



1985

# HUNGARIAN STUDIES

## CONTENTS

*Volume 1  
Number 2*

*Richard Pražák*: The Legends of King Stephen

*†György Martin*: Ethnic and Social Strata in the naming of Dances

*Imre Wellmann*: Mátyás Bél, a Polygraph in Hungary in the 18th Century

*Ján Tibenský*: Le legs spirituel de Mátyás Bél et ceux qui en héritèrent

*Roland Mortier*: Un Jésuite belge en Hongrie

*Thomas Kabdebo*: Reception of Kossuth in England and the Magazine Punch in 1851

*Holger Fischer*: Stand und Aufgaben einer interdisziplinären Landeskunde Ungarns  
im Rahmen der Finno-Ugristik

*Miklós Kontra*: Hungarian-American Bilingualism

Chronicle

Reviews

Short Notices on Publications Received

# HUNGARIAN STUDIES

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VOLUME 1, 1985

CONTENTS

NUMBER 2

<i>Richard Pražák</i> : The Legends of King Stephen .....	163
† <i>György Martin</i> : Ethnic and Social Strata in the Naming of Dances in the 18th Century .....	179
<i>Imre Wellmann</i> : Mátyás Bél, a Polygraph in Hungary in the 18th Century .....	191
<i>Ján Tibenský</i> : Le legs spirituel de Mátyás Bél et ceux qui en héritèrent .....	205
<i>Roland Mortier</i> : Un Jésuite belge en Hongrie au siècle des « Lumières » .....	213
<i>Thomas Kabdebo</i> : Reception of Kossuth in England and the Magazine Punch in 1851 .....	225
<i>Holger Fischer</i> : Stand und Aufgaben einer interdisziplinären Landeskunde Ungarns im Rahmen der Finno-Ugristik .....	235
Zweiter Internationaler Kongreß für Hungarologie, Wien, 1–5. September 1986 .....	256
<i>Miklós Kontra</i> : Hungarian–American Bilingualism: A Bibliographic Essay .....	257

## CHRONICLE

<i>Lajos Nyéki</i> : Le Hongrois dans l'enseignement supérieur à Paris .....	283
<i>Anikó Miski</i> : The New Modern Philological Society in Hungary .....	287
<i>Bo Wickman</i> : John Lotz Memorial Symposium in Stockholm .....	288
<i>Kálmán G. Ruttkay</i> : To the Memory of László Országh .....	291
<i>Denis Sinor</i> : László Országh: A Personal Memoir .....	294
<i>Judith Magyar</i> : On the Hungarian Folk Museum in Passaic (N.J.) .....	297

## REVIEWS

A magyar irodalom története (Jan Šlaski) .....	299
<i>Görömbei András</i> : A csehszlovákiai magyar irodalom 1945–1980 (Péter Rákos) .....	301
<i>Pomogáts, Béla</i> : Az újabb magyar irodalom 1945–1981 (Vilmos Voigt) .....	304
<i>Hunyadi Brunauer, Dalma—Brunauer, Stephen</i> : Dezső Kosztolányi (Mihály Szegedy-Maszák) .....	307
<i>Ojtozi, Eszter</i> : A máriapócsi baziliták cirillbetűs könyvei (András Cserbák) .....	310
<i>Girya, Mihajlo</i> : Dzvoni ne vtikhajut' (Vilmos Voigt) .....	311
<i>Annales Universitatis Scientiarum Budapestinensis de Rolando Eötvös nominatae (Mária Meggyes)</i> .....	312
A Valóság repertóriuma, 1955–1978 (Vilmos Voigt) .....	314
A Múzeumi és Könyvtári Értesítő repertóriuma 1907–1918 (Vilmos Voigt) .....	314

## SHORT NOTICES ON PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED

Hungarica in Castrenianum Publications .....	315
Sata vuotta suomen sukua tutkimassa .....	315
Symposium saeculare societatis Fenno-Ugricae .....	316
Res referunt repertae. Niilo Valonen 1913–1983 .....	316
Munkácsi's Present .....	317
<i>Leslie Könnyű</i> – 50th Literary Anniversary, 1934–1984 Album .....	317
Československo-maďarské vzťahy v hudbe .....	318
Slovensko Porabje – Szlovénvidék .....	318
A Kodály Intézet Evkönyve .....	319
<i>Papp, József</i> : Hagyományok és tárgyi emlékek az Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetemen .....	319
Corvina Books on Hungarian Folk Art .....	319

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# THE LEGENDS OF KING STEPHEN

RICHARD PRAŽÁK

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The Legends of King Stephen, which appeared at the turn of the 11th and 12th centuries, have become part of the background of the literary awakening in the Early Middle Ages in Hungary, at the time of their appearance, however, there was still a very strong tradition of oral narrative, and literary creation brought to Hungary by Christianity. The christianization of Hungary dates from the middle of the 10th century, when the "Turkish" missionary bishop Hierotheos together with chief Gyula, baptized in Byzantium, came to the territory of the so-called "black" Magyars on the south-eastern border of present-day Hungary;<sup>1</sup> he also baptized Gyula's daughter Sarolta, wife of Duke Géza, who was himself baptized by the missionary bishop Bruno of Sankt Gallen in 972.<sup>2</sup> The Czech bishop Adalbert (Vojtěch)—according to the life of Bruno of Querfurt from the year 1004—visited Hungary only briefly in the year 955, but a tradition has been handed down to modern times that it was he who played the main role in bringing Christianity to Hungary.<sup>3</sup> Shortly after his death Adalbert became a symbol of the missionary activity of the Ottonian Renaissance in Central Europe, patron of the first Christian cathedrals in Gniezno and Esztergom, and together with Wenceslas, the first patron of Czech Christianity. This dominant role of him in the christianization of the early medieval Central Europe in the Czech, Polish and Hungarian territories is graphically depicted by the legends of the 11th century, including the Hungarian legends of King Stephen.

