

Critical Remarks on the Chronology of the Early Árpád-period Churches of the Transylvanian Episcopal See

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ABSTRACT. *Critical Remarks on the Chronology of the Early Árpád-period Churches of the Transylvanian Episcopal See.* The predecessor of today's Gyulafehérvár (Alba Iulia) Cathedral was first discovered during its restoration between 1907 and 1917. The three-nave, one-apse church had a rotunda attached to the south side. The study aims to clarify the chronology of the early cathedral by showing that the late eleventh century carvings, which had previously been used as a dating reference, most probably belonged to the rotunda rather than the cathedral, so that nothing rules out the possibility that the episcopal church was built in the early eleventh century. Others agree with the archaeologist who surveyed the area in 2011 that the construction of the small church discovered in the cathedral's foreground could be linked to a Byzantine mission in the mid-tenth century. In the second half of the eleventh century demolition of this building, which served as a baptistery, may have led to the construction of the rotunda, which also functioned as a baptistery.

Keywords: *Gyulafehérvár, Alba Iulia, tenth century, eleventh century, romanesque architecture, romanesque sculpture, Transylvanian architecture, Hungarian Christianization, Byzantine mission.*

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The Cathedral of St. Michael in Gyulafehérvár (now Alba Iulia, Romania), the centre of the Catholic Church in Transylvania, deserves special attention not only as the only intact medieval Hungarian cathedral, but also because, despite continuous interest and numerous publications since the mid-nineteenth century, a host of questions about its architectural history remain unanswered. The greatest uncertainty surrounds the chronology of the predecessor (or predecessors) of the current building. Interestingly, there is no answer, for example, to the question of when the first church of the bishopric, which all indirect sources indicate was founded by King Stephen I (Saint Stephen) in the early years of his reign, after 1003 and likely in 1009, was built in the southwestern corner of the ruins of the Roman Apulum.¹ It remains unclear whether the fragmentary foundation walls of this early building, uncovered through archaeological excavations, and the fairly discernible ground plan they outline point to a construction date that coincides with the cathedral's founding or, instead, whether the associated stone carvings, which date no earlier than the last quarter of the eleventh century, should serve as reference points in dating this structure? This study addresses these problems. The basic question at the outset of our inquiry is this: can we be certain that these late eleventh-century figural and ornamental stone carvings come from the original cathedral? Is there, perhaps, a more reasonable explanation of their origins? How might this dilemma affect the date assigned to the construction of the first church?

Although no written sources support this, it is widely held in art historical literature that the construction of the present second cathedral began in the last quarter of the twelfth century, most likely around 1190, after Adrianus, the former provost of Buda and royal chancellor, became bishop of Transylvania in 1187.² The late Romanesque mouldings and decorative elements in the eastern parts of the building are consistent with the theory that the founding of the first masonic lodge, capable of undertaking large construction

¹ The charter documenting the foundation of the bishopric has not survived. On the history of the location: Györfy György, "Gyulafehérvár kezdetei, neve és káptalanjának regestruma," *Századok* 117, (1983): 1103–1134; Bóna István, "Erdély a magyar honfoglalás és államalapítás korában," in *Erdély a keresztény magyar királyságban*, ed. Dávid Gyula (Erdélyi Múzeum-Egyesület, 2001), 75–76, 85–89. For a brief overview of the circumstances of the founding of the Hungarian state: Györfy György, *István király és műve* (Gondolat, 1983), 183; Marton József, *Az erdélyi egyházmegye a középkorban* (Pro-Print Könyvkiadó, 2013), 41–42.

² For the chronology of the beginning of the construction of the second cathedral: Entz Géza, *A gyulafehérvári székesegyház* (Akadémiai Kiadó, 1958), 87; Sarkadi Márton, "*s folytatva magát a régi művet*"—*Tanulmányok a gyulafehérvári székesegyház és püspöki palota történetéről* (Teleki László Alapítvány, 2010), 50–67; Imre Takács, "The First Sanctuary of the Second Cathedral of Gyulafehérvár (Alba Iulia, Ro)," *Acta Historiae Artium* 53, (2012), 20; Marosi Ernő, *A romanika Magyarországon* (Corvina Kiadó, 2013), 105.

jobs, and the initial phase of construction date to the last decades of the twelfth century, as was supposed by Géza Entz. Furthermore, these architectural elements allow for the assumption that their forms, typical of central Hungary, were a result of the connections of the royal clergyman-turned bishop.³ We know even less about why the cathedral was rebuilt: neither written records nor archaeological evidence suggest the new structure was constructed because of fire damage, obsolescence, or a perceived inadequacy of size. The questions surrounding the early church are further complicated because we need to consider not only the immediate predecessor to the cathedral but also three other early buildings. The earliest threads of this story can be traced back to a period preceding the great social and political transformations at the turn of the millennium. The most recent developments place the construction chronology of this eleventh-century Latin-rite episcopal seat in new light.

The church that stands today, usually called the second cathedral, was restored between 1907 and 1917 under the supervision of István Möller with the collaboration of Béla Pósta, archaeologist for the Museum of Transylvania in Kolozsvár [Cluj, Romania], and Sándor Fridli, the head of construction responsible for documenting the work. During the renovations, they discovered remains of an earlier church: parts of the longitudinal walls, a fragment of the semicircular sanctuary, and the remnants of a rotunda wall with an added sanctuary. This last feature was attached to the southern wall of the church, to the section in front of the sanctuary, with a minimal axial deviation (Fig. 1).⁴

The nave of the rotunda had a curve radius of 262 cm and the sanctuary a curve radius of 103 cm. It was clear to the excavators they had found the first cathedral, which, based on the wall remains, was clearly a three-aisled basilica.

³ Adorján's name probably first appeared in a letter sent by Étienne de Tournai, abbot of the monastery of Ste-Geneviève in Paris, to Béla III sometime after 1177 concerning the death and burial of a Hungarian student who was staying there. The letter names three other Hungarian clerics present, including the later bishop of Transylvania. Gombos Ferenc Albin, ed., *Catalogus fontium historiae hungaricae*, vol. I-III (Szent István Akadémia, 1938), III, 2181; Jakubovich Emil, "P. mester. Adalékok az Anonymus-kérdéshez," in *Emlékkönyv Dr Gróf Klebelsberg Kuno negyedszázados kulturpolitikai működésének emlékére születésének ötvenedik évfordulóján*, ed. Lukinich Imre (Rákos Jenő Budapesti Hírlap Ujságvállalata Nyomdája, 1925), 185–186; István Hajnal, *Enseignement de l'écriture aux universités médiévales* (Akadémiai Kiadó, 1959), 192. The rapid rise of Adorján's career is indicated by the reference to him as provost in the list of witnesses to the 1183 archiepiscopal charter of Esztergom. Knausz Nándor, ed., *Monumenta Ecclesiae Strigoniensis*, vol. I-II (Strigonii, 1874–1882), I, 128–129; cf. Kollányi Ferenc, *Esztergomi kanonokok 1100–1900* (Buzárovits Gusztáv, 1900), 2. Two years later, he was listed as royal notary and, in the same year, as royal chancellor and provost of Buda. Another two years after that, he was awarded the bishopric of Transylvania. Temesváry János, *Erdély középkori püspökei* (Ny. Minerva Irodalmi és Nyomdai Műintézet Részv. Társ., 1922), 12–16.

⁴ For a summary of the archaeological results and the ground plan of the excavated walls: Entz, *A gyulafehérvári székesegyház*, 72, ill. 57.

The side aisles terminated in a straight wall, while the central aisle ended in spacious, semicircular apse. The dimensions were not particularly large: the length of the nave was not known at that time, but it was obviously less than that of the second cathedral. Its internal width was estimated at 17 to 18 metres. It was also noticeable that the architect who designed the second cathedral had designed the new nave walls to run closely alongside the walls of the earlier building. This was a method common in the Middle Ages known as perimeter building. Its aim was twofold: firstly, to incorporate the whole of the consecrated area of the previous building into the new church and, secondly, to allow the function of the previous church to continue for a relatively long period—certainly for decades—while the new, surrounding walls were being built. The finds were first reported by Möller in 1908.⁵ A carefully executed, deconstructable plaster maquette was made of the excavated wall remains and today is part of the cathedral collection. Géza Entz, who wrote a monograph on the cathedral, commented on the relationship between the cathedral and the rotunda, which was identified as a baptistery, as follows: “there is no evidence that the circular chapel was built separately; the wall structure is also identical.”⁶ He based his position on personal communications and a drawing of the ashlar forming the side walls of the church and the nave wall of the circular chapel.⁷ His identification of the rotunda as a baptistery is also supported by a medieval source mentioning an altar to St John the Baptist.⁸

The relationship between the first cathedral and the rotunda is reminiscent of the architectural connection between the cathedral of Veszprém and the eleventh-century circular chapel built on its north side and also between the cathedral of Eger and a similar structure, revealed by Károly Kozák, on its southside.⁹ The latter could certainly be considered the best analogy to the Transylvanian baptistery if we had access to the documentation of the find.

