

The English Cathedral: From Description to Analysis*

Matthew Palmer

That the appearance of English cathedrals differs from those of its counterparts on the continent is beyond question.¹ That English cathedrals have “a distinctive national character”, as has been suggested mostly famously by Nikolaus Pevsner in his famous essay “The Englishness of English Art”, is however open to debate.² By questioning this latter statement, which appears to be the starting point for Endre Abkarovits’s “English Gothic Cathedral Architecture” seminar, we hope to provide students with new fields for debate and analysis.³ Most of the debates outlined below are well-known with the exception perhaps of a suggested intercultural analysis of Gothic architecture in Hungary and England. By providing what British Council British Studies literature describes as an “intercultural focus” we are hope to provide students not only with an opportunity to apply knowledge and architectural examples from closer to home but to make the point that English Gothic is not necessarily distant and exotic.⁴ Indeed, by

* The English Department at the Károly Eszterházy College in Eger is unique amongst English Departments in Hungarian Higher Education in offering courses on Medieval Art History. What is remarkable is, that despite the lack of resources, the specialised language the discipline demands and the fact nearly all the primary documents are in Latin, the courses on offer have proved popular. It is a notable achievement for which Endre Abkarovits deserves to take great credit. This paper has been written especially with Dr. Abkarovits and his students in mind.

¹ Fletcher, Sir Banister Flight, *A History of Architecture on the Comparative Method* (London, Architectural Press, 1896, 1921 edition), pp. 500–507.

² Abkarovits, E., “Teaching the Englishness of English Gothic Cathedrals”, *Eger Journal of English Studies* Vol. II., ed. Abkarovits, E. (Eger, EKF Líceum Kiadó, 1998), pp. 43–65; Pevsner, Nikolaus, *The Englishness of English Art* (Harmondsworth, Peregrin, 1956)

³ Abkarovits, op. cit. p. 62.

⁴ Jones, K. (Senior Advisor for British Studies, English Language Division) 1992. “British Studies R and D Project: Executive Summary First Quarterly Report”, The British Council, April 1.

stressing the fact that England and Hungary formed constituent parts of the same Gothic world to which the Kingdom of Hungary also belonged, albeit at the furthest extents of Jenő Szűcs's "the three regions of Europe", we are adopting a standpoint which is not only topical, as Hungary has recently joined the European Union, but entirely in the spirit of Villard de Honnecourt, whose travels took him to Hungary.⁵ The paper intends to raise issues, each of which will be introduced by a "keyword".

"Englishness"

The conceptual jump from saying that English cathedrals have common generic features to suggesting that these features contain some essentially national characteristics is enormous, and one which critics of Nikolaus Pevsner have been only too happy to draw our attention to. The most famous contribution to this particular debate probably being David Watkin's in his essay on Pevsner in *Morality and Architecture* in which he writes:

[...] in order to sustain the argument that there must be some unconscious synthesis, some underlying uniformity which will be a reflection of national character, the historian has to bring to his subject all sorts of assumptions about the national character, language, religion, politics, and so on. And these assumptions, unlike the art-historical assumptions, are rarely analysed or defended.⁶

Whilst it might be wise to avoid the question of "national character" in an analysis of English cathedrals, its existence as part of a cultural debate should be recognised, albeit as part of an introduction to the historiography of the subject. It would, however, be unfair to expect students of English in Hungary to be completely familiar with core texts such as Paul Frankl's classic study *The Gothic: Literary Sources and Interpretations through Eight Centuries* (Princeton, 1960), who has this to say on the topic of "Gothic as a National Phenomenon": "Nobody will deny that there exists a Gothic particular brand of the Isle of France, Burgundy etc. Yet there is no connection with «blood and soil» as the same provinces created—or copied—other styles at other times. Again the explanation lies in intellectual or spiritual reasons common to those who dwell together all their lives."⁷

It is for this reason, that while we agree that the study of English Gothic cathedrals has a valid place within a British Studies curriculum, and

⁵ Szűcs J, *Vázlat Európa három történelmi régiójáról* (Budapest, Magvető, 1983), pp. 10–11.