Of the works written in Hungary before the oldest of the legends one may mention the remarkable text *Libellus de institutione morum ad Emericum ducem* from the years 1013–1015, attributed, probably erroneously, to Stephen himself, since it contains the advice of the ruler to his successor in the spirit of the favourite form of the Early Middle Ages, the so-called *speculum regium* (Royal mirror).<sup>4</sup> Another important work of the first half of the 11th century was the writing of Bishop Gerard (Gellért) *Deliberatio supra hymnum trium puerorum*, a socio-religious tract against the contemporary heresy in Hungary, written towards the end of Gerard's life, between Easter 1044 and September 1046, when he became a victim of the so-called pagan uprising in Hungary. More recent research has shown that Gerard's text was mainly aimed against Bogomilism, which formed the main philosophical basis of the pagan uprising of

1046.<sup>5</sup> The question remains open as to Gerard's covert attack in the *Deliberatio* on supporters of St. Method, with whose assistance the power of the Church was, to the joy of the heretics, being weakened, may also be put in the context of Bogomilism.<sup>6</sup> But the attack certainly brings to mind a form of Method's Christian (and Slavonic) tradition in 11th century Hungary, before the coming of the Czech monks of Sázava to that country during the reign of the Hungarian king Andrew I, a form about which nothing else is known.

The *Gesta Ungarorum* of the time of kings Andrew I and Koloman, which has not survived, indicates a relatively early blossoming of chronicles in the old Hungarian literature.<sup>7</sup> Nonetheless the core of the oldest literary production of Hungary is formed by the Latin legends of the first Hungarian saints from the years 1064–1116. They have been preserved in a number of copies, mostly of later date, which has greatly impeded their precise dating. Nevertheless, the indubitable age of most of these legends and the lack of any other domestic literary production makes them a valuable source of information on the period, and particularly a valuable piece of evidence on literary development, with universal validity.

The oldest literary context is the oldest Hungarian legend, *Legenda sanctorum Zoerardi et Benedicti*, by Bishop Maurus (in Hungarian Mór) of Pécs, dating from 1064, which is strongly associated with the oldest feudal culture, stretching back to the classical heritage in the Italian and Frankish regions. It was already influenced by the early medieval cult of Jeremy (Hieronymos), which also left a deep mark on the Carolingian Renaissance and meant a new impulse in literary creation during the Ottonian Renaissance, paving the way for the features typical of the hermit period of the 11th century, as witnessed by many leading legends of contemporary medieval literature, starting with Bruno of Querfurt's *Vita quinque fratrum* from 1008 and ending with the *Vita beati Romualdi* by Pietro Damiani in 1042.<sup>8</sup> The legends of famous Central European hermits are often placed alongside these great works, such as the legend of St. Ivan, the legend of St. Günther (Vintř) or the legend of Zoerard (Svorad) and Benedict. The doctrinal base of the legend of Zoerard and Benedict was provided by the Italian Camaldulian reform movement founded by Abbot Romuald, which followed on from the missionary policy of the Ottonian Renaissance. In the Hungary of the day the legend of Zoerard and Benedict was strongly connected with the baronial lands of Nitra and marks the beginning of the hagiographic tradition in the Hungary of the Árpáds' age. It represents a combination of the *acta et miracula* type of legend with the hagiographic poem, and from the literary point of view the connections between the rhyming parts of the legend and early medieval hymns are very important.<sup>9</sup> The legend of Zoerard and Benedict combines the authentic legend of the life of two saints with Ambrosian hymns and the historical songs, also typical of early medieval hymns. Indeed the slaying of Zoerard's disciple Benedict by robbers and his miraculous raising from the river Váh with the help of an eagle are the basis of the

ballad tradition of Hungarian literature. The development of the ballad might in future be fruitfully studied in connection with the development of medieval ecclesiastical literature. Similar connections between balladic elements and the tradition of hymnology and the authentic legendary base can be found, e.g., in a Hymn on the Transfer of St. Martin's Relics, by Bishop Radbód of Utrecht, from the early 12th century.<sup>10</sup> The description of the strict asceticism of Zoerard in our legend is reminiscent of the martyrological scenes in the Lombardy murals in The Martyrdom of St. Vincent in the Lombardy church of St. Vincent in Galliano, dating from the year 1007.<sup>11</sup>

The legend of Zoerard and Benedict also contains many folklore elements; apart from the legend of the eagle seeking the body of Benedict in the river Váh there is also, for example, the story of how after his death Zoerard raised a robber and a hanged malefactor from the dead. The description of Zoerard's asceticism also retains the beauty of the folk tale, his forty day fast on forty nuts, a version of the Syrian-Palestinian legend of the hermit Zosimus, who fasted on forty dates. This element is connected with the Maronite Christianity of the Near East.

By contrast, the larger legend of St. Stephen, *Legenda maior sancti Stephani regis*, written in the years 1077–1083, before the canonization of Stephen, has a strictly ecclesiastical character.<sup>12</sup> The ascetic holiness of the missionary king stands out in the legend, and he is given an apostolic title. The legend shows the great merits of Stephen in founding churches and monasteries not only in Hungary but also in other countries, such as Italy, Latin Rome and Byzantine Ravenna, as well as in Byzantium, Constantinople and Christian Jerusalem.<sup>13</sup> In the coming struggle between Empire and Papacy the author of the legend seems to support the Papacy. The capital of the world is found in Rome, and the cult of the Virgin Mary is strong. He combines a theologically conceived explanation with Stephen's biography, mainly hagiographical in character. For him Stephen was above all "*miles Christi*", whose many struggles against feudal discreteness and for the unification of Hungary are not concretely depicted here. The style of the legend is also quite dry, lacking graphic examples or interesting stories from the saint's life, or a more colourful description of events. The principles of rhymed prose are applied with mixed success. One of the best parts is the etymological explanation of the name Stephen:

Nomen sibi impositum est Stephanus,  
quod alienum a consilio dei non credimus,  
Stephanus quippe Grece,  
coronatus sonat Latine.<sup>14</sup>

It is not only in this etymology that we find a combination of Greek and Italian. Apart from the attention paid to Stephen's ecclesiastical donations both in Italy and in

Byzantium, the Byzantine influence appears, for example, in the concept of Mary, the Mother of God, "*dei genitricis*", which is typical of the 11th century.<sup>15</sup>

