A Holy Bishop among Holy Kings in the Frescoes of Mălâncrav (I)

Dragoş Gh. Năstăsoiu

> *St. Adalbert's great significance for medieval Hungary was very likely the consequence of his disciples' intense promotion of their spiritual leader.*

Dragoş Gh. Năstăsoiu
Ph. D. candidate at the Department of Medieval Studies, Central European University, Budapest.

SINCE IT was first mentioned in a 1852 survey of Transylvanian monuments,[1] the architecture of the medieval church in Mălâncrav, its frescoes in the nave and sanctuary, altarpiece, and tombstones were constantly in the attention of scholars.[2] The church was examined as a complex phenomenon of patronage, its murals were included in all monographs of Transylvanian medieval art, and specific aspects of their iconography and style were analyzed. According to previous research,[3] the three-nave basilica and its western tower were built either in the early or around the middle of the 14th century. The nave of the church was frescoed shortly after and the polygonal sanctuary was erected around 1400. The choir was decorated with international Gothic murals before 1404/5, a date given by a graffito on the sanctuary's fresco layer. The church was built on the estate of the Apafi family, which owned the village starting with 1305 and had its main residence in Mălân-

crav until before the mid-15th century, when they moved to Nuşeni. Whereas the building and decoration of the nave are assignable to the patronage of John (documented 1345–74) and Peter (documented 1366–95), the initiative of building and decorating the sanctuary is attributed to Nicholas Apafi (d. post 1447), one of the most successful representatives of his family during the first half of the 15th century.

The sanctuary's iconographic program is preserved almost completely, its eastern and southeastern walls being decorated with separate or grouped representations of saints.[4] Among these, on the southern wall, there is a group-scene composed of one holy bishop and four holy kings whose identities, in the absence of any preserved inscription, were differently interpreted.[5] The scene's unique character in the iconography of medieval Hungary and the unconvincing identifications proposed until now for the holy bishop make it worthy of another examination. By looking closely at both written and iconographic evidence, this approach has the purpose to suggest a new identity for the holy bishop who deserved to be depicted in royal company.

On the middle register of the southern wall's western bay and on the right side of the circular window, five saints are depicted together; they are surrounded by a rich decorative frame and form a single compositional unit, a sign that they were understood as a conceptually unified group (Fig. 1). Judging by the saints' costumes and attributes—liturgical vestment and episcopal insignia (miter and crozier) for the saint on the left, and court costumes and royal insignia (scepter, crucifer orb, and crown with faded-out color) for the remaining saints—, the group is composed of one holy bishop and four holy kings.

Despite the loss of inscriptions accompanying the saints, art historians generally agreed upon the identity of three of them on the basis of their belonging to a certain category of saints, personal attributes, and age types. Royal insignia (orb and crown), the personal attribute (battleaxe), and the mature age for the first holy king indicate St. Ladislas. By association, the old holy king next to him and young prince on the right are Ss. Stephen and Emeric. Both are usually depicted as royal saints with crown, scepter, and orb, they appear in St. Ladislas's company as *sancti reges Hungariae*, and are portrayed at an old and a young age, respectively.[6] The identity of the fourth holy king as St. Louis IX of Anjou was contested recently.[7] Analyzing the evidence connected with the fresco's donor, Nicholas Apafi, who had an important career during King Sigismund of Luxemburg (1387–1437), A. Gogâltan suggested St. Sigismund of Burgundy's identity. She interpreted the donor's preference for this saint as an expression of his loyalty towards the king of Hungary, Nicholas Apafi having been his faithful subject.[8] I followed her analysis, supplementing it with new evidence, both written and visual: Sigismund of Luxemburg promoted the cult of his personal

Fig. 1. Ss. Adalbert, Ladislas, Stephen, Sigismund, and Emeric,
fresco, before 1404/5, Mălâncrav (photo: the author)

patron saint in Hungary at the turn of the 14th and 15th centuries, the frescoes in Lónya, Štítnik, or Žíp attesting to St. Sigismund's occurrence in mural painting. In these cases, St. Sigismund is conceptually associated with the Árpádian royal saints, proving that the four-king composition in Mălâncrav is not an isolated occurrence and that the selection of saints should not be judged strictly in terms of the donor's direct involvement.[9]

The holy bishop was first identified by L. Éber[10] as St. Gerard, bishop of Cenad, appointed by St. Stephen as his son's teacher. Being one of the first local martyrs, he was canonized in 1083 together with St. Stephen, his pupil St. Emeric, and two other local hermits (Andrew-Zorard and Benedict) at the initiative of King Ladislas I (1077–95).[11] It is also known that the donor of the fresco was familiar with the cult of St. Gerard: the church in Nuşeni, Nicholas Apafi's new residence around the middle of the 15th century, was dedicated precisely to him.[12] However, this hypothesis is not supported by St. Gerard's unpopular cult in the Middle Ages[13] and his scarce iconography, connected mainly with the members of the royal court or his cult center in Cenad.[14] This identification remained unquestioned[15] until A. Gogâltan advanced the hypothesis that the holy bishop might also be St. Nicholas, a very popular saint in medieval Tran-

sylvania and Nicholas Apafi's personal patron saint. By associating his personal patron with the holy kings of Hungary, he wanted to express his loyalty towards the kingdom.[16] This identification, however, is not supported by iconographic evidence, St. Nicholas' iconic representations portraying him as a holy bishop either young or old, beardless or bearded, but always having as attributes three golden stones on a book, three purses, or three golden coins.[17]

Since doubt still surrounds the holy bishop in Mălâncrav and neither St. Gerard, nor St. Nicholas seem the final answer, I suggest a different approach. I shall examine first the written evidence associating a holy bishop with Hungary's holy kings. For establishing whether the new identification can withstand criticism, the outcome will be then confronted with the existing iconographic evidence.

