

Images from the Production Line. Constructing Saints' Lives in the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary*

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The *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* is an extremely rich treasure house of medieval iconography. Even in its fragmented state (its pages dispersed to six collections of four countries¹), this luxurious manuscript depicts in 549 miniatures 58 cycles of the life of Christ, the Death of the Virgin, and the legends of John the Baptist, the apostles, martyrs, confessors, virgins and holy women in hierarchical order. The narrative follows the *Legenda aurea* of Jacobus de Voragine and, in the cases of East Central European saints (Gerhard of Csanád, Ladislav, Emeric, Stanislas), other local legends. The selection of saints points to a commission from the Hungarian Angevin court. Its style, typical of the second quarter of the 14th century, is closest to Bolognese manuscripts but

with unique features, and as such Hungary has also been proposed as the place of execution.²

Evidently, for such a large amount of images the existing visual hagiographic repertory was hardly enough. Even in the Bolognese workshops, prepared for mass production of illuminated manuscripts, fabrication of such an enormous illustrated encyclopedia of the saints' life was unusual. Some of the legends could have been based on existing prototypes, e.g. we can find rather close parallels to the cycles of Vincent³ and George.⁴ In many other cases, and especially for the rarely depicted figures (Fabian, Brice, Hilary, Remy etc.) or "exotic" East Central European saints, no established tradition for the depiction was available. Moreover, even some

¹ The biggest part is preserved in the Vatican (Biblioteca Apostolica, Vat. Lat. 8541, 106 fols.), while single pages are kept in St. Petersburg (Hermitage, 16930-16934), Berkeley (University of California, Bancroft Library, f2MSA2M21300-37), New York (Metropolitan Museum, 1994.516) and Paris (Louvre, RF 29940), and 85 miniatures are in the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York (M.360.1-26).

² The literature on the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* is vast. Recent articles in international languages include TÖRÖK, Gy.: Problems of the Hungarian Angevin Legendary. A New Folio in the Louvre. In: *Arte Cristiana*, 89, 2001, pp. 417-426; and SZAKÁCS, B. Zs.: Le culte des saints à la cour et le Légendaire des Anjou-Hongrie. In: *L'Europe des Anjou*. Paris 2001, pp. 195-201. For a full bibliography, see SZAKÁCS, B. Zs.: *A Magyar Anjou Legendárium képi rendszerei*. Budapest 2006, pp. 297-301. The present article is based on my monography which is to be published in English in the near future.

³ There are a relatively large number of early cycles that we know of and a serious tradition exists especially for the first

three (arrest, torture with an iron claw and fiery spikes) and the last three images (a raven guarding the body, which is then tossed in water, and finally buried by Christians). Cf. KAFTAL, G.: *Iconography of the Saints in the Painting of North West Italy*. Florence 1952, p. 660; KAFTAL, G.: *Iconography of the Saints in Central and South Italian Painting*. Florence 1965, p. 1132; *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*. Ed. W. BRAUNFELS. Rom – Freiburg i. B. – Basel – Wien 1968 – 1976, Vol. 8, pp. 568-572.

⁴ The closest analogy to the image sequence assembled in the codex is the ca. 1410 – 1420 altar of St. George from Valencia, usually attributed to Marzal de Sas, now in the Victoria & Albert Museum, London. All eight of the surviving images from the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* have an analogue among the eighteen scenes from this altarpiece. The connection is obviously not direct, but C. M. Kauffmann has suggested that the Spanish altar may have had a similar codex as a prototype. – KAUFFMANN, C. M.: The Altar-Piece of St. George from Valencia. In: *Victoria and Albert Museum Yearbook*, 2, 1970, p. 90.

of the better-known saints were to be discussed in unusually long cycles, such in the cases of Augustine⁵ or Bernard of Clairvaux.⁶ Thus, the painters were forced to create new images without relying on concrete prototypes. Furthermore, the lack of pictorial tradition was a problem not only from the production side. Since the manuscript consists of pictures exclusively, without the full texts of the legends (only one-line *tituli* are written in rubrics beside the images), the individual image types had to be easily decipherable by the future audience.

