungarian Royal Court 1458–1490*, ed. Péter Farbak et al. (Budapest: Budapest History Museum, 2008), 396; Kumorovitz, “A budai várkapolna és Szent Zsigmond-prépostság történetéhez,” 120; Orsolya Réthelyi, “Mary of Hungary in Court Context (1521–1531)” (PhD diss., Central European University, 2010), 144.

<sup>533</sup> Kalous, “The Last Medieval King Leaves Buda,” 521.

<sup>534</sup> György Laczlavik, “A budavári kisebb Szűz Mária-, avagy Szent Zsigmond-prépostság történetéhez” [On the medieval history of the Lesser Virgin Mary or Saint Sigismund provostship at Buda Castle], *FS Géza Érszegi* (2005): 200. From the Buda accounts of Prince Sigismund of Poland: “Item vespere sacerdoti, qui venerat cum reliquis in aulam domini principis, quum processiones cum columbatione Beate Virgine et Sancto Sigismundo ad dominum regem venerat, dedi l. ortt.” Adorján Divéky, *Zsigmond lengyel herceg budai számadásai (1500–1502., 1505.* [Buda accounts of the Polish Prince Sigismund 1500–1502, 1505], Magyar Történelmi Társulat (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1914), 85. The relics that Prince Sigismund Jagiellon venerated may have come from St. Sigismund—which themselves may have been acquired by King Sigismund in 1414 from the monastery of St. Maurice in Againe (Tóth, “‘Szent Zsigmondnak ő azt felnevezteté,’ Luxemburgi Zsigmond,” 376).



imitating his father's foundation in Nuremberg, but when it came down to the exact location of his new church, practicality was more important than perfect reproduction.

#### 4. Conclusion

The Lesser Virgin Mary Church's importance increased over time. Two queens were buried here: Queen Catherine of Poděbrady (1449–1464), second wife of Matthias Corvinus, and later Queen Anna of Foix-Candale (1484–1506), the third wife of Vladislaus II.<sup>535</sup> Additionally, the provost of the Lesser Virgin Mary chapter rose to become one of the largest ecclesiastical landholders in the country and was thus a highly sought-after position.<sup>536</sup> Ironically, after 1541 the Lesser Virgin Mary chapter was converted into a mosque by the Ottomans (Kücsük mosque).<sup>537</sup>

While not representing the synagogue-to-Marian church phenomenon in the strictest sense, the case of the Lesser Virgin Mary Church still embodies a trend initially thought to be limited to German lands, brought to Hungary by the spread of devotional trends through art, preaching, and the movement of peoples, and realized through the actions of emperors. With his foundation of the Lesser Virgin Mary Church, Sigismund was certainly inspired by his father's foundation at Nuremberg, but it was very likely not the only such example of synagogue conversion that contributed to his choice. In addition to the *Frauenkirche* of Nuremberg, Sigismund would have known about the conversion of a synagogue into a royal church dedicated to the Virgin by the Wittelsbach dynasty. Even closer in time to the foundation of the Lesser Virgin Mary Church and in his own kingdom, a synagogue was converted into a chapel in honor of the Corpus Christi in Bratislava—one of the most strategically important towns in the kingdom during Sigismund's reign—by a family he had connections to.<sup>538</sup> After the foundation of his royal church in Buda, Sigismund was an active participant (though often begrudgingly) in other examples of synagogue conversion, directly in the case of the Marian churches of Cheb and Cologne and tangentially through his son-in-law in the case of Vienna.

The processes that led to the foundation of the Lesser Virgin Mary Church of Buda offer a fascinating example of Marian placemaking. It illustrates how the connection between

<sup>535</sup> However, the latter was buried there only temporarily; after her husband's death in 1516 she was reburied in Székesfehérvár with her husband. Laczlavik, "A budavári kisebb Szűz Mária-, avagy Szent Zsigmond-prépostság történetéhez," 204; András Kubinyi, "Buda, Medieval Capital of Hungary," in *Medieval Buda in Context*, 378.

<sup>536</sup> Laczlavik, "A budavári kisebb Szűz Mária-, avagy Szent Zsigmond-prépostság történetéhez," 203.

<sup>537</sup> Kumorovitz, "A budai várkapolna és Szent Zsigmond-prépostság történetéhez," 129.

<sup>538</sup> On the importance of Bratislava at this time and its relationship with Sigismund see Szende, "Between Hatred and Affection," 202–10.

Marian devotion and antisemitic rhetoric, and the relationships between the church, rulers, Jewish community, and city officials could manifest in the destruction of one sacred place, and the erection of another one in its place, or, more precisely in the case of the Lesser Virgin Church, near its place.

### CHAPTER 3. THE LANDSCAPE OF MARIAN PILGRIMAGE: DYNASTIC PATRONAGE AND MARIAN SHRINES ABROAD

The creation of Marian sites in Hungary in the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries (and the later development of some of them into pilgrimage sites) was heavily impacted by Hungarian rulers and pilgrims' relationships with foreign pilgrimage sites. In fact, according to the extant historical data, most of the journeys that can be definitively labelled as pilgrimages—that is, they were described as such by contemporaries—made by Hungarians during the Angevin and Luxembourg periods were to foreign pilgrimage sites.<sup>539</sup> Aachen, Jerusalem, and Rome were the most popular.<sup>540</sup> While important Marian relics and places could be found in Jerusalem and Rome, the palace chapel of the Virgin Mary in Aachen was the site most explicitly connected to the figure of the Virgin. As the burial place of Charlemagne and the coronation site of German kings it had strong royal and imperial connotations, but the presence of Mary was also strong: in addition to being dedicated to the Virgin, one of the most important relics it held was the cloak of the Virgin Mary,<sup>541</sup> and the Virgin appeared on the reliquary of Charlemagne (ca. 1215), on the city's seal, and pilgrimage badges from the site featured the Virgin and Child, cloak of the Virgin, or scenes from Mary's life.<sup>542</sup>

The earliest identified Marian pilgrimage made by a Hungarian was to Aachen in 1300,<sup>543</sup> but the Hungarian Angevins' interaction with the site, which will be discussed in detail below, significantly increased Hungarian pilgrimage to Aachen. But Aachen was not the only foreign Marian site with which the Hungarian Angevin dynasty had a special relationship. The Benedictine Marian monastery of Mariazell, which housed a miraculous statue of the Virgin,

<sup>539</sup> The most important work on Hungarian pilgrims during the Middle Ages is Enikő Csukovits, *Középkori magyar zarándokok* [Medieval Hungarian Pilgrims], História Könyvtár Monográfiák 20 (Budapest, 2003). See also on the pilgrims of Bratislava in particular: Enikő Csukovits and Judit Majorossy, "Pozsonyi peregrinusok (Végrendeleti zarándoklatok a középkori városi gyakorlatban)" [The pilgrims of Bratislava (Endowment pilgrimages in medieval urban practice)], in *Várak, templomok, ispotályok*, 29–69.

<sup>540</sup> Csukovits, *Középkori magyar zarándokok*, 30.

<sup>541</sup> Other important relics kept at Aachen include the shroud that had held the severed head of St. John the Baptist and Jesus' swaddling clothes and loincloth. On the *Marienschrein* in Aachen see: Dieter P. J. Wynands, *Der Aachener Marienschrein: Eine Festschrift* (Aachen: Einhard, 2000).

<sup>542</sup> On Marian imagery in Aachen see: Takács, *A magyarországi káptalanok és konventek középkori pecsétjei*, 33–5. On pilgrimage badges from Aachen see: Andreas Haasis-Berner, "Das Wallfahrtswesen im 14. Jahrhundert im Spiegel der Pilgerzeichen: Eine These zur Geschichte des Wallfahrtswesens im Heiligen Römischen Deutscher Nation," in *Das Zeichen am Hut im Mittelalter: europäische Reisemarkierungen*, ed. Hartmut Kühne, Lothar Lambacher, Konrad Vanja (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2008), 144; Hanneke van Asperen, "Annunciation and Dedication on Aachen Pilgrim Badges. Notes on the Early Badge Production in Aachen and Some New Attributions," *Peregrinations* 4/2 (2013): 215–35.

<sup>543</sup> This was a penitential pilgrimage made by a man named Benedict, who had killed his wife (DL-DF 60149). On these events see Csukovits, *Középkori magyar zarándokok*, 56. The pilgrimage to Aachen was probably initially popularized in Hungary by German settlers, though it quickly became popular amongst Hungarians as well (Nándor Udvarhelyi, "Aachen magyar kincsei" [The Hungarian Treasures of Aachen], *Honismeret* 44/5 (2016): 72–5).

was generously endowed by King Louis the Great, and Hungarian pilgrimage increased exponentially.<sup>544</sup> Other foreign Marian sites began to be visited by Hungarian pilgrims from the late fifteenth century onwards: Rocamadour first in 1492, Altötting in 1494, Loreto in 1500, Częstochowa in 1504 (though there are signs of Hungarian pilgrimage earlier during the reign of Sigismund of Luxembourg<sup>545</sup>), and Regensburg—where a Marian church had been constructed on the ruins of a synagogue like in the cases discussed in Chapter 2<sup>546</sup>—in 1525.<sup>547</sup> Aachen and Mariazell continued to be more popular, however.

In the following chapter the religious and political significance of Aachen and Mariazell's connections to the Angevin and Luxembourg dynasties will be explored. The Hungarian Angevins in particular used Marian veneration, including the patronage of foreign Marian sites, as a tool of dynastic promotion. Hungarian royal interaction with these sites would not only build a permanent link between these sites and the Kingdom of Hungary, but they would also come to influence Marian placemaking in Hungary itself.

### 1. A New Dynasty in Hungary: Between Propaganda and Piety

The death of the last Árpadian king in 1301 led to a succession crisis in the Hungarian Kingdom. Charles I (also known as Charles Robert; r. 1301/08–1342), claimed the Hungarian throne through his Árpadian grandmother, Mary of Hungary (ca. 1257–1323), the daughter of King Stephen V of Hungary (r. 1270–1272) and Queen Elizabeth the Cuman (r. 1270–1272; regent 1272–1277).<sup>548</sup> Charles I faced an uphill battle in his struggle for the title of king of Hungary. In addition to battling other claimants for the throne, he had to counteract the image of him as a foreign king. Though connected by blood to the Árpadian dynasty, he was a member of a French house, the Angevin dynasty, and his father, grandfather, and great-grandfather had been rulers of Sicily and Naples.

The use of Marian imagery was one method that Charles I used to legitimize his rule. In addition to promotion of the Virgin Mary, the Angevin dynasty—starting with Charles but continuing with his wife Elizabeth Piast and son, Louis the Great—promoted other saints, and in particular their own Árpadian and Angevin saints. Their efforts were emblematic of the new

<sup>544</sup> The first Hungarian pilgrimage to Mariazell is recorded in 1441. Csukovits, *Középkori magyar zarándokok*, 26.

<sup>545</sup> Maniura, *Pilgrimage to Images*, 3, 69.

<sup>546</sup> For more on the Regensburg case see Allyson F. Creasman, "The Virgin Mary against the Jews: Anti-Jewish Polemic in the Pilgrimage to the Schöne Maria of Regensburg, 1519–25," *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 33/4 (Winter 2002): 63–80.

<sup>547</sup> Csukovits, *Középkori magyar zarándokok*, 26.

<sup>548</sup> Charles I's father Charles Martel (1271–1295) had been a pretender to the Hungarian throne but unlike his son was ultimately unsuccessful.

trends identified by Gábor Klaniczay in the royal patronage of the saints that emerged in the mid-fourteenth century in Central Europe, namely: first, that journeys undertaken by royals and their courts for various reasons were seen as excellent opportunities to popularize dynastic saints; second, within the context of the cult of saints dynastic cults were expanding rapidly; and lastly, there was a new demand for art objects, edifices, and works of literature produced specifically for purposes of personal piety.<sup>549</sup>

The use of Marian iconography as a tool of legitimization during Charles I's rule is most evident in a fresco painted in 1317 above the northern entryway of the collegiate church of Spišská Kapitula (Szepeshely; Zipser Kapitel) dedicated to St. Martin (Figure 26).



Figure 26. Crowning of Charles Robert. Collegiate church of Spišská Kapitula, 1317 (Dušan Buran, Gotika. *Dejiny slovenského výtvarného umenia* [Gothic. *History of Slovak Fine Arts*] (Bratislava, 2003), 86).

In the center of the image the Virgin Mary sits enthroned, placing the crown on the head of Charles who kneels before her; the Archbishop Thomas of Esztergom stands at her left, handing her the crown. The vice-*ispán* of Spiš, Thomas Semsei, and Henry, the provost of the Spišská Kapitula collegiate church, kneel behind the king and archbishop, respectively. The message of the image is clear, Charles receives the crown from the patron of Hungary, the Virgin Mary, transferred to him via the rightful agent of the church, the archbishop of Esztergom. The message of the image is made all the clearer considering that the model for its compositional scheme is primarily the *Porta Speciosa*, underlining that “the political identification of Charles Robert necessarily involves Mary.”<sup>550</sup>

The fresco was commissioned by Henry, provost of the Spišská Kapitula church and chancellor of the archbishop, on the occasion of King Charles I's visit to Spiš in 1317.<sup>551</sup> The

<sup>549</sup> Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses*, 332–3. See also: Dragoş Gh. Năstăsoiu, “Patterns of Devotion and Traces of Art: The Pilgrimage of Queen Elizabeth Piast to Marburg, Cologne, and Aachen in 1357,” *Umění (Art)* 64/1 (2016): 29.

<sup>550</sup> Lionnet, “Mise en images des rapports,” 59–60.

<sup>551</sup> Márta Török, “Az egyházi középréteg mobilitása a szepesi káptalanban” [The mobility of the ecclesiastical middle classes in the Chapter of Spiš] (PhD diss., ELTE, 2011), 2–3, 2n8. Other individuals, such as Archbishop

year 1317 marked a turning point for Charles in his struggle to secure his rule, having had several significant military victories, particularly in the Spiš region.<sup>552</sup> Henry was a loyal supporter of Charles I, to whom he owed his position and successful career (which would culminate with his position as bishop of Veszprém in 1323), so the fresco would be a worthy votive image made in honor of the king. László Solymosi has argued that the fresco represents Henry's personal reverence for the Virgin Mary.<sup>553</sup> While Henry may have been particularly devoted to Mary and while his personal piety may have attributed to his commissioning of the Spišská Kapitula fresco, he undoubtedly was well aware of the *Porta Speciosa*, what it represented, and what a similar image with the figure of Charles I in place of King St. Stephen would mean. The fresco established "a continuity with previous customs and anchored the power of the new king in the tradition developed by the sovereigns of the Árpadian dynasty."<sup>554</sup>

Charles I's successor, his son Louis the Great, followed in his father's footsteps in promoting himself and his dynasty. His success in this endeavor is illustrated in an image whose iconographical elements and context of creation are very similar to those of the Spišská Kapitula fresco (Figure 27). The large seal of the town of Nová Baňa (Újbánya; Königsberg), produced between 1345 and 1348, features Louis the Great kneeling before the Virgin Mary and offering his crown to her, evoking St. Stephen's offer of the kingdom to Mary and the resulting iconography.<sup>555</sup>

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Thomas, Thomas Semsei, and Charles himself, may have contributed to the commissioning of the fresco, see, for example: Takács, *Magyarországi káptalanok és konventek*, 34.

<sup>552</sup> Lionnet, "Mise en images des rapports," 58.

<sup>553</sup> László Solymosi, "Az esztergomi káptalan legrégibb pecsétjei," [The oldest seals of the Esztergom Chapter], in *Írásbeliség és társadalom az Árpád-korban. Diplomatikai és pecsét-tani tanulmányok* [Literacy and society in the Árpád era. Diplomatic and seal studies] (Budapest: Argumentum, 2006), 88.

<sup>554</sup> Lionnet, "Mise en images des rapports," 59.

<sup>555</sup> Takács, *Magyarországi káptalanok és konventek középkori pecsétjei*, 32–5, 41, fig. 79; Marie Lionnet, "Les peintures murales en Hongrie," 164–5; Katalin Szende, "The Mine is Mine! The Visual Assertion of Royal Authority in the Mining Towns of the Medieval Kingdom of Hungary," in *Istoria ca interogație. Mariei Craciun, la o aniversare* [Festschrift for Maria Craciun's 60th Birthday], ed. Carmen Florea and Greta-Monica Miron (Cluj-Napoca: Argonaut & Mega, 2020), 238. The stamp seal is currently in the collections of the Hungarian National Museum, Pecsétnyomó Gyűjtemény [Stamp Seal Collection], <https://mnm.hu/hu/gyujtemenyek/historical-repository/pecsetnyomo-gyujtemeny>, accessed Sept. 30, 2021. Katalin Szende puts the production of the seal between 1345 and 1348, while Imre Takács puts it between 1342 and 1345 (Takács, *Magyarországi káptalanok és konventek*, 34). Marie Lionnet suggests that the Nová Baňa seal may have been one of the inspirations for the seal of the Zagreb chapter from 1371 (Lionnet, "Mise en images des rapports," 64; see also Takács, *Magyarországi káptalanok és konventek*, 34).



Figure 27. Large seal of the town of Újbánya. 14<sup>th</sup> c. (Hungarian National Museum, Pecsétnyomó Gyűjtemény [Stamp Seal Collection], <https://mnm.hu/hu/gyujtemenyek/historical-repository/pecsetnyomo-gyujtemeny>).

The function and medium of this image of Mary and ruler differs from the monumental works of the *Porta Speciosa* and Spišská Kapitula fresco. The seal is emblematic of the city's autonomy, but this autonomy was dependent on its connection to the king.<sup>556</sup> Louis the Great had settled German miners in Nová Baňa and elevated the town to a free royal city in 1345.<sup>557</sup> The German community of Nová Baňa was linked to Louis because of the royal origin of its privileges, and this seal demonstrates that the idea of Mary as the origin of Hungarian royal power was understood outside of royal and ecclesiastical circles.<sup>558</sup>

## 2. The Pilgrimages of Queen Elizabeth Piast

Outside of Hungary, the devotional-diplomatic strategy of the Angevin dynasty manifested in pilgrimages and the plethora of devotional art and objects they donated, commissioned, and received as gifts.<sup>559</sup> It was through these events that the Marian cult grew

<sup>556</sup> Lionnet, "Mise en images des rapports," 64.

<sup>557</sup> German miners from nearby towns had also begun mining in Újbánya in 1337, though in small number. Boglárka Weisz and Matthew Caples, "Mining Town Privileges in Angevin Hungary," *The Hungarian Historical Review* 2/2 (2013): 292; Katalin Szende and Judit Majorossy, "Sources for the Hospitals in Medieval and Early Modern Hungary," in *Quellen zur europäischen Spitalgeschichte in Mittelalter und Früher Neuzeit* (Munich: R. Oldenbourg Verlag - Böhlau Verlag, 2010), 329.

<sup>558</sup> Lionnet, "Les peintures murales en Hongrie," 166.

<sup>559</sup> For information on the artistic patronage of the Angevin court see: Ernő Marosi, "Diplomatie et représentation de la cour sous le règne de Louis le Grand de Hongrie," in *La diplomatie des États Angevins aux XIIIe et XIVe siècles. Diplomacy in the Countries of the Angevin Dynasty in the Thirteenth – Fourteenth Century*, Actes du colloque international de Szeged, Visegrád, Budapest, 13-14 septembre 2007, ed. Zoltán Kordé and István Petrovics (Rome: Accademia d'Ungheria in Roma and JATEPress, 2010), 187–193; idem, "L'art à la cour angevine de Hongrie," in *L'Europe des Anjou. Aventure des princes Angevins du XIIIe au XVe siècle*, ed. Guy Massin Le Goff, et al. (Paris: Abbaye de Fontevraud à Fontevraud, 2001): 178–93; idem, "A 14-századi Magyarország udvari művészete és Közép-Európa," in *Művészet I. Lajos király korában 1342–1382*, ed. Ernő Marosi, Melinda Tóth, and Livia Varga (Budapest: István Király Múzeum in Székesfehérvár, 1982), 51–77; Imre Takács, "Königshof und Hofkunst un Ungarn in der späten Anjouzeit," in *Sigismundus rex et imperator*, 68–86.



and transformed in a very tangible way. The pilgrimages undertaken by the wife of King Charles I, Elizabeth Piast (1305–1380)—to the Italian peninsula in 1343–1344 and to Marburg, Cologne, and Aachen in 1357—were the most significant in this regard, and her travels had a profound effect on the patronage efforts of her son King Louis I and the development of sacred spaces dedicated to the Virgin Mary both in German lands and back in the Kingdom of Hungary.

Elizabeth was an enthusiastic supporter of the Angevin saints, and her conjunctive political and spiritual actions were deliberate and tactical. She was no meek and passive queen, rather she used her position to support her family and ensure her dynasty's prestige and longevity. Elizabeth founded and supported many religious institutions, the majority of which were dedicated to the Virgin,<sup>560</sup> and commissioned and donated devotional artworks in Hungary and in her home kingdom of Poland, which she ruled as regent between 1370 and 1376.<sup>561</sup> Elizabeth's pilgrimages represented another opportunity for patronage. She travelled with a large retinue and donated and commissioned works of art during the pilgrimages, and by so doing was able to exhibit the splendor of the Hungarian court abroad, express her own personal piety, and show the prestige of her family lineage.<sup>562</sup>

The first pilgrimage undertaken by Queen Elizabeth Piast was to the Italian peninsula in 1343–1344. The journey was a “diplomatic and devotional tour,” made in order to support her son Prince Andrew's claims to the Neapolitan throne,<sup>563</sup> echoing the trip her husband Charles I had made to Naples ten years prior to arrange said marriage.<sup>564</sup> Prince Andrew was married to Joanna I of Naples, granddaughter of King Robert the Wise of Naples, and in line for the throne. However, Andrew was disavowed the throne in Robert's will and Joanna was

<sup>560</sup> She founded several Marian institutions: the Pauline monastery of the Virgin Mary in Nyzhni Remety in 1329, the Poor Clares nunnery in Óbuda dedicated to the Virgin Mary and St. Clare in 1334, the collegiate church of the Virgin Mary in Buda ca. 1348, the church of Podvinj (Podvinna) in 1363, a royal chapel dedicated to the Virgin Mary in Visegrád (or possibly Buda) in 1366, the Carmelite monastery of Buda dedicated to the Mary of Mercy in 1372 (which she founded with her son); and the Franciscan friary of the Virgin Mary in Beregove (Beregszász) in 1377. She also donated a cloister to the Franciscan friary of the Virgin Mary in Satu Mare (Szatmár). On Elizabeth's architectural patronage see: Ewa Śnieżyńska-Stolot, “Queen Elizabeth as a Patron of Architecture,” *Acta Historiae Artium* XX (1974): 13–36; Christopher Mielke, *The Archaeology and Material Culture of Queenship, 1000–1395* (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2021), 218–19. See also the relevant site entries in Romhányi, *Kolostorok és társaskáptalanok*.

<sup>561</sup> On her artistic patronage see: Ewa Śnieżyńska-Stolot, “Artistic Patronage of the Hungarian Angevins in Poland,” *Alba Regia* XXII (1985): 21–28; Ewa Śnieżyńska-Stolot, “Studies on Queen Elizabeth's Artistic Patronage,” *Critica d'Arte* 2 (1979): 166–168.

<sup>562</sup> Năstăsioiu, “The Pilgrimage of Queen Elizabeth Piast to Marburg, Cologne, and Aachen,” 29. Also see Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses*, 332–3.

<sup>563</sup> Năstăsioiu, “The Pilgrimage of Queen Elizabeth Piast to Marburg, Cologne, and Aachen,” 29; Vinni Lucherini, “The Journey of Charles I, King of Hungary, from Visegrád to Naples (1333): Its Political Implications and Artistic Consequences,” *Hungarian Historical Review* 2/2 (2013): 341–62.

<sup>564</sup> It should be noted, however, that Charles I's journey to Naples had more straightforward political objectives and had less effect on the promotion of the Angevin cult of saints and artistic patronage than did the trip of Elizabeth (Lucherini, “The Journey of Charles I,” 341–62).



made sole ruler after the king's death, an act later confirmed with the approval of Pope Clement VI. Accordingly, Elizabeth had huge diplomatic hurdles to overcome during this trip, but she strategically used the Árpadian and Angevin dynastic saints as a tool of self-representation and to increase the Hungarian Angevin dynasty's "political and sacral prestige."<sup>565</sup> The political goal of Elizabeth's sojourn to Italy was successful but only in the short-term. Pope Clement VI reversed his decision in 1344, but Andrew was murdered the following year. As a result of Andrew's murder, Louis the Great launched two campaigns to Naples; the end of his second campaign culminated in him undertaking a pilgrimage to Rome in 1350, during which he visited many of the same places his mother had and similarly made many pious donations.<sup>566</sup> While Elizabeth and Louis' diplomatic goals may not have been successful, the artistic, religious, and diplomatic ties made between Hungary and Italy during Elizabeth's journey in particular had lasting consequences.

During her journey Elizabeth visited many important pilgrimage sites and donated objects and money.<sup>567</sup> From Naples Queen Elizabeth also undertook a pilgrimage to Rome, during which she made some of her grandest donations.<sup>568</sup> Amongst these donations is the "most spectacular evidence of Queen Elizabeth's campaign to popularise Hungarian saints," an embroidered silk dossal featuring the Hungarian Angevin saints—Stephen, Emeric, Ladislaus, Louis of Toulouse, Elizabeth, and Margaret—with SS. Peter and Paul and, in the center, the Virgin Mary.<sup>569</sup> Here the Hungarian Angevin saints are legitimized by being in the company of both the representatives of papal power and heavenly power, that is, the Queen of Heaven. Elizabeth also had objects commissioned by Italian artists and was given gifts. One of the objects she may have commissioned while in Italy also connects the image of Mary with a Hungarian saint: an altar with the Enthroned Madonna in the center, and St. Dominic and St. Elizabeth on either side, attributed to Lippo Vanni (of the Sienese School, active 1341–1375) (Figure 28). The two donors pictured below Mary have been identified with Queen Elizabeth

<sup>565</sup> Năstăsioiu, "The Pilgrimage of Queen Elizabeth Piast to Marburg, Cologne, and Aachen," 29.

<sup>566</sup> Csukovits, *Középkori magyar zarándokok*, 71–2.

<sup>567</sup> A detailed account of her travels in Italy are known from the chronicle of John of Küküllő, who may have travelled with the queen as a member of her entourage (Csukovits, *Középkori magyar zarándokok*, 70). For Küküllei's chronicle see János Küküllei, *Lajos király krónikája* [The Chronicle of King Louis], Millenniumi magyar történelem, trans. Gyula Kristó (Budapest: Osiris Kiadó, 2000).

<sup>568</sup> Some of these are listed in the inventory of the treasury of St. Peter's Basilica from 1361 as coming from *Regina Ungarie*. Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses*, 337–8; Dragoş Gh. Năstăsioiu, "Patterns of Devotion and Traces of Art: The Diplomatic Journey of Queen Elizabeth Piast to Italy in 1343–1344," *Convivium* II/2 (2015): 104. For details of the inventory see: E. Müntz and A. L. Frothingham Jr., "Il Tesoro della Basilica di S. Pietro in Vaticano dal XIII al XV secolo con una scelta d'inventarii inediti," *Archivio della Società Romana di Storia Patria*, VI (1883): 1–137. On Elizabeth's pilgrimage to Rome see also: János Karácsonyi, "Nagy Lajos anyja Rómában" [The mother of Louis the Great in Rome], *Katholikus Szemle* VII (1893): 50–63.

<sup>569</sup> Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses*, 337–8; Năstăsioiu, "Patterns of Devotion and Traces of Art: The Diplomatic Journey of Queen Elizabeth Piast to Italy," 8. For its description in the inventory see Müntz and Frothingham Jr., "Il Tesoro della Basilica di S. Pietro," 14.

Piast and Prince Andrew, again linking the Virgin with a Hungarian dynastic saint and the ruling Hungarian family.<sup>570</sup>



Figure 28. *Madonna and Child Enthroned with Donors and Saints Dominic and Elizabeth of Hungary*. Accession Number 61.024.001, Lower Art Museum, accessed February 14, 2022, <https://www.kressfoundation.org/kress-collection/artwork/437616497163c021896dd79e0d487a7cad9b9d76f0d8e794d55972182aa2>.

Queen Elizabeth may have also acquired one or more images of the Virgin Mary that would become critical objects in the cultural exchange between German lands and Hungary during her travels through Italy. In Elizabeth's last will of 1380 she bequeathed three *plenaria* of pure gold (*tria plenaria unum de auro purissimo*), the second of which was gifted to Elizabeth by Queen Sancia of Naples (*secundum per dominam Sanctiam reginam Siclie nobis datum*).<sup>571</sup> While the word *plenario* most often referred to a book of Epistles and Gospels, it could also refer to a polyptych or reliquary.<sup>572</sup> The fact that later in Elizabeth's will she donated to the Poor Clares of Óbuda “uno plenario per sanctum Lucam evangelistam manibus propriis” —which clearly refers to a Lucan image, that is, an image of the Virgin Mary believed to have

<sup>570</sup> The altar is now part of the Kress Collection and currently at the Lowe Art Museum in Miami. Kress Collection, “Madonna and Child Enthroned with Donors and Saints Dominic and Elizabeth of Hungary (triptych: center),” Accession Number 61.024.001, accessed Sept. 28, 2021, <https://www.kressfoundation.org/kress-collection/artwork/437616497163c021896dd79e0d487a7cad9b9d76f0d8e794d55972182aa25615>. On the altar see Năstăsioiu, “Patterns of Devotion and Traces of Art: The Diplomatic Journey of Queen Elizabeth Piast to Italy,” 10–11; Fern Ruck Shapley, *Paintings from the Samuel H. Kress Collection. Italian Schools XIII–XV Century* (London: Phaidon Press, 1966), 57.

<sup>571</sup> DL-DF 6692. Her last will is published in Ernő Marosi, “A 14. századi Magyarország udvari művészete és közép-Európa” [Art at the Hungarian Court and in Central Europe in the 14<sup>th</sup> Century], in *Művészet I. Lajos király korában 1342–1382*, 73n32.

<sup>572</sup> Blaise Medieval, s.v. “plenario (plenarius),” accessed Sept. 28, 2021, <http://clt.brepolis.net/dld/pages/QuickSearch.aspx>.

been painted by St. Luke the Evangelist—indicate that these *plenaria* are probably all images of some kind, and certainly in the case of the “plenario per sanctum Lucam.”<sup>573</sup> Both Ernő Marosi and László Szende make this conclusion in their relevant research.<sup>574</sup> Elizabeth probably received the *plenarium* from Queen Sancia of Naples during her travels in Italy, and it is possible that she also received the Lucan image during this time, perhaps in Rome.<sup>575</sup> The possible role of this image in King Louis the Great’s patronage and placemaking will be discussed in further detail below.

About ten years after Elizabeth’s travels in the Italian peninsula she made another important journey, a pilgrimage to Marburg, Cologne, and Aachen with Charles IV of Luxembourg, King of Bohemia and Holy Roman Emperor, and his wife, Anna of Schweidnitz, who was also the niece of King Louis I and had been raised in the Hungarian court during which time Queen Elizabeth Piast directed her education.<sup>576</sup> The company departed from Prague in May in 1357, arriving first to Marburg, where the tomb of St. Elizabeth, the Árpáadian princess, was located, and then traveling to Cologne, the site of the shrine of the Three Kings and an important site for German kings.<sup>577</sup> The pilgrimage culminated in Aachen, where, according to unpublished chronicle *Cronica Treberorum Episcoporum Anonyma*, Anna of Schweidnitz was crowned queen of Germany.<sup>578</sup> As a result of Elizabeth’s pilgrimage to Aachen, the Hungarian Angevins would make one of their largest pious donations.

<sup>573</sup> Marosi, “A 14. századi Magyarország udvari művészete,” 73n32. On the concept and history of Lucan images see: Belting, *Likeness and Presence*, 57–9.

<sup>574</sup> He translated the word as “Bilder.” László Szende, “Mitherrscherin oder einfach Königinmutter Elisabeth con Lokietek in Ungarn (1320-1380)” *Majestas* 13 (2005): 61; Ernő Marosi, “Mariazell und die Kunst Ungarns im Mittelalter,” in *Ungarn in Mariazell – Mariazell in Ungarn: Geschichte und Erinnerung*, ed. Péter Farbaky and Szabolcs Serfőző (Budapest: Historisches Museum der Stadt Budapest, 2004), 33.

<sup>575</sup> Marianne Sághy, “Dévotions diplomatiques: Le pèlerinage de la reine-mère Élisabeth Piast à Rome,” in *La Diplomatie des États Angevins aux XIIIe et XIVe siècle. Proceedings of the International Conference, Szeged, Visegrád, Budapest, September 13–16, 2007*, ed. Zoltán Kordé and István Petrovics (Rome–Szeged: Accademia d’Ungheria in Roma : Università degli studi di Szeged, 2011), 224; Marosi, “Mariazell und die Kunst Ungarns,” 34.

<sup>576</sup> Balázs Nagy, “Angevin-Luxemburg Diplomatic Relations in the Mid-fourteenth Century,” 317.

<sup>577</sup> The route of the pilgrimage was reconstructed by Antal Pór using the historic accounts of the journey, see Antal Pór, “Erzsébet királyné aacheni zarándoklása 1357-ben,” [Queen Elizabeth’s pilgrimage to Aachen in 1357], *Századok* XXXV (1901): 1–14. The sources that recount Elizabeth’s pilgrimage are: the chronicle of Henry of Diessenhofen (Johann Friedrich Böhmer, ed., *Fontes rerum Germanicarum. Vol. 4: Henricus de Diessenhofen und andere Geschichtsquellen Deutschlands im späteren Mittelalter* (Stuttgart: Cotta, 1868), 108–9); the account of Henrik Rebberf (Boehmer, *Fontes*, IV:544); the unpublished chronicle *Cronica Treberorum Episcoporum Anonyma* (see Pór, “Erzsébet királyné aacheni zarándoklása,” 3n1); and the Mainz Chronicle (“Chronicon Moguntinum 1347-1406 und Fortsetzung bis 1478,” in *Die Chroniken der mittelhheinischen Städte. Mainz*, ed. Historische Kommission bei der Königlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Vol. 2 (Leipzig: S. Hirzel, 1881), 160).

<sup>578</sup> “Et inde cum ipsa regina Aquisgrani pervenit, ubi uxorem suam terciam coronavit.” As recorded in Pór, “Erzsébet királyné aacheni zarándoklása,” 3n1. The coronation of Anna is only mentioned in this chronicle. The date of her coronation in Aachen is typically cited as 1354 (Mario Kramp, *Kronungen: Könige in Aachen – Geschichte und Mythos* (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 2000), Teil 4).

### 3. The Foundations of King Louis the Great: Marian Place(re)making at Aachen and Mariazell

The idea of creating a Hungarian space in Aachen was likely conceived of during or after Elizabeth's pilgrimage to the *Marienkirche*.<sup>579</sup> Hungarian pilgrims were already visiting Aachen as early as 1300,<sup>580</sup> so Louis and his mother probably saw the need for the presence of Hungarian chaplains at the site, but more importantly one or both of them understood the significance of the physical manifestation of the Angevin dynasty at the important imperial sacred location. Louis the Great founded a chapel in honor of SS. Stephen, Emeric, and Ladislaus in the church of Aachen, which he provided with two Hungarian chaplains, offering further incentive for Hungarians to visit the site.<sup>581</sup> This chapel, which was constructed on the south side and directly connected to the central octagon of the church, was probably completed by 1366 and soon after Louis endowed it with numerous precious objects, including relics of the three holy kings of Hungary, books, liturgical vestments, and two images of the Virgin Mary.<sup>582</sup> An inventory of the Aachen treasury, made in 1367, listed two images of the Virgin Mary, however, today three such images exist, two of the Virgin and Child (Figure 29) and one of the Coronation of the Virgin (Figure 30). The frames and decoration of all three feature the Hungarian Angevin and Polish coats of arms, so it is uncertain which were the two referenced in the 1367 inventory. The donation of these Marian icons represents a pattern of patronage for both Elizabeth and Louis; the donation of another Marian icon to the Benedictine monastery of Mariazell and several others to ecclesiastical institutions in Hungary will be discussed in further detail below.

<sup>579</sup> Csukovits, *Középkori magyar zarándokok*, 73.

<sup>580</sup> DL-DF 60149; Csukovits, *Középkori magyar zarándokok*, 56.

<sup>581</sup> Edith Tömöry, *Az aacheni magyar kápolna története* [History of the Hungarian Chapel in Aachen] (Budapest: Németh József technikai könyvkiadó vállalata, 1931), 13.

<sup>582</sup> Udvarhelyi, "Aachen magyar kincsei," 73. On the donated goods see Năstăsioiu, "Patterns of Devotion and Traces of Art: The Pilgrimage of Queen Elizabeth Piast to Marburg, Cologne, and Aachen in 1357," 33–43. Unfortunately, the gothic Hungarian chapel was destroyed by a fire in 1656. The Hungarian chapel that stands in the Aachen cathedral today is of Baroque construction. Udvarhelyi, "Aachen magyar kincsei," 73.



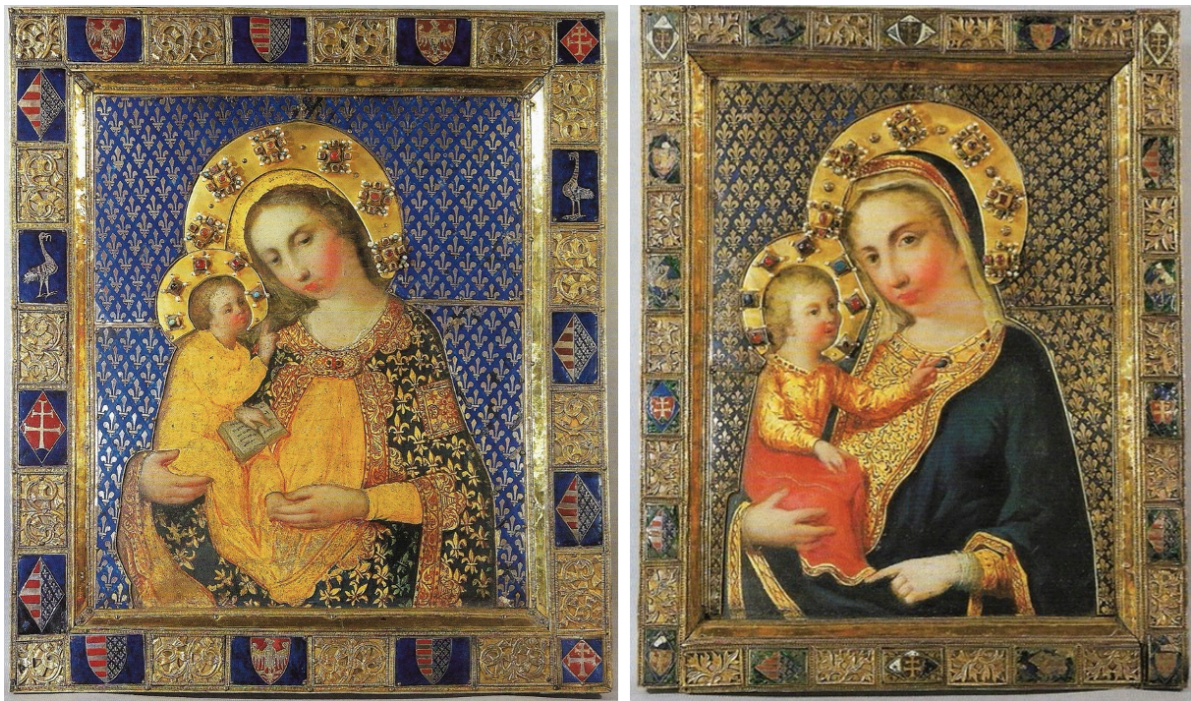


Figure 29. Both Left and Right: *Virgin Mary and Christ Child*, before 1367, Aachen, Domschatzkammer, Inv. Nr. G 83, G 84 (Kramp, *Krönungen: Könige in Aachen*, 551, 6-69a, 552, 6-69b).

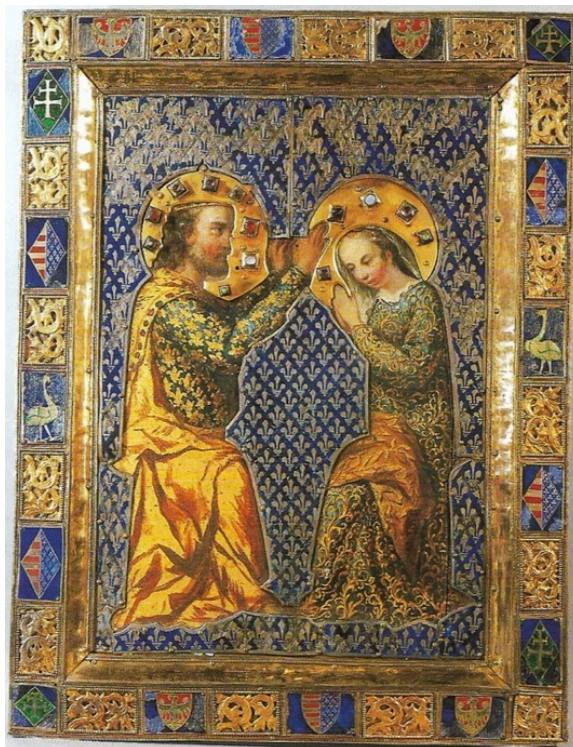


Figure 30. *Coronation of the Virgin*, before 1367, Aachen, Domschatzkammer, Inv. Nr. G 82 (Kramp, *Krönungen: Könige in Aachen*, 552, fig. 6-69c).

It was not only his mother's influence or his own piety that motivated Louis to found a chapel at Aachen. A few years before Louis' foundation, Charles IV had founded an altar to St. Wenceslaus, and instated a Bohemian priest for the altar, in the pilgrimage church of

Aachen.<sup>583</sup> As patron of Bohemia and namesake of Charles IV, the foundation of an altar to St. Wenceslaus in the palatine chapel held symbolic power for Charles IV and his dynasty. While largely maintaining a pleasant relationship, Charles and Louis had a kind of rivalry and it is not difficult to view Louis' subsequent foundation of an entire chapel as a bit of one-upmanship.<sup>584</sup>

We might also view Louis' promotion of the Marian cult as partly influenced by Charles. Charles recognized that a public cult like that of the Virgin Mary could transcend local matters and took advantage of that fact: he brought many Marian cult images to Prague and was also in possession of important Marian relics.<sup>585</sup> He owned not one, but three important relics of the Virgin—fragments from the Virgin Mary's veil. The most sacred of these fragments was the *peplum cruentatum*, a fragment of the Virgin's veil worn during the Crucifixion, and thereby splattered with the blood of Christ. Both the *peplum cruentatum* and another fragment of the Virgin's veil (this one white and without blood stains) were kept in the treasury of Prague Cathedral and, according to the inventory of the cathedral, came from St. Maximin's Abbey in Trier, which had been given to them by another famed collector of relics, Helena, the mother of Constantine. The final fragment, again without blood stains, was acquired by Charles during his travels to Strasbourg and Trier after the death of Archbishop Balduin of Trier; this is likely the one kept in his castle Karlštejn.<sup>586</sup>

Charles brought attention to his reverence for Mary at several points in his autobiography. He noted that as a child he “learned to read the hours of the glorious blessed Virgin Mary” and then “read them daily during my youth with great pleasure.”<sup>587</sup> His devotion to the Virgin also emerges in connection to a vision he had had, in which angels foretold to

<sup>583</sup> Charles IV also donated many other valuable items to the Aachen cathedral and his “generosity towards the Imperial Chapel in Aachen in the form of relics and reliquary caskets is well documented” (Iva Rosario, *Art and Propaganda: Charles IV of Bohemia, 1346–1378* (Woodbridge, UK: The Boydell Press, 2000), 29n13).

<sup>584</sup> Năstăsoiu, “Patterns of Devotion and Traces of Art: The Pilgrimage of Queen Elizabeth Piast to Marburg, Cologne, and Aachen in 1357,” 33.

<sup>585</sup> Belting, *Likeness and Presence*, 335. For more on Charles IV's piety, and especially his collection and use of relics see: Martin Bauch, *Divina favente clemencia: Auserwählung, Frömmigkeit und Heilsvermittlung in der Herrschaftspraxis Kaiser Karls IV* (Vienna: Böhlau, 2015).

<sup>586</sup> Jeffrey F. Hamburger, “Bloody Mary: Traces of the Peplum Cruentatum in Prague – and in Strasbourg?,” in *Image, Memory and Devotion: Liber Amicorum*, ed. Paul Crossley, Zoë Opacic, and Achim Timmermann (Turnhout, 2011), 7. Hamburger, “Bloody Mary,” 7. On the Veil of the Virgin Mary see also Michael Šroněk, “The Veil of the Virgin Mary: Relics in the Conflict between Roman Catholics and Utraquists in Bohemia in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries,” in *Umění* 57 (2009): 118–39.

<sup>587</sup> “Dilexitque me prefatus rex valde, et precepit capellano meo, ut me aliquantulum in litteris erudiret, quamvis rex predictus ignarus esset litterarum. Et ex hoc didici legere horas beate Marie virginis gloriose, et eas aliquantulum intelligens cottidie temporibus mee puericie libencius legi, quia preceptum erat custodibus meis regis ex parte, ut me ad hoc instigarent.” Balázs Nagy and Frank Schaer, *Karoli IV. imperatoris Romanorum vita ab eo ipso conscripta et Hystoria nova de Sancto Wenceslao martyre = Autobiography of Emperor Charles IV and his Legend of St. Wenceslas* (Budapest: CEU Press, 2001), 24–5.

him the imminent death of the unscrupulous Count Guigo of Vienna, and warned him and his father against following the count's immoral way of life:

While I was spending a whole day going through the valley called Gerlos, I thought about the miracle or the vision which had come to me on the day of the Holy Virgin, the Assumption of Mary, when I was in Terenzo in the diocese of Parma. From that day on, I resolved in her honor to institute daily hymns of supplication to the Glorious Virgin in the church of Prague, so that every day a new legend about the deeds and miracles of her life should be read.<sup>588</sup>

We can reasonably assume that King Louis of Hungary made note of Charles' Marian devotion and that it at least partly influenced his promotion of her cult in his home country. There was an intimate relationship that benefitted both their reigns and dynasties. In fact, Gábor Klaniczay has characterized them, along with Casimir the Great of Poland, as the "great royal trio," and rightly so seeing as "their lives and activities were unquestionably intertwined in such an intricate manner."<sup>589</sup>

The number of Hungarian pilgrims to Aachen increased after Louis's foundation, especially on the occasion of the *Heiligtumsfahrt*, the public display of Aachen's most precious relics—the cloak of the Virgin Mary, swaddling clothes and loincloth of Christ, and the cloth that held the head of John of Baptist—which was held every seven years.<sup>590</sup> A great number of Hungarians probably went on pilgrimage to Aachen in 1414, on the occasion of the coronations of Sigismund of Luxembourg and his second wife, Barbara of Cilli, on November 8.<sup>591</sup> Sigismund also travelled to Rome where, like Elizabeth and Louis before him, he visited the most important relics and churches and made donations, and on May 31, 1433 he was crowned Holy Roman Emperor.<sup>592</sup> In a way the coronations of Sigismund at Aachen and Rome represent the culmination of Elizabeth and Louis' journeys and patronage at the same cities—the crowning of a Hungarian king as both King of the German and Holy Roman Emperor in a

<sup>588</sup> "Et cum tota die transirem per vallem que dicitur Gerlos, recordatus sum de miraculo, seu vision, quod in die beate virginis, in assumptione sancte Marie, in Tharunso Parmensis diocesis michi contigerat. Et ab eodem tempore concepí ad eius honorem gloriose virginis horas cottidie (146) decantandas in Pragensi ecclesia ordinare, ita ut de ipsius cite gestis et miraculis cottidie nova legenda legeretur. Quod postea factum est, prout inferius describetur." Nagy and Schaer, *Karoli IV Imperatoris Romanorum*, 145–7.

<sup>589</sup> Gábor Klaniczay, "The Great Royal Trio: Charles IV – Louis I of Anjou – Casimir the Great," (paper presented at the International Conference: Emperor Charles IV, Lands of the Bohemian Crown and Europe, Prague, Czech Republic, 9–12 May 2016).

<sup>590</sup> Lajos Pásztor notes the following quote attributed to a fourteenth-century German source: "Every seven years the Hungarian people come in such great numbers and with such piety from their distant country to that place [Aachen] to visit and adore the Virgin Mary, and to see the holy relics, that the fire of faith and love of God are renewed in the hearts of all who pass among them" (Lajos Pásztor, *A magyarság vallásos élete a Jagellók korában* [Religious Life in Hungary in the Time of the Jagellions] (Budapest, 1940), 125–6). Unfortunately, he does not include a source for this quote.

<sup>591</sup> Udvarhelyi, "Aachen magyar kincsei," 72.

<sup>592</sup> Csukovits, *Középkori magyar zarándokok*, 74–5.

single generation, even if he was strictly a member of the Luxembourg, rather than the Angevin, dynasty.

Aachen was not the only foreign site dedicated to Mary where Louis the Great made a grand foundation. Louis' chronicler John of Küküllő made note of these two foundations:

[Louis] constructed a chapel in Aachen and another in [Maria]Cell to the blessed Virgin Mary with beautiful and wonderful workmanship, endowed them sufficiently and generously, and adorned them with precious materials to the glory of God: vessels, chalices, books, and assorted decorations and a goblet of pure gold.<sup>593</sup>

Louis's second foundation was in Mariazell, located in northern Styria. Mariazell was the site of a Benedictine monastery and pilgrimage church dedicated to the Virgin Mary, which housed a miraculous statue of the Virgin. According to legend, the statue was brought to Mariazell by a monk named Magnus in 1157. During the journey he encountered a large rock blocking his path and after praying to the Virgin for help the rock split, and he was able to continue on his way. He eventually arrived in Mariazell where he built a cell—the later monastery—to house the statue. The Marian church of Mariazell, however, first appeared in the historical record in the late thirteenth century, and indulgences, donations, and earlier additions to and reconstruction of the church allude to the presence of pilgrims at the site before Louis' patronage sometime in the second half of the fourteenth century.<sup>594</sup> Louis' building works surpassed earlier reconstructions. His renovations were so extensive—including construction a new Marian chapel and at least the central nave and tower of the Gothic church—he has been referred to as the second founder of Mariazell.<sup>595</sup>

Beyond John of Küküllő's account there is little contemporary information concerning Louis' building works and donations to Mariazell, and no foundation charter has survived.<sup>596</sup>

<sup>593</sup> As recorded in the fifteenth-century chronicle of Johannes de Thurocz: *De fundatione duarum capellarum: Item unam capellam in Aquisgrani et aliam in Cellis ad beatam virginem pulcro et miro construxit, sufficienter et largiter dotavit, ac preciosis utensilibus ad cultum divinum vasis, calicibus, libris et ornamentis diversis ac calice de puro auro decoravit.* Johannes de Thurocz, *Chronica Hungarorum*, ed. Elisabeth Galántai and Julius Kristó (Budapest, 1985), Chpt 175, 184.

<sup>594</sup> The modern historiography of Mariazell's medieval history is based on the archival research and publications of Othmar Wonisch, monk and librarian of St. Lambrecht Monastery. Among his most important published works on Mariazell are: Othmar Wonisch, *Mariazeller Wallfahrtsbücher I. Geschichte von Mariazell* (Mariazell: Jos. Radinger, 1947); idem, *Mariazeller Wallfahrtsbücher II. Beschreibung der Mariazeller Sehenswürdigkeiten* (Mariazell: Jos. Radinger, 1950); idem, *Die vorbarocke Kunstentwicklung der Mariazeller Gnadenkirche* (Graz: Verl. d. Histor. Landeskommission, 1960).

<sup>595</sup> József Szamosi, "König Ludwig der Grosse: Bauten und Denkmäler in Mariazell," in *Louis the Great: King of Hungary and Poland*, ed. S. B. Vardy et al. (Boulder: East European Monographs, Boulder, 1986), 291, 294, 296; Marianne Gerstenberger, "Die gotische Wallfahrtskirche in Mariazell," in *Ausst.-Kat. Schatz und Schicksal*, ed. H. Eberhart and H. Fell (Mariazell und Neuberg an der Mürz, 1996), 35–50.

<sup>596</sup> A series of indulgences were commissioned for Mariazell in the 1350s, which could indicate that construction was occurring at that time. Gabriele Valeria Dorner suggests that Louis made a petition for an indulgence for Mariazell in 1358 (Gabriele Valeria Dorner, "Die Wallfahrtskirche von Mariazell. Bautypologische Studien zur österreichischen und ungarischen Architektur im 14. Jahrhundert" (MA thesis, Universität Wien, 2010), 19), however, the existing record of the indulgence does not give any indication of who requested it. See the 1358



However, two stone busts dating to the last decades of the fourteenth century, perhaps originally belonging to a rood screen but now attached to the facade of the entryway to the Baroque *Gnadenkapelle*, may represent King Louis and his second wife Queen Elizabeth of Bosnia (r. 1353–1382), thereby signifying their role as patrons (Figure 31). The identification of the busts with Louis and Elizabeth is possible based on their comparison with the output of the workshop of Peter Parler, the architect and stonemason responsible for the Prague cathedral.<sup>597</sup>



Figure 31. Portraits of King Louis the Great and Queen Elizabeth of Bosnia, exterior of Baroque Gnadenkapelle, Mariazell (Marosi, “Mariazell und die Kunst Ungarns,” 30).

In addition to the building works, like at Aachen, Louis donated an image of the Virgin Mary (Figure 32), which came to be revered as a “secondary cult object.”<sup>598</sup> Though the image is not referenced in John of Küküllő’s account of the Mariazell foundation, it is mentioned in the account of Johann Mannesdorfer (Johannes Menestarffer de Vienna), the syndic of Mariazell’s mother monastery, the Benedictine Abbey of St. Lambrecht, from the year 1487.<sup>599</sup> Mannesdorfer notes that in addition to building the church at his own expense (*hoc templum, quod modo cernimus, suis impensis aedificari fecit*), Louis donated various precious objects

indulgence transcribed in Alois Lang, *Die Urkunden über die Beziehungen der päpstlichen Kurie zur Provinz und Diözese Salzburg (mit Gurk, Chiemsee, Seckau und Lavant) in der avignonischen Zeit: 1316-1378 = Acta Salzburgo-Aquilejensia. Quellen zur Geschichte der ehemaligen Kirchenprovinzen Salzburg und Aquileja*, vol. 1 (Graz, 1903), 442, no. 603. Original source in Stiftsarchiv Sankt Lambrecht, No. 286. On the indulgences see Wonisch, *Die vorbarocke Kunstentwicklung*, 50–1.

<sup>597</sup> Marosi, “Mariazell und die Kunst Ungarns,” 31–2; Szamosi, “König Ludwig der Grosse: Bauten und Denkmäler in Mariazell,” 303–5.

<sup>598</sup> Szabolcs Serfőző, “Die Verehrung des Schatzkammerbildes und der Schatzkammeraltar,” in *Ungarn in Mariazell, Mariazell in Ungarn: Geschichte und Erinnerung*, (Ausstellung des Historischen Museums der Stadt Budapest im Museum Kiscell), ed. Péter Fabráky and Szabolcs Serfőző (Budapest, 2004), 151.

<sup>599</sup> His Latin manuscript *De origine et Ecclesiae beatissimae Virginis in Cell miraculis ibi factis 1487* [The origin of the Church of the Blessed Virgin of Cell and the local wonder] is the first text that details the history of the pilgrimage site. It was published with commentary by S. Steinherz in: S. Steinherz, “König Ludwig I. von Ungarn und seine Weihgeschenke für Maria-Zell,” *Mittheilungen des Historischen Vereines für Steiermark* 35 (1887), 97–106. Szamosi, “König Ludwig der Grosse: Bauten und Denkmäler in Mariazell,” 287; Dorner, “Die Wallfahrtskirche von Mariazell,” 59.

including an image of the Virgin adorned with gold and precious stones (*ymaginem prefatam auro gemmisque ornatissime decoratam*).<sup>600</sup>



Figure 32. *Mariazell Schatzkammerbild* (Manfred Koller, “Das Schatzkammerbild in Mariazell. Untersuchung und Konservierung,” in *Ungarn in Mariazell, Mariazell in Ungarn*, 301).

Like the Aachen icons, the frame of the Mariazell image of the Virgin and Child features the Hungarian Angevin and Polish coats of arms, and the Angevin fleur-de-lys fills the background of the image. It has been suggested that both this icon and the image of the Virgin and Child donated by Louis in Aachen were copies of the Lucan image referenced earlier in this chapter, the “plenario per sanctum Lucam evangelistam manibus propriis”<sup>601</sup> bequeathed to the Poor Clares of Óbuda by Queen Elizabeth.<sup>602</sup> This is certainly possible, though, unfortunately, the Óbuda icon has been lost since the dissolution of the order by Joseph II and, thus, cannot be compared.<sup>603</sup> However, it is equally likely that Louis had the Aachen and Mariazell images commissioned in Italy during his many campaigns there.<sup>604</sup>

<sup>600</sup> Steinherz, “König Ludwig I. von Ungarn und seine Weihgeschenke,” 98.

<sup>601</sup> Marosi, “A 14. századi Magyarország udvari művészete,” 73n32.

<sup>602</sup> Sággy, “Dévotions diplomatiques,” 224; László Szende, “Piast Erzsébet és udvara (1320–1380),” PhD diss., Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem (2007), 198; Marosi, “Mariazell und die Kunst Ungarns,” 33. The latter volume on Mariazell was also published in Hungarian: Péter Farbaký and Szabolcs Serfőző, eds., *Mariazell és Magyarország: Egy zarándokhely emlékezete* [Mariazell and Hungary: The memory of a pilgrimage place], Budapest Történeti Múzeum Kiscelli Múzeumában, május 28-szeptember 12 (Budapest: Budapesti Történeti Múzeum, 2004).

<sup>603</sup> Marosi, “Mariazell und die Kunst Ungarns,” 33

<sup>604</sup> Dragoş-Gheorghe Năstăsoiu, personal communication, May 29, 2016.

A legend developed concerning the miraculous origin of the *Schatzkammerbild* of Mariazell during the reign of Sigismund of Luxemburg. This development can be traced in artistic sources; however, the first textual account of this legend does not appear until Mannesdorfer's 1487 account. Mannesdorfer recounts that, prior to Louis' donations, he was facing 80,000 foreign troops (*hostes*, typically identified as Ottoman troops) with an army of only 20,000. Louis and his troops were disheartened, fled, and, finally, were overwhelmed by sleep. The Virgin Mary of Mariazell appeared to the king in a dream and encouraged him to attack. When he awoke the image of the Virgin was resting on his chest, and thoroughly heartened, Louis led his troops into battle and won.<sup>605</sup>

Preceding Mannesdorfer's account, the so-called votive panel of St. Lambrecht was commissioned ca. 1420/30, which features imagery of this battle (Figure 33). The panel depicts a Mary of Mercy on the left. Under Mary's cloak and to her right are Abbot Heinrich Moyker (1419–1455) of St. Lambrecht and an unidentified secular patron to her left; a female saint (possibly St. Hedwig or St. Hemma of Gurk) kneels before the Virgin.<sup>606</sup> The right side of the panel features a starkly different scene—a dramatic battle against foreign troops. It has been suggested that the battle scene was copied from another votive panel possibly donated by King Louis himself.<sup>607</sup>

<sup>605</sup> “Ludovicus Hungarorum rex invictissimus atque christianissimus huic genti cum viginti milibus equitum peditumque occurrens, cumque multitudinem hostium perspexisset, erant enim octuaginta milia, territus salutem fuga querere decreverat. Verum somno oppressus ei in mentem venit quod antea a multis audiverat beatam virginem Mariam miraculis maximis in Cell clarere, ipsaque gloriosissima virgo Maria ei tum apparens ac ipsum confortans cum simulacro eius, quod supra pectus posuerat, hostes agredi bellumque conserere iubet. Somno autem solutus et ymagine super pectus reperta rem omnem commilitonibus exponit qui gavisii et confortati cum rege in hostes progressi sunt et victoria felicissima obtenta mox cum exercitu Ludovicus rex atque victor Cellam ut pollicitus erat petivit.” Steinherz, “König Ludwig I. von Ungarn und seine Weihgeschenke,” 98.

<sup>606</sup> Marosi, “Mariazell und die Kunst Ungarns,” 34.

<sup>607</sup> Ernő Marosi, “A 14-15. századi magyarországi művészet európai helyzetének néhány kérdése” [Some questions about the European position of Hungarian art in the 14<sup>th</sup>-15<sup>th</sup> centuries], *Ars Hungarica* 1 (1973): 54; Robert Born, “The Turks in East Central Europe, with a focus on Hungary, the Romanian Principalities, and Poland,” in *Imagined, Embodied and Actual Turks in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Bent Holm and Mikael Bøgh Rasmussen (Vienna: Hollitzer, 2021), 107.





Figure 33. Votive panel, St. Lambrecht Monastery, ca. 1420/30, Inv. Nr. L12 (Alte Galerie Schloss Eggenberg, accessed February 16, 2022, <https://www.museum-joanneum.at/alte-galerie/ausstellungen/ausstellungen/ewigkeit-und-abbild/maria/votivtafel-von-st-lambrecht>).

The legend of Louis' battle and the Marian icon are further elaborated on the tympanum of the main portal of the church of Mariazell, again commissioned by Abbot Heinrich ca. 1438 (Figure 34), which not only depicts the battle scene but also the donation of the *Schatzkammerbild* by Louis.<sup>608</sup> The importance of the battle in the tradition of Mariazell continued into the early sixteenth century, when it was illustrated on the marvelous so-called Small Miracle Altar (Figure 35) and Large Miracle Altar (Figure 36) from 1512 and 1519, respectively. The Marian icon is held on Louis' chest as he rushes into battle in the scene's depiction on the Small Marian Altar and is held above the battle by an angel in that of the Large Miracle Altar.<sup>609</sup>

<sup>608</sup> Marosi, "Mariazell und die Kunst Ungarns," 32; Günter Bruche, ed., *Geschichte der bildenden Kunst in Österreich. II. Gotik* (Munich: Prestel Verlag, 2000), 396, no. 164.

<sup>609</sup> On the Large Miracle Altar, with references to its smaller predecessor, see: Walter Brunner, ed., "... da half Maria aus aller Not". *Der Große Mariazeller Wunderaltar aus der Zeit um 1520* (Graz: Steiermärkisches Landesarchiv, 2002); Gerhard Jaritz, "Der Große Mariazeller Wunderaltar: Oder Zeichen der "Allmacht" der Gottesmutter," in *Mariazell und Ungarn. 650 Jahre religiöse Gemeinsamkeit. Referate der Internationalen Konferenz "Magna Mater Austriae et Magna Domina Hungarorum" in Esztergom (6.-9. Mai 2002) und Mariazell (3.-6. Juni 2002)*, ed. Walter Brunner (Graz: Steiermärkisches Landesarchiv, 2003), 61–8. The latter volume is also published in Hungarian: Walter Brunner, et al., eds., *Mariazell és Magyarország: 650 év vallási kapcsolatai* [Mariazell and Hungary: 650 years of religious help] (Esztergom: Esztergom-Budapesti Főegyházmegye, 2003).



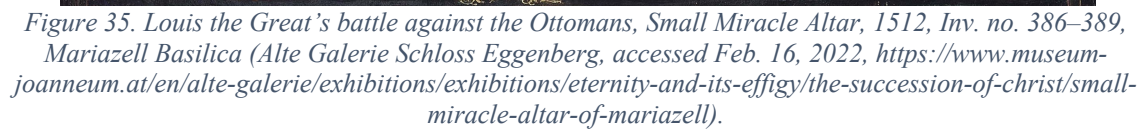
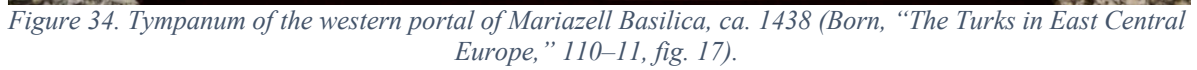






Figure 36. Battle of Louis the Great against the Ottomans, Large Miracle Altar, 1518, Mariazell Basilica (Brunner, *Der Große Mariazeller Wunderaltar*, fig. 5).

It is not certain what event this legendary battle actually alludes to, especially in light of the fact that Louis never fought the Ottomans directly.<sup>610</sup> It has been suggested that it refers to Louis' 1375 defeat of Prince Radu, who had been supported by Turkish troops in Wallachia, others that it commemorated a victory during his campaigns in the Balkans.<sup>611</sup> It is not surprising that this legend—and especially the identification of the enemy troops as Ottomans—would first be recorded in the late fifteenth century, as it was at this time when the threat of Ottoman expansion became more imminent.<sup>612</sup> During and especially after the

<sup>610</sup> Born, "The Turks in East Central Europe," 107.

<sup>611</sup> Engel, *The Realm of St. Stephen*, 165; Szamosi, "König Ludwig der Grosse: Bauten und Denkmäler in Mariazell," 290. On the possible identification of the battle see also: Terézia Kerny and Szabolcs Serfőző, "Die Schlacht Ludwigs des Großen gegen die 'Türken,'" in *Ungarn in Mariazell – Mariazell in Ungarn*, 47–60; László Veszprémy, "Nagy Lajos harcai a 'Török' ellen. A Mariazelli hagyomány" [The battles of Louis the Great against the 'Turks.' The Mariazell tradition], in *Az Árpád- és Anjou-kor csatái, hadjáratai* [The battles and campaigns of the Árpád and Angevin periods] (Budapest: Zrínyi Kiadó, 2008), 193–200.

<sup>612</sup> Louis' connection to Mariazell was capitalized on even into the seventeenth century. We can see this quite clearly, for example, even outside of Hungary in a play entitled *Hungaria*, which was performed in Augsburg. Throughout the play Mary is portrayed as a conqueror of which was performed in Augsburg. Throughout the play Mary is portrayed as a conqueror of heretics and tells the story of King Louis' defeat of the Turkish army led by Amurath with the help of the Virgin (Heal, *The Cult of the Virgin Mary in Early Modern Germany*, 202). The timing of the play was not coincidental: in the same year of its performance, Habsburg troops had fought the Ottoman army at the battle of Szentgotthárd, which the Habsburgs won (Heal, *The Cult of the Virgin Mary in*

Ottoman occupation, Marian pilgrimage sites in Hungary “acquired” similar legends, in which during an attack by Ottoman troops the Virgin would intervene to save her image or statue or even the entire church or city from destruction, and by Mary’s intervention the site would be further sanctified.

Even if Louis’ patronage of Mariazell was due to a successful battle, why did he choose Mariazell to patronize? Like at Aachen, there were diplomatic reasons for Louis to become involved with *Marienkirche* of Mariazell. The House of Habsburg had begun to generously endow Mariazell beginning in the early fourteenth century: in 1342 Duke Albrecht II (r. 1330–1358) donated an altar to Mariazell and gave the settlement market rights, his successor Rudolf IV (r. 1358–1365) founded a perpetual mass at Mariazell, which was confirmed by Duke Albrecht III (r. 1365–1395).<sup>613</sup> While Louis generally had a good relationship with the Habsburgs, in 1367 Louis reproached “the dukes of Bavaria in response to Austria’s alliance with Emperor Charles IV,” who was in a dispute with King Louis at the time.<sup>614</sup> No military action was taken, and relations were again friendly by 1371; it would seem that Louis’ actions at Mariazell were an attempt to heal this relationship. Indeed, historians concede that Louis’ generosity was just as much a political gesture as a religious one, and that “he had created with these gifts a foothold in the Habsburg lands.”<sup>615</sup>

By the time of the reign of Sigismund of Luxembourg, the Louis legend had begun to develop, and a connection was forged between the site and Sigismund as well. When the pilgrimage to Mariazell became increasingly unsafe during the Hussite Wars, Sigismund issued a letter of safe conduct in 1429 for pilgrims travelling to the holy site, which was renewed in 1434.<sup>616</sup> Abbot Heinrich Moyker, who played a large part in developing the legend of Louis the Great and Mariazell, was said to be “absolutely loyal” to Sigismund, and it was probably

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*Early Modern Germany*, 202; SStBA, 4<sup>o</sup> Aug. 524 Gymnasium St Salvator (Jesuiten), Dissertationen, Schulkomödien, Singund Fastnachtspiele).

<sup>613</sup> Forty years later, the relationship between Mariazell and the House of Habsburg was reconfirmed by Duke William of Austria in 1401 when the tithe was waived for Mariazell and the town was given mining rights at Luth Mountain. In 1438 King Albert II made a pilgrimage to Mariazell, which may have been when the tympanum of the main portal to Mariazell was installed. In 1455 King Ladislaus the Posthumous (1440–1457) also made a pilgrimage to Mariazell. Under Ferdinand I (1503–1564), who had divided the lands around Mariazell between his three sons, Mariazell had developed into a focal point of Marian devotion. Christian Stadelmann, “Die Habsburger in Mariazell,” in *Ungarn in Mariazell, Mariazell in Ungarn*, 171–2; Günter Lentner, “Die Wallfahrten aus den Gebieten der späteren Donaumonarchie nach Mariazell im Mittelalter und in der Frühen Neuzeit,” (PhD diss., Universität Wien, 2010), 45, 90–91.

<sup>614</sup> Engel, *The Realm of St. Stephen*, 168–9.

<sup>615</sup> Lentner, “Die Wallfahrten aus den Gebieten der späteren Donaumonarchie nach Mariazell,” 87.

<sup>616</sup> Moritz Alois Becker, *Der Oetscher u. sein Gebiet*, Volume 2 (Vienna, 1860), 381; Elisabeth Maria Margarete Friederike Bacher, “Wallfahren/Pilgern zwischen kirchlicher Praxis und religiöser Wellness. Eine qualitative Untersuchung zur Mariazell-Wallfahrt (Österreich)” (PhD diss., Universität Rostock, 2019), 96; József Szamosi, “Magyar zarándoklatok Máriacellbe” [Hungarian pilgrimages to Mariazell], *Katolikus Szemle* 39/3 (1987): 322; Stadelmann, “Die Habsburger in Mariazell,” 172.

at Moyker's initiative that the chapel built just south of Mariazell was dedicated to St. Sigismund.<sup>617</sup>

The first evidence of Hungarian pilgrimage to Mariazell, however, does not appear in the historical record until 1441, when Hans Gsühl, a resident of Bratislava, indicated in his will that his brother should go on a pilgrimage to Mariazell and St. Wolfgang.<sup>618</sup> From the second half of the fifteenth century Mariazell was the second most popular Marian pilgrimage site visited by Hungarians after Aachen.<sup>619</sup> Two of the images in the Large Miracle Altar even feature the miraculous healing of men from Hungary; their homelands are explicitly noted as "Hungaria" and "Sibenbürgen [*sic*]."<sup>620</sup>

#### 4. Conclusion

The beginning of Angevin rule under King Charles I initiated a need to connect Angevin legitimacy in Hungary to past Árpáadian traditions. The use of Marian iconography was one way in which they accomplished this. This is illustrated in the mural of the collegiate church of Spišská Kapitula, which shows the Virgin crowning Charles in a similar fashion to the imagery in the *Porta Speciosa*, an image invoked later in the seal of Újbánya, which depicted the next Angevin king, Louis I, offering the Hungarian crown to the Virgin.

Louis continued to use the image of Mary strategically, and Louis and his mother Elizabeth's donations of Marian icons to Aachen, Mariazell, and Óbuda connect them to a wider "imperial cult of images."<sup>621</sup> Many other Marian icons were commissioned and donated to religious institutions in Central and East-Central Europe during this period.<sup>622</sup> Images of the Virgin like these were becoming increasingly popular objects of personal devotion as well as foci of specific Marian cults and pilgrimage. These icons had long been venerated in Byzantium and Rome, but only in the fourteenth century do we begin to see a real presence of them in East-Central Europe.

<sup>617</sup> Stadelmann, "Die Habsburger in Mariazell," 172.

<sup>618</sup> "...und mein pröder sol mır ausrichten ein fart czu Sannd Wolffgang, und gän Czell czu geen.." Judit Majorossy and Katalin Szende, ed., *Das Preßburger Protocollum Testamentorum 1410 (1427) - 1529 : 1 : 1410 - 1487* (Vienna: Böhlau, 2010), 118, no. 78. On pilgrimages in the last will and testaments of late medieval Bratislava see Csukovits, *Középkori magyar zárandokok*; Csukovits and Majorossy, "Pozsonyi peregrinusok," 29–69.

<sup>619</sup> Csukovits, *Középkori magyar zárandokok*, 30.

<sup>620</sup> Brunner, "... *da half Maria aus aller Not*," figs. 39, 48. Another miracle depicted on the Large Miracle Altar is the rescue of Queen Mary of Hungary (r. 1515–1526), wife of King Louis II of Hungary, during a violent storm (Brunner, "... *da half Maria aus aller Not*," fig. 40).

<sup>621</sup> Belting, *Likeness and Presence*, 335.

<sup>622</sup> Including a Marian icon donated by Queen Jadwiga of Poland (r. 1384–1399), daughter of King Louis the Great, to a Marian church of Cracow in 1397, and Marian icons known in the Wawel cathedral, Prague, and Pannonhalma. On these icons see Marosi, "Mariazell und die Kunst Ungarns im Mittelalter," 32n33.



In addition to the donation of Marian icons in foreign lands, Elizabeth's pilgrimages and Louis' foundations at the Marian churches of Aachen and Mariazell demonstrate their successful attempts at promoting their dynasty beyond the borders of their kingdom. During his reign Sigismund of Luxembourg benefitted from these earlier efforts and continued to support them as both King of Hungary and Holy Roman Emperor.

The late medieval blossoming of Hungarian pilgrimage to Mariazell was made possible by King Louis the Great's initial donation and patronage, which was developed during the time of Sigismund. The Angevin and Luxembourg dynasties' relationship with both Mariazell and Aachen would have long-standing effects not only on those places, but on Marian placemaking in the Kingdom of Hungary itself.

## CHAPTER 4. THE LANDSCAPE OF MARIAN PIETY: INDULGENCES AND MARIAN SHRINES IN HUNGARY

In the seventeenth century a new genre of devotional literature emerged with the *Atlas Marianus*, published between 1657 and 1658 by the Bavarian Jesuit Wilhelm Gumpenberg (1609–1675).<sup>623</sup> It established a genre referred to as “sacred topography,” a catalogue of miraculous images of the Virgin Mary organized by geographical region and providing a history of the site of each image and relevant miracles.<sup>624</sup> Prince Pál Esterházy (1635–1713), the prolific Hungarian politician and artist, translated Gumpenberg’s work into Hungarian in 1690, adding eleven Hungarian sites where Mary’s sacred presence could be found.<sup>625</sup> About a century and a half later Bishop Elek Jordánszky (1765–1840) published an updated version of Esterházy’s text, enlarging the corpus of Hungarian cult sites of the Virgin Mary to sixty-nine.<sup>626</sup> A large number of the Hungarian shrines dedicated to Mary presented in these texts claim to have medieval origins, lending them both legitimacy and gravitas. In this chapter the actual landscape of Marian cult sites—and any evidence of pious acts including pilgrimage to these places—in medieval Hungary will be constructed, essentially creating an *Atlas Marianus* for the period before the invention of the genre.

According to the late medieval humanists, writers, and churchmen Petrus Ransanus (Pietro Ranzona; 1428–1492), Antonio Bonfini (1427–1502), and Miklós Oláh (1493–1568), the most important pilgrimage sites in Hungary were the tombs of St. Stephen and his son St. Emeric in Székesfehérvár and St. Ladislaus in Oradea, the grave of St. John Capistrano in Ilok (Újlak), the shrine of the Holy Blood in Báta, the Pauline monastery in Budaszentlőrinc, which housed the relics of St. Paul the First Hermit, and the royal chapel in Buda housing the relics of St. John the Almsgiver.<sup>627</sup> The Virgin Mary is noticeably absent from this list.<sup>628</sup> With how widespread and numerous churches dedicated to the Blessed Mother of God were in medieval

<sup>623</sup> Balzamo, Christin, and Flückiger, *L’Atlas Marianus de Wilhelm Gumpenberg*, 9.

<sup>624</sup> The term, “topographies sacrées,” was first used in reference to the *Atlas Marianus* genre by Dominique Julia, see Dominique Julia, “Sanctuaires et lieux sacrés à l’époque moderne,” in *Lieux sacrés, lieux de culte, sanctuaires. Approches terminologiques, méthodologiques, historiques et monographiques*, ed. André Vauchez (Rome: École française de Rome, 2000), 257–63.

<sup>625</sup> György E. Szőnyi and Ildikó Sz. Kristóf, “A Multimedial Cult of the Virgin Mary Created and Sponsored by the Hungarian Aristocrat Pál Esterházy (1635–1713),” *Ikon* 10 (2017): 308.

<sup>626</sup> Jordánszky, *Magyarországban, s az ahoz tartozó részekben levő boldogs.*

<sup>627</sup> Petrus Ransanus, *Epithoma rerum Hungararum*, ed. Petrus Kulcsár (Budapest, 1977); Antonius Bonfini, *Rerum Ungaricarum decades* (Bibliotheca scriptorium... Saeculum XV. Nova series, I), I–IV, ed. József Főgel, Béla Iványi, and László Juhász (Budapest, 1936–1941); Nicolaus Olahus, *Hungaria – Athila*, ed. Colomannus Eperjessy and Ladislaus Juhász (Budapest, 1938).

<sup>628</sup> While the chapel of St. John the Almsgiver was also known as the chapel of the Virgin Mary, by the time of Ransanus, Bonfini, and Oláh its connection to Mary was superseded by St. John the Almsgiver due to the presence of his relics there. Végh, *Buda Part I to 1686*, 42.

Hungary, and the importance of Marian pilgrimage places like Aachen and Mariatzell for Hungarian pilgrims, could the Virgin Mary really be absent from the landscape of medieval pilgrimage in Hungary?

In actuality, Marian shrines were present everywhere in the Hungarian devotional landscape, and the Angevin and Luxembourg dynasties—and their pilgrimages to foreign Marian sites—were responsible for the foundation and development of many of these places. Evidence of donations to Marian churches, records of Marian relics, icons, or statues, miracle records (though unfortunately sparse), and indulgences indicate that there was a rich network of Marian shrines in medieval Hungary, where Hungarians could feel the presence of the Virgin and could express their devotion to her. Indulgences form the largest group of evidence for the support and promotion of Marian cult sites within the late medieval Kingdom of Hungary. In the process of identifying Marian *patrocinia* in Hungary, I have identified two hundred and sixty-three indulgences that were requested and/or granted to Marian churches, chapels, and monasteries in Hungary during the late Middle Ages (see Appendix 3 for the full list of these indulgences).<sup>629</sup> The focal point of veneration at these sites—a Marian altar, image, statue, or relic—was sometimes explicitly stated in the indulgence, unfortunately, such examples in Hungary are rare. This does not mean there was not a specific Marian devotional object that was the focus of the shrine, we should keep in mind “the possibility that the principal attraction of the shrine was often not mentioned in the grants simply because it was obvious to contemporaries.”<sup>630</sup> Specific forms of Marian devotion might also be present in an indulgence, while not being directed at a particular Marian church or relic.<sup>631</sup> For example, in 1342, an indulgence was granted to all those who visited the All Saints Chapel in Szelindek (Slimnic, Romania), kneeled, and prayed three Hail Marys at the sound of the evening bell.<sup>632</sup>

Indulgences were requested and issued for a variety of reasons.<sup>633</sup> They served an economic purpose—an institution might require funds for (re)building or a bishop or pope may

<sup>629</sup> Many thanks to Máté Urbán for sharing his unpublished research on indulgences in Hungary, which provided helpful additions to my research. Further archival work at individual cities in Hungary would certainly uncover additional medieval indulgences for Marian institutions.

<sup>630</sup> Robert Maniura makes this statement in reference to the indulgences issued for the Pauline monastery of Częstochowa. Maniura, *Pilgrimage to Images*, 94.

<sup>631</sup> It should be noted that in Hungary, Marian feast days were usually included among those days that an indulgence was valid for, regardless of the *patrocinium* of the location in question.

<sup>632</sup> “...vel qui in serotina pulsatione campanae flexis genibus ter ave Maria dixerint.” UB, II:2–3, no. 585.

<sup>633</sup> On the history, development, and use of indulgences in late medieval Europe see: Robert Swanson, ed., *Promissory Notes on the Treasury of Merits: Indulgences in Late Medieval Europe* (Leiden: Brill, 2006); Nikolaus Paulus, *Geschichte des Ablasses im Mittelalter vom Ursprung bis zur Mitte des 14. Jahrhunderts*, 3 vols. (Paderborn, 1922–23); Robert William Shaffern, *The Penitents Treasury. Indulgences in Latin Christendom, 1175–1375* (Scranton, 2007); Andreas Rehberg, ed., *Ablasskampagnen des Spätmittelalters: Luthers Thesen Von 1517 Im Kontext* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2017); Robert Norman Swanson, *Indulgences in Late Medieval England. Passports to Paradise?* (Cambridge, 2007). On Germany in particular see: Stuart Jenks, *Documents on the Papal Plenary Indulgences 1300–1517 Preached in the Regnum Teutonicum* (Leiden: Brill, 2018).

have wanted to economically support a certain place or raise funds for themselves. But they served an important religious function as well. Indulgences would often draw the faithful to a certain place, in the hopes that they would expunge their souls of sin and diminish the length of their stay in purgatory for at least a few days. Sometimes indulgences represented an effort to create a new cult, but they could also serve to formalize an existing cult at a particular shrine.<sup>634</sup>

Because the intention of an indulgence was for people to travel to a certain place and worship there, the issuance of an indulgence could have prompted pilgrimage to a particular place. However, in the absence of corroborating evidence such as miracle accounts, pilgrim itineraries, or references to the pilgrimage in last wills or other historical documentation, the presence of an indulgence alone cannot be taken as evidence that the site in question was a place of pilgrimage. Nevertheless, many of the Marian sites first issued indulgences in the Middle Ages blossomed into some of the most important pilgrimage sites in Hungary by the early modern period, many eclipsing the importance of the pilgrimage places noted by Ransanus, Bonfini, and Oláh.

Several Marian “centers” can be identified in Hungary, which were also important centers of royal representation and ritual. These sites acquired the most indulgences of any site in medieval Hungary, Marian or otherwise. The monastic and mendicant orders promoted their own shrines dedicated to the Virgin. The Pauline Order presents an interesting case of a uniquely Hungarian order that, with royal support, created a strategy of promotion involving their monasteries dedicated to the Virgin Mary in peripheral locations. Many of these Marian sites are connected to the actions of Queen Elizabeth Piast and King Louis I in Mariazell and Aachen, illustrating how these foreign sites influenced Marian placemaking back in Hungary. Finally, the creation of smaller, more localized Marian shrines in Hungary demonstrates how different communities in Hungary developed their own centers of Marian devotion.

### 1. “Marian Centers” as Places of Royal Promotion and Piety

In the medieval Kingdom of Hungary, there were several locations where the cult of the Virgin Mary intersected with royal prestige, power, and representation. From the supposed dedication of the kingdom to the Virgin by King St. Stephen, the figure of the Virgin was intertwined with the image of the Hungarian ruler and his authority to rule. Ecclesiastical

<sup>634</sup> Máté Urbán, “Lokális búcsújáró helyek a késő középkori Nyugat-Dunántúlon” [Local pilgrimage sites in the late medieval Western Transdanubia], in *Genius loci: Laszlovszky 60*, ed. Dóra Mérai et al. (Budapest: Archaeolingua, 2008), 151.

institutions at these places were dedicated to Mary and central place for her cult, but they may have also been the site of important royal rituals and/or royal cults. The importance of the royal cult might eclipse that of Mary, but the Virgin was still central to the royal saint's devotional identity.

The *Porta Speciosa* of the Esztergom cathedral was the first visual manifestation of the relationship between Hungarian royal authority and the Virgin Mary.<sup>635</sup> This cathedral was one of the religious institutions in Hungary that received the most indulgences in the Middle Ages, including on the occasion of the cathedral's rededication to St. Adalbert and the Virgin Mary in 1450 (for a full enumeration of the indulgences of Esztergom see Appendix 3).<sup>636</sup> The chapel of the Virgin Mary within the cathedral was also enthusiastically supported through indulgences, even being granted an "ad instar" indulgence on May 1, 1400.<sup>637</sup> Following the death of John of Kanizsa, archbishop of Esztergom, in 1418, another indulgence was issued for the chapel of the Virgin Mary, which he had helped build, and which would become his burial place.<sup>638</sup> In the 1450s visitors to this same Marian chapel were granted a full plenary indulgence, possibly in connection to the Jubilee of 1450.<sup>639</sup> Again, about three quarters of a century later, the chapel was granted a complete indulgence at the request of Archbishop Tamás Bakócz in 1513.<sup>640</sup>

Though both the Marian cult and royal representation were present at the cathedral of Esztergom, the interrelationship between the two was more palpable at other sites in Hungary during the Angevin and Luxembourg periods: namely, at the Cathedral of the Virgin Mary of Oradea, Church of the Virgin Mary in Székesfehérvár, and the capital of Hungary during those periods, Buda.

<sup>635</sup> As the cathedral of the archbishopric of Esztergom it also maintained a close relationship with the ruler. A coronation was only valid if performed by the archbishop of Esztergom, however, valid coronations were supposed to take place not at Esztergom but at the collegiate church of Székesfehérvár. King St. Stephen's coronation may have occurred in the church that would later become the cathedral of Esztergom, but this church was not connected to the Virgin Mary—it was dedicated to St. Stephen the Martyr (Endre Tóth and Károly Szelényi, *The Holy Crown of Hungary* (Budapest: Kossuth, 2015), 5).

<sup>636</sup> "...ecclesia intemerata Virginis Marie ac Sancti Adalberti pontificis et martiris..." DL-DF 249010. The cathedral also received an indulgence the year before in support of the cathedral's renovation and eventual rededication (DL-DF 249011; Lukcsics, II:274, no. 1086) and another only two years later from Pope Nicholas V (DL-DF 249012; Lukcsics, II:306, no. 1262). An indulgence was granted earlier for the Esztergom cathedral in 1415 (DL-DF 288 771; ZsO, V:138, 305), however, this was before the cathedral was rededicated to the Virgin Mary and St. Adalbert—it was only dedicated to St. Adalbert at the time.

<sup>637</sup> Several other churches in the dioceses of Esztergom were also included in the indulgence. DL-DF 237307; ZsO, II:33, no. 242; Fejér, X/2:792–5, no. CD; MonVat I/4:201–3, no. CCLII.

<sup>638</sup> Lukcsics, I:59–60, no. 63. Archbishop János Kanizsai had also donated two houses to support the chapel of the Virgin Mary in Esztergom. Végh, *Buda város középkori helyrajza*, I:154, 160.

<sup>639</sup> DL-DF 237399; DL-DF 237400; DL-DF 237401. On the possible connection to the jubilee see Erős, "Katalin Erős, "Búcsúk és búcsúlevelek a késő középkori Magyarországon" [Indulgences and indulgence letters in late medieval Hungary] (PhD diss., Pázmány Péter Katolikus Egyetem, 2019), 43–4.

<sup>640</sup> DL-DF 237250; Theiner, II:606–8, no. DCCCIV.

### 1.1 The Knight of the Virgin Mary: St. Ladislaus & the Cathedral of Oradea (Várad)

As discussed in Chapter 1, the cathedral of Oradea was connected to the saint-king Ladislaus I. The *Illuminated Chronicle*, commissioned by Louis the Great, recounts how at a specific location an angel advised Louis “to build a monastery in honor of the Virgin Mary; and he named this place Oradea.”<sup>641</sup> The site was further divinely chosen to be the resting place of Ladislaus. His twelfth-century *vita* states that he was meant to be buried at Székesfehérvár, but the cart carrying his body, divinely inspired, “set out to Oradea on its own, unassisted by any draft animal,”<sup>642</sup> an event that is not mentioned in the *Illuminated Chronicle* but is illustrated in a miniature (Figure 37).<sup>643</sup>



Figure 37. Annotation: Sanctus rex Ladizlaus moritur et Colomanus filius Geyse regis in regem legitime coronatur, The *Illuminated Chronicle* (OSzK, Budapest, Cod. Lat. 404, p. 101).

Though the focus of pilgrimage at Oradea was the grave of St. Ladislaus, the figure of St. Ladislaus was closely connected to Marian devotion. He was imagined as a “Knight of the Virgin Mary.”<sup>644</sup> This is depicted most vividly in a miracle recorded in the chronicle of the

<sup>641</sup> “Post hec in parochia castri Bihor inter flumen Keres in venatione sua invenit locum, ubi angelico amonitu proposuit constituere monasterium in honore Virginis Marie, quem locum Varad nominavit.” Bak and Veszprémy, *The Illuminated Chronicle*, 258 (Latin); 259 (English).

<sup>642</sup> “currus in quo positum erat corpus eius, sine subventionem cuiuslibet animalis, recto itinere Waradinum ultro ferebatur.” *Legenda Sancti Ladislai regis*, ed. Emma Bartoniek, in SRH, II:525. English translation from Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses*, 175. This is in contrast to a letter from Pope Paschal II from 1106 that makes the more unlikely claim that the king was buried in Somogyvár. For further discussion on this topic and associated literature see Takács, “Várad Árpád-kori székesegyháza,” 21–2, and 26n7; Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses*, 175.

<sup>643</sup> Bak and Veszprémy, *The Illuminated Chronicle*, 264.

<sup>644</sup> Márton Gyöngyössi, “Szentkultusz középkori pénzeken Ikonográfiai adalék a magyar pénzverés történetéhez” [The cult of saints on medieval money: An iconographic contribution to the history of Hungarian coinage], in *Collectanea Sancti Martini: A Pannonhalmi Főapátság Gyűjteményeinek Értesítője* 6 [*Collectanea Sancti Martini: Bulletin of the collections of the Archabbey of Pannonhalma* 6], ed. Tamás Dénesi (Pannonhalma:

Anonymous Minorite, from the second half of the fourteenth century.<sup>645</sup> It recounts the 1345 battle of the Szeklers against the Tartars, during which Ladislaus as a “towering knight,” with the Virgin Mary in the air above his head, led the Hungarians and Szeklers into battle. The account concludes: “It is obvious from all this that it was the Blessed Virgin Mary herself and the Blessed King Ladislaus who aided the Szeklers fighting against the pagans and for the faith of Jesus Christ.”<sup>646</sup>

Though Ladislaus was canonized in 1192, his cult only began to thrive in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, due largely to royal support.<sup>647</sup> In 1320, at the request of King Charles I, an indulgence was granted to the faithful who visited the cathedral of Oradea.<sup>648</sup> Louis the Great himself went on a pilgrimage to Ladislaus’ shrine in 1352 upon his recovery from an injury.<sup>649</sup> Iconography of the warrior king proliferated at this time, and it was Louis the Great who first introduced his image on Hungarian coinage, changing the reverse image on the Hungarian golden florin from St. John the Baptist to St. Ladislaus.<sup>650</sup> Nobles too promulgated imagery of St. Ladislaus. A mural on the northern wall of the choir of the Bánfi (Bánffy) family’s church dedicated to the Blessed Virgin in Turnišče (Bántoryna), Slovenia, well illustrates idea of Ladislaus as a knight of the Virgin Mary.<sup>651</sup> The mural was painted in 1383 and depicts the Bánfi family—represented by three male family members of three generations—at the feet of the enthroned Virgin Mary with a standing armored saint, likely St. Ladislaus, “who entrusted the donor to Mary’s protection.”<sup>652</sup>

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Pannonhalmi Főapátság Gyűjteményei, 2018), 94–101. On the connection between the Holy Virgin and St. Ladislaus see Marosi, *Kép és hasonmás*, 81–5.

<sup>645</sup> The account was later incorporated into the Dubnica Chronicle of 1479.

<sup>646</sup> “Ad probationem vero predicti miraculi quidam ex predictis tartaris captivis valde decrepitis aiebat, quod non ipsi siculi et hungari percussissent eos, sed ille Ladislaus, quem ipsi in adiutorium, suum semper vocant. Dicebantque et alij socj sui, quod cum ipsi siculi contra eos processissent, antecibat eos quidam magnus miles, sedens super arduum equum, habensque in capite eius coronam auream, et in manu sua dolabrum suum, qui omnes nos cum valdissimis ictibus et percussionibus consummebat. Super caput enim huius militis in aere quedam speciosissima domina mirabili fulgure apparuit, in cuius capite corona aurea, decore nimio ac claritate adornata videbatur. Unde manifestum est, predictos siculos pro fide Jesu Christi certantes, ipsem beatam virginem Mariam et beatum regem Ladislaum contra ipsos paganos...adiuvasse.” Mathias Florianus, *Historiae Hungaricae Fontes Domestici*, vol. 2 (Pécs, 1884), 152. English translation from Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses*, 189.

<sup>647</sup> Béla Zsolt Szakács, “Saints of the Knights – Knights of the Saints: Patterns of Patronage at the Court of Sigismund,” in *Sigismund von Luxemburg. Ein Kaiser in Europa*, 319.

<sup>648</sup> Theiner, I:467–8, no. DCCIX.

<sup>649</sup> Éva Kovács, “Magyarországi Anjou Koronák” [Angevin crowns in Hungary], *Ars Hungarica* 4/1 (1976): 10.

<sup>650</sup> Szakács, “Saints of the Knights,” 319–20.

<sup>651</sup> It belonged to the Alsólendva branch of the Bánfi family. The mural is, sadly, now destroyed but pictures remain.

<sup>652</sup> Marosi, *Kép és hasonmás*, 81; Lionnet, “Les peintures murales en Hongrie,” 120–1. On the mural see also Tünde Wehli, “Bogyay Tamás és Johannes Aquila” [Thomas Bogyay and Johannes Aquila], *Ars Hungaria* 38/3 (2012): 341–57.

