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# DÁVID FALVAY

Vernacular Hagiography and Meditation Literature in Late Medieval Italy

Essays



Studi di italianistica all'ELTE Studies at ELTE

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Dávid Falvay

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# Vernacular Hagiography Meditation Literature in Late Medieval Italy

Essays

Dávid Falvay

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Author and editor: Dávid Falvay

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2 "Hungarians as 'Saintly Pagans' in Late Medieval Western Literature." In: MARINKOVIĆ, Ana – VEDRIŠ, Trpimir (eds.) (2012): *Identity and Alterity in Hagiography and the Cult of Saints*. Hagiotheca, Zagreb: 165–78.

3 "In The Italian Version of the Mirror: Manuscripts, Diffusion and Communities in the 14–15<sup>th</sup> Centuries." In: TERRY, Wendy, R. – STAUFFER, Robert (eds.) (2017): A Companion to Marguerite Porete and The Mirror of Simple Souls. Brill, Leiden–Boston (MA): 218–39.

4 "St. Elizabeth of Hungary in Italian Vernacular Literature: Vitae, Miracles, Revelations and the Meditations on the Life of Christ." In: GECSER, Ottó – LASZLOVSZKY, József – NAGY, Balázs – SEBŐK, Marcell – SZENDE, Katalin (eds.) (2011): Promoting the Saints: Cults and Their Contexts from Late Antiquity until the Early Modern Period: Essays in Honor of Gábor Klaniczay for his 60th Birthday. Central European University, Department of Medieval Studies, Budapest–New York (NY): 137–50.

5 "The Multiple Regional Identity of a Neapolitan Queen: Mary of Hungary's Readings and Saints." In: KUZMOVÁ, Stanislava – MARINKOVIĆ, Ana – VEDRIŠ, Trpimir (eds.) (2014): *Cuius patrocinio tota gaudet regio. Saints' Cults and the Dynamics of Regional Cohesion.* Hagiotheca, Zagreb: 211–30.

6 "The Italian Manuscripts of *Meditationes Vitae Christi*." Published here for the first time.

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He has participated at international conferences in Europe and the United States. His publications include, along with a number of articles in Italian and in English, a monograph entitled *Magyar dinasztikus szentek olasz kódexekben* (*Hungarian Dynastic Saints in Italian Codices*) (2013). Currently, he is working on a monograph about the Italian versions of *Meditationes vitae Christi* and has already published the critical edition of the long version of this text together with Diego Dotto and Antonio Montefusco (Venice: Edizioni Ca' Foscari, 2021).



# Preface by Gábor Klaniczay

ávid Falvay is a central figure in the current Hungarian milieu of Italian Studies, specialized in the history of medieval Italian religious texts. His principal research interest is to throw light on Italian-Hungarian contacts in the Middle Ages with a philological analysis of hagiographic texts. As a continuation of his first monograph Magyar dinasztikus szentek olasz kódexekben [Hungarian dynastic saints in Italian codices] (2012), he publishes in this volume six essays as a prolongation of his initial inquiries. These studies, stimulated by different international projects and scholarly encounters provide an interesting, original insight into late medieval religious literature. They treat hagiographic texts in their broader cultural context, focusing on how they incorporated historical memory, or how they navigated around the ambivalent feelings about the "saintly pagans" on the East-European periphery. He broadens his field of observations to important texts of late medieval meditation literature, such as The Mirror of Simple Souls or the Meditationes Vitae Christi, and he relies in his important new observations and in his refutation of erroneous interpretations upon the special background provided by his detailed knowledge on the hagiography of Saint Elisabeth and his accurate philological analysis. In addition, these studies also provide the reader a valid overall image of late medieval religious spirituality, relying on up-to-date international scholarship.

Gábor Klaniczay



# Introduction Acknowledgements

# Acking

This collection of essays represents most of my research interests during the last decade. The first five chapters have been published previously in collective volumes between 2010 and 2017, and here I republish them in the same form as they originally appeared, without any substantial changes except for unifying the format. The last essay is new, published here for the first time.

These essays represent different phases of my formation as a scholar and my research interests but they are linked by a number of common features. Each of them deals with late medieval Italian vernacular literary traditions in the field of religious literature. In the first essays, my main concern was the ambivalent relationship between female sainthood and heresy, and the representation of Hungarian dynastic female saints, both historical ones such as Elizabeth and Margaret of Hungary and fictional figures such as Guglielma of Hungary, in Italian vernacular writings (Chapters 1, 2, and 4). I took a more direct philological approach to the critical study of textual tradition in analyzing the Italian versions of the *The Mirror of Simple Souls* by Margaret Porete and the *Meditations on the Life of Christ* by Pseudo-Bonaventura, (Chapters 3 and 6). Literary-philological analysis is combined with a historical and artistic approach in trying to reconstruct the bibliography and the spirituality of a medieval queen, Mary of Hungary, Queen of Naples (Chapter 5)

My acknowledgements for scholarly help with the single essays are included at the beginning of each chapter and I express my gratitude to the publishers Brill, Hagiotheca, and the CEU Press for granting me permission to republish these chapters in the present volume. This volume was written with the support of the Scientific Commission of the Faculty of Humanities of Eötvös Loránd University (ELTE) of Budapest and the Hungarian National Research Fund (NKFI KH 129671). I thank Judith Rasson for copyediting the text of the new parts of the volume, and Gréta Kocsis for her help in formatting the text.

Dávid Falvay



Memory and Hagiography: The Formation of the Memory of Three Thirteenth-Century Female Saints\*

<sup>\*</sup> I would like to thank Gábor Klaniczay and Zsolt K. Horváth for help and inspiration during my research, and Parker Snyder for proof-reading the present article.

All memory, whether "individual," "collective," or "historical" is memory for something, and this political (in a broad sense) purpose cannot be ignored.<sup>1</sup>

The cult of a saint is by definition a form of a process of memorization. In this kind of religious practice people remember someone whose life was exemplary and in whose lifetime miracles happened (in vita), and/or after his or her death (post mortem). Hagiography also constitutes a written genre, and these texts were made in part to conserve the memory of a holy person. As Sofia Boesch postulates in her manual on sainthood:

The hagiographic production appears as a conscious construction of the historical memory of a reality, and the holders of this reality are exceptional persons, extraordinary events, and sacred places.<sup>2</sup>

One can recall the memory of a saint by reading about the saint's activities, and there are further forms and channels in which the memory of a holy person can survive. These include relics, locations specific to the saint's life, and the church consecrated to the name of the saint.

Important studies have been undertaken by medievalists that examine the development of cult through case studies pertaining to medieval memory. One such example is Luigi Canetti's monograph about Saint Dominic's hagiography entitled "The Invention of Memory," in which the author introduces his analvsis with the following theoretical proposition:

I am (...) aware of the fact, that the case of Saint Dominic and the Dominicans represents primarily a valid case study concerning the crucial problems of the

GEARY 1994, p. 12.
 "La produzione agiografica si presenta come consapevole costruzione della memoria storica di una realtà, i cui portatori sono personaggi eccezionali, eventi straordinari, luoghi sacri," BOESCH GAJANO 1997, p. 37.



testimonies, and the modalities of its transmission, and consequently primarily concerns the meanings and forms of the memory.<sup>3</sup>

In this current work, I will investigate three basic case studies. All of them originated in the thirteenth century, which was the period when the canonization process was formalized as a judicial investigation to memorialize a person as a saint. This was approximately the same period during which the inquisitorial procedure against heretics had become a centralized and formalized process.<sup>4</sup> The first among my cases is that of Elizabeth of Hungary (or Elizabeth of Thuringia), who represents one of the most famous female saints of the thirteenth century in all of Western Europe. The two other examples can be defined as special because neither of them represents a "typical" case of sainthood, since Margaret of Hungary was not canonized until the twentieth century. Guglielma of Milan is the third, and although she was venerated, she was never canonized since she and her followers were condemned as heretics.

