

Doctoral Dissertation

**The Function of Cathedral Spaces in Late Medieval  
Central Europe (1300-1563)**

**By: Anna Kinde**

Supervisor: Béla Zsolt Szakács

Submitted to the Medieval Studies Department, and  
the Doctoral School of History  
Central European University, Budapest,

in partial fulfillment of the requirements  
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in History

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*To my parents, Annamária and Zoltán.*



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# Introduction

*"I find I never weary of great churches. It is my favourite kind of mountain scenery. Mankind was never so happily inspired as when it made a cathedral: a thing as single and specious as a statue to the first glance, and yet, on examination, as lively and interesting as a forest in detail."*

Robert Louis Stevenson, *An Inland Voyage* (1878)

I became interested in medieval architecture and especially cathedrals when I had the opportunity to take part in the archaeological investigations at Oradea Castle, my hometown, in the summer of 2013 and saw the uncovered remains and recovered carved stones of Várad Cathedral.<sup>2</sup> Saint Ladislaus is an emblematic figure in Várad and the chance to investigate the building in which he was buried and venerated was a very special opportunity for me. I wrote my BA thesis about the Gothic carved stone material found at Oradea Castle and have continued to expand my research to other cathedrals, which helps me understand how medieval Várad Cathedral would have looked and felt like.

This dissertation investigates cathedral spaces to find out how people as a community are reflected in their surroundings. Investigating why these monuments were built the way they were and how they integrated into the lives of the people who paid for them, used them and lived near them will teach us more about late medieval culture in Central Europe. Cathedrals represent some of the most monumental and yet intricate constructions in Europe, where a unique blend of motivations and goals come together to form a lasting impression set in stone. They continue to fascinate and inspire researchers and the general audience alike.

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<sup>2</sup> While Oradea is the current official Romanian name of the city, it was previously called Nagyvárad when it was part of Hungary and Várad in the Middle Ages and Early Modern times. For more information about how I treat names in this thesis, please see page 23.

## Research parameters and main hypothesis

I am interested in how Central European cathedral spaces were used in the Late Middle Ages: to establish how much influence functional considerations had on the layout of the cathedrals and in turn to observe at least some of the ways these spaces were used and adapted. I analyze relevant case studies from Bohemia, the Kingdom of Hungary and Poland, the core medieval kingdoms of the region, as defined by *The Oxford Handbook of Medieval Central Europe*.<sup>3</sup>

I have gathered sources about and mapped the connections between the cathedrals of the archbishoprics, located in Esztergom, Gniezno, Prague and Kalocsa, and a selected few of their suffragans: Kraków, Eger, Várad (Oradea, Romania), Poznań and Zagreb regarding their spatial arrangements. I chose to focus on these cathedrals because of their status and availability of sources, but I have included references to other cathedrals where necessary to give a rounded picture.

Because some of the terms in the title need clarification, I will go through each term to establish the boundaries of my research, to make my research questions clearer and to formulate a main hypothesis regarding the use of late medieval cathedral spaces in this region.

A cathedral is a church that has the *cathedra*, or seat of the bishop: it is the central church of a diocese. Cathedrals can be of any size, indeed, the first churches that served as cathedrals are often considered to have been relatively small. During the Middle Ages, however, many cathedrals reached impressive sizes. I chose to focus on cathedrals instead of examining, for

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<sup>3</sup> Nada Zečević and Daniel Ziemann, eds., *Oxford Handbook of Medieval Central Europe*, Oxford Handbooks (Oxford University Press, 2022), <https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780190920715.001.0001>.

example, a collection of large churches precisely because they were the liturgical heads of their dioceses.

I choose to examine the cathedral spaces from a functional approach: to see how people have conceived these spaces, what can we infer from the choices of the patrons and builders, and how the users (the clergy, the visitors) interacted with these spaces. Cathedrals are complicated artworks, filled with many different areas diffused with meaning, and thus a simplification necessarily occurs when one examines them only from one perspective. Although the main function of a cathedral was to provide space for the liturgy, spaces in the church, through their arrangement and decoration, could serve other functions as well, among others the legitimization of a ruler's power, promoting the cult of a saint or providing a suitable place for burials of important people.

By 'late medieval,' I mean the approximately two and a half centuries from around 1300 to the middle of the sixteenth century, with the end of the Council of Trent (1563) as the upper limit of my chosen period. Although the terms 'medieval' and 'Middle Ages' are contested and the periods constantly reevaluated, these two centuries are different in many respects from the preceding ones.

My main reason for this delineation is based on the observation of the liturgical and architectural changes: Central Europe had several waves of cathedral building and rebuilding, and one of these waves swept throughout the region in the fourteenth century, when several existing cathedrals, including Prague, Várad, Eger, Kraków, Gniezno and possibly Poznań were significantly rebuilt. Architecturally, the turn of the thirteenth-fourteenth centuries the period when Romanesque features can no longer be observed, and Gothic took over and persisted through most the Late Middle Ages, while Renaissance style architecture, sometimes mixed with Late Gothic, appeared in the end of the fifteenth century and gained popularity in

the sixteenth. Politically, there was also a major change around 1300 in the region, when the Anjou and Luxemburg houses came to power, Poland was united and the power in all three regions became more centralized when the new rulers solidified their reign.

The end of my chosen period is marked by the Council of Trent (1545-63), the answer of the Catholic Church to the Protestant movements and the emblematic event of the Counter-Reformation. The varied medieval liturgical traditions of the individual regions were centralized and simplified, as one of the main objectives of the Tridentine Council was to unify the Roman Rite. The changes can be observed in the two major sources this dissertation is concerned with: the liturgical books and the church interior arrangements.<sup>4</sup>

The end of the chosen period marks the end of the Middle Ages in Hungary and the destruction of the Várad and Eger Cathedrals among others: the Hungarian Kingdom was suffering under continuous attacks from the Ottomans, with Eger Cathedral's chancel converted into a bastion starting from the 1540s. In 1565, the protestants sacked Várad Cathedral and destroyed the tomb of St. Ladislaus, and the cathedral lost most of its liturgical functions when Stephen Báthory transformed it into a warehouse and artillery support. In Prague, a different catastrophe happened: the fire of 1541 that destroyed the western part of the cathedral and damaged many of the interior furniture.

Some of the research questions I was curious about are: what do the differences in the ground plans of Central European cathedrals tell us about how the cathedral spaces functioned? Why were some parts of the cathedrals built a certain way? Was the western part of Prague Cathedral

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<sup>4</sup> Josef Andreas SJ Jungmann, *Missarum Sollemnia. Eine Genetische Erklärung Der Römischen Messe*, vol. 1 (Freiburg: Nova & Vetera, 1948), 168–85; published in English as Josef Andreas SJ Jungmann, *The Mass of the Roman Rite: Its Origins and Development (Missarum Sollemnia)*, trans. Francis A. Brunner, 2 vols. (New York, 1951); Földváy Miklós István, “Rubrica Strigoniensis. A középkori Esztergom liturgiájának normaszövegei” [Rubrica Strigoniensis. The Prescriptive Texts of the Liturgy of Medieval Esztergom] (PhD, Budapest, ELTE, 2008), 158 footnote 127.



ever completed, and if yes, how does its use compare to the other Central European cathedrals? What can the Eger Ordinal (1509), a book describing the practicalities of the liturgical celebrations that occur throughout the year tell us about the interior arrangements of Eger Cathedral? What is the typical place of the choir in a Central European cathedral in the Late Middle Ages, and why were sometimes two choirs? Besides the masses and the canonical hours, what other liturgical celebrations were practiced in the cathedrals, and how did they relate to the cathedral space? Was there a use for the western parts of cathedrals, or only the chancel mattered in the Late Middle Ages? Did royals get married and crowned in Central European cathedrals? Who were buried in the cathedrals, how many, and where? Did the placement of the tomb matter? What was the Late Medieval practice towards tombs? How did they remember the dead and how was the space used?

During the research, I have formulated a main hypothesis regarding these Late Medieval churches: the bigger a change affecting the cathedral space, the less likely it is to express a single need, or to express a single idea. In turn, smaller projects can express complicated and individualized ideas, respond to a single person's need and convey sophisticated meanings. During the thesis, I progress from chapters investigating the functions and meaning of bigger changes to smaller ones.

## **Situating the thesis in existing research**

Cathedrals in general have been the objects of many studies: it would be impossible to summarize all of the relevant literature here, as most great researchers who have engaged with medieval architecture had encountered cathedrals and had relevant thoughts as to how they were conceived and executed. In this section I limit myself to the works that this dissertation enters in dialogue with.

To very briefly paint a larger picture: one of the major problems of the thesis is the question of intention: does a cathedral building speak about an overarching plan or is it a succession of decisions made on the spot? Otto von Simson proposed the interpretation of cathedrals on a wide level, as if they reflected theological and philosophical patterns in his book *The Gothic Cathedral* (1956).<sup>5</sup> A similar idea had been proposed earlier by Erwin Panofsky in his influential book *Gothic Architecture and Scholasticism* previously in 1951, where he supposes that town-dwelling architects could have easily come into contact with Scholastic ideas at public debates and describes the parallels between Scholastic thinking and cathedral architecture.<sup>6</sup> This has proved very influential up to this day, as several authors have attempted to engage with the idea of the “Gothic architect”, although, as Paul Binski suggests, concentrating on proving or disproving Panofsky is misleading, as the more important issue would be focusing on the ideas expressed about professional roles and the refining of scientific thought in architecture.<sup>7</sup>

John James suggested a different type of cathedral construction, quite shocking at the time, that Chartres was built over many different construction campaigns. His 1981 book reads like a detective novel, and James, through a detailed examination of the building fabric, masons’ signs and particular motifs like corbels isolates different successive craftsmen working on the building, whom (or rather the workshops they were part of) he named after colors - Ruby, Scarlet etc. He demonstrates in the book how there was no permanent workshop at Chartres,

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<sup>5</sup> Otto Georg von Simson, *The Gothic Cathedral* (New York: Princeton University Press, 1956), <https://press.princeton.edu/books/paperback/9780691018676/the-gothic-cathedral>.

<sup>6</sup> Erwin Panofsky, *Gothic Architecture and Scholasticism* (Archabbey Press, 1951); Charles M. Radding and William Clark, *Medieval Architecture, Medieval Learning. Builders and Masters in the Age of Romanesque and Gothic* (London: Yale University Press, 1994).

<sup>7</sup> Paul Binski, “Working by Words Alone: The Architect, Scholasticism and Rhetoric in Thirteenth-Century France,” in *Rhetoric Beyond Words: Delight and Persuasion in the Arts of the Middle Ages*, ed. Mary Carruthers (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 28–34; the discussion of the character of the “Gothic architect”, the inventor of cathedral building has been summarized by James Hillson in “Imagining Invention: The Character of the ‘Gothic Architect’ and England, 1200–1400,” *British Art Studies*, no. 6 (2017), <https://www.britishartstudies.ac.uk/issues/issue-index/issue-6/imagining-invention>.

rather, contractors came and went, some staying for one building campaign but some like Scarlet or Olive reappear a few times.<sup>8</sup> Regarding the question of builders and patrons, the predecessor of the ideas expressed in this dissertation is Milena Bartlová's article *The Choir Triforium of Prague Cathedral Revisited: The Inscriptions and Beyond* (2009) where she argues against the idea of attributing the Prague arrangement only to Emperor Charles IV, instead proposing that the idea probably came from the chapter.<sup>9</sup>

On a methodological level, the book *The Year 1300 and the Creation of a New European Architecture* (2007) was also very influential for this dissertation. This well-curated collection of articles highlights the thought processes and inspirations behind the Gothic architecture of the 1300s, with its network of design influences across Europe, the visual logic of the time, the emergence of micro-architectural structures and the influences of politics and liturgy on church construction. Rather than relying mostly on stylistic analysis, most articles in the book engage with their subjects in their context of medieval society.<sup>10</sup>

I have found that the subject this dissertation is interested in, the actual use of the existing cathedral spaces was mostly dealt with in articles or as subsections of larger works. One of the most influential articles is *Bohemia Sacra and Polonia Sacra: Liturgy and History in Prague and Cracow Cathedrals* (2002) by Paul Crossley.<sup>11</sup> Crossley was the first researcher to conclude and argue convincingly that the way Prague Cathedral was envisioned mirrors the Wawel Cathedral's example from earlier. Both churches were meant to serve as the new royal mausoleum, the site for coronations and both housed a national saint, also meant to legitimize

<sup>8</sup> John James, *Chartres, Les Constructeurs* (Croom Helm, 1981) in English see "Chartres, The Masons Who Built a Legend." Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, Boston and Melbourne, 1982.

<sup>9</sup> Milena Bartlová, "The Choir Triforium of the Prague Cathedral Revisited: The Inscriptions and Beyond," in *Prague and Bohemia: Medieval Art, Architecture and Cultural Exchange in Central Europe*, The British Archaeological Association Conference Transactions (Leeds: British Archeological Association, 2009), 81–101.

<sup>10</sup> Zoë Opačić and Alexandra Gajewski, eds., *The Year 1300 and the Creation of a New European Architecture* (Brepols Publishers, 2007).

<sup>11</sup> Paul Crossley, "'Bohemia Sacra' and 'Polonia Sacra': Liturgy and History in Prague and Cracow Cathedrals," *Folia Historiae Artium*, 2002, 49–69.

the current ruler. Crossley also examined the Prague and Kraków coronation ordinals (1344-47 and 1434, respectively) to see how the coronation was envisaged at the time of their writing, even though some architectural fragments were completed decades later.

The article I find most inspiring and informative regarding the actual questions posed by the dissertation is *The Choirs of St. Vitus's Cathedral in Prague* (2015) by Petr Uličný. The author examines how the two choirs, located at the eastern and western ends of the Romanesque cathedral and served by two separate liturgical groups, were moved to the eastern part of the new cathedral of St. Vitus when it was rebuilt in the second half of the fourteenth century. The article also aims to reconstruct the arrangement of the church at this time, pointing out where the choirs, altars, thrones of the emperor and archbishop and various tombs, including the emperor's, were located. This shows that cathedral spaces could be complicated throughout the Middle Ages, and that the arrangement of liturgical spaces was entwined with the people inhabiting the cathedral. The two choirs served different purposes and reached different audiences, everyone from the royal family to the pilgrims visiting the saints' (particularly St. Vitus') tombs.<sup>12</sup>

Liturgical studies were also important from the context of this work. As an art historian, I was less familiar with this field of study: as Helen Gittos states in her essay *Researching Rites: Researching the History of Rites* (2015), liturgical studies as a whole can be perceived as inaccessible, especially because the later rites, varied as they are, have been studied less. Gittos also highlighted some of the problems I faced: lack of published manuscripts and the difficulty of reading rites (e.g. where to find texts that are not given in full). Essential readings like Joseph A. Jungmann's *The Mass of the Roman Rite*, published in English in 1951 and Eric

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<sup>12</sup> Petr Uličný, "The Choirs of St Vitus's Cathedral in Prague: A Marriage of Liturgy, Coronation, Royal Necropolis and Piety," *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* 168, no. 1 (November 1, 2015): 186–233, <https://doi.org/10.1179/0068128815Z.00000000050>.

Palazzo's *A History of Liturgical Books from the Beginning to the Thirteenth Century*, published in English in 1998 were important introductions to the world of liturgical studies.<sup>13</sup>

For my own research, the liturgical historians dealing with the Esztergom Ordinary were exemplary: László Dobszay's book about the Esztergom Rite (with Ernő Marosi's section about the interior arrangements of the cathedral) and his critical edition of the Eger Ordinal, along with his colleague Janka Szendrei's study of the notated sources of Hungary.<sup>14</sup> This was complemented by Miklós Földváy's work on the Hartvik Pontifical, the Esztergom Breviary, the Esztergom Ordinal and the accompanying overview of the Esztergom Rite, related liturgical books and the proposed reconstruction of Esztergom Cathedral's interior were of prime importance for the present study.<sup>15</sup>

An article that was exemplary for me based on its subject and methodology was Craig Wright's *The Palm Sunday Procession in Medieval Chartres* (2000): several sources from the 11-13th century come together to lay out the picture of the Palm Sunday procession in Chartres, where the faithful reenact how Christ entered Jerusalem. The article provides a detailed description of the procession, the songs that were performed, and how the whole could have

<sup>13</sup> Helen Gittos, "Researching Rites: Researching the History of Rites," in *Understanding Medieval Liturgy: Essays in Interpretation* (New York, 2015), 13–37; Jungmann, *The Mass of the Roman Rite: Its Origins and Development* (*Missarum Sollemnia*); Eric Palazzo, *A History of Liturgical Books from the Beginning to the Thirteenth Century*, trans. Madeleine Beaumont (Liturgical Press, 1998); See also Cyrille Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy: An Introduction to the Sources*, trans. William G. Storey and Niels Krogh Rasmussen (Washington, D.C., 1986) this is a translation of the 1975 edition of the "Introduction aux sources de l'histoire du cult chrétien au Moyen Age", first published in 1966.

<sup>14</sup> Dobszay László, *Az esztergomi rítus* [The Rite of Esztergom] (Budapest: Új Ember, 2004); Ernő Marosi, "Az Esztergomi Szent Adalbert-Székesegyház Története — A Székesegyház Alaprajza És Egyes Részei" [The History of St. Adalbert's Cathedral in Esztergom - Floor Plan and Parts of the Cathedral], in *Az Esztergomi Rítus*, by Dobszay László (Budapest: Új Ember, 2004), 44–48; László Dobszay, ed., *Liber Ordinarius Agriensis (1509)*, Musicalia Danubiana Subsidia (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, Zenetudományi Intézet, 2000); Szendrei Janka, *A „mos patriae” kialakulása 1341 előtti hangjegyes forrásaink tükrében* [The Development of the "Mos Patriae" in the Light of Our Notated Sources before 1341] (Budapest: Balassi Kiadó, 2005).

<sup>15</sup> Földváy, "Rubrica Strigoniensis. A középkori Esztergom liturgiájának normaszövegei"; Miklós István Földváy, *Ordinarius Strigoniensis*, ed. Miklós István Földváy (Budapest: Argumentum Kiadó, 2009); Miklós István Földváy, ed., "Zagreb, Metropolitanska Knjižnica / Bibl. Univ. MR 165. Epitome Pontificalis Sæculi XI. („Hartvik-Agenda"), in *Fragmenta Pontificalis Antiqui Strigoniensis Collata Ex Integris Rubricis Sex Principalium Fontium Sæculorum XI–XVI., Earundem Synopsi Atque Nonnullis Testibus Referentiisque*, 2006, 1–20.

communicated with the building of the Notre Dame Cathedral and its decorations. In the appendices, it provides the Latin descriptions and a comparison of the Palm Sunday processions from Chartres and ten other northern French cathedrals.<sup>16</sup>

## Research on the construction history of individual cathedrals

The first summary of the construction history and a very thorough collection of the sources was in the 19<sup>th</sup> century by Václav Vladivoj Tomek in *Základy starého místopisu pražského* (Foundations of the Topography of Old Prague) in 1872. Without going into detail about the numerous publications since, to focus on the last 25 years, the best overview of the medieval construction has been done in 1999 by Dobroslav Líbal and Pavel Zahradník, while the recent monographies of 2011 (published in English in 2016) and 2019, while impressive, did not treat the construction history exhaustively. It is understandable: a true monograph of the medieval Prague Cathedral would by far exceed the limits of a PhD study.<sup>17</sup> Almost all of the archaeological investigations conducted at the site of the cathedral were summarized in the first volume of the archaeological atlas of Prague Castle in 2009.<sup>18</sup>

In Gniezno, archaeological research within the chancel, among these five excavations in the ambulatory, were carried out in the years 1957-1958 by the Archaeological Workshop IHKM PAN in Gniezno under the direction of Kazimierz Żurowski, together with Gabriele

<sup>16</sup> Craig Wright, “The Palm Sunday Procession in Medieval Chartres,” in *The Divine Office in the Latin Middle Ages: Methodology and Source Studies, Regional Developments, Hagiography*, ed. Rebecca A. Baltzer and Margot E. Fassler (Oxford, 2000), 344–71.

<sup>17</sup> Václav Vladivoj Tomek, *Základy starého místopisu Praského*, vol. 4 (Prague: Nákl. Spolenosti, 1872); Dobroslav Líbal and Pavel Zahradník, *Katedrála Svatého Víta Na Pražském Hradě* (Unicornis, 1999), <https://www.databazeknih.cz/knihy/katedrala-svateho-vita-na-prazskem-hrade-272188>; Jan Royt and Jiří Kuthan, eds., *Katedrála sv. Víta, Václava a Vojtěcha* [The Cathedral of St. Vitus, St. Wenceslas and St. Adalbert] (Prague: Karolinum Press, 2011); Jiří Kuthan and Jan Royt, eds., *The Cathedral of St. Vitus at Prague Castle* (Prague: Karolinum Press, 2016); Jana Maříková-Kubková and et al., *Katedrála viditelná a neviditelná* [The Visible and Invisible Cathedral], vol. 1, 2 vols. (Prague: Hilbertinum - Společnost Kamila Hilberta, z.s., 2019).

<sup>18</sup> Iva Herichová and Jana Maříková-Kubková, *Archeologický atlas Pražského hradu. Díl I. Katedrála sv. Víta – Vikařská ulice, Castrum Pragense 10* (Prague: Archeologický ústav AV ČR, 2009).

Mikołajczyk. In addition, some further observations were made in 1973 during installation excavations.<sup>19</sup> The most important recent articles are those of Tomasz Janiak and Jakub Adamski. Janiak examines the construction history of the Gothic chancel of Gniezno Cathedral, arguing that originally, the chancel was built only with an ambulatory and radiating chapels were only added later, and that the construction of the chancel might have started earlier than the documented date of 1342, at the end of the thirteenth century.<sup>20</sup> Adamski in turn examines the decorations and architectural forms of the chancel and the nave of Gniezno Cathedral, arriving to the conclusion that it was probably influenced by the structure and details of the parish church of St. Elizabeth in Wrocław.<sup>21</sup>

Poland's most prominent cathedral today, situated at the Wawel Hill in Kraków is very well researched, and the list of examples presented here is far from complete. The monograph of the Wawel Cathedral written by Tadeusz Wojciechowski in 1900 is among the first that were completed and remains useful until today.<sup>22</sup> Already in 1975, the question of whether the Kraków cathedral was "royal" or "bishopric" in character was posed by Jerzy Pietrusiński.<sup>23</sup> The first important survey that compared the cathedral's forms to both Polish and international architectural developments is Paul Crossley's book from 1985, dealing with architecture in Lesser Poland during the reign of Casimir the Great.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> Gabriela Mikołajczyk, "Sprawozdanie z prac wykopaliskowych prowadzonych w Gnieźnie," *Sprawozdania Archeologiczne* 14 (1962): 184–93.

<sup>20</sup> Tomasz Janiak, "Początek gotyckiej przebudowy prezbiterium katedry w Gnieźnie w świetle danych archeologicznych," *Czasopismo Techniczne. Architektura* R. 108, z. 7-A (2011): 381–403.

<sup>21</sup> Jakub Adamski, "Śląska geneza gotyckiej katedry gnieźnieńskiej," *Rocznik Historii Sztuki* 39 (2014): 157–75.

<sup>22</sup> Tadeusz Wojciechowski, *Kościół katedralny w Krakowie* [The Cathedral Church of Kraków] (Kraków: Nakł. Akademii Umiejętności, 1900).

<sup>23</sup> Jerzy Pietrusiński, "Katedra krakowska - biskupia czy królewska?" [Kraków Cathedral - Bishop or Royal?], in *Sztuka i ideologia XIV wieku. Materiały sympozjum komitetu nauk o Sztuce Polskiej akademii nauk, Warszawa, 29 and 30 november 1973*, 1975, 249–73.

<sup>24</sup> Paul Crossley, *Gothic Architecture in the Reign of Casimir the Great* (Kraków: Ministerstwo Kultury i Sztuki, 1985). See the chapter about Kraków and its influence at pp. 18–84.

Among those who published about Kraków Cathedral, the work of Tomasz Węclawowicz must be mentioned.<sup>25</sup> Although he publishes mainly in Polish, in 2007 he published a paper about the remnants of the polygonal apse found at Krakow Cathedral, attributed by him to Bishop Jan Muskata, in an English language book edited by Zoë Opačić and Alexandra Gajewski, and in 2014 published a book detailing his theories, which has a Polish and an English part – unfortunately, the English translation has not been verified and contains numerous translation errors, and thus should be used only with caution.<sup>26</sup>

The research of the Wawel cathedral has been picked up in recent years by Piotr Pajor, who has written his 2012 MA Thesis about the spatial arrangement of the Krakow Cathedral in the years 1305-1364 and has published multiple articles about the XIV century phase of the cathedral since, written with exemplary clearness.<sup>27</sup> Marek Walczak examined the topography

<sup>25</sup> Tomasz Węclawowicz, “Bohemi Cracoviam Muraverunt,” *Umění: Journal of the Institute of Art History, Czech Academy of Sciences*, no. 46 (1998): 410–19; Tomasz Węclawowicz, “Fazy budowy prezbiterium katedry na Wawelu na przełomie wieków XIII i XIV. Kościoły biskupów Muskaty, Nankera i Grota” [Phases of Construction of the Presbytery of the Wawel Cathedral at the Turn of the 13th and 14th Centuries. Churches of the Bishops of Muskata, Nanker and Grot], *Studia Waweliana*, no. 8 (1999): 5–18; Tomasz Węclawowicz, *Krakowski kościół katedralny w wiekach średnich. Funkcje i możliwości interpretacji* [The Cathedral Church of Kraków in the Middle Ages. Functions and Possibilities of Interpretation] (Kraków: Publisher of the Jagiellonian University, 2004), 47–85; Tomasz Węclawowicz, “The Bohemian King, the Polish Bishop, and Their Church: Wenceslas II’s Cathedral in Kraków (1295-1305),” in *The Year 1300 and the Creation of a New European Architecture*, ed. Alexandra Gajewski and Zoë Opačić (Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2007), 177–84; Tomasz Węclawowicz, *Królewski kościół katedralny na Wawelu: w rocznicę konsekracji 1364-2014* [Royal Cathedral Church on Wawel Hill in Krakow: Jubilee of the Consecration 1364-2014] (Oficyna Wydawnicza AFM, 2014).

<sup>26</sup> Węclawowicz, *Krakowski kościół katedralny w wiekach średnich. Funkcje i możliwości interpretacji*, Węclawowicz, “The Bohemian King, the Polish Bishop, and Their Church.”, and Węclawowicz, *Królewski kościół katedralny na Wawelu*., where the second half of the book is in English.

<sup>27</sup> Piotr Pajor, “Przemiany koncepcji układu przestrzennego katedry wawelskiej w latach 1305-1364” [Changes in the Concept of the Spatial Arrangement of the Wawel Cathedral in the Years 1305-1364] (MA, Krakow, Jagellonian University, 2012); Piotr Pajor, “Topografia sakralna katedry krakowskiej w XIV wieku a kult św. Stanisława” [The Sacred Topography of the Krakow Cathedral in the XIVth Century and the Cult of St. Stanislaus], in *Średniowieczna architektura sakralna w Polsce w świetle najnowszych badań: materiały z sesji naukowej zorganizowanej przez Muzeum Początków Państwa Polskiego w Gnieźnie 13-15 listopada 2013 roku*, ed. Tomasz Janiak and Dariusz Stryniak (Gniezno: Muzeum Początków Państwa Polskiego, 2014), 283–300, [https://www.academia.edu/11320025/Topografia\\_sakralna\\_katedry\\_krakowskiej\\_w\\_XIV\\_wieku\\_a\\_kult\\_%C5%9Bw\\_Stanis%C5%82awa](https://www.academia.edu/11320025/Topografia_sakralna_katedry_krakowskiej_w_XIV_wieku_a_kult_%C5%9Bw_Stanis%C5%82awa); Piotr Pajor, “Dwa chóry katedry krakowskiej niezrealizowane w pierwszym dwudziestolecu XIV wieku” [Two Choirs of the Krakow Cathedral Not Realized in the First Twenty Years of the Fourteenth Century], *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki* 2, no. 77 (2015): 197–221; Piotr Pajor, “Transept katedry krakowskiej jako miejsce kultu Świętego Stanisława w XIV wieku” [The Transept of the Krakow Cathedral as a Place of Worship of Saint Stanislaus in the 14th Century], *Studia Waweliana* 19 (2018): 5–19; Piotr Pajor, “Kaplice św. św. Piotra i Pawła oraz św. Mikołaja w przestrzeni katedry krakowskiej w XIII–XV wieku” [The Chapels of Sts. Peter and Paul and St. Nicholas in the Space of the Krakow Cathedral in the 13th-15th Centuries], *TECHNE. Seria Nowa*, no. 5 (2020): 39–59.



of Kraków Cathedral's royal necropolis in 2015, where he compared the arrangement of the royal tombs, especially that of Władysław the Short (1320-1333) to the royal tombs of the Plantagenet kings in Westminster Abbey.<sup>28</sup>

Poznań Cathedral has been first studied in the wave of interest for the earliest remains from the formation of the Polish state and its later phases have only lately been the subject studies, most of them by Szczęśny Skibiński; a complete and updated monograph would be welcome.<sup>29</sup> For the cathedral of Wrocław, there is a thorough exploration of the building history in the proceedings of a 2014 conference, in which, among others, the episcopal burials are treated in great detail.<sup>30</sup>

Mihály Détshy has contributed extensively to the collection of written sources connected to the constructions at Eger Castle.<sup>31</sup> Károly Kozák, the archaeologist who led the majority of the excavations, has published his findings and his interpretations, and has collaborated with Détshy to write the earliest comprehensive construction history of Eger Cathedral.<sup>32</sup> Krisztina

<sup>28</sup> Marek Walczak, "Topography of the Royal Necropolis at the Cracow Cathedral in the Middle Ages," in *Epigraphica & Sepultura*, ed. Jiří Roháček, 6 (Prague: Artefactum, 2015), 67–91.

<sup>29</sup> Krystyna Józefowiczówna, *Z badań nad architekturą przedromańską i romańską w Poznaniu* (Wrocław-Warsaw-Krakow: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1963); Szczęśny Skibiński, *Katedra poznańska* (Księg. Św. Wojciecha, 2001); Andrzej Kuszczalski, "Prezbiterium katedry poznańskiej. Rekonstrukcja faz, układ, związki i wpływy," *Kronika Miasta Poznania* 71, no. 1 (2003): 157–78; Olga Antowska-Gorączniak, "Wczesnogotycka katedra w Poznaniu," *Archaeologia Historica Polona* 22 (December 15, 2014): 89–112; Hanna Kóčka-Krenz, "Poznań – miejsce centralne w średniowieczu," *Archaeologia Historica Polona* 24 (2016): 27–40, <https://doi.org/10.12775/AHP.2016.002>.

<sup>30</sup> Węclawowicz, *Królewski kościół katedralny na Wawelu*; Crossley, *Gothic Architecture in the Reign of Kasimir the Great*; Szczęśny Skibiński, *Polskie katedry gotyckie* (Poznań: Gaudentinum, 1996).

<sup>31</sup> Détshy Mihály, "Az egri várszékesegyház építéstörténetének okleveles adatai" [Charter-Based Evidence Regarding the Construction of the Castle Cathedral of Eger], *Művészettörténeti Értesítő* 13, no. 1 (1964): 1–19; Mihály Détshy, "Munkások És Mesterek Az Egri Vár Építkezésein 1493 És 1596 Között. Első Közlemény" [Workers and Masters on the Construction of the Eger Castle between 1493 and 1596. First Communication.], *Az Egri Múzeum Évkönyve* 1, no. 1 (1963): 173–99; Mihály Détshy, "Munkások És Mesterek Az Egri Vár Építkezésein 1493 És 1596 Között. Második Közlemény." [Workers and Masters on the Construction of the Eger Castle between 1493 and 1596. Second Communication.], *Az Egri Múzeum Évkönyve*, no. 2 (1964): 151–78.

<sup>32</sup> Kozák Károly, "Az egri vár Árpád-kori temetőjének feltárása I." [The Excavation of the Árpadian Cemetery of Eger Castle I.], *Agria. Annales Musei Agriensis* 16–17 (1979): 157–81; Kozák Károly, "Az egri vár Árpád-kori temetőjének feltárása II." [The Excavation of the Árpadian Cemetery of Eger Castle II.], *Agria. Annales Musei Agriensis* 18 (1981): 5–46; Kozák Károly, "Az egri vár Árpád-kori temetőjének feltárása III." [The Excavation of the Árpadian Cemetery of Eger Castle III.], *Agria. Annales Musei Agriensis* 22 (1986): 5–34; Kozák Károly, "Az egri várszékesegyház feltárása I." [The Excavation of the Castle Cathedral of Eger I.],

Havasi has done a substantial overview of the early Eger Cathedral in her PhD dissertation focusing on the cathedral in the early 1200s.<sup>33</sup> She also cites the most complete extant description of the mid-sixteenth century state of the building, composed in 1805.<sup>34</sup> This description coincides with the two most important 16<sup>th</sup> century depictions of Eger Castle: Pietro Ferrabosco's 1586 drawing and Ottavio Baldigara's plans from 1572.<sup>35</sup>

The cathedral in Esztergom could not be archaeologically examined as the cathedral site has been completely destroyed in the 18<sup>th</sup> century when the new cathedral was built and even the foundations removed. Nonetheless, the castle hill and especially the southern palace was thoroughly researched and was a successful project of the Hungarian 1930s monument restoration movement, headed by Kálmán Lux and Dezső Várnai. This work continued until today, more or less, more actively at the time of the newer restoration of the castle in the 1990s when the southern palace was restored, and the lapidary was first catalogized. A thorough sweep of the available sources was done when the Esztergom castle hill part of the Archaeological Topography of Esztergom and the Dorog area was assembled in 1979 by István Horváth et al. The first to lay the groundwork for the periodization of the cathedral was Ernő Marosi in 1984, followed by Sándor Tóth's analysis of the 11-13<sup>th</sup> century phase of the

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*Agria. Annales Musei Agriensis* 10 (1972): 159–90; Kozák Károly, "Az egri várszékesegyház feltárása II.," *Agria. Annales Musei Agriensis* 11/12 (1974): 131–54; Károly Kozák, "Az egri várszékesegyház feltárása III.," *Agria. Annales Musei Agriensis* 13 (1975): 81–96; Mihály Détshy and Károly Kozák, "Eger Vára," in *Heves Megye Műemlékei*, ed. P. Voit, vol. II., Magyarország Műemléki Topográfiája 8, 1972, 77–159.

<sup>33</sup> Havasi Krisztina, "A középkori egri székesegyház az 1200-as évek elején I." [The Medieval Cathedral of Eger at the Beginning of the 1200s I.] (PhD, Budapest, Eötvös Lóránd Tudományegyetem, 2011).

<sup>34</sup> "Canonica Visitatio Metr. Ecclesiae Agriensis I." (The Archdiocesan Archives of Eger, 1805), 18.  
 „...*Posita erat haec cathedralis ecclesia Agriensis in arce Agriensi ad plagam eius orientalem, nonnihil supra viam sinistram versus, quae e centro arcis eiusdem ducit ad promontorium Almagyar, per portam arcis hactenus Setétkapu dictam. Sanctuarium respiciebat orientem, frontispicium cum duabus turribus occidentem, ad latus eius meridionale plurium capellarum vestigia videbantur, structa erat tota ex lapidibus quadratis, rudera eius, utpote bonam partem frontispicii et turrium, totum item latus meridionale totius navis in altitudine usque coronam murorum pertingente, cum integris fenestris, nec non arcum navim ecclesiae a sanctuario separantem, denique unam ad latus septentrionale prope sanctuarium capellam politissimi candidi et rubri marmoris lamellis stratam, omnes qui actu vivimus spectavimus usque annum 1783.*”

<sup>35</sup> Ferrabosco's drawing was published in Détshy and Kozák, "Eger Vára" picture no. 17. page 135.

cathedral. Later, it was Gergely Buzás who summarized the building history of Esztergom Castle in the Middle Ages in the catalogue of the lapidary, also providing an analysis of the surviving plans, trying to match stone fragments to different building periods.<sup>36</sup> The complete review of the rich late medieval material in the Esztergom lapidary would be a huge undertaking and a systematic study has not been attempted yet, especially because the fragments could have come from any number of Late Gothic style constructions on the castle hill and beyond.

The medieval cathedral of Várad (present day Oradea, Romania) has many advantages but also poses many problems for the researcher. Some advantages that make it ideal for a case study: it has one of the more well-preserved collections of medieval and early modern descriptions, painstakingly collected by Jolán Balogh in her monography of Várad Castle.<sup>37</sup> These are partly due to the tomb of St. Ladislaus being an important medieval site, as much for pilgrimage as for settling legal issues with oaths.<sup>38</sup> The biggest problem hindering the investigation of the cathedral has been the recurring problems with the archaeological excavations: the research history is riddled with professional conflicts and lack of support from the governing bodies overseeing the castle.

<sup>36</sup> Horváth István, Kelemen Márta H., and Torma István, *Komárom megye régészeti topográfiája: Esztergom és a dorogi járás* [Archaeological Topography of Komárom County: Esztergom and Dorog District] (Akadémiai Kiadó, 1979), 91–95, 101–7; Ernő Marosi, *Die Anfänge der Gotik in Ungarn: Esztergom in der Kunst des 12.-13. Jahrhunderts* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1984); Tóth Sándor, “Esztergom Szent Adalbert-székesegyháza és az Árpád-kori építészet” [The St. Adalbert Cathedral of Esztergom and the Árpadian Architecture], in *Ezer év Szent Adalbert oltalma alatt*, 2000, 121–54; Gergely Buzás, “Az esztergomi vár román kori és gótikus épületei” [The Romanesque and Gothic Buildings of Esztergom Castle], in *Az Esztergomi Vármúzeum Kőtárának katalógusa*, ed. Gergely Buzás and Gergely Tolnai, *Az Esztergomi Vármúzeum füzetek* (Esztergom: Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, 2004), 7–44; see also Zolnay László, *A középkori Esztergom* [The Medieval Esztergom] (Budapest: Gondolat, 1983).

<sup>37</sup> Balogh Jolán, *Varadinum: Várad vára*. [Varadinum: Castle of Várad], vol. 1, 2 vols., *Művészettörténeti füzetek* 13 (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1982) has the construction history, while volume 2 has the collection of written sources.

<sup>38</sup> Some of the proceedings from the 13th century trials were recorded in the *Regestrum Varadiense*, published in János Karácsonyi and Samu Borovszky, eds., *Regestrum Varadiense* (Budapest, 1903); see also Uhrin Dorottya, “Az istenítéletek társadalomtörténeti elemzése a Várad Regestrum alapján” [The Social History Analysis of the Trials by Ordeal Based on the Regestrum of Várad], in *Mortun falu. 800 éves Kunszentmárton 1215-2015*, ed. Barna Gábor (Kunszentmárton: Helytörténeti Múzeum, Kunszentmárton, 2016), 28–43, <http://real.mtak.hu/53885/>.

The cathedral and medieval castle of Várad has seen archaeological investigations in 1881, 1883 and 1912.<sup>39</sup> For Várad cathedral, the sheer volume of written sources combined with the relative lack of archaeological remains made it hard to provide accurate descriptions. In her monumental monography of Várad Castle, Jolán Balogh published almost 400 pages of written sources and quotations and 194 images in 1943, and she was the first to compile the medieval building periods and account for the fourteenth-century expansion of the cathedral.<sup>40</sup> The next publication came more than forty years later, in 1989, when the stone fragments at the local museum were catalogued and Imre Takács wrote an updated version of the cathedral's medieval building history.<sup>41</sup> Until 1991, military was stationed in the castle and it could not be excavated and studied, but then in 1991-1998 there were excavations led by Adrian Andrei Rusu every summer, however, only the first year's results, the area of the medieval episcopal palace was published.<sup>42</sup>

Várad Castle has been restored between 2010-2015, and the accompanying archaeological investigations, led by Nándor Mihálka, are still being processed, although some new research has been made available.<sup>43</sup> I have contributed to this by compiling the catalogue of the Gothic

<sup>39</sup> For the earlier campaign see Flóris Rómer, "Előzetes jelentés a nagyvárad várban 1883-ban folytatott ásatásról," *Archaeológiai Értesítő* 3 (1883): XVI–XXIV.

<sup>40</sup> Balogh, *Varadinum*, 1982.

<sup>41</sup> Imre Takács, "Bátori András 'második temploma,'" in *Várad kiöregedékek*, ed. Terézia Kerny (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Művészettörténeti Kutatócsoport, 1989), 39-53.

<sup>42</sup> Adrian Andrei Rusu, *Cetatea Oradea. Monografie Arheologică. Zona Palatului Episcopal* (Oradea: Editura Muzeului „Țării Crișurilor”, 2002).

<sup>43</sup> Mihálka Nándor, "A várad vár Anjou-kori építkezései a régészeti ásatások tükrében" [The Anjou-Age Constructions in Várad Castle in the Light of Archaeological Excavations], in *Nagyvárad és Bihar az Anjou-korban*, ed. Zsoldos Attila, *Tanulmányok Biharország történetéből* 5 (Oradea: Varadinum Kulturális Alapítvány, 2018), 259–79; Fehete-Porsztner Kitti, Mihálka Nándor, and Marta Doru, "Újabb adatok a nagyvárad vár középkori és reneszánsz kori topográfiájához. A nagyvárad vár régészeti ásatásai a 2010–2015 közötti helyreállítások során" [New Data for the Medieval and Renaissance Topography of the Oradea Castle. Archaeological Excavations of the Castle of Oradea during the Restorations between 2010 and 2015], in *Kőbe zárt történelem. Tanulmányok Emődi János 80 születésnapjára*, *Studia Historica Transylvaniensia* 3 (Oradea: Collegium Varadinum, 2021), 504–24; Balla Tünde and Lakatos Attila, "Rómer Flóris kéziratosa jelentése a nagyvárad vár 1883. évi ásatásáról" [The Manuscript of Flóris Rómer's Report on the 1883 Archeological Excavation of Oradea Castle], in *Kőbe zárt történelem. Tanulmányok Emődi János 80 születésnapjára*, ed. Katócz Zoltán, Emődi András, and Lakatos Attila, *Studia Historica Transylvaniensia* 3 (Oradea: Collegium Varadinum, 2021), 476–503.

stone fragments as my BA thesis, however, there is a need to review this material and compare it to a larger number of stone fragments from other medieval churches.

Zagreb Cathedral, although getting more popular nowadays, has not been studied so far as thoroughly as it would be necessary. The church was first described in detail by Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski in 1856 and then treated by Ivan Krstitelj Tkalčić in his 1885 monograph of the cathedral; unfortunately, both of these are very scarce in their references.<sup>44</sup> Sadly, the 1988 monograph by Ana Deanović and Željka Čorak is also not as and does not expand on the list of references.<sup>45</sup> Architectural and stylistical examinations of the nearby St. Stephen chapel and the cathedral have been published since by Tibor Kollár, Ernő Marosi and Zorislav Horvat.<sup>46</sup>

## Methodology and sources

The first group of primary sources are those needed to assemble what I consider a *constructed* source: the late medieval phase of the selected cathedrals. In some cases, it is not evident what the churches' east end looked like in the fourteenth or fifteenth centuries, and conflicting theories abound. In order to have a valid starting point, the building history of the

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<sup>44</sup> Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski, *Prvostolna crkva zagrebačka opisana s gledišta povjestnice, umjetnosti i starinah* [The Zagreb Metropolitan Church Described from Historical, Art-Historical and Archaeological Atandpoint] (Zagreb, 1856); Ivan Krstitelj Tkalčić, *Prvostolna crkva zagrebačka neko i sada* [The First Cathedral Church in Zagreb Then and Now] (Zagreb: Knjigotiskara Karla Albrechta, 1885), 51–100; See also Ivan Krstitelj Tkalčić, ed., *Monumenta historica liberae regiae civitatis Zagrabiae*, vol. 2 (Zagreb: C. Albrecht, 1894), CXLIV–CLV: “Prvostolna crkva i bogoslužje” = “First church and worship.”

<sup>45</sup> Ana Deanović and Željka Čorak, *Zagrebačka Katedrala* [Zagreb Cathedral] (Zagreb: Kršćanska sadašnjost, 1988).

<sup>46</sup> Kollár Tibor, “A zágrábi püspöki palota Szent István-kápolnája” [St. Stephen's Chapel in the Episcopal Palace in Zagreb], *Műemlékvédelmi Szemle*, no. 2 (1996): 87–96; Marosi Ernő, “Zágráb, az internacionális gótika szobrászatának központja” [Zagreb, the Center of International Gothic Sculpture], in *Építészet a középkori Dél-Magyarországon. Tanulmányok*, ed. Kollár Tibor (Budapest: Teleki László Alapítvány, 2010), 59–102; Horvat Zorislav, “Zágráb gótikus építésze, különös tekintettel a tagozatformákra” [The Gothic Architecture of Zagreb, with Special Attention to the Forms of the Architectural Elements], in *Építészet a középkori Dél-Magyarországon. Tanulmányok* (Budapest: Teleki László Alapítvány, 2010), 23–58.

cathedrals must be reviewed, sources attesting to the structure and arrangement of the buildings must be collected and, whenever possible, a hypothetical state constructed. For cathedrals like the St. Vitus or Wawel Cathedrals, this is easier as many of their medieval walls are standing, but Hungarian cathedrals like Esztergom, Eger and Várad need careful consideration before they could be analyzed.

To construct these medieval phases, I use traditional art historical methodology and collect material, visual and textual sources. The first group, material sources, consists of any standing walls or foundations that are visible today. In addition to the original buildings, the second group of my material sources are the stone fragments of these churches unearthed in excavations and found typically in lapidaries on the site or in city history museums.

Visual and textual sources also play a huge role in formulating hypotheses about the building periods of the cathedrals. Contemporary illustrations, accounts recorded by visitors, descriptions of the buildings and in some cases even archive photographs play a huge role in clarifying the buildings' now-lost features and documenting stone fragments or other decorations that have since disappeared.

Written sources like donation deeds records and other documents of the dioceses also provide clues regarding the churches. Regarding the intent behind the design and the development of the construction, written sources such as contracts and wills may also be considered, as well as other documents regarding the patrons, builders or users of the cathedral. In the case of Polish and Czech cathedrals, we have chronicles describing the construction.<sup>47</sup> These sources are subject to source criticism, as sometimes the events they refer to did not

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<sup>47</sup> Jacek Wiesiołowski, ed., "Roczniki Wielkopolskie," in *Kronika Miasta Poznania*, vol. 2 (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Miejskie, 1995), 67–122; Beneš Krabice Z Weitmile, *Kronika Pražského Kostela*, ed. Marie Bláhová, vol. 4 (Prague: Svoboda, 1987); Brygida Kurbisowna, ed., *Kronika Wielkopolska*, trans. Kazimierz Abgarowicz (Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawn. Nauk, 1965).

happen exactly the way they were described by the narratives or as they were meant to be by the patron whose intentions we can read about in a charter.

Two texts that are similar but have originated in quite different circumstances are the description of the altars from the statutes of Várad cathedral (1375) and the notes of the *ordo* of *commendas* from Prague (after 1416), a type of document that specifies when and how the commemorative masses should be celebrated for the endowed altars.<sup>48</sup> They are some of the most valuable contemporary sources, but can also be the most confusing.

I have studied a number of liturgical books for the present work, of which not all were already published editions. I could access these via the Usuarium, the Digital Collection of Sources for the Research Group of Liturgical History of the Centre for the Study of Religion at Eötvös Loránd University's Faculty of Humanities, for which Földvály has compiled a helpful document: *A Guide to the Study of Latin Liturgical Uses in the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Period* (2023).<sup>49</sup>

The most useful written sources for this are the *ordinals*, which contain instructions as to how the liturgy should be performed. The Hungarian ones we have from the end of the fifteenth century Esztergom<sup>50</sup> and beginning of the sixteenth century from Eger<sup>51</sup> and span the whole

<sup>48</sup> Tomek, *Základy starého místopisu Praského*, 4:248–52 The commenda is a type of medieval endowment, also referred to as a type of chantry, meaning a fixed sum of money or the income from a property left to a church official in exchange for saying mass(es) at the anniversary of someone's dead for the benefit of their soul. The term "commenda" is hard to navigate as the same word is used for an entirely different type of trade contract in the Middle Ages.

<sup>49</sup> <https://usuarium.elte.hu/> ; Miklós István Földvály, *Usuarium. A Guide to the Study of Latin Liturgical Uses in the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Period* (Budapest, 2023), <https://real.mtak.hu/172372/>.

<sup>50</sup> Földvály, *Ordinarius Strigoniensis*.

<sup>51</sup> Original: *Ordinarius Secundum Veram Notulam Sive Rubricam Almæ Ecclesiæ Agriensis de Observatione Divinorum Officiorum et Horarum Canoniarum*. (Kraków: Haller, 1509); later published with a short preface in Kandra Kabos, ed., *Ordinarius secundum veram notulam sive rubricam almæ ecclesiæ Agriensis de observatione divinorum officiorum et horarum canonicarum. A krakói unicum könyvpéldány után*. [Ordinarius Secundum Veram Notulam Sive Rubricam Alme Ecclesie Agriensis de Observatione Divinorum Officiorum et Horarum Canoniarum. After the Unique Kraków Book Specimen.] (Eger: Az Egri Egyházmegyei Irodalmi Egyesület, 1905); its most recent edition, with a very informative introduction and citing the rare Kandra preface, is Dobszay, *Liber Ordinarius Agriensis (1509)*.

of the liturgical year and describe how the celebrants moved inside and sometimes outside the church on some occasions.

The manuscripts that describe the liturgical acts that take place in them (ordinals, missals) can be (and usually are) interpreted in the context of the cathedral building; ordinals were meant for the whole diocese, but in case of other churches they needed to make accommodations to adapt the liturgies described to their own spaces.

Relatively few of the Late Medieval liturgical books contain references to the different spaces in the church, precisely because they were meant to be read at a certain place: the *antiphonary* and the *gradual* in the “singing chair” in front of the steps leading up to the apse (*ante gradus*), the *evangelarium*, *epistolarium* and *lectionarium* in ambons near the choir, the *collectare* or *capitulare* in the apse or in the choir. Smaller books that could be carried around were the *ritual*, *pontifical* or *processional*.<sup>52</sup>

As Miklós Földvály very aptly says in the section where he is attempting a reconstruction of the built environment at Esztergom, the Esztergom Ordinal can be very helpful, not because it would offer a detailed description of the church space – the people who wrote this text have lived there all their lives, and therefore had no need to describe it –, but because it can confirm existing hypotheses, especially combined with the general knowledge of how western Christian liturgical spaces were organized. Some rituals used the space more than others, and, in the case of Esztergom, it was mostly the celebrations of the Ash Wednesday, the Easter Week and Pentecost that provided the most amount of useful information.<sup>53</sup> In my observation, in the case of Eger the liturgy of All Saint’s Day or Commemoration of All the Faithful Departed in the beginning of November also provided interesting details.

<sup>52</sup> Földvály, “Rubrica Strigoniensis. A középkori Esztergom liturgiájának normaszövegei,” 105–8.

<sup>53</sup> Földvály, 385–86.



## A word about scientific terms related to medieval cathedrals.

It is useful to review the parts of the church and their Latin names, as it can be quite confusing to know exactly what each architectural term means. Most cathedrals, and all of the examples in this dissertation, have an elongated shape and are located on an East-West axis, with the most important part of the church, the main apse and the main altar, located at the head of the eastern part. On the opposite side, the main gate of the church is located, its importance is usually emphasized by two towers. The rectangular hall between these two main parts is the nave, which sometimes has additional gates to the north and, more importantly, to the south. Let us walk through the parts of the church from east to west.

I have elected to refer to the whole eastern part as the *chancel*: this will include the eastern main apse, side apses, the space leading up to the (estimated place of the) choir screen, and, if they exist, the ambulatory and radiating chapels. Other words in use for this part are the choir and sanctuary, but I consider them both misleading: *choir* is actually the space within the eastern part that is between the main altar and the choir screen, where the choir of canons stood (and in some cases, sat); while *sanctuary* is more ambiguous, but seems to also refer to the area around the main altar. Both choir and sanctuary are used in Late Medieval Central European sources to denote these smaller spaces within the church.

The next part, although not present in every church, is the transept. On the ground plans, it can be recognized as the shorter arms of a cross perpendicular to the main axis of the church, and in the case of basilical churches (where the nave is higher than the aisles), the roof of the transept is as high as the nave. Sometimes, the transept does not have arms that extend beyond the body of the church and thus it is only visible in a longitudinal cross-section, but not on the ground plan. Usually, everything west of the choir screen is simply called *the western part*,

although some works just refer to it as the nave. Strictly speaking, the part between the transept and western portal is the nave and aisles, sometimes with additional chapels. The westernmost part is the *porch*, sometimes with an added *western hall*: other terms like *westwerk* and *galilea* only apply to Early Medieval churches but not to our Late Medieval cathedrals.

In the case of names of medieval people and places, I have yet to find satisfying guidelines. For people, I use English names, except in cases where the name does not have an English variant or the person is too well known internationally by their non-English variant name. In the case of places, I aim to adhere to original names (for example the city that was the center of the diocese of Várad is today called Oradea as it is located in Romania, but before that it was called Nagyvárad or Grosswardein) for the sake of simplicity.

I have included a ground plan of a typical cathedral, with the English names of the building parts used in this dissertation below:

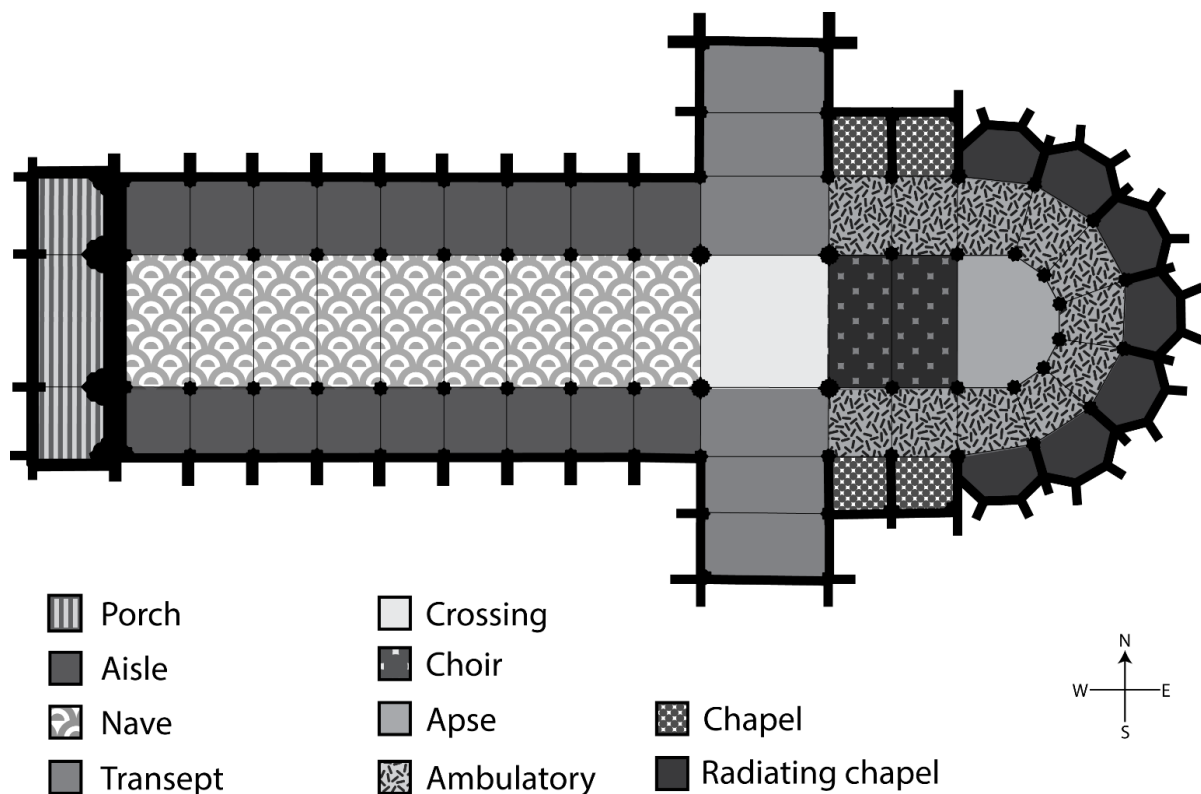


Figure 1. A schematic plan showing the elements and orientation that are common to many churches in Western Christianity.

## Ground plans and other illustrations

As ground plans play an important part in most architectural discussions, it seems necessary that I include a brief explanation about ground plans in general and their use in this dissertation in particular. While the burden of scientific accuracy is mostly on the text, in the case of architecture history, illustrations also need to be examined closely.

Ground plans can be understood as a horizontal section through the building at ground level, or at roughly 1-2 meters above the ground, or even higher, depending on the drawing. Ground plans have various levels of abstraction: most usually differentiate between sections of walls (indicated by thick lines) and doors or windows (indicated by thinner lines). In the case of medieval buildings, sometimes the type of vaulting is also indicated on a ground plan: this is the case when there are diagonal lines across a section. Pillars or columns are also typically indicated on a ground plan: they are small rectangular or circular shapes.

Ideally, ground plans have descriptive information attached to them: the name of the building depicted, the scale of the drawing, the orientation regarding the cardinal directions, the time period and the indication whether it is a plan depicting standing walls or a hypothesis of the author.

Please note the difference between the typical ground plans used by art historians and the results of architectural surveys presented as drawings. An architectural survey encompasses the process of understanding a building's shapes and characteristics and consists of 1) a plan to undertake the survey, 2) research on historical and archival documentation, 3) measuring the building and recording the information, and then 4) synthesizing and processing the recorded information to 5) present it as an understandable model or sets of models. The results of architectural surveys can be presented as videos, 3D models and 2D drawings depicting all kinds of selected information from the different layers of wall paint to the accurate shapes of

the walls given at several horizontal sections to the compositions of walls down to the individual stones.

Unfortunately, it is rarely the case that architectural surveys are conducted for medieval churches and that the results are accessible for the researchers. Notable cases of architectural surveys that also explain the process and list important considerations, however, do exist.<sup>54</sup> The materials of these surveys are important as they are less interpretative than the usual illustrations found in art historical publications and thus reduce the chance of coming to erroneous conclusions using these as evidence.

It is also important to note the difference between ground plans used by art historians and archaeological plans. Archaeological plans are drawn records of features and, in some cases, artifacts found at an excavation. In most cases, archaeological plans include the depth of the recording relative to the surface level of the excavation and include minimal interpretation in the form of clearing up outlines of building walls or foundations.

It is worth keeping in mind that while archeological plans taken at the foundational level of a building serve as evidence that construction of a given section of a wall started (and carried on for at least a few months, as foundations could take long to completely solidify to bear the load of stone walls), they do not correspond to the exact shape of the wall above – e.g. a thicker foundation could support a thinner wall or a circular foundation might be built for a polygonal wall for the sake of simplicity. Sometimes in the case of medieval cathedrals, standing walls and foundations found at the site are depicted simultaneously, especially in the case of

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<sup>54</sup> Jorge Romero, “Architectural Survey of Historical Buildings: The Orders of Classical Architecture in the Baptistry of Florence,” *Frontiers of Architectural Research* 10, no. 1 (March 1, 2021): 117–33, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.foar.2020.07.002>.

chronological plans. It is important to always pay close attention to the shapes – rough or “wriggly” outlines might indicate that only foundations were discovered and not actual walls.

When reading a ground plan or any other illustration, it is important to keep in mind what the author’s intent was. The ground plan might be a summary of the author’s findings, like in the case of a periodized ground plan at the end of an article written by archaeologists researching the construction history of a building. The ground plan might depict a hypothetical arrangement considered by the author in which case extra wariness is necessary to depict which features are based on evidence and which are pure speculation. The ground plan might serve as a “supplementary” illustration to indicate the place of objects in a building (e.g. the tombs) or the hypothetical movement of someone in which case the building depicted might be simplified.

## Ground plans in this research – meanings, limitations

I have chosen to take particular care in producing my own drawings, but also to indicate the sources where I have them. Please see the subsection *Figure sources* detailing the sources for every illustration. I invite my readers to read the dissertation on a computer screen and view the pictures preferably at or above 100% magnification so as to allow for the best experience.

My guide to reading the ground plans in this dissertation:

- I aim to include a compass with every ground plan. If no compass is provided, please keep in mind that the main apse of the cathedrals always points roughly but almost never truly towards the east.
- When showing the chronology of the construction of a building, I use colored ground plans that distinguish between the different building periods. In some cases,

accurate periodization is impossible – here I indicate my guesses as to the time of construction. The respective time periods are always indicated at the legend provided with each drawing; however, I aim for:

- greys and yellows for before 1300,
- oranges and reds for the 14<sup>th</sup> century,
- teal and blue for the 15<sup>th</sup> century,
- purple for the 16<sup>th</sup> century and a
- solid grey outline with white shading for the parts after 1563.

I have taken care to make my drawings accessible to colorblind people, which meant a careful selection of the colors used. I have used the online tool Coblis.<sup>55</sup>

- Whenever it is possible, I differentiate between walls that were a) actually built, b) very probably built and c) hypothetically there.
  - a) is indicated by a shaded area with a solid outline,
  - b) is indicated by a shaded area without an outline and
  - c) is indicated by a dashed outline with no shading (the color of the outline, however, corresponds to the period).
- Whenever structures were built on top of each other, this is indicated by the newly built structure overlaying the older structure. If the newer construction engulfs details of the older construction to such an extent that it would make it impossible to read, I have made the top layer transparent to some extent.

Please note that I had no means of conducting anything similar to an architectural survey: all of my drawings are based on plans that were already available. Thus, the accuracy of the drawings varies and in general does not serve to depict the actual shapes of the walls and the details of features. My intent in most cases was to communicate chronological relationships

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<sup>55</sup> <https://www.color-blindness.com/coblis-color-blindness-simulator/>

between the different building parts and to illustrate the spatial relationships between features and objects, and in some cases to illustrate my own hypotheses. Unfortunately, ground plans are limited to only two dimensions, while cathedrals were three-dimensional constructions. I include three-dimensional reconstruction drawings and longitudinal sections wherever I can.

## The structure of the dissertation

The dissertation is organized into five chapters, each dealing with a distinct problem, integrating the descriptions of building histories or topographical descriptions of relevant Late Medieval cathedrals.

Chapter I. *The reemergence of ambulatories: a building part with ambiguous functions* outlines the construction histories of six Central European cathedrals where the eastern ends were rebuilt with ambulatories in the fourteenth century. In the individual sections, the important dates and events are recorded, and conflicting theories are examined for each construction history: some of them accessible in English for the first time. In the second part of the chapter, the ambulatory arrangement is analyzed for these cases, first from the viewpoint of possible functions, then as a possible way of conveying symbolic meaning.

In Chapter II. *The changing relationship between the nave and the chancel in relation to cathedral liturgy*, the dissertation zooms out a bit, focusing on the relationship of the cathedral's eastern and western parts, and the tendency of Late Medieval cathedral builders to favor the former. The cathedral space as one contiguous whole from the western portal to the eastern main apse is brought into question. Two case studies are investigated where this phenomenon seems particularly noteworthy: Prague Cathedral, where it is unsure whether the western part was even built in the Middle Ages and Eger Cathedral, where the height of the Late Medieval chancel poses questions regarding its accessibility, especially for lay people.

In the following chapter, *III. Second choirs and new communities in the cathedral space* a small but interesting phenomenon is investigated: two instances in which there was a second choir in the cathedral space, both of them dedicated to the Virgin Mary. In addition to analyzing these, looking for the historical reasons and building context, two more Late Medieval cathedral arrangements supplement the analysis: the case of Esztergom, where a secondary choir was present in front of the Virgin Mary altar and Eger, where there is no secondary choir but the Virgin Mary altar is still a prominent place.

Chapter *IV. Cathedral portals and other spaces associated with medieval law* looks towards the western side of the cathedral. Cathedral portals were originally the places where both lay and ecclesiastical courts adjourned, this situation changed by the Late Middle Ages. It seems like church portals still kept this function in the Hungarian Kingdom, while the same did not seem likely in the case of Polish and Bohemian cathedrals. In turn, neither coronations nor royal weddings took place in cathedrals in Hungary, while the Polish and Bohemian cathedrals, notably Kraków and Prague housed both.

The last chapter, *V. The dead in the cathedral space* investigates how tombs and epitaphs were arranged in Central European cathedrals in the Late Middle Ages. These small constructions could serve various individual goals alongside their eschatological value, and by being buried in the church space, the deceased was still a member of the religious community, passively taking part in the mass. However, medieval cathedrals were spaces where tombs could be moved, sometimes by digging up graves and placing the bones in an ossuary. One of these, the ossuary at Eger Cathedral, is investigated and contextualized into the wider trend of ossuary-building in Central Europe. Finally, there were numerous liturgical ways to remember and honor the deceased: those that affect or use the cathedral space in a meaningful way are laid out here.



Conclusion follows after the chapters, where the main points are laid out, the findings from each chapter are summarized and directions for future research are outlined. This is followed by the list of primary and secondary sources, the list of figures and the sources for each figure. A copyright notice follows, as there are numerous drawings made by me, I outline the conditions under which they can be reused. Finally, four shorter writings follow, which could not be integrated into the dissertation's main text but serve as important references that can be consulted for the research history of Várad Cathedral and the Late Medieval topographies of Várad, Esztergom and Zagreb.

# **I. The reemergence of ambulatories: a building part with ambiguous functions**

## **A brief overview of the history of ambulatories before the fourteenth century**

In fourteenth-century Central Europe, we see a preference for choirs with ambulatories when the eastern parts of cathedrals were rebuilt, a marked rise from the twelfth or thirteen centuries, when this arrangement was far less popular. It is a well-known fact that Charles IV commissioned a French master builder, Matthias of Arras to plan and supervise the construction of the new Prague cathedral (started in 1344). As we will see, the Prague chancel was a great architectural marvel in the region as well as part of an emerging trend of rebuilding eastern ends with ambulatories. It is less known that Kraków cathedral has had an abandoned eastern end arrangement with an ambulatory and radiating chapels already around 1300. In the end, Kraków cathedral was built with a rectangular apse and ambulatory, consecrated in 1346. Roughly around the middle of the century, the eastern end of three other Central European cathedrals were also rebuilt with ambulatories: the cathedral at the Polish archbishopric of Gniezno, and the cathedrals at Eger and Várad in the Hungarian Kingdom. Towards the 1380s-1390s, the cathedral at Poznań was also rebuilt, although the researchers' opinions are divided whether it received an ambulatory at this time or earlier in the thirteenth century.

In the early medieval period, ambulatories, mainly ambulatory crypts spread throughout Europe: they could be found in the ninth century in Saxony, such as Hildesheim, Halberstadt and Corvey, but also in the All-Saints' Church in Brixworth. If a chapel or multiple chapels were connected to this type of ambulatory crypt, they tended to be oriented towards the east. Of interest is the ambulatory at Mosaburg (Zalavár) from the 9<sup>th</sup> century, an example of

Carolingian architecture. Béla Zsolt Szakács pointed out that the ambulatory here seems to have no connection to the Saxon ambulatory crypts, having radiating chapels among others, and has preceded French developments, e.g. Tournus, Clermont and Orléans in the tenth century, where radiating chapels have become the norm.<sup>56</sup>

The arrangement with ambulatory and radiating chapels was adopted by many French cathedrals, where it became extremely popular and considered by Alain Erlande-Brandenburg as one of the most important creations of Romanesque architecture. He supposes that both the ambulatory with radiating chapels and the larger naves of the 11<sup>th</sup> century were there to accommodate the growing number of faithful visitors, and later (around 1200 and the first half of the thirteenth century) also advantageous because the radiating chapels allowed for more windows to let in more light.<sup>57</sup>

At the same time, Cistercian churches have adopted this form, an early example being Clairvaux III, built shortly after the death of Bernard of Clairvaux (1153-1158). In Cîteaux, the choir was rebuilt in 1188-1193.<sup>58</sup> Some cathedrals in The Holy Roman Empire also adopted this form: for example, in Lausanne (started in 1160), a French choir type with ambulatory and radiating chapels was used for the first time in the Holy Roman Empire, as well as later in Basel, this time without radiating chapels (started in the last third of the twelfth century).<sup>59</sup>

<sup>56</sup> Béla Zsolt Szakács, "The Ambulatory of Zalavár," *Hortus Artium Mediaevalium* XV (2009): 167.

<sup>57</sup> Alain Erlande-Brandenburg, *The Cathedral: The Social and Architectural Dynamics of Construction*, trans. Martin Thom (Cambridge University Press, 1994), 105–11 and 215.

<sup>58</sup> Peter Fergusson, "Cistercian Architecture," in *A Companion to Medieval Art: Romanesque and Gothic in Northern Europe*, ed. Conrad Rudolph, Blackwell Companions to Art History (Blackwell Publishing, 2006), 599–619.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 182

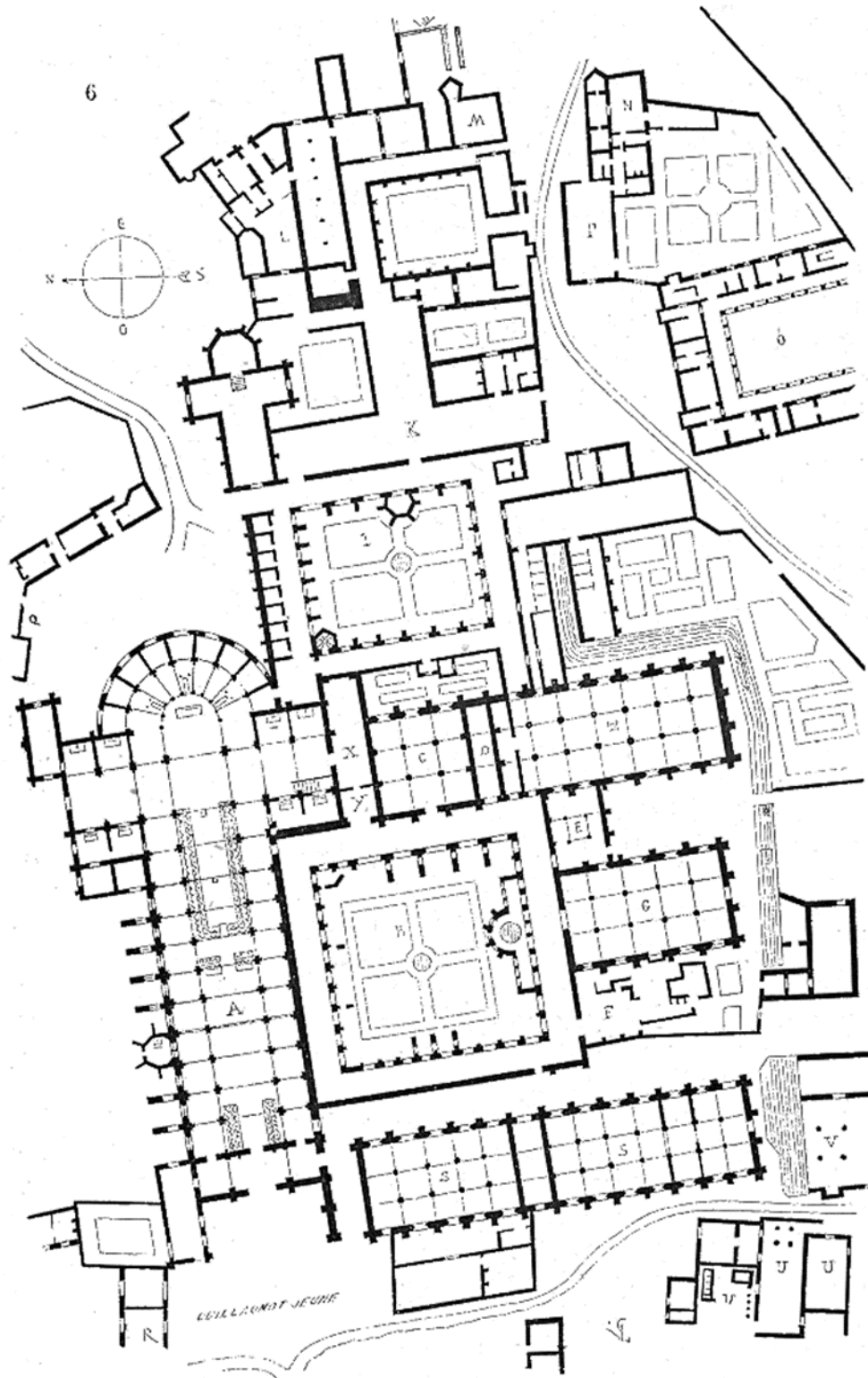


Figure 2. Ground plan of Citeaux abbey at the end of the 12th century

Towards the end of the thirteenth century, apart from some examples like Narbonne Cathedral, interest in choirs with ambulatories and radiating chapels seemed to wane in French cathedrals. Not so in Cistercian monasteries: in Île-de-France, four new Cistercian churches emerged: Longpont, Royaumont, Maubisson and Dammarie-lès-Lys, all supported by members of the Royal Family.<sup>60</sup>

## Ambulatories in the Central European region before the fourteenth century

The „traditional” Cistercian church had a straight-ended apse without ambulatory (this was the type that spread through Europe and appeared in Hungary, in Cikádor, Pilis, Zirc and BÉlapátfalva), but some churches like Salem in Germany have developed this type to have an ambulatory around the apse. The only Czech Cistercian church with the French choir structure was Sedlec abbey.<sup>61</sup> It was founded in 1142, but rebuilt at the end of the thirteenth century, probably because of the new deposits of silver discovered on the monastery lands.<sup>62</sup>

A newly founded abbey, populated by monks from Sedlec, was the Cistercian abbey of Aula Regia at Zbraslav. Founded by Wenceslas II in 1292, it had a straight east end with ambulatory, and chapels at the north, east and south side of the walls (see Figure 3). It was used as a royal funeral mausoleum for the Přemysl house from Wenceslas II onwards. According to Klára Benešová, he took the idea from Royaumont, the funerary basilica of Louis IX.

<sup>60</sup> Caroline Bruzelius, “Cistercian High Gothic: The Abbey Church of Longpont and the Architecture of the Cistercians in the Early Thirteenth Century,” January 1, 1979, 29–30; Maryse Bideault and Claudine Lautier, *Île-de-France Gothique*, vol. 1 (Paris, 1987), 271–92; Dieter Kimpel, Robert Suckale, and Albert Hirmer, *Die gotische Architektur in Frankreich 1130-1270* (München: Hirmer, 1995), 381–83.

<sup>61</sup> Węclawowicz, *Królewski kościół katedralny na Wawelu*, 170.

<sup>62</sup> Klára Benešová, “Architecture at the Crossroads: Three Examples from Bohemia circa 1300,” in *The Year 1300 and the Creation of a New European Architecture*, ed. Alexandra Gajewski and Zoë Opačić, 1 (Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2007), 152–53.

Benešovská also highlights that the apse and ambulatory were the same height, making it a *hall choir*, which was also the shape used in the choir Cistercian church of Heiligenkreuz (1288-1294).<sup>63</sup>

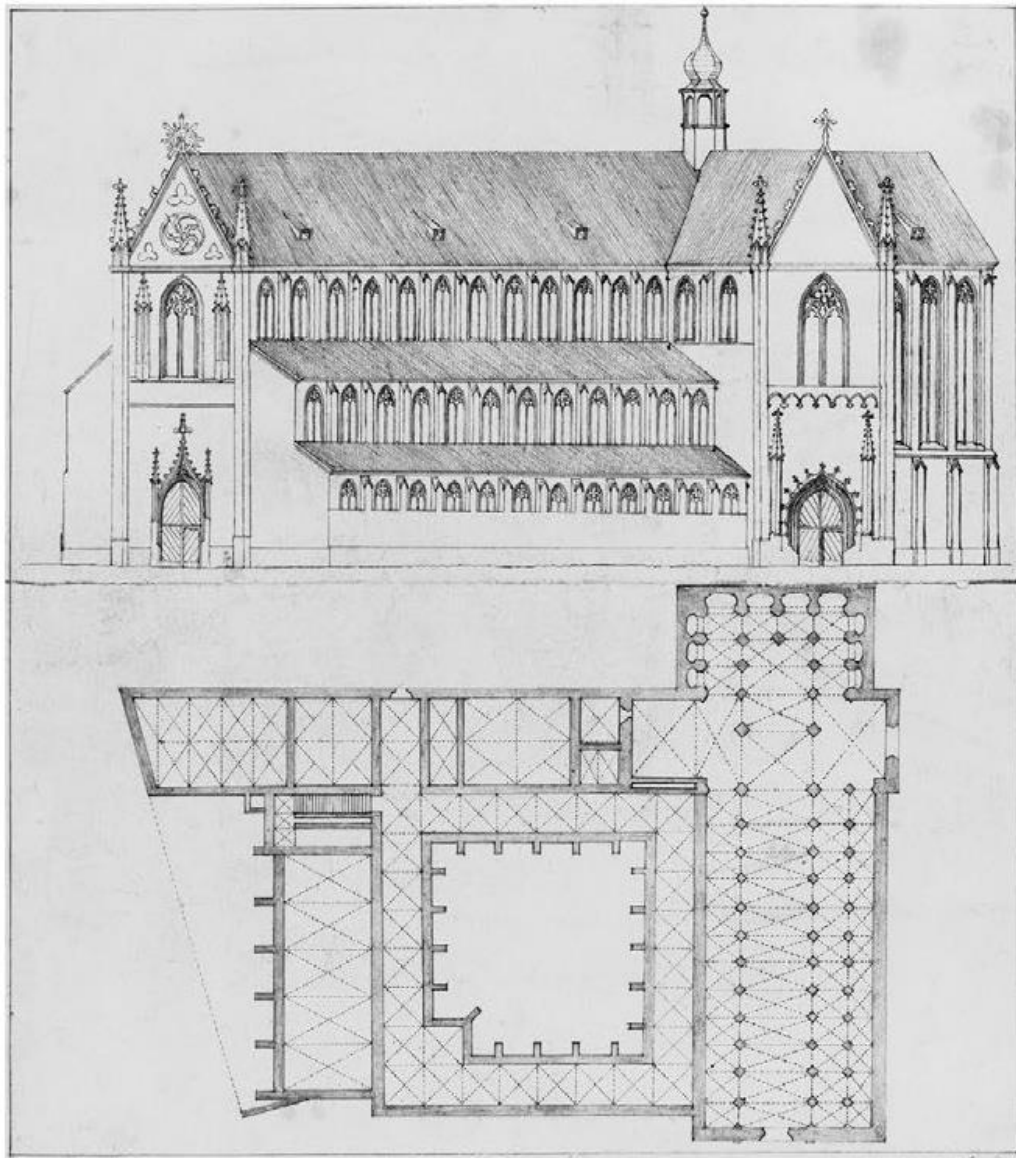


Figure 3. Zbraslav, copy of the old drawings found in the tower of the Horní Mokropsy parish church in 1850

There are only two known cathedrals with ambulatories in the Central European region from the thirteenth century: Kalocsa and Wrocław. However, it is also important to mention Magdeburg cathedral: it is suspected it might have had a profound impact on the region. It was

<sup>63</sup> Benešovská, 156–58.

the easternmost archbishopric of the Holy Roman Empire, founded specifically to help Christianize the nations to the east.

After the first cathedral of Magdeburg was destroyed in 1207 by a city fire, the construction of a new cathedral started with the choir in 1209 and finished by 1250. The choir has some features of the Romanesque style, while its spatial arrangement resembles the modern French Gothic cathedrals, as seen in Figure 4. Ground plan of Magdeburg Cathedral. Magdeburg Cathedral is known to have affected constructions in the region: one of these is Cologne Cathedral, where the construction was started after 1250, although this was built in a more coherent Gothic style, resembling the actual French cathedrals more. Still, it is worth remembering that Cologne, like Magdeburg, was also affected by an important historical tomb.<sup>64</sup>

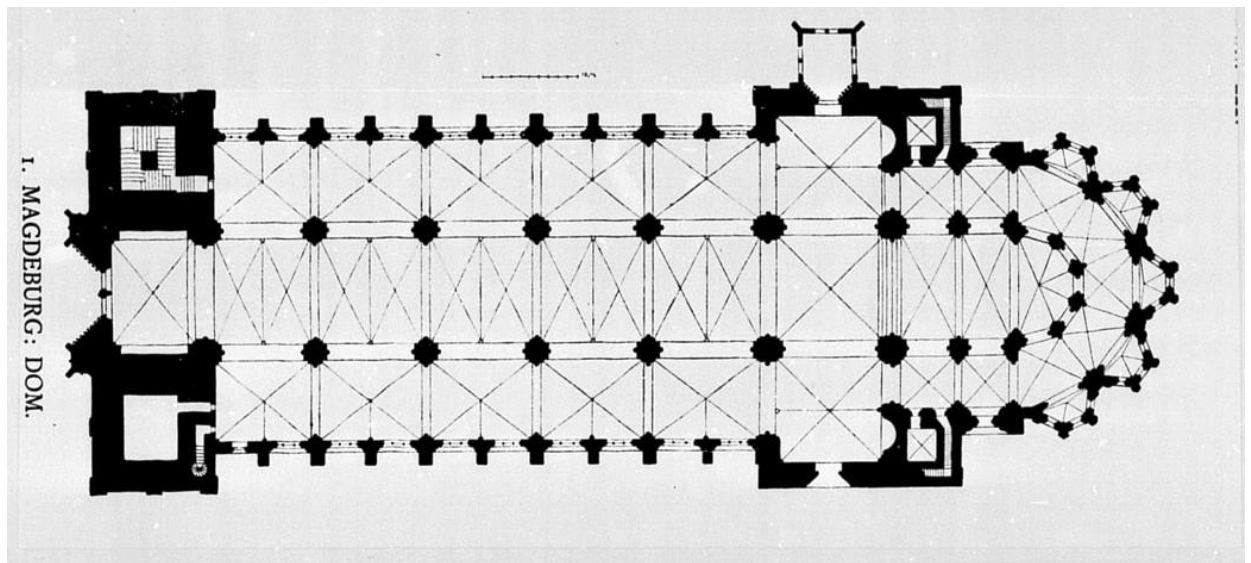


Figure 4. Ground plan of Magdeburg Cathedral

<sup>64</sup> See Wolfgang Schenkluhn, “Zwischen Neuerung Und Erinnerung: Der Magdeburger Domchor in Der Kunstgeschichte,” in *Aufbruch in Die Gotik. Der Magdeburger Dom Und Die Späte Stauferzeit*, ed. Matthias Puhle, vol. 1 (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 2009), 56–69; and Bernd Nicolai, “‘Nobili Structura et Opere Sumptuoso’. Der Chorbau Des Magdeburger Domes Als Neuformulierung Der ‘Reichskathedrale’ Im Spannungsfeld Baulicher Modelle Der Romania Und Der Gotik Der Ile-de-France Um 1200,” in *Aufbruch in Die Gotik. Der Magdeburger Dom Und Die Späte Stauferzeit*, ed. Matthias Puhle, vol. 1 (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 2009), 70–83.

## Cathedral of the Assumption of Mary, Kalocsa

The construction of the Gothic cathedral of Kalocsa was most probably started by archbishop Berthold (1207-1218), the brother-in-law of king Andrew II. On the autumn of 1213, after the murder of Queen Gertrudis, Berthold fled with the queen's treasures, only coming home after receiving orders to do so from the pope. In 1217, he left with Andrew II to the crusade, and then became the patriarch of Aquileia and left Hungary for good.<sup>65</sup>

Berthold probably started building the new cathedral around 1210. The fragments and the ground plan of the church mean a quick, uniform construction without any changes of plans or any interruptions.<sup>66</sup> Gergely Buzás supports this dating, based on the drawing he published, showing the eastern apse of Kalocsa cathedral with an ambulatory and radiating chapels dated to the thirteenth century.<sup>67</sup>

Based on the drawing of Imre Henszlmann, the foundations that were interpreted as a transept, could have been two two-story chapels, as seen in the architecture south of Paris, between the Seine and the Loire (Chartres, Sens, St. Pére).<sup>68</sup> The stone fragments of the Cistercian abbey at Pilis, where Queen Gertrudis was buried, show close connection to the group of fragments of which the cathedral of Kalocsa is the most prominent example.<sup>69</sup>

In the recent years, the stone fragments, archaeological remains and proposed ground plan of the thirteenth century phase of Kalocsa Cathedral was reevaluated by Imre Takács, who supposes that it had circular pillars or columns supporting the arch between the apse and the ambulatory. There was a continuous foundation wall under these pillars, which is depicted on

<sup>65</sup> Imre Takács, "Egy eltűnt katedrális nyomában - Újabb töredékek a 13. századi kalocsai székesegyházról," in *A középkori Dél-Alföld és Szer* (Szeged: Kollár Tibor, 2000), 308.

<sup>66</sup> Takács, 308.

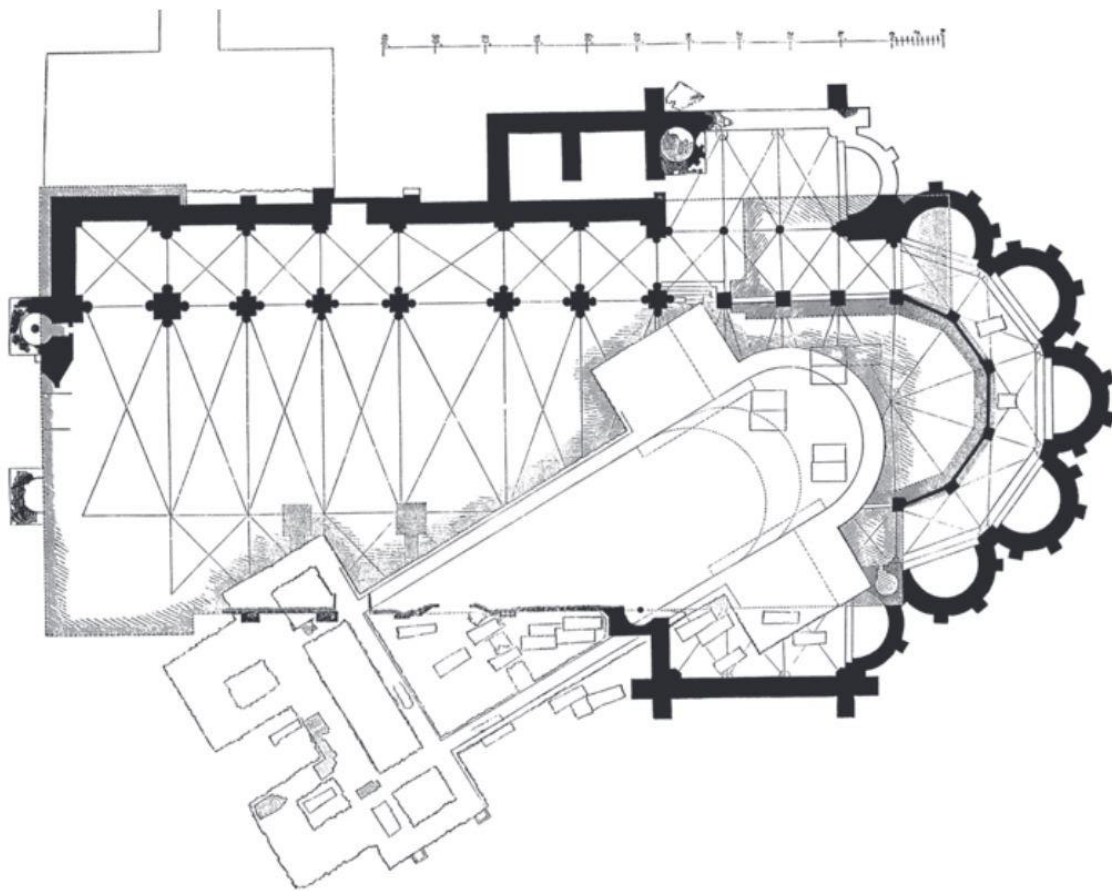
<sup>67</sup> Buzás Gergely and Tóth Endre, *Magyar építészet I. - A rómaiaktól Buda elfoglalásáig* (Budapest: Kossuth Kiadó, 2016). p. 58.

<sup>68</sup> Takács, "Egy eltűnt katedrális nyomában," 309.

<sup>69</sup> Takács, 307.



