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## Efforts at the Canonization of Margaret of Hungary in the Angevin Period

St Margaret of Hungary, the daughter of King Béla IV offered to the service of God, who lived her life in the Dominican convent at the Rabbits' Island near Buda, constructed for her, and died in 1270, followed the vocation of her aunt, St Elisabeth of Hungary, who was by then one of the most popular saints in Europe. The official investigation around Margaret's sanctity, supported by the Dominican Order, her brother, King Stephen V, and other royal families, started in 1273, first with a local inquiry, then with a witness hearing in 1276 by papal legates. Nevertheless, this process—as many other similar ones—remained unfinished in the Middle Ages, and after repeated attempts from the Hungarian kings and the Dominicans, the canonization of Margaret only succeeded in 1943. The present study is discussing a chapter in these efforts, the ones during the period of the Angevin rulers, for whom the cult of saint ancestors has been more important than for any other Hungarian royal dynasty. New studies on the canonization processes in general, and new studies on Saint Margaret in particular allow us now to see more clearly three such Angevin attempts, one in 1306, even before their accession to the Hungarian throne, one around 1340, which has been brought by Viktória Hedvig Deák in connection with the *Legenda maior* of Margaret, written in Avignon by Garinus, and a third in 1379, at the beginning of the Great Schism, the documents of which have recently been discovered by Otfried Krafft.

Keywords: Saint Margaret of Hungary, Dominican Order, Canonizations, Angevins, the Great Schism

The historical transformations in the canonic procedures of the canonization of saints have attracted much attention from historians in recent years. When the cults of saints took shape in Late Antiquity, the initiation of a cult of a saint was a matter for the bishops, who judged by the criteria of *post mortem* 'saintly reputation' (*fama sanctitatis*), the occurrence of miracles near the candidates' earthly remains, and taking in consideration legends written on their exemplary life. During the canonization procedures the saints' relics were elevated and placed underneath the altar of a church, a feast day was entered into the diocesan calendar, and the memory of the saint was consequently preserved in

annual liturgy.<sup>1</sup> This system survived until the twelfth century, although changes were gradually introduced after the first millennium. A tenth-century case set a precedent for local ecclesiastical leaders to request the approval of the Holy See for the canonization of a proposed new saint, and after the reform papacy of Gregory VII, popes in the twelfth century increasingly imposed this as a requirement. The pope's exclusive right to approve the veneration of new saints was first vindicated by Pope Alexander III (1159–1181) and made a rule by the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215, during the pontificate of Innocent III (1198–1216).<sup>2</sup> Books by André Vauchez<sup>3</sup> and Michael Goodich<sup>4</sup> have pointed to the significance of this change and the fundamental transformation of the cult of saints which the new procedure brought about in the thirteenth century: after a local initiative (the *fama sanctitatis*, the first miracles and legends), a decision by the Holy See was required to start off the protracted legal procedure of canonization. Following a positive decision—made in only about half of the cases—papal legates went to the spot and heard witnesses, who testified, under oath, on the saintly life and miracles of the saint candidate. The papal consistory then made further investigations and debates, and after a period of some years, decades, or even centuries, decided whether the evidence gathered was sufficient for canonization. From the late twelfth to the early fifteenth century, popes launched seventy-one canonization processes, of which thirty-five ended in canonization during the Middle Ages.

These influential books by Vauchez and Goodich put new life into historical research regarding the canonization procedures. The documents of many canonization processes were published,<sup>5</sup> and several major studies and

1 Sofia Boesch Gajano, *La santità* (Rome–Bari: Laterza, 1999); Thomas Head, ed., *Medieval Hagiography. An Anthology* (New York–London: Garland, 2000).

2 Stephan Kuttner, “La réserve papale du droit de canonisation,” *Revue Historique de Droit Français et Étranger*, 4<sup>e</sup> série 17 (1938): 172–228; Eric Waldram Kemp, *Canonization and Authority in the Western Church* (London: Oxford University Press, 1948).

3 André Vauchez, *La sainteté en Occident aux derniers siècles du Moyen Âge d'après les procès de canonisation et les documents hagiographiques*, Bibliothèques des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, 241 (Rome: École Française de Rome, 1981, 1988); in English: *Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

4 Michael Goodich, *Vita Perfecta: The Ideal of Sainthood in the Thirteenth Century*, Monographien zur Geschichte des Mittelalters, vol. 25 (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1982).

5 Richard Stachnik, ed., *Die Akten des Kanonisationsprozesses Dorotheas von Montau von 1394 bis 1521* (Cologne–Vienna: Böhlau, 1978); Jacques Cambell, ed., *Enquête pour le procès de canonisation de Dauphine de Puimichel, Comtesse d'Ariano († 26-XI-1360) (Apt et Avignon, 14 Mai–30 Octobre 1363)* (Turin: Bottega d'Erasmus, 1978); Enrico Menestò, ed., *Il processo di canonizzazione di Chiara da Montefalco, con un appendice documentaria di S. Nesi*

monographs followed: books by Aviad Kleinberg,<sup>6</sup> Bernhard Schimmelpfennig,<sup>7</sup> Christian Krötzel,<sup>8</sup> Luigi Canetti,<sup>9</sup> Roberto Paciocco,<sup>10</sup> Thomas Wetzstein<sup>11</sup> and Otfried Krafft,<sup>12</sup> and further books by André Vauchez<sup>13</sup> and Michael Goodich<sup>14</sup>. A major international conference in Collegium Budapest in 2001, attended by many experts in the field, summed up research on the subject.<sup>15</sup>

It is due to the systematic investigations prescribed by the canonization processes that a wealth of detailed documentation has come down to us about St Margaret of Hungary, the daughter of King Béla IV offered to the service of God, and the people around her. Analysis of this has been one of the rewarding areas of medieval Hungarian religious history, and provided some wide-ranging

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(Florence: Nuova Italia, 1984); Nicola Occhioni OSA, ed., *Il Processo per la canonizzazione di S. Nicola da Tolentino* (Rome: Ecole Française de Rome, 1984); Raymonde Foreville and Gillian Keir, eds., *The Book of St. Gilbert* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987).

6 Aviad Kleinberg, "Proving Sanctity: Selection and Authentication of Saints in the Later Middle Ages," *Viator* 20 (1989): 183–205; idem, *Prophets in Their Own Country. Living Saints and the Making of Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992).

7 Bernhard Schimmelpfennig, "Heilige Päpste – päpstliche Kanonisationspolitik," in *Politik und Heiligenverehrung im Hochmittelalter*, ed. Jürgen Petersohn (Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke, 1994), 73–100.

8 Christian Krötzel, *Pilger, Mirakel und Alltag. Formen des Verhaltens in skandinavischen Mittelalter (12.–15. Jahrhundert)* (Helsinki: SHS, 1994).

9 Luigi Canetti, *L'invenzione della memoria. Il culto e immagine di Domenico nella storia dei primi frati Predicatori* (Spoleto: Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, 1996).

10 Roberto Paciocco, "*Sublimia negotia.*" *Le canonizzazioni dei santi nella curia papale e il nuovo Ordine dei frati minori* (Padua: Centro Studi Antoniani, 1996).

11 Thomas Wetzstein, "Virtus morum et virtus signorum? Zur Bedeutung der Mirakel in den Kanonisationsprozessen des 15. Jahrhunderts," in *Mirakel im Mittelalter. Konzeptionen, Erscheinungsformen, Deutungen*, eds. Martin Heinzelmann et al. (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2002), 351–76; idem, *Heilige vor Gericht. Das Kanonisationsverfahren im europäischen Mittelalter* (Cologne–Weimar–Vienna: Böhlau, 2004).

