

## ‘PARALLEL LIVES’ – ST. MARTIN AND ST. GERARD IN THE HUNGARIAN ANGEVIN LEGENDARY

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**Abstract:** We have more than a thousand manuscripts of the great hagiographical collection, the *Legenda Aurea* of Jacobus de Voragine from the 13th century, but there is only one codex which not only illustrated the text but translated it into a language of images. It is related to the Hungarian Angevin, that is why the codex is titled ‘Hungarian Angevin Legendary’. The pages of the codex are spread over different collections of the world. Nowadays 58 legends are known on 142 pages, altogether 549 images. Some more important legends, as that of the apostles or the Angevins’ favourite saint, King Ladislas, occupy 20–24 images. The paper tries to demonstrate two examples. St. Martin and St. Gerard, of how these cycles were organised. Two pictures of the supposed eight are emphasising the role of Martin as a bishop. Five images show the miracles of the saint and only one is consecrated to the charity of St. Martin, to the event which is his most popular story. Martin is the symbolic saint who gives half his goods to the poor. This scene is the most frequently represented in medieval art. In the Hungarian Angevin Legendary his miraculous activity is much more emphasized which is correlated with the written legend. The legend of St. Gerard is preserved completely in the Legendary. The first picture represents the saint discussing with King St. Stephen. On the second image the saint is represented as a hermit at Bakonybél with a book in his hand. The third one depicts the consecration of St. Gerard to the bishop of Csanád, on the next picture he is preaching to the people. The following pictures show his martyrdom and burial. It can be supposed that the painter(s) of the Hungarian Angevin Legendary could not use any iconographical tradition working on the cycle of St. Gerard.

**Keywords:** *Legenda Aurea*, Hungarian Angevin Legendary, St. Martin, St. Gerard, pictures on the scenes of their life, reconstruction of cycles

Parallel lives – the famous work of Plutarch, the popularity of which has been unparalleled since the 15th century – was known to only a few in the Middle Ages. However, there was a great amount of biographical collections, such as the *Legenda Aurea* of Jacobus de Voragine from the 13th century.<sup>1</sup> We have more than a thousand manuscripts of this work, however, there is only one codex which not only illustrated the text but translated it to the language of images. It contains only pictures, four of them on each page with a very brief inscription, *titulus*, without the full text of the legends. Based on stylistic and historical arguments, the codex is dated to the 1330’s and located to Bologna or Hungary. There is no doubt that the selection of

<sup>1</sup> Barbara FLEITH, *Studien zur Überlieferungsgeschichte der lateinischen Legenda Aurea*, Société des Bollandistes, Bruxelles, 1991; Alain BOUREAU, *La légende dorée. Le système narratif de Jacques de Voragine*, CERF, Paris, 1984; Sherry L. REAMES, *The Legenda aurea: a reexamination of its paradoxical history*, University of Wisconsin Press, Madison, Wis., 1985.

the saints, especially of those related to Hungary and the Angevin dynasty, points to the court of the Hungarian Anjous. That is why the codex was titled “Hungarian Angevin Legendary”.<sup>2</sup>

Unfortunately, the codex remained fragmentary. Its pages are spread over different collections of the world, from New York to St. Petersburg. The most important part is kept in the Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana and the Pierpont Morgan Library. Nowadays 58 legends are known on 142 pages, altogether 549 images.<sup>3</sup> Usually a legend was told in 4 or 8 pictures. Some more important legends, as that of the apostles or the Anjous’ favourite saint, King Ladislas, occupy 20–24 images. The cycles of Jesus and James the Great are exceptionally long (originally 64 and 72 pictures).

The creation of such an immense quantity of images is not an easy task. In fact, this codex is the only one of this type which is known from the Middle Ages. The Bible and the *Legenda Aurea* served as written sources of the pictures. These texts were translated to images and cycles in different ways. Sometimes the iconographical traditions were helpful, however, in other cases this procession was more complicated. In the following I try to demonstrate two examples of how these cycles were organised.

There are four images from the pages known from the Hungarian Angevin Legendary which concentrate on the legend of St. Martin. The subject of the first image is the well-known event when the saint shared his coat with a beggar. The inscription says: “*Quomodo diuisit pallium pauperi*” – How he shared his mantle with the poor.<sup>4</sup>

Saint Martin is represented with tonsure and in monks’ dress in the second picture. According to the *titulus*, it depicts “*quomodo resanauit unum infirmum*” – how

<sup>2</sup> Facsimile edition by Ferenc LEVÁRDY, *Magyar Anjou Legendárium* (Hungarian Angevin Legendary), Magyar Helikon, Corvina, Budapest, 1973, 1975<sup>2</sup> (below we follow the numbering of this edition: L); the new facsimile edition of the pages of the Vatican Library: “*Ungarisches Legendarium*”, *Vat.lat.8541*. Kommentar v. G. MORELLO, H. STAMM, G. BETZ, Belser, Stuttgart, 1990. From the extensive literature of the codex see: Tünde WEHLI, Megjegyzések a Magyar Anjou Legendárium stílusának kérdéséhez (Notes to the stylistic problems of the Hungarian Angevin Legendary), in: *Ars Hungarica*, 19, 1991, 141–148.; E. HOFFMANN, *Régi magyar bibliofilek* (Early Hungarian Bibliophiles), ed. T. WEHLI, MTA Művészettörténeti Kutató Intézet, Budapest, 1992, pp. 217–8; *Liturgie und Andacht im Mittelalter*, Katalog, Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, Belser, Köln, 1993, no. 48, 234–7 (with further literature).

<sup>3</sup> Rome, Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat.lat. 8541; New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, M.360.1–26; Saint Petersburg, Ermitage, Nr. 16930–16934; Berkeley, Bancroft Library of University of California, f. 2MS2A2M2 1300–37; New York, Metropolitan Museum, 1994:516; Paris, Louvre, Département des Arts Graphiques, RF 29940.

<sup>4</sup> “Quodam hyemali tempore per portam Ambianensium transiens pauperem quendam nudum obvium habuit. Qui cum a nullo elemosinam accepisset, Martinus hunc sibi servatum intelligens arrepto ense chlamydem, quae sibi supererat, dividit et partem pauperi tribuens reliquam partem rursus induit.” Jacobi a Voragine, *Legenda aurea, vulgo Historia lombardica*, ad optimum librorum fidem recensuit Dr. Theodor GRAESSE, Vratislaviae, 1890<sup>3</sup> (in the following GRAESSE) pp. 741–2. In English translation: “Once, in the wintertime, he was passing through the city gate of Amiens when a poor man, almost naked, confronted him. No one had given him an alms, and Martin understood that this man had been kept for him, so he drew his sword and cut the cloak he was wearing into two halves, giving one half to the beggar and wrapping himself in the other.” Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden legend: readings on the saints I–II*. Translated by William GRANGER, Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1993. (in the following: GRANGER) II, p. 292.

