

Doctoral Dissertation

The Representation of the Saints of the Mendicant Orders in late Medieval Hungary

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List of Abbreviations

| | |
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| AASS | <i>Acta Sanctorum</i> , Antwerpen – Brussels |
| AFH | <i>Archivum Franciscanum Historicum</i> |
| AFP | <i>Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum</i> |
| AF | <i>Analecta Franciscana</i> |
| ÁÚO | Wenzel, Gusztáv. <i>Árpádkori új okmánytár I-XII</i> . [The new charter collection of the Arpadians](Buda)Pest, 1860-1874. |
| BHL | <i>Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina antiquae et mediae aetatis</i> |
| DBAI | <i>Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani</i> |
| FA: ED | <i>Francis of Assisi: Early Documents</i> . Edited by Regis J. Armstrong, J.A. Wayne Hellmann, William J. Short. New York: New City Press, 1999-2001. |
| Fejér | Fejér, Georgius. <i>Codex diplomaticus ecclesiasticus ac civilis</i> . I-XI. Budae 1829-1844. |
| MOPH | <i>Monumenta ordinis fratrum Praedicatorum</i> |
| Theiner | Theiner, August. <i>Vetera monumenta historica Hungariam sacram illustrantia</i> . I-II. Romae: 1859-1860. |

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I. Introduction

I.1. Aims and methodology

The dissertation examines the ways and means used by the Franciscan and the Dominican Orders for introducing, appropriating, and preserving the memory of the saints and blessed particularly venerated by their own orders in the medieval Kingdom of Hungary. The other way around, I also explore how the fame of local saintly figures reached Italy and found their way to works that circulated widely, and through which they reached eventually the convents of these two orders in different parts of Europe. Using hagiographic and sermon literature, miracle collections, liturgical books, chronicles of the orders, charters, as well as visual representations in private and public spheres, the research aims at providing a more complex understanding of how these saintly figures were presented to and were perceived by the religious and secular audiences, with a special attention to the activities of the friars whose endeavour was supported by the royal house and the nobility from time to time between the thirteenth and mid-sixteenth centuries.

The diffusion and the preservation of the memory of saints and blessed of the recently founded mendicant orders is unique for a number of reasons. The Dominican and the Franciscan friars were mobile and the primary tool for their activity directed at conversion was preaching. One of the reasons why they were successful in the quick diffusion throughout Europe was that they had a strongly centralized system and they also quickly got adapted to the local circumstances. Hungary, being on the periphery of Latin Christianity, was of special importance in the friars' mission among the Cumans and the "heretic" groups in the Balkans in the thirteenth century. One of the issues that turned up regularly at the General Chapters of the Order of the Preachers and the Order of the Friars Minor was connected to the promotion of the cults of those saints who belonged to their order and preservation of the memory of those who were venerated as saintly figures. These decrees, however, by no means meant that they were equally successful in the spreading of the cult of their saints in the various Dominican and Franciscan provinces. Since the time of their settlement in the territory of the Kingdom of Hungary in the first third of the thirteenth century, the friars made great contributions to the formation of the late medieval

saintly ideal, popularizing primarily, but not exclusively, the saints of their own orders both on institutional and less formal levels being in close contact with the royal house, the urban and rural laity, and their respective female communities. Due to the friars' impact on the secular society, some of these cults were also supported by the Hungarian royal dynasties including such cases as Elizabeth of Hungary (who became associated with the Franciscan Third Order *a posteriori*), Margaret of Hungary, and Louis of Toulouse, while others were preserved through lay initiatives resulting from the commitment of noble patrons or pious individuals. Although by the early sixteenth century almost all of the most famous Franciscan and Dominican saints, such as Francis of Assisi (c.1228), Anthony of Padua (c.1232), Clare of Assisi (c.1255), Louis of Toulouse (c.1317), Bernardino of Siena (c. 1450), Bonaventure (c.1482), Dominic (c.1234), Peter of Verona (c.1252), Thomas Aquinas (c.1323), Vincent Ferrer (c. 1455) and Catherine of Siena (c. 1461) were present in some form in sermon collections, legends, liturgical and prayer books used in Hungary and with a few exceptions they were also represented in visual arts, it does not mean that they all had a cult in the kingdom. The variance in the intensity of the veneration of mendicant saints was due to religious, political, and social factors that all interacted in the consolidation of their veneration. Bearing in mind that there are only a few instances where one can talk about mendicant saints with well established cults in medieval Hungary, my intention is to synthesise and contextualise a wide range of records related to the preservation of the memory of those mendicant saintly figures who were venerated either on a local level or had a widespread cult throughout Europe and in the territory of the Hungarian Kingdom in the late Middle Ages.

I take into account the territory of the medieval Kingdom of Hungary that did not coincide with the actual borders of Hungary but included parts of present-day Slovakia, Ukraine, Romania, Serbia, Croatia, Slovenia and Austria. It made up of the so-called *medium regni*, Transylvania, Croatia, Bosnia and Slavonia.¹ The territory of the Hungarian provinces of the Dominicans² and

¹ For a short introduction to the formation of the ecclesiastical system in Hungary in English, see Nóra Berend, József Laszlovszky and Béla Zsolt Szakács, "The Kingdom of Hungary" in *Christianization and the Rise of Christian Monarchy: Scandinavia, Central Europe and Rus' c. 900-1200*, ed. Nóra Berend (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 319-368. For the role of the mendicant orders in the integration of this system, see Gábor Klaniczay, "The Mendicant Orders in East-Central Europe and the Integration of Cultures", *Hybride*

the Franciscans³ coincided by and large with that of the kingdom. The chronological limits of the study is the settling of the Order of Preachers and the Order of Minor Brothers in Hungary, ca. 1220s and the Ottoman occupation of Buda, the royal seat of Hungary in 1541. Only very few mendicant friaries and female monasteries in Hungary survived the Reformation or/and the Ottoman invasion in the first half of the sixteenth century. Also, a great part of the written sources (legal and literary) were destroyed in the turbulent period until the liberation of Buda in 1686.

The two most significant local saints, the Dominican Margaret of Hungary (c. 1043) and the Observant Franciscan John of Capestrano (c. 1200), who despite their *fama sanctitatis* and significant local cults at their shrine on the Island of the Rabbits and in Újlak, respectively, were not canonized in the Middle Ages, are not discussed in detail in the dissertation because their cases have been in focus of scholarly attention since a time, and in the past twenty years also two seminal monographs were published on the miracles of St John Capistran by Stanko Andrić⁴ and on the legends of Margaret of Hungary by Viktória Hedvig Deák O.P..⁵ Likewise,

Kulturen im mittelalterlichen Europa, ed. Michael Borgolte and Bernd Schniedmüller (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, [2010]), 245-260.

² In the thirteenth century, the Dominican Province of Hungary comprised also Slavonia, Croatia and Dalmatia. Originally, the whole Eastern European territory belonged to the Province of Hungary but already before 1230, the independent provinces were formed by the friaries of Bohemia and Poland. Only in 1380 did Pope Urban IV decree that the Dominican friaries should establish and independent province of Dalmatia. Besides, in 1454 at least five convents of the *Congregatio / Societas Peregrinantium* were attached to the Hungarian Province. In the second half of the fifteenth century, the Hungarian Province was divided into five *nationes* or *contratae*: *Hungarica, Transsilvanica, Slavonica, Croatica* and *Moldavica*.

³ In the early fourteenth century, the Franciscan Province of Hungary made of nine custodies: Győr, Zagreb, Syrmia, Esztergom, Pécs, Eger, Transylvania, Székesfehérvár, and Pozsega/Požega.

⁴ Erik Fügedi, "Kapisztránói János csodái: a jegyzőkönyvek társadalomtörténeti tanulságai," [The miracles of St John of Capistran: the records' lessons of social history] *Századok* 111 (1977): 847-898; Stanko Andrić, *The Miracles of St John Capistran* (Budapest: Central European Press, 2000); Gábor Klaniczay, "Kapisztrán János csodái: Új szentkultusz a középkor végén" [The miracles of John Capistran: a new cult of a saint in the late Middle Ages] *História* 29 (2007): 22-23, 25.

⁵ Including Elemér Lovas, *Árpádházi Boldog Margit élete* [The life of blessed Margaret of Hungary] (Budapest: Szent István Társulat, 1939); idem, *Árpádházi Boldog Margit első életrajzírója – Marcellus* [The first hagiographer of Blessed Margaret of Hungary - Marcellus] (Pannonhalma: [n.p.], 1941); Ilona Király, *Árpádházi Szent Margit és a sziget* [St Margaret of Hungary and the Island] (Budapest: Szent István Társulat, 1979); Tibor Klaniczay, "A Margit legendák revíziója," in Gábor Klaniczay and Tibor Klaniczay, *Szent Margit legendái és stigmái* [The legends and the stigmata of St Margaret of Hungary] (Budapest: Argumentum Kiadó, 1994), 17-91; Gábor Klaniczay's *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses: Dynastic Cults in Medieval Central Europe*, ed. Éva Pálmai (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 209-294; idem, "Proving Sanctity in the Canonization Processes. (Saint Elizabeth and Saint Margaret of Hungary)," in *Procès de canonisation au Moyen Âge: aspects juridiques et religieux*, ed. idem (Rome: École française de Rome, 2004), 117-148; idem, "Raccolte di miracoli e loro certificazione nell'Europa centrale" in *Notai, miracoli e culto dei santi*, ed. Raimondo Michetti (Milano: Dott.

the case of Elizabeth of Hungary, who even if venerated as the patron of the Third Order is not treated primarily because she did not belong officially to the Franciscan family but also because various aspects of the cult of St Elizabeth related to Hungary have been thoroughly investigated.⁶

The cult of mendicant saints in medieval Hungary has never attracted such an intensive scholarly attention as the national saints, which might explain why the topic has not been treated comprehensively. Despite the lack of a monographic study on the role of the mendicant orders in the promotion of the cult of their own saints, various aspects of the subject has been discussed by Hungarian researchers, mostly in the past three decades. Nevertheless, there are questions that need to be (re)addressed, either because they have never been dealt with or at

A. Giuffrè Editore, 2004), 259-287; Viktória Hedvig Deák O.P., *Árpád-házi Szent Margit és a domonkos hagiográfia: Garinus legendája nyomán* [St. Margaret of Hungary and the Dominican hagiography: tracing back the legend of Garinus] (Budapest: Kairosz, 2005) available also in French translation as *La Légende de sainte Marguerite de Hongrie et l'hagiographie dominicaine*, trans. Alexis Léonas (Paris: Editions du Cerf, 2013). More recently on Margaret's miracles and attempts on her canonization, see József Laszlovszky. "Fama sanctitatis and the Emergence of St. Margaret's Cult in the Rural Countryside," in: *Promoting the Saints: Cults and Their Contexts from Late Antiquity until the Early Modern Period: Essays in Honor of Gábor Klaniczay for his 60th Birthday*, ed. Ottó Gecser et al. (Budapest: CEU Press, 2011), 103-123; Bence Péterfi, "Újabb adalékok Árpád-házi Margit középkori csodáinak sorához" [New additions to the medieval miracles of St Margaret of Hungary], in *Micae mediaevales. Tanulmányok a középkori Magyarországról és Európáról*, ed. Zsófia Kádár et al. (Budapest: ELTE BTK, 2011); Gábor Klaniczay, "Efforts at the Canonization of Margaret of Hungary in the Angevin Period" *Hungarian Historical Review* 2 (2013): 313-340. On the iconographic representations of Margaret, see Tünde Wehli, "'A szülei adták őtet az Istennek és asszonyunk, Szűz Máriának örökké való szolgálatára...' A margitszigeti dominikánák konventi pecsétje" ["'Her parents offered her for the eternal service of God and Our Lady the Virgin Mary...' The seal of the Dominican nuns' on the Island of the Rabbits"], in: *Memoriae tradere: tanulmányok és írások Török József hatvanadik születésnapjára*, ed. Ádám Füzes and László Legeza (Budapest: Mikes Kiadó, 2006), 621-630; eadem, *Árpád-házi Szent Margit ábrázolása egy lombard reneszánsz metszeten és Juan de Borgoña egy táblaképén* [The iconography of St Margaret of the dynasty of Árpád in a Lombard renaissance engraving and in a panel of Juan de Borgoña], *Művészettörténeti Értesítő* 61 (2014): 107-117

⁶ Gábor Klaniczay, "Il processo di canonizzazione di Santa Elisabetta: Le prime testimonianze sulla vita e sui miracoli," *Annuario: Studi e documenti italo-ungheresi* (Rome, 2005), 220-23; Ivan Gerát, "Dei saturitas: St. Elizabeth's Works of Mercy in the Medieval Pictorial Narrative," in: *Insights and Interpretations: Studies in the Celebrations of the Eighty Fifth Anniversary of the Index of Christian Art*, ed. Colum Hourihane (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002), 168-181; Mária Prokopp and István Golarits, *Árpád-házi Szent Erzsébet / Die Heilige Elisabeth aus Ungarn / Santa Elisabetta d'Ungheria* ([Budapest]: Tertia Kiadó, 2003); Gyöngyi Török, "About the Iconography of the Cycles of Life and Legend of St. Elizabeth," in *Annuario 2002-2004: Conferenze e convegni*, ed. László Csorba and Gyöngyi Komlóssy (Rome: Accademia d'Ungheria in Roma - Istituto Storico "Fraknoi", 2005), 274-285; *Árpád-házi Szent Erzsébet kultusza a 13-16. században: az Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem Bölcsészettudományi karán 2007. május 24-én tartott konferencia előadásai* [The cult of St Elizabeth of Hungary in the thirteenth to sixteenth centuries: papers presented at the Faculty of Arts at ELTE on 24th May 2007], ed. Dávid Falvay (Budapest: Magyarok Nagyasszonya Ferences Rendtartomány, 2009); Ottó Gecser, *The Feast and the Pulpit: Preachers, Sermons and the Cult of St Elizabeth of Hungary, 1235-ca. 1500* (Spoleto: Fondazione Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, 2012).

least not in an exhaustive fashion, even though they may reveal some instructive features of the fostering of the cults of the representatives of a new type of sanctity, or because a new examination that takes into account the results of the latest national and international academic research is required. The research of the veneration of Anthony of Padua, Clare of Assisi, Peter of Verona, Bernardino of Siena and Catherine of Siena has not yet been undertaken although their cases are remarkable for various reasons: either because they were of special significance for a Hungarian audience or for a given religious community in Hungary, or they gained new impetus with the Observant reform.⁷ It is worthwhile to discuss the saints of the mendicant orders together since, as André Vauchez has shown on the basis of canonization documents, the saints of the mendicant orders, especially the holy brothers, do share several characteristics, and they are markedly different from earlier saints whose sanctity was often described in terms of perfection of monastic virtues, like celibacy, fasting, humility contemplation and prayer.⁸ The novelty of the saints of the mendicant orders was that in addition to the possession of many of the abovementioned “classical” virtues, they were outstanding in their apostolic mission directed above all to the salvation of the souls: they were active as preachers, teachers, defenders of orthodox faith, and helpers of the marginalized without possessing any worldly goods. Due to the markedly different nature of the living style of the female branches of the two great mendicant orders, this new type of sanctity could not be apparent in the lives of those few Dominican and Franciscan nuns whose canonization documents have come down to us.⁹

The matter of the locally venerated blessed was partially investigated: the legends of Helen of Hungary and Mauritius of Csák were published.¹⁰ In addition, Stanko Andrić investigated the

⁷ Of course, some of the vernacular legends of these have been discussed but these were not concerned with other forms of their veneration in Hungary.

⁸ André Vauchez found that the originality of mendicant sanctity in the fact that the search for merit was always subordinated to the love of one's neighbour and the apostolic mission, namely to win the souls for God was in the focus of their vocation. In order to be listened to, especially in the conversion of non-Christians, poverty and humility were necessary prerequisites. The first generation of the saints of the mendicant orders were exceptionally compassionate towards the miserable and active in charitable acts, they would frequently be engaged in Bible reading, prayer and contemplation, follow the office, celebrate mass and find time for private prayer. Chastity and obedience were key issues for them that guaranteed the effectiveness of their pastoral ministry; Vauchez, *Sainthood in the later Middle Ages*, trans. Jean Birrell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), esp. 341-343.

⁹ The only canonized female saint of the Franciscan family was St Clare of Assisi, but the canonization documents of two Dominican nuns, Margaret of Hungary and Clare of Montefalco also survived.

¹⁰ The Hungarian translation of the legend of Helen of Hungary was published in *Árpád-kori legendák és intelmek*

case of John the French, who, despite his spontaneous cult, was never canonized.¹¹ Nevertheless, the chronicles of the (Observant) Franciscan and Dominican Orders still contain a number of saintly figures whose cult arose spontaneously in the Hungarian province and whose presence in the sources should be systematically traced. In the course of this investigation, not only the differences of the historiographic-hagiographic traditions of the two orders, but also the novel attitude of the Observant Franciscans towards their holy ancestors can be perceived.¹²

Examining the hagiographic sources, in some cases the various activities of certain friars directed at the introduction and the solidification of the cults of their saints can be observed, for instance with the attraction of the believers to a local shrine and registration of the miracles attributed to the intercession of Dominican saints. A further example can be John of Capestrano, whose activity in Central Europe had already been discussed in scholarship, to which some additions can be made in connection with his preaching in Hungary during which he would praise Bernardino of Siena (and thus the Observant family) and authenticated the miracles of his predecessor just as he did elsewhere in Europe.

The role of the Hungarian royal house in the initiation of the canonization processes and -in successful cases- subsequently also the spread of the cult of the saintly members of the family as it was in the case of Elizabeth of Hungary, Margaret of Hungary, and Louis of Toulouse, have been widely discussed but their involvement in the establishment of the cult of Peter of Verona in Hungary has received little scholarly attention.¹³

This research can also contribute to a more complex understanding of the laity's devotion towards these saints, manifested through the pilgrimages to local shrines where the relics of Dominican saints were preserved in the thirteenth and early fourteenth century or the construction of altars and chapels dedicated to them in the following centuries. Since the

[Legends and admonitions of the age of the Árpáds], ed. Géza Érszegi (Budapest: Szépirodalmi, 1987), 103-109; that of Mauritius of Csák was published in *Legendák és csodák (13-16. század.)* [Legends and miracles from 13th to 16th century]. Szentek a magyar középkorból II, ed. Gábor Klaniczay and Edit Madas (Budapest: Osiris Kiadó, 2001), 331-341.

¹¹Stanko Andrić, "Blessed John the French, the First Franciscan Minister Provincial in Hungary, and his Miracles" in *Promoting the Saints: Cults and their Contexts from Late Antiquity until the Early Modern Period. Essays in Honor of Gábor Klaniczay for his 60th Birthday*, ed. Ottó Gecser, József Laszlovszky, Balázs Nagy, Marcell Sebők, Katalin Szende (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2011), 83-104.

¹²Gábor Klaniczay, "Osservanti francescani e il culto dei santi nel Quattrocento," forthcoming.

¹³For the discussion of the female models for dynastic saintliness and on the promotion of the cult of dynastic saints as a means of propaganda, see Klaniczay's *Holy Rulers*, 195-394.

overwhelming majority of the visual representations of the saints of the mendicant orders cannot be directly linked to the friars, the surviving images attest to the concepts of the artist or the commissioners who could influence how these saints were depicted in the churches.

The hagiographic and sermon literature on these saints reveal which aspects of their saints were those to be underlined either to be imitated or because it manifested an idea that was regarded commendable by the authors. Some of the thirteenth and early fourteenth century sermons on St Dominic and Peter of Verona of the *Sermones compilati* collections have been treated by Edit Madas but their more thorough examination will certainly provide further examples of their author's erudition and his familiarity with the current themes in contemporary sermon literature.¹⁴

Recent scholarly interest in vernacular hagiography and the emergence of new approaches related to the treatment and interpretation of such texts make necessary the re-examination the legends of saints written in Hungarian. The primary importance of the vernacular texts is, in contrast with the Latin sermons, that they were read out loud in their actual form. Since it can be known in which female communities they were used in some cases they clearly show how the friars who translated these texts aimed at strengthening the religious identity of the nuns. The vernacular legend that needs the most complex investigation is the story of St. Francis and his companions of the Jókai Codex. Since the sources of the compilation as well as the additions on the part of the scribe have already been investigated but they do not provide a good starting point for associating the translation either with the Conventual or the Observant Franciscans,¹⁵ I attempt to shed light on the question from a different angle: by paying more attention to the poem narrating in detail the Passion of Christ inserted between the legend and

¹⁴ See footnote 148.

¹⁵ Lajos Katona, "Az Ehrenfeld- és Domonkos-codex forrása" [The sources of the Ehrenfeld and Domonkos Codices], *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények* (1903): 59-75; Jenő Koltay-Kastner, "A Jókai-kódex és az obszerváns kódex irodalom" [The Jókai Codex and the Observant codex literature], I-II, *Egyetemes Philológiai Közlöny* (1932): 203-211, and 1933: 58-66; *Jókai-kódex, XIV-XV. század. A nyelvemlék betűhű olvasata és latin megfelelője* [Jókai Codex. 14th-15th century. [The diplomatic transcription and the Latin correspondence of the old Hungarian codex], ed. J. P. Balázs, (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1981); Zsuzsanna Aczél, "...totus discretionis sale conditus...": il codice Jókai e la prima letteratura francescana,' in *Francescanesimo in volgare: secoli XIII - XIV*. Atti del XXIV convegno internazionale, Assisi, 17 - 19 ottobre 1996 (Spoleto: Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, 1997), 221-243; Andor Tarnai, "A magyar nyelvet írni kezdik." *Irodalmi gondolkodás a középkori Magyarországon* ["The Hungarian language starts to be written." Literary thinking in medieval Hungary] (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1984), 150, 210, 223-24, 256; László Szörényi, "La problematica del codice »Jókai« alla luce degli studi recenti sulle leggende di San Francesco," in: *Spiritualità e lettere nella cultura italiana e ungherese del Basso Medioevo*, ed. Sante Graciotti and Cesare Vasoli (Florence: Leo S. Olschki Editore), 133-147.

the *post mortem* miracles of the saint and by looking at other similar compositions in the Italian vernacular and their provenance. It has to be admitted though that a definite answer to the questions by whom and for whom the legend was made probably will never be given.

The legends or episodes from the lives of saints were used by the authors and translators as a means of shaping the audience's ideas concerning current religious or theological issues, like the fifteenth-early sixteenth-century altarpieces representing St Bernardino of Siena in Upper Hungary or Clare of Assisi with the Eucharist in Transylvania that can be linked to the Hussite movement and the Reformation in these regions.¹⁶ A further example can be the case of stigmatization, one of the major debates between the Franciscans and the Dominicans: the examination of the legends and the sermons on St Francis of Assisi and St Catherine of Siena will shed light to the extent to which their stigmatization was an essential component of their saintly image.

The complex presentation of the role of the mendicant orders in Hungary in the promotion of the veneration of the cult of saints associated with their orders and their impact on the laity can be grouped around two major research questions.

I. *How did the Dominicans and the Franciscans construct, preserve and shape the memory of the saints and blessed particularly venerated by their own orders and what role did the laity played in this process in late medieval Hungary?*

In order to answer these question, it is necessary to explore the ways the Order of Preachers made use of the relics of their saints brought to Hungary, to investigate the reasons behind the involvement of the royal house in the dissemination of these cults, as well as to assess the various forms of devotion to them manifested on the part of the laity. Besides, in tracing back those blessed from Hungary who had a local cult but were not canonized, it is also indispensable to examine in what respects medieval Dominican and Franciscan hagiographical traditions differed from each other.

II. *How were the mendicant saints represented in the hagiographic and sermon literature*

¹⁶ On Hussite iconography, see Josef Krása, "Studie o rukopisích husitské doby," [Study of the manuscripts made in the Hussite period], *Umění* 22 (1974): 17-50 as well as two thematic issues of the same journal dedicated to the same topic: *Umění* 40, no.4-5 (1992).

produced in Hungary?

This involves the reconsideration whether the oldest compilation about St Francis and his companions in the Hungarian vernacular and its supposed earlier translation can be associated with a particular Franciscan milieu (i.e. Spiritual, Conventual, or Observant), as well as the exploration whether these texts reveal Dominican and (Observant) Franciscan identity or reflect contemporary religious, theological, or political agenda.

The methodology I use combines religious, cultural, social, and manuscript studies. My research is based on the primary sources in critical and facsimile editions or the digitalized form of the original texts combined with a critical assessment of the secondary literature. I catalogued the different sources in a database organized according to saints and blessed treating the written and visual sources separate. Since the amount of surviving source material from Hungary is quite fragmentary, my research is limited in the sense that I cannot give a general overview of mendicant sanctity in medieval Hungary but based on the results of the investigation of individual saints I can point to general tendencies, show patterns of representations, investigate possible motivations behind a step to promote a certain saint. In certain parts of the dissertation the philological aspect is particularly strong. Instead of considering Hungarian vernacular hagiography as a second-rate material from a philological point of view, I agree with the advocates of new philology in regarding the textual variants equally authentic since every rewriting was motivated by the particular needs of the audience, and in focussing more on the scribe than on the author of the texts.¹⁷ Also, the idea originating from Bernard Cerquiglini who maintained that French vernacular writing was an appropriation of the mother tongue following a break away first from the Latin then from oral culture, is pertinent to the topic of the dissertation. Whenever it was possible I consulted the original manuscripts of unpublished texts in Hungarian, Romanian, and Italian libraries and I also made use of the digitised codices available at <http://www.manuscriptorium.com/>. The modern transcription of the selected Latin sermons of Pelbartus de Themeswar and Osvaldus de Lasko

¹⁷ C. the fundamental work of Bernard Cerquiglini, *Éloge de la variante: Histoire critique de la philologie* (Paris: Seuil, 1989), translated as *In Praise of the Variant: A Critical History of Philology*, trans. Betsy Wing (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1999). The term “New Philology” was coined by Stephen G. Nichols in 1988 in a special issue of the *Romanic Review*, entitled “The Legitimacy of the Middle Ages” with the contribution of R. Howard Bloch, David Hult and Alexandre Leupin among others. On the same topic, see also the thematic issue of *Speculum* 65 January (1990).

prepared by the *Sermones compilati* research group greatly facilitated my work. In the case of each saint, first I give a brief presentation of his/her life, canonization and hagiography in order to contextualize the motives and attributes that will return in the Hungarian sources, then I proceed to his/her cult in the Kingdom of Hungary reflected in the church and altar dedications, grants of indulgences and wills (if any). The analysis of Latin sermons and vernacular legends make up the core of each chapter, which is followed by a survey of their visual representations, and relating the two if possible.

I.2. Presentation of the social and historical background

A concise overview of the history of the two great mendicant orders and their role in the emergence of the Hungarian vernacular literature as well as a glimpse at the religious milieu of Hungary in which the mendicant friars were active is required for the investigation of the veneration of the saints of the mendicant orders for two principal reasons. On the one hand, parishes, being the basic unit of the medieval Church structure, were of vital importance as places of interaction between the friars and the laity. On the other hand, since the saints who had belonged to mendicant orders were the saints of the Roman Church and thus their feasts were to be observed universally, in addition to the mendicant establishments, parish churches were equally important localities where the faithful could learn about them.

The Order of Preacher Brothers (Dominicans)

The Hungarian province was among the first eight provinces of the Order of Preachers. Soon after Paul of Hungary (Paulus Hungarus) was sent to Hungary with four other friars from the Bolognese *studium* to organise the Hungarian province in 1221, the first Dominican house was founded probably in Győr.¹⁸ The preachers became popular with Prince Béla (the future King Béla IV) and probably also with Robert, Archbishop of Esztergom, who was the advocate of the

¹⁸ On the history of the Hungarian Dominican province, see Nikolaus Pfeiffer, *Die ungarische Dominikanerordensprovinz von ihrer Gründung 1221 bis zur Tatarenverwüstung, 1241-1242* (Zurich: Leemann, 1913); András Harsányi, *A domonkos rend Magyarországon a reformáció előtt* [The Dominican Order in Hungary before the Reformation] (Debrecen: Nagy Károly Grafikai Műintézet, 1938, reprinted in 1999 by Kairosz Kiadó), especially 19-112. On the formation of the provinces in general, see Simon Tugwell, "The Evolution of Dominican Structures of Government II. The First Dominican Provinces" in *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* 70 (2000), 5-109; on that of the Hungarian province, at 50.

conversion of Cumans. This mission was the common interest of both the Order and the archbishop. The Cumans, who were the eastern neighbours of the kingdom have already been a target of missionary activity in the period when the Teutonic Knights invited by Andrew II were settled down in the region called Barcaság (Burzenland) between 1211-1225; then the Dominicans undertook this task when the Cuman tribes, fleeing from the Mongolian hordes, started to settle down in Hungary.¹⁹ The centre of the Hungarian province was established in Buda near the royal palace sometime after 1241 by King Béla IV, and it was significantly enlarged in the decades following the Mongolian invasion. The Dominican friary of Buda was responsible for the nearby beguine community, and also housed a *studium generale* from 1304 onwards.

The importance of the Hungarian province of the Order of Preachers is attested also by the three general chapters that were held here. It was decided at the general chapter of Bologna in 1252 that the next one, at the request of the Hungarian royal couple, was to be held in Buda.²⁰ At the general chapter of Buda in 1254, the three main events were the election of Humbert of Romans as the master of the Order of Preachers, the finalization of the liturgy of the order, and the baptism of a Cuman chieftain and his wife, as a symbolic accomplishment of the mission of the preachers originating from St. Dominic. Besides, as we shall see, it was pivotal in the diffusion of the cult of Peter of Verona in Hungary, canonized a year earlier. The second general chapter of the Order of Preachers that was held in Hungary was in 1273 in the Dominican convent on the Pest side built sometime before 1233 and rebuilt after the Mongolian invasion. Buda was the location of one more general chapter in 1382 under the leadership of Raimondo of Capua.

The Dominican Order expanded dynamically under the support of King Béla IV until the early years of 1260s; from that time onwards the king preferred the Franciscans around him.²¹ The

¹⁹ On the Dominicans' missionary activity among the Cumans, see Nóra Berend, *At the Gate of Christendom: Jews, Muslims, and 'Pagans' in Medieval Hungary, c. 1000-c. 1300* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 213-223.

²⁰ Harsányi, *A domonkos rend Magyarországon a reformáció előtt*, 25.

²¹ According to Erik Fügedi, the Dominicans gave the idea to Margaret, the daughter of King Béla IV, to have herself consecrated by bishops on the Island of the Rabbits in order to avoid the marriage with King Přemysl Ottokar II of Bohemia. The royal couple took such an offence at the act of the Dominicans that they opposed the sovereign's politics that the friar preachers were deprived of their privileged status: they became disgraced in the royal court, their positions were taken over by the Franciscans and their expansion seemed to have slowed down in Hungary. See Fügedi, "Koldulórendek és városfejlődés Magyarországon," 77-78.

Dominicans had more than 10 houses before the Mongolian invasion mainly in the central territories of the country and next to the main routes; most houses turned to be convents only later.²² By the time of the general chapter held in Pest in 1277 their number grew to 30 male and 2 female convents, and by 1303, according to the list of Bernard Gui there were some 37 male and 2 female convents. In the following centuries the number of new foundations decreased but rose again during the observant reform in the fifteenth century.²³ In Transylvania in the early sixteenth century 9 male convents functioned, which, with the exception of Székelyudvarhely, were all in Saxon towns or in the Saxon counties.²⁴

Although the observant reform the Order of Preachers in Hungary had been on the agenda since the beginning of the fifteenth century, the first attempt of the Dominican papal legate Giovanni Dominici in 1418-1419 was not successful. The actual spread of the reform in Hungary started during the papacy of Eugen IV (1431-1447) and the generalate of Bartolomeo Texier (1426-1449), although the Dominicans managed to remain united in contrast with the Franciscans who split in two different branches (Conventual and Observant) in the fifteenth century. The introduction of the reform to the convents of Hungary took place in two major waves: while in 1440s the reformed friars arrived at Hungary from Basel, in the 1450s, they came mostly from Vienna. Pope Eugene appointed Jakob Riech(er) as vicar of the Transylvanian Province and

²² For a concise overview on the settlement of the Dominican and the Franciscan Orders in the thirteenth century, see Nóra Berend, Przemysław Urbańczyk and Przemysław Wieszewski, *Central Europe in the High Middle Ages: Bohemia, Hungary and Poland, c. 900-c. 1300* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 359-360. Beatrix F. Romhányi, "Mendicant Networks and Population in a European Perspective" in *Medieval East Central Europe in a Comparative Perspective*, ed. Gerhard Jaritz and Katalin Szende (New York: Routledge, 2016) 99-122. The opinions of scholars differ on the number of convents; see Fügedi, "Koldulórendek és városfejlődés Magyarországon," Balázs Zágórhidi Czigány, "A domonkos rend konventjei a XIII. századi Magyarországon" [The convents of the Dominican Order in thirteenth-century Hungary], *Tanítvány* 7 (2001): 81-95; idem, "A Domonkos Rend megtelepedése Magyarországon" [The settling of the Dominican Order in Hungary] in: *A Szent Domonkos Rend és a kunok*, ed. Gábor Barna and Ágnes Deme (Szeged: MTA SZTE Vallási Kultúrakutató Csoport, 2016), 105-114. For the number of the Dominican convents I relied on the figures of Beatrix F. Romhányi, *Kolostorok és társaskáptalanok a középkori Magyarországon* [Convents and collegiate chapters in medieval Hungary] (Budapest: Pytheas, 2000), available also on CD Rom (no pagination).

²³ On the Dominican reform in Hungary, see Harsányi, *A domonkosrend Magyarországon*, 39-75; Mária Lupescu Makó, "Domonkos rendi obszerváns törekvések Magyarországon" [Observant Dominican efforts in Hungary] in: "...éltünk mi sokáig két hazában". *Tanulmányok a 90 éves Kiss András tiszteletére*, ed. Veronika Dáné, Teréz Oborni and Gábor Sipos (Debrecen: Debrecen University Press, 2012): 262-274.

²⁴ On the Dominican order in Transylvania, see Mária Lupescu Makó, "A Domonkos Rend középkori erdélyi kolostorainak adattára" [The priories of the Dominican Order in medieval Transylvania], *Történelmi Szemle* 46 (2004): 339-384; eadem, "Az erdélyi domonkos kolostorok a középkor végén és Bartók Márton 1718. évi jelentései" [The Dominican convents of Transylvania at the end of the Middle Ages and the accounts of Márton Bartók in 1718] *Erdélyi Múzeum* 67 (2005): 138-155.

sent him with some other friars to preach, build new convents or rebuild those devastated by the Ottomans and other “infidels”. Riech(er) spent 3 years in Transylvania; during his stay he introduced reform surely in the convents of Kolozsvár (Cluj-Napoca) and Szeben (Sibiu) and perhaps in other ones, too.²⁵ In 1452 Governor János Hunyadi (1446-1453), Dénes Szécsi archbishop of Esztergom and Ágoston Salánki bishop of Győr requested Pope Nicholas V (1447-1455) to appoint a vicar in Hungary to put the reform into effect. In 1454 the reform Dominican Leonhard Huntlichler came from Vienna to Hungary and the following year he was appointed as the vicar of the reformed convents of Hungary by Master General Martial Auribelli.²⁶ In the last two decades of the fifteenth century, some more convents were reformed and all the new observant convents were founded.²⁷

Also the female branch of the order appeared quite early in Hungary. From the thirteenth to sixteenth centuries there were altogether fourteen Dominican nuns’ convents in the country, of which the most famous was the convent on the Rabbits’ Island (*Insula Leporum*) where the daughter of King Béla IV, Margaret lived. Soon after her death it became a popular pilgrimage site where several miracles occurred due to the intercession of the holy princess. The reform in the fifteenth century concerned also some Dominican female monasteries but with the exception of the nunnery on the Rabbits’ Island, we know little about them. The necessity of the restoration of the obedience of the Dominican nuns on the Island turned up already in the

²⁵ According to Harsányi, the examples of the Dominican convents of Szeben and Kolozsvár make it possible to consider also those of Alvinc, Gyulafehérvár, Brassó and Beszterce as reformed, see Harsányi, *A domonkosrend Magyarországon*, 38. These convents were treated recently by Mária Lupescu Makó, who dated the reform of the convent of Beszterce around 1477, and does not speak about reform in connection with Alvinc and Gyulafehérvár; Lupescu Makó, “A Domonkos Rend középkori erdélyi kolostorainak adattára,” 352, and eadem, “Domonkos rendi obszerváns törekvések,” 262-266, 272.

²⁶ On the activity of Huntlichler, see Isnard Wilhelm Frank, O. P., “Leonhard Huntlichler O.P. (†1478), Theologieprofessor und Ordensreformer in Wien,” *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* 36 (1966): 313–388; Gábor Sarbak, “Über die Tätigkeit des Ordensreformers Leonhard Huntlichler OP in Ungarn. In “swer sinen vriunt behaltet, daz ist lobelich”: *Festschrift für András Vizkelety zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. Márta Nagy and László Jónácsik (Piliscsaba – Budapest: Katolische Péter Pázmány Universität Philosophische Fakultät, 2001), 151-156; Lupescu Makó, “Domonkos rendi obszerváns törekvések,” 270-271; Gábor Kiss Farkas, “Latin és népnelv a késő középkori magyarországi domonkos kolostorokban,” [Latin and vernacular language in Dominican convents in late medieval Hungary] *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények* 120 (2016): 225-247, at 225-228.

²⁷ Although one finds different data in scholarship in which convents the reform was introduced, the newly founded convents after 1460 were all observant; Harsányi, *A domonkosrend Magyarországon*, 64-73; Romhányi, *Kolostorok*, 18, 39, 51.

general chapter of 1468, and their monastery must have been reformed by 1474.²⁸ Also the (relatively late) appearance of the nuns in Transylvania from the second half of the fifteenth century onwards can be linked to the reform.

The Order of Minor Brothers (Franciscans)

The first Franciscans who arrived at Hungary were from Germany in 1229 and within nine years the friars were organized as the Franciscan province of Hungary with its centre in Esztergom.²⁹ Their development accelerated after the Dominicans had lost their privileged position at the royal court: by 1265 Queen Mary Laskaris surely had a Franciscan confessor, and King Béla IV was buried at his request in the Franciscan convent of Esztergom instead of Székesfehérvár. The Franciscans took over the position of the Preacher Friars not only at the royal court but also in the Cuman mission, and since the last decade of the thirteenth century they gradually gained control over the inquisition in Bosnia.³⁰ In the fourteenth century, following the example of the Angevin rulers of Hungary, the aristocratic families were eager to express their piety especially with the foundation of convents of different religious orders, and one of the important beneficiaries were the Franciscans. On several occasions, noblemen provided financial or other kinds of support for convents to house the annual provincial chapter of the order.³¹ A new chapter was opened in the history of the Order of Minor Brothers with the spread of the Observance. (The so-called Observant Franciscans got their name due to the common goal of first a minority within the order that wished to return to the “observance” of

²⁸ Sándor Láz, “Szent Ágoston regulájának 15. századi magyar fordítója” [The fifteenth-century Hungarian translator of the rule of St Augustin], *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények* 109 (2005): 188–204.

²⁹ For a general overview of the history of the Franciscans in Hungary, see János Karácsonyi, *Szent Ferencz rendjének története Magyarországon 1711-ig* [The history of the order of St. Francis in Hungary until 1711], 2 vols., (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1923–1924); Elemér Mályusz, *Egyházi társadalom a középkori Magyarországon* [Ecclesiastical society in medieval Hungary] (Budapest: Műszaki Könyvkiadó, 2007²), 257–284; Ferenc Hervay, “Geschichte der Franziskaner in Ungarn bis zum Beginn der Reformation,” in *800 Jahre Franz von Assisi. Franziskanische Kunst und Kultur des Mittelalters. Niederösterreichische Landesausstellung 15. Mai – 17. Oktober 1982* (Vienna: Berger Verlag, 1982), 312–317. For their diffusion in medieval Hungary in comparison with other religious orders, see Fügedi, “La formation des villes”.

³⁰ Antal Molnár, “A ferencesek Boszniában a középkorban és a török uradalom első időszakában” [The Franciscans in Bosnia in the Middle Ages and in the first period of the Ottoman rule] in idem, *Elfelejtett végvidék: tanulmányok a hódoltsági katolikus művelődés történetéből* (Budapest: Balassi Kiadó, 2008), 54–75.

³¹ Marie-Madeleine de Cevins and László Koszta, “La noblesse et ordres religieux en Hongrie sous les rois angevins (vers 1323 – vers 1382)” in *La noblesse dans les territoires angevins à la fin du Moyen Âge*, ed. Noël Boulet and Jean-Michel Matz, (Rome: École Française de Rome, 2000), 585–606, esp. 590–595, 602–605; see also Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers*, 295–395.

the Rule of St Francis). Their early history in the country was closely connected to the Franciscans' mission in Bosnia since the Observant houses founded in Hungary belonged to the Observant vicariate of Bosnia until 1448 when the independent Hungarian Observant Vicariate was created.³² The first Observant houses served as dwelling places for the friars active in the Bosnian mission on the southern border of the country and many of the founders were prelates and high-ranking representatives of the administrative leaders of the southern territories under Ottoman threat.³³ These men, becoming their patrons, established friaries from the mid-1410s mostly for the Observant friars; even King Sigismund founded one for them in Visegrád.³⁴ Following the creation of the Observant Vicariate of Hungary in 1448, the number of Franciscan convents grew significantly thanks primarily to the new foundations. It was soon recognized that the reform friars were better in the performance of even those tasks that were traditionally not part of their activity, such as the conversion of the Orthodox Christians but above all the combat against the Hussites and the Ottomans. Consequently, the Conventual Franciscans were compelled to give over eight of their friaries, -including such important ones as that of Esztergom, Buda and Pest- and also convents of other religious orders were passed to the Observant Franciscans.³⁵ Between 1475 and 1510 the number of their friaries increased from fifty to seventy, housing 1500-1700 friars. In 1458 the Observant Vicariate of Hungary was put directly under the jurisdiction of the Franciscan minister general from the Cismontane Observant Family (at that time there was still one Franciscan order within which the Observants

³² Andrić, *The Miracles of St. John Capistran*, 18-22; György Galamb, "A ferences obszervancia magyarországi térnyeréséhez" [Additions to the diffusion of the Observant Franciscans in Hungary], in "*Magyaroknak eleiről: ünnepi tanulmányok a hatvan esztendő Makk Ferenc tiszteletére*", ed. Ferenc Piti and György Szabados (Szeged: Szegedi Középkorász Műhely/Agapé Ferences Nyomda, 2000), 165-181; For a recent and detailed history of the Observant presence in the 14th-century Bosnia and the creation of the independent Observant province in Hungary, see Marie-Madeleine de Cevins, *Les Franciscains Observants hongrois de l'expansion à la débâcle (vers 1450 – vers 1540)* (Rome: Istituto Storico dei Cappuccini, 2008), 31-42.

³³ For a summary about the history of the Observant Franciscans in Hungary, see Balázs Kertész, *A magyarországi obszerváns ferencesek eredetiben fennmaradt iratai 1448-1526* [The original surviving documents of the Hungarian Observant Franciscans 1448-1526] (Budapest: Magyarok Nagyasszonya Ferences Rendtartomány, 2015), 47-49; for a comprehensive overview, consult de Cevins's *Les Franciscains Observants*. On the Franciscan missionary activities in Bosnia in the fifteenth century, see John Fine, *The Bosnian Church: Its Place in State and Society from the Thirteenth to the Fifteenth Century* (London: SAQI in association with The Bosnian Institute, c. 2007), 143-286.

³⁴ *The Medieval Royal Palace at Visegrád*, ed. Gergely Buzás and József Laszlovszky, trans. Kyra Lyblyanovics (Budapest: Archaeolingua, 2013).

³⁵ An infamous case of Körmend when the convent of the Austin Hermits was given to the Observant Franciscans was researched by Gabriella Erdélyi, "Bakócz Tamás és a szerzetesrendek (Esettanulmány)" [Tamás Bakócz and the religious orders. A case study] *Történelmi Szemle* 44 (2002): 21-63; see also eadem, "Conflict and Cooperation: The Reform of Religious Orders in Early-Sixteenth-Century Hungary," in *Communities of Devotion*, 121-152.

constituted a separate group) but in 1502 the Hungarian vicariate was transferred under the governance of the cismontane vicar general, probably in order to avoid a forced union between the Observant and Conventual branches in Hungary. With the Bull “Ite vos”, Pope Leo X divided the Franciscan Order into two separate families, the Friars Minor of the Regular Observance and Friars Minor Conventuals. At the same time, the Conventual Franciscans of Hungary declared their submission to the Observance. In order to resolve the confusion over two provinces existing in Hungary both called Observants, since 1523 the former Franciscan (Conventual) province was called *Provincia Sanctae Mariae in Hungaria Ordinis Minorum* and the originally Observant vicariate as *Provincia Sancti Salvatoris in Hungaria Ordinis Minorum*.

The organization of the first female community who wished to follow the example of Clare of Assisi in Nagyszombat (Trnava, Slovakia) can be attributed partly to the Franciscan friars’ activity who settled down in the town around 1230. In 1236, two years after the canonization of Elizabeth of Hungary, a small chapel was built for her memory, next to which some pious women anchored themselves to live according to the rules of the community of Clare of Assisi for whom a monastery was built by Béla IV in 1240.³⁶ The nuns were under the protection of Pope Gregory IX and they could possess land properties, like all the other communities of Poor Clares founded subsequently. The Clarissan community of Pozsony came into existence in 1297 at the request of *quaedam religiosae mulieres* with the support of various Franciscan convents of Hungary.³⁷ The greatest monastery of the Poor Clares dedicated to the Virgin Mary and St Clare in Óbuda, consecrated in 1347, was founded by Queen Elizabeth Piast (1305-1380), which eventually became also her burial place. The decision of Elizabeth was probably motivated by the example of her mother, Hedwig of Kalisz who in 1333 entered the Clarissan nunnery of Sandecz (Poland) or by Mary of Anjou’s constructions of the Santa Maria Donna Regina and Robert the Wise and Sancia of Mallorca’s foundation of the convent of Poor Clares of Santa Chiara in Naples. It was either Elizabeth or her daughter Mary, the wife of King Sigismund (1371-1395), to whom the building of the Clarissan nunnery of Sárospatak can be attributed. Similarly to Óbuda, it housed noble virgins and widows. Although King Sigismund made an attempt in 1434 to found one more Clarissan monastery, this time in Zagreb, in the end

³⁶ Karácsonyi, *Szent Ferencz*, vol. 2, 46.

³⁷ Karácsonyi, *Szent Ferencz*, vol. 2, 509-531.

the project was not executed.³⁸ The last one in Hungary was founded in Kolozsvár next sometime before 1506 by János Erdélyi and Miklós Bethlen.³⁹

Observant Reform and Vernacular Literature

The emergence of the vernacular religious literature was closely related to the Observant reforms in the fifteenth century in the Dominican, Franciscan and the Premonstratensian orders as well as to the change in the devotional life of women. Sándor Lázcs attributes the belatedness of the evolution of Hungarian literature written for the nuns in comparison with the German territories to the fact that also the reform itself arrived in Hungary almost half a century later.⁴⁰ The intellectual climate necessary for the diffusion of the reform was made secure by the continuous exchange of the professors and students between the Dominican convents of Nuremberg and Vienna, and between those of Vienna and Buda. In the case of the nuns, the reform aimed at their return to the *vita communis* with the help of common activities (prayer, reading).⁴¹ With a few exceptions, the surviving vernacular texts selected and translated by the spiritual directors were read out loud during communal readings. According to the general custom in the refectory the *lectrix* on duty read the assigned readings during meals so that the nuns could take bodily and spiritual nourishment at the same time.⁴²

The majority of the 46 extant medieval codices (or fragments of codices) written in the Hungarian vernacular were related to the Order of Minor Brothers and the Order of Preachers⁴³ since they were responsible for the *cura monialium* of the female branch of their order. With

³⁸ Karácsonyi, *Szent Ferencz*, vol. 2, 454.

³⁹ Karácsonyi, *Szent Ferencz*, vol. 2, 460.

⁴⁰ Sándor Lázcs, *Apácaműveltség Magyarországon a XV-XVI. század fordulóján: az anyanyelvű irodalom kezdetei* [The lore of nuns in Hungary at the turn of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries: the beginnings of vernacular literature] (Budapest: Balassi, 2016), 72-73.

⁴¹ On the Observant reform in the nuns' convents and on its impact on vernacular literary production in Hungary, see Lázcs, *Apácaműveltség*, 39-40; idem, "A Nyulak szigeti apácák olvasmányainak korszerűsége" [The up-to-dateness of the readings of the nuns on the Island of the Rabbits] in: „Látjátok feleim...” *Magyar nyelvemlékek a kezdetektől a 16. század elejéig. Az Országos Széchényi Könyvtár kiállítása 2009. október 29 – 2010. február 28.* [Budapest]: Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, 2009, 124-126.

⁴² On community reading, see Lázcs, *Apácaműveltség*, 128-132.

⁴³ In addition to the Franciscans and Dominicans, also the Pauline, the Premonstratensian and the Carthusian Orders produced codices. In some cases, however, the provenance of a codex is debated or unknown. For an introduction to the Old Hungarian codex literature, see Adrienne Dömötör, *Régi magyar nyelvemlékek: a kezdetektől a XVI. század végéig* [Old Hungarian texts from the beginnings to the end of 16th century] (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 2006), 52-95.

very few exceptions, the vernacular codices related to these two orders were made in the surroundings of Buda: there existed a high-quality *scriptorium* in the Dominican monastery on the Rabbits' Island where some nuns were active scribes⁴⁴ and in all probability, also the Clarissans in Óbuda had one. The heyday of the production of the vernacular codices came to an end due to the ongoing Ottoman threat of Buda: the fleeing Dominican and Clarissan nuns took as many books with themselves as they could to Upper Hungary in 1541 (to Nagyszombat and to Pozsony, respectively), this is how eight of the codices I am going to discuss survived.

The mendicant orders in the urban contexts

Until the fourteenth century most of the cities and towns had only a single parish in Hungary, and even Buda, the royal seat that functioned as a capital of the kingdom since the late fourteenth century, had only five parishes.⁴⁵ This number has risen to two or three in average by the fifteenth century, which was significantly lower than in other towns of Western Europe.⁴⁶ The parish network was particularly weak in Transylvania but the major Saxon towns had at least one but more often two mendicant establishments.⁴⁷ The parish priests and a special group of chaplains who were present in most of the parishes, the preachers, were responsible for delivering the sermons. At the beginning the *predicatores* were employed in some special

⁴⁴On the nun scribes, see Lea Haader, "Arcképtörédékek ómagyar scriptorokról" [Portrait fragments of the scribes of Old Hungarian codices], in "Latiatuc feleym..." *Magyar nyelvemlékek a kezdetektől a 16. század elejéig* (The exhibition of the National Széchényi Library, 29 October 2009 – 28 February 2010), ed. Edit Madas (Budapest: Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, 2009), 53-78.

⁴⁵This summary is largely based on the seminal work of Marie-Madeleine de Cevins about various aspects of the late medieval church in 25 cities and towns in Hungary between 1320 and 1490; see eadem, *Az Egyház a késő-középkori magyar városokban* [The Church in the towns of late medieval Hungary], trans. Gergely Kiss (Budapest: Szent István Társulat, 2003). It is the revised and abbreviated version of her doctoral dissertation defended at Sorbonne University in 1995, entitled *L'Eglise dans les villes hongroises aux XIV^e et XV^e siècles*. On the religious institution of Buda, see Beatrix F. Romhányi, "The Monastic Topography of Medieval Buda," in *Medieval Buda in Context*, 224-228.

⁴⁶de Cevins, *Az Egyház*, 21-22.

⁴⁷The Saxons, who constituted a privileged community of Transylvania, developed their own institutional structures, including the ecclesiastical ones. In 1191 King Béla III with the *Ecclesia Theutonicorum* granted the right to the free provostship of Szeben/Sibiu/Hermannstadt to be directly affiliated to the archbishopric of Esztergom instead of the bishopric of Transylvania at Gyulafehérvár/Alba Iulia. This provided the Saxon communities an exceptional autonomy in the region since 1191 and, in addition, since 1224 they had the right to elect their own priests. András Kubinyi, "Plébánosválasztások és egyházközségi önkormányzat a középkori Magyarországon" [Parish priest elections and parochial autonomy in late medieval Hungary] *Aetas* 7 (1991): 26-46, at 28.

periods of the liturgical year, later every Sunday or feast days. In case a parish was bi- or multilingual, often two preachers were employed who were secular priests.⁴⁸

Towns and mendicant orders are closely intertwined, as here gathered a large multitude of people whom the friars wished to lead to the way of salvation.⁴⁹ The success of the mendicant orders was due to their popularity as well as the support of the Hungarian royal house. Apart from the Order of Preachers and the Order of Minor Brothers, also other mendicant orders, the Austin Hermits and the Carmelites settled down in Hungary in the second half of the thirteenth century.⁵⁰ The mendicant friars preferred settling down in the suburb or in places where there was sizable traffic and where the townspeople regularly gathered. Although in some cases they were permitted to dwell in the centre of the town or they were given a formerly abandoned church, the friars usually built their convents in the suburbs, also probably because in the case of later establishments, there was no longer room for the friaries downtown. Their location was also determined by the parish priests who had often negative feelings towards the friars and there were instances when they hindered the moving of a mendicant convent within the city/town walls.

Towns that were episcopal seats had the highest number of mendicant convents, two around 1320, and three around 1490. In contrast with the Dominicans who were present only in the more important cities and towns, the Franciscans aimed at extending their influence also in smaller towns. Apart from the Observant endowments, the new foundations (more Franciscan than Dominican) managed to gain ground in those smaller settlements which did not yet have a

⁴⁸ de Cevins, *Az Egyház*, 30-32.

⁴⁹ Jacques Le Goff was the first to use the presence of the mendicant orders to measure the degree of urbanization in medieval France, a hypothesis which was tested by several scholars throughout Europe; Jacques Le Goff, "Apostolat mendiant et fait urbain dans le France médiévale: l'implantation des Ordres Mendiants, Programme de questionnaire pour une enquête," *Annales ESC* 23 (1968): 335-352. In Hungary, Erik Fügedi applied Le Goff's theory with remarkable outcomes; Fügedi, "Koldulórendek és városfejlődés Magyarországon," in idem, *Kolduló barátok, polgárok, nemesek: tanulmányok a magyar középkorról* (Budapest: Magvető, 1981), 66-81, at 77-78, available also in French: idem, "La formation des villes et les ordres mendiants en Hongrie in *Kings, bishops, nobles and burghers in medieval Hungary*, ed. János Bak (London: Variorum, 1986), 966-987 (published for the first time with the same title in *Annales* 25 (1970): 966-987.

⁵⁰ The activity of the Austin Hermits and Carmelites is beyond the scope of the dissertation.

mendicant friary and in some more significant towns, chiefly in Transylvania where the parish network was loose.⁵¹

The nuns, contrary to the friars, preferred settling down in cities/towns or in their surroundings because the settlements served their needs and protected them. The female monasteries of the mendicant orders were founded only in those places where friaries had already been established. The average size of a female community was about 12-20 nuns, and in this sense they were similar to other nunneries in Western Europe.⁵² Concerning the friars' activity in the rural area our knowledge is quite limited. The presence of the mendicant orders has always been stronger in towns and thus their role in the promotion of the cult of saints among the laity was more prominent than in rural settlements where these cults were encouraged above all by the parish clergy and to a lesser extent, the lay or ecclesiastical patrons. Between the thirteenth and fifteenth century, ca. 60 to 80 per cent of the parishes in Hungary had a lay patron and as a rule, they remained under the authority of the founder and his descendants.

The activities of the friars

Some cities and more significant towns in which the friars had extensive convents also had institutions of higher education (*studium particulare* or *studium generale*).⁵³ The main tasks of the friars in the life of a settlement were the preaching, the performance of burials, hearing confessions, and even administering communion. In cities and towns they were also responsible for the *cura monialium* of the local female communities of their orders (and occasionally, also beguine communities or tertiaries) acting as confessors and spiritual directors.⁵⁴ At the end of the fifteenth-century at least half of the 30 Beguine communities were located in cities and towns. In Transylvania, due to the high number of mendicant convents, there were more lay

⁵¹ de Cevins, *Az Egyház*, 39.

⁵² de Cevins, *Az Egyház*, 69.

⁵³ For the full list, see Appendix 10 in de Cevins, *Az Egyház*, 185.

⁵⁴ See Enikő Spekner, "A magyarországi beginák és beginakolostorok 13. századi története" [The history of the Beguines and of the Beguine houses in thirteenth-century Hungary] in *Studia professoris – Professor studiorum: Tanulmányok Érszegi Géza hatvanadik születésnapjára*, ed. Tibor Almási, István Draskóczy and Éva Jancsó (Budapest: Magyar Országos Levéltár, 2005), 297-313.

confraternities than the average, the Dominican and Franciscan friars shared equally the responsibilities.⁵⁵

In some cases in the fifteenth century the reformed Dominicans fulfilled the role of a parish.⁵⁶ In general, however, the parish priests in Hungary employed priests as preachers in their churches, not mendicant friars.⁵⁷ With the bull *Super cathedram* by Pope Boniface VIII of 1300 it was decreed that the friars could preach in the territory of the parish only with the permission of the parish priest and they have the right to organize the burial of the parishioners on condition they give the quarter of the money received for their service to them. Nevertheless, tensions and even fierce debates over the burials arose between some urban parishes from time to time all throughout the Middle Ages.⁵⁸ The *Super cathedram* regulated also the time of the preaching in the churches of the convents (*post prandium*) in order not to clash with the mass in the parish church celebrated before noon.⁵⁹ The friars would preach usually in their churches (or in the church of the female monastery for which they provided spiritual care), and in some cases, also in private chapels (for instance, the royal ones) or outdoors. The friars built pulpits in their churches but they also had moveable pulpits for outdoor use, and in some cases, also

⁵⁵ Carmen Florea analysed the relationship among the Dominican friars, laity and charity in three urban centres of Transylvania taking into account the wider ecclesiastical and social context in which they functioned: the confraternity of the Dominican convent of Kolozsvár, the fellowship of the journeymen of Brassó, and the Rosary confraternity from Beszterce; see Carmen Florea, "The Third Path: Charity and Devotion in Late Medieval Transylvanian Towns," in: *Communities of Devotion*, 91-120. On the confraternities of Transylvania in general: Lidia Gross, *Confreriile medievale în Transilvania (secolele XIV-XVI)* [Medieval Confraternities in Transylvania (Fourteenth to Sixteenth Centuries)] (Cluj-Napoca: Editura "Grinta", 2004).

⁵⁶ Harsányi, *A domonkos rend*, 70, 309.

⁵⁷ An exception to this was the parish church of St Stephen in Győr, where a friar from the Franciscans friary of St Elizabeth helped the parish priest in the *cura animarum*; see de Cevins, *Az Egyház*, 43.

⁵⁸ Here I refer only to some recent works on the controversy between the parish priests and the friars: Marie-Madeleine de Cevins, "A világi papság és a koldulórendi szerzetesek kapcsolatai a magyar városokban a késő-középkorban: Sopron példája" [The relations of the secular clergy and the mendicant friars in Hungarian towns: the example of Sopron] *Soproni Szemle* 52 (1998): 196-208; Mária Makó Lupescu, "Egy konfliktus margójára: a világi papság és a domonkosok kapcsolatai a középkori Kolozsváron /Pe marginea unui conflict: relațiile dintre clerul secular și dominicani în Clujul medieval" [On the margins of a conflict: relations between the secular clergy and the Dominicans in medieval Cluj] in: *Orașe și orășeni. Városok és városlakók*, ed. Ionuț Costea *et al.* (Cluj-Napoca: Editura Universității "Alexandru Ioan Cuza", 2006), 404-417; Carmen Florea, "The Third Path," 101-106.

⁵⁹ de Cevins, *Az Egyház*, 44.

outdoor pulpit on the external side of the church walls.⁶⁰ The laity (comprising also the nobility) participated in the masses celebrated in the churches of the mendicant orders.⁶¹

The issue of language was of utmost importance for the friars.⁶² That preaching in the vernacular was not as obvious as it would seem first, is attested by the fact that the Dominicans decreed in the General Chapter of Buda (1254) that the friars should preach in the vernacular.⁶³ “Vernacular” language in medieval Hungary, in addition to Hungarian, could refer to German (these two were the most widely spoken ones, altering from region to region, town to town) or, to a lesser extent, to some Slavic languages.⁶⁴ The Franciscan Observants in the fifteenth century, thanks to their high number in Hungary were able to deliver sermons in different languages, which was crucial in a country where most of the towns were multi-ethnic and multilingual.⁶⁵ However, the Observant Franciscans coming from abroad did not always manage to cope with the ethnic and linguistic diversity of Hungary.⁶⁶ Language was not the only issue the friars had to cope with but they had to bear in mind what Jacques de Vitry wrote in the first half of the thirteenth century: “It is different to preach to the clerics and to the laity...

⁶⁰ Ede Mihalovics, *A katolikus prédikáció története Magyarországon* [The history of Catholic preaching in Hungary] (Budapest: Stephaneum, 1900-1901), vol.1, 101. The only extant outdoor pulpit from the territory of medieval Hungary I know of is the one preserved in the Benedictine (the former Franciscan) church of Sopron.

⁶¹ As in the case of the Franciscan church of Pozsony: “Praesertim vero praelatis, magistratibus et nobilibus ab eo latere (sinistra) collocatis sub selliis conciones sacrumque missae sacrificium audientibus.” Quoted in Mihalovics, *A katolikus prédikáció*, vol.1, 78.

⁶² Edit Madas, “Les ordres mendiants en Hongrie et la littérature médiévale en langue vernaculaire (XIIIe-XVe siècle),” in *Entre stabilité et itinérance: livres et culture des ordres mendiants, XIIIe-XVe siècle*, ed. Nicole Bériou, Martin Morard and Donatella Nebbiai-dalla Guarda (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014), 367-374.

⁶³ “Provideant priores quod in diebus communionis fratres conversi sermonem habeant in vulgari.” MOPH 3, 70. On the preaching activities of the Dominicans in Hungary, see Mihalovics, *A katolikus prédikáció*, vol.1, 69-75.

⁶⁴ On the literary activities of the royal seats of Hungary (Buda, Pest, Óbuda, and Visegrád) between 1348 and 1418, see the contribution of Katalin Szende, “Buda, Pest, Óbuda; and Visegrád” in: *Europe: A Literary History, 1348-1418*, ed. David Wallace (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), vol.1, 533-550; eadem, “Integration through Language: The Multilingual Character of late Medieval Hungarian Towns,” in *Segregation—Integration—Assimilation. Religious and Ethnic Groups in the Medieval Towns of Central and Eastern Europe*, ed. Derek Keene, Balázs Nagy and Katalin Szende (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), 205-34. On the different ethnicities in medieval Buda, see András Vég, “Buda: the Multi-Ethnic Capital of Medieval Hungary,” in *Segregation*, ed. Keene, Nagy, and Szende, 89-99.

⁶⁵ Ottó Gecser, “Predicazione, formazione scolastica e modelli culturali nell’Osservanza francescana ungherese alla fine del medioevo,” in *Osservanza francescana e cultura tra Quattrocento e primo Cinquecento: Italia e Ungheria a confronto. Atti del Convegno Macerata-Sarnano, 6-7 dicembre 2013*, ed. Francesca Bartolacci and Roberto Lambertini (Rome: Viella, 2014), 33-52, at 38.

⁶⁶ As it was the case of James of the Marches who, during his mission to Hungary in 1439, trying to act as a peacemaker in Buda in the revolt between the Hungarian and the German inhabitants. See György Galamb, “Giacomo della Marca e la rivolta di Buda,” in *Annuario dell’Accademia d’Ungheria. Studi e documenti italo-ungheresi* (Messina: Rubbettino, 1997), 53-63.

When we are in a convent and in an congregation educated in Latin, we speak in idioms and we can express more and it is not necessary to explain certain things; but laypeople have to be shown everything concretely as if it were under their eyes.”⁶⁷

Education

The educational system of the mendicant orders was much more successful than that of the religious orders, which can be partly ascribed to the fact that they did not allow the admission of children as oblates in their convents.⁶⁸ In contrast to the monastic schools, the friars established institutions of education on three levels: *studia conventualia*, *studia particularia* and *studia generalia*.⁶⁹ The main task of these schools was the formation of the future teachers (*lectores*) and the leaders of the convents but the way of learning was open to any novices or friars if they wished so and were supported by their superiors.⁷⁰ The most talented students could attend the famous *studia generalia* abroad. This resolute selection of the most outstanding students brought about highly-qualified superiors and raised the general educational level of the friars, too.⁷¹ The other key of the success of the mendicant education was instead of material wealth, they had such well-organised networks among the convents and the important centres of the provinces of the order that they managed to coordinate the transfer, the board and the lodging not only of the students but also the lecturers. The impact of this mobility in Hungary is reflected in the up-to-dateness in the early Dominican sermon collection, or in the circulation of the

⁶⁷ Giovanni Getto, *Letteratura religiosa del Trecento* (Florence: Sansoni, 1967): “Aliter clericis, aliter laicis est predicandum... Quando vero in conventu et congregatione sapientium in latino idiomate loquimur, tunc plura dicere possumus, eo quoad ad sigularia non oportet descendere; laicis autem oportet quasi ad oculum et sensibiliter omnia demonstrare.”

⁶⁸ The most recent treatment of the mendicant orders present in Hungary (except the Carmelites on whose education system there are no extant sources) is Beatrix F. Romhányi, “A koldulórendek szerepe a középkori magyar oktatásban” [The role of the mendicant orders in late medieval education] in *A magyar iskola első évszázadai (996-1526)*, ed. Katalin Szende and Péter Szabó (Győr: Xantus János Múzeum, 1996), 35-40.

⁶⁹ On mendicant education in general, see Studio e studia. *Scuole degli ordini mendicanti tra XIII° e XIV° secolo. Convegno della Società internazionale di studi francescani* (Spoleto: Centro Italiano di Studi sull’alto Medioevo, 2002); Kaspar Elm, *Mendikantenstudium, Laienbildung und Klerikschulung im spätmittelalterlichen Westfalen*, in: *Studien zum städtischen Bildungswesen und der frühen Neuzeit*, ed. Ludger Grenzmann (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1983), 586-617.

⁷⁰ The mendicant systems of higher education were quite similar to the universities since their faculty of theology was closely related to mendicant orders, especially to the Dominicans, both in the curriculum and in the organization. This can be seen also from the practice that the same titles could be obtained in the *studia generalia* as at the universities, which often created tensions between the two systems throughout the Middle Ages. See Romhányi, “A koldulórendek szerepe,” 35.

⁷¹ Mályusz, *Egyházi társadalom*, 270-271.

legends of new reform saints. The active circulation of ideas up to that time, especially characteristic of the mendicant orders changed dramatically in the age of printing, and the “advantage” over other religious orders provided by their well-organised network gradually lost importance.

Dominican education was on the top from among the mendicant orders.⁷² The establishment of a *studium generale* in their convent dedicated to St Nicholas in Buda was decided in 1304 but little is known about its history until the end of 1470s. The reform of the Dominican order in Hungary in the 1450s-1460s had certainly a significant impact on the convent, the centre of the Dominican province of Hungary and on the adjacent *studium generale*. It was the most prominent educational institution of the Preacher Friars, and many of the superiors and teachers coming from abroad (primarily Vienna and different parts of Italy). After King Matthias's enterprise in the foundation of the *Universitas Histropolensis* around the mid-1470 had failed, he decided to establish another university, this time in Buda, relying on the Dominican *studium generale*.⁷³ Its rich library was supplied with books also by King Matthias.⁷⁴ The *studium generale* was indeed raised to a high level and flourished even decades after the death of the king in 1490 but apparently the foundation of a university in Buda stopped at that point.⁷⁵ The Dominicans perhaps also had a *studium generale* in Nagyszeben that could function between 1525 and the mid-fifteenth century the latest. Besides, the order sent also at least 100 students

⁷² On early Dominican education in general, see Marian Michèle Mulchahey, “First the bow is bent in study...” *Dominican Education before 1350* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1998); as to Hungary, see Harsányi, *A domonkos rend*, 113-281; Mályusz, *Egyházi társadalom*, 271-275; András Vizkelety, “A domonkos rend tudományközvetítő szerepe Magyarországon a 13-14. században” [The Dominican Order as mediators of knowledge in Hungary in the 13th and 14th century], in: *Régi és új peregrináció. Magyarok külföldön, külföldiek Magyarországon*, ed. Imre Békési (Budapest-Szeged: 1993), 473-479.

⁷³ It was not unusual, as Tibor Klaniczay pointed out, that universities were built on already existing Dominican studia, as it was the case in Vienna and Pozsony (Bratislava). See Tibor Klaniczay, “Egyetem Magyarországon Mátyás korában” [University in Hungary in the age of Matthias] *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények* 94 (1990): 575-612, at 604-605. This study is available also in Italian: “Un'accademia platonica a Buda?” in: Tibor Klaniczay, *Alle origini del movimento accademico ungherese*, trans. Amadeo di Francesco et al. (Alessandria: Edizione dell'Orso, 2010), 61-70.

⁷⁴ This can be known from the *Clypeus Thomistarum* by Petrus Niger, at that time rector of the *studium generale* of Buda; see Csaba Csapodi, András Tóth, and Miklós Vértessy, *Magyar könyvtártörténet* [History of the libraries in Hungary] (Budapest: Gondolat, 1987), 48.

⁷⁵ Even if in some sources the Dominican institution is called “universitas”, there was no university in Buda in the Middle Ages. See Florio Banfi, “P. Antonio da Zara O. P. confessore della regina Beatrice d'Ungheria (sec. XV),” *Archivio storico per la Dalmazia* 26 (1938): 282-302, at 286-288.

to cities of northern and central Italy (mostly to Perugia) and later to Cologne.⁷⁶ The order had *studium particulare* in Pécs, Kassa, Kolozsvár, Székesfehérvár, and Szeged.⁷⁷

Less information has come down to us about the Franciscans. Since some kind of basic education was required for the novices, it should be supposed that the order had at least one school in their custodies in the Province of Hungary.⁷⁸ By the fifteenth century they had a *studium generale* in Esztergom (the first lector mentioned in 1273), Buda (a lector and a professor of theology mentioned in 1288) and also in Nagyvárád. The convents of Esztergom and of Buda, which must have functioned at a lower level in the thirteenth and fourteenth century, are of note because the first local cults around some friars who got incorporated in the Franciscan catalogues of saints formulated here. There is evidence from the fifteenth century that both “fractions” of the order laid great emphasis on learning, enough to think of the reform statutes of the Conventual Fabianus de Igal⁷⁹ or the formation and the career of the Observant Pelbartus de Themeswar and Osvaldus de Lasko who studied at the university of Cracow and the university of Vienna, respectively.⁸⁰ The education of the two Observants fits into the general trend: most of the students from Transylvania attended these two universities in that period.⁸¹ The place of education is relevant primarily in the case of Pelbartus who in 1458 must have met the cult of Bernardino in Cracow, which could have had an impact on the sermon he composed later for the feast of the Sienese saint.⁸²

Production of preaching aids

In contrast to the early Christian martyrs or the saintly founders of monastic orders, the saints of the mendicant orders belong to a larger group of “modern saints” that gained official recognition of the papacy. The canonization bulls comprising the concise official *vita* of the

⁷⁶ Romhányi, “A koldulórendek szerepe,” 36.

⁷⁷ Romhányi, “A koldulórendek szerepe,” 35.

⁷⁸ For the Franciscan educational institutions, see Romhányi, “A koldulórendek szerepe,” 37.

⁷⁹ It is remarkable that the statutes of 1454 decree that at least two students per year should be sent to foreign universities, although the *studium generale* of Esztergom had already existed since 1411 the latest. On the statutes introduced by Fabianus de Igal, see Arnold Magyar, O.F.M., “Die ungarischen Reformstatuten des Fabian Igali aus dem Jahre 1454. Vorgeschichte und Auswirkungen der Statuten,” *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* 64 (1971): 71-122, the precept of the attendance of foreign studia is at 99-100.

⁸⁰ Gecser, “Predicazione,” 44.

⁸¹ Gecser “Predicazione,” 44.

⁸² Edina Ádám, “Pelbart of Temesvar and the Use of Images in Preaching,” unpublished MA thesis (Budapest: Central European University, 2008).

saint along with a list and a brief description of the miracles provided the bishops, the clerics but above all the friars with an authoritative corpus and were indeed used extensively by as *materia predicabilis* mostly in the sermons to be delivered on the feast of the saint either referring to it as an authoritative text, or not mentioning at all the source.⁸³ It has been shown that not all recently canonized saints were regarded as equals: while a large number of sermons in the thirteenth and fourteenth century was composed for the feasts of St Francis and St Dominic, far less were written for those of Peter of Verona, Anthony of Padua, Clare of Assisi, Elizabeth of Hungary and Thomas Aquinas.⁸⁴ Although preaching about the saints related to the Dominican or Franciscan Orders who had been the member was not the prerogative of the friars, since preaching was their main activity, they were the primary producers of the auxiliary material, too. The centralized schooling system of the new orders facilitated the quick diffusion and the generally high level of such model sermon collections.⁸⁵ Thanks to the mendicant orders, also Hungary was in permanent contact with the two centres of production of the modern thematic sermons, Paris and Italy, as it has been shown by András Vizkelety and Edit Madas.⁸⁶

While both orders excelled in the production of a new type of sermon called *sermo modernus* or scholastic sermon, the novel genre of the collection of abbreviated saints' lives (*legendae novae*) was a Dominican invention. It started to emerge in the late 1220s with Jean de Mailly's *Abbreviatio in gestis et miraculis sanctorum* and came to its head with James of Varazze

⁸³ George Ferzoco, "Preaching, Canonization and New Cults of Saints in the Later Middle Ages," in *Prédication et liturgies au Moyen Âge*, ed. Nicole Bériou and Franco Morenzoni (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008), 297-312, at 302-303.

⁸⁴ George Ferzoco, "Sermon Literatures Concerning Late Medieval Saints" in *Models of Holiness in Medieval Sermons*, ed. Beverly Mayne Kienzle (Louvain-la-Neuve: Fédération Internationale des instituts d'Études Médiévales, 1996), 103-125, at 118-122.

⁸⁵ For the emergence and diffusion of new type of sermons and the model sermon collections, see David d'Avray, *Preaching of the Friars. Sermons Diffused from Paris before 1300* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985), 105-131; Nicole Bériou, *L'avènement des maîtres de la Parole. La prédication à Paris au XIIIe siècle* (Paris: Institut d'Études Augustiniennes, 1998); Edit Madas, *Középkori prédikációirodalmunk történetéből: a kezdetektől a XIV. század végéig* [From the history of Hungarian sermon literature: from the origins to the middle of fourteenth century], (Debrecen: Csokonai Universitas Könyvtár, 2002), 127-131.

⁸⁶ Edit Madas, "A XIII-XIV. századi magyarországi ferences prédikáció forrásvidéke. (A Gyulafehérvári Sorok kódexének sermóiról)" [The sources of thirteenth- and fourteenth-century Franciscan preaching in Hungary. (On the sermons of the Lines of the Alba Iulia codex)], *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények* 97 (1993): 1-15; eadem, *Középkori prédikációirodalmunk történetéből*, 127-214; András Vizkelety, "I sermonaria domenici in Ungheria nei secoli XIII-XIV," in: *Spiritualità e lettere nella cultura italiana e ungherese del basso medioevo*, ed. Sante Gracioti and Cesare Vasoli (Florence: Leo S. Olschki Editore, 1995), 473-479; András Vizkelety, *Az európai prédikációirodalom recepciója a Leuveni kódexben* [The reception of the European sermon literature in the Codex of Leuven], *Fragmenta et codices in bibliothecis Hungariae IV*, (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 2004).

(Jacobus de Voragine)'s *Legenda aurea* (known also as *Historia Lombardica*), the first version of which was made around 1260 which was the most popular legendary throughout the Middle Ages. The compilation of these hagiographic collections coincided with the emergence of the sermon collections for the feasts of saints (*de sanctis*).⁸⁷ In George Ferzoco's opinion the *de sanctis* collections' popularity was partly due to their readily-of-use character, partly due to the emphasis of different aspects of saints' lives than hagiographic writings: while legends usually narrate the most remarkable episodes from a saint's *vita* as a frame for further discussion of his or her virtues, sermons rather focus on virtues in order to make the saints to be models of admirable and imitable holiness.⁸⁸ All this is reflected in the shift in late medieval hagiography in which saints were no longer to be only admired but models that could be imitated.⁸⁹

The surviving sources attest that the Dominican and the Observant Franciscan authors in Hungary used a wide range of sources for the sermons since the bull of canonization, the official legend, and the offices of the saints of their respective orders were available to them. It seems, in turn, that parish priests and preachers relied on Latin collections of saints' lives rather than on individual legends in the composition of their sermons. However, since only the *vitae* of St Francis, Dominic and Peter of Verona could be found in the original corpus of the *Legenda aurea*, they had to turn to other hagiographic sources or directly to sermon collections, but apart from the *Legenda aurea* manuscript evidence is scarce in medieval Hungary. Important exceptions to these are the vernacular legend of St Francis and his companions extant in a copy made probably around 1440 and the Latin legends of Vincent Ferrer and Catherine of Siena copied three decades later. The principal sources of the sermons and vernacular legends on the mendicant saints in Hungary around the turn of the sixteenth century were the printed works of the Dominican Antonino Pierozzi's *Chronicon* (1484) and the Franciscan Roberto Caracciolo's *Sermones de laudibus sanctorum* (1488) and as well as the updated versions of the *Legenda aurea* (ca.1474) and Petrus de Natalibus's *Catalogus sanctorum et gestorum eorum* (1493) that

⁸⁷ On sermons written about late medieval saints, see Ferzoco, "Sermon Literatures"; idem, "The Context of Medieval Sermon Collections on Saints," *Preacher, Sermon and Audience in the Middle Ages*, ed. Carolyn Muessig (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 279-292; idem, "Preaching, Canonization and New Cults of Saints".

⁸⁸ Ferzoco, "The Context of Medieval Sermon Collections on Saints," 285.

⁸⁹ André Vauchez, "Saints admirables et saints imitables: Les fonctions de l'hagiographie ont-elles change aux derniers siècles du Moyen Âge?," in *Les fonctions des saints dans le monde occidental III^e–XIII^e siècle*. *Actes du Colloque organisé par l'École française de Rome avec concours de l'Université de Rome 'La Sapienza'*, Rome 27-29 octobre 1988, Collection de l'École française de Rome 149 (Rome: l'École française de Rome 1991), 161-172.

contained also material on the new saints of the orders canonized in the fifteenth century.⁹⁰ The complex system of the usage of the sources in the sermons of a Franciscan Observant author was revealed by Ildikó Bárczi.⁹¹

Patronage

Talking about mendicant orders, the question of how the construction, the decoration and equipment of their friaries and churches were financed arises. In theory, the members of mendicant orders had to live in apostolic poverty (the Franciscan Rule forbade the friars to receive money in exchange for work or for objects and they were even prohibited from touching money) and the simplicity of their lifestyle was to be reflected also in their buildings.⁹² In the first century of their operation, at the general chapters of both orders decrees concerning the size, the style, the ecclesiastical ornaments and the altar furnishing of their friaries and churches were accepted. These, however, as the abundant number of examples throughout Europe show, were little respected,⁹³ insomuch that in Italy the friars could act as artistic patrons.⁹⁴ In the course of time the friars' attitude towards money has changed considerably, especially with the

⁹⁰ Cf. the "Bibliotheca compilatorum" of <http://sermones.elte.hu/szovegkiadasok/latinul/bibliotheca/> (last accessed 01/05/2017) as well as earlier works: Damján Vargha, "Kódexeink legendái és a *Catalogus Sanctorum*" [The legends of the Hungarian codices and the *Catalogus Sanctorum*] Budapest: Stephaneum Nyomda, 1923; Kálmán Timár, "Kódexeink legendái és a *Catalogus Sanctorum*" [The legends of the Hungarian codices and the *Catalogus Sanctorum*], *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények* 25 (1915): 17-25.

⁹¹ Ildikó Bárczi, *Ars compilandi: a késő középkori prédikációs segédkönyvek forráshasználata: a hiteles információk összegyűjtésének kevésbé bevallott módszerei: az intertextualitás információs rendszerei* [Ars compilandi: the use of sources in late medieval preaching manuals: the less-admitted methods of the collection of reliable information: the information systems of intertextuality] (Budapest: Universitas, 2007).

⁹² The Order of Preachers between 1220 and 1300 developed an extensive legislation on the construction and the decoration of its churches and conventual buildings, which was amended five times during this period. See Gilles G. Meersseman, "L'architecture dominicaine au XIII^e siècle: Législation et pratique," *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* 16 (1946): 136-190; Richard Sundt, "*Mediocres domos et humiles habeant fratres nostri*: Dominican Legislation on Architecture and Architectural Decoration in the 13th Century," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 46 (1987): 394-407.

⁹³ For an extensive overview on mendicant architecture, see Wolfgang Schenkluhn, *Architektur der Bettelorden. Die Baukunst der Dominikaner und Franziskaner in Europa* (Darmstadt: Primus, [2000]); on various aspects of the visual arts in the two orders, see the collection of studies in *Sanctity Pictured: The Art of the Dominican and Franciscan Orders*, ed. Trinita Kennedy (Nashwill: First Center for the Visual Arts, 2014).

⁹⁴ The most important legislations in the Order of Minor Brothers call for modesty occurred in 1260 and was followed by four in the fourteenth century. For the problems of poverty, property, benefaction and patronage in the Franciscan Order in Italy, see Louise Bourdua, *The Franciscans and Art Patronage in Late Medieval Italy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, [2004]), 16-31.

Franciscans.⁹⁵ The Franciscans in Hungary were no exception to this and they owned landed property. Since the fifteenth century, the observant or reform friars of the mendicant orders criticized their “lax” brothers living in convents that had regular income from landed property, although some bulls made indeed possible for them to possess land in common.⁹⁶ Notwithstanding, the landed properties of the mendicant convents was about to vanish, first with the Observant Franciscans. This tendency was perceived also by the donors because after this date, they bequeathed money and allowances in kind to the friars instead of estates.⁹⁷ In 1474 Pope Sixtus IV gave permission to the Order of Preachers to hold possessions⁹⁸ and from that time on also the friars in Hungary had smaller lands that provided a regular income for the convent. Based on the fifteenth-century accounts of cities and towns, the authorities participated actively in the (re)building and the equipment of the local convents of the mendicant orders that settled down there, as it is attested with the Franciscans in Sopron and Pozsony.⁹⁹ The monasteries of the nuns had their own income, and were independent from the town authorities.¹⁰⁰ The precious objects possessed by nunneries in general came from the donations of female patrons.¹⁰¹ While in Hungary the phenomenon of friars as artistic patrons was not so common (although there are examples to this) in the fourteenth century it was generally the royal house and the aristocracy, in the fifteenth century the lords of the frontier territories and the town councils that invited the reform friars to fight against the Ottomans or the Hussites, and they acted as their patrons.¹⁰² Often, the founders or other donors supported financially the annual provincial chapters, too.

⁹⁵ The issue of poverty was never so central with the Dominicans who did not regard poverty as an end but a tool to address certain groups of society. On the economy of friars in general, see *Économie et religion: l'expérience des ordres mendiants (XIIIe–XVe siècle)*, ed. Nicole Bériou and Jacques Chiffolleau (Lyon: Presses universitaires de Lyon, 2009).

⁹⁶ Karácsonyi, *Szent Ferencz*, vol.1, 152. For the exhaustive treatment of the friars as landowners in Hungary, see Beatrix Romhányi, *Kolduló barátok*; Mária Makó Lupescu, “Poverty or Not? Economic Aspects of the Mendicant Friaries in Medieval Transylvania” *Hereditas Monasteriorum* 3 (2013):111-134.

⁹⁷ Karácsonyi, *Szent Ferencz*, vol.1 160, 232-233.

⁹⁸ It was ratified with the added decree *Nuper nostras* in 1478, see *Bullarium Ordinis fratrum Praedicatorum*, ed. Thomas Ripoll, O.P. and Antonin Bremond, O.P., 8 vols. (Rome 1729-1740), vol. 3, 528.

⁹⁹ de Cevins, *Az Egyház*, 92.

¹⁰⁰ de Cevins, *Az Egyház*, 93.

¹⁰¹ See the thesis in progress by Chris Mielke, “Every hyacinth the garden wears: the archaeology of medieval queenship in Hungary (1000-1395)” (pre-defense version of the doctoral dissertation, CEU, 2016),

¹⁰² See the papers on various mendicant establishments in *Koldulórendi építészet a középkori Magyarországon* [Mendicant architecture in medieval Hungary], ed. Andrea Haris (Budapest: Országos Műemlékvédelmi Hivatal,

Patrocinia

Dedicating an altar, a church, or even an entire village to a saint guarantees his/her longevity. It meant, in most cases, that also on the central panel of the high altar, the titular saint or a particular feast of the Church was represented. The data from Hungary clearly show that in the Dominican and the Franciscan Orders this way of preserving the memory of their saints was not among the most standard ones, as most of their churches were dedicated to the Virgin, the Apostles, earlier saints, or the Holy Cross.¹⁰³ The choice of the patrons of the churches in villages or towns was usually motivated by the feastdate of the saint (this will be the dedication feast of the church), or the will of the founders, or the possession of relics. It was slightly different with the mendicants since it occurred frequently that after the friars who had taken up residence in a settlement they were allowed to move in and use already existing buildings (that were usually abandoned by its previous dwellers) continued to use the old dedications. Characteristically, the new or significantly rebuilt friaries and churches were those that were dedicated to the saints of the order. The founder(s) of a mendicant friary and the church belonging to it had a decisive role in the dedication but in general, the personal ties of the founders/patrons with the patron saint of the ecclesiastical institution was not so apparent. It has been proposed that if a village belonged to a noble family, the dedication of its church may be explained by looking at the family's history for a preference.¹⁰⁴

The friars and some features of devotional life

In addition to the works of Lajos Pásztor¹⁰⁵ Sándor Bálint¹⁰⁶ today considered as “classics”, in the past two decades, various aspects of devotional life in late medieval Hungary and also the

1994). On mendicant architecture in Hungary in general, see Ernő Marosi, “Franziskanische Architektur in Ungarn,” in: *800 Jahre Franz von Assisi*, 461–470.

¹⁰³ The most useful research tools for the dedications of churches, altars, friaries/monasteries or hospitals to the saints belonging to the mendicant orders is András Mező, *Patrociniumok a középkori Magyarországon* [Church altar and village dedications in medieval Hungary], (Budapest: METEM, 2003) and Romhányi's *Kolostorok*.

¹⁰⁴ Crăciun and Florea, “The Cult of Saints,” 51.

¹⁰⁵ Lajos Pásztor, *A magyarság vallásos élete a Jagellók korában* [The religious life of the Hungarians in the Jagiellonian Era], (Budapest: Egyetemi Nyomda, 1940). He discussed devotional life in late medieval Hungary on various levels: religious associations, cult of saints as reflected in the church, chapel and altar dedications, the most widely venerated saints, the most frequently requested services and the saints who were commemorated during these.

¹⁰⁶ Sándor Bálint, *Ünnepi kalendárium* [Festal calendar] (Szeged: Szegedi Kossuth Nyomda, 1998), 3 vols.

influence of German cities and towns, especially after the second wave of migration in the late fourteenth century has been discussed in scholarship.¹⁰⁷ One of them was pilgrimage, a practice which was rather varied, ranging from visiting the nearby church housing some kind of relics, for instance, to the relics of St Dominic in Érdsonlyó (Versec, Serbia) or the Island of the Rabbits to the shrine of Margaret of Hungary, to go abroad to Aachen (among the burghers), or even to Rome and Jerusalem (among the nobility).¹⁰⁸ In the fifteenth century, the tomb of John of Capestrano in Újlak became a highly popular pilgrimage destination,¹⁰⁹ while the Dominicans attracted the faithful with Holy Blood relics in their churches in Vasvár and Pécs.¹¹⁰

The Dominican influence on lay religiosity in late medieval Hungary can be perceived only in some towns. The preacher friars were the main promoters of Rosary devotions and founded brotherhoods dedicated to it from the fifteenth century.¹¹¹ The towns where Rosary cult existed, as it has been argued by Florea, all had large German-speaking population and a strong commercial profile that may account for the spread of the new devotion.¹¹² Maria Crăciun explored the laity's attachment to the Eucharistic and Marian piety promoted by the friars expressed primarily by the iconography of altarpieces mostly of parish churches, and by the endowment of mendicant establishments through various types of bequests in the Saxon area of Transylvania between c. 1450-1550.¹¹³ The role of the Franciscans in the cult of St Anne in

¹⁰⁷ Although de Cevins acknowledged the German influence, she emphasized that one cannot speak of a German model due to the number of differences between the religious life of the burghers in those territories and in Hungary; see de Cevins, *Az Egyház*, 171.

¹⁰⁸ Aachen was popular among the burghers, while Rome and Jerusalem among the nobility; in the second half of the fifteenth century, however, Rome pushed Aachen to the background. The pilgrims consisted mostly of priests and barons but also almost all social groups were represented. See Enikő Csukovits, *Középkori magyar zarándokok* [Medieval Hungarian Pilgrims] (Budapest: MTA Történettudományi Intézete, 2003); Tamás Fedeles, *"Isten nevében utazunk."* *Zarándokok, búcsújárás, kegyhelyek a középkorban* ["We travel in the name of God": Pilgrims, pilgrimages, shrines in the Middle Ages] (Pécs: Kronosz Kiadó, 2015).

¹⁰⁹ Andrić, *The Miracles of St. John Capistran*; Fügedi, "Kapisztránói János csodái.

¹¹⁰ In addition, relics of Holy Blood could be found in Bába, Szeged and Kassa; see József Sümegi, "Az Oltáriszentség és a Szent Vér tisztelete a középkori Magyarországon" [The veneration of the Eucharist and the Holy Blood in medieval Hungary] *Magyar Egyháztörténeti Vázlatok* 3 (1991): 107-119.

¹¹¹ Anne Winston-Allen, *Stories of the Rose: The Making of the Rosary in the Middle Ages* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1997). On the Confraternity of the Rosary in Kolozsvár, see Harsányi, *A domonkos rend*, 312-315; on that of Beszterce, see Florea, "The Third Path," 112-119.

¹¹² Florea, "The Third Path," 115, footnote 74.

¹¹³ Crăciun, "Mendicant Piety".

Hungary was assessed by Emőke Nagy in her doctoral dissertation.¹¹⁴ The mystical aspects of vernacular codices, including the writings on St Francis, Clare, Margaret of Hungary and Catherine of Siena were explored recently by Ágnes Korondi.¹¹⁵

The most thorough analysis of the Franciscans' influence on popular piety at the end of the fifteenth century was offered by Marie-Madeleine de Cevins, who argued that even though the Minorites undoubtedly played a significant role in the framing of lay religiosity in the kingdom in the late Middle Ages, it was far from the only influence.¹¹⁶ Bearing in mind that the Observant Franciscan Pelbartus de Themeswar and Osvaldus de Lasko cannot be regarded as representatives of the whole order, de Cevins examined the spiritual messages communicated through their sermons. She found that in their view, there was nothing like seeking intercession with the saints and the Virgin Mary in order to obtain grace, although they warned against all types of excesses in Marian devotion, they contended that it was not necessary for the laity to have any depth of theological knowledge but to know the three fundamental prayer and the Ten Commandments, they opposed the opinion that prayers should be made to one saint in a specific context, and they warned their audience that pilgrimages were only salutary to salvation if motivated by a real intention to get closer to God. Generally speaking, Pelbartus and Osvaldus were critical of many of the specific forms of “flamboyant religion”, such as curative pilgrimages, pious foundations, admission to confraternities, mortification or the collection of indulgences.¹¹⁷

¹¹⁴ Emőke Nagy, “Narrative and Visual Sources of Saint Anne’s Cult in Late Medieval Hungary (14th- 16th centuries) in a Comparative Perspective” (PhD. diss., Eötvös Loránd University, 2015); eadem, “Urban Patronage of Saint Anne Altars in Late Medieval Hungary,” *Annual of Medieval Studies at CEU* 22 (2016): 145-173.

¹¹⁵ Ágnes Korondi, *A misztika a késő középkori magyar nyelvű kolostori kódexirodalomban. Misztika-recepció avagy irodalmi és kegyességi gyakorlat a késő középkori magyar nyelvű kolostori kódexek devocionális szövegeiben* [Mysticism in the late medieval Hungarian vernacular codex literature], (Kolozsvár: [n.p.] 2016).

¹¹⁶ de Cevins, “The Influence of Franciscan Friars,” 73.

¹¹⁷ Even though the two Observant Franciscans were against self-mortification, in the early sixteenth century flagellant confraternities emerged provoking a number of conflicts, especially in Nagybánya (Baia Mare, Romania), where the Franciscans were accused for spreading these ideas; cf. Gecser, “Predicazione,” 42-43.

I.3. Presentation of the Sources

This is a general survey of the major types of the sources that I use in the dissertation rather than an exhaustive list.¹¹⁸ The traditional division of the sources to categories of “written” and “visual” is also applied here with the acknowledgment that a clear-cut separation of the two is not always possible as it can be seen the cases of richly illuminated books or permissions of indulgences, or confraternity letters with seals. Each major type is presented in brief with describing what pieces of information can be extracted from them in order to avoid unnecessary repetition in case of sources that turn up in various chapters of the dissertation.

Written Sources

The overwhelming majority of the sources I rely on consist of hagiographic and sermon literature composed in Latin or in the vernacular. The legends were used for two main reasons: to serve as a basis of sermons and as refectory readings in the male and female branches of the Dominican and Franciscan orders. Some of the saints of the mendicant orders were incorporated in collections which were not made for specifically Dominican or Franciscan audience. Although no remarkable new version of a legend of a mendicant saint produced in Hungary seems to survive except the legends of Margaret of Hungary, copies of the standard collections of the *vitae*, the *Legenda aurea*, the original corpus of which was completed with the legends of those saints who had special veneration in Hungary, were available since the fourteenth century.¹¹⁹ Although the legends of Ss Francis, Dominic and Peter of Verona were not among those that were liable to be omitted from the collections, they are not reported in all the codices related to Hungary; moreover, these *vitae* are far from being identical as they are often abbreviated versions of the already abridged legends. Their closer examinations may reveal some notes on the part of its user(s) to a specific audience. Miracles attributed to the intercession of the saints registered for either the canonization process or the strengthening of an already existing cult in which the beneficiaries are from Hungary survive in Latin collection

¹¹⁸ The potential sources for the cult of saints in a more restricted territory was offered by Maria Crăciun and Carmen Florea, “The Cult of Saints in Medieval Transylvania” in *Saints of Europe: Studies Towards A Survey of Cults and Culture*, ed. Graham Jones (Donnington: Shaun Tyas, 2003), 43-68.

¹¹⁹ Edit Madas, “A *Legenda aurea* a középkor Magyarországon” [The *Legenda aurea* in medieval Hungary] in *Magyar Könyvszemle* 108 (1992): 93-99, available also in French: “La Légende dorée – Historica Lombardica en Hongrie,” in *Spiritualità e lettere*, 53-62.

of miracles preserved in foreign libraries,¹²⁰ in Observant Franciscan hagiographic works circulating only in Italy,¹²¹ and in some exceptional cases, in Latin sermons produced in Hungary.¹²² However, the miracles of Dominic and Peter of Verona collected from the eastern frontier of the Realm in the second half of the thirteenth century and were subsequently incorporated into Dominican hagiographic works, belong to the most distinguished sources.¹²³ Miracle accounts are in some cases the only sources that contain valuable information concerning lay piety and pilgrimage to the shrine of a mendicant saint as well as the friars' role in the promotion. In contrast to the lack of "original" Latin legends, the so-called Old Hungarian codices are abundant in vernacular texts about such saints, and they are conspicuous since, with very few exceptions, they can be related to a certain period and (female) community. In order to understand better the significance of these pieces, it is worthwhile to consider the context in which the Hungarian vernacular codices were produced.

Vernacular hagiography started to flourish the last decades of the fifteenth century: legends, *exempla* and sermons were compiled, translated and adapted to Hungarian language. Of the altogether 44 vernacular codices (or parts of codices) generall referred to as "Old Hungarian codices", 10 contain texts about the saints of the mendicant orders.¹²⁴ The vernacular codices in

¹²⁰ Bernardino's miracles are preserved in MS Rouge Cloître (without shelfmark) reported in AASS, V Mai (20th May), 313 and in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS Nuov. Acq. Lat. 1763, a part of which was edited in Ferdinando Delorme OFM, "Ex Libro Miraculorum SS. Bernardini Senensis et Joannis a Capistrano, auctore Fr. Conrado de Freyestat," *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* 11 (1918): 399-441. The process was edited in full by Letizia Pellegrini, *Il processo di canonizzazione di Bernardino da Siena, 1445-1450. Analecta Franciscana* 16 (Grottaferrata, 2009).

¹²¹ Giacomo Oddi, *La Franceschina. Testo volgare umbro del sec. XV scritto dal P. Giacomo Oddi di Perugia, edito la prima volta nella sua integrità*, ed. Nicola Cavanna, OFM. 2 vols. 2nd edition (Assisi: Santa Maria degli Angeli, 1979).

¹²² András Vizkelety, *Az európai prédikációirodalom recepciója a Leuveni Kódexben* [The reception of the European sermon literature in the Codex of Leuven], *Fragmenta et codices in bibliothecis Hungariae IV*, (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 2004), 167; Pelbartus de Themeswar, *Pomerium de sanctis, Pars aestivalis, Sermo XXII "De sancto Bonaventura ordinis minorum. Sermo cum legenda"*.

¹²³ The miracles of Dominic in Hungary can be found in his legends: Constantine of Orvieto, *Legenda Sancti Dominici*, in *Monumenta historica patris nostri Dominici*, ed. Heribert Christian Scheeben, MOPH 16 (Rome: Istituto Storico Domenicano, 1935), vol. 2, 263-352, at 338-346; *Humberti de Romanis. Legendae Sancti Dominici*, ed. Simon Tugwell MOPH 30 (Rome: Istituto Storico Domenicano, 2008), 449-532, at 521-527; Jacobus de Voragine, *Legenda aurea*, ed. Giovanni Paolo Maggioni, 2 vols. (Florence: SISMEL-Edizione del Galluzzo, 1998), vol.2, 718-744, at 738-740. The miracles of Peter martyr in Hungary are edited in Gerardus de Fracheto, O. P., *Vitae fratrum Praedicatorum*, ed. Benedict Maria Reichert, MOPH 1 (Louvain: Charpentier, 1896), 308-309.

¹²⁴ On the Hungarian vernacular codices, see János Horváth, *A magyar irodalmi műveltség kezdetei: Szent Istvántól Mohácsig* [The origins of Hungarian literature: from St. Stephen to Mohács], first published in 1931 by the Magyar Szemle Társaság (reprint: Budapest: Akadémiai kiadó, 1988); Andor Tarnai, "A magyar nyelvet írni kezdik."

almost all cases go back to Latin sources but in many instances reveal the medieval authors', compilers' or translators' interventions to the sources in terms of the selection, organization and appropriation while writing for an audience for whom the Hungarian vernacular seemed to be a more suitable language to convey their messages. They contain useful information what -after 150-250 years these mendicant saints had lived- the most popular episodes or which aspects of their sanctity were highlighted for the audience that consisted of primarily but not only of nuns.

The only vernacular codex made before the spread of the reform of the Dominican and Franciscan orders in Hungary is the **Jókai Codex**, a remarkable compilation of hagiographic sources about St Francis and his early companions. It is an enigmatic book since it is not known by whom and for whom it was copied around 1440 and there are doubts concerning its original, too, supposedly made around 1370.¹²⁵ Latin prayers for the intercession of Dominic, Peter of Verona, Thomas Aquinas, Vincent Ferrer and Catherine of Siena were included in the **Winkler Codex** (1506) used by the Dominican nuns of the Island of the Rabbits.¹²⁶ Strangely, the feasts in the calendar in the first pages are not harmonized with the one used in the Dominican order which that might be related to the undetermined origin of the codex and thus be an indicator which mendicant saints were those whose feast was observed in particular. The **Domonkos Codex** (1517) copied by Lea Ráskay (supposedly the head of the *scriptorium* on the Island of the Rabbits) contains the legend and the miracles of St Dominic as well as a high number of *exempla* of different length about the founder and the friars from the first generations of the order. St. Francis also figures in a number of edifying stories including a version of the so-

Irodalmi gondolkodás a középkori Magyarországon [“They start writing the Hungarian language.” Literary thinking in medieval Hungary], (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1984); „*Látjátok feleim...*” *Magyar nyelvemlékek a kezdetektől a 16. század elejéig. Az Országos Széchényi Könyvtár kiállítása 2009. október 29 – 2010. február 28.* [‘Behold, my brethren...’ Hungarian linguistic records from the beginnings to the early sixteenth century] ([Budapest]: Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, 2009). The literary culture of nuns in Hungary was examined by Sándor Láz, *Apácaműveltség Magyarországon a XV-XVI. század fordulóján: az anyanyelvű irodalom kezdetei* [The lore of nuns in Hungary at the turn of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries: the beginnings of vernacular literature] (Budapest: Balassi, 2016), 144-146.

¹²⁵ See footnote 15.

¹²⁶ The prayers for the intercession of the Dominican saints are in *Winkler-kódex 1506. A nyelvemlék hasonmása, betűhű átirata és latin megfelelői* [Winkler Codex 1506. The facsimile, the literal transcription and the Latin correspondences of the linguistic record], intro. and notes by István Pusztai (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1988) (Codices Hungarici 9), 90-93.

called “*exemplum* of the three spears”.¹²⁷ The **Virginia Codex** (before 1529) contains a mirror of confession, a collection of episodes from the life of St. Francis, fragments of a sermon and an abbreviated version of the *Regula monacharum*. It is regarded as the closest “relative” of the Jókai Codex and unique in the sense that it was made for Dominican nuns on the Island of the Rabbits. The **Lobkowitz Codex** (1514), copied by five Clarissan nuns was probably made for a noblewoman, presumably a prioress.¹²⁸ Among other writings, it contains episodes from the hagiography of Ss. Francis and Clare. The various *exempla* about the Poverello are intriguing because they do not turn up in any other vernacular codices. The **Lázár Zelma Codex**, copied partly by *soror Katerina* in the first quarter of the sixteenth century, is a collection of prayers, legends, *exempla* and other devotional writings, made for private use, perhaps for a Clarissan nun.¹²⁹ It contains an account on the stigmatization of St. Francis in a form of a prayer presenting the event in rather peculiar manner and an *exemplum* about Clare. The **Debreceni Codex** (1519), which originally consisted of (at least) two independent manuscripts, was used in the Clarissan convent of Óbuda and it reports the life of St Thomas Aquinas and an *exemplum* about the humility of St. Francis.¹³⁰ The **Simor Codex** (around 1508) is a heavily damaged codex that contains three *exempla* on humility told by Francis as well as three

¹²⁷ It was one of the most popular exemplum in late medieval Hungary surviving in different versions in six vernacular codices: Zsuzsanna Szabó, “A sokarcú exemplum – Néhány megfontolás kódexeink exemplumainak készülő katalógusához” [The many-sided exemplum – Some ideas to the catalogue of the Hungarian exempla database under construction]; available at: http://sermone.elte.hu/?az=319tan_plaus_zsuzsa (last accessed: 30/04/2017)

¹²⁸ *Lobkowicz-kódex* [Lobkowicz codex], ed. Andrea Reményi. Régi Magyar Kódexek 22 (Budapest: Argumentum, Magyar Nyelvtudományi Társaság, 1992). Selected bibliography: Flóris Holik [Florio Banfi], “Adalékok kódexeink forrásaihoz. I. A Bod- és a Lobkowitz-codex forrásaihoz [Additions to the sources of the Bod and Lobkowitz codices] in *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények* 32 (1922): 121-130.

¹²⁹ *Lázár Zelma-kódex: XVI. század első fele. A nyelvemlék hasonmása és betűhű átirata*. [Lázár Zelma codex: the first half of 16th century. The facsimile and the diplomatic transcription of the Old Hungarian codex.], ed. Csilla N. Abaffy. Régi Magyar Kódexek 14. (Budapest: Magyar Nyelvtudományi Társaság, 1992). Selected bibliography: Lajos Katona, “Temesvári Pelbárt példái” [The exempla of Pelbárt of Temesvár] (Budapest: Franklin Nyomda, 1902); Damján Vargha, *Szent Ferenc és fiai a magyar kódexirodalomban* [St. Francis and his sons on the Hungarian codex literature] (Budapest: Pesti Nyomda, 1927); Kálmán Timár, “Magyar kódexcsaládok” [Hungarian codex families] *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények* 37 (1927): 60-67, 210-224.

¹³⁰ *Debreceni-kódex, 1519: a nyelvemlék hasonmása és betűhű átirata* [Debreceni codex, 1519: the facsimile and the diplomatic transcription of the Old Hungarian codex], ed. Csilla Abaffy, Andrea Reményi and Edit Madas. Régi Magyar Kódexek 21 (Budapest: Argumentum, Magyar Nyelvtudományi Társaság, 1997). Selected bibliography: Ödön Pusch, *Vallásos elmélkedések kódexeinkben* [Devotional texts in Hungarian codices] (Kolozsvár: Stief Nyomda, 1910); Cyrill Horváth, *Középkori legendáink és a Legenda Aurea* (Budapest, 1911); György Király, “A Margit-legenda és rokonai. Függelék. A Debreczeni codex legendáinak forrásai [The Hungarian legend of St. Margaret and its relatives. An appendix. The sources of the legends of the Debreczeni codex] *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények* 25 (1915): 17-25; Kálmán Timár, “Adalékok kódexeink forrásaihoz” [Additions to the sources of the Hungarian codices] in *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények* 36 (1926): 42-53, 169-184, 264-270.

episodes about him.¹³¹ It was hypothesised that the Virginia Codex was copied from the full original copy of the Simor Codex in Óbuda; according to another hypothesis, the two codices are independent translations of the same source.¹³² The **Teleki Codex** (1525-1531), today lost, is an exception to the earlier listed codices since it was copied by four scribes for the Clarissan nuns in Marosvásárhely (Târgu Mureș, Romania) and among hagiographic and catechetical texts, one finds again the “exemplum of the three spears”.¹³³ The **Tihanyi Codex** (1530-1532) copied by “frater F.” for the Clarissans of Óbuda, although its small size suggests that it was intended for private use.¹³⁴ Frater F., who provided his reader(s) with a series of sermons about the Virgin Mary imbued with theological content can be considered more an author than a translator or a compiler. The **Érsekújvári Codex** was made in the Dominican monastery on the Island of the Rabbits between 1529 and 1531 by a nun called Márta Sövényházi and four other *sorores*.¹³⁵ The voluminous codex containing gospel periscopes, sermons, legends (including a long one on Catherine of Siena), and meditations on the Passion suggests that it was put together as a “moveable library” as the nuns prepared for leaving their monastery due to the Ottoman threat. The **Érdy Codex** is the most comprehensive collection of sermons and legends written in Hungarian by a Carthusian monk in Lövöld.¹³⁶ The two different prologues written in the Latin and in Hungarian it reveals that the intended audience of the author were those male

¹³¹ *Simor-kódex, XVI. század eleje* [Simor codex, the beginning of the 16th century], ed. Lilla Vekerdy. Régi Magyar Kódexek 6. (Budapest: Magyar Nyelvtudományi Társaság, ELTE, 1988).

¹³² Kálmán Timár, “Adalékok kódexeink forrásaihoz” [Contributions to the sources of the Hungarian codices] *Irodalomtudományi Közlemények* 36 (1926), 264-270; Lajos Katona, “A Virginia-kódex Ferencz-legendái” [The legends of St. Francis of Assisi in the Virginia Codex] in *Akadémiai Értesítő* 14 (1903): 576-581; Vargha, *Szent Ferenc és fiai*.

¹³³ *Teleki Codex*, ed. György Volf. Nyelvelmléktár 12. (Budapest: MTA, 1884).

¹³⁴ *Tihanyi kódex, 1530-1532: a nyelvelmlék hasonmása és betűhű átirata bevezetéssel és jegyzetekkel* [Tihanyi Codex. The facsimile edition and the literal transcription of the text with introduction and notes], intro. and notes by Zsuzsa Kovács (Budapest: Magyar Nyelvtudományi Társaság, 2007) (Régi magyar kódexek 31). Selected bibliography: Zsuzsa Kovács, “F. frater munkái: a Kazinczy-kódex és a Tihanyi-kódex” [The works of ‘Frater F’: the Kazinczy and the Tihanyi codices], *Magyar Nyelv* 98 (2002): 364-380.

¹³⁵ *Érsekújvári kódex 1529-1531. A nyelvelmlék hasonmása és betűhű átirata bevezetéssel és jegyzetekkel* [Érsekújvári Codex 1529-1531. The facsimile and the literal transcription of the Old Hungarian Codex with introduction and notes], intro by Edit Madas, Lea Haader, Marianne Rozsondai and Tünde Wehli, ed. Lea Haader (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Nyelvtudományi Intézete, 2012). Further literature: Edit Madas, “Az Érsekújvári Kódex mint a menekülő apácák hordozható könyvtára és két új forrásazonosítás (Műhelytanulmány)” [The Érsekújvári Kódex as the moveable library of the escaping nuns and two new source identifications], in: *Szöveg – emlékek – képek*, ed. László Boka and Judit Vásárhelyi (Budapest: Országos Széchényi Könyvtár / Gondolat Kiadó, 2011), 91-104; Lea Haader, “Domonkosokhoz köthető középkori kódexek” [Medieval codices related to the Dominicans], in: *A Szent Domonkos Rend és a kunok*, ed. Gábor Barna and Ágnes Deme. Szeged: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia – Szegedi Tudományegyetem Vallási Kultúrakutatócsoport, 2016, 136-146.

¹³⁶ *Érdy Codex*, ed. György Volf. 2 vols., Nyelvelmléktár 4-5, (Budapest: MTA, 1876).

and female religious who did not know Latin. The question of the actual audience, however, is much more complex than this, as it has been recently shown by Zsófia Bartók.¹³⁷ The legends written in a form of sermons were suitable for private and community reading alike, as well as to be used as a source for sermons.¹³⁸ Cloistered life is a central issue in the collection and the selection of the saints clearly reflects the author's intention to address the members of different religious orders. The sermons for the feasts of Ss Catherine of Siena, Dominic, Clare of Assisi and Francis of Assisi reveal how such saints were presented by someone who was not a member of any of the two orders.

Those little-known members of the Dominican and the Franciscan orders from Hungary who were venerated as saints but were never canonized can be found in the catalogues of saints and chronicles of the orders. Such works do not survive from Hungary before the sixteenth century, thus this part of the research is largely based on materials that can be found in different libraries of Italy. The *catalogi sanctorum* was a popular genre with the Franciscans between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries.¹³⁹ The composition of orders' histories and the collection of the renowned members came to the foreground in both orders with the reform in the fifteenth century. In addition to the Latin chronicles produced by German and Italian reform Dominicans from Johannes Meyer¹⁴⁰ to Girolamo Borselli, from Georg Epp¹⁴¹ to Ambrogio Taegio, the late fifteenth- and early sixteenth -century hagiographic works written in the Italian vernacular, such as Giacomo Oddi's *Specchio dell'Ordine Minore* known as the *Franceschina*¹⁴² and Mariano da Firenze's collection of the biographies of eminent Franciscans also contain accounts on some

¹³⁷ Zsófia Ágnes Bartók, "A Karthauzi Névtelen célközönsége" [The target audience of the Carthusian Anonymous] in: *Szerzetesrendek a veszprémi egyházmegyében: A Veszprémi Érseki Hittudományi Főiskolán 2014. augusztus 27–28-án rendezett konferencia előadásai*, ed. Balázs Karlinszky (Veszprém: Veszprémi Érseki és Főképtalani Levéltár 2015), 233–248.

¹³⁸ Most likely, the Carthusian monastery was in connection with the nearby Pauline hermits in Nagvázsony and Nagyjenő, with the Dominican nuns in Veszprém, the Cistercians from Veszprémvölgy and Zirc, the Premonstartensian nuns in Somlóvásárhely, the Benedictine monks in Bakonybél and the Franciscan friars in Pápa; see Edit Madas, "A Karthauzi Névtelen kódexe" [The codex of the Carthusian Anonymous] in *A néma barát megszólal. Válogatás a Karthauzi Névtelen beszédeiből*, ed. Edit Madas (Budapest: Magvető, 1985), 549, 553.

¹³⁹ Roberto Paciocco, *Da Francesco ai "Catalogi Sanctorum": Livelli istituzionali e immagini agiografiche nell'Ordine Francescano (secoli XIII - XIV)*. Collectio Assisiensis. (Assisi: Edizione Porziuncola, 1990).

¹⁴⁰ Johannes Meyer, O.P. *Liber de Viris Illustribus Ordinis Praedicatorum*, ed. Paul von Loë, O.P. (Leipzig: Otto Harrassowitz, 1918).

¹⁴¹ Georg Epp, *Libellus de illustribus viris ac sanctimonialibus sacri ordinis Praedicatorum* (Cologne: Cornelius von Zierickzee, 1506).

¹⁴² See footnote 121.

Observant friars from Hungary.¹⁴³ While Borselli and Taegio's works are well-known,¹⁴⁴ those of the German reform Dominicans and the Italian Observants received little or no scholarly attention so far in Hungary.¹⁴⁵ Beyond the institutional histories of the two orders, references to the veneration or local cult of Louis of Toulouse, Helen and Margaret of Hungary can be found in fourteenth and fifteenth-century chronicles commissioned probably by the royal house: the *Hungarian Illuminated Chronicle* (*Chronicon pictum*, ca. 1360)¹⁴⁶ and the *Epithoma rerum Hungarorum* by Petrus Ransanus (ca.1489).¹⁴⁷

Thanks to the mendicant orders, also Hungary was in permanent contact with the two centres of production of the modern thematic sermons, Paris and Italy, as the extant sermons attest. Altogether five *sermonaria* are known from the end of the thirteenth and the beginning of the fourteenth century, of which three can be related to the preaching activity of the Dominicans, one to that of the Franciscans, and one is of uncertain origin. In the dissertation I discuss the sermons on the Dominican saints of the so-called *Sermones compilati in studio generali quineeclesiensi in regno Ungarie* and the Codex of Leuven, and touch briefly upon those on the Franciscans of the codex containing rhymed divisions preserved in Alba Iulia known as "Gyulafehérvári Sorok kódexe".¹⁴⁸ A considerable amount of sermons on the saints of the Franciscan family composed as preaching aid were included in the *De sanctis* parts of the threepartite collections of Hungarian Observant Franciscan preachers, the *Pomerium sermonum*¹⁴⁹ by Pelbartus de Themeswar (c.1440-1504) and the *Biga salutis*¹⁵⁰ by Osvaldus de

¹⁴³ Mariano da Firenze's collections are: Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze MS Landau-Finaly 243; Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Roma MS Sessoriano 412.

¹⁴⁴ Gábor Klaniczay, "Borselli és Taeggio Margit-legendája Bánfi Florio apparátusával" [Borselli's and Taeggio's legends of Margaret of Hungary with the apparatus of Florio Bánfi], in: *Miscellanea fontium historiae Europae. Emlékkönyv H. Balázs Éva történészprofesszor 80. születésnapjára*, ed. János Kalmár (Budapest: ELTE Bölcsészettudományi Kar, 1997), 11-56.

¹⁴⁵ With the exception of the legend of Lancelao d'Ongaria; see Florio Banfi, "San Bernardino da Siena e gli ungheresi" in *Bullettino della Deputazione Abruzzese di Storia Patria* XXXV, S.5. (1944), 5-32.

¹⁴⁶ *Képes krónika* [The Hungarian Illuminated Chronicle], trans. János Bollók (Budapest: Osiris, 2004)

¹⁴⁷ Petrus Ransanus, *Epithoma rerum Hungarorum: Id est annalium omnium temporum liber primus et sexagesimus*, ed. Péter Kulcsár (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1977).

¹⁴⁸ *Sermones compilati in studio generali Quineeclesiensi in regno Ungariae*, ed. Ede Petrovich and Pál László Timkovics (Budapest: Akadémiai-Argumentum, 1993). Two sermons on St Dominic in the Codex of Leuven that presumably originate from Hungary were edited in Vizkelety, *Az európai prédikációirodalom*, 159-168. On the "Gyulafehérvári Sorok kódexe", see Madas, "A XIII-XIV. századi magyarországi ferences prédikáció forrásvidéke.

¹⁴⁹ Editio princeps: Pelbartus de Themeswar, *Sermones Pomerii de sanctis I [Pars hiemalis]; Sermones Pomerii de sanctis II [Pars aestivalis]* (Hagenau, 1499).

¹⁵⁰ Editio princeps: Osvaldus de Lasko, *Sermones de sanctis Biga salutis intitulati* (Hagenau, 1497).

Lasko (c.1450-1511) that appeared in print in the last years of the fifteenth century.¹⁵¹ Their huge *corpora* of sermons, due to the printing press, circulated widely not only in Hungary but also abroad and were republished several times until the early seventeenth century.¹⁵² In the two *De sanctis* collections there are altogether nine sermons for the feast of St Francis of Assisi; in addition Pelbartus composed also one for the feast of his translation, and Osvaldus one on that of his stigmatization. They penned also two sermons on Bonaventure, Anthony of Padua, Clare of Assisi, Louis of Toulouse and Bernardino of Siena, one in each collection. Moreover, in Pelbartus's work one sermon is dedicated to the five Franciscan martyrs of Morocco. Nevertheless, none of them provided any sermons on the feasts of the saints of the Dominican Order.

The feasts of the canonized saints of the mendicant orders were to be celebrated also outside the orders, to which the liturgical codices used in Hungary attest. Naturally, the feasts of the Dominican and Franciscan saints were of the highest rank in their respective orders (and they also celebrated the translation and the elevation of their saints) and were celebrated also by rhymed offices.¹⁵³ Liturgical codices survive from both orders, but I deal only with some of them.¹⁵⁴ In addition to the a thirteenth-century Franciscan missal preserved in Assisi that deserves attention primarily for its user,¹⁵⁵ a missal and a breviary related to the *Bibliotheca*

¹⁵¹ For an overview of the hagiographic and sermon literature in Hungary until the first quarter of the 16th century, see Gábor Klaniczay and Edit Madas, "La Hongrie", in *Hagiographies: International History of the Latin and Vernacular Hagiographical Literature in the West from its Origins to 1550. Vol.2*, ed. Guy Philippart, (Turnhout: Brepols, 1996) (Corpus Christianorum Hagiographies 2), 103-160. For an informative summary of the two Observant Franciscan preachers' lives and works, see Balázs Kertész, "Two Observant Friars Minor (Franciscan Observants) in the Late Middle Ages: Pelbart de Temesvár and Oswald de Lasko" in: *Infima aetas Pannonica. Studies in Late Medieval Hungarian History*, ed. Péter E. Kovács and Kornél Szovák (Budapest: Corvina, 2009), 60-78.

¹⁵² Gedeon Borsa, "Laskai Osvát és Temesvári Pelbárt műveinek megjelentetői" [The publishers of the works of Osualdus de Lasko and Pelbartus de Themeswar] *Magyar Könyvszemle* 121 (2005): 1-24.

¹⁵³ Polikárp Radó, *Libri liturgici manuscripti bibliothecarum Hungariae regionum* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1973); Janka Szendrei, *A magyar középkor hangjegyes forrásai*. [The musical notes of the Hungarian Middle Ages] *Műhelytanulmányok a Magyar Zenetörténethez 1* (Budapest: MTA Zenetudományi Intézet, 1981); Andrea Kovács with the contribution of Zoltán Rihmer, *A középkori liturgikus költészet magyarországi emlékei: szekvenciák* [Medieval liturgical records from Hungary] (Budapest: Argumentum, 2017).

¹⁵⁴ Béla Holl, "Poesia liturgica dei Domenicani in Ungheria," in: *Spiritualità e lettere nella cultura italiana e ungherese del basso medioevo*, 39-53.

¹⁵⁵ László Veszprémy, "Egy Árpád-kori ferences kézirat Assisiben" [A Franciscan manuscript from the Árpadian period in Assisi] *Ars Hungarica* 17 (1989): 91-95; idem, "Kiegészítések az Assisiben található Árpád-kori ferences Missaléhoz" [Additions to the Franciscan manuscript from the Árpadian period in Assisi] *Magyar Könyvszemle* 117 (2001): 100-101; Tünde Wehli, "Újabb kutatások az Assisi-beli magyarországi ferences kódex iniciáléi körül" [New research on the initials of the Hungarian Franciscan codex preserved in Assisi] in *Nyolcszáz esztendő a ferences rend*, vol. 2, 772-782.

Corviniana will be discussed but since they are of interest for this dissertation on the account of the illuminations, I treat them as visual sources.¹⁵⁶ I use Dominican lectionary from the Bibliotheca Batthyániana as a case study in which the development of the order's liturgy can be observed and refer to it in the chapters these saints are discussed.¹⁵⁷

The greatest part of the references to the dedication of ecclesiastical institutions and their founder(s) come from legal documents, mostly charters. A special type of which are the wills in which the testators bestow a certain amount of money or regular revenue for the friars or the parish priest for the erection of chapels or altars and masses to be recited for the salvation of his/her soul, and occasionally, to be buried in the proximity of the altar dedicated to a specific saint. Such requests were made by laypeople and priests alike.¹⁵⁸ Although mendicant convents are mentioned in less than 10% of the wills and even the sum bequeathed to friaries was less than what was left to parishes and hospitals and also the number of those burghers who wished to be buried in mendicant convents was small,¹⁵⁹ the increasing role of friars as intermediaries of salvation can be seen in some towns of Transylvania. Another type of legal documents consists of the grants of indulgence that started to multiply significantly when the plenary indulgence hitherto reserved for the crusade was formally offered to those making a pilgrimage to Rome in the Jubilee year of 1300. By the early fifteenth century, the *ad instar* indulgences (referring to the substitution of a trip to a local shrine which had right to grant the indulgence typically earned by travelling to a specific major shrine) became available also in Hungary.¹⁶⁰ Those who were eager to obtain the Jubilee plenary were required to donate the expenses they

¹⁵⁶ Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Rossiana, Cod. Lat. 1164. Tünde Wehli, "Mátyás király ferences missaléja" [The Franciscan missal of King Matthias], in *A ferences lelkiesség hatása*, 865-874.

¹⁵⁷ Alba Iulia, Bibliotheca Batthyányana, R I 19.

¹⁵⁸ I provide the list of only those works in which the saints of the mendicant orders manifest somehow in wills, but the recent literature about late medieval wills in general is much broader: Mária Lupescu Makó, "'Item lego...' Gifts for the Soul in Late Medieval Transylvania," *Annual of Medieval Studies at CEU* 7 (2001): 161-185; eadem, "The Transylvanian Nobles: Between Heavenly and Earthly Interest in the Middle Ages" *Studia Universitatis Babeş-Bolyai*, vol. 58, Special issue *Earth and in Heaven: Devotion and Daily Life (Fourteenth to Nineteenth Century)* December 2013, 78-106; Carmen Florea, "Women and Mendicant Orders in Late Medieval Transylvania" in *Studia Universitatis Babeş-Bolyai* 56 (2011): 67-86; Tamás Fedeles, "'Medicina contra peccata mundana.' Késő középkori főúri misealapítványok" ['Medicina contra peccata mundana.' [The high nobility's endowments of masses in the late Middle Ages], *Századok* 148 (2014): 443-469.

¹⁵⁹ de Cevins, *Az Egyház*, 155.

¹⁶⁰ József Sümegi, "Adatok a penitencia és a bűcsúk történetéhez a középkori Magyarországon" [Data to the history of penitence and indulgences in medieval Hungary] in *Hermann Egyed Évkönyv*, ed. József Sümegi and István Zombori /Budapest: [n.p.], 1998), 101-153.

would have spent on a pilgrimage to Rome to the church given the right to the plenary, often with a percentage reserved for Rome. Romhányi collected 27 grants of indulgences issued for Franciscans (11 Observant) and 8 for the Dominicans of which, with the exception of fourteen, were issued in the first half of the fifteenth century, and in particular, in the Jubilee of 1440.¹⁶¹ Many of them grant indulgences to the feasts of the Dominican and Franciscan saints but such sources should be treated with care because, as Romhányi observed, they tell more about the importance and economic situation of a church than the veneration of a saint.

Visual sources

The various kinds of visual representations of the mendicant saints both in the private and in the public spheres have not yet been collected systematically.¹⁶² Not being an art historian, I rely on the works of the experts of this field.¹⁶³ I am concentrating on the iconographic patterns and on the “holy company” in which these saints appear. The Latin word *imago* was not only used in the modern sense of the word but denoted a wider range of artworks, for the visual representations of the saints I also take into account murals, altarpieces, liturgical objects, book illuminations, or seals on which the saints can be found. Besides, I also use the sermons of the Observant Franciscans that contain references to the attributes. The iconographic type and the attributes of these saints was primarily determined by the artists and/or his workshop, frequently coming from Italian or German territories (Thuringia, the Czech lands, Lower Austri) or in the case of objects made for a Hungarian ruler, noblemen, or a high ranking ecclesiastical person, they could have been made abroad or by a foreign workshop active in Hungary. The identification of the commissioners of these representations is not always possible. It is also worth bearing in mind that, as Elga Lanc argued that the expansion of the Franciscans in Central Europe were not able to counterbalance the presence of the local saints, and that the

¹⁶¹ Beatrix F. Romhányi, *Kolduló barátok, gazdálkodó szerzetesek. Koldulórendi gazdálkodás a késő középkori Magyarországon* [Mendicant friars, smallholder monks. The economy of the mendicant orders in late medieval Hungary] (Academic thesis, 2014), 232, 237.

¹⁶² Tünde Wehli made a brief summary on the representations of the saints of the various religious orders in *Magyarországi művészet 1300-1470*, vol. 1, 209-210.

¹⁶³ I only give a selective list on the comprehensive works or exhibition catalogues here: *Magyarországi művészet 1300-1470 körül* [Art in Hungary around 1300-1470], ed Ernő Marosi, 2 vols. (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1987); *Sigismundus Rex et Imperator: Kunst und Kultur zur Zeit Sigismunds von Luxemburg 1387-1437: Ausstellungskatalog*, ed. Imre Takács (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, [2006]); *Matthias Corvinus, the King: Tradition and Renewal in the Hungarian Royal Court 1458-1490*, ed. Péter Farbaký *et al.* (Budapest: Budapest History Museum), 2008.

representations of the Franciscan saints were associated with the friars' presence, such as a church of the order, the presence and the activity of the friars in the region, or the close connection with the landlords of the settlement.¹⁶⁴

Émile Mâle has associated the birth of the new iconography of the fifteenth century in Italy and France with the Franciscan spirit.¹⁶⁵ As to Hungary, little has survived from the murals and the equipments of Franciscan and Dominican churches that would attest to the cult of their saints in medieval Hungary. Important exceptions to this are the Franciscan church of Keszthely and the Church of Our Lady in Csetnek (Štítňik). Despite the loss of medieval churches in the Kingdom of Hungary, a number of wall paintings survived since they were plastered up or whitewashed during the Reformation. In the past two decades, the uncovering and the restoration of the murals intensified and resulted in the discovery of previously unknown representations also of the saints of the mendicant orders, especially in Slovakia and in Transylvania. In addition to the well-known works of Hungarian art historians,¹⁶⁶ recently a number of works were published on hitherto unknown or little known wall paintings on which saints of the mendicant orders are represented.¹⁶⁷ Some wall paintings do not exist today but we know about their existence thanks

¹⁶⁴ Elga Lang, *Die mittelalterlichen Wandmalereien in Wien und Niederösterreich* (Vienna: Verl. d. Österr. Akad. d. Wiss., 1983), quoted in Lionnet, "Les peintures murales," 369.

¹⁶⁵ Émile Mâle, *Religious Art in France. The late Middle Ages: A Study of Medieval Iconography and its Sources* (Princeton: Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, c.1984).

¹⁶⁶ The classical work on the murals in medieval Hungary is Dénes Radocsay, *A középkori Magyarország falképei* [The murals of medieval Hungary] (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1954). On the Apafi church of Almakerék/Mălâncrav, see Viktor Roth, "Az almakeréki templom és műkincsei" [The church and the treasures of the church of Almakerék] in *Dolgozatok (Kolozsvár)* 3 (1912): 128-184. On the former Franciscan church of Keszthely: Mária Prokopp, "A keszthelyi plébániatemplom gótikus falképei," [The Gothic murals in the parish church of Keszthely] in *Építés-Építészettudomány* 12 (1980): 367-385; eadem, *Italian Trecento Influence on Murals in East-Central Europe, Particularly Hungary* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1983); eadem, *Keszthely, plébánia templom falképei* [The wall paintings of the parish church of Keszthely] Tájak – Korok – Múzeumok Kiskönyvtára. (Budapest: [n.p.] 1999).

¹⁶⁷ Ivan Gerát, *Stredoveké obrazové témy na Slovensku: osoby i príbehy* (Bratislava: VEDA, 2001); idem, *Legendary Scenes: An Essay on Medieval Pictorial Hagiography* (Bratislava: Publication House of the Slovak Academy of Sciences, 2013); Golgáltan, Anca. "Patronage and Artistic Production: The Apafis and the Church in Mălâncrav (Fourteenth-Fifteenth Centuries)". PhD Dissertation. Budapest: Central European University, 2003; Marie Lionnet, "Les peintures murales en Hongrie à la fin du Moyen Âge (v. 1300-v.1475.) La transmission des traditions iconographiques et les formes originales de leur appropriation locale sur deux thèmes majeurs: la Mère de Dieu et le Jugement dernier" PhD dissertation at Université Paris X – Nanterre – U. F. R. d'Histoire de l'art, 2004 (CD-ROM); Tekla Szabó, "A ferences lelkeség szerepe Erdély XIV. század első harmadának falképfestészetében" [Franciscan influence on the Fresco Painting in Transylvania in the first third of the fourteenth century] in *Nyolcszáz éves a ferences rend*, vol. 2, 783-799; Vladimír Plekanec and Tomáš Haviar, *Gotický Gemer a Malahont Italianizmy v stredovej nástennej mal'be – Gothic Gemer and Malahont: Italianizing in Medieval Wall Painting* (Martin: Vydavateľstvo Matice slovenskej, 2010). More recent works on the church of

to later descriptions, like in the case of the Dominican church and convent of Brassó (Brasov, Romania). Murals representing Dominican and Franciscan blessed from Hungary survive in male and female convents of the orders in Florence, Milan, Bern and Assisi will be also taken into account.

Whereas the majority of extant visual sources from the fourteenth are murals, in the fifteenth and the first third of the sixteenth century, the winged altarpieces are the primary carriers of the images of the saints of the mendicant orders.¹⁶⁸ Most of the extant fifteenth-century altars from Upper Hungary, while the sixteenth-century ones are mainly from Transylvania. The small-scale portable altars and the folding diptychs and triptychs made for private devotional purposes can be regarded as the antecedents of the winged wooden altarpieces. In the selection of the model image, the donor presumably had a significant role. The speciality of winged altarpieces is that the altar board can be opened and closed with the help of the wings, thus it was suitable that the themes be divided according to the liturgical year. Although no general rules are known, it can be known from some sources that the altars were closed in most part of the year, and the faithful could see its inner part only at the major feasts, thus it is important to take always into account where exactly the saints of the mendicant orders were placed on the altarpiece. The high altar stood in the sanctuary and almost always represented the patron saint or something alluding to the *titulus* of the church, so the scarcity of the churches dedicated to mendicant saints may account for the fact that only on rare occasions can they be found on the central panel, and even in these cases the size of their figures is considerably smaller than those of the “protagonist(s)”. The altars in the side chapels or in the side naves, next to the pillars, were usually erected by influential families and confraternities of a community. In parish and other bigger churches, like the chapter church of St Martin in Szepeshely (Spišská kapitula, Slovakia) where thirteen medieval winged altarpieces survive even today, one or more

Keszthely: Béla Zsolt Szakács, “Palatine Lackfi and His Saints: Frescos in the Franciscan Church of Keszthely,” in *Promoting the Saints*, 207-225; idem, “Three Patrons for a Single Church: the Franciscan Friary at Keszthely,” in *Le plaisir de l’art du Moyen Âge. Commande, production et réception de l’oeuvre d’art. Mélanges en hommage à Xavier Barral i Altet*, edited by Rosa Alcoy et al., (Paris: Picard, 2012), 193-200.

¹⁶⁸ Dénes Radocsay, *A középkori Magyarország táblaképei* [Panel paintings of medieval Hungary] (Budapest: Akadémiai kiadó, 1955); Gyöngyi Török, *Gótikus szárnyasoltárok a középkori Magyarországon. Állandó kiállítás a Magyar Nemzeti Galériában* [Gothic winged altarpieces in medieval Hungary. A permanent exhibition in the Hungarian National Gallery] (Budapest: Kossuth Kiadó, 2005); Emese Sarkadi Nagy, *Local Workshops – Foreign Connections: Later Medieval Altarpieces from Transylvania*, *Studia Jagellonica Lipsiensia* 9 (Ostfildern: Jan Thorbecke, 2011).

mendicant saint(s) can almost always be found on one of the wings. Consequently, if a mendicant saint in a parish church was depicted on the central panel of the main altar it definitely points to some kind of special veneration. The high altars could be commissioned by the church authorities, the town council and the burghers/inhabitants, as in Kassa, but also ecclesiastical or a lay persons could have a crucial role in the foundation, like in Szepeshely. Additionally, one portable altar survives from Upper Hungary with the image of an Observant Franciscan which could be used either publicly or privately. Similarly to the murals, also an altarpiece from Italy (Fiesole) depicting the Dominican Blessed Helen of Hungary will be considered.

Also a small and relatively rarely examined group of visual sources are the chasubles that together with murals and altarpieces were subjects of the gaze of the believers during religious ceremonies. They were frequently decorated with the figures of Christ, the Virgin, and various saints.¹⁶⁹ They could express personal or political ideas of the donor or could convey theological messages: such aspects can be examined on the so-called Matthias chasuble (c.1490).

The last group of the visual sources is not homogeneous; what links them together is that they were all made for the members of the royal house or for high ranking authorities of the church in Hungary. The luxury objects associated with the courtly elite on which the saints of the mendicant orders are portrayed are made up of objects of private devotion and books, which means that they were not seen by a greater public. The oldest piece is a refined object of contemplation, a diptych made for Andrew III (1290-1301), coming from the Franciscan double monastery of Königsfelden as donation of his second wife Agnes of Hungary.¹⁷⁰ In the middle

¹⁶⁹ Cf. Hildegard Dannenberg Baranyai, "A nyírbátori egykori ferences konvent középkori textiliái" [The medieval textiles of the former Franciscan convent in Nyírbátor], *A nyíregyházi Jósza András Múzeum évkönyve* 6-7 (63-64): 47-53.

¹⁷⁰ The diptych is today kept in the Historisches Museum of Bern. See Friedrich Schneider, "Der Hausaltar des Königs Andreas III. von Ungarn (1290-1301)," *Zeitschrift für christliche Kunst* 3 (1888): 90-93; Ernő Marosi "The diptych of King Andrew III (1290-1301)" in: *On the Stage of Europe*, ed. idem (Budapest: Balassi Kiadó), 54-57; Georg Germann and György J. Csihák, *Ungarisches im Bernischen Historischen Museum / A Berni Történelmi Múzeum magyar emlékei* (Bern: Ungarisch Historischer Verein Zürich, 1996); Susan Marti, "Königin Agnes und ihre Geschenke, Zeugnisse, Zuschreibungen und Legenden" *Kunst und Architektur in der Schweiz* 47 (1996): 169-180; Terézia Kerny, "A magyar szent királyok tisztelete és ikonográfiája XIV. század közepéig", 73-82 in: *Szent Imre 1000 éve. Székesfehérvár 1007-2007. Tanulmányok Szent Imre születésének 1000. évfordulója alkalmából*, ed. eadem (Székesfehérvár: Székesfehérvári Egyházmegyei Múzeum, 2007), 76-77.

of the right panel of the Venetian style double board the crucified Christ with Mary and John the Evangelist are depicted at the foot of the cross, while on the left there is a “Maiestas Domini”, and in the corners of the left panel one finds the symbols of the four Evangelists. The scenes of the life of Christ are surrounded by forty-four saints organized in different groups, including saints of the two great mendicant orders next to each other: Ss Dominic and Peter of Verona and Ss Francis of Assisi and Anthony of Padua. It has been argued by Ernő Marosi that this piece of art represents the amalgamation of the political aspirations of the young prince into the concept of the Christian universe.¹⁷¹ Several Franciscan saints can be found on the so-called the polyptych of Robert of Anjou, King of Sicily, commissioned in reality by his wife Sancia perhaps for Elizabeth Lokietek on the occasion of her visit to Italy in 1343.¹⁷²

Luxury books are pertinent to the topic of the thesis as visual sources.¹⁷³ While only a single image of the Franciscan dynastic saint, Louis of Toulouse can be found in the already mentioned *Hungarian Illuminated Chronicle*, much more abundant in mendicant saints is the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary*, a collection of pictorial hagiographic cycles of which today 58 legends are known.¹⁷⁴ The commission of the legendary, produced in Bologna (or perhaps Bolognese masters in Hungary) in the 1330s, is associated with the Hungarian court.¹⁷⁵ The images and the accompanying Latin captions are mainly based on the *Legenda aurea* but the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* is organized hierarchically, starting with Christ and the Virgin Mary and ending with the holy women and virgins.¹⁷⁶ The aim of the redactor was to put together a representative collection of saints venerated by the Church and saints from certain regions where they were particularly revered (Italy, France, and Central Europe, primarily

¹⁷¹ Marosi “The diptych of King Andrew III (1290-1301),” 57.

¹⁷² That the polyptych could have been made for Queen Elizabeth was only a hypothesis on the part of Vinni Lucherini who has shown that the commissioner of the work was not Robert but Sancia; see “Il polittico portatile detto di Roberto d’Angiò nella Moravská galerie di Brno: questioni di araldica, committenza e iconografia” *Hortus artium medievalium* 20 (2014): 772-782.

¹⁷³ Tünde Wehli, “Bemerkungen zur Buchmalerei des 14. Jahrhunderts in Ungarn,” *Alba Regia* 22 (1982/3): 29-32.

¹⁷⁴ *Magyar Anjou Legendárium* [Hungarian Angevin Legendary], ed. Ferenc Levárdy (Budapest: Magyar Helikon-Corvina, 1973, 1975²).

¹⁷⁵ Szakács, “Saint Francis,” 52; idem, *The Visual World of the Hungarian Angevin Legendary* (Budapest: CEU Press, 2016), 256-257. For further considerations on the artists’s connection to Bologna, see Tünde Wehli, “Megjegyzések a Magyar Anjou Legendárium stílusának kérdéséhez” [Additions to the question of style of the Hungarian Angevin Legendary], *Ars Hungarica* 19 (1991): 141-148.

¹⁷⁶ Some categories, of course, overlap, and in this case, it is the “rank” that matters: for instance, Peter of Verona is presented among the martyrs, and not among the Dominican saints, see Szakács, *A Magyar Anjou Legendárium*, 51.

