



1986

# HUNGARIAN STUDIES

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# HUNGARIAN STUDIES

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(Nemzetközi Magyar Filológiai Társaság)

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## A SAINT IN THE FAMILY: A LEAF OF THE "HUNGARIAN ANJOU LEGENDARY" AT BERKELEY

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The Bancroft Library of the University of California, Berkeley, has recently been given an illuminated leaf containing four scenes that depict the life and miracles of Louis of Anjou, Bishop of Toulouse, from an important medieval manuscript known as the *Hungarian Anjou Legendary*.<sup>1</sup> Probably executed in the second quarter of the fourteenth century, substantial fragments of this work are located in the Vatican, the Hermitage, and the Pierpont Morgan libraries.<sup>2</sup> The manuscript has been discussed by Dezső Dercsényi, who initially recognized its link with a contemporary illuminated Hungarian Bible in the Library of Congress<sup>3</sup>, by Meta Harrsen, who analysed it in connection with her valuable study of that Bible, and declared that originally it "must have been one of the most sumptuous, truly regal volumes in existence";<sup>4</sup> by Ilona Berkovits, who regarded this specimen of miniature-painting as one of the most significant from the Anjou era in Hungary;<sup>5</sup> and at greater length by Ferenc Levárdy, who published in 1973 a facsimile edition of the 135 leaves (including fragments of 9) then known to survive.<sup>6</sup> Levárdy estimates that the manuscript consisted originally of 170 leaves, which would mean that roughly a quarter have been lost.<sup>7</sup> Complete leaves, such as those in the Vatican, measure 283 by 215 mm, and contain four scenes each, separated and surrounded by elaborate borders; in the upper and lower margins, Latin rubrics briefly identify the subject of each scene. The margins of the Bancroft leaf have been trimmed away, removing these inscriptions;<sup>8</sup> it measures 218 by 166 mm, thus corresponding closely in size with the other nine leaves cut to the edge of the painted surface (Morgan 360a-d and Hermitage 16930-34).

The work is thought to have been executed in a court atelier, probably in Buda but possibly in Esztergom, by Hungarian artists trained by or working under the direction of Bolognese masters.<sup>9</sup> Of the surviving leaves, 13 depict the life of Christ, another 48 the lives of apostles; most of the remainder illustrate saints' lives. Among saints with direct Hungarian connections, King Ladislaus is given most space (6 leaves), while King Stephen, Gellért, and Imre also appear. Harrsen refers to the work as a "Passional," presumably because of the numerous scenes of vividly-depicted martyrdoms, and Levárdy also acknowledges that "The Passion series stands very centrally in the painted *Legendary*"; but since some sequences end peacefully, it is

probably more appropriate to use the broader generic term for a collection of saints' lives and speak of this as a "legendary," as Levárdy does.<sup>10</sup>

Why should this particular saint appear in a Hungarian legendary of the Anjou period? Born in 1274, Louis was the second of thirteen children of Charles II of Naples. On his mother's side he was Hungarian: his mother was Mary, the daughter of Stephen V, King of Hungary. From 1288 to 1295—that is, from the age of 14 to 21—Louis, along with his younger brothers Robert and Raymond Berenger, was a hostage in Catalonia, where he seems to have come under the influence of Peter Johannis Olivi, a leading figure in the Spiritual or Zealot wing of the Franciscan movement. Upon the brothers' release from Catalonia, Louis renounced his rights of primogeniture in favor of his brother Robert, who was to become King of Naples and eventually a vigorous proponent of the canonization and cult of Louis. In the same eventful year, 1296, Louis was received into the Franciscan order and was consecrated Bishop of Toulouse by Pope Boniface VIII. Within a few months, on August 19, 1297, Louis died at the age of 23; he was made a saint 20 years later, early in the pontificate of John XXII.<sup>11</sup>

One explanation for Louis's presence in this manuscript, then, is the dynastic one. One recent critic has observed, apropos of the famous painting of Louis by Simone Martini in Naples, that "Saints in the family were a good thing. The French royal family already possessed its saint, Louis IX—and very likely this example spurred the Angevins to emulation . . . the canonization of Louis of Toulouse like that of Louis IX is a thread in the same pattern of statecraft."<sup>12</sup>

