

CONVERGENCES AND DIVERGENCES: THE EARLY PERIOD OF THE LUXEMBURG DYNASTY IN BOHEMIA AND HUNGARY¹

Balázs Nagy*

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The legitimacy of power has already been a focal point of medieval studies for a long time.² It is uncontested that medieval royal power was based on various legitimisation tools; among others royal descent played a crucial role. The change of a dynasty, the enthronement of a new ruling family, clearly raised the issue of legitimacy. If a new ruler could not demonstrate his descent from the previous dynasty, he might be confronted with a deficiency of legitimacy and thus be forced to reinforce his power through different methods. Sacral legitimization could have special significance in these cases. The emergence of a cult of new saints could strengthen the royal power efficiently and put it into a new context.

A good example of that process is the coming to the throne of the Luxemburg dynasty in Bohemia in the early 14th century and in Hungary in the late 14th century. Despite some distinctive features there are strong parallels in the process in the two countries. The extinction of the male lines of the Přemyslids in

* Department of Medieval and Early Modern European History, Eötvös Loránd University; Department of Medieval Studies, Central European University, Budapest, e-mail: nagybal@ceu.edu

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² Fritz Kern, *Kingship and Law in the Middle Ages: Studies* (New York: Harper & Row, 1970).

Bohemia and the Árpáds in Hungary opened the door for new dynasties to establish their power. The last ruler from the Přemysl family in Bohemia, Wenceslas III, was only seventeen years old when he died in 1306 without leaving an heir. Thus, the consorts of his sisters, Anne and Elisabeth Přemysl, had chances to rise to power. Anne was married to Henry of Carinthia and her sister, Elisabeth, was married to John of Luxemburg. The consorts of both sisters became pretenders to the throne and in the conflict John of Luxemburg finally countervailed over John. John's claim to the throne was supported by his influential relatives, e.g., his father, Emperor Henry VII, and his uncle Archbishop Balduin of Trier, who was a prince-elect of the Holy Roman Empire. Their backing helped the fourteen-year old John come to the throne of Bohemia in 1310.³

Sigismund of Luxemburg's accession to power in Hungary happened in a somewhat similar way. Louis I had no male heirs when he died in 1382, just two surviving daughters, Hedwig and Mary. A plan for a dynastic marriage between Mary and Sigismund had already come up in talks between Sigismund's father, Charles IV of Luxemburg, and Louis I of Hungary in 1372. The final decision on the marriage was only made in 1375 and the engagement was confirmed in 1379.⁴ In that year Sigismund was eleven and his bride only eight years old. Charles IV died in 1378 and thus the marriage was arranged by Wenceslas, Sigismund's elder brother. After that, Sigismund stayed in Hungary to become familiar with the country which he would rule.

In Bohemia the first member of the Luxemburg family to rule the country, John, reigned for 36 years, but he spend long periods of time abroad and was also occupied with non-Bohemian issues.⁵ Thus the integration of the Luxemburgs in Bohemia was not quick or flawless. The first-born son of John of Luxemburg was therefore a good figure to compensate for and counterbalance the deficiencies of integration.

³ Balázs Nagy, "Eltérő hagyományrendszerek együttélése. Luxemburgi IV. Károly és a dinasztikus uralom legitimációs lehetőségei," in *Hatalom, legitimáció, ideológia: történeti tanulmányok*, ed. Éva Gedő and Emőke Horváth, (Budapest, L'Harmattan, 2007), 111–19.

⁴ Elemér Mályusz, *Zsigmond király uralma Magyarországon, 1387–1437* (Budapest: Gondolat, 1984), 10.

⁵ On John of Luxemburg and his reign see the recent studies: Michel Pauly, *Johann der Blinde: Graf von Luxemburg, König von Böhmen, 1296–1346: Tagungsband der 9es Journées Lotharingiennes, 22–26 Oktober 1996, Centre Universitaire de Luxembourg* = [Jean l'aveugle, Comte de Luxembourg, roi de Bohême, 1296–1346 (Luxembourg: Section historique de l'institut grand-ducal, 1997)]; Klára Benešovská, *King John of Luxembourg (1296–1346) and the Art of His Era: Proceedings of the International Conference, Prague, September 16–20, 1996*, Vyd. 1. (Prague: KLP-Koniasch Latin Press; Ústav dějin umění AV ČR, 1998); Klára Benešovská, *A Royal Marriage: Elisabeth Premyslid and John of Luxembourg, 1310* (Praha: Muzeum hlavního města Prahy, 2011).

