Central European Cultural Heritage

The Visual World of the Hungarian Angevin Legendary

Béla Zsolt Szakács

CEU PRESS

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Volume I

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Foreword to a New Series
Cultural Heritage in Central Europe

The borders of Central Europe are undefined and constantly changing in both geographical and political terms. At an intuitive level, there is a sense of this region being generally different from more well defined parts of Europe such as the Mediterranean world or Western Europe or even Scandinavia. There is something which may be defined, however, as culturally distinct about Central Europe. Scholars have long debated what comprises this special character of what might be loosely described as a historical region. Is this character connected to the interactions and continuous transformations of influences which arrived through a variety of media from the 'other' Europe or even unexpectedly from Central Asia. The combined impact of disparate political entities such as the Roman and Byzantine, the Mongol and the Ottoman, and the Russian and the German Holy Roman empires is not as evident in other parts of Europe as in this central and yet still peripheral region.

This fuzzy historical image is in stark contrast to clear notions of Central Europeanness which pervades popular ideas about centers of classical and modern music in the eighteenth to twentieth centuries. Whether we think about Mozart and Haydn in Vienna or Bartók and Kodály in Budapest, or Dvořak and Smetena in Bohemia it is immediately understood that the character of their music is firmly rooted in a definable place that can be called Central Europe. Literature is less simple although writers such as Franz Kafka, Imre Kertész, Milan Kundera and many others cannot be imagined outside the region and its obscure worlds filled with contradiction and uncertainty. The culture of Central Europe represents an entity which is much less well defined but still keenly felt by the people experiencing, enjoying, struggling, and surviving life there. This lack of clarity in cultural identity is connected to gaps in continuity resulting from the collisions of outside forces or internal struggles which destroyed significant parts of the cultural heritage.

For this reason, it is extremely relevant that an educational institution calling itself the Central European University and its press should produce a new series that presents what might be described by people in the region as their cultural heritage. We intend to bring to this series a colorful palette of tangible and intangible heritage ranging from historical monuments, to cultural landscapes, from folk music to contemporary urban art, from traditional craftsmanship to industrial sites. These large format books will display the cultural heritage of Central Europe in both words and color images designed to manifest the value of objects and ideas which may be less well known outside this region. For that reason, the first volume in this series will be about the contested history and the visual power of a beautiful medieval illuminated manuscript, the Hungarian Angevin Legendary.

One of the main goals of this series is thus to give a rounded picture of a shared cultural heritage in the center of Europe together with its scholarly evaluation. The intention is to present a critical approach to the way this heritage emerged in the past, is protected in the present and may serve generations in the future.

Alice Choyke – József Laszlovszky

Preface and Acknowledgements

Dispersed in two continents, four countries and six collections, many of its pages were cropped, cut into four, or lost forever. Its history, origin, commissioner and audience are obscure. In its fragmented state it presents fifty-eight legends in an abundant series of images, on folios fully covered by miniatures and richly gilded, using only one side of the fine parchment. A luxurious codex worthy of a ruler; a unique iconographic treasury of medieval legends; one of the most significant manuscripts of the medieval Hungarian Kingdom – these are all what we call the Hungarian Angevin Legendary.

On the initiative of Gábor Klaniczay, I started my research on the manuscript some twenty years ago, within the framework of the research project 'Visual Resources of Medieval East Central Europe' launched at the Department of Medieval Studies at the Central European University in Budapest. First, in 1994 I created a database together with my colleagues, Tamás Sajó, Dénes Dósa, and some excellent students of the department. The database was presented in the International Medieval Congress in Leeds in 1994 and 1995 and at the Angevin conference organized by the École Française de Rome in the autumn of 1995. During this stay in Rome, I was honored with the privilege of investigating personally the greatest surviving portion of the codex by Leonard Boyle, director of the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. Supported by the École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, I carried out research in 1996 in Paris, examining the folio kept in the Louvre. Two years later I was able to see the pages kept in New York. This research was extended during my stay in Florence at the Villa I Tatti (The Harvard University Center for Italian Renaissance Studies) supported by the Andrew F. Mellon Foundation in 2000. For updating the English edition, I carried out research in the Warburg Institute in London in 2006. I am most grateful for all these persons and institutions.

The main text of the present volume was written as a doctoral thesis under the supervision of Ernő Marosi and defended in 1998. Beside my *Doctorvater*, without whose intensive support the dissertation would have never been completed as such, I wish to acknowledge the help of the external readers of the thesis, Tünde Wehli and József Török for their invaluable suggestions, as well as Miklós Boskovits, Edit Madas, Gyöngyi Török, Susan Urbach and many of my former professors, colleagues and friends for their advices. The present publication, based on the Hungarian edition of 2006 published by Balassi Kiadó, Budapest, was generously supported by the Fidelity Charitable Gift Fund on the initiative of Mel Seiden and the OTKA project 'Communicating Sainthood – Constituting Regions and Nations in East-Central Europe' led by Gábor Klaniczay. Lara Strong created an English version of the text which I hope will be more accessible than the Hungarian original. I am grateful to József Laszlovszky for taking this monograph to the new series and Annabella Pál and Christopher Mielke for their suggestions. It is my only wish that this book meets the expectations of everyone above.

1

Introduction

1.1. Posing the question

Those who were privileged enough back in the fourteenth century to page through the codex known today as the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* [*Magyar Anjou Legendárium*] were probably interested in the identity of the saints they revered, their lives, and their accomplishments. For today's observers, however, the primary role of the now scattered pages of the codex is not to reveal information about the saints, but rather to tell us how people in the fourteenth century viewed them. One might wonder what points were taken into consideration in assembling this treasury of saints: how were the legends edited, and how were the various stories translated into the visual idiom? This book seeks to answer these questions through a study of the visual program of the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary.*

The visual system of the codex is examined on three levels. First of all, we uncover which saints were chosen and what principles were used in making the selection and determining the sequence. In addition we see which types of saints were given preference; which saints gain prominence based on the number of pictures versus the amount of textual source material; how the saints were arranged in space and time; how this relates to their cults; and what characteristics this form reveals when compared to other similar collections.

On the second level, we scrutinize the legend cycles of various saints. Here the traditional methods of iconography are helpful in establishing which ways these picture stories relate to the written sources and the visual tradition. Through this analysis, it becomes clear which scenes are indispensable and which stand out because of their unique or unusual composition. It is also essential to analyze individual images, although the primary interest lies in the cycle as a whole and the impression it projects. Space is also allotted to investigating what principles of composition are used in building the cycles, what rhythm is produced by the succession of scenes, which parts of the legends become focal points, and which parts are cursorily dealt with. Also of possible interest is the number of pictures used to tell the story (are they more or less than what is usual?) and how this number relates to that found in other stories. Another question is how the course of events changes when a longer legend is presented: for example, the cycle of the apostle St James the Greater is divided into several sub-cycles with varying numbers of images. But in any given codex, the series of scenes has to conform to the distribution of pictures on a page, and we should keep in mind how the entire page is structured – are there conceptual or formal elements that unite the pictures on one page, and to what degree are these tools used consistently?

On the third level the elements of the various cycles, the images themselves, and also the recurring image

types are analyzed. The structure of typical scenes and the visual elements used to characterize certain situations is worth particular attention. The *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* does not have a wide visual language. Depictions are composed of a limited number of symbolic elements. We look at what meanings the various elements are infused with, which motifs recur, and what role the different key scenes play within the entire legends as well as how this role differs in the legends of various types of saints. However, when comparing similar scenes found in the legends of different types of saints, it is not enough to only study the scene itself and its immediate context. Individual pictures can only be understood within the visual system of the codex – one scene explains another. What can better be discerned in one picture may render comprehensible the obscure elements of another. What deeper meaning the use of recurring visual formulas might have with respect to the entire codex is also important on a higher level. It is also worth noting how the makers of the codex strove to fit each image type into the textual passages of the legend: which image types were suitable to this objective and which presented obstacles? This process reveals the power or impotence of the various types. What is interesting here is what consequences the use of an established image type has with respect to the relationship of the given scene to the text and the iconographic tradition.

Thus the three tiers of questions outlined above have been constructed according to a hierarchical system. At the highest level is the examination of the entire codex with respect to the selection of saints and the general program. At the second level are the various legends and their arrangement: the selection of scenes in each legend is influenced by the iconographic program. At the third level the structure of the various image types and the selection of visual elements are analyzed. The second and third levels can be seen as two different approaches to the same material from two different perspectives: the analysis of the series of pictures can be seen as a horizontal study of the stock of images, while the introduction of image types is vertical.

It is necessary to begin by fixing the boundaries of this investigation. The first point of departure is the current state of research (I.2), and its possibilities: how far can we go? In other words, what limitations does the fragmentary state of the codex create for further studies? (I.3–5) Once this has been established we can turn to the analysis of the codex's visual structure according to the three levels: by presenting the selection of saints (II), the legends (III) and the image types (IV).

After the system of images in the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* has been analyzed on these three levels, in the last section the process in which the codex was created will be discussed, thereby setting into motion the systems hitherto statically described (V). Based on concrete observations, analogies and conclusions, I have attempted to reconstruct the process in which such a large-scale work could have been created: the assembly of images and their labeling can in fact be viewed as a contemporary interpretation, and from this point of view we can make some unique observations. With this higher level of thinking in mind, we can draw some conclusions based on what we have learned about the design of the program. With attention to the focal points of the compilation, we can also glean something of the circumstances in which the work was commissioned. Finally, an examination of the codex's existence, its aims, and function gives meaning to the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* as both an object and undertaking.

I.2. Research History

Most scholars see the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* as a codex of inestimable value, but beyond that few have expressed similar opinions in the professional literature.