12 Otfried Krafft, *Papsturkunde und Heiligsprechung. Die päpstlichen Kanonisationen vom Mittelalter bis zur Reformation. Ein Handbuch*, Archiv für Diplomatik, Beiheft 9. (Cologne–Weimar–Vienna: Böhlau, 1995).

13 André Vauchez, "La naissance du soupçon: vraie et fausse sainteté aux derniers siècles du Moyen Age," in idem, *Saints, prophètes et visionnaires. Le pouvoir surnaturel au Moyen Âge* (Paris: Albin Michel, 1999), 208–19; idem, "Les origines et le développement du procès de canonisation (XII<sup>e</sup>–XIII<sup>e</sup> siècles)," in *Vita Religiosa im Mittelalter*. Festschrift für Kaspar Elm zum 70. Geburtstag, eds. Franz J. Felten and Nikolas Jaspert (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1999), 845–56.

14 Michael Goodich, *Violence and Miracle in the Fourteenth Century. Private Grief and Public Salvation* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995); idem, *Lives and Miracles of the Saints. Studies in Medieval Latin Hagiography* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004); idem, *Miracles and Wonders. The Development of the Concept of Miracle, 1150–1350* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007).

15 Gábor Klaniczay, ed., *Procès de canonisation au Moyen Âge. Aspects juridiques et religieux – Canonization Processes in the Middle Ages. Legal and Religious Aspects, Collection de l'École française de Rome 340* (Rome: Ecole Française de Rome, 2004).

insights.<sup>16</sup> Margaret died as a Dominican nun on January 18, 1270,<sup>17</sup> and her brother, King Stephen V, successfully petitioned Pope Gregory X to start a canonization investigation. This fact is recorded in a bull by Innocent V, who ordered the second hearing of witnesses,<sup>18</sup> and in the Hungarian legend of St Margaret: ‘King Stephen ... sent envoys to Pope Gregory humbly pleading that the almighty God ... for the sake of St Margaret’s virtues, had worked so many great miracles, that it would be unworthy not to invoke her assistance among other saints. Therefore his Holiness should be so gracious as to count her among the saints.’<sup>19</sup> Evidence for the *fama sanctitatis*, required to initiate the canonization procedure, was probably provided by the first great public miracle, which occurred on the anniversary of Margaret’s death in January 1271 ‘on St Prisca’s day, on the anniversary of the death of the virgin,... [in the presence of] King Stephen V, the barons of the realm and indeed the whole royal court,’ when a woman named Erzsébet, suffering from possession by the Devil, was cured beside Margaret’s relics.<sup>20</sup> The first committee charged with gathering Margaret’s miracles, consisting of Fülöp, Archbishop of Esztergom, Fülöp, Bishop of Vác and the Cistercian Abbot of Zirc, and—after the death

16 There is an extensive Hungarian literature on the life of St Margaret of Hungary. Unfortunately the work by Elemér Lovas, Elemér Mályusz, László Mezey and Ilona Király is not accessible in foreign languages. On recent literature see Tibor Klaniczay, “La fortuna di Santa Margherita d’Ungheria in Italia,” in *Spiritualità e lettere nella cultura italiana e ungherese del basso medioevo*, eds. Sante Graciotti and Cesare Vasoli (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 1995), 3–27; Gábor Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses. Dynastic Cults in Medieval Central Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 195–295, 423–28; Viktória Hedvig Deák, *La légende de sainte Marguerite de Hongrie et l’hagiographie dominicaine* (Paris: Cerf, 2013).

17 Dezső Dümmerth, “Árpád-házi Szent Margit halála éve és a legendák” [The Year of Death of St Margaret of Hungary and the Legends], *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények* 76 (1972): 617–20.

18 “Dudum ex parte clare memorie (Stephani) regis Hungarie, felicis recordationis Gregorio papae nostre fuit humiliter supplicatum...” — “Inquisitio super vita, conversatione et miraculis beatae Margarethae virginis, Belae IV. Hungarorum regis filiae, sanctimonialis monasterii virginis gloriosae de insula Danubii, Ordinis Praedicatorum, Vesprimis diocesis,” ed. Vilmos Fraknói (hereafter: *Inquisitio*), in *A veszprémi püspökség római oklevéltára. Monumenta Romana Episcopatus Vesprimiensis*, 4 vols., ed. a collegio historicorum Hungarorum Romano (Budapest: n.p., 1896–1907 (hereafter: MREV), vol. I, 160.

19 Géza Érszegi, ed., *Árpád-kori legendák és intelmek* [Árpád Era Legends and Counsel] (Budapest: Szépirodalmi Könyvkiadó, 1983), 147. Critical editions of the Hungarian legend: György Volf, *Szent Margit élete* [Life of St Margaret], Nyelvelméltár, vol. VIII (Budapest: MTA, 1881); János P. Balázs, *Szent Margit élete 1510* [Life of St Margaret 1510], Régi magyar kódexek 10. (Budapest: Magyar Nyelvtudományi Társaság, 1990).

20 “Legenda Beatae Margaritae de Hungaria,” in *Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum tempore ducum regumque stirpis Arpadianae gestarum*, 2 vols., ed. Imre Szentpétery. Kornél Szovák and László Veszprémy compiled the Afterword and the Bibliography, and added the writings published in the Appendices into the material of the 1st edition (Budapest: Nap Kiadó, 1999), 685–709.

of Archbishop Fülöp in late 1272 or early 1273—Ladomér, Bishop of Várad (later Archbishop of Esztergom) started its work on the Rabbits' Island (today Margaret Island at Budapest). According to calculations by Vilmos Fraknói—based on the statements of soror Candida—the committee started work in July 1271,<sup>21</sup> but Otfried Krafft has proposed, with reference to the chronology of the pontificate of Gregory X, that this be changed to 1272 (Gregory X was elected pope in early September 1271, but his coronation took place only in March 1272, and for canonical reasons it is very unlikely for the investigation to have been launched during an interregnum).<sup>22</sup> His view was recently given additional support by the discovery by Bence Péterfi of the relevant bull issued by Pope Gregory X, dated May 4, 1272, which had previously only been known from references.<sup>23</sup> Depositions were taken from at least forty witnesses, who related seven miracles performed during Margaret's life, four miraculous visions connected to her death, and twenty-nine miraculous healings ascribed to the intercession of St Margaret, by then dead, but still present through her relics. The edited compilation of these miracles has been preserved by Margaret's oldest legend, the *Legenda Vetust*, which is ascribed to her confessor Marcellus.<sup>24</sup>

The fact that Pope Innocent V, by a decree of May 14, 1276, ordered another hearing of witnesses, which took place between July 27 and October 12, 1276 on the Rabbits' Island, has sometimes been interpreted by Hungarian historians as implying that the first inquiry was not sufficiently thorough. In fact, the inquiries into Margaret's sainthood did not depart from the procedure which had become customary in the thirteenth century: the first stage was always a local inquiry. It was only after its findings—the first life of the saint and the list of miracles attesting to the *fama sanctitatis*—had been sent to the Curia, that the *inquisitio in partibus* could begin, in which papal legates interrogated the witnesses to the

21 Vilmos Fraknói, "Prolegomena," in *MREV*, vol. I, XLI.

22 Otfried Krafft, "Árpád-házi Szent Margit szentté avatási perének 1379-es újrafelvétele" [The 1379 Reopening of the Canonization Process of St Margaret of Hungary], *Századok* 140 (2006): 455.

23 Archivio Storico Capitolino, Archivio Orsini, Pergamene: II. A. XI. no. 8; cf. 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), 86.

