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THE FIGURE OF SAINT LADISLAUS IN HUNGARIAN BAROQUE CHANTS AND SERMONS

Introductory issues

The veneration of Saint Ladislaus in Hungary and Europe has been dealt with extensively in relevant literature¹. Saint Ladislaus is a descendant of the state-founding Árpád dynasty. Ladislaus I, the seventh king of Hungary, ruled the country between 1077 and 1095. He has been the most beloved monarch and role model in the history of Hungary. He completed the great work of founding the Hungarian state and establishing the Christian church in the country. Due to the reign of Saint Stephen (997–1038) and Saint Ladislaus, the Kingdom of Hungary became an independent state in diplomatic, military, economic, and church-administrative respects. Saint Ladislaus has various levels of interconnections with Poland: his father, Béla I of the Árpád dynasty, is honoured as Béla Bajnok (Béla the Victor/Triumphant). His mother was Princess Richeza, known as the daughter of Polish king Micislaw II and great-granddaughter of Emperor Otto (955–983). St. Ladislaus was born of a Polish mother in Poland around 1040. From a historical perspective, king Ladislaus was a great politician who built up a dynasty, a powerful and just legislator, a wise state- and church-founder, and a brave warrior leading his troops himself on horseback and always triumphant in fierce battles. By virtue of his martial-military, horse-riding and masculine qualities, he christianized the ancient Hungarian ideal (*Athleta Patriae*). The spiritual foundation for this was laid down by his holiness and pious Catholic faith.

The Knight-king is still one of the most beloved monarchs of the country whose fine qualities are remembered in numerous liturgical², paraliturgical, literary, musical and

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¹ Read more in: T. Kerny, *Szent László tiszteletének kutatástörténete (1977–2007)*, in „Vállal magasb mindenek-nél”. *A Szent László-herma Győrbe érkezésének 400. évfordulóján megtartott tudományos konferencia előadásai. Győr, 2007. június 25–27. (Arrabona Múzeumi Közlemények 46/1.)* ed. N. Medgyesy S., Z. Székely, Győr 2008, p. 15–36. [Kerny, T. “A Research History of Saint Ladislaus’ Veneration (1977–2007).” A Scientific Conference on the 400th Anniversary of the Arrival of Saint Ladislaus’ Herm to Győr Entitled “Standing Head and Shoulders Above Everybody” [a line quoted from the 19th century Hungarian poet, Arany János’ epic, Toldi’s Night – Fifth Canto]. 25–27 June 2007. Győr. *Arrabona Museum Publications 46/1* edited by N. Medgyesy S., Z. Székely. 2008. Győr. pp. 15–36.]

² A musical score edition of the St. Ladislaus-hymn: Z. Falvy, *Drei Reimoffizien aus Ungarn und ihre Musik*, Budapest, 1968; with text and analysis: J. Török, *Szent László a középkori magyarországi liturgiában [Saint La-*

art pieces and legends. In this study, we observe chants and sermons on Saint Ladislaus' veneration from the period between 1634 and 1836. The examined sources were performed on Saint Ladislaus' Festival on 27th June. A question arises in connection with the manuscripts and printed versions of mainly Hungarian and Latin sources: How did the devotion of 17th and 18th century liturgical and paraliturgical, school, and folk singers turn to a ruler of the Middle Ages? In our study focusing on Baroque times, we look at three genres: mostly sermons; then chants; furthermore – referring to the existing full-scale research – school dramas are mentioned briefly³. Our aim was to introduce themes, styles, allegories of prose and versed texts on the veneration of Saint Ladislaus from the 17th and 18th century.

Major Baroque works of Hungarian historiography

The area of origin of the chants and sermons presented in the study are the following, mainly Jesuit historical pieces. The starting point of the historical work *Annales Ecclesiastici Regni Hungariae* of the Jesuit scholar Melchior Inchofer (1584/1585–1648) born in Kőszeg (Ginsium, Güns) was that no other dynasty provided the Church with as many saints as the Árpád dynasty and that Europe would have vanished had it not been for the valiant Hungarians. Of Saint Ladislaus he writes that he took over the inheritance of the Virgin Mary and carried himself decently throughout his life according to the order of the first king, Saint Stephen⁴.

dislaus in Hungarian Medieval Liturgy], in *Athleta Patriae. Tanulmányok Szent László történetéhez*, ed. L. Mezey, Budapest 1980, p. 135–159. (Hungaria Sacra 1.); L. Dobszay, *Az ország patrónusainak liturgikus tisztelete a középkori zsolozsmában*, in: *Magyar szentek tisztelete és ereklyéi [Liturgical Veneration of Hungarian Patrons in Medieval Liturgy]*, ed. P. Cséfalvay, I. Kontsek, Esztergom 2000. p. 96–106. (Compiled edition: *Dobszay László válogatott írásai, 1995–2010. I. [László Dobszay's Selected Writings. 1995–2010.I.]*, ed. A. Kovács, Budapest 2010, p. 98–112.) A comprehensive analysis of Saint Ladislaus' mass and hymn: A. Kovács, *Szent László tisztelete a középkori magyar zenetörténetben [The Veneration of Saint Ladislaus in Hungarian Medieval Music]*, in: „Vállal magasb mindeneknél” [Standing Head and Shoulders Above Everybody]: op. cit. p. 169–192. Occurrences of liturgical themes are noted by: B. Holl, *Repertorium hymnologicum medii aevi Hungariae: initia hymnorum, officiorum rhythmicorum, sequentiarum, troporum, versuum alleluaticorum cantionumque*, ed. K. Körmendy, with an introduction by Edit Madas, Budapest 2012, nr. 14, 46, 112, 115, 184, 256, 359, 505, 645, 646, 685, 686, 699, 702, 777. (Fragmenta et codices in Bibliothecis Hungariae, subsidia, 1.),

³ Read more in: I. Varga, M. Zs. Pintér, *Történelem a színpadon. Magyar történelmi tárgyú iskoladramák a 17–18. században*, Budapest 2000, p. 77–90 [I. Varga, M. Zs. Pintér, *History on Stage. Hungarian School Plays on Historical Themes in the 17th–18th Century*, Budapest 2000, pp. 77–90]; I. Kilián, *Slavkovski Benedek drámája Salamon, valamint Géza és László küzdelméről (Privigye, 1718)*, in: „Vállal magasb mindeneknél”: op. cit. p. 131–146 [I. Kilián, *Benedict Slavkovski's drama on the struggle of Solomon, Géza and Ladislaus. (Privigye, 1718)*, in: “Standing Head and Shoulders Above Everybody” op. cit. pp. 131–146]; K. Czibula, „Két napnak a' nagy égen nincs helye.” *Szent László király alakja az iskolai színpadon és a hivatásos színjátszás kezdetén*, in: „Vállal magasb mindeneknél”: op. cit. p. 147–164 [K. Czibula, “No place for two Suns on the Great Sky.” *The Figure of Saint Ladislaus on the School Stage and at the Beginning of Professional Acting*, in: “Standing Head and Shoulders Above Everybody” op. cit. pp. 147–164]; J. Demeter, „Palotás cselek” a színpadon. *A hatalom legitimációs dilemmái az iskolai színpadon*, in: *Dráma – múlt, színház – jelen*, K. Czibula, A. Emödi, Sz. János-Szatmári, Kolozsvár–Nagyvárad 2009, p. 151–168. (Régi Magyar Színház 4.) [J. Demeter, „Palotás Cunnings” on Stage. *Legitimacy Dilemmas of Power on the School Stage*, in: *Drama – Past, Theatre – Present*, K. Czibula, A. Emödi, Sz. János-Szatmári, Kolozsvár–Nagyvárad 2009, pp. 151–168. (Old Hungarian Theatre 4.)]; É. Knapp, G. Tüskés, *Magyar történelmi tárgyú iskoladramák a német jezsuita színpadon*, in: *Sedes Musarum. Neolatin irodalom, tudománytörténet és irodalomelmélet a kora újkori Magyarországon*, ed. É. Knapp, G. Tüskés, Debrecen 2009, p. 301–343, 409–428. [É. Knapp, G. Tüskés, *Hungarian School Plays on Historical Themes on the German Jesuit Stage*, in: *Sedes Musarum. Neolatin Literature, History of Science and Literature Theory in Early Modern Times*, ed. É. Knapp, G. Tüskés, Debrecen 2009, pp. 301–343, 409–428.]