This is because we have scant information about certain aspects of this outstanding work. The codex has survived in fragmentary form, and the majority of what remains is bound in an eighteenth century volume in the Vatican. Some of the missing pages, often incomplete, have resurfaced only to disappear again throughout the world, finding their way into collections from the United States to Russia. We are not even certain if the illustrated pages we have are fully representative of the entire codex, or whether some parts might have been significantly different – perhaps pages of text or different arrangements of images.[1] There are no inscriptions in the eighteenth century volume or in any of the scattered pages that might tell us under what circumstances the codex was made, who the original owners were, and where or when the codex was executed. Moreover there are no sources, even later ones, related to the codex. The only conclusions we can draw are based solely on the surviving fragments and miniatures.

Regardless of these challenges, a great deal of literature on the codex has appeared in the last hundred years, since the first scholarly report on it was published (1910). Since 1916, when it became a topic of popular scholarly discussion in Hungary, researchers have examined the codex with greater frequency, while in the last few years scholars representing several branches of study have regularly returned to it. No summary of Hungarian art history can fail to mention it, and references to it are countless. At the same time the codex has also captured the attention of foreign scholars too, and their comments have stirred up even greater interest. These days considerable activity surrounds the codex. As more and more pages have been discovered in recent times the number of publications has multiplied. Nearly one century in the research history of the codex is outlined below, with attention to the mutual impact of various works; in addition some of the key problems are highlighted in order to demonstrate the variety of perspectives.

A survey of the professional literature

As far as we know, first news of the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* (a notebook containing 85 pictures from the former codex) appeared in print in 1896, in a London auction catalogue.[2] According to Meta Harrsen in 1933[3] and Seymour de Ricci in his catalogue of American collections published in 1937,[4] this material surfaced in the United States in New York's Pierpont Morgan Library in 1909. Harrsen published both the first thorough study of the entire codex and also the first independent book on the subject, in which she discusses the legendary alongside the Nekcsei Bible (1949).[5] In Harrsen's 1958 catalogue of Central European material in the Morgan Library, she mentions yet another page,[6] and three years later another leaf was purchased by the library.[7]

By this time the scholarly world had an idea of what kind of codex these scattered pages might have belonged to. As part of the early twentieth century hagiographical work carried out by the Bollandists, Alfred Poncelet prepared a catalogue of Latin codices dealing with saints in the holdings of the Vatican Library (1910).[8] Here, he mentions a codex numbered Vat. lat. 8541, containing no hagiographic text, but significant because of its illustrations; thus he provides a list of the legends depicted. This basic publication (despite its flaws[9] remains to this day an indispensable point of reference).

Unaware of the connection, Seymour de Ricci published two more pages from the codex in 1913 in the catalogue of the Léonce Rosenberg collection. He was unable to identify the subject-matter of one of the pages, but he did recognize St Francis in the images on the other. He published a picture of this latter page, making it the first photographed page from the codex to appear in print. For decades after the whereabouts of these pages were unknown until Gyöngyi Török located the St Francis page with an art dealer in New York.[10] The page was later sold to the Metropolitan Museum in 1994.[11]

Lajos Vayer found more pages in the Hermitage: four in 1957 and a fifth page in 1969. He published these jointly with Ferenc Levárdy in 1972.[12] Another lost page turned up more recently in the United States and was published by Julia Bader and George Starr in 1986.[13] Finally in Paris (Louvre, Département des Arts Graphiques), a previously unknown page was found and published for the first time by Ulrike Bauer-Eberhardt.[14] Prior to this, Miklós Boskovits had stumbled upon a photograph of this page in the Villa i Tatti in Florence (The Harvard University Center for Italian Renaissance Studies) in the photo collection of Bernhard Berenson. He passed it on to Gyöngyi Török, who republished it.[15]

The first step-by-step scholarly treatment by a Hungarian of the known material was carried out by Lajos Karl. After reporting on Poncelet's publication in 1916, he carried out a detailed analysis of the illustrated legends of Hungarian saints in an extensive study appearing in *Revue archéologique* in 1925.[16] This work had a great impact both in Hungary and abroad, and even today it occasionally still serves as a reference.[17] In 1929 Karl examined the iconography of saints connected to France, but the influence of this article was not as widespread.[18] Hungarian scholarship, however, soon responded with a similar study of Hungarian saints: Cyrill Horváth in 1928[19] and Pál Lukcsics in 1930[20] examined the codex in connection to the legend of St Ladislas, while Tibor Gerevich used pictures from the legendary in his iconography of St Emeric.[21] Hungarian saints would serve as points of departure for research in later years too: Ernő Marosi in a study from 1973 discusses two approaches to the structure of the legend of St Ladislas,[22] and later returns to his iconography.[23] One aspect of the Ladislas legend, the dual with the Cuman warrior, was the subject of Zsuzsa Lukács's and Gyula László's research too,[24] with a short treatment of the legend of St Ladislas by Terézia Kerny appearing in the appendices of László's work.[25] Hungarian saints formed a central part of the research of Tünde Wehli as well: her work on saints canonized in 1083 was published in 1986, and another publication on St Stephen came out in 1994. She also mentions the codex in connection with the Mensola altar of St Emeric and in a lecture on St Gerhard.[26]

Hungarian saints have not been the only lure for researchers to the vast iconographic treasure trove of the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary*. In 1970 and 1973 Kauffmann used the codex as the closest iconographic analogy in his study of a Valencian altar of St George in the Victoria & Albert Museum.[27] The *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* also appears in monographs on the iconography of various saints, although not as frequently as would be justified. Most notable are Dorsch's 1983 book on St George,[28] David-Daniel's 1958 study on the iconography of Sts Cosmas and Damian,[29] Huber's 1930 study,[30] Dubler's 1953 monograph[31] on St Benedict, a catalogue accompanying an exhibit celebrating the 1500th anniversary of Benedict's death,[32] and finally Edit Madas's article on St Benedict in the catalogue of the 1996 Pannonhalma exhibit.[33] The codex also appeared in the 1994 exhibit on St Mark in Venice and the exhibits on St Martin in 2006 and St Stephen of Hungary in 2013,[34] while the iconography of St Stanislaw has been important in Polish research.[35] In recent years interest in the codex in this respect has only increased. Laura Dal Prà[36] and Silvia Maddalo[37] used the codex in their studies on the iconography of St Bernard, Joanna Cannon[38] and Roberto Cobianchi[39] on the iconography of St Dominic, Antonio Iturbe[40] on the iconography of St Augustine, K. L. Jansen[41] on the iconography of Mary Magdalene, and Charlotte Denoël[42] on the iconography of St Andrew. Other motifs that appear in the codex such as devils and idols[43] or the figures in Eastern dress have attracted further interest.[44]

Some researchers hoped a study of the codex would provide not only iconographic but hagiographic results, too. Thus, right from the start literary scholars and historians have also explored the codex (Lajos Karl, Cyrill

Horváth, and Pál Lukcsics, and more recently Edit Madas[45]), and at the Vatican exhibit in Cologne in 1993[46] the codex was presented as an unusual legendary. The codex type has also served as a reference point for several Western scholars (G. Schmidt,[47] F. Bucher[48]). It must be noted that knowledge of the codex among foreign scholars can generally be attributed to Meta Harrsen's book of 1949 – no other work has rivaled it in terms of influence, not even Levárdy's facsimile of 1973 (clearly for reasons of language and distribution).

Most art historians felt the need to determine the date and place of production of the codex. In 1929 the eminent art historian Tibor Gerevich made an attempt, and later Toesca in 1930, Dezső Dercsényi in 1941-42 in several studies, and Ilona Berkovits in 1938 and 1947. Among the Italian scholars, C. Gnudi (1972) and Conti (1979, 1981) also deserve mention. Finally Ferenc Levárdy, who for decades was the most well known expert in this area, carried out the most thorough investigation of the codex. His first writings were published in 1963 and later in 1964 in Hungarian and Italian.[49] In 1972 he published an article together with Lajos Vayer, but his most important undertaking was the publication of the facsimile in 1973 and 1975 (in Polish in 1978). In 1988 he returned to the subject in a brief but fundamental work, which appeared in an accompaniment to his publication of the Nekcsei Bible.[50] At the conference in Cortona in 1982 Lajos Vayer delivered a speech about the codex.[51]

Károly Mollay's publication of 1977[52] contributed new facts to Levárdy's research, while several important studies by Tünde Wehli, appearing in part as catalogue entries, were later published in larger surveys.[53] The numerous new findings by Gyöngyi Török have also enriched research in this field.[54] The latest large-scale undertaking was the 1990 facsimile published by Belser publishing house, with the scholarly treatment of the codex conducted by Giovanni Morello, Heide Stamm, and Gerd Betz. The main virtue of this book is the clarification of numerous codicological questions. In addition several scenes misidentified by Levárdy were correctly named and the Latin inscriptions were accurately transcribed and translated into German.[55]

Around the year 2000 the codex once again became the focus of attention: first, it appeared in the exhibit of the National Széchényi Library entitled *Három kódex* (Three Codices),[56] and then in the following year it was displayed at the Hungarian exhibit at the Vatican[57] as well as at the Anjou exhibit in Fontevraud.[58] At the same time Gyöngyi Török published the pages discovered in Paris.[59]

Even this brief survey reveals the wealth of viewpoints expressed in one hundred years of literature on this subject. In the following we can only address a few important questions concerning the style and age of the codex, its history, textual sources and iconographic system. But first we should discuss the naming of the codex.