⁵ Entz, *A gyulafehérvári székesegyház*, 73, note 32.

⁶ Entz, *A gyulafehérvári székesegyház*, 71.

⁷ Illustration based on a drawing by Sándor Fridli: Entz, *A gyulafehérvári székesegyház*, 55, ill. 45. Géza Entz wrote that in the 1940s, he had met Sándor Fridli in person, who confirmed this information. Entz, *A gyulafehérvári székesegyház*, 71, 151, note 31. Cf. Entz Géza, “A Szent István alapítású erdélyi püspökség első székesegyháza,” in *Doctor et apostol. Szent István-tanulmányok*, ed. Török József, *Studia Theologica Budapestinensia* 10 (1994): 102–103.

⁸ Entz, *A gyulafehérvári székesegyház*, 71, note 28. Cf. Virgil Vătăşianu, *Istoria artei feudale în Țările Române*, I, (Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste Romania, 1959), 22. The same position was adopted by Vera Gervers-Molnár when she considered the circular chapel of Gyulafehérvár as the only definitively identifiable baptistery among the Hungarian rotundas. Gervers-Molnár Vera, *A középkori Magyarország rotundái* (Akadémiai Kiadó, 1972), 52.

⁹ On the rotunda of Veszprém: Katalin H. Gyürky, “Die St. Georg-kapelle in der Burg von Veszprém,” *Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 15, (1963): 341–408. On the problem of the rotunda discovered in the Cathedral of Eger: Kozák Károly, “Közép-Európa centrális templomai (IX–XI. század),” *Veszprém Megyei Múzeumok Közleményei* 17 (1984): 131; Kozák Károly, “Az

Béla Cserni, a teacher, botanist, and founder of the museum in Gyulafehérvár, formulated the idea, which later became popular, that the Gyulafehérvár rotunda may have originally been a Roman tower that was later provided with an apse and converted into a chapel.¹⁰ Not surprisingly, Cserni's idea aroused considerable interest among Romanian scholars.¹¹ Radu Heitel, the later archaeologist of the church site, made similar claims. He believed the Roman tower was rebuilt into a chapel in the ninth or tenth centuries—in other words before the arrival of the Hungarians—during the so-called Bulgar voivodeship (Voivodeship of Bălgrad).¹² Indeed, the connection between the circular building and the apse wall does raise questions. However, it would be foolhardy to decide whether the entire structure was built at the same time or whether there were two periods of construction without further archaeological research. What is certain is that the nave's curved wall, at least at the foundation level, was constructed from straight-sided dismantled Roman ashlar in secondary use.¹³ In fact, it is precisely this feature that rules out the Roman origin of the building. Moreover, Daniela Marcu-Istrate has recently and very astutely brought up this fundamental problem: what logical reason would there have been for placing a defensive tower within a Roman castrum?¹⁴

The walls of the first cathedral were excavated again by Radu Heitel in 1972, sixty years after Möller's research. Parts of the western, terminating wall and the strip foundation for the row of piers of the earlier church were found somewhat deeper inside the outer wall of the second cathedral. The strip foundation was used to connect the bases of the piers in the second church

egri vár feltárása, VII, (1957–1988). Anyagközlés, előadás, leletmentés, tanulmányok," *Agria: Az Egri Múzeum Évkönyve* 25/26, (1989–1990): 334. For a critique of the excavation reports: Havasi Krisztina, "A középkori egri székesegyház az 1200-as évek elején. Király, püspökök és újjáépülő székesegyházak a korabeli Magyarországon" (PhD diss., ELTE, Művészettörténeti Intézet, 2011), 34–35, 38.

¹⁰ On the biography of Béla Cserni: Csaba Szabó, "Reconstructing Béla Cserni's biography," in *Adalbert Cserni and his contemporaries. The pioneers of archaeology in Alba Iulia and beyond*, eds. Csaba Szabó, Mihai Gligor and Gabriel Rustoiu (Mega, 2017), 23–34.

¹¹ For an overview of the relevant Romanian literature, see: Daniela Marcu-Istrate, *Church Archaeology in Transylvania (ca. 950 to ca. 1450)* (Brill, 2022), 147.

¹² Radu Heitel, "Archäologische Beiträge zu den romanischen Baudenkmälern in Siebenbürgen. II (in Zusammenhang mit der zeitlichen Bestimmung der ältesten „Rotunda Ecclesia“ Rumäniens und der Kathedrale I in Alba Iulia)," *Révue Roumaine d'Histoire de l'Art* 12, no. 1 (1975): 6–7. The construction of the building during the Bulgar period was first suggested by Kurt Horedt, "Voievodatul de la Bălgrad-Alba Iulia," *Studii și Cercetări de Istorie Veche* 5, no. 1–2 (1954): 487–512.

¹³ The most recent, useful photograph of the walling can be found in: Marcu-Istrate, *Church Archaeology*, 149, fig. 5.5.

¹⁴ Marcu-Istrate, *Church Archaeology*, 148.

(Fig. 2).¹⁵ The total length of the church, based on the excavated foundations, was around 35 metres and probably somewhat more if measured at the level of the ascending walls. The less-than-convincing floor plan published by Heitel shows foundation walls two meters in width, and even more on the southern and western sides, indicating a massive building.¹⁶ Unfortunately, Heitel did not manage to find the corners and the beginnings of the side walls at the western end of the church. Based on this information at least, the conclusion that the first cathedral did not have a massive western structure seems hasty.¹⁷

An obvious analogy to the early cathedral of Gyulafehérvár in terms of dimensions is the first abbey church of Pannonhalma, likewise a three-aisled basilica, built in the late tenth century. The length of this church, founded by Prince Géza, was also around 37 metres and it took about 7 to 8 years to build.¹⁸ A similar construction period of roughly a decade or slightly less can also be assumed for the first cathedral in Gyulafehérvár.¹⁹ The question, however, is where does this decade fit in the chronology?

Géza Entz noted that the ground plan of the first cathedral in Gyulafehérvár “followed the simpler design of the churches in Székesfehérvár and Kalocsa”, which led him to conclude that its construction may have started immediately after the bishopric was founded.²⁰ Indeed, the analogous layouts cannot be ignored. The single apse and straight terminating walls of the side aisles make the first cathedral of Gyulafehérvár comparable to the much larger and more complex structure of the provost’s church of Székesfehérvár, whose construction began in the second decade of the millennium but was not completed until the 1030s (Fig. 3).²¹ Belonging to this same typological group was the first

¹⁵ Heitel, “Archäologische Beiträge,” 3–10.

¹⁶ Heitel, “Archäologische Beiträge,” 3–10, especially: 4, and Taf. I.

¹⁷ Möller István, *Erdély nevezetesebb műemlékei* (História, 1929), 16.

¹⁸ The date of construction is partly based on the interval between the date of foundation (996) and the entry in the Hildesheim Yearbooks mentioning the consecration in 1003. For the history of the construction of the church of Pannonhalma and the first church, see Imre Takács, “Die Erneuerung der Abteikirche von Pannonhalma im 13. Jahrhundert,” *Acta Historiae Artium* 38, (1996): 35–38, and ill. 1.

¹⁹ That an interval of 5–10 years is a normal period for the completion of a medium-sized church in the eleventh century is supported by examples from Western Europe and Italy. It is sufficient to refer to the rebuilding of the church of Montecassino, begun in 1066 by Abbot Desiderius and consecrated in 1071.

²⁰ Entz, *A gyulafehérvári székesegyház*, 71.

²¹ On the historical and archaeological condition of Székesfehérvár: Piroška Biczó, “Das Marienstift Stuhlweisenburg (Székesfehérvár),” in *Europas Mitte um 1000*, hg. Alfried Wiczorek and Hans-Martin Hinz (Konrad Theiss Verlag, 2000), II, 621–624; Krisztina Havasi, “The Provostry Church of the Virgin Mary in Székesfehérvár,” in *The Art of Medieval Hungary*, eds. Xavier Barral i Altet, Pál Lővei, Vinni Lucherini and Imre Takács (Viella, 2018), 359–366.

cathedral of the diocese of Kalocsa, established at the same time as the Transylvanian bishopric (Fig. 4).²² The excavation of the Benedictine nunnery at Esztergom, in the central region of the kingdom, with its three-aisled church and single apse, is one of the achievements of the past decades. The archaeologist conducting the excavation considered the structure consistent with the architecture of the first half or middle of the eleventh century, based on the artefacts discovered there (Fig. 5).²³