Hungary) and could be connected to the Angevin dynasty.¹⁷⁷ The selection of the saints was not independent from the fact whether a certain saint had a significant cult or whether some of his or her relics were preserved in the country. The legends of Ss. Dominic, Peter of Verona are narrated on the basis of their legend in the *Legenda aurea*,¹⁷⁸ for those of Francis of Assisi and Louis of Toulouse the redactor chose or had to use different sources.¹⁷⁹ The length of the cycles of Ss. Francis, Louis of Toulouse and Dominic suggests that they were of Angevin interest, while that of Peter Martyr, who had an eminent position in the *Legenda aurea* suggests that his cult was not so widespread in Hungary.¹⁸⁰ These series of pictorial hagiography in addition to be the testimonies of those scenes of the lives of these saints that were considered emblematic (or were popular in their iconography) around the mid-fourteenth century by a redactor associated with Bologna, and reveal characteristics that show that it was intended for a user in Hungary.

In the missal commissioned by Matthias Corvinus as a gift for a Franciscan in Hungary an image on the stigmatization of St Francis can be found.¹⁸¹ Taking into account also the other images it seems that the receiver of the gift belonged to the Observants. The breviary of Domokos Kálmáncsehi, provost of Székesfehérvár, containing images of St Dominic and other saints of the order -probably also on the account of the name of the user- was made in the illuminator workshop of Matthias Corvinus in Buda.¹⁸²

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Finally, some words on the use of the geographic and personal names. I have decided to use the Hungarian form of the settlements but I always indicate the present-day name and the country in where they can be found at their first occurrence in the dissertation. Since in medieval sources the names of the settlements could appear often three or even four different forms I

¹⁷⁷ Szakács, *The Visual World*, 44-45.

¹⁷⁸ The analysis of Szakács shows that the redactor of the *Angevin Legendary* did not follow closely the *Legenda aurea*; sometimes he dismissed its special emphases, like in the case of the Dominican saints, and in other cases he adjusted the length of the legends of those saints who belonged to the same category. See Szakács, *A Magyar Anjou Legendárium*, 60-61.

¹⁷⁹ Szakács discussed the cycle of St Francis and its narrative sources exhaustively in his "Saint Francis of Assisi in the Hungarian Angevin Legendary" *Iconographica* 12 (2013): 52-68.

¹⁸⁰ Szakács, *A Magyar Anjou Legendárium*, 59.

¹⁸¹ Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Rossiana, Cod. lat. 1164.

¹⁸² Budapest, OSzK, Clmae 446.

provide a list of concordance in the Appendix. I have tried to avoid the Anglicization of personal names, exceptions to these are the figures whose names are generally referred to in scholarship in their English forms, like Thomas of Cantimpré, Gerard of Frachet, James of Varazze, John of Capestrano, Bernardino of Siena, James of the Marches and some others. I preserved the Latin versions of the names of the two Hungarian Observant Franciscans, Pelbárt of Temesvár (Pelbartus de Themeswar) and Laskai Osvát (Osvaldus de Lasko) for practical reasons, in order to be able to refer to them simply as “Pelbartus” or “Osvaldus” which is not possible in the Hungarian forms. The English translations of the Latin and Hungarian texts, unless otherwise indicated, are mine.

II. The First Saints of the Order of Preachers

The Dominicans had strong connections with the country, especially in the thirteenth century due mainly but not solely to one of Dominic's major goals, taken along by all the friars of the order, the mission to the Cumans. This chapter is about the veneration and the saintly image of the first two saints of the Order of Preachers, St Dominic the founder and St Peter of Verona the second officially canonized saint of Dominicans, the first "modern" martyr that belonged to a mendicant order in Hungary. The introduction of the veneration of the two saints show clear similarities, which motivates their treatment together. It started in a promising way: pieces of relics of both saints were brought to Hungary before 1260, churches and altars were dedicated to them, their feasts were generally observed and several sermons were composed for these occasions by their Dominican fellows.

The sources I discuss include Latin sermons, hagiographic literature composed in the vernacular, and manuscript illuminations and a high altar from Transylvania. Besides, I also deal with the miracles attributed to the intercession of the two saints collected from the Hungarian province that are exceptional testimonies of their local cults. In general, medieval Hungarian sources provide little information about the devotion of the laity to the saints, but in the cases of the two Dominican saints, they shed some light on the religious practices concerning relics as well as about the efforts of the lay people and the friars preachers to spread the fame of the saint's healing power, especially in the case of St Dominic. Following a brief summary of the early hagiography and the Dominican legislations concerning the various ways of the observation of their feasts, I start with the presentation of the places of their local cults formulated around their relics in Hungary and the analysis of their miracles, and I proceed with other types of remnants of their veneration in Hungary. The greatest part of the chapter consists of the analysis of sermon and hagiographic literature produced in Hungary about the founder and martyr. In the last section I take a look at the private and public works of art on which they can be found, and I make an attempt to relate them to the literary works. In the *Excursus* at II.2.3 I clarify a philological problem that shows what misunderstanding it can create in the location of a piece of Dominic's relics.

II.1. The legends and the miracles of St Dominic and St Peter of Verona

II.1.1 Canonization and hagiography

The death of Dominic in Bologna 1221 was not immediately followed either by a popular cult or the initiation of a canonization process, as it usually happened in the case of those who died in the fame of sanctity. After some years the friars' disinterest in the propagation of the cult of the founder, Pope Gregory IX ordered the translation of Dominic's body that took place with the major contribution of the city authorities and in the presence of illustrious prelates and friars between 23-24 May 1233 in Bologna.¹⁸³ The exhumed remains evaporated pleasant fragrance and before long the pope officially appointed three clerics to investigate the life and the miracles of Dominic.¹⁸⁴ The successful investigations in Bologna and Toulouse resulted in his canonization on 3rd July in 1234, with Gregory's bull *Fons sapientiae*. Dominic's feast was celebrated on 4th August, and the feast of his translation on 24th May.¹⁸⁵

Peter of Verona, as a result of his anti-heretic activity in Northern Italy, was killed with his fellow by an assassin hired by a group of Milanese Cathars on their way from Como to Milan following the Easter of 1252. His corpse was laid in state in the Dominican church of St Eustorgio, then (dividing his head from his body) he was buried in a marble sarcophagus.¹⁸⁶ His tomb was visited by huge crowds in the hope of regaining health, and a high number of miracles attributed to Peter's intercession were recorded in the following months. The canonization of the Dominican martyr was the quickest in the history of papacy until that time: he died on 6th April in 1252 and on the first Sunday of Lent (9th March) in 1253 his name was ascribed to the book of saints by Pope Innocent IV with the bull *Magnis et Crebis*.¹⁸⁷ The reasons of this rapid canonization can be ascribed to the active contribution of the Order of Preachers and the pope. As Donald Prudlo argued, for the Dominicans, Peter's canonization meant the glorification of their order; whereas for Innocent IV, who financed the initial phase of the creation and the

¹⁸³ Augustine Thompson, *Revival Preachers and Politics in Thirteenth-Century Italy: The Great Devotion of 1233* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), 59.

¹⁸⁴ *Monumenta ordinis fratrum Praedicatorum Historica* [henceforward MOPH] vol. 16, 117.

¹⁸⁵ Since the introduction of the General Roman Calendar in 1970 Dominic's feast is celebrated on 8th August.

¹⁸⁶ Venturino Alce, "La tomba di s. Pietro martire e la cappella Portinari in s. Eustorgio a Milano", *Memorie Domenicane* 69 (1952): 3-34, at 7.

¹⁸⁷ "Magnis et Crebis," Innocent IV, 25th March 1253, edited in *Bullarium Ordinis Praedicatorum*, vol. 1, ed. Thomas Ripoll (Rome: Ex Typographia Hieronymi Mainardi, 1759), 228-230.

solidification of the saint's cult, Peter was the defender of orthodox faith and thus, the support of his cult signified the strengthening the institution of papacy.¹⁸⁸

The first *vita* of Dominic was written by Jordan of Saxony, the first master general of the Order of Preachers in his *Libellus de principiis ordinis fratrum praedicatorum*, a little book at the request of the friars on the origins of the order that remained the ultimate source of all the later compilations.¹⁸⁹ A few years later a Spanish brother, Peter of Ferrand rewrote the *vita* to be suitable for reading during meals and on Dominic's feast day¹⁹⁰ Peter omitted the loosely connected episodes from the *vita* and shaped it in the traditional hagiographic style. One of his noteworthy additions was the last testament of Dominic, according to which the saint warned his brothers on his deathbed to "have charity, keep humility, possess voluntary poverty".¹⁹¹ At the request of Master General John of Wildeshausen in 1245, Peter of Ferrand's legend was adapted by Constantine of Orvieto in 1246-1247 to which further stories, mostly miracles, were added.¹⁹² A noteworthy characteristic of Constantine's legend is the strengthening of the healing aspect of Dominic's sanctity, which was taken on also by the *Vitae fratrum* and other *exempla* of hagiographic character.¹⁹³ Jordan of Saxony's *vita* of St. Dominic was re-written for the third time by the fifth master general of the order, Humbert of Romans (1254-1263) and it

¹⁸⁸ Donald Prudlo, *The Martyred Inquisitor: The Life and Cult of Peter of Verona (+ 1252)* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), 85-87.

¹⁸⁹ Jordan of Saxony, *Libellus de principiis ordinis Praedicatorum*, ed. Marie-Hyacinthe Laurent, *Monumenta historica patris nostri Dominici*, vol. 2, MOPH 16 (Rome, 1935), 25-88. On the problem of dating the *Libellus*, see Luigi Canetti, "La datazione del *Libellus* di Giordano di Sassonia," in *L'origine dell'Ordine dei Predicatori e l'Università di Bologna*, ed. Giovanni Bertuzzi (Bologna: PDUL Edizioni Studio Domenicano, 2006), 176-193. For a brief but informative overview of the thirteenth-century *vitae* of St. Dominic and the evolution of the Dominican hagiography, see John Van Engen, "Dominic and the Brothers: *Vitae* as Life-forming *exempla* in the Order of Preachers" in *Christ among the Medieval Dominicans: Representations of Christ in the Texts and Images of the Order of Preachers*, ed. Kent Emery, Jr. and Joseph Wawrykow (Notre Dame: Notre Dame University Press, 1993), 7-25. For a detailed treatment of the evolution of the saintly image of Dominic in the thirteenth century, see Luigi Canetti, *L'invenzione della memoria. Il culto e l'immagine di Domenico nella storia dei primi frati Predicatori* (Spoleto: Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo, 1996).

¹⁹⁰ Peter of Ferrand, *Legenda Sancti Dominici*, ed. Marie-Hyacinthe Laurent, *Monumenta historica patris nostri Dominici*, vol. 2, MOPH 16 (Rome, 1935), 209-260.

¹⁹¹ Peter of Ferrand, *Legenda Sancti Dominici*, 248-249: "Caritatem habete, humilitatem servite, paupertatem voluntariam possidete."

¹⁹² Constantine of Orvieto, *Legenda Sancti Dominici*, ed. Heribert Christian Scheeben, *Monumenta historica patris nostri Dominici*, vol. 2, MOPH 16 (Rome, 1935), 263-352. On the formation of Constantine's legend, see Canetti, *L'invenzione della memoria*, 402-416.

¹⁹³ Canetti, *L'invenzione della memoria*, 410. On the *Vitae fratrum*, see footnote 123.

was declared to be the official version in 1260¹⁹⁴ and was inserted in the prototype of the Dominican liturgy organized by Humbert himself.¹⁹⁵ Humbert wrote the *vita* of St. Dominic in two versions: the *Legenda prima* for the Dominican lectionary of 1246, and the *Legenda maior* for the lectionary of 1256. The main source of both works was Peter of Ferrand, but for the *Legenda maior* Humbert used extensively also the legend of Constatine of Orvieto.¹⁹⁶ In this account, the role of Dominic as the founder of the order is strongly emphasized. All the legends written prior to the definite one by Humbert of Romans went to oblivion and survived in very few manuscripts.¹⁹⁷

The next important work in Dominican hagiography is the *Vitae fratrum ordinis Praedicatorum* (or *Vitas fratrum* as Simon Tugwell refers to it) of Gerard of Frachet, which should be presented in a more detailed way, on the one hand because it is a seminal source for the early history of the Dominican province of Hungary and, on the other hand, because it was one of the most important sources of the *Domonkos Codex* written in the Hungarian vernacular in the early sixteenth century. The *Vitae fratrum* has quite a complex evolution: the enterprise of writing a *cronica ordinis* started before 1250 but Gerard was entrusted with the redaction of the collection only in 1256. He rewrote it at least three times and enriched it with a high number of new stories and he would pass all the new versions to Humbert of Romans, the master general at that time, who made a radical revision of the text. A non-definite version of the work was presented at the general chapter of Strasbourg in 1260 that represents the “vulgate tradition”, but since it continued to be updated with new accounts, a definitive text of the *Vitae fratrum* does not exist.¹⁹⁸ It seems to be a work that was available in a great number of Dominican

¹⁹⁴ Humbert of Romans, *Legenda Sancti Dominici*, ed. Angelus Waltz, *Monumenta historica patris nostri Dominici*, vol. 2, MOPH 16 (Rome, 1935), 355-433. The lives of St. Dominic and some related texts were edited also by Tugwell: *Humberti de Romanis. Legendae Sancti Dominici*, MOPH 30 (Rome: Istituto Storico Domenicano, 2008).

¹⁹⁵ MS Rome, Santa Sabina, General Archive XIV L I.

¹⁹⁶ *Humberti de Romanis. Legendae Sancti Dominici*, ed. Tugwell, 73-103. Although the decision at the general chapter of 1260 according to which only this version should be used aimed at the stabilization of the image of the founding father, in fact did not hinder the production of new *vitae*, similarly to what happened in the case of St Francis and Bonaventure’s official legend from 1266 onwards.

¹⁹⁷ Van Engen, “Dominic and the Brothers,” 13.

¹⁹⁸ On the date of composition and the evolution of the work, see Simon Tugwell, ed., *Miracula sancti Dominici mandato magistri Berengarii collecta; Petri Calo legendae sancti Dominici*, MOPH 26 (Rome: Institutum Historicum Fratrum Praedicatorum, 1997), 33-39; the manuscripts attest that the title of the work was *Vitas Fratrum* and its author was called Geraldus, i.e. Gerald, not Gerard; see *ibid.*, 29, n. 23.

houses based on the more than 50 surviving manuscripts.¹⁹⁹ The aim of the author was, according to his prologue to the work, to collect the fragments worthy of remembering of the things occurred within the order or related to it in order not to be forgotten or disregarded.²⁰⁰ As Van Engen pointed out, the most noteworthy characteristic of the *Vitae fratrum* was its multiplicity of stories: the preacher brothers were not formed by a life of one but by many, or to borrow the expression of Canetti, it was a “biografia di gruppo”.²⁰¹ The *Vitae fratrum* is undoubtedly related to the highly popular early medieval *Vitas patrum* but it is still debated to what extent the latter was modelled on the former.²⁰² Nevertheless, Humbert of Romans decided that the work should be used only within the order, and it was not to be communicated by anyone outside the order without special permission.²⁰³ A copy of the *Vitae fratrum* made in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries was surely possessed by the Dominicans of Kassa (Košice, Slovakia), originating from the convent of St. Lawrence in Klattau (Klatovy, Czech Republic).²⁰⁴ The other famous example of Dominican collective hagiography is the *De quatuor in quibus Deus Praedicatorum ordinem insignivit*, started by Stephen of Salanhac and completed by Bernard Gui (1304).²⁰⁵ While Stephen’s aim was to praise the memory of Dominic and his sons and accentuate the supernatural character of the Order, Gui focussed

See also Tugwell, “L’évolution des *vitae fratrum*. Résumé des conclusions provisoires” in *Cahiers de Fanjeaux* 36 (2001), 415-418.

¹⁹⁹ Thomas Kaeppli, *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum Medii Aevi*, vol. 2 (Rome: Polyglottis Vaticanis, 1970), 35-37 [no. 1282].

²⁰⁰ In Book I, Gerard treats all the divine signs that hint toward the foundation of an order of preachers. In the next, he presents Dominic as the saintly exemplar of the Order and in a more Christ-like manner than his predecessors, highlighting the miraculous and healing aspects of his sanctity both in his life and after his death. Book III is dedicated to Jordan of Saxony, the successor of Dominic, who was a rather efficient master general who played a crucial role in shaping the order in its first 15 years and was an emblematic preacher. In Book IV the author shows the virtues especially through the various experiences of the novices: the reasons why they joined the order, the difficulties and the temptations they had to overcome, and the divine reward they later received. In Book V, Gerard reports the stories of the friars whose good end in heaven is assured.

²⁰¹ Van Engen, “Dominic and the Brothers,” 16; Canetti, *L’invenzione della memoria*, 454.

²⁰² Alain Boureau, “‘Vitae fratrum’, ‘Vitae patrum’. L’ordre Dominicain et le modèle des pères du désert au XIII^e siècle,” *Mélanges de l’École française de Rome. Moyen Âge, temps Modernes* XCIX/1 (1987), 79-100; Canetti, *L’invenzione della memoria*, 455-463.

²⁰³ MOPH 1, 4-5.

²⁰⁴ Budapest, OSzK, Cod. Lat. 45. The content of the codex was described by Lajos Katona, “Az Ehrenfeld- és Domonkos-codex forrásai” [The sources of the Ehrenfeld and Dominic Codices] in *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények* 13 (1903): 59-78, on 76-78. A precise description of the codex can be found in Emma Bartoniek, *Codices manuscripti latini I: Codices latini medii aevi* (Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, 1940), 42, no. 45. Although Reichert knew about this codex, he did not use it for his edition; cf. Gerardus de Fracheto, *Vitae fratrum Praedicatorum*, ed. Reichert, *Introductio*, XIX.

²⁰⁵ Stephani de Salaniaci et Bernardi Guidonis, *De quatuor in quibus Deus Praedicatorum Ordinem insignivit*, ed. Thomas Kaeppli, MOPH 22 (Rome: Istituto storico domenicano di Santa Sabina, 1949).

more on the historical aspect. He paid attention to names and chronological data to such an extent that it can be regarded as the earliest Dominican representative of the *De viris illustribus*, a genre which became quite popular in the fifteenth century.

The legend of St Dominic was included also in the great Dominican collections of *legendae novae*. The earliest of them was the work of a French Dominican Jean de Mailly who composed the first version of his *Abbreviatio in gestis et miraculis sanctorum* in the late 1220s.²⁰⁶ The Italian Dominican Bartholomew of Trent retold the life of Dominic in his *Liber epilogorum in gesta sanctorum* that survives in two versions (1244, 1246), to which he included his own personal records, most importantly on the translation and the miracles that occurred at his tomb.²⁰⁷ A short life of Dominic along with other contemporary saints such as Ss. Dominic, Francis, Elizabeth of Hungary, Anthony of Padua, as well as Mary of Oignies and other holy beguines, were included in Book XXX of the *Speculum historiale* composed between 1244 and 1254 by the French Vincent of Beauvais, which was a part of a great four-partite encyclopaedic work, the *Speculum maius*.²⁰⁸ The lives of St. Dominic and Peter of Verona were included in the most popular collections of the *legendae novae*, the *Legenda aurea* composed by James of Varazze (Jacobus de Voragine), Archbishop of Genova in the 1260s²⁰⁹ that he kept on revising until his death in 1298.²¹⁰ For the *vita* of Dominic, James of Varazze relied on the *Libellus*, Constantine of Orvieto's *Legenda sancti Dominici* and the *Vitae fratrum*, whereas for that of

²⁰⁶ Jean de Mailly's *Abbreviatio in gestis et miraculis sanctorum [et] Supplementum hagiographicum*, ed. Giovanni Paolo Maggioni (Florence: SISMEL-Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2013), 288-294.

²⁰⁷ Bartholomew of Trent, *Liber epilogorum in gesta sanctorum* ed. Emore Paoli (Florence: SISMEL-Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2001), 209-216; Dominic's translation is at 128. For the dating and the context of the work, see Paoli's introduction to the critical edition and Alain Boureau, "Barthélemy de Trente et l'invention de la 'Legenda nova'," in *Raccolte di vite di santi dal XIII al XVIII secolo. Strutture, messaggi, fruizione*, ed. Sofia Boesch Gajano (Fasano da Brindisi: Schena, 1990), 23-39. On Bartolomeo's own memories about the miracles at his tomb, see also Canetti, *L'invenzione della memoria*, 36-50.

²⁰⁸ It is rather different from the other collections of the abridged saints' lives since the quarter of the altogether 3600 chapters of this massive world history belongs to the genre of hagiography was made for preaching aid for the compilers of sermons. It was published in the seventeenth century: Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum majus: Bibliotheca Mundi Vicentii Burgundi...Speculum quadruplex, Naturale, Doctrinale, Morale, Historiale*, 4 vols, Douai, 1624; reprint Graz, 1965, vol.4, Book XXX, chapter 116-118.

²⁰⁹ The *vita* of St. Dominic is in *Legenda aurea*, ed. Maggioni, vol.2, 718-744; that of Peter is in vol. 1, 421-438.

²¹⁰ For the context and manuscript tradition of the work, see Giovanni Paolo Maggioni, *Ricerche sulla composizione e sulla trasmissione della Legenda aurea* (Spoleto: Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo, 1995); For the modern saints included in the *Legenda aurea*, see André Vauchez, "Jacques de Voragine et les saints du XIII^e siècle dans la Légende Dorée", in *Legenda aurea. Sept siècles de diffusion*, ed. Brenda Dunn-Lardau (Montréal-Paris, 1986), 27-56. The legend of St. Dominic was also analysed by Sherry L. Reames, *The Legenda Aurea: A Reexamination of Its Paradoxical History* (Madison: Wisconsin University Press, 1985), 164-196.

Peter he used the canonization bull, the *Vitae fratrum* and the martyr's *vita* written by Tommaso d'Agni da Lentino between ca. 1255-1270, which became the official legend of the saint from 1276 onwards in the Dominican convents. The *vitae* of the two saints in the *Legenda aurea* had considerable impact on the episodes and themes in hagiographic and sermon literature in the following centuries. In James of Varazze's presentation, the special role of Dominic in pastoral care manifested to his mother already before his birth; he was active in the fights against the heretics in southern France, he was an acclaimed theologian, had a high number of followers especially among the students of Paris and Bologna, and was especially attached to the Virgin, who became the special patron of the whole Order of Preachers. Peter of Verona, as James of Varazze recounts, spent his nights with studying on keeping vigils, while during the daytime he was engaged in hearing confessions and he showed particular talent in refuting the heretic tenets widespread above all in Northern Italy; his sanctity is manifested already in his lifetime through the high number of miracles; he was a confessor, a martyr, a prophet and a doctor at the same time whose martyrdom can be compared to that of Christ. The last and belated "representative" of the authors of the Dominican *legendae novae* is Dietrich of Apolda who wrote a new *vita* of St. Dominic between 1296 and 1298.²¹¹

One more work containing expansive accounts on the lives of St. Dominic and of Peter of Verona should be presented here although it does not belong to the early hagiographic works, the *Chronicon sive summa historialis* written around 1440 by Antonino Pierozzi (Antoninus Florentinus), a great propagator of the reform in the Order and Archbishop of Florence since 1445. His *Chronicon*, a world chronicle in three parts and twenty-four books going up to 1457, was written as a kind of supplement to the first work providing the biographies of morally outstanding men and women in the six ages of the world.²¹² The *editio princeps* of the *Chronicon* came out in three volumes in Venice in 1484 and there were two printed editions before 1500. In addition to the *Vitae fratrum*, the legend of St. Dominic of the *Chronicon* was the other main source of the already mentioned *Dominikos Codex* written in Hungarian.²¹³ The

²¹¹ Edited in AASS, Augusti, Tom.1., 1733, 562-632.

²¹² On the life and works of Antoninus, see http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/antonino-da-firenze_%28II_Contributo_italiano_alla_storia_del_Pensiero:_Economia%29/

²¹³ Antoninus Florentinus, O.P., *Chronicon* (Norimberg: Anton Koberger, 1484), tit. 23, cap. 4 par. 13.

principal sources of Antonino's legend of St Dominic are Humbert of Romans, Constantine of Orvieto, Gerard of Frachet and Dietrich of Apolda.²¹⁴

II.1.2 Legislation about the preservation of the memory of the saints of the order

As also John Van Engen pointed out, the historical parallels between the two great mendicant orders were not accidental: as the early Franciscans borrowed from the constitutions of the Order of Preachers, the latter, taking example from the Brothers Minor in the propagation of the cult of the Poverello, introduced various prescriptions on institutional level to foster the veneration of Dominic as the founder and patron of the Order of Preachers in the 1230s and the 1240s.²¹⁵ The general chapter of 1239 decreed that a mass should be celebrated for his honour at least once a week, on feast days also nine readings and antiphons should be added at vespers, lauds and second vespers, and on ordinary weekdays antiphons for Dominic should be said at vespers and matins.²¹⁶ Furthermore, from 1245 onwards, Humbert of Romans was keen on the regularization of the liturgical life of the order following mainly the Cistercian model. In addition, the general chapter of 1250 urged the priors and the brothers to dedicate churches to St. Dominic.²¹⁷ In the chapter held at Buda in 1254 in which Humbert was elected master general, a whole set of prescriptions were issued, such as the addition of Dominic's name to the friars' vow of profession; the inclusion of his and Peter of Verona's names in the calendars and litanies; their visual representation in churches and their feasts observed; and the permission of a procession on the feast of St. Dominic.²¹⁸ In the following year at the general chapter of Milan, Humbert ordered the collection of miracles attributed to the intercession of Ss. Dominic and Peter of Verona that have not yet been written down and asked to notify the priors of Bologna or Milan, respectively. Furthermore, anyone knowing of trustworthy accounts on miracles, visions or edifying records occurred either in the order or related to it, should write to the master general about it in order to be recorded in written form for the benefit of posterity.²¹⁹

²¹⁴Lajos Katona, "Újabb adalékok codexeink forrásaihoz" [New additions to the sources of the Hungarian codices] *Irodalomtudományi Közlemények* 16 (1906), 105-120, at 110-114.

²¹⁵Van Engen, "Dominic and the Brothers", 10-11; see also Canetti, *L'invenzione della memoria*, 339-401.

²¹⁶MOPH 3, 11.

²¹⁷MOPH 3, 53.

²¹⁸MOPH 3, 70-71

²¹⁹MOPH 3, 70-71.

The call was repeated at the next general chapter at Paris (1256).²²⁰ The collection of the miracles of the two saints were decreed again in the general chapters of Trier in 1289,²²¹ and in London in 1314 during the generalate of Berengar of Landorra. In the general chapter of 1264 the remembrance of Peter was decreed on all days of the octave after his feast,²²² and the feast of his *translatio* was added to the Dominican calendar in 1348 as a *totum duplex* to be celebrated on the Friday after the octave of Corpus Christi.²²³

II.1.3 Dominican relic politics

Relics are cultic objects in a twofold sense: the memory of an important human being of supernatural power, and, at the same time, the bearer of his/her presence after death.²²⁴ The Order of Preachers soon recognized the momentousness of relics in the introduction, the dissemination and the solidification of the cults of their saints, also through having an official record of the miracles attributed to them. During the solemn *translatio* of St Dominic on 24th May 1233, the believers had the opportunity to touch his relics, and there were even people who took with themselves *de pulveribus beati Dominici*.²²⁵ It is quite likely the numerous miraculous healings occurred in the proximity of the relics of the founder that were placed in Liège,²²⁶ in *Similu* in Hungary which I will discuss later in detail or in Rouen in the second third of the thirteenth century.²²⁷ Despite the prohibition of General Master Francesco d'Ascoli, further pieces of relics were taken at the second translation of St Dominic in 1267.²²⁸ There were at

²²⁰ MOPH 3, 81.

²²¹ MOPH 3, 252.

²²² MOPH 3, 124.

²²³ MOPH 4, 321. The translation feast of St Peter of Verona was changed later to 7th May. The feasts of translation of the two saints remained *totum duplex* until the general chapter of Salamanca in 1551 when the assembled dropped seven feasts of this rank in order to restore the Sundays in its rightful place; Bonniwell, *A History of the Dominican Liturgy 1215-1945*, 237-238.

²²⁴ Ernő Marosi Ernő, "Ereklyék" [Relics], in: *Történelem – Kép. Szemelvények a múlt és művészet kapcsolatából Magyarországon. Kiállítás a Magyar Nemzeti Galériában, 2000. március 17 – szeptember 24.* ed. Árpád Mikó and Katalin Sinkó (Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Galéria, 2000), 139.

²²⁵ Gerardus de Fracheto, *Vitae fratrum*, 96-97.

²²⁶ Gerardus de Fracheto, *Vitae fratrum*, 96.

²²⁷ Vincent, "Le pèlerinage," 151-174.

²²⁸ D'Amato *et al.*, *Le reliquie di S. Domenico. Storia e leggenda, ricerche scientifiche, ricostruzione fisica.* (Bologna: Tipografia Parma, 1946), 52.

least nine pieces of relics of the founder that were taken to different parts of Europe, mostly to France.²²⁹

The first phase of the dissemination of the veneration of Peter of Verona throughout Europe was similarly successful, as it is attested by the miracle accounts from Italy, Provence, Ireland, France, Flanders, Germany, Aragon, Castile and Bohemia.²³⁰ Even a pilgrim from Hungary, a certain Henry from the town of *Pesser* visited his tomb.²³¹ A great number of these miracles occurred either in the proximity of his tomb in the Sant’Eusturgio in Milan or in the Dominican churches of Como, Verona, Cesena, Piacenza, Paris, Prague and somewhere in the Province of Ireland, presumably in Lorrha²³² where Peter’s relics were preserved. This shows that the same relic strategy was applied with the martyr as with St Dominic.

II.2. The relics of St Dominic and St Peter of Verona in Hungary

Since twenty miracles occurred in the proximity of a piece of relic of St Dominic in the friary of a place called *Similu* (or other similar variants) were included in the saint’s legend by Constantine of Orvieto in 1256/7, it means that the relic was brought to Hungary already before the second translation of the saint in 1267,²³³ presumably after the first one of 1233. The location of the friary was debated for a long time²³⁴ until György Györffy identified it with Somlyó in Krassó county, called later Érdsonlyó (Vršac, Serbia).²³⁵ Since Somlyó was the

²²⁹ D’Amato *et al.*, *Le reliquie*, 86-87.

²³⁰ Prudlo, *The Martyred Inquisitor*, 148.

²³¹ AASS April III, [29th April], 712. According to the editors of the AASS, it is *Pessium*, Pesser in the vernacular, near Tibiscum (Karánsebes, Caraş-Severin County, Romania); according to Antonio Flaminio, it is Pressburg/Pozsony (Bratislava, Slovakia). There is another possibility: a place called Pesser is mentioned in a charter of 1411; it was in northern Hungary (present-day Slovakia), not far from Garamszentbenedek and Verőce. See Elemér Mályusz and Iván Borsa, *Zsigmondkori Oklevéltár III. (1411-1412)*, 370, no. 1456.

²³² Prudlo, *The Martyred Inquisitor*, 159, footnote 103 and 161 footnote 112.

²³³ Although there is no information on the number of friars living at Somlyó, it can be assumed that by the beginning of the fourteenth century it has become a convent (housing at least twelve friars) since their head was a prior. The head of the smaller house (*locus*) was the vicar.

²³⁴ Sigismundus Ferrarius, *De Rebus Hungaricae Ordinis Praedicatorum* (Vienna: 1637), 74; Mária Irén Rössler, *Magyar domonkosrendi példák és legendák* [Exempla and legends of the Dominican Order in Hungary] (Kassa: 1927), especially at 27-45; Harsányi, *A domonkos rend*, 84.

²³⁵ György Györffy, *Az Árpád-kori Magyarország történeti földrajza*, vol. 3, 493-494. On the identification of Somlyó and on the corrupted textual variants of the placename, see also Tugwell, ed., *Miracula sancti Dominici*, 103-105 and Attila Györkös, “Magyar vonatkozású domonkos rendi történetek a XIII. században” [Dominican histories of Hungarian relevance from the 13th century] in *A Domonkos Rend Magyarországon*, ed. Pál Attila Illés and Balázs Zágórhidi Czigány (Piliscsaba: ELTE BTK; Budapest: METEM; Vasvár: DRGY, 2007) (Művelődéstörténeti Műhely; Rendtörténeti konferenciák), 49-60, at 50-52; idem, “The Saint and His Finger:

estate of the archbishop of Kalocsa until 1227 and then became a royal one, the convent was probably a royal foundation.²³⁶ It survived the Mongolian invasion, from the and it still existed surely until the early fourteenth century but not mentioned in later sources. In the mid-thirteenth century, Somlyó was a reeve centre (*ispánsági központ*). The reason why this location was chosen presumably by Béla IV and Dominican Provincial to house the relic of St Dominic was to strengthen the presence of the friars' who were settled down in the South-western region of the realm to fight against the Bogumil tenets and the "schismatics". That it was a finger relic which was kept here can be known from two miracles about which Nicholas of Castro Ferreum, the diffinitor of the Hungarian Dominican and the former prior of Somlyó gave an account in the general chapter of 1315 and have come down to us in the so-called Bérengarian miracle collection. The first wave of the miracles from Somlyó had already triggered the attention of Mária Irén Rössler who, based on the slightly rewritten miracles by Sigismundus Ferrarius, analyzed them from a literary point of view. Attila Györkös in 2007 and in 2016 traced back the common origin of the miracles that took place at Somlyó and their transmission in thirteenth century Dominican hagiography, and related them to the activity of John of Wildeshausen.²³⁷

The miracles attributed to the intercession of Peter or Verona in the Dominican friary of *Porroch* in Hungary are mentioned for the first (and the last) time in 1259. They are reported by the Dominican Svipertus in his *relatio* about the friars's mission in the Hungarian Dominican Province in appendix of Gerardus de Fracheto's *Vitae fratrum* edited by Benedict M. Reichert in 1896.²³⁸ Although supposedly it was planned to be part of the *Vitae fratrum*, it can be found only in 11 manuscripts of the work.²³⁹ The identification of *Porroch* is doubtful but in all

Dominican Legends and Exempla from Thirteenth-Century Hungary" *Hungarian Historical Review* 5 (2016):536-556, at 546-547.

²³⁶ Romhányi, *Kolostorok*, 23-24.

²³⁷ See footnote 235. In his 2007 study Györkös made several valuable contributions in but some of his results had to be reconsidered in the light of the recent editions of the early Dominican sources, especially by those of Simon Tugwell. In his 2016 English-language study, which is a revised version of his earlier paper, Györkös modified some of his earlier statements.

²³⁸ Gerardus de Fracheto, *Vitae fratrum*. According to this edition, the account on Hungary can be found only in eight manuscripts of the work.

²³⁹ Presently, a new critical edition of the same work entitled as *Vitas fratrum Praedicatorum* is being prepared by Simon Tugwell, who kindly shared with me the preliminary version of the *Suiperti relatio de initiis Provinciae Hungariae*. The eleven manuscripts are the following: 1) C Düsseldorf, Univ.- und Landesbibliothek B 93 ff. 138^v – 140^v (a.d. 1462); 2) F Kiel, Univ. Bibl. Bord 27 ff.99^v-101^v (a.d. 1497); J Utrecht, Universiteitsbibl. 395 ff. 115^f-

probability it is a distorted form of Patak (today Sárospatak).²⁴⁰ It is not known when this piece of relic was taken to Hungary but I have suggested elsewhere that it could have occurred at the General Chapter of Buda in 1254 and I related it to the royal house.²⁴¹

The General Chapter of 1254 held in the recently finished St Nicholas convent of the Dominicans in the Buda had to lodge several hundred friars since also the new master general of the order was to be elected during this general chapter.²⁴² The celebration of the assembly (although there is no direct evidence) was probably generously supported by Béla IV, as it was a common practice.²⁴³ Two significant events pertaining to Hungary took place during this annual gathering: first, Margaret, the daughter of Béla IV and Mary Laskaris took her vows to the hands of the new general master Humbert of Romans,²⁴⁴ and a Cuman chieftain together with his wife and his men-at-arms were baptized, whose daughter Elizabeth was married to Prince Stephen (the future King Stephen V).²⁴⁵ Although it is not known how exactly the reception of the friars in Buda occurred, presumably it was not dissimilar from that of the general chapter of Paris in 1256 described by Humbert of Romans in a letter to the friars, according to which the king of France, together with the ecclesiastical and secular authorities,

116^v (s. XV); K Soest, Stadtbibliothek 16 ff. 140^v-143^r (s.XIV); L Leipzig, Univ. Bibl. 818 ff. 100^r- 101^v (s. XIII-XIV); N København, Kongelige Bibliotek Gl. kgl. S 174 ff. 78^r -79^r (s. XV); P Berlin, Staatsbibliothek theol lat. fol. 164 ff. 92^v-94^r (s. XIV); Q Berlin, Staatsbibliothek theol lat. quart.170 ff. 145^v - 148^r (c. 1400); U BAV, Reg. lat.584 ff.119^v-121^v (s. XIII); Y Wrocław, Bibl. Uniw. IV Q 191 ff.96^v – 98^v (s. XV); Z Paris, Bibl. Mazarine 1779 ff. 291-296 (s. XIII).

²⁴⁰ Gerardus de Fracheto, *Vitae fratrum*, 305, footnote “a”.

²⁴¹ Eszter Konrád, “Veronai Szent Péter ereklyéi a középkori Magyarországon” [The relics of St Peter of Verona in medieval Hungary], in *Micae mediaevales VI. Fiatal történészek dolgozatai a középkori Magyarországról és Európáról*, ed. Laura Fábián, Dorottya Uhrin, Csaba Farkas and András Ribi (Budapest: ELTE, 2017), 149-168.

²⁴² Enikő Spekner, *Hogyan lett Buda a középkori Magyarország fővárosa? A budai királyi székhely története a 12. század végétől a 14. század közepéig* [How did Buda become the capital of Hungary? The history of the royal seat of Buda from the end of the twelfth to the middle of the fourteenth century], (Budapest: Budapesti Történeti Múzeum, 2015) 55. On the participants of the general chapter, see eadem, “A ’Prédikátorok Rendjének’ európai kolostoralapításai és a domonkos rendi kolostortemplomok patrocíniumai a 13. században. Előtanulmány” [The foundation of friaries of the Order of Preachers in Europe and the church dedications of the Dominican friaries in the thirteenth century. A preliminary study] in: *Változatok a történelemre. Tanulmányok Székely György tiszteletére*, ed. Gyöngyi Erdei and Balázs Nagy (Budapest: Budapest Történeti Múzeum – ELTE BTK Közép- és Kora Újkori Történeti Tanszék [2004]), 159–168.

²⁴³ See, for instance the list of the sponsors and the amount of contributions to the general chapter of Milan in 1340: Gundisalvo Odetto, “La Cronaca Maggiore dell’ordine domenicano di Galvano Fiamma,” *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* 10 (1940): 298-373, at 369.

²⁴⁴ Kornél Bölle, *Árpád-házi Boldog Margit szentté avatási ügye és a legősibb latin Margit-legenda* [The canonization process of Blessed Margaret of Hungary and the oldest Latin legend of Margaret] (Budapest: Stephaneum, 1937), 18.

²⁴⁵ Gerardus de Fracheto, *Vitae fratrum*, 338.

recommended themselves to the prayers of the friars; then the king, in the presence of numerous archbishops, cardinals, princes and a great multitude of people, paid a tribute to the relics of Peter Martyr.²⁴⁶ On the analogy of the general chapter of Paris, it is possible that the friars brought some of saint's relics also to Buda. Since the general chapter was held in Buda "ob devotionem regis et regine",²⁴⁷ the royal couple surely wished to show their reverence towards the Order of Preachers and the papacy, so the relics of the recently canonized martyr could have provided a great opportunity for them to do this in public. However, there is no evidence whether they donated relics of Peter Martyr to their Hungarian confreres or the royal couple.

Returning to Peter's relics in Patak, a few words should be said about the royal and the Dominican presence here. It was the royal manor of Patak from where Béla IV sent his letter to Innocent IV probably in 1247, asking for his help against the Bulgarian, Ruthenian, Cuman and other heretics but especially, the Mongolians.²⁴⁸ Also a castle was built before 1261 on the road to Patak, near Újhely, in order to guard the road taking to the Principality of Galicia-Volhynia (known also as Kingdom of Rus). Since Patak was a royal *dominium*, presumably it was Béla IV who settled down here first the Dominicans²⁴⁹ already before 1238.²⁵⁰ The presence of the preaching friars in the second half of the 1230s in Patak is definitely an early date but not surprising since the confessors of the royal couple before 1260 were Dominicans. The importance of the friars of Patak is also attested by the fact that its prior was assigned in 1255 by Pope Alexander IV to give sentence on a case of tithes in which the priests of the bishopric of Eger were involved.²⁵¹ The priory was set on fire by the Mongolians during the "second

²⁴⁶ "quia tantus fuit concursus secularium ad sermones et generale capitulum nuper ibidem celebratum, tanta visitatio nuper Francorum regis, prelatorum, principum et magna recommandantium se devote orationibus fratrum, quod nunquam aliud capitulum cum tanta solemnitate vidimus celebrari. Sed et reliquie beati Petri Martyris, presente rege cum archiepiscopis et episcopis multis, principibus et populi multitudine copiosa, preter morem Parisiensem cum tanta tunc temporis recepte sunt devotione et reverentia, quod vix antea credi potuisset." *Chartularium Universitatis parisiensis*, ed. Heinrich Denifle (Paris, Delelain Frères, 1889), 318–319.

²⁴⁷ Gerardus de Fracheto, *Vitae fratrum*, 337.

²⁴⁸ For the dating of the letter, see Senga Toru, "IV. Béla külpolitikája és IV. Ince pápához intézett 'tatár levele'" *Századok* 121 (1987): 583–612, at 598–599, 609.

²⁴⁹ See the relative entry in Romhányi, *Kolostorok*, 57.

²⁵⁰ *A zichi és vásonkeői gróf Zichy-család idősb ágának okmánytára* [The archival documents of the older branch of the Zichy family], ed. Imre Nagy, Iván Nagy and Dezső Véghely (Pest, 1871–1931), vol.1, 2–3.

²⁵¹ ÁÜO VII. 391.

Mongolian invasion” in 1285²⁵² but was rebuilt, and it burnt down again in 1322.²⁵³ In order to understand why the relic of Peter Martyr was placed in the church of the friary of Patak, one should consider that by that time there had already been a relic of St Dominic in Somlyó, the south-eastern part of Hungary, an important centre of the Dominican missionary activity. Patak was on the north-eastern part of the Kingdom of Hungary on the road leading to the Principality of Galicia-Volhynia. The reason why Peter’s relics got here, I believe, was that Béla IV was afraid of another Mongolian invasion also in the second phase of his reign. His fear was not groundless: in 1259 when the Mongolians attacked Halych, they proposed that the son of the Hungarian king should marry the daughter of the Mongolian khan, or the other way round, and supply them with armed forces in their military campaigns against the Christians, and in return, they would offer tax exemption and the fifth of the seized booty.²⁵⁴ King Béla eventually managed to refuse this proposal without any further consequences. Patak did not escape a second Mongolian attack although it occurred much later than it had been expected, several years after the death of the king, in 1285. The reasons why Peter’s local cult died out here could be on the one hand, that from 1270 onwards, the canonization of the Dominican nun Margaret of Hungary became the primary concern for the royal house and the Order of Preachers, and on the other hand, the relic of Peter preserved in Patak was lost or destroyed in the thirteenth century, possibly during the second Mongolian invasion.

II.2.1 The transmission of the miracles from Hungary in Dominican hagiography

The limited number (11) of extant manuscripts of the *Vitae fratrum* reporting the miracles of Peter of Verona from Hungary shows that they could have been known only in those few

²⁵² On the Mongolian attack of the Dominican friary of Patak, see ÁÚO X. 180–182. Although the charter itself is false, in the opinion of Attila Zsoldos, the information concerning the devastation of the Tartars can be regarded trustworthy since it is not related to the forgery, see Attila Zsoldos, “Két hamis oklevélről” [On two forged charters] *Történelmi Szemle* 41 (1999): 191–208, at 198. On the “second Mongolian invasion”, see György Székely, “Egy elfeledett rettegés: a második tatárjárás a magyar történelmi hagyományokban és az egyetemes összefüggésben” [A forgotten fear: the second Mongolian invasion in the Hungarian historiographic traditions and in the broader context] *Századok* (1988): 52–88; Tibor Szöcs, “Egy második ‘tatárjárás’? A tatár-magyar kapcsolatok a XIII. század második felében” [A second “Mongolian invasion”? The Mongolian-Hungarian relations in the second half of the thirteenth century] in *Belvedere meridionale* 22 (2010): 16–49.

²⁵³ DL 42 086. The edition of the charter is in Fejér, VIII/2, 342.

²⁵⁴ This can be known from the answer of Pope Alexander VI, see Theiner, vol.1, 239.

Dominican friaries where these codices were kept. The miracles of Dominic from Somlyó, in turn, were quite successful. The first wave of miracles from there reached a wider audience first through Constantine of Orvieto's legend in 1246-1247, and subsequently, they were all reported in the official legend of Humbert of Romans and by the Spanish Dominican Rodrigo da Cerrato in his *Vitas Sanctorum*.²⁵⁵ Seventeen miracles were included in his legend by Dietrich of Apolda, nine became part of Dominic's *vita* in Vincent of Beauvais's version, and most importantly, five of them were added to his life by James of Varazze.²⁵⁶ The two later miracles from Somlyó reported by its former prior Nicholaus de Castro Ferreo (Miklós Vasvári) included in the Berengarian miracle collection of 1316 along with many others included in the *Speculum Sanctorale* of Bernard Gui written between 1324 and 1329 (altogether nine miracles from Hungary, seven from the 1245 call and the two from the 1314)²⁵⁷ and in Petrus Calo's legend of St Dominic in his legendary.²⁵⁸ Some of the miracles of Somlyó appeared eventually in print as part of the new legend of St Dominic by an unknown compiler using the works of Constantine of Orvieto, Dietrich of Apolda and Peter Calò as part of the revised Dominican lectionary of 1487.²⁵⁹

II.2.2 The analysis of the miracles

The miracles from Somlyó

The miracles from Somlyó collected to the appeal for miracles in 1255 constitute the oldest list of miracles in Hungary since they were registered even earlier than the miracles of Margaret of

²⁵⁵ Antoine Dondaine, "Les éditions du 'Vitas Sanctorum' de Rodéric de Cerrato", in: *Sapientiae procerum amore. Mélanges médiévistes offerts à Dom Jean-Pierre Müller à l'occasion de son 70^{ième} anniversaire*, ed. Theodor Wolfram Köhler (Studia Anselmiana 63) (Rome: 1974), 225-250. Its *vita* of St. Dominic was published in the 3rd "edition" kept today in the Archive of the Cathedral of Seville, written in 1272 in Caleruega. Interestingly, Rodrigo also reported a *Corpus Christi* story that happened in the priory of *Similu* that had been omitted by Constantine. Thus, as Tugwell points out, even though it was not sure that it was Rodrigo himself who had access to these miracles at the general chapter of 1246, there was someone else who made a copy of this list of miracles before it was taken by the then minister general John of Wildeshausen. Possibly, the list was handed down by Humbert of Romans in the chapter of Paris in 1256 (who was already master general at that time) to Gerardus de Fracheto. See Tugwell, ed., *Miracula sancti Dominici*, 30.

²⁵⁶ Györköös, "The Saint and his Finger," 551.

²⁵⁷ *Bernardi Guidonis Scripta de sancto Dominico*, ed. Tugwell, #99-#107 at 287-291.

²⁵⁸ The two miracles from the second wave from Hungary based on Calo are edited in Tugwell, *Miracula sancti Dominici*, 283-284

²⁵⁹ Tugwell, ed., *Miracula sancti Dominici*, 140.

Hungary in her canonization process first between 1272 and 1275 and then in 1276.²⁶⁰ These miracles are exceptional testimonies in the sense that they were not collected in order to prove Dominic's sanctity but to strengthen and spread his cult further throughout Europe. These miracles are rich sources of mid-thirteenth-century devotional life in Hungary; a period which is scarcely documented. The accounts in this list shed some light on the friars' role on the promotion of the founding father of the Order of Preachers as well as on the laity's devotion to a saint who was not a local but an international saint. Moreover, they also provide valuable information on the pilgrimage practices of a local shrine as well as on the use of relics in that period.²⁶¹ I am going to treat here not only the list provided by Constantine including also a twenty-first miracle from Somlyó reported by Roderigo da Cerrato, but also two additional miracles from the same place that occurred sometime earlier than 1315 and were included first in the Berengarian miracle collection.

As it has been already mentioned, master general John of Wildeshausen in 1245 requested to send the collection of miracles performed through the intercession of St. Dominic from all the provinces of the Order of Preachers, for the subsequent general chapter. As a result of his call miracle accounts arrived from different provinces, like Rome, Sicily, Lombardy and Hungary, probably from the Dominican priory of Somlyó, since in several accounts *Similu* (or some variants of the name) where the relics of Dominic are kept is mentioned and all the place names where the beneficiaries came from were not far from there. The southern region of the realm, where Somlyó was located, was attractive for the Dominicans to carry out their missionary works.

Today twenty miracles are known from this "first wave"; the original list on the basis of which Constantine and a little later in the 1260s Rodrigo da Cerrato worked is not known. The

²⁶⁰ On her canonization process and on that of Elizabeth of Hungary, which served as a role model for the subsequent canonization investigation in many respects, see footnote 5.

²⁶¹ For the examination of a similar case of the local cult of St Dominic in Rouen (Normandy, France) between 1261-1270, see Catherine Vincent, "Le pèlerinage de saint Dominique au convent des frères prêcheurs de Rouen (XIII^e siècle): enjeux et aléas d'un sanctuaire urbain," in *Expériences religieuses et chemins de perfectione dans l'Occident médiéval. Études offertes à André Vauchez par ses élèves*, ed. Dominique Rigaux, Daniel Russo and Catherine Vincent (Paris: AIBL, 2012), 151-172. On the the miracles attributed to the intercession of St Dominic in Rouen, see Mathilde Cordonnier, "L'Église, les fidèles et la mort, à travers des miracles de saint Dominique (Rouen, 1261-1270)", *Tabularia 'Études'* 8 (2008): 45-57 (<http://www.unicaen.fr/mrsh/craham/revue/tabularia/print.php?dossier=dossier7&file=04cordonnier.xml> accessed: 07.06.2016)

Dominican friars in the province of Hungary, or more precisely, from Krassó county (south eastern Hungary) where Somlyó was located were eager to fulfil the request of the master general. It is possible that John of Wildeshausen had an important role in getting this collection to the next general chapter.²⁶² The list was then handed to Constantine in 1246 and was incorporated in his work placing them before the canonization miracles. The miracles are reported in the usual hierarchical manner: the six raisings from the dead are followed by thirteen healing miracles and the list ends with a miracle not of healing but devotional character. The miracles of the “second wave” reported by Nicolaus de Castro Ferreo to Berengar of Landorra during the general chapter of 1315 provide detailed accounts on two resurrections attributed to the intercession of a finger relic of St. Dominic. The earlier list of miracles sent to the general chapter of 1246, despite being basically similar to those collected for canonization processes, they were far less official than those. In all likelihood, it was the friars of the convent of Somlyó who recorded these accounts. It is also possible that some of the miracles were recorded in the parishes and then they were sent to the friars, maybe also with the transmission of the diocese. The second set of only two miracles was reported orally by the Hungarian ex-prior of the convent of Somlyó to the master general, so they were registered in Bologna probably by a friar present at the general chapter.

Constantine, in his legend on St. Dominic, after narrating the miracles that took place at the tomb of the saint, turns to the discussion of those that occurred in different places: “we have learnt that in Hungary wonderful [miracles] mostly resurrections from the dead took place by a piece of a relic of his holy body that had been taken there, giving rise to devotion among people.”²⁶³ That Constantine started with the miracles from Hungary although he had at his disposal other ones from the different Dominican provinces is not unrelated to the fact that for Dominic the Hungarian Province of the order was of utmost importance.²⁶⁴ Also another miracle begins with a reference to the spread of the fame of his virtues over the living and the

²⁶² See the *Excursus* at II.2.3

²⁶³ Constantine of Orvieto, *Legenda Sancti Dominici*, #71, p. 338: “que in Ungaria facta cognovimus, stupenda prorsus maxime circa mortuos suscitatos parte quadam reliquiarum sacrosancti corporis ipsius illuc delata, devotionem in populo provocante.”

²⁶⁴ Cf. Dietrich of Apolda, *Libellus de vita et obitu et miraculis S. Dominici* in AASS 35, 612: “Multis namque in diversis, sed in iis praecipue, quae infidelibus adjacent, regionibus, miraculis gloriosius coruscavit. Unde in regno Ungariae, cui Cumanorum gentilis populus conterminus est, cujus fidem et salutem beatus Confessor summe desideraverat, stupenda et innumera mirabilia per eius merita contigerunt.”

dead in the whole country.²⁶⁵ The very first account narrates how a couple went with their little son to visit in Somlyó Dominic's relics kept at the house of the friars.²⁶⁶ It is noteworthy that the miracle account begins with a story in which the original motivation of the couple's visit of the relics is devotional, and only later, when their little baby dies there, do they ask for the intercession of the saint to resurrect the child.

Apart from individual visits to the Dominican convent, there existed organized forms as well. Parishes were important meeting places between the clergy and laity as well as among the inhabitants of the parish, who may decide to go together to the friars, just as in the case of man called Gennus from the village of Pinnar.²⁶⁷ Such devout groups could include the parish priests as well, as in the case of an unnamed man, who, hearing that the priest and the parishioners were about to visit the relics but the former did not permit him to join since he was weak and at the point of dying, miraculously gained back his strength and the following day he was able to go there and received perfect health.²⁶⁸ It is worth underscoring that this story contradicts to the frequently cited opposition between the parish priests and the friars, since the pilgrimage to the relics of Dominic preserved in the house of the friars is led by the priest himself. The local devotion to Dominic is also attested by the last miracle reported by Constantine, the only one which is not a healing but a devotional miracle, narrates how a pious elderly woman from the village of Pinnar wanted to have a votive mass celebrated in honour of St. Dominic.²⁶⁹

The other reason why people visited the relics was that it was known that God gave Dominic power to raise people from the dead or to cure the ill.²⁷⁰ His fame spread also through word of mouth: on one occasion when a non-believer father lost his son, he was consoled by the man with whom he spent the night at the body of the boy,

²⁶⁵ Constantine of Orvieto, *Legenda Sancti Dominici*, #76, p. 340: "Crebrescente per totam Ungariam virtutum fama, quas per merita beati Dominici super vivos et mortuos manus domini frequentabat [...]."

²⁶⁶ Constantine of Orvieto, *Legenda Sancti Dominici*, #72, p. 338.

²⁶⁷ Constantine of Orvieto, *Legenda Sancti Dominici*, #77, p. 341: "Honestus quidam vir, Gentus nomine, de villa Pinnar, que est sub castro Crassu, cum suis parochianis ad fratres venit [...]. Pinár is a village in Krassó county, under the castle of Krassó, see Györffy, *Az Árpád-kori Magyarország történeti földrajza*, vol. 3, 492.

²⁶⁸ Constantine of Orvieto, *Legenda Sancti Dominici*, #78, p. 342.

²⁶⁹ Constantine of Orvieto, *Legenda Sancti Dominici*, #91, p. 347.

²⁷⁰ Constantine of Orvieto, *Legenda Sancti Dominici*, #77, p. 341: "[...] quod Deus beato Dominico super mortuos suscitandos tantam gratiam contulisset [...]."

“Believe, St. Dominic has great merits with God, and God’s power truly works miracles through him, as it is said, but you should invoke him [i.e. Dominic] as well with all your heart. Perhaps he, who resurrected many dead for his merits, will resurrect also your son.”²⁷¹

Those who were seeking for cure, and were able to, visited the convent of Somlyó on foot (#78, #80, #81, #82, #85, #86, #89); but there was a woman from Orod²⁷² whose back was so curved for long time that she was taken to the relics on a cart.²⁷³

There are only three accounts that speak about the vows made by the suppliants.²⁷⁴ It is unknown whether there were really no vows made or it was irrelevant for the person who registered it.²⁷⁵ It is worth relating the one about the resurrection of a young servant (*mancipium*, *famulus*) who drowned in the River Cris.²⁷⁶ Seeing his body taken out from the water, his *domina* became so greatly saddened that she invoked St. Dominic for his resurrection, promising that she would personally go barefoot and visit his relics at Somlyó and if the life of the servant is given back then she would set him free.²⁷⁷

As it has been mentioned already, the narrative structure of the accounts is similar to those of the miracle testimonies of the canonization processes. Their sequence is usually the same (the name of the person who invoked the intercession of the saint, the place where the suppliant came from, the name of the dead or ill person, age, social status, problem/illness, invocation of

²⁷¹ Constantine of Orvieto, *Legenda Sancti Dominici*, #76, p. 341: “Crede, beatum Dominicum magni esse meriti apud Deum, virtutemque Dei in veritate operari per eum miracula, que feruntur, necnon et ipsum invoca toto corde. Forsitan qui plerosque mortuos suis meritis suscitavit, tuum etiam filium suscitabit.”

²⁷² Orodinum (Arad, Romania) is a town in Arad county; see Györffy, *Az Árpád-kori Magyarország történeti földrajza*, vol. 1, 171. It might be Kóród (Coroi, Romania) but this option is quite unlikely since the distance between the two is more than 220 kms.

²⁷³ Constantine of Orvieto, *Legenda Sancti Dominici*, #79, p. 342: “Quedam mulier de villa Corodiensi ab antiquo tempore dorsum habens monstruose contractum [...] ad reliquias beati Dominici super currum posita ducebatur.”

²⁷⁴ Constantine of Orvieto, *Legenda Sancti Dominici*, #73, p. 339; #74, p. 339-340; #90, p.346.

²⁷⁵ Cf. Leigh Ann Craig, *Wandering Women and Holy Matrons: Women as Pilgrims in the Later Middle Ages* (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 109-111.

²⁷⁶ Probably the River Keveles near the village of Keresszeg, in Krassó county; see Györffy, *Az Árpád-kori Magyarország történeti földrajza*, vol. 3, 486. Constantine of Orvieto, *Legenda Sancti Dominici*, #73, p. 339: “At prefata domina super subtracti famuli nece tam miserabili condolens, pro resuscitatione eius beatum Dominicum invocavit, promittens se et ad sua reliquias in Similu visitandas personaliter nudis pedibus accessuram et resuscitatum mancipium libertati daturam.”

²⁷⁷ This type of vow was called “conditional” by Pierre André Sigal in the examination of eleventh- and twelfth century miracles collection, in his *L’homme et le miracle dans la France médiévale (XI^e –XII^e)* (Paris: Cerf, 1985), 82: “Un certain nombre de vœux ont un caractère nettement conditionnel: l’objet promis sera donné ou l’action promise sera accomplie si le saint effectua ce qu’on lui a demandé.”

the saint, vow, healing, making the miracle public) but in some cases they may vary or add or omit certain details. The overwhelming majority of the miracles was performed to men (six raisings from the dead, ten healings out of the altogether twenty reported by Constantine). The length of the accounts is rather varied, ranging from colourful and lengthy narratives to as short ones as one sentence.

Although the social status of the suppliants or the dead are generally not reported, there is information that among the beneficiaries one finds noble men (#72 *vir quidam nobilis*; #73 *filius viri nobilis*), a young servant of the wife of a count Miche, called Iustine (#73 *iuvenis quidam, domine Iustine, Miche comitis uxoris, mancipium*), a son of a courtly count (#82 *filius cuiusdam comitis curialis*), a cleric (#85 *clericus*) and a table-servant of the provost of Oradea (#90 *Orodiensis prepositi dapifer*). Their age is given only approximately (*iuvenis, adolescentis, puer, senex, matrona*, etc.). Only in two miracles is the date of the healing mentioned: when the blind Paulus from the village of Urecha²⁷⁸ and a paralytic woman called Loseva were healed through the intercession of St. Dominic on the feast of the martyrs Abdon and Sennen.²⁷⁹

Unlike in hagiographical narratives, where hagiographers try to underline the greatness of the miracle, the symptoms of the illnesses are not described in a detailed manner in these accounts. Characteristically, with one exception (#90),²⁸⁰ the suppliants invoke Dominic, not God. The most moving account is that of the father whose son died during the visit to Dominic's relics: he went to the altar dedicated to him and started to implore him, crying: "St. Dominic, I came to you joyfully, and return sadly. I came with my son, I go back deprived of him. Give back, I beg, my son to me, give back the joy of my heart to me."²⁸¹ The strong emotional tone of the prayer cannot be overlooked here. The reason for the frequent omissions of the suppliants' turning to

²⁷⁸ Constantine of Orvieto, *Legenda Sancti Dominici*, #87, p. 346. *Villa Vrecha* was identified as Oreha, a village northwest from the town Palánk (today Banatska Palanka, Serbia); see Györfy, *Az Árpád-kori Magyarország történeti földrajza*, vol. 3, 491.

²⁷⁹ In the Dominican liturgy the feast of the two early Christian martyrs was celebrated on 30th July with three lessons, see Bonniwell, *A History of the Dominican Liturgy 1215-1945*, 106.

²⁸⁰ Constantine of Orvieto, *Legenda Sancti Dominici*, #90, p. 346: "[...] voto simul et voce quo poterat Deo se et beato Dominico commendabat."

²⁸¹ Constantine of Orvieto, *Legenda Sancti Dominici*, #72, pp. 338-339: "Quem pater merens ad ecclesiam deferens et coram altari beati Dominici collocans, voce flebili lamentari cepit et dicere: 'Beate Dominice, letus veni ad te, en tristis redeo. Cum filio veni, en orbatus recedo. Redde mihi, queso, filium meum, redde mihi letitiam cordis mei.'"

God but invoking only Dominic is that the primary goal of these miracle stories was underscoring the saint's importance as intercessor for the further diffusion of his cult in miracles clearly performed by the Lord.

The accounts do not say what kind of relic was kept at the convent of Somlyó and it is also unknown when the friars obtained it. Its exact location in the church is not known either. Usually the relics were kept on the main altar. Although it is known from two accounts that there was an altar dedicated to St. Dominic at Somlyó, there is no direct reference that the relics were preserved here.²⁸² Nevertheless, the fact that the desperate father takes the dead body of his son to the church and places it in front of the altar of St. Dominic, may well be an explicit hint to that. This miracle is quite close to an archaic type of miracle, the *incubatio* during which the individual seeking healing spend a night (or more) at the tomb of the saint.²⁸³ Incubation miracles go back to the healing practices of Asclepius and other deities and the practice was adapted also to Christian cults of saints.²⁸⁴ This archaic kind of healing miracles were quite frequent in late Antiquity but became rare by the later Middle Ages. There are some hints in the accounts that the physical contact with the relics was necessary for the healing: on four occasions one reads that the health was regained after the suppliant had touched the saintly relics or the reliquary (*reliquiae sacrosantae, reliquiarium* in #82; #83; #85; #86; #89). An elderly deaf priest who visited the relics of Dominic with the neighbours was not only touching the relics repeatedly but he even kissed them in order to gain his hearing back.²⁸⁵ The

²⁸² As Prudlo has noted in relation to the promotion of the cult of Peter of Verona, the friars knew that the wide distribution of the saint's relics would broaden his influence. In order to be able to control the access to the relics, they distributed Peter's relics all over Europe, but only in Dominican priories. In Prudlo's opinion the assumption that the many altar dedicated to Peter throughout the continent contained his relics, too, since this would explain why approaching his later had the same effect as contact with the tomb or relics themselves; see Prudlo, *The Martyred Inquisitor*, 158-159.

²⁸³ Sigal, *L'homme et le miracle*, 134-146; Hyppolite Delehaye, "Les recueils antiques des miracles des saints" *Analecta Bollandiana* 43 (1925): 8-85; 305-325.

²⁸⁴ On the miracles of St. Elizabeth and Margaret of Hungary that represent the incubation type, see Gábor Klaniczay, on "Speaking about Miracles: Oral Testimony and Written Record in Medieval Canonization Trials," in *The Development of Literate Mentalities in East Central Europe*, ed. Anna Adamska and Marco Mostert (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004), 365-396, on 389-392; *ibid.* "Dreams and Visions in Medieval Miracle Accounts" in Ildikó Csepregi and Charles Burnett, *Ritual Healing. Magic, Ritual and Medical Therapy from Antiquity until the Early Modern Period* (Florence: SISMEL-Edizione del Galluzzo, 2012), 147-170.

²⁸⁵ Constantine of Orvieto, *Legenda Sancti Dominici*, #85, p. 345: "[...] ad reliquias beati Dominici visitandas accessit, quas cum osculatus esset et ab eisdem iterum iterumque tactus [...]."

osculatory practice described here was a quite intimate mode of veneration and often associated with women.²⁸⁶

The two miracle accounts reported by Nicolaus de Castro Ferreo in 1315 in Bologna to Berengar of Landorra (#13-14 in the Berengarian miracle collection) make clear that the relic at the Dominican convent of Somlyó was the finger of St. Dominic.²⁸⁷ It is worth quoting the beginning of the miracle here:

Nicholas of Castro Ferreo from the Hungarian Province, the diffinitor at the general chapter in Bologna celebrated in the year of 1315 at the time when Berengar was the master of the order narrated that while he himself was the prior at Sumlu, at the place where the finger of St. Dominic is [kept], some provost from Alba Regalis called Stephen one evening, after suffering strong torments, finally died in pain. While the funeral was prepared and [the body] was about to be taken to the burial, some bystander said: “If the finger of St. Dominic was brought here, I hope that because of his [i.e. Dominic’s] merits, the Lord would give his life back. Then they sent immediately the request for the above said grace [i.e. the finger relic] to the aforementioned prior. But the friars have already retired. After that the prior had been moved by compassion since the dead person was of special love towards the order and he [i.e. the prior] had confidence in the piety of Dominic, the convent of the friars had been from convened and with a solemn procession and with great lights they brought the finger of the saint father Dominic there where the dead person was lying.”²⁸⁸

After praying to the saint, the prior washed the finger in the water that was in the chalice and opening the mouth of the dead, he poured the lotion to it in the name of Christ and St. Dominic. The provost, spitting out an enormous kidney stone, received perfect health. The second miracle

²⁸⁶ On osculatory veneration, see Sigal, *L’homme et le miracle*, 148; Scott B. Montgomery, “Mittite capud meum ... ad matrem meum ut osculetor eum: The Form and the Meaning of the Reliquary Bust of St Just”, *Gesta* XXXVI/1 (1997), 48-64, esp. 51; On the touching or kissing the relics, see Nicole Herrmann-Mascard, *Les reliques des saints. Formation coutumière d’un droit* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1975), 203-205, 208, 213-214.

²⁸⁷ Tugwell, ed., *Miracula sancti Dominici*, #13, p. 121-122; #14, p.122-123: “[...] se prius uelle personaliter ire in Sumlu ad digitum beati Domini et aquam lotionis eius deferre.” Not only Dominic’s but Peter of Verona’s fingers were the popular pieces for distribution; see Prudlo, *The Martyred Inquisitor*, 159, note 103.

²⁸⁸ Tugwell, ed., *Miracula sancti Dominici*, 121-122: “Narrauit frater Nicholas de Castro Ferreo de prouincia Ungarie, diffinitor capituli generalis apud Bononiam celebrati anno domini m^occc^oxv^o tempore Berengarii magistri ordinis, quod dum ipse frater Nicholas esset prior in Sumlu, in loco ubi est digitus beati Dominici, quidam prepositus de Alba Regali Stephanus nomine die quadam uespertina hora uehementi dolore uexatus tandem in doloribus expirauit. Dum autem funeralia pararentur et sequenti die esset sepulture tradendus, quidam de astantibus dixit, Si portaretur huc digitus beati Dominici, spero quod per ipsius merita dominus ei uitam donaret. Tunc miserunt ad priorem prefatum predictam gratiam instantibus precibus postulantes. Fratres autem iam intrauerant ad quietem. Prior igitur compassionem motus, nam ille defunctus specialis ordinis amator fuerat, et de beati Dominici pietate confusus, conuocato conuentu fratrum cum processione sollempni et luminaribus magnis in calice digitum beati patris Dominici illuc detulit, ubi iacebat defunctus.”

is a similar one with respect to the mode of healing; that is pouring the lotion made from the finger relic to the mouth of the dead person. In this story the victim is the twelve-year-old daughter of a devout man. The father, before burying his child, decided to go to Somlyó to the finger of Dominic and bring some lotion from it, hoping that the saint will raise his daughter from the dead. Although he had forbidden the burial of his daughter until his return, on the way back he met the relatives who had already taken the body to the church. The upset father, taking the veil off from the face of the girl, opened her mouth with great efforts and poured the lotion to it. The dead girl returned to life.

Similar archaic types of healing with the relics (hair, scapular, cilice, *velum*) or with the water in which the relic was drenched can be found in the case of Margaret of Hungary. In the lists of miracles collected for her canonization process one finds four healings from fever in which those who were looking for cure would drink from the water in which Margaret's hair was washed.²⁸⁹ Application of water sanctified by the contact with the saint's relics can be found in the early sources of Peter of Verona's miracles as well.²⁹⁰

The most significant difference between the two accounts of Nicholas de Castro Ferreo is that while in the former the relic was taken out from the church of the convent and was carried to the dead person with a spectacular procession led by the prior himself, which can be explained by the fact that the dead was a provost and the friend of the order, in the latter account, where the person to be resurrected was a simple girl, the relic was not taken out from its usual place, the lotion made from it was enough for her return from the dead; not even the direct mediation of the clergy is required. As Prudlo noted acutely in connection to the rather similar miracles attributed to Peter of Verona, these accounts show the extension of the relic rituals of the

²⁸⁹ According to Deák, the fellow-nuns of Margaret had some information on how saints' relics had to be used for healings since they were familiar with the miracles that occurred in Somlyó. Thus the nuns applied the "methods" they heard from. She also called the attention to the two parallel miracles of reported by Nicholas de Castro Ferreo; see Deák, *Árpád-házi Szent Margit és a domonkos hagiográfia*, 286. While Deák is right in pointing out that the nuns probably modelled the veneration of the relics of Margaret on the practices known from Somlyó it should be underlined that none of the miracles Constatine of Orvieto incorporated in his legend says that Dominic's relics would have been used in this way in the first half of the thirteenth century; in fact, the first testimony for such practice comes from 1315.

²⁹⁰ Prudlo, *The Martyred Inquisitor*, 161.

Dominicans to the laity since through the water they took home they were able to interact with the relic no less effectively.²⁹¹

Great importance is given to the kidney stone vomited by the provost,²⁹² which, as it had been noted by Luigi Canetti that serves as the testimony and the guarantee of the authenticity of the miracle.²⁹³ In contrast, in the accounts of 1245 the authentication of the miracles is not of primary importance. Unlike in the case of the official canonization inquiries where witnesses were necessary and the depositions often had to be made under oath, in the miracles collected in Hungary the people who were present at the miraculous events were not interrogated as witnesses or at least it was not registered in the collection. At the same time, as it has been pointed out by Antonio Volpato in connection to the witness accounts of the miracles according to the canon law, the testimonies of clerics, based mainly on their clerical status, were valuable.²⁹⁴ The weight of their testimony is attested also by one of the miracles from Hungary, according to which after the son of noblewoman had been resurrected after her invocation of Dominic, the boy was showed to the friars of Somlyó in the presence of the same priest in front of whom he was reanimated.²⁹⁵

The “community aspect” (*aspetto corale*) present in several miracles from Hungary has been noticed by Volpato, who observed that healing miracles even before having been verified by institutionalized procedures become known not only by an individual who stands alone but who is a part of social connections and whose illness or misery involves the corporal level, who is known and interpreted by the surrounding social environment, particularly those of the relatives, friends, patrons and neighbours who can accompany the ill, assist to the ritual of his or her healing and then can also testify it.²⁹⁶ The community aspect of the miracle accounts is

²⁹¹ Prudlo, *The Martyred Inquisitor*, 162.

²⁹² Tugwell, ed., *Miracula sancti Dominici*, 121-122: “Cum uero aqua descendit ad guttur continuo qui mortuus fuerat resurrexit et euomit durissimum lapidem per os magnitudinis amplioris quam sit ouum galline, qui quidem lapis fuerat in ipsius renibus generatus, ex quo causati dolores extiterunt, propter quod mors fuerat subsecuta. Fuit igitur in eodem uiro in eadem hora duplex miraculum, unum quia fuit de morte reuocatus ad uitam, aliud quod lapis tante magnitudinis per os potuit faciliter eici absque oris aut guttoris lesione.”

²⁹³ Luigi Canetti, “Forme di autenticazione e criteri di veridizione: le raccolte dei *Miracula sancti Dominici*,” in *Notai, miracoli e culto dei santi*, 117-132, at 129.

²⁹⁴ Antonio Volpato, “Pubblicità del miracolo e certificazione delle testimonianze (secoli XIII-XIV),” in *Notai, miracoli e culto dei santi*, 423-498, at 453-455.

²⁹⁵ Constantine of Orvieto, *Legenda Sancti Dominici*, #74, 339-340.

²⁹⁶ Volpato, “Pubblicità del miracolo e certificazione delle testimonianze,” 455-457.

intertwined with another aspect: their public declaration. Both aspects are present in the story that relates how woman healed from a terrible curved body went to the house of the friars with her priest and other neighbours to show them the perfect sanity she gained.²⁹⁷

Making the miracles public was almost as important as the performance of the miracles themselves. The noblewoman who made a vow to go barefoot to the relics of Dominic and to free her *manicipium* if he is resurrected, after the miracle witnessed by many people, she went as she had promised to the house of the prior and the friars, taking with her the resurrected man and presented him as free.²⁹⁸ The annunciation of the miracle was not motivated in many cases by the fulfilment of a previously made vow. The previously infidel father, who then became a devout of St. Dominic, hurried together with his resurrected son to Somlyó to announce the great miracle God performed to the honour of his glorious confessor, Dominic.²⁹⁹ The best example of the expectation of the friars to notify them about the miracles performed through the intercession of St. Dominic can be best observed in the following account:

From the village of the church of Titel³⁰⁰ [a man] called Tequer when he got seriously ill suffering pain in his back, shoulders and arms, after having visited the relics of St. Dominic, he regained completely his health. A few days later remorse started to prick his conscience that he did not make public to the friars the benefit of his regained health that he would have had to thank God and thus he promised himself to return [there]. When he again failed to do that out of negligence, one night St. Dominic appeared in his dream and demanded from him the price of his earlier restored health. Thus waking up from his dream the man set out on a trip and went to that place, and revealing his ingratitude before the friars, he brought to light diligently everything what had happened, the earlier restored health just as well as the subsequent revelation, while a great number of surrounding people listened to him giving thanks to God.³⁰¹

²⁹⁷ Constantine of Orvieto, *Legenda Sancti Dominici*, #79, 342-343: “Quam sacerdos suus et ceteri convicini, qui secum venerant, accedentes ad locum fratribus presentaverunt, tam infirmitatis pristinae quam sanitatis totaliter subsecute testimonia perhibentes.”

²⁹⁸ Constantine of Orvieto, *Legenda Sancti Dominici*, #73, 339: “Statimque, qui fuerat mortuus, in medium videntibus omnibus vite redditus prosilivit, quem devote domina in Similu sicut promiserat veniens priori domus et fratribus et suscitatum retulit et liberum presentavit.”

²⁹⁹ Constantine of Orvieto, *Legenda Sancti Dominici*, #76, 340-341: “Tandemque pater cum filio suscitato in Similu properans, quanta sibi fecerat dominus, ad honorem gloriosi confessoris sui Dominici nuntiavit.”

³⁰⁰ The provostry of Titel is in Arad county, where the River Danube flows into the River Tisza.

³⁰¹ Constantine of Orvieto, *Legenda Sancti Dominici*, #80, 343: “De villa Tituliensis ecclesie quidam Tequerem nomine, cum propter infirmitates graves, quas patiebatur in dorso, scapulis et brachiis, reliquas beati Dominici visitasset, sanitatem ad integrum de omnibus reportavit. Post paucos autem dies morderi cepit in conscientia, quod perceptum beneficium sanitatis, quo Deo debite gratie redderentur, nequaquam fratribus revelasset, unde et se promisit continuo rediturum. Cum autem iterum ex negligentia hoc differret, nocte quadam apparuit ei dormienti

This story is more of an *exemplum* on the proper fulfilment of the requisites that the beneficiary had to accomplish. Of the two miracles reported in the account, one about the healing and a second about the appearance of Dominic in his dream, obviously the second one has a central role. Already Rössler pointed to the tradition that the saints wished that the miracles performed because of their merits be publicized, which had already been perceivable in the other accounts as well, but here it is Dominic himself who demands the “payment” of his miracle, that is, its public proclamation.³⁰² I would like to make a slight adjustment to Rössler’s observation: to me it seems that the friars rather than the saints required the annunciation. These visits to the friars besides the publicizing of the miracle could have other purposes as well: a young man called Sandur (Sándor), after having been freed from the devils tormenting him, went to the friars to give thanks to them and repenting the sins he committed earlier, he promised the improvement of his life.³⁰³

Out of the sixteen healing miracles all but the two last ones relate physical illnesses,³⁰⁴ the only one who clearly had a serious mental disorder was a man called Bulchu (Bulcsú) who would behave as a ferocious dog.³⁰⁵ The other account, which is a *post mortem* charismatic exorcism,³⁰⁶ relates how the *dapifer* of the provost of Orod got seriously ill and was tormented in different way by demons. Amidst these tortures he offered himself to God and St. Dominic; and a saint in the habit of a friar preacher suddenly appeared, and repelled the demon’s attacks with the help of his habit and with his power repressed their insults, and returned the servant’s health.³⁰⁷ In the list of miracles from the Hungarian Province in Constantine’s legend on Dominic the last one is the only which is not of thaumaturgic but devotional character. This

beatus Dominicus et ab eo sanitatis prestate pretium exigebat. Quapropter expegefactus a somno statim iter arripuit, ad locum venit et coram fratribus de ingratitude seipsum redarguens, quod factum fuerat, totum tam de sanitate prius exhibita, quam de revelatione postmodum subsecuta devote simul et diligenter exposuit, audiente quamplurimo, qui tunc aderat, populo et Deo gratias referente.”

³⁰² Rössler, *Magyar domonkosrendi példák és legendák*, 43.

³⁰³ Constantine of Orvieto, #90, p. 346.

³⁰⁴ Weak and close to death (*languidus et morti proximus*) blind (*ceco*), mute (*mutus*), deaf (*surdo*), paralytic (*paralytica*) etc.

³⁰⁵ Constantine of Orvieto, #89, p. 346.

³⁰⁶ Exorcism was performed in two different ways: with the help of liturgical formulae used by clerics (liturgical type) and with the charismatic power (*virtus*) of the saints (charismatic type).

³⁰⁷ Constantine of Orvieto, *Legenda Sancti Dominici*, #90, 346. The charismatic exorcist power of St Dominic was attested by several miracle accounts a few decades later narrated by the Dominican nun Cecilia between 1272 and 1288.

miracle has already been mentioned when the local veneration of Dominic was discussed. A pious elderly woman, after she had placed three candles in vase and covered them with a towel but had not found the priest who would have to celebrate a votive mass for the saint, left. When she returned after an hour she saw that the candles were burning. She convened people from everywhere to see this wonderful miracle, who stayed there praying for a long time and they were watching how the candles were burning without causing any harm to the towel that was in the vase.³⁰⁸ This story is again a nice example of making a miracle public that ends up in a public veneration.

However, in the original set of miracles there was even one more of the same time that have come down to us only through the legend of St. Dominic in the *Vitas sanctorum* by Roderigo da Cerrato. Although Tugwell is probably right in saying that Constantine omitted this miracle because it was not a miracle of Dominic,³⁰⁹ it is a valuable testimony of the special devotion to the Eucharist in the Order of Preachers. Since this one is a scarcely known miracle, I will quote it in full length here:

Some priest while he was celebrating a mass at the altar of St. Dominic in Simlu, after that the *corpus Christi* had been elevated and had been adored by the people, when he was about to say over that place “panem sanctum uite eterne” he saw that the *corpus* disappeared. Stupefied, he called the by-standing clerics and told them about the misfortune that happened to him. While they were lamenting in vain, the subprior of the above-mentioned place who had been called arrived and looking for the *corpus domini*, turning to the people he said: “The *corpus Christi* you have just adored is not visible either because of your sins or those of the priest.” Hearing this many started to cry and the priest confessed the above-mentioned subprior who told him: “Bow yourself and pray to God and you will know that your sins are forgiven by the sign of the appearance of the *corpus Christi*. After this had been done, the *corpus domini* appeared. On account of that, the friars and the people rendered joyful praises to the Lord.”³¹⁰

³⁰⁸ Constantine of Orvieto, *Legenda Sancti Dominici*, #91, 347.

³⁰⁹ Tugwell, ed., *Miracula sancti Dominici*, 29.

³¹⁰ Rodrigo de Cerrato, *Vitas sanctorum* LVII 84, reported in Tugwell, ed., *Miracula sancti Dominici*, 28: “Sacerdos quidam dum cantaret missam ad altare beati Dominici in Simlu, eleuato corpore Christi et a populo adorato, signare uolens illud super illo loco ‘panem sanctum uite eterne’ corpus abesse uidit. Qui stupefactus clericos circumstantes uocauit et malum quod ei acciderat indicauit. Quibus in cassum gementibus, subprior illius loci uocatus uenit et corpus domini querens et non inueniens, uertens se ad populum ait, Corpus Christi quod modo adorastis uel propter peccata uestra uel sacerdotis non comparet. Quo audito fleuerunt multum. Sacerdos uero confessus est predicto subpriori. Cui subprior ait, Flectere et ora deum et hoc indicio scies peccata tua esse dimissa, si apparuerit corpus Christi. Quo facto corpus domini apparuit. Propter quod fratres et populus laudes cum letitia domino reddiderunt.”

The emergence of the practice of the elevation of the Host is a much debated issue of the history of liturgy.³¹¹ That such a practice already existed in Hungary in the thirteenth century, is known from various documents of the life of St. Margaret of Hungary, but this miracle from Somlyó indicates that this custom was in use in the country already in the 1240s the latest. Nevertheless, as József Török has pointed out, one should be careful to extend this practice to the whole kingdom since the Dominican Order was so well-organised and centralised that the friars adopted it soon;³¹² sooner than it became a general practice in Hungary. The miracle story of Somlyó opens with the gesture of elevation but with the disappearance of the Eucharist the bodily manifestation of Christ does not occur. This miracle is closely related to the rather high number of edifying stories on the *corpus Christi* reported mostly in the great collections of *exempla* of the thirteenth century and in particular to those in which, in the words of Miri Rubin, “[t]he host rebelled violently against breaches of the eucharistic code.”³¹³ Eucharistic devotion was popularized primarily by the two great mendicant orders and from the thirteenth century onwards became one of the essential characteristics of female piety.³¹⁴ This miracle from Hungary originated in the period of the institutionalization and the quick spread of the feast of *Corpus Domini* (1246-1264) to which the great Dominican theologians provided the theoretic and publicizing support.³¹⁵ In addition, the miracle also testifies that the laity frequented the church of the Dominican convent of Somlyó for participating in masses.

³¹¹ By the beginning of the thirteenth century has become a crucial focal point in popular devotions since this act announced to the congregation that the miracle had happened and the body and the blood of the resurrected Christ was present on the altar. See Gary Macy’s chapter “The Medieval Inheritance” in *A Companion to the Eucharist in the Reformation*, ed. Lee Palmer Wandel (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 15-38, at 19.

³¹² See József Török “A középkori magyarországi liturgia története” [The history of medieval liturgy in Hungary] in *Kódexek a középkori Magyarországon: Kiállítás az Országos Széchényi Könyvtárban: Budapest, Budavári Palota, 1985.november 12. – 1986.február 28.* (Budapest: Interpress, 1985), 49-66; on the origin and the development of this practice, see Vincent Lorne Kennedy, “The Moment of Consecration and the Elevation of the Host,” *Mediaeval Studies* 6 (1944), 121-150.

³¹³ How the Eucharist was taught with miracles was explored thoroughly by Miri Rubin, *Corpus Christi: The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 108-131, esp. at 125.

³¹⁴ Caroline Walker Bynum “Women Mystics and Eucharistic Devotion in the Thirteenth Century” in eadem, *Fragmentation and Redemption. Essays on Gender and the Human Body in Medieval Religion* (Zone Books, New York: 1991), 119-150. Cf. Sümegi, “Az Oltáriszentség és a Szent Vér tisztelete,” 107-119. On that of Margaret of Hungary’s and its parallels to that of St. Dominic, see Deák, *Árpád-házi Szent Margit*, 319.

³¹⁵ Mariano D’Alatri, “L’istituzione della festa del *Corpus Domini*” [1967], in Augustin Fliche, Christine Thouzellier, Mariano D’Alatri, *La Cristianità romana (1198-1274)* (Cinisello Balsamo: Edizioni San Paolo, 1980), 673-681, quoted from Canetti, *L’invenzione della memoria*, 433, note 330.

The miracles of Patak

The miracles attributed to the intercession of Peter of Verona are reported in the *relatio* written by Svipertus, the former prior of the Dominican friary of *Poroch* in which he described the history of the Dominican province of Hungary paying special attention to the missionary activities of the friars among the Cumans and the “schismatics”.³¹⁶ Towards the end of the *relatio*, the Svipertus narrates four recently occurred miracles attributed to the intercession of Peter Martyr:

It should be known, too, that almost innumerable miracles due to the grace of God and the merits of St. Dominic were performed in our convents in Hungary, so many that their number is exceeding, but lately in the year of 1259, when the people went to the church of our brothers in Poroch on the vigil of the translation of St. Dominic, after the celebration of the mass of St Peter Martyr, the people went close to the relics of the martyr out of veneration, and some Ruthenian woman, who suffered from a serious illness in her right hand, was healed; it was seen by religious as well as by secular people who were present. Likewise, some woman who placed her dead child under the altar of St. Peter Martyr got him/her back alive. A certain person who had been obsessed for years, was freed from the demon due to the merits of Ss. Dominic and Peter Martyr. To whom I, too, Suipterus, the prior of the same convent at that time, gave to eat. Some person of crippled foot, as he approached the altar of Peter Martyr, was healed.³¹⁷

Although Svipertus speaks about more convents in which miracles occurred due to the intercession of St Dominic, it is probably just a rhetorical means as no other sources speak about any other places where similar miracles happened. As to the relics of St. Peter of Verona they were displayed to the public on feast days, like the translation of St. Dominic. It turns out from the miracle accounts that the relics were placed in the altar or its stone table. It is not

³¹⁶ On the importance of the account in the history of the Dominican mission in Hungary, see Kornél Szovák, “A kun misszió helye és szerepe a magyarországi domonkosok korai történeti hagyományában” [The importance and the role of the Cuman mission in the early historiography of the Dominicans in Hungary] *A Szent Domonkos Rend és a kunok*, ed. Gábor Barna and Ágnes Deme (Szeged: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia-Szegedi Tudományegyetem Vallási Kultúrakutató Csoport, 2016), 115-126.

³¹⁷ Gerardus de Fracheto, *Vitae fratrum*, 308-309. Here I use Tugwell’s most recent, unpublished edition: “Noueritis etiam quod quasi infinita miracula per gratiam dei et merita beati Dominici in pluribus conuentibus nostris facta sunt in Ungaria adeo quod etiam numerum excedunt, sed et nouiter anno domini .m.cc.lix., cum populus uenisset ad ecclesiam fratrum nostrorum de Poroch in uigilia translationis beati Dominici et post celebrationem misse de beato Petro martire causa devotionis accederet populus ad reliquias martiris et quedam mulier ruthenica a graui infirmitate quam patiebatur in manu dextera, recepit sanitatem uidentibus omnibus tam religiosis quam secularibus qui ibi interfuerunt. Item cuiusdam mulieris infans defunctus positus sub altari beati Petri martiris uiuus est receptus. Quidam obsessus pluribus annis per merita beati Dominici et Petri martiris est a demonio liberatus, cui etiam ego frater Suipterus tunc prior eiusdem conuentus dedi manducare. Quidam contractus in pedibus accedens ad altare beati Petri martiris recepit sanitatem.

known what type of relic was preserved here, but the miraculous healings (even a raising of a dead baby) imply that it was a primary relic. The most remarkable is the first miracle above that tells about the healing of a *mulier Ruthenica*, that is, a “schismatic” woman. In the background of this miracle, also the successful mission of the Dominicans is outlined: a woman, (earlier?) the follower of the Eastern Christianity, probably encouraged by the local Dominicans, looks for healing at the relics of Peter Martyr and she regains health.³¹⁸ These brief records of miraculous healings witness an early phase of the cult of Peter of Verona, which explains the presence of St. Dominic in two of them. Invoking two saints at the same time, an “older” who has already an established cult and a “younger” who does not yet have a cult but whose fame as efficient intercessor has already spread at least in the areas where the Dominicans were active. The miracles attest to the friars’ efforts in Patak since primarily the brothers were those who spread the fame of their new saint and who urged the laity to invoke him in their prayers. Svipertus emphasized the authenticity of the first miracle by underlining the ecclesiastical and lay witnesses of the event, and also in the fourth one by mentioning that he himself personally knew the beneficiary of the miracle. The relic of Peter Martyr due to the twofold nature of relics meant the personal presence of the saint in the Dominican church. It served, on the one hand the formation of the local cult of Peter Martyr and thus also to strengthen the presence of the Dominicans in the region, and on the other hand, it as protection of the North-eastern part of Hungary from a possible repeated Mongolian raid.

II.2.3 *Excursus: St Dominic’s finger relic in Székesfehérvár?*

The miracle accounts from Somlyó from the first wave do not say what kind of relic of St. Dominic was preserved there. That his finger relic was kept in Somlyó was mentioned for the first time about 70 years later in the two new miracles (#13; #14) collected from the priory that

³¹⁸ According to János Szarka, the followers of Eastern Christianity had been present in Patak since the eleventh century and he supposes that the Dominicans received the by that time abandoned *rotunda* that had been formerly used by the followers of the “Greek rite”. Szarka argued that the reason of settling of the Dominicans and the Franciscans, the two orders that pursued inquisitorial activity, was the presence of the Cumans and the followers of the Eastern Church in the region. *A rotunda öröksége 2.: a görög rítus nyomai a középkorban Sárospatakon és vonzáskörzetében Borsod–Abaúj–Zemplén vármegyében*. [The heritage of the rotunda 2.: the traces of the Greek rite in Sárospatak and its surroundings in the Middle Ages] (Miskolc: [Szarka János], 2010), 229.

figure in the Berengarian miracle collections of 1315.³¹⁹ In the miracle narrated by Nicolaus de Castro Ferreo we here of the resurrection of the provost of Székesfehérvár at an unspecified place that must have been somewhere in the proximity of Somlyó since the friars could go there immediately with the finger relic. The same miracle, in a slightly different version, can be found in the Hungarian Domonkos Codex as well. It begins with the following: “And in Hungary at Alba Regalis [i.e. Székesfehérvár] the *son* (!) of some provost at the time of vespers was tortured by great pains and finally died.”³²⁰ It was clear both for Rössler and Györkös, the two scholars who have dealt with the miracles that took place in Hungary, that the finger relic of Dominic, with the help of which according to the Domonkos Codex the son of the provost was raised from the dead in Fehérvár could not be else but the one preserved in Somlyó. This has led Rössler to hypothesize that Similu might be identical with Székesfehérvár. Györkös, by pointing out that it would have been unlikely that two relics of St. Dominic would have been preserved in Hungary, proposed in 2007 that maybe the friar preachers of Somlyó, escaping from the Mongolian invasion took it from their convent in Krassó county –which suffered great damages in 1241- and placed it to the safer Dominican convent of Székesfehérvár.³²¹ In his more recent article, however, Györkös no longer maintained this hypothesis and argued that it had been lost since no early sixteenth-century sources mention of the relics allegedly kept in Székesfehérvár, and he regarded the reference of the Domonkos Codex as a mistake of the translation on the basis of which the nun scribe Lea Ráskai worked or an error on her own part.³²² Since Györkös did not explain the reasons he changed some of his earlier views, I would like to present the reasons why the finger relic was not taken to Székesfehérvár to save from the Mongolians and that Székesfehérvár became the new place of preservation of Dominic’s relic in the Domonkos Codex due to a mistranslation of the mistranslation of a much later and abbreviated Latin version of a text reporting the miracles that the Hungarian translator of the Domonkos Codex had at his disposal. In order to show this, I juxtapose the first sentences of the miracle in five sources: the Berengarian collection of miracles (1315), Peter Calò’s legend

³¹⁹ #13 is reported in Tugwell, ed., *Miracula sancti Dominici*, 121-122; #14, 122-123: [...] se prius uelle personaliter ire in Sumlu ad digitum beati Domini et aquam lotionis eius deferre.”

³²⁰ *Domonkos-kódex* 1517, 72: “Esmeg magyar orzagban feýer varat nemely prepostnak fýa nemely napon vechernyenek jdeýen nagy faydalmal gevtreteek vegezetre az faydalmakban meg hala.”

³²¹ Györkös, “Magyar vonatkozású domonkos rendi történetek a XIII. században,” 57.

³²² Györkös, “The Saint and His Finger,” 548.

(1324-1329), that of Bernard Gui (sometime in the 1320s), the Dominican Breviary of 1487 and the *Domonkos Codex* (1517).

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| BMD (13) (Tugwell, ed. <i>Miracula sancti Dominici</i> , 121- 122) | Peter Calò: <i>De Sancto Dominico</i> (46) (Tugwell, ed. <i>Miracula sancti Dominici</i> , 283- 284) | Bernard Gui: <i>Legenda sancti Dominici</i> (106), ed. Tugwell (290-291) | 1487 breviary f. 261v (Tugwell, ed., <i>Miracula sancti Dominici</i> , 318) | <i>Domonkos Codex</i> 172/22 – 173/21 |
| <i>quodam preposito Ungaro per beati Dominici merita suscitato.</i> Narrauit frater Nicholas de Castro Ferreus de prouincia Ungarie, diffinitor capituli generalis apud Bononiam celebrati anno domini m ^o ccc ^o xv ^o tempore Berengarii magistri ordinis, quod dum ipse frater Nicholas esset prior in Sumlu, in loco ubi est digitus beati Dominici, quidam prepositus de Alba Regali Stephanus nomine die quadam uespertina hora uehementi dolore uexatus tandem in doloribus expirauit. Dum autem funeralia parentur et sequenti die esset sepulture | Narrauit frater Nicholaus de Castro Ferreo de Ungaria multis et michi anno domini m ^o ccc ^o xv ^o post capitulum generale Bononie celebratum, ubi fuerat diffinitor, quod dum ipse esset in Ungaria prior in Sumlu, ubi est digitus beati Dominici, quidam prepositus de Alba Regali, Stephanus nomine die quadam hora uespertina uehementi dolore uexatus tandem in doloribus expirauit. Dum autem funeralia parentur et | In eadem prouincia Ungarie quidam prepositus de Alba Regali Stephanus nomine die quadam hora uespertina uehementi dolore uexatus in uisceribus tandem expirauit. Dum autem pro eo funeralia parentur et sequenti die esset sepulture tradendus, quidam de astantibus dixit, Spero quod si digitus beati Dominici <i>qui habetur in domo fratrum predicatorum in Somplu apparetur huc ad</i> | Cuiusdam prepositi in Alba Regali Ungarie filius die quadam hora uespertina uehementi dolore vexatus tandem in doloribus expirauit. Tunc deuotione beati Dominici commoti astantes miserunt ad conuentum in Similu vbi est digitus beati | Esmeeg magyar orzagban feyer varat nemely prepostnak fya nemely napon vechernyenek jdeyen nagy faydalmal gevtreteek vegezetre az faydalmakban meg hala: Tahat zent damancos (173=87r) atyanokban valo aytatossagban meg jndulanak az kevrnyevl |

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| tradendus, quidam de astantibus dixit, Si portaretur huc digitus beati Dominici, spero quod per ipsius merita dominus ei uitam donaret. Tunc miserunt ad priorem prefatum predictam gratiam instantibus precibus postulantes. | sequenti die esset sepulture tradendus, quidam de astantibus dixit, Si portaretur huc digitus beati Dominici, spero quod per ipsius merita dominus ei uitam donaret. Tunc miserunt ad priorem prefatum dictam gratiam instantibus precibus postulantes. | <i>defunctum, quod per ipsius sancti merita dominus redderet ei uitam. Tunc miserunt ad priorem fratrum nomine Nicholaum talem sibi gratiam fieri instantibus precibus postulantes.</i> | Dominici instantissime petentes vt prior dictum beati viri digitum opportaret ad defunctum. | allok : kevldenek az conuentben hol vala zent damancos atyanknak vya : kerueen nagy kevnjergessel : hog az prior zent damancos atyanknak vyat hoznaȳa az megholtnak testehez: |
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From among the Latin sources only the printed breviary speaks about the *son* of some provost whose presence, as Tugwell pointed out, is absolutely unexplained and not supported by another variant of the miracle reported in another popular contemporary work, Flaminio's *Vitae Patrum Incltyi Ordinis Praedicatorum*,³²³ yet it is present in the *Domonkos Codex* ("fya"). Second, while the Bérengarian collection, Peter Calò and Bernard Gui give precise information that it happened while Nicholas de Castro Ferreo was the prior of Somlyó where the relic of Dominic was preserved, the name of the prior is omitted both in the breviary and the *Domonkos Codex*. The location is indicated in the breviary (*conuentum in Similu vbi est digitus beati Dominici*) but the *Domonkos Codex* says only that "in the convent where the finger of our father St. Dominic was kept" (*az conuentben hol vala zent damancos atyanknak vya*). The reason for the omission of the location of the convent in the *Domonkos Codex* is unclear since it is not known whether it was reported (or was legible) in the Latin source the Hungarian translator used. If it was not, the substitution of the preposition "de" with "in" relating the provost in the two late versions may have led the translator to "relocate" the relic to Fehérvár. The Berengarian collection and Calò tell about some provost *from* Fehérvár called Stephen (*quidam prepositus de Alba Regali Stephanus nomine*), in the breviary one finds that the miracle

³²³ Tugwell, *Miracula sancti Dominici*, 319.

happened to some provost *in* Fehérvár in Hungary (*cuiusdam preposti in Alba Regali Vngarie*). Since in late Medieval Latin the preposition “in” could both mean “in” and “from”, it does not seem to be a significant difference until it is not translated. Only the supposition that the translator’s Latin source did not report the location can explain why he rendered it closer to the version reported in the breviary in the sense of “in” (magyar orzagban feyer varat). So while there is an argument in favour of considering the breviary the direct source of the miracle (the presence of the son of the provost not attested in any other variants) and there is one against (the omission of location of “Similu” present in the breviary), it is doubtless that placing the miracle to Fehérvár is a translation error in the *Domonkos Codex*, especially since all the Latin versions of the miracle locate the relic to Somlyó.

II.3. Other traces of veneration

II.3.1 Patrocinia

Several churches and altars were dedicated to St Dominic in the three hundred years in Hungary but their exact number is not known. Even though at the General Chapter assembled in London in 1250 the members of the Order were prompted to put their churches under the protection of the saint, in the Hungarian Province the friars’ churches tended to be dedicated rather to the Virgin, the “traditional” saints and the Holy Cross.³²⁴ Of the churches of the convents of the Order of Preachers only Győr and Beregszász or Luprechtháza (Beregove, Ukraine) were dedicated to St. Dominic. The friary of Győr was founded probably in the 1240s, that of Beregszász is presumably identical with the one founded by Erasmus Montanista in 1479 “in Nova Civitate” (since a recently built part of the town was called *Nova Civitas*) and its church was probably dedicated to St. Dominic. It is known from a writ (*breve*) written by Pope Sixtus IV to Erasmus Montanista, the lord of *Nova Civitas* as a positive answer to his request for papal authorization for building a convent: Erasmus had a church built in the new part of the town and then he also wanted to build a house for the prior and the friars in order that they could serve God and to be the glory of His name and the reverence of St. Dominic.

³²⁴ Harsányi, *A domonkos rend*, 80-82; Romhányi, *Kolostorok*.

In three Dominican churches altars were dedicated to the saint. In addition to the already mentioned Somlyó, the altar of St Dominic in the church of the convent of Kolozsvár mentioned for the first time in 1397.³²⁵ The convent of Segesvár (Sighişoara, Romania) was founded before 1298 and one of the chapels of its church was dedicated also to St. Dominic and four other saintly figures.³²⁶

References to an altar as well as a chapel dedicated to St Dominic *ante fores* of the Dominican church of Segesvár from documents discovered in 1859 during the restoration of the (by that time Calvinist) church.³²⁷ It comprises, among other valuable materials, testaments that are quite informative about the amount or the precise list of the items and the purpose of the benefaction, witness how significant the role of the Dominicans were in late medieval Transylvania who in return would pray or celebrate masses for the salvation of the soul of the testator or his or her members of the family. Most of them were wealthy burghers but also four widows and four parish priests were among the donors. The parish priest habitually bequeathed ecclesiastical equipments and -in two cases- also smaller estates to the friars.³²⁸ *Dominus Michael*, the parish priest in *Villa Budonis*, who, feeling ill, made himself transported to the convent to end his life here around Christmastime in 1505, bestowed generous amount of donations to the friars including a fishpond and wished to be buried in front of the altar dedicated to the founding father of the Order of Preachers.³²⁹ In the same year, the parish priest of Volkan, *Magister Nicasius*, who had been a preacher in Kolozsvár then in Beszterce (Bistrița) and a great adversary of the Dominicans earlier, changed his mind, resigned his parish

³²⁵ DL 28765; DL 28764. Quoted from Géza Entz, *Erdély építészete a 14-16. században* (Kolozsvár: Erdélyi Múzeum, 1996), 342: “in civitate Cluswar in sacristia claustrum beate Mariae virginis praedicatorum ordinis (...) corpus altaris sancti Dominici (...) manibus ipsorum tangentes”. The Dominicans and the Franciscans were chased away from their convents in the town in 1556 and all the images and statues representing saints were burnt. For a recent and detailed survey of the Dominican convent of Cluj, see Péter Sas, “A kolozsvári domonkos templom és kolostor szerepe, jelentősége a város építészetiében” [The role and the importance of the Dominican church and convent in the architecture of the town] in *A Domonkos Rend Magyarországon*, 353-385.

³²⁶ 20th March 1298. MOL DF 286699; *Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte der Deutschen in Siebenbürgen*, ed. Franz Zimmermann, Carl Werner and Gustav Gündisch (Cologne: [n. p.], 1892-1991), vol.1, no. 281 and no.294.

³²⁷ The documents were edited in Karl Fabritius, “Zwei Funde in der ehemaligen Dominikanerkirche zu Schässburg”, *Archiv des Vereins für siebenbürgische Landeskunde*. 5/1 (1861), 1-40; Arnold Ipolyi, “Adalékok a magyar domonkosok történetéhez”, *Magyar Sion* 5 (1867), pp. 481-497, 590-610, 662-673, 769-776. Attention to their importance as sources of mendicant economy was called by Beatrix F. Romhányi, “Egy régi-új forrás az erdélyi domonkosok történetéhez” [An old-new source to the history of the Dominicans of Transylvania] *Communicationes archaeologicae Hungariae* (2004): 235-247.

³²⁸ Romhányi, “Egy régi-új forrás az erdélyi domonkosok történetéhez”, 237-238.

³²⁹ Ipolyi, “Adalékok a magyar domonkosok történetéhez”, 606-607, no. 13.

and moved to the convent with all his belongings.³³⁰ He bestowed his books, tithes (*decima*) and his chasuble on the friars and asked for their pardon and that they should preserve his memory and pray for his soul; he wished to be buried in the habit of the Order at the altar of St Dominic.³³¹ The third parish priest, *Dominus Andreas de Ewlysz*, in 1520 left some estates and goods to the friars and requested to perform weekly a mass for him and to be buried at the altar of St Dominic in the habit of the Order that he loved so much that he did not want to be detached from it even in his death.³³² This altar was the second most important one after the high altar of the church, so its selection as a burial place reflects the social prestige of the parish priests.³³³ The already mentioned chapel *ante fores* of the church was dedicated not only to St Dominic but also to the Virgin Mary, St Francis, St Rupert and St Ulrich was built from the generous funds a wealthy widow of Martin Cruetz from Brassó (Braşov, Romania) called Dorothy, who originally wanted to join the Dominican Third Order (*Sorores ordinis nostrij de penitencia S. Dominici*) but as she was refused because of her widowed state, she became a Franciscan tertiary. In her testament of 1520, she prescribed that in exchange for the funds and the rich benefactions, the friars should celebrate a mass each week for the salvation of her parents, her husband and herself.³³⁴ Carmen Florea has underlined the importance of this bequest from Transylvania as a typical example of a trend that was widespread throughout Europe in the last centuries of the Middle Ages: the increasing role of the mendicant orders as intermediaries for salvation, which is not only attested by the valuables left to the convent and the requests that that the testators be buried in the mendicant churches or their cemeteries, sometimes wearing the orders' habit, and most importantly, by the high number of commemorative masses celebrated by the friars.³³⁵

³³⁰ Ipolyi, "Adalékok a magyar domonkosok történetéhez", 607-608, no. 15.

³³¹ Being buried in the habit of the order was allowed only to those who were to be buried in their church; cf. Ferenc Kollányi, "Magyar ferenczrendiek a XVI. század első felében," [Hungarian Franciscans in the First Half of the Sixteenth Century] *Századok* 32 (1898): 317-327, 405-419, 510-518, 600-620, 716-731, 814-821, 909-930, at 414.

³³² Ipolyi, "Adalékok a magyar domonkosok történetéhez", 663-664, no. 21.

³³³ Beatrix F. Romhányi, "A koldulóbarátok szerepe a XV-XVI. századi vallási megújulásban" [The role of mendicant friars in the religious revival of the fifteenth and sixteenth century], in *Szentírás, hagyomány, reformáció. Teológia- és egyháztörténeti tanulmányok*, ed. Beatrix F. Romhányi and Gábor Kendeffy (Budapest: Gondolat kiadó, 2009), 142-153, at 146.

³³⁴ Ipolyi, "Adalékok a magyar domonkosok történetéhez", 662-663, no. 20.

³³⁵ Florea, "The Third Path," 91-92.

Not only the Dominicans but also two monastic orders named their churches after the saint. A church or chapel dedicated to St. Dominic was mentioned to be in ruins in the Benedictine Abbey of Almád in 1508. A hermitage near Szakácsi (Veszprém county) later used by the Paulines is mentioned to be under patronage of Dominic as early as 1263.. In addition, a church dedicated to St Dominic existed in an estate named Szinye (Svinia, Slovakia) in 1282.

Altars dedicated to the founding father of the Order of Preachers can be found in other types of churches, especially parish churches, too: Csíkszentdomokos (Sîndominic, Romania), Nagytürnye (Vel'ké Trnie, Slovakia), Sárospatak, Zsid and Pest.³³⁶ Also, one of the chapels of the cathedral of Várad (Oradea, Romania) was dedicated to him some time before 1375.³³⁷ In the chapel, an altar was erected for him by Bishop Domokos Bebek in 1373-74.³³⁸ It seems, however, that it was not the first altar of St Dominic in the cathedral because Provost Csanád (*chanadinus prepositus ecclesie Waradiensis*) already founded one between 1317 and 1322 that he dedicated to him along with four other saints. The altar foundations of Provost Csanád (although without the specific indications of the names of the saints) are mentioned in the bull of John XXII in 1319 in which the pope, under certain conditions, provided indulgences of 40 and 60 days for those visiting the cathedral and the altars.³³⁹ And finally, it is known from a charter issued in 1347 that in the Church of St. Andrew the Apostle in Dörögdi built around the 1330s probably by Miklós Dörögdi, bishop of Eger, that one of the three altars of the church was dedicated to St Dominic. It was that altar in front of or next to which the local noblemen had to stand, while the noblewomen's place was in the western direction from it.³⁴⁰

³³⁶ Mező, *Patrocíniumok*, 67-69. The two lists of the church and altar dedications by Romhányi and Mező are not in agreement: Romhányi corrected some of the information found in Mező's inventory and does not mention any dedications to St. Dominic in Dominican convents like Dubica (Bosnia-Herzegovina), Esztergom, Székesfehérvár, Szatmárnémeti (Satu Mare, Romania), Vasvár (Hungary).

³³⁷ Vincze Bunyitay, *A váradi püspökség története* [The history of the bishopric of Oradea]. 4. vols. (Nagyvárad, 1884), vol. 3, 42-44; Jolán Balogh, *Varadinum. Várad vára* [Varadinum. The castle of Várad/Oradea], 2 vols. (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1982), vol. 2, 275-276.

³³⁸ This altar was under the western right tower; Balogh, *Varadinum*, vol.2, 277.

³³⁹ Theiner, vol.1, no. 709. Three of the altars founded by Csanád are mentioned in the statutes of 1375: "Edificavit etiam et dotavit tria altaria sita in dicta ecclesia nostra: sancti videlicet Dominici sub campanili dextro occidentali; sancte Anne iuxta aram sancte Crucis; et sancte Elene ex opposito altari sancti Luce" in Bunyitay, *A váradi*, vol.3, 72.

³⁴⁰ Mező, *Patrocíniumok*, 41-42; the charter is reported in Remig Békefi, "A Balaton környékének egyházai és várai a középkorban" [The churches and the castles of the surroundings of Lake Balaton in the Middle Ages] (Budapest: Hornyánszky Nyomda, 1907), 132-133.

The memory of the founding father is also preserved in the names of villages and streets: a village called “Szentdomonkos” (St Dominic) in Heves county in 1483.³⁴¹ In Székesfehérvár, one of the first towns in which the Order of Preachers settled down in the early 1230s, a reference from 1493 attests that there was a street dedicated to St Dominic outside the town walls in front of the Johannite Church.³⁴² Similarly in Győr, where the friars settled down between 1239 and 1252, the street where the preachers’ friary stood was called St Dominic street.³⁴³ The two latter examples show that it was a common practice to call the main street leading to the Dominican church and /or convent simply as “*Domonkos utca*” which refers to the Dominicans in general, not the founder.

Considerably less churches and altars were dedicated to Peter Martyr. Even though one would expect the Order of Preachers to be the primary promoters of Peter’s cult, in fact, none of their friaries in Hungary were dedicated to the saint. The earliest dedication of a church to the martyr was in the suburb of Buda.³⁴⁴ The church of Peter Martyr, together with the *ecclesia* of Mary Magdalene were the *filiae* of the parish church of Our Lady of royal foundation. It was built in all likelihood at the initiative partly of the king, partly of the *hospes* inhabiting the quarter. The first (indirect) reference to the church comes from 1257 but its name is not mentioned; the earliest reference to the *capelle sancti Petri* is from 1301.³⁴⁵ The changes in the church building reflect the urbanization of the town of Buda: in the fourteenth century, a bell tower was built to the originally modest, single-nave church, and in the fifteenth century it was completely rebuilt

³⁴¹ József Teleki, *Hunyadiak kora Magyarországon* [The Age of the Hunyadis in Hungary] (Pest: Emich és Eisenfels, 1852-1941), 242.

³⁴² Péter Kóta, *Regeszták a vasvári káptalan levéltárának okleveleiről: (1330) 1212-1526* [Regesta of the charters of the archive of the Chapter of Vasvár] ([Szombathely]: Szignatúra Nyomda, 1997), 177, no. 542 (df. 262528).

³⁴³ On the Dominican friary, see Romhányi, *Kolostorok*, 28. On the St Dominic Street, see Vince Bedy, *Győr katolikus vallásos életének múltja* [The catholic past of Győr] (Győr: Győregyházmegyei Alap Nyomdája, 1939), 39.

³⁴⁴ On the St Peter Martyr church, see András Végh, *Buda város középkori helyrajza* [The medieval topography of the town of Buda] (Budapest: Budapesti Történeti Múzeum, 2006–2008), vol.1, 103–104; András Koltai, “Szent Péter mártír oltalma alatt” [Under the protection of St. Peter Martyr] in *A Szent Anna templom és a budai Víziváros katolikus egyházai* ed. idem, (Budapest: Felsővízivárosi Szent Anna Plébánia, 2005), 9-28.

³⁴⁵ Végh, *Buda város*, vol.1, 35. On the foundation of the *filiae* of the Church of Our Lady, see András Kubinyi, “Budafelhévíz topográfiaja és gazdasági fejlődése” [The topography and the economical development of Felhévíz], in *Tanulmányok Budapest múltjából* 16 (1964): 85-180. Originally, St Peter Martyr was established for the spiritual care of the non-German speaking inhabitants, but soon became an independent parish district. The suburb of St Peter (Szentpéter) was an important commercial centre: merchants and craftsmen lived here and was also a significant area of wine production.

as a three-nave parish church.³⁴⁶ From this period survive the requests of indulgences submitted by King Sigismund and his escort to Pope Eugen IV during their sojourn in Rome in 1433 relating the St Peter Martyr parish church. The king was granted to exhibit the (unspecified) relics in the feast of the Holy Trinity that practically coincided with the annual fair of Buda held at Pentecost.³⁴⁷ The centre of the quarter referred to as “St Peter Martyr” (*Szentpétermártír*) since the fifteenth century was the market place next to the homonymous church, and probably it also had a street named for the martyr.³⁴⁸ The Franciscan convent of Pest established before 1288 was dedicated to St Peter and also the adjacent street was named St Peter Street but in all probability, it was dedicated to the apostle, not the martyr.³⁴⁹ Another early dedication seems to be the church Helesfa (diocese of Pécs) first mentioned in 1305/1320, which might be related also to the General Chapter of Buda.³⁵⁰ Beside the above mentioned churches, in three other settlements (Vista, Náta and Nyitra) were dedicated to the martyr but the Dominicans were not present in any of these places.³⁵¹

II.3.2 Remnants of the observation of their feasts

Indulgences provided regular, even if relatively low income for the ecclesiastical institutions to which they were granted. The papal grants of indulgences were results of the initiatives of either the religious orders, or of the landlords on whose lands these friaries were – who acted

³⁴⁶ Katalin H. Gyürky, “Adatok a budai Szent Péter külváros topográfiájához” [Additions to the suburb of St Peter in Buda], *Budapest Régiségei* 22 (1971): 223-243.

³⁴⁷ Albert Gárdonyi and Bernát L. Kumorovitz, *Budapest történetének okleveles emlékei* [The charter sources of the history of Budapest] (Budapest: Budapesti Történeti Múzeum, 1936-1987), vol. 2, no. 1046, 1053, 1071. On the supplications: Koltai, *Szent Péter mártír oltalma alatt*, 17.

³⁴⁸ On the quarter of St Peter Martyr, see Végh, *Buda város*, vol.1, 90-91.

³⁴⁹ According to Karácsonyi, it was dedicated to Peter Martyr, which would be a remarkable case had it been in fact dedicated to the saint of the rival mendicant order, and also Romhányi shares this view; Karácsonyi, *Szent Ferencz*, vol.2, 225; Romhányi, *Kolostorok*, 225. In Csánki's *Magyarország történelmi atlasza*, vol.1, 24, in the cited charter only the name Peter is mentioned. The Franciscan convent of Pest does not figure in Mező's *Patrociniumok*. I could not discover the reason why Karácsonyi regarded it to be dedicated to a Dominican martyr, even if one of the most important churches of the suburb of Buda on the other side of the River Danube was Peter Martyr's Church.

³⁵⁰ “st sac. eccl-e S. Petri mr-is de v. Chelley”. *Anjoukori Okmánytár* I, 350. Helesfa (Ellősfalva) was named for Helleus (Achilles) by his relatives who possessed this territory in 1343. In 1242, provost Achilleus accompanied Béla IV to Dalmatia, he was the provost of Székesfehérvár between 1243 and 1250, and became the bishop of Pécs in 1251. I believe that the decision to consecrate the church of the village to Peter Martyr can be also related to his close relation to the royal house and the general chapter of Buda.

³⁵¹ Mező, *Patrociniumok*, 381-382. Mező mistakenly lists here the collegiate chapter of Székesfehérvár, but it was dedicated to the apostle, not the martyr; see Romhányi, *Kolostorok*, 61.

presumably with the consent of the given order.³⁵² Some of them granted indulgences to the feast of the saints of the Order of Preachers. Pope Martin IV gave permission to the Dominicans of Esztergom to provide indulgence on the feasts of the church, including those of Dominic and Peter in 1284.³⁵³ A permission of indulgence that does not seem to be related to the Order of Preachers was issued by Pope Boniface IX on 16 March in 1402 to all those who visited the church of the Holy Spirit *de Novoforo* in the diocese of Zagreb on the feasts of Ss Martin, Mary Magdalene, the Conversion of St Paul, as well as those of Ss Dominic, Thomas Aquinas, Peter Martyr and Bridget of Sweden.³⁵⁴

In lines with the prescriptions of the order, the offices and the readings of the saints were added to the Dominican liturgical books. The earliest extant copies of such works in Hungary are dated to the fourteenth century.³⁵⁵ A lectionary originating from the fourteenth century attests the special importance of the founder, since three times nine readings were provided for his *totum duplex* feast based on his legend by Peter Ferrand.³⁵⁶ In the same codex, Peter of Verona is celebrated with three (but long) readings taken from his bull of canonization.³⁵⁷ Naturally, the feasts of the Dominican saints were celebrated also outside the Order of Preachers as they were incorporated in the Roman Calendar. Masses for Dominic and Peter can be found in the *Missale Notatum Strigoniense* made in Pozsony before 1341.³⁵⁸

³⁵² Romhányi, *Kolduló barátok*, 79.

³⁵³ *ÁÚO* IX, 402, no. 286 (1284): “Cupientes igitur, ut Ecclesia Fratrum Praedicatorum in Ciuitate Strigoniensi congruis honoribus frequentetur; omnibus uere penitentibus et confessis, qui ad ecclesiam ipsam in festis subscriptis, videlicet in die (dedica)cionis et in anniversario eiusdem, in festo beati Petri martiris, in festis Sanctorum Confessorum ---- Dominici et Martini, (in festo sancte) Katerine Virginis et martiris ac Dedicationis ipsius ecclesie festiuitatibus (...)”.

³⁵⁴ *Bullae Bonifacii IX 1396-1404*: p. 429. 1402. 16. Martii “(...) ac sancti Martini et sancte Mariae Magdalene ac Conversionis sancti Pauli predicti nec non sanctorum Dominici et Thome de Aquino ac sancti Petri martyris et sancte Brigide vidue ac dedicationis ipsius ecclesie festiuitatibus et predictam ecclesiam devote visitauerint annuatim (...)”. *Novumforum* in all probability can be identified with a part of medieval Ljbljana.

³⁵⁵ Alba Iulia Bibliotheca Batthyani, R I 25 and R I 50.

³⁵⁶ Alba Iulia Bibliotheca Batthyani, R I 19, 69v-75r. At the end on the last reading, some instructions can be read what to do if the feast of the founding father falls on Sunday or the vigil or the feast of St Lawrence.

³⁵⁷ Alba Iulia Bibliotheca Batthyani, R I 19, fol. 151v-152v.

³⁵⁸ Since the masses composed for Peter’s and Clare’s feasts are reported in the supplement to the *sanctorale* on fol. 319r-v following the funeral masses and the prayers for the dead, it has been argued that the missal is a compilation from several models and the scribe could not originally incorporate them in their proper places. See *Missale Notatum Strigoniense ante 1341 in Posonio*, ed. Janka Szendrei and Richard Rybarič. (Budapest 1982), 17.

II.4. The two saints in thirteenth and early-fourteenth century sermons

The earliest surviving sermons on these two saints in Hungary were composed for Dominicans. Although they were model sermons written for the members of the order, and in the case of the *Sermones compilati* collection almost surely for the novices, the themes that come up cannot be restricted to the audience of friars. The (future) friars presumably used many of the themes that can be found in these draft sermons. Therefore, they could be used as indicators of the saintly images of Dominic and Peter of Verona in the late thirteenth-early fourteenth centuries.

II.4.1 Two sermons on St Dominic in the *Codex of Leuven*

The Codex of Leuven is originally made up of two volumes bound together at the end of the thirteenth century, which was rebound in the Dominican friary of Pettau some time between 1391 and 1438.³⁵⁹ The codex is well-known since, in addition to glosses in Hungarian, it also contains the earliest extant piece of poetry in the Hungarian vernacular, the Lament of Mary (“Ómagyar Mária Siralom”) composed probably by a Dominican friar, which suggests that the sermon collection was used by a Hungarian community in the thirteenth century. It is made up of *de tempore* and *de sanctis* sermons mostly by contemporary French and Italian Dominicans.³⁶⁰

³⁵⁹ Since the manuscript contains the earliest known piece of vernacular poetry dated to the second half of the thirteenth century, *The Lament of Mary*, a Hungarian translation of the sequence *Planctus ante nescia*, as well as other texts and glosses written in the vernacular, it was purchased by the Hungarian State in 1982 and it is located today in the National Széchenyi Library under the shelfmark MNY 69 [Old Hungarian Texts]. In the fifteenth century the Codex of Leuven was possessed by the Dominican convent of Pettau, southern Styria (Ptuj, in present-day Slovenia), which was in a strategic position linking the medieval Hungarian Kingdom with Italy. For the most exhaustive description of the history and the content of the codex in Hungary as well as for the edition and analysis of the sermons, *distinctiones*, *divisiones*, or *exempla* written by Hungarian scribes, see András Vizkelety, *Az európai prédikációirodalom recepciója a Leuveni kódexben* [The reception of the European sermon literature in the Codex of Leuven], *Fragmenta et codices in bibliothecis Hungariae IV*, (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 2004).

³⁶⁰ Such as Aldobrandino Cavalcanti (ca.1217-1279), Constantine of Orvieto (ca.1215-1256), Hugh of St-Cher (ca.1200-1263), Johannes de Oprano, Martin of Opava/Troppau known also as Martinus Polonus (?-1278), Reginald of Piperno (ca.1230-ca.1290), who were the renown authors of thematic sermons. These sermons were called also scholastic sermons because of their structure which is quite different from the homilies that took an entire pericope as the centre of the sermon. Scholastic sermons are based on a citation from the Bible, a *thema*, which is divided to further parts called *membra*. These sermons are carefully structured models on the basis of which an infinite number of sermon variants can be compiled by expanding or adding some explanatory material, or *exempla* to the focal points, or by abbreviating it. Although such model sermons were written in Latin for the sake of a wider distribution, they could be used as a basis for Latin and vernacular sermons alike. Unfortunately, it

Five sermons and four brief draft sermons on St Dominic can be found in the collection, of which two are of special interest for us since in all probability these were written by the same author in Hungary. These were transcribed and analysed by András Vizkelety.³⁶¹ The sermon *Crevit Samuel...* (I. Reg. 3:9) is built on the word “grew” and its literal sense refers to Samuel who grew in the abundance of virtues, reverence, excellence in sanctity, and efficiency of his word. The typology between Samuel and Dominic should be seen in that the former was a preacher both on the account of his name as well as on the dignity of his office. The sermon contains a passage which is a remarkable testimony of self-perception of the preacher friars from the last decades of the thirteenth century:

He [Dominic] grew by the creation of a new order since he had been born before the light-bringing order to chase away the darkness of the world, he created the shining morning. Just as the morning star is the last star that appears, this order is the latest in foundation but the first in usefulness, late in time but the first in the service of edification. He grew by the foundation of a mendicant order. So much stood out Dominic as the lover and the follower of poverty that on the way of leaving the bodily world, in the one and only disposal of his testament he left to his sons, was to observe poverty.³⁶²

The second sermon, built on the theme *Ioseph qui natus est homo...* (Eccli 49:17), in all likelihood was written by a high ranking member of the order who participated both in the general chapter as well as in the solemn ceremony on 5 June in Bologna of 1267, which can be seen clearly from the last parallel he drew in the sermon between Joseph and Dominic: the translation to a worthy place and the veneration of their relics.³⁶³ As it has been pointed out by Vizkelety, the author, in all probability the Provincial of Hungary, who could be either

is not known how these sermons were delivered orally: the only fix points seem to be the *thema* and the focal points, the *membra*.

³⁶¹ As it has been already shown by Vizkelety, the author uses in both sermons the word “grew” (*crevit*) either as a keyword or a *distinction* and there are some thematic correspondences between them, like Dominic’s canonical profession, his preaching activity, his glorification in heaven and his chastity; see Vizkelety, *Az európai prédikációirodalom recepciója a Leuveni kódexben*, 159. Also Dominic’s insistence on poverty that he left to his brethren as a testament should be added to this.

³⁶² “Crevit noui ordinis creacione, quia ipse ante luciferum ordinem genitus ad fugandas mundi tenebras, luciferum produxit matutinum. Sicut est Lucifer ultimus stellarum apparicione, sic ordo iste nouissimus institucione, sed primus utilitate, nouus temporis spacio, sed primus edificacionis officio. Creuit in noui ordinis creacione paupertate. Tantum enim beatus Dominicus paupertatis extitit amator et ymitator, ut in viam carnis uniuerse ingrediens filiis suis in testamenti condicione paternam hereditatem solam et nudam relinqueret paupertatem.” Vizkelety, *Az európai prédikációirodalom recepciója a Leuveni kódexben*, 160.

³⁶³ On the second translation of St Dominic in 1267, see the letter of one of the participants of the general chapter, Bartolomeo, bishop of Vicenza: AASS Augusti tom. I, 533.

Marcellus, the confessor of Margaret of Hungary or a Provincial called Michael.³⁶⁴ This passage was frequently applied either to the feast of Dominic or that of the translation by the contemporary preachers.³⁶⁵ The author writes in the first subdivision about the deposition of the relics that the bones of Dominic, like those of Joseph, were exhumed by his sons and brothers and were placed in a new tomb where no one has been placed yet.³⁶⁶ Like his Old Testament antecedent, also Dominic was venerated by the devoted “since his bones *were more to be desired than gold and many precious stones* not only to have them but also to see them *and were sweeter than honey and honeycomb*.”³⁶⁷ And finally, the two holy men were alike in the “performance of miracles, since not only in Spain or in Lombardy but also in our Hungary, people in large numbers ran to see the miracles performed due to his intercession.”³⁶⁸ These words seem to confirm what is attested also by the miracles collected from Hungary and sent to Bologna around 1245: since miracles occur usually in the proximity of a relic (and there is an allusion to this even in the sermon that “*his bones were visited*”), in all likelihood the author referred to the miracles of Somlyó. If the sermon was actually preached in that form in which it has come down to us, it was another significant channel through which the vivid veneration of the saint in south-eastern Hungary was divulged to the community of Dominicans and their audience, probably in Buda.

II.4.2 The sermons on the founder and the martyr in Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Cod. lat. 22363b (“Pécsi Egyetemi Beszédek”)

The collection of sermons referred to as *Sermones compilati in studio generali Quinqueecclesiensi in regno Ungarie* was composed probably sometime between 1255 and 1275 by a Dominican friar for a Dominican audience but survived only in a copy made in a

³⁶⁴ Vizkelety, *Az európai prédikációirodalom recepciója a Leuveni kódexben*, 157.

³⁶⁵ Vizkelety, *Az európai prédikációirodalom*, 158.

³⁶⁶ “filii et fratres sui [Dominici] effodientes posuerant ea in monumento nouo, in quo nondum quisquam positus fuerat.” Vizkelety, *Az európai prédikációirodalom*, 167.

³⁶⁷ “Item deuota populi ueneracione, quia hossa eius *desiderabilia* sunt hominibus *super aurum et lapidem preciosum multum* non solum ad habendum, uerum eciam ad uidendum et dulciora super mel et fauum.” Vizkelety, *Az európai prédikációirodalom*, 167.

³⁶⁸ “Item rara miraculorum operatione, qui non solum in Hyspania uel Lombardia, uerum eciam in nostra Hungaria cataueratim ruunt homines cernere cupientes, que per eum fiunt mirabilia.” Vizkelety, *Az európai prédikációirodalom*, 167.

German territory at the turn of the fourteenth-fifteenth century.³⁶⁹ Its *de sanctis* part contains several sermons on the Hungarian royal saints (five on St. Stephen, one on St. Emeric, two on St. Ladislaus and four on St. Elizabeth), thus in all likelihood it was composed in Hungary.³⁷⁰ The composition of the collection of sermons is no longer linked to Pécs; it seems that it was compiled and used at the Dominican *studium generale* of Buda founded in 1304.³⁷¹ As it has been shown by Edit Madas, these high-quality scholastic model sermons –abundant in citations from classical authorities–³⁷² were written for the Dominican novices and manifest a great number of reflections on preaching, such as learning the *summa veritas*, the conditions of preaching and understanding, the suitability and the alertness of the preacher.³⁷³ The examples to follow were the apostles, the doctors of the Church and two great saints of the Order, Ss. Dominic and Peter of Verona who had a privileged position in the *Sermones compilati* as it is attested by the seven and five sermons dedicated to their feasts, respectively. The sermons on the basis of which the *Sermones compilati* was made (1255-1275) were early ones, especially in the case of Peter. They are reported in Schneyer's catalogue but no textual parallels can be

³⁶⁹ Eduardus Petrovich and Paulus Ladislaus Timkovics, ed., *Sermones compilati in studio generali Quinqueeclensi in regno Ungarie* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1993). On the collection, see Edit Madas, Edit Madas, "A Dominican Sermon Collection," *Budapest Review of Books* 6 (1996): 193-199; eadem, *Középkori prédikációirodalmunk történetéből*, 132-196. The dating of the composition is based on internal evidence: the latest saint in the collection is Peter of Verona canonized by Pope Innocent IV in 1253 and the latest quoted authority is the pope himself who died in 1254; Thomas Aquinas who died in 1274 is not cited at all. However, there is no scholarly consensus about the date of composition: the fact that the great Dominican theologian is not quoted does not necessarily mean that the collection was written earlier than his death. The only fix date seems to be that it was ready by the beginning of the fourteenth century since one of the sermons of the collection turns up in an early fourteenth-century collection of sermons. For a re-examination of the dating in the light of Latin translations of Aristotle, see Péter Molnár, "Az ún. Pécsi egyetemi beszédek egyik forrásáról (Az arisztotelészi inspirációjú politikai elmélet lehetőségei Magyarországon a XIII. század második felében)" [On One of the Sources of the so-called *University sermons composed in Pécs* (The possibilities of the Aristotle-inspired political theory in Hungary in the second half of the thirteenth century)], in Arcana tabularii. *Tanulmányok Solymosi László tiszteletére*, ed. Attila Bárány, Gábor Dreska and Kornél Szovák (Budapest-Debrecen: [Debreceni Egyetem], 2014) vol. 2, 733-742.

³⁷⁰ Gábor Klaniczay, "Nemzeti szentek a késő középkori egyetemeken" [National saints in late medieval universities in *Változatok a történelemre. Tanulmányok Székely György tiszteletére*, ed. Gyöngyi Erdei and Balázs Nagy (Budapest: Budapest Történeti Múzeum – ELTE BTK Középkori és Kora Újkori Egyetemes Tanszék, 1983), 237-250 at 246-247.

³⁷¹ Harsányi, *A domonkos rend Magyarországon*, 145-146.

³⁷² Pál Timkovics, "A Pécsi egyetemi beszédek szellemi háttere," *Irodalomtudományi Közlemények* 83 (1979): 1-13; Edit Madas, "Említett és idézett klasszikus auktorok a középkori magyarországi prédikációirodalomban", *Magyar Könyvszemle* 115 (1999), 277-286, available also in French: "Les auteurs classiques mentionnés et cités dans les sermonnaires de la Hongroise de Moyen Âge," in: *L'eredità classica in Italia e Ungheria fra tardo Medioevo e primo Rinascimento*, ed. Sante Graciotti and Amadeo Di Francesco (Rome: Il calamo, 2001), 119-132.

³⁷³ Madas, *Középkori prédikációirodalmunk*, 137-141.

found to them and it is not known who their author could have been.³⁷⁴ This subsection consists of two parts: in the first I discuss the sermons on St Dominic, and then I proceed with those on Peter of Verona.

In the case of St Dominic, I examine whether the sermons reveal the characteristics of “mendicant sanctity” and explore which the most important virtues of the saint were and to what extent these have remained in the foreground or were substituted by other ones about half a century following his canonization. In the instructive inventory of Dominic’s virtues based on the Bologna canonization process gathered by Vicaire,³⁷⁵ the most prominent qualities of the founder were his love for the *regularitas* (in the sense of respecting the norms and the prescriptions on the conventual-canonical life: recital of the offices, fasting, obedience, etc.), steadfastness in prayer, piety, humility, care for the souls, persecution of the heretics, love of poverty, joyfulness in tribulations, steadfastness in preaching, and chastity.³⁷⁶ However, virtues that later became frequently occurring attributes to his saintly image, like his education or erudition, the gift of tears, miracles, yearning for martyrdom, self-discipline, were not mentioned in the process. Since academic training was a prerequisite for the office of preaching in the two great mendicant orders that both had hierarchies of study centres and had the most systematic and efficient networks of education in the thirteenth century, I also consider the formative aspect in these sermons, namely how the Order of Preachers and their main activity are presented by an erudite Dominican to the novices his Order through which they were prepared for their vocation.

The sermons on St Dominic

For the sermons on St. Dominic, the author presumably used Humbert of Romans’s official legend, and also often took expressions from the rhymed offices composed for the feast of the

³⁷⁴ Johannes Baptis Schneyer, *Repertorium der lateinischen Sermones des Mittelalters für die Zeit von 1150-1350* (Münster: Auflage, c. 1999), vol. 6, 578.

³⁷⁵ Marie-Humbert Vicaire, *Histoire de Saint Dominique* (Paris: Les Editions du Cerf, 1957; 2nd edition Paris: Les editions du Cerf, 1982), 231-233, quoted in Canetti, *L’invenzione della memoria*, 137.

³⁷⁶ The entire list consists of 25 virtues; here I just referred to the seven most important ones and the five ones which were not include in the testimonies. See the list and its analysis in Canetti, *L’invenzione della memoria*, 139-151.

saint and his *translatio*.³⁷⁷ He used only few biographical references from the life of the founding father, characteristically when he wanted to illustrate a virtue of the saint with examples from his life. For instance, to underscore Dominic's abstinence from eating meat, a practice that he extended over his order, he writes that "[Dominic] once told his hosts to bring them only bread and water, and also that he did not drink wine for ten years, and he introduced in his Order not to eat meat unless the gravity of illness requires it."³⁷⁸ The emanation of sweet fragrance from his body turns also up in one of the sermons,³⁷⁹ which was such an indisputable sign of his sanctity that it became an important element in all his *vitae* as well as in the antiphon of the *primus nocturnus* of his rhymed office.³⁸⁰ A particularly good example for the application of hagiographic themes in the sermons, when the preacher explains Dominic's ascent to heaven through four steps: the gift of continence, the light of intelligence, the feeling of love, and the institution of the order:

For these four [grades] it is proper compare him to salt, light, ardent oil lamp, and to a city built on a high place. So through the gift of continence, since as salt keeps away the worms from the meat, he separated himself from carnal things and was like fat separated from meat living an excellent celibate life [...]. And also, he was light because of the light of intelligence, in whose mouth a burning torch³⁸¹ and on whose forehead a shining star appeared,³⁸² the splendour of which illuminated the whole world. He was also Elias,³⁸³ who appeared as fire and whose words were burning as a torch, Eccli.46³⁸⁴. And also he was ardent because of the love of God that came from within [...]. He was a city built on a high place by founding excellently his order [...].³⁸⁵

³⁷⁷ *Analecta hymnica medii aevi, Historiae rhythmicae. Liturgische Reimofficien des Mittelalters*, vol. XXV, ed. Clemens Blume and Guido M. Dreves (Leipzig: O. R. Reisland, 1897), 239-243.

³⁷⁸ *Sermones compilati*, sermo 70, p.154: "(...) dicebat hospitibus suis: panem nobis et aquam tantum exhibete. Et vinum per decennium non bibebat et instituit in ordine suo, ut carnes non comendantur, nisi in necessitate gravioris infirmitatis (...)."

³⁷⁹ *Sermones compilati*, sermo 70, pp. 153; 155.

³⁸⁰ *Analecta hymnica medii aevi*, XXV, 239.

³⁸¹ Cf. Jordan of Saxony, *Libellus*, §5.

³⁸² Cf. Jordan of Saxony, *Libellus*, §9 and *Analecta hymnica medii aevi*, XXV, 239: *Stella micans / in fronte parvuli*.

³⁸³ Cf. Jordan of Saxony, *Libellus*, §23.

³⁸⁴ *recte* Eccli. 48:1, see *Sermones compilati*, sermo 73, p. 159.

³⁸⁵ *Sermones compilati*, sermo 73, p. 159: "Primus est donum continencie, secundus lumen intelligencie, tercius affectio amoris, quartus institutio ordinis. Propter ista quattuor merito comparatur sali et luci, lucerne ardenti et civitati eminenti. Fuit ergo sal per donum continencie, quia sicut sal arcet vermes a carnibus, sic ipse separavit a se carnalitates et erat quasi adeps separatus a carne tenendo eximie vite celibatum [...]. Fuit etiam lux per lumen intelligencie in cuius signum in ore eius apparuit ardens facula, Eccli. 46. Fuit etiam ardens amando Dominum intime [...]. Fuit etiam civitas eminens exiliendo ordinem suum eximie [...]."

Among the merits attributed to Dominic in the seven sermons of the *Sermones compilati*, one finds the general praise of his manner of life and the integrity of his morals.³⁸⁶ In addition, he is presented as the executor of good works, the preacher of truth, whose sanctity manifested in the act of contemplation, in steadfastness in reaching his goals, in charity and humility.³⁸⁷ The preacher praises Dominic also for personal characteristics and deeds that cannot be regarded as virtues in a strict sense, nevertheless they were essential components in his sanctity: his steadfastness in learning,³⁸⁸ his intelligence, affection, and the foundation of the Order of Preachers.³⁸⁹

The chastity of the saint was much emphasized in the Languedoc part of his canonization process (generally referred to as Acts of Toulouse) and became a popular theme also in his hagiography.³⁹⁰ In one of sermons the preservation of his virginity is one of the three gifts of sanctity.³⁹¹ The salt metaphor is used again in connection to chastity but at this time applied generally to the Order of Preachers whose two outstanding virtues are cleanness (salt) and science (light) which could be both found in Dominic, since serving the flower of chastity by serving intact he gained the excellent life of celibacy.³⁹² Although starting from his canonization process, chastity was certainly among the almost always mentioned virtues of Dominic both in hagiographic and sermon literature, an obviously salient role can be perceived in the sermons composed for Dominican novices whose moral education was one of the goals of the author.

If one is looking for hints how the new saintly ideal was reflected in the sermons composed on the founding father of one of the two great mendicant orders, (s)he might be disappointed: with the exception of the activity of preaching –which was doubtlessly, as the sermons attest, the distinctive feature of the Dominicans, it is only the first sermon on the saint of the collection

³⁸⁶ *Sermones compilati*, sermo 74, p. 160.

³⁸⁷ *Sermones compilati*, sermo 71, pp. 155-157.

³⁸⁸ *Sermones compilati*, sermo 72, p. 157.

³⁸⁹ *Sermones compilati*, sermo 73, pp. 158-159.

³⁹⁰ Edited by Angelus Walz in *Monumenta historica patris nostri Dominici* MOPH 16 (Rome:1935), 173-187.