These three cases share common features in addition to the fact that all of them originated in the thirteenth century. First, in each of them a judicial level process is present – be it canonization or inquisition – which is essential for our investigation. It is important to note that although the objectives of canonization and inquisition seem opposed to one another, in the later Middle Ages the two juridical procedures showed structural similarities, and it is not accidental that both were called *Inquisitio*.<sup>5</sup> It is obvious that an *inquisitio* against supposed heretics indicated quite a different approach than an *inquisitio* for the canonization of a candidate for sainthood. The juridical forms and proof requirements are nevertheless comparable, and from the viewpoint of the distortion of memories (which is obvious in the case of heretics), one can detect a clear motivation for something in the cases of canonization as well. As we shall see in the following, no truly spontaneous memory exists, and Patrick Geary's words might be quoted as a motto for this present study: "All memory, whether 'individual', 'collective', or 'historical', is memory for something, and this political (in a broad sense) purpose cannot be ignored."<sup>6</sup>

<sup>3 &</sup>quot;sono (...) consapevole del fatto che quello di san Domenico e dei frati Predicatori abbia rappresentato, innanzitutto, un valido case study rispetto ai problemi cruciali della testimonianza e delle modalità della sua trasmissione, e dunque, in primo luogo, dei significati e delle forme della memoria" CANETTI 1996, XI.

<sup>4</sup> For the canonization processes see: GOODICH 1982; VAUCHEZ 1997; KLANICZAY 2004.

<sup>5</sup> For a recent approach, see ANKARLOO 1997.

<sup>6</sup> GEARY 1994, p. 12.

Second, in these case studies – in my view – one can analyze how the memory of a saintly person developed and transformed in the thirteenth to sixteenth centuries. Or, in other words, these cases enable us to detect traces of three levels or types of memory:

- 1 Direct or Personal Memory
- 1(b) (Collective Memory)
- 2 Official or Cultic Memory
- 3 Modified or Mixed Memory

The categorization that I propose to use is a hypothetical conceptual organization, as I have tried to adapt the framework created by medievalists dealing with the issue of memory.<sup>7</sup> I do not intend to analyze the historiographical and conceptual issues in this paper, because I have already investigated the historiography of this topic in another study.<sup>8</sup>

#### Saint Elizabeth of Hungary (1207–1231, canonized 1235)

Elizabeth was a Hungarian princess and the daughter of Andreas II. At the age of four she moved to the court of Thuringia and later married Landgrave Ludwig. Her life became a model in all three categories generally assigned to medieval women: virgins (she showed devotion and deep religiosity as early as in her childhood), wives (she lived a happy marriage with her husband, and was the mother of three children), and widows (because after the death of her husband, she lived the exemplary life of a Christian widow, vowing obedience to her confessor and practicing charity).<sup>9</sup> Since she is one of the best-known medieval saints, with an intense international cult, each phase of the formation of her memory is documented by various sets of sources. Thus, her case is suitable for our investigation.

<sup>9</sup> For a general overview and recent bibliographical references see, for example, WERNER-BLUME 2007; KLANICZAY 2002; CSORBA-KOMLÓSSY 2005; PASZTOR 2000; SZ. JÓNÁS 1997<sup>2</sup>.



<sup>7</sup> Neither the above cited BOESCH GAJANO nor Luigi CANETTI offered a detailed theoretical approach that can be fully used for our investigation, consequently, as theoretical background I will use some concepts offered, among others, by LE GOFF 1982; CARRUTHERS 1990; GEARY 1994.

<sup>8</sup> FALVAY 2007, pp. 69-77.

#### Margaret of Hungary (1242–1270)

Margaret was the daughter of Béla IV, King of Hungary, and from the age of four years she lived in a monastery. Her parents offered her to God before her birth when they were escaping from the Mongol invasion. She lived first at the Dominican monastery of Veszprém and in 1252, she moved to Buda to the monastery on Rabbit Island (during that period it was called the Island of Virgin Mary, and following the death of the saintly princess, it was called Margaret Island in her honor). The nunnery was built especially for Margaret and for her fellow nuns. She lived an exemplary life and immediately after her death the Hungarian Church initiated her canonization. The acts of the second part of her canonization trial survive (1276),<sup>10</sup> and there are different variants of her *vitae* as well as other written sources for her life and cult. The ruins of the monastery in which she lived have been excavated and studied by archaeologists.<sup>11</sup>

#### Guglielma of Milan (†1281/1282)

Guglielma arrived with her son in Milan around 1260. After a few years she became popular among the inhabitants of Milan, among a circle made of mostly middle-class and aristocratic women and men. In her lifetime, and following her death they started to venerate her and call her a saint. The sources contain the names of many of her followers and we know about the character of that group (called "the Guglielmites") on the basis of the inquisitorial trial held against this sect that was directed by the Dominicans in 1300, eighteen years after her death. The most famous members of the sect were Andrea Saramita and Maifreda da Pirovano, who were condemned and executed in 1300 and 1301.

In the case of Guglielma there is one aspect that made her canonization and acceptance by the Church impossible. Her followers did not simply venerate her as a saint but instead spoke about her as God, or as the female incarnation of the Holy Spirit. As far as we know, Guglielma refused to acknowledge

<sup>10</sup> Fraknói 1896, pp. 162-383.

<sup>11</sup> For a general overview, see, KLANICZAY 1999. For the best summary of the legends, see DEAK 2005; KLANICZAY–KLANICZAY 1994. For the island and the monastery, see KIRALY 1979, and KLANICZAY 1990.

such a claim, answering: "Leave me alone. I am not God," which may have saved her from the inquisition during her lifetime.

Another unique aspect of this case is that her followers thought her to be the daughter of the Bohemian king. Because of this attribute she has been called by scholars as "Guglielma the Bohemian." She died in 1281 or 1282 in Milan, and a few months later her body was translated to the Cistercian abbey of Chiaravalle (close to Milan). A popular cult continued after her death and continues today although in a very different form.<sup>12</sup>

#### Direct or Personal Memory

In Elizabeth's case testimonies were prepared for the canonization process by persons who had known her personally and these can be defined as sources for the analysis of direct or personal memory. In fact, the canonization process initiated right after her death in 1231 and concluded in 1235 with the solemn canonization in Perugia by Pope Gregory IX, produced an invaluable source base for the historians. Foremost, the letter written to the pope by Conrad of Marburg – her confessor and promoter of the canonization – contains the first short account of her life (usually referenced as *summa vitae*), and secondly, are the testimonies of her four maidens – Guda, Isentrud, Irmengard and Elizabeth – made during the investigation *super vitam*.<sup>13</sup>

These testimonies have survived in a redacted form, and in a later period a legend was made out of these written sources, which is extant in two versions: *Dicta quatuor ancillarum*, and the longer and more diffused version, usually referred to as *Libellus de dictis quatuor ancillarum* (henceforth *Libellus*).<sup>14</sup> We have to consider that these testimonies were created in a legal or juridical context. It was a formal canonization proceeding and the main purpose was to collect objective, trustworthy data about Elizabeth's life. Nevertheless, I would argue that these sources are the result of a long and deep process of transformation from personal memory to written record.

<sup>14</sup> HUYSKENS 1911. I do not intend to deal with the miracles collected during the trial in detail because they are *post mortem* miracles that speak about her shrine and the devout people, but not directly about her memory. For her miracles, KLANICZAY 2005, pp. 220–32.



<sup>12</sup> The best and most recent monograph about Guglielma is BENEDETTI 1998. Other recent studies are NEWMAN 2005; MERLO 1989; MURARO 1985; MURARO 1995; COSTA 1985.

<sup>13</sup> KLANICZAY 2005.

In the case of Margaret, the documents from the canonization procedure constitute the first important source of her memory. The witnesses (mainly her fellow nuns) recapitulated a personal and direct memory of Margaret. Even if these testimonies were for the purpose of acknowledging her sainthood, they are still a form of personal remembrance. Thus the facts of her life could be manipulated or misconstrued, since both the inquisitors and the witnesses concentrated on particular events in her life (miracles, virtues, words), even though the witnesses were asked to be as precise, concrete and personal as possible in their description because it was for a legal proceeding.