The attempt to maintain the balance between the Roman and Greek churches, so characteristic of Stephen, was also typical of King St. Ladislav, in whose reign the *legenda maior* appeared. Just as Stephen fought against Bogomilism as an ally of Byzantium, so Ladislav founded in the 1090s the Zagreb diocese in the region of the Save and the Drava, with the intention of fighting Bogomilism, which was again strongly penetrating into southern parts of Hungary. He appointed to this see on Slav territory a bishop of the Latin rite, the Czech priest Duch, who spoke a similar tongue to that of the local Slavs.<sup>16</sup> The author of the *legenda maior* was also considered to be a Czech Benedictine.<sup>17</sup> Nor does his sympathy for Greek Christianity eliminate the possibility of a certain connection with the Benedictine-Basilian monastery at Visegrad, where at the end of the 1050s the Szazavan monks, led by Abbot Vitus, nephew of St. Prokop, took refuge after being expelled from Szazava by Czech Duke Spytihněv.<sup>18</sup> Cohabitation of Benedictines with Basilians is found as early as the second half of the 10th century in the Roman Aventine, where St. Adalbert also began his missionary activity, the latter being mentioned in the legend as the Czech bishop who baptized St. Stephen. In later Hungarian Chronicles Adalbert is referred to as the bishop of Prague, e.g. in the *Chronicon Budense*, the chronicle of Simon Kézai, etc.<sup>19</sup>

The author of the *legenda maior* emphasizes, apart from the christianizing merits of Adalbert in Hungary, the missionary activity of abbat Anastasius-Astriik and his pupil Boniface, also connected with the missionary calling of the Břevnov Benedictines in Hungary. The author's application of Czech conditions to a Hungarian environment is most often seen in his words on the diets of Géza: "*convocatis ... Hungariae primatibus cum ordine sequenti*",<sup>20</sup> reminiscent of Cosma's terminology in his Czech chronicle "*omnes quidem Boemi primi et secundi ordinis eum diligebant*", corresponding to the historical reality of the old Czech state of the 11th century.<sup>21</sup> The foreign origin of the author of the legend is also indicated by his dismissal of the Hungarians as "*filios perditionis et ignorantiae, populum rudum et vagum*".<sup>22</sup>

The christianizing mission of the legend was taken over by the canonizing intentions of Ladislav.<sup>23</sup> The author of the legends depicts the adoption of Christianity in Hungary as a struggle between Stephen and the devil. This basic outline is embellished especially by the theological competence of the author, who particularly emphasizes the teaching of the gospels and is equally familiar with the Old and New Testaments. He praises Stephen especially for his piety, generosity to the Church and untiring opposition to the enemies of Christianity.<sup>24</sup> From our point of view, apart from the mention of the Czech mission of Adalbert and Anastasius-Astriik, the twelfth chapter, on the mercy shown by Stephen to the poor is interesting, noting the frequent visits by the Bohemian Forest hermit Günther (Vintř) to Stephen's court, where he received generous alms for the needy from the Hungarian king. It is said to have been on



Günther's suggestion that Stephen founded the monastery at Bakonybél, where Gerard (Gellért), later Bishop of Csanád, lived for some time.<sup>25</sup>

The character of Stephen the man is to a large extent lacking in the *legenda maior*, being replaced by the general Christian concept of the "holy king", in the spirit of the postulates of Augustine, attempting to release himself from earthly bonds by embracing the transcendental.<sup>26</sup> It is a certain topos of the medieval hagiographic tradition, as it imagined the ideal early feudal ruler. We can find a similar picture, e.g., in the biography of the Emperor Louis the Pious by Theganus (the *Vita Hludowici*), written in Trier around the year 850.<sup>27</sup> The basis of this topos may be seen in classical times in Pontius' biography of Cyprian, which is considered the "first Christian biography" and forms the starting point for the medieval legendary tradition.<sup>28</sup> Even in Pontius' version of the life of Cyprian the basic idea of the "divine mission" of the hagiographical hero is expressed, suppressing the profane side of his life, taking on its strongest form particularly where Christianity developed in the womb of barbaric traditions, for example in the Carolingian environment. We find a similar situation after the establishment of Christianity in the young feudal states of contemporary Central Europe, where for this reason the first hagiographical attempts are closely related to the old classical and early feudal traditions, which acquire a new topicality here. Thus, the *legenda maior* sets out from the idea of the "divine mission" to the christianization of Hungary, which was not completed by its initiator Duke Géza, but only by his son Stephen, the actual founder of the christianized early feudal Hungarian state, as is also clear from the introductory chapters of the *legenda maior*. In the very first sentence it says: "*Omne datum optimum et omne domum perfectum desursum est, descendens a patre luminum.*"<sup>29</sup> This passage from the letter of St. James the Apostle had already been embraced in the 6th century on the basis of the Platonic philosophy by Dionysios Areopagita in his work, translated into Latin at the Paris court of the Frankish king Charles II the Bald by Johannes Scotus Eriugena, half way through the ninth century.<sup>30</sup> Dionysios's work *Hierarchia caelestis* forms the basis of medieval mysticism and so-called Christian symbolism, which came to the fore just in the 11th century, when Berengar of Tours renewed the antirealistic philosophy of Hrabanus Maurus, inherited from the Carolingian epoch, whose works surprisingly form the backbone of the oldest Hungarian library, the Benedictine library of the Chief Abbey at Pannonhalma. The inventory of this library from around 1090 is the oldest record of library work in which domestic Hungarian writings could be based. Apart from the usual ecclesiastical literature, missals, antiphonaries, lectionaries, breviaries, the *regulae* of orders etc., the ascetic meditations of Pomerius, *Liber Prosperi de activa et contemplativa vita*, an unspecified life of St. Martin—probably by Gregory of Tours—one work of Lucanus and Latin grammars, books of dialectics and rhetorics, we can also find in particular the works of Paulus Diaconus, the Venerable Bede and Hrabanus Maurus.<sup>31</sup>

In the concept of the *legenda maior* there is also reflected the thesis of Pietro Damiani on philosophy as the "servant of theology", which formed one of the ideological bases of the stand of the Papacy in the struggle for investiture, undoubtedly connected with Ladislás's support for the Papacy, which he saw as a defence against the expansive moves of the Empire. The Carolingian tradition is reflected not only in the literary part of the *legenda maior* connected with the literature of the Carolingian epoch, but a link with that epoch is also shown, for example, in the description of the coronation ceremony of Stephen: "*Stephanus rex appellatur et unctione crismali perunctus diademate regalis dignitatis feliciter coronatur*",<sup>32</sup> where the expression *crisma* was used, from the Carolingian epoch, to denote the crism or holy oil used in the consecration of bishops and kings.<sup>33</sup>

From the literary point of view the *legenda maior* is on the whole a typical product of the rhymed prose of the period, with rich stylistic flourishes and rhetorical figures. Let us take as an example the fine *iteratio* in the sixteenth chapter "*Christum in ore, Christum in corde, Christum in unctis actibus se gestare demonstravit*",<sup>34</sup> which also emphasizes the basic doctrinal message of the legend. An interesting, literarily well-fashioned insertion is the vision of Géza in a rudimentary hexameter, where the influence of some previous biography of Stephen is usually seen, traces of which can be found in the humanistic work of the Palermo Dominican Pietro Ransano *Epitome rerum Ungaricarum* from the end of the 15th century.<sup>35</sup>

The *Legenda minor sancti Stephani regis* seems to have been written shortly after the year 1109 in the territory of the Hungarian king Koloman the Book-lover.<sup>36</sup> In spite of his name he was a very warlike ruler, who began the expansion of Hungary southwards, conquered Croatia and Dalmatia, and paved the way to these conquests by an alliance with the Sicilian Normans against Venice. This expansionism required some ideological revision of the legacy of the previous Árpáds, along with adjustments to the image of the founder of the Hungarian state, the "pious" King Stephen, as presented by the *legenda maior* at the beginning of Ladislás's reign, with the intention of having him canonized.