24 Elemér Lovas argues in favour of Marcellus' authorship (Elemér Lovas, "Árpád-házi B. Margit első életrajzának írója – Marcellus" [The Author of the First Biography of St Margaret of Hungary – Marcellus], in *A pannonhalmi Szt. Gellért főiskola évkönyve* (Pannonhalmi, n.p., 1940/1941), 21–85, and although Hungarian historians have continued to argue about this identification, most accept it, including the present author. I gave my arguments in Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses*, 290–91.

miracles according to the strictest rules of canon law. In the second stage (or even the third and fourth, as necessity demanded) the body of cardinals which dealt with the process of canonization examined the depositions in the Curia. I will cite two Central European examples. One was the process of canonization of St Elizabeth of Hungary between 1232 and 1235, in which Gregory IX ordered the inquiry after the first lists of miracles and the *Summa vitae*, written by Conrad of Marburg, had been sent to Rome.<sup>25</sup> The same occurred in the case of St Stanislaus of Poland: the Archbishop of Gniezno, the Bishop of Wrocław and the Cistercian Abbot of Lubiąż compiled the first list of miracles in 1250, and after it was sent to Rome, the taking and recording of depositions in the *inquisitio in partibus* started in 1252, under the leadership of the Italian Giacomo Velletri, appointed by Innocent IV.<sup>26</sup>

The two papal legates in the second examination of witnesses for Margaret's cause were the papal chaplain Umberto Bianchi of Piacenza and a canon of Verona, doctor of canon law De La Corre. The surviving record of the examination contains statements by 110 witnesses, but is nonetheless incomplete. Viktória Hedvig Deák has made a credible estimate of how much of the document has been lost (at least another 23 depositions).<sup>27</sup> After the depositions had been taken and thoroughly compiled, they were sent to Rome, where, however, the final "curial" stage of the canonization process apparently failed to set off. There could have been several reasons for this, the most important probably being the frequent changes of pope in these years. Innocent V, who had ordered the inquiry, died on June 22, 1276, before the commission could even start its work in Buda, although it was probably

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25 Paul Gerhard Schmidt, "Die zeitgenössische Überlieferung zum Leben und zur Heiligsprechung der heiligen Elisabeth," in *Sankt Elisabeth. Fürstin, Dienerin, Heilige*, ed. Philipp Universität Marburg (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1981), 1–6; Joseph Leinweber, "Das kirchliche Heiligsprechungsverfahren bis zum Jahre 1234. Der Kanonisationsprozeß der hl. Elisabeth von Thüringen," in *Sankt Elisabeth. Fürstin, Dienerin, Heilige*, 128–36; Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses*, 419–20; idem, "Il processo di canonizzazione di Santa Elisabetta. Le prime testimonianze sulla vita e sui miracoli," in *Il culto e la storia di Santa Elisabetta d'Ungheria in Europa*, 18–19 novembre 2002. Annuario 2002–2004. Conferenze e convegni (Rome: Accademia d'Ungheria in Roma, 2005), 220–32; Otfried Krafft, "Kommunikation und Kanonisation: Die Heiligsprechung der Elisabeth von Thüringen 1235 und das Problem der Mehrfachausfertigung von päpstlichen Kanonisationsurkunden seit 1161," *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Thüringische Geschichte* 58 (2004): 27–82.

26 Wojciech Kętrzyński, ed., "Miracula sancti Stanislai," in *Monumenta Poloniae Historica*, vol. IV. (Lviv: n.p., 1884), 285–318; Jazmina Pleziowa and Zbigniew Perzanowski, eds., "Cuda Świętego Stanisława," *Analecta Cracoviensia* 11 (1979): 47–141; Aleksandra Witkowska, "The Thirteenth-Century Miracula of St. Stanislaus, Bishop of Krakow," in *Procès de canonisation*, 149–63.

27 Deák, *La légende de sainte Marguerite de Hongrie*, 239–41; for the latest analysis of the depositions, see *ibid.*, 286–323.

somewhat later that the members of the commission got news of this.<sup>28</sup> Innocent V's successor, Hadrian V, occupied the papal throne for hardly more than a month (July 11 – August 18, 1276); when the depositions reached Rome, the pope was already John XXI, but not for long (September 8, 1276 – May 20, 1277). In the following twenty years, there were a further six popes, following each other every two or three years. This state of flux obviously hindered the process considerably, but there was another obstacle as well to canonization procedures in the late thirteenth century, as André Vauchez has pointed out. The openness to new saint cults which had characterized the first half of the thirteenth century came to an end, and the Curia became increasingly critical and dismissive of proposed new cults. Only under express political pressure or in pursuit of its own diplomatic aims did it permit a local initiative to come to fruition. As it has already been mentioned: of the 71 medieval canonization processes, only 36 led to canonization before the end of the Middle Ages.<sup>29</sup> The fact that Margaret's case got stuck was thus anything but exceptional.

What is more surprising, however, is how little her cause benefited from the ascent to the Hungarian throne of the House of Anjou. For, as Vauchez observed, the Angevin dynasty was more successful than any other royal house in having the Curia recognize the cult of saints connected to them.<sup>30</sup> The first signs of this special treatment are apparent from the time of the dynasty's founder, Charles I (1265–1285): in 1270, he initiated the canonization of his brother, King Louis IX of France, who had died in the course of his crusade to Tunis. After protracted inquiries, Louis was eventually canonized in 1296.<sup>31</sup> When Charles sought and found for his son, Charles II, a wife from the House of Árpád, in the person of Stephen V's daughter Mary, he emphatically stated that Stephen, besides being a 'great and warlike king,' was 'descended from a family of saints and great kings.'<sup>32</sup>

28 This may be inferred from the record of the depositions on July 23 that starts with the words 'primo anno pontificatus domini Innocentii pape quinti' — *Inquisitio*, 165.

29 Vauchez, *La sainteté*, 71–98.

30 Ibid., 86–94.

31 Jacques Le Goff, "Saint de l'Eglise et saint du peuple: les miracles officiels de saint Louis entre sa mort et sa canonisation (1270–1297)," in *Histoire sociale, sensibilités collectives et mentalités: mélanges Robert Mandrou* (Paris: P.U.F, 1985), 169–80; idem, *Saint Louis* (Paris: Gallimard, 1996), 298–315; Louis Carolus-Barré, *Le procès de canonisation de Saint Louis (1272–1297). Essai de reconstitution* (Rome: Ecole Française de Rome, 1994); Cecilia Gaposchkin, *The Making of Saint Louis: Kingship, Sanctity and Crusade in the Later Middle Ages* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2008).

32 "Dominus Stephanus... natus est de genere sanctorum et maximorum Regum, Princeps potens et bellicosus," *Magyar diplomáciai emlékek az Anjou korból* [Hungarian Diplomatic Records from the Angevin Era], 3 vols., ed. Gusztáv Wenzel (Budapest: MTA, 1874–76), vol. I/1. 24.

This relationship later served as the basis for the family's claim to the Hungarian throne, first asserted by Charles I's grandson Charles Martel and—after his early death in 1295<sup>33</sup> and the extinction of the House of Árpád in 1301—taken up by his great-grandson Caroberto. On several occasions during the more than ten years of struggle it took Caroberto to secure the crown, he underpinned his suitability for the task by referring to his descent from famous saints on both sides, the French Capetians and the Árpáds.<sup>34</sup>

It is in this context that we must interpret the information given by Bernard Gui (Bernardus Guidonis), a leading figure and historian of the Dominican order, that in 1306, the King of Hungary sent a Dominican friar, Andrew of Hungary, as procurator to the Holy See to 'intercede with Pope Clement V in the cause of the canonization of King Béla's daughter Margaret.'<sup>35</sup> Bernard Gui does not mention the king's name, but there can be little doubt that it was Caroberto, the future Charles I, who had assumed the title in 1301 but was still fighting for the kingdom. A recently discovered document may be linked to this same piece of information: a petition to the pope written by Bishop Imre of Várad, in the same matter and the same year.<sup>36</sup> These moves by the party around Caroberto in 1306 may be related to a successful petition made that same year by his uncle, Charles II 'the Lame' for the start of the canonization process of Louis of Anjou, Bishop of Toulouse, who had renounced his position as heir to the throne to enter the Franciscan order and lived a saintly life up to his death in 1297.<sup>37</sup> That cause bore fruit in a short time: Louis of Anjou was canonized at

33 The latest on Charles Martel's claim to the Hungarian throne is Enikő Csukovits, *Az Anjouk Magyarországon I. I. Károly és uralkodása (1301–1342)* [The Angevins in Hungary I. Charles I and His Reign (1301–1342)] (Budapest: MTA BTK Történettudományi Intézet, 2012), 48–52.