Certainly, there existed illuminated manuscripts with great amount of images. Creating large amount of more-or-less similar images, applying pictorial stereotypes was a task if detailed illustration was needed for longer texts, such as the Bible or the collection of legends. Let me mention the so-called *Pamplona Bible*, an unusual codex type, of which three copies are known.⁷ Two of these were made at the same time at the end of the 12th century for Sancho el Fuerte (1194 – 1234), the king of Navarre, probably compiled by the provost Petrus Fernandus, the king's chancellor.⁸ A characteristic feature of the codex is that only single lines of text accompany the full- and half-page images. Two thirds of the codex is devoted to the Old Testament, and only one-ninth to the New Testament, while a fifth of the codex is assigned to the saints. A total of 173 saints are featured in a hierarchical arrangement.⁹ In this manuscript, the returning scenes, such as the martyrdoms, are



1. *Hungarian Angevin Legendary*, St. Louis of Toulouse Taking the Sacrament before His Death. Repro: LEVARDY 1973 (see in note 14).

regularly repeating the same patterns. This repetitive technique was applied in many manuscripts; let me just shortly mention in Central European context

⁵ The majority of depictions of St. Augustine show him as a scholar or as an author, since most are found accompanying his works. The majority of scenes consist of the events in the life of Augustine: the beginning of the cycle is generally a series of conversion episodes based on the *Confessions*, followed by the activities of Augustine as bishop (arguing with heretics, writing the *Regula*, and contemplating the Trinity), and finally the scenes of burial and *translatio*. In contrast, the cycle in the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* is given a completely individual face, with special emphasis on the posthumous miracles. Cf. COURCELLE, J. et P.: *Iconographie de saint Augustin. Les cycles du XIV^e siècle*. Paris 1965; COURCELLE, J. et P.: *Iconographie de saint Augustin. Les cycles du XV^e siècle*. Paris 1968.

⁶ Bernard was never depicted in an extensive cycle before the 15th century. The cycle in the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* also appears to be a unique creation. See PAFFRATH, A.: *Bernhard von Clairvaux. Leben und Wirken – dargestellt in den Bilderzyklen von Altenberg bis Zwettl*. Köln 1984; PAFFRATH, A.: *Bernhard von Clairvaux 2. Die Darstellung des Heiligen in der Bildenden*

Kunst. Bergisch Gladbach 1990; DAL PRÀ, L.: Bernardo di Chiaravalle. Realtà e interpretazione nell'arte italiana. In: DAL PRÀ, L. (ed.): *Bernardo di Chiaravalle nell'arte italiana dal XIV al XVIII secolo*. Milano 1990, pp. 29-88.

⁷ BUCHER, F.: *The Pamplona Bibles*. New Haven – London 1970.

⁸ Amiens, Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms. Lat. 108; Schloss Harburg, Fürstlich Oettinger-Wallernsteinsche Bibliothek, Ms. 1, 2, Lat. 4^o, 15; the third example is a copy of one of the previous ones – New York, Public Library, Spencer Collection, Ms. 22.

⁹ The codex does not follow the sequence of its sources (Ado's Martyrologium and other collections). However, the editor did not realize that the sequence of the codex is hierarchical and supposed that the primary principle is the division of male and female saints, while the secondary is chronological. – BUCHER 1970 (see in note 7), p. 24. On the contrary, it is



2. *Hungarian Angevin Legendary*, *St. Dominic Sleeping on the Floor as a Sign of His Ascetism*. Repro: LEVÁRDY 1973 (see in note 14).



3. *Hungarian Angevin Legendary*, *The Holy Virgin Sewing the Penitential Shirt of Thomas Becket*. Repro: LEVÁRDY 1973 (see in note 14).

the *Liber depictus* from Krumau (Český Krumlov) in Bohemia.¹⁰ It was probably made for the local Minorite monastery founded in 1358, and in the 18th century the volume was moved to the library in Vienna. Its patrons were probably from among the Rosenberg family, the founders of the monastery who were also closely related to the Bohemian court. Like the *Pamplona Bibles*, a unique feature of this codex too is its scant text – only two or three lines per page to accompany the images, which predominate. In the first part of the 172-page manuscript, a *Biblia*

pauperum can be found. The second part consists of thirty-four image cycles, eighteen of them connected to saints, and the rest parables and stories related to the Virgin and hermits. Repeating the stories of saints, the illuminators were faced with similar tasks as those of the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary*.