St. Adalbert's Cult in Medieval Hungary

SS. GERARD and Nicholas are rarely associated in written sources with Hungary's holy kings, but the Bishop of Prague, St. Adalbert, occurs quite frequently in their company.[18] Born around 956 in Libice into one of Bohemia's leading noble families, the Slavníks, and educated at the cathedral school in Magdeburg, Adalbert (Vojtěch by his Slavic name) was invested by Emperor Otto II as Bishop of Prague while still under age (983).[19] Saddened by his failure to reform a city which took "pleasure as law," Adalbert twice abandoned his pastoral duties, which he fulfilled effectively during 983–9 and 992–4. His failing career as a bishop alternated with periods of monastic life at Ss. Boniface and Alexius Abbey in Rome (990–1 and 995–6). After short stays at the courts of Hungarian Prince Géza and Polish King Boleslas, Adalbert was martyred on 23 April 997, near Gdańsk, during his evangelization mission among pagan Prussians.[20] St. Adalbert's Bohemian origin and Prague episcopacy, his martyrdom on Polish land, and his missionary activity at the Hungarian and Polish courts transformed the holy bishop and martyr into a patron saint of Central Europe, an authentic "bridge builder between Eastern and Western Europe." His cult was popular throughout this region during the Middle Ages and his figure was claimed equally by medieval Bohemia, Poland, and Hungary.[21]

Of the three earliest versions of St. Adalbert's *vita*,[22] only that by Bruno of Querfurt (first written in 1004 and revised in 1008)[23] contains brief mentions of the saint's failed missionary work among the Hungarians.[24] However, medieval Hungarian hagiographic and historiographic tradition credits St. Adalbert with more than he could have possibly accomplished during his short stay at Prince Géza's court, i.e. after his second flight from Prague.[25] St. Stephen's *Legenda*

maior (1077–83)[26] tells the story of St. Adalbert's coming to Hungary to convert and baptize Prince Géza, his family and court, as foretold to the prince in a dream. On this occasion, the Bishop of Prague established churches in many places and, after the prince's son was born, he anointed him with baptismal chrism and named him Stephen.[27] Further, the hagiographer records the coincidence of St. Stephen's beginning of reign with St. Adalbert's martyrdom in Prussia.[28] Although without historical basis—Stephen's birth happened sometime in the 960s–70s and Prince Géza made the first step towards Christianity already in 973 when he addressed Emperor Otto I—,[29] St. Stephen's baptism by St. Adalbert was taken over in Bishop Hartvic's version of St. Stephen's *vita* (around 1100 or 1112–6)[30] and accepted as fact by later chroniclers.[31]

Except for the isolated occurrence in St. Gerard's *vita*, where St. Adalbert appears to have stayed longer in Hungary to educate and instruct young Stephen,[32] other 13th-century sources account for St. Adalbert's brief preaching activity in Hungary and conversion of Hungarians.[33] Unlike other conversion stories where the place, date and agent of the event are recorded in detail, Hungary's conversion to Christianity lacked in historical sources and, subsequently, later chroniclers felt the need to reconstruct and fill the gaps in the story of St. Stephen's baptism and Hungary's Christianization.[34] According to Cosmas of Prague's *Chronica Boemorum* (1109–25), "presul Adalbertus, retibus fidei cepit Pannoniam simul et Poloniam,"[35] while in Vincent Kadłubek's *Chronica Polonorum* (1218–23), he is invoked together with St. Stephen by both Hungarian and Polish soldiers for securing their victory against the Czechs in 1193.[36] St. Adalbert is "nostre conversionis primus propagator" in a sermon on St. Stephen from a Dominican sermonary in Pécs (1255–75),[37] and "Polonorum et Ungarorum apostolus" in the 13th-century Hungarian-Polish Chronicle,[38] substituting thus St. Stephen's apostleship for Hungarians.[39] Later, in the calendar of the German nation, to which Hungarians, Czechs, and Poles belonged (compiled for the students of the University of Paris, 1364–70), the explanation "Apostolus Hungarorum" is added to St. Adalbert's feast.[40] All these examples show that the cult of the holy Bishop of Prague not only spread outside the borders of his bishopric, but that he was especially venerated by Hungarians and Poles as their apostle. Whether or not St. Adalbert finally succeeded to replace St. Stephen as apostle of Hungarians is arguable, but one thing is certain: the Bohemian holy bishop and martyr was strongly tied to the beginnings of Christianity in Hungary and became one of the country's patron saints. This is indicated by the *Legende sanctorum regni hungariae. . .* (1484–7),[41] a collection of saints' lives relevant for Hungary but missing from the *Legenda aurea*.[42] The collection starts precisely with the *Legenda sancti adalberti*, whom it calls "patronus huius

regni,"[43] a quality which he shared with the holy kings of Hungary and St. Sigismund of Burgundy, whose *vitae* also appear in the same collection.