John, lacking the advantages of proper integration in Bohemia, wisely decided to baptise his first-born son Wenceslas.⁶ This name held a multi-layered reference to Bohemian traditions. It was a clear reference to the 10th century martyred saint of the Přemysl dynasty who had an exceptionally strong cult in Bohemia. Also, the grandfather and uncle of the new-born baby used this name and ruled Bohemia as Wenceslas II and III.⁷ Wenceslas did not use his baptismal name for a long time, since his uncle, Charles IV the Fair (le Bel) of France gave him the same name at his confirmation when he stayed for an extended time in France and from that time on he used his new name exclusively.⁸ That is how he became known and the name under which he later ruled Bohemia and the Holy Roman Empire.⁹

Charles IV's veneration of St. Wenceslas and his association with his cult was not confined only to the fact that he used this name for some years in his childhood. There are several references to St. Wenceslas in Charles IV's autobiography. Numerous important events in Charles's life were connected to the feast of St. Wenceslas, e.g., when he describes the death of his mother on 28 September 1330 or his military victory at the siege of Mel castle in Northern Italy, close to Belluno. Besides all these facts the most expressive evidence of his veneration of St. Wenceslas is the hagiographical *vita* he wrote,¹⁰ the latest hagiographic text for St. Wenceslas in the Middle Ages.

Charles IV mentions St. Wenceslas' grandmother, Ludmila, with special veneration in his autobiography. This text also includes a long recollection of

⁶ On that and on the interactions of the cult of saints and the early period of Luxemburghs in Bohemia, see: Gábor Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses: Dynastic Cults in Medieval Central Europe*, Past and Present Publications (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 328–331.

⁷ John of Luxemburg baptised as Wenceslas not only his first-born son, but his other son (the later duke of Luxemburg) born in 1337 from his second marriage with Beatrix Bourbon.

⁸ *fecitque me dictus rex Francorum per pontificem confirmari et imposuit michi nomen suum equivocum videlicet Karolus*, Balázs Nagy and Frank Schaer, *Karoli IV Imperatoris Romanorum Vita Ab Eo Ipso Conscripta; Et, Hystoria Nova de Sancto Wenceslao Martyre = Autobiography of Emperor Charles IV; And, His Legend of St. Wenceslas* (Budapest; New York: Central European University Press, 2001), cap. 2. 22–23. *Autobiography of Emperor Charles IV and his Legend of St. Wenceslas*, Ed. Balázs Nagy and Frank Schaer with an introduction by Ferdinand Seibt, (Budapest: CEU Press, 2001) cap. 2. 22–23.

⁹ On the name selection see: Reinhard Schneider, “Karolus, Qui et Wenceslaus,” in *Festschrift für Helmut Beumann Zum. 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Kurt-Ulrich Jäschke and Reinhard Wenskuđ, (Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 1977), 365–87.

¹⁰ See the Latin-English bilingual edition: Nagy and Schaer, *Karoli IV Imperatoris Romanorum Vita Ab Eo Ipso Conscripta; Et, Hystoria Nova de Sancto Wenceslao Martyre = Autobiography of Emperor Charles IV ; And, His Legend of St. Wenceslas*, 184–209.

verses in the Gospel of Matthew to be read on the feast of St. Ludmila (*simile est regnum caelorum thesauro abscondito in agro*).¹¹

A distinct characteristic of the cult of the dynastic saints of the Přemysl family is that it generated a rich artistic influence. Its marks can be found on devotional objects, reliquaries, mural and panel paintings and, of course, also in the patrociny of churches.

The reliquary of St. Ludmila is kept in the St. George monastery in Prague castle.¹² The church was consecrated in 925 and, on the initiative of St. Wenceslas, the relics of St. Ludmila were transferred there from Tetín.¹³

After the martyrdom of St. Wenceslas the relics of these two early Přemysl saints were positioned close to each other in the sacral focus points of the Prague castle area, the St. George monastery and the St. Vitus cathedral. The re-invigorated cult of St. Ludmila in the mid-14th century is seen in the silver-gilt head reliquary kept in the St. Vitus cathedral¹⁴ and also in Magister Theodoric's panel painting of St. Ludmila, kept in the Holy Cross chapel of Karlštejn castle, which was a crucial site from the point of view of Charles IV's personal devotion.¹⁵

The cult of St. Wenceslas and the use of the name Wenceslas were indispensable elements throughout Charles IV's whole reign of and also in the names he selected for his sons. It was used at the baptism of his first-born son, called Wenceslas (1350–1351), and also for his other son, who was born in 1361 (the later Wenceslas IV).