If the political reason for Louis's presence in an *Anjou* legendary is thus reasonably clear, his inclusion in a *Hungarian Anjou* legendary does not depend solely on his mother's having been Hungarian. The manuscript was produced during the reign, and probably under the direct patronage, of King Charles Robert of Hungary (1301/1307–1342), who was Louis's nephew, and is known to have erected a chapel to him at Lippa in 1327. We shall return later to the recently-debated question of the relative weight of secular, dynastic considerations and religious ones in the cult of Louis, for the Bancroft leaf sheds some fresh light on the problem. Here it should be added, however, that Louis's sainthood not only signalled divine approbation of the Anjou dynasty at large; it also served to demonstrate the special unction of its Hungarian branch, since Saint Elizabeth of Hungary had been the great aunt of Louis's mother, by whom, in turn, his own early piety was fostered.<sup>13</sup>

\*

We now turn to the iconography of the four miniatures on the Bancroft leaf. The first scene illustrates an event that took place after Louis's death: it figures at length in written accounts of his miracles, and is the subject of at least one other pictorial representation. On a table in the middle of the composition lie a large fish and nine coins; a Franciscan friar standing in front of it to the right gesticulates to two of his brethren, who are behind it on the left. The story is this. To lighten his ship during a

storm at sea, a merchant heaves overboard most of his goods, and prays to Saint Louis for protection. The storm ends, the vessel comes safely to land, and the merchant's belongings are washed ashore and recovered. Soon after disembarking, he buys a large fish and presents it as an act of piety to the Franciscan brothers. Upon cutting it open, they discover inside the merchant's money, which had fallen into the sea in the midst of the storm.

The written version, of nearly 500 words, is the longest and the best story among the dozens of Louis's miracles. Although localized in Marseille the narrative smacks of myth or folk-tale. One hagiographical authority refers to "a very common type of story in which lost or stolen articles are found in the interior of a fish," and another points out that

L'histoire de l'objet jeté à la mer et retrouvé dans le ventre d'un poisson, que l'on raconte dans les vies de saint Ambroise de Cahors, de saint Maurille, de saint Magloire, de saint Kentigern et dans bien d'autres, n'est qu'une réminiscence de l'anneau de Polycrate, connu par Hérodote.<sup>14</sup>

A more elaborate and sophisticated painting of this miracle, one of four scenes from the life of Louis, was executed by Benedetto Bonfigli in 1453 and survives in the Palazzo Comunale of Perugia. This work, a century later than the Bancroft leaf, reduces the fish-episode to one among many realistic details in a complex landscape; for present purposes, its chief interest is in suggesting the popularity and longevity of this miracle, in pictorial form, as part of Louis's legend.<sup>15</sup>

The second scene is composed of several distinct elements. On the right, a woman looks out from the window of the building; in the center, at the foot of a flight of steps leading to the building, is a young boy; above him is a four-wheeled cart and the hind legs and tail of the animal pulling it. This scene is probably based upon another miracle that occurred in Marseille. While two young brothers were playing, one accidentally stabbed the other in the throat and killed him. The culprit was seized by the town council and condemned to die. The disconsolate mother of the two boys, unsuccessful in her plea to the authorities to spare the surviving son prayed for assistance to Louis. The saint restored to life not only the fratricide, who had already been decapitated and was about to be buried, but the first brother as well.<sup>16</sup>

Several details seem to support this identification. The youth in the center of the picture bears on his throat the marks of a wound; these are quite different from the marks indicating stubble on male faces in the other three scenes.<sup>17</sup> That the wagon is bearing a casket is suggested by the strong similarity to a number of scenes elsewhere in the *Legendary*.<sup>18</sup> The expression on the woman's face is somewhat more problematic. Other scenes in the *Legendary* use a similar open-mouthed, toothy expression to signify grief or dismay: thus a witness to the murder of Saint Thomas of Canterbury and a young man being devoured by a dragon in the life of the Apostle Philip both make the same face.<sup>19</sup> There are also several scenes, however, in which similar treatment of the mouth is evidently intended to denote demonic possession, although the mouth is usually rounder in such circumstances, especially when an evil spirit is just exiting.<sup>20</sup>