St. Adalbert's great significance for medieval Hungary was very likely the consequence of his disciples' intense promotion of their spiritual leader. One of them, Astricus-Anastasius, became the first Archbishop of Esztergom and worked together with King Stephen in the organization of the Hungarian Church.[44] It is due to Astricus-Anastasius' efforts and King Stephen's reverence for St. Adalbert that his cult originated and flourished in the cathedral church in Esztergom, which was dedicated precisely to the holy bishop and martyr. In the benedictional written in Esztergom between 1075 and 1083 and brought to Zagreb in 1094 to serve as model of rite for the newly-created bishopric,[45] the cathedral church is called "domus sancti Adalberti."[46] In St. Margaret's Sacramentary written in the end of the 11th century for a Benedictine monastery, possibly the one in Hahót, and also brought to Zagreb to serve as a model,[47] Ss. Adalbert and George share the same feast day on 23 April and have a common prayer in the sanctorale.[48] By the mid-12th century, however, St. Adalbert gained preeminence, pushing St. George's celebration one day later (April 24), as attested by the calendar of *Pray Codex*, written partially between 1151 and 1180, possibly for the Benedictine Monastery in Boldva.[49]

Ritus Strigoniensis (i.e. the liturgical order established by the Archbishopric of Esztergom and adopted by all churches falling under its ecclesiastical jurisdiction) reached its maturity during the first half of the 14th century, being perpetuated with slight variations by the first printed books of the 15th century.[50] Among several local departures from the Roman rite, two prove to be important for this argument, as attested by the *Missale notatum Strigoniense*,[51] written before 1341 either in Esztergom or Bratislava and reflecting undoubtedly the *ritus Strigoniensis*.[52] In All Saints' Litany, celebrated on Holy Saturday during the procession of the blessing of fonts,[53] several saints of local significance were included among the usual universal saints: St. Adalbert (placed in the category of martyr saints) and Ss. Stephen, Emeric, and Ladislas (placed in the category of confessor saints).[54] A similar situation is encountered in the vast chant material for the Great Litany, celebrated on 15 April, where the antiphons *Ardua spes* and *Humili prece* (created in the 9th–10th century at St. Gall Abbey but spread only in a restricted area),[55] were enriched with additional verses on the same Hungarian saints placed in their corresponding categories.[56] In *Ardua spes*, St. Adalbert is invoked as bishop and patron to pray for his flock and instruct his people to avoid sin and to desire for heavenly things, while St. Stephen is asked to come to his people's aid.[57] In *Humili prece*, the holy bishop and martyr is asked again for intercession, St. Stephen is called pious king and apostle, while

Hungary's three holy kings are invoked together to help their people to ascend to the Heavenly Kingdom's highest place.[58] Being assigned to the categories of saints they belonged to, i.e. martyrs and confessors, respectively, the holy bishop and three holy kings were not in immediate proximity. However, they were brought together as Hungary's patron saints, this being the reason why they were inserted among the usual universal saints and special verses were dedicated to them.[59] That in *Ardua spes* a place had to be assigned to the country's patrons is confirmed also by the example of medieval Bohemia, where St. Adalbert occupies his place in the antiphon, but is joined this time by Ss. Vitus and Wenceslas, the Bohemian kingdom's other patron saints.[60] Although his feast days and office are present in the manuscripts belonging to the *ritus-Strigoniensis* tradition, St. Gerard of Cenad, the other holy bishop and martyr of relevance for medieval Hungary, is not mentioned in All Saints' Litany, nor in the *Ardua spes* and *Humili prece* hymns. This proves his lesser significance for the Archbishopric of Esztergom and, subsequently, for the churches adopting its rite.[61]

Among these, there were also the Saxon parishes belonging to the *praepositura* of Sibiu and the *decanatus* of Braşov. These independent ecclesiastical units were initially subordinated directly to the Holy See, but were placed in 1224 by King Andrew II (1205–35) under the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the Archbishopric of Esztergom.[62] This was made in order to circumvent the contradictory interests of the closer Bishopric of Transylvania.[63] A manuscript compiled in 1452 for the Dean of Braşov, George of Sânpetru,[64] contains a collection of various documents issued by the Archbishopric of Esztergom and meant to guide the internal affairs of its subordinate churches. Following the synod decisions adopted between 1389 and 1403, there is a list of feasts during which both clergy and laymen should restrain themselves from daily work. Except for the liturgical year's mandatory feast days, the list singles out several feasts and is indicative of the local cults of saints adopted throughout the Archdiocese of Esztergom, including the Saxon *praepositura* of Sibiu and *decanatus* of Braşov.[65] Once again, St. Adalbert, as patron saint of the cathedral church in Esztergom, gains preeminence among the locally-significant saints, which naturally included the holy kings, but also the first Hungarian martyrs, i.e. Ss. Gerard of Cenad, Andrew-Zorard, and Benedict. The latter saints' names, however, disappeared gradually from later lists of feasts, their cults being restricted to small areas around their cult centers, the Bishoprics of Cenad and Nitra, respectively.[66]