*Figure 6* by Gergely Buzás, unfortunately inaccurately representing the ground plan. Moreover, the spiral staircase depicted by Imre Henszlmann of his drawing of the unearthed wall remains on *Figure 5* at the southernmost ambulatory chapel seems questionable, as it was in a place occupied by the walls of the present cathedral. Unfortunately, this was doubled for the northern side as well by Gergely Buzás on his reconstructed ground plan. Sadly, the findings from the last c. 12 years were not made available for Imre Takács to study.<sup>70</sup>



*Figure 5. The uncovered wall remains of the 11th and 13th century constructions at Kalocsa cathedral*

Kalocsa was interpreted by László Koszta as portraying the political ambitions of the archbishops, who were at the time Berthold, the brother of King Andrew II's wife Gertrudis

<sup>70</sup> Takács Imre, "Kalocsa és Ócsa" [Kalocsa and Ócsa], in *A francia gótika recepciója Magyarországon II. András korában* (Budapest: Balassi Kiadó, 2018), 86.

and later Ugrin of Csák, who may have been related to the royal family. According to Koszta, they wanted to get closer to the royal court both physically, since the archdiocese actually had a double seat, and the previous archbishops ruled from the southern Bács, and stylistically by choosing to adopt a building style that traditionally belonged to royal cathedrals.<sup>71</sup>

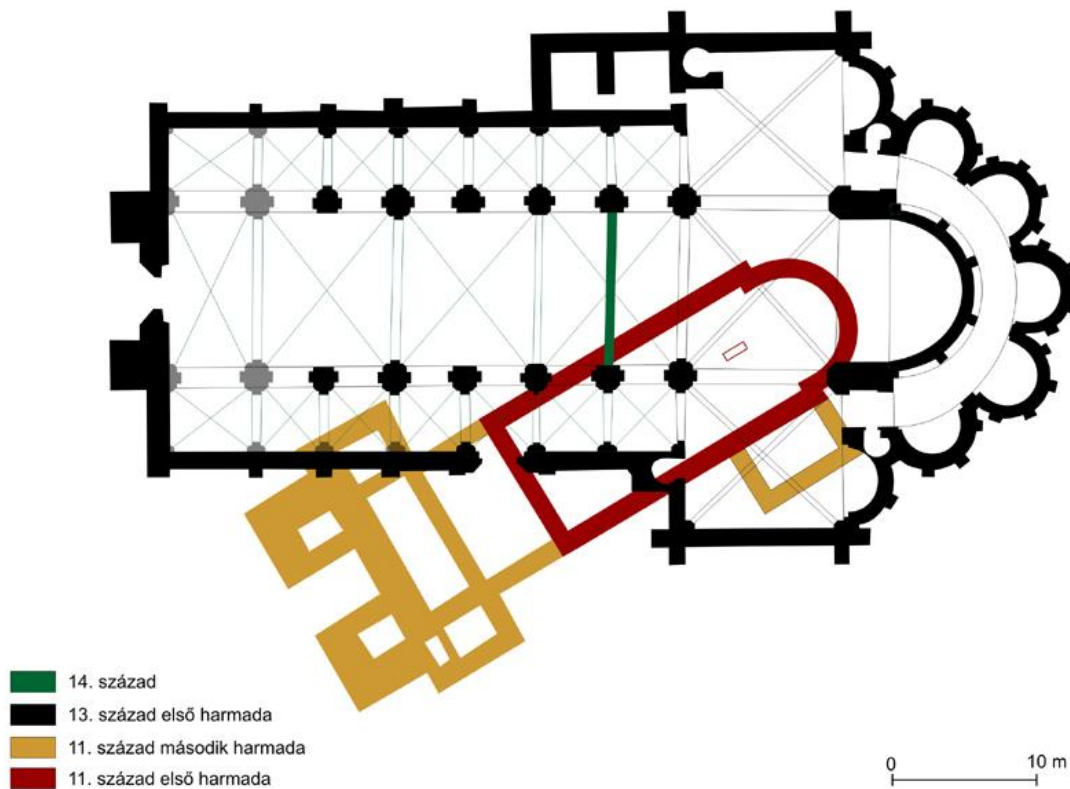


Figure 6. Reconstructed ground plan of the cathedral of Kalocsa by Gergely Buzás, black: first third of the 13<sup>th</sup> c., green: 14<sup>th</sup> c.

## Cathedral of Saint John the Baptist, Wrocław

In 1244-1272, the cathedral of Wrocław received a new choir with a straight-ended apse, ambulatory and two eastern towers (see Figure 7). The new choir's stylistic precedent was presumed to come from Cistercian architecture, the type of Cîteaux III and Morimond. Paul

<sup>71</sup> László Koszta: A kalocsai érseki tartomány kialakulása [The Development of the Archdiocese of Kalocsa]. Pécs: 2013. pp.115-117

Crossley, in his examination of the type of ground plan adopted by Kraków cathedral, states that the type also became popular in England, Germany and Austria, and appeared in Silesia in Henryków before being used in Wrocław.<sup>72</sup> In turn, Szczęśny Skibiński pointed directly to English cathedrals like Salisbury, Lincoln and York and to Laon Cathedral in France as possible examples for the Wrocław choir.<sup>73</sup> Crossley has also taken into account the English cathedrals but concluded that the idea of English influence seemed improbable.<sup>74</sup>

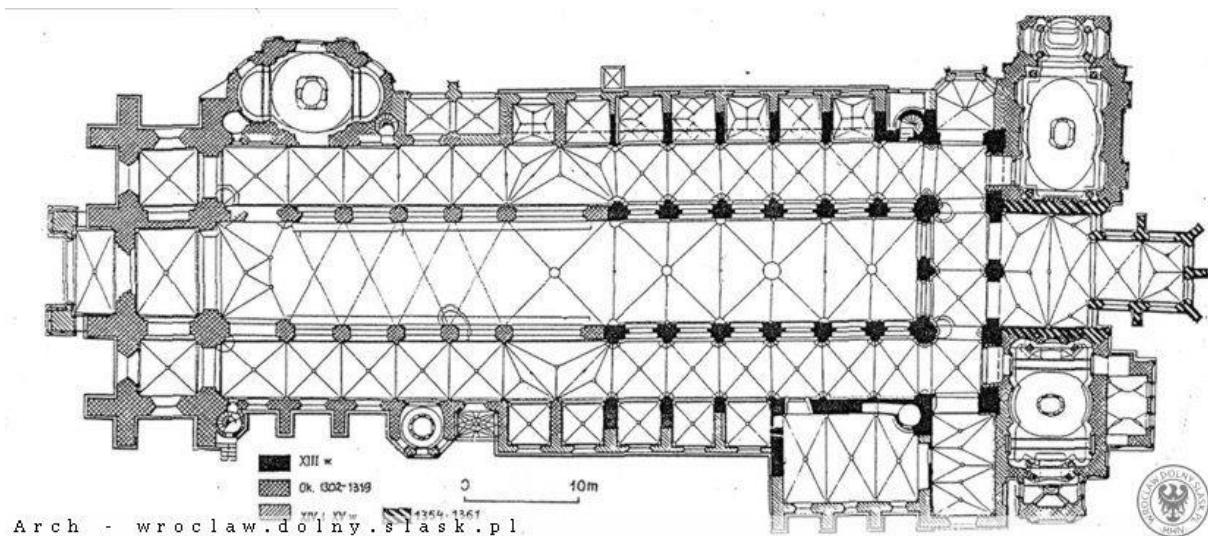


Figure 7. Ground plan of Wrocław Cathedral

Stone elements from the decoration of the Wrocław choir indicate a French workshop who might have worked on the construction. It is presumed that they might have emigrated from France because of the financial crisis caused by expenses of the crusades in 1248 and 1270. According to Skibiński, the French style and architectural model came to Wrocław directly, and the same workshop might have worked on the keystones of the Dominican church choir in Poznań.<sup>75</sup>

<sup>72</sup> Crossley, *Gothic Architecture in the Reign of Kasimir the Great*, 57.

<sup>73</sup> Skibiński, *Polskie katedry gotyckie*, 180.

<sup>74</sup> Crossley, *Gothic Architecture in the Reign of Kasimir the Great*, 64.

<sup>75</sup> Szczęśny Skibiński, "Chór Katedry Wrocławskiej (1244-1272). Wybrane Problemy Kwalifikacji Stylistycznej i Warsztatowej," in *Katedra Wrocławska Na Przestrzeni Tysiąclecia: Studia z Historii Architektury i Sztuki*, ed. Romuald Kaczmarek and Dariusz Galewski (Wrocław: Instytut Historii Sztuki Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, 2016), 31.

The church of Wrocław was also used as a necropolis by the bishops, with fifteen burial chambers of Wrocław and Lubusz bishops identified during the excavations of 1950-1951. Most of the burials are from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, marked by appropriate grave slabs. The tomb of the founder, Bishop Tomasz I (1232-1268) was probably a free-standing sarcophagus.<sup>76</sup>

## **Construction histories of the ambulatories in the Late Middle Ages**

### **Kraków Cathedral: a plan in three steps**

Kraków Cathedral's fourteenth-century choir construction involved two abandoned plans before the current structure was built. The first one was a polygonal apse with ambulatory and radiating chapels (dated c. 1300-1305, or c. 1314-1317), the second one a rectangular apse with diagonal support pillars and maybe no ambulatory (dated 1320-27 or 1317-19), and the third and final one consists of a rectangular apse and ambulatory, with chapels added later (started at 1320 or 1327 and consecrated in 1346).

The first phase went undiscovered until the 1980s and 1990s, when archaeologists Zbigniew Pianowski and Janusz Firlet found foundations under the northern side of the present cathedral choir that they presume belonged to a polygonal choir with radiating chapels (see

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<sup>76</sup> Tomasz Mikołajczak, "Katedralna Nekropolia Biskupów Wrocławskich w Czasach Średniowiecza," in *Katedra Wrocławska Na Przestrzeni Tysiąclecia: Studia z Historii Architektury i Sztuki*, ed. Romuald Kaczmarek and Dariusz Galewski (Wrocław: Instytut Historii Sztuki Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, 2016), 112.

Figure 9). The structure was later than the Romanesque remains but earlier than the present cathedral.<sup>77</sup>

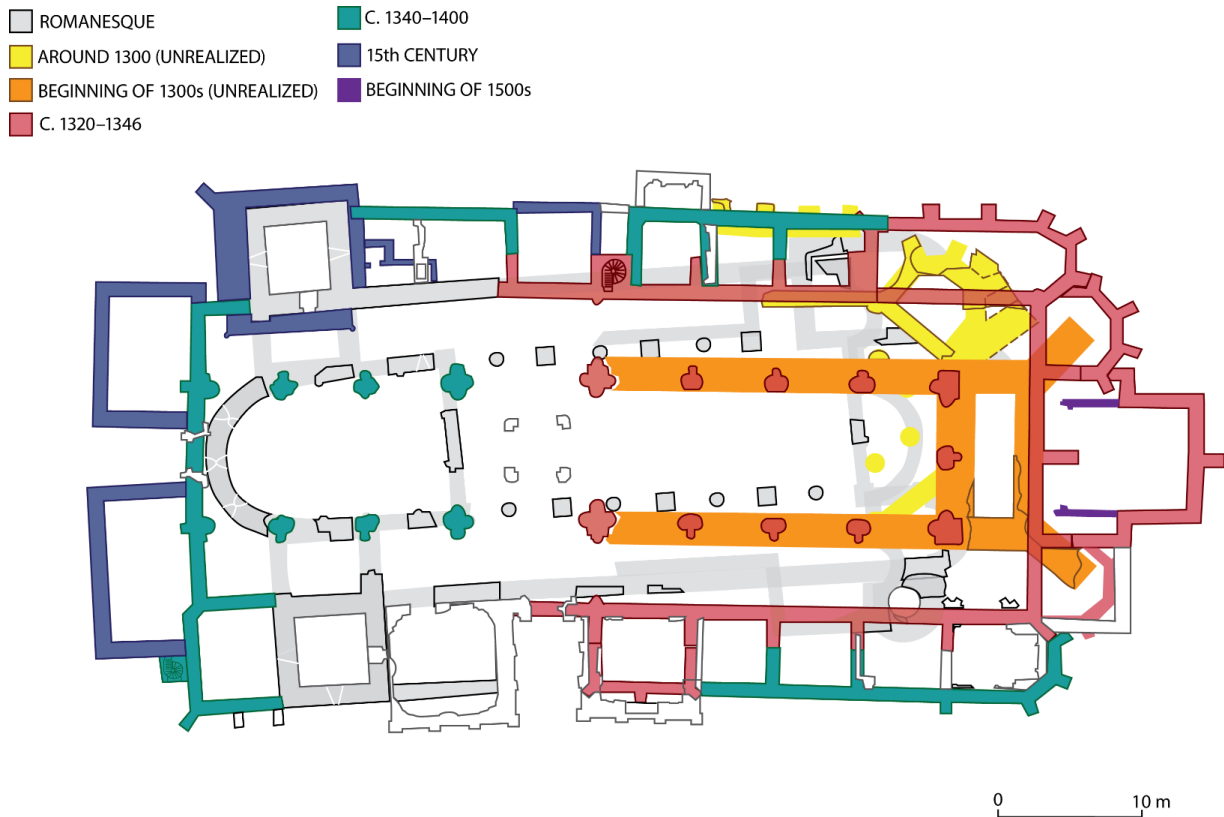


Figure 8. Ground plan of the building periods of Kraków Cathedral

According to the group of written sources called the annals of Lesser Poland, considered as belonging to the same editorial family as the missing *Annales Polonorum*, the Romanesque cathedral at the Wawel Hill was destroyed by a fire in 1305 or 1306, and a few claim that the church was rebuilt starting from 1320 by bishop Nanker (1320-1326) and Duke Władysław Łokietek (Władysław the Elbow-High or Ladislaus the Short, ruler of Krakow from about

<sup>77</sup> Janusz Firlet and Zbigniew Pianowski, "Przemiany architektury rezydencji monarszej oraz katedry na Wawelu w świetle nowych badań" [Transformation of the Architecture of the Royal Residence and the Wawel Cathedral in the Light of New Research], *Kwartalnik* 44, no. 4 (1999): 207-37.

1306, King of Poland between 1320-1333).<sup>78</sup> Based on this, most researchers assumed that the present Gothic cathedral was started in 1320.<sup>79</sup>

□ ROMANESQUE  
 ■ AROUND 1300 (UNREALIZED)

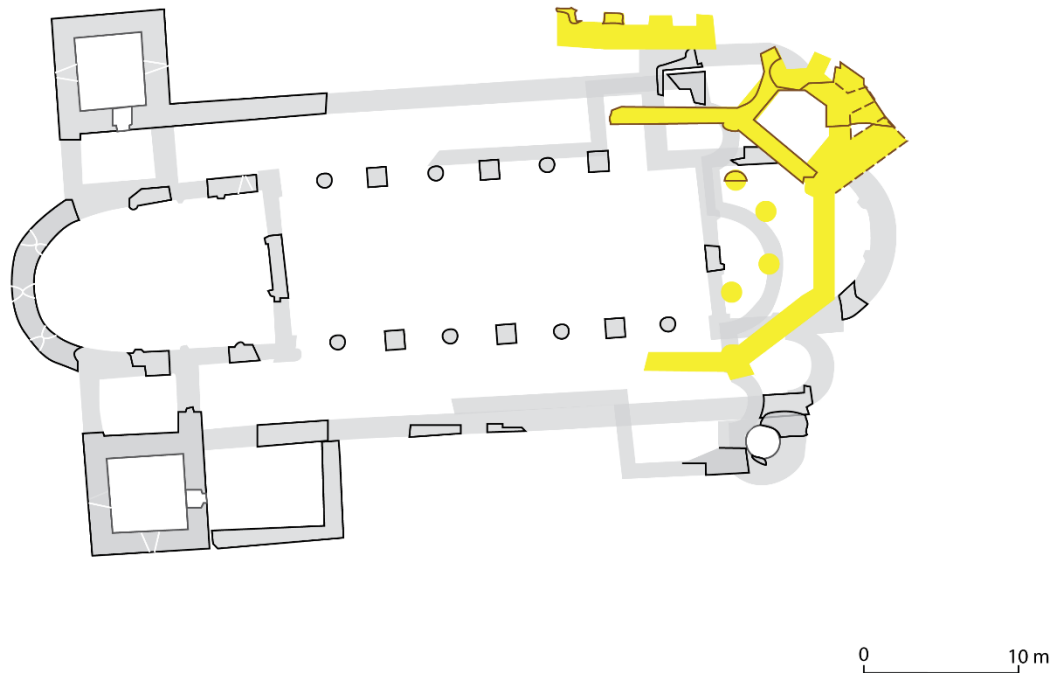


Figure 9. Ground plan of Kraków Cathedral with the foundations of the polygonal choir

There are two concurrent theories about the dating of this group of remains: either between c. 1300-1305, or 1314-1317. On one hand, Tomasz Węclawowicz attributes this construction to Bishop Jan Muskata and King Wenceslas II Přemyslid (King of Bohemia: 1278-1305, Duke of Kraków: 1291-1305, King of Poland 1300-1305). The files of the trial (1306-1308) brought against the Krakow bishop Jan Muskata (1294-1320) by the Archbishop of Gniezno, Jakub

<sup>78</sup> Pajor, “Dwa chóry katedry krakowskiej niezrealizowane w pierwszym dwudziestolecu XIV wieku,” 200–201; Wojciech Drelicharz, *Idea zjednoczenia królestwa w średniowiecznym dziejopisarstwie polskim* [The Idea of Uniting the Kingdom in Medieval Polish Historiography] (Kraków: Towarzystwo Naukowe Societas Vistulana, 2012), 326–33.

<sup>79</sup> Crossley, *Gothic Architecture in the Reign of Kasimir the Great*, 27–39. and Skibiński, *Polskie katedry gotyckie*, 53–74.

Świnka (1283-1314), claim that bishop Jan destroyed his cathedral without the consent of his chapter and has exhumed the bodies of several bishops.<sup>80</sup> Węclawowicz argues that Bishop Jan was unfairly represented in the documents due to political reasons, and he was only making way for the new construction, started at around the year 1300, the details of which were not recorded by the textual sources. Wenceslaus II and Bishop Jan meant the church to invoke the idea of the French royal cathedrals in Krakow with its polygonal ground plan with radiating chapels, and the motif was passed on by Cistercian architecture, which had also used the French model. He finds the immediate precursor of the plan in the Czech Cistercian abbey church of Sedlec (*Figure 10*).<sup>81</sup> The construction did not proceed far beyond laying the foundations because of the death of Wenceslas II in 1305 and the murder of his son a year later, as well as the fire of 1305-1306, and soon after, the Polish duke Władysław the Short took over Kraków and withdrew the privileges of the Kraków bishops, cutting off a large source of income that made it impossible to continue with the construction.<sup>82</sup>

The other theory, proposed by Piotr Pajor, is that Bishop Jan demolished the church after the fire, but the polygonal apse and ambulatory plan was the idea of duke Władysław and the archbishop of Gniezno, Jakub Świnka, and that it was the investments of the duke and later

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<sup>80</sup> See “Acta inquisitionis Iacobi, archiepiscopi Gneznensis, contra Johannem Muscata, episcopum Cracoviensem 20 VII 1306-25 VI 1308” in Jan (1876-1930) Ptaśnik, *Analecta Vaticana 1202-1366, Biblioteka Uniwersytetu Kazimierza Wielkiego w Bydgoszczy*, vol. 3, Monumenta Poloniae Vaticana (Sumpt. Academiae Litterarum Cracoviensis, 1914), 82. According to the accusations, Bishop Jan “ecclesiam suam kathedralem diruit sine consensu capituli sui querendo pecunias, et plura episcoporum corpora extumulavit.” Bishop Jan was cleared of the charges in 1310, and then left Krakow for seven years.

<sup>81</sup> According to Tomasz Węclawowicz, there was a connection between Jan Muskata, who was the personal priest of King Wenceslas II and the abbot of Sedlec, Heidenreich, who was also close to the King, also Bishop Jan was buried in a Cistercian abbey church in Mogiła, which means he must have been close to the order.

<sup>82</sup> Węclawowicz, “Bohemi Cracoviam Muraverunt,” 410–19; Węclawowicz, “Fazy budowy prezbiterium katedry na Wawelu na przełomie wieków XIII i XIV. Kościoły biskupów Muskaty, Nankera i Grota,” 5–18; Węclawowicz, *Krakowski kościół katedralny w wiekach średnich. Funkcje i możliwości interpretacji*, 47–49, 59–63; Węclawowicz, “The Bohemian King, the Polish Bishop, and Their Church”; and most recently in “Królewski kościół katedralny Wacława II” [The royal cathedral church of Wenceslaus II], in Węclawowicz, *Królewski kościół katedralny na Wawelu*, 47–58.



king that financed the rebuilding.<sup>83</sup> Pajor assumes that the polygonal Gothic foundation took place after the city of Krakow revolted against the duke in 1312, and the construction possibly begun before the death of Archbishop Jacob in 1314, who might have been the one to suggest the cathedral of Poznań as a possible model. This would mean that the Poznań cathedral already had its ambulatory and maybe some chapels completed by this time, which is a theory contested in itself.<sup>84</sup>

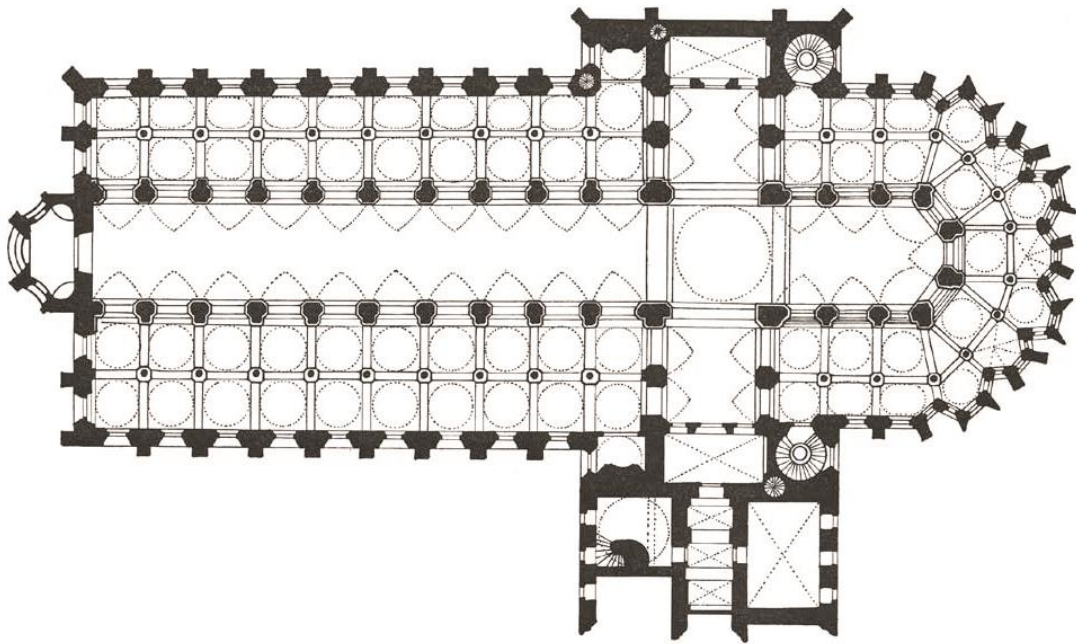


Figure 10. The ground plan of Sedlec Abbey

<sup>83</sup> 1306. civitas Cracoviensis duci Władysławo dicto Loctek sibi traditur. Et eodem anno arsit civitas Cracoviensis circa ecclesiam omnium sanctorum. De illo igne ventus portavit super ecclesiam kathedralem et excussit totam et castrum; quam ecclesiam prenotatus dux Władysław una cum uxore sua Hedvigé et filio ipsorum exelentissimo Kazimiro, succedente in regnum, reedificavit ad honorum sanctorum Wenceslay et Stanislav martirum. August Bielowski, ed., “Monumenta Poloniae historica 2.” (Lwów: nakładem autora, 1872) part VIII: Roczniki Polskie pp. 759-976, Rocznik Traski pp. 826-861, p. 853. He partly bases his theory on the wording of Traska’s Annals, which calls Władysław Łokietek dux and not rex. This would date it before 1320, but it mentions his son Casimir, who was born in 1310, and, partly based on Gerard Labuda’s observatio, Pajor suggests that this entry refers neither to the rebuilding in 1305 after the fire nor should it be associated with the coronation of Władysław Łokietek in 1320.

<sup>84</sup> Pajor, “Dwa chóry katedry krakowskiej niezrealizowane w pierwszym dwudziestolecu XIV wieku,” 208–13; and mostly the same but more detailed in Piotr Pajor, “Niezrealizowany wieloboczny chór obejściowy katedry krakowskiej” [Unrealized Polygonal Choir of the Krakow Cathedral], in *Autor i jego dzieło w wiekach średnich*, ed. Anna Laskowska and Maksymilian Sas (Warsaw: Studenckie Koło Naukowe Historyków Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, 2014), 117–34; see also Gerard Labuda, “Przeniesienie koronacji królewskich z Gniezna do Krakowa w XIV wieku” [Royal Coronations Transferred from Gniezno to Krakow in the 14th Century], in *Cracovia, Polonia, Europa: studia z dziejów średniowiecza ofiarowane Jerzemu Wyrozumskiemu w sześćdziesiątą piątą rocznicę urodzin i czterdziestolecie pracy naukowej*, ed. Krzysztof Baczkowski and Waldemar Bukowski (Krakow: Wydawn. i Druk. “Secesja,” 1995), 58.



According to Węclawowicz the cathedral spent some time in an unfinished state without any construction work going on: this would have meant abandoning the work after the fire (1305/6) for 13-14 years, during the time in which Jan Muskata was still bishop of Kraków, and that the next phase would have started in 1320 with the foundation of Bishop Nanker (1320-1326).<sup>85</sup> Pajor's timeline differs: after the 1305/6 fire, it would have taken about 6 years to start the construction in 1312, abandon it in 1314 or later, and, according to him, start the next phase after Bishop Jan Muskata returned to Krakow in 1317.<sup>86</sup>

□ ROMANESQUE

■ BEGINNING OF 1300s (UNREALIZED)

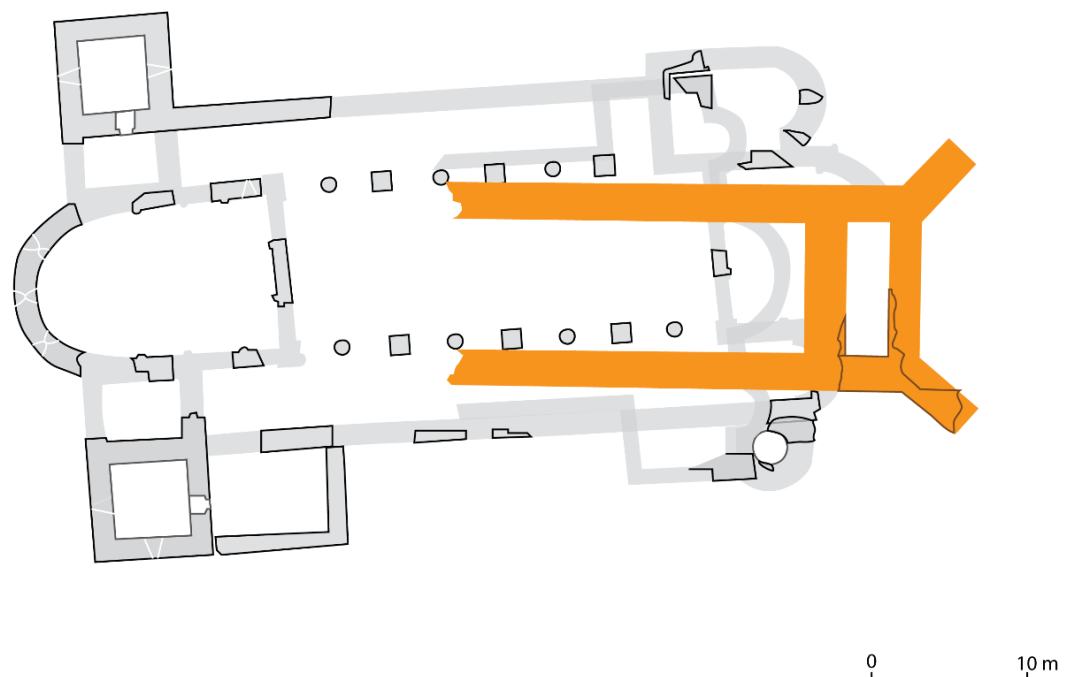


Figure 11. Kraków Cathedral, the second abandoned chancel project.

<sup>85</sup> Bishop Nanker “having observed the poor condition of the old cathedral that was built a long time ago and with the modest means then available, and seeing this small building further damaged by the recent fire, dismantled the old cathedral and started a new church, sparing no expense on square blocks of stone to make it as long and wide as the location permitted.” Jan Długosz, *Roczniki Czyli Kroniki Sławnego Królestwa Polskiego*, ed. Jan Dąbrowski, vol. 5 (Kraków, 1975). book 9, 136

<sup>86</sup> Pajor, “Dwa chóry katedry krakowskiej niezrealizowane w pierwszym dwudziestolecu XIV wieku,” 218.

During the archaeological investigations, archaeologists Pianowski and Firlet also observed that the foundations of the present cathedral do not exactly fit the walls above the ground (see Figure 11).<sup>87</sup> The thick foundations under the piers of the apse extend under the present-day ambulatory, and the corners of these foundation walls have huge buttresses at an angle. The foundations of the other ambulatory walls are thinner.

Tomasz Węclawowicz interpreted this discrepancy between the foundations as a change of plans, proposing that there existed a somewhat different idea for the spatial organization of the cathedral than what was eventually built. Thicker foundations usually mean higher walls, and he theorizes that the Wawel Cathedral was intended to have an additional chapel above the center two bays of the ambulatory, opening towards the nave (see reconstruction drawing at Figure 12). This seems to be inspired by a proposed reconstruction of the German Cistercian abbey church of Salem (1298-1319, see Figure 13). Although during the reign of Władysław the Short, Czech-Polish relations were not ideal for masons and artistic ideas to travel easily, it is imaginable that the architectural ideas were there since the time of bishop Jan Muskata, who died in 1320, by which time the design of this construction would have been decided. Based on a few closely related architectural decorations, Węclawowicz suggests that masons who worked on the Sedlec abbey church could have been employed at the Wawel Cathedral starting from 1320.<sup>88</sup> In support of this theory, we can say that the proposed upper chapel would have needed a set of stairs, which are present at the northern side of Krakow cathedral, in connection with possibly the northern part of the ambulatory.

<sup>87</sup> Firlet and Pianowski, "Przemiany architektury rezydencji monarszej oraz katedry na Wawelu w świetle nowych badań."

<sup>88</sup> Węclawowicz, *Królewski kościół katedralny na Wawelu*, 63–77; Jürgen Michler, "Die ursprüngliche Chorform der Zisterzienserkirche in Salem," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 47 (1984): 6–46.

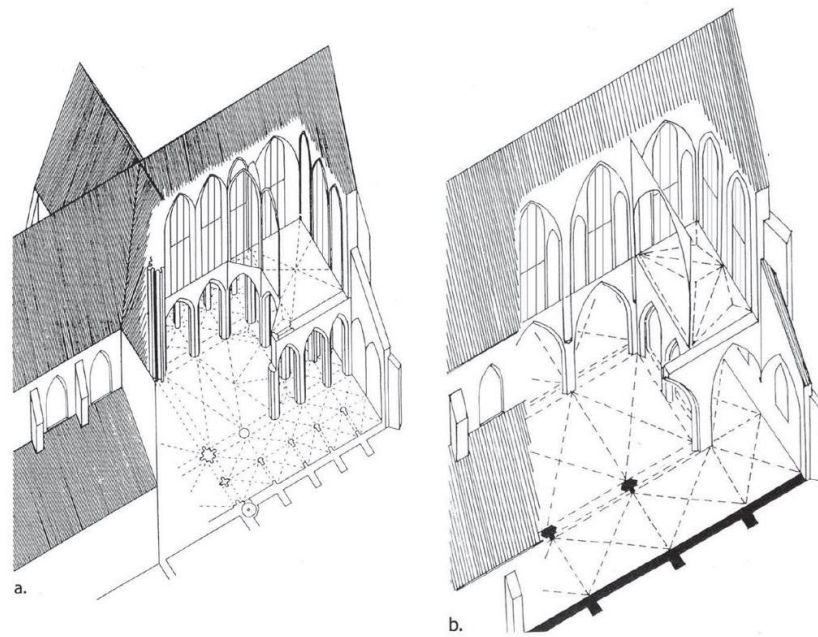
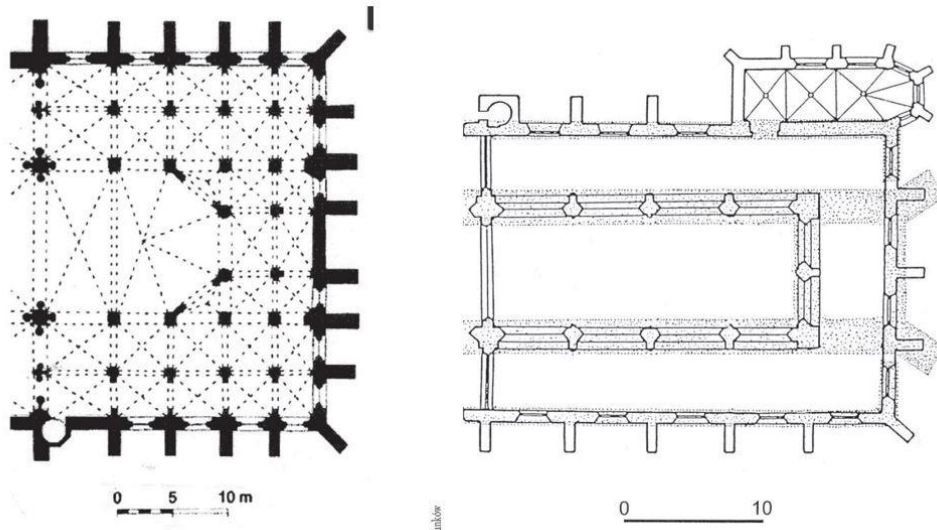


Figure 12. a) Reconstruction of the east chapel above the ambulatory of the Salem abbey church, b) reconstruction of the planned chapel above the eastern span of the Kraków cathedral ambulatory

Węclawowicz's idea concerning the provenance of the model for the two-story eastern end with the first-floor chapel does not seem convincing. According to him, French churches like Mâcon Cathedral (first suggested by Szczesny Skibiński) and the Cistercian Church in La Bussière (both located in Burgundy) could have been design influences; he claims that the origins of this arrangement can be traced back to Anjou (located in the western part of France), and could have been transmitted to Kraków via Hungary, facilitated by the marriage of King Charles Robert (1301-1342) to Elisabeth Piast.<sup>89</sup> This does not seem likely, due to the fact that the branch of Anjou that King Charles Robert comes from is the one in Naples, founded by Charles I King of Naples and Sicily, and by the fourteenth century they had no significant ties to French lands. During the reign of the Angevin kings in Hungary (1301-1382), there are no observable French influences in Hungarian architecture. It is more likely that any architectural

<sup>89</sup> Węclawowicz, *Królewski kościół katedralny na Wawelu*, 71; Skibiński, *Polskie katedry gotyckie*, 72.

ideas would come directly from the Cistercian builders, if they were indeed present, as they would have been in touch with other abbeys.



*Figure 13. The ground plan of the chancel of the abbey church at Salem and the ground plan of Kraków Cathedral's chancel showing the foundations.*

More importantly, the diagonal buttresses located at the corners of the thicker foundations seem severely out of place in a design like this. Diagonal buttresses located at the corners of Gothic walls are built to balance out the perpendicular pressure of the walls and direct it to the ground, as is the case with the corners of Salem and the later Krakow design as well.

Piotr Pajor proposes a radically different idea, that of an elongated main apse ending with a straight end. The ground plan, while popular in the cathedrals built in the Teutonic State, was also gaining importance in Moravia (the cathedral of Olomuc had a similar design dated to 1266-1295 and the collegiate church in Kromieryž, built at the end of the 13<sup>th</sup>-beginning of the 14<sup>th</sup> centuries), Silesia (parish churches of Żory, Grotków, both parish churches of Wrocław

and the castle chapel in Racibórz) and Lesser Poland (Sławków, Oświęcim, St. Andrew in Olkusz, the Dominican Church in Kraków and other churches in Sandomierz and Zawichost).<sup>90</sup>

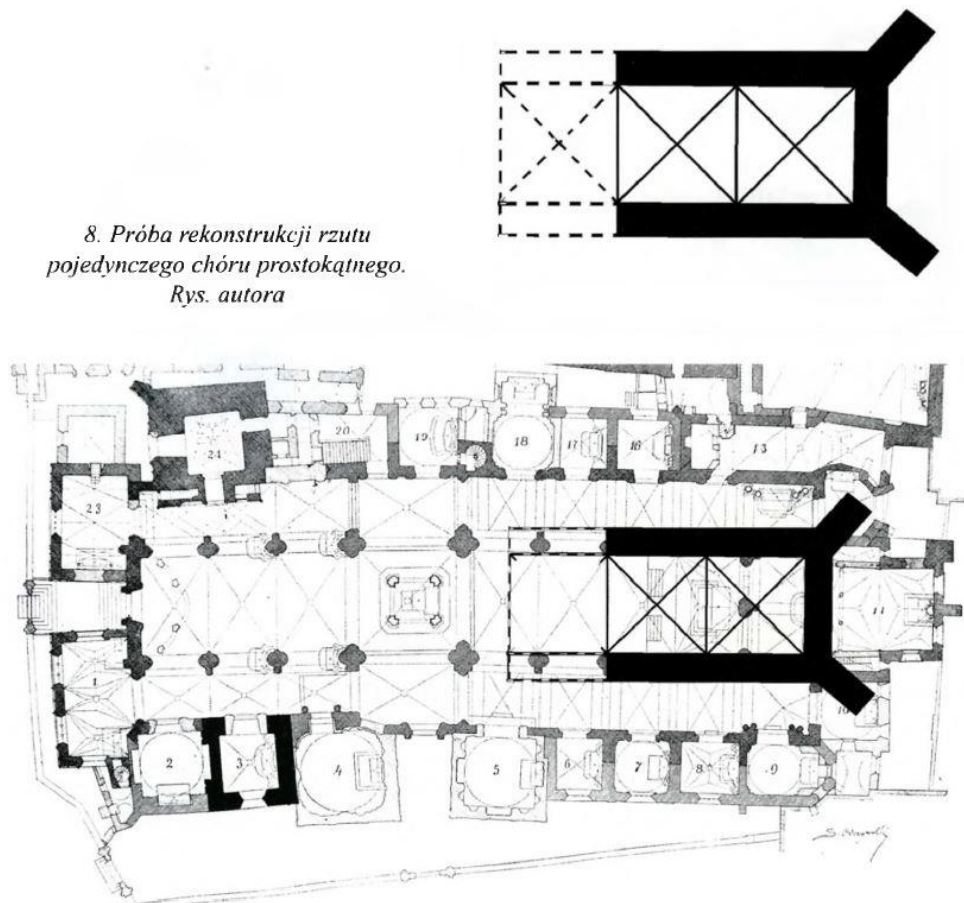


Figure 14. Reconstruction of the second planned Kraków chancel in the beginning of the fourteenth century by Petr Pajor.

There are two confusing things that make these widely different interpretations possible. Firstly, it would have simplified things somewhat if the archaeologists specified what was the relationship between the thicker and thinner foundations – if the walls were in bond, it would mean that Węclawowicz was right and a rectangular ambulatory was planned in this first phase (which would strengthen the argument of a planned first-floor chapel), or, if the walls were separate, it would mean that the thicker foundations might have been built first and the idea of

<sup>90</sup> Pajor, “Dwa chóry katedry krakowskiej niezrealizowane w pierwszym dwudziestolecu XIV wieku,” 213–18.

expanding them came later. Secondly, the archaeologists show the thicker foundations sometimes having two N-S walls, one at the end and another under the current main apse's end, at about half the length of a square, and sometimes the inner one is missing. The first reconstruction is operating with these two thick foundations in mind, while the second one is not and would hardly be sustainable with that foundation piece in mind. Confusingly, even on a later, coloured periodized ground plan published by Pajor, which, according to his caption, came from the archaeologists' manuscripts, the N-S wall is indicated. The ground plan definitely does not make it clear whether the part where this supposed wall joins the W-E wall in the south is even there.

The chronologies proposed by the authors differ somewhat. Piotr Pajor proposes that the idea for the second design could have been attributed to different people, which would have suggested different chronologies. After abandoning the first project in 1314 or later, the simplified construction with thick foundations could have been started either immediately after by the chapter; or from 1317, proposed by the returning bishop Jan Muskata, who would look toward Moravian or Silesian examples, as he spent his exile in Bohemia; or in 1319 by Władysław Łokietek, in the months preceding his coronation, to provide a suitable venue for the ceremony. Pajor concludes that it is impossible to determine which is closer to the truth, and names the winter of 1319-1320 as the last point at which the project of a rectangular single-nave choir was abandoned.<sup>91</sup>

As seen above, Tomasz Węclawowicz considers the project to have been related to the final choir design, related to the tenure of Bishop Nanker (1320-27), but simplified after Bishop Jan Grot (1327-1347) took over the diocese. At this point, the foundations for the choir have been laid, maybe some of the walls were already standing. Bishop Grot would have simplified

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<sup>91</sup> Pajor, 218–20.

the design and finished the choir: the high altar was consecrated in 1346. The east end was finished with a straight end in a basilical structure. The need for remodeling the existing choir walls from the earlier construction might explain why the chapel of St Mary, and maybe also the chapel of St Thomas Beckett were built about fifty years later than the other chapels next to the chancel.<sup>92</sup>

At the moment, Pajor's reconstruction of the second project seems more plausible, but the chronology is less satisfying. The idea of Władysław Łokietek hastening the construction of the eastern end does not seem plausible at all. Medieval mortar needed several months to be prepared to reach the appropriate consistency and then the assembled foundations and wall sections could take several years to dry. This must have been general knowledge even at the time, so expecting a building to come together in 1-2 years would have been unrealistic. Had it been a brick construction it might have gone slightly quicker, but as far as we know, the walls were assembled from stone blocks, partly from the demolished Romanesque cathedral.

The first two options Pajor gives regarding the construction seem more probable, but they rely too much on the chronicles stating that the construction of the present cathedral began in 1320, which, lacking other concrete evidence, seems more like a retroactive attempt to link the coronation and the beginning of the cathedral construction together. We know from a foundational charter that the chapel of St. Margaret, the elongated easternmost chapel on the northern side of the ambulatory was consecrated in 1322, the document, emitted in the name of Bishop Nanker, declaring it newly constructed ("fecimus").<sup>93</sup> This signals that the construction was fairly advanced: it is hardly imaginable that the chapel would stand while the

<sup>92</sup> Węclawowicz, *Królewski kościół katedralny na Wawelu*, 182.

<sup>93</sup> Franciszek Piekosiński, ed., *Kodeks dyplomatyczny katedry krakowskiej sw. Wacława* [The Diplomatic Codex of the St. Wenceslaus Cathedral of Kraków], vol. 1 (Nakł. Akad. Umiejętności Krakowskiej, 1874), 163–64 charter no. 127, May 31, 1322.

attached walls did not, and the construction together with laying the foundations was not possible in these two years.

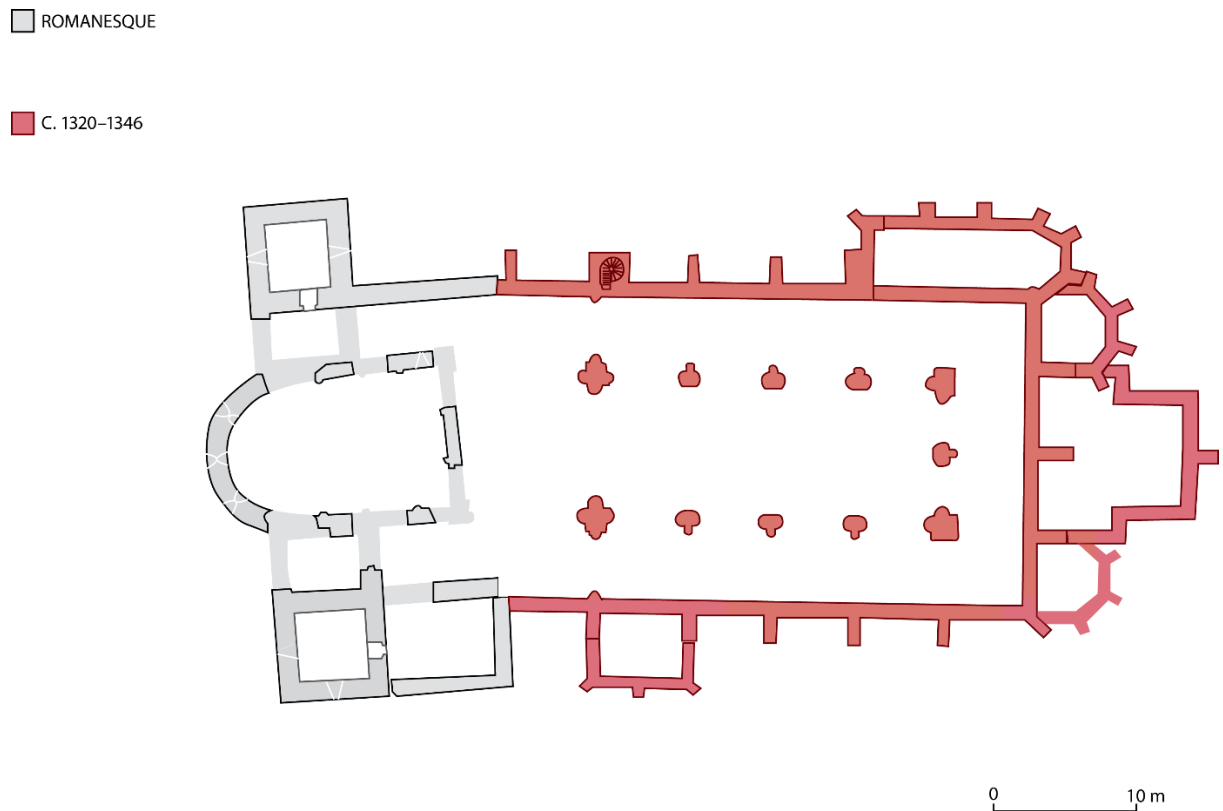


Figure 15. Ground plan of Kraków Cathedral, with the constructions in the middle of the fourteenth century highlighted.

Even Szczesny Skibiński, not knowing about the foundations of the second abandoned project, suggested that the commencement of the works right after Bishop Nanker took office in 1320 would have meant that the plans for the construction were present earlier.<sup>94</sup> Without convincing archaeological evidence, it is impossible to verify which theory is correct. Based on observations from other churches, the idea of using the existing foundations from a single nave choir suggested by Pajor seem plausible, but line up more with the idea of having been interconnected with the later plan, without any significant delays, suggested by Węclawowicz.

<sup>94</sup> Skibiński, *Polskie katedry gotyckie*, 56.



However, the construction of the rectangular main apse with ambulatory and the chapel of St. Margaret was definitively started before 1320.

The choir aisles, the ambulatory and the chapel of St. Margaret were built out of rough, uncut limestone, while the walls of the other choir chapels and the exterior clerestory walls were built of brick laid in the Flemish bond, denoting two distinct building periods. Above the clerestory, sandstone was used for decorations: the cornice, gargoyles, balustrade, crockets and finials.<sup>95</sup>

Paul Crossley points primarily to Wrocław as an inspiration for the third and final chancel arrangement of Kraków, but also highlights that the Salem abbey church (choir begun in 1299, see *Figure 13*), Luibaz (being built in 1311 and consecrated by bishop Nanker in 1330) were important constructions with similar arrangements as well as the Cistercian church of Zbraslav, next to Prague, founded in 1297 by King Václav.<sup>96</sup>

The cathedral in Krakow was used as the place to read out the letter of Pope John XXII on June 8<sup>th</sup>, 1329, after the mass, where a congregation supposedly gathered to hear it.<sup>97</sup> Władysław the Short was buried “in the chancel, on the right-hand side, opposite the high altar”, which may mean that the eastern part of the choir was finished by 1333.<sup>98</sup> On March 29, 1346 the new main altar was consecrated in the presence of Władysław’s son, King Casimir the Great (1333-1370), and the new church was consecrated in 1364.<sup>99</sup>

<sup>95</sup> Crossley, *Gothic Architecture in the Reign of Kasimir the Great*, 20.

<sup>96</sup> Crossley, 65.

<sup>97</sup> Ptaśnik, *Analecta Vaticana 1202-1366*, 3:277–79 document no. 247.

<sup>98</sup> Węclawowicz, *Królewski kościół katedralny na Wawelu*, 173.

<sup>99</sup> Crossley, *Gothic Architecture in the Reign of Kasimir the Great*, 33.

## Prague Cathedral: a builder from France

The Gothic chancel of St Vitus cathedral was built between 1344-1419 and has been mostly preserved in its original state. It is unclear how much of the previous Romanesque building survived and when exactly its parts were demolished. We know that after the death of Peter Parler in 1399, work on the nave and the Great Tower progressed until the Hussite Revolution in 1419.<sup>100</sup> The western side of the Gothic chancel was walled up temporarily, probably in the lifetime of Peter Parler (d. 1399) to be able to serve its liturgical functions.<sup>101</sup>

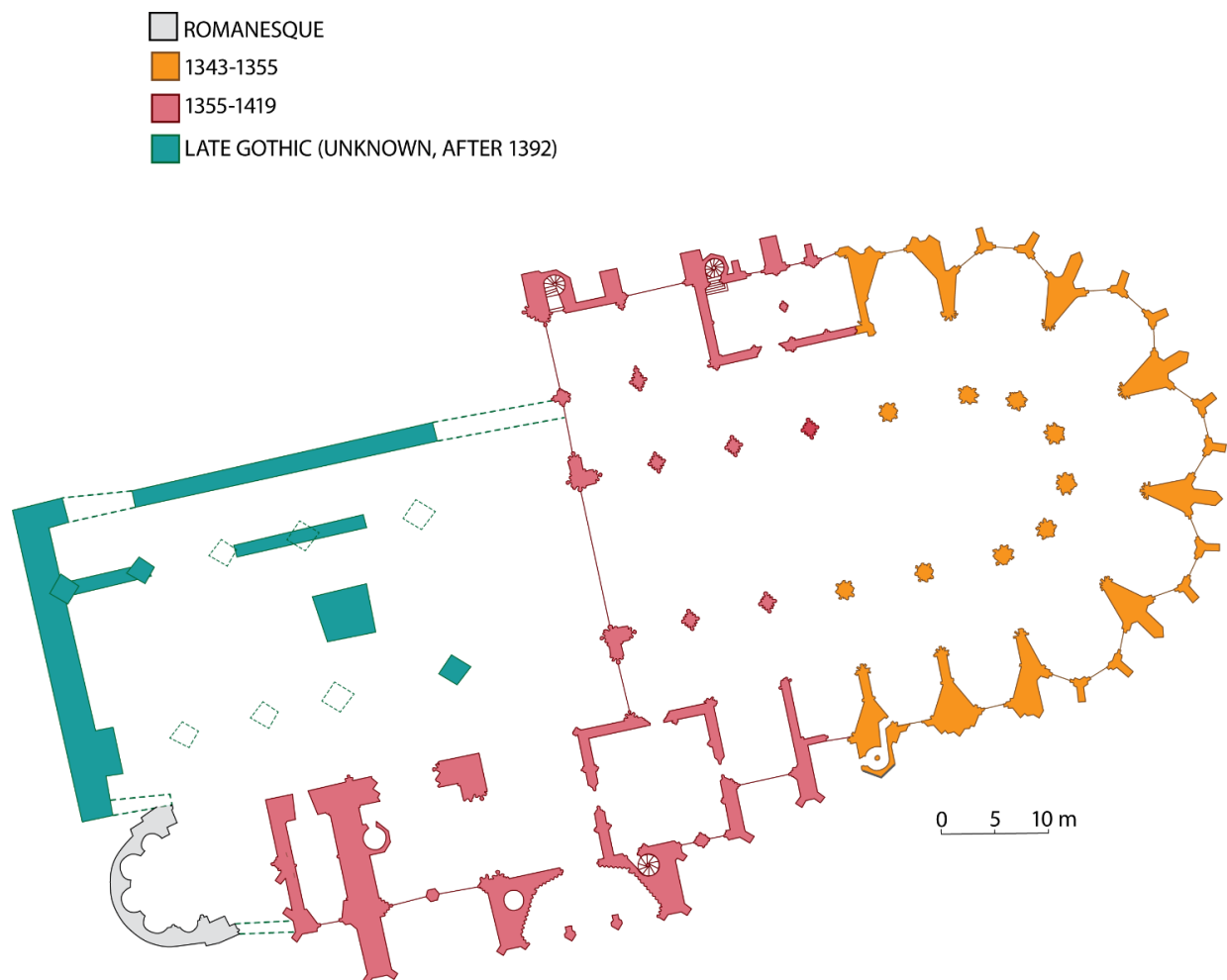


Figure 16. The parts designed by Matthias of Arras (orange, 1343-1355) and Peter Parler (red, 1355-1419), with all that we know about the western extension (teal) built up to 1419.

<sup>100</sup> Jiří Kuthan, "The Construction of the Gothic Cathedral under Matthias of Arras, Peter Parler and His Successors," in *The Cathedral of St. Vitus at Prague Castle*, ed. Jiří Kuthan and Jan Royt (Prague: Karolinum Press, 2016), 143.

<sup>101</sup> Kuthan, 138.

The foundation act for the cathedral was prepared by Charles on the October 5, 1343, this was confirmed by the chapter and the (then) bishop Ernest of Pardubice on the January 5, 1344, and subsequently by the pope on April 30, the day the bishopric of Prague was elevated to the status of Metropolitan Archdiocese. The cornerstone of the cathedral was laid down on November 21, 1344.<sup>102</sup>

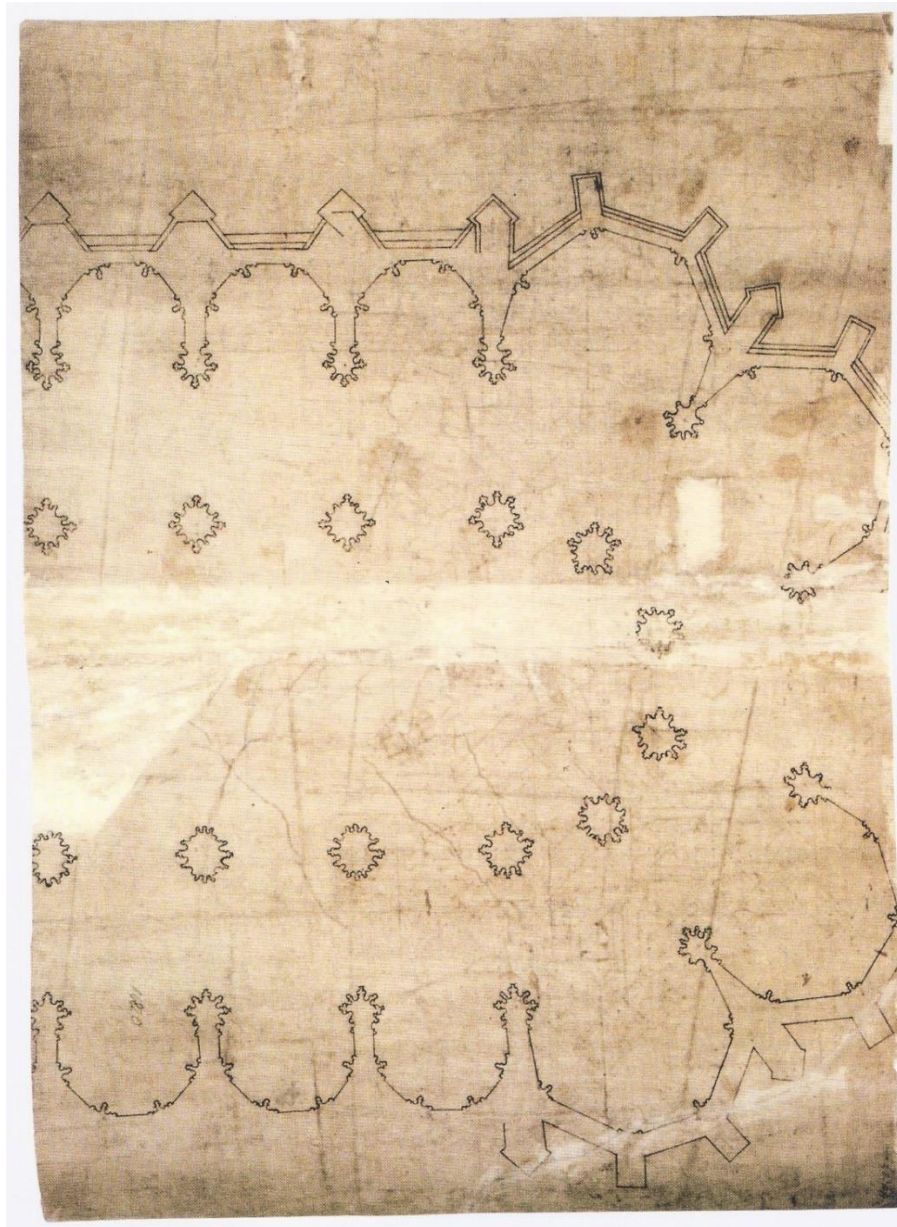


Figure 17. Copy of plan from the time of Matthias of Arras showing the Prague chancel

<sup>102</sup> Two chronicles narrate the event: Book 4 in The Chronicle of Beneš Krabice of Weitmile and Book 3, chapter 17 in The Chronicle of Francis of Prague, see Marie Bláhová, ed., *Kroniky doby Karla IV.* [Chronicles of the Time of Charles IV] (Svoboda, 1987), 136, 222. The deed is also recorded on the commemorative stone panel, originally placed on the south pillar of the Great Tower, next to the Golden Gate.

Matthias of Arras, a French master builder hired by Charles designed the new building and oversaw the construction. (For the parts designed and built by Matthias, see *Figure 16*) Construction started on the eastern side with the polygonal apse and the radiating chapels. These chapels were finished, roofed and vaulted, except for the five-sided chapel on the northern side of the chancel and the two eastern five-sided chapels on the south side. This is in line with the plan presently held in the collection of the Viennese Academy, which is a sixteenth-century drawing copied from an earlier plan from the time of Matthias of Arras (*Figure 17*).<sup>103</sup>

In 1352, Archbishop Ernest consecrated a chapel in the chancel dedicated to St. Anthony, which means that construction work was advancing at that part of the cathedral. In the same year, Matthias of Arras died, and for a while the construction was left without a master builder.<sup>104</sup>

In 1355, Peter Parler, a 23-year-old master builder came at the invitation of Charles IV. Peter Parler built the Old Sacristy, the chapel of St. Sigismund next to it, the three five-sided chapels on the southern side as well as the chapel of St. Wenceslas (for the parts that Peter Parler designed, see the red / 1355-1419 parts on *Figure 16*). After this, he proceeded to the southern vestibule and the so-called “Golden Gate”, then the chancel wall from the triforium level up, and to vaulting the high chancel with net vaulting.<sup>105</sup>

The difference between forms designed by Matthias of Arras and Peter Parler is conspicuous between the western and eastern side of the north and south parts of the ambulatory. The row of busts in the chancel triforium, portraying famous persons, among

<sup>103</sup> Jiří Kuthan, “Prague Cathedral in Gothic Architectural Drawing,” in *The Cathedral of St. Vitus at Prague Castle*, ed. Jiří Kuthan and Jan Royt (Prague: Karolinum Press, 2016), 147.

<sup>104</sup> Kuthan, “The Construction of the Gothic Cathedral,” 87.

<sup>105</sup> Kuthan, 87–90.

themselves Peter Parler himself, is also generally attributed to him, although Milena Bartlová argues that only the general idea and some of the busts are Parler's work, while the rest were made by a larger group of sculptors.<sup>106</sup>

In 1364, after Ernest died, Jan Očko of Vlašim (1364-1378), previously the bishop of Olomuc, became the new archbishop. In 1365, he consecrated the main altar of St. Vitus and the altar of the choir of the Mansionar college, dedicated to the Virgin Mary. In the same year, Charles IV brought the body of St. Sigismund to the cathedral. The chapel of St. Wenceslas was completed the next year and was consecrated to St. John the Evangelist and St. Wenceslas by archbishop Jan Očko in the presence of the emperor in 1367.<sup>107</sup>

The following years also saw the completion of various elements: the southern vestibule, together with the mosaic on the south façade, the decoration of the chapel of St. Wenceslas “with paintings, gold, gems and precious stones”, the demolition of the earlier parts of the cathedral and the removal of relics to the new parts, the closing of the triumphal arch in 1373, completion of the spiral staircase in the southern tower, an tabernacle (*cancello ferreo, in quo Corpus Christi servatur*) in the chapel of St. Wenceslas were completed.<sup>108</sup>

On July 12, 1385, the vaulting of the chancel was completed, according to an inscription on a stone panel on the southern gate of the cathedral.<sup>109</sup> In the same year, on October 1, the feast of St. Remigius, the choir was consecrated by the third archbishop of Prague, Jan of Jenštejn (1379-1396), dedicated to the Virgin Mary and St. Vitus.<sup>110</sup> The inscription above

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<sup>106</sup> Bartlová, “The Choir Triforium of the Prague Cathedral Revisited: The Inscriptions and Beyond,” 74. References cited by her: R. Suckale, “Über die Schwierigkeiten, Peter Parler Skulpturen zuzuschreiben,” in *Parlerbauten: Architektur — Skulptur — Restaurierung: Internationales Parler-Symposium, Schwäbisch-Gmünd, 17. - 19. Juli 2001*, ed. Richard Strobel (Stuttgart: Konrad Thiess, 2004), 197–206; Jiří Fajt, ed., *Karl IV. Kaiser von Gottes Gnaden* (Munich: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2006).

<sup>107</sup> Kuthan and Royt, *The Cathedral of St. Vitus at Prague Castle*, 51–52.

<sup>108</sup> Kuthan and Royt, 52–56.

<sup>109</sup> The fact is attested by the Chronicle of Benesch the Minorite, mentioned in: Tomek, *Základy starého místopisu Praského*, 4:110.

<sup>110</sup> Kuthan and Royt, *The Cathedral of St. Vitus at Prague Castle*, 69.

Peter Parler's bust states that he finished the chancel in 1386 and went on to work on the choir benches in the same year.<sup>111</sup>

## Eger Cathedral: ambiguous connection to the aisles

There have been three, seemingly distinct building campaigns in the fourteenth century: first, the western part of the nave was rebuilt, then the western portal and two western towers were constructed with an entrance hall between the towers, and lastly, the eastern side was rebuilt with a polygonal apse, ambulatory and radiating chapels.

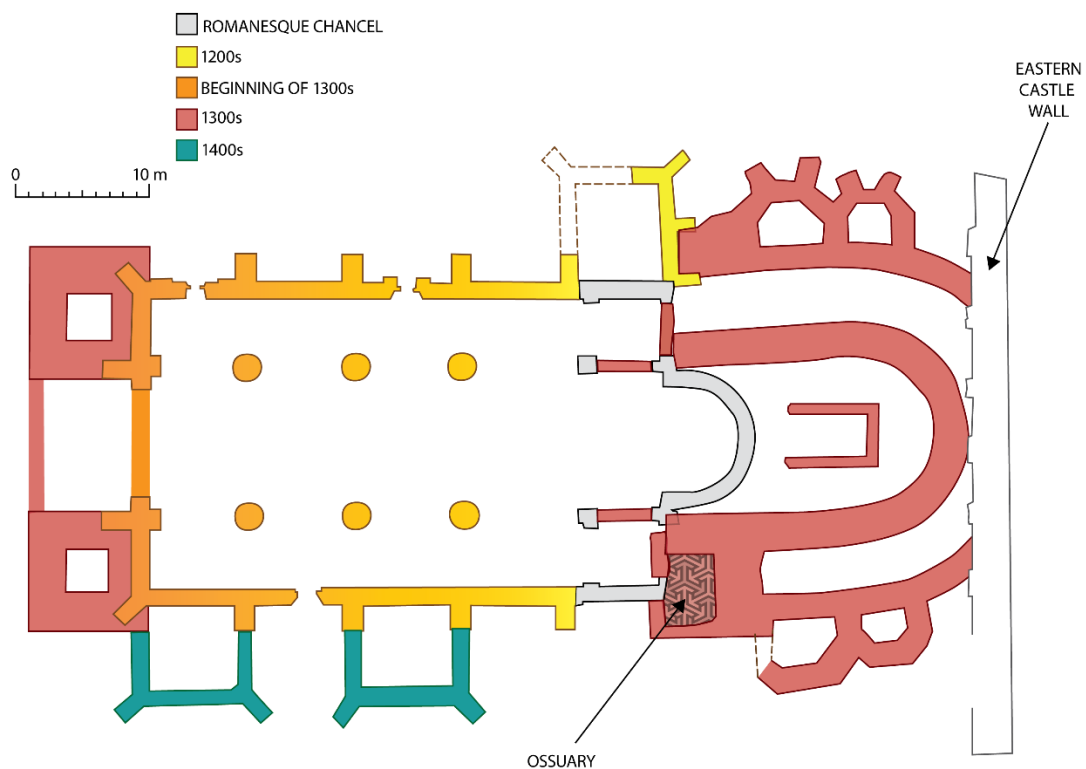
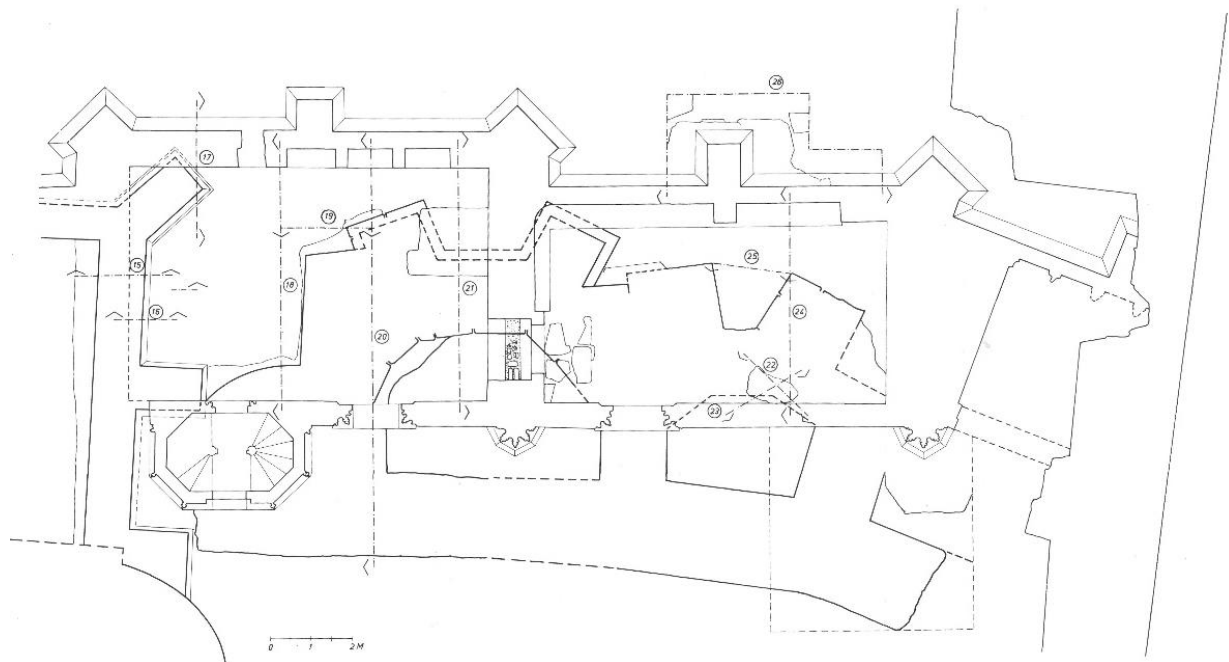


Figure 18. Remains of the fourteenth century ambulatory of Eger Castle discovered by Károly Kozák

<sup>111</sup> Bartlová, "The Choir Triforium of the Prague Cathedral Revisited: The Inscriptions and Beyond.", 88.

The third construction phase of unclear dating involved the construction of a massive eastern choir with an ambulatory and radiating chapels. The fact that there was a fourteenth century building period on the eastern side of Eger Cathedral with an ambulatory and radiating chapels was not discovered until the last phase of the 1966 excavations led by Károly Kozák. Based on the description and drawings published by Károly Kozák, two five-sided chapels with buttresses have been found on the northern and southern side of the choir, the western ones being larger than the eastern ones (*Figure 19*). Not indicated on the drawing but described later by Kozák: under the portrayed Late Gothic spiral staircase, another staircase was found, related to this fourteenth-century construction.<sup>112</sup> There were also two W-E walls (foundations?) discovered at this time, going under the foundations of the Late Gothic chapels. The western edge of the northern wall is connected to the eastern buttresses of the sacristy.<sup>113</sup>

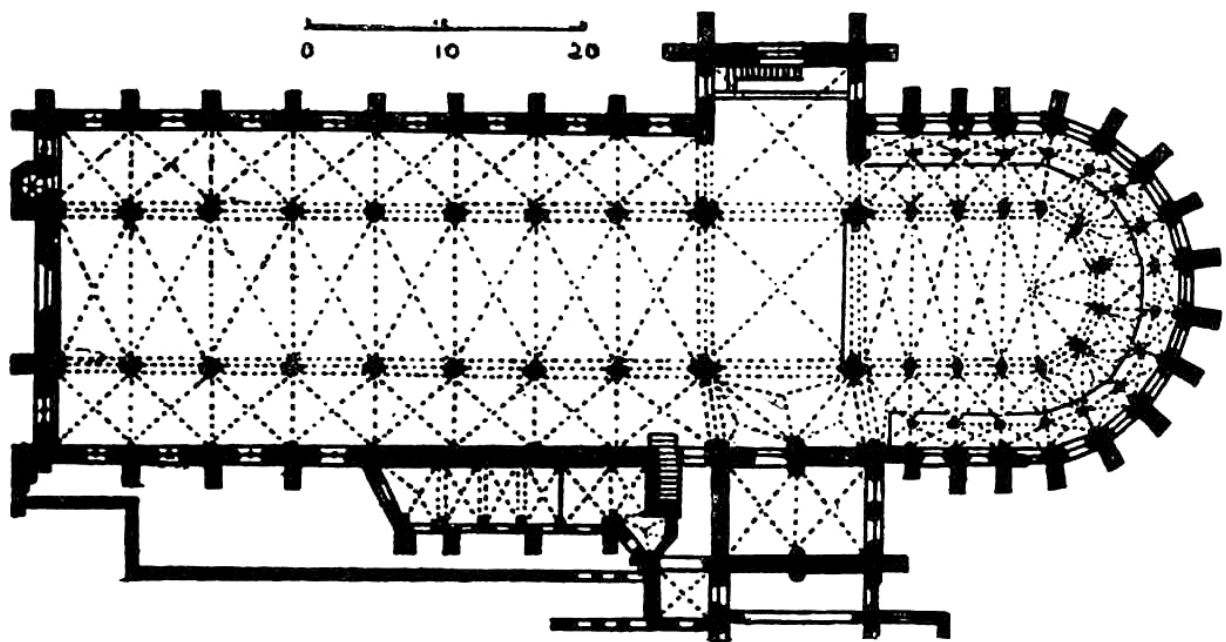


*Figure 19. Drawing by Károly Kozák showing the fourteenth century polygonal chapels in relation to the rectangular Late Gothic ones*

<sup>112</sup> For the details of the discovery of the polygonal chapels and ambulatory wall, see Kozák, “Az egri várszékesegyház feltárása II.,” 148–51; Kozák mentions the fourteenth-century spiral staircase in his description of the construction history at Détsky and Kozák, “Eger Vára,” 142, see also fig. 99 on page 140.

<sup>113</sup> Kozák, “Az egri várszékesegyház feltárása II.,” 148.

The new construction was slightly wider than the original nave of the church, the inside edges its foundations being in lines with the outside walls of the nave. A later drawing by Kozák (*Figure 21*) shows that the choir foundations have also been found, as well as the support for a smaller construction in the middle of the choir, with three walls of a chamber(?), the western wall notably missing. Unfortunately, the easternmost parts were destroyed by later constructions and thus cannot be reconstructed.



*Figure 20. The ground plan of the Cistercian church at Kaisheim*

The reconstruction of this choir is a problematic issue. Gergely Buzás's reconstruction drawing of this phase (*Figure 22*) suggests that the western radiating chapels are slightly larger than the rest because the number of the chapels did not match the sides of the polygonal apse and evoke the design to the Cistercian churches of Sedlec in Bohemia (1275-1300, *Figure 10*) and Kaisheim in Bavaria (1352-1378, *Figure 20*).



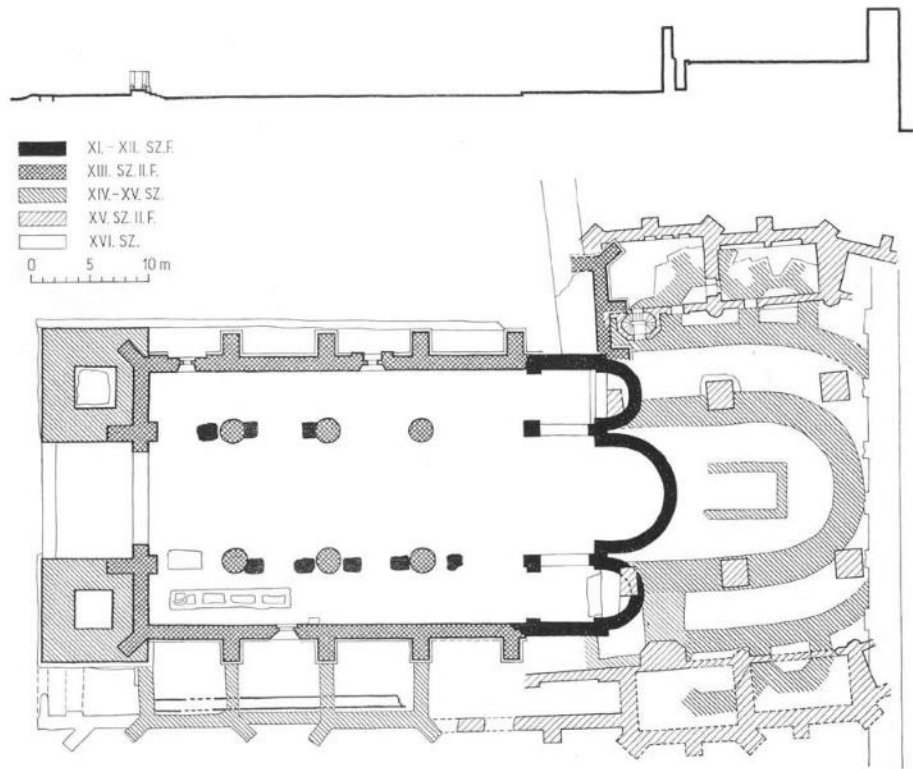


Figure 21. The periodized ground plan of Eger Cathedral and longitudinal section through the E-W main axis above by Károly Kozák and Mihály Détsky, 1972.

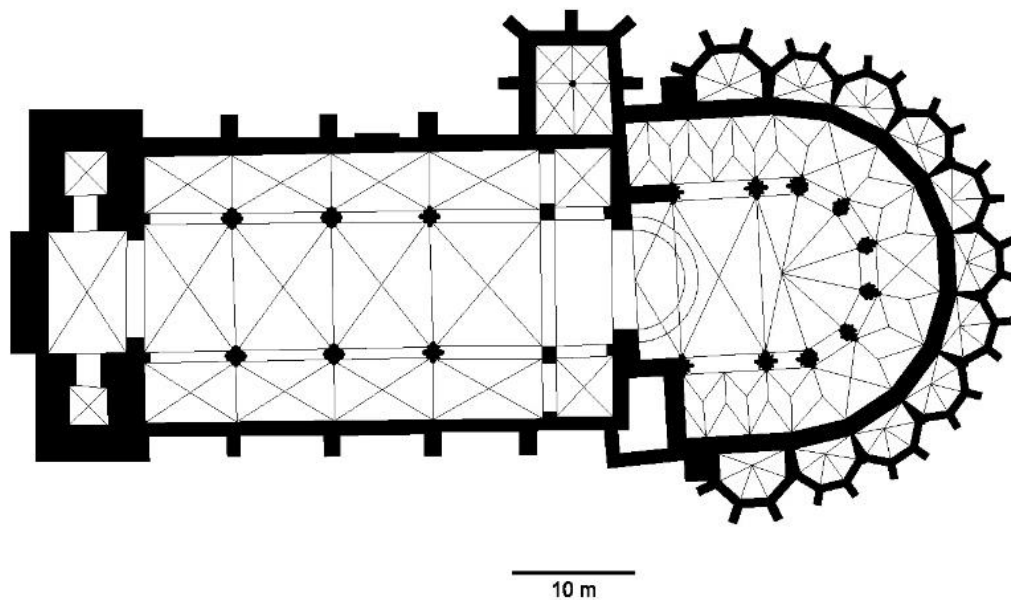
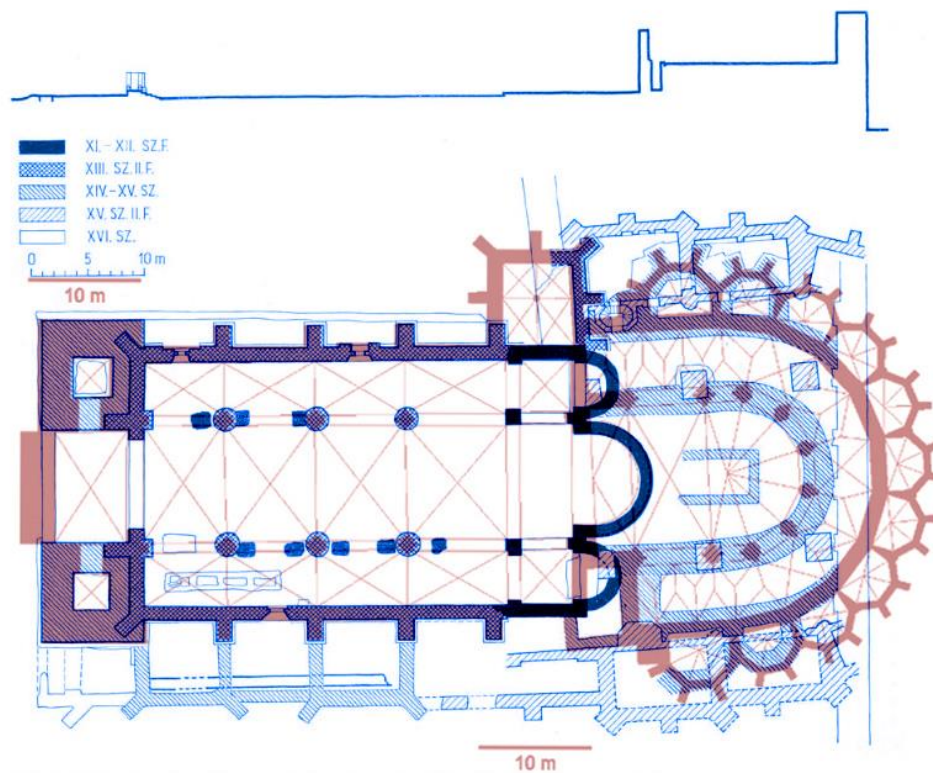


Figure 22. Reconstruction drawing of the XIV. century phase of Eger Cathedral by Gergely Buzás

In these examples, the westernmost radiating chapels are not proportionally larger than the others, as is the case in Eger – this seems to have been a unique phenomenon. Sedlec is the

better comparison material for it also has two spiral staircases, the remains of which were found at Eger cathedral too (that Buzás did not indicate), although the staircases are located at very different places in relation to the sanctuary, due to Sedlec (and Kasheim) having a transept which Eger notably does not have. Cistercian architecture was tied very closely to French Gothic cathedrals and this style was very influential in Central European cathedral architecture – however, it seems like the examples cited by Buzás do not bring us closer to understanding the Eger design.



*Figure 23. The reconstruction plan of Gergely Buzás overlaid with Károly Kozák's ground plan*

The reconstruction drawing proposed by Buzás is based on the periodized drawing published by Kozák, but he took some liberties in interpreting the remains on the eastern side (the two drawings are shown overlaid in *Figure 23*). This was also noticed by Krisztina Havasi, who has criticized Buzás extensively for this approach, pointing out that he may have ignored

the actual remaining walls deliberately to make his theory seem more plausible.<sup>114</sup> Buzás also interpreted fourteenth-century pear-shaped pillar profiles from Eger to suggest that this building period was inspired by the St. Vitus construction.<sup>115</sup> However, I would agree with Havasi who pointed out that these pear-shaped forms were very widely used in the fourteenth century in Central Europe and are thus not reliable evidence for a Prague influence.<sup>116</sup>

## Várad Cathedral: new chancel with chapel wreath

To understand why Várad cathedral is important and where most of the information regarding its late medieval interior arrangement comes from, we must make a close reading of the *Statutes*: around 1374 or 1375, lector Emeric of Várad put together a collection of descriptions about the organization of the Várad cathedral chapter and he also made copies of charters owned by them.<sup>117</sup> The manuscript had three parts: the first one described the foundation of the Várad cathedral, the short history of the Hungarian Kings and the bishops of Várad and described the possessions, rules and rights of the chapter; the second one described the incomes, rights and duties of the members of the chapter; and the third part was a collection of

<sup>114</sup> Havasi, “A középkori egri székesegyház az 1200-as évek elején I.,” 68.

<sup>115</sup> Gergely Buzás, “Az egri székesegyház XIII-XIV. századi gótikus épülete” [The Thirteenth-Fourteenth Century Gothic Building of Eger Cathedral], *Az Egri Vár Híradója* 38 (2006): 40–45.

<sup>116</sup> Havasi, “A középkori egri székesegyház az 1200-as évek elején I.,” 68–69.

<sup>117</sup> The “Statutes” was preserved in an early sixteenth-century copy in Lőcse. Presently it is probably in the collection of the Batthyáneum in Alba Iulia, Romania. This copy was later published in Ignác Batthány, *Leges Ecclesiasticae Regni Hvangariae, Et Provinciarvm Adiacentivm*, vol. 3 (Kolozsvár: Typis Episcopalis, 1827), 218–59; Bunytay Vince, *A váradi káptalan legrégebbi statutumai* [The Oldest Statutes of the Várad Chapter] (Nagyvárad: Franklin-Társulat Nyomdája, 1886) and then in ; in *A váradi püspökség története alapításától a jelenkorig*, vol. 1, 3 vols. (Nagyvárad, 1883) Bunytay notes that the manuscript should have been called Chartularium, as it is a collection of charters issued by the Várad diocese. ; Emulating the title of Chronicon Zagradiense (1344), the part concerning the Várad cathedral was also published as “Chronicon Waradiense” in Imre Szentpétery, *Scriptores Rerum Hungaricarum Tempore Ducum Regumque Stirpis Arpadianae Gestarum* (Budapest, 1937–1938)

copies of the charters on which the rights and indulgences of the Várad chapter are based. Unfortunately, some of the second part and all of the third part was lost.<sup>118</sup>

In the beginning of the document, he describes the recent building activity at Várad cathedral: “*And the same church from its earliest days was quite beautiful, but Bishop Andrew made it larger in length and decorated it in many ways, as it can be clearly seen. In the year of our Lord three hundred and sixty-second, [forty-second?] he began another church which surrounded the former in size and surpassed it in beauty, and finished all the chapels around the choir except the vaults, which Bishop Demetrius completed on the plundering of the poor, who died in the year of our Lord one thousand and three hundred [seventy-two] on the seventh of the month of December, and he was buried in one of those new chapels, which he himself had sufficiently endowed and dedicated in honor of the martyr Demetrius, while he was alive.*”<sup>119</sup> In the Batthány version, there is a comma and not a full stop between the first and the second sentence.<sup>120</sup>

There is a noticeable problem that the transcriber had with years in this passage that I find disturbing: the first one is obviously incorrect, while the second one is missing. Bunyitay interprets the first number – 1362 – to have been an error on the transcriber’s part, and that the correct number was 1342 (MCCCXLII) instead of 1362 (MCCCLXII).<sup>121</sup> However, that would only give bishop Andrew and his constructors three years to lay down the foundations of the

<sup>118</sup> Bunyitay, *A váradi káptalan legrégibb statutumai*, XIII–XIV Bunyitay describes the codex the manuscript came from: it is a collation of three prints and fourteen different manuscript documents of varying lengths, of which the Statutes are the latest. See also the contents at the beginning of the manuscript, page 6.

<sup>119</sup> Bunyitay, 7–8: “*Erat autem eadem ecclesia ex prisca fundatione sui speciosa satis, sed tandem fecit eam ampliolem in longitudine Andreas episcopus et multipliciter decoravit, sicut patet intuentibus. Novissimis vero diebus idem anno Domini millesimo tricentesimo sexagesimo secundo inchoavit aliam Ecclesiam que priorem sua magnitudine circumiunxit et pulchritudine superat, et consummavit omnes cellas chorum preter testudines, quas perfecit Demetrius episcopus de rapina pauperum, qui obiit anno Domini millesimo tricentesimo die septima mensis Decembris, et sepultus est in una earundem capellarum novarum, quam ipse sufficienter dotavit et in honorem sancti Demetrii martyris, dum viveret, dedicavit.*”

<sup>120</sup> Batthány, *Leges Ecclesiasticae Regni Hngariae, Et Provinciarym Adiacentivm*, 3:344.

<sup>121</sup> Bunyitay, *A váradi káptalan legrégibb statutumai*, 8 footnote 2.

new choir and build the walls of the chapels, (and) thus most of the walls of the choir and finish the roofing.

Imre Takács accepts this interpretation and thus supposes that the construction occurred in two parts, one in the 1330s where the western part was extended in length, and a second which comprised the chancel construction from 1342, and that the chancel construction then stretched into the fourteenth century and the beginning of the fifteenth until King Sigismund gathered enough funds for its finish with a new main altar and announced he wanted to be buried at Várad in 1406. He also theorizes that a new chapel, founded by Andrew, was located in the eastern part.<sup>122</sup>

I would argue that the chronology for the beginning of the choir construction this way does not make sense: laying the massive foundations alone would have taken years, let alone allow the chapels to be fully completed with all the decorations they had. Either the year 1342 is correct, but it refers to the consecration rather than the beginning of the constructions, or it is not the correct year. Moreover, in my opinion, the text does not directly refer to two separate constructions, and it might have very well been the case that the western side was not modified at this time, but rather renovated after the Mongol invasion or at the beginning of the fourteenth century. It must be mentioned that the *Statutes* refers to bishop John (Ivánka, 1318-1329) as someone who “oversaw many virtuous deeds”, although this is in the context of the enumeration of which bishops won or lost privileges of the bishopric.<sup>123</sup>

Charles I issued a renewal of the privileges of the cathedral in 1337, which may be connected to the chancel construction.<sup>124</sup> In 1342, not long after his coronation, Charles’ son King Louis

<sup>122</sup> Takács, “Bátori András ‘második temploma,’” 43–44.

<sup>123</sup> Bunyitay, *A váradi káptalan legrégibb statútumai*, 18.

<sup>124</sup> Josephus Aloysius Keresztury, *Compendiaria descriptio fundationis, ac vicissitudinum episcopatus, et capituli M. Varadinensis (etc.)* (Oradea, 1806), 144.

I visited Várad cathedral and made donations.<sup>125</sup> Until the burial of Mary, Louis' daughter in 1385, this is the only royal connection to the construction of the Várad chancel.

Lector Emeric does not mention any ongoing constructions at the time he is writing in 1375 neither in the introduction nor in his enumeration of the altars. In spite of this, I agree with Imre Takács that the construction of the chancel lasted throughout the fourteenth century and probably continued into the beginning of the fifteenth. In support of his theory, he cites how Pope Boniface IX issued bulls in 1400 and 1401, giving indulgence to those who visit Várad cathedral, which he supposes was meant to finance the construction.<sup>126</sup> Another papal bull from 1402 mentions the chapel of St. Demetrius in the “new sanctuary” in 1402.<sup>127</sup>

Várad cathedral is in a unique position in the sense that, while several ground plans of the excavations have been published, these are deemed largely unreliable and thus the cathedral is only passingly mentioned in enumerations of fourteenth-century architectural trends. While I may not be able to fully solve the problem, it is worthwhile to examine the available plans and compare them to the added information raised by the 2010-2015 excavations as well as our current knowledge of the era. The eastern side of the cathedral is the most problematic one, due to the unreliable evidence that remains from the 1911-12 excavations.

We are not at all sure whether Várad Cathedral even had a transept. Imre Henszlmann did not think so, saying that the two eastern towers might have given the idea of a cross-shaped ground plan but there was no real transept present.<sup>128</sup> However, he could only base his idea on

<sup>125</sup> Imre Nagy, ed., *Anjoukori Okmánytár* [Charters of the Angevin Period], IV (1340-1346) (Budapest: The Historical Commission of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, 1884), 292 Charter no. 175.

<sup>126</sup> *Bullae Bonifacii IX. P. M. 1396-1404*, vol. 4, Monumenta Vaticana Historiam Regni Hungariae Illustrantia 1 (Budapest, 1889). 214, 347-348, 367

<sup>127</sup> *Bullae Bonifacii IX. P. M. 1396-1404*, 4:477.

<sup>128</sup> Henszlmann Imre, “A Nagyvárad Kettős Székesegyház” [The Double Cathedral of Nagyvárad], in *A Várad Püspökség Története Alapításától a Jelenkorig*, by Vince Bunyitay, vol. 3 (Nagyvárad, 1884), 161.

his own ground plan and the part in the north-eastern corner which seems like the foundations of a tower.