However, Géza Entz perceived a serious contradiction when confronted with the early eleventh-century floor plan of the first cathedral of Gyulafehérvár and the series of stone carvings in secondary use in the walls of the second cathedral. The most important carving is a relief of the Last Judgement on the inner side of a stone slab inserted above the opening in the south side door of the second cathedral. The method of creating the figures in the *Maiestas Domini*, Christ flanked by two angels, highlights the restrained use of sculptural tools and the flat, silhouette-like execution of the figures. At the same time, the seemingly primitive approach makes it possible to differentiate the depth of the depicted figures: in the middle, in a very strongly recessed niche, the figure of Christ appears, with the highest projection. The angels, on the other hand, are depicted in a much shallower space, and thus less pronounced. Meanwhile the birds in silhouette, representing the created world on Earth, are only lightly engraved and therefore barely visible in the stone surface (Fig. 6). As Ernő Marosi later explained, this method of carving demonstrates the concept of true-to-life depictions in Romanesque art, which was speculative in nature and strove to create symbolic content. The higher the position of the figure in the hierarchy of existence, the greater the depth at which the figure was created. The “hierarchically enhanced nature” of Christ’s existence “was intensified by the deeper, niche-like recess”.²⁴ Along the lower edge of the relief, in the position of a cornice, is a ribbed, braided ribbon. A similar solution can be found in Aracs (today Vranjevo, Serbia), where the carver of a sarcophagus separated

²² In contrast to the single-nave with a pronounced western structure, assumed by Imre Henszlmann, Ernő Foerk, also referring to excavation results, considered likely a three-nave building at Kalocsa. Imre Henszlmann, *Die Grabungen des Erzbischofs von Kalocsa Dr. Ludwig Haynald* (C.A. Haendel, 1873); Foerk Ernő, “A kalocsai székesegyház,” in *Magyarország Műemlékei*, vol. IV, ed. Forster Gyula (Franklin Társulat, 1915), 43–70. For versions of the ground plan reconstruction: Béla Zsolt Szakács, “Ernő Foerk and the medieval cathedrals of Kalocsa,” *Ybl Journal of Built Environment* 7, no. 2 (2019): 82–88.

²³ Lovag Zsuzsa, *Az Esztergom-Prímás szigeti apáca kolostor feltárása* (Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, 2014).

²⁴ Marosi Ernő, “Magyarországi művészet Szent László korában,” in *Athleta Patriae. Tanulmányok Szent László történetéhez*, ed. Mezey László (Szent István Társulat, 1980), 214.

the figural registers from one another with this same type of moulding.²⁵ Géza Entz, disagreeing with earlier assertions,²⁶ ruled out the possibility that this portal relief was contemporary with the foundation of the cathedral. "In any case," he wrote, "the carvings are more likely to date from the second half of the century" as the "developed composition and elaborate style" of the relief make "a date in the era of St. Stephen highly unlikely".²⁷

Géza Entz determined the other architectural elements, which according to his information István Möller had recovered from the southern wall of the second church, were similar in terms of chronology to the tympanum.²⁸ Among these elements is a relatively large fragment of a frieze with leaf decoration, consisting of a straight section and a longer, curved section meeting at a right angle.²⁹ Running along the upper edge of the double-rowed leaf decoration, which is depicted with herringbone-like grooves, is the same twisted ribbon braid that appears on the tympanum (Figs. 7–8). Another element is the capital of an engaged column with an abacus and walling, all carefully carved from a single block.³⁰ Among the leaves, which match the decoration of the curved frieze element, are narrow rods serving as vines. These rods are carved from the same block as the volutes at the end of each leaf in the upper row. This simple floral decoration is complemented by a flat mask with a human face on the front of the capital. The sculptural approach is similar to that used in creating the figures on the tympanum. Wavy vine decoration runs the length of the abacus. Géza Entz attributed the stick-like supports at the corners and the disproportionately large human mask, composed in a leaf ornament, to a misunderstanding of the ancient model. The diameter of the engaged column indicates that it belonged to a relatively small building (Fig. 9). The next member of the group is a cushion capital similar in size and shape.³¹ Its proportions are

²⁵ The tomb from Aracs is currently on loan from the Hungarian National Gallery and on display in the Hungarian National Museum. On the stylistic relationship between the ribbon ornaments on the two monuments: Tóth Sándor, "Az aracsi kő rokonsága," in *A középkori Dél-Alföld és Szer*, ed. Kollár Tibor (Csongrád Megyei Levéltár, 2000), 435.

²⁶ For example, Gerevich Tibor, *Magyarország román kori emlékei* (Műemlékek Országos Bizottsága, 1938), 89.

²⁷ Entz, *A gyulafehérvári székesegyház*, 75.

²⁸ Entz, *A gyulafehérvári székesegyház*, 70.

²⁹ The height of the carving is 31 cm, the width 54 cm, and the depth 31 cm. The bottom, top and back have attachment surfaces. The tapered end was later cut off. Currently on display in Gyulafehérvár, in the cathedral lapidarium. Entz, *A gyulafehérvári székesegyház*, ill. 47.

³⁰ Height: 32 cm, width: 44 cm, depth (the back is sawed into a flat plane): 32 cm. The diameter of the shaft of the embedded column is about 18 cm. It is currently on exhibit in Gyulafehérvár in the cathedral lapidarium. Entz, *A gyulafehérvári székesegyház*, ill. 56.

³¹ Height: 30.5 cm; the length of the side of the abacus: 43–44 cm; the diameter of the shaft joint: 18 cm. The abacus has largely been filed down or broken off along with the top of the shield.

peculiar: a thick necking connects the capital to a strikingly thin shaft. The edges of the block are articulated by a rod-shaped rib that fans out towards the bottom. The side shields are richly decorated: a smooth element and a braid follow the arc of the capital's rounded lower section, enclosing an unfolding, planar leaf-shaped vine decoration (Fig. 10).³²

Géza Entz, referring to József Csemegi, relied on an analogy from Tarnaszentmária to demonstrate these carvings from Gyulafehérvár also date to the last decades of the eleventh century (Fig. 11).³³ This period of fabrication is further substantiated by analogies from the former church of the collegiate chapter of Titel (now in Serbia), which can be dated with greater certainty, as the foundation of the chapter is attributed to King (Saint) Ladislav (1077–1095) and his brother, Prince Lampert (Fig. 12). Moreover, fragments of a similar sort from the Benedictine abbey of Dombó (now Rakovac, Serbia), of unknown date, confirm that the building adorned with the tympanum and the three other carvings discussed above could not have been built before the time of St. Ladislav.³⁴

This stylistic and historical analysis has led to the consensus that the dating of the first cathedral in Gyulafehérvár should be based not on the founding of the bishopric in 1009, but rather on the style of the early carvings, which are characteristic of the eleventh century or, at the latest, c. 1100.³⁵ Different answers have been given to the question of how the seat of the vast Transylvanian diocese could have functioned for almost a hundred years

On one side, a square hole was gouged. The carving was exhibited in Bucharest, in the National History Museum of Romania until 2009; currently it is exhibited in Gyulafehérvár, in the cathedral lapidarium. Entz, *A gyulafehérvári székesegyház*, ill. 46.

³² As a regular cushion capital, it stands out from this uniform group. It cannot be clearly decided whether this artefact came from the same site as the other early carvings. On the other hand, its regular form and decoration consisting of carefully constructed concentric circular sectors represents a geometric style highly distinct from the strong ornamental concept of the other carvings. At the same time, however, this cushion capital cannot be linked to the moulding types that have survived on the second cathedral. The cushion capital was exhibited until 2009 in Bucharest, National History Museum of Romania; it is currently exhibited in Gyulafehérvár, in the cathedral lapidarium. Entz, *A gyulafehérvári székesegyház*, ill. 48.

³³ Entz, *A gyulafehérvári székesegyház*, 73. Cf. Csemegi József, "A tarnaszentmáriai templom hajójának stíluskritikai vizsgálata," *Antiquitas Hungarica* 3, (1949): 92–107.

³⁴ On the connections between Gyulafehérvár, Titel and Dombó: Tóth Sándor, "Volt egyszer egy titeli vállkő," *Ars Hungarica* 23 (1995): 227–232. The figural tombstone fragment transferred from Aracs to Budapest can be added to the set of analogies; see: Tóth, "Az aracsi kő," 429–448.

³⁵ On the dating of the *Maiestas Domini* tympanum and the group of early carvings to c. 1100, see: Vătăşianu, *Istoria artei*, 151–152. Similar conclusions were drawn by: Gheorghe Arion, "Date noi referitoare la prima catedrală de la Alba Iulia," *Studii şi cercetări de istoria artei. Seria Artă plastică* 14, no.2 (1967): 55–59. Radu Heitel, who excavated the walls of the first church came up with a similar chronology: Heitel, "Archäologische Beiträge," 4. Later, Ernő Marosi adopted a similar position: Marosi, "Magyarországi művészet," 213–215.

without a cathedral. One hard-to-follow theory suggests the diocese had a “wandering” whose initial location was somewhere in northern Transylvania.³⁶ Another postulates that a temporary “wooden church”³⁷ was used, while yet another asserts that the founder of the cathedral was not Stephen I (1000–1038), but Ladislav I (1077–1095), based on late medieval sermon literature—or, as Géza Entz interpreted the source, it was Ladislav I who oversaw the completion of the construction work.³⁸ The idea of a long construction history seemed the most useful hypothesis, since it makes it possible to focus on the interior design, documented by the decorative details, or some kind of renovation rather than on the building itself.³⁹

Several considerations, however, challenge the notion that the *Maestas Domini* tympanum originated from the first cathedral building, particularly from above the main entrance. One contradiction is the size of the stone: the width of the southern doorway, where the stone slab was relocated, measures only 131 cm, too narrow for the main portal of a cathedral. The next concern arises from the current position of the stone and the construction of the present, or Prince’s Portal. In his foundational study on the chronology of the second cathedral, Sándor Tóth concluded that the building of the perimeter walls of the new structure began relatively soon after construction commenced at the end of the twelfth century, before the sanctuary was completed. The walls of the transept and the lower part of the side-aisle walls were erected. The general principle was, by all accounts, to preserve the earlier church as much as possible.⁴⁰ Without

³⁶ This was proposed by János Karácsonyi. See Karácsonyi János, “Szent László és Erdély,” *Erdélyi Múzeum* 32 (1915): 26–36. For an overview of the literature regarding this theory, see: Ciprian Adinel Dincă, *Instituția episcopală în Transilvania medievală (sec. XI/XII–XIV)* (Argonaut, 2017), 35–52.

