

## KING MILUTIN NEMANJIĆ AND HIS WIFE ELIZABETH ÁRPÁD, THE CONNECTION BETWEEN EAST AND WEST IN THE TIME OF THE PALAEOLOGOS

**Abstract:** The paper aims to explore and present lives and relationship between Serbian King Stephen Uroš II Milutin and his wife Hungarian princess Elizabeth Árpád as the link between the East and West during the important reign of Paleologos dynasty in Byzantium. This will be done by looking at marital policies of Hungary, Serbia and Byzantium, the relationship between Milutin and Elizabeth in the context of their respective previous ones, their later life and sainthood. The new possibility regarding the meaning of their daughter's name was offered and new conclusion concerning Elizabeth's place of burial is reached.

**Keywords:** Elizabeth Árpád, King Milutin, beatification, sainthood, Hungary, Serbia.

### Introduction

It is a common knowledge in historiography that Serbian king (Stephen Uroš II) Milutin Nemanjić (reigned 1282–1321) was known under the name of “the Holy King”, just as the existence of his many marriages is also acknowledged in history. It is also undoubted that his last wife, Byzantine princess Simonida was an Orthodox Christian saint. Nonetheless, it is less known that one of his previous wives, the Hungarian princess Elizabeth Árpád was considered a saint by the Roman Catholic Church. Elizabeth was not only the sister of Catharin (Catalin), the wife of Milutin's elder brother Dragutin Nemanjić (reigned 1276–1282), but also was the sister to the Empress Ana, the wife of the Byzantine Emperor Andronikos II Palaeologos. Not less significant is the fact that Elizabeth was a daughter of Stephen V Árpád (reigned 1270–1272). Before her marriage to King Milutin, Princess Elizabeth had already been married. Her previous husband was a Bohemian nobleman – Zavis of Falkenstein, who was executed by his political enemies. Elizabeth was not only a bride several time in her life, but she was also a nun twice during her lifetime. Her first monastic experience was that of the prioress of the Dominican Monastery of the Blessed Virgin in the Rabbits'

Island (nowadays known as St. Margaret's Island in the middle of Budapest) on the Danube. Her niece, the daughter of King Dragutin and Catherin was raised in this Monastery under Elizabeth's guidance. Although, she was very successful as the prioress, having acquired opulent gifts for the Monastery from her brother King Ladislaus IV the Cuman (reigned 1272–1291), her behaviour was far from befitting such a position and even less that of a saint. Referring to her actions, Ladomer, the Archbishop of Esztergom made a wordplay by calling her "antimonialis" - an anti-nun and "an angry snake" instead of "sanctimonialis" - a nun. This outraged exclamation was the result of Elizabeth's action when she drew the aforementioned niece by her arms out of the Monastery in order to give her over to her brother, when he arrived to disperse the nuns. The fate of Elizabeth's later life is less documented and known. After the death of her brother, Ladislaus IV the Cuman a change in dynasty had occurred; since he did not have a legitimate heir, the Árpád dynasty ceased its existence with him. The struggle for the throne of Hungary, in which the Nemanjić brothers, Dragutin and Milutin were also involved, followed. For Elizabeth, it meant the change in environment, as she found sanctuary in her sister Maria's adopted country, where she was the wife of an Angevin King, Charles II of Naples. Elizabeth found a place for herself in the Dominican convent in Naples, where she died and where she was ultimately buried. Hungarian hagiographer, a Jesuit, Gábor Hevenesi included her in his work "*Ungaricae sanctitatis indicia*" – "*On Hungarian Saints*" at the end of the XIII century. Thus, Elizabeth came into the same level of sanctity as that of her husband, Holy King Milutin.

Less known is Elizabeth's later fate. After the death of her brother, Ladislaus the Cuman, who had no legal descendants, a conflict over the right to the Hungarian throne emerged among numerous contenders, since the Árpád line had been considered extinct with him, the contenders to the throne included the Nemanjić brothers – Dragutin and Elizabeth's husband, Milutin. As it is well-known, Andrew III Árpád (ruled from 1291 to 1301), the grandson of Andrew II (ruled from 1205 to 1235), emerged victorious from the struggle for the Hungarian crown and ascended the throne. Elizabeth took refuge with her other sister, Queen Mary, who was wife of the King of Naples, Charles II of Anjou (reigned from 1266-1282). Elizabeth returned to the monastery of the Dominican sisters in Naples. For a long time, the predominant idea remained that she died in this establishment and was subsequently buried there. It is true she lived there until 1310 as evidenced by sources. However, she is mentioned as the prioress of the monastery on the St. Mary's Island in an unpublished charter, issued in 1311.<sup>1</sup> According to the prioress from the beginning of the 16th century, she was buried in the Captol Hall under the cross, next to her father Stephen V. When the Ottomans conquered

<sup>1</sup> Kristó 1994: 3,158, no. document:344.