The insistence on using Charles-Wenceslas' double name can be observed in the contemporary literature connected to the court of Charles IV. Nicolaus de Luna from the order of the Augustinian Hermits, who was teaching in the *studium generale* of Prague, authored a sermon (*Sermo ad Clerum*) on the occasion of the coronation of Charles as king of Bohemia, in which he listed the virtues in an acrostic.¹⁶

¹¹ Matt 13:44. Pierre Monnet, "La patria medievale vue d'Allemagne, entre construction imperiale et identites regionales," *Le Moyen Age: Revue D'histoire et de Philologie* 107, no. 1 (2001): 71–99; Nagy and Schaer, *Karoli IV Imperatoris Romanorum Vita Ab Eo Ipso Conscripta; Et, Hystoria Nova de Sancto Wenceslao Martyre = Autobiography of Emperor Charles IV; And, His Legend of St. Wenceslas*, Chapters 11–13.

¹² Gabriela Dubská and Lubomír Fuxa, *The Story of Prague Castle* (Prague: Prague Castle Administration, 2003), 132–135.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 60–61.

¹⁴ Barbara Drake Boehm and Jiří Fajt, *Prague: The Crown of Bohemia, 1347–1437* (New York; New Haven: Metropolitan Museum of Art; Yale University Press, 2005), 137–138.

¹⁵ Jiří Fajt and Jan Royt, *Magister Theodoricus: Court Painter of Emperor Charles IV: Decorations of the Sacred Places at Castle Karlštejn* (Prague: Národní galerie v Praze, 1997), 358–359.

¹⁶ Václav Žurek, "Historical Motifs and Traditions in Dynasty Legitimization (France and Bohemia in the 14th Century). Charles IV of Luxembourg and the Last Capetians," n.d., <https://>

Clarissimus, Augustus, Rex Orbis, Legifer Verax, Saltiferus
Wltu Elegans, Natura Equanimis, Zelator Legis, Amator Virtutis,
Strenuissimus¹⁷

The initial letters of the verse give the double name of Charles IV: CAROLVS/
WENEZLAVS

Several pieces of the architectural enterprises connected to the cult of St. Wenceslas have survived from the reign of Charles IV, among others the St. Wenceslas chapel of the St. Vitus cathedral in Prague, which was intended not only to raise the artistic profile of the court, but also to strengthen the legitimacy of Charles IV as a descendant of the Přemyslid dynasty in the female line.¹⁸

The St. Wenceslas crown shows well Charles IV's special veneration of St. Wenceslas. On the occasion of his coronation as king of Bohemia on 2 September 1347, Charles gave several donations for the Prague cathedral. One of the most significant donations was the so-called St. Wenceslas crown. This royal insignia was apparently made to replace the earlier crown of the Přemyslid rulers and supposedly followed the same pattern. According to the instructions of Charles IV, who was a keen collector and fervent admirer of relics, the new crown was to be kept permanently (apart from coronation ceremonies) on the top of the head reliquary of St. Wenceslas, thus representing the close connection of the relics of the 10th-century holy prince and the crown.¹⁹

Charles took several steps to promote the cult of St. Wenceslas not only in Bohemia, but in other places which had special importance from the point of view of his imperial power, e.g., in St. Peter's in Rome, in Aachen, and in the Frauenkirche of Nuremberg.²⁰

[www.academia.edu/1422840/HISTORICAL_MOTIFS_AND_TRADITIONS_IN_DYNASTY-
LEGITIMIZATION_FRANCE_AND_BOHEMIA_IN_THE_14TH_CENTURY_CHARLES-
IV_OF_LUXEMBOURG_AND_THE_LAST_CAPETIANS](http://www.academia.edu/1422840/HISTORICAL_MOTIFS_AND_TRADITIONS_IN_DYNASTY_LEGITIMIZATION_FRANCE_AND_BOHEMIA_IN_THE_14TH_CENTURY_CHARLES_IV_OF_LUXEMBOURG_AND_THE_LAST_CAPETIANS).