³⁷ Entz, *A gyulafehérvári székesegyház*, 75.

³⁸ Entz, *A gyulafehérvári székesegyház*, 75. Cf. Kertész Balázs, “A gyulafehérvári székesegyház építésének hagyománya Laskai Osvát Szent László beszédeiben,” *Magyar Könyvszemle* 111 (2005): 218–222. For a critique of the text, see Szakács Béla Zsolt, “Építészet Szent László korában,” in *Szent László emlékkönyv*, ed. Bódvai András (Bethlen Gábor Alapkezelő Zrt., 2021), 149, note 3. Possibly, an analysis of Osvát Laskai’s sermon, which was drawn from an otherwise unknown source, may solve the problem: the founding of the *monasteria episcopalis*, attributed to King Ladislav, can be understood as a commemoration of the steps taken to establish the chapter. It is not necessary to suspect the founding of the episcopal see as the driving force. In any case, the late-fifteenth-century Franciscan sermon is essentially indifferent to the building history of the early cathedral of Gyulafehérvár.

³⁹ This sentiment was most recently expressed in: Szakács Béla Zsolt, “Romanesque Architecture: Abbeys and Cathedrals,” in *The Art of Medieval Hungary*, eds. Xavier Barral i Altet, Pál Lővei, Vinni Lucherini and Imre Takács (Viella, 2018), 137.

⁴⁰ The distance between the existing side aisle walls and the excavated foundation walls of the former building varies between 110 and 140 cm. The spacing between the ascending walls may have been slightly greater.

delving into the problems surrounding the chronology of the second church, we can accept that the modified design of the side walls of the second church are connected to the activities of a workshop that started operating after the turn of the century. "Only one event is known from this period that could explain the flurry of workshop activity prior to the completion of the sanctuary: the arrival of a new bishop between 1202 and 1204. The Prince's Portal can therefore be dated to the period 1205 to 1210."⁴¹ At the same time, however, it is difficult to imagine that the earlier, functioning main entrance to the church (which they clearly wanted to use still for some time) would have been demolished in order to create a side entrance in the south wall, then under construction, of the new building.⁴² In other words, the early tympanum and the stylistically related group of carvings could not have originated from the first cathedral, which was still standing between 1205 and 1210. The date of these carvings therefore cannot serve as a basis for dating the first cathedral of Gyulafehérvár.

There is another equally strong argument in favour of this thesis: the wall section of the southern side aisle where the Prince's Portal was placed, was not directly connected to southern wall of the transept. Instead, an extension consisting of two vaulted bays, clearly constructed after the transept, joined the two. The ornamentation of its capitals suggests a stronger stylistic connection to the workshop of the Prince's Portal than to the transept. This intermediate space is described by local tradition as the "old sacristy", although it obviously never had such a function. Its position in the ground plan clearly shows it was built almost exactly on the site of the rotunda as an architectural and functional successor.

While it can be stated with great certainty that the former cathedral was carefully preserved and kept in use at the time the new church's perimeter walls were constructed, the same cannot be said for the rotunda. The moment the construction of the south aisle wall began, demolition of the rotunda became necessary. After all, the foundations for the new wall encroached onto the wall remains of the circular chapel. Similarly, the engaged pier foundations of the extension (the "old sacristy"), probably built to replace the circular chapel, also rested on the walls of the rotunda. This means the building material from the demolished rotunda may have accumulated in the work area when the new southern gate was built. Therefore, the most reasonable hypothesis is that the tympanum for the new southern gate was not removed from the still functioning

⁴¹ Tóth Sándor, "A gyulafehérvári fejedelmi kapu jelentősége," *Építés-Építészettudomány* 15, (1983): 420.

⁴² It is as if Sándor Tóth is reacting to this dilemma when he assumes the removal of the tympanum from the former portal would have entailed only a partial demolition. However, even if that had been possible, this removal would have deprived the church of its main ornament, which can hardly be considered a minor matter. Cf. Tóth, "A gyulafehérvári fejedelmi kapu," 407–408.

western portal of the earlier cathedral but was selected from among the nearby rotunda remains for reuse. Its size thus determined how wide the opening of the new portal would be.

As the other carvings share stylistic characteristics with the tympanum and were also found in secondary use in the southern wall of the cathedral, near the demolished rotunda, they too must have originated in the rotunda.⁴³ The narrow shafts (17 cm) attaching to the cushion capital and the engaged capital suggest the building was relatively small. The arched frieze adorned with a row of leaves is even more likely to be associated with the sanctuary of the rotunda. If we place the frieze at the entrance to apse, then after an approximately 30 cm façade section, a short section follows, extending straight back, with the curved section of the apse attaching to its inner edges. The basic shape of the stone matches the ground plan of the horseshoe-shaped apse of the circular chapel (Fig. 13). We must therefore imagine the sanctuary of the rotunda as a deep bay with a semicircular wall at the back, but the wall in the front is almost perfectly straight where it attaches to the narrow pilasters. A frieze in pronounced high relief, decorated with rows of leaves, ran around the apse at the height of the vaulting springers. The origins of the use of an ornate inner cornice to accentuate the crowning line of the apse wall are not entirely clear. In any case, it is striking that the designer of the sanctuary of the second cathedral at the end of the twelfth century also added an interior cornice adorned with foliage to the new main apse wall, when the rotunda was still standing.

It is at this point that we must return to the question of the relationship between the first cathedral and the rotunda and the order in which they were built, using a source that has not yet been examined. At the time of excavation, a detailed survey of the site where the cathedral wall met the rotunda was carried out.⁴⁴ A drawing by Sándor Fridly, showing the stones of the two walls in great detail, clearly distinguishes the stones belonging to the side wall of the cathedral from those of the curved wall of the rotunda (Fig. 14). In the side wall of the church, regular blocks of stone with perpendicular corners are arranged in a straight line and bonded together. It can also be seen that the stones of the circular chapel, positioned radially, are only wedged into the line of stones where the walls meet. Crucially, they are not wedged deeply enough to penetrate the entire thickness of the nave wall. Moreover, this inter-wedging is abandoned about midway through the stretch where the walls meet. The result is that the regular pattern of the stones of the church wall remains continuous across the entire intersection with the nave wall of the rotunda. In fact, on the rotunda

⁴³ Entz, *A gyulafehérvári székesegyház*, 70.

⁴⁴ Hungarian Museum of Architecture and Monument Protection Documentation Center, K 4614.

side, at the base of the ascending wall, it can be clearly seen that the longitudinal section of the cathedral wall slightly protrudes, intersecting the arc of the rotunda wall at the transverse axis. It thus seems that the side wall of the early cathedral only minimally absorbed the nave wall of the circular chapel causing as little disturbance to the wall as possible. It is difficult to explain this phenomenon any other way than that the chapel was built after the first church. There is no sign whatsoever that the curved wall of the rotunda was ever complete on the side where it meets the church wall—in other words, there is no indication that it might have been built before the wall of the first cathedral. During construction, the wall of the cylindrical nave of the circular chapel was joined to the already existing side wall of the early cathedral by carving into the edges of the cathedral's wall to a depth of about 1 to 1.5 stone widths. It is as if the existing straight wall were overlaid with the cylindrical form of the rotunda, and the excess thickness of the latter were lopped off. After all, it is clear that when the two geometric shapes intersected, the part removed came from the wall of the circular chapel.

To put the above conclusion in simple terms: the three-aisled church and the rotunda were constructed independently of one another. The carvings indicate that the rotunda dates to the last decades of the eleventh century, while the basilica dates to an earlier period. It is therefore possible that the first episcopal church in Transylvania was built shortly after it was founded by St. Stephen, in the 1010s. However, it is difficult to account for the absence of typical early eleventh-century forms, mouldings or decorative carvings. The most likely explanation is that a church as modest as the first cathedral of Gyulafehérvár never had such adornments. After all, neither the church of Pannonhalma, built around 1000, nor the early cathedrals of Esztergom or Kalocsa had stone carvings.