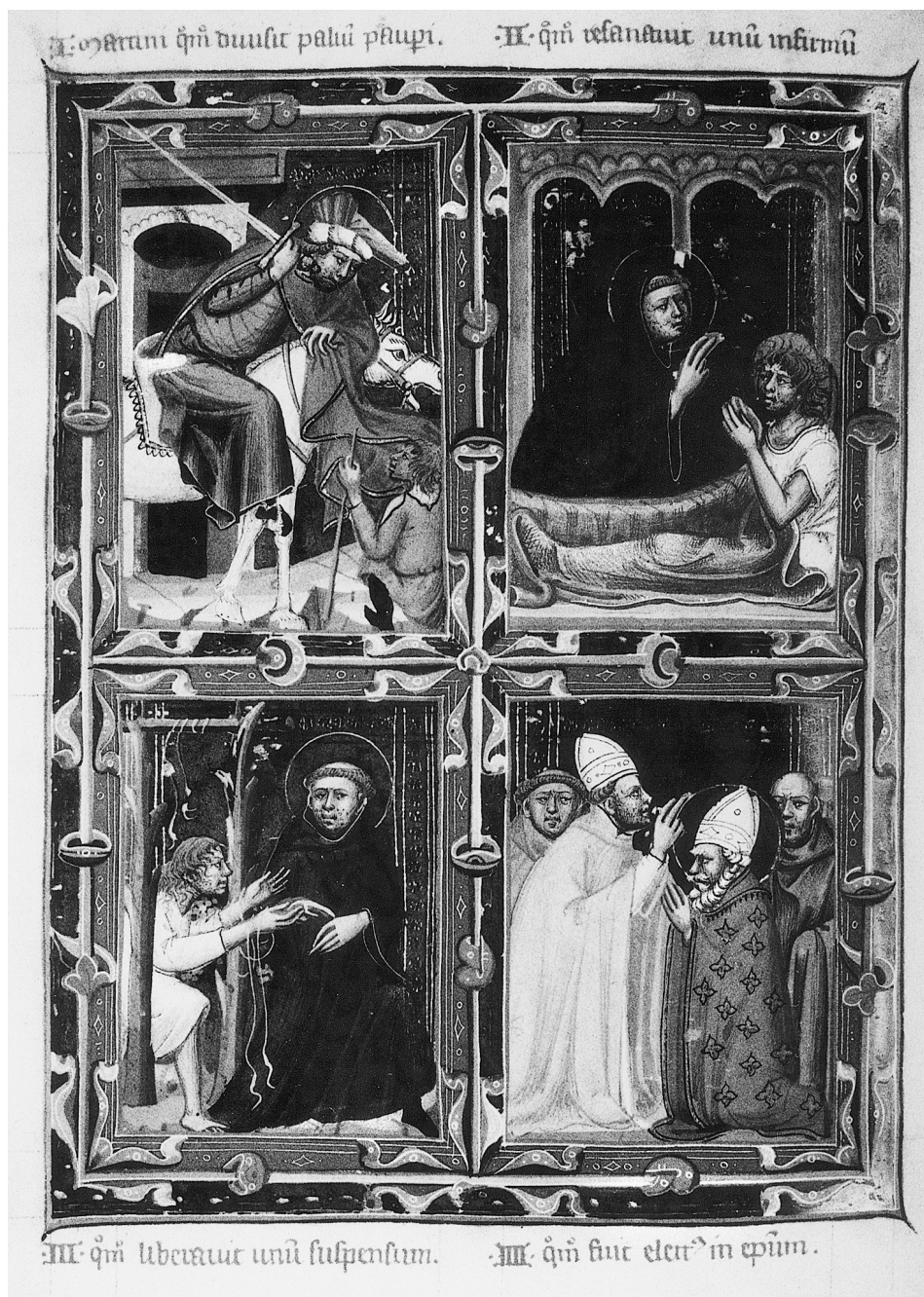


Fig. 1. Legend of St. Martin from the Hungarian Angevin Legendary (Vat. lat. 8541 fol. 77v)

he cured an ill man. In fact, in the legend the story is somewhat more complicated. It says, “In the monastery there was an unbaptized catechumen. Martin came back to the monastery after a short absence and found that the catechumen had died without baptism. He had the body brought to his cell and prostrated himself upon it, and by prayer recalled the man to life.”<sup>5</sup> The cell is represented somehow in the picture, however, it is not clear that the man with folded hands is just resurrected and the saint is “working” not with prostrating but with benediction. The composition and details of the picture are similar to other scenes of miraculous healing, such as a detail from the legend of St. Sebastian.<sup>6</sup>

In the third scene, St. Martin, still a monk, is leading a young man from the gallows. Based on the inscription, which says “*Quomodo liberauit unum suspensum*”, How he liberated a hanged man, it can be connected to the short notice of the legend, that “The saint also restored to life another man who was to be hanged.”<sup>7</sup> This motif is not rare in the legends either.<sup>8</sup> Its pictorial representation is similar to those scenes when saints are liberating people from prison, e.g. James the Great or Mary Magdalene.<sup>9</sup>

St. Martin is represented as an old bearded man in the fourth picture. It focuses on his consecration to bishop. Actually, the legend tells minutely the miraculous way how the saint was elected, however, the consecration itself is mentioned briefly.<sup>10</sup> On the other hand, the Hungarian Angevin Legendary contains quite a lot of similar representations which is a kind of attribute of a saint bishop.<sup>11</sup>

It is clear that the legend was not finished at that point and at least one more page was consecrated to Martin. The text of the legend is continuing in pages. What is more, the last image of each legend of the codex is usually marked with the inscription “*Ultima*”, “the last one”.

At that point we should turn to a page which was kept once in the collection of Léonce Rosenberg in Paris, and has disappeared since that time. According to the collection’s catalogue from 1913, it consisted of four pictures:

<sup>5</sup> “Audiens vero, quod beatus Hilarius de exilio rediret, obviam ei profectus est et juxta Pictavium monasterium ordinavit, ubi, cum quendam adhuc catechumenum haberet, parumper a monasterio discedens et rediens reperit eum sine baptismo defunctum. Quem in cellam ducens et super ejus corpus se prosternens ipsum sua oratione ad vitam pristinam revocavit.” GRAESSE p. 743. The English translation is by GRANGER II. p. 293–4.

<sup>6</sup> Sebastian I–II (L 84a–b), Augustin IV (L 120b), or resurrection: Matthew VI (L 66b), Francis (this page is missing from the edition of LEVÁRDY. It was first published by Gyöngyi TÖRÖK, *Neue Folii aus dem “Ungarischen Anjou-Legendarium”*, in: *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 61, 1992, pp. 565–577. picture 4d) and John the Evangelist IV (L 41d) – here again “curavit”, according to the incorrect inscription.

<sup>7</sup> “Alium insuper, qui laqueo vitam finierat, vitae restituit.” GRAESSE p. 743. GRANGER translated it differently: “The saint also restored to life another man who had fallen into a pit and died.” GRANGER II. p. 294.

<sup>8</sup> In the codex James the Great XLIV (L 57d).

<sup>9</sup> James the Great LVI (L 60d) and Mary Magdalene XV (L 169c).