34 I have analysed this saint cult based propaganda in several places. Gábor Klaniczay: "Le culte des saints dynastiques en Europe Centrale (Angevins et Luxembourgs au XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle)," in *L'Eglise et le peuple chrétien dans les pays de l'Europe du Centre-Est et du Nord (XIV<sup>e</sup>-XV<sup>e</sup> siècles)*, Actes du colloque ... de Rome (27–29 janvier 1986) (Rome: Ecole Française de Rome, 1990), 221–47; idem, *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses*, 1–2, 295–367.

35 "Fr. Andreas Ungarus fuit factus archiepiscopus Antibarensis per dominum Clementem papam V anno domini MCCCVI ... in curia, ubi erat pro canonizatione sancte Margarite filie quondam regis Ungarie nomine Belle optinenda missus a rege Ungarie procurator, cuius sibi in hac parte cooperatus est interventus." — Stephanus de Salaniaco–Bernardus Guidonis, *De quatuor in quibus deus praedicatorum ordinem insignivit*, ed. Thomas Kaeppli (MOPH XXII) (Rome: Istituto Storico Domenicano, 1949), 102–03; Deák, *La légende de sainte Marguerite de Hongrie*, 221.

36 Archivio Storico Capitolino, Archivio Orsini, Pergamene: II. A. IX. no. 54; Péterfi, "Újabb adalékok Árpád-házi Margit középkori csodáinak sorához," 88.

37 Margaret Toynbee, *S. Louis of Toulouse and the Process of Canonization in the Fourteenth Century* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1927), 151–54; Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses*, 324.



a ceremony in Marseille in 1317<sup>38</sup> and became the patron saint of the Angevin dynasty, who celebrated themselves as *beata stirps*.<sup>39</sup> By contrast, Margaret's canonization process failed to resume momentum, although the privileges of the Dominican convent on the Rabbits' Island were renewed by Charles I's third wife Beatrix of Luxemburg in 1319.<sup>40</sup>

In the fourteenth century, Margaret's cult found another promoter in Hungary in the person of Elizabeth Piast, daughter of Wladislaw Łokietek, Prince of Krakow and later King of Poland (1305–20; 1320–33), who became Charles Robert's fourth wife in 1320 and controlled court ceremony and patronage.<sup>41</sup> An indication of her commitment to family cult of saints is her foundation (together with her husband) of a Franciscan monastery consecrated to Louis of Anjou in Lipa in 1325.<sup>42</sup> We do not know whether she escorted Charles I when he went at the head of a ceremonial delegation to Naples in 1333 for the betrothal of his third-born son Andrew to Joanna, granddaughter of his uncle Robert I 'the Wise' (1309–43).<sup>43</sup> If so, she would have had the occasion to observe the representation of grand style in which the family saints had been honoured by Mary of Hungary, Charles the Lame's wife, and Sancia of Aragon, Robert's wife: above all a cycle of frescoes in the Church of Santa Maria di Donnaregina portraying St Elizabeth and the holy kings of the House of Árpád,

38 Edith Pásztor, *Per la storia di san Ludovico d'Angiò (1274–1297)*, Studi storici 10 (Rome: Istituto Storico Italiano per il medio evo, 1955); Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses*, 304–10; Mario Gaglione, "Il san Ludovico di Simone Martini, manifesto della santità regale angioina," *Rassegna storica salernitana* XXIX/2, no. 58 (2012): 9–125.

39 André Vauchez, "Beata stirps: sainteté et lignage en Occident aux XIII<sup>e</sup> et XIV<sup>e</sup> siècles," in *Famille et parenté dans l'Occident médiéval*, ed. Georges Duby et al. (Rome: Ecole Française de Rome, 1977), 397–406.

40 *Anjou-kori okmánytár I–VII* [Charters from the Angevin Period], ed. Imre Nagy et al. (Budapest: MTA, 1878–1920), vol. I, 507.

41 Jan Dąbrowski, *Elżbieta Łokietówna 1305–1380* (Krakow: Nakł. Akademii Umiejętności, 1914); Ewa Śnieżyńska-Stolot, "Queen Elisabeth as a Patron of Architecture," *Acta Historiae Artium Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 20 (1974): 13–36; idem, "Tanulmányok Erzsébet királyné mecénási tevékenységéről" [Studies on the Patronage of Queen Elizabeth], *Ars Hungarica* 7 (1979) 23–32; idem, "Tanulmányok Łokietek Erzsébet királyné műpártolása köréből (Ötvöstárgyak)" [Studies in the Patronage of Queen Elizabeth Łokietek (Metalware)], *Művészettörténeti Értesítő* 30 (1981): 233–54.

42 "Chronici hungarici compositio saeculi XIV," ed. Sándor Domanovszky, in *JRH*, vol. I (Budapest: n.p., 1938), 490.

43 István Miskolczy, *Magyar-olasz összeköttetések az Anjouk korában* [Hungarian–Italian Connections in the Angevin Era] (Budapest: Szent István Társulat, 1937); Samantha Kelly, *The New Solomon. Robert of Naples (1309–1343) and Fourteenth-century Kingship* (Leiden–Boston: Brill, 2003); Csukovits, *Az Anjouk Magyarországon*, 113–15.

and sculptures adorning the family tombs commemorating the two St Louises, the King of France and the Bishop of Toulouse.<sup>44</sup>

In any case, it must have been due to Elizabeth Piast that a splendid new tomb for the Blessed Margaret was erected on the Rabbits' Island between 1336 and 1340, probably involving the sculptor responsible for the tomb of Mary of Hungary (d. 1323) in Santa Maria di Donnaregina, Tino de Camaino of Naples, or at least his atelier.<sup>45</sup> According to the chronicle of the Dominican Order by Galvano Fiamma, Queen Elizabeth donated silver adornments to the Dominican houses in Bologna and Milan (the resting places of St Dominic and St Peter the Martyr respectively), thus presumably hoping to contribute to the emergence of the cult of Margaret of Hungary in Italy.<sup>46</sup> This was no doubt connected to a new attempt by the Hungarian royal family and the Dominican Order, around 1340, to revive Margaret's moribund canonization process. Viktória Hedvig Deák claims that this could explain why, at just the same time, the Master-General of the Dominican Order, Hugues de Vaucemain, had his fellow-Dominican Garinus de Giaco (Garin Gy l'Évêque) write a new legend using the documents of the canonization process which were held at Avignon.<sup>47</sup> Also possibly linked to this development was the inclusion of an image of

44 Janis Elliott and Cordelia Warr, eds., *The Church of Santa Maria Donna Regina: Art, Iconography, and Patronage in Fourteenth-century Naples* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004); Cordelia Warr, "Der Freskenzyklus der heiligen Elisabeth von Ungarn in Santa Maria Donna Regina in Neapel," in *Elisabeth von Thüringen: Eine europäische Heilige*, ed. Dieter Blume et al. (Petersberg: Michael Imhof, 2007), 345–52; Ingrid Würth, "Altera Elisabeth: Königin Sancia von Neapel (1286–1345) und die Franziskaner," in *Religiöse Bewegungen im Mittelalter: Festschrift für Matthias Werner zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. E. Bünz et al. (Cologne–Vienna–Weimar: Böhlau, 2007), 517–42; Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses*, 336–38.