As to the woman's head-dress, Meta Harrsen says that when the artists of this manuscript and the related Nekcsei-Lipócz Bible "wish to represent women of the upper class, they invest them with a close-fitting snood of veiling that is held in place by a band passing under the chin. These were worn everywhere in Europe." Such an adornment is quite different from "the frilled hoods or headkerchiefs, known as *Kruseler*," which Harrsen says are "typical of Austrian, Hungarian and Bohemian attire in the first half of the fourteenth century," one of which appears on Mary in the fourth scene of the Bancroft leaf.<sup>21</sup>

It is troubling that the flight of stairs, which plays so prominent a part visually in this composition, does not figure at all in the miracle of the two brothers;<sup>22</sup> and if the central figure here is one of the sons returned to life, it is hard to account for the other not being present as well. The distress of the mother would also seem more appropriate to an earlier stage of the narrative. Finally, the lad appears to be holding in his right hand a small object that may be of some significance, but we cannot make out what it is.<sup>23</sup> Possibly some tale other than the one of youthful chance medley in Marseille is actually depicted here; but no more obvious candidate has come to our attention among the various written accounts of the miracles of Saint Louis.

In the third scene, Louis embraces a figure whose halo encloses a cross, suggesting at once his true identity.<sup>24</sup> In the written life, this episode is introduced by an account of Louis's ministering to a group of lepers. His charity and humility prompt him to embrace publicly the most horribly afflicted of all the lepers, who subsequently disappears. This fact, together with the denial by the remaining lepers that they had ever seen such a person, causes everyone to conclude that the party in question had been Christ or his angel, come to test Louis.<sup>25</sup> The hem and feet in the upper right hand corner are evidently Christ's, put in to suggest his vanishing after the encounter. Louis wears the Franciscan habit and sandals, but also has on his bishop's mitre and his elegant blue cape adorned with golden Anjou lilies. Louis appears elsewhere in this same somewhat incongruous wardrobe, both in the *Legendary* and in other works of art throughout Europe. In the written version of the saint's life, however, this scene is supposed to have taken place while Louis was still a hostage in Barcelona—that is, before he had taken orders or become a bishop. And it is said to have been witnessed, not by a fellow Franciscan, as in this picture, but by Louis's brother Robert, later to become King of Naples and a vigorous promoter of Louis's canonization.

The emphasis on Louis's self-abnegation, both in this scene and in the first miniature on the other surviving *Legendary* leaf concerning him, is in keeping with a major theme of the written life, which makes much of the contrast between the worldly grandeur of his family and the ascetic lowliness that Louis resolutely preferred. It is particularly appropriate to Louis's choice of the Franciscan order. One miniature elsewhere in the *Legendary* shows how Saint Francis himself, in the neighborhood of Gubbio, visited wretched lepers, nursed them, and kissed their sores; and among other models for his



leper-kissing were Saint Louis King of France and Saint Elizabeth of Hungary, who were his great-uncle and great-great-aunt.<sup>26</sup>

In the fourth scene Louis is seated in profile, with the episcopal cape covering the lower part of his body; he prays to a figure whose halo and lofty position, pendent amidst drapery, identify her as Mary. Gazing at one another, Louis and Mary appear oblivious of the devil who flees to the right, casting a dejected look back at the saint who has foiled his efforts. The scene occurs indoors, as is indicated by the fabric wall-hanging which, as in the second scene of the other surviving *Legendary* leaf concerning Louis (Vatican fol. 92, Levárdy 151), hangs by cords that wind rather surrealistically around the upper frame of the miniature itself.