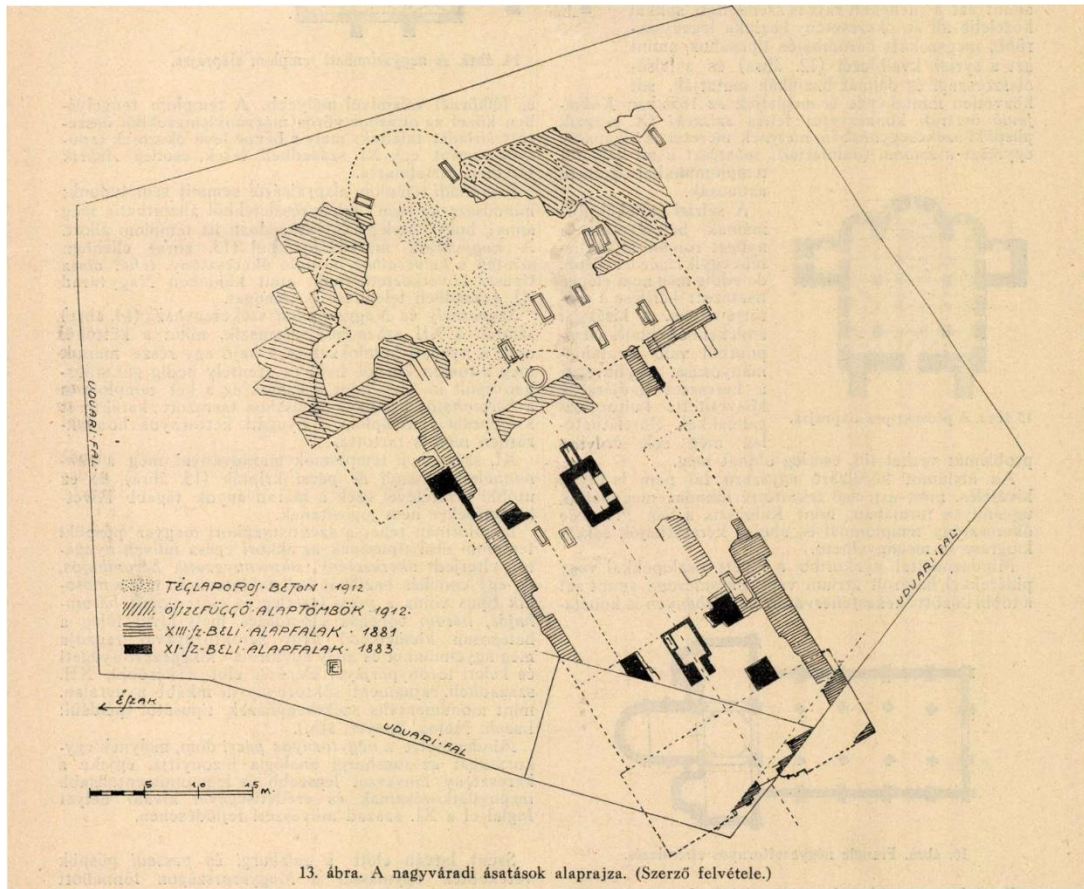


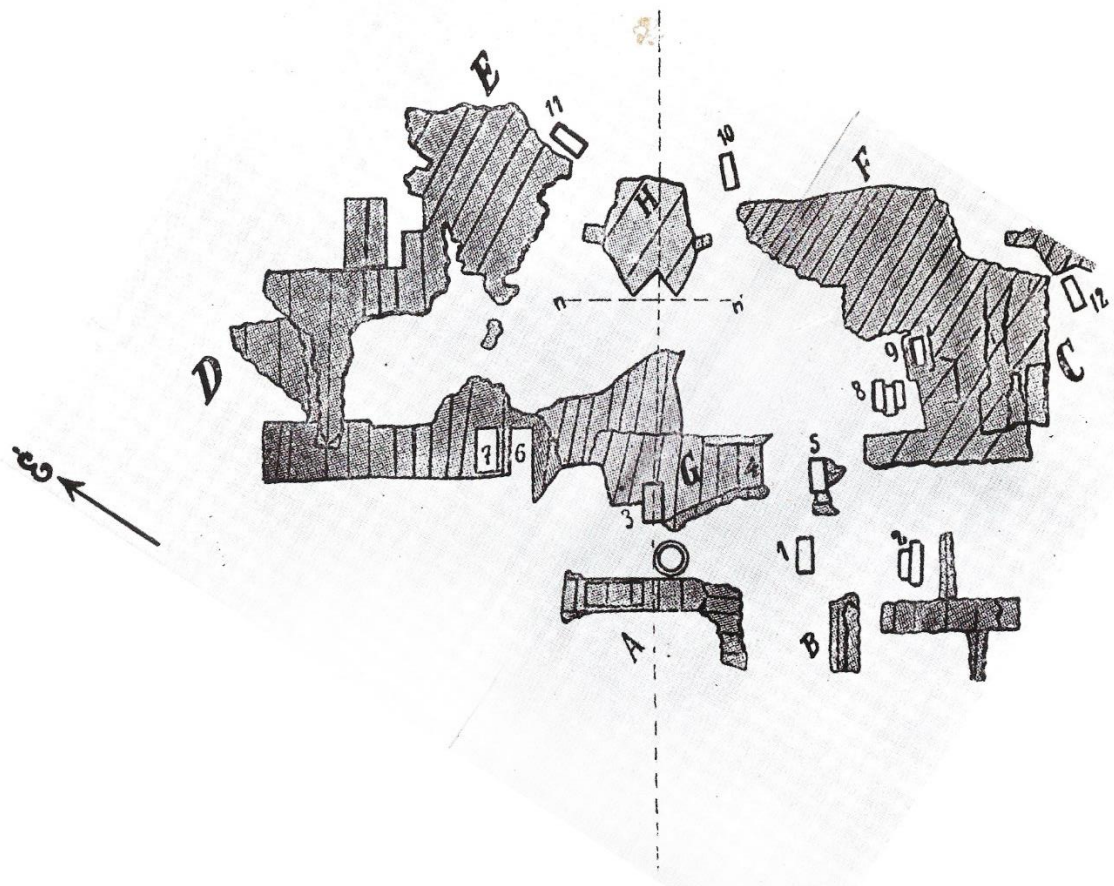
Figure 24: Ernő Foerk's drawing of the combined findings of the 1881-3 and 1911 excavations, with a suggested shape based on the remains. Published in 1942

I agree with Imre Takács, who pointed out that Ernő Foerk's shape reconstruction is anachronistic, pointing to a thirteenth century arrangement rather than one that would fit into the fourteenth century, and that it is possible that the foundations were not supporting the outside walls but rather the inside pillars, which bore more weight. It is also notable that the excavation did not extend under the palace walls, where the easternmost part was probably located and that could give us more information about the overall length of the choir. Takács



also speculates, that, based on the available information, the choir could have been almost twice as wide as the nave.<sup>129</sup>

According to Imre Takács the uncovered remains point to the fact that the new choir joined the old nave with the insertion of a transept, and that the connection of the wings of this transept with the two eastern towers was not clear.<sup>130</sup> Takács probably based his opinion on the remains published by Jenő Gyalókay in 1911, and the combined ground plan of the 1881-3 and 1911 excavations assembled by Ernő Foerk (*Figure 24*).



*Figure 25: Ground plan of the 1911 excavations, drawn up by Jenő Gyalókay*

It is not apparent which part of the remains were interpreted by Takács as the transept: either the part that contains the well, (*Figure 25* between A and G) or the mostly parallel part above

<sup>129</sup> Takács, "Bátori András 'második temploma,'" 44.

<sup>130</sup> Takács, 44.



(between G and H). In the first instance, Henszlmann supposed towers there, and, on the ground plan outlined by the most recent excavations, we can see that the walls of the supposed transept are not the same width apart on each side, while in the second case, the towers would fall in line with the transept but that would make the other remains harder to interpret as foundations for pillars of a polygonal or semicircular apse with ambulatory and radiating chapels.



*Figure 26. Eastern part of the medieval Várad cathedral: the current excavations overlaid with Imre Henszlmann's and Gyalókay's drawings, corrected for size and orientation.*

Gyalókay explains that the walls depicted are the reinforced earth beneath the foundations, except for A, B, C, D, which are intact corners or lines. The allowed eastern edge of the excavations was 6 meters from the palace buildings. He believes the two “blocks” between the n-n’ line and the western edge are the foundations of the towers of the later cathedral, based on Miskolczy’s description, adding that in 1609 probably neither of the towers stood and that

Miskolczy probably regarded them as extensions of the cathedrals and not towers.<sup>131</sup> The only seemingly regular part of the foundations is the formation at the northern side with two perpendicular walls, which could signal either a pillar, or the south-western walls of a side chapel.

The general shape of the new choir, based on the description given in the *Statutes*, was a new main apse with chapels around it.<sup>132</sup> After the first excavation and Imre Henszlmann's reconstruction drawing (see *Figure 27.*), it is generally presumed that the choir was in the French style with polygonal chapels.

Unfortunately, because the actual shape and measurements are unknown, it is currently impossible to speculate about the possible inspiration of the Várad arrangement, although the latest excavations let us approximate that the whole cathedral was about 78 meters long, and 40 meters wide with its eastern towers.<sup>133</sup>

While the 1911-12 excavations focused on the eastern end of the cathedral, the remains are hard to interpret from there as well. There is nothing that could reliably be tied to an earlier phase. The existing findings indicated on the drawing are not walls, but foundation blocks, rocks mixed with mortar allowed to solidify in the ground.<sup>134</sup> These were needed because, unlike some other fortresses, Várad was not located on a hill: it was quite close to the river Körös, which made the ground somewhat unstable, and also meant that no cellars or crypts could be dug out lest the water come up in them.

<sup>131</sup> Jenő Gyalókay, "A nagyvárad várbán 1911-12-ik évben folyt ásatások eredménye" [The Result of the Excavations Carried out in Oradea Castle in the Years 1911-12], *Biharvárad* 1 (1913): 50–51.

<sup>132</sup> Bunyitay, *A várad káptalan legrégebbi statútumai*, 8.

<sup>133</sup> Fechete-Porsztner, Mihálka, and Marta, "Újabb adatok a nagyvárad vár középkori és reneszánsz kori topográfiájához. A nagyvárad vár régészeti ásatásai a 2010–2015 közötti helyreállítások során," 214.

<sup>134</sup> Jenő Gyalókay has published his observations in "A nagyvárad várbán 1911-12-ik évben folyt ásatások eredménye."

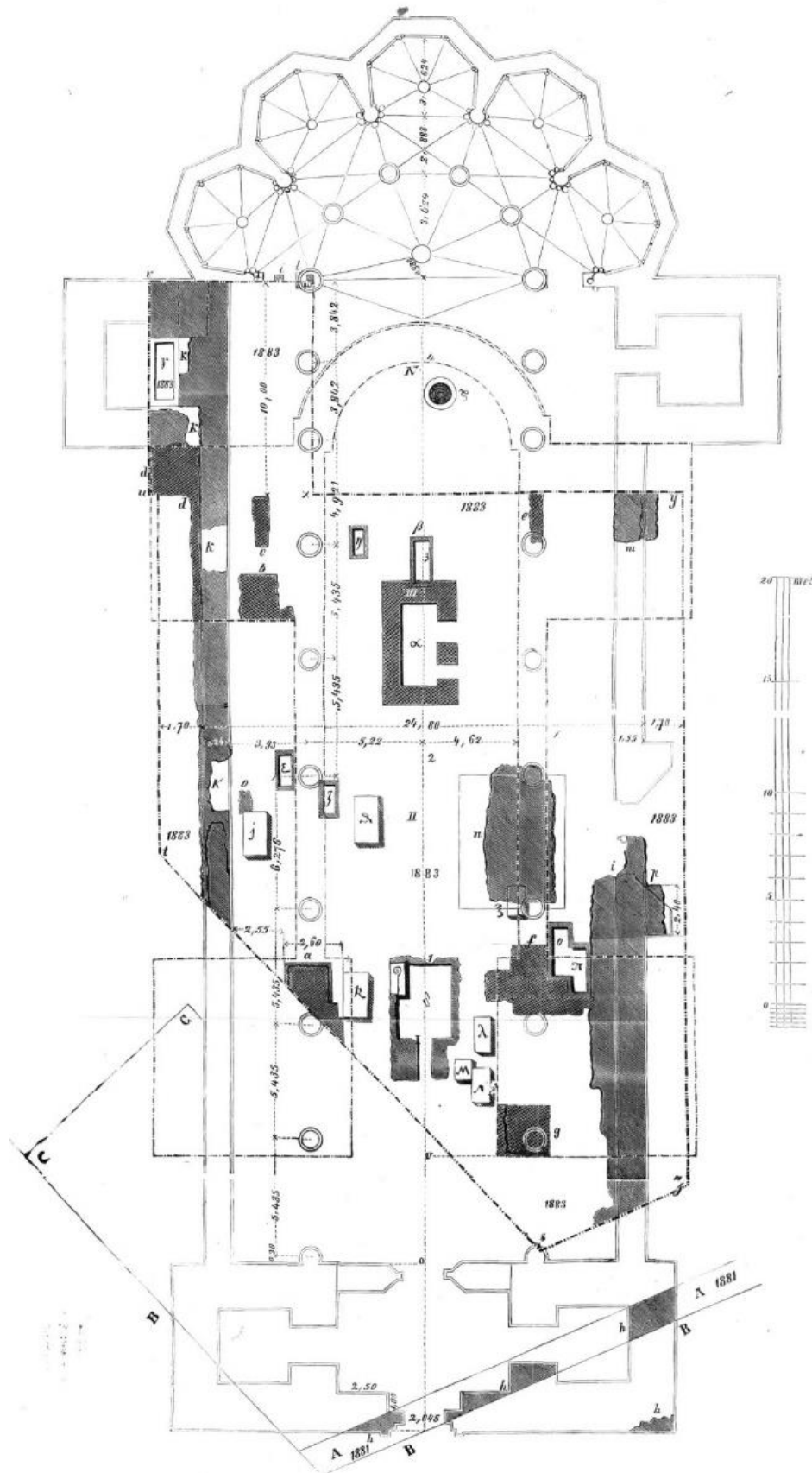


Figure 27. Reconstruction drawing of Várad Cathedral by Imre Henszlmann, based on the 1881-3 excavations.

Recent discoveries have proven that the inner edge of the 14<sup>th</sup> century choir reaches almost to the western wing of the palace, which, with an added row of radiating chapels would have made the whole church about 75 m long. The existence of a northeastern tower, possibly rebuilt at the time of John Vitéz but probably already existing earlier has been verified, as well as a southeastern tower.<sup>135</sup>

## Gniezno Cathedral: a contested arrangement

The most important recent articles are those of Tomasz Janiak and Jakub Adamski. Janiak examines the construction history of the Gothic chancel of Gniezno Cathedral, arguing that originally, the chancel was built only with an ambulatory and radiating chapels were only added later, and that the construction of the chancel might have started earlier than the documented date of 1342, at the end of the thirteenth century.<sup>136</sup> Adamski in turn examines the decorations and architectural forms of the chancel and the nave of Gniezno Cathedral, arriving to the conclusion that it was probably influenced by the structure and details of the parish church of St. Elizabeth in Wrocław.<sup>137</sup>

In the summer of 1331, Gniezno was sacked and burned by the Teutonic Knights. The cathedral, the bishop's palace and the chapter buildings were not burned but plundered by the invading soldiers.<sup>138</sup> After Jarosław Bogoria Skotnicki became the archbishop in 1342, he took over the construction (for the illustration of the building phases, see *Figure 28*), and the chronicle of Janko of Czarnków gives this date as the start of constructions.<sup>139</sup> Skotnicki is credited with

<sup>135</sup> Mihálka, “A váradi vár Anjou-kori építkezései a régészeti ásatások tükrében” choir: page 267, northeastern tower: page 269 footnote 56, southeastern tower: page 266 footnote 38.

<sup>136</sup> Janiak, “Początek gotyckiej przebudowy prezbiterium katedry w Gnieźnie.”

<sup>137</sup> Adamski, “Śląska geneza gotyckiej katedry gnieźnieńskiej.”

<sup>138</sup> Aleksandra Świechowska, ed., *Katedra gnieźnieńska*, vol. 1 (Poznań-Warsaw-Lublin, 1968), 33.

<sup>139</sup> Janiak, “Początek gotyckiej przebudowy prezbiterium katedry w Gnieźnie,” 382, 396–400.

financing the erection of the St. Lawrence chapel in 1339 at the Wavel Cathedral. He also commissioned castles in Kalisz, Uniejów, Łowicz, churches in Kalisz, Mazewo, Skotniki, a monastery in Koprzywnica and many others.<sup>140</sup>

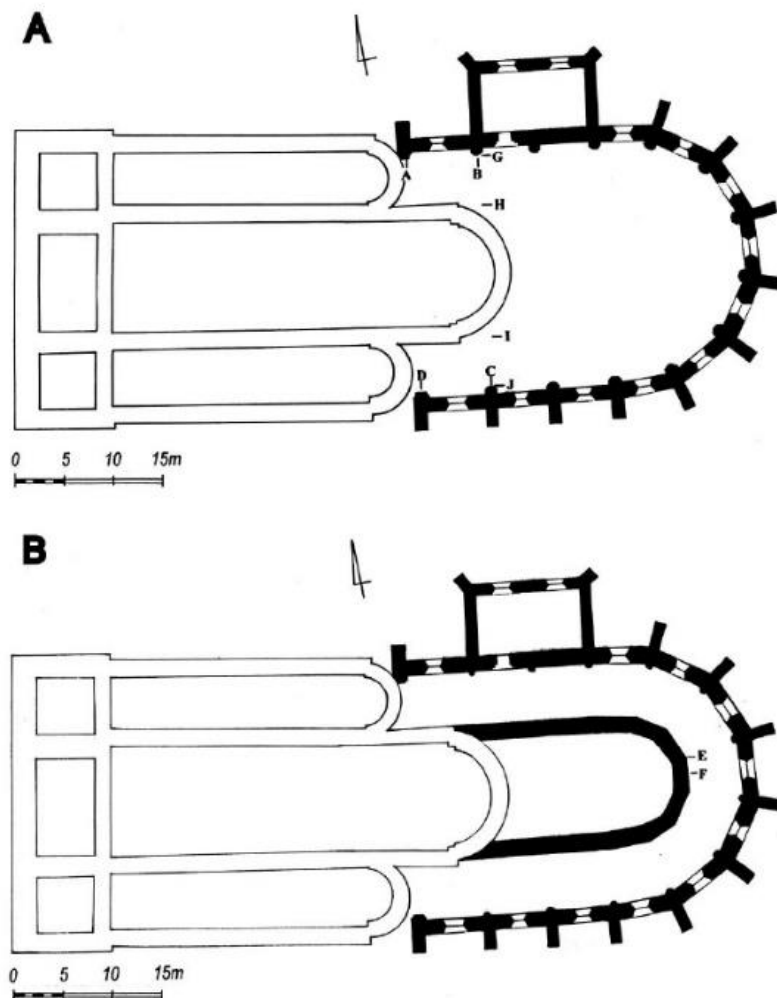


Figure 28: The first two phases of the Gothic choir of Gniezno cathedral, built in the middle of the fourteenth century, according to Tomasz Janiak.

<sup>140</sup> Jan Zachwatowicz, "Architektura katedry gotyckiej," in *Katedra gnieźnieńska*, ed. Aleksandra Świechowska, vol. 1 (Poznań-Warsaw-Lublin, 1968), 37.

Tomasz Janiak, supported by archaeological evidence, supposes that the Gothic rebuilding of Gniezno cathedral started during 1293-96, starting with the outer wall of the ambulatory, but was abandoned after the death of King Przemysław II.<sup>141</sup>

The design of the fourteenth century choir, especially its ambulatory and radiating chapels, is debated by scholars. In the opinion of Jan Zachwatowicz, the gothic choir was an elongated polygonal choir, closing with seven sides of a decagon, with a basilical ambulatory, meaning that the choir walls were higher and had direct lighting from the windows. The floorplan of the radiating chapels is unknown. The hypothesis of Marian Kutzner and Jan Zachwatowicz is that there were polygonal radiating chapels, closing with three sides of an octagon, for which there are traces in the attics of the chapels.<sup>142</sup>

Zachwatowicz also theorizes that the original design might have stood closer to the ideal of a French Gothic cathedral, but a transept could not be built due to the space constraints: Gniezno cathedral is located on a hill, and its western and eastern sides are close to the slopes. This also accounts for the slight deviation of the choir's main axis to the north: it enabled the builders to safely plan out the new choir without having to worry about the collapsing of the outer walls. The constructors managed to extend the choir of the Gniezno cathedral to be 25.5 m long (without the ambulatory), greater than the Kraków (21.5 m), Poznań (23 m) and Włocławek (20.5 m) cathedrals, second only to the Wrocław cathedral (33.2 m).<sup>143</sup>

<sup>141</sup> Janiak, "Początek gotyckiej przebudowy prezbiterium katedry w Gnieźnie," 382, 396–400.

<sup>142</sup> Marian Kutzner, "Sztuka gotycka," in *Dzieje Wielkopolski*, ed. Aleksandra Świechowska, vol. 1, 1969, 379–81; Zachwatowicz, "Architektura katedry gotyckiej," 50.

<sup>143</sup> Jan Zachwatowicz, "Historia budowy katedry gotyckiej," in *Katedra gnieźnieńska*, ed. Aleksandra Świechowska, vol. 1 (Poznań-Warsaw-Lublin, 1968), 39–40.



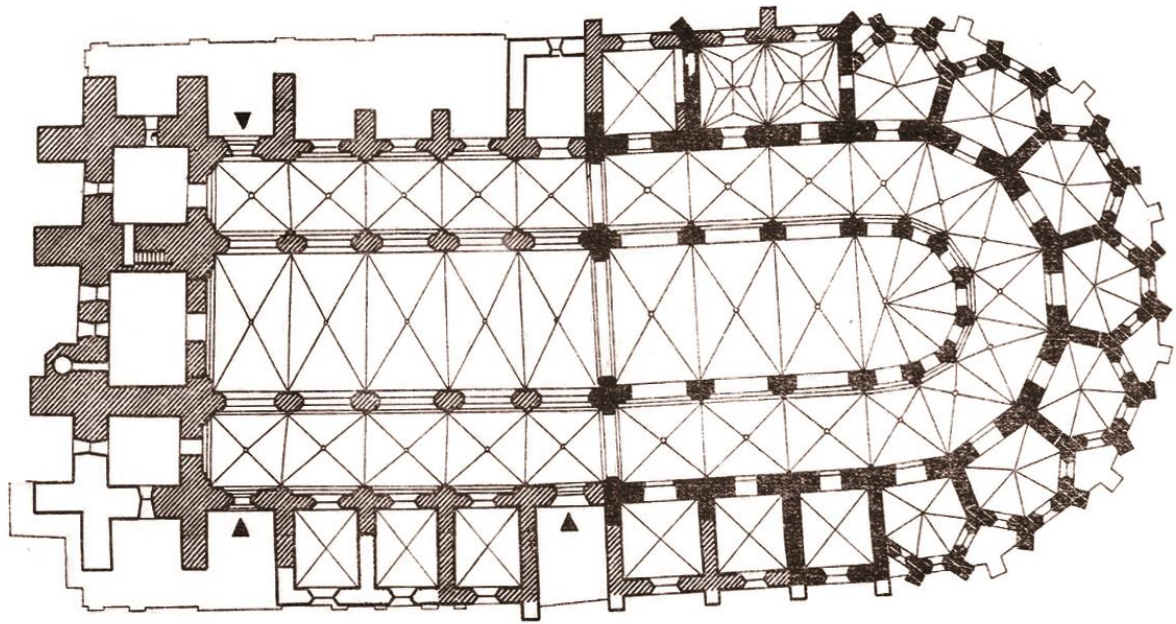


Figure 29. Periodized ground plan of Gniezno cathedral, with theorized polygonal radiating chapels at the chancel.

Another hypothesis concerning the Gothic choir was proposed by Szczesny Skibiński, who suggested that only the ambulatory was built at the same time as the apse, and the chapels are a later addition. To support his idea, he mentioned that above the vaults of the chapels, there are visible bricked-up window openings in the outer wall of the ambulatory that must have been built before the chapels. In addition, there are traces of the original buttresses on the outer walls of the ambulatory, which would have no reason to exist if it was built at the same time as the chapels. He also stressed how narrow the openings of the chapels were, arguing that this must be so because the openings were created after the construction of the ambulatory wall.<sup>144</sup>

The most acceptable theory regarding the sequence of construction, put forwards by Skibiński and corroborated by Tomasz Janiak is that the outside wall of the ambulatory was

<sup>144</sup> Szczesny Skibiński, "O niektórych aspektach gotyckiej przebudowy katedry gnieźnieńskiej" [On Some Aspects of the Gothic Reconstruction of the Cathedral in Gniezno], *Gniezno. Studia i materiały historyczne* 3 (1990); Skibiński, *Polskie katedry gotyckie*, 187–89.

built first while the Romanesque choir stood undemolished and was still functioning.<sup>145</sup> Skibiński also theorizes that due to the tilt of the choir's main axis to the north, the southern Romanesque side-apse was the last to be demolished and served as the place of the daily liturgy during construction.<sup>146</sup>

Janiak, based on the available archaeological evidence, stated that the materials in the foundation levels of the internal wall of the ambulatory differ from the external parts in a number of ways: the internal foundation was made almost exclusively of demolition material, bricks were used starting from the lowest layers, the top of this foundation is c. 0.5 m above the offset of the stone foundation of the external ambulatory, i.e. the hypothetical original usable level of the Gothic chancel and that the mortar of the two foundations is different too. The top of this foundation was adjusted to the planned level of the new Gothic nave, but then an additional 1-meter-high brick wall in the "Venedic" style was also built on top of the external foundation, with octagonal half-pillars joining from the inside. In the final design, this part was underground, and the whole level of the new choir was 1.60 above the Romanesque chancel's level, and 0.6m above the new nave's level, with three steps of stairs separating the ambulatory from the north and southern aisles. Janiak's theory is that the construction was interrupted after laying the brick wall at the outer edge of the ambulatory, and was only continued later when the internal wall's foundation was raised to the same level and built up in the same style from there.<sup>147</sup>

While Janiak emphasizes that the other Polish cathedrals that had ambulatories built around the same time (Wrocław, Poznań, Kraków) had their ambulatories at the same walking

<sup>145</sup> Skibiński, *Polskie katedry gotyckie*, 124–25; Skibiński, *Katedra poznańska*, 51; Janiak, "Początek gotyckiej przebudowy prezbiterium katedry w Gnieźnie," 394.

<sup>146</sup> Skibiński, "O niektórych aspektach gotyckiej przebudowy katedry w Gnieźnie," 43–45.

<sup>147</sup> Janiak, "Początek gotyckiej przebudowy prezbiterium katedry w Gnieźnie," 394–96 The "Venedic" (wendysjki) style refers to a bricklaying pattern used in Poland, widespread from the 13th century to roughly the 1420s, differentiated from the "Gothic" (gotycki) style popular from the 14th to the 16th centuries. While the two styles coexisted for several decades, in certain conditions they can be used to form relative chronologies.



level as the aisles, we know this was not the case in Eger cathedral, although the difference was much greater there.

There are mentions of altars that are presumed to have been founded while the choir was being built that were located in the ring of chapels outside the ambulatory. Jan, the dean of Gniezno, erected a chapel before 1358, where the archbishop founded and equipped the new altar dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary (*Najświętszej Marii Panny, NPM*) and St. John; Kiełcz of Tuliszków, Dryja coat of arms, the head of the cathedral school at Gniezno erected a chapel dedicated to St. Lawrence where the archbishop erected an altar in honor of Saints Martin and Catherine in 1358, and Frances of Cerekwica, a lay person founded the chapel of St. Nicholas before 1363 (this chapel today may be either the chapel of St. Valentine or the chapel of St. Andrew).<sup>148</sup>

Although there is uncertainty about the initial existence and especially the appearance of chapels around the ambulatory of Gniezno cathedral, it is certain that in the fourteenth century it joined the group of Central European cathedrals with ambulatories.

## Poznań Cathedral: a debated chronology

Outlining the construction history of the Poznań cathedral in the Middle Ages, especially its eastern side, is one of the most problematic issues out of the case studies so far. Extensive Baroque modifications were done on the cathedral in the years 1635-50 after a fire in 1622.<sup>149</sup> The cathedral was severely damaged in the Second World War, after which it was rebuilt and

<sup>148</sup> Marta Czyżak, "Fundacje i fundatorzy kaplic w katedrze gnieźnieńskiej w II połowie XIV wieku" [The Foundations and Founders of Chapels in the Gniezno Cathedral in the Second Half of the 14th Century], *Ecclesia. Studia z Dziejów Wielkopolski* 2 (2006): 106–7, 112.

<sup>149</sup> Kuszelski, "Prezbiterium katedry poznańskiej. Rekonstrukcja faz, układ, związki i wpływy," 165.

the interior was regothicized. Most of the research done nowadays about the cathedral seems to be mostly theoretical, as archaeological investigations were not extensive enough to answer the most pressing questions regarding the chronology of constructions and some of the documentation was lost.<sup>150</sup>



*Figure 30. The exterior of Poznań cathedral nowadays, view from the east. Photo by the author.*

There is an ongoing debate regarding the shape of the Early Gothic cathedral and the exact sequence and manner of the constructions that took place in the Middle Ages. The final form that the cathedral chancel reached until the mid-sixteenth century was an apse closing with three sides of an octagon, surrounded by an ambulatory that was as wide as the aisles of the nave, and had three towers on top of the northern, eastern and southern spans of the ambulatory. The ambulatory was surrounded by chapels: three in radiating form, to the north, east and south, and five more: two rectangular ones and a triangular one connected to the northeastern side of

<sup>150</sup> Antowska-Gorączniak, "Wczesnogotycka katedra w Poznaniu," 89–91.

the ambulatory, and two rectangular ones at the southeastern side. Above the ambulatory, at the northern, eastern and southern corners there are small towers.



*Figure 31. The Baroque interior of Poznań cathedral, view towards the East.*

It is generally accepted that the towers above the choir were meant to house chapels on their second level, accessible from the triforium level and by staircases located at the northern and southern side of the triumphal arch, built into the load-bearing pillars there. Nowadays, the

towers are hollow and are meant to provide light for the main apse, however, the decision after the war to restore them like this seems to have been heavily influenced by Baroque aesthetics.<sup>151</sup>



*Figure 32. The interior of the northeastern tower at Poznań cathedral. Photo by the author.*

The chronology of the Gothic construction campaigns in Poznań cathedral is debated. Most researchers agree that there was (1) an early Gothic phase (mid 13<sup>th</sup> century), and that there were then two later campaigns (2) around the 1400s (possibly from the 1380s) and then

<sup>151</sup> Kuszczalski, “Prezbiterium katedry poznańskiej. Rekonstrukcja faz, układ, związki i wpływy,” 167.



(3) later in the fifteenth century. Olga Antowska-Gorączniak argues that there was an additional reconstruction around the 1350s.<sup>152</sup>

Unfortunately, the shape of the chancel in the early Gothic phase could not be observed during the archaeological excavations carried out in the church.<sup>153</sup> The fact that no foundations were found that were different from the current walls was interpreted by some to mean that the later Gothic chancel was built on the foundations of the earlier chancel, at least partially. However, it is also true that the archaeological investigations, which were undertaken one time, after the church suffered major damages in the Second World War, were focusing on locating the Pre-Romanesque remains of the first cathedral and were not methodical in observing the whole area of the church.<sup>154</sup>

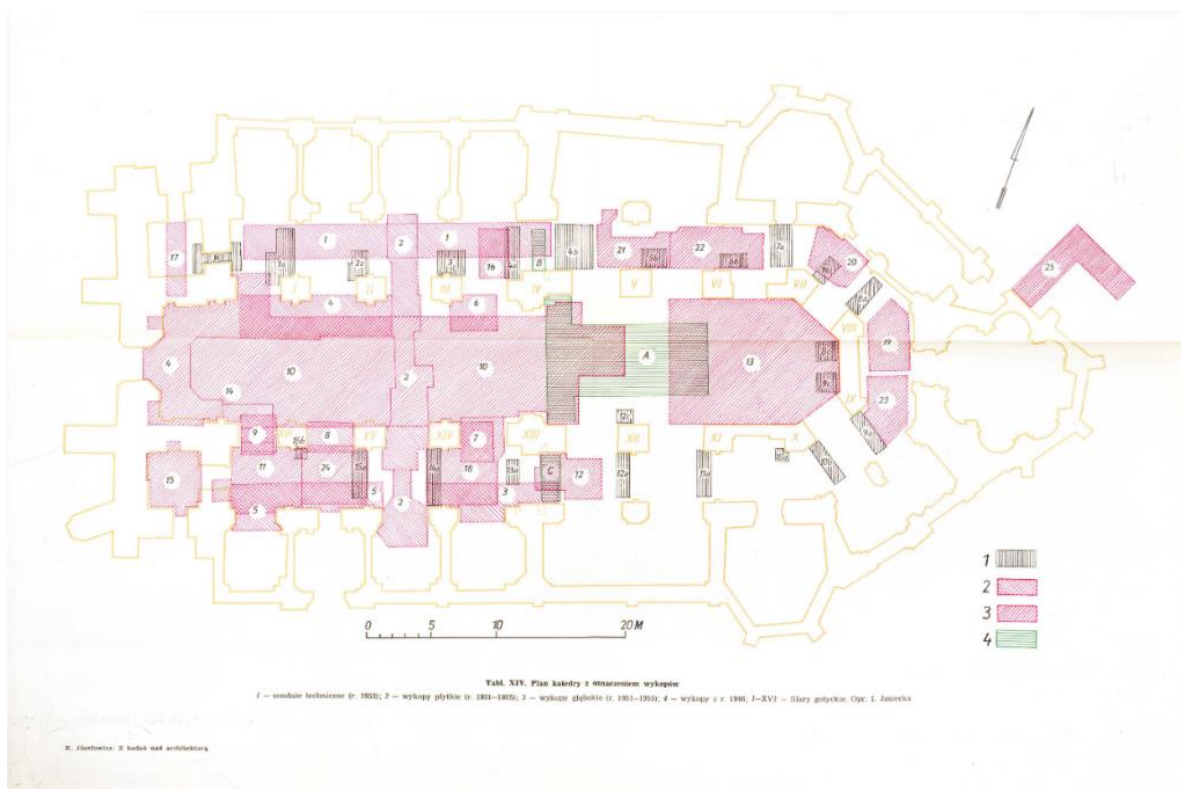


Figure 33. Archaeological investigations in Poznań cathedral between 1946–1955

<sup>152</sup> Antowska-Gorączniak, “Wczesnogotycka katedra w Poznaniu,” 101–2.

<sup>153</sup> Szczesny Skibiński, “Królewski charakter katedry poznańskiej,” *Kronika Miasta Poznania* 71, no. 1 (2003): 137.

<sup>154</sup> For detailed information about the archaeological investigations and their findings, especially related to the Preromanesque period, see Józefowiczówna, *Z badań nad architekturą przedromańską i romańską w Poznaniu*.

It is generally accepted by Polish researchers that the Early Gothic chancel built in the second third of the thirteenth century was polygonal (which would make it the first polygonal chancel in Poland).<sup>155</sup> This assumption is based on a stone capital decorated with naturalistic oak leaves, the back side of which is angular in a way that would fit in a polygonal closure (see Figure 34). This stone fragment was discovered in the fifteenth-century foundation of the expansion beneath the chancel arch, where it was used as secondary building material.<sup>156</sup>

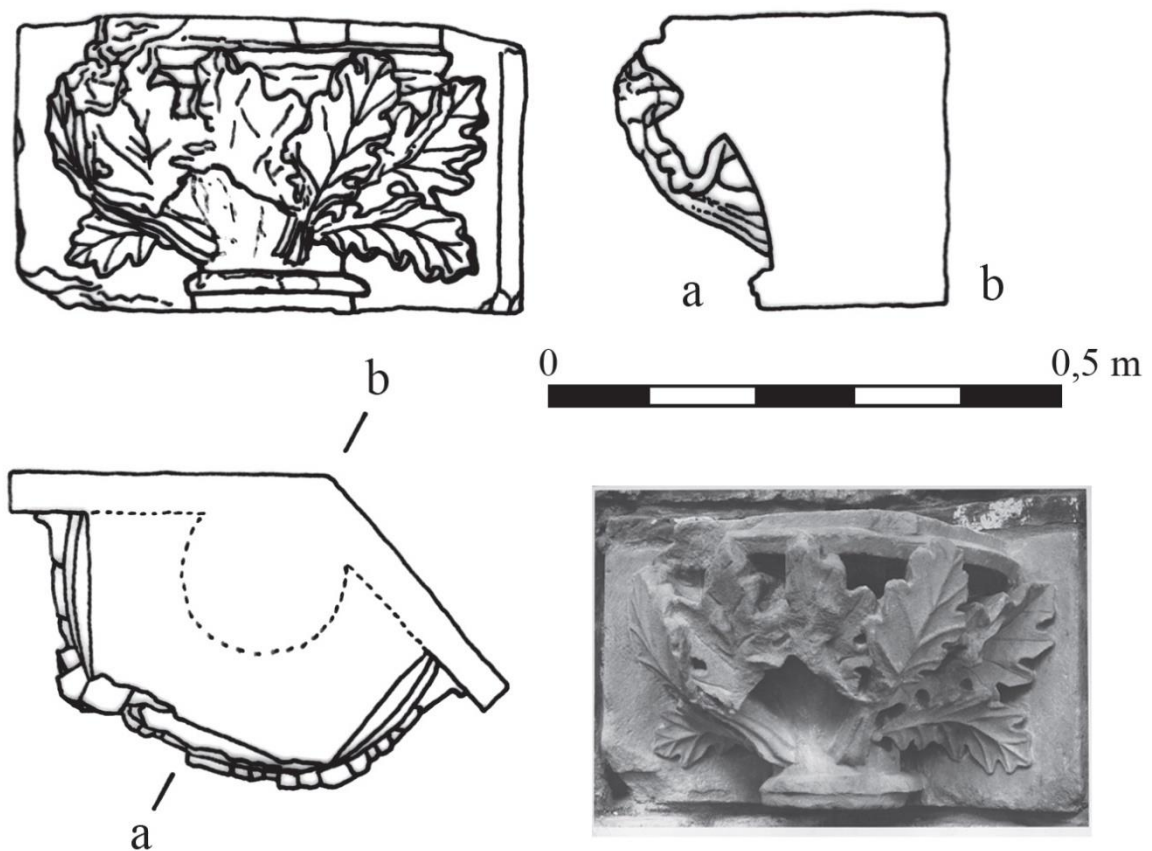


Figure 34. Stone capital from Poznań cathedral.

Whether the Early Gothic chancel in the thirteenth century was built with an ambulatory and radiating chapels is one of the main questions current research faces. Krystyna

<sup>155</sup> Janusz Tomala excludes this possibility in *Architektura Sakralna* [Sacred architecture], ed. Sławomir Woźniak, vol. 1, *Murowana architektura romańska i gotycka w Wielkopolsce* (Kalisz: Wydaw, 2007), 82.

<sup>156</sup> Antowska-Gorączniak, "Wczesnogotycka katedra w Poznaniu," 95.

Józefowiczówna was the first to propose that the thirteenth-century construction included an ambulatory and additional chapels too, arguing that in the description of the construction in the Annals of the Chapter of Poznań, the Latin term *chorum* did not only mean the chancel but also the transept, ambulatory and chapels.<sup>157</sup> Marian Kutzner, Witold Gałka and Andrzej Kuszczalski also argue for the existence of an ambulatory and chapels at this phase of the construction.<sup>158</sup> Kuszczalski's main arguments are the following: (1) based on the written sources, there was a sacristy north to the choir even before the commencement of the constructions in the 1380s, (2) the pillars at the arcade separating the apse from the ambulatory are thicker than the nave, suggesting that previous foundations and wall sections were involved that needed to be strengthened and (3) that the walls of the axial chapels around the ambulatory are not parallel to the walls of the ambulatory because they were conforming to other, now nonexistent or modified chapels that were built earlier: see his proposed chronology on *Figure 35*.

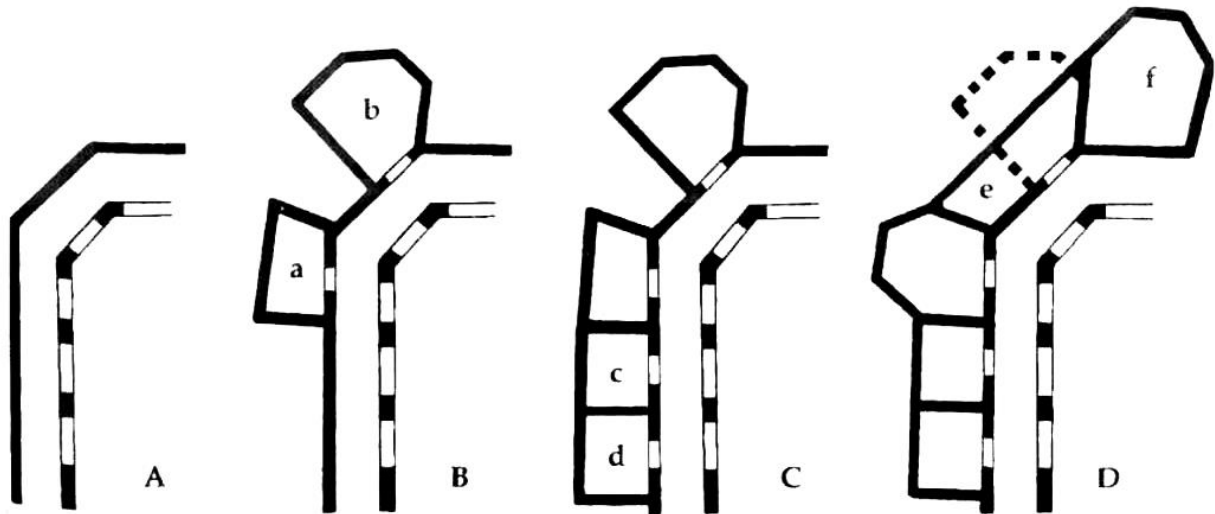
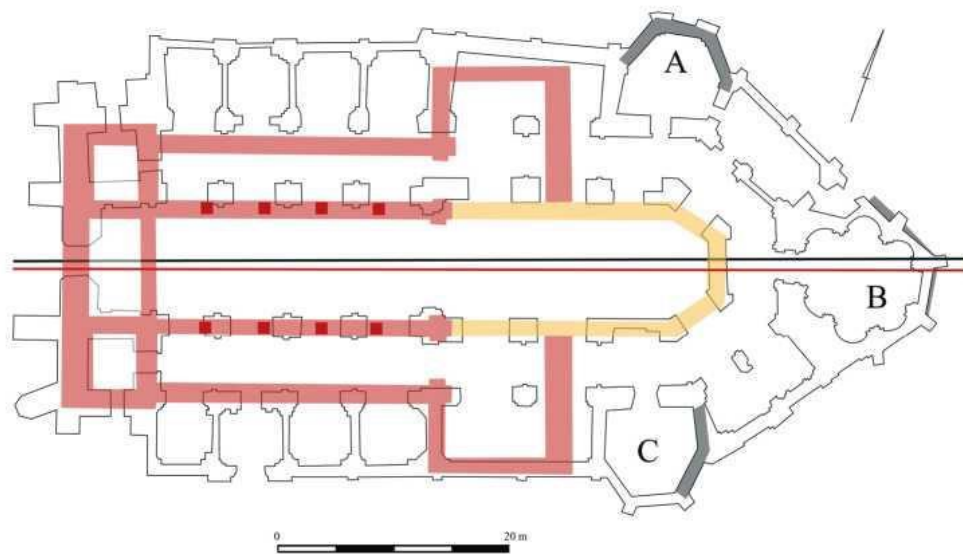


Figure 35. Adam Kuszczalski's theory of the evolution of chapels around the ambulatory of Poznań cathedral. A: second half of the 13<sup>th</sup> c., B: first half of the 14<sup>th</sup> c., C: second half of the 14<sup>th</sup> c., D: expansion of the sacristy and construction of the mansionars' chapel, Drawing by J. Borwiński

<sup>157</sup> Józefowiczówna, *Z badań nad architekturą przedromańską i romańską w Poznaniu*, 16.

<sup>158</sup> Kutzner, "Sztuka gotycka"; Witold Gałka, *O architekturze i plastyce dawnego Poznania do końca epoki baroku* [About the Architecture and Art of Old Poznań until the End of the Baroque Era] (Wydawn. Miejskie, 2001); Kuszczalski, "Prezbiterium katedry poznańskiej. Rekonstrukcja faz, układ, związku i wpływy."

Olga Antowska-Gorączniak also supports this view, saying that the deviation of the three main chapels, especially the deviation of the Golden Chapel to the south, is due to the fact that the Early Gothic choir, which was built to match the Romanesque nave, had a different axis, tilting much more to the south (see *Figure 36*). She argues that before the collapse in 1379, there was another reconstruction of the chancel, and together with the reconstruction of the nave in the fourteenth century the axis was changed; thus, when the apse and the ambulatory was rebuilt at the end of the fourteenth century, the builders tried to unify the space and this caused some of the irregularities. The grey sections on the drawing below are walls that were found to have “Venedic” style brick threads, which are supposed to be older, however, that is not always the case and thus this is not a reliable way of dating building parts.<sup>159</sup>



*Figure 36: Ground plan of Poznań Cathedral. The supposed early Gothic fragments of walls and foundations are marked with dark grey, and the supposed change in the main axis can be observed.*

Adam Kuszczalski also brings analogies: two other churches from the same region: the (no longer standing) collegiate church of Virgin Mary church from Szczecin, constructed in the 13<sup>th</sup> c. and the church of St James from Szczecin, where construction began at the end of the

<sup>159</sup> Antowska-Gorączniak, “Wczesnogotycka katedra w Poznaniu,” 101–3.



thirteenth century. Heinrich Brunsberg was also a native of Szczecin.<sup>160</sup> Kuszelski argues that these two churches were affected by the thirteenth century shape of the Poznań church, however, he does not provide any inspiration for where the ground plan idea could have come from. It is generally accepted, based on the decoration of the stone capital from Figure 34. that the workshop who worked on the 13<sup>th</sup> century Poznań choir was French, and Antowska-Gorączniak links the style of the carving to the Sainte-Chapelle (which has no ambulatory).

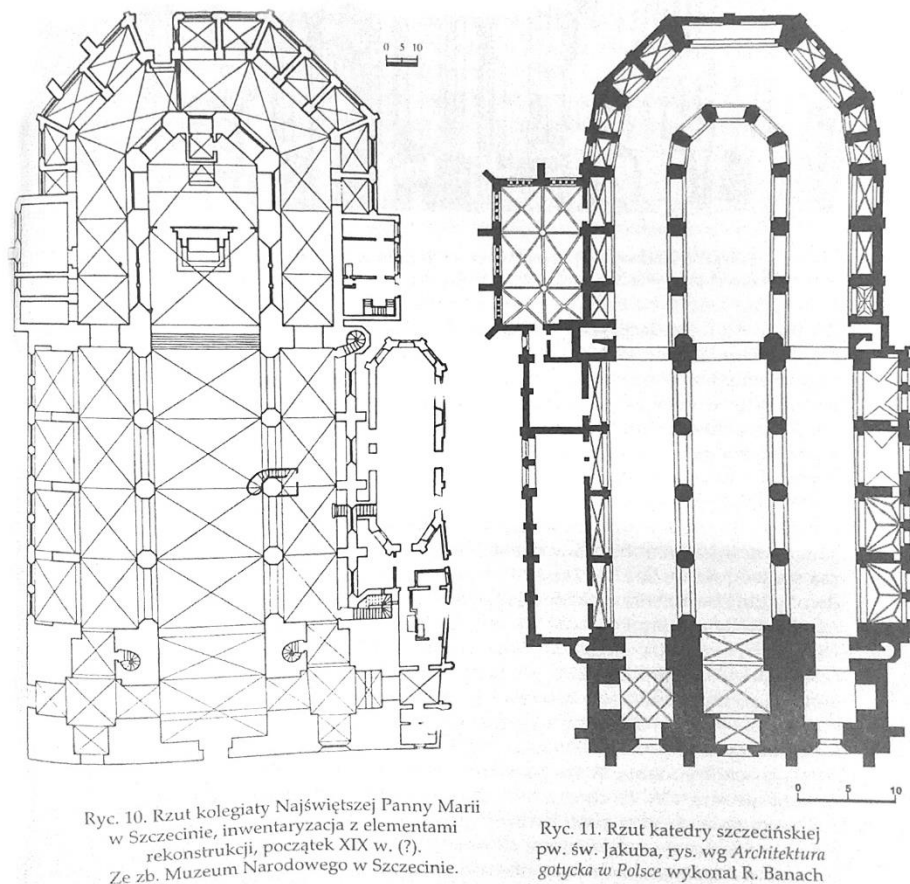


Figure 37. Ground plan of The Szczecin parish church (left) and St. James church (right)

Szczęśny Skibiński and Jacek Kowalski argue for a smaller expansion, excluding the presence of an ambulatory and added chapels.<sup>161</sup> Even Skibinski notes that the tower program

<sup>160</sup> Kuszelski, "Prezbiterium katedry poznańskiej. Rekonstrukcja faz, układ, związki i wpływy," 161.

<sup>161</sup> Skibiński, *Katedra poznańska*, 32–35; Jacek Kowalski, *Gotyck Wielkopolski. Architektura sakralna XIII–XVI wieku* (Poznań: Fundacja Świętego Benedykta, 2010), 19–22.

of the eastern part presents clearly archaic features. That is why the hypothesis is so suggestive that the chancel created since 1380, at least in the concept of the eastern towers, repeated the layout of the early Gothic chancel, especially if we consider the surprising convergence of the multi-tower silhouette of the cathedral from the end of the 14th century with the schematic image of the cathedral on the seal of the Poznań chapter from the 13th century. He concludes, however, that basing this theory on the seal alone would be insufficient and that, since we cannot know for sure whether the 1380s chancel tower concept was influenced by an earlier arrangement, we must treat it as an original idea.<sup>162</sup>

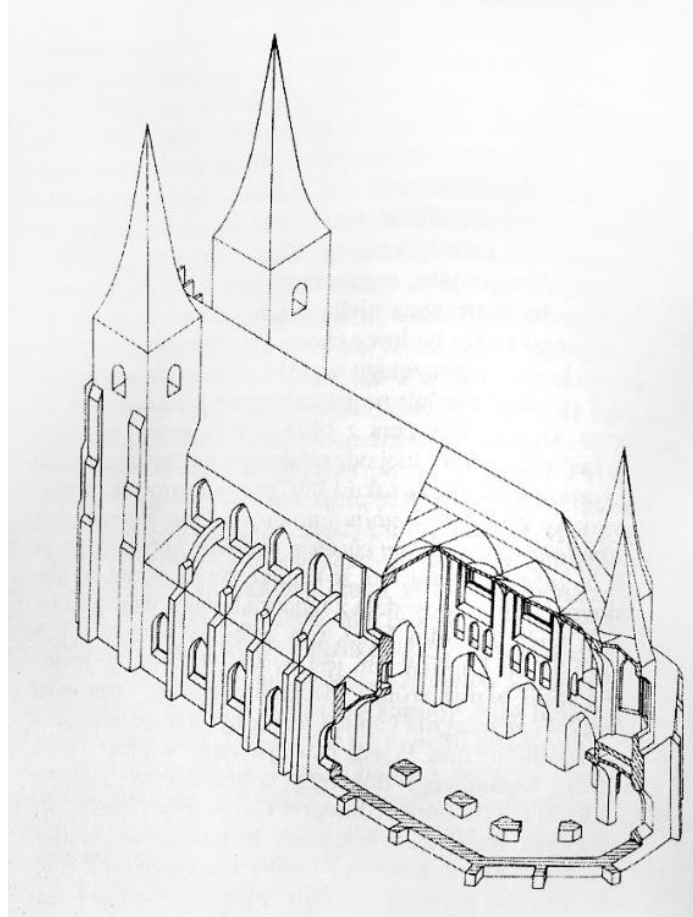


*Figure 38. Interior view of Poznań cathedral nowadays with the triforium level.*

Another feature of the Poznań main apse, highlighted by Kusztelski as well as other researchers, is that there is a rather archaic looking triforium above the arcade level, that seemingly the builders of the chancel, the workshop of Hinrich Brunsberg did not fully know

<sup>162</sup> Skibiński, *Katedra poznańska*, 80.

how to execute as it had not been a feature of churches for a long time by the 1380s.<sup>163</sup> Kuszczalski argues that the 13<sup>th</sup> century Poznań apse had a triforium that the bishop and chapter wanted recreated for the new chancel as well.

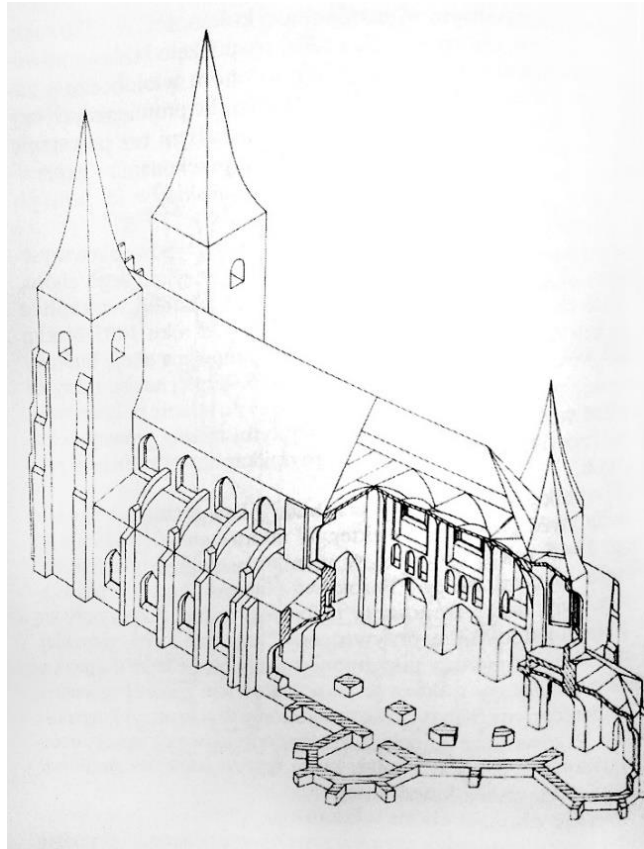


*Figure 39: reconstruction of the Late Gothic phase of the cathedral c. 1380-1403 according to Szczęśny Skibiński*

According to Szczęśny Skibiński, the Late Gothic chancel consisted of a polygonal apse with an ambulatory, and three towers were raised above the three rectangular ambulatory tracts surrounding the apse from North, East and South respectively (see *Figure 39*). He argues that, although the construction of a new chancel is documented from 1403, and the walls of the ambulatory and the three main chapels around it are mentioned in the following years, it is impossible for the documents mentioning the chancel walls and the liturgy that took place there

<sup>163</sup> Kuszczalski, "Prezbiterium katedry poznańskiej. Rekonstrukcja faz, układ, związek i wpływy," 171.

to be still referring to the old Early Gothic apse, as it would mean that this were torn down and the walls of the new Late Gothic apse were erected at an impossibly high speed in the following years.<sup>164</sup> According to him, this must mean that the construction of this chancel most likely started at around 1380 and was finished at 1399 under bishop Mikołaj Kurowski (1395-1399).<sup>165</sup>



*Figure 40: reconstruction of the Late Gothic phase of the cathedral c. after 1403 according to Szczesny Skibiński*

After 1403, during the tenure of bishop Wojciech Jastrzębiec (1399-1412) three polygonal chapels were erected next to the rectangular tracts of the ambulatory, which are not exactly aligned with the rest of the building (see *Figure 40*).<sup>166</sup> The easternmost chapel was the chapel of Mary, now called Golden or Royal Chapel. During the 15th century, the three chapels were

<sup>164</sup> Skibiński, *Katedra poznańska*, 52.

<sup>165</sup> Kuszczalski, "Prezbiterium katedry poznańskiej. Rekonstrukcja faz, układ, związki i wpływy," 159–65; Skibiński, *Katedra poznańska*, 148.

<sup>166</sup> Skibiński, *Katedra poznańska*, 59.

connected by walls outside the ambulatory, and additional chapels were made in these spaces, serving as funerary chapels.<sup>167</sup>

We can conclude that Poznań cathedral's eastern side featured an ambulatory and irregularly shaped radiating chapels in the Middle Ages. If the ambulatory was built in the thirteenth century, then it belongs in the group of Wrocław and Kalocsa, and if it was only conceived towards the end of the fourteenth century, it is still part of a trend at that time that has affected several Central European cathedrals.

## **Why build cathedrals with ambulatories in the fourteenth century?**

Based on the above case studies, we can say that the ambulatory as a building part made a comeback in the fourteenth century, appearing in a respectable number of Central European cathedrals. It would be especially interesting to see all cathedral constructions in this region in the fourteenth century to see how many have chosen to adopt this form. While there was building activity all throughout the century, I could not find any other cathedral where the eastern side was significantly rebuilt at this time in the region, with the possible exception of the newly built Cathedral of St. Mary of the Assumption in Włocławek, started in 1340.<sup>168</sup>

An approximate order of the start of the constructions could be:

- possibly Gniezno at the very end of the thirteenth century, abandoned
- Kraków – polygonal phase at the beginning of the fourteenth century, abandoned
- Kraków – rectangular phase at the first half of the fourteenth century

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<sup>167</sup> Skibiński, 148.

<sup>168</sup> Dariusz Lewandowski, “Regotyżacja katedry we Włocławku w końcu XIX wieku” [Regothicization of the Cathedral in Włocławek at the End of the 19th Century], *Studia Włocławskie* 5 (2002): 366.

- Prague, Várad, Eger, Gniezno: roughly at the middle of the fourteenth century
- Poznań – last quarter of the fourteenth century

## Functional considerations

When speculating about the possible reasons why the ambulatory became popular in this time, a popular interpretation was that they were used for processions. Paul Crossley, when writing about “The function and ‘Iconography’ of the Gothic Cathedral” of Kraków, supposes that it needs to be examined from the viewpoint of bishop Nanker (1320-27). He supposes that Nanker rebuilt the church (in the place of the old Romanesque forms) to be more modern, and also because the authority of the Kraków diocese as second only to Gniezno has been put into question by the chaotic decades before he took office. Crossley also writes: “[i]n his synod of 1320 he introduced a program of diocesan reform so comprehensive that it stood without major alteration until the second quarter of the 15th century”, and also that this synod was the time to announce the foundation of the new church, meaning that the new cathedral was an “integral part of the program of diocesan reform”. Crossley also speculates that not only did the new chancel need to be bigger to house the growing number of clergy attending divine service (see more about this in chapter 2), but the chancel needed to be suitable for processions, hence the ambulatory.<sup>169</sup>

I agree with most of the considerations listed above, but I argue that in the case of fourteenth-century cathedral constructions, the ambulatory was probably not built to be used in processions. Not one of the liturgical texts I examined (Eger Ordinal, Gniezno Missal) mentions the ambulatory: movement in the church occurs from the choir to the nave and back, and outside circumambulating the church or walking to other churches.

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<sup>169</sup> Crossley, *Gothic Architecture in the Reign of Kasimir the Great*, 40–41.

I could not find any reference to the ambulatory being used for processions in the case of Prague, the best documented cathedral of the ones I examined. The Statutes of 1350 mention the ambulatory, but only as expected funeral places for archbishops and other high-ranking benefactors of the church.<sup>170</sup> There is, however, an observation that can prove my thesis: Jana Maříková-Kubková and David Eben mention that in the earlier arrangement (*Figure 41*) the cloister was used for processions, described at the first Sunday of Advent in the breviary used for Prague Cathedral. However, in the later, 1492 version of the breviary, the same procession occurs inside the church, without mentioning the ambulatory.<sup>171</sup>

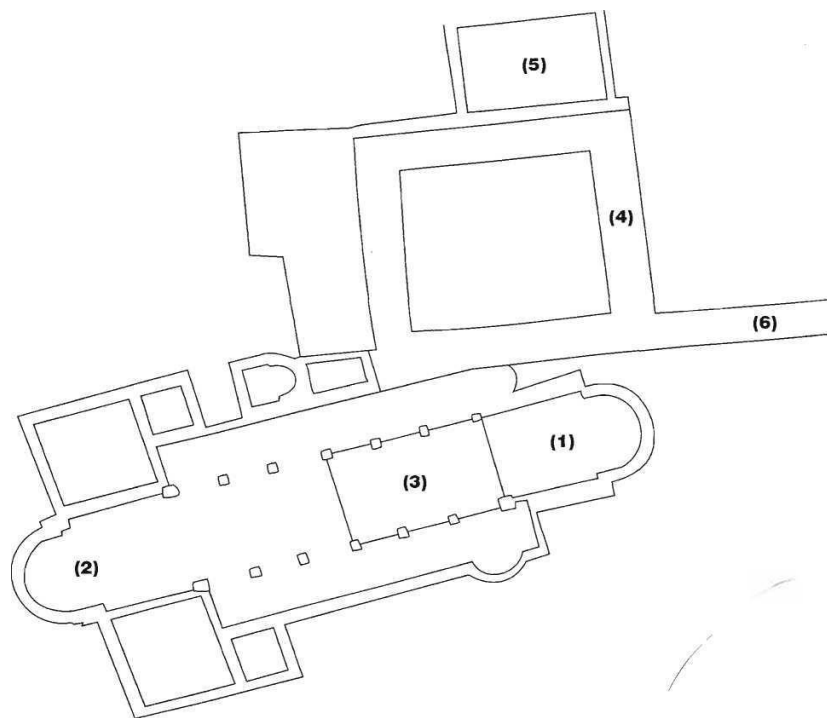


Figure 41. Basilica of St. Vitus, Romanesque arrangement. 1: Eastern Choir, 2: Western Choir, 3: Medio ecclesiae, 4: Cloister, 5: Chapter house, 6: via longa.

The above paragraph highlights a building part in cathedrals that was partly meant for and did house processions: the cloister. Eger Cathedral before the fourteenth century had a basilical

<sup>170</sup> Antonín Podlaha, ed., *Statuta metropolitanae ecclesiae Pragensis: anno 1350 conscripta*, Editiones archivii et bibliothecae S.F. Metropolitani Capituli Pragensis 5 (Sumptibus S.F. Metropolitani Capituli Pragensis, 1905), 14.

<sup>171</sup> Jana Maříková-Kubková and David Eben, “Organizace liturgického prostoru v bazilice sv. Víta” [Organization of the Liturgical Space in the Basilica of St. Vitus], *Castrum Pragense* 2 (1999): 234–35.

structure with three aisles that ended in three semicircular apses and a cloister on the north, that had many burials in its southern and eastern wings. By the fourteenth century, however, the cloister had fallen out of use and was demolished.<sup>172</sup> In the case of Eger, there was a noticeable gap between the demolition of the cloister and the construction of the new chancel with ambulatory, so we cannot suppose that the ambulatory took over the functions of the cloister, especially because other liturgically significant cathedrals like Esztergom and Zagreb never had this arrangement. (Eger and Zagreb were both suffragans of Esztergom and thus would take special care of conforming to the liturgical rules.)

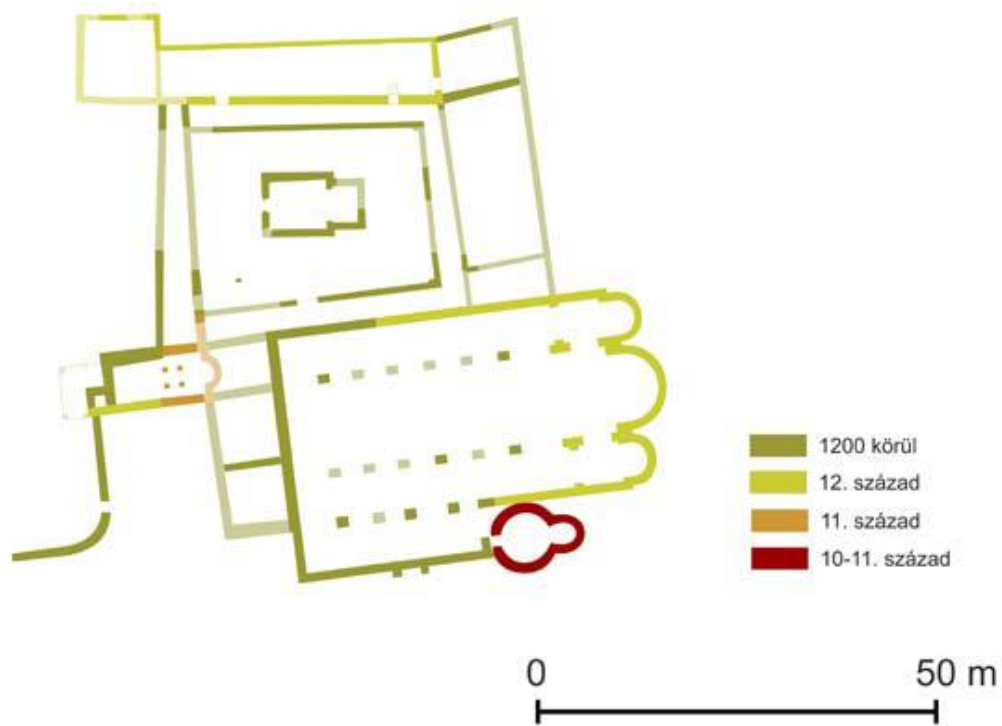


Figure 42. The Cathedral of Eger up to about 1200 with the cloister on the northern side of the church.

<sup>172</sup> Recent archaeological discoveries, including the cloister are detailed in the article cited above by Gergely Buzás, “Az Árpád-Kori Egri Püspöki Központ Kialakulása” [The Development of the Árpadian Age Bishopric Center of Eger], *Archaeologiai Értesítő* 145, no. 1 (2020): 101–36, the burials are mentioned on page 127.



Another functional explanation relates to the cult of saints, supposing that ambulatories allowed access to the saint's tomb, which would be in the eastern part of the apse and readily accessible through the ambulatory, which would mean priests could celebrate the mass in peace in the church without being disturbed by the pilgrims. The origin of the idea that ambulatory and pilgrimage were associated can be traced back to the Old Saint Peter's Basilica in Rome, where, due to the huge number of pilgrims, a solution had to be found to provide easy access to St. Peter's tomb. The tomb was moved under the main altar in the crypt, and a hallway was created that allowed pilgrims to move freely and not affect the liturgy upstairs.<sup>173</sup>

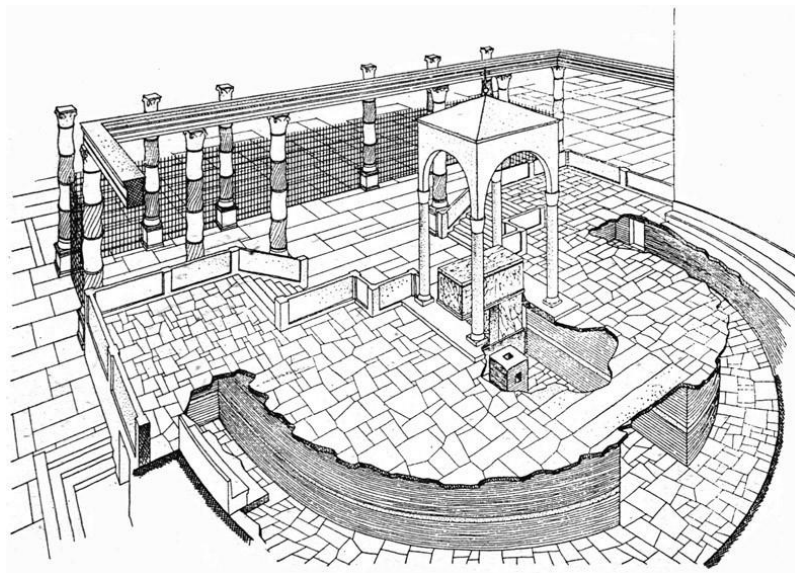


Figure 43. Reconstruction of the ambulatory crypt at the tomb of St. Peter

The ambulatory seems to have been a defining factor when the category of “*pilgrimage churches*” was conceived, first by Émile Mâle and Arthur Porter in the 1920s and popularized even more by 1959 by Kenneth John Conant in his book, where he published a picture of the ground plans of five churches, namely Saint-Martin in Tours, Saint-Marcial in Limoges, Sainte-Foy in Conques, Saint-Sernin in Toulouse and Saint James Cathedral in Santiago de

<sup>173</sup> Werner Jacobsen, “Saints’ Tombs in Frankish Church Architecture,” *Speculum* 72, no. 4 (1997): 1126–27, <https://doi.org/10.2307/2865960>.

Compostela.<sup>174</sup> However, Paula Gerson criticizes the practice of establishing a category by ground plans alone, saying that Saint Martin and Saint Marcial no longer stand, and Sainte Foy is very different in person than the other two extant churches. Moreover, only major churches on the routes to Santiago de Compostela were considered, ignoring other important pilgrimage sites in France, Spain, but also England, the Lowland etc. The network of churches and other buildings connected to pilgrimage is much larger. She stresses that this oversimplification hindered the understanding of Romanesque art.<sup>175</sup>

In Prague Cathedral, it is well known that the relics of saints played an important part of the concept, as well as in the overall liturgical program of Charles IV. Whether the builder was indeed Charles IV, archbishop Ernest, the chapter or all of them together, a huge part of the complicated meaning unfolding in Prague cathedral was centered around the saints Adalbert, Wenceslas, Vitus and later St. Sigismund. Petr Uličný has analyzed the choirs of St. Vitus in detail, reconstructing the complicated liturgical setting of the cathedral. The relics of St. Wenceslas were given a prominent place in the new chapel near the south transept in a lavish tomb, Adalbert's more modest tomb was placed in the nave. The tomb of St. Sigismund was in a chapel opposite from the Wenceslas chapel, on the North side. The tomb of Saint Vitus was located at the apse in the east, and was accessible from the ambulatory, where lay people could have direct contact with him, when people would have walked around here, as suggested by a source from 1412.<sup>176</sup>

Although the ambulatory in the Prague arrangement fulfilled its function of allowing access to the tomb of a saint, it can not be proven that this was the case at the other constructions

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<sup>174</sup> Emile Mâle, *L'art religieux du XIIe siècle en France : étude sur les origines de l'iconographie du moyen âge* (Paris: A. Colin, 1922); Arthur Kingsley Porter, *Romanesque Sculpture of the Pilgrimage Roads* (Boston: M. Jones, 1923); Kenneth J. Conant, *Carolingian and Romanesque Architecture 800–1200* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1959), 157–76.

<sup>175</sup> Paula Gerson, "Art and Pilgrimage," in *A Companion to Medieval Art*, ed. Conrad Rudolph (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2006), 601–5, <https://doi.org/10.1002/9781119077756.ch36>.

<sup>176</sup> Uličný, "The Choirs of St Vitus's Cathedral in Prague," 193–95, 222.

and it does not seem probable at all that it was the main reason for building an ambulatory. In Kraków, the tomb of saint Stanislaus was located in the middle of the church. While Crossley made a comparison between the cathedrals at Kraków and Prague, highlighting how much the arrangement at Kraków has affected the Prague layout, he did not mention the ambulatories at all.<sup>177</sup>

Although Tamás Fedeles also attributes the ambulatory at Várad to the popularity of St. Ladislaus, he presents no original arguments, appealing to the idea of “pilgrimage churches” in general.<sup>178</sup> In Várad cathedral, we have reasons to believe that the tomb of Saint Ladislaus was located in the middle of the church. As the fourteenth century *Statutes* describe: “[On the left side], under the other tower was the altar of St. Peter with two altarists, the altar of St. Luke under the stairs, the *hanging altar* of St. Thomas, the altar of the virgin St. Catherine next to the tomb of the Saint King Ladislaus, and the altar of All Saints.”<sup>179</sup> At the tomb of St. Ladislaus, there was an altar dedicated to him. The tomb itself was probably a sarcophagus, raised above the ground as priests were able to walk around it when saying the prayers at canonical hours.<sup>180</sup> The tomb was finely carved,<sup>181</sup> with splendid marble columns.<sup>182</sup>

<sup>177</sup> Crossley, “‘Bohemia Sacra’ and ‘Polonia Sacra,’” 57–58.

<sup>178</sup> Fedeles Tamás, “„Ad visitandumque sepulchrum sanctissimi regis Ladislai”. Várad kegyhelye a késő középkorban” [“Ad Visitandumque Sepulchrum Sanctissimi Regis Ladislai”. The Pilgrimage Site of Várad in the Late Middle Ages], in “*Köztes-Európa*” vonzásában. *Tanulmányok Font Mária tiszteletére* (Pécs: Kronosz, 2012), 181.

<sup>179</sup> “nam in sinistro latere altare sancti Petri sub alio campanili duorum magistratum ; altare sancti Luce sub gradibus; altare pendens sancti Thome martyris; altare sancte Katherine virginis iuxta sepulchrum sancti regis Ladislai; altare sanctorum omium[...].” Bunyitay, *A váradi káptalan legrégebbi statútumai*, 69–70.

<sup>180</sup> Balogh, *Varadinum*, 1982, 1:13.

<sup>181</sup> “Dentro di tal Castello ui é il sontuoso sepolcro del Re Ladislao tutti di finissimi marmi sottilmente intagliati.” the description of Giovanandrea Gromo, probably from just before the sacking of Ladislaus’ grave in 1565. All of the original Italian text was published in Aurel Decei, “Giovanandrea Gromo. Compendo della Transilvania.” *Apulum. Buletinul Muzeului Regional Alba-Iulia* 2 (1943–1945): 140–214 with a French summary at the end.

<sup>182</sup> The great Humanist poet, Janus Pannonius describes the tomb in his poem about saying goodbye to Várad: At tu, qui rutilis eques sub armis/ dextra belligeram levas securim,/ cuius splendida marmorum columnis/ sudarunt liquidum sepulcra nectar,/ nostrum rite favens iter secunda. In: Pannonius Janus, *Opera Quae Manserunt Omnia*, ed. Gyula Mayer and László Török, vol. 1 (Budapest: Balassi Kiadó, 2006); See the article of Ágnes Ritókné Szalay about Janus’ time at Várad and the possible influences of a book describing Padua’s sights, the “Libellus de magnificis ornamentis Regie Civitatis Padue”, which also mentions that famous deceased persons rested in tombs on four marble columns: Ritoókné Szalay Ágnes, “Janus Pannonius és Várad”

According to Jolán Balogh, who has gathered most of the written sources relating to the tombs in Várad cathedral, Saint Ladislaus' tomb was freestanding and able to be circumambulated, located in the eastern side/middle of the church, "on the opposite side of the main altar".<sup>183</sup>

We have no reason to suspect that the high altars at Eger, Poznań or Gniezno were connected to saintly tombs that would have necessitated an ambulatory. Although the latter had the tomb of Saint Adalbert, it is improbable that it was directly connected to the ambulatory and this has not been suggested at all.

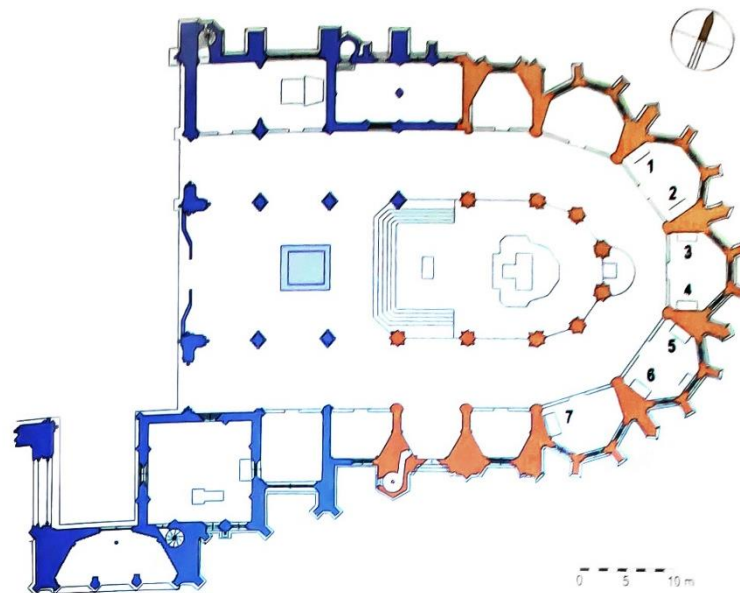


Figure 44. The tombs of princes and dukes in the chapels of St. Vitus. 1. Duke Bořivoj II, 2. Duke Břetislav II, 3. Duke Spytihněv II, 4. Duke Břetislav I, 5. King Přemysl Ottokar II, 6. King Přemysl Ottokar I., 7. Jan Očko of Vlašim, second archbishop of Prague.

The last and probably most practical functional consideration was that the ambulatory and especially its radiating chapels would provide space for important people to be buried close to the main altar (and also to the saint's tomb if there was one), providing them a better chance of ending up in Heaven after the Last Judgement. The Prague arrangement fulfills this function

[Janus Pannonius and Várad], in *Kutak: tanulmányok a XV-XVI. századi magyarországi művelődés köréből*, Humanizmus és Regormáció 33 (Budapest: Balassi, Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Irodalomtudományi Intézet Reneszánsz Osztály, 2012), 37–48 esp. page 44.

<sup>183</sup> Balogh Jolán, *Varadinum: Várad vára*. [Varadinum: Castle of Várad], vol. 2, Művészettörténeti füzetek 13 (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1982), 282–83.

(Figure 44), each of the radiating chapels housing the tombs of early Bohemian rulers, bishops and some of the builders.

Similarly, we see that funerary chapels were founded in the chapels around the ambulatory of Várad Cathedral, where there was a chapel with an altar dedicated to St. Demetrius, housing the tomb of bishop Demetrius, and a chapel of St. Dominic, with a new altar of Dominic and the tomb of bishop Dominic among the chapels surrounding the apse.<sup>184</sup> For Eger and Gniezno, we can suppose the same, but I could not find direct evidence. In Kraków, both Władysław the Short and Casimir the Great were buried in the eastern part of the ambulatory, while both Władysław II Jagiełło (1386-1434) and his son Casimir (1447-1492) were buried in the western part.<sup>185</sup>

In general, important people are buried close to the main altar in any way they can, and the ambulatory does not provide a special setting for this that other arrangements do not offer. For more about the funeral arrangements in the cathedrals, see *Chapter V. The dead in the cathedral space*.

Based on the above observations, we can see that although ambulatories and the chapels accessible from them could fulfill a number of functions, none of them seem universally applicable and thus can hardly be used to explain the choice for this arrangement.

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<sup>184</sup> The Várad statutes refer to these as new chapels, “capella nova”, see Bunyitay, *A váradi káptalan legrégibb statutumai*, 75.

<sup>185</sup> Tomasz Węclawowicz, “Medieval Krakow and Its Churches: Structure and Meanings,” *Urban People* 7, no. 1 (2007): 67.

## Were ambulatories used to express medieval ideas?

Apart from functional considerations, the other prevailing idea for the choice of one type of ground plan over the other is that the patron / builder wanted to symbolically convey a message via the church arrangement.

There is an idea, proposed by Hans Sedlmayr in 1950, where he formulated the notion of the *Königskirche*: as the ambulatory with radiating chapels was popular in twelfth-century French cathedrals sponsored by the King, royally sponsored churches in Central Europe would adopt the form to elevate the prestige of the king who sponsored them. Sedlmayr writes: “Wherever the northern French Gothic cathedral appears outside of France, it is closely related to the royalty of the individual European kingdoms. Not every royal church (*Königskirche*) in Europe since around 1200 is a 'cathedral', but every cathedral outside France that follows the pattern of French royal cathedrals is a royal church, or more precisely: a royal bishop's church. This sentence establishes the historical rule. Exceptions are certainly possible, but they each require a special justification, while the sentence itself can be justified in general (...)”<sup>186</sup>

The idea was considered by Paul Crossley, who supposed that it was the intention in Kraków to construct a new *Königskirche*. He supposes that the polygonal apse with ambulatory with radiating chapels would have been the most appropriate form for the Kraków cathedral, but that this type of construction required exceptional skill and knowledge that was not present in Central Europe at the time, so the apse with straight edge and ambulatory, adopted from Wrocław (which he simply calls Cîteaux III plan) had to do and that it was enough for the

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<sup>186</sup> Hans Sedlmayr, “Die Kathedrale als europäische Königskirche,” in *Die Entstehung der Kathedrale* (Zurich: Atlantis Verlag, 1950), 467.

liturgical needs of a cathedral church.<sup>187</sup> Crossley later called Kraków and Prague both *Königskirchen*.<sup>188</sup>

Most of the cathedrals with ambulatories were mentioned in relation to the *Königskirche*: László Koszta argues that Kalocsa is a prominent example,<sup>189</sup> while the writer of the monograph about the Gniezno Cathedral, Zygmunt Świechowski reconstructed the eastern end with polygonal chapels and confirms that it fits the type, he also notes that the very simplistic interior of the chancel does not resemble the classical French *chevet*.<sup>190</sup> Tomasz Węclawowicz accepted the idea of *Königskirche* in regard to Kraków cathedral but was skeptical with regards to Wrocław and Poznań (it is implied that he accepted the idea of Poznań having an ambulatory in the thirteenth century).<sup>191</sup> This category is not exclusive to cathedrals: the Cistercian abbey churches of Sedlec and Zbraslav (both in Bohemia), which are considered influential for most of the cathedrals treated in this chapter were also categorized as *Königskirche*.<sup>192</sup>

I would argue that this way of explaining the popularity of the ambulatory plan seems more convincing than the functional approach, however, it is not entirely acceptable. As stated above, neither of the cathedrals in Wrocław nor Poznań can be entirely accepted as part of this group. Based on the available charters, I can say that in the case of Várad Cathedral, the royal donations, which can be connected to the rising popularity of the cult of Saint Ladislaus in the

<sup>187</sup> Crossley, *Gothic Architecture in the Reign of Kasimir the Great*, 65.

<sup>188</sup> Crossley, “‘Bohemia Sacra’ and ‘Polonia Sacra,’” 57.

<sup>189</sup> Koszta László, “A joghatósági vizsály évtizedei” [Decades of Jurisdictional Strife], in *A kalocsai érseki tartomány kialakulása*, Thesaurus Historiae Ecclesiasticae in Universitate Quinqueecclesiensi 2 (Pécs, 2013), 115.

<sup>190</sup> Zygmunt Świechowski, “Gotycka katedra gnieźnieńska na tle współczesnej architektury europejskiej,” in *Katedra gnieźnieńska*, ed. Aleksandra Świechowska, vol. 1 (Poznań-Warsaw-Lublin, 1968), 61–63.

<sup>191</sup> Węclawowicz, “Fazy budowy prezbiterium katedry na Wawelu na przełomie wieków XIII i XIV. Kościoły biskupów Muskaty, Nankera i Grota,” 15–16; Węclawowicz, “The Bohemian King, the Polish Bishop, and Their Church,” 182–83; Węclawowicz, *Królewski kościół katedralny na Wawelu*, 87.

<sup>192</sup> Jiří Kuthan, *Počátky a Rozmach Gotické Architektury v Čechách* (Prague, 1983), 201, <https://www.databazeknih.cz/knihy/pocatky-a-rozmach-goticke-architektury-v-cechach-193960>; Paul Crossley, “Introduction,” in *The Year 1300 and the Creation of a New European Architecture*, ed. Alexandra Gajewski and Zoë Opačić (Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2007), 15.

fourteenth-fifteenth centuries came after some or most of the eastern end was completed, and in the case of Eger Cathedral, I could find no royal connection at all.

Milena Bartlová is also skeptical of the *Königskirche*, especially of the idea that the layout of Prague Cathedral was decided by Charles IV only (or in consultation with Archbishop Ernest), making it, as was suggested before, his *Eigenkirche*. She argues quite convincingly that the true builder of the Prague cathedral church was the chapter, as they bore the costs of construction together with the emperor and the archbishop. Bartlová also proposes that the busts at the triforium level of the choir represent people who have contributed to the construction of the cathedral, and that this selection process was overseen by members of the chapter. Her conclusion is that “the social motives and symbolical structures deployed in the building and decoration of the St. Vitus’s Cathedral in Prague did not differ in any profound sense from those that were usual elsewhere.”<sup>193</sup> This is also confirmed by the fact, as mentioned before, that the Statutes written by Archbishop Ernest for Prague Cathedral specify that the dean had “to arrange for the ringing of the bells and for the burial of the bodies, that is to say, of the princes and archbishops within the church, and of the prelates in the chapter, but also of the canons as well as the ministers and clerics of the elders or even the benefactors of the church in the ambulatory (“in ambitu”).”<sup>194</sup>

Moreover, since the *Königskirche* theory proved popular, it was often cited, especially the quote I also shared: however, the context of Sedlmayr’s own writing was disregarded. He stated in the introduction: “[i]n an attempt to systematically study the spread of Northern French cathedrals throughout Europe, I first became aware in Spain, Portugal, England, Denmark and

<sup>193</sup> Bartlová, “The Choir Triforium of the Prague Cathedral Revisited: The Inscriptions and Beyond,” 81–84.

<sup>194</sup> Podlaha, *Statuta metropolitanae ecclesiae Pragensis*, 14.



Sweden that cathedrals of the Northern French Gothic type only existed in places closely related to the kingship of the individual kingdoms.”<sup>195</sup>

It seems like the most probable explanation for the popularity of a ground plan with ambulatories is both simpler and more complicated than the idea of the *Königskirche*. It seems like the connection between the different cathedrals and other churches who used this arrangement was a wish for their church, and connected to that, their community, to seem more respectable and powerful.

As Elżbieta Pilecka observed, the arrangement was used by archbishops in Gniezno, Riga and Uppsala, and was followed by ambitious communities of sovereign cities in the Hanseatic League like Lübeck, Stralsund, Rostock, Wismar and Szczecin and then the parish church of Gdansk. She also cites Cistercian examples from the region like Doberan, Dargun and Oliwa.<sup>196</sup> In Hungary, Buzás Gergely summarizes the use of this arrangement: in the fifteenth century, the Inner City parish church at Pest was built with an ambulatory but without radiating chapels, while Szászsebes and Brassó had another version, which József Csemegi called pseudo-ambulatory (“álkörüljárós”): in Szászsebes, one can walk along the perimeter walls now, but this was not the case in the Middle Ages. All three of the Hungarian examples are hall churches, as well as the ones that have adopted the trend in the middle-end of the fifteenth century, like the parish church of St. Bartholomew at Gyöngyös, St. Demeter at Szeged, St. Andrew at

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<sup>195</sup> “Bei dem Versuch, die Ausbreitung der nordfranzösischen Kathedralen in ganz Europa systematisch zu untersuchen, wurde ich zuerst in Spanien, Portugal, England, Dänemark und Schweden darauf aufmerksam, dass es Kathedralen von nordfranzösisch-gotischem Typus nur an Orten gibt, die in engstem Zusammenhang mit dem Königtum der einzelnen Königreiche stehen.” Sedlmayr, “Die Kathedrale als europäische Königskirche,” 466.

<sup>196</sup> Elżbieta Pilecka, “Geneza formy architektonicznej kościoła mariackiego w gdańsku – późnogotyckiej świątyni rady głównego miasta” [The Origins of the Architectural Form of St. Mary’s Church in Gdańsk - a Late Gothic Temple of the Main City Council], *Sztuka i Kultura* 4, no. 0 (December 1, 2016): 40–41, <https://doi.org/10.12775/SZiK.2016.002>.

Debrecen and St. Stephen at Miskolc. He stresses that the hall church with ambulatory was a very popular ground plan in the Late Middle Ages, especially for parish churches.<sup>197</sup>

Paul Crossley has highlighted that while the ground plan adopted by Kraków was archaic at the time, the solutions in the standing parts of the church were very modern.<sup>198</sup> The same was the case for the adaptations at Prague, Gniezno and Poznań, mixing the archaic ground plan with new stylistic elements.

The sentiment that can be attributed to these constructions, and what the communities of builders might have wished for, was to mix the old with the new, to show the how ancient and well-established their church is as well as showcase the latest technological advancements. These mixed sentiments can be seen very clearly in the case of Eger cathedral, where we know from existing archaeological research that the Romanesque main apse was not torn down during or after the construction. The walls were preserved even higher than the walking level of the Late Gothic, which stood at 2-2,5 m and was much higher than the walking level of the nave.<sup>199</sup> This suggests that, as Krisztina Havasi carefully formulated, the Romanesque main apse was made part of the Late Gothic composition.<sup>200</sup> Based on its place within the new cathedral, the wall of the apse might have been used as part of a choir screen; see more about this in chapter II.