The Saxon village of Mălâncrav belonged administratively since 1322 to the County of Alba[67] and its church was part of the Chapter of Laslea, which was under the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the Bishopric of Transylvania.[68] Although the Bishoprics of Transylvania and Oradea were subordinated ecclesiastically to the Archbishopric of Kalocsa, their rite presented in fact more similarities to the

ritus Strigoniensis. This was partly due to the bishoprics' intention to create and preserve their autonomy from the archbishopric they depended on and partly because the main features of their rite were acquired before the mid-12th century, i.e. before the configuration of the *ritus Colocensis*.[69] Even though St. Adalbert's cult was not as popular as in the Archdiocese of Esztergom, there is evidence of the holy bishop's patronage over churches or settlements in Oradea Diocese: Hájdusámson (Bihor County, 1347) or Szentalbert (Békés County, 1418).[70] Given Mălâncrav's geographical position within the Saxon *sedes* of Southern Transylvania (Fig. 2), it is hard to believe that the Apafis were completely isolated from the other surrounding Saxon communities, not being aware of the cults of saints popular in the neighboring Saxon settlements, especially those of the kingdom's patron saints,[71] St. Adalbert included. As M. Crăciun already

Fig. 2. Ecclesiastical map of medieval Transylvania
(after http://www.medievistica.ro/texte/discipline%20conexe/istoria%20bisericii/
EpiscopiaTransilvaniei.htm)

observed,[72] the Apafis proved themselves very receptive to the fashionable cults of saints in general and particularly to cults promoted by mendicant orders, the iconographic program of their church and its altarpiece featuring a collection of saints widely venerated in the neighboring Saxon towns and villages. It cannot be ruled out, therefore, that St. Adalbert was one of them.

❑

(Continued in the next issue)

Notes

1. László Kővári, *Erdély régiségei* (Pest, 1852), 226–8.
2. For a research overview on Mălâncrav before 2000, see Anca Gogâltan, "The Church in Mălâncrav (Almakerék, Malmkrog) Sibiu District: A Historiographic Overview," *Apulum* 37, 2 (2000): 305–13. I shall refer to other studies henceforth.
3. I follow the most to-date overviews of the building and decoration phases of the church: Anca Gogâltan and Dóra Sallay, "The Church of Mălâncrav and the Holy Blood Chapel of Nicholas Apa," in *Arhitectura religioasă medievală din Transilvania/ Középkori egyházi építészet Erdélyben: Medieval Ecclesiastical Architecture in Transylvania*, vol. 2, eds. A. A. Rusu and P. L. Szőcs (Satu Mare, 2002), 182–210; Anca Gogâltan, "Patronage and Artistic Production in Transylvania: The Apafis and the Church in Mălâncrav (Fourteenth-Fifteenth Centuries)," Ph.D. dissertation (CEU, 2003); Dana Jenei, "The Church of Virgin Mary in Mălâncrav," http://www.researchgate.net/publication/265757129_THE_CHURCH_OF_VIRGIN_MARY_IN_MALANCRAV (last visit: 12.01.2016).
4. For detailed iconographic descriptions, see: Vasile Drăguţ, "Picturile murale din biserica evanghelică din Mălâncrav," *Studii şi Cercetări de Istoria Artei. Artă Plastică* 14, 1 (1967): 79–93; Dana Jenei, "Les peintures murales de l'église de Mălâncrav: Notes avant la restauration," *Revue Roumaine d'Histoire de l'Art. Série Beaux-Arts* 52 (2015): 47–76. In both studies, however, some representational identifications of iconography should be corrected.
5. For the overview of identifications, see Anca Gogâltan, "The Holy Hungarian Kings, the Saint Bishop, and the Saint King in the Sanctuary of the Church at Mălâncrav," *Ars Transsilvaniae* 12–3 (2002–3): 103–21.
6. For *sancti reges Hungariae* iconography, see esp.: Györgyi Poszler, "Az Árpád-házi szent királyok a magyar középkor századaiban," in *Történelem—kép. Szemelvények múlt és művészet kapcsolatából Magyarországon/Geschichte—Geschichtsbild: Die Beziehung von Vergangenheit und Kunst in Ungarn*, eds Á. Mikó and K. Sinkó (Budapest, 2000), 170–87 (hereafter cited as *Történelem*); Gogâltan, "Holy Kings," 103–21; Terézia Kerny, "A magyar szent királyok tisztelete és ikonográfiaja a XIII. századtól a XVII. Szazadig," in *Az ezeréves ifjú: Tanulmányok szent Imre herceg 1000 évéteről*, ed. L. Tamás (Székesfehérvár, 2007), 80–123; Dragoş-Gheorghe Năstăsoiu, "'Sanc-

ti reges Hungariae' in Mural Painting of Late-medieval Hungary," ma thesis (ceu, 2009); id., "Political Aspects of the Mural Representations of *sancti reges Hungariae* in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries," *Annual of Medieval Studies at ceu* 16 (2010): 93–119.