⁴ *Annales Ecclesiastici Regni Hungariae*, Authore Melchiore Inchofer Societatis Jesu, Tomus I., Romae, Typis Ludovici Strigniani, 1644. XXII. (RMK III. 1626a)

Concerning the actions of the Knight-king, the mentality of the Baroque era was determined by the famous work of István Tarnóczy SJ (1626–1689) *Rex Admirabilis, sive vita Sancti Ladislai* written in 1681 in Vienna (Wien, today Austria)⁵. The edition contains 50 eulogies in verse, each of which is associated with an image. The Jesuit poet, who was born in Nyitraňovák (Nyitra county, today Slovakia) and died in Győr (Iaurinum, Raab), lists the events of Saint Ladislaus' life that were introduced in chants and sermons just after the publication of his work. The military virtues of Saint Ladislaus are discussed in Tarnóczy's XXIX Eulogy, in which he compares the Hungarian king to Mars and Hercules⁶. Tarnóczy makes mention of Ladislaus' fight with Solomon (IV–VIII), with a "Cuman" who abducted a Hungarian woman (X), with Chopulch who was a Cuman leader (IX), the founding of Nagyvárad (Varadinum, Grosswardein, Oradea, today Romania) (XXI), the Polish, Czech, Silesian and Moravian campaigns (XVI–XVIII), the occupation of Slavonia, Croatia and Dalmatia (XXII), the founding of the Diocese of Zágráb (Zargrabia, Zagreb, today capital of Croatia), the chapter and St. Stephen's Cathedral (XXIII), Ladislaus' studies and his founding of other churches (XXIV–XXVIII). According to Eulogy XX, Ladislaus was offered the Imperial Regalia of the Holy Roman Empire, which he humbly refused⁷, moreover, Pope Urban II invited him to head the first crusade (XXXI). Eulogy XXXIX tells of thousands of stars shining brightly for two hours above the skies of Várad at the time of Ladislaus' canonization⁸.

The third contemporary, spiritual-historical "manual", also of Catholic approach, is the illustrated collection of biographies *Ungariae sanctitatis indicia – Old Sanctity of Hungary* (Nagyszombat/Tyrnavia/Trnava [today Slovakia], 1692, 1695) by Gábor Hevenesi SJ (1656–1715). Hevenesi mentions the southern conquests of the Knight-king, angelical support in the battle, the founding of the church of Várad and other churches, the miracles of water from the rock and the appearance of the buffalo herd, as well as the rock becoming stone,

⁵ I. Tarnóczy, *Rex Admirabilis, sive vita Sancti Ladislai Regis Hungariae historico-politica, Ad Christianam Eruditionem Elogijs Theo-Politicis illustrata*, Viennae Austriae, Typis Joannis Christophori Cosmerovii, Sacrae Caesareae Majestatis Typographi Aulici, 1681. 496 p. (RMK III. 3098.)

⁶ I. Tarnóczy, *Rex Admirabilis*, op. cit. 258–265. p. One of the chants from the *Songbook of Varsány* also considers the ancient Roman god of war the prefiguration of St. Ladislaus in the 3rd verse of the poem beginning: a *Szent László, Isten szolgálja, / Nemzetünknek Fényes Fáklya...* ("Saint Ladislaus, servant of God, / shining torch of our nation"): *Eletedben sok csudákkal / Isten látot s malasztokkal, / Es mint Mars, erős bajvivással / Ugyan tündöklél szép tisztasággal, / Kiért az Isten látott tsudákkal, / Holtod után is örök boldogsággal.* (In your life with many miracles / and graces, which God has seen / and like Mars with strong joust / you glow with purity, / with God seen miracles / with eternal happiness.) (*Varsányi énekeskönyv (Songbook of Varsány)*, manuscript, second half of 18th century pp. 63–65; location: Pannonhalma, Library of the Archabbey 10a E 8/2; Mf: OSZK FM 1/2188. The full text of the song has been released by N. Medgyesy S.; *Szent László király alakja az 1650 és 1845 között keletkezett kézirat és nyomtatott énekeskönyvekben.* in: „Vállal magash mindeneknél”, op. cit. p. 215–216, nr. 17. [The figure of Saint Ladislaus in manuscript and printed songbooks from 1650 to 1845. in: “Standing Head and Shoulders Above Everybody” op. cit. pp. 215–216, nr. 17.] (The full study: pp. 193–226.) The Baroque melody of „Infinita Bonitatis” in *Cantus Catholici* 1651. p. 33. edition: R. Kővári, *A Szent László-népekek dallamairól*, in: „Vállal magash mindeneknél”: op. cit. p. 260. [On the Melodies of St. Ladislaus chants, in: “Standing Head and Shoulders Above Everybody” op. cit. p.260]

⁷ „Ad Clavum Imperii Romani evocatur.” I. Tarnóczy, *Rex Admirabilis*, op. cit. pp. 174–182.

⁸ „Stella rutilans eodem die Canonizationis supra templum stabat. Die Canonizationis supra templum Variense in quo Sancti corpus erat, per duas horas spectante multitudine stella apparuit.” (I. Tarnóczy, *Rex Admirabilis*, op. cit. pp. 360–370.)

the story of his rapture during prayer, his future mission to Jerusalem, his sudden death, and finally his wondrous funeral⁹.

The testimony of chants on St. Ladislaus

Chants were a characteristic, flourishing genre of the 16th–18th centuries. A significant part of the native texts in strophic form – in textual and melody variants – survived until today and the genre shows remarkable literary and musical values. Part of these chants has an epic historical content, i.e.: it introduces a life of a saint as did medieval legends, chronicle records, and divine offices in verse (*officium rhythmicum*). Accordingly, a large part of chants recites events of the life of St. Ladislaus and his contemporaries. Medieval chronicles and descriptions of St. Ladislaus' legend are sung in contemporary melodies, in verse. From the period between 1674 and 1800, the chants survived both in printed collections and in manuscripts, mainly in school and cantor songbooks¹⁰. These epic historical chants, apart from their paraliturgical function, were used for teaching history in elementary schools.

The earliest and most prominent Catholic songbook in Hungary is *Cantus Catholici*, whose first edition (Lőcse/Leutsovia/Leutschau/Levoča, today Slovakia, 1651) does not contain any songs on the highly respected medieval Knight-king¹¹. The extended edition, edited by Lénárd Szegedi and printed in Kassa (Casovia, Košice, today Slovakia) in 1674, however, reveals the five-verse poem that was depicted in later songbook manuscripts. This is the chant beginning *Szent László Királyunk, Istennek szolgája... (Our King, Saint Ladislaus, Servant of God...)*¹², which regards Ladislaus as a gift from God, highlights his faithfulness to Rome and his respect for the Blessed Virgin, benefitting the whole country. Among printed songbooks, the first edition (Csíksomlyó [today Csíkszereda–Miercurea Ciuc, Romania], 1676) of the outstanding collection *Cantionale Catholicum*, edited by the Franciscan church musician, Johannes Caioni (1629–1687) from Transylvania, contains a nine-verse chant on St. Ladislaus beginning *Menynek, és földnek dicső Teremtője... (The Glorious Creator*

⁹ Hevenesí, Gabriel: *Regi magyar szentseg, avagy Magyar-Ország boldog emlekezeti ötven szenteknek, és boldoginak le-képzett élete, kik szent István király idejében Magyar-Országban voltak. Avagy a római széken, avagy élő embertől nem említhető régiek egyenlő értelméből, avagy szava hitt historikusoknak írásiból szentek közzé számláltattak. Most pedig az idvözült szentekhez illendő tiszteletnek buzgóbb gerjesztésére világ eleiben tétetnek. Ezeken kívül a könyvnek végén más két száznál több afféle magyar szentek, s boldogok neveit olvashatni a deák authorban, Nagy-Szombatban, az academiái bötükkel Hörmann János, 1695. (RMK I. 1483/1.)* Most recent edition: Hevenesí Gábor: *Régi magyar szentseg avagy. Ötvenöt magyar szent és boldog valamint tiszteletreméltó képekkel idézett rövid emlékezete, [Olden Hungarian Holiness, A Short Illustrated History of Fifty-five Venerable, Blessed and Saints of Hungary]* The 1737 Latin edition has been translated and edited by Ferenc Sinkó, Budapest 1988. On St. Ladislaus: pp. 53–56.