¹⁷ Paul Crossley, "The Politics of Presentation: The Architecture of Charles IV of Bohemia," in *Courts and Regions in Medieval Europe*, ed. Sarah Rees Jones, Richard Marks, and A. J. Minnis, Ed. Sarah Rees Jones, Richard Marks and A.J. Minnis, (York: York Medieval Press, 2000), 99–172. See esp. 121; Franz Machilek, "Privatfrömmigkeit und Staatsfrömmigkeit," in *Kaiser Karl IV. Staatsmann und Mäzen*, ed. Ferdinand Seibt (München: Prestel, 1978), 87–94, 99–101, 441–443. See esp. 90.

¹⁸ Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses*, 329–331.

¹⁹ Dubská and Fuxa, *The Story of Prague Castle*, 173–179.; Marie Bláhová, "Der Kult des Heiligen Wenzel in der Ideologie Karls IV," in *Fonctions sociales et politiques du culte des saints dans les societes de rite grec et latin au moyen age et a l'epoque moderne. approche comparative*, ed. Derwich, Marek and Michel Dmitrev, (Wrocław: Pracownia Badań nad Dziejami Zakónow i Kongregacji Kościelnych., 1999), 227–36. On the coronation rituals see: Jiří Kuthan and Miroslav Šmied, eds., *Koronovační řád českých králů = Ordo ad coronandum Regem Boemorum*, Vyd. 1 (Praha: Filozofická fakulta Univerzity Karlovy, 2009).

²⁰ Machilek, "Privatfrömmigkeit und Staatsfrömmigkeit," 90–91.

He endeavoured to represent his links to the Czech traditions with other methods as well, like the foundation of the *Na Slovanech* monastery in Prague for the Benedictines who used the Slavic liturgy. Charles invited monks from Dalmatia who followed the Slavic rite to live in that monastery.²¹ These facts demonstrate that Charles utilised the cult of national saints to prove his commitment to following the Czech traditions.

When Sigismund was born in 1368, Charles was relatively old, already fifty-two years of age. Sigismund was born from his fourth and last marriage, to Elisabeth of Pomerania.²² The name selection in this case was the result of a conscious and thought-out decision. Charles acquired the head-relic of St. Sigismund from Einsiedeln in 1354 and enclosed it in a gilded reliquary for the treasury of the St. Vitus cathedral.²³ St. Sigismund, the king of Burgundy, did not have a real cult in Bohemia and the situation remained the same after the acquisition of his head-relics.²⁴ Charles' special devotion to relics is well-known and on his extensive journeys he managed to collect the relics of a number of saints for churches he founded or enriched. A significant change happened with his coronation as king of Burgundy in Arles in 1365, when he formally became a successor of the sixth-century holy king of the Burgundy. After Frederick I Barbarossa, Charles IV was the first to use this title among the Holy Roman Emperors for two hundred years. After his coronation he visited the St. Maurice monastery of the Augustinian regular canons in Agaune (*Agaunum*), from where he took several pieces of the relic of the Burgundian saintly monarch.²⁵ As compensation, he gave the monks of Agaune a richly decorated reliquary that

²¹ A. P. Vlasto, *The Entry of the Slavs into Christendom: An Introduction to the Medieval History of the Slavs* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), 112; Klára Benešová and Kateřina Kubínová, eds., *Emauzy: benediktinský klášter Na Slovanech v srdci Prahy: soubor statí věnovaných znovuotevření chrámu Panny Marie a sv. Jeronýma benediktinského kláštera Na Slovanech, Opatství Emauzy 21.4.2003* (Praha: Academia, 2007); Julia Verkholtantsev, *The Slavic Letters of St. Jerome: The History of the Legend and Its Legacy, Or, How the Translator of the Vulgate Became an Apostle of the Slavs*. (DeKalb, Ill.: Northern Illinois University Press, 2014), 104 ff.

²² Iván Bertényi and László Szende, *Anjou-királyaink és Zsigmond kora* (Budapest: Officina, 2011), 140.

²³ Boehm and Fajt, *Prague*, 30–31.