³⁹¹ *Sermones compilati*, sermo 70, p. 153: “Beatus Dominicus habuit donum sanctitatis de celo, et hoc in conservacione virginitatis, et indicium sanctitatis in mundo, et hoc in vapuracione odoris.”

³⁹² *Sermones compilati*, sermo 93, p. 199: “Eminencia dignitatis predicatorum constitit in sciencia et mundicia. Racione mundicie dicuntur sal, racione sciencie dicuntur lux. Utrumque autem fuit in Sancto Dominico, scilicet donum continencie, quoniam florem pudicie servans illibatum attigit eximie vite celibatum.”

that shed some light on this issue. In the section that treats the three ways Dominic was just: in the custody of his senses, his poverty in things, and his temperance in eating. As the author writes with reference to Luke 24:49,

[t]he custody of senses is shown that he lived in a convent, where he was hiding and kept himself away from his enemies and protected himself from the seducers, similarly to the apostles who settled down in cities while they would be dressed in virtue and would become undefeatable by pleasures. But many flee from the protection of the cloister and they frequently roll themselves in the multitude of people in the manner of a hunting spear, imitating the apostles. About whom Horace writes in the *Epistles*: ‘You hate the keys and seals that please the modest. You chafe at being shown to just a few and praise a public life.’³⁹³

As to the second, the preacher says about Dominic that “his poverty in goods was testified by his vow because he professed poverty similar to Christ who was poor by birth” and who “invokes the curse of God and his [i.e. Christ’s] to the person who would defile with the dust of earthly things his order that the practice of poverty decorates superbly since by this it would move away from the *sequela Christi*.”³⁹⁴ That is the only *locus* in the sermons composed on St. Dominic where the apostolic poverty of the Order of Preachers is mentioned. It clearly shows what has been pointed out a long time ago by several scholars, namely that for the thirteenth-century Dominicans the practice of poverty was not an aim or a virtue by itself but a necessary means for following the footpath of Christ.³⁹⁵ As to the third reason why Dominic was a just person, namely in his fasting habits and moderation in eating, it should be noted that while

³⁹³ *Sermones compilati*, sermo 70, p. 154: “Custodia sensum protestatur in eo habitatio claustrum, ubi latuit et custodivit semetipsum ab inimicis et tutavit se a seductoribus, ad similitudinem apostolorum, qui sederunt in civitate, donec induerentur virtute et fierent invincibiles a voluptate, Lucas ultimo. Sed multi fugiunt custodiam claustrum et frequentant multitudinem populi se volutari in venabulo ad instar apostoli. De quibus Oracius in epistolis: odisti clavis et grata sigilla pudico, paucis ostendi gemis et communia laudas, in conventus publicos.” The quotation is from Horatio’s *Epistoles* 1.20.3-4; the English translation is from *Ancient Literacies: The Culture of Reading in Greece and Rome*, ed. William A. Johnson and Holt N. Parker (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 153.

³⁹⁴ *Sermones compilati*, sermo 70, p. 154: Paupertatem rerum protestatur in eo condicio voti, quia in profitebatur paupertatem ad similitudinem Christi, qui pauper fuit in ingressu [...] et maledictionem Dei et suam inprecatus est illum, qui ordinem suum fedaret pulvere rerum terrenarum, quem maxime decorat professio paupertatis, quia per hoc recederet a sequela Christi.”

³⁹⁵ Cf. Anthony John Lappin’s chapter “From Osma to Bologna, from Canons to Friars, from the Preaching to the Preachers: The Dominican Path Towards Mendicancy” and Donald Prudlo’s chapter “Mendicancy among the Early Saints of the Begging Orders” in *The Origin, Development, and Refinement of Medieval Religious Mendicancies*, ed. Donald Prudlo (Leiden: Brill, 2011), at 31-58 and 85-116, respectively, as well as Julia Burkhard, “Poverty in 13th-century Dominican Writing,” in *Rules and Observance: Devising Forms of Communal Life*, ed. Mirko Breitenstein et al. (Berlin: Lit, 2014), 265-279.

fasting had already been the part of monastic life, it gained a new impetus at the beginning of the thirteenth century, first advocated by the heretical sects, like the Waldensians and especially the Cathars, and subsequently taken over by the mendicant orders.³⁹⁶

Although virtues, like humility and charity, and spiritual activities, like contemplation, which have all become increasingly important in the lives of saints in the thirteenth century, do turn up in one of the sermons,³⁹⁷ much more importance is given by the author to the saint's deeds and words who "was the executor of good works and the preacher of the highest truth because he worked and taught."³⁹⁸ The preacher dwells on this thread when he describes the service of the saint in binary terms: preaching and labouring, action and contemplation, living according to the Rule of St Augustine and to the constitutions added to it.³⁹⁹ As the author displays in his first sermon on St. Dominic, the coexistence of the two manners of living a cloistered life, the traditional monastic one and the new, rather different type associated with the mendicant orders show that not even by the second half of the thirteenth century was there a clear-cut division between the two lifestyles and sets of values but they rather complemented each other.

The author of the sermons presents St. Dominic as the *par excellence* friar preacher who would first learn and only then teach. The *Sermones compilati* collection was presumably written for the novices of the Order of Preachers who would be prepared for their future tasks in these years, so in the sermons compiled for the feast of the founding father much emphasis is given to these two duties and they also reveal some clues to the self-perception of the author as the member of the *Ordo Praedicatorum* that he wished to transmit to younger generations. As it has been already mentioned, according to author of the sermons, a crucial step for Dominic's glorification was the foundation of the order.⁴⁰⁰ The author explains how from God all power was passed on to people by Christ, and from him it was passed to the apostles, and then to the

³⁹⁶ On the relation between asceticism and sainthood in the later Middle Ages, see Vauchez, *Sainthood in the later Middle Ages*, 190-197, on charity and labour 199-207.

³⁹⁷ *Sermones compilati*, sermo 71, p. 156.

³⁹⁸ *Sermones compilati*, sermo 71, p. 156: "Beatus ergo Dominicus fuit executor boni operis et predicator summe veritatis, quia fecit et docuit."

³⁹⁹ *Sermones compilati*, sermo 70, p. 155: "Bis dicit acrescens propter duplicem modum merendi, scilicet predicando et operando, vel propter accionem et contemplacionem, vel propter regulam Augustini et constitutionem superhabitas additas." The additional "contintuciones" refer to constitutions of the *Ecclesia Premonstratensis*.

⁴⁰⁰ *Sermones compilati*, sermo 73, p. 159.

bishops and the preachers of lower rank.⁴⁰¹ In another one, he continues this thread by applying the theme “*The good man leaveth heirs, sons, and grandsons [...]*” (Proverbs 13:22) to St. Dominic, “who was good and brought fruit for the church of God since he left an inheritance and this is why the friars of his order are properly called his sons and all those who were converted to the Christian teachings are called his grandsons.”⁴⁰² The connection of the two descents results in something highly similar to the genealogical tree of the Dominicans, which had a great career in visual arts in the following centuries. The author of the sermons, considering the friars as the heirs of the power of the apostles, expresses clearly the identity of the Order of Preachers: “we are the salt of the earth and the light of the world”⁴⁰³ which words refer, in his interpretation, to the eminence of the office of the preachers which consists of knowledge, that is, the light of the world, and cleanness, that is, the salt of the earth.⁴⁰⁴

The eminence of the saints of the mendicant orders was owed largely to the fact that their vocation was the propagation of the Gospel. Yet, whereas in the Order of Preachers the activity of preaching was supported by study and intellectual labour, the Order of the Friars Minor was generally praised because of his simplicity,⁴⁰⁵ at least for some decades after the foundation of the order.⁴⁰⁶ Two sermons on St. Dominic are centred on the praise of learning and teaching, in which the founder is the model to follow also in studying.⁴⁰⁷ Dominic, as the father of all the preachers, was excellent in the service of preaching, because –and the due course seems to be important- first he acquired wisdom and [only] then poured out the teachings of the Church.⁴⁰⁸ Dominic had a double wisdom: created, which he experienced during his scholastic studies (*studio scolastico*), and uncreated, which he experienced in monastic tranquillity (*ocio*

⁴⁰¹ *Sermones compilati*, sermo 93, p. 199. The whole sermon was analysed by Edit Madas, *Középkori prédikációirodalmunk*, 137-142.

⁴⁰² *Sermones compilati*, sermo 74, p. 160: “[...]Beato Dominco, qui in se quidem fuit bonus et ecclesie Dei extitit fructuosus, quia reliquit post se heredes etc., ut filii dicantur proprie fratres ordinis sui, nepotes vero omnes converse per doctrinam filiorum suorum.”

⁴⁰³ *Sermones compilati*, sermo 93, p. 199: “[...] sumus sal terre et lux mundi.”

⁴⁰⁴ *Sermones compilati*, sermo 93, p. 199: “Eminencia dignitatis predicatorum consistit in sciencia et mundicia. Racione mundicie dicuntur sal, racione sciencie dicuntur lux.” Cf. Madas, *Középkori prédikációirodalmunk*, 137-138.

⁴⁰⁵ Vauchez, *Sainthood in the later Middle Ages*, 343.

⁴⁰⁶ For the re-assessment of Franciscan education, see Bert Roest, *A History of Franciscan Education (c. 1210-1517)* (Leiden: Brill, 2000).

⁴⁰⁷ *Sermones compilati*, sermo 73, p. 158: “[...] ad imitationem patris nostri debemus et nos discere [...].”

⁴⁰⁸ *Sermones compilati*, sermo 92, p. 197: “[...] quia primo acquisivit sapienciam et postea profudit doctrinam [...].”

monastico). Thanks to this double wisdom, Dominic could avoid sin, fight the evil, teach the people and save himself.

Considering the sermons on Peter of Verona written mostly by preacher friars from the thirteenth century and early fourteenth century,⁴⁰⁹ Donald Prudlo identified three main themes the preachers applied to the promotion of the saint: 1) Dominican self-representation that shifted from his presentation as an ideal preacher friar to a fighter against heresy 2) Christological parallels 3) reasons of his excellence, namely Peter's devotion to the Virgin, his entitlement to have the Triple Crown, and his fashioning as a New Martyr or as an Anti-Francis.⁴¹⁰ In the five sermons on Peter of Verona surviving in the *Sermones compilati* that are from the very period that Prudlo analysed but were not included into his sample, two of these themes can be found: the presentation of the saint as the ideal friar of the Order of Preachers and two reasons for his pre-eminence among other saints, the Triple Crown, and closely connected to this, his title of the "new martyr".⁴¹¹ In the following I examine how these strategies and themes were employed by the author of the sermons for the feast of Peter Martyr in the *Sermones compilati*.

Prudlo argued that in contrast to St. Dominic who lacked the charisma St. Francis of Assisi, Peter of Verona became the saint whom the Dominicans started to portray as the ideal friar preacher, the successor of Dominic, so much so that sometimes the founding father was even pushed into the background. Whereas the author of the sermons on Peter in the *Sermones compilati* does not explicitly say that Peter Martyr is the successor of the founding father, he indeed attributes a privileged role to him in the first sermon: comparing the *sanctos predicatores* to light, the preacher considers appropriate to apply it also to St. Peter, who was "the first among them and special".⁴¹² He uses the four qualities of light to praise the saint: its extremely harmonious quality in Peter's charity and his concurrence (*concordancia*) with God;

⁴⁰⁹ For a detailed list of the authors who composed sermons on Peter of Verona based on Schneyer's *Repertorium*, see Carlo Delcorno "Il racconto agiografico nella predicazione sei secoli XIII-XV" in *Agiografia nell'occidente cristiano* (Rome: Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, 1980), 79-114, at 89, note 33.

⁴¹⁰ Prudlo, *The Martyred Inquisitor*, 97-124.

⁴¹¹ Peter of Verona was referred to as *novo martyre* in the *Liber Ordinarius* of the diocese of Eger; see Liber Ordinarius Agriensis (1509), edited and introduced by László Dobszay (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Zenetudományi Intézet, 2010) (Musicalia Danubiana Subsidia), 102.

⁴¹² *Sermones compilati*, sermo 61, p.132: "Sanctos predicatores lumen appellat [...] Sanctus Petrus primus fuit inter illos et precipuus [...].

its straight way in his straight strife (*recta intencio*) towards God; its immaculateness (*inconquinacione*) in his spiritual integrity (*castitas spiritus*) and cleanness; its very quick motion in the promptness of his soul, in the readiness to the truly good things and in his immediate obedience.⁴¹³ The Dominican self-representation is present also in the sermon built on the theme *Et ecce equus albus* (Apoc. 6:2). The author compares “the preachers of Christ” to noble horses that are praiseworthy for the beauty of colour by which preachers should be distinguished in leading an exemplary life, for the strength of body by which they should be strong in virtue while wandering, for the courage of heart by which they should be ardent in the fight against sins and in martyrdom and for the quickness of legs that they should be ready to be obedient to Christ.⁴¹⁴ The virtues of the brothers of the Order of Preachers and those of Peter correspond, so he is a *per excellence* Dominican friar. The sermons on the martyr in the *Sermones compilati* also display, taking the term of Prudlo, “the clerically oriented Peter”⁴¹⁵ who was charitable, chaste and humble,⁴¹⁶ who was not corrupted by any sin, and whose life was exemplary.⁴¹⁷ Peter was excellent in preaching: he succeeded in the conversion of people since “he had the strength of wine through the power of sermons, since wine changes the minds of men”.⁴¹⁸ The saint is praised for his ability to preach like doctors and to choose the appropriate manner in order to stir emotions, which made his preaching fructiferous.⁴¹⁹

In the *Sermones compilati* collection Peter of Verona’s activity as a preacher is almost always conjoined with his anti-heretical activities. Yet, as it has been shown by Prudlo, for the early preachers Peter’s mission was not defined in terms of the institution of inquisition. The core of his anti-heretical activity was to defeat heresy by his preaching.⁴²⁰ The author of the sermons on the Dominican martyr in the *Sermones compilati* points out that Peter was sent to the heretics by the Apostolic See. Using a citation “Thy brethren feed the sheep in Sichem: come I will send

⁴¹³ *Sermones compilati*, sermo 61, p.132.

⁴¹⁴ *Sermones compilati*, sermo 61, p.134.

⁴¹⁵ Prudlo, *The Martyred Inquisitor*, 100

⁴¹⁶ *Sermones compilati*, sermo 61, p.134.

⁴¹⁷ *Sermones compilati*, sermo 64, p.139.

⁴¹⁸ *Sermones compilati*, sermo 64, p.140: “Habuit eciam fortitudinem vini per potenciam sermonis, quia vinum immutat mentem hominis.”

⁴¹⁹ *Sermones compilati*, sermo 62, p.134.

⁴²⁰ This aspect dominated his presentation at the early phase of his cult, and only gradually did his title of inquisitor become the most dominant feature of his cult, especially between the fourteenth and sixteenth century. Prudlo, *The Martyred Inquisitor*, 100-101.

thee to them” (Gen. 37:13) he compares the mission of Peter of Verona to that of Joseph.⁴²¹ Although the word “inquisitor” never appears in the sermons, in one of them the author presents Peter’s martyrdom as a result of his mission to investigate the heretics (*hereticos inquirere*).⁴²² What made Peter especially apt for fighting the heretics was his ability of discernment between good and bad that derived from God. Quoting the Bull of canonization of Innocent IV, the author emphasizes that Peter “chased away the darkness of error with his own and inherited teachings, because he was the teacher of the truth and he spent his days with preaching beneficial to the souls and refuting the heretics with valid doctrines.”⁴²³ Peter’s service against the “rebellious heretics” is a proof that he was a talented preacher.⁴²⁴

The most central theme of Peter of Verona’s cult was that he obtained the golden Triple Crown, which was reserved only for those who were martyrs, virgins and doctors at the same time. The notion of the Triple Crown had already existed in Christian antiquity but it was Peter’s canonization which was of key importance in its revival in the late Middle Ages.⁴²⁵ Immediately after his death, Peter was granted with the Triple Crown, as it was represented on his funeral monument in Milan made in 1252, too. In Prudlo’s opinion, it is not by chance that the Dominicans’ increased interest in the development of the theology of the Triple Crown coincided in time with Peter of Verona’s death.⁴²⁶ Since the time of the codification of the Dominican liturgy in 1254, the motive of the Triple Crown has become the part of the office of Peter, reciting his life, death and salvation on the day of his feast.⁴²⁷ Out of the five sermons on

⁴²¹ *Sermones compilati*, sermo 62, p.137: “Fratres tui, scilicet heretici, quia communicant nobiscum in sacramento, pascunt oves, scilicet sedicendo homines simplices, veni, mittam te ad eos, scilicet convertendos.”

⁴²² *Sermones compilati*, sermo 61, p.135: “[...] exivit, scilicet de Cumana civitate, ubi prior fratrum suis ordinis exstitit, ut Mediolanum pergeret hereticos inquirer evinces, id est animo vincendi, ut vinceret, scilicet ipso facto. Nam dum iter salutaris propositi peragit, ab hereticis occiditur [...]” Unfortunately the world play with “vincere” is lost in my translation.

⁴²³ *Sermones compilati*, sermo 60, p.133: “Tenebras erroris fugavit lumine doctrine sue aliis tradite, quia fuit doctor veritatis et dies impendebat commodis animarum insistendo predicacionibus et hereticum dogma validis rationibus confutando, ut dicit Innocentius.”

⁴²⁴ *Sermones compilati*, sermo 61, p.135.

⁴²⁵ On the development of the notion, see Prudlo, *The Martyred Inquisitor*, pp. 109-115; Antonio Volpato, “Il tema agiografico della triplice aureola nei secoli XIII-XV,” *Culto dei santi, istituzioni e classi sociali in età preindustriale*, ed. Sofia Boesch Gajano and Lucia Sebastiani (L’Aquila: L. U. Japadre Editore, 1984), 509-52; and idem, “Corona Aurea e Corona Aureola: ordini e meriti nella ecclesiologia medioevale,” *Bullettino dell’Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo* 91 (1984): 115-182.

⁴²⁶ Prudlo, *The Martyred Inquisitor*, 113.

⁴²⁷ Cf. G. M. Dreves, *Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi* XVIII, p. 135.

Peter in the *Sermones compilati*, the author applies this theme in three.⁴²⁸ In the already mentioned sermon, *Vidi: et ecce equus albus* (Apoc. 6:2) he argues that the reward of Peter's martyrdom was a multiple crown, that of dissolution, damnation, tribulation and grace, unfolding that the latter has three kinds: that of flower, which is given to the virgins and only few can have it, so it is a special prize; that of gold appertaining to the martyrs, and that of stars, which is the reward of the doctors. In this sermon the reason of Peter's death that entitles him to have the golden crown of the martyrs is the inquisition of heretics, a motif that appeared first in the 1270s in Aldobrandino Cavalcanti and would turn up in the following decades in the Dominican tradition.⁴²⁹ In another sermon, taking his theme *Ecce dies veniunt* (Amos 9:13), the author compares Peter to a reaper (*arator*) because he was the eradicator of carnal desires, to a sower of seeds because of his preaching, and to a crushed grape because of his passion, in which his perfect victory and the fulfilment of his glory should be understood. Peter deserved the Triple Crown since he defeated three enemies, flesh, world, and demon by virtue, strength, and truth, respectively.⁴³⁰ On the account of Peter's martyrdom, the author argues that the saint was a ploughman (*arator*) because of his cut wound, grape-crusher (*calcator*) because of the pouring out of the blood, a reaper since he "cut off with the sickle of penitence from the soil of his body the thorns and the spiny plants of sins", and he was a crushed grape because of his holy death, shedding his blood for the must (*musta*) of Christ together with his fellow Dominic.⁴³¹

Not only was Peter of Verona's life exemplary, his martyrdom was also interpreted in the *Sermones compilati* as a triumphant victory.⁴³² As other early sermons attest, Peter was regarded the "new martyr".⁴³³ After the early Christian martyrs, the first "modern" saints who were canonized under the title "martyr" were Thomas Becket (c.1119-1170) in 1173⁴³⁴ and

⁴²⁸ *Sermones compilati*, sermo 61; 62;63

⁴²⁹ Prudlo, *The Martyred Inquisitor*, 118.

⁴³⁰ *Sermones compilati*, sermo 62, p.136.

⁴³¹ *Sermones compilati*, sermo 62, p.136: "[...]qui messuit falce penitencie de agro suis corporis spinas et tribulos viciorum[...].

⁴³² *Sermones compilati*, sermo 63, p.139.

⁴³³ References to Peter as a new martyr can be found in his hagiography from the very beginning: in the collection of miracles, his *vita* in the *Legenda aurea* or in the *Vitas fratrum*.

⁴³⁴ On the cult of Thomas Becket, see *Hagiographica* 7 (2000) the articles of K. B. Slocum, "The Making, Re-Making and Un-Making of the Cult of Saint Thomas Becket," 3-16; Sherry L. Reames "The Remaking of a Saint:

Stanislaus of Cracow (1030-1079) in 1245. Peter of Verona was the first canonized martyr of the mendicant orders, and the Dominican authors of sermons did not miss to underline this. According the author of the sermons on Peter in the *Sermones compilati* the Church was renewed by the saint martyr, and his violent death would bring to perfection that had been started by Stephen (the first Christian martyr), so that *Her youth would be similar to Her old age*.⁴³⁵ The preacher attributes the recent growth of the Church to Peter, who not only in his life but also after his death converted the people: he compares Peter to the trunk of a tree from which more branches grow out, “like with a death of a martyr, other thousand [people] started to believe.”⁴³⁶

Some observations

I have analysed the sermons written for the feasts of the two great saints of the Order of Preachers, Ss. Dominic and Peter of Verona in the collection of sermons that were intended probably for the novices of the order, preaching was of utmost importance. Whereas in the case of Dominic his activity as a preacher was usually combined with learning and teaching, in the sermons written for the feast of Peter, his preaching activity mainly targeted the eradication of sin (both moral and theological) by showing the truth. So the essence of the sermons on St. Dominic is studying and teaching with preaching (in the usage of the author preaching is quasi synonymous with teaching). The saint is presented as *imitandus* rather than *admirandus*: his irreproachable morals, his persistence in the acquisition of first worldly and then spiritual knowledge that he then devoted for the salvation of the souls by preaching/teaching. The author of the sermons, however, omits completely that preaching was the most important means of Dominic in the conversion of heretics in southern France. The merits of the saint were, beyond doubt, extraordinary; yet with the help of God all of them can (and ideally should) be gained by ordinary people as well. Comparing the highlighted virtues of the saint in his acts of canonization and in the *Sermones compilati*, it can be perceived that they do share several ones in common, such as Dominic’s steadfastness in preaching, his observation of the *regularitas*

Stephen Langton and the Liturgical Office for Becket’s Translation,” 17-33; and Phyllis B. Roberts, “The Unmaking of a Saint: the Suppression of the Cult of St Thomas of Canterbury,” 35-46.

⁴³⁵ Cf. Deut. 33:25

⁴³⁶ *Sermones compilati*, sermo 63, p.139: “(...) sic uno martire moriente mille alii credebant (...)”

(manifested in his obedience and fasting and his humility), his chastity and his love for poverty. Little importance is given, in turn, to the ideal of *minoritas* manifested in humbleness and apostolic poverty. The saint's care for the souls (*zelus animarum*) is not mentioned in this form but his praise for preaching and showing example with his manner of life do speak about this in an implicit way. Dominic's steadfastness in praying, piety, joyfulness in tribulations, and serenity, which were all important elements in the testimonies of the acts of the canonization process, are rarely or absolutely not mentioned in the *Sermones compilati*. Whereas in the acts of canonization his perseverance in preaching was only the seventh most important among the often mentioned virtues, in the *Sermones compilati* this aspect of Dominic's sanctity came into the foreground. This shift can be explained in a number of ways, but in my opinion there are two main factors that should be considered. On the one hand, the solidification of the images of the two saints of the Order of Preachers by the 1260s, that of the founder Dominic as a model for the friars in whose life-span the main and principal activity, preaching was to be imitated by others, and Peter of Verona whose sanctity was *admiranda* because of the martyrdom he suffered. Another sign of of Dominic's being a model to follow is that none of his *in vita* miracles is reported. On the other hand, the audience for whom the Dominican preacher composed the sermons was constituted of novices who themselves were to be prepared for the task of preaching, and the author superbly combined exhortation with instruction in his sermons about the greatest preacher of the order. The friars are regarded as spiritual heirs of the saint but they can be deprived from this heritage unless they live a worthy life of a friar preacher.

Like Dominic, Peter is endowed with several clerical virtues (he was prompt and efficient in preaching), yet the author of the sermons never refers to the martyr's learnedness but claims instead that his ability of discernment between right or wrong was of divine origin. This gift, coupled with his martyrdom was hardly an attainable ideal, and it is not accidental that while in some of the sermons on St. Dominic the preacher exhorts his audience to follow the example of the founding father, he never does the same in the sermons on St. Peter. The saint's life is presented as apostolic in terms of going around preaching and converting, but there is no hint to evangelical poverty.

II.5. Early Dominican saints in the Hungarian vernacular codices

The saints of the Dominican order, including those who were canonized later (Thomas Aquinas, Vincent Ferrer, Catherine of Siena) appear together in a single book written in the vernacular, in the form of intercession in the Winkler Codex.⁴³⁷ Apart from Dominic and Catherine of Siena whose legends can be found in several codices, only the *vita* of Thomas Aquinas was translated into the Hungarian vernacular in the *Debreceni Codex*. Here I examine only those written about St Dominic and St Thomas Aquinas, and return to the saints canonized after the reform of the order in the fifteenth century in Chapter V of the dissertation.

II.5.1 Dominic and the friars in the Domonkos Codex

“Here begins the holy life of St. Dominic patriarch who was the founder of the preaching order and a pious father; whose holy life should be followed by his sons and daughters, since he helps day by day his sons and daughters with his merits in front of the Lord God.”⁴³⁸ – wrote the Dominican nun Lea Ráskai who finished the copy of the codex in 1517 on the Island of the Rabbits. The exemplar on the basis she worked was translated from Latin and compiled in all probability by the spiritual director of the nuns, who provided them with a collection mostly of hagiographic material on St. Dominic and *exempla* about him and the first brothers of Order of Preachers that comes down to us in the *Domonkos Codex*.⁴³⁹ The supply of the nuns with readings in the vernacular is related to the reform of the female branch of the Order, more precisely, with the Dominican nuns on the Island of the Rabbits, whose discipline problems reached even the General Chapter of Rome in 1468, as a result the nuns were warned to renounce the various papal privileges and be obedient to the Order, otherwise the Order was to abolish the connections with them.⁴⁴⁰ In order to (re)direct the nuns to the right path, various works were translated for them as community readings, most importantly, the rule of St.

⁴³⁷ See the section dedicated to the Winkler Codex in the dissertation.

⁴³⁸ *Domonkos-kódex 1517*, p. 29 1/1-1/9: “Kezdetyk zent damankos patrjarchanak zentseges elete ky vala predicator zerzetenek fondaloya kezdevye es kegelmes atya Kynek zentseges elete kevetendev az ev fyaityl es leanytyl Mert ev naponkent segelly az vr istennek elevtte ev zent erdemevel es esedezesevel az ev fyaity es leanyt”

⁴³⁹ The more recent brief presentation of the vernacular codices of Dominican provenance is by Lea Haader, “Domonkosokhoz köthető középkori kódexek” in *A Szent Domonkos Rend és a kunok*, ed. Barna and Deme, 136-146. For the use of Latin and the vernacular in the Dominican male convents in the fifteenth century, see Kiss, “Latin és népnelyv”.

⁴⁴⁰ MOPH 8, 311.

Augustine and the Dominican constitutions for the nuns by the Dominican Paul of Vác (Paulus de Wacia, Váci Pál)⁴⁴¹ in 1474 in the Birk Codex⁴⁴² just as well as the *Book of Examples*⁴⁴³ (Példák Könyve) in 1510.

The *Domonkos Codex* is compilation of at least three different Latin works, yet the only author and work referred to in the text is the *Chronicon* by Antonino Pierozzi, Archbishop of Florence.⁴⁴⁴ The *Chronicon* is one of the most important sources of the Hungarian codex, the other is Gerald of Frachet's *Vitae fratrum*.⁴⁴⁵ The two minor sources, according to Lajos Katona, are Dietrich of Apolda's and Peter Calò's legends on St. Dominic.⁴⁴⁶ Although also among Antonino's sources one finds Dietrich of Apolda, in the opinion of Katona there are some parts in the *Domonkos Codex* which come directly from Dietrich's work without the mediation of the bishop of Florence.⁴⁴⁷ As to Peter Calò's legend, as it has been pointed out by Rössler, it cannot be the direct source of the *Domonkos Codex*.⁴⁴⁸ As it can be seen in the *Excursus* at II.3.2, the printed Dominican Breviary from 1487 is better source through which some of the miracles, originally reported by Peter Calò, were incorporated. All in all, the *Domonkos Codex* had only one source which was surely a manuscript, the *Vitae fratrum* while the rest seem to be printed works.

Traditionally, the *Domonkos Codex* is divided in nine sections, although its structure, in fact, is not as clear cut.⁴⁴⁹ The first (1-74v) one is dedicated to the life of St. Dominic, his foundation of the order and his encounters with the devil, the second (75r-82v) is about his posthumous miracles that occurred at his tomb; the third one (82v-98v) tells about the reward of those who

⁴⁴¹ On Paul of Vác and the disciplinary problems of the nuns on the Island of the Rabbits, see Harsányi, *A domonkos rend Magyarországon*, 231-234; Lázs, *Apácaműveltség*, 40-44.

⁴⁴² *Birk-Kódex 1474*, trans. Pál Váci, ed. and notes by István Pusztai, (Codices Hungarici 5) (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1960).

⁴⁴³ *Példák Könyve 1510* [Book of Examples]. A facsimile and a critical edition by András Bognár and Ferenc Lévárdy, (Codices Hungarici 4) (Budapest: Akadémiai kiadó, 1960); for its relation to the translation of the rule, see 291-292.

⁴⁴⁴ The references to Antoninus and his *Chronicon* are in *Domonkos-kódex 1517*, 289 (131/16-17); 293 (133/13-14); 379 (176/10-14).

⁴⁴⁵ Katona, "Az Ehrenfeld- és Domonkos-codex forrásai," 76-78

⁴⁴⁶ Katona, *Újabb adalékok codexeink forrásaihoz*, 114-117.

⁴⁴⁷ *Domonkos-kódex 1517*, Introduction, 19-20: Dietrich of Apolda: 165/1-171/10, 297/15-299/15, 306/13-312/18; Peter Calò: 171/11-176/8, 299/18-305/12.

⁴⁴⁸ Rössler, *Magyar domonkosrendi példák és legendák*, 36-37.

⁴⁴⁹ *Domonkos-kódex 1517*, Introduction, 11-12.

were benevolent towards the saint or the order and the punishment of those who were not; the fourth one (99r-136r) is again about the *in vita* miracles of Dominic, the next one (10 folios are missing, so it goes from 147r to 153v) relates the life of the friars preachers, the sixth one tells further *in vita* and *post mortem miracles* of the saint; the last but one section (153v-154r) contains two stories of people who were good to the Dominican Order; and the last one (157r-169v) describes the brothers' way of life.⁴⁵⁰

The *Domonkos Codex* shows a combination of chronological and thematic arrangement. It is a *compendium* of texts of different genres: individual and collective hagiography, collections of *exempla* and miracles, history of the Dominican Order. The stories either convey historical or moral teachings; the latter are usually presented in a captivating manner. The moral of the *exempla* are almost always clear; if not, explanation is provided. Since the Hungarian codex is almost the word-by-word translation of Latin works, its originality should be seen primarily in the selection and organization of the additional material. The strong chronicle-like character of the Hungarian codex is due to its main source, the Latin *Chronicon*, to which a significant amount of stories from the *Vitae fratrum* and several *post mortem* miracles of Dominic was added. This may imply that the Dominican friar who compiled the exemplar of the *Domonkos Codex* regarded that further episodes from the lives of the brethren and some additional emphasis of the sanctity of Dominic would be salutary for or welcomed by his audience. It is curious that while in the Hungarian codex either Bishop Antonino or his *Chronicon* is repeatedly indicated as the source, no other reference is made to the other authors and their works on which the Hungarian compilation was made: Gerardus de Fracheto's *Vitae fratrum*, Peter Calò's *Legenda beati Dominici*, and Dietrich of Apolda's *Libellus de vita et obitu et miraculis S. Dominici*. Rather than using three separate works, the Hungarian compiler used the printed Dominican Breviary revised in 1487 in which excerpts from the works of all the above mentioned three authors were included but, presumably, without any reference.

⁴⁵⁰ St Dominic's life written in the vernacular was, naturally, one of the most popular readings of the Dominican nuns; just to cite one example, a mid-sixteenth century-dialogue between a nun and his spiritual father about the founder in French language survives from the monastery of Lathelleuleye near Arras. The text was edited by Piotr Tylus, *Une légende de saint Dominique en moyen français. Étude du texte accompagnée de son édition critique, avec notes, glossaire et index des noms propres* (Cracow: Faculty of Philology, Jagellonian University of Cracow, 2012).

As to the image of St. Dominic transmitted through the *Domonkos Codex*, not a single characteristic or virtue is underlined. Instead, a wide range of the saintly characteristics traditionally attributed to him are present in the codex but these are quite general. Obviously, the aim was to underline the sanctity of the founding father of the Order of Preachers through his habits, deeds, the miracles he performed in his life, his good death, his posthumous miracles and the incorruptibility of his body. Little importance is given to Dominic's learnedness and his preaching activities; here it is the foundation of the Order and the organization of the first generations of the friar preachers and the communities of the nuns are those that get more emphasis. The saint is presented as an exceptionally wise person but his wisdom is much more of a divine nature than worldly knowledge: he was granted also with the discernment of spirit and performed charismatic exorcism on several occasions.⁴⁵¹ Another Christ-like aspect of Dominic's sanctity is particularly underlined: the multiplication of bread and wine and the turning of bread to wine, but it is far from being presenting Dominic as an *alter Christus*. A further sign of his sanctity was that the Virgin often appeared to him in his visions and dreams.

Dominic is characterized mostly in interaction with others, mainly with friars. From these episodes takes shape an image of a humble, strong-willed and serene person, who, while being generally merciful, but with good reason, is capable of flying into rage and punishing the malefactor. In two episodes, St. Francis of Assisi is his companion: in the *exemplum* of the three spears they are those who are sent by Christ to save the world, and they were identical in the intentions of their heart, suggesting the equality and peace between the two saints, thus between the two orders as well.⁴⁵² The cleaning of the water of the well in Cremona performed finally by Dominic who is forced by Francis was an episode that turned up in both saints' hagiography: in the Dominican, it was presented as Francis's acknowledgement of Dominic's primacy; in the Franciscan, it was an example of the humbleness of the Poverello. Dominic's voluntary poverty is a recurring motif in the *Domonkos Codex*: he even left it as a heritage to his followers. There are several *exempla* that warn against possessing anything without the special permission of the

⁴⁵¹ On the discernment of spirits in general, without treating specifically the saints, see the works of Nancy Caciola, "Mystics, Demoniacs, and the Psychology of Spirit Possession in Medieval Europe," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 42 (2000), 268-306; eadem, *Discerning Spirits. Divine and Demonic Possession in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2003).

⁴⁵² Szabó, "A sokarcú exemplum".

prior. What makes the *Domonkos Codex* particularly characteristic of the period when it was put together and translated is the long instruction of the nuns about apostolic poverty and mendicancy presented from the Observant Dominican point of view (based on the *Chronicon*), which is of worth quoting at some length:

The love for poverty of our father St Dominic is praised with this, and his testament should be observed if necessity does not require else in order to avoid the curse. But where necessity requires, which does not have a rule but makes the rule for itself. [...] Since if the Lord God changes the prohibitions and possessions given to people as time changes [...]. Moreover, even the Church changes her rules and possessions when necessity or usefulness requires. This should not be regarded as laxity but intelligence since at the time when our father St. Dominic made this prohibition there were no other friars but the brothers of St. Benedict, who would not go around begging because it was not necessary for them. Thus, at that time the friars of our father St. Dominic took an abundant amount of alms. But by now the mendicant orders have multiplied both among males and females. And since cruelty and sin have multiplied, the charity of many has cooled off. People have become mean in giving alms because of the multiplication of lean years, famines and wars. And they rather spend their money on fancy vestments of the church or on chapels and on the luxury of the churches than on helping the poor. And these people will be judged soon by a better judge. That is, Archbishop Antonino though that it would be better to leave the judgment of the above mentioned to someone who has a better understanding of it, humiliating himself to others.⁴⁵³

The stance of Antonino in this important addition to his version of the life of St Dominic, as it have been pointed out by Silvia Nocentini, is the approval of all those considerations that the saint had opposed and rather turning towards “the conciliation of the discussion on more

⁴⁵³ *Domonkos-kódex 1517*, 136/1-136/8: Ezben dychyrtetevt zent damancos atyanknak zerelme az zegeenseghez es mendenestevl fogua meg tartando az ev testamentoma holot az zevgseg nem kezerejt hog az atokba ne esseek De hol zevkseeg kezerejt kynek nyñchen tevrueenye de evmaga tezen maganak tevrueent.[...] Mert ha az vr isten jdevknek kylemb kylemb voltazerent valtoztagya embereknek lev tylalmakat es zerezeseveket [...] Mykeppen nylyan vagyon az oo tevrueenbely isteny zolgalatnak tevrueenyerevl es az itylet tetelnek tevrueenyerevl Melyek vetettek vy tevrueenben betevzerent mykoron ez fele parancholat tevrevekre es adattak istennek sok atkya Ennek felette anyazent egyhaz es el valtoztagya az ev tevrueenyet es zerezeseet mykoron zvkseg kezerejt vagy haznalatossag Sem kel ezt tulaydoneytany kevnjevsegek de okossagnak Mert ez jdevben mykoron zent damancos atyank ez tylalmat teue nemualanek egyeb zerezeseek hanem chak zent benedek barat kyk nem kvldulnak vala mert nem vala zevksegevk rea Annak okaert az zent damancos atyank fraterj az jdevben bevsegegek vezyk vala az alamysnat Mastan kedeg meg sokaswltnak az kwldulo zerzetek mynd feerfyak mynd azzonjallatok kezzevl Es mjert meg sokawlt az kegetlenseg az byn ennek okaert meg hydegevl sokaknak isteny zerelmek Es meg sokaswluan az zewk jdevk ehsegek haborusagok es velagy nepeknek keulsegevk ezeknek myatta lettek feesvenyek alamysna adasra Es jnkab kevtjk az ev jozagokat felette valo egyhazj evltevzetekre vagy capolnakra es egyhazaknak pompasagya hognem zegeenyeknek segedelmere Ezek vadnak monduan reuitedevn eppen hagyv myndenkoron jobnak jylyetynek Az az antonino ersek ez feyrelvl mondottakat hatta annak jylyetyre ky jobban erty evnalanal meg alazuan egyebeknek evmagaath

practicable positions.’’⁴⁵⁴ By the time, however, when this piece was translated, the possession controversy had been put to an end by Pope Sixtus IV with the Bull *Considerantes* in 1475 by which all Dominican convents gained the right of possession. To what extent the questions of poverty and possession were relevant for the Dominican nuns is difficult to estimate since in general very little is known about the nature of the “disciplinary problems” of the nuns on the Island that necessitated the introduction of a reform, but according to Lázs they probably included the possession of unnecessary objects.⁴⁵⁵ That money was indeed used in the nuns’ monastery is attested in the *Gömöry Codex* by a note of one of the nun-scribes who demanded an account from her fellow sister why she still not paid for the book.⁴⁵⁶

A considerable part of the *Domonkos Codex* is about other early friars who were important figures in the first decades after the birth of the Order. Due to the detailed account of their activities, especially that of Reginald, a theologian from Paris, as well as the shorter stories about many other friars, the *Domonkos Codex* tells as much about the life of St. Dominic as much about that of the Order of Preachers reflected in the lives and actions of its *membra*, the early brothers. The most important characteristic of the friars, in the presentation of the *Domonkos codex* is their mission: the conversion of sinners and heretics, Muslims in particular. There are many episodes from the life of the Dominican convent of Bologna. These *exempla* are particularly relevant and always current since they are about minor and major sins that turn up from time to time in the convents. It is intriguing why the other Dominican saint, Peter of Verona or his miracles are not mentioned in the codex.

Last, but not least a few words about the material regarding Hungary in the codex. The country is mentioned as one of the missionary targets of the preacher friars in the early 1220s. Besides, the compiler writes that six raisings of death occurred with the intercession of St Dominic occurred in Hungary (“which can be read in some book”). He narrates three of them in a

⁴⁵⁴ Silvia Nocentini, “Mendicancy in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth centuries: ‘Ubi necessitas non urgeat’: The Preachers Facing the ‘refrigescens caritas,’” in *The Origin, Development, and Refinement of Medieval Religious Mendicancies*, 355-361, at 360-361.

⁴⁵⁵ Lázs, *Apácaműveltség*, 41, footnote 37.

⁴⁵⁶ “My darling Christina, this is such a pretty book, why do you not pay for it?”; quoted in Lázs, *Apácaműveltség*, 43.

detailed manner but omits the rest for the sake of brevity.⁴⁵⁷ Additionally, he reports one of the miracles of 1314 about the raising of the provost from Székesfehérvár. All these miracles originating from the thirteenth and early fourteenth century, in fact, are related to Dominic's relic in Somlyó but the name of the settlement appears only once and in a distorted form "Sunnich". That Dominic's finger relic was kept in Székesfehérvár is a mistranslation of the Latin text (see II.2.3) and it shows that the one-time popular shrine in south-eastern Hungary has gone to oblivion by the early sixteenth century.

II.5.2 The sermon on St Dominic in the *Érdy Codex*

Two saints of the Order of Preachers were included in the vernacular collection of sermons of the Anonymous Carthusian preserved in the *Érdy Codex*: St Dominic the founder and the Sienese Tertiary, Catherine of Siena. The sermons of the collection put together in 1526-1527 were probably never preached but read out loud for a community, and also its *sermones de sanctis* stand closer to legends made up of loosely or absolutely not connected episodes, arranged more or less in a chronological sequence than to sermons. It can be presumed that they were transmitted to the audience in their present form. The Carthusian author used extensively the *Legenda aurea* but selected but he reorganised the material around four "blissful morals" and added some of his own ideas to the sermon on St Dominic building on the *thema* "He will be called great in the kingdom of heaven" (Matt.5:19).⁴⁵⁸ It is rather the adaptation of the work of James of Varazze than its translation, since shifts of emphases, omissions and additions were made to the Latin text, which can be related to the persons of authors, the audience they addressed, and also the roughly 270 years gap in time in their composition. The sermon is carefully designed: it is divided into four sections, that is blissful morals, of which the first is the etymology of the saint's name and the other three are all divided into seven further subsections, discussing how Dominic's sanctity manifested by predictions, his virtues and his deeds. The Carthusian Anonymous provides an extensive presentation of Dominic's sanctity by selecting those episodes that can be related to any of the above mentioned four sections and choosing those which have already become characteristic to St. Dominic by that time. His

⁴⁵⁷ *Domonkos-kódex* 1517, 73/11-77/4.

⁴⁵⁸ The sermon is entitled "On the laudable life of our patriarch virgin saint Dominic" (Zyz zent Damonkos Patriarkanak meltossagus eeleteero^l), vol.5, 162-168 (ff. 448-452).

version is much shorter than his Latin source, also because he completely omits the saint's *post mortem* miracles that make up roughly one fifth of the Latin text. The most significant differences between Dominic's legend in the *Legenda aurea* and the sermon of the Carthusian Anonymous is the incorporation of the new, popular *exempla* about the saint and the prophecies and the divine signs concerning that he will be a great preacher and will have a crucial role in saving the Church, and the praises of the Order of Preachers. Examples to the former are the predictions of the pagan Sybilla and Abbot Joachim⁴⁵⁹ taken from the Anonymous Carthusian's sermon on St Francis based on Roberto Caracciolo's Latin sermon,⁴⁶⁰ or Pope Innocent's dream about the church of Lateran which was about to collapse but it is supported by Dominic⁴⁶¹ that was a "wandering *exemplum*" that can be found in the hagiography of St Francis and St Dominic alike, or a vision in which Christ wants to destroy the world with three spears but the Virgins begs him to be merciful because of the merits of St Dominic, known in other versions in which the protagonist is St Francis or even both founding fathers.⁴⁶²

Another, perhaps own addition of the Anonymous Carthusian to the sermon is his praise of the Order of Preachers several times on the account of St Catherine of Siena and other virgins who belonged to its penitentiary (Third) order⁴⁶³ or because of the preacher friars all around the world

⁴⁵⁹ *Érdy-kódex*, 449.

⁴⁶⁰ Dóra Rapavi, "A Karthauzi Névtelen forráshasználatának sajátosságai – Robertus Caracciolus Szent Ferenc – napi beszédével való összevetés tanulságai" [The characteristics of the handling of the sources of the Carthusian Anonymous: A comparison with Caracciolo's sermon on the feast of St Francis] *Plaustrum seculi V* (2007). Tanulmányok régi prédikációirodalmunkról. Az ELTE Régi Magyar Irodalomtörténeti Tanszékén 2003 áprilisában rendezett konferencia szerkesztett anyaga, ed. Ildikó Bárczi. (Last accessed: 09/02/2017)

⁴⁶¹ On the dream of Pope Innocent III that became part of both the Franciscan and the Dominican traditions, first probably in the former in the 1240s, then soon followed by the latter from around 1246-1247, see Holly J. Grieco's chapter "Pastoral care, inquisition, and mendicancy in the medieval Franciscan Order, in *The Origin, Development, and Refinement of Medieval Religious Mendicancies*, 117-155. In Dominican hagiography the story was recorded first in Constantine of Orvieto's *Legenda Sancti. Dominici*, 301-302.

⁴⁶² Such borrowings were not unusual; for the discussion of the most well-known episode of the dream of Pope Innocent III that has two versions, one in which Francis saves the collapsing church and in the other Dominic, see Lester K. Little, "Imitatio Francisci: The Influence of Francis of Assisi on Late Medieval Religious Life" in *Defenders and Critics of Franciscan Life: Essays in Honor of John V. Fleming*, ed. Michael Cusato and Guy Geltner (Leiden: Brill, 2009) *The Medieval Franciscans* 6, 193-218, especially on 205-210.

⁴⁶³ *Érdy-kódex*, 451: "[...] Ez nemes zent zerzetbo^e l zarmazanak kylemb kylemb zent zezttra es Be rekezt^e t apacchya zerzet^e k. Es veegre az zent penitencia tarto zeerzeth kybo^e l tamada Senabely zyz zent Katheryna azzon ees es nagy sok zent zyzek kyk myat wr Cristus Iesus tyzto^e ltetik".

[a]bout whom we see and hear that how many of pious, intelligent, wise and literate holy doctors were among them. Moreover, also holy confessors, martyrs who cannot be named [were among them], due to whom the church grew both in the praise of God as well as in the veneration of the holy church.⁴⁶⁴

In the Anonymous Carthusian's sermon one finds a complex saintly image of Dominic, the "stone-wall of the Church"⁴⁶⁵ in which there is no single aspect that would be more underscored than the others. The common themes that appeared already in the *Sermones compilati* are the divine signs that foretell the vocation of Dominic and the rise of a preaching order, his abstinence, virginity, charity, the contempt of earthly glory and the preaching of the Gospels. Some other virtues, not present in the early Latin collection of sermons although already by the supposed time of its compilation they frequently turned up in the hagiography of Dominic, are accentuated in the vernacular sermon of the Carthusian Anonymous: the mortification of his body with, his steadfastness in prayer, or his yearning for martyrdom.

II.5.3 The legend of St Thomas Aquinas in the Debreceni Codex

The legend of one of the most renowned theologians and philosophers of scholasticism, Thomas Aquinas (1225-74; canonized in 1323) in the Debreceni Codex of Franciscan origin made for Clarisses, owes its survival to the fact that the book is made up of two manuscripts bound together later.⁴⁶⁶ The first part of the codex consists of the first quarter of an unusually rich legendary.⁴⁶⁷ Thomas Aquinas is the only Dominican saint who can be found in the codex but it is probably because his feast was celebrated in the first quarter of the liturgical year, on 7th

⁴⁶⁴ *Érdy-kódex*, 451: "Masod tyzto^elet mondatyk fratereknek sokalwlasok mynd ez zeeles wylagon ky nem lehto^et wr istennek zent malaztтыanaaal kyl, kyketh nylwan ees latwnk es hallwnk mynemew nagy ayo^etatosok, ertelmesek bo^elchek es yras twdo zent doctorok voltanak sokan ew ko^ezzo^el. Annak felette zent Confessorok, martyrok, kyket zemeelyek zerent meg newezny lehetetlen kyknek myatta neweko^edo^et mynd az wr istennek dycheerety mynd anyazent egyhaznak tyzto^elety".

⁴⁶⁵ *Érdy-kódex*, 452.

⁴⁶⁶ On the canonization of Thomas Aquinas, see Angelus Walz, "Historia Canonizationis S. Thomae de Aquino," *Xenia Thomistica* 3 (1925): 105-172; André Vauchez, "Le canonizzazioni di san Tommaso e di San Bonaventura: perché due secoli di scarto?" in *Ordini mendicanti e società italiana (XIII-XIV secolo)* (Milan: Saggiatore, 1990), 257-273, on his hagiography, see Deák, *Árpád-házi Szent Margit*, 160-166; on his relics and places of cult, see Marika Räsänen, *Thomas Aquinas's Relics as Focus for Conflict and Cult in the Late Middle Ages: The Restless Corpse* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2017).

⁴⁶⁷ *Debreceni-kódex*, 1-228: from St Andrew (30th November) to the Feast of the Annunciation of the Virgin (25th March).

March.⁴⁶⁸ Since Thomas Aquinas was far from being the most popular saint of the Order of Preachers, it can be presumed that the full *legendarium* would have reported the legends of other Dominican saints as well. As I have mentioned earlier, no altar or church dedication of the Dominican theologian is known from Hungary, and his visual representations are also rather rare. Even if his was not popular as a saint, his works were widespread in Hungary.⁴⁶⁹ In two high quality copies of Thomas Aquinas's works in the library of Matthias Corvinus, the *Commentary on the Sentences* made presumably by Attavante and in his *On Kingship* made probably in northern Italy, the author himself can be seen in miniatures on the first folio of the books dressed in a Dominican habit, holding a book.⁴⁷⁰

The source of the vernacular legend of Thomas Aquinas in the Debreceni Codex was Petrus de Natalibus's *Catalogus sanctorum*.⁴⁷¹ The translator/compiler of the Hungarian legendary keeps on referring to Thomas Aquinas as "doctor", and the whole legend is centred on the theologian's learnedness (primarily in the years of education and his activity as a *magister*) and his affection for books manifested already in his early childhood. The legend tells that he originated from a wealthy noble family and studied with the Dominicans of Naples until the death of his father, when his brothers force him to return to Aquino and they keep him locked at home for about two years. Finally Thomas is released and continues his studies first in Rome, than in Paris. His professor Albert the Great foretells the future impact of ideas of the "Dumb Ox" who was saturated with knowledge coming from God and had some mystical experiences, like the apparition of Ss Peter and Paul, or Christ speaking to him from the Crucifix. Although the Hungarian legend of Thomas Aquinas is a faithful translation of the one by Petrus de Natalibus, it is significant and rare testimony of Dominican saints being introduced to a Franciscans female audience. I think it is possible that the Hungarian translation of Thomas of Aquinas's legend was made on the basis of a translation originally made for the Dominican

⁴⁶⁸ *Debreceni-kódex*, 203-208.

⁴⁶⁹ See the three volumes of Csapodi and Csapodiné, *Bibliotheca Hungarica: kódexek és nyomtatottkönyvek*.

⁴⁷⁰ Modena, Biblioteca Estense, Cod.lat. 432, fol. 6r (Thomas Aquinas: *Libros sententiarum*); Vienna, Nationalbibliothek, Cod. lat. 2458, fol. 1r.

⁴⁷¹ The sources of the legend of Thomas Aquinas is *Catalogus sanctorum*, III.181. On the identification of the source of the legend, see György Király, "A Margit-legenda és rokonai. Függelék: A Debreceni codex legendáinak forrásai" [The legend of St Margaret and its relatives with the sources of the legends of the Debreceni codex] *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények* 25 (1915): 1-25, at 17-19 and 24; Vargha, *Kódexeink legendái*, 16.

nuns on the Island of Buda and it was incorporated in a codex made for the Clarisses of Óbuda – as the exchange of copies between the two monasteries was regular.

II.6. Early Dominican saints in visual arts

The diptych of King Andrew III

The thirteenth-century male saints of the Order of Preachers and the Order of Minor Brothers can be found on the diptych of Andrew III (1290-1301) made around 1290-1296. The precious object made in Venetian style was only one of the many that were donated by Agnes of Hungary, the second wife of Andrew III, to the Franciscan double monastery of Königsfelden (Switzerland) founded in 1308 by the Habsburg family where she lived since the death of Andrew until 1364.⁴⁷² (Fig.1.) The saints of the mendicant orders are only few of the high number of saints that can be found on the double board, and their primary importance lies in underscoring the close connection of the Árpád dynasty with both orders: whereas Andrew was buried at the church of the Franciscan convent dedicated to St John the Evangelist in Buda, her mother Tomasina Morosini expressed her wish to be buried in the Dominican church of Venice.⁴⁷³ The commissioner of the diptych for the future ruler was presumably her mother Tomasina. The half figures of the Dominicans and Franciscans are depicted at the base of the right panel, next to each other. All of them are bearded and tonsured, wearing the habits of their respective orders and their names are written on the images in red. The two saints on the right side are Ss. Francis and Anthony of Padua, while the two figures on the left are Ss Dominic and Peter of Verona. Dominic has a round face and he is holding a book in his left hand and is holding his right hand in front of his chest. Peter has a more ascetic face; one axe is thrust into his skull, the other one in the lower part of his body. His tonsure is rugged (perhaps to represent that his skull was crushed) and he puts one of his hands on the other in front of his chest.⁴⁷⁴

⁴⁷² On the gifts of Agnes to the monastery, see Marti, “Königin Agnes”.

⁴⁷³ On Tomasina, see Magda Jászay, “Ricordi ungheresi d’una regina d’Ungheria a Venezia” in *Annuario dell’Accademia d’Ungheria*, ed. János Kelemen (Rome: [n.p.], 1993-1997), 99-104.

⁴⁷⁴ Cf. George Kaftal, *Iconography of the Saints in Tuscan Painting* (Florence: Le Lettere, 1986), coll.309-320 (St Dominic), 817-813 (St Peter of Verona)



Figure 1 – Four saints of the mendicant orders on the diptych of King Andrew III, ca. 1290-1296. Bernishes Historisches Museum, Inv. no. 301. Photo: Marti, “Königin Agnes und ihre Geschenke”.

The portrayal of the two saints of the Franciscan as well as from the Dominican Orders implies that the probable commissioner Tomasina Morosini considered (at least on the level of representation) both mendicant orders of equal importance, but cannot be regarded as an

indicator of a special devotion to these saints on the part of receiver of the gift, her son Andrew, the heir to the Hungarian throne.

The Cycles of St Dominic and St Peter of Verona in the Hungarian Angevin Legendary

As Béla Zsolt Szakács observed, in the cycles of the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary*, made in the first half of the fourteenth century for royal patrons in Hungary by a Bolognese workshop, hardly any trace can be seen of the characteristic features of the religious orders, it is rather the saint's individual biography that has central role.⁴⁷⁵ Regardless to their affiliation, all saints of religious orders refrain from public activities, and they are not represented as engaged in missionary or theological activities, disputes, baptism, or performance of liturgy. In the cycles of the saints of the mendicant orders, the acts of charity stand in the foreground. The greater part of these legends depicts the miracles performed with the saint's intercession: the saints of the religious orders generally have power over the natural and the evil forces. Moreover, instead of translations and miracles performed with the relics of the saints, the *post mortem* miracles are the utmost signs of their sanctity.⁴⁷⁶ Dominic is placed among the confessors, while Peter of Verona among the martyrs, which shows that the rank in saintly hierarchy was more important than religious affiliation.

The cycle of Dominic starts with the miraculous signs that foretold his future sanctity. On the first image (fol. 90v: *I. Dominicy (!) quomodo mater eius vidit insompnis (!) quod unus catulus habebat unam facem ardentem in ore (!) suo*),⁴⁷⁷ his mother dreams about a dog carrying a burning torch in his mouth and a shining star appears on Dominic's forehead at his baptism. The fourth image (fol. 90v: *IV. quomodo beata uirgo presentauit sanctum dominicum cum sancto francisco christo filio suo*) represents another prominent vision: the *exemplum* of the three spears, and in this version the Virgins asks Christ to postpone the Last Judgement by

⁴⁷⁵ See footnote 175.

⁴⁷⁶ Szakács, *A Magyar Anjou Legendárium*, 124.

⁴⁷⁷ All the images and the first four captions of Dominic's cycle are reported in Levárdy, *Magyar Anjou Legendárium* in Appendix XLVIII.; The captions in their corrected forms are reported in Szakács, *A Magyar Anjou Legendárium*, 291-292. Levárdy: fol. 90 v.: *I. Dominicy, quomodo mater eius vidit in sompnis quod unus catulus habebat unam facem ardentem in ore suo. II. quomodo nunquam iacebat in lecto suo III. quomodo diuidebat bona ipsius pauperibus III. quomodo beata uirgo presentavit sanctum dominicum cum sancto Francisco christo filio suo*. For the last four images, there are no captions.

referring to Ss. Dominic and Francis. The equality of the two orders is also underlined by the next image depicting the two founding fathers embracing each other. (Fig.2)



Figure 2 - Life of St Dominic, scenes I-IV, BAV, Vat. lat. 8541 fol. 90v. Source: Szakács, *The Visual World*

The ascetic practices of the saint are underlined: he used to sleep on the ground already as a young man (fol. 90v. II. *quomodo numquam iacebat in lecto suo*), and even after he made his religious vow he used to flog himself regularly. Self-flagellation is one of the themes that made Dominic a worthy companion of Francis; the other is the distribution of alms. His cycle of Dominic ends with the appearance of an angel foretelling his imminent death, and with two *post mortem* miracles of the saint. As it was noticed already by Szakács, the first of them depicting a

woman with candles is related to Hungary;⁴⁷⁸ it is one of the miracles from Somlyó. I believe that the selection of this miracle, which is far from being the greatest miracles Dominic performed, could be motivated by the fact that this one is the most unique among the miracles of Hungary and it can be only related to the country. Although there is no information whether Somlyó where this miracle occurred was still a destination of pilgrims and whether the finger relic of Dominic was still kept here at the time of composition of the *Angevin Legendary* (1330-1345), it is sure that in 1315 when Nicholas de Castro Ferreo the ex-prior of Somlyó related two more miracles at the General Chapter, they were fairly new. The other posthumous miracle is the vision and the conversion of a student from Bologna. It is not sure whether this was really the last one since the cycle of Dominic is damaged: a folio is missing from the sheet but it cannot be said with certainty if the last one or the last but one. Since the miracle that occurred to the student is the very last one in the *Legenda aurea*, and there are a lot of episodes between the *exemplum* of the three spears and the regular self-mortification of Dominic, it is more likely that it is the second folio what is missing from the cycle.⁴⁷⁹ (Fig. 3)

⁴⁷⁸ Szakács, *The Visual World*, 133.

⁴⁷⁹ Due to the missing folio the cycle's comparison to the others remains uncertain. While the *exemplum* of the three spears and the divine sign of Dominic's sanctity were quite widespread in his iconography, the depiction of his donations and the angel's announcement of his death are rather rare; moreover, the ascetic scenes and the *post mortem* miracles are unparalleled, but these are the two features that make Dominic's portrait similar to the others of this group; see Szakács, *The Visual World*, 133.



Figure 3 – Life of St Dominic, scenes IX-XII. Morgan Library M.360.26. Source: Szakács, *The Visual World*

Peter of Verona was a saint of the Order of Preachers and a martyr at the same time. That the latter was of a higher rank, it is attested by the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* where he is grouped among the martyrs,⁴⁸⁰ right after the evangelists and the apostles. The length of the cycles of the martyrs alternates between four and ten images. The cycle of Peter consists of four images, whereas the cycles of the other “modern” bishop martyrs, like Ss. Gerard, Stanislaus of Cracow and Thomas Becket are made up of eight images.⁴⁸¹ As it has been pointed out by

⁴⁸⁰ Szakács, *A Magyar Anjou Legendárium*, 51.

⁴⁸¹ Szakács, *A Magyar Anjou Legendárium*, 59.

Szakács, while the *vita* of Peter is one of the longest one in the *Legenda aurea*,⁴⁸² it loses its importance in the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary*.⁴⁸³

Szakács distinguished two, although not clearly separable, groups of the martyrs: those whose cycles were centred on their passion, and those whose cycles were built on other motives. Peter of Verona's legend belongs to the second category, and his miracles are in the focus. (Fig.4). On the first image (fol. 59v: *I. petri martiris quomodo conduxit aerem super populos precaldem*)⁴⁸⁴ the saint protects the people of Milan from the burning sun but, as Szakács has pointed out, there is no trace of the heretic adversary present in the *Legenda aurea* and Peter is praying for rain together with the crowd.⁴⁸⁵ The second (fol. 59v: *II. quomodo sanauit unum contractum*) and the third (fol. 59v: *III. quomodo sanauit unum puerum de magna gula, et patrem eius qui uomerat uermes pilosos*) images relate three miracles the saint performed in his lifetime. Szakács considered the fact that Peter is never alone but accompanied by another friar to be the most significant common feature of these images; the companion is the witness who authenticates the saint's miracles, as it can be observed in other cycles of the *Angevin Legendary* as well. Peter of Verona is depicted alone only in the last image (fol. 59v: *IIII. quomodo fuit martirizatus*) when he is killed, although in the *Legenda aurea* he was accompanied by and assassinated together with one of his companions. The splitting of his head with a *falx* follows the compositions of the execution scenes.⁴⁸⁶ It is also worthy of attention that he is never represented either preaching or disputing with heretics.⁴⁸⁷ As Szakács concluded the analysis of Peter's cycle, "the redactor of the codex put aside all Dominican traditions and

⁴⁸² The *vita* of Peter of Verona is edited in Jacobus de Voragine, *Legenda aurea*, ed. Maggioni, vol.1, 421-438. The miracles represented in his cycle are at 423- 424, his martyrdom is at 425-426.

⁴⁸³ Szakács, *A Magyar Anjou Legendárium*, 60-61.

⁴⁸⁴ The captions of the images of Peter of Verona's cycle are reported in Szakács, *A Magyar Anjou Legendárium*, 283.

⁴⁸⁵ That is one of the most well-known and often-represented miracle of Peter of Verona's iconography; see Venturino Alce, "Iconografia di s. Pietro Martire da Verona martire domenicano" *Memorie Domenicane* 70 (1953): 100-114 and 150-167, at 102.

⁴⁸⁶ Szakács, *A Magyar Anjou Legendárium*, 96.

⁴⁸⁷ Thus, the first miracle that in the text was an important argument for Peter's assassination, yet in the Hungarian legendary it is just a miracle; see Szakács, *A Magyar Anjou Legendárium*, 96.

depicted the saint's image with personal characteristics. Curiously, in this way Peter through his healings became similar to the apostles, to whom it was most characteristic.”⁴⁸⁸

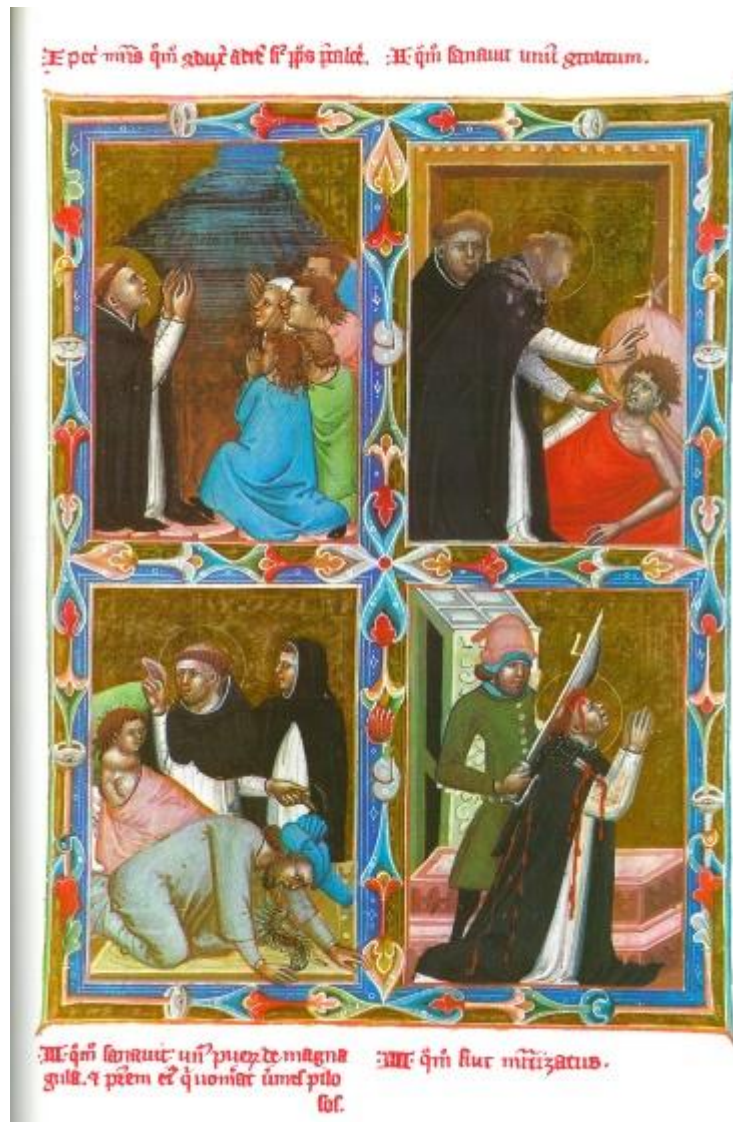


Figure 4 – Life of Peter of Verona, scenes I-V. BAV, Vat. lat. 8541, fol.90v. Source: Levárdy, *Magyar Anjou Legendarium*

⁴⁸⁸ Szakács, *A Magyar Anjou Legendarium*, 96: “[...] a kódex szerkesztője félretett minden domonkos hagyományt, és a sajátos vonásokkal alakította ki Péter profilját. Különös módon éppen így, gyógyításaival válik az apostolokhoz hasonlóvá, akikre ez a tevékenység leginkább jellemző volt.” For the preference for Peter’s posthumous miracles on his tomb in the church of S. Eustorgio, see Alce, “La tomba di s. Pietro martire,” 14-15.

Dominic and other Dominican saints in the Breviary of Domokos Kálmáncsehi

St Dominic and other saints of the Order of Preachers figure in a late fifteenth-century *Breviarium* commissioned by Domonkos Kálmáncsehi (?-1501), provost of Székesfehérvár, and was executed by the courtly workshop of Matthias Corvinus in Buda. Its miniatures were made by Francesco da Castello (Franciscus de Castello) in the 1480s.⁴⁸⁹ It is one of the most lavishly illustrated Hungarian codices, and the themes of its miniatures are strongly related to the liturgical texts.⁴⁹⁰ In the art historian Tünde Wehli's opinion the breviary illuminated by Francesco de Castello, as well as other codices that can be associated with him (mostly of liturgical character) fulfilled the requirements of high priests who would spend great sums on illuminated books rather than being the representatives of the courtly style of the age.⁴⁹¹ An elaborate self-representation can be found on fol. 406r: Dominican saints are depicted in medallions, and at the bottom of the folio, the coat of arms of Domonkos Kálmáncsehi can be seen, and in the initial *G(aude)* the preaching St Dominic is represented, combining heraldry, image and letter. The two other saintly figures (clockwise) can be identified with Margherita di Città di Castello and Peter of Verona. The saint on the left side of the page is another Dominican martyr, presumably Dominic, the friar with whom Peter of Verona was assassinated. Margherita da Città di Castello, (1287-1320) the blind and disabled Umbrian Penitent, who had close ties with the Order of Preachers, and was buried in the Church of St Dominic in Città di Castello and had a local cult in the region. Margherita's legend survives in two Latin redactions and vernacular one, which is the work of Tommaso Antonio "Caffarini" da Siena.⁴⁹² In the same church a fresco depicting the stigmatization of Margaret of Hungary was made in the early fifteenth century.⁴⁹³

⁴⁸⁹ OSzK, Clmae 446.

⁴⁹⁰ For the description of the Breviarium, see Árpád Mikó, ed. *Pannonia Regia: Művészet a Dunántúlon 1000-1541* [Pannonia Regia: Art in Transdanubia 1000-1541] (A Magyar Nemzeti Galéria kiadványi 2006/4), 413-419.

⁴⁹¹ For Francesco da Castello's activity in the court of King Matthias, see Tünde Wehli, "Franciscus de Castello Ithallico Budán" [Franciscus de Castello Ithallico in Buda] in *Pannonia Regia: Művészet a Dunántúlon 1000-1541*, 411-412.

⁴⁹² Daniele Solvi, "Riscritture agiografiche: due *legendae* latine di Margherita da Città di Castello," *Hagiographica* 2 (1995): 251-276.

⁴⁹³ Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers*, 386.



Figure 5 – Dominican saints in the Breviary of Domokos Kálmáncsehi (OSzK, Clmae 446, fol.406r)

St Dominic and St Francis on the high altar of Csíksomlyó

The central panel of the main altar of the St Peter and Paul in the parish church of Csíksomlyó (Șumuleu Ciuc, Romania) was made in the same period as the *Breviarium*.⁴⁹⁴ It depicts the enthroned Virgin holding the Infant Christ in her lap being crowned by two angels in the

⁴⁹⁴ Radocsay, *A középkori Magyarország táblaképei*, 137, 188; Sarkadi Nagy, *Local Workshops – Foreign Connections*, 137-138.

presence of St Peter from the right and St Paul from the left side. (Fig.5.) It shows the unique importance of the Virgin Mary as the universal agent for private requests: as Hans Belting pointed out with the help of an *exemplum* widespread in the fourteenth century, one turned to the Mother of Christ as one's own mother and gained favour by honouring her through an image.⁴⁹⁵ The two apostles are of the same size as the Virgin, at whose feet kneel praying the stigmatised St Francis and St Dominic dressed in the respective habits of their orders. Despite the equal size of the founders, I regard Francis to be in the more prominent position, on the one hand because he is depicted on the right side of the Virgin, below Christ and St Peter, looking directly in the eyes of St Paul; on the other hand, the habit of St Dominic, who is looking at the key held by Peter, is stamped on by St Paul, while Francis's bare foot is on that of St Peter. This panel creates a parallelism between long-venerated saints and recent ones from the mendicant orders. The smaller size of Ss Francis and Dominic shows that they are more recent and of inferior rank in comparison with the Apostles. The depiction of these two saints can be related to the Observant Franciscans had been present in Csíksomlyó since the 1440s,⁴⁹⁶ and to the Dominicans settled down in Udvarhely (Odorheiu Secuiesc, about 50 kms from Csíksomlyó) at the end of the fifteenth⁴⁹⁷ or the beginning of the sixteenth century, and also the whole village was dedicated to St Dominic about 30 kms distance from Csíksomlyó, Csíkszentdomokos (Sândominic), mentioned as *Zenth Domokos* in 1567.⁴⁹⁸

⁴⁹⁵ Hans Belting, *Likeness and Presence: a History of the Image before the Era of Art*, trans. Edmund Jephcott (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1994), 418.

⁴⁹⁶ The Observant Franciscan convent was founded by János Hunyadi in 1441 and was dedicated to the Virgin Mary; see Romhányi, *Kolostorok*, 19.

⁴⁹⁷ Romhányi, *Kolostorok*, 70.

⁴⁹⁸ Mező, *Patrociniumok*, 67.



Figure 5 – The enthroned Virgin is crowned by two angels in the presence of Ss Peter and Paul, Francis and Dominic on the central panel of the high altar of the St Peter and Paul in the parish church of Csíksomlyó (Șumuleu Ciuc, Romania, ca. 1480). Image: Hungarian National Gallery

Even if there is no evidence for the direct connection between the Dominicans in the region and the representation of their founder on the altar of Csíksomlyó, it has been observed a long time ago that the devotional life of the Transylvanian laity was shaped both by the parish church and the mendicant establishments. I agree with Maria Crăciun who considers the founders of the two great mendicant orders on this panel as pairs,⁴⁹⁹ as obvious “counterparts” of each other. This panel can be further linked to contemporary devotional literature: Christ, the Virgin and

⁴⁹⁹ Crăciun, “Mendicant Piety,” 45-46.

the two founders were the protagonists of one of the several versions of the popular *exemplum* of the “three spears” which survived in six codices written in the Hungarian vernacular.

The only Dominican church about which it can be known that the saints of the order were depicted is that of Brassó (Brasov, Romania). It can be understood from the account written in 1718 by the Dominican Márton Bartók who visited most of the churches and convents of his order in Transylvania that the original painting above the entrance of the church of Ss Peter and Paul represented the image of the Virgin, Queen of the Rosary, surrounded by St Dominic on the right and St Thomas Aquinas on the left side.⁵⁰⁰ The Dominicans had to leave the town in the 1530s, and their church and the convent were taken up by the Jesuits in 1716 who transformed the images of the two Dominican saints into their own saints, Ss Ignatius of Loyola (1491-1556) and Francis Xavier (1506-1552). Bartók also mentions other Dominican saints on the walls inside the convent (but does not specify which these saints were) which were repainted two years earlier. It is not known when the images depicting the Dominican saints were made.

II.7. Concluding remarks

In this chapter I have presented those records that provide information about the veneration of the two Dominican saints canonized in the thirteenth century in Hungary. Among the primary promoters one finds certainly the Order of Preachers but the role of the royal house, especially in the thirteenth century can be perceived, too. The Order of Preachers had a clear strategy of the dispersion of the relics of their saints: they recognized that the best way of the introduction of a cult of a new saint in a province remote from his activity can be done by miracles, and miracles occur where the saint is present. The presence of the relics of the two saints of the order before 1260 shows the special importance of the Hungarian Dominican Province in that period and particularly good relationship of the order with Béla IV.

⁵⁰⁰ Lupescu Makó, “A Domonkos Rend középkori erdélyi kolostorainak adattára,” 358. For a detailed presentation of Bartók’s account on the current conditions of the (former) Dominican churches and convents, see eadem, “Az erdélyi domonkos kolostorok a középkor végén és Bartók Márton 1718. évi jelentései”; Bartók’s reference to the Dominican saints on the church and in the convent of Brassó is at 149.

As Dominic and Peter were neither local nor dynastic saints but international ones, the successful implementation of their local cults apparently required a relic. I have argued that it was presumably the joint decision of the Hungarian ruler and the prominent members of the Order of Preachers where to place the relics of the saints of the order in the country. Dominic had an intense local cult in the priory of Somlyó in south eastern Hungary where his finger relic was preserved since the 1250s the latest but probably since as early as 1233 and it functioned as a priory was significant locally at least until the last decades of the thirteenth century. Based on the *acta* of the general chapters of the order and the miracle accounts incorporated in the hagiography of Dominic, an entire procedure of the promotion and the preservation of his memory can be reconstructed with the interaction on two levels. On the institutional level, the master general called for the collection of the miracles of St Dominic from all the provinces. It is likely that the Dominican author of the sermon for the feast of the translation of St Dominic preserved in the Codex of Leuven referred to the first wave of these *miracula* of Somlyó that reached Bologna in 1245 when speaking about the miracles of Dominic in Hungary. On the informal level, the local village dwellers and the parish priests fostered the local cult of Dominic mainly by visiting (individually or in groups) his relic by spreading the fame of his healing power that attracted pilgrims from the counties of Krassó and Arad. As I have tried to demonstrate, the finger relic was never moved to Székesfehérvár: this widespread tradition in Hungarian scholarship is the result of a mistranslation of a Latin source. The miracle accounts of Somlyó and Patak are special because by the time they were registered Dominic and Peter of Verona had already been canonized, so it is the authentication of the miracles and their publication that are of primary concern.

Whereas the relic of St Dominic in the church of the priory of Somlyó was to provide protection or help in fighting against the Bogumil tenets and the “schismatics” in the South-western region, that of St Peter of Verona in Patak was to defend the north-eastern territory of Hungary in case of a Mongolian incursion from the direction of Halych. The former prior of the Dominican friary of Patak, Svipertus considered it important to mention also the miracles attributed to the martyr, in his account of the missionary activities in the Hungarian Province, as it was decreed in earlier general chapters in 1255 and 1256. Apart from some laypeople who looked for healing at his relic in Patak, our knowledge about his popularity in the secular

context is rather limited. The dedication of the church in the suburb of Buda to Peter Martyr related to the General Chapter of 1254 is not a good indicator of the laity's devotion since the royal couple, the Dominicans as well as the inhabitants of the quarter for whom the new church was built could have been all involved in this decision.

Only in the case of the founder saint can the development of the saintly image between the thirteenth and sixteenth century be observed: whereas in the earliest written and visual sources the founder and the martyr were so to speak "head to head". But by the fifteenth and early sixteenth century Dominic left his confrère far behind as the altar and chapel dedications as well as the vernacular legends show. It is not known how the image of Peter changed since there is no legend or sermon composed in Hungary from these centuries with which one could compare the themes of his sermons in the *Sermones compilati*. The author of the *Sermones compilati* presented Peter as the ideal Dominican who defeated heresy by preaching and whose aim was the extirpation of moral sins and theological errors. The author applies the current motives of the Triple Crown and the New Martyr while the idea that Peter of Verona had the divine gift of the spiritual discernment and therefore his anti-heretical activity should be interpreted in this light, is perhaps his own innovation. Although the dating of the sermons is uncertain, the image of Peter as inquisitor is notably absent, which means that his presentation as an inquisitor was a relatively late development. The question whether the strengthening of this aspect of his sanctity from the second half of the fourteenth century was among the reasons of the decrease and then the almost total absence of his veneration in the Hungarian sources outside the Dominican context, cannot be answered. Regarding St Thomas Aquinas, even if he was not as popular as saint as he was as author in Hungary, his vernacular legend in the Debreceni codex and his depiction in the company of the Virgin and the founder in the Dominican church of Brasov above the entrance, in his quality as Doctor of the Church he was renowned around the sixteenth century – at least in areas where the Order of Preachers were active.

The presence of the two Dominicans on high-quality art works such as the diptych of Andrew III and the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* can be related to their owner's piety in general, a part of which was their devotion to the various religious orders. The dichotomy of Peter being the second saint of the Order of Preachers and a martyr at the same time is manifested in these

objects: on the diptych of Andrew III he is depicted together with Dominic as the two great saints of the Order, while in the *Angevin Legendary* the martyr's affiliation is of secondary importance. The representation of Dominic and other Dominican saints in the breviary of provost Kálmáncsehi could be motivated by the fact that the saint and the commissioner of the breviary shared the same name, an allusion to which was the depiction of the coat of arms of the provost at the bottom of the page; Kálmáncsehi presumably had an active role in the draft of the codex. Dominican saints were rarely depicted in murals, even if one takes into account that many of them were destroyed, especially in the towns where the preacher friars were present: their only trace seems to be the eighteenth-century record about the saints decorating the walls of the Dominican church and convent of Brassó. The sole representation of St Dominic (together with the other founder saint, Francis) is in the high altar of the parish church of Csíksomlyó. It is intriguing that no male saint of the Order of Preachers can be found on winged altarpieces, even in those major ones that had at least a dozen side altars.

Four main themes of the life of St. Dominic emerged. The one that can be found in all the written sources is the prediction related to his future “career” and the emergence of a preaching order. There is not a single source that would not mention the divine signs that predicted his sanctity (most often in the form of the dream of Dominic's mother about the dog holding a blowing torch in his mouth and the star on his forehead), although their importance is varied in the different works. In the two sixteenth-century vernacular works, the Domonkos and the Érdy codices the predictions of Joachim of Fiore are reported -with almost identical words- foretelling that after his death a new preaching order would emerge that should be welcome by the monks of his monastery. Predictions are of exceptional importance in the Érdy Codex and in the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary*.

What made the two great mendicant orders outstanding was that their vocation was the propagation of the Gospel. However, the surviving visual sources do not support this: only Peter of Verona is represented in the act of preaching in a single image in the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary*, and one finds Dominic in the act of preaching in the breviary of Domonkos Kálmáncsehi. In turn, great importance is given to the two saints' *vita activa* in the *Sermones compilati*, emphasizing that Dominic was engaged in studying first and only then started his activity as a preacher. Those who study will be respected by the others and become morally

more perfect; earthly knowledge will be essential in understanding the higher truth. The mendicant aspect of Dominic's sanctity is relatively weak in the sources with some but nevertheless important exceptions. In general, sources say little about on his living on alms or his going around for quest. On the contrary, he is the one who gives: his charity is mentioned, although only once, in the *Sermones compilati*, and all the other sources recount the famous episode that at the time of famine he sold his books and distributed the money among the poor. This episode is represented in the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* but it was not widespread in his iconography. All this does not mean that voluntary poverty would not have been one of his eminent virtues; in fact, the sources report many ways in his life his love for poverty manifested: modesty in eating and drinking, clothing, not having money, going barefoot, etc. Exceptions to these can be found in the earliest Latin sermons. In one of them preserved in the Codex of Leuven one can read that the only "legacy" of Dominic to his sons was poverty. In another one of the *Sermones compilati* it is explicitly said that according to Dominic, absolute poverty is necessary for the *sequela Christi*. Despite the often cited but probably not authentic testimony of Dominic "Have charity, keep humility, and possess voluntary poverty", the *Domonkos Codex* translates a long passage from Antonino's *Chronicon* in which the Observant Dominican archbishop expresses his views on the problems the Order of Preachers has to face with in the very different social circumstances than in which the order was founded.

The greatest merit of Dominic was the institutionalization of the Order of Preachers. Being a Dominican did not simply mean belonging to an order specialized in the salvation of souls through preaching, but as the author of the *Sermones compilati* stated, their power originated from Christ, who first transmitted to the apostles, than from the apostles it was passed on to the bishops, than to the preachers. The *Sermones compilati* and the *Domonkos Codex* urge their audience to imitate their father and in both works turn up the issue who the true heirs of St. Dominic are. A further characteristic link between the *Sermones compilati* and the *Domonkos Codex* is the considerable space dedicated to the companions and "sons" of Dominic, the friars. The sermons instruct about the ideal behaviour of the preacher brothers; there is no place in the Order for those who are not able to live up to these standards and commit grave sins. The *Domonkos Codex* reports a lot of *exempla* about the friars who are presented as fallible human beings who in the end return to the right way and also relates the key role of the early friars in

the solidification and the diffusion of the Order, in the conversion of heretics in southern France, and in the missionary activities in Jerusalem and the Near-East. Since a considerable proportion of the Domonkos Codex is based on the *Vitae fratrum*, it seems that *mutatis mutandis*, the nuns of the convent on the Island of the Rabbits were not formed by the *vita* of one but by many. The equality of the Order of Preachers and the Order of Minor Brothers was expressed by the already mentioned *exemplum* of the three spears that was a frequently narrated or represented story in Dominic's hagiography and iconography. The *exemplum* had a career on its own: it spread also as part of St. Francis' hagiography, as a Marian miracle, or independently. The altar of Csíksomlyó can be related indirectly to the Marian devotion of the two great mendicant orders represented by the friars. In the Domonkos Codex and *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* another *exemplum* can be found that is strongly related to the previous one: Dominic and Francis greet each other with joy, and after expressing to be united in the intentions of the heart, hug each other. The peaceful relation between the two (sometimes rival) orders is further strengthened by another lesser known episode in the Domonkos Codex: which of the two humble saints-to-be should make the water of a well clear. As to St. Dominic's and the preacher friars' devotion to the Virgin Mary, it is again the *Domonkos Codex* that provides an abundant source of longer stories and shorter *exempla*. This affectionate relationship between Mary and the friars is mutual: the Virgin, according to the tradition, was not only instrumental in the establishment of the Order and became its protector, but had always a special love for it and performed many miracles for the male and female members alike.

All in all, it seems that in Hungary, except in the area surrounding the Dominican priory of Érdsomlyó, St. Dominic did not have a local cult. As the founder of a mendicant order that has been present in the country from 1221 onwards, he was generally known and venerated outside the Order as it is attested by some dedications of churches and altars to him or by the inclusion of his legend in the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* and the *Érdy Codex*. The Dominican friary of Segesvár represents particularly well that a natural concomitant of the growing prominence of the mendicant orders as intermediaries for salvation in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries among the laity and the clergy alike was the dedication of chapels and altars to the saints of the order. The eminent role of the founder can be perceived in the requests of the testators to be buried at the altar of St Dominic in the friary, which seems to be the prerogative

of the churchmen. Yet these last wills tell more about posthumous representation and the assurance of the entrance of afterlife than a particular devotion to Dominic. The saint was held in special esteem only within the Order of Preachers continuously throughout the centuries. It were the sons of Dominic who preserved the memory of the founder, who composed model sermons on him, who selected and translated a sizeable amount of Latin texts and compiled books for the daughters of St. Dominic, of whom some diligently copied these codices.

III. From St Francis to the Catalogue of Saints -- in Hungary and Beyond

The topic of this chapter was inspired by Roberto Paciocco's *Da Francesco ai "catalogi sanctorum"* published in 1990 who investigated the thirteenth and early fourteenth century "saintly" politics of the Minorites and showed how it was reflected on the institutional level and in the hagiographic traditions of the order.⁵⁰¹ The collection of the memories St Francis and his early companions that were in danger of oblivion, especially after that all the early biographies of the founder were to be annihilated after 1266 started already in the 1240s likewise the gathering of the records on the friars' activity in the different Franciscan Provinces. By the early fourteenth century, the goals of these two enterprises became more crystallized: on the one hand vast different compilations about St Francis and his brotherhood were circulating that were collected in order to reflect the "true" Franciscan spirituality primarily through the deeds and the sayings of founder; on the other hand, the first catalogue of saints appeared to present the members of the order—whose number was growing rapidly—how the holiness of the founder kept on shining through the friars not only from different parts of Europe but also from the places if their missionary activities in the Near East. The first part of the chapter is dedicated to those codices through which also those who were not well-versed in Latin could hear about St Francis and his companions. In the second part, I present those Franciscans from Hungary known primarily through the catalogue of saints. Although it is necessary to go back to the thirteenth century to understand the development of Franciscan hagiography in both cases, the first section is more about how the outcome of this process is reflected in fifteenth and early sixteenth century Hungarian codices, whereas the second is about the evolution of the *catalogi sanctorum* that originally consisted of quite concise records on those friars in or from Hungary whose sanctity was testified by miracles occurred at their tomb.

⁵⁰¹ Roberto Paciocco, *Da Francesco ai "Catalogi Sanctorum": Livelli istituzionali e immagini agiografiche nell'Ordine Francescano (secoli XIII - XIV)* (Assisi: Edizione Porziuncola, 1990).

III.1. St Francis of Assisi in Hungary

Since the time of their settlement in the territory of the Kingdom of Hungary in 1229, the Order of the Friars Minor made great contributions to the formation of the late medieval saintly ideal. By the early sixteenth century almost all of the most famous Franciscan saints were present in some form in sermon collections, legendaries, liturgical and prayer books produced in Hungary and some of them were also represented in visual arts. However, none of the saints of the mendicant orders, considering also the saints and blessed of the Order between the late fourteenth and the mid-sixteenth century turn up as many times as St Francis of Assisi. Since it is not possible to treat all the codices and to exhaust all aspects of the hagiographic and sermon literature written about him written in Latin and in the vernacular, I pay special attention to one work, the legend of Francis of Assisi and his companions in the Jókai Codex (*ca.*1440, formerly called Ehrenfeld Codex), the earliest surviving book written entirely in Hungarian. The Jókai Codex is emblematic in the sense that it originated from a religious order in whose apostolic mission and the *cura animarum* the use of vernacular had always been of central importance, and it is a remarkable also from the point of view that it is not based on the saint's official legend from 1266 onwards, the *Legenda maior* by Bonaventure but on later compilations from the fourteenth century. In order to understand why the milieu of the Latin works on the basis of which the Jókai Codex was made matters, it is necessary to survey the development of the hagiography of St Francis after Bonaventure, in which the so-called Spiritual Franciscans played a crucial role around the turn of the fourteenth century. Next, I give brief overview of the transformation of the description of St Francis's stigmatization in those Latin accounts that can be in one way or another associated with the ideas and the narratives that turn up in the sermons of the two Franciscan Observants and/or were translated to the Hungarian vernacular. After the discussion of the Latin sermon literature on St Francis produced in Hungary, I turn to the vernacular works. The Jókai Codex has been in the focus of scholarly attention since the time it was discovered in the mid-nineteenth century, and various hypothesis concerning its provenance and the audience of the codex have been made. Some of these however, should be corrected and/or re-examined, like the dating of the supposed but not extant earlier translation of the legend, or the association of the Jókai Codex with the Conventual or the Observant Franciscans. Then I proceed with a general overview about the writings on the Poverello in the

various codices written in the Hungarian vernacular, focussing on the most distinctive theme of his sanctity, the stigmatization. I examine how the narrative of his stigmatization has developed in the course of time and was presented to those for whom these codices were made in the late fifteenth-early sixteenth century. In the last part is dedicated to the visual representations of the saint.

III.1.1 The hagiography of St Francis in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries

Francis of Assisi (Giovanni di Pietro di Bernardone, 1181/2-1226) was canonized by Pope Gregory IX in 1228.⁵⁰² For this occasion, the Franciscan Thomas of Celano was commissioned by the pope to write the life on the saint which was approved in 1229 and referred to today as the *First Life of St Francis* (1Cel).⁵⁰³ On the basis of this *The Legend for Use in the Choir* was made between 1230-1232.⁵⁰⁴ This *First Life* was abbreviated by Celano sometime between 1232 and 1239 at the request of Minister General Elias of Cortona.⁵⁰⁵ In 1246 Celano was commissioned, this time by Minister General Crescentius of Jesi, to write a new biography incorporating the new material gathered since the call for the collection of information about Francis in 1244. This work, entitled *The Remembrance of the Desire of a Soul* is generally known as the *Second Life of St Francis* (2Cel) was completed in 1247.⁵⁰⁶ Celano, commissioned

⁵⁰² The literature on the life of Francis of Assisi is vast; here I only refer only to some recently published important works: Giovanni Miccoli, *Francesco d'Assisi. Memoria, storia e storiografia* (Milan: Biblioteca francescana, 2010); Augustine Thompson, *Francis of Assisi: A New Biography* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2012); André Vauchez, *Francis of Assisi: The Life and the Afterlife of a Medieval Saint*, trans. Michael Cusato (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012); for a concise biography, see Roberto Rusconi, "Francesco d'Assisi, santo," in: *DBI* 49 (1997), 664-678.

⁵⁰³ Thomae de Celano, *Vita prima s. Francisci*, in *Analecta Franciscana*, X (1926-1941), 1-117, in *Fontes Franciscani*, ed. Enrico Menestò et al. (Santa Maria degli Angeli-Assisi: Edizione Porziuncola, 1995), 275-424. The most important pieces of the hagiography of Francis were translated into English in three volumes as *Francis of Assisi: Early Documents*, ed. Regis J. Armstrong, J.A. Wayne Hellmann, William J. Short (New York: New City Press, 1999-2001). Hereafter referred to as *FA: ED*. Celano's *Vita prima* is in *FA: ED* I, 180-308.

⁵⁰⁴ Thomae de Celano, *Legenda ad usum chori* in *Analecta Franciscana*, X, 119-126; in *Fontes Franciscani*, 427-439. *FA: ED* I, 319-326.

⁵⁰⁵ Until recently, only excerpts were known from this version, but in 2014 the entire legend was found. It is edited by Jacques Dalarun, "Thome Celanensis Vita beati patris nostri Francisci (*Vita brevior*), *Analecta Bollandiana* 133 (2015): 23-86.

⁵⁰⁶ Thomae de Celano, *Vita secunda s. Francisci*, in *Analecta Franciscana*, X, 127-268; in *Fontes Franciscani*, 441-639; *FA: ED* II, 239-393.

by Minister General John of Parma also put together a *Treatise of Miracles* in 1254 (3Cel).⁵⁰⁷ The works of Celano, together with the *Legenda Trium Sociorum*,⁵⁰⁸ and the *Vita* written by Julian of Speyer⁵⁰⁹ were the most important hagiographic sources of St Francis prior to *Legenda maior* although there existed several other sources, too.⁵¹⁰

The official legend of St Francis and the “Spiritual” Franciscans

In the General Chapter held in Narbonne in 1260, Bonaventure of Bagnoregio (1221-1274), the Minister General at that time (1257-1274), was appointed by the assembly of the friars to compose a complete and definite biography of Francis based on the written and oral traditions accumulated by that time, motivated primarily by the fight against the mendicants, the internal situation of the Order of the Friars Minor and the increasing amount of literature on St. Francis.⁵¹¹ Bonaventure's short (*Legenda minor*) and the long (*Legenda maior*)⁵¹² versions of the founder's legend were presented at the General Chapter of Pisa (1263), and at the following one in Paris (1266) it was declared to be the only official and definite text and was decreed that all the other biographies had to be destroyed. Thus the *Legenda maior* remained the only authoritative legend of the saint (known for long time as the *Legenda comunis* or as the *Legenda nova*).⁵¹³ Many of the friars, however, especially the so-called “Spirituals”, were dissatisfied with the *Legenda maior* due to its incompleteness or the distortion of the portrait of the founding father and they also missed the information on his companions who remained in the background of the text.

⁵⁰⁷ Thomae de Celano, *Tractatus de miraculis b. Francisci*, in *Analecta Franciscana*, X, 269-331; in *Fontes Franciscani*, 643-645, 649-650. FA: ED II, 397-469.

⁵⁰⁸ *Legenda trium sociorum*, ed. Théophile Desbonnets, *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* 67 (1974): 89-144, in *Fontes Franciscani*, 1373-1445; FA: ED II, 66-110.

⁵⁰⁹ Iuliani de Spira, *Vita s. Francisci*, in *Analecta Franciscana*, X, 333-371; *Fontes Franciscani*, 1025-1095; FA:ED I, 368-420.

⁵¹⁰ For an overview, see Roberto Rusconi, *Francis of Assisi in the Sources and Writings*, trans. Nancy Celaschi (St Bonaventure, New York: Franciscan Institute Publications, 2008).

⁵¹¹ Ferdinando Uribe, *Introduzione alle fonti agiografiche di San Francesco e Santa Chiara d'Assisi, secc. 13-14*. (Assisi: Porziuncola, 2002), 234-243.

⁵¹² Bonaventure de Balneoregis, *Legenda maior S. Francisci*, in *Analecta Franciscana* X, 555-652; FA: ED II, 525-683.

⁵¹³ This seemed to be a general practice: when a General Chapter approved a new *vita*, it ordered the destruction of all the previous texts as soon as the new one arrived. Uribe, *Introduzione alle fonti agiografiche*, 243. On Bonaventure's *vitae* of Francis, see Jacques Dalarun, *The Misadventure of Francis of Assisi: Toward a Historical Use of the Franciscan Legends* (St. Bonaventure, New York: Franciscan Institute Publications, 2002), 234-245.

Although the so-called “Spiritual” Franciscans were a rather heterogeneous group that included individual groups like the Southern French spirituals, the Italian *fraticelli*, the followers of Peter John Olivi, Umbertino of Casale or those of Angelo Clareno, they were generally considered as loyal opposition in the last decades of the thirteenth century.⁵¹⁴ Despite having quite different agendas, the individual groups were all concerned about the decay of Franciscan life. They shared a number of common interests, such as the insistence on the renunciation of ownership as well as on the observation of *usus pauper*, lack of confidence in the leaders of both the Church and the Franciscan Order, keen interest in the apocalyptic scenario relying heavily upon Joachimite writings.⁵¹⁵ The “spiritual controversy” occurred in several stages from the 1270 onwards and for about a decade it took place only at provincial level.⁵¹⁶ In the 1290s there was a significant increase in the actions taken against the zealots (i. e. the dissenters of March of Ancona including Angelo Clareno who persisted on the strict observance of poverty) on papal order that eventually ended up in a rather violent step against the Spirituals of France by Pope John XXII in 1317. By 1318 the loyal opposition turned into a heretical movement and the dissenting friars were burnt at stake. The situation of the *fraticelli* did not improve after the death of John XXII in 1334, as he was followed by Pope Benedict XII, who sympathized more with the Dominicans. Although Minister General Guiral Ot suggested the pope to abolish Franciscan prohibition concerning money, his idea was rejected. The Italian *fraticelli* by that time covered the spiritual Franciscans known as *fraticelli di paupere vita*, the followers of Michael of Cesena called as *fraticelli de opinione*, as well as other small groups from specific places. In 1334 Guiral Ot gave permission to Giovanni della Valle to settle at Brugliano with his four companions and to observe the Rule literally. This is from where the first generation of the Observants originated in the 1360s.

⁵¹⁴ For a comprehensive monograph on the history of the so-called Spiritual Franciscans, see David Burr, *The Spiritual Franciscans: From Protest to Persecution in the Century after Saint Francis* (Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2001); on Angelo Clareno see especially 279-304. Burr has pointed out that the term “Spiritual Franciscans” is a construction of modern historians that obscured the differences of the individual groups. Nevertheless, as the differentiation of the individual groups in the hagiographic overview of the dissertation is of secondary importance, for the sake of simplicity I will keep on using this “construction”.

⁵¹⁵ Marjorie Reeves, *The Influence of Prophecy in the later Middle Ages* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969); Roberto Rusconi, *L'attesa della fine: crisi della società, profezia ed Apocalisse in Italia al tempo del grande Scisma d'Occidente (1378-1417)* (Rome: Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo, 1979); idem, *Profezia e profeti alla fine del medioevo* (Rome: Viella, 1999).

⁵¹⁶ Duncan Nimmo, *Reform and Division in the Franciscan Order: From Saint Francis to the Foundation of the Capuchins* (Rome: Capuchin Historical Institute, 1987), on the diffusion of spiritual traditions, 240-278.

The “non-Bonaventurian” compilations

Motivated partly by the call of the General Chapter of Padua in 1276 to collect the deeds and the sayings of Francis and his early companions, the Spirituals were quite active in the compilation of such works. For them, Francis’s *Testament* and the writings of the deeds and the sayings of his early companions, like the *Verba fratri Conradi*,⁵¹⁷ and the *Verba sancti Francisci*⁵¹⁸ were the most cherished documents. The most important of such writings in the thirteenth century was the *Compilatio Assisiensis* composed probably in Assisi (c.1240-1260)⁵¹⁹, but all the above mentioned collections had a considerable impact on numerous *florilegia* of the first half of the fourteenth century.

The *Speculum perfectionis* is the most widely diffused writing that used to be attributed to Brother Leo. At the end of the 19th century, Paul Sabatier –who after having identified hundred and eighteen unknown episodes in the printed *Speculum vitae beati Francisci et sociorum eius*–, found almost all of them in the MS Mazarine 1743, which he edited and published with the title *Speculum perfectionis seu S. Francisci Assisiensis legenda antiquissima, auctore fratre Leone*.⁵²⁰ This attribution became one of the key issues of the “questione francescana”; Sabatier hypothesised, based primarily on internal criticism, that due to the vividness narration and the familiarity with certain events, the text was composed by an eye-witness. He also noticed that some parts of the *Speculum* correspond to some of the writings attributed to Brother Leo. Sabatier’s proposition for the authorship was challenged by a number of scholars, among them

⁵¹⁷ Andrew G. Little, Pierre Mandonnet, Paul Sabatier, “*Verba Fr. Conradi*. Extrait de Ms. 1/25 de S. Isidore,” in *Opusculs de Critique Historique*, vol. 1 (Paris: Librairie Fischbacher, 1903), 370-392.

⁵¹⁸ Edith Pásztor, “Manoscritto Isidoriano 1/73 e gli scritti leonine su S. Francesco,” *Cultura e società nell’Italia medievale. Studi per Paolo Brezzi*. Studi Storici (Rome: 1988), 635-663.

⁵¹⁹ “*Compilatio Assisiensis*” dagli *Scritti di fr. Leone e Compagni su s. Francesco d’Assisi. Dal Ms 1046 di Perugia. II. edizione integrale riveduta e corretta con versione italiana a fronte e varianti*, ed Marino Bigaroni (Assisi: Santa Maria degli Angeli, 1992) (Pubblicazioni della Biblioteca Francescana di Chiesa Nuova – Assisi); in *Fontes Franciscani*, 1471-1690; FA: ED II, 118-230. On the *Compilatio Assisiensis*, see also *Scripta Leonis, Rufini et Angeli sociorum S. Francisci. The Writings of Leo, Rufino and Angelo, Companions of St. Francis*, ed. Rosalind Brooke (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970); Theodore Desbonnets, Introduction à la *Légende de Pérouse*, in *Saint François d’Assise. Documents, écrits et premières biographies*, ed. Theodore Desbonnets and Damian Vorreux (Paris, Éditions franciscaines, 2nd edition 1981), 863-877.

⁵²⁰ The first edition of the work is *Speculum perfectionis seu S. Francisci Assisiensis Legenda antiquissima, auctore fratre Leone*, ed. Paul Sabatier (Paris: Fischbacher, 1898), (Collection de documents pour l’histoire religieuse et littéraire du Moyen âge 1); the second is *Le Speculum perfectionis ou Mémoires de frère Léon sur la seconde partie de la vie de Saint François d’Assise*, ed. Paul Sabatier, Andrew G. Little (Manchester: [n. p.]1928-1931), vol.1, 1-350; in *Fontes Franciscani*, 1849-2053; FA: ED III, 253-372.

Michele Faloci Pulignani, Edouard D'Alençon, Leonard Lemmens, Ferdinand Delorme and Michael Bihl,⁵²¹ and according to the present state of scholarship, the *Speculum perfectionis* is no longer attributed to Brother Leo, although he must have contributed indirectly to its draft in the sense that some of his writings were used by the person who compiled the work. It was probably composed in Porziuncola before 1317, in the circle of the *zelanti* who were closely related to the ecclesiastical authority. It is based primarily on the *Compilatio Assisiensis*, but the themes (in which humility, charity and poverty dominate) are organized in a systematic fashion.⁵²² The author of the *Speculum* thus made a mirror that reflects the ideal of the *status* of a Franciscan brother.⁵²³ Already Sabatier noted that the compiler did not want to illustrate the figure of the saint but the founder of the Order of Minor Brothers, this is why his relation to his brethren is accentuated instead of his union with God.⁵²⁴ Uribe considers the works as polemic, written in order to support, with the personal example of Francis and his demand to observe the Rule *ad litteram* and *sine glossa*.⁵²⁵ The future of the Order is foreseen in the context of tribulations, and the saint is represented in a way that he is in conformity with Christ. Nevertheless, the *Speculum perfectionis* in this respect is less radical than other contemporary writings of the *zelanti*.⁵²⁶ Although the value of the *Speculum perfectionis* cannot be compared to the earlier hagiographic sources, it provides a considerable amount of additional information about places and times, as well as about the life of Francis that cannot be found any other sources, such as the representation of the saint as “a man of his age”, who in his youth had chivalric dreams of the great paladins, like Charlemagne, Orlando and Oliviero, and who called his companions the “knights of the Round Table”.⁵²⁷ Many of its chapters appeared in print,

⁵²¹ For a detailed list of the scholars with bibliographic references, see Uribe, *Introduzione alle fonti agiografiche*, 339.

⁵²² A detailed analysis of the sources is provided by Daniele Solvi, “Lo ‘Speculum perfectionis’ e le sue fonti,” *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* 88 (1995): 377-472.

⁵²³ Uribe, *Introduzione alle fonti agiografiche*, 358-359.

⁵²⁴ Sabatier, introduction to *Speculum Perfectionis* (1898), LXVI.

⁵²⁵ Uribe, *Introduzione alle fonti agiografiche*, 359.

⁵²⁶ Uribe, *Introduzione alle fonti agiografiche*, 364.

⁵²⁷ Uribe, *Introduzione alle fonti agiografiche*, 363. This chivalric theme was discussed also by Zsuzsanna Acél, “A Jókai-kódex gondolati rendszeréről” [On the system of thought of the Jókai Codex], *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények* 63 (1981): 865-881; eadem, “‘...totus discretionis sale conditus...’: il codice Jókai e la prima letteratura francescana,” in: *Francescanesimo in volgare: secoli XIII – XIV*. Atti del XXIV convegno internazionale, Assisi, 17 - 19 ottobre 1996 (Spoleto: Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, 1997): 221-243.

first as part of the *Speculum exemplorum* as early as 1481, then as of the *Speculum vitae beati Francisci sociorum eius* (1504).⁵²⁸

The *Actus beati Francisci et sociorum eius* is a collection of stories about the life of the saint, his companions, and some friars minor from the Province of the Marche who lived between the end of the thirteenth and the beginning of the fourteenth century.⁵²⁹ It is (or at least the first part of it) was written by Ugolino Boniscambi of Montegiorgio, while its second redactor (if there was indeed) could belong to the circle of Angelo Clareno (1255-1337), the leader of the Spiritual branch in the Marche and Umbria and a key figure of the Fraticelli. The possible *ante quem* of the final redaction of the work is 1337, which date corresponds to the death of Angelo Clareno. It is based on several sources, including Celano, Bonaventure, Angelo Clareno or Conrad of Offida. The main theme of the work appears in the very first sentence of the text: “In primo ergo sciendum est quod b.p.n. Franciscus in omnibus suis actibus fuit Cristo conformis.”⁵³⁰ The idea of conformity returns in the *Actus* again when Francis is called “quasi alter Christus.”⁵³¹ The saint and his companions are represented as the living models of the most characteristic Franciscan ideals. The *Actus beati Francisci* concentrates much more on the display of the Franciscan spirituality than the precise report on the historical events. It fits very well into the hagiographic tradition of the age, showing a predilection towards ecstasies, visions and dreams. In addition to the favoured (and often debated) topics of the Spiritual Franciscans, such as absolute poverty, learning, ascetic practices, the importance of contemplation, and Francis’s discussion with Clare and Silvester about the future orientation of his fraternity are also present. Despite that some other places are also mentioned, the frequent references to the area of the Marche of Ancona, which was one of the privileged refuges of the Spirituals, influence the character of the *Actus*. Vauchez sees in the *Actus* a process of folklorization of the Franciscan lifestyle manifested both by the nostalgia of a lost paradise and the strive of the

⁵²⁸ The *Speculum exemplorum* is a vast collection of more than 1200 short edifying stories taken from earlier works that served as preaching aid for sermons. The first editions of the *Speculum exemplorum* are Deventer 1481; Cologne, 1485; Strasbourg 1487, 1490, 1495; Hagenau 1512, 1519.

⁵²⁹ *Actus beati Francisci et sociorum eius*, ed. Paul Sabatier (Paris: Fischbacher, 1902); in *Fontes Franciscani*, 2085-2219; FA: ED III, 435-565.

⁵³⁰ *Fontes Franciscani*, 2085.

⁵³¹ *Fontes Franciscani*, 2098.

author(s) to praise the greatness of the spiritual revolution that Francis initiated.⁵³² The *Fioretti* (or *Fior*, ca. 1337-1396) written in the Tuscan vernacular is basically a selection from and the adaptation of the *Actus*, which became extremely popular reading and was published and translated to many languages. Some scholars maintain that also the five *Considerazioni sulle stigmate* are the part of the *Fioretti*.⁵³³ A selection of the chapters of the *Actus*, like those of the *Speculum perfectionis*, were published in the *Speculum exemplorum* and the *Speculum vitae beati Francisci et sociorum eius*.

Before the introduction of the next important mid-fourteenth century compilation, the *Avignon Compilation* (*Compilatio Avenionensis*, ca. 1328-1343), a brief digression to terminology is needed due the confusion in the scholarly literature in the use of names such as “*Speculum vitae*”, “*Legenda antiqua*”, “*Avignon Compilation*”, or “*Legenda vetus*” that I try to clarify. They are all related to Sabatier’s philological achievements but this categorization has been contested and, with some exceptions, has been abandoned in scholarship. Sabatier, based on the information found in the *Prologue* of MS Vat. lat. 4354, discovered that this Franciscan compilation made around 1310-1330 and read in the refectory of the Franciscan convent of Avignon contained excerpts from an “old legend” of Francis. Sabatier called these old pieces *Legenda antiqua* (assuming that it was based on writings prior to Bonaventure’s *Legenda maior*), of which longer or shorter excerpts were copied by the Franciscan friars who spent some time in the convent of Avignon. According to Sabatier, even though the mixture of the old and new material was called *Legenda antiqua* for a while, at a certain point it was given a new title: *Speculum vitae Sancti Francisci et sociorum eius*. The intense and often hasty reproduction of this compilation of Avignon by the friars who then took the copies with themselves resulted in the greatest possible variety among the manuscripts of the *Speculum*

⁵³² Vauchez, *Francis of Assisi: The Life and the Afterlife of a Medieval Saint*, 206.

⁵³³ The text of the *Actus* and that of the *Fioretti*, although not completely identical, are published in the *Actus beati Francisci et sociorum eius*. Nuova edizione postuma di Jacques Cambell con testo dei Fioretti a fronte, a cura di Marino Bigaroni e Giovanni Boccali (Assisi, S. Maria degli Angeli: 1988) (Pubblicazioni della Biblioteca francescana, Chiesa nuova, 5); reprinted in *Fontes Franciscani*, 2085-2219. For a recent, brief but comprehensive introduction to the work, see Enrico Menestò’s introduction to the *Actus beati Francisci et sociorum eius* in *Fontes Franciscani*, 2057-2084, on 2078-2079 and Jacques Dalarun’s introduction to the French translation of the *Actus* in *François d’Assise: Écrits, Vies, témoignages*, 2713-2734.

vitae.⁵³⁴ Today, the MS Vat. lat. 4354 is regarded to be one of the representatives of a group of manuscripts referred to as *Avignon Compilation*, so Sabatier – in whose lifetime such a group of manuscripts had not yet been as crystallized as it is today- traced back the origins of the *Speculum vitae* as far as the composition of the first manuscripts of the above-mentioned compilation family.

The manuscripts that belong to the *Avignon Compilation* all begin with the same *incipit* of the prologue: *Fac secundum exemplar*.⁵³⁵ Although the eleven manuscripts of this group -dated almost all to the second part of the fourteenth and the fifteenth century- have a rather varied structure, they usually contain the short version of the *Speculum perfectionis*, a part of the *Actus*, the *Vita secunda* of Thomas of Celano, an excerpt from the *Legenda maior*, collections of edifying anecdotes, historical documents and several other writings as well as a set of seven chapters edited by Sabatier as *Legenda vetus*, which reports the predictions of Francis about the future tribulations of the Order.⁵³⁶ This set of chapters can be found either fully or partially in a number of writings originating from the Spirituals, among others in Angelo Clareno's *Expositio super regulam fratrum Minorum* (1321-1323) and his *Historia septem tribulationum Ordinis Minorum*⁵³⁷ and they probably originate from the Spiritual Franciscan Conrad of Offida and his entourage.⁵³⁸ One of the manuscripts of *Avignon Compilation*, the late fourteenth- or early

⁵³⁴ *Speculum perfectionis*, ed. by Sabatier, CLII-CLXI. On the question of the *Legenda Antiqua* and the *Avignon Compilation* see also Pazzelli, 'La compilazione Avignonese'.

⁵³⁵ The best study on the evolution and the manuscript tradition of the *Avignon Compilation* is by Enrico Menestò, *La Compilatio Avenionensis: una raccolta di testi francescani della prima metà del XIV secolo*, Estratti dagli studi medievali 16 (Spoleto: Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo, 2004), 1423-1541; see also Raffaele Pazzelli, "La compilazione Avignonese della *Legenda antiqua beati Francisci*," *Analecta TOR* 25 (1994): 5-24.

⁵³⁶ For the contents of the *Avignon Compilation*, see Menestò, *La Compilatio Avenionensis*, 1435-1438. Sabatier edited the seven chapters that he called *Legenda vetus* because he believed to be the part of an individual legend of Francis. The first edition of these chapters in Sabatier, "S. Francisci Legendae veteris fragmenta quaedam," 87-109. The seven chapters are the following: 1) *De statu malo futuro fratrum*; 2) *De intentione S. Francisci*; 3) *Exemplum de praedicta voluntate*; 4) *De scientia quam praedixit*; 5) *De apparitione stupenda angeli*; 6) *De euntibus inter infideles*; 7) *De loco S. Mariae de Angelis*. Another version of the *De apparitione* can be found in the *Actus* (Ch. 25; *De statua simili statue Nabuchodonosor*), in *Fontes Franciscani*, 2138-2142. In the text I refer to the chapter number of the *Legenda vetus*. For an examination of the content of the *Legenda vetus*, see Annalaura Trinci, "S. Francesco e l'osservanza della Regola nella *Legenda Vetus*" in *Temi e immagini del medio evo: Alla memoria di Raoul Manselli da un gruppo di allievi*, Edith Pásztor (Rome: Edizioni Studium, 1996), 137-149.

⁵³⁷ According to Menestò, the sixth chapter of this set can be found already in the *Regula non bullata* (1221), and the seventh one in the *Compilatio Assisiensis* (1244-1260); see Menestò, *La Compilatio Avenionensis*, 1512-1513.

⁵³⁸ See the introduction of Sylvain Piron to the French translations of excerpts from Angelo Clareno's *Historia septem tribulationum Ordinis Minorum* in *Françoise d'Assise. Écrits, Vies, témoignages*, ed. Dalarun, vol. 2, 2571-2572.

fifteenth-century Codex Latinus 77 is preserved in the National Széchényi Library of Budapest which is indicated as a textual parallel in the 1981 edition of the Jókai Codex but was probably not used in Hungary in the Middle Ages.⁵³⁹

Notwithstanding the important observations of Sabatier, according to present-day scholarship the nucleus of the *Speculum vitae* manuscript that was eventually printed in 1504 as *Speculum vitae beati Francisci et sociorum eius* was compiled approximately a hundred years later than the *Avignon Compilation*, in the first half of the fifteenth century.⁵⁴⁰ The manuscript exemplar on the basis of which the edition of 1504 was made is not known. The printed work consists of excerpts of different length of the *Speculum perfectionis*, the *Actus*, the sayings of Francis and some of the early brothers, the *Chronica XXIV generalium*,⁵⁴¹ Bartolomeo da Pisa's *De conformitate*,⁵⁴² documents related to the Indulgence of Portiuncula, some chapters of the so-called *Legenda vetus*, prayers, Francis's blessing of Brother Leo, collections of instructional stories and sayings, as well as several catalogues of saints or related the history of the Order.⁵⁴³ Notwithstanding the close similarity between the *Avignon Compilation* and the printed *Speculum vitae*, the two are considered as distinct works.

The printed *Speculum vitae* was linked to the Jókai Codex because it was the closest printed work available that provided textual parallels to the codex at the time of the discovery in 1871 until the publication of Sabatier's first critical editions of the *Speculum perfectionis* (1898) and the *Actus* (1902). Besides, this work is still referred to as a textual parallel or even as a source in some of the modern editions of the Hungarian vernacular codices.⁵⁴⁴

The last fourteenth century work is Bartolomeo of Pisa's (1338-1401) extremely influential and popular work, entitled *De Conformitate vitae beati Francisci ad vitam Domini Iesu* was composed between 1385 and 1390 and was officially approved by the General Chapter of Assisi

⁵³⁹ The OSzK Codex Latinus 77 (also called as Codex of Budapest) was purchased by the Hungarian antiquarian and book collector Miklós Jankovich (1772-1846).

⁵⁴⁰ Clasen lists seven extant manuscripts of the *Speculum vitae* but their content is not identical. Sophronius Clasen, O.F.M. *Legenda antiqua S. Francisci. Untersuchung über die nachbonaventurianischen Franziskusquellen, Legenda trium sociorum, Speculum perfectionis, Actus beati et sociorum eius und verwandtes Schrifttum* (Leiden: Brill, 1967), 150-151.

⁵⁴¹ *Chronica XXIV Generalium Ordinis* ed. in *Analecta Franciscana* 3.

⁵⁴² The first edition was made in Milan, 1510.

⁵⁴³ Sabatier, 'Description du *Speculum vitae* (éd. de 1504)', 323-357; Bihl, 'L'édition du *Speculum vitae B. Francisci*, 145-150.

⁵⁴⁴ Such as the Jókai Codex, the Lobkowitz Codex, the Lázár Zelma Codex, and the Virginia Codex.

in 1399.⁵⁴⁵ Its main theme is the conformity between Christ and St. Francis, represented by a symbolic tree of twenty branches that open in a fan-shaped fashion to the left and to the right, from which hang two by two, like fruits, the forty conformities between them.⁵⁴⁶ The conformity of the sanctity of the order is represented in a hierarchy that descends from Francis to his companions, twelve like the apostles, to all the others, “vita verbo et signis insignes.”⁵⁴⁷ The three-volume work comprises parts of the earlier Franciscan literature that were available in the second half of the fourteenth-century, including not only the official ones but also those written by the Spiritual branch. It is a rich inventory of the different spiritual perspectives that provided means to those who were looking for devotion or wanted to know the authentic intentions of Francis, as well as to those who were interested in complex distinctions and theological and biblical applications or were searching for information about the history and the famous personalities (philosophers, theologians, exegetes and saints among others) of the Franciscan. The real importance of the *De Conformitate* is the attempt to interpret the sanctity of Francis as a *typus Christi*. One of the most important novelties of Bartolomeo’s work is its extremely elaborated catalogue of saints, through which also the “minor” sanctity of the Franciscans found its place within the fifteenth-century Franciscan literature.⁵⁴⁸ The success of the *De Conformitate* is attested by the more than 150 codices in which it is preserved. Its first

⁵⁴⁵ For a detailed evaluation of the work and the survey of its sources, see Enrico Menestò, “Dagli ‘Actus’ al ‘De conformitate’: la compilazione come segno della coscienza del francescanesimo trecentesco, in *I francescani nel Trecento*. Atti del XIV convegno internazionale, Assisi 16-18 October 1986 (Perugia 1988), 41-68.

⁵⁴⁶ *Storia della spiritualità italiana*, ed. Pietro Zovatto (Rome: Città Nuova Editrice, 2002), 93. On the author and the *De conformitate*, see Stanislao da Campagnola, *Le origini francescane come problema storiografico* (Perugia: Università degli studi 1979 [1974]), 64-67; Raoul Manselli, *Bartolomeo da Pisa (da Rinonico, de Rinonichi)*, in *DBAI* 6 [1964] (Rome: Istituto dell’Enciclopedia Italiana):756-758; Mariano d’Alatri, “L’immagine di san Francesco nel ‘De conformitate’ di Bartolomeo da Pisa,” in *Francesco d’Assisi nella storia: Secoli XIII-XV*, ed. Servus Gieben, (Rome: Istituto storico dei Cappuccini, 1983), 227-237; Carolly Erickson, “Bartholomew of Pisa, Francis Exalted: *De conformitate*,” *Medieval Studies* 34 (1972): 253-274; Antonio Blasucci, “Le fonti francescane nel ‘De Conformitate’ di Fra Bartolomeo da Pisa (d.1401): considerazioni critiche e riflessi nella storia,” in *Letteratura delle fonti francescane attraverso i secoli: il 1400*, ed. Gerardo Cardaropoli and Martino Conti (Rome: Antonianum, 1981), 301-323; Hendrik Willem van Os, “St Francis of Assisi as a Second Christ in Early Italian Painting,” *Simiolus* 7 (1974): 115-132.

⁵⁴⁷ “Sciendum est quod Dominus noster Iesu Christus, sicut beatum Franciscum similem voluit habere in praecedentibus, sic et in hoc, videlicet, ut, sicut ipse habuit 12 apostolos, sic Franciscus 12 haberet socios; et sicut unus de apostolis fuit pravus et laqueo se suspendit, sic et beatus Franciscus unum de duodecim habuit, qui laqueo se appendit; et sicut apostoli domini... tam ad Christi vitam prosequendam et poenitentiam exercendam est innovatus; quorum esse, qualitatem, dispositionem et sanctitatem hic praesens fructus et conformitas quoad istam secundam partem declarat.” *De Conformitate*, 176-177

⁵⁴⁸ Paciocco, *Da Francesco ai “Catalogi sanctorum”*, 88.

two editions were printed in Milan, in 1510 and 1513, and a third one in Bologna in 1590.⁵⁴⁹ Among the most famous Franciscan authors who were inspired by the *De Conformitate* in the following two centuries one finds Giacomo Oddi da Perugia, Mariano da Firenze, or Pelbartus de Themeswar, who, following Bartolomeo, underlined several conformities between Christ and St Francis⁵⁵⁰ in one of sermon on the founder in the *Pomerium*.⁵⁵¹ Also, the early sixteenth-century Virginia Codex written in the vernacular has one “conformitas” section largely based on the works of Bartolomeo and Pelbartus.⁵⁵² The *De Conformitate* was an important milestone in the history of the Franciscan Order as well. However, as Vauchez observed, the divinization of the founding father as well as regarding the Minors superior to the other religious orders

tragically illustrates the incapacity of the Franciscans of the end of the fourteenth century to grasp the spiritual experience of their founder in terms adapted to the cultural demands of their day. With this book, the alienation of the friars from the figure and the message of the Poor Man of Assisi reached such a degree that one can say that, with it, a period of Franciscanism came to an end.⁵⁵³

All in all, the “non-Bonaventurian” legends of the fourteenth century, like the *Speculum perfectionis* and the *Actus beati Francisci* despite their unofficial character diffused quite quickly in the Franciscan Order, if not on their own, then as parts of other works (for instance as part of the so-called *Avignon Compilation*). They were regarded as complementary material to Bonaventure’s *Legenda maior* and much of their content was incorporated also in Bartolomeo da Pisa’s influential *De conformitate* in the late fourteenth century. The works compiled in the milieu of the Spiritual Franciscans transmitted and reached the different parts of Europe through these vast Latin compilations, and from the late fourteenth century onwards parts of these works appeared in print, were translated or adapted to the vernacular. They were not prohibited or

⁵⁴⁹ The presentation of St. Francis as *alter Christus* provoked a passionate reaction by the Protestants, most notably by Erasmus Alberus who parodied the *De Conformitate* in his *Alcoranus Franciscanorum* (also called as *Alcoranus Nudipedum*) that had the following subtitle: “idest blasphemarium et nugarum lerna de stigmatizado idolo, quod Franciscum vocant ex libro conformitatum,” published for the first time in 1542. Quoted in Blasucci, “Le fonti francescane nel ‘De Conformitate’,” 319-320.

⁵⁵⁰ Blasucci “Le fonti francescani nel ‘De Conformitate’,” 314-315.

⁵⁵¹ Pelbartus de Themeswar, *Pomerium de sanctis, Pars aestivalis*, sermo 70: Sequitur de Seraphico patre Francisco. Sermo primus de eius felici similitudine ad Christum.

⁵⁵² Lajos Katona, *A Virginia-Codex Ferencz-legendái* (The legends of St. Francis in the Virginia Codex) (Budapest: Hornyánszky Viktor Cs. és Kir. Udv. Könyvnyomdája, 1903), 5.

⁵⁵³ Vauchez, *Saint Francis of Assisi*, 209.

suppressed but were considered as quite useful edificatory literature. The Jókai Codex, I believe, should be interpreted in this light, rather than seeing it as a fifteenth-century vernacular reminiscent of the Spiritual ideals in Hungary.

III.1.2 The evolution of the stigmatization narratives

The five wounds of the saint have been in the centre of attention since the time it became known that this divine gift was given to him. In the course of time, as usual, the earliest accounts have been enriched with new details, rewritten and reinterpreted.⁵⁵⁴ I give a short summary of the evolution of the stigmatization in the early biographies of the saint in order to show the new elements incorporated in the Latin accounts of the stigmatization that served as a basis for the Hungarian translations.

The desire of the believers for the bodily imitation of the suffering Christ goes back chiefly to three passages of St. Paul's letter to the Galatians, especially on Gal 6,17: *Ego enim stigmata domini Iesu in corpore meo porto*. After some late antique and early medieval antecedents, this concern became central in the wake of the religious renewal of the twelfth century,⁵⁵⁵ and got its archetypal expression, when after the death of Francis in 1226 Minister General Elias of Cortona informed the friars about the five wounds that appeared on Francis shortly before his

⁵⁵⁴ The literature concerning the stigmatization of St Francis is enormous, here I give only a very selective list of the most important works: André Vauchez, "Les stigmates de saint François et leurs détracteurs dans les derniers siècles du Moyen Âge," *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire* 80 (1968): 596-625; Octavian Schmucki, *The Stigmata of St. Francis of Assisi: A Critical Investigation in the Light of Thirteenth-Century Sources* (New York: Franciscan Institute of St Bonaventure University, 1991); Solanus M. Benfatti C. F. R., *The Five Wounds of Saint Francis: A Historical and Spiritual Investigation* (Charlotte, North Carolina: TAN Books, 2011); Richard Trexler, "The Stigmatized Body of Francis of Assisi: Conceived, Processed, Disappeared," in: *Frömmigkeit im Mittelalter: Politisch-soziale Kontexte, visuelle Praxis, körperliche Ausdrucksformen*, ed. Klaus Schreiner and Marc Müntz (Munich: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 2002), 463-497; Michael Cusato, Jacques Dalarun, and Carla Salvati, ed. *The Stigmata of Francis of Assisi: New Studies, New Perspectives* (New York: Franciscan Institute Publications, 2006). On the visual representations of the stigmatization of Francis: Frugoni, *Francesco e l'invenzione delle stimmate*; Arnold I. Davidson, "Miracles of Bodily Transformation, or How St. Francis Received the Stigmata?" in: *Picturing Science, Producing Art*, ed. Caroline A. Jones, Peter Galison, and Amy Slaton (London: Routledge, 1998), 101-124.

⁵⁵⁵ On the comments on St. Paul's verses on the stigmata in the Late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages, see Carolyn Muessig, "L'evoluzione della spiritualità delle stimmate prima di San Francesco d'Assisi", *Discorsi sulle stimmate dal Medioevo all'età contemporanea / Discours sur les stigmates du Moyen Age à l'époque contemporaine*, ed. Gábor Klaniczay (Rome: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 2013) (Archivio italiano per la storia della pietà, vol. 26), 21-42.

death.⁵⁵⁶ Two years later, the first biographer of Francis, Thomas of Celano, presented the event in a more detailed manner: he introduced a crucified Seraph as the agent of the stigmatization, dated it to two years earlier than the death of the saint, locating it to the hermitage of the Mount la Verna. Subsequently also the testimony of Brother Leo became crucial because he was with Francis at that time, and received an autograph from him, upon which he wrote a gloss that claims that the *laudes* were written by Francis after the vision and the message of the Seraph and the impression of Christ's stigmata on his body.⁵⁵⁷ In Bonaventure's *Legenda maior*, around the feast of the Exaltation of the Cross, in a vision, the crucified Christ appears from among the six wings of a Seraph. Francis understands from this vision what is going to happen to him, and as it is disappearing, the marks of nails begin to appear in his hands and feet.⁵⁵⁸

The papacy's position concerning the stigmatization has changed considerably in the decades after Francis's death in 1226. While in the canonization bull *Mira circa nos* issued on 19th July 1228 by Pope Gregory IX there is but a rather slight hint to his wounds⁵⁵⁹, starting with his bull *Non minus dolentes* issued on 31st March 1237 the Holy See stood by the authenticity of the stigmata and issued eight more bulls condemning those who would deny it. A further set of new details were added to the account in 1282 when Minister General Bonagrazia Tielci ordered an inquiry into the circumstances of the stigmatization. In line with the new pieces of information, the date of the stigmatization was fixed to 17th September, the feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross. The institution of the Feast of the Stigmata was mentioned as early as the Chapter of Cahors in 1337 but the first legislative text comes only from the Chapter of Assisi in 1340.⁵⁶⁰

According to the protocol that recorded the results of the inquiry of Bonagrazia Tielci, known as *Instrumentum de stigmatibus b. Francisci*, a lay brother, in front of six witnesses, made a deposition of a revelation how St. Francis himself appeared and shared with him the 'truth'

⁵⁵⁶ *Epistola encyclica de transitu S. Francisci a fr. Helia tunc ordinis vicario generali ad omnes provincias ordinis missa*, in *Legendae S. Francisci Assisiensis saeculis XIII et XIV conscriptae*, *Analecta Franciscana* 10 (1926-1941), 523-528.

⁵⁵⁷ Benfatti, *The Five Wounds of Saint Francis*, 44-51. For the reconstruction of the sources on the stigmata of Francis, see Jacques Dalarun, "À cette époque le bienheureux François avait des cicatrices aux mains et aux pieds et au côté," in *Discorsi sulle stimmate dal Medioevo all'età contemporanea*, 43-92.

⁵⁵⁸ For Bonaventure's account on the stigmatization, see the *Legenda maior* Ch.13, in *Fontes Franciscani*, 889-892.

⁵⁵⁹ Jacques Dalarun, "The Great Secret of Francis," in *The Stigmata of Francis of Assisi: New Studies, New Perspectives*, 9-26 at 10-11.

⁵⁶⁰ *FA: ED III*, 661.

concerning the stigmatization.⁵⁶¹ This record provides some previously unheard details and clarifications of the event: an angel tells Francis to be prepared for what God wants to do to him; it takes place at dawn of the day of the Exaltation of the Cross; it was not an angel but Christ who appeared to him in the form of a Seraph. Two of the novelties of the *Instrumentum* are of particular relevance for us. First, it reports a conversation between Christ and Francis who commands three times the saint to give him whatever he has in his robe, and each time he finds a precious gem in it, signifying the three Orders that would be created in his footsteps. Second, the protocol also speaks about a direct physical contact between Christ and Francis, and that the impression of the wounds was quite painful: “After that, the Lord himself placed his hands on my body, and impressed those stigmata first to my hands, second to my feet and third to my side with the feeling of extremely strong pain and I was crying out each time.”⁵⁶² It is Brother Conrad who eventually finds the unconscious Francis.

The last narrative directly related to the Hungarian vernacular literature on the stigmatization of Francis is in the *Actus* (Ch. 9). This account is surprisingly short compared to the length of the whole chapter.⁵⁶³ Although the author of the *Actus* had access to the *Instrumentum*⁵⁶⁴, for the stigmata narrative he used rather Bonaventure’s *Legenda maior* and the antiphons written for the Feast of the Stigmata.⁵⁶⁵ The description of the stigmatization in the *Actus* is only one brief paragraph that tells that around the feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross, Christ appeared under the form of a winged Seraph as though crucified and impressed both the nails and the stigmata on the hands and feet and side of Francis. The vision appeared at night with such splendour that it illuminated the mountains and valleys, and were witnessed by shepherds. The reason why these stigmata had been impressed on him is not perfectly clear, but as Francis himself said to his companions, this mystery being put off for the future. The authenticity of the story is underscored:

⁵⁶¹ The text was edited in *Analecta Franciscana* 3 (1897) 641-645. On the manuscript tradition of the text and its importance among the other stigmata-accounts, see Isabelle Heullant-Donat, “Pourquoi enquêter sur la stigmatisation de François d’Assise? Remarques sur l’*Instrumentum de stigmatibus beati Francisci* (1282),” in *Discorsi sulle stimmate dal Medioevo all’età contemporanea*, 93-124.

⁵⁶² “Post ipse Dominus manus suas corpori meo applicuit et primo manibus, secundo pedibus, tertio lateri mihi stigmata ista impressit cum vehementissimo doloris sensu et cum magno qualibet vice clamore.” *Instrumentum de stigmatibus beati Francisci* in *Analecta Franciscana* 3, 644.

⁵⁶³ *Fontes Franciscani*, 2106-2109

⁵⁶⁴ Cf. Heullant-Donat, “Pourquoi enquêter sur la stigmatisation de François d’Assise?,” 111-113.

⁵⁶⁵ FA: ED II, 458, note ‘a’.

Brother James de Massa received this account from the mouth of Brother Leo, and Brother Ugolino of Monte Santa Maria had it from the mouth of this Brother James, and I, the writer, had it from the mouth of Brother Ugolino. All these were men worthy of trust in all things.⁵⁶⁶

Thanks chiefly to the *Instrumentum*, more dramatic and detailed versions of the miracle, such as the *Considerazioni sulle stimmate* appended to the *Fioretti*, the free adaptation of the *Actus* in the Tuscan vernacular, as well as further Latin accounts of the stigmatization were composed: one of them, as well as the one reported in the *Actus* became part of the Hungarian devotional literature.

III.1.3 St Francis in Latin sermons (fourteenth to sixteenth century)

Although the feast of St Francis (4th November) was inserted in the Dominican liturgical calendar by the reform of Humbert of Romans the latest,⁵⁶⁷ no sermon for his feast was included in the *Sermones compilati* and similarly, and no other Franciscan saint turns up in the collection.⁵⁶⁸ The other early Dominican *sermonarium* preserved in the Codex of Leuven, in turn, contains two sermons on St Francis. The earliest surviving sermons on the first two saints of the Order of Minor Brothers, Francis of Assisi and Anthony of Padua, are to be found in the MS Batthyaneum R III 89 (Gyulafehérvári sorok kódexe).⁵⁶⁹ It is the only extant codex that testifies to the Franciscan preaching activity in the late thirteenth-early fourteenth century. It contains mostly Latin sermon drafts based on the works of well-known Franciscan preachers of Paris as well as some formularies (collections of models for the execution of documents) made around 1320, treatises on sin and penitence and a collection of exempla.⁵⁷⁰ The codex received its name “Gyulafehérvári Sorok Kódexe” because it contains rhymed divisions written in Hungarian. The codex as a preaching aid was examined by Edit Madas, who associated it with

⁵⁶⁶ “Hanc ystoriam habuit fr. Iacobus de Massa ab ore fr. Leonis; et fr. Hugolinus de Monte S. Marie ab ore dicti fr. Iacobi, et ego qui scribo ab ore fr. Hugolini, viri fide digni et boni.” *Fontes Franciscani*, 2109. The English translation is from *FA: ED II*, 458.

⁵⁶⁷ Bonniwell, *History*, 109 and 113.

⁵⁶⁸ With the exception of St Elizabeth of Hungary, who had close ties to the Minorites, for whose feast six sermons were included in the collection primarily because of her Hungarian origin.

⁵⁶⁹ Batthyaneum, R III 89, fol. 13v: Sermo de sancto Francisco bonus; for the identification, see Madas, “A XIII-XIV. századi prédikáció forrásvidéke,” 10.

⁵⁷⁰ Alba Iulia, Batthyány Library, R III. 89. The codex is described in Szentiványi, *Catalogus concinnus*, no. 395. The most recent short introduction to the codex is by Edit Madas in „Látjátok feleim...,” 228-229.

the thirteenth-century Franciscan tradition and identified or found textual parallels to the majority of the sermons.⁵⁷¹

The codex was made in the diocese of Veszprém, probably in Székesfehérvár in the first quarter of the fourteenth century. One of the formularies contained in the codex proves that Benedek, the bishop of Veszprém, authorized the Franciscans around 1295 to hear confessions and preach in his diocese and provided indulgences for those who visited their churches and made confessions on the feasts of the Virgin, Ss Francis of Assisi, Anthony of Padua, Clare of Assisi and of other saints who had a high altar in these places.⁵⁷² Although the codex was made in Hungary, its exemplar(s) contained the most recent sermon literature produced in Paris, which is hardly surprising given the centralised educational system of the mendicant orders.⁵⁷³ The “primary” audience of the model sermons were the friars themselves, whereas the “secondary” audience, as Madas observed on the basis of the content of the codex, could be a rather educated laity.⁵⁷⁴

One finds among the altogether 56 draft sermons (many written for Marian feasts) a sermon on St Francis and another one on St Anthony of Padua, which are in all likelihood the work of the Franciscan John of la Rochelle (Iohannes de Rupella; c. 1200-1245), the disciple of Alexander of Hales and a master of theology at the University of Paris.⁵⁷⁵ The sermon on St Francis is built on *Enoch placuit deo et translatus est in paradisum* (Eccli. 44:16).

⁵⁷¹ Madas, “A XIII-XIV századi magyarországi ferences prédikáció forrásvidéke,” 198-219.

⁵⁷² “dedimus licenciam in nostra diocesi confessiones audiendi (...) dedimus vobis et fratribus vestris facultatem iniungendi eisdem penitencias salutare et eciam auctoritatem absolvendi, ita tamen, quod tales in penitencia perseverantes, quantocius poterunt, nostro conspectui se debeant presentare et ut devocio Christi fidelium magis ac magis augeatur in vestris predicacionibus circa dies sollempnes 40 et in aliis diebus non sollempnibus 30 dierum indulgencias de iniuncta eis penitencia auctoritate nostra faciatis. Cupientes insuper ut ecclesie locorum vestrorum congruis honoribus frequententur omnibus vere penitentibus et confessis qui ecclesias ipsas in festivitibus b. Virginis, sancti Francisci, sancti Anthonii, Clarae et aliorum sanctorum, in quorum honorem altaria maiora in ecclesiis ipsis sunt constructa, causa devocionis venerabiliter visitaverint ex gracia speciali similiter 40 dierum indulgencias de iniunctis sibi penitencialis possitis elargiri.” Szentiványi, *Catalogus concinnus*, 223-224 (formulary no.14)

⁵⁷³ Madas, *Középkori prédikációirodalmunk történetéből*, 202.

⁵⁷⁴ Madas, *Középkori prédikációirodalmunk történetéből*, 203-204.

⁵⁷⁵ MS Batthyaneum, R. III. 89. The *Sermo de sancto Francisco bonus* is on fol. 13v-fol.15r. Incipit: “In verbis istis sub typo Enoch dicuntur tria que bene convenient beato Francisco...” Explicit: “... habemus triplicem translacionem corporalem. Rogemus”; the *sermo de sancto Anthonio* is on fol. 15r-16v. Incipit: “Ad laudem et gloriam beati Anthonii predicatoris fratrum minorum potest assume verbum istud...” Explicit: “... unde iubar dicitur propter iubar splendoris ab Ysidoro”. The identification was made by Madas and it is based on Scheneyer, *Repertorium*, vol.3, 713, no. 133-134; see Madas, *Középkori prédikációirodalmunk történetéből*, 207.

The saints of the two great mendicant orders were mentioned in the sermons composed by secular clerics, not necessarily for the feasts of these saints. In the *Sermones dominicales* put together probably in the diocese of Pécs between 1450-1456, Francis, Bernardino, and John of Capistrano turn up. St Francis is mentioned, together with St Dominic, among the founders of the religious orders.⁵⁷⁶ Two *exempla* about the Poverello can be found in the collection, one related to his preaching activity, the other is about one of his companions who, in the state of ecstasy (*raptus*), has a vision about St Francis.⁵⁷⁷ Also the story of the preaching to the fish is told, but in this version the sermon is delivered by St Francis and not by St Anthony to whose hagiographic dossier it originally belonged (I will return to this issue in IV.1.3).⁵⁷⁸ Furthermore, the author of the *Sermones dominicales* associates the ideal of good death with St Francis.⁵⁷⁹

The greatest amount of sermons on St Francis was produced by the two Observant Franciscans: Pelbartus composed six,⁵⁸⁰ Osvaldus three sermons on the saint and one for the feast of the stigmatization introduced in 1337.⁵⁸¹ The sermons of Pelbartus were thoroughly analysed by Piusz Berhidai OFM, who, after the collection of the themata of the sermons, observed that the choice of the citations follows the general trend in which the Book of Revelations and the Epistle to the Galatians.⁵⁸² Berhidai showed that the two main sources Pelbartus used were *De*

⁵⁷⁶ *Sermones dominicales*, vol.1, 233.