The way as illuminators worked in such situation was discussed by previous literature.¹¹ Techniques of creating of large amount of images was also discussed by John Lowden analyzing the *Bibles moralisées*¹² and their relations to the stained glass

evident that the real principle is the hierarchical one, applied in the Litany of All Saints, starting with an archangel, followed by the apostles, evangelists, martyrs, confessor bishops and abbots, finally the holy women and virgins.

¹⁰ Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 370. SCHMIDT, G.: *Die Armenbibeln des XIV. Jahrhunderts*. Graz – Köln. 1959.

¹¹ A good overview of recent literature has been compiled by LEWIS, S.: Narrative. In: *A Companion to Medieval Art*. Ed. C. RUDOLPH. Oxford 2008, pp. 86-105.

¹² LOWDEN, J.: *The Making of the Bibles Moraliseses*. Philadelphia 2000.



4. Hungarian Angevin Legendary, Scenes from the Legend of St. Remy including the Ordination of Him and Genebaldus. Repro: LEVÁRDY 1973 (see in note 14).



5. *Hungarian Angevin Legendary, The Liberation of St. Andrew Apostol.* Repr.: LEVÁRDY 1973 (see in note 14).



6. *Hungarian Angevin Legendary, The Statue of the Holy Virgin Reveals the Identity of St. Alexis.* Repr.: LEVÁRDY 1973 (see in note 14).

windows of the Sainte-Chapelle in Paris.¹³ In the following, we shall apply some of these methodologies to the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary*, first analyzing the single pictorial elements constituting the structure of a picture, and continuing with the problem of repetitive compositions.

Construction of the Image Types

The degree to which the image types were comprehensible depended on the appropriate selection and organization of the available visual tools. First of all, this process in which the image types were constructed from visual elements needs to be examined.

If we look at the individual image types, we can realize that these are generally built from a relatively

small number of visual elements that each contributes slightly to the meaning of the depiction. Alone these elements may fulfill a variety of functions, but do not bear any symbolic content. Their sum total, however, does – the selected group of these visual elements determines the meaning of the image.

Let us pick up an arbitrarily selected pictorial motif, the bed, through which we can examine what kind of meanings such elements can convey. The bed is an obvious accompanying motif in scenes of healing, and also birth. Furthermore, it provides the usual setting for death-related scenes, not only when the deceased is already lying in bed, but also when the saint bids farewell to his earthly existence. For example, the bed helps in deciphering the events immediately preceding – and thus representing – the deaths of Giles and

¹³ LOWDEN, J: Les rois et les reines de France en tant que 'public' des Bibles moralisées: une approche tangentielle à la question des liens entre les Bibles moralisées et les vitraux

de la Sainte-Chapelle. In: *La Sainte-Chapelle de Paris: Royaume de France ou Jérusalem céleste?* Ed. Ch. HEDIGER. Turnhout 2007, pp. 345-362.

Louis of Toulouse. Previous literature misunderstood both, ignoring the bed in the background. This motif makes it clear, for example, that St. Louis is not blessing crusaders but rather rising from his sickbed so he can humbly present himself before the cross [Fig. 1].¹⁴

The bed generally symbolizes the sleeping chamber, but its function was not at all a place of rest but quite the contrary: the mothers of Dominic and Alexis lie on the floor while their beds remain empty in the background [Fig. 2].¹⁵ In other cases, the bed was the location of asceticism: Thomas Becket kept his half-finished hair shirt hidden under his bed [Fig. 3],¹⁶ while Dominic whipped himself three times a night.¹⁷ Although the *Golden Legend* does not describe the location of Dominic's self-mortification, it was naturally the bedroom, a room suitable for the saint to carry out his ascetic practices in secret from others – or for miracles meant only for him to occur. The dream was a natural agent of this, although the visions depicted in the legendary did not come expressly in the form of a dream. When an angel informs Giles of his coming death, the painter naturally chooses the bedroom as the setting, although the legend offers no information about the circumstances.¹⁸ St. Gregory the Great also visits his miserly successor in his bedroom, and on several occasions the bedroom is the setting for scenes of temptation.¹⁹ The motif of the bed thus signifies a location that is typically associated with certain situations.