<sup>10</sup> “Ordinatus itaque episcopus” GRAESSE p. 743 – “Martin was obtained bishop”, GRANGER II. p. 294.

<sup>11</sup> Consecrations of bishops: James the Less II (L 71b), Donatus V (L 105c), Stanislas I (L 107a), Gerard III (L 111c), Thomas Becket III (L 113c), Ambrose II (118b), Brice I (L 154a), Remy I (L 162a), III (Genebaldus, L 162c) and VIII (Latus, L 163d), Hilary II (L 164b); very similar to these are the consecrations of popes: Clement I (L 101a), Gregory the Great II (L 116d), and Jerome (!) II (L 121b).

1. The saint preaches to children.
2. He exorcises a devil from a possessed person.
3. Three saints appear to him in his dream.
4. Turning away he passes beside a burning house.<sup>12</sup>

It is worth remarking that the following item of the catalogue, representing parts of the legend of St Francis, has been found in the last years and it was acquired recently by the Metropolitan Museum in New York.<sup>13</sup> There is no doubt that both belonged to the Hungarian Angevin Legendary.

The order of the quaternios of the codex can be reconstructed successfully.<sup>14</sup> On the basis of this examination we can state that there are only three legends of bishops and popes which are fragmentary at the end. These are the cycles of St. Nicholas, St. Louis of Toulouse and St. Martin. St. Louis is usually represented wearing a special chasuble decorated with golden fleurs-de-lis which should have been noticed by the author of the above-mentioned catalogue. Comparing the legends of bishop saints to each other, we could find relevant events only in the case of St. Martin.<sup>15</sup> In his legend we can read that he could save the burning house next to the church, which can be connected to the fourth picture.<sup>16</sup>

The legend tells another miracle: “once, when he was sitting alone in his cell and Severus and Gallus, his disciples, were waiting outside, they were struck with wonder at hearing several voices speaking in the cell. Later they asked Martin about this, and he said: “I will tell you, but I ask you not to tell anybody else. Agnes, Thecla, and

<sup>12</sup> Ricci, SEYMOUR DE, *Catalogue d'une collection de miniatures gothiques et persanes appartenant à Léonce Rosenberg*, Paris, 1913, p. 26. no. 72. “Scènes de la vie d'un saint Evêque. 1° Le saint prêche devant les enfants. 2° Il chasse un démon du corps d'un possédé. 3° Trois saints personnages lui apparaissent en songe. 4° Il passe en se détournant devant une maison incendiée.”

<sup>13</sup> Inv. no. 1994.516. Barbara DRAKE BOEHM, Leaf from a Royal Manuscript with Scenes of the Life of Saint Francis, in: *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*, Fall 1995: 24. First published from a private collection: TÖRÖK 1992 op. cit. (Note 6).

<sup>14</sup> L. VAYER and F. LEVÁRDY, Nuovi contributi agli studi circa il Leggendario Angioino ungherese, in: *Acta Historiae Artium* 18, 1972, pp. 71–83. This reconstructed order was followed by LEVÁRDY in the facsimile edition (cf. Note 2) and rearranged in a table in: F. LEVÁRDY, A Biblia miniátorai (Illuminators of the Bible), in: *Tanulmányok a Néksei Bibliáról* (Essays on the Néksei Bible), Budapest, 1988, pp. 31–5. Table II. Cf. Giovanni MORELLO: Kodikologische Einführung zu Vat.lat.8541, in the new facsimile edition (see Note 2) pp. 13–23. In the reconstruction of MORELLO there is no place for another page of the legend of St. Martin which seems to be impossible.

<sup>15</sup> It was Meta HARRSEN who mentioned first time Martin and Remigius as possible subjects of the page, however, she did not give any explanation. The identification with Remigius is impossible because his legend is full in the codex and has no similar scenes. Meta HARRSEN, *The Néksei Lipócz Bible, a Fourteenth Century Manuscript from Hungary in the Library of Congress. Ms. Pre-Accession I*. Washington, 1949, p. 66.

<sup>16</sup> “Nam quum in quodam fano ignem misisset, in domo proxima adhaerente agente vento flamma efferebatur. Tunc Martinus super tectum domus adscendens obvium se flammis advenientibus inseruit. Mox contra vim venti flamma retorquetur, ut conflictus quidam compugnantium inter se elementorum videretur.” GRAESSE p. 744. – “Once, when he had set fire to a temple, the wind was blowing the flames toward an adjacent house. Martin went up on the roof of the house and faced the approaching flames. Immediately the fire turned against the wind, so that there seemed to be a conflict between the two elements.” GRANGER II. p. 295.

Mary came to talk with me.” And it was not only on that day, but frequently that, as he admitted, these saints came to visit him, and the apostles Peter and Paul often came as well.<sup>17</sup> This scene can be identified with the third picture.

The exorcising of the devil, mentioned in the second point, was a special virtue of Martin. “Martin displayed much power in driving out demons and often did expel them from the possessed. ... Martin had a subtle sense for discerning demons. No matter what form, image, or disguise they assumed, he saw them openly and uncovered.”<sup>18</sup>

The most problematic picture is the first one which represents a bishop preaching in the company of children. I was not able to find a source text in the legend, however, I think this problem can also be solved. It is quite usual in the image cycles that a saint is represented preaching. The audience consists of small people sitting on the floor, easily misinterpreted as children.<sup>19</sup> Such a preaching scene could be easily part of the cycle of St. Martin. So I argue that this lost page contained the second part of the legend of the bishop of Tours.

If it is acceptable, we should re-evaluate our views of the profile of the saint. Two pictures of the eight are emphasising the role of Martin as a bishop (he is consecrated and preaching). Five images are dealing with the miracles of the saint and only one is consecrated to the charity of Martin, to the event which is his most popular story. Our comprehension of this saint is also determined by this event. For us, Martin is the symbolic saint who gives half his good to the poor. Certainly this scene is the most frequently represented in medieval art. However, it is noteworthy that in the Hungarian Angevin Legendary his miraculous activity was emphasized much more, which is not in contradiction with the written legend.<sup>20</sup>

St Martin was born at Savaria in Pannonia, however, he became a saint as the bishop of Tours. On the contrary, the other selected saint, St. Gerard, was born in a foreign country but he became the first saint bishop and protomartyr of Hungary. Successfully, his legend is preserved completely in the Hungarian Angevin Legendary.

The first one of the eight pictures represents the saint discussing with King Stephen when he wanted to go on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land. As a result of this

<sup>17</sup> “Quadam vice, dum Martinus in cella solus sederet, et Severus et Gallus ejus discipuli prae foribus exspectarent, subito mirabili concussi horrore plures in cella audiunt insimul colloquentes. De quo cum postmodum Martinus requisivissent, ille ait: dicam vobis, sed vos, quaeso, nulli dicatis; Agnes, Thecla et Maria ad me venerunt. Nec tantum illo die, sed saepius se ab iis confessus est visitari et Petrum et Paulum apostolos a se saepe videri perhibuit.” GRAESSE p. 745. The English version is from GRANGER II. p. 295.