⁵⁷⁷ *Sermones dominicales*, vol. 2, 247.

⁵⁷⁸ *Sermones dominicales*, vol.1, 12-13: “Item legitur de sancto Francisco, quod piscibus praedicabat, et eum libenter audiebant. Istis non obstantibus, sanctum ewangelium, hoc est verbum dei, rebus insensatis et brutis animalibus praedicandum est, sed quare tunc Christus dominus discipulos dixit: praedicate ewangelium omni creaturae.” Cf. Roberto Rusconi, “The Preacher Saint in late Medieval Italian Art,” in idem, Rusconi, *Immagini dei predicatori e della predicazione in Italia alla fine del Medioevo* (Spoleto: Centro Italiano di Studi sull’Alto Medioevo, 2016), 243-276, at 246.

⁵⁷⁹ *Sermones dominicales*, vol.1, 219: “Et beatus Franciscus tempore dissolutionis suae vocans mortem cum gaudio aiebat: ‘Veniat soror mea mors!’ His rego considerantis, quis nimis anxie i.e. triste mortem sui care deflere non debet, immo defunctus propter praedicta, si loqui valeret, super eo flentibus dicere posset illud Johannis decimo quinto.”

⁵⁸⁰ Pelbartus de Themeswar, *Pomerium de sanctis*, Pars aestivalis, LXX De eius felici similitudine ad Christum stigmatibus (transcription: Flóra Rajhona); LXXI De seraphico patre beato Francisco stigmatibus (transcription: Flóra Rajhona); LXXII De crucis Christi devotione, qua ipse mire claruit stigmatibus (transcription: Flóra Rajhona); LXXIII De ipsius sanctitatis prearogativa et gloria (transcription: Ildikó Bárczi); LXXIV De sacris eius stigmatibus (transcription: Ildikó Bárczi); LXXV De seraphico patre (transcription: Ildikó Bárczi).

⁵⁸¹ Osvaldus de Lasko, *Sermones de sanctis Bigae salutis*, LXXXVI De beati Francisci stigmatibus (transcription: Flóra Rajhona); XCII De Sancto Francisco – Quomodo ab extra assimilatur Christo; XCIII – Quomodo ab intra assimilatur Christo in septem; XCIV – Quomodo religio distinguitur, quomodo commendatur (transcriptions: Ildikó Bárczi).

⁵⁸² Berhidai, “Szent Ferenc képe a XV. századi magyarországi irodalomban,” 111-118.

Conformitate and the *Legenda maior*.⁵⁸³ He also noted that even though the characteristics of legends differ from sermons, both are based on a “pool” of common knowledge.⁵⁸⁴

The sources of Osvaldus were quite similar to those of his Observant predecessor: liturgical texts (like the antiphone “Tres ordines hic ordinat”, the sequence “Caput draconis”, the breviary of the *lectiones matutinales*), papal bulls (Privilegio de stigmatibus – Pope Alexander IV), the *Arbor vitae crucifixae Jesu Christi* by Ubertino da Casale⁵⁸⁵, the *De Conformitate* and the *Legenda maior*. The sermons of the two Observants were strongly influenced by the *De Conformitate*, but despite the numerous overt references, St Francis is never explicitly referred to in them as *alter Christus*. Berhidai concluded that the main characteristics of the late fifteenth-century image of St Francis in Hungary was his similarity to Christ in bearing the wound on his body, his escathological mission (he became more of an angel than a human being), and his likeness to Christ, which made him a unique, inimitable, almost symbolic saint. Berhidai found that the strengthening of the founder saint’s escathological role in the second half of the fifteenth century has gained primary importance in the legitimization of the Observant movement, supported by religious authority in the sermons.

In what follows, I try give a more detailed treatment of the content of the sermons on St Francis. Even if it does not change the already mentioned conclusions of Berhidai, they help us to see better which of those ideas concerning the Poverello were that the two Hungarian Observant Franciscans regarded as worthy of consideration by fellow priests and through their mediation, a lay audience, and what implications the stigmatization had for the contemporary audience. Yet St Francis was much more than a stigmatic saint: as we can understand from Pelbartus, he was a patriarch, a prophet, an apostle, a martyr, a religious man, a confessor, and a virgin.⁵⁸⁶ Surprising some of these might seem as applied to Francis, one can comprehend that he was an apostle whose place is among the seraphs that are the closest to Christ, and except for Francis,

⁵⁸³ Berhidai distinguished seven groups among the sources: 1) Bible 2) Church fathers 3) Medieval theologians and preachers 4) non-Orthodox writers like Gioacchino da Fiore via Bartolomeo da Pisa’s *De Conformitate* 5) Liturgical texts 6) Papal bulls 7) Franciscan sources.

⁵⁸⁴ Berhidai, “Szent Ferenc képe,” 112.

⁵⁸⁵ On Ubertino and the *Arbor vitae*, see Burr, *The Spiritual Franciscans*, 96-100. On the afterlife of his works, Sylvain Piron, “La réception de l’œuvre et de la figure d’Ubertin de Casale,” in *Ubertino da Casale. Atti del LXI Convegno internazionale: Assisi, 18-20 ottobre 2013* (Assisi: [n. p.], 2014), 403-442.

⁵⁸⁶ Pelbartus de Themeswar, *Pomerium de sanctis, pars aestivalis*, sermo 73.

no saint was elevated to this rank. He can be regarded as martyr, since even though he never actually suffered martyrdom ending with death, he was willing to die for the Christian faith as his visit to the sultan meticulously described by Pelbartus clearly shows; instead, (as the Church teaches), he received the unique privilege, the stigmata. In another sermon Pelbartus shows how a Christian, following the footsteps of St Francis, should form his/her own life to the likeness of the crucified Christ in order to gain salvation.⁵⁸⁷ If, however, one goes through all these sermons, it becomes obvious that actually there is very little in them that can be imitated by the believers.

In his first sermon built on the theme *Vidi in medio septem candelabrorum* (Rev 1:13), Osvaldus explains seven external aspects (*ab extra*) in which St Francis became similar to Christ. These include ideas that reached a wide audience through Bartolomeo da Pisa's *De conformitate*: Francis's coming was predicted in the New Testament,⁵⁸⁸ his mother gave birth to him next to a manger, he became saint already in her mother's womb,⁵⁸⁹ he was a miracle-worker who had power over rational and irrational creatures alike, he chose disciples, he bore wounds in his body and was naked at the moment of his death, and so forth. Osvaldus provides also the "pair" of the abovementioned sermon in the next one (sermo 93) built on the citation *Vidi in dextra dei sedentis super thronum* (Apoc 5:1)⁵⁹⁰ listing seven ways Francis became similar to Christ in his soul in a special manner (*in anima eius specialiter Christo Domino assimilatur*).⁵⁹¹ With the help of these two, Osvaldus aims at revealing why St Francis can be considered as marked by seven seals both inside and outside, and as a further support for his argument, he recounts seven apparitions of the cross –the symbol of the Passion and the humiliation of Christ– to the saint.

The first internal similarity is the ardent love for humans: the Poor Man of Assisi, like Christ, "with the seal of the living Son of God, would go around in cities, towns, and villages and

⁵⁸⁷ Pelbartus de Themeswar, *Pomerium de sanctis, pars aestivalis*, sermo LXXII.

⁵⁸⁸ Osualdus de Lasko, *Biga salutis*, sermo XCII: "Haec omnia in Veteri Lege, et sicut Christus Dominus in Lege Veteri, sic beatus Franciscus in Lege Nova fuit praenunciatus."

⁵⁸⁹ Cf. Van Os, "St. Francis of Assisi as a second Christ in early Italian painting," 130-132.

⁵⁹⁰ Stanislao da Campagnola. *L'angelo del sesto sigillo e l'Alter Christus.* *Genesi e sviluppo di due temi francescani nei secoli XIII-XIV.* Studi e Ricerche 1 (Rome: Antonianum – Laurentianum 1971).

⁵⁹¹ Osualdus de Lasko, *Biga salutis*, sermo XCIII: 1) ferventi dilectione 2) tentationum superatione 3) paupertatis amplexatione 4) humiliatione 5) cogitationum praecognitione 6) orationum frequentatione 7) spirituali delectatione.

preach, endure weary and reproach, and confirm his words with miracles”.⁵⁹² Driven by this love, he founded three orders, he was one of the four founders (with Basil, Benedict, and Augustine) who also wrote a Rule, and he set out for a journey three times to the lands of the infidels in order to suffer for Christ. Osvaldus inserts here a long digression on various aspects of the stigmatization of Francis, to which I will return later in this chapter. The fourth internal similarity between Christ and St Francis is poverty, but this similarity does not prevail over the others in the sermon. Osvaldus’s third sermon (sermo 94) is built on *Quicumque hanc regulam secuti fuerint, pax super illos et misericordia, et super Israel Dei* (Gal 6:16) is the most abstract among his sermons, and the subsequent words of St Paul are the key to the interpretation *De cetero, nemo mihi molestus sit: ego enim stigmata Domini Jesu in corpore meo porto*.

A theme that turns up from time to time in the sermons of Pelbartus is how frequently St Francis used to pray.⁵⁹³ It is interpreted, on the one hand, as one of his conformities to Christ; on the other hand, in another instance it is understood that through prayer (or more precisely, through meditating on the passion of Christ), the quality of the saint’s soul was changed and this allowed him to have the stigmata.⁵⁹⁴ Pelbartus’s and Osvaldus’s sermons composed on the stigmatization of St Francis are of interest since, unlike in their other *sermones*, the authors apply the scholastic method of question and disputation concerning the authenticity of the stigmata.⁵⁹⁵ Pelbartus’s sermon was heavily influenced by that of Roberto Caracciolo written sometime between 1482 and 1489, who was surely among the sources of Osvaldus, too. Recently, Carolyn Muessig provided a nuanced analysis of Caracciolo’s sermon, surveying the technique of the argumentation of the preacher built on three distinct chapters considering different aspects of this mystery (*veritas*, *sublimitas*, and *congruitas*) and a conclusion.⁵⁹⁶ Muessig highlighted the substantial role church authorities and testimonies played in the authentication of the saint’s stigmatization. The Hungarian Observant preachers’ sermons shed

⁵⁹² Osvaldus de Lasko, *Biga salutis*, sermo XCIII.

⁵⁹³ Pelbartus de Themeswar, *Pomerium sermonum, Pars aestivalis*, sermo 73, 74, 75.

⁵⁹⁴ Pelbartus de Themeswar, *Pomerium sermonum, Pars aestivalis*, sermo 74: “Sed quoniam beatus Franciscus omne studium sui laboris meritorii posuit circa crucem Christi adeo, quod semper ipsum oculis mentis cerneret, et per amorem et passionem in Crucifixum transformaretur in anima.”

⁵⁹⁵ Cf. Gábor Klaniczay, “Doubts in the reality of the stigmata – stigmata as a weapon against doubt,” in *Faith and Doubt*, edited by Éva Pócs and Bea Vidacs (Budapest: Balassi) (forthcoming in 2018).

⁵⁹⁶ Robertus Caracciolus, *Sermones de laudibus*, “Sermo quadragesimusquinto De tribus excellentiis beati Francisci”, 141a-144c; Carolyn Muessig, “Roberto Caracciolo’s Sermon on the Miracle of the Stigmatization of Francis of Assisi,” *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* 42 (2012): 77-93.

light on which the most frequent questions concerning the stigmata and the stigmatization of St Francis were in the late fifteenth century, and what answers were offered to them by the author. The questions form three main groups: First, why did Christ want to impress his wounds only on St Francis and no one else, not even the Virgin Mary? Second, who impressed the wounds on St Francis and could they originate from somewhere else? Third, why it is beyond doubt that St Francis bore the wounds of Christ on his body?

According to Osvaldus the wounds were inflicted on the saint by Christ in order to renew the Passion, to show his love, to fulfill Francis's desire for martyrdom, to approve the divine justice, to animate Christ's military service, and to prove the debated rule (*districtae regulae probationem*).⁵⁹⁷ As to the second, Pelbartus argues (following Bartolomeo da Pisa) that the Virgin Mary could not have the stigmata because she was a woman, and only men can have them because these wounds are given in order to renew the world. St John the Evangelist did not have stigmata either since at that time the memory of Christ's Passion was vivid in the heart of the believers. Consequently, this unique privilege of bearing Christ's stigmata was given only to Francis by the Seraph.⁵⁹⁸ Pelbartus also highlights that the impression of the wounds were done by divine power (*virtute divina*), contending with brief theological explanations why they could not have been the result of human or natural infliction (*artis ingenium, artis naturam*), or been caused by ardent imagination or by angelic virtue.⁵⁹⁹ He also reports those secrets that had been told to Francis at the stigmatization that the saint revealed to some of the friars only after his death. In order to prove the authenticity of the saint's stigmata, Pelbartus ends his sermon with three types of proofs.⁶⁰⁰ First, he starts with the trustworthy ocular witnesses, referring to the information coming from Bonaventure's legend on St Francis, according to which despite all the saint's effort to keep the wound in secret, many friars, cardinals, and even Pope Alexander IV saw them while he was alive, and even after his death, more than fifty friars, Clare of Assisi and other sisters from the community of San Damiano, and laypeople testified to

⁵⁹⁷ Osvaldus, *Biga salutis*, sermo XCIII.

⁵⁹⁸ Pelbartus de Themeswar, *Pomerium de sanctis, pars aestivalis*, sermo LXXIV.

⁵⁹⁹ As it was one of the causes of Francis's stigmatization in the sermon "De stigmatibus sancti Francisci" by James of Varazze; see Carolyn Muessig, "The Stigmata Debate in Theology and Art in the Late Middle Ages," 485-486.

⁶⁰⁰ It should be noted that some pieces of information Pelbartus gives is not correct: according to Bonaventure, the friars saw Francis's wounds only after his death, and it was only Rufino who touched his side wound by chance, and some brethren saw his tunic with stains of blood on it.

this.⁶⁰¹ Second, Pelbartus enumerates all the popes who issued bulls concerning the stigmata and their commemoration. Third, he mentions briefly miracles and revelations testifying to the authenticity of stigmata and gives an account of the event.⁶⁰²

III.2. St Francis in Hungarian vernacular literature

III.2.1 The Jókai Codex: sources, dating, audience, structure

The codex was discovered by Adolf Ehrenfeld, in 1851 in Nyitra (Nitra, Slovakia). The first detailed linguistic analysis was made by Gábor Szarvas, then the first thorough examination of the codex was made by György Volf who published the text with a comprehensive introduction in calling it officially Ehrenfeld Codex.⁶⁰³ After Ehrenfeld's death, the codex was purchased by the Hungarian State and it arrived at the National Széchényi Library in 1925, the centenary the birth of the famous Hungarian writer Mór Jókai, and was re-baptized as Jókai Codex.⁶⁰⁴ The most recent edition of the text was made in 1981 by János P. Balázs.⁶⁰⁵ On the basis of the watermarks in the Jókai Codex, it was penned around 1440, but the text of the manuscript goes back probably to an earlier date. Already its first editors, Ferenc Toldy, Gábor Szarvas, and György Volf pointed out that the Hungarian text is a copy of an earlier translation from Latin.⁶⁰⁶ The exact dating of the Hungarian exemplar is quite problematic but the two secure points of reference seemed to be the traces of an older orthography and lexical items used in the end of the fourteenth century, and the date of the latest identified source of the Jókai Codex; I discuss this issue more in detail below. The text was written in northern Hungarian dialect, so it could be composed either in Gyöngyös or in Szécsény. This hypothesis would make more understandable how the codex fared with the friars or nuns fleeing from the Ottomans through

⁶⁰¹ In fact, the witness accounts were collected in the 1230s, and only a few friars were among them, not fifty.

⁶⁰² Pelbartus de Themeswar, *Pomerium de sanctis, pars aestivalis*, sermo LXXIV.

⁶⁰³ György Volf, *Ehrenfeld-Codex*. Nyelvemléktár 7. (Budapest: MTA, 1878).

⁶⁰⁴ The full facsimile edition of the codex was made in 1942 as the first volume of the *Codices Hungarici* series, as a result of a joint enterprise of the Institute of Hungarology and the Hungarian Institute of Stockholm, edited by Dénes Szabó and János Lotz.

⁶⁰⁵ See footnote 15. I use the edition of János P. Balázs in the dissertation.

⁶⁰⁶ Gábor Szarvas "A Ferencz legenda" [The Francis legend], *Magyar Nyelvőr* 1 (1872): 215-225, at 215-216; György Volf, *Az Ehrenfeld codex. A legrégebbi magyar könyv ismertetése és hű le nyomata* [The Ehrenfeld codex. The presentation and the faithful copy of the oldest Hungarian book], *Preface* X-XXIII, (Budapest, MTA, 1881).

the towns of Upper Hungary to Nyitra, from where, after the dissolution or the sack of a convent, it ended up in the attic of a house.⁶⁰⁷

The Jókai Codex is damaged: at least 27 folios are missing, so one can only have an approximate idea concerning its original content. What I call the “core” of the Jókai Codex is made up of 27 chapters of the *Speculum perfectionis*, 18 of the *Actus*, and 3 from the so-called *Legenda vetus* which, with one exception, can be all found in the printed *Speculum vitae* but, as it has been pointed out by János P. Balázs, often in a more contaminated form.⁶⁰⁸ In addition, the codex includes a prayer about the Passion narrated by the Crucifix reported also in Bartolomeo da Pisa’s *De Conformitate*⁶⁰⁹ and a list of eight *post mortem* miracles of Francis based on the *Legenda maior*.⁶¹⁰

The editor of the codex, János P. Balázs, even though he was the one who found a possible source of the prayer to the Crucified in Bartolomeo’s work in 1981, he dated the Jókai Codex to after 1370/around 1440, which is not entirely comprehensible in the light of the date of composition of the *De Conformitate* (1385-1390).⁶¹¹ Even less, if one considers the fact that the work was approved by the order only in 1399; it is not likely that it circulated widely and was translated into Hungarian before that date. In case the *De Conformitate* was indeed among the sources of the early translation of the Jókai Codex, then it is more likely that the supposed earlier translation was made in the early fifteenth century. The other possibilities are that the source of the prayer to the Crucified was not the *De Conformitate* but some earlier source instead, or that this section was added later to an already existing vernacular translation of the legend and in this case there is no reason to postpone the date of the supposed earlier translation.⁶¹²

⁶⁰⁷ János P. Balázs, introduction to *Jókai-kódex*, 9-19, at 10.

⁶⁰⁸ P. Balázs, introduction to *Jókai-kódex* 12-13

⁶⁰⁹ The modern edition of the work was published in 1906 with the title *De Conformitate Vitae B. Francisci ad Vitam Domini Iesu, auctore Fr. Bartholomaeo de Pisa*, in *Analecta Franciscana* 4-5.

⁶¹⁰ Bonaventure’s *Tractatus de miraculis* is reported in *Legendae s. Francisci Assisiensis*, 627-652, and *Fontes franciscani*, 912-961.

⁶¹¹ *Jókai-kódex*, 10.

⁶¹² The same prayer but with an ending different from the one reported in the *De Conformitate* is reported in Guido Maria Dreves, *Analecta hymnica medii aevi*, XXXI, Leipzig, 1898, 53-54. The two manuscripts signaled by Dreves that have a slightly different ending are: Cod. Palat. Matriten 2 N 4 dated to the 13th-14th century and the Cod.

The overwhelming majority (*ca.* 85 %) of the sources of the surviving part of the Jókai Codex are based on the *Speculum perfectionis* and the *Actus beati Francisci* that, as we have seen, originated from a Spiritual Franciscan environment. The chapters are from the so-called *Legenda vetus*, as it has been shown by Arnold Magyar, correspond to the three chapters of the *Codex Latinus 77* (Codex of Budapest). These chapters are the following: “Hogý kelnekuala neky az baratok kyk regulat tartanakuala” (*Legenda vetus*, Ch.3: *Exemplum de praedicta voluntate*); “Az tudomanrol kýt zent ferencz eleue meg mondott” (*Legenda vetus*, Ch.4: *De scientia quam praedixit*); “Angýalnak yzanýv ylenetyrewl” (*Legenda vetus*, Ch.5: *Ad idem de apparitione stupenda angeli*).⁶¹³ I have mentioned earlier that these chapters circulated either individually or as a set, so it was not only the *Avignon Compilation* through which these three chapters could fare to the Jókai Codex. Moreover, the manuscripts of the *Avignon Compilation* do not contain two chapters of the *Actus* that are organic parts of the Jókai Codex.⁶¹⁴ Whereas the prayer to the Crucified and the list of miracles at the end of the Jókai Codex can be additions to its ‘core’, the translations of Ch. 39 and 45 of the *Actus* fit perfectly in the sequence of the chapters of the Hungarian codex.⁶¹⁵ Nevertheless, the striking resemblance between the *Avignon Compilation* and the Jókai Codex in their content makes it possible to hypothesize that the ‘core’ of the latter was not put together by the Hungarian compiler/translator but was translated from an already existing Latin compilation, made up of excerpts from the *Actus*, the *Speculum perfectionis* and the set of the seven chapters that were relatively widespread in the period⁶¹⁶, and many of them (although not always all the seven or not as a set) can be found in a number of fifteenth-century manuscripts in Italy.⁶¹⁷ In any case, the chapters that are based on

Londinen Reg.7 A VI, dated to the 14th-15th century, so it is theoretically possible that the source of the prayer to the Crucified was not the *De Conformitate*.

⁶¹³ *Jókai-kódex*, 266-273; Arnold Magyar, “Eine Vergessene Franziskus-Handschrift: Der Jókai Codex von Budapest,” *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* 62 (1969): 662-677, at 675.

⁶¹⁴ See the table of comparison in Magyar, “Eine Vergessene Franziskus-Handschrift,” 670-676.

⁶¹⁵ *Jókai-kódex*, 146-148 “Frater leorol mykoron latta uala zent ferenczet fewlttewl fel emeletlenný” (*Actus*, Ch. 39: *De fratre Leone quando vidit sanctum Franciscum elevatum a terra et vidit et palpavit eius stigmata*); 174-176 “Mykeppen frater Egyed vonot ký nemý mestert ew ketsegebelewl” (*Actus*, Ch. 45=67² in : *Qualiter, dicente fr. Egidio: Virgo ante partum, Virgo in partu, Virgo post partum, orta sunt tria lilia*); reported in *Fontes Franciscani*, 2166-2167; 2218-2219.

⁶¹⁶ On the problems concerning the early translation of the Jókai Codex, see Dávid Falvay and Eszter Konrád, “Osservanza francescana e letteratura in volgare dall’Italia all’Ungheria: ricerche e prospettive,” in *Osservanza francescana e cultura tra Quattrocento e primo Cinquecento*, 161-186, at 175-178.

⁶¹⁷ I had the opportunity to consult those manuscripts that are located in the libraries of Rome. MS Isidoriano 1/142, fol. 82r: *Exemplum de predicta voluntate sancti francisci*, fol.82r-v: *De stupenda apparitione angeli*; MS

the *Actus* may originate from Italy since, as it was observed by Jenő Kastner, the translator was unable to translate the phrases and sentences of Francis reported in the Italian vernacular.⁶¹⁸ That Latin compilations of Franciscan hagiographic material similar in content to the *Avignon Compilation* and the printed *Speculum vitae* circulated and were available in Hungary is attested both in Latin and vernacular literature produced in Hungary.⁶¹⁹

Various hypotheses have been offered concerning the audience of the Jókai Codex although none of them took into account that the codex is written in northern dialect: on the analogy with the later codices written in the vernacular, Horváth supposed that the Jókai Codex was made for nuns, and perhaps for Clarissan sisters, since the codex contains two stories about Clare.⁶²⁰ This idea was opposed by Kastner,⁶²¹ who, based on textual analysis, noted that the text supposes an audience for whom begging was an essential activity and who are warned also against the excessiveness in eating and the scorn of money. Furthermore, Kastner interpreted the omission of a phrase Francis said to Brother Leo that not even preaching that converts all the infidels implies perfect joy⁶²² as intentional, saying that the translator did not want to lay anything before the preaching friars' main activity and ideal of life.⁶²³ Although almost all the later surviving vernacular codices of Franciscan content were translated for and copied by nuns in Óbuda, this was not the environment the *Jókai Codex* originated from; the besides, I have not found any hint in the text that would particularly suggest a female audience.

Vallicelliano B 131, fol. 133v: *Como respuse ad uno frate del observantia della regula*, fol.126r-v: *Como sancto francisco predisse multe tribulatione per la sciencia delli frati*, fol.128-132: *Come el nostro padre sancto francesco predixe et adruipio alli fratri li 5 stati che devono venire nella religione per rivelatione dell'angelo*; MS Ottob. 681, fol.103r: *Lo exemplo dela predicta voluntate de sancti f* fol.103r-104v: *Quello che dixen san f. dela sciencia*, fol. 104v-106r: *Ad questo anchora dela stupenda apparitione del angelo*. I compared these chapters to those of the OSzK Cod. lat. 77 as well as to the Jókai Codex without any significant results.

⁶¹⁸ Kastner, *A Jókai-kódex és az obszerváns kódexirodalom*, 4-5. The examples are in *Jókai-kódex*, 110-111, 116.

⁶¹⁹ Cf. Lajos Katona, "A Lobkowitz-codex Ferencz-rendi emlékei," 15; idem, "A Virginia-kódex Ferencz-legendái," 14; Eszter Konrád, "The *Speculum vitae beati Francisci et sociorum eius* in the Old Hungarian Codex Literature." forthcoming.

⁶²⁰ János Horváth, *A magyar irodalmi műveltség kezdetei: Szent Istvántól Mohácsig* [The origins of Hungarian literature: from St. Stephen to Mohács], first published in Budapest: Magyar Szemle Társaság, 1931; reprint: Budapest, 1988, 101-109, at 104-105.

⁶²¹ Kastner was not the only one who did not agree with the presumption that the Jókai Codex was made for nuns (of Poor Clares); as Zsuzsanna Acél pointed out, the text of the codex is absolutely not suitable for nuns for reading aloud. See her "...totus discretionis sale conditus...", 223.

⁶²² *Actus* 33, 35-37: "O frater Leo, quamvis frater minor sciret tam solemniter predicare quod converteret omnes infideles ad fidem, scribe quia non est ibi perfecta laetitia." It is based on Francis' admonition to Brother Leo, the *De vera et perfecta laetitia*. For its English translation, see *FA: ED*, I, "True and Perfect Joy", 166.

⁶²³ Jenő Kastner, *A Jókai-kódex és az obszerváns kódexirodalom*, 11.

Jenő Kastner, who noted the scribal additions about temperance in eating and scorn of money, looked for a Franciscan male community living in convents and would go questing for alms in the second half of the fourteenth century -the generally accepted date of composition of the Jókai Codex at the time he wrote his study- whose way of life was close to the ideals of the Spiritual wing. He came up with the hypothesis that this “Speculum of Avignon” was translated by a Franciscan entrusted with the conversion of the heretics in Bosnia.⁶²⁴ This presumption, however, has no solid basis despite the fact that Bosnia had indeed some connections with the very first friars of the strict Observance in the 1370s, but the spread of the Observance in Hungary, as we have seen in the introductory chapter of the dissertation, was not directly related to them.⁶²⁵ Although it is certainly true that the Observant reformists appeared in the Bosnian vicariate in the last decades of the century⁶²⁶ and several Italian Observant friars came here, as Stanko Andrić noted, it may be “an exaggeration to state that the vicariate was the first Franciscan jurisdiction to embrace as a whole the Observant reform.”⁶²⁷

Although scholars have noted a long time ago that the Jókai Codex is a consciously constructed text, based on the selection, reorganization, and on the translation of an already existing non-official hagiography of Francis of Assisi, László Szörényi was the first scholar who analysed its structure in detail.⁶²⁸ Recently a different thematic division was proposed by Piusz Berhidai.⁶²⁹ Here I will follow by and large the structural division of Szörényi. The first thematic unit of the *Jókai Codex* (*Actus*, Ch. 1-9; 31-33; 38-40[=65²] 41-43, 45[=67²]) presents the early days of the

⁶²⁴ See Karácsonyi, János. *Szent Ferencz*, vol. 1, 305-329. For the Franciscan missionary activities in Bosnia from the fourteenth to sixteenth centuries, see Eusebius Fermendžin, *Acta Bosnae potissimum ecclesiastica cum insertis editorum documentorum regestis ab anno 925 usque ad annum 1752* (Zagreb: Soc. Typ., 1892); Mijo Vjenceslav Batinić, *Djelovanje franjevacu u Bosni i Hercegovini za prvih šest vjekova njihova boravka* [The activities of the Franciscans in Bosnia and Herzegovina in the first six years of their stay] (Zagreb: Tisk. Dionička, 1881-1887); Julian Jelenić, *Kultura i bosanski franjevci* [Culture and the Bosnian Franciscans], 2 vols. (Sarajevo: [n.p.], 1912-1915); Vjeran Kursar, “Franjevci katoličanstvo Osmanskoj Bosni i Turskoj Hrvatskoj u premodernu doba (15-18. stoljeće)” [Franciscans and Catholics in Ottoman Bosnia and Turkey], *Hrvatska revija* 2 (2015): 46-55. On the label “heretics” and “schismatics” referring to the non-Catholics in Bosnia, see Fine, *The Bosnian Church*, 54-65.

⁶²⁵ de Cevins, *Les franciscains observant hongrois*, 39-43.

⁶²⁶ The missionary territory of the Franciscans, the Bosnian vicariate comprised the whole diocese of Bosnia, Serbia, Croatia, some parts of Hungary, Bulgaria, Bohemia, Transylvania and Moldavia; see Fine, *The Bosnian Church*, 16-17.

⁶²⁷ Andrić, *The Miracles of St. John Capistran*, 20.

⁶²⁸ Szörényi, “La problematica del codice «Jókai»,” 140-147.

⁶²⁹ Piusz Berhidai O.F.M., “Szent Ferenc képe a XV. századi magyarországi irodalomban” [The image of St. Francis in 15th-century Hungarian literature], in *Európa védelmében: Kapisztrán Szent János és a nándorfehérvári diadal emlékezete*, ed. Kálmán Peregin and László Veszprémy (Budapest: Hadtörténeti Intézet és Múzeum, 2013), 117.

community through the relationship among Francis and his companions. The saint's *Christiconformitas* is elaborated in this section and culminates with his stigmatization in the very middle of this part. The second part of the same unit continues with the narration of the mystical experience and the miracle stories related to the companions, including also Clare of Assisi. The second thematic unit (*Speculum perfectionis* 12-14; 18; 20-2; *Actus* 67; *Speculum perfectionis* 25-26; 28-29) deals with the issues related to absolute poverty: begging for alms, renunciation of worldly goods, the prohibition to get in physical contact with money and further episodes concerning the *usus pauper*, as well as the care for the poor and the sick. The third unit (*Speculum perfectionis* 49; 51-53; 56-58) is concerned with obedience, discipline, and peace within the Order. With his humility manifested in different situation Francis wants to show example to his companions. Although at first it seems that the episodes of the fourth major unit (*Speculum perfectionis* 79; 66; 68-73; 81; 85-86; the so-called *Legenda vetus*, 3-5) are of miscellaneous content, they are all related to the zeal of the Poverello to instruct the brethren by showing them the contrast between real and worldly knowledge, that conversion is a result of praying and compassion, that the observation of the *Rule* is necessary. Francis foretells the tribulations of the Order, which is the result of the friars' estrangement from his original intentions, especially in the field of studies, *usus pauper*, and humility. The fifth unit (*Actus* 10; 13-14; 16; 18-19; 24-23) is heavily damaged, but on the basis of the surviving pages it is apparent that it consists of miscellaneous episodes: the approaching death of the saint is mentioned, but then comes an episode relating his revelations and conversations with the Divine, and also two stories about his special relationship with animals are narrated, one of them is the taming of the wolf of Gubbio. The next unit is a short poem, in which an unnamed friar –who in the Jókai Codex can be interpreted as St Francis- (*De Conformitate*, 521-522) turns to the Crucified for consolation, who, in turn, narrates Francis his Passion. The fragmentary poem separates the stories of St. Francis and his companions from the last section of the codex, the raising of eight dead thanks to the intercession of the saint.

Since the Jókai Codex is quite a faithful but rather poor translation of Latin texts, its original features can be seen in the organization of the material and the additions on the part of the translator/scribe. On the one hand, the sequences of the episodes show a conscious effort for a thematic arrangement; for instance, the episodes from the life of the Poverello and his

companions are separated from his *post mortem* miracles by a poem that evokes the Passion of Christ. On the other hand, the explanatory additions that show the intervention of the translator or the scribe who wrote the legend down in order to make the text more comprehensible to its readers or to add his own conclusion or advice on some of the issues treated.

What are the reasons of relating the Jókai Codex to the Observant Franciscans? As it has been shown, the overwhelming majority of the codex goes back to Latin works originating from the Spirituals. Although the Observant movement cannot be regarded as the direct continuation that of the Spirituals, it is undeniable that some of the recurring themes in the Jókai Codex, such as evangelical poverty or obedience were crucial issues also for the Observant Franciscans in general.⁶³⁰ The scorn for secular knowledge, however, was characteristic only to the friars of the early Observance in Italy whose ideas did not seem to be diffused in Hungary. The most illustrious representatives of the second generation of the Observants, the so-called “four columns” (Bernardino of Siena, John of Capestrano, James of the Marches, Albert of Sarteano) were all highly educated, were active in the production of theological and sermon literature, and were erudite preachers that guaranteed their success in the conversion of masses, at least in the central and northern part of Italy, and the high level of education among the Observants can be perceived in general in the fifteenth century. Since the actual spread of the Observant movement in Hungary occurred only in the early fifteenth century and the reform friars staying for shorter or longer time in the country (James of the Marches and John of Capestrano) were anything but “simple”, the scorn of secular knowledge cannot really be associated with the Observants in Hungary at the time when the Jókai Codex was copied. It is true, on the other hand, that the codex was made in the period of the expansion of the Observants in Hungary who within a few years (1448) would obtain a permission to establish an autonomous Hungarian vicariate, separating from the Observant province of Bosnia,. The poem describing the Passion of Christ may be a further hint to the Observant provenance of the codex. The Observant Franciscans had a major role in spreading the extremely minute descriptions of the suffering of

⁶³⁰ The objection to learning was characteristic of the early Observants, motivated more by the fear that the engagement in science would be an obstacle for the aspired humility and simplicity. On the Observants' initial distrust in learning and their subsequent re-orientation to the pursuit of studies, see Bert Roest, *A History of Franciscan Education (c.1210-1517)* (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 153-171; idem, “*Sub humilitatis titulo sacram scientiam abhorrentes*. Franciscan Observants and the Quest for Education,” in: *Rules and Observance: Devising Forms of Communal Life*, edited by Mirko Breitenstein *et al.* (Berlin: Verlag, 2014), 79-106.

Christ and the instruments of torture, which can be seen also on the seals of the confraternity letters issued by the Franciscan Observants in Hungary.⁶³¹ This can be clearly observed from a sixteenth-century reproduction of the seal of the Franciscan Observant Province of Hungary named “Provincia Ungariae Salvatoris” provided by the Observant Franciscan Francesco Gonzaga. (Fig. 6). It shows a friar kneeling at the foot of the Cross that is crowned with the Crown of Thorns, pierced through by nails, and different instruments of torture exhibited on both sides. I think this seal is the visual equivalent of what one can read in the Jókai Codex. Even if all this cannot be considered as decisive evidence in favour of the Observant provenance of the codex, there are indeed several arguments –based on indirect evidence though– that hint to this direction.

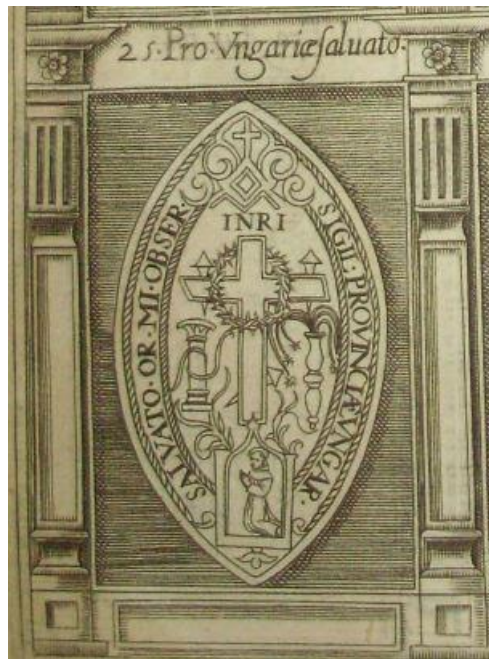


Figure 6 - Francesco Gonzaga, *De origine Seraphicae religionis*, Romae 1587, 52.

The importance of the Jókai Codex is, on the one hand, that through this work a high number of the chapters of the *Speculum perfectionis* and the *Actus* became available in the vernacular for a Hungarian-speaking audience. On the other hand, the Hungarian codex attests that from the

⁶³¹ See de Cevins, *Koldulórendi konfraternitások*, 122. She also provides the list of the documents with seals representing the Passion in different ways. On the Passion of Christ in late medieval visual arts: Émile Mâle, *Religious Art in France*, 83-135.

fifteenth century onwards the latest, a Latin compilation containing the deeds of St Francis and the friars of the first generations, originating from the environment of the more radical wing of the Franciscans, was available in Hungary.

III.2.2 Recurring themes and episodes on St Francis in the vernacular codices

The Jókai Codex attests how rich an inventory of the life and deeds of St. Francis and his companions was translated to the Hungarian vernacular around 1400. Many of these episodes, although sometimes in different forms or translated from other works, can be found in other Old Hungarian codices. Taking into account not only the Jókai Codex but other vernacular writings treating St. Francis, I proceed with the exploration of some of the central themes of these texts.

III.2.3 Brothers, birds and the wolf of Gubbio

In addition to the popular *exemplum* of the three spears, which originally belonged to the hagiographic dossier of St. Dominic and to which the figure of Francis was added later that had been mentioned already in connection to the first saints of the Order of Preachers, one finds several stories about the Poverello and early brothers in the Hungarian vernacular codices. The exemplum-like episodes illustrate the humility of Brother Masseus who wants to know why Francis was chosen for this “mission”, or the obedience of Brother Rufino who went to Assisi and preached at the command of Francis, or they narrate how Rufino was liberated from the devil by the saint. These stories are based on the *Actus beati Francisci et sociorum eius* (ch. 10, 32, 33, respectively) and present in the Jókai, Virginia and Simor codices and in one instance, in the Debreceni Codex; only in these cases go three stories back to the same Latin source.⁶³² It is not possible to decide whether they are independent translations of the *Actus* or the Virginia and

⁶³² Translations of chapter 10 of the *Actus* reported in *Fontes Franciscani*, 2109-2110 are present in the *Jókai-kódex*, fol. 127-128, *Debreceni-kódex*, fol. 236-237, *Virginia-kódex*, fol. 78-80; chapter 32 of the *Actus* reported in *Fontes Franciscani*, 2157-2158 are present in the *Jókai-kódex*, fol. 56-59, *Simor-kódex*, 8-14, *Virginia-kódex*, fol. 68-72; chapter 33 of the *Actus* reported in *Fontes Franciscani*, 2158-2160 are present in the *Jókai-kódex*, fol. 59-61, *Simor-kódex*, fol. 14, *Virginia-kódex*, fol. 72-73.

the Simor codices were influenced by the text of the Jókai Codex, especially in cases where the words of St. Francis are expressed in more archaic words than the rest of the text.⁶³³

In the hagiography of Francis, his relation to nature and animals is of central importance.⁶³⁴ The story about the taming of the wolf of Gubbio can be found in the Jókai and the Virginia codices, both of them are translations of chapter 23 of the *Actus*.⁶³⁵ The story was present in different versions and interpretations from the early fourteenth century onwards in France and Italy⁶³⁶, but they are all based on the antagonism between the exclusion of the individual from a community that leads to violence and his/her inclusion to it that brings joy and peace, which, as noted by Vauchez, reflects a typical Franciscan spirit.⁶³⁷

Stories about Francis and the birds are present in three codices in two different versions.⁶³⁸ While the Virginia Codex and the Anonymous Carthusian's sermon report the best-known episode how Francis had power over the "irrational creatures"⁶³⁹ and preached a sermon to a group of birds; an episode which was present in the iconography of the saint, as the fourteenth-century murals in the church of Csetnek attest. (Fig. 8) In the Jókai Codex, in turn, we find a different story, based on chapter 24 of the *Actus*:⁶⁴⁰ Francis asks a boy to give him the doves he caught, and he makes nests for them and the grateful birds stay with the brothers. Contrary to

⁶³³ Andor Tarnai explained this anomaly with the possibility that the translator of the Virginia Codex had already heard some of the episodes of the life of St. Francis so many times that he recorded the oral tradition when occasionally he translated the text with words similar to the earlier translation. See Tarnai, "*A magyar nyelvet írni kezdik*", 237.

⁶³⁴ Francis' attitude towards the natural world and its several original features, although rooted in previous monastic tradition, are discussed in Roger D. Sorrell, *St. Francis of Assisi and Nature: Tradition and Innovation in Western Christian Attitudes toward the Environment* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988); recently André Vauchez treated this topic in his *Francis of Assisi* on 272-282, who does away with the saint's idealized relationship with animals by providing a much more complex interpretation of the topic.

⁶³⁵ *Fontes Franciscani*, 2134-2137; *Jókai-kódex*, fol. 146-153; *Virginia-kódex*, fol. 53-58.

⁶³⁶ On the sermon preached in Paris, see Nicole Bériou, "La reportation des sermons parisiens à la fin du XIII siècle," in *Dal pulpito alla navata: La predicazione medievale nella sua ricezione da parte degli ascoltatori* (Florence, w.p., 1989), 91-92, quoted in Vauchez, *Francis of Assisi*, 275; the reference to bands of wolves in the *Legenda maior* 8:11 is in *Fontes Franciscani*, 852-853; Henry d'Avaranches version is in *Fontes Franciscani*, 1241-1242 (*Additio XXVI.*); *Passio sancti Verecundi*, in *Saint François d'Assise: Documents, écrits et premières biographies*, 1436.

⁶³⁷ Vauchez, *Francis of Assisi*, 276.

⁶³⁸ Chiara Frugoni, *Francesco e l'invenzione delle stimmate: Una storia per parole e immagini fino a Bonaventura e Giotto* (Turin: Einaudi, 1993), Chapter VI: Francesco e la natura, la predica agli uccelli, 233-268.

⁶³⁹ *Legenda maior* 8 in *Fontes Franciscani*, 849-850.

⁶⁴⁰ *Fontes Franciscani*, 2137-2138.

the common medieval attitude of attributing allegorical or moral meaning to animals then depriving them from it, for Francis they were the physical realities of the created world.

III.2.4 The stigmatization of St Francis in the vernacular codices

After this general survey of those Latin accounts of the stigmatization that can be in one way or another associated with the narratives translated to the Hungarian vernacular, let us turn now to the Jókai, the Virginia and the Lázár Zelma codices that narrate what happened on the Mount La Verna.⁶⁴¹ In addition to the three vernacular narratives, the stigmata of Francis (but not his stigmatization) turn up also in the Érdy Codex, which I will treat in connection with those of Catherine of Siena in V.3.4.⁶⁴² The chapter “Aluerna hegye megleleserewl” [On finding the Mount Alverna] of the Jókai Codex gives a rather faithful translation *Actus* that narrates how his stigmatization took place with the exception that apart from two shepherds, no further witnesses are mentioned,⁶⁴³ although its Latin parallel, the *Actus* makes a strong claim on authenticity.⁶⁴⁴ The stigmata are mentioned again in the chapter about the *levitatio* of Francis, (*Actus* 39) witnessed by Brother Leo, who is described as the only person who could touch the wounds and regularly change the bandages on them. In the next chapter of Jókai Codex, entitled “Zent sebekrewl ualo czuda” [Miracle about the holy wounds] (*Actus* 40=65²), a Dominican friar denies the authenticity of Francis’ stigmata and tries –unsuccessfully- to destroy the fresco in the refectory that represents the saint with the wounds.⁶⁴⁵

Whereas in the Jókai Codex the episode of the stigmatization is clearly the translation of the laconic account of the *Actus* without any additional details on the part of the translator, a few decades later a much longer Latin text about the same event was translated to the Hungarian

⁶⁴¹ See also Korondi, *A misztika a késő középkori magyar nyelvű kolostori kódexirodalomban*, 181, 185.

⁶⁴² I have analysed these four sources together in a study “The Oldest Legend of Francis of Assisi and his Stigmatization in Old Hungarian Codex Literature (ca.1440-1530)”, in: *Les saints et leur culte en Europe centrale au Moyen Âge (xi^e-début du XVI^e siècle)*, ed. Marie-Madeleine de Cevins and Olivier Martin (Turnhout: Brepols, 2017), 173-194.

⁶⁴³ *Jókai-kódex* 119.

⁶⁴⁴ “Quare vero apparuerunt stigmata s. Francisci, nondum per omnia notuit; sed, sicut ipse sociis revelavit, hoc prefertur magnum misterium in futurum. Hanc ystoriā habuit fr. Iacobus de Massa ab ore fr. Leonis; et fr. Hugolinus de Monte S. Mariae ab ore dicti fr. Iacobi; et ego qui scribe ab ore fr. Hugolini, viri fide digni et boni.” *Fontes Franciscani*, 2109.

⁶⁴⁵ *Jókai-kódex*, 66.

vernacular: it survived in two independent translations in the Virginia⁶⁴⁶ and Lázár Zelma codices, probably because this account was considered suitable, using the words of Pelbartus de Themeswar, “pro devotione simplicium”. The two translations go back to the same Latin text which appeared in print both as the part of the *Speculum vitae beati Francisci et sociorum eius* (1504) as well as in Sermo 75 of the *Pomerium de Sanctis: pars aestivalis* of Pelbartus (1499). We can read both in works that the stigmata narrative comes from a certain *Vita sociorum sancti Francisci* but such printed book is known today with this title. For chronological reasons, the *Speculum vitae* could not be the source of the Observant Franciscan preacher since the *Pomerium sermonum de sanctis* volume was published earlier, first in 1499 and then in 1502.

Piusz Berhidai, who found three references to *Vita sociorum beati Francisci* in the altogether six sermons of Pelbartus on St Francis,⁶⁴⁷ speculated that it can be either a source known today with a different title or a completely unknown one that may have been lost, but most probably it was one of the many *legendae antiquae*.⁶⁴⁸ Would it have been possible that this was a Latin compilation circulating in Hungary in a manuscript form under the title *Vita sociorum beati/sancti Francisci* and thus an indirect proof for the Hungarian origin of the *Speculum vitae*? There is a manuscript that seems to disprove this assumption: MS Douai 858 dated to the fifteenth century that has Benedictine provenance from the Abbey of Hasnon (France) that on the basis of its *incipit* reports the same stigmatization narrative: ‘Legitur in Vita sociorum sancti Francisci quod cum beatus Franciscus in latere montis Alverni quadragesima beati Michaelis ieiunaret...’.⁶⁴⁹ This manuscript –that I did not yet have the chance to consult to check whether it can be really dated to the fifteenth century and thus was in fact earlier than Pelbartus’s *sermo* 74 on Francis and the printed edition of the *Speculum vitae*- indicates that in the fifteenth century the same book with the same title was known not only in Hungary but also in France. In any case, the account of the *Vita sociorum beati Francisci* gives a much more elaborated version of the stigmatization since much of the information coming from the *Instrumentum* – although probably through intermediary works- was incorporated in the account that can be

⁶⁴⁶ *Virginia-kódex*, 105-111.

⁶⁴⁷ Pelbartus de Themeswar, *Pomerium de sanctis I, Pars aestivalis*, Sermones LXX-LXXV.

⁶⁴⁸ Berhidai, ‘Temesvári Pelbárt helye a ferences irodalmi hagyományban’ available at: http://sermones.elte.hu/?az=341tan_plaus_piusz (last accessed: 20/09/2015).

⁶⁴⁹ Douai, Bibliothèque Municipale de Douai, MS 858 fol. 85^r-88^v. This textual parallel to the *Speculum vitae* was found by Sabatier, “Description du Speculum vitae (éd. de 1504),” 355, note 2.

summed up as follows: while Francis is spending the Lent of St. Michael on the Mount La Verna, as he goes out one day to pray early in the morning he sees a Seraph descending with burning fire and the crucified Christ appears between the wings. Francis marvels greatly and rejoices but Christ warns him of secrecy and tells him to be prepared as he will perform a wonderful miracle to him. As Francis claims to be ready, Christ holds out his right hand and puts it above that of Francis, who immediately cries out his name and collapses. Christ urges him to get up again, and he performs the same act with Francis's left hand, then his feet. The climax of the stigmata account is the impression of the side wound when Francis asks who would be able to endure such pain, Christ responds to him

‘What would you have done then if you had suffered all the beatings, the crowning of thorns, the slaps, the spitting and other harsh torments that I suffered for the people?’ Rising up Francis said: ‘I am ready for what you want.’ And Jesus embraced him and placed his side to the side of Francis and immediately impressed the wound on his side. So Francis cried out ‘O pious Jesus’ and fell on the ground like a half-dead. And meanwhile Christ vanished.⁶⁵⁰

The account ends with the apparition of Brother Leo as in the *Considerazioni sulle stigmate* – not Conrad as in the *Instrumentum*– who finds the unconscious Francis about whom he thinks to have died due to his exaggerated abstinent lifestyle.

Like in the *Instrumentum*, there is no doubt in the *Vita sociorum sancti Francisci* that it was the crucified Christ who appeared to Francis under the form of a seraph, but neither the appearance of the stigmata is described, nor the nails are mentioned here. The pain of Francis caused by the stigmata is expressed in a different way: he cries out and collapses after each impression of a wound. The accentuation of the physical torment the saint had to suffer during the stigmatization and Christ's recalling of his own Passion in the *Vita sociorum sancti Francisci* fits quite well to the fourteenth- and fifteenth-century tradition of affective piety.⁶⁵¹

⁶⁵⁰ “Quid fecisses tunc si verbera, et spinee corone punctiones, alapas, sputa et alias penas quos ego per hominibus suscepī, sustinuisses?” Surgens ergo Franciscus dixit: ‘Quod iubes paratus sum.’ At Iesus amplexus illum iunxit latus lateri beati Francisci, et statim impressit plagam lateralem. Tunc Franciscus exclamans: ‘O pie Iesu!’ Cecidit in terram quasi semi mortuus. Et Christus interim disparvit.” *Speculum vitae*, 232a.

⁶⁵¹ On the Passion in the Hungarian devotional literature, see Korondi, *A misztika a késő középkori magyar nyelvű kolostori kódexirodalomban*, 197-250.

Despite their common Latin source, the significance of stigmata narratives is different in the two codices.⁶⁵² The Virginia Codex, which despite its Franciscan content was made for the Dominican nuns of the Island of the Rabbits before 1529. It is a book of ‘*Conformitas*’ since the greatest part of the codex treats the conformity of Francis to Christ. The stigmatization is only one of the several characteristics that made him similar to the Saviour, but in the codex equal importance is given to other aspects of the life of the saint: how God made Francis similar to the other saints, *exempla* that tell about not only his but also his companions’ eminence in humility and obedience. The Virginia Codex reports the last few sentences of the account that can be found only in the printed *Speculum vitae*, namely that Brother Leo reminds Francis that the friars are waiting for him to eat together, which must have taken place at the Feast of the Exaltation of the Cross, since, in the words of the author/translator of the codex “he [i.e. Francis] used to go to the town only on feast days”. The source of these lines can be either the printed *Speculum vitae* or perhaps a manuscript version of Pelbartus’s sermo 74 of the *Pomerium* that contained the very end of the stigmatization account which in this case could be the source of the compiler of the Virginia Codex used. The latter, however, cannot be checked since there is no surviving manuscript of his sermons.⁶⁵³

In the Lázár Zelma Codex, a collection of prayers and devotional writings made in Transylvania for private use for a Clarissan nun around 1525, the same stigmatization episode functions as a “very beautiful and devout” prayer.⁶⁵⁴ The direct source of the stigmata account of the Lázár Zelma Codex was Pelbartus de Themeswar whose exhortation to pray to the saint’s intercession for eternal bliss for life after death at the end of his sermon was also translated.⁶⁵⁵

The descriptions of the Seraph in the Hungarian translations are also slightly different from the Latin: in the Lázár Zelma Codex between the wings of the Seraph there was an army of angels surrounding the crucified Christ, and the Virginia Codex gives a detailed account of the Seraph of six wings based on the traditional biblical description of Isaiah 6:2.⁶⁵⁶ Other remarkable scribal additions can be found in the Virginia Codex. Whereas in the Latin text the crucified

⁶⁵² See the collation of the texts in the Appendix.

⁶⁵³ I am grateful to Nigel Palmer for calling my attention to this possibility.

⁶⁵⁴ *Lázár Zelma-kódex*, 141-150.

⁶⁵⁵ *Lázár Zelma-kódex*, 150.

⁶⁵⁶ *Lázár Zelma-kódex*, 172 ; *Virginia-kódex*, 33.

Christ asks Francis to prepare himself (“Para te, Francisce!”) for receiving the wounds, in the Virginia Codex, Christ urges him to “‘Prepare yourself for peace!’ (*zerezd magad bekesegre*), then to ‘Prepare yourself for suffering!’ (*zerezd magad zenuedesre*), and then ‘Prepare yourself to get closer to Him!’ (*zerezd hazza magad enelfeleiben*), the first referring to the mission of Francis, the second to his imitation of Christ, and the third to his strive to elevate his soul to God.”⁶⁵⁷

III.2.5 St Francis in visual arts with a special emphasis on the stigmatization

Compared to the other saints related to the two great mendicant orders, it is again St Francis who has the highest number of extant visual sources in medieval Hungary but their primary value is not their artistic quality or complex theological message. Rather, they were important media, especially the murals and the altarpieces in the churches, for a theologically not well educated congregation between the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries. Marie Lionnet collected murals representing the founder from the period of *ca.* 1300- 1475⁶⁵⁸, to which I would add also one more mural left out from her dissertation for chronological reasons and other types of artworks.

The first standard cult image of St Francis, survived in the Franciscan church of Pisa, was made a few years after the saint’s canonization in 1228. The importance of this image is that in the opinion of Hans Belting, the established iconography was not sufficient for Francis as he was a new saint type, and on the Pisan panel, Francis is not only representing himself but the whole order: he is shown in a rough cowl with the rope around his waist showing his order’s poverty, and he holds the book of the Gospels that the Franciscans claimed to know best and to live accordingly. The stigmata on the saint’s hands and feet made plain the privilege never seen before, a “new miracle” bestowed on Francis for the first time that turned him “into a living effigy of the crucified Christ”, an image of suffering.⁶⁵⁹ However, as it has been pointed out in scholarship, even if this miracle was new for Elias of Cortona, the first who publicly announced it, the phenomenon to bear the wounds of Christ’s on one’s body was not unprecedented,⁶⁶⁰ and

⁶⁵⁷ *Virginia-kódex*, 33-35.

⁶⁵⁸ Lionnet, “Les peintures murales,” 369.

⁶⁵⁹ Belting, *Likeness and Presence*, 381-382.

⁶⁶⁰ Cf. the works of Constable, Trexler, and Muessig in footnote 554-555.

it was rather the miraculous and supernatural intervention in the impression of the stigmatization what was new.⁶⁶¹ According to Belting, the Franciscans were those who invented the type that represented their founder, but they altered the pattern whenever the interpretation of the saint required it.⁶⁶² Since with a few exceptions the images depicting the stigmatization in general follow Giotto's famous works in the Lower and the Upper Church of Assisi, the altarpiece of the Church of San Francesco in Pisa (now in the Louvre), and the Bardi chapel in Santa Croce, Florence. These images were based on the *Legenda maior* of Bonaventure, which served as a prototype for many later depictions. Among the two crucial changes introduced by the new iconography of the stigmatization were that the crucified Christ with the five wounds on the naked torso and hands and feet come into sight between the wings of the Seraph,⁶⁶³ and the connection by rays Christ's five stigmata with the same number of wounds on Francis's body.⁶⁶⁴ In Hans Belting's opinion, Giotto's variants of the stigmatization were centred on the body as image, representing a pictorial medium in a double sense, serving as a medium for a mental image that finally became apparent on his skin, and as a physical picture that was transmitted on it from Heaven; in other words, the same transformation in reverse direction.⁶⁶⁵ Other significant iconographic "novelties" of Giotto were setting the event in a desert-like environment and the half-kneeling position indicating the intensity of the prayer. Naturally, the artistic representations of the Poverello in Hungary comprise also images (or image cycles) in which he is not represented as a stigmatic (Keszthely), or at the moment of the stigmatization (Gelence, Felvinc?), or that the stigmatization is only a part of his legend (Keszthely, Csetnek).

It has been recognized a long time ago that images are the nourishment of spiritual life, and in an age when written texts were known by only few people, visual representations were central. As Davidson argued, the representations of the stigmatization were to stabilize the status of the stigmata and also to divinize St Francis.⁶⁶⁶

⁶⁶¹ Dalarun, "À cette époque", 43-93.

⁶⁶² Belting, *Likeness and Presence*, 384.

⁶⁶³ Hans Belting, "Saint Francis and the Body as Image: An Anthropological Approach," in: *Looking Beyond: Visions, Dreams and Insights in Medieval Art and History*, ed. Colum Hourihane (Princeton: Princeton University Press in association with Penn State University Press, 2010), 3-14, at 12.

⁶⁶⁴ Frugoni, *Francesco e l'invenzione*, 201-216.

⁶⁶⁵ Belting, "Saint Francis and the Body as Image," 14.

⁶⁶⁶ Davidson, "The Miracles of Bodily Transformation," 103.

One of the earliest extant representations of Franciscan saints can be found in the Franciscan church of Keszthely. The Order of Minor Brothers, invited by Palatine István Lackfi II, settled down in the town in 1367-1368 in the convent dedicated to the Virgin Mary.⁶⁶⁷ Béla Zsolt Szakács distinguished three patrons of the church: Louis I in the initial phase of its construction, the Lackfi family in the termination of the construction and the commission of its high-quality fresco cycle, and after 1427 the Gersei Pető family, to whom all the former properties of István Lackfi (who had been accused by high treason and killed in 1397) had been donated by King Sigismund, who completed the nave.⁶⁶⁸ The church is richly decorated with frescoes representing apostles and prophets, saints, and scenes from the lives of Jesus and Mary. Four saints of (or associated with) the Order from the thirteenth century are depicted in the church: the two males, Ss Francis and Anthony, and the two females, Ss Clare and Elizabeth. A beardless Franciscan friar, possibly St Francis, is the first of the Franciscan saints in the bottom register of the sanctuary. (Fig. 7) The saint, depicted without the stigmata, is holding a Crucifix in his right and a book in his left hand. The representation of the other male figure, St Anthony of Padua is quite similar (I will return to his representation in IV.1.4). The saint and Christ on the cross are facing each other, implying some kind of direct interaction. Even though in the opinion of Szakács the lack of stigmata questions the presence of St Francis in the church, I regard the crucified Christ on the cross to be a trustworthy attribute for the identification of the friar with the Poor Man of Assisi.⁶⁶⁹

⁶⁶⁷ On its history, see Romhányi, *Kolostorok*, 36. The friars first received the Church of St Lawrence, next to which they built their new church. István Lackfi, an influential man from the high nobility who had a great career first under Louis the Great, then Queen Mary and King Sigismund, was buried in the Franciscan church after his murder in 1397, and his red marble tombstone is still kept there.

⁶⁶⁸ Szakács, "Three Patrons for a Single Church," 184-187;

and idem, "Palatine Lackfi and His Saints," in *Promoting the Saints*, 207-227, at 207-208.

⁶⁶⁹ Szakács, "Palatine Lackfi and His Saints," in *Promoting the Saints*, 210-212.

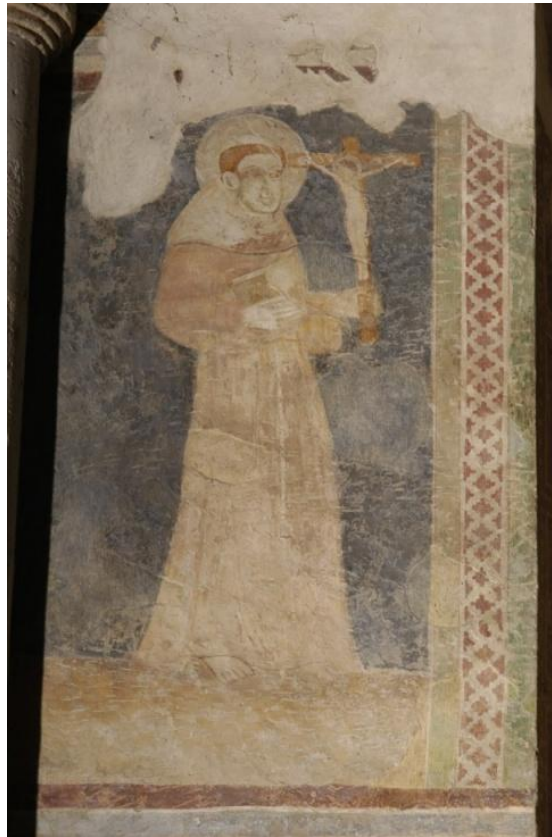


Figure 7 – St Francis of Assisi (?), Franciscan Church of Keszthely, ca. 1360.

Photo: Attila Mudrák

Csetnek is the only extant instance from medieval Hungary where two episodes from the legend of the Poverello were depicted in the northern wall of the nave on both sides of a *lunetta* of the vault in the mid-fifteenth century.⁶⁷⁰ (Fig. 8) On the left side, St Francis receives the stigmata, on the right side, he is preaching to the birds. Under the window separating the two scenes a friar is shown engaged in writing in a company of a dog-like animal. The friar is identified by Lionnet with the first biographer of Francis of Assisi, Thomas of Celano, but in my opinion it is more probable that he is Brother Leo for a number of reasons: First, the hagiographer does not appear in the iconographic representations of the saint whereas Brother Leo, the closest companion and confessor of Francis, can often be found in the stigmatization scene as a kind of

⁶⁷⁰ On Csetnek, see Mária Prokopp, Prokopp, “Gömöri falképek a XIV. században” [The wall paintings of Gémér in the fourteenth century], *Művészettörténeti Értesítő* 18 (1969): 128-147, at 128-135; Gerát, *Stredoveké*, 171; Buran, *Dejini slovenského*, 687-688; Lionnet, “Les peintures murales,” ‘Catalogue’, 23-26.

witness. Since according to the hagiographic sources Leo was staying with Francis on the Mount la Verna but was not present at the moment of Francis's stigmatization, he could not be represented as an ocular witness, this is why he was frequently depicted on the scene of the stigmatization with reading a book, with covered face, sleeping, or sitting with his back.⁶⁷¹ Second, in Giotto's Assisi fresco, Brother Leo is depicted as reading a book. Arnold Davidson, who has called the attention to the similarity between Francis's sojourn on the Mount la Verna and that of Christ's on the Mount of Olives, supposed that the book was the Gospel and pointed out that Leo's reading contrasts prayer to watchfulness, as it had been also in the case of Christ and the disciples.⁶⁷²



Figure 8 – The stigmatization and the preaching scenes from the life of St Francis of Assisi, parish church of Our Lady, Csetnek (Štitník, Slovakia), ca. 1360. Photo: Courtesy of Ivan Gerát and Bibiana Pomfyová

In addition, some further minor corrections should be made: I believe that the animal at the sitting friar's feet is of utmost significance, and thus it is rather a wolf than a dog. The second

⁶⁷¹ Some examples of the reading Leo: Maestro delle tempere francescane, St Francis receives the stigmata, c.1336; Pietro Lorenzetti, St Francis receives the stigmata, Assisi, Lower Church, second decade of the fourteenth century.

⁶⁷² Cf. Davidson, "The Miracles of Bodily Transformation," 114-115.

scene is not simply Francis's preaching to the birds but it condenses the saint's power over the irrational creatures in general since not only birds sitting on trees but also other types of beasts listen attentively to the saint.

As Lionnet observed, the murals in Bántornya, Csetnek and Gömörrákos follow the traditional scheme: Francis is kneeling on one knee, holding his arms open, and the crucified Christ under the appearance of the seraph impresses the wounds on the saint's body.⁶⁷³ In the Church of Our Lady in Bántornya/Turnisce, the the landlord of which was the Bánfi family of Alsólendva⁶⁷⁴, the stigmatization made around 1390 can be found in the top register in the northern wall next to the window. In the Church of the Holy Trinity in Gömörrákos (Rakoš, Slovakia), the mural depicting the stigmatization of St Francis made in the late fourteenth century can be seen in the lowest register in the nave. It is striking that the crucified Christ is almost of the same size as the saint and its Seraph-like quality is reduced to a small-scale pair of wings, underlying the conformity between the two figures.

⁶⁷³ Lionnet notes that in Bántornya and Csetnek, this scene is depicted next to a chapel, and was probably also the case in Gömörrákos.

⁶⁷⁴ Tamás Bogyay, "A bántornyai falképek donátorairól" [On the donors of the murals in Bántornya (Turnisce)], *Ars Hungarica* 14 (1986): 147-158.



Figure 9 - The stigmatization of St Francis in the Church of the Holy Trinity in Gömörrákos (Rakoš, Slovakia). Wall painting, late fourteenth century. Photo: Courtesy of Ivan Gerát and Bibiana Pomfyová

The stigmatization scene in Almakerék in Transylvania (Mălâncrav, Romania) is different since the companion of St Francis here is not Brother Leo but Anthony of Padua in the top register on the southern wall of the choir next to the window. The church was built by Mihály Apafi (1440-1469).⁶⁷⁵ (Fig. 10). On the frescoes made in the second half of the fourteenth century, both friars are tonsured, wear Franciscan habit with chords and sandals.⁶⁷⁶ Anthony is holding a book in his right hand and pointing upwards as if teaching or explaining something. Francis is shown in the act of the stigmatization, receiving the wounds from the Seraph on his hands and feet. Maria Crăciun has pointed out the link between this event and the feast of St Michael, the

⁶⁷⁵ Anthony and Francis were wrongly identified as two Dominicans by Viktor Roth, “Az almakeréki templom és műkincsei” [The church and the treasures of the church of Almakerék] in *Dolgozatok (Kolozsvár)* 3 (1912): 128-184, at 161-162. Anthony was mistakenly identified as Dominic by Drăguț, *Iconografia picturilor murale* 66, and correctly by Anca Gogăltan, “Patronage and Artistic Production in Transylvania,” 83-86.

⁶⁷⁶ For a description of the frescoes, see Lionnet, “Les peintures murales en Hongrie,” in “Catalogue,” 3-5.

patron of the church, as St Francis received the stigmata during his 40-days fast in honour of St Michael on the Mount la Verna.⁶⁷⁷



Figure 10- St Anthony of Padua and St Francis of Assisi on the southern wall of the Calvinist (former St Michael) church in Almăkerék (Mălâncrav, Romania), second half of the fourteenth century. Photo: IMAREAL

The stigmatization in the top register of the eastern wall of the tower of the “Church on the Hill” in Segesvár executed in 1488 can be linked to the one in Csetnek in the sense that the faithful companion of Francis, Brother Leo is present. An important difference is that unlike the other stigmatization scenes on murals in the churches of medieval Hungary, the rays of light connect the body parts of Francis and the crucified Christ in the form of the Seraph as a mirror. (Fig.11) Although in the early versions of the stigmatization Francis’s body was a mirror, Giotto’s “invention” in the Bardi Chapel (1325) connecting the identical parts of St Francis and

⁶⁷⁷ Crăciun, “Mendicant Piety,” 44-45.

the Seraph became the standard way of the representation of the reception of the wounds.⁶⁷⁸ The stigmatization scene in Segesvár is one of the two “panels”, the other one was identified by Emese Sarkadi Nagy as a “Noli me tangere” representation, and she argued convincingly that the murals were executed by a large workshop, possibly functioning in the town, whose members worked in a style that can be linked to that of circle of the Viennese Schottenmaster.⁶⁷⁹ Sarkadi Nagy attributed the commissions and the supposed settling of the workshop in Segesvár in all probability to the brothers educated in Vienna: mayor Michael Polner and parish priest Marcus Polner.⁶⁸⁰ What is unusual in this representation is that a red book is lying in front of the kneeling Francis holding his arms above his head prepared for the reception of the wounds from a small-size red seraph above him. The stigmatization is witnessed by Brother Leo wearing a hooded Franciscan habit sitting at the base of a rock. The red book in front of Francis is probably the Bible, as it can be read in Bonaventure’s *Legenda maior* that while Francis was staying on Mount La Verna, on divine inspiration he opened the Gospel, from where he understood that he should imitate him not only in the action of his life but also in his martyrdom.⁶⁸¹ The stigmatization situated in a remote countryside with a church and in which the presence Brother Leo as well as of the Bible placed between the two friars allows for a rather complex interpretation of the event. Moreover, the event is flanked by a scene from the life of Christ that further accentuates the likeness between the two.

⁶⁷⁸ Cf. Frugoni, *Francesco e l’invenzione*, 213-214.

⁶⁷⁹ Sarkadi-Nagy, *Local Workshops*, 86-87.

⁶⁸⁰ Sarkadi Nagy, Emese. “Összefüggések néhány segesvári falkép kapcsán” [Connections among some murals in Sigişhoara], in: *Arhitectura religioasă medievală din Transilvania / Középkori egyházi építészet Erdélyben*, ed. Péter Levente Szőcs and Béla Zsolt Szakács (Satu Mare / Szatmár: Editura Muzeului Satmarean, 2012), 339-358.

⁶⁸¹ *Legenda Maior* 11, 2 in *Fontes Franciscani*, 870: “Nec absonum, si vir sanctus Scripturarum a Deo intellectum acceperat, cum per imitationem Christi perfectam veritatem ipsarum descriptam gestaret in opere et per sancti Spiritus unctionem plenariam, doctorem earum apud se haberet in corde.”



Figure 11 – The stigmatization of St Francis and the “Noli me tangere”. Wall painting on the eastern wall of the tower of the “Church on the Hill”, Segesvár (Șișișoara, Romania), 1488. Photo by Attila Mudrák. Source of the image: Sarkadi Nagy, *Local Workshops*, 87.

St Francis was present in the company of other Franciscans, too: whereas in Keszthely the broader saintly company is represented by Ss Anthony of Padua, Clare of Assisi and Louis of Toulouse depicted in different places of the church, in Almakerék the other Franciscan friar is Anthony. In both churches, Anthony is the “closest” companion of Francis as the two saints appear next to each other. Lionnet has pointed to the presence of the Poor Man of Assisi also in different scenes: as a written document attests, the Crucifixion scene depicted on the external wall in the Observant Franciscan Church in Csíksomlyó in 1448, the crucified Christ was surrounded by the Virgin, St John and St Francis.⁶⁸² Chiara Frugoni, who distinguished between

⁶⁸² Karácsonyi, *Szent Ferencz*, vol.2, 12. In artworks made in Venice, to the central figure of the crucified Christ surrounded by Mary and St John, often various saints were added; cf. Szabó, “A ferences lelkeség szerepe,” 797. An early fifteenth-century parallel is Giovanni di Pietro da Napoli’s fresco on canvas depicting the crucified Christ, the Virgin, John the Evangelist and Francis. In the central European region, the representation of the kneeling St Francis embracing the cross on which the crucified Christ hangs can be found in the choir of the church of the Poor

the solitary encounter of St Francis at the foot of the cross outside the spatial and temporal dimensions and his presence as “the saintly mediator between Christ’s Passion and that of all humankind [that] allows the spectator to insert human time within the circle of divine time.”⁶⁸³ Situated again in an atemporal setting, art historian Lajos Kelemen finds St Francis among the 29 praying saints of the Last Judgement scene in Magyarszovát (Suatu, Romania) made in the first half of the fifteenth century. Tekla Szabó identified two figures as St Francis in the St Emeric Church in Gelence (Ghelința, Romania) painted in the second half of the fourteenth century and in Felvinc (Unirea, Romania) made in the first third of the fourteenth century.⁶⁸⁴ In the former church, the saint may be among the witnesses of Christ’s Passion (Fig.12): although his presence was not unusual at various scenes of the Passion, here it is only the figure’s brown habit and the gird that make this hypothesis plausible, but it is far from being conclusive. In Felvinc, Szabó identifies a scene of the murals as Francis’ descent to Purgatory. Irrespective of the certainty of this identification, the a popular belief undoubtedly existed according to which those who die in a Franciscan habit would not spend more than a year in Purgatory since St Francis, empowered by the divine gift of the stigmata, made a visit there every year on the day of his feast and carried off his faithful followers from all the three orders of the Franciscan family. Even though this belief was condemned at the Council of Basel (1435-1445), it continued to be rather widespread.⁶⁸⁵ The story of the saint’s descent to Purgatory was described for the first time in the late fourteenth-century *Considerazioni sulle sacre stigmatte*,⁶⁸⁶ and then was included in other late fifteenth and early sixteenth-century works, like Oddi’s *Franceschina*,⁶⁸⁷ the printed *Speculum vitae* (1504)⁶⁸⁸ and was translated also in the Hungarian vernacular as part of the Virginia Codex.⁶⁸⁹ The increasing number of the lay *confratres* and *consorores* of the (Observant) Franciscans, whose confraternity letters often included the right

Clares in in Dürnstein an der Donau (Austria) as early as the 1330s; see Elga Lanc, *Die mittelalterlichen Wandmalereien in Wien und Niederösterreich*, (Vienna: Verlag, 1983), 74-75.

⁶⁸³ Frugoni, “Female Mystics,” 149.

⁶⁸⁴ Szabó, “A ferences lelkiség szerepe,” 797-799.

⁶⁸⁵ Charles Henry Lea, *A History of Inquisition of the Middle Ages*, vol.1., 293.

⁶⁸⁶ *I fioretti di San Francesco*, ed. B. Bughetti (Rome: Città nuova editrice, 1999), 196.

⁶⁸⁷ Oddi, *La Franceschina*, vol. 2, 183; 401.

⁶⁸⁸ *Speculum vitae*, 97v

⁶⁸⁹ *Virginia-kódex*, 58-62.

to be buried in the habit of the order, must have been connected to the role in salvation attributed to St Francis.⁶⁹⁰



Figure 12 – St Francis of Assisi (?) at Christ's scourging at the pillar in the St Emeric Church, Gelence (Ghelința, Romania), 2nd half of the fourteenth century. Photo: Anna Kónya

The iconography of St Francis in liturgical objects and altarpieces is less varied than those of the murals; he is either represented at the moment of the stigmatization or as a stigmatic in the presence of other saints, such as St Anthony of Padua on the diptych of Andrew III (Fig.1). The earliest extant altarpiece on which St Francis can be found is the Altar of St Anthony of Padua in the St Elizabeth Cathedral in Kassa made around 1440-1450 that survived a fire of 1556.⁶⁹¹ It can be known that the altars and the decoration of the interior of the church reflect the joint

⁶⁹⁰ On the confraternity letters of the Observant Franciscans, see Kertész, *A magyarországi obszerváns ferencesek*; on the analysis of mendicant confraternities in general, see Cevins, *Koldulórendi konfraternitások*.

⁶⁹¹ Radocsay, *A középkori Magyarország táblaképei*, 341; Tüskés, "L'iconographie", 761; Gerát, *Stredoveké*, 172. For a detailed description of the altarpiece of St Anthony of Padua, see Béla Wick, *A kassai Szent Erzsébet dóm* [St Elizabeth's Cathedral in Košice] (Košice: Szent Erzsébet nyomda, 1936), 266-272. Only the paintings on the wings are from the 15th century, the central cabinet depicting St Anthony of Padua was made in the 1860s. On the architectural history of the church, see Marosi, Ernő. "Tanulmányok a kassai Szent Erzsébet templom középkori építéstörténetéhez I" [Studies to the medieval architecture of the St Elizabeth Church in Košice, I.] *Művészettörténeti Értesítő* 18 (1969): 1-45; and idem, "Tanulmányok a kassai Szent Erzsébet templom építéstörténetéhez II. A Szent Erzsébet templom építése 1440-ig [Studies to the architecture of the St Elizabeth Church in Košice, II. The building of the St Elizabeth Church]," *Művészettörténeti Értesítő* 18 (1969): 89-115.

decision of the burghers and the city council. The paintings of the wings show 16 male saints in pairs, the name of each is indicated.⁶⁹² While the martyrs in front of a golden background are depicted on the feast sides, the monks and the founders of the orders over a dark surface can be seen on the weekday sides. Louis is represented together with St Francis of Assisi. (Fig. 13.)



Figure 13 – The upper part of the weekday panels representing Ss Francis and Louis, and Ss Leonard and Procop in the altar of St Anthony of Padua in the St Elizabeth Cathedral in Kassa (Košice, Slovakia, 1440-1450) Photo: Béla Wick

The two saints dressed in Franciscan habit are facing each other (like all the other saint-pairs on the wings). Francis is barefoot, holding a cross in his right and a book in his left hand and his stigmata are visible on his (right!) side and on his bare feet. In the thirteenth century Kassa was inhabited by German-speaking settlers, and later on, due to its economic connections, also Germans from the Spiš region and Silesia settled down here. It became a free royal town in 1347. The cathedral, which had been under construction since the previous church burnt down in 1378, was finished in the 1470s. The burghers as well as Sigismund of Luxembourg and

⁶⁹² The pairs on the inner side are the following: 1-2: Bishop Valentine-Bishop Erasmus; 3-4: Martyr Felix of Nola-Martyr St Auctus; 5-6: Bishop St Blaise-Bishop St Stanislaus; 7-8: St Stephen martyr-St Lawrence martyr. On the backs of the wings: 1-2: St Bernard of Clairveaux-St Benedict of Nursia; 3-4: St Francis of Assisi-St Louis of Toulouse; 5-6: St Giles-St Anthony the hermit; 7-8: St Leonard-St Prokop.

Matthias Corvinus contributed financially to the new construction.⁶⁹³ The Franciscans had been present here from the very late fourteenth century when the Perényi family founded a convent for them and dedicated it to St Nicholas.⁶⁹⁴ They were active as preachers and confessors right from the beginning, and were quite popular as the extant bequests show,⁶⁹⁵ and this can account for their presence in one of the altars of the cathedral. The saints of the other great mendicant order, the Dominicans, who had settled down here well before the Franciscans (as early as the late thirteenth century), in turn, cannot be found either on this altar or on any other surviving altarpieces of the church, which might be ascribed to the fire.

St Francis is the only saint belonging to a mendicant order in the company of Ss Martin, Michael, Thomas Becket, Anthony the Hermit, and two of the *sancti reges* Ss Ladislaus and Emeric on the weekday side of the altar of the *Adoration of the Magi* in the St Martin Church in Szepeshely from the early sixteenth century; a selection that seems to be an unusual one since in general the weekday panels are stations of the Passion or scenes from the life of Mary.⁶⁹⁶ (Fig. 14) In the *Adoration of the Magi* altarpiece, one finds the stigmatized St Francis with the usual two attributes, the book and the cross, with the small but not negligible difference that instead of a simple cross, he is holding a Crucifix in his left hand. Not only the wounds on the saint's hands and feet but also on his side are visible, associating him more strongly with the crucified Christ holding in his hand. The representation of the side wound was the invention of artists that had no written basis but in Davidson's view, with this they "would eventually make Christ the only possible parable for Francis."⁶⁹⁷ The saint's representation in Szepeshely can be related to the one in Kassa since the side wound of the saint is clearly visible on both altarpieces, although in the former it is on the right whereas in the latter it is on the left side.

⁶⁹³ The most recent work on the church is Tim Juckes, *The Parish and the Pilgrimage Church of St Elizabeth in Košice: Town, Court, and Architecture in late Medieval Hungary* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011).

⁶⁹⁴ Romhányi, *Kolostorok*, 35.

⁶⁹⁵ Karácsonyi, *Szent Ferencz*, vol. 1., 122-126. The Franciscans had been often asked by the laity to preach and to hear confession in the cathedral already before their church was built in Kassa, which they did – frequently without the permission of the parish priest, who decided to turn to the Holy See in this matter for justice; see *Monumenta Vaticana*, vol.4, 423-424. For the medieval history of the Franciscans in Kassa, see Adorján Szabó, *A kassai ferencesek a régmúlt századokban* [The Franciscans of Kassa in the past centuries], (Kassa: Athenaeum Nyomda, 1940), 3-11.

⁶⁹⁶ Gábor Méry and Marcell Jankovics, *St. Martin's Cathedral, Spišská Kapitula*, trans. Orsolya Frank, ([Šamorín]: Méry Ratio, 2013), 56.

⁶⁹⁷ Davidson, "The Miracles of Bodily Transformation," 109.



Figure 14 – *Altar of the Adoration of the Magi*, weekday side. Szepeshely (Spišská Kapitula, Slovakia), 1478. Source: Méry and Jankovics, *St. Martin's Cathedral*

A hanging wooden board representing St Francis at the moment of the stigmatization, St Christopher carrying the Infant Christ on his shoulders, and St Catherine of Siena with the stigmata in the famous Ruthenian wooden church dedicated to St Francis Church in Hervartó (Hervatov, Slovakia) was made between 1460-1470.⁶⁹⁸ (Fig.15)

⁶⁹⁸ Hervartó (Hervatov, Slovakia), founded in the mid-fourteenth century, was populated by Saxon settlers. For time, the village belonged to Bártfa (Bardejov) but among its owners, one finds the Perényi and the Szapolyai families, too. The style hanging wooden panel representing Ss Francis, Christopher, and Catherine can be related to the image of the Virgin Mary preserved originally in the St Giles parish church in Bártfa; Jana Bozová and



Figure 15 – St Christopher with the Infant Christ in the company of the stigmatized St Francis of Assisi and Catherine of Siena. Hanging wooden board. Church of St Francis, Hervartó (Hervartov, Slovakia), 1460-1470

It is unique not only because Francis is represented together with a female saint who was a lay penitent under the care of the Order of Preachers, but also because it shows how the stigmatization of St Francis occurred, whereas in the case of St Catherine only the five wounds can be seen (although very clearly!), suggesting that their origin is uncertain. One of the points of interest of this image is that Catherine is not depicted as a *mantellata* but as a Dominican nun.⁶⁹⁹ The size of the crucified Christ in the form of a Seraph is small, giving the impression

Frantisek Gutek, *Drevené kostolíky v okolí Bardejova / Wooden churches in the vicinity of Bardejov / Holzkirchen in der bartfelder Umgebung* (Bardejov: Vyd.1., 1997), 156–170.

⁶⁹⁹ I thank Viktória Hedvig Deák for calling my attention to this intriguing detail. Such a representation of Catherine, however, was not without precedent: similar portrayals can be found in the codices containing her short legend written in the French vernacular made for courtly use in the second half of the fifteenth century (Paris, MS

that it is not the event of the stigmatization what matters but that the wounds of Francis are undoubtedly of divine origin.

On the feastside of the high altar of the Holy Ghost Church in Csíkszentlélek (Lelicieni, Romania) the stigmatization of St Francis is in a privileged position, on the top of the left wing.⁷⁰⁰ It is one of the rare instances when not the *imago* of the saint but the whole event of the stigmatization is to engage the attention of the gazers. Csíkszentlélek is less than 10 km distance from Csíksomlyó, where the Observant Franciscans had been present since the 1440s and had considerable impact on the religious and cultural milieu of region (and it is worth recalling that on the high altar of the Ss Peter and Paul Church in Csíksomlyó St Francis was depicted with the stigmata). The high altar was made in 1510 at the request of the Czako brothers. In the central panel, the Virgin Mary is sitting in the center surrounded by the disciples of Christ, and the Holy Ghost emanates from Heaven above all of them but it reaches directly only her. The relation between the stigmatization scene and the central panel is apparent, and I believe that in this way, St Francis is elevated in the rank immediately below the Virgin. His distinguished place among the saints can be seen also from the fact that while three saints are depicted together on each of the panels as a group, on the stigmatization scene, situated in the wilderness, this trio is made up of the crucified Christ, St Francis, and Brother Leo (whose face is covered with his robe). The five wounds are impressed in the body of Francis kneeling on one knee by a small-size crucified Christ in the form of a Seraph.

fr. 9761; Paris, MS fr. 1048); cf. Jeffrey F. Hamburger and Gabriela Signori, "The Making of a Saint Catherine of Siena, Tommaso Caffarini, and the Others. Introduction," in: *Catherine of Siena. The Creation of a Cult*, 8-10.

⁷⁰⁰ Sarkadi Nagy, *Local Workshops*, 139-141.



Figure 16- The stigmatization of St Francis on the feastday side of the Church of the Holy Ghost in Csíkszentlélek (Leliceni, Romania), 1510. Photo: Hungarian National Gallery

St Anthony and St Francis can be seen on the work-day side on the altarpiece of the Saxon village of Brulya (Bruuiu, Romania) made in 1520.⁷⁰¹ (Fig.17) Each of the eight images of the two wings represents a pair of saints standing in front of golden or red carpets. The two Franciscans are the second from the left on the top row, they are wearing the Franciscan habit, barefoot, and their heads are surrounded by a halo. Anthony stands on the left side holding a fish, and the stigmatized Francis holding a crucifix in his hand on the right side but here the side is not visible.

⁷⁰¹ The altarpiece is kept today in the parish church of Nagydisznód (Heltau, Romania); Radocsay, *A középkori Magyarország táblaképei*, 186, 283; Sarkadi Nagy, *Local Workshops – Foreign Connections*, 154-155.



Figure 17 – Work-day side of the altarpiece from the St Nicholas church of Brulya (Bruiu, Romania) today in the parish church Nagydisznód (Cisnădie, Romania), 1520. Photo: Attila Mudrák in Sarkadi Nagy, *Local workshops– Foreign Connections*

The saint's accentuated devotion to the Passion of Christ and his prayers in front of the Crucifix turn up in the sermons of Pelbartus and Osvaldus as well as in the Jókai and the Virginia codices. Christ speaks to the Poor Man of Assisi on various occasions: hanging from the cross in the church of San Damiano and urging him to go and restore his House, or narrating in detail how he was tortured before being killed on the cross, or in the form of a Seraph during the impression of the stigmata. In short, the *Christiconformitas* of St Francis was strongly present in visual arts and in the sermon and devotional literature produced in Hungary from the second half of the fifteenth century onwards. The complete lack of written and the scarcity of visual evidence from an earlier period does not allow for a more specific estimation when Francis's conformity to the Saviour started to spread in the country.

Images of St Francis in codices

The cycle of St Francis in the Hungarian Angevin Legendary

The legend and the *imago* of St Francis survive in two luxury books related to the Hungarian royal court. One of the longest image cycles of the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* made by a Bolognese workshop in the 1330s, the cycle of St Francis consists of sixteen images.⁷⁰² The cycle based on Bonaventure's *Legenda maior* and on the saints' legend of James of Varazze's *Legenda aurea* was discussed recently Béla Zsolt Szakács, who has called the attention to some rarely represented scenes, such as Francis's embracing and serving the lepers, the appearance of Christ during his prayer, and his self-mortification. Szakács pointed out the visual analogy between Francis with Louis of Toulouse (scene 1: embracing the leper who is, in reality, Christ as the cross-shaped nimbus in his hand suggests), and with St Dominic (scene 3: he gives alms to the poor) in the same legendary. (Fig. 18)

Szakács observed that some important scenes from Francis's legend are absent, such as the confirmation of the rule or the visit of Pope Innocent III, and the saint cannot be seen in the act of preaching except the preaching to the birds, but this has a different meaning.⁷⁰³ In my understanding, the saint's similarity to Christ is unmistakable in the scene depicting Francis's being beaten by his father (scene 4).

⁷⁰² 1) Meeting the leper 2) The crucified Christ appears to him 3) Pilgrimage to Rome 4) His father is beating him 5) His father deliberates him 6) Meeting the bishop 7) Attacked by robbers 8) Washing the lepers' feet 9) Self-flagellation and jumping into snow 10) Devils attacking Leo's house 11) Stigmatization 12) Healing a woman in Castilia 13) Preaching to the birds 14) Death of Francis 15) Raising of the woman of Monte Merano 16) Liberating from prison.

⁷⁰³ Szakács, "St Francis of Assisi," 62. On the legend of St Francis, see also Szakács, *The Visual World*, 136-151.



Figure 18 – Paris, Louvre, MS RF 29940, *Hungarian Angevin Legendary*, 1330s. The legend of St Francis of Assisi, scenes 1-4.

That he was true follower of Christ is evident from the scene in which he is washing the feet of the lepers (scene 8), and can be understood even more from the four scenes on which he is naked (scenes 4-7). (Fig. 19) The life of St Francis had been the accomplishment of the idea of apostolic poverty, and despite the shifts of emphasis in the Franciscan hagiographic traditions, this feature remained unaltered in Hungary as the Virginia Codex written more than one and a half centuries later attests: “... he disinherited himself from this world, and followed naked, the naked and poor Christ, to poverty”.⁷⁰⁴

⁷⁰⁴ *Virginia-kódex*, 27: “ez vilagi iozagbol magat mind ki tagad, es az mezitelen zegeny cristust mezitelen es zegensegben kwuete.”



Figure 19 – Saint Petersburg, Hermitage, nr. 16932, *Hungarian Angevin Legendary*, 1330s.
The legend of St Francis of Assisi, scenes 5-8.

In addition to the somewhat less obvious first image, the saint is depicted together with Christ on two further scenes. The crucified Christ appears to Francis as he is praying in solitude, an episode which is based on Bonaventure's *Legenda maior* (scene 2); Szakács notes that Christ's wounds are bleeding as if he were a human being not a painting or a sculpture.⁷⁰⁵ The living Christ on the cross can be found at the stigmatization of Francis, in the appearance of the Seraph (scene 11). (Fig. 20) The event takes place in the wilderness, the saint is kneeling on one knee in front of a rectangular object (probably an altar), and there are no witnesses, just like in Giotto's works in the Louvre and the Bardi chapel.⁷⁰⁶ The rays connect the identical parts of the crucified Christ and St Francis, whose side wound is unusually blatant.

⁷⁰⁵ Szakács, "St Francis of Assisi," 53.

⁷⁰⁶ Szakács, "St Francis of Assisi," 59.

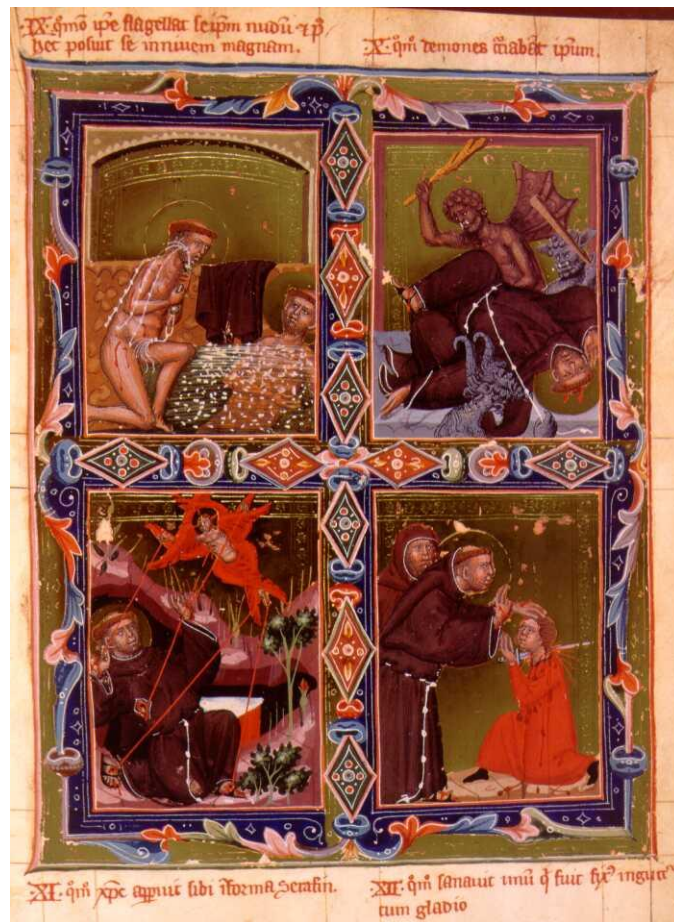


Figure 20 – Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 8541, fol. 91, *Hungarian Angevin Legendary*, 1330s. The legend of St Francis of Assisi, scenes 9-12.

A special feature of Francis's preaching to the birds (scene 13) in the legendary is that in addition to various types of birds also beasts (perhaps a lion and wolf-like animal) are present.⁷⁰⁷ This has little to do with the representation of the Poverello as a preacher; it shows rather that he had power over the rational and the irrational creatures alike, just as we could see in the case wall painting in Csetnek made almost a century later. (Fig. 8)

⁷⁰⁷ Szakács, "St Francis of Assisi," 57.



Figure 21 – New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, MS 1994.516, *Hungarian Angevin Legendary*, 1330s. The legend of St Francis of Assisi, scenes 12-16.

The Stigmatization of St Francis in the Franciscan missal of Matthias Corvinus

The liturgical book was commissioned by Matthias Corvinus for a Franciscan friar, Thomas de Hungaria.⁷⁰⁸ Its text was copied in 1469 by a scribe named Georgius from the Cathedral of Vienna. The donor decreed that after his death, Thomas should bequeath the missal to his convent, this is how it came to the possession of the Viennese Franciscans. The stylistic and the iconographic analysis of the codex made for a high ranking humanist was done by Tünde Wehli, who agreed with the opinion of Gyöngyi Török that the initials and the images of the missal can be attributed to the so-called *Lehrbüchermeister* in Vienna. The iconographic system

⁷⁰⁸ See footnote 156.

and the themes of the images do not really fit in the structure of the missal. In addition to the seven IHS monograms,⁷⁰⁹ it contains three images that fill the entire page: St Francis's stigmatization, the Lady dressed in the Sun, and the *Vir dolorum*. All this suggest that Brother Thomas was probably an Observant Franciscan. In Wehli's opinion he could have been responsible in the drawing up of the missal's iconographic program.⁷¹⁰ The way how the various iconographic themes can be associated with the Franciscans and be related to the contemporary events in history have been discussed by Wehli, here I will treat only the stigmatization (Fig. 22).



Figure 22- Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Rossiana, Cod. Lat. 1164, fol. 124v (1469). Source: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana

⁷⁰⁹ Vatican Library, MS Ross. 1164, the IHS trigrams are on fol.1r, 13v, 216v, 223r, 246r, 258v, 262r.

⁷¹⁰ Wehli, "Mátyás király," 871.

The stigmatization scene was an essential component in all the legend cycles of Francis since, as Wehli argues, this was a composition capable of taking the role of the *imago* and to encompass all his *vita* at the same time, inviting its reader to meditate upon it.⁷¹¹ The composition of the image follows by and large the tradition (landscape, remote settlement, half-kneeling position of St Francis, crucified Christ appears in the form of the Seraph) but there are some unusual details. The second pair of wings of the Seraph is green, clear water comes out from a spring, the rays of light connecting the two bodies are loose as if they were strings rather than rays, the wounds are in “mirror-position”. I believe that the green pair of wings and even more the spring indicate that with the reception of the stigmata, Francis gained a new quality.

Miscellaneous visual sources

Permission of Indulgence given to Sopron (1488)

The image of St Francis can be found on documents made for public display, such as the lavishly executed permission of indulgence from Rome made for Franciscans in Sopron issued on 14th June 1488.⁷¹² Decorated permissions of indulgence were hung out at the church it was granted to. The quality of their decoration vary according to the support of the landlord or the benefactor of the place: in some cases, only the initials are decorated, while in others, also the patron saints are depicted. Rodericus, Cardinal of Porto, together with 15 cardinals granted indulgence for 100 days for those who would visit the Franciscan Church of the Virgin Mary in Sopron on the feast of Corpus Christi and on four consecutive Thursdays and provide financial support for the construction of the church.⁷¹³ In the medallion in the middle of the top border, the saint is depicted in front of a rural background, holding a cross in his right and a book in his left hand. The wounds on the hands are well-visible. On the right top corner the coat of arms of Innocent VIII, on the left one the coat of arms of the Cardinal is depicted. The same decoration but in a more elegant form can be found on two supplications of Orbán Nagylucsei (known

⁷¹¹ Wehli, “Mátyás király,” 870.

⁷¹² MOL DL DF 283856. The permission is unpublished and today preserved in the Benedictine Archive in Pannonhalma, Capsarium 1133. The size is 490x890mm.

⁷¹³ Karácsonyi, *Szent Ferencz*, vol.1, 255.

also as Orbán Dóczy), treasurer (1478-1490), bishop of Győr (1481-1486) and bishop of Eger (1486-1490).⁷¹⁴ (Fig.23)

But what can be the connection between Orbán Nagylucsei and this permission of indulgence? As bishop of Győr, he made some interests in Sopron:⁷¹⁵ among others, he received a house (Templom Street 4) in Sopron as royal donation (that he later donated to Bálint Alföldy)⁷¹⁶ that was opposite to the Franciscan church and convent. The supplication for a permission of indulgence for the Franciscans in Sopron could have been submitted by Nagylucsei to the papal Curia earlier than 1488, while he was bishop of Győr. The approval and the issue of a decorated permission could have required more than a year. Being also a treasurer, Nagylucsei remained in contact with Sopron and the local Franciscans even as bishop of Eger; moreover, he became administrator of the newly founded bishopric in Vienna occupied by Matthias Corvinus. The lavishly decorated document indicates that the patron of the supplication of the permission of indulgence was Nagylucsei (at that time bishop of Győr) rather than the town council.⁷¹⁷ According to Dénes Radocsay, the miniatures of the supplication were made in Rome,⁷¹⁸ so the image of St Francis can be connected to Hungary only in the sense that all those believers who attended the Franciscan church in the town, or pilgrims who visited it in order to gain indulgence had the chance to see it, even if only they studied closely the document since the medalion is smaller than palm –size.

⁷¹⁴ See the catalogue entry of Gáspár J. Csóka and Árpád Mikó in *Pannonia Regia*, 468.

⁷¹⁵ Katalin Szende, “Egy győri úr Sopronban: Alföldy Bálint királyi harmincados” [A gentleman from Győr in Sopron: Bálint Alföldy, royal customs officer] *Fons (Forráskutatás és Történeti Segéd tudományok)* IX. (2002) (Tanulmányok a 60 éves Gecsényi Lajos tiszteletére): 29–59.

⁷¹⁶ Szende, “Egy győri úr Sopronban,” 37–38.

⁷¹⁷ I am grateful to Katalin Szende for this suggestion.

⁷¹⁸ Dénes Radocsay, “Illuminierte Renaissance-Urkunden,” *Acta Historiae Artium* 13 (1967): 213–226, at 215.

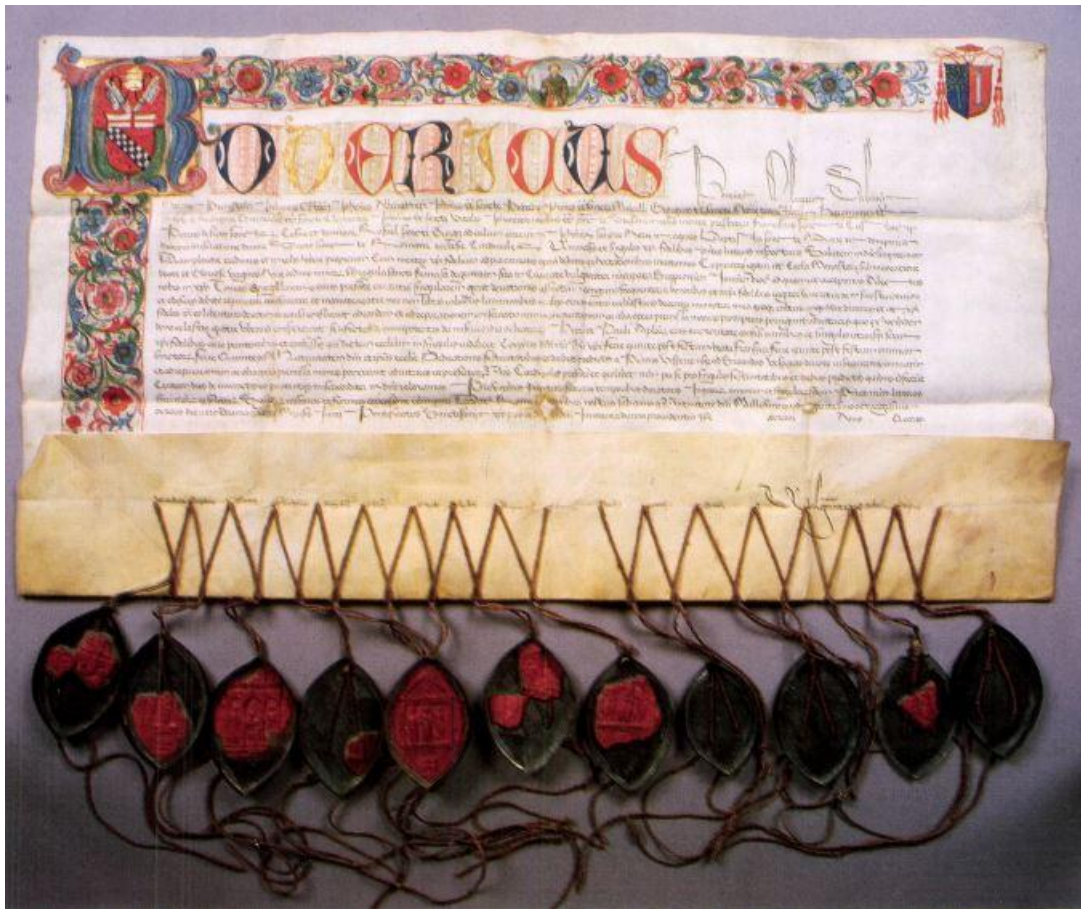


Figure 23— Indulgence to the Franciscans of Sopron, 1488. Benedictine Archive in Pannonhalma, Capsarium 1133. Source: *Művészet a Dunántúlon*, ed. Árpád Mikó

Franciscan saints on the Matthias chasuble

There is one more object representing St Francis of Assisi that can be connected to King Matthias, the so-called Matthias chasuble.⁷¹⁹ It got its name since the texture and the ornamental elements show a close relationship with the throne hangings of the king.⁷²⁰ The lavishly executed liturgical vestment represents the Madonna Enthroned flanked by the half-length figures of Ss Francis of Assisi and Louis of Toulouse. (Fig.24) On the vertical shaft of the cross

⁷¹⁹ Jolán Balogh, *A művészet Mátyás király udvarában* [Art in the court of King Matthias]. 2 vols. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1966, vol. 2, no. 635.

⁷²⁰ The carpet hangings were designed by Antonio del Pollaiuolo and produced in Florence in the mid-fifteenth century.

the figures of Ss Catherine, Dorothy, and Anne, the Virgin and the Child are embroidered.⁷²¹ The chasuble was made in Hungary in the 1480s⁷²² or the 1490s.⁷²³ It is not known for which bishop or priest (or parish) but must have been related to the Franciscans. Chasubles were imbued with symbolism as a sacrificial vestment and an object that –due to its visibility to all the participants of the mass- could transmit message which in this case was the association of the Franciscans with the dogma of the Immaculate Conception. A number of sources reveal different dimensions of King Matthias's relation with the Observant Franciscans, while little is known about his relation to the Conventuals.⁷²⁴ Although none of the two Franciscan saints on the chasuble is from the Observant family, the two can be linked in the sense that the Observant Franciscans were the chief propagators of the Immaculate Conception.

⁷²¹ The feast of the Immaculate Conception, which had been confirmed at the Council of Basel in 1439, was promoted by the former Franciscan Pope Sixtus IV who in 1476 issued the apostolic constitution *Cum Praeexcelsa* providing a mass and an office for the feast. The pope placed the bull decreeing the feast of the Immaculate Conception on the tomb of St Francis in Assisi after its promulgation. For the issue of the Immaculate Conception in Hungary, see Ince Dám, *A Szeplőtelen Fogantatás védelme Magyarországon a Hunyadiak és a Jagellók korában* [The defence of the Immaculate Conception in Hungary in the Age of the Hunyadi and the Jagello] (Rome: As Graf., 1955), esp. 15-22; Kapisztrán Varga, "A Szeplőtelen Fogantatás kérdése a 15-16. századi magyar ferencesség körében" [The question of the Immaculate Conception among the Hungarian Franciscans in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries], in: *A Szeplőtelen Fogantatás dogmája* (Budapest: Vigilia, 2007), 45-60; Emőke Nagy, "Had She Born Ten Daughters, She would have Named them All Mary Because of the Kindness of the First Mary," 273-283 in *Promoting the Saints*; eadem, "Szent Anna legendája Temesvári Pelbárt és Laskai Osvát sermóiban" [The legend of St Anne in the sermons of Pelbárt of Temesvár and Oswald of Laskó], *Aetas* 29 (2014): 141-151. There was a public dispute in the court of Matthias between a Pauline and a Dominican friar about this issue at some time between 1476 and 1483. According to Dám, the fact the surviving missals of the king report sermons for this feast shows that the sovereign was the advocate of this dogma.

⁷²² Christian Museum of Esztergom, inv. no. 55.68-55.70; Leopold Antal, *Az esztergomi főszékesegyház kincstár katalógusa* [The Catalogue of the Treasury of the Cathedral of Esztergom] (Budapest: Szent István Társulat, 1942), 67-68, no. 218; Jolán Balogh, *A művészet Mátyás király udvarában* [Art in the court of King Matthias] (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1966), vol. 2, no. 635.

⁷²³ Pál Cséfalvy, *Esztergom: The Cathedral, the Treasury and the Castle Museum* (Budapest: Helikon, 2002), 59.

⁷²⁴ Imre Kapisztrán Varga O.F.M., "King Matthias and the Observant Franciscans," in *Matthias, the King*, 401-404.



Figure 24 - The “Matthias chasuble”. 1480-1490. Image: Jolán Balogh, *A művészet Mátyás király udvarában*

III.2.6 Concluding remarks

We have seen earlier in this subchapter that around the turn of the fourteenth and fifteenth century the latest, there was a demand for a *Franziskusbuch* in the Hungarian vernacular. The Jókai Codex was made to satisfy this need, although the circumstances of its origin and target audience are not clear, and nor the milieu from where its Latin sources come, neither internal evidence provide any secure reference to this. The only certainty is that it was destined to a community that was not educated in Latin but was supposed to be interested in everything about Francis. An obligatory component of such work was his stigmatization, and the Jókai Codex indeed reports the brief account of the *Actus*, as well as other episodes related to the saint's stigmata. There is no doubt in the codex about the authenticity of the wounds of Francis, and it is the stigmatization itself and its physical effect on the rest of his life rather than the circumstances of this event that stand in the foreground. The two early sixteenth-century

Hungarian accounts on the stigmatization in the Virginia and Lázár Zelma codices, however, were translated from a not identified but a presumably contemporary *Vita sociorum sancti Francisci*, which provides an expanded and rather affective presentation of the event. The two different translations may imply that this account was considered to be a suitable piece of reading for a female audience, Clarissan and Dominican alike. The stigmatization of Francis has gained considerable spiritual charge in the course of time, yet it preserved its basis, the saint's *Christiconformitas*. The structure and the style made the stigmatization narrative befitting to stand on its own among other prayers.

If one considers the milieu the visual representations of the founder of the Order of Minor Brothers are associated with, it might be surprising at first how varied they are. As Marie Lionnet has already pointed out, the reason why such images were present in Franciscan churches, as in Keszthely and Csíksomlyó, is evident. The connection between the Franciscans and the landlords of Bántornya and Almakerék, the Bánfi from Alsólendva and the Apafi, respectively, is also documented. In other places, like in Csetnek and Gömörrákos, even though not supported by written evidence, scholars hypothesized a link between the order and the local patron (or at least a strong influence of the Franciscan spirituality in the region) in order to explain the conspicuous presence of St Francis in these churches.⁷²⁵ Milan Togner attributed Francis's image in Gömörrákos to the closeness of the Franciscans in Kövi (Kameňany, Slovakia).⁷²⁶ The position of the murals in which St Francis is represented at the moment of the reception of the stigmata is varied, indicating that even though there was not a fixed location for the saint's stigmatization in the churches, there was a preference for positioning these images on the left side of a window, presumably because the incoming rays of light can be combined with the rays of light connecting the crucified Christ with the saint.

The wall painting in the "Church on the Hill" in Segesvár representing the stigmatization is remarkable since three mendicant orders in the town were represented by the Preacher Friars. As to the saint's presence in altarpieces, on the altar of St Anthony in the St Elizabeth Church in Kassa needs no further explanation because the Franciscans had been present in the town since

⁷²⁵ Lionnet, *Les peintures murales*, 372-373.

⁷²⁶ Milan Togner, *Stredoveká nástenná mal'ba v Gemeri* [Medieval wall paintings in Gemer] (Bratislava: Tatran, 1989), 51.

1390, and also Csíkszentlélek is quite close to Csíksomlyó where an Observant Franciscan convent functioned. More intriguing are the cases of Szepeshely, Brulya, and Gelence where the nearest Franciscan community was more than 60 kilometres away and the link between the commissioner and/or the community is far from being evident. The receiver of the missal commissioned by Matthias Corvinus was a high-ranking Franciscan, who in all probability belonged to the Observant branch. The permission of indulgence for the Conventual Franciscan community of Sopron was requested probably by Orbán Nagylucsei who must have been in connection with them. Despite -in the majority of the cases- the clear motivation of the *imago* of or (a) scene(s) from St Francis's life, his strong presence in the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* cannot be attributed to the person of the donor or the recipient. Except for the artworks made for private use (the diptych of Andrew III, the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary*, the Franciscan missal of Matthias Corvinus) the images were all accessible to a lay audience that could experience the saint's uniqueness in terms of bodily and spiritual conformity to Christ both through seeing and hearing. St Francis "stepped out" from his life and became a participant in biblical scenes (the Passion and death of Christ) or in the Last Judgement. In addition to the stigmata, the book (that is, the Bible) and the cross/Crucifix were his usual attributes in Hungary. The side wound evident in the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* and on the Kassa and Szepeshely altarpieces underline the corporeal nature of Francis's stigmatization, and at the same time, it recalls Christ's suffering. The surviving images representing the stigmatization show that it was a real bodily and spiritual transformation and was not caused by "*vehemens imaginatio*". In the written and visual sources alike, the authentication of the event is crucial. Of the seven churches in which the stigmatization could be seen either on the wall or in the altars, Brother Leo was present on at least three of them (in Rákos, it cannot be known as this part of the mural is badly damaged). His presence in visual arts, even though he was not an ocular witness or was not able to fully comprehend the spiritual and physical transformation of Francis, was no less important than in the references to trustworthy testimonies in the written sources.

III.3. Franciscans from Hungary in the *Catalogi Sanctorum*

Many holy figures from Hungary, despite their *fama sanctitatis*, were never canonized.⁷²⁷ Here I will concentrate on one group of such saintly people and offer a survey of Franciscans, today little-known, who were related to Hungary either because of their origin or as a result of their activity here and were venerated as saints locally or universally. I present the evolution of Franciscan catalogues of saints from the fourteenth to the early sixteenth century that report accounts of different length about friars who had a local cult or suffered martyrdom on missions, paying special attention to the *Memorialia*, the earliest catalogue of saints and the first printed one in the *Speculum vitae beati Francisci et sociorum eius* (1504). Finally, I present the exemplary case of Stephanus of Hungary, allegedly martyred in the capital of the Mongolian Empire, whose memory was also perpetuated through vernacular hagiographic collections, sermons, and images.

III.3.1 Overview of the evolution of the hagiographic-historiographic tradition in the Order of Minor Brothers in the thirteenth century

The production of hagiographic and historical catalogues of saints started relatively early in the Franciscan Order.⁷²⁸ The earliest extant example is the *Dialogus de gestis sanctorum fratrum minorum* (ca.1245) by the Franciscan theologian Tommaso da Pavia, commissioned by Minister General Crescenzo da Iesi, who also decreed the collection of the miraculous deeds of Francis in order to produce new hagiographic material at the General Chapter of Genoa in 1244.⁷²⁹ Collecting hagiographic material about saintly Franciscans in the different provinces was not an isolated case, as can be seen in the General Chapter of Padova in 1276, when General Vicar Bonagrazia Tielci, at the request of Minister General Jerome of Ascoli (who became later Pope

⁷²⁷ This part of the dissertation was published in a more extended version as “Holy Friars in Hungary and Beyond in Franciscan Literature,” *Annual of Medieval Studies at CEU* 22 (2016): 121-144. An overview on these figures was compiled by the eminent Piarist scholar György Balanyi, “Magyar szentek, szentéletű magyarok” [Hungarian saints and saintly Hungarians], *Katholikus Szemle* 15 (1963, Rome): 100-122.

⁷²⁸ For an overview of the historiographic traditions in the mendicant orders, see Bert Roest, “Later Medieval Institutional History,” in *Historiography in the Middle Ages*, ed. Deborah Mauskopf Deliyannis (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 277-315.

⁷²⁹ Thomas de Papia, *Dialogus de gestis sanctorum fratrum minorum*, ed. Ferdinand M. Delorme (Ad Claras Aquas [Quaracchi]: St. Bonaventure College, 1923); Paciocco, *Da Francesco ai “Catalogi sanctorum,”* 83-84.

Nicholas IV) asked the minister provincials to gather noteworthy records on Francis and other saintly friars in the Franciscan provinces. The request of 1276 has a twofold importance: first, it shows a growing attentiveness toward preserving the memories of holy friars as well as a renewed interest in the testimonies of witnesses to Francis and the early days of the brotherhood, especially on the part of the *zelanti*, for whom Francis' *Testament* and the writings of the deeds and words of his early companions were the most cherished documents. The most important collections of the later thirteenth century, based essentially on these testimonies, as we have seen earlier in this chapter, were the *Compilatio Assisiensis* the so-called *Legenda vetus*, the *Verba fratri Conradi*, and the *Verba sancti Francisci*. These works had a considerable impact on numerous compilations of the first half of the fourteenth century, most notably the *Speculum perfectionis*, the *Actus beati Francisci*, and its Italian vernacular version, the *Fioretti* and the *Compilatio Avenionensis*. These texts not only provide an image of the founder living in utmost poverty and austerity but also recount numerous episodes about some of his companions of the first generation who were regarded by many as the embodiments of his original intentions.

Along with these works of more hagiographic than historical character, histories of the order and chronicles dedicated to individual provinces appeared from the second half of the thirteenth century onwards. The earliest surviving "provincial chronicle," the *Tractatus de adventu fratrum minorum in Angliam* (ca. 1258) by Thomas Eccleston, was the result of more than two decades of accumulating material about the early history of the Franciscans in England.⁷³⁰ Giordano da Giano recorded the origins of the Minor Brothers in the German lands in his *Chronica* (ca. 1262).⁷³¹ Compared to the provincial chronicles, the production of the general histories of the order were belated and some of these works have not survived. More concise works have survived, like the *Catalogus generalium ministrorum* (1304-18, with later additions) attributed to Bernardo da Bessa⁷³² and the *Chronicon abbreviatum de successione*

⁷³⁰ *Tractatus Fratris Thomae volgo dicti de Eccleston, de adventu fratrum minorum in Angliam*, ed. Andrew G. Little (Paris: Librairie Fischbacher, 1909).

⁷³¹ *Chronica fratris Jordani*, ed. Heinrich Boehmer (Paris: Librairie Fischbacher, 1908).

⁷³² Edited as *Chronicon XIV vel XV Generalium Ministrorum, Analecta Franciscana* 3 (Ad Claras Aquas [Quaracchi]: St Bonaventure College, 1897), 695 et seq.

generalium ministrorum (ca.1304) by Peregrino da Bologna.⁷³³ The most comprehensive work made up of historical narratives, hagiographical writings and various official documents was the *Chronica XXIV Generalium* (ca.1369) attributed to Arnaud de Sarrant, which I will return to below.⁷³⁴

III.3.2 From the *Memorialia* to the catalogue of saints

The most exhaustive treatment of the transition from the solidification of the saintly image of Francis of Assisi to the development of “minor sanctity” (*santità minore*) was offered by Roberto Paciocco. Briefly, his work concerns mainly the *catalogi sanctorum* and the major fourteenth-century works that included similar lists, such as the *Chronica XXIV Generalium* and Bartolomeo da Pisa’s *De conformitate*.⁷³⁵ These sources provide a geographical view of the Franciscan *loci* of the period. In addition to the famous saints of the order (Francis, Clare, Louis of Toulouse and later the Observant Bernardino of Siena and John of Capistran⁷³⁶) a large number of “minor” Franciscan saints are mentioned who had specific twofold roles in the monasteries where they were buried. They were meant to offer the friars living in the same convent an example of sanctity close both in space and time; this local or “domestic” sainthood, even in cases when the fame of these friars did not spread outside the convent where they were buried, reflected the way of life and typical activities of the famous saints of the order and in this way solidified the hagiographic identity of the Franciscans. Thus, the “minor” or “local” saints were of utmost importance not only on the local level but also in the whole order.⁷³⁷ Two things should be noted here: 1) these works were composed by friars for internal use in the Franciscan community in order to preserve the memory of all the “saints” who belonged to their order; only sporadically did the fame of those included in the *catalogi* reach a wider public; 2) only a slight distinction is made between officially canonized saints and friars who were regarded as saints on a regional or local level. The *catalogi sanctorum*, in which the material

⁷³³ Edited in *Tractatus*, ed. A. G. Little, 141-145. For the chronicles that have not survived see Roest, “Later Medieval Institutional History,” 298.

⁷³⁴ *Chronica XXIV Generalium Ordinis Minorum*, *Analecta Franciscana* 3 (Ad Claras Aquas [Quaracchi]: The College of St Bonaventure, 1897).

⁷³⁵ Paciocco, *Da Francesco ai “Catalogi Sanctorum,”* 91-107.

⁷³⁶ Even though John of Capistrano was beatified in 1650 and canonized in 1690, his *vitae* were produced soon after his death in both Latin and vernacular.

⁷³⁷ Paciocco, *Da Francesco ai “Catalogi Sanctorum,”* 23.

was organised in a compendious and inventory form, appeared in the third decade of the fourteenth century. The usual form of an entry consists of the name of the saint and the place where he was buried; in some cases some additional biographic information and miracles that occurred at his tomb are mentioned.

The earliest surviving Franciscan catalogue of the friars who were regarded as saints that also reports the names of two dozen brothers who suffered martyrdom is the text preserved in the appendix to the martyrology of Usuard in MS Vat. Lat. 5417, published for the first time with the title *Memorabilia de sanctis fratribus minoribus*.⁷³⁸ The text was written down on different dates from 1317 to 1320 and 1331 to 1332 or 1334 to 1335, probably by Brother Elemosina, an Umbrian Franciscan in the convent of Gualdo Tadino.⁷³⁹ The *terminus post quem* of the last redactional phase is established on the last but one entry of the appendix about a certain *Stefanus de Ungaria*, who was martyred in 1334 in Saray.⁷⁴⁰ The text begins on fol. 125r: “*Memorialia de sanctis fratribus minoribus qui et sanctitate et miraculis claruerunt. Ysta sunt nomina sanctorum fratrum minorum per quos Deus miracula demonstravit.*”⁷⁴¹ This list is a point of departure in the commemorative tradition in the Franciscan Order, organized according

⁷³⁸ The text was edited by Michele Faloci Pulignani, O.F.M., “*Memorabilia de sanctis fratribus minoribus*,” *Miscellanea Franciscana* 15 (1914): 65-69. I will refer to the work as *Memorialia* since that is the correct reading provided by Isabelle Heullant-Donat, see footnote 739. Martyrologies were read during the *prima* to announce the liturgical feast of the next day, which was followed by the reading the list of a certain number of saints and martyrs remembered by the universal church on the same day, with brief records on the time, place, day and circumstances of death, and the merits of each martyr or saint. The Franciscans used the martyrology of Usuard, to which they added their own saints; cf. Francesco Costa, “La liturgia francescana,” in *Francesco d’Assisi: Documenti e archivi, codici e biblioteche, miniature*, ed. Carlo Pirovano (Milan: Electa, 1982), 298-303, esp. 300.

⁷³⁹ The *Memorialia* was re-examined recently by Isabelle Heullant-Donat, who, based on codicological and philological evidence, has convincingly argued for the authorship of Brother Elemosina and a more precise date for the composition of the manuscript; see eadem, “À propos de la mémoire hagiographique franciscaine aux XIIIe et XIVe siècles: l’auteur retrouvé des *Memorialia de sanctis fratribus minoribus*,” in *Religion et société urbaine au Moyen Âge: Études offertes à Jean-Louis Biget par ses anciens élèves*, ed. Patrick Boucheron and Jacques Chiffolleau, *Histoire ancienne et médiévale* 60: Université de Paris I – Panthéon Sorbonne (Paris: Sorbonne, 2000), 511-529.

⁷⁴⁰ He is not to be confused with the other *Stefanus de Ungaria* who suffered martyrdom with *Conradus de Saxonia* around 1288 near the Caspian Sea. Saray (or Sarai) was the capital of the Mongolian khanate founded in the western part of the Mongolian Empire after 1240 that comprised a large territory from the Urals to the Dnieper River. Saray, located near the Volga River, was founded by Batu Khan in the 1240s. The Franciscans founded two custodies in the territory of the Mongolian Empire in the 1280, of which one of them was the Custody of Saray; see Girolamo Golubovich, O.F.M., *Biblioteca bio-bibliografica della Terra Santa e dell’Oriente Franciscano*. Vol. II: *Annali di Terra santa. Addenda al sec. XIII e fonti pel sec. XIV. Con tre carte geografiche dell’Oriente francescano dei secoli XIII-XIV* (Ad Aquas Claras [Quaracchi]: St Bonaventure College, 1913), 564-565.

⁷⁴¹ Heullant-Donat, “À propos de la mémoire hagiographique franciscaine,” 520.

to hierarchical, topographical, and chronological criteria.⁷⁴² It begins with the names of the already canonized Franciscan saints, followed by the names of those who were regarded as saints among the companions of Francis, followed by a list of eighty-seven friars, of whom thirty-seven are referred to only by name and the place they came from without any further details, twenty-six of whom performed miracles, and twenty-four of whom suffered martyrdom.⁷⁴³ Three names in the *Memorialia* directly related to Hungary are registered on fol.125b in the first redactional phase between ca. 1317-1320: “*In Ungaria frater Henricus theotonicus*,” “*In Ungaria iam dicta villa frater Ioannes custos*,” and finally, a martyr called Stefanus from Hungary, registered in the second redactional phase in 1331-1332 or 1335-1336, about whom the author says:

And Brother Stefanus from Hungary, a youth pleasing to God and the people, when he remained in the faith in Christ most steadfastly and refused the execrable law of Mahomet, was excruciated by the cruel torments of the Saracens, and was put in fire twice but was saved unharmed by God, and finally was slaughtered by sword, and with the palm of martyrdom he came to Christ.⁷⁴⁴

Isabelle Heullant-Donat has interpreted the *Memorialia* as part of the promotion of martyrdom in the Franciscan Order.⁷⁴⁵ Even though martyrs were regarded as saints in the centuries before the canonization of saints became a papal prerogative, the papacy did not officially canonize any martyrs between the canonization of the Dominican Peter of Verona in 1253 and the official recognition of the cult of the Franciscan protomartyrs of Morocco in 1481.⁷⁴⁶ By the second half of the fourteenth century, martyrdom had become a central issue in the Order of Minor Brothers. A major turning point in its development occurred in the 1320s when narratives about the missionary activities of the Franciscans (Egypt, India, Central Asia) started to multiply, although a revival of voluntary martyrdom had already started from the 1220s onwards. According to Heullant-Donat, the growing importance of martyrs in the history of the

⁷⁴² Ibid., 521-523.

⁷⁴³ Ibid., 525.

⁷⁴⁴ “Frater vero Stefanus de Ungaria, iuvenis Deo et hominibus gratus, cum in fide Christi constantissime permaneret, et legem Machomechti execrabilem affirmaret, a Saracenis diris tormentis affictus, et bis in ignem missus, sed a Deo liberatus illesus, demum glaudio cesus, cum palma martirii pervenit ad Christum.” “Memorabilia de sanctis fratribus minoribus,” ed. Faloci Pulignani, 69.

⁷⁴⁵ Heullant-Donat, “La mémoire hagiographique franciscaine,” 525-528; eadem, “Martyrdom and Identity in the Franciscan Order (Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries),” *Franciscan Studies* 70 (2012): 429-453.

⁷⁴⁶ For various reasons, the Dominicans’ attitude towards martyrdom, the geographical extension of their missionary activities, and the number of martyrs was quite different from that of the Franciscans.

memory of the Order from around 1315 was connected to the oppositions between the Spirituals and the Community, especially during the papacy of John XXII (1316-1334).⁷⁴⁷

In all likelihood, the list reported in the *Memorialia* was compiled for the first time by Brother Elemosina.⁷⁴⁸ It seems to be the earliest surviving codex in which the memory of the holy friars in and from Hungary was preserved. Although it is not perfectly clear where Brother Elemosina took the information from about the altogether 119 non-canonized saintly Franciscans, the *Memorialia* shows well the circulation of information within the Order, as the data from such remote places like Thana in India or from “Saraja” (Saraj) reached the convent of Gauldo Tadino in Umbria. The preservation of the memory of these figures was the joint effort on a local level by the friars and the devotion of the faithful to promote the *fama sanctitatis* of a member of their order.⁷⁴⁹ The *Memorialia* was part of a process originating from the *Dialogus de gestis sanctorum fratrum minorum* (1245) noted above that was continued in the *Catalogus sanctorum fratrum minorum* (1335)⁷⁵⁰ and the *Provinciale Ordinis Fratrum Minorum* by Paolino da Venezia (1335-1345).⁷⁵¹

Among the accounts of the minorites associated with Hungary in the *Memorialia*, here I discuss only Henricus *theotonicus* and Iohannes *custos* and will present the case of Stefanus de Ungaria below. Henricus is the first of the friars of Hungary in the *Memorialia*. Nothing else is written about him except that he lived in Hungary, although the exact location of his activity is not known. The Lemmens edition of the *Catalogus sanctorum*, however, states that “*per quem Dominus multa miracula fecit.*”⁷⁵² Perhaps he can be identified with the confessor of the second

⁷⁴⁷ Heullant-Donat, “Martyrdom and Identity in the Franciscan Order,” 448-449.

⁷⁴⁸ Ibid., 524.

⁷⁴⁹ Cf. Heullant-Donat, “À propos de la mémoire hagiographique franciscaine,” 528.

⁷⁵⁰ Leonard Lemmens O.F.M., *Catalogus sanctorum fratrum minorum* (Rome: Typus Sallustianis, 1903).

⁷⁵¹ One of the seven manuscripts of Paolino da Venezia’s work was edited as *Provinciale Ord. FF. Min. vetustissimum secundum cod. Vat. 1960*, ed. Conrad Eubel (Ad Claras Aquas [Quaracchi]: St Bonaventure College, 1892).

⁷⁵² Lemmens, *Catalogus sanctorum fratrum minorum*, 33. One of the eight codices Lemmens used for his edition of the *Catalogus sanctorum*, the *Codex Latinus Monacensis 3702*, written in 1469 in the Swabian language, partly in Konstanz and partly in Ulm, provides additional information about another Henricus *theutonicus*: “*Item in civitate, quae dicitur Hermannsdorf in VII castris frater Henricus theutonicus, subdiaconu et sacrista ibidem, qui praedixit fratribus mortem suam, antequam aegrotaret. Qui cum quietissime in Domino obdormisset et officium pro eo fleret, in missa in elevatione sacri corporis Domini inter altare et funus puella valde a XIV annis cruribus ac pedibus et brachiis contracta plene sanata et curata coram populo. Hoc signum coram praedicatoribus et fratribus nostris et clero et plus quam XXX milibus fuis examinatum et vere probatum.*” “*Hermannsdorf in VII castris*” is Szeben (Sibiu, Romania). The first Franciscans came from the Rhineland to this town, inhabited at that time mostly by Saxons from the western German territories. The building of the Franciscan convent started at the

wife of King Andrew III, Agnes of Habsburg (1296-1301) in the Franciscan convent of St. John the Evangelist in Buda Castle. In a charter issued by Queen Agnes in Buda in 1299, her Franciscan confessor, called Henricus, is mentioned, who had been sent to the Hungarian court by the parents of the young queen from the German lands (*de Alamania*).⁷⁵³

The name and the place associated with a given friar in the *catalogi sanctorum* were of utmost importance; in several updated versions of such catalogues, Henricus *theotonicus* was placed at the end of the list of the friars of the Hungarian Province and, together with Iohannes *custos*, linked to a place referred to as “Caravilla.” Neither a Franciscan *custos* called Iohannes, nor a place called Caravilla can be identified today. It has been hypothesized that it is only a scribal error and Iohannes was a *custos* in Francavilla (which was indeed an important convent in the custody of Syrmia) where Iohannes, the first minister provincial, also lived; his name appears for the first time in the *catalogus sanctorum fratrum minorum* of 1335.⁷⁵⁴ The manuscript of the *Memorialia* confirms this assumption, since in fol. 125vb I read: “*In ungaria in crcta(?) uilla frater Ioannes custos.*” In any case, it is definitely not “*iam dicta villa*” as can be found in Faloci Pulignani’s edition⁷⁵⁵ and makes no sense to refer back to a “villa” that has not yet been mentioned. Thus, the question arises (which probably will never be answered with certainty): Is it possible that there was only one Iohannes de Francavilla, a *custos*, as the earliest record in the *Memorialia* suggests, who in the later sources is referred to as Iohannes de Francavilla, the first provincial of Hungary?

The first *catalogus sanctorum fratrum minorum* of 1335, similarly to the *Memorialia*, was also built on the scheme of the place and the name of the holy friar, but the structure is better organized and the prologue gives a theological justification of Franciscan sanctity.⁷⁵⁶ One of the most salient features of this catalogue is the clear association of the holy friars with the

end of the thirteenth century and its dedication to St. Elizabeth was probably at the initiative of the burghers, who also supported the construction financially.

⁷⁵³ 1 May 1299; DL 2213; Agnes, following the advice of prelates, barons and her Franciscan confessor Henricus, returns the tithes of the “Great Island” [today Csepel-sziget] to Benedict, bishop of Veszprém. See Géza Érszegi and László Solymosi, *Veszprém város okmánytára. Pótkötet (1000-1526)* [The collection of documents of Veszprém. Supplement (1000-1526)] (Veszprém: Veszprémi Érseki és Főképtalani Levéltár, 2010), 176-178, no.113: “*...fratre Henrico de ordine fratrum minorum confessore nostro, qui de Alamania per dominum Al(bertum) regem Romanorum patrem nostrum karissimum et dominam reginam matrem nostrum specialiter fuerat destinatus*”

⁷⁵⁴ *Chronica XXIV Generalium Ordinis Minorum, Analecta Franciscana* 3, 530, note 2.

⁷⁵⁵ Faloci Pulignani, “*Memorabilia de sanctis fratribus minoribus*,” 68.

⁷⁵⁶ Paciocco, *Da Francesco ai “Catalogi Sanctorum”*, 94-97.

Franciscan territorial organization of the first half of the fourteenth century. The number of saints included is much higher than in the *Memorialia*. In addition to the association of Iohannes *custos* with a place called “Caravilla,” two other friars from the Province of Hungary were added: Iohannes de Villafranca (to whose case I will return later) and Gallus de Strigonio, a most virtuous and devout *lector* in Strigonium (Esztergom) from whose sepulchre soil was taken to cure the ill.⁷⁵⁷ The brief entry on Gallus was taken over without any substantial changes in the subsequent historiographic works listed below, whereas that of Iohannes was presented in a much more detailed form in the printed *Speculum vitae beati Francisci et sociorum eius* (1504).⁷⁵⁸

The *catalogus sanctorum* of 1335 was transmitted through several codices and also in most of the manuscripts of the *Compilatio Avenionensis*.⁷⁵⁹ A similar catalogue, made between 1385 and 1393, was edited by Paciocco based on MS Canon. Misc. 525 of the Bodleian Library, Oxford; it included territories and places not mentioned in the *catalogus* of 1335.⁷⁶⁰ Another *catalogus sanctorum* is reported in the *fructus VII* of Bartolomeo da Pisa’s *De conformitate*. It fits into the theological framework of the work, the conformity between Francis and Christ, between his companions and other holy friars, the twelve apostles and the disciples of Christ. Due to the complex allegorical-theological character of Bartolomeo’s work, it offers a much more detailed presentation of the biographies of the “minor” saints; thus, the catalogue is different from both earlier versions of the *catalogus sanctorum*.⁷⁶¹

These *catalogi*, despite the close relation with the *Provinciale ordinis fratrum Minorum* of Paolino da Venezia, differ markedly from it in the presentation of the unity between the holy friar and the respective location/area. The *catalogi sanctorum* aimed at ascribing a “geographic”

⁷⁵⁷ In the *Catalogus sanctorum* of the Codex 23 I 60 of the Franciscan Library of Fribourg, he is erroneously called Gregorius; see Lemmens, *Catalogus sanctorum*, 33, note 1.

⁷⁵⁸ Gallus is mentioned in only one contemporary source according to which he participated with Friar Kálmán at the burial of István of Bény *de genere* Hont-Pázmány in 1273; Karácsonyi, *Szt. Ferencz rendjének története Magyarországon 1711-ig* [The history of the Order of St. Francis in Hungary until 1711], 2 vols. (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1922-1924), in vol. I, 29. Karácsonyi does not refer to the primary source, though.

⁷⁵⁹ For the manuscripts of the *Avignon Compilation* that contain the catalogue, see Menestò, *La Compilatio Avenionensis*, 1472-1523. I had the chance to consult one of the manuscripts of this group, OSzK, MS Cod. Lat 77, and the list of the Hungarian Province on fol. 78r is not identical with that of the edition of Lemmens, *Catalogus sanctorum fratrum minorum*, 33. Henricus *theotonicus* and Iohannes *custos* do not figure in the list in MS Cod. Lat 77.

⁷⁶⁰ Paciocco, *Da Francesco ai “catalogi sanctorum,”* 97.

⁷⁶¹ Paciocco, *Da Francesco ai “catalogi sanctorum,”* 100.

form to Franciscan sainthood and functioned as repertories of the places founded on the burial place of a holy Franciscan and thus, in the words of Paciocco, “as real hagiographic maps of a religious Order connected to its highly articulated territorial structure.”⁷⁶² Interestingly, in the *De conformitate* the “minor” saints are not only listed among the other Franciscan saints in *fructus VIII* but also in *fructus XI*, *Franciscus destinator*, in which Bartolomeo provides a detailed list of the provinces, custodies, and vicariates with reference to the same “local” or “minor” saints already reported in *fructus VIII*. His list in *fructus XI* is similar to that in the *Provinciale* of Paolino da Venezia. Whereas the latter established Franciscan geography based on the locations of tombs of holy friars, the former presented all the illustrious members of the order in terms of sanctity, learnedness, or ecclesiastical rank. Paciocco’s attentive comparison reveals that no direct relationship among these catalogues can be established. They were subject to constant modifications and re-elaborations, and consequently the exemplars were put aside after a time. When the additions became too numerous, new versions were made, such as the *catalogus* of 1385-93.⁷⁶³

The *Chronica XXIV Generalium Ordinis Minorum*, although not treated exhaustively by Paciocco, was the first major work to include a *catalogus sanctorum*. This vast compilation, which can be considered the first “institutional” work about the history of the order, is built on a wide range of sources, including historiographical, hagiographical, and official documents. It is organized in chronological order, listing the most important events according to the minister generals and the general chapters. The unity of the order is the epicenter of the work despite (or because of?) it having been composed in a period when the Observant movement emerged that eventually led to the division of the Franciscan Order.⁷⁶⁴ In addition to the minor saints from the various provinces, a number of martyrs are incorporated. Many of the *passiones* are reported here for the first time. Maria Teresa Dolso differentiated three groups of martyrs based on the chronological order: the first missionaries of the order in the 1220s, the friars who suffered martyrdom during the generalship of Matteo d’Acquasparta (1287-1289), and finally those who

⁷⁶² “vere e proprie mappe agiografiche di un Ordine religioso connesse alla sua articolatissima struttura territoriale.” Paciocco, *Da Francesco ai “catalogi sanctorum”*, 100.

⁷⁶³ Paciocco, *Da Francesco ai “catalogi sanctorum”*, 106-107.

⁷⁶⁴ *Chronica XXIV generalium ordinis minorum cum pluribus appendicibus inter quas excellit hucusque ineditus Liber de laudibus s. Francisci fr. Bernardi a Bessa, Analecta Franciscana* 3 (Ad Claras Aquas [Quaracchi]: St Bonaventure College, 1897).

died in the first half of the fourteenth century.⁷⁶⁵ The passion of Conradus de Saxonia and Stefanus Hungarus, who suffered martyrdom in Iveria (Georgia), near the Caspian Mountains is recounted in the second group⁷⁶⁶ and that of the five friars who suffered martyrdom in Bidin (Bulgaria), including two friars from Hungary in the third.⁷⁶⁷

III.3.3 The first printed catalogue of saints in the *Speculum vitae* (1504)

The earliest printed *catalogus sanctorum* can be found in the *Speculum vitae*, published for the first time in Venice at Simone de Luere's printing house funded by the book trader Jordanus de Dinslaken in 1504. It consists of excerpts of different lengths from the *Speculum perfectionis*, the *Actus*, the sayings of Francis and some of the early brothers, the *Chronica XXIV generalium*, Bartolomeo da Pisa's *De conformitate*, documents related to the Indulgence of the Portiuncula, collections of instructional stories and sayings, and a catalogue of saints.⁷⁶⁸ It also includes two lists at the end of the work, one with the names of the provincial ministers and the other with the chapters of the Hungarian Franciscan Province. The manuscript exemplar of the printed work was updated two years before its publication, since the last provincial minister in the list is Andreas de Bachia (András of Bács) in 1502.⁷⁶⁹

The Hungarian origin of the printed *Speculum vitae* was investigated by Michael Bihl in 1927.⁷⁷⁰ He assumed that whoever updated the list must have been a Conventual Franciscan since he praised Minister General Egidio Delfini (1500-1506).⁷⁷¹ Following the proposition of Sabatier, he attributed the *Speculum vitae* to a certain Fabianus. The name Fabianus appears on fol. 127a of the printed edition in Francis's benediction of Brother Leo. Supposing that the compiler/owner inserted his own name into his copy, Bihl associated him with Fabian of Igal,

⁷⁶⁵ Dolso, *La Chronica XXIV Generalium*, 113-114.

⁷⁶⁶ *Chronica XXIV generalium ordinis minorum*, 417-418.

⁷⁶⁷ Frater Antonius de Saxonia, frater Greogius de Traguria, frater Nicolaus Hungarus sacerdos, frater Thomas de Fulgineo laicus, frater Ladislaus de Hungaria. *Chronica XXIV generalium ordinis minorum*, 564-566.

⁷⁶⁸ For the full contents, see Paul Sabatier, *Description du Speculum vitae (éd. de 1504)*, 323-357; Michael Bihl, "L'édition du *Speculum vitae* B. Francisci parue à Győr en 1752 et l'origine hongroise du *Speculum vitae*," *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* 20 (1927): 132-153, at 145-150.