Now we can ask from what visual tools were the image types constructed? One group of tools was used to define the characters through the use of personal attributes such as a shell for St. James and the stigmata for St. Francis or through more general means such as dress (the papal mitre or chasuble, the



7. *Hungarian Angevin Legendary*, *St. Francis before the Bishop of Assisi*. Repro: LEVÁRDY 1973 (see in note 14).

royal crown and robe, or the soldier's helmet, armor or shield²⁰), furnishings associated with rank (thrones of judges or rulers and the associated curtain) and implements (the book frequently found in the hands of clerics). These objects reveal the status of the characters. Another group of visual elements consists of further details of the surroundings (prison, church, baptismal font, a set table, and so on). These

¹⁴ Vat. Lat. 8541, fol. 95v; LEVÁRDY, F. (ed.): *Magyar Anjou Legendárium*. Budapest 1973, fig. 156 and fol. 92r, fig. 151.

¹⁵ Vat. Lat. 8541, fol. 90v; LEVÁRDY 1973 (see in note 14), fig. 144 and fol. 96r, fig. 157.

¹⁶ Obviously, the bedroom is where he sewed when he had time, and thus the Virgin Mary also finishes stitching it for him there. – Vat. Lat. 8541, fol. 71v; LEVÁRDY 1973 (see in note 14), fig. 114.

¹⁷ Morgan Library, M.360.26; LEVÁRDY 1973 (see in note 14), fig. 145.

¹⁸ Vat. Lat. 8541, fol. 95v; LEVÁRDY 1973 (see in note 14), fig. 156.

¹⁹ Morgan Library, M.360.25; LEVÁRDY 1973 (see in note 14), fig. 117.

²⁰ But only very rarely weapons of attack; apparently, this is not an important attribute of soldiers. We generally only see swords when they are in use, most often during execution scenes, since soldiers played the role of executioners.



8. *Hungarian Angevin Legendary, St. Giles Cures a Beggar*. Repro: LEVÁRDY 1973 (see in note 14).

do not simply signify place, but much more: situation. Gestures and body positions also contribute in this way and all together a clear framework is provided for the events. Those characteristic moments, such as the ordination of a bishop, baptisms, or interrogations, fit in with the progress of the narrative, and become one of its episodes.

The “pre-fabricated” image types built from a variety of visual elements can be used at will to depict the individual episodes in the legend. At the same time, it would be an exaggeration to say that the cycles of the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* are simply a uniform, boring ensemble of alternating visual formulas. Obviously, the image types also have varying elements that add nuance to the meanings, adjust the visual formulas to the specific legend, and render

the narrative more diverse. In the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary*, we can observe how attempts were made to conform the image types within certain limits to the requirements of the codex. One way was to give the characters some individuality. In the burial scenes, for example, the figure of the deceased conveyed not only the type and rank of the saint, but also possibly his personality too. This explains why the shell signifying St. James appears on the shroud of the apostle, why the prelates and kings wear miters and crowns, and why traces of torture and execution appear on the bodies of martyrs. In addition, the number, rank, and social position of those present are adjusted to the person of the deceased, and thus bear additional meaning.

The varying elements, however, are not interchanged only when there is a need to express something, but also when such a decision has no significance in terms of the message of the image. An ordination of a bishop can be represented equally by an altar, chalice, book, curtain, and building details, and the number of objects or architectural elements also depends on how much space is taken up by secondary players.

In terms of basic meaning, alternative solutions were sometimes used when an image type recurs on the same page or several times within the same legend. In the legend of St. Remy, we find three ordinations of a bishop; in one the bishop is shown from the right, in another from the left, and in the third facing forward [Fig. 4]. This was clearly for the sake of variety. This is also the case when two burial scenes appear on the same page: the two customary forms (the dead lies on a funeral bier or is placed in a sarcophagus) never appear twice.²¹ In general, however, the makers of the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* were not concerned about the monotony of image types.