7. Identification suggested by Drăguţ, "Picturile," 87–8; id., *Arta gotică în România* (Bucharest, 1979), 224.

8. Gogâltan, "Holy Kings," 117–9; id., "Patronage," 86–91.

9. Năstăsoiu, "Sancti reges," 62–4; id., "Political Aspects," 110–8. St. Sigismund occurs also in the company of other saints in the Bădeşti frescoes (late-14th century), Zsombor Jékely and Loránd Kiss, *Középkori falképek Erdélyben* (Budapest, 2008), 8–25.

10. László Éber, "Tanulmányok Magyarország középkori falfestményeiről," in *Magyarország műemlékei*, vol. 4, ed. G. Forster (Budapest, 1915), 75.

11. Gábor Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses: Dynastic Cults in Medieval Central Europe* (Cambridge, 2002), 123–34.

12. Doc. no. 2605, G. Gündisch, ed., *Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte der Deutschen in Siebenbürgen*, vol. 5 (Bucharest, 1975), 213–5 (hereafter cited as *ugds*).

13. András Mező, *A templomcím a magyar helységnevekben (11.–15. szazád)* (Budapest, 1996), 76–7; id., *Patrocíniumok a középkori Magyarországon* (Budapest, 2003), 88–9.

14. Tünde Wehli, "Az 1083-ban kanonizált szentek kultusza középkori művészetünkben," in *Művelődéstörténeti tanulmányok a magyar középkorról*, ed. E. Fügedi (Budapest, 1986), 54–60. St. Gerard was not completely overlooked, however: a Hungarian office was composed in his honor (after 1285), Andrea Kovács and Miklós István Földvári, "Egy ismeretlen Szent Gellért-offícium," *Magyar Könyvszemle* 1 (2010): 1–23; scenes of his life were present in the Hungarian Angevin Legendary (second quarter of the 14th century), Béla Zsolt Szakács, *A Magyar Anjou Legendárium képi rendszerei* (Budapest, 2006).

15. St. Gerard was accepted with doubts by Virgil Vătăşianu, *Istoria artei feudale în Ţările Române* (Cluj-Napoca, 2001), 416; as plausible by Drăguţ, "Picturile," 87–8, id., *Arta*, 224; and as probable by Gogâltan, "Patronage," 142–3.

16. Hypothetical identification in Gogâltan, "Holy Kings," 108-9; alternate identification in id., "Patronage," 90, 142–3.

17. E. Kirschbaum et al., eds, *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie. VIII: Ikonographie der Heiligen, Meletius bis zweiundvierzig Martyrer* (Freiburg, 1990), 45–58, apud Gogâltan, "Patronage," 90.

18. On the basis of only one example, Gogâltan, "Holy Kings," 108, id., "Patronage," 90, ruled out that St. Adalbert is represented in Mălâncrav, because he was allegedly depicted as young, beardless man. As I shall show, however, this was not always the case. Another holy-bishop candidate, rejected this time rightly by A. Gogâltan, was St. Louis of Toulouse. Mária Prokopp, *Italian Trecento Influence on Murals in East-Central Europe, Particularly Hungary* (Budapest, 1983), 140–1, suggested without explanation St. Adalbert's identity for the Mălâncrav holy bishop.

19. The most complete monograph on St. Adalbert is Gerard Labuda, *Święty Wojciech: Biskup-męczennik, patron Polski, Czech i Węgier* (Wrocław, 2004), apud Cristian

Gaşpar, "The Life of Saint Adalbert Bishop of Prague and Martyr," in *Vitae Sanctorum Aetatis Conversionis Europae Centralis (Saec. X–XI)/Saints of the Christianization Age of Central Europe (Tenth–Eleventh Centuries)*, ed. G. Klaniczay (Budapest, 2013), 79–80. For an English overview of St. Adalbert's life, see Ian Wood, *The Missionary Life: Saints and the Evangelisation of Europe, 400–1050* (London, 2001), 207–25. For a bibliography on his cult and life up to 1999, see Aleksandra Witkowska and Joanna Nastalska, *Święty Wojciech: Życie i kult: Bibliografia do roku 1999* (Lublin, 2002).

20. Gerard Labuda, "Ein europäisches Itinerar seiner Zeit: Die Lebensstationen Adalberts," in *Adalbert von Prag: Brückenbauer zwischen dem Osten und Westen Europas*, ed. H. H. Henrix (Baden-Baden, 1997), 59–75.

21. See esp. Labuda, *Święty Wojciech*, and the studies in Henrix, *Adalbert*.

22. Jadwiga Karwasińska, "Studia krytyczne nad żywotami św. Wojciecha, biskupa praskiego III: Redakcje Vita I," in *Wybór pism: Święty Wojciech*, ed. T. Dunin-Wąsowicz (Warsaw, 1996), 127–53, apud Gaşpar, "Life," 81–8.

23. Bruno of Querfurt's brief account of St. Adalbert's missionary work in Hungary was likely the result of the author's own work among Hungarians and, consequently, of his better knowledge of the region than that of the previous author, John Canaparius, Wood, 215–20. For the *vita*'s dating, see Gaşpar, 85–6.

