

THE EXPANSION OF THE ORDER OF THE FRIARS MINOR IN THE KINGDOM OF HUNGARY IN 13TH AND EARLY 14TH CENTURY THROUGH SOURCES OF THE ORDER

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Abstract The present study proposes to bring into attention the expansion of the Order of the Friars Minor in the Kingdom of Hungary and in Transylvania, in particular. The spread is of great significance because was one of the first things that the friars undertake after the approval of the Order. Thus, on the one hand, this contributed to convert a large number of persons, and on the other hand, it served the interests of the crowned heads and nobles. Based upon two types of sources (archives and minorite literature) the present research tries to answer a couple of questions, such as: "How did the Order arrive into the Kingdom of Hungary?" or "Which information is still available regarding the Province?"

Keywords Order of the Friars Minor, expansion, Kingdom of Hungary, Transylvania, 13th century, archives

In the second decade of the 13th century, Jacques de Vitry (1160/1170-1240), bishop of Acra (Israel), wrote: *fratres minores secundum formam primitive ecclesie vivunt: multitudinis credentium erat cor unum et anima una. (...) Qui quasi canes sunt muti non valentes latrare, dominus per huiusmodi simplices et pauperes homines multas animas ante finem mundi vult salvare*¹. As seen, the Friars Minor lived corresponding to the apostolic model, and their

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¹ Jacques de Vitry, *Lettres de Jacques de Vitry*, ed. R. B. C. Huygëns (Leiden, 1960), 75-76 (henceforth Jacques de Vitry, *Lettres*). André Vauchez proposes the year 1165 for the birth of de Vitry in Vitry en Perthois, located southeast of Reims. André Vauchez, "Jacques de Vitry, témoin des origines franciscaines", in *Frate Francesco e i Minori nello specchio dell'Europa*. Atti del XLII Convegno

mission was to convert souls. Furthermore, when claiming that the first community had already been approved in 1216, the French prelate bases his affirmation upon the verbal approbation of Pope Innocent III in 1209, but in fact, the fraternity was sanctioned only in 1223².

By the third decade of the same century, the bishop of Acra relates that Francis of Assisi (1181/1182-1226) encouraged his fellows to spread two by two *per universum mundum*, under *conventuali disciplina*. From the fruits of their vocation, as churchmen, benefited the Saracens and other unbelievers, but equally so do Christians. In this direction, de Vitry recognizes the importance of the personal presence of Francis in Damietta; in 1219 he encounters the sultan who accepts the Friars in the East³. Moreover, the prelate highlights the term *religio* to be the one to define the minorites. This word indicates rather an informal

internazionale, Assisi, 17-19 ottobre 2014 (Spoleto, 2015), 5. Jacques de Vitry was a French prelate, elected bishop of Acra in 1214, the city in which he participated at the fifth crusade (1217-1229). The account written by him is very important from two points of view. First, because he noticed the activities of the first minorite community and second because he is amongst the first who writes about it. With the appointment in the College of the Cardinals made by Pope Gregory IX (1227-1241) in 1228 the French bishop advances in the ecclesiastical hierarchy. From the next year, the same roman pontiff transfers him to the episcopal seat of Frascati (*Tusculum*, Rome). In the last years of life is named in the office of Latin patriarch of Jerusalem, a position he does not actually occupy. Conrad Eubel, *Hierarchia catholica medii aevi sive summorum pontificum, S. R. E. cardinalium ecclesiarum antistitum series*, vol. 1 (1198-1431) (Regensburg, 1913), 6, 38, 68, 275.

² Jacques de Vitry, *Lettres*, 76. The official approval of the Order, founded by Francis of Assisi, comes with the papal document *Solet annuere* issued by Honorius III in 1223.

³ Jacques de Vitry, *Lettres*, 131-132, John Frederick Hinnebusch OP, *The Historia Occidentalis of Jacques de Vitry: a Critical Edition* (Fribourg, 1972), 161-162. According to Ignazio Mancini the history of the Holy Land custody it can be divided into four periods: the formation (1217-1342), the organization (1342-1517), the question of the holy places (1517-1852) and "the modern" stage beginning with 1852 until our days. The province named in documents *Siria*, *Romania*, *Ultramarina* or *Terra Santa* included a wide territory: Constantinople, Greece and the islands, Syria, Palestine, Cyprus and Egypt. This territory, one of the most significant provinces of the Order, was entrusted in the first years to friar Elia, a person with a vast culture and organizational skills. Gregory IX issued on February 1, 1230, the bull (addressed to patriarchs of Antioch, Jerusalem and to other prelates) to prepare the mission of the friars in the Holy Land. A significant year for this territory is 1263, because of the general chapter held in Pisa, under the generalate of Bonaventura. At that moment it is decided that the province will be circumscribed to Cyprus, Syria, Lebanon, and Palestine, and divided into several custodies. The Holy Land custody was formed from the following convents: Acra, Antioch (Antakya), Sidon, Tripoli, Jerusalem, and Giaffa. Ignazio Mancini, "Cenni storici sulla Custodia di Terra Santa", in Michele Piccirillo ed., *La custodia di Terra Santa e l'Europa. I rapporti politici e l'attività culturale dei Francescani in Medio Oriente* (Roma, 1983), 15-16, 17-19, *Bullarium Franciscanum Romanorum Pontificum Constitutiones, Epistolas, Ac Diplomata Continens Tribus Ordinibus Minorum, Clarissarum, Et Poenitentium a Seraphico Patriarcha Sancto Francisco*, vol. 1 (Roma, 1759), 58 (henceforth BF).

community, instead the official name *ordo fratrum minorum* appears with the papal letter issued by Honorius III (1216-1227) *Pro dilectis filiis*, dated 29 May 1220⁴.

The community that the French cardinal admires, is one that spread quickly in cities and markets in early decades of the 13th century. Their success may be a consequence of the mediocrity shown by a considerable part of the diocesan clergy⁵. Thus, the aim of the present paper is to highlight sources and their content concerning the expansion of the Order of the Friars Minor in the Kingdom of Hungary, with specific references to Transylvania wherever possible. Furthermore, from the accounts written by the Friars Minor, there will be illustrated political and cultural information regarding the kingdom of St. Stephen. Also, pieces of information with respect to the life and (or) activity of the friars originating from the area will be given. The chronological interval comprises the third decade of the thirteenth century and the first half of the next century.

Two types of sources were analyzed in the present research. First, the registers held by the archives from the General Curia of the Conventual and of the Observant friars, from Rome. Second, a selection of minorite literature, as follows: the chronicles of Jordanus of Giano (c.1195 – c.1262) and Salimbene of Parma (1221-1288), but also the *Provinciale ordinis fratrum minorum* and the *Chronica XXIV Generalium Ordinis Fratrum Minorum*.

At the beginning, there will be written some interrogations that lead to some preliminary observations, with respect to the expansion of the Order through sources. Thereby, in the paper there will be an attempt to indicate answers or to build hypotheses considering: “How does the new order arrive in the Kingdom of Hungary?”, “When the Hungarian province and the Transylvanian custody were founded and organized?”, and “Which information is still preserved about the provincial ministers?”.

Finally, the limits of the research are of two types. The first is due to the subjectivity of the used sources. The second constraint exists because of the reduced number of the sources used (and identified), the materials are documents consulted during a scholarship in Rome⁶.

⁴ BF, vol. 1, 5, André Vauchez, “Jacques de Vitry, témoin des origines franciscaines”, in *Frate Francesco e i Minori nello specchio dell'Europa*. Atti del XLII Convegno internazionale, Assisi, 17-19 ottobre 2014 (Spoleto, 2015), 15 (henceforth André Vauchez, *Jacques de Vitry, témoin des origines franciscaines*), Jacques de Vitry, *Lettres*, 76. For this inexperienced youngsters, as Vauchez names them, Honorius III with the papal bull *Cum secundum* from 22 September 1220, proposes for the formation of the friars a year of noviciate. BF, vol. 1, 6, André Vauchez, *Jacques de Vitry, témoin des origines franciscaines*, 14.

⁵ John Tolan, *Saint Francis and the Sultan: The Curious History of a Christian-Muslim Encounter* (Oxford, 2009) 26. The bishops of Rome were aware of the poor instruction of the secular clergy, thus the new mendicant orders (especially the Friars Minor and the Preachers) will receive the right to preach according to the teachings of the Church. In comparison to other religious orders, the mendicants were opened to those who wanted to convert, they were often spotted on the road two by two. André Vauchez, *Storia del cristianesimo religione-politica-cultura*, vol. 5, Apogeo del papato ed espansione della cristianità (Roma, 1997), 738-739, 741.

⁶ Vasile Pârvan scholarship, in the academic year 2016-2017 <http://www.accadromania.it/borsisti.htm> (accessed 14 December 2017).

1. *The expansion of the Order of the Friars Minor*

One of the first impulses that Francis of Assisi perceives is the desire to extend the Order, this stimulus he wants to pass it on to his companions. With regard to this action, the approved rule by the Roman curia expresses only the essence of Francis' "plan". The proposal addressed to the friars to discern in themselves the vocation that urged them to go to unknown territories can be found in the third chapter of the rule⁷. This germ of a possible calling was to be confirmed to the appropriate ones or denied to whom was unready, by the provincial minister. Further, a clarification is made, in a mission, the Friars will continue to be subjects of the Church, and they will live according to the three votes: poverty, chastity, and obedience.