The naming of the codex

The following title appears on the eighteenth century leather binding of the codex held in the Vatican: *Acta Sanctorum pictis imaginibus adornata*. In 1630 Giovanni Battista Saluzzo gave a similar title to the most prominent material from the codex bound in a small independent booklet: *Acta Jesu Christi et aliorum Sanctorum praeclaris imaginibus expressa*.[60] Meta Harrsen concluded from these similarities that the titles of both volumes were based on the original one.[61]

These seventeenth and eighteenth century names, however, did not enter common usage.[62] Early publications did not even consider it important to give any kind of name to the codex, referring instead to the work as an illustrated manuscript from the Vatican,[63] an illustrated Latin manuscript,[64] and a *légendier historique*.[65] Tibor Gerevich was the first to call it a *leggendario ungherese*,[66] and later in 1930 an *úgynevezett vatikáni képes magyar*

legendárium (a so-called illustrated Hungarian legendary from the Vatican).[67] But the reference to Hungary was generally omitted, and instead the phrase *an illustrated legendary from the Vatican*, referring to the nature and location of the codex, prevailed. The term *vatikáni Képes Legendárium* (Vatican Illustrated Legendary) was first used by Edith Hoffman in 1929.[68] This is the first case in which the name was written with capital letters, and thus the first occasion in which the codex can truly be said to have acquired a title. Ilona Berkovits borrowed this title in 1938,[69] and Dezső Dercsényi used an abbreviated version in his articles: *Vatikáni Legendárium* (Vatican Legendary).[70]

The turning point in the naming of the codex came about with Ferenc Levárdy. In his first serious treatment of the legendary he discusses the problem of the name: "as long as we only knew of the pages from the Vatican, it was perfectly acceptable to identify the codex as the 'Vatican Illustrated Legendary' […] but the next time the work is named, we feel that it is absolutely essential that the Hungarian connection be highlighted and a reference made to its similarities in execution to the illustrated *Biblia Pauperum*. Consequently we consider the 'Hungarian Illustrated Legendary' the most fitting name for the work."[71] This proposal would exchange an obsolete reference to the place in which the bulk of the codex is housed with a reference to the codex's function, while still indicating the illustrative nature of the work. Surprisingly, however, Levárdy fails to use this title in his work. Instead he uses a third term, with no further explanation: Magyar Anjou Legendárium (*Hungarian Angevin Legendary*).[72] From this point on this title became generally accepted,[73] and to this day it is the one used by the majority of scholars and the one that appears on the 1973 facsimile edition. In an abbreviated form the terms Anjou-Legendárium (Anjou Legendary)[74] or (only in non-Hungarian usage) Hungarian Legendary crop up.[75]

Meta Harrsen tried to introduce a totally different name, when she called the codex *Passionale* in 1949. Although there were followers,[76] Levárdy flatly rejected it: "The name suggested by Harrsen, *Passionale*, does not reflect the content of the volume. Based on its content and similarities to Jacobus de Voragine's *Golden Legend*, we consider the term Legendary justified."[77] However, Levárdy's distinction between the two terms *legendarium* and *passionale* is not correct – codicologists use both terms in a similar sense. True, Johannes Beleth did distinguish between the words in the twelfth century, saying that a *legendarium* contained the lives of confessors, while a *passionale* contained the sufferings of martyrs. On the other hand, most such manuscripts, including this codex, contain the legends of both confessors and martyrs, and thus cannot be neatly divided up in this way.[78] Besides, in reality a *passionale* can contain more than the lives of martyrs, and the expressions *passionarius*, *passionarium*, *liber passionalis* or *vitae sanctorum*, *legendarius* can all be used interchangeably.[79] Therefore, the terms have no significant role in clarifying content, and thus it is simplest just to use *legendarium* or legendary.[80]

The elements that have appeared in the various titles discussed above reflect the place of preservation, the function of the codex, the patron and his circle, or the type of codex. The reference to the Vatican certainly appears outdated because of the increase in material discovered elsewhere, although without question the majority of the pages are still preserved there. The other elements (Hungarian, Anjou, Illustrated, Legendary) all seem important and it is difficult to choose among them.[81] But including all four would be too much; therefore we consider it easiest (in the absence of any compelling arguments) to remain with the generally accepted title of the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* (Magyar Anjou Legendárium). The result, however, is that instead of using an indisputably valid name, the Vatican Illustrated Legendary, which reflects early, technical points, we are using a term

that refers to the history of the codex, and this immediately assumes a certain interpretation of the origins and functions of the codex. A discussion of these matters will be necessary in the following sections.

The origins of the codex – stylistic aspects

General opinions on the origin of the codex were rather quickly formed, creating a basis for further research. In 1910 Poncelet declared it a fourteenth or fifteenth century work, but by 1913 Ricci dated the pages he had catalogued to late fourteenth century Italy. Using stylistic aspects as a major point of orientation, Lajos Karl suggested the end of the fourteenth century, pointing to the work of Niccolò di Giacomo in Bologna as the possible source of the codex. In 1929 Gerevich refined this idea by distinguishing between several hands and then considering one of the artists to be a Hungarian student of Niccolò. In an earlier study (1909-1910), Gerevich addressed some other unexplored issues, examining the French and Byzantine roots of Bolognese manuscript illumination and shedding light on local miniature and panel painting. The art of Niccolò can in part be traced to the style of Vitale da Bologna.[82] Although he became a vocal proponent of a national school of art history in later decades, Gerevich continued to insist on the Bolognese origins of the codex. Dercsényi followed in the footsteps of Gerevich, dating the codex to 1365–70 and accepting Gerevich's identification of the masters involved.[83] Meanwhile another theory was born which would later prove defining: in 1930 Toesca dated the work to the early fourteenth century and thus to a stylistic phase preceding Niccolò's.[84]

This theory, however, did not find a favorable audience either in Hungary or abroad, and research focused instead on the Hungarian connections of the codex. By 1928 Cyrill Horváth had declared the painter either Hungarian or nourished on Hungarian traditions. In 1930 Lukcsics clearly mentions Hungary as the codex's possible place of origin. Neither Horváth nor Lukcsics was an art historian – but their ideas were so influential they even found expression among professionals: In 1928 and 1929 Edith Hoffmann links the legendary to Hungarian codex painting in the second half of the fourteenth century.[85]

More forward-looking were Ilona Berkovits's assessments in 1947. She dated the codex to an earlier period – to the 1350s – and tied it closely to the Nekcsei Bible.[86] Meta Harrsen independently arrived at a similar conclusion in 1949, suggesting not only a close connection between the two works but considering them the products of the very same masters. Consequently Harrsen assigned a date of 1335–40 to the illustrated legendary. She also firmly stood by a Hungarian origin for the work, supporting her argument with paleographic, iconographic and stylistic evidence. She demonstrated that alongside Bolognese characteristics, other Central European (Czech), Byzantine and Balkan features could be detected, which (in her mind) clearly point to a Hungarian origin. She argues at length that a manuscript illumination workshop existed in Esztergom (which she imagined to be next to the Collegium Christi[87]), and later placed the actual painting of the codex in Buda, by far overestimating the town's role during the Angevin period.[88] Harrsen also made the first thorough analysis of the stylistic differences observable in the codex, distinguishing between four hands. This would serve as the basis for later, similar types of research.

Levárdy continued Harrsen's train of thought in his studies published in the 1960s. He considered the most likely date to be around 1333, but he assigned the place of origin as Bologna. However, he did entertain the possibility that the work was completed in Hungary.[89] He even identified the head illuminator of the workshop as master Hertul, mentioned as a royal painter.[90] Károly Mollay corrected Levárdy's overreaching conclusions concerning

Hertul in 1977,[91] and in time the professional literature completely rejected Levárdy's theory.[92]

Among Italian researchers, Hungary generally came to be accepted as the place of origin. Cesare Gnudi's lecture in Budapest in 1969 was an important stage in process. In his talk he examined both the Nekcsei Bible and the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary*, and discovered the mutual influence of Italian and Central European development. He considered both codices to be Hungarian, but he felt stylistically they were closely related to the works of the most important Bolognese master before Niccolò, Pseudo-Niccolò (otherwise known as *Illustratore*). Tünde Wehli took this thought a step further declaring the work a product of Pseudo-Niccolò's workshop itself.[93] In deciding the place of origin, Gnudi saw the tendency toward Byzantine style as definitive, and like Harrsen, he felt that Hungary must have been more prone to Byzantine influences than Italy. But occasionally, fresh waves of Byzantine impulses were known to sweep through Italy, and Gnudi failed to take this into consideration.[94] Alessandro Conti thought along the same lines as Gnudi, finding the roots of certain features of the Hungarian group in the style of the *Maestro del 1328*, and considered the arrival of the *Illustratore* on the scene to be a parallel phenomenon. He thus established a "Hungarian group," but refused to acknowledge them as a part of Bolognese manuscript illumination, and thus never examined them thoroughly.[95] Conti abandons his discussion of Bolognese illumination just at the critical point in terms of Hungarian codices: the 1330s.

Recently Robert Gibbs has examined Bolognese manuscript illumination and its northern (Czech and Hungarian) connections in several studies.[96] In his work on Czech connections he follows the work of Olga Puymanova.[97] In making a Hungarian connection, he attempts to determine the location and works of a so-called Hungarian master, suggesting his art developed from the pre-1320 style of Nerio, and that he may have also worked with the *Maestro del 1328*.[98] Ulrike Bauer-Eberhardt sought the chief miniaturist of the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* among the Bolognese masters identified by Gerhard Schmidt to have worked in Sankt Florian (Austria). She identified the main master as Nerio, assuming this artist first worked in Austria in the 1320s, and the following decades in Hungary.[99]

Despite these views, Hungarian research remained faithful to the belief that the codex was made in Bologna (Marosi,[100] Wehli), while still acknowledging other possible Italian influences (Siena, Naples).[101] Harrsen's stylistic analysis, which demonstrates the presence of four different hands, was further refined by both Levárdy and Tünde Wehli.[102] Later Wehli conceded that the place of origin of the codex could arguably be Hungary[103] rather than Bologna,[104] but later rejected this possibility again.[105] While there is considerable disagreement in the literature concerning the place of execution, the dating of the manuscript usually falls between 1330 and 1345.[106]

In her 1992 study Gyöngyi Török adheres to the traditional date and tends to support a Hungarian place of execution, although she leaves the question open. Importantly she states that the similarities between the legendary and the Nekcsei Bible are signs of similar workshop practices, but do not point to a concrete connection between the works.[107]

Thus at present the question of where the workshop was located remains unanswered. However, two facts need to be weighed. According to the present state of research, there is no Bolognese workshop that might have produced the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary*. In addition, such a large undertaking would have clearly required a well-established workshop employing several masters. Even if we cannot always distinguish between the hands, it is certain that more than one painter took part in the project. Yet we have no evidence, no precursors or successors of such a sophisticated book-illumination workshop in Hungary. Research, however, has suggested the

presence of itinerant masters from Bologna in Austria and Bohemia who would also have been capable of executing the codex.[108] But ultimately the place of origin of the codex plays no fundamental role in the visual organization of the codex; therefore, this question requires no further investigation in this study. Moreover, regardless of which of the several versions we choose, the fact remains the same as recognized nearly eighty years ago: the sources of the style and visual solutions of the codex can be found in Bologna.