Buda and Pest, they demolished the monastery on the St. Mary's Island. From that time any trace of Elizabeth's tomb has been lost. Hungarian hagiographer the Jesuit Gabriel Hevenesi included her tomb in his work on Hungarian saints "*Ungaricae sanctitatis indicia*" at the end of the 17th century, in order to increase the number of Hungarian saints. However, she came to the same level in terms of holiness with her husband, the holy king Milutin.

The paper aims to explore and present lives and relationship between Serbian King Stephen Uroš II Milutin and his wife Hungarian princess Elizabeth Árpád as the link between the East and West during the important reign of Paleologos dynasty in Byzantium. This will be done by looking at marital policies of Hungary, Serbia and Byzantium, the relationship between Milutin and Elizabeth in the context of their respective previous ones, their later life and sainthood. Particular attention will be paid to the issues concerning Elizabeth, since her life has been neither well-documented nor thoroughly researched. Namely, it entails examination of her early life prior to her marriage to Milutin and her first husband Zavis of Falkenstein, her marital history, but also the new possibility regarding the meaning of the name of her daughter she had with Milutin. This, further, involves consideration of the time and place of Elizabeth's death, as well as her burial place. Finally, the paper regards her beatification vis-à-vis King Milutin's holiness.

### **Contemporary marital policy Hungary-Byzantium-Serbia**

The Árpád dynasty, which ruled Hungary from the times of the settlement of the Hungarians in 896 until its extinction in the male line in 1301, maintained marital ties with Byzantine royal houses from the 11th century. Stephen V (1270–1272) continued the policy of marrying into "eastern" ruling families. From the 12th century, the Árpád dynasty also established itself with the ruling house of Raška (Serbia), a family of great prefects. Thus, Béla II (1131–1141) married Jelena, the daughter of the Great Župan of Raška, Uroš I.<sup>2</sup> On the other hand, Byzantine and Serbian rulers also married Hungarian royal princesses. John II (Kaloyan) Comnenus (1118–1143) married Piroska (Priska), daughter of Saint Ladislaus I (1077–1095), King of Hungary.

One can wonder what language were in use by Hungarian princesses married to Greek-speaking and Serbian rulers. In case of Elizabeth, her paternal grandmother was Byzantine Maria Lascaris, who may have taught her some Greek, but also at the time when Elizabeth lived in the monastery as a novice, the prioress was Sister Olympia, who was a Greek.

This marital policy continued to be applied during the last Byzantine ruling dynasty – Palaeologus. Some members of this dynasty that married Hungarian

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<sup>2</sup> Калић 1970: 21–39; Рокаи, Ђере, Пал, Касаш 2002: 50; Веселиновић, Љушић 2008: 40–41.

princesses were Andronicus II (1282–1328), at that time the heir to the throne and co-ruler of his father Michael VIII Palaeologus, who married Elizabeth's sister Anna, daughter of the Hungarian King Stephen V, his ally in the struggle against the Serbian King Uroš II Milutin.<sup>3</sup> Stefan V Árpád had his daughter Katarina married to Milutin's elder brother, King Stefan Dragutin, while their sister Elizabeth became legal or illegal wife of Stefan Uroš II Milutin.