The chronicles written by the friars about the expansion of the Order are *Cronica (De primitivorum Fratrum in Theutonium missorum et conversatione et vita)* from Jordanus of Giano, *De Adventu Fratrum Minorum in Angliam* of Thomas of Eccleston and *Cronica* of Salimbene of Parma⁸. The main theme of the first one is the German mission, from 1221 until

⁷ *Fonti Francescane*, third edition (Padova, 2011), Regola bollata, chap. XII, 98 (henceforth *FF*). As a matter of fact, the minorites had three texts until they reached the final form of the rule. The first one, from 1209/1210 is not preserved, but the following two, from 1221 and 1223 are well known and translated over time in several languages. For the text from 1221 Francis was assisted by several companions. Jacques Le Goff, *San Francesco d'Assisi* (Roma-Bari, 2000), 46-52, Armando Quaglia, *L'originalità della regola francescana* (Sassoferrato, Ancona, 1959), *passim*. Le Goff considers that an important role in making the rule had friars Leo (died c. 1270) and Bonizza. Next, Grado Giovanni Merlo, relying on the chronicle of Jordanus of Giano, says that the founder turned to Caesarius of Speyer to complete the text of the rule with biblical quotations. Grado Giovanni Merlo, *Nel nome di san Francesco. Storia dei frati minori e del francescanesimo sino agli inizi del XVI secolo* (Padova, 2012), 37. Practically, the version from 1221 reflects the will of Francis and the first community, being rather a compilation of exhortations, spiritual reflections, behavioral norms and biblical quotations. André Vauchez, *Francis of Assisi: The Life and Afterlife of a Medieval Saint* (New Haven, 2012), 104-105. The second text was made after the annual meetings from Assisi. In this chapters, the friars could reflect upon the problems and their experiences they had in mission and thus from this were outlined a series of norms. Thus this is the text in which it can be seen the opinion of the first community regarding the expansion of the Order and what were the conditions under which it was done. *FF*, Regola non bollata, chap. XVI, 75-76. Felice Accrocca, "Un cantiere aperto <<Travagli redazionali delle Regole "di" Francesco>>", in *La Regola di frate Francesco: Eredità e sfida*, eds. Pietro Maranesi and Felice Accrocca (Milano, 2012), 20-21. In the end, for the third text the Roman curia intervenes in order to provide a legal form, thus the lyrical passages were eliminated. Thereby, the last project was approved by Pope Honorius III on 29 November 1223 with the bull *Solet annuere*. In the end, there must be mentioned the role played by cardinal Hugh of Ostia (future Pope Gregory IX) in two aspects. Firstly, he had a considerable role in following closely the making of the rule and, second the cardinal supervised the institutional evolution of the Order. Eduardo Scognamiglio, "Il missione per il mondo", in *La Regola di frate Francesco: Eredità e sfida*, eds. Pietro Maranesi and Felice Accrocca (Milano, 2012), 605.

⁸ *FF*, 1513-1667.

1262. One can find data considering the provincial ministers, the provincial chapters, the spreading of the friars in several cities which resulted with the creation of places (*locus*) or convents. More than this, it contains a few details with respect to the expansion of the Order in Hungary. The second writing highlights the expansion of the friars in England from 1224 (the year after the confirmation of the rule) and the consolidation of the province through the activity of the provincial ministers, the organisation of the chapters, the foundation of various convents, new members are received in the Order or various activities of the friars. The last chronicle, with autobiographical elements of Salimbene, sketches the ecclesiastical situation from 13th century Italy.

The first to go from his hometown, with the purpose of converting the "heretics", is Francis of Assisi himself. In 1219 he encounters the sultan at Damietta, in Egypt. After this initiative, other friars go east among Chinese, Turks or Mongolians. The profile of the friar who went in other provinces must include knowledge of apologetics, theology, new languages, and also customs or local costumes. As a result of traveling with a spiritual purpose, mendicants composed works of pedagogical nature for those who went to encounter believers and unbelievers in different parts of the world. In this respect, it can be mentioned the works of Thomas Aquinas OP (ca. 1225-1274) or Raimondo Lullo OFM (ca. 1232-1316)⁹.

The action of spreading the new Order is particularly noticeable from the 13th century. In this context, expeditions and establishments of provinces are registered in Europe in the following: Italy¹⁰, Spain¹¹, England¹², France¹³, Germany¹⁴, Nordic countries¹⁵, Bohemia and Poland¹⁶, Croatia, Albania, and Hungary¹⁷.

⁹ Georges Goree, Germain Chauvel, *La chiesa e la sua missione* (Torino, 1966), 63-68, 71. Francis is, in fact, a mediator between two realities: Christians and Muslims. He suggests a set of spiritual values for the friars that traveled: own example, courtesy, and respect. Also, he invites his companions to prefer not the noise of a conversion but the docile silence of encounter and obedience. Filippo Sedda, "1219. San Francesco e il Sultano", in *Storia mondiale d'Italia*, ed. Andrea Giardina (Roma, 2017), 248.

¹⁰ In Italy, the Order is already expanding during the life of *il Poverello* (the little poor one), in Bologna, Treviso, Vicenza, Milano or Pisa. From 1263 the territories of Italy and Sicily are divided into 14 provinces, the center being Umbria or "Saint Francis", divided into 9 custodies. John Moorman, *A History of the Franciscan Order from its Origins to the Year 1517* (Oxford, 1968), 63-64, 155 (henceforth John Moorman, *A History of the Franciscan Order*).

¹¹ The first expedition in Spain dates from 1209-1210, in Compostela, it is said that Francis himself arrives at Saint James sanctuary. Although they were confused with the Albigenses and insulted by the locals, with the support from queen Urraca (1109-1226) they manage to expand and to found a series of convents. John Moorman, *A History of the Franciscan Order*, 71.

¹² In England the situation is well documented, Thomas of Eccleston's (died c. 1259) chronicle provides a detailed framework for the activity of the friars. The first group led by Agnellus of Pisa arrived on September 10, 1224, and the first settlements were at Canterbury, London, and Oxford. The major part of the friars was hosted in the houses of the Dominicans, at benefactors or in schools. One characteristic that impressed the laity was the strict poverty of the friars, with this a lot of persons were attracted to practice their spirituality. John Moorman, *A History of the Franciscan Order*, 72-73 and FF, 1567-1626.

¹³ Already in the middle of the 13th century there were several French provinces: Provence, Aquitania, Bourgogne, and Touraine. By the end of the same century, France had an impressive number of 300 convents, most of them at a distance of about 30 km from each other. Thus, two aspects are to be highlighted: first, the high accessibility of the places for the laymen, and second, it explains the frequency with which the minorites were traveling. From the fourteenth to the first half of the next century there is a decrease in the influence of the friars (because of the great plague, wars, internal conflicts in the Order); from the mid-fifteenth century and the first half of the next one the Order is experiencing a resurgence due to the generalized peace in France. The Order had drawn the attention and gained followers by adapting to urban life. The friars are popular figures in the epoch due to their activity of preaching, conferring sacraments, serving in churches or for cemetery administration. Richard W. Emery, *The Friars in Medieval France* (New York-London, 1962), 1-22.

¹⁴ Although the first expedition in Germany of 1217 was a failure, due to the lack of knowledge of the German language, after the second expedition from 1221 the foundation of a province is established. The friars that arrived in Germany in 1219 knew the language of the place (Caesarius of Speyer, Thomas of Eccleston or Jordanus of Giano). The convents had the following functions: a meeting place, hosting place, sanctuary or a safe place. There is something important to point out about this province: from here there were sent groups of friars in Bohemia, Hungary or Poland. B. Freed, *The Friars and German Society in the Thirteenth Century* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1977). Important details about the province from its foundation until 1262 can be read in the chronicle of Jordanus of Giano *FF*, 1527-1560.

¹⁵ In the Nordic countries the minorites arrive in the third decade of the 13th century. The initiative to send a group of friars in Denmark and Norway belongs to the German provincial minister John of Piano Carpini (1228-1230, 1232-1239) in 1228. Peder Olsen OFM (ca. 1490-ca. 1570), in his history of the Order, writes that the friars get to Denmark in 1232 where they were well received by clergy and layman. Further, he states that some of the benefactors (clergy and nobles), soon entered the Order. In Norway and Sweden, the presence of the friars is confirmed in the fourth decade of the 13th century. In both parts the kings supported the minorites, some contributed to the construction of convents, other chose to be buried in the churches administrated by them. These areas are united in the province of Dacia about 1240. If at the beginning there are two provincial ministers of German origin, after 1250 there will be ministers of northern origin. Beginning with the year 1280 the convents are grouped in custodies, around 1300 there are eight which will exist during the Middle Ages. At the beginning of the 15th century, the Order extended also in Finland. Henrik Roelvink, *Franciscans in Sweden Medieval Remnants of Franciscan Activities* (Assen, 1998), 8-11. For the expedition from 1228 in Denmark and Norway in *Cronica* of Jordanus of Giano in *FF*, 2385.

¹⁶ Petr Hlaváček, "Les ordres mendiants dans le Royaume de Bohême au Moyen Âge: implantation et fonds d'archives", *Études franciscaines*, n.s., 6/1 (2013): 13-17 and Marek Derwich, "Le fonctionnement matériel des couvents mendiants polonais du XIII^e au XVI^e siècle: bilan historiographique et exemple franciscain", *Études franciscaines*, n.s., 6/1 (2013): 19-29.