The cult of St. Ladislaus during the reign of Sigismund “was essentially a continuation of the Angevin propaganda of St. Ladislaus.”<sup>653</sup> Sigismund and his wife Mary continued the tradition of using the image of Ladislaus on Hungarian coinage, and St. Ladislaus was pictured on Queen Mary’s double seal.<sup>654</sup> Sigismund’s support for Ladislaus’ cult extended also to the saint’s burial place. The emperor supported the rebuilding of the cathedral, chose it to house the relics of St. Sigismund, his patron saint, and both he and his wife Mary were buried at the cathedral.<sup>655</sup> He was not the first member of the Luxembourg dynasty to be buried here, however; Beatrice of Luxembourg, the second wife of Charles I, was buried here upon her death in 1319.<sup>656</sup> At least six indulgences were issued for the cathedral during the reign of Sigismund, and a further three after his reign (see Appendix 3). While pilgrims most likely saw the shrine of St. Ladislaus as the focus of the sacred place, the high altar of the Virgin Mary is emphasized in some of the indulgences. In the indulgence granted to the cathedral in 1400 from Boniface IX, it was specified that visitors must worship before the “altare maius beate Marie Virginis... prope sepulchrum sancti Ladislai regis,”<sup>657</sup> and twenty years later the Bosnian Bishop Benedict requested an indulgence specifically for the altar of the Virgin Mary of the Oradea cathedral.<sup>658</sup>

### *1.2 Székesfehérvár: A Reflection of Aachen in Hungary*

The collegiate church of Székesfehérvár, which has been called “the sacral center of the Hungarian Kingdom,” was also probably the most important church in the kingdom connected to the Hungarian royal power.<sup>659</sup> It is fitting then that it was dedicated to the Virgin Mary by King St. Stephen, who had also entrusted the entire kingdom to Mary. Both Stephen and his son Emeric were buried here, and it developed into one the most important pilgrimage places in the kingdom. The seals of the church allude to the presence of a Marian icon at the site, which could have also been a focus of devotion. Székesfehérvár’s importance as a center of royal power lay in its role as the site of valid coronation and, especially for the Angevin dynasty, the royal burial place. Both the Angevin and Luxembourg’s relationships with another

<sup>653</sup> Terézia Kerny, “Szent László-kultusz a Zsigmond-korban,” in *Művészet Zsigmond király korában 1387-1437* [Art in the time of King Sigismund 1387-1437], ed. László Beke, Ernő Marosi, and Tünde Wehli, vol. 1 (Budapest: MTA Művészettörténeti Kutató Csoport, 1987), 353.

<sup>654</sup> Szakács, “Saints of the Knights,” 319–20; Kerny, “Szent László-kultusz a Zsigmond-korban,” 354. Both the Virgin Mary and St. Ladislaus were pictured on the coinage of King Vladislaus II (r. 1490–1516): the Madonna enthroned on the obverse and St. Ladislaus on the reverse (Gyöngyössi, “Szentkultusz középkori,” 94).

<sup>655</sup> Szakács, “Saints of the Knights,” 319.

<sup>656</sup> Bak and Veszprémy, *The Illuminated Chronicle*, 360–1.

<sup>657</sup> MonVat, I/4:214, no. CCLXV.

<sup>658</sup> ZsO, VII:354, no. 1503.

<sup>659</sup> Laszlovszky, “Local Tradition or European Patterns?” 86.



coronation site, the *Marienkirche* of Aachen, contributed to the ongoing placemaking process of the collegiate church of Székesfehérvár.

The Greater Legend of St. Stephen ties the foundation of the church at Székesfehérvár to the dedication of the country to the Virgin:

This man [King Stephen] was continually faithful and in all his acts completely devoted to God. By an oath and offering, amidst unceasing prayers, he placed himself with his kingdom under the protection of the everlasting Virgin Mary, the Mother of God, whose honor and glory are so famous amongst the Hungarians, that even the feast of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary, without the addition of her proper name, is called the Day of the Queen in the Hungarian language. And, in order to be able to attain the greater mercy of her protection, he began to build a renowned and great basilica with marvelous craftsmanship in the city of the royal seat, which is called Alba [Fehérvár], in honor of and in the name of the perpetual Virgin Mary, with ornate decorations on the choir walls and marble slabs covering the floor.<sup>660</sup>

The church was granted many ecclesiastical privileges and Stephen considered it—according to the Hartvic Legend—“his own chapel” and he “endowed it with such independence that none of the bishops could have any rights whatever over it.”<sup>661</sup> Its location was strategic, the Christianization of the Kingdom of Hungary meant that pilgrims from western Europe could now travel overland to the Holy Land. This route led past Székesfehérvár—bypassing Esztergom, which had been the center of the kingdom from the second half of the tenth century—assisting to its rise as the new center of the kingdom.<sup>662</sup> As the symbolic center of the kingdom it also served as the coronation church. In the fifteenth century Helene Kottaner (also known as Kottanner Ilona or Kottanner Jánosné) would note the three conditions for a coronation to be legally valid in Hungary: the Archbishop of Esztergom as the crowning clergyman, the presence of the Holy Crown, and the basilica of Székesfehérvár as the location.<sup>663</sup>

<sup>660</sup> “Erat vir iste fidelis, in omnibus actibus suis deo perfecte deditus, per votum et oblationem semet cum regno suo sub tutela perpetue virginis dei genitricis Marie precibus assiduis conferens, cuius honor et gloria tam celebris inter Ungaros habetur, quod etiam festivitas assumptionis eiusdem virginis sine additamento propria nominis ipsorum lingua regine dies vocitetur. Et, ut maiorem ipsius defensionis miseracordiam consequi valeret, in ipsa regalis sedis civitate, que dicitur Alba, sub laude et titulo virginis eiusdem perpetue, famosam et grandem basilicam opera mirifico, celaturis in chori pariete distinctis, pavimento tabulis marmoreis strato construere cepit.” SRH, II:385.

<sup>661</sup> “Tanta predicta venustate supradscriptam ecclesiam in propriam capellam rex retinens, tali eam libertate dotavit, ut nullus Episcoporum in ea cuiusvis iuris quidquam haberet.” Emma Bartoniek, “Legenda S. Stephani regis ab Hartvico episcopo conscripta,” in SRH, II:431–2. English translation: Berend, “Hartvic, Life of King Stephen,” 86.

<sup>662</sup> Gábor Thoroczkay, “A székesfehérvári prépostság és bazilika korai története” [The early history of the provostry and basilica of Székesfehérvár], *Egyháztörténeti Szemle* XVI/3 (2015): 5.

<sup>663</sup> Helene Kottaner, *Denkwürdigkeit der Helene Kottanerin (1439–1440)*, ed. Karl Mollay (Vienna, 1971). On coronations in Hungary see Thoroczkay, “A székesfehérvári prépostság,” 16–25; Erik Fügedi, “Coronation in Medieval Hungary,” in *Kings, Bishops, Nobles and Burghers in Medieval Hungary*, ed. Erik Fügedi and János M. Bak (London: Variorum Reprints, 1986), 158–89; Emma Bartoniek, *A magyar királykoronázások története* [The history of Hungarian royal coronations] (Budapest: Magyar Történelmi Társulat, 1987). The works of János M.

The burial of Stephen and Emeric at the royal basilica began a tradition that would be followed by many of the subsequent Hungarian Árpadian monarchs. Burial at Székesfehérvár was not the rule, however, and there were periods during Árpadian rule when the tradition was broken. St. Ladislaus was buried at Oradea, and other rulers chose the churches of various orders.<sup>664</sup> The tradition of royal burial at Székesfehérvár was revived by the Hungarian Angevin dynasty, in an effort to “imitate the Árpáds and...legitimize their power.”<sup>665</sup> Charles I, who also made repairs to the church, was buried there along with his first wife, Mary of Bytom, and first two sons, Charles and Ladislaus.<sup>666</sup> Louis the Great constructed a new chapel in the collegiate church dedicated to St. Catherine—probably in honor of his daughter Catherine who was likely buried in the church—where he was buried, along with probably both of his wives—Margaret of Bohemia and Elizabeth of Bosnia.<sup>667</sup> Louis may have commissioned the *Illuminated Chronicle* for the collegiate church as well.<sup>668</sup>

The collegiate church of Székesfehérvár would become one of the most important in the Hungarian Kingdom, due in part to the Angevin dynasty bringing the site back into focus.<sup>669</sup> The church received one indulgence prior to Angevin rule in 1249,<sup>670</sup> then another during Angevin rule in 1366,<sup>671</sup> and two during the reign of Sigismund.<sup>672</sup> At least six additional indulgences were granted for the church after the death of Sigismund until the early sixteenth centuries.<sup>673</sup> The importance of the church is further emphasized by the fact that a full plenary indulgence was only granted to eight churches outside of the Jubilee Year, half of which were

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Bak are also central to any discussion on coronations in Hungary; many of his most important essays are published in János M. Bak, *Studying Medieval Rulers and Their Subjects* (Farnham: Ashgate Variorum, 2010). He also collected the relevant sources and textual evidence for Hungarian coronations in János M. Bak, *Königtum und Stände im 14.–16. Jahrhundert* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag GmbH, 1973), 165–90.

<sup>664</sup> Laszlovszky, “Local Tradition or European Patterns?” 85–8.

<sup>665</sup> Thoroczkay, “A székesfehérvári prépostság,” 12.

<sup>666</sup> As recounted in the *Illuminated Chronicle*: Bak and Veszprémy, *The Illuminated Chronicle*, 358–61, 364–5, 380–1.

<sup>667</sup> Marosi, “The Illuminations of the Chronicle,” 29; Alán Kralovánszky, “A székesfehérvári Anjou-sírkápolna” [The Anjou Chapel in Székesfehérvár], *Művészet I. Lajos király korában 1342–1382*, 165, 172n1. 174n28

<sup>668</sup> Marosi, “The Illuminations of the Chronicle,” 29.

<sup>669</sup> Ernő Marosi, “Churches and their Adornments. Out of the Art History of Medieval Hungary,” in *A thousand years of Christianity in Hungary: Hungariae Christianae millennium*, ed. István Zombori, Pál Cséfalvay, and Maria Antonietta De Angelis (Budapest: Hungarian Catholic Episcopal Conference, 2001), 209; Aradi, “Somogy Megye,” 129.

<sup>670</sup> MREV, I:127–8.

<sup>671</sup> DL-DF 289797; Theiner, II:81, no. CLII; MREV, II:198, no. CCXXXII.

<sup>672</sup> 1411: DL-DF 288636. 1434: MREV, III:98, no. CLVII. This was probably granted in response to a request for an indulgence made by King Sigismund in 1433 (Lukcsics, 2:107, no. 261).

<sup>673</sup> 1474: MREV, III:230, no. CCCLXV. 1482: MREV, III:276–7, no. CDXII.

for the collegiate church of Székesfehérvár.<sup>674</sup> It should also be noted that the chapel of the Virgin Mary within the church received its own indulgences in 1435<sup>675</sup> and 1438.<sup>676</sup>

While as a pilgrimage place the focus of veneration were the tombs of SS. Stephen and Emeric, there are many elements that emphasize its “Mary-ness.” The seal of the collegiate church provides evidence for a stronger Marian presence beyond the *patrocinium*, altar(s), and Marian chapel of the church. The first extant seal of this ecclesiastical body was made in or shortly before 1237 (Figure 38). It depicts the Annunciation: Mary stands on a raised platform in front of the Archangel Gabriel, who holds a staff in his right hand and raises his left in greeting.<sup>677</sup> This was an established visual motif to depict the Annunciation; it can be found as early as the sixth century on the ampullae of pilgrims to Palestine, and was typical of Byzantine iconography.<sup>678</sup> Though the details of the seal image are blurred, Imre Takács hypothesized that Mary’s hands were held outstretched in front of her chest; the later memorial seal of the chapter, from the second half of the thirteenth century, inscribed with Greek letters (furthering the Byzantine connection), depicts Mary in this way and looks like it may have cropped the original seal composition so that only Mary is depicted (Figure 39).<sup>679</sup> But why it was chosen as the subject of the seal itself is more mysterious. It would make more sense for the seal to depict the Assumption of the Virgin Mary, the day on which, according to the Hartvik legend, St. Stephen died and was buried in the royal basilica of Székesfehérvár, and also the day the basilica was consecrated:

The solemn feast was then approaching, famous to angels and men, the day of the Assumption of the same perpetually Virgin Mary, and, hoping to have a hope of greater mercy were the dissolution of his body to take place during that rejoicing, [Stephen] asked this by special prayers and by sighs and tears obtained it... People assembled for his funeral procession from every region of Pannonia, the body was taken to the royal seat, that is Alba, and because the church, built by him to the honor of the blessed Virgin was not yet consecrated, the prelates, having deliberated, decided first to consecrate the basilica, and then to commit the body [of Stephen] to the earth.<sup>680</sup>

<sup>674</sup> Erős, “Búcsúk és búcsúlevelek,” 46.

<sup>675</sup> The request was made initially by István Rozgnyi, *ispán* of Temes, in 1433 (MREV, III:92, no. CXLIV). He likely did not receive the indulgence because he repeated his request in 1435; Pope John IV did accept this request and issued a letter of indulgence (one year a 40 days) (MREV, III:99–100, no. CLXII). See also on this topic Erős, “Búcsúk és búcsúlevelek,” 43. In 1470 a request was also made for an indulgence for the chapel of SS. Mary Magdalene, Mary of Egypt, and Afra in the collegiate church of Székesfehérvár (MREV, III:203, no. CCCXXII).

<sup>676</sup> Lukcsics, 2:168. An indulgence was requested for the chapel in 1433 (Lukcsics, 2:99).

<sup>677</sup> Takács, *A magyarországi káptalanok és konventek középkori pecsétjei*, 22.

<sup>678</sup> André Grabar, *Ampoules de Terre Sainte* (Paris: C. Klincksieck, 1958), 47; Takács, *A magyarországi káptalanok és konventek középkori pecsétjei*, 23.

<sup>679</sup> Takács, *A magyarországi káptalanok és konventek középkori pecsétjei*, 23.

<sup>680</sup> “Instabat tunc sollempnitas precipua, celebris angelis et hominibus dies assumptionis eiusdem perpetue virginis Marie, in cuius gaudio disolutio sui corporis fieret, maioris spem misericordie se sperans habiturum, precibus hoc specialibus postulavit, suspiriis et lacrimis obtinuit...Ad exequias funeris eius ex omnibus Pannonie plagis concurrunt, corpus ad sedem regale, Albam videlicet deducitur, et quoniam ecclesia ab ipso constructa in honore

The seal likely depicts a Marian image of Byzantine origin, which was a focus of devotion at Székesfehérvár, but is now lost (similar to the seal of the cathedral of Győr). The image could have come to Székesfehérvár during King Stephen's lifetime; relics were taken as booty during Stephen's campaign in Bulgaria, and Stephen supposedly used some of this booty to build the basilica at Székesfehérvár.<sup>681</sup> Leodvin of Namur, the bishop of Bihar, also records that relics were brought to Székesfehérvár during Stephen's lifetime.<sup>682</sup> The image could also have been acquired in the following centuries, due to Székesfehérvár's location on the pilgrimage route linking Western Europe to the Holy Land, providing numerous opportunities for a Byzantine image to be transported to the collegiate church.<sup>683</sup>



Figure 38. Seal of the collegiate chapter of Székesfehérvár, before 1237. +SIGILLVM • CAPITVLI • ALBENSIS • EC(C)LESIE (Takács, *A magyarországi káptalanok és konventek középkori pecsétjei*, Table XXIII.5 (Kat. 41.1)).



Figure 39. Memorial seal of the collegiate church of Székesfehérvár, 2nd half of the 13<sup>th</sup> c. S(IGILLVM)•MEMORIALE•CAPITVLI•EC(C)L(ES)IE•ALBENSIS. On Mary's shoulders: M(HTH)P Θ(EO)v. (Takács, *A magyarországi káptalanok és konventek középkori pecsétjei*, Tábla XXIII.7 (Kat. 41.2)).

Fragments of a Byzantine mosaic icon found among the ruins of the church of Székesfehérvár could be linked with this mysterious icon. Unfortunately, the remains of the icon are missing and only the description of the find has survived. It is described as depicting the Annunciation in a similar fashion to the old seal: “cui etiam sigillum vetustae ecclesiae

beatissime virginis nondum erat dedicata, inito consilio statuunt pontifices prius basilicam sanctificare, deinde corpus terre commendare.” “Legenda S. Stephani regis ab Hartvico episcopo conscripta,” in SRH, II:431–2. English translation: Berend, “Hartvic, Life of King Stephen of Hungary,” 394.

<sup>681</sup> Takács, *A magyarországi káptalanok és konventek középkori pecsétjei*, 23; Györffy, *István király és műve*, 287.

<sup>682</sup> Takács, *A magyarországi káptalanok és konventek középkori pecsétjei*, 23; Gyula Kristó, *Háborúk és hadviselés az Árpádok korában* [Wars and Tactics under the Árpáds] (Szeged: Szukits Könyvkiadó, 2003), 72.

<sup>683</sup> Thoroczkay, “A székesfehérvári prépostság,” 5; Takács, *A magyarországi káptalanok és konventek középkori pecsétjei*, 23.

Albensis plene suffragatur.”<sup>684</sup> As the remains of the mosaic icon are lost and in the absence of being able to establish a chronological relationship between the seal and the icon, as Imre Takács states: “we can only make a cautious assumption of their relationship on the basis of the description.”<sup>685</sup> Regardless, the presence of the seal and the implied “mediating role” of a Byzantine Marian icon (important enough to be depicted on the church’s seal) at Székesfehérvár demonstrates that the Virgin Mary had an established presence at this sacred site.

The similarities between the royal basilica of Székesfehérvár and another important Marian church, the cathedral of Aachen, are manifold. In addition to both being dedicated to the Virgin, they were founded by an important, foundational Christian ruler who was also buried at the respective churches, and both became pilgrimage and coronation sites. The similarities are not coincidental. King Stephen had close relationships with Otto III—who endowed Aachen with treasures and privileges and was later buried there—and Henry II, brother of his wife Gisela; further, German archbishops visited Hungary, and Hungarian bishops visited German lands in turn.<sup>686</sup> There may also be architectural connections between the eleventh-century basilica of Székesfehérvár and contemporary German cathedrals, though

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<sup>684</sup> Takács, *A magyarországi káptalanok és konventek középkori pecsétjei*, 23. For the description of the image see: Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum Adattára, Collectio imaginum Sp. Dni Nicolai Jankovich Museo Nationali resignatorum, no. 115. As identified by Melinda Tóth, *Árpád-kori falfestészet* [Árpád-era wall painting] (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1974), 113n94.

<sup>685</sup> Takács, *A magyarországi káptalanok és konventek középkori pecsétjei*, 23.

<sup>686</sup> Thoroczkay, “A székesfehérvári prépostság,” 6–7.

Italian traditions may have actually had more influence.<sup>687</sup> Stephen surely knew about Aachen and its significance, it was a natural model for Székesfehérvár.<sup>688</sup>

In the late Middle Ages, the connections between Aachen, Hungarian monarchs, and the Hungarian coronation rituals at Székesfehérvár continued to develop. Queen Elizabeth's pilgrimage to Aachen with the Holy Roman Emperor Charles IV, and King Louis the Great's foundation of a Hungarian chapel in Aachen established a permanent Hungarian presence at the site. Louis' son-in-law, King Sigismund, would then himself be crowned *Rex Romanorum* in Aachen on November 8, 1414.<sup>689</sup>

Certain coronation rituals in Hungary seem to have been adopted from those practiced in Aachen, particularly in the use of reliquaries. The reliquary bust of Charlemagne often

<sup>687</sup> Unfortunately, the collegiate church of Székesfehérvár was destroyed in the nineteenth century and can only be reconstructed through archaeological excavations. Melinda Tóth suggested that there was German architectural influence on Székesfehérvár, though she does not mention Aachen in particular (Melinda Tóth, "A művészet Szent István korában" [Art in the time of St. Stephen], in *Szent István és kora* [St. Stephen and his time], ed. Ferenc Glatz and József Kardos (Budapest: MTA Történettudományi Intézet, 1988), 113–32). Béla Zsolt Szakács, in contrast, believes that Italian architectural features were more relevant for the eleventh-century structure (Béla Zsolt Szakács, "Architecture in Hungary in the Eleventh Century: A Critical Overview of the Last Twenty Years," in *Architektura w początkach państw Europy Środkowej* [Architecture in the early period of the states of Central Europe], ed. Tomasz Janiak and Dariusz Stryniak [Gniezno: Muzeum Początków Państwa Polskiego, 2018], 205–10). There is a vast amount of literature on the archaeological and architectural studies on Székesfehérvár. In addition to the two works mentioned above, some of the most recent studies from the last decade, and with earlier literature, include: Piroska Biczó, "A székesfehérvári királyi bazilika régészeti ásatásainak újabb eredményei" [Recent results of the archeological excavations of the royal basilica of Székesfehérvár], in *A középkor és a kora újkor régészete Magyarországon* [The archaeology of the Middle Ages and the early modern period in Hungary], ed. Elek Benkő and Gyöngyi Kovács (Budapest: MTA Régészeti Intézete, 2010), 315–32; Zoltán Szabó, *A székesfehérvári királyi bazilika építéstörténete* [The history of the construction of the royal basilica in Székesfehérvár] (Budapest: Balassi, 2010); Ernő Marosi, *A romanika Magyarországon* [The Romanesque in Hungary] (Budapest: Corvina, 2013), 66–70; Klára Mentényi, "Gondolatok egy 12. századi székesfehérvári faragványcsoportról," [Reflections on a group of 12<sup>th</sup>-century Székesfehérvár carvings], in *In medio regni Hungariae. Régészeti, művészettörténeti és történeti kutatások „az ország közepén”* [In medio regni Hungariae. Archaeological, art historical, and historical research "in the middle of the country"], ed. Elek Benkő and Krisztina Orosz (Budapest: MTA BTK Régészeti Intézet, 2015), 325–59; Krisztina Havasi, "Bevezető a székesfehérvári 'királyi bazilika' 11. századi márványfaragványainak anyagvizsgálata elé" [Introduction to the material analysis of the 11<sup>th</sup>-century marble carvings of the 'royal basilica' of Székesfehérvár], in *Interdiszciplinaritás* [Interdisciplinarity], ed. Anna Ridovics et al. (Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum - Szépművészeti Múzeum, 2017), 99–115; Klára Mentényi, "'Columna Lapidæa'. A székesfehérvári gránitoszlopokról," in *Interdiszciplinaritás* [Interdisciplinarity], ed. Anna Ridovics et al. (Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum - Szépművészeti Múzeum, 2017), 131–53; Zoltán Szabó, *A székesfehérvár királyi bazilika építéstörténete II/2B* [History of the construction of the royal basilica of Székesfehérvár II/2B] (Budapest: Balassi, 2018); Klára Mentényi, "A székesfehérvári Szűz Mária prépostsági templom átépítése a 12. században. Kísérlet a fennmaradt román kori kőfaragványok rendszerezésére" [The rebuilding of the Church of the Virgin Mary in Székesfehérvár in the 12<sup>th</sup> century. An attempt to organize the surviving Romanesque stone carvings], in *Művészettörténeti tanulmányok Tóth Sándor emlékére* [Art History Studies in Memory of Sándor Tóth], ed. Imre Takács (Budapest: Martin Opitz, 2019), 11–42; Gergely Buzás, "A székesfehérvári Szűz Mária bazilika az Árpád-korban" [The Basilica of the Virgin Mary in Székesfehérvár in the Árpadian Era], in *Várak Kastélyok Templomok Évkönyv VI* (2019): 18–22. Many thanks to Béla Zsolt Szakács for his assistance on the question of architectural influence and recommended literature.

<sup>688</sup> Thoroczkay, "A székesfehérvári prépostság," 7. For more on the connections between the two sites during the Árpadian Age see: Josef Deér, "Aachen und die Herrschersitz der Arpaden," in *Byzanz und das abendländische Herrschertum. Ausgewählte Aufsätze von Josef Deér*, ed. Peter Classen (Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 1977), 372–423.

<sup>689</sup> Another Hungarian king, Albert II, was crowned King of the Romans in Aachen on March 18, 1438, following the death of Sigismund.

played a role in late medieval coronations in Aachen, fostering a link between Charlemagne and the newly crowned. When Sigismund was crowned King of Germany, he was greeted by the bust reliquary held by two canons; Sigismund venerated the relic and then followed it to the place of the coronation ceremony in the cathedral.<sup>690</sup> Sigismund was later crowned with the crown that had been on the head of the reliquary bust of Charlemagne, and thus being “crowned with the very crown from the head of Charlemagne, the king’s legitimacy as the heir to the throne of his illustrious and holy predecessor is brilliantly and effectively proclaimed.”<sup>691</sup> But it is probably during the coronation of Charles IV that the first “ritualized use” of Charlemagne’s relics can be identified, and that Charles set the precedent for the use of Charlemagne’s bust—which Charles donated either for the occasion of his coronation itself or as a post-coronation gift—in future coronations.<sup>692</sup> Similar coronation rituals were modeled in Hungary. For instance, on July 17, 1440, during the coronation of Vladislaus I (r. 1424–1444) at the basilica of Székesfehérvár the crown was lifted from the reliquary bust of St. Stephen and placed on Vladislaus’s head.<sup>693</sup>

Another coronation practice of the *Rex Romanorum*, during which (at least from the coronation of Henry VII in 1309) the recently crowned emperor would make a pilgrimage to the relics of the three Magi in Cologne may have inspired a similar practice in Hungary (and in this context Queen Elizabeth Piast’s pilgrimage stop in Cologne with Charles IV has even more significance).<sup>694</sup> By the fourteenth century it was standard practice for the crowned king to travel from Székesfehérvár to the cathedral of Oradea to venerate the relics of St. Ladislaus—the fourteenth-century reliquary bust of which may have been modelled on Charlemagne’s reliquary bust mentioned above.<sup>695</sup> King Louis the Great’s donation of a crown to the shrine of St. Ladislaus during his 1352 pilgrimage to Oradea, paralleling Charles IV’s recent donations of crowns to the reliquary of Charlemagne in Aachen and St. Wenceslaus in Prague, provides another cross-cultural connection in this context.<sup>696</sup>

<sup>690</sup> Scott B. Montgomery, “The Saint and the King: Relics, Reliquaries and Late Medieval Coronation in Aachen and Székesfehérvár,” in *Matter of Faith: An Interdisciplinary Study of Relics and Relic Veneration in the Medieval Period*, ed. James Robinson, Lloyd de Beer, and Anna Harnden (London: The British Museum, 2014), 32. The sequence of events is recorded in Walter Kaemmerer, ed., *Quellentexte zur Aachener Geschichte*, 3 vols, *Heft III: Die Aachener Königs-Krönungen* (Aachen, 1961), 76.

<sup>691</sup> Montgomery, “The Saint and the King,” 33.

<sup>692</sup> *Ibid.*, 33–4.

<sup>693</sup> *Ibid.*, 35. The coronation ceremony was recorded by the Polish chronicler Jan Długosz, see Johannes Długossius, *Historiae Polonicae libri XII*, ed. Alexandri Przezdziecki, vol. 4 (Cracoviae Kirchmayer, 1877), 644.

<sup>694</sup> Montgomery, “The Saint and the King,” 36.

<sup>695</sup> Bak, *Königtum und Stände*, 23; Montgomery, “The Saint and the King,” 36; Kálmán Magyar, “Epilogue,” in *Szent László és Somogyvár. Tanulmányok a 900 éves Somogyvári Bencés Apátság Emlékezetére* [St. Ladislaus and Somogyvár. Studies in Memory of the 900th Anniversary of the Benedictine Monastery of Somogyvár], ed. Kálmán Magyar (Kaposvár, 1992), 333.

<sup>696</sup> Montgomery, “The Saint and the King,” 37. On this topic see also: Gábor Klaniczay, *The Uses of Supernatural Power. The Transformation of Popular Religion in Medieval and Early-Modern Europe*, ed. Karen Margolis,

With the modeling of Székesfehérvár on Aachen, as well as the later parallels in coronation practices, Hungarian monarchs “aligned themselves with the older, venerable, and successful German model, and in doing so used Hungary’s own saintly royal past to validate them in much same way as German kings did with Charlemagne.”<sup>697</sup> The Marian *patrocinium* was one aspect of this modelling, one that connected and aligned the Queen of Heaven with the respective monarch. Mary’s presence in Székesfehérvár, however, took on a unique form in the Hungarian context, possibly in a revered Byzantine icon, but especially as the *Patrona Hungariae*, to whom Stephen—buried at that place—offered his crown, and who was an active agent in the crowning of each subsequent Hungarian monarch.

### 1.3 Buda: A “Marian Capital”

The position of Buda grew considerably during the reigns of Louis the Great and Sigismund of Luxembourg. Louis made Buda the principle royal seat of the kingdom from 1346/1347 to 1355.<sup>698</sup> He undertook major building works throughout the city, including in the royal palace and various religious institutions. This construction continued under Louis’ daughter Mary and then her husband Sigismund, who increased the importance of the city further; he moved the judicial and administrative functions of his royal court from Visegrád to Buda beginning in 1408 and “regarded this new principal residence as his capital city.”<sup>699</sup>

In addition to its function as a political center, the city of Buda and the surrounding settlements of Óbuda and Pest was a center of religious significance due to the concentration of churches and monastic institutions. This area had a higher concentration of Marian churches than in the other parts of Hungary. New Marian churches were founded during the Angevin and Luxembourg periods, but existing ones were also renovated and supported through indulgences. The existing Marian parish churches of Buda and Pest were both expanded by King Louis.<sup>700</sup> Several indulgences were granted for the Virgin Mary parish church of Buda during from the reign of Louis to the end of Sigismund’s reign: the church itself was granted one in 1414<sup>701</sup> and in 1359 an indulgence was issued for the altar of King St. Stephen<sup>702</sup> and in

trans. Susan Singerman (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990), 118; Éva Kovács, “Magyarországi Anjou koronák” [Angevin crowns from Hungary], *Ars Hungarica* 4/1 (1976): 10–11.

<sup>697</sup> Montgomery, “The Saint and the King,” 35.

<sup>698</sup> Károly Magyar, “Royal Residences in Buda in Hungarian and European Context,” in *Medieval Buda in Context*, 149; Vég, *Buda Part I to 1686*, 18.

<sup>699</sup> Vég, “Buda-Pest 1300 – Buda-Pest 1400,” 192, 196, 196n105.

<sup>700</sup> *Ibid.*, 200.

<sup>701</sup> BTOE, III:338, no. 650; MREV, II:375, no. CDXC. Later, in 1490 an indulgence was granted for the church for the Corpus Christi confraternity (MREV, III:317, no. CDLXXI).

<sup>702</sup> Bossanyi II:370, no. CCXXXVIII.



1393 for those who visited the altars of the three kings, Mary Magdalene, Elizabeth, and Helen in the Marian parish church.<sup>703</sup>

Several new Marian institutions were also founded by Louis, Elizabeth Piast, and Sigismund in Buda and Óbuda during their respective reigns. Part of Louis's major renovations and expansions of the Buda palace was the construction of a new two-story royal chapel dedicated to the Virgin Mary,<sup>704</sup> which was completed by Sigismund and who also secured an indulgence for the chapel in 1410.<sup>705</sup> This same indulgence applied to the Lesser Virgin Mary collegiate church constructed by Sigismund around this time.<sup>706</sup> Unfortunately, we do not have evidence on how the Marian royal chapel was used for religious celebrations during the Angevin and Luxembourg periods, but thanks to the account books of King Louis II (r. 1516–1526) some activities of the chapel in the early sixteenth century are known. The king often attended High Mass at the chapel on Marian feast days, for which specific objects were purchased. On the Feast of the Annunciation, for example, incense was brought into the chapel,<sup>707</sup> and on Candlemas at least forty-four candles decorated with tin flowers and red bands were brought into chapel for the procession to be consecrated.<sup>708</sup>

Two new monastic houses with Mary as patron or co-patron and a new Marian collegiate church were founded by Louis and his mother in Buda and Óbuda. Elizabeth was responsible for the construction of a new collegiate church dedicated to the Virgin in Óbuda, which received an indulgence at her request in 1348.<sup>709</sup> Together Louis and his mother founded the Carmelite monastery dedicated to the Mary of Mercy in Buda, which was granted an indulgence from Pope Gregory XI in 1375.<sup>710</sup> Elizabeth's most important monastic foundation

<sup>703</sup> MREV, II:290, no. CCCLVI.

<sup>704</sup> Végh, "Buda-Pest 1300 – Buda-Pest 1400," 195, 199. An indulgence requested for the Corpus Christi altar in a Marian church of Buda castle in 1351 may have been intended for this chapel or possibly for the parish church of Buda. However, the Virgin Mary Parish Church of Buda is typically specified as a *parish* church in historical documentation and the Marian church mentioned in the indulgence request was simply an *ecclesia beate virginis* (MREV, II:140, no. CLX). Queen Elizabeth also requested an indulgence for a chapel of the Virgin Mary of the castle in 1366 (Bossányi II:446). The absence of the settlement name in the indulgence has led some to believe that this indulgence was for the new Virgin Mary Chapel in the Buda castle, however, more recent research has determined it was for a Marian chapel in the castle of Visegrád, see: Kumorovitz, "A budai várkapolna és a Szent Zsigmond-prépostság történetéhez," 149; Magyar, "Royal Residences in Buda," 151n55.

<sup>705</sup> ZsO, II/2:407, no. 7867; BTOE, 3:288, no. 554.

<sup>706</sup> BTOE, 3:288, no. 554. The church received another indulgence earlier that month (BTOE, 3:287–8, no. 553). See also: Végh, "Adatok a budai kisebb Szűz Mária," 25.

<sup>707</sup> "Eodem die emere feci de thure pro fumiganda Capella Regie Maiestatis tempore magne misse, propter solemnitatem huius diei." Vilmos Fraknói, "II. Lajos király számadási könyve, 1525. január 12–július 16," [The account book of Louis ii, 12 January 1525 – July 16 1525], *Magyar Történelmi Tár* 22 (1877), 218.

<sup>708</sup> "Item feria quinta in festo purificationis beatissime virginis Marie, emere feci candelas cereas albas, cum floribus staneis ornatas, magnas quatuor, mediocres sedecim, minores quatuordecim, simplices decem, et rubeas ligaturas, duobus in Capella Regie Maiestatis hoc die consecrandis..." Fraknói, "II. Lajos király," 68–9. On this topic see: Orsolya Réthelyi, "The Court of the King and Queen in Buda in the Jagiellonian Age," in *Medieval Buda in Context*, 470.

<sup>709</sup> MREV, II:129, no. CXLVII.

<sup>710</sup> MREV, II:240, no. CCLXXXI.

was the nunnery of the Poor Clares of Óbuda, which Elizabeth founded in 1331 in honor of the Virgin Mary and St. Clare.<sup>711</sup> Queen Elizabeth frequently requested papal indulgences, and she did this also for her “favorite institution.”<sup>712</sup> On March 14, 1349 she requested a full plenary indulgence from Pope Clement VI for the consecration of the convent’s church; she was denied this but still received a multi-year indulgence for the consecration.<sup>713</sup> Only two years later, however, she did receive the jubilee indulgence from the pope.<sup>714</sup> The following year in 1352 the convent received another indulgence, this time requested by King Louis and granted by Pope John VI, and another indulgence was issued in 1358 by Pope Innocent VI.<sup>715</sup> Centuries later the church of the Poor Clares of Óbuda continued to receive letters of indulgence, including one granted by Pope Leo X on September 13, 1513.<sup>716</sup> It should also be noted that the Óbuda nunnery was not the only Poor Clares nunnery with Marian *patrocinia* that was granted letters of indulgence; in 1315 Archbishop Thomas of Esztergom rewrote the 1301 letter of indulgence of the Clarissan nunnery in Trnava, which was dedicated to the Virgin Mary and All Saints, and the nunnery was granted additional indulgences in 1449 and 1473.<sup>717</sup>

<sup>711</sup> With her foundation of the Óbuda nunnery and lifetime support of the Poor Clares, Elizabeth was continuing a tradition established by many of the women in her family. Elizabeth’s mother, Jadwiga (Hedwig) of Kalisz, had close ties to the Poor Clares nunnery of Sary Sącz—she had joined the nunnery and was later buried there—which itself had been founded by the Hungarian princess St. Kinga (Cunegunda). On the topic see Julia Burkhardt, “Friars and Princesses in Late Medieval Poland. Encounters, Interactions and Agency,” in *Queens, Princesses and Mendicants: Close Relations in a European Perspective*, ed. Nikolas Jaspert and Imke Just (Vienna: Lit Verlag Münster, 2019), 239–62; Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses*, 207, 231, 335–6; Stanisław A. Sroka, *Elżbieta Łokietkówna* [Elizabeth of Poland, Daughter of Władysław the “Elbow-High”] (Bydgoszcz: Homini, 1999), esp. 51–9.

<sup>712</sup> Christopher Mielke, “Every Hyacinth the Garden Wears: The Material Culture of Medieval Queens of Hungary (1000–1395),” (Phd diss., Central European University, 2017), 138, 143, 227.

<sup>713</sup> Bossányi, I:196.

<sup>714</sup> DL-DF 291937; DL-DF 292754; Theiner, I:791–2, no. MCCIV. Why Pope Clement VI decided to grant this indulgence is unknown, but a letter that Elizabeth received from the pope a few days later is indicative. In the letter he reiterates the granting of the indulgence and states that he would be sending a copy of the indulgence permit soon. In the rest of the letter, he essentially strongly urges Elizabeth to convince Louis to end the strife in Sicily and to accept the conditions that he, the pope, had asked for. The granting of the indulgence was essentially a *quid pro quo*. Erős, “Búcsúk és búcsúlevelek,” 123.

<sup>715</sup> MREV, II:155, no. CLXXVIII; Bossányi, I:243, no. DIX; Bossányi, II:332–3, no. CXLIII.

<sup>716</sup> MREV, IV:219–20, no. CLXXXII; Theiner, II:612–13, no. DCCCVIII.

<sup>717</sup> DL-DF 1618; DL-DF 14215; DL-DF 17479. I presume that the latter indulgence was intended for the Poor Clares in Trnava. The charter indicates that the indulgence is intended for the nuns of Trnava whose nunnery is dedicated to the Virgin Mary. The only female monastery in Trnava was that of the Poor Clares, and it was also the only religious house (female or male) in the city whose *patrocinium* included the Virgin Mary.



Figure 40. Reliquary shrine, ca. 1325–50. Gifted by Queen Elizabeth Piast to the Poor Clares nunnery of Óbuda (The Cloisters Collection, <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/470310>, Accession Number: 62.96).

The faithful in Óbuda would have had seen a variety of relics; according to Jenő Kósa, who wrote the history of the Order of St. Clare in the second half of the eighteenth century, when Elizabeth visited Rome she brought back with her the foot bone of St. Mary Magdalene and a piece of the True Cross, which were given to the Poor Clares of Óbuda.<sup>718</sup> But the association between the Virgin Mary and the convent was created in the minds of visitors through the *patrocinium*, Marian altar(s), and Marian feast days that were celebrated at the convent. One of the Marian objects that could have been a focus of Marian devotion was the reliquary shrine donated by Queen Elizabeth, which features the Virgin Mary and Christ Child as its focus (Figure 40).<sup>719</sup> Another focal point of veneration could have developed around the icon of the Virgin Mary that Queen Elizabeth had donated to the Poor Clares of Óbuda—where she was also buried—in her will.<sup>720</sup> As discussed above, it has been suggested that the Aachen and Mariazell icons were copies of this “plenario per sanctum Lucam evangelistam manibus propriis,”<sup>721</sup> which Elizabeth may have received in Italy, but this cannot be confirmed. Regardless, of the exact connections and provenance of these Marian icons, they demonstrate

<sup>718</sup> Katalin Schwarcz, “Mert ihon jön Assonyotok és kezében új szoknyák”: források a klarissza rend magyarországi történetéből [“Mert ihon jön Assonyotok és kezében új szoknyák”: Sources from the History of the Clarissan Order in Hungary] (Budapest: Budapesti Történeti Múzeum; Magyar Egyháztörténeti Enciklopédia Munkaközösség, 2002), 206.

<sup>719</sup> Gilded silver, translucent enamel, paint. Made in Paris, France, ca. 1325–50. Dimensions (open): 25.4 × 40.6 × 9.2 cm. In 1541 it was taken to the from the Óbuda nunnery to the Poor Clares of Bratislava, where it was mentioned in the inventory of 1656. Currently part of the Cloisters Collection in New York (Accession Number: 62.96). Discussed with earlier literature in: Ernő Marosi, “Erzsébet királyné házioltára” [Queen Elizabeth's household altar], in *Művészet I. Lajos Király korában 1342–1382*, 96–7.

<sup>720</sup> On Elizabeth choosing the Poor Clares nunnery of Óbuda as her burial site see Brian McEntee, “The Burial Site Selection of a Hungarian Queen. Elizabeth, Queen of Hungary (1320–1380), and the Óbuda Clares’ Church,” *Annual of Medieval Studies at CEU* 12 (2006): 69–82.

<sup>721</sup> Marosi, “A 14. századi Magyarország udvari művészete és Közép-Európa,” 73n32.

the Angevin's enthusiastic participation in the "imperial cult of images," and by their grand gestures abroad showed that were not only participants but trend-setters.<sup>722</sup>

From the perspective of pilgrimage, however, it was the relics of St. Paul the First Hermit in the Pauline monastery of Budaszentlőrinc that were the draw for pilgrims to Buda. But references to pilgrimage to a Marian church in Óbuda can actually be detected in the miracles attributed to the shrine of Budaszentlőrinc. The Marian church, known as *Alba Ecclesia* or Fehéregyháza (White Church), was, according to the *Gesta Hungarorum*, the site where Árpád had been buried in 907.<sup>723</sup> If the *Gesta Hungarorum* is to be believed, it would have been the earliest church built in Óbuda; a fifteenth-century tradition even ascribed its foundation to Charlemagne.<sup>724</sup> Because of the connection to Árpád it could have very well been seen as a royal, Árpadian church. Even so, however, Árpád is never mentioned in accounts of pilgrimage and miracles associated with the church; it is referred to as the "church of the Virgin Mary" and it is the Virgin who is thanked and praised there.

The *Vita divi Pauli*, written by the Pauline monk Bálint Hadnagy in 1511, records at least two miracles related to the *Alba Ecclesia*. One of the miracles recounts how in the year 1500 an individual was so tormented the "French disease" (syphilis) that he made a vow to go to the church of the Blessed Virgin (*Alba Ecclesia*), as well as the churches of St. John the Almsgiver, St. Paul the First Hermit (at Budaszentlőrinc), and SS. Cosmas and Damian. He was healed and made the pilgrimage to said holy places.<sup>725</sup> In another miracle purportedly from 1500 another ill man also went on pilgrimage to the *Alba Ecclesia*, Budaszentlőrinc, and the churches of St. John the Almsgiver and SS. Comas and Damian.<sup>726</sup> This man was recorded to have been healed "thanks to the merits of the saints and especially of the Blessed Virgin Mary."<sup>727</sup>

A royal pilgrimage is also linked to the site. In 1504, Queen Anne II, wife of King Wladislas (Ulászló) II was quite ill and vowed to make a pilgrimage barefoot in the winter to

<sup>722</sup> Belting, *Likeness and Presence*, 335.

<sup>723</sup> "Post hec anno dominice incarnationis DCCCCVII dux Arpad migravit de hoc seculo, qui honorifice sepultus est supra caput unius parvi fluminis, qui descendit per alveum lapideum in civitatem Atthile regis, ubi etiam post conversionem Hungarorum edificata est ecclesia, que vocatur Alba, sub honore beate Marie virginis." Anonymous, *Gesta Hungarorum*, in *Anonymi Bele regis notarii Gesta Hungarorum & Magistri Rogerii, Epistola*, 114–15.

<sup>724</sup> András Végh, "Buda-Pest 1300 – Buda-Pest 1400," 185–6. For the fifteenth-century tradition see: Gregorius Gyöngyösi, *Vitae fratrum eremitarum Ordinis Sancti Pauli primi eremite*, ed. Ferenc Hervay (Budapest: Akadémiai, 1988), 124.

<sup>725</sup> Gábor Sarbak, "Hadnagy Bálint: Remete Szent Pál gyógyító csodái" [Bálint Hadnagy: The healing miracles of St. Paul], in *Medicine renata*, ed. László András Magyar (Budapest: Semmelweis Orvostörténeti Múzeum, Könyvtár és Levéltár, 2009), chapter 70, miracle 76. The miracles of St. Paul the First Hermit have been published in Gábor Sarbak, *Miracula Sancti Pauli primi heremite. Hadnagy Bálint pálos rendi kézikönyve, 1511* (Debrecen: Kossuth Egyetemi K., 2003).

<sup>726</sup> Sarbak, "Hadnagy Bálint: Remete Szent Pál gyógyító csodái," chapter 72, miracle 78.

<sup>727</sup> Ibid.

Fehéregyháza. Following her husband voicing concern for her she relented and made a less austere journey to the church, though still on foot and in the mud.<sup>728</sup> There is no evidence of pilgrimage prior to the early sixteenth century, though there is evidence of an effort to promote the site during the reign of Sigismund in the form of an *ad instar* indulgence from Boniface IX in 1400.<sup>729</sup>

The other important pilgrimage site in Buda would have been the Dominican nunnery of the Virgin Mary on Margaret Island, the site of the tomb of St. Margaret (1242–1270),<sup>730</sup> daughter of King Béla IV (r. 1235–1270) and Queen Maria Laskarina (r. 1235–1270). Margaret's *vita* and miracles records had already been composed in the thirteenth century, but there were some efforts to reinvigorate her cult during Angevin and Luxembourg rule.

The cult of St. Margaret embodies another example of the cross-section between Hungarian royal representation and Marian devotion in the capital of the kingdom.<sup>731</sup> The site of Margaret's nunnery was originally called the Island of Hares (*insula leporum*) but following the foundation of the nunnery dedicated to Mary ca. 1253 the island began to be called *insula Virginis Mariae*.<sup>732</sup> This is affirmed in Margaret's *vita*, which states:

When she was ten years old, through the great care of her parents and of the brothers of the Order, she was taken, in the company of the good sisters who remained with her, from the convent at Veszprém to one which her parents had founded on an island in the Danube which previously had been called the Island of Hares, but which from then on was called Saint Mary's.<sup>733</sup>

While the island was increasingly referred to as “Margaret Island” from 1319,<sup>734</sup> the Virgin Mary's special connection to the site, and Margaret herself, appeared in other ways in Margaret's *vita* and miracles. Margaret's intense devotion to the Virgin “to whom she clung with such special devotion,”<sup>735</sup> is noted throughout her *vita*: among other signs of her devotion,

<sup>728</sup> As related in the contemporary chronicle of Marino Sanuto: Jan. 11, 1504, in TT, 2/12:110. See also: Pásztor, *A magyarság vallásos élete*, 133.

<sup>729</sup> MREV, II:321, no. CDVII; ZsO, II:46, no. 368.

<sup>730</sup> She was not canonized until 1943.

<sup>731</sup> Margaret was following in the footsteps of her aunt, St. Elizabeth, who had also exhibited a deep affinity for the Virgin Mary that was enmeshed with contemporary devotional trends. From the twelfth century in Central Europe, women from royal and noble families became central figures of the religious ideals promoted by new orders emerging at the time, first the Cistercians and Premonstratensians and later the Dominicans and Franciscans. Poland and Bohemia also produced holy women that reflected these trends, and many shared family ties. For example, St. Hedwig of Silesia (1174/8–1243), was the aunt of St. Elizabeth, St. Agnes of Bohemia (1205–1282; canonized in 1989), Elizabeth's cousin, and St. Kinga of Poland (Cunegunda; 1234–1292; canonized in 1999), was her niece. the Virgin Mary was a natural model for these holy women (Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses*, 196, 200, 234).

<sup>732</sup> For examples see: Fejér, V/2:56; Fejér, V/1:58, 74, 83, 84, 175; Fejér, IV/3:129.

<sup>733</sup> Csepregi et al., ed. and trans., *Legenda Vetus, Acta Processus Canonizationis et Miracula Sanctae Margaritae de Hungaria / The Oldest Legend, Acts of the Canonization Process, and Miracles of Saint Margaret of Hungary* (Budapest: CEU Press, 2018), 49.

<sup>734</sup> Ibid.

<sup>735</sup> “Audiebat avide temporibus opportunis verbum predicationis et patrum collationes, exempla et legendas sanctorum et precipue miracula Gloriose Virginis, cui specialissima devotione adherebat in tantum...” Csepregi

she fasted on Marian feast days, recited the *Ave Maria* hundreds of times, and always bowed before an image of the Virgin.<sup>736</sup> Margaret invoked the Virgin at the Dominican nunnery in one of the collected miracles. According to the account, Margaret was recounting how the Danube had flooded the nunnery to a certain Brother Marcellus who did not believe her, so she prayed:

O Virgin Mary, you know well that lies are not wont to leave my lips; please show Brother Marcellus that I am speaking the truth,' and immediately the water rose to such a level that it invaded the living quarters of the monastery, so that Brother Marcellus climbed on to a wooden beam, because of the water.<sup>737</sup>

This is quite an interesting account, as it demonstrates that the Virgin was portrayed in the miracle account as having control over the physical landscape surrounding the island.

The original effort to canonize Margaret was unsuccessful, so during the reign of Charles I, Emeric, the bishop of Oradea, made a petition to the Holy See requesting that Margaret be canonized.<sup>738</sup> The petition was unsuccessful and Queen Elizabeth Piast also pushed for her canonization, resulting in Pope Urban VI issuing a mandate for a new inquest into Margaret's canonization in 1379.<sup>739</sup> However, the turmoil of the Western Schism prevented this from being enacted.<sup>740</sup> Even so, Margaret's shrine continued to be a center of devotion, and an indulgence was granted for the site during Sigismund's reign in 1409.<sup>741</sup>

## 2. The Monastic and Mendicant Orders & Marian Cult Sites

As can be surmised by the descriptions of the monastery of Budaszentlőrinc in Buda and the nunneries of Óbuda and Margaret Island, the churches of the mendicant and monastic orders in Hungary were centers of devotion and pilgrimage. The Virgin Mary was an important figure for all of the religious orders, but different orders expressed their Marian devotion in

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et al., *Legenda Vetus*, 52, 54 (Latin), 53 (English). Viktória Hedvig Deák has written extensively on the cult of St. Margaret, her most recent work on the subject is Viktória Hedvig Deák, *La légende de sainte Marguerite de Hongrie et l'hagiographie dominicaine* (Paris: CERF, 2013); see also Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses*, esp. 423–8; Gábor Klaniczay and Tibor Klaniczay, *Szent Margit legendái és stigmái* [Legends and Stigmata of Saint Margaret] (Budapest: Argumentum Kiadó, 1994).

<sup>736</sup> Csepregi et al., *Legenda Vetus*, 53, 55, 145, 169.

<sup>737</sup> Ibid., 187.

<sup>738</sup> "Petition of Emeric, Bishop of Várad (Oradea), to the Holy See [ca. 1305–1314]," in *Legenda Vetus*, 738–41.

<sup>739</sup> "Mandate of Pope Urban VI for a New Inquest on Margaret of Hungary [June 1, 1379]," in *Legenda Vetus*, 742–7.

<sup>740</sup> Gábor Klaniczay, "Sacred Sites in Medieval Buda," in *Medieval Buda in Context*, 245.

<sup>741</sup> 1409 (Fejér, X/4:771–2, no. CCCLXI). Two other indulgences were granted for the site, one in 1257 (DL-DF 2972; BTOE, I:62–3) and another in 1523 (MREV, IV:292, no. CCXXIX). For more on the Dominican nunnery see Rózsa Feuerné Tóth, "A margitszigeti domonkos kolostor" [The Dominican cloister on Margaret Island], *Budapest Régiségei* 22 (1971): 245–68; Ilona Király, *Árpádházi Szent Margit és a Sziget* [St. Margaret of the House of Arpad and the island] (Budapest: Szent István Társulat, 1979).

different ways, and for some orders Marian devotion was certainly more pronounced. Because of the Virgin's universal appeal, the orders promoted many of their Marian sites through indulgences, miracle collections, and royal and noble patronage. In Hungary, the Marian churches of forty-one separate monastic/religious houses were granted an indulgence between the mid-thirteenth to early sixteenth centuries (see Appendix 3 for a full accounting of these indulgences). The efforts at promoting Marian sites and their relative success were by no means homogeneous across the different orders. While all of the orders (except for the Greek Order) were able to acquire an indulgence for one or more of their Marian churches, a noteworthy network of Marian shrines can only be identified in connection to the mendicant orders and, especially, the Paulines.

Though the Virgin Mary was an important saint for the Augustinian Hermits, Benedictines, Carmelites, Cistercians, and Premonstratensians, evidence for pilgrimage to or promotion of Marian sites associated with these orders is primarily represented only by a handful of indulgences, and the Carthusians did not receive any indulgences for their Marian monasteries. Evidence of promotion of Marian sites belonging to the first order to appear in Hungary, the Benedictine Order, is sparse.<sup>742</sup> Three Benedictine monasteries dedicated to the Virgin received indulgences: Krasna nad Hornádom (Széplak) in 1401, Pécsvárad in 1491 (which was also dedicated to St. Benedict), and Kolozsmonostor (Cluj-Mănăştur, Romania) in 1518.<sup>743</sup> Cluj-Mănăştur is an interesting example because we know of a Marian relic—rather than just an image or statue—that it owned based on medieval sources. Among the relics listed in the 1427 inventory of the monastery is a “small bottle of the Virgin Mary's oil.”<sup>744</sup> It is possible that this was the relic that visitors would venerate and is one of the few examples from medieval Hungary where the object of Marian veneration is specified in the medieval record. Still, this is the only reference to the relic. It makes sense that there would be little promotion of Marian Benedictine sites because one of the most popular pilgrimage places in Hungary was the Benedictine abbey of Báta, which housed a relic of the Holy Blood. Besides receiving

<sup>742</sup> The period of time during which indulgences were requested for Benedictine monasteries in Hungary coincides with the period of the order's decline, thus, the indulgences were likely part of a larger effort to revive the order in Hungary (Katalin Erős, “Bencés búcsúk a középkori Magyarországon” [Benedictine indulgences in medieval Hungary], in *Örökség és küldetés. Bencések Magyarországon 2* [Legacy and mission. Benedictines in Hungary 2], ed. Pál Attila Illés and Albin Juhász-Laczik (Budapest: Magyar Egyháztörténeti Enciklopédia Munkaközösség, 2012), 1153).

<sup>743</sup> Krasna nad Hornádom: MonVat, I/4:314–15, no. CCCLXXXI; ZsO, II:119, no. 966. Pécsvárad: Theiner, II:535, no. DCCXXI. Cluj-Mănăştur: DL-DF 36404. An indulgence was also requested for the Benedictine monastery of the Virgin Mary in Pâncota (Pankota) in 1425 (Lukcsics, 1:168–9).

<sup>744</sup> Péter Sas, *A Kolozsmonostori bencés apátság, majd Nagyboldogasszony-templom* [The Benedictine Abbey of Mănăştur and later the Church of the Assumption] (Mănăştur: Verbum, 2010), 130. Inventory published in: Jakó, I:172. For the connection between the Virgin Mary and holy oil, both in a theological sense and in reference to pilgrimage sites see Sylvia Elizabeth Mullins, “Myroblytes: Miraculous Oil in Medieval Europe” (PhD diss., Georgetown University, 2017), esp. 306–437.

indulgences there were also miracles associated with the site that are known from contemporary records.<sup>745</sup> For the Benedictines in Hungary then it seems that pilgrimage promotion efforts were focused on the successful site at Bába.

Despite the Virgin's pride of place amongst the *patrocinia* of the Carmelites and Premonstratensians, each order only received one indulgence for one of their Marian churches, for Buda in 1375 and Šahy (Ság) in 1299, respectively.<sup>746</sup> The Augustine Canons and Hermits each also received only one indulgence for a Marian monastery: for Vaška (Vaska) in 1400<sup>747</sup> and Osijek (Eszék) also in 1400, respectively.<sup>748</sup> The Virgin Mary was not the focus of pilgrimage sites belonging to the Augustinian Hermits until the early modern period. An Augustinian monastery founded in 1655 in Lockenhaus (Léka) housed both a Marian statue and image that were highly revered.<sup>749</sup> Almost one hundred years later an image of the Virgin Mary was brought to the Augustinian monastery in Buda, which, according to contemporary records, was thought to be miraculous and drew pilgrims to the site.<sup>750</sup> Neither of the latter two monasteries were dedicated to the Virgin; the Lockenhaus monastery was dedicated to St. Nicholas, the monastery in Buda to St. Stephen the First Martyr.

There is little evidence of pilgrimage to Cistercian sites in medieval Hungary. Pilgrimage was not something that the Cistercian Order initially encouraged. It was feared that the presence of lay pilgrims in Cistercian spaces would impede monastic life and that Cistercian brethren themselves going on pilgrimage would lead to transgressions.<sup>751</sup> Later pilgrimage to Cistercian sites was allowed and promoted, especially in times of financial hardship, but "it was uncommon for a Cistercian abbey to be a major pilgrim centre."<sup>752</sup> Three Cistercian monasteries in Hungary were granted indulgences, all in the fourteenth century. The Cistercian abbey at Petrovaradin (Pétervárad) received one in 1351, and the abbey at Spišský Štiavnik (Savnik) received one in 1398.<sup>753</sup> The female Cistercian abbey of Veszprémvölgy was granted

<sup>745</sup> Johannes de Thurocz, *Chronica Hungarorum*, 223–4.

<sup>746</sup> Buda: MREV, II:240, no. CCLXXXI; Šahy: DL-DF 1526; Copy from 1777: DL-DF, 259043.

<sup>747</sup> MonVat, I/4:229.

<sup>748</sup> MonVat, I/4:273, no. CCCXXVIII. An indulgence was also requested for the Augustinian Hermits' monastery dedicated to the Virgin Mary in Újhely in 1418 (Lukcsics, 1:56).

<sup>749</sup> Ferenc Fallenbüchl, *Az ágostonrendiek Magyarországon* [The Augustinian Order in Hungary] (Budapest, 1943), 70.

<sup>750</sup> The image is no longer extant due to destruction during World War II. Fallenbüchl, *Az ágostonrendiek Magyarországon*, 94. The story of the image's acquisition is recorded in *Ursprung des Marianischen Gnaden-Bilds, Welches Wier PP. Augustinerailhier in Oien auf der Landstraü von der Frau Anna Maria Schmiedin Zimmer-maisterin, geborne Jakoschitschin Bekhomen 1740*, Manuscriptum P. Josephi Jakoschich O. S. Fr. a Buda Nr. III. k. 34. library number J. 2. 35. P. For the transcription of the story in German see Fallenbüchl, *Az ágostonrendiek Magyarországon*, 94n1.

<sup>751</sup> Janet Burton and Julie Kerr, *The Cistercians in the Middle Ages* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2011), 134.

<sup>752</sup> Burton and Kerr, *The Cistercians*, 137, see also on this topic 134–6.

<sup>753</sup> Petrovaradin: Theiner, I:797, no. MCCXVII; Savnik: ZsO, I:615–16, no. 5594. On the history of the Petrovaradin Cistercian abbey see Miklós Takács, *A Bélakúti/Pétervárad Ciszterci Monostor* [The Cistercian monastery of Bélakut/Petrovaradin] (Budapest: Forum Könyvkiadó, 1989).



two indulgences, in 1386 and 1390.<sup>754</sup> Except for Petrovaradin, the indulgences were commissioned following the visitation of Cistercian abbeys in Hungary in 1356–1357, which was commissioned by King Louis I and the General Chapter. The results of the visitation were not good, and there was an active effort to improve the quality of the order's abbeys following the visitation.<sup>755</sup> The issuance of indulgences to Cistercian abbeys can be seen as part of this response, and the fact the King Louis I was the one who requested the indulgence for Petrovaradin in 1351 demonstrates that he was likely attempting to improve the situation of Cistercian abbeys even prior to commissioning the visitation.

In the area of Saxon Transylvania, a 1493 document from Braşov may link pilgrimage with the Cistercian abbey of the Virgin Mary in Cârţa (Kerc), which had been founded in 1202 by King Emeric. The document states that the people of southeastern Transylvania (*Burzenland*) would be sent on pilgrimage by their confessors to the abbey of Cârţa to pray for their sins, or further afield to Rome, Mariazell, Loretto, or Compostella.<sup>756</sup> However, nineteen years earlier the Cârţa abbey was united with the provostry church of the Blessed Virgin Mary of Sibiu.<sup>757</sup> Nevertheless, the abbey continued to function under the provostry until the mid-sixteenth century and mass and the celebration of the Eucharist continued to be performed at the Marian church of the abbey.<sup>758</sup> That the abbey was under the authority of the provostry of Sibiu and the fact that the 1493 document states that the people of *Burzenland* would be sent to Cârţa indicate that it was a sacred site closely connected to the Transylvanian Saxon community.

Like in the case of the Cistercians, the Virgin Mary was the central saintly figure of the Teutonic Order (Order of Brothers of the German House of Saint Mary in Jerusalem). In addition to being the order's patron, by the beginning of the fourteenth century they considered their state of Teutonic Prussia to be the land of the Virgin Mary, "bestowed upon the Teutonic

<sup>754</sup> Szilárd Süttő, "A veszprémvölgyi apácák két búcsúengedélye 1386-ból" [Two indulgences of the Veszprémvölgy nuns from 1386], *Egyháztörténeti Szemle* 1 (2000/1): 142–8, 143–4; DL-DF 7211; DL-DF 7210; MREV, II:262, no. CCCXVII.

<sup>755</sup> Jerzy Kłoczowski, "Les cisterciens en Europe du Centre-Est au Moyen Âge," in *Unanimité et diversité cisterciennes. Filiations, réseaux, relectures du XIIe au XVIIe siècle. Actes du quatrième Colloque international du C.E.R.C.O.R., Dijon, 23-25 septembre 1998*, ed. Nicole Bouter (Saint-Étienne: Université Jean Monnet, 2000), 432; Louis J. Lekai, "Medieval Cistercians and their social Environment. The case of Hungary," *Analecta Cisterciensia* XXXII (1976): 265–7.

<sup>756</sup> "Um diese Zeiten wurden die Leute in Burzenland von ihren Beichvätern, die Sünde zu büßen, aufs Kerzer Gebirge geschickt, daselbst zu beten. Sonsten mussten sie nach Rom, Marienzell, Loretto oder Compostell wallfahrten." *Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Brassó Chroniken und Tagebücher 1 (1143 - 1867)* (Brassó: Zeidner, 1903), 99. Lajos Pásztor interpreted "Kerze Gebirge" as "kerzi apátsághoz," that is, the abbey of Cârţa (Pásztor, *A magyarság vallásos élete*, 118). Sándor Bálint confirms this interpretation in Bálint, *Ünnepi Kalendárium*, II:297.

<sup>757</sup> Ünye Bencze, "On the Border: Monastic Landscapes of Medieval Transylvania (Between the Eleventh and Sixteenth Centuries)" (PhD diss., Central European University, 2020), 172, 176; Romhányi, *Kolostorok és társaskáptalanok*, 36.

<sup>758</sup> Bencze, "On the Border," 177–8.

Knights by the Virgin Mary, the suzerain in this land, with the Knights presenting themselves as Mary's *Dieners* or vassals, and her defenders, as well," in much the same way Hungarian rulers saw Hungary as Mary's Kingdom.<sup>759</sup> The Teutonic Knights had been invited to Hungary by King Andrew II, who settled them in the area around Braşov in southeastern Transylvania in order to protect Hungary's borders from the Cumans.<sup>760</sup> However, their growing power and attempted independence from the authority the Hungarian king led to the expulsion of the Teutonic Knights in 1225.<sup>761</sup> By the time of the Angevin and Luxembourg dynasties, the Teutonic Order had little involvement in Hungary, except for a brief period between 1429 and 1432 when Sigismund entrusted the order with the protection of Hungary's southern frontier from Ottoman incursions.<sup>762</sup>

In contrast, the Dominican and Franciscan Orders, as well as their female counterparts, were very active in Hungary in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and they actively promoted their Marian sites within the kingdom. The Poor Clares' nunneries dedicated to the Virgin in Óbuda and Trnava received both royal support and multiple indulgences. The Dominicans especially promoted the monastery of the Virgin Mary on Margaret Island in Buda. Five other Dominican convents dedicated to the Virgin were granted indulgences: in Sighișoara in 1298, Cluj-Napoca (also dedicated to St. Anthony of Padua) in 1400, Vințu de Jos (Alvinc; Unterwinz/Winzendorf) in 1444, Alba Iulia (Gyulafehérvár; Karlsburg/Weissenburg) in 1444, and Simontornya in 1518 (Figure 41).<sup>763</sup> Sighișoara, Cluj-Napoca, Vințu de Jos, and Transylvania are all located in Saxon Transylvania, far from the premiere Dominican pilgrimage site on Margaret Island in Buda. Simontornya is a spatial outlier but is still located about 100 km from Buda. This might indicate that only those Dominican convents that were far from shrine of St. Margaret in Buda were being promoted, so that closer Dominican convents were not in direct competition with Margaret's shrine; the fact that all of these indulgences were granted after the death of St. Margaret furthers this theory. Further, it seems that Dominican convents dedicated to the Virgin Mary were favored in this strategy, the only

<sup>759</sup> Marian Dygo, "The political role of the cult of the Virgin Mary in Teutonic Prussia in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries," *Journal of Medieval History* 15/1 (1989): 64.

<sup>760</sup> Jean Richard, *The Crusades, c.1071–c.1291*, trans. Jean Birrell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 360; István Petrovics, "Together or Separately: German Settlers in Medieval Hungary," in *Confluences: Essays on Mapping the Manitoba-Szeged Partnership*, ed. Réka M. Cristian, Andrea Kökény, and György E. Szőnyi (Szeged: JATEPress, 2017), 53.

<sup>761</sup> Petrovics, "Together or Separately," 53.

<sup>762</sup> Engel, *The Realm of St. Stephen*, 238. On the Teutonic Order in Hungary see: József Laszlovszky, Judit Majorossy, and József Zsengellér, eds., *Magyarország és a keresztes háborúk. Lovagrendek és emlékeik* [Hungary and the Crusades. Religious Military Orders and their Heritage] (Gödöllő: Attraktor, 2006).

<sup>763</sup> Sighișoara: UB, I:210–11, no. 281. Cluj-Napoca: ZsO, II:77, no. 664; MonVat, I/4:278, no. CCCXXXIV. Vințu de Jos: UB, V:134, no. 2489; Lukcsics, 2:216, no. 815; UB, V:138, no. 2495; Lukcsics, 2:216–17, no. 817; Alba Iulia: UB, V:134, no. 2488; Lukcsics, 2:216, no. 814; UB, V:138, no. 2495; Lukcsics, 2:216–17, no. 817; Simontornya: MREV, IV:258–9, no. CCIV.

indulgence granted to a Dominican convent of a different *patrocinium* after the death of St. Margaret was the monastery of St. Catherine and St. Martin in Esztergom in 1284 and 1380.<sup>764</sup>

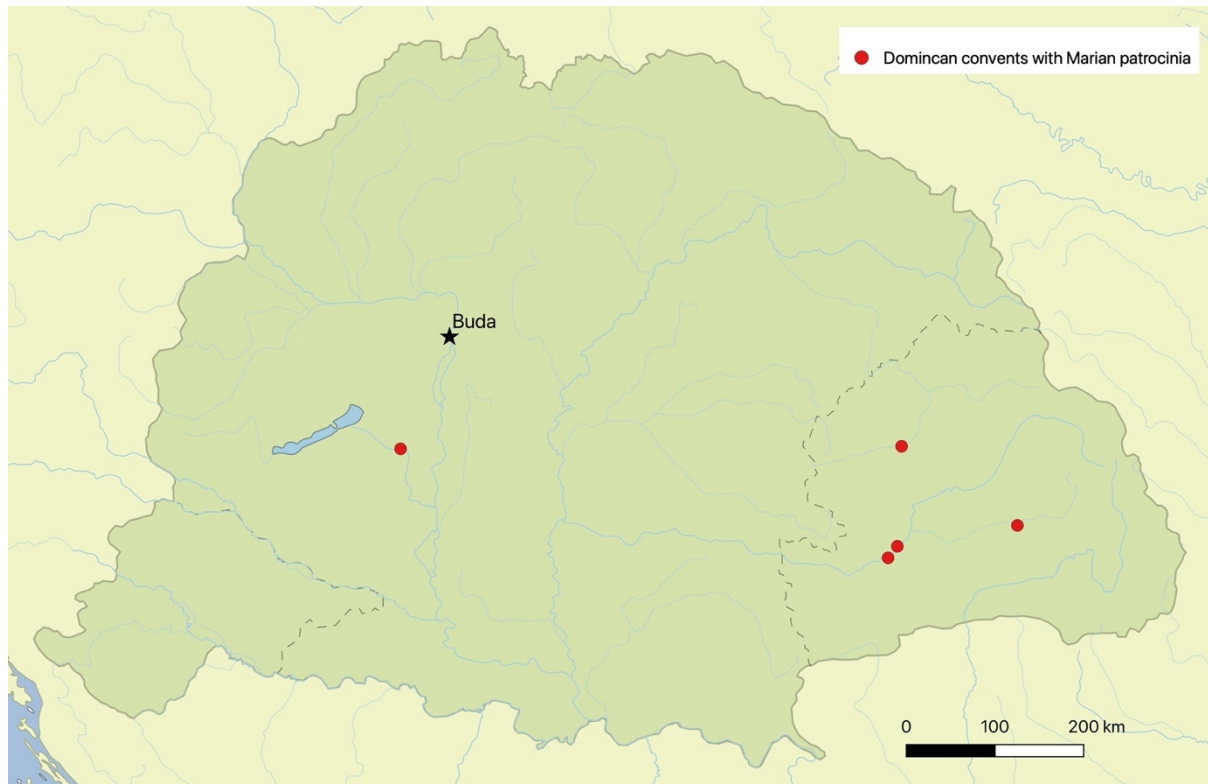


Figure 41. Dominican convents with Marian patrocinia granted indulgences. The Dominican nunnery in Buda was also dedicated to the Virgin Mary. It was the primary pilgrimage site of the Dominican Order in Hungary.

The Franciscans in Hungary were ardent supporters of indulgences. In his sermon on indulgences the Franciscan Observant preacher Pelbart of Temesvár declared that “...our Lord Jesus has very graciously provided and ordered us to give indulgences to the sinners of the Church from the treasury of the merits of his Passion and Blood, to mitigate the punishment of sins and to escape the cruelties of purgatory.”<sup>765</sup> He further claimed that indulgences come “...from the abundance of the merits of the Passion of all the saints, especially of Mary, and especially of Christ.”<sup>766</sup> The Franciscans’ dedication to promoting the Virgin Mary is evident in the number of indulgences they were able to acquire for their Marian churches in Hungary. Eleven different Franciscan convents dedicated to Mary received indulgences between the

<sup>764</sup> DL-DF 237350; DL-DF 228259. Another possible exception is the *capellam trium Marium*, which belonged to the Dominicans in Győr, which was granted an indulgence in 1445. Lukcsics, 2:226, no. 857.

<sup>765</sup> “...dominus Iesus clementissime nobis providit et disposuit, ut de thesauro meritorum passionis et sanguis eius ministri ecclesie peccatoribus dispensarent indulgentias ad penarum peccatorum remissionem et purgatorii acerbissimi evasionem.” Pelbartus de Themeswar, *Pomerium sermonum quadragesimalium. Et est ob temporis exigentiam et Christi fideium necessariam eruditionem triplicatum*, Sermo XLIX. (Part 1, p. 68), accessed July 2, 2021 [http://reader.digitale-sammlungen.de/de/fs1/object/display/bsb10149077\\_00074.html](http://reader.digitale-sammlungen.de/de/fs1/object/display/bsb10149077_00074.html). Latin transcription from Erős, “Búcsúk és búcsúlevelek,” 33.

<sup>766</sup> “...ex abundantia meritorum omnium sanctorum presertim beate Marie virginis, et maxime Christi ac eius passionis.” Pelbartus de Themeswar, *Pomerium sermonum quadragesimalium*, Sermo XLIX, part 1, p. 68. Latin transcription from Erős, “Búcsúk és búcsúlevelek,” 33.

thirteenth and fifteenth centuries: Bratislava in 1297<sup>767</sup>; Esztergom,<sup>768</sup> Târgu Mureş (Vásárhely/Marosvásárhely; Neumarkt am Mieresch),<sup>769</sup> and Sălard (Szalárd) in 1400<sup>770</sup>; Vranov nad Topľou in 1413<sup>771</sup>; Segesd in 1433<sup>772</sup>; Sibiu in 1444<sup>773</sup>; Şumuleu Ciuc, (Csíksomlyó) in 1445<sup>774</sup>; Monoszlóvárálja in 1460 and 1489<sup>775</sup>; Sopron in 1467<sup>776</sup>; Kanizsa in 1484<sup>777</sup>; and Ludbreg in 1510 (Figure 42).<sup>778</sup> In addition to receiving two indulgences, local nobles generously supported the monastery at Monoszlóvárálja.<sup>779</sup> The Franciscan convent of Târgu Mureş was also supported by locals and the indulgence it received for its Marian altar from the year 1400 was a valuable “ad instar” indulgence from Pope Boniface IX.<sup>780</sup> Its location, being the Franciscan convent located the farthest east in Hungary, and thus also its proselytizing potential, would have encouraged the promotion of the site.

<sup>767</sup> Fejér, VI/2:52–3; DL-DF 250301 (1297); Copy: DL-DF 280269.

<sup>768</sup> MonVat, I/4:202–2, no. CCLII.

<sup>769</sup> MonVat, I/4:274, no. CCCXXIX; ZsO, II:76, no. 648.

<sup>770</sup> MonVat, I/4:173–4, no. CXXII; ZsO, II:21, no. 118; ZsO, II:33, no. 243.

<sup>771</sup> ZsO, IV:345, no. 1423. Another indulgence was requested for the friary in 1433 (Lukcsics, 2:99–100).

<sup>772</sup> MREV, III:86, no. CXVIII.

<sup>773</sup> Lukcsics, 2:216–17, no. 817; UB, V:138, no. 2495. Lukcsics records that an indulgence was requested on May 16, 1444 for several Dominican and Franciscan friaries including the convent of the Virgin Mary and St. Elizabeth in Sibiu (Lukcsics, 2:216, no. 815). According to the UB, Lukcsics did not identify the town correctly and the indulgence was actually requested for the convents of the Virgin Mary and St. Elizabeth in Beszterce (UB, V:134, no. 2489). There was no convent of any order dedicated to St. Elizabeth in Beszterce, however, there was a Franciscan friary dedicated to St. Elizabeth in Sibiu, so it seems more plausible that the request was referring to the friary of Sibiu and that it had acquired the *patrocinium* of the Virgin Mary in addition to St. Elizabeth at some point. Both the UB and Lukcsics agree that an indulgence was granted for the convent of the Virgin Mary in Sibiu on May 26, 1444 (Lukcsics 2:216–17, no. 817; UB, V:138, no. 2495).

<sup>774</sup> Theiner, II:226, no. 380; Lukcsics, 2:220, no. 832.

<sup>775</sup> DL-DF 292471; Theiner, II:360, no. DXLII; Beke, “Római emlékek,” 10.

<sup>776</sup> DL-DF 207913.

<sup>777</sup> Theiner, II:495–6, no. DCLXXXI.

<sup>778</sup> DL-DF 101808. Another indulgence was requested for a Franciscan

<sup>779</sup> de Cevins, *Les Franciscains Observants Hongrois de l'Expansion à la débâcle*, 141.

<sup>780</sup> Entz 1996, 379–80; Erős, “Búcsúk és búcsúlevelek,” 49.

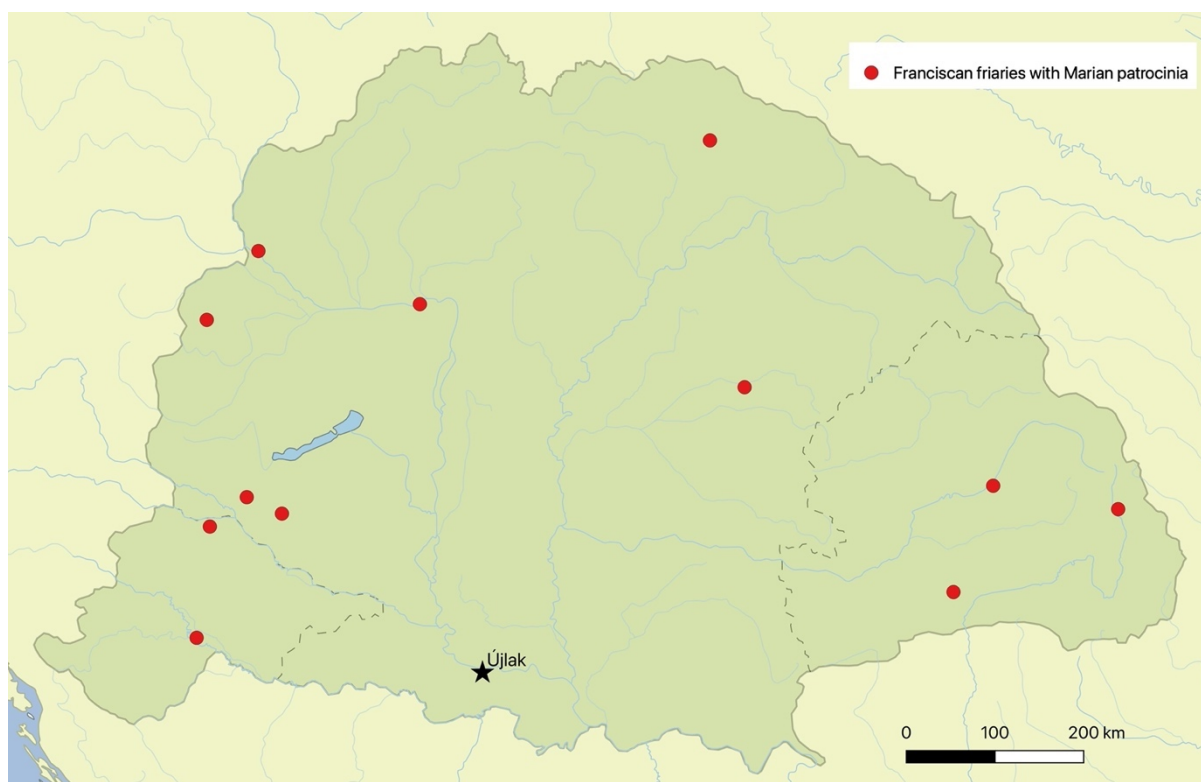


Figure 42. Franciscan friaries with Marian patrocinia requested/issued indulgences. Ilok represented the order's primary pilgrimage place in the Hungarian Kingdom.

While the Hungarian Franciscans received over a dozen indulgences for their Marian convents, pilgrimage was not at the forefront of the Franciscan—especially the Observant Franciscan—agenda. According to Marie-Madeleine de Cevins, “the Hungarian Observants in no way sought to develop local pilgrimages. The two famous preachers [that is, Pelbart of Temesvár and Oswald of Laskó] praised the virtues of pious journeys, but asked the faithful not to make them for the sole purpose of witnessing miracles.”<sup>781</sup> Even so, they would eventually draw their attention to the convent of the Virgin Mary in Ilok, but it was not the Virgin Mary that was the sacral focal point here. After the death of St. John of Capistrano in 1456 in Ilok, his body was buried in the convent's chapel of St. Catherine, and very soon afterwards it began to draw in pilgrims.<sup>782</sup> Over four hundred miracles associated with the grave of St. John of Capistrano collected within five years after his death, furthering the site's fame.<sup>783</sup> The geographical pattern of indulgences granted to Marian Franciscan sites compared to the center at Ilok suggests the same peripheral character of Marian sites belonging to the Dominican Order. The fact that more than half of the indulgences for Franciscan friaries dedicated to Mary were granted prior to Capistrano's death in 1456, however, suggests that it is less likely that the resulting geographical pattern was part of an intentional agenda.

<sup>781</sup> de Cevins, *Les Franciscains Observants*, 256.

<sup>782</sup> Romhányi, *Kolostorok és társaskáptalanok*, 70

<sup>783</sup> On the miracles of St. John of Capistrano see Stanko Andrić, *The Miracles of St John Capistran* (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2000).

A Marian convent that would eventually become the most important shrine in Transylvania and eastern Hungary is the Franciscan monastery of Șumuleu Ciuc, founded in 1441 by John Hunyadi.<sup>784</sup> At the center of pilgrimage processions and veneration is a larger-than-life statue of the Virgin Mary, about 2.27 m in height (Figure 43).<sup>785</sup> The earliest evidence of this Marian statue does not come until 1624, when the inventory of the convent recorded a sculpture of the Virgin and Child located on a side altar dedicated to the Virgin. That the mentioned statue is the same Marian statue located on the high altar of the church today is only a hypothesis, but it is certain that it existed in the church by 1664 when it was placed on the new high altar.<sup>786</sup> Miracles associated with the statue began to be recorded soon after, and the annual Pentecost pilgrimage to the site, which still occurs today, began in the mid-seventeenth century.<sup>787</sup> However, the only evidence of pilgrimage to the site during the Middle Ages is from a single indulgence in 1445.<sup>788</sup>

<sup>784</sup> Romhányi, *Kolostorok és társaskáptalanok*, 19; Gábor Barna, “Hungarian Pilgrims in Europe – Places of Pilgrimage in Hungary,” in *A thousand years of Christianity in Hungary*, 198.

<sup>785</sup> Emese Sarkadi Nagy, “‘Az Boldog Aszszony képet radiusba vegyem.’ Szempontok a Csíksomlyói Madonna művészettörténeti elemzéséhez” [Considerations to the art historical analysis of the Șumuleu Ciuc statue of the Virgin], *Művészettörténeti Értesítő* 65/2 (2016): 229.

<sup>786</sup> Ibid.

<sup>787</sup> Ibid., 240.

<sup>788</sup> Some researchers have stated that Șumuleu Ciuc actually received two indulgences, one in 1444 and another in 1445. This seems to have arisen from a discrepancy in the source material. Theiner (Theiner, II:226, no. 380) notes that date of the indulgence as 1445. Lukesics (Lukesics, 2:220, no. 832) also records the date as 1445, but notes also the alternative 1444 date at the end of the entry: “RP., a. 1444., VI. kal. Febr. a. XIV.” Székely (Székely Oklt, I:153–4, no. CXXIV) uses this alternate date as well, but the content of the indulgence is word-for-word identical to the other records.





Figure 43. Statue of the Virgin Mary on the high altar of the Franciscan friary of Șumuleu Ciuc (Sarkadi, “Az Boldog Aszszony,” 231, fig.2).

An excellent example of the mendicant orders’ effort to propagate their devotion to the Virgin is evident in a late medieval altarpiece, now located at the National Gallery of Budapest, which may have originally resided in the Franciscan friary—or possibly the parish church—of Șumuleu Ciuc (Figure 44).<sup>789</sup> The central panel of the altarpiece, which may have been a mendicant commission, depicts the coronation of the Virgin enthroned with SS. Francis, Dominic, Peter, and Paul. The inclusions of the founding saints of both the Dominican and Franciscan Orders with SS. Peter and Paul convey “messages related to the apostolic mission that the mendicants undertook in the region and the pastoral duties they committed to in relation to the laity.”<sup>790</sup> The inclusion of Mary at the center and focus of the panel indicates the centrality of the figure of the Virgin Mary in mendicant piety.

<sup>789</sup> The original location of the altarpiece is debated, but it was probably somewhere in or around Șumuleu Ciuc. On this debate see: Crăciun, “Mendicant Piety and the Saxon Community,” 43, 43n48; Adrian Andrei Rusu, *Dicționarul mănăstirilor din Transilvania, Banat, Crișana și Maramureș* [The dictionary of monasteries of Transylvania, Banat, Crișana, and Maramureș] (Cluj: Presa Universitară, 2000), 174; Gyöngyi Török, *Gótikus szárnyasoltárok a középkori Magyarországon* [Gothic winged altarpieces in medieval Hungary] (Budapest: Kossuth, 2005), 21; Ciprian Firea, “Altar sau reablu? O reconsiderare a problematicei polipticelor medievale din Transilvania” [Altar or altarpiece? A survey of the medieval Transylvanian polyptychs], *Ars Transsilvaniae* 14/15 (2004/05): 127, 130.

<sup>790</sup> Crăciun, “Mendicant Piety and the Saxon Community,” 42–3.



Figure 44. Central panel of Șumuleu Ciuc altarpiece, ca. 1480, Hungarian National Gallery, Inv. No. 57.18M (Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest, accessed Feb. 21, 2022, <https://www.mfab.hu/artworks/the-virgin-and-child-enthroned-central-panel-of-the-former-high-altarpiece-of-the-church-of-saint-peter-and-saint-paul-in-csiksomlyo-today-sumuleu-romania/>).

The Franciscans' promotion of the Virgin Mary manifested particularly in their support of the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception. The legitimacy of the doctrine was confirmed at the Council of Basil in 1439, following an argument in its favor by the Franciscan John of Segovia, and in 1476 the former Franciscan Pope Sixtus IV established the feast of the Immaculate Conception.<sup>791</sup> The debate surrounding the concept of Mary's conception free from sin began far earlier, however. It was a topic of theological debate and discussion in early Christianity, which continued over the centuries, eventually being picked up by the Franciscans in the thirteenth century and championed by Franciscan friar and theologian Duns Scotus (ca. 1265/66–1308). Hungarian Franciscans also championed the doctrine; of note is the Observant Franciscan preacher Pelbárt of Temesvár who wrote extensively on the Immaculate Conception.<sup>792</sup>

<sup>791</sup> Sarah Jane Boss, "The Development of the Doctrine of Mary's Immaculate Conception," in *Mary, the Complete Resource*, 207, 207n2.

<sup>792</sup> Emőke Nagy, "Narrative and Visual Sources of Saint Anne's Cult in Late Medieval Hungary (14<sup>th</sup>–16<sup>th</sup> Centuries) in a Comparative Perspective" (PhD diss., ELTE, 2015), 70–3. On the dogma of the Immaculate Conception in Hungary see also Ince Dám, *A Széplőtelen Fogantatás védelme Magyarországon a Hunyadiak és a Jagellók korában* [The defense of the Immaculate Conception in Hungary in the age of the Hunyadi and Jagellonian Dynasties] (Rome: As Graf., 1955); Varga Kapisztrán, "A Széplőtelen Fogantatás kérdése a 15–16 századi magyar ferencesesség körében" [The question of the Immaculate Conception among the Hungarian Franciscans in the 15<sup>th</sup>–16<sup>th</sup> centuries], in *A Széplőtelen Fogantatás dogmája* [The dogma of the Immaculate Conception], ed. József Török et al. (Budapest: Vigilia, 2007), 45–60.



However, no Franciscan friary—or indeed church of any order—in medieval Hungary was dedicated to the Immaculate Conception.<sup>793</sup> Three religious buildings dedicated to the dogma are known to have existed in Hungary from at least the early sixteenth century. While these buildings did not belong to the Franciscan Order, an Observant Franciscan friary was located in the vicinity, which may have had an influence on the choice of *patrocinium*. The first church mentioned in the historical record is the parish church of Szákszend dedicated to the Immaculate Conception, known from a charter from 1502.<sup>794</sup> An Observant Franciscan friary existed concurrently less than 20 km away in Tata, about a four hour walk from Szákszend. An indulgence from 1516 mentions a chapel dedicated to the Immaculate Conception, St. Stephen the Martyr, and King St. Stephen in the castle of Antal Pálóc in Hajnáčka.<sup>795</sup> Again an Observant Franciscan friary, located in Fil'akovo (Fülekk), was located just 13 km northwest of the chapel. Finally, a church of the Immaculate Conception in Coroi is mentioned in a charter from 1533.<sup>796</sup> It was located between two Observant friaries—Târgu Mureș about 30 km to the north and Albești about 40 km to the south.

The Franciscans also used Marian imagery in an effort to visually express the Immaculate Conception, using episodes from Mary's life, the Tree of Jesse, and various Marian iconography including the Coronation of the Virgin, Maria in Sole, and Anna Selbdritt (the Virgin and Child with St. Anne), sometimes with “explanatory inscriptions.”<sup>797</sup> In Hungary, like the *patrocinium* of the Immaculate Conception, most of the clearest examples of this imagery dates to the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. But examples do exist from the time of the Angevin and Luxembourg rulers. One such example is a mural of the Presentation of the Virgin—who is depicted crowned, a combined motif unique to the mendicant orders—in a mural of the Franciscan friary dedicated to the Virgin Mary in Keszthely. The friary had been founded by Palatine István Lackfi in 1368, who also commissioned this mural, which is part of a cycle of the Virgin, sometime before his death in 1397. Lackfi, who had been an important ally of King Louis the Great, may have been

<sup>793</sup> Róbert Nátyi writes that the Franciscan friary of Koprivnica (Kapronca) was founded in honor of the Immaculate Conception (Nátyi, “A Napbaöltözött Asszony,” 51), however, references to the friary that I have been able to identify only refer to it as being dedicated to the Virgin Mary.

<sup>794</sup> DL-DF 73168.

<sup>795</sup> JAMÉ 2001, 287–8; Egri káptalan hiteleshelyi országos levéltára Egerben [National Archives of the Eger Chapter in Eger] AB. Nr. 46; Mező, *Patrociniumok*, 399.

<sup>796</sup> KolmJk, 2:545; Mező, *Patrociniumok*, 434.

<sup>797</sup> Maria Crăciun, “Mendicant Piety and the Saxon Community,” 46–51. On the iconography of the Immaculate Conception see D’Ancona, *The Iconography of the Immaculate Conception*; E. M. Vetter, “Mulier amicta sole und Mater salvatoris,” *Münchener Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst* F. III, 9/10 (1958–1959): 32–71; Sarah Jane Boss, “The Development of the Doctrine of Mary’s Immaculate Conception,” 221–8.

influenced by Louis' own strong support of the Franciscan Order since Louis is believed to founded six Observant Franciscan friaries during his reign.<sup>798</sup>

Louis had also been an ardent supporter of the Pauline Order and it is due in large part to his efforts that the order prospered in the fourteenth century. The cult of the Virgin Mary seems to have been important for the Order of St. Paul the First Hermit from its beginnings—in the rule of the Pauline Order the special veneration of the Virgin Mary was the third point of the three-part monastic vow, every Pauline church and monastery had a work depicting the Virgin, and she featured prominently in Pauline literature and art.<sup>799</sup> While the most important Pauline pilgrimage place in Hungary was the Pauline monastery of Budaszentlőrinc, which housed the relics of St. Paul the First Hermit, the Paulines also developed a network of their monasteries dedicated to the Virgin Mary. The Paulines' relationship with the Angevin kings, and King Louis the Great in particular, and Louis' actions in Aachen and Mariazell had a significant effect on the creation and promotion of Pauline monasteries dedicated to the Virgin Mary.

By the fourteenth century, the Pauline Order was still relatively young, and this along with its local and multi-layered character contributed to the order's ability to evolve and meet the spiritual needs of the kingdom. Under Charles I and Louis the Great the Hungarian Kingdom had become stable and flourished; their support of the Paulines brought the order prestige and economic success.<sup>800</sup> In fact, even the official recognition of the order was connected to political events surrounding Charles I—in 1308 the Pauline monastery of St. Ladislaus hosted a meeting between Charles I and the papal legate Cardinal Gentilis, which led to both the acknowledgment of Charles as king of Hungary and, a month later, the official papal approval of the Order of St. Paul the First Hermit.<sup>801</sup> Theirs was a mutual relationship;

<sup>798</sup> Lionnet, "Les peintures murales en Hongrie," 50–3. On the frescoes of the church see: Béla Zsolt Szakács, "Palatine Lackfi and His Saints: Frescoes in the Franciscan Church of Keszthely," *Promoting the Saints. Cults and Their Contexts from Late Antiquity to the Early Modern Period*, ed. Ottó Gecser et al. (Budapest: CEU Press, 2011), 207–25; idem, "Three patrons for a single church: the Franciscan Friary at Keszthely," in *Le plaisir de l'art du Moyen Âge*, ed. Rosa Alcoy et al. (Paris: Picard, 2012), 193–200; idem, "The Fresco Cycle of the Holy Virgin in the Franciscan Church of Keszthely," *IKON* 3 (2010): 261–70.

<sup>799</sup> Péter Sas, "A Pálosok Mária-tiszteletének művészettörténeti emlékei" [Art historical monuments of Pauline veneration of Mary], in *Decus Solitudinis. Pálos Évszázadok* [Pauline Centuries], ed. Gábor Sarbak (Budapest: Szent István Társulat az Apostoli Szentszék Könyvkiadója, 2007), 656–7.

<sup>800</sup> Beatrix F. Romhányi, *Pauline Economy in the Middle Ages: "The Spiritual Cannot Be Maintained without the Temporal..."* (Leiden: Brill, 2020), 8–9.