¹⁰ Chants on Saint Ladislaus were published in the volume of conference studies in 2007 in Győr: N. Medgyesy S., *Szent László király alakja az 1650 és 1845 között keletkezett kéziratok és nyomtatott énekeskönyvekben*, op. cit., in: „Vállal magasb mindeneknél”: op. cit. p. 193–226. [The figure of Saint Ladislaus in manuscript and printed songbooks from 1650 to 1845. in: “Standing Head and Shoulders Above Everybody” op. cit. pp. 193–226.] A selected, practical edition with musical score: *Énekek Szent László király tiszteletére – Cationes de Sancto Ladislao rege [Songs in Honour of St. Ladislaus]*, ed. A. Kovács, Medgyesy S., Budapest 2012, pp. 137–208, nr. 27–59.

¹¹ The first edition (Nagyszombat, 1675. RMK I. 1183a) and the second edition (*Cantus Catholici ex Editio Szelepcsényiana*, Nagyszombat, 1703.) of the songbook *Cantus Catholici* by Szelepcsényi György do not contain any songs about Saint Ladislaus' veneration.

¹² *Cantus Catholici* [...] *Authoritate Leonardi Szegedi* [...], *Cassoviae*, 1674, p. 511–512. Melody: *Idvöz légy kis Jesus lelkünk ébresztője... (Hail little Jesus, who awaken our souls...)* Published by *Régi Magyar Költők Tára XVII. század 15/A/B, (Old Hungarian Poets)* ed. Béla Stoll, notes written by Béla Holl, Budapest 1992, nr. 475.

of Heaven and Earth...)¹³. The poem introduces St. Ladislaus, a zealous praying man leading a moral life, as a successor to St. Stephen. The chant commemorates the foundation of Várad and its diocese and that of Virgin Mary Monastery by St. Ladislaus and the miraculous healings at the grave of the Knight-king in Várad. This poem can be found in several 18th century manuscripts: the *Songbook of Pécs* from the Southern Transdanubian region (1674. 11b–12a p.), the *Songbook of Zirc* (1751–1766. 45b p.)¹⁴, the *Songbook of Herchl Antal* related to the village of Bajna (Esztergom county) (1765–1806, pp. 154–155), the *Songbook of Györkök Márton* (1795, pp. 157–159)¹⁵ and the *Songbook of Gasztony* (Győr county) (1743, pp. 142–143).

Perhaps the most beautiful, epic historical chant on St. Ladislaus' life is the one beginning *Gyönyörködhetünk nyilván, Magyar Népek...* (*Let's Delight Ourselves, Peoples of Hungary*), preserved in its entirety by the manuscript¹⁶ of István Kováts¹⁷, schoolmaster of Dör village (Sopron county). The 17-verse poem is a fine example of contemporary history-teaching. The poem composed in Sapphic stanzas recalls historical facts: Duke Géza and his brother, Duke Ladislaus were opposed to their cousin, the rebellious King Solomon (reigned between 1063 and 1074). Their struggle culminated in the battle of Mogyoród near Pest on 14th March 1074: the troops of Géza and Ladislaus defeated Solomon's army, as a result, Solomon was banished and Géza could ascend the throne. The wondrous events related to the struggle were immortalized by one of the most significant narratives of the Middle Ages, the *Illuminated Chronicle* (*Chronicon Pictum*, 1358). Before the battle, according to Chapter 120 of the *Illuminated Chronicle*, Géza and Ladislaus went hunting, while Duke Ladislaus saw in a vision an angel bringing a crown to Géza, thus signalling their coming victory. Posterity identifies this crown with the Holy Crown, that is why historical sources call our crown *Corona Angelica*, "Angelic Crown", which refers to the divine approval of the establishment of the country. After the battle of Mogyoród, also on a hunting occasion, a stag appeared with burning candles upon its horns, at the sight of whom Ladislaus knew it was not a plain stag but an angel. The *Illuminated Chronicle* (*Chronicon Pictum*) captures the event as follows:

¹³ Kájoni János: *Cantionale Catholicum*, Csíksomlyó, 1676, p. 472; 1719. p. 406. Earlier manuscript edition: *Pécsi énekeskönyv* (*Songbook of Pécs*) (1674), pp. 11b–12a. Earlier publications of the song: J. Dankó, *Vetus Hymnarium ecclesiasticum Hungariae*, Budapest 1893, p. 398–399; „...édes Hazámnak akartam szolgálni...” (“... I wanted to serve my sweet home country...”) *Johannes Caioni: Canticale Catholicum. Petrás Incze János: Tudósítások* (*Reports*), ed. P. P. Domokos, Budapest 1979, p. 832–833, nr. 557; RMKT XVII. század 15/A, op. cit. Nr. 474 (*RMKT 17th century 15/A, op. cit. Nr. 474*); N. Medgyesy S., op. cit. nr. 3., pp. 201–202. Melody from *Deák-Szentes kézirat* (*Deák-Szentes manuscript*) (Csíksomlyó, 18th century, 49.) published by R. Kővári, *A Szent László-népelemek dallamairól*, in: „Vállal magasb mindenkéül”, op. cit. p. 254. [*On the Melodies of St. Ladislaus chants*, in: “Standing Head and Shoulders Above Everybody” op. cit. p.254] (The full study: pp. 253–266.); R. Kővári, *A Deák-Szentes-kézirat – The Deák-Szentes Manuscript*, Budapest 2013, nr. 111.

¹⁴ RMKT XVII. század, 15/A, op. cit. p. 604–605, nr. 474. (*RMKT 17th century 15/A, op. cit. Nr. 474*)

¹⁵ *Györkök Márton-énekeskönyv* (*Songbook of Marton Györkök*) (1795, p. 157–159.) 7 verses (1–3 and 5–8) have been taken to the manuscript from the lyrics of *Cantionale* of Caioni.

¹⁶ One of the most prominent sources of the history of Hungarian Catholic chants is the manuscript of *Dőri énekeskönyv* (*Songbook of Dör*) consisting of 425 pages, size: 205 x 160 mm. Location: Pannonhalma, Library of the Archabbey, Manuscripts, 10a E 29/1. (More detailed description: B. Stoll, *A magyar kéziratok énekeskönyvek és versgyűjtemények bibliográfiája (1542–1840)* [*Bibliography of Hungarian songbook and poetry collection manuscripts (1542–1840)*], Budapest 2002, nr. 269.)

¹⁷ More on the life of István Kováts and the emergence of the book: N. Medgyesy S., *Kisiskolák, tanítómesterek és kéziratok énekeskönyveik a 18. századi győri egyházmegyében*, in: *Primus inter omnes. Tanulmányok Bedy Vince születésének 150. évfordulójára*, [Small Schools, Schoolmasters and Songbooks in 18th century Diocese of Győr] ed. Arató György, Nemes Gábor, Vajk Ádám, Győr, 2016, pp. 399–402. (Full study: pp. 383–407. A Győri Egyházmegyei Levéltár kiadványai, Források, feldolgozások 25.)

