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Political Pilgrimage in Later Medieval Central Europe: a Case Study of a Hungarian Traveller to Ireland

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ABSTRACT

Political pilgrimage was a means of diplomacy in the medieval era. This study aims to illustrate the political character of the pilgrimage of a Hungarian aristocrat, Lőrinc Tari, a member of the government of Sigismund of Luxemburg, King of Hungary, to St. Patrick's Purgatory in Ireland, which is unique in contemporary Continental pilgrimages. No source has been found that attests to a penitential character in the pilgrimage. The lack of a traditional pilgrimage motive makes Tari's extremely long journey seem exceptional; there is no real explanation for it. Thus, the aim of the pilgrimage presented was a cover and the reasons he gave for his pilgrimage are fallacious. Tari was deliberately sent to the Primate of All Ireland, since he was a potential ally of Sigismund in the work to convene a General Council and the pilgrim was to secure the vote and co-operation of the Irish delegates in the work of electing a new pope and bringing forward church reforms. The king might have wished to negotiate with the English government, but had to act cautiously and did not even want to send an official envoy but used a 'pilgrim' as an agent.

Tari Lőrinc irföldi zarándokútjáról a hazai történetírás is számosan megemlékezett. Én arra próbálom helyezni a hangsúlyt, miért és miképpen lehet Tari útja része egy komplex kapcsolatrendszernek. Nem foglalkoztak vele, hogy miért töltött olyan sok időt, több hónapot Angliában, s miért utazott olyan módon, népes kísérettel, apródokkal, látványos processzusokkal menetelve be a városokba. Ruházata, pompakedvelése nem illik a zarándok-képbe. A források alapján feltételezem, Tari követségben járt az angol királynál és az armaghi érseknél, hiszen többször is titkos követként járt el Zsigmond szolgálatában. A titkos követségre azért volt szükség, mert Tari útja idejében még az angol politika fő iránya a Luxemburgok ellenfelei, a Wittelsbachok felé irányult, akikkel IV. Henrik szerződése életben volt. Éppen Tari útja idején kezd el ettől a szövetségtől távolodni Anglia, s még haza sem tér, angol követek keresik fel Zsigmondot. Maga a tény, hogy Magyarországon ismert volt a zarándokhely, s voltak vállalkozók, akik útrakeltek a Patrick-kegyhelyre, mutatja, hogy nem választották el Magyarországot és Írországot áthidalhatatlan távolságok a 14. században.

When approached as an aspect of medieval diplomacy, pilgrimage can be viewed as a sphere of indirect encounters, a way of intercommunication. A peculiar political type of pilgrimage is also one of the indirect, covert ways of enhancing dynastic relations. Political pilgrimage is a way to forge closer links, foster mutual interests or prompt concerted actions. It has a political motive, linked to grand policy. A political pilgrim does not set out for his own 'innocent' reasons, but has a political stimulus, or is animated by a political cause¹.

Pilgrimage in royal families has to be seen in the context of dynastic representation. Devotional journeys were the means by which the authority and political power of royal families were manifested. An organic part of dynastic representation was to open pilgrims' hospices (*hospitium peregrinorum*), found monasteries at places of worship, or to make donations, gifts that could even include landed estates, to certain shrines.

Most of the royal houses in Europe had a national patron saint, the relics of whom newly crowned rulers would visit to establish a kind of spiritual relationship with the kingdom's forefathers. When a foreign dynasty, like the Angevins in early 14th-century Hungary, assumed power, such pilgrimages were considered especially significant. It was of prime importance to the Angevins to signify the strength of their relationship to the saintly dynasty of the Árpáds. The new kings venerated the female saints of the House of Árpád, St. Elisabeth and St. Margaret. Pilgrimage to national memorials or dynastic shrines was also an outward show of political rapprochement between two kingdoms. For a foreign ruler, or even for a member of the dynasty to visit one of the national spiritual centres of the Holy Roman Empire – the symbol of the Empire, i.e. the relics of the Three Magi in Cologne, or the most important devotional centre, the Virgin Mary in Aachen – was an indirect way of demonstrating the political alignment with the cause of the Empire or the ruling Dynasty.