<sup>801</sup> Beatrix Romhányi, "Life in the Pauline Monasteries of Late Medieval Hungary," *Periodica Polytechnica* 43/2 (2012): 53; Beatrix Romhányi, "Pálos kolostorok a Pilisben" [Pauline monasteries in the Pilis], in *Laudator Temporis Acti – Tanulmányok Horváth István 70 éves születésnapjára* [Laudator Temporis Acti - Studies for the 70<sup>th</sup> birthday of István Horváth], ed. Edit Tari and Endre Tóth (Esztergom: Balassi Bálint Múzeum, 2012), 225.

the kings using the order to increase royal representation, “broaden their influence, and warrant their salvation,” and the Paulines looking to the king to ensure their growth and prominence.<sup>802</sup>

King Louis the Great founded a total of thirteen monasteries during his reign. Of these five were Pauline foundations; four of the five were dedicated to the Virgin Mary.<sup>803</sup> In the heart of the Hungarian Kingdom are two of Louis’ foundations—Nosztra (founded in 1352, now Márianosztra) and Toronyalja (founded sometime between 1352 and 1381)—as well as four other Pauline monasteries founded earlier. In 1355 Louis had moved the royal court from Buda back to Visegrád and the proximity of the Nosztra and Toronyalja foundations to the “new” royal seat and residence can certainly be seen as a tactical move on Louis’ (and the order’s) part.

Louis dedicated the Pauline monastery of Nosztra—his second foundation made during his reign—to the Virgin Mary. He had great expectations for Nosztra, and it was Nosztra that was poised to become the center of the Pauline Order in Hungary. When Louis acquired the body of St. Paul the First Hermit from the Venetians, Nosztra was initially promised these precious relics. In the end, however, the relics went to the Pauline monastery of St. Lawrence in 1381, near Buda where a few years earlier Louis had begun the construction of a new *curia regia*. Though Nosztra remained an important monastery, not surprisingly, Budaszentlőrinc became the focal point of Pauline pilgrimage. It would not be until the eighteenth century, when the monastery acquired a copy of the icon of the Black Madonna of Częstochowa, that it would become a known pilgrimage site (and when Nosztra would become Márianosztra).<sup>804</sup>

The Pauline monastery of Marianka, another of Louis’ foundations made in 1377, became a popular medieval pilgrimage place in the early modern era. The origin legend recounted in the *Mirakelbuch von Mariatal*, written by Pauline monk Ferdinand Grieskircher and published in 1661, is similar to that of Mariazell.<sup>805</sup> It claims that, prior to the monastery’s foundation, hermits lived in the forest of Marianka. One of these hermits carved a statue of the Virgin and Child that he later hid in the hollow of a tree, and it was forgotten there until its miraculous discovery near a spring, which had miraculous properties.<sup>806</sup> Both the spring and

<sup>802</sup> Zsuzsa Pető, “The Medieval Landscape of the Pauline Monasteries in the Pilis Forest,” (MA thesis, Central European University, 2014), 68.

<sup>803</sup> Louis’ foundations at Nosztra, Gönc, Marianka, and Remete (Remeți Técső, Romania) were dedicated to the Virgin Mary. His foundation in Toronyalja was dedicated to St. Michael.

<sup>804</sup> Bálint and Barna, *Búcsújáró Magyarok*, 335–6.

<sup>805</sup> On the miracle book see Éva Knapp and Gábor Tüskés, “Das erste Mirakelbuch von Mariatal (1661) und seine Wirkungsgeschichte,” in *Simpliciana. Schriften der Grimmelshausen-Gesellschaft* XXI, ed. Dieter Breuer (Berlin: Peter Lang, 1999), 213–32; Éva Knapp and Gábor Tüskés, “Egy XVII. századi elbeszélés-gyűjtemény: az első máriavölgyi mirákulumos könyv és irodalmi utóélet” [A collection of seventeenth-century stories: the first Marianka miracle book and its literary afterlife], *Irodalomtörténet* 30/80 (1999): 380–97.

<sup>806</sup> Bálint and Barna, *Búcsújáró Magyarok*, 74. The spring increasingly became the focus of the pilgrimage at Marianka. On the spring and its connection to a larger landscape of sacred natural features in Hungary and the

the statue brought about miracles and attracted many pilgrims to the site (Figure 45). Variants of the legend recounted in the miracle book include that Louis himself discovered the Marian statue and gave it to the Paulines, an overt allusion to Mariazell and its own miraculous statue of the Virgin.<sup>807</sup> These foundation legends reflect less historical fact than the tropes surrounding medieval pilgrimage places in early modern East-Central Europe and the motives of the legends themselves.<sup>808</sup> While there are claims that the Marian statue of Marianka was carved in the thirteenth century,<sup>809</sup> the earliest recorded veneration of the statue is from the 1661 miracle book.<sup>810</sup> And, in fact, no extant indulgences survive for the site from the Middle Ages and its fame as a pilgrimage shrine only proliferated in the seventeenth century.



Figure 45. Pool at Marianka where modern pilgrims collect water from the sacred spring (Photo by author).

It was, however, still an important place for the medieval inhabitants of Bratislava, which was only about 10 km from Marianka. The monastery provided pastoral care for the people of Bratislava and, as “Unser Frauen im tal” or simply “Tal,” often appeared in their late

surrounding area see Karen Stark, “Saints, Stones, and Springs: Cult Sites and the Sacralization of Landscape in Medieval Central Europe” (M.A. thesis, Central European University, 2014), esp. 36–7.

<sup>807</sup> Knapp and Tüskés, “Das erste Mirakelbuch von Mariatal,” 217. See also Pásztor, *A magyarság vallásos élete*, 134.

<sup>808</sup> Knapp and Tüskés, “Das erste Mirakelbuch von Mariatal,” 217.

<sup>809</sup> Bálint and Barna, *Búcsújáró Magyarok*, 338.

<sup>810</sup> Szabolcs Serfőző, “A zarándokhelyek szerepe a Habsburg-dinasztia reprezentációjában a 17–18. században” [The role of pilgrimage sites in the representation of the Habsburg dynasty in the 17<sup>th</sup>–18<sup>th</sup> centuries], *Századok* 144 (2010): 1213.

medieval last wills.<sup>811</sup> Both men and women donated to the monastery. For example, in the 1467 will of a woman named Magdalena, she bequeathed 6 *florenus* to the Pauline monastery of Our Lady in *tal*: “Auch schaff ich zu Unnser Frawn im tal VI fl., daz man meiner seel darumb sol gedenken.”<sup>812</sup> In 1494, Laurez Peck referred to the monks of Marianka as “meinen lieben brudern in das tal Unser Lieben Frawen,” in his testament and bequeathed them 1 *florenus*.<sup>813</sup>

By the seventeenth century Marianka’s influence spread beyond Bratislava. It was one of the few monasteries that survived the Turkish occupation, and it became the center of the Pauline Order after the destruction of the monastery of St. Lawrence.<sup>814</sup> The site also became increasingly important for Habsburg kings; Grieskircher claimed that every Habsburg who had been crowned king of Hungary had visited Marianka and indeed this claim can be substantiated from 1647 onwards.<sup>815</sup>

King Louis the Great’s foundation of Pauline monasteries like those at Nosztra and Marianka had a pronounced effect on the patronage efforts of the nobility. However, his foundations in Aachen and Mariazell seemed to have just as strong of an effect. John of Küküllő’s account connects these foundations to Louis’ Pauline foundations in the chapter “The foundation of two chapels,” which contains just two sentences:

He constructed a chapel in Aachen and another in Cell [Mariazell] to the blessed Virgin Mary with beautiful and wonderful workmanship, endowed them sufficiently and generously, and adorned them with precious materials to the glory of God: vessels, chalices, books, and assorted decorations and a goblet of pure gold. But afterwards, due to his generosity and effort of [providing] a good example, he attracted many barons, soldiers, nobles and some from among the prelates, so as to dedicate themselves to devotion, who donated lands to the aforementioned order of the hermits, and built and supplied [for them] cloisters in order to praise God and for the glory of St. Paul.<sup>816</sup>

It is interesting that the author chose to place the second sentence after Louis’ activities at Aachen and Mariazell, not with the sections that mention his actual Pauline foundations.

<sup>811</sup> Majorossy and Szende, *Das Preßburger Protocollum Testamentorum*, I:24.

<sup>812</sup> “1461 März 9 – 1467 April 30, Geschäft der Magdalena, Ehefrau des Wolfgang Vorster.” Majorossy and Szende, *Das Preßburger Protocollum Testamentorum*, I:329, no. 253

<sup>813</sup> “1494 März 20 514, Geschäft des Laurenz Peck; Hinweis auf Willensvollstrecker.” Judit Majorossy and Katalin Szende, eds., *Das Preßburger Protocollum Testamentorum 1410 (1427)–1529. Teil 2: 1487–1529* (Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 2014), 92, no. 514. Money was also donated to the Marianka monastery for masses to be said for the soul of the testator, see, for example: Majorossy and Szende, *Das Preßburger Protocollum Testamentorum*, II:231, no. 622; II:301, no. 680.

<sup>814</sup> Romhányi, *Kolostorok és társaskáptalanok*, 43.

<sup>815</sup> Serfőző, “A zarándokhelyek szerepe,” 1213–14.

<sup>816</sup> *De fundatione duarum capellarum: Item unam capellam in Aquisgrani et aliam in Cellis ad beatam virginem pulcro et miro construxit, sufficienter et largiter dotavit, ac preciosis utensilibus ad cultum divinum vasis, calicibus, libris et ornamentis diversis ac calice de puro auro decoravit. Post hec autem propter liberalitatem suam et boni exempli operationem multos traxit ad devotionis studium impendendum barones, milites, nobiles et quosdam ex prelatibus, qui loca dicto ordini heremitarum contulerunt, et claustra construxerunt et dotaverunt ad laudem dei et gloriam sancti Pauli.* Thuroczy, *Chronica Hungarorum*, Chpt 175, p. 184.

Ernő Marosi notes that Louis as a founder is “peculiarly equated” with his representation of his relationship with the Paulines.<sup>817</sup> I do not think this is a coincidence, perhaps it was Louis’ grand, pious gestures abroad that most impressed the upper echelons of Hungarian society and when they chose to imitate these actions at home it was naturally the king’s favored order, the Paulines, that they turned to.<sup>818</sup> One of these Marian Pauline monasteries founded by nobles was also connected to a pilgrimage. The Transylvanian Viscount István Lackfi founded the Pauline monastery in Čakovec (Csáktornya)—dedicated to the Virgin Mary and All Saints—in 1376, immediately before he went on pilgrimage to the Holy Land.<sup>819</sup>

Another one of the nobles influenced by Louis’ patronage was Duke Ladislaus of Opole. Ladislaus had strong ties to the Hungarian court; he was supported by both Queen Elizabeth Piast and King Louis I, who appointed him palatine in 1367 and governor of Galicia-Volhynia in 1370.<sup>820</sup> According to legend, Ladislaus discovered the image of the Black Madonna of Częstochowa while visiting his newly acquired treasures in the castle of Belz.<sup>821</sup> The image miraculously saved him when the castle was attacked by Tartars and Lithuanians, and in 1382 Ladislaus decided to found a monastery dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary with twelve Pauline monks from Nosztra, to house the picture. By the fifteenth century the Pauline monastery of Częstochowa, with the image of the Black Madonna at its center, developed into an important pilgrimage site, and eventually gained even supranational significance.<sup>822</sup>

Part of the reason Częstochowa was allowed to develop into a pilgrimage site (besides being quite far from the center of the order in Hungary and thus its influence) was that it fit into the Pauline Order’s pilgrimage strategy, as theorized by Máté Urbán. After the Paulines received the body of St. Paul the First Hermit, which was placed in their monastery of

<sup>817</sup> Marosi, “Marizell und die Kunst Ungarns im Mittelalter,” 28.

<sup>818</sup> Fifteen Pauline monasteries were founded by nobles during the reign of Louis I. Eight were dedicated to the Virgin Mary, namely Čakovec (Šenkovec, Croatia; also dedicated to All Saints), Csátka, Eszeny (Javorove, Ukraine), Gombaszög (Slavec, Slovakia), Örményes, Szentkirály (Sâncraiu de Mureș, Romania; also dedicated to King St. Stephen), Told, and Villye (Vovkove, Ukraine).

<sup>819</sup> Csukovits, *Középkori Magyar zarándokok*, 105.

<sup>820</sup> On Duke Ladislaus of Opole’s political maneuverings and history see: Jerzy Sperka, “Territorial Powers, Systems of Administration, and the Inner Circle of Duke Władysław Opolczyk († 1401),” *Quaestiones Medii Aevi Novae* 14 (2009): 361–88.

<sup>821</sup> Another, very unlikely, theory about the origin of the Częstochowa icon is that it was originally a panel of a diptych or triptych belonging to Queen Elizabeth Piast. Supposedly, Elizabeth bequeathed it to her daughter-in-law Elizabeth of Bosnia, who in turn gave it to her daughter Jadwiga when she became queen of Poland, and Jadwiga then gave it to the Pauline monastery of Częstochowa (see Ana Munk, “The Queen and her Shrine: an art historical twist on historical evidence concerning the Hungarian Queen Elizabeth Kotromanić, donor of the Saint Simeon Shrine,” *Hortus Artium Medievalium* 10 (2004): 254, 260n11; Śnieżyńska-Stolot, “Studies on Queen Elizabeth’s Artistic Patronage,” 97, 105). While Elizabeth did bequeath a “plenarium ymaginem beate Virginis,” to her daughter-in-law, there are several steps missing steps in between this fact and the arrival of the Black Madonna icon at Częstochowa that make this highly unlikely.

<sup>822</sup> The most comprehensive study of the origin and development of the cult of the Black Madonna of Częstochowa, and the pilgrimage activity surrounding it is Maniura, *Pilgrimage to Images in the Fifteenth Century*.

Budaszentlőrinc, all their activities focused on the site, and Budaszentlőrinc became their premiere pilgrimage site. Urbán argued that they only allowed other Pauline sites to develop into places of pilgrimage if they were located far from Budaszentlőrinc; the majority of sites they promoted were dedicated to the Virgin Mary.<sup>823</sup>

The map in Figure 46 certainly illustrates this theory. There is a circle about 440 km in diameter with Budaszentlőrinc at its center, inside of which no other Pauline monastery was granted an indulgence during the Middle Ages. The monasteries granted indulgences outside of this circle, far from the *medium regni*, were still mostly within or near a market town or at least near a major road. This allowed them to retain the atmosphere a hermitic order, but still be accessible, a vital aspect for pilgrimage places.<sup>824</sup> The maps of the indulgences for the Marian churches of the Franciscan and Dominican Orders exhibit a similar geographical pattern.

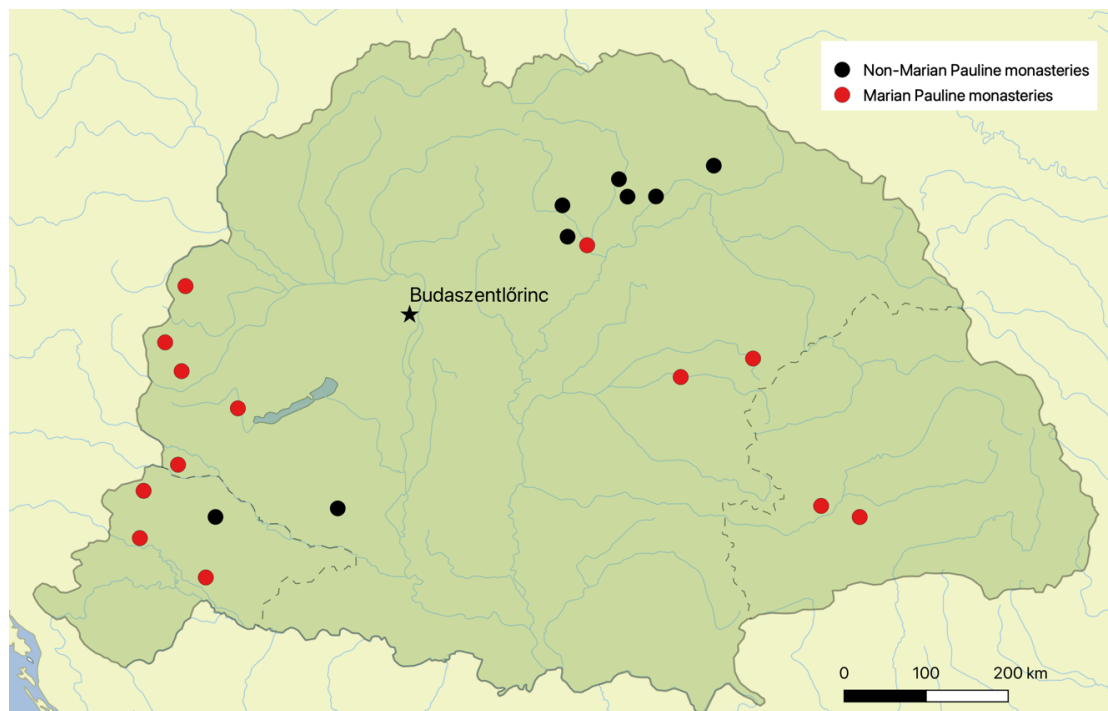


Figure 46. Pauline monasteries that were granted indulgences in Hungary, 14<sup>th</sup>–15<sup>th</sup> c.

Thirty-four indulgences were granted to twenty-three different Pauline monasteries of all *patrocinia* (see Appendix 3 for enumeration of monasteries granted indulgences of all *patrocinia*).<sup>825</sup> Only four of these were granted before 1381, the year the relics of St. Paul were

<sup>823</sup> Máté Urbán, “Pálos zarándokhelyek a késő középkori Magyarországon,” [Pauline Pilgrimage Places in late medieval Hungary] *Vallástudományi szemle* 5, no. 1 (2009): 63–84.

<sup>824</sup> Urbán, “Pálos zarándokhelyek,” 67.

<sup>825</sup> In addition to the indulgences Urbán includes in his paper, I was able to identify six additional indulgences for Pauline monasteries, all of which were dedicated to the Virgin Mary: Remete in 1319 (DL-DF 34354; AkO, V:195, no. 494; SHKP, 5:136); Mikleuška in 1341 (DL-DF 34362); Remete in 1383 (DL-DF 34672); Örményes in 1393 (MREV, II:290–1, no. CCCLVII); and Monyorókerek in 1493 (DL-DF 25278). Urbán includes an indulgence for Nagyfalu in 1400 (Urbán, “Pálos zarándokhelyek,” 80, 82). The source he cites (ZsO, II:8, no. 44)



deposited at Budaszentlőrinc.<sup>826</sup> After 1381, the granting of indulgences for Pauline sites accelerated. Almost forty years later, in 1418, the Paulines were given permission by Pope Martin V to preach, and the following year the papal legate allowed the Paulines to conduct funerals.<sup>827</sup> Thereafter, they were permitted to participate in pastoral care, a development that “justified the creation of pilgrimage and pilgrimage sites.”<sup>828</sup> By 1471, the order was requesting indulgences for ten monasteries at a time.<sup>829</sup>

Budaszentlőrinc was, unsurprisingly, granted the most indulgences with six, but Örményes and Remete (*Promontorium Zagrabiense*) were both granted three, and Mikleuşka (Garics) and Sajólád received two indulgences each.<sup>830</sup> These four monasteries were all dedicated to the Virgin Mary (the Visitation of the Virgin Mary in the case of Sajólád), and the Virgin Mary was also overall the most favored Pauline *patrocinium*. About 37% of the Pauline monasteries that received indulgences were dedicated to the Virgin (or the Virgin and another saint).<sup>831</sup> This total is slightly higher than the percentage of Marian *patrocinia* of Pauline monasteries overall. The Virgin Mary appears to be both the most popular *patrocinium* for Pauline monasteries in general, and for those who were actively promoted.<sup>832</sup> The Virgin Mary even appeared in two of the miracles related to Budaszentlőrinc described above and the Blessed Virgin Mary is given thanks in many of the miracle accounts.<sup>833</sup>

Conspicuously, the monasteries issued indulgences in the region around Miskolc and Patak are predominately not dedicated to the Virgin Mary. This is not an issue of there not being Marian Pauline monasteries in the area, there were ten monasteries dedicated to the Virgin in this region. I have not been able to identify a reason for this pattern, it does not appear to be related to the date the indulgence was issued, nor to who requested the indulgence. It is possible that the Marian churches of Sátoraljaújhely and Sárospatak—which received indulgences in the year 1418—and the parish church of the Virgin Mary in Uzhhorod (Ungvár)—which received an indulgence in 1400—“cornered the market” on Marian

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does mention an indulgence, but it appears to be referring to a church dedicated to St. Ladislaus, rather than the Pauline monastery of Nagyfalu, which was dedicated to the Virgin Mary, so I did not include it in this study.

<sup>826</sup> Urbán notes two Pauline monasteries that were granted indulgences before 1381, namely, the monastery of SS. James and Philip in Regéc in 1307 and the monastery of St. Ladislaus in Középnémeti in 1319 (Urbán, “Pálos zarándokhelyek,” 66n13; for the indulgences see AkO, II:54–5, no. 111; AkO, V:218–19, no. 561).

<sup>827</sup> András Kubinyi, “Magyarország és a pálosok a XIV–XV. században” [Hungary and the Paulines in the 14<sup>th</sup>–15<sup>th</sup> centuries], in *Decus Solitudinis. Pálos évszázadok* [Decus Solitudinis. Pauline centuries], ed. Gábor Sarbak (Budapest: Szent István Társulat, 2007), 44; Urbán, “Pálos zarándokhelyek,” 66.

<sup>828</sup> Urbán, “Pálos zarándokhelyek,” 66.

<sup>829</sup> MREV, III:210, no. CCCXXXVII; Urbán, “Pálos zarándokhelyek,” 67.

<sup>830</sup> Another indulgence was requested for Remete in 1439 (Lukcsics, 2:187).

<sup>831</sup> This number does not include Kidel since it is unidentified. However, if it does refer to Kalodva as MREV, III:362 suggests, this would put the total percentage at 40%.

<sup>832</sup> For Urbán’s comments on the Marian patronage of the Pauline Order see Urbán, “Pálos zarándokhelyek,” 76–7.

<sup>833</sup> Sarbak, “Hadnagy Bálint: Remete Szent Pál gyógyító csodái,” chapter 70, miracle 76; chapter 72, miracle 78.



pilgrimage in the region, but such a trend does not appear to have occurred in other regions of Hungary.

### 3. Local Centers of Marian Devotion

It was not only the cathedrals and monastery churches of large, important cities that attracted devotional attention. Local shrines were probably more central to the devotional lives of medieval people than larger centers. The importance of local churches for nobles is evident in their testaments, both in terms of representation as well as the salvation of their souls. For example, János Streytgesser indicated in his will that one lantern or candle should be given each year to the Virgin Mary parish church of Solivar in 1428.<sup>834</sup> The number of Marian churches mentioned in the last will of nobleman János Marcali is impressive. It was written by his father Voivode Miklós Marcali in 1455 because János was on pilgrimage to Rome and Jerusalem.<sup>835</sup> Even though he was he was on a pilgrimage to the most important places of the Christian faith, he still prioritized his local religious institutions. He donated to five different institutions dedicated to the Virgin Mary. János gave the village of Kísszentgyörgy near Pata to the parish church dedicated to the Annunciation of the Virgin Mary of Kálmánca, so that a parish priest there would give a mass in the chapel of the church daily.<sup>836</sup> He gave several villages and a mill to the Pauline monastery of the Virgin Mary in Told, and money to the parish church of the Virgin Mary in Erdősokonya and the Franciscan monastery of the Virgin Mary in Segesd, where his ancestors were buried. Marcali, with his brothers, also gave the chapel of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary in Babócsa a village called Kisbabócsa for the giving of a daily Mass in said chapel.<sup>837</sup>

Our knowledge of medieval pilgrimage shrines comes primarily from miracle collections, but “most local pilgrimage shrines of pre-modern Europe...lacked the institutional basis for such documentation,” so certain sites may have been more important for the local population than what is reflected in the historical record.<sup>838</sup> It should also be kept in mind that the definition of a pilgrimage for medieval people was not necessarily a journey of hundreds

<sup>834</sup> Bándi 1985, 588, no. 19; DL-DF 11976. See also Éder, “Mezővárosi plébániatemplomok,” 442.

<sup>835</sup> For the last will see: DL-DF 14915.

<sup>836</sup> Ibid. See also Éder, “Mezővárosi plébániatemplomok,” 306.

<sup>837</sup> He also gave money to other institutions dedicated to many other saints, but none stand out as much as the Virgin Mary. Among the other institutions included in his will are: the parish churches of St. Andrew in Pata, St. John the Baptist in Darányi, St. Anianus in Marcal, St. George in Somogyvár, and Táska (unknown *patrocinium*) and monastery of SS. Benedict and Anne in Slavonia (Verőce County). DL-DF 14915; Csukovits, *Középkori magyar zarándokok*, 191.

<sup>838</sup> James Bugslag, “Local Pilgrimages and Their Shrines in Pre-Modern Europe,” *Peregrinations: Journal of Medieval Art and Architecture* 2/1 (2005): 2. On miracle collections as evidence see Ronald C. Finucane, *Miracles and Pilgrims: Popular Beliefs in Medieval England* (New York, 1995).

of miles. For instance, the English mystic Margery Kempe (1373–1438) wrote that she went on a pilgrimage to the church of St. Michael, “a mere two miles from her home, and explicitly records it as a pilgrimage, indicating that the meanest journey could be considered a pilgrimage.”<sup>839</sup>

Churches of towns of various sizes throughout the Hungarian Kingdom were supported through indulgences from both the pope and local archbishops and bishops (Figure 47). While the presence of indulgences alone does not indicate that a site actually attracted any pilgrims, surely for those who could not afford to travel long distances to important shrines—due to monetary issues, ill health, or other prohibitions—the chance to obtain an indulgence from their local church was a literal godsend. Further, churches in smaller towns could still draw large numbers of visitors. The formula of most indulgences claimed that a “multitude of people flow” to the church in question. Stronger words can be found in a charter from 1402 in which Boniface IX granted the church of the Virgin Mary in Novigrad Podravski (Kamarcsa) an indulgence. It states: “We have learned that in the church of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Novigrad Podravski, in the diocese of Zagreb, there are some venerable relics which are publicly displayed to the people on certain days every year, and to the display of which, from a special sense of devotion and because of the innumerable many miracles, an innumerable multitude of people flow...”<sup>840</sup> The specification of relics and miracles was not typical in the indulgences of Marian churches in Hungary that were not cathedrals or the collegiate church of Székesfehérvár.

An indulgence request made by Queen Elizabeth for the altar of the Corpus Christi of the parish church of Visegrád is also of note. The petition specifies that the request is being made due to the profusion of the plague.<sup>841</sup> Different aspects of the Marian cult have been connected to the Black Death. The cult of the *Mater Dolorosa* seems to have been embraced particularly by communities that had been especially affected by the plague in the mid-fourteenth century; this appears to be the case in German lands, which had been devastated by

<sup>839</sup> Locker, *Landscapes of Pilgrimage*, 6.

<sup>840</sup> “Cum itaque, sicut accepimus, in ecclesia beate Marie virginis in Camarcha, Zagrabiensis diocesis, nonnullae venerande requiescant reliquie, que certis cuiuslibet anni diebus populo publice ostenduntur, et ad quarum ostensionem ob specialis devotionis affectum et multa innumerabilia miracula innumerabilis confluit populi multitudo...” MonVat, I/4:473–4, no. DXXXVI; ZsO, II:248, no. 2075. See also Erős, “Búcsúk és búcsúlevelek,” 72.

<sup>841</sup> “Elizabeth regina Ungarie, quod cum propter nimiam pestilentiam regni Ungarie in oppido Wysegrad, in loco habitationis ipsius, in ecclesia beate Marie, Wesprimiensis diocesis, sit altare quoddam in honorem beatissimi corporis Jesu Christi constructum et dotatum, ut igitur a Christifidelibus idem altare congruis honoribus veneretur . . . supplicat, quatinus omnibus et singulis dictum altare . . . visitantibus unum annum et XL dies de indulgentia concedere dignemini ut in forma.” Bossányi, II:379–80, no. CCLI.

the disease.<sup>842</sup> The *Mater Misericordiae*, which depicts the Virgin with the faithful around her feet covered in her protective cloak, has also been linked to plague protection. Images of the *Mater Misericordiae* can be found in abundance in later medieval Hungary<sup>843</sup>; the *Mater Dolorosa* cult also made its way into Hungary, though not to such an extent as in Germany. The Black Death seems to have been less destructive in Hungary than in other parts of Europe,<sup>844</sup> but whether this can be linked to the less pronounced cult of the *Mater Dolorosa* in Hungary is only conjecture. The presence of this indulgence for a Marian church in Visegrád may be connected to this wider trend.

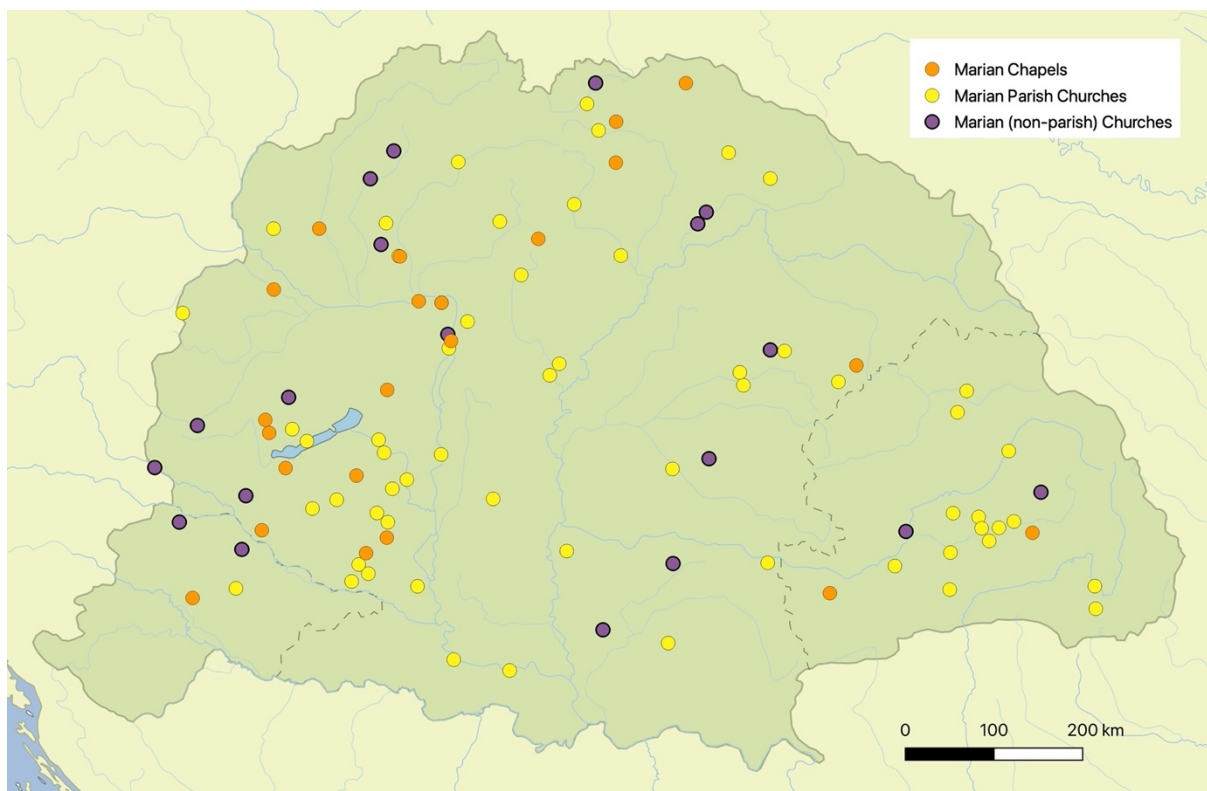


Figure 47. Marian churches and chapels with Marian patrocinia for which indulgences were requested and/or granted.

Many other parish churches dedicated to the Virgin Mary were able to secure indulgences throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Often it was local nobles who initially made the request, for example, Countess Catherine of Korbávia requested an indulgence for the Marian parish church of Szenterzsébet<sup>845</sup> in 1484 because the church had been severely damaged by the Ottomans. Pope Sixtus IV granted the indulgence, even giving

<sup>842</sup> Eva de Visser, "Marian devotion in the Latin West in the later Middle Ages," in *Mary: The Complete Resource*, 186; Anna Louise DesOrmeaux, "The Black Death and its effect on fourteenth- and fifteenth-century art" (M.A. thesis, Louisiana State University, 2007), 91–5; Warner, *Alone of All her Sex*, 215–17

<sup>843</sup> A comprehensive study of the *Mater Misericordia* was undertaken by Gombosi, *Köpnöyeges Mária ábrázolások*.

<sup>844</sup> Engel, *The Realm of Saint Stephen*, 161.

<sup>845</sup> Possibly in today's Jajzet, Croatia.

it jubilee privileges.<sup>846</sup> Other Marian parish churches also received important indulgences, like the Marian parish church located at Rusim Castle (Diocese of Zagreb)<sup>847</sup> and the Virgin Mary parish church of Busan (Diocese of Korbávia),<sup>848</sup> both of which received an indulgence similar to that of the Portiuncula church in Assisi in 1400 and 1401, respectively. But indulgences of all kinds could draw visitors to the parish Marian churches of smaller towns.

At least seventy-five medieval parish churches, twenty-eight non-parish churches, and twenty-six chapels with Marian *patrocinia* in the Kingdom of Hungary were granted one or more indulgences (see Appendix 3). The window of issuance of these indulgences was short, but intense, with the majority being issued between 1350 and 1450. Only seven indulgences were issued before 1350, the earliest in 1321 and nine after 1450, the latest in 1516. The time span within which most of the Marian churches and chapels received indulgences coincides with both the jubilee year of 1390 and the pontificate of Boniface IX (1389–1404), who “unlike his predecessors... started to issue indulgences on a mass scale from the time of his accession to the pontificate,” particularly to help finance the power struggles that emerged from the Western Schism.<sup>849</sup> A later spike in indulgences came in 1433—when fourteen Marian churches or chapels received an indulgence from Pope Eugene IV—the same year King Sigismund was crowned Holy Roman Emperor. Sigismund had travelled to Rome with a large retinue, and while in Rome requested that his co-travelers be able to request bulls free of charge. Many of his retinue took advantage of the offer, resulting in the high number of indulgences from this year.<sup>850</sup> This generosity of Pope Eugene IV is partly explained by Sigismund’s support of Eugene at the Council of Basel two years earlier.<sup>851</sup> The large number of indulgences granted during these periods was not confined to churches associated with the Virgin Mary, but it does appear that, quantitatively, places dedicated to Mary were receiving more indulgences, partly due to the greater number of Marian places and partly due to the increased interest in her cult in the late Middle Ages.

Certain regions of Hungary received a greater number of indulgences for their Marian churches than others. There appears to be a concentration of Marian parish churches in southern Transdanubia that received indulgences. All of the indulgences for Marian parish churches in this region, except for Nyék, contain the first reference to these parish churches, so it appears

<sup>846</sup> Theiner, II:490–1.

<sup>847</sup> MonVat, I/4:275–6, no. CCCXXXI; ZsO, II:76, no. 651.

<sup>848</sup> MonVat, I/4:346, no. CCCXII; ZsO, II:135, no. 1137.

<sup>849</sup> Jan Hrdina, “Papal Indulgences During the Era of the Great Western Schism (1378–1417) and the Cultural Foundation of their Reception in Central Europe,” in *Processes of Cultural Exchange in Central Europe, 1200–1800*, ed. Veronika Čapková (Opava: European Social Fund – Silesian University in Opava, 2014), 345–7.

<sup>850</sup> Csukovits, *Középkori magyar zárandokok*, 75.

<sup>851</sup> Erős, “Búcsúk és búcsúlevelek,” 64.

that a large number of new parish churches dedicated to Mary were founded here in the years that the indulgences were requested or granted, from 1345 to 1459. The indulgence requests came from a mix of local nobility and the rectors of the parish churches themselves.

German towns were well represented in the letters of indulgence.<sup>852</sup> The parish churches of important Transylvanian Saxon towns seemed to have drawn a good number of visitors, at least as evidenced by the number of extant letters of indulgence. The Virgin Mary parish church of Sibiu received multiple indulgences over the centuries: in 1384, 1448, 1484, and 1503.<sup>853</sup> Nearby settlements that also had parish churches dedicated to Mary were quick to follow suit: Șmig (Somogyom; Schmiegen) received an indulgence in 1390,<sup>854</sup> Șeica Mică (Kisselyk; Kleinschelken) in 1400,<sup>855</sup> Hetiur (Hétúr; Marienburg bei Schässburg) in 1417,<sup>856</sup> Hărănglab (Harangláb) in 1430,<sup>857</sup> Herepea (Magyarherepe; Ungarisch Härpen) in 1433,<sup>858</sup> Hoghilag (Holdvilág; Halwelagen) in 1446,<sup>859</sup> and Sebeș in 1455.<sup>860</sup> These indulgences appear to have come at the request of local nobility, though only two of the indulgence applicants are known: Marcus Andreae de Zenlaslao for Herepea and Michaelis de Nadus for Hetiur.<sup>861</sup>

The Marian parish church of Brașov was also supported by a series of indulgences from 1385, 1399, 1422, 1450, 1474, and 1510<sup>862</sup>; an altar dedicated to the Corpus Christi in the parish church was also granted an indulgence in 1466.<sup>863</sup> The wording of many of the indulgences for these churches on the border of Christendom indicates the importance of their position. The 1399 indulgence for Brașov states that “Greeks, Wallachians, Bulgarians, Armenians, indeed a multitude of other unbelievers” live amongst the Christians there, and the issuer hopes that these unbelievers “desiring to be washed of their old uncleanness and sin”

<sup>852</sup> On the reception of indulgences in Spiš and Transylvania during the pontificate of Boniface IX see Hrdina, “Papal Indulgences,” 376–85; idem, “Pe drumul mântuirii. Indulgențe papale în Ungaria și Transilvania în vremea Marii Schisme Apusene (1378–1417)” [On the Path to Salvation: Papal Indulgences in Hungary and Transylvania during the Great Western Schism (1378–1417)], *Revista Ecumenică Sibiu* 1 (2009): 47–70.

<sup>853</sup> DL-DF 291983; Lajos Kemény and Károly Gyimesy, *Evangélikus templomok* [Evangelical churches] (Budapest: Athenaeum, 1944), 130; Victor Roth, *Die deutsche Kunst in Siebenbürgen* (Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1934), 87–8; UB, V:242, no. 2634; UB, 7: 356, no. 4558; DL-DF 245585. The 1448 indulgence was granted by Cardinal Legate John on February 24. On April 6 of the same year the city priest Antonius and the mayor of Sibiu requested another indulgence in order to continue construction on the church (UB, V:250, no. 2462).

<sup>854</sup> MonVat, I/3:117, no. CXLI.

<sup>855</sup> MonVat, I/4:290–1, no. CCCL.

<sup>856</sup> Lukcsics, 1:47, no. 4.

<sup>857</sup> Lukcsics, 1:255, no. 1395, 1396.

<sup>858</sup> Lukcsics, 2:114, no. 290.

<sup>859</sup> Lukcsics, 2:233, no. 895.

<sup>860</sup> TT 1900, 7; Theiner, II:273, no. 436.

<sup>861</sup> Lukcsics, 2:114, no. 290; Lukcsics, 1:47, no. 4.

<sup>862</sup> DL-DF 286551; *MonVat* I/4:163, no. CCVIII; Lukcsics 1:134, no. 532; UB, V:300, no. 2709; DL-DF 286598; Theiner, II:446–7, no. DCXXXI; DL-DF 286612. DL-DF 286598 records the date of the indulgence letter as March 3, 1474, while its record in the *Vetera monumenta historica* lists it as March 3, 1475. The 1450 indulgence was requested for the parish church in by the town rector and priest (Lukcsics, 2:273, no. 1097).

<sup>863</sup> DL-DF 286597.

convert and “are bathed in sacred baptism.”<sup>864</sup> The 1474 indulgence makes the same statement, adding that Braşov, including its parish church dedicated to Mary, had been burnt and plundered by “the Turks, the most cruel enemy of the cross of Christ” and the indulgence is necessary to rebuild the church.<sup>865</sup> In this regard, the Virgin Mary’s presence through the local churches would have been viewed as a particularly useful symbol and tool against the unbelievers. From Mary’s intercession in the Avar siege of Constantinople in 626 to the Marian statue of *La Conquistadora* aiding the Spanish colonists in their battle with the Pueblo Indians, the Virgin Mary has long been seen as “an embodiment of military conquest and of religious conversion.”<sup>866</sup> That the indulgences of Marian churches in Transylvania would possess language condemning “infidels” and condoning conversion fits well into this conceptual framework.

The mining towns of northern Hungary with significant German populations received a high number of papal indulgences, especially during the pontificate of Boniface IX, due to a mix of the corporate features of the Saxon communities there, and the social, economic, and ecclesiastical exclusivity of the region.<sup>867</sup> In Spiš County, the Marian parish churches of Podolíneč, L’ubica (Leibic), and Spišská Nová Ves all received an indulgence in the fourteenth century.<sup>868</sup> Banská Bystrica is notable for the many indulgences won by its parish church dedicated to the Blessed Virgin. An indulgence for the church of St. Mary in Banská Bystrica was granted in 1300,<sup>869</sup> this is likely the same church as the parish church of St. Mary, but it

<sup>864</sup> “... ubi tam Grecorum, Walachorum, Bulgarorum, Armenorum, quam aliorum infidelium multitudo, quamdam ecclesiam in eodem opido pro eorum usu et cultu deorum habentium, unacum Christifidelibus in eodem opido degentibus habitat et moratur, in quaquidem ecclesia quamplures de infidelibus huiusmodi se ad sanctam fidem catholicam convertentes, veteri sorde et macula lavari cupientes, sacro lavantur baptisate...” MonVat, I/4:163, no. CCVIII.

<sup>865</sup> “...etiam ab ipsis seivissimis Turchis crucis Christi inimicis, totaliter combustum, desolatum et annihilatum, omnibusque fere bonis temporalibus spoliatum, ac sit etiam in eodem opido quedam parrochialis ecclesia in honorem et sub vocabulo beate Marie Virginis, opere magnifico et non modicum sumptuoso de lapidibus quadratis construi incepta, que sine magno Christifidelium suffragio nullatenus valet perfici, nec libris, clenodiis, calicibus et paramentis, quibus etiam aliquando per dictos infideles spoliata extitit, condigne fulciri et ornari...” Theiner, II:446–7, no. DCXXXI.

<sup>866</sup> Remensnyder, *La Conquistadora*, 6. For Mary’s role as a symbol of military conquest and of religious conversion in the Iberian Peninsula, Mexico, and New Mexico see Remensnyder, *La Conquistadora*. The most recent studies on the Virgin’s perceived role in the Avar siege of Constantinople include Pentcheva, “The supernatural protector of Constantinople,” 2–41; Pentcheva, *Icons and Power*; Leena Mari Peltomaa, “The Role of the Virgin Mary at the Siege of Constantinople in 626,” *Scrinium* 5/1 (2009): 284–99; Martin Hurbanič, *The Avar Siege of Constantinople in 626: History and Legend* (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019).

<sup>867</sup> On the papal indulgences issued for sites in Spiš during the papacy of Boniface IX see Hrdina, “Papal Indulgences,” 376–85; Jan Hrdina, “Papežské odpustky na Spiši za pontifikátu Bonifáce IX. (1389–1404). Komunikace a transfer informací na příkladu graciálních listin” [Papal Indulgences in Spiš under the Pontificate of Boniface IX (1389–1404): Communication and the Transfer of Information Using the Example of Grants of Clemency], in *Stredoveké mesto ako miesto stretnutí a komunikácie* [The medieval city as a place of meeting and communication], ed. Ján Lukačka and Martin Štefánik (Bratislava: Historický ústav SAV, 2010), 199–215; Hrdina, “Pe drumul mântuirii,” 47–70.

<sup>868</sup> Podolíneč, 1323: RDES, 2:399 (it is not specified as a parish church in the indulgence); MES 3:77; Fejér, 8/5:173; AkO, 7:41. Leibic, 1390: MonVat, I/3:111, no. CXXVIII. Spišská Nová Ves, 1391: MonVat, I/3:CLXI.

<sup>869</sup> DL-DF 280751.

was not referred to as an *ecclesia parochialis* until 1323.<sup>870</sup> That same year the parish church was granted a forty-day indulgence, which was confirmed in 1324 by Archbishop Boleslaus of Esztergom, who also granted the church a forty-day indulgence.<sup>871</sup> Indulgences were later granted for the Marian parish church in 1396, 1398,<sup>872</sup> and then nearly a hundred years later in 1492 and 1494.<sup>873</sup> Chapels of the Virgin Mary parish church of Banská Bystrica were also granted multiple letters of indulgence: in 1477, for the consecration of the chapel of the Corpus Christi, in 1492 to visitors of the cemetery chapel of the parish church, and in 1503 for the St. Michael's Chapel of the parish church.<sup>874</sup>

An indulgence for the chapel of St. Barbara located within the parish church is of note. In 1491, Bishop Michael of Naples granted an indulgence to those who worshipped before a sacred image in the St. Barbara Chapel, which depicted the Virgin Mary in the middle, and St. Barbara and St. Jerome on either side.<sup>875</sup> The Virgin Mary's presence is not unusual, St. Barbara was usually depicted with the Virgin Mary and other martyred virgins.<sup>876</sup> An altar in the nearby St. Martin's Church of Banská Bystrica has the same arrangement as the image in the St. Barbara Chapel of the parish church: the Virgin Mary in the middle and St. Barbara and St. Jerome on either side (Figure 48).<sup>877</sup> St. Barbara had a special connection to the region; German settlers helped to spread her cult in Hungary, and (with St. Catherine) she was a patron saint of miners and mining towns, so her combined image with the Virgin Mary illustrates a unique manifestation of Marian space in the Zips region.<sup>878</sup>

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<sup>870</sup> RDES, II:479.

<sup>871</sup> DL-DF 280658.

<sup>872</sup> DL-DF 280658.

<sup>873</sup> DL-DF 280709; DL-DF 280708.

<sup>874</sup> DL-DF 280702; DL-DF 280701; DL-DF 280710; DL-DF 280668; DL-DF 280721.

<sup>875</sup> DL-DF 46160.

<sup>876</sup> Dorottya Uhrin, "Szent Katalin és Borbála, a felvidéki bányavárosok védőszentjei" [St. Catherine and Barbara, patron saints of the highland mining towns], in *Hatalom, Adó, Jog: Gazdaságtörténeti tanulmányok a Magyar középkorról* [Power, Tax, Law: Studies on the Economic History of Medieval Hungary], ed. B. Weisz and I. Kádas (Budapest: MTA BTK, 2017), 372–3, fig. LXIV.

<sup>877</sup> Jenő Rados, *Magyar oltárok* [Hungarian Altars] (Budapest: Szent István éve, 1938), 54–5.

<sup>878</sup> On this topic see: Uhrin, "Szent Katalin és Borbála," 369–86. For her cult amongst the Transylvanian Saxons: Maria Craciun, "The Cult of Saint Barbara and the Saxon Community of Late Medieval Transylvania," in *Identity and Alterity in Hagiography and the Cult of Saints*, ed. Ana Marinkovic and Trpmir Vedris (Zagreb, 2010).



Figure 48. *St. Barbara altar, St. Martin's Church, Banská Bystrica . 1509 (Rados, Magyar oltárok, fig. LXIV).*

Besides the presence of the indulgences themselves, the number of confessors available to visitors is indicative of the relative popularity of a site. While these smaller Marian shrines typically provided only a handful of confessors—like, for example, the Marian parish church of Busan,<sup>879</sup> which had four in 1401—there were twelve confessors assigned to the Virgin Mary parish church of Mátraverebély, according to its letter of indulgence in 1400, the same number of confessors present at the most important pilgrimage places in the kingdom.<sup>880</sup>

The quantity and content of these indulgences support the conclusion that visiting a Marian shrine and receiving an indulgence was an accessible venture for most individuals in medieval Hungary. While they may not be able to go on pilgrimage to Aachen, or even to Székesfehérvár, they could visit a local Marian church or chapel and even receive an indulgence. The presence of the indulgences also reflect the local community's efforts to support their own sacred sites. Indeed, the abundance of granted indulgences was not primarily “the result of papal policy, but of an increase in requests from the faithful.”<sup>881</sup> Especially for smaller towns and villages, the individuals requesting indulgences were local priests and

<sup>879</sup> MonVat, I/4:346, no. CCCCXII; ZsO, II:135, no. 1137.

<sup>880</sup> MonVat, I/4:252, no. 312.

<sup>881</sup> Erős, “Búcsúk és búcsúlevelek,” 57.



nobles, those who directly interacted with the site in question and there was thus a more intimate relationship between the community and *their* Marian shrine.

#### 4. Conclusion

The landscape of Marian piety in Hungary was vast and varied, but can be organized into three—often interconnected—broad categories: locations of royal power, monastic and mendicant sites, and local devotional centers. Within Hungary it was the cathedral of the Virgin Mary at Oradea, collegiate church of the Virgin Mary at Székesfehérvár, and city of Buda where the figure of the Virgin Mary was most potently used in service of royal representation and authority. Oradea was the site of the tomb of St. Ladislaus, the “knight of the Virgin Mary,” which Sigismund of Luxembourg enthusiastically supported and chose as his burial place. The Angevins had chosen another Marian church as their resting place, the collegiate church of Székesfehérvár, where SS. Stephen and Emeric had been buried. Both the Angevins and Sigismund focused their attention on the city of Buda (and nearby Óbuda), where they initiated expansions of existing Marian churches and the foundations of new ones with Marian *patrocinia*, namely, the royal chapel of Buda castle, collegiate church of Óbuda, collegiate church of Buda, Carmelite monastery of Buda, and Poor Clares nunnery of Óbuda. In this area the Marian church known as *Alba Ecclesia* in Óbuda, the supposed burial place of Prince Árpád, and the Marian nunnery of the Dominicans, the site of the tomb of St. Margaret, both demonstrate another example of the interconnected relationship of Marian piety and royal representation.

Many other Marian churches belonging to the various monastic and mendicant orders in Hungary received indulgences in the late Middle Ages. The Dominican, Franciscan, and Pauline Orders stand out both in the sense of receiving more indulgences for their Marian churches than the other orders, and for the geographical distribution of these indulgences. The greater number of indulgences could be indicative of greater royal and noble support of these orders—especially the Franciscan and Paulines during the Angevin and Luxembourg periods—over other orders. The geographical distribution of all three of these orders’ indulgences indicate that most of the order’s support (at least through indulgences) went to the most important pilgrimage site of the respective order, and then additional support went to their sites—primarily dedicated to the Virgin Mary—located a considerable distance from the main place of pilgrimage. These Marian sites have a peripheral nature and demonstrate an effort to not directly compete with the orders’ centers of popular devotion. In addition to monasteries and important royal churches, indulgences were requested and granted to parish churches and

chapels, indicating efforts by the local clergy and nobility—who also donated to these places—to support their local centers of devotion.

For all of the places dedicated to the Virgin that were granted indulgences in Hungary it is certainly possible that the *patrocinium* of the site was not considered by the individual requesting the indulgence or by the faithful who visited the church in order to acquire the indulgence. It could have been more important that the church was nearby, founded by a family member, or simply was in the most need of repair. However, whether or not a Marian *patrocinium* was a factor in an indulgence's request or acquisition, the result was the same. Individuals went to a place dedicated to Mary, and they knew her special presence could be felt; they worshipped at a Marian altar, perhaps gazing at a statue, image, or altarpiece depicting Mary in all her glory.

## CHAPTER 5. BRINGING MARY HOME: MARIAN MATERIAL CULTURE IN ECCLESIASTICAL AND SECULAR SPACES

Marian pilgrimage shrines were not the only places where medieval individuals would express their devotion to the Virgin. Medieval people created new Marian spaces with the foundation of churches, chapels, and altars dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary within their own communities, and they could further create spaces within their own homes for private devotion to Mary. These spaces can often be overlooked in the study of the medieval cult of saints but were absolutely central to medieval peoples' religious expression and practice in their daily lives. In addition to the fact that objects are one of the major elements that contribute to place-making, the presence of an object associated with the Virgin Mary could serve to sanctify a seemingly secular, ordinary space. Thus, such objects provides a tangible connection to the lives of medieval individuals and the spaces they lived in.

House altars are a clear example of this. For example, two house altars originally from Košice, dating to the end of the fifteenth century, portray episodes from the life of the Virgin Mary—the Annunciation and the Pietà (Figure 49).<sup>882</sup> One can easily imagine these silver gilded altars in the home of one of the well to do burgers of Košice, a place for them and their family to contemplate the mysteries of the Virgin. Other pieces of material culture—such as coins, pilgrimage badges, ceramics, stove tiles, jewelry, and clothing accessories—can further reveal how medieval Hungarians encountered and interacted with the Virgin Mary in

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<sup>882</sup> Judit H. Kolba, *Liturgische Goldschmiedearbeiten im Ungarischen Nationalmuseum. 14.-17. Jahrhundert, Catalogi Musei Nationalis Hungarici*. Series Mediaevalis et Moderna 1 (Budapest, 2004), 82–3.

ecclesiastical and secular spaces within their own communities, spaces whose borders were more permeable and fluid than one might assume.



Figure 49. House altar, Košice, late 15<sup>th</sup> c. (Kolba, *Liturgische Goldschmiedearbeiten*, 206, fig. 121).

This material culture can also reveal cultural influences and at times serve as markers of ethnic and/or cultural identity. Many Marian objects in use in medieval Hungary were either produced outside of the kingdom or inspired by foreign goods. New forms of Marian objects were also born within Hungary or took on new contexts in the specific communities where they resided. The object biographies of these goods demonstrate how they were created, transformed, and used by the different social and ethnic/language groups in medieval Hungary, and in turn how these communities themselves interacted.

In the following chapter the material culture of the Virgin Mary dating to the Angevin and Luxembourg periods will be examined, as well as some exceptional examples from other time periods in order to provide a more comprehensive picture of Marian material culture. The broadest definition of material culture includes any part of the physical world that has been interacted with or altered in some way by mankind. Physical structures have been discussed in the previous chapters; thus, this chapter will examine objects and small finds in particular. Small finds open a window into medieval individuals' relationship with Mary and the Marian cult on a more intimate, personal level, and they are often overlooked in analyses of devotional trends. The following is a comprehensive collection of small finds from medieval Hungary with Marian inscriptions or iconography recorded in published materials. It is possible that additional examples of medieval Marian objects exist in Hungary but are either not published or published in more obscure locations. Even if this is the case the following small finds still constitute all the major categories of such materials, and likely represent the majority of these kinds of objects.

## 1. Marian Objects in Ecclesiastical Spaces

The Virgin Mary was everywhere in medieval ecclesiastical spaces; she was personified in paintings, statues, altarpieces, murals, and fabrics like altar cloths and vestments.<sup>883</sup> A full accounting of the images of the Virgin in Hungarian churches is too large an undertaking and outside the scope of this dissertation, however, some brief remarks on the major trends during the Angevin and Luxembourg periods should be made.

Marie Lionnet's study of Marian iconography in Hungarian mural painting from 1300 to 1475 revealed that a wide variety of Marian imagery (present also in other media like statues and altarpieces) could be found in Hungary. These included subjects related to the life of the Virgin—such as her Infancy, Dormition, and Coronation—and devotional imagery, namely, the Virgin and Child, Virgin of Mercy (*Mater Misericordia*), Double Intercession, Woman of the Apocalypse (Woman Clothed with the Sun; *Maria in sole*), *Pietà*, and Our Lady of Sorrows (*Mater Dolorosa*).<sup>884</sup> Examples of new fourteenth and fifteenth-century variants of Marian iconography are not plentiful, but examples can be found—particularly in Saxon communities or highly urbanized areas—such as a mural depicting the Coronation of the Virgin by the Trinity in the Pauline church dedicated to the Virgin Mary and All Saints in Čakovec, completed between 1380 and 1399 (Figure 50).<sup>885</sup>

The iconography of these wall paintings, as well as statues, reliefs, and panel paintings, was influenced by the artistic traditions of German, Italian, and Bohemia regions, but there was also “a great deal of freedom in the adoption of themes” and modes of creation in Hungary.<sup>886</sup>

<sup>883</sup> Many important studies on Hungarian altarpieces, painting, and sculpture contain references to and analyses of Marian iconography, on these topics see, among others: Gombosi, *Köponyeges Mária ábrázolások*; Lionnet, “Les peintures murales en Hongrie”; Rados, *Magyar Oltárok*; Dénes Radocsay, *Gothic Panel Painting in Hungary* (Budapest: Corvina Press, 1963); Béla Zsolt Szakács, “Ikonográfia és időrend: falképek az Árpád- és Anjou-kor határán” [Iconography and chronology: wall paintings on the border between the Árpád and Anjou periods], *Ars Hungarica* 39/2 (2013): 202–11; Xavier Barral i Altet et al., ed., *The Art of Medieval Hungary* (Rome: Bibliotheca Academiae Hungariae, 2018); Emese Sarkadi Nagy, *Local Workshops – Foreign Connections Late Medieval Altarpieces from Transylvania* (Stuttgart: Thorbecke, 2012); Emese Sarkadi Nagy, “Ars meditandi – Ars moriendi: Javaslatok a Keresztény Múzeum Mária halála oltárának értelmezéséhez” [Suggestions for the interpretation of the altar of the Death of Mary in the Christian Museum], *Ars Hungarica* 45 (2019): 429–50; Gabriella Fábián, Zsolt Kovács, et al., *Mária-tisztelet Erdélyben: Mária-ábrázolások az erdélyi templomokban* [Worshipping Mary in Transylvania: Depictions of Mary in Transylvanian churches] (Székelyudvarhely: Haáz Rezső Múzeum, 2010).

<sup>884</sup> Lionnet, “Les Peintures Murales en Hongrie,” 39.

<sup>885</sup> Ibid., 428; Lionnet, “Catalogue,” in “Les Peintures Murales en Hongrie,” 17–18. Another example of the Coronation of the Virgin by the Trinity can be seen on a panel of the Jidvei (Zsidve; Seiden) altarpiece, now in the Lutheran parish church of Tatárlaua, from 1508 (Felsotatárlaka; Taterloch) (Nagy, *Local Workshops – Foreign*, 250, 253, fig. II.198).

<sup>886</sup> Lionnet, “Les Peintures Murales en Hongrie,” 425–9. On the Marian statues recovered from the area of Buda castle and dating to the reign of Sigismund, which appear to have been influenced by the Bohemian-Austrian type of *Schönen Madonnen* see Lothar Schultes, “Der Skulpturenfund von Buda und der Meister von Großlobming,” in *Sigismund von Luxemburg : Kaiser und König in Mitteleuropa, 1387-1437 : Beiträge zur Herrschaft Kaiser*

The religious orders were highly influential in the transmission and application of iconographic trends. Lionnet identifies the Franciscans as being particularly influential on the transmission and application of Marian iconography in Hungary during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, but the Augustinian Canons, Pauline Order, and Dominican Order may have also been influential in certain contexts.<sup>887</sup>



Figure 50. Coronation of the Virgin by the Trinity, 1380–1399, Pauline monastery of the Virgin Mary and All Saints, Čakovec (Zsombor Jékely, “A Lackfi-család pálos temploma Csáktornya mellett” [The Pauline church of the Lackfi family near Čakovec], in *Építészet a középkori Dél-Magyarországon* [Architecture in medieval Southern Hungary], ed. Tibor Kollár (Budapest: Teleki László Alapítvány, 2010), 14, fig. 22).

Compared to other regions of Europe, the Virgin of Mercy stands out as a particularly popular iconographic form in Hungary.<sup>888</sup> Beatrix Gombosi identified fifty-five examples of the Mary of Mercy in Hungarian murals and a further eight on seals, reliefs, and panel paintings commissioned by Hungarians.<sup>889</sup> She found that they were produced primarily during the reigns of Louis the Great and Sigismund of Luxembourg and, as Lionnet also suggested, were influenced by Franciscan spirituality.<sup>890</sup> Most representation of the Mary of Mercy were

*Sigismunds und der europäischen Geschichte um 1400*, ed. Josef Macek, Ernő Marosi, and Ferdinand Seibt (Warendorf: Fahlbusch Verlag, 1994), 293–306.

<sup>887</sup> Lionnet, “Les Peintures Murales en Hongrie,” 226, 432. On the influence of mendicant piety and art and popular devotion, see Crăciun, “Mendicant Piety and the Saxon Community,” 29–70; Marie-Madeleine de Cevins, trans. by Max von Habsburg, “The Influence of Franciscan Friars on Popular Piety in the Kingdom of Hungary at the End of the Fifteenth Century,” in *Communities of Devotion*, 71–90.

<sup>888</sup> Lionnet, “Les Peintures Murales en Hongrie,” 432.

<sup>889</sup> See her catalogue: Gombosi, “Köpanyeges Mária ábrázolások,” 125–96.

<sup>890</sup> *Ibid.*, 83.



commissioned by important figures and families in the courts of Louis and Sigismund.<sup>891</sup> Probably the best known depiction of the Mary of Mercy is on the tympanum of the north portal of Franciscan (later Benedictine) church of Sopron, commissioned between 1420 and the end of the fifteenth century.<sup>892</sup>



Figure 51. Mary of Mercy, Franciscan (now Benedictine) church of Sopron, 1420-end of 15th c. (“A soproni Nagyboldogasszony (Bencés) Templom,” accessed February 8, 2022, <https://www.becessopron.hu/hu/galeria/templom/nagyboldogasszony>).

Unlike murals and altarpieces, extant small finds from churches dating to the Angevin and Luxembourg periods are not as plentiful. Certain ecclesiastical paraphernalia made of metal, including chalices, croziers, monstrances, and standing and processional crosses, are an exception.<sup>893</sup> A more unique find was discovered during a nineteenth-century excavation in the garden of the castle of Körmend, which led to the discovery of a fourteenth-century silver

<sup>891</sup> Ibid., 85.

<sup>892</sup> Ibid., 176–7.

<sup>893</sup> For examples of Marian inscriptions and imagery on such objects see: *A Magyarországon készült régi egyházi kelyhek kiállításának leíró jegyzéke* [Descriptive list of the exhibition of old church chalices made in Hungary] (Budapest: Orsz. Magyar Iparművészeti Múzeum, 1913); Békefi, 29–30; Kornél Divald, “Felső-Magyarország ingatlan és ingó műemlékeinek lajstroma” [Inventory of immovable and movable monuments of Upper-Hungary], in *A „szentek fuvarosa” Divald Kornél felső-magyarországi topográfiája és fényképei 1900-1919* [Topography and photographs of the “carrier of saints” Kornél Divald in Upper Hungary 1900-1919], ed. István Bardoly and Ibolya Cs. Plank (Budapest: OMvH, 1999) 372, 448, 451; *Régi egyházművészet országos kiállítása* [National exhibition of ancient church art] (Budapest: Orsz. Magyar Iparművészeti Múzeum, 1930), 85 (note that this is a thirteenth-century example); Judit H. Kolba, *Liturgische Goldschmiedearbeiten im Ungarischen Nationalmuseum. 14.-17. Jahrhundert*, *Catalogi Musei Nationalis Hungarici. Series Mediaevalis et Moderna* 1 (Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, 2004), 30–3, 65, 68–9, 73, 81

gilded jug, probably of domestic manufacture, with the inscription “AVE MARIA KCIA PENA DMIVNS” (*Ave Maria Gratia Plena Dominus*) (Figure 52).<sup>894</sup> The vessel was part of a hoard, so its original context is unfortunately unknown, but the inscription and nature of the other objects in the hoard indicate that it was used in an ecclesiastical context, probably for storing holy water or for use during baptisms.<sup>895</sup>



Figure 52. Ave Maria inscription on silver gilded jug from Körmend, fourteenth century (Vattai, “A Körmendi lelet,” 69, fig. 1).

Marian inscriptions could also be found on book mounts and clasps in churches and monasteries. These are rare finds in Hungary. An exceptional example of such a book mount comes from the Benedictine monastery of Somogyvár, which bears the inscription AVE MARIA GRATIA PLENA, but this is a unique example amongst the recovered medieval book mounts in Hungary, but dates to the Árpadian period (Figure 53).<sup>896</sup> However, a more typical book clasp bearing the inscription “St. Maria ora pro (nobis)” was recovered from the fourteenth- to fifteenth-century cemetery of Ágasegyháza, where a Limoges style gilded statuette of the Virgin Mary was also found (Figure 54).<sup>897</sup>

<sup>894</sup> Erzsébet Vattai, “A Körmendi lelet (XIV – XV. Sz.)” [The Körmend finds (XIV – XV c.)], *Archaeologiai Értesítő* 83 (1956): 69; Nándor Parádi, “Későközépkori feliratos díszű cserépedények” [Late medieval decorated earthenware vessels with inscriptions], *Folia archeologica* 17 (1965): 157.

<sup>895</sup> Vattai, “A Körmendi lelet,” 67–9.

<sup>896</sup> Nóra Ujhelyi, “Könyvveretek csoportosítási és keltezési lehetőségei. Késő középkori nürnbergi típusú példák a Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum ‘kaposvári gyűjteményéből’ [Grouping and dating book fittings. Late medieval Nuremberger type book fittings from the ‘Collection of Kaposvár’ of the Hungarian National Museum], in *Fiatal Középkoros Régészek VI. Konferenciájának Tanulmánykötete* [Proceedings of the VIth Conference of Young Medieval Archaeologists], ed. Csilla Szöllősy and Krisztián Pokrovenszki (Székesfehérvár: Szent István Király Múzeum, 2015), 185; Kornél Bakay, *Somogyvár Szent Egyed-monostor. A somogyvári bencés apátság és védműveinek régészeti feltárása 1972-2009* [Somogyvár St. Giles Monastery. Archaeological excavation of the Benedictine abbey and its fortifications in Somogyvár 1972-2009] (Budapest: Műemlék Nemzeti Gondnoksága, 2011), 42.

<sup>897</sup> The excavation of the cemetery revealed strong Cuman influences. Kálmán Szábo, *Az alföldi magyar nép művelődéstörténeti emlékei* [The cultural history of the Hungarian people of the Lowlands] (Budapest, 1938), 36–7. A similar Limoges style Marian figure was recovered during the excavation of the abbey Ellésmonostor, see: Éva Pávai, “Egy limoges-i Mária figura az ellési monostor (Csongrád megye) területéről” [A figure of the Holy Virgin in Limoges style, discovered on the site of the Ellés Monastery, Csongrád County], in *A kőkortól a középkorig. Tanulmányok Trogmayer Ottó 60. születésnapjára* [From the Stone Age to the Middle Ages. Studies for the 60th birthday of Ottó Trogmayer], ed. Gábor Lőrinczy (Szeged: Móra Ferenc Múzeum, 1994), 455–61.



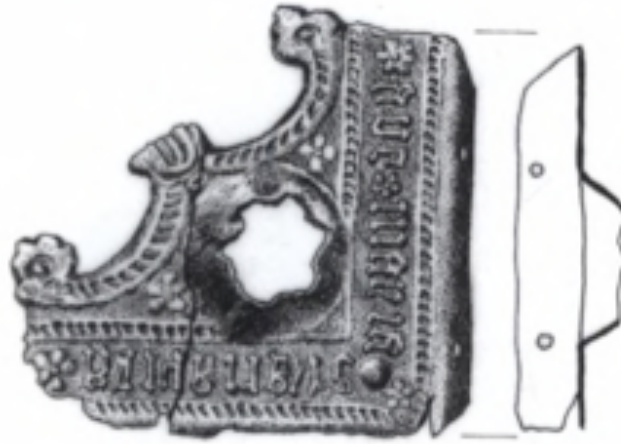


Figure 53. Ave Maria style copper book mount, Benedictine monastery of Somogyvár, Árpadian Age (Bakay, "Somogyvár Szent Egyed-monostor," 42, fig. 66).

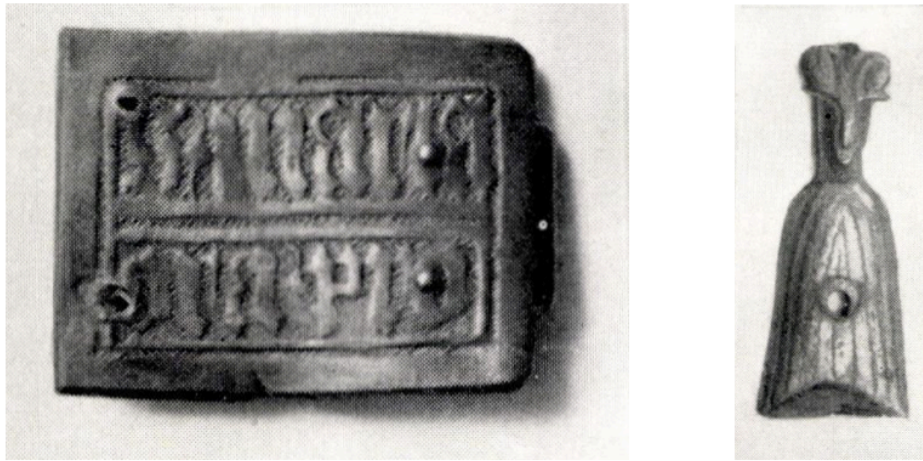


Figure 54. Ave Maria-style book clasp (left) and Limoges style Marian figure (right), 14<sup>th</sup>–15<sup>th</sup> c., Ágasegyháza (Szábo, *Az alföldi magyar nép művelődéstörténeti emlékei*, 34, fig. 122, 125).

## 2. Between Ecclesiastical and Secular Spaces: Pilgrimage Badges & Bells

Pilgrimage badges occupied a space that lies between the ecclesiastical and secular spheres. They were religious souvenirs that served as a physical reminder of the spiritual and physical journey one had made to a specific pilgrimage place once they had returned home. Their presence might have had miraculous or magical significance for their owners; through the badge they had a little piece of the power of the saint of that pilgrimage place in their own homes. Unfortunately, extant medieval pilgrimage badges are not as plentiful in Hungary as in regions further west. Only a handful of pilgrimage badges, exclusively from foreign pilgrimage sites, have been unearthed in Hungary that can be definitively identified: from Rome (featuring

St. Stephen and St. Laurence, dating to the fourteenth century),<sup>898</sup> Bari (with an image of St. Nicholas),<sup>899</sup> and Kraków (depicting St. Stanislaus, 1275–1324).<sup>900</sup>

Pilgrimage badges can be identified on medieval bells because they were sometimes decorated with casts of pilgrimage badges and medals—a practice popular in German (particularly the area of the Rhine) and Scandinavian lands in the late Middle Ages, but which spread as far as Transylvania.<sup>901</sup> While many medieval bells were destroyed during the Ottoman occupation, Elek Benkő's monograph on the medieval bells of Transylvania has brought to light several more examples of pilgrimage badges, including an example from Aachen depicting the Virgin Mary.<sup>902</sup> In addition to casts of pilgrimage badges, decorative plaques, prayers, hymns, and other religious phrases were engraved on church bells. The inscription "Ave Maria gracia plena," can often be found on bells in Transylvania from the end of the fourteenth century, probably in connection to church decrees from the thirteenth to fourteenth centuries, which encouraged the recitation of the Hail Mary at the evening bell.<sup>903</sup> Other Marian responsories were also often engraved on bells, such as *regina celi letare* in Iŝtihaza (Istvánháza) in 1498 and a part of the *Salve Regina* in Vădaș (Vadasd) in 1502.<sup>904</sup> The religious inscriptions, plaques, and badges were all thought to lend apotropaic qualities to the bell; when the bell was rung the healing power of the badges and prayers was carried as far as one could hear.<sup>905</sup>

Most of the badges identified by Benkő originated in Maastricht, Cologne, and Rome, none of which featured the Virgin Mary (the badges from Rome primarily depicted the Veil of Veronica).<sup>906</sup> However, he also identified a pilgrimage badge originating from Aachen

<sup>898</sup> Carina Brumme, "Mittelalterliche Zeugen der Wallfahrt in die Ewige Stadt - die Römische Pilgerzeichen," in *Rom sehen und sterben. Perspektiven auf die Ewige Stadt. Um 1500-2011 (8. Mai bis 17. Juli 2011, Kunsthalle Erfurt) Perspektiven auf die Ewige Stadt. Um 1500 – 2011* (Bielefeld: Kerber, 2011), 52.

<sup>899</sup> Elek Benkő, "Pilgerzeichenforschung und Pilgerzeichenüberlieferung in Ungarn und in Siebenbürgen," in *Das Zeichen am Hut im Mittelalter*, 174–5.

<sup>900</sup> Wojciech Mischke, "Wizualne swiadectwo zjednoczeniowej roli kultu sw. Stanislawia i jego hipotetyczne zrodla" [Visual evidence of the unifying role of the cult of St. Stanislaus and its hypothetical origins], *Sprawozdania wydział nauk o sztuce* 103 (1985): 16. See also Benkő, "Pilgerzeichenforschung und Pilgerzeichenüberlieferung in Ungarn und in Siebenbürgen," 170.

<sup>901</sup> Margrete Figenschou Simonsen, "Medieval Pilgrimage Badges: Souvenirs or Valuable Charismatic Objects?" in *Charismatic Objects: From Roman Times to the Middle Ages*, ed. Marianne Vedeler, Ingunn M. Røstad, Elna Siv Kristoffersen, and Zanette T. Glørstad (Oslo: Cappelen Damm Akademisk, 2018), 179.

<sup>902</sup> Benkő, "Pilgerzeichenforschung und Pilgerzeichenüberlieferung," 167.

<sup>903</sup> Elek Benkő, *Erdély középkori harangjai és bronz keresztelőmedencéi* [Medieval bells and bronze baptismal fonts of Transylvania] (Budapest-Kolozsvár: Teleki László Alapítvány, 2002), 526.

<sup>904</sup> *Ibid.*, 526.

<sup>905</sup> Elly van Loon-van de Moosdijk, "Pilgrim Badges and Bells," in *Art and Symbolism in Medieval Europe*, ed. Guy De Boe and Frans Verhaege (Zellik, 1997), 151. On the magical qualities of bells, including church bells with Marian inscriptions see: Juraj Gembický, "Bells and Magic," in *The Role of Magic in the Past. Learned and Popular Magic, Popular Beliefs and Diversity of Attitudes*, ed. Blanka Szeghyová (Bratislava: Pro Historia, 2005), 186–99.

<sup>906</sup> Benkő, *Erdély középkori*, 488–92.

depicting the Lamentation of Christ, in which the veiled Virgin Mary holds the dead Savior in her arms, St. John seated on her right and Mary Magdalene standing in mourning to her left (Figure 55).<sup>907</sup> The badge decorated a bell—from an unknown original location, but which found its way to Sâncraiu (Kalotaszentkirály) after 1848—that was cast in 1481, so the badge itself was produced sometime before that date.<sup>908</sup> Comparable pilgrimage badges have been identified on a fifteenth-century bell from Hablingbo, Gotland (Sweden) and a bell in Rosswälden cast in 1467.<sup>909</sup>



Figure 55. Lamentation of Christ, Aachen pilgrimage badge, Sâncraiu (Kalotaszentkirály), before 1481 (Benkő, *Erdély középkori harangjai*, 277).

Benkő also identified several Marian decorative plaques that decorated various Transylvanian bells, namely: the enthroned Madonna on bells in Dupuș (Táblás/Tóbiásfalva, Tobsdorf/Tobiasdorf) and Movile (Százhalom, Hundertbücheln), cast in the second half of the fifteenth century, and Tărcești (Tarcsafalva), cast in the mid-fifteenth century; the Adoration of the Magi featuring an enthroned Mary from bells in Feiurdeni (Fejérd) and Ighiu (Magyarigen; Krapundorf), both cast in 1523 (Figure 56); a standing Madonna holding the Christ Child on a bell in Barabás from the late fifteenth century; and the Virgin Mary standing on the crescent moon, found on a bell in Rapolt Mare (Nagyrapolt; Groß-Rapolden) cast in 1523.<sup>910</sup>

<sup>907</sup> Benkő, *Erdély középkori harangjai*, 494.

<sup>908</sup> Benkő, *Erdély középkori harangjai*, 494.

<sup>909</sup> Sigrid Thurm, ed., *Deutscher Glockenatlas I. Württemberg und Hohen-Zollern* (Munich–Berlin 1959), 30; Monica Rydbeck, “Ett pilgrimsmärke från Alvastra och Gutenbergs ‘Aachener Heiltumsspiegel,’” *Fornvännen* 52 (1957): 300, fig. 5; L. Andersson, *Pilgrimsmärken och vallfart. Medeltida pilgrimskultur i Skandinavien* [Pilgrimage marks and pilgrimage. Medieval pilgrimage culture in Scandinavia] (Lund, 1989), 72.

<sup>910</sup> Benkő, *Erdély középkori harangjai*, 349, 362, 364, 452, 460, 480, 494.

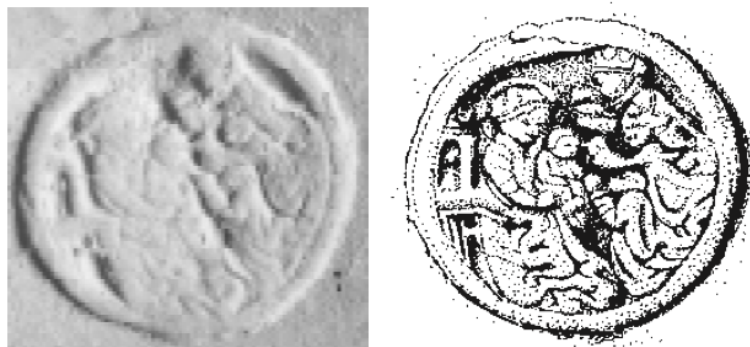


Figure 56. Adoration of the Magi, decorative plaque (Ø 3.8–4 cm), Feiurdeni, 1523; Ighiu, 1523 (Benkő, *Erdély középkori harangjai*, 494, 495, fig. 219).

There are three additional pilgrimage badges from Aachen that could have made their way to the region of medieval Hungary. These are badges from the collection of the Rippl-Rónai Museum in Kaposvár, which were acquired through the donation of Károly Szulok in 2015. An avid collector, Szulok acquired the objects travelling around Balatonföldvár; unfortunately, however, Szulok lost his records of the collected artifacts so their provenance cannot be traced, and thus we cannot confirm for certain that these pilgrimage badges had made their way to Hungary during the Middle Ages. Even so, it is worthwhile to comment on these badges since our evidence is so scarce. The first pilgrimage badge originates from the first half of the fourteenth century and could possibly have been found in Csege near Bálványos; on the badge Mary is pictured holding a lily scepter in her right hand and the Christ Child in her left.<sup>911</sup> Of the second badge only the face of Mary is preserved, but parallels to other pilgrimage badges suggest it originated in the early fourteenth century in Aachen.<sup>912</sup> Similarly, only the head, veil, and halo of Mary are preserved of the third badge.<sup>913</sup> A parallel, more complete pilgrimage badge (dating ca. 13<sup>th</sup>–14<sup>th</sup> c.) can be identified in another Hungarian museum, the Laczkó Dezső Museum in Veszprém.<sup>914</sup> The badge depicts Mary seated on small throne, holding a piece of fruit in her right hand, and the Christ Child in her left (Figure 57).<sup>915</sup> The specific pilgrimage site from which the badge originated is unknown. Péter G. Tóth and Vera Schleicher

<sup>911</sup> Csilla M. Aradi, “Középkori zarándokjelvények és mellkereszt töredéke a Szulok-gyűjteményből” [Medieval pilgrim badges and a reliquary cross fragment from the Szulok collection], *A kaposvári Rippl-Rónai Múzeum közleményei* 6 (2018): 14.

<sup>912</sup> *Ibid.*, 14–15.

<sup>913</sup> *Ibid.*, 15.

<sup>914</sup> Péter G. Tóth and Vera Schleicher, eds., *Térjünk a tárgyra. Kiállítás a Laczkó Dezső Múzeum alapításának 100. évfordulójára* [Get on to the Object! Exhibition on the Centennial of the Laczkó Dezső Múzeum] (Veszprém: Prospektus Nyomda, 2003), 27.

<sup>915</sup> For more on this pilgrimage badge see: Pál Rainer, “Egy Szűz Máriás zarándokjelvény a veszprémi Laczkó Dezső Múzeumban (A Pilgrim Badge depicting Virgin Mary in the Laczkó Dezső Museum, Veszprém, Hungary),” in *Mikroszkóppal. feltárásokkal, mintavételezéssel, kutatásokkal az archaeometria, a geoarchaeológia és a régészet szolgálatában. Tanulmányok Ilon Gábor régész 60 éves születésnapjára* [With a microscope. Excavations, sampling, research in the service of archaeometry, geoarchaeology, and archaeology. Studies in celebration of the 60th birthday of archaeologist Gábor Ilon], ed. László Bartosiewicz, Katalin T. Biró, Pál Sümegi, and Tünde Töröcsik (Szeged: SZTE TTIK Földrajzi és Földtudományi Intézet, 2019), 163–70.

believe it to have originated from somewhere in between northeastern France and the central Rhine region; Elek Benkő suggests that the pilgrimage site could be Aachen or Boulogne-sur-Mer.<sup>916</sup> Again, unfortunately the circumstances under which the badge came to the museum of Veszprém are unknown.<sup>917</sup> However, the Laczkó Dezső Museum acquired another, quite fragmented, pilgrimage badge in 2018, this time from a known context, during an archaeological excavation of the medieval village of Máhó near Gógánfa. These badge fragments were able to be identified with the help of the Aachen badge already in their possession. The newly acquired fragments depict the head of the baby Jesus and parts of his decorated clothing, the detail on the clothing can be matched to the Aachen pilgrimage badge.<sup>918</sup>



Figure 57. Marian pilgrimage badge originating from area between northeastern France and the central Rhine area, Laczkó Dezső Museum, Inv. Nr. 66.148.1, ca. 13<sup>th</sup>–14<sup>th</sup> c., ca. 7.5 cm (Benkő, “Pilgerzeichenforschung und Pilgerzeichenüberlieferung in Ungarn und in Siebenbürgen, 173, fig. 2).

<sup>916</sup> Tóth and Schleider, *Térjünk a tárgyra*, 27; Benkő, “Pilgerzeichenforschung und Pilgerzeichenüberlieferung in Ungarn,” 173–4.

<sup>917</sup> Tóth and Schleicher, *Térjünk a tárgyra*, 27.

<sup>918</sup> Ádám Sándor Pátkai, “Korpusz és zárándokjelvény Gógánfa - Máhó középkori faluhelyről” [Corpus and pilgrim badge from the medieval village of Gógánfa – Máhó], *A Laczkó Dezső Múzeum közleményei* 29 (2019): 249–57.



Pilgrimage pendants depicting the Virgin Mary have also been recovered from the southwestern corner of the Hungarian Kingdom, north of Zagreb. From graves excavated around the church of St. Mary in Lobor, fragments of four Marian pilgrimage badges were discovered. All depict the Virgin Mary holding the infant Jesus; in three they wear crowns and in two Mary holds a scepter. While all four can be dated to the sixteenth century, no frame or inscriptions are preserved that would allow one to identify their origin. The fifth example, excavated from the church of St. Michael Mihovljan, depicts Mary wearing a bell-shaped mantle and holding the Christ-Child. The reverse of the pendant depicts a monstrance. Again, this pendant can be dated to the sixteenth century, but its origin cannot be identified.<sup>919</sup>

### 3. Marian Objects in Secular Spaces

Objects that featured the image or name of the Virgin appeared in secular spaces such as private homes, government institutions like town halls, and the market square. Marian objects could also appear in a secular context within a religious building. For example, stove tiles featuring the Virgin Mary could appear on stoves in monastic complexes, but the stove itself would have occupied a space that did not serve a religious purpose. Though they occupied sanctified ground, objects recovered from graves can also be considered in this context. The objects deposited in graves were either personally chosen by the buried individual or their family, and most of these objects would have been owned by the buried individual and kept in their home or on their person, so while the object ultimately ended up in a religious space, it would have spent most of its “life” in a secular space. This does bring up the point, however, that there is not a sharp dividing line between Marian objects that occupied ecclesiastical spaces and those that occupied secular spaces. They could cross between these boundaries throughout their life cycle, and their very existence in a space could serve to sanctify it, possibly leading to the creation of a new ecclesiastical space.

#### 3.1 Coins

The quintessential small find is the coin. Its iconography represented the ruling power and is incredibly valuable in an archaeological context for providing a *terminus post quem*. No coins with Marian iconography were minted during the Angevin and Luxembourg periods. Before these periods such coinage was only minted during the reign of King Béla III, and after

<sup>919</sup> For a detailed description of these pilgrimage pendants and their contexts see Ana Azinović Bebek, “On pilgrim pendants from the territory of Croatia,” *Pril. Inst. Arheol. Zagrebu* 30 (2013): 107–19.

these periods from the time of King Mathias Hunyadi onwards. Though Marian coinage was not in use during the Angevin and Luxembourg periods, because they are such a vital component of material culture they will be presented briefly here.

Mary first appeared on Hungarian coinage on the copper coins of King Béla III (Figure 58). Mary is depicted seated; there is an abstract depiction of something made of a series of repeated circles at Mary's left shoulder. Some have interpreted this abstract image to be the Christ Child, however, others have identified it as an ornamental belt or sash draped over her shoulder.<sup>920</sup> In her right hand she holds a scepter, or possibly a lily, and the title *Sancta Maria* is inscribed around the coin.<sup>921</sup> On the obverse two seated royal figures are depicted, one being Béla himself. The identification of the other figure differs in the literature, some suggest that it is his predecessor Stephen III (1162–1172), others that it pictures one of the saintly kings of Hungary, perhaps Ladislaus I.<sup>922</sup> Stylistic parallels to Byzantine coinage, as well as the fact that Béla had previously been heir to the Byzantine throne, point to Byzantine influence on the choice and representation of Mary on the copper coinage of Béla III.<sup>923</sup> Although her image would not appear on Hungarian coinage again until the reign of Mathias Corvinus, these coins circulated throughout the Carpathian Basin, and in so doing helped spread the cult of the Virgin and her connection to Hungarian rulers.<sup>924</sup>



Figure 58. Copper coin of Béla III (r. 1172–1196) (Gyöngyössi, “Szentkultusz középkori,” 102, fig. 1).

<sup>920</sup> Géza Jeszenszky, “Az első magyar rézpénzek” [The first Hungarian copper coins], *Numizmatikai Közlöny* 34–35 (1935–1936): 36; Róbert Ujszászi, *A XII. századi magyar rézpénzek* [Hungarian copper coins of the 12<sup>th</sup> century] (Budapest: Magyar Éremgyűjtők Egyesülete, 2010), 14, 96.

<sup>921</sup> The lily suggestion was made by Jeszenszky, “Az első magyar rézpénzek,” 34–47.

<sup>922</sup> For the former see Jeszenszky, “Az első magyar rézpénzek,” 34–47. For the latter: Csaba Tóth, “Minting, Financial Administration and Coin Circulation in Hungary in the Árpadian and Angevin Periods (1000–1387),” in *The Economy of Medieval Hungary*, 285–6; Gyöngyössi, “Szentkultusz középkori,” 90, 91.

<sup>923</sup> Gyöngyössi, “Szentkultusz középkori,” 90–1.

<sup>924</sup> Ibid., 92. On the locations of these coin finds see: Jeszenszky, “Az első magyar rézpénzek,” 38–9; Karl Schulz, “Ein Fund mittelalterlicher ungarischer Kupfermünzen in Wien,” *Numismatische Zeitschrift* 92 (1978): 18; Ujszászi, *A XII. századi magyar rézpénzek*, 145–62.

It was during the reign of Mathias Corvinus (1458–1490) that the Virgin would once again appear on Hungarian coinage. As part of Matthias's great monetary reform, he changed the design of Hungarian coins, which came to be called "Madonna coins"; on these coins the Virgin Mary was pictured on the obverse of gold forints and the reverse of silver coins (Figure 59).<sup>925</sup> Mary is depicted seated and crowned, holding the Christ-Child, and her role is clearly defined by the inscription around her: *Patrona Ungarie*. The Madonna would remain a staple of Hungarian coinage until the mid-twentieth century.<sup>926</sup>



Figure 59. Groschen of Mathias Corvinus, 1489–90 Obverse: + M•MATHIE•REGIS•VNGARIE•. Reverse: PATRONA-HVNGARIE. (Huszár, *Münzkatalog Ungarn*, 110).

By the time of Charles I's rule in Hungary, Mary had already been depicted on Hungarian coinage, and she also featured—though rarely before the mid-fifteenth century—on coins produced in other parts of Europe, so it is interesting that members of the Angevin and Luxembourg dynasties chose not to use coinage as a way to promote their Marian devotion in Hungary. However, a gold coin that depicted the Virgin Mary and the Christ Child on its reverse and a Reichsapfel on its obverse was minted at the imperial mint of Basel during the reign of Sigismund as Holy Roman Emperor (Figure 60). While this coin was produced at an imperial mint, which was in the hands of Conrad IV of Weinsberg from 1431, Sigismund probably had very little to do with the choice of imagery. The Virgin Mary was the patron of the city of Basel and the choice to use her on the coin was likely influenced by the Church Council, which convoked in Basel around the time of the coin's inception.<sup>927</sup>

<sup>925</sup> Lajos Huszár, *Münzkatalog Ungarn von 1000 bis heute* (Munich: Battenberg, 1979), 92; Gyöngyössi, "Szentkultusz középkori," 92. For a catalogue of Madonna coins from this period see: Huszár, *Münzkatalog*, 107–15.

<sup>926</sup> Gyöngyössi, "Szentkultusz középkori," 92.

<sup>927</sup> The mint was in the hands of Conrad IV of Weinsberg from 1431. Joachim Weschke, Ursula Hagen-Jahnke, and Annelore Schmidt, *Gold Coins of the Middle Ages from the Deutsche Bundesbank Collection*, trans. Edward Besly (Frankfurt am Main: Deutsche Bundesbank, 1983), XXI, XXII, Plate 51. See also Gysbertus W. de Wit and Alexandra Spreu, ed., *The De Wit Collection of Medieval Coins, 1000 Years of European Coinage, Part II: Germany, Switzerland, Austria, Bohemia, Moravia, Hungary, Silesia, Poland, Baltic States, Russia and the golden Horde* (Osnabrück: Numismatischer Verlag Künker, 2007), 376.



It appears that in Hungary, the Angevin and Luxembourg rulers decided to focus on media other than coinage to promote their devotion and connection to the Virgin Mary.



Figure 60. *Apfelgulden* coin, city of Basel. Obverse: *Madonna and Child*, inscription: *AVE MARIA GRACIA P* (de Wit and Spreu, *The De Wit Collection II*, 376, no. 2528).

### 3.2 Household Goods

The image and name of the Virgin Mary could be inscribed on objects in lay and domestic spaces, including household wares. Pottery decorated with the inscription “av maria,” a shortened form of *Ave Maria* in gothic miniscule, were recovered from excavations in both Esztergom and Buda. In Buda, in an area that would have been southwest of the Lesser Virgin Mary Church and in the courtyard of the provost’s residence, excavation of a pit and associated cistern in 1974 revealed some exceptional finds, including pottery. From the fill of the cistern fragments of an early sixteenth-century washbasin of pale red fabric with a green glaze, about 8 cm high and 31 cm in diameter, were recovered. The inscription “av maria” is repeated around the flattened rim of the washbasin, and an eight-pointed star in a double circle can be seen in the middle of the bowl (Figure 61).<sup>928</sup> Similar ceramic bowl fragments with the same repeated “av maria” inscription were recovered in earlier excavations around Buda palace, but these dated to the second half of the fifteenth century and had a yellow or green glaze (Figure 62).<sup>929</sup>

<sup>928</sup> Edit Szilvia Veres, “Kerámia leletek a Szent Zsigmond templom szobortöredékei mellett,” [Ceramic finds next to the sculptural remains of St. Sigismund church], *Budapest Régiségei* 33 (1999): 67, 76.

<sup>929</sup> Imre Holl, “Középkori cserépedények a budai Várpalotából” [Medieval earthenware vessels from the castle of Buda], *Budapest Régiségei* 20 (1963): 335, 361.

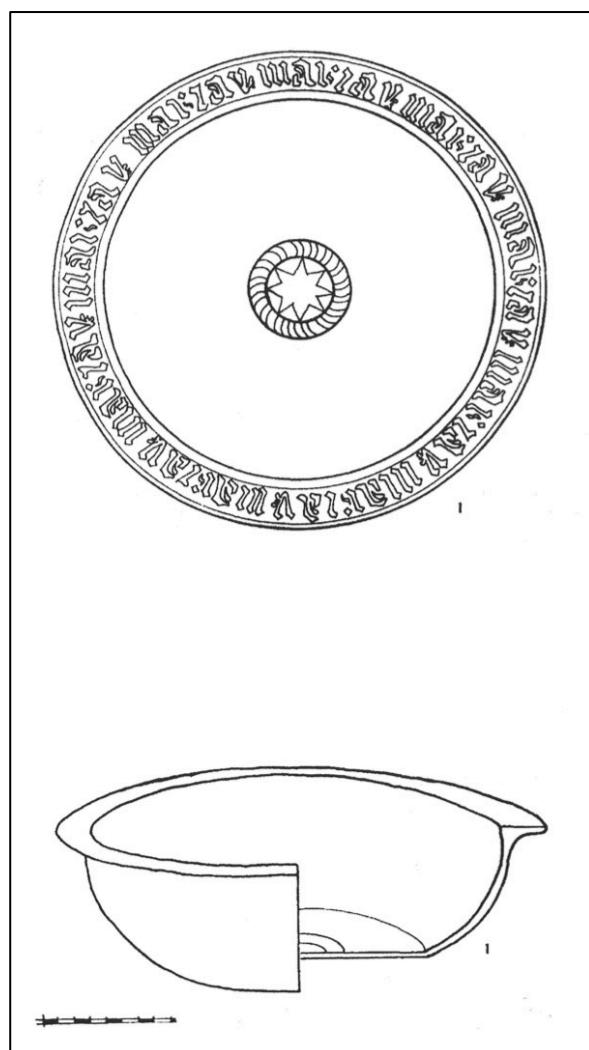


Figure 61. Sixteenth-century ceramic washbasin found in southern Buda, ca. 8 cm high and 31 cm in diameter (Veres, "Kerámia leletek," 79, fig. 10).