There is, however, an interesting link between the construction of the rotunda and the destruction of another building at Gyulafehérvár. Excavations between 1972 and 1977 revealed the remains of another church building 24 metres from the western façade of the present cathedral (Fig. 2).⁴⁵ These were systematically excavated again in 2011 by Daniela Marcu-Istrate,⁴⁶ who provided detailed documentation of the building and a historical interpretation which still attracts great interest today. The building's interior was about 14 meters long and 10 meters wide and consisted of a single nave and a wide apse to the

⁴⁵ For the results of the excavation without detailed documentation: Radu Heitel, "Principalele rezultate ale cercetărilor arheologice din zona sud-vestică a cetății de la Alba Iulia (1968–1977), I," *Studii și cercetări de istorie veche și arheologia* 36, no. 3 (1985): 215–231.

⁴⁶ Daniela Marcu-Istrate, "Biserica din secolele X–XI, de influență bizantină, de la Alba Iulia. Restituiri preliminare," *Apulum, series Historia et Patrimonium* 51, (2014): 93–140; Marcu-Istrate, *Church Archaeology*, 152–154.

east (Fig. 15). Archaeological evidence indicates it was constructed no earlier than the tenth century and was no longer standing at the end of the eleventh century. Its foundation walls were built over ninth- and tenth-century graves, and one of its walls, in fact, cuts through a conquest-period grave. Above the foundation walls, another burial layer was found containing late-eleventh-century coins, establishing an endpoint for the building's existence.⁴⁷

Daniela Marcu-Istrate has linked the church to a mid-tenth century narrative and its characters. Well documented by written sources, the story relates the conversion of Hungarians by Byzantine missionaries from the 950s onwards. The basis for her supposition is long-known Byzantine accounts about the baptisms of high-ranking Hungarians. The earliest Hungarian peace delegation, led by Bulcsu and Termacsu, arrived in Constantinople in 948, where the two men were both baptised. Bulcsu's godfather was the Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus ("born in the purple"), who in honour of the occasion gave his godson the impressive-sounding title *patrikios*. The next important Hungarian dignitary was baptised a few years later, also in Constantinople: Gyula, the second Hungarian leader to bear this name,⁴⁸ whose territory included the Maros [Mureş] and the vast area between the Tisza [Tisa] and the Apuseni Mountains of Transylvania. His conversion must have been significant not only because of the vastness of his territory but also because it was driven by genuine religious conviction and not political considerations alone. It is said that on his return to his homeland, Gyula brought with him the monk Hierotheos, who had been ordained Bishop of Turkia in Byzantium, and Gyula himself remained loyal to his faith and no longer disturbed the land of the Romans.⁴⁹

⁴⁷ Marcu-Istrate, "Biserica din secolele X–XI," 102–105.

⁴⁸ On the transition of the title Gyula from being originally a Hungarian honorific to a personal name: Loránd Benkő, "Észrevételek Erdély déli részeinek korai Árpád-kori történetéhez," in *Erdély a keresztény magyar királyságban*, ed. Dávid Gyula (Erdélyi Múzeum-Egyesület, 2001), 16–20.

⁴⁹ The time and circumstances of the baptism of the Hungarian leaders in Constantinople are recorded in the chronicle of Ioannes Scylitzes. He also tells us the name of the bishop sent to the Hungarians, who are consistently referred to as Turks in the text. The relevant passage: "The Turks did not discontinue their raiding and ravaging of Roman land until their chieftain, Boulousoudes, came to the city of Constantine under pretence of embracing the Christian faith. He was baptised and received [from the font] by the emperor Constantine who honoured him with the title of patrician and put him in possession of great riches; then he went back to his homeland. Not long afterwards, Gylas who was also a chieftain of the Turks came to the capital where he too was baptised and where he too was accorded the same honours and benefits. He took back with him a monk with a reputation for piety named Hierotheos who had been ordained bishop of Turkey by Theophylact. When he got there, he converted many from the barbaric fallacy to Christianity. And Gylas remained faithful to Christianity; he made no inroad against the Romans nor did he leave Christian prisoners untended. He ransomed them, took care of their needs and set them free." The text was published in: Ioannis Scylitzae, *Synopsis historiarum, editio princeps*, (De Gruyter, 1973). The source of the passage above: Skylitzes John, *A Synopsis of Byzantine History*, trans. John Wortley, (Cambridge University Press, 2010).

Accordingly, Hierotheos was not appointed bishop of one city, but was given a wider missionary mandate, covering the entire Hungarian territory. We have no information about how the story continued. We do not know where and for how long exactly Hierotheos was active, nor how successful he was. Nevertheless, in light of the text, his stay in Hungary should be treated as fact.

Counter-arguments have been raised about the tenth-century dating of the church excavated in Gyulafehérvár and its Greek liturgical orientation. On the one hand, it is true that the lower limit of archaeological dating is rather uncertain: it could have been built in the mid-tenth century but also in the early eleventh century, when the Byzantine mission was certainly in decline or had ceased.⁵⁰ On the other hand, the floor plan of the excavated building lacks certain features of typical Byzantine church architecture such as the *narthex*, the *prothesis* and the *diaconicon*.⁵¹ The Byzantine character of the building is also questionable in other respects. For example, the archaeologist performing the excavation offered a less than convincing Byzantine structural interpretation of a chunk of wall uncovered in the middle of the nave, which in the excavation photographs most closely resembles an amorphous foundation block (Fig. 16). The archaeologist argued that four free-standing pillars could have risen from the large and seemingly interconnected foundation and from this inferred the presence of a central structure, a Greek cross-shaped superstructure, a cross-domed roof (Fig. 17). This line of reasoning, however, is difficult to follow based on the published photographs. First of all, the spatial reconstruction of the few wall fragments recovered from underneath the occupation surface should be approached with the greatest degree of caution. The main problem is that, assuming there were indeed a cluster of piers in the centre, it would not have been possible to construct an arcade parallel to the side walls. Only a very unusual, a trapezoidal structure would have been possible. However, this is effectively inconceivable, and naturally the “Byzantine analogies” did not have such forms.

Why do I, therefore, consider Daniela Marcu-Istrate’s proposal worthy of further consideration? Firstly, because it is difficult to explain rationally why, following or coinciding with the founding of the Latin episcopate, two church buildings—a “temporary cathedral” and an episcopal church intended to be permanent—would have been constructed simultaneously. Perhaps the former

<https://archive.org/details/JohnSkylitzes.ASynopsisOfByzantineHistorytrans.ByJ.Wortley2010> (Last accessed 3 September 2024). Most recently on the relationship between Byzantine conversion and Transylvania: Thoroczky Gábor, “Gyulafehérvár korai egyháztörténetéhez (A Hierotheos-féle térítés),” in *Ruscia – Hungaria – Europa. Ünnepi kötet Font Márta professzorasszony 70. születésnapjára*, ed. Bagi Dániel et al. (Kronosz, 2022). 618–627.

⁵⁰ Miklós Takács, *Byzantinische oder byzantinisierende Raumgestaltungen kirchlicher Architektur im frühárpadenzeitlichen Ungarn* (Schnell und Steiner Verlag, 2018), 112.

⁵¹ Szakács, “Építészet,” 120.

structure was a processional church, but even then, simultaneous construction of the two churches would have been unlikely; furthermore, why would a processional church, which was integrated into the planned liturgical order, have been demolished at the latest fifty to sixty years after its construction? There are many more logical arguments that support Marcu-Istrate's proposal. Transylvania (as well as the rest of the Carpathian Basin) in the tenth century was a broad region of proselytization, where the task was to preach the Gospel and baptise the converted. This required, above all, buildings that could accommodate the baptismal rite for large numbers of people. We cannot be at all sure that in this area of Greek missionary activity, these presumably modest buildings were intended at all costs to meet the requirements of the elaborate and complicated liturgical order of imperial churches, nor can we assume that Bishop Hierotheos and his dedicated missionary team were accompanied by skilled master builders.

In other respects, the size and ground plan of the church in Gyulafehérvár is very reminiscent of the type of building that appeared in several places in the Hungarian Kingdom in the eleventh century. The two-storey church building belonging to the Benedictine abbey of Pécsvárad may have originally been the court chapel of the royal palace. Its transfer to the Benedictines is mentioned in a late medieval source recording the foundation of the monastery in 1015.⁵² It is comparable to the church in Gyulafehérvár in terms of its known dimensions and single apse even though—at least on the lower level—a three-aisled floor plan has been confirmed (Fig. 18).⁵³ The early Árpád-era church near Zirc, known only from its remaining walls, was also part of a royal estate, which is mentioned in the text describing the death of King Andrew I in 1060.⁵⁴ The shape and size of the church is close to that of the Transylvanian building (Fig. 19). Similar in character is the later, but still eleventh-century, church belonging to the county centre of Szabolcs. In this context the diaconal churches of Borsod and Abaújház should also be mentioned.⁵⁵ These and similar buildings with three or one aisle and a single spacious apse are the closest analogies to the western church of Gyulafehérvár in terms of size and—with the exception of Pécsvárad—simple layout. They represent a type of building that primarily met the needs of the courtly centres of the period.

⁵² Szentpétery Imre, *Szent István király pécsváradai és pécsi alapítólevele* (Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1918).