24. Chapters 16 of *Redactio longior* and *brevior*, and chapter 23 of *Redactio brevior*, J. Karwasińska, ed., *S. Adalberti pragensis episcopi et martyris vita altera auctore Brunone Querfurtensi/ św. Wojciecha biskupa i męczennika żywot drugi napisany przez Brunona z Kwerfurtu* (Warsaw, 1969), 19, 56, 61.

25. The date of Adalbert's stay at Géza's court is still under debate, but scholars agree on counting among his deeds: a certain missionary activity, the founding of Pécsvárad Monastery, and the confirmation of Géza's son, Vajk/Stephen. Thomas Bogyay, "Adalbert von Prag und die Ungarn: Ein Problem der Quellen-Interpretation," *Ungarn-Jahrbuch* 7 (1976): 9–36; Ryszard Grzesik, "Die Ungarnmission des Hl. Adalberts," in *The Man of Many Devices, Who Wandered Full Many Ways. . . Festschrift in Honor of János M. Bak*, eds. B. Nagy et al. (Budapest, 1999), 230–40; László Veszprémy, "Der Heilige Adalbert im Wissenschaftlichen Gespräch ungarischer Historiker," *Bohemia* 40 (1999): 87–102.

26. Emma Bartoniek, "Legenda maior Sancti Stephani regis," in *Scriptores Rerum Hungaricarum: tempore ducum regumque stirpis Arpadianae Gestarum* (hereafter cited as SRH), vol. 2, ed. E. Szentpétery (Budapest, 1999), 365–76.

27. Ibid., 380–1.

28. Ibid., 381. The association of St. Adalbert's martyrdom with the beginnings of the Hungarian Christian Kingdom is found also in the opening of *Annales Posonienses* (1187–1203), SRH 1: 125.

29. Grzesik, 233.

30. Hartvic kept unchanged the *Legenda maior*'s story, but added the motif of the prophesying dream to St. Stephen's mother. Emma Bartoniek, "Legenda S. Stephani regis ab Hartvico episcopo conscripta," in SRH 2: 405–7, esp. 406. For this and other motifs of St. Stephen's divine legitimizing, see Klaniczay, 135–6.

31. The episode is present in: The Polish-Hungarian Chronicle (13th century), srh 2, 305-6; Verse Chronicle of Stična (after 1240), srh 2: 606; the Hungarian Chronicle (14th century), srh 1: 295; *Chronicon Posoniense* (mid-14th century), srh 1: 34; Henri of Mügeln's Verse Chronicle (around 1395) and subsequent German version, srh 1: 250, srh 2: 135; Spišska Sobota Chronicle (before 1400), srh 2: 279; *Chronicon Monacense* (15th century), srh 2: 62; or *Chronicon Knauzianum* (ante 1561), srh 2: 329.

32. Emericus Madzsar, "Legenda Sancti Gerhardi episcopi," in srh 2: 463–70, esp. 486.

33. Detail found in: *Chronicon rhythmicum sitticense* (after 1240), ibid., 606; Simon of Kéza's *Gesta Hungarorum* (1282–5), srh 1: 188; and Polish *Miracula Sancti Adalberti* (1280s), W. Kętrzyński, ed., "Miracula Sancti Adalberti," in *Monumenta Poloniae Historica: Pomniki dziejove Polski*, vol. 4 (Lvov, 1884), 228.

34. Veszprémy, "Adalbert," 92–3.

35. W. Weinberger, "Cosmae Pragensis Chronica Boemorum: Die Chronik des Böhmens des Cosmas von Prag," in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum Nova Series*, vol. 2, ed. B. Bretholz (Berlin, 1923), 55–6.

36. A. Przezdziecki, ed., *Magistri Vincentii Episcopi Cracoviensis Chronica Polonorum sive originale regum et principum Poloniae quae e Codice Vetustissimo Eugeniano Bibliothecae Caesareae Vindobonensis* (Krakow, 1862), 200.

37. E. Petrovich et al., eds., *Sermones compilati in studio generali Quinqueecclesiensi in regno Ungarie* (Budapest, 1993), 222.

38. srh 2: 311.

39. Veszprémy, "Adalbert," 91.

40. Paul Perdrizet, *Le Calendrier de la Nation d'Allemagne de l'ancienne Université de Paris* (Paris, 1937), apud Francis Dvornik, *The Making of Central and Eastern Europe* (London, 1949), 156.

41. *Lege*[n]*de S*[an]*cto*[rum] *regni Hungarie in lombardica historia non co*[n]*tente*, Strasbourg, Johann Prüss, ca. 1484–7, https://digitalis.uc.pt/en/fundo_antigo/legende_sanctorum_regni_hungarie_lombardica_historia_non_contente/ (last visit: 12.01.2016).

42. Edit Madas, "A Legenda aurea a középkori Magyarországon (Kódexek és Ősnyomtatványok, kiegészítések, a Legenda aurea mint forás)," *Magyar Könyvszemle 2* (1992): 96.

43. *Lege*[n]*de*, fols. 2r–3r.