45 Pál Lővei, "The Sepulchral Monument of Saint Margaret of the Arpad Dynasty," *Acta Historiae Artium* 27 (1980): 211; Tania Michalski, "Die Repräsentation einer Beata Stirps. Darstellung und Ausdruck an den Grabmonumenten der Anjous," in *Die Repräsentation der Gruppen: Texte – Bilder – Objekte*, ed. Otto-Gerhard Oexle et al. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1998), 187–224.

46 "Hoc anno domina regina Hungariae Elizabeth ob reverentiam B. Dominici misit conventi Bononiensi paramenta ecclesiastica totalia, calicem argenteum, ampullas argenteas, propter quod fuit eidem deputata prima missa quae quotidie ad altare beati Dominici dicitur. Misit etiam prefata regina conventui Mediolanensi ob reverentiam B. Petri martyris paramentum unum veluti rubei completum pro altari majori. Aliud insuper paramentum veluti rubei viridisque cum frontali pulcro ac calice argenteo magno" — "La Cronaca Maggiore dell'ordine domenicano di Galvano Fiamma," ed. Gundisalvo Odetto, *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* 10 (1940): 227–373 (quotation: 369), cf. Deák, *La légende de sainte Marguerite de Hongrie*, 222.

47 Deák, *La légende de sainte Marguerite de Hongrie*, 219–24; Idem, "The Birth of a Legend: the So-called Legenda Maior of Saint Margaret of Hungary and Dominican Hagiography," *Revue Mabillon* 20 no. 81 (2009): 87–112; idem, "The Techniques of a Hagiographer. The two legendae of Saint Margaret of Hungary," in *Promoting the Saints. Cults and Their Contexts from Late Antiquity until the Early Modern Period. Essays in Honor of Gábor Klaniczay for His 60<sup>th</sup> Birthday*, ed. Ottó Gecser et al. CEU Medievalia, 14 (Budapest:

Margaret, then as yet only Blessed, among the representations of SS Peter and Paul, the Virgin Mary and the Hungaro-Angevin family saints (Stephen, Emeric, St Louis of Toulouse, Ladislaus and Elizabeth) in the embroidery of an altar cloth which Dowager Queen Elizabeth donated to St Peter's Basilica in Rome during her Italian pilgrimage in 1343.<sup>48</sup>

Evidence in favour of Deák's proposal are the parallel attempts by the Luxemburgs of Bohemia, allies of the Hungarian Angevins and also their main rivals, to boost their prestige by promoting a new saint cult connected to their dynastic predecessors. Elizabeth Přemysl, wife of John of Luxemburg, with the help of the Franciscans in Bohemia made repeated attempts between 1328 and 1339 to persuade Pope John XXII and then his successor Benedict XII to start a canonization process for Agnes of Bohemia (d. 1282). Agnes—following the example of her cousin, St Elizabeth of Hungary—renounced her courtly surroundings to live her life in the convent of the Poor Clares in Prague, which she had founded in 1235.<sup>49</sup> This resulted, during these years, in the writing of the legend of Agnes and the collection of miracles which occurred at her grave: Queen Elizabeth Přemysl herself contributed two personal miracle stories to the list.<sup>50</sup>

As for the canonization of Margaret, after the new attempt had ended with failure around 1340, Dowager Queen Elizabeth nevertheless continued to

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CEU, 2011), 125–36. For the text of the legend, see *Catalogus fontium historiae Hungaricae aeo ducum et regum ex stirpe Arpad descendendum ab anno Christi DCCC usque ad annum MCCC*, 3 vols., ed. Albin Ferenc Gombos (Budapest: Szent István Akadémia, 1937–1938), vol. III, 2481–545.

48 The altar ornament is described in a 1361 inventory: “Item unum aliud dossale pro dicto altari de syndone violato, ornatum de novem ymaginibus, videlicet, cum nostra domina in medio et a dextris ejus sanctus Paulus, sanctus Stephanus Rex Ungarie, Sanctus Erricus Dux Ungarie et sanctus Lodoycus, et a sinistris sanctus Petrus et sanctus Ladislaus Rex Ungarie, sancta Helisabet filia regis Ungarie, et sancta Margarita filia regis Ungarie, cum spicis aureis duplicatis inter ipsas imagines et in circuitu una vitis de auro in sindone rubeo cum rosis aureis” — E. Müntz and A. L. Frottingham (Jun.), “Il Tesoro della Basilica di S. Pietro in Vaticano dal XIII al XV secolo con una scelta d’inventari inediti,” *Archivio della Società Romana di Storia Patria* 6 (1883): 14.

49 “Chronicon Aulae Regiae,” in *Fontes Rerum Bohemicarum*, vol. IV, ed. Jozef Emler (Prague: Nákl. Nadáni Františka Palackého, 1884), 291–92; Jaroslav Polc, *Agnes von Böhmen 1211–1282, Lebensbilder zur Geschichte der böhmischen Länder* 6. (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1989), 158–63; Christian-Frederik Felskau, “Vita religiosa und paupertas der Přemyslidin Agnes von Prag. Zu Bezügen und Besonderheiten in Leben und Legende einer späten Heiligen,” *Collectanea Franciscana* 70 (2000): 413–84 (particularly: 415); idem, *Agnes von Böhmen und die Klosteranlage der Klarissen und Franziskaner in Prag. Leben und Institution, Legende und Verehrung* (Nordhausen: Traugott Bautz, 2008).

50 Jan Kapištrán Vyskočil, ed., *Legenda blaboslavené Anežky a čtyři listy Sv. Kláry* [The Legend of the Blessed Agnes and Four Letters of St Clara] (Prague: Universum, 1934), 124–26; György Balanyi, *Csebországgi Boldog Ágnes* [Blessed Agnes of Bohemia], *Regnum* 1. (Budapest: Stephaneum, 1939), 137–68.

pay considerable attention to the family convent and the maintenance of the memory of the family saint-candidate. In 1353, she requested and received papal dispensation to regularly spend time in the island convent.<sup>51</sup>

The joint efforts of the Dowager Queen and the Dominican order to promote Margaret's canonization had an interesting consequence in Italy in the middle of the fourteenth century. The word spread that the beatified Hungarian princess, the sole female Dominican candidate for sanctification whose canonization was in process, had once—like St Francis of Assisi—been honored in a moment of ecstasy by the appearance on her body of the stigmata, the holy wounds of Christ. A painting by the 'Master of the Dominican Effigies' (c. 1350) in the sacristy of the Santa Maria Novella in Florence, stands as a record of this belief. It shows St Margaret in the company of other Dominican saints and candidates for canonization. There is a crown on her head and one hand holds a lily; on the other hand, which holds a globe, a stigma is clearly visible.<sup>52</sup> The earliest representation of the stigmatisation scene itself appears on a severely degraded triptych-form fresco in San Domenico, Perugia (1368). On the left field, St Margaret is dressed in a white tunic and a hardly-visible cloak and headscarf, kneeling on her right knee, the crown laid on the ground, and receives the stigmata from a seraph crucifix.<sup>53</sup> A third pictorial record of Margaret's stigmatisation is a fresco by an unknown master in the church of San Niccolò in Treviso, near Tommaso da Modena's famous series of Dominican masters, also made around 1370. The angels above the standing figure of Margaret hold a crown, and her portrait is accompanied by two inscriptions: "*Beata Margareta regina Ungariae ordinis fratrum predicatorum*" and "*Ego enim stigmata Xti in corpore meo porto*" – the latter a quotation from the apostle Paul (Gal. 6, 17).<sup>54</sup> Another Italian connection from the middle of the fourteenth century is an incomplete Latin legend of her stigmatisation which

51 MREV, vol. III, 220–21.

52 Richard Offner, *A Critical and Historical Corpus of Florentine Painting* (New York: New York University, 1930), Sect. III, vol. II, Part I. 58. table XXV; George Kaftal, *Saints in Tuscan Painting*, Iconography of the Saints in Italian Painting from its Beginning to the Early XV<sup>th</sup> Century, vol. I (Florence: Sansoni, 1952), coll. 31, 672–73. no. 214; Gábor Klaniczay, "Le stigmati di santa Margherita d'Ungheria: immagini e testi," *Iconographica. Rivista di iconografia medievale e moderna* I (2002): 16–31; idem, "On the Stigmatization of Saint Margaret of Hungary," in *Medieval Christianity in Practice*, ed. Miri Rubin (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009), 274–84.