The need to reaffirm and elevate their status seems true for all of the cathedrals analyzed here at the point when the ambulatories were planned: the diocese of Kraków, the bishop and the chapter were eager for the diocese to become the ecclesiastical center of the Polish

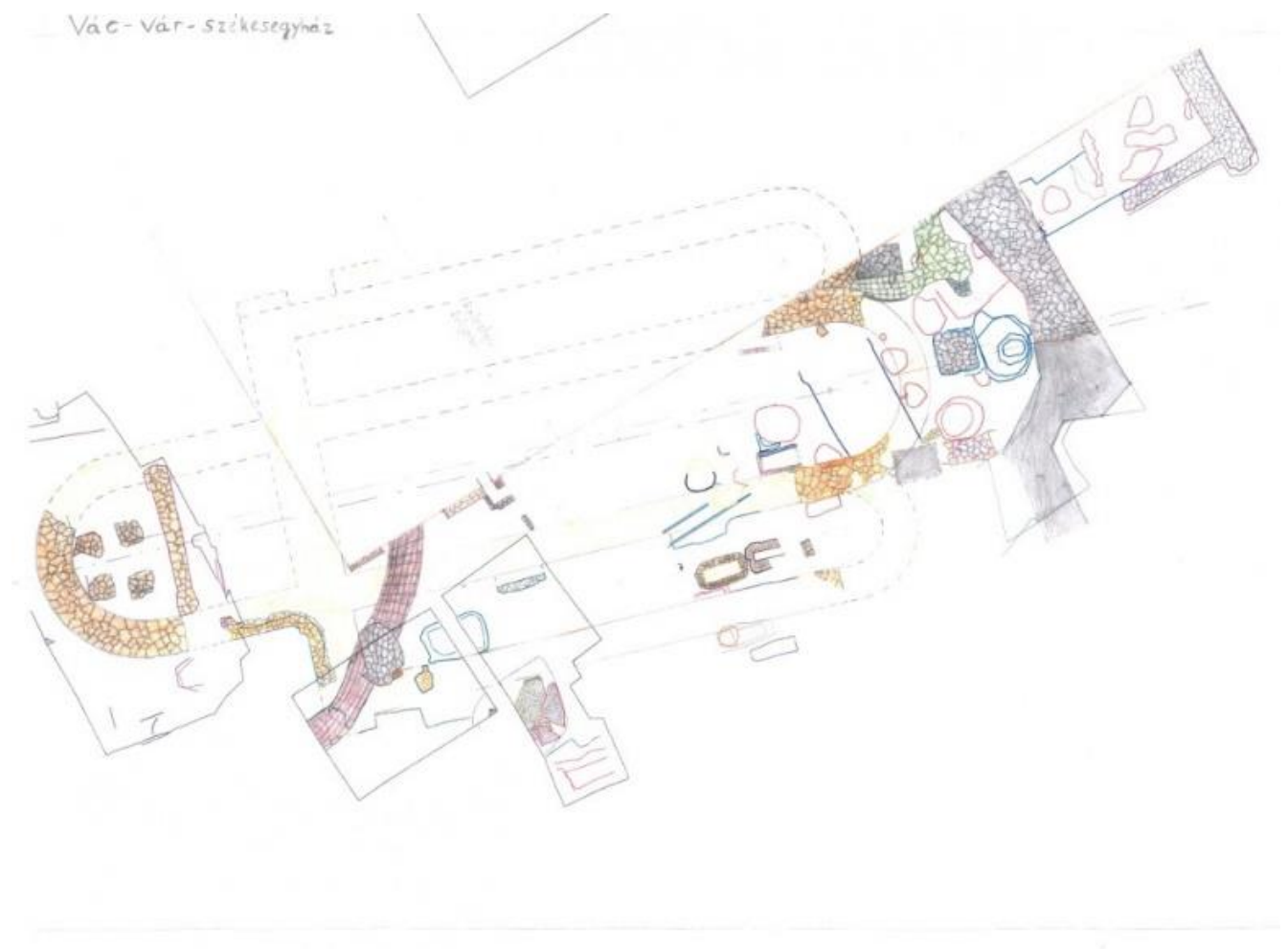
<sup>197</sup> Csemegi József, “A szászsebesi templom szentélyének jelentősége hazánk gótikus építészetében” [The Significance of the Sanctuary of the Church in Szaszebes in the Gothic Architecture of Our Country], *A Magyar Mérnök- és Építész-Egylet Közlönye*, no. 74 (1940): 156–60; Gergely Buzás, “Építészeti Emlékek,” in *A Pécsi Egyházmegye Története I. A Középkor Évszázadai (1009-1543)*, ed. Tamás Fedeles, Gábor Sarbak, and József Sümei (Pécs, 2009), 683.

<sup>198</sup> Crossley, *Gothic Architecture in the Reign of Kasimir the Great*, 66.

<sup>199</sup> Kozák, “Az egri vár Árpád-kori temetőjének feltárása I.,” 160.

<sup>200</sup> Havasi, “A középkori egri székesegyház az 1200-as évek elején I.,” 26.

Kingdom; Prague was a newly established archbishopric at the edge of the Holy Roman Empire; Eger was becoming a wealthy diocese that sought to rise in importance alongside Várad where the cult of saint Ladislaus was becoming increasingly popular again; Gniezno was losing its status, even though it was the archbishopric of the Kingdom of Poland and Poznań, the burial place of the Piast dynasty, located very close to Gniezno, was also looking to regain their elevated rank. In the Hungarian Kingdom, the western addition to Esztergom might have served a similar purpose (see Chapter IV). Other cathedral chapters might also have been eager to rebuild their cathedrals but were unable to do so because they lacked funding at this time.



*Figure 45. Vác, medieval cathedral, summary of archaeological findings at the end of 2014, by István Kóka*

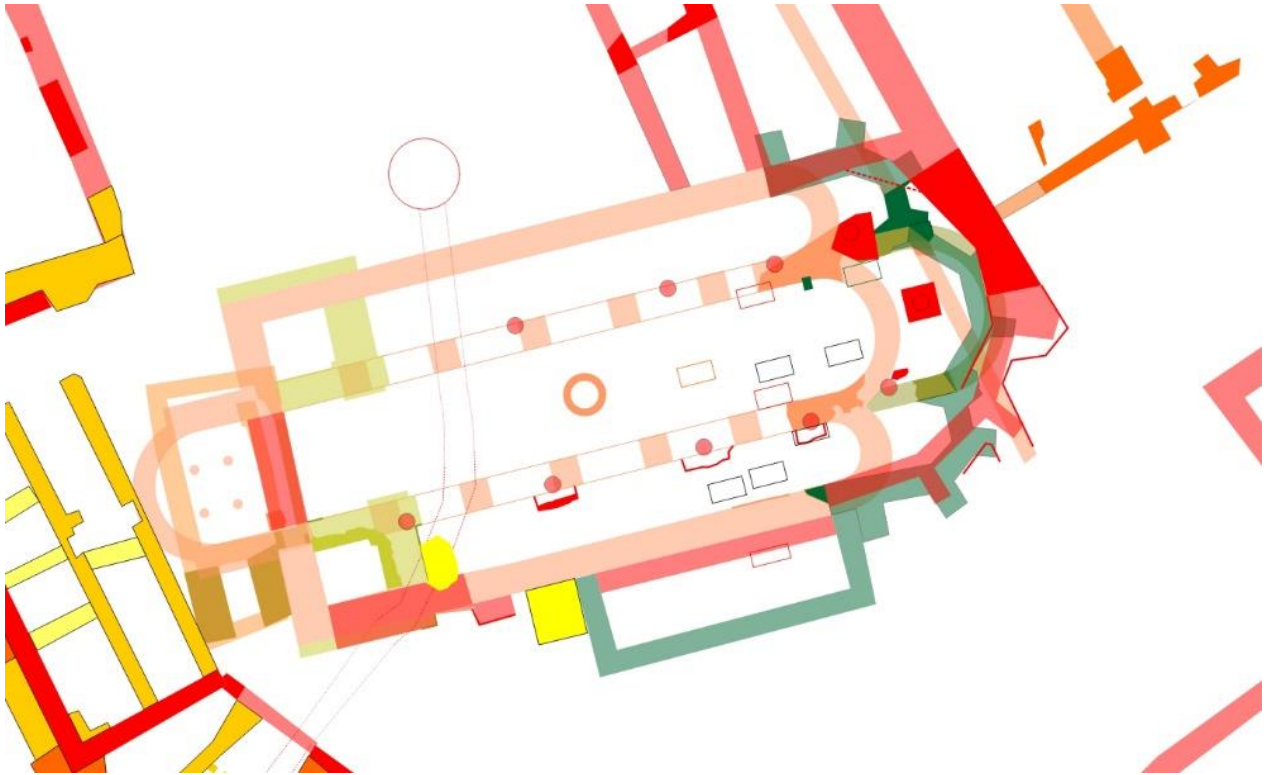


Figure 46. Vác, medieval cathedral, reconstruction by Gergely Buzás and Olivér Kovács (late medieval sanctuary in red)

Towards the end of the fifteenth century, a number of similar constructions were executed (or at least started): Eger cathedral was rebuilt with a polygonal apse and ambulatory again, the idea that started under bishop Orbán of Nagylucse (c. 1486 – 1491) is generally accepted.<sup>201</sup> A polygonal sanctuary with ambulatory but no chapels was supposedly built at a much smaller scale at Vác Cathedral sometime in the fifteenth century (see Figure 45 and Figure 46), while a polygonal sanctuary with ambulatory and rectangular radiating chapels similar to the arrangement at Eger was erected towards the end of the fifteenth century at the Székesfehérvár

<sup>201</sup> Krisztina Havasi, who seems to agree with this statement, cites Havasi Krisztina, “Reneszánsz márványdombormű töredékei az egri várból” [The Fragments of a Renaissance Marble Relief from the Castle of Eger], *Művészettörténeti Értesítő* 1, no. 55 (2006): 95–117; Ipolyi Arnold, *Az egri megye Szent János apostol és evangélistáról nevezett régi székesegyháza az egri várban* [The Old Cathedral of St. John the Apostle and Evangelist in the Castle of Eger] (Eger, 1865), 137–42; Détsy, “Az egri várszékesegyház építéstörténetének okleveles adatai,” 2; and Pál Lővei’s observations as one of the opponents at “Papp Szilárd „A királyi udvar építkezései Magyarországon 1480-1515 között a dél-német és szász stílusösszefüggések szemszögéből” című PhD-értékezésének vitája. [Oppnensek: Marosi Ernő, Lővei Pál]” [Discussion of Szilárd Papp’s PhD Dissertation Entitled “The Constructions of the Royal Court in Hungary between 1480-1515 from the Perspective of South German and Saxon Style Contexts”][Opponents: Ernő Marosi, Pál Lővei]], *Művészettörténeti Értesítő* 1-2., no. 54 (2005): 164.

collegiate church (Figure 47).<sup>202</sup> The church of Székesfehérvár was the coronation church in Hungary as well as the burial place of King St. Stephen, his son St. Emeric and a number of other Hungarian kings.

The fifteenth century Székesfehérvár and Eger constructions are closely related and have been elaborated on by Szilárd Papp, while the construction at Vác would need further study.<sup>203</sup> In any case, we can say that the motivations behind this group of new ambulatories were similar to the fourteenth-century trend. In Eger, the same spirit of respecting the previous building can be observed: the westernmost chapels had spiral staircases and were bigger than the following two and the Romanesque apse was still preserved, echoing the fourteenth-century arrangement.

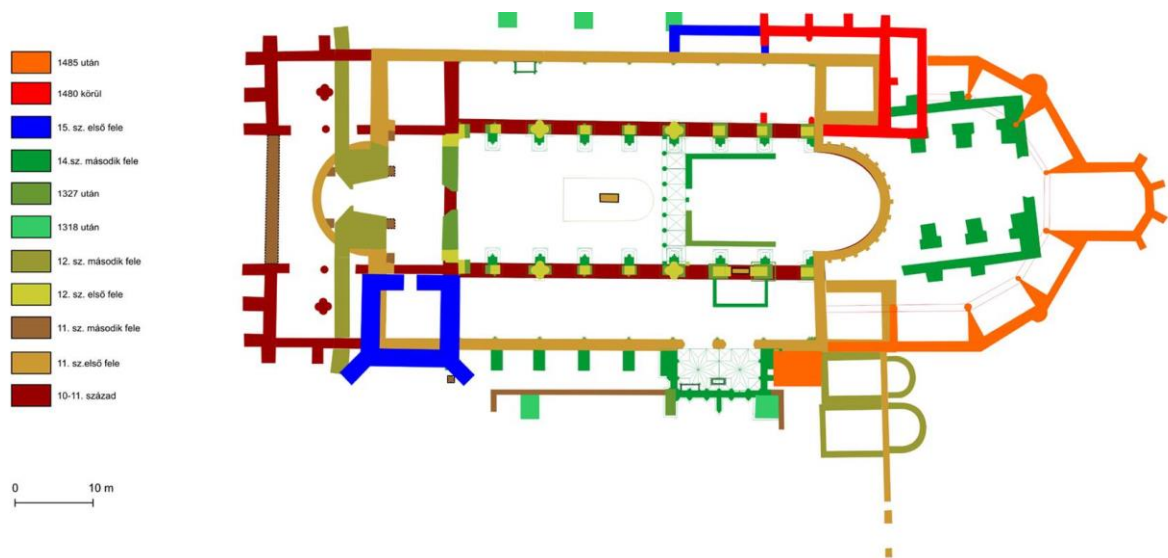


Figure 47. Székesfehérvár, reconstruction of building periods by Gergely Buzás (green: second half of fourteenth century, red: around 1480, orange: after 1485)

<sup>202</sup> Unfortunately, the discoveries at Vác remain unpublished save for a few online magazine articles: Kovács Olivér and Buzás Gergely, "I. Géza temetkezése: sírhely és érdektelenség" [The Resting Place of Géza I: Burial Place and Indifference], accessed October 11, 2021, <https://archeologia.hu/i-geza-temetkezese-sirhely-es-erdektelenség>; Batizi Zoltán, "Szakmai beszámoló: A váci középkori székesegyház déli és nyugati részének feltárása 2014 őszéig" [Professional Report: Excavation of the Southern and Western Part of the Medieval Cathedral of Vác until the Autumn of 2014], *Tragor Ignác Múzeum*, 2015, [http://muzeumvac.hu/nyertes\\_palyazatok/79/Szakmai-beszamolo-A-vaci-kozepkori-szekesegyhaz-deli-es-nyugati-reszenek-feltarasa-2014-oszeig.html](http://muzeumvac.hu/nyertes_palyazatok/79/Szakmai-beszamolo-A-vaci-kozepkori-szekesegyhaz-deli-es-nyugati-reszenek-feltarasa-2014-oszeig.html).

<sup>203</sup> See the relevant sections of Papp Szilárd, *A királyi udvar építkezései Magyarországon 1480-1515* [Constructions of the Royal Court in Hungary between 1480-1515] (Balassi Kiadó, 2005).

## Conclusions

I have examined the fourteenth-century eastern end constructions with ambulatories in the case of six Central European cathedrals. Without knowing the overall number of new constructions or rebuildings from this time, we can only speculate that this was the most popular ground plan arrangement at the time. The case of attributing the use of a ground plan to one single idea or function, like in the case of the now obsolete term of pilgrimage churches and the *Königskirche* serves as a warning not to overgeneralize based on a few examples.

As we have seen, the ground plan is not the only aspect responsible for the interior aspects of a building. Based on my observations, ambulatories were versatile spaces, able to provide an appropriate setting for many different smaller endeavors where patrons' (in almost all cases, the cathedral chapter's) needs and ideas could be fulfilled and expressed. Each case of a cathedral adopting a new building part upon rebuilding merits its own analysis without resorting to generalities based on the ground plan.

In the future, it would be ideal to verify at least two more aspects of these constructions: the financial context and the chapel foundations. It would be beneficial to conduct a financial analysis that would allow us to see which were the wealthiest dioceses and how much of these could afford to undertake serious construction works, and what was the ratio of financial contributions from the different interested parties (chapters, bishops and kings if applicable). Alongside this, it would be important to conduct an observation on who exactly founded and used the chapels around the ambulatories.

## II. The changing relationship between the nave and the chancel in relation to cathedral liturgy

### General overview: a preference for the eastern side, disruption between nave and chancel

Although there is no such thing as a “typical” cathedral even before the Late Middle Ages, we can generally observe that most cathedrals had the same proportions: a rectangular nave that was longer than wide, usually with two aisles, and a main apse located on the eastern side, sometimes with side apses. The main apse housed the main altar of the church, and the high mass was performed here, with the choir occupying a rectangular space in front of the main altar. This shape is more or less how Zagreb Cathedral looked like at the end of the thirteenth century and presumably how it functioned throughout the Middle Ages.<sup>204</sup>

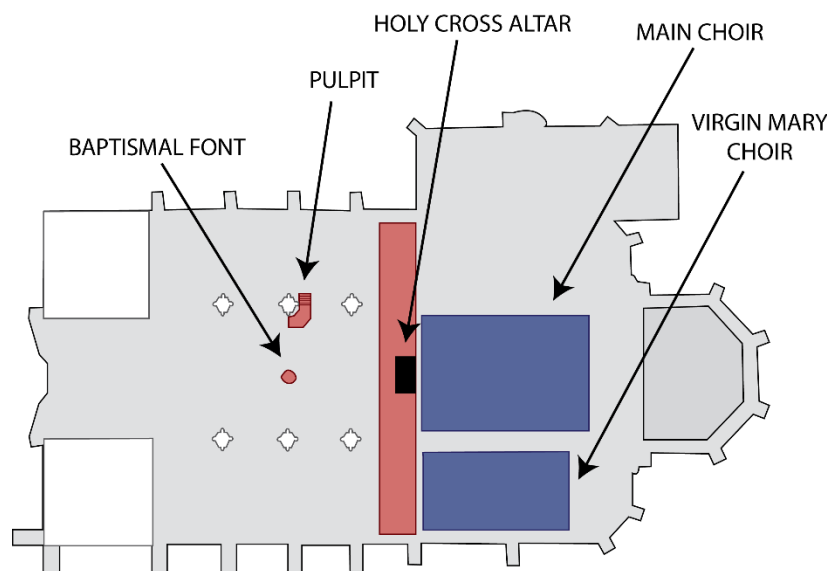


Figure 48. The probable medieval arrangement of Zagreb Cathedral's choirs, the choir screen and the pulpit and baptismal font in the nave.

<sup>204</sup> For a more complete description of Zagreb Cathedral's interior arrangement and for the rest of the cathedrals as well, please see chapter IV.

According to the general observation of Miklós Földváry, the main apse and the choir is where the main liturgy was performed, the “temple” and everything else, the nave and the aisles were there mostly for the benefit of the laity, who stood around observing the liturgy and partake of its benefices.<sup>205</sup> In addition, two important places that related to liturgy where the laity could participate were located outside of the choir: the Holy Cross altar and the baptismal font (see their relative location in Zagreb cathedral in Figure 48).

There is a tendency for the chancel to get bigger in the Late Middle Ages. We can see this in our case in the rebuilt churches of Kraków, Prague, Gniezno, Várad, and Eger, while it can be seen that Esztergom and Zagreb kept their chancel at mostly the same size. I would argue that these expansions had a dual purpose: on the one hand, to elongate the choir, and on the other hand to increase the size of the church overall.

The elongation of the main choir was important due to the increasing number of canons (or their replacements) performing the liturgy: we can see that in the examples above, the churches that were rebuilt saw their choirs about double in length. This trend started already in the thirteenth century, with the cathedral in Gyulafehérvár (Alba Iulia) of the Transylvania diocese a prime example (Figure 50) and the chancel of Zagreb looks very much like it was meant to achieve these proportions. In Esztergom, it can be argued that the location of the cathedral prevented the elongation and expansion of the eastern side (see Figure 49 for the relationship of Esztergom cathedral to the castle hill).

It is also interesting to note that Gyulafehérvár Cathedral was rebuilt twice within roughly 120 years with longer main apses so that the choir would fit in, due to it probably not extending

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<sup>205</sup> Földváry Miklós István, “‘Istenünk tornácaiban’. Az osztott templomtér jelentőségéről” [“In the Porches of Our God”. About the Importance of the Divided Church Space], *Magyar Egyházzene* 9 (2021–2022): 181 Földváry starts from the depiction of church space in Late Medieval Flemish paintings and compares it to the practices of Greek Catholic and Coptic Orthodox churches in the Middle Ages. .



into the transept, unlike in a space without transept like Esztergom or Zagreb. It is supposed that Várad cathedral also had a transept (see the subsection *Várad Cathedral: new chancel with chapel wreath*), which would also partially explain the need to rebuild its chancel.

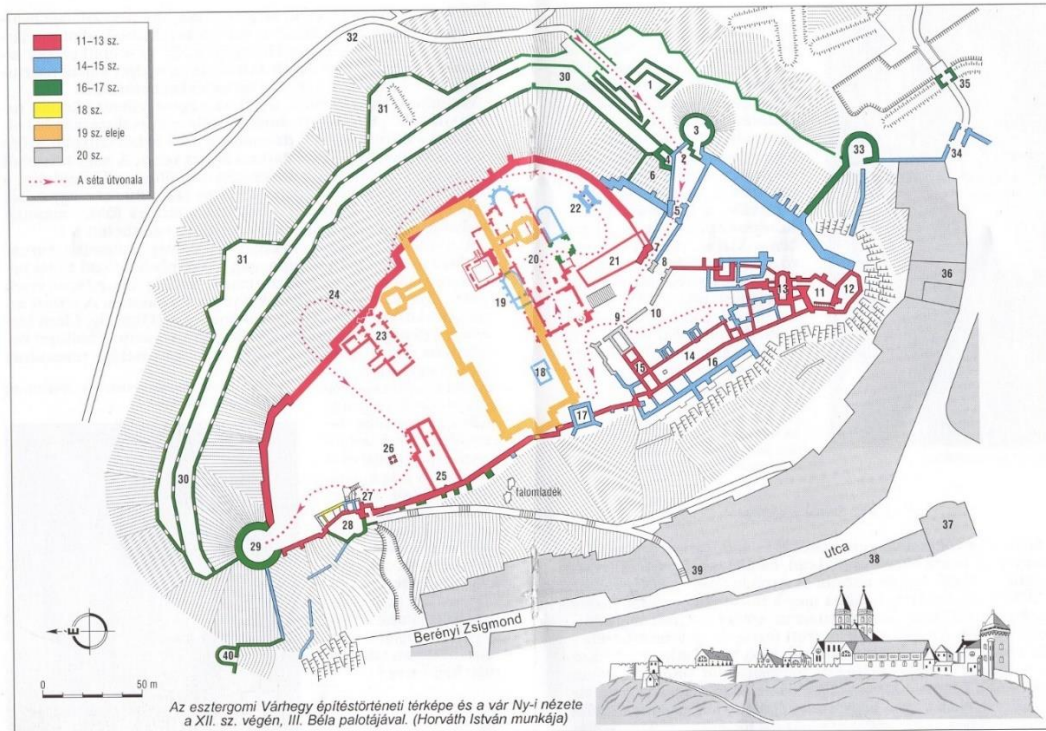


Figure 49. Esztergom, periodized ground plan of the castle hill including the cathedral. Red: 11-13<sup>th</sup> centuries, blue: 14-15<sup>th</sup> centuries, green: 16-16<sup>th</sup> centuries, yellow: new cathedral in the 18<sup>th</sup> century.

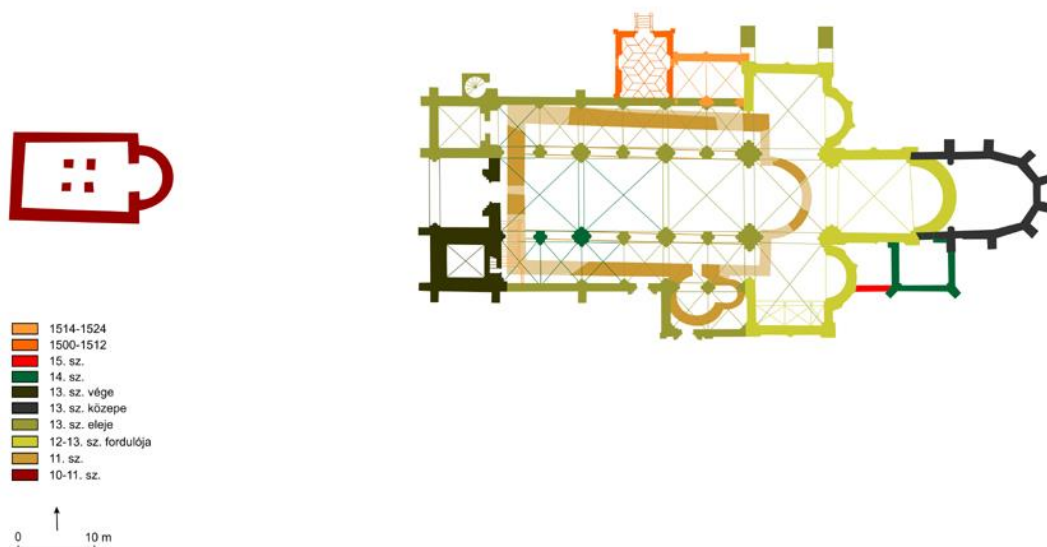


Figure 50. Periodized ground plan of Gyulafehérvár cathedral by Gergely Buzás. Brown: earliest church. Yellow: around 1200, Black: 13<sup>th</sup> c., green: 14<sup>th</sup> c..

Szczęśny Skibiński brought forward the idea of the division of medieval people into *oratores* and *laboratores*, and how the faithful were separated from the priestly choir by the increasingly bigger choir screens, such as the one he supposes was built at Poznań cathedral too. He also argues that the chancels were rebuilt so the parts that could be seen by the visitors, the windows and the chancel vaulting were more spectacular. The main altar could only be seen when the door (doors) on the choir screen were opened for the clergy to pass through.<sup>206</sup> This would serve as a motivation for many rebuilding and re-vaulting of the main apses, like in Esztergom (14<sup>th</sup> c. and around 1500), Zagreb (end of the 15<sup>th</sup> c.), maybe even Eger (around 1500).

We can also observe the other reason for rebuilding the chancels, and for expansions in general: a need for monumentality. Ever since the great wave of French cathedral building, the desire to construct higher and higher churches was present among the builders. This need to make the cathedral larger sometimes started on the western side: Várad Cathedral was elongated and a new porch added to it before the eastern side was begun, and similarly, Eger cathedral was also lengthened on the western side. We can argue that the western hall of Esztergom (which might have already been built in the thirteenth century, but I lean towards the fourteenth) was built so big and so unlike the rest of the cathedral additions we have seen in this time precisely because it made the church appear large enough when there was no chance to enlarge the chancel.

The eastern and western parts of the cathedral of Gniezno do not exactly align: the steep hill on which the cathedral was built would not have allowed for the choir to retain its original orientation, and this was also the reason why the western side was not enlarged, its western tower already having collapsed in the thirteenth century due to the unstable ground.<sup>207</sup> When

<sup>206</sup> Skibiński, *Katedra poznańska*, 47–48.

<sup>207</sup> Świechowska, *Katedra gnieźnieńska*, 1:39–40.

the desire for expanding the medieval cathedral occurred, the builders chose to rebuild the eastern side of Gniezno Cathedral.

We can read from the documents that the eastern side received considerably more attention at Várad cathedral too and was much more well developed, but in this case, it seems like construction to the west was limited by the Lesser Church of the Virgin Mary, which stood very close to the western portal. In the case of the cathedral at Poznań, this interest concentrates on the eastern side in the literature too: Szczęsny Skibiński's monograph of the cathedral deals amply with the eastern side but says almost nothing about the nave and what happened in the west.<sup>208</sup>

The nave was seldom enlarged: in the cathedrals treated in this thesis, in the Late Middle Ages, the enlargement of the nave did not happen. Modernizing, constructing new supports and new windows did occur, as can be seen or inferred in Eger, Várad, Gniezno, Zagreb, and probably Esztergom as well. In, Prague and Kraków we can observe construction starting from the east and progressing towards the west: rebuilding of the nave was intended in both Prague and Kraków, but the builders lost interest in both cases, and I will explain why in the following paragraphs.

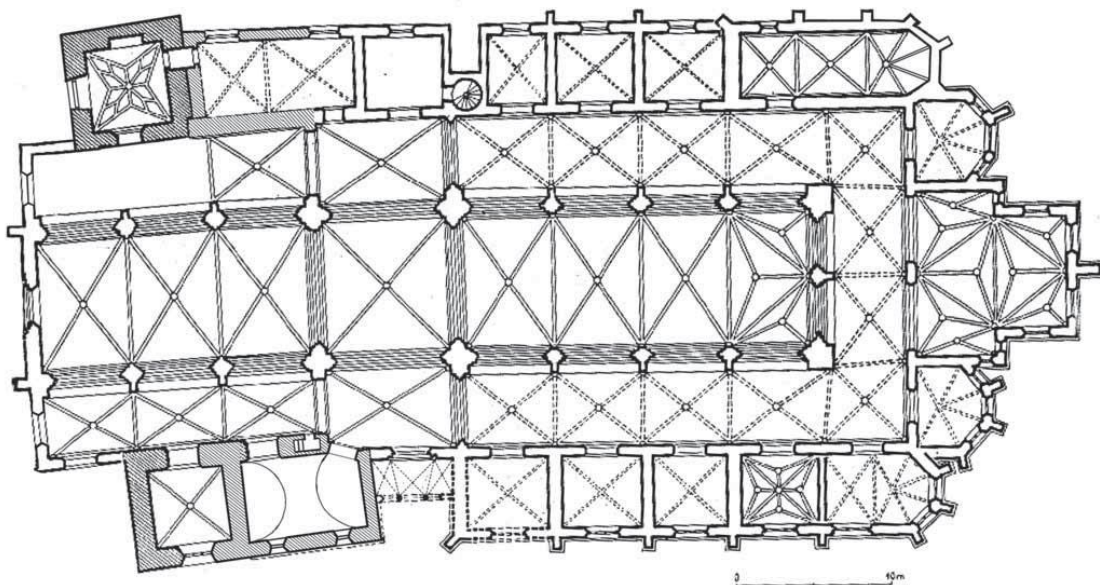
As it was briefly mentioned by Miklós Földvály in his article where he elaborates about the functions of church spaces, we can say that, towards the end of the Middle Ages, the cathedral's main liturgical acts were more and more concentrated on the clergy and did not serve the people as much.<sup>209</sup> Although he stresses that the different spaces (the choir, the nave and the aisles) allowed for different degrees of participation in the liturgy and were all integral parts of the liturgy, the evidence of the cathedrals in my study point to the chancel as the part

<sup>208</sup> Skibiński, *Katedra poznańska*.

<sup>209</sup> Földvály, “‘Istenünk tornácaiban’. Az osztott templomtér jelentőségéről,” 181.

containing the choir and the main altar became of bigger architectural importance to the detriment of the nave and aisles where the laity could take part in the liturgy.

I argue that, because the cathedral chapter was the main actor in deciding the shapes of the cathedrals and their needs took precedence, they molded the church into the perfect space in which to perform their liturgical activities comfortably and ceremoniously. The nave became less important, and the unity of the church space, the need to have one hall with the main altar at the end was not a primary concern anymore. We can see this, for example, in the cathedral of Kraków: the eastern end was rebuilt in a magnificent way, but construction stopped at the point where the new chancel joined the nave, resulting in a ground plan where the chancel leans slightly towards the south (Figure 51). It seems like the new direction for the main axis of the chancel was chosen so that the planned construction would fit comfortably on the castle hill with its scaffolding.



*Figure 51. Reconstructed ground plan of Kraków cathedral showing the tilt of the chancel relative to the nave.*

In the following section, we will examine two case studies, where the fourteenth-century reconstruction was shaped by the preference of the eastern part over the nave and the western half: St. Vitus Cathedral in Prague and the cathedral of St. John the Evangelist in Eger.

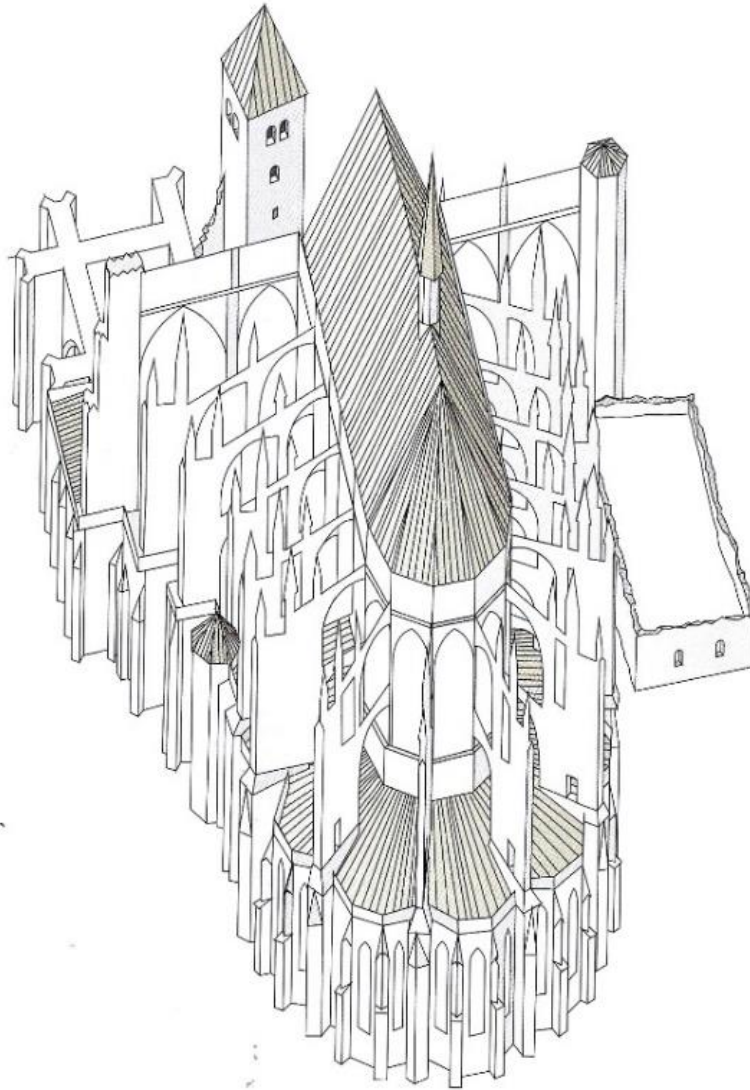
## **The cathedral of St. Vitus in Prague: did it have a nave in the Late Middle Ages?**

### **Late Medieval construction history of the western side of St. Vitus cathedral**

While the construction history of the chancel (see the subsection *Prague Cathedral: a builder from France*) is well-known to art historians, there are still doubts whether the western part of the cathedral was actually built, and if yes, how exactly it looked, before it was supposedly completely destroyed in the 1541 fire. This section will investigate the possible appearance and construction history of what Václav Hájek called a “large church”: in his contemporaneous description of the catastrophe: “*from that tower fire fell through the windows on the new roof, which covered the large church, here where they generally preach over the tomb of saint Adalbert, and that church burnt all to the ground, the tombs such of saint Adalbert himself that of the white marble in the middle of the church remained cracked.*”

How far construction advanced before 1541 to the west of the parts indicated at *Figure 16* has been a question for researchers of the cathedral’s construction history that has not proved easy to answer. While some researchers like Líbal and Zahradník (1999) and Petr Uličný (2011, 2015 and 2020) have commented on the issue, the castle’s monography from 2011/2016 refuses to engage with the question, depicting a reconstruction drawing from c. 1380 with the tower

still standing but clearly in the wrong place (Figure 52). The 2019 monography also barely touched the subject.



*Figure 52. Reconstruction drawing of Prague Cathedral from the east, with the standing Romanesque tower, at c. 1410.*

The chancel was closed down with a wall at the triumphal arch in 1373 and is reported to have had two windows on it, a diamond-shaped window higher up and under that a rose window with tracery.<sup>210</sup> The cornerstone for the new, western part of the cathedral was laid down in 1392, with the body of St. Adalbert being deposited at its new place in 1396, to the

<sup>210</sup> Kuthan, "The Construction of the Gothic Cathedral," 138.



west of the wall, in a deep tomb-crypt, over which a white marble (alabaster?) shrine was built.<sup>211</sup> Based on this, it is supposed by, among others, Líbal and Zahradník theorized that the building was finished in just four years: the preaching could not have been done in an open construction space.<sup>212</sup> If we try to make sense of the information, the facts suggest that there was some kind of western extension, intimately connected to the existing parts and stretching at least until the grave of St. Adalbert, but it seems very probable that it was not in the shape of the nave that Mocker and his successors have constructed.

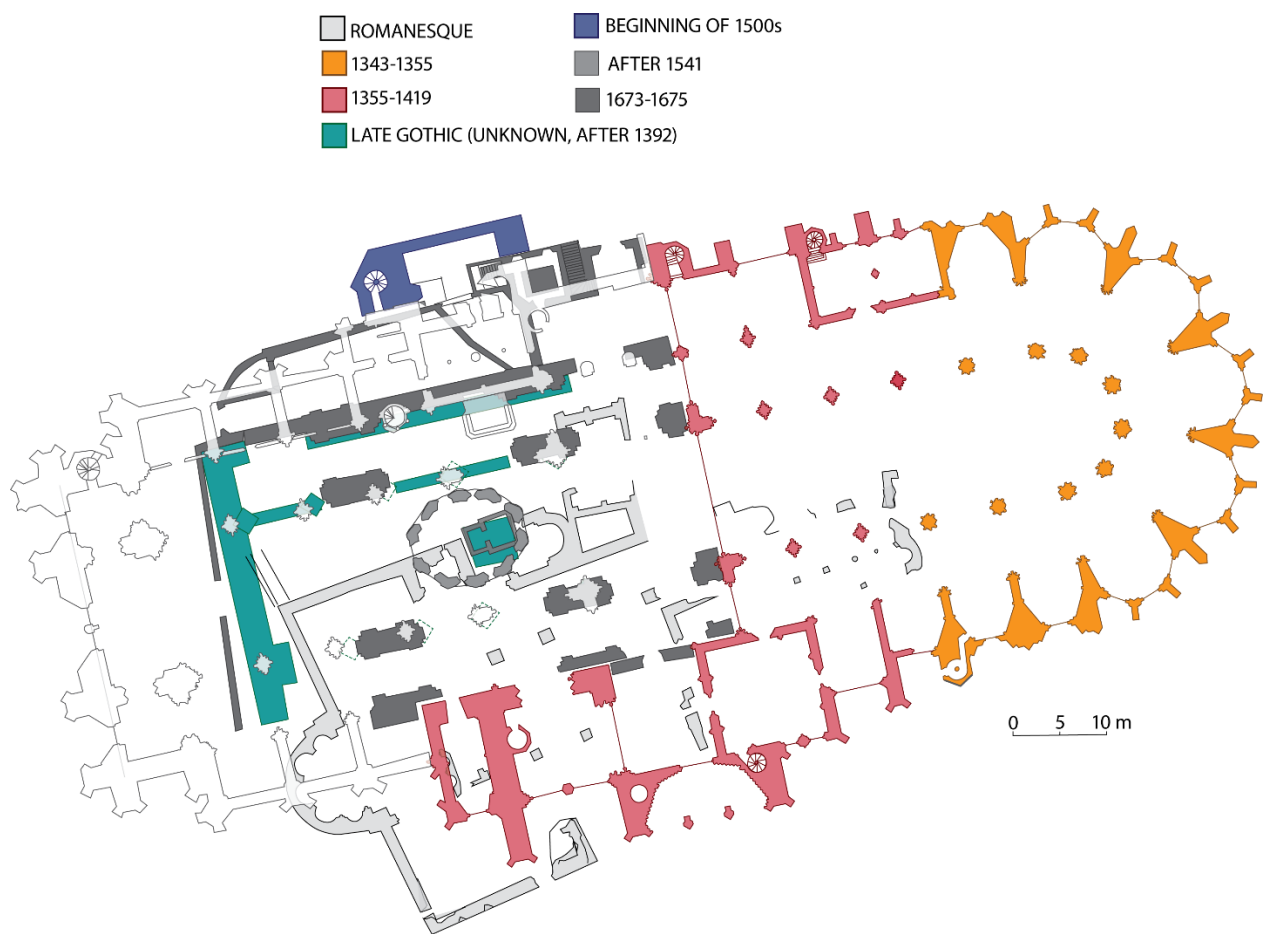


Figure 53. St. Vitus, periodized ground plan showing the available information about the western parts standing before the 1541 fire.

<sup>211</sup> Kuthan and Royt, *The Cathedral of St. Vitus at Prague Castle*, 69–71.

<sup>212</sup> Líbal and Zahradník, *Katedrála Svatého Víta Na Pražském Hradě*, 164–65.

It is hard to formulate ideas on the appearance of the western part of St. Vitus cathedral as it existed between c. 1390 and 1541. Kamil Hilbert theorized that the western part of the Gothic cathedral did not extend until the north-western tower also because Josef Mocker recorded original Gothic foundations wherever he found them, but did not find any under the two pillars that would have interfered with the tower (Figure 58 g and d).<sup>213</sup> What this tells us is that the concept for the western extension for Prague Cathedral did not calculate with the same pillar placement as the eventual 19<sup>th</sup> century reconstruction did, however, it does not eliminate the possibility of any western extension existing at this period.

Unfortunately, the most vital part, an account of any Gothic foundations Josef Mocker (1835-1899, the first to lead the Neo-Gothic rebuilding) might have found when he was directing the construction of the new nave seems impossible to obtain – they were excluded from the otherwise well-assembled archaeological atlas of Prague Castle. The 2016 monography alludes to the fact that Mocker thought the new nave had three bays with a main nave and side aisles, which were open to the side chapels that had “a polygonal ground plan”, and that at the fourth and fifth pillars they had to excavate the old base, because “they were outside the axis of the pillar row”.<sup>214</sup>

Any remains that Mocker might have found were also made harder to interpret by the later construction attempts at the western side: there was an attempt again to finish the cathedral, laying the new cornerstone in 1673, but it was also unsuccessful.<sup>215</sup> The main objective of this construction was to strengthen the structurally unstable southern tower and to build a roof over

<sup>213</sup> Kamil Hilbert, “Nové poznatky o románské basilice na Hradě Pražském” [New Information about the Romanesque Basilica at Prague Castle], *Památky archeologické*, no. 26 (1914): 13.

<sup>214</sup> Kuthan, “The Construction of the Gothic Cathedral,” 144; Herichová and Maříková-Kubková, *Archeologický atlas Pražského hradu. Díl I. Katedrála sv. Víta – Vikařská ulice*.

<sup>215</sup> Kuthan, “The Construction of the Gothic Cathedral,” 144.



the grave of St. Adalbert, and the remnants of the old western part were torn down. The construction proceeded until 1675 and some walls were already raised.<sup>216</sup>

The research is also harder to conduct, as the area where the possible evidence of a western extension might have been located was not investigated by archaeologists during the last 150 years. Figure 54 shows the locations of documented archaeological investigations. Please note that while the area in the central part of the nave seems to have been covered, in reality, there have only been three excavations in this area: Hilbert's excavations from 1911-12 which produced the ground plan at Figure 58 (located at E5-6 and F5-6), another excavation at the tomb of St. Adalbert in 1996, and Josef Mocker's excavation of the crypt of St. Martin (the crypt under the western apse of the Romanesque basilica) in 1877.<sup>217</sup>



Figure 54: Areas covered by archaeological surveys included in the Archeological Atlas of Prague Castle, shown in purple.

<sup>216</sup> Líbal and Zahradník, *Katedrála Svatého Víta Na Pražském Hradě*, 167–69.

<sup>217</sup> Herichová and Maříková-Kubková, *Archeologický atlas Pražského hradu. Díl I. Katedrála sv. Víta – Vikářská ulice*, 15, 26, 34.

This is important because we have a record of medieval walls from the area of the main nave from 1730 (Figure 56), depicting the area to the west of the standing parts of the cathedral, which was used as a cemetery. The walls depicted in orange did not rise above ground level at that time, while the walls in grey were standing. A thick orange wall of approx. 270 cm thickness can be seen to the west, which was presumably the western wall of the nave: to the west of it, on a slight angle, the weak perimeter wall of the cemetery can be seen.<sup>218</sup> The parts in red are the remnants of the 1673-75 construction. The construction scribe Jan Dinebier, who ordered this survey, also mentions a spiral staircase that led deep into the ground and was never used but was also not previously demolished but rather bridged over.<sup>219</sup>

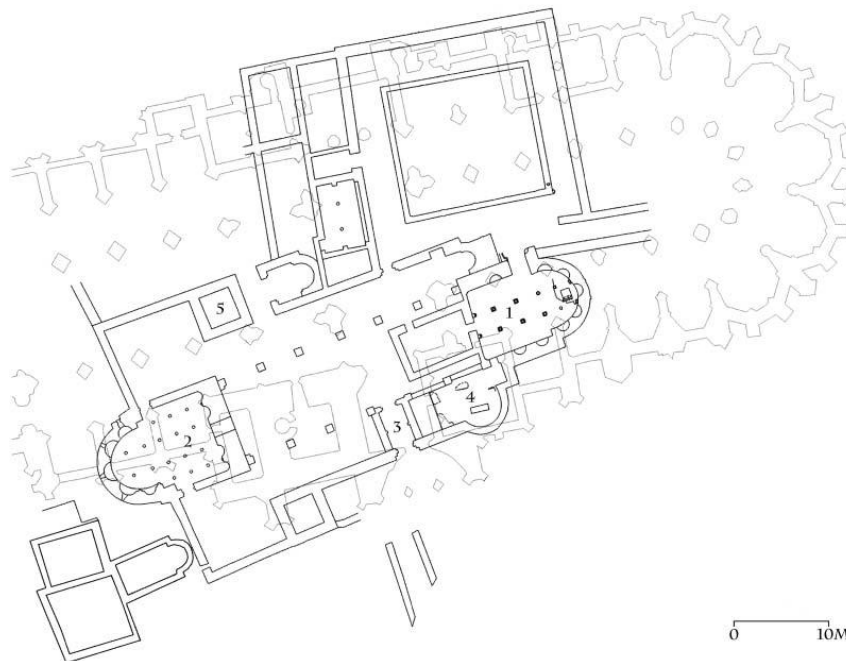


Figure 55: Prague, the Romanesque St Vitus's Basilica reconstructed and superimposed over the ground plan of today's cathedral.

<sup>218</sup> Líbal and Zahradník, *Katedrála Svatého Víta Na Pražském Hradě*, 167 verifies the accuracy of this plan: the weaker wall can be seen on the cadastral plan from 1841, standing from 48 m to the western wall of the cathedral, while on this plan, the orange wall is located approx. 46. meters from the western wall. A small cluster of sources also attest to there being some construction remains at this site: a mention of a column support at the western edge of the orange wall from the 17th century, and a mention of "the second tower" and two chapels next to it, which could mean the Great Northern tower and two northern chapels at the side of the nave - which might coincide with the polygonal remains found by Josef Mocker. Unfortunately, this information remains unverified.

<sup>219</sup> Líbal and Zahradník, 169.

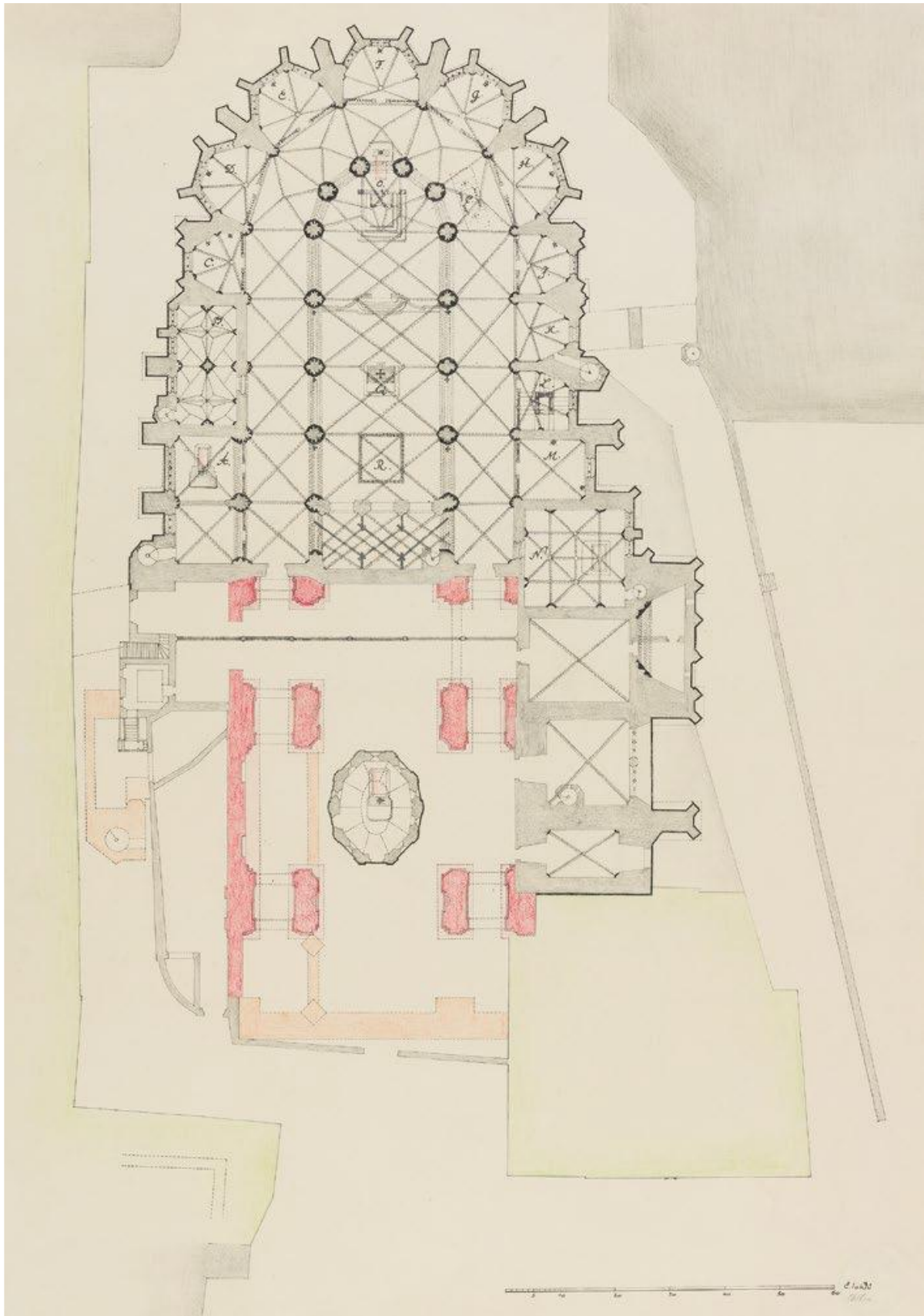


Figure 56. Ground-plan of St Vitus Cathedral, with the uncovered foundations of the north tower and the pillars of the west nave, 1730

## Parts of the Romanesque church that were possibly standing between 1392-1541.

Petr Uličný supposed that both the north-western tower of the old basilica (5) and the western apse (2) were still standing in the 16<sup>th</sup> century (see Figure 55).<sup>220</sup> I have concluded that, while the first assessment seems incorrect, the latter is supported by the evidence and should be taken into account when attempting a reconstruction drawing.



Figure 57. Veduta of Prague castle from 1536

The idea that the north-western tower was standing until the great fire is based on a misunderstanding: that an “old tower” at the northern side perished in the 1541 fire, according to a description by Tomáš Pešina z Čechorodu from 1673.<sup>221</sup> This idea was introduced by Kamil Hilbert (1869-1933, the third leader of the Neo-Gothic rebuilding of Prague Cathedral) in 1914 before it was repeated by Uličný. In my opinion, although the old Romanesque tower

<sup>220</sup> For the tower, see Uličný, “The Choirs of St Vitus’s Cathedral in Prague,” 218 and note no. 145 on page 232, for the apse see page 223; and a bit more in the original Czech version of the article, “Chóry katedrály sv. Víta v Praze” [The Choirs of St. Vitus Cathedral in Prague], *Průzkumy památek* 2, no. 18 (2011): 79–81.

<sup>221</sup> Tomáš J. Pešina z Čechorodu, *Phosphorus Septicornis: i.e. Metropol. S. Viti Eccles. Pragensis Maiestas*, 1673, 93: “Sed et residuam, nempe posticam templi partem, quae tota penitus, una cum veteri turri aquiloni obversa corruit, ne ullis quidem parietinis superstantibus, instauraturus erat Ferdinandus, nisi gravissimo et diuturno bello Turcico impeditus fuisset.”



was at the northern side of the old cathedral, it would have stood in the exact middle of the new western part (see Figure 53), and therefore could hardly be called northern by someone who has never seen the Romanesque church. A veduta from 1536, otherwise accurately depicting details about the upper parts of the cathedral does not show a north-western Romanesque tower.

The issue of the Romanesque north-western tower is complicated because there is evidence that it was used in the Gothic period after the 1300s – presumably until the 1370s, as we will see later in the chapter. Hilbert's excavations in 1911-12 revealed that the tower's original Romanesque floor level, 0.98 m below the Gothic walking level, was raised and a new threshold was made in order to enable access to the tower in the later period. During the excavation, it was also found that the outline of the foundation of the tomb of St. Adalbert (blue on Figure 58) was not exactly rectangular, rather, its western side was at an angle in order to fit to the foundations of a mostly rectangular Romanesque room (red), the northwestern tower. The walls of the crypt continued in a rectangular way above the Romanesque floor level.<sup>222</sup> According to Václav Tomek, this tower has existed at least since the 12<sup>th</sup> century, and its ground floor housed the chapel of St Stanislaus, founded at or before 1259, moreover, this was the only tower in the church.<sup>223</sup>

In my opinion, the tower mentioned in the 1673 description was a different tower on the northern side: in 1538, a huge bell was hung on a temporary bell tower that rested on a round bastion, which is the current Powder tower, standing at a small distance from the northern side of the cathedral seeing as neither the north or the south tower was in good enough shape to support the weight of the bell intended here.<sup>224</sup> This bell tower was also mentioned in

<sup>222</sup> Hilbert, "Nové poznatky o románské basilice na Hradě Pražském," 12–13.

<sup>223</sup> Václav Vladivoj Tomek, "Příběhy stavby kostela sv. Víta na hradě Pražském" [Stories of the Construction of the Church of St. Vitus to Prague Castle], *Památky archaeologické* 2, no. 8 (1861): 52.

<sup>224</sup> Petr Uličný, "A Difficult Mission: The Building of St Vitus's Cathedral in the Time of Ferdinand I and Anna Jagiellon (1526–1547)," *Umění: Journal of the Institute of Art History, Czech Academy of Sciences*, no. 68 (January 1, 2020): 177.

Wenceslaus Hájek's contemporaneous description of the 1541 fire.<sup>225</sup> Another candidate would have been the great northern tower, the counterpart of the southern one, which was under construction in 1511, but it is unclear how far it has progressed by 1541.<sup>226</sup>

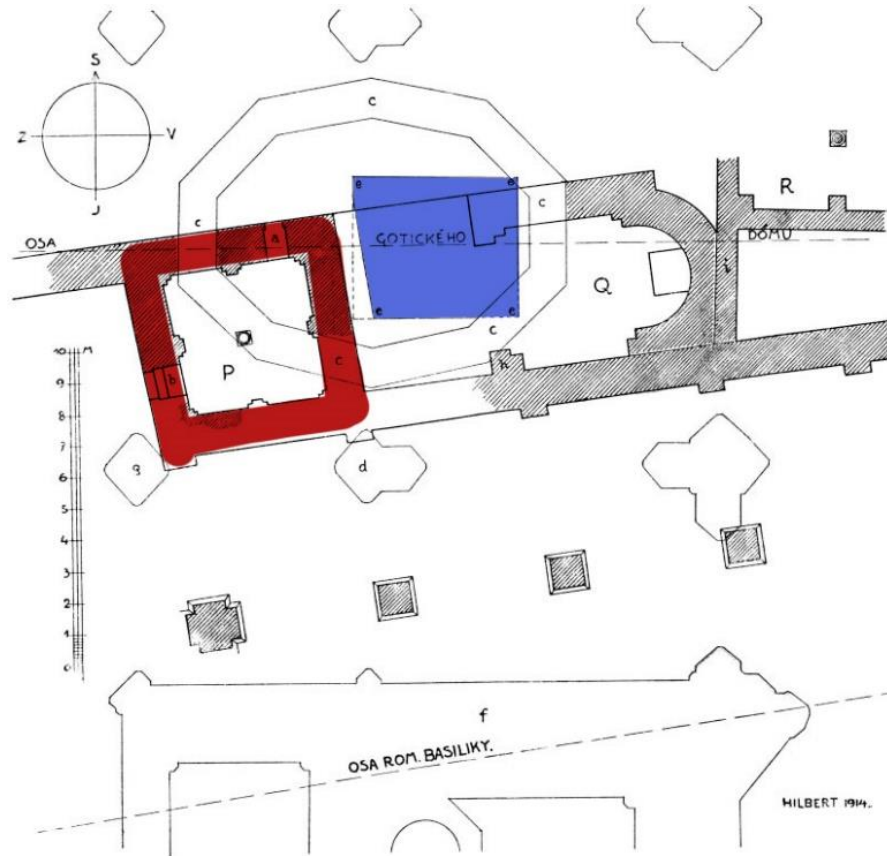


Figure 58. remains of the Romanesque tower and the foundation of the tomb of Saint Vitus, colored in from Kamil Hilbert's original drawing.

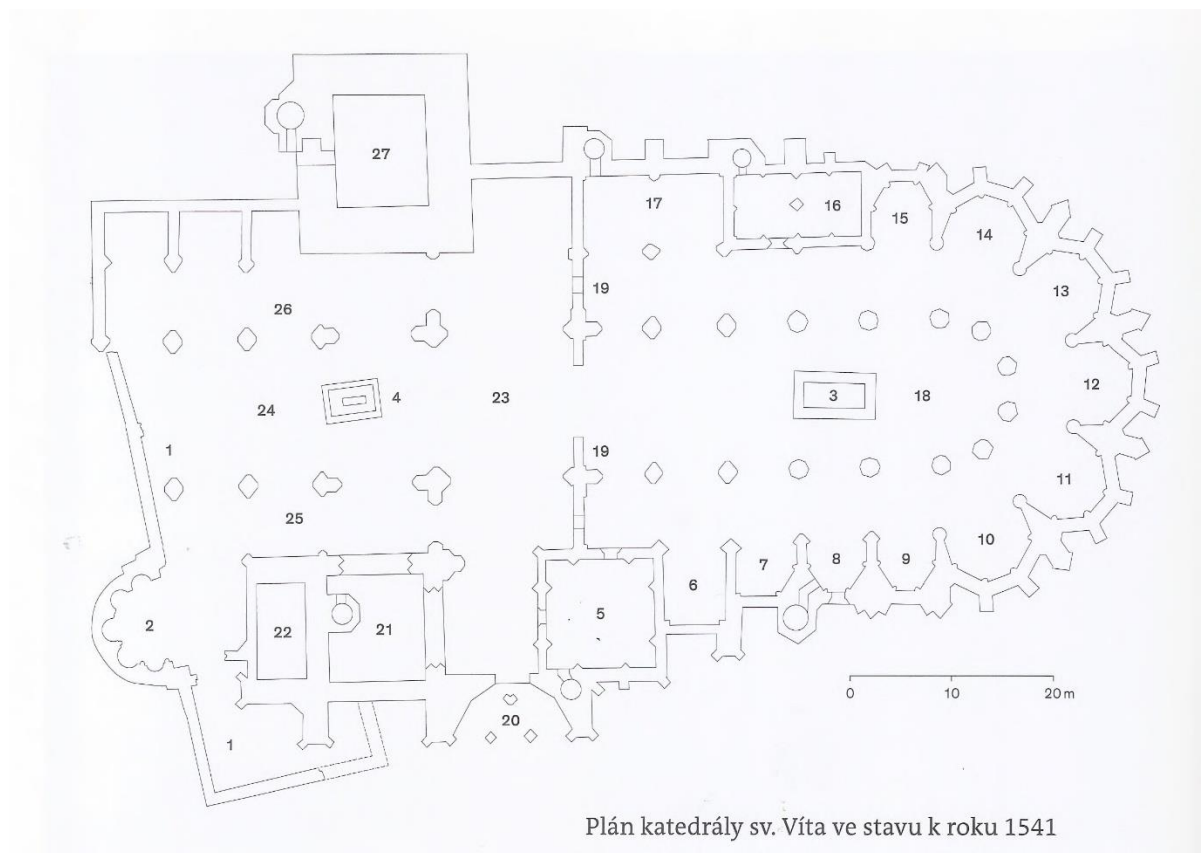
The fate of the Romanesque tower seems to have been its demolition between 1373 and 1392, with its foundations left in the ground where they did not disturb the ongoing constructions. It made sense to leave the below ground sections and conform the foundations for the grave of St. Adalbert to this existing structure rather than excavate it, especially because the tomb would not need especially deep or strong foundations like pillars or load-bearing

<sup>225</sup> Václav Hájek z Libočan, "O nesstiasnee przihodie kteráž gse stala skrze ohen w Menssim Miestie Pražském, a na Hradie Swatého Wacława, y na Hradčanech etc. Leta M.D.xxxj" [About the Unfortunate Incident That Happened through the Fire in the Smaller Place of Prague, and on the Castle of Saint Wenceslas, and in Hradčany, Etc. Leta M.D.Xxxj] (Prague, 1541) fol B/v.

<sup>226</sup> Líbal and Zahradník, *Katedrála Svatého Víta Na Pražském Hradě*, 165.

walls would have needed. In any case, the foundations of the Romanesque tower and the grave of St. Adalbert were probably separated because they intended to demolish the tower.

A small confirmation comes from the ground plan at the end of the first volume of the 2019 monograph, showing the authors' idea of what the cathedral looked like in 1541 – showing the great northern tower but not the north-western tower of the Romanesque basilica (Figure 59). Sadly, the ideas depicted on this ground plan were not elaborated on by the authors.



*Figure 59.: The ground plan of St. Vitus cathedral in 1541, from the 2019 monograph.*

It is also supposed that the western apse of the Romanesque cathedral was preserved until the middle of the sixteenth century. The main source for this theory is on a ground plan of Giovanni Pieroni from the 1620s, depicting the Prague castle, supposedly based on an earlier drawing from the 1560s. The dating is not exact, however, as according to Maria Brykowska,

who discovered the drawing, many structures that are known to have been destroyed in the 1541 fire are still depicted.<sup>227</sup>

The crypt below the western apse was found mostly intact by Josef Mocker when he was building the main nave, suggesting that the area might not have been disturbed before, certainly not to dig for foundations of a spacious nave to be built over the top (for their relationship, see Figure 55).

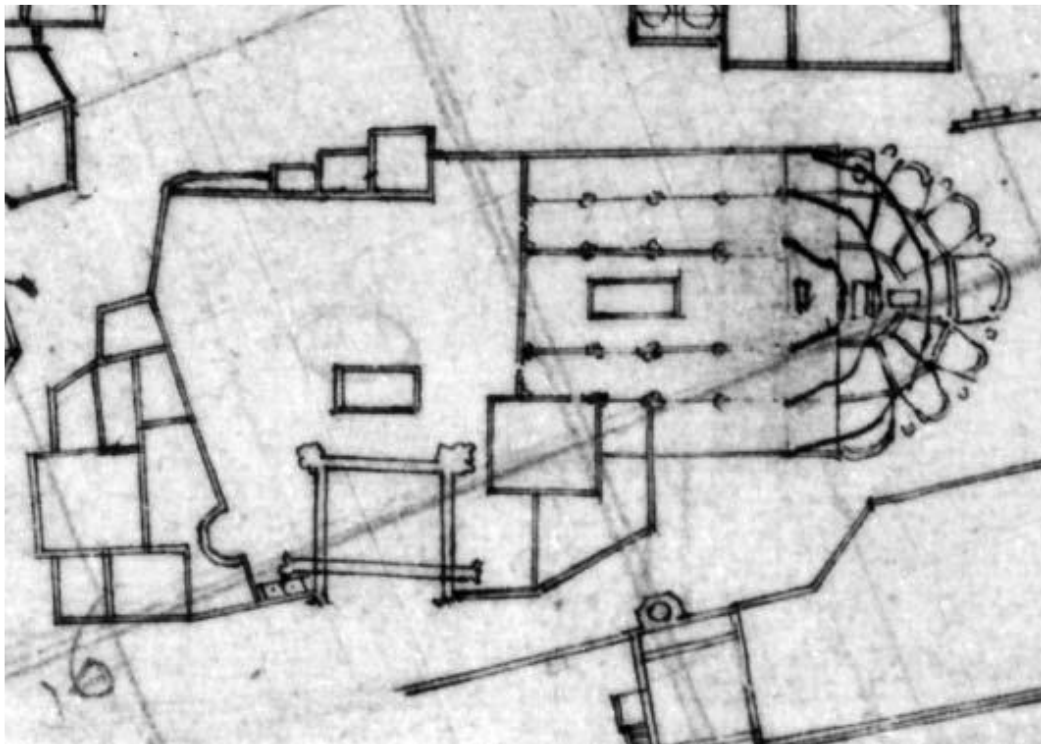


Figure 60: Giovanni Pieroni: ground plan, depicting the Prague castle (c. 1620s), supposedly based on an earlier drawing from the 1560s.

Originally, the western apse was the location of the Virgin Mary choir, however, it the Virgin Mary choir was moved into the Gothic chancel and was operated by the Mansionars. There is evidence that suggests that the western apse was used as the chapel of St. Gaudentius (Radim): he was the brother of St. Adalbert. His remains were originally kept in the crypt under

<sup>227</sup> Marie Brykowska, "The Architecture of the Prague Castle in Light of the Plan in the Uffizi," in *Rudolf II, Prague and World. Papers from the International Conference Prague, 2–4 September, 1997*, ed. Lubomír Konečný, Bekt Bukovinská, and Ivan Muchka (Prague, 1998), 220–25.



the eastern choir, and when that was demolished to make way for the new chancel, they were temporarily placed in the chapel of the Holy Trinity, and from there to the still standing western apse, functioning as a chapel.<sup>228</sup> There is a record from 1562 of the St. Vitus Chapter complaining that workers operating in the area were demolishing the chapel of St. Gaudientius and also collapsing the cellar, and a bit later, the chapter wrote directly to the emperor that that the workers brought in to tear down the church walls demolished the church dungeon and another room, both vaulted, in one of which was the tomb of St. Gaudientius in the manner of a chapel.<sup>229</sup>

The layout and the planning of the great southern tower and the western addition of the chapter archives, how well as the shape conforms very well to the south-western corner of the Romanesque basilica also shows that most probably, this side of the Romanesque church was left standing. It was common practice in medieval times to leave church parts standing until it was necessary to demolish them, and if the western apse functioned as a chapel and was accessible from the western side as a chapel there was no need to bother it. After the 1541 fire destroyed the newly built western part, however, it was much harder to maintain the importance of the now presumably free-standing chapel which could have led to its demolition by the workers in 1562.

### The newly built western part (1392-1541)

The area around the tomb of St. Adalbert was referred to as a choir (“*sanctae Pragensis ecclesiae alterius chori*”), as a new church (“*in istud medium nove ecclesie Pragensis*”), and a chapel: “*capella S. Adalberti, patroni ecclesiae Pragensis.*”<sup>230</sup>

<sup>228</sup> Uličný, “The Choirs of St Vitus’s Cathedral in Prague,” 222–23.

<sup>229</sup> Líbal and Zahradník, *Katedrála Svatého Víta Na Pražském Hradě*, 167.

<sup>230</sup> Tomek, *Základy starého místopisu Praského*, 4:245.

We know that the altar of the Holy Spirit was in the new part: it was mentioned in the inventories of 1414 and 1436 and described as standing around (next to) a statue or a column, across from the new tower (*“circa statuam ex opposita turris nove”*).<sup>231</sup> Moreover, the foundation document of this altar explicitly mentions the first pillar in the new nave, next to the new tower (*“apud primam columpnam prope novam turrim ex lapidibus quadris”*), which suggests there were other pillars next to the “first”.<sup>232</sup> Other altars are mentioned in 1436 that can be located in this area: there was the altar near the tomb of St. Adalbert, the altars of the Annunciation, St. Agnes, St. Catherine and Kunigunde, Jacob and Cristopher, Ten Thousand Soldiers, St. Nicholas and Ludmilla, St. Denis, St. Margaret.<sup>233</sup> These altars are listed in 1415 as the altars at the entrance to the tomb of St. Adalbert: *“altaria in introitu ad tumbam S. Adalberti.”*<sup>234</sup> The great southern tower’s northern and eastern side consisted of open arcades that led into the nave, that were walled up after 1541.<sup>235</sup>

There was intent before the fire to finish the western side: in 1509, “grounds were dug for the columns in the Prague church, also for the second tower for the moats”. In 1510 “the tower and columns were bricked up” and finally in 1511 “the pillar of the tower of the castle church nearer to the diggings was driven above the ground and another was dug”. Líbal and Zahradník conclude that the foundations mentioned in 1509 and 1510 were probably dug for extending the nave: building to the west from the three supports already in place.<sup>236</sup>

If we come back to Jan Dinebier’s 1730 plan (Figure 61), we can see an orange (thus below ground) strip of foundation connecting two columns or pillars at the northern side of the area

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<sup>231</sup> Tomek, 4:115, 118.

<sup>232</sup> Tomek, 4:113.

<sup>233</sup> Tomek, 4:118.

<sup>234</sup> Tomek, 4:246.

<sup>235</sup> Tat’ána Petrasová, “Josef Mocker and Prague’s Medieval Landscape (1872–1899),” in *Prague and Bohemia. Medieval Art, Architecture and Cultural Exchange in Central Europe*, ed. Zoë Opačić, The British Archaeological Association Conference Transactions 32 (London, Leeds: British Archaeological Association; Maney Publishing, 2009), 229–47.

<sup>236</sup> Líbal and Zahradník, *Katedrála Svatého Víta Na Pražském Hradě*, 165.

of the western part. The size of the columns and the distance between them almost corresponds to the dimensions of the chancel's support system. Two out of the missing three columns would have been located under the red pillar foundations, or, as Líbal and Zahradník suppose, there could have been four bays in total: two narrower at the west and two wider at the east, highlighting the grave of St. Adalbert. The group of walls and the circular staircase in the north, also depicted in yellow, probably belonged to the Great Northern tower.<sup>237</sup>



Figure 61. Laying Dinebier's 1730 drawing over the present foundations

The western part that ended up being constructed and stood between 1392-1541 was probably similar to the two-bay extension built at Esztergom cathedral in the 13<sup>th</sup> or 14<sup>th</sup> century: a hall type building, not as tall as the eastern part, and probably connected to the old Romanesque apse. The relatively short building would not have obscured the windows in the western wall of the chancel and would not have needed extensive foundations. This would have

<sup>237</sup> Líbal and Zahradník, 169–71.

enabled the tomb of St. Adalbert to have a proper architectural setting while the construction works for the planned nave proceeded with digging the foundations for the planned, more majestic western part, which was interrupted in 1419 and restarted several times since.

While Sigismund of Luxemburg took back Prague in 1436, reparations only started during the reign of Vladislaus II (1471-1516), when also a new royal oratory was established around 1490 in one of the gallery chapels of the southern side of the cathedral.<sup>238</sup>

In the beginning of the sixteenth century, an attempt was made to finish the cathedral by adding a tower on the northern side. Although the construction lasted several years, it is presumed that it was abandoned in the 1510s.<sup>239</sup> Recently, Petr Uličný has studied the unfinished construction attempts at Prague Cathedral in the early sixteenth century: in 1509-1512 there was construction work on the pillars of the western nave and the foundations for the new northern tower were laid; in 1522-24 the roof of the western and eastern part was laid anew; in 1537, a bell was installed in a temporary bell tower built at an unknown time, close to the already dug foundations of the new northern tower.<sup>240</sup>

A chapter closed in the life of the cathedral in 1541, when a great fire broke out in the southern tower. From the description of Wenceslaus Hájek of Libočany from the same year, we learn that the great southern tower caught fire and all of the furniture (among others, the magnificent choir stalls, designed by Peter Parler) was destroyed, and from the burning roof structure, the fire fell down and spread to the chapel of St. Sigismund, the chapel of St. Wenceslas, the western part of the church with the tomb of St. Adalbert and to the choir, where the stalls and the choir screen burned down. Some of the other chapels around the choir were

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<sup>238</sup> Jiří Kuthan, “St. Vitus Cathedral from the Hussite Wars until the End of the Reign of the House of Jagiellon,” in *The Cathedral of St. Vitus at Prague Castle*, ed. Jiří Kuthan and Jan Royt (Prague: Karolinum Press, 2016), 317–20.

<sup>239</sup> Kuthan, 325–27.

<sup>240</sup> Uličný, “A Difficult Mission.”

also damaged. Emperor Ferdinand wanted to start reparations on the cathedral, but there were not enough funds due to the ongoing Ottoman Wars. Although work eventually started and carried on from the 1550s onwards in the sixteenth century, many of the original decorations of the medieval church were lost forever.<sup>241</sup>

## Interpretation of the Late Medieval layout of St. Vitus Cathedral

In the case of Prague cathedral, I believe, it is a particularly easy to argue that the laypeople were not as important as the clergy and that this is reflected in the architecture. Jana Maříková-Kubková and David Eben state in their analysis of the liturgy at Prague cathedral, that movement into the church was restricted, and that the cathedral could be freely entered by the courtiers only on church holidays and special ceremonies.<sup>242</sup> Although they specify this only for the era before the new, Gothic constructions took place, it seems like this was valid for the new chancel too. The western extension was the place meant for the people, as evidenced by the report of Wenceslaus Hájek about the great fire: the western extension is called “the large church, where it is the custom to preach generally at the grave of St Adalbert” and then mentions “the tomb of St. Adalbert itself, in the middle of the church”.<sup>243</sup>

At a first glance, the liturgy at Prague Cathedral seems much more reserved than elsewhere. I have managed to briefly compare the Holy Saturday evening liturgy, arguably the most important part of the liturgical year, where the new fire is blessed. For example, in Gniezno, based on the Missal from 1555, the people (*populum*) were called to attend the

<sup>241</sup> Kuthan and Royt, *The Cathedral of St. Vitus at Prague Castle*, 356–60.

<sup>242</sup> Maříková-Kubková and Eben, “Organizace liturgického prostoru v bazilice sv. Víta,” 237.

<sup>243</sup> Hájek z Libočan, “O nesstiaťstnee przihodie kteráž gse stala skrze ohen w Menssim Miestie Pražském, a na Hradie Swatého Wacława, y na Hradežanech etc. Leta M.D.xxxj,” 4v; translation by Petr Uličný in “The Choirs of St Vitus’s Cathedral in Prague,” 222.

procession of blessing the fire by hitting a board.<sup>244</sup> The people are also mentioned in the Kraków Missal from 1484, where it is mentioned that a huge paschal candle was placed in front of the altar in the middle of the church (most probably the Holy Cross altar or the people's altar) which was surrounded by the clergy and the people (*congregatur hinc et inde omni clero seu populo*).<sup>245</sup> The people are also present in the Eger Ordinal, where it is mentioned they are allowed to take wax from the blessed baptismal font, but are missing from the Esztergom Ordinal.<sup>246</sup>

In contrast, in the Prague Missal from 1498 the people are not mentioned at all, only the various clergy: subdeacons, preachers, singers, and after the fire is blessed, they immediately retreat into the choir.<sup>247</sup> The place of the altar of the Holy Cross, the people's altar is unclear in the case of the Gothic Prague cathedral: although there seems to be a functioning Holy Cross altar in 1357 (it has an altarist), its location is unknown and a new Holy Cross altar is erected

<sup>244</sup> "Missale Ecclesiae et Provinciae Gnesnensis" (1555), f. 100 v-102 r., Czartoryski Kraków, 1210 III Cim „In Sabbato sancto pasce post nonam sit processio ad ignem consecrandum novum et primo pulsant tabula ad convocandum populum. Deinde sacerdos cum ministris indutus sacris vestibus sollenitur, procedat, processionaliter ad benedicendum eundem ignem, procedentibus vexilis candelis extinctis, thuribulo vacuo, et aqua benedicta. [...] Et tunc excusso igne de silice accenduntur vites vel spine et circumeundo ignem septem vicibus dicuntur sepem psalmus peniales sine Gloria patri. Choro stante et demum dicitur letania inferendo benedictionum. Tunc impnantur carbones de novo igne et incensum in thuribulum et thurificet ignis, aspagantur aqua benedicta, et candelae due de illo igne accendit et in Ecclesia alie”.

<sup>245</sup> Johannes Rzesoroski, "Missale Cracoviense." (Missal, Mainz, 1484), f. 82v-54v., M24350, Berlin Staatsbibliothek "Dum in sabbato saccatissimo pasche pontifex sive sacerdos faciens super ignem benedictionem crucem cum humuli voce ita ut a circumstantibus possit audiri scola primitus cantant septem psalmos penitente. Sequitur orationes [...] Finita ignis benediction incipiat cantor hymnum. [...] Finitis his usque ad ecclesiam versibus cereos magnus qui benedicendus est ponit in candelabro ante altare in medio ecclesie congregato hinc et inde omni clero seu populo. Deinde veniens sacerdos facit crucem in eo et illuminat illum de novo igne et humiliter inclinatus legat benedicens supra cereum quasi in modum legentis. [...] Cereo benedicto illico illuminantur ab eodem igne in duobus candelanris alii duo cerei staturam hois habentes. et de ipso novo et benedicto igne accendunt per omnes domos ignem quiaois ignis anterior qui tunc accebat extinguit et de novo reaccendit. Antea vero quarum legantur lectiones, eccipiunt duo notarii suprascriptos cereos accentos. Et tenent illos: unus in dextra cornu altaris, et alter in sinistro usque ad fontes. Deinde lector in ambonem ascendens legat non pruncians Lectio libri genesis sed plane incipit."

<sup>246</sup> Doboszay, *Liber Ordinarius Agriensis (1509)*, 32 entry no. 222; Földváry, *Ordinarius Strigoniensis*, 77–79.

<sup>247</sup> Conradus Kachelofen, "Missale emendatum iuxta rubricam Pragensis ecclesiae" (Missal, Prague, 1498), 91 v, BSB München, 2 Inc.c.a. 3668 "Post nonas fit processio ad benedicendum novum ignem. Precetentibus vexillis, candelis extinctis, thuribulo vacuo, aqua benedicta. Et tunc excusso igne de cristallo vel de silice accendit vites, et candant septem psalmi penitentiales sine Gloria. Et fine letania, sic incipientes absolute sine genuflectione psalmi. Per ordinem adiungentes psalmi. [...] Deinde dicuntur orationes quae humiliter in baptisterio, ad benedicendum ignem et aspergitur ignis, et impotos hiis carbonibus in thuribulum thurificatur. Et cereis ex eo accensis, redeunt ad chorum, cantantibus pueris."

in 1405 near the St. Sigismund chapel and near the door of the church, presumably in the western part (see Chapter IV, Functional topographies: Prague cathedral). Similarly, I was unable to locate the baptismal font, traditionally located in the middle of the nave. In the 1498 Prague missal, the “baptisterio” is mentioned but the only information we have is that it is outside of the choir. There is no mention of a pulpit or a choir screen whatsoever in the sources collected by Václav Tomek. While basing theories on missing information is always uncertain, the information above suggests that the elements around which the clergy and the lay people come together in most churches are missing.

In St. Vitus cathedral, the wall that was used to close off the finished chancel, on which the above-mentioned door(s) were located, is at the spot that in a finished Late Gothic church would have been the spot for the choir screen. Based on the descriptions, there were iron(?) fences around the choirs in Prague (*grille*), but these do not perform the same function as a choir screen, which were structures that almost completely blocked the view towards the main altar. Miklós Földvály mentions the confusion that arises from confounding these two limiters, and writes: “the jubé or lettner, the construction separating the nave from the choir does not perform the same function as the iconostasis, but of the ‘wall of doors’, while the altar was separated from the choir by an additional fence, the true functional equivalent of the iconostasis.”<sup>248</sup> Földvály also writes that in medieval liturgical use, the choir screen, or as it is jubé (French, from asking for blessing: “Iube, domne, benedicere!”) or lettner (German name, from Latin “lectorium” or “lectrinum”) was called so because it was a structure on which the reader recited the gospels on the most important feasts.<sup>249</sup> In Prague, it seems like this structure was missing, on account of laypeople not participating in the liturgical events. Of course, this

<sup>248</sup> Földvály, “‘Istenünk tornácaiban’. Az osztott templomtér jelentőségéről,” 181–82.

<sup>249</sup> Földvály, “Rubrica Strigoniensis. A középkori Esztergom liturgiájának normaszövegei,” 106–7.

only refers to the arrangement of masses: the tomb of St. Vitus was an important pilgrimage site and could be accessed from the ambulatory.

## **Eger Cathedral: a significant enlargement of the chancel, rebuilt twice in the Late Middle Ages**

I want to showcase another example where the chancel was (almost) inaccessible for the laity: the way in which Eger cathedral was rebuilt in the fourteenth century suggests this.

### **The Late Medieval construction history of Eger cathedral**

The foundations of a sacristy were found when Károly Kozák was excavating the NW side of the Romanesque apses, and the pillars indicate that it was built and fully vaulted in the latter half of the thirteenth century.<sup>250</sup> There are fragments of a rose window that can be stylistically linked to the second half of the thirteenth century, but its exact place within the cathedral cannot be ascertained. Gergely Buzás supposes it could have come from the sacristy, which was demolished along with the chancel in the middle of the sixteenth century.<sup>251</sup>

In one of the Gothic construction phases, and some time before the third, the North as well as the South Romanesque side apses were walled off with huge ashlar, and an altar was placed in front of the southern side apse wall, and at some time it suffered fire damage.<sup>252</sup> This

<sup>250</sup> Kozák, “Az egri vár Árpád-kori temetőjének feltárása I.,” 160–61.

<sup>251</sup> Havasi, “A középkori egri székesegyház az 1200-as évek elején I.,” 8–9 footnote no. 25. For more information on this period of the construction, she cites; Détshy and Kozák, “Eger Vára,” 139–41; and Buzás, “Az egri székesegyház XIII–XIV. századi gótikus épülete,” 24–35. She mentions that the fragment was found at a site of the castle, the late 16th century part of the Tömlöcbástya (Prison Bastion), where more fragments of the cathedral were found, hailing from different construction periods throughout the Middle Ages.

<sup>252</sup> Kozák, “Az egri vár Árpád-kori temetőjének feltárása I.,” 161.



indicates a phase where it was desirable to use the nave but not the side apses, probably due to ongoing constructions.

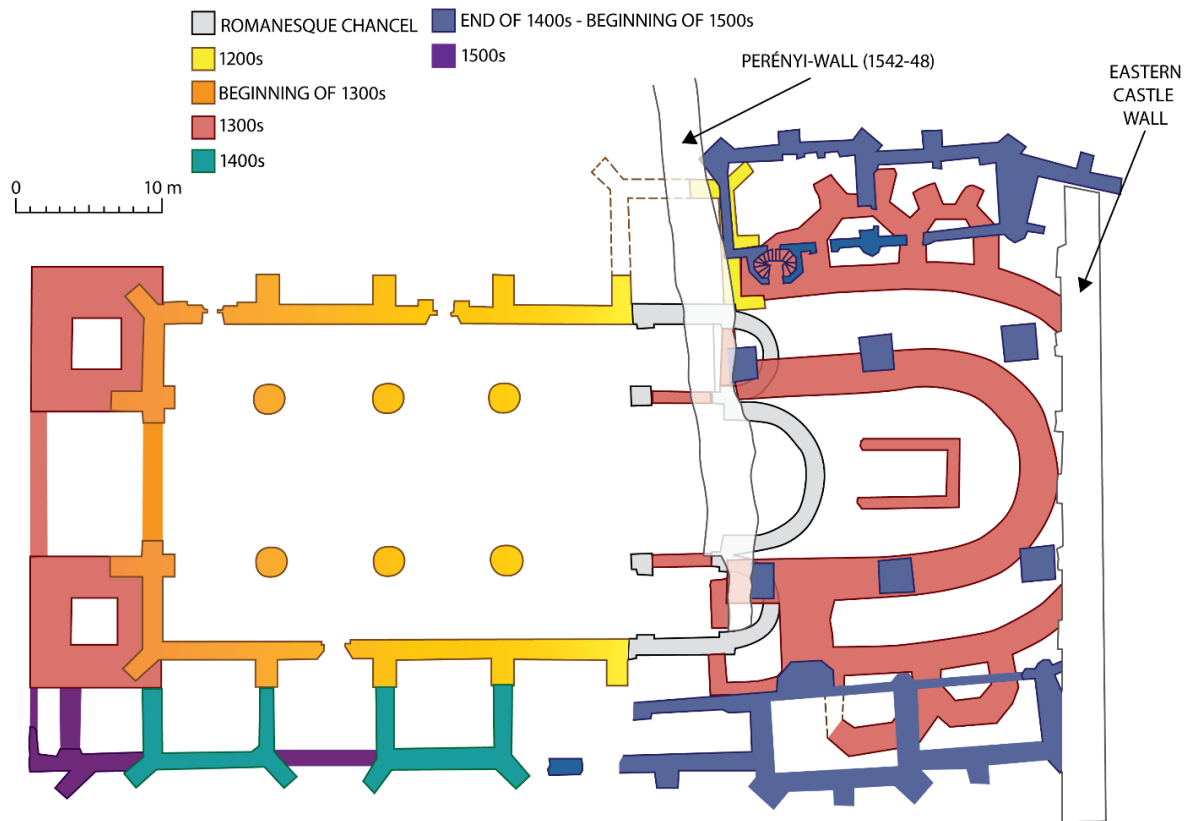


Figure 62. Periodized, reconstructed ground plan of Eger Cathedral until 1548

I detailed the third fourteenth-century construction phase, involving an apse with ambulatory and radiating chapels in Chapter one, in the subsection *Eger Cathedral: ambiguous connection to the aisles*. However, the problematic relationship between the Romanesque eastern end and the new construction was only very passingly addressed before by researchers. The issue is hard to study due to the lack of detailed study, especially outside of the Romanesque apse. During the archaeological research in the 1960-70s it seems like the main reason for the excavation was for the remains to be uncovered and turned into something presentable for the public – Károly Kozák makes numerous references in the articles detailing

the findings about the arrangement of the ruin garden.<sup>253</sup> This, unfortunately for the researchers of Eger cathedral's construction history, means that the walls continue to be exposed and details get lost, most notably in 2002-2003 when the outside stones of the Romanesque main apse were replaced.<sup>254</sup>

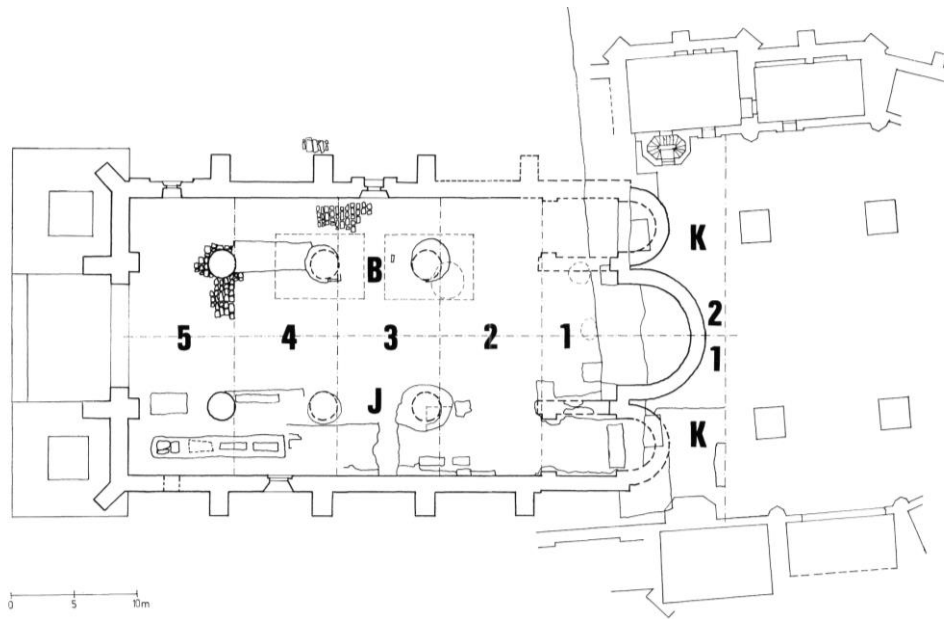


Figure 63. The plan of the first batch of excavations led by Károly Kozák (1965)

We know from the existing archaeological research that the Romanesque main apse was not torn down during or after the construction. The walls were preserved even higher than the walking level of the Late Gothic sanctuary (see their relationship on the cross-section on Figure 72), which stood at 2-2,5 m and was much higher than the walking level of the nave. The junctions of the main apse and the side apses were also preserved but only up to the walking level.<sup>255</sup>

<sup>253</sup> Kozák, "Az egri várszékesegyház feltárása II.," 131–38; Kozák, "Az egri vár Árpád-kori temetőjének feltárása I.," 136–42.

<sup>254</sup> Havasi, "A középkori egri székesegyház az 1200-as évek elején I.," 26.

<sup>255</sup> Kozák, "Az egri vár Árpád-kori temetőjének feltárása I.," 160.

The side apses were walled off at one point, and the curved walls of the side apses were torn down, possibly at the same time – maybe they were both damaged earlier and walling them off seemed easiest, or more probably in relation with the upcoming construction. The northern side had a small window on the wall in front of the side apse. Photos show this to have been really high – suited to provide light to an otherwise enclosed place that had no light from the main apse or from the northern wall where the two-floor sanctuary stood.<sup>256</sup> The southern side, however, had no such window – probably because this side apse had light from the south. The space behind this wall was torn down and the ossuary built in its place.