The *legenda minor* does not place such unequivocal emphasis on the piety and holiness of Stephen, and though it is based, as the author himself states, on the previous version, the picture of Stephen differs considerably from that in the *legenda maior*. In the actual account of the life of Stephen the author of the *legenda minor* follows the *legenda maior*, and perhaps also to the lost life of Stephen from half way through the 11th century, as is suggested by the author's words in connection with the life and work of Stephen "*sicut fideli et veraci relatione tunc temporis viventium accepimus*".<sup>37</sup> The basic motif also—the celebration of Stephen as the first Christian king of Hungary—is largely the same in both legends, but the author of the *legenda minor* places much more emphasis on Stephen as a warrior against the pagan. In his eyes Stephen is a suppressor of paganism and forcibly unites Hungary on the Christian principle of a higher

mission, so that his efforts in this direction are considered completely justified. This struggle against the opponents of Christianity is also more concretized in the *legenda minor*, and though this version is far from being a historical document, we find a great deal of factual information on Stephen's victory over the pagans at Veszprém, his victory over the Pechenegs in Transylvania, the suppression of the resistance of dissident aristocrats in his own court, etc. At such moments in the *legenda minor* Stephen appears as a determined ruler, who does not hesitate to punish his enemies severely, and the author of the legend does not pay much heed to his Christian mercy. For example, he has some royal servants hanged without remorse when they lay hands on royal property.

The frequent mention of St. Martin as patron of the Hungarian church and the chief patron of Stephen is striking, being among other things also typical of the *legenda maior*. It can be concluded from this that the author of the *legenda minor* was a fellow Benedictine of the author of the *legenda maior* whose legacy he continued though adapting it to the needs of the early 12th century. In many places in the legend we find justification of the attacks of Koloman on his opponents. So, for example, when Stephen has his would-be assassins blinded, this is an indirect justification of the same act by Koloman against the dukes Álmos and Béla. We do not find the punishments of blinding and hanging in Stephen's actual laws, but they are typical only of his successors in the second half of the 11th century. The punishments of blinding and hanging were not included in the law until the time of Ladislas.<sup>38</sup>

The saint as hero of bloody battles is found praised especially in the canonic collection of Anselm of Lucca, (later Pope Alexander II), and the representative of the Cluniac ideal, Pope Leo IX, became head of an army in the mid-11th century. The Byzantine habit of painting the saint as patron of warriors on standards can even be found in the 10th century and in the 11th and 12th centuries also became widespread in the west. The "militia Christi" was still the privilege of the monks in the 10th century, but in further decades it became that of kings. A similar picture to that painted of Stephen at the beginning of the 12th century by the *legenda minor* can be found as early as the 10th century in the life of St. Edmund (*Vita S. Eadmundi regis Anglorum et martyris*), though reflecting to an even greater extent the monastic ideal of the ascetic king found in the *legenda maior*.<sup>39</sup>

It was also in this spirit that the first *Life* of Stephen from the 1040s was apparently written, though it has not survived and has to be reconstructed from the above-mentioned chronicle of Pietro Ransano from the end of the 15th century. This, the oldest *Life* of Stephen, written shortly after his death, contained the most concrete data on his life, which were taken up in the work of Ransano and other medieval Hungarian chronicles, such as that of Simon Kézai, which influenced the Hungarian chronicles of the 14th century and others. Here there is concrete mention of Stephen's opponents, of Koppány's intrigue with Stephen's mother Sarolta, of the leader of the "black

Magyars" Gyula, of the exact year of Stephen's birth, 969, etc. This, the oldest life of Stephen, thus represents a historical and literary precursor to the *legendae maior et minor*.<sup>40</sup>

The *legenda minor* is a more sophisticated literary work than the *legenda maior*. It is based on a fresh narrative, the author using short but dramatically charged sentences, his style showing a knowledge of Hungarian narration and folk tales. Particularly successful epic passages include the tale of the defence against the Pechenegs, Stephen's judgment of the thief, the attempt on his life, etc. The *legenda minor* has a special strength in its completeness. Here we learn that Stephen was born in Esztergom, that he studied grammar, etc.

The good composition, clear grammatical sentence structure, knowledge of contemporary linguistic stylistic and rhetorical devices, hyperbole, antithesis, adnomination, etc.—all are characteristic of the literary workmanship of the *legenda minor*, where we also find good rhyming passages. Among the poetic devices there is also *paronomasia*: "*Isti protectione dei roborati accinguntur, / illi amentia sua obligati discinguntur.*"<sup>41</sup> The author of the legend also knows how to make best use of cross rhymes.