⁷⁶⁹ *Speculum vitae* (1504), 238b.

⁷⁷⁰ Bihl, "L'édition du *Speculum vitae*," 138-145.

⁷⁷¹ "qui [i.e. Egidius Delphinus] bene usque in hodiernum diem laudabiliter in vinea Domini Sabaoth operatus est, volens seraphici Francisci una cum suis fratribus vestigia sequi." *Speculum vitae* (1504), 215a. See also Bihl, "L'édition du *Speculum vitae*," 141. Egidio Delfini was the 40th minister general of the Franciscans and wanted to reform the order as a whole and was against the separatist ambitions of the Observants.

provincial minister and great reformer of the Conventuals of the Hungarian Province from 1452 until his death in 1474. According to Bihl, the Conventual Franciscans wanted this compilation to be published, so they updated the lists of the ministers and chapters of Hungary until 1502 and sent or gave it to the book trader Jordanus de Dinslaken to publish in a printing house in Venice.⁷⁷² Even if one accepts that the manuscript was used by Fabian of Igal at a certain point, it is not possible to establish to what extent he contributed to this compilation. In my opinion, the presence of the name “Fabianus” in a printed work is too slight a hint to support a theory of authorship, but I find Bihl’s reconstruction possible as to the Hungarian provenance of the exemplar of the *Speculum vitae* and the involvement of the Franciscans in the first publication. The *catalogi sanctorum* underwent ongoing updates in the Franciscan convents. No manuscript of Hungarian origin containing such a revised version of catalogues of saints survives, but in the *Speculum vitae beati Francisci et sociorum eius* in the section that treats the monasteries of the Hungarian Province where illustrious members of the Order lived or were buried, two hitherto unknown friars who had a local cult in the Franciscan monasteries in Buda and in Esztergom are mentioned in addition to Iohannes de Villafranca (Villafranca is the Latin name of Nagyolaszi, today Mandelos, Serbia) who had already been listed in the catalogue of saints from 1335. Several pieces in the *Speculum vitae* also provide extra information about the Franciscan Province of Hungary, which may imply that the manuscript exemplar of the printed work indeed originated there.⁷⁷³ The Hungarian friars of the *Speculum vitae*, as well as those mentioned in the earlier catalogues, were included in the Observant Mariano da Firenze’s *Compendium Chronicarum Ordinis Fratrum Minorum* (1521).⁷⁷⁴

In the *catalogus sanctorum* of the *Speculum vitae* the first rather detailed account is about Iohannes de Villafranca (or Francavilla/ John the French/ Franczia János), which has been

⁷⁷² Bihl assumed that Jordanus would have kept some copies of the work for commercial use, thus the further editions of the *Speculum vitae* are not linked to the Franciscans; see Bihl, “L’édition du *Speculum vitae*,” 138.

⁷⁷³ These parts were published by Samu Borovszky, “A ferencziek történetéhez” [On the history of the Franciscans], *Történelmi Tár* 18 (1895): 749-755.

⁷⁷⁴ Mariano da Firenze, *Compendium Chronicarum Ordinis Fratrum Minorum*, ed. Theophilus Domenichelli O.F.M., 1 (1908): 98-107; 2 (1909): 92-107, 305-318, 457-472, 626-641; 3 (1910): 294-309, 700-715; 4 (1911): 122-137, 318-339, 559-587. Mariano da Firenze listed Egidius together with the other friars who had local cults in Hungary: the two martyrs of Iveria, the five martyrs of Bulgaria, Iohannes de Villafranca, Petrus de Toria, Gallus lector, Iohannes custos and Henricus Theutonicus under the year 1287 in his *Compendium*; see *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* 2 (1909), 468-469.

discussed exhaustively by Stanko Andrić.⁷⁷⁵ According to the *catalogi sanctorum*, Iohannes was the first Franciscan Provincial of Hungary and had a local cult in the custody of Syrmia (today Serbia) in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. From the sixteenth century onwards, he figured in almost all general histories of the Order of Minor Brothers, and his memory was revived in the eighteenth century after two centuries of Ottoman rule that caused serious changes in the population as well as in the ecclesiastical structure.⁷⁷⁶ Andrić differentiates between a short and a long version of the earliest accounts of Iohannes, the brief entries that one finds in the *Catalogus sanctorum* of 1335, the fourteenth-century chronicles, and the long and detailed version written by a Franciscan friar from the convent of Villafranca, today known only through the *Speculum vitae*.⁷⁷⁷

The long version that recounts the death and four *post mortem* miracles of Iohannes clearly cannot derive from the short version.⁷⁷⁸ Although the narrator of the legend of the long version apparently did not know the saintly provincial personally, he witnessed the resurrection of four people through the intercession of Iohannes. According to the long version, shortly before his death Iohannes asked the friars to take his body to Francavilla immediately, as the convent where they were at the time would be abandoned soon. The brothers put him on a cart but they started to eat and did not set off on the journey immediately. Having finished eating, they only saw traces of the wheels of the cart on the bank of the Sava River and found the body of the provincial on the cart in front of the convent of Francavilla, not taken there by any man or animal. The unknown Franciscan chronicler ends the record by saying that the convent near the Sava where Iohannes lived was deserted in his time but the saintly friar did not cease to work miracles.

Andrić points out that this version is so rich in facts and historical details that the legend must have been written down not much later than the death of the provincial.⁷⁷⁹ A fundamental difference between the two accounts is that according to the short one the cart with the body miraculously crossed the Sava River, but there is no reference to this miracle in the long one. In

⁷⁷⁵ Andrić, "Blessed John the French," 83-102.

⁷⁷⁶ Andrić, "Blessed John the French," 83-90.

⁷⁷⁷ *Speculum vitae* (1504), fol. 204b.

⁷⁷⁸ "In Villafranca frater Joannes, minister Ungariae, qui multis miraculis coruscat; inter ali post mortem suam corpus suum debebat transferri de uno loco per aquam profundam cum navi ad alium locum, et translatus est per seipsum sine adiutorio navigii ad locum debitum." Lemmens, *Catalogus sanctorum fratrum minorum*, 33.

⁷⁷⁹ Andrić, "Blessed John the French," 99-100.

Andrić's opinion, it is more probable that the short version was summarized from the long one (written approximately around 1330) rather than preceded it and the miraculous crossing of the Sava River is a "development of the legend." It is uncertain from which convent blessed Iohannes was carried to Francavilla since in that period there were two other Franciscan houses in the custody of Syrmia, a place called *ad Sanctum Demetrium* (Szávaszentdemeter/Sremska Mitrovica, Serbia) on the left bank of the Sava and *Sanctus Yreneus* (Szenternye/Mačvanska Mitrovica, Serbia) situated on the other side of the river. Although the short version of the account seems to favor the latter identification, this cannot really be interpreted as evidence.

In the part concerning the Province of Hungary, Ioannes de Villafranca is followed by two holy friars. In the Franciscan convent dedicated to St. John the Evangelist in Buda, Iohannes minister had cured Provincial Petrus de Terian of a serious illness, who later had the body of Iohannes buried in the church; once it was placed there, he continued to heal people. Petrus probably died in 1287 or 1288 since the next provincial, Stephanus, was appointed in 1288⁷⁸⁰ and was buried in the wall of the same church and healed a blind person who was taken there. The last entry regarding the Province of Hungary is on Esztergom (*Strigonium*). While in the *catalogi sanctorum* of the fourteenth century only the name of the lector Gallus was reported, the list of the *Speculum vitae* was enriched with *frater* Egidius, an illiterate (*laicus*) cook and key-keeper (*claviger*) in the Franciscan convent of Esztergom.⁷⁸¹ This holy man, who would not eat meat or drink wine and was often seen *raptus*, floating in the air, once became so ill that after nine days he was believed to be dead, and all the friars, the minister of the custody, and the guardian of the Order gathered for his funeral. But the cook:

regained consciousness and sat up in bed and started to speak so clearly in Latin that everyone was surprised. They told him in Hungarian to speak in Hungarian,

⁷⁸⁰ *Speculum vitae* (1504), 205a. According to Karácsonyi, both Iohannes and Petrus ministers existed and were buried in the church of the Franciscan convent of Buda; he dated Iohannes, the second minister provincial's years to ca. 1256-1260, those of Petrus to 1260-1272; see Karácsonyi, *Szt. Ferencz rendjének története Magyarországon 1711-ig*, vol. 1, 21. Furthermore, Balázs Kertész, "A budai ferences kolostor története 1444-ig" [The history of the Franciscan convent until 1444], in *Szerzetesrendek a Veszprémi Egyházmegyében: A Veszprémi Érseki Hittudományi Főiskolán 2014. augusztus 27-28-án rendezett konferencia előadásai*, ed. Balázs Karlinszky (Veszprém: Separatum, 2015), 27-44, at 31.

⁷⁸¹ The term *laicus* can be interpreted as "lay" or as "illiterate", "not educated in Latin;" considering the subsequent account about the vision of Egidius, I translate it as "illiterate". Some information is extant about the use of Latin in the Franciscan monasteries in Hungary in the mid-fifteenth century: Fabianus de Igal, the provincial of the conventual Franciscans decreed in the reformed statutes he introduced in 1454 that if there were more than four friars in a convent they should speak in Latin; see Magyar, "Die ungarischen Reformstatuten von 1454 des Fabian Igal," 101.

but he said: ‘I do not understand what you say.’ And the friars said: ‘Talk to the minister of the custody and the guardian; look! they are standing there.’ He told them: ‘They are surely not my superiors.’ And he pointed to the other part of the infirmary and said: ‘Here are my superiors: St. Francis, St. Anthony and Brother Bernard.’ And having said this he lay back in bed of the tomb and fell asleep in the Lord, performing many other miracles in his life likewise after his death.⁷⁸²

The only hint at the period when Egidius died is the reference to Brother Bernard, who is probably the Observant Franciscan Bernardino of Siena (1380-1444). As Bernardino was canonized in 1450 and in the text he is referred to as “brother” not as “saint,” Egidius must have died before this date. The cook is the only person known to me in Hungary who was a *laicus* but died in fame of sanctity and worked miracles even after his death; all the other friars in the catalogues held important positions in the Franciscan Order in Hungary (provincial minister, custodian, lector, and perhaps confessor of the queen), so they must have received more education.

The fact that a *catalogus sanctorum* was updated with a record on Egidius is notable for various reasons. First, the simple brother was already considered to be a holy man by the whole community in his lifetime because of his mystical sanctity, so much so that even the prelates of the Order gathered at his deathbed; moreover, his local cult is attested by the remark that he did not cease to perform miracles after his death. Second, it was important for the Franciscans of Esztergom to preserve his memory similarly to that of Gallus, the lector of the same convent more than a century before. The registration of the *in vita* and *post mortem* miracles of Egidius the cook is a unique example of the promotion of a *laicus* by the Order of Minor Brothers in Hungary in the fifteenth century. Finally, this account is a telling example of the interaction between Latin and the vernacular language in a Franciscan community in late medieval Hungary.

⁷⁸² “(...) surrexit et sedit in lecto ita clare loquens in lecto literaliter quod omnes stupebant. Cui dicebant in hungarisco ut loqueretur hungaricum: ipse autem dicebat: ‘Non intelligo quid dicis.’ Et dicebatur (sic) fratres: ‘Loquaris ministro custodi et guardiano ecce ubi stant.’ Ipse dicebat eis: ‘Certe isti non sunt prelate mei.’ Et ostendebat ad aliam partem infirmarii et dicebat: ‘Ecce prelati mei: sanctus Franciscus et sanctus Antonius et frater Bernardus.’ Et his dictis recollegit sepulchre in lecto et obdormivit in domino et multa alia miracula in vita sua et similiter post mortem prestante.” *Speculum vitae* (1504), 205a.

III.3.4 Stefanus de Ungaria – commemorated, preached, and depicted

The longest entry in the *Memorialia* is about *Stefanus de Ungaria*, who can be identified with *Stefanus de (Villa) Saray* in the later sources. The *Memorialia*'s entry, however, is not the same as that of the *Catalogus sanctorum* of 1335. A few years later, the Franciscan John of Winterthur reported a much more detailed narrative about Stefanus was reported in the *Chronicon a Federico II Imperatore ad annum 1348*.⁷⁸³ This account differs from the quite long proper *passio* of Stefanus of the *Chronica XXIV Generalium*, but the two share numerous common motifs. The version of the *Chronica XXIV Generalium* was incorporated in Bartolomeo da Pisa's *De Conformitate*⁷⁸⁴ and in Giacomo Oddi's *Franceschina*.⁷⁸⁵ How important a role the friars from Hungary played in the Franciscans' mission around the turn of the fourteenth century is well known⁷⁸⁶ and it is also testified by a thirteenth-century Franciscan missal made for a Hungarian user that at a certain point was possessed by a friar called Lazarus de Saray.⁷⁸⁷

The anonymous author of the *Passio fr. Stefanusi de Hungaria in civitate Saray Tartarorum*, reported in the *Chronica XXIV Generalium* ascribed to Arnault de Sarrant, recorded the account not only for the glorification of God, the exaltation of faith, and the edification of Christians, but also to show that God alone is capable of making saints from sinners.⁷⁸⁸ He underlines the authenticity of the story by claiming that he heard from "*fide dignis personis, quae presente fuerant*."⁷⁸⁹ He recounts that Stefanus was born in Varadinum (Várad) around 1309 and died in Saray on 22 April 1334. At about the age of 25 he was placed in the Franciscan convent of St. John near Saray, locked in to do penance for sins he had committed, from where he escaped with the help of demons that tried to convince him to reject the Christian faith. In a short time,

⁷⁸³ Friedrich Baethgen, ed., *Die Chronik des Johannes von Winterthur* (Berlin: Weidmann, 1924), 147-149.

⁷⁸⁴ Bartolomeo da Pisa, *De conformitate* (1906), 333-334.

⁷⁸⁵ Oddi, *La Franceschina*, ed. Cavanna, vol. 2, 240-247.

⁷⁸⁶ György Balanyi, "Adatok a ferencrendiek tatárországi missziós működésének történetéhez" [Additions to the history of the Franciscan missionary activities in Mongolia], *Katholikus Szemle* 39 (1925): 70-84; Lajos Tardy, *A tatárországi rabszolgakereskedelem és a magyarok a XIII-XV. században* [Slave trade in Mongolia and the Hungarians between the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries] (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1980), 55-58.

⁷⁸⁷ On the Hungarian Franciscan missal and its fourteenth century possessor, see Veszprémy, "Egy Árpád-kori ferences kézirat Assisiben," 91-95; idem, "Kiegészítések az Assisiben található Árpád-kori ferences Missaléhoz," 100-101.

⁷⁸⁸ *Chronica XXIV Generalium*, *Analecta Franciscana* 3, 515-524.

⁷⁸⁹ *Chronica XXIV Generalium*, *Analecta Franciscana* 3, 515.

the confused friar denied Christ and the Christian religion in front of the *caffa* and declared that he believed in the one God and His *nuntius*, Machomet. Stefanus' conversion was welcomed by the Saracens and made public at a Muslim feast in a solemn procession around the town. His act saddened the friars and the whole Christian community greatly, and also Stefanus himself, who almost immediately repented his conversion although not yet overtly. Secretly he contacted the Franciscan guardian of the custody of Saray, Henricus de Bohemia, to whom he confessed. They made a plan for how to announce publicly the "reconversion" of Stefanus, who would wear the Franciscan habit under his purple robe as he went to preach in front of the Saracens; it was clear to both friars that this act would end in martyrdom. It happened as it had been planned; Stefanus' return to Christianity and his insulting words on the Muslim faith resulted in his condemnation to death. Despite various cruel methods of torture to force him to change his mind, the friar was still alive a few days later. Thus, the *caffa* ordered that he be burnt alive at stake according to the statutes, but Stefanus spent the night praying in the flames, remaining unharmed. By this time, the Saracens were truly upset by seeing that Stefanus was still alive, and since some of them had even wounded the imprisoned friar with swords, the *caffa* decided to send him to the stake again. On the Feast of St. George, after the friar had been dragged through the city tied to a horse's tail and one of his ears cut off, he was led to the stake. As he was about to step into the flames, the ropes on his hands loosened, he made the sign of the cross, and entered the fire of his own will, yet, as he was protected by God, he remained unharmed and the fire was extinguished around him. It was not the fire but the Saracens, throwing large stones on him, hitting and wounding him with swords and axes, who finally caused the friar's death. Stefanus' veneration started immediately after his death; some Christians managed to collect tiny pieces of bones from among the ashes that they kept as relics and a multitude of lights was seen in the sky above the place of his execution. Several miracles occurred for the merits of the friar at the place he suffered martyrdom, of which two healing miracles were performed on a Christian *quamvis schismatica* and an Armenian Christian woman, and a third miracle of punishment on a Saracen woman who mocked the Christian faith and the martyr.⁷⁹⁰

⁷⁹⁰ *Chronica 24 Generalium, Analecta Franciscana* 3, 523-524.

This narrative would merit a detailed analysis; here I only raise some points of interest. Although the text was clearly designed in the style of the early Christian *passiones*, there is a twist in Stefanus' story: he was a Christian who converted to Islam and then "re-converted" to be Christian again. At the same time, it is also an account of the Franciscans' presence and missionary activities in the Mongol Empire. Stefanus' Hungarian origin is marginal in the narrative; what matters here is that he was a Franciscan friar, a sinful human being, who, with the help of God became a true confessor of the Christian religion.

In the fifteenth century, the friars' interest in missionary activities revived (especially the Observants) as they were engaged in fighting back the Ottoman intruders as well as defending Catholic faith from beliefs considered unorthodox. Stefanus' passion — a well-written piece: adventurous, colourful, exotic — was transmitted to a wider public through a sermon of the Observant Franciscan James of the Marches, who, among various other duties, was the visitor and vicar of the Observant Province of Bosnia (1435-1438) and the inquisitor of Austria and Hungary (1436-1439) and also played a significant role in the revolt of Buda in 1439.⁷⁹¹ He incorporated the passion of Stefanus at the end of the sermon entitled *De excellentia Ordinis s. Francisci* he composed in 1449 while staying at the convent of Santa Maria delle Grazie of Monteprandone.⁷⁹² He addressed his sermon to the Minor Brothers and the devout.⁷⁹³ The theme of the sermon is "...and there went with him his disciples, and a great multitude" (*Ibant cum illo discipuli eius in turba copiosa*, Luke 7:11), which James of the Marches applied to

⁷⁹¹ György Galamb, "Giacomo della Marca e la rivolta di Buda (Riflessioni sull'osservanza e il suo ambiente socio-culturale in Italia e in Ungheria), *Annuario dell'Accademia d'Ungheria in Roma*, ed. József Pál (Messina: Rubbettino, 1997), 53-63.

⁷⁹² This connection was pointed out by Edith Pásztor, "Stefano d'Ungheria," in *Bibliotheca sanctorum* (Rome: Istituto Giovanni XXIII della Pontificia Università lateranense, 1961-2000), 12 vols., in vol. 12, 18. Giacomo della Marca's sermon is preserved in MS Monteprandone, Biblioteca Municipale 42, fol. 211r-214v and was edited in Nicolaus dal Gal O.F.M., "*Sermo S. Iacobi de Marchia de excellentia Ordinis sancti Francisci (ex codice autographo)*," *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* 4 (1911): 303-313; the section about Stefanus is at 312-313. For his passion, Giacomo della Marca used Bartolomeo da Pisa's *De conformitate*. The Observant preacher divided his sermon into four sections: 1) *Singularissimus in scientie radiositate*, 2) *Excellentissimus in doctrine nobilitate*, 3) *Preclarissimus regali et imperiali dignitate*, 4) *Lucidissimus et miraculorum sanctitate*.

⁷⁹³ "Attendite, tam vos fratres Minores, et devoti, quam etiam tota creatura, mirabilia magna, quibus voluit Deus hunc sacrum ordinem honorari, ac Dei gratia et gloria decorari, et ad inflammandum corda nostra in sancta et gloriosa turba, cum omni superna caritate et devotione, ipsum patrem sequi. Et ideo primo dicemus: quomodo turba doctorum sanctorum, virginum, martirum, confessorum et aliarum personarum nobilium." "*Sermo S. Iacobi de Marchia de excellentia Ordinis sancti Francisci*" in *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* 4 (1911), 304. According to Dal Gal, the sermon could have been delivered at the General Chapter of Florence of 1449 or the Congregation of the Observant generals celebrated in *locus Nemoris* [i.e. Scarpara, in the custody of Florence] in which Giacomo participated.

Francis, who wanted *in Christo Yesu totum transformari*, and whose order enlightened the whole world with four rays of light.⁷⁹⁴ Stefanus was among the friars who were the “most shining in miracles of sanctity.” The Observant preacher himself was aware of the fact that the Franciscan martyrs were not well known by the faithful, as he says: “And although there are many [martyrs] that we do not know, I will speak now about the blessed Stefanus of Hungary of the town of Saray of the Tartars for your benefit.”⁷⁹⁵ James of the Marches’s presentation of Stefanus’ *passio* concentrates mainly on describing the various brutal methods the Saracens used to torture the friar, introducing a new aspect that cannot be found in the earlier account of the friar’s passion. After Stefanus had been flogged almost to death, “(a)nd his body being tied to stones for two days and nights without food, and then being hanged by the arms with a great stone in a way that his arm was torn almost by the upper arm bone, he cried out to Jesus and Francis.”⁷⁹⁶

In James of the Marches’s sermon, when the tortured friar finally, after long suffering, arrived at the point of death, he gave his holy soul to Christ and St Francis.⁷⁹⁷ This *passio* is the most elaborated one in the sermon and it is not by chance that it was placed at the very end. With this account, the Observant preacher “closed the circle”: Stefanus Ungarus, an exemplary martyr of the Order of Minor Brothers whose torments can be compared to those Christ had suffered during the Passion, handed over his spirit not only to the Savior but also to St Francis, suggesting perfect conformity between the two he had proclaimed at the beginning of the sermon.

⁷⁹⁴ “*Ideo beatus Franciscus se voluit in Christo Yesu totum transformari, qui nihil melius potuit invenire. Ideo dicit: Ibant etc., quia iste ordo sanctissimus ad instar solis resplendent per totum mundum quatuor lucidissimis radiis perlustrando.*” “*Sermo S. Iacobi de Marchia de excellentia Ordinis sancti Francisci*” in *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* 4 (1911): 304.

⁷⁹⁵ “Et quamvis sint multi quos ignoramus, sed stupenda de beato Stefanus Ungaro caritati vestre annotabo, in civitate Sarra in parte Tartarorum.” “*Sermo S. Iacobi de Marchia de excellentia Ordinis sancti Francisci*” in *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* 4 (1911): 312.

⁷⁹⁶ “Et in medio corporis ad saxum per duas dies et noctes sine cibo, et postea subspensus per ambas manus magnum saxum in brachiis, ita quod brachium egrediebatur quasi de humeris, clamabat Yhesum et Franciscum.” “*Sermo S. Iacobi de Marchia de excellentia Ordinis sancti Francisci*” in *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* 4 (1911): 313.

⁷⁹⁷ “*Sermo S. Iacobi de Marchia de excellentia Ordinis sancti Francisci*” in *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* 4 (1911): 313.

Images of Stefanus⁷⁹⁸ and the five martyrs of Bulgaria can be found⁷⁹⁹ in the corridors of the dormitory of the Observant convent of the Verna among the 51 *tondi* of the holy friars above the entrance to the cells made by Gerino di Pistoia and his workshop between 1500 and 1539.⁸⁰⁰ (Fig.25)



Figure 25 – Gerino da Pistoia: Stefano d’Ungaria, Convento della Verna, Assisi, 1500-1539.
Source: *Un ciclo cinquecentesco*, ed. dell’Amico, Giorgi, Mariotti, 99.

These images were not made for public display but to provide models for the community of the Verna to follow. Under each *tondo* an inscription indicates the name of the friar(s) and describes a particular aspect of his sanctity or an anecdote. The *tondi* are arranged in a thematic sequence (martyrs, Observant preachers, canonized saints, ministers, friars from Tuscany, and

⁷⁹⁸ Maria Dell’Amico, Anna Giorgi, Jodie Rogers Mariotti, *Gerino da Pistoia alla Verna: Un ciclo cinquecentesco di affreschi restituito alla luce* (Villa Verrucchio (Rimini): P.G. Pazzini, 2007), 99, no. 8: “B. Stefanus de Ungaria, innumeris tormentis in carcere visus est inter duas columbas orare, de igne liber exivit, tandem lapidibus occisus est.”

⁷⁹⁹ Ibid., 108, no.17: “B. Martyres Fr. Andreas Ungherus, Fr. Gregorius de Jadra, Fr. Nicolaus de Marchia, Fr. Benedictus de Regnio, Fr. Thomas laicus de Fulgineo, ad petitionem Ludovici regis Unghariae ad reducendum ad veram fidem budgaros ierunt et ab ipsis per frustra occisi, martyrium compleverunt.”

⁸⁰⁰ Ibid., 59-91. See also Banfi, “Oddi di Perugia, P. Giacomo: La Franceschina,” 475; József Kaposi, Introduction to *Assisi Szent Ferencz virágoskertje. Fioretti* [The flower garden of St Francis of Assisi. Fioretti], I-LXXII (Budapest: Franklin-Társulat, 1913), xxxiii.

so on). The commemorative scheme remained similar to those of the *catalogi sanctorum* in summing up the essentials about a friar (or a group of friars), but with the passage of time the geographical aspect faded away completely. The extensive textual compilations of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries were the main sources for the images representing the martyrs.

III.3.5 Concluding remarks

In the second part of this chapter I have presented one of the commemorative strategies used by the Franciscans, collecting information and compiling lists, usually organized on a territorial basis, of friars who died in *fama sanctitatis*. I have surveyed the evolution of the catalogues of saints that started to emerge early in the fourteenth century and were incorporated in hagiographic compilations, general chronicles, and books of conformities to preserve the memories of illustrious Franciscans and at the same time to emphasize the extraordinary proliferation of the order and the excellence of friars, manifested mainly through working miracles. Several friars from Hungary can be found in these catalogues, which are often the only surviving sources of the early history of the Franciscans in the country. Their historical accuracy is doubtful, because the *catalogi* were copied in different Franciscan provinces throughout Europe where the friars were not familiar with the names and locations and were unable to check or correct the lists that they had at hand. This resulted in marked diversity among the catalogues and the transmission of scanty or even faulty information. It may also be that some eye-witness accounts from the early fourteenth century survive only in sixteenth-century works as in the detailed accounts of the death and miracles of Iohannes de Villafranca and Brother Egidius in the *Speculum vitae*, so a careful treatment of the historicity of the printed work is required.

These catalogues guaranteed the longevity of memory; despite their “work-in-progress” character, the number of inclusions of new figures far exceeded omissions. There is no reason to think that the omission of names is intentional; it seems that holy friars who lacked a distinctive characteristic in the brief record were more liable to fall victim to being left out. The general rule is that the Franciscan authors who included such catalogues in their works carefully recorded, often uncritically, all the names that were available in the sources they used. The

“great survivors” of the friars related to Hungary in visual hagiography were the martyrs whose examples were also put forward by the Observant Franciscans.

IV. From the Wandering Friar to the Minorite Bishop: The First Generation of Franciscan Saints

In the nine decades following Francis of Assisi's canonization in 1226, the sanctity of three members of the Franciscan family gained papal recognition: Anthony of Padua in 1231, Clare of Assisi in 1255 and Louis of Anjou, the Franciscan bishop of Toulouse in 1317. This period, generally considered as the termination of the first period of Franciscanism, ends symbolically in 1317 not only because it was the year when Louis was canonized but also when Pope John XXII started the systematic eradication of the more radical wing of the Franciscans, the so-called Spirituals. This chapter consists of three parts organized around these saints who gradually acquired rather different profiles: through the figure St Anthony the Franciscans became associated with theology and learning in general, with St Clare they had the female "counterpart" of Francis, a "mother" and a model for the nuns known as Poor Clares or Clarissans, and with Louis of Toulouse they offered an example of the reconciliation of royal descent, high ecclesiastical status and Franciscan simplicity – an enterprise that shows close similarities to the case of St Elizabeth of Hungary. Aside from the Franciscan context, the memory of these saints was preserved (though for various motivations) in Hungary almost from the very beginning of their cult in Italy and in France. I treat the individual cases in the chronological order of their canonization although the earliest traces of their veneration may differ. The general structure of each part starts with a short overview of the life and the canonization as well as of the most important hagiographic writings composed about these saints, then the traces of their veneration preserved in dedications, indulgences, or other forms of display are surveyed. The bulk of the parts treating Anthony and Clare are made up of the analysis of sermons and various texts about them in the Latin and the vernacular, whereas in the case of Louis of Toulouse, who remained primarily a dynastic saint and never really became a Franciscan one, the examination of the visual sources play major role.

IV.1. The Ideal Minorite Friar – St Anthony of Padua

IV.1.1 The beginnings

Life and canonization

The saint today known as Anthony of Padua (Fernando Martins de Bulhões) was born in Lisbon around 1195 in a noble family. In 1212 he joined the Canons Regular of St Augustine in his hometown but when he saw the bodies of the five martyrs of the Franciscans returned from Morocco by Infant Don Pedro of Portugal (Petrus infans), he started to desire martyrdom, so in 1220 he joined the Order of Brothers Minor and took up the name Anthony. He obtained permission to go to Morocco but due to his illness he had to return after a few months. Following a shipwreck in Sicily, he got to northern Italy by chance where it was discovered soon that he was a learned man and an excellent preacher. It is believed that Anthony introduced the theology of St Augustine to the Franciscan Order, which later became one of the main characteristics of Franciscan theology. He was also influenced by Tommaso Gallo (Thomas Gallus), former teacher of the University of Paris, with whom Anthony spent some years in Vercelli. Anthony started a school for theology for the friars in Bologna. Being a talented preacher, he was appointed to preach against the heretics in northern Italy and the Albigensians in southern France. During Lent in 1231, he preached daily in Padua and his sermons attracted huge crowds; two of his sermon series survived.⁸⁰¹ He also preached in Florence, and then he settled down at Padua at the convent he had founded earlier. He died in 1231 and was buried in Padua. He was very soon canonized by Pope Gregory IX on 30th May in 1232 with the bull *Cum dicat Dominus* and was declared to be the “doctor of the Church”.⁸⁰² His feast is celebrated on 13th June.

Cult and Promoters

His tomb immediately became a target of pilgrimage and a high number of miracles was recorded there. The local Franciscan community played an active role in making the saint's

⁸⁰¹ For Anthony's life, see Giacomo V. Sabatelli, “Antonio da Padova, santo” *DBI* (1961), 561-568. The sermons of Anthony are edited as *S. Antonii Pat. Sermones dominicales et in solemnitatibus quos mss. saeculi XIII codicibus qui Patavii servantur*, ed. Antonius Maria Locatelli (Padua: Societas S. Antonii Patavini, 1895).

⁸⁰² Vergilio Gamboso, “Dal s. Antonio della storia al s. Antonio della pietà popolare,” *Il Santo* 16 (1976): 227-253.

relics available for a larger public which, as Francesco Lucchini noted, was part of a wider strategy of promotion and diversification of his cult.⁸⁰³ In 1263 while his relics were being transferred from the little church of Santa Maria Materdomini to the Basilica del Santo in Padua, when his tomb was opened, Master General Bonaventure found the saint's tongue intact,⁸⁰⁴ and this fact, as it has been pointed out by Lucchini, was instrumental in the construction of the saint, transmitting the memory of his preaching activity in his thirteenth- and fourteenth-century hagiography.

The dioceses and the religious orders reacted reluctantly and slowly to Gregory IX's request regarding the commemoration of Anthony. In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries he was only venerated in the Order of Minor Brothers, in the dioceses of Lisbon and Padua, and in some cases also by the Canon Regulars of St Augustine.⁸⁰⁵ In this period only a limited number of sermons were written on him and he was much less often represented in visual arts than Francis of Assisi, which might be related the fact that his saintly image was little-defined.⁸⁰⁶ The revival of the cult of Anthony was due to the growth and the expansion of the Observant Franciscans.⁸⁰⁷ Apart from the regular contact with the centre of the cult of Anthony where he preached four times during Lent, Bernardino of Siena was also impressed by the congruity between the Franciscan vocation and the study of theology. In addition to Bernardino, also the works of other preachers related to the Observance, like Roberto Caracciolo da Lecce, Angelo da Chivasso, Antonio da Bitonto testified their admiration for Anthony. In the fifteenth century, the iconography of the Paduan saint, representing him alone or in a primary position as well as his miracles started to grow, and even the places of cult multiplied (although not significantly).

⁸⁰³ Francesco Lucchini, "The Making of a Legend: The Reliquary of the Tongue and the Representation of St. Anthony of Padua as a Preacher," in *Franciscans and Preaching: Every Miracle from the Beginning of the World*, ed. Timothy Johnson (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 451-483, at 451.

⁸⁰⁴ Bonaventure's finding is reported in thirteen different sources, see Vergilio Gamboso, "Saggio di cronotassi antoniana," *Il Santo* 21 (1981): 592-595.

⁸⁰⁵ On the cult of Anthony, see Eleonora Lombardo, "The Development of Devotion to Saint Anthony Between Localism and Universalism" 231-252 and Ivan Gerát, "Saintly Patrons, Their Altarpieces, and Regional Identities in Medieval Scepusia" 297-312 in *Cuius patrocinio tota gaudet regio: Saints' Cults and the Dynamics of Regional Cohesion*, ed. Stanislava Kuzmová, Ana Marinković, Trprmir Vedriš, (Zagreb: Croatian Hagiographic Society 'Hagiotheca', 2014).

⁸⁰⁶ Lucchini, "The Making of a Legend", 452.

⁸⁰⁷ Gamboso, "Dal s. Antonio della storia al s. Antonio della pietà popolare", 235. St Anthony is represented with St. Bernardino of Siena holding a big disk with IHS on it on a fresco by Andrea Mantegna made in 1452.

Even if not as actively as the Observants, but also the Conventual Franciscans supported his cult in the fifteenth century.⁸⁰⁸

Hagiography

The first of the most important *vitae* of Anthony, the *Vita prima* (known also as *Assidua*) was composed by an anonymous Franciscan in 1232. In this biography, which is a “sober” description of his life and preaching activity, little attention is paid to the miraculous (only one *in vita* and fifty-two *post mortem* miracles); Anthony’s role in the intellectual life of the Order of Minor Brothers is left out completely.⁸⁰⁹ It contains –in the words Gamboso– “the first map of the cult of Anthony” according to which the thaumaturgic fame of the saint diffused quickly:

Running the people of Venice, hurrying the people of Treviso, arriving the people of Vicenza, Lombardy, the Slavs, the inhabitants of Aquileia, the Teutons, the Hungarians; they all, perceiving with faith by the sight of the new signs and wonders, they praised and glorified the almighty power of the Creator.⁸¹⁰

Anthony’s second biography, the *Vita secunda* as well as a rhymed office was written by the Franciscan Julian of Speyer in 1235.⁸¹¹ According to Gamboso the fact that the saint was not included in the *Legenda aurea* shows his “scarsa medievallità”; nevertheless, his biography was included in Dominican *legendae novae* of Bartholomew of Trent, Vincent of Beauvais, Bernard Gui and Peter Calò.⁸¹² The image of Anthony as a miracle-worker started to emerge when his second important legend, the so-called *Benignitas* was composed ca. 1280, possibly by the

⁸⁰⁸ Francesco della Rovere (the future Sixtus IV) lived in the convent “*Il Santo*” between 1432 and 1449. In the bull *Immensae divinae bonitatis* of 1472 he praised Anthony greatly and gave indulgence to the pilgrims visiting his shrine as well as other privileges to ten penitents in the basilica. Another example is that of Francesco Sansone, the Master General of the Conventual Franciscans between 1475 and 1499, commissioned and patronized works of art in towns that played an important role in the history of the Order and it seems that he paid particular attention to have Anthony represented in the Franciscan churches of Assisi, Brescia or Siena, see *Frate Francesco Sansone “de Brixia” Ministro generale OFMConv (1414-1499). Un mecenate francescano del Rinascimento*, ed. Giovanna Baldissin Molli (Quaderni Museo Antoniano) (Padua: Centro studi Antoniani, 2000).

⁸⁰⁹ *Vita prima di S. Antonio di Padova o “Assidua”*, ed. Vergilio Gamboso (Fonti agiografiche antoniane 1) (Padua: Edizioni Messaggero, 1981).

⁸¹⁰ *Vita prima di S. Antonio di Padova o “Assidua”*, ed. Gamboso, 412: “Currunt Veneti, properant Tervisini, assunt Vicentini, Lombardi, Sclavi, Aquilegii, Theotonici, Hungari; qui omnes, oculata fide innovari signa et mirabilia immutari cernentes, laudbant et glorificabant omnipotentiam Conditoris.”

⁸¹¹ Giuliano da Spira, *Officio ritmico e Vita secunda*, ed. Vergilio Gamboso (Padua: Messaggero, 1985) (Fonti agiografiche antoniane).

⁸¹² Gamboso, “Dal s. Antonio della storia al s. Antonio della pietà popolare,” 247 and footnote 68.

Franciscan John Peckham, the Archbishop of Canterbury.⁸¹³ It has been observed by Jacques Dalarun that all the *in vita* miracles of the *Benignitas* are structured in a way that their effectiveness is always the outcome of the saint's preaching.⁸¹⁴ Jean Rigaud composed a new *vita* about the saint around 1300, known as the *Rigaldina*, which contains the earliest account of the preaching to the fish.⁸¹⁵ This episode was incorporated in the *Actus beati Francisci et sociorum eius* (and its Italian adaptation, the *Fioretti*) became a rather popular theme in his visual representation, too.⁸¹⁶ Anthony's life and his miracles "que in eius maiori legenda in toto vel in parte non ponuntur" were reported by Arnault of Sarrant in *Chronica XXIV generalium* composed around 1367-1370, including among others Anthony's preaching to the crowd made up of people of different mother tongues, the preaching to the fish, and the miracle of the mule who adores the consecrated Host.⁸¹⁷ His life and miracles were reported also in Bartholomew of Pisa's *De Conformitate*.⁸¹⁸ Anthony's fame spread also through the printing press, since in the missals, edited mainly by the mendicant orders and used in various dioceses of Europe, Anthony was granted with the traditional formulary of the doctors of the church.⁸¹⁹

IV.1.2 St Anthony of Padua in Hungary

It has been recognized by Sándor Bálint a long time ago that the Observant Franciscan Pelbartus de Themeswar contributed greatly to the diffusion of the cult of St Anthony of Padua in Hungary. As to the saint's earlier veneration, even though he mentions the diptych of Andrew III, Bálint contends that "one searches in vain for his portraits on winged altarpieces and murals at this time".⁸²⁰ This latter view should be slightly modified since a number of traces attest to his veneration well before the late fifteenth century, in the form of church dedications

⁸¹³ *La Vita "Dialogus" e "Benignitas"*, ed. Vergilio Gamboso (Padua: Edizioni Messaggero, 1987).

⁸¹⁴ Jacques Dalarun, "Miracolo e miracoli nell'agiografia antoniana," in *"Vite" e vita di Antonio di Padova*, ed. Luciano Bertazzo (Atti del convegno internazionale sull'agiografia antoniana padova 29 maggio – 1 giugno 1995) (Padua: 1997), 203-240, at 231-233.

⁸¹⁵ *Vite "Raymundiana" e "Rigaldina"*, ed. Vergilio Gamboso (Padua: Edizioni Messaggero, 1999), 592-594.

⁸¹⁶ *Actus beati Francisci et sociorum eius* Chapter 45, in *Fontes Franciscani* 2173-2175.

⁸¹⁷ St Anthony's book of miracles was edited by Vergilio Gamboso, "*Liber miraculorum*" e *altri testi medievali* (Padua: Edizioni Messaggero, 1997), 150-176.

⁸¹⁸ *De Conformitate* (1906), 264-273: "De sancto Antonio de Padua". Bartolomeo included in his work Anthony's preaching to the fish in two versions, the miracles of the Eucharist, and that his preaching was understood by people of different mothertongue.

⁸¹⁹ Gamboso, "Dal s. Antonio della storia al s. Antonio della pietà popolare," 237.

⁸²⁰ "Képmását, legendáját, a hazai gótika szárnyasoltárain freskóin egyelőre hiába keressük." Bálint, *Ünnepi kalendárium*, vol.2, 459.

and his images or murals in Keszthely, or Almakerék mentioned earlier in III.2.5. The bulk of this part, however, is based in fact sources made after the Observant reform in Hungary.

Church dedications

Very few ecclesiastical buildings in medieval Hungary were dedicated to St Anthony of Padua. One is the Franciscan (later Conventual) convent of Nekcse first mentioned in the fourteenth century but its dedication to the saint is unsure.⁸²¹ The Franciscan convent in Szombathely founded by Kálmán, Bishop of Győr (1337-1375) in 1360⁸²², in turn, was surely dedicated to him.⁸²³ The founder was the illegitimate son of Charles I, so the dedication of the church to the saint can be indirectly associated with the royal house.⁸²⁴ The mandorla-shaped seal of the convent representing St Anthony holding the infant Christ in his left arm (and the pilgrim's staff in his right hand) survived from a charter of 1516. The blurred inscription was presumably S(IGILLUM) SABARIENSIS CONVENTUS S (ANCTI) ANTONI(I).

A chapel in the Franciscan Church of the Virgin Mary in Segesd was dedicated to the Paduan saint, since István Marcali provided the friars with generous support, and in exchange he requested a mass to be celebrated in honour of the Virgin Mary on Sundays, and another one in honour of St Anthony in the chapel dedicated to him on Tuesdays.⁸²⁵

That Anthony's fame spread far beyond the Franciscan Order even in the mid-fifteenth century is attested by the newly build Dominican church and convent of Kolozsvár, the construction of which was supported by governor János Hunyadi (1446-1453), and then by his son Matthias

⁸²¹ Romhányi, *Kolostorok*, 47; cf. Karácsonyi, *Szent Ferencz*, vol. 1, 212.

⁸²² Karácsonyi, *Szent Ferencz*, vol.1, 284-286; Romhányi, *Kolostorok*, 66; Gábor Kiss, Endre Tóth, Balázs Zágórhidi Czigány (ed.), *Savaria – Szombathely története a város alapításától 1526-g* [Savaria –The history of Szombathely since its foundation until 1526] (Szombathely: Szombathely megyei jogú város önkormányzata, 1998), 174-178.

⁸²³ It can be known from a charter issued in 1428 according to which the Franciscan provincial Péter of Szombathely Adalbert son of Pál of Damonya together with his wife and children are admitted to the confraternity of the order, and as a special privilege he was permitted to be buried “ad ecclesiam nostram in Sabbaria ad honorem sancti Anthonii confessoris fabbricatam.” See Kiss, Tóth, and Czigány, *Savaria*, 175.

⁸²⁴ For the founder of the church, see Antal Pór, “Kálmán, győri püspök” [Kálmán, Bishop of Győr], *Századok* 23 (1889): 369-384. Pór, however, attributed the foundation of the Franciscan convent of Kőszeg to Kálmán – mistakenly.

⁸²⁵ On the (Conventual) Franciscan church, see Karácsonyi, *Szent Ferencz*, vol.1., 245-251; Romhányi, *Kolostorok*, 57.

Corvinus who confirmed the friars' regular income from the salt in 1462 and 1467.⁸²⁶ Such dedication to a saint of the “rival” order—even though the friars' church was referred to as the “church of the Virgin Mary”, or the “church of St Anthony” or both— was rather exceptional.

IV.1.3 St Anthony in the Hungarian literary sources

The sermons of the so-called “Codex of the Rhymed Divisions of Alba Iulia”

The earliest extant Latin collection of draft sermons was made around 1320 probably in the diocese of Veszprém (the so-called “Gyulafehérvári Sorok Kódexe”) and was used by Franciscan preachers. As we have seen already in III.1.3., the collection comprises a sermon on St Francis and another one on St Anthony, in all probability both composed by the Franciscan John of la Rochelle. The *thema* of Anthony's sermon is *Quasi stella matutina in medio nebule* (Eccli. 50:6). There is a more than 150-year gap between this sermon and those written by the two Observant Franciscans.

Since the legend of Anthony was not included in the *Legenda aurea*, the compiler of the late fifteenth-century addition to the legendary reported his *vita* among those who had special veneration in Hungary, the *Legende sanctorum regni Hungarie in Lombardica historia* [i.e. *Legenda aurea*] *non contente*. The work was published three times between the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century (1484/7, 1498, 1512) and also in a revised form as a Polish-Czech-Hungarian *legendarium* in 1511.⁸²⁷ It was a useful preaching aid for users in Hungary as it contained, among many others, the legends of the holy kings of Hungary, Ss Elizabeth, Gerard, Adalbert, Stanislaus and Hedwig.⁸²⁸ The collection and its sources were treated by Andor

⁸²⁶ The convent was repeatedly referred to simply as *claustrum sancti Anthonii*; see Péter Sas, “A kolozsvári domonkos templom és kolostor szerepe, jelentősége a város építészetiében” [The role and the importance of the Dominican church and convent in Cluj], in: *A Domonkos Rend Magyarországon*, 357-373, at 395. According to Mária Makó Lupescu, despite the multiple dedications (St Anthony, the Virgin Mary, St Anthony and the Virgin Mary) of the Dominican church and convent of Kolozsvár, they were all used in the same period, and there is no need to suspect a re-consecration of the building; see Lupescu, “A Domonkos Rend középkori erdélyi kolostorainak adattára,” 362, note 62.

⁸²⁷ The *Legende sanctorum regni Hungarie in Lombardica historia non contente* was published for the first time around 1484/7, in 1498, and in 1512.

⁸²⁸ The content of the *Legende sanctorum regni Hungarie* is as follows: 1) *Legenda sancti adalberti patroni huius regni*. 2) *Legenda sancti Sigismundi regis*. 3) *De sancto Stanislao*. 4) *De sancto Anthonio confessore de ordine fratrum minorum legenda sequitur*. 5) *De sancto Ladislao rege*. 6) *De visitatione beate virginis*. 7) *Sanctorum zoerardi et benedicti*. 8) *De inuentione s. stephani prothomartiris*. 9) *Sancte marie niuis*. 10) *De transfiguratione domini*. 11) *De sancto stephano rege et patroni regni hungarie*. 12) *De sancto Gerardo*. 13) *Legenda sancti wenczeslai*. 14) *De sancto Demetrio*. 15) *Legenda sancti emerici*. 16) *De sancta elisabeth regina vel vidua huius*

Tarnai who has found that textual parallels to the majority of the legends can be found in the *Breviarium Strigoniense* printed in 1480 and that Anthony's legend is the same as of those in sermons of the "Franciscans".⁸²⁹ The latter statement, however, needs consideration, as we shall see below because this legend differs in a number of points from those of Pelbartus de Themeswar and Osvaldus de Lasko. Tarnai has also pointed out that the work was much more than a preaching aid, as its compiler aimed at providing a comprehensive "national" anthology because he also incorporated legends to his collection that had been in fact, part of the *Legenda aurea*.⁸³⁰

In this version, the simple and not particularly educated Anthony's decision to abandon the Augustinian hermits for the Order of Minor Brothers in order to be able to participate in the conversion of the Saracens as desired by Francis of Assisi himself as well as his desire for martyrdom during mission arises as he sees the corpses of the Franciscan martyrs of Morocco. Anthony, as he is sailing with his brethren to a mission overseas, grows seriously ill, thus has to return to Spain but due to the storm-wind, his ship is put into port in Sicily. From here, Anthony goes to the General Chapter of Assisi where Brother Graziano, fascinated by the simplicity and the humility of Anthony, invites him to the friars' hermitage at Montepaolo near Forlì, northern Italy. On one occasion Anthony, at the request of the minister general, delivers an eloquent sermon inspired by the Holy Spirit. The whole order is fascinated by his knowledge of the Scriptures and also by the miracle that everyone present understands the language he speaks. Anthony is appointed by the minister general as professor of theology of the friars. The legend ends with encountering Anthony's career as itinerant preacher. The words "Saracens" and "martyrdom" turn up 4 and 3 times in the legend, respectively. The emphasis of voluntary death suffered by the "infidels" was probably not independent from the current political situation. The

regni. In the same period, Anthony's life and miracles together with the revelations attributed to St Elizabeth of Hungary was published in Italian also in Venice: *Vita e Miracoli di S. Antonio da Padova* [Con:] *Rivelazioni mostrate a S. Elisabeth, figliuola del Re d'Ungheria*. [Venezia, Bernardino Benali?, c. 1493 - 1495], registered also as [Verona, Paul Fridenperger]. Hain: 1275. On this work and the revelations of St Elizabeth, see Kálmán Tímár, "Adalékok kódexeink forrásaihoz 2." *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények* 36 (1926): 170; Dávid Falvay, "A Szent Erzsébetnek tulajdonított Mária-revelációk kéziratának katalógusa" [The catalogues of the manuscripts of the revelations of Mary attributed to St Elizabeth of Hungary], *FONS: Forráskutatás és Történeti Segéd tudományok* 12 (2005): 71-87. Although it is not mentioned in the printed edition, the two texts were published together obviously because St Elizabeth of Hungary was considered as a Franciscan Tertiary.

⁸²⁹ Tarnai, "A magyar nyelvet írni kezdik," 80-88, at 85 and 182, footnote 187.

⁸³⁰ Tarnai, "A magyar nyelvet írni kezdik," 84-85.

inclusion of Anthony's in the Hungarian supplement of the *Legenda aurea* shows that his feast was widely observed in the Kingdom not only in Franciscan environment.

The sermons of Pelbartus de Themeswar and Osvaldus de Lasko

Pelbartus' *sermo cum legenda* on St Anthony is built on the citation "*In medio ecclesiae aperuit os eius*" (Ecclus 15:5).⁸³¹ This passage is the introit of the proper of the mass recited on the feast St Anthony. The Observant Franciscan treats the theme in three *divisiones* commending the saint for the fruitfulness of preaching, the abundance of grace, and the blessedness of glory. In the first part of the sermon, he parallels the words of God to corporeal food and discusses what makes a preacher's work rewarding. That Anthony on earth was granted with the grace to convert lost souls (*recuperandi animas perditas*), in heaven with the grace to restore lost things to people (*recuperandi hominibus res perditas*), Pelbartus illustrates with an *in vita* miracle about finding Anthony's purse full of money fell in the sea in the belly of a fish. In the second *divisio*, he explicates the reasons why the saint was filled with the spirit of wisdom and provides the saint's concise legend in which he concentrates mainly on how Anthony joins the Order of Minor Brothers and ends up in Italy, and his preaching activity including the conversion of a heretic. He narrates in detail that Anthony, on seeing the five Franciscan martyrs taken back from Morocco "was burning by the fire of martyrdom that he soon asked the promised permission to go to the land of the Saracens."⁸³² After narrating how this mission failed and his talent for preaching was discovered in Italy, Pelbartus praises the saint's restlessness for the sake of the zeal of people going around in different provinces preaching, teaching and hearing confessions, and converting people, even a "heresiarch". The Observant preacher elaborates on the description of the huge crowd attracted by Anthony's sermon: the friar was called to make peace and to convert usurers, prostitutes and notorious villains. In the third part of the sermon about the saint's glory, Pelbartus reports some of the most well-known miracles of Anthony and his passing from this world. One of them is an *exemplum* about the veracity of the Assumption: the Virgin appears to Anthony in a vision accompanied by angels and St Jerome and assures him that she was glorified both in body and in spirit and taken up to heaven. Responding to

⁸³¹ Pelbartus de Themeswar, *Pomerium de sanctis, Pars aestivalis*, Sermo IX. (no pagination).

⁸³² Pelbartus de Themeswar, *Pomerium de sanctis, Pars aestivalis*, Sermo IX.

Anthony's question why Jerome doubted this in his sermon on the Assumption, the Virgin explains that at that time he had not yet been reassured and thus he did not dare state it. Jerome also confirms this, and Anthony is consoled by this vision.⁸³³ This *exemplum* is noteworthy for a number of reasons. First, Anthony did in fact compose a sermon for the feast of the Assumption that testifies that he was the advocate of this doctrine.⁸³⁴ Second, the same *exemplum* can be found in Pelbartus's popular collection of sermons about the Virgin, the *Stellarium coronae Beatae Virginis Mariae* in the sermon about the dormition of Mary.⁸³⁵ Third, this story became a tool for religious instruction in the Tihanyi Codex (1530-1532) copied by "frater F." for the Clarissans of Óbuda. "Frater F." adapted Pelbartus's *exemplum* on Anthony to the Hungarian vernacular so that the nuns understood that Anthony "preached with confidence about both the bodily and spiritual assumption of Our Lady".⁸³⁶

Pelbartus records two other popular miracles related to the saint's preaching activity. In the first one, Anthony converts a heretic in Rimini who did not believe in transubstantiation until a mule, by divine intervention, was capable of recognizing his Lord in the consecrated Host and kneeling down and bending his head, started to adore it. (This miracle is reported in a much simplified version in the sermon of Laskó.) In the second miracle, the saint preaches to the attentive audience of fish in the sea when the heretic inhabitants of a city did not want to listen to him. Although not explicit, the allusion of Francis's preaching to the birds cannot be missed: while the inhabitants of the sky, the birds listened alertly to the man of Assisi, the dwellers of the water did the same with Anthony. The two *exempla* with a simple message that even the animals are more receptive to the word of God than heretics were also popular themes in his hagiography. As also Pelbartus noted after the preaching to the fish, "[t]hus on the account of

⁸³³ Pelbartus de Themeswar, *Pomerium de sanctis, Pars aestivalis*, Sermo IX. A longer version of this miracle is reported in the *Stellarium* of Pelbartus was indicated by Gamboso in *Vita del "Dialogus" e "Benignitas"*, 200, footnote 2. The miracle is in Pelbartus's *Stellarium coronae Gloriosissimae Virginis*, Liber X, Pars I.

⁸³⁴ See Anthony's sermon "In Assumptione S. Mariae Virginis" in *S. Antonii Pat. Sermones dominicales et in solemnitatibus quos mss. saeculi XIII codicibus qui Patavii servantur*, ed. Antonius Maria Locatelli (Padua: Societas S. Antonii Patavini, 1895-1913, vol. 2, 729-733, esp. at 330: "Locus pedum Domini fuit Beata Maria, ex qua humanitatem accepit; quem locum hodierna die glorificavit, quia ipsam super choros Angelorum exaltavit. Per hoc aperte habes, quod Beata Virgo in corpore, quo fuit locus pedum Domini, est assumpta."

⁸³⁵ Pelbartus de Themeswar, *Stellarium coronae Beatae Virginis Mariae* (Hagenau: 1498), Liber X, pars I., art. II-III, identified by Kálmán Timár "Adalékok kódexeink forrásaihoz 2." *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények* 36 (1926): 177.

⁸³⁶ "azzonunknak mind testebe: mind lelkebe menorzagba ualo uetelet batarsaggal p[re]dikalla." *Tihanyi kódex*, 369.

this and on the account of the other described in the first section of the sermon, right before the letter “C” blessed Anthony is depicted holding a fish.”⁸³⁷ He ends the sermon with recounting Anthony’s death, the immediate veneration of the townspeople of Padua and his burial, but he summarizes the saint’s *post mortem* miracles in only one sentence and quotes the rhymed office of Anthony *Si quaeris miracula* composed by Julian of Spira in 1232.

Osvaldus of Laskó dedicated a sermon of considerable length for the feast of Anthony on the biblical passage “*Quasi vas auri solidum ornatum omni lapide precioso*” (Ecclus 50:10).⁸³⁸ The sermon is centred on the different kinds and the characteristics of virtues. Osvaldus of Laskó draws extensively on the hagiography of Anthony in the development of the saint’s natural (*naturales*), acquired (*acquisitas*) and infused (*infusae*) virtues. The saint’s mission, be it the conversion of Saracens or the heretics, plays a salient role in the sermon. While the former remained only a desire of Anthony since the moment he saw the corpses of the Franciscan martyrs of Morocco taken back to home by Peter Infant, the second was fulfilled when, already as Franciscan, became an itinerant preacher and was engaged also in teaching and anti-heretical activity. Anthony’s perfection in virtues (victory, faith, hope, charity, humility, prudence, justice and chastity) is supported by a divine miracle, too:

“For during a certain chapter, blessed Anthony preached wonderfully to the convened about the inscription on the cross of the sweet Jesus because, behold! the most blessed Francis, who at that time was alive but lived far away he appeared miraculously to his

⁸³⁷ Pelbartus de Themeswar, *Pomerium de sanctis, Pars aestivalis*, Sermo IX: “Propter hoc ergo miraculum et etiam propter illud aliud descriptum primo articulo sermonis immediate ante litteram “C” beatus Antonius piscem gestare depingitur.” The fish as attribute of St Anthony was quite rare but there are some, such as the earlier mentioned altarpiece from the Saxon village of Brulya or the predella from 1477 (no.8288) in the Old Masters’ Gallery in Museum of Fine Arts of Budapest representing St Francis with the stigmata and St Anthony with three fish, see Edina Ádám, *Képi ábrázolások reflexiói Temesvári Pelbárt prédikációiban* [The reflexions of visual representations in the sermons of Pelbartus de Themeswar] available at: http://sermone.elte.hu/?az=353tan_plaus_aedina#_ftn31 The predella is described in *German, Austrian Bohemian and British Paintings*, ed. Ildikó Ember and Imre Takács (Budapest: Szépművészeti Múzeum, 2003), 17-18. There are some more examples 1) Nürnberg from 1484 where the attribute of Anthony is a fish, see Bonaventura Kruitwagen “Der Nürnberger Einblattdruck *Rosarium Beati Francisci* (1484); St Anthony’s preaching to the fish, xylography in the *Vita e Miracoli di S. Antonio da Padova*, see footnote 829 3) Monastery of St Clare of Bressanone (Brixen) in the Trentino *portico* area to the adjacent Franciscan convent, in the company of Franciscan saints (Louis of Toulouse and Francis), Anthony is represented holding a huge fish on a fresco made around 1430 4) Girolamo Tessari, *St Anthony’s preaching to the fish*, Padua, Basilica del Santo (ca.1519). The stained glass windows are listed in Antonio Rigon “Scritture e immagini nella comunicazione di un prodigio di Antonio di Padova: la predica ai pesci” in *La comunicazione del sacro (secoli IX-XVIII)*, ed. Agostino Paravicini Bagliani and Antonio Rigon, intro. Guy Bedouelle (Rome: Herder, 2008), 111-142.

⁸³⁸ Osvaldus de Lasko, *Sermone de sanctis Biga salutis intitulati*, Sermo XLV “De sancto Antonio confessore”.

sons in the air delivering a sermon, as if God approving, he appeared as if his arms were extended on the cross and blessed them with the sign of the cross.”⁸³⁹

Reporting this episode is momentous for the establishment of a direct relationship between Anthony and Francis, the founder, who otherwise is not mentioned in the sermon. The appearance and the blessing of Francis is the proof of the shared spirituality between the two: Anthony’s preaching about the inscription of the cross and the passion of Christ, and the position of Francis arms extended as if on the cross strengthens even more their connection.

The most conspicuous feature of Osvaldus’s sermon on Anthony is the recurring motif of martyrdom. At the very beginning of the sermon, the Observant preacher argues that virtues cannot be taken away from people in any ways, not even by death:

“Likewise, it is well-known about martyrs, after that they had had been tormented, tortured and killed, some because of the virtue of faith, some because of their chastity or some other virtue, yet they did not take away these virtues they could not to surpass free will through which virtues are obtained or lost.”⁸⁴⁰

Anthony’s motivation to abandon the Augustinian Canons and join the Franciscans was born when the relics of the five martyrs of the Order were taken back and the news of their merits and passion were spread by Petrus Infans:

“Hearing this, blessed Anthony, endowed with spirit to fight like the elephant that becomes bellicose at the sight of blood; he set on fire by the fervour of faith, meditated about the offence against Christ and the martyrs with wonderful compassion; and similarly, he strongly longed for the palm of the martyr; thus he decided to take up the habit of the Minor Brothers so that, by choosing faith, he efficiently accomplish the struggle.”⁸⁴¹

⁸³⁹ Osvaldus de Lasko, *Sermones de sanctis Biga salutis intitulati*, Sermo XLV “De sancto Antonio confessore”: “Nam cum in capitulo quoddam congregatis beatus Anthonius de titulo crucis dulcis Iesu quia passionem dulciter predicaret, ecce beatissimus Franciscus tunc corporaliter vivens sed in remotis existens filiis suis in aere de miraculose presentavit quasi viri Dei approbando sermonem tamquam brachiis in patibulo crucis extensis apparuit et signo crucis eos benedixit.” This episode allegedly took place at the Chapter of Arles and was first reported in Bonaventure’s *Legenda maior*, Chapter 4, 10 in *Fontes Franciscani*, 810-812. Perhaps the most famous representation of the “Apparition in the Chapter of Arles” was made by Giotto in the Bardi Chapel, Florence, around 1320.

⁸⁴⁰ Osvaldus de Lasko, *Sermones de sanctis Biga salutis intitulati*, Sermo XLV “De sancto Antonio confessore”: “Sicut patet de martyribus, quos tormentaverunt, cruciarunt et occiderunt aliquando propter virtutem fidei, aliquando propter castitatis vel virtutem aliam, non tamen virtutes abstulerunt, quia liberum arbitrium non potuerunt superare, per quod virtutes acquiruntur aut perduntur.”

⁸⁴¹ Osvaldus de Lasko, *Sermones de sanctis Biga salutis intitulati*, Sermo XLV “De sancto Antonio confessore”: “Audiens haec beatus Anthonius elephantis more ex aspectus sanguinis ad proelium animatis: ita fidei fervore

In order to testify that Anthony had perfectly acquired virtues in addition to knowledge, the understanding of Scripture, prudence, and justice, Osvaldus of Laskó adds that it was said about Anthony “that with an ardent desire for martyrdom, he tried to go to the land of the Saracens in order to die for Christ but God decided differently on his utility for the Christian religion.”⁸⁴² The Observant Franciscan considers Anthony an example for those who want to acquire virtues. Citing Luke 11:9-10 “*Petite et accipietis*” he argues that Anthony acquired an abundant amount of the virtues “since contrary to the sensitive desire, he wanted to die for Christ faithfully, and to avoid all sins and to keep the middle in virtues for the sake of his love.”⁸⁴³

What can be the reason of such an eminent role of martyrdom in the sermon of an Observant Franciscan preacher composed at the very end of the 1490s? In 1481 the Franciscan Pope Sixtus IV with the bull “*Cum alias animo*” decreed that the memory of the five Franciscan martyrs – more than two and a half century after they had suffered martyrdom-, should be venerated publicly and solemnly.⁸⁴⁴ This “canonization” was, in fact, the approval of the solemn celebration of their cult in the Franciscan churches, supported mainly by the Observants, especially by those of Portugal, which, in turn was strongly related to the Lusitanian dynasty. The official recognition of the Franciscan proto-martyrs motivated the printed publication of *Tractatus de martyrio sanctorum*, attributed by some to Tommaso d’Arezzo (d. in 1437), in 1492.⁸⁴⁵ Due to the ongoing Ottoman expansion, in the fifteenth century a new interest in martyrdom, propagated also by the Observant Franciscans, emerged.⁸⁴⁶

succensus, ut Christi iniuriam et martyrum mira in se compassionem retorquebat: ad eandemque martyrum palmam prorsus anhelabat. Habitum igitur fratrum minorum assumere deliberat, ut optatum fidei agonem efficacius perficiat.”

⁸⁴² Osvaldus de Lasko, *Sermones de sanctis Biga salutis intitulati*, Sermo XLV “De sancto Antonio confessore”: “(...) quod cum fervent desiderio martyrii conaretur ire ad terram Saracenorum, mori pro Christo, sed Deus aliud fidei Christianae utilius decreverat de eo (...)”.

⁸⁴³ Osvaldus de Lasko, *Sermones de sanctis Biga salutis intitulati*, Sermo XLV “De sancto Antonio confessore”: “(...) quia contra appetitum sensitivum voluit pie mori pro Christo, et ob ipsius amorem omne peccatum cavere et medium virtutum tenere.”

⁸⁴⁴ On the protomartyrs, see the volume *Dai protomartiri Francescani a sant’Antonio di Padova: Atti della Giornata internazionale di studi Terni, 11 giugno 20, ed. Luciano Bertazzo and Giuseppe Cassio* (Padova, Centro Studi Antoniani: 2011); and James D. Ryan, “Missionary Saints of the High Middle Ages: Martyrdom, Popular Veneration, and Canonization,” *The Catholic Historical Review* 90 (2004): 1-28.

⁸⁴⁵ Alison Knowles Frazier, *Possible Lives: Authors and Saints in Renaissance Italy* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005), 81-90.

⁸⁴⁶ On the revival of martyrs and martyrologies in general, see Frazier, *Possible Lives*, 45-99; Miri Rubin, “Martyrs and Martyrologies,” *Studies in Church History* 30 (1983): 153-183.

In fact, Osvaldus of Laskó never exhorts his audience to seek martyrdom: it is the *desire* of Anthony to shed his blood for Christ to which he gives emphasis in the sermon and in this respect, his text is quite similar to the legend of Anthony in the *Legende sanctorum regni Hungarie*. Suffering martyrdom was the means through which one could get the closest to the imitation of the Passion of Christ. As it has been observed, in the hagiography of the thirteenth-century Franciscan saints, Ss Francis, Anthony and Clare, the yearning for martyrdom is present.⁸⁴⁷ Francis, longing for martyrdom, went to Egypt and preached before the Sultan al-Malik al-Kamil; and although God did not fulfil his wish, he was granted with a special prerogative, the stigmata. Not only Anthony was inspired by the Franciscan proto-martyrs of Morocco but, as some *sorores* testified, also Clare of Assisi.⁸⁴⁸ However, as it has been pointed out by Christopher MacEvitt, little attention was given to the thirteenth-century Franciscans who did suffer martyrdom and only scattered references of those who died, survive.⁸⁴⁹ This tendency has changed considerably in the fourteenth century, and in the following century detailed narratives of the Franciscan martyrs were included in the chronicles, catalogues of saints and sermon collections of the order.⁸⁵⁰ Although Osvaldus himself did not, his Observant fellow Pelbartus composed a sermon for the feast of the five Franciscan martyrs of Morocco (16th January).⁸⁵¹

Anthony's life has come down to us only in the Érdy Codex. The Carthusian Anonymous, as Cecília Radó has shown, worked on the basis of Roberto Caracciolo's sermo 69 in the *De laudibus sanctorum* collection.⁸⁵² The theme of the Hungarian sermon and its Latin model is the

⁸⁴⁷ For the desire for martyrdom in the Franciscan Order, see Isabelle Heullant-Donat, "Les franciscains et le martyre au XIII^e siècle," in *Dai protomartiri*, 11-29; Christopher MacEvitt, "Victory by Desire: Crusade and Martyrdom in the Fourteenth Century," in *Center and Periphery: Studies on Power in the Medieval World in Honor of William Chester Jordan*, ed. Katherine L. Jansen, Guy Geltner and Anne E. Lester (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 223-235, esp. at 228-235.

⁸⁴⁸ *Processo di canonizzazione di santa Chiara d'Assisi* in *Fontes Franciscani*, 2480; 2482; 2496; see Luciano Bertazzo, "I protomartiri francescani tra storia e agiografia," 31-47 in *Dai protomartiri Francescani a sant'Antonio di Padova*, at 32-33.

⁸⁴⁹ MacEvitt, "Victory by Desire", 228.

⁸⁵⁰ Paciocco, *Da Francesco ai "catalogi sanctorum"*, 90-110.

⁸⁵¹ Pelbartus de Themeswar *Pomerium sermonum [pars hiemalis]*, Sermo LXIb.

⁸⁵² For the identification of the Latin source and the comparison of the structure of the two sermons, see Cecília Radó, "Roberto Caracciolo prédikációs működésének magyarországi vonatkozásai" [The Hungarian references in the preaching activity of Roberto Caracciolo in Hungary] available at http://sermones.elte.hu/page/369_tan_plaus_rcili.pdf (last accessed 27 March 2015); eadem, "Robertus Caracciolus OFM prédikációs segédkönyveinek magyarországi felhasználása," 121-143.

same “*Non potest civitas abscondi supra montem posita*” (Matt 5:14) and their structure is quite similar: the first section is about Anthony’s motivations of joining a religious order: time, reason, love), the second is about his preaching and the third is about his glorification.⁸⁵³ The Carthusian preacher added his own views about the adequate age and motives of joining an order: no-one should be hindered or forced to choose religious life since this can only have negative consequences. The only valid reason for entrance is one’s own salvation and the service of the Lord.

When unfolding the third reason why Anthony joined the Franciscans, according to the Carthusian preacher, he left the Augustinian Canons since in the Order of Minor Brothers the observance of penitence was stricter.⁸⁵⁴ Since Caracciolo did not state clearly in his sermon that Anthony, having witnessed the Franciscan proto-martyrs of Morocco, desired to be a *real* martyr that seemed to be possible in that Order, the Carthusian Anonymous tried to establish a plausible link martyrdom (not taken literally) and the Order of Minor Brothers.

Anthony’s erudition and his activity as a preacher are the primary concerns in the Hungarian sermon. The saint’s wisdom was unlearned just like that of the apostles; and the Carthusian Anonymous unfolds why Anthony is considered to be the Doctor of the Church:

Therefore he justly deserved to take the office of saint doctors since by understanding well and truly the Scriptures, he was capable of true discernment. Moreover, he was also the doctor of the soul, who cleansed himself [of sins] and was saturated with various spiritual merits, he was able to redeem the sins and the spiritual wounds of others; some with teaching, some with reproach, giving each person the cure according to their own need, so much that those who would listen to his preaching, amazed at his intelligence, called him the “chest of wisdom” because he spoke only one language, his mother tongue, people speaking different languages were able to understand what he was saying, as [it happened to] the apostles a long time ago.”⁸⁵⁵

⁸⁵³ *Érdy-kódex*, 319-324.

⁸⁵⁴ *Érdy-kódex*, 320.

⁸⁵⁵ *Érdy-kódex*, 321: “Annak okaert meltan erdemlette vala az zent doctorsaghnak tyztyt ffel venny, mert az zent yras yol es ygazan erthween ygaz tanwsagot twd vala tenny. Towabbaa byzon lelky orwos ees vala, mert ky ymaran ennen magat tyztoytotta vala es kylemb kylemb lelky yozagokkal tellyes vala, eegyebeknek byneket es lelky seböket mag twggya vala vygazytany, kyt tanoytassal kyt yntessel kyt keddeeg feddessel, kynek mynd ew my volta zerent orwossagt oztogathwan, wgy anneera, hogy kyk az ew zent predicaciyat hallyak vala el amelkodwan az ew nagy ertelmessegeen, bölcsesseghnek zekrenyeenek newezyk vala, mert mykoron chak azon eegy nyelven zolt bezellöt, kyben zyletöt kylem kylemb nyelvö neepek megh ertetteek mondasat, mynt reeghen az zent

Anthony did not preach from his own will but because he was obedient to the command of God. His activity was helped by heavenly grace which as witnessed by the miracles the Carthusian Anonymous lists: the preaching to the fish, the chasing away rain so that the audience of his sermon would not escape, and two other healing miracles that are apparently not related to Anthony's preaching. The famous *exemplum* of the preaching to the fish that results in the conversion of the heretics of Rimini is noteworthy not only because it is a sermon within a sermon but also because, as it has been observed by Cecília Radó, the Carthusian Anonymous expanded Anthony's sermon as it was reported in Caracciolo in order to make the narrative more colourful.⁸⁵⁶

Anthony's life is narrated in the third section of the vernacular sermon in order to give reasons why he is glorified. The Carthusian preacher describes the youth of the saints who after studying for a short time, became engaged in spiritual matters. As a Franciscan friar, he was engaged in preaching, in the conversion of sinners and heretics, and he would perform miracles in the name of the Holy Trinity and Jesus Christ. Miraculous events –that testify his sanctity– did not cease to occur even after his death: Anthony appeared in a vision to the Abbot of Vercelli (Tommaso Gallus) on the day of his death; the bells of the churches in Lisbon started miraculously ringing on the day of his canonization, and on the day of the translation of his body in 1263 when Bonaventure found his tongue intact among his relics. For the illustration that Anthony was an efficient intermediary in miracles, the Carthusian author relates two of his *post mortem* miracle of the most “prestigious” kind: rising of the dead. He reinforces even the wonder-worker image of the saint by the end of his sermon: “If, my beloved fellows designate all the innumerable miracles that were and are still performed by the Lord God due to the merits of St Anthony, there would not be enough time even only to call to mind.”⁸⁵⁷

IV.1.4 The faithful companion of St Francis – St Anthony in visual arts

Apostoloknak.” It refers to Anthony's preaching in Rome at the feast of Pentecost, reported in the *Benignitas*, 516-518.

⁸⁵⁶ Tóthné Radó, "Robertus Caracciolus OFM prédikációs segédkönyveinek magyarországi felhasználása," 174-175.

⁸⁵⁷ *Érdy-kódex*, 324.

In the thirteenth-century visual arts, except some miniatures, St Anthony is not represented alone but he is usually depicted with other saints, most often with St Francis.⁸⁵⁸ These images represent Anthony as the faithful companion of Francis. Servus Gieben proposed to consider the saint of Padua as the complementary founder of the Order of Minor Brothers, especially for his quality as a scholar, doctor and apostolic preacher.⁸⁵⁹ The Francis-Anthony duo can be seen on the diptych of King Andrew III that has already been discussed in II. 6. (Fig.1) The Paduan saint can be found in already mentioned Franciscan church of Keszthely (Fig.26), holding a cross in his left and a book in his right hand.



Figure 26 – St Anthony of Padua(?) in the Franciscan church of Keszthely, ca. 1360.

Photo: Attila Mudrák

⁸⁵⁸ Servus Gieben, “La componente figurativa dell’immagine agiografica: l’iconografia di sant’Antonio nel secolo XIII,” *Il Santo* 36 (1996): 321-333; the description of King Andrew’s diptych is at 329. For the iconography of St Anthony, see Kaftal, *Iconography of Saints*, coll.77-87

⁸⁵⁹ Cf. Gieben, “La componente figurativa dell’immagine agiografica,” 333.

The saint in the lowest register of the nave holding a book and a tau-shaped stick is identified as St Anthony of Padua by some scholars in the Franciscan Church of Our Lady in Mezőtelegd (Tileagd, Romania).⁸⁶⁰ The Franciscan friary was founded in 1335 in his birthplace by Csanád Telegdi, Archbishop of Esztergom (1330-1349), who had strong ties to Charles I. It is a typical fourteenth-century example of a Franciscan establishment founded by a member of an aristocrat family, whose members continued to provide financial support for the Franciscans.⁸⁶¹ Thanks to this, the provincial chapter of the Franciscans was held here twice (1347, 1369).⁸⁶² If it is in fact the Franciscan church and not the parish church that still exists and where wall paintings were found, then these could have been made for the provincial chapter of 1369 by Tamás Telegdi, Archbishop of Esztergom (1367-1376), which could be a great opportunity to praise the famous ancestors of the family through the dynastic saints (Ss Emeric and Ladislaus) as well as to pay tribute to those of the Franciscans.⁸⁶³ However, if it is not the Franciscan church but the parish church the beneficiaries of which was the Telegdi family, there is no reason to identify this male figure with the Paduan saint.

The saint can be found in the company of St Francis on the work-day side on the already mentioned altarpiece of Brulya made in 1520, holding a fish in his hand (Fig.17). The surviving visual material from Hungary (the diptych of Andrew III, the Franciscan church of Keszthely, the altarpiece of Brulya) shows that Anthony is represented in general with Francis. In most cases Anthony's attribute is the book indicating his learnedness, but from Pelbartus's sermon composed at the very end of the fifteenth-century it can be understood that also fish became his well-known attribute, which can be seen indeed in Brulya. The contexts of the pictorial representations of Anthony of Padua are quite different: the diptych in which the two Franciscan saints are represented was a royal commission, made for private use; the frescoes of the Franciscan church of Keszthely and the church of Almakerék were commissioned and financed by a family closely related to the royal house.

⁸⁶⁰ Lionnet, "Les peintures murales," 'Catalog', 71-72.

⁸⁶¹ de Cevins and Koszta, "La noblesse et ordres religieux en Hongries," 593-594, 605-606.

⁸⁶² Karácsonyi, *Szent Ferencz*, vol.1, 203-204; Romhányi, *Kolostorok*, 67.

⁸⁶³ Tamás Emödi, for instance, does not associate the church with the Franciscans; see idem, "A Királyhágómelléki Református Egyházkerület műemlék templomai" [The monument churches of the Calvinist diocese of Királyhágómellék] ed. Tamás Emödi, in: *Örökségünk védelmében: egyháztörténeti értékek gondozása a Királyhágómelléki Református Egyházkerületben* (Nagyvárad: Királyhágómelléki Református Egyházkerület, 2004), 7-54, at 25-26

IV.1.5 Concluding remarks

St Anthony of Padua, despite being the second canonized saint after the founder of an international order, for a long time had only a local cult, centred mostly in the neighbouring territories of Padua and Lisbon. Therefore, it is not surprising that he turns up only in very few sources related to Hungary until the very end of the fifteenth century. It is noteworthy that from among the Franciscan institutions only two were dedicated to him. In contrast, around the mid-fifteenth century the Dominican church of Kolozsvár was dedicated to the Paduan saint and the Virgin Mary. The indulgence in the “Codex of the Lines of Alba Iulia” indicates though that there were altars dedicated to St Francis, Clare and Anthony in various churches in Veszprém county by 1295 the latest. The Order of Minor Brothers was not really efficient in the propagation of the learned preacher not only in Hungary but in other parts of Europe, at least until the advent of the Observant Franciscans. In the Franciscan collections of model sermons the two earliest officially canonized saints of the Order, Francis and Anthony, could not have been omitted. The earliest surviving of such preaching aids was the “Codex of the Divisions of Alba Iulia” from the first quarter of the fourteenth century, the sermons of which were the works of eminent Franciscan theologians of the University of Paris.⁸⁶⁴ All the late fifteenth-early sixteenth-century authors, the unknown compiler of the *Legende sanctorum regni Hungarie*, the two Observant Franciscan preachers and the Anonymous Carthusian emphasize to different degrees the “Franciscan aspect” of the life of Anthony and hold dissimilar views on his motivation for joining the Order. Anthony’s activity as an itinerant preacher is characteristic to the mendicant orders in general. Although there are sporadic references to Anthony’s humility, abstinence in eating and obedience (manifested primarily first when he was commanded to preach a sermon, then when he was officially appointed with task of preaching in different areas), the theme of poverty is hardly mentioned at all except the compiler of the *Legende sanctorum regni Hungarie* and Osvaldus’s remark that the Franciscan friars of Coimbra would go around begging. Besides, Francis of Assisi appears only in Osvaldus’s

⁸⁶⁴ By the time the codex was made, Clare of Assisi was surely canonized (1255) and it is possible that also Louis of Anjou, bishop of Toulouse was inscribed to the catalogue of saints (1317) but the manuscript does not contain any sermons on them. Nevertheless, St Clare’s is mentioned by name among those feasts when indulgence could be gained in the diocese of Veszprém.

sermon in a form of a vision. Generally speaking, Anthony's saintly image as preacher and miracle worker -developed mainly in his *vitae* in the circa 150 years after his canonization- was preserved in the sermons on St Anthony written in Hungary though in the sermon of Osvaldus almost no space is given to the miracles of the saint. As the most perfect expression of the *sequela Christi*, Anthony, similarly to Francis, wanted to suffer martyrdom during evangelization, but God had different plans: instead of the glory of the martyrs the Poverello was granted with the stigmata, Anthony with the divine inspiration and the talent of preaching. For the compiler of the *Legende sanctorum regni Hungarie* and the two Observant Franciscans in whose Order the celebration of the feast of the five Franciscan martyrs of Morocco had been introduced also officially in 1481, Anthony's motivation to choose the Order of Minor Brothers was crucial, whereas for the Anonymous Carthusian, who also worked on the basis of the sermon composed by a Franciscan, had apparently no significance. *Exempla* and miracle stories related to Anthony were used as means of religious instruction, such as transubstantiation or the Assumption of the Virgin both in the Latin and the vernacular. One of them show significant a role the two religious authorities, a Church Father and the erudite Minorite played in supporting the doctrine advocated by the Franciscans, the bodily assumption of the Virgin.

In the three sermons the *in vita* miracles of the saint of Padua greatly outnumber the *post mortem* ones, although the Bonaventure's finding the miraculously preserved tongue relic, the per excellence symbol for his preaching activity, are reported both by Pelbartus and the Anonymous Carthusian. It is characteristic to the sermons of these two authors that they narrate also those miracles of the saint that had not been present in his earliest *vitae*: in addition to the above-mentioned invention of his tongue relic, the preaching to the fish, and the miracle of the consecrated Host. The fact that the latter can be found in all the three sermons -although Osvaldus mentions it only briefly-, implies that this has become perhaps the most emblematic episode of his hagiography, probably due to its versatile and exemplum-like character (it can be read as a conversion or a Eucharistic miracle) and the presence of the mule that made it easily memorable. The popular tradition according to which Anthony restores lost items to people and its explanation can be found only in Pelbartus's sermon, which is an important reference popular religion in Hungary, which means that Anthony's invocation for finding lost objects has become widely known in areas remote from the centre of his cult in Padua.

IV.2. Light and Protector – St Clare of Assisi

IV.2.1 The beginnings

Life and canonization

Clare of Assisi (1193/4-1253) originated from a noble family. As an adolescent was deeply moved and inspired by the example Francis of Assisi and got acquainted with him.⁸⁶⁵ At the age of 18, Clare fled from the paternal house and on Palm Sunday she was tonsured by Francis himself and consecrated to the Lord in the Porziuncula. Clare and the community that formed around her settled down finally at the former hospital of San Damiano, near Assisi. As the 4th Lateran Council of 1215 prohibited the creation of new monastic rules, the Rule of St Benedict was imposed on the community of San Damiano. Since this rule allowed the monasteries to accept donations and hold common possessions, Clare in 1227 asked a *privilegium* from Innocent III that would allow the *Pauperes Dominae Sancti Damiani* to observe absolute poverty.⁸⁶⁶ Shortly before the death of Francis of Assisi (1226) the community of San Damiano was placed under the jurisdiction of the bishop of Ostia. In 1228 the community was incorporated to the *Ordo pauperum dominarum de Valle Spoleti* established by Cardinal Ugolino of Ostia (the future Pope Gregory IX from 1227 onwards), who had been appointed by Pope Honorius to deal with the new forms of female religiosity, the *pauperes dominae reclusae* and were placed directly under the protection of the Papal See.⁸⁶⁷ In return, Clare asked again for the “Privilege of Poverty” that she did obtain in the same year, which declared that that no one can constrain the Damianite sisters to hold possessions or have any revenue. At this time

⁸⁶⁵ Maria Pia Alberzoni, *Clare of Assisi and the Poor Sisters in the Thirteenth Century* (New York, Saint Bonaventure University, Franciscan Institute Publications 2004); Chiara Frugoni, *Storia di Chiara e Francesco* (Turin: Einaudi, 2011); Catherine M. Mooney, *Clare of Assisi and the Thirteenth-Century Church: Religious Women, Rules, Resistance* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016). For a chronology of the life of Clare of Assisi, see Uribe, *Introduzione alle fonti agiografiche di san Francesco e santa Chiara d'Assisi (secc. XIII-XIV)*, 463-467.

⁸⁶⁶ On Clare's struggle for absolute poverty in her community, see Joan Mueller, *A Companion to Clare of Assisi: Life, Writings and Spirituality* (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 11-117. The authenticity of the *privilegium paupertatis* of Pope Innocent III as well as Clare's testament is debated; cf. Werner Maleczek, “Das *Privilegium Paupertatis* Innocenz' III. und das Testament der Klara von Assisi. Überlegungen zur Frage ihrer Echtheit,” *Collectanea Franciscana* 65 (1995): 5-82.

⁸⁶⁷ Cardinal Ugolino not only started to multiply the female monasteries but also wrote a rule for them, which was confirmed in 1245. These were the so-called Ugolinian monasteries whose *formula vitae* showed a strong Benedictine influence and prescribed a strict *clausura*. Gregory IX admired Clare and supported the community of San Damiano and he changed its name to *Ordo pauperum dominarum in Ordo Sancti Damiani*.

occurred the event that later became a popular episode in her hagiography: Pope Gregory visited the community of San Damiano and tried to convince Clare to hold some properties but she firmly refused to do so.

Clare's illness that lasted until her death started about the age of 30. During these years she exchanged three letters between 1234-1238 with Agnes of Bohemia (1205-1282), the daughter of Ottokar Přemysl and Constance of the Arpads.⁸⁶⁸ Agnes, after some unsuccessful attempts on the part of the Přemyslids to marry her one of the prestigious dynasties of Western Europe, got into close relationship with the Franciscans who settled down in Prague in 1233. The princess founded the first convent of the Poor Clares in Prague, the first one in Central Europe, where she lived the rest of her life.⁸⁶⁹ Clare started to write the 4th letter to Agnes shortly before her death in 1253; in the same year she finished her own *Rule*, and she died two days after Pope Gregory IX approved it. Her canonization campaign started in October 1253 and was canonized in 1255 by Pope Alexander IV. Her feast day was fixed on 12th August, one day after her death.⁸⁷⁰ The bull *Religiosam vitam* issued by Urban IV in 1263 acknowledged Clare as the founder of a new order and decreed that all the monasteries living under different names but following the basically the same *forma vitae* of her community were to be called the Order of St Clare.⁸⁷¹

Immediately after the publication of the canonization of Clare with the bull *Clara claris preclara meritis*, Pope Alexander IV appointed a person -presumably Thomas of Celano- to write her official biography on the basis of the documents registered during the canonization

⁸⁶⁸ In addition to the four letters to Agnes of Bohemia, Clare of Assisi wrote a letter to Ermentrude of Bruges, a *formula vitae*, a testament and a benediction. All her writings are reported in the *Fontes Franciscani*, 2261-2324, the letters to Agnes are at pp. 2261-2284, her *Rule* is at 2289-2307. On the context of the letters, see Mueller, *A Companion to Clare of Assisi*, pp. 119-168.

⁸⁶⁹ Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses*, 204-205; 238-240. On Agnes of Prague and the Franciscan in Prague, see Christian-Frederik Felskau, *Agnes von Böhmen und die Klosteranlage der Klarissen und Franziskaner in Prag: Leben und Institution, Legende und Verehrung* (Nordhausen: Verlag Traugott Bautz, 2008).

⁸⁷⁰ In 1969 her feast was transferred to 11th August.

⁸⁷¹ For a summary of the complex history of the rules of the Order of St Clare, see Cristina Andenna, "Secundum regulam datam sororibus ordinis sancti Damiani. Sancia e Aquilana: due esperimenti di ritorno alle origini alla corte di Napoli nel XIV secolo" in: *Franciscan Organisation in the Mendicant Context: Formal and informal structures of the friars' lives and ministry in the Middle Ages*, ed. Michael Robson and Jens Röhrkasten, 139-178 (Berlin: n. p., [2010]), 139-178, at 144-156.

process.⁸⁷² The *Legendae sanctae Clarae virginis (Admirabilis femina)* was finished in 1261 and was dedicated to the pope.⁸⁷³ The author relied mostly on the canonization process as well as the on the testimonies of sisters of San Damiano and other Franciscan friars who were present at the events. The legend consists of two parts, the first part containing the author's dedicatory letter to the pope and the legend itself, the second one her *post mortem* miracles and canonization. Her *vita* sums up the characteristic aspects her sanctity: chastity, particular affection for the human character of the Lord, especially his infancy and Passion, love for the Church and the visits of the popes, the service of the sisters, the adherence to poverty, penitence, prayer, devotion to the Eucharist and her long illness suffered with patience. The accentuation of the saint's particular care for children and for the sisters of the community as well as her devotion to Mary is quite remarkable. In addition, as it has been pointed out by Joanna Mueller, the author of the legend was careful to explain that whereas Francis was the source of inspiration of Clare's way of life, it was Pope Gregory IX who provided her with a monastic legislation.⁸⁷⁴ The other important version of Clare's life is a versified legend. It cannot be decided whether the versified life or the *Legendae sanctae Clarae* was made earlier. Although her life and the way it was presented in her legend is fairly traditional insofar she lived according to the monastic tradition, Clare was special in her adherence to absolute poverty and her relation towards humans.⁸⁷⁵ Although some other "minor" legends of Clare were composed in the thirteenth century, the *Legendae sanctae Clarae* remained the generally used one in the following centuries from 1263 onwards when the constitutions of Narbonne decreed that the Franciscan houses own a copy of it. Her legend, however, was not really known outside the Franciscan family partly because of the fact that originally her *vita* was not included in James of Varazze's *Legenda aurea*.⁸⁷⁶ As Alison More highlighted, there were a number of preachers who composed sermons for the feast of St Clare who did not have any apparent relation to the Order of Brothers Minor; they rarely relied on her legend but rather elaborated an

⁸⁷²The documents of the canonization process were first edited by Zeffirino Lazzeri, "Il processo di canonizzazione di S. Chiara d'Assisi" *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* 12 (1920): 439-493; in *Fontes Franciscani*, 2456-2457.

⁸⁷³ The text was edited by Francesco Pennacchi, *Legendae Sanctae Clarae Virginis tratta dal ms. 338 della Bibl. Comunale di Assisi* (Assisi: Tipografia Metastasio, 1910); in *Fontes Franciscani*, 2415-2450.

⁸⁷⁴ Mueller, *A Companion to Clare of Assisi*, 73.

⁸⁷⁵ Cf. Alison More, "Gracious Women Seeking Glory: Clare of Assisi and Elisabeth of Hungary in Franciscan Sermons" in *Franciscans and Preaching*, ed. Timothy J. Johnson (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 209-230.

⁸⁷⁶ In several cases, the copyists added her legend to the *legendarium*, see Barbara Fleith, *Studien zur Überlieferungsgeschichte der lateinischen Legenda Auera* (Bruxelles: Société des Bollandistes, 1991).

image that could be applied to other female saints as well, or that was connected to an obvious feature, like her name.⁸⁷⁷

Episodes from Clare's life also survive in the biographies of St Francis, of which I mention only the *Actus beati Francisci* since this is the only one that can be related to the accounts that survived in the Hungarian vernacular. The *Actus* reports four chapters in which Clare figures but since the three of them are not part of her early hagiography but were mentioned here for the first time in this form, their authenticity is dubious.⁸⁷⁸ *Actus* 15 (Saint Francis and his companions together with Saint Clare are raptured in the place of the Porziuncula), *Actus* 16 (God revealed Saint Clare and Brother Silvestro that Francis has to preach), *Actus* 41 (Saint Clare was taken to the church of Saint Francis on Christmas Eve), and *Actus* 42 (Saint Clare impressed miraculously the sign of the cross in the breads).⁸⁷⁹ Although these chapters cannot be regarded as historical sources, in Uribe's opinion they are remarkable from the point of view how the figure of Clare was perceived in the environment of the Spiritual Franciscan from where the *Actus* originated.⁸⁸⁰

Liturgical cult

The discrepancy between the legislative tradition of the statutes of the general chapters of the Order of Minor Brothers and the actual development of her cult based on the manuscript evidence has been acknowledged a long time ago.⁸⁸¹ The liturgical cult of Clare of Assisi started to flourish after the fourth Minister General Haymo of Faversham had adapted the missal of the Roman Curia to the needs of the Franciscans in conformity with their *Regula* and he also started to work in a definitive reform of all the liturgical books.⁸⁸² The compilation of a

⁸⁷⁷ More, "Gracious Women Seeking Glory...", 212-213; see also Aleksander Horowski, "Chiara d'Assisi in alcuni sermoni medievali" *Collectanea franciscana* 81 (2011): 645-703, at 645.

⁸⁷⁸ For the role of women in the *Actus*, see Jacques Dalarun, *Francesco: un passaggio. Donna e donne negli scritti e nelle leggende di Francesco d'Assisi* (Rome: Viella, 1994), 137-140.

⁸⁷⁹ According to Jacques Dalarun, Clare's dining with Francis is an extrapolation probably derived from her tonsure at the Santa Maria dagli Angeli, reported in the *Legenda sanctae Clarae virginis*, Chapter 8 in *Fontes Franciscani*, 2419-2420; the asking for advice whether Francis should preach or rather pray may come from the *Legenda maior*, Chapter 12 in *Fontes Franciscani*, 888-889; see Dalarun, *Francesco: un passaggio*, 137.

⁸⁸⁰ Uribe, *Introduzione alle fonti agiografiche di san Francesco e santa Chiara d'Assisi (secc. XIII-XIV)*, 525.

⁸⁸¹ Aureliano Van Dijk O.F.M., "Il culto di Santa Chiara nel Medioevo", in *Santa Chiara d'Assisi. Studi e Cronaca del VII Centenario (1253-1953)* (Perugia: Donnini, 1954), 155-205.

⁸⁸² The statutes Van Dijk reconstructed from manuscripts are the following 1) Chapter of Narbonne (1260) no. 11: *De sancta Clara fiat officium duplex, sicut papa mandavit; et nomen eius ponatur in letania.* 2) Chapter of Pisa

new Franciscan calendar around 1259-60, attached probably to the breviary, was of crucial importance for the cult of Clare. Since her feast was reported in the prototypes of the breviary, it diffused quickly not only within the Franciscan family but other orders like the Augustine hermits, the Order of the Friar Servants of Mary and the Order of St Jerome, and in those dioceses and churches that used the books of the Franciscans. Until the Great Schism (1378-1417), her feast was in the calendar of the Latin Church but was not included in the calendar of the Dominican Order (as 12th August is the feast of Dominic's octave), the Cistercian Order, and the monastic orders outside Italy, at least not until the 15th century.⁸⁸³ Clare's position among the virgin saints was not defined but varied according to local traditions, and her name can be found in the litany can be found in a few liturgical books from the 15th century onwards.

IV.2.2 St Clare in Hungary

The strong and charismatic personality of Clare of Assisi can be known better through her writings than her hagiography. She was the first woman who wrote a *forma vitae* for a community of women, she exchanged letters with pious princesses providing spiritual guidance and practical advice, and was widely known as the most faithful observer and guard of the cornerstone of the spirituality she shared with Francis of Assisi: the adherence to absolute poverty. Clare and her community at San Damiano were well-known by the contemporaries thanks partly to itinerant Franciscans, and very soon her example was followed by women who decided to turn away from the secular world and live in communities in evangelic poverty. The first followers of Clare in Hungary appeared relatively soon in the second half of the 1230s. Her community was famous and popular also in Hungary but what about Clare herself? Only a limited number of signs testify to her veneration in the county, be they written or visual: even

(1263) no. 12: *Inter duplicia maiora festum Trinitatis, dedicatio ecclesiae et festum sanctae Clarae de cetero computentur. Octava tamen de eisdem non fiat.* 3) Chapter of Lyon (1272) no. 13: *Et nomen sanctae Clarae in sabbato sancto et in aliis letaniis ponatur et eius legenda, publicata in generali capitulo, a locis singulis habeatur.* 4) Chapter of Paris (1292) no.14: *Item vult et ordinat generale capitulum quod historia sanctae Clarae examinari debeat: et recipiatur et cantetur per totum ordinem, vel fiat alia per aliquem cui minister generalis commiserit, si dicta historia inventa defectiva.* 5) Chapter of Assisi (1340) no.15: *Item statutum fuit quod commemoratio sanctae Clarae fiat per totum ordinem sicut de aliis sanctis nostris.* 6) Chapter of Barcelona (1357) no.16: *Festum translationis sanctae Clarae a fratribus et sororibus secunda die octobris celebratur.*(158-159)

⁸⁸³ Van Dijk, "Il culto di Santa Chiara nel Medioevo," 167-168.

the earliest surviving Latin sermons were composed almost two and a half centuries after her canonization. Episodes from the life of Clare can be read in vernacular codices, especially those of Franciscan provenance but even the number of these is quite limited, which is unexpected since generally these manuscripts were made for Clarissan nuns. The low number of visual representations of the saint cannot be compared to those of St Elizabeth with whom she was often depicted as the two most glorious and officially canonized female representatives of the Franciscan family. Much has been written about the Clarissans in Hungary, almost nothing about the veneration of Clare. This part of the chapter aims at making up for this gap.

Patrocinia

Although the earliest source in which the name of Clare of Assisi is mentioned is dated to 1311 (*conventus monasterii sancte Claree de Posonio*), and there is a reference from 1315 to the *sancte Clare de Tyrnauia ecclesie*, these refer to the Order of St Clare (*Ordo sanctae Clarae*) rather than to Clare herself. It is supported by the fact that in a source from 1358, a reference “*abbatissae et conventui monasterii S. Clarae in Veteribuda ord. S. Clarae Vesprim dioec.*” indicates a clear distinction between the name of the saint and the name of the Order. The church of the Franciscan convent on the Island of the Rabbits, built between 1270 and 1276 is referred to as the church of St Clare (*eccl-e B. Clare*) around 1311/1320.⁸⁸⁴ Similarly, the chapel in the church of Csehi, Zagreb county where a chapel was dedicated to her.⁸⁸⁵ There were also two villages in medieval Hungary bore the name *Szentklára* or its close variant: one of them was located in Körös county and was mentioned in 1495 and 1513 (Novigrad Podravski, Croatia),⁸⁸⁶ the other was in Zagreb county, mentioned first in 1494.⁸⁸⁷

Although probably in the churches of each Clarissan convent as well as in the churches dedicated to St Clare of Assisi there was an altar dedicated to her, written evidence comes only from the parish church of the Virgin Mary in Magyarzsombor (Zimbor, Romania): in 1483,

⁸⁸⁴ Károly Szabó, *Székely oklevéltár*, [Szekler collection of charters] (Kolozsvar: Magyar Történelmi Társaság Kolozsvári Bizottsága, 1872-1898), vol. 1, 33-34, no.24.

⁸⁸⁵ Georg Heller, *Comitatus Zagradiensis*, 2 vols. (Die historischen Ortsnamen von Ungarn 11) (Munich: Univ., 1980), vol. 1, 53.

⁸⁸⁶ Georg Heller, *Comitatus Crisiensis*, (Die historischen Ortsnamen von Ungarn 10) (Munich: Univ., 1978), 164-165.

⁸⁸⁷ *Comitatus Zagradiensis*, vol. 1, 166.

before leaving to a pilgrimage to Rome, Péter Zsombori bequeathed his fishpond for the erection of the altar of St Clare.⁸⁸⁸

Remnants of the observation of her feast: indulgences and liturgical books

The relatively high number of indulgences granted for the Clarissan convents can be explained partly by their direct protection by the pope, partly by their influential founder's (or patron's) relation to the papal courts. Pope Clement V granted the privilege of 40 days of indulgence in 1315 to the nuns of Nagyszombat (that they had requested 14 years earlier!) to those who would pray in their church on the feasts of the Holy Virgin, Ss Clare and Elizabeth.⁸⁸⁹ Elizabeth Piast requested indulgences for the convent of Óbuda: in 1350 Pope Clement VI granted the convent the privilege to give a one year and forty days-indulgence for the feasts on the consecration of the church, and for an impressive number of saints, among them also Ss Francis and Clare;⁸⁹⁰ in 1358 Pope Innocent VI provided them the same indulgences for the feasts of Ss Clare and Francis that were granted to the other Clarissan communities.⁸⁹¹ In 1513, at the request of Tamás Bakócz, the Cardinal of Esztergom, Pope Leo X gave indulgences to those who would pray at Elizabeth's grave at the Feasts of the Holy Virgin, Ss Clare, Dorothy and Ursula.⁸⁹²

Masses for the feasts of St Clare and St Anthony of Padua were included in the appendix of the Franciscan missal from Hungary today preserved in Assisi that, as it had been mentioned in Chapter III, was possessed in the early fourteenth century in by a certain Ladislaus de Saray.⁸⁹³ The fact that they were not included in the *corpus* shows that this missal was one of the early

⁸⁸⁸ Zsigmond Jakó, *Erdélyi okmánytár / Codex diplomaticus Transsylvaniae* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 2014²), no. 2342; Mező, *Patrociniumok*, 201.

⁸⁸⁹ *Anjoukori okmánytár. Codex diplomaticus Hungaricus Andegavensis. I. (1301-1321)*, ed. Imre Nagy (Budapest: A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia könyvkiadó hivatala, 1878), 14, no.9.: "Cupientes igitur ut ecclesia beate uirginis in Tyrna in qua sorores ordinis sancte Clare deuote igniter domino famulantur, congruis honoribus frequentetur, omnibus vere penitentibus et confessis, qui ecclesiam predictam in festiuitatibus gloriose uirginis marie, Beate Clare, Beate Elizabet annis singulis uenerabiliter uisitauerint de omnipotentis Dei misericordia confisi, singuli singulas quadragenas de iniuncta sibi penitencia misericorditer relaxamus(...)".

⁸⁹⁰ Árpád Bossányi, *Regesta Supplicationum. A pápai kérvénykönyvek magyar vonatkozású okmányai. Avignoni korszak* [Documents in the papal supplication books related to Hungary], (Budapest: Stephaneum, 1916-18), vol. 2, 212. Theiner, *Monumenta historica Hungariae*, vol.1. 780.-81.

⁸⁹¹ Vilmos Fraknói, *Monumenta Romana episcopatus Vespriensis*, vol.1 179. Fejér IX/3, .57-59; IX/7,170. Theiner, *Monumenta historica Hungariae* II, 57. 40-43, 49., quoted in Karácsonyi, *Szent Ferencz*, vol.2, 452.

⁸⁹² Theiner, *Monumenta historica Hungariae*, II. pp. 612-13: "(...) qui capellam predictam in visitationis et annunciationis ac presentationis beate Marie Virginis, necnon sanctorum Clare, Dorothee et undecim millium Virginum festiuitatibus a primis vespris usque uisitauerint (...)"

⁸⁹³ Veszprémy, "Egy Árpád-kori ferences kézirat Assisiben," 92-93

ones, made around 1260. That there was confusion about the inclusion and the rank of her feast can be seen in the already mentioned *Missale Notatum Strigoniense* of ca. 1340.

IV.2.3 St Clare in late fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century Latin sermons and vernacular codices

In general, the sermon literature on St Clare is quite reduced compared to that of St Francis, which is due to the fact that despite the quick spread of her cult in Europe, the observance of her feast was limited to the Franciscan family.⁸⁹⁴ The fact that both Hungarian Observant Franciscans dedicated only one sermon to St Clare in their collections also testifies to this. Although recently there have been studies exploring the sermons on St Clare, they mostly concentrate on the thirteenth- and fourteenth-century material. With the advent of the Observant Franciscans from the mid-fifteenth century onwards, that gave a new impetus to the preaching on St Clare.

Pelbartus's *De sancta Clara virgine sermon cum legenda* is divided in three parts centred on the saint's chastity, sanctity and the reward of the eternal joy.⁸⁹⁵ He applies the theme "*O quam pulchra est casta generatio*" (Sap 4:1), which was one of the most popular themes in the sermon composed for her feast.⁸⁹⁶ The first section is about the praise of her chastity for different reasons (rarity, greatness and beauty) draws largely on citations by church authorities. The second (and the longest) part about her sanctity enumerating nine merits illustrated by short episodes from Clare's legend. The third one treats her eternal reward manifested in her life through the gifts Christ and the Virgin Mary as well as her *post mortem* miracles. The source of Pelbartus also in this case was probably Roberto Caracciolo, but all the episodes in the sermon can be found in the *Legendae sanctae Clarae*. The nine merits include the divine revelations concerning her birth, her *conversatio* in the paternal house, the vow of virginity, that she was

⁸⁹⁴ Horowski, "Chiara d'Assisi in alcuni sermoni medievali," 645.

⁸⁹⁵ Pelbartus de Themeswar, *Sermones Pomerii de sanctis [Pars aestivalis]* sermo L [no pagination].

⁸⁹⁶ As Nicole Bériou's list of late medieval sermons originated from France shows: out of the 96 sermons, 6 have this theme, and altogether 36 have themes related to light. Nicole Bériou, "Les sermons sur sainte Claire dans l'espace française (c.1250-c.1350)," in *Sainte Claire d'Assise et sa postérité. Actes du Colloque international à l'occasion du huitième Centenaire de la naissance de sainte Claire, U.N.E.S.C.O. (29 septembre-1er octobre 1994)*, ed. Geneviève Brunel-Lobrichon (Nantes: Association Claire Aujourd'hui, 1995), 143-149.

tonsured and took her habit from the hands of Francis in the Portiuncula, the exemplarity of her sanctity that inspired “many virgins and noble widows, the daughters of illustrious princes and kings”⁸⁹⁷ to despise this world and to live in serve Christ in chastity, poverty and all religious virtues, her devotional practices and prayers, the strict observance of poverty and ascetic practices, her virtues manifested in humility, the adherence to absolute poverty, the distribution of her dowry, needlework and her special devotion to the Eucharist (as Pelbartus suggests “*Exemplum tibi in his*”), and finally the miracles with the bread and oil she performed in her lifetime. Also the third part of the sermon reports two further episodes from her hagiography: the first one that recounts how Clare, being ill on Christmas Eve, could not go to church with the other nuns, so Christ visited her; the second story is related to her death: Mary accompanied by other heavenly virgins visits the saint of Assisi on her deathbed and embraces her. Francis of Assisi is of scarce importance in this sermon: his figure appears to be the main inspiration of Clare’s choice of her way of life and the person who provided lodging for her and her community at San Damiano. Furthermore, Francis is mentioned twice in the section concerned with the rigid observance Clare kept: he is presented as the single authority over her in the issues related to fasting (Francis ordered her to eat bread every day) and in the leadership of the community (she accepted the title of abbess only because Francis compelled her to do so). Yet, as Pelbartus underlines, Clare was not afraid to contradict to Pope Gregory IX when he wanted to persuade her to hold possessions on the account of “*eventus temporum and pericula saeculorum*” and wanted to absolve her from the vow of poverty she had made, saying she wanted to be absolved from her sins but not from the following of Christ.⁸⁹⁸

Clare’s prayers were exceptionally powerful. Pelbartus recounts that although she could not only exorcise demons with the help of them but could provide help for Pope Gregory who would often turn to her for advice. Moreover, on two occasions she managed to liberate her hometown from the Saracen invaders: first from the troops led by Captain Vitalis in 1240, and then in the following year, during the second siege of Assisi the already ill Clare got out from her bed, asked for the Eucharist, and in front of the monstrance she begged God to save the city

⁸⁹⁷ Pelbartus de Themeswar, *Sermones Pomerii de sanctis [Pars aestivalis]* sermo L [no pagination].

⁸⁹⁸ Pelbartus de Themeswar, *Sermones Pomerii de sanctis [Pars aestivalis]* sermo L [no pagination].

and protect the ladies of San Damiano. The answer of God came through the Eucharist who assuring her of the divine protection, and the Saracen troops retreated the day after.⁸⁹⁹

The theme the other Observant Franciscan, Osvaldus de Lasko chose for his sermon *De Sancta Clara virgine*, despite being related to light, was far from being a common one: “*Nova lux oriri visa est gaudium apud omnes populos*” (New light seemed to rise, joy in all peoples, Esther 8:16-17). It is not known what Osvaldus’s model was for this sermon, if he had any. Although it was not unusual to associate Old Testament female characters with Clare, in most cases it was Judith, but there were preachers, like Odo of Châteauroux, who connected her to sterile women who were made fruitful through their virtue, like Sara, Rebecca and Anna.⁹⁰⁰ Osvaldus cites this passage originally applied to Esther who calmed down the rage of King Ahasuerus against the sons of Israel. Clare enlightened the world and brought joy through a fourfold light: moral, spiritual, intellectual and supernatural; each kind of light is connected to a biblical passage in which the word light (*lux*, *claritas*) figure. Osvaldus presents Clare’s sanctity through nine characteristics of the light, each but two illustrated by an episode from her life.

There are a number of common episodes in the sermons of the two Hungarian Observant Franciscans,⁹⁰¹ but some episodes and remarks make Osvaldus’s sermon more remarkable. He recounts two episodes (Clare’s dinner in the Porziuncola and the impression of the cross on the breads blessed by her) that ultimately both go back to the *Actus beati Francisci et sociorum eius* (Ch. 15 and 42)⁹⁰². That Clare was clarifying in doubts (*declaratiua est in dubiis*), Osvaldus illustrates it with the story according to which Francis sends Brother Maffeus to Clare to inquire whether praying or preaching pleases more to God. The other exemplum based on the *Actus* recounts that on one occasion Clare and some of the *sorores* are invited by Francis to the Santa Maria degli Angeli (where she was tonsured and took her vow) to eat lunch together with the

⁸⁹⁹ In 1240 the troops of the Emperor Frederic II that consisted of “Saracens” i.e. Arabs from Sicily whom he had moved to Puglia and were fine archers, tried to invade Assisi; in 1241 the imperial army led by Vitale d’Aversa attacked again the city.

⁹⁰⁰ Odo of Châteauroux, “Qui habitare facit,” quoted in More, “Gracious Women Seeking Glory...”, 217-218.

⁹⁰¹ Such as the prophecy told to Clare’s mother, her pious way of life from her early childhood, her *conversio* on Palm Sunday, her example followed by a high number of virgins from all over the world, her defence of Assisi from the enemies, her refusal of the absolution from the vow of poverty, and the multiplication of the bread in the monastery of San Damiano.

⁹⁰² It is not known what his direct source was because these two stories circulated also independently from the above-mentioned work. These episodes are narrated in at least twelve different manuscript traditions. See *Fonti Clariniane*, ed. Boccali, 802. Besides, they appeared in print, too.

friars. Francis starts to speak about God with such sweetness that all those who were present including him, are ravished in ecstasy and are seen in the sky by the inhabitants of Assisi, and it looks as if the Santa Maria degli Angeli and the neighbouring forest were on fire. On they return to the convent, the company is filled with divine sweetness, they eat little from the food. When Clare returns with the nuns to San Damiano, those sisters who remained there rejoice greatly since they were afraid that Clare had been transferred to govern another convent, just as her sister Agnes was sent to Florence to be the abbess of the Poor Clares.⁹⁰³ This episode had a long-lasting success from the fourteenth century onwards in literature; in addition, the ecstasy of the saints appeared in printed books since the seventeenth century,⁹⁰⁴ and it was also translated into Hungarian in the early sixteenth century.

Both Pelbartus and Osvaldus report in their sermons that God, speaking through the Eucharist, promises the praying Clare to save the monastery of San Damiano from the enemy at the time when the town of Assisi was under siege.⁹⁰⁵ Yet Osvaldus ends the story as follows: “O behold how this virgin prayed for what the armed band of the soldiers of the town could not accomplish, would be accomplished by the virtue of prayer. Soon the enemies were stirred up and abandoning the monastery and likewise the siege of the town, they escaped. Her image is depicted with a monstrance for the memory of this event.”⁹⁰⁶ This means that Osvaldus, whose collection of sermons was published in 1497, was familiar with images representing Clare with the monstrance and he also associated her with the expulsion of the Saracens from Assisi. As it has been noted in scholarship, in Italy the earliest representations of St Clare with the monstrance date back only to the second half of the 15th century.⁹⁰⁷ Although the Eucharistic

⁹⁰³ Agnes of Assisi was indeed named abbess and in 1219 was sent by St Francis to direct the community of the Poor Clares at the monastery of Monticelli, near Florence.

⁹⁰⁴ Servus Gieben, “L’iconografia di Chiara d’Assisi”, in *Atti del XX Convegno internazionale* (Assisi, 15-17 ottobre 1992) (Spoleto: Centro Italiano di Studi sull’Alto Medioevo, 1993), 187-236, at 211-213.

⁹⁰⁵ For the development of St Clare’s representation in the Middle Ages with a special emphasis on the canonization documents and hagiography, see Chiara Frugoni, *Una solitudine abitata: Chiara d’Assisi* (Rome: Laterza, 2006); for the liberation of Assisi, see 164-172. For Clare’s representation in visual arts and in preaching in the early modern period, see Nirit Ben-Aryeh Debby, *The Cult of St Clare of Assisi in Early Modern Italy* (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2014), 57-104, St Clare and the Saracens at 91-94.

⁹⁰⁶ Osvaldus de Lasko, *Sermones de sanctis Biga salutis intitulati sermo LXXXVI*, [no pagination]: “O mira huius virginis orando per quam quod armata ciuium manus efficere non potuit virtus orationis effecit. Mox hostes excitati sunt relicto monasterio vt etiam ab obsidio ciuitatis aufugiunt ideo in huius rei memoriam cum monstrantia depingitur ipsius imago.”

⁹⁰⁷ For the images of Clare with the monstrance, see Gieben, “L’iconografia di Chiara d’Assisi,” 200-203.

devotion had a long tradition among the saintly women from the 12th century onwards, as Nirit Ben-Aryeh Debby noted, the story of the Eucharist that made possible the expulsion of the Saracens is unprecedented.⁹⁰⁸ Whereas according to Servus Gieben's hypothesis John of Capestrano could have been the possible propagator of the image of Clare as a protector against the new invaders, the Ottomans, who were threatening Europe might work for Italy, it is certainly not true for other countries. There are examples from Switzerland, the Low Countries and Germany that depict her with the monstrance from the fourteenth century.⁹⁰⁹ However, in these representations the focus is more on the Eucharistic miracle and on the monstrance than on the encounter with the Saracen army. The monstrance became from the fourteenth but even more from the fifteenth century onwards her most characteristic attribute: this tradition was stronger in the territories over the Alps, and as scholars have already noticed, was strongly related to the diffusion of the devotion for the Eucharist.⁹¹⁰ Although it cannot be known with certainty what image(s) Osvaldus had in mind when he wrote that Clare is depicted with a monstrance, her representation with this attribute became largely diffused in the late 15th-century through the different Latin and German editions of the *Nuremberg Chronicle* thanks to the xylography of Michael Wolgemut.⁹¹¹ (Fig.27) The similarity of the miraculous liberation of Assisi to the Franciscan Observant John of Capestrano's (1386-1456) victory over the Turks – the famous battle of Belgrade of 1456- probably did not escape the attention of the two Hungarian Observant Franciscans, so it could be one of the reasons why he included this miracle in their sermons on St Clare. Still, neither of them laid particular emphasis to the Christian-Muslim controversy aspect of this story in their sermons although it would have been topical.

⁹⁰⁸ Debby, *The Cult of St Clare of Assisi in Early Modern Italy*, 106-107.

⁹⁰⁹ The stained glass fragment from the castle of Vijfwegen (Netherlands), the "Klarenaltar" originating from the convent of the Clarisses of Cologne made around 1360 (Germany); stained glass of the double Franciscan monastery of Königsfelden, made circa 1325-1330 (Switzerland); a miniature in a thirteenth-century Franciscan Psalter made in France.

⁹¹⁰ Cf. Gieben, "L'iconografia di Chiara d'Assisi," 213; Frugoni, *Una solitudine abitata: Chiara d'Assisi*, 171.

⁹¹¹ Hartmann Schedel, *Liber Chronicarum* (Nuremberg, 1493); (Augsburg 1497); the German editions: Nuremberg 1493; Augsburg 1496; Augsburg 1500.



Figure 27 – St Clare with the monstrance. Xylography of Michael Wolgemut in Hartmann Schedel's *Liber Chronicarum*. Nuremberg, 1493, 210a.

St Clare's sermon in the Érdy Codex

Although a relatively high number of the vernacular codices were compiled for or copied by Clarissan nuns, her sermon can be found only in the collection of the Carthusian Anonymous.⁹¹² While the Clarissan nuns were surely familiar with Clare's life, the Carthusian author composed his collection of sermons and legends for an audience made up of the members of different religious orders including Clarissans. His model for the sermon on Clare was the already discussed Latin sermon of Pelbartus. Clare's legend -as he informs his audience - cannot be looked up in some of the legendaries "since she lived not long ago."⁹¹³ Like his predecessor, the Carthusian author uses Clare name as a mnemonic device and dedicates considerable part of his sermon to the saint's virginity and on the praise of chastity in general, quoting Augustine, Jerome, Paul and John of Damascus.⁹¹⁴ In the second part, he elaborates on the same nine merits that Pelbartus attributed to the saint but in the illustration of her strict observance of the rule he omits Clare's rigorous fasting habits (that had been objected by Francis, too). The Carthusian preacher regards commendable Clare's affection for the Eucharist: "And when she wanted to take Holy Communion, she approached it with strong crying and weeping tears and

⁹¹² The sermon on St Clare is in *Érdy-kódex*, 468-475.

⁹¹³ *Érdy-kódex*, 475.

⁹¹⁴ *Érdy-kódex*, 471.

stood in front of it so fearfully as if she had seen with her own eyes the Lord Jesus Christ in his divine quality. The saint virgin lady Clare is an example for us.”⁹¹⁵ A remarkable difference between Pelbartus’s Latin and the Carthusian Anonymous’s vernacular sermon is that in the latter the two episodes that relate her as the defender of Assisi against the Saracen troops of Emperor Frederick II with the help of her prayers are left out. What can the omission of these two miracles, of which one is perhaps the most important one as it accounts for her representation with a monstrance suggest? First, it does not seem to support the assumption that Clare’s role in the siege of Assisi against an army that mainly consisted of non-Christians was an obvious association to the role of John of Capestrano in the battle of Belgrade even for an educated Hungarian preacher like the Carthusian Anonymous who was not an Observant Franciscan. Second, it might be assumed that around 1526-1527 when the vernacular sermon collection was composed, the reason why Clare was depicted with the monstrance, at least outside of the Franciscan family, was not generally known; otherwise, the Anonymous Carthusian would have understood the significance of these stories in Clare’s legend and would not have omitted them.

Episodes from Clare’s life in the Jókai, the Lobkowitz, and the Lázár Zelma codices

The representation of Clare in the hagiographic materials composed on Francis is a quite complex question that has not escaped scholarly attention.⁹¹⁶ The earliest vernacular text that in which Clare figures is the mid-15th –century Jókai Codex, but her presence is not motivated, as I have already mentioned in the chapter on St Francis of Assisi, by an intended female audience, but rather by the fact that three episodes in which Clare turns up, are part of the *Actus beati Francisci*, one of the major sources of the Jókai Codex. Whereas the first two episodes, the apparition of the cross on the loaves of bread blessed by Clare at the request of the pope (*Actus* 43; *Fioretti* 33) and her miraculous transport and Holy Communion to the church of St Francis on Christmas Eve follow one another (*Actus* 42; *Fioretti* 35), the third one (of which unfortunately a folio is missing) on how God revealed to Clare and Brother Silvester that

⁹¹⁵ *Érdy-kódex*, 200: “Mykoron kedeg oltary zentseegöt akar vala venny, nagy syrassal kenyhwllatassal yarwl vala reea, kynek elötte oly nagy feelelemmel aal, mynt ha twlaydon nylwan lathnaa wr Iesus Cristusth istenseege zerent. [...] Pelda mynekewnk zyz zent Chalara azzon”.

⁹¹⁶ For the role of women in the *Actus*, see Dalarun, *Francesco: un passaggio*, 137-140.

Francis should preach in order to convert people (*Actus* 16; *Fioretti* 16) is placed in the section dedicated to the prophetic and supernatural events related to the saints' life.

These episodes (with one exception) go back ultimately to the *Actus beati Francisci* and were, as we have seen, read widely also as the part of the *Fioretti*, the adaptation of the *Actus* in the Tuscan vernacular, or the printed *Speculum vitae* (1504), and one of them was translated and added to the Lobkowitz Codex (ca.1514) made for a noblewoman, perhaps a Clarissan abbess.⁹¹⁷ The friars who put the codex together, selected Clare's and some sister's mystical dinner at the Portiuncula with St Francis and the friars' and Clare's transportation to the Santa Maria degli Angeli.⁹¹⁸ The former episode narrates the ecstasy of the two saints and their companions who gathered for a dinner but after the mystical experience, the participants did not need bodily food since they were saturated with spiritual nourishment. According to Ágnes Korondi, this episode seems to illustrate the order often present in the *regula* according to which nuns should concentrate more on the spiritual nourishment, that is the edificatory reading or on "divine thoughts" rather than on the carnal food while they eat.⁹¹⁹ The second episode is related to spiritual food, too, this time the Eucharist: the miracle tells that Clare is transported to the church and after participating in the Christmas services, she takes Holy Communion. Clare herself gives then account to the sisters about her mystical experience but she is not able to decide about its nature: "whether I was [present] in my frail body or only in my spirit".⁹²⁰

In addition to the special veneration of the Eucharist and the particular significance of receiving the communion (often accompanied by a mystical experience) for women, Marian devotion was also an essential feature in late medieval piety in general, promoted especially by the male members of the religious orders.⁹²¹ The popularity of the miracles of the Virgin Mary is

⁹¹⁷ Lobkowitz-kódex, 30. As Ágnes Korondi has pointed out, the direct brother-sister relationship between the translator and his addressee reflects, on the one hand, contemporary literary analogy in the devotional literature of the age, and on the other, an affectionate but also hierarchical family relationship. For the discussion of the Bonaventure's *De perfectione vitae ad sorores* in the Lobkowitz Codex, see Korondi, *A misztika a késő középkori magyar nyelvű kolostori kódexirodalomban*, 135-136.

⁹¹⁸ Lobkowitz-kódex, 175-181.

⁹¹⁹ Korondi, *A misztika a késő középkori magyar nyelvű kolostori kódexirodalomban*, 158.

⁹²⁰ Lobkowitz-kódex, 184: "ha az en giarlo testemben voltam avagy chak lelkemben (...)"

⁹²¹ On the promotion of the devotion to the Virgin Mary and the *Corpus Christi* of the Franciscans and the Dominicans, see Giulia Barone, "Le proposte agiografiche degli ordini mendicanti tra radicamento locale e dimensione sovranazionale," in *Vita religiosa e identità politiche: universalità e particolarismi nell'Europa del tardo medioevo*, (Fondazione di studi sulla civiltà del tardo medioevo, San Miniato; Collana di Studi e Ricerche 7)

manifested by the collections of so-called Miracles of the Virgin that were circulating in Latin and were translated to different European vernacular languages.⁹²² In these miracles, the Virgin often had eschatological function, which was one of her oldest recognized prerogatives. The Lázár Zelma Codex, which I already dealt with on the account of the stigmatization prayer of Francis of Assisi, reports one of the final moments of the saint.⁹²³ This *exemplum*, already present in a slightly different version in her legend, turns up in twice in the Latin works of Pelbartus.⁹²⁴ According to the story, when the day of Clare's passing has come, the Virgin Mary accompanied by other virgins, visits her in her chamber, embraces her, and the virgins cover her with a beautiful blanket and adorn the bedroom. That Clare's soul rejoiced at the moment of death provided was something desirable and imitable at the same time. It was not difficult to turn it into a prayer pleading for the grace of good death so that it should perfectly fit into a collection of prayers:

Therefore, Christian soul, remember this, since it can happen in the same way also at the time of your death [...] and therefore we beg our sweet Lord Jesus Christ to see fit sending the blessed Virgin Mary with the virgins at the hour of our death and [that] we could take the eternal joy forever and ever amen.⁹²⁵

ed. Sergio Gensini (Pisa: Pacini San Miniato, 1998), pp.163-180, at 164-168. Somewhat contrary to the efforts of the male members of the religious orders, mystical experience of medieval women show that the devotion to the Virgin was not a particularly salient feature; women mystics were rather inclined to the auto-identification with Mary; cf. Chapter 8 "Maria negli scritti delle donne medioevali" in Alessandra Bartolomei Romagnoli, *Santità e mistica femminile nel Medioevo* (Spoleto: Centro italiano di studi sull'alto Medioevo, 2013), 415-446.

⁹²² The Marian miracles were analysed by Guy Philippart, "Le récit miraculaire marial dans l'Occident médiéval" in *Marie: Le culte de la Vierge dans la société médiévale*, ed. Dominique Iogna-Prat, Éric Palazzo, Daniel Russo (Paris: Beauchesne, 1996), 563-590.

⁹²³ *Lázár Zelma-kódex*, 85-89.

⁹²⁴ In the sermon on St Clare in the *Pomerium de sanctis* and in the *Pomerium de tempore, Pars aestivalis*, sermo XLVI: "De mortis timore vel appetitu". For Clare's transition, see *Legendae sanctae Clarae* in *Fontes Franciscani*, 2440-2441.

⁹²⁵ *Lázár Zelma-kódex*, 88-89: "(...) annakokaiert / kereztjén lelek vedd ezod/-ben mert ezonkepen tor-/tenhetyk te nekodes az te / lelkodek kȳ mulassan/-ak ideien: lathatatlan / keppen es annakokaiert / konȳorogȳuonk az mi edes / vronk iesus cristusnak / hogȳ meltoltassek el bo-/chatani az bodogh zȳz m-/ariat az zent zȳzekkel az halalonknak oraian es o /velok egȳetemben vehes-/swk az orok bodoghssa-/ghot orokkwl orokee / amen".

IV.2.4 *Soror*, Wise Virgin and intercessor – St Clare in visual arts

Murals

One of the few medieval visual representations of Clare can be found in the already mentioned Franciscan church of Keszthely.⁹²⁶ The figure in the middle part of the southern wall on the left dressed in the habit of the Poor Clares is usually identified with St Clare (without any attribute) (Fig.28), while the elegantly dressed other female figure on the right is probably St Elizabeth of Hungary.⁹²⁷



Figure 28- St Clare of Assisi in the Franciscan church of Keszthely; wall painting, ca. 1360.
Photo: Attila Mudrák

⁹²⁶ For St Clare's iconography, see Kaftal, *The Iconography of the Saints in Tuscan Paintings*, coll.269-280.

⁹²⁷ Szakács, "Palatine Lackfi and His Saints," 210-212.

Clare is one of the Wise Virgins (from top to bottom are Ss Margaret, Catherine, Dorothy, Clare, Agnes) who are depicted on the triumphal arch together with the Foolish Virgins in the Church of St Nicholas in Mohos (Poruba, Slovakia) made around 1400.⁹²⁸ (Fig.29) Each Wise Virgin has a Foolish Virgin “pair” (from top to bottom: *innumerata virgo*, *stulta virgo*, *[f]atua virgo*, *insipiens(?) virgo*, *ex(s) an...ens (?) virgo*). As Marie Lionnet observed, this is an illustration of Matt 25:1-13 since all the inscriptions end with “...date nobis de oleo” and the band separating the two groups of virgins, another extract from the parable can be read: “lampades nostrae extinguuntur (?) / Date nobis de oleo vestro”.⁹²⁹ So how to explain Clare’s inclusion as the fifth Wise Virgin? I believe that the etymology of the name of Clare can be easily associated with this biblical passage. Moreover, the attribute of a lamp is present in her iconography referring to her spiritual light.⁹³⁰

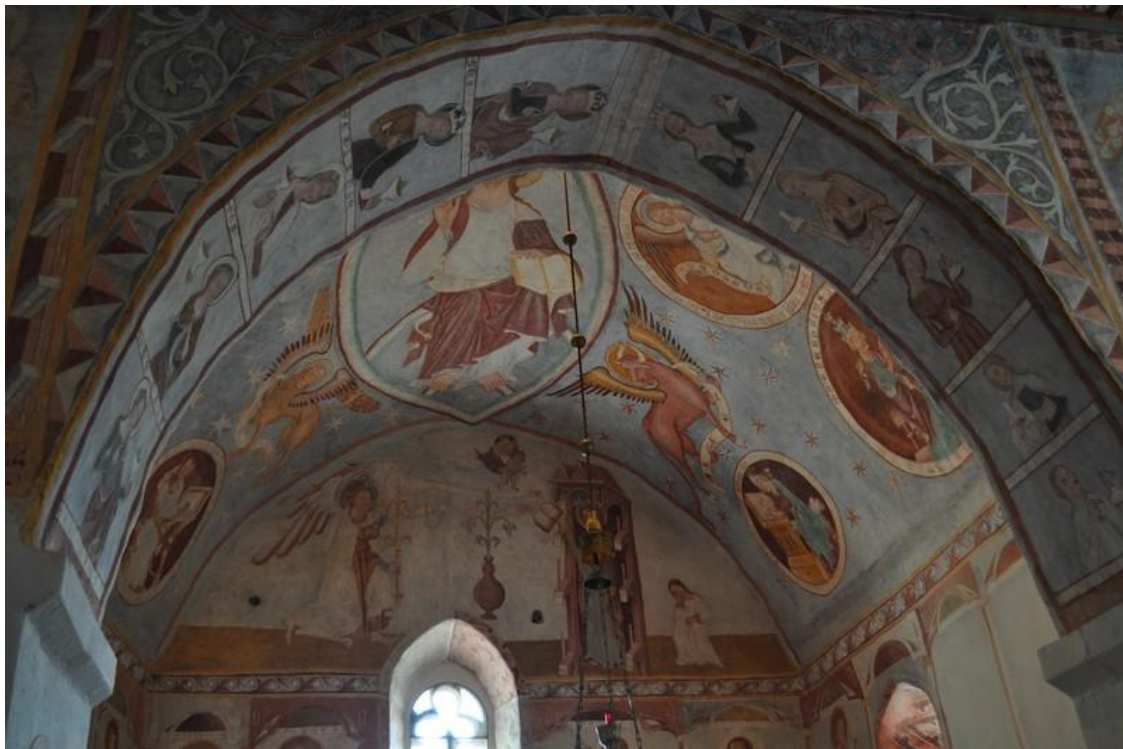


Figure 29- St Clare of Assisi (second from the left) on the triumphal arch in the St Nicholas church Mohos (Poruba,Slovakia); wall painting, ca. 1400. Photo: Internet

⁹²⁸ Botek, Andrej. “Nástenné maľby v Kostole sv. Mikuláša v Porube,” *Pamiatky a múzeá* 20 (2010): 49-55; Gerát, *Stredoveké*, 85-87.

⁹²⁹ Lionnet, “Les peintures murales,” ‘Catalogue’, 72-73.

⁹³⁰ Cf. *Sanctity Pictured*, ed. Kennedy, 141; 144.

Winged altarpieces

Clare can be found on the central panel of the altarpiece of in the Church of Our Lady in Almakerék.⁹³¹ She is represented on the right hand side of the altar with a female donor kneeling in front of the enthroned and crowned Virgin Mary. Clare is standing behind the donor and she is holding in her right hand a monstrance above the woman's head, and her left hand is placed on the donor's upper arm, as if she presented her to the Virgin. (Fig.30) The donor directly communicates with Mary through a speech scroll "Ora pro me sancta Dei genetrix". On the left side, the male donor, introduced by the archangel Michael, is asking the infant Christ sitting in his mother lap, asking "O fili Dei Miserere mei".



Figure 30 – Central panel of the high altar of the Apafi church of Almakerék (Mălâncrav, Romania, 1450-1460). Photo: Attila Csedő (detail)

The male donor is most probably Mihály Apafi (1440-1469), the member of the Apafi family by whom the church of was built. Mihály is regarded to be the commissioner of the altarpiece that was made between 1450 and 1460, probably for the memory of his grandfather also called

⁹³¹ Crăciun, "Mendicant Piety," 29-32. On the church of Mălâncrav and the patronage of the Apafi family, Gogâltan, "Patronage and Artistic Production in Transylvania".

Mihály.⁹³² The altarpiece of Almakerék was one of the instances of the visual and written sources through which Marian Crăciun shed some light on the pious models the mendicant orders presented to the secular society. She offered two possibilities why the female donor chose to be presented by the saint of Assisi: she could be devoted to Clare with whom she possible shared a name (several documents mention that Apafi's widow was called Klára),⁹³³ or it may suggest a predilection for the Franciscan saint. According to Crăciun, the well-visible depiction of the Eucharist in the monstrance is possibly an attempt to promote devotion centred on the *Corpus Christi* advocated by both female figures. Emese Sarkadi Nagy has pointed out that the stylistic characteristics of the altar point to an artist trained in Austria.⁹³⁴ This may account for also the relatively early representation of the saint with the Eucharist in the monstrance.

Clare holding a monstrance with the Eucharist in her right hand is appears in on the St Anne altarpiece in the parish church of Magyarfenes (Vlaha, Romania)⁹³⁵ made in 1520.⁹³⁶ (Fig.31) She is one of the four female saints (Barbara, Sophia, and Ursula) that surround the central panel representing “Anne Threesome” (called also as “Anna Metterza” or “Anna Selbdritt”), a composition associated with the Immaculate Conception. Clare's “pair” is Barbara in the sense that she holds a chalice with the Eucharist in her right hand.⁹³⁷

⁹³² Emese Sarkadi Nagy, “Jegyzetek az almakeréki oltár történetéhez” [Additions to the history of the altarpiece in Almakerék], in *Colligite fragmenta! Örökségvédelem Erdélyben. Örökségvédelmi Konferencia, Budapest, ELTE, 2008*, ed. Tímea N. Kis (Budapest: ELTE BTK Művészettörténeti Intézeti Képviselő, 2009), 231-241, at 240-241.

⁹³³ The documents are listed in Crăciun, “Mendicant Piety,” 30, footnote 5.

⁹³⁴ Sarkadi Nagy, “Jegyzetek,” 241.

⁹³⁵ (Magyar/Oláh)Fenes (Kolozs county, bishopric of Transylvania) was the village of the bishop of Transylvania, see Csánki, *Magyarország történelmi földrajza*, vol. 5, 350.

⁹³⁶ The altarpiece is preserved today in the Biblioteca Națională a României, Filiala Batthyaneum, inv. no. 452. Radocsay, *A középkori Magyarország táblaképei*, 180, 384-385; Sarkadi Nagy, *Local Workshops – Foreign Connections*, 120-121.

⁹³⁷ One of the attributes of Barbara was the chalice, referring to her *vita* according to which her cruel father died abruptly (without taking the sacrament).



Figure 31 – Feast-side of the high altar of Magyarfenes (Vlaha, Romania, c.1520). Photo: Attila Mudrák in Sarkadi Nagy, *Local Workshops*

Clare's presence can be associated again with the Franciscan influence, as the Minorites were the main promoters of St Anne.⁹³⁸ She is depicted in a privileged position (first from the left on the top row on the left feast side). In the sixteenth century the inhabitants of the village became Calvinist, then Unitarian, which may explain the dual presence of the monstrance with the Eucharist, a *per excellence* Catholic symbol on the high altar.

The earliest extant representation of Clare with a monstrance can be seen on the seal Elizabeth "Abbatisse claustris Beate Virginis de Veteri Buda" on a legal document issued in 1439.⁹³⁹ In the upper part the Virgin with the Infant Christ can be seen, on the lower one a female figure holding something in her hand. The figure is identified with St Clare, holding a chalice in her hand.⁹⁴⁰ (Fig.32) The object is not clearly visible, and in my opinion, it can easily be a

⁹³⁸ Cf. Crăciun, "Mendicant Piety," 50-51.

⁹³⁹ Magyar Országos Levéltár DL 13325.

⁹⁴⁰ Cf. Karácsonyi, *Szent Ferencz*, vol.2, 502; Mikó, ed., *Pannonia Regia: Művészet a Dunántúlon 1000-1541*, 489.

monstrance since the chalice is not among her usual attributes.⁹⁴¹ On seals, usually small objects made of wax, the attributes are indispensable in order to make the person clearly identifiable, and in Clare's case it was the monstrance.

Clare can be found, in the company of St Francis and two other friars as well as St Augustine on a violet chasuble which, according to the inventory made by the Jesuit Jakab Némethi in 1617, was donated to the parish church of Oszikó (Osikov, Slovakia) by the Forgách family. It is presumably of Franciscan origin, since, in a number of settlements the Lutherans confiscated valuables of the friars who escaped their treasures to András Báthory's castle in Ecsed sometime between 1552 and 1556.⁹⁴²



Figure 32- Seal of the Elizabeth abbess of the Clarissan convent of Óbuda, 1439. Source: Magyar Országos Levéltár

⁹⁴¹ Chalice as her attribute are not mentioned by in the four-volume series of George Kaftal's *Iconography of the saints*, neither by the above cited works of Servus Gieben, Chiara Frugoni and Nirit Ben-Aryeh Debby.

⁹⁴² Nándor Knauz, "Régi egyházi ékszerek" [Old ecclesiastical treasures], *Magyar Sion* 2 (1864): 216-238, at 220; Karácsonyi, *Szent Ferencz*, vol.1, 415-416; Baranyai, *A nyírbátori egykori ferences konvent középkori textíliái*, 47-53.

IV.2.5 Concluding remarks

We have seen that despite the fact that the feast of St Clare of Assisi was included in the calendar of the Roman Church, few written and visual sources survive on the basis of which one can learn about her veneration in Hungary. It is no surprise that the overwhelming majority of the hagiographic and sermon literature is related to the Order of Minor Brothers. The two Observant Franciscan authors used Clare's official legend for her biography in their sermons, to which, as Osvaldus's inclusion of the episode about the prophetic capacities of Clare, episodes originating from the fourteenth-century popular hagiographic compilation from the life of Francis and his companions were incorporated. Some of these episodes were also translated into the vernacular, both as a part of the Jókai Codex as well as the Lobkowitz Codex of miscellaneous content made for a Clarissan nun. Besides, the visit of the celestial virgins led by the Virgin Mary at the last moment of her life that can be found also in her legend, was transformed into a prayer asking for the grace of good death a collection of prayers made for a Clarissan nun. Whereas the Latin and the vernacular sermons built on *themata* connected to light are centred on her virtues, chiefly on her virginal condition, the other vernacular codices report *exempla* that recount miraculous events from her life but say almost nothing about her saintly characteristics. The diffusion of these edifying stories might be ascribed to the fact that they were complementary material to her legend that was well known in the three orders of the Franciscans. Clare's steadfastness of making possible the observation of perfect poverty for her community turns up in all the sermons. The possible analogy between her and John of Capistran was not exploited in the sermons of the two Observants.

Clare's devotion to the *Corpus Christi*, with one exception, is manifested in all the sermons, codices and visual representations I have examined.⁹⁴³ Both Pelbartus and the Anonymous Carthusian used Clare's example for the promotion of the devotion to the Eucharist. Her intermediary role on behalf of women in communicating with God or the Virgin Mary is witnessed by the prayer in the Lázár Zelma Codex as well as in the central panel of the altarpiece in the church of Almakerék. In secular environment, the devotion to Clare could be

⁹⁴³ Caroline Walker Bynum, *Holy Feast and Holy Fast: The Religious Significance of Food to Medieval Women* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), 99-102.

motivated simply by having the same name or can be seen as the result of the Franciscan friars' successful propagation of the piety of the *Corpus Christi* in which her figure was instrumental.

Clare's presence on murals was not restricted to a Franciscan milieu. The fact that in the Franciscan church of Keszthely in the late fourteenth-century wall painting she is represented without any attribute may mean that at that time her figure was not associated with the monstrance in Hungary but it is also possible that the habit and the context of other Franciscan saints made unnecessary any further attributes to her figure. The saint was portrayed with a monstrance in her hand in a Saxon village of Transylvania as early as the mid-fifteenth century by an artist or a workshop trained in Austria. By the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century the monstrance has become her distinctive attribute, as it is attested by Osvaldus de Lasko as well as some objects.