Why place an ossuary here? According to research, there was an Árpadian cemetery at the eastern side of the church.<sup>257</sup> As they were building the eastern extension, some graves were disturbed that were in the way and the bones found therein were placed in an appropriate place. The eastern wall of the ossuary ties into the foundation for the eastern extension, which means they were built at the same time. See more about the ossuary and its function in the subsection *Eger Ossuary*.

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<sup>256</sup> Kozák, “Az egri várszékesegyház feltárása II.,” 133 I would also like to thank professor Béla Zsolt Szakács for bringing the height of the window and its possible role to my attention. Photos no. 75522 and 94463 from the Photography Archives of the Monument Protection Documentation Center.

<sup>257</sup> Détsy and Kozák, “Eger Vára,” 144 mentions one of the tombs found under the Late Gothic NW chapel; Kozák, “Az egri vár Árpád-kori temetőjének feltárása I.,” 180 fig. 25 is of a walled tomb to the east of the Romanesque main apse and southern side apse. ; Kozák Károly, “Jelentés az egri várban végzett feltáráról. 1976. Fotódokumentáció” [Report on the Excavation Carried out in Eger Castle 1976. Photographic Documentation] (Magyar Építészeti Múzeum - Műemlékvédelmi Dokumentációs központ, number D 25584, 1976) has a photograph (unfortunately unmarked, but clearly from the excavations at the site of the Late Gothic sanctuary) that shows us tomb no. 467.

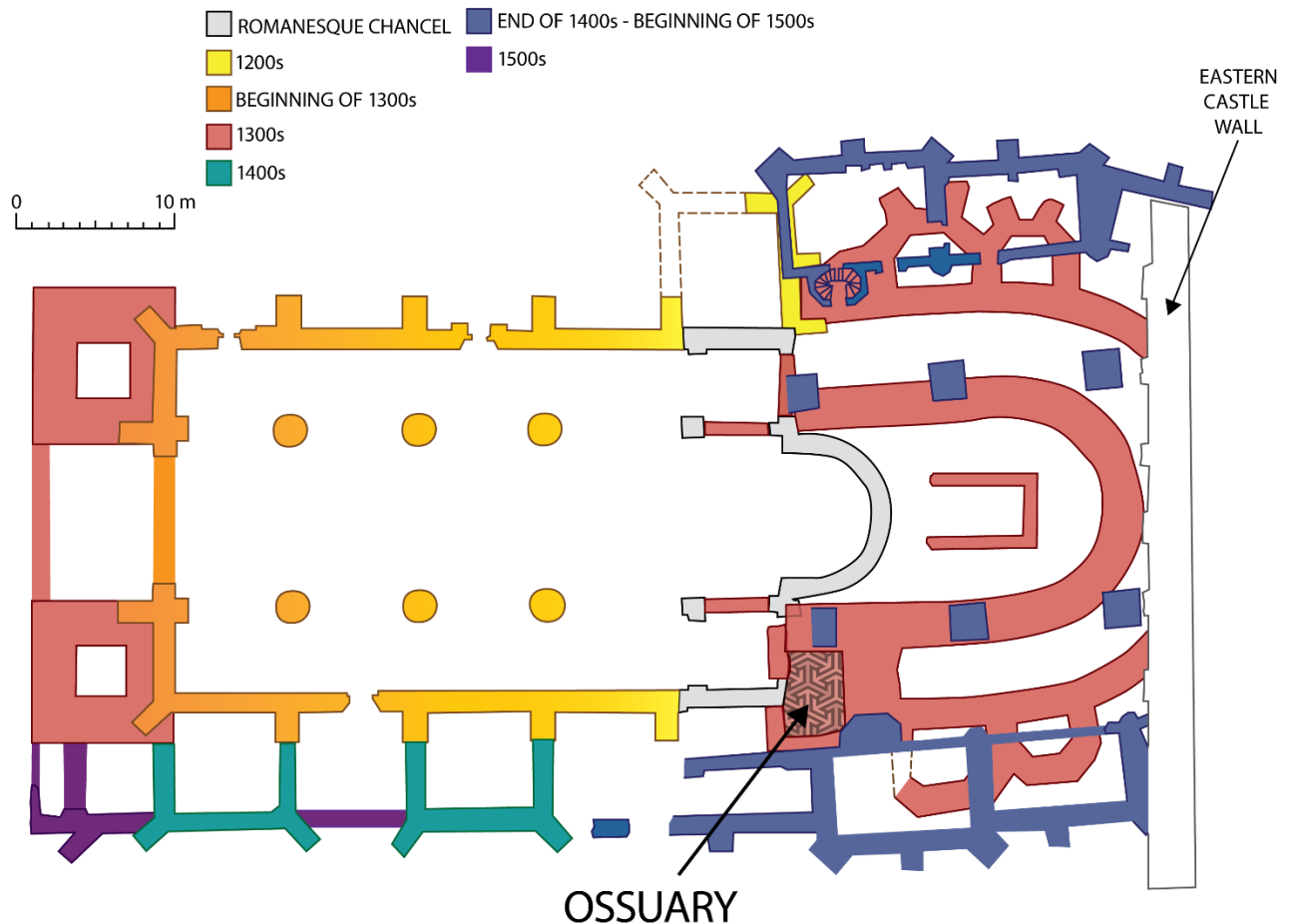


Figure 64. The place of the ossuary according to Kozák's description

A set of wall paintings found on the inside of the main apse are also dated to the Gothic period, and the main apse's outside walls were re-done in the late thirteenth (less likely, based on the type of stone, according to Krisztina Havasi) fourteenth (more likely) or fifteenth century (less likely again).<sup>258</sup> A possible explanation for the remodeling of the walls was that the builders intended to use the main apse's walls but wanted to remove the existing windows, also in order that there would be enough space for the wall paintings.

Thus, we can reconstruct the building history like this: the plan for the eastern extension was decided. As the hill was higher on this side and knowing that the ground to the east of the

<sup>258</sup> Détsky and Kozák, "Eger Vára," 136; Havasi, "A középkori egeri székesegyház az 1200-as évek elején I.," 26–27 she mentions that the stone type used resembled very much the stone used in the Late Gothic phase. .

church was used for burials (over 460 tombs were excavated here), the builders decided that the new extension would be considerably higher.<sup>259</sup> They built walls in front of the side apses, leaving a window in the northern wall. Then laid the very thick foundations for the new construction and started to build it – it was customary to start with the radiating chapels from the east – and also started to build a chamber in place of the southern side apse where they placed the bones that they excavated from the hillside graves. At some point before or during the construction, they renewed the main apse (not all the way across, just the part that was “sticking out”, i.e. that didn’t hinder the construction works on either side).

In my opinion, the position and importance of the ossuary also explains the slight tilt shift of the fourteenth-century sanctuary, which was barely noticeable if one was standing in the church, especially if they could not see in a direct line from the western portal to the main altar at the Gothic apse.

We must mention here the theory of Károly Kozák and Mihály Détsy, who split the construction of this eastern extension into two phases. According to them, first, the Romanesque main apse was widened and elongated to a much longer apse with a semicircular ending, containing the rectangular construction at its middle, and they place this at the end of the thirteenth century, separately from the ambulatory and radiating chapels.<sup>260</sup>

This theory can be refuted two ways: it is much more likely that the rectangular construction, which Kozák presumes is an altar, was somehow connected to the Romanesque main apse, based on its axis; also, rebuilding the outside wall of the main apse would not make sense if another apse was already under construction. It is much more likely that the

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<sup>259</sup> Based on the photographs in the Kozák, “Jelentés az egri várban végzett feltárásról. 1976. Fotódokumentáció” This year had no written records but already in 1972 (document n. D 25581) they have excavated over 343 tombs.

<sup>260</sup> Détsy and Kozák, “Eger Vára,” 140–41.

semicircular wall was meant as a foundation for a row of pillars meant to hold up the new fourteenth-century sanctuary.



Figure 65. Eger Castle, drawing of view from the south.

In either the late fourteenth or the early fifteenth century, a chapel dedicated to St. Michael was built next to the south-western side of the nave – its eastern wall leans on the buttress and its western wall is in line with the south-western tower’s southeastern corner.<sup>261</sup> It was first mentioned in 1406, when it was already a completed space, ready to house a trial. Its attribution was subsequently confirmed in the sixteenth century when it was used as the main liturgical space.<sup>262</sup> Détsky and Kozák think this chapel might have been founded by bishop Michael of Szécsény. This chapel was tall, with three huge windows and an additional circular window near the roof, according to the depiction by Georg Houfnagel.<sup>263</sup>

<sup>261</sup> Kozák, “Az egri várszékesegyház feltárása III.,” 86.

<sup>262</sup> The 1406 mention was found by Nagy Géza Balázs, “1580 előtti adatok az egri püspöki vár történetéhez” [Data from before 1580 Regarding the History of the Episcopal Castle at Eger], *Agria. Annales Musei Agriensis*, no. 40 (2004): 165, the chapel was the site where Andrew, archbishop of Split and vicar of Eger passed judgement; Détsky, “Az egri várszékesegyház építéstörténetének okleveles adatai,” 12 note 36. The charter, dated to June 16, 1445, was found in the Eger Archiepiscopal Archives, N. 1. D. 4. f. unicus, 11. 6.

<sup>263</sup> Détsky and Kozák, “Eger Vára,” 133, 135.

In general, the first half of the fifteenth century was less favorable for cathedral expansions. Bishop Thomas (1401-04 and 1421-24) was an opponent of King Sigismund and had to flee from Eger before the siege (or occupation) of 1404. The King removed the bishops who opposed him and appointed non-ecclesiastic subjects to govern the estates of the bishoprics. In the case of Eger and Esztergom, this was Stibor of Stiboricz of Ostoja, a polish aristocrat, who held the estates of Eger until he fell out of favor with the king in 1420. Stibor was a general and led King Sigismund's armies into several battles during his time as governor, so he probably did not initiate any constructions.<sup>264</sup> The following bishops, Peter of Rozgony (1425-38), Simon of Rozgony (1440-1444) and Ladislaus of Hédervár (1445-67) were busy battling the Hussites, in which the castle itself was damaged, as evidenced by a papal bull from Rome, dated 1468 Jan. 31. in which the pope says that the cathedral, damaged by time's passing as well as the Hussites, should be repaired and one seventh of the diocese's tithe can be used for this purpose.<sup>265</sup>

In 1430, bishop Peter of Rozgony re-founded the Virgin Mary chapter, which is probably in connection with the construction of the chapel on the southern side of the church: the one in line with the third bay of the nave, where he was supposedly eventually buried.<sup>266</sup> In 1436, he re-founded another chapter, this one dedicated to Saint King Stephen, which, according to the Eger Ordinal, was using the chapel to the north of the cathedral, commonly referred to as the

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<sup>264</sup> For the biography of bishop Thomas, see Németh Csaba, "Ludányi Tamás, Eger 'vasfejű' püspöke" [Thomas of Ludány, Eger's "Iron-Headed" Bishop], *Egri Vár híradója*, no. 38 (2006): 110–59.

<sup>265</sup> Détsy and Kozák, "Eger Vára," 133.

<sup>266</sup> Havasi Krisztina, "Fragmentumok a késő középkori egri székesegyházból és kutatásának történetéből. (Bevezető és VII-1a.-VII.3-l. katalógustételek)" [Fragments from the Late Medieval Cathedral of Eger and the History of Its Research. (Introduction and Catalog Items VII-1a.-VII.3-l)], in *Mátyás király öröksége. Késő reneszánsz művészet Magyarországon (16–17. század). Kiállítási katalógus, 2008. március 28 – július 27.*, ed. Mikó Árpád and Verő Mária (Magyar Nemzeti Galéria, 2008), 188; for the history of the Virgin Mary chapter, see Nagy Géza Balázs, "Az egri Szűz Mária prépostság története I." [The History of the Virgin Mary Chapter of Eger], *Az egri Dobó István Vármúzeum Évkönyve*, no. 36 (2000): 47–50 although he supposes that the chapter was using one of the eastern chapels.

Chapel of St. Stephen.<sup>267</sup> The chapel of St. Stephen had 13<sup>th</sup> century origins and was probably built in the Romanesque style originally: in line with the first two western bays of the cathedral, there stood a small chapel with an elongated rectangular nave and a narrow apse. This was later rebuilt as a Gothic chapel at an unknown time with supporting pillars and a wider apse closing with three sides of an octagon, and traces of a western oratory were found.<sup>268</sup>

Another chapel was built at an uncertain time joining to the southern side of the southwest tower and the western wall of the chapel of St. Michael. At first it was a rectangular space, but then it was extended until its western wall was in line with the tower's western facade.<sup>269</sup> Another chapel was created by adding a West-East wall in line with the southern walls of the St. Michael and Virgin Mary chapels. Károly Kozák notes that these happened after the middle of the century: in his interpretation, these additions come from the sixteenth century.<sup>270</sup> In 1456, we have a charter stating that the altar of St. Lawrence was located in the sacristy (unfortunately, this does not necessarily mean the chapel next to the northern side apse – at this point, a different chapel could have been used as sacristy).<sup>271</sup>

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<sup>267</sup> The foundation charter was published in János Böhm, *A Szent István királyról és Szent Péterről nevezett egervári prépostságok* [The Chapters of Egervár Named after King St. Stephen and St. Peter] (Eger, 1899), 3–7; Havasi, “Fragmentumok a késő középkori egri székesegyházból és kutatásának történetéből. (Bevezető és VII-1a.-VII.3-l. katalógustételek)” cites the ordinal published by Kabos Kandra; *Ordinarius secundum veram notulam sive rubricam alme ecclesie Agriensis de observatione divinorum officiorum et horarum canonicarum. A krakói unicum könyvpéldány után.*, 106 and XXIV-XXX.

<sup>268</sup> Havasi, “Reneszánsz márványdombormű töredékei az egri várból,” 102.

<sup>269</sup> Kozák, “Az egri várszékesegyház feltárása III.,” 81–83.

<sup>270</sup> Kozák, 90–93.

<sup>271</sup> Détsky and Kozák, “Eger Vára,” 133 the charter is located in the Eger Archiepiscopal Archives, L. N. 1. D. 4. f. unicus, n. 10.



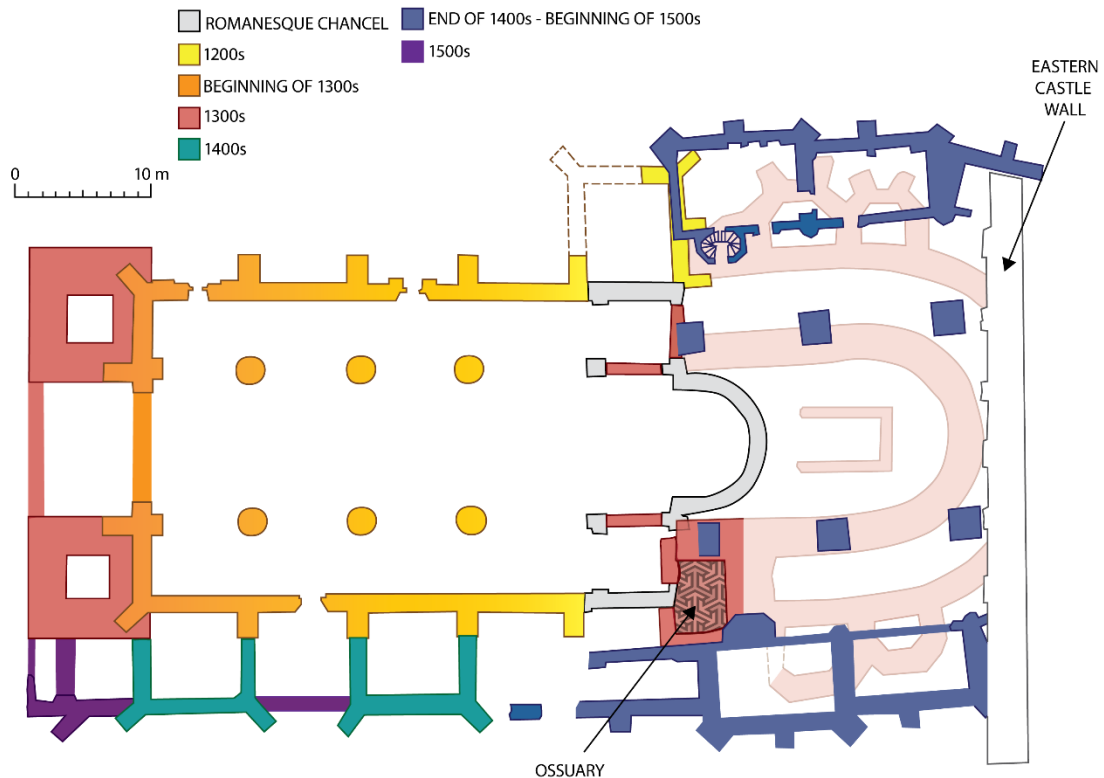


Figure 66. Eger Castle, archaeological remains of later gothic choir from the 15-16th century

The Late Gothic sanctuary was discovered fairly early, many of its remains were visible on the northern side, and the middle pillar on the southern side was preserved and used as a statue base. The remains of this Late Gothic construction were built of good quality yellow limestone and had a fairly developed ornamentation on the outside. The pillars of this sanctuary rested on square shaped bases measuring about 2.5x2.5 meters each, and are themselves octagonal with a star cross-section, with pear-shaped tips. The corresponding half-pillars on the walls are four-sided, with five tips.

The new sanctuary was wider and longer than the fourteenth-century one and had rectangular radiating chapels. Two chapels were preserved on the northern and southern sides and five, six or even more can be imagined based on the size of the smaller chapels. It is not evident from the ground plan whether there was an even or odd number of supports and chapels, and variations exist in this period that allow for all kinds of possible interpretations.

Krisztina Havasi links several stone fragments to this construction phase that speak of the richly decorated interior: a pinnacle combined with a star-vaulted baldachin that housed a statue and was meant for a right-angle corner; a fragment of a bishop saint and a Renaissance style niche closure, decorated with a seashell motif.<sup>272</sup>

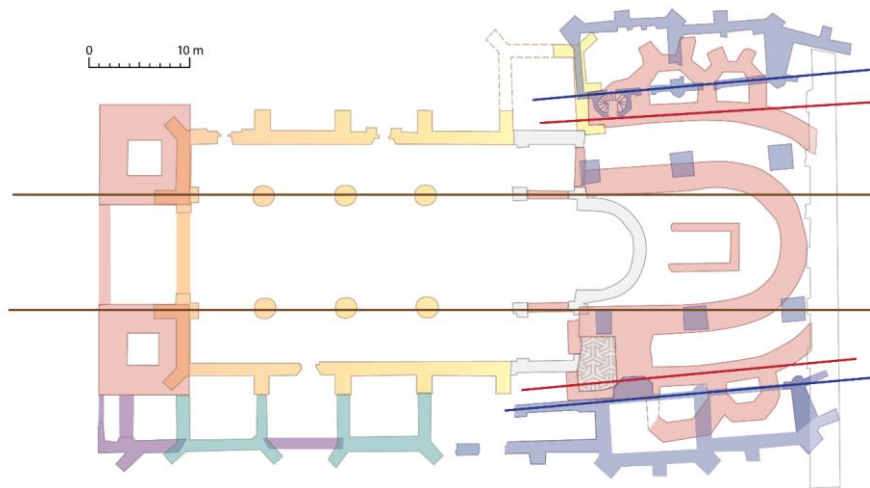


Figure 67. Eger Cathedral, deviation of the main axis of the fourteenth century Gothic choir, ossuary in the place of the southern side apse

Károly Kozák notes that the NW corner of the NW chapel “leaned on” (támaszkodott) the existing eastern wall of the sacristy, meaning that the chapel had no western wall of its own.<sup>273</sup> Gergely Buzás suggests that the eastern wall of the sacristy was demolished at the time of this construction, partly because of a carved stone he thinks belonged to a fourteenth-century phase he attributes to the sacristy.<sup>274</sup> One of these has to be correct: either Kozák means that the eastern wall of the sacristy supported some of the weight of the NW chapel while the building was still standing, or the walls were partially demolished to serve as support for the new walls.

<sup>272</sup> Havasi, “Reneszánsz márványdombormű töredékei az egri várból,” 106–7.

<sup>273</sup> Kozák, “Az egri várszékesegyház feltárása II.,” 144.

<sup>274</sup> Buzás, “Az egri székesegyház XIII-XIV. századi gótikus épülete,” 34–35.

In either case, this is an example of how the design of this Late Gothic sanctuary conforms to and takes advantage of existing walls and foundations.

A different way of conforming to the earlier design can be seen in the fact that the westernmost chapels are bigger than the following two, echoing the fourteenth-century arrangement. This means that even though the ground plan was following the Late Gothic trend, in spirit it preserved the previous space. In this regard, it would have made sense to have the same number of radiating chapels too.

The part of the *ordinal* describing the procession around the church at All Saint's Day (see Chapter V, subsection *Eger Ossuary*) also partially answers a different question: only one door was open on the northern side. In 1965, a small door, which was later walled off, was found on the northern side of the cathedral, between the northern tower and the first buttress, and several thirteenth century carved stones were built into the walls here. The main door, in the middle of the northern wall, was somewhat larger and a few photos from 1934 show it having stairs built into it.<sup>275</sup> Building stairs into this entrance would not make sense at the time of the wall's construction in the fourteenth century, nor do we know of any subsequent constructions that would warrant a set of stairs until the time of the ordinal's inception. This means that probably the other entrance, closer to the west, was walled off by this time.

A N-S wall was discovered at the meeting of the Romanesque southern side apse and main apse, built on top of this junction, slightly to the East, which was also connected to the Late Gothic SW pillar (S1). This wall had a drain inside it, which was connected to a small basin found in the wall of the Romanesque apse. Kozák interpreted this as a hand washing basin

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<sup>275</sup> Kozák, "Az egri vár Árpád-kori temetőjének feltárása I.," 163.

created in the Late Gothic phase, when the walking level of the Romanesque apse was also raised.<sup>276</sup>



*Figure 68. The walls of the main apse and the southern side apse with the drain. Photograph published by Károly Kozák*

It is hard to tell when exactly the construction of the second Gothic chancel started. Its ornamentation definitely points to the late fifteenth century, especially the spiral fluting noticeable on the bases of the small piers decorating the spiral staircase (Figure 73). The idea that the construction started under bishop Orbán of Nagylucse is generally accepted.<sup>277</sup> Another evidence in favor of the construction having started before 1490 is indicated by a fragment of

<sup>276</sup> Kozák, 160.

<sup>277</sup> Krisztina Havasi, who seems to agree with this statement, cites Havasi, “Reneszánsz márványdombormű töredékei az egri várból”; Ipolyi, *Az egri megye Szent János apostol és evangelistáról nevezett régi székesegyháza az egri várban*, 137–42; Détsky, “Az egri várszékesegyház építéstörténetének okleveles adatai,” 2; and Pál Lövei’s observations as one of the opponents at “Papp Szilárd „A királyi udvar építkezései Magyarországon 1480-1515 között a dél-német és szász stílusösszefüggések szemszögéből ” című PhD-értékezésének vitája. [Oppnensek: Marosi Ernő, Lövei Pál],” 164.

a crest of Aragon found at the site – this was the house from which Queen Beatrice, King Mathias of Hungary’s wife hailed from, and King Matthias passed away in 1490.<sup>278</sup>

One of the bishops tied to this construction, Orbán of Nagylucse (1485-1491) was treasurer of the Hungarian Kingdom from 1479, and later, after Mathias’s conquest of the lower Austria in 1485, became bishop of Vienna. His “red marble” tomb of was erected after his death in 1492, commissioned by his nephew Stephen, bishop of Sirmium with a bronze tomb cover depicting a bishop, according to inventories from the middle of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, taken after the 1552 siege.<sup>279</sup>

In the time of Thomas Bakócz (1492-1497), who would go on to become archbishop of Esztergom, there was roof work done on the nave of the church.<sup>280</sup> In 1495, an unknown *paller* (foreman, master builder) was paid for installing the big stone cross on the gable of the roof, fixing the cornices with carved stones and making a door from the courtyard to the church.<sup>281</sup>

In 1506, a fire damaged the cathedral.<sup>282</sup> The reconstructions were proceeding, as we can see from the contracts with the carpenters from the time: in 1506, a contract was made with master Farkas (also called Wolfgangh in the documents) of Buda for the shaping of the wooden beams bought in Buda, in 1507, for making the tower roofs and in 1508 for making the structure of the nave’s roof. Extra money was paid for work that required special knowledge: building the support for the church bells and installing them in 1507 and building a scaffolding for the interior in 1508. The master is called either *magistrum turrium* (master of towers) or *paller*

<sup>278</sup> Havasi, “Fragmentumok a késő középkori egri székesegyházból és kutatásának történetéből. (Bevezető és VII-1a.-VII.3-l. katalógustételek),” 188.

<sup>279</sup> Havasi, 189; Détsky, “Munkások És Mesterek Az Egri Vár Építkezésein 1493 És 1596 Között. Második Közlemény,” 160.

<sup>280</sup> Havasi, “Fragmentumok a késő középkori egri székesegyházból és kutatásának történetéből. (Bevezető és VII-1a.-VII.3-l. katalógustételek),” 189.

<sup>281</sup> Détsky, “Munkások És Mesterek Az Egri Vár Építkezésein 1493 És 1596 Között. Első Közlemény,” 174.

<sup>282</sup> Détsky and Kozák, “Eger Vára,” 133.

(foreman).<sup>283</sup> It seems like he was the one to direct the works and he brought his own team to work on the constructions.

The wax molding for casting the bells was made in 1506, and the bells had the crest of the family of bishop Ippolito d'Este (1497-1520) on them.<sup>284</sup> Stonemasons, led by master Michael and stone carvers (*lapicidae*) were also employed in 1506-1508 to fix the damages caused by the fire.<sup>285</sup> A certain master Francis made the huge windows for the cathedral in 1507, but glassmakers in general were employed continuously to keep repairing the glass windows of the castle.<sup>286</sup>

A set of stalls with intarsia was also installed in the church, which arrived at Eger on 23 December 1507. The stalls were based on a model provided by the commissioner, the bishopric's governor of goods.<sup>287</sup> In 1508, vicar Gabriel commissioned a tabernacle, decorated with reliefs, carved from white marble from Carrara, which was placed in the sacristy.<sup>288</sup>

We have records of several new chapels from the sixteenth century which can be tied to the new choir construction. In 1501, Bakócz, now archbishop, made a donation to the chapel of the Assumption of Mary, standing “in novo sanctuario in medio capellarum a plaga orientali”, meaning the easternmost chapel of the new sanctuary. The Chapel of St. Matthew (f.m. 1507) was recorded to have been newly (re?)founded in the new sanctuary – this could mean that the altar of St. Matthew was relocated here, although there is a mention of the altar from 1586,

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<sup>283</sup> Détsky, “Munkások És Mesterek Az Egri Vár Építkezésein 1493 És 1596 Között. Első Közlemény,” 191.

<sup>284</sup> Détsky, “Munkások És Mesterek Az Egri Vár Építkezésein 1493 És 1596 Között. Második Közlemény,” 161.

<sup>285</sup> Détsky, “Munkások És Mesterek Az Egri Vár Építkezésein 1493 És 1596 Között. Első Közlemény,” 174, 187.

<sup>286</sup> Détsky, “Munkások És Mesterek Az Egri Vár Építkezésein 1493 És 1596 Között. Második Közlemény,” 152–54.

<sup>287</sup> Détsky, “Munkások És Mesterek Az Egri Vár Építkezésein 1493 És 1596 Között. Első Közlemény,” 197 the model was bought from an Italian master in Buda in 1506 called Niza Florentinus.

<sup>288</sup> Détsky, “Munkások És Mesterek Az Egri Vár Építkezésein 1493 És 1596 Között. Második Közlemény,” 160.

after the destruction of the sanctuary. On the southern side, the location of a chapel dedicated to the Ten Thousand Martyrs and St. Blaise was ascertained as the tombstone of its founder, Acachius Ham, bishop of Nicomedia was found in 1802. The altar had the head relic of one of the martyrs, which was mentioned in the 1509 *ordinal*.<sup>289</sup>

The tombstone of Acachius Ham was, in fact, found in a narrow Late Gothic chapel that joined the sanctuary chapels from the west. The remains of its northern wall were found to line up with the ossuary, while the southern wall conformed to the south-western chapel of the new sanctuary. It is unclear how (if) it joined the eastern wall of the chapel on the south, and where its entrance was. We cannot ascertain whether this construction meant, as Kozák and Détshy suggest, that the builders were preparing to extend the Late Gothic parts to the west and rebuild the whole nave, but the 1506 fire hindered any plans they might have had.<sup>290</sup>

Mihály Détshy has determined the foundation of another chapel, dedicated to S. Bartholomew Apostle and St. Barbara the Virgin, to have been between 1489-1492, making it probable that this is one of the chapels in the new sanctuary. He found mentions of four other chapels: the St. Salvator, Apostles Philip and Jacob, Annunciation and the chapel of St. Thomas.<sup>291</sup>

In the Book of Saint John, put together in c. 1570 to collect the incomes of the Eger bishopric, a chapel of Saint Catherine is also mentioned (apart from the altar of St. Catherine), where another Holy Cross altar was located too.<sup>292</sup> It is possible that this is a different church in Eger Castle.

<sup>289</sup> Détshy, “Az egri várszékesegyház építéstörténetének okleveles adatai,” 2; Havasi, “Fragmentumok a késő középkori egri székesegyházról és kutatásának történetéből. (Bevezető és VII-1a.-VII.3-l. katalógustételek),” 189–90.

<sup>290</sup> Détshy and Kozák, “Eger Vára,” 145; Kozák, “Az egri vár Árpád-kori temetőjének feltárása I.,” 162.

<sup>291</sup> Détshy, “Az egri várszékesegyház építéstörténetének okleveles adatai,” 2.

<sup>292</sup> Béla Kovács, *Liber Sancti Johannis Capituli Agriensis 1570*, Az Egri Egyházmegye Történetének Forrásai 9 (Eger: Heves Megyei Levéltár, 2005), 70.

During the sixteenth century, Eger Castle was a fortress in active use, and after the time of bishop Ippolito d'Este (1497-1520) works on the cathedral seem to have stopped – we can see that the provosts are asking to continue the construction works.<sup>293</sup> In 1542, another great fire damaged the cathedral, when its resident mercenary guard set it on fire. Between 1542-1548, during the time of Peter Perényi as captain of the castle, as the Ottoman army was approaching, the Gothic sanctuary seemed like a good structure to use as part of defenses, and a wall – the so-called Perényi Wall – was built on the north-south axis, joining the sanctuary from either side, and a wall was also built on the inside. The sanctuary was filled with earth and was converted to the Sanctuary Bastion. After István Dobó took office in 1548, reconstructions on the cathedral started and proceeded until the Ottoman siege of 1552, after which reparations focused on the castle walls and buildings for a while.<sup>294</sup> Master Lawrence of Lőcse, a painter was hired between September and November of 1550 and, according to Mihály Détshy, probably worked on the interior painting of the cathedral with some paints bought in Vienna and some other paints bought by himself.<sup>295</sup>

The rest of the cathedral, more or less, stood like this for about two hundred years, but lost its liturgical function apart from the chapel of St. Michael where the liturgy was performed.<sup>296</sup> The cathedral was used as a weapon storage room, as evidenced by the walls found by Károly Kozák and his team, stretching between the pillars on the Northern side in a West-East direction (NP 1 and 2) and another wall mirroring this on the southern side (between SP 1 and 2).<sup>297</sup>

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<sup>293</sup> [find the reference]

<sup>294</sup> Détshy, “Munkások És Mesterek Az Egri Vár Építkezésein 1493 És 1596 Között. Első Közlemény,” 175.

<sup>295</sup> Détshy, “Munkások És Mesterek Az Egri Vár Építkezésein 1493 És 1596 Között. Második Közlemény,” 159.

<sup>296</sup> Havasi, “A középkori egri székesegyház az 1200-as évek elején I.,” 4 footnote no. 11.

<sup>297</sup> Kozák, “Az egri vár Árpád-kori temetőjének feltárása I.,” 163.



Similar walls were discovered, connected to the Perényi Wall, in the south-eastern part of the nave.<sup>298</sup>

## The sacred topography of Eger Cathedral

1350s to 1480s

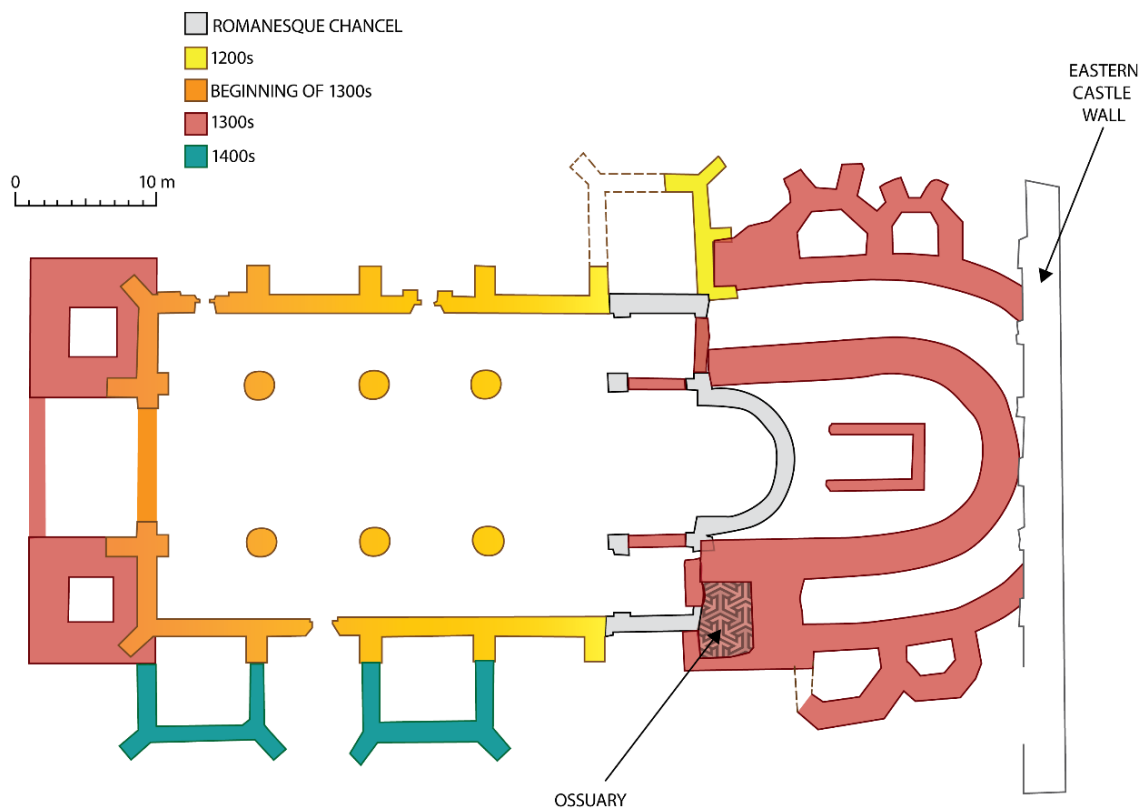


Figure 69. Eger Cathedral c. 1470s

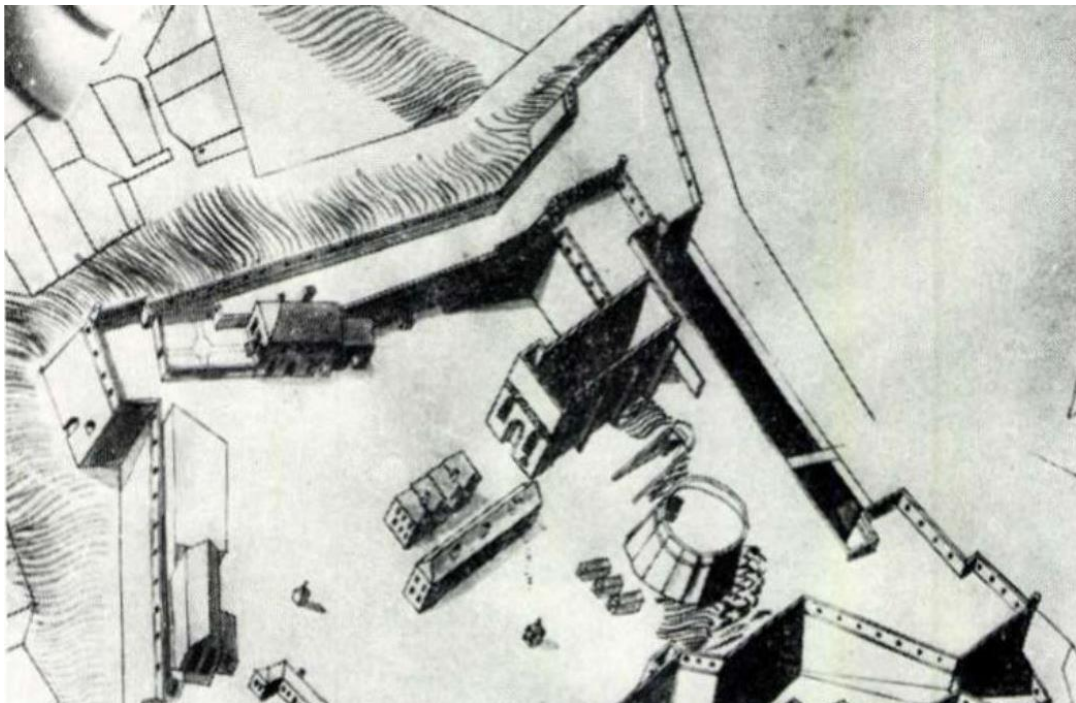
Approaching the cathedral from the west, we could see buildings even before the western entrance hall.<sup>299</sup> These building probably at least partially covered the western portal from the view of approaching visitors. There was another small building to the south of this, near the

<sup>298</sup> Kozák, "Az egri várszékesegyház feltárása II.," 138.

<sup>299</sup> At least this is suggested by the remnants of a terrazzo floor and unidentified walls adjacent to the western portal, to the south. Kozák, "Az egri vár Árpád-kori temetőjének feltárása I.," 163 and 189, fig. 48.

corner of the South-Western tower. Next to the south side of the tower, there was a small chapel which could be accessed from the west, shut off from the cathedral's space. One could see the Gothic chapel of St. Stephen next to the northern side of the cathedral, with a small gate.

After passing between the imposing, huge western towers and through the richly decorated western portal, one would arrive in the entrance hall, where the tomb of bishop Nicholas II (d. 1361), protruding somewhat above the walking level in the middle of the hall, could immediately be seen. From the entrance hall, two rooms of 3.5x3.5 meters, located at the bases of the towers could be accessed: to the right, the chapel of Holy Spirit and to the left, the chapel of St. Ladislaus. Two huge windows lit these rooms from the west, suggesting that these spaces were tall and open. There was a small door leading out from the first bay of the northern aisle to the outside, next to the corner of the north-western tower, although at some point this was walled off.<sup>300</sup>



*Figure 70. Aerial view drawing of Eger Castle with the remains of the cathedral.*

<sup>300</sup> Kozák, "Az egri várszékesegyház feltárása II.," 142.

In the middle of the nave, in line with the first two pillars from the west, the tomb of King Emeric II was located: a set of seven stairs led down to a small chamber set under the floor of the nave, covered with a low barrel vault. The chamber was built of ashlar stones, some red, some grey tuff, and small decorative pieces of white and light grey marble were placed in the mortar between the ashlars. In the middle of the chamber, a stone box was lowered in the ground, covered with a tombstone.<sup>301</sup>

On the right, the southern side of the church, two chapels were present: the one closer to the western entrance, in line with the first bay of the nave, was dedicated to St. Michael, and was about six by six meters wide, and could be accessed from a door from the south aisle.<sup>302</sup> The altar of the Three Magi was located here (f.m. 1415).<sup>303</sup> This rectangular space was flooded with light from the south: it had a huge circular window and three tall windows, and was taller or roughly equally as tall as the aisle it was next to.

Next to the chapel, there was a portal leading to the outside. In line with the third bay, a chapel dedicated to St. Michael was built which housed the chapter of the Virgin Mary, re-founded by bishop Peter Rozgonyi in 1430. After bishop Peter passed away, he was buried in this space, his tombstone bearing the date of his death. The chapel had elegant, intricately carved details.<sup>304</sup>

Across from the chapel of St. Michael, there was the northern portal. Walking towards the east, we could enter the sacristy chapel, which was about as long as the fifth bay of the nave it was attached to, slightly wider than that, forming a rectangular space and had two floors. The altar

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<sup>301</sup> Although we cannot be absolutely sure about the person who was buried here, Krisztina Havasi has deduced that the tomb is from the end of the twelfth – beginning of thirteenth century based on archaeological and art historical evidence, and he is by far the most probable candidate - the written sources say that he was buried here. See Havasi's article (in Hungarian) "Cuius Corpus Requiescit in Ecclesia Agriensi...", *Archaeologiai Értesítő*, no. 142 (2017): 129–66.

<sup>302</sup> Kozák, "Az egri várszékesegyház feltárása III.," 86 This door was found in a walled off state too, although it is almost certain this did not happen while the chapel was in use.

<sup>303</sup> Nagy, "1580 előtti adatok az egri püspöki vár történetéhez," 165 footnote 14.

<sup>304</sup> Havasi, "A középkori egri székesegyház az 1200-as évek elején I.," 41–42.

of St. Lawrence was located here. It was vaulted and was lit by a huge rose window of about 1.72 m wide.<sup>305</sup>

There was a small chapel here, enclosed from three sides, but a small window was left in the wall.<sup>306</sup> A wall closed off this space from the south, making it a little chapel. To the east of this wall, at the corner between the side apse and the main apse, a pulpit was raised.

Behind the pulpit, a triumphal arch connected the nave to the sanctuary. The Romanesque main apse was preserved, housing the altar of the Holy Cross, which was traditionally in the middle of the nave.<sup>307</sup> The wall of the apse probably served as a choir screen, the new Gothic main altar and its choir space.

The southern side apse was also walled off and had an altar in front of the wall, as well as being closed off from the north. The space before the side apse was also the base of the southeastern tower.<sup>308</sup> Behind the southern side apse, an ossuary was located, a chamber of approx. 4 by 4 meters, housing the bones of the deceased who were removed from their graves when the new sanctuary was built. The ossuary had an entrance, probably from the south.

It is not evident how one got from the aisles to the sanctuary, the walking level of which was somewhat higher than the nave – approximately 1.5 meters, roughly at eye level. The most probable way was to have a set of stairs on either side of the side apses.<sup>309</sup> Once on the sanctuary level, one could see the main apse, polygonal surrounded by pillars, housing the main

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<sup>305</sup> Buzás, “Az egri székesegyház XIII-XIV. századi gótikus épülete,” 25.

<sup>306</sup> Kozák, “Az egri várszékesegyház feltárása II.,” 133 and note 3 on page 153. .

<sup>307</sup> Károly Kozák reports that the foundations for an altar were not found in the eastern part of the main apse, theorizing that it must have been more to the West, under the triumphal arch, and its remains destroyed by the Perényi wall. See Kozák, 131.

<sup>308</sup> Kozák, 135–36.

<sup>309</sup> It cannot be said for certain that this sanctuary was actually put to use, but a conservative estimate says it should have been mostly complete by the 1400s and the fact that the new Late Gothic sanctuary was only started several generations later would suggest it was used for a long time. Some of the altars, especially the ones first mentioned in the fifteenth century could be located in this new sanctuary.

altar dedicated to St. John the Evangelist. An ambulatory went around the main apse, from which a number of polygonal chapels could be accessed. On the western side, there was a spiral staircase between the eastern middle pillar of the sacristy and the western wall of the first radiating chapel, leading to the second floor or attic of this chapel.<sup>310</sup>

Regarding the furnishings of the church, we know that these altars existed before the presupposed building time of the Gothic sanctuary: Barnabas (f.m. 1275), Martin (f.m. 1319), Matthew (founded 1325), King Ladislaus (f.m. 1331), Nicholas (f.m. 1339), All Saints (f.m. 1343), Anne (f.m. 1346). The altar of Mary Magdalene was founded in 1347 by bishop Nicholas II, which some suppose already happened in one of the radiating chapels of the new sanctuary.<sup>311</sup>

Altars that were founded before or during the latter half of the fourteenth century include Peter and Paul (f.m. 1348), Prince Emeric (f.m. 1349), Elisabeth (f.m. 1350), the Holy Cross (f.m. 1359), The Virgin Mary (f.m. 1359), King Stephen (f.m. 1362), Luke (first mentioned in 1379), Marc (f.m. 1366), Giles (f.m. 1395) and Holy Trinity (f.m. 1397). Additionally, in the papal bull of 1347, the head relic of Saint Barnabas was mentioned, which was probably kept on the altar of Barnabas and a sixteenth-century inventory mentions that it was kept in an ornate silver reliquary that had golden hair and beard.<sup>312</sup>

In the fifteenth century, besides the ones mentioned above, we have written evidence of the following altars: the Eleven Thousand Virgins (founded in 1401), Andrew (f.m. 1413),

<sup>310</sup> Kozák, “Az egri várszékesegyház feltárása II.,” 148 describes the remains of the staircase. It might have been possible that the ambulatory itself had two floors, or at least the chapel stretched above the ambulatory. A similar arrangement was suggested in the case of Poznań cathedral by Szczęsny Skibiński.

<sup>311</sup> Détsky, “Az egri várszékesegyház építéstörténetének okleveles adatai,” 1 and notes 15-34; later amended by Nagy, “1580 előtti adatok az egri püspöki vár történetéhez,” 163–66, footnotes 1-16.

<sup>312</sup> Détsky, “Az egri várszékesegyház építéstörténetének okleveles adatai,” 1 notes 5-34; corrected by Nagy, “1580 előtti adatok az egri püspöki vár történetéhez,” 163–66 footnotes 1-16; the altar of St. Martin was first mentioned in 1366, see Ferenc Piti, ed., *Anjou-kori Oklevéltár* [Charters of the Angevin Period], L (1366) (Budapest, Szeged: Szegedi Középkorász Műhely, 2020), 28, <http://real.mtak.hu/111280/> charter no. 28.

Brice and Dominic (f.m. 1417), the main altar of St. John the Evangelist (f.m. 1420), Catherine (f.m. 1424), John the Baptist (f.m. 1434), George (f.m. 1437), Corpus Christi (f.m. 1444) the Twelve apostles (which may be the same as the Eleven Thousand Virgins, 1450) and Dorothy (f.m. 1468). There is also a mention of the Saint Spirit chapel from 1420, which, according to the 1564 castle inventory was located at the base of one of the towers.<sup>313</sup>

### 1480s to 1540s

A new tabernacle, decorated with reliefs, carved from white Carrara marble stood in the sacristy (1508). The altar of the Virgin Mary stood in the nave, somewhat to the side of the altar of the Holy Cross. In the middle, also in front of the Holy Cross altar, a baptismal font was also located which stood in a way that it could be encircled by the clergy at certain occasions.<sup>314</sup> A new tombstone, carved from red marble with the image of a bishop was placed in front of the Virgin Mary altar to honor bishop Nicholas II, as his tomb in the entrance hall was in an inconvenient location.

The late medieval sanctuary of Eger Cathedral was raised more than two meters above the level of the nave.<sup>315</sup> The sanctuary was much wider than the nave and supplemented with an ambulatory and radiating chapels, which were rectangular. The choir would have been here in the middle, probably located between the huge pillars, and a fence would have been placed

<sup>313</sup> Détsky, “Az egri várszékesegyház építéstörténetének okleveles adatai,” 1–2 notes 5-34, 43; corrected by Nagy, “1580 előtti adatok az egri püspöki vár történetéhez,” 163–66 footnotes 1-16.

<sup>314</sup> Dobszay, *Liber Ordinarius Agriensis* (1509), 41 entry no. 288 specifies the rite at the eve of the Pentecost, where a procession descends to the (baptismal) fountain, circles around it nine times, and then ascends singing Kyrie Eleison and continues the mass. We know from entry no. 219 that the baptismal fountain was in front of the Holy Cross altar, outside of the choir, and in entries 240-241 it seems apparent that the baptismal font, the Saint Cross altar and the altar of the Virgin Mary are all close to each other; the rite for the eve of the Pentecost is similar in Esztergom, see Földváry, *Ordinarius Strigoniensis*, 97 where we know that the choir was elevated, and the procession descends from the choir to the Saint Cross altar, circles around the baptismal font nine times, and then reenters the choir singing Kyrie Eleison. This shows very clearly that the choir was elevated in both cases relative to the nave and the Saint Cross altar, and since there is no evidence of a choir raised by a few steps in Eger, we must conclude that the Ordinarius refers to the Late Gothic sanctuary. The fourteenth-century sanctuary was most probably used in the same way.

<sup>315</sup> See Havasi, “Fragmentumok a késő középkori egri székesegyházból és kutatásának történetéből. (Bevezető és VII-1a.-VII.3-l. katalógustételek),” 188–89; Kozák, “Az egri várszékesegyház feltárása II.”

between the pillars to separate the choir space from the ambulatory. A set of stalls, decorated with intarsia (arrived in 1507) probably stood here in the choir.

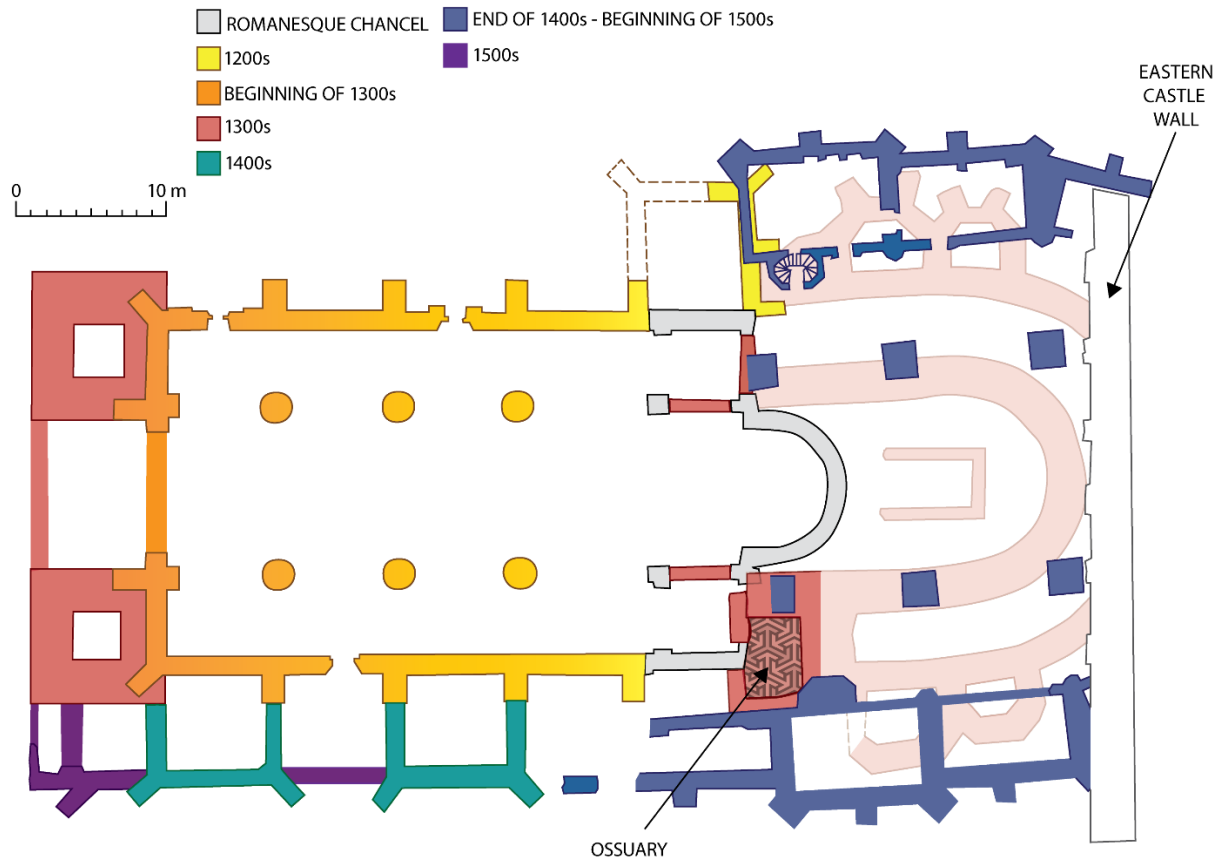


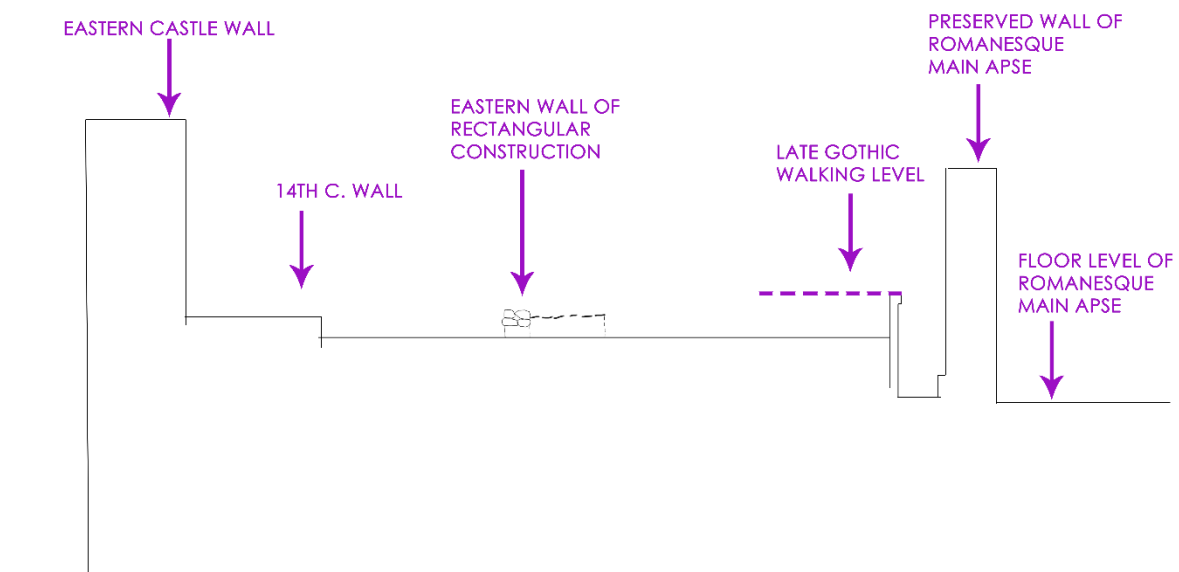
Figure 71: What we know of the early 16th c. state of Eger Cathedral

Walking around the choir from the north-west, we see the entrance to the north-western chapel, and next to it there was an adjoining double spiral staircase with a polygonal ground plan and narrow columns on its outer corners, built above the earlier staircase.<sup>316</sup> The staircase meant that the northwestern chapel probably had two floors.

Passing through this door from the sanctuary, the north-western chapel could be accessed. Across from the entrance, on the northern wall, there was a *lavabo*, a hand washing basin still remain, which indicates it was used as a sacristy, replacing the pervious late thirteenth century

<sup>316</sup> Kozák, “Az egri vár Árpád-kori temetőjének feltárása I.,” 161.

sacristy, which was demolished to make way for the new sanctuary. The basin had a through leading to the outside of the wall, where an ashlar was carved to direct the flow of water. Three sitting niches were built next to the basin. On the Eastern wall, there was a doorway leading into the next chapel, and probably an altar.<sup>317</sup>



*Figure 72. E-W cross-section of the remains of Eger Cathedral's eastern part, showing the relative height of the different floor levels and preserved walls.*

The next chapel had a brick floor, sitting niches on its north wall and probably a hand washing basin. It had a doorway on its south wall, leading us back to the main sanctuary.<sup>318</sup>

The third chapel from the west, joining the previous two at an angle, probably had its entrance from the sanctuary hall. One or two more chapels joined it from the east until we reached the easternmost chapel, dedicated to the Assumption of Mary, sponsored by Tamás

<sup>317</sup> Kozák, “Az egri várszékesegyház feltárása II.,” 148; The remains of a wall were found, which were interpreted by Károly Kozák and his team as the foundations of an altar. Kozák, “Az egri vár Árpád-kori temetőjének feltárása I.,” 161.

<sup>318</sup> Kozák, “Az egri vár Árpád-kori temetőjének feltárása I.,” 161; Kozák, “Az egri várszékesegyház feltárása II.,” 148.



Bakócz. The stalls ordered in 1507 were raised in front of this chapel “in capite ecclesie”, and Bakócz celebrated mass here the following year, and made a donation again in 1511.<sup>319</sup>



*Figure 73. Inner corner of the North-western chapel of the 15-16th century Late Gothic chancel, with the remains of the polygonal staircase on the left*

The chapel of St. Matthew was in the new sanctuary, as was probably the chapel of St. Bartholomew and St. Barbara. One of the chapels on the southern side of the new sanctuary was dedicated to the ten Thousand Martyrs and St. Blaise. Its founder, Acachius Ham was buried here.<sup>320</sup>

<sup>319</sup> Havasi, “Fragmentumok a késő középkori egri székesegyházból és kutatásának történetéből. (Bevezető és VII-1a.-VII.3-l. katalógustételek),” 190.

<sup>320</sup> Détsy and Kozák, “Eger Vára,” 133.

Several other persons were buried in the cathedral under carved tombstones: Simon Verebéli 1491, Gáspár Chaholi 1514 and Matthew Váry (with an unreadable date).<sup>321</sup> Bishop Orbán of Nagylucse (d. 1492) was also buried in the cathedral, in a red marble tomb with a bronze tomb covering depicting a bishop. A tomb was found between the Romanesque main apse and the wall joining the southern side apse, oriented East-West, without any grave goods, and may have been the tomb of a clerical person buried under the Late Gothic sanctuary.<sup>322</sup>

## Interpretation of the layout of Eger cathedral

I became interested in the Cathedral of St. John due to the fact that in Eger, much like in Gniezno and Krakow, the layout of the cathedral is “bent in the middle”, the axis of its chancel leaning towards the north.<sup>323</sup> In this case, however, there was ample space around for the builders to enlarge it as they wished: the cathedral was located in the middle of the castle with plenty of space to expand (see Figure 74 and Figure 75). In my opinion, the change in axis was a conscious decision made some time around digging the foundations of the new chancel.

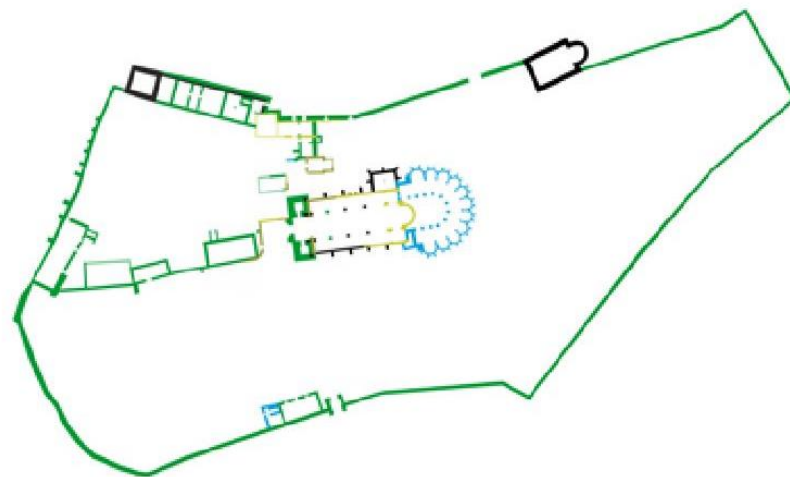


Figure 74. Eger castle in the fourteenth century, according to Gergely Buzás (2020)

<sup>321</sup> Détshy, “Munkások És Mesterek Az Egri Vár Építkezésein 1493 És 1596 Között. Második Közlemény,” 160.

<sup>322</sup> Kozák, “Az egri vár Árpád-kori temetőjének feltárása I.,” 161.

<sup>323</sup> Krisztina Havasi also noted the tilting: “Fragmentumok a késő középkori egri székesegyházból és kutatásának történetéből. (Bevezető és VII-1a.-VII.3-l. katalógustételek),” 188.

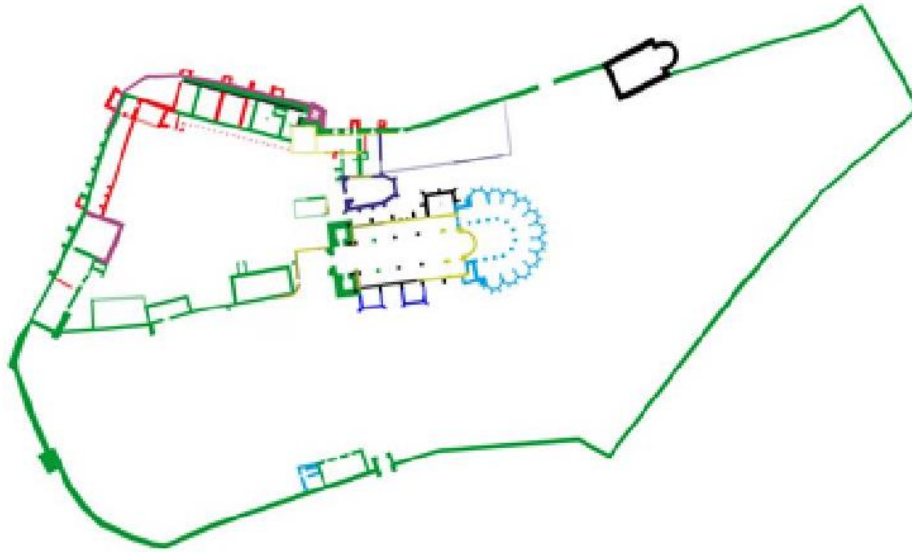


Figure 75: Eger Castle in c. 1475, according to Gergely Buzás (2020)

I argue that the vast number of burials at the eastern side of the church (over 470 tombs were excavated here in the twentieth century, see chapter V, subsection *Eger Ossuary*) building the ossuary resulted in a number of changes for the design: tilting the chancel's main axis and raising the walking level of the new chancel significantly. This in turn resulted in the builders opting to keep the wall of the Romanesque main apse and use that as a choir screen separating the nave and the new chancel (for the relationships in heights, see Figure 72).

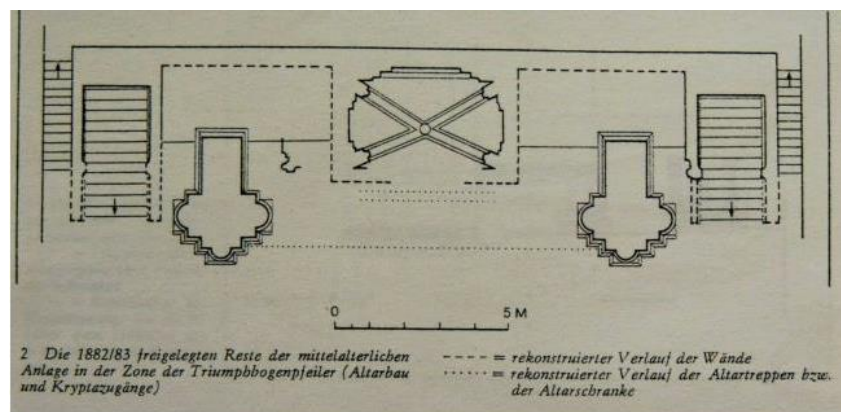


Figure 76. Reconstruction of the access to Pécs Cathedral's choir in the medieval times by Melinda Tóth (1987)

In terms of how high and inaccessible the new chancel was, we can compare it to Pécs cathedral, where the medieval arrangement of the choir access and the Holy Cross altar was

reconstructed by Melinda Tóth (Figure 76), published in 1987.<sup>324</sup> On the drawing, the choir is upwards and the Holy Cross altar is in the middle, accessible from the nave. The bigger stairs on either side of the pillars take us down to the crypt (atemplom) of Pécs cathedral, and the smaller stairs on the outside are supposed to have provided access to the choir.

The arrangement is reminiscent of the Romanesque cathedral at Modena (Figure 77), with a crypt below the choir which was raised high and accessible from two staircases located on either side.

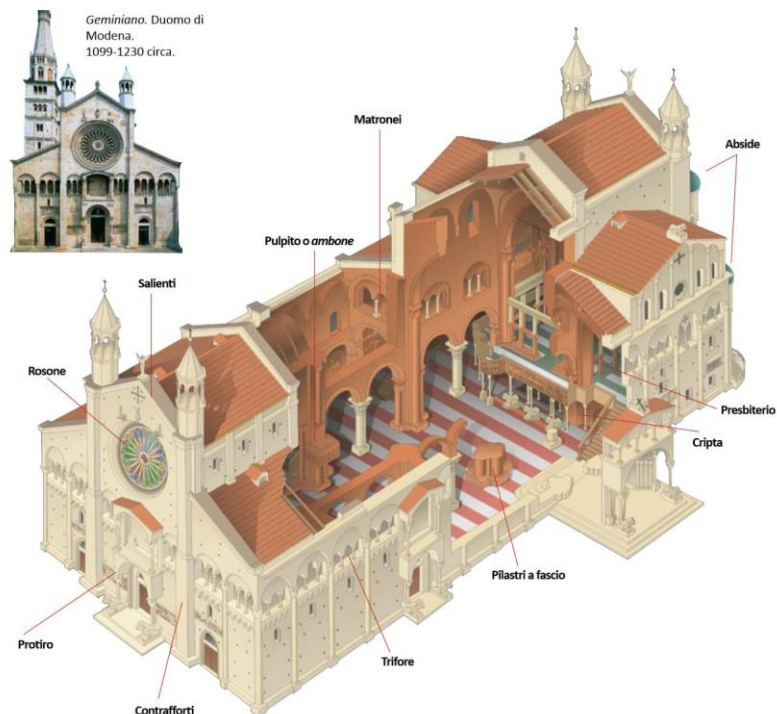


Figure 77. Reconstruction of the original arrangement of the interior of Modena Cathedral.

The relationship of the Holy Cross altar, the baptismal font and the choir can be studied in both the Eger and the Esztergom Ordinals. The 288<sup>th</sup> entry of Eger Ordinal, for example, describes the rite at the eve of Pentecost, where a procession descends to the baptismal font, circles around it nine times, and then goes back to the choir singing Kyrie Eleison and continues

<sup>324</sup> Melinda Tóth, “Die Umbauung Des Heiligkreuz-Altars in Der Kathedrale Zu Pécs,” in *Skulptur Des Mittelalters. Funktion Und Gestalt*, ed. Friedrich Möbius and Ernst Schubert (Weimar: Böhlau, 1987), 81–108.

the mass. We know from entry no. 219 that the baptismal font was in front of the Holy Cross altar, outside of the choir, and in entries 240-241 it seems apparent that the baptismal font and the Holy Cross altar were close to each other. The rite for the eve of the Pentecost is similar in Esztergom where we also know that the choir was elevated, and the procession descends from the choir to the Holy Cross altar, circles around the baptismal font nine times, and then reenters the choir singing Kyrie Eleison.<sup>325</sup>

In this regard, we can say that in Eger, the Romanesque apse's wall and probably connecting walls functioned as a choir screen or lettner with two entrances. The existence of a lettner is confirmed by entry no. 62 of the Eger Ordinal, where two youth sing the antiphon *O Regem celi* above the altar of the Holy Cross, after which two other youth sing *O mundi Domina* in the middle of the *pulpitus*.<sup>326</sup> In this case, *pulpitus* is almost certain to mean the lettner, just as in the case of Esztergom, where the children sing standing at the lettner on Vespers on Easter Sunday.<sup>327</sup> In my opinion, the spiral stairs at the two westernmost chapels, present in both the 14<sup>th</sup> c. and the 15<sup>th</sup> c. arrangements, were used to access the lettner, similarly to how the spiral staircases in the triumphal arch of Poznań Cathedral are thought to do the same, and to the spiral staircase at the southern side of the Zagreb lettner on *Figure 101*.

## Conclusions

In my opinion, the case studies of the fourteenth century changes at Prague and Eger, and to a lesser degree the way in which the builders approached the problems at the other cathedrals presented in this thesis suggest a change between the relationship of chancel and nave in

<sup>325</sup> Dobszay, *Liber Ordinarius Agriensis* (1509) entries no. 219, 240-241, 288; Földváry, *Ordinarius Strigoniensis*, 97.

<sup>326</sup> Dobszay, *Liber Ordinarius Agriensis* (1509), 7 entry no. 62.

<sup>327</sup> Földváry, "Rubrica Strigoniensis. A középkori Esztergom liturgiájának normaszövegei," 106–7, 351.

Central Europe: a desire for greater separation of laity and clerics, or at least the clear preference for the latter's needs in designing the cathedrals.

The idea of a grand, unified cathedral like we are used to today, with the main altar visible upon entering the church was not present in the late medieval builder's minds, and I would argue that they did not really 'miss' the nave of the Prague cathedral like we would do today looking at the medieval ground plan. To them, the western part of Prague was a building in itself, with separate functions: the "new church."<sup>328</sup>

The eastern part (the chancel) and western parts (nave and towers) of the churches seem to be treated separately, and though there are attempts at beautifying and expanding the western parts, the chancel is of prime importance. This was not only true in the case of cathedrals: Caroline Bruzelius writes that even in mendicant churches, "there are many examples of choirs with their vaults brought to completion while the naves continued as simple roofed halls undifferentiated by aisles."<sup>329</sup> The resemblance of cathedrals and monastic churches, which was very strong in the 11-13<sup>th</sup> centuries due to both having cloisters (some of the time, and other times neither had them, see Szakács Béla Zsolt's article)<sup>330</sup> and a body of priests (or their prebendaries, see the next chapter) living nearby and celebrating the liturgy seems to extend until the end of the Middle Ages.

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<sup>328</sup> A. Naegle, "Die Neueste Untersuchung Der Reliquien Des Hl. Adalbert in Der Prager St. Veitskirche," *Mittheilungen Des Vereins Für Geschichte Der Deutschen in Böhmen* 56, no. 4 (1918): 228 "Anno Domini millesimo trecentesimo nonagesimo sexto in festo Scti. Adalberti dominica die Jubilate [...] translata est hec capsula cum corpore seu reliquiis Scti. Adalberti episcopi et martyris, Patroni regni Bohemie predicti, de antiqua ecclesia in istud medium nove ecclesie Pragensis."

<sup>329</sup> Caroline Bruzelius, *Preaching, Building, and Burying. Friars in the Medieval City* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2014), 96, <https://yalebooks.yale.edu/9780300203844/preaching-building-and-burying>.

<sup>330</sup> Béla Zsolt Szakács, "The Early Phase of Cloister Architecture in Central Europe," in *Monastic Life, Art, and Technology in the 11th-16th Centuries (Annales Universitatis Apulensis. Series Historica, Special Issue)*, ed. Ileana Burnichioiu, Annales Universitatis Apulensis (Alba Iulia: Mega Publishing House, 2015), 77–90.



In the future, it would be important to thoroughly examine the environments of the Holy Cross altar and what some sources call *medio ecclesiae*. In the old arrangement of Prague, the *medio ecclesie* played an important part.<sup>331</sup> It seems like this is the space occupied by the participants in many of the processions, especially in the Holy Week in Esztergom and Eger as well: it would be important to see whether this space existed in the new Prague Cathedral. Although an altarist of the altar of the Holy Cross was mentioned in Prague in 1357 and 1360, I was unable to locate where this altar might have been.<sup>332</sup>

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<sup>331</sup> Maříková-Kubková and Eben, “Organizace liturgického prostoru v bazilice sv. Víta,” 230.

<sup>332</sup> Tomek, *Základy starého místopisu Praského*, 4:171.

### III. Second choirs and new communities in the cathedral space

This chapter investigates a phenomenon in the Late Middle Ages that was present in two of my chosen cathedrals: the establishment of a second choir. Both of the choirs were dedicated to the Virgin Mary: one of them was established in Prague Cathedral in the middle of the fourteenth century when the chancel was rebuilt, while the other was established at the end of the fifteenth or the beginning of the sixteenth century in Zagreb. In this chapter, I look at the groups of priests that operate in the two choirs, the circumstances of their foundation and investigate whether they are connected. A similar and possibly connected arrangement also occurred at Esztergom Cathedral, where not a secondary choir of the Virgin Mary was in use.

#### The Virgin Mary choir, or Mansionars' Choir in Prague Cathedral

The choirs of the Late Medieval St. Vitus cathedral were located in the eastern part, in a polygonal chancel with ambulatory and radiating chapels had one of the most elaborate layouts that we can reconstruct in Central European cathedrals. There were two choirs, the main choir, with the main altar dedicated to St. Vitus and opposite of this the choir of the Mansionars, with an altar dedicated to the Virgin Mary. Who were the Mansionars and how did their choir look like in Prague Cathedral?

On October 5<sup>th</sup>, 1343, Charles IV (then margrave of Moravia) established a new college at St. Vitus church, the college of *Mansionars*, so called because they lived near the cathedral. It consisted of twenty-four clerics: twelve priests, six deacons and six subdeacons. The members



of this new college served the altar of the Virgin Mary in St. Vitus cathedral.<sup>333</sup> Their task was to sing the Marian *officium* (*cursus de Beata Virgine*) every day.<sup>334</sup>

The foundation of the new college was the same day when the foundation act for the cathedral was prepared by Charles on the October 5, 1343, this was confirmed by the chapter and the (then) bishop Ernest of Pardubice on the January 5, 1344, and subsequently by the pope on April 30, the day the bishopric of Prague was elevated to the status of Metropolitan Archdiocese. The cornerstone of the cathedral was laid down on November 21, 1344.<sup>335</sup>

Filip Srovnal has thoroughly examined the Mansionars' college in Prague in his 2018 PhD Thesis.<sup>336</sup> According to his observations, the inspiration for Charles to establish the college came from seeing the St. Peter's college, the guardians of St. Peter's tomb, and a dream from 1333 inspired him to dedicate it to the Virgin Mary.<sup>337</sup>

The Marian choir in Prague cathedral is not without precedent in the church. The western choir in the old Prague cathedral (which was still standing when Charles founded the college) was originally the Virgin Mary choir.<sup>338</sup> The mansionars first occupied the western choir, and moved to their new place once the new eastern part of the Prague cathedral was usable. Archbishop Ernest of Pardubice passed away in 1364, and Jan Očko of Vlašim (1364-1378), previously the bishop of Olomuc, became the new archbishop. In 1365, he consecrated the

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<sup>333</sup> Kuthan and Royt, *The Cathedral of St. Vitus at Prague Castle*, 45; Uličný, "The Choirs of St Vitus's Cathedral in Prague," 188.

<sup>334</sup> Maříková-Kubková and et al., *Katedrála viditelná a neviditelná*, 1:348.

<sup>335</sup> Two chronicles narrate the event: Book 4 in The Chronicle of Beneš Krabice of Weitmile and Book 3, chapter 17 in The Chronicle of Francis of Prague, see Bláhová, *Kroniky doby Karla IV.*, 136, 222. The deed is also recorded on the commemorative stone panel, originally placed on the south pillar of the Great Tower, next to the Golden Gate.

<sup>336</sup> Filip Srovnal, "Umění a kult v norimberské Frauenkirche. Příspěvek k interpretaci sochařství 3. čtvrtiny 14. století ve středoevropském prostoru" [Art and Cult in Nuremberg's Frauenkirche. Contribution to the Interpretation of Sculpture of the Third Quarter of the 14th Century in the Central European Region] (Charles University, 2018).

<sup>337</sup> Srovnal, 17, 23–25.

<sup>338</sup> Maříková-Kubková and Eben, "Organizace liturgického prostoru v bazilice sv. Víta," 230–31.

main altar of St. Vitus and the altar of the choir of the Mansionar college, dedicated to the Virgin Mary.<sup>339</sup>

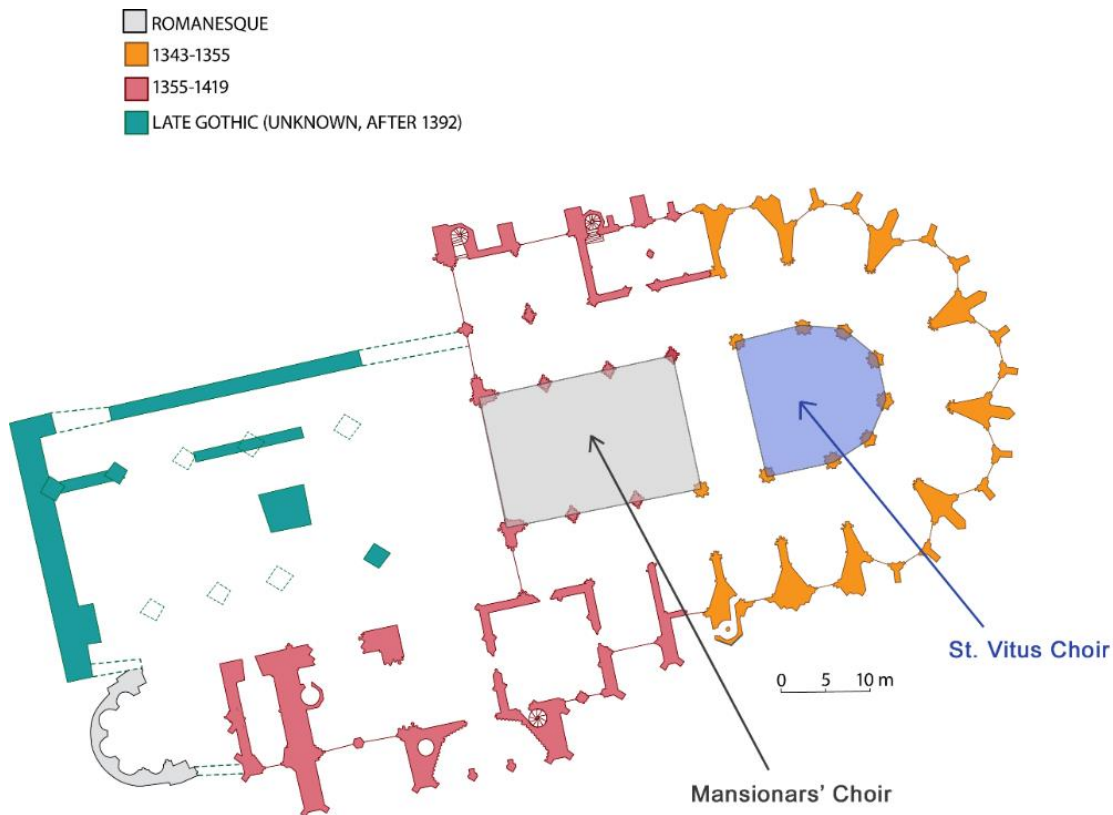


Figure 78. Prague Cathedral, reconstruction of Late Medieval state after 1420, showing the location of the two choirs.

The Mansionars' choir or Virgin's choir was located between the fifth and eighth pillars on the north and south side. It was surrounded by a metal fence, a *grille*, which had a door on the north side, and probably another door on another side. It had a high altar on the eastern side, dedicated to the Virgin Mary, pulpits, and stalls made of maple and oak wood with carved images, made by Peter Parler. By 1541, there was also a pipe organ located here.<sup>340</sup>

<sup>339</sup> Kuthan and Royt, *The Cathedral of St. Vitus at Prague Castle*, 51–52.

<sup>340</sup> Uličný, "The Choirs of St Vitus's Cathedral in Prague," 206–7, 209–10; we know about the arrangement of the Virgin choir because of Václav Hayek of Libočan, who writes: "the fire fell through the openings in the vault key-stones and set the pipe organ on fire, which fell to the ground and burned, and from

The visual and acoustic separation of the two choirs was served by gratings covered with curtains. Between the fourth and fifth row of pillars there was the *inter cancellos* space, often quoted in the sources, which served as a communication corridor and at the same time was the place for a number of liturgical ceremonies, especially during Holy Week, when it replaced the frequently mentioned *medio ecclesiae* in liturgical sources for the old basilica.<sup>341</sup>

The royal and imperial necropolis was placed in the Mansionars' choir. The tomb of Charles IV (1316-1378), a marble or sandstone tomb-chest was in a prominent place, protected by a sculpted canopy. It was written that "banners of his land hang above his grave," probably those that were carried at his funeral, mounted on the canopy or hung from the vaulting. The tombs of his family members and later kings and queens surrounded him: the grave of Wenceslas (d. 1351), son of Charles IV and his second wife, Anna of the Palatinate (1329-1353), where candles were burning at all times. Queen Anna of Schweidnitz, Charles IV's third wife (1339-1362) was also buried here, as was Empress Elizabeth, his fourth wife (1349-1393) and John of Görlitz (1370-1396), their son; they all probably had cenotaphs in the choir. The bodies of the deceased were buried in a family crypt below the tombs. The cenotaphs of King Ladislaus (1440–1457) and King George of Poděbrady (1420–1471) were placed here, and later Queen Anna Jagiellon (1503-1547) was also buried here, and, like the others, her tomb was also a sarcophagus or tomb-chest (tumulus), because it was said that during mass it was

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there the stalls, which were made of maple and oak wood and had marvellously carved images, caught fire, as did the excellent pulpits, all of it burned to the ground. The covers of the royal tombs also burned. From there the fire spread to the chapel of St Sigismund." (translated by Petr Uličný), see Hájek z Libočan, "O nesstiatnee przihodie kteraž gse stala skrze ohen w Menssim Miestie Pražském, a na Hradie Swatého Wacława, y na Hradczanech etc. Leta M.D.xxxj" p. Aiiir.

<sup>341</sup> Maříková-Kubková and Eben, "Organizace liturgického prostoru v bazilice sv. Víta," 230; Srovnal, "Umění a kult v norimberské Frauenkirche. Příspěvek k interpretaci sochařství 3. čtvrtiny 14. století ve středoevropském prostoru," 21.

covered with a black cloth bearing a white cross. All the tombs probably had house-shaped wooden covers.<sup>342</sup>

The altars in the choir were: St. Louis, established by Blanche of Valois (1316-48), St. Nicholas in the middle of the choir, founded by Anne of the Palatinate, and the Holy Innocents, probably founded by the emperor himself. A fourth altar is mentioned, but its attribution is unknown. It was probably the one dedicated to St. Florentius (founded in 1365), next to one of the pillars, with the body of the saint placed in a silver and gold reliquary with images, and before 1387 it was elevated on two iron columns above the altar, where it stood until 1420. The tomb of St. Adalbert, before being placed into its final place in the eastern part of the nave, was placed next to the altar of the Holy Innocents for a while.<sup>343</sup> There were other altars, mentioned in relation with the Virgin's choir: the altar of St. Procopius and that of St. Martha, both set up next to the outside of the choir, on the south and north side, respectively.<sup>344</sup>

The royal tomb chamber was located in the passageway between the Mansionars' choir and the canon's choir: in the middle of the space between the fourth and fifth pillars.<sup>345</sup> The altar of St. Catherine was also located between the choirs (1409). Somewhere here was also the altar of St. Wenceslas at the Door ("S. Wenceslai waluam [sic]", 1410).

The beginning of the fifteenth century saw rising tensions in Bohemia and in the capital too, with King Wenceslaus, Sigismund of Luxemburg and Count Palatine Rupert III vying for the rule of the Holy Roman Empire, including the Bohemian lands. The death of Wenceslaus in 1419 marked the beginning of the Hussite wars, which in turn affected the fate of the

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<sup>342</sup> Uličný, "The Choirs of St Vitus's Cathedral in Prague," 208–14 According to the will of Anna's husband, King Ferdinand I, the tombstone was to have a life size portrait of the queen, with a crown on her head, sceptre in her hand, and an angel at her feet holding a shield with her coat of arms. Another four angels would decorate the corners of this tombstone.

<sup>343</sup> 208 The reliquary was taken to Karslstein castle in 1420, along with other relics, where it was destroyed. Uličný, 188–90, 208, 216.

<sup>344</sup> Uličný, 216.

<sup>345</sup> Uličný, 201–2.

cathedral itself. In 1420, Sigismund of Luxemburg had himself crowned King of Bohemia in Prague Castle, and afterwards took some of the church treasures from St. Vitus cathedral and the monastery of St. George to pay for his mercenaries. The next year, the Hussites of Prague sacked the cathedral and burned the altarpieces.<sup>346</sup>

The Mansionars' choir (the group of priests) only functioned properly until 1420, when the outbreak of the Hussite wars sealed its fate and it gradually lost importance until its dissolution in the middle of the fifteenth century. The choir (the place within the church) was there at least until 1510, when we know that the "lock and the grille in the choir of the Mother of God" were repaired.<sup>347</sup>

If we look at written sources and compare the Romanesque and Late Medieval versions, we see that the change in the architecture is reflected in the wording of the liturgy but the liturgy itself did not change. A rite in which four groups of singers stand in a cross across the church, that originally called for them to stand in the two choirs across, calls instead for the group that was originally standing at the western choir to stand in a suitable place ("loco competenti vel circa diversorium") in the 1492 Breviary.<sup>348</sup>

## *Mansionar* colleges in Central Europe and their use of cathedral spaces

As described by Filip Srovnal, although the foundation of Charles IV in Prague was the first college of mansionars in Bohemia, the custom quickly spread: Charles himself founded one in Nuremberg (date?) and in Terenzo, Italy (1355), bishop Přeclav founded one in Wrocław (1361), bishop Peter did the same in Magdeburg and John, the brother of Charles, founded one

<sup>346</sup> Kuthan and Royt, *The Cathedral of St. Vitus at Prague Castle*, 71–73.

<sup>347</sup> Uličný, "The Choirs of St Vitus's Cathedral in Prague," 207–8.

<sup>348</sup> Maříková-Kubková and Eben, "Organizace liturgického prostoru v bazilice sv. Víta," 237–40.

in the Augustinian monastery in Brno. The upkeep of a college of mansionars was expensive, hence why we only find kings, bishops and princes among their founders. Mansionary colleges are further documented in Krakow Cathedral as well in Poznań, Opole, Lehnice (Legnica, Poland), Hniedzno, Szamotula, Warsaw and Kalisz. TheThe issue of mansion colleges in Central Europe deserves more attention. As Srovnal remarks, the question to what extent these Polish and especially Silesian mansions adopted the Prague, i.e., Marian model remains an open question for further research.<sup>349</sup>

In the Wrocław cathedral, the program of the St. Mary's Chapel was similar, with the Marian liturgy celebrated by the college of Mansionars, as well as the tombstone of the founder in the center of the chapel.<sup>350</sup> The Wrocław college and the chapel was founded by the ordinary of the Wrocław diocese and chancellor of Charles IV, Přelav z Pohořelá, to whom the emperor gave permission on May 21, 1354 to establish a twelve-member college at the Marian chapel of the cathedral there.<sup>351</sup>

In Poznań Cathedral, as we have seen in Chapter I, the three towers housed three chapels on their open levels, which were open to the interior of the choir, as a kind of gallery from where the liturgy could be observed. The establishment of the chapels can be most reliably dated to the fifteenth century. The eastern one was served by a college of mansionars and dedicated to the Holy Spirit, the Virgin Mary, and the Apostles, and was used by the bishop, while the southern one was used by the chapter and the northern one used for the display and storage of the cathedral's relics.<sup>352</sup>

<sup>349</sup> Srovnal, "Umění a kult v norimberské Frauenkirche. Příspěvek k interpretaci sochařství 3. čtvrtiny 14. století ve středoevropském prostoru," 25–27.

<sup>350</sup> Skibiński, *Katedra poznańska*, 74.

<sup>351</sup> Srovnal, "Umění a kult v norimberské Frauenkirche. Příspěvek k interpretaci sochařství 3. čtvrtiny 14. století ve středoevropském prostoru," 26–27.

<sup>352</sup> Skibiński, *Katedra poznańska*, 66, 73–74.

It seems like mansionars were not present in the Hungarian Kingdom, or at least the term was not used the same way. In the Várád statutes, *mansionarii* is mentioned only once, and it is just another name for the rectors of the chapels and the priests of the choir, along with *assissi* (“seated ones”).<sup>353</sup> In the Esztergom tradition, only the Hartvik agenda (dated to the 11<sup>th</sup> century) mentions *mansionarii*, in a context that would mean helpers, clergy of lower status.<sup>354</sup> Interestingly, the same sentence containing the word appears in the Pontificale Cracoviense from the first half of the fifteenth century.<sup>355</sup> In the Eger Ordinal, mansionars are not mentioned at all.

However, other types of smaller Marian colleges have been established throughout the Late Middle Ages in Hungarian cathedrals, albeit they served in chapels and not in second choirs in the body of the church.

At Várád, in the lesser church of the Virgin Mary, a chapter consisting of one provost and six canons was founded by provost Chanadinus in 1320. The lesser church of the Virgin Mary was located in front of the cathedral, slightly to the south. It was oriented west-east as the cathedral and had a polygonal apse, without buttresses. There was a double tomb, meant as a family burial place, in the apse.<sup>356</sup> According to the archaeologists who unearthed the remains, the lesser church of the Virgin Mary in Várád originally could have been built as a funerary chapel.<sup>357</sup>

<sup>353</sup> Batthány, *Leges Ecclesiasticae Regni Hyngariae, Et Provinciarvm Adiacentivm*, 3:246.