Figure 62. Rim fragment of fifteenth-century washbasin with Ave Maria inscription (Holl, "Középkori cserépedények a budai Várpalotából," 359, fig. 53).

Ceramic fragments with the same repeated "av maria" inscription on a flattened rim—dated to the second half of the fifteenth century—were discovered with other late medieval artifacts near the remains of an Ottoman pottery kiln during an excavation in Szenttamás,

Esztergom in 1956 (Figure 63).<sup>930</sup> According to Nándor Parádi, the almost identical inscriptions point to the bowls being produced in the same pottery workshop in Buda.<sup>931</sup> Parádi also suggests that this style of inscribed pottery may have inspired rural pottery of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. A piece of pottery discovered during the demolition of a medieval church on an island of the village of Chľaba (Helemba) has a similar style to the “av maria” bowls but is of poorer quality; only an “a” and a backwards “r” can be distinguished.<sup>932</sup>



Figure 63. *Ave Maria* bowl, 2<sup>nd</sup> half of 15<sup>th</sup> c., Esztergom (Parádi, “Későközépkori feliratos díszű cserépedények,” 156, fig. 49.1).

These fragments would have come from washbasins, which were used before mealtimes to wash one’s hands, typically in the households of royals, nobles, and burghers. Imre Holl has pointed to the metal bowls of Nuremberg, which often featured Marian iconography including *Ave Maria* inscriptions and were widely popular in the fifteenth century, as possible inspiration for the *Ave Maria* bowls in Hungary.<sup>933</sup>

The time period of the production and use of the ceramic *Ave Maria* bowls may have started as early as the reign of King Sigismund in Hungary; however, the archaeological contexts of the finds thus far point to their production starting in the second half of the fifteenth century. Even so, the rarity of Marian imagery and inscriptions on domestic products like ceramics in medieval Hungary warrants their inclusion in a discussion of Marian material culture of the medieval Hungarian Kingdom.

More plentiful and in use during the Angevin and Luxembourg periods are representations of the Virgin Mary on stove tiles, which residents of medieval Hungary could encounter on a daily basis in the warm heart of their homes.<sup>934</sup> In addition to geometric and

<sup>930</sup> Parádi, “Későközépkori feliratos díszű cserépedények,” 155–8. On the excavation see: Géza Fehér and Nándor Parádi, “Esztergom-szenttamáshegyi 1956. évi törökkori kutatások” [Research on the Turkish period at Esztergom-Senttamáshegy in 1956], *Esztergom Évlapjai* I (1960): 35–43, XXVII–XXIX.

<sup>931</sup> Parádi, “Későközépkori feliratos díszű cserépedények,” 158.

<sup>932</sup> Parádi also mentions pottery fragments from an excavation in Nagykanizsa that share features with the Buda, Esztergom, and Chľaba fragments, but are not inscribed with any lettering. Parádi, “Későközépkori feliratos díszű cserépedények,” 159–60.

<sup>933</sup> Holl, “Középkori cserépedények a budai Várpalotából,” 361.

<sup>934</sup> Judit Tamási published the first monograph on this subject: Judit Tamási, *Verwandte Typen im schweizerischen und ungarischen Kachelfundmaterial in der zweiten Hälfte des 15. Jahrhunderts. Vergleichsuntersuchungen zu*

other secular designs, religious imagery was also often added to the surface of stove tiles. The first proper tile stoves, used only for heating and coated with regular rows of tiles, were used in the southern Alps around the year 1300, but from there spread throughout Central and Eastern Europe; in Hungary the use of tile stoves followed both waves of German colonization and top-down social transmission, and multiple stove tile workshops have been excavated across the kingdom.<sup>935</sup>

A study of all the examples of religious imagery on stove tiles in medieval Hungary was completed by Anna Maria Gruia, who found that they were produced and used primarily during the late Middle Ages, from the fourteenth to sixteenth centuries.<sup>936</sup> The Virgin is depicted in image or name on fifty-one of these tiles, about 10% of the total, the majority of which date to the fifteenth century.<sup>937</sup> The most popular Marian representation was a crowned Madonna holding the Christ-Child, followed by her depictions in Annunciation (Figure 64) and Crucifixion scenes. Portraits of the Virgin and inscriptions of the name of Mary were also frequently found.<sup>938</sup>



Figure 64. *Annunciation, end of 15th c. – beg. of 16th c., Ružica castle (Ana-Maria Gruia, “Religious Representations on Stove Tiles from the Medieval Kingdom of Hungary” (PhD diss., Central European University, 2009),” 521).*

*den Werkstattbeziehungen zwischen dem oberrheinischen Raum und Ungarn, VIII* (Budapest: Ungarisches Landesdenkmalamt, 1995).

<sup>935</sup> Ana Maria Gruia, *Religious Representations on Stove Tiles from the Medieval Kingdom of Hungary* (Cluj-Napoca: Editura MEGA, 2013), 19, 30.

<sup>936</sup> She includes a catalogue of the analyzed stove tiles, see Gruia, *Religious Representations on Stove Tiles*, 297–497.

<sup>937</sup> *Ibid.*, 34.

<sup>938</sup> *Ibid.*, 43.

The social context of these Marian tiles varied. The regional find spots of Marian stove tiles were comparable to those of stove tiles with religious imagery in general: central Hungary, Transylvania, and northern Hungary being represented about equally, and Slavonia far less, which is reflective of the relative size and population of the regions. Most would have adorned stoves in palaces and castles, but manor houses and noble residences, religious contexts (including Benedictine and Carthusian monasteries and a Franciscan friary), and urban contexts—such as burgers’ houses and important buildings like the town hall—were also well represented. The social contexts of Marian stove tiles are similar to religious stove tiles in general except for two differences: ca. 4% of all religious stove tiles were found in villages, while no Marian tiles were, and ca. 15% of all religious stove tiles were found in a religious context, compared to ca. 26% of Marian tiles.<sup>939</sup> This could indicate a slightly higher interest in Marian iconography in religious contexts.

While there does not seem to be any clear correlation between the type of Marian iconography and the social context of the find spot, one variation of Marian iconography is worthy of mention. A combination of the *Maria in sole* and Coronation of the Virgin motifs were found on two fifteenth-century stove tiles recovered from the Carthusian monastery of Kľaštorskó and the Franciscan friary of Slovenská Ľupča (Zólyomlipcse; Liptsch) (Figure 65).<sup>940</sup> *Maria in sole* iconography derives from a passage in the book of Revelations—“a woman clothed with the sun, with the moon under her feet and a crown of twelve stars on her head”<sup>941</sup>—and is noted to have “the longest career in giving visual expression to the Immaculate Conception.”<sup>942</sup> The Coronation of the Virgin also has a history of being used to illustrate the Immaculate Conception,<sup>943</sup> so their combined usage in stove tiles from a Carthusian monastery and a Franciscan friary point to an interest in promoting this dogma.

<sup>939</sup> Not including unknown contexts. Overall religious stove tile find contexts calculated from data included in Gruia, *Religious Representations on Stove Tiles*, 52–4. Marian stove tile percentages based on data amalgamated from Gruia’s catalogue: Gruia, *Religious Representations on Stove Tiles*, 297–498.

<sup>940</sup> Ibid., 112–13.

<sup>941</sup> Revelations 12:1.

<sup>942</sup> Maria Crăciun, “Mendicant Piety and the Saxon Community,” 51. Unlike the image depicted on the of Kľaštorskó and Slovenská Ľupča tiles, images of the *Maria in Sole* identified with the Virgin Immaculate typically depict Mary standing on the moon without the Christ child (D’Ancona, *The Iconography of the Immaculate Conception*, 25)

<sup>943</sup> D’Ancona, *The Iconography of the Immaculate Conception*, 28–32.





Klaštorsko

Slovenská Ľupča

Figure 65. Stove tiles from the Carthusian monastery of Klaštorsko and the Franciscan friary of Slovenská Ľupča (Gruia, "Religious Representations on Stove Tiles," 117, fig. 4.32).

The influence of German material culture is evident in some of the imagery and inscriptions—which were often in the German language—on Marian stove tiles. Some of the Marian imagery bears a striking similarity to the work of German printmakers. For example, three tiles with similar images of the Madonna (from the castle of Parič in Trebišov [Töketerebes, Trebischau], Benedictine monastery in Krásna nad Hornádom [Abaszéplak], and Carthusian monastery in Klaštorsko, all from the end of the fifteenth century) appear to have been inspired by the engravings of German printmakers like Master E. S. and Israhel van Meckenem (Figure 66).<sup>944</sup>



Parič

Krásna nad Hornádom

Klaštorsko

Figure 66. Group of directly related tiles depicting the seated Madonna and Christ Child (Gruia, "Religious Representations on Stove Tiles," 116).

<sup>944</sup> Ján Chovanec, "Palatínska kachľová pec Imricha Perényiho" [The Tile Stove of the Palatine Imrich Perényi], in *Gotické a renesančné kachlice v Karpatoch* [Gothic and Renaissance Stove Tiles from the Carpathians], ed. Ján Chovanec (Trebišov: Arx Paris, 2005), 23–54; Gruia, *Religious Representations on Stove Tiles*, 112.

While German production and use of stove tiles with religious imagery was pronounced in Hungary, it should be emphasized that they were not strictly a part of “German” material culture; they were produced and used by all ethnic/language groups in the kingdom.<sup>945</sup> In this vein, three identical fifteenth-century Marian stove tiles from Szécsény bearing the inscription “maria panno” in gothic miniscule (Figure 67), a variation of the more common “marya” crest tile inscribed above bunches of grapes and below merlons with coats of arms, should be mentioned. Károly Pulszky interpreted this inscription to mean “Marya Pannoniae Regina,” invoking Mary’s role as queen of Hungary and Hungarians.<sup>946</sup> However, this text could also have been written in medieval Slovak, which would translate as “Oh, Virgin Mary!” and would point to the presence of Slovak-speakers in Szécsény.<sup>947</sup> Indeed, while most inscriptions on medieval stove tiles in Hungary were written in German or Latin, Slovak, as well as Romanian, inscriptions could also be found.<sup>948</sup>



Figure 67. Crown tile with “maria panno” inscription, Szécsény, 15<sup>th</sup> c. (Gruia, “Religious Representations on Stove Tiles,” 196, fig. 7.5).

The multi-cultural aspects of the “maria panno” tiles are further emphasized by the fact that their molds may have originated in Prague. Tiles have been identified in Bohemia that are completely analogous to those from Szécsény except that instead of “maria panno” the name of the pottery master who made the tile is inscribed at the top of the tile, below the merlons.

<sup>945</sup> Gruia, *Religious Representations on Stove Tiles*, 254.

<sup>946</sup> Károly Pulszky, “A magyar agyagművesség történetére vonatkozó kérdések” [Questions about the history of Hungarian Pottery], *Archaeológiai Értesítő* 2 (1882): 260; Anna Anderko, “A nógrádi-gömöri régió kályhássága” [The Stove Tile Industry in the Nógrád-Gömör region] (PhD diss., ELTE, 2021), 59–60; Katalin Bodnár, “Kályhacsempék Nógrád megyéből I. Szécsény mezőváros XV–XVI. századi kályhacsempéi” [Stove tiles from Nógrád County I. Stove tiles from the XV–XVI. century of Szécsény], *Nógrád Megyei Múzeumok Évkönyve* XIV (1988): 12.

<sup>947</sup> Gruia, *Religious Representations on Stove Tiles*, 189.

<sup>948</sup> *Ibid.*, 181.

Gruia explains that Hungarian tile makers adopted the molds but chose to inscribe the name of Mary rather than their own on the part of the tile left blank, possibly because of “their less developed self-awareness” or because of the “lesser social status of such groups of artisans in Hungary.”<sup>949</sup> I would add that the inclusion of Mary’s name rather than their own might simply be indicative of a desire for such an object in the Hungarian market.

Interestingly, despite the Virgin Mary’s seeming supremacy in saintly representations, she is not the most popularly depicted saint on stove tiles in medieval Hungary. That honor goes to St. George, in particular the iconography of St. George slaying the dragon. The trend is not limited to Hungary, he is the most popular saint depicted on stove tiles in Central and Eastern Europe as a whole.<sup>950</sup> St. George’s popularity could be explained by his connection to knightly culture—and, indeed, most of the tiles featuring the saint were found in palaces, castles, fortifications, and manor houses, places where knightly culture would have had an impact, in contrast to the find-spots of Marian tiles, where religious and urban contexts were better represented.<sup>951</sup> The popularity of this image could have also have been bolstered simply by the fact that the imagery of St. George slaying the dragon is exciting to look at. We can apply this consideration to Marian examples as well. While religious depictions on stove tiles might bring one to contemplate various Christian virtues and beliefs, they also served a more mundane function: to look beautiful and interesting to looked at while helping to heat a space.

The decorative quality of religious stove tiles is but one purpose they served. In addition to their decorative quality, Gruia lists seven other possible purposes, namely: loyalty and allegiance (for example, by choosing royal saints or images that a superior favored); status symbol and prestige (especially in public or semi-private spaces); identity (for example, choosing one’s patron saint); visual literacy, memory, and edification (that is, as a story-telling device to communicate certain biblical stories, saints’ lives, or Christian dogmas); protection and magic; devotional functions; and the cult of saints.<sup>952</sup> Many of these functions could apply to the other houseware discussed above, the *Ave Maria* bowls discovered in Buda and

<sup>949</sup> Gruia, *Religious Representations on Stove Tiles*, 190.

<sup>950</sup> St. George makes up ca. 17% of stove tiles with religious imagery in Hungary, versus the Virgin Mary’s ca. 10%. Gruia, *Religious Representations on Stove Tiles*, 34, 119. On St. George’s depiction on stove tiles in Central and Eastern Europe with earlier literature see: Ana-Maria Gruia, “Saint George on Medieval Stove Tiles from Transylvania, Moldavia and Wallachia,” *Studia Patzinaka* 5 (2007): 7–46.

<sup>951</sup> There are examples of depictions of St. George on stove tiles in monastic and urban contexts in Hungary, however, the proportion found in these contexts is much lower than that of Marian tiles. Gruia, *Religious Representations on Stove Tiles*, 123–4. On knightly culture in Hungary see Ágnes Kurcz, *Lovagi kultúra Magyarországon a 13-14. században* [Knightly Culture in Hungary in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries] (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1988).

<sup>952</sup> Gruia, *Religious Representations on Stove Tiles*, 225–47. Gruia approaches “devotional function” and “cult of the saints” as two different functions of religious stove tiles (Gruia, *Religious Representations on Stove Tiles*, 242–5), but I think it would make more sense to combine them.



Esztergom. The *Ave Maria* inscription was decorative, and the high quality of these bowls signals their function as a status symbol. While the *Ave Maria* inscription could have simply reflected a devotion to the Virgin Mary, it could have also served a protective or sanctifying purpose, blessing and purifying the water held within.

### 3.3 Jewelry & Accessories

As argued by Dawn Marie Hayes, the human body and sacred spaces were “inextricably joined to the extent that rarely could one exist without the other.”<sup>953</sup> In this way the church building and Christian human body represented “two facades of Christian sacred place,” and thus objects featuring religious imagery worn on the body were like the panel paintings and altar cloths of a church.<sup>954</sup> Jewelry and other clothing accessories with religious iconography served several functions for their wearers. Beyond the functions of personal adornment and prestige representation, they could express religious, regional, and/or ethnic identity, and may have been thought to possess miraculous or magical qualities.

The rosary would have been the most accessible piece of “jewelry” associated with the Virgin Mary for most medieval individuals. The beads of the rosary could have been made from a wide variety of materials, from wood, bone, and glass to coral and precious stones, meaning that anyone from a peasant to a queen could have had access to a rosary. In Hungary the use of the rosary was promoted by the Dominicans beginning in the thirteenth century and grew in popularity in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.<sup>955</sup> Wearers carried this symbol and tool of Marian piety with them throughout their day, bringing an air of sanctity to whatever space they might be in, and at their wearer’s death were either placed in the burial with the body, sanctifying their grave, given to a family member, or donated to the Church as a votive object.<sup>956</sup>

In the Hungarian historical record, evidence for the existence and use of rosaries can be detected in testamentary records. The most extensive extant testamentary records of medieval Hungary that have been analyzed to date come from the free, royal towns of

<sup>953</sup> Dawn Marie Hayes, *Body and Sacred Place in Medieval Europe, 1100–1389* (NY: Routledge, 2003), xv.

<sup>954</sup> Hayes, *Body and Sacred Place*, xv.

<sup>955</sup> László Bartosiewicz et al., “Animal Exploitation in Medieval Hungary,” in *The Economy of Medieval Hungary*, 144.

<sup>956</sup> As a votive object see: Katalin Szende, *Otthon a városban: Társadalom és anyagi kultúra a középkori Sopronban, Pozsonyban és Eperjesen* [At home in the city: Society and material culture in medieval Sopron, Bratislava, and Prešov] (Budapest: MTA Történettudományi Intézete, 2004), 198; Harry Kühnel, ed., *Bildwörterbuch der Kleidung und Rüstung* (Stuttgart: A. Kröner, 1992), 212–13.

Bratislava, Sopron, and Prešov, dating from the mid-fifteenth to early sixteenth centuries.<sup>957</sup> Rosaries appear in the last wills in about 10% of the cases: thirty-seven rosaries are listed in the last wills of Sopron, sixty-six in Bratislava, and one in Prešov. They appeared in the wills of both men and women, were made primarily of coral, and their elaborateness varied.<sup>958</sup> They might be decorated with coins, pendants (the Virgin Mary was a popular image on such pendants, but St. Christopher and *Agnus Dei* medallions were also common), or a pomander (*Bisampfel*)—a perforated metal sphere that would be filled with perfume; the latter ornament was the rarest in the wills of the cities in question, appearing in only three early sixteenth-century wills.<sup>959</sup> While rosaries were typically left to a family member, by the early sixteenth century it became fashionable, at least in Bratislava, to leave a rosary to a religious institution, more specifically that it would be used to decorate to a certain altar, statue, or image in said institution.<sup>960</sup> Cases like this, as well as in instances where one was buried with a rosary in a church cemetery, “can be interpreted as a crossing of the dividing line between private devotion and communal rites.”<sup>961</sup>

While the social strata included in these wills was diverse, most pertained to the cities’ burghers, ruling classes, and clergy, especially from the mid-fifteenth century onwards.<sup>962</sup> Simpler rosaries—like those made of wood or bone, which the “average” medieval Hungarian citizen would have worn—were not included in wills,<sup>963</sup> but can be detected in the archaeological record. Some of the best evidence for rosary bead production in Hungary was unearthed in 1985, when excavations were undertaken at 36 Fő Street in Visegrád, where the remains of a bone carving workshop were discovered in the fourteenth- to fifteenth-century levels of the settlement.<sup>964</sup> Bone beads—which would have been polished and then strung

<sup>957</sup> An analysis of these last wills, with earlier literature, can be found in: Szende, *Otthon a városban*. More recently the last wills of Bratislava have been published: Majorossy and Szende, *Das Preßburger Protocolum Testamentorum I* (2010); Majorossy and Szende, *Das Preßburger Protocolum Testamentorum II* (2014).

<sup>958</sup> Coral necklaces in general, not only rosaries, were thought to have magical and protective qualities, especially for children. Many fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Italian paintings depicted the Christ Child wearing a coral necklace or holding coral, and the red color of the coral symbolized the Passion. Rubin, *Mother of God*, 491n98; Gerald W. R. Ward, ed., “Coral,” in *The Grove Encyclopedia of Materials and Techniques in Art* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 146.

<sup>959</sup> Data concerning the rosaries from: Szende, *Otthon a városban*, 198.

<sup>960</sup> Szende, *Otthon a városban*, 201. For a table containing information about goods, including rosaries, donated to religious institutions in Sopron, Bratislava, and Prešov see Szende, *Otthon a városban*, 200.

<sup>961</sup> *Ibid.*, 201.

<sup>962</sup> *Ibid.*, 92.

<sup>963</sup> *Ibid.*, 198.

<sup>964</sup> Péter Gróf and Dániel Gróh, “The Remains of Medieval Bone Carvings from Visegrád,” in *Crafting Bone – Skeletal Technologies through Time and Space. Proceedings of the 2<sup>nd</sup> meeting of the (ICAZ) Worked Bone Research Group*, ed. Alice M. Choyke and László Bartosiewicz (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2001), 281. See also Péter Gróf and Dániel Gróh, “Játékkocka és rózsafüzér. A középkori csontmégmunkálás emlékei Visegrádon” [Dice and rosary. Monuments of medieval bone-working in Visegrád], in *Játsszani jó! Történelmi barangolás a játékok birodalmában* [It’s fun to play! Historical exploration in the realm of games], ed. Edit D. Matuz and Anna Ridovics (Budapest: Budapesti Történeti Múzeum – Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, 2004), 83–93; László Szende, “Királyi

together to make a rosary—as well as tools and debris for producing the beads were recovered from the site (Figure 68).<sup>965</sup> Interestingly, dice—the use of which was often prohibited—were also produced at the workshop.<sup>966</sup> Thus, at this Visegrád workshop simple bone was transformed both into a worldly vice, dice, and a religious aid, the rosary. Remains of late medieval bone beads and scrap material have also been recovered in Székesfehérvár, Buda, Visegrád, and Eger, pointing to the more widespread production of bone beads in the Hungarian Kingdom.<sup>967</sup>

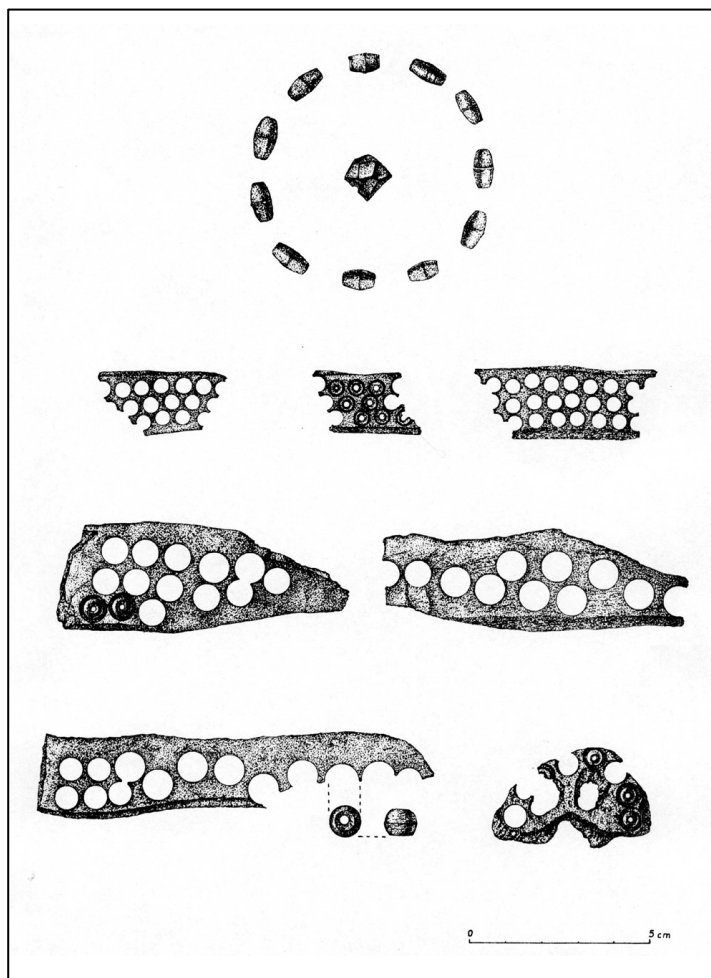


Figure 68. Bone beads and debris from the Visegrád workshop (Gróf & Gróh, “The Remains of Medieval Bone Carvings from Visegrád,” 285).

There are many examples of medieval beads being discovered in an archaeological context in Hungary, but it is difficult to identify many of these finds as *rosary* beads in particular, especially if they are found in small numbers. However, some examples can be identified. For instance, fifty-two bone beads were found in a grave in the late medieval

központok kézművessége a 13.–14. században” [Craftmanship in royal centers in the 13<sup>th</sup>–14<sup>th</sup> centuries], *Urbs - Magyar várostörténeti évkönyv* 7 (Budapest, 2012): 143.

<sup>965</sup> Gróf and Gróh, “The Remains of Medieval Bone Carvings,” 281–5.

<sup>966</sup> Gróf and Gróh, “The Remains of Medieval Bone Carvings,” 282.

<sup>967</sup> Mária G. Sándor, “Adatok a középkori csontgomb- és gyöngykészítéshez” [Data on medieval bone button and bead making], *Folia archeologica* 13 (1961), 141–9.

cemetery of Kaszaper; they were found around the neck of the buried individual and therefore would have been worn as a necklace.<sup>968</sup> During excavation of a cemetery in Aranyegyháza, located a few kilometers from Szabadszállás, 285 smaller and three larger bone beads were recovered near the right hand of a body within a grave dated to the fourteenth century (Figure 69).<sup>969</sup> About 20 km southeast of Aranyegyháza, the excavation of a cemetery in Ágasegyháza yielded another likely rosary from the fourteenth century. Again, it was found near the right hand, but was composed of eighty-six blue glass beads.<sup>970</sup> A rosary of medieval bone beads from Diósgyőr and medieval bone beads from the Buda Castle are also known.<sup>971</sup> More definitive identifications and larger numbers of rosaries have been found during the excavation of early modern graves in Hungary, such as those recovered during excavation of an early modern cemetery in Szécsény and the cemetery surrounding the church of St. Nicholas in Žumberak (Zsumberk), the latter made of wooden beads and a horizontal credo cross.<sup>972</sup>

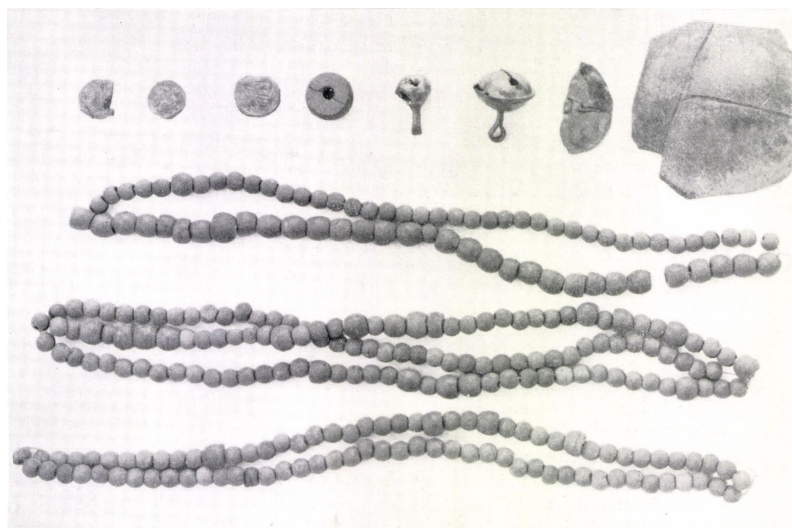


Figure 69. Finds from grave of woman in Aranyegyháza including bone beads (grave 34) (Szabó, “Az alföldi magyar nép művelődéstörténeti emlékei,” 43).

Other forms of medieval jewelry or accessories would invoke Mary with inscriptions of her name—“Maria” or simply “M”—or variations of the Hail Mary prayer. In the fourteenth century in the area that is sometimes referred to as Lower Hungary (today western and central

<sup>968</sup> (Grave 138). Alajos Bálint, “A kaszaperi középkori templom és temető. Függelékkel. (VII-XXI. tábla és 20 kép.)” [The medieval church and cemetery in Kaszaper. With appendix. (Tables VII-XXI and 20 figures)], *Dolgozatok a Magyar Királyi Ferencz József Tudományegyetem Archaeologiai Intézetéből* 14 (1938): 161, 162.

<sup>969</sup> (Grave 34). Szabó, “Az alföldi magyar nép művelődéstörténeti emlékei,” 43–4.

<sup>970</sup> *Ibid.*, 41–2.

<sup>971</sup> Miskolc, Hermann Ottó Múzeum, ltsz. 53.699.15; Budapest, Budapesti Történeti Múzeum Vármúzeuma, ltsz. 1951/1717; Sándor, “Adatok a középkori csontgomb- és gyöngykészítéshez,” 146.

<sup>972</sup> Csilla Líbor, Virág Laczkó, Emese Zsiga-Csoltkó, and Tekla Balogh Bodor, “The excavation of an early modern cemetery in Szécsény,” *Hungarian Archaeology* 9/1 (2020): 33; Ana Azinović Bebek and Andreij Janeš, “Groblje oko crkve sv. Nikole biskupa u Žumberku” [Cemetery surrounding the Church of St. Nicholas the Bishop in Žumberak], *Groblja i pogrebni običaji u srednjem i ranom novom vijeku na prostoru sjeverne Hrvatske* [Cemeteries and funeral customs in the Middle and Early Modern Ages in northern Croatia], ed. Siniša Krznar, Tajana Sekelj Ivančan, Tatjana Tkalčec, and Juraj Belaj (Zagreb: Institut za arheologiju, 2016), 135.

Slovakia) silver—and to a lesser degree bronze—rings with a large, flat head, engraved with a letter, lily, cross, or bird, were quite fashionable. These rings were made from a thin silver or bronze sheet, and the engravings were typically quite shallow and crude, so they would not have been used as sealing rings. Rather, the symbols on them may have been emblems of religious guilds. The letter “M” was the most common letter found on such rings, perhaps short for “Maria,” and therefore a sign of one’s membership in a Marian confraternity or guild (Figure 70).<sup>973</sup>



Figure 70. Silver finger rings with “M” engraving, fourteenth century (Szabó, “Az alföldi magyar nép művelődéstörténeti emlékei,” 43, figs. 255–62).

Other medieval rings found in Hungary are more clearly connected to the Virgin Mary. Excavation of the area around the southern Buda palace in 1974 revealed a gilded silver ring with the inscription “AVE MARIA GRACIA PLENA.” It was recovered from a cistern beneath a layer of building rubble with a layer of fifteenth-century rubbish, leading to the assumption that it also dates to this period.<sup>974</sup> A similar ring was found during the excavation of the house at Jókai u. 10 in the city center of Székesfehérvár. This one is of higher quality; it was made of gold and the stone (now missing) was held by a lion’s mouth on either side. On the outer sides of the ring a longer portion of the *Ave Maria* prayer with intermittent spacing was engraved reading: “AVE MA x RIA GRA TIA PLE x NA DOMI” (Figure 71). Judit Antoni hypothesized that this ring was made for a high priest or important member of some religious order, and that it was brought to Hungary, perhaps by someone of Italian origin, during the reign of Charles I.<sup>975</sup> Parallels to this ring can be found in western Europe.<sup>976</sup> A strikingly similar gold ring (inscription: + AVE MARIA GRAT/IA PLENA DOMIN), now at the British Museum, also

<sup>973</sup> Szabó, “Az alföldi magyar nép művelődéstörténeti emlékei,” 53–4.

<sup>974</sup> László Zolnay, “Az 1967-75. évi budavári ásatásokról s az itt talált gótikus szoborcsopotról” [About the 1967-75 excavations in the city of Buda and the group of Gothic statues found there], *Budapest Régiségei* 24/3 (1977): 38. Ernő Szakál suggests that the ring was ritually deposited, see Ernő Szakál, “A budavári gótikus szoborlelet sérüléseinek és eltemetésének jelképrendszere” [The symbolism of the damage and burial of a Gothic sculpture in Buda Castle], *Budapest Régiségei* 26 (1984): 276.

<sup>975</sup> Judit Antoni, “Középkori aranygyűrű Székesfehérvárról” [Medieval gold ring from Székesfehérvár], *Alba Regia. Annales Musei Stephani Regis XVII* (1979): 303.

<sup>976</sup> Mention should also be made of a ring currently in the Hungarian National Museum dating to the thirteenth century. It contains a brown Jasper from the first half of the first century engraved with a horned pan face connected to a bald *silenus*. The jasper is set in a flat gold head, around which the inscription “AVE MARIA VHIS” (the last set of letters may be an abbreviation of *Virgo humilis*), can be read. Unfortunately, the provenance of the ring is unknown so it may have never been in medieval Hungary during its “lifecourse.” Tamás Gesztelyi, *Antike gemmen im Ungarischen Nationalmuseum. Catalogi Musei Nationalis Hungarici* (Budapest: Hungarian National Museum, 2000), 78–9.



dates to the fourteenth century and originated from Volterra, Italy (Figure 72).<sup>977</sup> Other versions of this *Ave Maria* ring, more or less elaborate, appear to have been produced in the thirteenth to fourteenth centuries, primarily in Italy, France, and England, and worn by important ecclesiastical officials like bishops and abbots.<sup>978</sup>

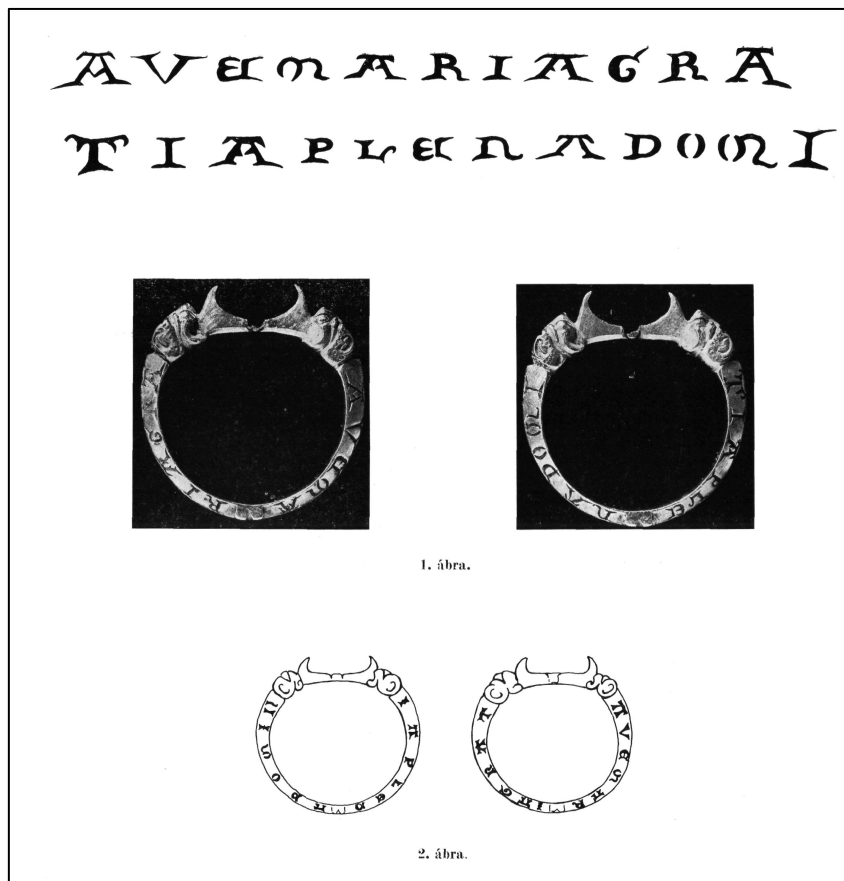


Figure 71. Gold ring recovered from Székesfehérvár, fourteenth century (Antoni, "Középkori aranygyűrű," 304, figs. 1 and 2).

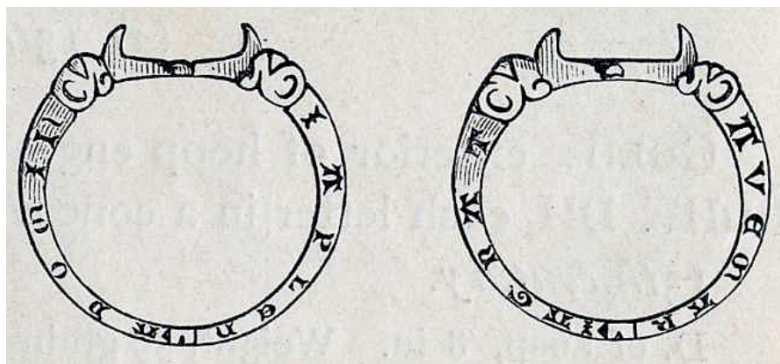


Figure 72. Gold Ave Maria ring, fourteenth century, Museum number AF.877, The British Museum. © The Trustees of the British Museum.

<sup>977</sup> Museum number AF.877, The British Museum, [https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/H\\_AF-877](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/H_AF-877), accessed February 2, 2022.

<sup>978</sup> Museum number 1925,0113.1, The British Museum, accessed February 2, 2022, [https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/H\\_1925-0113-1](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/H_1925-0113-1).

Aesthetically similar to “Ave Maria rings” are “Ave Maria brooches,” a subtype of medieval annular or ring brooches, which were one of the most popular types of jewelry that highlighted Marian devotion.<sup>979</sup> These brooches also contained variations of the Hail Mary prayer, though other Marian invocations can also be found.<sup>980</sup> In addition to the protective quality of the prayer itself, variations in spelling—such as writing the prayer backwards or inscribing the mirror image of the letters, which appears to have been more common on *Ave Maria* brooches than on the aforementioned rings—added an additional apotropaic quality to the object.<sup>981</sup>

In the medieval Kingdom of Hungary, the social context of these brooches was very different both from that of the rings and from the social context of *Ave Maria* brooches found in other parts of Europe. Further, according to Ottó Fogas, in Hungary they were actually more commonly used as belt buckles than brooches.<sup>982</sup> In Ottó Fogas’s analysis of these brooches—twenty-eight in total—he found that they were found in the graves of upper-class women, concentrated in the area between the Danube and Tisza.<sup>983</sup> They seem to have been used for only a short period of time, from the mid-fourteenth century to the turn of the fifteenth century, which is in contrast to Western Europe where they can be found from the mid-thirteenth to the early fifteenth centuries.<sup>984</sup> Perhaps most interestingly, the vast majority of the graves from which these brooches were recovered belonged to Jász-Cuman communities.<sup>985</sup> Nevertheless, we should be careful not to use these kinds of brooches as a means as ethnic classification; while the graves where *Ave Maria* brooches were found were located in areas with prominent Jász-Cuman populations, we cannot say with 100% certainty that each of these graves belonged to Jász or Cuman individuals.

<sup>979</sup> *Ave-Maria-Schnallen*, see Ingo Heindel, “Ave-Maria-Schnallen und Hanttruwebratzen mit Inschriften,” *Zeitschrift für Archäologie* 20 (1986): 65–79. See also Anne Ward, John Cherry, Charlotte Gere, and Barbara Cartlidge, *The Ring: from antiquity to the twentieth century* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1981), 58; Anja Ragolič, “Srednjeveški in zgodnjemoderni nakit z napisi” [Medieval and early modern jewelry with inscriptions] (MA Thesis, Univerza v Ljubljani, Filozofska fakulteta, Oddelek za arheologijo, 2010), 18. On medieval circular brooches found in Hungarian archaeological contexts see Mária Vargha, *Hoard, Grave Goods, Jewelry: Objects in Hoards and in Burial Contexts during the Mongol Invasion of Central-Eastern Europe* (Oxford: Archaeopress Archaeology, 2015), 44–6.

<sup>980</sup> Juraj Belaj and Marijana Belaj, “An Inscribed Annular Brooch from the Templar Site of Gora – A Possible Decipherment,” *Pril. Inst. Areol. Zagrebu* 33 (2016): 254.

<sup>981</sup> Belaj and Belaj, “An Inscribed Annular Brooch,” 254–5.

<sup>982</sup> Ottó Fogas, “A gótikus feliratos csatok európai elterjedése” [The spread of Gothic inscribed buckles in Europe], in *Kun-kép - A magyarországi kunok hagyatéka* [Cuman Image: The Legacy of the Cumans in Hungary], ed. Szabolcs Rosta (Kiskunfélegyháza, 2009), 161.

<sup>983</sup> Fogas, “A gótikus feliratos csatok európai elterjedése,” 162. Some of these inscribed annular brooches are also analyzed in Juraj Belaj, “Annular Brooches from the 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> century from Vojvodina,” *СТАРИНАР* LXVII (2017): 197–222.

<sup>984</sup> Fogas, “A gótikus feliratos csatok európai elterjedése,” 156; Heindel, “Ave-Maria-Schnallen,” 65–79.

<sup>985</sup> Fogas, “A gótikus feliratos csatok európai elterjedése,” 156.



Most of the inscribed brooches had some kind of Marian invocation, which can be separated into four broad categories (Figure 73 and Figure 74). Five of the brooches were inscribed with the letter *M*, referencing Mary, which was repeated around the brooch and decorated with lilies.<sup>986</sup> The most numerous type features the inscription *HILF+MARIA+MER+T+*, in which “mer” corresponds to the German “mir,” and “t” to an abbreviation of “tu/tui,” a misspelling of the modern German “du.”<sup>987</sup> The third variety contains the inscription *HILF+GOT+MARIA+EROTI*, which can be interpreted as “hulf Got Maria beroth,” that is, “God help me, Mary advise me.”<sup>988</sup> The Marian interpretation of the final inscription type, *+ST UNGZ+AN+M IER<sup>o</sup>\*<sup>o</sup>*, is only one possible solution to this more cryptic engraving.<sup>989</sup> It could be interpreted as ST(ephani) UNG(arorum) AN(imas) M(ar)I(a)E R(ecommendavit), “Stephen offered the souls of the Hungarians to Mary.”<sup>990</sup> However, other solutions, such as variations including M(artir) (h)IER(osolyma) ST(ephani)...(AN)imas and AN(imi) MI(s)ER(ere), are also possible, and the German “Stumpfen an mir” even more so since the other inscriptions are all in German.<sup>991</sup>

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<sup>986</sup> Ibid., 156, 159, fig. 1.6–10.

<sup>987</sup> Ibid., 157, 160, fig. 2.6–13.

<sup>988</sup> Ibid., 157, 160, fig. 2.1–5.

<sup>989</sup> Ibid., 157, 159, fig. 1.1–5.

<sup>990</sup> Ibid., 157.

<sup>991</sup> Ibid.

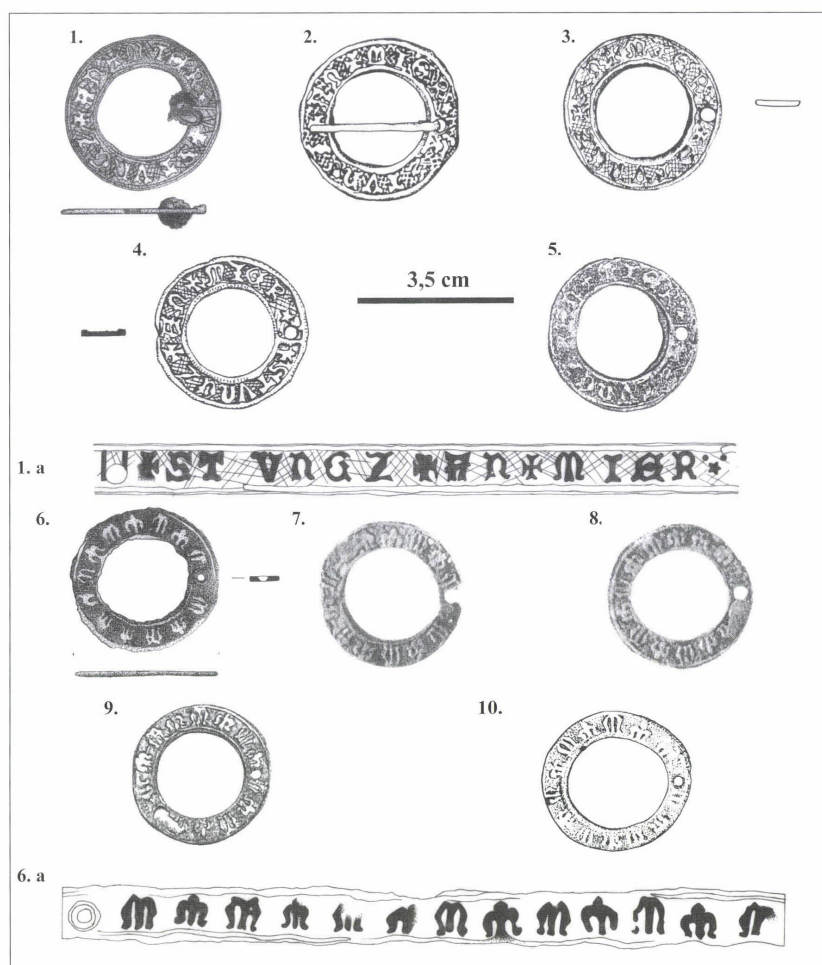


Figure 73. Annular inscribed "Ave Maria" brooches found in Hungary. 1–5: +ST UNGZ+AN+M IER°° brooches. 6–10: Monogrammatic "M" brooches (Fogas, "A gótikus feliratos csatok európai elterjedése," 159).

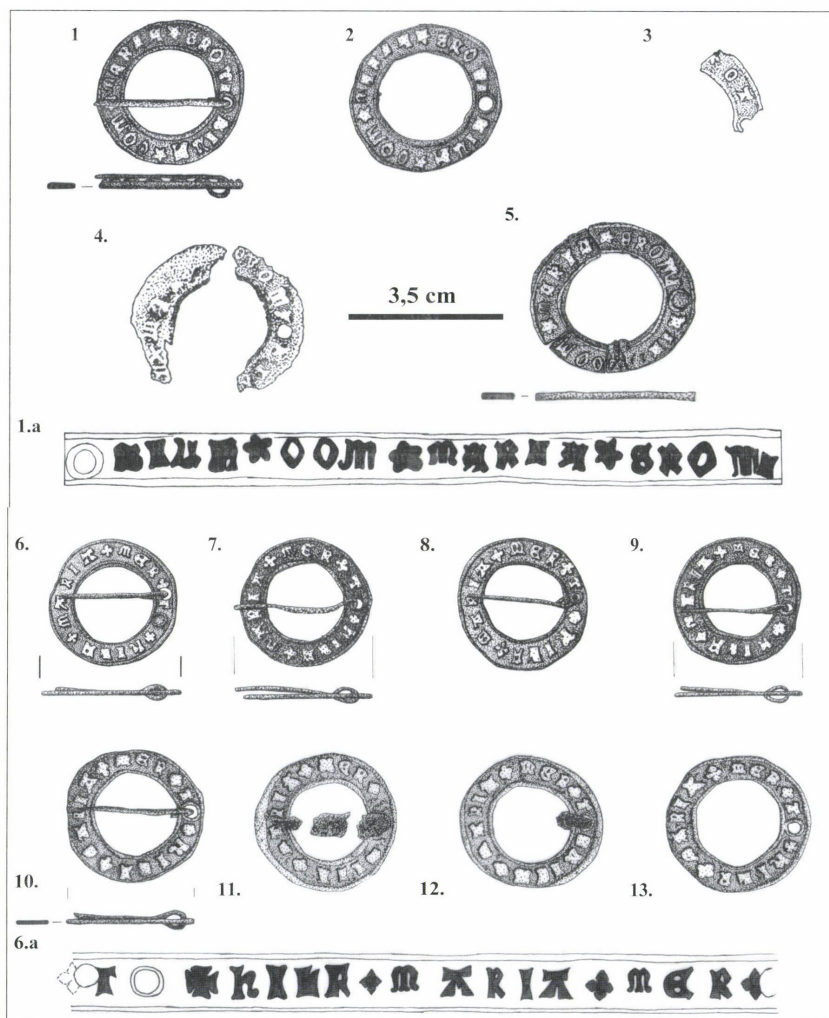


Figure 74. Annular inscribed “Ave Maria” brooches found in Hungary. 1–5: HILF+GOT+MARIA+EROTI brooches. 6–13: HILF+MARIA+MER+T+ brooches (Fogas, “A gótikus feliratos csatok európai elterjedése,” 160).

But why and how did these brooches end up in Jász-Cuman communities in Hungary? The German inscriptions show the most similarity to the Saxon dialect of the Transylvanian Saxons, indicating that they were produced there—probably at the foundry of Sibiu—and not imported from outside of Hungary.<sup>992</sup> This would go against the theory proposed by Ingo Heindel, that is, that the spread of annular brooches with devotional inscriptions was connected to the Hanseatic trade based in Lübeck, since Hungary was outside of the Hansa’s sphere of influence.<sup>993</sup> Rather, according to Ottó Fogas, “it can only be concluded that its roots are probably in German territory, but that it is a general European custom, much wider than the sphere of influence of the Hanseatic League and especially the Teutonic Knights.”<sup>994</sup> This is supported by more recent archaeological research, which has revealed that *Ave Maria* brooches

<sup>992</sup> Ibid., 157, 162, 164. This conclusion suggested by Gábor Hatházi, *A kunok régészeti emlékei a Kelet-Dunántúlon. Die archäologischen Funde und Befunde der Kumanen im Osten Transdadubiens*, Opuscula Hungarica 5 (Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, 2004), 97–9, 102–3.

<sup>993</sup> Heindel, “Ave-Maria-Schnallen,” 65–79; Fogas, “A gótikus feliratos csatok európai elterjedése,” 37.

<sup>994</sup> Fogas, “A gótikus feliratos csatok európai elterjedése,” 148.

spread further than previously thought and that widespread local production of these brooches—especially those of lesser quality—was probably the norm.<sup>995</sup>

Why these brooches circulated in the Jász-Cuman communities in the second half of the fourteenth century is more difficult to determine, but Fogas suggests that the large scale conversions of the time, which coincided with Franciscan proselytizing, may indicate that the Franciscans “distributed” these objects to the Jász and Cumans.<sup>996</sup> These brooches may have replaced amulets traditionally worn by Jász-Cuman women, a suggestion supported by the fact that inscribed brooches also had protective and magical functions in Christian communities as well.<sup>997</sup>

Another example of an inscribed Marian brooch found within the geographical limits of medieval Hungary was recovered in a very different context, during the excavation of the church of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Gora near Petrinja (Petrinya) (Figure 75). A Romanesque church had existed at the site until King Béla III gave it to the Knights Templar, who built a new gothic church at the site in the mid-thirteenth century.<sup>998</sup> Four hundred and twenty-four graves were discovered during the excavation, dating from the time of the Romanesque church to the early modern period.<sup>999</sup> The silver brooch was found in the grave of a woman likely buried sometime between the end of the thirteenth and first half of the fourteenth centuries. The inscription, which reads *AVEMAIGLNROAICS*, very clearly refers to the *Ave Maria*, though how to identify the second half of the inscription remains unclear.<sup>1000</sup>

<sup>995</sup> This was the conclusion reached during a material culture panel I participated in entitled “A United Europe of Things 2. Large Scale and Local Networks of Differences and Similarities in Medieval Material Culture,” at the 27<sup>th</sup> Annual Meeting of the European Association of Archaeologists 2021, September 7, 2021. The large number of *Ave Maria* brooches in the British collections was discussed by Michael Lewis, “A United Europe of Inscriptions (on Medieval Dress Accessories)?.”

<sup>996</sup> Fogas, “A gótikus feliratos csatok európai elterjedése,” 164.

<sup>997</sup> Ibid., 161; Belaj and Belaj, “An Inscribed Annular Brooch,” 253–5.

<sup>998</sup> Ibid., 249. On the excavation of the church see: Juraj Belaj and Filomena Sirovica, “Arheološka istraživanja na lokalitetu Stari grad u Ivancu godine 2009” [Archaeological excavations at the Stari Grad site in Ivanec in 2009], *Annales Instituti archaeologici* VI (2010): 59–63; Juraj Belaj and Filomena Sirovica, “Arheološka istraživanja crkve Uznesenja Blažene Djevice Marije u Gori od 2008. do 2011. godine” [Archaeological excavations of the Church of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Gora from 2008 to 2011], *Annales Instituti archaeologici* VIII (2012): 58–62; Drago Miletić and Marija Valjato Fabris, “Rekonstrukcija templarskog sloja župne crkve Uznesenja B. D. Marije u Gori” [Reconstruction of the Templar layer of the parish church of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary in Gora], *Portal: godišnjak Hrvatskoga restauratorskog zavoda* 5 (2014): 49–70. On the Templars in Hungary see Balázs Stossek, “Maisons et possessions des Templiers en Hongrie,” in *The Crusades and the Military Orders: Expanding the Frontiers of Medieval Latin Christianity*, ed. Zsolt Hunyadi and József Laszlovszky (Budapest: CEU Press, 2001), 245–51; idem, “A templomosok Magyarországon” [The Templars in Hungary], in *Magyarország és a kereszties háborúk*, 181–94; Zsolt Hunyadi, “Extra et intra muros: Military-religious orders and medieval Hungarian towns (c.1150-c.1350),” in *Les ordres militaires dans la ville médiévale (1100-1350)*, ed. Carraz Damien (Clermont-Ferrand: Université de Blaise-Pascal, 2013), 150–2.

<sup>999</sup> Belaj and Belaj, “An Inscribed Annular Brooch,” 249.

<sup>1000</sup> Željko Demo of the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb suggested that the IGLNROAICS part of the inscription is an acronym for “In Laudem Nostri Regis Omnipotentis Altissimi Iesu Christi Salvatoris,” although this interpretation assumes that “G” letter is actually an “N.” Belaj and Belaj disagree with this interpretation, and suggest that the inscription is an abbreviation of “Ave Maria Gratia Plena Dominus,” but with the omission of and

Parallels to the brooch in medieval France, and the fact that the Templars who settled in Croatia primarily came from French provinces, support the presumption of Juraj Belaj and Marijana Belaj that the brooch belonged to a French woman who brought the brooch to Gora and was buried with it.<sup>1001</sup>



Figure 75. Inscribed "Ave Maria" annular brooch from Gora (Belaj and Belaj, "An Inscribed Annular Brooch," 248).

The only other *Ave Maria* brooch discovered in the vicinity of medieval Hungary is from the Wiener Neustadt hoard. The hoard consisted of late medieval, predominately high-quality jewelry, tableware, and clothing accessories. One of the items recovered is an annular brooch with the inscription *A//VE M[ARIA]*, probably dating to the late thirteenth century.<sup>1002</sup> Two other pieces of jewelry with Marian inscriptions were also found in the hoard: a ring with the engraving *AV[E M]ARI[A]*, likely from the mid- to late thirteenth century, and a ring with the engraving *AVEM[ARI]AG* from the early fourteenth century.<sup>1003</sup> While some of the pieces in the Wiener Neustadt hoard can be traced to Hungary, most of the items originated from German lands or can only be classified as more generally "Central European" (including the aforementioned brooch and rings).<sup>1004</sup>

substitution of certain letters, the logic of which is still unclear. Belaj and Belaj, "An Inscribed Annular Brooch," 247–70.

<sup>1001</sup> Ibid., 268.

<sup>1002</sup> Nikolaus Hofer, ed., *Der Schatzfund von Wiener Neustadt* (Horn: Ferdinand Berger & Söhne Ges., 2014), 257, 347, Katnr. 52.

<sup>1003</sup> Hofer, *Der Schatzfund*, 255, 344, Katnr. 28; 252–3, 343, Katnr. 17. Mention should also be made of a hexagonal cup found in the hoard, with the Marian inscription: + AVE • M/ARIA / + AVE • M/ARIA • / [AVE • M]/ARIA. Parallels elsewhere in Central Europe date the cup to the first half of the fourteenth century. Hofer, *Der Schatzfund*, 259, 356, Katnr. 111

<sup>1004</sup> Hofer, *Der Schatzfund*, 236. Another important hoard—dating to the late thirteenth century—was discovered in Fuchsenhof, Austria. An *Ave Maria* brooch as well as two rings with Marian inscriptions (+ *A // NAMATERMARIE* + and +*ANNAMAT.MAVEMARIA*) were also found in this hoard. Bernhard Prokisch and

#### 4. Conclusion

Material culture associated with the Virgin Mary physically embodied her presence in a variety of spaces, ecclesiastical spaces, yes, but also the home, and, ultimately, the grave. Unfortunately, the extant material culture reveals the most about the upper social classes of Hungary, they were the ones who could afford to go on a pilgrimage and bring home a badge with Mary's figure on it or build a tile stove with Marian iconography. Even so, objects like stoves, which could be adorned with Marian stove tiles, also existed in public spaces that individuals of a broader social spectrum would have had access to. Rosaries were also more accessible, especially those made with bone beads that were produced *en masse*. Their presence in the graves of ordinary people signifies that through them most people could have a physical reminder of Mary's presence on their person.

Many of the discussed objects were influenced by religious orders; they transmitted certain Marian iconographic forms and were responsible for the commissioning of Marian objects. The discovery of rosary beads and rosary bead workshops throughout Hungary underline the success of Dominican efforts to spread the cult of the rosary. The Franciscan Order was particularly influential in spreading certain forms of Marian iconography both in ecclesiastical spaces, in the form of murals and altarpieces, and in secular spaces, which can be seen most evidently in stove tile imagery.

The multi-cultural context—in terms of influence, production, and consumption—of Marian material culture is also evident. The Aachen pilgrimage badge found on a bell in Transylvania and the remains of badges possibly connected to Aachen found in western Hungary point to the pilgrimage to the *Aachener Marienkirche* being important to Hungarian residents. The fact that the badges date to after the foundation of the Hungarian chapel in Aachen also suggest that it was a welcome addition.

Bowls, stove tiles, jewelry, and clothing accessories bearing Marian imagery were influenced by external trends from foreign lands, but the adaption and development of these objects in Hungary also point to autochthonous processes. The production and use of *Ave Maria* brooches in Hungary illustrate these processes beautifully. They demonstrate how a Marian object could pass back and forth between both different ethnic/cultural spheres as well religious and secular spaces: a Saxon craftsman produced an *Ave Maria* brooch for his own livelihood, the brooch was purchased by a Franciscan as a tool to help spread the Christian

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Thomas Kühtreiber, *Der Schatzfund von Fuchsenhof* (Linz: Bibliothek der Provinz, 2004), 452, Katnr. 48; 560, Katnr. 247; 648, Katnr. 348.

faith, a Cuman woman received the brooch who wore it as an amulet, and eventually the object made its way into the grave of the woman within a Christian cemetery.

Overall, these objects illustrate how the image and name of the Virgin Mary had a protective power for medieval people, across cultural boundaries. Whether they considered it to be miraculous or magical, the Virgin's presence had an apotropaic quality. This is exemplified in the role that Marian objects had in childbirth, a process that could be dangerous and life-threatening for both the mother and baby. Birth girdles, strips of parchment on which the name of the Virgin was written, were thought to help the birthing experience for medieval women.<sup>1005</sup> Nothing so explicitly tied to childbirth in this way has been found in Hungary, but rosaries were also believed to protect women during childbirth, and there is plentiful evidence for their presence in Hungary.<sup>1006</sup> The multiple examples of objects recovered in Hungary inscribed with portions of the *Ave Maria*, which was often used in spoken medieval charms and inscribed on objects to imbue them with protective and healing characteristics, also indicate the use of Marian objects for their apotropaic quality in late medieval Hungary.<sup>1007</sup> The widespread existence of Marian objects not only in ecclesiastical spaces, but also in medieval people's homes and on their bodies demonstrates both the potency of her image and her presence in the day-to-day lives of the inhabitants of medieval Hungary.

<sup>1005</sup> Diane Watt, "Mary the Physician: Women, Religion and Medicine in the Middle Ages," in *Medicine, Religion and Gender in Medieval Culture*, ed. Naoë Kukita Yoshikawa (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2015), 43; Roberta Gilchrist, *Sacred Heritage: Monastic Archaeology, Identities, Beliefs* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020), 117, 139; Peter Murray Jones and Lea T. Olsan, "Medicine and Magic," in *The Routledge History of Medieval Magic*, ed. Sophie Page and Catherine Rider (London: Routledge, 2019), 307.

<sup>1006</sup> Bob Scribner, "Popular Piety and Modes of Visual Perception in Late-Medieval and Reformation Germany," *The Journal of Religious History* 15/4 (1989): 452.

<sup>1007</sup> John Haines, "Music," in *The Routledge History of Medieval Magic*, 372. On the use of the *Ave Maria* and other liturgical chants in ritual magic see: John Haines and Julien Véronèse, "De quelques usages du chant liturgique dans les textes Latins du magie rituelle à la fin du Moyen Âge," *Journal of Medieval and Humanistic Studies* 39 (2020): 293–320. The Virgin Mary was also invoked in learned or ritual magic. The early fourteenth-century *Liber florum celestis doctrine* by the Benedictine monk John of Morigny is a particularly explicit example. John claimed that the book's creation was instigated by the Virgin Mary who he claimed appeared to him in visions. The book "is suffused with the language of Marian devotion," including the requirement to recite the *Ave Maria* at certain points in the text (Claire Fanger and Nicholas Watson, "John of Morigny," in *The Routledge Guide to Medieval Magic*, 212).



## CONCLUSIONS

Marian placemaking, like placemaking in general, is an ornate tapestry that must be woven with multiple differently colored threads. These threads represent the many elements that can be identified in the placemaking process: places, actors, objects, practices, intellectual entities, and time. These elements emerge in the major themes that can be identified in the Marian landscape of Hungary during the periods of Angevin and Luxembourg rule: the re-emphasis on Árpáadian traditions connected to the Virgin Mary, influence of foreign Marian devotional trends, impact and spread of mendicant Marian piety as well as piety connected to the Pauline Order, reciprocal interaction between Hungarians and foreign Marian pilgrimage places, and increased expressions of Marian popular devotion. The Angevin and Luxembourg periods were a significant time for the development of the Marian cult in Hungary. It was at this time that the idea of Mary as the patron of Hungary began to develop in earnest.

In Chapter 1, I used Marian *patrocinia* to directly measure the Virgin Mary's presence in the Hungarian landscape. This is a useful first step in establishing the major geographical and chronological trends connected to the Marian cult's manifestation in the landscape. A *patrocinium* represents an intentional choice by one or more groups—Hungarian rulers, ecclesiastical officials, nobles, local community, or monastic community—to place a physically demarcated space, and by extension those who occupy the space and the community more generally, under the protection of a specific sanctified person.

In Hungary, King Stephen I's dedication of the kingdom to the Virgin Mary is reflected in its cathedral foundations, where Marian *patrocinia* can be found more frequently than in many other parts of Europe, including the Holy Roman Empire. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the presence of Mary at these cathedrals intensified in the form of new foundations, imagery, and even a new *patrocinium* with the addition of the Virgin Mary to the *patrocinium* of the cathedral of Esztergom, originally only dedicated to St. Adalbert. Mary's *patrocinium* was also well represented in the parish churches, chapels, collegiate churches, and monastic and mendicant houses of Hungary. The number and proportion of Marian institutions rose significantly in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, a consequence of the ardent support of the Marian cult by both the Angevin and Luxembourg dynasties, the influence of certain religious orders—in particular the mendicant orders and the Order of St. Paul the First Hermit—and a combined resurgence of the faith and financial capabilities of Hungarian nobles.

It is important to not only present the “big picture” of the Marian landscape, but to also present and understand in more detail the placemaking processes in play at individual sites. Unfortunately, the formation and development of many of the religious institutions dedicated

to Mary are lost to time, so the availability of both historical and archaeological data related to an important royal foundation in honor of Mary, which can also be connected to specific manifestations of Marian veneration, is incredibly valuable. This is the case of the so-called Lesser Virgin Mary or St. Sigismund collegiate church of Buda discussed in Chapter 2. The church, founded by King Sigismund of Luxembourg shortly before 1410, was constructed in the first Jewish quarter of Buda, near the synagogue. Its foundation echoes the foundation of Sigismund's father, Holy Roman Emperor Charles IV in Nuremberg, where he permitted the expulsion and murder of the Jewish community and constructed, on the site of the destroyed synagogue, a royal church dedicated to the Virgin Mary and St. Wenceslaus. But Sigismund was not only influenced by his father in his foundation; the destruction of synagogues and construction of Marian churches in their place was a trend related to the Marian cult combined with medieval antisemitic rhetoric in German lands and western Bohemia beginning in the mid-fifteenth century. Before Sigismund's foundation the House of Wittelsbach had also already converted a synagogue into a royal Marian chapel in Amberg in 1391, and Sigismund would go on to participate in the conversion of other synagogues into Marian churches in the Holy Roman Empire.

The synagogue-to-Marian-church phenomenon is connected to the concept of the Virgin Mary—especially as an embodiment of *ecclesia*—as a defender of Christianity against her “enemies” and “an embodiment of military conquest and of religious conversion.”<sup>1008</sup> In this case the “enemy” was considered to be the Jewish community, but Mary was also increasingly used as a symbol of protection from Ottoman incursions and attacks in Hungary. This is illustrated in the indulgences for the parish church of the Virgin Mary in Braşov, located at the southeastern edge of the kingdom, which was often in danger or destroyed by Ottoman forces. Indulgences for the church from 1399 and 1474 evoke this idea of opposition between the *Mater Ecclesiae* and the Ottomans.<sup>1009</sup> Mary's role as defender—embodied especially in certain iconographic types like the *Maria in Sole* and *Maria, Hilfe der Christen*—would only increase with time.<sup>1010</sup> Copies of the *Mariahilf* icon, painted between 1517 and 1537 by Lucas Cranach the Elder, would “became a symbol of dynasticism and warfare against the Ottoman Empire.”<sup>1011</sup> These copies spread throughout Hungary, partly due to the misconception that these images were copies of the image of the Virgin and Child King Louis the Great had donated to the Marian pilgrimage site of Mariazell.<sup>1012</sup>

<sup>1008</sup> Remensnyder, *La Conquistadora*, 6.

<sup>1009</sup> 1399: MonVat, I/4:163, no. CCVIII. 1474: Theiner, II:446–7, no. DCXXXI.

<sup>1010</sup> On this topic see Nátyi, “Napbaöltözött Asszony”

<sup>1011</sup> Tüskés, “The Cult of the Copies of Lucas Cranach's *Mariahilf*,” 179.

<sup>1012</sup> Ibid.

Louis' donation of the *Schatzkammerbild* to Mariazell was one of the most important acts of patronage by the Angevin dynasty. Chapter 3 examined the role of Marian cult places in the joint political-devotional programs of the Angevin and Luxembourg dynasties, of which the patronage of Mariazell was one example. Another is the fresco of the collegiate church of Spišská Kapitula, commissioned in 1317, which brilliantly illustrates the reframing of the Árpadian-Virgin Mary connection into an Angevin context. While the *Porta Speciosa* depicts the dedication of the kingdom, and thereby authority over the kingdom, to the Virgin Mary, the Spišská Kapitula fresco shows her transferring that authority to Charles I by crowning him. An image of Louis the Great also visualizes the new ruler in a relationship with Mary imitating that of King St. Stephen. The seal of the city of Nová Baňa, produced between 1345 and 1348, depicts Louis kneeling before the Virgin Mary and offering her his crown, echoing the dedication of the Hungarian Kingdom to Mary by King St. Stephen. This image of King St. Stephen offering the kingdom to Mary would be recreated in the form of the seal of the chapter of Zagreb, created in the court of King Louis.

The use of the figure of the Virgin in these contexts can be viewed as part of a longer tradition of using her image in times of conflict. The original dedication of the kingdom to Mary in the *vitae* of King St. Stephen was likely a method to evade the claims of both German lands and the papacy in the eleventh century. The first visual manifestation of this legend—the *Porta Speciosa*—was commissioned by King Béla III, who had had a tense relationship with Archbishop Lucas of Esztergom from the time of his coronation, which was tellingly performed by the archbishop of Kalocsa. The *Porta Speciosa* on the cathedral of Esztergom was commissioned a few years after Lucas' death and the accession of a new archbishop, so its commissioning can be seen as an act of resolution and an expression of the balance of powers in the kingdom mediated through the Virgin. When Charles I came to power following much opposition and confrontation in Hungary, he made use of Marian imagery in this tradition.

Though by the time of the reign of Louis the Great Angevin rule had been thoroughly established in Hungary, he continued this tradition and expanded his Marian patronage in order to engage with a broader campaign of dynastic promotion in Central Europe. His mother Elizabeth Piast provided the foundations for this campaign through her pilgrimages to the Italian peninsula in 1343–1344 and to Marburg, Cologne, and Aachen in 1357 with the Holy Roman Emperor Charles IV and his wife, Anna of Schweidnitz. Louis' foundation of a Hungarian chapel at the *Marienkirche* of Aachen and renovation and expansion of the Benedictine monastery of the Virgin Mary at Mariazell—along with his donations of Marian icons to both locations—then established a permanent link between these foreign Marian places and the Kingdom of Hungary. The connection between Hungary and both sites strengthened

during the reign of Sigismund of Luxembourg. Aachen and Mariazell would come to be the most important Marian destinations for Hungarian pilgrims in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and aspects of both places would affect Marian placemaking within Hungary.

Angevin and Luxembourg rulers did not only engage in Marian placemaking outside of Hungary, they were very active in their own kingdom as well. The Marian cult and royal representation and authority combined most significantly at three sites during Angevin and Luxembourg rule: the cathedral of the Virgin Mary at Oradea, collegiate church of the Virgin Mary in Székesfehérvár, and the city of Buda. Both Angevin rulers and Sigismund supported these sites with construction works, indulgences, and new foundations. The cathedral of Oradea, the site of the tomb of St. Ladislaus, the so-called “knight of the Virgin Mary,” was chosen by Sigismund to be his burial place, and by this, and the additional burials of Sigismund’s first wife and his great-aunt Beatrice of Luxembourg at the site, the cathedral developed a close association with the Luxembourg dynasty. By contrast the Angevins chose the collegiate church of Székesfehérvár as their burial site, renewing an Árpáadian tradition. During this period the collegiate church’s parallels with Aachen also grew. In Buda—which became the principle royal seat and capital during the reigns of Louis and Sigismund—and its vicinity, Louis, Elizabeth, and Sigismund all made new Marian foundations; the Lesser Virgin Mary collegiate church discussed in Chapter 2 was part of this larger trend. Elizabeth Piast’s foundation of the Poor Clares monastery of the Virgin Mary and St. Clare in Óbuda was her most important foundation. It was here that she bequeathed an image of the Virgin believed to have been painted by St. Luke himself. This icon, which may have been directly connected to the icons of Aachen and Mariazell, represents another example of the Angevin’s use of Marian icons in their program of devotion.

In addition to the churches of Oradea, Székesfehérvár, and Buda, various monastic and mendicant churches as well as parish churches and chapels with Marian *patrocinia* were supported through indulgences in late medieval Hungary. The majority of these indulgences were requested and/or granted during the reigns of Angevin and Luxembourg rulers, making them a distinctive characteristic of the period. This proliferation of indulgences for Marian sites throughout the kingdom meant that one did not have to go as far as Aachen or Mariazell to shave down their days in purgatory. They could worship at the Marian altar of their local parish church or mendicant institution and experience her special grace there.

The Dominican, Franciscan, and Pauline Orders received a greater number of indulgences for their Marian churches than the other orders. The Franciscan and Pauline Orders in particular were patronized by the rulers and nobles during the Angevin and Luxembourg periods. The success of the Pauline Order was due in large part to Louis the Great, and it was

his Pauline foundations—all but one of which were dedicated to Mary—in combination with his foundations at Aachen and Mariazell that most inspired Hungarian nobles' own foundations of Pauline houses. Louis was also a great supporter of the Franciscans. The Virgin was at the center of much of Franciscan rhetoric and artwork in the fifteenth century due to their support of the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception; this phenomenon can be identified in Hungary in their artwork, *patrocinia* patterns, and writings.

Despite the importance of the Virgin in monastic and mendicant piety as well as popular devotion there is no direct evidence of pilgrimage to Marian sites in Hungary during the reigns of Angevin and Luxembourg rulers. Pilgrimage can be connected to the churches of Oradea and Székesfehérvár and the Dominican nunnery of Margaret Island, all of which had Marian *patrocinia*, but the focus of veneration at all of these places was a royal saint (or prospective royal saint in the case of Margaret). The Virgin Mary was integral to the expressions of piety of these holy rulers, especially as they were all Árpáadian saints, and in this way the Virgin was peripherally connected to these sites. In the same way, the Marian sites supported by the Dominican, Franciscan, and Pauline Orders had a peripheral quality. Efforts at supporting a pilgrimage site focused on a single site where Mary was not the focus, and then indulgences were primarily issued for Marian churches far from the main pilgrimage site. It would appear that during this period Marian places had both a central and peripheral nature.

In Chapter 4, the connection between the Virgin Mary and regular people was analyzed through the medium of small finds, which they would have interacted with at a far higher frequency than with Marian altarpieces or statues in the church. Marian placemaking did not only occur in ecclesiastical institutions. Objects connected to Mary could operate as placemakers; the fluidity of their movement through ecclesiastical, secular, and “in-between” spaces illustrates how Mary could exist anywhere. The characteristics of these small finds—which include pilgrimage badges, coins, ceramics, stove tiles, and jewelry—reflect many of the trends seen in earlier chapters. The influence of the mendicant orders is present in recovered jewelry and accessories. The Dominican Order was successful in Hungary in spreading the cult of the Rosary as evidenced by the inclusion of rosaries in last wills, their discovery in archaeological contexts, and the excavation of rosary bead workshops in Hungary. Evidence of Franciscan promotion of Marian devotion is evidenced by the recovery of *Ave Maria* brooches from probable Cuman graves.

This connects to another recurring theme: the influence of foreign trends on the development of the Marian cult in Hungary. Many of the Marian small finds, like the *Ave Maria* brooches and extant pilgrimage badges, first appeared in Hungary by way of German lands. The influence and connections to German lands appears again and again in the

manifestation of the Marian cult in Hungary. The Marian churches of Aachen and Mariazell were the two most important Marian pilgrimage destinations of Hungarian pilgrims and were also integrally connected to the figure of the king of the Germans and the Habsburg dynasty, respectively. Within Hungary there was an intense cult of the Virgin in German communities. The Marian parish churches of Buda and Pest served the German population, and the majority, by far, of the parish churches in Saxon Transylvania and the Spiš region were dedicated to the Virgin. In certain parts of German lands, it was typical to have a Marian parish church, or if not, a Marian church or chapel should at least exist in the town. Saxon settlers may have brought with them this tradition. It may also be the case that for new settlements, especially those with mixed populations, a universal saint like the Virgin was more likely to be chosen for the settlement's parish church. Particular Marian churches in Hungary also had connections to particular communities or trends from German lands. The Lesser Virgin Mary church of Buda is a stark example. Also in Buda, the Carmelite friary founded by King Louis and Elizabeth in honor of the Mary of Mercy was populated by monks who were primarily German-speaking and was governed from Vienna. The collegiate church of the Virgin Mary in Székesfehérvár, the site of Hungarian coronations, developed stronger connections to Aachen during the reigns of Louis and Sigismund.

During the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, German influence on the Marian cult was most pronounced, but other regions also had an impact. The cult of Marian icons came to Hungary, and Central Europe more broadly, from Italy and the Byzantine Empire. The Byzantine cult of the Virgin, however, would have had the most influence on the development of the Marian cult in Hungary in the early years of Hungary's Christianization. It may have also had an effect on the resurgence of the Marian cult in Hungary during the reign of Béla III—the ruler responsible not only for the *Porta Speciosa*, but also probably the strongest supporter of the Cistercian Order in Hungary and the first Hungarian ruler to put the Virgin on Hungarian coinage—since he had been in line for the Byzantine throne for a period of time, but even after being passed over for the throne he still maintained a strong connection to the empire. Italian influence probably became stronger by the time of Angevin rule. The Angevin dynasty had originated from Naples so Italian influence may have appeared by way of their origin, though nothing directly related to the Marian cult can be identified. More influential would have been the journeys of Elizabeth, Louis, and Sigismund to the Italian peninsula. Elizabeth, as a member of the Polish Piast dynasty, may have been additionally motivated in her support of the Marian cult by the legacy of Marian devotion in Polish lands.

Though foreign devotional trends had affected the manifestation of the Marian cult in Hungary, this was not a one-way process. Influence was reciprocal. Louis forever changed the

physical structure and future of Aachen and Mariazell with his foundations. New Marian iconographies were adapted, combined, and applied in new contexts in the Hungarian Kingdom. Most significantly Hungary was the first kingdom in Europe to define itself as a “Kingdom of the Virgin Mary.” The beginning of the widespread utilization of Mary as *Patrona Hungariae* in Hungary would begin with the reign of Mathias Corvinus (1458–1490). In 1474 King Matthias made explicit reference to the dedication of the kingdom to Mary in a document issued from Levoča regarding his donation of a house to the Virgin Mary Collegiate Church of Buda (also known as the Church of St. Sigismund). He wrote: “And if the Catholic princes must see to it that they devoutly strive for the glory and honor of the Blessed Virgin, then we, who bear under her patronage the principality of the kingdom offered to the Virgin herself by the most holy Stephen, the first Christian king of the Hungarians, are especially bound to devote what we are able to do most devoutly to the glory and honor of the same Virgin.”<sup>1013</sup>

From the time of Matthias other countries would increasingly adopt the Blessed Virgin as a uniting, national figure. Devotion to the Virgin became one of the four virtues, along with devotion to the Eucharist, Holy Cross, and selected saints, that formed the *Pietas Austriaca*, which “succeeded in changing what was initially presented as dynastic and personal devotion into public religious ritual, giving [the Habsburgs’] people and lands a new common ideological horizon and binding reasons of state with theological doctrine.”<sup>1014</sup> The seventeenth century brought about a slew of dedications to Mary: in 1610 Maximilian I, Elector of Bavaria, declared the Virgin Mary *Patrona Bavariae*, Louis XIII of France consecrated himself and his kingdom to *Sainte Marie* in 1638, in 1648 King John IV formally made the Virgin Queen of Portugal, and in 1656 King John II Casimir of Poland<sup>1015</sup> proclaimed Mary *Patrona* and *Regina Poloniae*.<sup>1016</sup> Pilgrimage to Marian places increased and new Marian places emerged. This is

<sup>1013</sup> DL-DF 248754. Hungarian translation: András Kubinyi, “Mátyás tisztelete a Patrona Hungariae iránt” [Matthias’ veneration of the *Patrona Hungariae*], in *Főpapok, egyházi intézmények és vallásosság a középkori Magyarországon* [High priests, ecclesiastical institutions, and religiosity in medieval Hungary] (Budapest: METEM, 1999), 335.

<sup>1014</sup> Marie-Elizabeth Ducreux, “Emperors, Kingdoms, Territories: Multiple Versions of the *Pietas Austriaca*?” *Catholic Historical Review* 97/2 (2011): 247.

<sup>1015</sup> However, the process of devotion to Mary becoming entwined with Polish identity had begun much earlier. Some of the oldest churches in Poland were dedicated to the Blessed Virgin. The *Bogurodzica* (Mother of God) is the oldest prayer/hymn in Polish, probably originating in the late thirteenth century. The impetus behind its creation was not only a desire to praise Mary, but to consolidate Polish society in the face of feudal fragmentation and external conflicts. On this prayer see: Marzena Matla, “*Carmen patrium* ‘Bogurodzica’ — czas powstania, kontekst historyczny i inspiracje,” [*Carmen patrium* “Bogurodzica”: Time of creation, historical context, and inspirations], *Kwartalnik Historyczny* R. 122/1 (2015): 39–71. The Virgin Mary as the Black Madonna would be invoked to protect Poland and its people in the early modern era, most famously in 1655 when she is credited with having saved the monastery from the Swedes during the Siege of Jasna Góra during the Second Northern War.

<sup>1016</sup> Klaus Schreiner, “Schutzherrin und Schirmfrau Maria. Marienverehrung als Quelle politischer Identitätsbildung in Städten und Ländern des späten Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit,” in *Patriotische Heilige:*



especially true in Hungary during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The history of many of these sites began during the Angevin and Luxembourg periods in Hungary, and their blossoming was fed by the legends of a medieval legacy and the special connection to Hungarian rulers and medieval Marian icons and statues.

There is much research still to be done on the cult of Mary in late medieval Hungary and sacred places. It is my hope that this dissertation can help to spur on further research, as well as more engagement with the history of medieval Hungary and its relationship with its neighbors by researchers outside of Hungary. The study of *patrocinia* in medieval Hungary would benefit immensely from a collaborative research project. My research on Marian *patrocinia* added or made changes to about one hundred examples of Marian *patrocinia*, and additional research on other saints would certainly expand the body of known *patrocinia* substantially. The development of an online searchable and editable database of Hungarian *patrocinia* with interactive maps would be an incredibly useful tool for the advancement of accurate and complete *patrocinia* research in Hungary. Similar projects have begun in other countries in recent years and offers the potential for comparative research.

Another tool in the field of digital humanities that could be used to bring about new and exciting ways of analyzing and presenting Marian sacred places in Hungary is deep mapping. Deep mapping, in short, “involves the accumulation and layering of different kinds of geolocatable media within a geographic information systems (GIS) environment in order to facilitate investigations of the material, discursive, and imaginative geographies that inform our conception of a location’s topography and sense of place.”<sup>1017</sup> Deep mapping is an ideal tool to use in the study of sacred places. Placemaking involves multiple layers of reciprocally interacting processes; the added layer of sacrality creates a further layer of complexity. Deep mapping also offers another opportunity for collaborative research. Further research into Marian placemaking would benefit greatly from the interdisciplinary approach taken in this thesis, so the collaborative input of archaeologists, historians, art historians, and digital humanists would be valuable.

Places where the Virgin Mary is believed to be especially present offer a plethora of avenues for research. Part of the reason for this is not only the centrality of the Virgin Mary in medieval Christianity, but also the flexibility of her image. The Virgin Mary may be a universal

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*Beiträge zur Konstruktion religiöser und politischer Identitäten in der Vormoderne*, ed. Dieter R. Bauer (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 2007), 271.

<sup>1017</sup> “Deep Mapping,” Geospatial Innovation in the Digital Humanities, accessed Feb. 24, 2022, <http://wp.lancs.ac.uk/lakesdeepmap/the-project/gis-deep-mapping/#:~:text=Deep%20mapping%20involves%20the%20accumulation,topography%20and%20sense%20of%20place>.

saint and universally venerated in the medieval Christian world, but she was venerated by different people in different ways, for different of reasons, and at different times. Aspects of Marian devotion and Marian places in Hungary connect Hungary to wider trends of European Marian devotion. Hungary was connected by ecclesiastical, monastic, royal, economic, and artistic networks to the wider region. But Marian places also emerged and developed in Hungary in a unique context, specific to the history of that particular place and the people who called it home. In Hungary, many of the Marian places discussed in this thesis continue to operate as such in an ongoing placemaking process, demonstrating that the Marian landscape of Hungary continues to be watered.

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## APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1. CONCORDANCE OF PLACE NAMES<sup>1018</sup>

Abbreviation	Country
AUS	Austria
CRO	Croatia
CZE	Czech Republic
GER	Germany
HUN	Hungary
ROM	Romania
SER	Serbia
SLO	Slovakia
SLOE	Slovenia
UKR	Ukraine

Present Name	Country	Hungarian	German	Latin
Banská Štiavnica	SLO	Selmecbánya	Schemnitz	Bana/Argenti-fodina
Alba Iulia	ROM	Gyulafehérvár	Weissenburg, Karlsburg	AlbaIulia/Carolopolis
Ardeal; Transilvania ( <i>Transylvania</i> )	ROM	Erdély	Siebenbürgen	Ultrasilvania; Transsilvania
Baia de Arieș	ROM	Aranyosbánya	Offenburg	Monte Fornacis
Banská Bystrica	SLO	Besztercebánya	Neusohl	Neosolium
Bardejov	SLO	Bártfa	Bartfeld	Bartpha
Berveni	ROM	Börvej		
Biharia	ROM	Bihar		Byhor
Brașov	ROM	Brassó	Kronstadt	Brassovia/Corona
Bratislava	SLO	Pozsony	Preßburg	Posonium
Budapest	HUN	Buda	Ofen	Buda
Čakovec	CRO	Csáktornya		
Cârța	ROM	Kerc		
Čazma	CRO	Csázma		Chazma
Cefa	ROM	Cséffa	Tscheppensdorf	
Cenad	ROM	Csanád	Sunadia	Civitas Chanadiensis
Červený Kláštor	SLO	Lechnic; Szentantal-völgy		Vallis Sancti Antonii
Cheb	CZE		Eger	
Cluj-Mănăștur	ROM	Kolozsmonostor		

<sup>1018</sup> Where an Anglicized version of the present place name exists, it is included in parentheses after the present place name.

Cluj-Napoca	ROM	Kolozsvár	Klausenburg	Napoca
Coroi	ROM	Kóród		
Dupuș	ROM	Táblás/ Tóbiásfalva	Tobsdorf/ Tobiasdorf	
Eger	HUN		Erlau	Agria
Esztergom	HUN		Gran	Strigonium
Feiurdeni	ROM	Fejérd		
Fil'akovo	SLO	Füle		
Gelnica	SLO	Gölnic	Göllnitz	
Győr	HUN		Raab	Jaurinum
Hajnáčka	SLO	Ajnácskő	Pirsenstein	
Hărănglab	ROM	Harangláb		
Herepea	ROM	Magyarherepe	Ungarisch Härpen	
Hetiur	ROM	Hétúr	Marienburg bei Schässburg	
Hoghilag	ROM	Holdvilág	Halwelagen	
Ighiu	ROM	Magyarigen	Krapundorf	
Ilok	CRO	Újlak		
Iștihaza	ROM	Istvánháza		
Ivanić	CRO	Ivanics		
Jalžabet	CRO	Szenterzsébet		
Kalocsa	HUN		Kollotschau	Colocza
Korolevo	UKR	Nyaláb/ Királyháza		
Košice	SLO	Kassa	Kaschau	Cassovia
Kőszeg	HUN		Güns	
Krasna nad Hornádom	SLO	Széplak		
Krásna nad Hornádom	SLO	Abaszéplak		
Kremnica	SLO	Körmöcbánya	Kremnitz	Cremnicium
Krupina	SLO	Korpona	Karpfen	Carpona
L'ubica	SLO	Leibic		
Letanovce	SLO	Menedékkő		Lapis Refugii
Levanjska Varoš	CRO	Névna		
Levoča	SLO	Lőcse	Leutschau	Leutsovia
Lockenhaus	AUS	Léka		
Ludbreg	CRO	Ludbreg	Ludbring	
Margaret Island	HUN	Margitsziget		Insula Leporum;
Marianka	SLO	Máriavölgy	Marienthal	Vallis Mariana
Mikleuška	CRO	Garics		Mons Garig
Movile	ROM	Százhalom	Hundert- bücheln	
Nitra	SLO	Nyitra	Neutra	Nitra; Nitria; Nytra; Nytria
Nová Baňa	SLO	Újbánya	Königsberg	Regiomontanum
Novigrad Podravski	CRO	Kamarcsa		

Nyzhni Remety	UKR	Remete; Nyizsnyi Remeti; Alsóremete		
Okoličné	SLO	Okolicsno		
Oradea	ROM	Nagyvárad; Várad	Großwardein	Varadinum
Osijek	CRO	Eszék		
Pécs	HUN		Fünfkirchen	Quinqueecclesiae
Pécsvárad	HUN		Petschwar	
Petrinja	CRO	Petrinya		
Petrovaradin	SER	Pétervárad		Belefontis
Podolínec	SLO	Podolin	Pudlein	
Prešov	SLO	Eperjes	Eperies	Eperyes
Rapolt Mare	ROM	Nagyrápolt	Groß- Rapolden	
Remete, Zagreb	CRO	Remete, Zágráb		Promontorium Zagrabiense
Remeți Técső	ROM	Remete		
Rodna	ROM	Óradna/Radna	Altrodenau	
Šahy	SLO	Ság		
Sălacea	ROM	Szalacs		
Sălard	ROM	Szalárd		
Sâncraiu	ROM	Kalotaszent- király		
Saschiz	ROM	Szászkézd	Keizd	
Sásová	SLO	Zólyomszász- falu		
Sebeș	ROM	Szászsebes	Mühlbach	
Șeica Mică	ROM	Kisselyk	Kleinschelken	
Sereď	SLO	Szered		
Sibiu	ROM	Nagyszeben	Hermannstadt	Cibinium
Sighișoara	ROM	Segesvár	Schäßburg	Stenarum
Sîntămăria-Orlea	ROM	Óraljaboldog- falva		
Skalica	SLO	Szokolca	Skalitz	Sakolcium
Skalka nad Váhom	SLO	Szkalka		
Slovenská Ľupča	SLO	Zólyomlipcse	Liptsch	
Șmig	ROM	Somogyom	Schmiegen	
Solivar	SLO	Sóvár/Tótsóvár	Salzburg	
Sombor	SER	Coborszent- mihály		
Sonta	SER	Szond		Sont/Zond
Spiš	SLO	Szepes	Zips	Scepus
Spišská Kapitula	SLO	Szepeshely	Zipser Kapitel	
Spišská Nová Ves	SLO	Igló	Neudorf	Villa Nova
Spišská Stará Ves	SLO	Szepesófalu	Altendorf	Antiqua Villa
Spišské Podhradie	SLO	Szepesváralja	Kirchdrauf	
Spišsky Štiavnik	SLO	Savnik		
Staré	SLO	Sztára		

Sucutard	ROM	Vasasszent- gothárd		
Șumuleu Ciuc	ROM	Csíkсомlyó		
Székesfehérvár	HUN		Stuhlweißen- burg	Alba Regia
Țara Bârsei	SLO	Barcaság	Burzenland	
Tărcești	ROM	Tarcsafalva		
Târgu Mureș	ROM	Vásárhely/ Marosvásár- hely	Neumarkt am Mieresch	
Trebišov	SLO	Tőketerebes	Trebischau	
Trebišov	SLO	Tőketerebes	Trebischau	
Trnava	SLO	Nagyszombat	Tyrnau	Tirnavia
Turnišče	SLOE	Bántoryna		
Unterfrauenhaid	AUS	Lók		Villa Sanctae Marie
Uzhhorod	UKR	Ungvár		
Vác	HUN		Waitzen	Vacziium
Vădaș	ROM	Vadasd		
Veszprém	HUN		Wesprim; Weißbrunn	Wesprim
Vințu de Jos	ROM	Alvinc	Unterwinz; Winzendorf; Wints; Wänts	Binstum
Virovitica	CRO	Verőce		Sesta
Vranov nad Topľou	SLO	Varannó	Frö(h)nel	
Vršac	SER	Érsomlyó		
Wien ( <i>Vienna</i> )	AUS	Bécs	Wien	Vindobona
Zagreb	CRO	Zágráb	Agram	Civitas Zagrabiensis
Žumberak	CRO	Zsumberk		

## APPENDIX 2. MARIAN *PATROCINIA*

The following tables contain all extant references to medieval Marian *patrocinia* in Hungary. Under “Site” the historic Hungarian name is listed. If no corresponding location can be identified in connection to the site listed in the source, then the site name as it is spelled in the source is listed in parentheses. “Earliest ref.” contains the earliest known date for which a *patrocinia* can be identified in the historical record. The version of the site name as it is spelled in the original document is included after the first known date in parentheses.<sup>1018</sup> If a “/” is included in a date it indicates that the source is a transcription; the latter date is the date of the transcription and the former the date of the transcribed document. Further references are included in the “Additional Sources” category. If a date can be connected to the reference the date is listed first and then the source in parentheses. Also included under “Additional Sources” are texts that contain direct information about the Marian *patrocinia*.

### CATHEDRALS

Site	Location	Patrocinium	Earliest Ref.	Additional Sources
Esztergom	HUN	Virgin Mary and St. Adalbert	1156 ( <i>Stigranensis</i> ; DL-DF 238264)	1449 (DL-DF 249011; Lukcsics, 2:274); 1450 (DL-DF 249010); 1452 (DL-DF 249012; Lukcsics, 2:306); Mező, 418–19
Győr	HUN	Virgin Mary	late 11 <sup>th</sup> c. ( <i>Jauriense</i> ; Agenda Pontificalis)	ca. 1208 (HO, 6:8); 1224/1331 (ÁÚO, 11:175); 1228/1305/1361 (Györffy, 2:591); 1252/1270 (HO, 6:74); 1270 (Fejér, 5/1:44); 1291/1292 (Györffy, 2:594; KJ, 2/4:73); 1343 (MES. 3: 507); Györffy, 2:595; Rupp, 1:422; Csánki, 3:540; Mező, 424
Nagyvárad/ Várad	Oradea, ROM	Virgin Mary	late 11 <sup>th</sup> c. ( <i>Bihor</i> ; SRH, I:416)	1304 (MES, 2:541–2; RDES, 1:152, AkO, 1:304); 1320 (Theiner, I:467–8; MES, 2:778); 1332 (MonVat, 1/1:49); 1348 (Bossányi, 1/2:190; KállayLevt, 1:217); 1355 (ZO, 2:599); 1358–70 (Bak and Veszprémy, <i>The Illuminated Chronicle</i> , 258, 259); 1374 (SRH, I:203); 1397 (ZsO, 1:553); May 11, 1400 (Mon/Vat, I/4:207–8); May 25, 1400 (MonVat, I/4:214); Aug. 25, 1401

<sup>1018</sup> Note that there are instances where the original spelling of the site name could not be identified and thus not included.