IV.3. Franciscan and Bishop - St Louis of Toulouse

IV.3.1 The beginnings

Life and canonization

Louis of Anjou was born in 1274. He was the second son of Charles of Anjou (the Lamé), King of Naples and Count of Provence and Mary, daughter of Stephen V, King of Hungary. He was ten years old when his father was imprisoned by King Alfonse III of Aragon during their fight over the dominance in the Gulf of Naples. Louis was fourteen when he had to go with two of his brothers to Catalonia as hostages in exchange of their father according to the treaty of Canfranc. He spent seven years here in the company of the Franciscan Pierre Scarrier and François Brun who nurtured his love for the Order of Minor Brothers; moreover, he secretly became a cleric. Still as a hostage, Louis and his brothers sent Peter of John Olivi a letter to come to Catalonia but he refused the invitation avoiding to be accused of “beguinizing” the prince; that is, to convert him to the case of the rigorist branch of the Franciscans, commonly called as Spirituals.⁹⁴⁴ He was assigned to the administration of the archbishopric of Lyon, but in 1295 Pope Boniface VIII annihilated the bulls of his predecessor. When in the same year, Charles Martel, the heir to the Neapolitan throne died and Louis became the successor, he was freed from the captivity and was ordained as subdeacon of the pope. In 1296 he resigned from the throne in favour of his brother Robert and was consecrated as priest in Naples. In the same year in December the pope nominated him as the bishop of Toulouse, which Louis accepted only on condition to enter the Franciscan Order first. With the approval of the Pope Boniface he took the vows secretly in Rome and repeated them in public only in February 1297. Before taking his office in Toulouse, he spent some time in Paris. In July, the young bishop went to Catalonia to make peace between the King of Aragon and the count of Foix. On the way back in Brignoles (Provence) he fell ill and died on 19th August 1297. He was buried, according to his wish, in the Franciscan church of Marseilles. Soon after Louis’s saintly fame started to spread

⁹⁴⁴ Holly J. Grieco, “The Boy Bishop and the ‘Uncanonized’: St Louis of Anjou and Peter of John Olivi as Models of Franciscan Sanctity in the Fourteenth Century,” *Franciscan Studies* 70 (2012): 247-282.

as the citizens of Marseilles and the neighbouring areas attributed a high number of miracles to his intercession.⁹⁴⁵

Attempts for his canonization began already around 1300 on the initiative of his father and his brother Robert of Naples.⁹⁴⁶ The process, however, was initiated only by Pope Clement V in 1307, who set up a commission to inquire into the life and the miracles of Louis. Thirty-two witnesses gathered at the Dominican convent of Marseille to respond to the series of fifty-five *capitula generalia* that treated various aspects of the bishop's life and death. From these *capitula* emerge Louis's austerity, his humility, his desire to join the Franciscan Order, and his reluctance to accept the bishopric of Toulouse. Only one *capitulum* deals with his role as a bishop. A part of this campaign was to supply sermons on Louis: the most prolific authors were the Franciscan Bertrand de la Tour (Bertrand de Turre), later an ardent opponent of the "spirituals" in the controversy of apostolic poverty, and François de Meyronnes (Franciscus de Mayronis) who composed several sermons praising the Angevins as a dynasty of saints pointing out that Louis's holiness was a quality native to both sides of his family.⁹⁴⁷

The recording of the testimonies ended in 1308, and Louis was inscribed to the catalogue of saints nine years later by Pope John XXII on 7th April 1317 with the bull *Sol oriens mundo*.⁹⁴⁸ His feast is celebrated on 19th August and his name was added to the martyrologies and the liturgical calendars. The solemn *elevatio* and the *translatio* of St Louis of Toulouse on 8th November 1319 took place in the Franciscan church of Marseille at night, in which only the royal couple, some members of their entourage and some ecclesiastical authorities participated. The brain of the saint, dropped from his skull during the ceremony, was requested by Sancia of Majorca (wife of Robert of Anjou, King of Naples) and was taken to Naples in the convent of St Clare and was placed in reliquary crowned with a golden crown donated by the queen.⁹⁴⁹ We know about at least three lavishly decorated reliquaries in which the different parts of the saint's body (brain, arm, skull) were preserved were commissioned by the royal house to increase the

⁹⁴⁵ Almost half of his 73 miracles in the canonization process occurred between 1297 and 1300.

⁹⁴⁶ Paciocco, *Da Francesco ai "catalogi sanctorum"*, 107-111; Vauchez, *Sainthood*, 78-79.

⁹⁴⁷ Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers*, 306-307.

⁹⁴⁸ *Analecta Franciscana* VII, 395-399.

⁹⁴⁹ On the translation of Louis, see Mario Gaglione, "Il San Ludovico di Simone Martini, manifesto della santità regale agioina" *Rassegna storica salernitana* 58 (2012): 9-125, at 51-58.

cult of their “family saint”.⁹⁵⁰ Louis’s relics were removed from Marseille in 1423 when Alfonse V King of Aragon (the grandfather of the wife of Matthias Corvinus, Beatrix of Aragon) have them transferred to the cathedral of Valencia.⁹⁵¹ No relics of St Louis are known from medieval Hungary.

The period when Louis was canonized was extremely turbulent for the “Spiritual” Franciscans: on the one hand, because of their breach with the members of the “Community”, on the other hand with their aggravated conflict with Pope John XXII. The pope’s act to canonize the young bishop may seem surprising at first, as Louis had been in contact with Peter of John Olivi whose ideas concerning the restricted use (*usus pauper*) of material goods might have influenced his way of life as a bishop, and also because two of Louis’s companions were from the rigorist branch.⁹⁵² Pope John, on the other hand, started to suppress harshly the so-called Spirituals in the years of 1316-1317, which culminated in 1318 in Marseille with the burning at stake of four of the rigorist Franciscans. Moreover, in 1322 with the bull *Ad conditorem* the pope granted the Franciscans exemption from the rule that forbade ownership, and in the bull *Quum inter nonnullus* issued the following year he declared heretical the doctrine that Christ and the apostles had no possessions whatsoever. While according to some scholars Louis of Anjou was a rigorist Franciscan, others consider this assessment exaggerated or without solid foundation.⁹⁵³ Louis was surrounded by both some rigorist Franciscans as well as those who

⁹⁵⁰ Gaglione, “Il San Ludovico,” 56-59.

⁹⁵¹ Margaret Toynbee, *S. Louis of Toulouse and the Process of Canonisation in the Fourteenth Century* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1929), 208 and 231.

⁹⁵² On the Neapolitan Angevin court’s relationship with the dissident Franciscans, see Roberto Paciocco, “Angioni e ‘Spirituali’. I differenti piani cronologici e tematici di un problema,” in: *L’état Angevin: Pouvoir, culture et société entre XIII^e et XIV^e siècle. Actes du colloque international organisé par l’American Academy in Rome, l’École française de Rome, l’Istituto storico italiano per il Medio Evo, l’U.M.R. Telemme et l’Université de Provence, l’Università degli studi di Napoli “Federico II”* (Rome-Naples, 7-11 novembre 1995) (Rome: École française de Rome, 1998), 253-287.

⁹⁵³ Edith Pásztor confronted the ideas of Olivi with other testimonies of the process of canonization, particularly those of William of Cornillon about the behaviour of Louis as Franciscan bishop. According to Olivi, bishops should in apostolic poverty and distribute their incomes among the poor, they should not ride on horses or use carts, or have lavishly laid tables, should wear simple garments. In Pásztor’s opinion, it was probably Pierre Scarrier, the faithful company of Louis in his all life, who could have transmitted the Franciscan ideals of the Spirituals that shaped the life of the bishop but at the same time she admits that there is not enough data to establish which Franciscan wing’s ideas Louis shared. See Edith Pásztor, *Per la storia di San Ludovico d’Angio, 1274-1297* (Rome: Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo, 1955), 35-47.

were anti-Spirituals and it is not known for certain whether he knew the works of Olivi.⁹⁵⁴ However, it has been shown by Holly J. Grieco that Louis was not necessarily influenced by Olivi since his writings on poverty did not radically differ from others circulating in the period, including those of Bonaventure. In Grieco's interpretation, Louis of Anjou is not a rigorist insisting on Franciscan poverty but rather a holy man seeking to live out the poverty that he had vowed while serving the Church in the manner proposed by his ecclesiastical superiors.

The sanctity of Louis was articulated for the first time in the *capitula* by five procurators appointed by and acting on behalf of the petitioners of the canonization, but surprisingly, this group did not have any Franciscan member.⁹⁵⁵ Jacques Duèse, the future Pope John XXII (1316-1334) was one of principal witnesses to Louis's case in 1307-1308. Edith Pásztor has shown that the fairly specific image of the bishop provided by Pope Clement V was transformed in a quite generic description of the saint.⁹⁵⁶ Comparing the bulls issued by Clement V (1307) and John XXII (1317), she has observed that while in the former Clement spoke about Louis as someone who despised worldly vanities and professed his vows as a Franciscan to live in poverty, and "took on the yoke of the observance of the Rule", John XXII said nothing about the young bishop's motivation for choosing the Franciscans or about his faithfulness to the Rule but in order to demonstrate Louis's humility, he underlined the bishop's exemplary compassion for the poor and added that "[i]n hoc etiam Christi imitatore vero humilitas vera fulsit."⁹⁵⁷ Recently Melanie Brunner argued that even if the framing of Louis's

⁹⁵⁴ Holly J. Grieco argued that despite Louis' invitation of Olivi to Catalonia and the points of coincidence between his life as a Franciscan bishop and the life Olivi counselled for bishops in his *Questiones de perfectione evangelica* (1274-83), Louis's rigorist affiliation cannot be designated on these grounds alone because Olivi's interpretation of Franciscan poverty and the state of prelacy is largely based on Bonaventure's works (*Apologia pauperum*, commentary on the fourth book of the *Sentences*) She proposed instead the writings of Bonaventure and Olivi as possible conscious or unconscious models that shaped the account of the witnesses about Louis when they gave their testimony in 1308. Both authors argued that a friar could not be released from an earlier vow of evangelical poverty if he was consecrated as a bishop; nevertheless, the vow of poverty should not impede the Franciscan bishop to provide pastoral care and financial support for his diocese. The most crucial difference in Bonaventure and Olivi's positions is that according to the latter, apostolic poverty and restricted use should be required of all bishops, not only on those who are bound to prior vows of poverty, but this subtle distinction may have been lost with the witnesses who testified in the canonization process of Louis and was replaced by an exaggerated difference of opinion. See Holly J. Grieco, "In Some Way Even More than Before": Approaches to Understanding St. Louis of Anjou, Franciscan Bishop of Toulouse," in: *Center and Periphery*, 135-156.

⁹⁵⁵ Toynbee, *S. Louis of Toulouse*, 157-159; Pásztor, *San Ludovico*, 29-31.

⁹⁵⁶ Pásztor, *San Ludovico*, 33. See also Roberto Paciocco, "Sine papae licentia non licet aliquem venerari pro sancto," *Collectanea Franciscana* 77 (2007), fasc.1-2: 265-311, at 302-303.

⁹⁵⁷ Pásztor, *San Ludovico*, 28-29.

life in terms of humility rather than poverty could have been a way of evasion of a divisive terminology of poverty in contemporary Franciscan discourse, the downplaying of poverty to humility should not be overemphasized, since the *capitula* and the bull consistently frame instances of poverty in Louis's life in terms of compassion and humility.⁹⁵⁸ Brunner has found that the emphasis in the *capitula generalia* was on charity, not on poverty; at the same time, Franciscan elements are present throughout the proceedings, including the canonization bull.⁹⁵⁹ The significance of the bull of canonization is that it was the most important source of the first *vita* of St Louis, and it was also used more than one and a half centuries later by Franciscan preachers, such as Roberto Caracciolo or Pelbartus de Themeswar for their sermons on St Louis.

Hagiography

The other important source of the life of Louis is the *Vita* written by an unknown author between 1319 and 1334 at the request of “quorundam virorum valde solemnum”, for which the author used the canonization process.⁹⁶⁰ A brief life of Louis was written also by the Franciscan Paolino da Venezia who did not mention the love of poverty among the several virtues of the bishop, which is noteworthy because he used the canonization documents and the anonymous *Vita*.⁹⁶¹ There is third *life* of Louis from the fourteenth century in a manuscript preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris.⁹⁶² An account on Louis and nine of his *post mortem* miracles were included in the *Chronica 24 generalium Ordinis Fratrum Minorum* attributed to Arnault of Sarrant around 1370.⁹⁶³ Another legend of Louis can be found in Bartolomeo da Pisa's *De conformitate* (1385-90; 1399).⁹⁶⁴ Besides his legends, also Louis's brother Robert of Naples

⁹⁵⁸ Melanie Brunner, “Poverty and Charity: Pope John XXII and the Canonization of Louis of Anjou,” *Franciscan Studies* 69 (2001): 231-256.

⁹⁵⁹ Brunner, “Pope John XXII,” 252-253.

⁹⁶⁰ For the full list of such writings, see *Analecta Franciscana* VII. The *vita* attributed to a certain Giovanni d'Orta is on 333-380. Pásztor has convincingly argued for its Franciscan authorship and dated it to 1319 and 1323 and refused its attribution to Giovanni d'Orta, see Pásztor, *San Ludovico*, 49-55.

⁹⁶¹ *Analecta Franciscana* VII, 400-403.

⁹⁶² Albanus Heyse, “De vita S. Ludovici episcopi Tolosani, contenta in codicibus Paris. Nat. lat 5376 et Ottobon. Lat. 2516” *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* 40 (1947): 118-142.

⁹⁶³ *Analecta Franciscana* III (Quaracchi 1897).

⁹⁶⁴ *Analecta Franciscana* V, 309-317.

composed a number of sermons and a rhythmical office in his honour.⁹⁶⁵ The latter was inserted in the Franciscan breviary by the General Chapter of Marseille in 1343.⁹⁶⁶

As we have seen above, from the earliest sources of the life of Louis of Anjou emerge the figure of a bishop who, at least according to these documents, tried to reconcile Franciscan spirituality and his prestigious ecclesiastical rank. In the following section in the survey of the traces of her veneration in Hungary, I investigate whether this double role has remained perceivable in the written and visual sources, and if not, whether the dominance of one of the aspects can be explained by the contexts these works originate from.

IV.3.2 An Angevin dynastic saint in Italy and in Hungary

St Louis of Toulouse became the most important saint of the Neapolitan branch of the Angevins. Thanks to him also the Angevin dynasty could boast dynastic saintliness in its own right, not only by way of inheritance from the Árpáds, which bolstered their international fame.⁹⁶⁷ An essential means of this was the commission of works of art in Naples on which Louis of Toulouse was represented together with the saints of the Árpád dynasty or St Francis of Assisi.⁹⁶⁸ Important places of proclamation of the connection of the deceased members of the Angevins and the dynasty's saints were tombs of the churches of Naples.⁹⁶⁹ Another centre of dynastic representation was Assisi: in two chapels in the Lower church murals were executed

⁹⁶⁵ For the sermons of Robert on St Louis, see Walter Goetz, *König Robert von Neapel. Seine Persönlichkeit und sein Verhältnis zum Humanismus* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1910), 46-47; Samantha Kelly, *The New Solomon: Robert of Naples (1309-1343) and Fourteenth-century Kingship* (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 119-129.

⁹⁶⁶ *Analecta Franciscana* III, 539.

⁹⁶⁷ Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers*, 305-322.

⁹⁶⁸ On St Louis of Toulouse's iconography, see Kaftal, *Iconography of the Saints*, coll. 633-637.

⁹⁶⁹ One of them was the Church of Santa Maria Donna Regina rebuilt as a monastery of the Poor Clares in 1293 by Mary of Hungary (1255-1323), wife of Charles II (the Lame), where St Louis of Toulouse was represented in the company of the dynastic saints of the Árpáds as well as the Neapolitan Angevins by Pietro Cavallini and his school around 1320 on the eastern side of the choir. On the Angevin patronage and propaganda in the church, see Samantha Kelly, "Religious patronage and royal propaganda in Angevin Naples: Santa Maria Donna Regina" in *The Church of Santa Maria Donna Regina: Art, Iconography and Patronage in Fourteenth-Century Naples*, ed. Janis Elliott and Cordelia Warr (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), 27-44. On the founder's Mary of Hungary's tomb made by Tino da Camaino and his workshop, the Franciscan bishop also appeared enthroned in the circle of his six brothers; see Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers*, 311-313; for a detailed treatment of the sepulchre, see Tanja Michalsky, "MATER SERENISSIMI PRINCIPIS: The tomb of Maria of Hungary" in *The Church of Santa Maria*, 61-78.

by Simone Martini, the courtly artist of Charles Martel and Mary of Anjou, and his workshop between 1315 and 1319.⁹⁷⁰

Robert of Naples and Sancia of Majorca's efforts to popularize St Louis was quite impressive in the commission of artistic representations in various cities of Italy, such as the frescoes by Giotto in the Bardi Chapel of the Church of Santa Croce, or Ambrogio Lorenzetti's fresco-cycle of Louis in Siena made around 1330s. Sancia, similarly to her mother-in-law Mary of Hungary, founded the St Clare monastery for the Poor Clares in Naples (incorporating also a male convent), the building of which started in 1317, the year when Louis of Toulouse was canonized.⁹⁷¹ Perhaps it housed Simone Martini's board (tavola, predella) *St Louis is of Toulouse crowns Robert of Anjou* made in 1317, a widely discussed representation of the young bishop crowned by two angels, who, in turn crowns his brother Robert of Naples.⁹⁷² It represents also five scenes of the saint's life on the predella at the bottom.⁹⁷³ It is not known originally where this image was located: probably in the Convento di Santa Chiara or the Convento di San Lorenzo of Naples. Although it has been proposed that the work was commissioned by the Franciscans of San Lorenzo,⁹⁷⁴ such a hypothesis was not generally

⁹⁷⁰ On the vault above the entrance to the chapel of St Martin, the construction of which was started by Gentile da Montefiore after that he had helped Charles Robert to access the Hungarian throne, the full figures of Ss Francis, Anthony of Padua, Louis IX, Louis of Toulouse, as well as four female saints, Ss Elizabeth, Clare, Barbara and Catherine are depicted. See Terézia Kerny, "A magyar szent királyok tisztelete és ikonográfiája a XIV. század közepéig" [The Cult and Iconography of the Holy Hungarian Kings Around Mid-14th Century] in *Tanulmányok Szent Imre tiszteletére születésének ezredik évfordulója alkalmából. 1000 Jahre heiliger Emmerich. Beiträge zu Ehren des heiligen Emmerich anlässlich seines 1000. Geburtstages*, ed. by eadem, 73-82 (Székesfehérvár: Székesfehérvári Egyházmegyei Múzeum, 2007), 77-78; Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers*, 321-322; Adrian S. Hoch, "Beata Stirps, Royal Patronage and the Identification of the Sainted Rulers in the St. Elizabeth Chapel at Assisi" *Art History* 15 (1992): 279-295.

⁹⁷¹ On Mary's and Sancia's relationship with the Franciscans, see Cristina Andenna, "'Francescanesimo di corte' e santità francescana a corte. L'esempio di due regine angioine fra XIII e XIV secolo" in: *Monasticum regnum. Religione e politica nella pratiche di legittimazione e di governo tra Medioevo ed Età moderna*, ed. Giancarlo Andenna, Laura Gaffuri, Elisabetta Filippini. Vita regularis – Ordnungen und Deutungen religiösen Lebens im Mittelalter: Abhandlungen 58. (Muenster: 2015), 139-180.

⁹⁷² The literature about this image is immense, here I refer to only some of the most important works: Julian Gardner, "Saint Louis of Toulouse, Robert of Anjou and Simone Martini" *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 39 (1976): 12-33; Gaglione, "Il San Ludovico."

⁹⁷³ The five scenes of the predella from left to right are as follows: 1) Louis accepts the title of bishop on condition he is permitted to become a Franciscan 2) Louis becomes a Franciscan on the left before he is given a mitre by Pope Boniface on the right 3) Louis serves his fellow-brethren in a meal at the Franciscan convent of Santa Maria in Aracoeli 4) the dead Louis is surrounded by prelates and friars 5) a *post mortem* miracle of Louis: he is asked to revive a stillborn infant; see Gardner, "Saint Louis of Toulouse," 29-32.

⁹⁷⁴ Francesco Aceto, "Spazio ecclesiale e pale di 'primitivi' in San Lorenzo Maggiore a Napoli: dal 'San Ludovico' di Simone Martini al 'San Girolamo' di Colantonio. I." *Prospettiva* 137 (January 2010): 2-55, esp.11-

accepted: it seems much more probable that the royal house appointed the Sienese artist and financed his work.⁹⁷⁵ In fact, no sources are known from Naples that would attest commissions of works of art on the part of the Franciscans.⁹⁷⁶ A further sign of the dynastic saintliness of the Neapolitan Angevins, containing an illustrated liturgical calendar, a Psalter, seventeen saints in an illuminated *Sacramentarium* of French and Angevin royal prevalence, a collection of canonical prayers and the Divine Office. One of the saints (Helen, Denise, an unknown ruler holding the relics of St Francis, Louis IX, Elizabeth of Hungary) of the *Sacramentarium* is Louis of Toulouse holding his crosier in his right, and his crown decorated with the Angevin lilies in his left hand. He wears a mitre and a mantle decorated with the same lilies over his Franciscan habit (fol. 223). As the inscription on his portrait informs the reader, “Istoria beati Ludovici, clare memorie domini regis Roberti fratris”.⁹⁷⁷ The prayer book shows also the French rulers’ strong links with the Order of Minor Brothers. On the small portable polyptich made sometime between 1317 and 1343 presumably on the commission of Sancia for private devotional purposes today preserved in the Moravská Galerie of Brno,⁹⁷⁸ one finds Louis of Anjou among other saints and biblical figures. The Franciscan bishop is the second saint on the upper row following a pinnacle void of saint showing birds sitting on trees in a rural setting, as it is the last part of the “cycle” of Francis made up of two scenes, the stigmatisation and the preaching to the birds. (Fig. 33)

12. On the Franciscan provenance, see also Adrian S. Hoch, “The Franciscan Provenance of Simone Martini’s Angevin St. Louis in Naples” *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 58 (1995): 22-38.

⁹⁷⁵ Gaglione, “Il San Ludovico di Simone Martini,” 14-16.

⁹⁷⁶ Gaglione, “Il San Ludovico di Simone Martini,” 63.

⁹⁷⁷ Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers*, 355-356.

⁹⁷⁸ Olga Pujmanova, “Robert of Anjou’s Unknown Tabernacle in Brno” *The Burlington Magazine* 121, no. 917 (1979), 482-49s. Many points of Pujmanova, however, were recently reconsidered by Vinni Lucherini, “Il polittico portatile detto di Roberto d’Angiò nella Moravská galerie di Brno: questioni di araldica, committenza e iconografia” *Hortus artium medievalium* 20 (2014): 772-782.



Figure 33 – Brno, Moravská galerie, portable polyptych, inside wings, ca. 1340.

Photo: Vinni Lucherini

Louis is depicted in the fourth pinnacle holding a crosier looking towards the statue of the Virgin with the Child placed in the centre of the polyptych.⁹⁷⁹ Based on stylistic and thematic parallels, Vinni Lucherini raised the possibility –although only as a working hypothesis- that this polyptych could have been designed as a gift by Sancia to her mother-in-law Elizabeth Piast (wife of Charles I of Hungary) on the occasion of her visit to Naples in 1343.⁹⁸⁰

Compared to the Neapolitan Angevins's commission of the representations of the pantheon of dynastic saints of Hungary in which Louis of Toulouse had a prominent role linking the two

⁹⁷⁹ The scenes/saints of the pinnacles clockwise on the left wing are as follows: 1) Stigmatisation of Francis of Assisi 2-3) Preaching to the birds 4) Louis of Toulouse 5-8) Adoration of the Magi; on the right: 9) John the Baptist 10) Peter 11) Nicholas 12) Anthony of Padua 13) Clare of Assisi 14) Elizabeth of Hungary.

⁹⁸⁰ Lucherini, "Il politico portatile," 779.

ruling royal houses executed by the most famous artists and their workshops of the period, the examples of Hungary related to the Angevin rulers are less spectacular. Nevertheless, they bear strong resemblance to the examples of Italy. The saintly forebears of Charles Robert (the future King Charles I of Hungary), the brother of Robert of Naples, played a crucial role in his struggle for the Hungarian throne after the sudden death of King Andrew III (1290-1301) against Wenceslas II the son of the Bohemian king and Otto of Bavaria. Even though Charles Robert had assumed the royal title in 1301 he was still fighting for his kingdom until 1308. It has been demonstrated by Gábor Klaniczay how Charles Robert's suitability to the Hungarian throne was supported by the accentuation of his descent from famous saints on both sides, the French Capetians and the Árpáds.⁹⁸¹

Charles Robert (or rather Charles I of Hungary since he successfully gained the Hungarian throne in 1308) tried to introduce the veneration of St Louis of Toulouse also in Hungary. One of his earliest attempts was the dedication of an altar to his uncle in the cathedral of Várad in 1319, and it is also possible that another altar in the collegiate chapter of Székesfehérvár was offered for his recently canonized relative. The collegiate chapters of Székesfehérvár and of Várad were the two most important royal burial places of the kingdom.⁹⁸² As Chris Mielke has shown concerning the selection of the burial sites of the Hungarian royal dynasties, in the fourteenth century there was a deliberate emphasis on the part of the rulers to connect themselves with their predecessors. Therefore, burial at places like Székesfehérvár and Várad (the resting places of St Stephen and Ladislas, respectively) became fashionable once again.⁹⁸³ In the cathedral of Várad, according to a piece of information contained in the Statutes of 1375, Charles I dedicated to St Louis of Toulouse the altar that originally had been founded by Palatine Kopasz (Copaz) and dedicated to St Vincent because his second wife Beatrix of Luxemburg was buried near the altar in 1319⁹⁸⁴ - the year of the solemn *elevatio* and the

⁹⁸¹ Gábor Klaniczay, "Le culte des saints dynastiques en Europe Centrale (Angevins et Luxembourgs au XIV^e siècle)," in *L'Eglise et le peuple chrétien dans les pays de l'Europe du Centre-Est et du Nord (XIV^e-XV^e siècles). Actes du colloque de Rome, École Française de Rome (27-29 janvier)* (Rome: École Française de Rome, 1990), 221-247.

⁹⁸² Mező, *Patrociniumok*, 210. The dedication of Tiszabercel is more doubtful, thus I did not include it.

⁹⁸³ Chris Mielke, "Every hyacinth the garden wears: the archaeology of medieval queenship in Hungary (1000-1395)" (pre-defense version of the doctoral dissertation, CEU, 2016), 76.

⁹⁸⁴ Beatrix died in childbirth fever and the royal couple's baby also died in November. According to Gyula Kristó, the king must have been badly shaken by this, since on 19th December 1319 Pope John XXII permitted that his

translatio of St Louis of Toulouse.⁹⁸⁵ It is not sure, however, if the altar was dedicated to the Louis IX or Louis of Toulouse. On the one hand, by the late fifteenth century this altar was no longer associated with the bishop of Toulouse: a source from 1496 speaks about a certain *Abraham presbyter rector altaris Sancti Ludovici Regis et Confessoris in ecclesia Varadiensi*,⁹⁸⁶ also, in 1521 it is referred to also as the altar of St Louis the King.⁹⁸⁷ On the other hand, the altar's dedication from Vincent to Louis was changed by the king only two years after the canonization of the bishop of Toulouse who was his uncle. Thus, it seems more probable that originally it was dedicated to the Franciscan bishop but as it was generally referred to as the altar of St Louis (it was tendency that the second part of a saint's name wore off like in the case of St Peter martyr/of Verona to St Peter), it became the altar of the French king, not the Franciscan bishop.⁹⁸⁸ Burying the queen next to an altar the original dedication of which was changed to a saint of the Angevin dynasty was a significant move by Charles I -who was probably responsible for selecting this burial site- to underscore the dynastic character of this part of the cathedral, the reconstruction of the cathedral was started in the years of his rule.⁹⁸⁹ Mielke has proposed that the burial sites of the queens might show their interest in particular cults:⁹⁹⁰ but in Beatrix's case it reveals Charles I's concern. As to the cathedral of

confessor to provide full indulgence for him before his death. Gyula Kristó, ed. *Anjou-kori oklevéltár, V. 1318-1320*, no. 642; idem, "Károly Róbert családja" [The family of Charles Robert] *Aetas* 20 (2005): 14-28, at 19-21.

⁹⁸⁵ Vince Bunyitay, *A váradi káptalan legrégebbi statútumai* [The oldest statutes of the chapter of Várad], (Nagyvárad: [n.p.]: 1886), 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." This piece of information comes from a statute of 1375. A priest responsible for the altar of St Louis is mentioned between 1373-1440, see DL 13 573, issued by King Ladislaus 20th August 1440.

⁹⁸⁶ *Liber Confraternitatis sancti Spiritus de Urbe. A római Szentlélek Társulat anyakönyve. 1446-1523*. (Budapest 1889. Mon. Vat. Hun. I/5.), 52.

⁹⁸⁷ István Tringli, ed. *A Perényi család levéltára 1222-1526*. [The archive of the Perényi family 1222-1526] (Budapest: Magyar Országos Levéltár: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Történettudományi Intézete, 2008), no. 826. DL 71 190.

⁹⁸⁸ Louis of France was canonized in 1297, so it is more probable that Charles Robert dedicated to the altar of his recently canonized uncle than to his more distant relative canonized more than two decades earlier.

⁹⁸⁹ A quite similar attempt of spreading royal patronage can be that of Robert King of Sicily and Naples (the uncle of Charles Robert) who in the reconstruction of the cathedral of Naples he had a royal chapel built to shelter the tomb of Charles I and he dedicated to his brother King Louis. Robert's plans were to house also other members of the family, but the small and peripherally located chapel was not adequate for this. In the opinion of Samantha Kelly, it suggests that it was never intended to become the only royal necropolis; see Samantha Kelly, *The New Solomon* 93.

⁹⁹⁰ Mielke, *Every hyacinth*, 91.

Székesfehérvár, it is debated who founded the altar dedicated to St Louis of Toulouse before 1395: King Louis I or King Sigismund whose wife Mary was the daughter of King Louis.⁹⁹¹

The most well-known foundation of a church dedicated to St Louis of Toulouse is that of the Franciscan convent in Lippa (Lipova, Romania) in 1325.⁹⁹² It was the foundation of Charles I and in all likelihood Elizabeth Piast who had been his fourth wife since 1320 and who directed court ceremony and patronage.⁹⁹³ Lippa was not far from the new royal seat of Temesvár (Timișoara, Romania). Also, the couple's third son was also baptised as Louis after the saint in 1326.⁹⁹⁴ Queen Elizabeth did not forget about the saintly Franciscan relative: she sent treasures to her sister-in-law Sancia, the widow of Robert of Naples to be taken to the Franciscan church of Marseilles in 1333 during the visit of Charles I to Naples for representational purposes.⁹⁹⁵ She continued to foster the family cult of saints even after the death of her husband: during her pilgrimage to Rome in 1343 to secure the Neapolitan throne for his son Andrew, Elizabeth donated several precious liturgical objects to the St Peter's Cathedral that she placed on the Apostle's tomb, including a *dossale pro ... altari maiori* representing the Virgin, Ss Peter and Paul in the company of six saints of the Árpád and Angevin dynasties, including Louis.⁹⁹⁶ According to Dragoș Nastasoiu, the dossal which was meant to be displayed behind St Peter's

⁹⁹¹ "ecclesie Albensis...capelle beati Lodovici in eadem ecclesia constructe". Imre Nagy-Dezső Véghely-Gyula Nagy (ed.): *Zala vármegye története. Oklevéltár Vol.2. 1364-1498* [The history of Zala county. Charter collection. Vol.2. 1364-1498] (Budapest: 1890), 273, no.103.

⁹⁹² Romhányi, *Kolostorok*, 41. A seal of the guardian of the convent survived with the following inscription: "(S)IGILLUM FR(AT)RIS QVARDIANI DE C(ON)VENTU S(ANCTI) LUDOVICI".

⁹⁹³ On Queen Elizabeth's commitment to foster the dynastic saints of Hungary, see Klaniczay, "Efforts at the Canonization," 320-324.

⁹⁹⁴ "Anno domini millesimotricentesimouicesimoquinto inchoauit dominus Rex fratribus minoribus edificare ecclesiam in lyppa ad honorem beati Lays: noui sancti episcopi tolosani & confessoris. qui fuit frater carnalis patris sui scilicet primogenitus regis sicilie: filius Marie regine: filie Stephani regis hungarie: filii Bele quarti: professor uoto & habitu ordinis fratrum minorum & et positum est fundamentum per sanctuario: in festo translationis beati Francisci. Anno domini millesimotricentesimovicesimosexto. tercio nonas marcii: natus est eidem reginem filius: quem nomine huius sancti confessoris consanguinei sui Lays pre gaudio apellavit." János Thuróczy, *Chronica Hungarorum* (Brno: 1488), without pagination. Beside Louis, the names of four other children of Charles Robert (Charles, Ladislas, Stephen, Elizabeth) reflect the cult of dynastic saints.

⁹⁹⁵ László Szende, "Piast Erzsébet és udvara (1320-1380)" (PhD diss., Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem, 2007), 66. Ewa Śnieżyńska-Stolot dates the donation to 1331, see her "Tanulmányok Erzsébet királyné mecénási tevékenységéről" [Studies on the mercenary activity of Queen Elizabeth] *Ars Hungarica* 7 (1979): 23-32, at 25. At the same time, a few months before Charles's arrival to Naples, Sancia of Majorca commissioned the construction of new burials for King Charles I of Anjou, Charles Martel, and Clemence of Hapsburg; see Vinni Lucherini, "The Journey of Charles I, King of Hungary, from Visegrád to Naples (1333): Its Political Implications and Artistic Consequences" *Hungarian Historical Review* 2 (2013): 341-362.

⁹⁹⁶ E. Śnieżyńska-Stolot, "Tanulmányok Erzsébet királyné mecénási tevékenységéről," 27.

high altar was presumably as an explicit statement of the dynastic saints' place in the pantheon of universal saints and as their implicit connection to the Hungarian Angevin House.⁹⁹⁷ Although it is not known whether Elizabeth participated actively in the foundation of the convent of Lipa, nevertheless she is mentioned as its founder in the letter of Pope Clement in on 22nd March in 1349 granting indulgence to all –under certain conditions- who visited the Franciscan church of Lipa on the feast of St Louis of Toulouse.⁹⁹⁸ (Fig.16) A sixteenth-century Franciscan *graduale* reporting the names of Hungarian and Franciscan saints alike in the “Litany of All Saints of Holy Saturday” in which also the name of Louis of Toulouse appears is believed to be used in this very convent.⁹⁹⁹



Figure 34 – The foundation of the convent of Lipa, *Chronicon Pictum* fol. 70r, ca.1360.

Source: Internet

⁹⁹⁷ Dragoş Nastasioiu, “The Representation in Mural Painting of the *sancti reges Hungariae* as a Religious, Political, Social and Artistic Phenomenon,” (pre-defence version Budapest: Central European University 2016), 64.

⁹⁹⁸ “Cupientes igitur, ut ecclesia fratrum ordinis Minorum, quam, sicut accepimus, Carissima in Christo filia nostra Elizabeth Regina Ungariae Illustris in loco de Lipua, Cenadiensis diocesis, in honore et sub vocabulo sancti Ludovici Episcopi construi fecit (...)”; Theiner I/773, no. MCLXXIII.

⁹⁹⁹ Alba Iulia, Bibliotheca Batthyanyana MS I 2. Microfilm: Budapest, ELTE University Library, Mf. Me. 56. The reason why Kilián Szigeti connected the *graduale* with the convent of Lipa is that not all the Franciscan saints can be found in the litany of Holy Saturday, and in turn, St Louis of Toulouse is not included in all the Franciscan litanies; Kilián Szigeti, “Két középkori erdélyi Graduale eredetének kérdése” [On the origins of two *graduale* from Transylvania] *Magyar Könyvszemle* 86/3 (1970): 165-172, at 170-171.

The foundation of Lippha was only one of the signs of the royal support of the Franciscan Order.¹⁰⁰⁰ The Angevins of Hungary financed generously the (re)building of Franciscan convents, Elizabeth chose her confessors from among the Franciscans, and the royal couple's son, Louis had a Franciscan tutor, Dénes Lackfi who remained in the court when the prince became king in 1342.¹⁰⁰¹ Pope Clement VI (1342-1352) granted a privilege of one year and 40 days on 8th April 1350 for the consecration of the nunnery in Óbuda for the feast of various saints of the dynastic and other patron saints of Hungary including "St Louis, pontiff and confessor".¹⁰⁰² Louis of Toulouse was only one of the more than twenty saints referred to in the bull but it is important that he is mentioned together with the dynastic saints of Hungary.

IV.3.3 St Louis of Toulouse in luxury books and on murals in the Angevin period

Books

The overview of iconographic representations of St Louis of Toulouse in the medieval and baroque art in Hungary has been already done by Anna Tüskés who has taken into account also those instances when the images were not made in the Kingdom but are preserved in Hungarian collections today but did not include Louis's depictions in Keszthely and Szepeshely (Spišská Kapitula, Slovakia).¹⁰⁰³ As it is well known from previous scholarship, Louis was of special importance for the Angevins, which is attested by two lavishly decorated codices, the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* associated with the court of Charles Robert and the already mentioned *Chronicon Pictum* linked to that of Louis I. Eight images of Louis of Toulouse's cycle (presumably originally it was made up of twelve) survive in the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* which has already been mentioned in connection to St Dominic and St Peter of Verona. Louis, whose cycle was the last of the section of the holy bishops and immediately proceeded the cycle of St Francis of Assisi, can be seen only on four images, the remaining

¹⁰⁰⁰ de Cevins and Koszta, "La noblesse et ordres religieux," 590-595.

¹⁰⁰¹ Karácsonyi, *Szent Ferencz*, vol.1, 39.

¹⁰⁰² Theiner, *Monumenta*, I, 780-781. King Louis returned from the victorious campaign from Naples on 25 October in the same year.

¹⁰⁰³ Anna Tüskés, "L'iconographie de Saint Louis d'Anjou de Toulouse en Hongrie aux XV-XVIII siècles," in *Nyolcszáz esztendő a Ferences Rend. Tanulmányok a Rend lelkiességéről, történeti hivatásáról és kulturális – művészeti szerepéről*, ed. Norbert S. Medgyesy, István Ötvös and Sándor Óze (Budapest: Művelődéstörténeti műhely – Rendtörténeti konferenciák, 2013), vol.2, 755-769. The predella made in 1477 by a painter from Austria representing St Louis of Toulouse and Bernardino of Siena preserved in the Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest, is probably a later acquisition.

ones representing his miracles.¹⁰⁰⁴ He feeds twenty-five poor (V), he receives a cross-shaped reliquary from Franciscan friars (VI), he kisses a leper who turns out to be Christ (III), and he is tormented at night by the demon but with the help of the Virgin he is delivered (IV).¹⁰⁰⁵ (Fig.36) He appears on the images dressed in a Franciscan habit but also with mitre and chasuble decorated with lilies to evoke his rank as a bishop and as an Angevin saint. As Szakács has observed, the dominant features of his legend are the same as in the cycles of the founders of the monastic orders, so his portrayal was designed to conform that of the monastic saints. It is one of the earliest detailed representations of the bishop's life but it is not known which of his legend(s) the artist used.¹⁰⁰⁶

¹⁰⁰⁴ Gyöngyi Török, "A Magyar Anjou Legendárium eddig ismeretlen lapja a Louvre-ban," [An unknown page of the Hungarian Angevin Legendary in the Louvre] *Magyar Könyvszemle* 116 (2000): 357-372. The two folios are preserved in two different libraries. The order of the folios is dubious as the captions and the number of the images were cut off from the folio preserved in the Bancroft Library: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Lat. 8541, fol.92v (V: Louis feeds 25 poor, VI: a cross-shaped reliquary with the relics of the cross is brought to him, VII: a pregnant woman falls from an ass, VIII: later she gives birth to two daughters), and Berkeley, Bancroft Library, University of California, Specilia Collections, 2 MS A" M" 1300-37 I(?): the miracle of the fish, II(?): the raising of the dead child, III(?): the kiss given to the leper who is in fact Christ, IV(?): the temptation of the devil during his night prayers). For the detailed analysis of the folio preserved in the Bancroft Library, see Julia Bader and George Starr, "A Saint in the Family. A Leaf of the *Hungarian Anjou Legendary* at Berkeley," *Hungarian Studies* 2 (1986): 3-12.

¹⁰⁰⁵ His Franciscan habit is revealed in full in the image of his night temptation: he is wearing a Franciscan habit and a mitre but no episcopal vestments.

¹⁰⁰⁶ Since Louis's legend was not included in the *Legenda aurea* on the basis of which the overwhelming majority of the cycles was made.

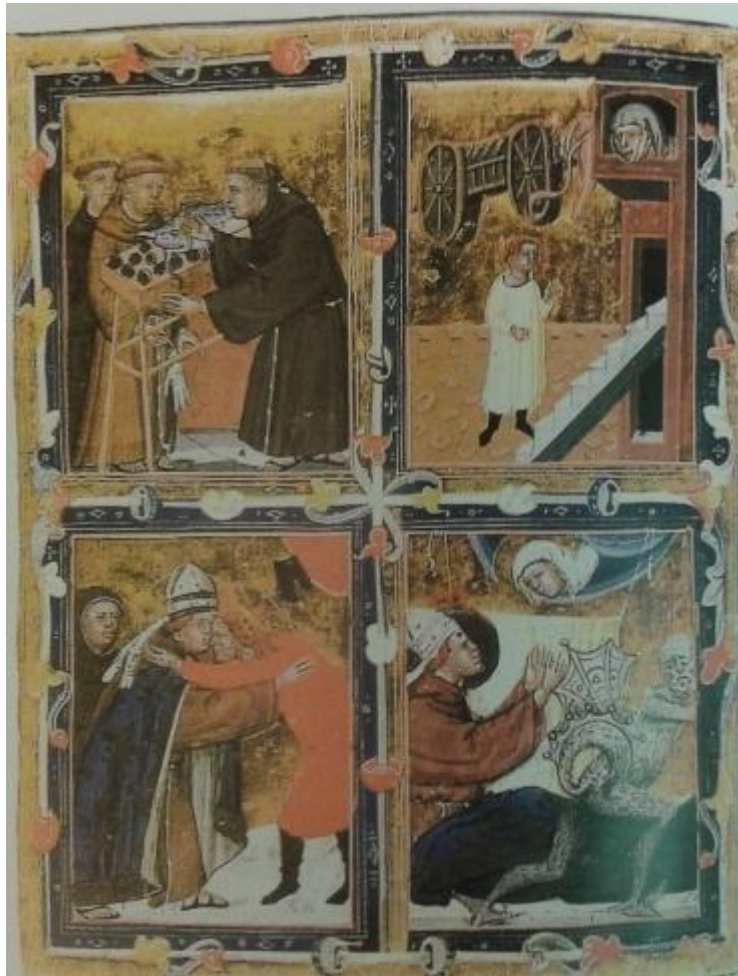


Figure 36- Four images from the cycle of St Louis of Toulouse in the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary*, 1330-1340. Bancroft Library, University of California, Specilia Collections, 2 MS A” M”. Source: Internet

The images are not arranged in a chronologically order and Louis is depicted in all –except one– cases in Franciscan habit under the bishop’s mantel even when the episode occurred before that he was consecrated as bishop.¹⁰⁰⁷ The presence of friars on two scenes, the reception of the reliquary (VI) and the miracle of the fish (VI) shows the Franciscan Order’s importance in the life of Louis.¹⁰⁰⁸ The care and the compassion for the poor and the sick were traditional themes

¹⁰⁰⁷ Bader and Starr, “A Saint in the Family,” 6. In his legend, this event took place while he was still a hostage in Barcelona, and it was witnessed not by a fellow Franciscan as in the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* but by Louis’s brother Robert.

¹⁰⁰⁸ The miracle of the fish is the longest account from his collection of miracles narrating how a merchant from Marseille during a storm on the sea, throws most of his goods in the sea and prays to St Louis for protection. When

in Franciscan hagiography, and were especially characteristic to St Elizabeth of Hungary, the great-aunt of Louis's mother, Mary of Hungary, who was in close relationship with the Order of Minor Brothers).¹⁰⁰⁹ Szakács has pointed out the visual analogy with one of the scenes of St Francis of Assisi in the same manuscript when he meets a leper (who is in fact Christ) and kisses him.¹⁰¹⁰



Figure 37- Four images from the cycle of St Louis of Toulouse in the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary*. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Lat. 8541, fol.92v. 1330-1340.

Photo: Internet

the storm ends, the merchant's belongings are washed ashore and recovered. The grateful merchant buys a large fish for as an act of piety to the Minorites, who as they cut the fish open, find inside the merchant's money that had fallen into the sea in the midst of the storm.

¹⁰⁰⁹ Bader and Starr, "A Saint in the Family," 7.

¹⁰¹⁰ Szakács, "Saint Francis of Assisi in the Hungarian Angevin Legendary," 53.

The other richly illuminated manuscript made around 1360 in the court of King Louis I is the *Chronicon Pictum* in which on the same folio (fol.70v) where the royal couple's foundation of Lippa is represented, also the Franciscan bishop is depicted in the initial letter "A" (Fig.37).¹⁰¹¹ It is an indirect proof of the queen was (one of) the founder(s) of the convent (Fig.34).¹⁰¹² The bishop is dressed in a Franciscan habit with a chord and wears a bishop's mantle clipped by brass representing, for the first time in an artwork made in Hungary, the joint Arpadian and the Angevin coats of arms.¹⁰¹³ His crown is placed at his feet, which is a symbol of his rejection of temporal rule. He holds a crosier in his right hand, giving blessing with his left one. The image below shows the birth of the son of Charles I and Elizabeth who was baptised as Louis for the memory of his great-uncle.



Figure 37- Louis of Toulouse in a letter "A" in the *Chronicon Pictum* (ca.1360), fol. 70v. Source: Internet

¹⁰¹¹ Tüskés, "L'iconographie", 759.

¹⁰¹² Szende, *Lokietek*, 35. The text of the Latin chronicle was probably written by Márk of Kált. Moreover, in her will of 1380, Elizabeth donated a golden chalice decorated with precious stones and pearls to the convent. According to László Szende the Franciscan convent of Lippa was of special importance to the queen because only those ecclesiastical institutions were mentioned in her will that were related to her; L. Szende, *Lokietek*, 107.

¹⁰¹³ I am grateful to Tünde Wehli for calling my attention to this.

Mural painting

The only Franciscan church in which the depiction of St Louis of Toulouse has survived is in Keszthely. He is depicted on the eastern side of the polygonal sanctuary in the middle row among the saintly bishops.¹⁰¹⁴ (Fig.20.) Only five out of the ten bishop-representations survive, and only two of them, Ss Louis of Toulouse and Erasmus can be identified.



Figure 38 – Louis of Toulouse in the eastern wall of the sanctuary of the Franciscan church of Keszthely (1370s). Photo: Attila Mudrák

¹⁰¹⁴ In the lowest register, the Franciscan saints and other male and female saints and martyrs, whereas in the highest one the royal kings were depicted.

The two bishops' vestments are of different colours, and the deposed royal crown of Louis can be seen at his feet. The privileged position of the Franciscan bishop in the church shows, as it has been pointed out by Mária Prokopp, the Lackfi family's loyalty to the Angevin house.¹⁰¹⁵ In her opinion, the style of the main artist of the frescoes (who was responsible for Ss Helen, Catherine, Louis, and Francis) suggests that he was familiar with both courtly culture of Bohemia and the art of northern Italy.¹⁰¹⁶ In Szakács's understanding, the rich pictorial program of the sanctuary seems to be a remarkable combination of the Franciscan preference (probably keeping vivid István Lackfi's connections with Italy) and his personal wishes.¹⁰¹⁷

Recently two additional mural paintings from the fourteenth century were discovered in Martonháza (Ochtiná) and Kiéte (Kyatice) in the Gemer region (Slovakia). The Spiš - Gemer area due to its mines (especially iron production) quickly developed during the reign of Charles I and Louis the Great. The economic growth of the region also contributed to the rise of art and cultural life. The traces of Italian art are strongly present in the decoration of the churches since the local landlords, the Szécsényi, the Bebek and the Csetneki were in close contact with the Angevin royal house that, in turn, was in close contact with Italy. This region was also a quite important trade route which brought an influx of artist familiar with Sienese, Florentine and Venetian art. The Bebek and the Csetneki families invited artists from Italy to decorate the walls of their most prominent churches in Pelsőc (Plešivec) and Csetnek (Štítník). The decorations of these two churches were followed by other landlords and donors of the region, and it is possible that the local painters learnt from the Italians. At the same time, these local masters were influenced by the Saxon art, created a unique pictorial style characterized by the local artistic expression and the strict rules of iconographic themes.¹⁰¹⁸

The wall painting representing Louis of Toulouse in the church of Martonháza (today evangelical church of Augsburg Confession), belonging to the Bebek family, was made in the

¹⁰¹⁵ Mária Prokopp, *Keszthely, plébánia templom falképei* [The wall paintings of the parish church of Keszthely] Tájak – Korok – Múzeumok Kiskönyvtára. (Budapest: [n.p.], 1999), 11.

¹⁰¹⁶ Prokopp, *Keszthely*, 21.

¹⁰¹⁷ Szakács, "Three patrons," 187.

¹⁰¹⁸ For the historical context of the wall paintings of the churches of Gemer (and Kishont), see Prokopp, "Gömöri falképek," 128-129; and Edita Kušnierová's introduction to Plekanec and Haviar, *Gotický Gemer a Malahont*, 6-11.

mid-fourteenth century.¹⁰¹⁹ The original thirteenth-century building made up of a one-nave church, a choir with polygonal ending where the also Franciscan bishop was depicted, and a sacristy in the northern part.

The small church in the centre of the village of Kiéte, belonging to the Derencsényi family, was built in the first half of the fourteenth century. It was decorated with wall paintings in two periods, the 1370s-1380s and the first quarter of the fifteenth century. The fresco depicting the saintly bishop can be found in a central location in the third (top) row the eastern side of the presbytery, next to Christ, the Virgin and St John the Baptist.¹⁰²⁰

IV.3.4 In the service of two masters: St Louis in fifteenth-century artworks

A few altarpieces representing St Louis of Toulouse survive from the fifteenth century, the earliest of them being the winged altarpiece of St Anthony of Padua of the Cathedral of Kassa already mentioned in the subchapter on the visual representations of St Francis. Louis wears a mitre and a bishop's garment over his habit, holding a crosier in his right and a book in his left hand, and his crown is placed at his feet but the traditional Angevin attributes are not visible. Bishop saints without any characteristic attribute were in some cases identified with St Louis of Toulouse. One example is another altarpiece from Kassa, in which the Franciscan bishop - at least according to Dénes Radocsay- can be seen, this time in the company of St Valentine.¹⁰²¹ The image was made around 1490 by the same person who was the assistant of the master of martyrdom of the apostles (*Az apostol vértanúságok mesterének segédje*).¹⁰²² However, since none of his usual attributes (the dynastic symbols, the Franciscan habit or the crown place at his feet) can be found on the altarpiece, his identification with Louis of Toulouse is groundless.¹⁰²³

¹⁰¹⁹ *Magyarországi művészet 1300-1470 körül*, vol. 1, 601, 604; Plekanec and Haviar, *Gotický Gemer*, 34-47.

¹⁰²⁰ *Magyarországi művészet 1300-1470 körül*, vol. 1, 193, 600, 601; Plekanec and Haviar, *Gotický Gemer*, 129-130.

¹⁰²¹ Radocsay, *A középkori Magyarország táblaképei*, 327-328; Tüskés, "L'iconographie," 762.

¹⁰²² It is preserved in the Museum of Christian Art in Esztergom, item no.: B 1543. The altarpiece is described in András Mucsi, *Az esztergomi Keresztény Múzeum régi képtárának katalógusa* [Catalogue of the Old Masters' Gallery in the Museum of Christian in Esztergom] ([Budapest]: Corvina, 1975), 16. Originally it must have been made up of four boards, of which one does not survive.

¹⁰²³ I would like to thank Dragoş Nastasiou for his help with the identification of the holy bishops in medieval Hungary.

Another example of misattribution is the case of the fresco of Almakerék on which a bishop identified with Louis of Toulouse –probably Adalbert- was depicted in the company of the holy kings of Hungary.¹⁰²⁴

Szepeshely: Louis the dynastic saint

Louis of Toulouse appears in the company of Ss Oswald King of Northumbria (635-642)¹⁰²⁵ and Louis IX King of France (1226-1270) on the high altar of the chapter church of St Martin of Tours in Szepeshely made before 1478 when the restored church and all (altogether 11) altars were consecrated.¹⁰²⁶ (Fig.39.) The high altar was made under the provosty of Gáspár Berendi Bak (1464-1493).¹⁰²⁷ Louis of Toulouse wears a mitre, holds a crosier in his right, and a book in his left hand. The Angevin coat of arms of considerable size is depicted at his feet. In this image again, the Franciscan habit and a chord under the lavish bishop's garment decorated with lilies is well visible. As the Szapolyai owned the nearby castle of Szepes (Spiš) since the early 1460s, they could have a say in a matter of the interior decoration of the church in the 1470s but there is no direct evidence for that. István Szapolyai (†1499) had a chapel built between 1493 and 1499 in the church as place of burial for his family. He was a military leader of King Matthias

¹⁰²⁴ St Louis of Toulouse was rejected by Anca Gogâltan, "Holy Kings", 108. First it was Mária Prokopp who proposed that the bishop was St Adalbert but did not support her view with arguments; Prokopp, *Italian Trecento Influence on Murals in East-Central Europe, Particularly Hungary* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1983), 140-141. Recently Dragoș Nastasoiu convincingly argued for this theory; Nastasoiu, "The Representation in Mural Painting," 117-147.

¹⁰²⁵ Oswald was the king and the Christianiser of Northumbria who had special veneration in Styria and in the Saxon areas of Transylvania.

¹⁰²⁶ On the chapter church of St Martin in Szepeshely see Romhányi, *Kolostorok*, 65. On the high altar, see Radocsay, *A középkori Magyarország táblaképei*, 437. Radocsay erroneously identified Oswald as Edward. Ernő Marosi, "Szepeshely/ Spišská Kapitula, St Martin high altar," 72-75 in *On the Stage of Europe*; Ivan Gerát, Stredovek, 166; *ibid.*, "Saintly Patrons, Their Altarpieces, and Regional Identities in Medieval Scepusia" in *Cuius patrocinio tota gaudet regio: Saints' Cults and the Dynamics of Regional Cohesion*, ed. Stanislava Kuzmová, Ana Marinković, Trprmir Vedriš, 296-311, (Zagreb: Croatian Hagiographic Society 'Hagiotheca', 2014), at 297-299.

¹⁰²⁷ Gáspár Berendi Bak participated in the siege of Jajca, which, as well as his service as the envoy of Poland in 1474 could be among the reasons why King Matthias reinforced and amplified the privileges of the provosty from the year 1471 onwards; Terézia Kerny, "A szepeshelyi főoltár magyar szent királyokat ábrázoló táblaképe" [The altarpiece representing the holy kings of Hungary in the main altar of Spišska kapitula], 99-105 in *eadem*, ed., *Szent Imre 1000 éve: Székesfehérvár 1007-2007. Tanulmányok Szent Imre tiszteletére születésének ezredik évfordulója alkalmából* (Székesfehérvár: Székesfehérvári Egyházmegyei Múzeum, 2007), 99.

and later Palatine of Hungary whose wife was Hedwig of Teschen (1469-1521) daughter of Prince Premislaw I. They were both buried in this chapel.¹⁰²⁸



Figure 39 - Ss Oswald King of Northumbria, Louis of Toulouse, and Louis IX King of France on the high altar of the church of St Martin of Tours in Szepeshely (Spišská Kapitula, Slovakia, before 1478). Photo: Méry Ratio

Scholars have come up with various explanations for the presence of the bishop of Toulouse and the other rulers from Western Europe. Éva Gyulai related the addition of the representation of these three saints to the *sancti reges Hungariae* (Ss Stephen, Emeric and Ladislaus) to the Szapolyai family. Others, like Györgyi Poszler have found different connections between the two groups of saints on the two different wings of the main altar: she saw in St Oswald the hidden portrait of King Matthias which might be the key to the interpretation of the

¹⁰²⁸ Éva Gyulai considers the patronage of art of the Szapolyai family in the Spiš region as part of a more universal political aspiration envisioning and shaping the various political entities (kingdoms, principalities) of Central Europe. This region, integrating elements of German, Czech, Polish and Hungarian culture created its own one and formed its own aristocracy, ecclesiastical and secular art, and even with saints but always relating themselves to the western European regions. See Éva Gyulai, “Árpád-házi Szent Erzsébet és Sziléziai Szent Hedvig kultusza a késő középkori Szepességben,” [The cults of Ss Elizabeth of Hungary and Hedwig of Silesia in late medieval Spiš] *A Hermann Ottó Múzeum Évkönyve* 48 (2009): 5- 46, at 44-46.

iconographic program of the two wings: the saints of the Árpád and the Angevin dynasties¹⁰²⁹ were to represent the saintly ancestors of the “Hunyadi dynasty”. She pointed out the parallels between the two groups of saints, St Louis of Toulouse being the match of St Emeric of Hungary, and she underlined that it cannot be proved with any data the assumption that the iconographic program of the inner images followed the orders of the commissioner.¹⁰³⁰ Ernő Marosi has emphasized that the heraldic features indeed have an important role in the identification but in his opinion it is still an open question whether it came from court familiarity or the well-informedness of the burghers.¹⁰³¹ As far as I am concerned, the former seems to be more likely, as Szepeshely was a town made up of ecclesiastical buildings and was not populated by burghers. Terézia Kerny argued that the complex iconographic programme of the altar could not have been independent from the current political situation, and it was King Matthias who made the selection of the figures to be represented with their heraldic symbols.¹⁰³² I would rather agree with Kerny in whose opinion the chapter church of Szepeshely had been the centre of the state and dynastic representation since its foundation in 1209 and remained so also in the 1470s-1480s.¹⁰³³ Also Gábor Klaniczay referred to this altar as an example of royal or relying upon royal patronage that became quite popular in the northern regions of Hungary.¹⁰³⁴ All what one can say for sure that St Louis of Toulouse was present on the main altar depicting foreign and Hungarian holy rulers alike in a collegiate chapter to which a recently emerged noble family that had strong ties to Matthias Corvinus. The Franciscan

¹⁰²⁹ In Ernő Marosi’s opinion the theory of the raven as the allegory of King Matthias following the Humanist fiction of origins of the Corvinus (“raven”) is unfounded and certainly not a proof of the royal origins of the altarpiece; Ernő Marosi, “Szlovák(iai) gótika” [Slovakian Gothic], *BUKSZ* 18/2 (2006): 128-141, at 138.

¹⁰³⁰ Györgyi Poszler, “Árpád-házi szent királyok a magyar középkor századaiban,” [The Arpadian holy kings in the Middle Ages], in *Történelem-Kép: szemelvények múlt és művészet kapcsolatából Magyarországon. Kiállítás a Magyar Nemzeti Galériában, 2000. március 17-szeptember 4*, ed. Árpád Mikó and Katalin Sinkó (Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Galéria, 2000), 170-187.

¹⁰³¹ Ernő Marosi, “Matthias the Renaissance Man: Gothic and Renaissance,” in *Matthias Corvinus, the King. Tradition and Renewal of the Hungarian Court*, ed. Péter Farbaky et al. 113-127 (Budapest: Budapest History Museum, 2008), 120.

¹⁰³² Kerny, “A szepeshelyi főoltár,” 101-102.

¹⁰³³ Kerny, “A szepeshelyi főoltár,” 102. However, Kerny erroneously regards Szepeshely to be one of the towns that were pledged by Sigismund of Luxemburg.

¹⁰³⁴ Gábor Klaniczay, “Matthias and the Saints,” in *Matthias Rex 1458-1490: Hungary at the Dawn of the Renaissance*, ed. Iván Horváth et al. (Budapest: Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem, Centre des hautes études de la Renaissance, 2013), 1-18, at 9. Published as e-book: <http://renaissance.elte.hu/wp-content/uploads/2013/10/Gabor-Klaniczay-Matthias-and-the-Saints.pdf> (Last accessed: 09/02/2017).

affiliation of Louis is of secondary importance; what matters here is that he was the bishop saint of the Angevin dynasty.

IV.3.5 *De sancto Ludovico ordinis minorum* – the sermons of the two Observant Franciscans

Despite the considerable efforts on the part of the Angevin rulers to establish the cult of St Louis in Hungary, by looking at the hagiographic and sermon literature produced in Hungary it seems that they were not successful. It is intriguing that none of the medieval *Legenda aurea* related to Hungary was complemented with the legend of the Franciscan bishop (the only exception to this is the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary*),¹⁰³⁵ and was not included in the Hungarian “complement” of James of Varazze’s work, the *Legende sanctorum regni Hungarie in Lombardica historia non contente*. Besides, none of the Old Hungarian codices mention him. The only authors who composed sermons about him in Hungary were the two Observant Franciscans, Pelbartus de Themeswar and Osvaldus de Lasko.

Pelbartus chose the theme “Rex mutavit habitum suum, et ingressus est proelium,” (Reg 3. 22:30),¹⁰³⁶ which had already been used in a Franciscan collection of sermons.¹⁰³⁷ I was not able to identify the direct source of Pelbartus (if he had any) but his remarks in the sermon suggests that he used Louis’s bull of canonization as well as Franciscus Mayronis’s sermon on humility.¹⁰³⁸ Apart from this, there are a good number of common points with Caracciolo’s sermon on St Louis but the theme and the structure of the two sermons are different.¹⁰³⁹ In Pelbartus’s interpretation, Louis turned away from the world and the rule, and the entered the Franciscan Order to fight against the world, the flesh, and the evil. The author divided his model sermon to three parts built on the saint’s humility, perfect love for Christ and the heavenly rewards of his humbleness. Most of the references to Louis being a Franciscan can be found in the second section in which Pelbartus explicated seven virtues of the bishop (contempt

¹⁰³⁵ Edit Madas, “A *Legenda aurea* a középkori Magyarországon”.

¹⁰³⁶ Pelbartus de Themeswar, *Pomerium de sanctis, Pars aestivalis*, sermo LI: Item de sancto Ludovico ordinis minorum. Sermo cum legenda.

¹⁰³⁷ MS Vat. Lat. 1263 [Sermones fratrum minorum]; see Schneyer, *Repertorium der lateinischen Sermones des Mittelalters*, 7/474.

¹⁰³⁸ Pelbartus de Themeswar, *Pomerium de sanctis, Pars aestivalis*, sermo LI: Nam et in bulla papae sex mortui narratur per eius merita suscitati et infirmi plures.”

¹⁰³⁹ Caracciolo, *De laudibus sanctorum*, 144d-146d, sermo XLVI De sancto Lodovico.

of the world, virginity, mercy, immunity to mortal sin, reverence for God, prayer, humility) showing his love for Christ, of which I mention only those that are related to his spirituality. Louis's contempt of the world is revealed in that even though he was the heir to the French throne being the son of Charles, King of Sicily and Mary, daughter of the king of Hungary, he resigned the right of primogeniture.¹⁰⁴⁰ His mercy for the poor and miserable was shown both in Barcelona where he used to visit the lepers, touch, wash, and kiss their wounds, and once he invited all the lepers of the city on the day of the Last Supper, and washed their feet and served them food. His compassion for the miserable did not diminish either when he became a bishop: he used to distribute all the episcopal income among the poor, the monasteries, and the needy, and took care of the poor in his house day by day. It was a sign of his reverence for God (*religiositas*) that when his father and relatives tried to dissuade him in Rome to join the Franciscans, he consigned to be a bishop of Toulouse only on condition that Pope Boniface allowed him to make his vow first. "And now that he was a Minor Brother –writes Pelbartus- he wanted to live among them as the most insignificant brother."¹⁰⁴¹ As a Franciscan, he would often sleep on the ground and keep vigil prayer while the other friars were sleeping. When once, already as a bishop, the friars decorated his cell with exquisite pieces of cloth, he had them all removed and slept on the ground. His humility could be seen also in his preaching activity: whenever he preached in cities like Paris, Toulouse or Montpellier, he had the ornaments from his pulpit removed, and instead of the episcopal vestment, he used to preach in the habit of the friars. He converted many Jews with his preaching, whom, out of humility and devotion, he personally baptised. In the last section of the sermon, Pelbartus describes in detail the death of Louis at Brignoles (southern France), and the miraculous signs witnessed by two hundred friars gathered in the Franciscan church of Marseilles where his corpse was taken. The author recounts four of the *post mortem* miracles including the story of a baby born dead in Arles, who after that he had been raised from the dead was named Louis and later became a Minorite.

¹⁰⁴⁰ Pelbartus de Themeswar, *Pomerium de sanctis, Pars aestivalis*, sermo LI: "Beatus Ludovicus Christum adeo amavit, quod cum esset ex regali prosapia patre Carolo rege Siciliae, matre vero Siciliae regina, nomine Maria filia regis Hungarie, alta sui generis pro Christo contempsit."

¹⁰⁴¹ Pelbartus de Themeswar, *Pomerium de sanctis, Pars aestivalis*, sermo LI: "Cumque iam esset frater minor, volebat usque ad mortem inter eos vivere ut minimus fratrum."

Osvaldus chose the following novel theme for his sermon: “Vade et vende omnia quae habes” Matt 19:21).¹⁰⁴² Similarly to his Observant fellow, also Osvaldus tells about the saint’s (partly) Hungarian origin.¹⁰⁴³ When Louis decided to disdain worldly kingdom and to give everything he had to the poor and thus followed Christ to the perfect life (*vita perfecta*), he followed the advice of God, that of the Minor Brothers, and his own conscience. The first part of the sermon is centred on the *sequela Christi*, and Osvaldus lists eleven teachings of Christ, the first three of which coincide with the Franciscan vows of poverty, obedience, and chastity.¹⁰⁴⁴ According to Osvaldus, the path of Christ should be followed quickly, wisely fervently, delightedly, and persistently; the persistence of Louis manifested in his renunciation of the rights of primogeniture. In the last part of the sermon, Osvaldus treats the different ways the Franciscan bishop was rewarded in his life, at his passing, and after his death. Similarly to Pelbartus, also Osvaldus underlines that Louis insisted first on his reception to the Order of Minor Brothers before ordained as bishop of Toulouse, and as a bishop he lived of life simplicity and charity (inviting the poor to his house and distributing food and water among them daily), and also converting and baptising the Jews and other non-believers. Osvaldus pays much attention to the circumstances of his passing, naming three witnesses (two Franciscans and a knight) who testified his glorious ascend to heaven. He ends his sermon with the miracles attributed to the intercession of Louis, -although these miracles are not the famous ones-, mentioning that the saint raised from the dead twelve people, which was testified by trustworthy testimonies, and briefly recounted three healing miracles, of which two were surely made at his tomb.

It is worthwhile to have a look at what happened to Louis of Toulouse’s cult in different parts of Europe in the late Middle Ages to provide a broader context to what one can think based on the

¹⁰⁴² Osvaldus de Lasko, *Biga salutis*, sermo LXXV De sancto Ludovico episcopo et confessore.

¹⁰⁴³ Osvaldus de Lasko, *Biga salutis*, sermo LXXV: “Sic enim legitur de eo quod pater eius erat Karolus rex Sicilie mater vero Maria filia Stephani quarti regis Hungarie”. According to Balázs Kertész, the source of the legend of Louis was the *Vita s. Ludovici episcopi* attributed to Giovanni d’Orta. Kertész noticed that the additional information provided by de Lasko that Mary was the daughter of Stephen IV (in fact Stephen V) must have been based on the chronicle of Thuróczi. See B. Kertész, “A turul-monda Laskai Osvát egyik Szent István-napi prédikációjában” [The turul legend in one of the sermons of Osvaldus de Lasko composed for the feast of St Stephen of Hungary] *Magyar Könyvszemle* 120 (2004): 371-383, at 378-379. Giovanni d’Orta’s legend could indeed be one of the sources of the sermons of the two Hungarian Observant Franciscans but not the only one.

¹⁰⁴⁴ The remaining eight teachings are as follows: 4) love of the enemy 5) gentleness 6) mercy 7) clearness (*simplicitas*) of words 8) evasion of the occasion for sinning 9) straightness of intentions 10) conformity of deeds and words 11) evasion of solicitude.

surviving sources in Hungary. As to Italy, Margaret Toybnee concluded that the cult of Louis came to an end around 1500 (among other reasons, because the Observants were more interested in the cult of Bernardino, Naples fell in the king of the united Spain, and it meant little for Charles V and Philip II).¹⁰⁴⁵ His cult was never particularly strong in France¹⁰⁴⁶, and his veneration in Aragon and Catalonia was thanks to the Angevin royal house.¹⁰⁴⁷ His reached even the German-speaking lands as early as 1318 due to the Franciscans of Bonn. It was Elizabeth of Aragon (who married Frederic Duke of Austria) who introduced her uncle's cult into Vienna by erecting a chapel dedicated to him, the visitors of which John XXII granted indulgences in 1327. There are several, although sporadic instances from the territory of today's Germany that attest to his veneration on the parts of the Franciscans of Cologne, Düren, and Marburg as well as by laypeople.¹⁰⁴⁸ By the fifteenth century the Franciscan bishop's fame reached the northern borders of Western Christianity: his figure could be found in at least three churches in Sweden in this period.¹⁰⁴⁹

IV.3.6 Concluding remarks

These examples above show that the memory of Louis of Anjou was alive in German-speaking and Scandinavian territories even well after that the main propagators of his cult, the Angevin dynasty disappeared from among the ruling families. His presence in the Franciscan milieu is not surprising, but he could be still found in cathedral, collegiate or parish churches not only in Hungary but also elsewhere in Europe. The fourteenth-century wall paintings in the churches of Martonháza and Kiéte in the Gemer region and in Almakerék in Transylvania were commissioned by the landlords of the villages. The fifteenth-century representations of Louis's survive in the Cathedral of Kassa on one of the side altars (as we have seen in III.2.) and in the

¹⁰⁴⁵ Toybnee, *S. Louis of Toulouse*, 227.

¹⁰⁴⁶ Toybnee, *S. Louis of Toulouse*, 229.

¹⁰⁴⁷ Toybnee, *S. Louis of Toulouse*, 229-231.

¹⁰⁴⁸ Toybnee, *S. Louis of Toulouse*, 231-232.

¹⁰⁴⁹ At least three mural paintings representing Louis of Toulouse survive in the churches of Roslagsbro (1471) and Årentuna (both in Uppland), and there was one the high altar of the Franciscan church in Ystad, Skåne (today lost); see Henrik Roelvink, *Franciscans in Sweden: Medieval Remnants of Franciscan Activities* (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1998), 70-71. In Roslagsbro Louis is represented with three mitres hanging under each other around his crosier, but from Hungary no similar representation is known.

Collegiate church of Szepeshely on the high altar. Louis can be found in different contexts and in some cases all his qualities as a Franciscan, a bishop, and a scion of the Hungarian royal dynasty in the fourteenth century can account for his presence. The Franciscan church of Keszthely and the Collegiate church of Szepeshely were both associated with influential aristocratic families that were closely related to the royal house, the Lackfi and the Szapolyai, respectively, although only in the first case can one relate to the person of the commissioner to the presence of St Louis in the church. His figure on the fresco in the Franciscan church of Keszthely and on the feast side panel of the high altar of Szepeshely are in the most privileged position, whereas he is only one of the many saints on the weekday panel of one of the side-altars of the Cathedral of Kassa. Whenever Louis of Toulouse is represented as a pair with St Francis of Assisi (in Kassa and on the “Matthias chasuble”), it is always intriguing to speculate, supposing that there was no particular intention to underline his relation to the royal house, why it is he and not the second canonized saint of the Franciscans, St Anthony of Padua who was chosen to accompany the founder. A possible reason can be that Louis’s case was unique since the very few saints of the Franciscan Order had a prominent role in the ecclesiastical hierarchy, and together with Francis they made an appealing pair of spirituality and hierarchy. Moreover, the episcopal insignia of Louis made him more easily recognizable than Anthony. In the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* and the Franciscan church of Keszthely, his place was among the holy bishops; in Szepeshely, among the holy rulers of Western Europe. There are several signs that after that the Angevin royal house had become extinct in Hungary, the importance of Louis as a Hungarian dynastic saint was diminished: his legend was not included in the *Legende sanctorum Historia Lombardica non contente* made for Hungarian users, and even his Hungarian origins from his mother’s side are reported by both Pelbartus and Osvaldus, that his sanctity was a hereditary trait specific to any of the royal dynasties of Hungary. The Franciscan bishop’s humility and his charity towards the most miserable are the most highlighted aspects of these sermons. It can be taken almost for granted that the two Hungarian Observants were not aware of the “Spiritual” controversy –if there was at all- in the evolution of the image of Louis of Toulouse from the canonization documents to his legends. Nevertheless, even if he lived about half a century later than St Francis, Louis’ insistence in the sermons of the Hungarian Observants on the simplest style of living and care for the miserable that makes him possible to

follow the path of Christ, make the association between the founder and the bishop particularly strong despite the fact that there is no direct reference to St Francis. Toynbee's observation, according to which the Observant Franciscans' attention turned towards St Bernardino of Siena rather than Louis of Toulouse is not supported by the case of Hungary, as both Pelbartus and Osvaldus composed one single sermon for the feasts of each saint. By the time the two Observant Franciscans composed their quite schematic sermons on the Franciscan bishop, also the altar that had been dedicated in all probability to him by Charles I in the cathedral of Várad for Louis's intercession for the salvation of the soul of his recently died consort and in order to integrate the new Árpád-Angevin saint to one of the royal burial places, was considered to be dedicated to St Louis IX, King of France, and the bishop of Toulouse was forgotten.

V. New Saints – New Audiences: Saints and Reform in the Order of Preachers

This chapter consists of two parts that can be both related to the reform in the Order of Preachers in the fifteenth century. Since the legends of those blessed of the order who had local veneration in Hungary -with the sole but important exception of Margaret of Hungary- has not survived, one has to turn to those Dominican authors from German-speaking areas and Italy whose works preserved their memory. The overwhelming majority of these works were written during or following the reform, often by authors who were the protagonists of this religious revival. The reform friars started to concentrate on their duties as spiritual guides of the nuns under their care, which was reflected in the composition of saints's lives and other types of devotional literature in the vernacular as well as in the inclusion of holy nuns and tertiaries in their hagiographic collections. The fifteenth-sixteenth hagiographic trends of the Dominicans, however, are not to be limited to a more "democratic" attitude towards women: many of the friars composed their works on *beati* and *beatae* alike in subtle, humanist style. Among the blessed from Hungary, special attention is given to the case of Helen, the allegedly stigmatic Dominican nun from the thirteenth century, and her unprecedented emergence in hagiography. The second part is dedicated to the already canonized Vincent Ferrer and Catherine of Siena. While the former was in fact a reform friendly or so-called Observant friar, Catherine and her family had quite a close relationship to the Order of Preachers –although the Penitent Sisters, a community she joined was not yet officially incorporated as its Third Order-, and they were primarily the Observant friars who had a special interest in the Sienese *mantellata* both as a person and a future saint.¹⁰⁵⁰ The two parts of the chapter mainly for chronological reasons inevitably overlap, and there was no way of avoiding cross references. I decided to proceed from the general to the specific, starting with a hagiographic overview produced abroad and then turning to the two saints' fortune in Hungary based almost exclusively on manuscript evidence.

¹⁰⁵⁰ Sabine von Heusinger, "Catherine of Siena and the Dominican order," in *Siena e il suo territorio nel Rinascimento*, ed. Mario Ascheri (Siena: Leccio, 2000), 43-51.

V.1. Holy friars and sisters from Hungary in fifteenth and early sixteenth-century Dominican hagiography

In the chapter on the cult of St Dominic I have already dealt with those Dominicans who either composed an individual legend on the founding father or included his *vita* in their institutional history of the Order until the mid-fourteenth century. Jordan of Saxony composed a *Libellus de initio ordinis fratrum praedicatorum* (ca. 1233), Peter of Ferrand and Gerald of Frachet wrote histories both entitled *Chronica ordinis praedicatorum*, Stephen of Salagnac compiled his *De quattuor in quibus Deus ordinem praedicatorum insignivit*, a work completed only half a century later by the inquisitor Bernard Gui (1260-1331), whose works included a *Catalogus priorum provincialium*, a *Catalogus magistrorum ordinis praedicatorum* and most importantly concerning the history of the Province of Hungary, a work known as *Numerus et nomina conventuum fratrum ac monasteriorum sororum in singulis provinciis totius ordinis*.¹⁰⁵¹ Galvanus Fiamma (1283-1344) was another prolific Dominican who wrote various chronicles about Milan, whose most comprehensive work, the *Chronica maior ordinis praedicatorum* is known only through late fifteenth-early sixteenth century historians from Italy, such as Girolamo Borselli and Ambrogio Taegio. From among the numerous chroniclers active in the intervening 150 years, one should make mention of Johannes Meyer of Zurich (1422-1485), the committed supporter of the Observant reform in the friary of Basel and the neighbouring female monasteries.¹⁰⁵² Some of the general catalogues and chronicles, like those of Gui, Fiamma, Borselli and Taegio are precious sources of the Dominican convents and the blessed of Hungary, while the convent histories will not be taken into account here as they only rarely contain material relating Hungary, usually when a certain brother or sister lived in a convent or monastery outside the Dominican Province of Hungary. Chronicles normally consisted of vitae or shorter accounts of Dominican saints, general and in some cases also provincial chapter meetings, order privileges and constitutions.

¹⁰⁵¹ For an overview on Dominican historiography and convent histories, see Bert Roest, "Later Medieval Institutional History," in *Historiography in the Middle Ages*, ed. Deborah Mauskopf Deliyannis (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 277-315, esp. at 301-315.

¹⁰⁵² On the other Dominican chroniclers, see Roest, "Later Medieval Institutional History," 304-305.

V.1.1 A friar from the early days: Buzád

The *Bonum universale de apibus* (1257-1263) is an allegorical work about the organization of a beehive as a model for an ideal Christian society and within this the ideal religious community. The voluminous work consists of two parts: Book 1 deals with the sovereigns, Book 2 with the “masses”. It contains mostly *exempla*, but also hagiographical writings, miracles, Biblical stories and excerpts by classical authors on different issues concerning moral behaviour. Thomas of Cantimpré’s work, additionally to the material related to the preacher friars, is also abundant in Franciscan and monastic (mostly Cistercian) *exempla*. In the *Epistle* of the work, the Dominican author, referring to the request of the General Chapter of 1256, addressed minister general Humbert of Romans: “Et ego quidem indignus, ex mandato vestro huius operis audaciam sumpsi; cum in quodam Capitulo generali fratribus demandastis, vt in singulis prouincijs digna memoriae scriberentur (...)”.¹⁰⁵³ While Gerard of Frachet’s *Vitae fratrum* was written (and also decreed) for an internal use within the Order of Preachers, the *Bonum universale de apibus* built on material of miscellaneous origins was destined for a wider public. Although the thematic organization of the work makes impossible the arrangement of the noteworthy stories of the Dominicans according to provinces, there are signs which suggest that Thomas of Cantimpré made an effort to do so: for instance, in the last chapter of Book 2, which despite its title “Vespae quoque persequuntur easdem et impugnant eas odio naturali” contains basically all that did not fit in the previous chapters, accounts about Johannes Teutonicus (John of Wildeshausen), minister provincial of Hungary and then of Bosnia, are grouped together with other miracle stories from Hungary.¹⁰⁵⁴ The organization of the accounts of the deeds of the friars preachers on a territorial basis shows a new tendency that can be observed a decade

¹⁰⁵³ On Thomas of Cantimpré (Thomas de Cantimprato) and his works, see Thomas Kaeppli OP and Emilio Panella OP, *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum Medii Aevi*, vol. 4, 344-355. For an English overview of his life and works, see Barbara Newman’s introduction to Thomas of Cantimpré, *The Collected Saints’ Lives: Abbot John of Cantimpré, Christina the Astonishing, Margaret of Ypres, and Lutgard of Aywières*, ed. Barbara Newman, trans. eadem and Margot H. King (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008), 3-51. I used the following edition of the *Bonum universale*: Thomas de Cantimpré, *Bonum universale de apibus* (Duaci, ex pyp. Baltazaris Belleri, 1627), .3. Currently Julia Burkhardt is working on the new edition. The importance of this sentence was pointed out by Deák, *Árpádházi Szent Margit*, 214, note 341. On the *Bonum universale* in general, see Henri Platelle’s introduction to the French translation of selected *exempla* of the work: Thomas de Cantimpré, *Les exemples du Livre des abeilles. Une vision médiévale*, trans. Henri Platelle (Turnhout: Brepols, 1997), 5-56.

¹⁰⁵⁴ Thomas of Cantimpré, *Bonum universale de apibus*, Book 2, Chapter 47, 537-594. The stories about Johannes Teutonicus are at 582-584.

earlier in the Franciscan Order, beginning with the *Dialogus de gestis sanctorum fratrum minorum* of 1245. Generally speaking, Thomas of Cantimpré did his best at providing the most precise information of his source, or the name, affiliation and provenance of the protagonists of his stories, and in case it was possible, even the years.

That the thematic organization of the *Bonum universale de apibus* clearly overruled that of the geographical/provincial is evident from the fact that the author dedicated a separate chapter to those who suffered patiently the tribulations and the persecutions “Praedivinant enim imbres ventosque, et tunc se continent tectis”, but in fact, he reports only one single story about Hungarian Dominican friars. In the introduction, Thomas recalls the memory of the recently died Dominicans and Franciscans from the provinces of Hungary, Poland and the Holy Land attacked by the Tatars, and then reports the account on “some illustrious Hungarian preacher killed by the barbarians and glorified by the crown of martyrdom”.¹⁰⁵⁵ Thomas narrates that an extremely powerful prince in Hungary (*dux quidam in Hungaria potentissimus*), leaving behind his sons, entered the Order of Preachers and lived there as an excellent preacher until he was brutally murdered by the Mongolian invaders.

The identity of the Hungarian prince remained unknown for centuries until Sigismundus Ferrarius, a Dominican theologian at the University of Vienna published his *De rebus Ungaricae provinciae Ordinis Praedicatorum...* in 1637, which was the first scholarly overview of the history of the Hungarian Province.¹⁰⁵⁶ Ferrarius, appointed with the reorganization of the Province that virtually did not exist since ca. 1580, came to Hungary together with Giovanni Valdespino in 1634 to choose the best location for a new Dominican convent. He worked for three years in order to present the importance of the Province through its early history, the examples of the martyrs, the saints, the blessed, and other illustrious members of the Order, as well as the male and female convents, the history of the General Chapters, the missionary

¹⁰⁵⁵ Thomas de Cantimpré, *Bonum universale de apibus*, Book 2, Chapter 44, 428: “De quodam insigni Praedicatore Hungaro a barbaris interempto, et martirii corona redimito”. It is intriguing why Peter of Verona, the famous martyr of the Order of Preachers canonized recently in 1253 is not mentioned in Thomas of Cantimpré’s work. For other pieces related to Hungary in the *Bonum universale*, see Györkös, “Magyar vonatkozású,” 56-58; idem, “The Saint and his Finger,” 540-542.

¹⁰⁵⁶ On Sigismundus Ferrarius’s role in the reorganization of the Order of Preachers in Hungary, see Ireneusz Wysokinski O.P., “Ferrari Zsigmond és a Domonkos Rend újjászervezése a XVII. századi Magyarországon” [Sigismundus Ferrarius and the reorganization of the Dominican Order in seventeenth-century Hungary] *Tanítvány* 7 (2001): 54-66.

activities, and the Observant reform.¹⁰⁵⁷ As a conscientious philologist-historian, Sigismundus not only traced back eight works in which the story was included but also identified the friar with the help of a charter found by the Jesuit theologian Jakab Némethi in the archives of the Bánfi family.¹⁰⁵⁸ The donation charter was made in 1233 in Pest reports that *Buzad quondam Banus*, now a friar preacher, bequests the settlement of *Szobor/Szabar* to his eldest son, also called Buzád.¹⁰⁵⁹ However, they were wrong in referring to him as Buzád Bánfi since although Buzád descended from the Hahót kindred, the Bánfi family of Alsólendva is from another branch of the same kindred, receiving its name only in the fourteenth century, as it has been pointed out by Attila Zsoldos. Nevertheless, Buzád held some important positions in the Kingdom: he was *comes* in different regions and served as ban of Szörény which can be further supported with his close relation to Prince Béla (at that time the governor of Transylvania) and presumably it was in Szörény he got acquainted with the Dominican missionaries.¹⁰⁶⁰ Buzád was married and had at least four sons. He decided to join the Order of Preachers sometime before 1233 although, as Attila Györkös has noted, it seems that Buzád preserved some of his former secular duties, as his name reappears in some charters as witness.¹⁰⁶¹ He suffered martyrdom in the church of the Dominican house of Pest in 1241.¹⁰⁶²

The historical reliability of Thomas of Cantimpré's account on the martyrdom of Buzád cannot be judged but it is worth underlying that it was only 15-20 years later that the author recorded the event, so it can be considered as a nearly contemporary source.¹⁰⁶³ Nevertheless, one may

¹⁰⁵⁷ See the "Prefatio" of Sigismundus Ferrarius, in *De rebus*, 1-12, esp. at 1 and 11.

¹⁰⁵⁸ On the identification of the Hungarian Dominican and his own methodology, see the author himself; Sigismundus Ferrarius, *De rebus*, 57-61. On Sigimundus's account on Buzád in the *De rebus*, see Rössler, *Magyar domonkosrendi legendák és példák*, 24-25.

¹⁰⁵⁹ Fejér III/2 334-335: "Vniuersis, praesens scriptum inspecturis, Buzad quondam Banus; nunc vero ordinis praedicatorum frater minimus, salutem in Sion, et gloriam in Hierusalem. Significamus vniversitati Vestrae, caritatem vestram scire volentes, praedium nostrum quoddam, quod vulgo Szobor nuncupatur, filio nostro maiori Buzad nomine, cum omnibus pertinentiis suis iam dudum nos tradidisse; vt igitur haec nostra donatio firma et stabilis in temporibus futuris, extra omnem portionem, diuisionemque omnium hereditatum nostrarum, quae inter iam dictum Buzad, et alios filios nostros est affutura, permanere valeat, ob testimonium sollemnus litteras praesentes Prioris nostri sigillo studuimus roborare. Anno gratiae MCCXXXIII. Datum in Pesth, XVI. kal Martii". This document is also an important testimony that the Dominican priory of Pest already existed in 1233.

¹⁰⁶⁰ Attila Zsoldos, *Magyarország világi archontológiája, 1000-1301* [A secular archontology of Hungary] (Budapest: História, MTA Történettudományi Intézete, 2011), 291-292.

¹⁰⁶¹ Györkös, "The Saint and His Finger," 541.

¹⁰⁶² Pfeiffer, *Die ungarische Dominikanerordensprovinz*, 154-155.

¹⁰⁶³ As Alessandra Bartolomei Romagnoli has noted in connection to the *Vita Maria Oigniacensis*, Thomas of Cantimpré used and cited the accounts of the ocular witnesses for the *vita*, evaluating their validity and credibility;

wonder why the *dux potentissimus* is not mentioned in Gerard of Frachet's *Vitae fratrum* that treated in the most comprehensive manner the *notabilia* of the friars of all the provinces of the Order. Thomas of Cantimpré's account can be summed up as follows: a man from the high nobility in Hungary, leaving behind his sons, chose religious life and became an excellent and most devout preacher. As the Mongolians (referred to as Tartars in the text) were approaching and the prior of the Dominican house of Pest was about to flee with the friars, the aged friar was permitted to stay there. He took care of and comforted those poor and sick who could not escape until the arrival of the "Barbarians" who brutally murdered him while he was in praying in tears in the church, extending his body in the form of the cross (*modum crucis extensus*) in front of the altar. After the Tartars had left, the returning friars found Buzád with limbs pierced through by lances and his brains splashed out. One of the wooing friars became so aggrieved that he turned to God for an answer why such a man had to suffer and die in this manner, and he did not eat and sleep for three days until the killed friar appeared and said to him: "Is it not necessary to suffer for Christ and through this to arrive at his glory?" Having said this, he disappeared, and the friar, who was doubtful about the divine judgement that is inscrutable, was comforted.

I have mentioned in the chapter on the thirteenth-century Dominican saints the revival of martyrdom from the later twelfth century onwards, and its importance, for the Order of Preachers, of the official recognition of Peter of Verona's sanctity who was assassinated near Como in 1252, which the Dominicans obtained within eleven months after his death. The description of the martyrdom of the Hungarian preacher friar seems to be the fusion of the passion accounts of two "new martyrs", that of Thomas Becket and Peter of Verona. Although both of them were considered as the martyrs of the institutional Church and the defenders of orthodox Christian faith, there were political motives behind their assassination. Their murder was preceded by long years of confrontation with different secular interest groups (in case of the Archbishop of Canterbury, King Henry II and his supporters; in case of Peter, Cathar sympathisers of northern Italy). In the case of Buzád, in turn, the Mongol hordes devastated a flourishing Christian kingdom in 1241 after they had invaded nearly the whole eastern Europe,

see eadem, "Le 'Vitae Matrum' di Tommaso di Cantimpré," in *Santità e mistica femminile nel Medioevo* (Spoleto: Centro italiano di studi sull'alto Medioevo, 2013), 149.

so there was not any particular personal or an immediate political motif behind the brutal assassination of the friar but he was only one of the thousands of victims of the complex expansion strategies of the Mongols.¹⁰⁶⁴ Thomas Becket was killed in the Cathedral of Canterbury at Christmas time (29th December) in 1170, Buzád in the church of the Dominican house of Pest at an unspecified time in 1241. Murder was a most sacrilegious act in sacred space and the shedding of blood could require that the church be consecrated anew.¹⁰⁶⁵ All the three men were attacked also on the head, and the weapons (a sword or a *falx*) became the attributes of Thomas and Peter in visual arts but no medieval representation of Buzád has come down to us. Traditionally Thomas Becket was represented in visual sources as being killed while kneeling in prayer in front of the altar despite the fact that the contemporary sources are not unanimous about it; this motif can be seen in Thomas de Cantimpré's presentation of the murder of Buzád¹⁰⁶⁶, which cannot be but his own invention since there was no witness to this event and the returning Dominican friars found only the body in the church.

The story of Buzád, however, is not an epitomised legend but an *exemplum* in which the point is to suffer patiently, bearing the Passion of Christ in mind even in the harshest torments and not to cast doubt upon the divine will. The Hungarian Dominican martyr was not mentioned in any other hagiographical or historical works until the mid-fifteenth century. This complete silence is intriguing: was it the lack of data (name, place, time) of the account that hindered the spread of the fame of Buzád? Or was the story regarded as spurious by contemporary Dominicans and

¹⁰⁶⁴ An important account of the event by Rogerius is available in a bilingual edition: *Anonymi Bele Regis notarii Gesta Hungarorum. Magistri Rogerii Epistola in miserabile Carmen super destructionem regni Hungarie per Tartaros facta / The Deeds of the Hungarians. Epistle to the sorrowful lament upon the destruction of the kingdom of Hungary by the Tartars*, trans., ed. and annotated by Martyn Rady, László Veszprémy, and János M. Bak (Budapest: Central European Press, 2010). The reasons of the Mongolian invasion of Hungary as well as the damage caused in the country is debated; for a brief presentation and the evaluation of the event in English, see Berend, *At the Gate of Christendom*, 34-38.

¹⁰⁶⁵ On the twofold sacrilegious aspect of Thomas Becket's assassination in a sacred space and at a sacred time, and on the question whether intentional shedding of blood necessitates re-consecration or only reconciliation, see Dawn Marie Hayes, "Body as Champion of Church Authority and Sacred Place," in *Body and Sacred Place in Medieval Europe, 1100-1389* (New York: Routledge, 2003), ed. eadem, 71-94, especially at 81-84.

¹⁰⁶⁶ The only eye-witness account to Becket's murder was written by the monk Edward Grim according to whom the Archbishop of Canterbury was killed near a column of the cathedral from where the four knights could not drag him away; see Edward Grim, ed., *Vita S. Thomae, Cantuariensis Archiepiscopi et Martyris*, in *Materials for the Life of Thomas Becket*, ed. James Crigie Robertson (London: Rolls Series, 1875-1885), vol. 2, 353-450. Thomas de Cantimpré reports a miracle about the Virgin who repaired the *cilicium* of Thomas Becket, who a few days later "pro ecclesia Dei martyrio coronatus est."; see Thomas de Cantimpré, *Bonum universale de apibus*, Book 2, Chapter 29, 288.

thus not to be propagated widely? Was he only a victim of a pagan massacre and not a triumphant martyr active in the mission of the spread of orthodox faith? Most probably, after the canonization of Peter of Verona in 1253, the Order of Preachers could boast with an officially recognized martyr saint and thus there was no need to promote another Dominican martyr around whom—as the complete silence of contemporary Hungarian sources may indicate—did not develop a local cult presumably because the Dominican convent of Pest was burnt in the winter of 1241-1242 and was rebuilt only sometime before the General Chapter which was held here in 1273. Neither the time was favourable to the promotion and the possible canonization of the Dominican martyr. In the decades following the Mongolian invasion, King Béla IV was engaged in the stabilization and the repopulation of the country and in the preparation for a possible new attack on the part of the Mongols, and in 1270 he was succeeded by his son Stephen V who concentrated rather on the initiation of the canonization process of his sister Margaret, the Dominican nun on the Island of Buda.

V.1.2 Liber de Viris Illustribus Ordinis Praedicatorum - the German tradition

Johannes Meyer

In addition to the sixteenth-century and seventeenth-century Dominican authors identified by Sigimundus Ferrarius, there is also an earlier source from 1466 that speaks about the Hungarian *dux potentissimus*, the *Liber de Viris Illustribus Ordinis Praedicatorum* by the Dominican Johannes Meyer.¹⁰⁶⁷ Meyer (1422-1485) lived at the reformed Dominican convent of Basel from 1442 onwards and was a chronicler of the contemporary Observant reform movement in the Province of Teutonia.¹⁰⁶⁸ Under his direction, also several “Sisterbooks” were revised and redistributed.¹⁰⁶⁹ He dedicated his *Liber de Viris Illustribus* to Johannes Kreuzer (d. 1468) a

¹⁰⁶⁷ Johannes Meyer, O.P., *Liber de Viris Illustribus Ordinis Praedicatorum*, ed. Paul von Loë, O.P. (Leipzig: Otto Harrassowitz, 1918). The manuscript is MS Basel Universitätsbibl. D. IV.

¹⁰⁶⁸ For Johannes Meyer (Johannes Meyer Turicensis) and his works, see Kaeppli-Panella, *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum Medii Aevi*, vol. 2, 476-482. For a more detailed biography, see Peter Albert, “Johannes Meyer, ein oberdeutscher Chronist des fünfzehnten Jahrhunderts,” *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte des Oberrheins* 13 (1898): 255-263; and idem, “Zur Lebensgeschichte des Dominikanerchronisten Johannes Meyer” *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte des Oberrheins* 21 (1906): 504-510.

¹⁰⁶⁹ On the Sisterbooks in general, see Gertrud Jaron Lewis, *By Women for Women about Women: The Sister-Books of Fourteenth-Century Germany* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1996); on the reformed community of Töss, see 21-25. On the role of images in female spirituality before and after the Observant reform in Meyer’s chronicle, entitled the *Buch der Reformacio Predigerordens* (1468), see Jeffrey F. Hamburger, *The*

theology professor who entered the reformed Dominican convent at Gebweiler in 1466, where also Meyer lived at that time. The author stated clearly the aim of his “libellus” in the Prologue, in which he writes that he wants his fellow to know, at least partly, who founded, constructed and reformed the Order of Preacher Friars,

For since the times of our saint father Dominic until our times the holy order of preachers founded by this saint, had nearly innumerable saints of both sexes in different parts of the world, several of them in the catalogues of the holy martyrs, many in those of the confessors, others in those of the virgins deserve to be included and be arranged appropriately, although so great our negligence is and was, that little is known about their magnificent and distinguished lives in the militant church.¹⁰⁷⁰

At the end of the prologue, Meyer invites his readers to complete his work with the addition of other illustrious Dominicans.¹⁰⁷¹

During the second half of the fifteenth and the first half of the sixteenth centuries, various Carthusian, Cistercian, Benedictine, Carmelite and Dominican authors wrote institutional histories with “*Viris Illustribus*” in the title, although it was far from being a homogenous genre.¹⁰⁷² This work was a novelty in Dominican hagiography and its author was aware of it. Within a few decades, the “*Liber de viris illustribus*” became a popular genre in the order but Meyer’s book was very different from Leandro Alberti’s exemplary humanist collection, the *De viris illustribus ordinis Praedicatorum* published in 1517 or Ambrogio Taegio’s long and short versions of his chronicle that also include long sections retelling the lives of illustrious Dominicans, but this was not their only focus.¹⁰⁷³ The almost identical titles notwithstanding, Meyer’s *Liber* is a comprehensive work divided in six parts reporting the short biographies of

Visual and the Visionary: Art and Female Spirituality in Late Medieval Germany (New York: Zone Books, 1998), 427-450; John Van Engen, “Communal Life: The Sister-books” in *Medieval Holy Women in Christian Tradition c.1100 – c.1500*, ed. Alastair Minnis and Rosalynn Voaden (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010), 105-132.

¹⁰⁷⁰ “Nam a beati patris nostri Dominici temporibus usque ad nostra tempora ordo praedicatorum sacer, quem idem sanctus fundaverat, habuit fere innumerales utriusque sexus homines in diversis mundi partibus, ut nonnulli ex eis in sanctorum martyrum, multi ad confessorum, alii in virginum cathalogo ascribi ac collocari dignissime meruerunt, licet negligencia nostra tanta sit ac fuerit, ut eorum mirifica et preclara vita paucis nota sit in ecclesia militant.” in Meyer, *Liber de Viris Illustribus Ordinis Praedicatorum*, 16. On the prologue, see also Paul von Loë, introduction to *Liber de Viris Illustribus*, 1-15, at 15.

¹⁰⁷¹ Meyer, *Liber de Viris Illustribus Ordinis Praedicatorum*, 16

¹⁰⁷² For the Dominican use of this genre and its origins, see Anne Huijbers, “*De viris illustribus ordinis praedicatorum*: A ‘Classical’ Genre in Dominican Hands,” *Franciscan Studies* 71 (2013): 297-324.

¹⁰⁷³ Most of the reformers in Meyer’s work came from the province of Teutonia (6) and Italy (5) but he also included reformers from Spain, France and Bohemia; Huijbers, “*De viris illustribus*,” 307.

more than 230 illustrious Dominicans listed in a hierarchical order (saints, martyrs, prelates, doctors, observant reformers, holy women) of whom several are related to Hungary. The author used extensively the available hagiographic and historical sources, including the works of his fellow Dominicans, papal letters, the Annals of Colmar or the Sisterbook of Töss.¹⁰⁷⁴ However, as it has been pointed out by Anne Huijbers, Meyer, the active promoter of the Observant reform throughout his life, included original notices in the separate category of the eminent reformers on whom he write his longest entries.¹⁰⁷⁵

Among the saints in the first section one finds Paul of Hungary (Paulus Ungarus), the Bolognese specialist in canon law who came with four fellow friars to Hungary, “to whose preaching, likewise to the new and unheard-of sight, a multitude of people would run together”. With the multiplication of friars, more missionaries were sent here who converted and baptized many of the pagans and their two leaders (*ducibus*).¹⁰⁷⁶ This refers to the information reported for the first time by Svipertus in his *relatio* on the Dominican mission in Hungary that was included in some of the manuscripts of the *Vitae fratrum*.

The record on Buzád that begins with “N. fuit potentissimus dux in Ungaria” is placed in the second section about the martyrs of the Order after Peter of Verona and his companion Dominic both killed in 1252. It is an abbreviated version of Thomas of Cantimpré’s account but its *exemplum*-like character, as the genre of the work requires, is considerably lessened. So thanks to Meyer (who according to the modern editor of his work lacked the kind of critical historical thinking that Bernard Gui had¹⁰⁷⁷), Buzád became a canonical figure among the illustrious members of the Order of Preachers and was “elevated” almost to the highest level of hierarchy in the Order, reserved for the those friars s who suffered martyrdom. Among the famous prelates, Johannes Theutonicus, Provincial of Hungary and then Bishop of Bosnia, and the fourth Minister General of the Order of Preachers is recalled; the source, here too, seems to be Thomas of Cantimpré.

¹⁰⁷⁴ For the list of the sources, see Paul von Loë’ introduction to the *Liber*, 1-15, at 6-8.

¹⁰⁷⁵ Huijbers, “*De viris illustribus*,” 317.

¹⁰⁷⁶ Meyer, *Liber de Viris Illustribus Ordinis Praedicatorum*, 25.

¹⁰⁷⁷ Paul von Loë’ introduction to the *Liber*, 1-15, at 12: “Ein Geschichtschreiber von kritischem Talent, wie etwa sein Vorbild Bernardus Guidonis, ist er nicht.”

The great innovation of Meyer was the inclusion of those friars who were active in the reform movement (comprising Giovanni Dominici but he does not mention the Italian reformer's final years in Hungary as a papal legate) and of the distinguished nuns and penitents of the Order.¹⁰⁷⁸ The longest account from among the three Hungarian princesses discussed by him is that of Margaret of Hungary, based on Garinus de Giaco's legend.¹⁰⁷⁹ Margaret, in Meyer's opinion, should have been already canonized:

This glorious and saint virgin has not been inscribed until now in the catalogue of the Roman Church out of disinterest and carelessness, despite the fact that the inquisitors sent by the Apostolic See, first by Pope Gregory X then by Pope Innocent V, who diligently collected the testimonies of her miracles together with her excellent life, recorded in a written form by the hand of a sworn public notaries and forwarded duly to the papal court.¹⁰⁸⁰

The other saintly woman is Elizabeth, the daughter of Stephen V, who according to Meyer, was famous for her humble life she conducted in the monastery of the Island of the Rabbits and by the end of her life she moved the monastery of San Pietro in Castello in Naples founded by her sister Mary of Hungary, wife of Charles II, King of Naples and became its prioress.¹⁰⁸¹ In the light of the origins and the activity of Meyer, it is no surprise that he also included Elizabeth, the daughter of Andrew III who "similarly to the light shining on the lamp stand, radiated outstandingly with excellent examples of sanctity in the congregation of the sisters of the

¹⁰⁷⁸ Meyer included the short biographies of fourteen Observant friars, twenty-three nuns, and three penitents – among the Catherine of Siena- to which he added five more names of holy women; Meyer, *Liber de Viris Illustribus Ordinis Praedicatorum*, 21.

¹⁰⁷⁹ Meyer, *Liber de Viris Illustribus Ordinis Praedicatorum*, 64, footnote 1.

¹⁰⁸⁰ "Hec virgo inclita et sancta per incuriam et negligenciam non est adhuc cathalogo per Romanam ecclesiam ascripta, licet inquisitores, ex parte sedis apostolice deputati, primo per Gregorium papam decimum, deinde per Innocencium papam quintum, miracolorum insignia, cum diligencia inventa, cum eisdem eximia vita iuratis testibus recepta per manus publici iurati notarii in scriptis, iuxta apostolicum, fideliter reddidissen." Meyer, *Liber de Viris Illustribus Ordinis Praedicatorum*, 64.

¹⁰⁸¹ Elizabeth was abducted from the monastery with the help of her brother King Ladislaus IV (the Cuman) and in 1288 was betrothed to Zaviš Rosenberg, after whose death she moved to Naples; the turbulent years of the reign of Ladislaus IV, including this event, were reported in the letter of Ladomer archbishop of Esztergom, who, in contrast to Meyer, had a very low opinion about Elizabeth; see János Karácsonyi, "A mérges vipera és az antimonialis: korkép Kun László király idejéből" [The venomous viper and the "antimonialis": a portrait of the era of Ladislaus the Cuman], *Századok* 44 (1910): 1-24, at 2-11. According to Paul von Loë, Meyer probably took his information about the princess from the documents collected for Margaret's canonization; see the Meyer, introduction, 66, footnote 3. Meyer's account contradicts to the *Legenda maior* of Margaret, which informs us that Elizabeth is buried on the Island of Buda; cf. *Szent Margit legendája*, in *Árpád-kori legendák és intelmek* [Legends and admonitions of the age of the Árpáds], ed. Géza Érszegi (Budapest: Szépirodalmi Kiadó, 1987), 171.

monastery of Töss.”¹⁰⁸² For the account on the Dominican Blessed Elizabeth, Meyer used the *Schwesternbuch* of Töss.¹⁰⁸³ It was perhaps Elizabeth of Töss who took with herself a copy of Margaret of Hungary’s *Legenda vetus*, which, as well as her *Legenda minor*, were the sources of her legend in the German vernacular.¹⁰⁸⁴

Georg Epp

Meyer’s *Liber* is survived in a single manuscript and would have remained completely unknown had Georgius Epp, a Dominican from the convent of Wimpfen not written a slightly revised version of it, published as *Libellus de illustribus viris ac sanctimonialibus sacri ordinis Praedicatorum* in Basel 1506.¹⁰⁸⁵ The Cistercian Conradus Leontorius from the Abbey of Maulbronn (today southwest Germany) wrote a preface to the printed edition in which he clearly invoked the Classical tradition that I report here in Latin:

Moribus antiquis stat res romana virisque cunque multi praestantes viri, egregiam laudem clarissimorum virorum vitas, diligenter et accurate conscribendo sint assecuti. Lector candidissime, quorum fortassis vita pietati christianae aut parum aut nihil contulerit qualem existimare poteris eos laudem et gloriam habituros, que item clarissimorum virorum tum religiosissimorum doctissimorumque patrum qui ad pietatem christianae fidei et vita sanctissima et doctrina plurima exempla subministraruerunt, scriptitarunt.

¹⁰⁸² “Sicut enim lucerna splendens super candelabrum, ita in congregatione sororum monasterii Thöss singulariter radiavit exemplis eximie sanctitatis.” Meyer, *Liber de Viris Illustribus Ordinis Praedicatorum*, 66.

¹⁰⁸³ Meyer, *Liber de Viris Illustribus Ordinis Praedicatorum*, 66, footnote 5. The Sisterbook was edited by Ferdinand Vetter with the title *Das Leben der Schwestern zu Töss, beschrieben von Elsbeth Stigel, samt der Vorrede von Johannes Meier und dem Leben der Prinzessin Elisabeth von Ungarn*. (Deutsche Texte des Mittelalters 6) (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1906), the legend of Elizabeth is at 98-120 The attribution of the work and Elizabeth’s life to Elsbeth Stigel, the prioress of the convent of Töss, is contested. It is also dubious whether this lengthy *vita* was part of the Sisterbook of Töss or it is a later addition to the corpus; cf. Lewis, *By Women*, 23, footnote 29. The legend of Margaret was edited by Gábor Salacz, *Árpádházi Boldog Margit tössi legendája. szentgalleni kézírata alapján, az überlingeni figyelembevételével* [The Toesser legend of Margaret of Hungary based on the manuscript of Sank Gallen, taking into account the manuscript of Überlingen] (Pécs: Dunántúli Nyomda, 1940); the legend of Elisabeth of Töss was translated into Hungarian by Mária Puskely S.S.N.D. in *Legendák és csodák. Szentek a magyar középkorból* [Legends and miracles. Saints from the Hungarian Middle Ages], ed. Gábor Klaniczay and Edit Madas (Budapest: Osiris, 2001), 310-330. Puskely also published a monograph on Elisabeth and her community, entitled *Árpádházi Boldog Erzsébet: a tössi domonkos nővérek és a XIV. századi misztika* [Blessed Elisabeth of Töss. The nuns of Töss and the fourteenth-century mysticism], (Rome: Dario e Ugo Detti, 1980).

¹⁰⁸⁴ Deák, *Árpád-házi Szent Margit*, 29.

¹⁰⁸⁵ Georg Epp, *Libellus de illustribus viris ac sanctimonialibus sacri ordinis Praedicatorum* (Cologne: Cornelius von Zierickzee, 1506).

Although Epp composed four new legends of the great saints of the Order and made some minor additions of his own to the already existing ones, he followed closely and often verbatim his model: the list of the *illustribus viris ac sanctimonialibus* is almost identical with that of Meyer's work.¹⁰⁸⁶ The only instance in the accounts of the Hungarian *beatae* that presents a significant difference compared to his Dominican predecessor's version is that Epp omitted Meyer's complaint about the fact that Margaret of Hungary had not yet been officially canonized, and he added instead two short miracles narrated by her fellow nuns: one saw Margaret on her deathbed being crowned by the Virgin and taking her up to the heavens; the other saw a comet rising from the convent about which she was told that it was the saintly princess's transcend from earth to heaven.¹⁰⁸⁷ Due to the growing importance of printing press, Epp's work quickly diffused among the Dominicans, especially in the German-speaking areas, but his work was known and used also by Italian hagiographers and chroniclers as Leandro Alberti, Serafino Razzi, Michele Pio and Domenico Marquese in the sixteenth and seventeenth-centuries while Meyer's work remained unknown.

V.1.3 The Italian tradition

Girolamo Albertucci de Borselli

Only two works in their integrity and a fragment have come down to us of the rich historical oeuvre of the Bolognese Dominican Girolamo Albertucci de Borselli (1432-1497). He joined the Order in 1457 and became the chief inquisitor of Bologna in 1493. He was a popular preacher and prolific writer but much of his works was lost at the liquidation of the library of San Domenico in Bologna. Among other works, he recorded the history of his Order organized according to Generalates, which he enriched with legends and miracles of saints, and even compiled a supplement of the lives of twelve saints and blessed from various Provinces of the Order, from Spain to Poland. This was the result of a long period of research on Borselli's part, who not only collected material in the convents he visited but also asked the friars from different Provinces to supply him with writings not available for him, mostly *vitae*. So in this

¹⁰⁸⁶ For the short biography of Georg Epp and the evaluation of his work, see Paul von Loë's introduction, 12-13.

¹⁰⁸⁷ Epp, *Libellus de illustribus viris ac sanctimonialibus sacri ordinis Praedicatorum*, distinctio sexta, 11 (without pagination).

process of transfer, the general chapters were of vital importance. Three Dominican blessed from Hungary became widely known through this appendix to the *Chronica magistrorum generalium Ordinis Fratrum Praedicatorum* composed between 1493 and 1497¹⁰⁸⁸: the already known *Beata Margarita Ungariae* (although in a new version, which presents her as stigmatized), the thus far practically unheard-of *frater Mauritius de Hungaria* (ca. 1280-1336) and the little-known *beata Helena sanctimonialis* (?-before 1270).¹⁰⁸⁹ The appendix contains altogether twelve legends of whom six can be related to Tommaso Antonio Nacci da Siena “Caffarini” and the Observants. Characteristically, Borselli in his *Cronica* provided all the information of his sources and their location.¹⁰⁹⁰ His activity coincided with the campaign of the Dominicans around 1490 for the acknowledgement of the stigmatised saints and blessed of their Order and for the permission to represent Catherine of Siena with the stigmata, during which new representations also of Margaret of Hungary were made throughout Italy and which probably also influenced his selection of the two female blessed from Hungary.¹⁰⁹¹ I shall return to Tommaso da Siena later in the chapter.

Borselli received some of the legends, including the sources of that of Margaret, from the *scriptorium* of Tommaso da Siena.¹⁰⁹² The original version of the legend of Mauritius used by Borselli was written by an unknown Dominican, but similarly to the list of miracles sent to the General Chapter of Ferrara in 1494, was lost.¹⁰⁹³ Borselli omitted the list of miracles from his version: “Many miracles of this man were sent to me in writing to the General Chapter of Ferrara celebrated in the year 1493 of the Lord, which I omit for the sake of brevity. Whoever

¹⁰⁸⁸ On Borselli’s life, see Giuseppe Rabotti, “Borselli, Girolamo,” *DBAI* 1 (1960), 736; Giorgio Pasquali, “Gerolamo Albertucci de’ Borselli, O.P (1432-1497): Ricerche bio-bibliografiche,” *Rivista di Storia della Chiesa in Italia* 25 (1971): 59-82. The manuscript of the *Cronica magistrorum generalium* is preserved in the Biblioteca Universitaria di Bologna, Cod. lat.1999.

¹⁰⁸⁹ Albano Sorbelli, “Una raccolta poco nota d’antiche vite di santi e religiosi domenicani,” *Rendiconti della R. Accademia dell’Istituto di Bologna, Classe di scienze morali* 2, no. 6 (1922): 79-108. For an introduction and the critical edition of the legend variants that present Margaret of Hungary as a stigmatized, see Gábor Klaniczay, “Borselli és Taegio Margit-legendája Bánfi Florio apparátusával” in *Miscellanea fontium historiae Europae. Emlékkönyv H. Balázs Éva történészprofesszor 80. születésnapjára* [*Miscellanea fontium historiae Europae. Festschrift for the 80th birthday of Éva H. Balázs*], ed. János Kalmár (Budapest: ELTE Bölcsészettudományi Kar, 1997), 11-56.

¹⁰⁹⁰ Sorbelli, “Una raccolta poco nota”, 80-81.

¹⁰⁹¹ Klaniczay, “Borselli és Taegio Margit-legendája”, 15-16; idem, “Le stigmati di santa Margherita d’Ungheria: Immagini e testi.” *Iconographica* 1 (2002): 16-31, at 16-18.

¹⁰⁹² Tibor Klaniczay, “A Margit-legendák történetének revíziója,” in T. Klaniczay and G. Klaniczay, *Szent Margit legendái és stigmái*, 78-79; Deák, *Árpád-házi Szent Margit*, 190-191.

¹⁰⁹³ Sorbelli, “Una raccolta poco nota,” 94.

wishes to see them, perhaps for his canonization, should go to the convent where he is buried and will surely find them.”¹⁰⁹⁴

Mauritius of Csák was the descendant of one of the most important family (*genus*) of Hungary. Although he wanted to choose religious life since his childhood, he was compelled to marry the daughter of another illustrious family of the high nobility. After spending a few years in a chaste marriage, the couple decided to choose religious life and entered Dominican female monastery and male convent on the Island of Buda. His enraged father-in-law took him out of the convent and locked him to a tower in Buda but Mauritius's was let go after some months because of his steadfastness in his decision. After that he had spent three years in the Dominican convent of Bologna, he returned to Hungary and spent the rest of his life in the convent of Győr and was buried here, too. He was famous for his pious and ascetic lifestyle. After his death in 1336, miracles occurred at his tomb. According to the tradition, he had a brother who similarly was an eminent Dominican.¹⁰⁹⁵

The earliest surviving representation of Mauritius made around 1340 by the “Master of the Dominican Effigies” can be found on a panel painting representing the saints and the blessed of the Order of Preachers preserved today in the choir of the Dominican convent next to the Santa Maria Novella, Florence.¹⁰⁹⁶ The special importance of this painting is that it is the first example which represents Margaret of Hungary with the stigmata. The generally accepted dating of the panel *post quem* 1336 was proposed by Kaftal, as Mauritius of Csák died in that year. Although the inscription “Beato Mauritio” is indeed depicted above the head of a bearded friar in the centre, Deák called into question with good reason whether he can be identified with the Hungarian friar or is rather Mauricius de Tholosa mentioned in Fracheto's *Vitae fratrum*.¹⁰⁹⁷

The other representation of Mauritius in the Dominican convent and church of San Niccolò in

¹⁰⁹⁴ “Multa etiam miracula huius viri delata sunt michi in scriptis ad capitulum generale Ferrarie celebrato anno Domini 1493 (sic!), que brevitatis causa dimitto. Que qui voluerit videre, si contingerit ipsum canonizari, vadat ad conventum ubi sepultus est et clare inveniet.” AASS, XX Martii, 251.

¹⁰⁹⁵ For the short biography of Mauritius, see the introduction of Edit Madas to the Hungarian translation of his legend in *Legendák és csodák*, 331-333.

¹⁰⁹⁶ The reproduction of the painting can be found in Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers*, 380.

¹⁰⁹⁷ In addition to Mauritius, also other friars from the *Vitae fratrum* are represented on the panel; see Deák, *Árpád-házi Szent Margit*, 25-26.

Treviso is dated to 1352.¹⁰⁹⁸ Tommaso da Modena depicted 40 male members of the Order (cardinals and friars alike) engaged in intellectual work on the southern and western walls of the chapter hall of the convent, including Augustin Kažotić, bishop of Zagreb (c.1260-1323) and Niccolò Boccasini (Pope Benedict XI, 1240-1304) who was the papal legate in Hungary in 1303. Mauritius is represented with an elderly face sitting at a desk, writing and turning a page of a book. The inscription says the following: “B. Fr. Mauritius de Provincia Hungariae Ord. Fratrum Praedicatorum fuit nobilitatis mansuetudinis et humilitatis decus praeclarissimum, puritatis et munditiae flos venustus, in multis claruit miraculis.” This representation shows that the friar was venerated by the Dominicans in northern Italy some decades after his death. As to Helen, her *vita* had already been known in Italy since 1408. Nevertheless, it was Borselli’s *Cronica* that had a major impact on the historiographic works of the subsequent generation of the preacher friars.

Ambrogio Taegio

The first of them was Ambrogio Taegio (ca. 1474-ca. 1523) who lived in the Dominican convent of S. Maria delle Grazie in Milan and dedicated his life to the collection of records relating to his Order. His major work was the history of the Order in two versions (*Chronica ampliores ordinis Praedicatorum*; *Chronica brevis ordinis Praedicatorum*).¹⁰⁹⁹ In the appendix to the work, a section entitled *De insigniis ordinis Praedicatorum*, Taegio included the legend of Mauritius of Hungary and that of Princess Margaret in a version that presented her as a stigmatised for which, as it has been shown by Gábor Klaniczay, he surely used Borselli’s work.¹¹⁰⁰ It seems that Taegio, as it has been observed regarding the legend of Margaret of Hungary but can be applied to the whole work in general, did not make any further research to

¹⁰⁹⁸ Florio Banfi, Zoltán György Horváth, Zsuzsa Kovács, and Péter Sárközy, *Itáliai magyar emlékek* [Hungarian memories in Italy], (Budapest: Romanika, 2007), 394-395;

¹⁰⁹⁹ Taegio’s *Cronica* survives only in an eighteenth-century copy in the Archivio Generale Ordinis Praedicatorum in Santa Sabina, Rome: MS XIV.55. His version of the life of Mauritius was edited by the Bollandists and reported Leandro Alberti’s name variants in the notes in AASS Martii III, 251-254. The legend was also reported in the *Acta Sanctorum Ungariae ex Joannis Bollandini...operibus excerpta, prolegomenis ac notis illustrate* I (Tyrnaviae, 1743), 163-174.

¹¹⁰⁰ A lost(?) *Vita Mauriti* was written by Giovanni Garzoni who mentioned it in a letter to Leandro Alberti after 1493 but it is not sure that it was about the Hungarian Dominican; see Frazier, *Possible Lives*, 408.

the *vitae* collected by Borselli but concentrated rather on the reorganization and the stylistic improvement of the text of his predecessor.¹¹⁰¹

Leandro Alberti

Borselli's work was used by his Bolognese fellow Leandro Alberti (1479-1552) who composed two volumes of the most excellent male and female members of the Dominicans.¹¹⁰² While the *De viris illustribus ordinis Praedicatorum* appeared in print in 1517, the book dedicated to the holy women *Delle donne che sono state illustri nella Domenicana religione* written in 1522 while Alberti was in exile in Forlì, was never published and its manuscript was lost.¹¹⁰³ In order to polish the language and the style of the late medieval Latin chronicles and legends to a prose written in Humanist Latin, Alberti collaborated with several famous humanists.¹¹⁰⁴ The legend of Mauritius of Hungary was rewritten by a celebrated figure, Alberti's schoolteacher friend Giovanni Antonio Flaminio (Antonius Flaminus), but without making any substantial changes to the source he used.¹¹⁰⁵

Serafino Razzi

The Florentine Observant Dominican Serafino Razzi's (1531-1613) *Vite dei santi e beati così huomini, come donne del sacro ordine de Frati Predicatori* was published in 1577. It is a valuable printed book because on the one hand this was the first comprehensive collection about the famous members of the Order that was published in the Tuscan vernacular, and on the other hand, Alberti's *Delle donne che sono state illustri nella Domenicana religione* can be reconstructed to a certain extent on the basis of Razzi's work.¹¹⁰⁶ Based on the Latin prologue,

¹¹⁰¹ Klaniczay, "Borselli és Taegio Margit-legendája Bánfi Florio apparátusával," 12; 15-17.

¹¹⁰² Giancarlo Petrella, "Nella cella di fra Leandro: prime ricerche sui libri di Leandro Alberti umanista e inquisitor," in *Libri, biblioteche e cultura nell'Italia del Cinque e Seicento*, ed. Edoardo Barbieri and Danilo Zardin (Milan: V&P Università, 2002), 85-135, esp. 85-94.

¹¹⁰³ Leandro Alberti, *De viris illustribus ordinis Praedicatorum* (Bologna 1517).

¹¹⁰⁴ For the description of the only printed edition of the *De viris illustribus*, see Frazier, *Possible Lives*, 335-336.

¹¹⁰⁵ The legend of Mauritius is reported in Alberti, *De viris illustribus ordinis Praedicatorum*, fol. 217-220. Giovanni Antonio Flaminio as the author of the life of Mauritius is also mentioned by Frazier, *Possible Lives*, 217. On Mauritius, see Antal Pór, "Boldog Csáki Móríc, szent-domonkos-rendi szerzetes" [Blessed Mauritius of Csák, Dominican friar], *Katholikus Szemle* 1 (1887): 303-313; Ödön Málnási, *Boldog Csáki Móríc élete* [The life of blessed Mauritius of Csák] (Budapest, 1930); Edit Madas, "Boldog Csáki Móríc (1270k.-1336. március 20)" in: *A domonkos rend Magyarországon*, ed. Illés and Zágórhidi Czigány, 286-294.

¹¹⁰⁶ "La vita di questa sacra vergine si trova, in lingua latina, nella libreria di san Giovanni, e Paolo, in Vinezia. Et io questa nostra ho ricavata da una scritta da Leandro, autore del libro de gli huomini illustri dell'ordine nostro,

the author destined the work for the male convents and the female monasteries of the Dominican provinces in Italy and he chose the Tuscan vernacular “quo domestica exempla pro bene instituenda vita illis suppetant.” In the first section of the book he listed among the Dominican martyrs Paul of Hungary (Paulo Unghero/Paulus Hungarus)¹¹⁰⁷ and a “principe potentissimo d’Ungheria”, that is Buzád, who was “killed as a meekest lamb”; his short account follows that of Alberti¹¹⁰⁸, just like the proper *vita* of Mauritius of Hungary.¹¹⁰⁹

The section about the female members of the Order of Preachers who died in the fame of sanctity is dedicated to the Camaldolese nuns of Bologna by his brother Silvano Razzi (called Girolamo by birth) who himself was a Camaldolese monk, too.¹¹¹⁰ Like Serafino, also Silvano authored a number of works on illustrious people, he also included the biography of Margaret of Hungary in his *Delle Vite delle donne illustri per santità*.¹¹¹¹ The two brothers also had a sister,

scritta da lui in lingua volgare, l’anno di nostra salute 1522. et finite alli 25. di Gennaio, nella città di Forlì, dove era esule.” Serafino Razzi, *Vite dei santi e beati così huomini, come donne del sacro ordine de’ Frati Predicatori* (Florence: Bartolomeo Sermatelli, 1577), Book 2, 11. On Silvano and Serafino Razzi and their hagiographic works, see Odile Redon, “Hagiographies croisées dans la Toscane de la fin du XVI^e siècle,” in *Raccolte di vite di santi dal XIII al XVIII secolo: strutture, messaggi, fruizioni*, ed. Sofia Boesch Gajano (Fasano da Brindisi: Schena, 1990), 143-157.

¹¹⁰⁷ Razzi, *Vite dei santi*, 117.

¹¹⁰⁸ Razzi, *Vite dei santi*, 112. In the printed edition, the Mongolian invasion and thus Buzád’s death is mistakenly dated to 1262.

¹¹⁰⁹ Razzi, *Vite dei santi*, 271-276.

¹¹¹⁰ In the female monastery of the Camaldolese of Fondazza were the relics of blessed Lucia di Settefonti, venerated as the founder of the female branch, preserved until 1573. The Camaldolese Order was in close relationship with the Dominican reformers; on the relationship between Tommaso da Siena and the Camaldolese of Florence, see Cécile Caby, “À propos du *De seculo et religione*. Coluccio Salutati et Santa Maria degli Angeli,” in *Vie active et vie contemplative au Moyen Âge et au tournant de la Renaissance*, ed. Christian Trottman (Rome: École française de Rome 2009), 483-529, at 515-517; Silvia Nocentini, “La *Legenda Maior* di Raimondo da Capua: un’eredità condivisa,” in *Virgo digna coelo: Caterina e la sua eredità. Raccolta di Studi in occasione del 550° anniversario della canonizzazione di santa Caterina da Siena (1461-2011)*, ed. Alessandra Bartolomei Romagnoli, Luciano Cinelli, and Pierantonio Piatti (Vatican: Libreria editrice vaticana, 2013), 103-118, at 114-115.

¹¹¹¹ The *Delle Vite delle donne illustri per santità* was published in six volumes in Florence at Giunti between 1597 and 1606, each containing two months of the liturgical calendar. The legend of Margaret of Hungary is in vol. 1, 83-89. Silvano’s source was based on the extract of the Dominican saints in the major work of the Carthusian Laurentius Surius (Laurenzio Surio), entitled *De probatis sanctorum historiis partim ex tomis ...* first published in Cologne in six volumes between 1570 and 1575. The legend of Margaret is in vol.1, 728-744. The extract on the Dominicans was published also separately as *Vitae sanctorum patrum ordinis praedicatorum iussu reverendissimi eiusdem instituti generalis magistri P. Fratris Seraphini Cavalli Brixiensis ex Surio Carthusiano selectae. Opera Reverendi P. Fratris Antonii Senensis sacrae theologiae professoris Lovaniensis* (Louvain: Hieronimus Wellaeum, 1575). The legend of Margaret is at 352-359 (unfinished, the pagination is mixed up). Silvano spent a part of his life in the Camaldolese monastery of Santa Maria degli Angeli in Florence that possessed the so-called “Neapolitan legend” (Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale MS VIII. B. 17) of Margaret of Hungary from where it got to Naples at an unknown time. Cf. Redon, “Hagiographies croisées dans la Toscane”, 145; Deák, *Árpád-házi Szent Margit*, 30-31.

Maria Angelica Razzi, who lived in the Dominican convent of St Catherine of Siena in Florence possible through whom Serafino and Silvano could know about the latest models of sanctity.¹¹¹²

Returning to Serafino's *Vite dei Santi e Beati*, the majority of the saintly women, arranged in a more or less chronological sequence in the book, were Dominican penitents as well as so-called *sante vive* from Italy. In addition, it also comprises the *vitae* of Margaret and Helen of Hungary who (at least Margaret for sure) were members of the Second Order of the Dominicans. Razzi's main source for these two legends was again Alberti, but for the legend of Margaret he used the *Legenda vetus* and the *Legenda maior*, too.¹¹¹³ Razzi points out that he would have believed that Margaret was stigmatised unless he had found in the Dominican convent of Chioggia a piece of information provided by Tommaso Caffarini according to which it was blessed Helen who had the stigmata, and not her disciple Margaret.¹¹¹⁴ Evidently, as it has been discovered by Tibor Klaniczay, the Florentine Dominican made use of Tommaso Caffarini da Siena's *Libellus de Supplemento* added to the *Legenda maior* of Catherine of Siena composed by Raimondo da Capua.¹¹¹⁵ Serafino Razzi's *Vite* was published and revised several times: in 1577 Florence, in

¹¹¹² Redon, "Hagiographies croisées dans la Toscane", 146-147.

¹¹¹³ Klaniczay, "Borselli és Taegio Margit-legendája Bánfi Florio apparátusával", 11-12; Deák, *Árpád-házi Szent Margit*, 28.

¹¹¹⁴ "Et nota che esso [Alberti] in un capitolo, narra come questa sacra vergine hebbe le stigmata: et l'havrei ancora io seguito, se questo anno 1572 in Chioggia, nella libreria del nostro Convento, io non havesi trovata la seguente informazione. 'La beata Helena d'Ungheria hebbe, per modo maraviglioso le sacre stigmata, et non la beata Margherita sua discepola, come si può vedere dalla sua leggenda distesa, la qual si trova nella libreria di San Giovanni et Paolo in Venezia. Benche per errore da molti, le cose, che furono della maestra, si attribuiscono alla discepola. Io Fra Tommaso da Siena, al presente Priore del Convento di San Domenico di Vinezia, hebbi da un certo padre Fra Gregorio dell'ordine nostro, et Provinciale dell'Ungheria, per lettere segnate col sigillo del suo provincialato...'. Razzi, *Vite dei santi*, Book 2, 11-12.

¹¹¹⁵ Tommaso Antonio da Siena, *Libellus de supplemento legende prolixae s. Catherine Senensis*, ed. Giulia Cavallini and Imelda Foralosso (Rome: Edizioni Catheriniane, 1974). The alleged stigmata of Margaret appeared as the prefiguration of those of Catherine of Siena in hagiographic and artworks produced in Italy. For the thorough treatment of this topic, see Tibor Klaniczay, "A Margit-legendák történetének revíziója," in: Tibor Klaniczay and Gábor Klaniczay, *Szent Margit legendái és stigmái*, 21-38, esp. 34-35; Gábor Klaniczay, "Borselli és Taegio Margit-legendája Bánfi Florio apparátusával," 11-56; idem, "Le stigmati di santa Margherita d'Ungheria," 16-31; idem, "On the Stigmatization of Saint Margaret of Hungary," in *Medieval Christianity in Practice*, ed. Miri Rubin (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009), 274-284; Deák, *Árpád-házi Szent Margit*, 34-41. A trace of the strengthening the link between Margaret and Catherine can be perceived on the statue of the Hungarian princess on the carved pulpit of the Dominican church of Dubrovnik in the company of other three Dominican saints (Dominic, Vincent Ferrer, and Peter of Verona). She is presented at the moment of the reception of the stigmata from a Seraph-like Christ, like St Francis, and her crown is placed at her feet; see Gábor Klaniczay, "Matthias and the Saints," in: *Matthias Rex 1458-1490: Hungary at the Dawn of the Renaissance*, ed. Iván Horváth. (Budapest: [n.p.] 2013); published as E-book: <http://renaissance.elte.hu/wp-content/uploads/2013/10/Gabor-Klaniczay-Matthias-and-the-Saints.pdf>, 10th January 2017. According to Ana Marinković, this representation of Margaret could have been related to Dominicans of Dubrovnik (like Serafino de Bona, Martino de Bona, Luca de Martinussio and

1587-88 in Lucca, in 1605 in Palermo and it was translated also into French in 1615.¹¹¹⁶ This version of the legend of blessed Helen was the main source for the Dominican chroniclers in the seventeenth and eighteenth century.¹¹¹⁷

V.2. *Chi cerca, trova: Tommaso da Siena (“Caffarini”) and the legend of a Dominican stigmatic nun from Hungary*

As it has been mentioned already, the survival of Helen of Hungary’s legend is directly connected to Caffarini (and thus indirectly to the Dominican Observant Reform) who had a crucial role in the canonization of Catherine of Siena. He was the prior of the Dominican convent of Ss Giovanni e Paolo in Venice, where also a *scriptorium* existed that was instrumental in the reproduction of the *Legenda maior* of Catherine written by her confessor Raimondo da Capua (1330-1399), the master general of the Order under Roman Obedience (1380-1399). Caffarini not only saw images representing Margaret with the stigmata in his own convent and in several other Dominican convents of Italy but heard about this case also personally from Raimondo da Capua, who had made an inquiry already in 1382 when the General Chapter was held at Buda.¹¹¹⁸ In 1408, Caffarini, who was engaged in the collection of materials of earlier stigmatized Dominicans that would support the authenticity of Catherine’s stigmata and thus a strong reason for her future canonization process, turned to Gregory, Provincial of Hungary for the clarification of Margaret’s stigmata. Provincial Gregory made it clear that not Margaret but her *magistra* Helen from Veszprém bore the wounds of Christ on her body, and he sent the miracles of Margaret and the legend of Helen to Caffarini. The Venetian

Tommaso de Basilio) who had studied in the Dominican *studium generale* in Buda, were close to the circle of Matthias and thus could have heard about the efforts of the king to renew the canonization process of Margaret; Ana Marinković, “La diffusione dei culti ungheresi tra i domenicani di Dubrovnik (Ragusa) nel tempo di Mattia Corvino,” *Nuova Corvina* 20 (2008): 169–178. On the problem of the visual representation of the stigmatic saints in Italy, see Cordelia Warr, “Visualizing Stigmata: Stigmatic Saints and Crises of Representation in Late Medieval and Early Modern Italy,” *Studies in Church History* 47 (2011): 228-247 (Special issue: Saints and Sanctity).

¹¹¹⁶ Seraphino Razzi, *Les vies des saints, bienheureux et hommes illustres de l’ordre sacré de Saint Dominique*, trans. Jean Blancone (Paris: R. Le Masuyer, 1616).

¹¹¹⁷ László Tóth, “Magyarországi Boldog Ilona legendájáról” [On the legend of Blessed Helen of Hungary], (Budapest: Királyi Magyar Egyetemi Nyomda, 1937), 12.

¹¹¹⁸ This information comes from Tommaso Caffarini da Siena himself but is reported only in Razzi’s *Vite dei santi* of 1577, in Book II, 12: “Io Fra Tommaso da Siena, al presente Priore del Conuento di san Domenico di Vinezia hebbi da vn certo padre Fra Gregorio dell’ordine nostro, & Provinciale dell’Vngheria, per lettere segnate col sigillo del suo prouincialato, quanto di sopra ho narrato. Il quale anco mi mandò la vita della beata Helena sopradetta. Il medesimo ancora io vdi dal Reuerendissimo padre generale dell’ordine nostro, maestro Raimondo da Capua, dopo la celebrazione del capitolo generale nella città di buda, prouincia d’Vngheria.”

prior included also excerpts from Helen's *vita* about her wounds in the treatise of the stigmata of his *Libellus de supplemento* (1412; 1417/8) that he compiled for the *Processo Castellano* (1411-1417), a preliminary step in Catherine's canonization.¹¹¹⁹ Margaret of Hungary, however, was not the earliest stigmatic associated with the Order of Preachers who was included in Caffarini's treatise. Walter of Strasbourg, the first Dominican stigmatic who turned up already the *Vitae fratrum* (ca. 1260) whose figure remained unknown to a larger audience, became well-known thanks to Caffarini's work.

Helen of Hungary's legend is rather a collection of loosely connected accounts of her *in vita* and *post mortem* miracles than a proper life, according to which she lived in the monastery of St Catherine in Veszprém. All the information about her comes from this short account that has raised numerous questions in the past, chiefly concerning the date of Helen's life as well as of the composition of her legend, and her being the *magistra* of the Hungarian princess.¹¹²⁰ What concerns us here, however, is the circumstances of the unexpected appearance of the legend and its manuscript tradition. In his fundamental study about Helen of Hungary, László Tóth called the attention to the edition of her legend by Robert Fawtier¹¹²¹ and listed all the existing manuscripts of the life of the Dominican nun of Veszprém based on the research of the Bollandists.¹¹²² The legend survives in at least five manuscripts and in slightly revised versions.

¹¹¹⁹ Thomas Antonii de Senis "Caffarini", *Libellus de Supplemento Legende Prolixe Virginis Beatae Catherinae de Senis*. Ed. Iuliana Cavallini and Imelda Foralosso. (Testi Cateriniani 3.) Rome: Edizioni Cateriniane, 1974. For Caffarini's role in the spread of the veneration of Catherine and in the *Processo Castellano*, see Otfried Krafft, "Many Strategies and One Goal: The Difficult Road to the Canonization of Catherine of Siena," in: *Catherine of Siena: The Creation of the Cult*, ed. Jeffrey F. Hamburger and Gabriela Signori (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013), 25–45.

¹¹²⁰ On the question whether the female community of Veszprém where Helen lived was a community of beguines or of Dominican nuns in the mid-thirteenth century, see Mezey, *Irodalmi anyanyelvűségünk*, 72-76; Géza Érszegi, "Delle beghine in Ungheria (ovvero l'insegnamento di un codice di Siena)," in: *Spiritualità e lettere* 69-73; Enikő Spekner, "A magyarországi beginák és beginakolostorok a 13. században" [Beguines and beguine cloisters in Hungary in the thirteenth century] in: *Studia professoris-Professor studiorum. Tanulmányok Érszegi Géza hatvanadik születésnapjára*, ed. Tibor Almási, István Draskóczy, Éva Jancsó (Budapest: Magyar Országos Levéltár, 2005), 297-313, at 304-305; Viktória Hedvig Deák, "Beguines in Hungary? The case of St Margareta of Hungary (1242-71) in: *Mulieres religiosae: Shaping Female Spiritual Authority in the Medieval and Early Modern Periods*, ed. Veerle Fraeters and Imke de Gier (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014), 87-105, at 102-105; Gábor Klaniczay, "Magyarországi Boldog Ilona és a középkori domonkos stigmatizáltak" [Blessed Helen of Hungary and the medieval Dominican stigmatics], *Az első 300 év*, 125-144

¹¹²¹ Robert Fawtier, "La vie de la Bienheureuse Hélène de Hongrie," *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire* 33 (1913), 3-23. Tóth, however, was not the first one to call the Hungarian audience's attention to Fawtier's work but Ferenc Luttor, but unfortunately his article in *Religio*, 1913, 778-779, remained almost unknown.

¹¹²² László Tóth, "Magyarországi Boldog Ilona legendájáról" [On the legend of Blessed Helen of Hungary], (Budapest: Királyi Magyar Egyetemi Nyomda, 1937), 577-589. AASS Novembris 4, nov. 9-10.

The manuscript on the basis of which Fawtier made the edition of the legend is preserved in the Biblioteca comunale of Siena (MS T. I. 1) contains two legends: the *Legenda maior* of Catherine of Siena and Helen's *vita*. According to an eighteenth century note in the codex, it belonged to the Convent of the Order of Preachers in Siena.¹¹²³ In the manuscript, her image can be found in an "N" initial: she is dressed in Dominican habit, white lilies are growing out from the stigmata of her right hand and her breast, and she is holding another lily in her left one.¹¹²⁴ (Fig. 40)



Figure 40 - Blessed Helen of Hungary, Siena Biblioteca Comunale degli Intronati MS T. I.1, fol. 118r. First quarter of the fifteenth century. Image: Courtesy of Gábor Klaniczay

The same *vita* survives in two fifteenth-century copies: one of them also belonged to the Dominican convent of Siena, and is preserved today in the Biblioteca comunale di Siena (T. III. 1) and Bologna.¹¹²⁵ As Silvia Nocentini observed, the two Sienese manuscripts (T.I.1. e T. III. 1)

¹¹²³ AASS Novembris III, 267.

¹¹²⁴ Siena, Biblioteca comunale MS T I 1, fol. 118.