The author's knowledge of letters is also remarkable, e.g., it is here that we first meet with the first references to Horace in Hungarian literature.<sup>42</sup> But the basic source for the author were works of an ecclesiastical nature, the Gospels and the Epistles of St. Paul. The special reminder of the fact that Stephen learnt grammar in his youth might indicate a knowledge of the teaching of Isidor of Seville, who considered grammar to be "*ars prima*"; and in the twelfth century John of Salisbury designated grammar the cradle of philosophy.<sup>43</sup>

By a combination of the *legenda minor* and the *legenda maior*, with the main emphasis on the latter, Hartwik's *Legenda sancti Stephani regis ab Hartvico episcopo conscripta* was written which the author enriched with some new elements. There had been some doubt concerning the identity of the author but he is now considered to have been Hartwik, Bishop of Győr, probably of German origin, and according to contemporary sources a member of King Koloman's mission to Sicily, whence in 1097 he brought Buzilla, the daughter of the Sicilian king Roger to be Koloman's wife. The alliance with the Sicilian Normans was intended to provide Koloman with allies against Venice and thus form the basis for the annexation of Croatia to Hungary. Koloman was a supporter of the Pope and in October 1106 he supported through his emissaries to the ecclesiastical council in Guastalla in Upper Italy, the right of papal investiture though Hartwik is thought to have had certain sympathy with the Empire. This also led some researches to seek Hartwik's person in German circles, in the Ratisbon (Regensburg) bishop of the same name, or in the Archbishop of Mayence (Mainz).<sup>44</sup>

The papal sympathies of the Hungarian kings, apparent as early as Stephen's time, were forced on them by the threat to Hungary from the German emperors. After Conrad's unsuccessful attack on Stephen in 1030, Hungary was again threatened by Henry III in 1052, when on the request of King Andrew I the Pope himself even came to Hungary and at Pozsony (Bratislava) helped in making peace between the two rulers. It is possible that it was the visit of Leo IX which helped to establish the new concept of the "*militia Christi*", when the pious, contemplative saint of the ascetic monastic life was replaced by the warrior saint. This idea became ensconced in Hungary only later, at the time of Ladislas and Koloman. Even Andrew I, a ruler mostly associated with eastern influences, introduced the warrior tradition of Byzantium into Hungary, putting eastern saints such as his patron Andrew, Demetrius and George on his standards.<sup>45</sup>

And thus it was that in the tradition of the *legenda minor* and that of Hartwik's legend the warrior postulates of the papal transformation of the "*militia Christi*", at the time of the struggle for investiture, combined in Hungary with the Byzantine traditions. Koloman himself seems to have placed particular emphasis on the tradition of Stephen in this new, warrior spirit, corresponding as it did more closely to his expansionist aims. At the time when Bishop Hartwik wrote his Stephen legend, i.e. in the years 1112–1116, he already seems to have been entirely on the side of King Koloman, and thus conceived his work according to the latter's intentions. Nonetheless his depiction of Stephen is mainly based on the text of the *legenda maior*, which belongs to the older type of royal legend, relating to ascetic, pious kings, closer to the ideas of the reforming monks, as formulated from the 10th century onwards by the Cluniac movement. It was this very Cluny movement that—unlike the Lotrin reforms or the reform attempts of Romuald—at the same time formed the basis of the second type of royal legend, as represented by the *legenda minor*, where the ruler as "*miles Christi*" expresses in the main a militarily uncompromising attitude towards the enemies of the Church. This dual basis of Hartwik's legend, derived from the ideology of the "*militia Christi*" in the spirit of the *legenda minor* and the need for earthly power in support of the Papacy, and the factographical starting-point of the *legenda maior* in the depiction of Stephen's life and work, makes it represent a certain transitional stage between the two types of royal legend mentioned above, and represented, respectively, by the the *legenda maior* and *minor*.<sup>46</sup>

The overall treatment of Hartwik's legend is, however, a much more novel one than that of the older legends of King Stephen. Above all, the author reveals his identity in the first sentence and says that he writes his work in the reign of King Koloman, to whom the work is dedicated. In the dedication there is an apology for the shortcomings of the work, revealing Hartwik's knowledge of Priscian's work *Institutio de arte grammatica*. This may have been the work which arrived in Hungary in the 1020s as the "Priscian Codex", sent by Bishop Fulbert of Chartres to Bishop Bonipert of Pécs as an

expression of his gratitude for the gifts of the Hungarian king, Stephen, towards the rebuilding of Chartres Cathedral after its destruction by fire.<sup>47</sup> In the spirit of Priscian Hartwik considers his work to be a mainly historical account—*narratio historica*—which, according to the custom of the times, required a certain style, with a preponderance of the indicative, a material, rationally conceived account and clear word order. Hence Hartwik's emphasis on "*rationem contextus*", "*dictionum ordinatio*", etc. Hartwik is an adroit stylist, writing his work in very natural-sounding rhymed prose.<sup>48</sup>

As far as the content is concerned, Hartwik in the spirit of the previous legends of Stephen emphasizes Adalbert's contribution to the christianization of Hungary, the protection of St. Martin and St. George in Stephen's battles, Stephen's charity and gifts to the Church and his struggle against the Pechenegs and the Emperor Conrad, etc. He writes in some detail on the beginnings of Christianity in Hungary. For example, he is the first to give information concerning the first Archbishop of Esztergom, Sebastian, usually identified with Radla,<sup>49</sup> and is also the first to write of Astrik's mission to the Pope, who gave him the royal crown originally intended for the Polish duke Mieszko, to take to Stephen. This datum of Hartwik's plays a dominant role in the Hungarian-Polish chronicle (*Chronica Hungaro-Polonica*), written in Poland in the 13th century, and is in many places based on Hartwik's legend.<sup>50</sup> Hartwik's identification of the Břevnov abbot Anastasius with Astrik is also valuable, its justification having later been challenged, while in the light of present research it seems entirely justified.<sup>51</sup> The conclusion to Hartwik's legend is entirely original, where he speaks of the raising of Stephen's body from the grave on the occasion of his canonization in the year 1083, and of the miracles after his death. Particularly famous is Hartwik's account of how Stephen's intact right hand was removed from the grave after its opening. In honour of Stephen's revered right hand King Ladislav later founded a monastery near to Nagyvárád, as is recounted in Hartwik's legend. This occurred in 1084, and the place is called Szentjobb, 'holy right hand' (in Romanian Sîniob). The reverence for the "holy right hand" of Stephen was later, in 1222, even incorporated in the *Golden Bull* of king Andrew II.<sup>52</sup>

Hartwik's legend, as the last of the cycle of the legends of Stephen from the second half of the 11th and the beginning of the 12th century, brought to an end the contemporary production of legends of King Stephen; it gave the most historically complete picture of the king's life and work and thus became the basis of his later biographies of Stephen.