“Truly that was no stag but an angel from God. They are not horns but wings; they are not burning candles but shining feathers. It has shown to us that we are to build the church of the Blessed Virgin on the place where it planted its feet, and not elsewhere”¹⁸. According to verses 7–10 of the song, the miraculous deer-angel appointed the place where the church of Vác should be erected. The crown-vision and the appearance of the miraculous deer are the origin myths of the former Cathedral of Vác, which today corresponds to the Franciscan Holy Cross church in the castle of Vác, and Hétkápolna (Seven Chapels) on the banks of the Danube, in the southern part of Vác, shrine of Kuti Boldogasszony or in the medieval tradition of the Blessed Virgin, Szarvas Boldogasszony (Maria de Cervo)¹⁹. The text of this poem, which preserves the style of 16th century historic songs and the humanistic Sapphic stanza, to the best of our present knowledge, has not appeared in printed sources. However, a fragment of 12 verses of it can be found on the pages of the *Songbook of Pécs* (1674)²⁰.

The litany-style song beginning with the words *Serény szolgát Ur kedveli... (God delights in sedulous servants...)* is a masterpiece of allegorical Baroque folk poetry. Its text has survived in four manuscripts from Western Transdanubia: from Kunsziget (Győr county), from Paks by György Márton, in the Dőr manuscript mentioned earlier, the *Songbook of Varsány* from Veszprém county and *Songbook of Egervár* from Vas county²¹. The song uses typical Baroque attributes to describe St. Ladislaus: “Lieutenant of the Virgin Mary, Doctor of our Nation, Disciple of St. Stephen”²².

¹⁸ *Képes Krónika. A magyarok régi és legújabb tetteiről, eredetükről és növekedésükről, diadalaikról és bátorságukról [Illuminated Chronicle. About the Deeds of the Hungarians, their Origin and Growth, their Triumphs and Courage]*, translated by L. Geréb; description and explanation of illustrations by Csapodié K. Gárdonyi, notes: L. Mezey, Budapest 1971, chapter 124.

¹⁹ On the history of this place of pilgrimage: G. Barna, *Bücsújáró és kegyhelyek Magyarországon [Places of Pilgrimage and Worship in Hungary]*. Budapest 1990, pp. 163–165; S. Bálint, G. Barna, *Bücsújáró magyarok. A magyarországi bücsújárás története és néprajza [Hungarians on Pilgrimages. History and Ethnography of Hungarian Pilgrimages]*, Budapest 1994, p. 347.

²⁰ Based on a fragment from *Pécsi énekeskönyv [Songbook of Pécs]* (1674) the song was published with modern spelling in a popularizing edition by Z. Móser, „Az magyarokról sok jót mondjatok...” *A magyar történelem dalban elbeszélve [“Speak only good about Hungarians...” A History of Hungary in Song]*, Budapest 2005. (PC CD-ROM). Some verses of the song according to the Dőr manuscript are published and analysed by G. Csóka OSB, *Szent László király győri tisztelete*, in: *Szent László király emlékei Dunántúlon. Tanulmányok [Veneration of St. Ladislaus in Győr; in: Memories of St. Ladislaus in Transdanubia.]*, ed. Cs. Miklósi-Sikes, T. Kerny, Sümeg 2000, pp. 141–153. The fragment of *Pécsi énekeskönyv [Songbook of Pécs]* (1674) was published by P. P. Domokos, *Egyházi énektöredék Szent Lászlóról, mely a Képes Krónika két látomás-legendáját eleveníti meg, [Ecclesiastical song fragment on St. Ladislaus presenting two visionary legends from the Illuminated Chronicle]* „Vigilia” 49/ 1984, vol. 8, p. 628–631.

²¹ *Dőri énekeskönyv [Songbook of Dőr]* (1763–1774, p. 154b): „Más. Nota Hozzad óhajtunk etc.” [Another song. Our Desire for You is so Great etc.]; *Varsányi énekeskönyv [Songbook of Varsány]* with the first line (*Serény szolgát Isten kedvelli... [God delights in sedulous servants.]* second half of the 18th century, pp. 65–66.); *Egervári énekeskönyv [Songbook of Egervár]* (beginning of the 19th century, p. 237. Incipit: *Sörin szolgát Ur kedvelli..., [God delights in sedulous servants...]* title: „Ugyan azon Napra 2dik Ének Nta 42-a” [Second song of the same day, song 42]); *Négy szép új ISTENES ÉNEKEK* small print [Four beautiful and new godly chants] (published by Zs. Erdélyi, *Egy magángyűjtemény Szent László-énekei*, in: „Vállal magasb mindenkénél” [St. Ladislaus Chants from a Private Collection, in: “Standing Head and Shoulders Above Everybody”], op. cit. p. 234–235. The full study: pp. 227–252.)

²² *Paksi Márton György-énekeskönyv [Songbook of Marton György Paks]*, Ötveny-Sziget (today Kunsziget), 1760–1761, p. 510. Mf: OSZK FM 1/2203. Melody (*Cantus Catholici* 1674, p. 24.): R. Kővári, *A Szent László-népelemek dallamairól [On the Melodies of St. Ladislaus chants]*, op. cit. 2008, p. 257. Practical edition comparing all sources and all melody variants of Vas county: *Énekek Szent László király tiszteletére [Songs in Honour of St. Ladislaus]*, op. cit. pp. 174–175, nr. 42.

The exact date of publication of the six-page manuscript is unknown, based on its content it must have been printed in Győr, the city where one of the most important relics of Hungary, the St. Ladislaus' herm, has been guarded since 1607. In 1763 Győr, Komárom and their surroundings were hit by severe earthquakes several times. The diocese of Győr and its citizens made a pledge at that time: for the delivery from the natural disaster, St. Ladislaus' herm should be carried round the city every year in a procession on June 27th²³. The printing-house, release date and time of the publication, found in 2016, is unmarked²⁴. On its first page, a copy of a copper engraving can be seen of St. Ladislaus riding on a white horse in front of his thirsty, flag-bearing soldiers wearing a braided (18th century) Hungarian attire and a royal robe, drawing water from the rock with his axe. The image of the Virgin Mary is visible in the brilliant light above the cliff holding the child Jesus on her right arm. Saint Ladislaus is wearing the Holy Crown on his head. The following sentence can be read below the picture, at the bottom of the cover page: *Szent László Magyarok Királya, Légy Isten előtt Országunk Istápjja!* (*Saint Ladislaus, King of Hungarians, Be our Patron before God.*) The words below the prayer "JC. Winkler, Sc. Vien." refer to Johann Christoph Winkler (1701–1770) engraver and art publisher born in Augsburg (or Regensburg according to some researchers), worked and died in Vienna, who is also the creator of the picture²⁵. The page contains texts of a prayer and a chant clearly linked to the Herm guarded in Győr and to the earthquakes of 1763. The text of the song beginning *Szent László, csuda Királyunk...* (*Saint Ladislaus, our Miraculous King*) with the melody "Mária, mennynek Asszonya" (*Mary, Lady of Heaven*) invites us to repent and asks the intercession of the Holy King²⁶.

Sermons in honour of King St. Ladislaus (18th century)

Sándor Lukácsy was the first to draw attention to the 17th–18th century sermons on St. Ladislaus²⁷. The sermon of the archbishop of Esztergom, Péter Pázmány (1570–1637), written in honour of Saint Martin has survived as three separate sermons on St. Ladislaus in volume III of the compilation entitled *Megrövidítettet ige, az-az predikatiois könyv* (*The Scriptures Abridged, a Book of Sermons*) (Nagyszombat–Bécs, 1692) by István Illyés, Transylvanian bishop. This is the consequence of the accepted contemporary methods of compilation²⁸.

²³ N. Medgyesy S., *A 18. századi győri Szent László-tisztelet és a konfraternitások kapcsolata*, in: *Amicitia. Tanulmányok Tüskés Gábor 60. születésnapjára – Beiräge zum 60. Geburtstag von Gábor Tüskés, [The relationship between the veneration of Saint Ladislaus and the confraternities of the 18th century in Győr; in: Amicitia. Studies on the 60th Birthday of Gábor Tüskés]* ed. R. Lengyel, I. Csörsz Rumen, B. Hegedüs, M. Kiss, O. Lénárt, Budapest 2015, 114–124. Online: <http://reciti.hu/wp-content/uploads/AMICITIA.pdf>

²⁴ The Catalogue of the Collection of Posters and Small Prints of National Széchényi Library (Budapest) dates this back to around 1800, in our opinion it was born in 1763 or the following year.