⁷ Frankl, Paul, *The Gothic: Literary Sources and Interpretations through Eight Centuries* (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1960), pp. 685–6.

one which will help in our understanding of the Middle Ages, the study of English cathedrals will not necessarily help us understand English culture in general across the ages unless one addresses the questions of historiography, ideology and language.⁸

Language

Although we have very few documents telling us how contemporaries saw their "Gothic" buildings, and those we have are in Latin, we do have Gervase's description of the rebuilding of the choir of Canterbury Cathedral following the catastrophic fire of 1174. It is a description in which Gervase tells us what he thinks are the significant differences between the old building and the new one:

The pillars of the old and new work are alike in form and thickness but different in length. For the new pillars are elongated by almost twelve feet. In the old capitals the work was plain, in the new ones exquisite in sculpture. There the circuit of the choir had twenty-two pillars, here are twenty-eight. There the arches and everything else was plain, or sculpted with an axe and not with a chisel. But here almost throughout is appropriate sculpture. No marble columns were there, but here are innumerable ones. There, in the circuit around the choir, the vaults were plain, but here they are arch-ribbed and have keystones. There a wall set upon the pillars divided the crosses from the choir, but here the crosses are separated from the choir by no such partition, and converge together in one keystone, which is placed in the middle of the great vault which rests on the four principal pillars. There, there was a ceiling of wood decorated with excellent painting, but here there is a vault beautifully constructed of stone and light tufa. There, was a single triforium, but here are two in the choir and a third in the aisle of the church of the church. All which will be better understood from inspection than by any description.⁹

Thus, it is that Gervase compares the Romanesque (or Norman) and Gothic styles, centuries before the terms were coined.

The *vocabulary* used by contemporary art historians has a history of its own, with terms like "Norman", "Early English", "Decorated" and "Perpendicular" having their own histories, some longer than others.¹⁰

⁸ Abkarovits concludes by saying: "This is why studying English Gothic cathedral architecture is an indispensable element in our understanding English culture" (op. cit. p. 64).

¹⁰ The terms Norman, Early English and Decorated were coined by Thomas Rickman

An investigation into the etymology of English architectural terms, would constitute a course in its own right, and one in which students could draw upon their other majors and indeed their mother tongue. The variations existing within the terminology as used would provide but one part of this analysis. Why is it, for instance, that Thomas Rickman (1776–1841) originally dated “Early English” 1189–1307, whilst Alec Clifton-Taylor prefers 1175–1265 and John Harvey 1150–1250? Not only would this allow students to apply their historical knowledge and to learn building chronologies, they would actually have to ask themselves what actually constituted the style itself.¹¹

It is also important to note that the *tone* of Gervase’s description differs greatly from those of some of our contemporaries or near contemporaries:

The Cathedral Church of the Blessed Virgin Mary at Salisbury is famous rather for its beauty and artistic merit than for its historical associations. It cannot compare with some other English cathedrals, such as Winchester or St Paul’s, in historical significance, nor is it rich in tombs of kings or national heroes—though King Henry III was present at its consecration and many other royalty have worshipped there. But it is a splendid and graceful work of architecture, in the loveliest setting of any cathedral in this country; and its superb spire is renowned throughout the world, thanks in part to the paintings of John Constable. It symbolises the peaceful loveliness of the English countryside amidst which it stands, the eternal truths of the Christian Faith expressed in stone, and the continuing worship of Almighty God.¹²

It is this “gulf between our own perceptions and those of contemporaries”¹³ which demands that we should treat any claims to universal values and eternal truths with caution.

Tradition

It is important for students to realise that the way people have looked at Gothic architecture frequently tells us more about the viewers and the spirit of the age in which they lived than the buildings themselves. There have been periods where Gothic architecture has been ignored or reviled, the term

in his book, *An Attempt to Discriminate the Styles of Architecture in England from the Conquest to the Reformation* (London, 1817). See: Frankl, op. cit. pp. 506–7.

¹¹ My thanks to Eric Fernie

¹³ Fernie, E, *The Architectural History of Norwich Cathedral* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1993), p. 155.

originally having been coined to describe the pointed arch then considered the work of the uncultured Goths which contrasted with the round arch of the classical Greeks or Romans.¹⁴ At other times the style has been lauded to the point of being hailed at various times as the "Christian style", the "socialist style", the "national style", the English not being alone in making this latter claim.¹⁵

Today, the association that English cathedrals tend to have with national character sits comfortably with the needs and requirements of the heritage industry, where cathedrals are marketed as being timeless manifestations of England's culture. However, when one in fact looks at the history of religious ceremonial, church music and all those other institutions and events which make the English cathedral what it is today, much of what one sees comes under what Eric Hobsbawm terms an "invented tradition", something which he defines as "a set of practices, normally governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules and of a ritual or symbolic nature, which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behaviour by repetition and automatically implies continuity with the past."¹⁶