¹¹²⁵ Silvia Nocentini, "Lo 'scriptorium' di Tommaso Caffarini a Venezia," *Hagiographica* 12 (2005): 79-144, at 114. The fifteenth-century copies are: Siena, Biblioteca Comunale, T. III. I, fol. 143v-145v (the manuscript was written after 1461 and the *Legenda maior* of Catherine was copied together mostly with the lives of Dominican

originate from the *scriptorium* of Tommaso Caffarini in Venice, and that the reason why Catherine of Siena's *Legenda maior* was copied together with Helen's legend was to provide a parallel to the stigmata, which was still contested by the Franciscans at that time, and to reinforce the statements and the testimony of Raimondo da Capua on this issue. Helen's *vita* is extant in two other, slightly different versions: in the appendix of the original manuscript of Borselli's *Cronica magistrorum* (described by Sorbelli) containing the short biographies of 23 illustrious Dominicans of both sexes and its eighteenth-century copy¹¹²⁶, as well as in the eighteenth-century copy of Taegio's *Chronicon Ordinis generale*.¹¹²⁷

Fawtier noted that the legend of Helen in the oldest Sienese manuscript (MS T. I.1), which was mentioned in the letter of Provincial Gregory, was used by Caffarini in his *Libellus de supplemento*.¹¹²⁸ He incorporated only the information concerning her wounds but he did not report the legend in its integrity in his work. In the two manuscripts of the *Supplementum* also the visual representation of Helen, along with those of Francis of Assisi, Walter of Strasbourg (the other Dominican who had the stigmata in the previous centuries)¹¹²⁹ and of Catherine of Siena can be found, showing the different ways they were stigmatised.¹¹³⁰ (Fig. 25)

Observants); the codex was possessed by the Compagnia dei Disciplinati di Santa Maria della Scala of Siena; Bologna (the shelfmark is not indicated in the AASS) fol. 68v-70v (the manuscript probably originates from German areas and it contains the lives of Dominican saints and blessed).

¹¹²⁶ Bologna, Biblioteca universitaria, MS 1999, fol. 35-37, see Sorbelli, "Una raccolta poco nota", 88-89; Rome, AGOP, Liber QQ, fol. 5r-9r, ed. in AASS, Nov. 4, 272-276.

¹¹²⁷ Rome, AGOP XIV. 55, vol. 2, fol. 145v-148v; in Pars III, De Insignis ordinis praedicatorum, dist. 8. De sanctimonialibus dicti ordinis que exemplo sancte vite claruerunt; cap. II. Vita beate sororis Helene de Ungaria sororis ordinis predicatorum virgine sanctissima, quam sorores monasterii sui scripserunt.

¹¹²⁸ Fawtier, "La vie de la Bienheureuse Hélène de Hongrie," 11.

¹¹²⁹ On Caffarini's efforts to authenticate the stigmata of Catherine, see Alessandra Bartolomei Romagnoli, "La disputa sulle stimmate, in *Virgo digna coelo: Caterina e la sua eredità. Raccolta di Studi in occasione del 550° anniversario della canonizzazione di santa Caterina da Siena (1461-2011)*, ed. Alessandra Bartolomei Romagnoli, Luciano Cinelli, and Pierantonio Piatti (Vatican: Libreria editrice vaticana, 2013), 405-444.

¹¹³⁰ Siena, Biblioteca comunale MS T I 2. fol. ?; Bologna, Biblioteca universitaria, MS 1574, fol. 29r Cristoforo Cortese(?); Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria, MS 1542 fol. 1r, Cristoforo Cortese.

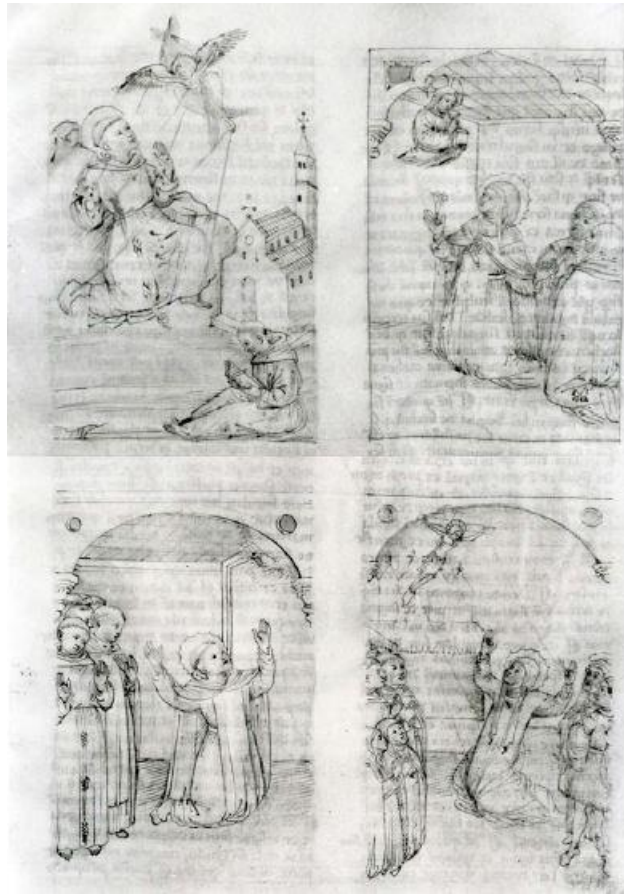


Figure 41 – Cristoforo Cortese: St Francis of Assisi, Blessed Helen of Hungary, Blessed Walter of Strasbourg, Blessed Catherine of Siena are receiving the stigmata. Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria MS 1542 fol.1r, first quarter of the fifteenth century. Image: *Virgo degna coelo*

V.2.1 The legend of Helen of Hungary

The *vita* of Helen provides scarce information about her life. The text basically is a collection of miraculous events manifested during her life and after her death without the detailed presentation of her biography. Nevertheless, it becomes clear from her legend that she was extremely humble, had particular reverence for the Eucharist and the Crucifix, often conversed with the Lord and the saints, and was able to foretell certain events. A great number of her miracles were related to light and fire. She did not want that her fellow nuns knew the “secrets” of her life and refrained from sharing her own religious experiences with others. Helen died in the fame of sanctity, and due to the persistent miraculous healings that occurred at her tomb, she

was venerated by the local population. Her body was elevated many years after her death her body was still uncorrupted, which was an additional sign of sanctity.

Helen's legend is abundant in mystical experiences (ecstasy, miraculous transformation of the Eucharist, levitation, moving objects) which, as Deák pointed out, were not characteristic to thirteenth-century Dominican hagiography, a period in which she allegedly lived and the earliest account of her life should have been composed, if one compares to it the *Legenda maior* of Margaret of Hungary composed in the same period.¹¹³¹ Yet, these elements are anything but foreign to the biographies of thirteenth-century beguines composed by the Dominican Thomas of Cantimpré.¹¹³² Without entering the debate of the dating and the authenticity of Helen's *vita*, I think it is important to bear in mind that the lack or the profusion of such mystical experiences in the lives of the two Dominican nuns from Hungary can be ascribed also to the different purposes they were written. Margaret's *Legenda maior* was based on canonization documents and written for the presentation to the Curia in order to gain official recognition of her sanctity. In contrast, Helen's *vita*, at least in the form sent to Caffarini, is a badly written account on the spiritual experiences of a stigmatised Dominican nun which was not aimed at the initiation of her canonization but for the record of the *signa et miracula* of a saintly nun who had a local cult in the Dominican convent of St Catherine in Veszprém; the information about her stigmata then was used as "raw material" by Tommas Caffarini for the composition of the *Tractatus de stigmatibus* with which he wished to put forward Catherine of Siena's case.

Helen's *vita* begins with the impression of the first two stigmata but references to her wounds are scattered throughout the text. Although there are some allusions to the stigmata of Francis, the circumstances of the imprinting of each wound and even the wounds themselves of Helen were quite different. Her stigmata were visible and were impressed on her body in different moments, and the fellow nuns only heard her speaking to the Lord but did not see how these were given to her. The first two stigmata were impressed on her hands on the feasts of St Francis and Ss Peter and Paul, and from the wounds white lilies and a golden hair grew out; the third wound was on her chest from where, too, lilies grew out. Helen would try to remove these

¹¹³¹ Deák, *Árpádházi Szent Margit és a domonkos hagiográfia*, 251.

¹¹³² Cf. László Mezey, *Irodalmi anyanyelvűségünk az Árpádkor végén* [The beginnings of the Hungarian literary vernacular at the end of the Árpádia era], (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1955), 72-73.

from her body in order to avoid causing an embarrassment in her community but still the fame of her wounds spread far beyond the walls of the monastery, as the blood oozing from one of her wounds was used for healing purposes. Helen's legend suggests that her stigmata were physical realities which were painful but were all healed before her death. Nevertheless, towards the end of the legend it can be read that even seventeen years after her death, the blood was fresh in her body and odoriferous oil poured out from one of her wounds. Caffarini, who learnt about Helen from the provincial of Hungary in 1409 only by chance, made use of her legend, especially from the circumstances of her stigmatization that he included in various parts of the *Tractatus de stigmatibus* in his *Libellus de supplemento*.

Helen turns up only in one late fifteenth-century source that was not written for a Dominican audience: the *Epithoma rerum Hungarorum* of Pietro Ranzano (Petrus Ransanus; 1428-1491).¹¹³³ The work, nevertheless, can still be associated with the Order of Preachers, as Ranzano was a Dominican from the reformed house of Santa Zita in Palermo and the provincial of Sicily before he was appointed bishop of Lucera. He came to Hungary as an envoy of the father of Beatrix of Aragon, the Neapolitan king Ferdinand (Ferrante) of Aragon with a fellow humanist Aurelio Brandolini,¹¹³⁴ and was commissioned in 1489 to adapt the *Chronica Hungarorum* of János Thuróczy incorporating also the history of the Hunyad dynasty. The first version of the work was finished in 1490 already in the lifetime of King Matthias.¹¹³⁵ (Fig.42)

¹¹³³ Petrus Ransanus, *Epithoma rerum Hungarorum: Id est omnium temporum liber primus et sexagesimus*, ed. Péter Kulcsár (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1977), 124. On Ranzano's works, see Kaeppli, *Scriptores*, vol.3, 253-255.

¹¹³⁴ During his stay in Hungary, Brandolini wrote a dialogue entitled *De humanae vitae conditione et de toleranda corporis aegritudine*, in which the author presents a character called Petrus Ransanus (alluding to the Sicilian Dominican Ranzano) who tries to persuade the elderly Matthias Corvinus to make peace with his approaching death and offers the consoling example of the saints' suffering but the ruler refuses Ransanus's offering and proposes to argue rather about people. See Alison Frazier, *Possible Lives*, 294-295.

¹¹³⁵ On the codex, see Loránd Zentai's entry "Petrus Ransanus: Epitome rerum Hungaricarum," in *Kódexek a középkori Magyarországon. Kiállítás az Országos Széchényi Könyvtárban: Budapest, Budavári palota 1985. november 12. – 1986. február 28.* [Codices in medieval Hungary. Exhibition catalogue of the National Széchényi Library], ed. András Vizkelety (Budapest: Interpress, 1985), 139.



Figure 42 - OSzK, Cod. Lat. 249, fol.17r / Petrus Ransanus: *Epithoma rerum Hungaricarum*, 1490-1492.

When Ranzano returned to Palermo after the king's death in Vienna on 6th April at whose burial in the Basilica of Székesfehérvár he had recited the funeral prayer, he took a revised copy of the *Epithoma*.¹¹³⁶ The work is a typical example of a chronicle written in humanist style and its geographical description of Hungary is quite remarkable. As it has been observed, the humanist biographies produced in Hungary in the beginning of the sixteenth century, like Ranzano himself, shrank back from reporting the miracles of the saints.¹¹³⁷ The Sicilian Dominican who had already composed three *vitae* of saints earlier in his career, most importantly the legend of Vincent Ferrer (1350-1419),¹¹³⁸ paid particular attention to the Hungarian saints, too. For the account on Margaret, he relied on her oldest legend to which he added some new pieces of

¹¹³⁶ The original version Ranzano left in Hungary, which was used by Bonfini and on the basis of which also the printed edition of 1597 was made, was lost. The copy Ranzano took with him to Palermo survives only in later copies. For an overview about the *Epithoma*, see "Utószó" [Afterword] of László Blazovich and Erzsébet Sz. Galántai in the Hungarian translation of the work: Petrus Ransanus, *A magyarok történetének rövid foglalata* [The short history of the Hungarians], trans. László Blazovich and Erzsébet Sz. Galántai (Budapest, Osiris: 1999), 195-211.

¹¹³⁷ Lázs, *Apácaműveltség*, 96-97.

¹¹³⁸ On the legend, see Laura Ackerman Smoller, *The Saint and the Chopped-up Baby: The Cult of Vincent Ferrer in Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2014), 160-173.

information concerning the early childhood of the princess spent in the monastery of St Catherine in Veszprém.¹¹³⁹

The superior of the monastery, called prioress, wanted to educate the girl [i.e. Margaret] with her so that she learnt from her the spiritual things, the songs and other things to sing psalms to God in the set hours and times, and that she would be formed worthy of a virgin consecrated to God. Her name was Helen. She was so holy in all her life that not only was shining with miracles while she was alive, but even in her death, and after her death, until today has not ceased to show the signs of her sanctity. Therefore she is called blessed Helen even today by the inhabitants of Veszprém.¹¹⁴⁰

Helen is referred to as her *magistra* but it is not mentioned that she would have been a stigmatic. It is possible that Ranzano himself heard about the local saint in Hungary (perhaps from the Hungarian Provincial or in the court of Buda) although the almost complete lack of references to her in the Hungarian sources including the legend and the canonization documents of Margaret of Hungary is disquieting.¹¹⁴¹ Theoretically, he could have known the *vita* of Helen from one of the fifteenth-century manuscripts that were made in the *scriptorium* of Caffarini but surely not the *Chronica* of Borselli (1493-1497) as it was composed later than the *Epithoma*. The work of Ranzano is the only one that provides so far unheard details of this alleged *magistra-discipula* relation between Helen and Margaret.

V.2.2 In the Dominican pantheon of saints: the joint representations of Helen and Margaret of Hungary in visual arts

We know about a few representations of Blessed Helen in ecclesiastical buildings but many of them do not exist any longer. In Hungary, there is one single reference (a charter document)

¹¹³⁹ Blazovich and Sz. Galántai, Afterword, 207.

¹¹⁴⁰ “Ab ea [i.e. magistra] voluit monasterii antistes quam vocitant priorissam, educari puellam, ita ut ab ea disceret spiritualia, cantica et cetera quibus Deo constitutis horis ac temporibus psalleret, ut dignos Deo dicatae virgini moribus informaretur. Helenae illi nomen fuit. Quae adeo sancte omnem suam egit vitam, ut dum viveret, non solum multis claruerit miraculis, sed moriens etiam, ac post mortem, ut in hanc etiam diem sanctitatis ostendere signa nequaquam desierit. Unde et a Veszpremiensibus hodie quoque beata Helena nuncupatur.” Ransanus, *Epithoma*, 124.

¹¹⁴¹ The Dominican monastery of St Catherine in Veszprém was devastated by the Ottomans in the sixteenth century, which entailed the destruction of all the documents and manuscripts of the monastery.

according to which an altar was dedicated to her in the cathedral of Veszprém.¹¹⁴² Besides, she appeared in the Dominican churches in northern Italy: in the church of San Tommaso in Pavia around 1500, she was depicted the stigmata that she received from Christ.¹¹⁴³ Also, she was one of the saintly Dominicans depicted in the 34 tondi that decorated the choir in the Church of Sant'Eusturgio, Milan.¹¹⁴⁴ These images are not extant today.

Among the surviving representations of Helen, the most well-known one is the Predella for the High Altarpiece of San Domenico in Fiesole by the Dominican Giovanni da Fiesole (commonly known as Fra Angelico).¹¹⁴⁵ (Fig.27) He made it in the early 1420s for his own friary, and on the two outer panels depicting the male and female blessed of the Dominican Order, Helen is represented together with Margaret of Hungary and other Dominican nuns on the left side (they can be identified with the help of the inscriptions on their habit), whereas Catherine of Siena as well as some other *sorores mantellatae* are to be seen on the right hand side, at the bottom of the predella.

¹¹⁴² Ferenc Luttor, "Magyarországi Szent Ilona" [Blessed Helen of Hungary], *Religio* 72 (1913): 776-778, at 778. The information about the altar dedicated to Helen was given by Ádám Iván abbot canon of Veszprém but the primary source is not provided in the article of Luttor.

¹¹⁴³ "in celebri templo S. Thomae, ad altissimum fornicis arcum, a centum quinquaginta circiter annis cernitur Beata nostra Helena cum stigmatibus, quae recipit a Christo Crucifixo hisceque verbis: *Beata Helena de Hungaria, Virgo*" in Sigismundus Ferrarius, *De rebus*, 218-219 ; Banfi-Horváth-Kovács-Sárközy, *Itáliai magyar emlékek*, 209. While in the past it was supposed that one of the female figures surrounding the images of the Virgin and the infant Christ on Pier Francesco Fiorentino's altarpiece in the Chiesa del Sant'Agostino in San Gimignano could be Helen of Hungary, today she is identified as Fina da San Gimignano; cf. George Kaftal, *Iconography of the Saints in Tuscan Painting*, (Florence: Sansoni, 1952), coll. 671-673, n. 201 (c), fig. 761; Lidia Bianchi and Diega Giunta, *Iconografia di S. Caterina da Siena* (Rome: Città Nuova, 1988), 163-164.

¹¹⁴⁴ Banfi, *Ricordi ungheresi in Italia*, 209.

¹¹⁴⁵ The predella is preserved in the National Gallery, London. On Giovanni da Fiesole's image representing a Dominican genealogical tree in the chapter house of San Marco of Florence, see Angelus Walz, O.P., "Von Dominkanerstammbäumen," *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* 34 (1964): 231-274, at 232-233.



Figure 43- Helen of Hungary (third nun from the right) in the company of Dominicans.
Givanni da Fiesole ("Fra' Angelico"), Predella della pala da Fiesole, c.1424-1425.
London, National Gallery (detail)

In addition, in the opinion of Gábor Klaniczay, Helen may be found also on the *Crucifixion* of Giovanni da Montorfano in the refectory of the Santa Maria della Grazie in Milan in a group of Dominican nuns beside the Crucifix, in the company of Catherine of Siena and Margaret of Hungary.¹¹⁴⁶ (Fig.44) This is part of the elaborated iconographic programme made in the framework of the Dominican's campaign in the 1490 for the representation of the stigmatised saints and blessed of their Order. It is possible that this depiction of Margaret of Hungary and Helen of Hungary was made based on the instructions of Ambrogio Taegio, who lived in this convent.¹¹⁴⁷

¹¹⁴⁶ Information based on oral communication.

¹¹⁴⁷ Klaniczay, "Borselli és Taegio Margit-legendája Bánfi Florio apparátusával," 16.



Figure 44- Giovanni da Montorfano: *Crucifixion*. Convento della Santa Maria della Grazie, Milan, 1495. Image: Internet

Recently, Tünde Wehli has called the attention to two representations of St Margaret that are little known (if at all) in Hungary.¹¹⁴⁸ What interests us here is the panel made by Juan de Borgoña in 1515 depicting Ss Mary Magdalen, Peter of Verona, Catherine of Siena and Helen of Hungary. In the image Margaret wears a crown and the five lilies growing out from her wounds, which Wehli has correctly associated with the legend of Blessed Helen sent to Caffarini, and also pointed out that the workd was made following Juan de Borgogna's sojourn in Italy. The stigmata of St Catherine of Siena are not visible on this image, nor are Margaret's but but the lilies flourishing from her hands, feet and chest clearly point to the notion that both Dominican holy women were stigmatic even if the representation of Catherine's wounds in visual arts were prohibited.

¹¹⁴⁸ Tünde Wehli, *Árpád-házi Szent Margit ábrázolása egy lombard reneszánsz metszeten és Juan de Borgoña egy táblaképén* [The iconography of St Margaret of the dynasty of Árpád in a Lombard renaissance engraving and in a panel of Juan de Borgoña], *Művészettörténeti Értesítő* 61 (2014): 107-117.



Figure 45 - Juan de Borgogna: Mary Magdalen, St Peter of Verona, St Catherine of Siena and Blessed Margaret of Hungary. Madrid, Museo Nacional de Prado, 1515.
Image: Museo Nacional de Prado

The two nuns of Hungary can be found also on the genealogical trees of the Dominicans, (*arbor sancti Dominici*). Originally, the “Tree of Life” was a mnemonic device and an integral part of Bonaventure’s *Lignum vitae* first widespread in the Franciscan Order. It became popular also with the Dominicans in the late fourteenth century who started to adapt this theme freely, and, as it has been observed by Ulrike Ilg, by the early fifteenth century, the main interest of the

Friars Preachers was to retain only what best encapsulated mendicant ideology of the original composition.¹¹⁴⁹ Genealogical trees were to be found in the Orders' chapter houses, manuscripts, and from the second half of the fifteenth century onwards, in woodcuts in printed books as well. Such trees more or less follow the same scheme: at the bottom of the image, St Dominic is lying on the ground and a tree (alternatively vine or flowers) grows out from his chest, and the half-length portraits of the illustrious Dominicans ramify from the branches.¹¹⁵⁰ Dominic is directly connected through the trunk of the tree with Christ or the Virgin with the infant Christ standing on the top of the tree. The names and often a short entry on the illustrious members of the Order can be read in the image, and they frequently carry attributes in order to make the identification of the schematic portraits possible. For the most part, the members of the Order are grouped according to certain principles: canonized saints, martyrs, doctors, prelates, friars, members of Second or Third Order, etc. This "mendicant invention" along with the portrait galleries of famous scholars of the Order, which— in the words of Anne Müller-, "served as an expression of both the orders' identity and historiography, making non-simultaneous events essentially simultaneous".¹¹⁵¹ Besides, these trees could function as a means of meditation.¹¹⁵² The visual representation of the founding father of the Order of Preachers together with his spiritual sons, eminent usually in learnedness, preaching skills or piety, has been present in the hagiographical and historical works of the Order from the very beginning throughout the fifteenth century (Jordan of Saxony, Gerard of Frachet, Stephen of Salagnac, Bernard Gui).¹¹⁵³ Partly also because the Order of Preachers did not have an officially canonized female saint analogous to St Clare of Assisi, or to a lesser extent, St Elizabeth of Hungary, despite the constantly growing number of the Dominican nuns' convents throughout Europe (approximately half of which was in the Dominican Provinces of Saxony and Teutony), female blessed were very rarely represented on images until the turn of the fifteenth century.

¹¹⁴⁹ Ulrike Ilg, "Quasi lignum vitae: The Tree of Life as an Image of Mendicant Identity," in: *The Tree: Symbol, Allegory, and Mnemonic Device in Medieval Art and Thought*, ed. Pippa Salonijs and Andrea Worm (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014), 187-212, at 206.

¹¹⁵⁰ Christian Nikolaus Opitz, "Genealogical Representations of Monastic Communities in Late Medieval Art," in: *Meanings of Community across Medieval Eurasia: Comparative Approaches*, ed. Erik Hovden *et al.* (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 183-202.

¹¹⁵¹ Anne Müller, "Presenting Identity in the Cloister: Remarks on Benedictine and Mendicant Concepts of Space," in *Self-Representation of Medieval Religious Communities: The British Isles in Context*, ed. Anne Müller and Karen Stöber (Berlin: Lit Verlag, 2009), 167-188, at 186.

¹¹⁵² The most famous example is John of Torquemada's *Meditatione* of 1467.

¹¹⁵³ Walz, "Von Dominkanerstammbäumen," 231-274.

This period was characterised by the Great Schism as well as of the promotion of the cult and the canonization of Catherine of Siena on the part of the Dominicans, especially Tommaso Caffarini. The most often represented sisters associated with the Dominican Second or Third Order were Catherine of Siena, Cecilia Romana, Agnese da Montepulciano, Margaret and Helen of Hungary. It is worth noting that whereas Margaret is represented in some of these trees without Helen, there are not any examples for the contrary.

Helen and Margaret were represented on a genealogical tree on the frescoed rood screen in the Dominican Church and Convent of Bern (today known as the “French church”) made sometime between 1499-1534 by Jakob Boden.¹¹⁵⁴ (Fig.29) Helen of Hungary (*Beata soror Helena vita / et moribus preclara*) can be found in the same row with Agnes of Montepulciano, Vincent Ferrer, Jordan of Saxony, Margaret of Hungary (*Beata Margareta regis ungariae filia / sanctitate et miraculis conspicua*; holding the Hungarian coat of arms in her hand) and Cecilia Romana.¹¹⁵⁵ On this tree, beside Helen, several blessed turn up who are “new” in the sense that they were scarcely represented before in visual arts: Walter of Strasbourg, Giovanni Dominici or the three Dominicans who suffered martyrdom in Toulouse in 1242.¹¹⁵⁶ The strife for completeness and the constant revision (generally amplification) of the Dominican pantheon of saints -an analogous phenomenon can be observed in the comprehensive collections of the Dominican saints and blessed of both sexes- is apparent also on this image: the “rediscovered” martyrs of the early phase of the Order, the eminent contemporary Observant Giovanni Dominici, and the two stigmatised Dominicans before Catherine of Siena, Walter of Strasbourg mentioned already in the *Vitae fratrum* of Gerard of Frachet but became widely known,

¹¹⁵⁴ Helen and Margaret are depicted together on two Flemish woodcuts representing Dominican Trees of Life made in the first half of the seventeenth century. Margaret also appears without Helen on a watercolour (coloured woodcut) genealogical tree, more precisely a vine, made in 1473 in which also the recently canonized Vincent Ferrer and Catherine of Siena are portrayed. Standing between Henry Suso and Catherine of Siena, Margaret is holding a lily and a book in her hands, she is wearing a crown and at her feet the Hungarian coat of arms with the double cross can be seen. Margaret and Suso, standing among the saints in the closest row to St Dominic, were not officially canonized saints. Probably it is also Margaret who can be seen the reformed Dominican convent of nuns in Katharinenthal near Diessenhofen (Kanton Thurgau, Switzerland) made around 1490, and on the one in the Dominican convent at Leipzig.

¹¹⁵⁵ Walz, “Von Dominkanerstammbäumen,” 247-248.

¹¹⁵⁶ The altogether twelve martyrs from different religious orders killed by the Albigensians are generally referred to as the martyrs of Toulouse since traditionally all of them are associated with the University of Toulouse.

similarly to Helen who emerged from the complete anonymity, in the early fifteenth century thanks to the labour of Tommaso Caffarini.



Figure 46 – Jakob Boden: Dominican Tree of Life. Bern, “Französische” Kirche, 1499-1534.
Source: Internet

The portrait galleries or genealogical trees I have discussed above can be found in the Dominican churches (the predella of the altar of the Dominican church of Fiesole, the rod screen of the Dominican church of Bern, or the tondi in the choir of Sant’Eusturgio, Milan), as well as elsewhere in the convent (Leipzig), for instance, in the chapter hall (San Nicolo, Treviso) or in the refectory (Santa Maria delle Grazie, Milan). They can be viewed as the visual counterparts of the collections of the “Lives of the Brethren” that had a long career in monastic life and were revived in the Dominican environment in the mid-thirteenth century as well as the Sisterbooks of the German-speaking areas in the fourteenth- and fifteenth-century: listening to hagiographical accounts as part of the edificatory readings during meals as well as gazing or contemplating at the portraits of Dominican family were essential components of conventual life. Although the Dominican saints and blessed of both sexes were represented on the same predella of Fiesole already in the 1420s, the portrayal of the nuns on genealogical trees of the Order is a later development. It occurred roughly at the same time when the Observant Johannes Meyer for the first time wrote extensively also on the Dominican nuns and female penitents in

the *De viris illustribus ordinis Praedicatorum* (1466). Even the official name of the Dominicans, Order of Preachers, evinces that it is a community of brothers whose main activity is the conversion of souls through preaching, this way was not open to the members of female communities. While the friars of the Order were regarded to be the sons of St Dominic sharing a common spirituality immediately from the beginning, it took time to conceive and hence also to represent some illustrious nuns of the Order as the offspring of the founder.

If one compares the “progress” of the Hungarian blessed, and here the case of Margaret being completely different from and more complex than those of the others is not considered, they are rather varied but in all cases their memory survived owing to their inclusion to the chronicles and the collections of illustrious members of the Dominican Order. With the exception of Blessed Mauritius of Csák, none of the figures has a properly written legend but biographical accounts of different length. The transmission of the accounts on these saintly figures in the works of Dominican authors has been investigated in the past by Sigismundus Ferrarius and by the Bollandists, whose results were completed, developed and corrected by Hungarian scholars mostly in the twentieth century. The dedication to treat the history and biographies of the saints and the blessed of the Order in the most comprehensive manner is quite similar to what can be perceived in Franciscan historiographic works. When the organization principle was different from the chronological one (years or generalates), it can be perceived that in the Franciscan tradition the arrangement of the accounts on a territorial basis was basically preserved, whereas the Dominicans, after some initial efforts that can be perceived in the *Vitae fratrum* and in some respect also the *Bonum universale de apibus*, moved towards the application of thematic and/or hierarchic structure in the writings dealing with their history.

V.2.3 Concluding remarks

In the first part of this chapter I have surveyed how the accounts on the Hungarian Dominicans were accommodated according to the requirements of the genre of the work they were included, as well as were shaped by the time, place and circumstances of the composition. In some fortunate cases also visual sources could be used, but in several instances these no longer

survive or their identification is doubtful. The career of Buzád was spectacular: after being a protagonist of a mid-thirteenth-century *exemplum*, thanks to the conscientious research of the Observant Johannes Meyer, two centuries later the friar from Hungary was recalled as one of those Dominicans who suffered martyrdom by the Mongolians. Meyer, however, was only indirectly responsible for the revival of Buzád, as the manuscript of his *Liber de Viris Illustribus* did not circulate widely but served as the basis of the slightly revised version that appeared in print under the name of Georg Epp. In addition, the *Bonum universale de apibus*, the work in which Thomas of Cantimpré at the request of Humbert of Romans collected the stories of the famous friars from all the Provinces of the Order, including Buzád, remained popular throughout the Middle Ages: it is extant in 86 complete and 29 fragmentary manuscripts and was published several times between 1472 and 1627. The (mistaken) identification of the anonymous Hungarian friar with the name took place only in the seventeenth century so “Blessed Bánfy Buzád” is seventeenth-century development. Despite that Buzád was a historical figure, his fame was constructed solely on the basis of a work of universal history and no investigation on Meyer’s part preceded his insertion among the illustrious men of the order.

The detailed legend of brother Mauritius of Csák seems to support that what can be read in the appendix of Borselli’s *Chronica*: the Hungarian friar who also spent some years in the Dominican convent of Bologna, had a local cult immediately after his death in the convent of Győr. One of the two extant medieval representation of Mauritius, the panel painting by the Master of the Dominican Effigies preserved today in the choir of the Dominican convent next to the Santa Maria Novella may not depict the Hungarian friar, but the one in the San Niccolò of Treviso from the mid-fourteenth surely does as the inscription attest. The latter case shows that probably, also because of his stay in Bologna, Mauritius was known within the Order at least in northern Italy. Apparently his fame never went beyond some Dominican convents in limited geographical area of Hungary and Italy, as he is not mentioned in Meyer’s *Liber de viris illustribus*. The sending of a copy only of his miracles to the General Chapter of Ferrara (1494) suggests that his legend was available in Italy, and Borselli was interested only in the updated list of miracles that occurred at his tomb in Győr. In the end, however, Borselli did not incorporate the list of miracles in his account on Mauritius but made a weak invitation to the

initiation of his canonization, although nothing else suggest that this proposition was taken seriously in the order. The two Dominican blessed, Buzád and Mauritius were both from the highest layer of society (either by rank or origin) and were both married before they decided to join the Order of Preachers.

Johannes Meyer's *De viris illustribus*, despite its title was instrumental in diffusing also the *fama sanctitatis* of Margaret of Hungary (1242-1270), Elizabeth the daughter of Stephen V (c. 1260-c.1320), and Elizabeth of Töss (1292-1336). Meyer was a prolific writer who had a special interest in historiography and was engaged in the *cura monialium* of some of the reformed nuns' convents. He was one of the first Dominicans who not only knew about the local female blessed of a given convent but realized the importance of their incorporation in a larger context of the collection of the lives of the prominent members of the Order of both sexes. The Dominican reformer knew about three saintly nuns of Hungary and princesses of the Arpadian dynasty presumably through the Sisterbook of Töss. Meyer, contrary to Tommaso Caffarini da Siena who asked for the legend of the allegedly stigmatised Margaret directly from the Dominican Provincial of Hungary to push forward the canonization of Catherine of Siena, supervised the revision and the copying of the Sisterbooks and made use of these works in the accumulation of all the saintly Dominicans who had been neglected. He was a seminal intermediary who put the female figures of a given nuns' convent (Sisterbooks were usually limited to the eminent members of the convent where they were produced although account on the most famous Dominican nuns, like Margaret of Hungary also circulated in this monastic matrix) into a broader framework, the collective hagiography of the Dominicans of both sexes and dedicated the work to his Observant Dominican fellow, Johannes Kreuzer. This process of transmission is quite remarkable: the accounts of nuns about their saintly *sorores* in a convent recorded by the nuns themselves in the vernacular and also the other legends of holy Dominican nuns translated from Latin (as in the case of Margaret) put together for an internal use of a female community were utilised by their spiritual advisor who, through his *De viris illustribus*, in addition to the friars he also introduced altogether 31 "venerabilium ac sacratum virginum sanctimonialium sororum" to his Dominican fellow. Although it is not known how Georg Epp had access to the single manuscript of Meyer's work, in any case, the *Libellus de illustribus viris ac sanctimonialibus sacri ordinis Praedicatorum* is a significant work because it contains

a number of entries based on Sisterbooks. The a selection of the biographical accounts recorded by some of the nuns of the reformed Dominican houses originally in the German vernacular was adapted and translated into Latin first by Meyer, then they became available for a greater public when the *Libellus* appeared in print in a slightly revised version by Epp in 1506.

The Observant reform was essential in the preservation of the memory of those blessed Dominicans who otherwise would have remained unknown outside their immediate environment. The most important difference between the Italian and the German traditions of historiographic works (Borselli, Taeggio, Alberti Razzi; and Meyer, Epp, respectively) stands in the sources the first authors, Borselli and Meyer used. The former visited the libraries of the convents of his Order, this is how he knew about the lives of Margaret and Helen of Hungary and probably also that of Mauritius because he requested only a list of his miracles from the convent of Győr, but his inquiries also crossed the boundaries of his Province. Meyer, on the other hand, did not ask information from the other Provinces but gathered his material from the works of Dominican writers, local chronicles, and the works of nuns closely related to the Dominican Order. Apparently Meyer did not know Caffarini's *Libellus* since the stigmata of Margaret and the legend of Helen cannot be found in his work. He was not familiar with the legend of Mauritius either, but reported a short account on Buzád based on the Thomas de Cantimpré's *Bonum universale de apibus*. While in the Italian tradition in the case of Margaret and Helen of Hungary, traces of the Order's efforts to divulgate the fame of the stigmatised members of the Order reaching back to Caffarini's inquiry can be still perceived in the works of Borselli and Taeggio, above all in reporting Margaret's alleged stigmatisation, it disappears by the late sixteenth –century: in Razzi's *Vite dei santi*, already the critical evaluation of the information contained in the sources took over, stating clearly that Margaret of Hungary did not have stigmata.

Due to the excessive destruction of all kinds of during the Ottoman invasion, only very few sources documents relating these figures survive from the territory of Hungary but thanks to the activity of the Order of Preachers, in the thirteenth century by Thomas of Cantimpré and then by the two most important centres of the Dominican Observant reform, Italy and the German lands. The spread of printing was particularly decisive in the case of the blessed of Hungary for

two main reasons: first, the little-known figures were immortalized as they not only figured in some manuscripts liable to destruction; second, they reached a much wider audience as the printed books became available in different parts of Europe and no longer circulated only within the Order.

V.3. The Dominican “reform saints” in Hungary

I treat Vincent Ferrer and Catherine of Siena together not only because they were canonized close in time (in 1455 and in 1461, respectively) but also because the chief supporters of their canonizations and cults were the reform Dominicans, and thus the two saints usually appear together in Latin codices used in by the friars. Their feasts was added to the order’s manuscript lectionaries as it can be seen in the one preserved in the Bibliotheca Batthyányana, and they were among the five Dominican saints for whose intercession the audience of the Winkler Codex prayed for. Additionally, two different legends of Catherine of survive in the vernacular in the Érdy and the Érsekújvári codices that have already presented in the chapter on the first saints of the Order of Preachers in the dissertation.

This part of the chapter is dedicated to the Catalan Observant friar whose works were popular in Hungary but whose legend cannot be found in the surviving codices written in the vernacular and to Catherine of Siena whose fame went far beyond the Dominican order. I survey the sources from medieval Hungary that attest to the observation of feast of Catherine of Siena based on manuscript evidence through which not only the Dominicans but also the members of other religious communities could bring into mind or be inspired by her example.¹¹⁵⁷ I present the content of these texts preserved in two Latin and two vernacular codices and the milieu they originated, paying special attention to the presentation of Catherine’s stigmatisation and stigmata –if any, which is an issue that has remained largely unexploited so far.

V.3.1 Vincent Ferrer – A failure as a saint in Hungary?

¹¹⁵⁷ I will take into account all the codices I know of at the moment, but in all likelihood there are other (Dominican) codices that contain writings concerning Catherine of Siena that are to be still discovered.

The Dominican Vincent Ferrer (1350-1419) was famous as a teacher, preacher, and peacemaker. His adulthood coincided with a turbulent period of history, such as the Great Schism (1378-1414), the Hundred Year's War, the growing hostility towards religious minorities in the Iberian Peninsula, and the dynastic change in the House of Aragon.¹¹⁵⁸ The renowned Dominican preacher's sermons were often impregnated with apocalyptic content. The main aim of his activity as a preacher was the conversion of sinners, heretics, Jews and Muslims. Vincent acquired a reputation of being a living saint and huge crowds followed him motivated also by being the witnesses of the miracles he performed. He died in the fame of sanctity (his body did not show any signs of corruption) in Vannes (Brittany) in 1419 and was buried in the local cathedral. His name was inscribed to the catalogue of saints by Pope Callixtus III (1455-1458) in 1455. His feast was celebrated on 5 April.¹¹⁵⁹

The canonization of Vincent was the second one (following that of Bernardino of Siena in 1450) after a long hiatus since 1418.¹¹⁶⁰ These canonization processes were, however, of quite a different nature than those in the previous three centuries, showing a significant increase in the papal control.¹¹⁶¹ Although Vincent belonged to the Order of Preachers, different rulers supported his canonization, each trying to influence to his image through the contents of the process.¹¹⁶² His process was initiated in 1451, and the earlier mentioned Sicilian Dominican Pietro Ranzano, was appointed to write the official life of the saint.¹¹⁶³ In this official legend, as Smoller observed, Ranzano presented Vincent more as a healer of the Schism than the supporter

¹¹⁵⁸ Vincent Ferrer was the chair in theology at the Cathedral of Valencia (1385), and was in close relation with the Crown of Aragon and with Pedro de Luna who later became the Avignon Pope Benedict XIII (1394-1423), whom he served as confessor and chaplain until 1399. Healed from a serious illness following a vision in which Christ appeared to him with Ss Dominic and Francis and instructed him to preach repentance before the Last Judgement, in 1399 he started a preaching tour in western Europe, at least in those parts that sympathised with Avignon, which he continued basically until his death. Vincent, who hoped for a new canonical election of a single, universally recognized pope, broke publicly with Benedict only in 1416. Vincent spent the remaining part engaged in preaching obedience to the new pope of the unified church, Martin V (1417-1431). For a detailed biography, see Smoller, *The Saint and the Chopped-up Baby*.

¹¹⁵⁹ MOPH 8, 264.

¹¹⁶⁰ For this "new" type, see the canonization process of Vincent Ferrer in Smoller, *The Saint and the Chopped-Up Baby*, 49-84.

¹¹⁶¹ See the seminal work of Vauchez, *Sainthood in the later Middle Ages*, 6-7.

¹¹⁶² Including Duke Pierre II Brittany, Juan II of Castile and Alfonso V of Aragon; Smoller, *The Saint and the Chopped-Up Baby*, 50.

¹¹⁶³ Smoller, *The Saint and the Chopped-Up Baby*, 122.

of the Avignon papacy.¹¹⁶⁴ In addition, the Sicilian Dominican wrote about the saint more in detail in his voluminous but unfinished historical work, the *Annales omnium temporum* as well as in the Herioc Verses. He also composed the Office of Vincent between 1456 and 1463 on the basis of which an epitomised version was made by Auribelli (after 1463). Pietro Ranzano's was related to Ferdinando I (Ferrante) of Aragon, the father of Queen Beatrix of Hungary. The Dominicans have been active in the promotion of their new saint since the 1430s: Johannes Nider included a brief biography of Vincent in his *Formicarius* (ca.1435); Antonino Pierozzi, included the saint's life into his *Chronicon* (1455-1458) shaping his image according to the Observant Dominican ideal and presenting him as new apostle outstanding in virtues, deeds and miracles.¹¹⁶⁵ Likewise, Vincent was included in the Observant Johannes Meyer's *Liber de viris illustribus* (1466)¹¹⁶⁶ and Roberto Caracciolo's *Sermones de sanctorum* and several other works.¹¹⁶⁷ Besides, his legend was also added as a supplement to the printed editions of the most famous collections of saints' lives, like James of Varazze's *Legenda aurea*¹¹⁶⁸ or Petrus de Natalibus's *Catalogus sanctorum*.¹¹⁶⁹

Some of the works of Vincent were available in medieval Hungary because his collection of *Sermones de tempore et de sanctis* was published in 1487,¹¹⁷⁰ and he was one of the "contemporary" authorities referred to four times by the Anonymous Carthusian in the Érdy Codex as "Szent Vince doctor".¹¹⁷¹ The Valencian preacher's sermons were adapted also to the Hungarian vernacular. Kálmán Timár identified the sources of altogether three sermons (of which two for Christmas Eve) of the Érsekújvári Codex with those of Vincent's sermon collection.¹¹⁷² Also, as Péter Tóth corrected an earlier mistaken identification,¹¹⁷³ Vincent's

¹¹⁶⁴ Smoller, *The Saint and the Chopped-Up Baby*, 138-150.

¹¹⁶⁵ Smoller, *The Saint and the Chopped-Up Baby*, 175-179.

¹¹⁶⁶ Smoller, *The Saint and the Chopped-Up Baby*, 191.

¹¹⁶⁷ For the full list of the saint's legends, see Smoller, *The Saint and the Chopped-up Baby*, 169.

¹¹⁶⁸ *Historiae plurimorum sanctorum* (Louvain: Johannes de Westfalia, 1485), fol. 266a-267b (BHL no.8666)

¹¹⁶⁹ Petrus de Natalibus, *Catalogus sanctorum et gestorum eorum ex diversis voluminibus collectus* (Lyon: in calcographia Jean Thomas venundantur Etienne Gueynard, 1514), fol. 242a.

¹¹⁷⁰ Editio princeps: Vincentinus Ferrerius, *Sermones de tempore et de sanctis* (Cologne: Heinrich Quentell, 1485). Csapodi-Csapodiné, *Bibliotheca Hungarica*, no. 671, no. 1400, no. 2235, no. 3399 (lost).

¹¹⁷¹ Imre Bán, *A Karthausi Névtelen műveltsége* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1976), 51-52, 64.

¹¹⁷² Kálmán Timár, "Adalékok kódexeink forrásaihoz" [Additions to the sources of Hungarian codices], *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények* 36 (1926): 42-53, 169-184, 264-270 at 268-269. cf. Edit Madas, "A kódex szerkezete és tartalma" [The structure and the content of the codex], in *Érsekújvári kódex*, ed. Lea Haader, (Budapest: MTA Nyelvtudományi Intézete –MTA Könyvtára – Tinta Kiadó, 2012), 20-44.

Sermo CLIV of his collection was the source of the text entitled “The Rivalry of the Apostles” (“Apostolok vetélkedése”) of the codex known as *Booklet on the dignities of the holy Apostles* (*Könyvecske az szent apostoloknak méltóságáról*) written in 1521, probably for the nuns of the Island of the Rabbits.¹¹⁷⁴ It is made up of six treatises explicating the dignities of the Apostles in the Church. The Hungarian Dominican compiler, who referred in the dispute to “our father St Vincent” (zent vinceh doctor atyank),¹¹⁷⁵ handled his predecessor’s text, which ultimately goes back to Spanish literature and folklore freely, quite freely.¹¹⁷⁶

Nevertheless, no church or altar dedicated to or representing the Valencian saint is known from the territory of medieval Hungary. Moreover, no Latin or vernacular sermons on St Vincent related to Hungary survived. His legend was to be found in the printed Latin works mentioned above. Vincent was not included in the collection of the Anonymous Carthusian, and, what is more surprising, neither in the Érsekújvári Codex. His life and miracles and readings for his feast are extant only in Latin codices written to be used within the Dominican Order.

V.3.2 Catherine of Siena and the transmission of her legend throughout Europe

Caterina da Benincasa (1347-1380) was born in Siena and joined the Penitent Sisters (*Sorores de Poenitentia*) -which was not yet officially incorporated to the Order of Preachers- of her hometown at the age of sixteen.¹¹⁷⁷ She spent her life in prayer, vigils, nursing the sick and taking care of the poor, as well as devoting her efforts to the renewal of the Church and to the peace-making activities between rival cities and popes. She had numerous divine revelations that were recorded in the Tuscan vernacular by her disciples/secretaries in Siena, among others

¹¹⁷³ Tibor Kardos, *Régi magyar drámai emlékek* [Old Hungarian Drama], (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1960), vol. 1, 477.

¹¹⁷⁴ Printed edition: *Könyvecse az szent apostoloknak méltóságokról, 1521*, [Booklet on the dignities of the holy Apostles] ed. István Pusztai (Budapest: Magyar Nyelvtudományi Társaság, 1985) (Régi Magyar Kódexek 1), 35-38.

¹¹⁷⁵ *Könyvecse*, ed. Pusztai, 35.

¹¹⁷⁶ Péter Tóth, “Az Apostolok vetélkedése: Egy kódexünk forrásaihoz,” *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények* 105 (2001): 657-669.

¹¹⁷⁷ For a short biography, see Eugenio Dupré Theseider, “Caterina da Siena, santa” in: *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, vol. 22 (Rome: Istituto dell’Enciclopedia italiana, 1979), 361–378; Sofia Boesch Gajano, “Caterina da Siena” in: *Il grande libro dei santi. Dizionario enciclopedico*, ed. Claudio Leonardi et al. (Cinisello Balsamo: Edizioni San Paolo, 1998), vol.3, 397–405.

Stefano Maconi who later joined the Carthusian Order.¹¹⁷⁸ Catherine spent the last two years of her life in Rome and was buried here in the Dominican church of Santa Maria Sopra Minerva.

The Sienese *mantellata*'s relations to the Kingdom of Hungary go back to as early as the last quarter of the fourteenth century. She wrote letters to the most important sovereigns of the time of the Great Schism, including Elizabeth Piast in 1375 and to his son Louis the Great (1342-1382) by whom she asked for support for the Roman Pope Urban VI in 1379.¹¹⁷⁹ The canonization process of Catherine is also partly related to Hungary, as it was mentioned in the first part of this chapter, Raimondo da Capua, the master general of the Dominicans under Roman obedience between 1380 and 1399, was the first to inquire about the allegedly stigmatised Dominican nun Margaret of Hungary in 1382 during the general chapter held in Buda in 1382, presumably because he had seen Margaret of Hungary depicted as stigmatic in several Dominican churches and convents throughout Italy.¹¹⁸⁰ Raimondo was one of the earliest reformers of the Order of Preachers, and the confessor of Catherine and later the author the *Legenda maior* (1385-1390) in which he provided a detailed spiritual biography and an elaborate description of the circumstances of her stigmatisation and her request to God to make her wounds invisible.¹¹⁸¹ The Observant Dominicans became the primary supporters of the canonization of Catherine in the late fourteenth century which was closely related to the papal recognition of their Third Order.¹¹⁸² The central role of Caffarini and the *scriptorium* of the Ss Giovanni e Paolo in Venice in the diffusion of the cult of Catherine had been mentioned earlier in this chapter.¹¹⁸³ The copies of Raimondo da Capua's *Legenda maior* as well as of its

¹¹⁷⁸ Silvia Nocentini, "'Fare per lettera': le traduzioni latine del *Libro di divina dottrina* di Caterina da Siena" *Studi medievali* 56 (2015): 639–680; on Stefano Maconi and his relation to Catherine, see Giovanni Leoncini, "Un certosino del tardo medioevo: don Stefano Maconi," in: *Die Ausbreitung kartäusischen Lebens und Geistes im Mittelalter* 2, Analecta Cartusiana 63 (Salzburg 1991), 54–107; David Movrin, "The Beloved Disciple: Stephen Maconi and St. Catherine of Siena," *Annual of Medieval Studies at Central European University* 10 (2004): 43–53.

¹¹⁷⁹ According to Gábor Klaniczay, the fact that Catherine of Siena was among the supporters of Urban VI must have played a role in the re-opening of the canonization process of Margaret of Hungary in 1378; see Klaniczay, "Efforts at the Canonization of Margaret of Hungary," 328.

¹¹⁸⁰ See footnote 1115.

¹¹⁸¹ Raimondo da Capua, *Legenda maior, sive, Legenda admirabilis virginis*, ed. Silvia Nocentini (Florence: SISMEL, 2013), 259.

¹¹⁸² Pierantonio Piatti, "La memoria di Caterina e il processo di istitualizzazione delle Sorores de Poenitentia Sancti Dominici fra Tre e Quattrocento," in *Virgo digna coelo*, 377–404.

¹¹⁸³ Fernanda Sorelli, "La production hagiographique du dominicain Tommaso Caffarini: Exemples de sainteté, sens et visées d'une propagande" in *Faire croire: modalités de la diffusion et de la réception des messages religieux du XII^e au XV^e siècle* (Rome: École française de Rome, 1981), 189–200.

abbreviated version made by Caffarini¹¹⁸⁴ were partly made here, partly in the *scriptorium* of Stefano Maconi's Carthusian monastery in Steiz. The canonization process of Catherine started officially only in 1461. She was canonized on 29th June of the same year by another Sienese, Pope Pius II (Enea Silvio de' Piccolomini; 1458-1464) although he did not mention her stigmata in the canonization bull.¹¹⁸⁵ The feast of Catherine was a so-called "moving" feast: first it was celebrated on the first Sunday of May, later, between 1513 and 1630 on a Sunday between 4th and 10th May.¹¹⁸⁶

In addition to the already mentioned Latin legends, the first vernacular translations of Catherine's life appeared in the fifteenth century in German,¹¹⁸⁷ Italian,¹¹⁸⁸ French,¹¹⁸⁹ Polish¹¹⁹⁰ and English.¹¹⁹¹ Its earliest German translation was made at the turn of the fifteenth century in the Dominican nuns' convent of St Catherine in Nuremberg, where the earliest (and only partially successful) attempt of reform was introduced here personally by Raimondo da Capua in 1396 at the request of the city council. Also, the Dominican inquisitor Johannes Nider, after studying and teaching as master of theology in Vienna (1425-1427), was elected as prior of the Nuremberg convent 1427 and played an instrumental role in the direction of the nuns to a reformed way of life.¹¹⁹²

¹¹⁸⁴ *Sanctae Catharinae Senensis Legenda Minor*, ed. Ezio Franceschini (Milan: Fratelli Bocca), 1942.

¹¹⁸⁵ 29th June 1461, "Misericordias Domini". The bull was edited in *Il Processo Castellano*, 521-530.

¹¹⁸⁶ Elio Montanari, "L'Ufficio liturgico domenicano di santa Caterina da Siena," in *Virgo digna coelo*, 163-211, at 175.

¹¹⁸⁷ Thomas Brakmann, "The Transmission of the Upper German Life of Catherine of Siena," in *Catherine of Siena: The Creation of a Cult*, ed. Jeffrey F. Hamburger and Gabriela Signori (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013), 83-107.

¹¹⁸⁸ Silvia Nocentini, "'Pro solatio illicteratorum': The Earliest Italian Translations of the *Legenda maior*," in *Catherine of Siena: The Creation of a Cult*, 169-184.

¹¹⁸⁹ Piotr Tylus, *Légendes dominicaines dans la littérature française du Moyen Âge: tradition manuscrite, transformations, diffusion, accueil* (Cracow: Wydawn, Uniwersytet Jagelloński, 2007).

¹¹⁹⁰ While only a few written sources on St Catherine of Siena have come down to us from the Polish Dominican Province, the amount of the visual material, among others in the Dominican nuns' convent of Cracow, is remarkable; Agnieszka Madej-Anderson, *Repräsentation in einer Bettelordenskirche. Die spätmittelalterlichen Bildtafeln der Dominikaner in Krakau* (Ostfildern: Thorbecke, 2007), 86-96.

¹¹⁹¹ Dirk Schultze, "Translating St Catherine of Siena in Fifteenth-Century England". In: *Catherine of Siena: The Creation of a Cult*, 185-212.

¹¹⁹² Lázs, *Apácaműveltség*, 66-68.

V.3.3 St Vincent Ferrer and St Catherine of Siena in Latin codices used by the Dominicans

The Dominican lectionary in the Batthyáneum

The *totum duplex* feasts of Vincent Ferrer and Catherine of Siena were added to the Dominican lectionary originating from the fourteenth century that was already mentioned in connection with St Dominic and Peter martyr. As usual, nine readings were provided for the Valencian Observant that seems to be abbreviated from his legend by Ranzano.¹¹⁹³ For Catherine's feast only three *lectiones* are reported whereas in the case of the important feasts this number is usually nine.¹¹⁹⁴ The short readings recount the childhood of the saint, her decision not to get married but to dedicate her life to God, and that St Dominic himself appeared to her in a vision and encouraged her to choose the Dominicans. I think that further readings are missing because there is not a word about the years Catherine spent among the Penitent Sisters, her spiritual life or her stigmatization. Also, the missing initials of the readings suggest the same, although there is a not well legible sign that seems to be a letter "A" which might be an "Amen". At the same time, the lectionary does not end with the readings for the feast of Catherine.¹¹⁹⁵

A codex from a reformed Dominican convent of Kassa

Also another codex is preserved in the Batthyáneum in which the legends of Vincent Ferrer and Catherine of Siena's *Legenda minor*.¹¹⁹⁶ Catherine's legend, according to the colophon was copied by Dominican professor Laurentius de Stropka at the request of the prior of the convent

¹¹⁹³ Alba Iulia /Gyulafehérvár, Bibliotheca Documentaria Batthyaneum R I 19. Szentiványi, *Catalogus concinnus*, no.112; Július Sopko, *Codices medii aevi qui in bibliothecis Slovaciae asservantur ac olim asservabantur. – Stredoveké kódexy slovenskej proveniencie. II. Codices Latini medii aevi qui olim in bibliothecis Slovaciae asservantur et nunc in Hungaria et Romania asservantur. – Stredoveké latinské kódexy slovenskej proveniencie v Maďarsku a v Rumunsku*. Martin: [n.p.], 1982, no. 331. According to some scholars, it belonged to the Dominican convent of Buda: Csapodi and Csapodiné, *Bibliotheca Hungarica*, vol. 1., no.1635. Microfilm: MTAK 5093/I. fol. 179v-184r. Possible textual parallel: BHL 8668 or BHL Supplementum, 8160f but the end is different. Its incipit is the same as Pietro Ranzano's *Life of Vincent Ferrer* (1455-1456).

¹¹⁹⁴ The readings for the feast of Catherine are on fol.160r.

¹¹⁹⁵ Perhaps the scribe hoped to finish Catherine's *lectiones* one day but after a time he gave up and put an end to it. I thank Edit Madas her help in this question.

¹¹⁹⁶ Alba Iulia /Gyulafehérvár, Bibliotheca Documentaria Batthyaneum R I 112 Szentiványi, *Catalogus concinnus*, no. 112; Július Sopko, *Codices medii aevi qui in bibliothecis Slovaciae asservantur ac olim asservabantur*, vol. 2 no.331.

of Buda, Leonardus de Regensberger in 1468.¹¹⁹⁷ This codex is one of the 13 surviving manuscripts¹¹⁹⁸ that together with 56 *incunabula* was part of the original collection of the library of the Dominican convent of Kassa.¹¹⁹⁹ This convent was in permanent and active relationship with the reformed Dominican convent of Vienna at the time when the manuscript was copied. A well-known figure of the reform from Vienna, Leonard Huntovichler, after spending some time in the convent of Buda arrived to Kassa at the request of the town council in 1454 and was the prior of the Dominican convent until 1455. It is also known that in 1457 another Viennese friar became the prior in Kassa, and between 1458 and 1464 another former student of Huntovichler, Peter von Brannau served in this position.¹²⁰⁰ The convent was enlarged in the second half of the 1460s, which suggests that became an important centre of education.¹²⁰¹ Although the Dominicans of Kassa have already had a noteworthy collection of books,¹²⁰² thanks to Huntovichler and the reform he introduced, the library of the Dominicans has increased significantly.¹²⁰³ The vivid connection of the convent with the Viennese Dominicans can be seen not only in their manuscripts but also in the book bindings.¹²⁰⁴ The commentary of Humbert of Romans to the Rule of St Augustine has come down to us from this

¹¹⁹⁷ “Explicit legenda Sancte Katherine de Senis, abbreviata per reverendum fratrem Thomam de Senis ordinis predicatorum pro predicatoribus. Quam scripsit frater laurencius de Stropka ordinis eiusdem professor ad instanciam fratris Leonardi Regensperger, pro tunc superioris conventus Budensis. Anno M^occcc^o68– fol. 117v. It was in the same year that the general chapter in Rome prescribed the short texts about St Vincent and St Catherine to be added to the martyrologies used in the order; see MOPH 8, 301–302.

¹¹⁹⁸ According to later note, the codex belonged to the Dominicans of Kassa, and probably had been copied for them originally: “Conventus Cassoviensis B. V. MARIAE fratrum Ordinis Praedicatorum recuperatus a civitate Cassoviensi Anno 1699 2 X-bris” – fol. 2r.

¹¹⁹⁹ Previously 8 manuscripts and 21 *incunabula* were known from the library, see Edit Madas and István Monok, *A könyv kultúra Magyarországon: a kezdetektől 1730-ig* [Book culture in Hungary from the beginnings to 1730] (Budapest: Balassi, 1998), 40. More recently, Eva Frimmová dealt with the library of the Dominicans and in the dissertation I rely on her data: Eva Frimmová, “Najstarší knižný fond košických dominikánov,” [The oldest books of the Dominicans of Košice] in: *Kniha 2008: Zdrojový dokument: Zborník o problémoch a dejinách knižnej kultúry*, ed. Miroslava Domová. (Martin: [n.p.] 2008), 206–236; the description of the codex copied by Laurentius de Stropko is at 222–223, no. 10.

¹²⁰⁰ Kiss, “Latin és népnelyv,” 227, note 10.

¹²⁰¹ Béla Wick, *Adatok a kassai domonkosok történetéhez* [Data to the history of the Dominicans in Kassa/Košice] (Košice: Kereskedelmi és Ipari Könyvnyomda, 1932), 9.

¹²⁰² Cf. Wick, *Adatok a kassai domonkosok történetéhez*, 11; Frimmová, “Najstarší knižný”.

¹²⁰³ Isnard Wilhelm Frank, “Das Gutachten eines Wiener Dominikaners für die Universität Pressburg aus dem Jahre 1467,” *Zeitschrift für Ostforschung* 16 (1967): 421, quoted in Kiss, “Latin és népnelyv,” 227, note 10.

¹²⁰⁴ Kiss, “Latin és népnelyv,” 227.

library from 1469.¹²⁰⁵ The importance of this convent can be seen also from the fact that four students went to the Dominican convent of the Santa Maria Novella to study theology.¹²⁰⁶

The codex containing the legends of the two recently canonized saints promoted by the reformed friars comes from this milieu. Even though the commissioner of the text, the former prior of the convent of Buda, Leonardus de Regensberger was staying at that time already in the convent of Kassa,¹²⁰⁷ it is not known whether the copy requested one year earlier was made in Buda or Kassa.¹²⁰⁸ The *colligatum* is made up of eight parts that concern the everyday life of the Dominican brothers and sisters: the rules the male and female branches of the order, privileges, various texts of devotional characters and well as the legends the two new saints of the order.¹²⁰⁹ As it can be read in the codex itself, the legend of Catherine is the abbreviated version of Raimondo da Capua's *Legenda maior*, the *Legenda minor* made by Caffarini to be used by the Dominicans.¹²¹⁰ The codex belongs to that family of manuscripts (*recensio nova*) which diffused from the *scriptorium* of Caffarini's convent in Venice.¹²¹¹

V.3.4 St Catherine and the issue of her stigmata in the vernacular codices

The sermon of the Carthusian Anonymous for the feast of St Catherine of Siena

Catherine's sermon surviving in the Érdy Codex was composed in the Hungarian vernacular almost half a century later than the above mentioned Latin codices. This is the earliest surviving piece that shows that the legend of St Catherine became accessible for those not well-versed in Latin. It is one of the prose sermons in the collection of the Carthusian Anonymous that had been turned up several times in the dissertation. The saints of the Order of Preachers are

¹²⁰⁵ Alba Iulia / Gyulafehérvár, Bibliotheca Documentaria Batthyaneum R II 28. Szentiványi, *Catalogus concinnus*, no. 19; Sopko, *Codices medii aevi*, vol. 2, no.402. On the use of rules in medieval nuns' convents, see Lázs, *Apácaműveltség*, 168-173.

¹²⁰⁶ Florio Banfi, "L'opera di fra Andrea di Niccolò d'Ungheria O.P. nel codice Ottob. lat. 26 della Vaticana". *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* 9 (1939): 298-310, at 298-299.

¹²⁰⁷ Leonardus de Regensberger's sermon on the Passion survived in the same codex (fol. 136v): "Hec passio predicate est per me fratrem leonardum Regensberger pro tunc predicatorem domus Cassovinsis anno 1496".

¹²⁰⁸ Harsányi, *A Domonkos rend*, 153. As claimed by Mátyás Jenő Fehér, the manuscript was made in Siena but since his arguments are not well-supported I see no reason to accept his view; cf. idem, Mátyás Jenő Fehér O.P., "I domenicani di Cassovia e l'Italia del Quattrocento," *Corvina* 23 (1944): 545-560, 589-609, at 599.

¹²⁰⁹ The detailed description of the codex is Szentiványi, *Catalogus concinnus*, no.189.

¹²¹⁰ Fol. 72r; fol.117 v.

¹²¹¹ Nocentini, "Lo scriptorium," 99, note 67.

represented by Ss Dominic and Catherine of Siena. Apart from the Siennese *mantellata*, the author incorporated only two sermons written for the feasts of “modern” female saints, Elizabeth of Hungary and Clare of Assisi. The Carthusian Anonymous, as it has been showed by Eszter Szép, used the Franciscan Roberto Caracciolo’s *De laudibus sanctorum* also for his sermon on Catherine.¹²¹² The sermon of Caracciolo, who, in turn, extensively used the canonization bull issued by Pius II, was handled freely also this time by the Carthusian author, who abbreviated and simplified his Latin source without significantly altering its original structure. The theme of the Hungarian sermon on the Siennese saint is “Multe filie congregaverunt divicias tu supergressa es universas” (Proverbs, 31:29). The affiliation of Catherine to the Order of Preachers is present throughout the sermon and the “authenticity” of the Third Order is strongly emphasized. Since the comparison of the Latin and Hungarian sermons has already been done, now I concentrate only on the third of the seven charismatic gifts Catherine was granted, the stigmata. But before doing so, a few words should be said about the other stigmatic saint in his collection, Francis of Assisi, for which the Carthusian author turned to Caracciolo’s collection again,¹²¹³ but chose a different *thema* for his sermon: *Ego enim stigmata domini Iesu in corpore meo porto* (Gal 6:17),¹²¹⁴ a passage that was generally associated with St. Francis and his wounds and was recited in the readings of the

¹²¹² Caracciolo, *Sermones de laudibus sanctorum*, Sermo septuagesimus de sancta Catherina de Senis Tertii Ordinis Sancti Dominici, 206b–212a. On the identification of the source of the Carthusian Anonymous, see Eszter Katalin Szép, “Újabb ferences sermo-gyűjtemény a Karthauzi Névtelen könyvespolcán” [A new Franciscan sermon collection on the bookshelf of the Carthusian Anonymous], in: *Plastrum seculi IV. Az ELTE BTK Régi Magyar Irodalomtörténeti Tanszékén 2006. április 22-én rendezett konferencia szerkesztett anyaga*, ed. Ildikó Bárczi. http://sermones.elte.hu/?az=344tan_plaus_szepeszter, 20th December 2016. On the aspects of the *oeuvre* of Caracciolo related to Hungary as well as on the influence of his *De Laudibus sanctorum*, see Cecília Radó Tóthné, Cecília Tóthné Radó, “Robertus Caracciolo OFM prédikációs segédkönyveinek magyarországi felhasználása” [The usage of the model sermon collection of Robertus Caracciolo in Hungary]. PhD diss., Pázmány Péter Catholic University, 2014. http://real-phd.mtak.hu/175/1/T%C3%B3th%C3%A9n%C3%A9Rad%C3%B3Cecilia_dissert%C3%A1ci%C3%B3.pdf, 29th January 2015.

¹²¹³ Dóra Rapavi, “A Karthauzi Névtelen forráshasználatának sajátosságai – Robertus Caracciolo Szent Ferenc – napi beszédével való összevetés tanulságai” [The characteristics of the Carthusian Anonymous’s use of sources: the lessons of the comparison with the sermon on St Francis by Robertus Caracciolo]. *Plastrum* 2007 (V). http://sermones.elte.hu/?az=355tan_plaus_rdora. 20th January 2017. I would like to thank Edit Madas that she called my attention to her thesis.

¹²¹⁴ Caracciolo, *Sermones de laudibus*, “Sermo quadragesimusquinto De tribus excellentiis beati Francisci”, 141a–144c. It should be noted that the theme of Caracciolo’s “Sermo quadragesimusquarto de sacris admirandisque stigmatibus seraphici Francisci”, 138a–141a of the collection is built on the same theme. For the analysis of this sermon, see Carolyn Muessig, “Roberto Caracciolo’s Sermon on the Miracle of the Stigmatization of Francis of Assisi,” *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* 42 (2012): 77–93.

liturgy and in the office on the feast of St. Francis.¹²¹⁵ In this sermon, even though he alludes twice to the saint's stigmata, the Carthusian Anonymous does not assign central role to them but considers them rather as visible sign of authentication, a "seal of the son of God" inflicted on Francis so that people have more trust in him, and at which one should not be amazed but rather be deeply grateful to the Lord.¹²¹⁶ In order to find the right way of the *sequela Christi*, the author urges his audience to look at the Cross in order to find the path and weapon of Christ they should follow, and to look at the face of Francis and the wounds he took up in order to understand the way how Christ should be followed.¹²¹⁷

In the sermon on Catherine of Siena, Carthusian Anonymous notes, as it has been already noted by Imre Bán,¹²¹⁸ that there are many people who do not believe in her sanctity, "namely those, who have frozen in piety towards God and His loving saints from inside and outside, claiming that it is unbelievable that a woman would have so many divine gifts and spiritual virtues as it is said and written about her."¹²¹⁹ Moreover, when the Carthusian author writes about Catherine's order, her attachment to its founder and the authenticity of the "penitent order" (*penitenciatartó szerzet*), he argues that "because God sanctified and exalted this holy order. It is revealed by the holy lives of many holy women and [their] miracles, one of whom is this St Catherine, the spouse of the beloved Christ."¹²²⁰

In order to understand the words of the Carthusian Anonymous, one should take a second look at his Latin source as well as in Tommaso Caffarini's enterprise in authenticating Catherine's stigmata. Although in the general opinion of the various religious orders Catherine of Siena was a saintly woman who had the stigmata, the idea scandalized the Franciscans who claimed that Francis was the only person who really bore the wounds of Christ in his body, and no one else could have it, or at least, not visibly.¹²²¹ The Dominicans were eager to prove that Catherine

¹²¹⁵ Piusz Berhidai, O.F.M., "Szent Ferenc képe a XV. századi magyarországi irodalomban" [The image of St Francis in fifteenth-century Hungarian literature], in *Európa védelmében: Kapisztrán Szent János és a nándorfehérvári diadal emlékezete*, ed. Peregrin Kálmán and László Veszprémy (Budapest: Hadtörténeti Intézet és Múzeum, 2013), 111-118, at 117.

¹²¹⁶ *Érdy-codex*, 567-568.

¹²¹⁷ *Érdy Codex*, 571.

¹²¹⁸ Bán, *A Karthausi Névtelen*, 12.

¹²¹⁹ *Érdy Codex*, 272.

¹²²⁰ *Érdy Codex*, 276.

¹²²¹ Cf footnote 555.

was indeed the bearer of the holy wounds and opposed to Francis's corporeal stigmata, they developed the theology of invisible ones, based above all on Raimondo da Capua's description in the *Legenda maior*.¹²²² The fierce debate between the Dominicans and the Franciscans on this issue has not ended even after Catherine's canonization: in 1472 and then in 1475 Pope Sixtus IV prohibited her representation with "Christ's Stigmata" and forbade speaking about them in sermons. The prohibition of depictions remained in force until the late sixteenth century.¹²²³ Several Franciscan preachers challenged her veneration as a stigmatic saint: one of them was Roberto Caracciolo who, despite having a high opinion of Catherine at whose celebration in the afternoon following her canonization he preached a sermon in the Santa Maria Sopra Minerva in Rome.¹²²⁴ In the very sermon the Carthusian Anonymous used as a source, the Italian Franciscan provided a detailed description of her stigmatisation and comparing it with that of St Francis of Assisi argued that Catherine was a saint because of being a virgin, prophetess, and visionary, but she was not a stigmatic.¹²²⁵ Instead of Caracciolo's long theological exposition and the final conclusion that the only person who really bore the stigmata of Christ on his body was St Francis, the Carthusian Anonymous says in brief in his sermon on the Sienese saint that "Jesus allowed only St Paul,¹²²⁶ St Francis and St Catherine virgin, his spouse, to have the sign of salvation, the holy and worthy wounds."¹²²⁷ Moreover, in the already mentioned sermon on St Francis, the Carthusian Anonymous refers implicitly to Catherine as one of the "noble and pious virgins from the order of our father St. Dominic could have this gift of the great divine grace also in our times, at which Christian people cannot but to be amazed." It is not known which virgins exactly the Carthusian Anonymous had in mind: his sources, Caracciolo mentions Dominican holy women, such as Giovanna d'Orvieto, Margherita di Città

¹²²² On the stigmatization debate, see Alessandra Bartolomei Romagnoli, "La disputa sulle stimmate" in: *Virgo digna coelo*, 405–444.

¹²²³ In spite of this, the production of sermons and visual representations of Catherine as a stigmatized saint did not stop; Diega Giunta, "The Iconography of Catherine of Siena's Stigmata," in: *A Companion to Catherine of Siena*, 268–269.

¹²²⁴ Caracciolo, *Sermones de laudibus*, 210a–211a.

¹²²⁵ On Caracciolo's sermon on St Catherine, see Carolyn Muessig, "Catherine of Siena in Late Medieval Sermons," in: *A Companion to Catherine of Siena*, 220–221; eadem, "The Stigmata Debate in Theology and Art in the Late Middle Ages" in: *Authority of the World*, ed. Walter Melion, Celeste Brusati, and Karl Enekel (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 484–504. Krafft, "Many strategies," 38–40.

¹²²⁶ The reference to Paul's stigmata is based on Gal 6:17 "Ego enim stigmata Domini Iesu in corpora meo porto", cf. Thomas Antonii de Senis "Caffarini", *Libellus de Supplemento*, 203ff.

¹²²⁷ *Érdy Codex*, 272.

di Castello and Helen of Hungary but does not say that they would have been stigmatics. It is possible that the Carthusian Anonymous heard about the allegedly stigmatized Helen who, according to her fifteenth-century legend, lived in the Dominican monastery of Veszprém, not far from the Carthusian monastery in Lövöld (ca. 25 km). It cannot be excluded either that he knew about the contemporary stigmatic Dominican Tertiaries, like Osanna Andreasi (1449-1505), Columba Guadagnoli da Rieti (1467-1501), Lucia Brocadelli (1467-1544) or Stefana Quinzani (1457-1530).¹²²⁸

Be that as it may, taking into account the Carthusian Anonymous's sermon for the feast of St Francis and the two Latin sermons of Caracciolo, it becomes clear that one of the "divine things" the former referred to in his vernacular sermon on Catherine on the basis of which her sanctity was called into question were her stigmata, and those who contended her stigmatisation were primarily the Franciscans. It turns out from his sermon on St Francis that the Carthusian Anonymous knew about other Dominican tertiaries as well. The reason why he was so tight-lipped about this complex and fervently debated issue could be that he did not want to burden his not highly educated monastic audience with the theology of the stigmata, but it is also possible that he wanted to avoid the possible polemics arising from this matter. Disregarding gender as well as the subtle differences in the circumstances of the stigmatization and the qualities of the stigmata, the Carthusian Anonymous presented all the saints who bore the wounds of Christ on their bodies as one single group, that of the stigmatics. In his sermon Catherine was the emblematic saint of the Dominican Third Order and her stigmata were only one of the numerous signs of her sanctity and not of special importance, maintaining this way the opposite what Caracciolo, his Latin source claimed.

A standard text in the library of the Dominican nuns: Catherine's legend in the Érsekújvári Codex

¹²²⁸Tamar Herzig, *Savonarola's Women: Visions and Reform in Renaissance Italy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press), 2008. In one of her other works, Herzig has drawn the attention to the fact that the Alsation Dominican inquisitor Heinrich Kramer who often collaborated with the Observant Dominicans also made use of Catherine of Siena's, Colomba da Rieti's and Lucia Brocadelli da Narni's special devotion to the Eucharist against the Hussites (especially the Utraquists) in the Kingdom of Bohemia in the second half of the 1490s; see Tamar Herzig, "Italian Holy Women against Bohemian Heretics: Catherine of Siena and the 'Second Catherines' in the Kingdom of Bohemia," in: *Catherine of Siena: The Creation of a Cult*, 315–338.

The other codex written in the Hungarian vernacular that contains “Catherinian material” is the Érsekújvári codex copied on the Island of the Rabbits between 1529 and 1531 by a nun called Márta Sövényházi and other four *sorores*.¹²²⁹ Presumably, it was the Ottoman threat that motivated Márta Sövényházi, the head of the *scriptorium* and library at that time, to put together a codex suitable for various occasions.¹²³⁰ The voluminous codex containing gospel pericopes, sermons, legends, meditations on the Passion, and other catechetical texts was suitable both to be used in private or in common. Sándor Lázs noticed that the genres of the readings in the codex are rather similar to those of the nuns used as refectory readings in the St Catherine Convent in Nuremberg; moreover, it can be said in general that the up-to-dateness of the readings of the nuns of the Island of the Rabbits was in correspondence with the nuns in Nuremberg.¹²³¹ Lázs attributes the presence of the texts of Franciscan provenance to the fact that the spiritual guide of the Dominican nuns in this period was a Franciscan.¹²³² The eleven legends Márta Sövényházi copied completed well the nuns’ the stock of library made up of codices written in the Hungarian vernacular.¹²³³ The only “modern” saint in the manuscript is Catherine. The sources of her legend were identified by Lajos Katona.¹²³⁴ Through this extended legend, which can be compared to the vernacular legends of St Dominic and Blessed Margaret of Hungary, the nuns became familiar with all the details of the first canonized female saint of their order.¹²³⁵ The source of the legend is the *Chronicon* by Antonino Pierozzi, who, in turn, worked on the basis of Raimondo da Capua’s *Legenda maior*. The thorough presentation of four miracles at the end of the legend served as further evidence for the holiness of Catherine

¹²²⁹ The legend of Catherine is in *Érsekújvári kódex*, 382-424, 429-430. Lea Haader divided the altogether nine Old Hungarian codices written in the *scriptorium* of the monastery of the Island of the Rabbits’ into two groups. The Érsekújvári Codex and the Thewrewk Codex, both copied partly by Márta Sövényházi, belong to the second group, made only a little before than the nuns fled from the monastery, see Haader, “Domonkosokhoz köthető középkori kódexek,” 136-146.

¹²³⁰ Edit Madas, “Az Érsekújvári Kódex mint a menekülő apácák hordozható könyvtára és két új forrásazonosítás (Műhelytanulmány)” [The Érsekújvári Kódex as the moveable library of the escaping nuns and two new source identifications], in: *Szóveg – emlék – kép*, ed. László Boka and Judit Vásárhelyi (Budapest: Országos Széchényi Könyvtár / Gondolat Kiadó, 2011), 91-104, at 96.

¹²³¹ Lázs, “A Nyulak szigeti apácák olvasmányainak korszerűsége,” 136-138.

¹²³² Lázs, *Apácaműveltség*, 48-50.

¹²³³ It completed perfectly the cycle of the saints in the Cornides Codex copied by Lea Ráskai; Madas, “Az Érsekújvári Kódex mint a menekülő apácák,” 94.

¹²³⁴ Lajos Katona, “Újabb adalékok kódexeink forrásaihoz 2” [New contributions to the sources of Hungarian codices], *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények* 16 (1906): 191-199.

¹²³⁵ Madas, “Az Érsekújvári Kódex mint a menekülő apácák,” 94.

who had not yet been canonized at the time when Pierozzi penned the *Chronicon*.¹²³⁶ The work appeared in print for the first time in 1484, and it was a favoured work of the spiritual father(s) of the nuns since it was the main source of the Domonkos Codex as we had seen earlier.¹²³⁷ Katona has demonstrated that the translator handled freely his source, abbreviating, merging and changing the order of the chapters of Antonino's biography of the *mantellata*. Catherine's legend is preceded by some excerpts that are the abridged version of the mystical dialogue between Catherine and God, known today as *Dialogo della divina provvidenza*. Although Catherine's mystical experiences were recorded originally in the Tuscan vernacular by her disciples, their Latin translation was published as early as 1496.¹²³⁸ The fact that the legend of St Catherine of Siena, which is the first one among those of the other female saints, reflects a strong Dominican identity, and that two marginal notes made by the nun-scribe Márta Sövényházi indicating the correct order of the texts of the *Dialogo* and the saint's legend reveals that the codex was used for communal reading did not escape the attention of scholars.¹²³⁹ I would like to add to this only the order suggested by the nun-scribe as correct indicates that she thought about the excerpts of the *Dialogo* to be the part of Catherine's legend. According to Ágnes Korondi who investigated mysticism in the medieval codices written in the Hungarian vernacular, in this remarkable piece of communal reading the *mantellata* embodied the Dominican saintly ideal without her mystical experiences being put forward to the nuns as a desired requirement.¹²⁴⁰ The fact that the unknown Hungarian Dominican who translated the text of Antoninus for the nuns of his Order providing the "essential" spiritual biography of the Sienese saint without changing the accents of the Latin text shows that it was considered important to supply the Dominican community of nuns with a comprehensive but at the same time "consumable" presentation of Catherine's life for community reading. The translator preserved the numerous references that underline Catherine's direct connection to St Dominic, the founder of the Order of Preachers. This legend of Catherine is the only extant medieval text

¹²³⁶ The miracles are in *Érsekújvári Kódex*, 418-430.

¹²³⁷ Antoninus Florentinus, *Chronicon*, pars III, tit. 23, cap. 14.

¹²³⁸ *Dialogi sanctae Catharinae Senensis* (Brixiae: per Bernardinum de Misintis, 1496); identified by Katona, "Újabb adalékok," 194.

¹²³⁹ *Érsekújvári kódex*, 40; Lázs, *Apácaműveltség*, 130.

¹²⁴⁰ Korondi has also highlighted the vernacular legend of Blessed Margaret as a communal reading in which her most emphasized saintly virtues harmonized with those promoted by the Observant reformers; Korondi, *A misztika a késő középkori magyar nyelvű kolostori kódexirodalomban*, 186-191, 196.

in Hungarian in which her stigmatisation is reported fully and which tells also about her request to God to make her wounds invisible. Whoever translated the legend of Catherine for the nuns, despite of the free handling of his sources, he aimed at providing the “essential” spiritual biography of the Sienese saint without changing the accents of the Latin text. The nuns could hear about Catherine’s youth, her joining the community of female penitents in Siena, her ascetic practices, his mystical engagement with Christ, her stigmatization and her charity towards the poor and the sick. Also, the translator preserved the numerous references that underline Catherine’s direct connection to St Dominic.. The legend also describes her stigmatisation during an ecstasy in the Church of St Christina in Pisa: Catherine narrates to her confessor Raimondo da Capua how the crucified Christ transmitted his wounds with ruddy rays of light to her hands, feet and heart, causing her severe pains. At her request, Christ turned her wounds invisible, or more precisely, to reddish lights, although the pain Catherine felt did not diminish.¹²⁴¹ Through this account, the Dominican nuns of the Island of the Rabbits became familiar with the bases of the theology of the invisible stigmata. The invisibility of the wounds, however, did not mean that they were unperceivable for the others. As her Hungarian legend says, the places of Catherine’s wounds were radiating not only at the moment of her death but they do it even today.¹²⁴²

V.3.5 Concluding remarks

We have seen that with the exception of the Érdy Codex, all the books that contained writings related to St Catherine of Siena were made for Dominican male or female convents. Her legend together with that of Vincent Ferrer preserved in a codex that used to belong to the reformed Dominican convent of Kassa was copied in the very end of the 1460s by Laurentius de Stropko at the request of the prior of the reformed convent of Buda. Roughly at the same time, a Dominican friar inserted three readings each for the feasts of St Vincent and St Catherine in their lectionary that have been used since the fourteenth century. A copy of the *Legenda minor* belonging to that manuscript family which diffused from the Caffarini’s *scriptorium* in the Convento di San Giovanni e Paolo in Venice reached Hungary, and further copies (maybe with

¹²⁴¹ *Érsekújvári kódex*, 414.

¹²⁴² *Érsekújvári kódex*, 430.

Viennese Dominican intermediation) arrived at the reformed convents of Buda or Kassa seven years after Catherine's canonization. The Hungarian translation of her legend and some of her mystical experience was copied 60 years later by Dominican nuns on the Island of the Rabbits. The Carthusian Order actively participated in the diffusion of her cult from the very beginning. Even if nothing indicates that the Carthusians in Hungary would have venerated Catherine in a special way, the sermon of the Carthusian Anonymous shows that he regarded the saint of interest in the religious communities (especially in the female ones) in the northern Transdanubian region. Catherine was that female saint –at least according to the surviving codices- about whose spiritual experience the Dominican nuns on the Island of the Rabbits could hear in their mother tongue. For those who were not educated in Latin, the prominent aspects of Catherine's sanctity were the ascetic and the mystic, while the highly educated male religious could also know her as a peacemaker, a prophet or as a critique of the Church. Apparently her stigmata were not considered as an issue of particular concern for a non-specifically Dominican audience: she was a stigmatic, just like St Francis and some other saints. A perfect illustration of this is the only surviving visual representation of St Catherine in medieval Hungary I have already mentioned in the subchapter on the visual representation of Francis, showing St Christopher who is flanked by St Francis of Assisi and St Catherine of Siena, both of them depicted as stigmatics.

It is remarkable that the legend of Vincent Ferrer, the other recently canonized saint promoted also by the Dominican observance, does not survive in the Hungarian vernacular. Similar are the cases of Peter of Verona and Thomas Aquinas. Still, the theologian works of Thomas were widely used in Hungary, and also Vincent's sermons were known although his influence cannot be compared to that of the *Doctor Angelicus*. The translations/adaptations of some of Vincent's sermons to the Hungarian vernacular for supposedly Dominican audience shows the translator tried provide more "modern" material to his audience. What can be the reason that only the legend of St Dominic and some stories of the early brothers survived in the vernacular? Not excluding the possibility that codices containing their legends in Hungarian were lost (although according to the stance of the current scholarship the Dominican nuns on the Island of the

Rabbits transported with themselves their cherished codices), another possible answer could be that the authors/compilers of the Érdy and the Érsekújvári codices composed primarily with a female audience in mind, regarded the inclusion of the life of a modern female saint closely associated with the Order of Preachers more fundamental than that of Vincent because Catherine's lifestyle and experience was much more closer to the nuns and thus a better model to follow.

VI. Whose Saint Is It? Franciscan Saints Canonized in the Fifteenth Century

The last canonized saints of the Order of Minor Brothers whose feasts were observed in medieval Hungary were Bernardino of Siena and Bonaventure. Bernardino's sanctity, whose cult was promoted and his case was supported primarily by the Observant family, gained papal recognition in 1450; Bonaventure, the candidate of the Conventual branch was canonized in 1482. The two cases were rather different, and this difference can be perceived also in their veneration in Hungary. Bernardino was known in Hungary already in his lifetime thanks primarily to those members of the entourage of King Sigismund who spent considerable time in those parts of Italy where the Observant preacher was active. Apart from the sermons of the two Hungarian Observants, a wide range of sources testify to his veneration in Hungary that sprang up immediately after his canonization, some of which can directly be associated with John of Capestrano's activity here and the neighbouring regions. Bonaventure's case was quite the contrary: only a single source suggests that in Hungary he was venerated outside the order. This can be partly explained by the fact that he was figure from the past and could be hardly associated with the present. What has come down to us from Hungary about Bonaventure as a saint –because he was an acclaimed theologian and parts of whose works (or works attributed to him) were translated to the vernacular¹²⁴³ – are the sermons of Pelbartus de Themeswar and Osvaldus of Lasko. The greater part of this chapter is dedicated to them. However, also a third Franciscan, closely related to Bernardino and Observant movement, will be treated in the last part of the chapter as a case study. Historical character or not, the Hungarian friar's example deserves attention because the two earliest versions of his story were written in the Italian vernacular by authors who had a major role in the creation of the new Observant hagiography, and it can be perceived how a character of secondary importance in someone else's legend written in the second half of the fifteenth century is promoted to a rank of a real saint with his own *vita* by the first decades of the sixteenth century.

¹²⁴³ On Bonaventure's mysticism as reflected in the Rules in the Hungarian vernacular codices, see Korondi, *A misztika a késő középkori magyar nyelvű kolostori kódexirodalomban*, 145-168.

VI.1. Bernardino of Siena

St Bernardino of Siena's direct and indirect relation to the Hungarians was examined by Florio Banfi in a volume published for the 500th anniversary of the saint's canonization but this article is almost completely unknown in Hungary.¹²⁴⁴ Banfi's investigation is made up of four major issues: Bernardino's relation to Emperor Sigismund in the 1430s, the call for a crusade against the Ottomans, a Franciscan friar, the role of Lancelao of Hungary in the diffusion of the Observance in northern Italy at the request of Bernardino, and finally, the saint's veneration in Hungary. Banfi's survey of the Sienese saint in Hungary is the basis of this part of the chapter, especially his research in the hagiographic works on Bernardino in Latin and Italian to which I only add some minor details, such as wills and a permission of indulgence that inform us about chapel and altar foundations and masses to be offered to the new saint of the Franciscans. The novel contributions to Banfi's research are the analysis of the model sermons composed for his feast by the two Observant Franciscans and the exploration of the surviving visual representations of the saint.

VI.1.1 Life and canonization

Bernardino was born to the noble Albizeschi family in Massa Marittima da Tollo (Tuscany) in 1380.¹²⁴⁵ After the death of his parents, since the age of six he was raised by her maternal aunt Diana. In Siena, living at one of his other aunts' house, he studied canon law for a few years. He joined the *Compagnia dei battuti della B. Vergine* at the hospital of the Madonna della Scala and during the plague epidemic in the winter of 1400-1401 he took care of the sick with twelve other companions. The following year he joined the Order of Minor Brothers and moved to the Observant Convent of Columbaio sull'Amiata, the third Observant institution in Toscana. He started his activity as a preacher in 1405, first in the area of Siena and then in northern Italy. He lived for a few years in convents of Tuscany: in Capriola and in Bosco di Mugello. In these years, among other places, he preached in Ferrara, Pavia, Padova. The diffusion and the

¹²⁴⁴ Florio Banfi, "San Bernardino da Siena e gli ungheresi" in *Bullettino della Deputazione Abruzzese di Storia Patria* XXXV, S.5. (1944), 5-32.

¹²⁴⁵ This short overview is based on the entry "Bernardino da Siena, santo" by Raoul Manselli, *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 9 (1967), available at: [http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/bernardino-da-siena-santo_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)/](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/bernardino-da-siena-santo_(Dizionario-Biografico)/) (accessed: 16th August 2016).

blossom of the Observant family from an eremitic-like movement was ascribed to him, he was equally regarded high by (at that time the main branch) the so-called Conventual Franciscans. He was already an acclaimed preacher by the time of his preaching tours in northern Italy (1416-1421), as a result of which Filippo Maria Visconti gave the church of Sant'Angelo in Milan to the Observant friars. He performed his sermons with carefully designed technique, using a simple language accompanied by theatrical gestures, which attracted so huge crowds that they were not able to gather in the church. This problem has led to the most important effect the Observant movement had on architecture as an alternative to the movable wooden pulpits in the “preaching piazzas”, the outdoor loggias or pulpits.¹²⁴⁶

Bernardino was the vicar of the Observants in Umbria and Tuscany several times, and the foundation of a number of reformed convents is ascribed to him (Bergamo, Milano, Verona, etc). With the help of John of Capestrano, he managed to remain in good terms with the Conventual branch. In the General Chapter of Assisi in 1430 Pope Martin V (1417-1431) reunited the two groups and imposed on them the so-called “Martinian” constitutions which the pope’s *Ad perpetuam rei memoriam* of 17th July 1430 re-interpreted and modified the constitutions enacted a few months earlier.¹²⁴⁷ On 23th August 1430 with the bull *Ad statum*, addressed to the minister general, permitted the friars to retain any kind of property, real or personal, through their protectors, if it legally belonged to the Holy See. Besides, even the ministers who had bound themselves to the observance of the Martinian constitutions, started to ask for dispensations. As a reaction, the Observants returned to the supervision of their provincial vicars but they confirmed their obedience to the higher superiors of the Order. Bernardino, despite being the propagator of the Observant values, always had in a mind a single unified Franciscan Order. In the 1430s he continued his activity as a preacher in Lombardy and

¹²⁴⁶ Caroline Bruzelius, “The Dead Come to Town: Preaching, Burying, and Building in the Mendicant Orders” in *The Year 1300 and the Creation of a New European Architecture*, ed. Alexandra Gajewsky and Zoë Opačić, (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007), 203-224, at 212-213.

¹²⁴⁷ The *Constitutiones Martinianae* were the result of the activity of John of Capestrano, who had fought the exemption of the French Observants and had accused them of dividing the order. He argued for a reunion not by the way of the suppression of the Observance but by the reform of the whole order. Together with some other friars, he prepared new constitutions which held the between laxity and rigorism that could be accepted by both parties of the order. They were ratified by Pope Martin, hence the name.

Liguria.¹²⁴⁸ He authored voluminous collections of Lenten sermons, the *De Christiana religione*, and the *De evangelio aeterno sive de caritate*.¹²⁴⁹ He was an extremely popular preacher of his age, captivating his audience with his most efficient weapons: words and gestures. Besides, the use of the *tavoletta*, an image or a visual aid used as a preaching aid representing the IHS monogram was introduced by Bernardino.¹²⁵⁰ As Maria G. Muzzarelli has noticed, the board with the monogram with Gothic letters surrounded by a sunburst across a blue field designed by Bernardino himself was one of these gestures, with which he not only wanted to enhance the devotion to the holy name of Jesus but also to design an easily recognizable emblem that advertised a general reform preached by the Observants in an outdoor space that lacked the usual devotional objects and decorations of churches.¹²⁵¹ He persuaded the northern and central Italian settlements to place his IHS monogram on the walls, façades of churches, public buildings and houses, many of them still visible today. It became the emblem of the Observant Franciscans, and some examples attest that they were also known and used in Hungary.¹²⁵² The more popular this devotion and its carrier became, the more hostile the circles of learned elites of both Church and humanist society became against the Observant preacher. That he became suspicious is not surprising if we consider that whenever concluding his sermons of the name of Jesus, Bernardino would raise up his IHS tablet for veneration by the audience, causing this way a public hysteria.¹²⁵³ The use of images introduced by the Sienese Observant was taken up by other preachers in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, most notably by John of Capestrano and Roberto Caracciolo. In addition, Bernardino also popularized the

¹²⁴⁸ On Bernardino's preaching as a way or reform, see Carolyn Muessig, "Bernardino da Siena and Observant Preaching as vehicle for Religious Transformation" in *A Companion to Observant Reform*, ed. James D. Mixson and Bert Roest (Boston: Brill, 2015), 185-203.

¹²⁴⁹ Bernardino's works were edited in *S. Bernardini Senensi Opera Omnia...Studio et Cura pp. Collegii S. Bonaventurae*, 9 vols, (Florence, Ad Claras Aquas, 1950-65).

¹²⁵⁰ IHS or YHS was the common abbreviation of Jesus in the Greek texts but in the Latin translations the η" maiuscole was mistook for H". The Greek origin went to oblivion and IHS was wrote out in full as Iesus Hominum Salvator or In Hoc Signo" [Vinces], see Lina Bolzoni, *La rete delle immagini: Predicazione in volgare dalle origini a Bernardino da Siena* (Torino: Einaudi, 2002), 239-240. The classic studies on Bernardino and the IHS trigram include Ephrem Longpré "S. Bernardin de Sienne et le nom de Jésus" *AFH* 28 (1935): 443-476, 29 (1936): 142-168, 443, 30 (1937): 170-192; Baudouin de Gaiffier, "La mémoire d'André Biglia sur la prédication de Saint Bernardin de Sienne," *Analecta Bollandiana* 53 (1935): 308-358; Loman McAodha, "The Holy Name of Jesus in the Preaching of Bernardino of Siena," *Franciscan Studies* 29 (1969): 37-65.

¹²⁵¹ Maria Giuseppina Muzzarelli, *Pescatori di uomini. Predicatori e piazze alla fine del Medioevo* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 2005), 97-98.

¹²⁵² See footnote 709. The IHS trigram can be found also on the altar made of marble in the Bakócz chapel commissioned by Tamás Bakócz Archbishop of Esztergom in 1507 as his shrine.

¹²⁵³ *Ibid.*, 88.

wearing of *brevi* with the name of Christ, so that the physical contact with the powerful letters may save their bearers from any harm.¹²⁵⁴ Accused of encouragement of idolatry among several other charges, the preacher was summoned to face trial as a heretic before the papal court in Rome in 1426 and 1431 and in Basel in 1438, but was exempted at all occasions. The accusation of 1431 occurred at the time when there was a change of popes (Eugene IV succeeded Martin V) and when Sigismund of Luxemburg, crowned as king of Italy in Milan, stayed in Siena for nine months waiting for to be crowned as emperor.¹²⁵⁵ It is not known how Bernardino clarified himself, but he was conducted to Rome in the spring of 1433 to be present at the coronation of Sigismund.¹²⁵⁶

By the late 1430s the tensions between the two branches of the Franciscans have grown, and the aging Bernardino felt more and more trying to be in the position of the general vicar of the Observants. Nevertheless, he kept on going to continuing his preaching tours to different cities. In 1442 he asked permission from Pope Eugene to retire from his position and was replaced by Alberto da Sarteano. The pope appointed him to advertise the special indulgences and remission of sins for all those who take part in some ways in the crusade against the Ottomans, in 1443, after the encyclical letter he had issued to unite the Christian troops against the Turks and to order the ecclesiastical authorities to pay the tithes, but none of the sovereigns, with the exception of the Hungarian and the Polish, welcomed this initiative.¹²⁵⁷ Bernardino died in Aquila on the way to a preaching tour in 1444 on 21st May, the feast of the Ascension. His body was taken from the cell to the Church of St. Francis for public veneration, where the bishop, priests, and other religious as well as a huge crowd of believers gathered (some of whom even tried to get from his relics). His body was exposed here for three days without any signs of

¹²⁵⁴ Muzzarelli, *Pescatori di uomini*, 103-104.

¹²⁵⁵ Franco Mormando, *The Preacher's Demons: Bernardino of Siena and the Social Underworld of Early Renaissance Italy* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1999), 88. On Sigismund's coronation in Milan, see Péter E. Kovács, "Zsigmond király milánói koronázása" [Emperor Sigismund's Coronation in Milan] in *Tiszteletkör. Történeti tanulmányok Draskóczy István egyetemi tanár 60. születésnapjára*, ed. Gábor Mikó, Bence Péterfi, András Vadas (Budapest: ELTE Eötvös Kiadó, 2012), 67-83.

¹²⁵⁶ Péter E. Kovács, "Emperor Sigismund's Coronation in Rome" in *Infima Aetas Pannonica: Studies in Late Medieval Hungarian History*, ed. idem and Kornél Szovák (Budapest, Corvina: 2009), 97-162.

¹²⁵⁷ Banfi, "San Bernardino da Siena e gli ungheresi," 19.

corruption; moreover, it emanated fragrance.¹²⁵⁸ Miracles attributed to his intercession occurred at his tomb but the fame of his thaumaturgic virtue was not restricted to Aquila but happened also in Siena (especially in the Ospedale della Scala) and in Capriola. John of Capestrano was active in their registration and authentication.¹²⁵⁹ The first request of canonization was made by the Republic of Siena in 1444. It was followed by a second phase (1445-1447) during which numerous letters of postulators were sent by princes and *signori*, and even Alfonso, King of Aragon to the Holy See. The third and last phase of the process (1448-1450) was conducted in Siena again. A considerable sum was spent on the expenses of the proceedings.¹²⁶⁰ Bernardino's canonization feast was celebrated by the solemn speech of the Franciscan bishop Roberto Caracciolo da Lecce on 24th May, 1450.¹²⁶¹ His feast is celebrated on 20th May.

The *vita* of Bernardino was written several times in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.¹²⁶² By the time of his canonization for which John of Capestrano composed a new life, already two *vitae* of Bernardino were circulating.¹²⁶³ From among the other legends of

¹²⁵⁸ Celestino Piana, "I processi per la canonizzazione di san Bernardino", *AFH* 44 (1951): 87-160, 383-435; The whole documentation of the process was edited by Letizia Pellegrini, *Il processo di canonizzazione di Bernardino da Siena, 1445-1450*, Analecta Franciscana 16 (Grottaferrata, 2009).

¹²⁵⁹ Letizia Pellegrini, "La sainteté au XV^e siècle entre procès et droit canonique: avant et après Bernardino de Sienne," in *Procès de canonisation au Moyen Âge: aspects juridiques et religieux*, ed. Gábor Klaniczay, Collection de l'École française de Rome 340 (Rome: École française de Rome, 2004), 309-326.

¹²⁶⁰ Bernardino Aquilano speaks about 4000 ducats; Bernardinus Aquilanus, *Chronica Fratrum Minorum Observantiae; ex codice autographo primum ed. Leonardus Lemmens* (Rome: Typus Sallustianis, 1902), 36.

¹²⁶¹ Oriani Visani Ravaioli, "Un imitatore di Bernardino da Siena: Roberto Caracciolo." *Rinascimento* 21 (1981): 213-228.

¹²⁶² On the influence of the process of canonization on the hagiography of Bernardino, see Piana, "I processi per la canonizzazione," 101-122. His early *vitae* were recently edited in three volumes as *Le vite quattrocentesche di S. Bernardino da Siena*, ed. Alessandra Bartolomei Romagnoli and Daniele Solvi (Florence: SISMEL-Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2015). On the hagiography of Bernardino in general, see Daniele Solvi, *L'agiografia su Bernardino santo (1450-1460)*, Quaderni di Hagiographica 12, (Florence: SISMEL-Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2014).

¹²⁶³ On John of Capestrano's *Vita sancti Bernardini* see Alessandra Bartolomei Romagnoli, "L'immagine di Bernardino da Siena negli scritti degli Osservanti" in *Biografia e Agiografia di San Giacomo della Marca*. Atti del Convegno Internazionale di studi (Monteprandone, 29 novembre 2008), ed. Fulvia Serpico, 1-21 (Florence: [n.p.] 2009), at 6-10, and in the same volume, Daniele Solvi, "Agiografi e agiografie dell'Osservanza minoritica cismontana," 107-123. Cf. also Daniele Solvi, "'Otium in negotio et negotium in otio.' Predicazione e santità nell'agiografia osservante," in *San Giacomo della Marca e l'altra Europa. Crociata, martirio e predicazione nel Mediterraneo Orientale (secc. XIII-XV)*. Atti del convegno internazionale di studi (Monteprandone, 24-25 novembre 2006), ed. Fulvia Serpico, 67-83 (Florence: [n.p.] 2007); Ippolita Checcoli, "Biographies of the Franciscan Observance: Texts Narrating the Deeds," in *From Words to Deeds: the Effectiveness of Preaching in the Late Middle Ages*, ed. Maria Giuseppina Muzzarelli (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014), 209-224; Ippolita Checcoli, "Biographies of the Franciscan Observance: Texts Narrating the Deeds," in *From Words to Deeds: the Effectiveness of Preaching in the Late Middle Ages*, ed. Maria Giuseppina Muzzarelli (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014), 209-224.

Bernardino, the one by Ludovico da Vicenza composed at the request of the Observants in Ferrara in 1481 should be mentioned, because this was adopted for the readings of the Sienese saint's office and the octave of his feast followed by the General Chapter of the Verna in 1484.¹²⁶⁴

VI.1.2 In the vicinity of Bernardino

Bernardino's meeting with Emperor Sigismund is present in his earliest *vitae* by Barnabò da Siena¹²⁶⁵ and by John of Capestrano but while the former writes about "acquaintance", the latter about the "friendship" between the two. The saintly biographies attribute the acceleration of Sigismund's coronation by Pope Eugene IV to Bernardino's activity but his role in the negotiations is not mentioned at all in the historical sources, from which Banfi concluded that Bernardino participated in this process not as an official appointed by the Republic of Siena but as a private person, linked to the emperor by friendship.¹²⁶⁶ Whatever the ties between the two were,¹²⁶⁷ the plenipotentiaries of Sigismund signed the treaty of coronation and they promised support on his behalf to the recognition of Eugen IV as the legitimate pope by the council. According to Banfi, Bernardino presumably spent altogether thirteen months in the vicinity of Sigismund and his escort made up of men of different ranks¹²⁶⁸ who must have taken his fame to Hungary once they returned.¹²⁶⁹ On 15 August in 1433 Sigismund left from Rome with his entourage and headed for north-east Italy, while Bernardino returned to Siena. In Banfi's opinion, the returning members of the escort spread his fame in Hungary which seems to be

¹²⁶⁴ Ludovico da Vicenza, *Vita sancti Bernardini Senensis* (Vicenza: Jacques de la Douze, ca. 1482); Italian translation: *Legenda de sancto Bernardino* (Venice: Simone da Luere, 1513).

¹²⁶⁵ De S. Bernardo Senensi Commentarius, III, n.14 in AASS, vol. 261: "anno MCCCCXXXII Senas ex Piceno redirat Bernardinus, pacificandae patriae causa, (...) indeque cum Sigismundo electo Imperatore, novem mensibus Senis morato, Romam abierat: et Sigismundo imperatore ibidem coronato, Senas reversus, absolvendis libris suis coepit incumbere." Quoted from Banfi, "San Bernardino da Siena e gli ungheresi," 7.

¹²⁶⁶ Banfi, "San Bernardino da Siena e gli ungheresi," 9.

¹²⁶⁷ AASS 20th May: "Cum quo Ber. familiaritatem contraxit"; cf. Gyula Lánçzy, "Sienai dolgok: Magyarország és sienai sz. Bernardino, Capistran János és II. Pius pápa" [Matters in Siena: Hungary and St Bernardino of Siena, John of Capestrano, and Pope Pius II], *Századok* 29 (1895): 97-118, at 109-110.

¹²⁶⁸ On 13th July Sigismund asked the pope to supply papal indulgences for free for the Hungarian members of his escort, this is how a list of more than 140 supplicants survived. The supplications included the name, the rank, the bishopric and the request of the suppliant. The most recent work on this topic is Enikő Csukovits, "Egy nagy utazás résztvevői. (Zsigmond király római kísérete)" [The participants of a long journey: King Sigismund's escort to Rome] in *Tanulmányok Borsa Iván tiszteletére*, ed. Pál Engel, István György Tóth, László Veszprémy (Budapest: Magyar Országos Levéltár, 1998), 11-35.

¹²⁶⁹ F. Banfi, "San Bernardino da Siena e gli ungheresi," 12-13.

plausible: János Marcali was one of such members of the escort who later, in his will of 1455, gave tribute to Bernardino, as we shall see.¹²⁷⁰

Bernardino Aquilano (also known as Bernardino da Fossa, 1421-1503) writes in his chronicle about a great number of Hungarians were present at Bernardino's canonization in the Jubilee of 1450 in Rome.¹²⁷¹ Among the participants was the Franciscan Peter of Sopron (Petrus de Sopronio)¹²⁷² who travelled to the Eternal City to gain jubilee indulgence. In Rome he met John of Capestrano at whose request Peter accompanied him on his journey to the German lands with eleven other friars and he remained with him until his death in 1456. Encouraged by the other renowned Observant Franciscan, James of the Marches (papal legate in Hungary in 1456) and István Varsányi, vicar of the Observant family in Hungary, Peter started to record Capestrano's miracles in 1457.¹²⁷³ His hometown, Sopron, was one of the very few places in Hungary where an altar was dedicated to Bernardino of Siena, which was also associated with the presence of John of Capestrano in Hungary. Nevertheless, Governor János Hunyadi had founded even before the coming of Capestrano an Observant Franciscan convent in *Kyl̃ya in finibus Moldavie ad honorem Sancti Bernardini*.¹²⁷⁴ The governor must have been familiar with the Observant movement (and might have met also Bernardino of Siena) since the early 1430s, when he

¹²⁷⁰ Two other members of the Marcali family, György and István, the sons of Dénes asked for supplications for the Franciscan convent of Segesd where their ancestors and parents were buried. Probably also the relics that György and István purchased in Rome (those of Pope Silvester, Bartholomew the Apostle, and Cyriac martyr) for which they asked papal permission to take home were for the Franciscans. Pál Lukcsics, *A XV. századi pápák oklevelei* [The charters of the fifteenth-century popes], 2 vols. (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia 1931-1938), vol.2, 168, 271; Csukovits, "Egy nagy utazás résztvevői," 30.

¹²⁷¹ Bernardinus Aquilanus, *Chronica*, 38. As the Jubilee and his canonization were celebrated at the same time in Rome, it is not a trustworthy indicator of Bernardino's fame. Two years after the canonization, another event of major importance occurred when Pope Pious II solemnly received the skull relic of St Andrew from the Greek islands under Ottoman threat, for which enormous crowds of pilgrims, including Hungarians, arrived; according to the estimation of the pope, even more than to the Jubilee of 1450; see Fedeles, "Isten nevében utazunk," 38-39.

¹²⁷² On the history of the conventual Franciscan convent of Sopron, see Karácsonyi, *Szent Ferencz*, vol.1, 251-265.

¹²⁷³ The miracles he collected was appended to Capestrano's *vita* as *Preconizatio beati patris Johannis de Capestrano edita a fratre Petro de Sopronio ejusdem socio* to his life: *Vita et gesta beati Joannis a Capestrano* (Vienna, n.p., 1523). On Peter of Sopron, see Jenő Házi, *Sopron középkori egyháztörténete* [The ecclesiastical history of Sopron in the Middle Ages] Sopron: Székely Nyomda, 1939), 182-183; Andrić, *The Miracles of St. John Capistran*, 115-117; György Galamb, "Umanisti ed Osservanti francescani in Ungheria," in *Osservanza francescana e cultura tra Quattrocento e primo Cinquecento*, 15-32, at 18.

¹²⁷⁴ It is known from the letter of King Ladislaus V (1444-1457) who in his letter sent on 6 March 1453 asked John of Capestrano to permit his fellow brethren, Ladislaus de Tari (László Tari) and Michael Siculum (Mihály Székely) to go to this *locus* to set it in motion; see Béla Pettkó, *Kapisztrán János levelezése a magyarokkal. 1444-1456* [The exchange of letters between John of Capestrano and the Hungarians. 1444-1456] (Budapest: Athenaeum, 1901), 164-165. Kyl̃ya can be identified with Kilyén or Kilia /Chilieni / Kilön (Romania) in the Szekler land. Eventually, the Observant Franciscans could manage to stay here only until 1465; see J. Karácsonyi, *Szt Ferencz*, vol.2, 341.

accompanied King Sigismund to his coronation in Rome and was in the service of Filippo Maria Visconti in Milan from October of 1431 until October of 1433.¹²⁷⁵

The principal aims of John of Capestrano's mission in Central Europe were refute the ideas of Bohemian Reformation, to return the Utraquist Church under the jurisdiction of the Church of Rome, and at the same time, to propagate the Observant branch of the Franciscan Order.¹²⁷⁶ Capestrano crossed the Alps in 1451, first went to Austria, and appointed by the pope, he entered Brno on 31 July Moravia as Apostolic Commissioner and General Inquisitor and started his Anti-Utraquist campaign.¹²⁷⁷ Between 1451 and 1453 Capestrano was engaged in missions in Bavaria, Thuringia, Styria and Silesia where he led an anti-Jewish crusade. His most notorious intervention against the Jews occurred in Breslau in 1453.¹²⁷⁸ In addition to fighting against the Hussites, the Observant Franciscans' mission was sought in the case of the Byzantine Orthodox Ruthenians who were the majority in the eastern part of the Province of Poland-Prussia, which until 1467 belonged to the Observant Vicariate of Bohemia. These "schismatics" became a concern to both Casimir, King of Poland and Grand Duke of Lithuania and Zbygniew Olesznicki Archbishop of Cracow, who jointly invited the Italian Observant to set the scene for a union of the Ruthenians with Rome. Although John of Capestrano stayed in

¹²⁷⁵ Florio Banfi, "Hunyadi János itáliai tartózkodása" [The sojourn of János of Hunyad in Italy], *Erdélyi Múzeum* 5 (1934): 261-272, at 265-267.

¹²⁷⁶ For John of Capestrano's activity in the Kingdom of Bohemia, see Jan Klípa, "Jan Kapistrán v jižních Čechách a otázka protokonfessionalizace ve výtvarném umění" [John of Capistrano in southern Bohemia and the question of proto-confessionalism in arts] in: *Christianizace české země ve středoevropské perspektivě*, ed. Jiří Hanuš (Brno: Vydala Matice moravská, 2011), 176-193.

¹²⁷⁷ For the Franciscan's role in Bohemia in the period of the Reformation, see Petr Hlaváček, "Errores quorundam Bernhardinorum: Franciscans and the Bohemian Reformation," trans. David V. Zdeněk, in David V. Zdeněk and David R. Holeton (ed.), *The Bohemian Reformation and Religious Practice*, vol. 3 (Prague: [n. p.], 2000), 119-126; idem, "Bohemian Franciscans Between Orthodoxy and Nonconformity at the Turn of the Middle Ages," trans. David V. Zdeněk, in David V. Zdeněk and David R. Holeton (ed.), *The Bohemian Reformation and Religious Practice*, vol. 5 (Prague: [n. p.], 2004), 167-189.

¹²⁷⁸ On the Breslau/Wrocław accusations, see Miri Rubin, *Gentile Tales. The Narrative Assault on Late Medieval Jews* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), 119-128. On his activity in Italy and in Central Europe, see Kaspar Elm, "John of Capistrano's Preaching Tour North of the Alps (1451-1456) in *Religious Life between Jerusalem, the Desert, and the World: Selected Essays by Kaspar Elm*, trans. James D. Mixson (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 255-276; Gábor Klaniczay, "The 'Bonfires of the Vanities' and the Mendicants", *Motions and Material Culture. International round table-discussion in Krems (7-8 October 2002)*, ed. Gerhard Jaritz (Vienna: Verlag, 2003), 31-60, esp. 38-55; Martin Elbel, "St. John of Capistrano and the Franciscan Convent in late Medieval Olomoutz," unpublished M.A. thesis (Budapest: Central European University, 2004); Ottó Gecser, "Itinerant Preaching in Late Medieval Central Europe: St John Capistran in Wrocław," *Medieval Sermon Studies* 47 (2003): 5-20; idem, "Preaching and Publicness: St John of Capestrano and the Making of his Charisma North of the Alps," in *Charisma and Religious Authority: Jewish, Christian and Muslim Preaching, 1250-1500*, ed. Katherine L. Jansen and Miri Rubin (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010), 145-159.

Cracow (the capital of the Kingdom of Poland at that time) in 1453 and 1454, the missionary enterprise was started only under his successors, the Polish Observant Franciscans.¹²⁷⁹ The Italian Observant founded a convent dedicated to St Bernardino in Cracow in the area of Stradom near the royal castle (hence the Polish name of the Observants, “Bernardines”).¹²⁸⁰ He appointed László Tari (Ladislaus de Thari) as its vicar, who remained the head of the community for two years.¹²⁸¹

VI.1.3 The creation of the cult in Hungary: John of Capestrano and other intermediaries

John of Capestrano was invited to Hungary as early as 1452 and he promised in the imperial assembly in Frankfurt to help Hungary in the fight against the Ottomans and to visit the country.¹²⁸² He crossed the border of Hungary in May 1455 and arrived at the Assembly held in Győr in July where he received the letter of the new pope, Callixtus III to preach the crusade, the activity started by his master and friend Bernardino more than a decade earlier.¹²⁸³ John of Capestrano used to take Bernardino’s garment with him that he considered as a relic with the help of which he performed a high number of healing miracles on own missions and sermons, and he did likewise in Hungary.¹²⁸⁴ He was accompanied by Bernardin of Ingolstadt and Bonaventure of Bavaria, both of whom became later Provincial Vicars of Bohemia.¹²⁸⁵ The stops of his itinerary in Hungary between June and December 1455 can be reconstructed only roughly, based on the letters sent to John of Capestrano from Hungary and the miracles he

¹²⁷⁹ Hlaváček, “Bohemian Franciscans,” 169.

¹²⁸⁰ New convents for the Observants were founded by the royal dynasty or the Rutheno-Lithuanian magnates, too. For Bernardino of Siena’s influence and cult in Poland, see Aleksander Gieysztor, “Saint Bernardin et son influence en Europe centrale et en particulier en Pologne au XV^e siècle,” 541-546 and Jerzy Kłoczowski, “Culte de S. Catherine et de S. Bernardin en Pologne,” 935-938 in: *Atti del simposio internazionale cateriniano-bernardiano (Siena, 17-20 aprile 1980)*, ed. Domenico Maffei – Paolo Nardi (Siena: [n. p.] 1982).

¹²⁸¹ Pettkó, *Kapisztrán János levelezése a magyarokkal*, 164-165.

¹²⁸² On John of Capestrano’s preaching campaign and the battle of Belgrade, see Norman J. Housley, “Giovanni da Capistrano and the Crusade of 1456,” in: *Crusading in the Fifteenth Century*, ed. idem, 94-115 (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2004), 94-115.

¹²⁸³ The other Observants appointed with the same task included Ludovico da Vicenza, James of the Marches, Antonio da Bitonto, and Giovanni da Prato.

¹²⁸⁴ On John of Capistrano’s “joint” miracles with Bernardino, see Johannes Hofer, *Johannes von Capestrano: ein Leben im Kampf um die Reform der Kirche* (Innsbruck: Tyrolia-Verlag, [1936]), 348-357; Andrić, “The Miracles of John Capistran”, 194-196.

¹²⁸⁵ *Memoriale Ordinis Fratrum Minorum*, 175.

performed in the country during which he presumably also spread the fame of Bernardino in the country: Győr, Esztergom, Buda, Eger, Székesfehérvár, Szeged, Csanád (Cenad, Romania), Lippa (Lipova, Romania), Karánsebes (Caransebeș, Romania) Gyulafehérvár (Alba Iulia, Romania), Hunyad (Hunedoara, Romania), Hátszeg (Hațeg, Romania).¹²⁸⁶ Based on indirect evidence it is also assumed that John of Capestrano visited Sopron. According to the tradition, he preached from the outdoor pulpit today preserved in the Benedictine church of the town.¹²⁸⁷ There is no scholarly consensus when this visit took place (if at all): whether in the early summer of 1451 when the Observant preacher stayed in Wiener Neustadt, or in 1455 on his way to Győr. The earlier dating was proposed by Jenő Házi was based on the will of the widow of Pál Fraknói from Sopron, Anna of Pattendorf, who bequeathed a certain sum of money for the foundation of an altar dedicated to Bernardino of Siena in 1452. In her will written in German, among many other pious donations, she bequeathed a certain sum for the construction of the chapel dedicated to Bernardino of Siena and four masses per week to celebrate in the chapel of the Holy Spirit of the parish church of Sopron.¹²⁸⁸ As Borbála Kelényi observed, this foundation is unique because supplications to a certain saint turn up rarely in the wills of late medieval noblewomen.¹²⁸⁹ Házi attributed Anna's devotion to the recently canonized saint to John of Capestrano who could have visited and also probably preached in Sopron at the request of the town council and faithful in 1451 before leaving for Germany.¹²⁹⁰ If one looks at the late medieval trade routes in Hungary, however, it seems that John of Capestrano's alleged

¹²⁸⁶ Péter Kulcsár, *Kapisztrán János [John Capistran]* (Budapest: Gondolat, 1987), 172-177.

¹²⁸⁷ József Csemegi, "Prédikált-e Kapisztrán János a soproni bencés templom közsószékéről?" [Did John of Capistrano preach from the pulpit of the Benedictine stonepulpit?], *Soproni Szemle* 6/1 (1942): 70-75. Csemegi dates his visit to Sopron to 1455. Recently also András Nemes, art historian at the Museum of Sopron follows Csemegi's dating of Capistrano's supposed preaching in his *A soproni ferences-bencés kolostor* [The Franciscan-Benedictine convent in Sopron] (Sopron: Nagyboldogasszony templom, 2011), 12.

¹²⁸⁸ DF 202933 "Item darnach schaff ich zu pawen ain gemaurte parkirichen in des Heiligen Geists kapellen vnd darauf zu stiften auf ewig ain altar in den ernen des heyligen nothelfer Sannd Bernhardin mit ornöten vnd aller anderr zuegehörung, mit vier messen alle wochen." The will in its entirety can be read in Jenő Házi, *Sopron szabad királyi város története I/3. Oklevelek és levelek 1430-tól-1452-ig* [The history of Sopron free royal town I/3. Charters and letters from 1430 to 1452] (Székely Nyomda, 1924), no. 468, 392-397, the quotation is from 395.

¹²⁸⁹ Borbála Kelényi, "Késő-középkori magyar fő- és köznemesi női végrendeletek (1440-1526)" [Late medieval wills of women of high and middle nobility (1440-1526)] (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Budapest: Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem, 2015), 87.

¹²⁹⁰ Házi also proposed the idea that the Italian Observant and Anna could have personally met and talked, see Házi, *Sopron középkori egyháztörténete*, 183.

preaching took place in 1451 rather than in 1455.¹²⁹¹ There are, however, arguments against the theory: first, no sources speak about John of Capestrano's alleged preaching in Sopron in 1451, which is more than curious in the case of such an important event. Second, there is no reason to link Anna of Pattendorf's devotion to Bernardino to Capestrano's visit to Hungary; she could have heard about the freshly canonized saint from the Franciscans of Sopron. Besides, she originated from Carinthia and probably had many connections to Austria from where she could have heard about Bernardino.

Anna of Pattendorf was not the only person in the 1450s to give tribute to the new saint in her will. In 1455, János Marcali, before leaving for pilgrimages to Rome and Jerusalem, prepared his will as it was the custom before setting out for long journeys. He gave the tithes paid by his *iobbagi* to Conventual Franciscans living in his *dominium* Verőce (Virovitica, Croatia) in return for their celebration of a mass at the new altar of St Bernardino.¹²⁹² János Marcali had been in the escort of Sigismund in 1432/3 that dwelt for more than a year in Siena and then for a few months in Rome.¹²⁹³ Moreover, he had led, together with Frank Tallóci, a great army against the Ottomans in 1437, a successful outcome of which was predicted by James of the Marches who accompanied them on their campaign.¹²⁹⁴ The reasons behind János Marcali's foundation may be that he could have heard personally Bernardino preaching in Siena (or may even knew him personally) and that he had close ties to the Observants.

Another altar was dedicated to St Bernardino in the church of the Observant Franciscan convent of Kusaly (Coșeu, Romania) in 1489.¹²⁹⁵ It belonged to the Jakcs family whose members held important positions in the Kingdom of Hungary since the early fifteenth century: a permission

¹²⁹¹ The connection between Wiener Neustadt and Sopron was more obvious in medieval Hungary than between Sopron and Győr: the distance between Wiener Neustadt and Sopron was a one-day walk, their annual fairs were held one after the other so that the merchants could travel between the two, whereas Győr was usually reached along the River Danube (Vienna, Vác, Komárom). I am grateful to Katalin Szende for her help concerning John of Capestrano's stay in Sopron.

¹²⁹² MOL DL 14915. On the (conventual) Franciscan convent of Verőce, see Karácsonyi, *Szent Ferencz*, vol.1, 294-296; Romhányi, *Kolostorok*, 72.

¹²⁹³ His presence is known because he was one of the suppliants of the escort of Sigismund; see Lukcsics, *A XV. századi pápák oklevelei*, vol. 2, 174, 272.

¹²⁹⁴ Karácsonyi, *Szent Ferencz*, 322.

¹²⁹⁵ Mező, *Patrocíniumok*, 57.

of indulgence of 100 days on the feasts of Ss Bernardino, Francis and the consecration of the church, as well as 40 days for Easter and Pentecost was provided for the friars.¹²⁹⁶

Even though neither the personal devotion of Anna of Pattendorf to Bernardino, nor the introduction of his sermons in Hungary can be attributed with certainty to the activity of John of Capestrano, both are possible. Nevertheless, Banfi pointed out a reference that explicitly reveals his enterprise in the spread of the veneration of his master in Hungary.¹²⁹⁷ In the *Sermones dominicales*, a collection of 123 Latin model sermons with additional glosses in Hungarian written probably by a priest in the diocese of Pécs, the author mentions that he heard from John of Capestrano that fifty-five dead were resurrected due the merits of St Bernardino, of whom he saw twelve of with his own eyes.¹²⁹⁸

It has been noticed by scholars that the crusade of 1456 led by John of Capestrano against the Turks, was characterized by the devotional tone of the Franciscan Observance: his banner portrayed St Bernardino of Siena, and those of the army behind him depicting Ss Francis, Anthony of Padua, Louis of Toulouse and Bernardino. Moreover, John of Capestrano emphasized from time to time that those died in this crusade would obtain more than salvation: martyrdom.¹²⁹⁹ So the Franciscan male saints –regardless their attitude towards military actions- were introduced a new realm by the vigorous Observant who played a significant role in the promulgation of the idea embraced later by other Observant Franciscans including

¹²⁹⁶ 20th May 1489. MOL DL 105524, see Romhányi, *Kolduló barátok, gazdálkodó szerzetesek*, 236. Kusaly was founded in 1422 by the Jakcs family of Kusaly for the Franciscans in Bosnia. See Karácsonyi, *Szent Ferencz rendjének története*, vol. 2, 110-112; Romhányi, *Kolostorok*, 40.

¹²⁹⁷ Also the editors of the AASS credit John of Capistrano with the copying of Bernardino's sermons, see Mai V, 284. So far I have not found any contemporary sources that would confirm this assumption although in one of the *vitae* of John of Capistrano it can be read that Bernardino's sermons were much demanded in the Franciscan family, even from the most remote territories; cf. Mormando, *The Preacher's Demons*, 38.

¹²⁹⁸ Budapest, ELTE University Library, Cod.lat. 98, fol. 170 r-v. The codex was edited by Áron Szilády, *Sermones dominicales: két XV. századból származó magyar glosszás latin codex* [*Sermones dominicales: two fifteenth-century codices with Hungarian glosses*], 2 vols., (Budapest: Franklin Nyomda, 1910), vol. 2., 376: "in novo testamento sancti, suis orationibus multo mortuos suscitaverunt. Patet de s. Johanne evangelista, de s. Benedicto, et de Bernardino novo sancto. Audivi enim a fratre Johanne Capistrano, quod meritis Bernardini, quinquaginta quinque mortui essente suscitati, et de quod duodecim ex illis vidisset." Although the codex was finished in 1470, according to Szilády it was written originally in 1456 when Capistrano was in Hungary. The collection survived in two copies but its authorship is debated. For the best recent summary about the codex, see the entry "Sermones dominicales" by Péter Tóth, available at: http://nyelvemlekek.oszk.hu/adatlap/sermones_dominicales

¹²⁹⁹ Housley, "Giovanni da Capistrano and the Crusade of 1456," 105.

Pelbartus of Temesvár and Osvaldus of Laskó as we have seen in the case of St Anthony of Padua.

Pilgrims from Hungary

Perhaps the most important observation of Banfi concerning the Siense Observant and the Hungarians was to point out the custom to make pilgrimages to l'Aquila to visit his shrine in the Franciscan church. Most of the miracles related to pilgrims from Hungary were recorded by John of Capestrano in the first inquisition (1445-1446).¹³⁰⁰ The former recounts how Catherine, the wife of Nicolaus Pauli from *Bilech*, diocese of Veszprém went blind on the left eye; when she travelled to Rome, she heard about the miracles of Bernardino. She went to Aquila to his tomb, prayed, and received perfect health.¹³⁰¹ The protocols of the first inquisition also include the miraculous healing of magister Paulus from Leva, diocese of Strigonium, who, hearing about the miracle-working power of Bernardino, went from Rome to Aquila, and after spending three days near and touching the friar's tomb, received perfect health.¹³⁰²

The latter manuscript contains the "Liber miraculorum sancti Bernardini" completed after 1455. The *Liber* is made up of 2517 entries, many of which report more than one miracle.¹³⁰³ Originally, it was made by Capistran's fellow Conrad of Freyestad who copied all the miracles attributed to the intercession of Bernardino that John of Capestrano had started to register for the canonization process and that he continued even after the completion of the

¹³⁰⁰ Bernardino's canonization documents were edited by Pellegrini, *Il processo di canonizzazione*; see also Ferdinando Delorme OFM, "Ex Libro Miraculorum SS. Bernardini Senensis et Joannis a Capistrano, auctore Fr. Conrado de Freyestat" *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* 11 (1918): 399-441; the "Polish" miracles were edited recently by Anna Zajchowska and Marcin Starzyński as "Cudowne interwencje sw. Bernardyna w Polsce sredniowiecznej. *Liber miraculorum sancti Bernardini* autorowska Konrada z Freystad" [Miraculous interventions of St Bernardino in medieval Poland. *Liber miraculorum sancti Bernardini* by Conradus of Freystadt] *Roczniki Historyczne* 78 (2012): 231-254. See also Piana, "I processi per la canonizzazione," 118. For the analysis of Bernardino in the collection, see Philippe Jansen, "Un exemple de sainteté thaumaturgique à la fin du Moyen Âge: les miracles de saint Bernardin de Sienne," in *Mélanges de l'Ecole française de Rome, Moyen Age, temps Modernes*, 96/1 (1984), 129-151. For an investigation of the history and the phenomenology of the disorders in Bernardino's miracle collections, see Amir Muzur, *Čudesna izlječenja: Usporedna studija s osobitim osvrtom na kasni srednji vijek* [Miraculous healing: Comparative studies with a special attention to the late Middle Ages] (Rijeka: Adamić, 2001), 103-155.

¹³⁰¹ Pellegrini, *Il processo di canonizzazione*, 128-131 (Article 61)

¹³⁰² Pellegrini, *Il processo di canonizzazione*, 139-141 (Article 66)

¹³⁰³ The collection of miracles in the manuscript entitled "Vita et canonizatio sancti Bernardini" is preceded by some pieces related to his canonization process and his *vita* composed by John of Capistrano. For the description of the manuscript, see Delorme, "Ex Libro Miraculorum," 399-407. Capistrano's miracles in Hungary occurred in Pápa, Pannonhalma, "Taurini" *recte* Jaurini, i.e. Győr, Székesfehérvár, Hunyad.

procedure to use it in his missions and sermons in the north of the Alps.¹³⁰⁴ The majority of the miracles in the *Liber* occurred after 1450, so these are “joint” miracles preformed by John of Capestrano with the help of a relic of Bernardino.¹³⁰⁵ Three groups of miracles can be distinguished: those worked by Bernardino, those by Capestrano, and the “joint” ones. Bernardino’s miracles of the *Liber* were later, in the words of Andrić, “recycled and reused” as Capestrano’s miracles.

Although the overwhelming majority of the miracles of the *Liber* is unedited, there are some miracles published by Delorme recording the miracles of Bernardino whose “beneficiaries” were three Franciscan friars, Ladislaus de Hungaria and Johannes de Boya from the vicariate of Bosnia, and a friar called Ambrosius.¹³⁰⁶ The case of Ambrosius who escaped from captivity by jumping out from a window without any harm and was set free miraculously from the chains is,¹³⁰⁷ as Philippe Jansen has pointed out, among the rare ones because 98% of Bernardino’s miracles were healing miracles.¹³⁰⁸ Besides, the very last account in the *Liber* reports a miracle of Bernardino occurred on 8th December 1455 when Capestrano stayed in Hunyad:

Priest Mattheus de Sent-Endreas (Szentendre) was so ill for four months that he was so desiccated that he was not able either to move or turn in the bed without help; he made a vow to St Bernardino and went to the Father [i.e. Capistran] and when the sign of the cross made on him, praising God he said that he was healed.¹³⁰⁹

Not being familiar with the whole *corpus* of the *Liber*, I do not know in how many cases were the healed people from or related to Hungary and how significant this number it is compared to other countries.¹³¹⁰ However, Jansen, who analysed the healing miracles of the *Liber* observed that Bernardino was invoked by all social categories in all the Italian peninsula but above all in central Italy but from Venice and Vicenza, John of Capistran takes Bernardino’s thaumaturgic

¹³⁰⁴ A number of miracles occurred at Bernardino’s tomb in l’Aquila were incorporated in his earliest *vita* by Bernabò da Siena and in the witness accounts of the canonization process; Jansen, “Un exemple,” 131, note 10.

¹³⁰⁵ There are two manuscripts that largely depend on the *Liber*, mixing the miracles of the two Observants; Vincenzo G. Mascia, “Due manoscritti francescani della Biblioteca Oratoriana di Napoli. B. Camilla Battista Varano e S. Giovanni da Capistrano,” *Studi e ricerche francescane* 9 (1980): 247-279.

¹³⁰⁶ Delorme, “Ex Libro Miraculorum,” 405; Banfi, “San Bernardino da Siena e gli ungheresi,” 23.

¹³⁰⁷ On John of Capistran’s liberation miracles, see Andrić, *The Miracles*, 304.

¹³⁰⁸ Jansen, “Un exemple,” 134.

¹³⁰⁹ Delorme, “Ex Libro Miraculorum,” 444, no. 2517: “Presbyter Mattheus de Sent-Endreas per menses quatuor adeo fuit infirmus, quod tanquam aridus non poterat se movere nec volvi in lecto, nisi quantum iuvabatur; vovit sancto Bernardino, venit ad Patrem, signatus dixit se sanatum laudans Deum.”

¹³¹⁰ Jansen, “Un exemple,” 138-139.

role.¹³¹¹ The accounts from regions outside Italy (Austria, Kingdom of Bohemia, and Cracow) are less detailed, omitting the details of the diseases, the rites, and the process of recovery.

Apart from the miracles of the above-mentioned two Latin codices, also Giacomo Oddi of Perugia included two in the *vita* of St Bernardino in his *Specchio de l'Ordine Minore*, commonly known as *La Franceschina* composed in the Tuscan vernacular no later than 1474. Oddi recounts that a certain Thomas of Hungary, one of whose arms was paralyzed, hearing in Rome about Bernardino's fame, he went to the tomb of the saint in Aquila, he touched the saint's body and received perfect health.¹³¹² The other miracle is a rare example of a Franciscan friar as pilgrim.¹³¹³ Fra Ambrosio has suffered from epilepsy for seven years and was on the point of death when, hearing about the miracles of Bernardino, asked permission from his superiors and visited his tomb in l'Aquila, and after making a vow, he was healed immediately.¹³¹⁴

Jerusalem, Rome, and Santiago de Compostela were the most important destinations of pilgrimages in the Middle Ages. The overwhelming majority of pilgrims made up of nobles and wealthy burghers set out for the long journeys for various motifs: purely devotional, penitentiary, healing, political or national, chivalric, or substitutional.¹³¹⁵ In Rome, the pilgrims

¹³¹¹ Jansen, "Un exemple," 140.

¹³¹² Oddi, *La Franceschina*, vol. 1., 386, quoted in Banfi, "San Bernardino da Siena e gli ungheresi", 23: "Anche fo uno homo chiamato Thommasso ongaro, lo quale avea portato de la pueritia sua lo braccio dericto paralitico per modo che non podea esso operare, nè ponerlose a la bocca. Audita la fama de quito santo, da Roma se parti, et con fede et devotione se n'andò a l'Aquila a visitare al sacro corpo de santo Bernardino: et subito che ebbe toccato quillo santo, fo totalmente sanato lo braccio, operando puoi el dicto braccio ad ogni suo bisogno." The same can be found in Latin in the *Ex instrumento publico aquilano*, AASS, 276: "Frater Ambrosius de Ungaria, Ordinis Minorum, epileptic morbo aggravates, adeo ut in mense ter aut quater ad minus cadens torqueretur, audiens mirabilia Dei ex meritis s. Bernardini a quam pluribus praedicari, vovit omnipotenti Deo, cum suorum tamen licentia Praelatorum, beati viri corpus visitaturum, si illius intercessione liberari mereretur. Mirum! quippe de cetero nunquam post voti emissionem quidquam morbid illius molestiae persensit & perfecte sanus effectus, gratias agens Deo, votum devotissime persolvit."

¹³¹³ This miracle can be found in the *Liber miraculorum* and also in the *vita* by Lodovico da Vicenza (1481); Banfi, "San Bernardino da Siena e gli ungheresi", 24. On the scarcity of monks and friars going on pilgrimage, see Csukovits, *Középkori magyar zarándokok*, 167-168.

¹³¹⁴ Oddi, *La Franceschina*, vol. 1, 388, quoted in Banfi, "San Bernardino da Siena e gli ungheresi", 24: "Fo uno nostro frate Menore, chiamato frate Ambrosio de Ongaria, el quale era stato circa septe anno co lo morbo caduco, et non trovava nè medico nè medicina che lo guarisse; et essendo dal dicto male molto frequentato, stava como mezzo desperato et quasi in su la morte. Auditi li miracoli de sancto Bernardino, avotì, con licentia de li suoi prelati prelati, de visitare al sacro corpo, si lo liberava de quella infermitade. Mirabile dicto, ma più mirabile l'acto! Imperò che, dopo lo voto non li toccò mai più tale infermitade, et lui subitamente adempì lo voto facto ad esso sancto."

¹³¹⁵ For a general overview of the types of pilgrimages, see Fedeles, "Isten nevében utazunk.," 135-160; for the Hungarian travellers, see Csukovits, *Középkori magyar zarándokok*.

had to make the required number of visits to the four shrines and participate in the necessary sacraments in order to gain plenary indulgence. In all likelihood the above-mentioned two miracles attributed to the intercession to Bernardino occurred in the early 1450s but it is not sure exactly when as the number of the pilgrims from Hungary in Rome was large both in the Jubilee Year of 1450 and during the translation of the head relic of St Andrew in 1452. What is remarkable in these two accounts is that the original destination of pilgrims looking for healing was Rome and not Bernardino's shrine in l'Aquila. The accounts are telling examples of the importance of Rome in the propagation of Bernardino's thaumaturgic fame in the early phase of his cult. His shrine was only ca. 90 km from Rome from where the pilgrims could easily reach both pilgrimage routes going up to northern Italy.¹³¹⁶ The accounts show that after a few years of his death, Bernardino's fame was not yet widespread in Hungary since the pilgrims heard about him only in Rome. Even though this has certainly changed in the next decades and Bernardino's shrine remained a significant pilgrimage destination in Italy, it has never reached the importance of other major pilgrimage sites in Europe, and was visited only by those pilgrims from faraway lands (like Hungary) whose primary destination was Rome.

VI.1.4 More than a saint: St Bernardino as the emblem of the Observance on altarpieces

As Roberto Rusconi pointed out, with the canonization of Bernardino the holy character of fifteenth-century Franciscan preaching gained official recognition, which left imprints on the visual representations for other wandering friars within the Observant movement.¹³¹⁷ The portrayal of the Sienese saint, especially those in Italy, was of considerably interest among scholars.¹³¹⁸ He is considered to be the first saint who has an authentic portrait in art; actually, many of his portraits were based on his death mask. As to Hungary, all the extant visual

¹³¹⁶ The average distance travelled on foot in one day was about 25 kilometres, while on horse, 60 to 100 kilometres.

¹³¹⁷ Rusconi, "The Preacher Saint in late Medieval Italian Art," in idem, *Immagini dei predicatori*, 246.

¹³¹⁸ Kaftal, *Iconography of Saints in Tuscan Painting*, coll. 196-201; Daniel Arasse, "Saint Bernardin ressemblant: le figure sous le portrait," in *Atti del simposio internazionale cateriniano*, 311-332

representations of the saint can be found in or associated with the northern part of the country, and was collected for the first time by Dénes Radocsay.¹³¹⁹

Mateóc

The high altar representing two *sancti reges Hungariae*, Stephen and Emeric, in the parish church of Mateóc is perhaps the most refined work of the so-called “Master of Mateóc”.¹³²⁰ The town was one of the thirteen towns in the Spiš region (Szepesség) that King Sigismund gave in pledge to his brother-in law, Ladislaus II, King of Poland in 1412, which were “returned” to Hungary only when Poland was partitioned in 1772.¹³²¹ The artist’s activity follows the roads from Upper Hungary to Galicia and it is centred in Ószandec (Stary Sącz, Poland) and the neighbouring area.¹³²² These regions belonged to the jurisdiction of two large dioceses, that of Cracow and that of Spiš. When Sigismund pledged the 13 towns of Spiš including Mateóc, these came to the power of Zbygniew Oleśnicki the bishop of Cracow, which had a momentous impact on the artistic relations, as it has been pointed out by Gyöngyi Török.¹³²³

¹³¹⁹ Radocsay, *A középkori Magyarország táblaképei*, 68.

¹³²⁰ On the cult of saints in the Spiš region, see Gerát, “Saintly Patrons”.

¹³²¹ More precisely, Sigismund pledged thirteenth towns from the Spiš region as well as Gnězda and Podolin and the estate of Lublin. Sigismundus’ pledging of 1412 was recently treated by János Incze, “360 évig zálogban. A Szepesség zálogosítása” [360 years in pledge: the pledging of the Spiš region] in *Micae Medievales V. Fiatal történészek dolgozatai a középkori Magyarországról és Európáról*, ed. Laura Fábián, Judit Gál, Péter Haraszi Szabó, Dorottya Uhrin, 91-104 (Budapest: ELTE BTK Történelemtudományok Doktori Iskola, 2016).

¹³²² From Szepes/Spiš county following the River Dunajec, from Sáros/Šarišská župa the *via regalis*, see Miklós Csánky, *A szepesi és a sárosi táblaképfestészet 1460-ig* [Painted wooden altarpieces in the regions of Spiš and Šarišská župa] (Budapest: Pázmány Péter Tudományegyetem Művészettörténeti és Keresztényrégészeti Intézete, 1938), 11.