				(MonVat, I/4:367–8; ZsO, II/1:143); 1418 (Lukcsics 1:62); 1420 (ZsO, VII:354); 1434 (Lukcsics, 2:126); 1450 (Lukcsics, 2:276, 277); 1450 (MHL, 144–5); 1462 (DL-DF 292441); 1472 (TelekiO, 2:114); Ortway, 2:554–5; Györffy, 1:682–6; Csánki, 1:600; Mező, 444–6
Vác	HUN	Virgin Mary	1075 ( <i>Wacensis</i> ; CDES, I:56)	13 <sup>th</sup> c. (SRH, 1:388); 1075/1124/1217 (MES, 1:56; PestReg, 27); 1270 (ÁÚO, 8:323; MES, 1:581); 1281 (Imre Szentpétery, ed., <i>Emlékkönyv Fejérpataky László</i> [Memorial book for László Fejérpataky] (Budapest, 1917), 76–7); 1297 (BalassaLevt, 26); 1319 (PestReg, 123); 1358–70 (Bak and Veszprém, <i>The Illuminated Chronicle</i> , 222, 223); Györffy, 4:310; Mező 474–5

## PARISH CHURCHES

Site	Location	Patrocinium	Earliest Ref.	Additional Sources
(Cechken-dorf)	Zagreb Co.	Virgin Mary	1430 ( <i>Cechken-dorf</i> ; Lukcsics, 1:255)	Mező, 411
(Grablya)	Pozsega Co.	Virgin Mary	1489 ( <i>Grablya</i> ; BlagayO, 430)	Mező, 423; ComPos, 16
(Heler)	Eger Diocese	Virgin Mary	1429 ( <i>Heler</i> ; Lukcsics, 1:224)	Mező, 426
(Hucnus)	Veszprém Co.	Virgin Mary	1433 ( <i>Hucnus</i> ; Lukcsics, 2:109)	Mező, 427
(Kalocz)	Unidenti- fied	Virgin Mary	1425 ( <i>Kalocz</i> ; Fejér, X/6: 743)	

(Margli)	Csanád Diocese	Virgin Mary	1438 ( <i>Margli</i> ; Lukcsics, 2:162)	Mező, 438
(Merioherlj)	Zagreb Diocese	Virgin Mary	1452 ( <i>Valle Merioherlj</i> ; Lukcsics, 2:311)	Mező, 440
(Paludi-bussone)	Zagreb Diocese	Virgin Mary	1431 ( <i>Paludibus-sone</i> ; Lukcsics, 2:44)	Körmendy Ann, 63; Mező, 480
(Portu Save)	Pécs Diocese	Virgin Mary	1429 ( <i>portu Save</i> ; Lukcsics, 1:22)	Mező, 480
(Vasad/ Waschad)	Archdiocese of Esztergom	Virgin Mary and St. Lambert	1361 ( <i>Wachad</i> ; DL-DF 39261)	
(Wisyniz)	Unidentified	Virgin Mary	1438 ( <i>Wisyniz</i> ; Fejér, XI/1:167)	
(Zechar)	Pécs Diocese	Virgin Mary	1467 ( <i>Zechar</i> ; TT 1899, 266)	Mező, 478
Abaliget	HUN	Virgin Mary	1482 ( <i>Abalygeth</i> ; DL-DF 34526)	Csánki, 2:467; Györffy, 1:269; Mező, 398
Adorjás	HUN	Virgin Mary	1373 ( <i>Azarias</i> ; Fejér, IX/4:511)	Csánki, 2:469; Mező, 399
Alsok	Pannon-halma, HUN	Virgin Mary	1366 ( <i>Olsuk</i> ; PRT, 8:345)	1367 (PRT, 8:361); 1377: PRT, 8:403; Mező, 400
Aracsá	part of Egeraracsá, HUN	Virgin Mary	1487 ( <i>Aracha</i> ; Békefi, 123)	Csánki, 3:29; Mező, 401
Aranyosbánya	Baia de Arieș, ROM	Virgin Mary	1391 ( <i>Wmberg seu de Aranyas Banya</i> ; DL-DF 37066)	Csánki, 5:679; Mező, 401
Árma	in the vicinity of Tekovské	Virgin Mary	1433 ( <i>Arma</i> ; Lukcsics, 2:90, 109)	Ortvay, 1:26; Györffy, 1:426; Mező, 401–2



	Lužany (Nagy- salló), SLO <sup>1019</sup>			
Asszonyfalva	around Tenja (Ténye), CRO	Virgin Mary	1429 ( <i>Assonfalo</i> ; Lukcsics, 1:222)	EngelSzáz, 134:282; Mező, 402
Azarjás	Gorjani (Gara), CRO	Virgin Mary	1373 ( <i>Azarias</i> ; Koller HEQ, 3:133)	1478 (DL-DF 18145); Ortvay, 1:269; ComVer, 138; EngelSzáz, 134:290; Csánki, 2:339; Mező, 402
Bajót	HUN	Virgin Mary	1418 ( <i>Bayoth</i> ; Lukcsics, 1:71)	Mező, 402
Bazin	Pezinok, SLO	Virgin Mary	1370 ( <i>Bozin</i> ; Theiner, II:94)	Mező, 403
Belec	CRO	Virgin Mary	1419 ( <i>Beliz</i> ; Lukcsics, 1:87)	Mező, 404; ComVar, 9–10
Beled	Naszály, HUN <sup>1020</sup>	Virgin Mary	1429 ( <i>Belicz</i> ; Lukcsics, 1:218)	Mező, 404
Berethalom	Biertan, ROM	Virgin Mary	1402 ( <i>Byrthelm</i> ; UB, III:274)	1440 (UB, V:57–8, 65–7, DL-DF 62818); 1454 (UB, V:439–41); 1493 (MonVat, I/5:21); Entz 1996, 235
Besenyő	around Apatin, SER	Virgin Mary	1415 ( <i>Aputhi</i> ; ZsO, 5:132)	Mező, 405
Beszterce- bánya	Banská Bystrica, SLO	Virgin Mary	1323 ( <i>Bistrice</i> ; RDES, 2:479)	1324 (AkO, 8:254); 1400 (ZsO, 2/1:48); 1433 (Lukcsics, 2:72); Mező, 405
Bihardiószeg	Diosig, ROM	Virgin Mary	1433 ( <i>Dyozogh</i> ; Lukcsics, 2:83)	Jakó, 234; Mező, 405
Bogárd	in the vicinity of Lajosko- márom, HUN	Virgin Mary	1459 ( <i>Bogard</i> ; MREV, 3:158)	Mező, 406; Békefi, 71

<sup>1019</sup> Mező identifies this site as Vel'ké Šarluhy (Mező, 401).

<sup>1020</sup> KMFN, 140. Mező also suggests the area of Malé Bielice (Kisbélic) and Vel'ké Bielice (Nagybélic) in Slovakia as a possible localization (Mező, 404).

Bölcsk <sup>1021</sup>	HUN	Virgin Mary	1433 ( <i>Busthque</i> ; Lukcsics, II:90–1, 109)	Mező, 403
Bőnye	near Sălăţig (Szilágy- szeg), ROM	Virgin Mary	1433 ( <i>Bewinye</i> ; Lukcsics, 2:81)	1479 (KolmJk, 1:786); Mező, 408
Borossebes	Sebiş, ROM	Virgin Mary	1429 ( <i>Sebes</i> ; Lukcsics, 1:237)	Mező, 407
Börvely	Berveni, ROM	Virgin Mary	1428 ( <i>Berne</i> ; Lukcsics, 1:211)	Mező, 408
Borzás	in the vicinity of Szent- gáloskér, HUN	Virgin Mary	1421 ( <i>Bossyas</i> ; Lukcsics, 1:111)	Mező, 408
Botyka	part of Botykape- terd, HUN	Virgin Mary	1429 ( <i>Boca</i> ; Lukcsics, 1:220)	Mező, 408
Brassó	Braşov, ROM	Virgin Mary	1354 ( <i>Corona</i> ; TT 1895, 71)	1385 (UB, II:599); 1399 (MonVat, I/4, 163, no. CCVVIII); 1409 (SzO, 1:104); 1422 (Lukcsics, 1:134); 1450 (Lukcsics, 2: 275, 280); 1466 (DL-DF 286597); <sup>1022</sup> 1474 (DL-DF 286598; Theiner, II:446– 7); <sup>1023</sup> 1510 (DL-DF 286612); Györffy, 1:829; Entz 1996, 254–6; Mező, 408–9.
Bresnica <sup>1024</sup>	Zagreb diocese	Virgin Mary	1429 ( <i>Bresosa</i> ; Lukcsics, 1:217)	Mező, 409
Breznóbánya	Breznó, SLO	Virgin Mary	1405 ( <i>Brizna</i> ; Féjer, X/4:376)	Mező, 409; VSOS, 1:243

<sup>1021</sup> Mező identifies this as Baski in Baranya Co. (Mező, 403), but I think the interpretation of Busthque as Bölcske is more likely (see also Éder, “Mezővárosi plébániatemplomok,” 251)

<sup>1022</sup> For the altar of the Corpus Christi in the parish church.

<sup>1023</sup> DL-DF 286598 records the date of the manuscript as March 3, 1474, while its record in the *Vetera monumenta historica* lists it as March 3, 1475.

<sup>1024</sup> According to Mező, this site is located around Vućin in Körös Counties, but I was not able to confirm this information (Mező, 409).

Buda	Budapest, HUN	Virgin Mary	1512 ( <i>Budavár</i> ; Bártfai, 335)	1519 (PRT, 3:722); Mező, 410
Buda <sup>1025</sup>	Budapest, HUN	Virgin Mary	1269 ( <i>Monte Budensi</i> ; MOS, 774)	1285 (ÁÚO, 4:278, MES, 2:207); 1297 (MES, 2:429– 30); 1301 (MES, 2:501); 1309 (Theiner, 1:820, TT 4:111); 1351 (Bossányi, 1/2:222); 1419 (LK, 6:114– 5); Mező, 409–10
Bujonch	Zagreb diocese	Virgin Mary	1428 ( <i>Bujonch</i> ; Fejér, X/6:938)	
Bulcs	Bulci, ROM	Virgin Mary	1431 ( <i>Bulch</i> ; Lukcsics, 2:47)	Csánki, 1:768; PRT, 12/B:445; Györffy, 1:174; Mező, 411
Busán	Krbava diocese	Virgin Mary	1411 ( <i>Busana</i> ; Fejér, X/5:188, 327)	
Cirkevca	near Nedelišće, CRO	Virgin Mary	1501 ( <i>Cirkewcza</i> ; Csánki Körös, 64)	Mező, 411
Cirkvena	CRO	Virgin Mary	1415 ( <i>Chyrkuena</i> ; ZsO 5:252)	1498 (ComCris, 39); 1501 (Csánki Körös, 64); Mező, 411
Csapa	Čepin, CRO	Virgin Mary	1415 ( <i>Chapa</i> ; ZsO, 5:69, 70)	1430 (Lukcsics, 1:250); EngelSzáz, 134:283; Mező, 412
Cséffa	Cefa, ROM	Virgin Mary	1430 ( <i>Cheffa</i> ; Lukcsics, 1:253)	Jakó, 227; Mező, 412
Cserög	Čerević, SER	Virgin Mary	1403 ( <i>Cherewg</i> ; MonVat, I/4:497)	1478 (DL-DF 18145); Mező, 413; Csánki 2:235; Mező, 413; ComSirm, 33
Csetnek	Štítnik, SLO	Virgin Mary	1467 ( <i>Chythnek</i> ; DL-DF 16583)	Ila, 2:150; Györffy, 2:491; Mező, 412
Csezmice	near Botinac, CRO	Virgin Mary	1415 ( <i>Chezmice</i> ; ZsO, 5:80)	ComCris, 37; Mező, 413– 14

<sup>1025</sup> This is certainly the same Marian church in Buda first mentioned in 1248.

Csomád <sup>1026</sup>	HUN	Virgin Mary and St. Oswald	1433 ( <i>Chanad</i> ; Lukcsics, 2:93)	Mező, 413
Csucserja	Čučerje, CRO	Virgin Mary	1414 ( <i>Chicheriis</i> ; ZsO, 4:468)	1437 (Lukcsics, 2:151); Mező, 413
Csütörtökhely	part of Daruvar, CRO	Virgin Mary	1468 ( <i>Chetertekhel</i> ; LK, 7:295)	1508 (LK, 3:166–7); Csánki Körös, 80; Mező, 413
Décse	around Dišnik, CRO	Virgin Mary	1430 ( <i>Dech</i> ; Lukcsics, 1:250)	Mező, 414
Deseda	in the vicinity of Somogyaszaló, HUN	Virgin Mary	1428 ( <i>Cussida</i> ; Lukcsics, 1:209)	SMFN, 402; Mező, 415
Dipse	Dipša, ROM	Virgin Mary	1450 ( <i>Dypse</i> ; KolmJk, 1:422, 424)	Mező, 415
Dobrakucsa	Dobra Kuća, CRO	Virgin Mary	1428 ( <i>Dobracucha</i> ; Körmendy Ann, 57)	ComPos, 52; Mező, 415
Dömsöd	HUN	Virgin Mary	1413 ( <i>Dempsed</i> ; ZsO, 4:222)	Bártfai, 593; Mező, 415–16
Ecseny	HUN	Virgin Mary	1429 ( <i>Echen</i> ; Lukcsics 1:215)	1430 (Lukcsics, 1:259); Mező, 416
Ecsér	in the vicinity of Kővágóörs, HUN	Virgin Mary	1433 ( <i>Echir</i> ; Lukcsics, 2:97)	Békefi, 135–7; Mező, 416
Egyházaskozár	HUN	Virgin Mary	1446 ( <i>Eghazasc-hazar</i> ; Lukcsics, 2:233)	Mező, 417
Erdőcsokonya	part of Csokonyavisonta, HUN	Virgin Mary	1429 ( <i>Chokona</i> ; Lukcsics, 1:216)	1455 (Csánki, 2:598); Mező, 418

<sup>1026</sup> Note that the localization is only correct if the name of the diocese as recorded in Lukcsics (“Chanad, dictae [Baciensis] d.”; Lukcsics, 2:93) is corrected to be “Vaciensis” (Mező, 413).

Érsomlyó	Vršac (Versec), SER	Virgin Mary	1429 ( <i>Senad</i> ; Lukcsics, 1:237)	Mező, 418
Falkos	in the vicinity of Hahót, HUN	Virgin Mary	1430 ( <i>Falcos</i> ; Lukcsics, 1:249)	Mező, 419
Fehérvár- csurgó	HUN	Virgin Mary	1430 ( <i>Chorgo</i> ; Lukcsics, 1:249)	Mező, 419
Felpéc	HUN	Virgin Mary	1430 ( <i>Felpeecz</i> ; HO, 3:360)	Csánki, 3:555; Györffy, 2:617; Mező, 419
Felsőnyárád	HUN	Virgin Mary	1332-5 ( <i>Uharac</i> ; MonVat, I/1:248, 325, 338)	Györffy, 1:793–4; Soós, 149; Kovács, 39; Mező, 419–20
Fényeslitke	HUN	Virgin Mary	1380 ( <i>Litke</i> ; ZO, 12:43)	1433 (Lukcsics, 2:86); 1446 (ZO, 9:105); SzabSzat, 45; Soós, 389; NémSzab, 124; Kovács, 57; Mező, 420
Földvár	in the vicinity of Mohács, HUN	Virgin Mary	1429 ( <i>Fadonar</i> ; Lukcsics, 1:241)	Györffy, 1:303; Mező, 420–1
Földvár	Feldioara, ROM	Virgin Mary	1424 ( <i>Meogen- borg</i> ; Lukcsics, 1:155)	1437 (Lukcsics, 2:144); Entz 1994, 95; Mező, 420– 1; Györffy, 1:831; Mező, 421
Fraknó	Forchten- stein, AUS	Virgin Mary	1390 ( <i>Forchtenaw</i> ; MonVat, I/3:116)	
Gáborján	HUN	Virgin Mary	1340 ( <i>Gabrian</i> ; ZO, I:570)	1341/1405 (HéderváryO, 1:128); 1429 (Lukcsics, 1: 244); Jakó 244; Mező, 421
Gálosi	in the vicinity of Kukučínov (Nemesor- oszi), SLO	Virgin Mary	1307 ( <i>Falusi</i> ; RDES, 1:223) <sup>1027</sup>	Györffy, 3:195; Mező, 421

<sup>1027</sup> Note that this source comes from a seventeenth-century transcription (RDES, 1:223), so the early dating should be taken with a grain of salt.

Garig	Gornja Garešnica, CRO	Virgin Mary	1407 ( <i>Garygh</i> ; ZsO, 2/2:74)	1430 (Lukcsics, 1:250); Mező, 421
Gelyevölgy	in the vicinity of Vavár, Széplak-patak, Csipkerek, HUN <sup>1028</sup>	Virgin Mary	1425 ( <i>Gerly</i> ; Fejér, X/6:686)	
Glogovnica	CRO	Virgin Mary	1410 ( <i>Glogoncha</i> ; ZsO, 2/2:336)	Mező, 422
Görcsöny	HUN	Virgin Mary	1345 ( <i>Gerchin</i> ; Fejér, IX/1:295; Theiner, 1:684, Bossányi, 1/2:105)	Mező, 423
Gradec	in the vicinity Gradac Pokupski near Karlovac, CRO <sup>1029</sup>	Virgin Mary	1348 ( <i>Gradech</i> ; COD, XI:487)	1486 (BlagayO, 407); ComZagr, 1:121; Mező, 423
Gyula	HUN	Virgin Mary	1398 ( <i>Gyula</i> ; MonVat, I/4:76–7)	1427 (Lukcsics, 1:195); 1451 (Ortvay, 2:591); Mező, 424
Gyulakeszi	HUN	Virgin Mary	1466 ( <i>Kezy</i> ; Békefi, 148)	Koppány, 136; Mező, 425
Hajmáskér	HUN	Virgin Mary	1492 ( <i>Ker</i> ; MREV, 3:324)	VeszpRégTop, 98; Mező, 425
Halas	HUN	Virgin Mary	1390 ( <i>Hallas</i> ; MonVat, I/3:115)	
Haraklány	Hereclean, ROM	Virgin Mary	1419 ( <i>Harabam</i> ; Lukcsics, 1:84)	1420 (Lukcsics, 1:98); Mező, 425

<sup>1028</sup> Localization based on “Helységek,” Csánki Dezső: Magyarország történelmi földrajza a Hunyadiak korában II, accessed January 4, 2021, <https://Fejér.arcanum.com/hu/online-kiadvanyok/Csanki-csanki-dezso-magyarorszag-tortenelmi-foldrajza-a-hunyadiak-koraban-1/ii-kotet-32A7/vasvarmegye-5B35/helysegei-5B9B/?list=eyJmaWx0ZXJzJjogeyJNVSI6IFsiTkZPX0tPTlIfQ3NhbmtPzEiXX0sICJxdWVyeSI6ICJnZWx5I>n0.

<sup>1029</sup> According to ComZagr, 2:8, this site should be located in Mali Gradac, CRO.

Harangláb	Hărănglab, ROM	Virgin Mary	1430 ( <i>Aranglaba</i> ; Lukcsics, 1:255)	Mező, 425
Hegen	Haganj, CRO	Virgin Mary	1419 ( <i>Hengen</i> ; Lukcsics, 1:86)	1428 (Lukcsics, 1:210); 1501 (Csánki Körös, 63); ComCris, 92; Mező, 426
Hermány	Cașolț, ROM	Virgin Mary	1302 ( <i>Castenholz</i> ; UB, 1:224–5)	1337 (MonVat, 1/1:143); Entz 1994, 101; Mező, 426
Hétúr	Hetiur, ROM	Virgin Mary	1417 ( <i>Hetthur</i> ; Lukcsics, 1:47)	Mező, 426
Holdvilág	Hoghilag, ROM	Virgin Mary	1446 ( <i>Hodwylag</i> ; Lukcsics, 2:233)	Mező, 426
Igló	Spišská Nová Ves, SLO	Virgin Mary	1391 ( <i>Novavilla</i> ; MonVat, I/3)	1440 (BiblHung, 1:412); 1517 (BiblHung, 1:1050); Mező, 427
Ipolyszalka	Salka, SLO	Virgin Mary	1332 ( <i>Salta</i> ; Theiner, 1:548)	1339/1421 (Bakács Hont, 189); Györffy, 3:248; Mező, 428
Ivanics <sup>1030</sup>	in the area of Kloštar Ivanić and Ivanić- Grad, CRO	Virgin Mary	1377 ( <i>Iwanich</i> ; COD, XV:264)	1419 (Lukcsics, 1:85); 1420 (Lukcsics, 1: 89, 95); 1438 (Lukcsics, 2:167); Ortvay, 2:736; PestyERV, 2:280; ComCris, 102, 118; Mező, 428
Izsnyéte	Zsnyatino, UKR	Virgin Mary	1429 ( <i>Isnata</i> ; Lukcsics, 1:215)	Mező, 428
Jászládány	HUN	Virgin Mary	1433 ( <i>Ladan</i> ; Lukcsics, 2:93)	Mező, 429
Jósva	Jošava, BOH	Virgin Mary	1423 ( <i>Jolsva</i> ; Lukcsics, 1:150)	Mező, 429
Kabol	Kovilj, SER	Virgin Mary	1429 ( <i>Cabol</i> ; Lukcsics 1:229)	Mező, 429
Kajdacs	HUN	Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary	1428 ( <i>Kaidach</i> ;	1433 (Lukcsics, 2:86, 87); Mező, 429

<sup>1030</sup> This was possibly a parish church as early as 1334. The Buturac version of a 1334 reference to the church refers to it as “luanch ecclesia beate virginis, plebania” (Buturac, 95), while Csánki’s version excludes “plebania” (Csánki Körös, 72).

			Lukcsics, 1:208)	
Kalaznó	HUN	Virgin Mary	1429 ( <i>Kalzano</i> ; Lukcsics, 1:229)	Mező, 429
Káld	HUN	Virgin Mary	1313 ( <i>Kaald</i> ; HO, 1:109, AkO, 3:212)	Ortvay, 2:810; Mező, 429
Kállósemlén	HUN	Virgin Mary	1413 ( <i>Nogy- Semyen</i> ; ZsO, 4:258)	SzabSzat, 57; SzSz, 25:146; Soós, 446; NémSzab, 164; Kovács, 47; Mező, 429
Kálmáncsa	HUN	Annun- ciation of the Virgin Mary	1455 ( <i>Cheh</i> ; DL-DF 14915)	Csánki, 2:578; Mező, 429
Kamarcsa	Novigrad Podravski, CRO	Virgin Mary	1480 ( <i>Kamarcha</i> ; Körmendy Ann, 90)	Mező, 429–30
Kaposfő <sup>1031</sup>	Szomajom, HUN	Virgin Mary	1433 ( <i>Zomeny</i> ; MREV, III:86)	
Kaprevár/ Kaprióra	Căprioara, ROM	Virgin Mary	1438 ( <i>Capranaca</i> ; Lukcsics, 2:157, 160)	Mező, 430
Karád	HUN	Virgin Mary	1429 ( <i>Magnaka- rad</i> ; Lukcsics, 1:226)	Mező, 430
Kasarna	belonged to Nekse castle, Našice, CRO	Virgin Mary	1407 ( <i>Kasarna</i> ; ZsO, 2/2:73)	Csánki, 2:495; Mező, 430
Kerencs	Krnča, SLO <sup>1032</sup>	Virgin Mary	1429 ( <i>Kecznecz</i> ; Lukcsics, 1:217)	Mező, 431
Ketel	Chețiu, ROM	Virgin Mary	1433 ( <i>Kethel</i> ; Lukcsics, 2:102)	Mező, 431

<sup>1031</sup> Known as “Szomajom” until 1942.

<sup>1032</sup> Uncertain localization (Mező, 431).



Kéttornyú-lak <sup>1033</sup>	HUN	Virgin Mary	1430 ( <i>Lak</i> ; Lukcsics, 1:256)	Mező, 431
Kide	Chidea, ROM	Virgin Mary	1449 ( <i>Kyde</i> ; KolmJk, 1:375–6)	1455 (DL-DF 36407, Jakó, 1237); Entz 1994, 109; Mező, 431
Kisasszonyfa	HUN	Virgin Mary	1429 ( <i>Assonfalo</i> ; Lukcsics, 1:222)	Mező, 431
Kisboldogasszony	Klein-frauen-haid, AUS	Virgin Mary	1299 ( <i>Bagad</i> ; Fejér, VI/2:227)	
Kisselyk	Șeica Mică, ROM	Virgin Mary	1400 ( <i>Monte Fornacis</i> ; MonVat, I/1:290)	
Koren	Veliko Korenovo, CRO	Virgin Mary	1501 ( <i>Koren</i> ; Csánki Körös, 69)	ComCris, 124; Mező, 433–4
Körmöcbánya	Kremnica, SLO	Virgin Mary	1465 ( <i>Crempinisa</i> ; DL-DF 249680)	Györffy, 1:454, 455; Mező, 434
Kötegyán	HUN	Virgin Mary	1429 ( <i>Kethegan</i> ; Lukcsics, 1:243)	Mező, 434
Kuni	around Tenja, CRO	Virgin Mary	1423 ( <i>Cuni</i> ; Lukcsics, 1:136)	Engel Száz, 134:284; Mező, 435
Lajosmizse	HUN	Virgin Mary	1430 ( <i>Misse</i> ; Lukcsics, 1:252)	Mező, 435
Lápafő	HUN	Virgin Mary	1430 ( <i>Vapaphe</i> ; Lukcsics, 1:149)	Mező, 435
Leibic	Lubica, SLO	Virgin Mary	1390 ( <i>Lewbitz</i> ; MonVat, I/3:111)	15 <sup>th</sup> c. (BiblHung, 3:164); ca. 1500 (BiblHung, 1:263); VSOS, 2:192; Mező, 435
Lipovec	Mali Lipovec or Veliki Lipovec, CRO	Virgin Mary	1452 ( <i>Sanctamann am et sub castro Lippovich</i> ;	ComZagr, 1:196–7; Mező, 436

<sup>1033</sup> Ibid.

			Lukcsics, 2:305)	
Lukanénye	Nenince, SLO	Virgin Mary	1428 ( <i>Nine</i> ; Lukcsics, 1:207)	Mező, 436
Macedónia	Macedonia, ROM	Virgin Mary	1422 ( <i>Macedonia</i> ; Lukcsics, 1:121)	Mező, 436
Magyarherepe	Herepea, ROM	Virgin Mary	1433 ( <i>Herestre</i> ; Lukcsics, 2:114)	Mező, 436
Magyar- zsombor	Zimbor, ROM	Virgin Mary	1428 ( <i>Sombor</i> ; KolmJk, 1:799)	Mező, 436
Máriagyűd	part of Siklós, HUN	Virgin Mary	1429 ( <i>Haziagi- mariacuth</i> ; ZsO, 1:237)	Rupp, 1:390; Mező, 438
Marót	Morovič, SER	Virgin Mary	1412 ( <i>Marot</i> ; Fejér, X/5:252)	1414 (PestyERV, 1:313); 1415 (ZsO, 5:105, 144) <sup>1034</sup>
Maskfalva	Mašková (Maskó- falva), SLO	Virgin Mary	1434 ( <i>Masfalva</i> ; Lukcsics, 2:124)	Hudák, 330; Mező, 439
Mátravere- bély	HUN	Virgin Mary	1400 ( <i>Vereb</i> ; MonVat, I/4:252)	
Mégy	around Cenad (Csanád), ROM	Virgin Mary	1393 ( <i>Meeg</i> ; MonVat, I/3:223)	Dávid, 56; Mező, 439
Megyericse	Međurača, CRO	Virgin Mary	1433 ( <i>Megereche</i> ; Lukcsics, 2:79)	Csánki Körös, 85; Mező, 439
Meszlen	around Petanjci (Szécsény- kút), perhaps Tišina, SLOE	Virgin Mary	1400 ( <i>Messtlincz</i> ; MonVat, I/4:301–2)	1413 (ZsO, IV:215); 1425 (ZsO, 12:143, DL-DF 98401); 1430 (Lukcsics, 1:251); Csánki, 2:775; Mező, 440
Miskolc	HUN	Virgin Mary	1445 ( <i>Novamis-</i>	Wolf, HOMÉ, 27:103; Soós, 133, 135; Mező, 440

<sup>1034</sup> Elevated to a provostry church in 1415.

			<i>kocz</i> ; Lukcsics, 2:219)	
Muzsina	Mučna Velika, CRO	Virgin Mary	1413 ( <i>Mosinnya</i> ; ZsO, 4:85)	ComCris, 160; Mező, 441
Nagybereg/ Beregi	Velyki Berehy, UKR	Virgin Mary	1393 ( <i>Beregh</i> ; ZsO, 1:313)	Mező, 441
Nagybodolya/ Bodolya	Podolje, CRO	Virgin Mary	1401 ( <i>Bodola</i> ; MonVat, I/4:395–6)	Ortvay, 2:774; Csánki, 2:461; Györffy, 1:286, 292; Mező, 441
Nagygorica	Velika Gorica, CRO	Virgin Mary	1407 ( <i>Campo</i> ; ZsO, 2/2:35)	Mező, 442
Nagymihály	Michalov- ce, SLO	Virgin Mary	1314 ( <i>Nogmichael</i> ; SztárayO, 1:42)	1335 (SztárayO, 1:94); 1337 (AO 3:419, SztárayO, 1:150); 1358 (SztárayO, 1:283); ComZemp, 120; Kovács, 43; Mező, 442–3
Nagyszeben	Sibiu, ROM	Virgin Mary	1351 ( <i>Cybinio</i> ; UB, II:81)	1384 (DL-DF 291983); 1409 (UB, III:482–6); 1414 (ZsO, 4:508); 1448 (UB, V:242–3; UB, V:250); 1484 (UB, VII:356); 1503 (DL-DF 245585); Kemény- Gyimesy, 129; Entz 1996, 402–4; Mező, 443
Nagyszőlős	Vynohra- div, UKR	Virgin Mary	1313 ( <i>Vgacha</i> ; AkO, 3:262)	1321 (MES, 3:1); 1419 (ZsO, 7:249); ComMarmUg, 221
Nemeskocs	HUN	Virgin Mary	1510 ( <i>Koch</i> ; Sümeghy, 188)	Mező, 446
Nezda/Nezde	possibly Szólád, HUN	Virgin Mary	1363 ( <i>Nezda</i> ; Bossányi, II:425)	
Nógrádszakál	HUN	Virgin Mary	1429 ( <i>Zabal</i> ; Lukcsics, 1:230)	Györffy 4:294–5; Mező, 447
Nyék	Alsó- or Felsőnyék, HUN	Virgin Mary	1429 ( <i>Nec</i> ; Lukcsics, 1:219)	1437 (Lukcsics 2:146); 1445 (Lukcsics 2:219); Mező, 447
Nyírtass	HUN	Virgin Mary	1429 ( <i>Tas</i> ; Lukcsics, 1:218)	SzabSzat, 93; Soós, 398; NémSzab, 188–9; Kovács, 57; Mező, 447–8

Nyitra <sup>1035</sup>	Nitra, SLO	Virgin Mary	1332 ( <i>Monte</i> ; MonVat, I/1:200, 222)	Mező, 448; Györffy 4:438
Óbuda (Alba Ecclesia; Fehéregyháza)	Budapest, HUN	Virgin Mary	1400 ( <i>Albe Ecclesie</i> ; MREV, II:321; ZsO, II:46)	1429 (Lukcsics, 1:218); 1441 (Lukcsics, 2:199); Rupp BP, 32–8; Gajáry, 346; Mező, 448–9
Okics	Okić, CRO	Virgin Mary	1501 ( <i>Okich</i> ; St., IV:210)	ComZagr, 2:138; Mező, 449
Ómág	in the vicinity of Csurgónagyymarton, HUN	Virgin Mary	1430 ( <i>Omach</i> ; Lukcsics, 1:250)	Mező, 450
Opatica	Opațița (Magyarapáca), ROM	Virgin Mary	1432 ( <i>Opatiza</i> ; Lukcsics, 2:67, 69)	Mező, 450
Oroszlámos	Banatsko Arandelovo (Oroszlámos), SER	Virgin Mary	1437 ( <i>Orozlanus</i> ; Lukcsics, 2:154, 155)	Mező, 450
Ötvös	part of Ötvöskónyi, HUN	Virgin Mary	1402 ( <i>Vothus</i> ; MonVat, I/1:490)	Csánki, 2:634; MVV, Somogy, 421; Mező, 451
Ozora	HUN	Virgin Mary	1424 ( <i>Ozora</i> ; Lukcsics, 1:162)	Mező, 450
Pacsér	in the vicinity of Kolárovo (Gúta), SLO <sup>1036</sup>	Virgin Mary	1428 ( <i>Pose</i> ; Lukcsics, 1:210)	Mező, 451
Pele	Becheni ROM	Virgin Mary	1433 ( <i>Pele</i> ; Lukcsics, 2:81)	Mező, 453
Pest <sup>1037</sup>	Március 15. tér,	Virgin Mary	1308 ( <i>Pest</i> ; AkO, 2:208)	1422 (Lukcsics, 1:123); 1428 (Lukcsics, 1:209);

<sup>1035</sup> The relevant entry in the papal tithe register states “Johannes de Monte Beate Virginis plebanus, Michael plebanus Beate Virginis de Monte” (CDES, 2:191; Fejér, 4/2:459). Commenting on Ortway’s entry on the church(es) (Ortway, 1:93–4), Mező states that because of the different parish priest, Ortway considers it to be two different churches, but that he (Mező) does not believe there is a reason to do so (Mező, 448).

<sup>1036</sup> Uncertain identification (Mező, 451).

<sup>1037</sup> Certainly the same Marian church in Pest mentioned in earlier documentation. While there is a reference to the parish of Pest in 1225 (MRES, 1:62–3), the earliest reference to it as a parish church of the Virgin Mary comes only in 1308.

	Budapest, HUN			Györffy, 4:538–44; Csánki, 1:24; Mező, 453
Peterd	HUN	Virgin Mary	1429 ( <i>Peterd</i> ; Lukcsics, 1:216)	Györffy, 1:369; Mező, 453
Pétervárad	Petrovara- din, SER	Virgin Mary	1428 ( <i>Waradino- petro</i> ; Lukcsics, 1:209)	Mező, 453
Petróc	Petrovce nad Laborcom, SLO	Virgin Mary	1418 ( <i>Petrovecz</i> ; Lukcsics, 1:53)	Mező, 453
Podolin	Podolíneč, SLO	Virgin Mary	1343 ( <i>Podolin</i> ; AkO, 27:143)	FeketeSzep, 245; Mező, 454
Poroszló	HUN	Virgin Mary and St. Margaret the Virgin	1420 ( <i>Poroztho</i> ; ZsO, 7:543)	Kovács, 52, 100; Rupp, 2:98; Csánki, 1:56; Ortway, 2:785; Soós, 254; Mező, 453
Pregrada	CRO	Virgin Mary	1373–5 ( <i>Pregrada</i> ; Ortvay 2:747; MonVat, I/1:503)	Mező, 455–6
Privigye	Prievidza, SLO	Virgin Mary	1415 ( <i>Preuidia</i> ; ZsO, 5:105)	VSOS, 2:459; MVV Nyitra, 122; Mező, 456
Rábasömjén	HUN	Virgin Mary	1439 ( <i>Semyen</i> ; Lukcsics, 2:185)	Mező, 456
Radnótfája	Iernuțeni, ROM	Virgin Mary	1358 ( <i>Arnahigh</i> ; Bossányi, 2:320–1)	Mező, 456
Radvány	Radvaň nad Hronom, SLO	Virgin Mary	1309 ( <i>Rodona</i> ; RDES, 1:295, Fejér, 8/1:351, MES, 2:602)	1325 (MES, 3:65); Ortway, 1:50; Mező, 456
Rusim	Rusim Castle, Zagreb diocese	Virgin Mary	1400 ( <i>Rusim</i> ; MonVat, I/4:275–6; ZsO, 2/1:76)	
Sajógömör	Gemer, SLO	Virgin Mary	1433 ( <i>Gerogei</i> /	Ortvay, 1:43; Györffy, 2:500; Ila, 4:16; Mező, 457

			<i>Gumer;</i> Lukcsics, 2:101)	
Salló	Tekovské Lužianky (Kissalló) or Tekovské Lužany (Nagy- salló), SLO	Virgin Mary	1373-5 ( <i>Sarlow;</i> MonVat, I/1:471)	Bakács Hont, 141; Mező, 458
Samci	CRO	Virgin Mary	1419 ( <i>Zaanch;</i> TT 1895, 287)	Mező, 458
Selmecbánya	Banská Štiavnica, SLO	Virgin Mary	1275 ( <i>Bana;</i> Fejér, 5/2:308)	1430 (Lukcsics, 1:254, 257); 1500 (Bakács Hont, 76); Hudák, 329; Györffy, 3:244; Mező, 459
Soma	Nagycsere, Debrecen, HUN <sup>1038</sup>	Virgin Mary	1429 ( <i>Suna;</i> Lukcsics, 1:221)	Mező, 460
Somkerék	Şintereag, ROM	Virgin Mary	1415 ( <i>Somkerek;</i> ZsO, 5:117)	1427 (TelekiO, 1:504); Mező, 460
Somogyom	Şmig, ROM	Virgin Mary	1390 ( <i>Semogion;</i> MonVat, I/3:117)	
Somogyvár	HUN	Virgin Mary	1429 ( <i>Somogwair;</i> Lukcsics, 1:216)	Mező, 460
Sóvár	Solivar, SLO	Virgin Mary	1415 ( <i>Sowar;</i> ZsO, 5:136)	1438 (DOŠ, 442); Mező 460–1
Szabadbat- tyán	HUN	Virgin Mary	1458 ( <i>Bachiani;</i> MREV, 3:153)	Békefi, 87; Mező, 462
Szabadi	HUN	Virgin Mary	1429 ( <i>Sabbadi;</i> Lukcsics, 1:215)	Mező, 462
Szabolcs	HUN	Virgin Mary	1440 ( <i>Zaboch;</i> DL-DF 84876)	SzSz, 25:147; NémSzab, 169; KTL, 614; Mező, 462

<sup>1038</sup> György Módy, “A debreceni erdőpuszták története 1945-ig” [The history of the wooded plains of Debrecen until 1945], in *Historia et ars. Módy György válogatott tanulmányai* [Selected studies by György Módy] (Debrecen, 2006), 34.

Szák	Szákszend, HUN	Imma-culate Concep-tion of the Virgin Mary	1502 ( <i>Zaak</i> ; DL-DF 73168)	
Szalánkemén	Slankamen/ Stari Slankamen, SER	Virgin Mary	1350–4 ( <i>Salankamen</i> ; MonVat, I/1:443)	1400 (MonVat, I/4:289); ComSirm, 166–7; Mező, 462; Csánki, 2:237
Szálárd	Sălard, ROM	Virgin Mary	1402 ( <i>Zallart</i> ; MonVat, I/4:409–10)	
Szaplonca	CRO	Virgin Mary	1439 ( <i>Sopploncza</i> ; Lukcsics, 2:181–2)	1441 (MKA, Acta Paulinorum (Q 312) 35573); <sup>1039</sup> Csánki Körös, 79; Mező, 462
Szászberek	HUN	Virgin Mary	1438 ( <i>Zaazberek</i> ; Zounuk, 12: 305)	Csánki, 1:53; Mező, 463
Szászkézd	Saschiz, ROM	Virgin Mary <sup>1040</sup>	1455 ( <i>Szász-kézd</i> ; TT 1900, 7)	Mező, 463
Szászrégen	Reghin, ROM	Virgin Mary	1452 ( <i>Regen</i> ; Lukcsics, 2:304, 313)	Csánki, 5:681; Mező, 463
Szászsebes	Sebeş, ROM	Virgin Mary	1455 ( <i>Zassovicj</i> ; TT 1900, 7, UB, V:498)	Mező, 463
Szata	Sotin, CRO	Virgin Mary	1408 ( <i>Zatta</i> ; ZsO, 2/2:121)	EngelSzáz, 134; Mező, 463
Szenterzsébet	possibly Jalžabet, CRO	Virgin Mary	1484 ( <i>sancte Elisabet</i> ; Theiner, II:490–1)	
Szentgergely	around Sonta (Szond), SER	Virgin Mary	1429 ( <i>Sandagreg- orio</i> ; Lukcsics, 1:222)	Györffy, 1:233; Mező, 465
Szentkirály	near Hódmező-	Virgin Mary	1433 ( <i>Zenthkyral</i> ;	Mező, 466

<sup>1039</sup> The site in this 1441 source is referred to as “inferiori Sopploncza.”

<sup>1040</sup> This parish church may have been dedicated simply to the Virgin Mary (as it is called in TT 1900, 7). However, there is also a chapel located in the same town that received an indulgence on the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary about thirty years earlier (leading to the assumption that that is the *patrocinium*). Mező believes the chapel was later elevated to a parish, which would have retained the Nativity *patrocinium* (Mező, 463).

	vásárhely, HUN		Lukcsics, 2:101)	
Szepesváraalja	Spišské Podhradie, SLO	Virgin Mary	1279 ( <i>Suburbio</i> ; Fejér, 5/2:567)	1402 (MonVat, I/4:424); 1419 (ZsO, 7:220); Csánki, 1:255; Mező, 467
Szered	Sered', SLO	Assump-tion of the Virgin Mary	1507 ( <i>Zered</i> ; PRT, 7:611)	Mező, 467
Szikszó	HUN	Virgin Mary	1429 ( <i>Sizo</i> ; Lukcsics, 1:212)	1438 (Soós, 497); Csánki, 1:201; Mező, 467
Szinye	Svinia, SLO	Virgin Mary	1402 ( <i>Sarus</i> ; ZsO, 2/1:172)	Wagner, 324; Kovács, 60; Mező, 467
Szloboda	Moslavina, CRO	Virgin Mary	1513 ( <i>Zloboda</i> ; Popisi, 55)	ComCris, 272; Mező, 467
Szombathely	HUN	Virgin Mary	1429 ( <i>Sacharia</i> ; Lukcsics, 1:226)	1444 (Lukcsics, 2:213); 1469 (HO, 5:292); ASav, 9:35–96; Csánki 2:720–1; Mező, 467–8
Szond	Sonta, SER	Virgin Mary	1400 ( <i>Sont Collocensis</i> ; MonVat, I/1:228)	1420 (Lukcsics, 1:90); 1450 (Lukcsics, 2:278); Györffy, 1:235–6; Mező, 467; Csánki, 2:138–9
Sztára	Staré, SLO	Virgin Mary and St. Stanislaus	1418 ( <i>Stara</i> ; Lukcsics, 1:53)	Mező, 468
Sztenicsnyák	Sjeničak Lasinjski, CRO	Virgin Mary	1409 ( <i>Ztunchinak</i> ; ZsO, 2/1:655)	1501 (St., IV:218); ComZagr, 2:116–17; Mező, 459–60
Sztreza	Pavlin Kloštar, CRO	Virgin Mary	1409 ( <i>Streza</i> ; LK, 6:104)	1420 (Lukcsics, 1:94); 1429 (Lukcsics, 1:228); ComCris, 176; Mező, 468
Telkibánya	HUN	Virgin Mary	1428 ( <i>Telkybanya</i> ; BLÉ, 5:588)	Mező, 470
Tiszanagyfalu	HUN	Virgin Mary	1428 ( <i>Nogfalu</i> ; NémSzab, 137)	Mező, 470
Tőketerebes 1041	Trebišov, SLO	Virgin Mary	1504 ( <i>Therebes</i> ; BLÉ, 5:677)	Mező, 472.

<sup>1041</sup> A parish priest is mentioned in 1417 (ZsO, 6:212) and a parish church in 1424, but the *patrocinium* is not mentioned in either case (ZsO, XI:428).



Tuhelj	CRO	Virgin Mary	1414 ( <i>Thuhel</i> ; ZsO, 4:384)	1415 (ZsO, 5:336); 1439 (Körmendy Ann, 69); ComVar, 166; Mező, 472–3
Túrony	HUN	Virgin Mary	1414 ( <i>Thuron</i> ; ZsO, 4:471)	Mező, 473
Tusa	Tušice, SLO	Virgin Mary	1428 ( <i>Toussa</i> ; Lukcsics, 1:211)	Mező, 473
Újfalu	Transyl- vanian Diocese	Virgin Mary	1399 ( <i>Noua Villa</i> ; Fejér, X/2:682)	1429 (Lukcsics, 1:225); Mező, 472–3
Újhely	Pécs diocese	Virgin Mary	1429 ( <i>Wihel</i> ; Lukcsics 1:223–4)	Mező, 473
Újiráz	HUN	Virgin Mary	1430 ( <i>Iras</i> ; Lukcsics, 1:253)	Jakó, 263; Györffy, 1:627; Mező, 473
Újszász	HUN	Virgin Mary	1433 ( <i>Wysaz</i> ; Lukcsics, 2:93)	Mező, 474
Újtata	part of Tata, HUN	Virgin Mary	1402 ( <i>Vytata</i> ; ZsO 2/1:242)	Mező, 474
Ungvár	Uzhhorod, UKR	Virgin Mary	1400 ( <i>Ungwar</i> ; MonVat, I/4:299–300)	
Vál	HUN	Virgin Mary	1433 ( <i>Waal</i> ; Lukcsics, 2:71)	Mező, 474
Váralja	HUN	Virgin Mary	1402 ( <i>Varalia</i> ; MonVat, I/4:443)	EngelSzáz, 134; Mező, 475
Vartlin	Vrtlinska, CRO	Virgin Mary	1429 ( <i>Varclin</i> ; Lukcsics, 1:238)	1501 (ComCris, 252); Mező, 475
Vasvár	HUN	Virgin Mary	1362 ( <i>Castro- ferreo</i> ; DL-DF 91578)	Balazs Czigány Zágorhidi, “A vasvári Nagyboldogasszony- templom építéstörténetéhez,” <i>Vasi Honismereti Közlemények</i> 1994/2 (1994):62; Iványi Vasvár, 75–6; Mező, 476

Velike	Velika, CRO	Virgin Mary	1429 ( <i>Welike</i> ; Lukcsics, 1:239)	1435 (Csánki, 2:398); ComPos, 231; Mező, 476
Vezekény	Veľké Vozokany, SLO	Virgin Mary	1402 ( <i>Vezekyn</i> ; MonVat, I/4:471–2)	
Visegrád	HUN	Virgin Mary	1337 ( <i>Wissegrado</i> ; Bossányi, 2:380)	1360 (Bossányi, 2:380); 1413 (ZsO, 4:252); Mező, 477
Vízkelet	Čierny Brod, SLO	Virgin Mary	1334 ( <i>Vyzkeleth</i> ; AO, 3:125)	1431 (Lukcsics, 2:43); Ortvay, 1:16; Mező, 477
Zalahaláp	HUN	Virgin Mary	1433 ( <i>Halap</i> ; Lukcsics, 2:103)	VHL, 2:436; Békefi, 141; MREV, III:93; Mező, 478
Zalavár	HUN	Virgin Mary	1429 ( <i>Zalavar</i> ; Lukcsics, 1:218)	Mező, 478
Zimány	HUN	Virgin Mary	1433 ( <i>Zomenij</i> ; Lukcsics, 2:77)	SMFN, 434; Mező, 479
Zsazsin	Žažina, CRO	Virgin Mary	1430 ( <i>Zezin</i> ; Lukcsics, 1:256)	Mező, 479
Zsitvakenéz	Kňažice, SLO	Virgin Mary	1075/1217 ( <i>Knesecz</i> ; MES, 1:53, 59)	1209 (DL-DF 56); 1314 (MES, 2:697); 1332 (MonVat, I/1:190); 1406 (ZsO, 2/1:626); Mező, 480; Ortvay, 1:27

## CHURCHES

Site	Location	Patrocinium	Earliest Ref.	Additional Sources
(Dicenoua)	Pozsega Co.	Virgin Mary	1334 ( <i>Dicenoua</i> ; Ortvay, 2:760)	ComPos, 24; Csánki Körös, 78; Mező, 415
(Jaxagoucha)	Dubica Co.	Virgin Mary	1384 ( <i>Jaxagoucha</i> ; ASzlavO, 102)	Mező, 429
(Kede)	Unidenti- fied	Virgin Mary	1344 ( <i>Kede</i> ; DL- DF 292718)	

(Mathnic/ Mathnich)	Eger Co.	Virgin Mary	1433 ( <i>Mathnic/ Mathnich</i> ; Lukcsics, 2:95)	Mező, 439
(Monyorós)	Unidenti- fied	Virgin Mary	1491 ( <i>Monyoros</i> ; DL-DF 64482)	
(Podcrisye)	Szana Co.	Virgin Mary	1334 ( <i>Podcrisye</i> ; Ortvay, 2:743)	Mező, 454
(Radetest)	possibly Temes Co.	Virgin Mary	1433 ( <i>Radetest</i> ; Lukcsics, 2:89)	Mező, 456
(Roson)	Unidenti- fied	Virgin Mary	1193–6 ( <i>Roson</i> ; StSl, 5:32, 48)	Mező, 457
(Scencheula)	perhaps near Daruvár, CRO	Virgin Mary	1334 ( <i>Scencheula</i> ; Ortvay, 2:760)	Mező, 413; ComPos, 192)
(Sermelh)	Esztergo m Diocese	Virgin Mary	1332 ( <i>Sermelh</i> ; MonVat, I/1:185)	Ortvay, 1:52; Mező, 459
(Uasat)	Somogy Co. <sup>1042</sup>	Virgin Mary	1350 ( <i>Uasat</i> ; DL- DF 39260)	
(Unidentified)	Pozsega Co., in the vicinity of Glogovi- ca, SER	Virgin Mary	1210 (ComPos, 187)	Mező, 480
(Unidentified)	Valkó Co., Bosnian Diocese	Virgin Mary	1332 (MonVat, I/1:172) <sup>1043</sup>	Mező, 480
(Unidentified)	Valkó Co., Bosnian Diocese	Virgin Mary	1332 (MonVat I/1:172)	Mező, 480

<sup>1042</sup> County identified by Máté Urbán.

<sup>1043</sup> While superficially containing the same information, this and the following entry are probably two separate churches. They are both Marian churches in the Bosnian bishopric but are served by two different priests.

Acsád	in the vicinity of Cornești (Mezőzsá-dány), ROM	Virgin Mary	1379 ( <i>Achad</i> ; Krassó, 3:201)	Csánki, 2:22; Ortway, 1:438; Mező, 398–9
Alberti	part of Albertirsa, HUN	Virgin Mary	1345 ( <i>Alberti</i> ; Bártfai, 55)	PestReg, 176; Mező, 399
Alcnó	Olcna (Detrefalva), SLO	Virgin Mary	1399 ( <i>Altznaw</i> ; Schmauk, 141)	FeketeSzep, 124; Mező, 399
Alsódobsza	HUN	Virgin Mary	1332–5 ( <i>Dobza</i> ; MonVat, I/1:215, 340)	Györffy, I:77–8; Kovács, 41; Mező, 399
Alsódombó	Dolné Dubové, SLO	Virgin Mary	1 <sup>st</sup> half of 14 <sup>th</sup> c. (VSOS, 1:334; Hudák, 195)	Mező, 399
Alsóizdenc	Veliki Zdenci, CRO	Virgin Mary	1334 ( <i>Zdench inferiori</i> ; Ortway 2:753)	ComCris, 263–4; Csánki Körös, 82; Mező, 400
Alsókálosa	Kaloša, SLO	Virgin Mary	1375 (Hudák, 330)	Mező, 400
Alsólendva	Lendava, SLOE	Virgin Mary	1334 ( <i>Lyndau</i> ; Ortway, 2:733) <sup>1044</sup>	ZalaO, 2:561; Csánki, 3:22; Mező, 400
Alsóörs	HUN	Virgin Mary	1478 ( <i>alEwrs</i> ; HO, 5:343)	Békefi, 169; Mező, 400
Altárc <sup>1045</sup>	HUN	Virgin Mary	1592 ( <i>Altarcz</i> ; TT 1895, 350)	Mező, 401
Apagy	HUN	Virgin Mary	1332–5 ( <i>Apachag</i> ; MonVat, I/1:247)	SzabSzat, 28; SzSzMM, 1:262; Soós, 433; Kovács, 57; NémSzab, 22–3; Mező, 401
Aporóc	Oporovec, CRO	Virgin Mary	1313 ( <i>Aporouch</i> ; AkO, 3: 278)	ComZagr, 2:42; Ortway, 2:766; Mező, 401

<sup>1044</sup> Includes mislocalization.

<sup>1045</sup> Not the same location as “Oltárc,” located northwest of Nagykanizsa (Mező, 401; Csánki, 3:87).

Báb	near Sarud, HUN	Virgin Mary	1337 (Kovács, 52)	Mező, 402
Bába	Bapska (Bába-falva), CRO	Virgin Mary	1332–7 ( <i>Baba</i> ; MonVat, I/1:243)	ComSirm, 10; EngelSzáz, 134:286; Mező, 402
Bábarét	Babínek, SLO	Virgin Mary	1309 ( <i>Babrethe</i> ; AkO, 2:307)	Mező, 402
Bácska	Bačka, SLO	Virgin Mary	1332–5 (MonVat, I/1:251)	1340 (AkO, 24:33, 34); ComZemp, 11–12; Kovács, 43; Mező, 402
Bacsuga	the area around Donja Bačuga and Gornja Bačuga, CRO	Virgin Mary	1382 ( <i>Bachuh</i> ; COD, XVI:288) <sup>1046</sup>	ComZagr, 1:12; Mező, 402
Balatonarács	HUN	Virgin Mary	1237 ( <i>Oracha</i> ; ZalaO, 1:14)	1373 (ZalaO, 2:91); 1487 (DL-DF 36721); Csánki, 3:29; Karácsonyi, 1:132; VHL, 2:126; VespRégTop, 42; Békefi, 123; Mező, 402
Balatonszőlős	HUN	Virgin Mary	1343 (VHL, 2:159)	Koppány, 83; Mező, 402–3
Balf	HUN	Virgin Mary	1336 ( <i>Wolf</i> ; HáziSopron, I/1:68–9)	Mollay, 759; Mező, 403
Bályok	Balc, ROM	Virgin Mary	1298 ( <i>Baalk</i> ; Fejér, VI/2:152)	Györffy, 1:597; Mező, 403
Barabás	HUN	Virgin Mary	1332–5 ( <i>Banabas</i> ; MonVat, I/1:247)	Györffy, 1:529; SzabSzatm, 32; SzSzMM, 1:292; Kovács, 56; Mező, 403
Barsendréd	Ondrejovce, SLO	Virgin Mary	1332 ( <i>Andis</i> ; MonVat, I/1:187)	Györffy, 1:439; Ortway, 1:26; Mező, 403

<sup>1046</sup> The phrasing of this reference (i.e., “eccl. beate virginis nomine Bachuh”) could indicate that the *patrocinium* is the “Name of the Virgin Mary.”

Barsfüss	Trávnica, SLO	Virgin Mary	1332 ( <i>Fas</i> ; MonVat, I/1:187)	Ortvay, 1:27; Györffy, 1:440; Mező, 403
Bátmonostor	HUN	Virgin Mary	1415 ( <i>Bakmonos- tra</i> ; ZO, 6:372) <sup>1047</sup>	Mező, 403
Béc	part of Letenye, HUN	Virgin Mary	1334 ( <i>Beych</i> ; Ortvay, 2:733)	1385 (Körmendi Alm. II. lad. 9. n. 62, 63); Csánki, 3:34; Mező, 403
Béla	Bijela (near Sirač), CRO	Virgin Mary	1334 ( <i>Bela</i> ; Ortvay, 2:760)	Csánki Körös, 80; ComPos, 15–16; Mező, 404
Belbagos	Nyírmár- tonfalva, HUN	Virgin Mary	1345 ( <i>Belbagus</i> , KállayLevt, 1:184)	SzSz, 25:146; Soós, 453; Mező, 404
Belica	CRO	Virgin Mary	1592 ( <i>Belicze</i> ; TT 1895, 352)	Mező, 404
Berencs	Branč, SLO	Virgin Mary	1318 ( <i>Berench</i> ; RDES, 2:167)	Györffy, 4:354; VSOS, 1:188; Hudák, 215; Mező, 404
Berzété	Brzotín, SLO	Virgin Mary	1332 ( <i>Besete</i> ; MonVat, I/1:192)	Ortvay, 1:42; Györffy, 2:487; Mező, 405
Besztercebánya	Banská Bystrica, SLO	Virgin Mary	1300 ( <i>Nouo Solio</i> ; DL-DF 280751)	
Biri	HUN	Virgin Mary	1332-5 ( <i>Hubyr</i> ; MonVat, I/1:246)	1406 (ZsO, 2/1:604); SzabSzat, 35; SzSz, 25:143; Kovács, 46; NémSzab, 43; Mező, 405
Bőfalu	Behynce, SLO	Virgin Mary	1332 ( <i>Botuh</i> ; MonVat, I/1:185)	Ortvay, 1:20; <sup>1048</sup> Mező, 408
Bogdány	Noszlop, HUN	Virgin Mary	1433	Mező, 406

<sup>1047</sup> It is questionable whether the church of 1415 was identical with the monastery in the settlement (Mező, 403).

<sup>1048</sup> Contains incorrect localization.

			( <i>Boghdan</i> ; Lukcsics, 2:84)	
Boldogasszony	in the vicinity of Mocsa, HUN	Virgin Mary	1284 ( <i>Bongud</i> ; MES, 2:187)	Györffy, 3:409; Mező, 406
Boldog- asszonyfa	in the vicinity of Dinnye- berki, Helesfa, Kacsóta, and HUN	Virgin Mary	1192/1374 ( <i>Gyreu</i> ; DL- DF 262045)	1332–5 (MonVat, I/1:265, 273, 284); Györffy, 1:288; Mező, 406
Boldog- asszonyfa	Somogy Co., HUN	Virgin Mary	1258/1344 ( <i>Orman</i> ; <sup>1049</sup> DL-DF 87161)	Györffy, 1:352; Csánki, 2:474; Kázmér, 255; Mező, 406
Boldog- asszonyfalva	Poljanec, CRO	Virgin Mary	1334 (ComVar, 128)	1428 (ComVar, 128); Mező, 407
Boldogfalva	part of Debrecen, HUN	Virgin Mary	1282/1405 ( <i>Turnea</i> ; DL- DF 9103)	1289 (DL-DF 1257); Györffy, 1:605; Csánki, 1:604; Kázmér, 161; Mező, 407
Bőnye	near Sălăţig (Szilágy- szeg), ROM	Virgin Mary	1329 ( <i>Beune</i> ; ZO, 1:320)	Mező, 408
Borskér	in the vicinity of Tamási, HUN	Virgin Mary	1358 ( <i>Borsker</i> ; HéderváryO, 1:53)	Mező, 407
Bradna	near Sesvete, CRO	Virgin Mary	1334 ( <i>Bradna</i> ; ComCris, 22)	Mező, 408
Bresztóc	Brestovac Daruvar- ski, CRO	Virgin Mary	1306 ( <i>Breztouch</i> ; TT 1896, 507)	1334 (ComPos, 28); Ortvay, 2:760; Mező, 409

<sup>1049</sup> Boldogasszonyfa is first mentioned in documents in 1258 under the name of Ormán. “Boldogasszonyfa,” accessed December 31, 2021, <https://www.arcanum.com/hu/online-kiadvanyok/Borovszky-borovszky-samu-magyarorszag-varmegyei-es-varosai-1/somogy-varmegye-153D7/somogy-varmegye-kozsegei-irta-reiszig-edendr-a-magy-tort-tarsulat-es-a-magy-heraldikai-es-genealogiai-tarsasag-igazg-valasztmanyi-tagja-kieges-154F7/boldogasszonyfa-1554D/>.

Brezovica	settlement south of Zagreb, CRO	Virgin Mary	1334 ( <i>Campo</i> ; Buturac, 68)	ComZagr, 1:40–1; Mező, 409
Búcs	Búč, SLO	Virgin Mary	1208 ( <i>Bulsou</i> ; MES, 1:186)	1211 (MES, 1:196); Györffy, 2:229; Mező, 409
Buda	Budapest, HUN; perhaps in 2 <sup>nd</sup> district <sup>1050</sup>	Virgin Mary	1333 ( <i>Budensem</i> ; MES, 1:222)	Mező, 409; Gajáry, 367
Buda <sup>1051</sup>	Budapest, HUN	Virgin Mary	1248 ( <i>Novo Monte Budensi</i> ; BTOE, 1:49)	1255 (Fejér, 4/2:320, KJ, 1:326); 1257/1390 (Fejér, 10/1:622); Györffy, 4:596–7
Budakeszi	HUN	Virgin Mary	1365 ( <i>Keseu superior</i> ; PestReg, 230)	Györffy, 4:642; Mező, 410
Budatelke	Budești, ROM	Virgin Mary	1318/1323 ( <i>Budateleky</i> ; DL-DF 254779)	Györffy, 3:344–5; Entz 1994, 84; Mező, 410–11
Bujavica	CRO	Virgin Mary	1334 ( <i>Boyauch</i> ; Ortvay, 2:760)	Csánki Körös, 78; ComPos, 33; Mező, 411
Céke	Cejkov, SLO	Virgin Mary	1332–5 ( <i>Cheyce</i> ; MonVat, I/1:251)	Mező, 411
Csány	HUN	Virgin Mary	1515 (Kovács, 54)	Mező, 411
Csázma	Čazma, CRO <sup>1052</sup>	Virgin Mary	1334 ( <i>Chasma</i> ; Ortvay, 2:734–5)	1499 (ComCris, 56); Csánki Körös, 71; Mező, 412, 415
Csegőd	Ghiorac, ROM	Virgin Mary	1433 ( <i>Cheged</i> ; Lukesics, 2:82)	1454 (Jákó, 226); Mező, 412;
Cseke	around Nagykátá, HUN	Virgin Mary	1368	Mező, 412; Györffy, 4:513–14

<sup>1050</sup> Mező, 409.

<sup>1051</sup> This is assuredly the parish church dedicated to the Virgin Mary first mentioned in 1268.

<sup>1052</sup> Uncertain identification.



			( <i>Cseke</i> ; Bártfai, 85, PestReg, 241)	
Cséke	part of Lácacsé- ke, HUN	Virgin Mary	1332–5 ( <i>Cheyce</i> ; MonVat, I/1:189, Kovács, 43, 170)	Mező, 412; CompZemp, 35 <sup>1053</sup>
Csernec	perhaps Črenčovci (Cseren- csóc/ Cserföl), SLOE	Virgin Mary	1264 ( <i>Churmuch</i> ; Fejér, 4/3:405)	Mező, 412
Csernek	Cernik, CRO	Virgin Mary	1334 ( <i>Churnuch</i> ; Ortvay, 2:733)	ZsO, 1:475; Mező, 411
Csetnek	Štítnik, SLO	Virgin Mary	1332 ( <i>Chitnik</i> ; MonVat, I/1:192)	Mező, 412; Ortvay, 1:43; Ila, 2:150; Györffy, 2:491
Csík	HUN	Virgin Mary	1332 ( <i>Chievek</i> ; MonVat, I/1:184)	Györffy, 4:629; Mező, 413
Csíz	Číž, SLO	Virgin Mary	1332 ( <i>Chis</i> ; MonVat, I/1:193)	Ortvay, 1:42; Györffy, 2:491–2; Mező, 413
Csizics <sup>1054</sup>	in the vicinity of Klátova Nová Ves (Tőkésúj- falu), SLO	Virgin Mary (1332); Nativity of the Virgin Mary (by 1561)	1332 ( <i>Sisdt Sisec</i> ; MonVat, I/1:184)	1561 (Bucko, 159); Ortvay, 1:94; Mező, 413
Csoltó (Hudák)	Čoltovo, SLO	Virgin Mary	14 <sup>th</sup> c. (VSOS, 1:301; Hudák, 219)	Mező, 413
Csombaj	Vághos- szúfalu/	Virgin Mary	1252 ( <i>Chumboy</i> ; Fejér, 7/5:296)	Ortvay, 2:794; Györffy, 4:369; Mező, 413

<sup>1053</sup> With a different localization.

<sup>1054</sup> Mező also includes the 1332 reference with his entry for Šišov, Slovakia, so this could be an alternative localization (Mező, 459).

	Dlhá nad Váhom, SLO			
Csucserja	Čučerje, CRO	Virgin Mary	1334 ( <i>Chucherya</i> ; Ortway, 2:766)	ComZagr, 1:68; Mező, 413
Csurgó	HUN	Virgin Mary	1592 ( <i>Chorgo</i> ; TT 1895, 354)	Mező, 413
Dabas	HUN	Virgin Mary	1282 ( <i>Dobos</i> ; Fejér, 5/3:145–6)	Mező, 413–14; Györffy, 4:514
Dályok	Duboševica, CRO	Virgin Mary	1429 ( <i>Dalnek</i> ; Lukcsics, 1:220)	Mező, 414
Darnóc	Slatinski Drenovac, CRO	Virgin Mary	1334 ( <i>Dornouch</i> ; Ortway, 2:763) <sup>1055</sup>	Mező, 414; Csánki Körös, 88; ComVer, 171
Debrecen	HUN	Virgin Mary	1332–7 ( <i>Brecen</i> ; MonVat, I/1:44, 55, 72, 80)	Mező, 414; Györffy, 1:605
Dedrądszėplak	Goreni, ROM	Virgin Mary	1470 ( <i>Seplak</i> ; DL-DF 27690)	Mező, 414; Entz 1994, 87; Csánki, 5:412; Györffy, 3:373–4
Demerje	CRO	Virgin Mary	1430 ( <i>superiori Denere</i> ; Lukcsics, 1:252)	Mező, 414
Dimicsfőlde	in the vicinity of Daruvar, CRO	Virgin Mary	1501 ( <i>Dimchko-feld</i> ; Csánki, Körös, 81–2)	Mező, 415
Diósgyőr	part of Miskolc, HUN	Virgin Mary	1332–5 (Jur; MonVat, I/1:248, 322, 338, 347, 363)	Mező, 415; Györffy, 1:774; Kovács, 39; Soós, 126
Dobrakucsa	Dobra Kuća,	Virgin Mary	1378	Mező, 415; ComPos, 52

<sup>1055</sup> With a different localization (Mező, 414).

	near Daruvar, CRO		( <i>Dobrakucha</i> ; Buturac, 59)	
Dobrasó	in the vicinity of Petrova Lehota (Péter- szabadja), SLO	Virgin Mary	1338 ( <i>Dabras</i> ; Fekete Trencsén, 111)	Mező, 415
Dovor	Veľké Dvorany (Nagyud- var), SLO	Virgin Mary	1332 ( <i>Douer</i> ; MonVat, I/1:185)	Ortvay, 1:20; Györffy, 4:376; Mező, 415
Dravszka	possibly around Toplice, CRO	Virgin Mary	1501 ( <i>Drawzka</i> ; Buturac, 49)	Mező, 416; ComZagr, 1:91
Dunaszekcső	HUN	Virgin Mary	1334 ( <i>Zechew</i> ; MonVat, I/1:285)	Mező, 416; Csánki, 2:466; Györffy, 1:383
Ecseny	HUN	Virgin Mary	1193 ( <i>Ethechyn</i> ; MES, 1:145)	Mező, 416
Ecsi	near Dég and east of Lepsény, HUN <sup>1056</sup>	Virgin Mary	1484 ( <i>Ehy</i> ; Békefi, 72, no. 4)	Mező, 416
Egerlövő	HUN	Virgin Mary	1325/1355 ( <i>Lwew</i> ; DL- DF 210318)	Györffy, 3:103–4; Kovács, 39; Mező, 417
Egerszalók	HUN	Virgin Mary	1332–5 (MonVat, I/1:246)	1470 (Soós, 69); Györffy, 3:133; Kovács, 52; Mező, 417
Egervár	HUN	Virgin Mary	1342 ( <i>Egurwar</i> ; VSz, 22:270)	Mező, 417
Egyházaskér	Ostojić- evo (Tisza- szentmikl ós), SER	Virgin Mary	1247/1285 ( <i>Eghazasker</i> ; DL-DF 322; ÁÚO, 7:243)	Mező, 417; Györffy, 1:861
Egyházmarót	Hontians- ke	Virgin Mary	1350 ( <i>Moroth</i> /	Mező, 417; Hudák, 330

<sup>1056</sup> “Ecsi,” Arcanum Kézíkönyvtár, accessed December 31, 2021, <https://www.arcanum.com/hu/online-kiadvanyok/Lexikonok-magyarorszag-geografiai-szotara-fenyeselek-BABC3/e-BB5E9/ecsi-BB5FD>.

	Moravce, SLO		<i>Morouth</i> ; Bakács Hont, 155)	
Éld	in the vicinity of Kalocsa, HUN	Virgin Mary	1358 ( <i>Eeld</i> ; ZO, 3:96–7)	Mező, 417; Csánki, 3:326
Elefánt	Lefantov- ce, SLO	Virgin Mary	1380 ( <i>Elefant</i> ; DL- DF 83054)	Mező, 417
Eng	in the vicinity of Bačinci, SER	Virgin Mary	1332–7 ( <i>Engh</i> ; MonVat, I/1:242, 269, 281, 300, 305, 307)	Mező, 417–18; Csánki, 2:281; Ortvay, 1:279; ComSirm, 125–6
Fáncs	Pusztá- egres, HUN	Virgin Mary and St. Martin	1391 ( <i>Fanch</i> ; ZsO, 1:237)	Csánki, 3:327; Györffy, 2:362; Mező, 419
Félegyháza	in vicinity of Doroslova and Sonta, SER	Virgin Mary	1488 ( <i>Feghaz</i> ; Theiner 2:514–5)	Csánki, 2:149
Felsőbánya	Baia Sprie, ROM	Virgin Mary	1452/1456 ( <i>Medio Monte</i> ; DL- DF 24829)	TT 1898, 374; Mező, 419
Felsőizdenc	Mali Zdenci, CRO	Virgin Mary	1275 ( <i>Superiori Izdench</i> ; ÁÚO, 12:158)	1334 (Ortvay, 2:753); ComCris, 263–4; Csánki Körös 82; Mező, 419
Felsőpaty	HUN	Virgin Mary	1337 ( <i>Pogh</i> ; HO, 3:132)	Csánki, 2:783; Mező, 420
Felsőtők	Tiocu de Sus, ROM	Virgin Mary	1468 ( <i>Felthewk</i> ; Jakó, 1:669)	Mező, 420; Entz 1994, 93–4
Felsővály	Vyšné Valice, SLO	Virgin Mary	1332 ( <i>Val</i> ; MonVat, I/1:191)	Mező, 420; Ortvay, 1:47; Györffy, 2:556; Ila, 2:55, 297; Hudák, 332; HOMÉ, 24:100
Felsőzsemler	Horné Žembe- rovce, SLO	Virgin Mary	1327 ( <i>Sember</i> ; AkO, 11: 187–8)	Mező, 420; Györffy, 3:265–6

Fenek	Drávafok, HUN	Virgin Mary	1324 ( <i>Fenek</i> ; AkO, 8:271)	Mező, 420
Fiacskafalva	Fiačice, SLO	Virgin Mary	1521 ( <i>Fyachkaf- falwa</i> ; JusthLevt, 269)	Mező, 420
Finke	HUN	Virgin Mary	1332–5 ( <i>Fintha</i> ; MonVat, I/1:248)	Mező, 420; Györffy, 1:773; Ortvay, 1:168; Soós, 149; Kovács, 39
Füzitő	part of Almás- füzitő, HUN	Virgin Mary	1102 ( <i>Fizic</i> ; PRT, 1:593)	1187 (ÁÚO, 1:79); 1216 (PRT, 1:640); 1225 (Fejér, 3/2:35); Györffy, 3:416; Mező, 421
Gáj	Gaiul Mic (Kisgáj), ROM	Virgin Mary	1364 ( <i>Gay</i> ; Krassó, 3:67)	Györffy, 3:483; Mező, 421
Galgóc	Hlohovec, SLO	Virgin Mary	1401 (Hudák, 330)	Mező, 421
Gálszécs	Sečovce, SLO	Virgin Mary	1332-7 ( <i>Sinheusz</i> ; MonVat, I/1:249)	Mező, 421; ComZemp, 167
Gánóc	Gánovce, SLO	Virgin Mary	1497 ( <i>Ganfalva</i> ; Máriássy- Levt, I:129)	Mező, 421
Garig	Gornja Gareš- nica, CRO	Virgin Mary	1334 ( <i>Garig</i> ; Ortvay, 2:736)	Mező, 421; ComCris, 75; Csánki Körös, 72
Gercsely <sup>1057</sup>	Hrčeľ, SLO	Virgin Mary	1332-5 ( <i>Kerelthe</i> ; MonVat, I/1: 251, 320, 332, 346, 361)	Mező, 421–2; ComZemp, 71
Geréchegy	in the vicinity of Drávapal- konya, HUN	Virgin Mary	1330/1477 ( <i>Gerechygy</i> ; DL-DF 97383)	Györffy, 1:307; Mező, 422

<sup>1057</sup> Mező also uses the 1332–5 reference for another site—Zemplínsky Klečenov (Zemplénkelecsény), SLO—so there are two potential localizations for this church.

Gerencsér	Zala Co., possibly around Sümeg, HUN	Virgin Mary	1341/1358 ( <i>Gerencer</i> ; DL-DF 200214)	VeszpReg, 137; Csánki, 3:55; Mező, 422
Gerepse	Szomotor (Somotor), SLO	Virgin Mary	1332-5 ( <i>Guerepcha</i> ; MonVat, I/1:251, 323, 332)	Mező, 422; ComZemp, 58; Kovács, 43
Glogovnica	CRO	Virgin Mary	1303 ( <i>Golgoncha</i> ; AkO, 1:205)	Mező, 422
Gnojnica	CRO	Virgin Mary	1334 ( <i>Gnoynicha</i> ; Ortway, 2:750; Buturac, 82)	Mező, 422
Gojlo	CRO	Virgin Mary	1334 ( <i>Goyl</i> ; Buturac, 446)	Mező, 422; ComCris, 73; Csánki Körös, 73
Gora	CRO	Virgin Mary	1334 ( <i>Gora</i> ; Buturac, 46)	Mező, 422; Ortway, 2:746; ComZagr, 1:111
Görbej	Biharnagy-bajom, HUN	Virgin Mary	1423 ( <i>Gwrbe</i> ; KárolyiO, 2:75)	Mező, 423; Györffy, 1:507
Görgő	Spišský Hrhov, SLO	Virgin Mary	after 1241–2 (Fekete Szep, 178)	Hudák, 331; Mező, 423
Gradec	Gradec Pokupski, CRO	Virgin Mary	1334 ( <i>Gradech</i> ; Ortway, 2:749)	Mező, 423
Gradec	Mali Gradac, CRO	Virgin Mary	1348 ( <i>Gradech</i> ; Buturac, 81)	Mező, 423; ComZagr, 2:8
Granesina	Granešina, CRO	Virgin Mary	1217 ( <i>C(a)rani-sapula</i> ; COD, III:152)	1266 (COD, V:391); ComZagr, 1:125; Mező, 423
Grđjevac	CRO	Virgin Mary	1334 ( <i>Gordona</i> ; Butuvac, 424)	Mező, 423; ComCris, 85; Csánki Körös, 85; Ortway, 2:754
Gyante	in the vicinity of Tovarnik, CRO	Virgin Mary	1332–7 ( <i>Gantha</i> ; MonVat,	Mező, 423; Csánki, 2:312; ComSirm, 63; EngelSzáz, 134:295.

			I/1:268, 280, 290, 302)	
Gyeli	in the vicinity of Kám, HUN	Virgin Mary	1342 ( <i>Gely</i> ; VSz, 22:170)	Mező, 423; Csánki, 2:752
Gyöngyöspata	HUN	Virgin Mary	1332–5 ( <i>Patha</i> ; MonVat, I/1: 251)	Mező, 424; Györffy, 3:123; Kovács, 55
Gyurgyevics	Zagreb Co.	Virgin Mary	1335 ( <i>Gurgeuich</i> ; Ortvay, 2:745)	Mező, 425; ComZagr, 1:130
Hahót	HUN	Virgin Mary	1464 (MREV, 3:169)	Mező, 425
Hajdúhadház	HUN	Virgin Mary	1332–5 ( <i>Hochas</i> ; MonVat, I/1: 246, 327, 329, 344, 360)	1451 (DL-DF 14467); Mező, 425; SzSz, 25:143; NémSzab, 90; Kovács, 47
Hajdúsámson	HUN	Virgin Mary	1318 ( <i>Tursamson</i> ; DL-DF 282670)	Mező, 425; Györffy, 1:658
Hajdúszoboszló	HUN	Virgin Mary	1332–5 ( <i>Zobozlo</i> ; MonVat, I/1: 327, 330, 340, 360)	Mező, 425; NémSzab, 183; Kovács, 47
Hátszeg	Hateg, ROM	Virgin Mary	1334 ( <i>Hazthzak</i> ; MonVat, I/1:134)	Mező, 425; Ortvay, 2:645; Györffy, 3:290
Hegen	Haganj, CRO	Virgin Mary	1334 ( <i>Hegen</i> ; Ortvay, 2:759)	Mező, 426
Hegyeshalom	HUN	Virgin Mary	1407 ( <i>Samereyn</i> ; ZsO, 2/2:29)	Mező, 426
Hejőpapi	HUN	Virgin Mary	1332-5 ( <i>Popi</i> ; MonVat, I/1:249)	Mező, 426; Györffy, 1:799; Soós, 106; Kovács, 40
Hernádsány	Čaña, SLO	Virgin Mary	1509 ( <i>Chaan</i> ; TT 1900, 311)	Mező, 426

Hernádszokoly	Sokol', SLO	Virgin Mary	1187 ( <i>Sokol</i> ; MES, 1:133)	1262 (Fejér, 4/3:83); Mező, 426
Hetény	Chotín, SLO	Virgin Mary	1266/1345 ( <i>Heten</i> ; MES, 1:535)	1345 (MES, 3:575, 582); Györffy, 3:421–2; Csánki, 3:501; Mező, 426
Hidas	in the vicinity of Szek- szárd, HUN	Virgin Mary	1313 ( <i>Hydus</i> ; AkO, 3:224)	Mező, 426
Hímese gyház	Hímes- háza, HUN	Virgin Mary	1437 ( <i>Himseglaz</i> ; Lukcsics, 2:152)	Mező, 426
Hosszúbács	Bačinci, SER	Virgin Mary	1332–5 ( <i>Helysubec</i> ; MonVat, I/1:243)	Mező, 427; EngelSzáz 134:287
Hraščina	CRO	Virgin Mary	1334 ( <i>Hraschina</i> ; Ortvay, 2:758)	Mező, 427; ComVar, 58; Csánki Körös, 62
Igar	HUN	Virgin Mary	1339 ( <i>Igor</i> ; AO, 3:596)	1348 (AO, 5:215); Mező, 427; Györffy, 2:388; Békefi, 73
Imely	Imel', SLO	Virgin Mary	1332 ( <i>Hemen</i> ; MonVat, I:1/186)	Mező, 427; Ortvay, 1:17; Györffy 3:423
Ipolyhídvég	Ipeľské Pred- mostie, SLO	Virgin Mary	1332 ( <i>Chievek</i> ; MonVat, I/1:184)	Mező, 427; VSOS, 1:308; Györffy, 3:200
Ivác	HUN	Virgin Mary	1402 ( <i>Iwans</i> ; ZsO, 2/1:205)	Mező, 428
Jaškovo	CRO	Virgin Mary	1334 ( <i>Jeskouo</i> ; Ortvay, 2:752)	Mező, 428; ComZagr, 1:151
Jászapáti	HUN	Virgin Mary	1391 ( <i>Apathy</i> ; Gyárfás, 3:516)	Mező, 428; Györffy, 3:119; Soós, 372;
Kabalafalva	Kobyly (Lófalú), SLO	Virgin Mary	1429 ( <i>Gabelli</i> ; DOŠ, 406)	Mező, 429



Kállósemjén	HUN	Virgin Mary	1319 ( <i>Semyen</i> ; AO, 1:527)	1345 (KállayLevt, 1:187); 1373 (KállayLevt, 2:167); 1406 (ZsO, 2/1:561); SzabSzat, 57; SzSz, 25:146; Soós, 446; NémSzab, 164; Kovács, 47; Mező, 429
Kálmánd	Cămin, ROM	Virgin Mary	1500 ( <i>Kálmán</i> ; Lelesz, Acta Bercsényiana fasc. 14, no. 2)	Mező, 429
Kamarcsa	Novigrad Podravski, CRO	Virgin Mary	1228 ( <i>Kamarcha</i> ; COD, III:314)	1316 (AkO, 4:103); 1334 (Ortvay, 2:756); Csánki Körös, 67; Mező, 429–30; ComCris, 164–5
Kápolna	Stara Srpska Kapela, CRO	Virgin Mary	1358 ( <i>Kapolna</i> ; LK, 6:155)	Mező, 430; ComCris, 225
Kaposszerdahely	HUN	Virgin Mary	1346 ( <i>Zeredahel</i> ; AO, 4:640)	Mező, 430; Csánki 2:647
Kárán	in the vicinity of Szent-lászló, HUN	Virgin Mary	1307 ( <i>Karan</i> ; AkO, 2:57)	Mező, 430
Karom	Sremski Karlovci, SER	Virgin Mary	1332–4 ( <i>Cay</i> ; MonVat, I/1: 177, 181)	Mező, 430; ComSirm, 173
Kér	Unidentified, SLO	Virgin Mary	1332–7 ( <i>Kert</i> ; MonVat, I/1:250)	Kovács, 43; Mező, 431
Kisfűlpüs	Filpișu Mic, ROM	Virgin Mary	1465 ( <i>Phylpes</i> ; TT 1898, 593)	Mező, 431
Kiskemlék	Utvrdá Mali Kalnik, CRO	Virgin Mary	1334 ( <i>Ketnluk</i> ; Ortvay, 2:758)	1412 (ZsO, 3:583, 648); Csánki Körös, 62; ComCris, 109–10; Mező, 431

Kiskeresnye	Malé Kršteňany, SLO	Virgin Mary	1332 ( <i>Cresuag</i> ; MonVat, I/1:190)	Mező, 431–2; Ortway, 1:26; Györffy, 1:451
Kismuzsaly	in the vicinity of Muzsajevo (Nagy-muzsaly), UKR	Virgin Mary	1446 ( <i>Kysmusay</i> ; KárolyiO, 2:248–9)	ComBer, 112; Mező, 432
Klokoč	CRO	Virgin Mary	1334 ( <i>Clokoch</i> ; Ortway, 2:750)	Mező, 432
Kopcsina	in the vicinity of Donja Kupčina and Gornja Kupčina, CRO	Virgin Mary	1353 ( <i>Culphina</i> ; TT 1895, 58)	Mező, 433
Koppány-megyer	part of Bábonymegyer, HUN	Virgin Mary	1336 ( <i>Meger</i> ; VasOkI, 34)	Mező, 433
Koren	Koreno-vo, CRO	Virgin Mary	1334 ( <i>Koren</i> ; Ortway, 2:758)	Mező, 433–4; ComCris, 124
Körmöcbánya	Kremnica, SLO	Virgin Mary	1415 ( <i>Crempnicza</i> ; ZsO, 5:201)	1430 (Lukcsics, 1:258); 1435 (Lukcsics, 2:132); 1437 (Lukcsics, 2:146); 1443 (Lukcsics, 2:209); Györffy, 1:454, 455; Mező, 434
Kóród	Coroi, ROM	Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary	1533 ( <i>Korogh</i> ; KolmJk, 2:545)	Mező, 434
Korpona	Krupina, SLO	Virgin Mary	1416 ( <i>Corpona</i> ; ZsO, 5:502)	1526 (Bakács Hont, 63); Györffy, 3:212; Mező, 434
Koruska	Susek, SER	Virgin Mary	1193–6 ( <i>Corusca</i> ; StSl, 5:33)	Mező, 434; ComCris, 125

Kostajnica	CRO	Virgin Mary	1353 ( <i>Ztaynycha</i> ; ASzlavO, 43)	Mező, 434
Kővágóörs	HUN	Virgin Mary	1478 ( <i>AlEwrsi</i> ; HO, V:343)	Mező, 434; Csánki, 3:89; Koppány, 73, 142
Krasznabéltek	Beltiug, ROM	Virgin Mary	1424 ( <i>Belthewk</i> ; MaksaiSzat, 115)	Mező, 434; ComSzatm, 20
Krizsovljan	Križovl- jan, CRO	Virgin Mary	1334 ( <i>Crucifer- orum</i> ; Buturac, 75)	Mező, 434; ComVar, 90
Kulpatő	Pokups- ko, CRO	Virgin Mary	1334 ( <i>Culpatw</i> ; Ortvay, 2:745)	Mező, 434; ComZagr, 1:69
Kürt	in the vicinity of Alpár; possibly Tiszakürt, HUN <sup>1058</sup>	Virgin Mary	1193–6 ( <i>Curt</i> ; StSl, 5:32, 47)	Mező, 435
Kusaly	Coșeu, ROM	Virgin Mary	1411 ( <i>Kusal</i> ; ZsO, 3:221)	Mező, 435
Küsmöd	Cușmed, ROM	Virgin Mary	1446 ( <i>Kwsmewd</i> ; Lukcsics, 2:233)	Mező, 435
Lak	HUN	Virgin Mary	1333–5 ( <i>Lok</i> ; MonVat, I:1/339)	Mező, 435; Kovács, 39; Györffy, 1:784
Leányfalu	near Sály, HUN	Virgin Mary	1332–5 ( <i>Leam</i> ; MonVat 1/1:249)	Mező, 435; Györffy, 1:785; Kovács, 39; Soós, 101
Leszenye	Lesenice, HUN	Virgin Mary	1332 ( <i>Lesenha</i> ; MonVat, I/1:186)	Mező, 435; Györffy 3:215
Lipcse	Slovenská Ľupča (Zólyom-	Virgin Mary	1323 ( <i>Lupche</i> ;	1328 (Theiner, 1:520); Mező, 436

<sup>1058</sup> “HELYSÉGEI,” accessed December 31, 2021, <https://www.arcanum.com/en/online-kiadvanyok/Csanki-csanki-dezso-magyarorszag-tortenelmi-foldrajza-a-hunyadiak-koraban-1/i-kotet-3/kulso-szolnokmegye-2A46/helysegei-2A57/>.

	lipcse), SLO		Theiner 1:494)	
Ljupina	CRO	Virgin Mary	1332–7 ( <i>Lupma</i> ; MonVat, I/1:241)	Mező, 436
Luka	near Nard, CRO	Virgin Mary	1296/1408 ( <i>Luka</i> ; DL- DF 1437)	Mező, 436; ComVer, 109; Györffy, 1:337
Lüle	Lula, SLO	Virgin Mary	1433 ( <i>Lilee</i> ; Lukcsics, 2:88)	Mező, 436; Györffy, 1:459
Magyarkis- kapus	Capuşu Mic, ROM	Virgin Mary	1519 ( <i>Kysskapus</i> ; DL-DF 31025)	Mező, 436; Entz 1994, 120; Csánki, 5:366
Mahično	CRO	Virgin Mary	1334 ( <i>Jeskovo</i> ; Buturac, 439)	1501 (St, IV:218); Mező, 437; ComZagr, 2:5
Mákfa	Nagy- mákfa, HUN	Virgin Mary	1339 ( <i>Makua</i> ; AkO, 23:99)	1342 (VSz, 22:27); Mező, 437
Málas	Málaš, SLO	Virgin Mary	1323 ( <i>Malus</i> ; AO, 2:89)	1332 (MonVat, I/1:191); 1389 (ZsO, 1:137); 1394 (ZsO, 1:388); Mező, 437; Ortway, 1:27; Györffy, 1:460
Máriacsalád	in the vicinity of Veľké Lovce (Újlót), SLO <sup>1059</sup>	Matris Miseri-cordie	1331 ( <i>Chalad</i> ; MES, 3:200)	Mező, 438; Györffy, 1:437
Máriapócs	HUN	Virgin Mary	1332-5 ( <i>Pong</i> ; MonVat, I/1: 347, 329, 349, 364)	Mező, 438; SzabSzatm, 70; NémSzab, 155–6; Kovács, 57
Marino Selo	CRO	Virgin Mary	1334 ( <i>Saploncha</i> ; Buturac, 420)	Mező, 438; ComPos, 133
Marjanci	CRO	Virgin Mary	1259–70/ 14 <sup>th</sup> c.	1332–5 (MonVat, I/1:244, 270, 281,

<sup>1059</sup> HELYSÉGEI,” accessed December 31, 2021, <https://www.arcanum.com/hu/online-kiadvanyok/Csanki-csanki-dezso-magyarorszag-tortenelmi-foldrajza-a-hunyadiak-koraban-1/iii-kotet-62BB/komaromvarmegye-7B96/helysegei-7BBE/?list=eyJmaWx0ZXJzljogeyJNVSI6IFsiTkZPX0tPTllfQ3NhbmtPzXzEiXX0sICJxdWVyeSI6ICJMXHUwMGYzdCJ9>.

			( <i>villam beate Virginis</i> ; KJ, 1/3:505)	289, 300); Mező, 438; Csánki Körös, 92; ComVer, 113; Kázmér, 189
Márok	part of Márok-papi, HUN	Virgin Mary	1332–5 ( <i>Mayk</i> ; MonVat, I/1:247, 349, 365)	Mező, 438; SzabSzat, 70; Györffy, 1:544; Kovács, 56
Martinovics	CRO	Virgin Mary	1334 ( <i>Brochina</i> ; Ortway, 2:741)	Mező, 439
Martonpataka	in the vicinity of Voćin, CRO	Virgin Mary	1334 ( <i>Marton-potoka</i> ; ComVer, 116)	Mező, 439; Csánki Körös, 90
Maruševec	CRO	Virgin Mary	1273 ( <i>Worosd-inum</i> ; COD, VI:45)	Mező, 439; ComVar, 109
Megyaszó	HUN	Virgin Mary	1332–5 ( <i>Mediffo</i> ; MonVat, I/1:250)	Mező, 439; ComZemp, 118; Kovács, 43
Megyericse	Medju-rača, CRO	Virgin Mary	1334 ( <i>Megwrech</i> ; Ortway, 2:754)	Mező, 439; Csánki Körös, 85
Mekcsenica	around Krešte-lovac, CRO	Virgin Mary	1334 ( <i>Methchen-icha</i> ; Ortway, 2:737)	Mező, 439; Csánki Körös, 73; ComPos, 136
Melcsic	Melčice-Lieskové, SLO	Virgin Mary	1468 (Hudák, 330)	Mező, 439
Ménfő	part of Ménfő-csanak, HUN	Virgin Mary	1311 ( <i>Menfeu</i> ; HéderváryO, 1:14; AkO, 3:21)	1362, 1416 (Csánki, 3:552); Mező, 439; Györffy, 2:609
Meszlen	around Petanjci (Szécsény-kút), perhaps Tišina, SLO	Virgin Mary	1347 ( <i>Mysniche</i> ; AO, 5:110)	1348 (AO, 5:213); Mező, 440
Metlika	SLOE	Virgin Mary	1334	Mező, 440

			( <i>Methlica</i> ; Ortvay, 2:752)	
Mezőlak	HUN	Virgin Mary	1413 ( <i>Mezewlak</i> ; ZsO, 4:287)	Mező, 440
Mezőzáh	Zau de Câmpie, HUN	Virgin Mary	1416 ( <i>Zaah</i> ; ZsO, 5:469–70)	1418 (Csánki, 6:392); Mező, 440
Mihálykereke <sup>1060</sup>	in the vicinity of Kozarac, SER	Virgin Mary	1418 ( <i>Myhal- kereke</i> ; DL-DF 10678)	Csánki, 2:507; Györffy, 1:341; Mező, 440
Miletinc	around Gudovac, CRO	Virgin Mary	1417 ( <i>Myletench</i> ; LK, 6:110)	Mező, 440
Milota	HUN	Virgin Mary	1352 ( <i>Mylata</i> ; MaksaiSzat, 180)	Mező, 440
Missen	possibly Omšenie (Nagy- sziklás), SLO	Virgin Mary	1506 ( <i>Moschon</i> ; Körmendy Ann, 104)	Mező, 440
Mohora	HUN	Virgin Mary	1332 ( <i>Mahara</i> ; MonVat, I/1:184)	Mező, 441
Montaj	in the vicinity of Szent- istván, HUN	Virgin Mary	1320/1412 ( <i>Montay</i> ; DL-DF 498)	1343 (AO, 4:381); 1396 (ZsO, 1:497); Mező, 441; Kovács, 39; Györffy, 1:790– 1
Múcsony	HUN	Virgin Mary	1343 ( <i>Monche</i> ; AO, 4:381)	Mező, 441; Györffy, 1:791
Muzsina	Velika Mučna, CRO	Virgin Mary	1334 ( <i>Mosina</i> ; Ortvay, 2:757)	1374 (ZalaO, 2:98– 9); Mező, 441; Csánki Körös, 68; ComCris, 160
Nádlány	Nadlice, SLO	Virgin Mary	1345 ( <i>Nadlyam</i> ; Theiner, 1:685;	Mező, 441

<sup>1060</sup> Mező includes a possible reference to the church from 1377, however, the actual manuscript (DL-DF 6451) only mentions the place name, not the church nor its *patrocinium*.