When Emperor Charles IV of Luxemburg (1348-1378) paid a visit to Paris in 1378, he found it obligatory to visit the shrine of the saintly Capetian king, Louis IX in St. Denis, the spiritual centre of that dynasty. This also signified that he had come as the ally of the French monarchy, in order to renew the German-French alliance. When, however his son, Emperor Sigismund (King of Hungary, 1387-1437) visited France in 1416, he deliberately did not visit St. Denis, thus signifying that he was not considering renewing the alliance with the French. Furthermore, when Sigismund wished to demonstrate his sympathy towards the English cause, he made a pilgrimage, to the shrine of St. Thomas Becket in Canterbury. It was an act of political commitment and a manifestation of the emperor's readiness to contract an alliance with England against France.

Elizabeth, Charles I of Anjou's wife and queen of Hungary (1301-1342), visited a number of famous shrines: Rome in 1343, Bari in 1344 and Aachen in 1357. Her pilgrimages were diplomatic visits and served to promote Hungarian Angevins' political claims. She also made a tour of the most famous shrines in Italy in order to secure

the coronation of her son, Andrew, in Naples. She wished to demonstrate the spiritual honour and excellence of the dynasty in its practice of the Catholic faith. Charles's son, King Louis I (1342-1382), also made a pilgrimage to all the seven churches of the pilgrims' route (the *Mirabilia*), as well as viewing Veronica's Veil, the *Volto Santo*. That act also demonstrated the king's opposition to the papacy in Avignon and his political program of re-establishing the papacy in Rome.

This study aims to illustrate the political character of the pilgrimage of a member of the landholding elite, rather than of royal families. Laurentius (Lőrinc) Tari, who is generally known in several contemporary and early modern sources for "visiting the Hell" in St. Patrick's cave, or "Purgatory" on Station or Holy Island (*Insula Sanctorum*), Lough Derg in County Donegal, Ireland, in 1411, was one of the first Hungarian noblemen to undertake a pilgrimage to remote parts, to one of the places of *peregrinationes maiores*. As is shown in this chapter, the pilgrimage can be understood as a medieval means of communication between the political centre of Europe, that is, the court of the Holy Roman Emperor, and the world beyond the Empire. It is, in fact, a journey to the end of the world, since in later medieval Continental Europe the Patrician cave was regarded as one of the most remote and dangerous pilgrimages. Thus a whole circle of myth developed around Tari and his journey, as recorded in several legendary accounts. To go on a pilgrimage to such remote parts was highly unusual, even for a pilgrim of an aristocratic status. His pilgrimage was unprecedented, an unrivalled achievement in later medieval Central Europe, lasting as it did more than three years, costing a fortune and requiring great courage; hence my focus here on Tari's motivations. I will also examine what motives and considerations, including political and diplomatic interests, may lie behind Tari's meeting both the leaders of the Irish clergy and the King of England.

Laurentius Tari started his career as a household knight and was subsequently elevated to the position of the King's special *consiliarius* [counsellor]. He then rose to the circle of the king's chief dignitaries, the *barones regni* (Cup-bearer to the King, Gentleman Carver and Cup-Bearer of the Queen and Chief Steward)².

Documents issued by the Archbishop of Armagh (12 November 1411) establish that Tari spent a day in St Patrick's Purgatory³. His Irish journey is also documented in the *Memoriale* of a royal notary in Dublin, Jacobus Yonge, who claims it was dictated by Tari himself⁴. A manuscript of the *Memoriale*, relating the visions of Laurentius in the cave of St. Patrick, is held in the British Library⁵. English charters attest that, on his return journey, he spent a few weeks in England. On 2 April 1412, King Henry IV issued a licence for *Laurence de Pastoche* alias de Tari to leave the kingdom⁶. Later medieval sources also preserved the memory of this pilgrimage⁷. A poem entitled *Peregrinatio Laurentii Taar*, praising his pilgrimage was written about 1520 by an unknown author, probably a Hungarian⁸. There is also a mid-16th-century chronicle-song, written by Sebestyén Tinódi Lantos, recounting Tari's travels⁹.