It is important to remember that the architectural environment in which these set of practices take place are very different from those experienced by medieval worshippers and visitors in later centuries. As David Cannadine writes, "the combination of poverty of means and absence of taste made the first three-quarters of the nineteenth century a low point in ecclesiastical and ecclesiological concern".¹⁷ The pendulum was to swing to the other extreme with the arrival of the Gothic Revivalists. Indeed, the fervent ecclesiologists of the Cambridge Camden Society, founded in around 1839, was to have as catastrophic effect on England's cathedrals as the neglect which preceded it. Adherents of "ecclesiology", the science of church-building and decoration, believed that by collecting sufficient evidence one could discover universal principles they believed Gothic architects abided by. It was an approach which credited architects with imbuing all aspects of their designs with symbolism. Once they had felt they had discovered the principles, Gothic Revivalists were not satisfied only with

¹⁴ Clark, Kenneth, *The Gothic Revival* (Harmondsworth, Pelican, 1949), pp. 2-3. Before the honour was finally conceded to the French it was long believed by English antiquarians that the Gothic style originated in England.

¹⁵ Frankl, op. cit. pp. 680-692.

¹⁶ Hobsbawm, Eric, in *The Invention of Tradition*, eds. Hobsbawm E. and Ranger T. (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1983), p. 1.

¹⁷ Cannadine, David, "The Context, Performance and Meaning of Ritual: The British Monarchy and the 'Invention of Tradition'", c. 1820-1977 in *Ibid.*, p. 115.

merely designing new Gothic churches, they also went about “improving” or “correcting” errors perceived to have been committed by the medieval architects themselves. The results could be disastrous, as seen in J. M. Neale’s wish, fortunately not acted upon, for Peterborough Cathedral to be pulled down, “if it could be replaced by a middle-pointed [cf. Decorated] cathedral as good of its sort”.¹⁸

It was the eagerness of the Victorians to restore and partly rebuild England’s parish churches and cathedrals which led William Morris the founder of the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings in 1877 to demand that the original fabric be respected. This has been more or less accepted up to this day.¹⁹ Nevertheless, one still has to be wary, especially at cathedrals as heavily restored as Ely and Lichfield, of looking at 19th century and not medieval masonry.

Nation

At no time during the Middle Ages do we hear of buildings in England being described as “English” in the same way as we hear of churches on the continent being described as *opus francigenum*.²⁰ From this, one can assume that people were not aware that English Gothic constituted an individual style, in the same way that those looking at French, or rather Parisian, Gothic did. For Burchard von Hall, writing in about 1280, “French” was a recognisable style, the sculpted saints on the interior and exterior, the windows and the piers provoking comment.

English was a variation of the *opus francigenum*, and architects in England decided to take what elements they wanted from it. It is perhaps wrong to suggest that architects in England willfully rejected the French style. Rather, rejection was of a passive nature caused by what Crossley

¹⁸ Dixon, R. and Muthesius, S., *Victorian Architecture* (London, Thames and Hudson, 1978), p. 194; White, James F., *The Cambridge Movement: The Ecclesiologists and the Gothic Revival* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1962), p. 87 and p. 164.

¹⁹ More recently, however, surveyors of the fabric like Donald Buttress, who was responsible for restoration work at Chichester Cathedral and Westminster Abbey, have been prepared to defend the interventions of some of his Victorian predecessors whilst doing a little “improving” themselves.

²⁰ Frankl (op. cit., p. 55) quotes from Burchard von Hall’s *Chronicle* (c. 1280) describing building operations at the monastery of St Peter in Wimpfen on the River Neckar. “Richard caused the basilica to be constructed in the French style (*opus francigenum*) by a very experienced architect who had recently come from the city of Paris”. Branner, Robert, *St Louis and the Court Style* (London, A. Zwemmer Ltd, 1965), pp. 122–3.

calls "a mixture of perversity and ignorance"²¹. When the "French and English artificers were summoned" to Canterbury to inspect the damage after the fire, as Gervase tells us, it is unlikely that they would have been offering the monks a choice of two styles, one French, the other English. When looking at the designs of the two architects who actually carried out the work it is difficult to decide which William came from France and which from England.