44. Grzesik, 231, 233, 235; Veszprémy, "Adalbert," 98–100. See also St. Stephen's *Legenda maior* and Hartvic's version, srh 2, 382–4, 410–7.

45. Metropolitan Library, Zagreb, Ms mr 89. Károly Kniewald, "Esztergomi Benedictionale (XI. század)" [Benedictional of Esztergom (11th Century)], *Magyar Könyvszemle* 3 (1941): 218–9; Z. Hudovsky, "Benedictionale mr 89 of the Metropolitan Library in Zagreb," *Studia Musicologica Academiae Scientiarium Hungariae* 9, 1/2 (1967): 56–7, 66.

46. St. Adalbert's patronage was joined only in 1397 by that of the Virgin Mary, Veszprémy, "Adalbert," 88–9; Kniewald, "Esztergomi," 218–9. In the 13th-century Hungarian-Polish Chronicle, St. Adalbert's sole patronage is again attested, srh 2: 311.

47. Metropolitan Library, Zagreb, Ms MR 126. Károly Kniewald, "A *Hahóti Kódex* (Zágrábi MR 126. kézirat) jelentősége a Magyarországi liturgia szempontjából," *Magyar Könyvszemle* 2 (1938): 97–112; Tünde Wehli, "Hahóti Sacramentarium," in *Paradisum plantavit: Bencés monostorok a középkori Magyarországon. Benedictine Monasteries in Medieval Hungary*, ed. I. Takács (Pannonhalma, 2001), 195–6 (hereafter cited as *Paradisum*).

48. Kniewald, "Hahóti Kódex," 108.

49. Széchényi National Library, Budapest, Ms. MNy 1; id., "A Pray-kódex sanctoraleja," *Magyar Könyvszemle* 1 (1939): 1–53, esp. 6; id., "A Pray-kódex tartalma, kora, jelentősége," *Magyar Könyvszemle* 1 (1939): 413–55; Tünde Wehli, "Pray-kódex," in *Paradisum*, 199–203.

50. Miklós István Földváry, "The Use of Esztergom (Ritus Strigoniensis)," in *Missale Strigoniense 1484 id est Missale secundum chorum almae ecclesiae Strigoniensis, impressum Nurenbergae apud Anthonium Koburger*, ed. B. Déri (Budapest, 2009), XII–XIII; László Dobszay, *Az esztergomi rítus* (Budapest, 2005); Ján Dubina, *I riti peculiari di triduo pasquale in Slovacchia: Storia, celebrazione, teologia* (Rome, 2012), 28–9.

51. City Archives, Bratislava, Mss EC. Lad. 3 and EL. 18; St. Adalbert Society, Trnava, Ms. no. 200 c. 15 TR A. 61. J. Szendrei and R. Rybarič, eds., *Missale notatum Strigoniense ante 1341 in Posonio* (Budapest, 1982) (hereafter cited as MNS).

52. Richard Rybarič, "The Codex and Its History," in MNS, 13–5.

53. For liturgical order on Holy Saturday which included the *benedictio ignis*, *cerei*, and *fontis*, see P. Radó, ed., *Libri liturgici manu scripti bibliothecarum Hungariae* (Budapest, 1947), 28–9, 47.

54. MNS, fols. 125r–125v. There are several other 14th and 15th century manuscripts which, although written for churches elsewhere in Hungary, reflect the *ritus Strigoniensis* and include St. Adalbert and Hungary's holy kings in All Saints' Litany: *Missale Capituli Scepusiensis Saec. XIV*, Széchényi National Library, Budapest, Ms. c. l. m. ae. 92, fols. 103v–106r; *Missale Ecclesiae Hungaricae Saec. XIV*, Széchényi National Library, Budapest, Ms. c. l. m. ae. 395, fols. 78r–78v; *Missale Posoniense (Codex H) Saec. XIV*, Széchényi National Library, Budapest, Ms. c. l. m. ae. 94, fol. 127r; *Missale Posoniense (Codex I) Saec. XV*, Metropolitan Library, Esztergom, Ms. L. I. 7, fols. CIIIr–CXv. Radó, *Libri*, 72, 76, 93, 130.

55. MNS, fols. 159r–161v, 49; Janka Szendrei, *A "mos patriae" kialakulása 1341 előtti hangjegyes forrásaink tükrében*, (Budapest, 2005), 300, 302.

56. Only the verses concerning the Hungarian saints are published in J. Dankó, ed., *Vetus hymnarium ecclesiasticum Hungariae* (Budapest, 1893), 293–4. In *Ardua spes*, after an abridged listing of holy archangels, apostles, patriarchs and prophets, the following saints are singled out: Ss. Stephen the Protomartyr, Lawrence, Adalbert, George, Thomas Becket, Gregory, Stephen, Emeric, and Ladislas, MNS, fols. 159r–159v. Among many saints of various categories in *Humili prece*, St. Adalbert closes the series of holy martyrs following Ss. Hyppolitus, Vitus, Wenceslas, Modest, and Chrysogonus, while Ss. Stephen, Emeric, and Ladislas seem to form an independent, unnamed category of saints, being placed between holy monks and female saints, ibid., fols. 160r–161v.