<sup>18</sup> “Multae potestatis erga daemones pellendos, saepe enim ipsos daemones ex hominibus expulit ... Multae subtilitatis ad eos cognoscendos; daemones enim sibi ita conspicibiles reddebantur, ut aperte ab ipso sub quacunque imagine viderentur.” GRAESSE p. 747; GRANGER II. p. 297.

<sup>19</sup> E.g. the preaching of St. Ambrose (L 118c) or St. Demetrius (L 109a).

<sup>20</sup> In fact, the result is the same if we do not take into account the reconstructed second page of the legend.

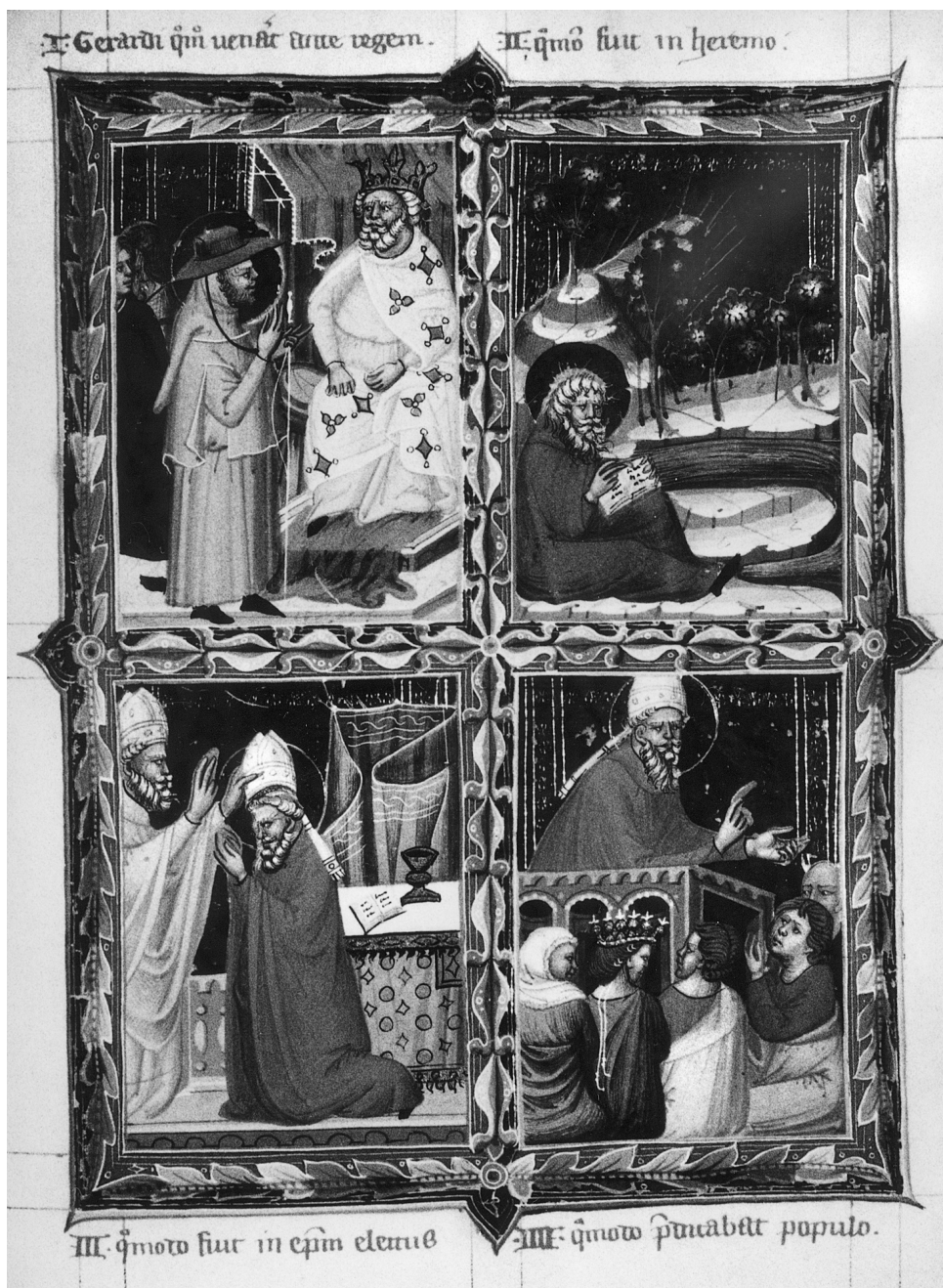


Fig. 2. First page of the legend of St. Gerard from the Hungarian Angevin Legendary (Vat. lat. 8541 fol. 68r)



Fig. 3. Second page of the legend of St. Gerard from the Hungarian Angevin Legendary (Vat. lat. 8541 fol. 69v)



audience, the King forced Gerard to stay and preach Christianity in Hungary.<sup>21</sup> In the second image the saint is represented as a hermit at Bakonybél with a book in his hand.<sup>22</sup> The third picture depicts the consecration of St. Gerard to the bishop of Csanád. In the fourth picture he is preaching to the people.<sup>23</sup>

The first two images of the second page are focusing on his martyrdom. On the left, the pagans, after killing the associates of the bishop, are attacking him.<sup>24</sup> On the

<sup>21</sup> “Igitur dum animi sinceritate sanctam vitam duceret, placuit Dominicum visitare sepulchrum, quatinus Christum propter nos egenum factum pauper et inops sequeretur. Egressus itaque de cognatione sua tendebat ad orientem, ubi Habraam dives ac pater multarum gentium factus est, quatinus et ipse in Habrahe semine, id est in Christo datam benedictionem peregrinationis sue labore incredulus Habraam possideret. Pervenit itaque ad partes Pannonie, quarum habentem tunc christianissimus rex Stephanus gubernabat, quem vir Domini humilis atque supplex adiit causamque sui itineris aperiens ampliori dilectione est ab eo receptus. Quem ubi rex moribus atque disciplinarum documentis bonum Christi odorem fore intellexit, clam dimisisit itineris sui comitibus hunc solum invitum retinuit custodiamque adhibuit.” *Legenda minor* (ed. by Imre MADZSAR), in: *Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum II*, ed. Emericus SZENTPÉTERY, Budapest, 1938 (in the following *SRH II*) pp. 471–2. In the English translation of Judit Majorossy: “Therefore, to lead holy life with honest soul, he [Saint Gerard] wished to visit the grave of the Lord, that he would follow poor and in need Christ, who became poor for us. Accordingly, having departed away from his kinship, he was tending towards the east – where Abraham became rich and the father of many peoples – in order that he, through the labour of his pilgrimage, as incredulous Abraham, would possess the blessing having been given in Abraham’s seed, that is in Christ. And so, he arrived to the parts of Pannonia, the reins of which at that time the true Christian king, Stephen was governing; to whom the man of the Lord went humble and suppliant, revealing the purpose of his journey. From the larger quantities of the example of his teachings the good smell of Christ being recognized, he [the king] secretly sent away the companions of his journey, and him alone, against his will, held back and put in custody.”