### Elizabeth's early life



Blessed Elizabeth Árpád (Árpádházi Boldog Erzsébet), source: Hevenesi Gábor, *Régi Magyar Szentség (Ungaricae Sanctitatis Indicia)*-Nagyszombatban : Hörmann János, 1695

We find these two sisters, Elizabeth and Anna, together in the aforementioned monastery in 1272, where the two of them often worked together in the kitchen. The somber of the everyday life was interrupted by incidents, such as burial of their uncle Duke of Macsva Béla Rostislavljevic.<sup>4</sup> However, the lives of St. Margaret do not mention Anna, but only “Elizabeth, among others”. Wertner does not talk about Anna's life in the convent at all, he claims that “everything we know about her is owing to the Byzantine writers”<sup>5</sup> (these were, namely Georgius Pachymeres, Nicephorus Gregoras and John Kantakouzenos). Another information was left to us about Anna's presence in the convent. Namely, Anna gave the miraculous veil of their aunt St. Margaret to her sister Elizabeth, when Elizabeth had a sore throat, so that she could neither eat nor sing. Anna brought the same one when their brother Ladislaus IV Cuman had a fever and chills.<sup>6</sup> However the source does not specifically state to whom Anna brought the veil in this last instant.

<sup>3</sup> Gál 2013: 490–507.

<sup>4</sup> Gombos 1937:150; Kanyó 2019: 15.

<sup>5</sup> Wertner 1892: 514

<sup>6</sup> Gombos 1937: 1509, 1536, 1541–1542, 2479, 2517, 2519, 2522.

### Elizabeth's marriages

Ubicini mistakenly claimed that Elizabeth that “Milutin's second wife was the daughter of Andrew III, King of Hungary, who ruled from 1290 to 1301. And she married Milutin in 1271.”<sup>7</sup> Also, Slaveva wrongly claims that Elizabeth was the daughter of the Hungarian King Andrew III.<sup>8</sup> Elizabeth, the daughter of the Hungarian king Stephen V was the subject of an independent biography written about her by the Hungarian writer Ferenc Kanyó only recently, in 2019.<sup>9</sup> Although Kanyó wrote about Elizabeth in two instances, he did not mention on of her and every medieval woman's most important characteristic – that of motherhood – in the title of his study; it is only in the body of the text that it is mentioned, but seemingly in the passing.<sup>10</sup>

There is an extensive literature on King Milutin's marriages.<sup>11</sup> In recent times, Siniša Mišić has studied one of these, i.e. his marriage to Bulgarian Princess Anna Terter.<sup>12</sup>

Elizabeth is mentioned in numerous biographies of her husband, Serbian King Milutin. However, the works related to their relationship are almost exclusively considered from the aspect of Milutin. The purpose of this paper is not to determine the number of marriages of King Milutin, nor to consider their order. These issues have been already examined by a number of specialists of the epoch of this ruler, with different results reached.

The same diversity of the results can be seen in the issue regarding the date of Elizabeth's birth, as Mór Wertner believed that she had been born before 1262,<sup>13</sup> and Gyula Kristó and Ferenc Makk, that she came to this world in 1260,<sup>14</sup> while Ferenc Kanyó was of the opinion that this event occurred in 1255.<sup>15</sup>

The confusion that rules in historiography in regard to the marriages of Elizabeth Árpád is no less than those surrounding marriages of King Milutin. Although it is known that she was married only twice, the order of these unions is still not clear. What is, however, known with certainty was that before she was married to a Moravian nobleman Zavis of Rosenberg, the duke of Opava (at some point between 1286–1287), she had been the nun, the prioress of the Dominican sisters on Rabbit Island (nowadays the Margaret Island). She was his second wife. Zavis married her with the permission of her brother, the Hungarian King

7 Убичини 1870: 336.

8 Мошин 1977: 438, белешка 11.

9 Каныó 2019: 11–33.

10 Каныó 2019: loc. cit.

11 Malamut 2000: 490–507.

12 Мишић 2009: 333–340.

13 Wertner 1892: 527.

14 Kristó, Makk 1988: 218, 241.

15 Каныó 2019: 14.

Ladislaus IV Cuman, who, according to Wertner, obtained the Pope's dispensation for this (Honorius IV, April 2, 1285–April 3, 1287).<sup>16</sup> In this statement, Wertner referred to the famous Czech historian František Palacký. Palacký, however, does not refer to this information in his own work that was the source for Wertner. According to János Karácsonyi, it was Zavis *should have asked* for the Pope's dispensation. Kanyó Fercen is of the opinion on this issue that Elizabeth was in fact “forcibly” abducted. However, the archbishop of Esztergom, Lodomer mentioned that the abduction happened with her tacit consent. Whilst this diversity of opinions exists in regard to the manner of Elizabeth's marriage to Zavis, the issue of her age at the moment of the nuptials remains. According to Mór Wertner, Elizabeth was then around twenty-four years old.<sup>17</sup> When Zavis was executed on August 24, 1290, Elizabeth was left a widow with her two-year-old son Jan.