The commissioning and further history of the codex

Whether scholars considered the codex's place of the origin to be Bologna or Hungary, it was generally agreed from the outset that the commissioner of the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* was Hungarian[109] based on Hungarian (-Polish) features found in the iconography of the codex. Discovering the concrete identity of the individual, however, did not excite the interest of early researchers.[110] Later, though, the function and unusual character of the codex sparked some opinions on the matter: because it is composed entirely of images, Ilona Berkovits likened the codex to the pattern books of fresco painters,[111] and others also noted this similarity to pattern books.[112] This idea, however, does not hold, as pattern books (both those used by fresco painters and miniaturists) were fundamentally different in nature.[113]

Meta Harrsen was the first to formulate a strong opinion on the function of the codex. Because the most extensive cycle is devoted to St James the Greater, she suggested that the Hungarian Angevins hoped to gain favor with Pope Benedict XII (Jacques Fournier, 1334-1342) by presenting him with the codex. In return the pope would then offer his support for their affairs in Naples. Harrsen further claimed that because of the pope's early death the codex had remained unfinished, and was never delivered to him.[114]

The most developed theory on the identity of the commissioner and the function of the codex belongs to Ferenc Levárdy.[115] Noting the selection of saints, he asserted the codex had been made after 1317[116] for a Hungarian patron, "certainly for one of the Hungarian Angevins." He then goes on to demonstrate the dynasty's links to the various saints in the legendary.[117] Because of the unusual nature of the codex, composed entirely of images, he concluded, "the book was certainly designed for children only just learning to read." Narrowing it down further, he suggested the codex was for the son of Charles I (Charles Robert, king of Hungary), Andrew, whom the king had brought to Naples in 1333 in order to assert the family's long-standing, rightful claim to the throne through marriage and inheritance contracts: "The illustrated legendary, which expanded on the *Sanctorale* of the Roman church with legends of Hungarian Angevin saints, would have aided in the education of the prince, who had suddenly found himself in a foreign land. Given the representative display of the saints, the codex was indeed a gift befitting a prince."

Levárdy's theory was well received for some time in scholarly circles, but lately its acceptance has decreased. In 1986 Tündi Wehli questioned the hypothesis, suggesting as an alternative that the codex had been made for the library of Charles I of Hungary.[118] Bader and Starr consider the commissioner to have been Charles I himself,[119] while B. D. Boehm names Charles II (clearly a typographical error) in his discussion of the page in the Metropolitan Museum of Art.[120] Polish research sometimes refers only to the queen consort, Elizabeth Łokietek.[121] In 1991, Tünde Wehli completely rejected the role of Prince Andrew based on the new, later date assigned to the codex.[122]

Some have suggested that in addition to members of the royal family, educated clerics might also have been involved in ordering the legendary. Even Levárdy sought the designer of codex in the environs of the royal court, proposing "the names of Miklós Neszmélyi – the teacher of King Louis – and Miklós Vásári."[123] Dezső Dercsényi,

who accepted that the codex was made for Prince Andrew, states "the list of saints, and the numbers of images devoted to St James the Greater points to James of Piacenza, the royal doctor, secret chancellor and later bishop of Csanád. It would have been in his interest to remind Andrew, whose marriage he arranged, of his good deeds through an extensive narrative of the legend of St James."[124] In 1982 Tündi Wehli similarly acknowledged, "the patron of the codex may have been Charles I, but James of Piacenza is another possible candidate, or any other person in the prince's Neapolitan surroundings."[125] Later she considered Csanád Telegdi, archbishop of Esztergom, during her discussion of the cycle of Saint Gerhard.[126]

Just as the origins of the codex are shrouded in uncertainty, so too is its later history. All we know is that in 1630, part of it was in the possession of Giovanni Battista Saluzzo, who presented it (with his own poems in Latin and Italian) to his relative, Angelo Saluzzo.[127] Meta Harrsen suggested that the codex, passed on within the House of Anjou, eventually surfaced in Poland, and from there was acquired by G. B. Saluzzo.[128] Two points, however, render this theory unlikely. First of all it is bold to suggest that the codex or even a part of it may have turned up in Poland.[129] While Saluzzo did have good Polish connections, Harrsen's argument depends on every element of the following provenance: Charles I – Louis the Great – Hedwig – the Jagiellos – Saluzzo. However, Saluzzo could have just as easily obtained the pages of the legendary in Italy. Second, we cannot assume that the entire codex was ever in Saluzzo's possession, and that he only gave a portion of it to Angelo, while the remainder was placed in the Vatican. Such a theory would make it very difficult to explain the randomness of Saluzzo's selection,[130] or the fact that several complete pages missing from the Vatican codex were not included in Saluzzo's collection. No proof exists that the material in the Vatican was ever in the hands of Saluzzo. It is equally possible that he acquired the eighty-five pictures as just a fragment of the whole.

There are two points on which research could progress. Since the text of the *tituli* was written on the back of the pictures in New York, this writing could be compared to other handwriting examples of Saluzzo's, as nobody has yet examined Saluzzo's writing with this goal in mind.[131]

In addition, the largest surviving fragment of the codex was bound in the eighteenth century with the coat of arms of St Benedict XIV (1740-58) on the front and back of the volume. It is worth noting that according to Vatican tradition, the coat of the arms of the pope usually appears only on the front, and the coat of arms of the Vatican librarian on the back. As it turns out, the *Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana* did not acquire the pages directly from Benedict XIV. He originally gave them to the *Museo Christiano*, which he established in 1757, and only later did they enter the library's collection.[132] As other pages have cropped up (some in Paris) Lukcsics concluded that Napoleon had taken the codex in 1797, and it was returned to Italy only in fragments. However, the eighteenth century binding is intact; therefore pages could only have been removed before 1757. Moreover, the codex does not appear on the list of looted items.[133]

An examination of the Vatican codex helps us reach another important conclusion. In his codicological study, Giovanni Morello notes that underneath the present day Vatican page numbers are others dated to the seventeenth century.[134] He established this based on only the second sheet (at present) and did not continue his examination. In the following sections of this study we will show how this numbering, in our view, can be reconstructed. At this point we should only note that this numbering suggests a more complete collection in the seventeenth century, when the codex had at least sixteen more folios, but the Saluzzo-leaves and at least twenty-eight other pages were already missing from it. We do not know if the

eighty-five images in the New York booklet and the other twenty-some pages were removed from the codex at the same time or in several stages.[135] But it is highly likely that the sixteen pages that disappeared between the seventeenth century page numbering and the c. 1757 binding were for a time kept together. After all, aside from the Vatican codex and the Saluzzo booklet, all the pages that have surfaced thus far have been registered by this seventeenth century numbering. In addition, all of them have been trimmed all the way around, but are not "quartered." Unfortunately we cannot trace their provenance to any common points.

At present all we know is that in 1913 there were two pages in the Rosenberg collection in Paris. These came from the Sterbini collection in Rome,[136] and one of them, after spending several years in the possession of an art dealer in New York, was acquired by the Metropolitan Museum. The whereabouts of the other is unknown. Five more pages were acquired by the Hermitage in 1924 and were discovered by Lajos Vayer in 1957 and 1969. Similarly trimmed pages were obtained by the Morgan Library in 1955 and 1961.[137] In 1983 an additional page appeared in Berkeley[138] and recently another in Paris.[139] Thus it is hopeful that another six pages may turn up (see Table 1).

Observations on content: iconography and hagiography

Thus far we have traced the various opinions on the origins and history of the codex. Yet from the outset researchers have been preoccupied with the selection of saints and the codex's role as a hagiographic source. This endeavor led to the first publication of the codex in 1910,