As the written versions of his life explain, Louis spent much of every night in prayer. Attempting to frighten him from these pious exercises, the devil once appeared to Louis in a horrible shape, but was promptly driven away by the sign of the cross. Both the canonization proceedings and the lives indicate that this took place while Louis was still a hostage, and that it was witnessed by his younger brother Raymond Berenger. In the written record there is no suggestion that the devil is dispatched by an invocation of Mary, but nearby paragraphs that describe the frequency, fervor, and variety of Louis's prayers do mention prominently his unwavering devotion to the blessed virgin.<sup>27</sup> As in the preceding scene, which also occurred during the Catalanian captivity, there is an anachronism in the representation of Louis as already both a Franciscan and a bishop. This may result from a greater concern with immediately recognizable iconographic attributes than with chronology, for the faces and attire of many other saints in the *Legendary* remain constant in every miniature; yet in some cases (e.g. Gellért, Hilarius, and Francis), there are clear indications of changes in age or station. At the same time, the portrayal of Louis sitting on the floor, with his cape as coverlet, manages to suggest economically (as do the written lives) that both for praying and sleeping, Louis ascetically preferred the ground to a bed.

\*

The four previously-known scenes from the life of Saint Louis occur on a leaf of Vatican Latin manuscript 8541; they are reproduced as Plate 151 in Levárdy's facsimile edition of the reconstructed *Legendary*. On this leaf the brief Latin rubrics are not trimmed from the margins, as they have been from the Bancroft leaf; Levárdy translates them and also gives a fuller account of the subjects of each miniature, which are as follows:

5) Every day [Louis] sees twenty five beggars as guests at his table; 6) Once a piece of the Cross from Golgotha is brought before him. He kneels in front of it, and blesses the soldiers setting out against the heathens; 7) Alzatia, daughter of Count Portamira ab Aquis, is thrown from a donkey which goes wild. The unfortunate lady miscarries; 8) Owing to the intervention of Louis, the aborted foetus comes to life.

Since the miniatures on the Vatican leaf are numbered 5, 6, 7 and 8, Levárdy assumes that a leaf containing scenes 1 through 4 must have preceded it in the original series. Although he says that "from the unfolding text of the written legend it is not possible to reconstruct these missing scenes with complete certainty," he thinks they may have had these subjects:

The prince lives in Catalonia for seven years as a hostage. He takes a vow to enter the Franciscan order. In Rome he dons monastic attire and goes barefoot to Saint Peter's grave. Pope Boniface VIII makes him Bishop of Toulouse. The prince gives all his treasures back to his father and eats from a simple earthenware dish.

Levárdy also believes that the Vatican leaf was followed by a further one, and suggests that its subjects may have been as follows:

9-10) Louis leads a life of self-abnegation; he mortifies his body with an iron penitential belt, clothes the poor, nurses the sick, and frees the prisoners; 11) At the age of twenty-four he dies peacefully; 12) He is buried in Marseille.

The four scenes on the Bancroft leaf differ from the subjects that Levárdy hypothesizes, and also call in question his contention that the miniature-painter arranges his pictures "according to historical order, and not according to the sequence in which the written legend arranges them" (p. 24). On the Bancroft leaf, scene 1 depicts a miracle that occurred after Louis's death, as does scene 2; yet the final two scenes concern events during Louis's life, and thus precede "in historical order" not only scenes 7 and 8 of the Vatican leaf, but the first two scenes of the Bancroft leaf itself. Levárdy's belief that the sequence is chronological is thus mistaken, at least with regard to the arrangement of this particular legend; elsewhere in the volume, however, his generalization about the ordering of scenes appears to be borne out, both within and between individual leaves.

\*

Apart from Levárdy's brief remarks, there has been no scholarly study of the treatment of Louis in the *Legendary*, but there has been a good deal of controversy about the motives for Louis's representation in other medieval works. Although Louis's widespread occurrence in 14th- and 15th-century Italian art had been discussed by Emile Bertaux in 1900, the effective point of departure for modern analysis and debate was Margaret Toynbee's monograph of 1929 on Louis and the process of canonisation in the fourteenth century.<sup>28</sup> In Toynbee's view, Louis's cult and the works of art associated with it are to be understood largely as responses to dynastic and other political considerations, but she saw another factor as also significant: namely, the links of Louis and others in his family with the Spiritual or Zealot—later the Observant—wing of the Franciscan movement.