A similar confusion exists in regard to the number of Elizabeth's children. What is known is that she gave birth to at least two children. According to Wertner, she had a son from Zavis, whose name was Jan. Since the name of Zavis's son with his first wife Kunigunde was also Jan (Ješko was also name he was known by). This Jan was born in 1280 and there are mentions of him starting from 1285 until 1290. He was a knight of the Order of St. John.<sup>18</sup> Although it may be difficult to imagine, that one man's son from the second marriage bore exactly the same name as the one from the first, i.e. the same as his half-brother, there is an example of that with the two Hunyadi brothers who had the same name Janos. Károly Szabó, also names Elizabeth's son from Zavis, Jan.<sup>19</sup> The writer from the 19th century, Johann Christian Engel, claimed that Elizabeth gave birth to two daughters, Neda (Ana) and Carica (cyr. Царица), in the relationship with Milutin.<sup>20</sup> Not acknowledging Elizabeth's marriage to Milutin, Wertner simply rejected these daughters. “At the same time, Elizabeth's motherhood falls away in relation to the two of them,” he says.<sup>21</sup> Later authors attributed Milutin's second wife, Ana, the daughter of the Bulgarian Emperor George Terter as Neda's mother.<sup>22</sup>

In “Anonymi Descriptio Europae Orientalis”, published by Olgierd Górka due to a poorly drawn genealogical tablet, her name is, probably due to lack of space, listed below the name of her brother Ladislaus IV Cuman (1272–1290). This caused that one daughter of the same name to be attributed to Ladislaus IV in the register of this work, although, as it is generally known, he had no children

16 Szentpétery 1912 (reprint, 1974): 34; Seppelt 1956: 565–573.

17 Wertner 1892: 533–534.

18 Wertner 1892: 534.

19 Szabó 1886: 175.

20 Engel 1813: 1431, 434.

21 Wertner 1892: loc. cit.

22 Веселиновић, Љушић 2008: 57; Спасић, Мрђеновић, Палавестра 1987: Родословне табле, бр. 6, Немањићи, 2.

at all. After all, the name of Ladislaus IV's wife was incorrectly mentioned as "Jolanta Andegavensis", instead of Isabella or, as she was called in Hungary, also Elizabeth. This unknown author of this work considered Zavis of Falkenstein Elizabeth's first husband and Milutin her second husband.<sup>23</sup>

However, regardless of the differences in the interpretation of this important moment in the life of the "holy king" Milutin, more recently the authors generally agree that he was married four or five times. One of his wives, legal or illegitimate, was Princess Elizabeth, daughter of the Hungarian King Stephen V Árpád, who ruled Styria, Slavonia, Transylvania for some time as the younger king from 1243, as well as part of Hungary, which included the southern ends of the country.<sup>24</sup>

Regardless of the view on King Milutin's relationship with Elizabeth, the fact remains that they were in a marital or extramarital union for some time. A daughter was also its product. This daughter is painted in the line of Nemanjić on the fresco in the Patriarchate of Peć, as well as in the churches of the monasteries Đurđevi Stupovi, Dečani and Gračanica. Under her image in Đurđevi Stupovi is the inscription "Црица". And in Latin sources it is called "Zariza". Since such a name does not exist in the Serbian language, scientists have speculated to this day whether it is a distorted form of the name "Зорица" or "Царица". French scholar Jean-Henri-Abdolonyme Ubcini, who published the document of the alliance agreement between Charles Valois and King Milutin, mentions her name as "Зорица".<sup>25</sup> That is how Konstantin Jireček<sup>26</sup> and Dragomir Marić<sup>27</sup> mention it. The more cautious scholars refer both forms. Thus, Andrija Veselinović mentions her under the name "Царица(Зорица)".<sup>28</sup> Out of foreign scholars, Charlotte Bretscher-Gisiger from Zurich, author of the genealogical table in the *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, says that "Zaritzza (Zorica)" was the daughter of Milutin from her marriage to the daughter of the Thessalian despot John Angelos, and from his relationship with Elizabeth was born Anna (Neda).<sup>29</sup> Another group of authors calls Milutin's daughter the Царица. Miodrag Purković notes that the name is unusual.<sup>30</sup> However, so far it has not been proposed that "Зариза" - царица may not have been a name but, perhaps, a rank - the title of Milutin's daughter. In that case, in terms of terminology and chronology, it perfectly coincides with the biography of Milutin's daughter he got with Elizabeth. It is well known that she was

23 Góčka 1916: 36, 53–54, 64; Живковић, Петровић, Узелац 2013: 37–39, 59, 67, 167.

24 Рокаи, Ђере, Пал, Касаш 2002: 83, 85, 86, 88.