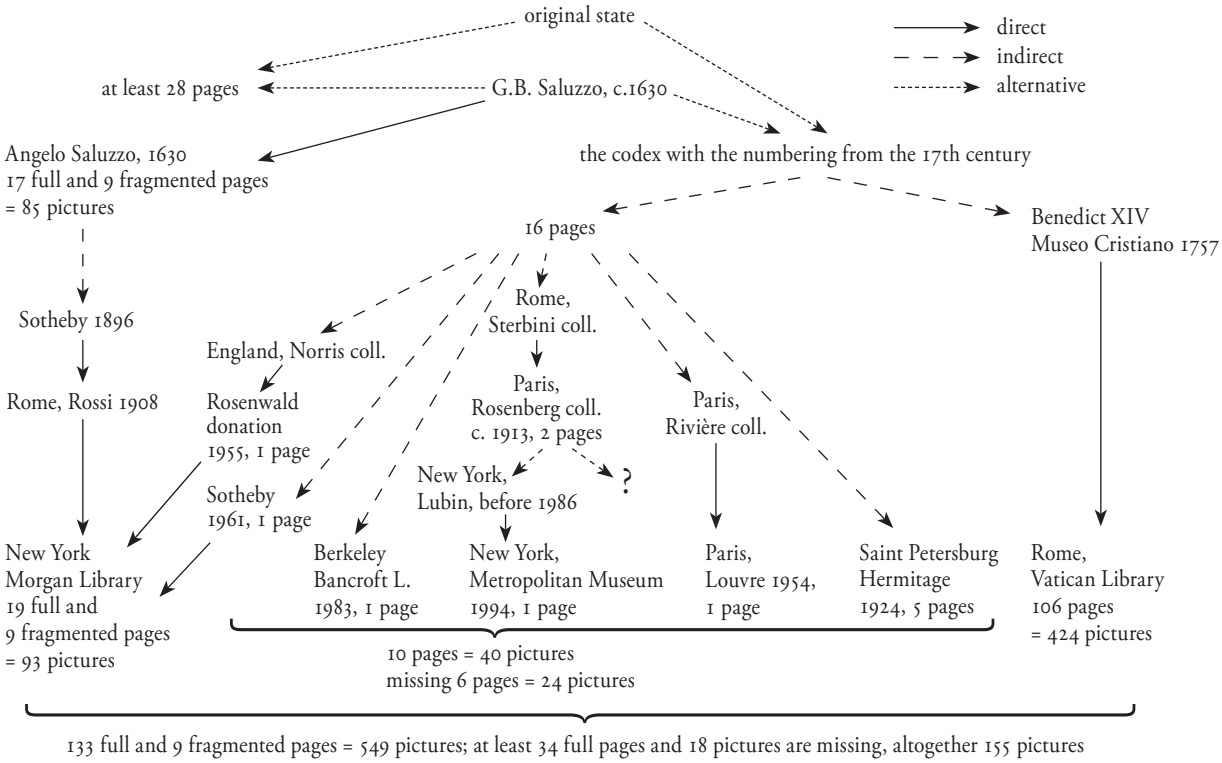


Table 1. Scheme of the history of the manuscript

which inspired the research of Lajos Karl, Cyrill Horváth, and Pál Lukcsics. Karl made general observations and cited the Old Testament (!), the gospels, profane sources of the legends, and oral traditions as backgrounds to the image cycles. Of greater value was his research on individual saints: he referred to the legends of the Hungarian saints, the *Képes Krónika* (Illuminated Chronicle), and (for a long time solely) to the chronicle of Henrik Mügeln.[140] In his study on French saints he sought the source of the images in the collection of Jacobus de Voragine, the *Golden Legend*.[141] Pál Lukcsics compared the cycles of a different set of saints to the texts of the *Golden Legend* (Cosmas and Damian, Giles and in part St James the Greater: IX–XLVI) and also examined the cycles of Jerome, Martin, Brice, Catherine, and Dominic. He gave the most thorough treatment to the cycles of Hungarian saints, analyzing the legends of Emeric and Gerhard, and later Ladislas. He demonstrated that although no source is presently known that covers the entire Ladislas cycle, every other image series can be tied to a concrete text; thus it is very likely that one existed for Ladislas too.[142] Later, the problem of the legend of St Ladislas continued to occupy scholars: Gyula László collected information on the iconography and sources of the battle with the Cumans as it related to the cycle in the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary*,[143] while Ernő Marosi catalogued the location of sources for the codex's Ladislas cycle.[144]

Ferenc Levárdy made the most detailed comparison of individual pictures with texts from the Golden Legend and other sources. However, he published his studies not as an analysis but as a simple explanation of the images, often departing considerably from the texts of the legends; nevertheless the usefulness of de Voragine's collection was clear.[145] Levárdy's conclusions, however, are not all watertight. He found that fifty of the fifty-nine legends fit with the Golden Legend, two originated from the Bible, five from the Hungarian appendices to the Golden Legend, and two were unidentifiable.

In fact we only know of fifty-eight legends from the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary*.[146] Levárdy obviously added the cycle of King St Stephen of Hungary (as the numbering in the facsimile edition indicates), but it is not possible to determine any sources for this legend, since it has been lost without a trace. The two legends Levárdy claims are drawn from the Bible concern Jesus and St Paul. His conclusion is plausible in the case of the former, but in the case of the latter, the images after picture 12 are drawn partially, and after picture 19, entirely from the *Golden Legend*. The cycle of St Francis is one he could not identify, but this too can largely be traced to Jacobus de Voragine's work. Of the five legends he believes to be based on the Hungarian appendices, only Gerhard's, Emeric's, and Demetrius' indeed originate from there, while the Stanislaw cycle can be traced to Vincentius of Kielcza's *Vita major*. In fact the legend of Stanislaw did not even appear in these appendices. As for the cycle of St Louis of Toulouse, there are no sources that completely cover the cycle, and none appeared in the Hungarian appendices. But Levárdy is certainly right on one account: no single source has been found for the Ladislas series.

The *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* is an exciting subject for literary historians because it sheds light on the reception of the *Golden Legend* (and its Hungarian appendices). Edit Madas's 1992 study reveals that the legendary is in fact the only surviving codex that would have rendered the *Golden Legend* for a Hungarian patron.[147] Because the Golden Legend for the most part did not contain saints related to Hungary, a supplement was prepared for local use. Several codices are known that were expanded in this way, but the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* is the only one in which the legends of the Hungarian saints were made at the same time as the others – although not in the form of texts.

Andor Tarnai examined the Hungarian supplement to the *Golden Legend* in 1984 using incunabula published in Strasbourg and Venice.[148] The list of saints these works

contain fit in well with the additions to the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary*, although it is obvious that the list was also modified over the centuries.[149] Related to this problem, the known versions of the legends do not match in every respect the mode of presentation in the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary*. Péter Kulcsár showed that the fifteenth century historian Bonfini used sources for the Hungarian saints in his work that largely correspond to the known versions today, but nevertheless contained some distinct differences.[150] Kulcsár suggests that Bonfini did not seek each individual legend, coincidentally finding versions that we do not know today, but rather used a collection that is now lost. Such a *colligatum* was known to have existed as late as 1577 in the material of the former Corvina Library.[151]

Of course, pointing to a lost collection of Hungarian legends that was in use during the Angevin age does not solve everything. The explanation for some discrepancies (and not just those in the legends of Hungarian saints) can be found in the visual tradition. It is unlikely that a similar codex served as the prototype to the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary*,[152] and in any case this would only transfer the problem. Clearly the painters must have drawn on the usual iconography or the general repertoire of images in depicting some of the better-known scenes.

This is the point at which begins our research. The individual legends need to be analyzed in order to acquaint ourselves with the written and visual sources. Likewise, certain picture types need to be examined to determine which set of visual tools were used by the painters of the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary*. During this process, we should note which motifs appear important within the visual scheme of the codex. In other words, the messages of the legendary need to be mapped out. Since the textual source for the majority of the legends is one work, the *Golden Legend*, any divergences from this are significant.

The increasing interest of hagiographers in the *Golden Legend* in recent years adds impetus to our research. For some time, the *Golden Legend* had been categorized among the less valuable sources, because its storybook motifs gloss over the true faces of the saints. For this reason, a critical edition of the text was prepared only recently. Before 1998 researchers relied on one of the nineteenth century editions of Theodor Graesse, usually the most recent one from 1890 or its 1969 reprint.[153] Nonetheless, progress has recently been made in the realm of textual criticism. It has been estimated how widespread the distribution of the book in the Middle Ages was, as well as how many codices have survived in Latin or in some translation.[154] Barbara Fleith made an important assertion that the University of Bologna played a crucial role in the dissemination of the Golden Legend, and probably distributed it in Paris and to other universities.[155] This raises the possibility that local manuscript illumination workshops may have had easy access to the book, and also that during their university training, Hungarian students and professors may have had an opportunity to become intimately acquainted with the work.

Theories have also been developed about the writing methods of Jacobus de Voragine.[156] The research of Alain Boureau, who studied the narrative structure of the *Golden Legend* in his book of 1984, deserves special attention. He points out what tools Jacobus de Voragine used in his narratives, what type of events were used to build the legends, what order these events were placed in, and how this expressed meaning. Finally, he examines how the different types of saints are used to construct a system the Dominican order wished to convey through its sermons.[157] This study hopes to make use of these lessons.

In order to embark on our research, however, we should, above all, be aware of the limitations of the investigation: we need to determine what part of the codex survives today, to what degree the original collection can be reconstructed, and how it relates to the present-day material. We can only begin an analysis of the contents of

the codex if we know the extent to which our conclusions apply to the entire work. In the next sections we will assess the codex's present-day and former stock of material.

I.3. Calculation of the Surviving Material

The question of how many pages and images are known in total from the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* is usually answered in one part of a catalogue entry. This study, however, requires a more lengthy discussion, since the majority of works dealing with the codex reflect a great deal of uncertainty. This is understandable, as individual pages have only gradually been discovered. The confusion, however, has been present from the start, ever since the material in the Vatican was published: the catalogue of 1910 mentions 115 folios instead of the correct number of 106.[158] For some time this information was arbitrarily repeated until Levárdy corrected it in 1964.[159]

Unfortunately, Levárdy also added to the confusion, since his facsimile supplies its own numbers to the pages, ending with a count of 170. This number does not reflect the true number of surviving folios (or even those published), because Levárdy's system of numbering jumps, leaving spaces for lost folios. In all his studies, Levárdy attempted to reconstruct the original condition of the codex, refining each assessment as his research advanced.[160] The facsimile edition preserves the 1973 state of his research. At this time he left space for two missing leaves at the beginning but did not count the missing leaves at the end. Exacerbating the problem, he first assigned two numbers to those pages containing the final images of one legend and the initial images of another (L 19–20, L 23–24), but later he uses just one number for similar such pages (L 67 etc.) In the end he fails to provide an estimation of the actual number of surviving pages. In any case, the number 170 is misleading when one is trying to assess the true quantity of the material.[161] Moreover, the edition does not contain all the surviving pages we know of.[162] Therefore, only one method remains: count the entire material in the collection one by one. But as we will find, even this task presents challenges.

The Vatican Library

The codex classified as *Vaticanus latinus* 8541 in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana contains the richest material from the illustrated legendary, as researchers quickly realized. Measuring 28 cm x 21.4 cm,[163] the codex has leather binding from the eighteenth century, with the papal coat of arms of Prospero Lambertini, or Benedict XIV (1740-1758). The gold-lettered inscription on the spine reads: *Acta S[anctorum] pictis imaginibus adornata*. The codex originally belonged to the collection of the Museo Christiano, established by the pope in 1757, and was only later transferred to the Vatican library.[164]

As mentioned, in 1910 Albert Poncelet mentioned 115 folios, but today only 106 are known.[165] There is no reason to believe, however, that nine pages have disappeared since then. According to Levárdy "115" was a typographical error and the number "105" was meant to appear. This number would agree with the numbering later applied to the pages, although this was also incorrect. One page had not been numbered, and Levárdy called the librarians' attention to this. The unnumbered page was then labeled 56a.[166] But Levárdy's facsimile edition also contains a considerable number of mistakes:

P. 106 should be numbered 63v and not 62v
P. 114 should be numbered 71v and not 70r
P. 163 lacks a collection identification: V
P. 170 should be numbered 105v and not 104r

Even more problematic is that Levárdy's numbering of the folios is not continuous: the first eleven folios of the Vatican material are numbered from 14r (L 17) to 24r

(L 29), but the next leaf (L 32) is numbered 12v and the numbering sequence continues from there. Thus the first eleven folios actually have two numbers.