<sup>22</sup> “Postquam servus Domini se solum merens reperit, tumultum populi devitans in eadem regione heremum, que vulgo Bel vocitatur, petiit, ubi per VII annos ieiuniis dictaminumque exercitiis deditus excepto Mauro monacho solus habitavit.” *SRH II*, p. 472 – “After, the servant of the Lord [Saint Gerard] discovered himself remaining alone; in the same region avoiding the disturbance of people, he sought for a deserted place, which is commonly called Bél, where through seven years having been absorbed in fasting and praying, with the exception of monk Maurus, he dwelt alone.”

<sup>23</sup> “Interim prefactus rex ut robustissimus Iosue impietatem gentium delevit crudeleseque paganorum mores superavit ac plurimum corda ad recipienda sancte fidei semina preparavit. Videns autem rex regnum suum pacis tranquillitatem adeptum servum Domini ab eremo convocat pontificali infula decoratum populo suo predicare destinavit. Cui superna pietas tantam gratiam contulit, ut eum omnes homines loci illius invicem amarent et ut patrem colerent ac iam pater multorum tamquam patriarcha Abraham haberetur.” *SRH II*, pp. 472–3 – “In the meantime, the aforementioned king [Saint Stephen], like strong Joshua destroyed the disloyalty of the people, conquered the cruel nature of the pagans, and prepared the heart of many for receiving the seed of the holy faith. The king, however, seeing his kingdom having attained the tranquility of peace, has called back the servant of the Lord [Saint Gerard] from solitude, and having embellished with the pontifical bandage, destined him to preach for his people.”

<sup>24</sup> “Qui ubi ad flumen Danubii pervenit, ecce maligna turba populorum circumfunditur lapideque super patrem in plaustro sedentem prociunt, que eum Deo protegente non tetigere. At contra pater benedictionem ac signum sancte crucis opponerebat. At demum colis equorum retortis plastrum subvertunt patremque humi prociunt at magno impetu lapidare conantur. Tunc more prothomartyris primus Pannonie martyr positus in terra genibus clamavit voce magna dicens: »Domine Iesu Christe, ne statuas illis hoc peccatum, quia nesciunt quid faciunt.« Et cum hoc dixisset, in pectore lancea percussus obdormivit in Domino.” *SRH II*, p. 477–8. – “There he arrives to the river Danube, and look! he is floundered by wicked mob of people, and they are throwing stones onto the father sitting in a cart, but these, as he was protected by God, cannot hit him. However, the father was exposing blessing and the sign of the holy cross against them. But at last, with twisting the necks of the horses, they [the crowd] turn the cart upside down, and throw the father down onto the ground; after that with great passion they try to stone him. Then, in the manner of the protomartyr, the first martyr of Pannonia having been knelt on the ground, cried with a loud voice saying: »Lord, Jesus Christ, do not consider this sin to them, because they do not know, what they are doing.« And when he had said this, from a lance having been struck in the breast, he [Saint Gerard] fell asleep in the Lord.”

right, his bloody corpse is falling down from the mount of Pest, later called Mount Gellért.<sup>25</sup> Finally, the last two episodes are dedicated to the burial of the saint. On the left, the coach, with his relics, is pulled miraculously by oxen to Csanád. On the right his body is put into a sarcophagus in a church.<sup>26</sup> It is worthwhile to note that none of the legends of St. Gerard speaks about the coach moving by itself. Instead, it is described and represented in the legend of St. Ladislav and St. James the Great.<sup>27</sup> The burial of the saint is important in the *Legenda major* because the relics were subject of a debate between the cathedral and the Benedictine monastery of Csanád. The quarrel, however, itself is not represented here.

So it is clear that when the cycle of St. Gerard was planned the text of the legends was not the primary source. We could suppose that it was based on an iconographical tradition. Unfortunately, not a single representation of this legend is known from the Middle Ages, except the Hungarian Angevin Legendary. It is quite probable that at least at Csanád, the centre of his cult, there was such a cycle. On the other hand, from this absolute silence it is evident that this cycle could not have been too popular. It can be supposed that the painter (or painters) of the Hungarian Angevin Legendary could not use an iconographical tradition.

<sup>25</sup> This scene is known only from the *Legenda major*: “At illi hoc visu multo magis seviebant et impetum fecerunt in eum et everterunt currum eius in rippam Danubii ibique abstracto eo de curru eius in biga positum de monte Kreenfeld submiserunt et dum adhuc palpitaret, in pectore lancea percussus ac deinde super unum lapidem ipsum trahentes contriverunt cerebrum eius, sicque gloriosus martir Christi ab erumpnis huius mundi ad eternam beatitudinem transmigravit, in anno Domini millesimo quadagesimo septimo” *SRH II* pp. 502–3 – “But those, seeing this, were much more raging, and conducted an attack against him [Saint Gerard], and turned his cart over to the bank of the Danube, and there, having been dragged him down from his cart, and having been placed into a barrow, they pushed down from Kelenföld hill and since he still throbbled, having pierced in the breast and thereafter pulling him over to a stone, they crumbled his brain; and that is how the glorious martyr of Christ transmigrated from the miseries of this world towards eternal happiness in the 1047th year of the Lord.”

<sup>26</sup> *Legenda minor*: “Ea vero tempestate sedata per multos dies fidelissimus sancti viri procurator regem Andream adiit, ut peregrini atque hospitis patris corpus reddat, celeriter impetravit. Qui ad sanctum corpus venientes tam nitidum lucidumque ac in ipso die martirium consumasset, invenerunt, quod cum hymnis atque canticis ad Morisenam sedem tulerunt magnaque reverentia sepelierunt.” *SRH II* pp. 478–9 – “Indeed, after many days this storm having been calmed down, the most faithful believer of the holy man [Saint Gerard] went to Andrew, in order that he [the king] would give the corpse of the pilgrim and guest father back; he quickly obtained it. Those, coming to the holy body, found it so shining and so bright as if it perfected martyrdom on that day; so with hymns and songs performed, they carried the body to the see of Marosvár, and buried it with great reverence.” The *Legenda major* is more detailed: “Cum ergo sanctum corpus tulissent, concurrebat multitudo debilium, cecorum, claudorum, qui tacto corpore vel habitu eius omnes sanabantur. Et cum propter multitudinem populi in die egredi non valerent, nocte egressi sunt. Et cum aliquantulum processissent, manus cuiusdam contracte mulieris, que corpus sanctum tetigit, mox restituta est sanitati. Insuper iumenta, que currum trahebant, non sunt visa comedere, nec bibere, semper lete trahentes, quasi nullum pondus sentirent.” *SRH II* p. 504 – “When they have carried the holy body, a multitude of cripples, blinds, and lames flocked together, who, by touching his body or garment, were all healed. Since they, because of the multitude of people, could not depart during the day, were to set off at night. When they have gone somewhat forward, the hand of a certain weak woman, who touched the holy body, thereupon was ‘reinstated to be of health’. Besides, the packhorses, who were dragging the cart, were seen neither to eat, nor to drink, but always pulling happily, as if they felt no weight.” – On the relation between the two legends see: Gábor KLANICZAY and Edit MADAS, La Hongrie, in: *Hagiographies*, ed. Guy PHILIPPART (Corpus Christianorum, Hagiographies II), Brepols, Turnhout, 1996, pp. 103–160, esp. pp. 113–114 and 138–140.