Since the canonization trial was a juridical document, credibility was an essential aspect of it. The inquisitors always pointed out the importance of personal testimony because they wish to hear what was directly known with all the possible and precise details. The inquisitor asked how the witness had come to this knowledge and whether he or she was present at the time of the events. In Margaret's case the text that survives is the trial document itself (even if only a fifteenth-century copy) and not a legend made out of it as in the case of Elizabeth.<sup>15</sup>

In order to illustrate the questioning mechanism used in the process, let us take the following example: In the case of a resurrected boy the mother was asked about the age of her son, precisely when the resurrection happened, for how long he was dead, exactly where they (she and her husband) were, whether the neighbors knew about the case, what the names of the persons who were present were, and what they said.<sup>16</sup> Obviously, the objectivity that we can read here is not identical to the modern meaning of the expression, but we have to bear in mind that medieval people considered supernatural intervention as part of reality, and the inquisitors tried to control the pieces of information in a precise way.

In Guglielma's case we have a similar document. As mentioned above, in 1300, almost twenty years after her death, an inquisitorial trial took place against her followers in Milan and a part of the documentation of the process

<sup>15</sup> For a comparative analysis of these in a trial, see KLANICZAY 2004b.

<sup>16</sup> Interrogata, quot anni sunt, quod habuit predictos filios in uno partu (...) Interrogata quanto tempore vixit ille, qui prius mortus est et sepultus (...) Interrogata de hora noctis, in qua invenit eum mortuum (...) Interrogata quantum stetit sic mortuus (...) Interrogata, ubi stabat (...) Interrogata de nomine ville? (...) Interrogata, si aliqui vicini sui sciverunt de morte istius filii sui (...) Interrogata de nominibus illorum qui erant tunc de familia sua (...), p. 326.

has survived.<sup>17</sup> Through this source a scholar may ascertain information about Guglielma's memory by those who knew her personally.

Even if these three processes of *inquisitio* seem to be perfect sources for the investigation of direct or personal memory, we have to bear in mind the concrete processes whereby individual memories became collective memory and were transcribed into written text. These may be discussed on five levels.

First: the witnesses in these cases were: in the case of Elizabeth, four maidens and Conrad; in the case of Margaret, the fellow-nuns and her confessor Marcellus; and in the case of Guglielma, the Guglielmites. These witnesses formed a kind of community. They knew and influenced each other and the central point of their experiences seems to be a singular personality and a person whom they may have venerated. Consequently, one can assume that the testimony they confessed or wrote down individually was already the result of a constructed, oral collective memory and not simply a personal memory. It is also interesting to note that these religious groups formed a real community, and not – as it might be defined in regards to a modern nation – an imagined community (about which most contemporary theories for collective and social memory have been developed).<sup>18</sup>

Second: when trying to recall memories of the venerated person, the witnesses – and even more so the confessors, Conrad and Marcellus on the one hand and the inquisitors on the other – automatically built on their preconceptions of what sainthood or heresy consisted. In other words, in the cases of Elizabeth and Margaret, the witnesses were convinced that their heroine was a saint; consequently, they remembered her through the filter of what they were thinking about sainthood. Sante Graciotti argues that the real originality of Elizabeth as a life-model can only be read between the lines of the first testimonies (those who remembered her personally), because even her strict community was not prepared to understand the new "lay sainthood" that she represented.<sup>19</sup> In Margaret's case we have information that her confessor and fellows not only considered the general models of sainthood when they were constructing her memory, but also the model of Hungarian dynastic saints, among whom the example of her aunt, Saint Elizabeth, was of special importance.<sup>20</sup> Concerning





<sup>17</sup> BENEDETTI 1999.

<sup>18</sup> The most influential theoretical concept is the *lieux de mémoire* by Pierre Nora in NORA 1996. On nations as imagined comunities, see ANDERSON 1991. See also GEARY 2002; K. HORVÁTH 2004.

<sup>19</sup> Graciotti 1995.

<sup>20</sup> KLANICZAY 2005.

Guglielma's situation, the ideas about her that we can gather from the inquisitorial proceedings contain several preconceptions present in the spirituality of the end of the thirteenth century: ideals concerning the role of the Holy Spirit and the renewal of the Church were widely diffused in this period.<sup>21</sup>

Third: When speaking about a process of filtering or distortion by the inquisitors, we have to bear in mind that modifications result from the fact that personal records were written down by other persons for merely juridical purposes, and we also have to consider a linguistic issue, namely, that the testimonies were spoken in vernacular languages (German, Hungarian, and Italian respectively) while the written record from the proceedings was in Latin.<sup>22</sup> In an inquisitorial process, the presuppositions and formulae used by the inquisitors and by the scribe necessarily caused distortions in their own right.

In Guglielma's case there were even further distortions, since the trial against heresy, compared to the process of canonization, included the use of torture. Previous studies in the secondary literature have shown how the intention of the inquisitors transformed the original meaning of a religious movement.<sup>23</sup>

Fourth: We do not have the original judicial documents at our disposal, and only a legend made out of them in the case of Elizabeth. In the case of Margaret, a fifteenth-century copy of them is extant that was also usually attached to the first book on the life of Margaret. In Guglielma's case we do have the original juridical proceedings but only a part of them.<sup>24</sup>

Fifth: Another aspect that I would like to stress is a further level "from individual to collective memory" in the case of canonization. In Margaret of Hungary's case, the acts of the inquisitorial process were later used as a part of her official legend. Consequently, for the later generations of her community on the island, the personal records of their antecessors have themselves become an integral part of the saint's hagiography. Similarly – as mentioned above – the records of the memories of Elizabeth's four maidens formed the most widely diffused *vita* of the saint.

<sup>21</sup> REEVES 1969.

<sup>22</sup> On the issue of oral representations and literacy in canonization, see GOODICH 2001, and KLANICZAY 2001.

<sup>23</sup> For two well-known cases of heresy and witchcraft in which the essential distortionmechanism of inquisition is quite apparent, see BARBER 1978; GINZEURG 1983.

<sup>24</sup> For example, the majority of the sentences are missing, and we can only deduce that some of the Guglielmites were executed.

#### Official or Cultic Memory

In Elizabeth's case there are three main centers of her cultic memory. These include Thuringia, the place where she lived almost all her life and where her shrine had been a pilgrimage center. This was also where some members of her husband's family promoted her cult, such as those affiliated with the Teutonic Order. Secondly, in her homeland of Hungary rulers used her cult as an important aspect of their self-representation and policy. Thirdly, in Italy, where the actual canonization (Perugia, 1235) constituted the basis for her "official cult," legends and sermons were written during the ensuing decades. In Italy, the Dominicans and the Franciscans were two important mendicant orders of her era that actively venerated her person.<sup>25</sup>

It has already been mentioned that Margaret was not canonized during the Middle Ages, even though we can speak about an official cult during this time. On the one hand, the Church approved her local cult and, on the other hand, the Hungarian royal dynasty used her cult for the purposes of propaganda. The cultic memory of Margaret was concentrated around her relics, the island where she lived, and especially around the place of her burial, which was in the chapel of the monastery where she lived. The monastery on Buda Island became a pilgrimage center and miraculous healings occurred around her tomb. It is interesting that Margaret's oldest legend, probably written a few years after her death by her confessor, Marcellus, was conserved in the tomb of Margaret. For this reason, it may be assumed that the community did not use it for reading but rather as a relic itself. Additionally, her brother, King Stephen V, was buried on the Island close to her shrine and not in the traditional burial place of the Árpáds in Székesfehérvár. The royal dynasty's long-held practice was to mention Margaret together with Saint Elizabeth (who was the model for dynastic female saints), or together with other Árpádian saints (Stephen, Emerich, and Ladislaus). It is worth mentioning that even the Anjou kings in the fourteenth century continued to diffuse the cult of dynastic saints to emphasize their legitimization and continuity with the Árpáds, and also because Hungarian rulers (such as Matthias Corvinus in the fifteenth century) wished to promote her case since her canonization had not yet been concluded.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>26</sup> For the most recent results see Gábor Klaniczay's paper, "Mathias and the Saints" read at the international conference, *Mathias Rex, Hungary at the Dawn of Renassaince* (Budapest, 2008).