Despite these difficulties, it is certain that 106 folios can be found in the Vatican, and every page is intact: this means 424 images. Unfortunately these are the only pages that have survived undamaged.

The Hermitage

In 1957 Lajos Vajer stumbled upon four pages in the Hermitage in St Petersburg, and later in 1969, he discovered another one.[167] The cropped pages measure 215 x 168, 219 x 165, 216 x 165, 218 x 162 and 215 x 165 mm.[168] They were donated to the collection in 1924,[169] and beyond this nothing is known of their provenance. For some time the pages remained unpublished as Hungarian authors awaited the publication of M. V. Dobroklonsky, which never came to pass. Then in 1972 the pages appeared in black and white in the *Acta Historiae Artium*, and later in color in the facsimile edition. The 1973 edition shows the following images with the Hermitage classification numbers:

L 31	Paul the apostle	E 16933[170]
L 117	Gregory	E 16932 [sic!]
L 120	Augustine	E 16931
L 148	Francis	E 16932
L 158	Alexis	E 16930

In addition on page L140 there is a written description of two of the images of St Benedict and two of St Anthony the Great, with the classification number E 16934. A black and white picture of this was published by Vayer and Levárdy in the 1972 edition of *Acta Historiae Artium* cited above. This adds up to six pages total, although the authors insist that only five pages were found in Russia.[171] Indeed Levárdy erroneously published pages 117 and 148 under the same classification number. Based on the photo in the 1972 publication E 16932 depicts the images of St Francis. Clearly page 117 is elsewhere to be found.

The Morgan Library and other American collections

After the Vatican, the Morgan Library in New York has the largest collection of material from the former codex: approximately one-fifth of the surviving material. The main body of the material was purchased by Pierpont Morgan in 1909 from Rossi in Rome[172] in the form of a small book containing a total of eighty-five trimmed and glued images from the former codex. According to the title page Giovanni Battista Saluzzo presented this as a gift to Angelo Saluzzo in 1630.[173] It contains scenes from the lives of ten saints, but mostly from the life of Jesus (forty-nine images which comprise all the surviving material from this legend), and remarkably few from the lives of John and Paul (2), Vitus (1) and Nicholas (1).[174]

In 1940 these pictures were removed from the book and those related to each other were affixed to the same page. The classification number of this series is M 360, and consists of twenty-four pages. The size of the sheets is 210 x 152 mm. Unfortunately, not every page could be reconstructed: some are missing one, two, or three images. The following pages are incomplete: III, IV, XIV, XVII, XXII and XXIV.

To make matters worse, there was no consistent attempt to keep together those pictures that originally appeared on the same page. Page XVI has fragments from three folios: L 48a and d, L 63 and L 62 (scenes 5, 8, 62 and 66 from the life of St James the Greater.)[175] Thus the material consists of eighty-five images originally belonging to twenty-six folios and now affixed to twenty-four sheets.[176]

In addition, according to Levárdy, four pages were acquired later: based on Ricci's catalogue, two had been in the collection of Léonce Rosenberg in Paris, a third was a

gift from Lessing J. Rosenwald in 1955, and a fourth was bought in 1961.[177] Levárdy published these pages with the following classification numbers:

M 360a - b	Rosenberg No. 72–73
M 360c	Rosenwald, 1955
M 360d	purchase (Sotheby's), 1961

Thus, following Levárdy's calculation, 101 pictures from an original thirty folios should have been divided among twenty-eight sheets in the New York collection.[178]

Unfortunately the facsimile edition does not tell us what saints are depicted in these pages. Only in one case do the classification numbers mentioned in the descriptions exceed the number twenty-four: M. XXVI = L 145, the second page of the legend of St Dominic. Perhaps this was M.360d (today M.360.26) according to the old system of classification. The other, folio M.360c (25 according to the new numbering system), is identical to a part of the legend of St Gregory the Great published as a page from the Hermitage with a mistaken classification number (L 117).[179]

The other two pages still need to be identified. Ricci's 1913 catalogue partially describes the two pages in question, labeling one as the legend of an unknown bishop (No. 72) and the other as the legend of St Francis (No. 73).[180] Now the 1990 facsimile edition by the Belser publishing house lists the last two pages from the Morgan Library as:

[360a] Fol. XXV: Geschichten des hl. Gregor (Szenen III-VI)
[360b] Fol. XXVI: Geschichten des hl. Franz von Assisi (Szenen XIII-XVI)
[360c] Fol. XXVII: Geschichten des hl. Dominikus (Szenen V-VIII)[181]

This description thus follows Levárdy by noting the location of the page showing the legend of St Francis is kept in the Morgan Library. This, however, is not correct. The page depicting St Francis recently surfaced in New York, first in a private collection and later as a new acquisition of the Metropolitan Museum of New York.[182] Therefore the Rosenberg pages never belonged to the Morgan Library. Researchers were clearly confused by the old numbering system, assuming that M.360a and b were folio numbers. M.360a, however, is simply the small book from which the trimmed pictures were removed.[183] Unfortunately we have not been able to shed any light on the meaning of M.360b (if this classification number ever existed at all.)

Thus we can summarize the material in the Morgan Library as follows (see also Table 3):

Classification number	Number of pages	Number of original folios	Number of images
M.360.1-24.	24	26	85
M.360a (= book)	—	—	—
M.360.25 = c	1	1	4
M.360.26 = d	1	1	4
total	26	28	93

Table 2. The holdings of the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York

Here we should also recall another page owned by the Bancroft Library in Berkeley:[184] depicting four scenes from the life of St Louis of Toulouse. This page is also trimmed, measuring: 218 x 166 mm.

The page in the Louvre

The research of Miklós Boskovits led to the discovery of the last page to turn up. Boskovits came across a hitherto unknown page in the photo collection of the Harvard University Center for Italian Renaissance Studies in Florence (Villa i Tatti, Fototeca Berenson). According to the inscription on the back of the photo the page

	no:	scenes in the Morgan L	related scenes in the Vatican	all known scenes	original size
Jesus	M.360.1-13	49	-	49	96?
John the Evangelist	M.360.14	1	16	17	24
James the Greater	M.360.15-16	8	56	64	72
Simon and Judas	M.360.19	4	4	8	8
James the Less	M.360.17-18	7	-	7	8
Bartholomew	M.360.20-21	8	-	8	8?
John and Paul	M.360.22	2	-	2	6?
Vitus	M.360.22	1	-	1	6?
Christopher	M.360.23	4	2	6	10
Nicholas	M.360.24	1	-	1	?
new leaves:					
Gregory the Great	M.360.25	4	2	6	6
Dominic	M.360.26	4	4	8	12?

Table 3. The cycles kept in the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York

was in Paris in the private collection of George Mesnard. Another manuscript inscription suggested it had been donated to the Louvre in 1952, while yet another linked it to the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary*, citing Harrsen's 1958 publication and claiming the Louvre had acquired the page in April 1952.[185] Boskovits passed this information on to Gyöngyi Török, who published the page in 2000.[186] Ulrike Bauer-Eberhardt had already published the page in 1996 in her review of the Vatican Library exhibit in Cologne.[187] The Louvre's records show that Henri Benjamin Rivière donated the page to the collection in 1954. An inscription also reveals that A. de Marchi already realized in 1994 that the leaf had come from the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary*.[188] Like the other pages that have surfaced this too is cropped, measuring 220 x 167 mm.[189]

The results can be summarized in the following table:[190]

Location	Classification number	Number of pages	Number of original folios	Number of images
Vatican	Vat. lat. 8541	106	106	424
Hermitage	16930-4	5	5	20
Morgan L.	M.360.1-26	26	28	93
Bancroft L.	BANC MS UCB 130: f1300: 37	1	1	4
Metropolitan M.	1994.516	1	1	4
Louvre	RF 29940	1	1	4
total		140	142	549

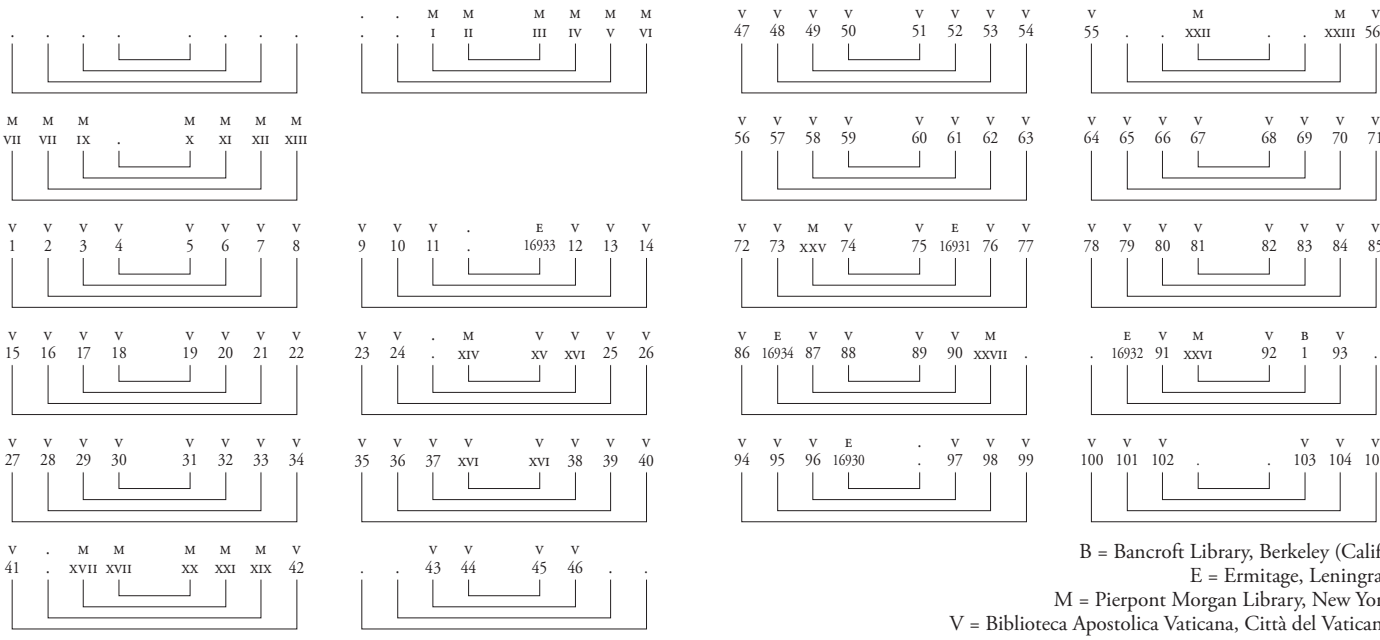
Table 4. The holdings of the different collections