¹⁷ The province of Croatia and Hungary had a common route until the separation from 1232 (1233). A very important role in this area is represented by the observant movement of the Bosnian vicariate organised since 1340. Until 1448 the observant convents from Hungary belonged to this vicariate, and after the same year a Hungarian observant vicariate was created. This newly created vicariate will include the Hungarian convents and the ones from northern Croatia. In close connection to the Dalmatian province (Croatia) stands Albania or the Durazzo custody, founded in the early 15th century. From the mentioned century the provincial minister of Dalmatia signed: provincial minister of Istria, Dalmatia, and

2. Historiography regarding the beginning of the minorite presence in Transylvania

In the last centuries, there can be noticed interest from Romanian and Hungarian researchers regarding different aspects concerning the Hungarian province of the Friars Minor. In what follows, there will be indicated a selection of studies with respect to the beginning of the named province and the organization of its custodies, with special attention to Transylvania.

Francesco Gonzaga OFM (1546-1620), wrote in the first years of the 16th century about the existence of the Hungarian province starting with 1240, and shortly after the eight custodies were organized, including Transylvania¹⁸. Likewise, Györffi Pál (1671-1748)¹⁹, at the beginning

Albania. Marijan Žugaj, "San Francesco in Croazia e la Protoprovincia Croata (1217-1239)", *Miscellanea Francescana*, 82 (1982): 247-310, Idem, *I conventi dei Minori Conventuali tra i Croati dalle origini fino al 1500* (Roma, 1989), Roscic' Nicola, "Integrazioni storiche sull'antica Provincia Sclavonia O. Min.", *Miscellanea Francescana*, 70 (1970): 403-419. And also the following research Cristoforo Bove, "Santità dei minori albanesi in epoca medievale (secoli XIII-XV)", in *Due volti del francescanesimo. Miscellanea in onore di Optatus Van Asseldonk e Lazzaro Iriarte*, ed. Andrej Tomkiel (Roma, 2002), 471-480.

¹⁸ Francesco Gonzaga, *De origine Seraphicae Religionis Franciscanae eiusque progressibus, de regularis observantiae institutione, forma, administrationis ac legibus admirabilique eius propagatione* (Venice, 1603), 590.

¹⁹ Györffi Pál, *Ortus, Progressus, Vicissitudines, Excisio, et Restauratio, olim custodiae, nunc ab anno M. DCC. XXIX. Provinciae Transilvaniae Ord. Min. S. P. N. Francisci Strict Observ. Titulis. Regis Stephani ex Gravissimis, Fideque dignis Autoritatibus clara, ac succincta methodo compilatus, primum in Urbe Orbis capite revisus, castigatus, approbatus, & excusus Typis Reverendae Camerae Apostolicae. eX Vrbe septiColLe ReDVX oMlne FaVsto Hac secunda editione sub Gratosissimus auspiciis excelentissimi domini comitis domini Joannis Haller L. B de Haller-Koe, sac. caes. Regiaeque catholicae majest. camerarii, status ejusdem Actualis, ac Intimi Consiliarii, Principatus Transilvaniae, Patiumque eidem annexarum Regio-Principalis Gubernatoris & c. Domini, & Patroni nostri Gratosissimi, Colendissimi. Cum Facultate Superiorum Luci familiaris Soli expositus. Typis Ven. Conventus Csikiensis, ad B. Virginem Visitantem* (Șumuleu Ciuc, 1737). Pál Engel, Eric Fügedi and the editors of *Dicționarul mănăstirilor*, shared the same conviction that in 1229 the friars arrived in Hungary, and from 1238 they also had a province in Hungary. Pál Engel, *The Realm of St Stephen. A History of Medieval Hungary, 895-1526* (Londra-New York, 2001), 97, Eric Fügedi, "La formation des villes et les ordres mendiants en Hongrie", *Annales, Économies, Sociétés, Civilisations* 25 (1970): 972 and Adrian Andrei Rusu coord., *Dicționarul mănăstirilor din Transilvania, Banat, Crișana și Maramureș* (The Dictionary of Monasteries from Transylvania, Banat, Crișana and Maramureș) (Cluj-Napoca, 2000), 17. Viorel Achim agrees that the minorites are present in Hungary from 1233. Moreover, the eight custodies, including Transylvania, were organized after 1300. Viorel Achim, „Ordinul franciscan în Țările Române în secolele XIV-XV. Aspecte teritoriale”(The Franciscan Order in the Romanian Areas in the 14th-15th centuries) *Revista istorică* 7/5-6 (1996): 2. According to Beatrix Romhányi, the friars for the first time come in 1227, followed by an ample observant expansion at the beginning of the 14th century. Beatrix F. Romhányi, "Le fonctionnement matériel des couvents mendiants dans le Royaume de Hongrie aux XIIIe-XVle siècles: aperçu des sources et de l'historiographie", *Études franciscaines*, n.s., 6/1 (2013): 48. In the same direction, Kertész Balázs claims that the friars arrive in Hungary in the second half of the years 1220. The historian continues the statement with the following because the friars come from the German province, the new one established at 1232 (with the center in

of the 18th century, marked that the friars came in Hungary during the reign of King Bela IV (1235-1270), more precisely in 1240. The same number of custodies is recorded for the conventual province "Saint Mary". Next, it's stated that the friars who contributed to the organization of the province came from various places, without being named. What we know are the qualities of the minorities: zeal, piety and other virtues. A final detail recalls that after the coming of the friars there were formed, in short time, the two minorite provinces. In fact, the observant province "Saint Salvator" is set up in 1517²⁰, on the background of the Hungarian observant vicariate detached from the Bosnian vicariate in 1448.

At the beginning of the 19th century, Mihály Knáisz de Miskolc OFMConv (1735-1824) wrote a paper on the Hungarian conventual province²¹. The Franciscan places the first coming

Esztergom) remain subject to the German province until 1238, when the Hungarian province becomes independent. Balázs Kertész, ed., *A magyarországi obszerváns ferencesek eredetiben fennmaradt iratai: 1448–1526 (Original surviving documents of the Hungarian Observant Franciscans)*. Fontes Historici Ordinis Fratrum Minorum in Hungaria 7 (Budapest, 2015), 47. In the same way, Gabriela Bonto, in her doctoral thesis, mentions that the province was formed in 1238, having the center in Esztergom. Gabriela Cristina Bonto, *A ferencesek működése a Szatmári római katolikus egyházmegyében (The Activity of the Franciscans in the Roman-Catholic Diocese of Satu Mare)* (Alba Iulia/Cluj, 2014), 63 (doctoral thesis).

²⁰ The observant vicariate of Bosnia was established in 1340. From this, on February 10, 1448, it will detach the Hungarian observant vicariate. An important detail from the history of the Order, which also has consequences in Hungary, is the decision taken by Pope Leo X (1513-1521), in 1517, to separate the Order into two branches: the conventuals and the observants. In 1528, a new separation will be produced, for the Capuchin Friars. Thus, after 1517 the observant vicariates will be considered as provinces. Ioan-Aurel Pop, *Din mâna valahilor schismatici...: românii și puterea în regatul Ungariei medievale (secolele XIII-XIV)*, second edition (Cluj-Napoca, 2017), 41 [From the hands of the schismatic Walachians: Romanians and power in the Hungarian kingdom (13th-14th centuries)] (henceforth Ioan-Aurel Pop, *Din mâna valahilor schismatici*), Iulian-Mihai Damian, „*Vetus et nova haeresis: inchiziția franciscană la hotarul sud-estic al regatului ungar la mijlocul secolului XV*” (“*Vetus et nova haeresis: the Franciscan Inquisition at the south-eastern Border of the Hungarian Kingdom in the mid-fifteenth century*”), *Anuarul Școlii doctorale Istorie. Civilizație. Cultură*, 2 (2006): 96, Marie-Madeleine de Cevins, *Les franciscains observants hongrois de l'expansion à la débâcle (vers 1450 – vers 1540)* (Roma, 2008), 40. Balázs Kertész, ed., *A magyarországi obszerváns ferencesek eredetiben fennmaradt iratai: 1448–1526 (Original surviving documents of the Hungarian Observant Franciscans)*. Fontes Historici Ordinis Fratrum Minorum in Hungaria 7 (Budapest, 2015), 46. Also, in *Schematismus almae Provinciae SS. Salvatoris in Hungaria, Ordinis Fratrum Minorum S. P. Francisci, strictioris observantiae, pro Anno Domini 1877* (Budapest, 1876) it can be read data regarding the observant province. Even though it sets the date 1444 for the constitution of the observant vicariate, it proposes the year 1517 for the separation of the two branches, with the specification that just from 1523 the province has the official name "Saint Salvator".

²¹ F. M. Michael Knaisz de Miskoltz, *Chronologo provinciae ordinis F. F. Minorum S. Francisci Conventualium Provinciae Hungariae, et Transilvaniae, nunc S. Elisabeth Reginae nuncupatae; Premissa compendiosa vita Seraphici Patris in gratiam junioris nostri Cleri editum, pro grati animi perenni testimonio Fratribus suis dicatum* (Bratislava, 1803), 141, 232-234, 290-295.

of the friars in Hungary during the reign of Andrew II (1205-1235) around 1218, in the Episcopal city of Eger. Thus, in short time, the friars extend in cities and markets with the support of magnates, kings or queens, who eventually choose to be buried in minorite churches. Also, from 1260 the province has eight custodies. Knáisz writes a list of provincial ministers, the first being named in 1218 at the general chapter of Assisi. The role of the new order in Hungary, designed by the Holy See, was to combat heresy. Some of the friars advanced on the steps of the ecclesiastical offices, for example, Petrus Hanganus, at the end of the 13th century, is named archbishop for Split, Dalmatia.