The Monotony of Image Types

The sources of the *Golden Legend* are known to be quite heterogeneous, produced over a vast expanse of space and time.²² A debate has gone on in the literature for some time over whether Jacobus

²¹ SZAKÁCS, B. Zs.: From Passing to the Tomb: Images from the Hungarian Angevin Legendary. In: *Ikon*, 4, 2011, pp. 185-192.

²² The sources of Jacobus de Voragine are summarized in three tables. – BOUREAU, A.: *La Légende dorée. Le système narratif de Jacques de Voragine († 1298)*. Paris 1984, pp. 88-91.

de Voragine was the original author, or whether he simply compiled the legends.²³ The correct answer can obviously be found somewhere in the middle: the Dominican monk certainly did not strive for originality, but his compilation reveals his individual tastes and his aim of producing a handbook suited to the purpose (in other words useful in preparing sermons). Already on this level we can observe some process of integration. In the next step, the translation of the legends into the visual idiom in the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary*, the force of this unity prevailed to an even greater degree amidst the new system of selection and reediting. One visible sign of this process (and in part the reason for it) is the monotony of the image types used in the codex.

The recurring use of images of identical composition was clearly not a choice. The legends needed to be put into a visual language, and a good portion of the selected scenes had no iconographic tradition, or at least not one that was accessible. No doubt, the painters of the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* used prototypes too, although we should not imagine these as iconographic handbooks of individual saints, but rather as collections of certain motifs, compositional schemes, and characteristic details. Thus in creating the cycles, the executioners of the codex were not so much illustrating the texts, but selecting from among available image types and visual elements. As a consequence, the images sometimes contradict the text of the *Golden Legend*. In the cycle of Andrew, the saint is not led from the prison by his fellow apostle but by an angel, probably a result of the convention according to which miraculous liberation from prison is generally the work of angels [Fig. 5].²⁴ Francis of Assisi rescues the man with a sword through his throat by making the appropriate blessing gesture found in scenes of healing, with the injured kneel-



9. *Hungarian Angevin Legendary*, Mary Magdalene Procures Forgiveness for a Penitent Cleric. Repr.: LEVÁRDY 1973 (see in note 14).

ing before him and the saint escorted by his fellow monks. These motifs all contradict the text of the *Golden Legend*.²⁵ When the bees fly into the mouth of the infant Ambrose, a female figure not found in the legend appears: this is clearly a legacy of birth scene image types.²⁶ In the story of Alexis, the statue of Virgin Mary tells the church watchman to lead the saint into the church, while in the picture this is reformulated into a vision of the Holy Virgin [Fig. 6].²⁷

²³ One extreme is represented by J. B. M. Roze (1900) who believed the bishop of Genoa was just a simple copier. In sharp contrast is the view of R. Benz who demonstrated that de Voragine created a unified style in the *Golden Legend* from hundreds of different styles found in the sources (1917). For a good summary of the debate with new arguments, see FLEITH, B.: *Studien zur Überlieferungsgeschichte der lateinischen Legenda Aurea*. Bruxelles 1991, pp. 17-24; cf. RHEIN, R.: *Die Legenda Aurea des Jacobus de Voragine. Die Entfaltung von Heiligkeit in "Historia" und "Doctrina"*. Köln – Weimar – Wien 1995, pp. 21-43.

²⁴ Vat. Lat. 8541, fol. 16v; LEVÁRDY 1973 (see in note 14), fig. 36.

²⁵ Vat. Lat. 8541, fol. 91r; LEVÁRDY 1973 (see in note 14), fig. 149.

²⁶ Vat. Lat. 8541, fol. 74v; LEVÁRDY 1973 (see in note 14), fig. 118.

²⁷ Hermitage, 16930; LEVÁRDY 1973 (see in note 14), fig. 158.



10. *Hungarian Angevin Legendary*, *The Death of the Predecessor of Pope Fabian*. Repro: LEVÁRDY 1973 (see in note 14).