²⁵ *Die Porträtsammlung der Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel, A 12144, Inventar-Nummer: 7746. Bearbeitet von Peter Mortzfeld. Online: <http://portraits.hab.de/werk/10842/> (Retrieved: 31st May 2016.)*

²⁶ Source and reference number of small print: National Széchényi Library, Budapest, PNY 2982.

²⁷ S. Lukácsy, *Prédikációk Szent László királyról [Sermons on St. Ladislaus]*, „Vigilia”, 60/ 1995, vol. 9, p. 666–669.

²⁸ I. Maczák, *Szent László-prédikációk más szentek ünnepeire*, in: „Vállal magasb mindeneknél”. [*Saint Ladislaus-sermons for Holidays of Other Saints* in: “Standing Head and Shoulders Above Everybody”] op. cit. p. 123–130. György Káldi did not orate the Knight-king. (S. Lukácsy, *Isten gyertyácskái [Candles of God]*, Pécs, 1994; Cs. Gábor, *Káldi György prédikációi. Források, teológia, retorika [Sermons of György Káldi. Sources, Theology, Rhetorics]*, Debrecen 2001.)

Let us first recall the very first public appearance of the poet and warlord, Miklós Zrínyi (1620–1664): on 27th June 1634, on the feast day of the Hungarian patron saint of the Viennese University, St. Ladislaus in St. Stephen's Cathedral, Vienna he delivered an *Oratio* (*oration*) in which he compares St. Ladislaus to a cedar tree. According to Zrínyi's speech, the immediate neighbours of Hungary, the Wallachians, the Croats and the Dalmatians raged against us and the anger coming from the East could not have been stopped, had it not been for the Cedar-king, Zrínyi tells of St. Ladislaus taking Bohemia and the Polish Cracow, then Dalmatia and Illyricum with a similar offensive, while defeating the Cumans in Temesköz and killing their leader Acus with his own hand. Zrínyi refers to St. Ladislaus as celestial Hannibal and Scipio, the lightning²⁹. The translator of *Oratio*, Péter Kulcsár, found that the historical record of the speech was the fourth book of the second part of Antonio Bonfini's *Rerum Hungaricarum Decades* (around 1500, first printed edition: Basel, 1568)³⁰. Finishing his speech, Zrínyi remembers that St. Ladislaus was singled out to lead the first crusade by Pope Urban II and European powers at the beginning of 1095, but hostilities over the Czech throne and his sudden death prevented the Royal Cedar from fulfilling this task. The historian Ágnes R. Várkonyi is on the opinion that *Oratio*, which was told in front of the imperial-royal court, had been suggested by Péter Pázmány and set St. Ladislaus as an example of a common European cooperation against the Mohammedans³¹.

István Illyés bishop (1650–1714) born in Csíkszentgyörgy is known for his collection of psalms and funeral songs. His compilation with the title *Sertum Sanctorum, A Dicsőült Szentek Dicsiretinek jó illatú virágiból kötött Koszorú* (*A Wreath of Fragrant Flowers from the Praise of Glorified Saints*) (Nagyszombat, 1708) contains two speeches in veneration of the Knight-king³². The motto of the yet unreleased first sermon was: *Fidelis servus et prudens* (*Faithful and wise servant*) (Matt. 24:45). The speech lists the prefigurements of St. Ladislaus' miracles: Moses brought water out of a rock and the sun stood still due to Joshua's prayer (Josh. 24:29; 10:12). Then the same stories are enumerated from St. Ladislaus' life: the miracle of the water from the rock, the appearance of buffalo and deer herds on

²⁹ The speech was published in Latin and his own Hungarian translation with notes by Péter Kulcsár: *Zrínyi Miklós prózai munkái*. (Zrínyi Miklós összes művei) [*Prose works of Miklós Zrínyi (Collected works of Miklós Zrínyi)*], ed. P. Kulcsár, Budapest 2004, p. 248–259, 359–374, 391–394. Our quote: p. 370.

³⁰ A. Bonfini, *A magyar történelem tizedei* [*Decades of Hungarian History*], translated by Péter Kulcsár, Budapest 1995, p. 325–326. (The full chapter: p. 309–327.) The story of Saint Ladislaus and his contemporaries is discussed in Bonfini's 3rd–4th book. (Published by P. Kulcsár, *A magyar történelem tizedei* [*Decades of Hungarian History*], op. cit. p. 287–327.)

³¹ Á. R. Várkonyi, *A „Királyi cédrus” – Zrínyi Miklós beszéde Szent Lászlóról* [*The “Royal Cedar” – Zrínyi Miklós' speech on St. Ladislaus*], in: „Vállal magasb mindeneknél” [*“Standing Head and Shoulders Above Everybody”*], op. cit. p. 93–122.

³² Illyés István: *Sertum Sanctorum. A Dicsőült Szentek Dicsiretinek jó illatú virágiból kötött Koszorú. Az-az Ünnepek napokra készített prédikációk. Mellyeket Elő nyelvi prédikálása után rendbe-vett, helyesleg bévitett, az írásban ki-adott Illyés István, Sámándriai Püspök, Szent Jóbi Apátúr, Esztergami Nagy Præpost és Canonok. Első része. Az első fél esztendőnek ünnepeire. Nyomtattatott Nagy-Szombatban az Academiai bötükkal 1708. Esztendőben. [A Wreath of Fragrant Flowers from the Praise of Glorified Saints. Sermons for Feast Days, which after preaching had been corrected, expanded and published in writing by István Illyés, Bishop of Samandria, Abbot of Szentjób, Provost and Canon of Esztergom. First Part. For the Holidays of the First Half Year. Printed in Nagyszombat. In 1708.]* The first sermon written in honour of St. Ladislaus: p. 252–259., 2nd sermon: p. 259–267. 2nd sermon of Illyés was published by: *Régi magyar prédikációk, 16–18. század. Egyetemi szöveggyűjtemény* [*Old Hungarian Sermons, 16th–18th century. University textbook*], ed. L. Szelestei N., Budapest 2005, p. 146–149.

the prayer of the king when his soldiers were in need, turning the Tartar's money into stone by prayer. The author emphasizes that Ladislaus is a patron protecting against epidemics, too³³.

Two sermons have survived from the writings of the Pauline Zsigmond Csúzy (1660–1729)³⁴ in his compilation *Zengedező Sip-Szó (Resounding Beautiful Words)* (1723)³⁵. The first speech with a motto from the gospel *Beatus ille servus – Blessed is that servant* extensively contemplates the subject of wise ruling and praises the Knight-king who accepted the throne merely because of having been forced by noblemen, who feared fame and who was not seduced by worldly vanity, whose aim was to lead his country, Hungary to heavenly Canaan. Csúzy organizes Ladislaus' virtues in *regulamentums*: 1.) he was a good shepherd and a model for his flock; 2.) he did not seek his own good; 3.) he obeyed divine laws; 4.) he was not idle in his tasks. Among the leading virtues of Ladislaus, Csúzy highlights his care for the sick and poor and his humility. Csúzy thinks this humility accounted for Ladislaus attributing his victories to the power of God and his readiness to pass the crown to Solomon to avoid bloodshed.