<sup>354</sup> Földváry, “Zagreb, Metropolitanska Knjižnica / Bibl. Univ. MR 165. Epitome Pontificalis Sæculi XI. („Hartvik-Agenda”),” 8: “in Cena scilicet Domini, mane primo mansionarii ordinent omnia, quæ sunt necessaria ad consecrationem chrismatis, ampullas tres de oleo mundissimo plenas ponentes in sacrario”; about the manuscript, see Szendrei, *A „mos patriae” kialakulása 1341 előtti hangjegyes forrásaink tükrében*, 66–103.

<sup>355</sup> “Pontificale Cracoviense” (1400–1450), Kap. Katedr. Kraków, Ms. 11 (28): “Eodem die mane primo mansionarii ordinent omnia quæ necessaria sunt ad consecrationem chrismatis.”

<sup>356</sup> Mihálka, “A váradi vár Anjou-kori építkezései a régészeti ásatások tükrében,” 271–73.

<sup>357</sup> Fechete-Porsztner, Mihálka, and Marta, “Újabb adatok a nagyváradi vár középkori és reneszánsz kori topográfiájához. A nagyváradi vár régészeti ásatásai a 2010–2015 közötti helyreállítások során,” 514–15.

What happened in Eger seems more similar to the Wrocław foundation: in 1430, bishop Peter of Rozgony re-founded (based on the text of the charter, however, we do not know when it was first founded) the Virgin Mary chapter, which is probably in connection with the construction of the chapel on the southern side of the church: the one in line with the third bay of the nave, where he was supposedly eventually buried.<sup>358</sup> Two of Eger Cathedral's scholars, Mihály Détshy and Krisztina Havasi agree that Peter of Rozgony was buried here, as it is described by Antal Verancsics in a 1563 letter about the renovation of the southern chapels that Peter's tomb was covered with a marble stone that stated the year of his death.<sup>359</sup>

The worship of the Virgin Mary continued in Eger: in 1501, Tamás Bakócz, now archbishop, made a donation to the chapel of the Assumption of Mary, standing “in novo sanctuario in medio capellarum a plaga orientali”, meaning the easternmost chapel of the new sanctuary.<sup>360</sup> However, here there is no evidence of a new college. Bakócz was buried in his other chapel, founded while he was an archbishop in Esztergom, where I investigate the Marian connection in the following part.

## The secondary Virgin Mary choir in Esztergom Cathedral (and considering Eger)

The liturgical tradition of the Esztergom Cathedral, also known as the Use of Esztergom, was the basis of the other liturgies in the Hungarian Kingdom. The extraordinary importance of the Virgin Mary in the liturgical life of Esztergom cathedral can be seen in the fact that she

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<sup>358</sup> Havasi, “Fragmentumok a késő középkori egri székesegyházból és kutatásának történetéből. (Bevezető és VII-1a.-VII.3-l. katalógustételek),” 188; for the history of the Virgin Mary chapter, see Nagy, “Az egri Szűz Mária prépostság története I.,” 47–50 although he supposes that the chapter was using one of the eastern chapels.

<sup>359</sup> Havasi, “Reneszánsz márványdombormű töredékei az egri várból,” 102; the letter was published in Szalay László and Wenzel Gusztáv, eds., *Vegyes levelek* [Assorted Letters], vol. 9, Monumenta Hungariae Historica 2 (Pest, 1870), 27–28.

<sup>360</sup> Détshy, “Az egri várszékesegyház építéstörténetének okleveles adatai,” 2; Havasi, “Fragmentumok a késő középkori egri székesegyházból és kutatásának történetéből. (Bevezető és VII-1a.-VII.3-l. katalógustételek),” 189–90.



joined St. Adalbert as the patron saint of the church in the Late Middle Ages. A quite important and interesting source is left to us, regarding the clerical life of the cathedral: the records of the canonical visit of the Esztergom chapter from 1397.<sup>361</sup> Among other things, the canons state that they do not know whether the cathedral was consecrated, but state that the church was founded by King Stephen I. under the protection of the Blessed Virgin Mary and Saint Adalbert.<sup>362</sup> According to our current knowledge, the church was founded dedicated to St. Adalbert only, however, it seems quite significant that the canons in the end of the fourteenth century were not aware. In a footnote, Miklós Földváry mentions that the Virgin Mary might have been a patron from the beginning, as the church was founded before Adalbert was canonized, however, this is not attested by the sources.<sup>363</sup>

In 1156, Archbishop Martirius founded an altar to the Virgin Mary.<sup>364</sup> In 1297, the chapter and archbishop Lodomerius, on the suggestion of priest Thomas, agreed that the altar of the Virgin Mary, built in the middle of the church, is not in an ideal place and would be far more proper in the northern flank of the church in a decently constructed chapel.<sup>365</sup> Although most researchers note that this is the same altar founded 1156, no one has stated that this charter actually refers to moving the altar to a more suitable location, in a newly constructed chapel.

There are two possible explanations for where the Virgin Mary altar was at the end of the Middle Ages: Ernő Marosi puts the altar at the choir screen, on the right (southern) side of the one or the middle largest of three portal(s) through the choir screen, while the Holy Cross altar was at the left (northern) side of this (larger) door. On the other hand, Miklós Földváry argues

<sup>361</sup> The full Latin transcript of the 1397 visitation records was published in Ferenc Kollányi, ed., *Visitatio Capituli E. M. Strigoniensis Anno 1397* (Budapest: Athenaeum, 1901).

<sup>362</sup> Kollányi, 79, 103–4, 248; as pointed out by Sándor Tóth in “Esztergom Szent Adalbert-székesegyháza és az Árpád-kori építészet” footnote no. 4.

<sup>363</sup> Földváry, “Rubrica Strigoniensis. A középkori Esztergom liturgiájának normaszövegei,” 230 footnote 117.

<sup>364</sup> Nándor Knauz, ed., *Monumenta ecclesiae Strigoniensis*, vol. 1 (Horák, 1874), 107–8.

<sup>365</sup> Nándor Knauz, ed., *Monumenta Ecclesiae Strigoniensis*, vol. 2 (A. Horák, 1882), 399–400 charter no. 405.

that the choir screen probably had two doors, with the Holy Cross altar in between, and the Virgin Mary altar was in its original place in the middle of the church, to the west of the Holy Cross altar.<sup>366</sup>

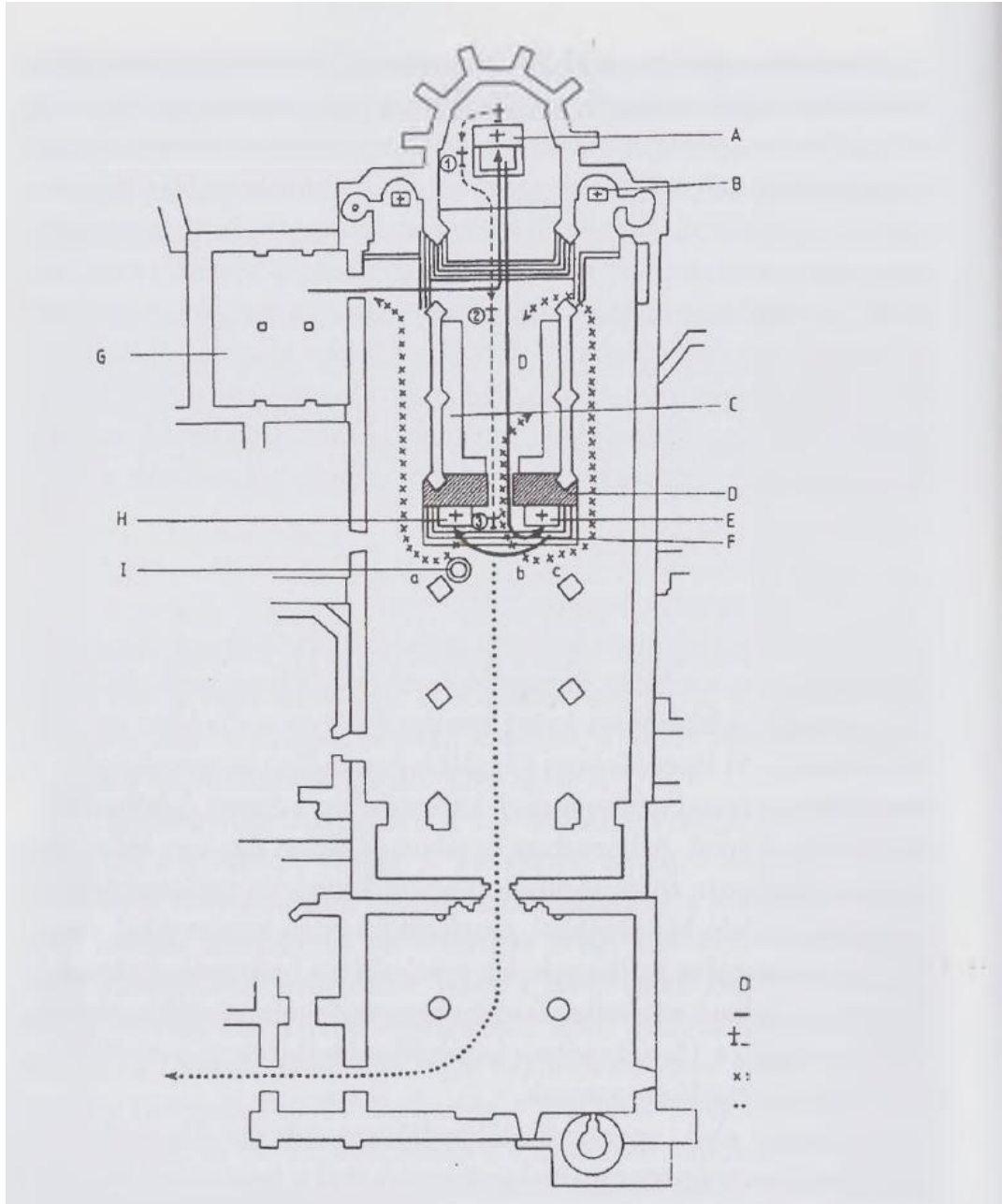


Figure 79. Esztergom Cathedral, the reconstructed space of the choir in the Late Middle Ages based on Ernő Marosi's theory (2004). E: Virgin Mary altar H: Holy Cross altar, I: Baptismal font

<sup>366</sup> Marosi, "Az Esztergomi Szent Adalbert-Székesegyház Története — A Székesegyház Alaprajza És Egyes Részei," 46–48; Földváry, "Rubrica Strigoniensis. A középkori Esztergom liturgiájának normaszövegei," 395–402.

Based on his analysis of the Esztergom Ordinal, Miklós Földváry asserts that the major altar of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Esztergom stood in the nave and functioned as a secondary choir. He analyzed the description of the liturgical acts which mention the canons sitting in front of the Virgin Mary altar, presumably in stalls.<sup>367</sup>

The undiminishing significance in the Virgin Mary in Esztergom can also be seen by the establishment of a new chapel and the only one that survived from the original medieval cathedral – the so-called “Bakócz chapel” was dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary, established in the early sixteenth century. This chapel was in a very similar position to the chapel founded by Peter of Rozgony in the 1430s in Eger.

I was curious to see whether a similar secondary choir existed in Eger Cathedral. Unfortunately, the only reference to anyone sitting is the bishop sitting in the faldstool. The relationship of the Virgin Mary altar to the Holy Cross altar is similarly ambiguous in the text of the ordinal. On Maundy Thursday, after the procession enters the church, the participants stand in two parts and the bishop with the ministers stands in front of the altar of the Blessed Virgin. (212) The same is described on Easter Sunday (240 p. 33) and on the Feast of the Ascension (38, 273) and Whitsun (41, 293), while he singers move from before the Holy Cross altar to before the Virgin Mar altar and into the choir on the first Sunday after the octave of the Corpus Christi feast (48,347), and the celebrant and the ministers stand as the bishop and his ministers on every subsequent Sunday (49, 351) and on the feast of the purification of the Virgin Mary (60, 442), as well as in Advent (2, 15). The above is interrupted in the celebration of the liturgy on All Saints Day, where the congregation stands in two parts and the bishop with the ministers stand around the font or sit in the faldstool. (84, 595)

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<sup>367</sup> Földváry, “Rubrica Strigoniensis. A középkori Esztergom liturgiájának normaszövegei,” 397.

A somewhat more elaborate spatial description involving the Virgin Mary altar is described in the vespers of the day following Easter Sunday: “The celebrant prepares at the font with flags, chrism, and oil, and goes (over to the other side? – “transitur”) to before the altar of the Blessed Virgin. And the singers sing the verse *Confitemini* with *Gloria Patri*. Meanwhile, the celebrant with the aforesaid crosses, the chrism, and the rest, as above, goes around the spring nine times. At the end of the psalms and antiphons, the verse “*Quoniam apud te est fons vite*” is said before the altar of the Blessed Virgin. Then the procession returns and stands in two parts in the middle of the church singing the responsory, *Christus resurgens*. And the verse *Dicant nunc Iudei* the singers sing before the altar of the Holy Cross facing the procession. And while the verse is sung, *Aut sepultum reddant*, the procession enters the choir singing *Quod enim vivit*.<sup>368</sup>

It is evident from this that in Eger, the altar of the Virgin Mary is very close to the baptismal font, and that it is close but maybe not exactly *in medio ecclesie*. Földváry notes that it is very unusual for the celebrants to stand with their backs to the main altar.<sup>369</sup> Thus it is more probable that the singers in front of the Holy Cross altar, facing the congregation, turn towards the south. I include a drawing of my theory regarding the positioning of the most important points of reference mentioned in the Eger Ordinal (Figure 80).

<sup>368</sup> Dobszay, *Liber Ordinarius Agriensis (1509)*, 33 entry no. 241: “In secundis vespers non dicitur Deus in adiutorium, sed canitur Kirieleysen nonies. Deinde incipitur antiphona Angelus autem Domini. Psalmus: Dixit Dominus. Antiphona: Et ecce terremotus. Psalmus: Confitebor. Antiphona: Erat autem. Psalmus: Beatus vir qui timet. Capitulum non dicitur. Graduale: Hec dies cum versu. Alleluia Pascha nostrum, et in vespers versum gradualis et Alleluia canunt choratores. Deinde immediate sequitur ad Magnificat antiphona Et dicebant ad invicem. Oratio: Deus qui hodierna die. Per eundem. Arnen. Sine Benedicamus. Interim preparent se ad fontem cum vexillis, erismate, oleo, ut supra, tangendo in organo vel cantando Vidi aquam. Et transitur ante altare beate Virginis. Et choratores canunt versum Confitemini cum Gloria Patri. Qua finita sequitur antiphona Pre timore autem. Psalmus: Laudate pueri. Antiphona: Respondens autem angelus. Psalmus: In exitu Israel. Interim presidens cum supradictis crucibus, erismate et ceteris, ut supra, Circuit fontem nonies. Finitis psalmis et antiphonis dicitur versiculus Quoniam apud te est fons vite ante altare beate Virginis. Oratio: Deus qui omnes in Christo et cetera sine conclusione. Deinde processio revertitur, et stat ad duas partes in medio ecclesie cantando responsorium Christus resurgens. Et versum Dicant nunc Iudei canunt choratores ante altare Sancte Crucis versis faciebus ad processionem. Et dum in versu canitur ‘Aut sepultum reddant’, processio intrat chorum cantando „Quod enim vivit”.”.

<sup>369</sup> Földváry, “Rubrica Strigoniensis. A középkori Esztergom liturgiájának normaszövegei,” 400.

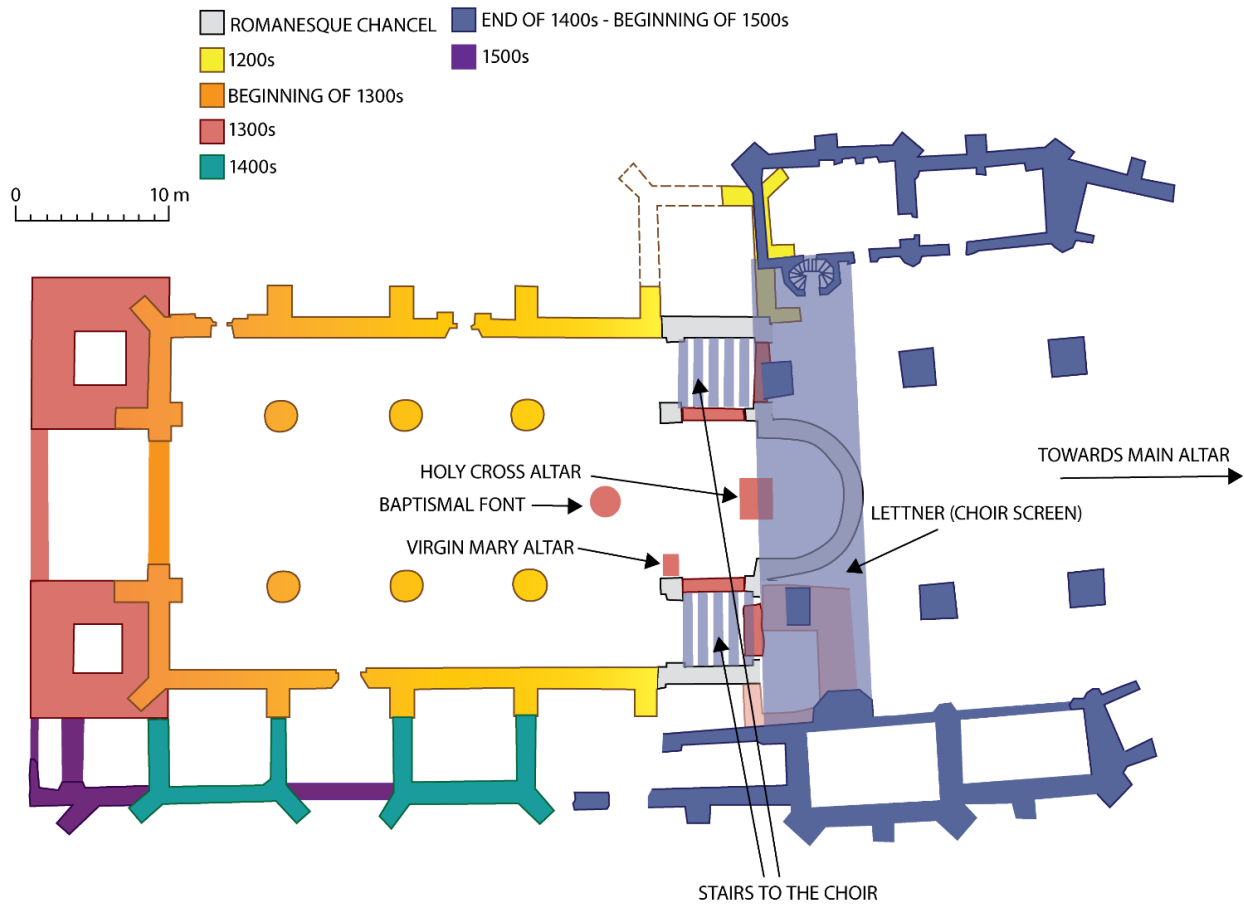


Figure 80. The author's reconstruction of the most important elements of the interior of Eger Cathedral at the time when the Eger Ordinal was published (1509)

While it seems like there was no secondary choir in Eger, the space in front of the Virgin Mary altar was definitely an important point of reference in the church, denoting the space where the most important participants stood for the parts of liturgy that took place in the nave. The secondary choir in Esztergom, however, did exist and was probably influential in the choice for the second choir in Zagreb I present in the next section.

## The Virgin Mary choir in Zagreb and its possible inspiration

In Zagreb Cathedral, towards the end of the Middle Ages, a new group was founded for the Virgin Mary, gathering the prebendaries – they formed a new choir in the southern side apse of Zagreb Cathedral. Two documents attest to the existence of the Virgin Mary choir: the statutes of the prebendaries of the Zagreb church, written between 1461-1511(?), and a note in the Zagreb Missale from 1512. The choir had a great altar, at the back of which an *armarium* (ambry, a cupboard for sacred vessels and ornaments) was added in 1512.<sup>370</sup>

The collection of the statutes of the prebendaries calls the new society *kalendinus seu confraternitatis*. In my research, the term *kalendinus* does not come up frequently in medieval documents. A college, or more precisely a *kalendinus* (confraternity) was mentioned in Eger in a document from 1400, in which Stephen son of Peter, chaplain nominated by Stephen, bishop of Eger, bequeathed his grey reverend with a maroon-colored coat to the *kalendinus* of the precious Body of Christ and of the Virgin Mary in the church (presumably cathedral) of Eger, so that they are bound to celebrate pious funeral processions for his soul and the souls of his parents.<sup>371</sup> I have found no further references to this *kalendinus*, and it is unknown where they served.

The statutes of the prebendaries specifies that the brothers should gather in the choir of the Virgin (“Quod in quolibet festo gloriose Marie virginis matris misericordie, ad mandatum decani convenient omnes fratres in choro benedictie virginis predicto”) as well as light candles

<sup>370</sup> Ivan Krstitelj Tkalčić, ed., *Monumenta historica liberae regiae civitatis Zagrabiae*, vol. 3 (Zagreb: C. Albrecht, 1896), 306–21 and 259–60.

<sup>371</sup> Nagy Imre et al., eds., *Hazai oklevéltár 1234-1536* [Domestic Charter Collection 1234-1536] (Budapest: Magyar Történelmi Társulat, 1879), 329–32 charter no. 298. “(...) et commito kalendinis preciosissimi Corporis xpi et beate virginis Marie de ecclesia agriensi(...).”

in the middle of the choir at specified events and especially Marian celebrations.<sup>372</sup> When choosing a patron for a second choir, as the brothers of the Zagreb *kalendinus* have done, the Virgin Mary seems like a logical choice. The importance of the Virgin Mary in Hungary cannot be overstated.<sup>373</sup>

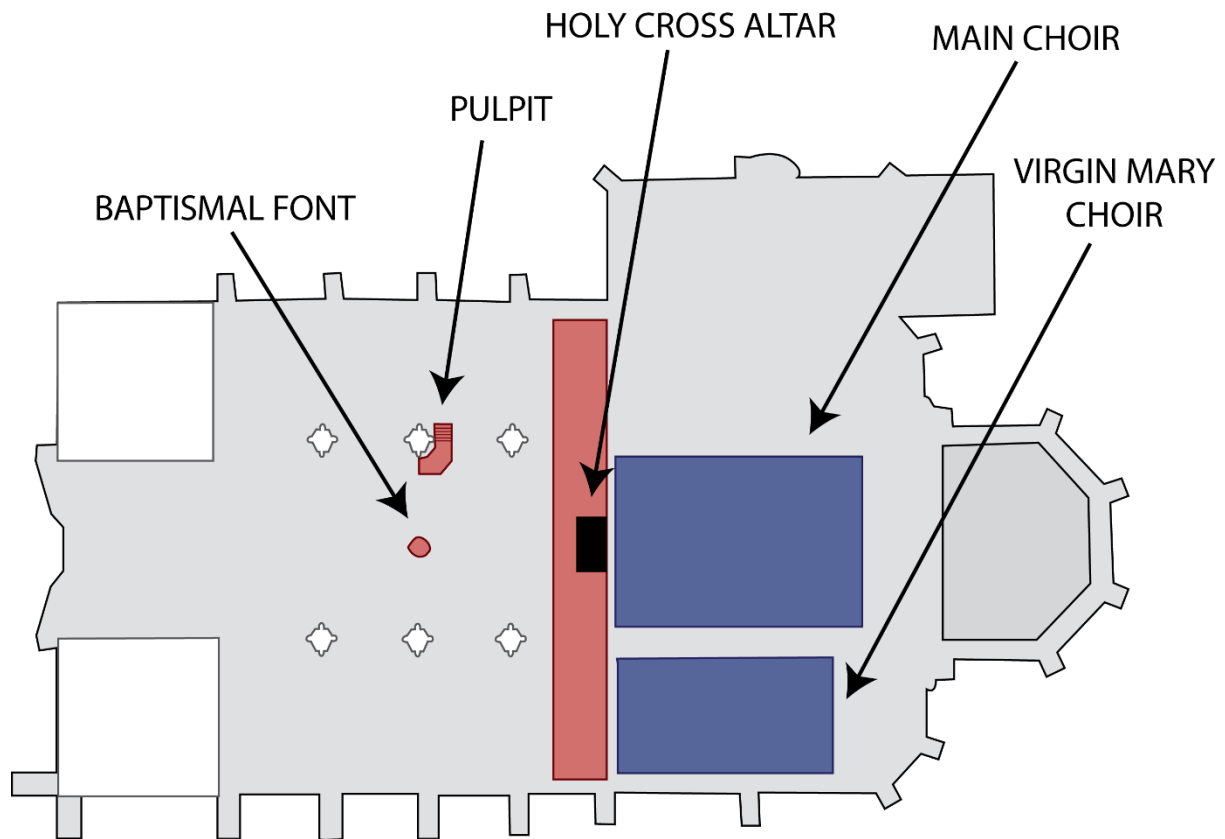


Figure 81. The location of the Virgin Mary choir in Zagren in relation to the main choir.

The choir of the Virgin Mary is easy to locate: the southern side apse of Zagreb cathedral has had a Virgin Mary altar since the end of the thirteenth century. The chapel housed the tomb of Bishop Timothy, who was buried in front of the altar of the Virgin Mary founded by himself

<sup>372</sup> Tkalčić, *Monumenta historica liberae regiae civitatis Zagrabiae*, 1896, 3:308–10 “In qualibet festivitate beate virginis Marie, matris misericordie, et eciam (feriis) secundis novilunialibus predictis, et eciam circa funera confratrum mortuorum, dum sunt in ecclesia sub missis antedictis, decanus et servitores sui magnas candellas, quas ipsa confraternitas noviter fieri fecit, in medio chori benedictae virginis, matris misericordie predicte, in earum ordine et candelabris ponant et accendant, que ardeant sub decantatione missarum et »Salve« predictarum usque ad finem, etc.”

<sup>373</sup> See the recent dissertation of Karen Stark, “The Garden Watered by the Virgin Mary: The Marian Landscape of Medieval Hungary” (Doctoral dissertation, Budapest, Central European University, 2022) especially Chapter 1. The Ecclesiastical Topography: Mapping Marian Patrocinia (pp. 44-105) and Chapter 4. The Landscape of Marian Piety: Indulgences and Marian Shrines in Hungary (pp. 164-212).

(f. 1284).<sup>374</sup> A new altar to the Virgin Mary was consecrated in 1496 in the cathedral, which was very probably a new altar at the same site as the one founded by Bishop Timothy (notably, there is only one altar of the Virgin Mary on the 1799 plan and it is this one).<sup>375</sup>

Two theories seem possible: most likely, the Virgin Mary choir with the stalls already existed by the time the prebendaries chose to form their society, and it was the logical place for them to gather, or they chose the Virgin Mary as their patron and decided to come together to fund stalls for them to sit in and celebrate the liturgies their rules describe. Did the establishment of a second choir in Prague cathedral, almost 150 years before, make a difference? Although these are the only two known choirs to share the church space with the main choirs rather than constructing a separate chapel, it seems unlikely.

## Conclusions

While stalls in cathedral chapels have been documented, as well as specially commissioned groups of priests to perform liturgy in them, second choirs in the main space of Late Medieval Central European cathedrals seem rare. Before 1300, second choirs were usually present in the western end of churches with western apses, notably widespread in Ottonian Germany. The Romanesque phase of Prague Cathedral was similarly built with a western crypt

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<sup>374</sup> “consecratum est altare beate Marie virginis in ecclesia zagrabiensi per venerabilem patrem dominum Tyraotheum episcopum zagrabiensem. In quo continentur iste reliquie, videlicet:.....de tunica domini, sancte Lucie virginis, sancte Elyzabeth, sancte Clare virginis, sancte Teodore, sancte Tecle virginis, sancte Gertrudis virginis; item undecim milia virginum, Stephani regis et confessoris, sanctorum Johannis et Pauli martirum, sancti Vincenti martiris, sancti Demetrii martiris, sancti Georgii martiris, sancti Gerardi episcopi et martiris, sanctorum Viti et Modesti martirum.” Ivan Krstitelj Tkalčić, ed., *Monumenta historica episcopatus Zagrabiensis: XII. i XIII. stoljeća*, vol. 1 (Zagreb: Karl Albrecht, 1873–1874), 216 charter no. CCXVI. 1284 August 21 (although the text of the charter says “XII kalendas septembris”; “dominus Thymotheus [...] qui laudabiliter prefuit ecclesie, quam in diversis ornamentis et vasis argenteis dotavit. [...] cuius sepulchrum apparet ante aram beate virginis in ecclesia maiori.” Ivan Krstitelj Tkalčić, ed., *Monumenta historica episcopatus Zagrabiensis*, vol. 2 [Zagreb: Karl Albrecht, 1874], 6.

<sup>375</sup> Document no. 383: a small piece of parchment that was found in the altar of the Virgin Mary Tkalčić, *Monumenta historica liberae regiae civitatis Zagrabiæ*, 1894, 2:507.



and a choir above, where the college of Mansionars, founded in 1344, originally functioned before the new Gothic building was completed. In Hungary, a similar western apse and choir is only reliably proven in the Benedictine abbey of Pannonhalma, where it was functioning at least into the thirteenth century where it was rebuilt in the third construction phase.<sup>376</sup>

While the organization of the Prague Mansionars' choir and the Esztergom secondary choir might have been similar, it seems like their Late Medieval use was quite different. In Prague, the two choirs functioned independently with two separate chapters, while in Esztergom the stalls in front of the Virgin Mary altar integrated into the cathedral's main liturgy. A third variant emerged in Zagreb Cathedral, where the Virgin Mary choir was technically made up of the cathedral chapter members, or rather the prebendaries they paid to perform the liturgy in their place, they had a separate liturgical program. All of these analyzed spaces were organized around Virgin Mary altars, which, while it existed in Prague from the beginning, in Hungary might denote a rising adoration of the Virgin Mary. In future research, it would be important to see whether a second choir might have been present in other Late Medieval cathedrals in Central Europe, and whether it was located in the nave, like in Prague, or in a side apse and aisle like in Zagreb.

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<sup>376</sup> Ernő Marosi, "Remarks on the Question of the So-Called Monastic Schools of Architecture," *Historical Studies on Central Europe* 1, no. 1 (2021): 5.

## IV. Cathedral portals and other spaces associated with medieval law

### Ecclesiastic courts and trials in Central Europe

There is at least some evidence that cathedral spaces played a role in the process of administering medieval law, although the practice was not equal or equally documented in Bohemia, Hungary and Poland. For a general overview of cathedral doors as the place for trials in Western Europe and law see Barbara Demling's article, and for an institutional overview of Hungary and Poland see the article of Cardinal Erdő Péter.<sup>377</sup> Unfortunately, in general studies concerned with the organization and practice of trials are more concerned with the institutions than the practical considerations like the places for the trials.

In the Middle Ages, ecclesiastic courts were organized by diocese, and the principal courts, held by the bishop, were the consistory courts, over which a person appointed by the bishop presided. The 1215 Fourth Lateran Council was also the occasion when the court of general jurisdiction was consolidated in the episcopal sacrament.<sup>378</sup> Cases could be escalated to the provincial courts at the archbishopric seats and from there to the papal curia of Rome.<sup>379</sup> The issues that belonged to the consistory courts (governed by ecclesiastical law) as opposed to the lay courts (governed by land law, urban law, royal law and customary law) varied from territory to territory, and disputes existed whether certain cases should be handled by lay or

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<sup>377</sup> Barbara Demling, "The Courts: From Church Portal to Town Hall," in *The History of Courts and Procedure in Medieval Canon Law* (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 2016), 30–50, <https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctt1j0pt7h>; Péter Erdő, "Ecclesiastical Procedure in Eastern Central Europe," in *The History of Courts and Procedure in Medieval Canon Law* (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 2016), 426–62, <https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctt1j0pt7h>.

<sup>378</sup> Elemér Balogh, "Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction in Medieval East Central Europe," in *Legal Studies on Central Europe*, ed. Pál Sáy (Miskolc: Central European Academic Publishing, 2022), 66–67, [https://doi.org/10.54171/2022.ps.loecelh\\_4](https://doi.org/10.54171/2022.ps.loecelh_4).

<sup>379</sup> Richard H. Helmholz, "Judges and Trials in the English Ecclesiastical Courts," in *Judicial Tribunals in England and Europe, 1200–1700: The Trial in History, Volume I* (Manchester University Press, 2003), 103.

ecclesiastical courts. In general, anything that had to do with clerics (from priests down to the acolytes, school pupils and servants of the church properties), the church, church properties, church taxes, marriages, funerals and last wills, and privileges belonged in front of the ecclesiastical courts. Although sacrality and religious imagery was involved in most other court proceedings too, it seems that in the Late Middle Ages only ecclesiastical cases were present in cathedral spaces.

In Hungary, the ecclesiastical courts (*szentszéki bíróság*) were led by the bishop of the diocese, who could appoint a vicar to run the consistory court, whose whole title was *vicarius in spiritualibus (et causarum auditor) generalis*. The existence of these vicars in the Hungarian Kingdom can be attested to from the beginning of the fourteenth century.<sup>380</sup> Ecclesiastical courts functioned in 16 places in medieval Hungary: all the dioceses (Esztergom, Kalocsa, Bács, Várad, Eger, Erdély, Zagreb, Vác, Bosnia, Nitra, Veszprém, Győr, Csanád, Szerém/Kő/Szenternye) and some additional ones: Pozsony in the Esztergom diocese, Brassó and Szeben, courts of the Szepes and Transylvanian saxons, Tasnád in the Transilvanyian diocese and Csázma in the Zagreb diocese.<sup>381</sup>

A comparison of the Polish and Hungarian ecclesiastical legal systems was attempted by Elemér Balogh as recently as 2022: since Poland belonged to the northern, French-German legal tradition, the leader of the ecclesiastical court was called the *officialis*, as opposed to the *vicarius* of the southern tradition that Hungary belonged to – interestingly, by the end of the Middle Ages both developed into very similar institutions. In Prague, it was also the *officialis*

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<sup>380</sup> Unfortunately, these vicars are often confused with the assistant-bishops, who are known as vicars even today. These vicars are appointed by the bishop to help run the diocese and are called “suffraganeus” and/or “vicarius (generalis) in pontificalibus” in the sources. Some vicars were also the heads of the consistory courts, performing the duties of both kinds of medieval “vicar”. See Norbert C. Tóth, “A Veszprémi Egyházmegyei Szentszéki Bíróság a Középkorban” [The Consistory Court of Veszprém Diocese in the Middle Ages], in “*Capella Reginalis*”. *A veszprémi püspökség a középkorban*, ed. Karlinszky Balázs and Tibor László Varga (Veszprém: Veszprémi Főegyházmegyei Levéltár, 2021), 69–70, 78.

<sup>381</sup> C. Tóth, 72–73.

who led the trials.<sup>382</sup> The seats of the dioceses in an around Bohemia where the ecclesiastical courts functioned were Prague (the only archbishopric before the Hussite Wars), Litomyšl, Olomouc, Wrocław (Breslau), Meissen, Naumburg, and Passau.<sup>383</sup>

Most of the information about the medieval court system comes to us from late medieval documents. One notable exception, and one that had a profound importance on understanding ecclesiastic law in the medieval Hungarian Kingdom is the Regestrum of Várad, containing the records of trials by ordeal from the Várad diocese from 1208-1235. Trials by ordeal were outlawed by the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215, although the custom persisted in some areas for longer. In Hungary, they were outlawed by the synod of Buda from 1279, in Poland and Germany, they were practiced until the beginning of the fourteenth century, while in Bohemia, they were only outlawed by Charles IV (1346-1378).<sup>384</sup>

The Regestrum of Várad is notable because it tells us that most of the trials by ordeal were performed next to the tomb of St. Ladislaus in Várad Cathedral, as it was believed that St. Ladislaus would protect the innocents and would not let them be unjustly sentenced at these trials. The trials usually took place in the churchyard.<sup>385</sup>

In Poland, the first verifiable ecclesiastical court functioned in Krakow from 1285, and then gradually professional ecclesiastical judges also started practicing in other dioceses.

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<sup>382</sup> Balogh, “Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction in Medieval East Central Europe,” 65–68.

<sup>383</sup> Jeanne Ellen Grant, *For the Common Good: The Bohemian Land Law and the Beginning of the Hussite Revolution*, vol. 28, East Central and Eastern Europe in the Middle Ages, 450–1450 (BRILL, 2015), 32, <https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004283268>.

<sup>384</sup> Dorottya Uhrin, “A Várad Regestrum veneficiummal és maleficiummal kapcsolatos esetei” [Accusations of Maleficium and Veneficium in the Várad Register], in *Micae Mediaevales III. Fiatal történészek dolgozatai a középkori Magyarországról és Európáról*, ed. Judit Gál et al., ELTE BTK Történelemtudományi Doktori Iskola Tanulmányok – Konferenciák 6 (Budapest: ELTE BTK Történelemtudományi Doktori Iskola, 2013), 136, 139.

<sup>385</sup> Mária Makó Lupescu, “Between the Sacred and Profane: The Trial by Hot Iron Ceremony Based on the ‘Regestrum Varadinense,’” *Mediaevalia Transilvanica* 1–2, no. 3 (1999): 19–21 see pages 13-25 for an attempted reconstruction of how these trials went.

Lower-level forums developed in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, at the level of the archdeacon districts and usually the *officialis* was the archdeacon himself.<sup>386</sup>

Based on what we know so far, ecclesiastical court sessions were not numerous affairs: records show as few as five people present. Not so much in Hungary, where the court (*consistorium*) has always acted in a council (*cum fratribus nostris de capitulo*) and included a number of secular cases in which domestic law was applied, especially in the second half of the fourteenth century - there can be said that the ecclesiastical and domestic laws were mixed.<sup>387</sup> An example of a council meeting that can be localized comes from 1434, when priest Demeter, the envoy sent by the convent of Szekszárd presented their case at the meeting of the Esztergom chapter in the sacristy of the cathedral.<sup>388</sup>

In Hungary, at least in the Veszprém diocese, the documents of the consistory courts were written by the notaries (*jegyző* or *közjegyző*) working there. The charters could be emitted under the name of the court's leader (the bishop, the vicar or the vicar's replacement) or as a notarial charter, or a combination of the two. Although notaries participated from the beginning, there is only written evidence in the case of the Veszprém and Esztergom dioceses from the beginning of the fifteenth century.<sup>389</sup>

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<sup>386</sup> Balogh, "Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction in Medieval East Central Europe," 87–89.

<sup>387</sup> Balogh, 93.

<sup>388</sup> C. Tóth Norbert, *Az esztergomi székeskáptalan a 15. században* [The Cathedral Chapter of Esztergom in the 15th Century], vol. 2, *Subsidia ad historiam medii aevi Hungariae inquirendam* 8 (Budapest, 2015), 23 footnote 64.

<sup>389</sup> C. Tóth, "A Veszprémi Egyházmegyei Szentszéki Bíróság a Középkorban," 81.

## The church portal as the main space for medieval justice

It seems like the strongest place in the cathedral that could be associated with law and justice was the main portal. Ever since Carolingian times and before, church entrances were chosen throughout Europe to house law courts and a variety of legal activities, defining the meaning of the portal as the “*Porta Iustitiae*”, where justice was spoken. In the beginning, secular law courts used these spaces (documents were signed *in galilea, in atrio, sub portico, ante portam, ante fores ecclesie* etc.), as evidenced by Charlemagne trying to forbid this practice, while Otto the Great emitted his legal acts at the church portal. According to archaeological evidence, a permanent throne was set up next to the main entrance to the church in Aachen (not to be confused with the throne on the inside). The space in front of the cathedral as a customary place for trials and trials by ordeal is linked to the depictions of the Last Judgment on church tympani, for example Gislebertus’ tympanum on the church of St. Lazare in Autun.<sup>390</sup> We should note that this was not exclusive to cathedrals, as we can see in the previous example.

In the Central European region, I could see this role of the church entrance most clearly in the documents coming from the medieval Hungarian Kingdom. Here, the main portals of the cathedrals functioned similarly to announcement boards. The formular of the episcopal see of Pécs preserved a set of charters that were registered under the title “*Ad walvas*” – these contained the provisions, admonitions and instructions ordered by the Vicar of Pécs to be nailed to the portal of the cathedral during the yearly synod of the diocese.<sup>391</sup> In the Late Middle Ages, the vicars dispensed the synodical invitation letters for the clergy of the diocese in two ways:

<sup>390</sup> Deimling, “The Courts: From Church Portal to Town Hall,” 34–36.

<sup>391</sup> Somogyi Szilvia, “A brassói dékánóság középkori Kézikönyve (A kánonjog gyakorlati alkalmazása a középkori Magyarországon)” [The Medieval Handbook of the Deaconry of Brassó (The Practical Use of Canon Law in Medieval Hungary)] (PhD, Budapest, Eötvös Lóránd Tudományegyetem, 2021), 172.

the first group was addressed to the priests by name (*littere sinodales ad partes*), while the general invitation (*littere sinodales ad walvas*) was affixed in the cathedral. In the case of Pécs cathedral, it must have been the outer door of the main portal.<sup>392</sup> During the synod, it was forbidden for the priests of the Pécs diocese to remove the charters and notes affixed to the doors of Pécs cathedral.<sup>393</sup> In Esztergom, the synodical invitation calling all priests in the diocese to attendance was affixed to one of the columns in the western hall.<sup>394</sup>

In 1437, in a case between Bálint, the custos of Veszprém cathedral and the serfs of the villages of Beer, Bozol and Vadkerth it was not allowed for the notary Michael, cleric of the Zagreb diocese to read out the serfs' appeal by the vicar of Veszprém. In accordance with the customs of the kingdom, Michael thus hung the written appeal on the doors of Veszprém cathedral.<sup>395</sup> Not only the cathedral doors could serve in this way: in a case from 1465, the judge appointed was a monk of the Augustine order, the provost from Waska, and the subpoenaed parties were threatened that for the second time, they will not be cited in person but by a letter affixed to the doors of the judge's monastery.<sup>396</sup>

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<sup>392</sup> Somogyi, "A brassói dékánáság középkori Kézikönyve (A kánonjog gyakorlati alkalmazása a középkori Magyarországon)" see footnote no. 615: "...presentes literas nostras in porticu dicte ecclesie nostre columnne ubi alias consuevit affigi et extendi iussimus et fecimus ac ibidem permanere mandavimus" in the case of Esztergom, and "presentes litteras nostras sigilli officii vicariatus impressione communitas ad walvas huius alme ecclesie Q[ui]nqueecclesiensis] affigi mandamus". See also: Szentirmai Alexander: Die ungarische Diözesansynode im Spätmittelalter. Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte, Kanonistische Abteilung 47 (1961) 267–292. .

<sup>393</sup> Somogyi, 205.

<sup>394</sup> Somogyi, "A brassói dékánáság középkori Kézikönyve (A kánonjog gyakorlati alkalmazása a középkori Magyarországon)" see footnote no. 615: "...presentes literas nostras in porticu dicte ecclesie nostre columnne ubi alias consuevit affigi et extendi iussimus et fecimus ac ibidem permanere mandavimus" in the case of Esztergom.

<sup>395</sup> "DL 102466" (Veszprém, 1437. 05. 11.), National Archives of Hungary, <https://archives.hungaricana.hu/en/charters/145007/>.

<sup>396</sup> "DL 35107" (1465.02.04.), National Archives of Hungary, <https://archives.hungaricana.hu/en/charters/185282/>.

In 1463, a provost and a canon from Esztergom subpoenaed the concerned parties to appear at Esztergom on the twelfth day or on the first following juridical day, and they have affixed the charter to the portal of Esztergom cathedral.<sup>397</sup>

In 1473, an appeal was posted at the doors of Zagreb cathedral, which escalated a case to Gábor, the archbishop of Kalocsa, because the judge in the case, appointed by Osvald, bishop of Zagreb, demonstrated partiality to one of the parties.<sup>398</sup>

There is evidence of using the doors as a signpost in Poznań too.<sup>399</sup> In Gniezno, a general gathering of the prelates and canons of the church was announced via a citation posted on the doors and in Poznań (presumably on the doors of the Poznań cathedral too).<sup>400</sup>

The doors of the cathedrals were places of vocal announcement. In 1504, the last will of Margit, widow of Balthazar of Mykchevcz was announced at the doors of Zagreb cathedral and seeing that no objections were made, Andrew, who was “vicarius in spiritualibus et causarum auditor generalis” validated the will “sub impressione sigilli vicariatus memorate ecclesie Zagrabiensis cum subscripcione notarii publici”.<sup>401</sup>

In the Hungarian Kingdom, charters were issued at the doors of a cathedral. In 1460, a charter was issued for a Pauline brother by the imperial notary at the doors of Zagreb cathedral, confirming an earlier charter issued by King Mathias.<sup>402</sup> In 1463, in a charter issued in front of

<sup>397</sup> “DL 35643” (Esztergom, 1463. 06. 13.), National Archives of Hungary, <https://archives.hungaricana.hu/en/charters/200832/>.

<sup>398</sup> “DL 35675” (Zagreb, 1473. 07. 22.), National Archives of Hungary, <https://archives.hungaricana.hu/en/charters/200832/>.

<sup>399</sup> Bolesław Ulanowski, ed., *Acta Capitulorum Nec Non Iudiciorum Ecclesiasticorum Selecta*, vol. 1 (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1894), 297 charter no. 1405, year 1515: “litteras significatorias ad valvas ecclesie desuper decernentes.”

<sup>400</sup> Ulanowski, 1:424 charter no. 1862, year 1465 “tractandis et constituendis per citacionem hic ad valvas ecclesie et in Poznania citati et vocati capitulum generale celebraverunt.”

<sup>401</sup> “DL 34569” (Zagreb, 1504.03.01.), National Archives of Hungary, <https://archives.hungaricana.hu/en/charters/253799/>.

<sup>402</sup> “DL 34767” (Zagreb, 1460.03.01.), National Archives of Hungary, <https://archives.hungaricana.hu/en/charters/176840/>.



the doors of Pécs cathedral, brother Paul of the Pauline order protested that the provost of Zagreb, Gregory of Posegawar ripped a copy of another protest of his from the doors of the cathedral in anger and trod over it with his feet.<sup>403</sup>

The legal traditions of church portals made them appropriate for other legal activities besides being ecclesiastical announcement boards, such as sanctioning and regulating markets – also fitting because in many towns, the market was held in front of the church. The official weights and measures were incised or kept near the church portals, such was the case, for example, in St. Stephen, Vienna and a very rich display at Freiburg cathedral, including sizes for bread and measurements for grain, coal, wood and bricks.<sup>404</sup>

It is possible that the rebuilding of the western side of Hungarian cathedrals Eger and Váradi were motivated by providing a fitting place for the functioning of their respective diocesan courts. In Eger, the reconstruction of the nave began in the thirteenth century from the east and progressed towards the west, ending in the beginning of the fourteenth century, with pillars somewhat different from the earlier, French-inspired ones.<sup>405</sup> The western walls of the nave, built at the same time as the northern and southern walls, separate completely from the walls of the western towers, suggesting different building periods – the ornamentation of the original western facade can be seen behind the western towers.<sup>406</sup> According to Havasi, a plan for the enlargement of the nave must have existed, however, because the western side of

<sup>403</sup> “DL 35641” (Pécs, 1463. 01. 20.), National Archives of Hungary, <https://archives.hungaricana.hu/en/charters/181407/>.

<sup>404</sup> Deimling, “The Courts: From Church Portal to Town Hall,” 37.

<sup>405</sup> Buzás, “Az egri székesegyház XIII-XIV. századi gótikus épülete,” 32–36.

<sup>406</sup> József Csemegi, *Fejezet az egri várszékesegyház építésének történetéből: Különlenyomat a magyar mérnök- és építész-egylet közlönye 1935. évi március hó 17-i, 11-12-i számából* [A Chapter from the History of the Construction of the Eger Castle Cathedral. Special Edition of the Bulletin of the Hungarian Association of Engineers and Architects from March 17, 11-12, 1935] (Budapest: Stádium Sajtóvállalat Részvénytársaság, 1935), 127; Kozák, “Az egri vár Árpád-kori temetőjének feltárása I.,” 163 and 189, fig. 47.

the nave ends in a huge arch, which stretches along the whole width of the western entrance hall, and it seems to have been intended this way from the beginning.<sup>407</sup>

The first fourteenth-century building campaign of Eger Cathedral involved two huge western towers, joined at the west with a facade and a massive western portal, and an entrance hall between the towers, where the grave of Bishop Nicholas of Dörögöd was once located. A fragment, linked to the western portal constructed at this time, of three linked capitals, was a source of an art historical debate: different researchers theorized that it was carved in the thirteenth, fourteenth or fifteenth centuries. The fragment can be found in the Eger lapidary and comfortably dated to the fourteenth century. Krisztina Havasi provides a nuanced, in-depth analysis of the fragment confirming that it must have belonged to the western portal.<sup>408</sup> The new western facade would have looked impressive, especially with the high-quality new portal. Based on the extant visual sources the towers were massive and imposing, their corners decorated with blocks of stones.

Nicholas studied at Bologna in the 1310s and almost became archbishop of Esztergom in 1328 but abdicated in 1330, as he was not supported by King Charles I. Pope John XXII made him bishop of Eger in 1330, where he served until his death in 1361. It is generally presumed that he was the commissioner of this extension, and that it was either ready or almost complete by the time of his death.<sup>409</sup> If we accept the hypothesis that the chapel of St. Ladislaus can be

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<sup>407</sup> Havasi, “A középkori egri székesegyház az 1200-as évek elején I.,” 58–59 although Havasi notes that it is impossible to verify this at the site because of the renovations that have taken place, and can only be ascertained based on archive photographs; Also, confusingly, the archaeologist who worked on site writes that there was a smaller portal at the western side of the nave that was later demolished: Détshy and Kozák, “Eger Vára,” 138.

<sup>408</sup> Havasi, “A középkori egri székesegyház az 1200-as évek elején I.,” 48–67 deals extensively with the collections history of the carving and the art historical debates, mentioning; Rostás Tibor, “Udvari művészet Magyarországon a 13. század második negyedében és közepén, avagy a Gizella-kápolna hazai kapcsolatrendszere” [Court Art in Hungary in the Second Quarter and Middle of the 13th Century, or the Domestic Relationship System of the Gizella Chapel], *Műemlékvédelmi szemle* 1–2 (2000): 38 who off-handedly places the Eger piece into the artistic currents of the late thirteenth century; Havasi seems to agree with Buzás, “Az egri székesegyház XIII-XIV. századi gótikus épülete,” 37–39.

<sup>409</sup> Havasi Krisztina, “A középkori egri székesegyház az 1200-as évek elején I” [The medieval cathedral of Eger at the beginning of the 1200s], Ph.D. diss. (Budapest: Eötvös Lóránd Tudományegyetem, 2011), 65–66.

placed in one of these two towers (probably the northern tower, as we have a late mention of the Saint Spirit chapel in the South-western tower), and that the altar of St. Ladislaus was here from the beginning, a mention from 1351 of the St. Ladislaus altar can signal that the constructions were proceeding well – the towers were almost complete.<sup>410</sup>

Perhaps if bishop Nicholas did not initiate the construction, he at least went out of his way to secure funds for it – his dedication could be seen in the fact that he was buried with three papal bulls coming from three Avignon popes, the second of which (1347) belonged to a charter granting indulgences to the cathedral, mentioning the main altar as well as the altars of Mary Magdalena and Barnabas.<sup>411</sup> This charter, however, can more probably be linked to the next phase, which seems to have started around this time and was more probably initiated by bishop Nicholas. Another papal bull, granting indulgence in 1372, given to his successor, bishop Michael of Szécsény, seems to indicate that the construction needed more funding.<sup>412</sup>

This building campaign mirrors the constructions carried out under Andrew of Bátor, bishop of Várad (1329-1345), where similarly, two western towers and a new western facade with a portal were added to elongate the nave of the cathedral.<sup>413</sup> We can contrast this arrangement with the similar and contemporary Esztergom construction (where one of the possible datings would put it at the 1350s), where we can be sure, that the ornate western portal,

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<sup>410</sup> Regarding the place of the St. Ladislaus chapel, see Détshy, “Az egri várszékesegyház építéstörténetének okleveles adatai,” 12 In the 20th note, he cites: June 1507 „Item dedit uni, qui destruxit sacristiam sancti Ladislai florenum unum”. On the day of St. James (July 25), 1508: „Item pluribus magistris qui laborarunt in capella sancti Ladislai in turri in pluribus vicibus florenos quinque, denarios 25 dedit.” In the same work, page 13, footnote 43, he cites a mention of the Saint Spirit chapel from 1558 and 1560: “in sacello sub Turrim in Introitu templi ad dexteram”; Havasi mentions a reference to a charter from 1351 mentioning the St. Ladislaus chapel or altar, and she mentions that the altar was on one of the floors of the southern tower. “A középkori egri székesegyház az 1200-as évek elején I.,” 66 Détshy does not cite this in the place Havasi refers to, but in footnote 16, mentions a 1331 charter, which I could not find; there is a charter, however, from 1351 at Imre Nagy, ed., *Anjoukori Okmánytár* [Charters of the Angevin Period], V (1347-1352) (Budapest: The Historical Commission of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, 1887), 504–7 charter n. 304, which mentions the master of the St. Ladislaus altar from the Eger chapter.

<sup>411</sup> Havasi, “A középkori egri székesegyház az 1200-as évek elején I.,” 65.

<sup>412</sup> Détshy, “Az egri várszékesegyház építéstörténetének okleveles adatai,” 1.

<sup>413</sup> Buzás, “Az egri székesegyház XIII-XIV. századi gótikus épülete,” 36–38.

the Porta Speciosa was inside the newly built entrance hall. In the thirteenth or possibly fourteenth century, another cathedral's western side received special attention: Esztergom.

## The Porta Speciosa and the western hall of Esztergom

In the Kingdom of Hungary, Esztergom was undoubtedly the most important place regarding ecclesial jurisdiction. In this short section I would argue that this is also represented by the architecture of the church: most notably by its western portal, the *Porta Speciosa* and the spacious western hall built in front of the portal.

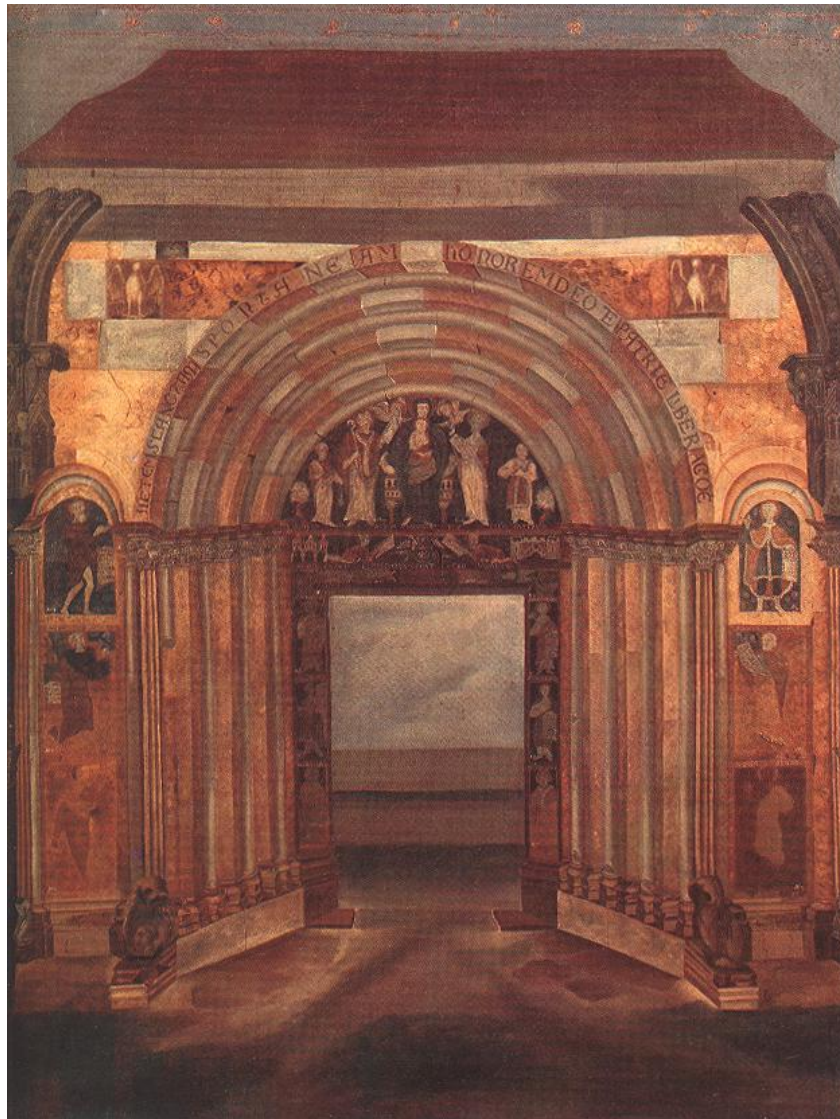


Figure 82. The western portal (*Porta Speciosa*) of Esztergom cathedral. Oil painting commissioned by canon György Klimó (1741-51)

The *Porta Speciosa*, as recorded by a painting from the eighteenth century (Figure 82), had a set of columns and two lions guarding its entrance. The tympanum of the portal portrayed the Virgin Mary enthroned, flanked by St. Adalbert and St. Stephen, with two priests to the side, and King Béla III and Archbishop Jób on the lintel.

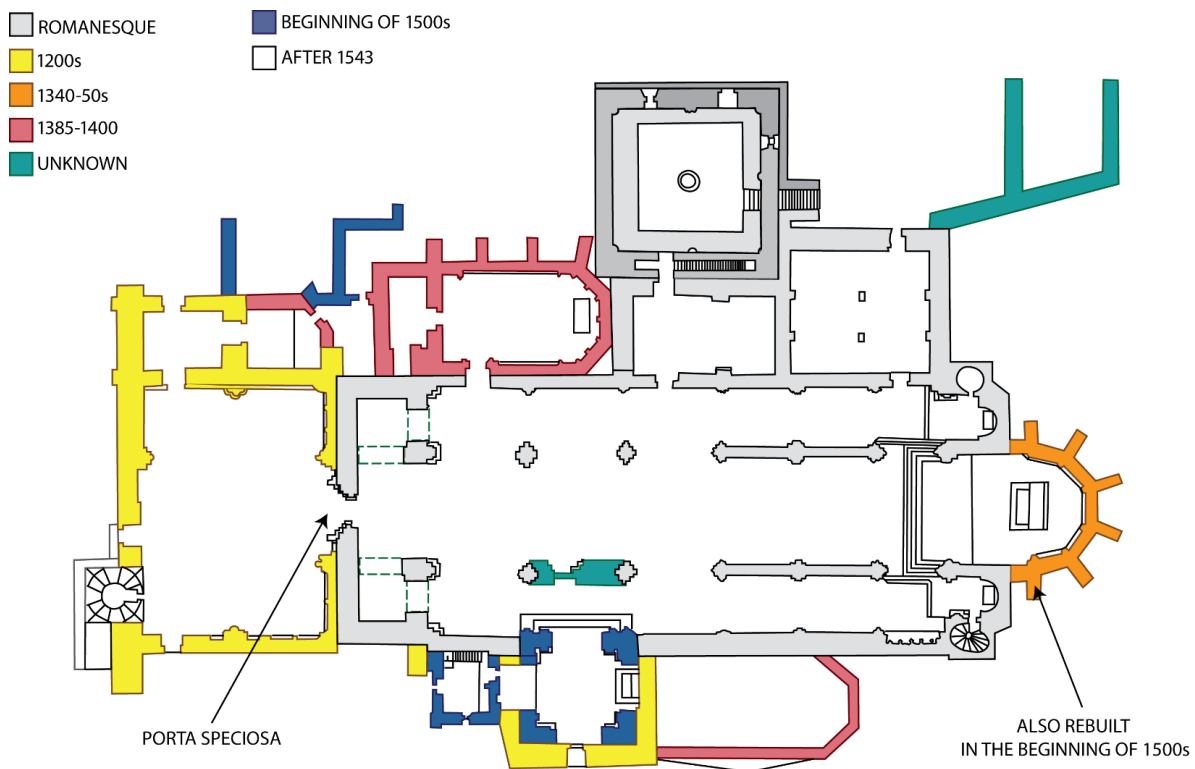


Figure 83. Periodized ground plan of Esztergom cathedral

There was extensive building activity in Esztergom Castle in the time of King Béla III and his son, Imre, at the northern royal palace, the southern fortress and the cathedral of Saint Adalbert. The cathedral was outfitted with a new western façade with two towers and an impressive new gate, later named the *Porta Speciosa*, which was carved from white and red marble, and had figural marble inlays. The nave of the church was completely rebuilt. The support system that had previously consisted of columns was exchanged for pillars with half-columns, and new double windows were added. There was a chancel screen decorated with

niches, and this, along with the throne of the archbishop and the floor of the church was decorated with red marble. The constructions stretched into the beginning of the thirteenth century, and some of the pillar capitals show Gothic features.<sup>414</sup>

In the middle of the thirteenth century, during the time of archbishop Stephen Bánca (1243-1252) there was also some building activity in the western part of the cathedral, with a new, huge Rayonnant Gothic window. A new altar, dedicated to St. Lucia was founded on the oratory between the western towers, located above the main portal.<sup>415</sup> Gergely Buzás also supposes that the oratory served as the family chapel of archbishop Stephen.<sup>416</sup>

It was either at this time or in the 1350s there was building activity in the western part of the cathedral again: an impressive, two-bay western addition was constructed. Sándor Tóth, based on the available depictions, especially the drawing of Andreas Krey, reconstructs this hall as a relatively dark, closed-up space with vaulting, and that while it might have had a basilical structure, it is probable that the aisles were about the same height as in the case of the nave.<sup>417</sup>

The space on the other side of the Porta Speciosa saw development at the very end of the fifteenth century: in 1495, at the base of the southern tower canon Andrew Pápai founded the St. Andrew chapel. In the same year, a new chancel was built for the chapel of the Assumption of Mary, with the addition of an organ the next year. At the base of the northern tower, canon Michael Kesztölci founded a chapel dedicated to Saint Jerome.<sup>418</sup>

<sup>414</sup> Buzás and Tóth, *Magyar építészet 1. - A rómaiaktól Buda elfoglalásáig*, 95–96.

<sup>415</sup> Tóth, “Esztergom Szent Adalbert-székesegyháza és az Árpád-kori építészet,” 126 Tóth’s 23rd footnote discusses the problem of the altar of St Lucia, which, according to the original charter (; Knauz, *Monumenta ecclesiae Strigoniensis*, 1:392), the altar was founded “in porticu maioris ecclesie nostre”, where the founder (archbishop Stephen)’s father was buried, however, another charter from; Knauz, *Monumenta ecclesiae strigoniensis*, 2:215 gives the location of the St. Lucia altar as “intra campanila supra vultam.”

<sup>416</sup> Buzás and Tóth, *Magyar építészet 1. - A rómaiaktól Buda elfoglalásáig*, 139.

<sup>417</sup> Tóth, “Esztergom Szent Adalbert-székesegyháza és az Árpád-kori építészet,” 134.

<sup>418</sup> Buzás and Tóth, *Magyar építészet 1. - A rómaiaktól Buda elfoglalásáig*, 245.

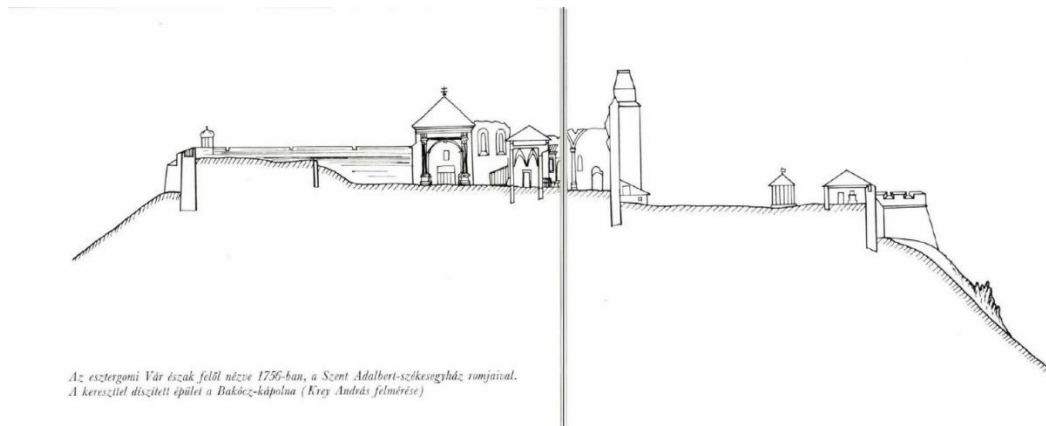


Figure 84. Cross-section of the Esztergom Castle Hill through the southern side by Andreas Krey, 1756

The base of the western oratory – the space between the towers – is described by György Széless as having a ribbed vaulting, and two doors extend from this space to the chapels at the bases of the towers. The door leading to the southern chapel, a Renaissance construction, is visible in the cross-section of Andreas Krey from the eighteenth century, while the other door is described by Széless as a more pointed one. The vaulting seems Late Gothic.<sup>419</sup>

The *Porta Speciosa*, as recorded by a painting from the eighteenth century (Figure 82), had a set of columns and two lions guarding its entrance. The tympanum of the portal portrayed the Virgin Mary enthroned, flanked by St. Adalbert and St. Stephen, with two priests to the side, and King Béla III and Archbishop Jób on the lintel.

According to Sándor Tóth, the reason for the construction of the Esztergom addition was the protection of the *Porta Speciosa* (the depiction of the Virgin Mary with the child in the tympanum of the portal was sensitive to the weather) and providing a more accommodating architectural setting for the splendid portal.<sup>420</sup>

The cult of Saint Stephen in Esztergom goes together with the veneration of the Virgin Mary – Lepold Antal speculates on the fact that a Mary chapel was established in the St.

<sup>419</sup> Tóth, “Esztergom Szent Adalbert-székesegyháza és az Árpád-kori építészet,” 123. Footnote 13

<sup>420</sup> Tóth, 135.

Stephen protomartyr church signifies the patron's veneration of St. Stephen, whose feast day (August 20) was intentionally placed close to the assumption feast (August 15). It is important to remember that Stephen also dedicated the Kingdom of Hungary to the Virgin Mary and thus she became the *Patrona Hungariae*.<sup>421</sup>

It would seem fitting that the Virgin Mary enthroned on the *Porta Speciosa* in Esztergom, the *Patrona Hungariae* and symbol of the Hungarian church, would also act as a patron of the trials. We must remember, that in Esztergom, the king was regarded as a member of the cathedral chapter – if he was present, he had the right to a prebend and a seat at the stalls, and this persisted into the Late Middle Ages, even mentioned in a 1525 letter from the pope.<sup>422</sup> In my opinion, this fact is important as we have earlier mentioned that in the case of the Hungarian Kingdom, judgement very often included the whole chapter. The king's direct involvement, however, must have diminished after he moved his seat from Esztergom to Visegrád/Buda in the Late Middle Ages.

Barbara Deimling argues that columns in the setting of a church portal alluded to the Temple of King Solomon, marking the portal as a place of adjudication. She cites portals where King Solomon himself was portrayed enthroned to convey the meaning of this being a judicial place.<sup>423</sup> This association was already mentioned by Gyula Forster in 1900 in relation to the *Porta Speciosa*, where he mentions that it is said in many charters that the Hungarian kings traveled and sat for tribunal in the church portals “inter leones”.<sup>424</sup>

<sup>421</sup> Stark, “The Garden Watered by the Virgin Mary: The Marian Landscape of Medieval Hungary” Foreword: The “Regnum Marianum” Before the 14th Century, pp. 38-43.

<sup>422</sup> C. Tóth Norbert, *Az esztergomi székeskáptalan a 15. században* [The Cathedral Chapter of Esztergom in the 15th Century], vol. 1, Subsidia ad historiam medii aevi Hungariae inquirendam 8 (Budapest, 2015), 12 see footnote 9, where he cites charter DF 237396.

<sup>423</sup> Deimling, “The Courts: From Church Portal to Town Hall,” 45.

<sup>424</sup> Czobor Béla, “Az esztergomi bazilika” [The Basilica of Esztergom], in *III. Béla magyar Király emlékezete*, ed. Forster Gyula (Budapest: Hornyánszky Viktor Császári és Királyi Udvari Könyvnyomdája, 1900), 174–90, <http://real-eod.mtak.hu/5815/>.



Regarding the western hall, Gergely Buzás cites a charter which states that a canonical trial, related to a tax from the Veszprém bishopric, was held in the *porticus* of the church. Buzás speculates that probably all the archiepiscopal trials took place here.<sup>425</sup> Although we cannot be sure that this was the case, it is worth considering that the high volume of court cases and the importance of the archbishop or his representative presiding over them would necessitate an appropriate setting.

Based on the Esztergom Ordinal, we can say that the porticus was not frequently used in the liturgy, although there is one instance: after Compline on All Saints' Day, there is a procession to the porticus ("itur processionaliter ad porticum") and there the Vespers for the office of the dead is performed, after which the group returns to the choir for Matins.<sup>426</sup> I believe that the choice of space is symbolic: the vigil for the day of the dead is performed at the place that was used for judging, closely linked to the Last Judgment (many church portals throughout medieval Europe featured the scene), when the dead will be resurrected.

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<sup>425</sup> Buzás, "Az esztergomi vár románkori és gótikus épületei," 21.

<sup>426</sup> Földváry, "Rubrica Strigoniensis. A középkori Esztergom liturgiájának normaszövegei," 405.

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due to copyright reasons.

*Figure 85. A reconstruction drawing of the Porta Speciosa and the interior of the western hall, with a view towards the interior of the church and the entrance to the Bakócz chapel, by Géza Lux, from 1935*

## **Other spaces in cathedrals that housed legal and political affairs.**

In England, the bishop's court usually met in the cathedral, in a special space reserved for this purpose. Sometimes, however, a different church in the diocese proved more convenient.<sup>427</sup>

The only case of a consistory courtroom set in a cathedral in Europe surviving to present day

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<sup>427</sup> Helmholz, "Judges and Trials in the English Ecclesiastical Courts."

is in Chester cathedral.<sup>428</sup> The consistory court of Chester was established in 1541, however, the room dates from a later period. The court at the northwestern corner of St Nicholas' Chapel, King's Lynn, Norfolk, built in 1617 is probably the oldest example, albeit not in a cathedral.

In Central Europe the role of the western hall as a place for tribunals was not exclusive: in the collection of documents related to the *Sasad tithe trial* between 1452-1465, six were issued at the sacristy of the Esztergom cathedral, two in the western extension or *porticus*, nine in Esztergom Castle (a room in the bishop's palace, a room in the Castle or just the palace/castle in general), nine in Buda Castle or its surroundings, including the archbishop's house there and the remaining three generally in Esztergom.<sup>429</sup>

It is hard to find evidence of where the church trials were actually held in the neighboring territories, but it seems like the porticus of Esztergom is mostly unique. In the Salzburg diocese the trial venue was the place of the residence of the acting judge: the *Domkloster* in the case of the dean, or when the archbishop himself judged, the *camera* or the high priestly residence.<sup>430</sup> It seems like in Poznań and Gniezno, the chapter room (*capitulum*) was used to house the trials and this is where virtually all of the court documents regarding the are localized.<sup>431</sup> In a different collection of ecclesiastical court documents, the documents pertaining to the diocese of Płock are dated to the episcopal *curias* of different cities in the diocese, or to locations simply called “consistories”, e.g. in Pułtusk (*in consistorio Poltoviensi*, although both the episcopal court and the castle are mentioned here) and later on in Płock. Documents from the diocese of Włocławek are also dated “in consistorio” or to bishopric courts.<sup>432</sup>

<sup>428</sup> Helmholz, 113.

<sup>429</sup> C. Tóth, *Az esztergomi székeskáptalan a 15. században*, 2015, 2:61 Table VII.

<sup>430</sup> Balogh, “Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction in Medieval East Central Europe,” 81.

<sup>431</sup> At least all of the documents pertaining to the Gniezno and Poznań chapters are dated “in capitulo” or “in capitulo generali” Ulanowski, *Acta Capitulorum Nec Non Iudiciorum Ecclesiasticorum Selecta*, 1894.

<sup>432</sup> Bolesław Ulanowski, *Acta Capitulorum Nec Non Iudiciorum Ecclesiasticorum Selecta*, vol. 3 (Kraków: Nakładem Akademii Umiejętności, 1908) the documents from Wielún and Gdańsk are also dated “in consistorio.”

In the Polish case studies, the only evidence of the cathedral portal used as a place of judgement I could find comes from an ecclesiastical case from Poznań. At noon on August 31, 1445 a trial was held at the porch (*in porticu*) of the Poznań cathedral, where four members of the cathedral chapter sat down for tribunal and heard the case of Phalantha, who asked to be absolved from the sentence of excommunication incurred on him by Michael the vice-custodian of the church for the non-payment of two marks of annual tax for oil for lamps at the church.<sup>433</sup> I would argue that in this case, the relatively low importance of the case only necessitated four canons, who could fit comfortably in the porticus, while in more important cases, the presumably larger number of attendants would mean that the trials were held in a larger space, for example in the chapter house.

I could not find any connection between ecclesiastical justice and the cathedral in Prague: but this is also because most of the secondary literature dealing with judgement and Prague focuses on the trials of Jan Hus. In the one paper I found, the author declares that in Prague, after the Hussite wars, the “ecclesiastical bureaucracy” was divided: the Roman Catholic consistory (Upper Consistory) was in the cathedral in Prague Castle while the Utraquist consistory (Lower Consistory) was established in the Church of Mother of God before Týn and functioned for nearly two hundred years. After George of Poděbrady attacked Prague, the Upper Consistory fled to Plzeň and only returned to Prague after 1478.<sup>434</sup> Unfortunately, I could not deduce whether *consistory* in this instance means the ecclesiastical court or the center

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<sup>433</sup> “in porticu ecclesie Poznán, versus meridiem dnis Hectore, Lanthman canonicis, Mirosloao et Mathia procuratoribus capituli et canonicis, capitulariter congregatis et pro tribunali sedentibus” Ulanowski, *Acta Capitulum Nec Non Iudiciorum Ecclesiasticorum Selecta*, 1894, 1:62.

<sup>434</sup> Thomas A. Fudge, “Reform and the Lower Consistory in Prague, 1437-1497,” in *The Bohemian Reformation and Religious Practice. Vol. 2, Papers from the XVIIIth World Congress of the Czechoslovak Society of Arts and Sciences, Brno 1996* (Prague: Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic, Main Library, 1998), 69–72.

of church administration, although, unfortunately, I suppose the latter.<sup>435</sup> Similarly, for the moment, I could not find anything directly related to Kraków cathedral.

The main body of the cathedral could also be the space in which justice was delivered. In 1269, six members of the Zagreb chapter swore in the cathedral, at the altar of the Holy King on him that three villages in the Jalševac have belonged to the chapter for almost fifty years.<sup>436</sup>

The cathedral space played a role throughout the Middle Ages: the sentence for grave misconduct against the church laws was excommunication, and, as a liturgical act, this was intrinsically tied to the Holy Mass. In the fifteenth century, the people of Gradec were excommunicated for their attack on the chapter of Zagreb when the clergy was there hiding and trying to safeguard the church valuables. The excommunication was announced in front of the main altar, while the masses were held, lighting the candles and then extinguishing them and throwing them to the ground.<sup>437</sup>

Although not particularly tied to a cathedral, an especially involved case between the nuns of the Island of Rabbits (today Margitsziget, part of Budapest – they were the accusers) and John Bachkay of Bewfew and his familiar Ferenc Toth was summarized in a 1462 charter issued by Albert, *decretum doctor* etc. whom we've met before. The case stretched for several years, and the defenders were cited before the judge's chair in Esztergom in person and through a letter posted on the church door. After the nun's procurator presented the accusation in the presence of the defenders' procurator, the latter was given a date about a month later to present

<sup>435</sup> Balogh, "Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction in Medieval East Central Europe," 81 see footnote 39.

<sup>436</sup> Tkalčić, *Monumenta historica episcopatus Zagradiensis: XII. i XIII. stoljeća*, 1:147–48 charter no. 136, year 1269.

<sup>437</sup> "[...] alta et intelligibili voce de verbo ad verbum ipsas litteras legit et ipsos cives predictos denunciavit excommunicatos fore et similiter denunciavit ipsam universitatem, populum et commune montis Grecensis et ipsum opidum montis Grecensis fore suppositos interdicto, campanis pulsanibus, accensisque candelis et demum extinctis ac ad terram proiectis coram fideli populo in ecclesia cathedrali zagradiensi, dum ibidem missarum sollemnia celebrabantur." Ivan Krstitelj Tkalčić, *Monumenta historica liberae regiae civitatis Zagrabiae*, vol. 1 (Zagreb: C. Albrecht, 1889), 388–89.

the answer. He failed to appear, and the defenders also failed to represent themselves at the trial to be held at first on March 4 and then July 14 where they were cited by a latter posted on the church door under penalty of excommunication. They were excommunicated and in this fact was to be made known in a rather dramatic fashion: Albert instructed the parish priests of Achad, Zyl, Zokol, Andoch, Dyod and Barachka and all the parish priests in the dioceses of Esztergom, Pécs, Eger, Veszprém, Győr and Nyitra (all the suffragans of Esztergom) to announce that John Bachkay and his familiar Ferenc Toth were excommunicated at every Sunday and feast day during the Holy Mass by tolling the bells and by extinguishing lit candles and casting them on the ground to represent eternal damnation.<sup>438</sup>

Finally, a chapel could also serve as an appropriate venue: the chapel of St. Michael, situated at the southern side of Eger cathedral, was first mentioned in 1406, when it was already a completed space, ready to house a trial. Its attribution was subsequently confirmed in the sixteenth century when it was used as the main liturgical space.<sup>439</sup>

Moving on from ecclesiastical courts, the cathedral space could be a setting for other highly important events related to politics. The conspirators against King Sigismund came to Várad to make an oath at the head relic of St. Ladislaus, swearing that they will aid Ladislaus of Naples, the son of Charles of Durazzo. Several possibilities are raised by Norbert C. Tóth on why choose Várad for this oath: it was in a convenient location for the mostly Transylvanian and Eastern Hungarian co-conspirators and it was known to be important for Sigismund, meaning they could express their opposition to him and to the general public and challenge him.<sup>440</sup> I would add that it is entirely possible that the fact that the new king they wished for

<sup>438</sup> “DL 15752” (Esztergom, 1462.07.14.), National Archives of Hungary, <https://archives.hungaricana.hu/en/charters/180748/>.

<sup>439</sup> The 1406 mention was found by Nagy, “1580 előtti adatok az egri püspöki vár történetéhez,” 165, the chapel was the site where Andrew, archbishop of Split and vicar of Eger passed judgement.

<sup>440</sup> C. Tóth Norbert, “A váradi eskü. Mikor és miért éppen ott?” [The Oath of Várad. When and Why There?], in *Nagyvárad és Bihar a Zsigmond-korban*, ed. Zsoldos Attila, Tanulmányok Biharország történetéről [Studies on the History of Bihar Country] 8 (Oradea, 2020), 81–82.

was also called Ladislaus and invoking the power of the namesake Saint-King to aid their oath had huge symbolic power.

## Ceremonies: coronations, weddings

It was only in the Hungarian Kingdom that coronations did not take place in cathedrals. Due to the customs in medieval Hungary, a valid king had to be crowned with the Holy Crown, by the Archbishop of Esztergom in the Székesfehérvár collegiate church. The rest of the cathedrals in the Central European regions, however, saw their fair share of coronations and weddings. Interestingly, it seems like Late Medieval royal weddings in the Hungarian Kingdom did not take place in cathedrals at all. By the Late Middle Ages, Buda had become the royal seat, and the wedding of Charles I, the second wedding of Louis I and King Matthias' first wedding all took place in Buda. Interestingly, Emperor Charles IV's third wedding, when he married Anna of Schweidnitz, also took place in Buda.<sup>441</sup> Queens, however, were closely tied to the Veszprém diocese: the bishops of Veszprém could crown queens and had the right to be the Queen's chancellor.<sup>442</sup>

King Przemysł II of the Piast dynasty was crowned in the newly renovated cathedral in Gniezno in 1295 but was murdered in the following year. Wenceslaus II, King of Bohemia took over the Polish crown and was crowned in Gniezno in 1300. After this, the coronation site was moved to the Wawel Cathedral in Krakow.<sup>443</sup> The function of the Wawel Cathedral

<sup>441</sup> Dercsényi Dezső, *Nagy Lajos kora* [The Age of Louis the Great] (Királyi Magyar Egyetemi Nyomda, 1941), 41; Csaba Tóth and Boglárka Weisz, "I. Károly fátyolban, avagy mit keres a királyné portréja a király pénzén" [Charles I in a Veil, or What the Queen's Portrait Is Doing on the King's Coin], HUN-REN Bölcsészettudományi Kutatóközpont, Történettudományi Intézet, 2019, <https://tti.abtk.hu/kutatasok/lendulet/kozepkori-gazdasagtortenet/havi-szines/3689-i-karoly-fatyolban-avagy-mit-keres-a-kiralyne-portreja-a-kiraly-penzen>; C. Tóth Norbert, "Mátyás király első felesége" [The First Wife of King Matthias], in *Királynék a középkori Magyarországon és Európában*, ed. Szovák Kornél and Zsoldos Attila, Közlemények Székesfehérvár történetéből (Székesfehérvár: Székesfehérvár városi levéltár és kutatóintézet, 2019), 131.

<sup>442</sup> Karlinszky Balázs, "A veszprémi káptalan a középkorban. A veszprémi székeskáptalan középkori birtokai. PhD értekezés" [The Veszprém Chapter in the Middle Ages. The Medieval Estates of the Veszprém Cathedral. PhD Thesis] (Piliscsaba, Pázmány Péter Katolikus Egyetem, 2013), 38.

<sup>443</sup> Świechowska, *Katedra gnieźnieńska*, 1:33.

changed, as it became a place for coronations and burials of the rulers. Royal coronations from this time on took place in the center of the cathedral.<sup>444</sup> Wladyslaw the Elbow-High (Wladyslaw the Short) was crowned in the cathedral in January 1320. Written records unequivocally confirm that the ceremony was conducted in the cathedral by Archbishop Jakub Świnka in the presence of the Bishop of Kraków, Muskata.<sup>445</sup> Interestingly, in 1341, the wedding of King Casimir III the Great (1333-1370, the last king of the Piast dynasty) and his second wife, Adelaide of Hesse (1341-1356) took place in Poznań Cathedral, where Adelaide was crowned queen.<sup>446</sup>

Jan Zachwatowicz argues that the main factor behind expanding and rebuilding the cathedral at Gniezno, besides the increasing number of the chapter, was also the desire to restore Gniezno Cathedral's former glory as the coronation church for the Polish kings. Efforts to restore this role to the Gniezno cathedral can be seen in the further activities of Skotnicki, when, for example, in 1370 he welcomed the Hungarian king Louis in the cathedral and for this occasion he "decorated the church and erected a throne".<sup>447</sup> Although according to the account of Janek of Czarnków, in 1370 Louis was supposed to sit in the cathedral in a coronation garment after an earlier coronation in Krakow. The king came to Gniezno, but at the urging of some Cracovians, he did not fulfill his promise (which was given to the archbishop and representatives of the nobility of Greater Poland as compensation for the coronation in Kraków), arguing that it would make him ridiculous.<sup>448</sup>

Thanks to the negotiations between Pope Clement VI, Charles, then margrave of Moravia, and his father, King John of Luxemburg (1310-1346), Prague was raised to the rank of

<sup>444</sup> Węclawowicz, "Medieval Krakow and Its Churches: Structure and Meanings," 67.

<sup>445</sup> Skibiński, "Królewski charakter katedry poznańskiej."

<sup>446</sup> Skibiński, *Katedra poznańska*, 41.

<sup>447</sup> Zachwatowicz, "Architektura katedry gotyckiej," 38.

<sup>448</sup> Czyżak, "Fundacje i fundatorzy kaplic w katedrze gnieźnieńskiej w II połowie XIV wieku," 103.



archbishopric and was thus freed from the ties to the archbishopric of Mainz. A papal bull from April 30, 1334, attests to this, while another bull from May 5 confirms that the archbishop of Prague obtained the rights to crown the future kings of Bohemia.<sup>449</sup> While Charles IV and his first wife Balance of Valois were crowned in the old basilica in 1347, while construction of the new Gothic chancel was still in its beginning stages. His second wife Anne of Bavaria (1349-1353), third wife Anna von Schweidnitz (1353-1362) and fourth wife, Elizabeth of Pomerania (m. 1363), who succeeded Charles by 15 years after he passed away in 1378, were crowned in the cathedral. All of them were buried there too. The wife of King Wenceslas, son of Charles IV, Johanna of Bavaria was crowned queen in 1370.<sup>450</sup> In 1400, King Wenceslas's second wife, Sophia (1400-1425) was crowned Queen of Bohemia in the church.<sup>451</sup>

In the next years, the Hussites had control over Prague until Sigismund of Luxemburg entered Prague in 1436. His wife Barbara was crowned in February 1437 in a solemn ceremony, but Sigismund died in December the same year. His son-in-law, Albert of Habsburg was crowned in 1438 in the cathedral but died the following year. His son, Ladislaus the Posthumous succeeded him and was crowned in the cathedral in 1453, while George of Poděbrady, leader of the Utraquists, became regent. After Ladislaus' death, George was crowned in 1458 and ruled until his death in 1471, after which his body was buried in the cathedral.<sup>452</sup> Vladislav II's son Louis was crowned in 1509, and Louis' wife Maria of Austria was crowned queen in St. Vitus in 1522. Louis was killed at the battle of Mohács in 1526, not long after, Ferdinand of Habsburg, son-in-law of Vladislav II was elected king of Bohemia in the Wenceslas chapel and crowned in the St. Vitus cathedral in the following year.<sup>453</sup>

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<sup>449</sup> Kuthan and Royt, *The Cathedral of St. Vitus at Prague Castle*, 45; Uličný, "The Choirs of St Vitus's Cathedral in Prague," 188.

<sup>450</sup> Kuthan and Royt, *The Cathedral of St. Vitus at Prague Castle*, 65.

<sup>451</sup> Kuthan and Royt, 69–71.

<sup>452</sup> Kuthan, "From the Hussite Wars until the End of the Reign of the Jagiellon," 317–20.

<sup>453</sup> Kuthan, 325–27.

## Conclusions

We can see two concurrent attitudes in which the Hungarian Kingdom differed from the other two Central European regions in its use of cathedral spaces for practices and events that concerned ecclesiastical law. While previously church doors were widely regarded in Europe as the place for ecclesiastical court proceedings (and previously lay courts as well), this fell out of use towards the Late Middle Ages in most places, including the Polish regions, while they were used for far longer in Hungary. Concurrently, the Polish and Bohemian coronations and royal weddings frequently happened in cathedrals, and from the middle of the fourteenth century were fixed in the cathedrals near the royal seats, Kraków and Prague respectively; but coronations in the Hungarian Kingdom were not regarded as valid unless they took place at the Székesfehérvár collegiate church and weddings in the Late Middle Ages happened either there or at the royal seat of Buda, in the Church of the Assumption of the Buda Castle, also rebuilt in the middle of the fourteenth century.

In the two regards above, practices of the ecclesiastical law in the Hungarian Kingdom seem much more conservative, at least as it regards to the use of cathedral spaces. This conservative attitude is probably connected to the construction of the western hall at Esztergom: the representative hall as the space for the archbishopric tribunals probably strengthened the custom at other churches and the still widespread use of church doors kept the hall functioning. The symbolic *Porta Speciosa* with the Virgin Mary, protector of Hungary enthroned watched over the consistory court sessions.

## V. The dead in the cathedral space

In this last chapter, my point of departure was a group of artifacts that have outlasted even ruined cathedrals: tombstones and funeral monuments. Almost all of the furniture and small architecture in the cathedrals were related to liturgical performance and acts, and a small subset of these had special meaning: those building parts, objects and inscriptions that were meant to preserve the memory of a person: tombs, inscriptions, altar and chapel foundations etc. of the deceased.<sup>454</sup> I analyze the spaces these artifacts occupied and created and study some of the phenomena related to the dead and their memory in Central European cathedrals in the Late Middle Ages.

This chapter highlights practices I have observed that have affected the cathedral space. To study the entirety of the very complex web of relationships, meaning and symbolism related to death and burials in medieval cathedrals is far beyond the scope of the present dissertation. In the following sections, we will see how the visible tombs were arranged and treated, what happened to some of the tombs, how the liturgy of the dead related to the cathedral space and what were some other ways in which the dead were remembered.

### Tombs, tombstones, funeral topographies

Cathedral spaces in the Middle Ages had considerably more burials and visible tombstones that we can see when we walk into a cathedral today. One could be buried anywhere in the church.<sup>455</sup> The numbering on Table XII (Figure 86) from the 1963 monograph of the

<sup>454</sup> For a special group of liturgical objects that no doubt were present in the cathedral spaces too, see Rózsa Juhos's recent dissertation: "Sepulchrum Domini. Funktionsanalyse Mittelalterlicher Heiliger Gräber" (Doctoral dissertation, Budapest, Eötvös Lóránd Tudományegyetem, 2022).