<sup>25</sup> KLANICZAY 2002; WERNER-BLUME 2007.

Guglielma did not have an official cult, but we can speak about cultic or official memory in her case. Between her death (†1282) and her condemnation (1300) there are different forms of cultic processes that may be described. There was a "regular" *translatio* of her body and preparations were made for her canonization (clothes, decorations), and her images were painted in different churches around Lombardy. We know about pilgrims who went to venerate her tomb. Her relics were used for miraculous healings and her followers celebrated the anniversary of her death. Ecclesiastical persons were included among her followers and the center of her memory was the Cistercian abbey of Chiaravalle, where the monks also participated in the cult.<sup>27</sup>

As mentioned above, some of her followers firmly believed that Guglielma was the daughter of the Bohemian king. Two of them confessed during the trial that they traveled to the Bohemian court after her death and although they found the king dead they learned (according to their testimony) that the information was true.<sup>28</sup> This phrase is relevant to the current study precisely because it was not interesting to the inquisitors. Consequently, we can suppose that the inquisitors' distortions did not greatly influence this outcome. In this example, we can clearly see the mechanism by which a personal memory is constructed. For these reasons a few contemporary authors believed this data to be factually accurate and considered Guglielma to be a real Bohemian princess. Based on this testimony, they reconstructed a possible genealogy, listing her as the sister of Agnes of Prague.<sup>29</sup> Barbara Newman, the author of a very convincing study on the survival of her memory, tends to accept that Guglielma was the princess of Bohemia.<sup>30</sup>

I would rather accept the viewpoint of Marina Benedetti and Gábor Klaniczay that Guglielma's royal origin is just a hagiographic element which strengthens the saintly or divine character of the protagonist. We know from André Vauchez's studies that a dynastic genealogy is almost automatically given

<sup>27</sup> BENEDETTI 1999, passim.

<sup>28</sup> In the testimony of one of the leaders, the later executed Andrea Saramita, we can read the following record: ... *ipse Andreas ivit usque ad regem Boemie et invenit regem mortuum et invenit quod ita erat* (BENEDETTI 1999, pp. 58/104–5).

<sup>29</sup> She could have been a daughter of Premysl Ottokar I (1198–1230), and thus the Guglielmites could actually have found the king dead during their trip to Prague after Guglielma's death in 1282–83 because there was a period between kings from 1278–83 following the death of Ottokar II.

<sup>30</sup> NEWMAN 2005, pp. 9–10.

to a venerated person without a reliable biography.<sup>31</sup> Furthermore, we know that a Central European (Hungarian, Bohemian or Polish) royal origin was a widespread topos connected to sainthood throughout Western Europe and used for several religious traditions without any historical background.<sup>32</sup>

We have no reason to deny that the Guglielmites believed she was a princess, and it is also possible that they remembered an actual trip to Bohemia, but we have to consider that they were so deeply convinced by other aspects concerning Guglielma that they were ready to die – aspects even more absurd (for a modern audience) and potentially dangerous (they were convinced she was the incarnation of the Holy Spirit and were planning to form a new Church). Since we do not have any other sources mentioning Guglielma as a Bohemian princess, in my view it is safer to consider this aspect as a part of her hagiographic memory.<sup>33</sup>

#### Modified or Mixed Memory

I shall now investigate how the religious memory of Elizabeth, Margaret and Guglielma changed in later centuries. In this part I intend to investigate how a personal memory of someone changes in time and space, becoming literature and then hagiography.

In Elizabeth's case we know of some newly formed legends written at the end of the thirteenth and the beginning of fourteenth century that contain new miracles and stories that were missing from the original sources and which are described in a metaphorical or literary form and speak to the essence of her life as a model for others.<sup>34</sup> The first legend that needs to be mentioned is the vita written by a German Dominican named Dietrich von Apolda at the end of the thirteenth century. This legend can be regarded as a transition between the sources containing elements of personal memory – even if filtered and distorted – and the newer sources that maintain Elizabeth's memory as more of a

<sup>34</sup> LEMMENS 1901. For the most recent and convincing analysis of this text, see GECSER 2007, pp. 241–2.



 <sup>31 &</sup>quot;...lorsque on ne savait rien sur la vie d'un personnage qui faisait l'objet d'un culte et qu'on éprouvait le besoin de le doter d'une biographie, on lui attribuait presque toujours dans les légendes une ascendance illustre, voire même royale," VAUCHEZ 1999, p. 68, n. 2.

<sup>32</sup> FALVAY 2006, pp. 9–21.

<sup>33</sup> See Falvay 2008.

literary construction. In his prologue, Dietrich mentions two essential elements for our investigation: first he opposes personal memory and hagiography, affirming that the former sources (the *Libellus* and the *Summa vitae*) were not sufficient for him.<sup>35</sup> Nevertheless, in the second part of the same prologue the author declares that he went to collect personal memories from very old persons who could have known Elizabeth personally.<sup>36</sup>

In the legend by Dietrich one can read the first known version of one of her popular miracles, the so-called miracle of the dress. According to this narrative an angel brings the saint a shining crown and a dress that she could wear in the company of a noble guest of the court, since she had given all her fashionable clothes to the poor.<sup>37</sup> This miracle is missing from the first set of sources of the saintly princess.

The other and more widely-known later miracle constructed about Elizabeth is that of the roses, which can be found in three independent texts from the first decade of the fourteenth century.<sup>38</sup> This is a narrative connected to her charitable activities; according to the story, she was bringing food to the poor that she had taken from the kitchen by hiding it in the folds of her garment. On the way she met her father, or her husband in other versions, and to avoid shame, the food was miraculously transformed into flowers.

These stories are completely absent from the previous sources, but in my view they maintain Elizabeth's original life-model in a metaphorical, literary, condensed form.<sup>39</sup> These two miracles present the contrast between the royal atmosphere and the lay, mendicant-type religiosity, as well as the contrast between her father's (or husband's) courtly attitudes and her own humility, poverty, and charity in a new way, a form which is more understandable and attractive for an audience in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

There are other texts connected to her hagiography in the fourteenth century that seem to be much further from her original life, just as in the miracles previously described. The Book of Revelations of the Virgin<sup>40</sup> is a typical treatise of the Italian female visionary mysticism, which may have been written

<sup>35</sup> He writes: Sed nec materie ed eandem rem pertinentis coniunccio ibi est sparsim positis conctus prout occurrerunt memorie referentis; RENER 1993, p. 21 (emphasis mine).

<sup>...</sup>interrogavi personas antiquissimas... ibidem, 22. 36

<sup>37</sup> Ibidem, pp. 42–3.

<sup>38</sup> LEMMENS 1901; PIEPER 2000; "Cronica fiorentina del sec. XIII," in Schlaffini 1954, pp. 82-150.