A supplement to the legends of King Stephen is provided by the *Legenda sancti Emerici ducis* from the years 1109–1112, which expands one of the episodes of the holy life of Stephen's son Imre into an independent legend. Prince Imre was married, but died in 1031, at the age of only twenty-four, leaving no children. In the system of the oldest Hungarian legends he is a celibate confessor, on whose behalf great efforts were

made at the beginning of the 12th century in Hungary to establish him as a holy figure. Imre's legend also emphasizes the apostolic mission of Stephen in the christianization of Hungary and thus puts the finishing touches to the myth of the "apostolic king" found in the other legends. Among these Hartwik's legend is based directly on Imre's.<sup>53</sup>

Thus, the legends of King Stephen from the years 1077–1117 form a complete cycle about the founder of the early Christian feudal Hungarian state of King Stephen. While the *legenda maior* is of the older type of royal legends of the ascetic monastic type, typical of the 10th century, the *legenda minor* already belongs to the type of royal legend of the warrior saint, conqueror of pagans and enemies of the Church, which became topical from half the mid-11th century in connection with the approaching struggle over investiture. Hartwik's legend represents a transitional type between the two. While the first two legends seem to have originated in a Benedictine environment and support the papal sympathies of the Hungarian kings—like Imre's legend, among whose primary sources is the Benedictine *regula*, with its requirement of celibacy, which formed part of the Pannonhalma Benedictine Abbey library—Hartwik's legend is more closely connected with the Hungarian royal court and displays a certain wavering between the papal and imperial causes.

From the literary point of view the legends of King Stephen all belong to a type of rhymed prose in Hungarian writing more sophisticated than the legend of Zoerard and Benedict, which represents an older type of hagiographic form (*acta et miracula*), and does not have the more advanced literary elements of legend writing found in the legends of King Stephen. These also follow the Carolingian tradition—which is a typical feature of all the old Hungarian legends—but they also reflect on a higher level the classical tradition of literature. If, for example, we compare the legends of Stephen with those of Wenceslas, we see that the Wenceslas legends of the 10th century are representative of the first type of royal legend, as seen in the *legenda maior* of Stephen. The legend of Christian constitutes an exemption, where in the Kouřim scene we can already find the germ of the second type of royal legend, widespread only later in the period of the struggle over investiture.<sup>54</sup> The legends of King Stephen also reflect the development of the cultural and literary environment in Hungary at the turn of the 11th and 12th centuries, which still took place well within the bounds of church culture, while at the same time reflecting the development of a class society and feudal property in the period of the stabilization of the early Hungarian feudal state during the reigns of Ladislas and Koloman.

The *legenda minor* marks the formation of a specific literary tradition in Hungary, in which the author follows in the footsteps of predecessors, particularly in those of the author of the *legenda maior*. He also draws on trustworthy oral reports—similarly as the Czech Cosmas—though he takes a more critical approach towards them than

Bishop Maurus had taken almost half a century earlier in the legend of Zoerard and Benedict. The author of the *legenda maior*, on the other hand, entirely omits oral tradition, a feature in which he displays a similarity to Hartwik, who in recounting the miracles following Stephen's death, bases his account more on ecclesiastical than on folk tradition. But the overall account of the life "after death" of Stephen and the miracles connected with his cult is prosaically more fully developed by Hartwik than by the author of the *legenda minor*. Hartwik too—just as the author of the *legenda minor*—is already trying to extend the concept of a literary work. He places emphasis on the historical facts and their specific presentation in the spirit of Priscian's *narratio historica*, and tries to make his work meet the demands of medieval learning. In this respect he tries to produce not only *narratio historica* but also *narratio docta*. Both Hartwik's legend and the *legenda minor* represent literarily more sophisticated forms, more richly fabulous and more varied in motif than the *legenda maior*, and are evidence of the further development of Hungarian literature during that period.<sup>55</sup>

### Notes

1. Moravcsik, Gyula, *Görög nyelvű kolostorok* (Greek Monasteries at the Time of St. Stephen), Szent István Emlékkönyv vol. I, Budapest 1938, pp. 391–395, and Timkó, Imre, *Keleti kereszténység, keleti egyházak* (Eastern Christianity, the Eastern Church), Budapest 1971, pp. 387–388. Cf. also Laurent, V "L'Évêque des Turques et le proêtre de Turquie", Académie Roumaine, Bulletin de Section Historique 23, București 1942.
2. Cf. Györffy, György, *István király és műve* (King Stephen and his Work), Budapest 1977, pp. 68–73.
3. Idem, 80.
4. Of recent literature on this often studied work, cf. at least Horváth, János, jr. *Árpád-kori latin nyelvű irodalmunk stílusproblémái* (Stylistic Problems of Our Latin Language Literature in the Age of the Árpáds), Budapest 1954, pp. 116–131.
5. See, e.g., Pražák, Richard, "Bogomilismus v Uhrách 11. století (Bogomilism in 11th Century Hungary)", *Studia baltica bohemo-slovaca*, Brno 1970, pp. 76–83, and bibliography.
6. *Deliberatio Gerardi Moresanae ecclesiae episcopi supra hymnum trium puerorum ad Insigninum liberatam*. In: (Batthyány, Ignatius, ed.) *Acta et scripta S. Gerardi episcopi Csanadiensis . . .*, Albo-Carolinae 1790, p. 284.
7. Cf. also Horváth, János, jr. o. c., pp. 305–340.
8. Cf. also the collection of studies *L'eremitismo in Occidente nei secoli XI e XII*, Milano 1965.
9. Of the numerous works on the Legend of Zoerard and Benedict the most valuable recent publications are the monograph of Milik, Józef Tadeusz, *Święty Świerad* (St. Zoerard), Roma 1966, and the studies of Kúttnik, Jozef, "O pôvode pustovníka Svorada" (On the origin of the Hermit Zoerard), *Nové obzory* 11, Košice 1968, pp. 5–122, and Ratkoš, Peter, "Vznik kultu Ondreja-Svorada a Benedikta vo svetle zagrebských pamiatok" (The Origin of the Cult of Andrew-Zoerard and Benedict in the Light of the Zagreb Sources), *Historijski zbornik* 29–30, 1976–1977, Zagreb 1977, pp. 77–86. Of the older works the study of Holinka, Rudolf, "Sv. Svorad a Benedikt, svätci Slovenska" (SS. Zoerard and Benedict, Slovakian Saints), Bratislava 8, Bratislava 1934, pp. 304–352, is still significant. I have attempted to