From the beginning of the 20th century, there are two important studies²² related to the activity of the friars in Hungary. First, the work of Karácsonyi János, reports that John of Piano Carpini (1185-1252), German provincial minister, had the initiative to send friars in Hungary in 1229. With the year 1233 is outlined a Hungarian custody under the lead of the German province. Based on this core there will be formed in 1238 the independent Hungarian province. Second, Fortunát Boros OFM (1895-1953) states that the friars are present in the realm of Saint Stephen from 1228. The Franciscan continues and says that the consolidation of the Order in the new province is possible only after the Mongolian invasion, thus after 1260. The same information can also be found at Muckenhaupt Erzsébet and Zoltán Soós: the Transylvanian custody is organized after the Mongolian invasion (1241-1242), around 1250. Then, both the Friars Minor and the preachers received the mission, from the Holy See, to convert the Cumans²³.

²² Karácsonyi János, *Szent Ferenc rendjének története Magyarországn 1711-ig* (The History of the Order of Saint Francis in Hungary until 1711), vol. 1 (Budapest, 1923), 13-16, Fortunát Boros, *Az erdélyi Ferencrendiek* (The Franciscans in Transylvania) (Cluj-Napoca, 1927), 18-19, 27-29. In one of his research, Zoltán Soós, relying on the two abovementioned studies (and on John Moorman, *History of the Franciscan Order*, Oxford, 1988) for the beginning of the Order in Hungary. Zoltán Soós, "The Franciscan Friary of Târgu Mureş and the Franciscan Presence in Medieval Transylvania", *Annual of Medieval Studies at CEU* 9 (2003): 249. Another authors, Anton-Aurel Ilieş and Ştefan Damian, relying on Jordanus Giano's chronicle state that the friars arrive in Hungary in 1228. Ştefan Damian, "Momenti significativi della presenza francescana nei Paesi Romeni", in *I Francescani nella Storia dei Popoli Balcanici nell'VIII centenario della fondazione dell'Ordine*. Atti del Convegno Internazionale di studi Venezia, 13-14 novembre 2009 (Venezia 2011), 15. Antonel-Aurel Ilieş, *Sfântul Francisc de Assisi și franciscanii din România (Saint Francis of Assisi and the Romanian Franciscans)* (Roman, 2012), 39, the same also in Idem, *Istoria Franciscanismului de la origini până la scindarea prin Ite vos (1181/1182-1517)* (*The History of the Franciscan Order from its Origins until Ite vos, 1181/1182-1517*) (Roman, 2008), 127.

²³ Muckenhaupt Erzsébet, *A Csíksomlyói ferences könyvtár kincsei* (*The Treasures of the Franciscan Library from Csíksomlyó*) (Cluj-Budapest, 1999), 7, Zoltán Soós, "The Franciscan Friary of Târgu Mureş and the Franciscan Presence in Medieval Transylvania", *Annual of Medieval Studies at CEU* 9 (2003): 249.

On this direction, Nora Berend says that the arrival of the Friars Minor occurred around 1225, after the arrival of the Order of the Preachers in 1221. She also states that the Friars Minor begin to have an important role in converting the Cumans (more that the preachers) only after Margaret (1242-1270) listens to her Dominican confessor (she becomes a nun) and refuses to marry after her father's will (King Bela IV). Nora Berend, "The Mendicant Orders and the Conversion of Pagans in Hungary", *Alle frontiere*

The three chronicles of Jordanus of Giano, Salimbene of Parma and Thomas of Eccleston were translated, in whole or fragments, in the collection of *Franciscan Sources*, vol. 5²⁴. As it can be seen from the title, the purpose of the volume is to highlight the life of *il Poverello* through the writings of the friars and of different characters who have come in contact with the new order. This volume is mentioned because it has a few details from sources of the epoch that concern the Hungarian province.

Finally, a recent study, realized by Eszter Konrád, "Holy Friars in Hungary and Beyond in Franciscan Literature"²⁵, is very useful for the type of sources on which the research focuses on. Thus, Konrád relies on medieval literature from which one can find data about the Hungarian provincial minister, or fragments from the martyrdom of a friar named Stephen, originated from Oradea.

As seen, for this research, two types of sources have been used. Firstly the historiography that existed until before conducting the study, and secondly, some primary sources like a few documents from the *Bullarium franciscanum* or one of the minorite chronicle, the one of Jordanus of Giano.

3. Archives from The General Curia of the Order of the Friars Minor (AGOFM-Storico²⁶) and from the Order of the Friars Minor Conventual (AGOFMConv)

Neither general archives, nor the Observants and Conventuals, own the entire sources that concern their history from the beginning until our days. Rather, these gather documentation useful for the general minister and for the offices that work with him (two secretaries: the general and the one in charge with the missions, and the general procurator). Among the funds there can be found: the reports of the provincial minister, the correspondence addressed to the general minister, to both the secretaries, and to the curia's offices. Thus, the general curia holds three types of archive: the current one (of the last 25 years), the deposit (the last 50 years), and the historical archive²⁷. The sources for the following part are from the latter category.

della cristianità, I frati mendicanti e l'evangelizzazione tra '200 e '300, Atti del XXVIII Convegno internazionale Assisi, 12-14 ottobre 2000 (Spoleto 2001), 277.

²⁴ Izvoare franciscane, volumul 5, *Viața sfântului Francisc de Assisi: cronici și mărturii franciscane și non-franciscane* (Franciscan Sources, vol. 5, *The Life of Saint Francis of Assisi. Franciscan and Non-Franciscan Chronicles and Testimonies*) (Roman, 2015).

²⁵ Eszter Konrád, "Holy Friars in Hungary and Beyond in Franciscan Literature", *Annual of Medieval Studies at CEU* 22 (2016): 121-144.

²⁶ AGOFM M 94, f. 144 v., M 117, M 118, SK 324, SM 516.

²⁷ Sources related to local details (specific regions, countries, where the friars had or have activity) are to be found (if they survived) in local archives (both state ones or ecclesiastical). Fr. Pedro Gil Muñoz OFM, "Archivio Storico dei Franciscani O.F.M. (AGOFM)", *Convegno Medioria fidei: Archivi ecclesiastici e Nuova Evangelizzazione* (Roma, 2013): 1 <http://www.memoriafidei.va/content/memoriafidei/it/att-online/convegno-2013.html> (accessed 9 February 2018).

First, the fund named “Hungary”, from the Conventual General Archive has a brief account, from the 18th century, regarding the convent from Bistrița. Thus, the convent, existed due to the Bishop of Transylvania, starting with 1336²⁸. Second, in the same archive, there is, in copy, a volume which contains two manuscripts (*Historia missionum* and *Prefectus ordinis 1182-1771*) that belongs to the archive fund named “The Minorites”, from the state archive of Miskolc, Hungary²⁹. The volume is at Rome because friar Ernesto Piacentini made a research in 1986 in Hungary. Here there will be mentioned a detail from the second part, namely a small fragment from a list of the provincial ministers from 1218 to 1833. Thereby, in the 13th century there are listed the following officials: (1218) Ioannes, (1225) Ioannes, (1227) Petrus, (1231) Albertus de Pisis, (1235) Petrus, (1243) Iacobus, (without the year) Nicolaus, (1287) Petrus de Feria, (1288) Stephanus, (1296) Barnabas, (1298) Adrianus, and (1301) Haymo³⁰.

Most of the material from the observant archive, which regard the Kingdom of Hungary, was written after the 19th century. Even though, the notes are modern there can also be found references with respect to the medieval history of the Order, as follows. Thereby, from the 16th century, there is a short account regarding the minorite presence in Transylvania. In the volume “Missions” (M94), there is a copy of a document issued in 1574, in Vienna, that contains a transumpt from 1571. The document is written by the Superior General of the Jesuits (Society of Jesus) and contains an impulse for sending theologians in Transylvania with the purpose of bringing as many believers into the Church as possible. The named source includes a presentation of the spiritual framework from the area at that very moment. Among other details, it reminds the minorite presence in Transylvania, which is certified by many convents. It states that the friars lived in the midst of the faithful, among the Turks, but also among the schismatics.

²⁸ AGOFMConv, C.3.9-cart. 3, doc. 1. In fact, it is possible that the settlement may be earlier. Soós Zoltán, “The Franciscan Friary of Târgu Mureș (Marosvásárhely) and the Franciscan Presence in Medieval Transylvania”, *Annual of Medieval Studies at the CEU* 9 (2003): 249. Based on a document issued on 20 December 1268 by the magistrate from Rodna, Soós affirms that the friars were present in Bistrița already at that date. MNL, DL 73625, *Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte der Deutschen in Siebenbürgen*, vol. 1, eds. Franz Zimmermann, Carl Werner (Sibiu, 1892) doc. 118, Documente privind istoria României, C Transilvania, veacul al XIII-lea (*Documents regarding the history of Romania*, C Transylvania, 13th century), vol. 2 (Bucharest, 1952), doc. 104.

²⁹ MNL Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén Megyei Levéltár miskolci központ, *Missionum historia. Progressus ordinis 1182-1771*, Convento Miskolc, Manuscripto nr. 13. The list of the provincial ministers at the pages 12-36, in the second part. The information is based on Luca Wadding OFM and *Bullarium Franciscanum*.