Tari is not the only aristocrat-pilgrim of the 15th century from Hungary. Two of his contemporaries, Stibor Stiborici and Péter Felsőlendvai Szécsi also went on pilgrimages (to Compostela and the Holy Land, respectively) in order to do penance for their sins¹⁰. Nor is Tari the first Hungarian to go on a pilgrimage to St. Patrick's Purgatory: one Georgius, son of a Hungarian baron, *Grissaphan* or *Crissaphan*, had visited the cave in the mid-14th century¹¹. His visit is also attested by a charter issued by the prior of St. Patrick's¹² and by an anonymous writing, an account of the visions of St George, apparently written by an Augustine friar from Provence¹³. However, Tari's pilgrimage is unique in its magnitude.

The major point of the inquiry is to discover how someone like Tari could afford to travel to St. Patrick's cave, a distance of about 1,500 miles. Moreover, a safe conduct issued by King Sigismund in 1408 indicates that he also planned to visit Santiago de Compostela¹⁴. Where would Tari have found the fortune required for such a costly journey? Tari came from a genteel knightly family of a relatively modest income. Nevertheless, he was descended from a branch of one of the most distinguished kinship groups of the Hungarian nobility, the Rátót¹⁵. In comparison, the few pilgrims who travelled as far as Compostela and the Holy Land all belonged to the wealthiest magnate clans. In 1376 Stephen Lackfi, *voivod* [warden] of Transylvania, went on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land¹⁶ and in 1430 it was Ulrich Cillei (in the German usage, Graf von Zilli, as he was also a Styrian landlord) who could afford such a huge enterprise¹⁷. Even if Tari had been travelling on foot, he could not have afforded the journey, when the expenses of food and clothing, crossing channels etc. are borne in mind. A Hungarian canon named Sixtus had been obliged to pledge estates in order to go on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land. Even in order to reach Rome, it was necessary to put a whole forest in pledge or borrow large sums of money¹⁸. The cost of a pilgrimage to the Holy Land amounted to thousands of florins. In 1393, a man of baronial rank, Mikcs Prodavizi, needed to pledge all his estates to meet the expenses for the preparations¹⁹.

Although Tari was not regarded as being amongst the wealthiest landholders of the early 15th century, the description of his entourage in his procession in Dublin gives the impression of someone of a higher status, behaving like a king's envoy, in proper knightly attire with his escort, his heralds and retainers: "*in apparatu condecanti militari cum heraldo suo ceterisque sibi seruientibus*"²⁰. Why does he have such a large entourage, heralds, luxurious baggage, horses, treasure etc.? He is mentioned as travelling with his retainers, all his wealth and treasures, vessels, chattels, silver and golden jewels ("*sua familia ... cum suis rebus et bonis universis, equis, vases, iocalibus, auro et argento et aliis clenodiis quibuscumque*")²¹. The safe conduct is also issued to him and his household²².

Interestingly, no source has been found that attests to a penitential character in Tari's pilgrimage. There is no indication in the sources that the pilgrim was to fulfil a personal oath, pledge or vow (the normal way of putting this would have been *votorum suorum persolvendorum* or *persolvendi voti sui*, "to fulfil one's oath"). The sources do not say

whether Tari set out for the pilgrimage to save his soul; the usual terminology – *causa salutis anime nostre* – is absent from the sources. Also absent are the markers, the vocabulary of a penitential pilgrimage, that is, pilgrimage be fulfilled as designated or ordered by God, *deo disponente* through the invocation of the Holy Spirit (*spiritu sancto invocatione*). The pilgrim Tari is not even reported to have any indulgences either, which is rather unusual. One is, then, obliged to seek other motives behind Tari's pilgrimage.

In Tari's previous life, no serious offence can be found for which the pilgrim was bound to do penance in the form of going to the shrine of a saint, *ad loca Santa*. As far as one can judge – noting, nevertheless, the relative shortage of diplomatic sources for medieval Hungarian history – Tari did not need expiation for any major sins, as opposed, for example to the above mentioned George, son of Crissaphan, whose soul was burdened with 350 murders²³. From the 13th century in medieval Central Europe it was the common practice for the murderer and the victim's family to come to an agreement in court on terms for the expiation of a capital offence. In the documentary evidence available there is no word of any crime, no trace that Tari had committed a serious crime or offence, for which he could redeem his sin and the soul of his victim (the usual wording would here be *pro (refrigerio) anima interfecti* or *causa salutis anime*). There is no mention of his being obliged to pay a certain amount of blood-money (*homagium*) to redeem his soul (*pro redemptione animae suae*) or, to heal his soul (*ob remedium et salutem animae suae*) and go on a pilgrimage to receive absolution (*pro impetratione beneficii absolutionis*) for the soul of the victim (*pro alleviatione anima sua interfecti*). Nor can a personal devotional motive be found; there is no evidence indicating that the pilgrim went with the purpose of prayer (i.e. the usual term would have been *orationis causa*).