Fig. 1. Scenes from the life of Louis of Anjou, Bishop of Toulouse

In recent decades, debate over this matter has increased. The importance of Louis's connection with the Spiritual branch of the Franciscan order has been stressed in a major book by Ferdinando Bologna.<sup>29</sup> This emphasis has been disputed, with reference to Simone Martini's painting of Louis, in an article by Julian Gardner, who acknowledges that Louis's Franciscanism may have been colored by personal contact with the leader of the Spirituels during his Catalonian captivity, but argues that no such influence is apparent in that particular picture. As Gardner puts it, "Reasons of state rather than states of mind provide a more compelling rationale for Simone Martini's painting. . . . Renunciation of a claim by primogeniture, divine approbation and coronation, the apotheosis of the new Angevin saint and the continuance of the dynasty: Simone's panel celebrates these themes rather than medicant poverty."<sup>30</sup>

Discussing yet another work that portrays Louis, a small portable tabernacle in the Moravian Gallery in Brno, Olga Pujmanova finds in it a "typical, expressly Spiritual leaning," and endorses Bologna's view that along with their dynastic interests, the Anjou patrons of these works were crucially concerned to support and foster the Spirituels.<sup>31</sup>

In the present case, dynastic considerations must have played a significant part in the decision to illustrate the life and miracles of this particular saint. Yet the inclusion of several scenes portraying Louis's self-abnegation—along with the very full treatment elsewhere in the manuscript of the ascetic rigors and humble charities of Saint Francis himself—would suggest that familial sympathy with the Spiritual side of Franciscanism also found strong formal expression in the manuscript. Within the eight surviving scenes that portray the life and miracles of Louis, there is no basis for declaring that one set of concerns, dynastic or religious, took clear precedence over the other; what these miniatures establish is not the primacy of one or the other motive on the part of artists or patrons, but rather a close linking of the two. We need not suppose, as Gardner's remarks on the Simone Martini painting would imply, that the cult of Louis was exploited by the Anjous in an utterly calculating, Machiavellian spirit—or on the contrary that they fostered his cult purely out of zealous piety, or a concern for the beleaguered Spirituels within the Franciscan order. It would seem more accurate to say that the *Hungarian Anjou Legendary* served its patrons' worldly as well as otherworldly interests, which were evidently quite compatible and may have been equally keen.

#### Notes

1. Bancroft Library f2MSA2M21300-37, the gift of Mr. and Mrs. Norman H. Strouse. We are obliged to the Bancroft Library for permission to reproduce this leaf.
2. The Vatican portion (Ms. lat. 8541) contains 106 leaves; the Leningrad portion (16930-34) includes 5 leaves; the Morgan portion (M360 and M360a-d) consists of 85 quarter-leaves (i.e. the equivalent of more than 20 original leaves) acquired in 1908, along with 4 more leaves purchased or donated since then.