³⁰ We see in the list made by Michael Knaisz of Miskoltz, for the interval 1218-1670, that a few dates differ. (1218) Ioannes, (1225) Ioannes, (1227) Petrus de Feria, (1231) Albertus de Pisis, (1235) Petrus, **(1246)** Iacobus, **(1478)** Nicolaus, (1288) Stephanus, **(1292)** Barnabas, (1298) Adrianus, (1301) Haymo (with bold there are marked the differences, in addition, Petrus de Feria is minister beginning with 1231 and not in the period 1287-1288). F. M. Michael Knaisz de Miskoltz, *Chronologo provinciale ordinis F. F. Minorum S. Francisci Conventualium Provinciae Hungariae, et Transilvaniae, nunc S. Elisabeth Reginae nuncupatae; Premissa compendiosa vita Seraphici Patris in gratiam junioris nostri Cleri editum, pro grati animi perenni testimonio Fratribus suis dicatum* (Bratislava, 1803), 290-312.

Next, the volume “Erzegovina” 1847-1869 (M 118) includes after page 458 a series of references relative to Walachia. All these notes concern modern events, with emphasis on the Bulgaro-Valahia mission “John of Capestrano”, that belonged to the province of Hungary. The unification of the two missions (from the two territories, Bulgaria and Valachia) took place in 1851, and the dissolution happened in 1867, the continuation of the mission was entrusted to the Passionist Order. Similarly, in volume M 117, the modern reality of the Franciscan mission is presented in several pages.

An important register, is “Transylvania” for 1855-1882 (SK 324). Here there are two references related to medieval facts from Transylvania. First, the provincial minister Josephus Keresztes communicates to Pope Pius IX (1846-1878) on March 30, 1859, that the Friars Minor arrived in Transylvania just in 1366. Furthermore, the account explains the role that the Order has had from the beginning: to administrate churches, to build convents, to convert the unbelievers, to preach the Gospel or to administer the sacraments. In the second place, there is an attempt to answer two questions: firstly, in which period the friars arrived in Hungary and in Transylvania, secondly about the organization of the province. Solution to this questions was found in the indicated source: *Chronologis-Schematismis publicis et monumentis veterum aedificiorum deducuntur*. It is proposed that the arrival of the Friars Minor in Hungary occurred in the third or fourth decade of the 13th century (1225-1239), at the initiative of the friars from Germany. In 1240 King Bela IV accepted the friars that were organised in the province named “Saint Mary”. It is known that one of the first places in which they settle is Esztergom and their mission was to convert the Cumans. Because of the important mission in the Kingdom, the mendicants begin to have a great role in the ruler’s courts. Amongst the crowned heads until mid-fourteenth century, King Bela IV, Elizabeth of Thuringia, Elizabeth of Poland and her son King Louis I the Great (1342-1382) stand out in patronaging the friars³¹.

³¹ The first King that encountered the friars, Bela IV, had chosen to be buried in their friary from Esztergom. Next, the reign of King Louis I was known for his preference and favors shown to the Friars Minor. Firstly, this positive attitude is due to the influence of his mother Queen Elizabeth of Poland and secondly, because of the role played by the Friars in the policy of Catholic uniformization of the kingdom. A measure taken by the two rulers that encouraged the spread of the Franciscans was the construction of new convents. Pál Engel, *The Realm of St Stephen. A History of Medieval Hungary, 895-1526* (London-New York, 2001), 96-97, 107, 171-172, Nora Berend, Przemysław Urbańczyk, Przemysław Wiszewski, *Central Europe in the High Middle Ages: Bohemia, Hungary and Poland, c. 900-c. 1300* (Cambridge, 2013), 359-360. Ioan-Aurel Pop, *Din mâna valahilor schismatici*, 60, 457-458. To better understand the life and miracles attributed to the hagiographic dossier of Elizabeth of Hungary there are the following studies. Ottó Gecser, “Santa Elisabetta e il miracolo delle rose” in *Annuario 2002-2004: Conferenze e convegni*, ed. László Csorba, (Rome, 2005), 240-247, Ottó Gecser, *The Feast and the Pulpit. Preachers, Sermons and the Cult of St. Elizabeth of Hungary, 1235-ca. 1500* (Spoleto, 2012), introduction, Ottó Gecser, “Miracles of the Leper and the Roses. Charity, Chastity and Female Independence in St. Elizabeth of Hungary”, *Franciscana* 15 (2013): 149-176, Gábor Klaniczay, “Saint Elizabeth of Hungary: A European Saint”, in *Schola Europaea. Les valeurs de l’Europe - L’Europe des valeurs*, Classica-Mediaevalia-Neolatina III, eds. Ladislaus Havas, Ladislaus Takács and Emericus Tegye (Debrecen, 2009), 201-222. The important role

Also, in the register is recalled the document issued in 1348, during the pontificate of Clement VI (1342-1352). This contains the impulse to send Friars Minor and Preachers in Moldavia and Cumania to preach. Next, the places that belonged to the Observant branch of the Order of the Friars Minor are written. Thus, the convent of Șumuleu-Ciuc was founded in 1339, the one from Bacău (Moldavia) in 1410, in Cluj-Napoca it exists since 1446, the one in Hunedoara from 1487, in Mediaș and Sebeș the friars were present from 1270 and in Brașov from 1499. An important detail is that the observant province in Hungary "Saint Salvator" was approved in 1523. The last point regards the convents that belonged to the Conventuals. First is named Sibiu from 1366, then Bistrița from 1366 and the following convents are the ones from Păuca, Târgu Mureș, and Orăștie.

Finally, there were identified two registers, the first one, named "Romania" (SM 516), which contains references beginning with the year 1900, the second, called "Romania. Provincia Transylvaniae S. Stephani Regis", has data for the period 1950-1956. Even though the information exceeds for the most part facts related to the Middle Age, there is an exception, this is the *Schematismus provinciale OFM S. Stephani in Transylvania, Romania*, printed in 1947 at the friars' typography from Târgu Mureș. The author of the named *Schematismus* used as a source for his work other similar volumes edited in the following years: 1856, 1888, 1901 and 1906. Thus, in the first pages, one can find that the friars arrive in Hungary in the year 1229, in the time when the general minister of the Order was John Parenti (d. 1250, he followed Francis of Assisi) and they were sent by John of Piano Carpini, the provincial minister to Germany. Moreover, according to studies from the first half of the 20th century (*quia propter novas investigationes historicas*) the coming of the friars was influenced by the establishment of the Cumanic Bishopric³², its existence is placed between 1227/1228 and the Tatar invasion from 1241. From this account, one can see that the mission of the Friars Minor and of the Preachers was to convert the Cumans from the Kingdom of Hungary. After a few years, the friars organized the custody of Transylvania (from 1260). The friars from the custodies were

played by the friars in the conversion of the Cumans can be traced in Nora Berend, *At the Gate of Christendom: Jews, Muslims and 'Pagans' in Medieval Hungary, c. 1000 – c. 1300* (Cambridge, 2001), 31, 213, 218-223.

³² The Cumanic Bishopric was formed to include the former space controlled by the Teutonic Knight. The first to lead this ecclesiastical institution was the Preacher Teodoric, the former provincial of the Dominican Hungarian province. For more information, Victor Spinei, „Episcopia cumaniilor. Coordonate evolutive” (The Cuman Bishopric. Evolutionary coordinates), *Arheologia Moldovei* 30 (2007): 137-180, Idem, "The Cuman Bishopric – Genesis and Evolution", in *The Other Europe in the Middle Ages. Avars, Bulgars, Khazars and Cumans*, ed. Florin Curta (Leiden, 2008), 413-456, Laurențiu Rădvan, *Orașele din Țările Române în Evul Mediu (The Cities of the Romanian Principalities in the Middle Ages)* (Iași, 2011), 112, 113, 114, 146, 324. Also Nora Berend has a study in which it can be seen the active participation of the preachers and minorites to convert the Cumans from the Kingdom of Hungary. Nora Berend, "The Mendicant Orders and the Conversion of Pagans in Hungary", in *Alle frontiere della cristianità, I frati mendicanti e l'evangelizzazione tra '200 e '300*, Atti del XXVIII Convegno internazionale Assisi, 12-14 ottobre 2000 (Spoleto 2001), 253-279.

represented in the provincial chapter. Among the first convents (from the 13th century) there are the ones from Bistrița, Târgu Mureș, Sibiu, and Orăștie. In this custody, the friars came from Hungary, Bosnia and Bulgaria. In the year 1517, the custody had convents in the following places: Târgu Mureș, Șumuleu Ciuc, Albești, Coșeiu, Brașov, Teiuș, Cluj-Napoca, Mediaș, Păuca, Hunedoara, Hațeg, Bacău, Târgoviște, and Câmpulung. Last, there is a statistic from the year 1525 that records for the province "Saint Salvator, ten custodies with 73 convents and 1,472 friars. From this number, 12 convents with 218 friars were in the custody of Transylvania.

4. *Minorite literature*

From the writings (chronicles and travel memories) of the friars, it can be seen an interest towards different events that took place in areas where the Order expanded.³³ In the following, there will be described a few details from the chronicles of Jordanus of Giano and Salimbene of Parma. After these two accounts follow another two writings, the former has a list with the provinces of the Order, and the latter provides information on the general ministers.

a. Born in 1221 from a wealthy family of Parma, Salimbene enters the Order of the Friars Minor in 1238, ten years later he is ordained priest³⁴. The friar writes a chronicle with a strong autobiographical accent which is kept in a unique autograph manuscript (but an incomplete work) preserved at the Vatican Apostolic Library, manuscript no. 7260³⁵. The chronicler captures both political and cultural events related to the Kingdom of Hungary. It also provides data concerning the minorite province founded in the named kingdom. So, the moment of the departure of Frederic Barbarossa (1122-1190), the emperor of the Holy Roman Empire, in the East, is surprised. On the way through Pannonia, the minorite records that the emperor had passed near a hospital that was built for the poor, moreover the same was welcomed by Bela III (1172-1196), King of Hungary, at the court from Esztergom³⁶.