Such a lack of traditional pilgrimage motive makes Tari's extremely long journey seem exceptional; there is no real explanation for the pilgrimage. The sole motive recorded in the *Memoriale* of the Dublin notary is that he had "errors and doubts" about the substance of the Holy Spirit and that he would receive the answer at the Purgatory. If one was "doubtful about the substance of the human soul, he had to enter St. Patrick's Purgatory and he would certainly get an answer"²⁴. How could a nobleman of the 15th century have used phraseology of this kind, maintaining that he would not accept the philosophers' arguments for the substance of the Holy Spirit as being invisible, immaterial and having no sense? In the text there is another explanation: "he was to see the many wonders of Ireland and the miracles of saints of which he heard much from many sources"²⁵. It is maintained that he was not only literate but "well-read" (*expertus*) in the miracles and legends of hagiography²⁶. This is quite improbable since he certainly had no theological education²⁷. It might, however, be seen as a pilgrimage of study, for spiritual learning, though the *terminus technicus* – *causa studio* – is not used in the documents either. Rather, one would take a *peregrinatio maior* for this reason. It would have been normal in this case is to go on a *peregrinatio minor*, to a less remote place of worship, like the Holy Blood sanctuaries in Wilsnack or Pulkau. Even though the safe

conduct of 1408 underscores that Tari also intended to practise knightly deeds and visit diverse interesting places on earth (*sue mentis pulcritudine ductus pro actibus militaribus exercendis et augendis diversa mundi climata perlustrare intendit*), we cannot assume that that was the real motivation of the journey²⁸.

Thus, the aim of the pilgrimage presented in the sources is a cover. To do penance by visiting Purgatory in Ireland would mean that the supplicant had committed grave sins against the Ten Commandments. As an example in 1300, a Hungarian, Benedictus, pledged to go on a pilgrimage to Aachen and Rome to earn penitence for murdering his wife²⁹. It is unthinkable that someone would spend his whole fortune on a pilgrimage unless he had committed a mortal sin. Thus, I contend that the penitential reason given for his pilgrimage is fallacious.

Therefore, the answer to the question of Tari's motivation may lie in the exceptional position he held in the innermost circles of government. This would explain why he was selected for a mission concerning foreign diplomacy. He was in the entourage of Sigismund, King of Hungary at the Council of Constance³⁰. He was most active in the king's foreign policy³¹. He was also present at Aachen at the coronation of Sigismund as King of the Romans (8 November 1414)³². He was on a secret mission in Venice in 1413, disguised as a traveller like a modern secret agent³³. He was to negotiate a truce and had to persuade the *Serenissima* enter into an alliance and turn against the Turks³⁴.

In 1411, Sigismund was negotiating for a general council to end the Western schism, that is, he was making efforts to have the three popes, those at Avignon, Pisa and Rome, deposed with the common consent of all the Christian nations. He might have wished to discuss this *via cessionis* solution with the English government, with whom he contracted an alliance earlier that year. But Sigismund had to act cautiously not to publicize the alliance. The deposition of the three popes meant a decisive step further as the first fruitful result in negotiations that had started in the late 1390s. The king did not even want to send an official envoy to seek the agreement of Henry IV of England (1399-1413), and might have preferred a to use secret agent. One way to disguise this mission was to have Tari travel as a "pilgrim". Sigismund could well have had a hand in the mission. Tari travelled through England twice, and spent several weeks in the country. English foreign policy took a new turn under the direction of the regent prince of Wales – the future Henry V – who was governing the realm at the time of Tari's journey, because of his father's illness. The prince wished to take an aggressive stand against France and tried to detach Sigismund from the traditional French alliance with the Luxemburgians. In July 1411, just before Tari arrived in England, an English embassy was sent to Hungary to discuss Prince Henry's schemes against France³⁵. Henry was to attempt to discover what Sigismund had in mind regarding an alliance and, if possible, to obtain his support in case of an English intervention in France³⁶. The English were thinking in terms of a long-term political relationship with the Luxemburgians³⁷. A version of the letters of credences (i.e. instructions for the envoy) nevertheless, proves that