It is not difficult, however, to list the contrastive features between French and Early English cathedrals: the one broad, the other long, round ambulatories and square ends, western portals and side porches, compact masses and broken up masses, great height and moderate height, verticality and horizontality. However, having drawn up contrasts of this kind one must beware of jumping to too many conclusions.²²

Gothic Design

As we have already seen the study of Gothic architecture is riddled with many theories. One such notion is structural rationalism, a term most associated with the writings of Eugene Viollet-le-Duc (1814–1879). It believed that structural performance and structural efficiency, of employing "materials according to their qualities and properties", was the be all and end all of the Gothic style.²³ Whilst rarely believed today in their entirety Viollet-le-Duc's ideas and those of his followers have led popular art historians to show an unhealthy interest in the heights of vaults, the prominence of flying buttresses and the size of windows, yet sharing a view that the Gothic style was inherently progressive, and that all those who had not caught "world record fever"²⁴ (Gimpel) were either conservative or provincial. Whilst acknowledging that the Gothic was indeed a new style, it was essentially a *stylistic* transformation which took place in the Ile-de-France between 1135 and 1145. Jean Bony defines it in the following terms: "Gothic is a new style in which a new interpretation is given to all the aspects

²¹ Crossley, Paul "English Gothic Architecture", *The Age of Chivalry*, eds. Alexander J. and Binski P. (London, Royal Academy of Arts with Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1987), p. 69.

²² Perhaps one of the most famous list of contrasts can be found in Fletcher, op. cit., pp. 500–507.

²³ Summerson, John, *Heavenly Mansions* (London, The Cresset Press, 1949), pp. 135–158; Watkin, op. cit. pp. 23–32; Frampton, Kenneth, *Modern Architecture: A Critical History* (London, Thames and Hudson, 1980), p. 64.

²⁴ Gimpel, Jean, *The Cathedral Builders* (New York, Grove Press, Inc., 1983), p. 76.

and data of architecture: construction, plan, masses and visual effects being all equally affected.”²⁵

Medieval architects designed vast buildings using simple tools and simple geometrical principles. Buildings were not designed with a detailed knowledge of loads and stresses, but on the use of the square, the (golden) rectangle, the regular polygon and complex shapes derived through relatively simple operations with the benefit of experience. No mathematics was involved as designs were based on simple logical progressions, proportions being used not ratios. Going upward was just one way such progressions could proceed. That those living in England were aware that the new Gothic style produced taller buildings we have seen in Gervase’s description. However, the fact that English architects decided to design lower buildings cannot be explained on purely ethnic grounds, in the same way that French cathedrals cannot be explained merely in terms of structural efficiency.

For an understanding of how architects went about collecting ideas and producing new designs one need look no further than Villard de Honnecourt’s sketchbook, a document which opens with the following words:

Villard de Honnecourt greets you and begs all those who are involved in all the different types of work mentioned in this book to pray for his soul and remember him; because this book may help be a great help in instructing the principles of masonry and carpentry. You will also find it contains methods of portraiture and line drawing as dictated by the laws of geometry.²⁶

We would be foolish to ignore his pleas of supplication. Apart from being an important sourcebook in the understanding of Gothic taste and design, Villard de Honnecourt’s sketchbook not only shows that the Kingdom of Hungary could be just as valid as a source of ideas as northern France, but also helps us understand how High Gothic evolved into the Rayonnant and Decorated styles.²⁷

²⁵ Ibid., p. 32.

²⁶ For Villard de Honnecourt in Hungary see: Gerevich L, “Villard de Honnecourt Magyarországon”, *Művészettörténeti Értesítő* (Budapest, 1971), pp. 81–105. For his appreciation and perception of Gothic architecture see: Hearn M. F., “Villard de Honnecourt’s Perception of Gothic Architecture”, *Medieval Architecture and its Intellectual Context*, eds. Fernie E. and Crossley P. (London and Ronceverte, The Hambleton Press), pp. 127–136.

²⁷ Bony, Jean, “French Influences on the origins of English Gothic Architecture”, *Journal of the Warburg Institute* 12, 1949, p. 46.