³³ Bert Roest, *Reading the Book of History: Intellectual Contexts and Educational Functions of Franciscan Historiography 1226-ca.1350* (Groningen-Regenboog, 1996), 105.

³⁴ Salimbene de Adam da Parma, *Cronica*, translation. Giuseppe Scalia, Berardo Rossi, vol. 1 (Parma, 2007), XI, XII, XVIII (forewards Salimbene, *Cronica*). From the existing research it is known that while he was a novice at Fano (Marche), he had as master of the theology friar Humble of Milano, who in turn studied at Bologna under the guidance of friar Aimone. Salimbene, *Cronica*, XVI. This information is useful in the event that this friar Humble of Milano is in fact Nicola of Montefeltro, for reconstructing details from the life of the former provincial minister of Hungary, in the first half of the 13th century.

³⁵ FF, 1628, Salimbene, *Cronica*, vol. 1, XXIII. The digitized manuscript can be accessed at the following link https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.lat.7260 (accessed 21 May 2018).

³⁶ Salimbene, *Cronica*, vol. 1, 49, 50.

The series of events continues with the year 1228,³⁷ when was recorded the devastation of Hungary by the Tatars³⁸ and the Cumans in 1228. More widely there is an account about the attacks of the Tatars in the Kingdom, which resulted with fires and robberies³⁹. The event is known because the mendicants suffered after this disaster, almost all Dominicans from a convent perished.

Salimbene marks the canonization of Francis of Assisi and Elizabeth of Hungary (1207-1231)⁴⁰, the daughter of Andrew II (1205-1235), made by Gregory IX. The process of canonization for the princess was sustained by many miracles. One of these consists in giving sight to a person that was blind from birth. After the death of her husband, Louis IV of Thuringia (1217-1227), she lived under the obedience of the Friars Minor, to whom she remained faithful until death. The body of the saint was buried in a church administrated by the friars, at her own desire⁴¹.

The friar from Parma notes the conflicts concerning the possible extension of the territory of the Hungarian Kingdom⁴². In few words, there is described the battle of 1260, lost by Bela IV, King of Hungary, against Ottokar II, King of Bohemia (1253-1278). The attention of the friar is drawn by the staff of the Hungarian king's army, made of *diversarum orientalium nationum et paganorum*.

³⁷ Salimbene, *Cronica*, vol. 1, 207. On the death of Andrew II, King of Hungary, and his mother's fate see also Salimbene, *Cronica*, vol. 1, 646, 647.

³⁸ According to Salimbene, during Gregory IX's papacy, it begins to take an attitude against the Tatar presence in Europe. Next, Innocent IV (1243-1254) entrusts the mission against them to John of Piano Carpini. Salimbene, *Cronica*, vol. 1, 888.

³⁹ Salimbene, *Cronica*, vol. 2, 2744-2745.

⁴⁰The figure of Elisabeth of Hungary is also noted in other minorite writings, and also in nowadays research. A fourteenth-century chronicle is written by Arnald of Sarrant, it provides information on the first twenty-four general ministers of the Order. Within it, there is emphasized the life of holiness that Elizabeth carried on and the deeds of mercy she made. Arnald de Sarrant, *Chronicle of the Twenty-Four Generals of the Order of Friars Minor*, translated by Noel Muscat OFM (Malta, 2010), 305-307, 688 (the volume can be find on-line <http://i-tau.com/wp/?p=382>, accessed 11 October 2017; henceforth Arnald de Sarrant, *Chronicle of the Twenty-Four Generals*). A monograph volume, written in four languages, is the following Prokopp Mária, *Árpád-házi Szent Erzsébet* (Saint Elizabeth of the Arpad dynasty), (Budapest, 2003). The last suggestion is an important editorial that includes documents that concern the life of the saint from the 12th century. In addition to this, the reader can find a synthesis on the characteristics of her spirituality. Lino Temperini ed., *Santa Elisabeta d'Ungheria nelle fonti storiche del Duecento* (Padova, 2008).

⁴¹ In essence, this paragraph looks at the aspect of lay burial in the churches administrated by the friars, a controversial point in the relations with the diocesan clergy. After all, the laity could choose where to keep their remains. Salimbene, *Cronica*, vol. 2, 1983, Salimbene, *Cronica*, vol. 1, 209.

⁴² The conflict concerns the Styria Province (today in southeastern Austria), won by the King of Boemia. The peace was also strengthened by a marriage union (the niece of the Hungarian King and the King of Bohemia). Salimbene, *Cronica*, vol. 2, 2162.

During the generalate of Elia (1232-1239), Salimbene recorded some interesting aspects regarding the province of Hungary⁴³. As he was able to see for himself (*quem vidi*), during the novitiate (in the port city of Fano), two friars from the named province headed for Assisi to deliver to the general minister a large fish preserved with salt and wrapped in rugs. Moreover, the provincial minister, from the same province, together with King Andrew II sent to Assisi a large golden cup destined for keeping and worshiping the head of Saint Francis. Another detail about the province of Hungary concerns the appointment of brother Nicola of Montefeltro as provincial minister of Hungary and then minister of Slavonia (Dalmatia)⁴⁴. Salimbene knows that this friar has spent his last years in the convent of Bologna (where it seems that he is also buried). He, friar Nicola, is one of the friars he has personally known, attributing to him a character of rare humility. He is described similar to Moses and uses the words of Bernardin of Siena to describe his character. Physical features are added for the friar from Montefeltro: old and corpulent were the features that make him inappropriate to have offices, but moral traits (charity, modesty, sanctity, kindness, and solicitude) were those that made him able to exercise the office of provincial minister⁴⁵.

b. The second friar, Jordanus of Giano, was born in Giano, Umbria⁴⁶. As a young deacon, he participate in the 1221 mats chapter. In this gathering young Jordanus was in contact with the friars that went in the first expedition from 1217 in Germany, Hungary, Spain, Syria, France or Italy. Although the first expedition failed, the testimony of the returned friars had a strong influence upon the other friars⁴⁷. As a consequence of this influence stands the second expedition that had the same justification with the first, to expand the Order, in which also the friar from Giano took part. Being the last survivor from the second expedition in Germany was asked to write his memories that will serve as an example to other friars⁴⁸. Due to the vote of obedience, in 1262, Jordanus of Giano dictate to Baldovino of Brandeburgo data

⁴³ Salimbene, *Cronica*, vol. 1, 452, 453.

⁴⁴ Salimbene, *Cronica*, vol. 2, 2634. Tommaso di Carpegna Falconeri retains the information provided by Marie-Madeleine de Cevins, regarding the lack of documents and studies on this character in the Hungarian historiography. Tommaso di Carpegna Falconieri, "Per una storia degli insediamenti mendicanti nel Montefeltro", in *I conventi degli ordini mendicanti nel Montefeltro medievale. Archeologia, tecniche di costruzione e decorazione plastica*, eds. Cristiano Cerioni and Tommaso di Carpegna Falconieri (Firenze, 2012), 11-13.

⁴⁵ Two miracles, occurred after his death, are recorded in Arnald de Sarrant, *Chronicle of the Twenty-Four Generals*, 311. From this chronicle, friar Nicola is believed to have died during the generalate of Elia (1232-1239).

⁴⁶ *FF*, 1523.

⁴⁷ *FF*, 1524.

⁴⁸ *FF*, 1527-1528. The provincial minister (Bartolomeu) and Baldovino repeatedly insisted that the memories of Jordanus, regarding the German expedition, should be noted.

on the establishment, consolidation, and institutionalization of the German province for the period 1221-1262⁴⁹.

Thereby, Jordanus was part of the expedition that put together 13 lay friars and 12 friars that were also priests. The text starts with two paragraphs that illustrate the conversion and vocation assumed by the founder, thus after listening to a gospel fragment, Francis wants to be an imitator of evangelical poverty and preacher of it⁵⁰. The account continues with the experience of the first friars that went to Germany, Spain, and Hungary. Special attention is given to the experience in Syria for two reasons. First, because Francis himself went and second, it was the place where Caesarius of Speyer (died c. 1239) was received in the Order (after hearing Elia's sermon), the first German provincial minister. The failure of the expedition from Hungary is also reported. The episode begins with the fact that the friars arrived by boat, from the desire of a Hungarian bishop. Because of the negative attitude of the shepherds that they encountered, the desire to establish a community was not possible, thus, the scene ends with the returning of the friars to Italy⁵¹. In the paragraphs where the experience from Pannonia is written, one can notice that the friars are wearing poor clothes⁵².

⁴⁹ In the following, the information are from: *FF*, 1523, 1529-1531, 1539, 1542, 1544, 1548-1553, or the on-line text: http://www.classicalitaliani.it/francesco/Giordano_Giano_Cronaca.htm#_ftn8 (accessed 3 May 2017).