⁵³ Interior dimensions of the lower church of Pécsvárad: 14 x 12.4 m. On the original organization of the space, see Bodó Balázs, "A pécsváradai kolostor I. István korában," in *Etűdők. Tanulmányok Granasztóiné Györfy Katalin tiszteletére*, ed. Bardoly István (OMvH, 2004), 21–33.

⁵⁴ Koppány Tibor, "XI. századi királyi udvarház maradványai Zircen," *A Veszprém Megyei Múzeumok Közleményei* 11, (1972): 139–147.

⁵⁵ For a brief overview, see Szakács, "Építészet," 134–135.

To sum up, while far from certain, it would be foolish to rule out the possibility that the church discovered in front of the cathedral of St. Stephen was built in the middle or second half of the tenth century, at a time when founding a Latin bishopric had yet to be considered. In that case it could have functioned as a baptistery serving the mission of the Greek clergy. The foundations in the centre of the nave, which could scarcely accommodate piers, may in some way be related to this function. The building may also have served as the court church of Gyula and his milieu—obviously with a Greek liturgy. This interpretation is consistent with the brief, less-than-one-hundred-year existence of the building, its short lifespan mostly likely due to the loss of its original function or its obsolescence. The least justifiable would be to suppose, out of twentieth-century bias, that the Latin clergy felt prejudice or antipathy towards the Greek Church.⁵⁶ As for the first cathedral, although there is still no conclusive evidence as to the date of its construction, it is safe to discard the notion that it was the work of St. Ladislav or that its construction certainly continued to the end of the eleventh century. Nothing excludes the possibility that it was built at the time the episcopate was established. In fact, this date is bolstered by the recognition that the rotunda was a secondary construction.

Lastly, a question arises from the recognition that the demolition of the church in front- of the cathedral roughly coincides with the construction of the rotunda on the south side of the first cathedral: is it possible that the rotunda was the successor of this small church, which was demolished in the last decades of the eleventh century, and that it was erected on the side of the then Latin rite cathedral as a baptistry? And moreover, that its own thirteenth-century successor is the extant “old sacristy”? Are we not dealing with an uninterrupted series of architectural witnesses to centuries of medieval history? Is it not the case that this history, which is both religious and architectural, began with the baptistery built during the Byzantine mission in the mid-tenth century? The story then continued with the Latin cathedral erected by King Stephen; followed by the rotunda, which took over the role of the old Greek church; and then the early thirteenth-century baptism chapel that replaced it?

⁵⁶ As Daniela Marcu-Istrate supposes. Assigning a religious motivation to the demolition of the “orthodox” church is absurd in part because it is unlikely that in Hungary in particular, where representatives of Eastern Christianity were also present at the royal court, there would have been a categorical rejection of the Greek Church in the years following the schism. Furthermore, after the establishment of the Latin bishopric, the cathedral clergy obviously adapted the building to the liturgy that accorded with their own customs. The other “oddity” raised in connection with the demolition of the church was the supposed desacralisation of the building site. However, this was obviously not an issue here, as archaeological evidence clearly indicates that the site of the church was occupied by a cemetery, the land of which was considered consecrated ground.

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Illustrations

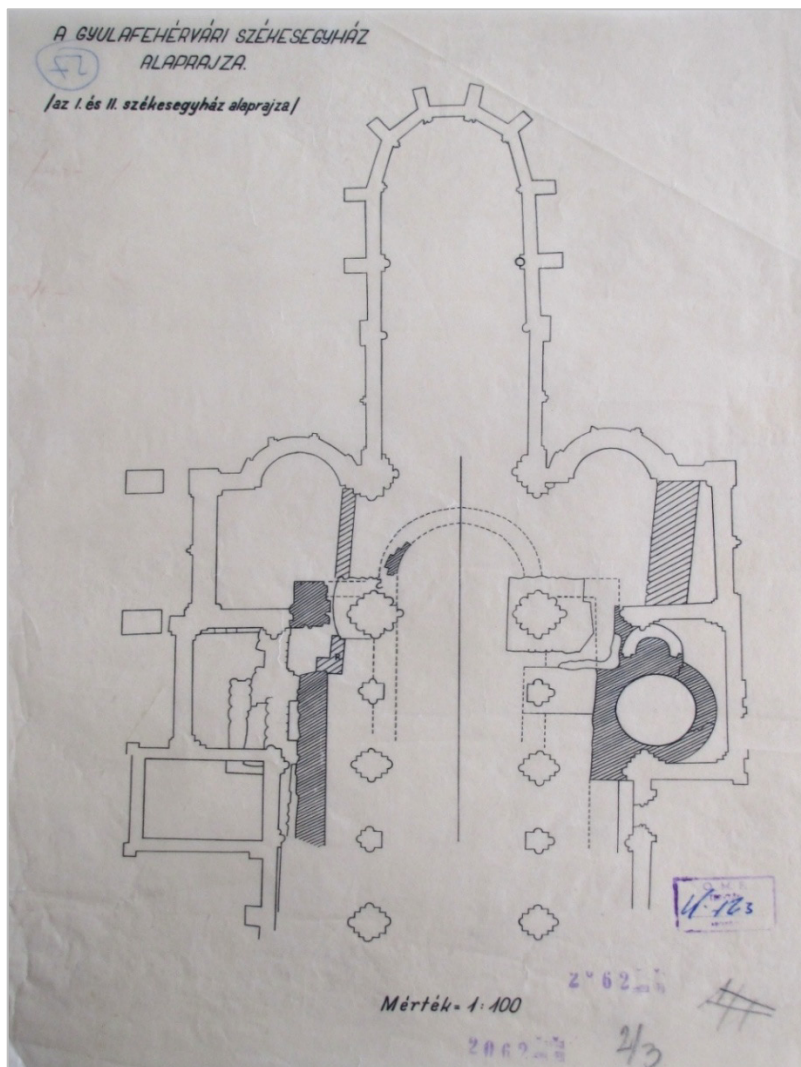


Fig. 1. Remains of the first cathedral of Gyulafehérvár, Budapest, Hungarian Museum of Architecture and Monument Protection Documentation Center (drawing: Sándor Fridli)

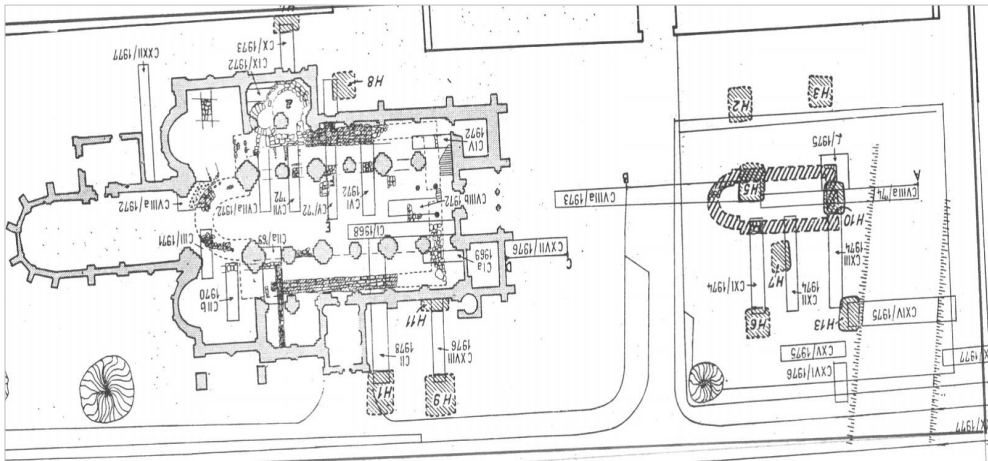


Fig. 2. Remains of the first cathedral and the church excavated in the foreground of the cathedral, 1968-1977 (Heitel 1985)

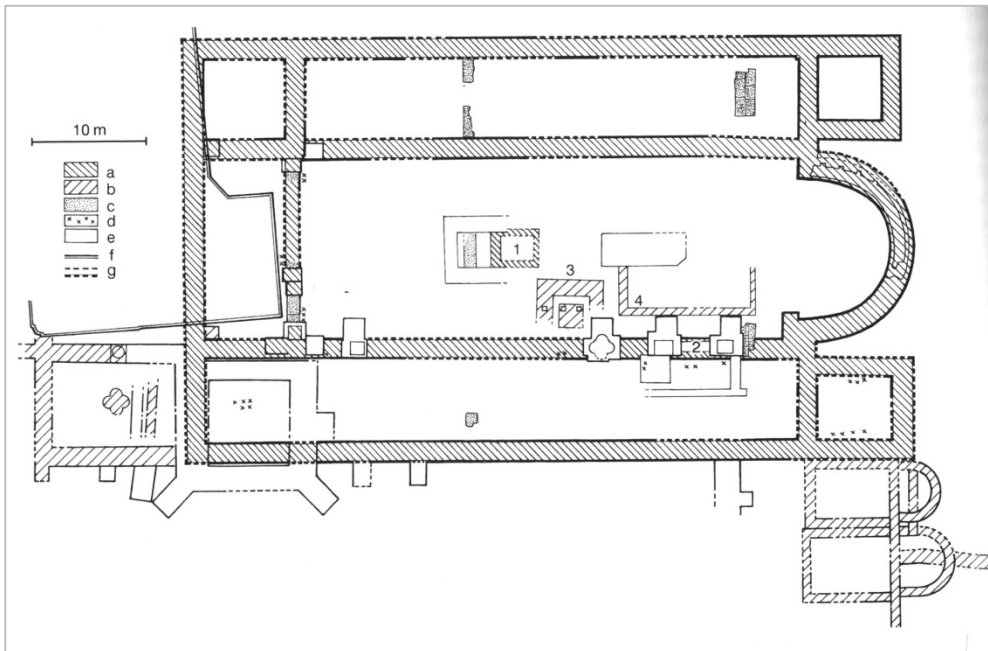


Fig. 3. Ground plan of the royal provostry of Székesfehérvár (Biczó 2000)