²⁴ David C. Mengel, "Remembering Bohemia's Forgotten Patron Saint," in *The Bohemian Reformation and Religious Practice. Vol. 6: Papers from the Sixth International Symposium on The Bohemian Reformation and Religious Practice Sponsored by the Philosophical Institute of the Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic, Held at Vila Lanna, Prague 23–25 June 2004*, ed. Zdeněk V. David and David Ralph Holton (Prague: Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic, 2007), 17–32. See esp. 21–22.

²⁵ Ibid., 21–22.; Robert Folz, "Zur Frage der Heiligen Könige: Heiligkeit und Nachleben in der Geschichte des burgundischen Königtums," *Deutsches Archiv Für Erforschung Des Mittelalters* 14 (1958): 317–44. See esp. 337–338.

is still kept today in the same monastic community.²⁶ In September 1365, when the newly acquired relics of St. Sigismund arrived in Prague, Charles ordered that they be placed in a freshly completed chapel of key importance. The St. Sigismund chapel is situated in the northern choir of the St. Vitus cathedral, opposite the St. Wenceslas chapel. A few days after the relics were deposited there the first miracle connected to the St. Sigismund occurred. On the feast of St. Wenceslas an unusually great thunderstorm hit Prague and witnesses understood that it was connected to the arrival of the new relics.²⁷ David Mengel mentions 33 miracles and miraculous phenomena which occurred in Bohemia between September 1365 and February 1366 that contemporaries connected to St. Sigismund.²⁸ Soon after the miracles connected to St. Sigismund were announced in the churches of Bohemia his feast was included among the feasts of the Prague archdiocese and he was venerated as a patron saint of Bohemia.

As a consequence of all these events, the son of Charles IV, born in February 1368, was baptised Sigismund. The young Sigismund following the intentions of his father and the conventions of the period meant that he did not spend much time with his parents.²⁹ We may assume that he did not learn the Luxemburg dynasty practices of rulership directly from his father, since his father died in 1378, when Sigismund was still just ten years old. His education and instruction was in the hands of Archbishop John of Prague (Jan Očko z Vlašim) and his elder half-brother, Wenceslas. His first public appearance is recorded in 1373, when he received the title of margrave of Brandenburg.³⁰

Sigismund, king of Hungary from 1387, used the very same methods to strengthen his power in Hungary as his father had used in Bohemia some decades earlier. Clearly, Sigismund had every intention of reinforcing the cult of his patron saint, St. Sigismund.³¹ According to some sources, King Sigismund saved the relics of St. Sigismund when he ordered them to be moved from Prague to Oradea (Várad) in Hungary in the Hussite period.³² He founded a chapel with double patrociny adjacent to his royal palace in Buda for the cult of

²⁶ Ferdinand Seibt, ed., *Kaiser Karl IV.: Staatsmann und Mäzen* (München: Prestel, 1978), 258. fig. XX.

²⁷ Mengel, "Remembering Bohemia's Forgotten Patron Saint," 26. n. 40.

²⁸ David C. Mengel, "Bones, Stones, and Brothels: Religion and Topography in Prague under Emperor Charles IV (1346–78)," (University of Notre Dame, Dissertation, 2003), 394–96.

²⁹ On the early years of Sigismund see: Bertényi and Szende, *Anjou-királyaink és Zsigmond kora*, 139–142; Jörg Konrad Hoensch, *Kaiser Sigismund: Herrscher an der Schwelle zur Neuzeit, 1368–1437* (München: Beck, 1996), 32–47.

³⁰ Hoensch, *Kaiser Sigismund: Herrscher an der Schwelle zur Neuzeit, 1368–1437*, 35.

³¹ Sándor Bálint, *Ünnepi kalendárium: A Mária-ünnepek és jelesebb napok hazai és közép-európai hagyományvilágából.*, vol. 1–2 (Budapest: Szent István Társulat, 1977), I. 334–337.