3. Levárdy (see n. 6 below) summarizes and cites two articles by Dercsényi published in Hungarian journals in 1942 (p. 16 and n. 15, p. 49).
4. Meta Harrsen, *The Nekcsei-Lipócz Bible: A Fourteenth-Century Manuscript from Hungary in the Library of Congress, Ms. Pre-Accession I* (Washington, 1949), pp. 4–39, 48–66 and *passim*.
5. Levárdy (see following note) summarizes and cites two articles by Berkovits published in Hungarian journals in 1938 and 1947 (p. 16 and n. 15, p. 49); cf. also her *Illuminated Manuscripts in Hungary XI–XVI Centuries* (Shannon, 1969), pp. 32–33.
6. *Magyar Anjou Legendárium*, facs. ed. Ferenc Levárdy (Budapest, 1973); Levárdy's 46-page introduction is the fullest account to date of the work and its background.
7. Harrsen (p. 5) estimates that the surviving miniatures "are probably no more than two-thirds of the original series."
8. Of the leaves in the Morgan library, all but 4 recently-acquired ones were quartered and mounted separately as individual miniatures in the 17th century.
9. Although Berkovits contended that the entire manuscript was the work of a single master (see Levárdy, p. 16), Harrsen argues rather persuasively for the presence of four distinct hands (*Nekcsei-Lipócz Bible*, pp. 26–30). In her more recent account of the "truly splendid execution of the Vatican Illuminated Legendary," Berkovits observes that its ornate miniatures "indicate that in the first half of the 14th century Italian, particularly Bolognan, miniaturists were active in Hungary, presumably in a workshop maintained by the royal court. Here in this court workshop Italian conceptions were transmuted into Hungarian form" (*Illuminated Manuscripts in Hungary*, pp. 32–33).
10. Harrsen, *Nekcsei-Lipócz Bible*, pp. 4ff.; Levárdy summarizes the development of medieval legends in the 12th and 13th centuries (pp. 18ff.) and the connections between this manuscript and Hungarian versions of the *Golden Legend* of Jacobus a Voragine.
11. The biographical information in this paragraph is based on Margaret Toynbee's excellent *S. Louis of Toulouse and the Process of Canonisation in the Fourteenth Century* (Manchester, 1929), and on Levárdy, p. 23; also still useful is Henri Verlaque, *Saint Louis, prince royal, évêque de Toulouse* (Paris, 1885). There is a helpful family tree in Toynbee, *S. Louis*, p. 30; on Mary's direct influence on her son's devoutness, cf. pp. 34 and *passim*; on her indirect influence, cf. Toynbee's view that "the children's mother, Mary of Hungary, a friend to the Spirituals and a really religious woman, was chiefly concerned in the matter of her sons' Franciscan entourage [in Catalonia]" (p. 77).
12. Julian Gardner, "Saint Louis of Toulouse, Robert of Anjou and Simone Martini," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, 39 (1976), 12–33, p. 19; cf. also notes 28–30 below. Gardner fails to note that the earlier French royal saint, Louis IX, was also "in the family" as the elder brother of Louis's grandfather, Charles I of Sicily.
13. On Charles Robert, referred to as "Carobert" by writers in English like Toynbee, cf. Harrsen, pp. 1, 13, and *passim*; Levárdy, pp. 9–13, 36–39 and *passim*.
14. *Acta Sanctorum*, [XXXVII] (1867), 795; a simpler, 150-word version of this miracle, not linked specifically with Marseille, occurs in a manuscript legendary at the University of Bratislava, and is reprinted in *Analecta Franciscana*, VII, (1951), 426. On the folk-tale aspects of this miracle, the first quotation is from Charles Plummer, *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae*, 2 Vols. (Oxford, 1910), Introd., I, clxxxv; the second is from Hippolyte Delehaye, *Les Légendes Hagiographiques*, 2nd edn. (Bruxelles, 1906), p. 38. Delehaye notes that further parallels are cited in R. Koehler's *Kleinere Schriften* (Berlin, 1900), II, 209, n. 1.
15. The Bonfigli painting is reproduced by P. Beda Kleinschmidt in his article, "St. Ludwig von Toulouse in der Kunst," *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum*, II (1909), 195–215, Figure 5. Lists and/or reproductions of Renaissance works in which Louis appears can be found in such studies as Emma G.