the king of Hungary had taken the initiative for an Anglo-Hungarian alliance³⁸ and, in 1417, Sigismund himself stated that he had agreed to an English alliance in 1411³⁹. Thus, the pilgrim might have been sent to confirm English co-operation. In support of this theory, it might be mentioned that the “simple pilgrim” travelled with quite a numerous entourage, with a splendid company of escorts and surrounding pageantry⁴⁰. Correspondence and embassies continued in 1412, resulting in significant success: Sigismund wrote a letter to King Henry IV in March 1412, proposing to have England enter a joint crusade against the Infidel⁴¹ – about the same time that Tari was beginning on his return from England (he received his licence to leave the kingdom in April 1412)⁴². An English envoy – in parallel with Tari’s return journey – brought King Henry’s answer to Buda in May 1412 when Sigismund invited several European monarchs to a ‘grand congress’⁴³.

Tari arrived in Dublin in the autumn of 1411⁴⁴. He met Nicholas Fleming, the Archbishop of Armagh, to whom he delivered Sigismund’s letter. Then he was escorted to the Purgatory. The Prior of the Chapel of St. Patrick warned him that many people never returned from the cave because they did not possess firm faith in God. Therefore each penitent had to live on bread and water for 15 days and confess beforehand⁴⁵. It is quite surprising to learn that Tari simply lived on bread and water for a mere five days. On his descent, he entered the “Hell”, where he first met two wicked spirits, then an old man abusing the Faith and third a beautiful young woman trying to seduce him. Last he met a wicked spirit in the form of Archangel Michael⁴⁶.

CONCLUSION

Even if Tari’s journey to England can be explained by King Sigismund’s secret diplomatic schemes, the question why his agent also visited Ireland remains to be answered. The explanation might be political: in organising the general council at Constance, Sigismund needed as many allies as possible for the purpose of ending the schism and advancing ecclesiastical reform. That is why he wished to negotiate with those Catholic churchmen who were champions of ecclesiastic reform *in capite et in membris*, and in whom he could place his trust in the work of ending the schism and deposing the three popes. One of these clerics was the Archbishop of Armagh, Nicholas Fleming, who went to the Council of Constance a few years later and worked in concord with the members of the German and English nations. Fleming had already indicated his commitment to ending the schism at the council of Pisa through his intermediaries, and helped to depose Pope Gregory XI and elect the pope Alexander V, elevated by the reform council in Pisa instead.

The important point is that Tari was deliberately sent to Nicholas Fleming, not only because he was a potential ally in the field of *unio et refomatio*, but because he was the Primate of All Ireland. Sigismund wished to secure the vote and co-operation of the

Irish delegates in the work of the upcoming council. That is why he sent Tari to the *Insula Sanctorum*, the sacred place of the first primate, St. Patrick. Significantly, Tari was first to deliver Sigismund's letter to Nicholas Fleming and meet the Archbishop in Dublin. The wording of the letter to the prelate is significant: "we are especially soliciting Your friendship, fraternity and benevolence" it reads⁴⁷. Fleming then stated in a letter that Tari had visited the Purgatory and spent a day there – in part to emphasize the legitimacy of the pilgrimage as such and then to mask any diplomatic considerations attached to the journey.