Table 5. Codicological reconstruction of Ferenc Levárdy indicating the different masters

I.4. An Assessment of the Original Material

Now that we have accounted for the surviving pages, we need to ask to what degree the original material can be reconstructed; in other words, what remains, and what has been lost? The following observation serves as a good starting point: the codex preserved in the Vatican has maintained its book-like character, and even today is composed of quires. All serious reconstructions need to build on this. The images of the legend were also originally numbered and the inscriptions on the material in the Vatican have preserved this. Unfortunately this numbering has been trimmed off from the other leaves, so in these cases, we need to rely on the iconographic logic of the legends – although this should be approached with great caution. Of further assistance is the logical structure of the entire codex: the sequence of saints in the Vatican codex reveals the original order of the legends. Moreover those pages on which the upper two images mark the end of one legend and the lower two the beginning of another provide us with solid points of reference: there are ten such folios that we know of.[191] From this it is clear that St John the Baptist comes after Mary, and then the apostles, the evangelists, martyrs and confessors beginning with Sylvester and the Church fathers, then the saints from various orders, female saints and virgins. In this system, hierarchy takes precedence, as in the case of the Litany of the Saints, in contrast to the organization of the *Golden Legend* based on the liturgical calendar.[192]

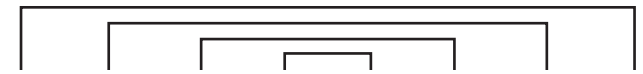
Above all, the structure of the sheets is worth examining. Levárdy first made codicological observations of the manuscript in 1969, and published the results in 1972, significantly modifying his earlier proposed reconstruction.[193] He then refined these even further (in the 1973 facsimile edition and in the table appended to the Nekcsei Bible facsimile edition in 1988, see Table 5).[194] Giovanni Morello reached a different conclusion in many respects when he prepared the facsimile edition for the Belser Verlag in the 1990s (see Table 6).[195]



B = Bancroft Library, Berkeley (Calif.)
E = Ermitage, Leningrad
M = Pierpont Morgan Library, New York
V = Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Città del Vaticano

Table 6. Codicological reconstruction of Giovanni Morello

The quires were originally composed of four bifolia, forming quaternions. Only one side of the leaf was decorated, while the other was left blank.[196] The book was bound so that two decorated pages were always facing each other, and between them were two empty pages. The location of some pages was even indicated, and in some cases this notation has survived, but it does not aid in our reconstruction.[197] A complete quire, therefore, looked like this (the letters in bold indicate the decorated pages):



In the Vatican collection most pages have survived from a total of eighteen quires; in fact seven quires are complete (according to Levárdy's numbering:[198] 3, 5, 7, 12, 14, 15 and 18). Another quire (16) is missing two leaves, but they are found in other collections (Morgan Library 360.25 and the Hermitage 16931) – these leaves fit in perfectly with the other pages of the legends. Of the remaining incomplete quires, those with fewer missing folios can be reconstructed with greater certainty.

There are four more quires that also lack one bifolium: 4, 8, 21 and 22. In each case the middle bifolium was removed – clearly because it was the least well integrated into the structure of the book – in other words, the easiest to tear out:

- From the numbering of the fourth quire, it is clear that the two missing sheets contained the first eight pictures from the legend of St Paul. One of the sheets is now in the Hermitage (16933, L 31), while the other is lost. Because the last picture in the St Petersburg folio and the first picture of the next leaf (Vat. fol. 12v, L 32) are related (illustrating Acts 16, 16-18 and 19-22, respectively) there is no doubt that the latter was the fifth folio.
- The inner bifolium from the eighth quire depicts the sixty-first through the sixty-eighth scenes of the legend of St James the Greater. Two images from the Saluzzo book in the Morgan Library (L 62 and 63 = M.360.16.4 and 3) belong here; given that the borders of the two pictures differ, clearly we have remains from both lost folios.
- One of the sheets missing form the twenty-first quire, the second page of the legend of Alexis, can be found in the Hermitage (16930); the other showing the first four scenes of the legend of Eustace is lost.
- Based on the numbering of the *tituli* the missing pages from the twenty-second quire must have depicted Mary Magdalene; both leaves are missing.

One quire (19) is missing three folios; we will return to that later. Two more quires contain only half their original material – two bifolia each. In quire 6, the middle sheets are missing, but because we have the first and last pages we know the quire contained scenes from the lives of St John the Evangelist and St James the Greater. Because the seventh folio, housed in the Vatican, begins with the number IX, clearly two leaves of this belonged to the life of James; the first page can be completely reconstructed, while the second only partially so from the material in the Morgan Library (L 47-48, M.360.15 and 16.1-2). The legend of John the Apostle is also fragmentary,[199] although we have one image (L 45, M.360.14) depicting the elderly evangelist as Jesus shows him his death: this probably belonged to the last leaf in the cycle. Because the cycles of the apostles (especially in this aspect of the codex) were so voluminous, we have no reason to suppose that the final lost leaf may have presented a condensed version of another saint's life. In all likelihood this page too was devoted to St John; thus the image from the Morgan Library is a fragment from the fourth folio in the quire.[200]

In the other quire (11) containing just two bifolia, it is the center ones that have survived. Here we have the second folio of the legend of St Mark, a folio jointly devoted

to the martyrs Luke and Stephen and the first eight pictures of the life of Lawrence. The numbering tells us that the second leaf of the quire had the first four pictures of the life of Mark. It is also obvious that the legend of St Lawrence is fragmentary and had at least one more leaf dedicated to it. The contents of the first and last folios, however, remain an open question. The last leaf could have belonged to Lawrence,[201] but the first leaf of the quire cannot be reconstructed. This question relates to the problems surrounding quire 9-10, discussed below.

The first leaf (L 91) of the thirteenth quire continues the legend of St George, but the next, which completed the legend, is lost.[202] The folio (L 98) that would have formed the other half of the sheet contains the end of the cycle of Christopher and the lives of Cosmas and Damian. Clearly these two leaves belonged to the outer sheet of the quire since the beginnings and ends of the legends can be found on the neighboring quires. From the numbering we know that of the six inner sheets, two were devoted to Christopher; of these one can be found in the Morgan Library (L 97, M.360.23).[203] Furthermore, the legend of St George certainly continued on the next page. However, three unknown leaves can be reconstructed if we consider the order of the saints. Based on the Litany of Saints, Levárdy placed the legends of the martyrs Vitus, as well as John and Paul, here (not without basis, since the two Roman martyrs do generally appear before Cosmas and Damian). The last two scenes in the lives of John and Paul and the opening one in the legend of Vitus are found on a page in the Morgan Library (L 94, M.360.22): that is to say both legends are fragmentary. Most probable therefore is Levárdy's hypothesis, which places this sheet as the fourth in the quire, leaving space before and after for the rest of the legends, which are thus reconstructed with six scenes each.[204]

Quires 19 and 20 prove more problematic. From quire 19, we have leaves 1 and 3-6 in the collection of the Vatican, leaf 2 (with details from the legends of Anthony and Benedict, L 140) in the Hermitage, and a leaf belonging to the legend of Dominic in the Morgan Library (L 145). It is unclear if this folio (containing the announcement of the saint's death and two *post mortem* miracles) was the last of the Dominic cycle, or if another followed; the legend lists a number of posthumous miracles, thus it is possible, but not likely. If this is the last leaf, however, then this means that the eighth folio of the quire began a new legend – or the Morgan page itself is the eighth folio, and there is a missing leaf that comes between the two existing ones of the legend of Dominic. Because the next quire begins with the legend of St Francis, which logically follows the story of Dominic, the last solution suggested above appears to be most probable. Nevertheless the possibility exists that the legend of a Dominican saint consisting of four scenes all together may have been inserted here.[205]

From quire 20, only one bifolium survives in the Vatican codex containing scenes IX-XII of Francis and scenes V–VIII of St Louis of Toulouse (L 149 and 151). Immediately after this, another page is bound showing the legend of Brice consisting of four scenes. This folio (L 154) has no corresponding leaf. Since page 149 is *recto*, it must have been the first or third page in the quire (if we accept that the legend of Louis followed). The numbering points to two more folios dedicated to Francis preceding it, and because these two folios cannot be placed at the end of quire 19 (only one leaf would fit there) clearly folio 149 was the third in the quire. Consequently the first two leaves of the cycle of Francis were at the beginning of quire 20 and the cycle did not begin in quire 19.[206] Fortunately the other folios from this legend have surfaced: the leaf in Metropolitan Museum[207] may contain the closing scene, while the leaves in the Louvre and the Hermitage (16932, L 148) obviously precede the folio in the Vatican, thus forming the first two folios of the quire.