From 1701, István Csete (1648–1718) was a famous Jesuit speaker in Nagyszombat, Győr and Sopron³⁶, six of his Latin sermons, which were written in honour of king St. Ladislaus in the first decade of the 1700s, have survived in manuscripts. Their Hungarian translations and revised, printed editions come from another Jesuit preacher, János Gyalogi (1686–1761), a well-travelled man in Hungary, also called the Hungarian Cicero³⁷. István Csete regards St. Ladislaus, in the spirit of *Regnum Marianum, Kingdom of Mary*, as a worthy successor of St. Stephen and a gift from God. For God gave bellicose and blood-thirsty Hungarians the greatest possible grace, he raised the nation's missionary from his own country. The sermon divides Hungary between the two holy kings from a geographical perspective: the northern and western parts of the country are linked to Stephen, while the middle part, and the southern, Transylvanian part (Transylvania, Siebenbürgen) are connected to Ladislaus³⁸. Csete's 2nd Sermon (sermon) (Nagyszombat, 1708) reiterates biblical parallels: he compares Ladislaus' enemy, Solomon of Árpád dynasty to Saul from the Old Testament, who was unworthy of his crown and was forsaken by God for his hubris, but

³³ Source: I. Tarnóczy, *Elogium* 13. and 5th Reading of St. Ladislaus-matin (I. Illyés, op. cit. p. 258.).

³⁴ The latest and most complete publication on his life and works: R. Tasi, *Az isteni szó barokk sáfárai [Baroque Stewards of the Divine Word]*, Debrecen 2009, p. 110–125.

³⁵ *Zengedező Sip-Szó. Mellyt a' Szent Léleknek éllesztő, és Ébresztő fúvallásá-ra, elsöben a' Clastromos remete püszitákban és némelly más, többi-re alacsony helyeken, mint-egy titokban hallatott. Most pedig [...] egy Haza-fűságtól viseltetett egy-ügyü Szerzetes remete Fratertől [...] közöltetik. [Resounding Beautiful Words which were First Told by Inspiration of the Holy Spirit as a Secret. And Now it is Published by a Simple Monk and Hermit]* Poson, Royer János, 1723. 1st speech: p. 233–244, 2nd sermo: p. 244–249.

³⁶ More on the life and literary work of Csete and Gyalogi: É. Knapp, *Ismeretlen irodalom- és nyelvemléleti munkák a 18. század első feléből. Csete István és Gyalogi János [Unknown literary and linguistic works from the first half of the 18th century. István Csete and János Gyalogi]*, „Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények”, 106/2002, vol. 3–4, p. 261–294.

³⁷ Csete István, Gyalogi János, *Panegyrici Sanctorum patronum Regni Hungariae, Tudni-illik, Nagy Aszszonyról, Magyar Szentekről, Es az Országhoz tartozandó, kivált-képpen-való Innepekre Jeles Prédikatziók. A' kiket találtunk a' Jesus Társaságából-való néhai P. Csete István munkáiban. A' kinek hólta után hagyatott Deák Írásit üszögéből kiveregetvén, sokat pótolván-is; ezt a' munkát az Úr Istennek (ki az ő Szentiben tiszteltetik) dütsőségének terjedésére; ős elejünk düsiretes és Szent nyomdokinak követésére; Nemzetünk meg maradására, s' konkolyok előtt palántáltatott Igasságnak tovább való gyarapodására; Haza nyelvén ki-botsátotta most maga-is már el-öregedvén P. Gyalogi János, Kassa, 1754.*

³⁸ Csete–Gyalogi, op. cit. p. 135–140.

the humble ones, like St. Ladislaus, were raised to his glory. The third Ladislaus-sermo by Csete was heard by the faithful crowd in Győr, in the presence of St. Ladislaus' herm in 1702. Csete's speech shows Ladislaus as a servant of God, patron of the country and a wonderful king³⁹. Csete scrutinizes rank and humble service and the exploitation of talents. He thinks God gave St. Ladislaus eagle's wings to earn his talents by flying towards the sun. Csete's fourth sermon has iconographic antecedents as it refers to the 17th–18th century depictions of St. Ladislaus twisting his rosary around his sword.⁴⁰ He makes serious social criticism in connection with the miracles of the money that became stone and uses a parallel from the Bible: with the story of Saul and David, he refers to the case of Solomon and St. Ladislaus from the Árpád dynasty⁴¹. Csete's fifth St. Ladislaus sermon (1706)⁴² mentions the conversion and godly death of the cousin-and-rival Solomon, the source of which might have been Hevenesi's abovementioned book. Solomon is seen as a converted, repentant, exemplary hermit at the end of his life⁴³. In the sixth St. Ladislaus-sermon, Csete introduces the *Decretum*, which was issued in 1092 in Szabolcs castle, on the occasion that the national council was convened and presided there by the Knight-king. Csete considers Hungary of the Ladislaus-era a model of Christianity and its perfect accomplishment. The Roman Emperors, Constantine the Great and Theodosius the Great as well as Charlemagne, King of the Franks also act as prefigurations of the Hungarian church-building and law-making Knight-king⁴⁴.

³⁹ 3rd speech can be read in: Csete István–Gyalogi János, op. cit. p. 148–153.

⁴⁰ According to Terézia Kerzen art historian, the history of the representation was manifested by the multitude of rosary associations spreading by the end of the 15th century and by the anti-Turkic wars. The first appearance of the work of Johann Sigmund Schott Viennese artist was in the abovementioned volume of Hevenesi (p. 15), the venerable crown offering illustrating King St. Stephen as a pandan: Saint Ladislaus stretching his rosary kneeling before the image of the Virgin Mary. The proliferation of the image may have been linked to the fact that in 1690 Pope Innocent XII I gave Leopold I and his family consecrated rosaries, and at that time the Battle of Szálánkemén (1691) took place and the Christians took over Várad (27 June 1692). Hevenesi's work became the foundation of Baroque Saint Ladislaus iconography. Read more about Saint Ladislaus depictions before 1800, with a rich source and literature list: T. Kerny, *László király ikonográfiája (13–18. század)* [Iconography of St. Ladislaus (13th–18th century)], in: *Magyar Művelődéstörténeti Lexikon VI* [in: *Lexicon of Hungarian Cultural History*], ed. P. Kőszeghy, Budapest 2006, p. 411–453; T. Kerny, *Szent László tisztelete és középkori ikonográfiája* [Veneration and Medieval Iconography of Saint Ladislaus], in: B. J. Hankovszky OP, T. Kerny, Z. Móser, *Ave, Rex Ladislaus*, Budapest 2000, p. 30–42; T. Kerny, „S. Ladislaus rex Ungariae rosario ensi obvoluto pugnare solitus.” *A fölajánlás téma és a rózsafüzér attribútum Szent László barokk ikonográfiájában* [The Offering Theme and the Rosary Attribute in the Baroque Iconography of Saint Ladislaus], in: *A domonkos rend Magyarországon* [The Dominican Order in Hungary], ed. P. A. Illés, B. Zágórhidi Czigány, Piliscsaba–Budapest–Vasvár 2007, p. 331–350; T. Kerny, *Szent László tisztelete a képzőművészetben* [The Veneration of St. Ladislaus in Fine Art], in: *Enekek Szent László király tiszteletére* [Song in Honour of St. Ladislaus], op. cit. p. 33–49.

⁴¹ *Szent László Király Napján Negyedik Prædikáció* [Fourth Sermon on the Feast Day of St. Ladislaus]. Published by Csete István–Gyalogi János, op. cit. p. 153–159.

⁴² The full sermon can be read in Csete István–Gyalogi János, op. cit. p. 160–165. Las published: *Régi magyar prédikációk* [Old Hungarian Sermons], op. cit. p. 76–80. According to János Gyalogi the speech was delivered 27th June, the fifth Sunday after Pentecost (“Exaudi, Domine”) According to the calendar *Oklevéltani naptár* it was in the year 1706. (I. Szentpétery, *Oklevéltani naptár*, Budapest 1912. [Reprint: Budapest, 1974.] 14. tábla, p. 84–85.)

⁴³ G. Hevenesi op. cit. [1988] On St. Solomon: p. 49–52. We can admire the image of King Solomon the penitent hermit on a series of Baroque icons in the wooden church of Oravka, Árva county. Published with photos of Attila Mudrák: Udvarhelyi Nándor, *Magyar szentek temploma. Felső-Árva magyar kincsestára – Oravka (Kisárva) fatemploma* [Church of Hungarian Saints. Treasury of Upper-Árva – The Wooden Church of Oravka (Kisárva)], Budapest 2013, p. 67–70.