NOTES

- ¹ On medieval pilgrimage see the most recent comprehensive studies: D. Webb, *Medieval European Pilgrimage, c.700-c.1500*, Basingstoke 2002; Id., *Pilgrims and pilgrimage in the medieval West*, New York 1999; W.H. Swatos, Jr., L. Tomasi (eds.), *From medieval pilgrimage to religious tourism: the social and cultural economics of piety*, Westport CT 2002; L.K. Davidson, M. Dunn-Wood, *Pilgrimage in the Middle Ages: a research guide*, New York 1993; B.N. Sargent-Baur, *Journeys toward God: pilgrimage and crusade*, Kalamazoo 1992; N. Vincent, *On political pilgrimage*. In particular see the case studies: *The Pilgrimages of the Angevin Kings of England, 1154-1272*, in C. Morris, P. Roberts (eds.), *Pilgrimage: The English Experience from Becket to Bunyan*, Cambridge 2002. On St. Patrick's Purgatory in particular see M. Haren, Y. de Pontfarcy (eds.), *The medieval pilgrimage to St Patrick's Purgatory: Lough Derg and the European tradition*, Enniskillen 1988; A. Kendall, *Medieval Pilgrims*, London 1970; D. Webb, *Royal Pilgrimage*, in Id., *Pilgrimage in Medieval England*, London 2000, chapter 6, pp. 111-140.
- ² E. Fügedi, *A XV. századi magyar arisztokrácia mobilitása* [The mobility of 15th-century Hungarian aristocracy], Budapest 1970; P. Engel, *Zsigmond bárói* [The barons of Sigismund], in E. Marosi et al. (eds.), *Művészet Zsigmond király korában* [Art in the age of King Sigismund], Budapest 1987, pp. 114-130, 405-458, pp. 45, 239-240.
- ³ *Zsigmondkori Oklevéltár* [Charters of the reign of Sigismund], eds. E. Mályusz, I. Borsa; N. Tóth C., vols. I-X, Budapest 1951-2007, [hereinafter ZsO] III. 1431.
- ⁴ ZsO. III. 1432. The *Memoriale – Iacobus Yonge notarius imperialis civium et scriptorum minimus civitatis Dublinensis Memoriale super visitatione domini Laurencii Ratholdi militis et baronis Ungarie factum de Purgatorio sancti Patricii in insula Hibernie* – was published by H. Delahaye, *Le pèlerinage de Laurence de Pasztho au Purgatoire de S. Patrice*, in "Analecta Bollandiana", 27, 1908, pp. 34-60, [hereinafter *Memoriale*].
- ⁵ In a 15th-century copy: British Library Manuscript Collection Royal MSS 10. B. IX, folio 36.
- ⁶ The National Archives/Public Record Office [hereinafter PRO] Chancery: Close Rolls C 54/261, membrane 17.
- ⁷ E. Posonyi, *A Tar Lőrinc- monda és a Szt. Patrik-purgatóriumi víziók keletkezése* [The Laurence Tari myth and the origination of the visions of the St. Patrick Purgatory], in "Magyarságtudomány", 1942, pp. 26-54, 195-224.
- ⁸ *Peregrinatio Laurentii Taar:*
Hanc condiit tabulam de Thaar, Laurentius hic
Qui miles et barro sancti Severiani propago
Sobole Ratholdi, qui totilla circuit orbem
Per mare, per terras sanctorum limina pergit
Asia novit eum, Africa sic Europa
India cognovit, Edessa conduxit ad archae

*Noe perrectum cernitque Sinai colles
Et miles et peregre stupenda Hierosolymaque
Pancretam redicens Nicolai gramina vera
Sancti Anthoni, Petri, Pauli, Jakobi trivit
Navigans oceanum novit secreta Patrici
Gades Erculeas properans insreta redarum
Et insulas, climata, quibus Apollo lucemque negavit,*

in V. Kovács (ed.), *Tar Lőrinc pokoljárása. Középkori magyar víziók* [Lőrinc (Laurentius) Tar's journey to the Hell. Medieval Hungarian visions], Budapest 1985, Appendix. However, in the documentary evidence, there is mention of all the other towns and countries which Tari, according to the author of the 16th-century *Peregrinatio*, had seen. L. Kropf, *Pásztói Rátholdi Lőrinc zarándoklása* [The pilgrimage of Lőrinc (Laurentius) Pásztói de Ráthold], in "Századok", 1896, 31, pp. 716-730, at p. 718; Kovács, *Tar Lőrinc* cit., pp. 224-225. It seems possible that Tari was in Ireland only, and did not visit any other places of worship. The verse might just as well be a compilation of the 'fashionable' travels of pilgrimage of the age, enumerating a 'fantasy route'.