<sup>39 52.</sup> Jónás 1997; Klaniczay 2002, pp. 370–72; GECSER 2015, pp. 240–47.
40 OLIGER 1926; BARRAT 1992; MCNAMER 2002, see also KLANICZAY 2005, pp. 75–109; BANFI 1932; FALVAY 2005. See also Chapter 4 in the present volume.

by an anonymous author but was contaminated very soon afterwards by the cult of Elizabeth. These have little to do with Elizabeth's original life, which was basically characterized by an active religiosity. There are Italian redactions of her legend in which we find very little of her life story but only a topos-like formula that speaks of her as "Elizabeth, the daughter of the Hungarian king." These contain very few descriptive details, but do include the two miracles mentioned previously and the text of the *Revelations*.<sup>41</sup>

The cult of Margaret continued in Buda until the Ottoman invasion, when, in 1540, the Dominican sisters left the island and escaped to northern Hungary. The Hungarian rulers tried to continue or to restart the canonization and the Dominicans preserved her memory in the monastery on the Island. I will mention two pieces of evidence for this: a letter written in 1409 by a Hungarian friar to Italy, in which he attached the copy of Margaret's oldest legend (the only copy of this legend that has survived), and a Hungarian legend of Margaret made by a Dominican nun of the Island named Lea Ráskay.<sup>42</sup>

It has already been mentioned that the spatial context of Margaret's life (the Island, the convent, the shrine) and the material elements (relics and the codex of the legend) played a central role in sustaining her cult. It is perhaps fitting to examine how her memory changed when the space changed, that is to say when the nuns left Buda and escaped into Bratislava in the sixteenth century. The sisters brought the relics of Margaret but we have no evidence that they carried the legend with them. The first aspect is that the cult continued but in a modified way: the cult of Margaret of Hungary became mixed up with the cult of Margaret of Antiochia. The inhabitants of Bratislava used the relics of Margaret of Antiochia.<sup>43</sup>

The other place where Margaret's cult survived was Italy. In Italy there were no relics present but different variants of Margaret's vita circulated. There are two traditions in the Italian cult of Margaret in which we can speak about modified or mixed memory. The first example is the story and the images connected to Margaret's stigmatization.<sup>44</sup> This story was absent from the original life and cult of Margaret, but in Italy, mostly in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, it was a well-known hagiographic element. In the second



<sup>41</sup> MANNI 1977, pp. 705–726; 6, cf. FALVAY 2003.

<sup>42</sup> Érszegi 1983, pp. 110–79.

<sup>43</sup> Orbán 1986.

<sup>44</sup> BANFI 1934; KLANICZAY–KLANICZAY 1994, KLANICZAY 2002b.

case are the three Italian manuscripts of the *Mirror of Simple Souls* (a treaty about speculative mystical theology that was condemned in 1310 together with its author, Marguerite Porete, as heretical), which were attributed to Margaret of Hungary.<sup>45</sup>

In Guglielma's case the modified or mixed memory is slightly different. At the first stage right after the inquisitorial trial a new variant of Guglielma's life story diffused throughout northern Italy. In this story, Guglielma and her followers were accused of taking part in orgies, a well-worn accusation leveled against heretics.<sup>46</sup> In this phenomenon we can clearly see the functioning of inquisitorial preconceptions on the one hand, and on the other, that this is also a form of *damnatio memoriae*.<sup>47</sup> When, after having destroyed the personal holders of memory (executing the followers) and the places of memory (the images and the relics of Guglielma), the inquisitor then tried to destroy any kind of positive memory by fabricating her life story. The other case is the "renewal" of Guglielma's cult from the fourteenth to fifteenth centuries. In this new hagiographic tradition, only the name and a few attributes remained from her original life, such as the saintly life, the Central European and royal relation (Guglielma as an English princess and Hungarian queen), and some remembrance of her persecution.<sup>48</sup> The life story itself is a well-known story diffused in Western Europe as the legend of the accused Queen.<sup>49</sup> It is important to underline that it is not surprising that over a time span of two centuries the life story almost completely changed. On the contrary, the unusual occurrence attests to the fact that her memory was strong enough to survive even during this long period of damnatio memoriae.

Barbara Newman's recent study reconstructed the manner in which the memory of the condemned Guglielma could have been continued and modified into the new legend of Saint Guglielma, Queen of Hungary. She argues that the survival of her memory is connected to the Visconti dynasty of Milan, since some members of this family were linked to the sect of the Guglielmites and the locations where traces of a newly formed cult can be detected are

<sup>45</sup> GUARNIERI 1965; KLANICZAY–KLANICZAY 1994; BANFI 1940; FALVAY 1999. See also Chapter 3 in the present volume.

<sup>46</sup> Donato Bossi "Chronica" (Milano 1492) in Costa 1985, pp. 117–8. Another version of the same story is described and analyzed by MURARO 1985, pp. 103–8.

<sup>47</sup> LE GOFF 1982, p. 29.

<sup>48</sup> BONFADINI 1878; Vita di S. Guglielma, MS 2011, Biblioteca Universitaria di Padova; FERRARI 1642.

<sup>49</sup> BLACK 2003; KARL 1908.

places also connected to this family.<sup>50</sup> It should further be mentioned that Saint Guglielma's memory has survived until today in the locality of Brunate in Lombardy.

#### Conclusions

I have examined three brief case studies and have tried to investigate different levels and forms of religious memory. The main difficulty of the analysis was to differentiate between a saint's cult and memory and to separate the various categories of memory. Furthermore, it is also questionable whether all these levels can be defined as memory. Each has to be understood in the context of a long and gradual process of change through which the personal and direct memory transforms into pure literature. Indeed, we can see how individual, personal memories became collective memories and were fixed in the written record, and we could also follow how the written, original account changed. First, the original life-model was recast into metaphors that became new stories for the life of the saint. Second, the primary records about the Saint's life disappeared and the topoi remained. These then became metaphorical stories in their own right and fashioned new saintly traditions. Hungarians as "Saintly Pagans" in Late Medieval Western Literature

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She arrived in the midst of the court in Thuringia from distant Hungary, from that partly unknown, partly oriental country at the edge of Christendom, which appeared mysterious and enormous to the medieval imaginary. (Count Montalambert on St Elizabeth)<sup>51</sup>

We should not have to look for more reality in this poetic Hungary than in those fantastic cities which sometimes appear among the clouds brightened by the setting sun. (Lucien Bezard)<sup>52</sup>

n the present article, I investigate the way in which Hungarians were seen in the Western (mainly Italian and French) religious literature of the later Middle Ages (thirteenth to fifteenth century). I will argue that there were two basic images of Hungarians in religious (and not only religious) literature. These two images may seem contradictory, but in reality they complemented each other. Firstly, the Hungarian, and especially the Hungarian of royal origin, was almost automatically connected to the notion of sainthood, sometimes on the basis of very few biographical data, or as a pure literary topos without any real basis, whereas in other cases venerated persons were really members of the Hungarian ruling dynasty and this fact increased their popularity in other countries.

Parallel (and partly complementary) to the topos of saintly Hungarian rulers, there was another literary tradition representing the Hungarians as barbarian and pagan (sometimes Hunic or Muslim) people, and their rulers as Attila. There were examples of using this image as negative propaganda, but it was also an important element of the official Hungarian historiography from the twelfth century onwards, and it became part of dynastic self-representation, most intensely in the fifteenth century. Finally, I will analyze how this kind of



<sup>51</sup> Quoted by Karl 1908, p. 210.
52 BEZARD 1906, pp. 333–38.

representation complemented the *topos* of the saintly Hungarian (or Central European) rulers, which emphasized the pagan environment versus the sainthood of the protagonist (the newly converted Hungarians or the *topos* of the Christian daughter of a pagan king).

#### Beata Stirps

In the Latin West, sainthood of the rulers was a new and complementary type of sainthood, which was added to the "traditional" ones (holy martyrs, holy bishops) in the central Middle Ages. As we can learn mostly from studies by André Vauchez and Gábor Klaniczay, the royal, dynastic sainthood had first become strong in the peripheries of medieval Christendom (the British Isles, Scandinavia, and Central/Eastern Europe). The phenomenon of *beata stirps* was first investigated by André Vauchez, who called the attention to the special role Hungary played in this tradition: "La Hongrie possède **le privilège** [emphasis mine] d'avoir eu, au XIe siècle, plusieurs rois qui ont été considerérés comme saints." Obviously – continues Vauchez – this notion was not a Hungarian specialty, since it characterized almost all newly Christianized countries on the periphery of Europe.<sup>53</sup> Analyzing the reasons why it was exactly in these countries that the dynastic sainthood was so strong, Gábor Klaniczay pointed out:

The cult of royal saints was able to grow into a popular cult form in societies newly converted to Christianity, those whose very newcomer status meant that they – unlike the European core – were unencumbered by paradigms of sainthood inherited from late antiquity.<sup>54</sup>

At a later moment, evidently also in the West, we can find extremely influential representatives of this kind of sainthood, among whom – as it was analyzed in a case-study by Jacques Le Goff – St Louis was the most famous one.<sup>55</sup>

<sup>53 &</sup>quot;Ce grand nombre de rois saints – ou de saints rois – au XIe siècle n'est pas un phénomène propre à la Hongrie. On le retrouve, sous des formes diverses, dans la plupart des pays qui étaient alors en voie de christianisation, de la Suède à la Russie," André VAUCHEZ, "Beata stirps': Sainteté et lignage en Occident aux XIIIe et XIVe siècles," in: Vauchez 1999, p. 70.