⁴⁴ Csete István–Gyalogi János, op. cit. p. 166–171.

Márton Padányi Bíró (1696–1715), later Bishop of Veszprém, delivered his sermon in Búcsúszentlászló, a shrine to the Virgin Mary in Zala county, on 27th June 1733. Padányi's speech recalls the circumstances of Ladislaus' succession to the throne. Then he proceeds with biblical prefigurements: Moses prays for God's mercy for his people (Ex. 32); Samuel the prophet also pleaded for his people and the Lord saved them from the hands of the Philistines (1 King 7); God reconciled with friends of Job for him (Job 42:10); he had mercy on the city of Zoar for Lot (Dan. 9:16) [Gen. 19:18–22]; Daniel liberated the Jews from Babylonian captivity (Dan. 9:16); Hezekia protected Jerusalem against the Assyrians (4 King 19:10) [2 King 19:10]; the deeds and prayers of St. Stephen, the first martyr won Saul-Paul to the Church. According to Padányi, similar prayers and miracles can be connected to St. Ladislaus' life on earth and he continues to intercede for his country from heaven⁴⁵. In Padányi's sermon, the most prominent prefigurement is of Josiah, King of Judah who was a godly, virtuous, and powerful king destroying idols. Moreover: "Our Holy King excelled patriarch Noah in meekness; Abraham, in faith; Moses in the potent force of his prayers and the glory of his miracles; Job in peaceful patience; Joseph in purity and love for his people; Joshua in protecting his homeland and nation"⁴⁶. Padányi claims that Jacob was fighting with angels in his dream, while St. Ladislaus had angels fighting for him in all his battles. Before moving on to the problems of his age, Padányi sums up the merits of St. Ladislaus: he planted the true Catholic faith in his homeland and protected it, even militarily, creating peaceful happiness in the country. Padányi sees the problem of his age, the 18th century in moving away from the work of the Holy King and from the happy state settling beside the waters of Babylon, hanging their instruments on trees. Padányi then goes on to expressly speak against Protestant doctrines.

The content of the speeches of Máté Simon (1743–1818), a Pauline monk working in the Transdanubian region, evoke the world of late Baroque era, while their conciseness reminds us of works from the early Enlightenment period⁴⁷. In his festive sermon for Assumption Day, Máté Simon introduces apocalyptic perspectives on Hungarian history, when he contemplates that the country's internal and external enemies were sent by Satan against the Hungarians, because he envied that through St. Stephen's offering the country to God we became part of Mary's legacy⁴⁸. Three sermons in honour of St. Ladislaus have survived from Máté Simon, who also saw the parallel of Saul-David and Solomon-Ladislaus. His speeches see the actions of Saint Ladislaus as ones that go beyond biblical, especially Old Testament stories, e.g.: Mordecai was planted on horseback, while Ladislaus rose to heaven when praying, Mordecai's horse was led by his chief, the cart of St. Ladislaus' coffin was dragged to Várad by angels (1st speech, Peremarton, Veszprém county, 27th June 1778.). According to the second speech delivered in an unknown place and time, God sent

⁴⁵ Padányi Bíró Márton, op. cit. p. 360.

⁴⁶ Padányi Bíró Márton, op. cit. p. 368.

⁴⁷ More about the sermons of this age: Z. Lukácsi, *Szószerék és világosság. A magyar katolikus prédikáció a felvilágosodás korában [Pulpit and Light. Hungarian Catholic Preaching in the Age of Enlightenment]*, Győr 2013.

⁴⁸ *Bóldog Aszszonyról XXXX. Prédikációk, melyeket különb helyeken s üdökben mondott, most pedig Többek kérésére a 'Lelkek hasznáért, a 'Titkok' rendezéért egygyütt ki-adott Simon Máté, Szent Pál' szerzete-béli pap, a pécsi-megyében előbb kárászi plébános, most seminárium-béli Professor [XXXX Sermons on the Virgin Mary delivered at different places and time, now published for the souls of many by Pauline monk Máté Simon, first parish priest of Kárász, Pécs county, then professor in the seminary]*, Vác, Máramarosy Gottlieb Antal, 1801, p. 378–379. (The full sermon: p. 365–381.)

Moses birds to feed his hungry people, while St. Ladislaus was sent cattle and buffalo herds to feed his hungry army; moreover, David took the life of a Goliath, but St. Ladislaus, who is compared to Hannibal and Julius Caesar, killed six Vlach men in addition to saving a virgin. A sense of national awareness of the Hungarian nobility (1790s) can be recognised in the sermons of Simon. In the 3rd sermon of Simon delivered in 1802 near Hosszúhetény in Baranya county, close to Serb-populated areas, St. Ladislaus fights against the Cumans and Serbs, too. The Pauline monk's rhetoric extrapolated the actual debate to his own age in the early Árpád era.

Summary analysis

In our study, we have examined chants written in honour of Saint Ladislaus (25 together with their texts, published in 2008) and sermons (15) from 1634 to 1836.

In the course of our work, we looked at a total of 53 manuscripts and 9 prints of chants written in honour of King St. Ladislaus from Catholic songbooks found in libraries and archives of present-day Hungary, except for Csíksomlyó. We have found that the first chants written in veneration of the Knight-king appeared in the 1670s: in the Kassa edition of the songbook *Cantus Catholici* in 1674, then in the compilation *Cantionale Catholicum* of Johannes Caioni in 1676 in Csíksomlyó. The lyrics, featured with melodies, that appeared in print were varied and passed on by several singing book manuscripts. The epic chants of the 17th–18th century relate the everyday and miraculous events of St. Ladislaus' life in the style of 16th century historical songs with the fidelity of a chronicler. In the text of the chants, the most common topics are: founding of churches and dioceses; defeating the enemies of the country (Cumans and Tartars); rescuing the abducted girl; the mystical raptures of St. Ladislaus; the appearance of quails and the buffalo herd; the miracle of drawing water from the rock and the money becoming stone; the conversion of the Gentiles; Ladislaus' funeral in Várad (angels carried him to the beloved city, established by himself) and the extraordinary events at his grave. One of the historical songs (*Gyönyörködhetünk nyilván, magyar népek...*) (We can be delighted, peoples of Hungary...) of the Songbook of Dőr (1763–1774) narrates, besides the celestial origins of the Holy Crown and the foundation of Várad, the appearance of the miraculous deer in Vác and the founding of the Church of Vác, where the role of Duke Géza is also mentioned. The poem captured by István Szokolczai is awaiting the return of Saint Ladislaus to his desolate country, other poems of the eighteenth century call out to the noble Knight-king from deprivation. The songs reflect descriptions of the Legend of St. Ladislaus (end of the 12th century), *Magyar Anjou-legendárium* (Hungarian Anjou-Legendary) (around 1330), the *Illuminated Chronicle* (1358), the *Dubnici Krónika* (Chronicle of Dubnic) (1476) written in Várad and *Thuróczy-krónika* (Chronicle Thuróczy) (Augsburg, 1488). The descriptions of medieval narrative sources in the Baroque era were transmitted by copyists or maybe authors of songbook manuscripts by a so far unknown tradition. Men of clerical status: Ráfael Andrassy, Johannes Caioni, György Náray and Lénárd Szegedi, instructors: Antal Herchl, István Kováts, György Márton Paksi, József Szabados, János Szabó, István Szokolczai, Demeter György Szoszna and other, still unknown 18th-century schoolmasters, cantors, precentors played a major role in maintaining the honour of Saint Ladislaus. Their hand-written songbooks were also used in primary education, due to their vocation.