<sup>455</sup> Lövei Pál, *Posuit hoc monumentum pro aeterna memoria: bevezető fejezetek a középkori Magyarország síremlékeinek katalógusához. Akadémiai doktori értekezés* [Posuit Hoc Monumentum pro Aeterna Memoria: Introductory Chapters to the Catalog of the Grave Monuments of Medieval Hungary. Academic Doctoral Dissertation] (Budapest: Hungarian Academy of Sciences, 2009), 360.

archaeological research in Poznań cathedral shows the burials found: the numbering goes up to 183 and less than half of the surface of the cathedral was examined.<sup>456</sup> As I have mentioned earlier, the tombs in and around Eger Cathedral amounted to over 460 separate burials.<sup>457</sup>

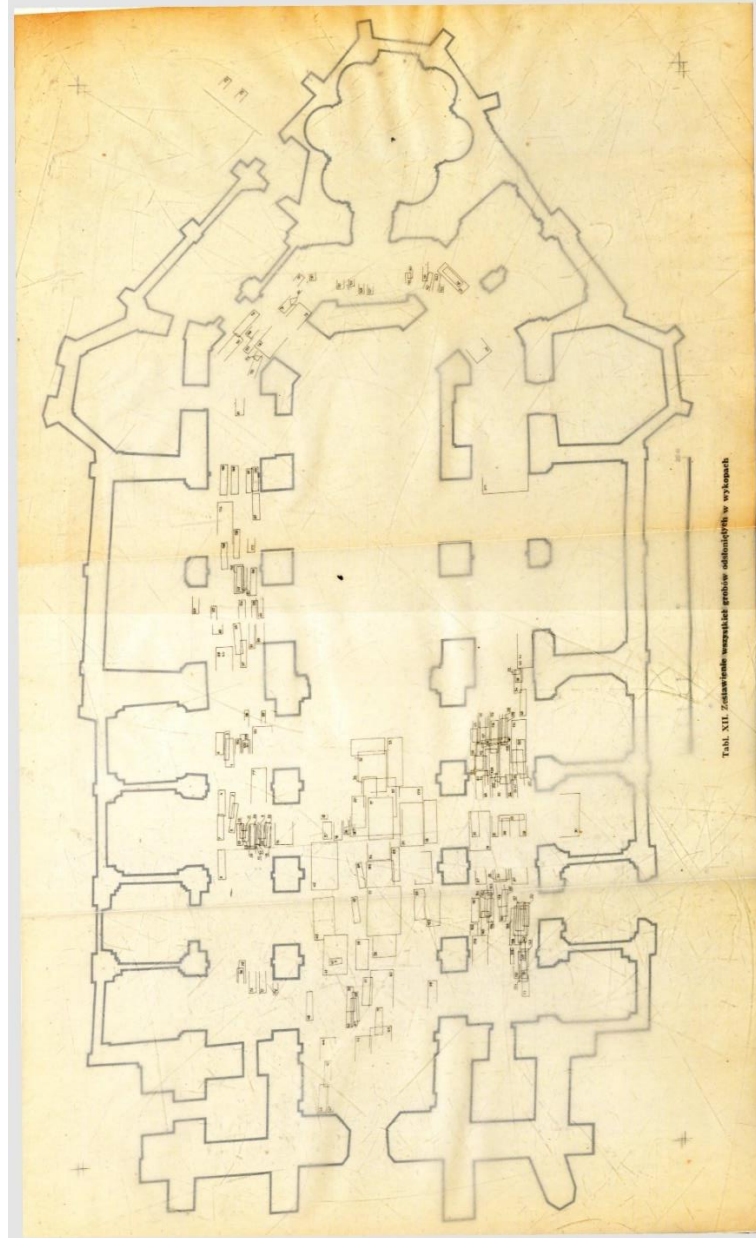


Figure 86. Tombs in Poznań cathedral

For people regarded as saints in their lifetime or rulers, the right to have them buried in the church provided special privilege and an outstanding and renewing income. The burial of the

<sup>456</sup> Józefowiczówna, *Z badań nad architekturą przedromańską i romańską w Poznaniu*.

<sup>457</sup> Kozák, "Jelentés az egri várban végzett feltárásról. 1976. Fotódokumentáció" has a photograph (unfortunately unmarked, but clearly from the excavations at the site of the Late Gothic sanctuary) that shows us tomb no. 467 (Table 49).

rich and noble and their efforts to secure deliverance provided a big part of the churches' revenue.<sup>458</sup> As Caroline Bruzelius writes in her book section about mendicant construction strategies: throughout the thirteenth and fourteenth century, chapels were added throughout Europe to the naves of churches, and it seems like mendicant friars were in the avant-garde of this matter. There was a new way of thinking about the walls of the church, as both lay and clerical patrons wished to establish secondary altars and family chapels, and previous chapels might have been destroyed or rebuilt as the family died out.<sup>459</sup>

By the fourteenth century, the eschatological value of the burials also became more linked to the visibility and grandeur of the tomb.<sup>460</sup> The tombs were often meant to be part of an ensemble honoring the deceased person and maintaining their memory: the floor around the tombstone was often colorful and ornamental, and the tomb's decorations were echoed in the carved stone ornaments, especially coats of arms, wall paintings etc. around the tombs, as well as altars founded where the priest had to pray for the soul of the buried.<sup>461</sup>

It seems that the observation of Szczęsny Skibiński made for Poland holds true for all Central Europe in the Late Middle Ages: practice showed that family memory was more effective than church memory, therefore chapels with tombstones have survived, the maintenance of which was taken care of by the next generations of the family. Family memory protected tombstones, while ancient monuments raised the glory of the family. In the 15th century, the custom of founding chapels adjacent to the aisles and the ambulatory, serving as

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<sup>458</sup> Erwin Panofsky, *Tomb Sculpture; Four Lectures on Its Changing Aspects from Ancient Egypt to Bernini* (New York: H.N. Abrams, 1964), 46.

<sup>459</sup> Bruzelius, *Preaching, Building, and Burying. Friars in the Medieval City*, 92–93.

<sup>460</sup> Emilia Jamroziak, "Spaces of Lay-Religious Interaction in Cistercian Houses of Northern Europe," *Parergon: Journal of the Australian and New Zealand Association for Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 27 (2010): 58; See also Anne Mcgee Morganstern, "Liturgical and Honorific Implications of the Placement of Gothic Wall Tombs," *Hortus Artium Medievalium* 10 (January 1, 2004): 81–96.

<sup>461</sup> See Pál Lövei's collection of Hungarian examples at *Posuit hoc monumentum pro aeterna memoria: bevezető fejezetek a középkori Magyarország síremlékeinek katalógusához. Akadémiai doktori értekezés*, 359, 370–80.

tomb chapels, became widespread. At that time, in addition to the tombstone, an altar was also founded with provisions for praying for the soul of the founder buried here. Poznań canons, and even more so bishops, were most often recruited from noble and noble families from Greater Poland. In some cathedral chapels, mausoleums of Greater Poland's noble families were built. The beginning was usually founded by a church dignitary; he was part of the series of predecessors on the episcopal throne, but he still remained a man of his family.<sup>462</sup> In addition to family pride, private chapel foundations were also motivated by wishes influenced by the movement of the *devotio moderna*, the wish for intimate religious practice.<sup>463</sup>

The dead buried in the churches participated passively in the mass and the tomb of the dead was the place where the dead could keep in contact with the remaining living.<sup>464</sup> The deceased were not only part of the society of churchgoers and participating in the events, but also benefited from the same rights as if they still lived and were part of the same legal and societal connections.<sup>465</sup>

The noblemen of 15-16<sup>th</sup> centuries throughout Europe (and this included cathedral canons too, many of whom came from noble families) wished to be buried where they have observed the liturgies in life, and wills from Early Modern Hungary indicate that epitaphs and objects of remembrance were placed here too.<sup>466</sup> Like in the case of Nicholas, archbishop of Gniezno, who was buried “in front of the choir,”<sup>467</sup> archbishops and bishops often chose their cathedral

<sup>462</sup> Skibiński, *Katedra poznańska*, 118.

<sup>463</sup> Marosi Ernő, “A művészetföldrajz lehetőségei; Stílusrétegek; A művészi munka szervezete és értékelése.” [The Possibilities of Art Geography; Layers of Style; Organization and Evaluation of Artistic Work.], in *Magyarországi művészet 1300-1470 körül*, vol. I, 1987, 133.

<sup>464</sup> Lövei, *Posuit hoc monumentum pro aeterna memoria: bevezető fejezetek a középkori Magyarország síremlékeinek katalógusához*. Akadémiai doktori értekezés, 305.

<sup>465</sup> See Otto Gerhard Oexle, “Die Gegenwart Der Toten,” in *Death in the Middle Ages*, ed. Herman Braet and Werner Verbeke, *Mediaevalia Lovaniensia* 9 (Leuven University Press, 1983), 19–77; Christine Sauer, *Fundatio und Memoria: Stifter und Klostergründer im Bild 1100 bis 1350* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1993), 19–20.

<sup>466</sup> Philippe Ariès, *The Hour of Our Death* (Knopf, 1981), 79.

<sup>467</sup> “(...)quod idem d[omi]nus N[icolaus] Archiep[iscop]us ante chorum predictae ecclesie predicta die est sepultus” Ulanowski, *Acta Capitulum Nec Non Iudiciorum Ecclesiasticorum Selecta*, 1894, 1:308.

as their eternal resting space and were especially keen on being buried in the eastern side, in or near the choir.

Wrocław Cathedral was used as a necropolis by the bishops, with fifteen burial chambers of Wrocław and Lubusz bishops identified during the excavations. Most of the burials are from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, marked by appropriate grave slabs. The tomb of the founder, Bishop Tomasz I (1232-1268) was probably a free-standing sarcophagus.<sup>468</sup> Gniezno cathedral was also highly attractive burial place: by the middle of the sixteenth century, 23 archbishops have chosen to be buried close to St. Adalbert's relics, and many other prelates, canons, and even members of the most important families, including the ruling dynasty.<sup>469</sup>

The eastern side, and especially near the choir was the most desirable burial spot in cathedrals, reserved for saints, kings, archbishops and bishops, and the environments of the Holy Cross altar were popular too.<sup>470</sup> Kings and patrons were often buried "in the middle" of the church, which meant the main axis, either behind or in front of the main altar, in the crossing or in the middle of the nave. In the following paragraphs, I would like to bring examples from two lesser-known cathedrals, Zagreb and Várad, to support these observations.

In Zagreb, bishop Timothy's tomb was in front of the Virgin Mary altar founded by himself (f. 1284).<sup>471</sup> At the southern side of the main apse, we find the altar of St. Luke (at least at the

<sup>468</sup> Mikołajczak, "Katedralna Nekropolia Biskupów Wrocławskich w Czasach Średniowiecza," 112.

<sup>469</sup> Aleksandra Świechowska, ed., "Wyposażenie," in *Katedra gnieźnieńska*, vol. 1 (Poznań-Warsaw-Lublin, 1968), 197.

<sup>470</sup> Steffen Krämer, *Herrschaftliche Grablege und lokaler Heiligenkult: Architektur des englischen Decorated Style* (Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2007), 63–77.

<sup>471</sup> "consecratum est altare beate Marie virginis in ecclesia zagrabiensi per venerabilem patrem dominum Tyraotheum episcopum zagrabiensem. In quo continentur iste reli- quie, videlicet:.....de tunica domini, sancte Lucie virginis, sancte Elyzabeth, sancte Clare virginis, sancte Teodore, sancte Tecle virginis, sancte Gertrudis virginis; item undecim milia virginum, Stephani regis et confessoris, sanctorum Johannis et Pauli martirum, sancti Vincenti martiris, sancti Demetrii martiris, sancti Georgii martiris, sancti Gerardi episcopi et martiris, sanctorum Viti et Modesti martirum." Tkalčić, *Monumenta historica episcopatus Zagrabiensis: XII. i XIII. stoljeća*, 1:216 charter no. CCXVI. 1284 August 21 (although the text of the charter says "XII kalendas septembris"; "dominus Thymotheus [...] qui laudabiliter prefuit ecclesie, quam in diversis ornamentis et vasis argenteis dotavit. [...] cuius sepulchrum apparet ante aram beate virginis in ecclesia maiori." Tkalčić, *Monumenta historica episcopatus Zagrabiensis*, 2:6.

1799 plan). Bishop Luke (1470-1510) was also buried in the church, in front of the altar of St. Luke, founded by himself, at the southern side of the main apse. The tombstone of Bishop Luke was made out of red limestone (referred to in medieval Hungary as “red marble”) and is a very fine renaissance artifact, carved by Giovanni Fiorentino, supposed to have been in the apse at least until 1703, when a new marble floor was made in the main apse. His tombstone was recently (2022) reassembled, when new pieces were found during the renovation after the 2020 earthquake.<sup>472</sup>

Bishop Oswald has asked in his will that he be buried in front of the “small altar that I have commissioned in front of the Holy Sacrament”, which could mean either the middle of the nave, as the Holy Sacrament was often kept near the holy Cross altar.<sup>473</sup> Starting in 1508, the lord prebendaries (this might mean the confraternity of the Virgin Mary – see *The Virgin Mary choir in Zagreb and its possible inspiration*) of Zagreb said masses “under the major mass” for the deceased at the altar of Bishop Oswald, which would mean that it was not so close to the main altar that it would have been inconvenient.<sup>474</sup> Tkalčić described the tombstone as standing in the choir of the cathedral next to the altar of the Holy Cross in 1894.<sup>475</sup>

As little as we can make out of the Várad cathedral’s original topography, it is sure that it conformed to the way in which burials were treated (see Figure 87). In the eastern part of the nave, there was a huge crypt, described as a double tomb with a southern antechamber and a northern funerary chamber, the two connected by a vaulted passage (G). Two skeletons were

<sup>472</sup> “Szegedi Lukács zágrábi püspök sírkövének összeillesztése” [The Assembly of the Tombstone of Luke of Szeged, Bishop of Zagreb], Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, 2022.03.10., <https://mnm.hu/hu/muzeum/hirek/szegedi-lukacs-zagrabi-puspok-sirkovenek-osszeillesztese>.

<sup>473</sup> “sepulturam eligo in ecclesia mea zagrabiensi ante aram parvam, quam ante venerabile sacramentum de novo erigere commisi.” See the text of the will, signed by King Vladislaus II in Tkalčić, *Monumenta historica liberae regiae civitatis Zagrabiae*, 1894, 2:516–23.

<sup>474</sup> Tkalčić, *Monumenta historica liberae regiae civitatis Zagrabiae*, 1896, 3:65–66 charter no. 63: “1508. In festo sancti Barnabe apostoli, domini prebendarii zagrabienses incipient Missam pro defunctis iuxta convencionem cum dominis capitulo factam. Quam continuabunt singulis diebus in altari episcopi Osualdi, sub missa maiori (...)”

<sup>475</sup> Tkalčić, *Monumenta historica liberae regiae civitatis Zagrabiae*, 1894, 2:533.



found with their heads to the east in the northern part, while wood pieces, maybe of a staircase were found in the southern part. To the east of the double crypt, a smaller brick tomb was found (H).<sup>476</sup> The tombs of Várad are problematic, because St. Ladislaus, as well as later Queen Mary (d. 1395) and his husband King Sigismund of Luxemburg (d. 1437) were probably buried in the eastern part. Theirs was probably the double tomb, however, this is now impossible to verify because the tomb of St. Sigismund was originally found and emptied in 1755, while the tomb of St. Ladislaus was sacked when the Ottomans occupied Várad in 1660.<sup>477</sup> The huge chamber, originally located below the walking level of the cathedral (C) is probably another privileged burial, in its northeastern corner, a very old tombstone, depicting a single pastoral staff was found.<sup>478</sup> The analysis of Várad cathedral remains incomplete because its eastern part was not yet excavated: see *Addendum I: Archeological investigations at Várad Cathedral*.

In another privileged place, next to the Holy Cross altar, there was the altar of St. Vincent, erected by Palatine James Borsa the Bald (1306-1314), which was later also dedicated to St. Louis by king Charles I, as his consort queen Beatrice was buried here, and the altar had two altarists.<sup>479</sup> In Várad, it is theorized that, although St. Ladislaus was originally buried near the main altar, at least part of his remains were transferred to a new tomb in the middle of the church, with an altar dedicated to him. The tomb itself was probably a sarcophagus, raised

<sup>476</sup> Balla and Lakatos, “Rómer Flóris kéziratok jelentése a nagyvárad vár 1883. évi ásatásáról,” 486.

<sup>477</sup> Terézia Kerny, “Királyi Temetkezések a Várad Székesegyházban” [Royal Burials in the Cathedral of Várad], in *Várad Kötőredékek*, ed. Terézia Kerny (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Művészettörténeti Kutatócsoport, 1989), 159–67; Kerny Terézia, “Zsigmond király temetése és temetkezőhelye” [The Burial and Tomb of King Sigismund], in *Sigismundus rex et imperator: művészet és kultúra Luxemburgi Zsigmond korában : 1387-1437*, ed. Takács Imre (Szépművészeti Múzeum, 2006), 475–79.

<sup>478</sup> Balla and Lakatos, “Rómer Flóris kéziratok jelentése a nagyvárad vár 1883. évi ásatásáról,” 492–93.

<sup>479</sup> Bunyitay, *A várad káptalan legrégibb statútumai*, 71: “Novissimis autem temporibus altare sancti Vincentii, quod est iuxta altare sancte Crucis a meridie , erexit et dotavit Copaz palatinus,? demum vero manente memoria sancti Vincentii, fuit dedicatum per regem Karolum ad honorem sancti Lodovici pro remedio anime domine Beatricis consortis sue , que ibidem sepulta existit , sicque altare ipsum est distinctum ad duos magistratus.”

above the ground as priests were able to walk around it when saying the prayers at canonical hours.<sup>480</sup> The tomb was finely carved,<sup>481</sup> with splendid marble columns.<sup>482</sup>

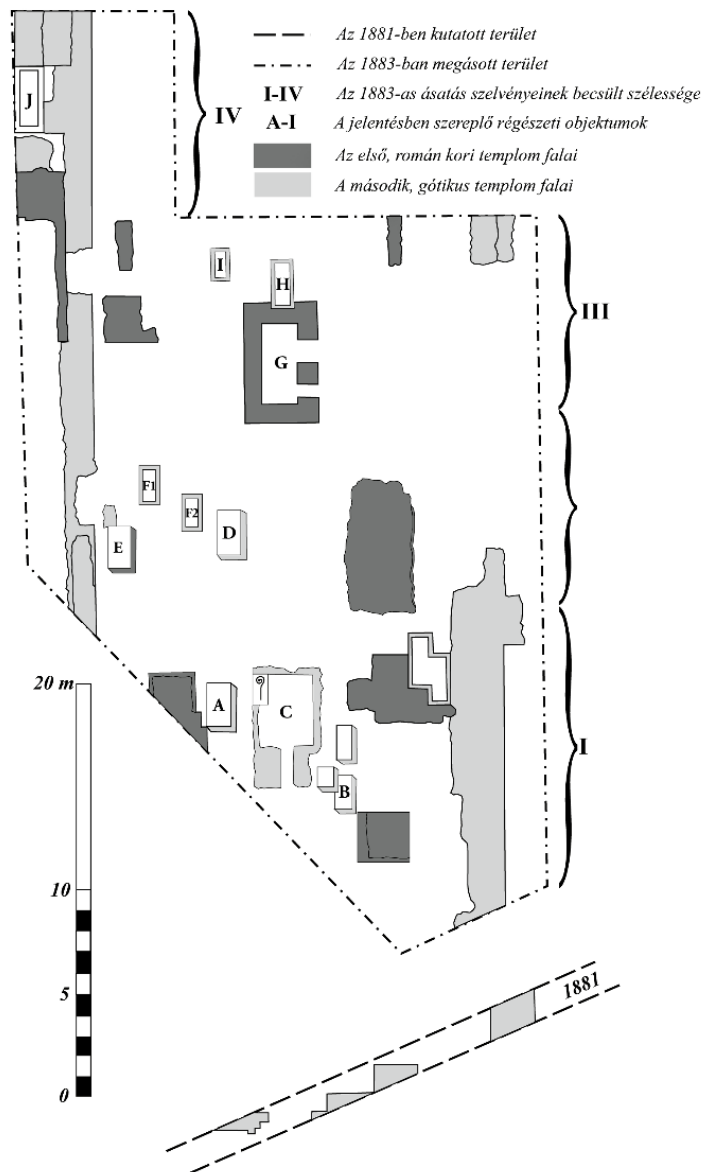


Figure 87. The combined excavation findings of the 1881 and 1883 excavations at Várad Cathedral, by Tünde Balla and Attila Lakatos

<sup>480</sup> Balogh, *Varadinum*, 1982, 1:13.

<sup>481</sup> “Dentro di tal Castello ui é il sontuoso sepolcro del Re Ladislao tutti di finissimi marmi sottilmente intagliati.” the description of Giovanandrea Gromo, probably from just before the sacking of Ladislaus’ grave in 1565. All of the original Italian text was published in Decei, “Giovanandrea Gromo. Compendo della Transilvania.” with a French summary at the end.

<sup>482</sup> The great Humanist poet, Janus Pannonius describes the tomb in his poem about saying goodbye to Várad: At tu, qui rutilis eques sub armis/ dextra belligeram levas securim,/ cuius splendida marmorum columnis/ sudarunt liquidum sepulcra nectar./ nostrum rite favens iter secunda. In: Janus, *Opera Quae Manserunt Omnia*; See the article of Ágnes Ritókné Szalay about Janus’ time at Várad and the possible influences of a book describing Padua’s sights, the “Libellus de magnificis ornamentis Regie Civitatis Padue”, which also mentions that famous deceased persons rested in tombs on four marble columns: Ritoókné Szalay, “Janus Pannonius és Várad” esp. page 44.

To give an example of how precisely tombs and their decorations could communicate complex messages, we need only look at the royal necropolises of Kraków and Prague.<sup>483</sup> However, to provide another good set of examples: new epitaphs built for long-deceased predecessors could be used to prove political affiliations. After the passing of János Hunyadi in 1456, it is hard to imagine that his widow and the young King Matthias would leave the tomb unmarked, and yet there is a new memorial in Gyulafehérvár Cathedral, which refers to itself as an *Epitaphium* in its inscription, where it is said that it was commissioned by John Statileo, the bishop of Transylvania, by the will of King John of Szapolya in 1533. The king who was accused of being secretly friendly with the Ottomans commissioned a new epitaph for the great hero who defeated the Ottomans, proving his commitment to the fight against pagans.<sup>484</sup> Louis I, upon ascending the Polish throne, commissioned a red marble tomb for his predecessor Casimir the Great (d.1370) in Wawel.<sup>485</sup>

## Moving and disturbing tombs

In most cathedrals, there were so many tombstones laid on the ground that churchgoers walked on these rather than the church pavement. In German churches, this was so widespread that a painting depicting the coronation of the Virgin Mary has her kneeling on tombstones decorated with crosses and crests.<sup>486</sup> This was most probably the case for the Central European

<sup>483</sup> For the burials in the Romanesque Prague cathedral, see Kateřina Tomková, Jana Maříková-Kubková, and Jan Frolík, “Hranice života, hranice zapomnění. Hroby významných církevních představitelů na Pražském hradě v období přemyslovské a lucemburské vlády” [The Limit of Life, the Limit of Oblivion. Graves of Important Ecclesiastic Representatives at Prague Castle during the Přemysl and the Luxembourg Government], *Archaeologia historica* 29, no. 1 (2004): 207–13; for the royal tombs in Prague see Uličný, “The Choirs of St Vitus’s Cathedral in Prague”; Uličný, “Chóry katedrály sv. Víta v Praze”; and for Kraków see Walczak, “Topography of the Royal Necropolis at the Cracow Cathedral.”

<sup>484</sup> Lövei, *Posuit hoc monumentum pro aeterna memoria: bevezető fejezetek a középkori Magyarország sírmlékeinek katalógusához. Akadémiai doktori értekezés*, 456–57.

<sup>485</sup> The matter was amply treated by Ewa Śnieżyńska-Stolot in “Nagrobek Kazimierza Wielkiego w Katedrze Wawelskiej,” *Studia do dziejów Wawelu* IV., 1978, 1–115.

<sup>486</sup> Gerhard Weilandt, *Die Sebalduskirche in Nürnberg: Bild Und Gesellschaft Im Zeitalter Der Gotik Und Renaissance*, *Studien Zur Internationalen Architektur- Und Kunstgeschichte* 47 (Petersburg: Michael Imhof Verlag, 2007), 330, 597–99.

cathedrals too: in Early Modern Zagreb, the priests were already complaining about the large number of burials. Later, the tombstones were removed: in 1791, *kustos* Antun Zdencaj repaved the church with white-grey marble slabs.<sup>487</sup>

Sometimes medieval church cemeteries simply ran out of place. As Pál Lővei notes: cemeteries at the time did not promise eternal rest, only sleep until the eventual resurrection and it was generally believed that the soul of the deceased would not be bothered by removing the remains from the grave, as the resurrection of the faithful would not be a problem at the Last Judgement.<sup>488</sup>

Church walls cut through or were built over burials. One example illustrates this perfectly: one of the new buttresses of the fourteenth-century nave of Eger Cathedral was built right above a tomb:



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*Figure 88. Eger Cathedral. Archaeological excavations, tomb under the first buttress from the East on the southern side of the cathedral.*

In Várad cathedral, at the chapel on the northern side of the northwestern tower, two tombstones, one dated to the 1360-1380s, and the other of unknown date were found, covering

<sup>487</sup> Deanović and Čorak, *Zagrebačka Katedrala*, 38.

<sup>488</sup> Lővei, *Posuit hoc monumentum pro aeterna memoria: bevezető fejezetek a középkori Magyarország síremlékeinek katalógusához. Akadémiai doktori értekezés*, 174.

tombs of 65-70 cm height, in the northeastern and southeastern corners of the chapel, with a support in between that could have been the foundation of an altar. The tomb of the northeastern corner housed the remains of Conrad of Buda and his wife, Anna. The tombstone is relatively short, measuring 160\*80 cm, which might have meant that this was not the original burial, but rather re-housing the remains of previously deceased.<sup>489</sup>

The tombstone of bishop Nicholas Dörögdi, previously located in the entrance hall between the western towers (where it was supposedly in a very inconvenient place) was removed in 1506 and a new, red marble tombstone with the image of the bishop and an inscription was commissioned from an Italian master working in Pest, and placed in a new site, in front of the Virgin Mary altar.<sup>490</sup> Studying the Eger Ordinal, which was about to be printed at this time, we could see that whenever they left the choir, the bishop and his ministers usually stood in the nave in front of the Virgin Mary altar: this way, bishop Nicholas was put in his rightful place.<sup>491</sup>

## Eger Ossuary

As I mentioned in Chapter II, there was a room found filled with bones, located at the former southern side apse, later the southwestern corner of the Gothic chancel, that the archeologists identified as an ossuary (*ossarium*). I would like to examine the Eger ossuary and compare it to other ossuaries: how did they look, why they were built, and see whether Eger is the only case of a cathedral ossuary from Central Europe.

Ossuaries are buildings, rooms or even smaller chambers or chests in which the bones of the deceased were (are) kept, and they could be free-standing or attached to the churches. When it

<sup>489</sup> Fechete-Porsztner, Mihálka, and Marta, “Újabb adatok a nagyváradai vár középkori és reneszánsz kori topográfiájához. A nagyváradai vár régészeti ásatásai a 2010–2015 közötti helyreállítások során,” 511–12.

<sup>490</sup> Détshy, “Munkások És Mesterek Az Egri Vár Építkezésein 1493 És 1596 Között. Második Közlemény.,” 160.

<sup>491</sup> Dobszay, *Liber Ordinarius Agriensis (1509)*, 25–26 entry no. 212: “Et processio stet ad duas partes ante altare Sancte Crucis, et dominus episcopus cum astantibus interim ante altare beate Virginis stabit.”

is a building, it is called a charnel house: in Central Europe, these were usually two-story constructions with the ossuary underneath and a chapel, usually dedicated to St. Michael on the upper level.<sup>492</sup>

In German sources, the presence of ossuaries can be attested from the 12<sup>th</sup> century, but the practice may be even earlier. There are several examples of ossuaries or charnel houses from the Hungarian Kingdom from the fourteenth century.<sup>493</sup> One of the best-known examples is St. Michael's chapel, a free-standing building south of St. Elizabeth's parish church at Kassa, where the two parallel rooms of the lower level functioned as ossuaries.<sup>494</sup> Perhaps the most famous ossuary in Central Europe is located beneath the cemetery church of All Saints at Sedlec, was built before 1400 although its distinctive decorations date from the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. It is theorized that Sedlec Ossuary and at least some of the other charnel houses in Europe were built because of the increased number of burials due to the Black Death in the fourteenth century.<sup>495</sup>

<sup>492</sup> In English: ossuary or charnel house, in German: Beinhaus, Ossarium, Ossuarium, or Karner, Gerner, Kärnter, Polish: ossuarium, Czech: kostnice, ossuarium, in Hungarian: osszárium, or karner, cinterem, although the latter can mean cemetery too.

<sup>493</sup> There was an ossuary built next to the northern wall of the nave of the parish church of St. Nicholas in Veszprém "Szent Miklós templomrom, Veszprém" [The Ruins of the Church of St. Nicholas, Veszprém], n.d., <https://varlexikon.hu/veszprem-szt-miklos-templomrom>; a similar room was discovered at the excavation of the parish church at Solt-Tételhegy, built next to the wall of its single western tower sometime in the fourteenth-fifteenth centuries Buzás Gergely and Rosta Szabolcs, "Solt-Tételhegy középkori templomának 2006–2009. évi feltárása," in *Településtörténeti kutatások. Solt-Tételhegy, Kiskunfélegyháza, Amler-bánya*, ed. Somogyvári Ágnes, Szentpéteri József, and V. Székely György, *Archaeologia cumanica* 3, n.d., 126; Lövei Pál collected other examples from the fourteenth century: the Saint Stephen church at Mecseknádasd, the room at the Catholic church at Mátraszőlős, at the northern side of the church at Veszprémfajsz, the Protestant church at Beregdaróc, the Catholic church at Bárca (Barca, Slovakia) etc. *Posuit hoc monumentum pro aeterna memoria: bevezető fejezetek a középkori Magyarország síremlékeinek katalógusához. Akadémiai doktori értekezés*, 175.

<sup>494</sup> Péter Farbak, *Szalmári György, a mecénás* [György Szalmári, the Patron], vol. 27, *Művészettörténeti füzetek* (Budapest, 2002), 33–34, see also note 266 on page 113.

<sup>495</sup> Hana Brzobohatá, Jan Frolík, and Filip Velínský, "Wealth or Just Job Seekers: Medieval Skeletal Series from Kutná Hora-Sedlec (Czech Republic) with a Notable Surplus of Men," *Interdisciplinaria Archaeologica. Natural Sciences in Archaeology* 14, no. 1 (2023): 82, <https://doi.org/DOI:10.24916/iansa.2023.1.6>; See also about the ossuaries at Gdansk: Aleksandra Pudło, "Nowożytnie ossuaria z klasztoru dominikańskiego w Gdańsku" [Modern Ossuaries from the Dominican Monastery in Gdańsk], *Muzeum Archeologiczne w Gdańsku*, 2018, <https://archeologia.pl/nowozytnie-ossuaria-z-klasztoru-dominikanskiego-w-gdansk/>.

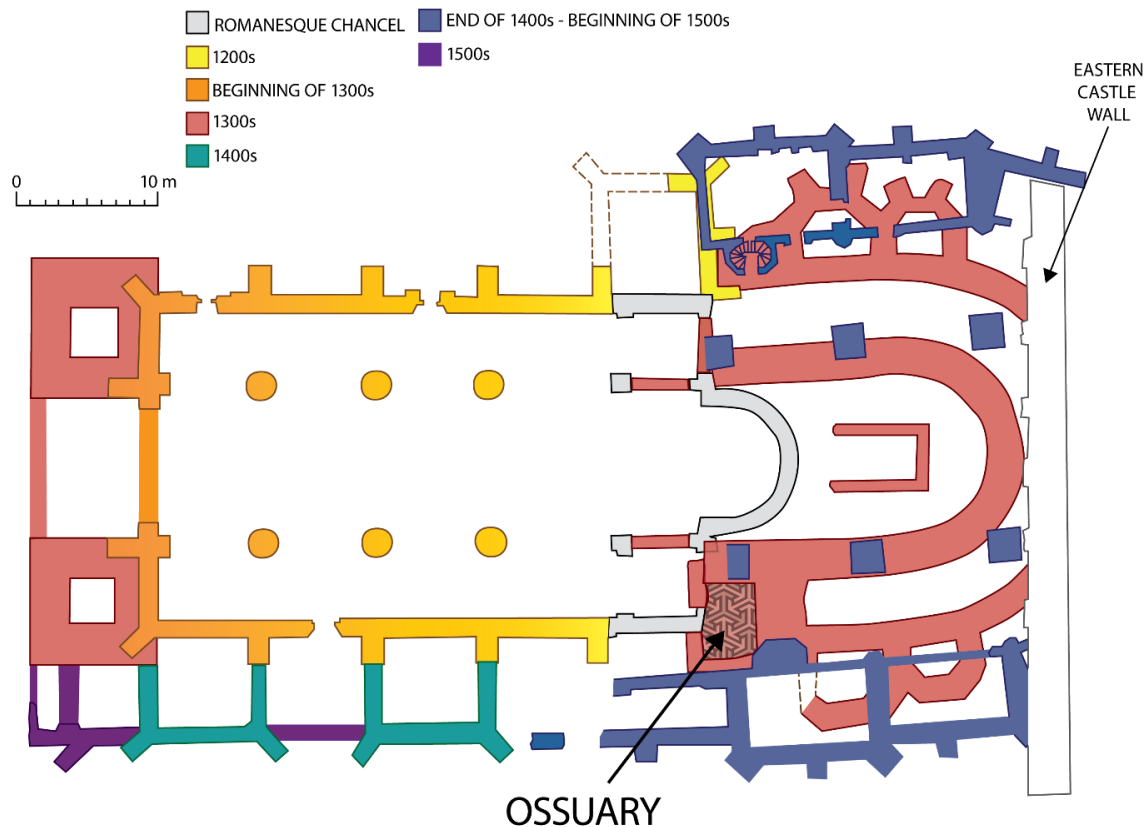


Figure 89. Periodized ground plan of the Late Medieval phases of Eger Cathedral, showing the ossuary.

At the site of Eger Cathedral, at the southern side of the Romanesque side apse, a room was found containing human bones: first a layer of bones, then a layer of debris mixed with bones.<sup>496</sup> This room is peculiar due to a number of reasons, and it is only shortly described by Károly Kozák in his first report of the cathedral's excavations and not mentioned later by any of the researchers. Károly Kozák describes this room in the following way: they found the walls of a room next to the south side of the southern side apse in trench K1, the bottom of which was filled with human bones. A copper S-ended hair ring with a yellow bead was also found, indicating the remains were from the Árpáadian age. Under the layer of the bones and debris, they found the demolished remains of the side apse. The walls of the room, now identified as an *ossarium*, connect like so: the eastern wall ties in at the North to the E-W wall built at the

<sup>496</sup> Kozák Károly, "Jelentés az egri várban végzett feltárásról. 1965. Ásatási napló" [Report on the Excavation Carried out in Eger Castle 1965. Excavation Journal.] (Magyar Építészeti Múzeum - Műemlékvédelmi Dokumentációs központ, D 25574, 1965), 5–8 April 23, 27–29, May 5.

northern side of the southern side apse and joins the southern wall of the room, which joins the western wall, which ties into the side of the nave.<sup>497</sup>

I think the ossuary was preserved and used in the fifteenth and early sixteenth century too, because the Eger Ordinal, published in 1509, describes its role in the procession at the Feast of All Saints.<sup>498</sup> The entry for this day specifies a procession around the church (“circuendo ecclesiam”), probably exiting at the southern portal and for the first station arriving at the *closed(!)* western portal (“ante magnam ianuam clausam versus occidentem”), then the second station is in front of the northern portal (“ante ianuam versus aquilonem”), and the third station is at the ossuary (“ossorium seu cimiterium, ubi ossa defunctorum sunt”), where in addition to the psalm that was sung at the other two stations, the bishop (!) sprinkles the cemetery and the bones of the dead (with Holy Water) and spreads incense on them, and from here they enter the church (“intrans ecclesiam”) and the procession stands in two parts in the nave of the church, in front of the Holy Cross altar (“in corpore ecclesie ante altare Sancte Crucis”). This means that the ossuary was accessible via a door, probably on the southern or western side, and then the procession re-entered the church probably through the southern portal.

It must be mentioned here that, according to Károly Kozák, there was a cemetery at the north of the church too, the remains of which (some of its western fence, a N-S wall and its gate) were found north of the NW tower. He equates this to the cemetery mentioned in the ordinal.<sup>499</sup> He claimed that the Ordinal says that the cemetery is on the northern side, however, there is no evidence of this in the text. It would also not make sense for the ordinal to talk about circumambulating the church and it would not specifically be called an *ossorium* where the bones of the dead are kept. Also, we have no records of an ossuary from the northern side of

<sup>497</sup> Kozák, “Az egri vár Árpád-kori temetőjének feltárása I.,” 160.

<sup>498</sup> Dobszay, *Liber Ordinarius Agriensis (1509)*, 85 entry no. 595: “Item, finito completarium...”

<sup>499</sup> Kozák, “Az egri várszékesegyház feltárása II.,” 142; Détsy and Kozák, “Eger Vára,” 146.



the church. The cloister was mostly demolished by the time the sanctuary chapel and the new nave wall with the buttresses was built on the northern side. Apart from the cloister, the only other building found at this site was the chapel of St. Stephen. Moreover, Károly Kozák did not know about the cloister yet: the N-S wall that he says is the cemetery wall is the remainder of one of the inner walls of the cloister's western wing, which was later incorporated into being the north-eastern corner of a rectangular building, at least according to Gergely Buzás.<sup>500</sup>

Mihály Détsky collected the written sources referring to Eger Castle, and he placed the *ossorium* near the Late Gothic chancel, but on the northern side. However, he found an entry in the 1562 inventory of the castle, mentioning a hut that was leaning on the “czinterem” (which I interpret to be the same as the ossuary above).<sup>501</sup> Géza Balázs Nagy also supposes that Kozák misinterpreted the ordinal's description, although he does not localize the ossuary exactly, but theorizes that it must have been in the vicinity of the Late Gothic chancel.<sup>502</sup>

There is an undecided question left about the Eger ossuary: how did it look like, particularly: did it have a chapel on the second floor? Based on my interpretation of the Eger Ordinal, it seems likely that it had a door from the outside, where the bishop could go in to sprinkle the bones, since there is no mention of ascension or descension. Neither the fourteenth century or the end-of-the-fifteenth century ground plan indicates the existence of a chapel, however, it is not entirely out of the question, especially in the fourteenth century phase. There, we might imagine that if there was a chapel, it could have been accessible from under the

<sup>500</sup> For a reconstruction of the thirteenth and fourteenth century state of the site to the north of the cathedral, see Buzás Gergely, “Jelentés az egri vár 2017 első felében lezajlott régészeti kutatásáról” [Report of the Archaeological Investigations Carried out in Eger Castle in the First Half of 2017], *Archaeologia - Altum Castrum Online*, 2017, 7–11, figures 10 and 11.

<sup>501</sup> Détsky, “Az egri várszékesegyház építéstörténetének okleveles adatai,” 16 172-es lábjegyzet; Szabó Károly, “Magyar Történelmi Tár” [Hungarian Historical Repository], *Magyar Történelmi Tár* 3, no. 4 (1881): 159 a „misemondó kápolna” említése után a kovácműhely, majd ez a földház következik – mivel tudjuk, hogy a misemondó kápolna a Szt. Mihály-kápolna volt, a legkeletebbi a székesegyház hajójának déli oldalához épült kápolnák közül, a felsorolásbeli közelség utalhat az épületek közötti térbeli közelségre is. Mindenesetre érdemes lenne kideríteni, hogy a sáfár ház, a búzás ház, a kovácműhely stb. hol voltak ebben az időszakban.

<sup>502</sup> Nagy, “1580 előtti adatok az egri püspöki vár történetéhez,” 171–72.

lettner. Unfortunately, that part of the excavations that would give context to what was south of the ossuary is problematic: see Figure 90.

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*Figure 90. A composite picture of two documentation drawings from the excavation of Eger Cathedral, at the southern side apse, eastern corner of the southern aisle wall, southwestern radiating chapel, ossuary. Problematic parts highlighted.*

Besides Eger, I could not find many other examples of cathedrals with ossuaries. There was an interesting find in Poznań: in 2011, an ossuary chamber was found in the middle of the Virgin Mary church on Ostrów Tumski, a Late Gothic brick church located near the cathedral.<sup>503</sup> In Poznań there existed a separate church and presumably chapter dedicated to the Virgin Mary from the beginning: the palace chapter that was taken from the princely palace and rebuilt. By the 1240s, the city of Poznań outgrew the island, and Duke Przemysław I relocated the city to the left bank of the Warta River, while the island was given to the bishops.<sup>504</sup> After receiving the island, Bishop Boguchwał II (1242-1253) set out to transform it into a bishop's

<sup>503</sup> Krzysztof Kowalski, "Szczątki osób pod kościołem na Ostrowie Tumskim" [Remains of People under the Church in Ostrów Tumski], *Rzeczpospolita*, 12.10.2011, <https://www.rp.pl/nauka/art6450601-szczatki-osob-pod-kościołem-na-ostrowie-tumskim>.

<sup>504</sup> Kóčka-Krenz, "Poznań – miejsce centralne w średniowieczu," 32.

seat of power, starting with the rebuilding of the cathedral's chancel.<sup>505</sup> At this time, the Piasts' princely palace located at the island was demolished, but the palace chapel, dedicated to the Virgin Mary, was rebuilt, using the stones from the demolition. It was rebuilt again in the 15<sup>th</sup> century – there were many Romanesque tiles and blocks in the foundations for the Gothic temple.<sup>506</sup>

Based on the objects found in the chamber, in the Virgin Mary church, the archeologists believe that medieval bones of clergy were transferred there and the chamber itself was dug in the Early Modern period. The archaeologists assert that the bones of the clergy originate from the cathedral of Sts. Peter and Paul, but this was not elaborated on.<sup>507</sup>

The other example of a possible cathedral ossuary, in the shape of a chamber, comes from Várad: Andrea Scolari, bishop of Várad passed away in 1426, and his tombstone was found almost intact during the 1883 excavations, a carving of a bishop figure with his staff, vestments including the miter and a coat of arms near his feet. His tombstone was moved: it was found in the northwestern corner of the excavation area, slightly west from the middle of the church well above the walking level of the church, used as a cover for an *ossarium* (Figure 87, object A).<sup>508</sup>

The chamber at Várad is not without precedents: Pál Lővei mentions two cases, where a stone plate was found that was used to cover an ossuary. One was found at the Augustinian monastery

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<sup>505</sup> The Chronicle of greater Poland says: "he ordered the choir of the Poznań church to land, for a reason, that is, to completely destroy and rebuild", see Kurbisowna, *Kronika Wielkopolska*, 239. and the annals of the chapter of Poznań say: "In the second year of his ministry, the bishop and the presbytery of the Poznań cathedral, due to some wall fractures, ordered to demolish completely and decided to build a new foundation and continue" see Wiesiołowski, "Roczniki Wielkopolskie," 75.

<sup>506</sup> Hanna Kóčka-Krenz, "Dzieje Ostrowa Tumskiego w Poznaniu Przed Lokacją Miasta" [The History of Ostrów Tumski in Poznań before the City's Location], *Kronika Miasta Poznania* 1, no. 80 (2003): 23–24.

<sup>507</sup> Anna Kubicka, "Analiza antropologiczna materiału kostnego z wykopów nr 69 i 70 ze stanowiska Poznań-Ostrów Tumski 9/10" [Anthropological Examination of Osteological Material from Trenches Number 69 and 70 at Ostrów Tumski 9/10], *Folia Praehistorica Posnaniensia* 19 (2014): 86.

<sup>508</sup> Balla and Lakatos, "Rómer Flóris kéziratosszejtene a nagyváradi vár 1883. évi ásatásáról," 484; Balogh, *Varadinum*, 1982, 1:28.

of Buda and hails from 1455, where the ossuary was a small chamber in the ground below the mortuary chapel at the northern side of the church, the other one at the parish church at the castle of Szeged, where the ossuary was built at the southern side of the church, and it could be reached by four steps.<sup>509</sup>

Based on the information above, we can say that the room at Eger is part of a fourteenth-century trend of building ossuaries next to churches, however, it is distinct because it can directly be tied to the chancel construction. As I argue, this is the *ossorium seu cimiterium* mentioned in the Eger Ordinal of 1509. In the next section, I describe other liturgical practices related to the commemoration of the deceased.

## Liturgies and practices for remembrance

Celebrating the day of the dead in the medieval church started in 1030, when Abbot Odilo of Cluny introduced the Feast of All Souls (*commemoratio omnium fidelium defunctorum*) in his monastery and eventually all other monasteries and churches adopted the practice of celebrating a liturgy after the Vespers of November 1 and celebrating a mass for the dead at November 2.<sup>510</sup>

In general, confraternities played a very important role in maintaining the memory of the deceased and commemorating them, often through commissioning and founding liturgical monuments. One example of a confraternity like this was the Corpus Christy society in Pozsony, studied thoroughly by Judit Majorossy, where the members had to attend liturgical

<sup>509</sup> Lövei, *Posuit hoc monumentum pro aeterna memoria: bevezető fejezetek a középkori Magyarország síremlékeinek katalógusához. Akadémiai doktori értekezés*, 176–77 Figures no. 203 and 660.

<sup>510</sup> Stephen Vanderputten, “The Emergence of the Ecclesia Cluniacensis,” in *A Companion to the Abbey of Cluny in the Middle Ages*, ed. Scott G. Bruce and Stephen Vanderputten, Brill’s Companions to European History 27 (Brill, 2021), 46.

services commemorating the dead members and the society had a chapel in the church of St. Martin and altars in the parish church and the Saint Lawrence church.<sup>511</sup> Their statutes can help us understand how similar groups related to cathedrals might have organized their commemorative practices.

In the statutes of the Várad chapter, in the part about punishments it is specified that the two daily special masses can be omitted when there is an office for the dead (*officium mortuorum*).<sup>512</sup> The altar of the Holy Cross in Eger was also the altar related to the funeral rites in the church: the altarist had to dedicate a mass each week to the deceased, and he was responsible for the burials and the masses at the funerary celebrations.<sup>513</sup>

In Zagreb, the first version of the rules (statutes) of the Virgin Mary *kalendinus* (see chapter III), a society that assembled the prebendaries of the cathedral, had the members gather on the Sunday after the feast of the eleven thousand virgins (*undecim millium virginum*, October 21), and, after completing the service of Vespers and Compline and the ringing of the bells for the deceased, sing for the dead. On the following Monday, after the dawn mass of the Blessed Virgin, they had to perform the vigils of the dead with nine readings, responsories and praises and then one solemn mass for the dead with singing. Each prebendary also had to celebrate one private mass for the dead for the remedy of the members' salvation.<sup>514</sup> Later in the same the document the evening liturgy of the Sunday after October 21<sup>st</sup> is amended: the tombs of the bishops have to be adorned with mournful garments and candles lit around them and say solemn vespers: one for the dead bishops, the second one for the recommended (*pro*

<sup>511</sup> Judit Majorossy, "A Krisztus Teste Konfraternitás helye a középkori pozsonyi polgárok életében" [The Place of the Body of Christ Confraternity in the Lives of Medieval Bratislava Citizens], *Történelmi szemle* XLVI, no. 1–2 (2004): 70–72, 85–92.

<sup>512</sup> Bunyitay, *A váradí káptalan legrégibb statutumai*, 82.

<sup>513</sup> Liber Sancti Johannis I, page 104. See the published version Kovács, *Liber Sancti Johannis Capituli Agriensis 1570*, 58.

<sup>514</sup> Tkalčić, *Monumenta historica liberae regiae civitatis Zagrabiae*, 1896, 3:299.

*commendatis*) and the third one for all the deceased faithful.<sup>515</sup> The statues also specify that 4-6 younger brothers have to help with transporting deceased patrons from their house to the funeral, as well as carry the urn, the pitcher with blessed water, as well as the flags and other things necessary for funeral processions.<sup>516</sup>

In 1406 King Sigismund made a donation to finance the construction of a new main altar and announced his intention to be buried in Várad Cathedral. According to Vince Bunyitay, Sigismund asked for three masses to be said at this main altar every day, “two silent and one with songs”, and one of the silent masses was to be said for the dead. Bunyitay also mentions that Sigismund’s first wife, Mary was buried close to the main altar. Also, that psalms must be sung uninterrupted “*in medio Ecclesiae*” by a total of 18 priests who change each other and finally, that the king himself intends to be buried next to the ashes of Saint Ladislaus.<sup>517</sup> According to Jolán Balogh, the supplications of Sigismund from 1429 and 1430 indicate that the chapter was hesitant to comply with his request for the uninterrupted chanting of psalms.<sup>518</sup>

In the ordinaries of Esztergom and Eger, the vigil for All Saints is described, but does not contain any references to the church space. On the feast day of All Saints, in Esztergom instead of the mass for the dead, a solemn mass for all the saints is sung at the Holy Cross altar, but on the following eight days it is sung every day for the dead. After Compline on the same day, there is a procession to the porticus (it is the only time in which the western extension is mentioned in the Esztergom Ordinal), which comes back to the choir.<sup>519</sup>

As mentioned before, the Eger Ordinal also describes a procession after Compline on the Feast of All Saints. The bishop dons a black cap, with a mantle and a pastoral staff, and four

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<sup>515</sup> Tkalčić, 3:301.

<sup>516</sup> Tkalčić, 3:304.

<sup>517</sup> Bunyitay, *A váradi püspökség története alapításától a jelenkorig*, 1:227.

<sup>518</sup> Balogh, *Varadinum*, 1982, 1:27.

<sup>519</sup> Földváry, *Ordinarius Strigoniensis*, 175.

young men carry lit candles on four golden candlesticks before the bishop and two after, and two priests carry a censer and incense. The procession circumambulates the church, probably exiting at the southern portal and for the first station arriving at the closed western portal, then the second station is in front of the northern portal, and the third station is at the ossuary, where in addition to the psalm that was sung at the other two stations, the bishop sprinkles the cemetery and the bones of the dead (with Holy Water) and spreads incense on them. From here they enter the church and the procession stands in two parts in the nave of the church, in front of the Holy Cross altar: the bishop and the ministers stand around the baptistery or sit in the faldstool.<sup>520</sup>

The Esztergom and Eger Ordinaries diverge on the second day of the feast of All Saints: In the Matins, the readings of the All Saints with the responsories are said throughout the following eight days, and then the vigil for the dead, and then sing for the dead and afterward for All Saints. Three masses are said: for All Saints, the Blessed Virgin and a great mass for the dead, and after the third is finished, they repeat yesterday's procession, except that when

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<sup>520</sup> Dobszay, *Liber Ordinarius Agriensis* (1509), 85 entry no. 595: "Item, finito completorio statim fit pulsus campanarum. Et dominus episcopus induat cappam nigram habens infulam et baculum pastorem. Et quattuor iuvenes portant quattuor candelabra aurata cum candelis accensis ante episcopum et duo ceroferarii similiter. Item, duo sacerdotes portent thuribulum et incensum. Vel, si episcopus deest, tunc dominus prepositus aut unus ex dignitatibus sit presidens. Et tunc incensum et thuribulum portabunt procedentes, et accolitus aquam benedictam. Et fit processio circuendo ecclesiam magnam cum responsorio Libera me Domine, tractim et lente canendo, et unus iuvenis procedat processionem cum cruce nudata. Et prima statio fit ante magnam ianuam clausam versus occidentem. (...) Ubi succentor incipiat psalmum: De profundis clamavi clero toto altematim versiculos prosequendo. Finito psalmo per Requiem etemam dicitur „Kirieleyson, Christeleyson, Kirieleyson", Pater noster. Episcopus dicat: Et ne nos inducas, A porta inferi, Credo videre. Domine miserere eis. Ne tradas bestiis. Domine exaudi orationem, Dominus vobiscum, Oremus. Fidelium Deus... Per Christum Dominum nostrum. Requiescant in pace. Arnen. Deinde procedit ultra cum responsorio, lente canendo. (...) Et fit statio interim ante ianuam versus aquilonem. Et fiunt suffragia per omnia, ut in prima statione. Deinde procedatur etiam cum versu responsorii usque ad ossorium seu cimiterium, ubi ossa defunctorum sunt. Et fit ibi tertia statio. Ubi similiter per succentorem incipitur psalmus pro defunctis cum suffragiis et versiculis, ut supra in duabus stationibus factum est. Et post Requiescant in pace per episcopum aspergatur cimiterium et ossa defunctorum et thurificentur. Deinde cum alio versu responsorii intrant ecclesiam. Et processio stabit ad duas partes in corpore ecclesie ante altare Sancte Crucis episcopo cum ministris circa fontem baptismatis stante vel sedente in faldisterio, et incipit Placebo per totum."

they come back to the church, they do not stand in the nave, but begin immediately the mass for the dead. *Dies irae dies illa* is recited.<sup>521</sup>

There was a procession in Eger Cathedral related to the dead during Lent: on Saturdays, after Nones the priests and the scholars sing the mass for the dead at the Holy Cross altar until Sanctus, and from here singing *Salve Regina* they enter the choir.<sup>522</sup>

Marking important places in the church, perpetually or temporarily, with the use of candles and lamps is especially notable in the case of funerary monuments. Candles were often lit on tombs and altars on the anniversaries of the persons' death. The second wife of Emperor Charles IV, Anna of the Palatinate (1329-1353) founded an altar to St. Nicholas in the middle of the choir of St. Mary (the mansionars' choir) and instructed the mansionars to keep candles lit at the grave of her son, Wenceslas, who passed away in 1351. Archbishop Jan Očko of Vlašim erected the altar of St. Erhard, Otilia and Albanus in St. Vitus Cathedral in 1367, during the anniversary of his death, a number of funeral candles were lit.<sup>523</sup>

In the Holy Roman Empire, there were different practices, and the use of lights was more systematic in cathedrals: Franz Machilek analyzed the *Lichtverzeichnis* (light register) from four churches, including two from the cathedral of Bamberg, which were lists of eternally burning lights, provided with donations, that the *custos* of the church was supposed to relight

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<sup>521</sup> Dobszay, 86 entry no. 596.

<sup>522</sup> Dobszay, 21 entry no. 178.

<sup>523</sup> Uličný, "The Choirs of St Vitus's Cathedral in Prague," 188; Kateřina Horníčková, "In Heaven and on Earth: Church Treasure in Late Medieval Bohemia" (Budapest, Central European University, 2009), 48; of course, the practice of burning candles and lights at a deceased person's grave is an ancient one. Let us cite, for example, the description of Abbot Suger about opening the tomb below the "Holy Altar" in St. Denis: "He would not have ordered that seven lamps in silver vessels (since gone to pieces and remade by us) should burn incessantly, day and night, with perpetual fire before that altar called 'the Holy One' unless he placed the highest hopes for his body and soul in the presence of these holy relics. He confirmed with his gold seal that his property Reuil, along with its dependencies, should be used to cover the cost of these relics, the celebration of the anniversary of his death, and a feast for his people on this occasion. That is also why, in nearly sixty different celebrations, six great and worthy wax candles, the likes of which are rarely or never placed in the church, are lit around this altar. It is also why this altar is adorned with noble ornaments as often as is that of the blessed Denis." David Burr, trans., "Medieval Sourcebook: Abbot Suger: On What Was Done in His Administration," Internet History Sourcebooks Project, 1996, <https://sourcebooks.fordham.edu/source/sugar.asp>.



if they went out. In the entrance of the *mortuarium* hallway (which is very rich in medieval tombs and tombstones) crossing diagonally across the cloister of the Regensburg Cathedral, there is a fourteenth-century niche for a lamp. Similarly, there is a niche for a lamp in the northwestern corner of the cloister of Trier cathedral.<sup>524</sup>

In 1296 Przemysł II (born in 1257, Duke of Greater Poland from 1279, King of Poland from 1295) was buried in the cathedral, and, according to the Chronicle of Janek of Czarneków, the *images* of him and his duchess Richeza of Sweden (1285-1292) were placed in the small adjoining southern chapel. Szczesny Skibiński speculated that, after the apparent destruction of the *images* due to a lighting strike in 1371, they were not restored, probably because they were not connected to the graves. In 1286, Przemysł II founded the altars of the Holy Trinity and St. Jadwiga in the eastern part of the nave, by the pillar at the entrance to the choir, for funeral masses. After his wife's death, in 1293, he made further arrangements for funeral masses specifically for her and after his death, for himself, and an eternal lamp was to burn at the grave of the duchess and, after the king joined her, over his grave as well. Skibiński observes that this most probably meant that their graves were located here in the eastern part of the nave. This eternal lamp was in the 15<sup>th</sup> century already at the tomb of Bolesław the Brave, which was erected at the end of the fourteenth century.<sup>525</sup>

## Conclusions

There is an ambivalence in how the dead were treated in the cathedral space. While one tomb or epitaph could not greatly affect the space on its own (except if it was a saint's tomb),

<sup>524</sup> Franz Machilek, "Spätmittelalterliche Lichtverzeichnisse Fränkischer Kirchen," in *Církevní správa a její písemnosti na přelomu středověku a novověku*, Acta Universitatis Carolinae – Philosophica et Historica, 2 (1999) (Prague: Carolinum, 2003), 81–91; Jörg Traeger, *Mittelalterliche Architekturfiktion: Die Allerheiligenkapelle am Regensburger Domkreuzgang* (München-Zürich: Schnell und Steiner, 1980), 61; Nikolaus Irsch, *Der Dom zu Trier*, Die Kunstdenkmäler Der Rheinprovinz, 13/I (Düsseldorf, 1931), 291–94.

<sup>525</sup> Skibiński, "Królewski charakter katedry poznańskiej," 137–38.

the tombstones and sarcophagi accumulating over time could affect the interior of the cathedral very much. While the eastern side and the middle axis of the church were generally favored, we can see that these were reserved for the highest-ranking deceased. And yet, even these tombs were not safe from being moved eventually, the memory of the deceased erased as they joined those whom the All Saints liturgies were praying for.

Based on the descriptions in this chapter, hopefully the reader can imagine more clearly how Late Medieval Central European cathedral spaces looked like. Cathedrals, especially in the Late Middle Ages, were liminal spaces, with a high level of care and attention given to the dead. In the end, although tombs and epitaphs expressed individual aims and functions clearly, they integrated into the cathedral space where the deceased could remain participants of the religious community.

One of the questions I could not answer based on the available data but would certainly merit more research is the question of cloisters as burial spaces: as it was mentioned before, Eger Cathedral had a cloister that was demolished sometime in the thirteenth-fourteenth centuries, and we know that the Romanesque Prague Cathedral also had a cloister before it was demolished to make way for the new chancel, as well as Olomuc (built in the first third of the twelfth century) and Pécs of an unknown dating, before the late fourteenth century.<sup>526</sup> This is different from the practice of some of the bigger German cathedrals like Regensburg and Trier, where the cloisters still stand and are full of tombstones. It would be interesting to see whether there were tombs in the Central European cathedral cloisters as well and if yes, what was their fate?

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<sup>526</sup> Szakács, “The Early Phase of Cloister Architecture in Central Europe,” 88–89.

## VI. Conclusion

The cathedrals examined in depth in this dissertation came from the core medieval kingdoms of the Central European region, Hungary, Poland and Bohemia. From the 1300s until the Council of Trent (1545-1563), these spaces flourished and were home to varied liturgical practices as well as housing some of the peak artistic productions of the Late Middle Ages. Eight cathedrals are investigated: Prague, Gniezno and Esztergom, the archbishoprics of the three kingdoms and prominent sites with useful sources: Poznań, Kraków, Eger, Várad and Zagreb.

By researching the standing buildings, or in the case of abandoned projects and destroyed cathedrals, the archaeological findings, information from analogous medieval churches as well as written sources both descriptive (chronicles and inventories) and prescriptive (statutes, commenda prescriptions and liturgical books such as ordinals and breviaries), reconstruction of the Late Medieval sacred topographies of several Central European cathedrals was possible. Among these, reconstruction of the Late Medieval topography and interior arrangement of Eger Cathedral is especially important, as it is the first time it was tackled in-depth and new results emerged.

Next, by employing a functional approach, the reasons for modifying parts of the church or constructing new parts were investigated, and the way in which the already existing spaces were used was analyzed. The considerable number of chosen cathedrals made a comparative approach feasible and it was possible to determine whether phenomena that occurred at one cathedral integrated into a larger trend or whether it was a local occurrence influenced by the particular circumstances. Late Medieval cathedrals in Central Europe were buildings that offered a complex experience for users and visitors and could be affected by various permanent or temporary effects and changes. These spaces were shaped by the needs of the patrons and

especially the cathedral chapter, and in turn, both the everyday and extraordinary practices conformed to the space they took place in.

The main hypothesis of the dissertation was that bigger changes in a cathedral's structure were unable to respond to a single need or a single person's vision: multiple actors and multiple reasons always came into play, and complex, individualized meanings could not be expressed by these large-scale changes. In turn, smaller projects could express a single person's ideas and respond to their need(s) and convey simple or complex ideas depending on the patron's wishes. The five chapters of the dissertation progress from large-scale changes and big trends to smaller phenomena that affected less of the church space and were more localized, from rebuilding the whole eastern end to the construction of individual tombs and epitaphs.

During the fourteenth century, the eastern ends of six Central European cathedrals were rebuilt with ambulatories around their main apses. One of these, Kraków cathedral had a straight apse, in the case of Várad, we are unsure but it can be presumed that it had a polygonal closure along with the rest of the cathedrals: Prague, Eger, Gniezno and Poznań. With the exception of Várad and Eger in all cases it can be seen that the ambulatory and radiating chapels were built with a basilical structure. There is a general uncertainty regarding the building times of these eastern ends: a middle or end of the thirteenth century construction date was proposed for the Poznań chancel with ambulatory as well as the starting and abandoning of constructions with an ambulatory at Gniezno and Kraków. While the middle of the fourteenth century seems more or less fixed for Prague, Eger and Várad, it is by no means certain that Prague was the first to adopt the French model of a polygonal apse with ambulatory and radiating chapels in fourteenth-century Central Europe.

While ambulatories could and did fulfill several functions, liturgical use seems insignificant, based on the written sources describing liturgical performance that are related to

these churches. The chapels accessible from the ambulatory were used for burials, and at least in the Prague Cathedral, the ambulatory provided access to the tomb of St. Vitus where the visitors could venerate the saint. None of these functions can be attributed to all of the fourteenth century spaces investigated and thus cannot explain the choice of ambulatories over other possible arrangements.

The fourteenth-century trend of building eastern ends with ambulatories in Central Europe was born out of a general wish for the churches to appear ancient and respectable, however, this arrangement was updated with modern stylistic elements and wall support solutions, often times employing skilled master builders who were the best in their craft. Based on the approximate sizes, the constructions were meant to enlarge the churches as much as possible, adding to their magnificence. Again, this was not the only way to achieve this effect: in Esztergom, a western hall was built in the thirteenth or fourteenth century, adding to the overall length of the church and making it one of the largest cathedrals in the medieval Hungarian Kingdom.

It is the assessment of this dissertation that the theory proposed by Hans Sedlmayr in the 1950s that every church with a French-style ground plan with ambulatory outside France was a royal church (*Königskirche*) or a royal bishop's church (*Königsbischofskirche*) is no longer acceptable. Sedlmayr did not base his observations on Central European cases: he only passingly addressed Prague Cathedral and St. Stephen's Cathedral in Vienna, while most of his observations came from thirteenth-century Western and Northern Europe. In spite of this, whenever an ambulatory church (especially a cathedral) was investigated in Central Europe, the category of *Königskirche* was invoked, usually without criticism. Based on the analysis in this study, we can see that several cathedrals in the region have adopted the arrangement where no royal connection can be traced. Moreover, the ambulatory ground plan became popular for

parish churches throughout (Central) Europe, some of them at the same time as the cathedrals under investigation. It must be noted that most of these have adopted a version of the polygonal apse and ambulatory with a hall church structure, while the cathedral ambulatories were built with a more conservative basilical structure (notably, this cannot be proven in the case of Eger and Várád).

Related to the idea of royal cathedrals, the idea of kings or bishops as the sole patrons and decision makers when it comes to significant reconstructions was also deconstructed. This study argues, partly based on the work of Milena Bartlová, that it was the cathedral chapter who made the decisions regarding these huge foundations. This observation, along with the fact that the ambulatory ground plan in the Late Middle Ages cannot be directly tied to the concept of kingship and instead was meant to represent ideas related to primacy and rank that were much less easy to articulate and conceptualize ties into the main hypothesis of this dissertation: the bigger the change in a cathedral, the less likely it was to express a single wish, perform a single function or conform to the ideas of a single person.

In Chapter 1, this work analyses a phenomena in the Late Middle Ages: at least in several cathedrals in Central Europe (in Gniezno, Eger, Poznań, Várád, Prague, Kraków) the chancels were enlarged with the above mentioned archaic ambulatory arrangements, while the naves were modernized but stayed the same size: the constructions seemingly stopped at the western end of the choir. This is most noticeable in the cases where the new chancel and the old nave did not align: in Kraków, Gniezno and Eger and Prague. The change was the most extreme in Prague Cathedral, as the old nave was thoroughly incompatible with the new one: the wish to build the new St. Wenceslas chapel in its exact position was very important and determined the orientation of the new church. Among others, the chancel of Gyulafehérvár Cathedral was also enlarged, although without the ambulatory structure.

The result of the research for reasons why this arrangement became popular is that the chancel enlargements were motivated by a need for a bigger choir: in cathedrals without transepts like Zagreb and Esztergom, the choir could be extended further into the nave without significant rebuilding, but in other cases, for example in Gyulafehérvár, the presence of the transept and crossing prevented the chapter from further extending the choir into the nave. Another reason that motivated the rebuilding, and that can account for the above and also for the revaulting of the main apse in the 14<sup>th</sup> and around 1500 in Esztergom and the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> c. in Zagreb, was that the lettner or choir screen, which was usually a structure of significant height, prevented the laity from observing the most important parts of the mass. The ceiling of the main apse and its windows, however, were visible from the nave.

In chapter 2, this study argues that the chancel also received more attention because the cathedral's daily liturgical life was more focused on the clergy and the lay people were not involved as much. As proven when the possible source of the need for an ambulatory arrangement were considered, the cathedral chapter was the main decision-making body, who spent most of their time in the liturgy together in the choir. In order to further elaborate on this problem, two cathedral arrangements were analyzed in depth: the Late Medieval construction histories of Prague and Eger serve as case studies that demonstrate that the unity of the space, which seemed to motivate earlier cathedral arrangements, was not as important in these instances.

This work emphasizes that in Prague, the western part was indeed built and may have been of considerable size, however, it was not vaulted or elaborately decorated, because it was not important for the cathedral chapter. The western part was primarily known as the “large church” in the middle of which the grave of St. Adalbert was accessible and laity could attend the preachings. Some of the Romanesque features, like the western crypt were preserved.

According to the sources and showed by the analysis of Petr Uličný, it seems like the intent to finish the western part was always there, but the means were not. The wall in Prague Cathedral that delimited the chancel, which can be attested to in sources, was there even after the western part was completed, suggesting that it did not function simply as a choir screen or *lettner*, but as a more tangible separation between the two parts. Moreover, the apparent absence of the usual place of the Holy Cross altar in Prague needs further consideration: was it really not needed? It would be ideal if the baptismal font could be located in the church space, as its location would give us an approximate idea by which to imagine the Late Medieval arrangement. Comparing the Late Medieval manuscripts and early prints of the liturgical books, we can see that in the Holy Saturday liturgy, arguably the most important celebration of the liturgical year, people were meant to participate in Gniezno, Eger and Kraków, while in Prague only the clergy was mentioned.

In Eger, there is a noticeable tilt in the main axis of the fourteenth-century chancel, although as far as we can tell, there was ample space at the construction site. This study argues that the chancel's orientation in Eger Cathedral was changed because an ossuary was included in the ground plan, located at the place of the former southern side apse, needed because of the large number of burials disturbed by the construction of the new chancel. This study further elaborates on the Late Medieval arrangement of Eger Cathedral. The space, unlike Prague Cathedral, seemed to consider the laypeople – the Romanesque main apse was preserved to house the Holy Cross altar, which in this regard was in its usual place, similar to how Melinda Tóth reconstructed the arrangement at Pécs Cathedral, which had a similar height difference between the chancel and the nave. The chancel was rebuilt twice, the second time respecting the original arrangement, but more elaborately. This study has demonstrated that the preserved wall of the Romanesque apse was part of a *lettner* ensemble, the existence of which is



confirmed by the Eger Ordinal, and it seems likely that the spiral staircases at the western chapels provided access to this lettner.

In the next two chapters, smaller areas within the church were analysed. In Chapter III, this dissertation examines two instances that occurred in In Late Medieval Central Europe in which the existence of a second choir, dedicated to the Virgin Mary, can be attested: in the St. Vitus Cathedral of Prague, founded in the middle of the fourteenth century, and the choir connected to the altar of the Virgin Mary in the southern side apse of the cathedral of St. Stephen in Zagreb, attested to at the end of the fifteenth-beginning of the sixteenth century. In Prague Cathedral, the college of *Mansionars* who performed the liturgy in the choir was founded by the future king based on a vision he had – however, it can also be interpreted as a continuation of the original Virgin Mary choir in the west. In Zagreb, the secondary choir was technically staffed by members of the chapter: the *kalendinus* or society of the Virgin Mary was founded by the priests who served in the church (prebendaries paid by the canons) themselves. A smaller secondary choir might have existed in Esztergom, although it is unknown when it was established: the altar of the Virgin Mary it relates to may have been in the same place since the eleventh century, and its importance seems to be tied to the changing attribution of Esztergom cathedral.

The Prague college of Mansionars fit into a trend started in Bohemia by Charles IV and adopted in Silesia and Greater Poland, notably, the cathedrals of Wrocław and Poznań had Marian chapels with Mansionars. Although this trend did not spread to the Hungarian Kingdom, two similar college foundations in Várad and Eger attest to the importance of the Virgin Mary. In Prague, Wrocław, Eger and arguably Várad, the foundations are connected to the funeral of the founder or his family in the same place where the college was functioning.

The Prague choir foundation does not seem to have had an influence on the Zagreb arrangement, which seems much more likely to be influenced by the Esztergom secondary choir and the Esztergom liturgy. Although no secondary choir or stalls are mentioned in the Eger Ordinal, the space in front of the altar of the Virgin Mary was important, as it was usually where the bishop or the minister and his helpers stood when they were outside the choir. Further research could reveal if the area before the Virgin Mary altar had special significance in other European cathedrals too.

Moving on to the western parts of the cathedrals in Chapter IV, the use of cathedral portals was examined. As the head churches of the dioceses located at the residence of the bishop, cathedrals were important in church law, but the use of cathedral spaces varied within the Central European kingdoms. This dissertation outlines two trends that seem to complement each other regarding the functioning of the consistory courts and coronations and royal weddings.

Based on the available evidence, this study argues the clergy in the Hungarian Kingdom saw cathedral doors and especially the western hall at Esztergom as an important place for judgement. There are numerous other examples of cathedral doors in the Hungarian Kingdom recorded as a place for announcement, affixing written documents so that the interested parties could read them and even holding tribunal. Cathedral doors in Hungary functioned as a space for medieval justice for longer than other Central European regions: this was at least partially because the secular and ecclesiastical cases were less separated and also because Greater Poland was more affected by the German customs where the trials were more frequently held at the chapter houses. However, more investigation is needed, as the available evidence can be considered fragmentary at best, especially concerning Bohemia.

Regarding political acts like coronations and royal weddings, however, the situation is completely different. While in Polish cathedrals, notably Kraków after the middle of the fourteenth century and Prague the cathedrals were the scenes of coronations and weddings, in Hungary this aspect is completely missing from cathedrals. A notable difference is that the only cathedral that was close to a royal court was in 11-13<sup>th</sup> century Esztergom, but even then, the royal seat was partly at Esztergom and partly at Székesfehérvár. The collegiate church of Székesfehérvár ended up as the fixed place for medieval coronations, while royal weddings took place either there or at Buda.

Chapter V of this dissertation analyzes a type of small-scale construction project intended in the cathedral space: tombstones and epitaphs. Cathedral spaces in Central Europe were affected significantly by burials in the Late Middle Ages, partly because of their large number. These burials expressed the wishes of a small group or a single person and could express their societal status, as well as their eschatological and political beliefs in detail, especially if the surroundings of the tomb were also decorated.

While it would be impossible to analyze the complex web of symbolism and meaning in Late Medieval funeral practices in cathedrals, the study highlights a few trends. Archbishops, bishops, canons, kings and noble persons were especially keen to be buried in the cathedral space and were able to afford the cost of such a burial. Some of the motivations that can be attributed to these burials follow. Wishing to be buried in a prestigious location, preferably close to a saint was an important consideration, especially one that was regarded as a national saint (St. Adalbert, St. Stanislaus, St. Ladislaus) which in the case of rulers would serve to raise the family's glory. Similarly, by renewing saints' or previous rulers' tombs or constructing epitaphs, rulers could signal their political intentions. Church patrons who donated significant funds to church constructions were buried in the eastern part, close to the main altar.

In the Late Middle Ages, nobility across Europe preferred to be buried in the churches they frequented in life. This way, they could continue taking part in the masses passively, and remained in contact with their living relatives. In the case of canons, bishops and archbishops, being buried in their cathedral, preferably in the chancel or close to the areas where they performed the liturgy in their life was important. A notable exception is Nicholas Dörögdi, bishop of Eger (d. 1361), who chose to be buried in the western part, between the two western towers. His tomb was later moved though, as it was damaged in the 1506 fire, a new tombstone was commissioned for him in front of the Virgin Mary altar – presumably where he (or at least his bishop successors) often participated in liturgical celebrations.

Sometimes human remains from tombs were moved, like the tomb of Nicholas Dörögdi mentioned above or, for example in Várad, where a very small sarcophagus suggests that it is the secondary resting place for those interred. We could also see that people in the Late Middle Ages had no qualms about removing bones from the tombs and placing them in ossuaries. Although these were frequent in the area (several monasteries and parish churches had them), there were only two cases from cathedrals: a small ossuary chamber in Várad, covered with the reused tombstone of bishop Andrea Scolari (d. 1426), and a larger and more significant ossuary in Eger, the establishment of which was necessary because the chancel expansion overlaid the Árpáadian cemetery that was to the east of the church. The location of the Eger ossuary was previously misinterpreted; however, this study argues, mostly based on the description of the All Saints procession from the Eger Ordinal, that the ossuary is in the southwestern room in the new chancel and that it was in use even in the beginning of the sixteenth century.

The tombs and the ossuaries, as well as the idea of the dead were important in some of the activities where people interacted with the cathedral space in a significant way. Religious societies and confraternities required members to organize funerals, take part in them and, if

the members were the local priests, to say masses for the dead. Similar requests also came from donors: King Sigismund of Luxemburg had a substantial request: he announced his will to be buried at Várad Cathedral and required a total of 18 priests to change each other so psalms would be sung uninterrupted over the tomb of the Saint King Ladislaus – although the Várad chapter was hesitant to comply. The most important liturgical feast connected to the dead was, of course, All Saints Day, which had a very elaborate procession in the cathedral of Eger and a much less ambitious one in Esztergom. Finally, the practice of lighting candles and lamps at the tombs was widespread but not as systematically monitored as in the German lands.

This study has demonstrated, through researching larger scale changes in the cathedral space first and then advancing to smaller projects, that single actors like kings and bishops cannot be regarded as the sole decision makers for the large-scale projects and the choices regarding the extension or rebuilding of significant portions of the cathedral spaces always reflected the much less concrete needs of the cathedral chapter. Every decision, whether to adopt the ambulatory ground plan, enlarge the chancels, establish a second choir, which space to use for events connected to ecclesiastical law and what to do with tombs and buried people came down to the collective decision of the cathedral chapter. Only smaller constructions such as constructing tombs, epitaphs, even founding chapels can confidently be attributed to a single person.

In addition to proving the main hypothesis, the most important achievement of this thesis is the reconstruction of the Late Medieval sacred topography of Eger Cathedral, especially the placement of its most important features: the Holy Cross altar, the Virgin Mary altar, the baptismal font and the pulpit. It would be desirable to also accomplish this for other cathedrals in the region and compare them to arrangements in other European regions. This could be possible if critical editions of the liturgical books from Central Europe, especially ordinals,

breviaries, missals existed to be consulted. These liturgical manuscripts represent immeasurable potential for the advancement of our understanding of pre-Tridentine cathedral spaces.

One other observation highlighted in this dissertation is the similarities between monastic churches and cathedrals in the Late Middle Ages. While some parish churches have approached cathedrals in size by the fourteenth-fifteenth centuries, it seems like from a functional perspective they remained noticeably different. Towards the end of the Middle Ages, cathedral buildings hinted at a lesser interest in the lay congregation, as opposite to the parish churches. One other theme worth investigating connects the monasteries and cathedrals too: while some of these had cloisters before the 1300s, in the case of Central European cathedrals, they were demolished in the fourteenth century. The role of cloisters and the possible transfer of functions like providing burial spaces should be more closely examined, especially in the wake of German cathedrals where cloisters were actively used even in the Late Middle Ages.

Although this study has focused on only eight Late Medieval cathedrals in the Central European region, it has managed to pose questions that are viable in a study of a much greater scope. While rejecting typologies, it notes several trends that can be further researched, keeping in mind that every case is unique and that the context always needs investigating. By integrating liturgical, archaeological and art historical considerations, it represents an important step towards deeper understanding of cathedral spaces.

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- Figure 96. Combined by author,  
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- Figure 97. Henszlmann Imre. “A Nagyváradi Kettős Székesegyház” [The Double Cathedral of Nagyvárád]. In *A Váradi Püspökség Története Alapításától a Jelenkorig*, by Vince Bunyitay, 147–74. Nagyvárád, 1884, p. 33. Fig. 1.
- Figure 98. Henszlmann Imre. “A Nagyváradi Kettős Székesegyház” [The Double Cathedral of Nagyvárád]. In *A Váradi Püspökség Története Alapításától a Jelenkorig*, by Vince Bunyitay, 147–74. Nagyvárád, 1884, Plate no. 2.
- Figure 99. Same as Fig. 85.
- Figure 100. Letters by author. Original: Máthes, Joanne Nep.: *Veteris arcis Strigoniensis, monumentorum ibidem erutorum, aliarumque antiquitatum lithographicis tabulis arnata descriptio. Strigonii, 1827*
- Figure 101. Ana Deanović and Željka Čorak, *Zagrebačka Katedrala* [Zagreb Cathedral] (Zagreb: Kršćanska sadašnjost, 1988), p. 83

- Figure 102. Ana Deanović and Željka Čorak, Zagrebačka Katedrala [Zagreb Cathedral] (Zagreb: Kršćanska sadašnjost, 1988), p. 220
- Figure 103. Ana Deanović and Željka Čorak, Zagrebačka Katedrala [Zagreb Cathedral] (Zagreb: Kršćanska sadašnjost, 1988), p. 221
- Figure 104. Ana Deanović and Željka Čorak, Zagrebačka Katedrala [Zagreb Cathedral] (Zagreb: Kršćanska sadašnjost, 1988), p. 273
- Figure 105. Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum [Hungarian National Museum]. “Szegedi Lukács zágrábi püspök sírkövének összeillesztése” [The Assembly of the Tombstone of Luke of Szeged, Bishop of Zagreb], 2022.03.10.  
<https://mnmm.hu/hu/muzeum/hirek/szegedi-lukacs-zagrabi-puspok-sirkovenek-osszeillesztese>
- Figure 106. Kollár Tibor, “A zágrábi püspöki palota Szent István-kápolnája” [St. Stephen’s Chapel in the Episcopal Palace in Zagreb], *Műemlékvédelmi Szemle*, no. 2 (1996), p. 95
- Figure 107. Kollár Tibor, “A zágrábi püspöki palota Szent István-kápolnája” [St. Stephen’s Chapel in the Episcopal Palace in Zagreb], *Műemlékvédelmi Szemle*, no. 2 (1996), p. 90

## Appendices

### Addendum I: Archeological investigations at Várad Cathedral



Figure 91: ground plan of the newest investigations of Várad Cathedral from 2010-2015<sup>527</sup>

<sup>527</sup> Please note that this ground plan, while accurate, is actually a plan for the proposed pavement of the interior courtyard and is not accurate enough as an archeological record would be. Unfortunately, due to the complicated situation at the Țării Crișurilor Museum who directed the archeological investigations and the recent decision of the Bihor County Council to reduce the number of museum employees at the newly established Oradea Fortress History Museum (Muzeul De Istorie A Cetății Oradea), it seems like we will have to wait several years before the documentation can be published and accessed. For example, this plan does not show the fact that the southern nave wall is missing on a large section as it was removed and this part used as a manure pit.





its size.<sup>529</sup> Additionally, the eastern part could not be properly investigated: the well, dug in 1755 (marked with red) was still functioning and the army officials who oversaw the palace were very afraid that it would collapse and thus did not allow its surroundings to be searched.<sup>530</sup>

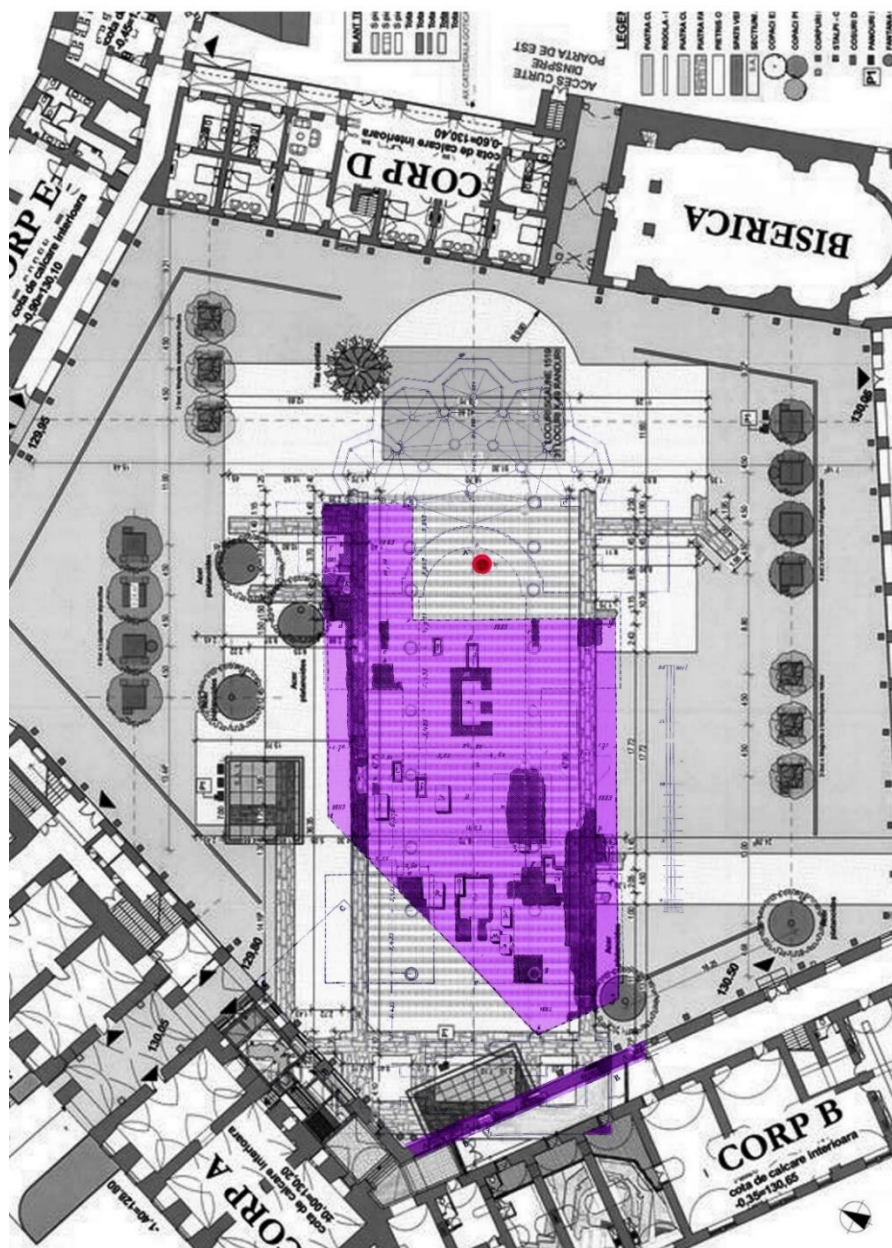


Figure 93: the areas covered by the 1881-3 excavations, overlaid with the findings of the most recent archaeological investigations

<sup>529</sup> Henszlmann, "A Nagyvárad Kettős Székesegyház," 148.

<sup>530</sup> Rómer, "Előzetes jelentés a nagyvárad várban 1883-ban folytatott ásatásról" page XIX.



By the time of the 1911-12 excavations, plumbing was introduced to the castle and the well was rendered obsolete and filled up. The intended area of the excavations was to investigate the south and the east side of the well and to find out: where and what kind of eastern closure did the Romanesque church have, whether the Gothic church had a circle of chapels around its apse, whether the church had four towers and to uncover any tombs of the “kings, religious and lay great persons to save their ashes from perdition.”<sup>531</sup>

Unfortunately, the 1911-12 investigations were plagued with numerous problems, as we can demonstrate based on both written sources and by comparing and contrasting the emerging ground plans. One feature that is noticeable at first glance is the lack of measurements on the ground plan published by Gyalókay – there is no indication of scale.

Both of those leading the 1911-12 excavations, Jenő Gyalókay and Péter Halasi Fekete expressed their dissatisfaction with the perceived inaccuracies of the earlier excavation and more specifically with Imre Henszlmann’s theories. Some of Gyalókay’s complaints were that the alignment is not entirely accurate and that the 1883 excavations were not localized properly in the interior courtyard, and there was no compass on the plans to help. To address this problem, Ernő Foerk, who has visited the site on behalf of the National Committee of Historic Monuments (Műemlékek Országos Bizottsága, MOB) suggested that they measure everything

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<sup>531</sup> Gyalókay, “A nagyváradi várban 1911-12-ik évben folyt ásatások eredménye,” 43.

in relation to the palace walls and disregard the 1881-3 ground plans.<sup>532</sup>

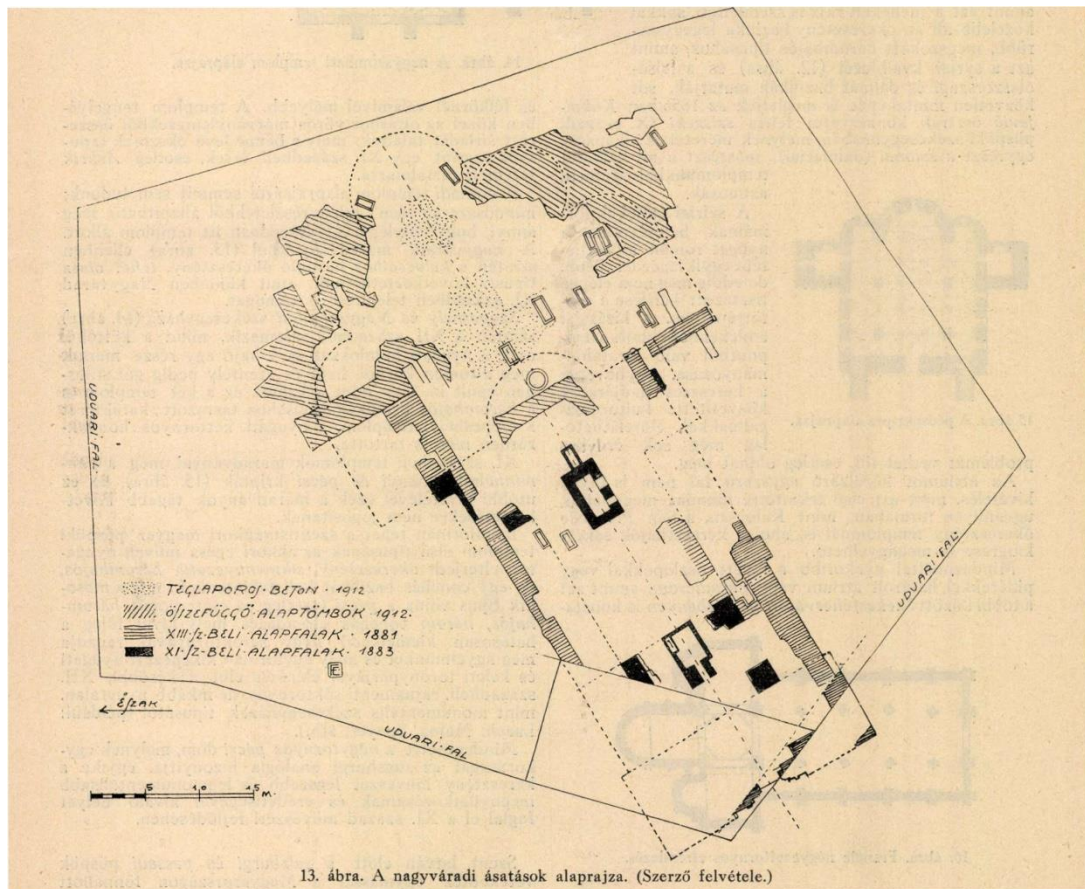


Figure 94: Ernő Foerk's drawing of the combined findings of the 1881-3 and 1911 excavations, with a suggested shape based on the remains. Published in 1942

The biggest problem Gyalókay mentioned was that the 1883 excavations only depicted remains up until 3 meters depth, and anything found deeper, between 3-4 meters has not been recorded, thus the walls found at the western edge of the 1911 excavations have no continuation. The last part, at least, seems completely false, as Henszlmann explicitly says that the excavation went down to 4 meters and below if necessary, and that the walls of the earlier church came to light between 3 and 4 meters, confirmed by Flóris Rómer in his report written

<sup>532</sup> Gyalókay, 45–46 According to Gyalókay, Henszlmann placed the western end of the cathedral in the wrong corner of the palace, 8,4 degrees southern deviation from the east – west proposed by Henszlmann instead of the “actual” 34 degrees to north, and apparently the well was the only help in locating the true place of the 1881-3 excavation plans.

to the bishop of Nagyváradi and the chapter, who were financing the excavations.<sup>533</sup> Gyalókay's main point of content is that they have found a wall right next to the western edge of the well, which should have a continuation on the ground plan published by Henszlmann.