25 Убичини 1870: 322–323, 336–337.

26 Јиречек 1952: 197.

27 Maritch 1933: 76, белешка 4 са стране 3.

28 Веселиновић, Љушић 2008: 59.

29 Bretscher-Gisiger 1998: 2, 9.

30 Пурковић 1996: 50–55.

engaged to her second son of Charles Valois, the younger brother of King Philip IV of France (1285–1314), whose name was also Charles.

In the name of his son, Charles aspired to the throne of the failed Latin Empire and as such he bore the (empty) title of emperor (imperator). His fiancée could therefore logically be called *Царица* (imperatrix). Their engagement took place in 1308 in the Benedictine Abbey of Lys near Melun, a town on the river Seine, southeast of Paris today in the municipality of Dammarie-lès-Lys. The purpose of this engagement was to seal the alliance of Milutin and Charles Valois to conquer the “imperium Constantinopolitanum”, the Latin Empire.<sup>31</sup> It is foreseen that in case the marriage takes place, Carica (Царица) will convert to the Catholic faith and that Pope Clement V (1305–1314) will be asked for a blessing. Carica’s (Царичине) engagement coincides in time with the construction - painting of Đurđevi Stupovi. Since at that time, Milutin supported Charles Valois against Byzantium, the father of his son-in-law, it is very likely that in order to raise the reputation of his daughter, by emphasizing her rank and communicating it to both contemporaries and descendants, he did not state her name, but her title in the family tree on the fresco in the dynastic church Đurđevi Stupovi, because it was more resonating. Carica (Царица) is represented here with the ruler's insignia: an open crown on her head and a sceptre in her hand. On the fresco Loza Nemanjića in the Patriarchate of Peć, above bust is written: “Црица”, and in Dečani, “Црица дшти краља Уроша”. In the lineage of Nemanjić in Gračanica the name is not visible,<sup>32</sup> or was erased, when Milutin later, having left the anti-Byzantine alliance with Charles Valois, reconciled with Andronicus II Palaeologus, and married his daughter Simonida.<sup>33</sup> Charles Valois' marriage to Milutin's daughter Carica (Царица) never took place.<sup>34</sup>

According to Johann Christian Engel, a 19th century writer, Elizabeth married Milutin around 1286 and was his wife until 1296.<sup>35</sup> The impossibility of Engel's claim was pointed out in 1886 by the Hungarian historian Károly Szabó in his biography of Elizabeth's brother Ladislaus IV.<sup>36</sup> His arguments were accepted in 1892 by Mór Wertner in his Family History of Árpád. Wertner also made an error, by taking the extreme opposite stance and denying the marriage of Milutin and Elizabeth at all.<sup>37</sup> Hungarian historians Gyula Kristó and Ferenc Makk state that Elizabeth, who lived in a convent for a long time, was married to a noble Czech, Zavis of Falkenstein. These two latter historians believe that since “Eliz-

31 Лиречек 1952: lotc.cit.

32 Пурковић, Принцезе, 54.

33 Радојчић 1934: 39,49,59; Тодић 1988: 107, 170, фреске.

34 Убичини 1870: 309–341; Пурковић 1934: 10–12; Mouraville 1890:7; Petit 1900: 112.