⁵⁰ The Cardinal-protector of the Order, Ugo of Ostia, wanted that the friars to have a papal letter to go on a mission. Thus, through his intercession, he obtains the bull *Cum dilecti filii* (June 11, 1219), the friars had the opportunity to be received by the prelates of the universal Church. Eduardo Scognamiglio, "Il missione per il mondo", in *La Regola di frate Francesco: Eredità e sfida*, eds. Pietro Maranesi and Felice Accrocca (Milano, 2012), 606. Augustine Thompson claimed that before Francis left for Egypt (1219), the friars were lamenting that they were not well received on the missions where they went (the first expansion from 1217). In order to straighten the situation, the cardinal of Ostia intervenes and asks the Papal Curia for the previously bull to be made. Thus, the Catholic prelates are encouraged to receive the minorites, they were to be received as "Catholics and faithful". Augustine Thompson O.P., *Francis of Assisi: A new biography* (Ithaca-New York, 2012), 75-76. The text of the papal letter from 11 June 1219 in *FF*, 1709 or *BF*, 2. It can be noticed that at that time, in 1219, the fraternity is called "religio" and in the papal letters issued in 1220 (*Pro dilectis* or *Cum secundum*, *FF*, 1710-1712, *BF*, 5-6) it's named "ordinus".

⁵¹ This experience is also reported in two other minorite sources: The Legend of the Three Companions and the Anonymus of Perugia. Andrei Ficău coord., trad., *Viața sfântului Francisc. Legenda celor trei însoțitori, Anonimul Perugin (Începuturile sau fondarea Ordinului (The life of Saint Francis. The Legend of the Three Companions, the Anonymus of Perugia. The Beginning or the Founding of the Order)* (Assisi, 2014), 62, 101, and *FF*, 793-872.

⁵² Another place where is written about the garments of the friars is when Pellegrino was received in the Order, *FF*, 2346. The issue concerning the clothes of the friars has long been debated both in Francis time and after his death. The first moment follows the conversion of Francis when he gives away his fathers clothes. After this, in Thomas of Celano's *Vita prima* (*FF*, 356) one can see how at Porziuncola Francis listens to the priest's explanation of the evangelical passage relative to sending the apostles to preach without money, two tunics, shoes, bags, staffs or bread (Mt 10, 7-10, Mc 6, 8-9, Lc 9, 3). If so far he dressed like a hermit with a leather belt, a staff, sandals, and a tunic, from that moment his only

The friar from Giano records that at the general chapter from 1221, Francis of Assisi named Caesario of Speyer as minister of the German province, which was to be formed in short time. It was this friar that had to choose his companions, with whom he would go to Germany. Among the 25 friars there was a certain Avram, who was known to be from Hungary. In the provincial chapter held in the same year, in Augsburg, Caesarius and the friars set in which directions the friars would spread. At this moment we see a feature of the Order that is kept until our days: the friars were sent in different parts and in groups of two to three friars. The priest Jordanus of Giano was to be accompanied by friars Avram and Constantin in Salzburg. It is known that the three didn't attend the provincial chapter from 1222 that took place in Worms, nonetheless the provincial minister requests to see them, they obey and go to him. In the same year, due to the lack of priests, Caesarius decides that Avram, alongside two other friars, to be ordained priests.

Soon the German mission will receive new members, from the locals. Among the first German laymen who entered the Order, in 1221, was Ruggero, future guardian of Halberstadt. This minorite was the first spiritual guide to Elizabeth of Hungary (or Thuringia). Through this spiritual connection, she was advised to keep the virtues of chastity, humility, and patience, but also to pursue a life of prayer and to devote herself to charity.

Blessed Albert of Pisa was the provincial minister of the provinces: Germany (1223-1227), Hungary and England (1236-1239). He is also believed to have occupied the same office for March of Ancona, Bologna, Spain, Tuscany, and Treviso⁵³. Noel Muscat advances the years 1232-1236 for the time in which he could have been the provincial minister in Hungary. In *Fonti Francescane*, it is considered that in Hungary he had the office before in Germany, thus

vestments were a string and a tunic. Thus, he manufactures a cross-shaped tunic made of a hard material – to crucify the flesh, the vices and the sins (Gal 5, 24). The stages of Francis' conversion are marked by the exchange of vestments, an important fact for the Middle Ages when the garment indicated the social status. Next, from the approved rule, in the second chapter, there are two types of vestments: the one for probation (during the novitiate) and those of the friars received in the order, after the profession. The friars could have a tunic with a capuche (or hood) and another without, a cord, and if they wanted also sandals. *FF*, Rb II, 7-14. Kenneth Baxter Wolf develops the matter of clothing relying on Celano's text. Being a cloth merchant son, he knew what material was appropriate to "crucify the body", which materials bring vanity and which brings humility. The problem is that the clothes he wore were aesthetic, even the poor wear the best clothes they find. So, he tried to find a material and a form humble and unwanted, from what resulted many people will take pieces to preserve them like relics. Kenneth Baxter Wolf, *The Poverty of Riches. St. Francis of Assisi Reconsidered* (Oxford, 2003), 16-18. Alexandra Concha's doctoral thesis, from the University College London, examines the relationship between clothes and religious orders. In the chapters dedicated to the minorites, there is an extensive analysis of the observants' perspective relating to this subject. She uses a series of tunics kept in Assisi, these are seen both as relics and a source that indicates the early history of the Order. Concha's opinion regarding the long-standing dispute between the branches of the Order was aimed at approaching the model worn by the founder. Alejandra Concha, *The Meaning of the Habit: Religious Order, Dress and Identity, 1215-1650* (London, 2017) 227-327 (doctoral thesis).

⁵³ Arnald de Sarrant, *Chronicle of the Twenty-Four Generals of the Order of Friars Minor*, 321, note 52.

before 1223⁵⁴. Thomas of Eccleston only says that he was the minister of the provinces Hungary, Germany, Bologna, Marche of Ancona, Treviso, and Tuscany before being named provincial in England, in 1236⁵⁵.

From a note dating back to 1225, the German provincial minister sent, as a help, to Jordanus of Giano, custodian of Thuringia, friar Nicola del Reno, priest, and lawyer. Because he impresses for his humility, he was also known as “Nicola the Humble” or “the humble friar”. This friar can be identified with Nicola of Montefeltro, the future provincial of Hungary. His first office in Germany was the guardian of the Erfurt convent, named by Jordanus of Giano. The next stage was the custodian of Saxony (the third in this office), due to the death of the former custodian, Giacomo. This new task was accepted, from the words of the chronicle, only because of the obedience to its superior. His last mention in the chronicle is in the passage where is mentioned that he is named provincial vicar in 1227.

In the following stands the information concerning the second expedition of the friars, from 1228, in Hungary, Poland, Bohemia, Denmark or Norway. This important moment occurred when Giovanni Parenti was the general minister and John of Piano Carpini was the provincial minister of the German province. These are the last data on the mission of the friars in Hungary. The last part of the chronicle does not reveal more about the Friars Minor which went to Hungary.

c. Paolino, bishop of Pozzuoli OFM (ca. 1270-1344) edited around the year 1343 the text *Provinciale ordinis fratrum minorum*⁵⁶. This work contains five pages (23r-25v) and is kept in the Vatican Secret Archives at the number Vat. Lat. 1960. The codex includes the mentioned *Provinciale* and also the following *Mappa mundi*, *Provinciale romanae curiae*, *Tractatus de diis gentium et fabulis poetarum*, *Tractatus de ludo scacorum*, *Satirica historia rerum gestarum mundi* and *Chartae geographicae et topographicae nonnullae*. The *Provinciale* is, in fact, a list of the minorite provinces and the organization of the custodies.

The convents from the current territory of Romania are to be found in the province of Hungary and in the Bosnian Vicariate. In the Transylvanian custody, there are Bistrița, Sibiu, Oradea, and Târgu Mureș. In the Bulgarian custody, from the Bosnian Vicariate, there are Caransebeș, Cuijeșd, and Orșova (*Orsicane circa Portam Ferream*).

The last detail that concerns the friars from the Kingdom of Hungary can be found in the Sirmium custody. Here, in the place named Francavilla (Mangyalos) is mentioned Ioannes, one of the provincial ministers of Hungary. Cesare Cenci in his research writes that *pertinere*

⁵⁴ FF, 2358n.

⁵⁵ FF, 2523, *Liber de adventu Fratrum Minorum in Angliam*.

⁵⁶ Some researchers date the text in 1334, other later, between 1334 and the year of his death in 1344. <http://www.mss.vatlib.it/gui/console?service=shortDetail&id=214314> (accessed 23 October 2017, 23v, 25r), Conrad Eubel, ed., *Provinciale ordinis Fratrum Minorum vetustissimum secundum Codicem Vaticanum 1960*, (Florence-Ad Claras Aqua, 1982), 33 (the Transylvanian custody), 76 (the Bosnian vicariate). For the office that the friar has, see Conrad Eubel, *Hierarchia Catholica*, 1 (Monasterii, 1913), 409.

*videntur ad locum Budae, ubi jacet (in ecclesia s. Ioh. Ev.) fr. Ioannes dictus Beatus, secundus minister Hungariae*⁵⁷.

d. Another work known in the Franciscan historiographical environment is the *Chronica XXIV Generalium Ordinis Fratrum Minorum*, which includes data on the first twenty-four general ministers of the Order. The work begins with the figure of Francis of Assisi and concludes with the activity of Leonard Griffoni (1373-1378). It is believed today that this work was written by the French friar Arnald of Sarrant, one of the provincial ministers of Aquitaine⁵⁸. From this source are revealed some data on the beginning of the Bosnian Vicariate.