- Salter, *Franciscan Legends in Italian Art* (London, 1905), and Arthur de Bles, *How to Distinguish the Saints in Art* (New York, 1925).
16. See *Analecta Franciscana*, VII (1951), 389–90 and 391, or *Analecta Bollandiana*, IX (1890), 352; also alluded to in *Acta Sanctorum*, [XXXVII] (1867), 791–92, but without any indication of the nature of the wound.
  17. Meta Harrsen, describing the treatment of facial features by one of the four artists who worked on the *Legendary*, correctly observes that “The heavy features are shaded by nervous brown pen-strokes, giving them an unshaven, sometimes repulsive appearance” (*Nekcsei-Lipócz Bible*, p. 29).
  18. Compare the rendering of hearses carrying coffins in the lives of Saint James (Vatican fol. 31, Levárdy 55); of Saint Gellért (Vatican fol. 69, Levárdy 112); and of Saint King Ladislaus (Vatican fol. 84, Levárdy 137).
  19. See Vatican fol. 71, Levárdy 114; Vatican fol. 41, Levárdy 67.
  20. Compare the instances of demonic possession in the lives of Saint Donatus (Vatican fol. 62, Levárdy 105), the Apostle Paul (Vatican fol. 14, Levárdy 34), and the Apostle Andrew (Vatican fol. 20, Levárdy 40).
  21. Harrsen, *Nekcsei-Lipócz Bible*, pp. 7–8.
  22. The canonization proceedings include testimony about one miracle in which a flight of stairs looms large, but it involves the fall of an infant: see *Analecta Franciscana*, VII (1951), 239–41.
  23. The fact that the hearse is disappearing at the top right of the picture is probably not intended to suggest a heavenly ascent, as in the third scene, but rather an element in the narrative occurring at a different place or time from the main event.
  24. Christ’s halo is portrayed similarly in a scene from the life of Saint Dominic (Vatican fol. 90, Levárdy 144).
  25. See *Acta Sanctorum*, [XXXVII] (1867), 778 and 812; *Analecta Bollandiana*, IX (1890), 311–12; and especially the canonization proceedings in *Analecta Franciscana*, VII (1951), 95–96. As Toynbee notes, “There are . . . considerable discrepancies in the story of how Louis kissed a leper at Barcelona in 1294 as narrated through Duke Robert and by the author of the Life” (*S. Louis of Toulouse and the process of Canonisation* . . . p. 17.)
  26. For Saint Francis and lepers, see the scene on leaf Hermitage 16932, Levárdy 148.
  27. *Acta Sanctorum*, [XXXVII] (1867), 777–78, 808–09; the *Processus Canonizationis* in *Analecta Franciscana*, VII (1951), 13, and the de Orta life, *Analecta Franciscana*, pp. 342–43, or in *Analecta Bollandiana*, IX (1890), 290–91. Another representation of this episode was part of a series illustrating the life of Louis formerly in a chapel of the Naples cathedral: according to a 17th-century description, this scene showed “quando già fatto frate, prende riposo su della nuda terra, ed in sogno gli apparisce la visione di Melchisedec, che l’ammonisce di accettare di buon animo quel vescovado” (Bologna, p. 322).
  28. Emile Bertaux, “Les Saints Louis dans l’Art Italien,” *Revue des Deux Mondes*, 158 (1900), 616–44; Margaret Toynbee, *S. Louis of Toulouse* . . . pp. 217–27.
  29. Ferdinando Bologna, *I Pittori Alla Corte Angioina Di Napoli 1266–1414* (Rome, 1969), pp. 163, 166–67 and *passim*; cf. also Edith Pásztor, *Per La Storia Di San Ludovico D’Angiò (1274–1297)* (Rome, 1955), pp. 4–5, 37, 52, 60–63.
  30. Julian Gardner, “Saint Louis of Toulouse, Robert of Anjou and Simone Martini,” *op. cit.*, pp. 20, 26–27. According to Gardner, the central scene of the Simone Martini predella—scene 3, figure 22, misnumbered 23, p. 31—depicts Louis “serving his new brothers in a meal at the Franciscan convent of Santa Maria in Aracoeli” (p. 30); but Louis appears rather to be washing the hands of poor people at his lodging (see Bologna IV–8/9, where the scene is correctly identified and traced to the relevant passage in the canonization proceedings).
  31. Olga Pujmanova, “Robert of Anjou’s Unknown Tabernacle in Brno,” *Burlington Magazine*, 131 (1979), p. 491; cf. also her “Prague, Naples et Avignon: Œuvres de Tomaso da Modena à Karlstejn,” *Revue de l’Art*, 53 (1981), 56–64, especially n. 10, p. 62.