¹³²³ Gyöngyi Török, “A Mateóci Mester művészetének problémái” [The problems of the Art of the Master of Mateóc] *Művészettörténeti Értesítő* 29 (1980): 49-80, at 59.



Figure 47 - St Bernardino of Siena on the weekday panel of the high altar of Matejovce (Matejovce, Slovakia), after 1450. Source: Csányi, *A szepesi és sárosi táblaképfestészet*

The altarpiece was made presumably after Bernardino's canonization.¹³²⁴ (Fig.31) Csányi was the first to connect the representation of Bernardino to Silesia, where the Observant movement was so closely associated with the Sienese saint that the Observant Franciscans were called "Bernardines".¹³²⁵ Török emphasized the role John of Capestrano played in the spread of the cult of Bernardino and underlined the connection between Poland and Hungary, pointing out that also a painter from Hungary (*Franciscus Hungarus pictor*) lived and died in the Cracow convent in 1487. On the altarpiece of Matejovce, St Bernardino is depicted at the bottom of the

¹³²⁴ According to Radocsay, the altar was made in the 1440s and argued that Bernardino could have been represented as a saint even before his canonization in 1450 as it was in the case in some churches in Italy. Csányi did not date the altarpiece precisely but assumed that it was made after Bernardino's canonization; see Csányi, *A szepesi és sárosi táblaképfestészet 1460-ig*, 12-13. Török, "A Matejovcei Mester művészetének problémái," 59. Török associated the representation of Bernardino on the altarpiece of Matejovce with his cult in Cracow, dated it after his canonization.

¹³²⁵ Csányi, *A szepesi és sárosi táblaképfestészet 1460-ig*, 13.

exterior side of the right wing.¹³²⁶ He is wearing a Franciscan habit and a pair of sandals, his head is bold and surrounded by a halo, and he holds a *tavoletta* with the IHS trigram in his right and a book in his left hand.¹³²⁷ The portrayal of the saint on the high altar in a church belonging under the jurisdiction of the bishop of Cracow can be explained by his vested interest was to defend the southern part of his diocese from the Hussites with the help of the Observant Franciscans.

Szepeshely and Lőcse

It seems that Bernardino's usual place was on the weekday panel of winged altarpieces which was seen on normal weekdays when the altar was in a closed state: he was depicted on the external side of the left wing on the *Altar of the adoration of the Magi* in the St Martin Cathedral in Szepeshely that was started but not yet finished in 1478¹³²⁸, and in precisely the same location on the *Altar of St Elizabeth* of 1493 in Lőcse.¹³²⁹ The altarpiece dedicated to St Elizabeth is preserved today in the parish church of St James, but originally it was probably made for the church of the hospice dedicated to St Elizabeth built outside the town walls in the thirteenth century by the settlers from German-speaking territories.¹³³⁰ Bernardino was in an unusual "company" of saints on the altarpiece, the other three images representing St Alexius, Hedwig of Silesia and Helen. Éva Gyulai, who has dealt with the cult of St Elizabeth and St Hedwig in the region, has unveiled the possible motivations that explain the frequent presence of Hedwig

¹³²⁶ The detailed description of the winged altarpiece of Mateóc is given by Csánky, *A szepesi és a sárosi táblaképfestészet 1460-ig*, 48, and by Radocsay, *A középkori Magyarország táblaképei*, 63-73. In Radocsay's opinion the altarpiece could have been made even earlier than the official canonization of Bernardino, see 67. The images of the altarpiece in a closed state are: top right hand side Mater Dolorosa, bottom right hand side St Christopher, top right hand side Vir Dolorum, bottom right hand side St Bernardino. This representation of Bernardino is quite similar to those of the altar of Łopuszna, on the crucifixion scene of Korzenna, and on the altar of Grybów burnt down in 1945, which shows its relation to Lesser Poland; see Török, "A Mateóci Mester művészetének problémái," 59.

¹³²⁷ The book symbolizes the word of God. A special characteristic of the Observant Franciscans can be their relationship to written culture, as it was shown by Nicoletta Giové through the autograph manuscripts of the prominent Observants including those of Bernardino; see eadem, "Sante scrittura. L'autografia dei santi francescani dell'Osservanza del Quattrocento" in: *Entre stabilité et itinérance: Livres et culture des orders mendiants*, ed. Nicole Bériou, Martin Morard, Donatella, 161-187 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014) (Bibliologia: Elementa ad librorum studia pertinentia 37), 166-172.

¹³²⁸ Radocsay, *A középkori Magyarország táblaképei*, 438-439; Kerny Terézia, "A szepeshelyi főoltár magyar szent királyokat ábrázoló képe," 99-105, at 102.

¹³²⁹ Radocsay, *A középkori Magyarország táblaképei*, 376-377.

¹³³⁰ Éva Gyulai, "Árpád-házi Szent Erzsébet és Sziléziai Szent Hedvig kultusza a késő középkori Szepességekben" [The cults of St Elizabeth of Hungary and St Hedwig of Silesia in late medieval Spiš] in: *A Herman Ottó Múzeum Évkönyve XLVIII*, ed. László Veres and Gyula Viga (Miskolc, n. p. 2009), 4-52, at 30.

on the altarpieces of northern Hungary that could also account for the presence of Bernardino. István Szapolyai (†1499), the military leader of King Matthias and later Palatine of Hungary, was the governor of Silesia between 1474 and 1481. He married Hedwig of Teschen (1469-1521), daughter of Prince Premislav I, ruler of Teschen.¹³³¹ (Fig.48.)



Figure 48 – St Bernardino of Siena on the weekday side of the altar of St Elizabeth in the parish church of St James in Lőcse (Levoca, Slovakia), 1493. Source: IMAREAL

István Szapolyai not only knew about the cult of St Bernardino and the recent activities of John of Capestrano in Silesia but as familiar of the Hunyadi family, he also could have supported Capestrano's canonization process.¹³³² Additionally, also the family of his wife Hedwig supported the Franciscans since her father Přemislav II settled down the Observant Franciscans, the so-called Bernardines outside the city walls of Teschen around 1470.¹³³³

¹³³¹ Hedwig of Teschen's lineage could be traced back to the Piast dynasty, and St Hedwig of Silesia from both sides and thus also to St Elizabeth of Hungary.

¹³³² Although the sources inform us only about his sons' János Szapolyai's contributions to the process in 1521; Andrić, "The Miracles of John Capistran," 162-163.

¹³³³ Gyulai, "Árpád-házi Szent Erzsébet és Sziléziai Szent Hedvig kultusza," 36-37.

Bernardino's representation is dynamic: the friar dressed in a Franciscan habit raises up his arms holding a book in his right hand and the IHS trigram surrounded by rays of light in his left one.¹³³⁴

The unusual raised position of his arms, in my opinion, shows the characteristic preaching style of the saint accompanied by theatrical gestures. While Roberto Rusconi has shown that during the fifteenth century, especially in Italy, contemporary and traditional saints alike were often depicted as preachers,¹³³⁵ in Hungary this phenomenon cannot be seen in pictorial art, and this image seems to be the only fifteenth-century example that shows a mendicant friar preaching. Dana Stehlíková, looking at goldsmith works made in the Hussite and post-Hussite period in Bohemia showing the gradual transformation of the form of the monstace to the IHS trigram surrounded by rays of light between the twelfth and the fifteenth centuries, proposed that the sun-type monstace may be of Hussite origin. Even if her hypothesis cannot be proved since no physical object of this type of monstace survived in Bohemia, the sketch representing St Bernardino of Siena made in a codex from Bohemia made around 1450, I find strikingly similar to Bernardino's representation in Lőcse.¹³³⁶ (Fig.49.)

¹³³⁴ The images of the external sides of the altar of St Elizabeth of Lőcse is reported in Éva Gyulai, "Andechs-Szilézia-Thüringia-Szepesség. Árpád-házi/Thüringiai Szent Erzsébet és Sziléziai Szent Hedvig ábrázolása az arnótfalvi Szűz Mária-oltáron (1490 körül)" [Andechs-Silesia-Thüringia-Spiš. The representations of St Elizabeth of Hungary/Thuringia and St Hedwig of Silesia on the altar of the Virgin of Arnutovce (around 1490)] in *Debreceni Szemle* 16 (2008): 230-256, at 245.

¹³³⁵ Roberto Rusconi, "Giovanni da Capestrano: iconografia di un predicatore nell'Europa del '400," in *Predicazione francescana e società veneta nel Quattrocento: committenza, ascolto, ricezione*, (Atti del II. convegno internazionale di studi francescani, Padova, 26-28 marzo 1987, (Padua: Centro Studi Antoniani, 1995), 31-48, at 32-33. This study was republished recently in Rusconi, *Immagini dei predicatori e della predicazione in Italia alla fine del Medioevo* (Spoleto: Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, 2016), 277-306.

¹³³⁶ National Library of Prague, MS XI A 14, fol. 297v; Dana Stehlíková, "K českému zlatnictví doby Husitské a Pohusitské [On the Czech goldsmiths works of the Hussite and post-Hussite periods] *Umeni* 30 (1992): 301-311.



Figure 49 – St Bernardino of Siena on a sketch, c.1450. Prague, National Library, MS XI A 14, fol. 297v.

Portable altar from Hervartó

The most unique object on which the new saint of the Franciscans is represented is the left wing of portable altar dedicated to the Suffering Christ (*Christus dolorosus*) from the wooden church dedicated to St Francis of Assisi in Hervartó.¹³³⁷ The village was founded in the fourteenth century by Saxon settlers from Bártfa to which it belonged for two centuries. The portable altar made in 1514 consists of four images, two of them representing angels, the other two St Bernardino of Siena and St Giles.¹³³⁸ (Fig. 33) The joint representation of the two saints is similar to the winged altarpiece of Lőcse, as also St Giles was regarded as protector against epidemics and smallpox. Bernardino is depicted in a Franciscan habit, he is wearing sandals, his head is tonsured, and he is holding the IHS *tavoletta* surrounded by rays of light in his left hand and pointing to it with his right hand. Portable altars were used in places where there was not any consecrated, permanent altar, or for private devotional purposes.

¹³³⁷ On the church, see Jana Bozová and Frantisek Gutek, *Drevené kostolíky v okolí Bardejova. Wooden churches in the vicinity of Bardejov* (Bardejov: [n.p.], 1997), 155-170.

¹³³⁸ Magyar Nemzeti Galéria /Hungarian National Gallery, Old Masters' Gallery, no. 53-902.1-3. Radocsay, *A középkori Magyarország táblaképei*, 315; Török, *Gótikus szárnyasoltárok*, 125; Gerát, *Stredoveké*, 171. The size of the altar is 91,5x134x19cm, the wings are 81,5x22 cm.



Figure 50 – Ss Bernardino of Siena and Giles on the wings of the portable altar dedicated to the Suffering Christ in the church of St Francis of Assisi in Hervartó (Hervartov, Slovakia), 1515. Old Masters' Gallery, Hungarian National Gallery. Photo: Magyar Nemzeti Galéria / Hungarian National Gallery

VI.1.5 Tradition and innovation: the sermons of the Hungarian Observants on St Bernardino

Bernardino as a writer were known in Hungary as the surviving collection of sermons¹³³⁹ and a prayer attributed mistakenly to Bernardino of Siena “as our father Bernardinus says” (*ug mondhezenth Bernardinus atyank*) in the Dominican Winkler codex testify.¹³⁴⁰ The new saint of the Franciscans was particularly cherished by the Observants, enough to think of John of

¹³³⁹ His works were preserved both in manuscript and in printed forms: see Csapodi and Csapodiné, *Bibliotheca Hungarica*, vol.1, no. 176, no. 1189, vol. 2. no. 2171, no. 2484,

¹³⁴⁰ *Winkler-kódex*, 186. The error can be explained by the exchange of the (vernacular translations) of Franciscan and Dominican texts between the Dominican nuns on the Island of the Rabbits and the Poor Clares in Óbuda in the course of which the scribe copied “our father” through an oversight; cf. Timár, “Domonkos-rendi magyar kódexek,” 270.

Capestrano, who dedicated 6 sermons to his *confratello* in the *sermones de sanctis* collection (1451-1453), which is more than he composed for the feast of any Franciscan saint.¹³⁴¹ Naturally, both Hungarian Observant Franciscans, Pelbartus and Osvaldus composed a sermon for his feast on 20th May in which they also provided his quite detailed biography. Pelbartus could also experience a widespread cult of the Sienese saint in Poland when he studied in the Faculty of Arts Cracow in 1458, four years after John of Capestrano's foundation of the Observant convent in the city and two years after his death following the battle of Belgrade.¹³⁴²

Pelbartus's sermon on St Bernardino is built on the following passage: *Nardus enim odorem suum* ("My spikenard sent forth the odour thereof" Cantica 1:11).¹³⁴³ He surely used Roberto Caracciolo's sermon on St Bernardino as some ideas and the *membra* of the last division show.¹³⁴⁴ The recently canonized saint, who would preach about how the name of Jesus should be praised, honoured, and worn, is presented as *alter Paulus* (a motive present already in Caracciolo).¹³⁴⁵ Pelbartus sums up the excellence of Bernardino at the very beginning of the sermon:

"He reformed the holy religion of the Minor Brothers with his teachings, and increased [it] in number and sanctity, and gave everyone drink from the cup of holy preaching. Moreover, like the spikenard, he was humble in his lifestyle and was hot by the burning love for Christ and by the devotion to his most holy Mother Mary as it will be revealed below."¹³⁴⁶

Almost the half of Pelbartus' sermon is made up of the saint's *vita* and numerous *exempla* in which the above-mentioned characteristics of his sanctity are explicated through three main aspects: virtuous perfection, excellent preaching, and glorious fame. In the part treating his

¹³⁴¹ Bartolomei Romagnoli, "Osservanza francescana e disciplina del culto dei santi," 134-135.

¹³⁴² Szilády, *Temesvári Pelbárt élete és munkái*, 3. For the chronological clarification of his stay in Cracow, see Ádám, "Pelbart of Temesvar and the Use of Images in Preaching," 9-15.

¹³⁴³ Pelbartus de Themeswar, *Pomerium de sanctis, Pars hiemalis*, Sermo LXXIV *De sancto Bernardino ordinis minorum sermo cum ipsius legenda*, transcription by Nóra Sápi.

¹³⁴⁴ Caracciolo, *De laudibus sanctorum*, "Sermo de sancto Bernardino predicatorum nostri temporis princeps", n.p. The two authors share, for instance, the idea of *alter Paulus* and the last division of the sermon why he was worthy of honour.

¹³⁴⁵ Pelbartus de Themeswar, *Pomerium de sanctis, Pars hiemalis*, Sermo LXXIV: "...quae sua predicatione nomen gloriosum Domini Iesu mirabiliter laudandum et exaltandum et portandum, velut alter Paulus docuit."

¹³⁴⁶ Pelbartus de Themeswar, *Pomerium de sanctis, Pars hiemalis*, Sermo LXXIV: "Ipse sua doctrina sacram religionem minorum fratrum reformavit et numero et sanctitate adauxit et poculis sacrae predicationis omnes potavit. Preterea tamquam nardus, fuit ipse humilis in conversatione, fuit et calidus ferventi amore Christi et sanctissimae suae Matris Mariae devotione ut infra patebit."

virtuous perfection, Bernardino is presented as a *puer sanctus* and a pious youth who preserved his bodily integrity in all his life, who would fast frequently, attend mass, pray, and who commanded himself to the protection of the Virgin. It is narrated in detail how Bernardino, as a student of canon law, served in the hospital of the Holy Virgin in Siena during the plague epidemic, where he himself fell ill. As he recovered, he decided to enter a religious order on the advice of Christ who revealed him that “the naked crucified Lord should be followed by a naked servant clinging to the footsteps of St Francis”.¹³⁴⁷ So Bernardino distributed his paternal heritage among the poor and the needy, and at the age of twenty-two on the birthday of the Virgin he joined the Order of Minor Brothers. Pelbartus underlines the special importance of Mary for the Sienese Franciscan for whom he showed special reverence in all his life, on account of which he points to Bernardino as an example to follow.¹³⁴⁸ On the account of his preaching, the saint is not only praised because as a “burning torch” he penetrated to the heart of sinners and induced them to repentance but also because he directed many people to religious life: due to the his activity, by the time of his death the number of hundred and thirty Observant friars has increased to more than four thousand and similarly, the number of houses (*loca*) have raised from twenty to circa two hundred-thirty and he sent friars to different kingdoms to the houses founded by the kings and princes.¹³⁴⁹ His preaching was admirable (*gratiosa*) because it was instructive and devout “because he showed the people on a painted wooden board lifting it up and carrying it around amazingly the name of Lord Jesus that was to be praised in all his sermons, as another Paul.”¹³⁵⁰ In the last part Pelbartus lists seven way how the saint’s glorious fame manifested, including his virginity, preaching, the circumstances of his death (quite similar to that of St Francis), the miracles that occurred in his life and after his death, and his solemn canonization. The Hungarian Observant preacher, who had a predilection for the

¹³⁴⁷ Pelbartus de Themeswar, *Pomerium de sanctis, Pars hiemalis*, Sermo LXXIV: “Revelavit ergo Christus illi dicens, ut nudus servulus nudum crucifixum Dominum sequeretur vestigiis beati Francisci inhaerendo.”

¹³⁴⁸ Bernardino was born of the birthday of the Virgin and was baptized on the same day. He celebrated his first mass on the same feast and thus he preached his first sermon about her.

¹³⁴⁹ Pelbartus de Themeswar, *Pomerium de sanctis, Pars hiemalis*, Sermo LXXIV: “...quod cum antea vix forent centum triginta fratres de observantia in Italia, et viginti loca parva fratrum, usque ad tempus obitus sancti Bernardini multiplicati sunt fratres ultra quattuor milia, et loca usque ad ducenta triginta. Sed et fratribus per ipsum dimissis per regna divers in numerabilia loca fratrum sunt per reges et principes devotos erecta.”

¹³⁵⁰ Pelbartus de Themeswar, *Pomerium de sanctis, Pars hiemalis*, Sermo LXXIV: “Tertio rationis mirae, quoniam nomen domini Iesu in omni sua predicatione adorandum in tabella depictum populo ostendo mirabiliter exaltavit et portavit nomen Iesu crebro nominans, ut alter Paulus. See also Ádám, “Pelbart of Temesvar and the Use of Images in Preaching,” 21-43.

exempla, tells two parallel stories about how Christ and the Virgin Mary expressed their love for Bernardino: once while he was preaching about the Virgin and her prerogative, the twelve stars in l'Aquila, six stars appeared above his head in daytime witnessed by the king of Aragon and other sovereigns and a huge crowd of Christians and Jews. The other *exemplum* is about John of Capestrano who, as he was staying in l'Aquila at the request of the pope to collect the miracles of Bernardino for his canonization, preached a sermon about the Virgin written by Bernardino, a shining star appeared above Capestrano's head, who understood from this that the canonization process of his predecessor would be successful. Pelbartus ends his sermon by asking for the prayers of "the most glorious crown of the Minor Brothers" for the love of Christ and the Virgin.

The *thema* of Osvaldus's sermon is *Quasi tuba exalta vocem tuam* (Is 58:1).¹³⁵¹ The preacher explains the nature of sin from various aspects and demonstrates how Bernardino fought against them, especially through preaching. He just came at the right time to awake the people to their sinful deeds

because at that time Italy was lying struck down by the sins: the discipline became tepid among the religious and what grew [among them] was not devotion, piety or charity but the insatiable desire for possessions; and many of them lacked obedience, patience, poverty and chastity. And among the people there was obstinate hatred, many kinds of usury, violation of feast days, dishonour of the parents, abomination of luxury, cruelty, arrogance, gluttony, envy, and so on. St Bernardino cried out strongly [against them] and expelled them all.¹³⁵²

In the biographical part of the sermon, ample space is given to Bernardino's devotion to the Virgin Mary since his childhood. His talent in preaching has already manifested at an early age as he spoke to his companions with eloquence and gesticulation. The virtues of the young Bernardino were rather similar to those of the early Franciscans: renunciation of wealth, distribution of alms, frequent engagement in prayers, ascetic lifestyle, taking care of the lepers,

¹³⁵¹ Osvaldus de Lasko, *Sermones de Sanctis Biga Salutis intitulati*, Sermo XLIV *De sancto Bernardino. Et de peccati periculisitate ac quidditate eius*; transcription by Mónica Imregh.

¹³⁵² Osvaldus de Lasko, *Sermones de Sanctis Biga Salutis intitulati*, Sermo XLIV: "... [q]uia tunc Italia multiplicibus peccatis prostrate iacebat, inter religiosos disciplina tepuerat, sed quadam insatiabili cupiditate possessiones augebant, non devotionem, non pietatem, non charitatem; fuerant plerique sine obedientia, patientia, paupertate et castitate. In populo autem erant odium pertinax, usura multiplex, festorum violation, parentum deonestatio, luxuriate abomination, crudelitas, superbia, gula, invidia, etc. Contra quae fortiter clamavit beatus Bernardinus, et de finibus eorum expulit."

discipline of the body recalling the Passion of Christ, and preaching. He used to preach with such eloquence against sin that everybody who listened to him regarded him a saint.¹³⁵³ Instead of void and astounding things (*novitates*), he used to preach the salvation of the souls by turning away from the wicked things, and to urge them to do good things and love God.¹³⁵⁴ It is due to him that so many people renounced their wealth and worldly vanities and opted for religious life. Osvaldus lists the miracles which manifest that Christ himself lifted up his voice in Bernardino against sins because he renewed Christianity with his “honeysweet words”. Osvaldus not only recounts that hundred and one approved miracles were sent to the pope to canonize him, but also mentions that John of Capestrano preached publicly that God resurrected fifty-three dead on the intercession of Bernardino of whom he himself spoke with twelve.¹³⁵⁵ The Hungarian preacher ends his sermon with summing up the most important lessons of the saint’s legend: he was anointed by Christ to declare the danger of sins, which he did by his mouth preaching, by his hand writing against sin, by his deeds living saintly, and by execrating sins, for whose merits Christ may deliver people from sins.

Both Hungarian Observants established a link between Bernardino and Francis and the early Franciscans primarily through the Sienese saint’s lifestyle. This connection is even stronger in Pelbartus’s sermon where he is explicit about Bernardino’s decision to follow the path of the founder to reach Christ. They both underline the role Bernardino had in the reform of the Order of Minor Brothers especially through his preaching. Elements -typical also in Observant history writing- such as referring to the Sienese preacher as “light”, and emphasizing the fruits of his preaching as well as showing their outstanding reputation can be found in both sermons.¹³⁵⁶ Whereas Pelbartus presents his activity within the order in a concrete manner accentuating the sovereigns and the nobility’s active participation in the diffusion of the reformed houses and

¹³⁵³ Osvaldus de Lasko, *Sermones de Sanctis Biga Salutis intitulati*, Sermo XLIV: “Imposito tandem sibi praedicationis officio coepit clamare contra vitia et tam gratiose loqui, ut beatum se reputabat, qui eius sermones audire poterat.”

¹³⁵⁴ Osvaldus de Lasko, *Sermones de Sanctis Biga Salutis intitulati*, Sermo XLIV: “Praedicabat enim non inania et novitates, sed salutem animarum, quae constitit in declinatione mali et operatione boni ac amore Dei.”

¹³⁵⁵ Osvaldus de Lasko, *Sermones de Sanctis Biga Salutis intitulati*, Sermo XLIV: “Post obitum vero ipsius centum et unum miracula probata miserunt papae, ut eum canonizaret. Qui est canonizatus nostris temporibus anno videlicet Domini MCCCCL. Frater etiam Iohannes de Capistrano publice praedicavit, quod beati Bernardini meritis Deus LIII mortuos suscitaverit, ex quibus cum XII ipse locutus fuit.”

¹³⁵⁶ Cf. Anne Huijbers, “‘Observance’ as paradigm in Mendicant and Monastic Chronicles” in *A Companion to Observant Reform*, ed. James D. Mixson and Bert Roest, 111-144 (Boston: Leiden, 2015), at 122, 137.

thus presents him as kind of second founder, Osvaldus ascribes a more universal purport to Bernardino's preaching through which he renewed Christianity as a whole, including the religious and the laity. Naturally, his innovative preaching style does not go unmentioned: Pelbartus speaks about the IHS trigram with which he used to incite the devotion of his audience, Osvaldus about his vivid gesticulation. Both authors underline Bernardino's special reverence for the Virgin from a very early age first privately, later publicly his sermons. As Pelbartus ascertains in his sermon, Bernardino's devotion was rewarded abundantly by the Mother of Christ during his life and after his death.

In Pelbartus's sermon the idea to present Bernardino as *alter Paulus* on account of his teaching and his devotion to the Holy Name of Jesus is not explicated.¹³⁵⁷ I believe that the bases of the paragon are, on the one hand, that both men were great rhetoricians and were the "scourge" of the sins of people, especially concerning the accumulation of earthly possessions; on the other hand, Bernardino's *tabella* with the IHS inscription that he always carried with himself can be linked to Paul's lines *De cetero, nemo mihi molestus est: ego enim stigmata Domini Jesu in corpore meo porto.* (Gal.6:6). This reference of Paul was often associated with the wounds of St Francis but in a certain sense also Bernardino offered the YHS trigram on the wooden tablets as an emblem of divine power with and he urged his audience to venerate as protection against divine wrath.¹³⁵⁸

As Bernardino had been canonized less than half a century earlier than Pelbartus and Osvaldus composed their sermons, they paid much attention to his *post mortem* miracles. This was generally the case of "modern" saints, especially when a contemporary saint did not have a well-established cult yet. John of Capestrano had a key role, as the Hungarian Observant authors highlight, in the collection and the authentication of his miracles for the canonization. The firm belief of John of Capestrano, who was also regarded to be saint well before his canonization, the sanctity of his master manifested above all in the intercession in raising the

¹³⁵⁷ In Caracciolo's sermon "Paulus" refers both to the Apostle and the first hermit. Although the second association is not present in Pelbartus, it is his innovation to link the devotion to the Holy Name of Jesus to Paul the Apostle.

¹³⁵⁸ Don C. Skemer, *Binding Words: Textual Amulets in the Middle Ages* (Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2006), 115.

dead, was presented as the most convincing evidence of Bernardino's holiness: if he believed in the Sieneſe friar's sanctity who else could doubt it?

VI.1.6 Concluding remarks

As we could ſee above, the moſt important agents behind Bernardino's canonization were the Obſervant Franciſcan family and the government of the Republic of Siena as well as other European ſovereigns. The moſt energetic and authoritative figure of the Obſervants, John of Capeſtrano was appointed by Pope Nicholas V to collect and authenticate the miracles, and to compoſe the legend of his Sieneſe predecessor. The Obſervants continued to be the primary promoters of Bernardino's cult: his *confratelli* authored a high number of *vitae* (at leaſt 7 different ones only in the fifteenth century), and his fame, eſpecially his thaumaturgic powers, was enhanced by John of Capeſtrano in his journeys beyond the Alps. As to Hungary, the altar dedications to Bernardino in the Conventual Franciſcan church of Verőce (1455) and the Obſervant one in Kuſaly (1489) can be aſcribed to both the local landlords and the friars. John of Capeſtrano's appointment of László Tari as vicar of the new Obſervant convent in Cracow alſo bears wiſſeſs to the ſtrong relation of the Obſervants both to thoſe families that emerged during the reign of Sigismund (Marcali and Jakcs families) and the high nobility (Tari family) as well as to the Obſervant friars' miſſion in fighting the tenets of Huſſitism and alſo the conversion of the non-Catholics in Moldavia. Around the turn of the ſixteenth century, the Obſervant Franciſcan Pelbartus de Themeswar and Oſwaldus de Laſko preſented him as a fierce fighter againſt ſin who reformed the Order of Minor Brothers by returning to the path of Chriſt and St Francis.

It ſeems that in Hungary he became widely known only after his canonization becauſe the pilgrims viſiting Rome before 1450 did not know about his thaumaturgic power. This ſituation has changed by the time Capeſtrano came to Hungary in 1455 as the example of the prieſt from Szentendre ſhows, who went as far as Hunyad to expoſe his miraculous healing attributed to the interceſſion of St Bernardino to John of Capeſtrano. As the contemporary note in the codex of *Sermones dominicales* teſtifies, John of Capeſtrano certainly preached about Bernardino's miracles in the country. John of Capeſtrano's role in the authentication of the miracles of his predecessor can be ſeen clearly in the *sermones cum legenda* of both Hungarian Obſervants.

Glimpses to the formation of his cult can be seen thanks to the relatively high number of the surviving sources related to two important and closely related changes in late medieval lay devotional life: the growing popularity with the nobility and the wealthy burghers to go on pilgrimages abroad, and to make preparations to heavenly glory in earthly life. The pilgrimages to Rome account for the pilgrims from Hungary eventually looking for healing at the saint's tomb in l'Aquila. These miracles were later included in Bernardino's collection of miracles and in some of his Latin legends and also in his *vita* of Oddi's *Franceschina* composed in the Italian vernacular in the fifteenth-century. Two wills made by a female burgher from Sopron (1452) and a nobleman southern Hungary (1455) survive in which they give donations for the erection of an altar dedicated to St Bernardino and for the celebration of masses at the altar. While in the case of the former it is doubtful whether her devotion to the saint can be associated with John of Capestrano alleged preaching in Sopron based on two pieces of indirect evidence (Peter of Sopron; outdoor stone pulpit) and works only if it occurred in 1451, in the case of János of Marcal his connection to the Observants is evident. The social status of the devotees St Bernardino in Hungary was homogenous (high nobility, burgher, secular clergy), but far reaching conclusions cannot be drawn due the limited number of the miracles. Only rarely can one point to possible reason of personal devotion to the saint, such as in the cases of János of Marcal who probably knew Bernardino from Siena and later on he also collaborated with the Observant Franciscans.

The most important channel through which his cult arrived *via pictura* was from southern Poland, the Silesia-Cracow region. All the surviving visual representations of the Sienese saint are from the north eastern part of Upper Hungary where the Silesian and Polish relations left their imprints in painting from the fifteenth century onwards. The two features of his iconography present in all the four winged altarpieces were his Franciscan habit and the IHS trigram surrounded by rays of light. It is remarkable that in none of the altarpieces does he appear in the company of other Franciscans. Bernardino's representation on the altarpiece of Mateóc can be indirectly related to the anti-Hussite politics of the bishop of Cracow. Another important connection between Silesia and Hungary could be István Szapolyai and his wife Hedwig of Silesia who could be the commissioners of the winged altarpiece from the St James parish church in Lőcse but we have no direct evidence for that.

VI.2. The Observant Franciscans and the Cult of Saints

The cult of saints was not among the primary interests of the Franciscan Observants: for the first generation, the so-called literal Observants (Giovanni della Valle, Paoluccio Trinci, and Giovanni Stroncone) the *per excellence* saint remained Francis of Assisi and also their way of life in the hermitages was modelled on the early Franciscan communities, namely a charismatic and wise spiritual “authority” surrounded by disciples. The four pillars of the second generation, the so-called regular Observants, John of Capestrano, Bernardino of Siena, James of the Marches and Alberto da Sarteano were more engaged in the moral reform of the urban laity mostly in Italy but also in other Central European countries (Bohemia, Poland, Hungary), in missionary activities in the East and the mobilization of Christian troops against the Ottomans.¹³⁵⁹ In terms of the promotion of the saintly figures of their Order, the Franciscan Observants were quite different from the Dominican reformers who have been engaged in the canonization campaign of Catherine of Siena (1347-1380) and they also supported the case of the Spanish Dominican Vincent Ferrer (1350-1419). The death of Bernardino of Siena, however, changed the attitude of the Observant Franciscans: crowds of pilgrims started to visit his shrine in the church of the Conventual Franciscans in l’Aquila where many miracles occurred attributed to his intercession.¹³⁶⁰ The Sienese Observant’s canonization stimulated the reformed Dominicans to advance with their own saintly candidate, Vincent Ferrer, whose case was opened in 1451 and ended successfully by Pope Calixtus III (1455-1458) in 1455.¹³⁶¹ 1456, shortly after the liberation of Belgrade from the Ottoman troops John of Capestrano died in the Observant convent of Újlak. Capestrano’s character, works, and actions were not were not seen univocally as positive, not only by some of the Conventuals but also by Nicholas of Cusa, Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini, Cardinal Carvajal and even Pope Nicholas V, when he disregarded their military plans concerning the stopping of the Ottoman assaults acted without papal authorization.¹³⁶² Nevertheless, attempts to his canonization started immediately through the patronage of his cult first by Miklós Újlaki, one of the most powerful lords in Hungary King of

¹³⁵⁹ On James of the Marches’s activity in Bosnia, see Fine, *The Bosnian Church*, 204-207.

¹³⁶⁰ Ronald C. Finucane, *Contested Canonizations: The Last Medieval Saints, 1482-1523* (The Catholic University of America Press, 2011), 44-46.

¹³⁶¹ In 1457 Pope Calixtus III canonized Rose of Viterbo, a Tuscan laywoman who lived in the thirteenth century and was associated with the Third Order of the Franciscans.

¹³⁶² Elm, “John of Capistrano’s Preaching Tour North of the Alps (1541-1456),” 274.

Bosnia, then by his close companion and fellow-brother James of the Marches, and Matthias Corvinus, King of Hungary and Croatia (1458-1490), who supported the case of John of Capestrano at the Curia with four letters between 1460-1464.¹³⁶³ The mother of Matthias, Erzsébet Szilágyi approached Sixtus II roughly a decade later, and she offered to finance the costs of the process of Capestrano who had merits in the “evangelization of schismatics and heretics” and has not ceased working miracles of her own resources.¹³⁶⁴ Despite all the efforts, Capestrano’s case did not proceed well, especially after the death James of the Marches in 1476. Meanwhile, the Observants made an attempt to establish another new martyr cult, that of Simonino of Trento, murdered in 1475.¹³⁶⁵ When the accusation that he had been killed by the Jews proved to be false, the pope soon prohibited his veneration as a blessed, and in 1481 he elevated instead the five Franciscan martyrs killed in Morocco in 1220, and without a formal canonization process, he authorized the friars to celebrate their feast.¹³⁶⁶ The authorization of the cult of the Franciscan protomartyrs notwithstanding, the Observants kept on advancing the case of John of Capestrano, whereas the Conventuals proposed another candidate, Bonaventure. Pope Sixtus IV, previously a Conventual Franciscan, favoured the latter, which eventually found the support also of the Observants.

The Observant attitude towards and the efforts for the canonization of the saintly figures related to their Order was a subject to change in the first century of their history. They were notably active in the processes of Bernardino of Siena and John of Capestrano. Alessandra Bartolomei Romagnoli has shown the double tasks in the discipline of the cults of saints: to fight against the manipulation of the sacred to call the attention to their commercialization and exploitation and to their “organized devotion”.¹³⁶⁷ With Bernardino’s canonization in 1450 achieved above all thanks to the efforts of the Observants and the papal recognition of his sanctity meant also the full legitimization of their activity and spirituality despite the fact that Bernardino himself never

¹³⁶³ Andrić, *The Miracles of St. John of Capistran*, 91-96; Klaniczay, “Matthias and the Saints,” [without page numbers].

¹³⁶⁴ Andrić, *The Miracles of S. John Capistran*, 157.

¹³⁶⁵ The charismatic Observant preacher, Bernardino Tomitano da Feltre, the propagator of the “Monte di Pietà” accused a group of fifteen Jews of the ritual murder of the little boy Simonino, and the Franciscans immediately started his veneration as a martyr.

¹³⁶⁶ On the protomartyr’s popularity in Franciscan art, see Giuseppe Cassio, “Come fiori tra le fronde: La posizione dei protomartiri francescani nell’albero serafico,” *Franciscan Studies* 72 (2014): 73-106.

¹³⁶⁷ Bartolomei Romagnoli, “Osservanza francescana e disciplina del culto dei santi,” 133.

wanted a split between the two branches. Between 1456 and 1470 the Observants repeatedly requested the ascription of the name of Capestrano in the catalogue of saints. Nevertheless, as Daniele Solvi observed, while the Observants were great supporters of the canonization of Bonaventure and the martyrs of Morocco, at least from the 1470s they did not take further steps for the promotion canonization of their *confratelli*, from James of the Marches to Bernardino da Feltre, and the construction of the Observant identity occurred rather in the catalogue-like works of the Observant Giacomo Oddi and Mariano of Florence. In these works the “traditional” saints of the Order were presented as the forerunners of the reform and the second generation, the Observant friars, as heirs of the only true Franciscanism.¹³⁶⁸

VI.2.1 Bonaventure’s Canonization

Bonaventure (1220-1274) was a master in theology and a well-established Franciscan scholar at the University of Paris when he was elected minister general of the order in 1257. He spent his generalate, without much success, to reconcile the conflicts between the two branches of the Franciscans, the so-called Community and the Spirituals. He died during the Second Council of Lyon and he was buried in the local Franciscan church. There was no unified Franciscan campaign for the canonization of Bonaventure until the mid-fifteenth century.¹³⁶⁹ This time span is considerable, especially if one compares it to that of the Observant Franciscan Bernardino of Siena who died in 1444 and six years later was already canonized. The personality of the two candidates for sainthood was rather different: Bernardino was a charismatic preacher whose sermons attracted huge crowds and who was buried in l’Aquila, while Bonaventure was the author of several theological and philosophical works, the administrator of the Minor Brothers, who rarely appeared in public, and was buried in Lyon. The possible motives why Bonaventure’s canonization campaign started only almost two hundred years after his death could be the scarcity of miracles and the lack of a well-developed

¹³⁶⁸ Solvi, “Il culto dei santi,” 145-146.

¹³⁶⁹ The most recent treatment of Bonaventure’s canonization is in Finucane, *Contested Canonizations*, 33-70. The most detailed presentation of the process itself can be found in Lorenzo di Fonzo, “Il processo di canonizzazione di san Bonaventura da Bagnoregio” in *San Bonaventura maestro di vita francescana e di sapienza Cristiana. Atti del Conresso internazionale per il 7° centenario di San Bonaventura da Bagnoregio, Roma, 19-26 settembre 1974*, 3 vols, ed. Alfonso Pompei (Rome: Pontificia Facoltà Teologica ‘San Bonaventura’, 1976), vol. 1, 227-289.

cult, Pope John XXII's (1316-1334) opposition with the Franciscans, the limited recognition of Bonaventure in the fourteenth century, the Great Schism (1378-1417) and in the same period, the ongoing disorder within the Franciscan Order. Besides, the Spiritual branch of the Franciscans had been highly dissatisfied with his leadership and this negative image later on survived in many of the Observant friars.¹³⁷⁰ Bonaventure's case was promoted mostly by the Conventuals.

New impetus was given to Bonaventure's cult around 1455 when his body was translated from the old to the new (Conventual) Franciscan church of Lyon. During the ceremony, just like in the case of St Anthony of Padua, his whole head, including the tongue, was found fresh.¹³⁷¹ Miracles attributed to the intercession of Bonaventure occurred not only in Lyon but also in other cities of France and in Italy.¹³⁷² In 1474 by the Conventual Franciscan Pope Sixtus IV (Francesco della Rovere da Savona, 1471-1484) formally began the canonization process of Bonaventure and appointed the Observant Gervasius de Salais with the investigation to his miracles in Lyon. Like the case of John of Capstrano, the process of Bonaventure was supported outside the Order, too. Supplications of the Habsburg-Roman Emperor Frederic III, Matthias Corvinus, and two by Ferdinand II of Aragon were sent to Rome in 1479.¹³⁷³ With the bull "Superna coelestis patria" Bonaventure was finally canonized in 1482,¹³⁷⁴ and the pope proclaimed Bonaventure also a Doctor of the Church "Doctor Seraphicus" in 1488. Until 1568 his feast was celebrated on the 2nd Sunday of August.

VI.2.2 Bonaventure in the Latin sermons composed in Hungary

No visual representation of Bonaventure survives from Hungary from the late medieval and early modern periods but some his works were known and even translated or adapted to the

¹³⁷⁰ On the (often negative) representation of Bonaventure in Franciscan literature, see Stanislaw da Campagnola, "Le vicende della canonizzazione di S. Bonaventura," in *San Bonaventura Francescano*, Centro di Studi sulla Spiritualità Medievale, Convegni, 14 (Todi: Accademia turdertina, 1974), 211-255, at 216-227.

¹³⁷¹ On the significance and the supposed theft of Bonaventure's tongue relic, see Finucane, *Contested Canonizations*, 54-56. According to Finucane, a tongue relic is an eminently appropriate symbol of the Franciscan sanctity.

¹³⁷² Campagnola, "Le vicende della canonizzazione di San Bonaventura," 238.

¹³⁷³ Campagnola, "Le vicende della canonizzazione di San Bonaventura," 242; Di Fonzo, "Il processo di canonizzazione," 242.

¹³⁷⁴ Pope Sixtus IV's Bull of Canonization is edited in *Doctoris Seraphici S. Bonaventurae Opera Omnia*, vol. 1, XL (Quaracchi: Collegium S. Bonaventurae, 1882).

Hungarian vernacular.¹³⁷⁵ Only one altar was dedicated to him in the Franciscan church of Eger.¹³⁷⁶ The most important sources from Hungary are the collections of the two Observant Franciscans. Their sermons also comprise the short summary of the life of Bonaventure: these concise biographies were substantial as he was canonized only some years before and his *vita* started to circulate only after the canonization. Taking his theme “Venerunt mihi omnia bona partier cum illa” (Wisdom 7:11), in his first sermon Pelbartus praises the *beatus pater* for his wisdom being a professor of the Scripture and a perfect man at the same time.¹³⁷⁷ Using the three-fold origins, advanced among others by Augustine and Gregory the Great, through which all the good can come to people through the supreme goods (*summa bona*) that are eternal and celestial, the intermediate goods (*media bona*) that can be attained by virtues and meritorious works through which the supreme goods can be achieved, and the lowest goods (*infima bona*) that are honours and wealth, Pelbartus shows how these three types of goods prospered in the saint. In the second section, he unfolds the four effects of true wisdom manifested in Bonaventure: the disdain of sinners (*peccatorum detestatio*), the scorn of worldly things (*mundalium parvipensio*), the taste of salutary things (*salubrium assaporatio*), and the practice of virtuous services (*virtuosorum operum exercitatio*). In the third section of the sermon Pelbartus narrates the legend of Bonaventure, grouped according to multiple graces Christ provided him, that, among others manifested also in his ecclesiastical career: he was the minister general of the Franciscans “et annis XVIII ordinem rexit laudabiliter”, the promoter of the cult of the Virgin in the Order, and he preserved his humility even when he was elevated to the rank of cardinal and the bishop of Albano: he fulfilled his duties as a cardinal remaining “benign, sensible, humble, modest, sober and shining with all virtues.”¹³⁷⁸ Although the Observant friar mentions among the graces that of wisdom and religious instruction of the “*seraphicus doctor*”, he does not give greater importance to this *gratia* than to others. According to Pelbartus, there were several signs that Bonaventure received the grace of the

¹³⁷⁵ On the writings of Bonaventure as it is reflected in vernacular texts made for female communities in Hungary, see Korondi, *A misztika a késő középkori magyar nyelvű kolostori kódexirodalomban*, 145-168; Lázs, *Apácaműveltség*, esp. 179-189, 363-365.

¹³⁷⁶ Mező, *Patrocíniumok*, 61.

¹³⁷⁷ Pelbartus de Themeswar, *Pomerium de sanctis, Pars aestivalis*, sermo XXIII: “Tum quia ipse beatus pater plenitudinem sapientiae habuit. Nam et professor sacrae paginae et vir totius perfectionis excellentissime exstitit.”

¹³⁷⁸ Pelbartus de Themeswar, *Pomerium de sanctis, Pars aestivalis*, Sermo XXIII: “(...) benignus, prudens, humilis, pudicus, sobrius et omni virtute clarus.”

most holy end: at his death he was awarded the Triple Crown, that of divine visions, preaching, and virginity, and moreover, his whole head was found intact 160 years after his burial when his body was translated. The most remarkable feature of Pelbartus's first sermon on the Bonaventure is a recent miracle from Hungary inserted among the saint's *post mortem* miracles that shows the saint did turned up in sermons:

I will report a miracle that occurred nowadays in Hungary, in the town of Esztergom in the year 1487 of the Lord. The parents of a mortally ill child, when there was no longer any hope for his health, hearing about the merits of St Bonaventure in a sermon, made a vow to have a mass celebrated for his [i.e. the son's] health, and the boy immediately regained his health, and the parents thanked the salvation of their child and fulfilled their vow.¹³⁷⁹

Pelbartus's second sermon is built on "*Bonus homo de bono thesauro suo profert bona.*" Matt 12:35).¹³⁸⁰ The first section he deals with the teaching of goodness to the beginner prelates (incipientibus praestitis): how pleasing it is to God, how it can be acquired, and the signs through which its truthfulness can be recognized, relating all the three to the life of Bonaventure. In the second part Pelbartus raises three questions in connection with the accomplishment of goodness: whether it is better to live in wealth or poverty (Bonaventure chose poverty because he entered the Order of Minor Brothers), to serve God in a religious order or in the secular world (Bonaventure was the advocate of the second as it is reflected both in his life and his *Apologia pauperum*), and whether parents can oblige and make a vow that their child choose religious life (Bonaventure was of the same mind as his mother, so he made a vow and was eager to serve God). The last section is dedicated to the brief examination of one issue regarding the teaching of the accomplishments (*doctrina perfectorum*): namely, what it means to be dissolved in and to be with Christ.

In the sermon of Osvaldus built on the theme "Quicumque hanc regulam secuti fuerint (Gal 6:16), he is presented as a praiseworthy general minister of the Franciscan. Bonaventure's way

¹³⁷⁹ Pelbartus de Themeswar, *Pomerium de sanctis, Pars aestivalis*, Sermo XXII "De sancto Bonaventura ordinis minorum. Sermo cum legenda", transcription by Ildikó Bárczi: "Referam et hoc tempore factum miraculum in Hungaria, civitate Strigoniensi anno Domini MCCCCLXXXVII.: Puer quidam ad mortem infirmatus cum iam nulla esset spes salutis illius, parentes in praedicatione audientes de sancti Bonaventurae meritis devoverunt pro illius sanitate sancto Bonaventurae missas facere celebrari, et statim iste puer sanus surrexit, et parentes pro conservata prole gratias egerunt ac vota exsolverunt."

¹³⁸⁰ Pelbartus de Themeswar, *Pomerium de sanctis, Pars aestivalis*, Sermo XXIV: "Bonaventura de bono thesauro sapientiae profert bona exemplo et verbo."

of life in the secular world was as outstanding as was his religious life among the Minor Brothers.¹³⁸¹ The Observant preacher recounts a succinct summary of Bonaventure's life and then his major works¹³⁸², mentioning first that he composed a legend of St Francis *eleganti stilo*. Regarding this work, Osvaldus narrates also the anecdote a different version of which can be found in Pelbartus, too: Thomas Aquinas visited Bonaventure, who, in this version, was working on the legend of Francis. Opening the door of his cell, the Dominican theologian saw Bonaventure in the state of rapture with a pen in his hand, so he said to his companion: "Recedemus et sinamus sanctum qui laborat pro sancto." In addition, Osvaldus also reports other famous stories that can be found in the canonization documents, such as the one attributed to Alexander of Hales who used to say that it seemed that Adam did not sin in Bonaventure, or the miracle of the Eucharist that was flying into the general minister's mouth. The above-mentioned biblical theme Osvaldus chose for his sermon permitted him to dwell on the topics of the "rule" and "peace": "in the rule of the Minors that St Bonaventure chose, the established peace remained." Osvaldus discusses at length the circumstances of Francis's writing the Rule for his community. He contends that the vicar of Francis, Brother Elias, not only destroyed the first version of the later *Rule* (that is the *Regula bullata*) Francis gave him and said that he had lost it, but also notified the other *ministri* of the Order that Francis was about to write a second Rule. The ministers wanted Elias to tell Francis that they do not want to be bound by such a harsh Rule, so he should make it only for himself but not for them. Elias, being afraid of the reaction of Francis, went up together with the ministers to the mountain where the poor man of Assisi stayed and presented the problems of the ministers.¹³⁸³ All this, however, can be found in one of the sources Osvaldus used, in Bartolomeo da Pisa's *De Conformitate*.¹³⁸⁴ The story of

¹³⁸¹ Osvaldus de Lasko, *Sermones de sanctis Biga salutis intitulati*, Sermo LV "De sancto Bonaventura episcopo": "Ipse ei regularem vitam fratrum minorum secutus fuit tam quam excellentiorem vitam seculari".

¹³⁸² It has been shown by Piusz Berhidai that Osvaldus used or referred to many of Bonaventure's theological and mystical works, see his "Bonaventura-hagyomány Laskai Osvát prédikációiban" [The Bonaventurian tradition in the sermons of Osvaldus de Lasko], in *Misztika a 16-18. századi Magyarországon*, ed. Judit Bogár (Piliscsaba: Pázmány Péter Katolikus Egyetem – BTK: 2013), 31-39.

¹³⁸³ The direct source of Osvaldus is Bartolomeo da Pisa, *De Conformitate* (1906), 371-372. Different versions of the lost Rule are to be found in the *Compilatio Assisiensis*, Chapter 11 in *Fontes Franciscani*, 1483-1485 (FA: ED II, 125); *Speculum perfectionis*, chapter 1 (FA: ED III, 253-254), and the MS Little. For the history of the involvement of Elias in this matter, see Filippo Sedda, "La 'malavventura' di frate Elia. Un percorso attraverso le fonti biografiche," *Il Santo* 41 (2001): 215-300, at 259-266.

¹³⁸⁴ Osvaldus de Lasko, *Sermones de sanctis Biga salutis intitulati*, Sermo LV "De sancto Bonaventura episcopo", my transcription: "Domine nonne bene dixi tibi quod ipsi non credunt mihi. Tunc statim omnes audierint vocem Christi respondens in aere: "Francisce nihil est in regula de tuo, sed totum est meum quicquid ibi est, et volo quod

the lost Rule turns up for the first time in the *Compilatio Assisiensis*, but can be found in different variants in the *Speculum perfectionis* and the MS Little. Whereas in all the three of them the initiative of the protest against the harshness of the Rule is taken by some minister brothers (*ministri*) and Elias is reluctant to go the Francis, Bonaventure was the first to claim in the *Legenda maior* that the *First Rule* (or *Earlier Rule*) Francis composed at Fontecolombo was lost due to the carelessness of Elias.¹³⁸⁵ Moreover, as it has been noticed by Edith Pásztor, it was the only occasion when Bonaventure used a piece of information, that of the earliest but lost rule, originating from the writings of Leo.¹³⁸⁶ With this move, as Filippo Sedda pointed out, Bonaventure, who wanted to do away with the tradition that the first Rule of Francis raised controversies among the ministers that eventually led to its destruction, makes no mention of the conflict among the ministers and assigns the full responsibility to Elias.¹³⁸⁷ Elias has a key role both in the *De Conformitate* and in Osvaldus's sermon: since he did not like what was written in the first version of the *Later Rule*, he destroyed it, and pretended that he had lost it and also, he was the one who notified the ministers that Francis was about to write the Rule again.¹³⁸⁸ This passage cited from the *De Conformitate* in the sermon of an Observant Franciscan is remarkable. First, to a certain extent, the Observants were "heirs" of the Spiritual wing that aimed to interpret it *ad litteram et sine glossa*.¹³⁸⁹ Second, the author of the *De*

regula sic observetur ad litteram ad litteram ad litteram et sine glosa sine glosa est sine glosa. Et addidit Christus: "Ego scio quantum vis humana fragilitas, et quantum volo eos iuvare, et qui nolunt eam servare exeant de ordine. Tunc b. Franciscus vertit se ad fratres ministros, et dixit eis: "Audistis, audistis: vultis quod iterum faciam vobis dicere: tunc ministri confusi et contriti recesserunt."

¹³⁸⁵ *Legenda maior*, 4, 11, 8 (FA: ED II, 558): "Quam cum, de monte descendens, servandam suo vicario commisisset, et ille, paucis elapsis diebus, assereret per incuriam perditam, iterate sanctus vir ad locum solitudinis rediit eamque instar prioris, ac si ex ore Dei verba susciperet, illico reparavit et per supradictum dominum Papam Honorium, octavo pontificatus illius anno, sicut optaverat, obtinuit confirmari." I am grateful to Don Felice Accrocca who called my attention to the source of Bonaventure about the lost rule in the MS Little. The minimal role of Elias in the MS Little, as well as his close involvement in the *De Conformitate* have already been pointed out by Rosalind B. Brooke, who also treated his role as it was presented by Angelo Clareno; see Rosalind B. Brooke, *Early Franciscan Government: Elias to Bonaventure*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1959), 90-93.

¹³⁸⁶ Edith Pásztor, "S. Bonaventura: Biografo di s. Francesco? Contributo alla *questione francescana*," *Doctor Seraphicus* 27 (1980): 83-107, at 104.

¹³⁸⁷ Sedda, "La 'malavventura' di frate Elia", 264.

¹³⁸⁸ Sedda, "La 'malavventura' di frate Elia", 262.

¹³⁸⁹ Nevertheless, as I have noted earlier, the Observant Franciscans cannot be considered the direct continuators of the Spiritual movement. As it had been pointed out in scholarship, one of the most crucial differences was that whereas the followers of the Spiritual wing lived in hermitages, the Observants were essentially linked to towns and villages; see Ludovic Viallet, *Les sens de l'observance: Enquête sur les réformes franciscaines entre l'Elbe et l'Oder de Capistran à Luther (vers 1450 – verso 1520)* (Berlin: LIT, 2014), 78-80.

Conformitate, Bartolomeo da Pisa, presented Elias as a traitor in his work which had a huge impact on Franciscan literature in the following centuries ascribing such a significant and negative role to the vicar of Francis shows resemblance to that of the Spirituals of the first half of the fourteenth century. Nevertheless, he did not go as far as Angelo Clareno who claimed in his *Chronica* that Elias with some of his followers stole and hid the *Later Rule* from Brother Leo to whom Francis had handed it down.¹³⁹⁰ Osvaldus's sermon on Bonaventure represents a typical attitude of the Observant Franciscans: rather than being critical of the minister general like the so-called Spirituals were in the fourteenth century, they celebrate his sanctity and spread his fame through model sermons. At the same time, the core of the Observant identity, the literal observance of the *Rule*, the tradition inherited from the Spiritual branch is clearly manifested in the text.

The inclusion of the fifth Franciscan saint of the collection of sermons of Pelbartus de Themeswar and Osvaldus de Lasko was of fundamental importance since they were among the first writers who composed sermons for the feast of St Bonaventure that circulated widely throughout Europe. These model sermons, however, are quite general and do not succeed in the characteristic portrayal of Bonaventure: he was a praiseworthy leader of the Order whose *conversio* was exemplary. A particularly Observant feature can be found in the sermon of Osvaldus whose detailed presentation of the divine origin and circumstances of the Rule(s) Francis of Assisi shows the utmost importance of the adherence to the original ideas of the Franciscan community. The two sermons of Pelbartus are even more schematic: in addition to applying all those virtues and spiritual gifts characteristic to the late medieval Franciscan saintly ideal such as humility, charity, mystical experiences, *post mortem* miracles, the Hungarian preacher also endowed Bonaventure with the Triple Crown because he was a virgin, a theologian and a mystic.

¹³⁹⁰ Angelo Clareno, *Liber Chronicarum sive tribulationum ordinis minorum*, ed. Boccali (Edizioni Porziuncola, 1999), vol. I, 369-377.

VI.3. Between history and fiction: Lancelao d'Ongaria, a holy Observant – a case study

The Franciscan friar Lancelao d'Ongaria allegedly a descendant of the Hungarian royal dynasty, moved from Hungary to Italy in search of a Franciscan community in which he could truly observe the teachings and spiritual disciplines of St Francis. Lancelao spent the rest of his life in Observant communities in the central and northern part of Italy, acquiring *fama sanctitatis* already in his lifetime. Lancelao was not known in Hungary until the late nineteenth century.¹³⁹¹ Recently, he was mentioned by Clare Lappin in her insightful analysis of Francesco da Pavia's vision of Lancelao and examined the manuscripts containing Mariano's collection of the lives of Franciscan saints and *beati* in her doctoral dissertation, which is a fundamental work about early Observant identity and ideals.¹³⁹² This part of the chapter is a case study dealing with the emergence and evolution of the Lancelao d'Ongaria in Franciscan literature, focusing on the two earliest redactions of his legend written in the vernacular by the renowned Observant Franciscan authors, Mariano da Firenze and Giacomo Oddi da Perugia between the last quarter of the fifteenth century and the first quarter of the sixteenth century.¹³⁹³

Oddi's account of Lancelao

The earliest account of Lancelao can be found in the *vita* of the Observant Francesco da Pavia contained in the *Franceschina* written in the Umbrian vernacular by Giacomo Oddi da Perugia (?–1483) before the year 1474. After joining the Observant Franciscans around 1450, Oddi lived in the Convent of Monteripido in Perugia under the spiritual direction of Domenico da Genova for some time and later was the guardian of Observant convents of Assisi, Perugia and Terni. Oddi included the biographies of more than 30 Observant *beati*, of which 29 were newly

¹³⁹¹ Gyula Décsényi discovered Mariano's version of Lancelao's *vita* preserved at the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale of Rome (BNCR) while he was researching materials regarding Hungary at libraries in Italy; see Décsényi, "Olaszországi történelmi kutatások," 130–131. Florio Banfi wrote a book review of Nicolo Cavanna's edition of Oddi's *Specchio dell'Ordine Minore* (known also as *Franceschina*) in which he examined the numerous holy friars in the work who had some connection to Hungary, focusing on Lancelao; see Banfi, "Oddi di Perugia, P. Giacomo: La Franceschina." He also dedicated a few pages to Lancelao and provided the transcription of his *vita* by Mariano da Firenze based on the copy that Décsényi had identified at the BNCR; see idem, "San Bernardino da Siena," 13–18, 27–32.

¹³⁹² Clare Lappin, "The Mirror of the Observance: Image, Ideal and Identity in Observant Franciscan Literature, c. 1415–1528," (PhD diss., University of Edinburgh, 2000), 207–208.

¹³⁹³ This case study was published in a more extended version as "Blessed Lancelao: A Franciscan Observant in Fifteenth-century Italy" *Hungarian Historical Review* (2016): 645–674.

composed ones.¹³⁹⁴ The *Franceschina* survives in four codices used at male and female Franciscan communities in Umbria.¹³⁹⁵ I summarize here Oddi's text about Lancelao because this will serve as the basis for comparison with Mariano da Firenze's later version of his *vita*.¹³⁹⁶

The hagiographic account of Lancelao in the *Franceschina* is presented in the form of a vision experienced by Francesco da Pavia, a friar from the Observant Convent "de le Carote" in Verona. There was a holy man called Brother Lancelao, originating from the Hungarian royal dynasty, who regarded poverty to be the highest among the virtues and joined the Franciscan Order. In order to experience life in absolute poverty, Lancelao set off and kept on wandering throughout the provinces of the Order, staying at any single convent for only a short time. Being a man of devout and contemplative character, he visited almost all the zealous communities living in poverty in the Province of Saint Francis (Umbria), during which he had various mystical experiences witnessed by other friars. Finally, on divine inspiration, he went to the Province of Milan, where he became the guardian of a convent. When the plague broke out in the convent, he witnessed the death and the glorious ascent to heaven of 20 friars as well as a layman. Francesco da Pavia, whom was sent to this convent of Milan and would often converse with Lancelao, once asked him how it was possible to live with a clear conscience in such a sumptuous convent, especially for someone who had been searching for poverty in so many provinces. Lancelao responded that he had previously been wrong and that the true perfection of a Franciscan is obedience, which entails poverty, chastity and all other virtues. Although this answer did not please Francesco, he chose to remain silent out of reverence. A few days after he had returned to his convent in Verona, Francesco learned that Lancelao had died and he became curious about the status of the friar's soul, so he prayed to God and fasted until one night Lancelao appeared to him in a vision. In the vision, Lancelao took Francesco by the hand and led him to the choir of the church. The choir was illuminated by great light and Francesco saw entering the church a great multitude of angels, saints, and Franciscans dressed in splendid

¹³⁹⁴ Lappin, "The Mirror," 205.

¹³⁹⁵ MS 1238, Biblioteca Augusta di Perugia of 1474–1476 belonged to the Convent of Monteripido; MS Biblioteca del Convento Santa Maria degli Angeli of 1483; MS Norcia of 1477–1484 belonged to the convent of SS. Annunziata; MS Monteluca of 1570 belonged to the nuns of the Convent of Monteluca and was updated with the stories of the eminent Observant friars collected from 1483 until 1570.

¹³⁹⁶ The account of Lancelao is in Oddi, *La Franceschina*, vol.1, 147–149.

habits and, finally, Christ, who was so radiant that Francesco could not look at him. Experiencing heavenly light and detecting a sweet odor, Francesco was conducted to the main altar, to the feet of Christ, who assured him of his place in heaven as a reward for his obedience and revealed many other things that that he shared with no one until the final moments of his life. At this point, Francesco saw the whole assembly ascend to heaven accompanied by the singing of the Psalm *In exitu*. For about a year, whenever he heard this Psalm, he was immersed in the same sweet odor.

Apart from this account, there is another important reference to Lancelao in the *Franceschina* appearing in the *vita* of Tommaso da Firenze, according to which he was buried at Scarlino and his saintly fame was spread by Guasparre da Firenze.¹³⁹⁷

Mariano da Firenze's Vita of Lancelao and its major deviations from Oddi's account

Mariano da Firenze (c. 1477–1523) joined the Franciscan Observants sometime before 1493 and spent much of his time visiting Observant houses in central Italy to collect material for his historiographic and hagiographic works. Mariano was a prolific writer, composing histories of all the three Orders of the Franciscans as well as devotional and apologetic works in both Latin and the Tuscan vernacular. His major work, the *Fasciculus Chronicarum Ordinis Minorum*, was lost in the late eighteenth century, though its synopsized version survives in his *Compendium Chronicarum Ordinis Ff. Minorum* (1521–1522).¹³⁹⁸ Mariano included shorter accounts of Lancelao in his Latin works, the *Fasciculus* and the *Compendium*, and an extended one in his collection of *vite*.¹³⁹⁹

Lancelao's *vita* composed by Mariano has come down to us in two manuscripts. The older one is preserved in the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale of Florence (BNCF), MS Landau-Finaly 243, under the title *Vite de Sancti et Beati* and contains the “Vita di Lanzilao Hungero” as well as the *vite* of 33 other Franciscan and 12 non-Franciscan *beati*, most of whom were from Tuscany, and

¹³⁹⁷ Oddi, *Franceschina*, vol.1, 238, no.36: “[...] un altro santo discipulo de quisto beato, el quale aveva nome frate Lanzilao hungaro, homo contemplativo et pieno di bone opere: del quale frate Gasparre non pareva si potesse satiare di predicare le soi bone opere et virtù alli seculari per meterllo in loro divotione, come narravano più frati. El corpo del quale si riposa nel loco di Scarlino.” This information can be found also in the late fifteenth or early sixteenth-century *vita* of Tommaso da Firenze, whose anonymous author referred to Oddi's work.

¹³⁹⁸ Mariano da Firenze, *Compendium chronicarum fratrum Minorum*. On the *Compendium*, see Lappin, “The Mirror,” 68–69.

¹³⁹⁹ The title of Mariano's collection was excerpted from BNCF MS Landau-Finaly 243.

three treatises.¹⁴⁰⁰ The manuscript is partly autograph (which means that it was made before 1523) and the “Vita di Lanzilao Hungero” is among the texts written by Mariano himself.¹⁴⁰¹ A more recent copy of this *vita*, “Del beato frate Lazilao Vnghero di casa Reale,” survives in MS Sessoriano 412 at the BNCR; this was the manuscript Décsényi found during his research and which served as the basis upon which Banfi based his transcription of Lancelao’s legend.¹⁴⁰² The majority of the codex was copied in 1541 for the female Franciscan community of Sant’Orsola in Florence.¹⁴⁰³ Here I use Lancelao’s *vita* from the MS Landau-Finaly 243 as the base text.¹⁴⁰⁴

In the collection Mariano put together approximately a half century after the *Franceschina*, Lancelao is no longer one of the characters in the life of Francesco da Pavia, but is promoted to the constantly widening circle of the Observant *beati* thanks to the author’s elaborate presentation of his life in the form of a proper *vita* providing heretofore unknown details. Let me recapitulate the main differences between Mariano’s biography and Oddi’s text before moving on to the discussion of how the two versions are related.

First, Lancelao’s motives for wandering from province to province are basically the same in both redactions: he was seeking a community in which he could live in perfect poverty in true observance of the Rule of Francis. In Mariano’s version, however, the friar left for Puglia because “at that time in Hungary the friars had drifted so far away from the true observance of his rule that he could not observe the highest degree of poverty.”¹⁴⁰⁵

Second, with regard to his sojourn in central Italy, Oddi writes only that the devout and contemplative Lancelao visited all the zealous communities living in poverty in the Province of St Francis and that he had mystical experiences. In Mariano’s redaction, Lancelao, after

¹⁴⁰⁰ “Vita di Lanzilao Hungero” in BNCF, MS Landau-Finaly 243, fol. 186r–189r.

¹⁴⁰¹ Folios 1–87, 135–204 and 277–352 are autograph; for a description and the content of the codex, see Lappin, “The Mirror,” 230–231.

¹⁴⁰² The transcription of the *vita* of Lancelao based on MS Sess. 412 can be found in Banfi, “San Bernardino da Siena,” 27–32.

¹⁴⁰³ The contents of the two manuscripts are quite similar, but the order of the lives is different; moreover, the MS Sess. 412 lacks seven of the *vite* and the treatises that are reported in MS Landau-Finaly 243. My first-hand consultation of both manuscripts revealed that the two legends are nearly identical, containing only a few minor differences.

¹⁴⁰⁴ All the transcriptions of MS Landau-Finaly 243 and the translations in the text are mine. I introduced modern punctuation to the original text.

¹⁴⁰⁵ MS Landau-Finaly 243, fol. 186r-v: “[...] che nelle parti di hungaria li frati erano in quelli sua tempi alquanto delongati dalla recta observantia della sua regola [...]”

receiving permission from his minister, first went to Puglia, then to the Province of Sant'Angelo, where Giovanni da Stroncone and Tommaso da Firenze had recently initiated the reform of the Franciscan houses. But not finding what he was looking for, he departed for Tuscany and was permitted to stay in the reformed house of Scarlino, which was led by the simple and poor layman Tommaso da Firenze “under whose guidance his humility increased greatly and he forgot about his royal origin and priesthood.”¹⁴⁰⁶ Mariano underscores the profound impact that Tommaso had on Lancelao's spirituality: he dedicated his life to prayer and contemplation in the wilderness, he was seen in a state of rapture by the friars several times, lived on bread and water and wore only a shabby tunic and no shoes.

The third major divergence concerns the circumstances of Lancelao's departure for Milan. In Oddi's version, the friar was sent to the Province of Milan by God and while staying there he was made the guardian of the house of Milan.¹⁴⁰⁷ In Mariano's version, the historical context is also revealed: after San Bernardino spread the “new observance” in Lombardy, the vicars of Tuscany sent holy friars to direct these convents so that the friars and the youth of Lombardy who opted for religious life would be nourished in the will of God and regular discipline. Thus, at God's command, Lancelao was removed from the poor house of Scarlino and was appointed guardian at the house of Sant'Angelo near Milan, where there was a terrible plague at the time of his entrance.¹⁴⁰⁸

Fourth, Mariano provides an elaborated version of Lancelao's death combining two pieces of information found in two different *vite* of the *Franceschina*, in that of Francesco da Pavia and Tommaso da Firenze, namely that the friar died shortly after the plague had ended and that he was buried in Scarlino—to which Mariano added that he was interred in the same tomb as the

¹⁴⁰⁶ MS Landau-Finaly 243, fol. 187r: “Sotto la quale obedientia molto se humilio, non si ricordando piu della sua illustre prosapia regale et di essere sacerdote.”

¹⁴⁰⁷ Oddi, *La Franceschina*, vol.1, 147: “Finalmente, menato da lo spirito de Dio, se n'andò nella provintia de Milano, et fermandose in quella fo facto guardiano de loco de Milano, come homo de ciò molto degno. Entrò, como piacque a la bontà divina, la peste in quello loco [...].”

¹⁴⁰⁸ MS Landau-Finaly 243, fol.187r-v: “Ma dopo alquanti anni che fu stato in Toscana, havendo gia s[an]c[t]o Bernardino dilatato la nova observantia per la Lombardia, li Vicarii di Toscana alcuna volta mandarono in Lombardia frati perfecti et sancti che regiesino li conventi et frati in vera observantia et nutrirsili nel signore et li giovani di Lombardia che fugendo el seculo venino alla religione li mandarono a vestire nella provincia di s[an]c[t]o Francesco et di Toscana, accio che fussino nutriti nela via del signore et nella regolare disciplina. Per la quale cosa ordinandolo dio fr[at]e Lanzilao per le sua virtu et meriti fu cavato del povero et devoto loco di scarlino et istituto Guardiano nel loco di s[an]c[t]o Angelo apreso a Milano. Nel quale tempo entro nel convento tanta crudele pestilenza.”

other blessed friars of the community at the Church of Sancta Ferma.¹⁴⁰⁹ Moreover, in the very last part of the *vita* Mariano becomes the first to speak about Lancelao's local cult at Scarlino:

And as strong brother Lanzilao proved to be in glory, he proved to be equally as strong for the mortal people who remained in this miserable life, who came to visit his tomb invoking him in their illness and other necessity, who were persuaded also to come and visit by the holy brother Guasparre da Firenze.¹⁴¹⁰

This is an important reference to the veneration of Lancelao as a holy person not long after his death as well as to the active role of the guardian of a community in the preservation of his memory and the urging of the faithful to pray for the intercession of a Franciscan Observant friar.

Oral and written sources

As Banfi has already pointed out, the accounts of Mariano and Oddi are genetically related.¹⁴¹¹ This relation is revealed most poignantly in the similar expressions and sentences and the same sequence of the events in their texts. The abundance of details in Mariano's life of Lancelao excludes the possibility that it was derived from Oddi's briefer version, while Oddi could not have used Mariano's *vita* since it was written later. According to Banfi, the two authors presumably used the same earlier source. In my opinion, however, it is more probable that Mariano collected additional information about Lancelao and greatly revised Oddi's narrative rather than that Oddi, who for more than two decades diligently collected the legends and miracles of the Observant friars before writing the *Franceschina*,¹⁴¹² abbreviated a more detailed existing legend omitting all the remarkable details about the early history of the Observant movement in Italy and Lancelao's role in it, even if his focus was on Francesco da Pavia. Based on Oddi's remark made in the legend of Francesco da Pavia, I believe that he was the first to write about Lancelao in a relatively detailed fashion. The new details that emerge in

¹⁴⁰⁹ MS Landau-Finaly 243, fol. 188r: "Quietato che fu la peste nel loco di Melano, el beato Francescho si ritorno a loco suo humile et povero loco di s[an]c[t]o Francesco di Scarlino. Dove non molto dopo che fu tornato si riposo in pace et fu sepolto nel sepolcro delli altri s[an]c[t]i frati in s[an]c[t]a Ferma di decto loco."

¹⁴¹⁰ MS Landau-Finaly 243, fol. 189r: "Et si come f[rat]re Lanzilao fu demonstra potente in gloria, cosi anchora si dimostro potente alli homini che erano rimasti in questa misera vita, che venirono a visitare el suo sepolcro, invocandolo nella sua infermita et altre necessita, li quali erano persuasi di venire a visitarlo dal sancto f[rat]re Guasparre da Firenze."

¹⁴¹¹ Banfi, "Oddi di Perugia, P. Giacomo," 476.

¹⁴¹² Cavanna, Introduction, LXXVII–LXXXIX.

Mariano's text are derived from oral tradition and presumably the author himself, who was a great expert on the history of the Order of Minor Brothers, especially the Observants.

The *Franceschina* reveals Oddi's strong interest in the past and present of the Order: in addition to the written sources listed earlier, Oddi presumably collected written materials in the convents during his journeys and recorded numerous stories that until then had circulated only orally.¹⁴¹³

As previously mentioned, Oddi was the first to compose the life and the miracles of Brother Francesco da Pavia, a work in which he included an account of Lancelao. Oddi was pivotal in the diffusion of the *fama sanctitatis* of Francesco da Pavia: he heard testimonies about him from his fellow brothers and traveled to the Convent of Monteluco near Spoleto to be at the bed of the gravely ill Francesco.¹⁴¹⁴ Oddi alluded to his source as he underscored the authenticity of the vision of Lancelao by writing that Francesco shared this experience with his fellow brethren, who were all "trustworthy men from whom I [the author] heard all this."¹⁴¹⁵ This means that Francesco da Pavia's *confratelli* were the earliest, albeit oral, sources about Lancelao and it was Oddi who then put his story on paper.

Mariano da Firenze, too, followed his predecessor's footsteps and was a great collector and disseminator of the records of prominent Observants.¹⁴¹⁶ As Lappin observed, the majority of his biographies of the *Vite de sancti Frati Minori*, including that of Lancelao, were about contemplative men turning to nature in order to find peace and the comfort of prayer, although at the same time many of them represented the fusion of the Literal and Regular Observant ideals.¹⁴¹⁷ The content of the *Vite de sancti Frati Minori* is the product of a collection of written and oral testimonies from the Observant houses in central Italy that Mariano continually rewrote" during his travels between 1510 and 1523.¹⁴¹⁸ Mariano even had the chance to visit the functioning Observant Convent of Monte Muro at Scarlino, which had been transformed from the modest building where Lancelao had lived. However, it is doubtful that Mariano's research at this convent was successful: as in the *Vita di Thomà da Firenze*, he complains about the

¹⁴¹³ Cavanna, Introduction, LXXXIX.

¹⁴¹⁴ Oddi, *La Franceschina*, vol.1, 164, 169.

¹⁴¹⁵ Oddi, *La Franceschina*, vol.1, 148: "Li quali erano de tanta chiarezza et lucidità, che, secondo che lui disse et affermava poi a li frati suoi familiari, homini digni de fede, da li quali io ebbi tucto questo [...]."

¹⁴¹⁶ Lappin calculated that Mariano included the lives of 313 brothers, almost all of them Observant, into his *Compendium* between the years 1415 and 1521; see Lappin, "The Mirror," 69.

¹⁴¹⁷ Lappin, "The Mirror," 216, 230.

¹⁴¹⁸ Cannarozzi, "Ricerche sulla vita di Fra Mariano da Firenze," *Studi francescani* 27 (1930): 31-71, at 60-63.

failure of the brothers to record the works and the deeds of Tommaso and that he had to travel on foot to different parts of Italy in order to gain information from those who knew him personally or were his disciples.¹⁴¹⁹ Mariano probably started to organize his hagiographic writings into a collection around the years 1520–1521 in order to publish a book containing the legends and the lives of the three Orders of St Francis.

The elaboration of the lives of saints was quite common in the late medieval and early modern period. Dávid Falvay observed with regard to the Italian legends whose authors attempt to present the saints originating from Hungary in an elaborate and historically correct manner that these texts do not correspond more closely to a textual archetype but are the product of historical elaboration. This occurred mostly in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century texts, the erudite authors of which, judging the historical basis of a devotional text to be weak, used other sources in order to retrospectively provide a more precise background to the given work.¹⁴²⁰ In my opinion, Mariano did something similar: the most important sources he integrated in order to substantiate Lancelao's story came from the material he collected from oral and written testimonies. He retrospectively augmented Oddi's account with new details, including pieces of information concerning Lancelao from the *vita* of Tommaso da Firenze. Mariano was careful not to radically change the information provided by Oddi; rather, he “filled in the blanks,” amplifying or making minor changes to the original short text in order to transform it into a genuine *vita*. The result was an emblematic biography of the period of transition of the Observance “from the desert to the crowd,” that is, of the transformation of the movement's initial hermitic lifestyle to its promulgation of the evangelic message to the urban masses—a process in which in Bernardino of Siena had a fundamental role.¹⁴²¹

Transmission

¹⁴¹⁹ MS Sessoriano 412, fol. 147v; quoted from Lappin, “The Mirror of the Observance,” 233.

¹⁴²⁰ Such “philological revision” occurred, for instance, in the case of a fifteenth-century manuscript regarding the legend of St Guglielma an alleged queen of Hungary who turned up in fourteenth-century devotional works written in the vernacular in which a later hand added notes to the text in order to make it more accurate and to add concrete historical data. See Falvay, “Il mito del re ungherese nella letteratura religiosa del Quattrocento” *Nuova Corvina. Rivista di Italianistica* 16 (2008): 54–62, idem, *Magyar dinasztikus szentek olasz kódexekben* [Hungarian dynastic saints in Italian codices], (Budapest, Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem, Bölcsészettudományi Kar, Olasz Nyelv és Irodalom Tanszék, 2012), 200.

¹⁴²¹ On the transition of the Observance “dal deserto alla folla,” see Grado Giovanni Merlo, *Nel nome di san Francesco. Storia dei frati Minori e del francescanesimo sino agli inizi del XVI secolo* (Padova: Editrici Francescane, 2003), 312–316.

Apart from Oddi's *Franceschina* and Mariano's collection of *vite*, shorter accounts about Lancelao were included also in Franciscan chronicles. In his *Compendium Chronicarum Ordinis Ff. Minorum*, Mariano summed up the essential information about the friar under the year 1445: "Under blessed Tommaso da Firenze, great perfection flourished at the place of Scarlin and [under his guidance] was also Brother Lanzilao, a royal descent of the king of Hungary, a particularly holy man."¹⁴²² Mariano presumably did the same in his *Fasciculus*. It is unclear on what basis, because he does not indicate that the friar died that year. The relatively detailed accounts of Lancelao in Wadding's *Annales* and in Marcos da Silva's *Crónica* based on Mariano's *Fasciculus* are valuable because these works, together with Arthur du Moustier's *Martyrologium*, became the standard reference books for Franciscan history, especially after the *Fasciculus* was lost in the eighteenth century. Lancelao would have remained virtually unknown to the Franciscans without the above-mentioned printed works as a result of the fact that Oddi's *Franceschina* and Mariano's works had a limited circulation in the area of Tuscany and Umbria. At the same time, these printed works—especially the *Martyrologium*—anchored the tradition of placing Lancelao's death around the year 1445.

The Convent of Monte Muro near Scarlino

Mariano narrates that Lancelao first went to the Province of Puglia, though did not find what he was looking for there and thus headed to the Province of Sant'Angelo, which was, in fact, that part of Puglia in which Giovanni da Stroncone and Tommaso da Firenze had recently started the reform of the Franciscan convents. Giovanni, who came from the circle of Paoluccio da Trinci, the "founder" of the Observant movement in 1368, was an eminent Observant who held important offices in the reformed branch of the Order and set up a number of reformed houses throughout Italy.¹⁴²³ A few years before his death, Giovanni embarked upon the dissemination of the Observant reform in Puglia and in Calabria together with one of his disciples, Tommaso da Firenze, known also as Tommaso Bellacci or Tommaso da Scarlino (1370–1447). Tommaso assumed Giovanni's offices following his death in 1418, becoming the vicar of Puglia and

¹⁴²² Mariano da Firenze, *Compendium* in *AFH* 4, 123: "Frater Lanzilaus etiam regali prosapia regis Ung[a]rie, vir utique sanctus, in loco de scarlino sub beati Thome de Florentia ducatu perfectio multa floruit."

¹⁴²³ For Giovanni's biography, see Sensi, "Giovanni da Stroncone"; for his role in the reform in Italy, see idem, *Le osservanze francescane nell'Italia centrale (secoli XIV-XV)* (Rome: Istituto storico dei Cappuccini, 1995) 54, 68, 275; and Nimmo, *Reform and Division*, 455–457.

Calabria and founding several convents in these regions. In 1419, Tommaso was entrusted with the task of eradicating the *fraticelli de opinione* in the area of Maremma, near Siena. He stayed in the Convent of San Benedetto della Nave at Montorsaio¹⁴²⁴ with a few other friars, possibly including Lancelao, who earned distinction by chasing away the *fraticelli* when they attacked the house.¹⁴²⁵ But Tommaso's most beloved dwelling place was the hermitage of Scarlino, the predecessor of the Observant Franciscan Convent of Monte Muro. Tommaso's community at Scarlino became an important spiritual center in Tuscany for those friars who wished to observe the rules of Francis living in a quasi-eremitic lifestyle. Lancelao came here due to the zeal and the sanctity of the "pura observantia regolare" in the Provinces of Tuscany and of Saint Francis (the two provinces functioned as one until 1440). The region was renowned for its reformed Franciscan spirituality and its abundance of saintly friars. Tommaso da Firenze was a distinguished figure in his era and was highly esteemed by the leading figures of the second generation of the Observants as well.¹⁴²⁶ After his death during a mission in 1447, Tommaso was venerated as a blessed due to his *conversio* and the miracles that occurred at his tomb in the Church of St Francis in Rieti.¹⁴²⁷

In the early 1420s the hermitage of Monte Muro near Scarlino was transformed into a convent housing a reformed Franciscan community and its spiritual milieu attracted people from all social strata, ranging from unlettered lay people to descendants of Tuscan and Roman noble families.¹⁴²⁸ One of them Guasparre da Firenze became an important figure in the subsequent history of the Observants at Scarlino: the convent was rebuilt at his initiative and he was an

¹⁴²⁴ For the history of the Observant Convent of San Benedetto della Nave at Montorsaio, see Gonzaga, *De Origine*, 229–230.

¹⁴²⁵ This episode can be read in the anonymous *vita* of Tommaso da Firenze; see Mencherini, "Vita del B. Tommaso da Firenze (testo inedito del sec. XV)," *Studi francescani* 1 (1914-1915), 94–96. It is not certain that the friar in question was Lancelao, since the following can be read on page 95: "[...] et chosi gridando et chorendo, frate Lanzilao ungero, *se ben mi richorda* [emphasis mine – E. K.], el quale nel seculo era huomo bellicoso et di forte natura con un palo di legnio in mano achuto si messe in fra quegli heretici faciendo con quelli si chome havessi una partigiana [...]." The same story can be found in the *vita* of Tommaso da Firenze of MS Norcia of the *Franceschina*, vol. I, 228 no. 24; cf. Banfi, "San Bernardino da Siena," 13 n. 13.

¹⁴²⁶ In 1438 accompanied John of Capistrano to the Province of the Orient, and between 1439 and 1444 he was sent on missions to Egypt, Ethiopia, and Constantinople. He was captured three times by the Ottomans.

¹⁴²⁷ Bartolomei Romagnoli, "Osservanza francescana e disciplina del culto dei santi," 127–128. In 1514, Cardinal Antonio del Monte, a papal legate in Umbria, provided indulgences for the pilgrims who visited his tomb and the same year the citizens of Rieti started the campaign for his beatification that was eventually approved in 1771.

¹⁴²⁸ For Tommaso da Firenze's disciples, see his legend in *La Franceschina*, vol. 1, 215–249; Dionisio Pulinari da Firenze, *Cronache dei Fratri Minori della provincia di Toscana*, ed. Saturnino Mencherini, OFM (Arezzo: Cooperativa tipografica, 1913), 446–452.

important propagator of the local cult of Lancelao. In the sixteenth century, the convent was attacked and looted by the Ottomans first in 1539 and again in 1566, after which the friars decided to leave the convent. However, at the initiative of General Minister Francesco Gonzaga, a decision was made at the Chapter of Poggibonsi in 1580 to repopulate the convent.¹⁴²⁹ In the opinion of Dionisio Pulinari, Gonzaga, who was “stimulated by the odor and the name of such great holiness,” proposed reviving the convent, probably due to the rather high number of friars buried there “because in those early times those early brothers were saints.”¹⁴³⁰ It shows that the importance of the burial place of saintly friars as a potential site of miracles and thus of local cult had not decreased with the Observant Franciscans more than a century later.¹⁴³¹

The Church and the Convent of Sant’Angelo in Milan

Lancelao did not spend all his life at the community of Scarlino. As his *vita* composed by Mariano reveals, after Bernardino of Siena had spread the “new observance” in Lombardy, on divine inspiration he was appointed guardian of the Convent of Sant’Angelo near Milan. The contrast between the hermitage-like Observant house at Scarlino and the convent of Sant’Angelo could not have been greater: the Sant’Angelo (“Vecchio” or “fuori le mura”) was the first Observant church and convent in Milan, established thanks to the celebrated preaching tour and peacemaking activities of Bernardino in northern Italy, during which he visited the city three times between 1418 and 1421. The construction of the church and the convent is traditionally associated with the first visit of Bernardino to Milan in 1418, although in fact it was only in 1421 that Filippo Maria Visconti approved the concession of an already existing oratory outside the city walls to the reformed friars.¹⁴³² The Observant movement, and especially Bernardino, attracted so many people that the small chapel was soon no longer sufficient and had to be enlarged. The new church was dedicated to Santa Maria degli Angeli

¹⁴²⁹ For the history of the Observant convent of Monte Muro near Scarlino, see Pulinari, *Cronache*, 440–443; Gonzaga, *De Origine*, 229–230.

¹⁴³⁰ Pulinari, *Cronache*, 443: “[...] perché in quei primi tempi quei frati erano santi. Così lui [Francesco Gonzaga] da quell’odore e nome di santità tanto grande [...]”

¹⁴³¹ It is enough to think of John of Capestrano, who after the victorious Battle of Belgrade (1456) against the Ottomans shortly before his death ordered that he be buried at the Observant Convent of Újlak (Ilok, Croatia). The convent, with the active contribution of Observant friars of the convents and Voivode Miklós Újvári—who started spreading the saintly fame of Capistrano at his deathbed and also supported the popular veneration of his body—was soon turned into a famous pilgrimage site. See Andrić, *The Miracles of St John of Capistran*, 69, 91–96, 159.

¹⁴³² The oratory of Sant’Angelo and the later Observant church and convent was situated next to the Martesana channel located between the present-day Porta Nuova and Porta Garibaldi.

and the sumptuous and huge monastic complex was able to accommodate more than 100 friars.¹⁴³³ Although a few parchment documents related to the Observant church and convent of Sant'Angelo from the period before their partial destruction in 1527 survive at the Archivio di Stato of Milan, none of the eight documents from the period between 1421 and 1460 record the name of Lancelao, the alleged guardian of the convent at an unspecified time.¹⁴³⁴ Neither Mariano's *Compendium*, nor Dionisio Pulinari's *Cronache*, nor Gonzaga's *De origine* mentions Lancelao's sojourn in Milan. Despite the various possible explanations of the causes of this omission based on the genre or the aim of the works, these chronicles clearly show that regardless the path a friar takes in his life, it is the place where he dies and is buried which, in the end, is of utmost importance: in Lancelao's case, this was the convent of Monte Muro at Scarlino. According to both Oddi and Mariano, Lancelao was guardian of the Convent of Sant'Angelo at the time of the plague in Milan. There were two serious plague epidemics in Milan during the fifteenth century—the first in 1424 and the second and more deadly one between 1449 and 1452.¹⁴³⁵ In Mariano's redaction, the plague coincided with Lancelao's entry into the convent, while his term as guardian ended after the plague and he died soon after his return to Scarlino. If Francesco da Pavia indeed died in 1450, the great plague epidemic during which Lancelao was the guardian of the Convent of Sant'Angelo could only be the one that occurred in 1424. The plague of 1449–52 could not be that to which Mariano referred in his work even if Francesco died in 1454, because he stayed in the Observant house “de le Carote” in Verona before moving to Umbria at an unspecified time prior to the year 1446.¹⁴³⁶

The Hungarian royal origin and the riddle of the united provinces

There is little information regarding the life of Lancelao before he went to Italy and even the little that exists is ambiguous. “There was a holy brother in the Order called brother Lancelao, a native of the province of Hungary and a scion of the royal house of Hungary” says Oddi at the

¹⁴³³ Gonzaga, *De Origine*, 340–341.

¹⁴³⁴ Grosselli, Zelia. “Documenti Quattrocenteschi per la chiesa e il convento di S. Angelo di Milano,” *Arte Lombarda*, Nuova Serie 64 (1), Atti del Convegno problemi aperti 5 (1983): 104–108.

¹⁴³⁵ Francesco Cognasso, *Istituzioni comunali e signorili di Milano sotto i Visconti*, in *Storia di Milano*, vol.6 (Milan: Fondazione Treccani degli Alfieri, 1955), 419–546, at 519–520.

¹⁴³⁶ Vasoli, “Beccaria, Antonio” [Francesco da Pavia] in *DBAI*.

beginning of his account.¹⁴³⁷ Some decades later, Mariano da Firenze writes the same: “In the Kingdom of Hungary there was a most illustrious man of royal lineage or blood of the Hungarian king.”¹⁴³⁸ The ruler to whom Lancelao was related is not specified in any of the above sources.¹⁴³⁹ Not even Mariano brings us closer to answering the question when he writes in Lancelao’s *vita* that the friar “after obtaining permission from his minister, went to Puglia, which province was united with the province of Hungary.”

Décsényi interpreted “province” to mean “kingdom” and the union between Puglia and Hungary to be a reference to Louis the Great’s campaigns for the title of the King of Naples in the years 1347–48 and 1350–52, of which only the first was successful.¹⁴⁴⁰ Banfi added another period of union, the short reign of Charles II in the years 1385–1386.¹⁴⁴¹ If one accepts Décsényi’s interpretation, Lancelao could not have been born after the late 1320s or early 1330s, though if this is true, he could have hardly been one of the disciples of Tommaso da Firenze and have personally known Francesco da Pavia.¹⁴⁴² The other period of union seems more plausible, because in this case Lancelao could not have been born much later than 1360 if he indeed left for Puglia in 1385 or 1386 even though this would mean that he spent more than three decades (!) wandering in different Franciscan communities in Italy before he settled down in the community at Scarlino at around the age of 60.

In order to clarify this enigma, I would like to propose another interpretation of the unity of the province of Puglia and the province of Hungary that can be found only in Mariano’s version. “Province” in the sense used by Oddi and Mariano can indicate a Franciscan geographical unit. In 1385, Raimondo del Balzo Orsini founded in Puglia the Convent of Santa Caterina di

¹⁴³⁷ Oddi, *La Franceschina*, vol.1, 147: “Era nell’Ordine uno santo frate chiamato frate Lancelao, nativo de la provintia de Ongaria et de la casa del re de Ongaria.”

¹⁴³⁸ MS Landau-Finaly 243, fol. 186r: “Nel regnio di Hungaria fu uno illustrissimo signore della prosapia o vero sangue Regale del Re Bongerio [sic!]”; MS Sessoriano 412, fol. 88v: “Del beato frate Lazilao Vnghero di casa Reale. Nel Regno d’Vngheria Fu Vno Inlustrissimo Signore della prosapia et Sangue regale del Re Hongerio.”

¹⁴³⁹ There were four monarchs, three of whom belonged to the Capetian House of Anjou, who reigned in Hungary during Lancelao’s lifetime and to whom, according to these works, he may have been related: King Louis the Great (1342–1382); Queen Mary (1382–1385); King Charles II (Charles of Durazzo; 1385–1386); and King Sigismund (1387–1437). According to Banfi, Lancelao descended from the Angevin dynasty; see Banfi, “San Bernardino da Siena,” 13.

¹⁴⁴⁰ Décsényi, “Olaszországi történelmi kutatások,” 131.

¹⁴⁴¹ Banfi, “San Bernardino da Siena,” 28.

¹⁴⁴² This controversy was already pointed out in Banfi, “Oddi di Perugia, P. Giacomo,” 476. The reference to the permission of Lancelao’s minister indicates that Mariano carefully stressed that the friar’s wandering was allowed; the Observant Franciscans discouraged itinerant life, and beginning in the mid-fifteenth century they legislated against those who left their convents without the approval of their superiors.

Galatina, which Pope Boniface IX attached to the Bosnian vicariate via the bull *Pia vota* of 1391, authorizing the Vicar of Bosnia *Bartolomeo d'Alverna* that the Bosnian friars could stay in this convent and instructing him to found other houses in the area. This became the custody of Santa Catherina, which was composed essentially of the convents of Puglia and one more of Crotone, from where the friars went to Bosnia to convert the “heretics” and the “schismatics” and which belonged to the Observant Franciscan Vicariate of Bosnia until 1446.¹⁴⁴³ The Observants Franciscans were part of the Vicariate of Bosnia until 1448, when Pope Nicholas V permitted the establishment of an independent Observant Vicariate of Hungary, which until 1523 was called *familia Fratrum Minorum de observantia*.¹⁴⁴⁴ A further argument in favor of this reading is that Mariano, as seen above, specified two parts of Puglia in his *vita*—the Province of Puglia and the Province of Sant’Angelo. I propose that the interpretation of the unity of the provinces between 1391 and 1446 makes it possible that Lancelao left Hungary later, presumably in the second half of the 1410s.

Although the possibility that Lancelao was indeed related to the Hungarian royal house cannot be excluded despite the lack of sources that would support this assumption, it may well be that affirmation of his royal lineage was merely a hagiographic *topos*. André Vauchez observed that, beginning in the fourteenth century, the royal origin of saints was in many cases the “invention” of the hagiographers, especially when available biographic information about the relevant saint was scarce. Vauchez also noticed that Hungary had acquired a privileged role compared to other countries in this respect.¹⁴⁴⁵ Due to the exceptional number of saints and blessed from the Árpád dynasty between the eleventh and the fourteenth centuries, the tradition of royal holiness as a hereditary trait (*beata stirps*) was widely applied in representative purposes by the royal house. This was continued in the fourteenth century by the subsequent ruling dynasty of Hungary, the Angevins.¹⁴⁴⁶ As Dávid Falvai has shown, the attribution of royal origin to saints and other legendary and historical figures was a frequent phenomenon in vernacular hagiographic works produced in central Italy. These personages were often represented as the

¹⁴⁴³ Sensi, “Movimenti di osservanza,” 127–128.

¹⁴⁴⁴ Karácsonyi, *Szt. Ferencz*, vol. 1, 305–329; de Cevins, *Les franciscains observants hongrois*, 39–43.

¹⁴⁴⁵ Vauchez “*Beata stirps*: sainteté et lignage en occident aux XIII^e et XIV^e siècles” in: *Famille et parenté dans l’Occident médiéval. Actes du colloque de Paris (6-8 juin 1974)* (Rome: École française de Rome, 1977), 397–406, at 398 n.2, 399–404.

¹⁴⁴⁶ Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers*.

offspring of the Hungarian king, who was described either as pagan or recently converted.¹⁴⁴⁷ Falvay found that the Hungarian origin of a saintly person, be it real or fictitious, did not serve as historical data, but as a rhetorical element.¹⁴⁴⁸ The examination of both devotional and secular texts in Western Europe in which the protagonists were credited with Hungarian royal origin has led Enikő Csukovits to conclude that the attribution served to enhance their reputation by representing them as members of the ruling dynasty of a distant, though nevertheless important, kingdom.¹⁴⁴⁹ In addition to this, turning away from courtly high society and embracing poverty represented a recurring motif in the hagiographic literature produced by the mendicant orders that goes back as far as the thirteenth century.¹⁴⁵⁰ It must be said, however, that the fictitious royal origin of saints turned up in legends and *exempla* that originated in the centuries before this attribute was added to them. In any case, Lancelao's (alleged) royal origin underlines the sharp contrast between the choice to join the Franciscans in order to live in poverty and his journey to find a community that truly observed the Rule of Francis that eventually led him to Tuscany.

Conclusions

The earliest sources regarding Lancelao d'Ongaria are devotional texts combining biographical and historical events with hagiographic *topoi*. The two main redactions of his legend have come down to us as parts of works written in the Umbrian and the Tuscan vernacular, which suggest that the Observant authors had in mind a popular Franciscan audience. The texts that Oddi and Mariano wrote regarding Lancelao are based on oral tradition collected primarily from the Observant friars who preserved and transmitted information regarding the lives and the deeds of their saintly forefathers. The importance of Oddi's text is that it recorded in writing the existence of Lancelao and likely drew the attention of Mariano to the friar many years later,

¹⁴⁴⁷ Falvay, *Magyar dinasztikus szentek*, 191–200. An example of the fictitious Hungarian origin of saints can be found in the works of Falvay: “Santa Guglielma, regina d’Ungheria”; “Szent Albanus, a vérfertőző magyar királyfi”; and the pious Enrico, son of the Hungarian king, in his *Magyar dinasztikus szentek*, 171–173.

¹⁴⁴⁸ Royal origin had stronger connotations in Italy than it did in other countries, probably because in northern and central Italy the institution of the kingdom did not exist; see Falvay, *Magyar dinasztikus szentek*, 199.

¹⁴⁴⁹ Enikő Csukovits, *Magyarországról és a magyarokról. Nyugat-Európa magyar-képe a középkorban* [About Hungary and the Hungarians. The image of Hungary of Western Europe] (Budapest: MTA Bölcsészettudományi Kutatóközpont Történettudományi Intézet, 2015), 174.

¹⁴⁵⁰ Most notably in the cases of two princesses of the Árpád dynasty, St Elizabeth of Hungary who had close relationship with the recently founded Order of Minor Brothers, and Margaret of Hungary the Dominican nun who lived in the monastery on the Island of Buda.

while the greatest merit of the latter's work is that he furnished (or invented?) the historical context for Lancelao's life. I showed that Mariano's redaction of the *vita* of Lancelao is not based on a textual archetype, but it is the revised elaborated version of Oddi's short account that the historian-hagiographer shaped to the requirements of a biography. Oddi's account was not suitable for Mariano's purposes: Francesco da Pavia's vision about Lancelao resembles an extended *exemplum* in which the protagonist is a Franciscan friar whose figure exhibits the fusion of the medieval *topoi* of the wandering knight and Hungarian royal origin. The latter, supposed or real, was a recurring motif in the vernacular hagiographic texts produced in Italy beginning in the fourteenth century and this tradition survived until the early modern period. The additional information Mariano included in the *vita* of Lancelao could be based partially on that which he collected through oral communication from those who still had some memories of the disciples of Tommaso da Firenze and partially on a possible retrospective reconstruction Mariano made using his common sense and vast knowledge of the history of the Franciscan Observants in Italy.

Both Oddi and Mariano state in their hagiographic collections that Lancelao was the disciple of Tommaso da Firenze at the house of Scarlino and had been buried there. Mariano's remark from the last lines of Lancelao's *vita* regarding his local cult at Scarlino asserting that the faithful visited for the purpose of healing suggests that Guasparre da Firenze was successful in the enhancement of the friar's saintly reputation. The convent at Scarlino was regarded already by near contemporaries to be an emblematic place at which the true sons of the Observance were raised under the guidance of Tommaso da Firenze and it later became a kind of pantheon dedicated to the early friars of the Observance, all of whom were regarded as saints. Its fame as a sacred site had not faded completely even by the late sixteenth century, which could be one of the reasons for the decision to repopulate the abandoned convent. Repeated Ottoman attacks brought an end to Lancelao's local cult, as well as those of the other friars of Scarlino, because it seems that the Francesco Gonzaga's initiative to repopulate the Observant convent of Monte Muro was successful. It was thanks to Oddi that the figure of Lancelao survived, while it was due to Mariano that he endured as the typical representative of a humble and ascetic friar living at the Franciscan community of Scarlino in seclusion and whose spirituality was formed by the teachings of the eminent Observant Tommaso da Firenze. As a result of works of Franciscan

historiography and collective memory over the following centuries, the name of Lancelao is still associated with the Convent of Monte Muro.

VII. Conclusions

I have presented eleven canonized saints and more than a dozen blessed of the Order of Preacher Friars and the Order of Minor Brothers between the early thirteenth and early sixteenth centuries who were in one way or another related to medieval Hungary. Since with the exception of Louis of Toulouse none of the saints who gained papal recognition had special connection to Hungary, I assumed that the investigation of the traces of the veneration (and in some cases, cult) of these “imported” contemporary saints in the country based on different types of sources would show some instructive results and provide additional details to the “saintly politics” of the two great mendicant orders and other agents as well known otherwise through the cases of the Dominican nun Margaret of Hungary (d.1270) and the Observant Franciscan John of Capistrano (d.1456). In this concluding section I review the outcomes that I had presented in the body of the dissertation at the end of each chapter from a different, thematic point of view.

One of the aims of the dissertation was to provide a more complex understanding of the activities of the mendicant friars aiming at the construction and the preservation of the memory of those figures that belonged to their orders, comprising also the female branch and the Third Order. This enterprise went well beyond the boundaries of Hungary and we have seen several examples not only of what steps the *fratres* from Hungary made to keep up the fame of their officially canonized saints and to insert the names of those figures who had a local cult but I have investigated the cases of those friars who originated from Hungary but lived or ended their lives far from their homeland, and who became part of the collective memory of the respective orders. Although the role of the friars in these processes has been acknowledged in historiographical tradition, I have tried to present some concrete examples of their activity, in other words, “catching them in the act”. This endeavour, however, proved to be successful only in certain areas. The friars’ involvement in the dedication of churches to saints belonging to the Dominican or the Franciscan order, be it their own buildings or other types of churches, in the iconographic program of the murals or the altars, or in the supplications to the Curia for permission of indulgences can hardly ever be proven. Nevertheless, the friars must have played a crucial role –albeit not traceable in the charters– in taking the initiative to turn either to a

religious or a secular authority for making such supplications. A strikingly small number of the churches of the convents of the two orders were dedicated to their saints (3 or 4 to St Dominic, 7 or 8 to St Francis, 1 or 2 to St Anthony, 1 or 2 to St Clare, and 1 to St Louis of Toulouse), although the number of altar dedications is considerably higher. The two orders were so much dependent on wealthy patrons (be lay or ecclesiastic) that these dedications must have been the outcome of a previous agreement but the mendicant community in question is hardly ever mentioned as the “active party”, and the initiative came from other agents –at least it is what the written sources attest. By looking at the different types of *patrocinia*, it became clear that the majority of church dedications to these saints cannot be directly associated with the two orders. This indicates that these saints, even though to different extent, were integrated to the community of the saints venerated in Hungary. In some cases, the street leading to the friars’ church or even a whole suburb preserved the name of the saint the church was dedicated to (Székesfehérvár – St Dominic; Győr – St Dominic; Buda – Peter of Verona). The friars could also be the beneficiaries of precious gifts that they could use in the service of the church but in this case, unlike the murals or altarpieces in churches, these were available only to a quite restricted group, as it was the case with the image representing the stigmatization of St Francis in the missal commissioned by Matthias Corvinus for friar Thomas. But there is example also to the contrary: the richly decorated permission of indulgence provided for the Franciscans of Sopron made for public display, with the image of the stigmatic St Francis on top.

Be they officially canonized or not, all the brothers who died in the fame of sanctity were regarded as saints within their order. That the founders’ sanctity gained official recognition was of crucial importance since it was generally held that it radiated to the whole order, and the high number of blessed in both orders was an apparent sign of this. The friars’ active role in the preservation and the dissemination of the cult of their saints were manifest in several spheres. In the case of the relics of St Dominic in the Dominican church of Somlyó and of St Peter Martyr in that of Patak, the friars took care of the local shrine by spreading the fame of the saints, registering and authenticating the miracles occurred here in their presence, and by sending these miracles to Bologna and Milan as it was decreed in the General Chapters. The miracles occurred at the tomb of those Franciscans who died in the fame of sanctity in the Franciscan convents of Hungary (Iohannes de Villafranca, Iohannes de Buda, Petrus de Buda, Gallus de

Strigonio, and the *conversus* Egedius de Strigonio) were also registered by the confriars and were then communicated to the Minister General and finally were added to the catalogue of saints. Keeping the local shrines alive was also among the tasks of the friars: whereas in the case of the Franciscan *beati* it is not known until when these tombs attracted pilgrims, in two other cases, one in Hungary the other in Italy (St Dominic's finger relic in Somlyó, and Lancelao de Ongaria's tomb in the Observant Franciscan church of the convent of Monte Muro at Scarlino), I have shown that despite the efforts of the local communities to keep these cults alive, by the sixteenth century none of the convents existed. There is, however, an important difference: whereas it is not known what happened to Dominic's relics in Somlyó, Lancelao's tomb still can be found at the ruins of the convent of Monte Muro. I have argued that the finger relic of St Dominic was not transferred to Székesfehérvár from Somlyó as it had been hypothesized in previous scholarship on the basis of a reference in the Domonkos Codex written in the Hungarian vernacular but it is a result of the mistranslation of the Latin source. St Dominic was regarded to be an efficient miracle worker in Hungary, and it is corroborated also by a contemporary sermon and by an image from his legend *Hungarian Angevin Legendary*. The friars from Hungary not only attracted the believers from the nearby settlements (particularly those looking for healing) to visit their churches where precious relics were preserved or where holy members of the order were buried, but also they themselves set out for pilgrimages to shrines far from Hungary, such as the three Franciscans who visited the shrine of St Bernardino of Siena in l'Aquila, seeking for cure. Taking into account the records about the holy friars and sisters in Hungary it has become clear that the pilgrimage destinations of the Order of Preachers included, in addition to Margaret of Hungary's tomb in the church of the convent on the Island of the Rabbits, the tomb of Mauritius of Csák in Győr, that of Helen of Hungary in Veszprém, and the Dominican churches in Somlyó and Patak where the relics of St Dominic and Peter martyr were preserved, respectively. By the same token, the Order of Minor Brothers, besides the renown burial place of John of Capestrano in the church of the Observant Franciscan convent in Újlak, since the late thirteenth century there had been other churches of convents that functioned for longer or shorter periods as local shrines in Nagyolaszi, Buda, and Esztergom. A basic difference between the saintly politics of the two orders in the thirteenth century was that only the Order of Preachers dispersed consciously the

relics of their two canonized saints in the different provinces of the order.

The friars also acted as trustworthy witnesses, as it turned out from the accounts of the miracles attributed to the intercession of St Dominic and Peter of Verona, and the authenticity of these miracles was further increased by the fact that they were narrated by the Dominican prior of the convent where they occurred (Svipertus, Nicolas de Castro Ferro). Likewise, Bernardino of Siena's healing miracles were authenticated by no other than John of Capestrano, as we are informed by the author of the *Sermones dominicales* and by Osvaldus de Lasko.

Most of what we know about the friars' activities concerning the dissemination of the cult of their saints is based on the chronicles, sermons and hagiographic material they produced. I have not found any work of art commissioned directly by friars. Short entries as well as longer hagiographic accounts on the friars from Hungary who died in *fama sanctitatis* were included in the two great Franciscan works from the second half of the fourteenth century, the *Chronica XXIV generalium* and the *De Conformitate vitae beati Francisci*. It is remarkable that even though the latter treatise was often referred to by Pelbartus de Themeswar and Osvaldus de Lasko in their sermons, they never make mention of the holy friars from Hungary. In the first two centuries of the functioning of the two orders, the preservation of the memory of these blessed was the responsibility of the friars of their respective orders, and only after the Observant reform, from the mid-fifteenth century onwards did their saintly fame reach a wider audience through sermons and hagiographic works written in the vernacular, primarily in Italy. To put it differently: there was a shift in the friars' attitude in this process from preservation to propagation. The spread of the publishing industry was also crucial in this process since the memory of little known figures was perpetuated in printed works less likely to be destroyed than manuscripts. As to Hungary, Petrus Ransanus's *Epithoma* and Carthusian Anonymous's sermon on St Catherine of Siena are the only extant works that –despite that they were not written for a specifically Dominican audience– give account either of Blessed Helen or other stigmatic virgins of the order outside Hungary. From among the accounts on the Dominicans and Franciscans originating from Hungary who suffered martyrdom here by the Mongolians or during the mission to the East those became the most “successful” ones that described in detail why and in what circumstances these friars died for Christian faith. This leads us to the next

significant contribution of the friars: the recycling of the original hagiographic material.

The three principal directions were 1) making use of hagiographic texts in the composition of sermons 2) the revision of already existing *vitae* 3) translation/adaptation of the Latin text to the vernacular. Spectacular examples to these can be found in the sermons of the Observant Franciscans in Hungary and beyond, who used them to exhort their audience not to be afraid to die for Christ – an issue particularly topical in the period of the constant Ottoman threat. James of the Marches included the tortures Stephanus de Ungaria had to suffer by the Muslims in one of his sermons, and Pelbartus and Osvaldus highlighted in their sermons that the early Franciscan saints (St Francis, St Anthony, St Clare) were all ready to suffer martyrdom while spreading the words of God. The formation of the Observant Franciscan hagiographic tradition in the Italian vernacular was started by Giacomo Oddi da Perugia around the mid-fifteenth century and reached its peak with Mariano da Firenze half a century later. All the newly composed *vitae* by the two authors were then incorporated in the monumental Franciscan historiographical works written in Latin. I have followed this process through the different versions of the legend of blessed Lancelao d'Ongaria, whose case was also a typical instance of the creation of a cult retroactively, by anchoring him to the renowned convent of Monte Muro at Scarlino where he was allegedly buried.

I have presented the *De Viris Illustribus* collections, a genre in hagiography emerging in the early fifteenth-century made up of the lives of the Dominican male and female blessed of both sexes. The diligent accumulation of these *vitae* attest to (at least some of) the authors' assiduous research in the order's past, but it was the form that was revised in order to imitate the classical tradition, not the content. The legends of Buzád, Mauritius of Csák, and Margaret and Helen of Hungary survived thanks to the Dominicans' careful record keeping and the constant up-dating of the legends, which proved to be unusually successful in the case of Margaret and Helen who became significant figures in the Dominican reformers' long-lasting struggle to gain papal recognition to Catherine of Siena's sanctity. Little information is available on to what extent the Dominican hagiographers considered that these blessed should be canonized: according to Johannes Meyer, Margaret of Hungary should have been canonized a long time ago, and there is a hint also by Girolamo Borselli that the initiation of the canonization of Mauritius of Csák

was not unimaginable. In the cases of the two Dominican nuns, in addition to the dissemination of their *vitae* among the Dominican female communities in northern Italy, we can observe another form of “recycling”: Tommaso Caffarini’s selection of the information related to the two nuns’ stigmatization that could be used in favour of the Sienese *mantellata*’s case. As to the friars’ activity in making available the lives of these saints in the vernacular, we have seen a number of cases from the mid-fifteenth century onwards, culminating in the first third of the sixteenth century. Whereas in the case of the Jókai Codex it remains a puzzle for whom its earlier translation was made around 1400 and for whom and where it was copied in the 1440s, all the other works were translated from Latin to Hungarian presumably by the friars appointed with the spiritual direction of the Dominican nuns on the Island of the Rabbits or of the Clarisses in Óbuda to provide them with community reading. Characteristically, the codices that report the entire legend of a mendicant saint, be they about one saint and his companions (St Dominic’s legend in the Domonkos Codex) or collections in which the saint’s life is only one of the many (Catherine of Siena’s legend in the Érsekújvári Codex), are never literal translations but skilful compilations and/or adaptations of the Latin texts. Exception to this is the Jókai Codex that follows the Latin source(s) so closely that the Hungarian texts is often hardly understandable. In connection to this codex, I have argued that the original context in which the *Speculum perfectionis* and the *Actus beati Francisci* were written had little relevance more than half a century later in a different geographical area not reached by the “Spiritual” versus “Conventual” controversy and what in fact mattered was to provide additional material of instructive but at the same time entertaining character to the official legend of St Francis. Episodes from such works were known in Hungary also outside the Franciscan milieu, for instance by the author of the *Sermones dominicales*. I have pointed out that the poem on the Passion of Christ narrated by the animated Crucifix in the Jókai Codex could have been based on an earlier source than Bartolomeo da Pisa’s *De Conformitate*, and thus this work is cannot be used to determine the dating of the earlier Hungarian translation. But the overwhelming majority of the vernacular codices I examined show that the translators in the early sixteenth century worked mostly on the basis of printed Latin works than handwritten manuscripts. A noteworthy exception to this is the Domonkos Codex since almost its third part is based on the *Vitas fratrum* published for the first time in the early seventeenth century. The fact that the popular

thirteenth-century Dominican collective hagiographies, like the *De universale apibus* and the *Vitas fratrum* were published more than a century later than the Franciscan *florilegia* based on the *Speculum perfectionis* and the *Actus*, which could be one of the reasons why the first generation of the Franciscan saints (Francis, Anthony and Clare) and the early brothers seem to be more well-known and popular with the laity and the clergy alike than the Dominican ones, at least that is what the almost complete lack of Dominican saints in churches either on murals or altarpieces indicate.

Now let us sum up in what ways the friars contributed to the introduction of new or the solidification of already existing cults of the saints of their orders. One of them was assigning a privileged role to those saints in their collections who belonged to their own order, by offering more sermons for their feasts than the average. The authors, beside providing models to the *confrères* in preparing their sermons –about which we do not know how they were performed– did not miss to underline that these saints can be powerful intercessors also in Hungary, enough to think of Dominic’s miracles mentioned in one of the sermons of the Codex of Leuven, or to Pelbartus’s sermon composed for the feast of the freshly canonized St Bonaventure giving account of a healing miracle attributed to the saint’s intercession that recently occurred in Esztergom. The friars also took care of the provision of the legends of the recently canonized saints of their order, as did Leonardus Regensperger, prior of the reformed Dominican convent of Buda. The friars supplied the nuns with community reading, which made necessary the translations of these legends to which they would also add some pieces of devotional literature, which, in the case of the Érsekújvári Codex was by St Catherine of Siena herself, although the audience probably did not know that. Finally, the friars were instrumental in the creation of the Dominican and Franciscan, later the reform Dominican and Observant Franciscan identities that they shaped through various channels. The two most emblematic examples of this were, on the one hand, the thirteenth-century sermons on St Dominic and Peter Martyr written for novices transmitting the image of a founder whose activity as preacher was combined with learning and teaching, while the sermons on the martyr presented a saint targeted primarily at the eradication of moral and theological sins of the people. On the other hand, the story of Lancelao d’Ongaria, the eminent Observant Franciscan in northern Italy, the first record of whom comes down to us in a form of an extended *exemplum* pointing out that the most valuable quality of a Franciscan

in the fifteenth century is no longer to live in perfect poverty but to be obedient to his superiors—a crucial change in the Observant Franciscan creed. Another way of strengthening the community identity was the creation of portrait galleries in the convents representing the illustrious figures of the order from the past. This is how images of Blessed Mauritius of Csák were depicted in the church of the Dominican convent of Santa Maria Novella in Florence and in the convent of San Niccolò in Treviso in the fourteenth century. The same tradition was present in the Franciscan Order, too: Stefanus de Ungaria, who suffered martyrdom in the town of Saray as well as the five martyrs of Bulgaria including a friar from Hungary could be all found depicted in the corridors of the Observant Franciscan convent at La Verna. Apart from Stefanus, there is also a further link between Hungary and the Franciscan mission to the East: a missal containing the inscription that it belonged to Ladislaus de Saray in the early fourteenth century. The idea of the genealogical trees was not entirely different from the above mentioned large-scale presentation of the saintly pantheon but on these trees the founder was physically related to all the saints and blessed of both sexes. That Margaret and Helen of Hungary were more frequently depicted than any other holy figures of the two great mendicant orders, can be ascribed undoubtedly to the cult of Catherine of Siena, which had been flourishing even since her death and grew even more with her canonization in 1461. Being in corridors, refectories, or choirs of the convents, the images of the blessed was displayed only to a limited public: the religious community. On rare occasions they could be seen also by the laity who frequented the church where the altar was placed (Pala da Fiesole).

The other aim of my research was to make more visible the role of the laity in the preservation of the memory of the Dominican and Franciscan saints. Although the greater part of the examples covering both written and visual sources is related to royal and aristocratic milieu, also lower ranking people's devotion to one of these saints was presented. Only one single case is known when the royal couple chose the saint to whom they wanted to offer the convent founded for the friars: Charles Robert's and Elizabeth Piast's dedication of the Franciscan convent of Lippa to St Louis of Anjou. The Angevin rulers had altars dedicated to their saintly relative in churches that were of special importance for them as royal burial places, the collegiate chapters of Várad and presumably that of Székesfehérvár. More information came down to us about bequeathing a certain sum of money for an erection of an altar (Péter

Zsombori for Clare, Anna of Pattendorf and János Marcali for Bernardino) or for the celebration of a regular mass (János Drágffy for St Francis on Fridays), and the lay patrons' supplication for indulgences for the friars' church built on their estates can be postulated (Jakcs family on the feasts of Bernardino and Francis). Pilgrims, who mostly consisted of lay people, visited also the nearby shrines, such as Dominic's relics in Somlyó and those of Peter Martyr in Patak in the mid-thirteenth century. Going abroad in order to visit a shrine of a saint was the privilege of the highest layer of society but evidence show that after their sojourn in Rome, a few Hungarians paid a visit to the shrine of St Bernardino in l'Aquila, and an abundant number of pilgrims from Hungary had been present at his canonization held in Rome in the Jubilee Year of 1450.

The saints of the mendicant orders can be found on some precious objects that were commissioned by the members of the royal house, although their role in the design of the artwork is doubtful. The Anthony-Francis and Dominic-Peter saintly duo can be seen on a diptych commissioned presumably by Tomasina Morosini for his son Andrew (the future King Andrew III) around 1290 on which the saints are present in their quality as representatives of the two mendicant orders of equal importance. Similarly, in the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* there are two cycles about Dominican and two about Franciscan saints, but it is the legend of St Francis which is the longest among them, hinting to his special status among these saints. In the *Illuminated Chronicle*, it is clearly Louis of Toulouse's connection to the Angevin dynasty that motivates his presence and does not imply specific affection for the order on the part of the commissioners. The missal ordered by Matthias Corvinus shortly before 1469 for a Franciscan (in all likelihood an Observant) called Thomas, the founder's stigmatization was among the themes of the images depicting scenes that were considered to be of special relevance for the friar.

Who else?

The *sorores* of the female branches of the Dominican and the Franciscan orders had significantly less opportunity to safeguard the memory of their saints. It turns out from the opening sentence of the legend of Blessed Helen of Hungary that similarly to the friars, also the nuns had authority as witnesses –no matter whether her legend is an early fifteenth-century

counterfeit or not. Their main role, however, was to act as scribe in making the final copy of the translation draft provided by the spiritual director. There is no written evidence from Hungary that the nuns could influence the spiritual director's selection of the texts to be translated for them although an indirect reference by the Carthusian Anonymous speaks about writing his collection of sermons and legends in the Hungarian vernacular at the request of those male and female religious and laypeople who did not know Latin may be seen as a hint to that. Nevertheless, some isolated instances can be observed, such as the seal of the Poor Clares of Óbuda representing the founder, St Clare of Assisi, on the outline of which the abbess presumably had a say. Clerics, ranging from parish priests to archbishops, contributed to the fostering of the cult of the mendicant saints, and in certain cases also showed a particular devotion to them. The friars were in daily connection with (parish) priests and were under the authority of the bishops. Whereas it is generally acknowledged in scholarship that the friar-parish priest relationship was frequently burdened with conflict, we have seen that it was the parish priest who went on pilgrimage with the members of the congregation to visit the finger relic of St Dominic in Somlyó, that some of them joined the Order of Preachers (Kolozsvar), or they mentioned the saints of the mendicant orders in their Sunday sermons, or turned to them as powerful intercessors in healing (Priest Mattheus de Sent-Endreas). The special place of burial next to the altar of St Dominic in Segesvár reserved for priests shows the saint's importance for the secular clergy and indicates what a privilege it was to be buried there. Devotion to St Dominic (partly) on the account of sharing the same name can be assumed in Bishop Domokos Bebek's altar foundation in the chapter of Várad and in Domokos Kálmáncsehi's *Breviary* where St Dominic and four other saintly figures of the Order of Preachers can be seen on the same page, extending the commissioner's commitment from the founder to the whole order.

The members of other religious orders contributed to the perpetuation of the memory of these saints. The most influential of them was the Carthusian Anonymous who provided his audience with vernacular sermons on altogether four saints of the abovementioned orders, but churches dedicated to St Dominic, associated with the Benedictine and the Pauline orders can be reckoned here as well. An exceptional case is the reformed Dominican church of Kolozsvar that seems to have been dedicated to the Franciscan St Anthony of Padua.

Images of sainthood

Can one speak about “mendicant sanctity” as such, based on the sources from late medieval Hungary? The most valuable pieces of information came from the thirteenth- and early fourteenth-century Dominican sermon collections and the Jókai and the Domonkos codices. The issue of poverty was central to the lives of the two founders and the first generations of the brotherhood according to sermons and hagiographic literature, but does not have a crucial role in the legends of other saints, like Thomas Aquinas or Anthony of Padua. It is only with St Francis that his commitment to live in perfect poverty became one of the two most important characteristics common between Christ and the saint (the other one being the stigmata), often associated with nakedness both in the concrete and the abstract sense. The impact of the observant reform in the fifteenth century left its imprints on the sermons and the hagiographic literature. A remarkable reference to the changes that occurred in the mendicant orders’ attitude towards poverty in the Domonkos Codex exhibits that it was a topical issue for the Dominican nuns in Hungary even in the early sixteenth century. The two versions of the legend of Lancelao d’Ongaria, although made in a different milieu, testifies to this fundamental shift of emphasis, too: for the Observant Franciscans, poverty, albeit a valuable virtue, is no longer the most precious one. In the sermons of the two Hungarian Observant Franciscans, the founder’s adherence to poverty is only one of the several signs of his conformity to Christ. While in the written sources the activity of preaching and the eloquence of preachers are emphasized when speaking of male saints –with the exception of Thomas Aquinas—this is less evident in the visual sources. This difference can be explained partly by the fact that in the majority of the artworks it is the saint’s *imago* and not the cycle of his legend that survives. It has been pointed out in the earlier scholarship that in the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* the saints belonging to the mendicant orders are quite rarely represented in the act of preaching, but the situation was different in churches, it is enough to think of the images of St Francis in Csetnek, St Bernardino in Lőcse, or St Anthony on the Brulya altarpiece represented with a fish, a clear reference to his preaching activity. Characteristically, only Franciscan preaching is associated with animals.

Whereas the Franciscan Anthony of Padua and the Dominican Peter of Verona were both regarded as saints whose wisdom was of divine origin, teaching was of utmost importance only

for the Order of Preachers. The third fundamental characteristic is the friars' mission of the conversion of heretics and sinners. Peter of Verona's inquisitorial activity is mentioned only once in the sources, but stories about the disputes with and the conversion of "heretics" comprising the heretical groups in southern France or northern Italy as well as Muslims in North Africa and in the Near East turn up over and over again in the sermons and vernacular legends about the early Franciscan and Dominican saints. From the fifteenth century onwards, the mission of the Observant Franciscans targeted at the moral reform of their own order and the whole society, and also at stopping the expansion of the Ottoman troops: the former effort was primarily characteristic to Italy, while in Hungary the latter was more in the focus. In accordance with this, the two Hungarian Observant Franciscans speak about Bernardino of Siena as a reformer of spiritual life and of the technique of preaching centred on the devotion to the Holy Name of Jesus, while in their sermons on earlier Franciscan saints, they highlighted the saints desire to die for Christian faith in their encounters with the Saracens. Even though the first mendicant friars who suffered martyrdom in 1221 were the so-called five martyrs of Morocco, the first canonized martyr saint who belonged to a mendicant order was the Dominican Peter of Verona. We have seen that in the thirteenth-century sermons he was referred to as the "new martyr" and this quality made him entitled to the Triple Crown, with which the Order of Preachers put forward the superiority of their own saint over the others. The Order of Minor Brothers did not succeed in having a Franciscan martyr canonized by the pope until 1481 when the liturgical veneration of the protomartyrs of Morocco was permitted. Originating from the *De Conformitate*, the idea that St Francis was actually a martyr on account of his stigmata became widespread also in Hungary by the turn of the sixteenth century. Also the necessary requirements for having a Triple Crown has changed: as we have seen in the sermon on St Bonaventure by Pelbartus of Themeswar, the thirteenth-century theologian was awarded with this gift on account of his visions, preaching and virginity; martyrdom was no longer among them.

Emulation

The sources reveal direct or indirect signs about the relationship between the two orders, ranging from cooperation to defamation. The legend of St Thomas Aquinas in the Debreceni

Codex of Franciscan provenance and the stigmatization of St Francis in the Dominican Virginia Codex show that these two female communities living in the surroundings of Buda were supposed to know about the saints of the other great mendicant order. The key figure(s) of the process of the translations and the exchange of copies were the spiritual director(s). It is known that for a certain period after the battle of Mohács in 1526, a Franciscan friar was appointed with the care of the Dominican nuns on the Island of Buda. Several textual and some visual sources from Hungary attest to the eschatological role of the two new orders, and in these works the founder saints are presented as equals. Those occasions, in turn, when an episode or an *exemplum* was “borrowed” from one saint’s hagiographic dossier and was applied to another one are to be regarded as attempts of emulation rather the sign of equality. Similarly, the Dominican the author/compiler of the *Sermones compilati* or the two Observant Franciscans did not include the feasts of the saints of the rival order in their collections. Further examples of emulation can be seen related to the wounds of St Francis: the Jókai Codex is reporting an episode about a Dominican friar trying to destroy the mural representation of the stigmatic Francis that ends with the friar’s recognition of the authenticity of the saint’s stigmata; in his sermon on the stigmata of St Francis, Pelbartus de Themeswar explains clearly why it is impossible for a woman to bear the wounds of Christ on her body without mentioning the Order of Preachers or Catherine of Siena.

In fifteenth and sixteenth-century Hungary, special intercessory role in salvation was attributed to the three founder saints, Dominic, Francis and Clare. This function can be seen in priests seeking to be buried next to an altar dedicated to St Dominic, or in the Latin sermon and vernacular hagiographic literature reporting the popular *exempla* of the three spears, Francis’ descent to Purgatory, or Clare’s death in the presence of the Virgin. The most important intercessor was of course the Virgin Mary, but St Dominic, and from the Franciscan family St Anthony of Padua, Clare of Assisi, Bonaventure and Bernardino of Siena all were in special relationship with her. The Virgin would appear to or work miracles for them, and the saints would propagate her veneration within the order, or the theological tenet related to her. We have observed how such an *exemplum* became a tool of religious instruction when translated from Latin to the Hungarian vernacular. These saints appeared as intermediaries on behalf of a female donor (Almakerék) or the whole congregation (Csíksomlyó) also on high altars

representing the Virgin and the Infant Christ in the centre. A further reason why they were regarded as powerful intercessors was the frequency and the intensity of their prayers. St Francis was different from the other saints from the point of view that his devotion was directed to the suffering or crucified Christ rather than to the Virgin.

In medieval Hungary, the book as attribute was present with the saints of both orders, and it could refer to the friars' return to the path of apostolic life as well as to their erudition (Dominic, Peter, Anthony, Louis). The cross and the crucifix were reserved for the Franciscans: St Anthony used to preach about Christ's passion, and the crucified Christ himself narrated his passion to St Francis as we have seen in a number of Old Hungarian codices (Jókai Codex, Virginia Codex, Lázár Zelma codex). For the audience of these books St Francis, while certainly inimitable in many respects, in his meditation on the Passion of Christ was proposed as model to imitate. The monstrance with the shining Eucharist was St Clare's attribute, evoking her devotion to the *Corpus Christi*. It is debatable whether Bernardino of Siena's *tavoletta* with the IHS trigram on it, surrounded by rays of light, can be linked to the monstrance, but it soon came to life on its own and became the emblem of the whole Observant Franciscan movement. Since this emblem repeatedly turns up in the missal made for the Franciscan friar Thomas, it seems to be quite sure that he belonged to the Observant wing. With one single extant exception from Hervartó, the stigmata were the attributes of St Francis in the Hungarian visual sources. This wooden panel painting is unique because it depicts both Francis of Assisi and Catherine of Siena, the two stigmatic saints together, although only in the Poverello's case can it be seen where the wounds originated from. By the early sixteenth century, the great debates of the previous century over who could bear Christ's wound on his/her body no longer had a sharp polemical tone: outside the Franciscan milieu, St Francis and St Catherine were regarded as the two stigmatic saints. I have shown through the sermon of the Carthusian Anonymous that for a theologically not highly qualified audience the quality of Catherine's stigmata was not of particular concern. This, however, does not mean that any wings of the Franciscans, including the Observant Franciscans in Hungary, would have renounced to claim that only St Francis and no one else could have the stigmata, and they used in their argumentation works that had been written decades earlier. Basically two types of images can be distinguished in the case of St Francis: the portraits of a stigmatic saint, and the

images depicting the stigmatization. The direct or indirect role of the friars in the composition of the stigmatization scene cannot be detected; moreover, there is not a single Franciscan church in which murals or altarpieces representing this scene survive. The public who had access to them in the churches was not made up of Franciscans and thus were not familiar with the more complex implications of the details. Seeing the special location of the stigmatization, the number and the position of the wounds, and the crucified Christ under the appearance of the Seraph as agent, the believers could perceive the saint as an *alter Christus*.

The secret of success

It is difficult to compare the cults of those saints between whose canonization a century or even two have passed, especially when a saint was canonized only some decades before the Reformation and the tempestuous period of Ottoman threat to Hungary. Obviously, there are much more traces of veneration of those who were canonized already in the thirteenth century. Some cults, like those of Peter Martyr or Louis of Toulouse started promising but in the course of time they lost their importance. The reasons are unclear in the case of the former. The relevance of St Louis of Toulouse for the Hungarian audience has significantly decreased after the Angevin period, although his figure turn up in some fifteenth-century altarpieces and on a chasuble. In the sermons of the two Observant Franciscans his dynastic relations are mentioned only in passing, and it was his simple lifestyle as a bishop and his care for the poor was underlined in order to point out the Christological parallels. By the late fifteenth century the bishop of Toulouse was forgotten even in the chapter of Várad where an altar had been dedicated to him in 1319. Unlike St Anthony of Padua, Louis of Toulouse was not embraced by the Observants.

The Dominican Thomas Aquinas and Vincent Ferrer were not among the popular saints in Hungary. Even though they were not completely unknown since the Latin legend of St Vincent and a vernacular one on St Thomas have come down to us, churches and altars were not dedicated to them, and their portraits can mostly be found only in luxury books. The case of Thomas Aquinas can be compared to that of Bonaventura: they were known in Hungary through their theological and philosophical works but their significance as saints was negligible.

The quantity of the surviving material is the highest in the case of the two founders, and also St Clare is has an eminent place among the saints examined but it is partly due to the fact that the majority of the sources are codices of Dominican and Franciscan provenance. These saints were not only important *per sé* but functioned as emblems of their orders. The lay penitent Catherine of Siena, in turn, had considerable success in Hungary that was not restricted to the male and female branches of the Dominican Order with whom she was closely associated with: her life and some of her mystical experiences were regarded important by the Anonymous Carthusian for various (mostly female) communities in the Transdanubian region. Besides, Catherine was the only canonized female saint about whose spiritual experience, at least according the the surviving sources, the Dominican nuns of the Island of the Rabbits could hear on a regular basis in their mothertongue.

The mendicant orders were international and thus the system how they functioned was basically the same in all their provinces. The ways and means they used in the dissemination and the solidification of the cults of their saints and blessed in Hungary was quite similar to what their brethren was doing in other provinces, particularly in the important centres of the two great mendicant orders where the capillaries ensnaring almost whole Europe and even beyond. Thus, the fragmentary material from Hungary in fortunate cases could be complemented with information coming from territories abundant in source material, which, in our case was mostly Italy. I hope that the investigation of the veneration (and in some cases cults) of the saints and blessed has contributed to a more nuanced view what role these saints played in the devotional life in late medieval Hungary and how were they mediated to the public with the help of the friars. The apparent similarity notwithstanding, there are some characteristic features in Hungary that affected also the cult of those saints representing a new type of sanctity. These include the importance of Hungary as a starting point for organizing missionary activities towards the South and the East in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, then for the defence against the invading Ottomans in the fifteenth century, the lack of an officially canonized mendicant saint originating from Hungary, the less intense circulation of manuscripts containing hagiographic and sermon literature compared to the more central provinces, the relatively late emergence of the codices written in the Hungarian vernacular as well as of the phenomenon of lay sanctity in the written sources in general.

Appendix I: Concordance of place names

| Present-day | Hungarian | German | Latin | Country |
|-----------------------|---|----------------------------|-----------------------|----------------|
| Alba Iulia | Gyulafehérvár | Weissenburg/Karlsburg | | RO |
| Arad | Arad | | Aradinum, Oradinum | |
| Baia Mare | Nagybánya | Frauenbach /Neustadt | | RO |
| Bardejov | Bártfa | Bartfeld | | SK |
| Beregove | Beregszász Lampertháza, Luprechtszász | Bergsass | | UK |
| Bistrița | Beszterce | Bistritz / Nösen | | RO |
| Brașov | Brassó | Kronstadt | | RO |
| Bratislava | Pozsony | Pressburg | | SK |
| Bruiu | Brulya | Braller | | RO |
| Caransebeș | Karánsebes | Karansebesch | | RO |
| Cenad | Csanád | | | RO |
| Cisnădie | Nagydisznód | Heltau | | RO |
| Cluj-Napoca | Kolozsvár | Klausenburg | | RO |
| Cluj-Mănăstur | Kolozsmonostor | Abtsdorf | | RO |
| Dechtice | Dejte | | | SK |
| Gemer | Gömör | | | SK |
| Ghelința | Gelence | | | RO |
| Hațeg | Hátszeg | Wallenthal | | RO |
| Hunedoara | [Vajda]hunyard | Eisenmarkt | | RO |
| Jimbor | Zsombor | Sommerburg/Sommerb urch | | RO |
| Kameňany | Kövi | | | SK |
| Košice | Kassa | Kaschau | | SK |
| Kyatice | Kiéte | | | SK |
| Leliceni | | Csíkszentlélek | | RO |
| Levoča | Lőcse | Leutschau | | SK |
| Lipova | Lippa | Lippa | | RO |
| Mălâncrav | Almakerék | Malmkrog | | RO |
| Mandelos | Nagyolaszi | | Villafranca | SRB |
| Matejovce | Mateóc | Matzdorf | | SK |
| Nitra | Nyitra | | | SK |
| Novigrad Podravski | Szentklára | | | CRO |
| Ochtiná | Martonháza | | | SK |
| Oradea | Nagyvárad | Großwardein | Varadinum | RO |
| Plešivec | Pelsőc | | | SK |
| Poniky | Pónik | | | SK |

| | | | | |
|---------------------|----------------|-----------------------------------|---------------------------------|-----|
| Požega | Pozsega | Poschegg | | HR |
| Prešov | Eperjes | Preschau | Fragopolis/ Eperiessinu m | SK |
| Poru | Mohos | | | SK |
| Rákoš | Gömörrákos | | | SK |
| Sântana de Mureș | Marosszentanna | Sankt Anna an der Mieresch | | RO |
| Sásová | Szászfalva | | | SK |
| Sibiu | [Nagy]Szeben | Hermannstadt | | RO |
| Șighișoara | Segesvár | Schässburg/Schäsbrich | | RO |
| Stary Sącz | Ószandec | | | POL |
| Suatu | Magyarszovát | | | RO |
| Șumuleu Ciuc | Csíkсомlyó | Schomlenberg /Somlyoer-Berg | | RO |
| Spišská kapitula | Szepeshely | Zipser kapitel | | SK |
| Štítník | Csetnek | | | SK |
| Svinia | Szinye | | | SK |
| Tileagd | Mezőtelekd | | | RO |
| Târgu Mureș | Marosvásárhely | Neumarkt | | RO |
| Trnava | Nagyszombat | Tyrnau | Tyrnavia | SK |
| Unirea | Felvinc | Oberwinz / Winzendorf / Winsch | | RO |
| Zimbor | Magyarzsombor | | | RO |
| Velky Slavkov | Nagyszalók | Gross-Schlagendorf | | SK |
| Versec | Ér(d)сомlyó | | | SR |
| Virovitica | Verőce | Wirowitz | | CRO |
| Vlaha | Magyarfenes | | | RO |

Appendix II: Collation of the stigmatisation narratives

| <i>Speculum vitae</i> (Venice, 1504) fol. 232 ^{r-v} | Pelbartus de Themeswar <i>Pomerium de sanctis, Pars aestivalis</i> (Augsburg, 1502) Sermo LXXIV. De sancto Francisco, Sermo quintus, scilicet de sacris eius stigmatibus [transcribed by Ildikó Bárczi] | <i>Lázár Zelma- kódex</i> , ed. by Abaffy, 333-337. | <i>Virginia-kódex</i> , ed. by Kovács, 109- 110. |
|--|--|--|--|
| (...) Beatus autem Franciscus iacuit in terra usque ad horam nonam. Tunc frater Leo superveniens et videns prostratum levavit eum putans ex abstinentia defecisse. Et sic ab illa hora sanctus Franciscus licet occulte ut potuit illa sacra stigmata in corpore portavit. Fertur etiam quod iacente Francisco ex plagarum vulnere, tunc frater Leo accedens tetigit eum et excitatus est. Videbatur enim quasi ex alio mundo veniret. Cui frater Leo dixit: “Pater, fratres expectant te ut comedamus.” Et | (...)Beatus autem Franciscus iacuit in terra usque ad nonam. Tunc frater Leo superveniens et videns prostratum levavit eum putans ex abstinentia defecisse. Et sic ab illa hora beatus Franciscus licet occulte, ut potuit, illa sacra stigmata in corpore portavit. <i>O ergo beatissime pater, o gloriosissime Christi signifíer, per tua stigmata te rogamus, intercede pro nobis ad Dominum Iesum, ut tuis meritis det gratiam etc.</i> ¹⁴⁵¹ | (...) bodogh zent ferenc atyank az földön fekywek mind kilenced oraýglan tahat az frater leo oda iöuen latuan ötet le essötnék lenni fel emele ötet alituan hogý az nagý <zend> zenuedetössegtöl fogýatkozot volna olýan igen el es az oratól fogua zent ferenc az zent sebeket vissele az ö testen iollehet titkon minere tehete es visseluen titkolýa vala o azert bodogsagos zent atyank o dýczessegös cristusnak zolgaýa visseluen az the sebeydnek miatta tegödet kerönk annakokaiert | (...) Es ez menýei kiralnak peczetývel meg iezet ember. az fwldevn fekueek mýnd delig. Es frater leo az w tarsa (m?)ievue hozza es latuan eutet az fwldwn fekuen monda wmaganak.O en zeretew atýam vgý alýtom hogý temeg holtal. az felete valo zenuedesnek miatta. es hoza iaruluan illete es fel kwlte wtet. Es vgý teczik vala neký hogi ha az maas velagrol tert volna meg. Es monda neki frater leo. Atýam az ebedre variakhaz |

¹⁴⁵¹ I italicised the prayer in the Latin and the Hungarian versions.

| | | | |
|---|--|---|--|
| <p>propter hoc credendum est quod impressio fuit in die Exaltationis Sancte Crucis. Respondit beatus Franciscus: “Vade frater, ecce venio.” Et venit beatus Franciscus ad fraters, et comedit aliquantulum. Ex illo die non lavabat manus suas sicut ante, sed tamen digitos.</p> | | <p><i>tegödet dýczössegös zētferenc atyánk hogý essedözýel mi eröttönk vriesos cristusnak elötte hogý az te erdemednek miatta adýon minekönk malasztot es reuididöben az örök: bodogsagot mind örökwl örökee amen</i></p> | <p>atyáfiak atyásagodat. Azert ebwl nýluanh</p> <p>meg teczik hogi zent kerezst napian vwte legien fel az zent sebeket, miert chak ieles napokon zokot vala menný az kwsegbe</p> |
|---|--|---|--|

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