Region

It would be both more appropriate and practical to start one's analysis of English Gothic cathedrals by noting that they formed part of a much larger cultural and political landscape, one which spread from the Atlantic Ocean in the west to the Carpathians in the east during the course of its existence.²⁸ It is a geographical area which can be divided up in many ways, whether in terms of empires, kingdoms, duchies etc. or cultural landscapes. Students should be introduced to these frames of reference in order to decide whether England constitutes the best geo-political unit from which to survey the cultural landscape. It is important to remember England had its own regional styles, the Western School differing from the Gothic seen in northern England and the Gothic of Canterbury Cathedral and the buildings that it influenced. England can also be seen in a larger context, England forming, until 1204, one part of what John Gillingham terms the "Angevin Empire", an empire which included Normandy and Anjou, each of which had their own characteristic style.²⁹ To these one can add other Gothic variations elsewhere in France, like for example the "Swiss-cheese architecture" of Burgundy with its fondness for wall passages, and the "giant orders" of Bourges, Le Mans, Coutances, both of which defy analysis from a national perspective.³⁰

In all these regional variations art historical debate has tended to focus on the way elements belonging to the Gothic canon, expressed in its purest form at Chartres Cathedral, are either developed, modified, ignored or resisted.³¹ The starting point for such analyses being the manner in which buildings adhered to Chartres' canons of design: the single bay elevation, the flat elevation, the three storey elevation, the rejection of multifarious members and the large clerestory. By doing this one is at least getting close to the ways of comparing and contrasting buildings used by Gervase.

Interculturalism

Students of English Gothic architecture in Hungary should not miss the opportunity of adding an intercultural dimension to their studies. Not only

²⁸ For Gothic as period see: Götz, W., *Zentralbau und Zentralbautendenz in der gotischen Architektur* (Berlin, Mann, 1968), p. 12.

²⁹ See Gillingham, John, *The Angevin Empire* (London, Arnold, 2000)

³⁰ See Branner, Robert, *Burgundian Gothic Architecture* (London, A. Zwemmer Ltd, 1960)

³¹ The idea of "the resistance to Chartres" being posited by Jean Bony in his famous article of that name published in the *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* in 1958.

will it provide an opportunity to examine how artistic ideas spread, but also allow students to study artefacts and buildings first hand.

The Kingdom of Hungary, like England was a recipient of French Gothic ideas, and like England had a rich cultural heritage throughout the medieval period.³² Interestingly, the details of the early Gothic building projects at Esztergom, Pilisszentkereszt and Kalocsa amongst other places, suggest that they had design sources very close to those of Canterbury Cathedral, namely from that part of northern France lying in the area between Arras, Valenciennes, Reims and Noyon. Whilst one usually has to rely on the analysis of details in the Hungarian examples, there are still enough fragments available for Hungarian students to devote time to considering the medieval fabric first hand. They might then offer suggestions as to why a carved details at Esztergom Cathedral resemble those at Canterbury Cathedral. It is a phenomenon which provides rich pickings for those wishing to take their art historical interests further into the realms of research.³³

Case Studies

Thus, by placing Hungary and England in the same contextual environment, students can engage first-hand in debates currently going on within art historical circles. Possible study areas crop up throughout the Gothic period from the reception of the Gothic style into Hungary up until King Sigismund's famous visit to England in 1416.³⁴

One of the issues which has been occupying the minds of art historians for many decades is trying to discover what Villard de Honnecourt did and where he went during his visit to Hungary. So far we know that during his visit, which probably happened between 1235 and 1246, he drew some tile patterns he probably saw at the Cistercian abbey at Pilisszentkereszt.³⁵

³² Marosi, Ernő, *Die Anfänge der Gotik in Ungarn* (Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó, 1984), p. 169. and Marosi, Ernő, *Mitteuropäische Herrschaftshäuser des 13. Jahrhunderts und die Kunst, Künstlerischer Austausch Akten des XXVIII. Internationalen Kongresses für Kunstgeschichte* (Berlin, 1992), p. 16.

³³ Takács I., "A gótika műhelyei a Dunántúlon a 13–14. században", *Pannonia Regia: Művészet a Dunántúlon 1000–1541* (Budapest, Magyar Nemzeti Galéria, 1994), pp. 23–33. The book itself provides a useful starting point and a good bibliography.

³⁴ A popular topic amongst historians, historians and art historians alike are turning their attentions to whether what Sigismund saw in England (Leeds Castle, Westminster Hall) influenced royal projects in Hungary (Tata, Visegrád). See Bárány A.'s abstract for the "Albion" Conference on British History and Political Science, Debrecen, 2000.