<sup>27</sup> Ladislav, scene XIX (L 137c), James the Great, scene XXXVI (L 55d).

In similar cases they could follow the text of the legend exactly as they did representing the life and miracles of St. Emericus.<sup>28</sup> In the case of Gerard, however, they followed another way.

Surprisingly, we can find remarkable parallels between the structure of the cycles of Gerard and Thomas Becket. On the first page of the cycle of St. Thomas, which follows immediately the legend of Gerard, four scenes of the public life of the saint can be found. In the first picture the king, Henry II, is taking Thomas into his good graces, similarly as King Stephen did Gerard. In the second, Thomas is working as an erudite chancellor of the king.<sup>29</sup>

This is a parallel of the scholarly life of Gerard in the hermitage. In the third, Thomas is consecrated to bishop,<sup>30</sup> identical with the same scene of Gerard. The fourth picture represents Thomas celebrating a mass, while Gerard is preaching at this point of his cycle.

The first two pictures of the second page belong together, telling the story how the Virgin Mary sewed a hair-shirt for St. Thomas and how she sent a message to the saint with the help of a cleric.<sup>31</sup> Finally the martyrdom and the burial of Thomas are

<sup>28</sup> *SRH II*, pp. 449–460 (ed. by Emma BARTONIEK); in the Hungarian Angevin Legendary: L 131–132.

<sup>29</sup> “Thomas Cantuariensis dum in curia regis Angliae consisteret et quaedam ibi fieri contraria religioni videret, curiam ipsam deseruit et Cantuariensi archiepiscopo se commisit, a quo archidiaconus factus. Ad preces tamen ipsius episcopi regis cancellariam suscepit, ut prudentia, qua erat praeditus, malignorum in ecclesiam prohiberet insultus” GRAESSE pp. 66–7. – “Thomas of Canterbury, while he was at the court of the king of England, saw things happening that were contrary to religion. He therefore left the court and took service with the archbishop of Canterbury, who made him his archdeacon. At the archbishop’s request, however, he accepted the office of chancellor to the king, so that he might use the prudence with which he was endowed to put a stop to the wrongs done to the Church by evil men.” GRANGER I, pp. 59–60.

<sup>30</sup> “Quem adeo rex dilexit, ut post decessum archiepiscopi eum in cathedralem honorem procuraverit sublimari. Qui licet plurimum resisteret, tandem (ad) obedientiae praeceptum humeros supposuit ad portandum.” GRAESSE p. 67 – “The king conceived so strong affection for him that when the archbishop died, he nominated Thomas to the see of Canterbury. Thomas, although he strenuously resisted the offer, finally obeyed and bent his shoulders to the burden.” GRANGER I, p. 60.

<sup>31</sup> “Sacerdos quidam missam de beata virgine celebrabat quotidie, qui archiepiscopo accusatus, ab eo accersitus et tamquam ydiota et inscius ab officio suspenditur. Cum autem beatus Thomas cilicium suum suere deberet, et sub lecto ipsum abscondisset, ut ad consuendum horam aptaret, beata Maria sacerdoti apparuit dicens: vade ad archiepiscopum eique dicas, quod illa, ob cuius amorem missas dicebas, ejus cilicium, quod est in tali loco, consuit, et setam rubeam, de qua illud consuit, ibidem reliquit.” GRAESSE p. 68 – “There was a priest who celebrated the mass every day in honor of the Blessed Virgin Mary. He was accused of this and summoned before the archbishop, who suspended him from his office as being simpleminded and unlearned. At the time Saint Thomas had to mend his hair shirt, which he hid under his bed until he could find time to take care of it. Then Blessed Mary appeared to the priest and said: »Go to the archbishop and tell him that she for love of whom you said those masses has mended his hair shirt, which is under his bed, and has left there the red silk she used in the sewing. Tell him also that she sent you to him, and that he is to lift the suspension he imposed on you.«” GRANGER I, p. 61.