We could produce a long list of similar events, but these few typical examples sufficiently convey the power of these image types. It would be a mistake, however, to think the image types, when pitted against the text, always prevailed. The painter strove to faithfully interpret the legends, but was limited by the expressive powers of the visual medium: not all events

lent themselves to visual depiction or could be widely understood in a visual form.²⁸ At the same time, we cannot underestimate the convenience of an already established image type. In the legend of Francis of Assisi, the moment when he is accepted by the bishop of Assisi is a turning point. While Francis is usually represented standing in this scene, the painter of the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* depicted him kneeling in front of the bishop [Fig. 7]. This modification represents a new pictorial solution in the iconographic tradition of the saint, but the codex is full of depiction of similar gestures: figures kneeling before a cleric, even a prelate, are a favorite compositional type.²⁹

There is no question that a visual language built from a relatively small set of tools has its own limits. The selection of a given image type does not always allow for expression of multiple layers of meaning. When Giles gives a tunic to the ailing beggar, this act also heals him. This is not expressed by the image, however, since the act is represented as a gesture of alms giving [Fig. 8].³⁰ In Pavia, Augustine not only appears before the pilgrims, but also heals all of them. This aspect is completely lost in the picture.³¹ This is precisely why sometimes different image types were used for similar situations: the makers of the legendary wanted to emphasize different elements. For example, motifs of temptation could be represented by two figures lying next to each other or by a gesture of embrace, which derives from the image type of two people meeting. Sometimes temptation was also expressed by the type used for exorcisms, or by the motif of dancing figures³² – it all depended on what was to be conveyed.

The image types are to a certain degree flexible. When Mary Magdalene procures forgiveness for a

²⁸ On the transformation that accompanies the translation of the text into the visual idiom, see BERLINER, R.: *The Freedom of Medieval Art*. In: *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 28, 1945, pp. 263-288. Clearly it would be artificial to reformulate the images into texts, and then compare them to the originals. Visual expression had greater freedom than textual, and elements were painted that would have been unacceptable in words. The impact of the images was not primarily intellectual, and what does not work in words may work for the eyes and the emotions. – *Ibidem*, p. 265 ff.

²⁹ The legend of Emeric offers a close example in the scene of the sinful Conrad, who kneels half-naked before the pope.

– Vat. Lat. 8541, fol. 79v; LEVÁRDY 1973 (see in note 14), fig. 132.

³⁰ Vat. Lat. 8541, fol. 94r; LEVÁRDY 1973 (see in note 14), fig. 155.

³¹ Hermitage, 16931; LEVÁRDY 1973 (see in note 14), fig. 120.

³² In the legends of Bernard (Vat. Lat. 8541, fol. 88v; LEVÁRDY 1973 (see in note 14), fig. 142), St. Paul the Hermit (*ibidem*, fol. 98r; *ibidem*, fig. 161), Andrew (*ibidem*, fol. 20v; *ibidem*, fig. 40) and Benedict (*ibidem*, fol. 86r; *ibidem*, fig. 139).



11. *Hungarian Angevin Legendary, The Liberation of St. Francis.* Repro: LEVÁRDY 1973 (see in note 14).



12. *Hungarian Angevin Legendary, The Flagellation of Jesus Christ.* Repro: LEVÁRDY 1973 (see in note 14).

penitent cleric, the picture merges image types used to show visions and miracles at the place of her cult [Fig. 9].³³ At other times, the established image type expresses a shift in emphasis through more minor modifications. At the death of the predecessor of Pope Fabian, the visual tools correspond to those used in customary death scenes. The gestures of pain, however, are absent, while the ascending dove clearly symbolizes that Fabian is the chosen one [Fig. 10]. In other words the question of a (miraculous) succession is more important than Last Rites.³⁴

³³ Vat. Lat. 8541, fol. 104r; LEVÁRDY 1973 (see in note 14), fig. 169.

³⁴ Vat. Lat. 8541, fol. 47r; LEVÁRDY 1973 (see in note 14), fig. 83.

³⁵ See SZAKÁCS, B. Zs.: 'Parallel Lives' – St. Martin and St. Gerard in the Hungarian Angevin Legendary. In: *Acta Ethnographica Hungarica*, 45, 2000, pp. 121-136.