35 Engel 1813: 431, 434.

36 Szabó 1886: 146.

37 Wertner 1892: 529–531.



abeth's marriage to Serbian King Milutin is disputable, the plan of her presumed daughter's marriage to Charles Valois is also questionable." Incidentally, Iuliana M. Kis, the compiler of the name registers of this work, probably by omission, omitted Elizabeth from it.<sup>38</sup> Also, Gyula Kristó and Ferenc Makk did not register Elizabeth's marriage to Milutin in the genealogical board of the Árpád dynasty, which they compiled in the German medieval lexicon.<sup>39</sup>

According to Károly Szabó, after the execution of her husband Zavis, Elizabeth "as his grieving widow remaining without support, where she could bow her sad head, to a safer peace than in the convent on Rabbit Island, within whose walls she had lived since she was four."<sup>40</sup> So far, it has not been explained in the scholarly literature what the expression of Georgi Pahimer means, according to which Elizabeth "stayed in Serbian regions by necessity", when Milutin "met her in promiscuity in monastic clothes".<sup>41</sup> The mentioned necessity, could have arisen for Elizabeth (only) after the death of her brother and accomplice in her mis-deeds King Ladislaus IV on July 10, 1290. Then, since she had expelled her niece, the daughter of her sister Katarina and the Serbian king Dragutin from the convent, she had to leave it herself.<sup>42</sup>

In any case, after the arrival of Andrew III on the Hungarian throne on July 23, 1290, there is no mention of Elizabeth's stay in this institution, of which there are continuous data from 1270 until her marriage to Zavis in 1287.<sup>43</sup> Moreover, according to the claim of two mutually independent sources, she had been a nun for thirty years, and for some time the prioress of the same convent. According to Mór Wertner, Elizabeth was in the convent on Rabbit Island from 1265 until 1287.<sup>44</sup>

If we accept that Elizabeth married Milutin after the death of her brother, Ladislaus IV, it cannot be discounted that Milutin married her for political reasons. Namely because of the claim to the Hungarian throne. More than half a century ago, Ljubomir Nedeljković hypothesized that Milutin minted money with the inscription "CARULUS" for these reasons.<sup>45</sup> If Nedeljković's assumption is correct, Milutin's marriage to a Hungarian princess would be an even stronger trump card in his hands in an effort to obtain the Hungarian crown, and that in regard his brother Dragutin, who was also married to a Hungarian princess, Elizabeth's sister Catherine and who also aspired to the Hungarian throne after the death of

38 Kristó, Makk 1988: 218, 241.

39 Kristó, Makk 1998: 9. Anhang.

40 Szabó 1886: loc.cit.

41 Максимовић 1986:50–51, not. 103–106; Коматина 2020: 47 фуснота 7.

42 Karácsonyi 1910: 1–10; Динић 1964: 239–242.

43 Nagy 1876: 6, 2, 18.

44 Wertner 1892: op.cit.530.

45 Недельковић 1965: ibid. 1–25.

Ladislaus IV, the brother of their wives Catherine and Elizabeth. It should not be forgotten that the third contender, Charles Martel, also aspired to the Hungarian crown on the same basis, since his mother Maria was also the daughter of Stefan V, i.e. the sister of Catherine and Elizabeth.

Unlike her sisters, Maria succeeded in the claim and brought her grandson Karl Robert to the Hungarian throne, after the death of her son Charles Martel.<sup>46</sup> The famous Hungarian historian Wilhelm Fraknói, based on the fact that Maria aspired to the throne of Hungary, concluded that she, and not her sister Catherine, is usually considered to be the eldest daughter of Stephen V.<sup>47</sup> Fraknói's assumption, however, is dismissed since also Catherine's husband (Dragutin), and maybe even Elizabeth's (Milutin), aspired to the Hungarian crown. The advantage of Maria Árpád compared to her sisters in the role of a pretender is seen in the fact that, unlike them, she was married to a Catholic and, more importantly to the papal vassal Charles II of Anjou, and was not based in her birthright.

#### **Place & time of Elizabeth's death and the place of her tomb.**

According to a number of Elizabeth's biographers, the time period in which her death could be placed varies for more than four decades. Thus, according to her first biographer Gabriel Hevenesi, Elizabeth died in 1285. Aleksa Ivić expressed the opinion that Elizabeth died "before 1299" in his work published in 1919 and 1923, while in the third edition of the same work published in 1928, Ivić did not mention the year of Elizabeth's death.<sup>48</sup> Sima Ćirković stated that her death occurred "after 1313".<sup>49</sup> Ferenc Kanyó reached the same conclusion in this regard. According to Gombos, she died around 1320.<sup>50</sup> The authors of the genealogical tree of the Árpád dynasty in the German medieval lexicon of Gyula Kristó and Ferenc Makk, claimed that her death took place later than the previous authors did and placed it after 1323.<sup>51</sup> However, as early as the beginning of the twentieth century in 1906, Fraknói determined that Elizabeth died in 1321.<sup>52</sup> This Fraknói's finding pointed out that Elizabeth died in the same year as her former husband King Milutin, which is more than two decades later than Ivić assumed, and nine years later than Ćirković and Kanyó believed it to be.<sup>53</sup>

As for the place of Elizabeth's passing, Szabó believed that it had occurred in the convent, where the prioress was Margarita, daughter of the Duke of Macsva,

46 Рокаи, Ђере, Пал, Касаш 2002: op.cit. 90–95.