- ⁹ *Zsigmond királynak és császárnak krónikája* [A Chronicle of Emperor and King Sigismund].
- ¹⁰ Fügedi, *A XV. századi arisztokrácia* cit., p. 18.
- ¹¹ E. Csukovits, *Cum capsă ... cum bacillo: Középkori magyar zarándokok* [Medieval Hungarian Pilgrims], in "AETAS", 1994, 1, pp. 5-27, at pp. 5, 9. Also see Id., *Középkori magyar zarándokok* [Medieval Hungarian pilgrims], Budapest 2003. Grissaphan's journey is also recorded in a British Library manuscript: British Library Additional MSS 37512, folio 75 [a copy of 1457].
- ¹² ZsO. III. 203; *Memoriale* cit., p. 58.
- ¹³ *Visiones Georgii*, ed. L.L. Hammerich, Copenhagen 1931. Also see J. Flesmann, *György magyar vitéz vezeklése a Purgatóriumban* [George, knight of Hungary and his penitence in the Purgatory], in "Egyetemes Philológiai Közlöny", 1895, pp. 439-459; F. Toldy, *Egy XIV. századbeli magyar vezeklő Írlandban Szt. Petrik purgatóriumában* [A 14th-century Hungarian doing penance at the Purgatory of St. Patrick in Ireland], in "Századok", 1871, 5, pp. 229-247.
- ¹⁴ ZsO. II. 5899.
- ¹⁵ Engel, *Zsigmond bárói* cit., p. 451.
- ¹⁶ *Magyar diplomáciai emlékek az Anjou-korból*, ed. G. Wenzel, *Acta externa Andegavensia. Monumenta Hungariae historica*, vol. I-III, Budapest 1874-1876 [hereinafter *DEA*], III, p. 130.
- ¹⁷ Á. Anderle, *Kalandozók és zarándokok. Magyar témák a középkori spanyol történelemben* [Adventurers and pilgrims. Hungarian themes in the medieval Spanish literature], Szeged 1992, pp. 30-32.
- ¹⁸ Csukovits, *Cum capsă* cit., p. 8.
- ¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 12.
- ²⁰ *Memoriale* cit., pp. 48-49.
- ²¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 46-47.
- ²² "si opus fuerit eidem Laurencio Ratholdi et sui coniunctione cum predictis suis rebus et familia de saluo et securo conductudignemini et velitis prouidere", ZsO. II. 5899.
- ²³ Csukovits, *Cum capsă* cit., p. 9.
- ²⁴ "si quis dubium aliquod de fide catholica haberet et locum Purgatorii sancti Patricii in Hibernia debito modo intraret, ibidem posset omne dubium inde videre particulariter vel in toto ... maximum errorem et dubium habui de substantia anime... quia secundum philosophos dicitur esse invisibilis, incorporea et impassibilis", *Memoriale* cit., p. 48.
- ²⁵ "Tercia causa fuit ad videndum mirabilia et sanctorum miracula Hibernie, quia multum audiui", *Ibid.*