57. Dankó, 293.

58. Ibid., 294.

59. St. Adalbert's joining by Ss. George and Thomas Becket points to the verses' Esztergom origin, the latter saints being the patrons of the Esztergom Collegiate Chapter, *MNS*, 49; B. Rajeczky, ed., *Magyarország zenetörténete: I. Középkor* (Budapest, 1988), 411; Szendrei, *A "mos patriae" kialakulása 1341 előtti hangjegyes forrásaink tükrében*, 300, 302.

60. Szendrei, 301.

61. József Török, "Az esztergomi rítus és Szent Gellért tisztelete," in *Lux Pannoniae: Esztergom, az ezeréves kulturális metropolis konferencia 2000. június 15–16–17*, ed. I. Horváth (Esztergom, 2000), 37–46.

62. Şerban Turcuş, "Fondarea prepoziturii saşilor ca proiect al Sfântului Scaun," *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie "George Bariţiu." Series Historica* 49 (2010): 21–37; Friedrich Teutsch, *Geschichte der ev. Kirche in Siebenbürgen: I. 1150–1699* (Sibiu, 1921), 7–24; Thomas Nägler, *Aşezarea saşilor în Transilvania* (Bucharest, 1992), 228–9.

63. Nägler, 229.

64. *Liber promptuarii capituli Brasschowiensis inchoatus per dominum Georgium decretorum licentiatum artiumque baccalaureum, tunc temporis districtus Brasschowiensis decanum, in monte Petri plebanum anno Domini Mᵒ CCCCᵒ LIIᵒ*, Archives of the Evangelical C. A. Parish, Braşov, Ms MOL DF no. 286.635, László Solymosi, "Az esztergomi egyházmegye legrégebbi ünneplajstroma (Szent Adalbert, Szórárd-András és Benedek tisztelete az erdélyi szászoknál)," in *R. Várkonyi Ágnes emlékkönyv születésének 70. évfordulója ünnepére*, ed. P. Tusor (Budapest, 1998), 88–95.

65. Ibid., 93.

66. Ibid., 95.

67. Doc. no. 390, *UGDS* 1: 361.

68. Georg Eduard Müller, "Die deutschen Landkapitel in Siebenbürgen und ihre Dechanten 1191–1848: Ein rechtsgeschichtlicher Beitrag zur Geschichte der deutschen Landeskirche in Siebenbürgen," *Archiv des Vereins für siebenbürgische Landeskunde* 48 (1936): 31, 34.

69. László Dobszay, *Corpus antiphonarum: Európai örökség és hazai alakítás* (Budapest, 2003), 59–61.

70. Mező, *Patrocíniumok*, 28–31, esp. 30; id., *Templomcím*, 49–50. For St. Adalbert's patronage in modern-age Transylvania, one can also add Rimetea (Alba), Belani and Baraolt (both in Covasna), Klára Dóka, "Szent Adalbert patrocíniumok az újkorban," in *Ezer év Szent Adalbert oltalma alatt*, eds. A. Hegedűs et al. (Esztergom, 2000), 56–68 (hereafter cited as Hegedűs, *Ezer*).

71. Sibiu *praepositura* had St. Ladislas as its patron, Karl Reinerth, "Die freie königliche St. Ladislaus-Propstei zu Hermannstadt und ihre Kapitel," *Deutsche Forschung im Südosten* 1 (1942): 319–61. For St. Ladislas' veneration by Hungarians and Saxons in Cluj and Sibiu, see Carmen Florea, "Relics at the Margins of Latin Christendom: The Cult of a Frontier Saint in the Late Middle Ages," in *Reliques et sainteté dans l'espace médiéval*, ed. J. L. Deuffic (Saint-Denis, 2005), 471–97. Ss. Stephen and Ladislas are depicted also in the churches in Sibiu, Drăguţ, *Arta*, 239–40, Dârlos,

Năstăsoiu, "'Sancti reges,'" 76, and Şmig (unpublished), a fact attesting to the popularity of their cult among Transylvanian Saxons.

72. Maria Crăciun, "Mendicant Piety and the Saxon Community of Transylvania, c. 1450–1550," in *Communities of Devotion: Religious Orders and Society in East Central Europe, 1450–1800*, ed. Maria Crăciun (Burlington, 2011), 35, 45–6.

Abstract

A Holy Bishop among Holy Kings in the Frescoes of Mălâncrav

In the murals painted before 1404/5 in the sanctuary of the church in Mălâncrav, there is a group scene composed of five saints: the three holy kings of Hungary (i.e. Stephen, Emeric, and Ladislas), St. Sigismund of Burgundy, and a holy bishop without defining attributes. Rejecting previous identifications (St. Gerard of Cenad or St. Nicholas) for the holy bishop in Mălâncrav, the article establishes a new identity by focusing on hagiographic, liturgical, and historical texts, and analyzing a series of images of saints. After placing the representation in Mălâncrav against the background of the cults of saints popular in medieval Hungary, the author identifies the holy bishop in Mălâncrav as St. Adalbert, the patron saint of the Archbishopric of Esztergom and one of Hungary's holy protectors.

Keywords