<sup>54</sup> KLANICZAY 2002, p. 99.

<sup>55</sup> LE GOFF, 2009.

Turning back to our original topic, we must mention that the self-representation of the Hungarian ruling dynasty was based not only on the cult of saintly rulers – Stephen I (1000–1038), his son, prince Emeric (†1031), both canonized in 1083, and Ladislas I (1077-1095), canonized in 1192 - but also on that of saintly princesses. The example of a daughter of king Andrew II and wife of Landgrave of Thuringia, St Elizabeth (†1231, canonized in 1235)<sup>56</sup> became an extraordinarily strong model for other female members related to the dynasty, who strove to follow Elizabeth's way of life and were venerated as saints after their death. They lived their saintly lives either – as a consequence of the Arpadian foreign policy, based partly on dynastic marriages – at other courts of the region, as Cunegund of Krakow (†1292), or enclosed in convents against the will of the family, as in the case of Margaret of Hungary (†1270).<sup>57</sup> Agnes of Bohemia (†1282) was also related to the Hungarian dynasty, since her mother was a Hungarian princess, daughter of Béla III. Agnes was especially important for the formation of Central European dynastic sainthood in the Western context, since it is well-known that she was in correspondence with St Clare of Assisi and that the *regula* of her community was an issue in the Papal court.<sup>58</sup>

Although we are dealing here with a most complex process, we might resort to some simplification and say that the Hungarian saintly rulers and their relatives were becoming popular in Western Europe in the Late Middle Ages mainly for two reasons: Firstly, because after the extinction of the Arpadian dynasty (1301), there were new, international dynasties ruling Hungary (the Angevins, Sigismund of Luxembourg), who continued using the cult of the Hungarian holy rulers for dynastic representation, also in a wider context. We can easily understand this phenomenon on the example of two branches of the Angevin dynasty, which ruled in Hungary and in Naples respectively during most of the fourteenth century. One of the most eloquent monuments in this internationalization of Hungarian dynastic cults is the decorative programme of the church of Santa Maria Donnaregina in Naples. This church and the convent of Poor Clares were reconstructed in the first quarter of the Trecento owing to Mary of Hungary, queen of Naples (†1323), daughter of Stephen V of Hungary and wife of Charles II of Anjou. The rich fresco-decoration by Pietro Cavallini's school is

<sup>58</sup> BECKER-GODET-MATURA 1985, p. 100; LEONARDI 2009; POZZI-RIMA 1999; FASSBINDER 1957; BALANYI 1939, pp. 16–20.



<sup>56</sup> For a general overview and recent bibliographical references see, for example, WERNER-BLUME 2007; KLANICZAY 2002; CSORBA-KOMLÓSSY 2005, pp. 200–99; Sz. Jónás 1997; GECSER 2009, pp. 64–6.

<sup>57</sup> KLANICZAY 2002, pp. 202–9; KLANICZAY 2005, pp. 75–109.

a kind of panopticon of Hungarian saints, including the three saintly kings and a most impressive fresco-cycle on the life of St. Elizabeth of Hungary.<sup>59</sup>

As for the Western cult of the saintly princess, we must consider another phenomenon, namely the role of the mendicant orders with their international networks. The Franciscan order – as we have mentioned above – played an important role in diffusing the fame of Agnes of Bohemia, and in a later period their influence was also crucial for the international cult of Elizabeth of Hungary, who was declared the patron of the Franciscan Third Order (even though her relation to the Franciscans during her lifetime is a rather controversial issue).<sup>60</sup> Meanwhile, the Dominicans were internationally active in diffusing the cult of Margaret of Hungary,<sup>61</sup> even though she was not canonized during the Middle Ages.

The particularity of these Central European female saints was in pursuing the mendicant type of religiosity in a royal environment. In the thirteenth century, their character and lifestyle were a novelty in Western Europe and even in the recently formed mendicant spirituality.<sup>62</sup> But the fourteenth century brought about changes in the model of female mendicant sainthood: it was a new, mystical, and visionary female religiosity. In Western Europe, and first of all in Italy, there was a whole new group of "modern", mystical saintly women; for the beginning of the fourteenth century, we can mention Margaret of Cortona, Clare of Montefalco, and Angela of Foligno, while in the second half of the century, Catherine of Siena would become the most famous exponent of this new model.<sup>63</sup> In this religious context, the cult of Central European female saints changed as well, gradually losing its original, "biographic" character, and maintaining only a few elements of their life-stories. Instead, their hagiographic dossier was enriched by literary, allegoric episodes, as well as newly-created miracles and attributes which brought them closer to the new female religiosity. Such an allegoric story is St. Elizabeth's rose-miracle,

<sup>59</sup> Elliot-Warr 2004; Prokopp 1999.

<sup>60</sup> There is a historical debate about the role that the Franciscans played in Elizabeth's life, and about the existence of the Franciscan Third Order in the given period. See the conference volume SCOCCA-TEMPERINI 2009; cf. VAUCHEZ 2003, p. 132. See also Fig. 1 and Chapter 5 in the present volume.

<sup>61</sup> For a general overview, see Klaniczay 1999; Deák 2005, Deák 2009; Klaniczay 1995, Klaniczay 2008.

<sup>62 &</sup>quot;We shall see how the female religiousness enjoined by the mendicant orders differed, and how it was, nevertheless the same in the two distinct social milieus: the courts of the highborn, and the homes of the merchant middle class," KLANICZAY 2002, p. 294.

<sup>63</sup> BORNSTEIN 1992; LEONARDI-POZZI 1988; KLANICZAY 1995.

which was missing from the first, "biographic" sources, but then became her main attribute; I will analyze it in the last part of this article. Among the new, mystical attributes we can mention the *Book of Revelations* attributed to her, or in Margaret of Hungary's case the story of her stigmatization, or the Italian manuscripts of Marguerite Porete's (†1310) condemned mystical treatise, the *Mirror of the Simple Souls*.<sup>64</sup> This process has been summarized by Klaniczay in the following way:

The refashioned cult of Central European saintly princesses in fourteenthcentury Italy – cults of highborn women who personified with their renunciation of power and wealth what was originally an Italian mendicant ideal – is an interesting example of how, by the time a cult comes full circle, its religious message can turn into the very opposite of what it had started as.<sup>65</sup>

#### Hunic and Barbaric Origin as an Element of Hungarian Self-Representation

Another phenomenon I intend to deal with is the barbaric-pagan origin as an element of representation, or how a specific version of it – namely, the supposed Hunic origin of the Hungarians, and the traditions identifying Attila as a Hungarian king or prince – was used by the Westerners to describe the Hungarians. Furthermore, I will investigate how the Hungarian historiography and official self-representation used this motif in the late Middle Ages.

First of all, I would like to mention that it is hardly surprising that the Hungarians were connected to paganism and barbarian behaviour in Western *imaginaire*, since historically they appeared in Western Europe only in the ninth century, as pagan-nomadic, cruel, barbarian conquerors, and furthermore they were coming from the same regions and behaved in a similar manner as the Huns did five centuries earlier. It is much less self-evident why and how the Hungarian elite – from the country of the *beata stirps* – liked to identify themselves with this image.