53 George Kaftal, *Iconography of the Saints in Central and South Italian Schools of Painting*, Iconography of the Saints in Italian Painting from its Beginning to the Early XV<sup>th</sup> Century, vol. II (Florence: Sansoni, 1965), coll. 740–42. no. 243 (a).

54 Luigi Coletti, *Catalogo delle cose d'arte e di antichità d'Italia di Treviso* (Rome: Libreria dello Stato, 1935), 408; Lea Tolnay Danesi, "Un affresco senese a Treviso," *L'Arte* 37 (1934): 223–29; Florio Banfi, *Ricordi ungheresi*

survives in a manuscript from Pisa, appended to the legend of Garinus,<sup>55</sup> and an Italian translation of it worked into the introduction of an Italian translation of a mystical tract called ‘Mirror of simple souls’, by Marguerite de Porete, a Wallonian Beguine burned as a heretic in 1310.<sup>56</sup>

The Italian fame of Margaret’s stigmatisation had one major consequence: it prepared the religious community for the emergence of a stigmatized saint whom the Italian Dominicans found among their own ranks, the famous mystic of the age Catherine of Siena (1347–80). She was a figure who could stand alongside St Francis of Assisi, putting the Dominicans on equal rank with the other mendicant order in this area.<sup>57</sup> Later, when the zealous propagandist for the canonization of Catherine of Siena, Tommaso d’Antonio da Siena (1350–

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*in Italia* (Rome: Reale Accademia d’Ungheria, 1942), 173–74; George Kaftal and Fabio Bisogni, *Iconography of the Saints in the Painting of North East Italy*, *Iconography of the Saints in Italian Painting from its Beginning to the Early XV<sup>th</sup> Century*, vol. III (Florence: Sansoni, 1978), 663–65, no. 194 (c).

55 “Cum quadam die virgo Margarita in oratorio suo quod erat inter chorum et murum ecclesie lacrimose oraret, visa est a quadam sorore elevari a terra per cubitos plures, sic quod per spatium duarum horarum se habens, cum postea rediret ad lectum suum visa est ab Idem sorore habere in quinque locis suis corporis, manibus videlicet et pedibus ac latere, stigmata quinque sanguinolenta. A qua virgo sancta precibus obtinuit quod, quam diu viveret, teneret secretum. Unde idipsum, post mortem virginis omnibus revelavit. Et consimiliter confessor virginis hoc ipsum quoque plurimi viderunt et attestati sunt. Et qualiter quidam inquisitores Innocentii quinti, post multum temporis, volentes videre corpus eius, aperientes sepulcrum dicta stigmata, ut prefatum est, invenerunt et inde instrumentum publicum confecerunt.” Thomas Antonii de Senis “Caffarini”, *Libellus de supplemento, Legende proluxe virginis beate Catherine de Senis*, eds. Iuliana Cavallini and Imelda Foralosso (Rome: Edizioni Catheriniane, 1974), 175; Tibor Klaniczay, “La fortuna di Santa Margherita d’Ungheria in Italia,” in *Spiritualità e lettere nella cultura italiana e ungherese del basso medioevo*, ed. Sante Graciotti et al. (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 1995), 3–27.

56 “Standosi un di questa venerabile Margarita divotamente in uno suo horatorio in oratione dinanzi al crocefisso con molta effusione di lagrime, incontenente fu rapta dallo Spirito Santo, et fu levata da terra per misure di quattro comiti, et in questo modo stette per ispatio di due hore e più. Et si come Iddio permise, questa beata così rapta fu veduta da una sua compagna et parente d’uno medesimo habito con questa beata Margarita, colla quale segrete revelationi, le quali da Christo ricevea. E tornata questa beata in sè, insieme con questa sua compagna et parente se ne andò in cella per riposarsi. Et levandosi ella il mantello insanguinato, et le sue mani, e i piedi. Le quale stupefatta di questa cosa, divotamente domandò la beata Margarita quello che questo volesse dire. Allora beata Margarita avuta prima la fede da lei che mentre ch’ella visse questo non dovesse manifestare, et allora gli narrò, come Christo crocefisso in ispecie di seraphino gli fermò le stimmate nel corpo suo. Et essendo venuto il tempo, nello quale beata Margarita migrò di questa vita, fu tempo che questa sua parente potè manifestare questo grandissimo miracolo, et così fece, con grandissima reverentia et devotione narrava ciò ad ogni gente... Et innanzi che questa beata fusse seppellita, fu da molti il suo corpo veduto colle ditte stimmate segnato” — Published in Florio Banfi, “Le stimmate della B. Margherita d’Ungheria,” *Memorie Domenicane* 50–51 (1934): 304–06; cf. Dávid Falvay, *Magyar dinasztikus szentek olasz kódexekben* [Hungarian Dynastic Saints in Italian Codices] (Budapest: ELTE, 2012), 86–89.

57 Carolyn Muessig et al., eds., *A Companion to Catherine of Siena* (Leiden–Boston: Brill, 2012).

1434), known as Caffarini, Prior of the Dominican friary of San Giovanni e Paolo in Venice, contacted the Hungarian Dominicans to ask what they knew about Margaret's stigmata, his Hungarian fellows had disappointing news for him. Provincial Gregory wrote in 1409 that the highly detailed thirteenth-century canonization documentation made no mention of stigmata, which must therefore have been a false rumour. He added that this sign of holy favour had in fact been granted to another Hungarian Dominican nun of saintly life, Margaret's '*magistra*', the Blessed Helen.<sup>58</sup> The Hungarian court must also have been ignorant of the story of Margaret's stigmata circulating in Italy, otherwise they would surely not have been left behind by the Italian Dominican cloisters in the pictorial representations of this exceptional holy phenomenon. For the Hungarian Angevins were otherwise very keen on keeping up with their Neapolitan relatives in saintly imagery: among the most striking examples are the Hungarian Angevin Legendary<sup>59</sup> and the artistic propaganda commissioned by the court and destined for use abroad, which was studied by Ernő Marosi.<sup>60</sup>

The unbroken veneration of Margaret in the Angevin era is clear from an interesting literary source, a romantic travel account called *Paradiso degli Alberti* written in 1389 by Giovanni Gherardi da Prato of Padua, which tells of a European tour by a group of Italian youths, including a visit to the court of Louis the Great. There, the young men do not find King Louis in his Buda palace and are informed that the King is 'on the Island' (in all probability the 'Rabbits' Island). There, indeed, they find him, without royal pomp or retinue, absorbed in solitary meditation. This is interesting and credible eyewitness evidence of the increasingly personal religiosity in the ruling courts of the time, such as, for instance, in the entourage of Holy Roman Emperor Charles IV, who built Karlstein and furnished it with a private sanctuary.<sup>61</sup>

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58 Caffarini, *Libellus de supplemento*, 173–75.

59 Béla Zsolt Szakács, "Le culte des saints à la cour et le Légendier des Anjou-Hongrie," in *L'Europe des Anjou* (catalogue Fontevraud) (Paris: Somogy, 2001), 195–201; idem, *A Magyar Anjou Legendárium képi rendszerei* [Iconography of the Hungarian Angevin Legendarium] (Budapest: Balassi, 2006).