			Bossányi, 1/2:150)	
Nagybodolya	Podolje, CRO	Virgin Mary	1248 ( <i>Chobawara</i> ; ÁÚO, 7:274)	1308/1321/1325 (AO, 1:144, AkO, 2:140); 1347 (AO, 5:89); Mező, 441; Ortvay, 2:774; Csánki, 2:461; Györffy, 1:286, 292
Nagygorica	Velika Gorica, CRO	Virgin Mary	1334 ( <i>Campo</i> ; Ortvay, 2:767)	1337 (ComZagr, 2:164); Mező, 442
Nagyhind	Vel'ké Chyndice, SLO	Virgin Mary	1332 ( <i>Hzind</i> ; MonVat, I/1:196)	Mező, 442; Györffy, 4:397–8
Nagyhorváti	HUN	Virgin Mary	1293 ( <i>Horwaur</i> ; HO, 8:321)	Mező, 442
Nagykanizsa	HUN	Virgin Mary	1374 ( <i>Kanisa</i> ; MREV, II:238) <sup>1061</sup>	
Nagykereki	HUN	Virgin Mary	1439 ( <i>Kereky</i> ; ZO, 8:672–3)	Mező, 442; Jakó, 273
Nagymagyar	Zlaté Klasy, SLO	Virgin Mary	1238/1388 ( <i>Marcha- magyar</i> ; Hokl, 316)	Mező, 442
Nagymon	Naimon, ROM	Virgin Mary	1407 ( <i>Mon</i> ; ZsO, 2/2:14)	Mező, 443
Nagyrákó	Rakovo, SLO	Virgin Mary	1443 (Hudák, 331)	Mező, 443
Nagyréde	HUN	Virgin Mary	1332–5 ( <i>Redda</i> ; MonVat, I/1: 251)	Mező, 443; Györffy, 3:128
Nagytrákány	Vel'ké Trakany SLO	Virgin Mary	1332–5 ( <i>Tarchang</i> ; MonVat, I/1:251)	Mező, 443; ComZemp, 194; Hudák, 214; Kovács, 43
Nedelice	Nedelica (Zorkó-	Virgin Mary	1323 ( <i>Neglite</i> ; AkO, 7:179)	Mező, 446

<sup>1061</sup> The Hungarian summary before the 1374 charter states that it contains an indulgence for the parish church of Nagykanizsa, however, in the actual text of the charter it is only called ecclesia (MREV, II:238, no. CCLXXVIII).

	háza), SLOE			
Nekcse	Našice, CRO	Virgin Mary	1494 ( <i>Necze</i> ; ComVer, 127)	Mező, 446; Györffy, 1:346–7
Nemesboldog- asszonyfa	part of Alsópá- hok, HUN	Virgin Mary	1354 ( <i>Bodug- hazunpaha</i> ; ZalaO, 1:558)	Mező, 446; Csánki, 3:90–1
Nemeskosút	Košúty, SLO	Virgin Mary	1323 ( <i>Kusoth</i> ; RDES, 2:431)	Mező, 446; AkO 7:139
Névna	Levanjska Varoš, CRO	Virgin Mary and St. George the Martyr	1324 ( <i>Neona</i> ; AO, 2:157; AkO, 8:201)	Mező, 446; Csánki, 2:285–6
Nógrád	HUN	Virgin Mary	1299/1413 ( <i>Neugrad</i> ; Györffy, 4:278)	Mező, 446–7
Novigrád	Novigrad na Dobri, CRO	Virgin Mary	1334 ( <i>Dobra</i> ; ComZagr, 2:32)	1501 (ComZagr, 2:32); Mező, 447; Ortvay, 2:751 <sup>1062</sup>
Novocsicse	Novo Číče, CRO	Virgin Mary	1334 ( <i>Crisech</i> ; Ortvay, 2:768)	Mező, 447
Nyírcsaholy	HUN	Virgin Mary	1434 ( <i>Monostorasc hahol</i> ; SzEH, 39)	Mező, 447
Nyírkarász	HUN	Virgin Mary	1332–5 ( <i>Karos</i> ; MonVat, I/1: 247, 329, 331, 349, 365)	Mező, 447; SzabSzat, 88; NémSzab, 103–4; Kovács, 57
Nyírtass	HUN	Virgin Mary	1299 ( <i>Toos</i> ; ZO, 1:96)	1324 (ZO, 1:265); 1332–5 (MonVat, I/1: 247); 1361 (Csánki, 1:527); SzabSzat, 93; Soós, 398; NémSzab, 188–9; Kovács, 57; Mező, 447–8

<sup>1062</sup> With incorrect identification (Mező, 447).



Nyitra	Nitra, SLO	Virgin Mary	1247/1323 ( <i>Nitra</i> ; CDES, 2:191; Fejér, 4/2:459)	Mező, 448; Györffy, 4:437–8
Nyitrakoros	Krušovce, SLO	Virgin Mary	1271/1378 ( <i>Korus</i> ; Fejér, 7/2:152)	Mező, 448; Györffy, 4:412
Óbesenyő	Dudeștii Vechi, ROM	Virgin Mary	1369 (Ortvay, 1:410)	Mező, 448
Óbuda (Alba Ecclesia; Fehéregyháza)	Budapest, HUN	Virgin Mary	1200–30 ( <i>Alba</i> ; GH, 114–15)	1355 (TT, 4:167); 1356 (Bártfai, 71); 1359 (Bossányi, 2:370); Mező, 448– 9
Odolya	around Koprivna Pozeška, CRO	Virgin Mary	1210 ( <i>Odolla</i> ; ÁÚO, 11:107)	1422 (Csánki, 2:419); Mező, 449; ComPos, 147
Okics	Okić, CRO	Virgin Mary	1334 ( <i>Okich</i> ; Ortvay, 2:767)	Mező, 449
Olaszliszka	HUN	Virgin Mary	1332–5 ( <i>Liska</i> ; MonVat, I/1: 249, 324, 340, 345, 361)	Mező, 450; ComZemp, 136; Kovács, 43
Olcsa	Olcea, ROM	Virgin Mary	1320 ( <i>Olcha</i> ; AkO, 3:58)	Mező, 450
Onga	HUN	Virgin Mary	1363 ( <i>Wnga</i> ; DL- DF 5185)	Mező, 450; Györffy, 1:125–6
Ónod	HUN	Virgin Mary	1332-5 ( <i>Olnac</i> ; MonVat, I/1:249)	Mező, 450; Györffy, 1:796; Soós, 109; Kovács, 40
Opatovina (ulica)	CRO	Virgin Mary	1257 ( <i>Egidii</i> ; ComZagr, 2:41)	1287 (ComZagr, 2:41); Mező, 450
Óradna	Rodna Veche, ROM	Virgin Mary	1450 ( <i>Radna</i> ; Binder, 136, no. 369)	Mező, 450; Györffy, 1:564

Orkuta	Orkucany, SLO	Virgin Mary	after 1487 ( <i>Vrkuth</i> ; BiblHung, 2:2740)	Mező, 450
Oros	in the vicinity of Palota- bozsok, HUN	Virgin Mary	1193–6/1216 ( <i>Orbasio</i> ; Theiner, 1:10)	Mező, 450; Kristó, 12; Györffy, 1:353
Oroszvár	Rusovce, SLO	Virgin Mary	1438 ( <i>Orozwar</i> ; Csánki, 3:676)	Mező, 450
Osztraloka	Oštra Luka, BOH	Virgin Mary	1334 ( <i>Oztra</i> ; Ortvay, 2:743)	Mező, 450
Palicsna	Palešnik, CRO <sup>1063</sup>	Virgin Mary	1466 (Csánki Körös, 73)	Mező, 451
Pápa	HUN	Virgin Mary	1405 (Kiss, 160)	Mező, 451
Papi	around Torak (Tárn- ok), <sup>1064</sup> SER	Virgin Mary	1358 ( <i>Popii</i> ; Bossányi, 2:322)	Mező, 451
Parna	Suchá nad Parnou (Száráz- patak), SLO	Virgin Mary	1291 ( <i>Parna</i> ; ÁÚO, 12:516)	1322 (AO, 2:48); Mező, 451; Ortvay, 2:795; RDES, 2:374
Páznán	around Laslovo (Szent- lászló), CRO	Virgin Mary	1345 ( <i>Paznari</i> ; Bossányi, 1/2:106)	Mező, 452; Csánki, 2:341; Theiner, 1:685
Pecöl	HUN	Virgin Mary	1311 ( <i>Pecel</i> ; AkO, 3:98)	1452 (ZalaO, 2:550–1); Mező, 452; Csánki, 2:783
Pekerszerda- hely	Donji Sredjani, Gornji Sredjani, CRO	Virgin Mary	1334 ( <i>Pukur</i> ; ComPos, 204–5)	Mező, 452–3; Ortvay, 2:760; Csánki Körös, 80

<sup>1063</sup> Mező identifies this site as Palešnik, Croatia; however, I believe this site could also be Severin, Croatia, located north of Palešnik (see Buturac, 78).

<sup>1064</sup> Formerly known as Begejci.

Pele	Becheni, ROM	Virgin Mary	1352 ( <i>Ecclesiapē</i> ; ZO, 2:480)	Mező, 453
Perna	CRO	Virgin Mary	1334 ( <i>Perna</i> ; Ortvay, 2:749)	1501 (ComZagr, 2:53); Mező, 453
Pescsenica	Pešćen- ica, CRO	Virgin Mary	1334 ( <i>Pezchen- icha</i> ; Ortvay, 2:767)	Mező, 453; ComZagr, 2:54
Pest <sup>1065</sup>	Március 15. tér, Budapest, HUN	Virgin Mary	ca. 1300 ( <i>Pest</i> ; SRH, 2:501–4)	late 11 <sup>th</sup> -early 12 <sup>th</sup> c. (SRH, 2:478); late 13 <sup>th</sup> -early 14 <sup>th</sup> c. (SRH, 2:501–4); 1308 (AkO, 2:208); 1422 (Lukcsics, 1:123); 1428 (Lukcsics, I:209); Györffy, 4:538–44; Csánki, 1:24; Mező, 453
Peterd	in the vicinity of Mórágý, HUN	Virgin Mary	1267 ( <i>Peturd</i> ; ÁÚO, 3:172)	1380 (Pécsv, 174); Mező, 453; Györffy, 1:369
Pinnye	HUN	Virgin Mary	1402 ( <i>Prwnye</i> ; SopronO, 1:558)	1409 (SopronO, 1:591); Mező, 454; Csánki, 3:624
Piski	in the vicinity of Bihar- ugra, HUN	Virgin Mary	1406 (Jakó, 324)	Mező, 454
Podgarics	Podgarić CRO	Virgin Mary	1325 ( <i>Garig</i> ; ComCris, 75)	1327 (AkO, 11:156); Mező, 454
Podgorács	Podgorač, CRO	Virgin Mary	1494 ( <i>Pogoras</i> ; ComVer, 146)	Mező, 454
Podmilachie	perhaps Podmil- ačje, BOH	Virgin Mary	1460 ( <i>Podmil- achie</i> ; DL- DF 292 420)	

<sup>1065</sup> In the earlier *Legenda minor* of St. Gerard a Marian church is mentioned, but it is not specified that it is located in Pest, which is why the later date (ca. 1300) is used as the first reference to the church. It was called a parish church dedicated to the Virgin Mary in 1308 (AkO, 2:208).

Podolin	Podo- línec, SLO	Virgin Mary	1323 ( <i>Pudulino</i> ; AkO, 7:41)	Mező, 454 <sup>1066</sup>
Podvinj	CRO	Virgin Mary	1363 ( <i>Podvinna</i> ; Bossányi, II:427)	
Pogányos- remete	Remetea- Pogănici, ROM	Virgin Mary	ca. 1434 (Csánki, 2:106)	Mező, 454
Polgárdi	HUN	Virgin Mary	1455 ( <i>Kelpol- krarth</i> ; ZO, 9:444)	Mező, 454
Poljana	Poljana Bisku- pečka, CRO	Virgin Mary	1433 ( <i>Polyna</i> ; Lukcsics, 2:98)	1501 (ComVar, 127); Mező, 454–5
Pozsony- boldogfa	Boldog, SLO	Virgin Mary	1347 ( <i>Tolueyfelde</i> ; AO 5:6)	Mező, 455; VSOS, 1:179; Kázmér, 255; Püspöki
Precsin	Prečín (Soltész- pere- csény), SLO	Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary	Middle Ages (VSOS, 2:438)	Hudák, 211; Mező, 455
Pregrada	CRO	Virgin Mary	1334 ( <i>Pregrada</i> ; Ortvay, 2:744)	Mező, 455-6; ComVar, 129–30
Püspökladány	HUN	Virgin Mary	1423 ( <i>Ladan</i> ; KárolyiO, 2:75)	Mező, 456; SzSz, 25:147; NémSzab, 119
Putnok	HUN	Virgin Mary	1332 ( <i>Pucthuth</i> ; MonVat, I/1:194)	1338 (Györffy, 2:536); Mező, 456; Ortvay, 1:45
Radna	Rodna, ROM	Virgin Mary	1450 ( <i>Radna</i> ; Entz 1994, 142)	Mező, 456
Radnót <sup>1067</sup>	Iernut, ROM	Virgin Mary	1423 (TT 1897, 342)	Mező, 456

<sup>1066</sup> Mező includes an earlier date, 1235 (CDES, 1:323; ÁÚO, 11:210), as the first reference to the church, however, I was not able to connect the reference here of an “ecclesia sancte Marie” to Podolin.

<sup>1067</sup> Likely also arish church. In 1465 a “Plebanus ecclesie de Ranolth” is mentioned, but the *patrocinium* is not mentioned (DL-DF 30855; Csánki, 5:891).

Radvány	Radvaň nad Hronom, SLO	Virgin Mary	1287 ( <i>Rodona</i> ; ÁÚO, 12:454)	Mező, 456; Ortway, 1:50
Rakacaszend	HUN	Virgin Mary	1332–5 ( <i>Zand</i> ; MonVat, I/1: 248, 322, 338, 347, 363)	Mező, 456; Györffy, 1:806; Soós, 170
Rakolc	Raky-tovce, SLO	Virgin Mary	1433 ( <i>Raholtz</i> ; Lukcsics, 2:104)	Mező, 456
Ráska	Raškovce, SLO	Virgin Mary	1332–7 ( <i>Rascha</i> ; MonVat, I/1:250)	Mező, 456; ComZemp, 155; Kovács, 44
Remete	in the vicinity of Söjtör, HUN	Virgin Mary	1356 ( <i>Remete</i> ; ZalaO, 1:568)	Mező, 457; Csánki, 3:101; Békefi, 172
Resnik	CRO	Virgin Mary	1334 ( <i>Reznek</i> ; Ortway, 2:766)	Mező, 457; ComZagr, 2:89
Rozsnyó	Rožňava, SLO	Virgin Mary	1339 (Rupp, 2:113)	Mező, 457; Györffy, 2:542; KTL, 582; Hudák, 200
Sajógömör	Gemer, SLO	Virgin Mary	1332 ( <i>Gumur</i> ; MonVat, I/1:193)	Mező, 457; Ortway, 1:43; Györffy, 2:500
Salgótarján	HUN	Virgin Mary	1332 ( <i>Tarian</i> ; MonVat, I/1:188)	Mező, 457; Ortway, 1:41; Györffy, 4:304
Sár	around Sárfímdó, HUN	Virgin Mary	1359 ( <i>Sarmellek</i> ; VSz, 22:593; ASav, 9:54)	1381 (Fejér, IX/5:510); Mező, 458
Sári	in the vicinity of Kisharsány, HUN	Virgin Mary	1415 ( <i>Sary</i> ; ZsO, 5:64)	Mező, 458
Sárospatak	HUN	Virgin Mary	1418 ( <i>Pathak</i> ; Lukcsics,	Mező, 458

			I:56; ZsO, VI:394)	
Sátorajjáújhely/ Újhely	HUN	Virgin Mary <sup>1068</sup>	1418 ( <i>Wyhel</i> ; Lukcsics, 1:56)	Mező, 458; ComZemp, 166
Simony	Partizán- ske, SLO	Virgin Mary	1332 ( <i>Synan</i> ; MonVat, I/1: 190)	Mező, 459; Ortway, 1:29; Györffy, 1:473
Siómaros	Balatons- zabadi, HUN	Virgin Mary	1374 ( <i>Murus</i> ; ZalaO, 2:99)	Mező, 459; Békefi, 76.
Sitke	HUN	Virgin Mary	1279 ( <i>VasOkl</i> , 19)	Mező, 459
Sjeničak Lasinjski	CRO	Virgin Mary	1327 ( <i>Stenishak</i> ; AkO, XI:213)	1334 (ComZagr 2:116); Mező, 459- 60
Smoljane	Uncertain identifi- cation, CRO	Virgin Mary	1334 ( <i>Zemelna</i> ; Ortvay, 2:742)	Mező, 460
Sókút	Sol', SLO	Virgin Mary	1332-5 ( <i>Zohud</i> ; MonVat, I/1:2450)	Mező, 460; Ortway, 1:197; Kovács, 44
Somkerék	Şintereag, ROM	Virgin Mary	1333 ( <i>Sumkerek</i> ; TelekiO, 1:47)	1363 (TelekiO 1:124); Mező, 460
Somogy- fehéregyház	part of Somogy- zsitfa, HUN	Virgin Mary	1381 ( <i>Feyrheghaz</i> ; Fejér, 9/5:532; Békefi, 94)	Mező, 460
Sopron <sup>1069</sup>	HUN	Virgin Mary	1278 ( <i>Sopron- iensium</i> ; HáziSopron, 2/6:1)	1389 (HáziSopron, I/1:225); 1434 (HáziSopron, I/3:79); 1452 (HáziSopron, I/3:366); 1466 (Jenő Házi and János Németh, eds., <i>Gerichtsbuch</i> / <i>Bíróági Könyv</i>

<sup>1068</sup> It is possible this church has a double *patrocinium* to the Virgin Mary and St. Emeric. The entry (“de indulg. ecclesias B. Marie V., S. Agathe, S. Michaelis, S. Nicolai, S. Johannis, S. Dominici de Pathak, S. Egidii, S. Emerici et S. Marie V. de Wyhel” Lukcsics, 1:56) is ambiguous, as it could refer to one church with a double *patrocinium* or two separate churches.

<sup>1069</sup> This church held some parish rights but was never elevated to an independent parish. It is alternatively called a “capelle” in some sources.

				1423-1531(Sopron, 2005), 207, no. 311); 1527 (ibid., 314–15, no. 498); 1529 (József László Kovács, <i>Die Chronik des Marx Faut und Melchior Klein / Faut Márk és Klein Menyhért krónikája 1526–1616</i> (Sopron, 1995), 105); 1532 (Karl Mollay and Katalin Szende, ed., <i>Első telekkönyv/Erstes Grundbuch 1480-1553</i> (Sopron, 1993), 1:7139, no. 55); Mező, 460
Spáca	Špačince (Ispáca), SLO	Virgin Mary	1316 ( <i>Spacza</i> ; RDES, 2:62–3; AkO, 4:111)	Mező, 461
Stenjevac	CRO	Virgin Mary	1334 ( <i>Arlandi</i> ; Ortway, 2:768)	1340 (ComZagr, 2:128); 1375 (TelekiO, 2:66); Mező, 461; Karácsonyi 1:74
Struga	Hlebine, CRO <sup>1070</sup>	Virgin Mary	1334 ( <i>Struga</i> ; Ortway, 2:756; Buturac, 76)	Csánki Körös, 67; Mező, 461; ComCris, 96
Sul	in the vicinity of Molnári, HUN	Virgin Mary	1317 ( <i>Sul</i> ; Sümeghy, 10; AkO, 4:152)	Mező, 461; Csánki 3:102
Svračica	CRO	Virgin Mary	1327 ( <i>Zrachycha</i> ; ComZagr, 2:140)	1334 (Ortway, 2:746); Mező, 462
Szakmár	HUN	Virgin Mary	1299 ( <i>Zothmar</i> ; ÁÚO, 12:651)	Mező, 462; Györffy, 2:437

<sup>1070</sup> For the localization see Buturac, 76. Mező has a separate entry for “Hlebine” (in addition to Struga but containing the same information); however, I believe these two place names refer to the same site.

Szalacs	Sălacea, ROM	Virgin Mary and St. George the Martyr	1433 ( <i>Zalachy</i> ; Lukcsics, 2:89)	Mező, 462; Ortway, 2:547; Jakó, 344
Szank	HUN	Virgin Mary	1451 ( <i>Scancs- calasa</i> ; Gyárfás, 3:626; Bártfai, 199)	Mező, 462
Szaplonca	CRO	Virgin Mary	1314 ( <i>Sopluncha</i> ; AkO, 373)	1334 (Ortway, 2:760); Mező, 462; Csánki Körös, 79
Szarkád	around Olaszfa, HUN	Virgin Mary	1255 ( <i>Zrakad</i> ; KJ, 1/2:331)	Mező, 462
Szarvasgede	HUN	Virgin Mary	1344 ( <i>Keede</i> ; Theiner, 1:666, 667)	Mező, 463; Bossányi, 1/2:54, 72
Szederjes	Mureni, ROM	Virgin Mary	1270–2 ( <i>Scederyes</i> ; ErdélyiO, 1:225)	Mező, 463
Szedreg	HUN	Virgin Mary	1397 ( <i>Zedreeg</i> ; ZsO, 1:566)	1417 (ZsO, 6:363); Mező, 463; Csánki, 3:358
Szengyel	Sângeru de Pădure (Erdő- szengyel), ROM	Virgin Mary	1412 ( <i>Sengel</i> ; ZsO, 3:553)	Mező, 465
Szentmária	part of Liptovská Sielnica (Liptov- ská Mara), SLO	Virgin Mary	1289 ( <i>Lypto</i> ; Györffy, 4:100)	1290/1295/1296 (Györffy, 4:100); 1303 (RDES, 1:137); 1307 (RDES, 1:208); 1314 (ZJČ, 181); 1332 (MonVat, I/1:189); Mező, 466; Kázmér, 188.
Szentmária	around Bijela Stijena, CRO	Virgin Mary	1333 ( <i>Sante Marie</i> ; MonVat, I/1:272)	Mező, 466; ComPos, 81
Szentmária	part of Socovce (Szocóc), SLO	Virgin Mary	1258 ( <i>Zoczowcz</i> ; KJ, 1/3:367; CDES, 2:425)	1331 (MNy, 45, no. 25); Mező, 466; VSOS, 3:66; ZJČ, 181; Kristó, 48



Szepeshely <sup>1071</sup>	Spišská Kapitula, SLO	Virgin Mary	1415 ( <i>Scepus</i> ; ZsO, 5:258)	Mező, 466–7; Hudák, 331
Szepesófalu	Spišska Stará Ves, SLO	Virgin Mary	1440 ( <i>Antiqua Villa</i> ; BiblHung, 1:414)	Mező, 467
Szér	Csanád Co., uncertain localization	Virgin Mary	1274/1340 ( <i>Sceer</i> ; Györffy, 1:872)	Mező, 467
Szikszó	HUN	Virgin Mary	1406 ( <i>Zikzow</i> ; ZsO, 2/1:149–50)	Mező, 467; Csánki, 1:201
Szinye	Svinia, SLO	Virgin Mary	1274–1320 ( <i>Swyne</i> ; DOŠ, 446)	Mező, 467; Wagner, 324; Kovács, 60
Szinyér	Svinice, SLO	Virgin Mary	1332–5 ( <i>Sinheusz</i> ; MonVat, I/1: 249, 340, 360)	Mező, 467; Kovács, 44
Sziracs	Sirač, CRO	Virgin Mary	1334 ( <i>Zirch</i> ; Ortway, 2:760)	1343 (AO, 4:368); 1501 (Csánki Körös, 80); Mező, 467
Szkalka	Skalka nad Váhom (Vágszikk-lás), SLO	Assump-tion of the Virgin Mary	1520 (MVV Nyitra, 537)	Mező, 467
Szolgabekény	around Temerin, SER	Virgin Mary	1216 ( <i>Sulgabekin Fulgabekim</i> ; Theiner 1:10)	Mező, 467; Györffy, 1:214; Kristó, 12; StSl, 5:32, 47–8
Szombathely	HUN	Virgin Mary	1237 ( <i>Sabbaria</i> ; ASav, 9:35)	1291 (ASav, 9:40); 1309 (UB, 3:41; ASav, 9:45; AkO, 2:303); Mező, 467–8
Szombathely	Mala Subotica (Kissza-badka), CRO	Virgin Mary	1334 ( <i>Sabarie</i> ; Ortway, 2:734)	1592 (TT 1895, 351); Mező, 468

<sup>1071</sup> This may have been a parish church.

Szomolány	Smolenice, SLO	Virgin Mary	1291 ( <i>Zumula</i> ; ÁÚO, 12:516)	Mező, 468; Ortway, 2:795
Sztopna	Stupovača, CRO	Virgin Mary	1334 (Buturac, 446)	1343 (ComCris, 229); Mező, 468
Sztreza	Pavlin Kloštar, CRO	Virgin Mary	1336–7 ( <i>Sztreza</i> ; ComCris, 176)	Mező, 468
Szurdok-püspöki	HUN	Virgin Mary	1340 ( <i>Zurdukpys-puky</i> ; MES, 3:380)	Mező, 469
Tagyon	HUN	Virgin Mary	1323 ( <i>Thogen</i> ; AkO, 7:166)	Mező, 469; VeszpReg, 65
Tápióbicske	HUN	Virgin Mary	1275 ( <i>Bikchey</i> ; ÁÚO, 9:139; PestReg, 67; Bártfai, 16)	1370 (PestReg, 243; Bártfai, 102); 1390 (Bártfai, 103); 1449 (Bártfai, 196); Mező, 469; Györffy, 4:511
Tápiósáp	HUN	Virgin Mary	1374 ( <i>Monostor-Sáp</i> ; Bártfai, 522)	Mező, 469
Tapolca	HUN	Virgin Mary	1290 ( <i>Thaplichia</i> ; ZalaO, 1:99)	1272 (ZalaO, 1:69); 1290 (ZalaO, 1:99); 1448 (ZalaO, 2:538); Mező, 469; Csánki, 3:25; Koppány, 158; Békefi, 181–2
Tarca	Torysa, SLO	Virgin Mary	1265–70 ( <i>Tarcha</i> ; DOŠ, 452)	Mező, 469
Tard	HUN	Virgin Mary	1332–5 (Cherd; MonVat, I/1:249)	Mező, 469; Györffy, 1:810; Soós, 100; Kovács, 40
Tát	HUN	Virgin Mary	1187 ( <i>Thovt</i> ; MES, 1:133, Bossányi, 1/2:126)	Mező, 469
Téglás	HUN	Virgin Mary	1332–5	Mező, 469; SzSz, 25:144; NémSzab, 190; Kovács, 47

			( <i>Tiglas</i> ; MonVat, I/1:246)	
Temesszécsény	Seceani, ROM	Virgin Mary	1358 ( <i>Zechen</i> ; Bossányi, 2:322)	Mező, 470; Györffy, 1:185
Tenkeszéplak	Suplacu de Tinca, ROM <sup>1072</sup>	Virgin Mary	1291–4 ( <i>Zeplak</i> ; Györffy, 1:671)	Mező, 470; Györffy, 1:671; Jakó, 357
Tepenye	in the vicinity of Somogy- vámos, HUN	Virgin Mary	1102 ( <i>Toppe</i> ; PRT, 1:593, ÁÚO, 6:73)	1175 (Csánki, 2:651); 1187 (ÁÚO, 1:79); Mező, 470; MVV Somogy, 421; Békefi, 114
Tés	HUN	Virgin Mary	1276 ( <i>Teez</i> ; Csánki, 3:256)	Mező, 470; Békefi, 84
Tímár	in the vicinity of Mór, HUN	Virgin Mary	1424 (DL-DF 106310)	Mező, 470; Csánki 3:354;
Tiszaderzs	HUN	Virgin Mary	1332-5 ( <i>Ders</i> ; MonVat, I/1: 321, 337, 356, 372)	1420 (ZsO, 7:354); Mező, 470; Györffy, 3:79; Kovács, 50
Tizsakisfalud	in the vicinity of Tiszapal- konya, HUN	Virgin Mary	1332–5 ( <i>Crisfolou</i> ; Györffy, 1:782)	1483 (Sugár, 215); Mező, 470; Soós, 117; Kovács, 39
Tiszanagyfalu	HUN	Virgin Mary	1364 (SzSz, 25:147)	Mező, 470
Töbörzsök	around Sárbogárd and Sárszentá- gota, HUN	Virgin Mary	1355 ( <i>Theberchuk</i> ; Fejér, 8/5:291)	Mező, 472
Tőketerebes	Trebišov, SLO	Virgin Mary	1332–5 ( <i>Treboš</i> ; MonVat, I/1:251)	Mező, 472; ComZemp, 195; Kovács, 44; BLÉ, 5:675–7

<sup>1072</sup> Mező (Mező, 470) places this church in Suplac, but I think Suplacu de Tinca, Romania is closer to the actual site of the church.

Tolcsva	HUN	Virgin Mary	1332–5 ( <i>Lagatol- choya</i> ; MonVat, I/1: 250)	1398 (ZsO, 1:602); ComZemp, 191; Kovács, 44; Mező, 471
Tőnye	Tône, SLO	Virgin Mary	1261 ( <i>Tyna</i> ; KJ, 1:387)	Mező, 472
Tornova	Markuše- vačka Trnava, CRO	Virgin Mary	1277 ( <i>Tornoa</i> ; ÁÚO, 12:197)	1428 (Lukcsics, 1:207); Mező, 472
Tövis	Teiuș, ROM	Virgin Mary	1450 ( <i>Thyrus</i> ; Lukcsics, 2:276) <sup>1073</sup>	Mező, 472
Trencsén	Trenčín, SLO	Virgin Mary	1476 ( <i>Trencsénvár</i> ; Fekete Trencsén, 388)	Mező, 472
Trsztena	Trstená, SLO	Virgin Mary	1559 (Bucko, 152, Hudák, 331)	Mező, 472
Turopolya	Turie Pole (Túr- mező), SLO	Virgin Mary	1332 ( <i>Capola Tarpola</i> ; MonVat, I/1:192)	Mező, 473; Ortway, 1:37
Tyukod	HUN	Virgin Mary	1406 ( <i>Tykod</i> ; ZsO, 2/1:594)	Mező, 473; SzabSzat, 131; Maksai, 223
Újbánya	Nová Baňa, SLO	Virgin Mary	1332 (MonVat, I/1:188)	Mező, 473; Ortway, 1:28; Györffy, 1:482
Újgyház	Kostolná Ves (Kisegy- házas), SLO	Virgin Mary	1433 ( <i>Nova- ecclesia</i> ; Lukcsics, 2: 89)	Mező, 473
Újfalu	Unidenti- fied	Virgin Mary	16 <sup>th</sup> c. (Gyömrői- Levt, 89)	Mező, 473
Újszállás	around Hantos, HUN	Virgin Mary	1455 ( <i>Wyzallas</i> ; ZO, 9:444)	Mező, 473

<sup>1073</sup> Wording of the manuscript makes it unclear if this site is a church or a chapel.

Uzapanyit	Uzovska Panica, SLO	Virgin Mary	Middle Ages (Ila, 4:161)	Mező, 474
Vágbeszterce	Považská Bystrica, SLO	Virgin Mary	1508 ( <i>Bystrycz</i> ; Fekete Trencsén, 86)	Mező, 474
Vámfalu	Vama, ROM	Virgin Mary	1512 (Maksai, 231)	Mező, 475
Varannó	Vranov nad Topľou, SLO	Virgin Mary	1433 (Varano; Lukcsics, 2:99–100)	Mező, 475
Varaždinske Toplice	CRO	Virgin Mary	1334 ( <i>Thoplica</i> ; Ortway, 2:760)	Mező, 475; Csánki Körös, 80
Várna	Varín, SLO	Virgin Mary	1378 ( <i>Varna</i> ; Fekete Trencsén, 92)	Mező, 475
Vasvár	HUN	Virgin Mary	1342 ( <i>Ferreo-castro</i> ; VSz, 22:270)	Mező, 476
Velika	CRO	Virgin Mary	1250 ( <i>Welica</i> ; KJ, 1:281)	Mező, 476; ComPos, 231
Vérd/Wert <sup>1074</sup>	Värd, ROM	Virgin Mary	1317–20 ( <i>Wert</i> ; MonVat, I/1:16)	
Vértesacsa	HUN	Virgin Mary	1373 ( <i>Acha</i> ; Csánki, 3:315)	Mező, 476
Visegrád (Turóc) <sup>1075</sup>	Visegrád, Túrócz/Turóc Co., now in Diviaky, SLO	Virgin Mary	1258 ( <i>Wysagrad</i> ; HO, 8:428)	
Vivodina	CRO	Virgin Mary	1334	Mező, 477

<sup>1074</sup> Mező (Mező, 443) includes this entry with Nagyszeben; however, Vérd/Wert is a different church from that in Nagyszeben.

<sup>1075</sup> Mező incorrectly groups this church with the Marian church in Visegrád (Pest Co.) (Mező, 477).

			( <i>Vyuodina</i> ; Ortvay, 2:752)	
Vízkelet	Čierny Brod, SLO	Virgin Mary	1334 ( <i>Vyzkeleth</i> ; AO 3:125)	Mező, 477; Ortvay, 1:16
Vodicsa	Vodičevo, BOH	Virgin Mary	1334 ( <i>Vodicha</i> ; Ortvay, 2:743)	1357 (BlagayO, 136); Mező, 477
Volavje	CRO	Virgin Mary	1334 ( <i>Volaula</i> ; Ortvay, 2:751)	Mező, 477; ComZagr, 2:167
Zajezda	CRO	Virgin Mary	1334 ( <i>Zaiezda</i> ; Ortvay, 2:748)	Mező, 478; ComVar, 188
Zákány	HUN	Virgin Mary	1504 ( <i>Zakan</i> ; BalassaLevt, 171)	Mező, 478
Zalamerenye	HUN	Virgin Mary	1341 (Békefi, 152)	Mező, 478
Zenaharaszttja	around Djakovac, CRO	Virgin Mary	1474 ( <i>Zeyana- hrazthya</i> ; DL-DF 35686)	1495 (LK, 3:117); ComCris, 266; Mező, 478–9
Zrin	CRO	Virgin Mary	1334 ( <i>Zrin</i> ; Ortvay, 2:745–6)	1426 (Lukesics, 1:185); Mező, 479; ComZagr, 2:192
Zsemlér	Žemliare, SLO	Virgin Mary	1314 ( <i>Semler</i> ; MES, 2:697, AkO, 3:331)	1332 (MonVat, I/1: 188); Györffy, 1:489; Mező, 479
Zsikva	Žikava, SLO	Virgin Mary	1209 ( <i>Sytoua</i> ; MES, 1:190, ÁÚO, 11:103)	Mező, 480; Györffy, 1:489
Zsip/Izsép	Gömör Co., uncertain identifica- tion, SLO	Virgin Mary	1332 ( <i>Ysyp</i> ; MonVat, I/1:193)	1517 (Ila, 4:202); Ortvay, 1:47; Györffy, 2:512; Mező, 480
Zsirovnica	Gornji Žirovac, CRO	Virgin Mary	1429 ( <i>Syrownycza</i> ; ComZagr, 2:189)	Mező, 480

Zsitvabesenyő	Bešenov, SLO	Virgin Mary	1345 ( <i>Besseneu</i> ; MES, 3:556)	Mező, 480; Györffy, 1:435–6
Zsolna	Žilina, SLO	Virgin Mary	1393 (Hudák, 332)	Mező, 480

## CHAPELS

Site	Location	Patrocinium	Earliest Ref.	Additional Sources
(Kywalya) <sup>1076</sup>	Körös Co.	Virgin Mary	1516 ( <i>Kywalya</i> ; TT 1897, 683)	Mező, 434
(Oslna)	Körös Co.	Virgin Mary	1334 ( <i>Oslna</i> ; Csánki Körös, 110)	Mező, 450
(Rodwans)	Esztergom Diocese	Virgin Mary	1433 ( <i>Rodwans</i> ; Lukcsics, 2:72)	Mező, 457
(Sanctobart- holomeo) <sup>1077</sup>	Zagreb Diocese	Virgin Mary	1430 ( <i>Sanctobartholo- meo</i> ; Lukcsics, 1:248–9)	
Ajnácskő	Hajnáčka, SLO	Immaculate Conception, St. Stephen the Martyr, and King St. Stephen	1516 (JAMÉ 2001, 287–8)	Mező, 399
Babócsa <sup>1078</sup>	HUN	Assumption of the Virgin Mary	1455 ( <i>Babocza</i> ; DL-DF 14915)	Mező, 402
Bakonybél	Bakony- bél, HUN	Virgin Mary	1230 ( <i>supra rupem Sancti Gerardi et supra ortum Soruul</i> ; PRT, 8:279)	Békefi, 189; Mező, 402
Balatonmagyaród	Balaton- magyaród, HUN	Virgin Mary	1482 ( <i>Magyarod</i> ; ZalaO, 2:617)	Békefi, 152; Mező, 402
Balatonszőlős	Balaton- szőlős, HUN	Virgin Mary	1313 ( <i>Sceuleus</i> ; VeszpReg, 38, AkO, 3:265)	1318 (VeszpReg, 48); 1324 (AkO, 8:91; VeszpReg, 66); Koppány, 83; Mező, 402–3

<sup>1076</sup> According to Mező it is located in Krivaja (Mező, 434).

<sup>1077</sup> The chapel was in the parish church dedicated to St. Bartholomew (Lukcsics, 1:248, 249).

<sup>1078</sup> Incorrectly cited as a parish church in Mező, 402, and incorrectly cited as being dedicated to the Annunciation in Hungaricana Oklevelek, <https://archives.hungaricana.hu/hu/charters/169058/?list=eyJxdWVyeSI6IClXNDkxNSJ9>, accessed February 5, 2022.

Baranyakisfalud	Branjina, CRO	Virgin Mary	1314 ( <i>Kyusfolud</i> ; AO, 1:356)	AkO, 3:355; Ortway, 2:775; Csánki, 2:498; Györffy, 1:327; Mező, 403
Békés	Békés, HUN	Virgin Mary	1516 ( <i>Békess</i> ; DL-DF 22902)	János Karácsonyi, <i>Békés vármegye története</i> [History of Békés County] (Gyula, 1896), 2:30; Mező, 404
Berzence	Berzence, HUN	Virgin Mary	1400 ( <i>Berzenche</i> ; ZsO, 2/1:82)	Mező, 405
Besenyő	in the vicinity of Apatin, SER	Virgin Mary	1267 ( <i>Besenev</i> ; PRT, 10:526) <sup>1079</sup>	Györffy, 1:706; Mező, 405
Boldogasszony- falva	Valkó Co.	Virgin Mary	1333–4 ( <i>Beate Virginis</i> ; MonVat, I/1: 270, 281, 289, 300)	Csánki, 2:296; Kázmér, 189; Mező, 405
Bresnica	Bresnica, SER	Virgin Mary	1334 ( <i>Bresnica</i> ; Csánki Körös, 89)	Mező, 409
Buda <sup>1080</sup>	Budapest, HUN	Virgin Mary <sup>108</sup>	1410 ( <i>castro Budensi</i> ; ZsO, 2/2:407)	1419 (DL-DF 10817, DL-DF 34367); 1498 (DL-DF 29856)
Bukovec <sup>1082</sup>	in the area of Donji Bukovec and Gornji Bukovec, CRO	Virgin Mary	1433 ( <i>Baknucha</i> ; Lukcsics, 2:95)	Mező, 411
Csanád	Cenad, ROM	Virgin Mary	1389 ( <i>Chanadiensis</i> ; Juhász 1941, 87)	Mező, 411

<sup>1079</sup> The text of the corrupted charter had to be replaced from a transcription of a letter from the Archbishop of Esztergom—Lodomer—dated November 6, 1297 (PRT, 10:526).

<sup>1080</sup> It was a royal chapel constructed in the last quarter of the fourteenth century (Végh, *Buda Part I to 1686*, 42). Kumorovitz believes a 1366 indulgence request (Bossányi, II:446) made by Queen Elizabeth for a chapel dedicated to the Virgin Mary applies to this royal chapel (Kumorovitz, “A budai várkapolna,” 114–15). Géza Érszegi has argued that this indulgence was for a Marian chapel in the Visegrád palace (Géza Érszegi, “A Nagy Lajos-kori királyi kápolna kérdéséhez” [On the question of the royal chapel of Louis the Great], in *Várak a későközépkorban. Die Burgen im Spätmittelalter = Castrum Bene 1990/2*, ed. Juan Cabello (Budapest, 1992), especially 95–7).

<sup>1081</sup> Later also known as chapel of St. John the Almsgiver.

<sup>1082</sup> Cemetery chapel of the parish church of SS Cosmas and Damian (Lukcsics, 2:95).



Csázma <sup>1083</sup>	Čazma, CRO	Virgin Mary	1415 ( <i>Chasma</i> ; ZsO, 5:307)	Mező, 412
Culpma	Probably Kutina, CRO	Virgin Mary	1353 ( <i>Culphina</i> ; DL-DF 289452; DL-DF 289454; Theiner, II:3)	
Désháza	Deja, ROM	Virgin Mary	1433 ( <i>Deeshay</i> ; Lukcsics, 2:81)	Mező, 414
Dicháza	Dicháza, HUN	Virgin Mary	1519 (TkAT II:4, no. 222)	Györffy, 1:77; Csánki, 1:205; Mező, 415
Djelekovec	Đelekovec, CRO	Virgin Mary	1333 ( <i>Gelekouch</i> ; ComVar, 34)	Ortvay, 2:756; Csánki Körös, 66; Mező, 415
Doh	Doh, ROM	Virgin Mary	1338/1422/18 <sup>th</sup> c. ( <i>Doh</i> ; DL-DF 260949)	Entz 1994, 90; Mező, 415
Draganovac	Draganovac, CRO	Virgin Mary	1334 ( <i>Dragouen</i> ; Csánki Körös, 89)	Ortvay, 2:765; ComVer, 49; Mező, 416
Eger	HUN	Virgin Mary	1430 ( <i>Agriensi</i> ; Fejér, 10/7:280, BalassaLevt, 97)	1450 (Lukcsics, 2:272); Csánki, 1:53; Mező, 416–17
Esztergom <sup>1084</sup>	Esztergom, HUN	Virgin Mary	1400 ( <i>Strigon.</i> ; ZsO, 2/1:33; Fejér, X/2:792–3)	1418 (Lukcsics, 1:60); 1435 (Bártfai, Pest, 168); 1465 (BalassaLevt, 131); 1493 (TT 1904, 167); 1495 (JusthLevt, 172); Mező, 419
Esztergom <sup>1085</sup>	Esztergom, HUN	Virgin Mary	1305 ( <i>Strigoniensi</i> ; AkO, 1:377)	Mező, 419
Geréc	possibly Gorica Miholečka, CRO	Virgin Mary	1334 ( <i>Grech</i> ; Csánki Körös, 85)	Mező, 422
Gréc <sup>1086</sup>	Stari Gradac, CRO	Virgin Mary	1334 ( <i>Grech</i> ; Ortvay, 2:754)	ComVar, 176; Mező, 423

<sup>1083</sup> The chapel belonged to the hospital of SS. Cosmas and Damian.

<sup>1084</sup> Located in the cathedral of Esztergom.

<sup>1085</sup> Mező includes this chapel with those entries for the Marian chapel in the Esztergom cathedral (Mező, 419), but it was located in the church of St. Anne in Esztergom (AkO, 1:377).

<sup>1086</sup> This chapel could be the same chapel as the one in Geréc (Mező, 423).

Gyügye	HUN	Virgin Mary	1405 ( <i>Gywge</i> ; ZsO, 2/1:525)	JAMÉ, 1:123; SzabSzat, 51; MaksaiSzat, 145; SzSzMM, 1:318; Mező, 425
Gyulakeszi <sup>1087</sup>	HUN	Virgin Mary	1359 ( <i>Kezew</i> ; VeszpReg, 204)	Koppány, 136; Mező, 425
Héderfája	Idrifaia, ROM	Virgin Mary	1525 ( <i>Hederfjaya</i> ; TelekiO, 2:452)	Mező, 426
Káld	HUN	Virgin Mary	1294 ( <i>Kald</i> ; HO, 8:339)	Ortvay, 2:810; Mező, 429
Kállósemjén	HUN	Virgin Mary	1319 ( <i>Semyen</i> ; AO, 1:527, KállayLevt, 1:31)	SzabSzat, 57; SzSz, 25:146; SoÓs, 446; NémSzab, 164; Kovács, 47; Mező, 429
Kápolna <sup>1088</sup>	in the vicinity of Nagy-igmánd, HUN	Virgin Mary	1102 ( <i>Sancte Marie Capelle</i> ; PRT, 1:593)	1216 (PRT, 1:640); 1430 (MVV Komárom, 97); Györffy 3:409; Mező, 430
Kápolna	Stara Kapela (formerly Stara Srpska Kapela), CRO	Virgin Mary	1358 ( <i>Kapolna</i> ; AO 7:12, HO 1:220, Ortvay, 2:755)	ComCris, 225; Mező, 430
Karakószörcsök <sup>1089</sup>	HUN	Virgin Mary	1288 ( <i>Zwrchek</i> ; HO, 8:260)	Mező, 430
Kéthely	HUN	Virgin Mary	1433 ( <i>Kerthel</i> ; Lukcsics, 2:100)	MREV, 3:92; Békefi, 100; Mező, 431
Kisdisznód	Cisnădioara, HUN	Virgin Mary	1519 ( <i>Montis Michaelis</i> ; Entz 1994, 111)	Entz 1994, 111; Mező, 431
Kissarló	Tekovské Lužany, SLO	Virgin Mary and St. Ladislaus	1402 ( <i>Kyssarlo</i> ; MonVat, I/4:471–2)	
Kisszeben <sup>1090</sup>	Sabinov, SLO	Virgin Mary	1398 ( <i>Sceben</i> ; DOŠ, 439)	Wagner, 472; Kovács, 60; Mező, 432

<sup>1087</sup> It was located in the parish church of St. George (VeszpReg, 204).

<sup>1088</sup> The nature of the ecclesiastical structure and the chronology is unclear. The 1102 reference refers to a church in a place called “Sancte Marie Capelle” (PRT, 1:593), but later references call it a chapel dedicated to the Virgin Mary (MVV Komárom, 97).

<sup>1089</sup> The chapel belonged to the St. Thomas Martyr Church (Mező, 430).

<sup>1090</sup> Cemetery chapel of church of St. John the Baptist (DOŠ, 439).

Kolozsvár	Cluj-Napoca, ROM	Virgin Mary	after 1518 ( <i>Koloswar</i> ; KolmJk, 2:349, DL-DF 36856)	Mező, 432
Kolozsvár	Cluj-Napoca, ROM	Virgin Mary	1521 ( <i>Koloswar</i> ; KolmJk, 2:384)	1525 (KolmJk, 2:459); 1544 (KolmJk, 2:656); Csánki, 5:320–1; Mező, 433
Koppányszántó <sup>1091</sup>	HUN	Virgin Mary	1441 ( <i>Zantho</i> ; Lukcsics, 2:196)	Mező, 433
Látrány	in the vicinity of Pecica (Pécska), ROM	Virgin Mary	1428 ( <i>Laterian</i> ; Lukcsics, 1:207)	Mező, 435
Magyarszovát	Suatu, ROM	Virgin Mary	1526 ( <i>Zowath</i> ; KolmJk, 2:478–9)	Mező, 436
Mezőbottyán	Botean, ROM	Virgin Mary	1388 ( <i>Bathyau</i> ; DL-DF 7370)	Jakó, 205; Mező, 440
Mezősomlyó	Șemlacu Mare, ROM	Virgin Mary	1271/1330 ( <i>Mezewsumlow</i> ; MES, 1:583)	Györffy, 3:494; Mező, 440
Mezőzombor	HUN	Virgin Mary	1339 ( <i>Zumbur</i> ; AO, 3:542)	ComZemp, 119; Mező, 440
Mihályfa	HUN	Virgin Mary	1433 ( <i>Michalfalwa</i> ; Lukcsics, 2:83)	Csánki, 3:82; Mező, 440
Mihályi	possibly around Kuzmin, SER	Virgin Mary	1246 ( <i>Scoham</i> ; ÁÚO, 7:210)	Csánki, 2:333; Mező, 440
Miskolc	Miskolc, HUN	Assumption of the Virgin Mary	1489 ( <i>Myskolz</i> ; DL-DF 83949; Miskolc története, I:227)	
Molve	CRO	Virgin Mary	1501 ( <i>Molina</i> ; Csánki Körös, 70)	ComCris, 157; Mező, 441
Nagykanizsa <sup>1092</sup>	HUN	Virgin Mary	1423 ( <i>Kanyisa</i> ; DL-DF 11371)	
Nagykapos	Vel'ké Kapušany, SLO	Virgin Mary	1412 ( <i>Kapus</i> ; ZsO, 3:502)	Mező, 442

<sup>1091</sup> Cemetery chapel of the parish church of SS. Cosmas and Damian.

<sup>1092</sup> In the castle of Nagykanizsa (DL-DF 11371).

Nagyszekeres	HUN	Virgin Mary	1351 ( <i>Zekeres</i> ; ZO, 2:463)	SzabSzat, 63; MaksaiSzat, 212–4; Mező, 443
Nart	Nart Savski, CRO	Virgin Mary	1574 ( <i>Nart</i> ; St, XVI:127)	ComZagr, 2:26; Mező, 446
Nyaláb	Korolevo (Királyháza), UKR	Assumption of the Virgin Mary	1516 ( <i>Castro Nyalab</i> ; TT 1903, 128)	ComMarmUg, 196; Mező, 447
Nyírpazony	HUN	Virgin Mary	1406 ( <i>Pazon</i> ; ZO, 5:430)	SzabSzat, 93; SzSz, 25:146; Mező, 447
Nyírtét	HUN	Virgin Mary	1347 ( <i>Teeth</i> ; AO, 5:47)	SoÖs, 461; NémSzab, 191; Mező, 448
Óbuda <sup>1093</sup>	Budapest, HUN	Virgin Mary	1494 ( <i>Bude</i> ; Bártfai, 306)	Mező, 449
Óbuda	Budapest, HUN	Virgin Mary	1283 ( <i>veteri Buda</i> ; DL-DF 281796)	1311 (MES, 2:635); 1317/1318 (ZO, 1:158); 1339 (MES, 3:340); 1341 (AO, 4:171); Mező, 449
Óbuda <sup>1094</sup>	Budapest, HUN	Virgin Mary	1513 ( <i>Budeveteris</i> ; Theiner, II:612–13)	
Óvar	Moson-magyaróvár, HUN	Virgin Mary	1473 ( <i>Altenburg</i> ; DL-DF 17506)	
Palicsna	Palešnik, CRO	Virgin Mary	1334 (Buturac, 96)	ComCris, 173–4; Csánki Körös, 73; Mező, 451
Pécs	HUN	Virgin Mary	1355 ( <i>Castro Quinque-ecclesiensi</i> ; Bossányi, 2:295–6)	1412 (ZsO, 3:581); 1441 (Lukcsics, 2:201); Mező, 452
Pécs	Pécs, HUN	Pietà	1483 ( <i>Quinque-ecclesiensi</i> ; ZO, 11:345)	Mező, 388
Pécsvárad <sup>1095</sup>	HUN	Virgin Mary	1428 ( <i>Peczwaradien</i> ; Lukcsics, 1:202)	Mező, 452.

<sup>1093</sup> It was located in the cemetery of St. Peter's Church in Óbuda.

<sup>1094</sup> The chapel belonged to the Franciscan friary church dedicated to St. Francis.

<sup>1095</sup> The chapel was part of the All Saints Church (Lukcsics, 1:202).

Porva <sup>1096</sup>	HUN	Virgin Mary	1450 ( <i>Porwa</i> ; VMMK, 11:309)	Csánki, 3:248; Mező, 455
Pusztamagyaród	HUN	Virgin Mary	1482 ( <i>Magyarod</i> ; ZalaO, 2:617)	Mező, 456
Pusztaujlak	Uilacu de Criș, ROM	Virgin Mary	1388 ( <i>Wylak</i> ; ZsO, 1:38)	Györffy, 1:680; Mező, 456
Rastik	BOH	Virgin Mary	1351/1458 ( <i>Rastigh</i> ; ASzlavO, 39)	Mező, 456
Sánkkápolna	part of Šankovce, Gemerská Ves (Sánkfalva), SLO	Virgin Mary	1324 ( <i>Raas</i> ; MES, 3:46, AkO, 8:106, Fejér, 8/2:572)	Györffy, 2:545; Mező, 458
Somlósölős	HUN	Virgin Mary	1324 ( <i>Zeuleus</i> ; AkO, 8:91)	Mező, 460
Sopje	CRO	Virgin Mary	1334 ( <i>Zopia</i> ; Ortway, 2:764)	ComVer, 174; Csánki Körös, 89; Mező, 460
Sümeg <sup>1097</sup>	HUN	Virgin Mary	1498 ( <i>Symeg</i> ; Békefi Balaton, 175)	1553 (Békefi, 175); Mező, 461
Szászkézd	Saschiz, ROM	Nativity of the Virgin Mary <sup>1098</sup>	1422 ( <i>Kyzd</i> ; Lukcsics, 1:122)	Mező, 463
Százhalom	part of Százhalombatta, HUN	Assumption of the Virgin Mary	1477 ( <i>Zazhalom</i> ; ZalaO, 2:606)	Mező, 463
Szeged <sup>1099</sup>	HUN	Annunciation of the Virgin Mary	1501 ( <i>Zegediensi</i> ; Reizner, 4:90)	Mező, 464
Székesfehérvár <sup>1100</sup>	HUN	Virgin Mary	1433 ( <i>Albensi</i> ; Lukcsics, 2:99)	1434 (Lukcsics, 2:125–6); 1435 (Lukcsics, 2:130); Sept. 10 & Sept. 20, 1438 (Lukcsics, 2:168); Mező, 465

<sup>1096</sup> Located in the Pauline monastery of Porva (VMMK, 11:309). The chapel was transformed by László Garai into a Pauline monastery in honor of the Holy Spirit. According to other data, however, the monastery retained the title of chapel (Mező, 455)

<sup>1097</sup> It was the castle chapel (Mező, 461).

<sup>1098</sup> The chapel received an indulgence on the feast of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary leading to the assumption that that is its *patrocinia* (Mező, 463).

<sup>1099</sup> Located next to the church of St. Demetrius the Martyr (Reizner, 4:90).

<sup>1100</sup> The chapel was located in the collegiate church of Székesfehérvár. It was founded by the nobleman Stephanus de Rozgon, baron of Eger.

Szepeshely <sup>1101</sup>	Spišská Kapitula, SLO	Virgin Mary	1273 ( <i>Scepusiensi</i> ; MES, 2:27, Fejér, 5/2:143)	1309 (RDES, 1:279); 1313 (RDES, 1:484); 1348 (MES, 3:667); 1506 (DL-DF 38707) <sup>1102</sup> ; Mező, 466–7; Hudák, 331
Szered	Sered', SLO	Virgin Mary	1400 (ZsO, 2/1:82)	Mező, 467
Szészárma	Säsarm, ROM	Virgin Mary	1485 ( <i>Zezarmanyi</i> ; TT 1893, 94)	Mező, 467
Szmrecsán	Smrečany, SLO	Virgin Mary	1412 ( <i>Zemrechen</i> ; ZsO, 3:491)	Mező, 467
Szobocsina	Sobocani, CRO	Virgin Mary	1420 ( <i>Zobochnia</i> ; Lukcsics, 1:97, ZsO, 7:393)	Mező, 467
Szomolnok	Smolník, SLO	Virgin Mary	1433 ( <i>Smolnicz</i> ; Lukcsics, 2:73)	Mező, 468
Szörény	HUN	Virgin Mary	1312 ( <i>Zeurem</i> ; AkO, 1:190)	Mező, 468
Sztreza	Pavlin Kloštar, CRO	Virgin Mary	1334 ( <i>Ztreza</i> ; Csánki Körös, 68)	Mező, 468
Taliándörög	HUN	Virgin Mary	1339 ( <i>inferiori Durugd</i> ; ZalaO, 1:351, VeszpReg, 126)	1347 (Bossányi, 1/2:180); Csánki, 3:47–8; Koppány, 156; Békefi, 131; Mező, 469
Temesvár	Timișoara, ROM	Virgin Mary	1402 ( <i>Temeswar</i> ; MonVat, I/4:446)	Ortvay, 1:455; Mező, 470 <sup>1103</sup>
Vajdahunyad	Huned-oara, ROM	Virgin Mary	1443 ( <i>castro de Hunid</i> ; Lukcsics, 2:208)	Mező, 475
Varannó <sup>1104</sup>	Vranov nad Topľou, SLO	Annunciation of the Virgin Mary	1519 ( <i>Warano</i> ; HéderváryO, 1:564–5)	Mező, 475

<sup>1101</sup> It is the chapel of the cemetery of St. Martin's Church (RDES, 1:484).

<sup>1102</sup> This may be a different Marian chapel than the one referenced in the earlier documents.

<sup>1103</sup> Mező includes the dates 1394, 1398, and 1400 as years the chapel is mentioned, however, it is only mentioned in 1402. The other dates are connected to other ecclesiastical institutions in the town (Mező, 470).

<sup>1104</sup> Located in the Franciscan monastery of the Virgin Mary in Varannó (HéderváryO, 1:564–5).

Várpalota	HUN	Virgin Mary	1478 ( <i>castro Palotha</i> ; Békefi, 262)	1495 (DL-DF 17994); Csánki, 3:210; Mező, 475–6
Veszprém	HUN	Virgin Mary	1508 ( <i>Wesprimiensi</i> ; Békefi, 10, 54)	Mező, 477
Visegrád <sup>1105</sup>	HUN	Virgin Mary	1366 (Bossányi, 2:412)	Mező, 477
Viss	HUN	Virgin Mary	1343 ( <i>Wyss</i> ; AO, 4:336, NémSzab, 204)	SzSz, 25:147; Mező, 477
Vitfalva/Vitkóc	Vítkovce, SLO	Virgin Mary	1300 ( <i>Vitkovich</i> ; Fejér, 6/2:268)	Mező, 477
Zalaszentő <sup>1106</sup>	HUN	Virgin Mary	1441 ( <i>Zantho</i> ; Lukcsics, 2:196)	Mező, 478
Zaránk <sup>1107</sup>	HUN	Virgin Mary	1422 ( <i>Sarank</i> ; Lukcsics, 1:124)	Szabó, 1984/b, 46; Mező, 478
Zólyomszászfalu	Sásóvá, SLO	Virgin Mary and St. Anthony	1415 ( <i>Villamilitis</i> ; ZsO, 5:382)	Mező, 479

## MONASTERIES, CLOISTERS, COLLEGIATE CHURCHES<sup>1108</sup>

### AUGUSTINIAN CANONS

Site	Location	Foundation	Patrocinium	Patrocinium Data
Apar	Pálfa, HUN	before 1314	Virgin Mary	1314 (AkO, 3: 353); 1387 (LK, 12:65–6); 1405 (ZsO, 2/1:519); Csánki, 3:414); TMFN, 176; Rupp, 1/2: 376–7; Romhányi, 9; Mező, 401
Glogonca/ Glogonica	Glogovnica, CRO	before 1245	Virgin Mary	1244–52 (ComCris, 71); 1303 (ZalaO, 1:121); 1358 (AO, 3:459); 1371 (ComCris, 72); 1430 (Lukcsics, 1:259); 1437 (Lukcsics, 2:151); 1451 (Lukcsics, 2:297); Romhányi, 27; Mező, 422

<sup>1105</sup> Located in the palace of Visegrád. The actual settlement name is not included in the indulgence request.

<sup>1106</sup> The chapel was located in the cemetery of the parish church of SS. Cosmas and Damian (Lukcsics, 2:196).

<sup>1107</sup> Located in a cemetery.

<sup>1108</sup> Beatrix Romhányi updated her book *Kolostorok és társaskáptalanok* in 2014. When the updated version contained different information from the published version, the 2014 version is cited. The updated version can be accessed at: [https://www.researchgate.net/publication/301930108\\_Kolostorok\\_es\\_tarsaskaptalanok\\_a\\_kozepkor\\_i\\_Magyarorszagon](https://www.researchgate.net/publication/301930108_Kolostorok_es_tarsaskaptalanok_a_kozepkor_i_Magyarorszagon). Both new foundations and foundations that took over existing monastic structures with Marian *patrocinia* are included in the appendix.

Novák	Novaki, CRO	1255-1298	Virgin Mary	1298 (ComZagr, 2:29); Romhányi, 47; Mező, 447
Űrög	district in Pécs, HUN	before 1218	Virgin Mary	1252 (Hokl, 25); 1297 (DL-DF 1477); 1332–5 (MonVat, I/1:264, 274, 283, 296); 1393 (Csánki, 2:492); 1407 (ZsO, 2/2:34); 1421 (Lukcsics, 1:112); 1423 (Lukcsics, 1:148); Györffy, 1:399–400; Romhányi, 70; Mező, 436
Vágújhely	Nové Mesto nad Váhom, SLO	1414	Virgin Mary	1414 (Wenzel, 160); 1423 (BiblHung, 2:2503); 1450 (Lukcsics, 2: 270); Fejér, 10/5:545, 10/7:818); MVV Nyitra, 546; Romhányi, 71; Mező, 474–5
Vaska	Vaška, CRO	13 <sup>th</sup> c.	Virgin Mary and St. Martin <sup>1109</sup>	1320 (Theiner, 1:470); 1400 (ComVer, 193; MonVat, I/4:229); 1466 (LK, 12:146); Romhányi, 72; Mező, 476

## AUGUSTINIAN HERMITS

Site	Location	Foundation	Patrocinium	Patrocinium Data
Bojtör <sup>1110</sup>	Buituri, suburb of Hunedoara (Vajdahunyad), ROM	before 1456	Virgin Mary	1463 (DL-DF 15836); 1465 (Balassa Lvt, 129); Csánki, 5:60; Romhányi, 14; Mező, 475
Pankota	Pâncota, ROM	before 1217 (Benedictine) before 1473, (Augustinian Hermits)	Virgin Mary	1425 (Lukcsics, 1:168); 1217, 1252 (Ortvay, 2:772); 1425 (Lukcsics, 1:168); Kovács, 49; Mező, 451
Boró	Borovo, CRO	before 1427	Virgin Mary	1427 (Csánki, 2:280); Romhányi, 14; Mező, 407
Dés	Dej, ROM	1310	Virgin Mary	1310 (UB, 1:298; AkO, 2:435); 1504 (KolmJk, 2:235); 1516 (KolmJk, 2:323); Romhányi, 21; Mező, 414

<sup>1109</sup> Originally only dedicated to St. Martin, but from 1320 it was referred to as being dedicated to the Virgin Mary.

<sup>1110</sup> Intended for the Augustinians but given to the Franciscan Order upon the construction's completion (Romhányi, 14).



Eszék	Osijek, CRO	after 1330	Virgin Mary	1400 (MonVat, I/4:273); 1415 (ZsO, 5:68); Romhányi, 24; Mező, 418
Körmend	Kormend, HUN	1238–56	Virgin Mary	1358 (VSz, 33:362); 1377 (Bándi, 1987, 71); Romhányi, 39; Mező, 434
Kőrös	Križevci, CRO	before 1325	Virgin Mary	1364 (COD, XIII, 373); ComCris, 130; Romhányi, 39; Mező, 434
Lövő	Zalalövő, HUN	before 1480	Virgin Mary	1458–90 (Kovachich, 183, no. 50)
Pápóc <sup>1111</sup>	Pápóc, HUN	1359	Virgin Mary	1368 (HO, 1:257); 1413 (ZsO, 4:341); Romhányi, 50; Mező 451
Régen	Reghin, ROM	1382–87	Virgin Mary	1382–87 (BánffyO, 1:414); Romhányi, 54
Solymos	Șoimuș near Lippa to the northeast, now part of the town of Lippa, ROM	before 1278	Virgin Mary	1278/18 <sup>th</sup> c. (DL-DF 1020); Györffy, 1:184–5; Romhányi, 58; Mező, 460
Torda	Turda, ROM	before 1331	Virgin Mary	1455 (KolmJk, 1:504); 1514 (Csánki, 5:685); Romhányi, 69; Mező, 471
Újhely	Sátorajja-újhely, HUN	before 1324	Virgin Mary and King St. Stephen <sup>1112</sup>	1358 (ZO, III:131); 1418 (Lukcsics, 1:56); 1468 (DL-DF 8797)

## BENEDICTINE ORDER

Site	Location	Foundation	Patrocinium	Patrocinium Data
Adorján/ Alsó- Adorján	SER	1340	Virgin Mary	1340 (AO, 4:2); Györffy, 1:704; Romhányi 7; Mező, 399
Ákosmonos-tora	Acâș, ROM	first ½ of 12 <sup>th</sup> c.	Virgin Mary	1421 (CsákyO, 313); Romhányi, 8

<sup>1111</sup> The identification of the monastery mentioned in this charter is unclear. According to ZsO, 4:341 it is a Pauline monastery in Pápóc, and Csánki and Mező appear to make the same assumption (Csánki, 2:726; Mező, 451). However, there does not appear to have been a Pauline monastery in Pápóc (Romhányi, 50), and further, the charter included in ZsO, 4:341 is badly water damaged in some parts, which could have led to an inaccurate transcription (DL-DF 238365).

<sup>1112</sup> The monastery either had a co-patronage or the *patrocinium* of the Virgin Mary took over the previous *patrocinium*. In 1358 it was referred to as the monastery of the Blessed Virgin, but in 1418 a request made to use the *patrocinium* of the Virgin Mary. In 1468 it was referred to as dedicated to both King St. Stephen and the Virgin Mary (István Tringli, Sátorajjaújhely, *Hungarian Atlas of Historic Towns* 2 (Budapest: HAS Institute of History, 2011), 13).

Almád	Monostor- apáti, HUN	1117	Virgin Mary	1121/1420 (MNY, 23:361–2); 1221 (Fejér, 3/1:326; KJ, 1:123); 1249 (HO, 6:50); 1274/1412 (KJ, 2/21–3:97); 1282 (ZalaO, 1:90; ÁÚO, 12:377); 1302 (AO, 1:23; AkO, 1:117); 1312 (ZalaO, 1:139; AkO, 3:151); 1343 (MES, 3:509); 1345 (ZalaO, 1:427); 1366 (PRT, 2:511); 1424 (Lukcsics, 1:155); 1508 (PRT, 3:618); Csánki, 3:18; Mező, 399; Romhányi, 8
Bény/ Kisbény	Bína, SLO	before 1135 (Benedictine) 1217, (Premonstra- tensian	Virgin Mary	1280 (KJ, 2/21–3:258); 1327 (Györffy, 2:227); 1332 (MonVat, 1/1:185); Ortway, 2:780; KTL, 97; Hudák, 193; Mező, 404; Romhányi, 12
Bizere/ Biszria/ Bisztra	Frumușe- ni, ROM	before 1183	Virgin Mary	1321 (Györffy, 1:173); 1401 (Csánki, 1:767); 1423 (Lukcsics, 1:134); Ortway, 2:805; Mező, 406; Romhányi, 131–14
Bulcs	Bulci, ROM	before 1225	Virgin Mary	1497 (CDP, II:77; CDP, I:174); Csánki, 1:768; PRT, 12/B:445; Györffy, 1:174; Mező, 411; Romhányi, 16–17
Cégény- monostora	Cégény- dányád, HUN	1140–81	Virgin Mary	1181/1288/1366/16 <sup>th</sup> c. (KJ, 1:43); MaksaiSzat, 120; SzabSzat, 37; ComSzatm, 35; Mező, 411; Romhányi, 17
Cikádor	Bátaszék/ Szék, HUN	1142 (Cistercian), 1421 (Benedictine)	Virgin Mary	1353 (ZO, 2:501); 1421 (PRT, 12/B:360); 1428 (Lukcsics, 1:210); 1450 (Lukcsics, 2:286); 1464 (PRT, 3:351); Ortway, 1:254; KTL, 138; Csánki, 3:411; Romhányi, 7; Mező, 39
Csanád	Cenad, ROM	1030–46	Virgin Mary	1421 (Lukcsics, 1:102); PRT, 12/B:463; Ortway, 1:411; Csánki, 1:691; Györffy, 1:850–3; Mező, 411; Romhányi, 18
Deáki/ Sellye	Diakovce, SLO	by 1102	Virgin Mary	1103 (ÁÚO, 6:73; MES, 1:71); 1187 (ÁÚO, 1:79); 1215 (PRT, 1: 631); 1216 (PRT, 1:640); 1225 (MES, 1:253); KTL, 163; Hudák,

				194; Mező, 414; Romhányi, 20
Dömölk	Celldöm- ölk, HUN	late 12 <sup>th</sup> c.– beginning of 13 <sup>th</sup> c.	Virgin Mary	1252 (ÁÚO, 2:228; PRT, 12/A:437); 1338 (AO, 3:464); 1340 (AO, 4:31; PRT, 12/A:438); 1347 (SopronO, 1:204); Csánki, 2:743; Mező, 415; Romhányi, 21
Iván	HUN	probably Árpáadian period	Virgin Mary	1360 (Csánki, 3:431); 1402 (MonVat, I/4:420); 1488 (ZO, 11:491); PRT, 12/B:328; Mező, 428; Romhányi, 32
Kolos/ Apátkolos	Klížské Hradišće, Velký Klíž, SLO	last qtr of 11 <sup>th</sup> c. (tradition- ally)	Virgin Mary	1293 (Hokl, 137); 1295 (HO, 6:415); 1330 (MES, 3:168); 1344 (AO, 4:430); 1508 (PRT, 7:623); PRT, 12/B:177; Ortway, 1:92; KTL, 363; Györffy, 4:410; Mező, 401; Romhányi, 37
Kolozs- monostor	Cluj- Mănăştur, ROM	2 <sup>nd</sup> ½ of 11 <sup>th</sup> c. (tradition- ally)	Virgin Mary	1222 (Theiner, 1:34); 1263 (Csánki, 5:307); 1293 (KJ, 2/4:115; Hokl, 138); 1299 (ÁÚO, 5:216); 1301/1390 (AkO, 1:52; DL-DF 28714); 1304 (AkO, 1:317); 1341 (AO, 4:80–1); 1347 (AO, 5:31); 1397 (ZsO, 1:516); 1518 (PRT, 3:699); PRT, 12/B:69; Györffy, 3:353; Mező, 432; Romhányi, 37
Kompolt	Kompolt, HUN	before 1280	Virgin Mary	1280 (Fejér, 5/3:21; KJ, 2/2–3:260); 1334 (Theiner, 1:602); 14 <sup>th</sup> –15 <sup>th</sup> c. (CDP, II:335); Ortway, 1:212; Csánki, 1:65; PRT, 12/B:395; Kovács, 98–9; Györffy, 3:109; Mező, 433; Romhányi, 38
Koppán- monostor/ Katapán- monostor	Komárom, HUN	1150–1222	Virgin Mary	1386 (PRT, 2:574); 1394 (HO, 3:250); 1429 (Lukcsics, 1:214); 1508 (PRT, 3:620); PRT, 12/B:231; Mező, 433; Romhányi, 38
Koromszó 1113	Máza, HUN	Before 1340	Virgin Mary	1353 (ZO, 2:506); 1358 (ZO, 3:118); 1411 (ZO, 6:139);

<sup>1113</sup> The included source data can possibly be connected to this monastery. I discussed the primary source data with Beatrix Romhányi and she suggested that the Marian monastery mentioned in the sources as “Castrum Mare”

				1433 (ZO, 8:519); Csánki, 3:404; Mező, 437; Romhányi 2014, 52
Németújvár/ Kőszin/ Küszén	Güssing, AUS	1157	Virgin Mary	1157/ca. 1230 (PRT, 1:603; Fejér, 2:144; Fejér 7/5:116; KJ, 1:30); 1227 (ÁÚO, 2:244); Ortway 2:810–1; Csánki, 2:729; PRT, 12/B:309; Mező, 446; Romhányi, 47
Ohat-monostora	Telekháza, Egyek, HUN	by 1220	Virgin Mary	1355 (KárolyiO, 1:112); SzSz, 25:147; NémSzab, 144; Kovács, 100; Mező, 449; Romhányi, 48
Szer	Ópusztaszer, HUN	late 11 <sup>th</sup> – early 12 <sup>th</sup> c.	Virgin Mary	János Hornyik, <i>Pusztaszer, a honalapító magyar nemzet első törvényhozási közgyűlése színhelyének története</i> [The history of Pusztaszer, the site of the first legislative assembly of the Hungarian nation] (Kecskemét, 1865), 112; Romhányi, 65
Pankota	Pâncota, ROM	before 1217	Virgin Mary	1217, 1252 (Ortway, 2:772); 1425 (Lukcsics, 1:168); Kovács, 49; Mező, 451; Romhányi, 50
Pécsvárad	Pécsvárad, HUN	1015	Virgin Mary and St. Benedict	1403 (MonVat, I/4:575); 1466 (CDP, I:138, 369; CDP, II:23); 1491 (Theiner, II:535); 1505 (CDP I:187–8); 1511 (PRT, 3:636); 1512 (PRT, 3:645); Rupp, 1:403; PRT, 12/B:II; Ortway, 1:252; Csánki 2:465; Györffy, 1:362; Mező, 452; Romhányi, 51
Sáp/Monostorossáp	near Nagyrév, HUN	unknown	Virgin Mary	1374 (Bártfai, 522); Romhányi, 56; Csánki, 1:31
Sár	Abasár, HUN	1040–50	Virgin Mary	1324 (Fejér, 8/2:539); 1327 (AkO, 7:123); 1358 (AO, 7:60); 1407 (ZsO 2/2:80); 1418 (Lukcsics, 1:58); PRT, 12/B:361; Csánki, 1:69; Ortway, 1:212; Györffy,

could be connected to the one in Máza, since it is only a few kilometers northeast of Márévár (Beatrix Rohányi, Personal communication, December 21, 2021).

				3:130; KTL, 27; Romhányi, 56; Mező, 398; Györffy, 3:130
Stola	Štôla, SLO	1314	Virgin Mary	1314 (Ortvay, 2:804; MES, 1:700; Fejér, 8/1:547); 1319 (RDES, 2:214); 1330/1420 (MáriássyLevt, 22, 53); 1436 (Szent-IványLevt, 45); 1508 (PRT, 3:624); PRT, 12/B:198; Csánki, 1:267; Romhányi, 59; Mező, 461
Százd	Tisza- keszi, Százdi- sziget, HUN	ca. 1067	Virgin Mary	ca. 1067/1267 (ÁÚO, 1:24); Györffy, 1:804; Csánki, 1:179; Soós, 107; Mező, 463; Romhányi, 60
Szentjobb (Szentjog, Berettyó- monostor, S. Dextra)	Sániob, ROM	1083–93	Virgin Mary	1510 (PRT, 3:628); PRT, 12/B:141; Mező, 466; Romhányi, 63; Györffy, 1:668
Széplak	in the area of Košice and Krasna nad Horná- dom, SLO	1143	Virgin Mary	1143 (Fejér, VII/5:111); 1262 (ÁÚO, 8:39); 1396 (KárolyiO, 1:479); 14 <sup>th</sup> –15 <sup>th</sup> c. (CDP, II:335); 1411 (ZsO, 3:81); Ortvay, 1:213; PRT, 12/B: 370; Kovács, 97; Csánki, 1:218; Györffy, 1:145; Mező, 398; Romhányi, 65
Tereske	HUN	before 1219	Virgin Mary	1485 (TT 1902, 514); PRT, 12/B:189–90; Ortvay, 2:790; Mező, 470; Romhányi, 68
Tihany	HUN	1055	Virgin Mary and St. Anianus	1055 (ÓMO, 19); 1093 (ÁÚO, 6:66); Romhányi, 68; Mező, 470
Tömpös	west of Makó, HUN	Before 1247	Virgin Mary	1256/1572 (ÁÚO, 7:430); Györffy, 1:875; Dávid, 61; Ortvay, 1:428; Romhányi, 70; Mező, 472
Ugra- monostora	Biharugra, HUN	12 <sup>th</sup> c.	Virgin Mary	1329 (Györffy, 1:679); Ortvay, 2:576, 777; Jakó, 373; Romhányi, 70; Mező, 405

## BENEDICTINE ORDER (FEMALE)

Site	Location	Foundation	Patrocinium	Patrocinium Data
Ivanics	Ivanić, CRO	1234–46 (possibly Dominican), 1246 (Premonstratensian), by 1377 (possibly Benedictine)	Virgin Mary	1246 (Ortvay, 2:736); 1334 (Csánki Körös, 72); 1377 (ComCris, 118); Mező, 428; Romhányi 2014, 41–2
Esztergom- Sziget	Esztergom, HUN	before 1073	Virgin Mary	1141–6 (Györffy, 2:284); 1262 (MES, 1:481); 1274 (BánffyO, 1:14; MES, 2:40; ÁÚO, 9:90); 1277/1331 (Györffy, 2:284); 1288 (Györffy, 2:284); 1303 (AO, 1:59; AkO, 1:229; Ortvay, 2:780); 1327 (Györffy, 2:285); 1329 (Györffy, 2:285); 1355 (ZO, 2:602); 1508 (CDP, II:78); <sup>1114</sup> Romhányi, 24; Mező, 418–19

## CARMELITE ORDER

Site	Location	Foundation	Patrocinium	Patrocinium Data
Buda (Taschental suburb)	Budapest, HUN	1372	Mary of Mercy	1372 (Theiner, 2:119; Fejér, 9/4:428, 5/2:134); 1431 (Lukcsics, 2:53); Mező, 409; Romhányi, 16

## CARTHUSIAN ORDER

Site	Location	Foundation	Patrocinium	Patrocinium Data
Menedékkő (Letánkő, Lapis Refugii)	Letanovce (Létánfalva), SLO	1299	Virgin Mary, St. John the Baptist, and St. Margaret	1299 (Wagner, II:394); Mező, 435–6; Romhányi, 43–4
Lechnic (Szentantal- völgy, Vallis Sancti Antonii)	Červený Klaštir, SLO	1319	Virgin Mary, St. John the Baptist, and St. Anthony the Abbot	1331 (Theiner, 1:541); 1344 (AO, 4:475); Csánki, 1:262; KTL, 401–2; Mező, 435; Romhányi, 41

<sup>1114</sup> *Patrocinium* is the Assumption of the Virgin Mary in this source.

Tárkány (Vallis Auxilii, Segedele- m-völgy)	Felsőtárkány, HUN	1332	Virgin Mary	1413 (ZsO, 4:169, 260); 1430 (Lukcsics, 1:247); 1433 (Lukcsics, 2:75, 76); Ortvay, 2:779; Csánki, 1:180; Mező, 420; Romhányi, 67
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## CISTERCIAN ORDER

Site	Location	Foundation	Patrocinium	Patrocinium Data
Ábrahám	on the northeast border of Dombóvár, HUN	1263	Virgin Mary	1272 (MES, 3:707); 1292–1351 (Fejér, VI/1:228, IX/2:121); 1315 (DL-DF 86932); 1343 (Fejér, IX/1:163); TMFN, 148, 268; KTL, 28; Csánki, 3:413; Mező, 398; Romhányi, 7
Bél (Bél- háromkút, Trium Fontium)	Bélapát- falva, HUN	1232	Virgin Mary	1289 (Györffy, 1:755–6); 1293 (HO, 8:334; KJ, 2/2–3:403); 1330/1771 (Györffy, 1:756); 1407 (ZsO, 2/2:90); 1429 (Lukcsics, 1:245); Csánki, 1:169; Ortvay, 1:211; Kovács, 106; KTL, 94; Mező, 404; Romhányi, 12
Borsmon- ostor	Kloster- marienberg, AUS	1194	Virgin Mary	1194 (ÁÚO, 11:57); ca. 1200 (SopronO, 1:4); 1207 (ÁÚO, 1:94); 1236 (Hokl, 3); 1270 (ÁÚO, 12:33); 1277 (ÁÚO, 4:77); 1291 (KJ, 2/4:65; FNESz, 1:242); 1297 (KJ, 2/4: 189); 1299 (ÁÚO, 12:646); 1311 (SopronO, 1:72); 1312 (AO, 1:253); 1323 (SopronO, 1:97); 1332 (SopronO, 1:130); 1350 (AO, 5:386); 1388 (ZsO, 1:55); 1391 (ZsO, 1:255); 1420 (Lukcsics, 1:102); Ortvay, 2:799; Csánki, 3:613; KTL, 121; Mező, 407–8; Romhányi, 14–15
Cikádor (Szék)	Bátaszék, HUN	1142	Virgin Mary	1353, (ZO, 2:501); 1428 (Lukcsics, 1:210); 1450 (Lukcsics, 2:286); 1464 (PRT, 3:531); 14 <sup>th</sup> –15 <sup>th</sup> c. (CDP, II:335); Ortvay, 1:254; KTL, 138; Csánki, 3:411; PRT, 12/B:360
Egres	Igrış, ROM	1179	Virgin Mary	1270 (ÁÚO, 3:245); 1402 (Fejér, 8/4:630; Ortvay, 2:807); 1432 (Lukcsics, 2:61); 1437

				(Lukcsics, 2:143); Rupp, 3:68; Csánki, 1:695; Györffy, 1:855–6
Esztergom-Szentmária-mező	Esztergom, HUN	before 1204	Virgin Mary	1204 (Canivez, I:303); 1230 (PRT, I:700); 1239–40 (PRT, VIII:285); 1277/1331 (MES, II:72); 1291 (DI-DF 71846; HO, VI:375); 1326/1400 (MES, III:96); KJ, 2/4:59; Mező, 418–19; Romhányi, 24; Györffy, 2:282
Gotó (Honesta Vallis, Tisztes-völgy)	Kutjevo, CRO	1232	Virgin Mary	1282 (ÁÚO, 12:380); 1334 (Theiner, 1:602); 1343 (Theiner, 1:662); 14 <sup>th</sup> –15 <sup>th</sup> c. (CDP, II:335); 1460 (Körmendy Ann, 74); 1494 (Körmendy Ann, 74); Rupp, 1:387; ComPos, 118; KTL, 238; Mező, 422; Romhányi, 28
Kerc	Cârța, ROM	1202	Virgin Mary	1264/1272/1299/1306 (UB, I:93–4); 1272/1299/1306 (UB, I:116); 1306 (UB, I:231); 1322/1329 (UB, I:356–8) 1329 (UB I:430–1); 1373 (Suciu, 1:157); 1463 (DL-DF 244864; CDP, I:LX); Györffy, 2:451; KTL, 342; Mező, 431; Romhányi, 36
Pásztó	HUN	before 1134	Virgin Mary <sup>1115</sup>	1331/1373 (Békefi Pásztó, 262); 1407 (Békefi Pásztó, 502); 1654 (Békefi Pásztó, 502); Ortvay, 1:212; Csánki, 1:55; Györffy, 3:121; Mező, 451–2; Romhányi, 50
Pétervárad (Bélakút)	Petrovaradin, Novi Sad (Újvidék), SER	1234	Virgin Mary	1411 (ZsO, 3:184); 1418 (Lukcsics, 1:74); 1477 (Csánki, 2:236); 1484 (CDP, I:159); 1492 (Csánki, 2:237; CDP I:164–5); ComSirm, 141–2; Mező, 453; Romhányi, 52
Pilis	Pilisszentkereszt, HUN	1184	Virgin Mary	1269 (KJ, 1:501); 1301/1340 (AO, 4:43; AkO, 1:57, 68); 1311 (AkO, 3:54); 1324 (AkO, 8:144); 1341 (MES, 3:388); 1343 (ZO, 12:18); Ortvay, 2:792; KTL, 546; Mező, 453–4; Romhányi, 52

<sup>1115</sup> Originally a Benedictine monastery dedicated to St. Nicholas (Romhányi, 50). The *patrocinium* changed to the Virgin Mary when it was given to the Cistercians.



Pornó	Pornóapáti, HUN	12 <sup>th</sup> c. (Benedic- tine), 1219–21 (Cistercian)	Virgin Mary and St. Margaret <sup>1116</sup>	(DL-DF 20827); Mező, 455; Romhányi, 53
Savnik	Spišsky Štiavnik, SLO	1216–22	Virgin Mary	1234 (Fejér, 3/2:416); 1260 (CDES, 2:452; Fejér, 4/3:21; KJ, 1:379); 1282 (KJ, 2/2– 3:285); 1298 (Szent-IványLevt, 20); 1300 (HO, 8:415); 1302 (AkO, 1:120); 1313 (AkO, 3:280); 1325 (MES, 3:64); 1326 (AO, 2:239); 1334 (Theiner, 1:602); 1393 (ZsO, 1:320); 1395 (CDP, I:65); 1398 (ZsO, 1:615); 1411 (ZsO, 3:167); 1436 (Csánki, 1:266); 1474 (CDP, I:378); 14 <sup>th</sup> –15 <sup>th</sup> c. (CDP, II:335); Ortway, 1:57; Békefi Pásztó, 32; Fekete Szep, 79; KTL, 140; Mező, 458–9; Romhányi, 57
Szent- gotthárd	Szent- gotthárd, HUN	1184	Virgin Mary	1389 (ZsO, 1:147); 1410 (ZsO, 2/2:401); 1441 (Csánki, 2:797); Mező, 465–6; Romhányi, 62
Toplica	Topusko (Topuszkó), CRO	1203–8	Virgin Mary	1211 (ÁÚO, 11:109); 1260 (Fejér, 4/2:523); 1302 (AkO, 1:141); 1312 (AkO, 3:136); 1366 (ZO, 3:321); 1384 (BlagayO, 180); 1399 (ZO, 5:119); 1404 (ZsO, 2/1:422); 1425 (CDP, I:99); 1429 (Lukcsics, 1:235); 1446 (Lukcsics, 2:234); 1447 (Lukcsics, 2:247); 1447 (Lukcsics, 2:250); 1451 (CDP, I:125); 1452 (Lukcsics, 2:305); 14 <sup>th</sup> –15 <sup>th</sup> c. (CDP, II:335); 1501 (CDP, I:183); PestyERV, 2:266; ComZagr, 2:150–1; KTL, 680; Mező, 471; Romhányi, 69
Zágráb (Agram)	Zagreb, CRO	before 1274	Virgin Mary	1272 (Ortvay, 2:821); 1291 (Ortvay, 2:821); 1315 (Ortvay, 2:821); 1404 (ZsO, 2/1:414); 1418 (Lukcsics, 1:51); 1419 (Lukcsics, 1:81); 1429

<sup>1116</sup> Originally a Benedictine monastery dedicated to St. Margaret. When it was given to the Cistercians its *patrocinum* was referred to as the Virgin Mary and/or St. Margaret.

				(Lukcsics, 1:235); 1436 (Lukcsics, 2:141); 1451 (Lukcsics, 2:297); ComZagr, 1:160–1; Mező, 477–8; Romhányi, 74
Zirc (Bakony)	Zirc, HUN	1182	Virgin Mary	1257 (PRT, 8:295); ca. 1284 (HO, 7:186); 1304 (AkO, 1:296); 1309 (AO, 1:175; AkO, 2:282); 1330/1332 (PRT, 2:372; AO, 2:608); 1419 (Lukcsics, 1:81); 1422 (Lukcsics, 1:128); KTL, 746; Csánki, 3:261; Békefi, 221–3; Mező, 479; Romhányi, 75

## CISTERCIAN ORDER (FEMALE)

Site	Location	Foundation	Patrocinium	Patrocinium Data
Veszprém-völgy	Veszprém, HUN	before 1020 (Greek), ca. 1220 (Cistercian)	Virgin Mary	1259 (KJ, 1:372); 1275 (KJ, 2/2–3:143); 1276 (HOKl, 74, 75); 1291 (KJ, 2/4:55); 1305 (VeszReg, 27); 1323 (ZalaO, 1:170); 1328 (AO, 2:373); 1393 (ZsO, 1:342); 1394 (ZsO, 1:380); Békefi, 57–9; Mező, 476–7; Romhányi, 73

## COLLEGIATE CHURCHES

Site	Location	Foundation	Patrocinium	Patrocinium Data
Buda-Vár	Budapest, HUN	before 1410	Virgin Mary and St. Sigismund	Aug. 3, 1410 (BTOE, III:287- 8); Aug. 18, 1410 (BTOE, III:288); 1429 (LK, 6:120); 1451 (Lukcsics, 2:295); 1457 (CDP, II:74–5); 1471 (Haan 2: 88); Csánki, 1:6; Romhányi, 16; Mező, 410
Eger (Agria, Erlau)	Eger, HUN	1430	Virgin Mary	1430 (Fejér, 10/7:280; BalassaLevt, 97); 1450 (Lukcsics, 2:272); 1519 (MáriássyLevt, 134); Csánki, 1:53; Romhányi, 22; Mező, 416–17
Kálmán- csehi	Kálmánca, HUN	Unknown	Virgin Mary	1455 (Ferenc Szakály, <i>Mezőváros és reformáció. Tanulmányok a korai magyar polgárosodás kérdéséhez - Humanizmus és Reformáció</i> [Market Town and

				Reformation. Studies on Early Hungarian Civilization - Humanism and Reformation] (Budapest, 1995), 104); Romhányi, 34
Marót	Morović, CRO	1415	Virgin Mary	1415 (ZsO, 5:105, 144); 1424 (Lukcsics, 1:156); 1493 (Csánki, 2:284); Rupp, 1:400–1; Romhányi, 43; Mező, 439
Óbuda (Vetus Buda, Altofen)	Budapest, HUN	Mid-14 <sup>th</sup> c.	Virgin Mary <sup>1117</sup>	1348 (Bossányi, 1/2:187; Theiner, 1:764–5); 1349 (Theiner, 1:771); 1353 (Bossányi, 2:275); Romhányi, 48; Mező, 449
Óbuda (Vetus Buda, Altofen)	Budapest, HUN	1311	Virgin Mary	1311 (MES, 2:635); 1317/1318 (ZO, 1:158); 1339 (MES, 3:340); 1341 (AO, 4:171); Mező, 449; Romhányi, 48
Székes- fehérvár (Alba Regia, Stuhlweiß enburg)	Székes- fehérvár, HUN	ca. 1018	Virgin Mary	1095–1100 (SRH, II:396); 1100–1116 (SRH, II:417); 1234 (HOKl, 3; KJ, 1:167); before 1243 (HO, 8:41; KJ, 1:220); 1249 (ÁÚO, 7:208; Theiner, 1:207; MREV, I:127–8); 1268 (HO, 3:16); 1272/1274 (ÁÚO, 9:7); ca. 1283 (SRH, 1:172); 1327/1435 (Györffy, 2:375); 1359 (Bossányi, 2:362); 1366 (DL-DF 289797; Theiner, II:8; MREV, II:198); 1373–5 (MonVat, 1/1:488, 490); 1411 (DL-DF 288636); 1418 (Lukcsics, 1: 70); 1425 (Lukcsics, 1:171); 1431 (Körmendy Ann, 62); 1433 (Lukcsics, 2:107; Lukcsics, 2:107); 1434 (MREV, III:98); 1450 (Lukcsics, 2:277); 1472 (Körmendy Ann, 80); 1474 (MREV, III:230); 1478 (Csánki, 3:309); 1482 (MREV, III:276–7); 1485 (MREV, III:298; Theiner, II:504–5); 1490 (Theiner, II:534–5); 1493 (MREV, IV:13); 1519 (MREV, IV:266–8) KTL, 626-

<sup>1117</sup> The collegiate church originally in this location was dedicated to St. Peter.

				8; Györffy, 2:363–74; Mező, 464–5; Romhányi, 61
Várad/ Nagy- várad	Oradea, ROM	1320	Virgin Mary	1321 (MES, 3:3; Fejér, 8/7:134); 1332 (GyömrőiLevt, 78); 1332 (MonVat, 1/1:49); 1342 (CDP, II:82); 1344 (CDP, II:91, 94); 1345 (Bossányi, 1/2:122); 1354 (Bossányi, 2:287); 1360 (CDP, II:139, 140); 1364 (CDP, II:148); 1389 (ZsO, 1:147); 1393 (ZsO, I:306); 1400 (ZsO, 2/1:35; MonVat, I/4:206); 1401 (ZsO, 2/1:104); 1418 (Lukcsics, 1:66); 1421 (Lukcsics, 1:116); 1422 (CDP, II:161, 162); 1424 (Lukcsics, 1:155); 1426 (CDP, II:185, 186, 187); Romhányi, 46–7; Mező, 443–4; Csánki, 1 600; Györffy, 1:686

## DOMINICAN ORDER

Site	Location	Foundation	Patrocinium	Patrocinium Data
Alvinc (Vinc)	Vințu de Jos, ROM	1300	Virgin Mary	1361/1447 (UB, 2:190; Ortway, 2:635); Györffy, 2:192; Romhányi, 8–9; Mező, 401
Coborszentmihály (Zombor)	Sombor, SER	1479	Assumption of the Virgin Mary	1481 (Rupp, 3:38); Harsányi, 80; Pfeiffer, 37; Romhányi, 18; Mező, 479
Gölnic	Gelnica, SLO	before 1266	Virgin Mary	Romhányi, 28 <sup>1118</sup>
Gyulafehérvár	Alba Iulia, ROM	1289	Virgin Mary	1300 (Györffy, 2:151–3); 1313 (Györffy, 2:151–3); Harsányi, 81; Pfeiffer, 41
Haraly	Harale, ROM	1500–23	Virgin Mary	1523 (Entz 1996, 303); <sup>1119</sup> Romhányi, 30; Haraly, 81
Kassa	Košice, SLO	1303	Virgin Mary	Csánki, 1:200; Romhányi, 35; Rupp, 2:254–6; Harsányi, 81; Kovács, 115; Mező, 430

<sup>1118</sup> I was not able to find corroborating primary source evidence for the Marian *patrocinium* identified by Romhányi.

<sup>1119</sup> From the will of the wife of Antal Imecs (Entz 1996, 303).