On the one hand, we must emphasize that this element of Hungarian identity and self-representation is rather peculiar for a Christian nation, and



<sup>64</sup> KLANICZAY 2002, pp. 367–94, KLANICZAY 1995, pp. 347–64; See also Chapters 1, 3 and 4 in the present volume, FALVAY 2005, FALVAY 2002.

<sup>65</sup> KLANICZAY 2002, p. 367.

– according to Marianna D. Birnbaum – it was not directly related to the Western sources, which used to represent Attila in a purely negative manner, using his name as a synonym for destruction and cruelty. As Marianna D. Birnbaum and Franz Bäuml have stated,

for Western Europe Attila remained the Other; and partly as a consequence of the widespread identification of Attila and his Huns with Hungary, and partly because of Hungary's geographical position and political history, Hungary and the Hungarians assumed the role of the Other in western European eyes.<sup>66</sup>

A narrative which – in my view – represents well the Western image of Attila in connection to the Hungarians is the fourteenth-fifteenth century legend of Attila. It has survived in both Latin and several vernacular Italian versions, both in prose and in verse, diffused mostly in Northern Italy – and speaks about a monstrous Hungarian named Attila. In these versions, Attila was born from the union of a Hungarian princess (daughter of a Hungarian king called Ostrubaldus) and a dog.<sup>67</sup>

On the other hand, we should also consider that there was a positive image of Attila in the Western sources (even if much weaker than the negative one), beginning with the well-known contemporary description of a Byzantine author called Priscus, and continuing in the Germanic *Minnesänger*-tradition.<sup>68</sup> Furthermore, the Western *topos* of *flagellum dei* (present from the eighth century) assigned a religious function to Attila and also contained eschatological connotations, so consequently it was not purely negative. We must also take into account the role that Attila played in the West as a "saint-maker", namely by "producing" popular martyrs such as St Ursula and her fellow-virgins, or St Genevieve.<sup>69</sup> However, in this case, the religious, providential function of Attila was obviously fused with the monstrous character of the Hun king, as evident in the answer attributed to Ursula (according to a twelfth-century chronicle) at the proposal of marrying Attila: *inique canis ferox et audax, ego regi Caesari copulata sum, te autem qui es draco iniquus vorans christianos, ut diabolum despicio.*<sup>70</sup>

<sup>66</sup> Bäuml-Birnbaum 1993.

<sup>67</sup> See, for example VESCE 1993; BERTINI 2001; DOMOKOS 2006.

<sup>68</sup> BERTINI 2001, pp. 274–75.

<sup>69</sup> Löfsted 1993.

<sup>70</sup> Quoted by BERTINI 2001, p. 274.

Despite these indirect Western roots or parallels, the way in which the Hungarian elite represented themselves is highly peculiar. Concerning the Hungarian historiography, the oldest extant Hungarian historical work, the socalled Anonymous (c. 1200), only slightly alluded to the kinship between the two peoples. The so-called *Polish-Hungarian Chronicle* (early thirteenth century) includes an episode in which Jesus promises Attila that one of his descendants will gain the crown of Rome.<sup>71</sup> It was Simon of Kéza (in his Gesta written at the end of the thirteenth century) who invented the twins, Hunor and Magor, and declared them to be the ancestors of the Huns and the Magyars respectively.<sup>72</sup> Following his representation of the national past, one should also mention the Hungarian Illuminated Chronicle, compiled in the second half of the fourteenth century, during Louis of Anjou's reign. This chronicle is essential to our purpose, primarily because of its rich visual material representing Attila and the Huns, in which - as Marianna D. Birnbaum has pointed out - "the Huns appear caparisoned as medieval knights; their identification with the Hungarians is emphasized by their wearing Hungarian insignia."73

Historiography on the Hunic-Hungarian origins intensified during the reign of Matthias Corvinus (1458–1490), with a chronicle written by János Thuróczy, who based his main ideas on Kéza's.<sup>74</sup> The Hunic motif was here a central element of the king's self-representation, since his father, governor János Hunyadi, was a *homo novus*, and Matthias was a *rex electus*. Consequently, he was not related to the previous dynasties and had to construct a new royal identity for himself and for his intended (but never realized) dynasty. In this constructed identity, a humanist-style Roman origins (the legend of the Roman genealogy of the Corvini) played an important role, but in addition Matthias consciously used the Hunic origin of the Hungarians and did not mind being called *secundus Attila*. It is known that the Italian humanist Antonio Bonfini

<sup>74</sup> As Pál Engel sums up the development of Hungarian historiography: "In Kéza's Gesta the foundation of the empire of the Huns in the Carpathian Basin in the middle of the fifth century A.D. was considered simply the "first conquest of the Magyars," and the great immigration of 895 was viewed as their return to a country that their ancestors had inhabited. Similarly, the deeds of Attila and his hordes formed an organic part of Hungarian history, and Attila was as entitled to be considered their ruler as was Árpád. The heritage of the great empire of the Huns and all the dubious glory associated with it found favour with the Hungarian nobility, and the story as presented by Kéza did not raise the slightest doubts for centuries, until the birth of modern historical research. Thuróczy of course accepted Kéza's theory and included it in his work," ENGEL 1991, pp. 8–9.



<sup>71</sup> BAK-KNOLL-SCHAER 2003; BIRNBAUM 1993.

<sup>72</sup> Veszprémy–Schaer 1999.

<sup>73</sup> BIRNBAUM 1993, p. 83.

was personally entrusted by the king with writing a history of the Huns: *Nam Unnorum historiam a Mathia rege mihi delegatam, qui Ungarorum fuere pro-genitores* (...).<sup>75</sup>

Attila could also be used for diplomatic purposes. László Szörényi has recently written about the embassy of famous Hungarian humanist and poet, Janus Pannonius, to Pope Paul II in 1465. As the official ambassador of King Matthias, Janus spoke about the Huns-Hungarians in a public speech before that Pope of Venetian origin:

Gentili adhuc errore, Hunnorum natio tenebatur, cum potentissimus ille Atila Venetam provinciam ingressus, ac omnia Padum, usque amnem ferro et igni populatus, obvium sibi Leonem Papam, in tanta veneratione habuit, ut ejus monitis et interventu, omisso ad Vrbem itinere, confestim Italia excesserit.<sup>76</sup>

It is interesting to note that the identification of Matthias with Attila was also used by contemporary Italian humanists in a negative way. The *Attila* of Callimachus Experiens (Filippo Buonacorsi) is an indirect invective for most modern scholars, or perhaps a parody written against the Hungarian king.<sup>77</sup>

On the other hand, the cult of the saints played a significant role in Matthias Corvinus' self-representation and there is evidence of him and his Italian wife, Beatrix of Aragon, being a devout royal couple. The Virgin Mary and St Ladislas of Hungary were also used for official representation, since they appear on coins minted by Matthias.<sup>78</sup> Nevertheless, for our analysis it is far more important to note that Matthias also officially promoted the cult of Hungarian saints: he reinitiated the canonization processes of Margaret of Hungary and John Capistran in four letters written to the papal court.<sup>79</sup> Even though John Capistran was Italian, he died in Hungary and was venerated there as a national hero because of his participation in the battle of Belgrade in 1456, together with Matthias' father, János Hunyadi.<sup>80</sup>

In relation to the revival of the Crusading idea, Matthias was also regarded as the protector of Christendom, or – according to the most important

<sup>75</sup> BONFINI 1936–76.

<sup>76</sup> Quoted by Szörényi 2008.

<sup>77</sup> Kardos 1932; Szörényi 1987; Jászay 1994.

<sup>78</sup> Kerny 2008; Szovák 2008.

<sup>79</sup> KLANICZAY 2008.

<sup>80</sup> Andrić 2000.