60 Ernő Marosi, "Saints at Home and Abroad: Some Observations on the Creation of Iconographic Types in Hungary of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries," in *Promoting the Saints*, 175–206.

61 Giovanni Gherardi da Prato, *Il paradiso degli Alberti*, ed. A. Lanza (Rome: Salerno, 1975), 231–35; Tibor Kardos, *Studi e ricerche umanistiche italo-ungheresi* (Debrecen: KLTE, 1967), 23–30; J. Fajt and J. Royt, *Magister Theodoricus: Court Painter of Emperor Charles IV. Decorations of the Sacred Places at Castle Karlstein* (Prague: National Gallery, 1997); Iva Rosario, *Art and propaganda: Charles IV of Bohemia, 1346–1378* (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2000).

In the 1370s, the Hungarian Angevins made another attempt to revive Margaret's canonization process. The relevant documents were recently published by Otfried Krafft. This source, immensely valuable for Hungarian research, is currently in Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Vat. lat. codex 6772 (20r): it is Urban IV's decree of 1 June 1379 citing the petition of Dowager Queen Elizabeth and commissioning the addressee (an unnamed senior Hungarian cleric) to conduct, together with Stephen, Patriarch of Jerusalem and the bishops of Pécs and Veszprém, an investigation into the life and miracles of Margaret, daughter of King Béla.<sup>62</sup>

This papal announcement of a fresh canonization process was made in the second year of the Great Schism.<sup>63</sup> The double papal election aroused consternation throughout Western Christendom and made the choice between them—Urban VI of Rome and Clement VII of Avignon—the dominant issue in the year 1378–79, as the two popes attempted by diplomatic manoeuvring to win over supporters and followers. This is the context in which we must interpret Urban VI's decree of 1 June 1379 which, satisfying the repeated petitions of the Hungarian royal dynasty, ordered a new hearing of witnesses in the matter of the sanctity of Béla IV's daughter Margaret.

One of Urban VI's main efforts was to secure the alliance of the Angevins, who ruled Hungary and—by then—Poland. Shortly after his election, in May 1378, he openly turned against Queen Joanna I of Naples, threatening to deprive her, by virtue of the feudal lordship of the Holy See over Naples, of her crown and send her to a convent. As her replacement on the Neapolitan throne, the Pope chose her cousin, Charles Durazzo 'the Small', who was living in the court of Louis the Great of Hungary, and this became the starting point for an increasingly close alliance with Louis.<sup>64</sup>

62 Krafft, *Árpád-bázi Szent Margit*, 462–64; this attempt had already been mentioned in Kornél Bóle, *Árpád-bázi Boldog Margit szenttéavatási ügye és a legősibb latin Margit-legenda* [The Cause of Canonization of Blessed Margaret of Hungary and the Oldest Latin Margaret Legend] (Budapest: Stephaneum, 1937), 6.

63 For a general description of the historical situation, see János Karácsonyi, *Magyarország és a nyugati nagy egyházszakadás* [Hungary and the Great Western Schism] (Nagyvárad: n.p., 1885); Antal Áldásy, *A nyugati nagy egyházszakadás története VI. Orbán haláláig. 1378–1389* [The History of the Great Western Schism until the Death of Urban VI] (Budapest: Pfeifer Ferdinánd, 1896); Howard Kaminsky, "The Great Schism," in *New Cambridge Medieval History*, vol. VI, ed. Michael Jones (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 674–96.

64 Anna Maria Voci, "Giovanna I d'Angiò e l'inizio del grande scisma d'Occidente," *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken* 17 (1995): 178–255; cf. Áldásy, *A nyugati nagy egyházszakadás*, 78–79.

In December 1378, Urban VI sent Cardinal Pileus de Prata on a diplomatic mission to Hungary. He stayed in the country in the first few months of 1379, and also visited Prague.<sup>65</sup> It was clearly through his preparatory mediation that Wenceslaus IV, who had recently assumed the Bohemian throne and also bore the title of King of the Romans, agreed on a meeting with Louis the Great. The two kings met in the castle of Zólyom (Zvolen, Slovakia), where they ceremonially announced their joint support for Urban VI, confirmed the engagement of Mary of Anjou and Sigismund of Luxemburg, and in all probability agreed to promote Charles the Small's claim to the throne of Naples.<sup>66</sup> Louis followed this up the same year by sending Charles to Italy at the head of an army. Charles was to carry out military operations against Venice, lend support to Urban VI, and implement the plans for gaining control of Naples.

The reopening of Margaret's canonization process thus became part of a tide of events that decided political supremacy in Italy for a long time to come. Although the name of Dowager Queen Elizabeth is the only one to appear among the petitioners for Margaret's canonization, it is reasonable to suppose that this papal gesture towards the royal house of Hungary was actually aimed at strengthening the strategically vital alliance with Louis the Great.

In taking up the cause of the canonization of the Hungarian princess who had become a Dominican nun, Pope Urban VI must have been influenced by a member of his close circle who was very active in securing international support for him: the highly respected visionary within the Dominican Order, Catherine of Siena. Catherine wrote directly to the King of Hungary in the matter in early 1379, and had previously written to his mother Queen Elizabeth in 1375.<sup>67</sup> Catherine of Siena and her circle—especially her confessor Raymund of Capua, who would become Master-General of the Dominican Order from 1380, and the scribe of many of Catherine's letters, Stefano Maconi<sup>68</sup>—may have known

65 Áldásy, *A nyugati nagy egyházszakadás*, 120; Vilmos Fraknói, *Magyarország összeköttetései a római Szent-Székkal I. 1000–1417*. [Hungary's Relations with the Holy See of Rome] (Budapest: Szent István Társulat, 1901), 283–85.

66 Karácsonyi, *Magyarország és a nyugati*, 10–11; Áldásy, *A nyugati nagy egyházszakadás*, 135; *Magyar diplomáciai emlékek*, vol. III, 183.

67 Sziénai Szent Katalin, *Levelek* [St Catherine of Siena, Letters] (Budapest: Szent István Társulat, 1983), no. 357, 821–25, no. 145, 335–38. On the political role of Catherine of Siena in the affairs of Urban VI, see Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski, *Poets, Saints and Visionaries of the Great Schism, 1378–1417* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2006), 46–56.

68 On the group that formed around Catherine of Siena see David Movrin, “The Beloved Disciple: Stephen Maconi and St. Catherine of Siena,” *Annual of Medieval Studies at CEU* 10 (2004): 43–53.



that Margaret of Hungary was venerated as a saint, indeed a stigmatized saint, in the churches of Italian Dominican convents (in Florence, Perugia and Treviso). Thus when Pope Urban VI, surrounded by Dominican counsellors, and giving particular support to Hungarian affairs, ordered a new examination in Margaret's cause, he was not only supporting the petition for a dynastic cult of a royal family he wanted to win over as an ally, but also taking up the cause of a widespread but still-unofficial cult connected to the Dominican Order, one that was becoming increasingly popular in Italy in the final third of the fourteenth century.