47 Fraknói 1906: loc.cit.41.

48 Ивић 1919;Ивић 1923; Ивић 1928: таблица 2, Немањић 2.

49 Ђирковић 2009: 371.

50 Gombos 1937: op.cit. 2411.

51 Kristó, Makk 1998: Rodoslovna tablica.

52 Fraknói 1906: loc. cit.

53 Gombos 1937:1542; Érszegi 1983: 164–165, 171; Szabó 1886: op.cit.185.

Rostislav Mihajlović, and where the ashes of her father Stefan V rested under a red marble sarcophagus. Her grave was marked with a memorial stone with the inscription: “Lady Elizabeth was buried in the Captol Hall, in front of the crucifix, as they wrote there,” tells the Hungarian legend of St. Margaret, her aunt, sister of her father Béla IV.

Discussion on the place of Elizabeth’s death was not limited to the Hungarian scholars, but it was debated by other historians. According to the “History of Serbs” by Konstantin Jireček, which is still used today, after the execution of Zavis, Elizabeth, “after this accident, retreated to monastic solitude on Margarita Island, *which she never left for the rest of her life.*” This Jireček’s erroneous statement remained in the translated and edited edition of this book edited by Jovan Radonjić and published in 1952.<sup>54</sup> According to Sima Ćirković, the writer of the determinant about Elizabeth in the “Serbian Biographical Dictionary” and the passage that refers to her in “the History of the Serbian People”, little is known about her later years Ćirković states: “When he was ...” “Zavisa was killed, she returned to monastic life, but it is not known where she spent the last years”.<sup>55</sup> Ćirković, nonetheless, mentions “Naples, Italy” as the place of Elizabeth’s death in the determinant itself, in brackets. In 1906, Fraknoi determined that Elizabeth was buried in the church of the Dominican monastery in Naples.<sup>56</sup> I checked this claim with the Diocesan Museum in Naples, but they don’t have any information about Elizabeth’s grave being there. Even the best connoisseur of Hungarian monuments in Italy, Florio Banfi, does not know about it being in Naples.<sup>57</sup>

It seems that Sima Ćirković was the only one to use data from the Anjou registers of the Naples Archive, which was published in 1874 by the Hungarian scholar Wenzel Gusztáv. They contain information that concerns Elizabeth, the sister of the Sicilian Queen Mary. They tell us that on July 9, 1300, the royal chaplain and his familiar, brother Stephen from the ranks of preachers (Dominicans) was sent by King Charles II of Anjou, husband of Elizabeth’s sister Mary to Manfredonia “ad sororem domine Regine Sicilie, nouiter de partibus Vngarie venientem, cum literis ipsius domini” (regis, MR) “pro expensis suis, vnus socij eius equorum et familie sue faciendis in ipso viagio in carolenis argenti vncie tres”.<sup>58</sup> On May 23, 1303, Charles II ordained Elizabeth “pro vsu necessariorum suorum” thirty ounces of gold a year, and on November 18, 1306, Elizabeth’s generous brother-in-law Charles II: “pro extimatione debitorum, ad que Magnifica mulier Elisabet sororia sua certis debitoribus suis tenetur, concedit exituram tante quantitatitatis frumenti de Apulie portubus extra Regnum, de qua habere

54 Jиречек 1952: op.cit. 1 190.

55 Ћирковић 1981: 1462; Ћирковић 2009: 371.