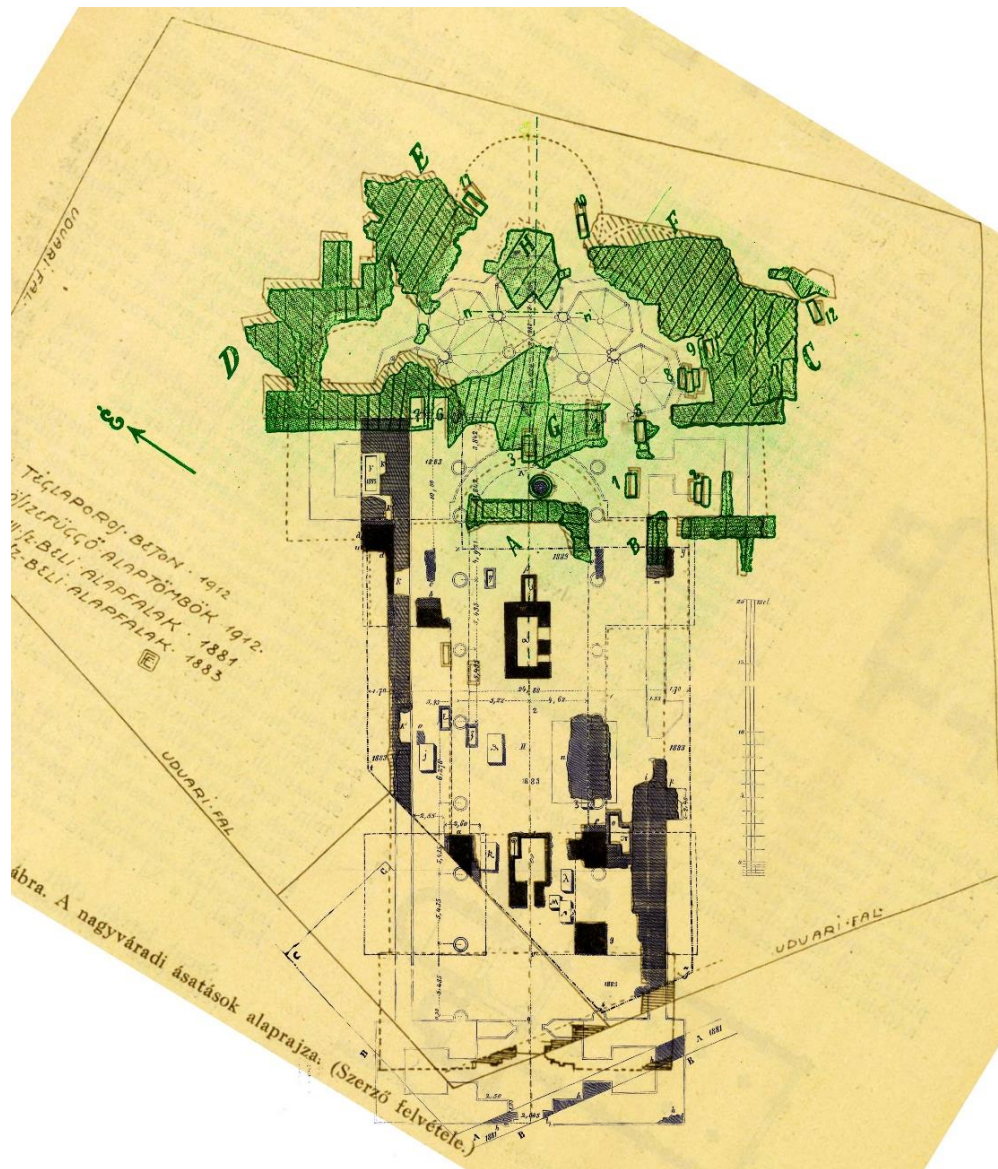


Figure 95: the combined plans of the 1881-3, 1911-12 and Foerk (1942) ground plans, showing the discrepancies. The well in the middle of the courtyard was used as the point of reference.

During the excavations, Gyalókay has consistently ignored Foerk, a fact that was addressed by the MOB. Aurél Török, the renowned anthropologist who was asked to analyze the bones

<sup>533</sup> Henszlmann, "A Nagyváradi Kettős Székesegyház," 148 see also mentions of walls between 3 and 4 meters on page 149 footnote 1, page 169 etc. Balla and Lakatos, "Rómer Flóris kéziratosa jelentése a nagyváradi vár 1883. évi ásatásáról," 481.

from the sarcophagus found in 1755 and re-excavated at this time, wrote a disdainful official report saying that the bones he received were sent to him without properly recording the conditions from which they were removed, and that he received a mix of bones from different persons and animals.<sup>534</sup>

The ground plans show errors in their measurements. If we look at an overlay of Henszlmann's plan (blue), the 1911 plan (green) and Foerk's combined ground plan (yellow) we can see that the proportions are off: Foerk placed some of the features in different places compared to the original plans and has redrawn the outlines of the eastern section. Fitting the western side of the 1911-12 ground plan (the wall and the southern nave wall) to Foerk's plan makes it so that the eastern features do not align any longer. The most obvious mistake is the western section with the portal. This presents a problem as Foerk's plan is the one most commonly shown in relation to Várad cathedral while being severely misleading.

Attempting to correct the miscalculations of the 1911-12 ground plan seems almost impossible. What we can say at this time is: that the well and its immediate surroundings have been recorded correctly, as the well was used as the first point of reference by Gyalókay and Halasi Fekete when excavating.<sup>535</sup> Compared to this, the foundations marked with C and D are off by a few degrees: either the main axis of these foundations doesn't match the nave walls, or they have been measured wrong. The latter seems more likely especially if we consider how these and the newly discovered walls might overlap. Of course, simply overlaying potentially

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<sup>534</sup> Lakatos-Balla Attila, "A Biharvármegyei és Nagyvárad Régészeti és Történelmi Egylet régészeti és műemlékvédelmi tárgyú levelezése (1872–1929)" [Correspondence of the Association of Archeology and History of Bihar County and Oradea on Archeology and Monument Protection (1872–1929)], in *Tanulmányok Nagyvárad-Újváros megalapításának 300. évfordulója alkalmából (1714–2014)*, ed. Emődi András, *Miscellanea Historica Varadinensia* 4 (Oradea: Partium Kiadó, 2014), 230. He published the texts of the letter and the report under no. 52 and 53 on pages 273–275. On page 276, document no. 54. is an earlier letter from 1911 addressed to the "Főfelügyelőség" asking for money to conduct an investigation.

<sup>535</sup> Péter Halasi Fekete, "Mária királyné sírjáról" [On the Tomb of Queen Mary], *Archaeológiai Értesítő* 1 (1912): 92; Jenő Gyalókay, "Beatrix királyné sírjáról" [On the Tomb of Queen Beatrice], *Archaeológiai Értesítő* 1 (1912): 87.

incorrect ground plans can be in itself faulty. However, it is notable that Ernő Foerk also noticed the error and tried to correct it but ended up shifting the courtyard facade of the eastern wing of the palace, as seen on Figure 96. That is also why the eastern edge seems misshapen: Foerk tried to reflect the fact that the whole foundations could not be excavated due to the military's restriction of keeping 6 meters from the edge of the palace. The evidence points to the conclusion that, while the middle of the plan of the 1911-12 excavations is correct, the north, south and far eastern bits have been measured on the wrong angle, and that the western edges of the foundations are one and the same with the walls discovered at the eastern edges of the 1883 and 2010-15 excavations.

The leaders of the latest excavation note that it would have been advisable to go deeper here and at least identify the impression of the foundations in 1911-12, and that the whole of the north-south extent of the foundations was not reached. In 2015, the outer edge of the choir was found next to the western facade of part D, while the inner easternmost edge was found in the main axis of the church somewhat to the west from the facade of the building.<sup>536</sup> Some of what is left of the easternmost side of the cathedral probably extends under part D (“CORP D” on the image) of the present palace, the walls of which are not very sturdy, and thus it is unclear whether it can ever be excavated properly.

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<sup>536</sup> Mihálka, “A váradi vár Anjou-kori építkezései a régészeti ásatások tükrében,” 267.



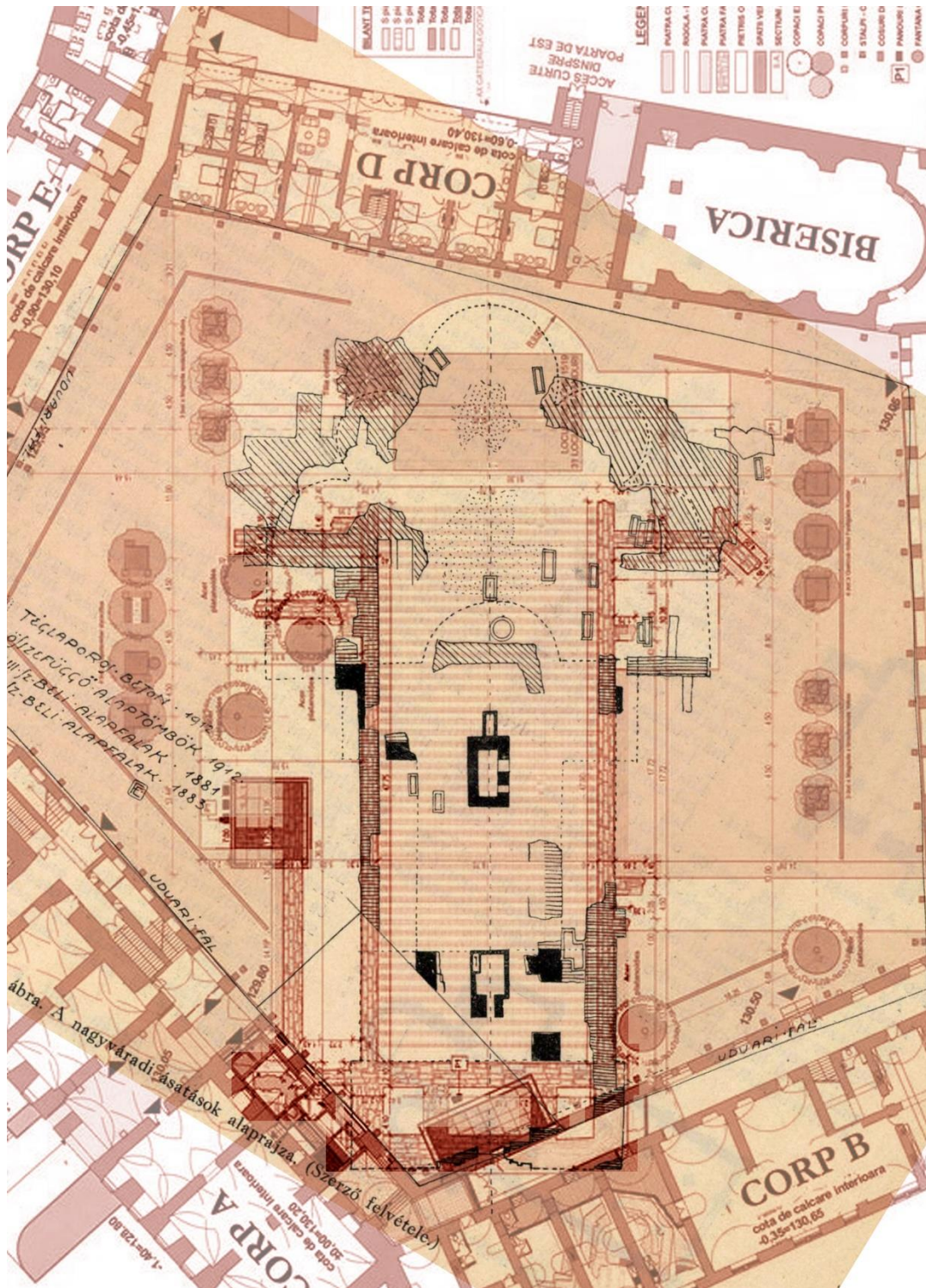


Figure 96: Foerk's ground plan laid over the current ground plan. Note the deviation of the eastern palace wing's western facade from the original.

## Carved stone material

The linking of medieval stone carvings found at the fortress to medieval buildings that once stood at the site is problematic for two reasons. The biggest issue is that during the previous centuries, the medieval carved stones have been scattered throughout the castle courtyard: even before the Ottoman invasion, the eastern side of the cathedral was practically razed to the ground, while later the protestant princes of Transylvania tore down some of the buildings to make way for the renaissance palace – some Romanesque and Gothic carved stones were found built into the palace walls. Later in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the occupying German soldiers used the carved stones to make a “paved” path around the palace, further eroding the stones and displacing them from their original place.

Secondly, due to the turbulent history of the castle, its long-lasting status as an active military base (it was demilitarized only after 1989), many of the carved stones found were not properly recorded and have since disappeared. Moreover, a collection of stones described in the 1989 book *Váradi kőtöredékek* as being next to the episcopal palace next to the new cathedral have also vanished, their only record being a few photos and written descriptions with measurements.<sup>537</sup> As with the other castles, it is also the case that there were multiple buildings: at least two chapels in addition to the cathedral and the medieval episcopal palace that would have had carved stone ornamentation.

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<sup>537</sup> Terézia Kerny, “Adatok a Váradi Vár Kutatástörténetéhez” [Data Related to the Research History of Oradea Fortress], in *Váradi Kőtöredékek*, ed. Terézia Kerny (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Művészettörténeti Kutatócsoport, 1989), 18.

## Addendum II: The sacred topography of Várad Cathedral in the Late Middle Ages

The *Statutes* gives us the approximate time for some altar foundations from the fourteenth century, while saying that it is not known who founded the other altars.<sup>538</sup> We can, therefore, theorize that these were founded before the living memory of the canons and/or before 1259, which is the date given by lector Emeric, stating that he found no documents predating this.<sup>539</sup> The altars enumerated here are: the chapel of St. John the Evangelist with the altar of St. Bartholomew, the chapel of John the Baptist, the altar of St. Privard, St. Martin, St. Paul, St. Nicholas, St. Adalbert, St. George, the lesser altar of the Virgin Mary, St. Peter, St. Luke, St. Thomas, St. Catherine, All Saints, Sts. Cosma and Damian, Holy Saviour and St. Gerard. He also lists the main altar, the altars of St. Stephen and Emeric founded by King Ladislaus I, the Holy Cross altar where the masses for the dead are said and was there at least since the time of King Stephen V, and the altar of St. Ladislaus founded at his tomb after he was canonized.<sup>540</sup>

Approaching the church from the west, one could see a roughly 25 meters wide facade. Two impressive towers and a stepped portal with ornaments greeted the visitor. The lesser church of the Virgin Mary was to the right of the entrance. Four statues stood in front of the cathedral in the courtyard: the statues of St. Ladislaus, St. Stephen and St. Emeric as well as the equestrian statue of St. Ladislaus.

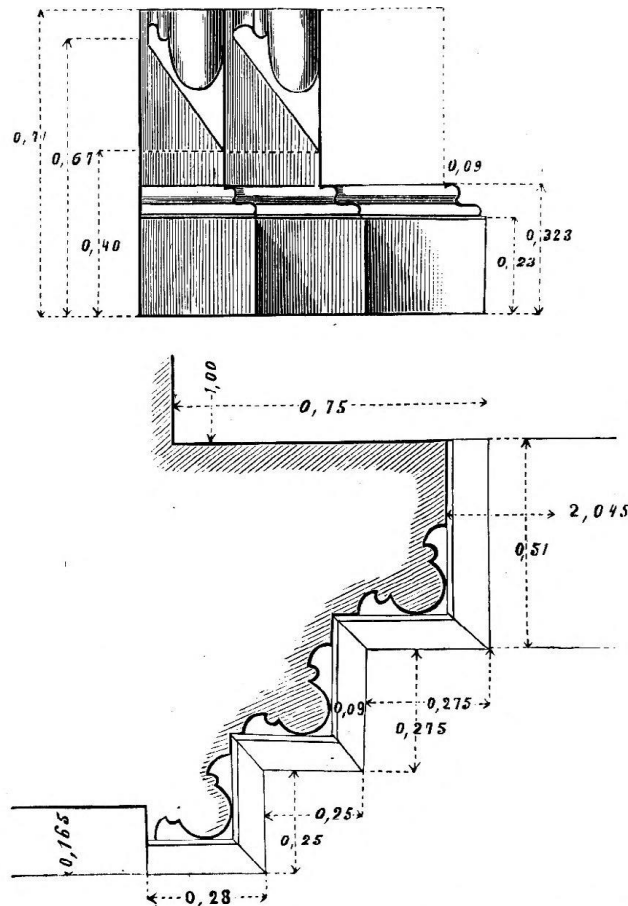
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<sup>538</sup> Most of the statements in this part come from the description of chapels and altars in the *Statutes*, pages 68–76, see footnote 117.

<sup>539</sup> Bunyitay, *A váradi káptalan legrégibb statutumai*, 16.

<sup>540</sup> Bunyitay, 68–71.





1. sz. — A váradi székesegyház egyszerűbb kapuzatának alsó része s alaprajza.

Figure 97. Drawing of the portal of Várad cathedral, lower part and ground plan by Imre Henszlmann,

To the left of the portal, next to the northwestern tower, there was a chapel with an entrance to the west. The chapel was vaulted with rib vaulting, and there were two sarcophagi in the eastern corners and an altar in between. The tomb on the left (north) had a tombstone decorated with a shield and a helmet with a cross on top, with an inscription proclaiming that Conrad of Buda and his wife Anna lay there.

The nave had a floor with bright yellow, green and blue ceramic tiles.<sup>541</sup> At least some parts of the vaulting were painted blue and red too.<sup>542</sup> At least some part of the walls was

<sup>541</sup> "Templi pavimentum tegulis colore flavo, cserulo, viridi nitentibus fuit stratum." Lajos János Schedius, *Zeitschrift von und für Ungarn: zur beförderung der vaterländischen geschichte, erdkunde und literatur* (F.J. Patzke, 1804), 84.

<sup>542</sup> Balla and Lakatos, "Rómer Flóris kéziratoss jelentése a nagyváradi vár 1883. évi ásatásáról," 486.

painted, bearing the image of a bishop in remarkable quality.<sup>543</sup> Under the northwestern tower there was the altar of St. Dominic, while under the southwestern tower, the altar of the Holy Spirit with two altarists. Above the western portal, on the inside on a western oratory, there was the altar of St. Catherine. After passing the western oratory, a crypt of impressive size was there in the middle of the nave, although this might not have been indicated in the flooring.



*Figure 98. Fresco fragment from Várad cathedral depicting a bishop. 14th c.*

In the middle of the nave, towards the choir screen, there was a big crypt with two entrances to the south. The crypt had two chambers, which were connected by an arch, and two people were buried here with their heads to the east. At the eastern edge of this crypt, in line with its axis, a smaller, single tomb was in the ground.

The Holy Cross altar probably stood in its traditional place in the middle of the church, in front of the choir screen. Next to the Holy Cross altar there was the altar of St. Vincent, erected by Palatine James Borsa the Bald (1306-1314), which was later also dedicated to St. Louis by king Charles I, as his consort queen Beatrice was buried here, and the altar had two altarists. The altar of Saint Anne was also close to the Holy Cross altar.

<sup>543</sup> Henszlmann, "A Nagyváradi Kettős Székesegyház," 165–66.

At the tomb of St. Ladislaus, there was an altar dedicated to him. The tomb itself was probably a sarcophagus, raised above the ground as priests were able to walk around it when saying the prayers at canonical hours.<sup>544</sup> The tomb was finely carved,<sup>545</sup> with splendid marble columns.<sup>546</sup>

There was the chapel of Saint John the Evangelist, where the altar of St. Bartholomew was also located: they had separate altarists. There was also the chapel of Saint John the Baptist and the chapel of St. Privatus. These were probably not in the new sanctuary. The chapel of Saint Andrew the apostle had the altar of St. Brice, founded by bishop Andrew and the magisters, the tomb of Andrew's father Brice and the altar of St. Michael.<sup>547</sup>

In the middle of the northern aisle a tombstone was found depicting an infula above a pair of oxen horns adorned with leaves.<sup>548</sup>

In the eastern part of the nave, there was a huge crypt, described as a double tomb with a southern antechamber and a northern funerary chamber, the two connected by a vaulted passage. Two skeletons were found with their heads to the east in the northern part, while wood pieces, maybe of a staircase were found in the southern part. To the east of the double crypt, a

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<sup>544</sup> Balogh, *Varadinum*, 1982, 1:13.

<sup>545</sup> "Dentro di tal Castello ui é il sontuoso sepolcro del Re Ladislao tutti di finissimi marmi sottilmente intagliati." the description of Giovanandrea Gromo, probably from just before the sacking of Ladislaus' grave in 1565. All of the original Italian text was published in Decei, "Giovanandrea Gromo. Compendo della Transilvania." with a French summary at the end.

<sup>546</sup> The great Humanist poet, Janus Pannonius describes the tomb in his poem about saying goodbye to Várad: At tu, qui rutilis eques sub armis/ dextra belligeram levas securim,/ cuius splendida marmorum columnis/ sudarunt liquidum sepulcra nectar,/ nostrum rite favens iter secunda. In: Janus, *Opera Quae Manserunt Omnia*; See the article of Ágnes Ritókné Szalay about Janus' time at Várad and the possible influences of a book describing Padua's sights, the "Libellus de magnificis ornamentis Regie Civitatis Padue", which also mentions that famous deceased persons rested in tombs on four marble columns: Ritoókné Szalay, "Janus Pannonius és Várad" esp. page 44.

<sup>547</sup> The director of the St. Andrew chapel, Ladislaus, is mentioned in a charter from 1345, see Piti Ferenc, ed., *Anjou-kori oklevéltár* [Charters of the Angevin Period], XXIX (1345) (Budapest-Szeged: Szegedi Középkorász Műhely, 2013), 442 charter no. 810.

<sup>548</sup> [Add reference]

smaller brick tomb was found.<sup>549</sup> In the northeastern part of the nave, there was another tomb, raised above the ground, with the skulls of two children.<sup>550</sup>

A red marble tombstone depicting a person with a bishop's staff, his foot resting on a dog, was in the north-middle part of the nave, hailing from the fourteenth century.<sup>551</sup> There were two tombs in the middle of the northern part of the nave: one in the northern aisle and one presumably in between two pillars, made of bricks.<sup>552</sup>

At the point where the sanctuary met the nave, there was a choir screen. "Up at the arch" was the altar of Cosma and Damian, and the St. Salvator "above the choir," on this raised structure. At the oratory of Saint Ladislaus, which was probably a part of this upper level of the choir screen, there were the altars of Saint Gerard, King Saint Stephen and St. Prince Emeric, the three saints whose translation was promoted by King Ladislaus.

We can safely guess that the choir was at least a few steps higher than the nave – which is probably why less of it remained, as it was more accessible for the later occupants of the castle to demolish. We can also assume that parts of the choir (or the part of the nave) had some kind of second floor: in the *Statutes*, there is the altar of St Luke "under the stairs" (*sub gradibus*), and the stairs must be leading somewhere; there is the altar of St. Cosma and Damian "higher at the arch" (*superius ad arcum*); and immediately after, meaning probably in the proximity, the altar of the Holy Savior "above the choir" (*supra chorum*); and even higher, moving forward in this raised structure to the oratory of St. Ladislaus, there is the altar of St. Gerard (*nam superius in pulpito eundo ad oratorium sancti Ladislai*).

<sup>549</sup> Balla and Lakatos, "Rómer Flóris kéziratok jelentése a nagyvárad vár 1883. évi ásatásáról," 486.

<sup>550</sup> Balla and Lakatos, 486.

<sup>551</sup> Balla and Lakatos, 485.

<sup>552</sup> Balla and Lakatos, 486.

The mention of the pulpit (or rather a structure inside the church that is not necessarily what we would call a pulpit today) makes it clear that there is a gallery-like structure in the church. I think that the stairs are leading up to this structure, and, because the altar under the stairs is mentioned immediately after the altar that is under the belltower, moreover, there is an altar up at the arch, and an altar above the choir I think this *pulpitus* was a choir screen, which had a gallery stretching across the nave and over the choir.

On the southern side, under the other tower was the altar of St. Peter with two altarists, the altar of St. Luke under the stairs, the *hanging altar* of St. Thomas, the altar of the virgin St. Catherine next to the tomb of the Saint King Ladislaus, and the altar of All Saints.

On the other side, under the northeastern tower, an altar of St. Elisabeth was built in the sacristy by bishop John II (Ivánka), who was buried there, and there was also the altar of Saint Martin. Also on the north side: the altars of St. Paul, St. Nicholas, the *hanging altar* of St. Adalbert, St. George, and another (lesser) altar of the Virgin Mary.<sup>553</sup> The altar of Saint Helena was said to be oppositely to the altar of Saint Luke, meaning it was also on the right side. Next to the lesser altar of the Virgin Mary, another altar dedicated to St. Elisabeth was founded by Vladislaus II of Opole for the benefit of his consort's soul ("*pro anima consortis sue*"), who was buried here.

The base of the northeastern tower, serving as the sacristy, was also the place where the privileges, rights and the treasures of the cathedral were kept, including crosses, chalices, cases

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<sup>553</sup> The text names the „altare pendens sancti Adalberti” very clearly, and later references the „altare pendens sancti Thome martyris”. However, I could not find the phrase „altare pendens” or even „ara pendens” in any other source, nor find any references to „hanging altar”, „autel pendant” (this one is hard because pendant also denotes time) or „függő oltár”. Curiously I found one instance of „Hängealtar” uploaded in an Europeana database, a carved altarpiece depicting the Madonna and the fourteen helpers. See: “Hängealtar mit den 14 Nothelfern und Madonna,” Deutsche Digitale Bibliothek, 2021, <https://www.deutsche-digitale-bibliothek.de/item/4M4XTVEOENAOA6BATUSAF6HZZDZUQWDR>; Imre Henszlmann supposes that the hanging altars were to be found on the choir screen (he calls it jube) and on the upper level of the “tower hall” “A Nagyvárad Kettős Székesegyház,” 155 It is also important to note that the hanging altars are symmetrically placed. .

of gold and silver, books, pictures, gems, liturgical tools (*paramentis*), ornaments and jewels.<sup>554</sup> During the archaeological investigations, in the part that can be interpreted as the northeastern tower, there was a chamber – most probably a tomb – vaulted with bricks, the top of which reached one meter above the floor of the cathedral.<sup>555</sup>

In the new sanctuary, the great altar of the Virgin Mary had two altarists. (1389) In the (radiating?) chapels surrounding the apse, there was a chapel with an altar dedicated to St. Demetrius, housing the tomb of bishop Demetrius, and a chapel of St. Dominic, with a new altar of Dominic and the tomb of bishop Dominic.

Somewhere in the church, the altars of the Holy Trinity and St. John the Evangelist stood; a Stephen, son of Thomas was buried next to the first altar and the latter was erected for the benefit of his soul.

The altars of St. Lawrence, St. Dorothy, St. Margaret, St. Jacob, the Holy Spirit, St. Blaise, St. Demetrius, St. King Sigismund and St. Mary Magdalene also stood in the church. The tombstone of Andrea Scolari (d. 1426) was present in the cathedral.<sup>556</sup> The tombstone of bishop Sigismund Thurzó (d. 1512) was also in the cathedral.<sup>557</sup>

## The lesser church of the Virgin Mary and other churches

The lesser church of the Virgin Mary was located in front of the cathedral, slightly to the south. It was oriented west-east as the cathedral and had a polygonal apse, without buttresses.

<sup>554</sup> “quum alias Sacristia seu conseruaculum eiusdem Ecclesiae in quo privilegia, jura et thesaurus ipsius conseruabantur, inopinabili casu combusta esse contigisset” from 1406, see Balogh, *Varadinum*, 1982, 2:42 as noted in the quote, the Sacristy burned down sometime before 1406, but its later similar role is confirmed by the recording of Paul Ivanich from 1451, when he mentions the relics when the tower collapsed, see pages 48-49. .

<sup>555</sup> Balla and Lakatos, “Rómer Flóris kéziratok jelentése a nagyvárad vár 1883. évi ásatásáról,” 487.

<sup>556</sup> Balla and Lakatos, 482–83.

<sup>557</sup> Balla and Lakatos, 485.

A chapter consisting of one provost and six canons was founded by provost Chanadinus in 1320. There was a double tomb, meant as a family burial place, in the apse.<sup>558</sup>

While it is harder to tell than in the case of dioceses with Ordinaries, it seems like there were other chapels or churches in the Várad episcopal castle that played important roles in the local religiosity. The earliest supposed chapel was the chapel of St. Ladislaus, and there was also a chapel in the episcopal palace, dedicated to St. Andrew.

The St. John the Baptist chapter also might have had their own building, constructed in the fifteenth century. There were multiple donations of codices at the time of Francis Perényi (1514-1526) emphasizing the wealth and influence Várad would have had at this time. Among the books was the Perényi Missal (1522), a richly decorated book. An ornate bishop's staff from 1526, made for bishop Francis, has also been left to us.<sup>559</sup>

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<sup>558</sup> Mihálka, "A váradi vár Anjou-kori építkezései a régészeti ásatások tükrében," 271–73.

<sup>559</sup> Balogh, *Varadinum*, 1982, 1:32–37.

## Addendum III: The sacred topography of Esztergom Cathedral in the Late Middle Ages

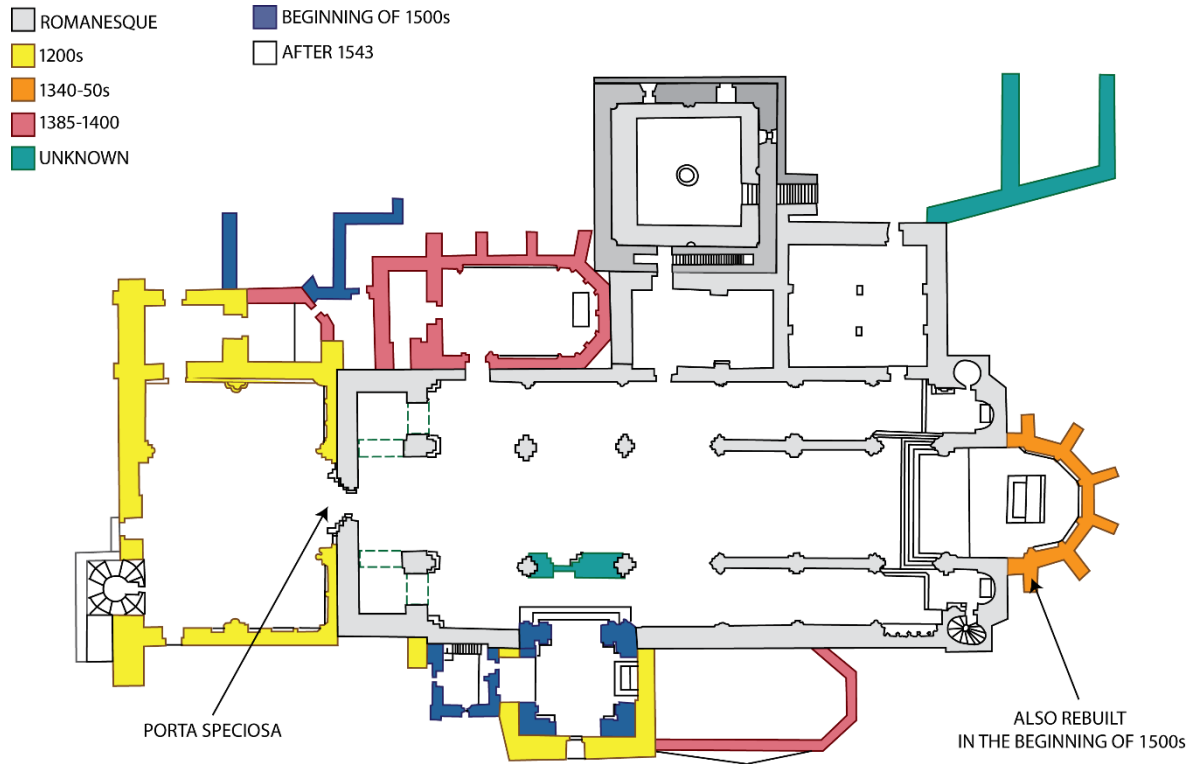


Figure 99. Periodized ground plan of Esztergom cathedral.

Looking over the plentitude of sources regarding the Esztergom Cathedral and its surroundings, we can reconstruct its Medieval Topography with accuracy, even though the building no longer exists.

Concerning the reconstruction of the Esztergom sacred topography, exemplary research has been conducted by Miklós Földvály, who dealt with the late medieval normative liturgical texts and more precisely with the *Ordinarius Strigoniensis*, the ordinal of Esztergom and has attempted a reconstruction of the built environment in which the practices outlined in the book



would have to be performed. This is similar to what I will attempt regarding the other cathedrals in this dissertation.<sup>560</sup>

According to the available sources, the Medieval Topography of the cathedral looked somewhat like this: if one approached from the west, there were two chapels attached to the western entrance hall, on the northern side. The western one (“G”), through which the entrance hall could be accessed, supposedly had an altar dedicated to St. Michael while the chapel to the east was dedicated to the Holy Trinity. Both altars were first mentioned in 1397. Moreover, the room marked with “G” supposedly also contained an altar dedicated to St. Nicholas and the entrance to the crypts. To the north of this chapel stood a building, which was probably the house of the *custos*, the canon who was taking care of the church.<sup>561</sup> Francis of Nitra (d. 1403) was buried in front of the altar of St Michael.<sup>562</sup>

Upon entering in the western extension (B”) through any of the doors indicated on the ground plan by Mathes (“C” or “E”, or “D”), the Porta Speciosa could be seen, flanked by two niches on each side. After passing through the portal, one arrived in the narthex, where there were two chapels at the bases of the western towers: the north one (“L”) dedicated to St. Jerome (f. 1483-1496), the south one (“K”) to St. Andrew (f. 1485). The room at the base of the northern tower, with the St. Jerome altar, probably also served as the confession chamber in

<sup>560</sup> Földváry, “Rubrica Strigoniensis. A középkori Esztergom liturgiájának normaszövegei,” 385–406.

<sup>561</sup> Horváth, Kelemen, and Torma, *Komárom megye régészeti topográfiája*, 104; Mathes is the one who mentions the altars of St. Lucia, Nicholas and the entrance to the crypts in this hall: “A sinistris loci Catechumenorum erat porticus lit. G portam pro populi ingressu aquilonem versus exhibens, ubi Altare Sanctae Luciae, et Sancti Nicolai, Cryptaeque aditus reperiabatur; supra porticum vero Altare SS. Trinitatis, ad cuius latus aquilonare erat Domus Custodis lit. H.” Joannes Nep. Mathes, *Veteris arcis Strigoniensis, monumentorum ibidem erutorum, aliarumque antiquitatum lithographicis tabulis ornata descriptio* (Esztergom: J. Beimel, 1827), 32–33 Although it has been proven that the altar of St. Lucia was probably in between the towers at the nave above the western portal, the description very clearly refers to this place, and it would be interesting to see what is happening to the supposed crypts.

<sup>562</sup> Norbert C. Tóth, *Az esztergomi székes- és társaskáptalanok archontológiája 1100–1543* [The Archontology of the Cathedral and Collegiate Chapters of Esztergom 1100-1543] (Budapest: MTA Magyar Medieviztikai Kutatócsoport, 2019), 126–27, <http://real.mtak.hu/104836/>.

the Late Middle Ages. Above the entrance, on the western oratory, there was the altar of St. Lucia.<sup>563</sup>

In the church of Esztergom, Széless describes on page 76-77 that the chapel at the base of the southern tower, that he heard one belonged to St. Andrew, was used to house the coffin of the body of Christ that could be visited.

After one passed the western oratory, there was a doorway to the left (“N”), where the Gothic chapel of the Assumption of Mary could be accessed, fitted with its own organ, and an additional room to the west, which Mathes identified as the sacristy of the chapel.<sup>564</sup> In the chapel, there was also an altar dedicated to Saints Peter and Paul, Lawrence and Nicholas (f. 1479).

On the northern side, a sacristy must also have existed (probably “P”), as this was the customary place for it and the Esztergom Ordinal makes a reference to rites where priests would move in and out of the sacristy.<sup>565</sup>

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<sup>563</sup> The identification of the chapels at the bases of the towers is later corroborated by the description of Mathes and György Széless. Discussed by Tóth, “Esztergom Szent Adalbert-székesegyháza és az Árpád-kori építészet,” 124, see footnote 17; György Széless and János Mathes place the altar of St. Lucia in a small chapel at the North-Western side of the entrance hall, marked with “G”. See Horváth, Kelemen, and Torma, *Komárom megye régészeti topográfiája*; Moreover, the role of the chapel of St. Jerome as the confession chamber, supposed by Széless and indicated in his drawing, is corroborated by footnote 48 at György Széless, *Az esztergomi Szent Adalbert székesegyház: Széless György 1761. évi leírása a Szent Adalbert székesegyház és a Szent István templom romjairól* [St. Adalbert’s Cathedral in Esztergom: György Széless’s 1761 Description of the Ruins of St. Adalbert’s Cathedral and St. Stephen’s Church] (Esztergom, 1998), 162–63.

<sup>564</sup> Mathes, *Veteris arcis Strigoniensis, monumentorum ibidem erutorum, aliarumque antiquitatum lithographicis tabulis ornata descriptio*, 38–39.

<sup>565</sup> Földváry, “Rubrica Strigoniensis. A középkori Esztergom liturgiájának normaszövegei,” 388.

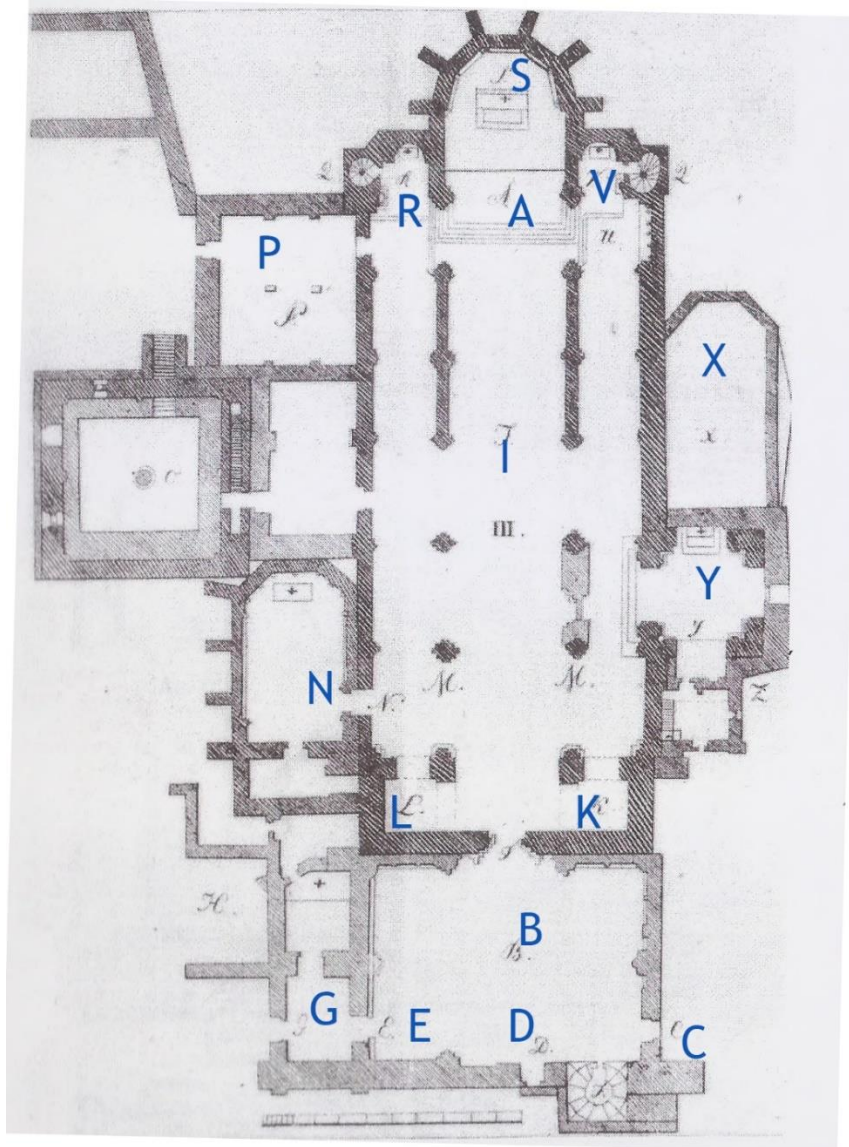


Figure 100. The ground plan of the cathedral by John Mathes, 1827, based on a drawing from c. 1763.

To the west of this, also accessible from the northern aisle of the church, was a three-bay chapel that Horváth et al. supposed was dedicated to the Blessed Sacrament, although I agree with Norbert C. Tóth, who disputes it, saying that the Blessed Sacrament chapel never existed, as it was the same as the Corpus Christi chapel.<sup>566</sup> This would mean, that the chapel was most

<sup>566</sup> C. Tóth, *Az esztergomi székes- és társaskáptalanok archontológiája 1100–1543*, 112; Horváth, Kelemen, and Torma, *Komárom megye régészeti topográfiája*, 105; one of the charters Horváth et al. reference, saying that in it, Paul Várdai founds the chapel, does not mention a chapel of the Blessed Sacrament at all. See the charter at Knauz Nándor, *Az esztergomi káptalan fekvő és egyéb birtokaira vonatkozó okmányok tára*. [Repository of Documents Concerning the Landscape and Other Estates of the Esztergom Chapter.] (Pest, 1871), 104–6 charter no. 89.

probably the chapel housing the altar of the Virgin Mary, moved here in or after 1297, which we know was on the northern side of the church, and the easternmost room on the northern side was the sacristy (or, less probably, the other way around). To the right of the altar of the Virgin Mary stood the altar of St. John the Baptist (f. m. 1397). Miklós Földváry supposes, based on the text of the Esztergom Ordinal, that the altar of the Blessed Virgin Mary was located in the nave, quite close to the choir screen, but it seems more likely that it was in the chapel which opened at the middle of the northern aisle, the entrance of which was close to the proposed end of the lettner. This would explain many of the supposed inconsistencies in the ordinal's text, like when some rituals take place near the altar of the Virgin Mary that would not have usually taken place in the main liturgical space.<sup>567</sup>

From the southern aisle, the Renaissance chapel (1506-1511) of Archbishop Thomas Bakócz could be accessed, dedicated to Maria Annunciata ("Y"). Between the pillars in front of the Bakócz chapel's entrance there was a structure with a doorway, but it is unknown what its function might have been. To the east of this chapel stood the chapel of Corpus Christi ("X", founded in 1384), although on the ground plan of Mathes it is not indicated where its entrance was – probably because only the foundations existed by that time.<sup>568</sup> We do know, however, that an altar stood before it, at the side of the choir, dedicated to the praise of the Virgin Mary and to Saints Fabian, Sebastian, Michael and Lucia (f. 1476, referred to as the altar of SS. Fabian and Sebastian).

A choir screen (also called a lettner) was most probably present in the church. We do not have any evidence of a late medieval structure, but Krisztina Havasi has identified pieces of red marble slabs that were inserted between the pillars, forming a choir, at around the turn of

<sup>567</sup> Földváry, "Rubrica Strigoniensis. A középkori Esztergom liturgiájának normaszövegei," 394–98.

<sup>568</sup> If we look at the cross-section of Andreas Krey, we can see that it only extends until the Bakócz chapel, and everything east of that was leveled.

the 12-13<sup>th</sup> centuries.<sup>569</sup> The altar of the Holy Cross (first mentioned in 1397), or the people's altar, most probably stood in front of this choir screen (the source for it says that it stood "*in navi Ecclesie*", probably at the position of the letter "I"), as it is usual in other churches.<sup>570</sup> The ordinal of Esztergom also makes a reference to a small gate to the right of the Holy Cross altar, which meant a door in the choir screen, and to the second floor of the lettner, where the children go up to sing.<sup>571</sup>

According to the ground plan by Mathes, three stairs led from the aisles to the side apses and to the choir space. Five additional stairs led from the choir to the sanctuary, or, what Ernő Marosi calls "*chorus maior*" ("A").<sup>572</sup> At the top of the stairs stood the main altar, probably raised one or two steps, dedicated to St. Adalbert and later also to the Virgin Mary ("S"). The height difference is also confirmed by Miklós Földvály's analysis of the *Ordinarius Strigoniensis*, where the different movements between the main altar, the sanctuary (or chorus maior) and the choir/nave/sacristy are indicated with words like *ascendere* and *descendere*. Földvály also supposes, that not only the main altar itself, but the entire inner portion of the sanctuary was raised, based on the space it would take for certain liturgical actions to be performed.<sup>573</sup> This could be indicated by the thin line stretching across the sanctuary on Mathes' ground plan, which can thus be interpreted as one step.

To the north of the main altar – in my opinion, in the northern side apse, although this is not explicitly stated - stood the altar of All Saints (f.m. 1272, "R") and in the southern side

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<sup>569</sup> [Find the reference]

<sup>570</sup> For the charter, see: Knauz, *Az esztergomi káptalan fekvő és egyéb birtokaira vonatkozó okmányok tára.*, 105. It is also confirmed by Miklós Földvály and Horváth et al. that it probably stood in the middle of the nave, at the western end of the choir.

<sup>571</sup> Földvály, "Rubrica Strigoniensis. A középkori Esztergom liturgiájának normaszövegei," 390–92.

<sup>572</sup> Marosi, "Az Esztergomi Szent Adalbert-Székesegyház Története — A Székesegyház Alaprajza És Egyes Részei," 45.

<sup>573</sup> Földvály, "Rubrica Strigoniensis. A középkori Esztergom liturgiájának normaszövegei," 387–89. He also confirms, based on his comparative analysis of the Eger Ordinary, that the words indeed denote top-down movements instead of just approach or getting further away.

apse, the altar of St. Margaret (f.m. 1272, “V”).<sup>574</sup> In the southern apse there were six sitting niches, made of marble, at the letter “U”.<sup>575</sup>

Apart from liturgical reasons, this part was raised because of a crypt underneath that was probably there from the time of the church’s Romanesque apse – although the entrance to the crypt was probably walled off in the 14<sup>th</sup> c. when the new apse was built. According to Buzás, the three-aisled crypt was probably accessible from the staircases of the side apses.<sup>576</sup> In contrast with this, the description of Mathes states that there were two beautiful red marble towers, probably from the time of Archbishop Job and King Béla, and that the stairs at the sides led up to these towers.<sup>577</sup> The stairs at the ground plan seem uneven and would be out of place in the twelfth century but not so much at the fourteenth at the time of the renovation of the main apse, when the side apses could have been walled over too.

Also, in the church stood the altar the altar of Saint Peter (and Paul) to the right of the sanctuary (f.m. 1397).<sup>578</sup> This could mean, looking from the west, that it was located in the southern side apse, perhaps next to the sanctuary wall.

There was also the altar of St. Stanislaus (f.m. 1397), and on the southern side the altar of St. Margaret (f.m. 1272).<sup>579</sup> Norbert C. Tóth also identified several altars: the altar of St. Valentine, the altar of Saint Gregory the Great (f. between 1388-1397), the altar of St. Jacob

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<sup>574</sup> “*eandem Beatissime virgini Margareteet eius aree in ecclesia katedrali Strigoniensi fundate/ due aree excepto ara maiori de duabus partibus, una a parte meridionali, que sit fundata in honore Beate virginis Margarete, alia a parte septemtrionali, que sit fundata et fabricata in honore Omnium Sanctorum ac pro remissione omnium peccatorum*” See an outline of the charter in Imre Szentpétery, ed., *Scriptores Rerum Hungaricarum*, vol. 2 (Budapest, 1938), 27 charter no. 2325.

<sup>575</sup> Mathes, *Veteris arcis Strigoniensis, monumentorum ibidem erutorum, aliarumque antiquitatum lithographicis tabulis ornata descriptio*, 40.

<sup>576</sup> Buzás, “Az esztergomi vár románkori és gótikus épületei,” 11.

<sup>577</sup> Mathes, *Veteris arcis Strigoniensis, monumentorum ibidem erutorum, aliarumque antiquitatum lithographicis tabulis ornata descriptio*, 39–40.

<sup>578</sup> C. Tóth, *Az esztergomi székes- és társaskáptalanok archontológiája 1100–1543*, 127.

<sup>579</sup> Horváth, Kelemen, and Torma, *Komárom megye régészeti topográfiája*, 106.

and the altar of St. Thomas (f.m.1515) and proved that the altar of St. Catherine (f.m. 1397) and the altar of St. Ladislaus (f.m. 1394) stood in the cathedral.<sup>580</sup>

Archiepiscopal tombstones were also found in 1763, when the church was demolished: the tomb of Ugrin of Csák (d. 1204), Dénes Széchy (d. 1465) and János Vitéz (d. 1472). Other altars were also mentioned that were located in the castle but could not be directly tied to the St. Adalbert cathedral: St. Stephen, St. George.<sup>581</sup>

There is also the problem of the altar of St. Anne: one of the sources mentions it as standing in the cathedral, but the 1397 visitation records put it in the southern (royal) palace.<sup>582</sup>

In addition to the buildings mentioned before and the St. Stephen chapel to be discussed later, there were two additional chapels, although we do not know where they stood or how they looked. One of them was the St. Michael chapel, founded by the commander of the fortress Alfarellus Feratius in 1488, and which might have stood next to the entrance of the church (*“quanda Capellam...extra porticum scilicet Ecclesie sancti Adalberti cathedralis a parte Aquilonari in honorem Sancti Michaelis archangeli...construe fecisset”*) and, according to Horváth et al. was connected to the cemetery - note that Mathes dates the altar of the “Prince of Angels” to 1485 and attributes the founding to the archiepiscopal governor John of Aragon (1480-85). There was also a chapel, called a “basilica” in the Latin document where it was mentioned as a chapel of the Esztergom Church, dedicated to St. Vitus, but it was not

<sup>580</sup> C. Tóth, *Az esztergomi székes- és társaskáptalanok archontológiája 1100–1543*, 121–23. Before this work, Horváth et al. were only able to confirm that the altars of St. Catherine and St. Ladislaus were somewhere on the castle hill.

<sup>581</sup> Horváth, Kelemen, and Torma, *Komárom megye régészeti topográfiája*, 106.

<sup>582</sup> C. Tóth, *Az esztergomi székes- és társaskáptalanok archontológiája 1100–1543*, 121.

mentioned in any of the documents later than 1284, so Horváth et al. suppose that it has been re-dedicated later.<sup>583</sup>

Norbert C. Tóth also identified a chapel dedicated to St. Ambrose, mentioned in 1510, which belonged to the cathedral but it is not possible to determine its place in the church.<sup>584</sup>

Some of the walls and the sanctuary of the cathedral was destroyed during the 1543, but the building stood after that for some time too. In around 1600, the church was depicted with a flat eastern closure.

## The church of St. Stephen the Martyr

To the north of the cathedral, probably connected to the northern (archiepiscopal) palace, there was a chapel dedicated to St. Stephen the Martyr. An 11<sup>th</sup> century tomb of a high-ranking priest found under the southeastern wall of the church's sanctuary confirms that some kind of church existed before the remains we know of today. In the thirteenth century, the church was rebuilt, in Gothic style, probably also influenced by the head relic of St Stephen obtained and brought here by King Andrew II. This seems to be supported by the fact that a possible tomb fragment, worked in a way similar to Queen Gertrude's grave from Pilisszentkereszt, which Gergely Buzás interprets as a part of a relic-tomb.<sup>585</sup>

At the end of the fourteenth century, in 1391 John of Kanizsa founded the chapter of St Stephen. A few years later, in the years 1395-97, a canonical visitation occurred in Esztergom,

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<sup>583</sup> Horváth, Kelemen, and Torma, *Komárom megye régészeti topográfiája*, 105; "Anno 1485 Joannes V. de Arragonia Archi-Episcopus Strigoniensis, frater Reginee Beatricis, Aram Angelorum Principi exstrui fecit" in Mathes, *Veteris arcis Strigoniensis, monumentorum ibidem erutorum, aliarumque antiquitatum lithographicis tabulis ornata descriptio*, 30.

<sup>584</sup> C. Tóth, *Az esztergomi székes- és társaskáptalanok archontológiája 1100–1543*, 117.

<sup>585</sup> Buzás, "Az esztergomi vár románkori és gótikus épületei," 18–19.



the transcript of which gives us an insight into how the church was regarded in the Middle Ages.<sup>586</sup> According to the canons interviewed at the time, King Saint Stephen was born in a room that was later converted to a side chapel of the church, which also had a consecrated altar. Supposedly, there was a two-floor building, the remaining part of Prince Géza's palace, on the northern side of the church, closer to the western end, the top floor of which was the chapel. Towards the end of the fifteenth century, provost Andrew Gosztony commissioned two additional chapels to the north-eastern side of the church.<sup>587</sup>

The fact that this church served as much for the veneration of St Stephen the Martyr as for the commemoration of King St. Stephen serves another canonical visitation from 1404-1418, which states that the church is overseen by both Saint Stephens and that it contains the birthplace of the king-saint.<sup>588</sup> Provost Peter Garázda (d. 1507) was buried in the sanctuary of the St. Stephen protomartyr chapel in Esztergom, underneath a Renaissance tombstone.<sup>589</sup>

The church was destroyed during the Ottoman siege of 1543, when the attackers bombarded the castle hill with cannons.<sup>590</sup>

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<sup>586</sup> The records are stored at the Esztergom Főkáptalani Levéltár (Esztergom Primatial Archives) 53. lad. 1. fasc. nr. 7. The foundation charter and the visitation records were published in Antal Pór, *Az Esztergom-Várbeli Szent István Első Vértanúról Nevezett Prépostság Története* [The Story of the Provostship Named after the First Martyr of St. Stephen in Esztergom Castle] (Szent István társulat, 1909).

<sup>587</sup> Lepold Antal, "Szent István király születéshelye." [The Birthplace of Saint Stephen], in *Szent István Emlékkönyv.*, vol. 2 (Budapest, 1938), 496–97.

<sup>588</sup> Lepold, 498. Lepold also cites from the text: "*sub titulo et vocabulo sanctorum utriusque Stephani prothomartiris videlicet et regis confeessoris*", "*in quia eciam gloriosus locus natalis ipsius sancti Stephani regis regni Hungariae apostoli et patroni consistit.*"

<sup>589</sup> [add source]

<sup>590</sup> Lepold, "Szent István király születéshelye." 500.

## Addendum IV: The sacred topography of Zagreb Cathedral in the Late Middle Ages

The interior arrangements of Zagreb cathedral, most notably the altars have been described first by Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski in 1856 and then amended by Ivan Krstitelj Tkalčić in his 1885 monograph of the cathedral; unfortunately, both of these are very scarce in their references.<sup>591</sup> Sadly, the 1988 monograph by Ana Deanović and Željka Čorak does not treat this era extensively and does not expand on the list of references.<sup>592</sup> This way, my main task in this section is to find the original documents to back up as many claims as possible and to expand with the new sources I have discovered.

Concerning the interior arrangements, we have a source from 1334: the statutes, or ecclesiastic laws of the diocese were compiled by archdeacon John Goričko. Although not as verbose as the Várad statutes when it comes to the altars and tombs, the text mentions some facts about the interior of the cathedral at its time.<sup>593</sup> The oldest inventory of Zagreb cathedral comes from 1394, Andrija Lukonic describes several other inventories as well.<sup>594</sup>

Two great events affected the interior of the church: a fire in 1645 and the great restoration of Herman Bollé (1885-1905). After the great fire, some of the altars were destroyed and replaced or even moved, along with other pieces of furnishing. This arrangement remained in place until the second great event: the restoration of Herman Bollé (1885-1905). We can gather an idea of the interior arrangement from the oldest known floor plan of the cathedral, which

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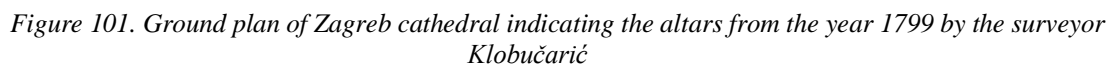
<sup>591</sup> Kukuljević Sakcinski, *Prvostolna crkva zagrebačka opisana s gledišta povjestnice, umjetnosti i starinah*; Tkalčić, *Prvostolna crkva zagrebačka neko i sada*, 51–100; See also Tkalčić, *Monumenta historica liberae regiae civitatis Zagrabiae*, 1894, 2:CXLIV–CLV: “Prvostolna crkva i bogoslužje” = “First church and worship.”

<sup>592</sup> Deanović and Čorak, *Zagrebačka Katedrala*.

<sup>593</sup> The whole text of the statutes was published in: Tkalčić, *Monumenta historica episcopatus Zagrabienensis*, 2:8–124.

<sup>594</sup> Andrija Lukinović, “Najstariji sačuvani imovnik Zagrebačke katedrale (1394)” [The Oldest Preserved Inventory of the Zagreb Cathedral (1394)], *Croatica Christiana periodica : časopis instituta za crkvenu povijest Katoličkog bogoslovnog fakulteta u Zagrebu* 9 (1982): 66–89.

It lists 29 altars, of which some were already in place by the mid-sixteenth century.<sup>595</sup>



<sup>595</sup> Deanović and Čorak, *Zagrebačka Katedrala*, 82.

2. S. Luca	c. Porta ad Capellam Ioannis Baptista supra hanc portam est fenestra
3. B. Virginis	d. Sex columna quibus gradus ad chorum ducentes insistent
4. S. Magdalena	e. Gradus ad chorum ducentes
5. SS. Cosma et Damiani	f. Cete columna parte ex una chorum sustenta[?]
6. 10. Militum Coronatorum	g. Murus parte ex altera chorum sustenans
7. S. Hyeronimi	h. Infra hanc fenestram est porta, per quam ea Arce episcopali ad Chorum Venita[s?]
8. S. Jacobi	i. Columna Gothica Structurata, usque fermi[?] Ecclersia protwc? Ips? Fermium sustenans
9. S. Ursula	k. Scala ad fornicem ecclesia ducentes (fornix = arch, vault)
10. S. Ioannis Baptista	l. Porta ad sacristiam
11. SS. Gervasii et Protasii	m. Exterior sacristia
12. S. Nicolai	n. Exitus ex sacristia
13. Ssma (= Sanctissima) Trinitatis	o. Sacristia interior
14. S. Barbara	p. Porta minor per quam in Exxlesiam intraturn supra hanc portam est fenestra
15. Ssma Crucis	q. Gradus ad Cathedram (cathedra = the pulpit)
16. S. Francisca Seraphici	r. Columna cui Cathedra insistit
17. S. catharinae	s. Chorus Cleri Cathedratis
18. S. Emerici	t. Stali canonicorum
19. S. Elisabetha	u. Thronus episcopalis
20. S. Michaelis Archangeli	v. Sanctuarium
21. SS. Fabiani et Sebastiani	x. Scauna fixa
22. S. Ioannis Nepomucemi	y. Scala ad fornicem ecclesie ducentes
23. S. Georgii	z. Lapis in que aqua lustralis servatur
24. S. Dorothea	
25. Omnium Sanctorum	
26. S: Pauli Apostoli	
27. S. Ladislai	
28. Cana Domini	
29. SS. Apostolorum Petri et Pauli in sacristia	

Although it would be imprudent to draw absolute conclusions from the ground plan above, in general, we do not know of any major changes that would have induced either a partial or complete rebuilding of the cathedral.

Approaching from the west, one could see the impressive façade, with two towers and a central window above the main portal. Upon entering the nave, a row of Gothic pillars could be seen that supported the vaulting, and the aisles were as high as the nave itself.

We do not know much about the space at the inner porch, or the space between the towers. On the 1799 plan it seems like there were permanent benches on either side of the entrance, as well as basins for holy water, while the entrance to the towers was possible from the aisles.

Right across from the entrance, the altar of St. Michael was standing in the middle of the nave (f.m. 1344). A new altar was raised at the site of the old one, donated by bishop Luke in 1507.<sup>596</sup> The tomb of bishop Dominic (1200) was in the church, covered by a red marble tombstone in front of (probably east to) the altar of the archangel Michael.<sup>597</sup>

A basin that can be presumed to have been the baptismal font is also shown on the 1799 plan, in the middle of the church, corresponding to the usual place in which these fonts are mentioned in medieval documents.

Not much is known about the medieval arrangement of the aisles. If we take a look at the nave in general on the 1799 plan, there are several altars depicted and barring two in the southern aisle, each one has a two-step platform beneath it in various shapes. The altars attached to the columns seem to be uniform in shape and seem to have platform that resemble Gothic style more, which means that they might represent Gothic winged altars, especially

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<sup>596</sup> Deanović and Čorak, 68.

<sup>597</sup> “[...] dominus Dominicus, cuius iam littere apparent et eciam sepulchrum in ecclesia maiori, sub lapide rubeo marmoreo ante aram beati Mychaelis archangeli in ecclesia maiori”; from the statues of the Zagreb chapter (1343), Tkalčić, *Monumenta historica episcopatus Zagradiensis*, 2:5.

because they are described by Ana Deanović as being founded around the same time in the beginning of the sixteenth century.

According to Deanović, several new altars were placed in the nave at the beginning of the sixteenth century, solidifying its interior arrangement for the early modern period. She describes their arrangement: next to the southern pillars, from east to west, St. Barbara (1513), the Holy Trinity (1515) and St. Nicholas (sometime in the beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> century), while on the northern side, St. Catherine, St. Emeric and St. Elisabeth (middle of the 16<sup>th</sup> century). Next to the northern wall of the nave, from east to west: St. George (beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> century), All Saints (1507) and St. Fabian and Sebastian (middle of the 16<sup>th</sup> century), while next to the southern wall there was only one altar: Mary Magdalene (15-16<sup>th</sup> c.).<sup>598</sup> On the 1799 plan, the arrangement is more or less similar, barring that instead of the All saints altar, which is depicted in the northern aisle east to the choir screen, there is an altar dedicated to John of Nepomuk, canonized in 1729, with a platform that is decidedly Baroque.

A pulpit is also depicted on the 1799 plan, on the middle northern pillar in the nave, which can also be seen on a photograph of the church taken after the earthquake of 1880 (Figure 104). The pulpit seems Baroque in style, but could theoretically have been Gothic in origin, as was the case for the pulpit from St. Michael's church in Cluj Napoca, where the original stone Gothic pulpit was found under wooden Baroque covers.<sup>599</sup>

The two-level sacristy was as long and almost as wide as the northern part of the chancel, where it is located. Originally, it had a flat end, the current polygonal apse was added only at the time of the nineteenth-century renovations. This adjoining building was split into two parts

<sup>598</sup> Deanović and Čorak, *Zagrebačka Katedrala*, 68.

<sup>599</sup> Letter no. 14 from Sas Péter, ed., "Bágyuj Lajos levelezéséből" [From the Letters of Lajos Bágyuj], in *Műemlék-helyreállítás Erdélyben 1955-1973* (Cluj Napoca, 2012), 131.



or rooms: the western part was used as a storage area while the eastern part was effectively a chapel.<sup>600</sup> The altar of St. Peter and Paul (f. 1275) was located in this eastern part.<sup>601</sup>

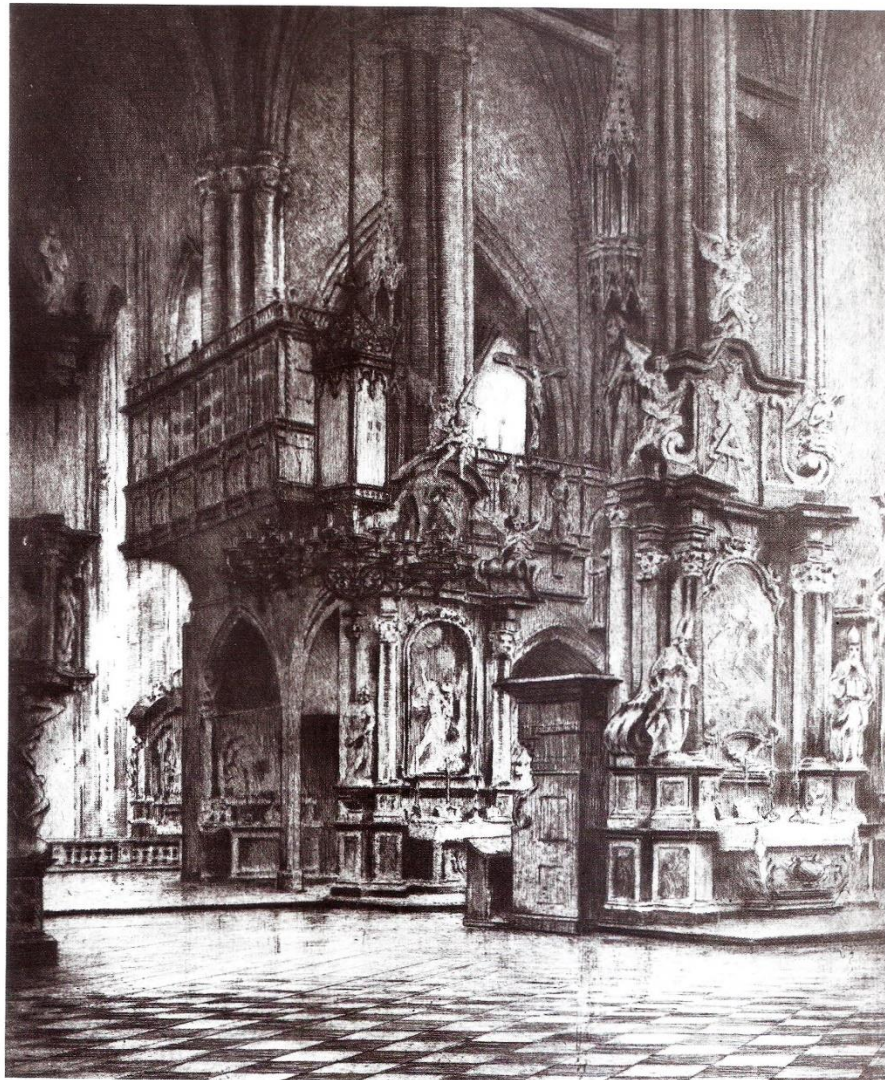


Figure 102: Sketch of Zagreb Cathedral interior before the earthquake of 1880, looking towards the southeastern side. By B. Senoe,

Since at least 1433, a choir screen (*lectorium*) has stood in the church. Its original, medieval appearance is unknown, but some ideas can be gathered from the available evidence. On the 1799 plan, we can see that the choir screen has four total doors: two of them go into the

<sup>600</sup> Deanović and Čorak, *Zagrebačka Katedrala*, 45.

<sup>601</sup> “[...] consecratum est altare in sacristia zagrabiensi a venerabili patre domino Thymotheo episcopo zagrabiensi, ad honorem sanctorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli.” Tkalčić, *Monumenta historica episcopatus Zagrabiensis: XII. i XIII. stoljeća*, 1:175 charter no. CLXXI 1275 April 21.



chapels/choirs that are made up by the side apses and aisles, while two go into the main choir. The later choir screen had a gallery that was accessible through a staircase at the southern side, from the nave, as can be seen from an archive photograph from 1880 (Figure 103), and the staircase is indicated on the 1799 plan too.



*Figure 103. Photo of the southern aisle towards the east in Zagreb Cathedral, after the earthquake of 1880.*

The choir screen is most probably not in its original form on the 1799 plan, as we can see by the middle section of the western edge, which curves out a bit. We cannot judge whether this was a later addition, because although this plan shows us the choir screen in its whole width, on both the sketch before the earthquake (Figure 102) and on the photograph of the



sanctuary after the earthquake (Figure 104), the middle part of the choir screen is missing, and the remaining tracts were closed off with a railing on the northern part and screen windows on the southern part.



Figure 104. The chancel of Zagreb cathedral after the 1880 earthquake.

The choir screen was related to the altar of Sts. Cosma and Damjan, founded by Bishop John before 1433, who wanted to be buried *ante suum altare in choro* (in front of his altar in the choir), and said altar was described as standing *in lectorio ante chorum* (in front of the choir).<sup>602</sup> This would mean, in my opinion, that either both the altar and the eventual tomb were to the east of the choir screen, or that the altar was on the choir screen gallery and the tomb

<sup>602</sup> see the charter at Tkalčić, *Monumenta historica liberae regiae civitatis Zagrabiae*, 1894, 2:72–74, the document mentions that bishop John wanted to be buried “Zagrabiae in cathedrali ante suum altare in choro”, and later “altaria ss. Cosmae et Damiani, quod altare in lectorio ante chorum construi fecit et disponuit.”

was in front of it. On the 1799 ground plan, the altar is at the south-western corner of the southern aisle of the choir, which corresponds well to the description above and means that the tomb was somewhere in the choir. It is also worth noting that the 1799 description refers to the choir screen as “chorum” (e.g., when explaining the meaning of the letters of the plan, “e” is “scala ad chorum ducentes” = the stair that goes to the choir).

Regarding the choir screen, what is evident from the visual sources is that it had a gallery stretching above the body of the church, supported by slender columns. The column on Figure 103 seems vaguely Late Gothic, but, the arches are not the same width (although they are supposed to be, based on the 1799 plan) and the next column seen on Figure 102 is of a different type, which suggests that the structure was heavily altered between 1800-1880.

Apart from bishop John’s tomb, the southern apsidal chapel housed the tomb of Bishop Timothy, who was buried in front of the altar of the Virgin Mary founded by himself (f. 1284).<sup>603</sup> A new altar to the Virgin Mary was consecrated in 1496 in the cathedral, which was very probably a new altar at the same site as the one founded by Bishop Timothy (notably, there is only one altar of the Virgin Mary on the 1799 plan and it is this one).<sup>604</sup> There was also a tombstone in the southern apsidal chapel in front of the St. Mary Magdalen altar, which belonged to Michael Witez, provost of the Saint Stephen church, doctor of the divine law, who died on 7 April 1499.<sup>605</sup>

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<sup>603</sup> “consecratum est altare beate Marie virginis in ecclesia zagrabiensi per venerabilem patrem dominum Tyraotheum episcopum zagrabiensem. In quo continentur iste reliquie, videlicet:.....de tunica domini, sancte Lucie virginis, sancte Elyzabeth, sancte Clare virginis, sancte Teodore, sancte Tecle virginis, sancte Gertrudis virginis; item undecim milia virginum, Stephani regis et confessoris, sanctorum Johannis et Pauli martirum, sancti Vincenti martiris, sancti Demetrii martiris, sancti Georgii martiris, sancti Gerardi episcopi et martiris, sanctorum Viti et Modesti martirum.” Tkalčić, *Monumenta historica episcopatus Zagrabiensis: XII. i XIII. stoljeća*, 1:216 charter no. CCXVI. 1284 August 21 (although the text of the charter says “XII kalendas septembris”; “dominus Thymotheus [...] qui laudabiliter prefuit ecclesie, quam in diversis ornamentis et vasis argenteis dotavit. [...] cuius sepulchrum apparet ante aram beate virginis in ecclesia maiori.” Tkalčić, *Monumenta historica episcopatus Zagrabiensis*, 2:6.

<sup>604</sup> Document no. 383: a small piece of parchment that was found in the altar of the Virgin Mary Tkalčić, *Monumenta historica liberae regiae civitatis Zagrabiae*, 1894, 2:507.

<sup>605</sup> Tkalčić, 2:533.

There was a second choir in Zagreb cathedral: two documents attest to the existence of the Virgin Mary choir: the statutes of the prebendaries of the Zagreb church, written between 1461-1511, and a note in the Zagreb Missal from 1512. The choir had a great altar, at the back of which an *armarium* (ambry, a cupboard for sacred vessels and ornaments) was added in 1512.<sup>606</sup> This altar seems to have been the altar of the Virgin Mary at the southern side apse, mentioned above, and it is very probable that the choir assembled here. The ground plan from 1799 shows stalls in both of the aisles in front of the side apses.

The north apse was the location of the altar of St. Ladislaus (f. 1275).<sup>607</sup> A set of 12-seat stalls were commissioned for the northern side apse-chapel of St. Ladislaus, made by the Florentine John Nicze in 1507.<sup>608</sup>

At the southern side of the main apse, we find the altar of St. Luke (at least at the 1799 plan). Bishop Luke (1470-1510) was also buried in the church, in front of the altar of St. Luke, founded by himself. The tombstone of Bishop Luke was made out of red limestone (referred to in medieval Hungary as “red marble”) and is a very fine renaissance artifact, carved by Giovanni Fiorentino, supposed to have been in the apse at least until 1703, when a new marble floor was made in the main apse. His tombstone was recently (2022) reassembled, when new pieces were found during the renovation after the 2020 earthquake.<sup>609</sup>

<sup>606</sup> Tkalčić, *Monumenta historica liberae regiae civitatis Zagrabiae*, 1896, 3:306–21 and 259–60.

<sup>607</sup> “consecratum est altare ante sacristiam per venerabilem patrem dominum Thymotheum episcopum zagrabiensem ad honorem sancti regis Ladizlai. In quo altari continentur iste reliquie, videlicet eiusdem sancti regis Ladizlai confessoris, sancti Stephani regis confessoris, de pannis domini nostri Jhesu Christi, sancti Stephani protomartiris, sancti Laurencii martiris, sancti Gregorii pape, sancti Martini episcopi et confessoris, sancti Andree apostoli, sancti Dyonisii episcopi et martiris, sancte Katherine virginis et martiris, sancte Agnetis virginis et martiris, sancte Margarete virginis et martiris.” Tkalčić, *Monumenta historica episcopatus Zagrabienensis: XII. i XIII. stoljeća*, 1:178 charter no. CLXXV.

<sup>608</sup> Deanović and Čorak, *Zagrebačka Katedrala*, 69.

<sup>609</sup> “Szegedi Lukács zágrábi püspök sírkövének összeillesztése.”



*Figure 105. The fragments of Bishop Luke's tombstone reassembled. Source: Hungarian National Museum website*

The medieval chancel, that is still standing today, is a hall chancel, where the side apses are as high as the main apse. All the apses are polygonal, supported by buttresses. The nave of the choir is three bays long, and wider than the side apses and their aisles. Two staircases are located at the outside, where the two side apses join the main apse, providing access to the higher levels of the apses. The windows of the five walls of the main apse are pointed, and the circular windows above them have heart-shaped tracery.

The main altar had a gilded reliquary in which the skull-relic of Saint King Stephen was kept since the 12<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>610</sup> According to Tkalčić, Bishop Osvald erected a new main altar in 1489, after raising the vaulting of the main apse.<sup>611</sup>

The chancel received new pieces of furnishing in the beginning of the sixteenth century. According to Ana Deanović, in 1500 an altar dedicated to St. Dorothy was placed in the northern side, near the sanctuary, and in 1507, an altar dedicated to All Saints was placed somewhere in the church. An altar was donated by bishop Luke in 1508, placed next to the southern wall of the sanctuary. Deanović supposes that these were all smaller winged altars. The triptych from one of the altars from around 1500 has survived: the altar of St. Gervasius and Protasius, which was in the right-side apse, next to the altar of the Holy Virgin. Mihajlo (Nicholas?) Vitez commissioned the altar, a member of the prominent family of Vitez Cesmički from Komarica.<sup>612</sup>

Bishop Osvald has asked in his will that he be buried in front of the “small altar that I have commissioned in front of the Holy Sacrament”, which could mean either the middle of the nave, as the Holy Sacrament was often kept near the holy Cross altar, or a different location next to a sacrament house.<sup>613</sup> He also left a considerable sum of 10000 forints to finish the construction he could not and several valuable objects to be added to the treasury of the cathedral: a jug and silver plate that was used by him numerous times; for Maundy Thursday a medium sized gold- and silver-plated goblet with two smaller silver goblets, twelve silver

<sup>610</sup> Wagner István, “800 év horvát-magyar hagyatéka” [800 Years of Croatian-Hungarian Heritage], *Barátság* 27, no. 6 (2020.12.15.): 10252–53 The reliquary was melted down to pay the mercenaries after the 1593 Battle of Sisak.

<sup>611</sup> Tkalčić, *Monumenta historica liberae regiae civitatis Zagrabiae*, 1894, 2:CXLVII.

<sup>612</sup> Deanović and Čorak, *Zagrebačka Katedrala*, 68. Unfortunately, Deanović does not provide any references to the sources where she learned about these altar foundations. According to her, the altar of St. Gervasius and Protasius is located today in the apse attached to the sacristy – it was placed there during Herman Bollé’s reconstruction.

<sup>613</sup> “*sepulturam eligo in ecclesia mea zagrabiensi ante aram parvam, quam ante venerabile sacramentum de novo erigere commisi.*” See the text of the will, signed by King Vladislaus II in Tkalčić, *Monumenta historica liberae regiae civitatis Zagrabiae*, 1894, 2:516–23.



plates of which four had gold plating. For services related to the relics kept in the cathedral, he left twelve big silver platters and three smaller silver dishes meant to hold the sacred oils (*pro balsamentis*). In addition, the church also received two bigger gold-plated silver candelabras, a casket meant for holding *corporale* (square white linen cloths upon which the chalice and paten are placed) and some other *ornamenta*.<sup>614</sup> Starting in 1508, the lord prebendaries (this might mean the confraternity of the Virgin Mary – see *The Virgin Mary choir in Zagreb and its possible inspiration*) of Zagreb said masses “under the major mass” for the deceased at the altar of Bishop Osvald, which would mean that it was not so close to the main altar that it would have been inconvenient.<sup>615</sup> Tkalčić described the tombstone as standing in the choir of the cathedral before the altar of the Holy Cross in 1894.<sup>616</sup>

The church may have had a chapel of St. Elizabeth, where “una alba, humerale, manipulus et stolla” were kept – these are all clerical garments. The entry is from the 1420 inventory of the church treasures.<sup>617</sup> Locating this chapel seems hard, as neither Tkalčić nor Deanović mention it. At the moment, it seems like the only possible location for such a chapel would be at the base of one of the western towers.

There was also an organ in the church, its existence confirmed at least from the end of the fifteenth century, as there is a document related to its repairing from 1493, and the first attested organist, John passed away in 1491.<sup>618</sup>

<sup>614</sup> Czövek Zoltán, “Szentlászlói Osvát zágrábi püspök családi és politikai kapcsolatai 1499. évi végrendeletének tükrében” [Family and Political Relations of Osvald of Szentvászló, Bishop of Zagreb in the Light of His Will of 1499], *Fons* 20, no. 4 (2013): 461–63.

<sup>615</sup> Tkalčić, *Monumenta historica liberae regiae civitatis Zagrabiae*, 1896, 3:65–66 charter no. 63: “1508. In festo sancti Barnabe apostoli, domini prebendarii zagrabienses incipient Missam pro defunctis iuxta convencionem cum dominis capitulo factam. Quam continuabunt singulis diebus in altari episcopi Osualdi, sub missa maiori (...).”

<sup>616</sup> Tkalčić, *Monumenta historica liberae regiae civitatis Zagrabiae*, 1894, 2:533.

<sup>617</sup> Ivan Krstitelj Tkalčić, ed., *Monumenta historica liberae regiae civitatis Zagrabiae*, vol. 11 (Zagreb: C. Albrecht, 1905), 153.

<sup>618</sup> Tkalčić, *Prvostolna crkva zagrebačka nekos i sada*, 102.

Their exact position unknown, the tomb of bishop Prodan (1175) was also in the church under a white tombstone, as well as that of bishop Gothard (1214).<sup>619</sup> Later on it was joined by the tomb of canon Peter (1498).<sup>620</sup>

## The chapel of St. Stephen

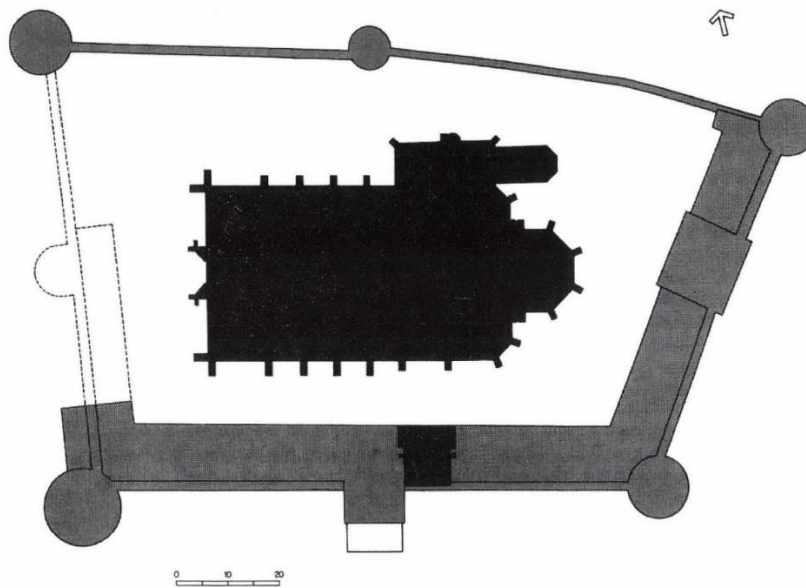


Figure 106. The relationship of Zagreb Cathedral and the chapel of St. Stephen today.

There is a chapel dedicated to St. Stephen the protomartyr, today part of the bishop's castle, located to the south of the cathedral. The chapel is a room of 7 by 10 meters, with a northern wall that probably belonged to an annex of the cathedral, theorized to have been destroyed before or during the Mongol invasion in the 1220s, and two supporting pillars which form the base of the east and west wall of the chapel. The entrance to the chapel was on the western wall, on the southern side. The chapel is supposed to have been North-south oriented, with

<sup>619</sup> “[...] dominus Prodanus, qui quiescit sub eodem lapide albo sicut dicitur, sub quo et proximus superior”; and “[...]dominus Gothardus, quem predictus tegit lapis albus, sicut dicitur, sed adhuc non repperitus vivens qui recordaretur de ipso” from the statues of the Zagreb chapter (1343), Tkalčić, *Monumenta historica episcopatus Zagrabiensis*, 2:5.

<sup>620</sup> Tkalčić, *Monumenta historica liberae regiae civitatis Zagrabiae*, 1894, 2:533.

three windows (two gothic pointed windows and a smaller round window above it) on the southern wall, where the main altar might have been located, and an additional rose window on the western wall. The space was vaulted, divided into two sections. The chapel is famous for its trecento wall paintings.<sup>621</sup>



*Figure 107. The chapel of St. Stephen protomartyr in Zagreb, view towards the southwestern corner.*

When the bishop's castle and its bastions were built at the turn of the 15<sup>th</sup>-16<sup>th</sup> centuries, the chapel of St. Stephen was integrated into the defensive structures, its windows walled up, and went into a decline until its renovation in 1616.<sup>622</sup>

<sup>621</sup> Kollár, "A zágrábi püspöki palota Szent István-kápolnája," 89–90.

<sup>622</sup> Kollár, 95.



## The church of St. Emeric

A church stood in front of the cathedral, dedicated to St. Emeric, which was demolished in 1510.<sup>623</sup> It was first mentioned in 1328, and supposedly had a cemetery around it dedicated to either King St. Stephen or St. Emeric. Nada Klaić argued in a passionate footnote that the church of St. Emeric was founded even before the cathedral and was the parish church for the entire Kaptol settlement, but this would need further investigation.<sup>624</sup>

## Table of altars and chapels in the Zagreb Cathedral

Dedication	Founded	First mentioned	Location in the Middle Ages
St. Bernard and St. Paul		1468 Mon. hist. lib. Reg. civit. P. 320-322 doc. N. 260  1495 In: Tkalčić, <i>Monumenta historica episcopatus Zagrabensis</i> , 2. P. 498 charter no. 375, 1495 february 3.	
St. Jerome		1481 MKA, Acta Paulinorum (Q 312) DL 34521 <sup>625</sup> Hungarian regesta: Mályusz Elemér: Az Országos Levéltár Nádasdy-levéltárának magyar levelei (VI. közlemény) In: Levéltári közlemények 5 (1927), 82-135, 177. O.  Also in Mon. hist. lib. Reg. civit. Vol. 2. P. 417-418, charter no. 327	

<sup>623</sup> Deanović and Čorak, *Zagrebačka Katedrala*, 68.

<sup>624</sup> Nada Klaić, "Tobožnji Ladislavov 'monasterium sancti Stephani regis' u Zagrebu" [The So-Called Ladislav's "Monasterium Sancti Stephani Regis" in Zagreb], *Peristil : zbornik radova za povijest umjetnosti* 24, no. 1 (December 15, 1981): 37 footnote 20.

<sup>625</sup> "DL 34521" (Zagreb, 1481. 01. 22.), National Archives of Hungary, <https://archives.hungaricana.hu/en/charters/212937/>.

Chapel of St. Elisabeth		Inventory c. 1420, published by Tkalcic in Monumenta historiae civitatis Zagrabienensis 11. (1905) – missing from 1394 inventory	
Altar of Virgin Mary	1275  1496 mon. hist. lib. Reg. civit. Vol 2. P. 507 charter no. 383		Southern side apse
St. Ladislaus	1275		Northern side apse
Sts. Peter and Paul	1275	Ivan Krstitelj Tkalčić, ed., <i>Monumenta historica episcopatus Zagrabienensis: XII. i XIII. stoljeća</i> , vol. 1 (Zagreb: Karl Albrecht, 1873–1874), 175 charter no. CLXXI .	Sacristy
St. Michael		1344 – statues – Monum. Hist. episc. Zagr. Vol. 2. P. 5.	
Sts. Cosma and Damian		1433 – Monumenta hist. civ. Zag. 2, p. 72	
St. Mary Magdalene	1356 trying – Mon. hist. civ. Vol. 1. P. 211-213, no. 236  1357 again - Mon. hist. civ. Vol. 1. P. 213-214, no. 238		Southern apsidal chapel
Holy Cross	Before 1419 (according to Tkalcic, but I could not find the document) <sup>626</sup>	1434 Mon. hist. lib. Reg. civit. Vol. 2. P. 98-100, n.75	In front of choir screen, in the nave

<sup>626</sup> Tkalčić, *Prvostolna crkva zagrebačka nekoš i sada*, 95.

St. John the Baptist and Michael		1437 March 11, Bologna: charter no. 458, pp. 466 in Povijesni spomenici Zagrebačke Biskupije: 1421-1440 (ed. Andrija Lukinović 1994 – Monumenta Monumenta historica episcopatus Zagrabiensis vol. 3.)	
Sts. Jacob the greater, George and Blaise	1433 august 7 in Povijesni 1421-1440, charter no. 393, p. 376	Mentioned again in 1438:  Povijesni 1421-1440, charter no. 514, p. 542	
St. Catherine		1440 Mon. hist. lib. Reg. civit. Vol. 2 531	
Ten Thousand Martyrs		1481 Mon. hist. lib. Reg. civit. Vol. 2 408-413, doc. No. 325	
George		1481 Mon. hist. lib. Reg. civit. Vol. 2 408-413, doc. No. 325	
Jacob (might be the same as Jacob above)		1481 Mon. hist. lib. Reg. civit. Vol. 2 408-413, doc. No. 325	
John the Apostle		1481 Mon. hist. lib. Reg. civit. Vol. 2 408-413, doc. No. 325	
Matthew Apostle		1481 Mon. hist. lib. Reg. civit. Vol. 2 408-413, doc. No. 325	
Paul		1481 Mon. hist. lib. Reg. civit. Vol. 2 408-413, doc. No. 325	
Ursula		1481 Mon. hist. lib. Reg. civit. Vol. 2 408-413, doc. No. 325	

Assumption of the Virgin Mary?	1503 newly founded Mon. hist. lib. Reg. civit. Vol. 3. P. 20 no. 18		
Holy Trinity and Corpus Christi	1515 Mon. hist. lib. Reg. civit. Vol. 3 p. 131-134 doc. No. 113		
St. Emeric	1515 Mon. hist. lib. Reg. civit. Vol. 3 136-138 no. 115		
St. Nicholas	1521 - Mon. hist. lib. Reg. civit. Vol. 3 p. 260		