- ²⁶ “*de ipsis mirabilibus et miraculis, de quorum diversitate numerosa de pluribus sum expertus*”, *Ibid.*
- ²⁷ Kovács, *Tar Lőrinc* cit., p. 24.
- ²⁸ ZsO. II. 5899.
- ²⁹ Csukovits, *Cum capsá* cit., p. 8.
- ³⁰ E. Mályusz, *Zsigmond király uralma Magyarországon* [The rule of King Sigismund in Hungary], Budapest 1984, p. 263. He is mentioned by the chronicler Ulrich von Richental as *Laurents Pascha*. Engel, *Zsigmond bárói* cit., p. 496.
- ³¹ Kropf, *Pászthói* cit., p. 730.
- ³² He is also mentioned in the imperial charters: *Laurent de Ront de Pasto: Deutsche Reichstagsakten unter Kaiser Sigismund*, (Deutsche Reichstagsakten, Ältere Reihe, 1376-1486), I-XII, VII-IX, ed. D. Keller, Munich - Gorha 1878-1887, VII, p. 249.
- ³³ ZsO. IV. 80, 91, 97; L. Óváry, *A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Történelmi Bizottságának oklevélmásolatai* [Diploma copies of the Historical Committee of the Hungarian Academy of Arts and Sciences], Budapest 1890, vol. I, p. 86; *Memoriale* cit., p. 41; “*Prefatus dominus Laurentius cum nostro salvo conducto Venetias accessisset*”, S. Ljubić (ed.), *Monumenta spectantia historiam Slavorum meridionalium. Edidit Academia Scientiarum et Artium Slavorum Meridionalium*, vols. I-XII, Zagreb 1882, vol. XII, pp. 72-76.
- ³⁴ ZsO. IV. 138.
- ³⁵ Procuration: PRO Chancery: Treaty Rolls: C 76/94. m 21; T. Rymer, *Foedera, conventiones, literae, et cujuscunque generis acta publica inter reges Angliae*, I-XX, London 1704-1735 [= The London edition]; I-X, The Hague 1739-1745, [The Hague edition] here: [The London ed.], VIII, p. 674; L. Mirot, E. Deprez, *Les ambassades anglaises pendant la guerre de Cent Ans, catalogue chronologique*, in “Bibliothèque de l’Ecole des Chartes”, 1898, 59, pp. 550-577; 1899, 60, pp. 177-214; 1900, 61, pp. 20-58, see, especially, 1900, 25, nos. DLXXII; DLXXIII. See C.M.D. Crowder, *Henry V, Sigismund and the Council of Konstanz, a re-examination*, in G.A. Hayes-McCoy, “Historical Studies. The Fifth Irish conference of Historians”, 4, 1963, pp. 93-111, at p. 95.
- ³⁶ M. Lenz, *König Sigismund und Heinrich der Fünfte von England. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Zeit des Constanzer Concils*, Berlin 1874, pp. 31-35; “*ac etiam de modo forma et quantitate auxilii subvencionis seu subsidii hinc inde tempore necessitatis mutuo ministrandi*”, J. Caro, *Das Bündnis von Canterbury. Eine Episode aus der Geschichte des Constanzer Concils*, Gotha 1880, pp. 12-15.
- ³⁷ British Library Harleian MS 431. f. 102.
- ³⁸ Caro, *Das Bündnis von Canterbury* cit., p. 16.
- ³⁹ Rymer, *Foedera* cit., [The Hague ed.], vol. 4/2, p. 193.
- ⁴⁰ Kovács, *Tari Lőrinc* cit., p. 22. It is also spelled out in the *Calendar of the Close Rolls preserved in the Public Record Office* [1272-1509], I-XLVII, London 1892-1963, *Henry IV*, vol. IV, 1409-1413, p. 654.
- ⁴¹ 12 March 1412: ZsO. III. 1849; *Regesta Imperii*, vol. XI, *Die Urkunden Kaiser Sigismunds (1410-1437)*, eds. W. Altmann, I-II, Innsbruck 1896-1900, II, 12225; *Acta concilii Constantiensis*, I-IV, ed. H. Finke et al., Münster 1896-1928, I, p. 88.
- ⁴² PRO Chancery: Close Rolls C 54/261, membrane 17.
- ⁴³ *Codex diplomaticus Hungariae ecclesiasticus ac civilis*, ed. G. Fejér, I-XI, Buda 1829-1844, X/5, pp. 246-248; J. Aschbach, *Geschichte Kaiser Sigismunds*, I-IV, Hamburg 1835-1845, vol. I, p. 441; “[...] *Item von Sust mechtig poten von Engellant und von Frankreich und von andern Kunygen und steten von Welischen und Deutschen Landen*”, May 1412: ZsO. III. 2224; *Oklevelek Temesvármegye és Temesvár város történetéhez* [Charters for the history of Temes county and the city of Temesvár], ed. T. Ortway, Coll. F. Pesty, vol. I, 1183-1430, Pozsony 1896, p. 471.

- ⁴⁴ He had still been in Hungary in the spring of 1409, ZsO. II. 6759.
- ⁴⁵ “*Purgatorium sancti Patricii in nostra provincia situatum circumstanciis omnibus et singulis illius peregrinationis per eum penitus observatis devote intravit, ... audita missa de sancta Cruce et aliis solemnitatibus observatis et omnibus circumstanciis ad predictam peregrinationem adimpletis*”, ZsO. III. 1431.
- ⁴⁶ *Memoriale* cit., pp. 50f.
- ⁴⁷ “*Amicitias igitur vestras et fraternitates singulares et benevolentiae spirituales affectanter requirimus et confidenter hortando mandamus quatenus*”, *Ibid.*

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