The selection of image types conveys not only the special focus of certain legends, but also the preferences of the codex. The regularly recurring image types are suitable for underlining the main messages of the program. In addition, they represent links between different saints. The iconography of the bishops Gerhard and Thomas Becket,³⁵ or Emeric and Ladislás³⁶ converge at so many points that it cannot be coincidental. And it is certainly more than just a case of one influencing another; we can presume there was a conscious attempt to tie certain

³⁶ The night prayers of Emeric (scene I and III) are known from Ladislás (VI), the identification of the monks with a kiss (Emeric: II) finds a parallel in the peace kiss of Ladislás (XVII), scenes of death and burial are more closely related than usual (Emeric: IV and Ladislás: XVIII and XXI), the procession (Emeric: VI, Ladislás: III) and the miracle at the grave (Emeric: VII-VIII, Ladislás: XXII-XXIV) appear in both, and there is a visual analogue to Conrad kneeling before the pope (Emeric: VI, Ladislás: XV).

saints to each other. Thus various groups become more unified, and the main features become more pronounced. This occurs not just within individual categories: the constantly recurring image types weave fine threads between all the various groups.

The legend of St. Francis is the best example of all this. In the first image, he embraces a leper, which is copied in Louis of Toulouse; the prayer in front of the cross is also known from the legend of St. Andrew; while the stereotype of alms giving occurs in the legends of Sts. Gregory the Great, Dominic and Alexis. The stoning by Francis' father refers to St. Stephen the protomartyr, and the scene of self-flagellation is familiar from the legend of Dominic. In this same image, another motif (Francis being thrown into the snow) has analogies in Bernard and Benedict. In addition, the devils that torment Francis reappear in the famous scene from St. Anthony.³⁷ The liberation from prison and resurrection are related to the miracles in James and Mary Magdalene,³⁸

while the scenes of healing and kneeling before the bishop follow more general types. Francis being untied from the column recalls not only saints tortured while similarly bound, but also Christ in particular [Figs. 11-12]. The foot-washing scene in Francis also reminds us of Jesus' humility.

Thus in the legend of St. Francis, emphasis is placed on those features that tie him to the other founders of monastic orders, and in a broader context draw him into the community of saints. Especially important is the *imitatio Christi*, which Francis consciously strove for, but was true of all the saints in some form or another. The repeating image types thus served in several capacities: they effectively communicate the unity of the saints, the recurring examples intensify each other's effect, and they create the codex's system of internal coherence – the rhythm of the narratives.³⁹

English translation by L. Strong

³⁷ Scene X and Hermitage, 16934; SZAKÁCS 2006 (see in note 2), fig. 25. The next related image from the legend of Anthony finds an analogue in the cycle of St. Louis of Toulouse – Bancroft Library, f2MSA2M21300-37; SZAKÁCS 2006 (see in note 2), fig. 30.

³⁸ Francis frees someone from prison in the scene XVI – Metropolitan Museum, 1994.516; SZAKÁCS 2006 (see in note 2), fig. 29. See also the relevant images in the legend of James the Greater – Vat. Lat. 8541, fol. 32v; LEVÁRDY 1973 (see in note 14), fig. 56; and Mary Magdalene – *ibidem*, fol. 104r;

ibidem, fig. 169. In the scene XV of the legend of Francis (on the same folio mentioned above), Mary Magdalene (see folio mentioned above) and James the Greater (*ibidem*, fol. 37r; *ibidem*, fig. 61), someone is miraculously resurrected in order to confess.

³⁹ Thus the following words about the *Illuminated Chronicle* are also valid for the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary*: "... the artist's adherence to compositional formulas does not prove to be a weakness (which Dercsényi tries to justify) but a strength." – MAROSI, E.: *Kép és hasonmás*. Budapest 1995, p. 37.