³⁵ Gerevich, op. cit. pp. 82–85.

One more recent observation of particular interest to students of English Gothic architecture is Imre Takács's suggestion that there may be English design sources, namely Bristol Cathedral, for the rood screen from the Pilisszentkereszt of c. 1360, currently on display at the Historical Museum of Budapest. By analysing this possibility students would be able to test some of the rather vague and general statements regarding the influence of English vaulting systems in Central Europe put forward by Abkarovits.³⁶

Indeed, Late Gothic architecture in the Kingdom of Hungary would provide a useful means of analysing the Perpendicular style and Nikolaus Pevsner's premise that the Perpendicular was the quintessential English style. Pevsner indeed says it himself: "Now, before the Englishness of the Perpendicular style can be assessed, it must be remembered that a certain amount of what has so far been analysed belongs to the Late Gothic of northern Europe in general rather than to England".³⁷ By admitting that there is a wider frame of reference and that groundwork needs to be done before the target material can be approached, Pevsner is indeed close to the British Council's intended aim in promoting Intercultural studies, namely to "achieve an anthropological understanding of one's own country before engaging a foreign culture".³⁸ By making a day trip to St Elizabeth's Kassa (Košice, Slovakia), for instance, students of the EKF would be in a much better position to judge whether "all-over pattern", "illogicality" and "emphasis of verticalities and grids" were purely English virtues.³⁹ Indeed, we believe without being introduced to medieval fabrics first-hand, and without some knowledge of Hungary's own Gothic tradition, English Gothic art will continue to feel extremely, and unnecessarily, distant.

Conclusion

On 8th June, 1406, the English students from the English *natio* of the University of Paris, the same "nation" attended by Paris's Hungarian students, demanded that one of their former tutors, Benedek Makrai, be released from prison following his participation in an armed uprising in Óbuda against King Sigismund in 1403. Their plea was heard, Makrai was

³⁶ Abkarovits quoting Martindale: "In Lincoln ribs began to get separated from the vaulting long ago, and the English influence is felt as far away as in the Vladislav Hall in Prague" (op. cit. p. 60).

³⁷ Pevsner, op. cit. p. 94.

³⁸ Jones, op. cit., and quoted in Palmer, M., "Culture, Media, Language: The Present and the Future of Contemporary Cultural Studies in Hungary", *Framing the Issues: British Studies — Media Studies*, Pécs, 1996.

³⁹ Pevsner, op. cit. pp. 102–121.

released and his career was allowed to continue and blossom. Makrai was to accompany Sigismund to Paris and England in 1416, a journey during which Sigismund made a point of visiting Makrai's former university. Makrai was to become Gubernator of Eger Cathedral shortly before his death in either 1421 or 1427.⁴⁰ In 1411, Lőrinc Tari, cupbearer to the Queen and local magnate, left his residence in Heves County to make a pilgrimage to St Patrick's Purgatory in the middle of Lough Derg in Ireland. It was an experience which caused him to promise to build a church dedicated to his patron saint St Nicholas, suggested by some to be the chapel added onto the southern side of the parish church in Pásztó, also dedicated to St Nicholas.⁴¹ These two episodes tell us how close Hungary and the Brithis Isles were during the Middle Ages. While Hungary and England may not have sealed any dynastic marriages, and architectural ideas were shared through common sources rather than direct influence, the fact that they shared a common western Christian civilisation suggests it would be wrong to avoid Hungary's cultural heritage when analysing England's. Furthermore, by using primary rather than secondary sources students may indeed be better placed to decide for themselves how English Gothic Art really is.

⁴⁰ Fraknói V., "Nyomozások egy középkori magyar tudós élet-viszontságainak földerítésére", *Századok*, 1894, pp. 387-395; Mályusz E., *Kaiser Sigismund in Ungarn 1387-1437* (Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó, 1990), pp. 292-3.

⁴¹ Kropf L., "Pászthói Rátholdi Lőrincz zarándoklása. 1411", *Századok* 30, 1896, p. 724; Gragger, R., "Beiträge zur Visionenliteratur im Mittelalter" *Ungarische Jahrbücher*, 1925, pp. 309. The less than flattering visions Lőrincz had of Sigismund and his wife Barbara of Cilly in the purgatory are also said to have prompted the king to build the church of Saint Sigismund in Buda, just outside the walls of his palace.