CRITICAL REMARKS ON THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE EARLY ÁRPÁD-PERIOD CHURCHES
OF THE TRANSYLVANIAN EPISCOPAL SEE

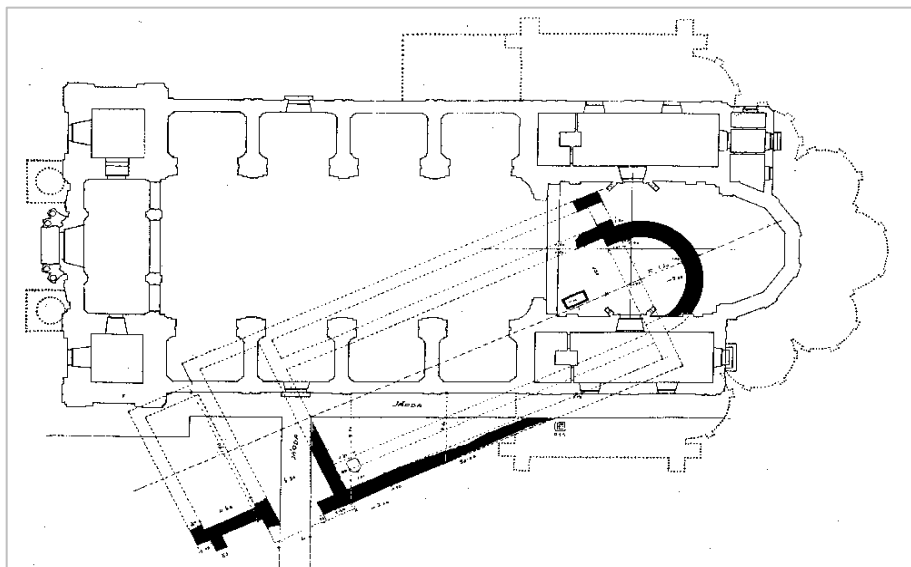


Fig. 4. Ground plan of the first cathedral of Kalocsa (Foerk 1915)

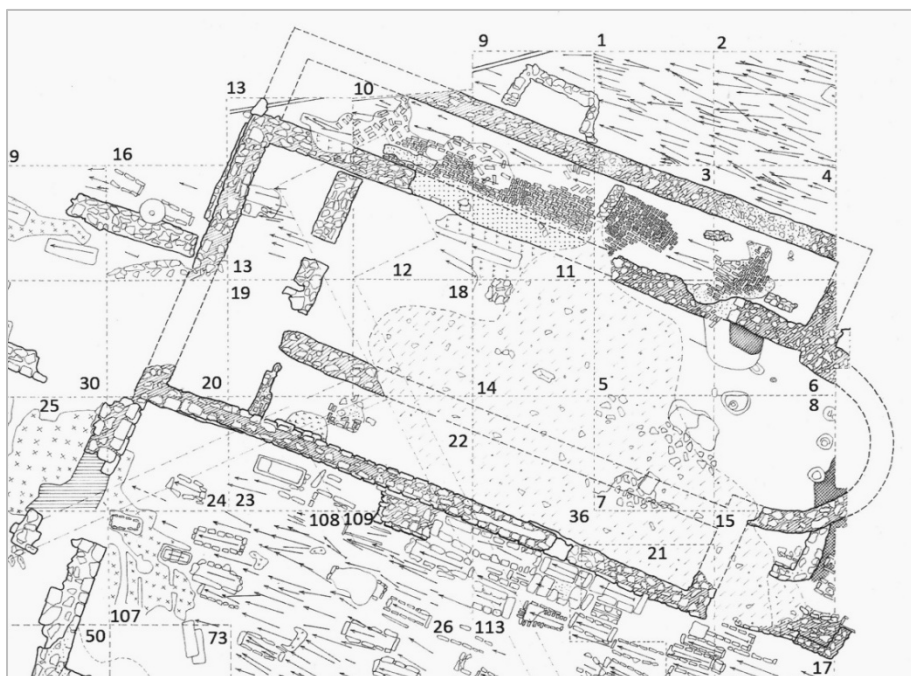


Fig. 5. Excavation plan of the of the nunnery church, Esztergom (Lovag 2014)



Fig. 6. Gyulafehérvár (Alba Iulia), cathedral, tympanon of the inner side of the prince's gate (photo: A. Mudrák)



Fig. 7-8. Fragment of a curved cornice, Gyulafehérvár (Alba Iulia), lapidary of the cathedral (photo: A. Mudrák)



Fig. 9. Capital of a half column, Gyulafehérvár (Alba Iulia),
lapidary of the cathedral (photo: A. Mudrák)



Fig. 10. Cubic capital, Gyulafehérvár (Alba Iulia),
lapidary of the cathedral (photo: A. Mudrák)



Fig. 11. Tarnaszentmária, detail of plinth decoration (photo: D. Horváth)



Fig. 12. Pilaster capital from Titel, Temesvár (Timișoara), Muzeul Banatului

CRITICAL REMARKS ON THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE EARLY ÁRPÁD-PERIOD CHURCHES
OF THE TRANSYLVANIAN EPISCOPAL SEE

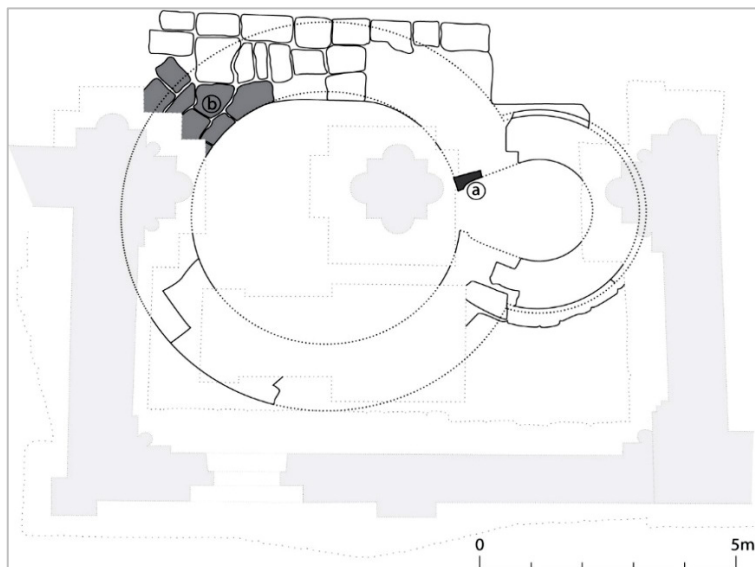


Fig. 13. Interpreted plan of the rotunda of Gyulafehérvár based on the survey of Sándor Fridli; a: curved cornice fragment; b: masonry stones belonging to the rotunda wall (drawing: Á. Takács)

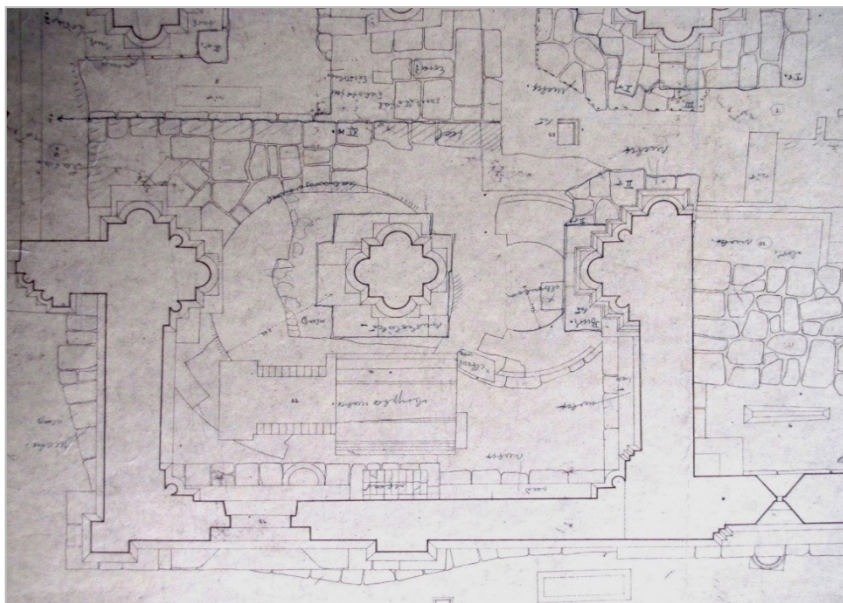


Fig. 14. Ground plan of the rotunda of Gyulafehérvár, Budapest, Hungarian Museum of Architecture and Monument Protection Documentation Center (drawing: Sándor Fridli)