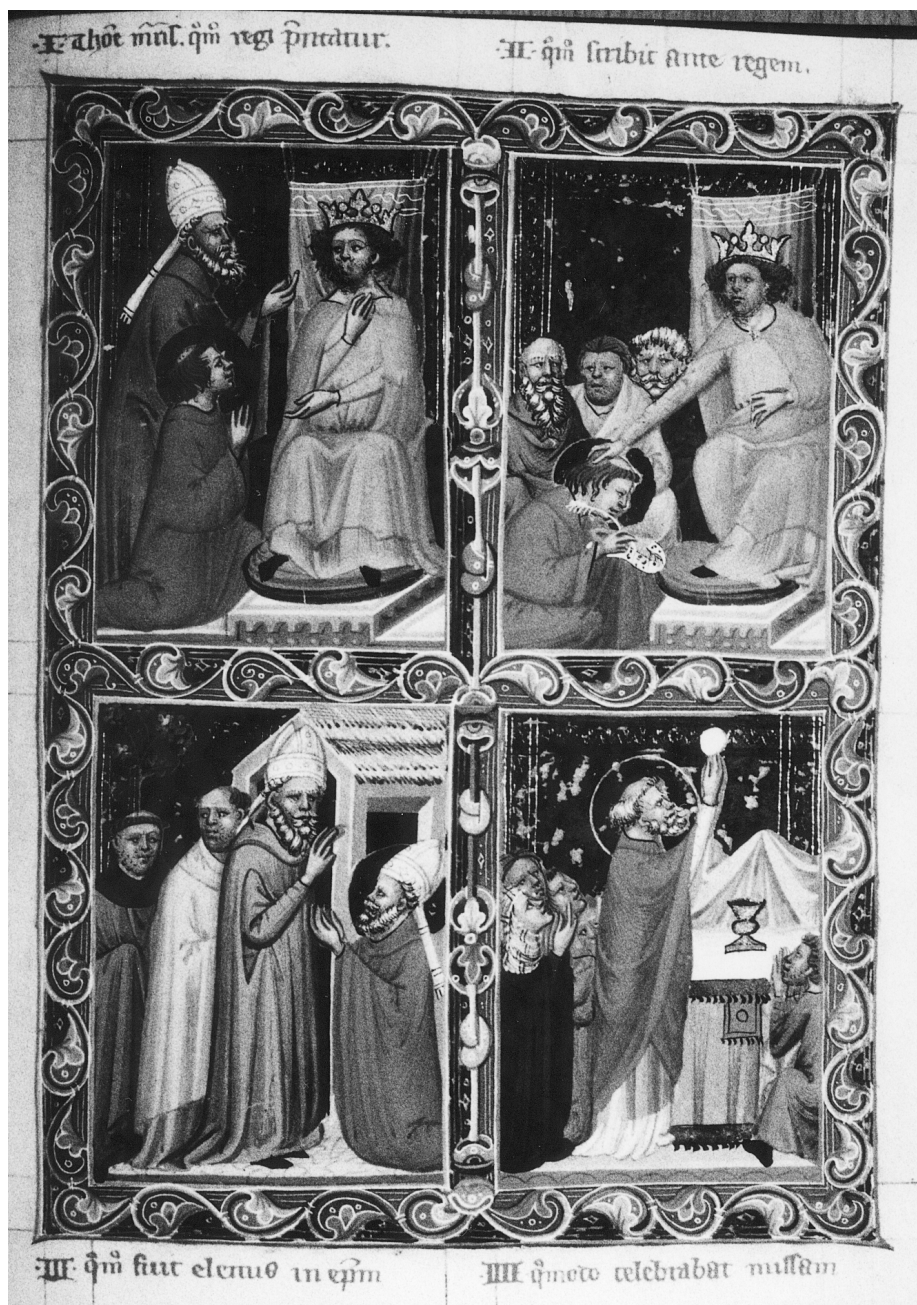


Fig. 4. First page of the legend of St. Thomas of Canterbury from the Hungarian Angevin Legendary (Vat. lat. 8541 fol. 70r)

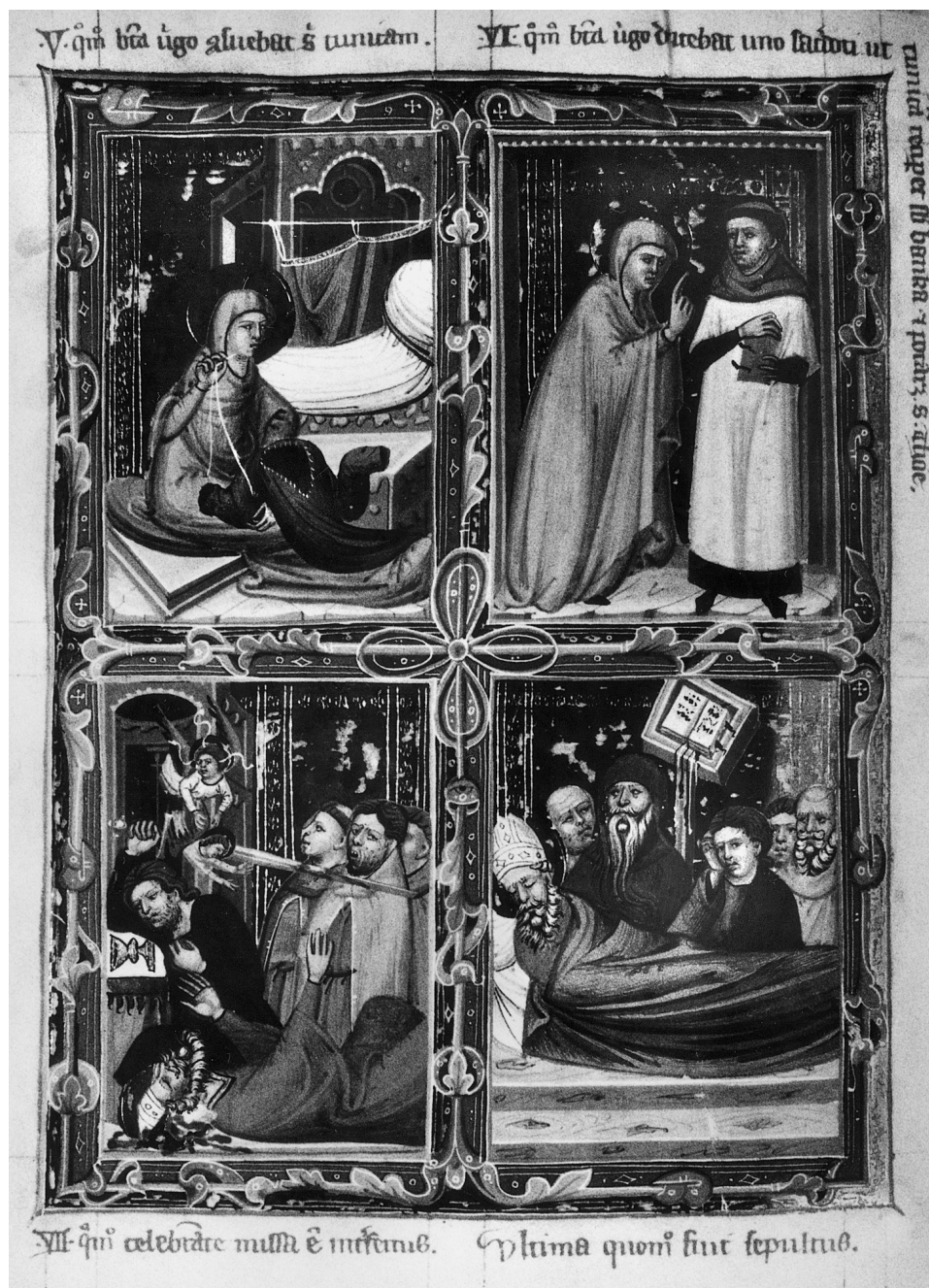


Fig. 5. Second page of the legend of St. Thomas of Canterbury from the Hungarian Angevin Legendary (Vat. lat. 8541 fol. 71v)

represented.<sup>32</sup> Comparing this page with the second part of the Gerard-cycle, we can realise the similarity of their composition. The first two pictures belong together in both cases, which is quite rare in the codex. Both cycles are finished with the burial scene. However, there are differences. The first two pictures of this page are consecrated to a miracle and the third to the martyrdom of Thomas, while Gerard's sufferings are placed before the miracle which is strongly connected to the following funeral episode. We should not forget that these saints are relatively late historical saints (from the 11th and 12th centuries) whose legends are not full of miracles. Therefore, their martyrdom is more emphasised in their painted cycles as well.

And there is another thing which seems to be emphasised, which is clear analyzing the fourth picture of the cycle of St. Thomas. The saint is celebrating a mass but there is nothing miraculous or extreme in this scene, therefore it is usually not the subject of an entire representation. The text of the legend does not give any note that the mass of Thomas Becket was extraordinary. Ferenc LEVÁRDY, first editor of the Hungarian Angevin Legendary, explained the scene as if it were the first part of the story continued in the next two pictures. According to this explanation, the celebrating priest should be a simpleminded cleric who venerated the Virgin Mary; therefore, when he was suspended from his office, the Holy Virgin sent a message to St. Thomas with him. Hearing the message, the saint lifted the cleric's suspension. In fact, the interpretation is surely erroneous. The celebrating priest, who is an old, bearded man with a glory and wearing a red chasuble, cannot be identical with the young, stubby cleric on the next page, wearing blue, light pink and brown clothes while St. Thomas is represented identically in the other pictures. However, I would not say that LEVÁRDY was absolutely wrong. The iconography of the "Mass of Tho-