Pope Urban VI's choice of appointees to the canonization commission is also revealing. Among the twenty-nine new cardinals Urban appointed in an attempt to counterbalance the fraction hostile to him in the College of Cardinals on 28 September 1378, one of his first actions after being elected pope, was the highest Hungarian church dignitary, Demeter, Archbishop of Esztergom since 16 August 1378, previously Bishop of Zagreb. The Pope conferred on him the title of Cardinal of the Sancti Quatuor Coronati, while ordering him to continue to stay in Hungary and act as Archbishop of Esztergom.<sup>69</sup> As Krafft argues, Demeter may have been the addressee of the June 1379 decretal letter ordering the new canonization procedure and the head of its commission of examination. An echo of this may be the *intitulatio* of a charter he issued some months later, on 22 November 1379, in which he called himself, inter alia, *in regno Hungariae sedis apostolice legatus*.<sup>70</sup>

The member of the canonization commission named as 'Stephen, Patriarch of Jerusalem' was none other than István Szigeti, Archbishop of Kalocsa, the second ecclesiastical dignitary of the realm, a position he held between 1367 and 1382. In a charter of 4 December 1378, he also referred to himself as a papal legate. József Udvardy, in his biographical study on István Szigeti, linked this title to the archbishop's prominent role in church politics, among others to his appointment in connection with the planned establishment of the Bishopric of

69 Áldásy, *A nyugati nagy egyházszakadás*, 96–97; Mór Wertner, "Adalékok Demeter bíboros esztergomi érsek életrajzához" [Additions to the Life of Cardinal Demeter, Archbishop of Esztergom], *Századok* 38 (1904): 800–02; Erik Fügedi, *A 15. századi magyar arisztokrácia mobilitása* [The Mobility of Fifteenth-Century Hungarian Aristocracy] (Budapest: Statisztikai Kiadó Vállalat, 1970), 149.

70 "Demetrius miseratione divina tituli sanctorum quatuor coronatorum presbiter cardinalis in regno Hungariae sedis apostolice legatus, Strigoniensis ecclesiae gubernator et summus cancellarius" — Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Országos Levéltára [MNL OL], Diplomatikai Fényképgyűjtemény [Collection of Photocopies, DF] 237 418, quoted in Iván Bertényi, "Demeter. 1378. augusztus 16. e. – 1387. február 20," in *Esztergomi érsekek 1000–2003* [Archbishops of Esztergom 1000–2003], ed. Margit Beke (Budapest: Szent István Társulat, 2003), 195. Footnote 21.

Szörény (Turnu Severin, Romania) among the Romanians, under the sign of the unionist movement, but it is also possible that in his case as well the legatine title was linked to the role he was to play in the canonization commission.<sup>71</sup>

Another appointee to the commission, Bálint Alsáni, Bishop of Pécs, also warrants some attention. He may have been known to Urban VI and his circle from the diplomatic negotiations relating to the war against Venice, held in North Italy in 1378 and 1379, where he was one of Louis the Great's representatives. At the end of the war, he was again one of the senior members of the Hungarian delegation at the peace conference of Turin in 1381 and was associated with one of the important outcomes of the treaty, the transfer of the body of St Paul the Hermit to Hungary. In 1384, Urban also appointed him a cardinal on similar terms to Demeter, so that he did not have to give up his title of Bishop of Pécs, where he was the main promoter and organizer of the—sadly short-lived—University of Pécs.<sup>72</sup>

Unfortunately, we have very incomplete information on the fourth member of the commission, the Bishop of Veszprém. Otfried Krafft, on the basis of Conrad Eubel's twentieth-century book on the Catholic hierarchy<sup>73</sup> identifies him as Péter, but according to the archontology of Pál Engel, Péter was only Bishop of Veszprém between January 4 and June 14, 1378, after which the office remained vacant for some time, and his successor, Benedek Himházi, took over only after the issue of a papal bull of June 4, 1379.<sup>74</sup> The probable explanation is that the Bishop of Veszprém was included in the commission not for personal reasons but on account of his diocesan competence; a previous passage of the bull reveals the papal chancellery's awareness that the 'Island of the Rabbits', where Margaret lived, belonged to the Veszprém diocese.

71 József Udvardy, *A kalocsai érsekek életrajza (1000–1526)* [Biographies of the Archbishops of Kalocsa] (Munich: Görres Gesellschaft, 1991), 232–42. On p. 238, he quotes document no. 38 of the Museum of Transylvania: “frater Stephanus, magister sacre pagine, Dei et apostolice sedis gratia Patriarcha Jherosolimitanus ac administrator perpetuus ecclesiarum Colocensis et Bachyensis invicem unitarum, provincieque nostre sedis apostolice legatus, ac aule regie cancellarius.”

72 Antal Áldásy, *Alsáni Bálint bíbornok* [Cardinal Bálint Alsáni] (Budapest: Magyar Történelmi Társulat, 1903); Erik Fügedi, “Alsáni Bálint, a pécsi egyetem második kancellárja” [Bálint Alsáni, the Second Chancellor of the University of Pécs], in *A pécsi egyetem történetéből* [From the History of the University of Pécs], ed. Andor Csizmadia (Pécs: PTE ÁJTK, 1967), 97–110.

73 Conrad Eubel, *Hierarchia catholica medii aevi* (Regensburg: Monasterii Sumptibus et typis librariae Regensbergianae, 1898–1923), vol. I, 524.

74 Pál Engel, *Magyarország világi archontológiája. 1301–1457*, 2 vols. [The Secular Archontology of Hungary] (Budapest: História – MTA Történettudományi Intézete, 1996), vol. I, 78.

Archbishop Demeter of Esztergom, Archbishop István Szigeti of Kalocsa and Bishop Bálint Alsáni of Pécs would have been well qualified to organize the new commission for Margaret's canonization had it actually started; yet every sign seems to indicate that it did not. This time, the reasons are most probably to look for in the situation within Hungary. As we have seen, the appointed members of the commission had other things on their plate between 1378 and 1380. The petitioner, Dowager Queen Elizabeth, died in December 1380.<sup>75</sup> King Louis himself died on 10 September 1382. Margaret's canonization, as is well known, still had to wait for several more centuries.

In epilogue, we should make mention of King Matthias' two petitions in her cause: in 1462 and 1464 he petitioned Pope Pius II to revive the 'interrupted matter' of Margaret's canonization process.<sup>76</sup> Attempts continued in the modern age: between 1639 and 1643, witnesses were heard in Pressburg (Bratislava, Slovakia) at the initiative of Zsigmond Ferrarius and under the coordination of Antonio Sartori,<sup>77</sup> and the Dominican Order renewed its attempts between 1729 and 1770, but all in vain. Margaret was eventually canonized only in 1943.<sup>78</sup>

75 László Szende, "Lokietek Erzsébet végrendelete" [The Will of Elizabeth Lokietek], *Kút* 3 (2004): 2, 3–11.

76 The Hungarian translation of one of the letters is published on the basis of University Library, Budapest, Collectio Kaprinayana, vol. LXI, nos. 34, 35 by I. Király, *Árpád-házi Szent Margit és a sziget* [St Margaret of Hungary and the Island] (Budapest: Szent István Társulat, 1979), 198–99. Interesting new documents on Matthias' efforts concerning the canonization of Margaret are revealed in Péterfi, "Újabb adalékok Árpád-házi Margit középkori csodáinak sorához," *ibid.*

77 Péter Tusor, "Magyar szentek liturgikus tisztelete és a római Sacra Rituum Congregatio a korai újkorban" [The Liturgical Veneration of Hungarian Saints and the Sacra Rituum Congregation of Rome in the Early Modern Age], in *Szentjeink és nagyjaink Európa kereszténységéért* [Our Saints and Our Greats for the Christianity of Europe], ed. Margit Beke (Budapest: Esztergom–Budapesti Főegyházmegyei Egyháztörténeti Bizottság, 2011), 112–13.

78 Király, *Árpád-házi Szent Margit*, 200–04; Kornél Böle O.P., "Szent Margit tisztelete és a szenttéavatás története a XIX. és a XX. században" [The History of the Veneration and Canonization of St Margaret in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries], in *idem*, *Gyöngyvirágok és margaréták Árpád-házi Szent Margit oltárán* [Lilies of the Valley and Marguerites on the Altar of St Margaret of Hungary] (Budapest: Credo, 1944), 5–24.

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