- arrive at a new conception of the Legend of Zoerard and Benedict in my paper "Nejstarší uherská legenda Legenda Sanctorum Zoerardi et Benedicti v širších historických a kulturních souvislostech své doby" (The Oldest Hungarian Legend, Legenda sanctorum Zoerardi et Benedicti in the Wider Historical and Cultural Contexts of the Period), Sborník prací filozofické fakulty brněnské univerzity — Studia minora facultatis philosophicae universitatis brunensis. C 28, 1981, pp. 207–224. Hungarian version "A Legenda Sanctorum Zoerardi et Benedicti történelmi és kulturális összefüggései", Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények 84, 1980, no. 4, pp. 393–408.
10. Cf. Szövérfy, Josef, *Die Annalen der lateinischen Hymnendichtung*. I. Die lateinischen Hymnen bis zum Ende des 11. Jahrhunderts, Berlin 1964, 317–319.
  11. Cf. Bologna, Ferdinando, *Die Anfänge der italienischen Malerei*, Dresden 1964, Plate 10.
  12. On the *legenda maior* cf. especially the edition by Bartoniek, Emma, in *Scriptores rerum hungaricarum* (henceforth abbreviated SRH) vol. II, Budapest 1938, pp. 377–392, and the general analysis and edition of the legends of King Stephen by Varjú, Elemér, *Legendae sancti Stephani regis*, Budapest 1928. Of the further/other literature see especially Erdélyi, László, *Magyar művelődés története. Az Árpádok kora 1000–1301* (History of Hungarian Culture. The Árpáds 1000–1301), Kolozsvár 1918, pp. 4–6, Holinka, Rudolf, "Vita S. Stephani regis", Sborník Matice slovenskej 1938–1939, Martin 1940, pp. 182–202, Horváth, János, o. c., pp. 136–142, and Györfly, György, o. c., pp. 126–128.
  13. Cf. text of legend in SRH II, pp. 377–392.
  14. Idem, pp. 380–381.
  15. Cf. idem, pp. 381.
  16. See *László király emlékezete* (In Memory of King Ladislas), Ed. by Kurcz, Ágnes, foreword by Györfly, György, Budapest 1977, p. 17.
  17. The first to make this claim was Pauler, Gyula, "A Hartvic-legenda és pesti codexe" (Hartwik's Legend and the Pest Codex), *Századok* 18/1884, pp. 738–749. His view was supported by Erdélyi, László, o. c., 5, Holinka, Rudolf, o. c. (see note, 12), 192, 2), 192, and others. Varjú, Elemér, o. c., pp. 90–92, has a different opinion on the Hungarian authorship of the *legenda maior*.
  18. For their expulsion from Sázava by Spytihněv see František Palacký, *Dějiny národu českého* (History of the Czech Nation) I, s. a. (Rieger's edition), p. 163, on their arrival in Visegrád see Timkó, Imre, o. c., p. 399.
  19. Cf. also Holinka, Rudolf, o. c. (see note 12), pp. 194–201.
  20. See SRH II, p. 381.
  21. Cf. *Cosmae Pragensis Chronica Boemorum*, ed. Bretholz, Berthold, *Monumenta Germaniae historica*, nova series II, Berlin 1923, p. 324.
  22. See SRH II, p. 378, also Holinka Rudolf, o. c. (see note 12), p. 193.
  23. Stephen was canonized on the proposal of Ladislas on 20th August, 1083 at Székesfehérvár. See Györfly, György, o. c., pp. 389–390. Cf. also Erdélyi, László, "I. István magyar király, Imre herceg és Gellért püspök szentté avatása" (The Canonization of the Hungarian King Stephen I, Duke Imre and Bishop Gerard), *Szent István Emlékkönyv*, Budapest 1938, pp. 559–570.
  24. Cf. SRH II, pp. 382–388.
  25. Idem.
  26. Attention was drawn to this feature by Szilágyi, Loránd, "Irodalmunk kezdetei" (The Beginning of Our Literature), *Magyar Művelődéstörténet* (History of the Hungarian Culture), vol. 1, Budapest 1939, p. 446.
  27. Cf. also in particular Balogh, József, "Az "ájtatos" és "komor" Szent István király" (The "Pious" and "Gloomy" King Stephen), *Egyetemes Philológiai Közlöny* 52/1928, no. 1–3, pp. 49–50.
  28. See Harnack, Adolf, *Das Leben von Pontius. Die erste christliche Biographie*, Texte und Untersuchungen zur altchristlichen Literatur, Bd. 39, H. 3, Leipzig 1913. Cf. also the more recent version of Pontius' work by Pelegrino, Michele, *Ponzio, vita e martirio di San Cipriano*, Alba 1955. Cf. also Horster, Dieter, *Die*

*Form der frühesten lateinischen Heiligenviten von der Vita Cypriani bis zur Vita Ambrosii und ihr Heiligenideal*, Köln 1963, pp. 32–49.