In 1339, the General minister Gerard Odonis (or Eudes, 1329-1342) organized a general chapter at Assisi and immediately after he goes to Hungary and Bosnia. In this two areas, he met many heretics, one of his action was to take steps in converting the Bosnian ban Stephen II (1322-1353). After this episode, he named a number of friars to build convents, and organize them under the Bosnian Vicariate⁵⁹. When Eudes was provincial, happened the episode with the *passio* of Stephen of Hungary⁶⁰. This friar was born in Oradea at the beginning of the 14th century and was martyred in Saray, on April 22, 1334. At Sarsy he gives up Christianity and converts to Islam, but after a short while he repents and returns to Christianity. For this action the Saracens killed him. The first miracles are recorded immediately after his death. In essence, this is a story after the model of early Christian *passiones*: a Christian who forsakes his faith for Islam and then returns to his original faith. Moreover, this is an example of missionary presence and activity in the Mongol Empire, and a model for sermons. For example, James of the Marches (1391-1476) uses the example of Stephen in his homilies⁶¹. Another interesting information dates from 1340. Then, when the translation operation was up to start, in a

⁵⁷ Conrad Eubel, ed., *Provinciale ordinis Fratrum Minorum vetustissimum secundum Codicem Vaticanum 1960*, (Florence-Ad Claras Aqua, 1982), 33-34, note 91 from the page 34. Stanko Andrić asks whether this provincial minister really existed and if he was indeed the younger brother of the king of France or at least part of the French royal house. Stanko Andrić, "Blessed John the French, the First Franciscan Minister Provincial in Hungary and his Miracles", in *Promoting the Saints: Cultus and Their Contexts from the Late Antiquity until the Early Modern Period. Essays in Honor of Gábor Klaniczay for his 60th Birthday*, eds. Ottó Gecser, József Laszlovszly, Balázs Nagy, Marcell Sebők and Katalin Szende (Budapest, 2011), 101-102.

⁵⁸ Arnald de Sarrant, *Chronicle of the Twenty-Four Generals of the Order of Friars Minor*, 7-8.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 714. The action of the Provincial Minister from 1340 was preceded by a series of documents issued between 1325-1329 by Pope John XXII. Through these, Carol Robert of Anjou, King of Hungary (1301/1308-1342) and Stephen II, the Ban of Bosnia, had to support Fabian OFM, the inquisitor from Bosnia and Slavonia. *BF.*, vol. 5, doc. 577, 578, 668, 669, 670, 882, 823.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 560-561, 695-708.

⁶¹ Eszter Konrád, "Holy Friars in Hungary and Beyond in Franciscan Literature", *Annual of Medieval Studies at CEU* 22 (2016): 140-142.

miraculous way the body of the former provincial minister of Hungary, Ioannes, moved by its own⁶².

When Marc of Viterbo was the general minister (1359-1366) it is known that the friars had contributed to converting a large number of “heretics” from Bulgaria, the Kingdom of Hungary and Bosnia. In this, Louis I of Hungary had an important role⁶³.

The last detail, from the chronicle of the general ministers, concerns a list of the Observant provinces from 1493⁶⁴. Because of the work of John of Capestrano, the number of convents grew. Thus, for Hungary, there were 77 convents with 2000 Friars.

The expansion of the Friars Minor in the Hungarian Province. Final considerations

Since Francis of Assisi had founded the fraternity, that shortly had been organized into the Order of the Friars Minor, there was a desire to spread the good news of the Gospel beyond Assisi’s walls. Even during the lifetime of Francis, the friars had spread with the help of the papacy, and local crowned heads, in Europe and into the Middle East. In the present paper, there can be seen a few details regarding the arrival of the friars in Hungary, such as the moment when the province was organized and its partition into custodies, including Transylvania.

The first moments of the minorite presence in the Kingdom of Hungary and in Transylvania, in particular, represents a constant preoccupation and was often punctuated in the Hungarian and Romanian historiography. As seen, there are three directions regarding the moment when the Friars Minor arrive in Hungary and Transylvania in particular. The first hypothesis concerns the coming of the new order during the reign of Andrew II, around 1218, and they first settled in the episcopal city of Eger. From there, in a short time, it expands, and with the year 1260, there are eight custodies, including Transylvania. Secondly, one puts at the expense of the friars who came from Germany the organization of a custody from 1233, which

⁶² Arnald de Sarrant, *Chronicle of the Twenty-Four Generals of the Order of Friars Minor*, 715 Noel Muscat says that the former provincial minister died in 1287. Eszter Konrád based on recent research, mentions that this Ioannes of Villafranca was, in fact, the first provincial minister of Hungary, followed by another one with the same name (1256-1260) and the third would have been Petrus (1260-1272). Eszter Konrád, “Holy Friars in Hungary and Beyond in Franciscan Literature”, *Annual of Medieval Studies at CEU* 22 (2016): 135-137. A complex research regarding the mentioned friar is the following Stanko Andrić, “Blessed John the French, the First Franciscan Minister Provincial in Hungary and his Miracles”, in *Promoting the Saints: Cultus and Their Contexts from the Late Antiquity until the Early Modern Period. Essays in Honor of Gábor Klaniczay for his 60th Birthday*, eds. Ottó Gecser, József Laszlovszly, Balázs Nagy, Marcell Sebők and Katalin Szende (Budapest, 2011), 83-102.

⁶³ Arnald de Sarrant, *Chronicle of the Twenty-Four Generals of the Order of Friars Minor*, 756-759.

⁶⁴ At the time of the separation (in 1448 the Hungarian Observant Vicariate detached from the Bosnian Vicariate), the new Vicariate had 23 convents. Marie-Madeleine de Cevins, *Les franciscains observants hongrois de l’expansion à la débâcle (vers 1450 - vers 1540)* (Roma, 2008), 40, 45, Karácsonyi János, *Szent Ferencz rendjének története Magyarországon 1711-ig* (Budapest, 1923), 330-331.

was part of the German province. From this former custody, in 1238, there will be formed the Hungarian independent province. And, because of the Tatar invasion, the eight custodies were settled just after 1250. Thirdly, a short version, in which it states that the friars arrive during the reign of Bela IV, in 1240, shortly after they will be organized into a province. Unanimously, the role of the Order, in the Kingdom of Hungary, was to combat heresy and to convert the Cumans.

The sources from both general archives of the Observants and of the Conventuals are useful to complete or to verify existing information. What can be noticed is a constant interest to note details regarding the moment in which the friars arrived in Hungary and points about the province or its convents. Unanimously, it is stated that the friars came in Hungary at the request of the German provincial minister in the third or fourth decade of the 13th century. From 1240, there is noted the existence of the province St. Mary, which had eight custodies from 1260. The presence of the mendicant friars (both Minorites and Dominicans) was connected with the establishment of the Cuman Bishopric. Moreover, from the archives, one can find information with respect to the Hungarian provincial ministers. The lists begin with the year 1218, but the dilemma is whether for the first years (first thirty years) it was just a title or an office that was being practiced.

The minorite literature subjectively records details related to the topic of this paper. By far, the most relevant chronicle, for what concerns the Hungarian province, is the one of Jordanus of Giano. He is the one who remembers the failure of the first campaign and also the second expedition, from 1228 to Hungary (and other places from Europe). This second time, the Friars went in the named kingdom from the German province. From the Chronicle there can be identified a few points regarding two of the provincial ministers from Hungary, namely Nicola the Humble and Albert of Pisa. Another relevant source is the *Provinciale ordinis fratrum minorum*. This work contains, until mid 14th century, the names of all the provinces and the vicariates with the names of the convents from each area. In addition, it contains references about one of the Hungarian provincial ministers. From the *Chronica XXIV Generalium Ordinis Fratrum Minorum* there are a few details regarding the initiative to found the Bosnian vicariate, which until 1448 also included convents from Transylvania or Western counties. In this last work, one can find the story of friar Stephen, born in Oradea. He is recalled in the sermons of James of the Marches due to the *passio* that highlights his martyrdom. Because he did not lose his faith in Christ was killed by the Saracens. Moreover, besides this information regarding the order, one can find the friars' comments on political or cultural details from the Kingdom. Here there can be remembered that the friars find important the wors for the kingdom's expansion or its devastation by the Tatars.

To sum up, why is it important to stress the minorite expansion in the Hungarian territory? Firstly, it's a must to mention that the present paper is based on a limited amount of sources and there is a clear desire to expand this study with a document research, namely the ones preserved into local archives (both from Romania and Hungary).

Secondly, it is clear that one of the first places in which the friars are heading is also Hungary. Still, in the beginning, one can see the problem that consists in dealing with the otherness. On

the one hand, one can consider the point of view of the inhabitants who met a group of monks badly dressed, as seen, that did not know to express themselves in their language. The image that the locals had in mind was of monks properly dressed and isolated into monasteries. On the other hand, the desire of the friars to spread the good news of the Gospel had encountered the language barrier and inhabitants with different customs, and a traditional way of relating to religious orders.

Another highlighted point is the constant interest manifested by the friars and the papacy to bring to Peters Church inhabitants and also to minister the Christian communities. In the beginning, for Transylvania, some sources say that the main mission of the friars was to convert the Cumanians, afterward, their activity generalizes with the same action but rather for the schismatics, the major element from the land. Besides this, the friars' relation with the kings of Hungary, and also their relatives, is also of great importance. As it was possible to see, a great part of them helped to Christianize the population. A good example is Elizabeth, daughter of Andrew II and wife of Louis IV of Thuringia. This descendent of the Arpadian family entered in the Third Order shortly before she died (1231), and is recognized from her canonization until today as the patron saint of the Third Order of the Friars Minor along side with Louis IX, king of France (1226-1270). Moreover, of great importance for the activity of the friars in the Kingdom of Hungary was the support shown by two kings, Bela IV and Louis I. Finally, of great importance is that with the approval of Bela IV the Hungarian Province of the Friars Minor was organized.