Since L 149 was the third in the quire, its partner, L 151, with scenes from Louis of Toulouse, must have

been the sixth.[208] The numbering clearly shows that this was also preceded by another leaf from the cycle, the fifth (therefore the folio in the Metropolitan could only be the fourth in the quire). Now the question is whether the folio in Berkeley is the fifth or seventh leaf of the quire, in other words the first or the third leaf in the cycle of Louis. Since the Vatican page shows the death of the saint and two *post mortem* miracles, while the saint on the Berkeley folio is very much alive, the Berkeley leaf should precede the Vatican one.[209] But the first picture on the Berkeley page shows a posthumous miracle and not the saint himself, which would be strange for the opening picture of a legend. Thus at present there is no answer to this question; but it appears certain that the first four folios of quire 20 deal with Francis, the next three with Louis of Toulouse and the last with Brice.[210] As such the contents of the quire can be completely reconstructed, although the order is uncertain.

The most significant divergence in the viewpoints of Levárdy and Morello surrounds quire 17: Morello does not include it in his reconstruction, while Levárdy claims it contained the one surviving leaf from the legend of St Nicholas and also the legend of St Stephen the King – a cycle that has disappeared without a trace but was certainly included in the legendary. Clearly the legend of Martin begun in the previous quire was continued here; thus space must be allowed for another leaf dedicated to this bishop-saint, formerly numbered 72 from the Rosenberg collection in Paris.[211] It is possible that other bishops (such as Adalbert) also appeared in this quire. Thus we accept the existence of a seventeenth quire, despite Morello's reconstruction.

The other point of uncertainty is the question of quires 9 and 10. In 1972 Levárdy divided up the quires numbered 9, 10, and 11 into two quaternions. The numbering in the facsimile edition follows this too (applying 16 numbers to these pages); later he broke the sixteen pages up into three quires.[212] His reasons rested on the assumption that L 67 (scenes IX–X of Matthew and I–II of Philip) was the first page of a quire (since it immediately continues the narrative on the last page of the previous quire: L 66 = Matthew V–VIII), thus its corresponding leaf, L 70, ends the quire; so L 69–70 cannot be the third and fourth of the quire, but rather the seventh and eighth. He decided the next four leaves from the Morgan Library (the legends of James the Less and Bartholomew[213]) belonged to quire 10, and were separate from quire 11 discussed above. He suggested the legend of Thomas, of which nothing remains, filled the large gap in quire 9.

Morello's reconstruction solves the problem by placing the legends of James the Less and Bartholomew in the middle of quire 9 and doing away with quire 10; he reconstructs the rest in a similar fashion to Levárdy. His solution is more appealing because of its simplicity, but it is not seamless. He is presumably correct in leaving out the proposed second folio to the legend of Bartholomew. Moreover it is also very likely that the cycle of Bartholomew ends on page L 75. After all, the text of the legend offers no basis for supposing there were two leaves preceding the folios dedicated to St James. What is uncertain however is whether Philip the Apostle was really allotted only six scenes (placing him in the most modest position among the apostles, with the apostle before him allotted ten images, and the one after him eight!) The other problem is that no space remains for Thomas in the ninth quire; only the first page of the eleventh quire could offer him a place. This, however, would place him in the last position, with the smallest number of pictures, which is strange given his position in the hierarchy. And it is even less likely that he would be completely omitted from the legendary. Morello does not address these questions, but his opinion is nevertheless supported by the quire numbers hidden on the last page of the quires (we will return to this shortly), and also because James the Less logically follows Philip the Apostle, since their feasts fall on the same day (1st of May).[214]

Fig. 1. The original and the later numbering on fol. 79r

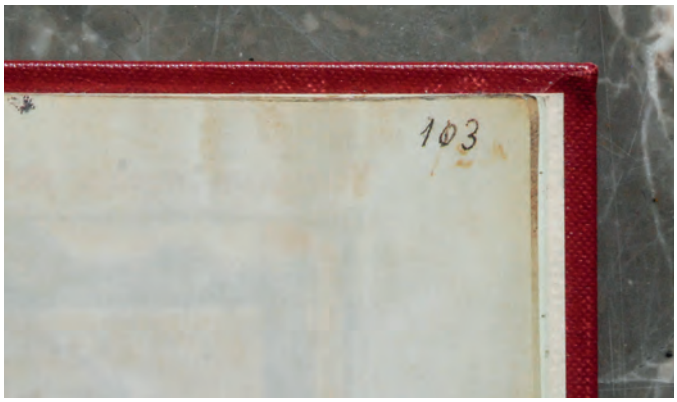


Fig. 2. The original and the later numbering on fol. 103r

The question of the beginning and the end of the codex remains. Because the codex finishes with a fragment of the legend of Catherine and provides no basis for reconstructing the ending, there is no sense in speculating.[215] However, it is possible that the Jesus cycle in the Morgan Library may come from the first pages of the legendary, and the fragments can be organized into two quaternions.[216] From these quires, a total of three sheets and another three fragments are missing. The real question is whether there were more quires before it. In the facsimile edition, Levárdy writes about two missing folios, and the reconstruction drawing from 1988 corresponds to this. Morello supposes there was an entire quire preceding the existing ones, based not only on content (it is difficult to summarize everything that happened before Jesus's encounter with the Samaritan woman in just two folios), but also on a discovery: on page 42v (= L 70) of a Roman numeral X, which Morello interprets as marking the tenth quire. This only works out if somewhere there were another full quire presently unknown (the simplest and most plausible explanation being at the beginning). Pages 63v (XIV) and 77v (XVI) are similarly marked.[217] If we accept these numbers as quire signatures then there is no room for Levárdy's supposed tenth "apostle's" quire.

This offers no clues, however, as to the existence of quire 17. But we can use another observation in reconstructing it. Morello pointed out that in the second quire of the Vatican codex an earlier, probably seventeenth century, page numbering is hidden underneath the present numbering (see e.g. Fig.1). He also mentions that this records a more complete version than the one we have now; and a leaf from this second quire later surfaced in the Hermitage.[218] Careful examination has shown that this earlier numbering can be followed through the entire codex ending with the final three folios, on which probably the numbers read 120-121-122 (see Fig.2). Based on this we can conclude that at the time of the earlier numbering the pages from the booklet produced for Angelo Saluzzo presently in the Morgan Library were already missing, along with another twenty-eight pages. But at that time there were still sixteen additional leaves in the Vatican collection. Significantly the cropped leaves that have since turned up are all from among these sixteen folios – thus there is hope that another six may be found.[219] As for quire 17, folios 77 (L 122) and 78 (L 131) from the Vatican codex were originally numbered 82 and 85; therefore, between quires 16 and 18 there was indeed at least one quaternion, of which one leaf has survived.[220]

With this observation we have arrived at the question of whether there might have been more quires between the surviving quaternions. Although no such jumps in

Table 7. The new reconstruction of the original manuscript, indicating the preservation place
(Vatican Library; Morgan Library, Saluzzo booklet; Morgan Library, single pages; Berkely Library; Louvre; Hermitage)

the seventeenth century numbering would indicate this, it is also true that this numbering fails to account for the first three missing quires. The presentation of the legends is fairly continuous and rarely adjusts to the beginnings and endings of quires, thus a good starting point in this examination is the junctions between legends. Of the 22 (or 21 if we leave out quire 10) quaternions supposed by Levárdy, twelve contain legends that continue in the succeeding quire; the rest have legends which end on the last folio and therefore could have been followed by a now unknown quire: the quaternion depicting the final scenes of the life of Jesus (although the death of Mary should logically follow this); the problematic quires 9-10 (but here it is unlikely that an entire quire devoted to just St Thomas the Apostle would have followed, and no other saint would fit in the sequence); quire 11 (at the most Vincent could have come between Lawrence and Fabian, but he appears in the next quire); quires 14 and 15 (these are martyred bishops whose sequences would be continuous anyway); quire 17 (realistically, no one would have been placed between Sts Stephen and Emeric); quire 18 (Ladislas and Benedict are not closely related, thus a quire could be missing here); quire 19 (although it is unlikely a complete quire is missing between Dominic and Francis); and quire 20 (it is possible between Brice and Giles). In any case if we accept that the mark on 77v indicates quaternion XVI (which would be reasonable), then there are no missing quires through 16. Thus missing gatherings can be supposed only after quires 18 and 20, but there is no evidence of this. In fact quite the contrary: there is nothing that suggests an entire gathering was removed from the middle of the codex before the seventeenth century numbering, and the original numbering of the quires corresponds perfectly to the later page numbering.[221] We know for certain that since then only fragments of quire 17 have disappeared from the codex (from which an image has survived in the United States). Therefore, although we cannot exclude the possibility, it is highly unlikely that entire quires are missing from the surviving material.

In summary, a large part of the codex can be reconstructed based on the structure of the quires and other information (see Table 7; cf. Appendix A, Table 25). The picture is perfectly clear in the case of thirteen quires, and there are few uncertainties surrounding another two quaternions (13 and 20). One or two pages cannot be reconstructed in two other quires (11 and 19), while quires 9-10 and 17 have proven particularly problematic. The first two quaternions can also be analyzed even if the clear structure of these gatherings has been lost. What remains to be seen is what this reconstruction means in terms of interpreting the various legends.

I.5. Reconstruction of the Legends

Every further examination requires a clear understanding of the degree to which the legends have remained intact, and the degree to which we can verify the gaps. Presently, we are not even certain how much of the legends are covered by the surviving leaves, and Levárdy's repeated modifications of his reconstruction do little to resolve these uncertainties: the facsimile edition is the most complete, but in several places it contradicts Levárdy's own later reconstruction and also Morello's codicological analysis.[222] As a result a re-examination is necessary. In the previous section we tried to place the reconstruction of the structure of the codex on solid ground; now we can build on this further.

The first question we need to ask is whether any legends were completely lost? Naturally we can never know for sure; but it is very likely that the codex included a legend of St Thomas the Apostle, St Stephen the King, perhaps St Adalbert and an indefinable group of female saints. The occasional break in continuity between the quires allows us, but does not require us, to consider the