Kolozsvár (Klausenburg)	Cluj-Napoca, ROM	1397	Virgin Mary and St. Anthony of Padua	1397 (ZsO, 1:516); 1400 (ZsO, II:77; MonVat, I/4:278); 1450 (KolmJk, 1:402); 1454 (KolmJk, 1:488); 1477 (KolmJk, 1:772); 1482 (KolmJk, 1:799); 1491 (KolmJk, 2:73); 1492 (KolmJk, 2:103); 1498 (KolmJk, 2: 168); 1501 (KolmJk, 2:208) Csánki, 5:320; Harsányi, 81; Pfeiffer, 46–7; Mező, 432–3; Romhányi, 51–2
Komárom	Komarno, SLO	1305	Virgin Mary	1305/1367 (Györffy, 3:428); 1367 (PRT, 8:353); 1409 (Csánki, 3:489); Mező, 432–3; Romhányi, 51–2
Körmend	Körmend, HUN	1238–56 (Augustinian Hermits), 1517–24 (Observant Franciscan), 1524–29 (Dominican)	Virgin Mary	1358 (VSz, 33:362); 1377 (Bándi 1987, 71); Romhányi, 38; Mező, 433
Lábatlan	Lábatlan, HUN	1489	Our Lady of the Angels	1489 (Harsányi, 81); Pfeiffer, 48; Iványi, 18; Romhányi, 40; Mező, 435
Pozsegavár	Požega, CRO	by 1303	Virgin Mary	15 <sup>th</sup> –16 <sup>th</sup> c. (Iványi, 19); Harsányi, 81; Pfeiffer 57; Romhányi, 53; Mező, 455
Segesvár (Schäßburg)	Sighișoara, ROM	before 1298	Virgin Mary	1298 (ErdélyiO, 1:320; Pfeiffer, 58); 1466 (KolmJk, 1:630); 1467 (KolmJk, 1:652); 1499 (KolmJk, 2:175); Iványi, 19; Harsányi, 81; KTL, 597; Romhányi, 57; Mező, 459
Simontornya	Simontornya, HUN	1515–18	Virgin Mary	1515–6 (Harsányi, 81; Iványi, 19); Pfeiffer, 62–3; Romhányi, 58; Mező, 459
Szekcső	Dunaszekcső, HUN	before 1391	Virgin Mary	1391 (ZsO, 1:222); 1494 (Harsányi, 84n16);

Iványi 19; Mező, 416; Romhányi, 61
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## DOMINICAN ORDER (FEMALE)

Site	Location	Foundation	Patrocinium	Patrocinium Data
Beszterce (Bistritz)	Bistrița, ROM	before 1485	Annunciation of the Virgin Mary	1501 (KolmJk, 2:200); 1503 (KolmJk, 2:200); Romhányi, 13; Mező, 405
Buda-Nyúlsziget (Insula Leporum)	Margaret Island, Budapest, HUN	ca. 1253	Virgin Mary	1253–69 (HO, 8:121); 1257 (DL-DF 2972; BTOE, I:62–3); 1263 (ÁÚO, 8:71; 3:95); 1264 (HOkI, 41); 1265 (HOkI, 48); 1276 (HOkI, 74); 1277 (MES, 2:72); 1285 (ÁÚO, 4:278); 1305 (AO, 1:102); 1317 (AO, 1:423); 1327/1328 (MES, 3:124); 1347 (AO, 5:41); 1409 (BTOE, 3/1:263; Fejér, X/4:771–2); 1523 (MREV, IV:292) Pfeiffer, 85–6; Gajáry, 350; Harsányi, 81; Romhányi, 15–16; Mező, 437
Ivanics	Ivanić, CRO	1234–46 (possibly Dominican), 1246 (Premon- stratensian), by 1377 (possibly Benedic- tine)	Virgin Mary	1246 (Ortvay, 2:736); 1334 (Csánki Körös, 72); 1377 (ComCris, 118); Mező, 428; Romhányi 2014, 41–2
Székesfehérvár (Alba Regia, Stuhlweißenburg)	Székes- fehérvár, HUN	before 1276	Virgin Mary	1485 (Csánki, 3:309); Györffy, 2:382; Iványi, 19; Pfeiffer, 87–8; Romhányi, 57; Mező, 459

## FRANCISCAN ORDER (CONVENTUAL)

Site	Location	Foundation	Patrocinium	Patrocinium Data
Beregszász (Lampertszásza)	Beregove, UKR	1377	Virgin Mary	1363 (KállayLevt, 2:109); Kovács, 108;

				Romhányi, 12; Mező, 404
Beszterce (Bistritz)	Bistrița, ROM	before 1268, after Tartar Invasion	Virgin Mary	1444 (Lukcsics, 2:216); 1519 (Lukcsics, 2:360); Rupp, 3:199; Ortway, 2:776; Györffy, 1:560; KTL, 101; Romhányi, 13; Mező, 405
Debrecen	Debrecen, HUN	1322–40	Virgin Mary	1449 (TT 1900, 297); Romhányi, 20; Mező, 414
Eger (Agria, Erlau)	Eger, HUN	13 <sup>th</sup> c.	Virgin Mary	1307 (Györffy, 3:83); 1319 (Györffy, 3:83); 1400 (HOkI, 331); 1401 (ZsO, 2/1:148); 1402 (ZsO 2/1:204); Rupp, 2:30; Kovács, 109–10; Romhányi, 22; Mező, 416
Esztergom	Esztergom, HUN	1235	Mary, Help of Christians	1270 (Györffy, 2:251); 1337 (AO, 3:325); 1389 (ZsO, 1:93); Romhányi, 24; Mező, 419
Gyöngyös	Gyöngyös, HUN	1332–70	Visitation of the Virgin Mary	1467–75 (Karácsonyi Szt. Ferenc, 2:59–60); Kovács, 110–1; Romhányi, 28; Mező, 423
Jenő	Ineu (Borosjenő), ROM	1387–95	Virgin Mary	1423 (Lukcsics, 1:141); Kovács, 109; Romhányi, 33; Mező, 407
Kanizsa	Nagykanizsa, HUN	1423	Assumption of the Virgin Mary	1481 (Csánki, 3:20); Romhányi, 34; Mező, 442
Kapronca	Koprivnica, CRO	1292	Virgin Mary	1340 (AO, 24:96); ComCris, 122; Romhányi, 35; Mező, 430
Keszthely	Keszthely, HUN	1368	Virgin Mary	1397 (KTL, 346); Békefi, 149; Romhányi, 36; Mező, 431
Lőcse (Leutschau)	Levoča, SLO	1309	Virgin Mary and St. Ladislaus	Karácsonyi Szt. Ferenc, 198–9; Romhányi, 41–2

Ludbreg	Ludbreg, CRO	1373	Virgin Mary	1510 (DL-DF 101808); Romhányi, 42
Nyitra (Neutra)	Nitra, SLO	1245–48	Virgin Mary	1322 (Györffy, 4:433–5); Romhányi, 48; Mező, 448
Pozsony (Posonium, Pressburg)	Bratislava, SLO	after Mongol Invasion, before 1250	Virgin Mary <sup>1120</sup>	1297 (MES, 2:400); 1385 (BTOE, 3/1:11); 1415 (ZsO, 5:226); (Ortvay, 2:795); Romhányi, 53; Mező, 455
Sárospatak	Sárospatak, HUN	before 1261	Virgin Mary	1307 (Soós, 531); 1367 (ComZemp, 165); 1418 (Lukcsics, 1:56); Karácsonyi Szt. Ferenc, 2:145; Csánki, 1:338; Kovács, 112; Romhányi, 57; Mező, 458
Segesd	Felsősegesd, HUN	1290–95	Virgin Mary	1391 (Csánki, 2:581); Ortvay, 2:797; Rupp, 3:288; MVV Somogy, 35; Romhányi, 57; Mező, 459
Sopron (Ödenburg)	Sopron, HUN	1241–50	Virgin Mary	1484 (Csánki, 3:595); 1493 (Csánki, 3:595); Romhányi, 59; Mező, 460
Szatmár	Satu Mare, ROM	before 1285	Virgin Mary	1317 (AkO, 4:244); 1467 (KolmJk, 1:642); Csánki, 1:469; Rupp, 2:347; Ortvay, 2:803; Romhányi, 60; Mező, 463
Szeben (Cibinium, Hermannstadt, Nagyszeben)	Sibiu, ROM	late 13 <sup>th</sup> c.	Virgin Mary and St. Elizabeth <sup>1121</sup>	May 26, 1444 (Lukcsics, 2:216, no. 815); May 26, 1444 (Lukcsics, 2:216–17, no. 817; UB, V:138); Romhányi, 46; Mező, 443
Szécsény	Szécsény, HUN	1332	Virgin Mary	1477 (BalassaLevt, 153); Romhányi, 60–1; Mező, 463

<sup>1120</sup> The friary was originally only dedicated to St. John the Evangelist, but it was rededicated to the Virgin Mary following its destruction in the 1270s (Romhányi, 53). Its reconsecration occurred on the feast of the Annunciation so that may have been its *patrocinium*, but it is only referred to as the being dedicated to the Virgin Mary in references to the friary.

<sup>1121</sup> The friary was originally only dedicated to St. Elizabeth. In 1444 it was called the friary of St. Elizabeth and the Virgin Mary.



Szemenye	Muraszemenye, HUN	1248	Virgin Mary	1248 (Fejér, 4/2:23); Romhányi, 62; Mező, 441
Telegd	Tileagd, ROM	before 1329	Virgin Mary	Romhányi 2014, 97 <sup>1122</sup>
Újlak	Ilok, CRO	2 <sup>nd</sup> 1/2 of the 13 <sup>th</sup> c.	Virgin Mary	1451 (Lukcsics, 2:297); 1454 (Lukcsics, 2:330); ca. 1464 (Csánki, 2:288); ComSirm, 74; Romhányi, 70; Mező, 473-4
Varannó	Vranov nad Toplou, SLO	before 1413	Virgin Mary	1413 (ZsO, 4:345); 1433 (Lukcsics, 2:99–100); 1519 (HéderváryO, 1:564–5); Csánki, 1:340; Kovács, 113; Karácsonyi Szt. Ferenc, 1:50, 287; Romhányi, 71; Mező, 475
Vásárhely (Marosvásárhely)	Târgu Mureş, ROM	14 <sup>th</sup> c.	Virgin Mary	1444 (Karácsonyi Szt. Ferenc, 1:114); 1495 (TelekiO, 2:204); 1503 (KolmJk, 2:225); Romhányi, 71–2; Mező, 438–9
Verőce	Virovitica, CRO	after Mongol Invasion, before 1250	Virgin Mary	1281 (MES, 2:144); Ortway, 2:765; Romhányi, 72; Mező, 476

## FRANCISCAN ORDER (OBSERVANT)

Site	Location	Foundation	Patrocinium	Patrocinium Data
Atyina	Voćin, CRO	1490–96	Virgin Mary	1496 (Karácsonyi Szt. Ferenc, 2:11); Romhányi, 10; Mező, 402
Berény	Jászberény, HUN	1472	Virgin Mary	1472 (Karácsonyi Szt. Ferenc, 2:83); 1536 (BiblHung, 1:384); Romhányi, 12–13; Mező, 428
Bojtor	Buituri, Hunedoara (Vajdahunyad), ROM	before 1456	Virgin Mary	1465 (BalassaLevt, 129); Csánki, 5:61; Karácsonyi Szt.

<sup>1122</sup> I was not able to find corroborating primary source evidence for the Marian *patrocinium* identified by Romhányi.

				Ferenc, 2:79; Romhányi, 14; Mező, 475
Céke	Cejkov, SLO	before 1459	Virgin Mary	1459 (Csánki, 1:345); 1512 (Karácsonyi Szt. Ferenc, 2:34); Kovács, 109; Romhányi, 17; Mező, 411
Csanád	Cenad, ROM	1030–46 (Benedictine), 1493 (Observant Franciscan)	Virgin Mary	1421 (Lukcsics, 1:102); PRT, 12/B:463; Ortway, 1:411; Csánki, 1:691; Györffy, 1: 850–3; Mező, 411; Romhányi, 18
Cseri	Sacoșu Turcesc, ROM	ca. 1366	Virgin Mary	1385 (Karácsonyi Szt. Ferenc, 2:25); 1411 (ZsO, 3:151); Romhányi, 19; Mező, 412
Csík- somlyó (Somlyó)	Miercurea Ciuc (Csíkszereda), ROM	1441	Virgin Mary	1444 (SzO, 1:154); 1445 (Lukcsics, 2:220); Karácsonyi Szt. Ferenc, 2:26; Romhányi, 19; Mező, 413
Egervár	Egervár, HUN	1490	Virgin Mary	1342 (VSz, 22:270); 1497 (Csánki, 2:722); 1498 (Csánki, 2:722); Karácsonyi Szt. Ferenc, 2:38; Romhányi, 22; Mező, 417
Esztergom	Esztergom, HUN	1235 (Conventual Franciscan), 1448 (Observant Franciscan)	Mary, Help of Christians	1270 (Györffy, 2:251); 1337 (AO, 3:325); 1389 (ZsO, 1:93); Romhányi, 24; Mező, 419
Gyöngyös	Gyöngyös, HUN	1332–70 (Conventual Franciscan), 1467 (Observant Franciscan)	Visitation of the Virgin Mary	1467–75 (Karácsonyi Szt. Ferenc, 2:59–60); Kovács, 110–1; Romhányi, 28; Mező, 423
Gyula (Gyula- monos- tora)	Gyula, HUN	1420	Virgin Mary	1452 (Karácsonyi Szt. Ferenc, 2:71); Romhányi, 28–9; Mező, 424

Homonna	Humenné, SLO	1480–8	Virgin Mary	1488 (Csánki, 1:337); Karácsonyi Szt. Ferenc, 2:75; Kovács, 111; Romhányi, 31; Mező, 427
Igal	Igal, HUN	1434–52	Virgin Mary	1462 (Csánki, 2:578); Karácsonyi Szt. Ferenc, 2:80; Romhányi, 31–2; Mező, 427
Jenő	Ineu (Borosjenő), ROM	1387–95 (Conventual Franciscan), 1423 (Observant Franciscan)	Virgin Mary	1423 (Lukcsics, 1:141); Kovács, 109; Romhányi, 33; Mező, 407
Kolozsvár (Klausenburg)	Cluj-Napoca, ROM	1486	Virgin Mary	1503 (KolmJk, 2:233); 1544 (KolmJk, 2:651); Karácsonyi Szt. Ferenc, 2:100; Romhányi, 37–8; Mező, 432
Körmend	Körmend, HUN	1238–56 (Augustinian Hermits), 1517–24 (Observant Franciscan), 1524–29 (Dominican)	Virgin Mary	1358 (VSz, 33:362); 1377 (Bándi 1987, 71); Romhányi, 39; Mező, 434
Monoszlóvár/ Monoszló	Moslavina, CRO	1460	Virgin Mary	1491–2 (ComCris, 254); 1492 (Csánki Körös, 76); Karácsonyi Szt. Ferenc, 2:119; Romhányi, 45; Mező, 441
Okolicsno	Okoličné, Liptovský Mikuláš (Liptószentmiklos), SLO	1476	Our Lady of the Angels	1476 (Karácsonyi Szt. Ferenc, 2:127); Romhányi, 48–9
Palota	Várpalota, HUN	before 1445	Virgin Mary	1451 (Lukcsics, 2:303); 1452 (Lukcsics, 2:303); Romhányi, 49; Mező, 475
Petróc	around Koprivnički Ivanec, CRO	before 1480	Virgin Mary	1456 (DL-DF 35619); Romhányi, 52; Mező, 453

Sáros-patak	Sárospatak, HUN	before 1261 (Franciscan Conventual), 1448 (Franciscan Observant)	Virgin Mary	1307 (Soós, 531); 1367 (ComZemp, 165); 1418 (Lukcsics, 1:56); Karácsonyi Szt. Ferenc, 2:145; Csánki, 1:338; Kovács, 112; Romhányi, 57; Mező, 458
Sóvár	Solivar, SLO	before 1482	Virgin Mary	1491 (DOŠ, 443); 1512 (DOŠ, 443); Csánki, 1:287; Kovács, 113; Karácsonyi Szt. Ferenc, 2:151–2; Romhányi, 59; Mező, 460–1
Szakolca	Skalica, SLO	1467	Our Lady of Sorrows	1467 (Karácsonyi Szt. Ferenc, 2:154; Romhányi, 59–60; Mező, 462
Szalárd	Sălard, ROM	before 1395	Virgin Mary	1421 (ComBih, 274); 1451 (Ortvay, 2:548); Karácsonyi Szt. Ferenc, 2:157–8; Csánki, 1:599; Jakó, 345; Romhányi, 60; Mező, 462
Szécsény	Szécsény, HUN	1332 (Conventual Franciscan), 1467 (Observant Franciscan)	Virgin Mary	1477 (BalassaLevt, 153); Romhányi, 60–1; Mező, 463
Szeged	Szeged, HUN	ca. 1480	Our Lady of the Snows	1503 (inscription on stone plaque at site: Zsuzsa Lukács, “Előzetes beszámoló a Szeged-alsóvárosi ferences kolostor kutatásáról” [Preliminary report on the research of the Franciscan monastery in Szeged-alsóváros], in <i>Koldulórendi építészet a középkori Magyarországon Tanulmányok</i> [The architecture of

				mendicant orders in medieval Hungary Studies], ed. Andrea Haris (Országos Műemlékvédelmi Hivatal, 1994), 437); Romhányi, 62
Temesvár	Timișoara, ROM	mentioned in 1405	Virgin Mary	1405 (ZsO, 2/1:503); Mező, 470; Romhányi 2014, 97–8
Újlak	Ilok, CRO	1250–1300 (Conventual Franciscan), 1455 (Observant Franciscan)	Virgin Mary	1451 (Lukcsics, 2:297); 1454 (Lukcsics, 2:330); ca. 1464 (Csánki, 2:288); ComSirm, 74; Romhányi, 70; Mező, 473–4
Vásárhely	Târgu Mureș, ROM	14 <sup>th</sup> c. (Conventual Franciscan), 1444 (Observant Franciscan)	Virgin Mary	1444 (Karácsonyi Szt. Ferenc, 1:114); 1495 (TelekiO, 2:204); 1503 (KolmJk, 2:225); Romhányi, 71–2; Mező, 438–9
Visegrád (Plindenburg)	Visegrád, HUN	1421	Virgin Mary	1473 (Karácsonyi Szt. Ferenc, 2:212); Romhányi, 74; Mező, 477

## GREEK ORDERS

Site	Location	Foundation	Patrocinium	Patrocinium Data
Kristyór	Crișcior, ROM	ca. 1411	Virgin Mary	1411 (inscription from votive painting in church: Liana Tugearu, “Biserica Adormirii Maicii Domnului din satul Crișcior (com. surbană a orașului Brad, jud. Hunedoara)” [The church of the Assumption of Mary of the village of Crișcior (surburban commune of Brad, Hunedoara)], in <i>Repertoriul picturilor murale medievale din România: sec. XIV – 1450</i> [Repertory of medieval mural paintings in Romania: 14 <sup>th</sup> c.- 1450], ed. Vasile Drăguț, Vol. 1 (Bucharest: Ed. Acad. Rep. Soc.

				România, 1985), 90–1); Entz 1996, 95; Romhányi, 40
Krusedol	Krušedol, SER	1510–16	Visitation of the Virgin Mary	1510/1516 (Radoslav Grujić, “Duhovni zivot,” [Spiritual life], in <i>Vojvodina</i> vol. I (Historical Society in Novi Sad, 1939), 361); Romhányi, 40
Remete	Šišatovac, SER	1520	Virgin Mary	1520 (Grujić, “Duhovni zivot,” I:358–60); Romhányi, 55

## GREEK ORDERS (FEMALE)

Site	Location	Foundation	Patrocinium	Patrocinium Data
Veszprémvölgy	Veszprém, HUN	before 1020 (Greek), ca. 1220 (Cistercian)	Virgin Mary	1259 (KJ, 1:372); 1275 (KJ, 2/2–3:143); 1276 (HOKl, 74, 75); 1291 (KJ, 2/4:55); 1305 (VeszpReg, 27); 1323 (ZalaO, 1:170); 1328 (AO, 2:373); 1393 (ZsO, 1:342); 1394 (ZsO, 1:380); Békefi, 57–9; Mező, 476–7; Romhányi, 73

## ORDER OF SAINT CLARE

Site	Location	Foundation	Patrocinium	Patrocinium Data
Nagyszombat	Trnava, SLO	1240	Virgin Mary and All Saints	1301 (AO, 1:14; MES, 2:494); 1302 (AkO, 1:123); 1309 (AkO, 2:308); 1359 (AO, 7:611); Ortway, 2:794–5; Karácsonyi, 2:464; Mező, 443; Romhányi, 46
Óbuda (Vetus Buda, Altófen)	Budapest, HUN	1331	Virgin Mary and St. Clare	1337 (TT, 4:147); 1349 (AO, 5:316); 1350 (Bossányi, 1/2:212); 1351, (Bossányi, 1/2:216; AO, 5:527); 1355 (TT, 4:168); 1366 (TT, 4:170–1); 1388 (Bártfai, 98); 1391 (ZsO, 1:208); Gajáry, 346; Karácsonyi, 2:451; Mező, 448; Romhányi, 48

## PAULINE ORDER

Site	Location	Foundation	Patrocinium	Patrocinium Data
Bánfalva (Wandorf; Wondorf; Bondorf)	Sopron-bánfalva, HUN	1482	Virgin Mary and St. Wolfgang	1483, (DAP III:266); 1642 (inscription: Ernő Szakál, “A sopronbánfalvi gótikus templom helyreállításáról” [The restoration of the Gothic church in Sopronbánfalva],

				Műemlékvédelem III/2 (1959): 78); Romhányi, 14
Baumgarten (Kertes; Sopron-kertes)	Baumgarten, AUS	1475	Virgin Mary and Holy Savior	1475 (Csánki, 3:623); Rupp, 1:486; Mező, 403; Romhányi, 11
Beckó	Beckov, SLO	1431	Virgin Mary	1431 (Wenzel, 195); Mező, 404; Romhányi, 11–12
Csáktornya (Várhely; Szentilona)	Šenkovec, CRO	1376	Virgin Mary and All Saints	ca. 1376 (Csánki, 3:19); Mező, 411; Romhányi, 18
Család (Mária-család)	Vel'ké Lovce, SLO	1512 or shortly before	Virgin Mary	1512 (DAP, I:44); 1570 (DAP, I:44); Romhányi, 18
Csatka	Csatka, HUN	1350–5	Virgin Mary	1390 (ZsO, 1:164); 1393 (ZsO, 1:334); 1396 (BTOE, 3/1:110); 1400 (ZsO, 2/1:65); 1421 (Lukcsics, 1:103); Csánki 3:225; Békefi, 234; Mező, 412; Romhányi, 19
Dubica	Dubica, BOH	1270–90	Virgin Mary	1354 (ASzlavO, 52); 1354/1358 (ASzlavO, 54); 1358 (ASzlavO, 55); 1363 (ASzlavO, 79); 1384 (ASzlavO, 106); 1402 (ASzlavO, 122); Ortvay, 2:741; ComZagr, 1:94; Mező, 416; Romhányi, 22
Enyere (Töttös-enyere)	Óhíd, HUN	1339	Virgin Mary	1339 (ZalaO, 1:352); 1454 (ZalaO, 2:557); 1455 (ZalaO, 2:558); Csánki, 3:50; Ortvay, 2:813; VMMK, 11:302; Békefi, 246; Mező, 418; Romhányi, 23
Eszeny	Javorove, UKR	1358	Virgin Mary	1463 (ZO, 10:281); Kovács, 120; Mező, 418; Romhányi, 24
Fehéregyháza	Budapest	1480	Virgin Mary	1480 (DAP, I:144–5); 1521 (LK, 3:183); Gajáry, 346; Mező, 449; Romhányi, 25
Garics (Mons Garig)	Garić grad, north of Mikleuška, CRO	1272–95	Virgin Mary	1325 (ComCris, 75); 1327 (AkO, 11:156); 1399 (ASzlavO, 119) 1417 (Lukcsics, 1:51); 1471 (LK, 3:152); 1511 (LK, 3:170); Mező, 421; Romhányi, 27; DAP, III:316–18, 25; Mező, 421; Romhányi, 27

Gombaszög	Slavec (Szalók), SLO	1371	Virgin Mary	1371 (BLÉ, 5:580); 1406 (ZsO, 2/1:625); (Csánki, 1:135; Rupp, 2:119); Mező, 422; Romhányi, 27
Gönc	Gönc, HUN	1365–71	Virgin Mary	1371 (BLÉ, 5:583); 1406 (ZsO, 2/1:656); 1412 (ZsO, 3:519); (Csánki, 1:198); Kovács, 121; Soós, 482; Mező, 423; Romhányi, 28
Kalodva	Păulis (Ópálos), ROM	1272–90	Virgin Mary <sup>1123</sup>	1501 (Ortvay, 1:393; Csánki 1:772–3); Györffy, 1:179; KTL, 319; Mező, 429; Romhányi, 34
Lád	Sajólad, HUN	1387	Visitation of the Virgin Mary	1389 (ZsO, 1:119); 1400 (MonVat, I/4:242–3; ZsO, II:70); 1423 (DL-DF 11392); 1517 (BLÉ, 5:667); Csánki, 1:175; Soós, 112; ME, 162; Rupp, 2:82; Mező, 458; Romhányi, 40
Lepoglava	CRO	before 1435	Virgin Mary	15 <sup>th</sup> c. (LK, 3:160); 1450 (LK, 3:141); 1509 (LK, 3:168); Mező, 435; Romhányi, 41
Máriavölgy (Tal, Thal, Marienthal)	Marianka, SLO	1377	Virgin Mary	1377 (TT, 4:151); 1416 (ZsO, 5:659); Mező, 438; Romhányi, 43
Martonyi (Három-hegy)	HUN	1341	Virgin Mary	1399 (ZsO, 1:678); 1480 (Csánki, 1:175); 1491 (Csánki, 1:175); Soós, 165; Mező, 439; Romhányi, 43
Monyorókerék (Eberau)	Kulm, AUS	1493	Virgin Mary	1519 (DAP, I:376); Mező, 440–1; Romhányi, 45; Csánki, 2:726
Nagyfalu (Szilágy-nagyfalu)	Nuşfalău, ROM	1400	Virgin Mary	1417 (Lukcsics, 1:46); 1431 (BánffyO, 1:595); 1493 (KolmJk, 2:111); Csánki, 1:580; Mező, 442; Romhányi, 45
Nosztre/Nosztra	Mária-nosztra, HUN	1352	Virgin Mary	1404 (ZsO, 2/1:405); 1405 (ZsO, 2/1:461); 1409 (ZsO, 2/2:234); Mező, 438; Romhányi, 47
Örményes	Örvényes-hegy, Zalacsány, HUN	before 1378	Virgin Mary	1392 (BTOE, 3/1:74; ZalaO, 2:258; Ortvay, 2:815; ZsO, 1:294); 1398 (ZsO, 1:575); 1498 (ZalaO, 2:637); Csánki,

<sup>1123</sup> According to Ortvay, 1:393 it was dedicated to the Visitation, but Romhányi, 34 lists the *patrocinium* as the Virgin Mary.



				3:88; Békefi, 246–8; Mező, 451; Romhányi, 49
Patacs	western Pécs, HUN	1334	Virgin Mary	1334/1369 (Györffy, 1:356); 1351 (AO, 5:499); 1397 (ZsO, 1:535–6); Mező, 452; Romhányi, 50
Pókafalva	Păuca, ROM	1416	Virgin Mary	1418 (Lukcsics, 1:62); 1448 (Lukcsics, 2:260–1); Mező, 454; Romhányi, 52
Porva	HUN	1439–41	Virgin Mary and Holy Spirit	1450 (VMMK, 11:309); 1500 (Békefi, 236–7); Csánki, 3:248; Mező, 455; Romhányi, 53
Remete	Remeți, ROM	1363	Virgin Mary	1426–30 (János Mihályi ed., <i>Máramarosi diplomák a XIV. és XV. századból</i> [14 <sup>th</sup> - and 15 <sup>th</sup> century-charters from Máramaros] (Máramaros-Sziget, 1900), 268); 1450 (ComMarmUg, 108); 1465 (Mihályi, <i>Máramarosi diplomák</i> , 465); Rupp, 2:387; Csánki, 1:451; Mező, 457; Romhányi, 54
Remete (Kis-Bereg)	Nyizsnyi Remeti, UKR	before 1329	Virgin Mary	1393 (ZsO, 1:313); Rupp, 2:376; Mező, 457; Romhányi, 55
Remete (Promontorium Zagrabienense)	Remete, Zagreb, CRO	1274–88	Virgin Mary	1319 (ComZagr, 2:88); 1372 (ComZagr, 2:88); 1383 (LK, 5:138); 1387 (LK, 5:139); 1394 (ZsO, 1:396); 1402 (LK, 3:136); 1439 (Lukcsics, 2:187); 1377 (ASzlavO, 90–1); Mező, 457; Romhányi, 55
Szalónak	Stadt-schleuning, AUS	before 1461	Virgin Mary	1461 (Theiner, 2:371; Csánki, 2:729); Mező, 462; Romhányi, 60
Szentjobb (Szentjog, Berettyómonostor, S. Dextra)	Sâniob, ROM	1083–93	Virgin Mary	1510 (PRT, 3:628); PRT, 12/B:141; Mező, 466; Romhányi, 63; Györffy, 1:668
Szentkirály (Székelyháza, Maros-szentkirály)	Sâncraiu de Mureș, ROM	1350	Virgin Mary and King St. Stephen	1391 (ZsO, 1:203); 1448 (TelekiO, 2:39); 1449 (KolmJk, 1:354); 1467 (KolmJk, 1:647); 1472 (SzO, 1:218); 1474 (KolmJk, 1:752); 1492 (KolmJk, 2:102); 1529 (KolmJk, 2:501); 1535

				(KolmJk, 2:576); Mező, 464; Romhányi, 63
Szent-mihályköve	Tăuți (Tóti), ROM	1363	Virgin Mary	1402 (MonVat, 1/4:428); 1454 (KolmJk, 1:488); 1508 (KolmJk, 2:279); 1520 (KolmJk, 2:372); Györffy, 2:157; Mező, 472; Romhányi, 64
Terebes	Trebišov, SLO	1502	Virgin Mary	1504 (BLÉ, 5:675–7); Mező, 472; Romhányi, 68
Tokaj	HUN	1466–72	Virgin Mary and St. Anne	1472 (BLÉ, 5:685); Mező, 471; Romhányi, 68
Told	HUN	1384	Virgin Mary	1392 (ZsO, 1:271); 1418 (Fejér, 10/6:237–8); 1419 (Fejér, 10/6:237–8); Csánki, 2:652; Békefi, 244; Mező, 471; Romhányi, 68
Újhely	Sátoralja-újhely, HUN	1258	Virgin Mary and St. Giles <sup>1124</sup>	1434 (DL-DF 12586); 1468 (DL-DF 16933); Romhányi, 70
Várad-Kápolna (Varadinum, Nagyvárad, Wardein, Großwardein)	Oradea	1280–94	Virgin Mary	1332/1754 (Györffy, 1:684); 1471 (MREV, III:210); 1472 (TelekiO, 2:114); Ortway, 2:556; Csánki, 1:600; Mező, 446; Romhányi, 46–7
Veresmart	Abasár-Pálos-veresmart, HUN	1304	Virgin Mary	1356 (Ortway, 2:785); Györffy, 3:144; Csánki, 1:74; Rupp, 3:307; Mező, 451; Romhányi, 72
Villye	Vovkove, UKR	1380	Virgin Mary	1380 (Csánki, 1:400); 1393 (ZsO, 1:312); Mező, 475; Romhányi, 73

## PREMONSTRATENSIAN ORDER

Site	Location	Foundation	Patrocinium	Patrocinium Data
Ábrány (Monostorosábrány, Érábrány)	Abrămuț, ROM	early 13 <sup>th</sup> c.	Virgin Mary	13 <sup>th</sup> c. (Damianus Fuxhoffer, <i>Monasteriologiae regni Hungariae libri duo totidem tomis comprehensi</i> , vol. II (Veszprém, 1803, 3); Ferenc

<sup>1124</sup> Originally only dedicated to St. Giles. When it was renovated and reconsecrated before 1434 it was dedicated to both St. Giles and the Virgin Mary, see: István Tringli, “Sátoraljaújhely egyházai a reformáció előtt” [The churches of Sátoraljaújhely before the Reformation], in *Erősségénél fogva várépítésre való: Tanulmányok a 70 éves Németh Péter tiszteletére* [Fortified by its strength: studies in honor of the 70-year-old Péter Németh], ed. Juan Cabello and Norbert C. Tóth (Nyíregyháza, 2011), 23.

				Oszvald, “Adatok a magyarországi premonstreiek Árpád-kori történetéhez” [Data on the history of the Premonstratensians in Hungary in the Árpád period], <i>Művészettörténeti értesítő</i> VI/1 (1957): 238; Romhányi, 7
Adony-monostora	Nyíradony, HUN	by 1294	Virgin Mary	1307 (SopronO, 1:67–8); 1347 (AO, 5:16; KállayLevt, 1:199); 1352 (KállayLevt, 2:12); Csánki, 1:509; Soós, 453; SzSz, 25: 146; Kovács, 105; Mező, 414; Romhányi, 7
Bény (Kisbény)	Bíňa, SLO	before 1135 (Benedictine) 1217 (Premonstratensian)	Virgin Mary	1280 (KJ, 2/2–3:258); 1327 (Györffy, 2:227); 1332 (MonVat, 1/1:185); Ortway, 2:780; KTL, 97; Hudák, 193; Mező, 404; Romhányi, 12
Darnó	HUN	after Tartar Invasion	Virgin Mary	1492 (ComZemp, 47); Rupp, 2:277; Csánki, 1:346; Soós, 531; Kovács, 101; Mező, 447; Romhányi, 20
Kökényes-monostora	Nagykökényes, HUN	1173–86	Our Lady of the Snows	12 <sup>th</sup> c. (KTL, 372); Mező, 442; Romhányi, 38–9; Csánki, 1:102
Majk	HUN	1234	Virgin Mary	Ortway, 2:787, Romhányi, 42; Csánki 3:507; KTL, 558; Mező, 437
Ócsa	HUN	1223	Virgin Mary	Romhányi, 48, Zsuzsa Lukács, Juan Cabello, and Péter Csengel, “Az ócsai premontrei prépostság kutatása” [Research on the Premonstratensian provosty of Ócsa], <i>Műemlékvédelmi Szemle</i> 1 (1991): 16; Csánki, 1:32
Rajk	Alsórajk, HUN	1239	Virgin Mary	1365 (ZalaO, 2:6); 1385 (ZalaO, 2:206); 1413 (ZalaO, 2:386); 1509 (Békefi, 223); Csánki, 3:97; Mező, 400; Romhányi, 54
Rátót	Gyulafirátót, HUN	before 1241	Virgin Mary	1288/1349 (Csánki, 3:248; VeszReg, 168); Békefi, 223; Mező, 425; Romhányi, 54

Ság	Šahy, SLO	1224–35	Virgin Mary	1258/1269 (Györffy, 3:236–7); 1291 (HO, 8:300; MES, 2:285); 1308 (AkO, 2:200); 1311 (AO, 1:228; AkO, 3:41); 1325 (MES, 3:69); 1334 (AO, 3:77); 1342 (AO, 4:199); Györffy, 3:237; Mező, 427–8; Romhányi, 56
Türje	HUN	before 1235	Virgin Mary	1230 (ZalaO, 1:5); 1247 (ZalaO, 1:18); 1254 (Csánki, 3:119); 1264 (KJ, 1:426); 1281 (HO, 6:268); 1301 (AkO, 1:51); 1393 (ZalaO, 2:259); Mező, 473; Romhányi, 70
Turóc	Kláštor pod Znievom, SLO	1251	Virgin Mary	1251 (HOklt, 19); 1273 (KJ, 2/2–3:61); 1281 (HOklt, 89); 1282 (JusthLevt, 11); 1283 (KJ, 2/2–3:329; HO, 8:227); 1296 (ÁÚO, 5:147); 1302 (AkO, 1:188); 1323 (AO, 2:95; AkO, 7:107); 1337 (AO, 3:322); 1418 (Lukesics, 1:75); 1444 (Lukesics, 2:213); Mező, 479; Romhányi, 69

## PREMONSTRATENSIAN ORDER (FEMALE)

Name	Location	Foundation	Patrocinium	Patrocinium Data
Ivanics	Ivanić, CRO	1234–46 (possibly Dominican), 1246 Premonstratensian), by 1377 (possibly Benedictine)	Virgin Mary	1246 (Ortvay, 2:736); 1334 (Csánki Körös, 72); 1377 (ComCris, 118); Mező, 428; Romhányi 2014, 41–2

## UNKNOWN ORDER

Name	Location	Foundation	Patrocinium	Patrocinium Data
Halász (Monostoroshalász)	Nagyhalász, HUN	by the beginning of the 14 <sup>th</sup> c.	Virgin Mary	1318–22 (NémSzab, 88); Soós, 431; Kovács, 47; Mező, 442; Romhányi 29–30

## OVERALL *PATROCINIA* OF HUNGARIAN MONASTERIES: VISUALIZATIONS

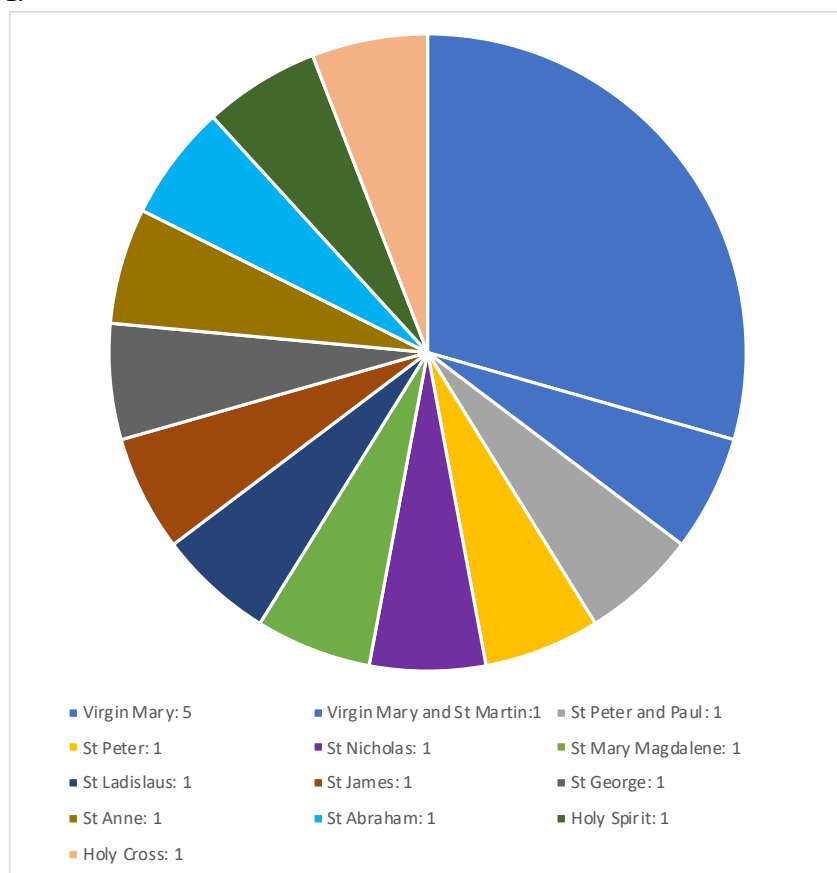
The research of Beatrix Romhányi (*Kolostorok és társaskáptalanok*) has allowed me to compare the non-Marian *patrocinia* collected by Romhányi with the Marian *patrocinia* of monastic, mendicant, and collegiate churches.

For each order the following data is presented:

- I. Overall *patrocinia*.<sup>1125</sup>
- II. Number of Marian dedications compared to the total (including cases where Mary is the co-patron).
- III. Map: Presenting all Marian and non-Marian *patrocinia* (under which unknown *patrocinia* are included).

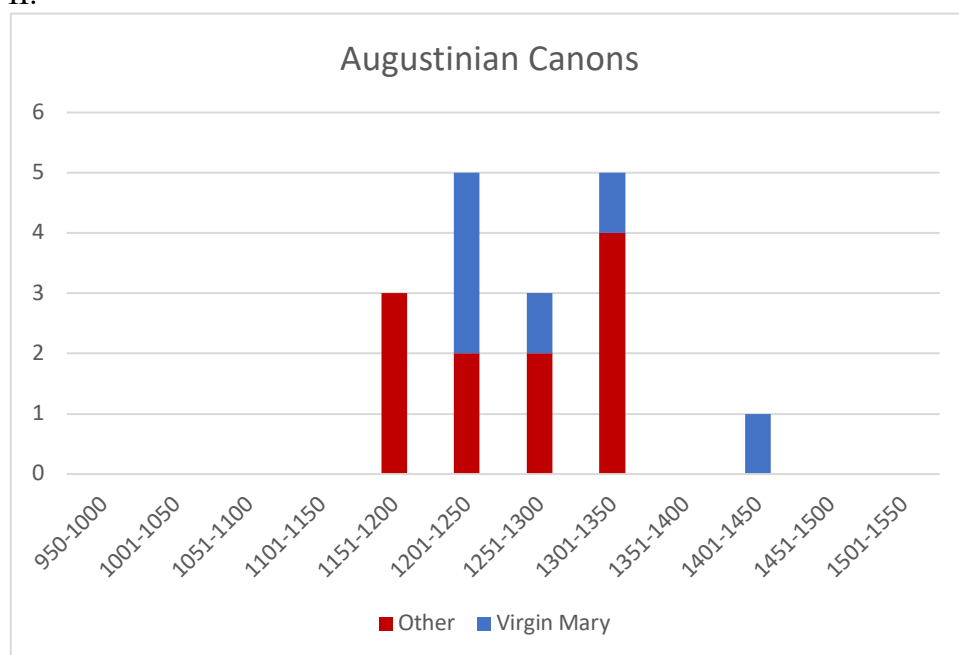
### 1. AUGUSTINIAN CANONS

#### I.

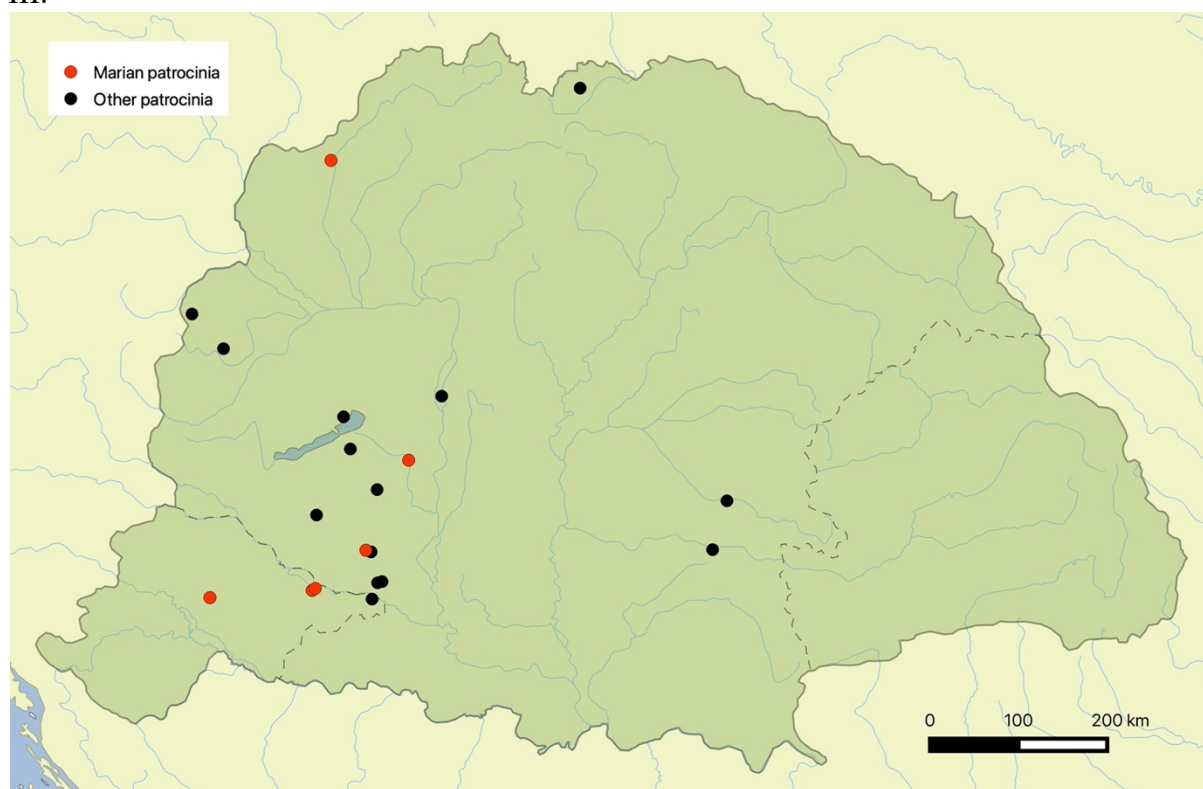


<sup>1125</sup> Presents all the known *patrocinia* associated with the respective order during the Middle Ages. Unknown *patrocinia* are not included here or in section II. Variations of Marian *patrocinia* (e.g., Mother of Mercy, Assumption of the Virgin Mary) are included within the Virgin Mary category. Marian double dedications are not included in the Virgin Mary category but are assigned the same blue tone as the Virgin Mary category. When an order inherited a monastery with an existing *patrocinium* and kept that *patrocinium* it is not included with the data for the order that inherited the *patrocinium*, since it does not represent a deliberate choice on the part of the new owner.

II.

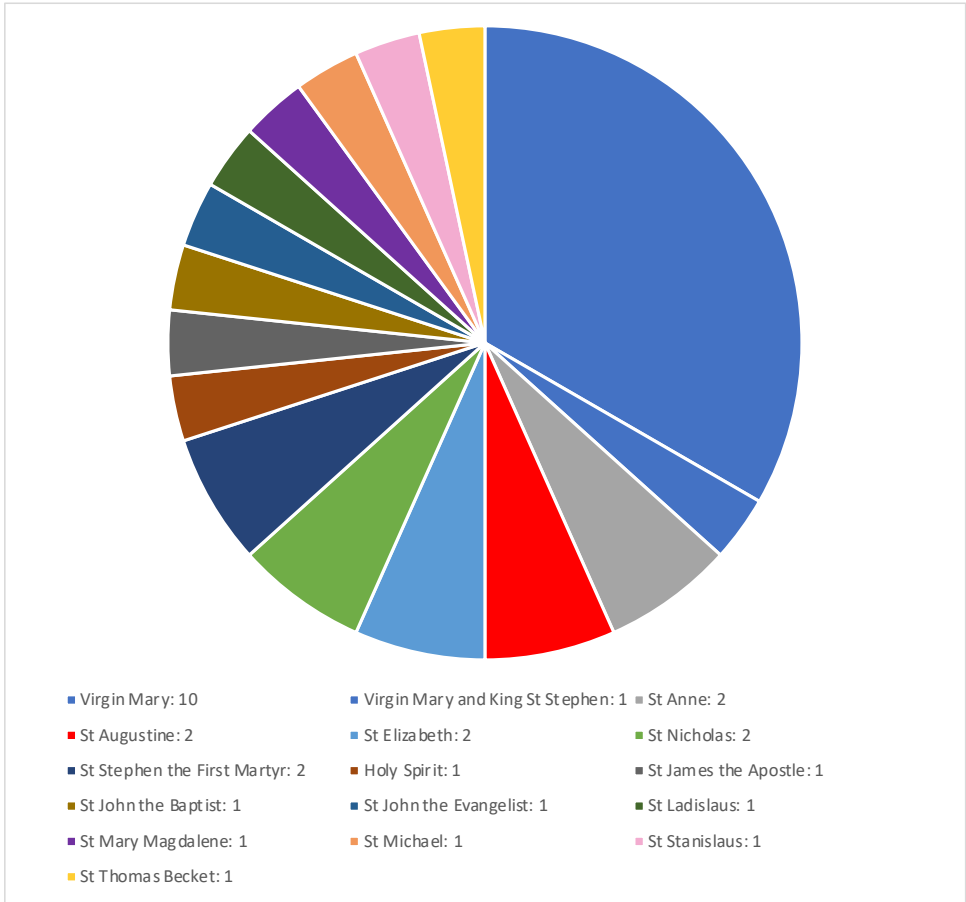


III.

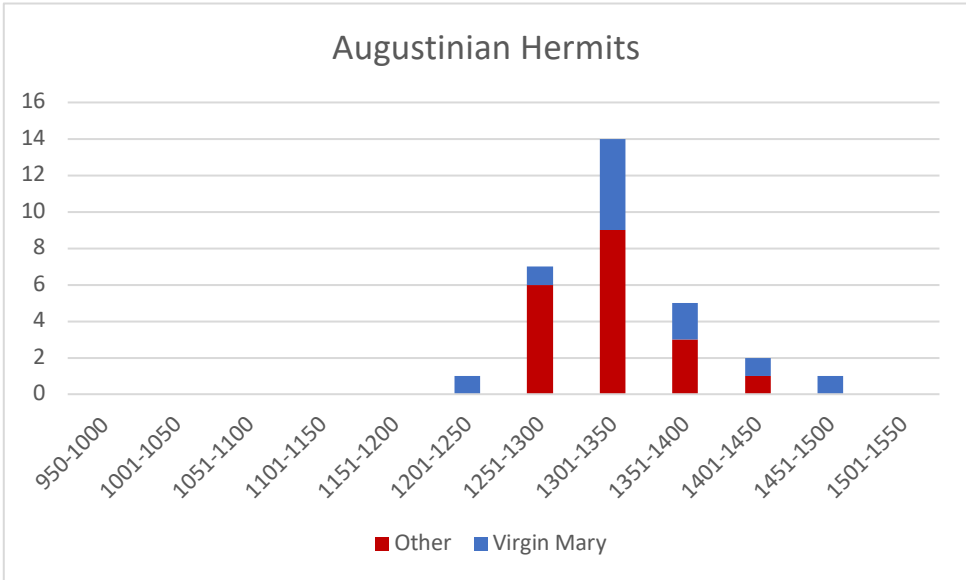


2. AUGUSTINIAN HERMITS

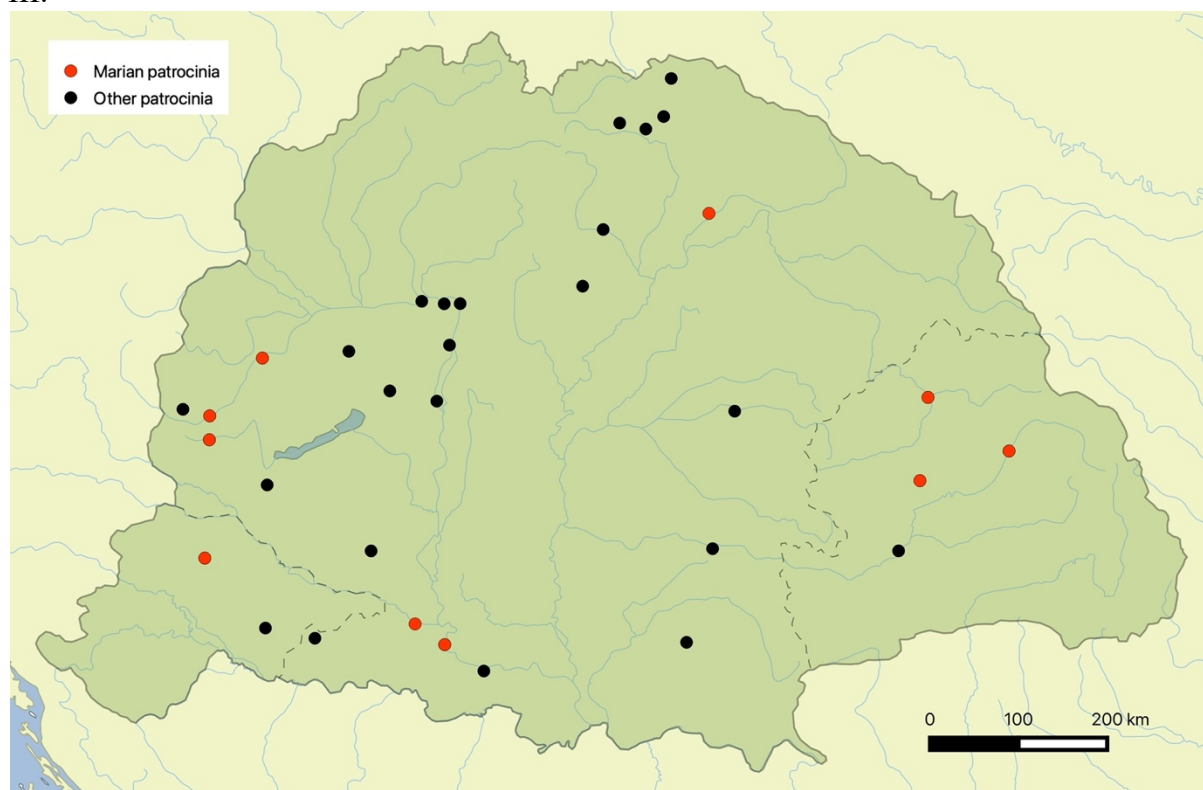
I.



II.

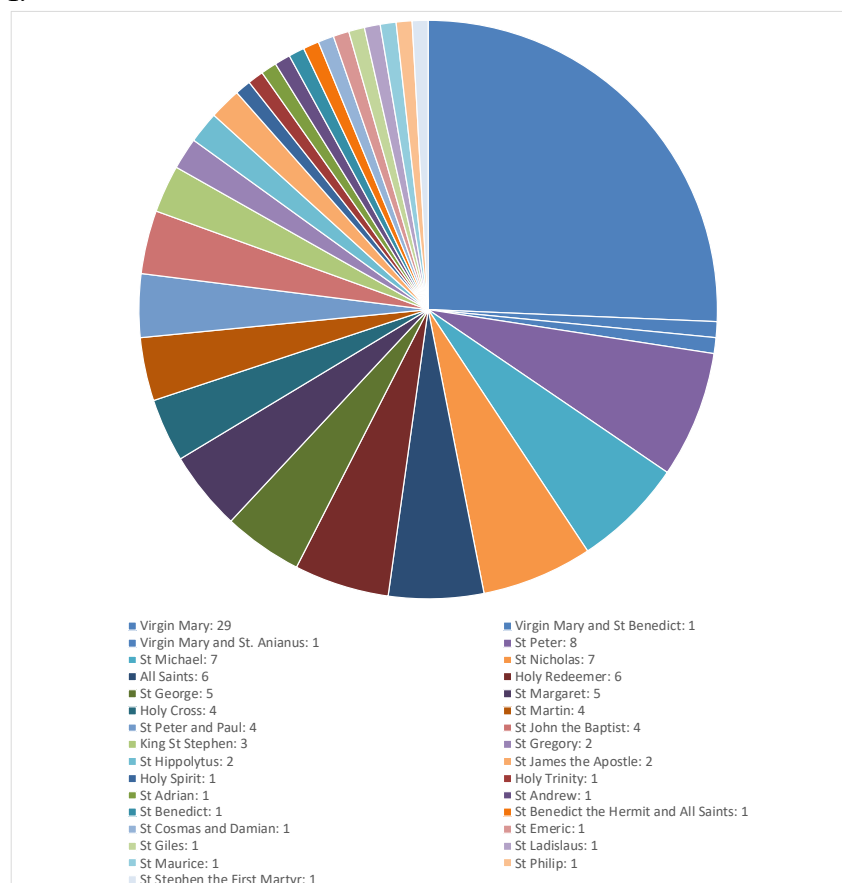


## III.



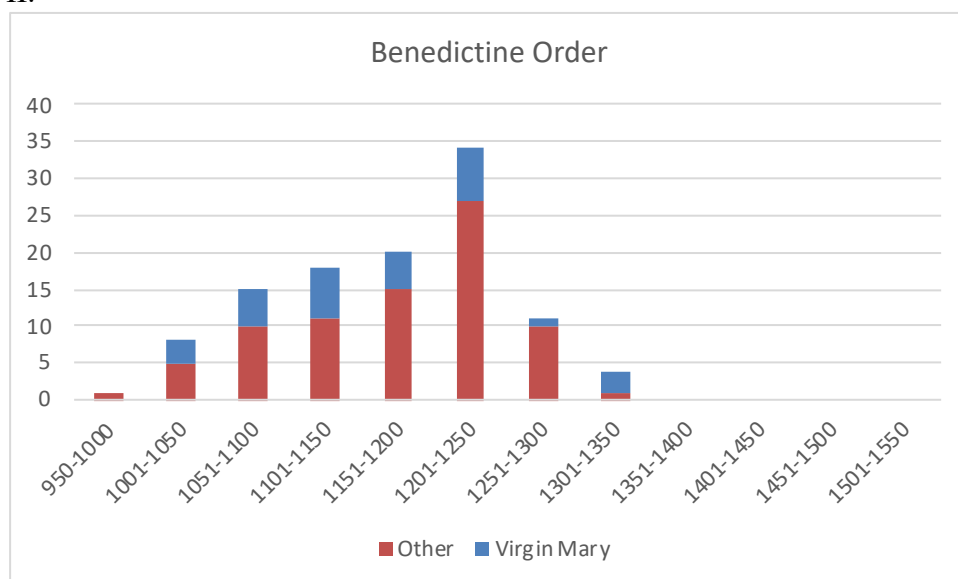
## 3. BENEDICTINE

## I.

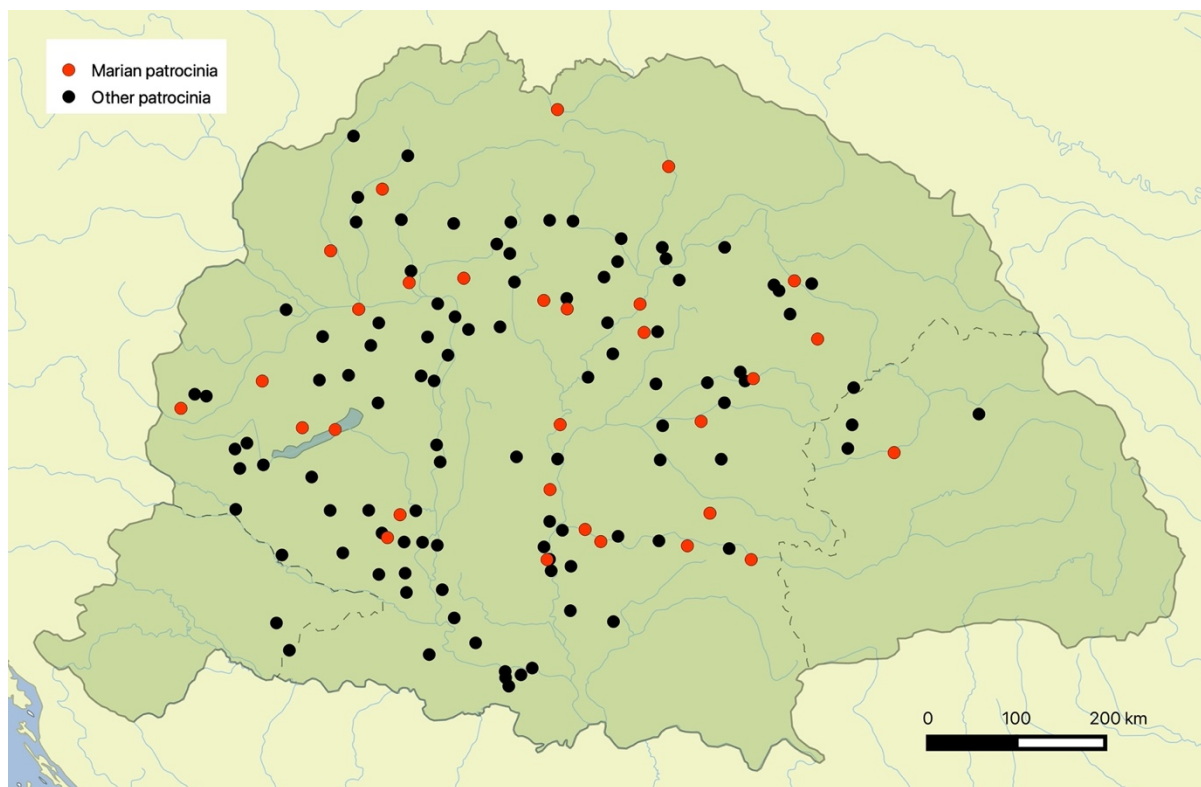




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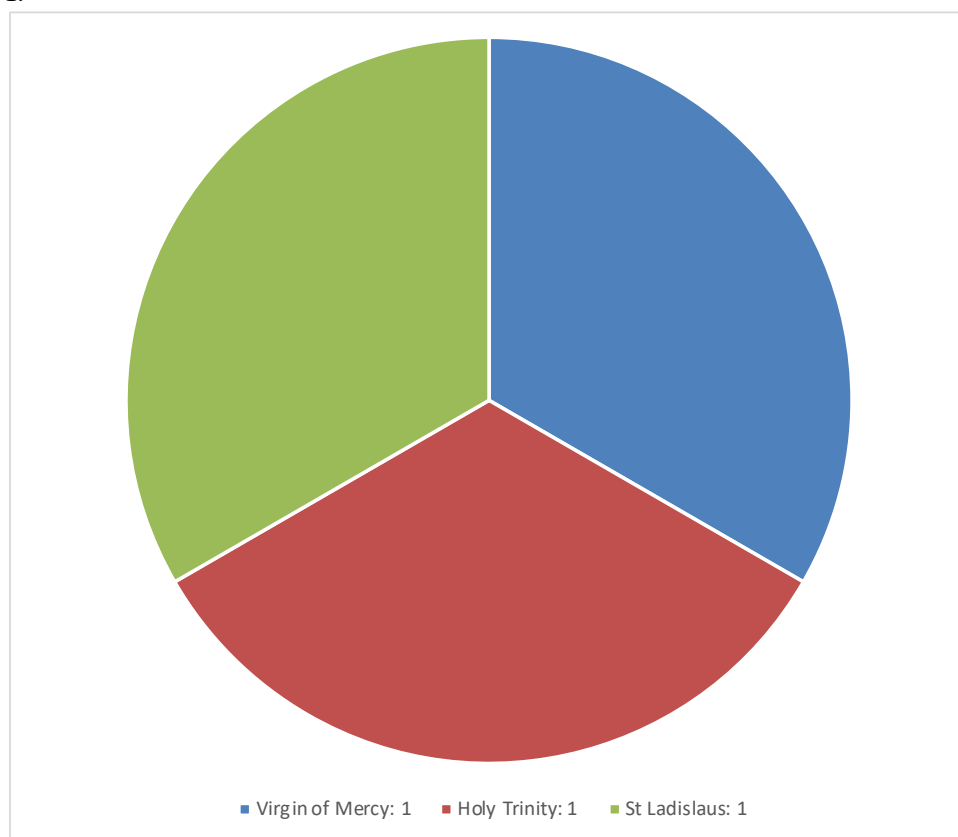


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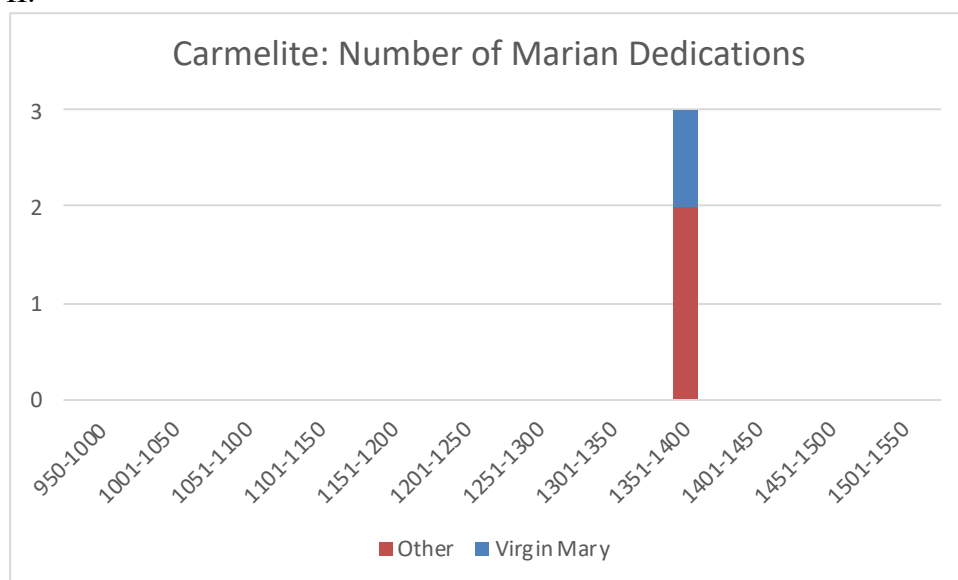


#### 4. CARMELITE

I.<sup>1126</sup>

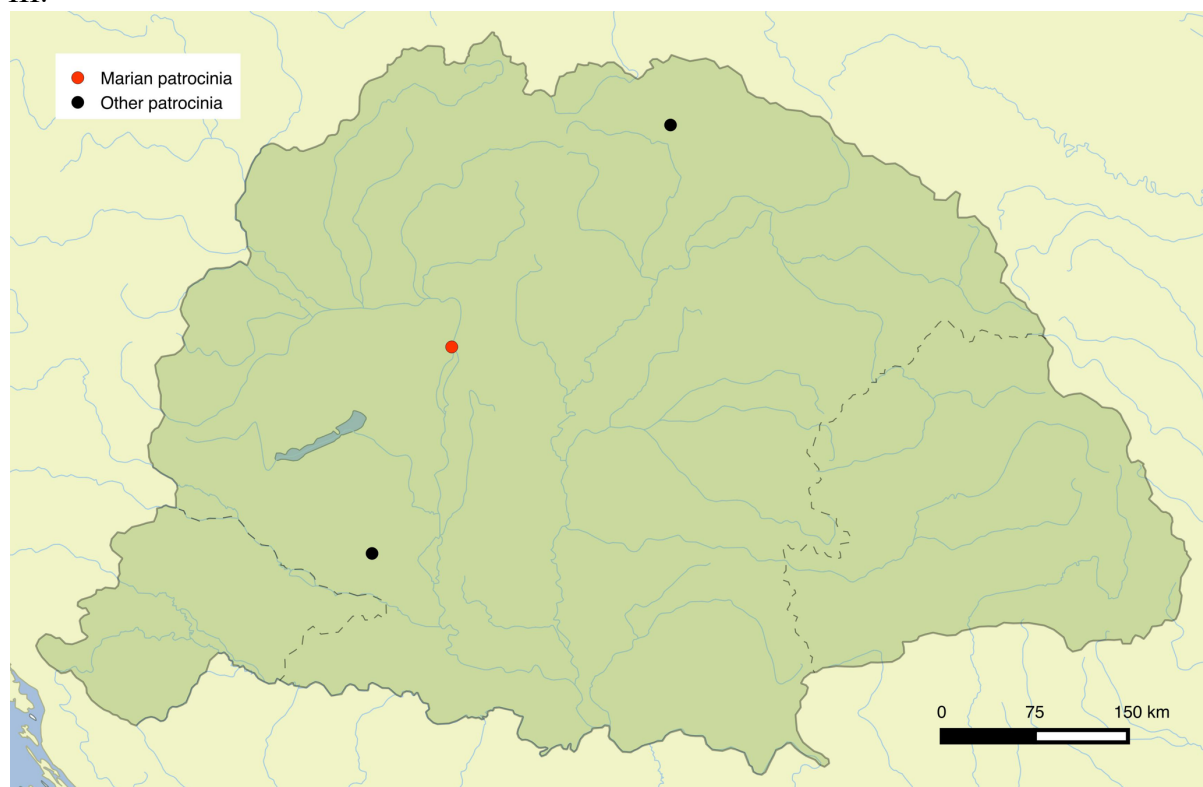


II.



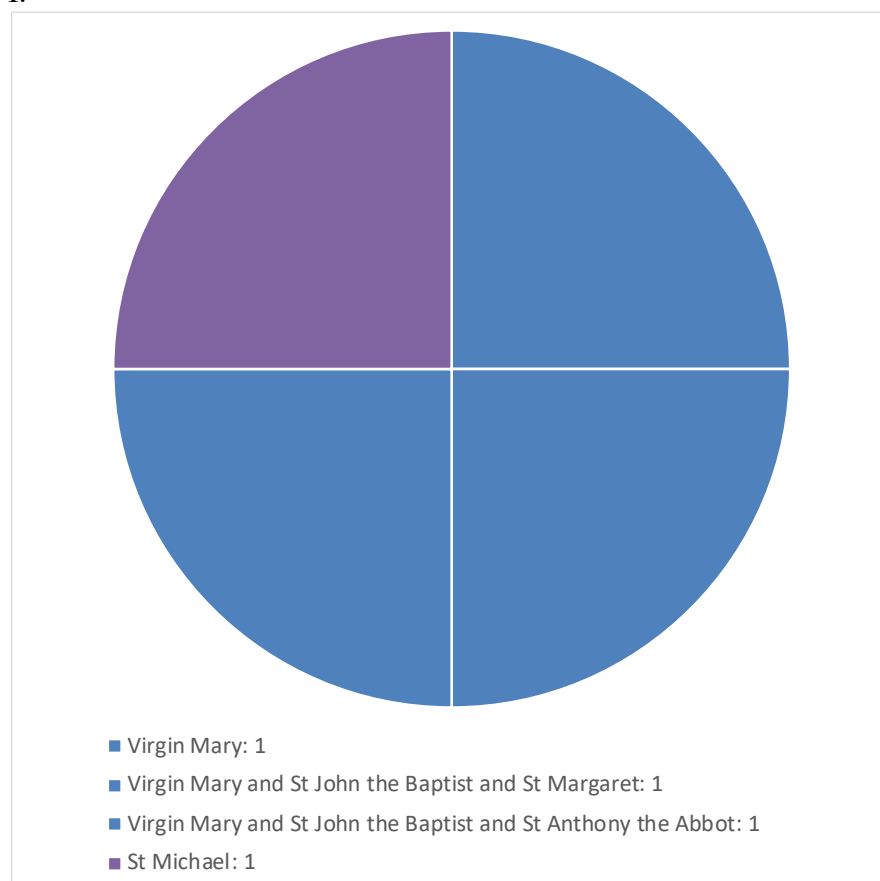
<sup>1126</sup> The Virgin of Mercy Carmelite monastery, located in the suburb of Buda-Taschental, was alternatively known under the title of the Three Marys (the Virgin Mary, Mary Magdalene, and Mary Salome).

III.

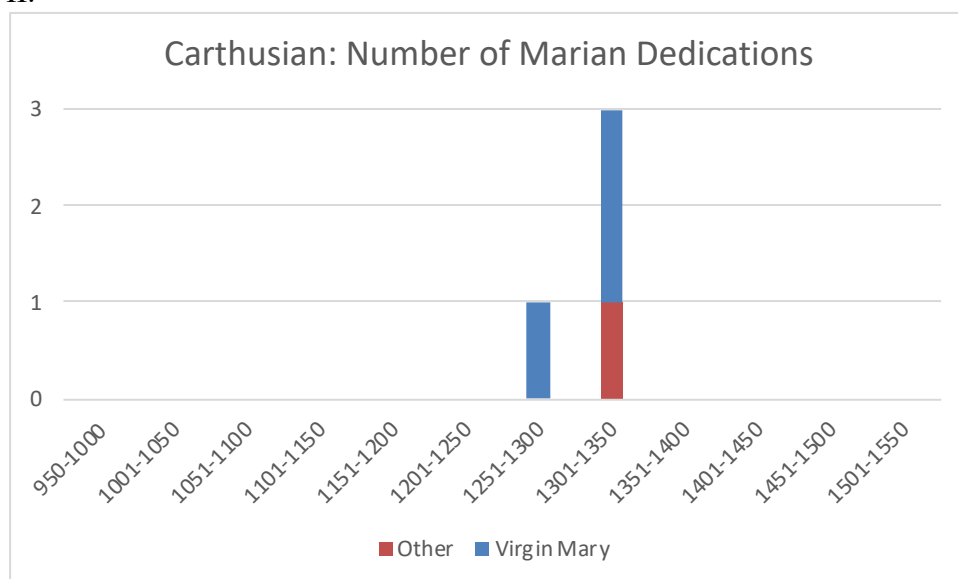


## 5. CARTHUSIAN

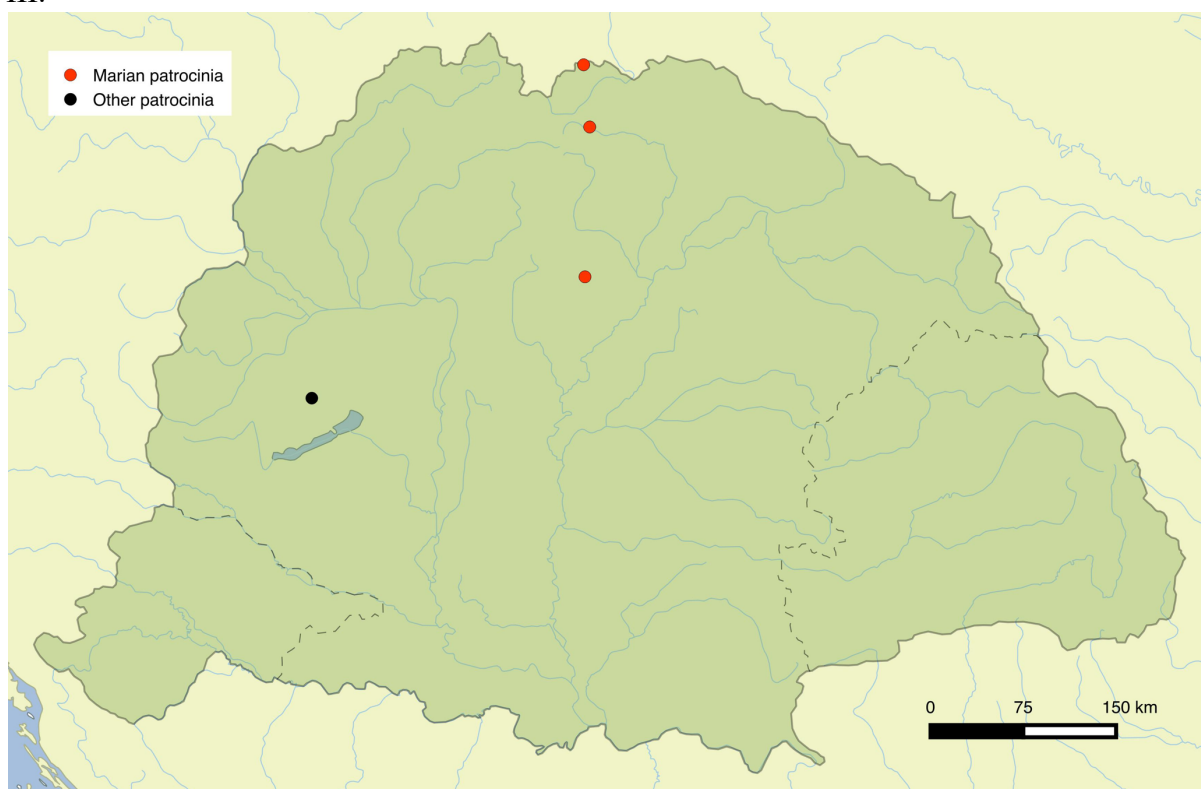
I.



II.

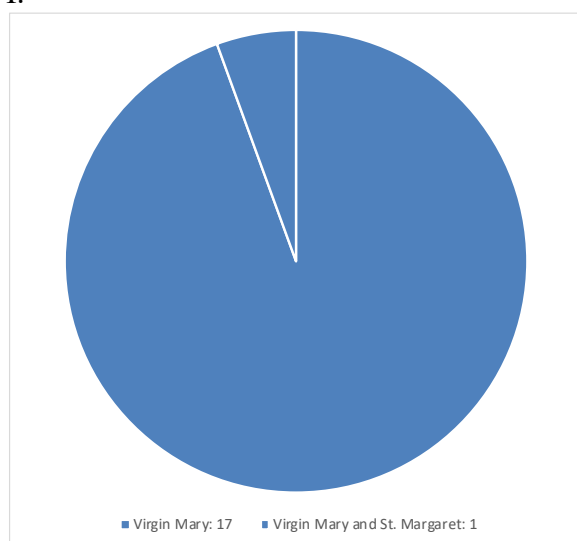


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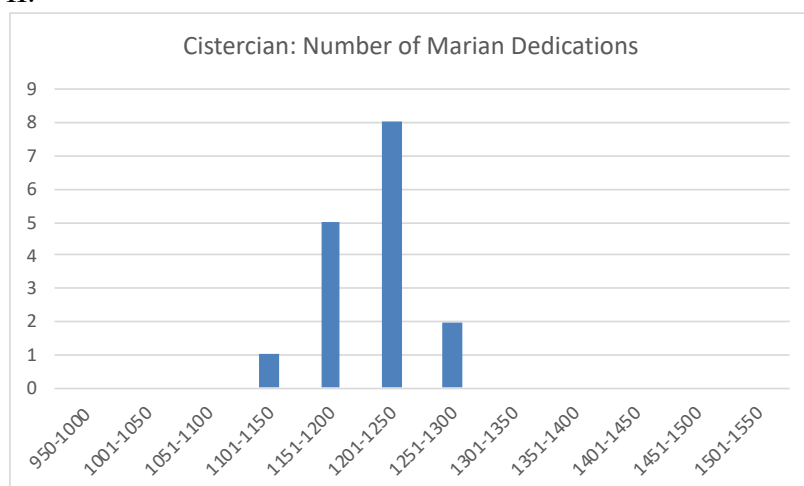


## 6. CISTERCIAN

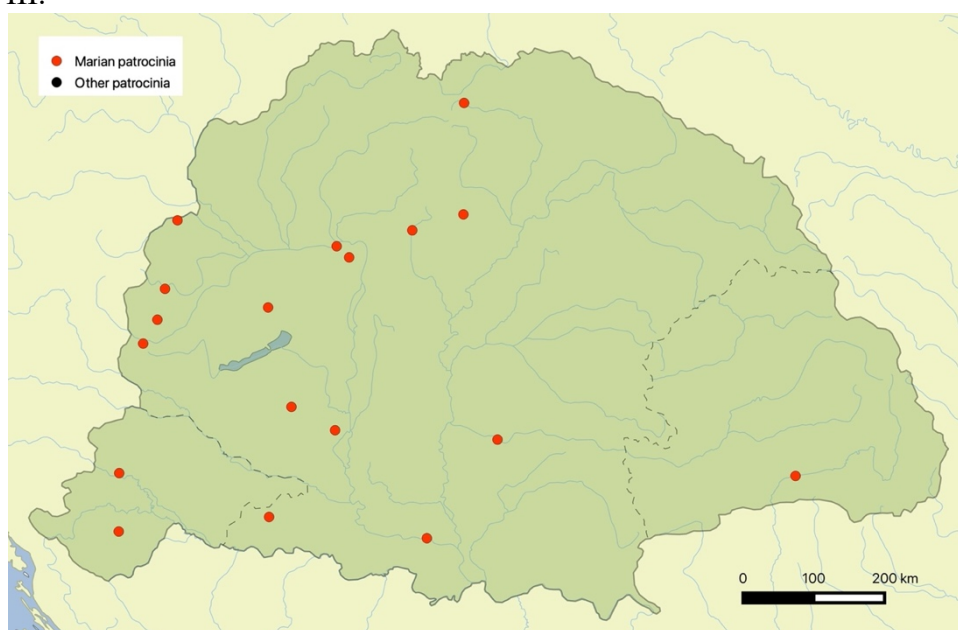
### I.



### II.

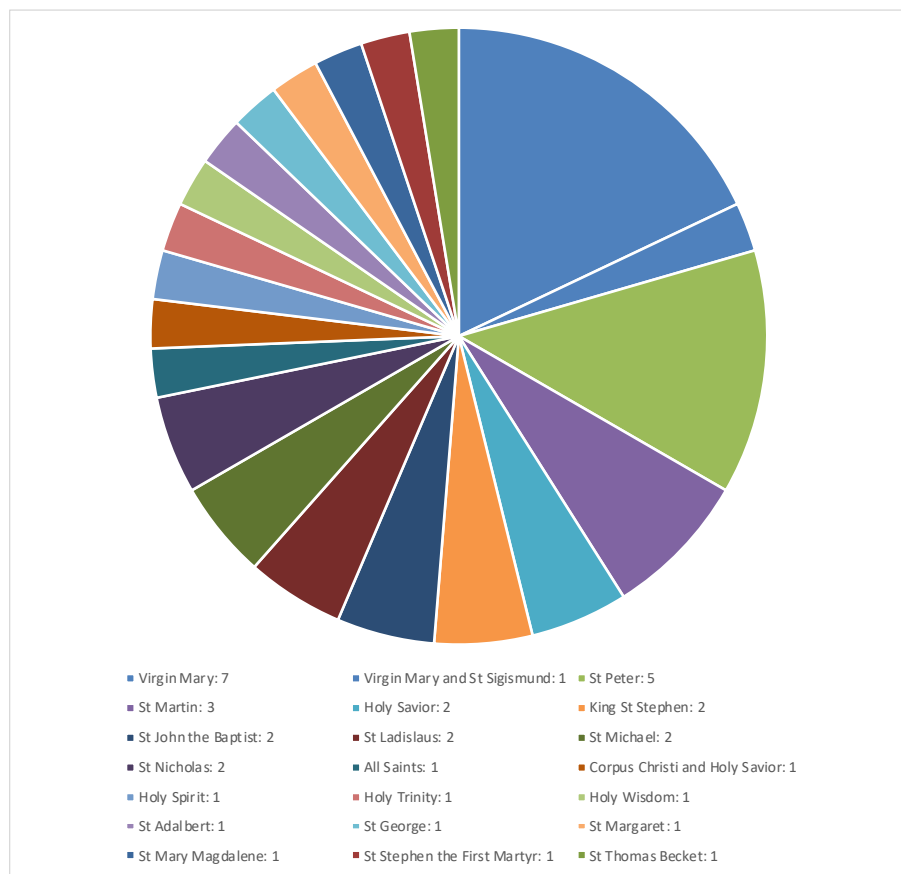


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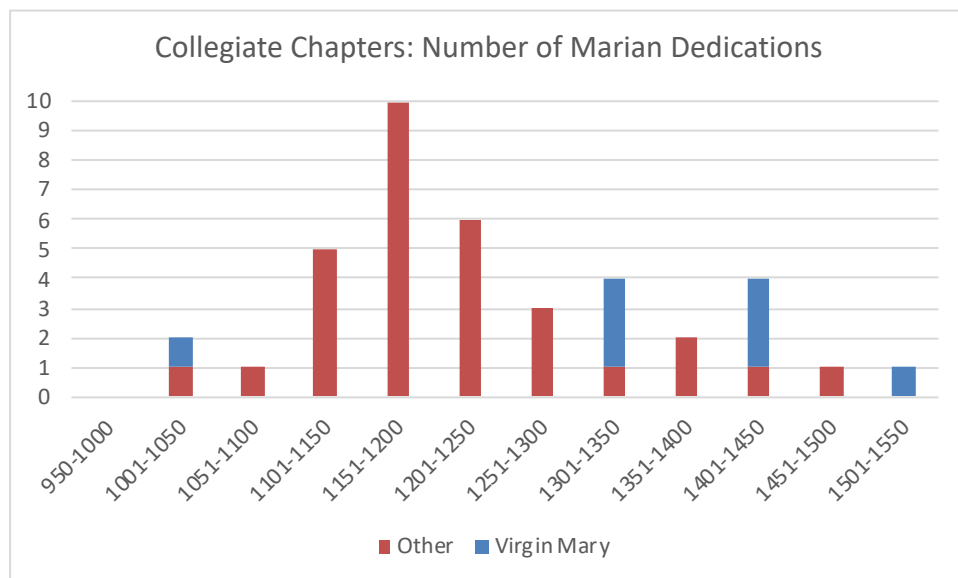


## 7. COLLEGIATE CHAPTERS

I.<sup>1127</sup>



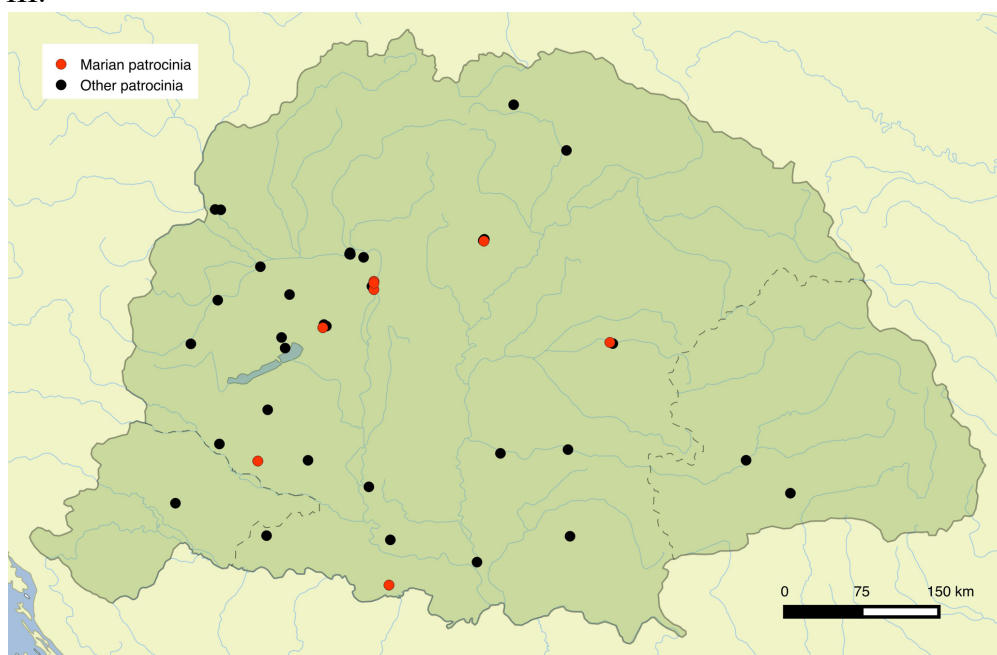
II.<sup>1128</sup>



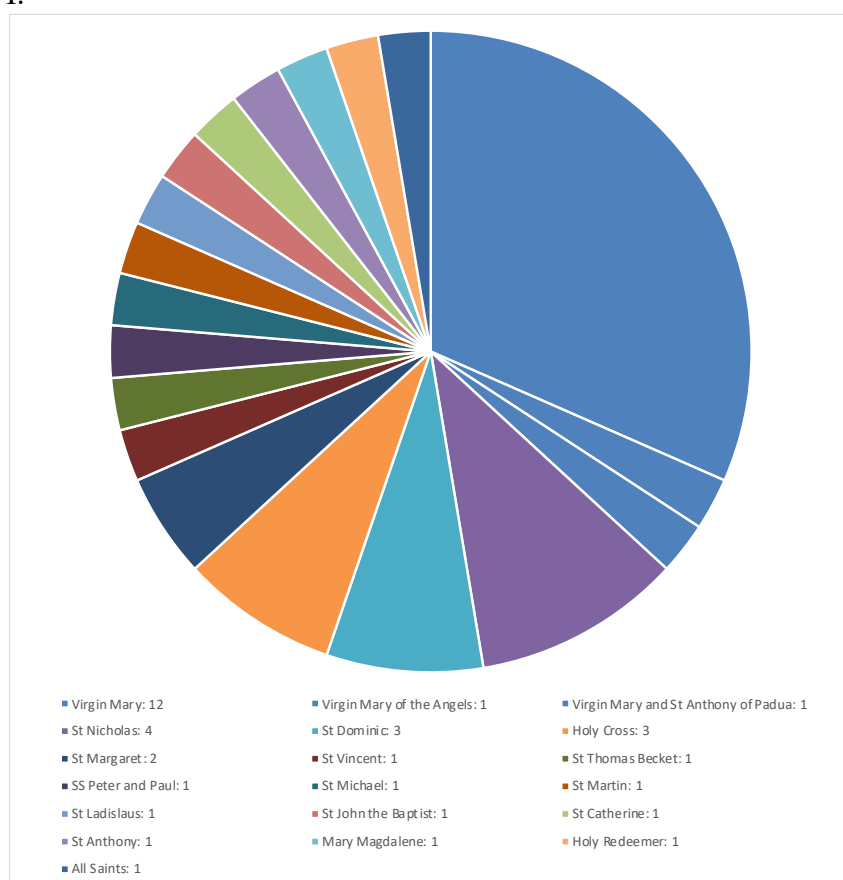
<sup>1127</sup> One of the collegiate chapters in Óbuda was originally dedicated to St. Peter, but this *patrocinium* was later changed to the Virgin Mary. Because of this, both St. Peter and the Virgin Mary are separately assigned to the Óbuda entry.

<sup>1128</sup> Because one of the collegiate chapters in Óbuda was changed in the 1330s from St. Peter to the Virgin Mary, an entry for St. Peter is allotted to the 1051–1100 time frame (when the chapter was originally founded) and an entry is allotted for the Virgin Mary to the 1301–1350 time frame (when the dedicated was changed).

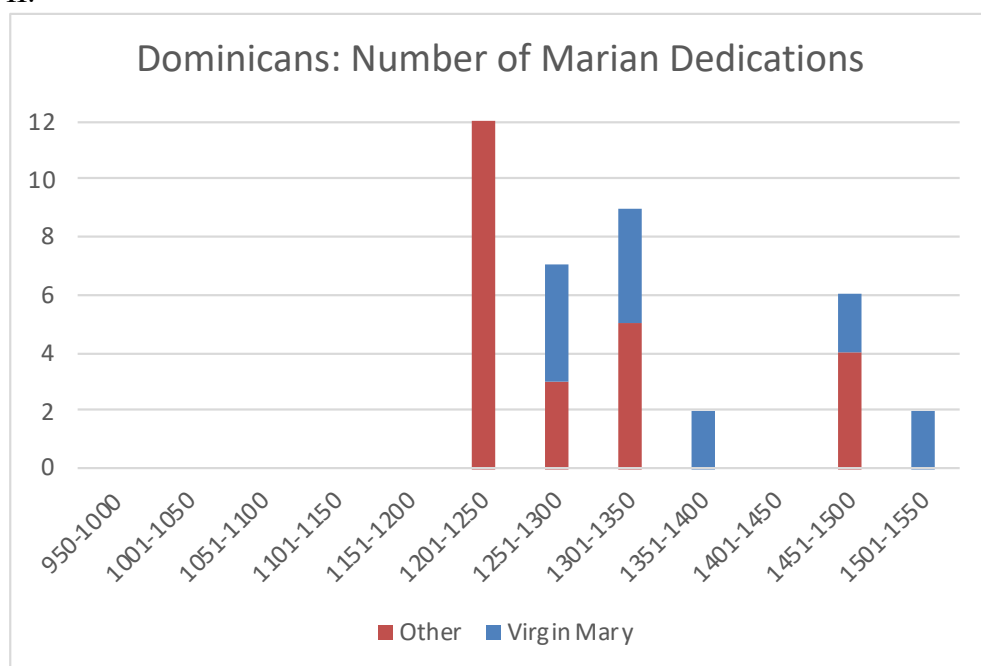
## III.



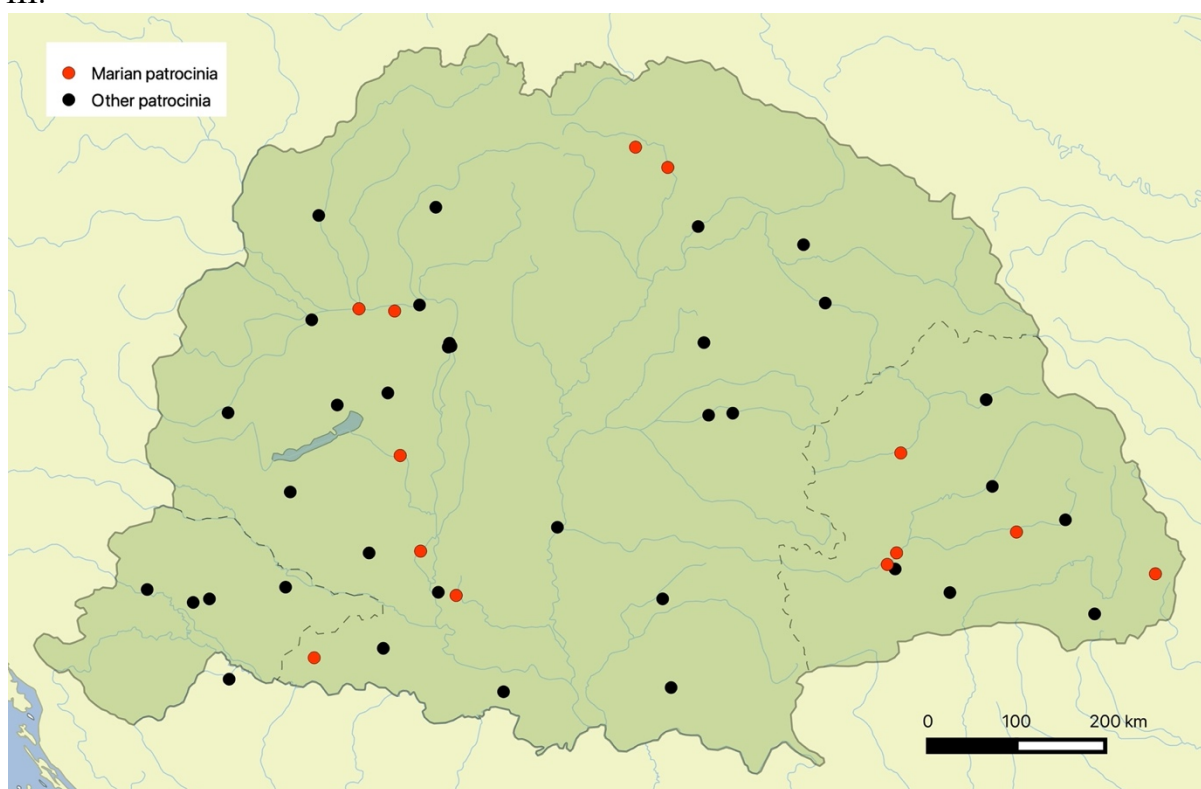
## 8. DOMINICAN

I.<sup>1129</sup>

<sup>1129</sup> Because the Dominican house at Esztergom was rededicated to St. Martin in 1241, an entry is allotted for both St. Martin and St. Catherine (the original patron).

II.<sup>1130</sup>

III.