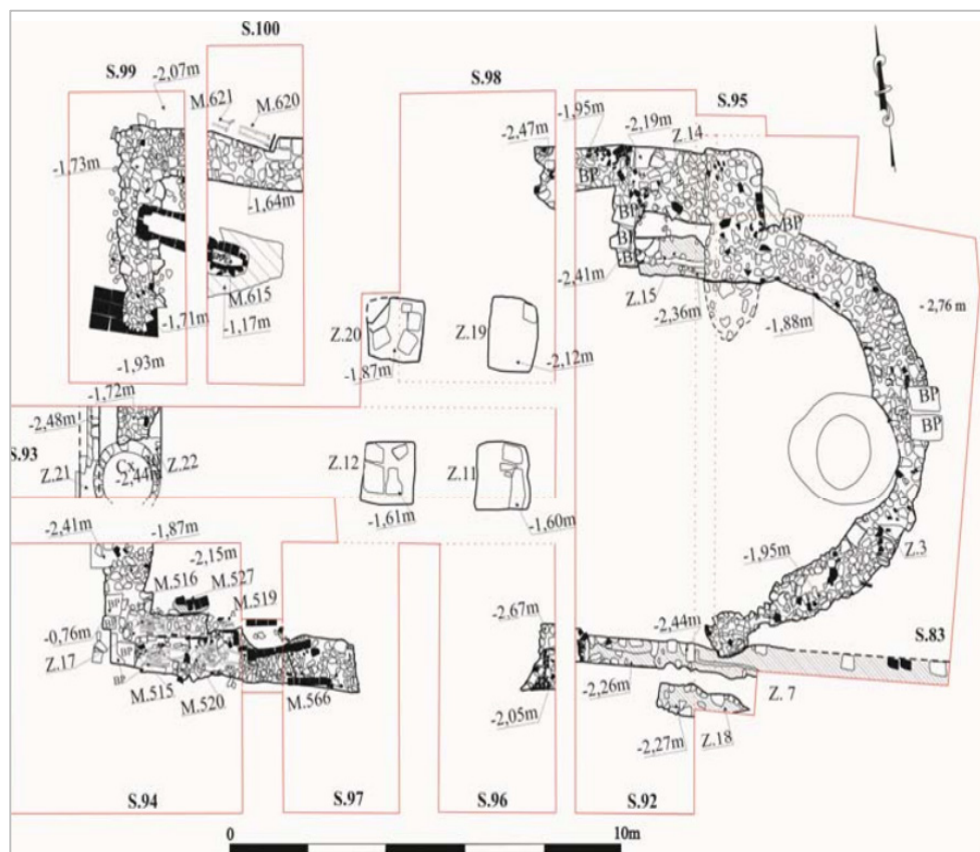


Fig. 15. Excavation floor plan of the church excavated in the foreground of the cathedral in Gyulafehérvár (Marcu Istrate 2014)

CRITICAL REMARKS ON THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE EARLY ÁRPÁD-PERIOD CHURCHES
OF THE TRANSYLVANIAN EPISCOPAL SEE



Fig 16. Remains of the church excavated in the foreground of the cathedral in Gyulafehérvár
(Marcu Istrate 2014)

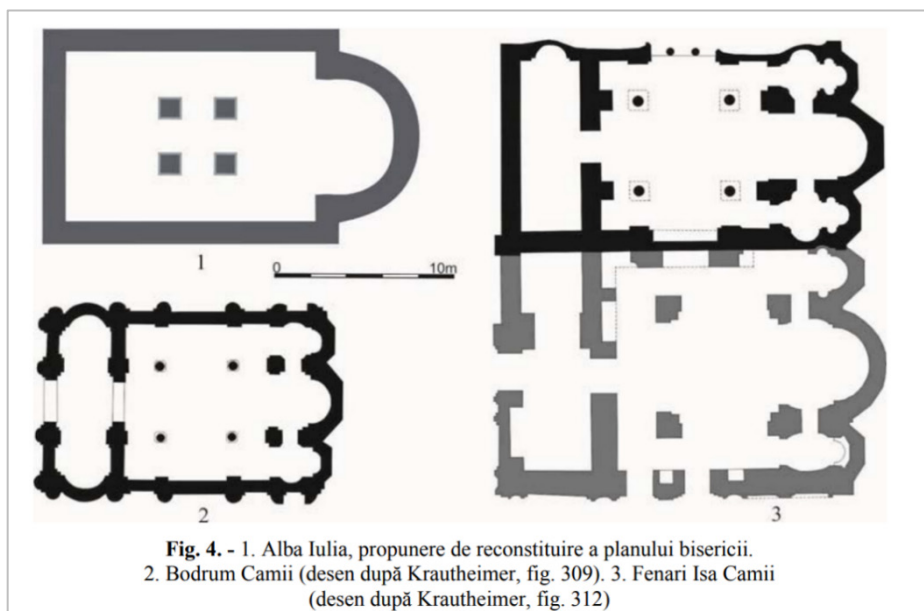


Fig. 17. Reconstruction of the floor plan of the church excavated in the foreground of the cathedral in Gyulafehérvár, using Byzantine “analogies” (Marcu Istrate 2014)

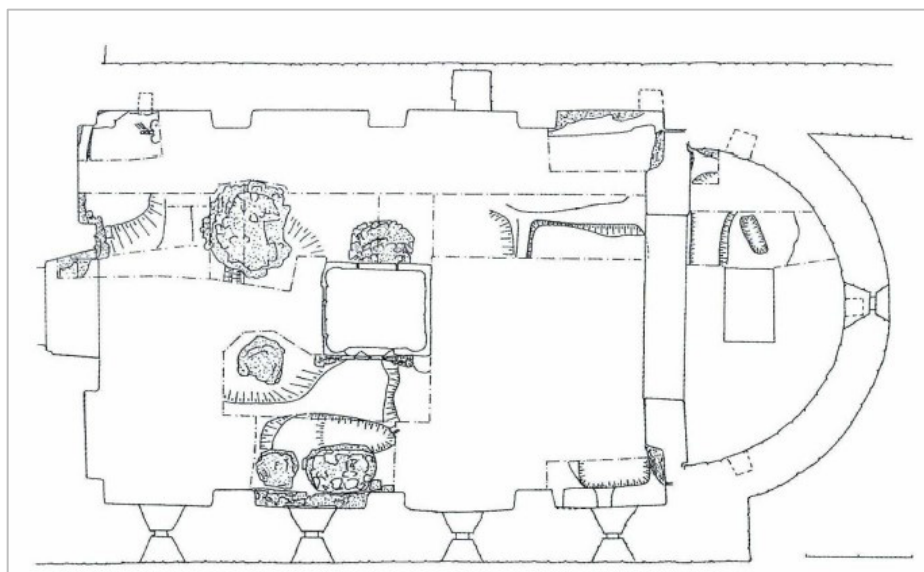


Fig. 18. Excavation plan of the lower part of the two-storey chapel in Pécsvárad (Bodó and Orosz 2003)

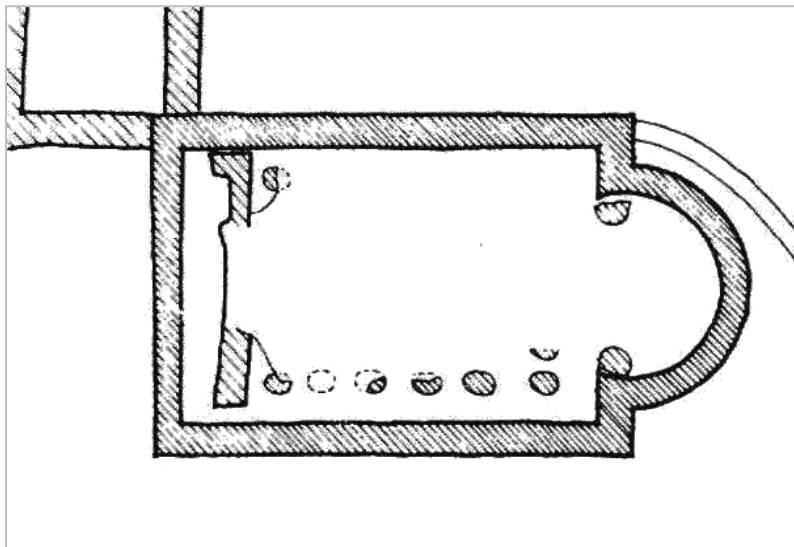


Fig. 19. Floor plan of the chapel of the Royal Mansion in Zirc (Koppány 1972)