³² *Ibid.*, 1–2: I. 334–335; Bertényi and Szende, *Anjou-királyaink és Zsigmond kora*, 186; Ernő

St. Sigismund before 1410. The Holy Virgin and St. Sigismund were the patron saints of this church, which became a collegiate chapter from 1457.³³

Besides the Burgundian saint, King Sigismund also relied on the cult of St. Ladislaus, strengthened it and used it for his own purposes. The veneration of St. Ladislaus was not a novelty in the Sigismund period since the Anjou rulers of Hungary had also relied on the cult of the saintly rulers of the Árpád period.³⁴

Both Charles I and Louis I, who, like the Luxemburgs in Bohemia, were not descended from a national dynasty of Hungary, used the cult of the “national” saints of Hungary. The Anjou kings supported a strong cult of St. Ladislaus among the holy rulers of the Árpádians. Charles I ordered that his first wife, Beatrix, who died in 1319, be buried in Oradea close to the shrine of St. Ladislaus and he started building the cathedral there.³⁵

There are plenty of signs of the royal enhancement of the cult of St. Ladislaus during the reign of the Anjou rulers. On the golden forints of Louis I the image of St. Ladislaus replaced that of John the Baptist, numerous mural paintings depicting the life cycle of St. Ladislaus were completed in this period, and St. Ladislaus also became the patron saint of several churches.³⁶

Thus, King Sigismund used the earlier models in this field. He had patterns to follow about how to use the cult of earlier national saints. Both the practice of the Luxemburgs in Bohemia with the cult of St. Wenceslas and other Bohemian saints and the traditions of the Anjou rulers in Hungary with the special veneration of the saints of the Árpadian dynasty serve as good examples.

Sigismund expressed his personal veneration of St. Ladislaus through several donations to the Oradea cathedral, which happened in 1407 when Sigismund travelled to Oradea and gave several donations to the bishopric and promised to have his body buried as close to St. Ladislaus when he died.³⁷ The patronage and protection of St. Ladislaus had special importance for King

Marosi, ed., *Magyarországi művészet 1300–1470 körül* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1987), I. 206.; Mályusz, *Zsigmond király uralma Magyarországon, 1387–1437*, 253.

³³ Bernát L. Kumorovitz, “A budai várkapolna és a Szent Zsigmond-prépostság történetéhez,” *Tanulmányok Budapest Múltjából* 15 (1963): 109–51; András Végh, *Buda város középkori helyrajza* (Budapest: Budapesti Történeti Múzeum, 2006–2008), I 70.

³⁴ Gábor Klaniczay, “Az Anjouk és a szent királyok,” in *‘Mert ezt isten hagyta...’: Tanulmányok a népi vallásosság köréből*, ed. Gábor Tüskés (Budapest: Magvető, 1986), 65–87. See esp. 67–68.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 68–69.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 70.

³⁷ Zsuzsa Lukács, “A Szent László legenda a középkori magyar falképfestészetben,” in *Athleta Patriae. Tanulmányok Szent László történetéhez*, ed. László Mezey (Budapest: Szent István Társulat, 1980), 161–204. See esp. 178.; Zoltán Magyar, “*Keresztény lovagoknak oszlopa*”. *Szent László a magyar kultúrtörténetben* (Budapest: Helikon, 1996), 39.

Sigismund, since during the plot against him in 1403 his opponents in Oradea vowed in front of the head relics of St. Ladislaus to oust Sigismund from his throne and invite Ladislaus of Naples (of Durazzo) to the throne instead.³⁸

Thus, King Sigismund with his donations to the cathedral attempted to regain the support of St. Ladislaus from his opponents symbolically. Even before this event, however, one can see that Sigismund paid special attention to the burial place of St. Ladislaus. He ordered that his first wife, Mary of Anjou, who died in 1395, be buried there also.³⁹

The king's exceptional support for Oradea was followed by his close circle. Several members of his court (e.g., Stibor of Stiboricz, Ban John of Marót of Macsó, and Filippo Scolari) themselves made donations to the church where the relics of St. Ladislaus were buried.⁴⁰ Certainly the most important, however, were the royal donations to the bishopric of Oradea, founded by St. Ladislaus himself. Sigismund managed to negotiate permission for indulgence from Pope Boniface IX for pilgrims who paid a visit at the shrine of St. Ladislaus.⁴¹ In 1400 the head reliquary of St. Ladislaus had been destroyed in a fire in the cathedral.⁴² During his reign Sigismund had a new reliquary made, now kept in Győr.⁴³ On Easter in 1412 Sigismund himself visited the shrine of St. Ladislaus together with Wladislaw II Jagiello. On that visit the king of Poland got a small fragment of the head relic of the saintly king of Hungary for which he ordered a reliquary and deposited it in the treasury of the Cracow cathedral.⁴⁴

The equestrian statue erected in Oradea in 1390 by the sculptor brothers, George and Martin Kolozsvári, was the most monumental memorial of the cult of St. Ladislaus in the Sigismund period. This statue was commissioned by Bishop John Czudar and removed and remelted after 1660, when the Ottoman Turks conquered Oradea. The most reliable source on this statue is an engraving made at the end of the 16th century.⁴⁵

³⁸ Mályusz, *Zsigmond király uralma Magyarországon, 1387–1437*, 52.