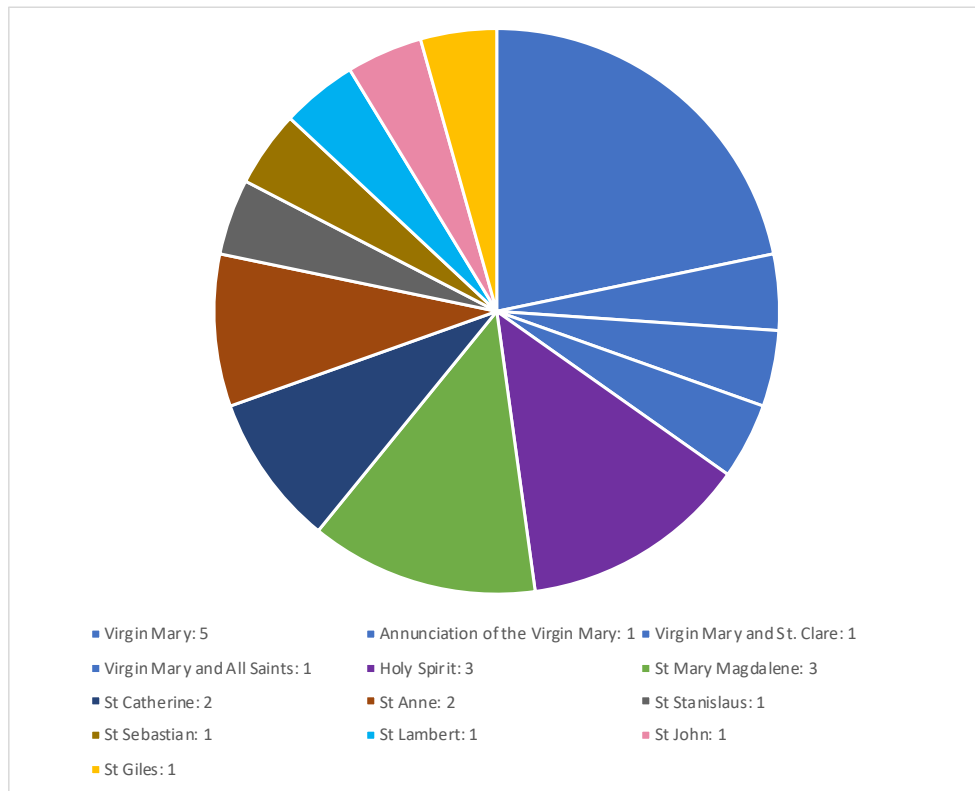


<sup>1130</sup> St. Martin added in 1201–1250 column.

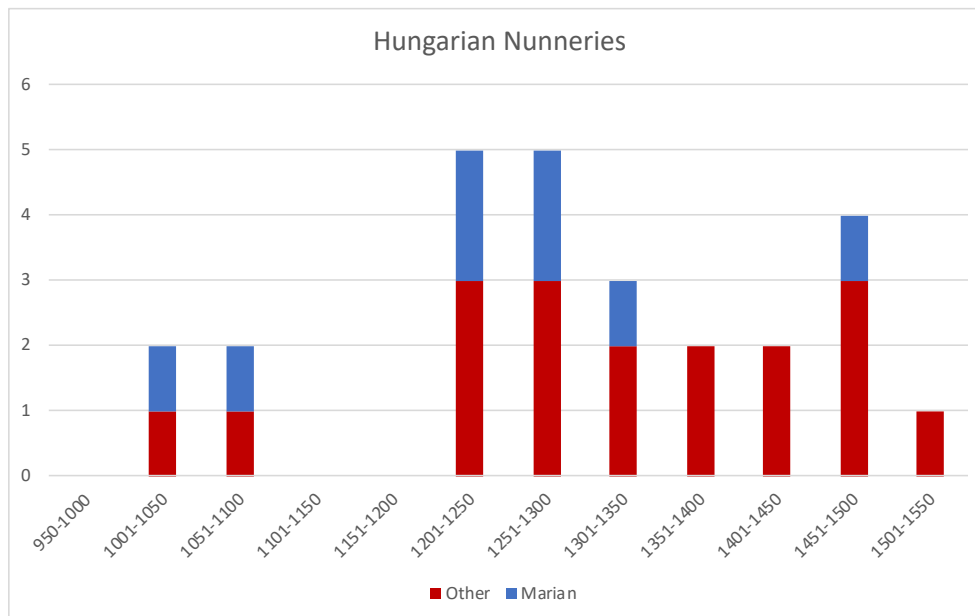


## 9. FEMALE ORDERS

I.<sup>1131</sup>

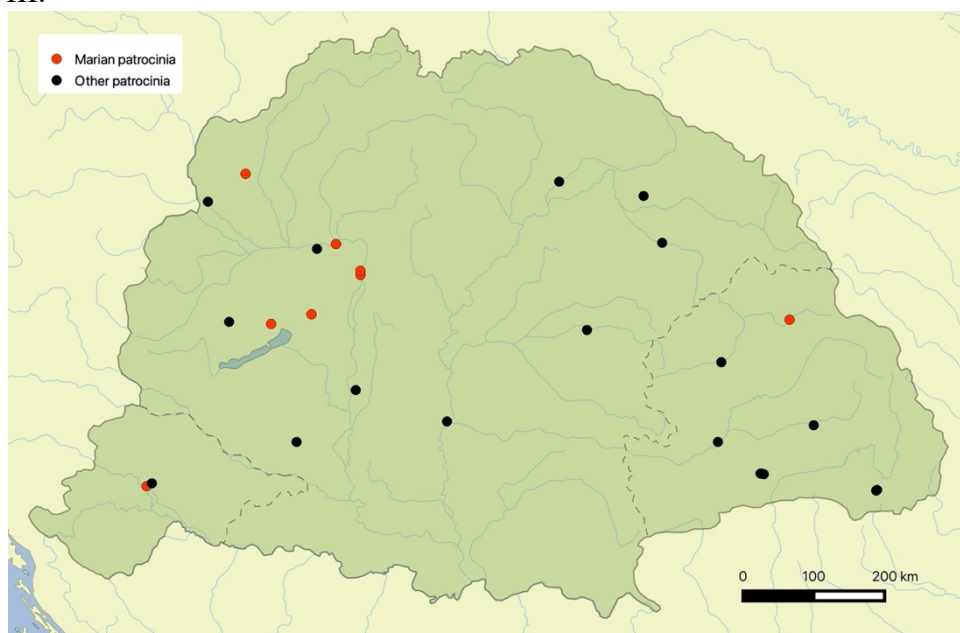


II.

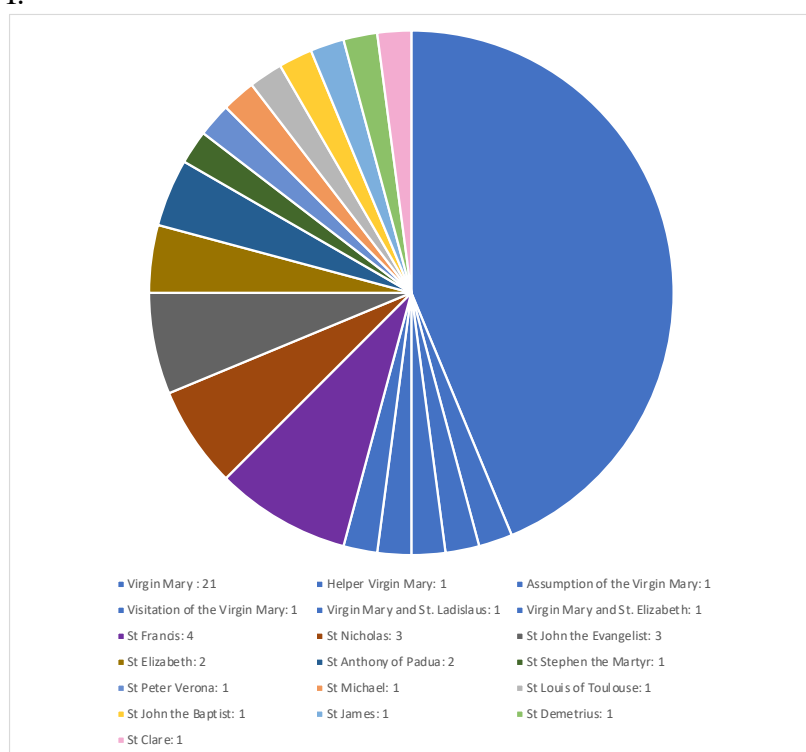


<sup>1131</sup> Because there are so few female houses in medieval Hungary (only twenty-three with known *patrocinia*), they are included together in the following graphs and map. The nunneries come from the following orders: Benedictine, Cistercian, Dominican, Greek, Poor Clares, and Premonstratensian.

## III.

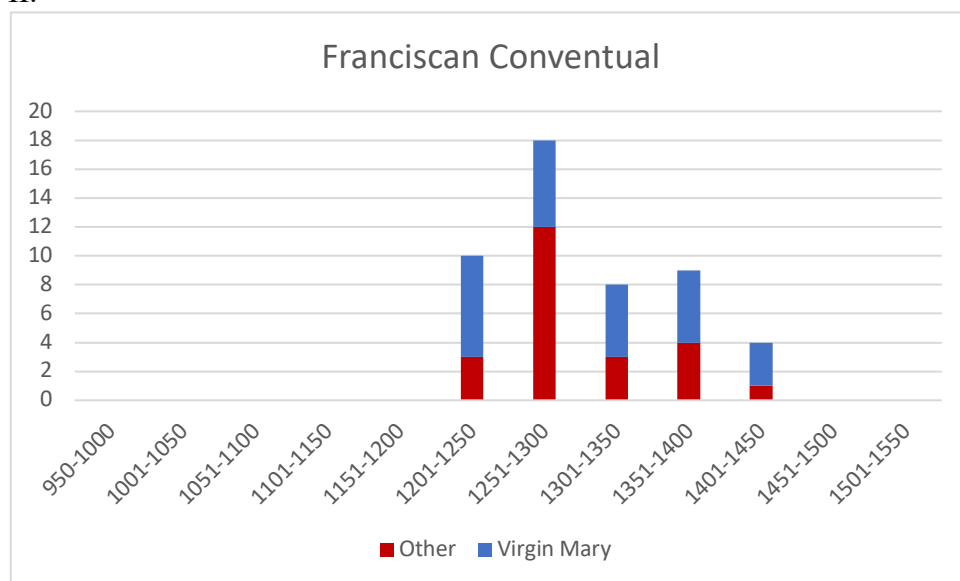


## 10. FRANCISCAN (CONVENTUAL)

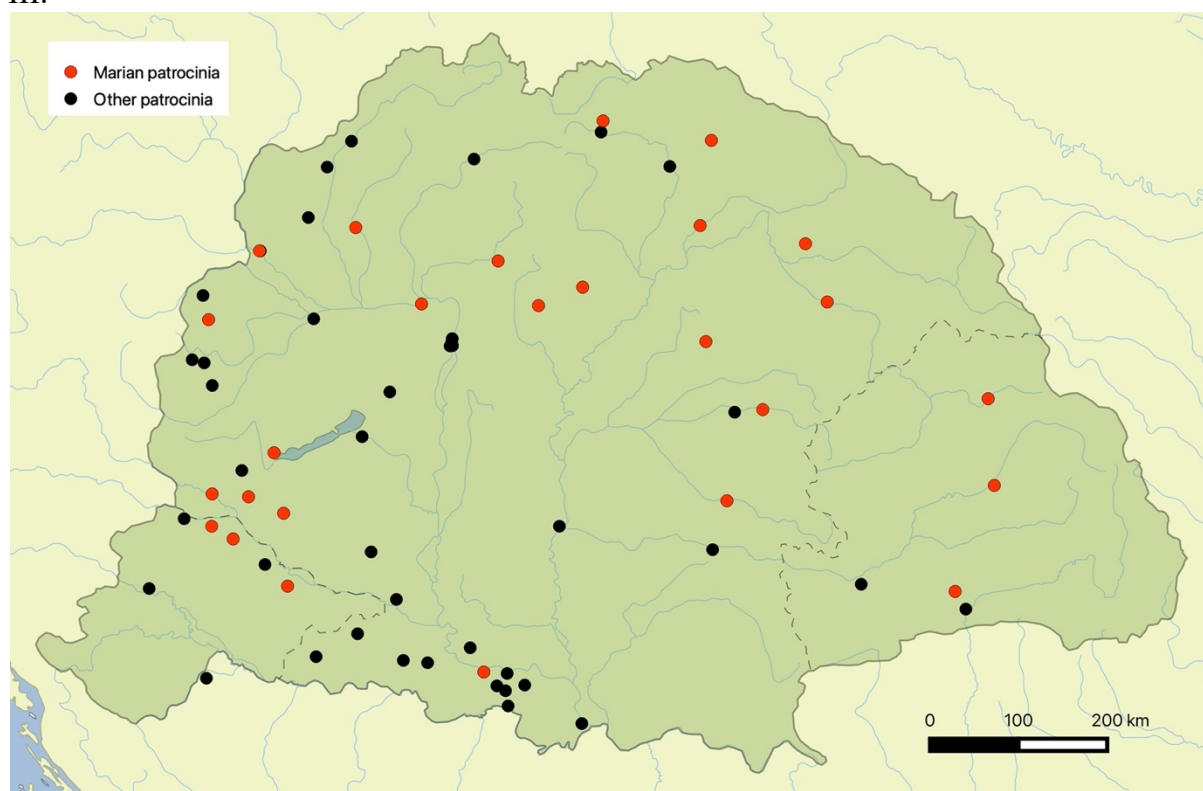
I.<sup>1132</sup>

<sup>1132</sup> Because the *patrocinium* of the Conventual Franciscan house in Szeged is debated (either St. Elizabeth or the Holy Trinity), it is not included in the below graph. Additionally, while the house at Kismarton was dedicated to St. Michael at the time of its foundation in 1386, it is listed as being dedicated to St. John in 1414 (signifying a possible second *patrocinium* or a change in *patrocinium*). Therefore, an entry is given to both St. Michael and St. John in the graph. The Franciscan convent of Bratislava, originally dedicated to St. John the Evangelist, was later rededicated to the Virgin Mary, so both St. John and the Virgin Mary are included in the graph for this entry. The Sibiu convent was originally dedicated to St. Elizabeth, but in 1444 it was referred to as dedicated to the Virgin Mary and St. Elizabeth, thus, St. Elizabeth and the double *patrocinium* of St. Elizabeth and the Virgin Mary are included in the graph.

II.

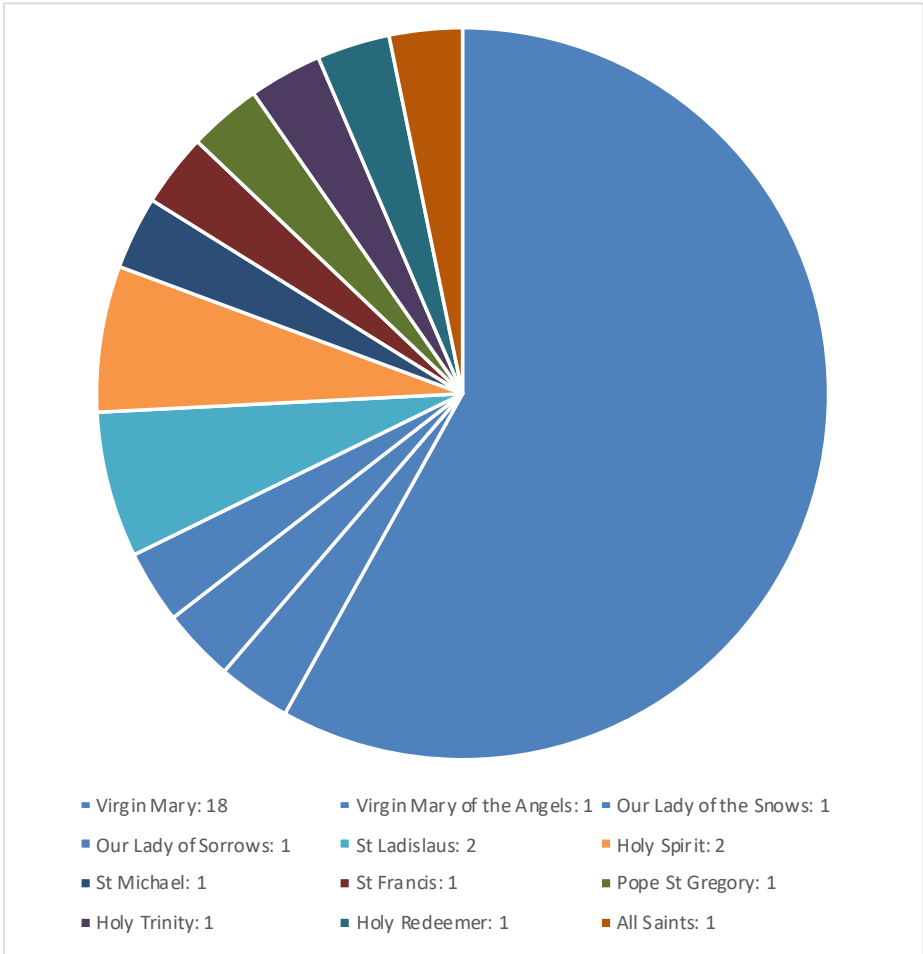


III.

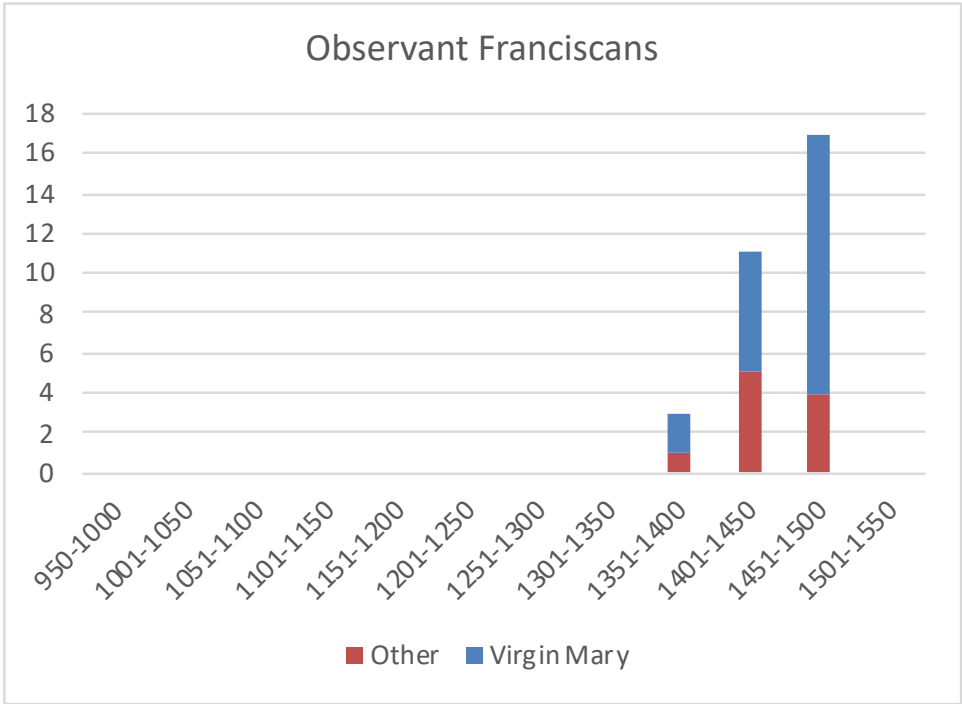


11. FRANCISCAN (OBSERVANT)

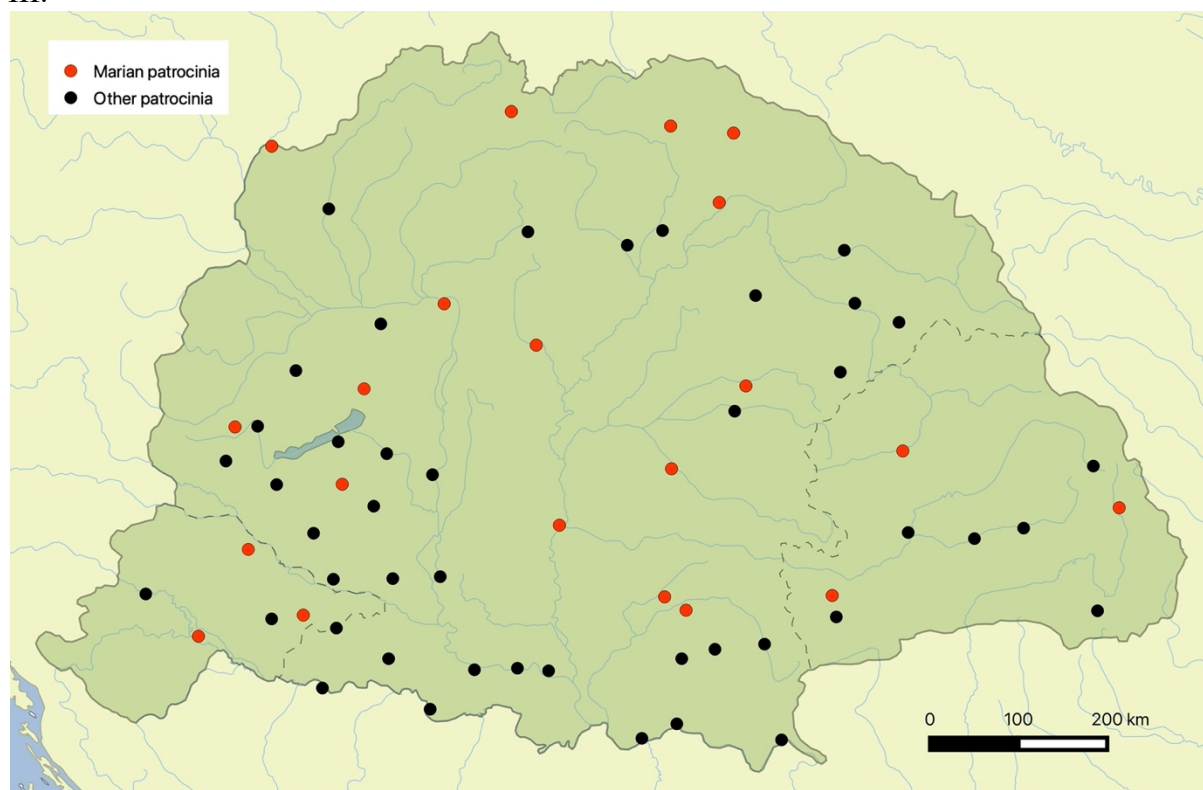
I.



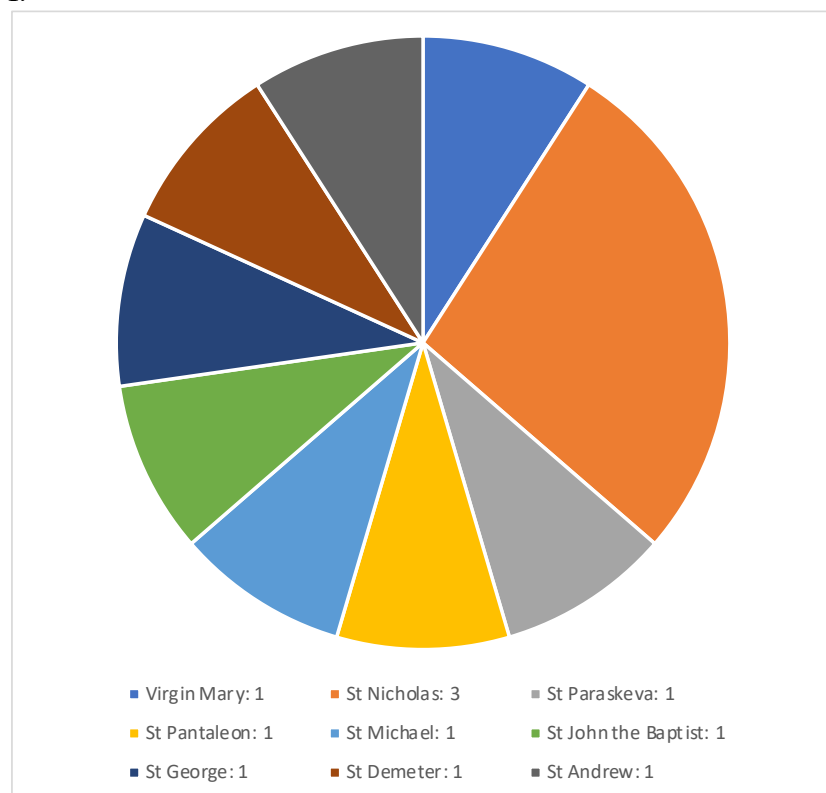
II.



## III.

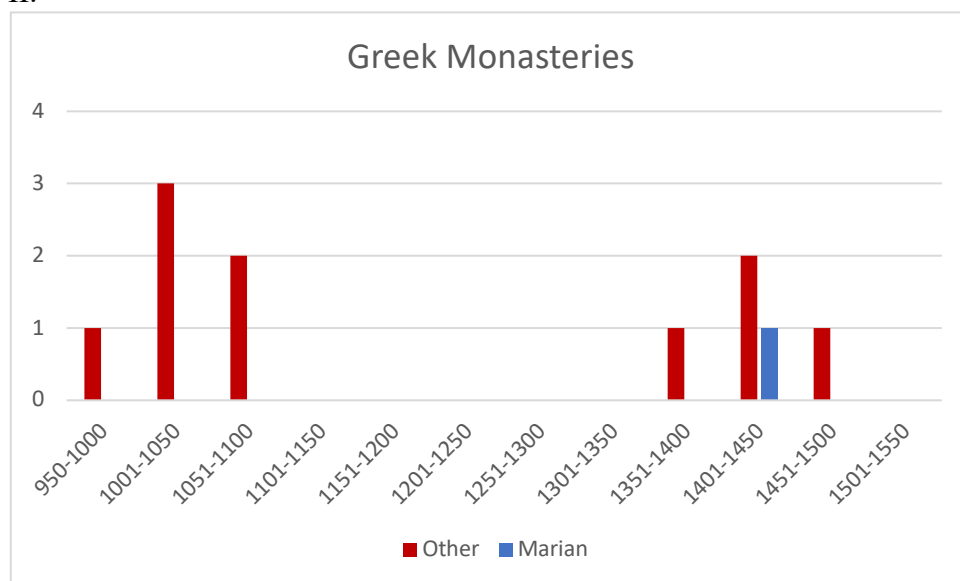
12. GREEK<sup>1133</sup>

## I.

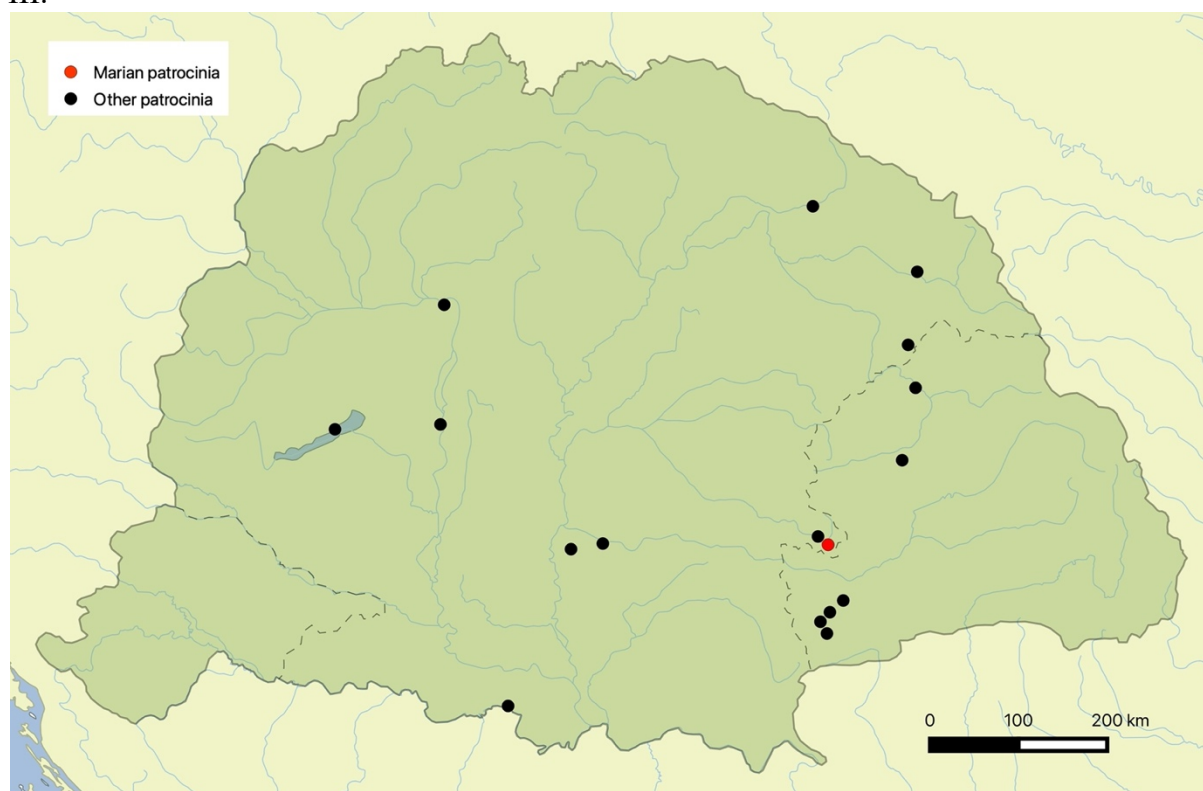


<sup>1133</sup> Does not include the fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Serbian orthodox monasteries founded in the medieval Kingdom of Hungary.

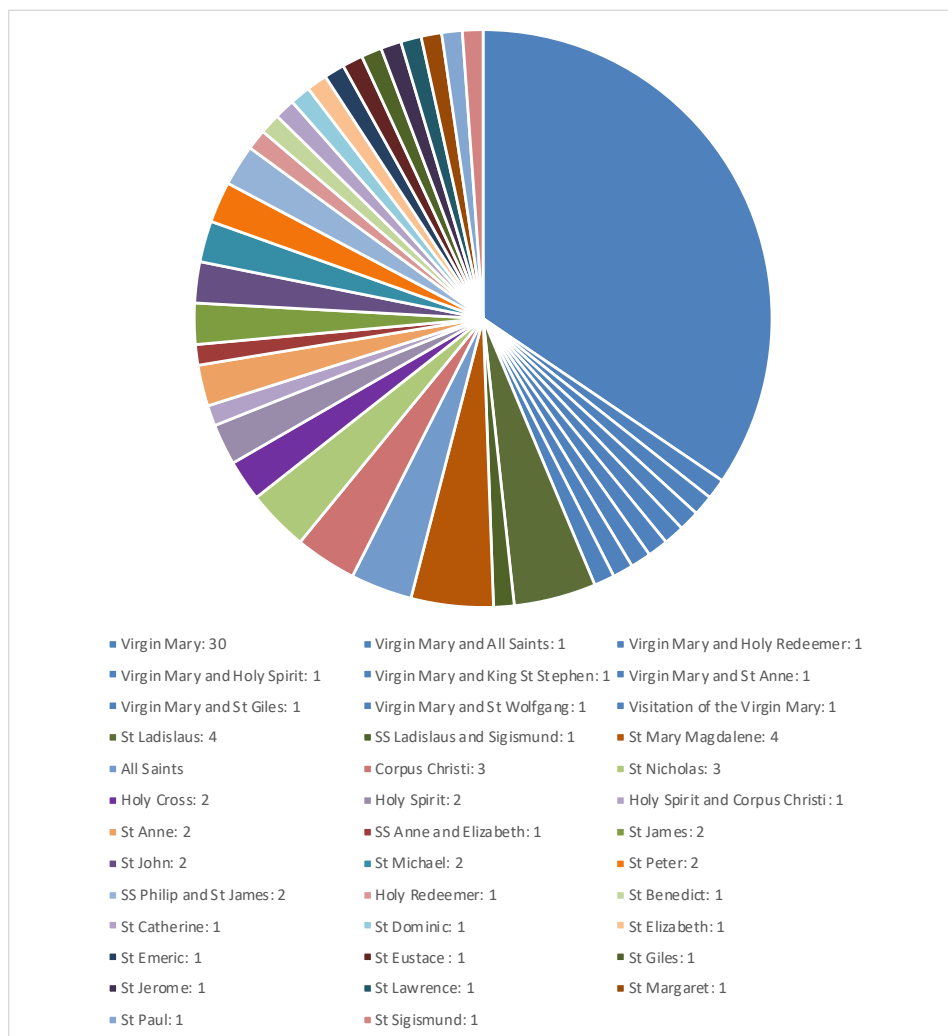
II.



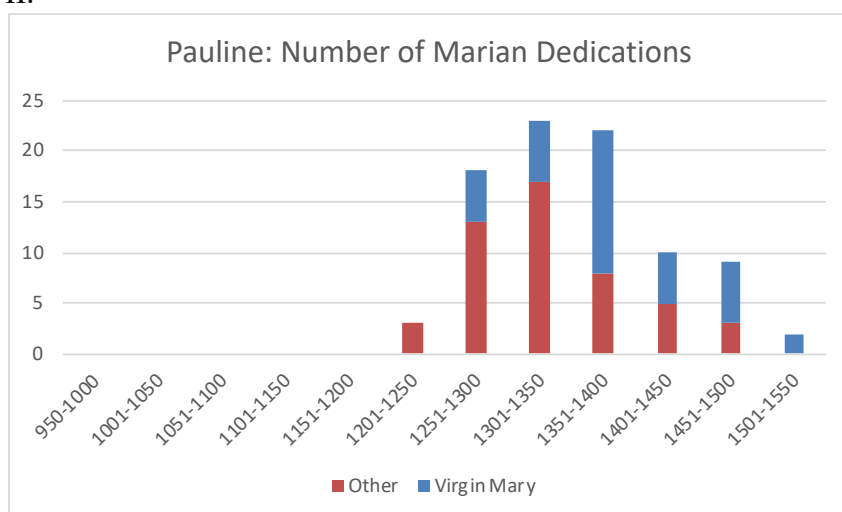
III.



## 13. PAULINE

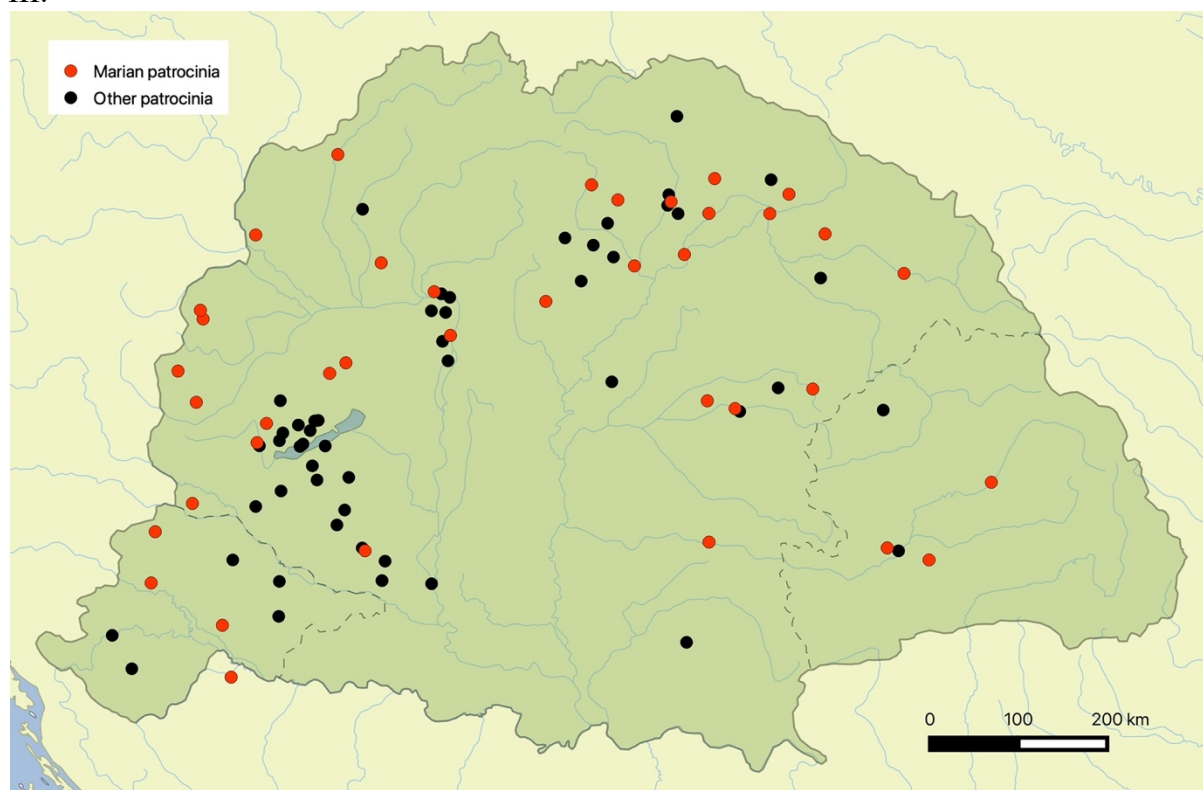
I.<sup>1134</sup>

II.



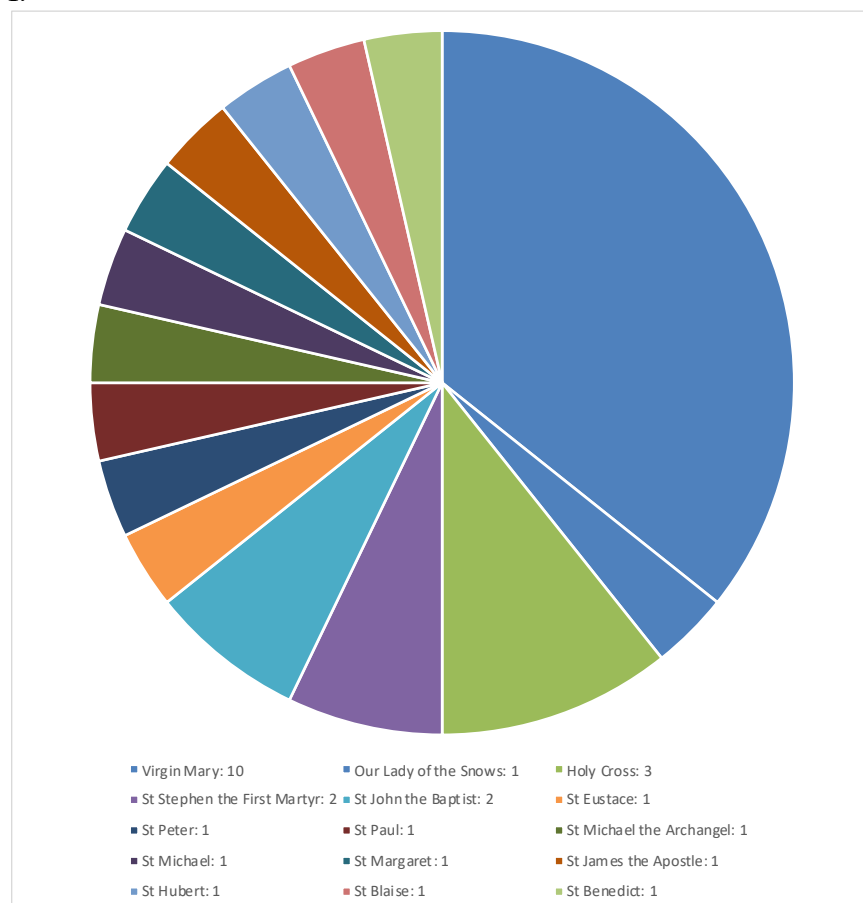
<sup>1134</sup> The Pauline monastery at Sátoraljaújhely was dedicated to St. Giles in 1258, however, in 1434 it was rebuilt and reconsecrated to the Virgin Mary. Thereafter its *patrocinium* was referred to as either St. Giles and the Virgin Mary or just the Virgin Mary, so an entry is given for both St. Giles and the double *patrocinium* of the Virgin Mary and St. Giles.

III.



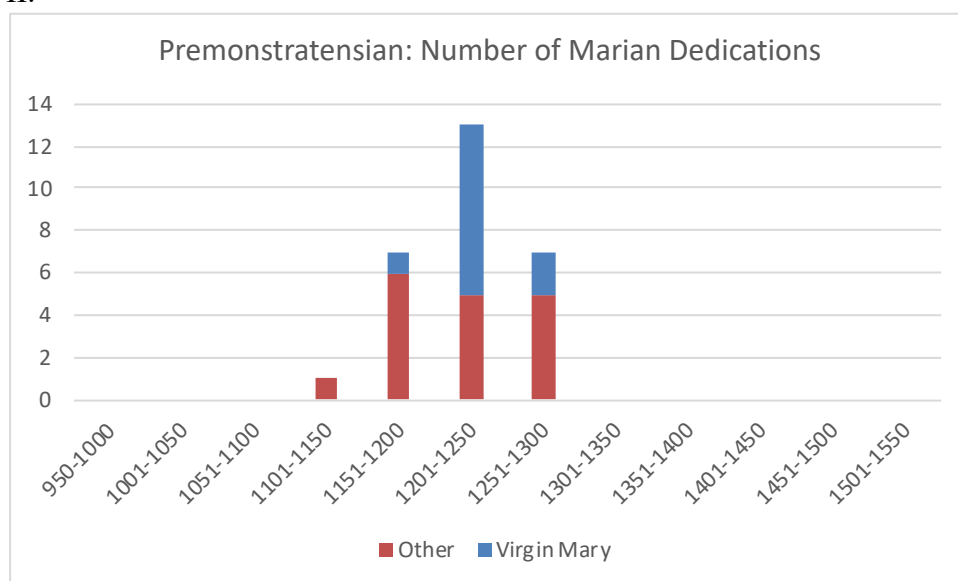
## 14. PREMONSTRATENSIAN

I.

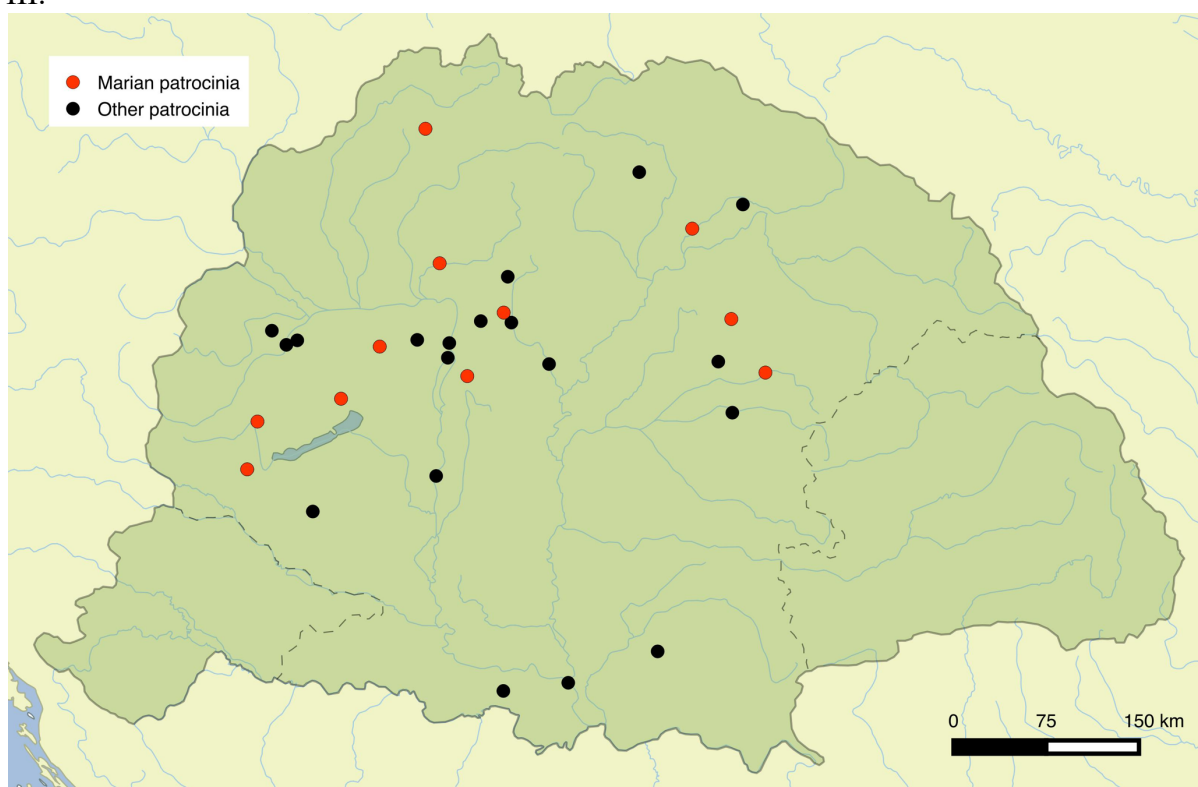




II.

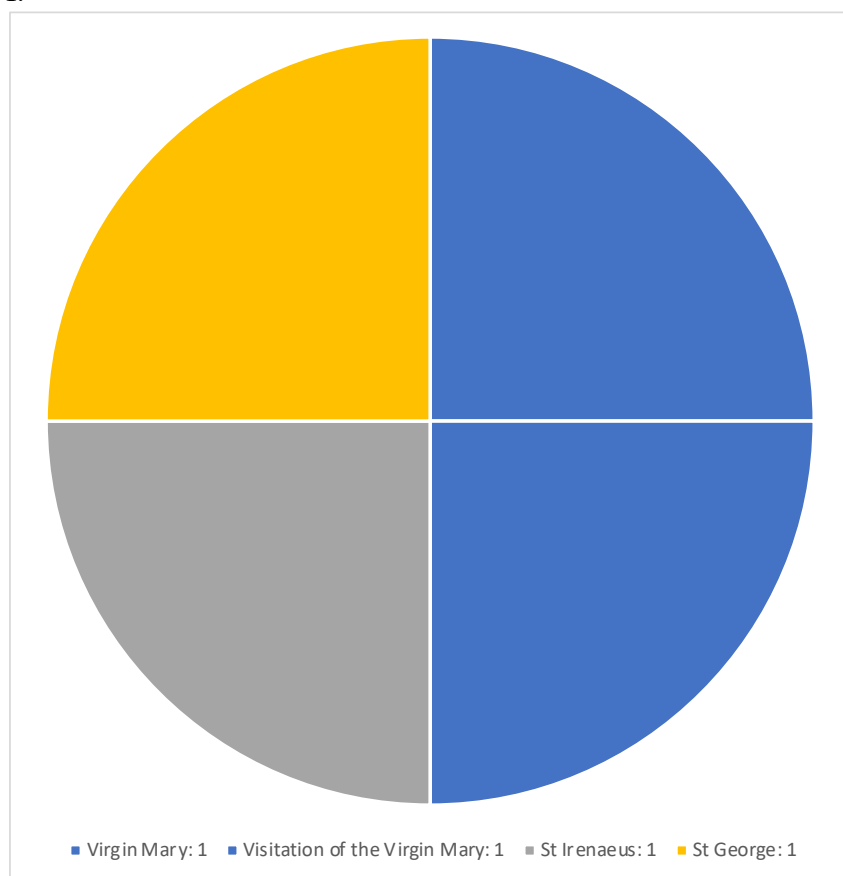


III.

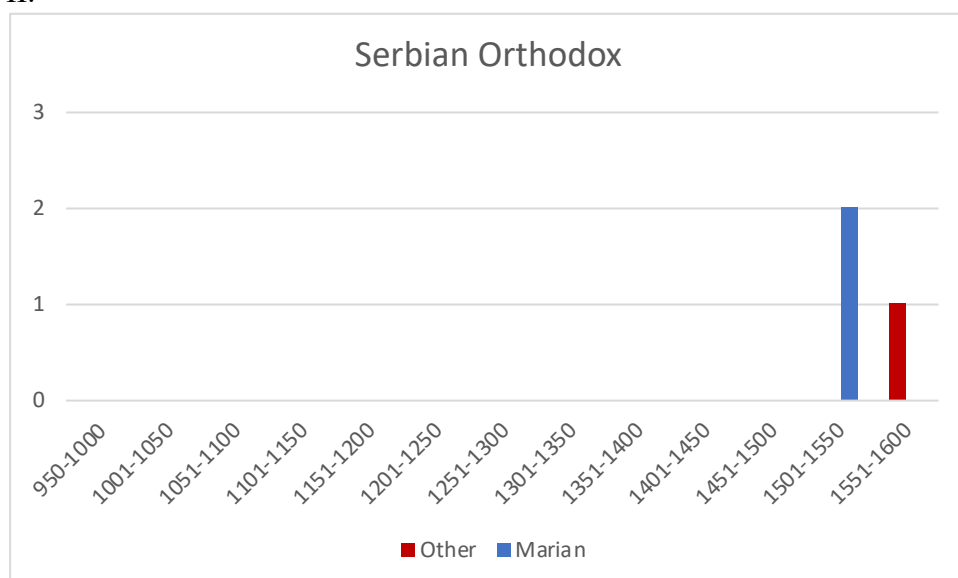


## 15. SERBIAN ORTHODOX

I.

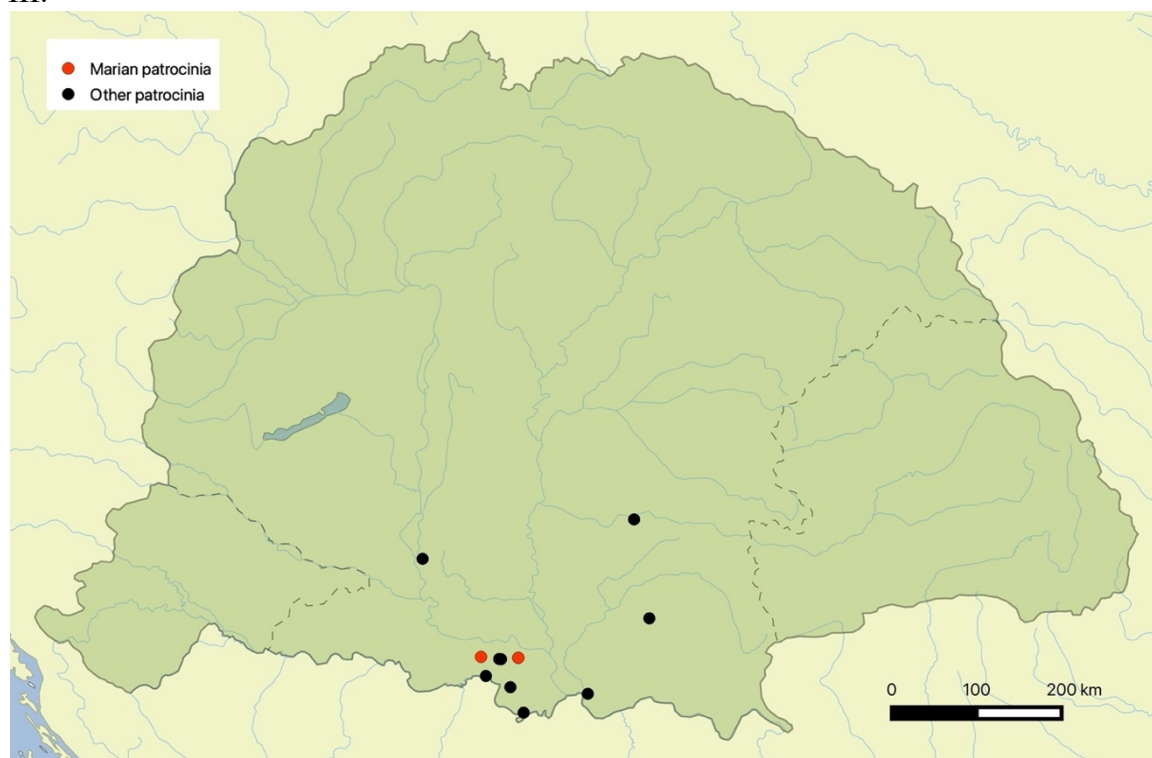
II.<sup>1135</sup>

CEU eTD Collection



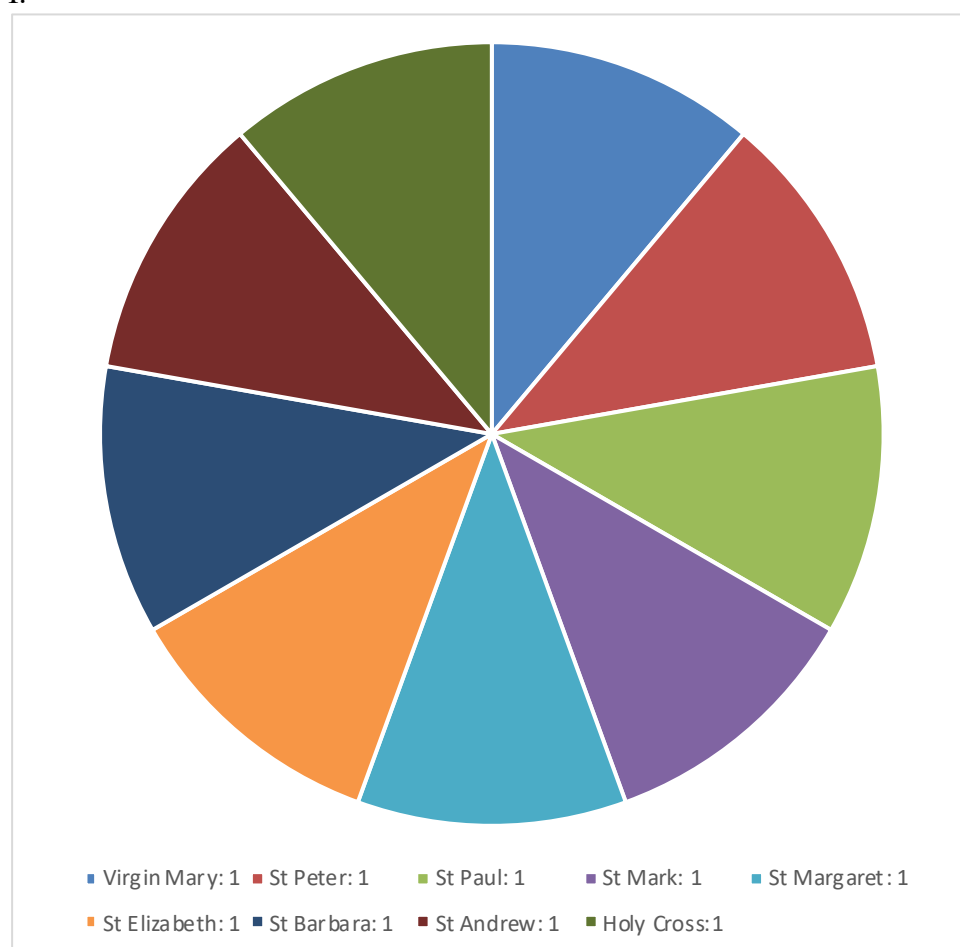
<sup>1135</sup> Note that the monastery of Szenternye, dedicated to St. Irenaeus, is not included in this graph because the foundation date is unknown.

III.

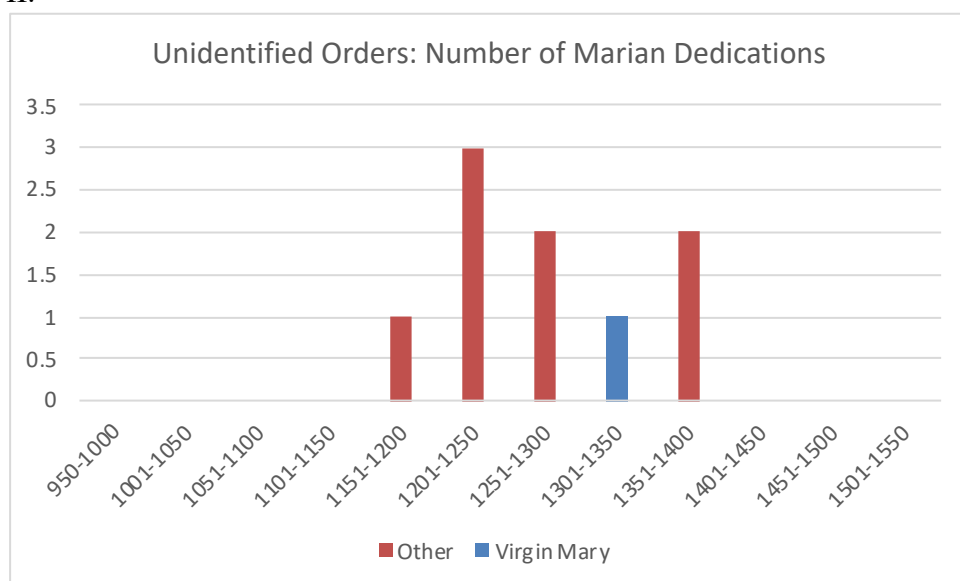


## 16. UNIDENTIFIED ORDERS

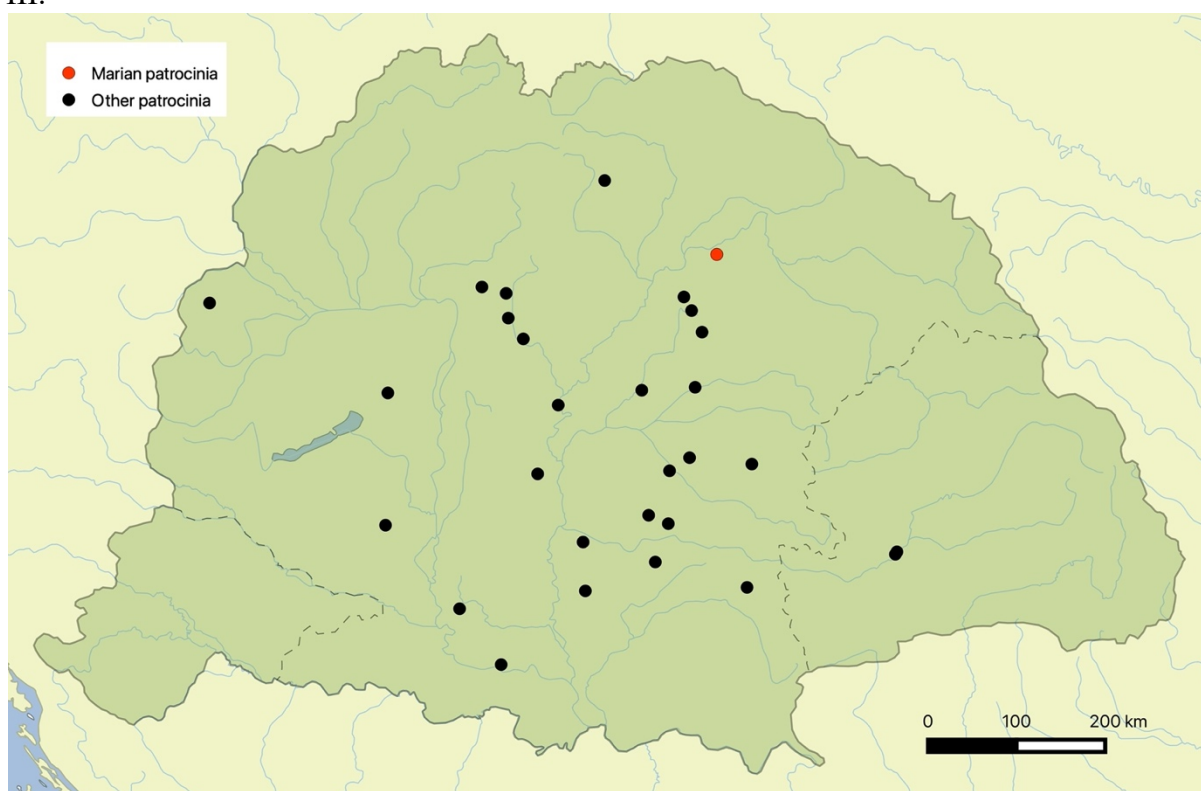
I.



II.



III.



### 3. INDULGENCES FOR MARIAN INSTITUTIONS<sup>1136</sup>

#### CATHEDRALS

Site	Location	Patrocinium	Indulgence Data
All Cathedrals of the Hungarian Kingdom	HUN		1450 (MHL, 144–5); <sup>1137</sup> Nov. 3, 1450 (Lukcsics, 2:287)
Esztergom <sup>1138</sup>	HUN	Virgin Mary and St. Adalbert	1449 (DL-DF 249011; Lukcsics, 2:274); 1450 (DL-DF 249010); 1452 (DL-DF 249012; Lukcsics, 2:306)
Várad/Nagyvárad	Oradea, ROM	Virgin Mary	1320 (Theiner, I:467–8); May 11, 1400 (Mon/Vat, I/4:207–8); May 25, 1400 (Mon/Vat, I/4:214); <sup>1139</sup> Aug. 25, 1401 (Mon/Vat I/4:367–8; ZsO II/1:143); 1418 (Lukcsics 1:62); <sup>1140</sup> 1420 (ZsO, VII:354); 1434 (Lukcsics, 2:126); 1450 (Lukcsics, 2:276, 277); 1450 (MHL, 144–5); 1462 (DL-DF 292441)

#### PARISH CHURCHES

Site	Location	Patrocinium	Indulgence Data
(Cechkendorf)	Zagreb Co.	Virgin Mary	1430 (Lukcsics, 1:255)
(Hucnus)	Veszprém Co.	Virgin Mary	1433 (Lukcsics, 2:90–1, 109)
(Merioherlj)	Zagreb diocese	Virgin Mary	1452 (Lukcsics, 2:311)
Adorjás	HUN	Virgin Mary	1373 (Fejér, IX/4:511)
Árma	in the vicinity of Tekovské Lužany (Nagysalló), SLO <sup>1141</sup>	Virgin Mary	1433 (Lukcsics, 2:90–91, 109)
Bazin	Pezinok, SLO	Virgin Mary	1370 (Theiner, II:94)
Berethalom	Biertan, ROM	Virgin Mary	1402 (UB, III:274); 1493 (Mon/Vat, I/5:21)
Besztercebánya	Banská Bystrica, SLO	Virgin Mary	1323 (RDES, II:479; DL-DF 280658); 1324 (DL-DF 280658); 1396 (DL-DF 280658); 1398 (DL-DF 280658); 1433 (Lukcsics, 2:72); 1492 (DL-DF

<sup>1136</sup> Both requests for indulgences and granted indulgences are included.

<sup>1137</sup> Jubilee indulgence request for all the cathedrals of the kingdom made by Matthias Hunyadi.

<sup>1138</sup> Only indulgences originating from after the rededication of the cathedral to St. Adalbert and the Virgin Mary are included. Indulgences for the chapel of the Virgin Mary are listed separately in the “Chapels” section below.

<sup>1139</sup> Indulgence specifically for the main altar of the Virgin Mary.

<sup>1140</sup> For the Corpus Christi chapel in the cathedral.

<sup>1141</sup> Mező identifies this site as Vel'ké Šarluhy (Mező, 401).

			280709); 1494 (DL-DF 280708)
Bihardiószeg	Diosig, ROM	Virgin Mary	1433 (Lukcsics, 2:83)
Bogárd	in the vicinity of Lajoskomárom, HUN	Virgin Mary	1459 (MREV, 3:158)
Bölcske	HUN	Virgin Mary	1433 (Lukcsics, 2:90–1, 109)
Bőnye/Beune	near Sălăţig (Szilágyszeg), ROM	Virgin Mary	1433 (Lukcsics, 2:81)
Brassó	Braşov, ROM	Virgin Mary	1385 (UB, II:599); 1399 (MonVat, I/4, 163, no. CCVVIII); 1422 (Lukcsics, 1:134); 1450 (Lukcsics, 2:275, 280); 1466 (DL-DF 286597); <sup>1142</sup> 1474 (DL-DF 286598; Theiner, II:446–7); <sup>1143</sup> 1510 (DL-DF 286612)
Buda	Budapest, HUN	Virgin Mary	1414 (BTOE, III, 338; MREV, II:375); 1490 (MREV, III:317) <sup>1144</sup>
Busana/Busán	Krbava diocese	Virgin Mary	1401 (MonVat, I/4:346; ZsO, II:135)
Cserög	Čerević, SER	Virgin Mary	1403 (MonVat, I/4:497)
Csomád	HUN	Virgin Mary and St. Oswald	1433 (Lukcsics, 2:93)
Ecsér	in the vicinity of Kővágóörs, HUN	Virgin Mary	1433 (Lukcsics, 2:97)
Egyházaskozár	HUN	Virgin Mary	1446 (Lukcsics, 2:233; MREV, III:125)
Földvár	Feldioara, ROM	Virgin Mary	1424 (Lukcsics, 1:155); 1437 (Lukcsics, 2:144)
Fraknó	Forchtenstein, AUS	Virgin Mary	1390 (MonVat, I/3:116)
Görcsöny	HUN	Virgin Mary	1345 (Fejér, IX/1:295; Theiner, 1:684, Bossányi, 1/2:105)
Gyula	HUN	Virgin Mary	1398 (MonVat, I/4:76–7)
Halas	HUN	Virgin Mary	1390 (MonVat, I/3:115)
Haraklány	Hereclean, ROM	Virgin Mary	1419 (Lukcsics, 1:84); 1420 (Lukcsics, 1:98)
Harangláb	Hăraŋglab, ROM	Virgin Mary	1430 (Lukcsics, 1:255)
Hétúr	Hetiur, ROM	Virgin Mary	1417 (Lukcsics, 1:47)
Holdvilág	Hoghilag, ROM	Virgin Mary	1446 (Lukcsics, 2:233)

<sup>1142</sup> For the altar of the Corpus Christi in the parish church.

<sup>1143</sup> DL-DF 286598 records the date of the indulgence letter as March 3, 1474, while its record in the *Vetera monumenta historica* lists it as March 3, 1475.

<sup>1144</sup> For the confraternity of the Corpus Christi.

Igló	Spišská Nová Ves, SLO	Virgin Mary	1391 (MonVat, I/3:134)
Jászladány	HUN	Virgin Mary	1433 (Lukcsics, 2:93)
Jósva	Jošava, BOH	Virgin Mary	1423 (Lukcsics, 1:150)
Kajdacs	HUN	Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary	1428 (Lukcsics, I:208); 1433 (Lukcsics, 2:86–7)
Kalaznó	HUN	Virgin Mary	1429 (Lukcsics, 1:229)
Kaposfő <sup>1145</sup>	HUN	Virgin Mary	1433 (MREV, III:86)
Kaprevár/Kaprióra	Căprioara, ROM	Virgin Mary	1438 (Lukcsics, 2:157, 160)
Ketel	Chețiu, ROM	Virgin Mary	1433 (Lukcsics, 2:102)
Kisselyk	Șeica Mică, ROM	Virgin Mary	1400 (MonVat, I/1:290)
Leibic	Lubica, SLO	Virgin Mary	1390 (MonVat, I/3:111)
Lipovec	Mali Lipovec or Veliki Lipovec, CRO	Virgin Mary	1452 (Lukcsics, 2:305)
Magyarherepe	Herepea, ROM	Virgin Mary	1433 (Lukcsics, 2:114)
Maskfalva	Mašková (Maskófalva), SLO	Virgin Mary	1434 (Lukcsics, 2:124)
Mátraverebély	HUN	Virgin Mary	1400 (MonVat, I/4:252)
Megyericse	Međurača, CRO	Virgin Mary	1433 (Lukcsics, 2:79)
Meszlen	around Petanjci (Szécsénykút), perhaps Tišina, SLOE	Virgin Mary	1400 (MonVat, I/4:301–2)
Miskolc	HUN	Virgin Mary	1445 (Lukcsics, 2:219)
Nagybodolya/ Bodolya	Podolje, CRO	Virgin Mary	1401 (MonVat, I/4:396–6)
Nagyszeben/Szeben	Sibiu, ROM	Virgin Mary	1384 (DL-DF 291983); 1448 (UB, V:242–3; UB, V:250); 1484 (UB, VII:356); 1503 (DL-DF 245585)
Nezda/Nezde	possibly Szólád, HUN	Virgin Mary	1363 (Bossányi, II:425)
Nyék	Alsó- or Felsőnyék, HUN	Virgin Mary	1445 (Lukcsics, 2:219)
Óbuda (Alba Ecclesia; Fehéregyháza)	Budapest, HUN	Virgin Mary	1400 (MREV, II:321; ZsO, II:46)
Opatica	Opațița (Magyarapáca), ROM	Virgin Mary	1432 (Lukcsics, 2:67, 69)
Oroszlámos	Banatsko Arandelovo (Oroszlámos), SER	Virgin Mary	1437 (Lukcsics, 2:154, 155)

<sup>1145</sup> Location called Szomajom until 1942.

Ozora	HUN	Virgin Mary	1424 (Lukcsics, 1:162)
Pele	Becheni, ROM	Virgin Mary	1433 (Lukcsics, 2:81)
Petróc	Petrovce nad Laborcom, SLO	Virgin Mary	1418 (Lukcsics, 1:53)
Radnótfája	Iernuțeni, ROM	Virgin Mary	1358 (Bossányi, 2:320–1)
Rusim	Rusim Castle, Zagreb Diocese	Virgin Mary	1400 (MonVat, I/4:275–6; ZsO, 2/1:76)
Sajógömör	Gemer, SLO	Virgin Mary	1433 (Lukcsics, 2:101)
Somkerék	Șintereag, ROM	Virgin Mary	1415 (ZsO, 5:117)
Somogyom	Șmig, ROM	Virgin Mary	1390 (MonVat, I/3:117)
Szalárd	Sălard, ROM	Virgin Mary	1402 (MonVat, I/4:409– 10)
Szászsebes	Sebeș, ROM	Virgin Mary	1455 (TT 1900, 7; UB, V:498)
Szata	Sotin, CRO	Virgin Mary	1408 (ZsO, 2/2:121)
Szenterzsébet	possibly Jalžabet, CRO	Virgin Mary	1484 (Theiner, II:490–1)
Szentkirály	near Hódmezővásárhely, HUN	Virgin Mary	1433 (Lukcsics, 2:101)
Sztára	Staré, SLO	Virgin Mary and St. Stanislaus	1418 (Lukcsics, 1:53)
Túrony	HUN	Virgin Mary	1414 (ZsO, 4:471)
Újszász	HUN	Virgin Mary	1433 (Lukcsics, 2:93)
Ungvár	Uzhhorod, UKR	Virgin Mary	1400 (MonVat, I/4:299– 300)
Váralja	HUN	Virgin Mary	1402 (MonVat, I/4:443)
Vasad/ Waschad	Archdiocese of Esztergom	Virgin Mary and St. Lambert	1361 (DL-DF 39261)
Vezekény	Veľké Vozokany, SLO	Virgin Mary	1402 (MonVat, I/4:471–2)
Visegrád	HUN	Virgin Mary	1360 (Bossanyi, II:379– 80)
Zalahaláp	HUN	Virgin Mary	1433 (Lukcsics, 2:103)
Zimány	HUN	Virgin Mary	1433 (Lukcsics, 2:77)

## CHURCHES

Site	Location	Patrocinia	Indulgence Data
(Kede)	Unidentified	Virgin Mary	1344 (DL-DF 292718)
(Mathnic/Mathnich)	Eger Co.	Virgin Mary	1433 (Lukcsics, 2:95)
(Radetest)	possibly Temes Co.	Virgin Mary	1433 (Lukcsics, 2:89)
(Uasat)	Unidentified	Virgin Mary	1350 (DL-DF 39260)
Besztercebánya	Banská Bystrica, SLO	Virgin Mary	1300 (DL-DF 280751)
Bogdány	Noszlop, HUN	Virgin Mary	1433 (Lukcsics, 2:84)
Csegőd	Ghiorac, ROM	Virgin Mary	1433 (Lukcsics, 2:82)



Félegyháza	in vicinity of Doroslova and Sonta, SER	Virgin Mary	1488 (Theiner, 2:514–5)
Ivánc	HUN	Virgin Mary	1402 (ZsO, 2/1:205)
Kamarcsa	Novigrad Podravski, CRO	Virgin Mary	1402 (MonVat, I/4:473–4; ZsO, II:248)
Küsmöd	Cuşmed, ROM	Virgin Mary	1446 (Lukcsics, 2:233)
Lüle	Lula, SLO	Virgin Mary	1433 (Lukcsics, 2:88)
Meszlen	around Petanjci (Szécsénykút), perhaps Tišina, SLOE	Virgin Mary	1425 (ZsO, XII:143) <sup>1146</sup>
Nádlány	Nadlice, SLO	Virgin Mary	1345 (Theiner, 1:685; Bossányi, 1/2:150)
Nagykanizsa	HUN	Virgin Mary	1374 (MREV, II:238)
Papi	around Torak (Tárnok), formerly known as Begejci, SER	Virgin Mary	1358 (Bossányi, 2:322)
Podmilachie	perhaps Podmilačje, BOH	Virgin Mary	1460 (DL-DF 292420)
Podolin	Podolíneč, SLO	Virgin Mary	1323 (RDES, 2:399; AkO, VII:41)
Podvin	Bród-Szávamente Co., CRO	Virgin Mary	1363 (Bossányi, II:427)
Poljana	Poljana Biskupečka, CRO	Virgin Mary	1433 (Lukcsics, 2:98)
Sárospatak	HUN	Virgin Mary	1418 (Lukcsics, I:56; ZsO, VI:394)
Sátoraljaújhely/Újhely	HUN	Virgin Mary <sup>1147</sup>	1418 (Lukcsics I:56; ZsO VI:394)
Szalacs	Sălacea, ROM	Virgin Mary and St. George the Martyr	1433 (Lukcsics, 2:89)
Temesszécsény	Seceani, ROM	Virgin Mary	1358 (Bossányi, 2:322)
Tövis	Teiuş, ROM	Virgin Mary	1450 (Lukcsics, 2:276)
Újegyház	Kostolná Ves (Kisegyházas), SLO	Virgin Mary	1433 (Lukcsics, 2:89)

<sup>1146</sup> Charter discusses a court case that refers to an indulgence for this church, not a request for an indulgence or the letter of indulgence itself.

<sup>1147</sup> It is possible this church has a double *patrocinium* to the Virgin Mary and St. Emeric. The entry (“de indulg. ecclesias B. Marie V., S. Agathe, S. Michaelis, S. Nicolai, S. Johannis, S. Dominici de Pathak, S. Egidii, S. Emerici et S. Marie V. de Wyhel,” Lukcsics 1:56) is ambiguous, as it could refer to one church with a double *patrocinium* or two separate churches.

Varannó	Vranov nad Topl'ou, SLO	Virgin Mary	1433 (Lukcsics, 2:99–100)
Zrin	CRO	Virgin Mary	1426 (Lukcsics, 1:185)

## CHAPELS

Site	Location	Patrocinia	Indulgence Data
(Rodwans)	Esztergom Diocese	Virgin Mary	1433 (Lukcsics, 2:72)
(Sanctobartholomeo)	Zagreb Diocese	Virgin Mary	1430 (Lukcsics, 1:248, 249)
Ajnácskő	Hajnácska, SLO	Immaculate Conception, St. Stephen the Martyr, and King St. Stephen	1516 (JAMÉ 2001, 287–8)
Berzence	Berzence, HUN	Virgin Mary	1400 (ZsO, 2/1:82)
Buda <sup>1148</sup>	Budapest, HUN	Virgin Mary	1351 (MREV, II:140); <sup>1149</sup> 1410 (ZsO, 2/2:407)
Culpma	probably today's Kutina, CRO	Virgin Mary	1353 (DL-DF 289452; DL-DF 289454; Theiner, II:3)
Déshaza	Deja, ROM	Virgin Mary	1433 (Lukcsics, 2:81)
Esztergom <sup>1150</sup>	HUN	Virgin Mary	1400 (ZsO, 2/1:33); 1418 (DL-DF 237307; ZsO, II:33; Fejér, X/2:792–5; MonVat, I/4:201–3); 1450-2 (DL-DF 237399; DL-DF 237400; DL-DF 237401); 1513 (DL-DF 237250; Theiner, II:606–8)
Kéthely	HUN	Virgin Mary	1433 (Lukcsics, 2:100)
Kissarló	Tekovské Lužany, SLO	Virgin Mary	1402 (MonVat, I/4:471–2)
Koppányszántó	HUN	Virgin Mary	1441 (Lukcsics, 2:196)
Mihályfa	HUN	Virgin Mary	1433 (Lukcsics, 2:83)
Óbuda <sup>1151</sup>	Budapest, HUN	Virgin Mary	1513 (Theiner, II:612–13)
Óvar	Mosonmagyaróvár, HUN	Virgin Mary	1473 (DL-DF 17506)
Pécs	HUN	Virgin Mary	1355 (Bossányi, 2:295–6)
Pécsvár	HUN	Virgin Mary	1428 (Lukcsics, 1:202)

<sup>1148</sup> Chapel of the castle of Buda.

<sup>1149</sup> This indulgence was for the Corpus Christi altar in a Marian church of Buda castle in 1351. It is unclear if it was intended for this chapel or for the parish church of Buda. However, the Virgin Mary Parish Church of Buda is typically specified as a parish church in historical documentation and the Marian church mentioned in the indulgence request was simply an “ecclesia beate virginis.”

<sup>1150</sup> Cathedral of the Esztergom Cathedral.

<sup>1151</sup> Chapel of the Franciscan Friary dedicated to St. Francis in Óbuda.

Szászkézd	Saschiz, ROM	Nativity of the Virgin Mary <sup>1152</sup>	1422 (Lukcsics, 1:122)
Székesfehérvár <sup>1153</sup>	HUN	Virgin Mary	1433 (Lukcsics, II:99, 130); 1435 (MREV, III:99–100); 1438 (Lukcsics, 2:168)
Szepeshely	Spišská Kapitula, SLO	Virgin Mary	1506 (DL-DF 38707)
Szered	Sered', SLO	Virgin Mary	1400 (ZsO, 2/1:82)
Szobocsa	Sobocani, CRO	Virgin Mary	1420 (Lukcsics, 1:97; ZsO, 7:393)
Szomolnok	Smolník, SLO	Virgin Mary	1433 (Lukcsics, 2:73)
Vajdahunyad	Hunedoara, ROM	Virgin Mary	1443 (Lukcsics, 2:208)
Visegrád	HUN	Virgin Mary	1366 (Bossányi, II:446)
Zalaszentő	HUN	Virgin Mary	1441 (Lukcsics, 2:196)
Zólyomszászfalu	Sásóvá, SLO	Virgin Mary and St. Anthony	1415 (ZsO, 5:382)

## CHURCHES OF THE RELIGIOUS ORDERS

Site	Order	Location	Patrocinia	Indulgence Data
Alvinc	Dominican	Vințu de Jos, ROM	Virgin Mary	1444 (UB, V:134; Lukcsics, 2:216)
Buda	Collegiate Chapter	Budapest, HUN	Virgin Mary and St. Sigismund	Aug. 3, 1410 (BTOE, III:287–8); Aug. 18, 1410 (BTOE, III:222)
Buda	Dominican (Female)	Margaret Island, Budapest, HUN	Virgin Mary	1257 (DL-DF 2972; BTOE, I:62–3); 1409 (Fejér, X/4:771–2); 1523 (MREV, IV:292)
Buda	Carmelite	Budapest, HUN	Mary of Mercy	1375 (MREV, II:240); 1431 (Lukcsics, 2:53)
Csáktornya/Szentilona	Pauline	Šenkovec, CRO	Virgin Mary and All Saints	1471 (MREV, III:210)
Csík-somlyó	Franciscan (Observant)	Șumuleu Ciuc, Miercurea Ciuc (Csík-szereda), ROM	Virgin Mary	1445 (Theiner, II:226; Lukcsics, II:220) <sup>1154</sup>

<sup>1152</sup> The chapel received an indulgence on the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary leading to the assumption that it is the *patrocinia* (Mező, 463).

<sup>1153</sup> Marian chapel of the collegiate church of Székesfehérvár.

<sup>1154</sup> Some researchers have stated that Csík-somlyó actually received two indulgences, one in 1444 and another in 1445. This seems to have arisen from a discrepancy in the source material. Theiner (*Vetera monumenta historica*, II:226, no. 380) notes that the date of the indulgence is 1445. Lukcsics (Lukcsics, 2:220, no. 832) also records the date as 1445, but notes also the alternative 1444 date at the end of the entry: “RP., a. 1444., VI. kal. Febr. a. XIV.” Székely (SzO, I:153–4, no. CXXIV) uses this alternate date as well, but the content of the indulgence is word-for-word identical to the other records.

Eszék	Augustine Hermits	Osijek, CRO	Virgin Mary	1400 (MonVat, I/4:273)
Esztergom	Franciscan (Conventual)	HUN	Mary, Help of Christians	1400 (MonVat, I/4:202–2)
Garics	Pauline	Garić grad, north of Mikleuška, CRO	Virgin Mary	1341 (DL-DF 34362); 1471 (MREV, III:210)
Gyulafehérvár	Dominican	Alba Iulia, ROM	Virgin Mary	1444 (UB, V:134; Lukcsics, II:215–16)
Kanizsa	Franciscan (Conventual)	Nagykanizsa, HUN	Assumption of the Virgin Mary	1484 (Theiner, II:495–6)
Kolozs-monostor	Benedictine	Cluj-Mănăştur, ROM	Virgin Mary	1518 (DL-DF 36404)
Kolozsvár	Dominican	Cluj-Napoca, ROM	Virgin Mary and St. Anthony of Padua	1400 (ZsO, II:77; MonVat, I/4:278) <sup>1155</sup>
Lád	Pauline	Sajólad, HUN	Visitation of the Virgin Mary	1400 (MonVat, I/4:242–3; ZsO, II:70); 1423 (DL-DF 11392)
Lepoglava	Pauline	CRO	Virgin Mary	1471 (MREV, III:210)
Ludbreg	Franciscan (Conventual)	CRO	Virgin Mary	1510 (DL-DF 101808)
Monoszló-váralja/ Monoszló	Franciscan (Observant)	Moslavina, CRO	Virgin Mary	1460 (DL-DF 292471; Theiner, II:360); 1489 (Beke, “Római emlékek,” 10)
Monyorókerek	Pauline	Kulm, AUS	Virgin Mary	1493 (DL-DF 25278)
Nagyfalu	Pauline	Nuşfalău, ROM	Virgin Mary	1417 (ZsO, VI:336)
Nagyszombat	Poor Clares	Trnava, SLO	Virgin Mary and All Saints	1301/1315 (DL-DF 1618); 1449 (DL-DF 14215); 1473 (DL-DF 17479)
Óbuda	Collegiate Chapter	Budapest, HUN	Virgin Mary	1348 (MREV, II:129)
Óbuda	Poor Clares	Budapest, HUN	Virgin Mary and St. Clare	1349 (Bossányi, I:196); 1351 (DL-DF 291937; Theiner, I:791); 1352 (MREV, II:155; Bossányi, I:243); 1358 (Bossányi, II:332–3); 1513 (MREV,

<sup>1155</sup> For the chapels within the monastery.

				IV:219–20; Theiner, II:612–13)
Örményes	Pauline	Örvényes-hegy, Zalacsány, HUN	Virgin Mary	1393 (MREV, II:290–1); 1400 (ZsO, II:26); 1471 (MREV, III:210)
Palota	Franciscan (Observant)	Várpalota, HUN	Virgin Mary	1452 (Lukcsics, 2:303)
Pankota	Benedictine	Pâncota, ROM	Virgin Mary	1425 (Lukcsics, 1:168–9)
Pécsvár	Benedictine	HUN	Virgin Mary and St. Benedict <sup>1156</sup>	1491 (Theiner, II:535)
Pétervárad	Cistercian	Petrovaradin, Novi Sad (Újvidék), SER	Virgin Mary	1351 (Theiner, I:797)
Pókfalva	Pauline	Păuca, ROM	Virgin Mary	1418 (ZsO, VI:469)
Pozsony/Preßburg	Franciscan (Conventual)	Bratislava, SLO	Annunciation of the Virgin Mary (previously St. John the Evangelist) <sup>1157</sup>	1297 (DL-DF 250301; DL-DF 280269; Fejér, VI/2:52–3) <sup>1158</sup>
Remete (Promontorium Zagrabiense)	Pauline	Zagreb, CRO	Virgin Mary	1319 (DL-DF 34354; AkO, V:195; SHKP, 5:136); 1383 (DL-DF 34672); 1439 (Lukcsics, 2:187); 1471 (MREV, III:210)
Ság	Premonstratensian	Šahy, SLO	Virgin Mary	1299 (DL-DF 1526; DL-DF 259043) <sup>1159</sup>
Savnik	Cistercian	Spišsky Štiavnik, SLO	Virgin Mary	1398 (ZsO, I:615–16)
Segesd	Franciscan (Conventual)	Felsősegesd, HUN	Virgin Mary	1433 (MREV, III:86)
Segesvár	Dominican	Sighişoara, ROM	Virgin Mary	1298 (UB, 1:210–11)
Simontornya	Dominican	HUN	Virgin Mary	1518 (MREV, IV:258–9)

<sup>1156</sup> Only referred to as the monastery of the Virgin Mary in the indulgence.

<sup>1157</sup> Following its destruction during an attack by King Ottokar II of Bohemia (r. 1253–1278), the convent was rebuilt and rededicated to the Annunciation of the Virgin Mary in 1297. It was consecrated on the Annunciation, which leads to the presumption of the new title: “...in titulum excellentissime Marie virginis dedicando consecrauit et consecrando, in annuis dedicationis eiusdem Ecclesie reuolucionibus, in festo videlicet annunciacionis eiusdem Virginum Virginis gloriose...” (MES, 2:400). However, its *patrocinium* is usually just the Virgin Mary in references to the church in later documents.

<sup>1158</sup> According to Fejér the date should be 1296.

<sup>1159</sup> The latter source is a copy of the original document made in 1777.

Sopron	Franciscan (Conventual)	HUN	Virgin Mary	1467 (DL-DF 207913)
Sopronkertes	Pauline	Baumgarten, AUS	Virgin Mary and Holy Redeemer	1486 (DL-DF 19162; DAP, I:6); 1487 (DL- DF 19162) <sup>1160</sup>
Szalárd	Franciscan (Observant)	Sălard, ROM	Virgin Mary	1400 (MonVat, I/4:173–4; ZsO, II:21; ZsO, II:33)
Szalónak	Pauline	Stadtsch- leuning, AUS	Virgin Mary	1461 (Theiner, II:371)
Szeben	Franciscan (Conventual)	Sibiu, ROM	Virgin Mary and St. Elizabeth <sup>1161</sup>	1444 (Lukcsics, 2:216, no. 815 <sup>1162</sup> ; Lukcsics, 2:216–17, no. 817; UB, V:138, no. 2495)
Székes- fehérvár	Collegiate Chapter	HUN	Virgin Mary	1249 (MREV, I:127– 8); 1366 (DL-DF 28979; Theiner, II:8; MREV, II:198); 1411 (DL-DF 288636); 1425 (Lukcsics, 1:171); 1433 (Lukcsics, 2:107) <sup>1163</sup> ; 1434 (MREV, III:98); 1450 (Lukcsics, 2:277); 1474 (MREV, III:230); 1482 (MREV, III:276–7); 1485 (MREV, III:298; Theiner, II:504–5); 1490 (Theiner, II:534– 5); 1493 (MREV, IV:13); 1519 (MREV, IV:266–8)
Szentmihály- köve	Pauline	Tăuți, ROM	Virgin Mary	1402 (MonVat, I/4:428–9; ZsO, II:179)

<sup>1160</sup> This was an extension of the 1486 indulgence.

<sup>1161</sup> The friary was originally only dedicated to St. Elizabeth.

<sup>1162</sup> According to the UB, Lukcsics did not identify the town correctly and the indulgence was actually requested for the convents of the Virgin Mary and St. Elizabeth in Bistrița (UB, V:134, no. 2489). There was no convent of any order dedicated to St. Elizabeth in Bistrița; however, there was a Franciscan friary dedicated to St. Elizabeth in Sibiu, so it seems more plausible that the request was referring to the friary of Sibiu and that it had acquired the *patrocinium* of the Virgin Mary in addition to St. Elizabeth at some point. Both the UB and Lukcsics agree that an indulgence was granted for the convent of the Virgin Mary in Sibiu on May 26, 1444 (Lukcsics 2:216–17, no. 817; UB, V:138, no. 2495), so the convent was probably referred to as either the convent of the Virgin Mary or the Virgin Mary and St. Elizabeth at this time. Several other monasteries in Hungary that acquired Marian *patrocinia* in addition to their original *patrocinia* are similarly referred to as either dedicated to both patrons or just the Virgin Mary.

<sup>1163</sup> An indulgence request made by Sigismund of Luxembourg.

Széplak	Benedictine	in the area of Košice and Krasna nad Hornádom, SLO	Virgin Mary	1401 (MonVat, I/4:314–15; ZsO, II:119)
Újhely	Augustine Hermits	Sátorajka-újhely, HUN	Virgin Mary and King St. Stephen	1418 (Lukcsics, 1:56) <sup>1164</sup>
Unidentified <sup>1165</sup>	Franciscan (Observant)	Eger Diocese	Virgin Mary	1425 (Lukcsics, 1:170)
Várad-Kápolna	Pauline	Oradea, ROM	Virgin Mary	1471 (MREV, III:210)
Várad/Nagyvárad	Collegiate Chapter	Oradea, ROM	Virgin Mary	1320 (Theiner, I:467–8); 1419 (Lukcsics, 1:85); 1420 (Lukcsics, 1:92) <sup>1166</sup>
Varannó	Franciscan (Conventual)	Vranov nad Topľou, SLO	Virgin Mary	1413 (ZsO, IV:345); 1433 (Lukcsics, 2:99–100)
Vásárhely	Franciscan (Conventual)	Târgu Mureș, ROM	Virgin Mary	1400 (MonVat, I/4:274; ZsO, II:76)
Vaska	Augustine Canons	Vaška, CRO	Virgin Mary and St. Martin <sup>1167</sup>	1400 (MonVat, I/4:229)
Veszprém-völgy	Cistercian (Female)	HUN	Virgin Mary	1386 (Szilárd Süttő, “A veszprémvölgyi apácák két búcsúengedélye 1386-ból” [Two indulgences of the Veszprémvölgy nuns from 1386], <i>Egyháztörténeti Szemle</i> 1 (2000/1): 142–8; DL-DF 7211; DL-DF 7210); 1390 (MREV, II:262)

<sup>1164</sup> Only called the monastery of the Virgin Mary in this indulgence.

<sup>1165</sup> Possibly Sárospatak or Ineu (Jenő) because the indulgence is for a Marian monastery belonging to the Franciscan Observant Order in the Eger Diocese, and at this time these were the only two such institutions.

<sup>1166</sup> Confirmation of the 1419 indulgence.

<sup>1167</sup> The original *patrocinium* of the monastery was only St. Martin.

PAULINE ORDER: INDULGENCES FOR ALL *PATROCINIA*<sup>1168</sup>

Year	Site	<i>Patrocinium</i>	Source
1307	Regéc	SS. James and Philip	AkO, II:54–5, no. 111
1319	Középnémeti	St. Ladislaus	AkO, V:218–19, no. 561
1319	Remete (Promontorium Zagrabiense)	Virgin Mary	DL-DF 34354; AkO, V:195, no. 494; SHKP, 5:136
1341	Garics	Virgin Mary	DL-DF 34362
1383	Remete (Promontorium Zagrabiense)	Virgin Mary	DL-DF 34672
1388	Sztreza	All Saints	ZsO, I:73, no. 731
1393	Örményes	Virgin Mary	MREV, II:290–1, no. CCCLVII
1400	Örményes	Virgin Mary	ZsO, II:26, no. 174
1400	Sajólád	Visitation of the Virgin Mary	MonVat, I/4:242–3, no. CCCIII; ZsO, II:70, no. 585
1402	Szentmihályköve	Virgin Mary	MonVat, I/4:428–9, no. CCCCLXXXVII; ZsO, II:179, no. 1519
1417	Nagyfalu	Virgin Mary	ZsO, VI:336, no. 1168
1417	Budaszentlőrinc	St. Lawrence	MREV, III:6, no. V
1418	Ungvár	Corpus Christi	ZsO, VI:378, no. 1368
1418	Budaszentlőrinc	St. Lawrence	ZsO, VI:400–1, no. 1468
1418	Újház	St. John the Baptist	ZsO, VI:440, no. 1657
1418	Pókfalva	Virgin Mary	ZsO, VI:469, no. 1820
1422	Budaszentlőrinc	St. Lawrence	MREV, III:31, no. XXXIII
1423	Sajólád	Visitation of the Virgin Mary	DL-DF 11392
1434	Budaszentlőrinc	St. Lawrence	MREV, III:99, no. CLX
1439	Budaszentlőrinc	St. Lawrence	MREV, III:108, no. CLXXVII
1453	Pécs	St. James	DL-DF 14673
1461	Szalónak	Virgin Mary	Theiner, II:371, no. DLIII
1471	Budaszentlőrinc	St. Lawrence	MREV, III:210, no. CCCXXXVII

<sup>1168</sup> The non-Marian *patrocinia* was collected by Máté Urbán, see Urbán, “Pálos zárandokhelyek,” 61–81. Marian *patrocinia* in the chart is highlighted in blue.



1471	Kidel? <sup>1169</sup>		MREV, III:210, no. CCCXXXVII
1471	Diósgyőr	Corpus Christi	MREV, III:210, no. CCCXXXVII
1471	Újhely	St. Giles	MREV, III:210, no. CCCXXXVII
1471	Csáktornya	Virgin Mary and All Saints	MREV, III:210, no. CCCXXXVII
1471	Garics	Virgin Mary	MREV, III:210, no. CCCXXXVII
1471	Kápolna	Virgin Mary	MREV, III:210, no. CCCXXXVII
1471	Lepoglava	Virgin Mary	MREV, III:210, no. CCCXXXVII
1471	Örményes	Virgin Mary	MREV, III:210, no. CCCXXXVII
1471	Remete (Promontorium Zagradiense)	Virgin Mary	MREV, III:210, no. CCCXXXVII
1486	Sopronkertes	Virgin Mary and Holy Redeemer	DL-DF 19162; DAP, I:6
1493	Monyorókerek	Virgin Mary	DL-DF 25278

<sup>1169</sup> The monastery that is called “Kidel” in MREV, III:210, no. CCCXXXVII is unidentified (Urbán, “Pálos zárandokhelyek,” 67). The MREV suggests that it could refer to the Pauline monastery in Păulis (Kalodva), which was dedicated to the Virgin Mary (MREV, III:362).