<sup>32</sup> "Defendit, ut prius, jura ecclesiae nec a rege flectitur vi vel prece. Cum ergo nullatenus flecti posset, ecce milites regis armati veniunt et ubi archiepiscopus sit, vociferando inquirunt. Quibus ille occurrens dixit: ecce ergo, quid vultis? Et illi: venimus, ut occidaris, et ultra vivere non valebis. Quibus ille dicit: ego pro Deo mori paratus sum et pro defensione justitiae et ecclesiae libertate. Si igitur me quaeritis, ex parte Dei omnipotentis et sub anathemate prohibeo, ne horum cuiquam aliquatenus noceatis, Deo autem, beatae Mariae et sanctis omnibus et beato Dyonisio causam ecclesiae et me ipsum commendo. Quibus dictis venerandum caput gladiis impiorum impetitur, sacra capitis corona praeciditur, cerebrum per ecclesiae pavementum dispergitur et martir domino consecratur anno domini millesimo CLXXIV. Dum igitur clerici requiem aeternam inciperent et pro eo missam agerent defunctorum, subito, ut ajunt, angelorum chori adstantes voces cantantium interrumpunt, martiris missam incipiunt, laetatibus justus in domino, concinunt et caeteri clerici prosequuntur." GRAESSE 68. – "The archbishop continued to maintain the rights of the Church as in the past, and the king was unable to move him by pleas or by force. Therefore the king's armed soldiers went to the church and loudly asked where the archbishop was. Thomas went to meet them and said: 'Here I am! What do you want?' They answered: 'We have come to kill you! You cannot live any longer!' He said to them: 'I am ready to die for God, to defend justice, and to protect freedom of the Church. If therefore you are looking for me, I adjure you, in the name of almighty God and under pain of anathema, to do no harm to any of those around me. As for me, I commend myself and the cause of the Church to God, the Blessed Virgin Mary, Saint Denis, and all the saints.' Having said these words, he bowed his venerable head to the swords of the wicked, and they split his skull and spilled his brains over the pavement of the church. Thus the martyr was consecrated to the Lord, in the year of the Lord 1174. It is said that at that moment when the clergy were about to intone the *Requiem aeternam*, the mass of the dead, choirs of angels came and interrupted the singers, and began to chant the mass of the martyrs, *Laetabitur justus in Domino*, with the clergy joining in." GRANGER I. p. 61.

mas Becket” is extremely rare in the Middle Ages.<sup>33</sup> Therefore, it is possible that they followed a cycle representing the simpleminded cleric but, misunderstanding it, they depicted the archbishop of Canterbury at that point.

At this point we could turn back to the fourth picture of the legend of St. Gerard. In this picture the saint is represented in an everyday act: he is preaching to the people. It is comparable with the “Mass of Thomas Becket”, in the respect that there is nothing miraculous in it and there is no special literary source for it. The legends of St. Gerard mention briefly that the saint was a talented speaker, but it does not form a story. We can remember that on the lost page which probably belonged to Martin, the preaching scene was the most problematic one. Comparing with the cycles of Gerard and Thomas Becket, this seems to be more understandable. The message of these pictures is common: the bishop is doing his job eminently.

So it seems to be acceptable that creating the cycle of St. Gerard they followed the legend of St. Thomas together with its misunderstood picture. However, this misinterpretation is relevant in itself. It shows what kind of claims did they have creating a cycle of a saint bishop.

On the other hand, we cannot exclude that other legends also influenced the cycle of Gerard. On the second page of the cycle of St. Sebastian, the first picture represents his martyrdom, the second one the disgracing of his corpse, and in the third he appears to a virgin, telling where his relics can be found and the burial scene closes the cycle.<sup>34</sup> The structural parallelism is evident, which suggests that the importance of martyrdom, the disgracing of corpses, his miraculous translation, and the burial is relatively great in the Hungarian Angevin Legendary.

So, as we have seen, St. Gerard together with St. Thomas of Canterbury are examples of the virtuous martyr bishops. The miracles are more emphasized in the legend of St. Martin, which is quite understandable, being the first non-martyr saint. This remark can be generalized for the whole codex. The less accented the last moments of the temporal lives of the non-martyr saints were, the more their miraculous activity was emphasized.

Another remark on the whole codex could be made on the programme of the cycles. The virtuous activity of bishops and popes is stressed not only in these two legends but in the whole codex. So the programme could have been planned in the circle of some prelates. On the other hand, in the case of Gerard it is evident that his cycle was planned with the knowledge of his legend but with the help of another saint’s iconography.

It is impossible to analyze the cycle of St. Ladislav here, but we can state, that in this case the Hungarian iconography was somehow followed but it was remodelled

<sup>33</sup> Only one example is known: Sens, cathedral, stained glass, c. 1190, which is full of unusual scenes. Tancred BORENIUS, *St. Thomas Becket in Art*, Methuen, London, 1932, p. 45; *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie* Bd. 8, Hrsg. W. BRAUNFELS, 486 (D. H. Farmer).

<sup>34</sup> Hungarian Angevin Legendary, L 85.

considerably.<sup>35</sup> All these remarks point in the same direction: although the donator of the codex could most probably be found in the court of the Hungarian Anjous, the detailed plan of its programme is not necessarily the work of a Hungarian author.

To find a more defined answer to these questions, other cycles of the codex should be also analysed. It is not a secret that these researches are the first results of the preparation of the new CD-ROM edition of the Hungarian Agevin Legendary, to be published by the Department of Medieval Studies of the Central European University.<sup>36</sup> This computer-based edition will contain not only all the digitised images of the codex, but detailed descriptions, iconographical databases as well as Latin and English texts of the sources. Hopefully, with the help of this new edition similar (and even more erudite) researches can be done more easily and effectively.

<sup>35</sup> L 133–138. Cf. Zsuzsa LUKÁCS, A Szent László legenda a középkori magyar falképfestészetben (The Legend of St. Ladislav in medieval Hungarian frescos), in: *Athleta patriae. Tanulmányok Szent László történetéhez*, ed. László MEZEY, Szent István Társulat, Budapest, 1980, pp. 161–204., esp. pp. 168–169.; Gyula LÁSZLÓ, *A Szent László-legenda középkori falképei* (The Legend of St Ladislav in Medieval Murals), Tájak-Korok-Múzeumok, Budapest, 1993, pp. 46–50 and in the same volume: Terézia KERNY, “Keresztény lovagoknak oszlopa” (“Column of Christian knights”), p. 215. and note 11; Ernő MAROSI, *Kép és hasonmás*, (Image and likeness) Akadémiai, Budapest, 1995, p. 68. and note 354.

<sup>36</sup> Cf. Tamás SAJÓ and Béla Zsolt SZAKÁCS, Visual Resources of Medieval Central Europe, in: *Annual of Medieval Studies at the CEU 1994–1995*, ed. Mary BETH, L. DAVIS and Marcell SEBŐK, CEU Department of Medieval Studies, Budapest, 1996, pp. 92–97; Gábor KLANICZAY, Tamás SAJÓ and Béla Zsolt SZAKÁCS, *Vinum vetus in utres novos – Conclusioni sull’edizione CD del Leggendario Ungherese Angioino*, in: “*L’état angevin*” École française de Rome, Rome, 1998, 301–315.