29. See SRH II, p. 377.
30. Cf. Dümmerth, Dezső, *Az Árpádok nyomában* (On the Trail of the Árpáds), 2nd ed., Budapest 1977, pp. 274–275.
31. See Kühár, Flóris, “Szent Mór, a pannonhalmi ‘puer scholasticus’” (St. Maur the ‘puer scholasticus’ of Pannonhalma), *Pannonhalmi Szemle* 11/1936, pp. 246–247. Cf. also Csapodi, Csaba, “A legrégebb magyar könyvtár belső rendje. Pannonhalma a XI. században” (The Internal Order of the Oldest Hungarian Library. Pannonhalma in the 11th Century), *Magyar Könyvszemle* 1957, pp. 14–24.
32. See SRH II, p. 384.
33. Cf. Dümmerth, Dezső, o. c., pp. 164–165.
34. See SRH II, p. 392. The best literary, especially stylistic, analysis of the *legenda maior* is that of Horváth, János, jr. o. c., pp. 136–142.
35. Cf. I. Tóth, Zoltán, “Szent István legrégebb életirata nyomán” (On the Trail of the Oldest Life of St. Stephen), *Századok* 81/1947, pp. 23–94.
36. In my further analysis I have used the text of the *legenda minor* published in SRH II, pp. 393–400.
37. See SRH II, p. 393.
38. Cf. Györffy, György, o. c., p. 129.
39. Cf. also in particular Harnack, Adolf, *Militia Christi*, Tübingen 1905, also I. Tóth, Zoltán, o. c., pp. 69–71.
40. See also I. Tóth, Zoltán, o. c., and Gerics, József, *Legkorábbi gesta-szerkesztéseink keletkezésrendjének problémái* (Problems of the Origin of Our Oldest Gestae), Budapest 1961, pp. 14–17, and Mezey, László, “Szent István XIII. századi verses históriája” (History in Verses on St. Stephen from the 13th Century), *Magyar Századok. Horváth János Emlékkönyv*. (A Collection of Studies Published in Honour of János Horváth), Budapest 1948, pp. 41–51. The view is not supported by Csóka, Lajos J., *A latin nyelvű történeti irodalom kialakulása Magyarországon a XI–XIV. században* (The Formation of Latin Historical Literature in Hungary in the 11–14th centuries), Budapest 1967, pp. 623–646.
41. See SRH II, p. 397. It is also mentioned by Horváth, János, jr. o. c., p. 147.
42. See SRH II, pp. 396, 398. Where the author mentions saints whose deeds remain unsung there is a repetition of Horace’s quadruplet in *Carmina* IV, 9, lines 25–28, and the mention of the royal servants whose “souls melt like wax” is said to be attributable to Horace’s words “cereus in vitium flecti”, *Ars poetica*, line 163.
43. See Mezey, László, *Deákiség és Európa* (The Latin World and Europa), Budapest 1979, p. 57. A literary and especially stylistic analysis of the *legenda minor* is given by Horváth, János, jr. o. c., pp. 143–148. See also the collection of studies *Athleta patriae. Tanulmányok Szent László történetéhez*, (Studies on St. Ladislás), Budapest 1980 ed. by Mezey, László, including the study of Gerics, József, “Judicium dei a magyar állam XI. századi külvilágolataiban” (Judicium dei in the Contacts of the Hungarian State with Foreign Countries), o. c., pp. 113–134.
44. On the question of Hartwik cf. in particular the monograph of I. Tóth, Zoltán, *A Hartwik-legenda kritikájához* (On Criticism of Hartwik’s Legend), Budapest 1942. Most recently Hartwik’s imperial sympathies have been pointed out by Gerics, József, cf. his study “A Hartwik-legenda mintáiról és forrásairól” (Precursors and Sources of Hartwik’s Legend), *Magyar Könyvszemle* 97/1981, no. 3, pp. 175–188. Here Gerics emphasizes the role of the ruler from Carolingian times of “rektor (defensor) ecclesiae”, which the Hungarian kings Ladislás and Koloman also tried to adopt, and which acquired new topicality with the struggle over investiture.
45. On the question of Byzantine battle standards cf. I. Tóth, Zoltán, jr. o. c., (see note 35), p. 70.
46. In my analysis of Hartwik’s legend I set out from the critical edition published in SRH II, pp. 401–440. From the more recent literature on the subject cf. at least Horváth, János, jr. o. c., pp. 149–152, Ruzicska,

- Paolo, *Storia della letteratura ungherese*, Milano, 1963, pp. 84–85, Mezey, László, o. c., pp. 105–109 (see note 43), and Geric, József, o. c. (see note, 44).
47. Cf. Fulbert's letter to Bonipert in the edition of Koller, Josephus, *Historia episcopatus Quinque-ecclesiensis* I, Posonii 1782, pp. 13–14.
  48. Cf. Mezey, László, o. c. (see note, 43), pp. 107–108.
  49. See Györffy, György, o. c., p. 181.
  50. A modern edition and analysis of this chronicle was provided by Karácsonyi, Béla, *Chronica hungaro-polonica*, Szeged, 1969 (Acta Universitatis Szegediensis de Attila József nominatae, Acta Historica, tomus XXVI), and *Tanulmányok a magyar-lengyel krónikáról* (Study on the Hungaro-Polish Chronicle), Szeged 1964 (idem, tomus XVI).
  51. Of more modern literature not doubting the justification of identifying Anastasius with Astrik, though without agreeing as to his origin, cf., e.g., Uhlirz, Margaret, *Jahrbücher des Deutschen Reiches unter (...) Otto III, 983–1002*, Berlin 1954, pp. 566–571, and Györffy, György, Magyar Tudományos Akadémia II. Osztályának Közleményei 18/1969, pp. 199–225, and *Árchivum Historiae Pontificiae*, 7/1969, pp. 79–113.
  52. See Györffy, György, *István király és műve* (King Stephen and his Work), p. 390. The question of the "sacred right hand" of Stephen aroused the attention of enlightened critical historians of Hungary, and the very founder of critical history in Hungary, György Pray, published a special monograph on the subject *Dissertatio historico-critica de Dextera Divi Stephani*, Vindobonae 1771.
  53. The text of the Imre's legend was published by and a critical commentary written on it by Bartoniek, Emma, in SRH vol. II, pp. 444–460. The most valuable works in the literature are the study of Madzsar, Imre "Szent Imre herceg legendája" (Legend of the St. Duke Imre) *Századok* 65/1931. 1–3. pp. 35–61 and the work of Tóth, Sarolta, *Magyar és lengyel Imre-legendák* (The Hungarian and Polish Imre Legends), Szeged 1962, Acta Universitatis Szegediensis, Acta Historica, tomus XI. A literary and stylistic analysis is given by Horváth, János, jr. o. c., pp. 153–157.
  54. On the subject of the Wenceslas legends of especially the edition by Chaloupecký, Václav, *Na úsvitu křesťanství* (The Dawn of Christianity), Praha, 1942, the edition of Bláhová, Emilie and Konzal, Václav *Staroslověnské legendy českého původu* (Old Slav Legends of Czech Origin), Praha 1975, and the edition by Ludvíkovský, Jaroslav, *Kristiánova legenda* (Christian's Legend), Praha, 1978.
  55. Further problems are mentioned in my studies "A 11. századi legelső magyarországi szentekről szóló legendák datálásának és tipológiai besorolásának néhány kérdéséről" (Some Questions of Dating and Typology of Legends Concerning the First Hungarian Saints in 11th Century) *Történelmi Szemle* 1982, no. 3. pp. 444–457, and "K dataci a typologickému zařazení legend o nejstarších uherských světcích 11. století" (On Dating and Typology of the Legends about the Oldest Hungarian Saints in 11th century), *Historické Štúdie* XXVII/1984, no. 2, pp. 93–108. The current Hungarian edition of the legends with further references see: Érszegi, Géza ed., *Árpád-kori legendák és intelmek* (Legends and Instructions from the time of the Árpáds), Budapest, 1983.

## **ERRATUM**

Because of a translation error in Péter Váczy's article "The Angelic Crown", in Number 1, Volume 1, 1985, on p. 16, in the last paragraph in a sentence the word "older" should be corrected as for "later". Thus the correct sentence will be: "As this text version relates the events in greater detail only up to 1108, the reference to the crown of "the saint king", i.e. king Saint Stephen cannot be later than this date." We apologize for the misleading mistake.