³⁹ Ibid., 46.

⁴⁰ Magyar, „Keresztény lovagoknak oszlopa”. *Szent László a magyar kultúrtörténetben*, 39.

⁴¹ Terézia Kerny, “Szent László-kultusz a Zsigmond-korban,” in *Művészet Zsigmond király korában 1387–1437. Tanulmányok*, ed. László Beke, Ernő Marosi, and Tünde Wehli (Budapest: MTA Művészettörténeti Kutatócsoport, 1987), 353–63. See esp. 354.

⁴² Kerny, “Szent László-kultusz a Zsigmond-korban,” 355.

⁴³ Terézia Kerny, Evelin Wetter, “Szent László király ereklyetartó mellszobra,” in *Sigismundus Rex et Imperator. Művészet és kultúra Luxemburgi Zsigmond korában 1387–1437*, ed. Imre Takács, (Mainz: Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 2006) catalogue nr. 4.91, 378–382.

⁴⁴ Kerny, “Szent László-kultusz a Zsigmond-korban,” 355.

⁴⁵ Marosi, *Magyarországi művészet 1300–1470 körül*, 474–475; Terézia Kerny, “Szent László váradi lovasszobrát, valamint Szent István, Szent László és Szent Imre álló szobrai ábrázoló rajzok,” in *Sigismundus Rex et Imperator: Művészet és kultúra Luxemburgi Zsigmond korában*:

The cult of St. Ladislaus in the Sigismund period had a long tradition, similar to the veneration of St. Wenceslas and other national saints that had been present in Bohemia even before the reign of Charles IV. It seems quite clear that in both kingdoms the rulers, who lacked strong dynastic affiliation to their own countries turned to the cult of saints with strong local connections.⁴⁶ One cannot present clear evidence that Sigismund, who spent his childhood years in Bohemia, learned this method there specifically, but there are certain parallels in the practice of rulership of the two rulers from the Luxemburg dynasty in Bohemia and Hungary. One can see that the veneration of national saints and through it a strengthening of the royal legitimation was a method used effectively by both father and son, and thus it became a practice applied successfully by various generations of Luxemburg rulers.

CONVERGENȚE ȘI DIVERGENȚE: PERIOADA TIMPURIE A DINASTIEI DE LUXEMBURG ÎN BOEMIA ȘI UNGARIA

Rezumat

Studiul discută procesul venirii la tron a dinastiei de Luxemburg în Boemia, la începuturile secolului al XIV-lea, și în Ungaria, spre sfârșitul acesteia, ajungând la concluzia că există un puternic paralelism între aceste procese în cele două țări. Primii conducători ai Boemiei, regele Ioan și fiul său Carol al IV-lea au luat câteva măsuri privind promovarea Cultului Sfinților locali în Boemia și în afara acesteia. Un fapt reflectat în numele de botez al lui Carol (Wenceslas) și în sprijinirea puternică a cultului acestuia în Boemia mijlocului secolului al XIV-lea. Sigismund, rege al Ungariei începând cu anul 1387, a folosit aceleași metode pentru a-și consolida puterea în Ungaria, pe care le-a folosit, cu câteva decenii mai înainte, tatăl său în Boemia. El și-a declarat venerația personală față de sfântul național al Ungariei secolului al XI-lea, Sfântul Ladislau, prin câteva donații la sanctuarul acestuia. Venerarea sfinților naționali și consolidarea legitimității regale prin aceasta a fost metoda folosită efectiv de regii de Luxemburg, atât în Boemia cât și în Ungaria.

1387–1437: *Kiállítási katalógus*, ed. Imre Takács (Budapest: Szépművészeti Múzeum, 2006), 494–495, 6.2.

⁴⁶ Mályusz, *Zsigmond király uralma Magyarországon, 1387–1437*, 41.