The sermons were left to us by works of István Illyés Transylvanian bishop (1708), Zsigmond Csúzy Pauline monk (1723), Márton Padányi Bíró bishop of Veszprém (delivered in 1733, published in 1761), and Máté Simon Pauline monk (delivered in 1778 and 1802, published in 1803). Latin sermons of the Jesuit István Csete from 1700 to 1710 were translated and published by a fellow Jesuit István Gyalogi in 1754. István Tarnóczy's (1626–1689) 50-verse eulogium, *Rex Admirabilis, sive vita Sancti Ladislai* (Vienna, 1681) and the Jesuit Gábor Hevenesi's (1656–1715) illustrated biography collection, *Ungariae sanctitatis indicia – Old Sanctity of Hungary* (Nagyszombat, 1692, 1695) determined the view of history in the era. Most of the times, the message of these sermons are echoed by the epic historical chants and sermons that always make mention of the following miracles: the mystical rapture of the Knight-king while praying, the miracle of the water from the rock, the appearance of the buffalo herd to feed the soldiers, the money becoming stone, the burial of the Knight-king by angels in his city of Várad. The continuous military victories of the Knight-king, either the struggles against the Cumans or Slavonia, are listed and analysed using allegorical parables. The church-building St. Ladislaus, the king caring for the sick and widowed and the sincere and pious Knight-king is set before us as an example. The 6th speech of István Csete makes precise reference to the laws of the Szabolcs Council (1092), supporting the idea of apostolic kingdom and the need for regular and zealous religious practices, whilst regarding the councils of the Roman Emperor, Constantine the Great and Charlemagne, King of the Franks the precursors of the Szabolcs Council. In addition to condemning Protestant doctrines, Csete criticizes his own church, naming “short and military-style masses”, i.e.: unworthily celebrated Catholic feasts (at least) one of the reasons for Reformation. The steadfast church builder, Márton Bíró Padányi's speech in 1733 claims the church-building St. Ladislaus led his people to spiritual happiness, from where the flock was transferred, quoting Psalm 136, to the Babylonian captivity by Protestant doctrines. As it was customary and required in the era, speakers sought biblical and historical prefigurations, allegorical parallels to compare the Knight-king to. St. Ladislaus is a cedar tree, the second King Stephen, an eagle flying to the sun, Hercules and a lion, the Hungarian Hannibal and Julius Caesar, King Jeoash of Judah from the Bible, King Solomon the church-builder, Cyrus, King of Persia and Moses, David, Samson, Judith, Jonah, Jonathan, Eleazar, Abishai, Benaiah from the Old Testament. Sermons of Márton Padányi Bíró and especially Máté Simon suggest that the Hungarian Knight-king surpassed his prefigurations from the Old Testament both in virtue and in miracles. The late Baroque Pauline speaker thinks the Hungarian military idol can be compared to Hannibal and Julius Caesar because he did not execute the defeated ones but converted them to his own Christian faith. In addition, he buried his enemy, count Vid, like Tobias did; he ascended from earth as Elijah the prophet; and God defended Ladislaus against Solomon and his enemies during all his battles just as Isaiah was defended by the angel from sacrifice. Most of 18th century sermons use the communion-movement (*Beatus servus*: Matt 24,46–47) of the Mass of Confessors (*Missa de confessore non pontifice*) sung on the feast of St. Ladislaus' funeral, 29th July and on 27th Juny as a motto: “It will be good for that servant whose master finds him doing so when he returns. Truly I tell you, he will put him in charge of all his possessions.”⁴⁹ The Baroque speakers also meditate on

⁴⁹ Can be sung with Hungarian Gregorian melody: *Énekek Szent László király tiszteletére [Songs in Honour of St. Ladislaus]*, op. cit. p. 97, nr. 20a.

the humility and kindness of Saint Ladislaus, because he merely accepted the Royal Throne to use his talent for the benefit of his people. István Csete made a unique sacral-geographical statement: Transdanubia and Upper-Hungary became truly Christian due to St. Stephen, while the Great Plain and Transylvania, i.e.: areas along the Tisza river converted because of St. Ladislaus' deeds. The actual political features of Csete and Padányi are the sentences relating to the terms of the apostolic kingdom and those criticizing Protestant doctrines. Máté Simon, who gave speeches in Baranya county after the feudal-aristocratic movement and the 1790–1791 National Assembly, called St. Ladislaus the conqueror of the Serbs.

The question arises: to what extent did the Baroque speeches transmit the figure of St. Ladislaus as described in medieval sermons? Edit Madas made 21 sermons available in Latin and in her own translation in Hungarian from 13th–15th century devotional pieces. As the text of the sermons, the table of contents and the topic index⁵⁰ reveal: St. Ladislaus' most precious spiritual and bodily traits, most of the miraculous acts and historical events in the sermons of the 18th century often appeared in medieval sermons. The recurring topics for centuries are the following: St. Ladislaus does not want himself crowned, he is a righteous judge and a generous donor, his body rose while praying, a buffalo herd appeared on his prayer, the plan of the Crusades, his wonderful funeral and three subsequent years of mourning, his comparison to the biblical King David as well as applying the David–Saul and Ladislaus–Solomon parallel. His canonization and miracles at the grave are not included in the sermons of the Baroque period, only in the texts of some chants. Nevertheless, we cannot assume a direct link between the author-speakers examined in our study and their medieval predecessors⁵¹.

The quoted sermons written in divine mission (*divina missio*) fulfil the duties of this genre *a docere (to teach)*, *a delectare (to delight)* and *a movere (rhetorical effect)*. Along with historical songs sung even today, they always give hope to the people, even those of the 21st century.

The figure of Saint Ladislaus in Hungarian Baroque Chants and Sermons Summary

The source material for the present research contains chants and sermons written in honour of Saint Ladislaus from 1634 to 1836. A precise survey shows a variety of motifs dealing with the figure of Saint Ladislaus. The main question of the study is to what extent the Baroque speeches transmit the figure of St. Ladislaus as described in medieval sermons? It is showed that there are many links but it is impossible to find a direct relationship between baroque literature and medieval texts.

⁵⁰ E. Madas, *Sermones de Sancto Ladislao rege Hungariae. Középkori prédikációk Szent László királyról [Medieval Sermons on St. Ladislaus]. (Bilingual edition)* Debrecen 2004. Index: p. 287–312. Expanded edition with pictures: E. Madas, Z. Gy. Horváth, *Középkori prédikációk és falképek Szent László királyról – Sermones de Sancto Ladislao rege Hungariae (with István Hajdú) [Medieval Sermons and Murals on St. Ladislaus]. Középkori falképek Szent László királyról – San Ladislao d' Ungheria nella predicazione e nei dipinti murali (with Mária Prokopp and Béla Gondos) [Medieval Murals on St. Ladislaus]*, Budapest 2008.

⁵¹ More on St. Ladislaus-sermons with numerous quotations: N. Medgyesy S., „...az Magyar-Országi Szentség déli Nap-világa...” *Szent László király alakja a magyarországi barokk irodalomban [The Figure of Saint Ladislaus in Hungarian Baroque Literature]*, in: *Szent Király, lovagkirály. A Szent László-herma és a koponyaereklje vizsgálatai [Holy King, Knight-king. Examination of St. Ladislaus' Herm and Skull Relic]*, ed. L. A. Kristóf, Z. Lukácsi, L. Patonay, Győr 2017, 43–68.

Keywords: Saint Ladislaus, chants, sermons, baroque literature

Postać króla Władysława I Świętego w węgierskich barokowych pieśniach i kazaniach **Abstrakt**

Materiał źródłowy wykorzystywany w prezentowanych badaniach zawiera pieśni oraz kazania napisane ku czci króla Władysława Świętego w okresie od 1634 do 1836 roku. Wnikliwa analiza ukazuje różnorodność motywów dotyczących tejże postaci. Głównym pytaniem studium jest, w jakim zakresie barokowe pieśni i mowy nawiązywały do średniowiecznego kształtu pamięci o osobie Świętego Władysława. W podsumowaniu zostaje sformułowany wniosek, iż da się zaobserwować wiele powiązań pomiędzy literaturą baroku a tekstami średniowiecznymi, jednak nie jest możliwe wykazanie bezpośrednich relacji.

Słowa kluczowe: św. Władysław, pieśni, kazania, literatura baroku

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