Obrazové série. Koncipovanie životov svätých v *Uhorskom anjouovskom legendáriu*

Resumé

Uhorské anjouovské legendárium – luxusný bolonský kódex, vytvorený na objednávku uhorského kráľovského dvora v 14. storočí (dnes po častiach archivovaný vo Vatikáne, New Yorku, Paríži, Petrohrade a Berkeley) – sa aj vo svojom fragmentárnom stave radí k najbohatšie iluminovaným rukopisom životov svätých. Hagiografický repertoár, existujúci v dobe jeho vzniku, už nestačil na produkciu viac než 600 iluminácií. Výroba takto rozsiahlej ilustrovanej encyklopédie životov svätých bola dokonca aj v prípade bolonských dielní, schopných masovej produkcie iluminovaných rukopisov, neobvyklá. Prvá časť predkladanej štúdie prináša analýzu jednotlivých prvkov tvoriacich štruktúru obrazu, druhá časť sa potom venuje problematike opakujúcich sa kompozícií.

Miera zrozumiteľnosti obrazového typu závisela od správneho výberu a organizácie dostupných vizuálnych prvkov. Keď sa pristavíme pri jednotlivých obrazových typoch, zistíme, že sú zväčša vybudované z relatívne malého počtu vizuálnych elementov, spomedzi ktorých každý svojou časťou prispieva k celkovému zmyslu výjavu. Prvky samotné plnia rozmanité funkcie, nenesú však žiadne symbolické obsahy. To dokáže až ich sumár – vybraná skupina vizuálnych prvkov určuje zmysel obrazu.

Ktoré vizuálne elementy budujú obrazový typ? Prvá skupina prvkov, zacielená na definovanie postáv, obsahuje predovšetkým ich osobné atribúty, ale tiež všeobecnejšie odkazy na spoločenský status, ako napríklad oblečenie či zariadenie miestnosti. Druhá skupina prvkov sa skladá z detailov okolitého prostredia. Tieto neurčujú iba lokalizáciu výjavu, ale aj, čo je omnoho dôležitejšie, jeho situáciu. Napokon sa pripájajú ešte gestá a reč tela, dopĺňajúce celkový rámec zobrazenej témy. Charakteristické výjavy, napríklad vysvätenie biskupa, krst či mučenie, zapadajú do rozprávania príbehu a stávajú sa jeho epizódami.

„Prefabrikované“ obrazové typy, vytvorené z rozmanitých vizuálnych prvkov, môžu byť voľne použité na zobrazenie jednotlivých epizód legendy. Obrazové typy obsahujú aj premenlivé prvky, ktoré upresňujú zmysel, špecifikujú príslušnosť k určitej legende a dodávajú rozprávaniu väčšiu pestrosť. Tieto prvky nenachádzajú uplatnenie iba pri vyjadrení niečoho konkrétneho, ale aj vtedy, keď k posolstvu výjavu nemajú žiadny vzťah. Nachádzame ich napríklad pri výskyte jedného obrazu viac krát na tej istej strane alebo v tej istej legende.

Monotónnosť obrazových typov treba vnímať v súvislosti so skutočnosťou, že legendárium vychádza z textov *Zlatej legendy* (*Legenda aurea*), ktorá už sama o sebe je integráciou heterogénnych zdrojov. Pri jej prepise do vizuálnej podoby v *Uhorskom anjouovskom legendáriu* sa daná jednotnosť v novom systéme selekcie a editácie ešte viac zvýraznila. Pri vytváraní cyklov iluminátori texty priamo neilustrovali, skôr sa dá povedať, že k nim vyberali motívy z dostupných obrazových typov a vizuálnych prvkov. Maliar sa usiloval legendy verne interpretovať, bol však limitovaný expresívnou silou vizuálneho média: nie všetky výjavy sú vizuálne zobraziteľné alebo vo vizuálnej forme všeobecne zrozumiteľné.

Výber obrazových typov svedčí nielen o osobitnom zameraní určitej legendy, ale tiež o preferenciách konkrétneho kódexu. Pravidelne sa opakujúce obrazové typy slúžia na podtrhnutie hlavného posolstva obrazového programu. Reprezentujú tiež prepojenia medzi rozličnými svätcami. Opakujúce sa obrazové typy teda účinne komunikujú jednotu svätcov, opakujúce sa prvky navzájom posilňujú svoju pôsobnosť a napokon tiež vytvárajú vnútorne koherentný systém kódexu – rytmus jednotlivých narácií.

Preklad z angličtiny M. Hrdina