56 Fraknoi 1906: 42–43.

57 Banfi 2005: 169–170.

58 Wenzel 1874:154.

valeant vncias auri centum quinquaginta, ad rationem scilicet vncijs decem pro exitura quarumlibet centum salmarum ipsius frumentis“. Finally, two years later, on July 9, 1308, Charles II gave various privileges to convent “Sancti Petri ad Castellum de Neapoli quod sub speciali nostra protectone et defensione consistit, et in cuius claustrali ambitu venerabilis mulier domina Elisabeth, filia bone memorie Regis Vngarie, soror nostra dilecta, alieque monastiche mulieres degunt sub Beati Dominici confessoris regula”. Elizabeth stayed there in 1313.<sup>59</sup> Thus, Elizabeth returned to the convent of the same Dominican order, which she left after marrying Zavis, and also that she went from to marry Milutin, though not the one on Rabbit Island, but in Naples. It needs to be pointed out that Kanyó erroneously claims that Elizabeth arrived from Hungary to the convent of St. Peter in Milan.<sup>60</sup>

A noticeable uncertainty is present concerning Elizabeth's tomb, as well. According to the acts of canonization of her aunt, St. Margaret in Hungarian, composed by the Hungarian Dominican nun Lea Ráskay (surname also spelled Ráskaj), she is the first known female Hungarian writer. According to her, Elizabeth was buried in the Captol hall of the Dominican monastery on the Island of St. Mary, where she spent most of her life. However, Kanyó pointed out the circumstance that the text containing this information was written at the beginning of the 16th century, in 1510, while in the earlier Latin text from the 14th century this information is absent. He also expressed doubts that Elizabeth would have taken another long journey from Naples to Buda in her sixties.

### **Elizabeth's holiness**

Elizabeth, as a Catholic saint is first mentioned by the Dominican Sigismund Ferrari in his work “*De rebus Hungaricae provinciae ordinis praedicatorum*”, published in Vienna in 1637. During the Counter-Reformation, one of the aspects of this process was the organization of the cult of saints in the Roman Catholic Church. The basis for that was the collection of their lives (hagiography). This task was entrusted to the Flemish Jesuit Jean Boland. That is why the successors of that endeavour were called Bolandists. At the same time, there was a competition between certain monastic orders and even among nations, countries and regions, who would be rich for a larger number of saints and blessed ones. That is how the Dominican Ferrari counted Elizabeth as belonging the Dominican saints of his order. In doing so, he probably relied on the mentioned version of the canonization acts of St. Margaret, created at the beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> century. The Bolandists had their offices in all Roman Catholic countries. The Hungarian Jesuit Gabriel Hevenesi obtained the information about Elizabeth's beatitude most probably from Ferrari some six decades after and incorporated it in his work “*Ungaricae sanctitatis indicia*” in 1692.

<sup>59</sup> Wenzel 1874: 179, 198.

<sup>60</sup> Kanyó 2019: 13.

## Conclusion

From all the mentioned above it seems quite clear and can be safely claimed that King Milutin Nemanjić and his wife Elizabeth Árpád represent a strong link between the East and the West at the times of Paleologos. Not only their relationship embodies a long tradition of marital policy in the geopolitical triangle between Hungary, Serbia and Byzantium that had been active for centuries, but it also mirrors the ebbing and flowing in the politics of the region. The history of their daughter's engagement is another clear example of the interconnectedness within the region at the period, as well as of the importance of the location of the region. To this interrelation further testifies Elizabeth's fate in her later years. The paper also disputes an earlier claim in historiography that Elizabeth's grave exists in the church of the Dominican monastery in Naples. In similar vein to her spouse Milutin, Elizabeth, who had two marriages after having left the monastery, became at least blessed if not a saint. Thus, each of them became an object of religious cult in their respective religious denomination. Therefore, even after their death, the two of them represented a link between East and West.

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## КРАЉ МИЛУТИН НЕМАЊИЋ И ЊЕГОВА ЖЕНА ЈЕЛИСАВЕТА АРПАД, ВЕЗА ИЗМЕЂУ ИСТОКА И ЗАПАДА У ВРЕМЕ ПАЛЕОЛОГА

У раду се истражује и представља живот и однос српског краља Стефана Уроша II Милутина и његове супруге, угарске принцезе Јелисавете Арпад, као веза између истока и запада током владавине династије Палеолога у Византији. Како би се дошло до релевантних резултата у раду се посматра брачна политика Угарске, Србије и Византије, затим однос Милутина и Јелисавете у контексту њихових претходних бракова, њиховог каснијег живота и светитељства. Понуђена је нова могућност у вези са значењем имена њихове ћерке и дошло се до новог закључка везане за место где је Јелисавета сахрањена.