Renaissance Platonic philosopher (who never met the king in person), Marsilio Ficino – as nothing less than the Messiah himself:

Et quemadmodum veteres illi sancti quondam in limbo iacentes Messiam, sic et hic hi sapientes Mathiam, quasi Messiam Mathiam miseri perpetuo clamore vociferantus, qui eos a limbo, vel potius ab inferis, in lucem vitamque restituat.<sup>81</sup>

## Fusion of the Two Motifs

In the final part of this article, I intend to present some examples of how these two phenomena, namely the Hungarian dynastic sainthood on the one hand, and the pagan origin on the other, were fused in Western popular religiosity. The first two examples are related to the hagiographic dossier of St. Elizabeth of Hungary (†1231, canonized 1235), whom I have already referred to in the first part of the article. She was one of the most popular female saints, not only in Central Europe, but in all of the Latin West.<sup>82</sup> Her hagiography was enriched with new episodes as early as the thirteenth century, mainly with miracles which had not existed in the first set of sources on her life, yet summarized the main features of her saintly life in a literary, metaphoric way: the contrast between her royal environment (the courts of Hungary and Thuringia) and her active, charitable, mendicant-type religiosity.<sup>83</sup>

Among the latter, I would like to analyse briefly two miracle-narratives: the so-called 'miracle of the leper' (the '*leprosus*-miracle') and her most famous and most represented miracle, the 'rose-miracle'. Thomas of Chartres, a French preacher from Auxerre, wrote about Elizabeth around 1273, in a narrative in which the two miracles are fused, whereby the rose-motif was added to the '*leprosus*-miracle':

Exemplum fuit quedam bona virgo que vocatur Sancta Elisabet non mater beati Johannis, sed filia cuiusdam regis pagani [emphasis mine] qui vocabatur Landograndi, Landegrant. Et ista filia erat multum devota et humilis et circa opera

<sup>83</sup> I would like to thank Ilona Sz. Jónás and Gábor Klaniczay for the suggestions.



<sup>81</sup> Quoted by KLANICZAY 1975. p. 1.

<sup>82</sup> Just to quote an example, she is the only contemporary female saint included in the *Golden Legend* by James of Varazze (Iacobus de Voragine). For a general bibliography, see note 5 above.

caritatis et pietatis intenta, ita quod recipiebat in occulto pauperes in camera sua, et lavabat pedes eorum, et cubabat in pulcro lecto suo. Unde contigit quod dominus quodam die apparuit ei in specie unius leprosi horribilissimi. Ipsa tamen beningne eum recepit et lavit ei pedes. Quo requirente ut eum poneret, cubare in lectum suum, fecit, et de hoc accusata patri, pater accedens nichil invenit in lecto nisi rosas pulcherrimas et ita totum lectum odoriferum quod, cognita causa conversus fuit ad fidem (...) [emphasis mine]<sup>84</sup>

For the present investigation, the narrative itself is much less important than the biographical data concerning Elizabeth. We can see that, apart from the name of the heroine, the only authentic piece of information is the fact that she was a princess (*filia regis*). Her supposed name is also peculiar, since it seems to be a distorted version of the title of her husband, Landgrave of Thuringia, and most probably a result of the oral transmission of the episode. However, the most meaningful element for our purpose is the mentioning of a 'pagan king' (instead of Andrew II, the most Christian Hungarian ruler and leader of a Crusade). From the literary viewpoint, the role of *rex paganus* is meaningful, since he is a negative figure causing the conflict that provokes the supernatural intervention. However, in my view, this distortion is a rather typical automatism tending to include the *topos* of paganism in stories related to Hungary. In addition, the pagan father in the miracle story generates another *topos*, namely the conversion operated by the saint through the sign of divine power (the miracle).

The second example I would like to analyze is a particular version of Elizabeth's 'rose-miracle.' This narrative is also connected to her charitable activities, and it has become the most well-known episode of her life, as well as her main iconographic attribute. According to the story, she used to take food from the kitchen and bring it to the poor, hidden in the folds of her garment. Once it happened that she met her father (or her husband in other versions) on the way and, in order to avoid shame, the food was miraculously transformed into flowers.<sup>85</sup>

From the late thirteenth century onwards, this miracle narrative appears in certain Italian vernacular texts as well, but there is a particular version of it

<sup>84</sup> A sermon by Thomas de Chartres (Auxerre), 1273. Ms BN lat 16481, Nicole Bériou's transcription, quoted by KLANICZAY 2002, p. 371.

<sup>85</sup> KLANICZAY 2002, pp. 370–72; GECSER 2005, pp. 240–47. For the more recent results, see the studies of GECSER 2009b; FALVAY 2009b.

that is quite unique, since it features an anonymous Saracen princess instead of St. Elizabeth. This unpublished text comes from a fourteenth-century collection of Marian miracles, usually indicated as the *Miracoli della Vergine di Ducio di Gana*.<sup>86</sup> We have almost no information about its compiler, except for his name and the fact that he was from Pisa and lived in Florence. Among the many miracles operated by the Holy Virgin, one is presented in a peculiar narration:

Uno re saraino lo quale aveva una sua figliuola [emphasis mine] et non aveva altri figluoli. Ora aveva dato questo re saraino a cierti cristiani uno luogo nella terra ove si potessino stare. Et erano fra quest cristiani alcuno prete che amaestravano qualunque persone [che] andava a lloro. Et questa fanciulla sapeva dove stavano questi cristiani, et pousi in quore d'andare a riparare della fede loro. Et udendo dire qua vita cortesia che facieva la gloriosa Vergine Maria a suoi divoti questa fanciulla figluola di questo re si mosse. Uno dì andò a lluogo dove erano questi cristiani et stette a udire la parola di Dio et della gloriosa Vergine Maria. Et udì fra l'altro a parola quanto la gloriosa Vergine Maria era piena di misericordia et caritade. Et ritornanovi in pochi dì tre volta et alla quarta volta fu molto ripiena della fede cristiana. Et quando bene intesa quanto la gloriosa Vergine Maria è piena di misericordia si prese questa virtù al suo honore di fare a ogni povero limosina. Et ciò ch'ella poteva avere dava per l'amore [d'] Idio et della Vergine Maria. Questo suo padre teneva spesso corte et teneva assai giente. Et questa sua figluola se n'andava nella cucina et toglieva di quella cosa che si cocevano et portavala a poveri (...) Allora lo padre la dimandò ove avesti tu questi fiori. E lla fanciulla disse come al fatto era stato. Allora lo re con tutti gli altri baroni, vedendo questo miracolo diventon cristiani, et facionsi battezzare insieme alla fanciulla (...) [emphasis mine]87

In this narrative, the function of the father's figure is almost identical as in the previous one, but here the conversion motif seems more central then the "pagan father – Christian daughter conflict," since the protagonist is also



<sup>86</sup> For a general and detailed philological overview on the Italian Marian legends, see GRIPKEY 1952–53, on the two manuscripts from Ducio's collection, pp. 14–7. The two other known Italian collections have been published: LEVI 1917 and MISCIATELLI 1929. About the connection between the Marian legends and Elizabeth's hagiography: FALVAY 2004.

<sup>87</sup> Ducio di Gano, I Miracoli della Vergine. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Cod. Barb. Lat. 4032, fol. 25 r-v; cf. Biblioteca Nazionale di Firenze, Cod. Magl. XXXVIII. 61, fol. 29 [unpublished, my transcription]; cf. GRIPKEY 1952–53, vol. II, pp. 20.

pagan at the beginning; she is the first who gets converted, followed by the father with his noblemen in the conclusion of the story. It is interesting to observe that, although the miracle narrative itself makes an organic part of Elizabeth of Hungary's hagiographic dossier, both her name and all directreference to Hungary are omitted.

We could quote further parallel texts of similar genres and from the same period, in which we can find comparable narratives. There is, for instance, a fifteenth-century French mystery play about St. Martin of Tours, in which the protagonist – for whom the only original "biographic connection" to Hungary is the fact that he was born in Pannonia, and furthermore he was not related to any dynasty at all – is presented as a Hungarian prince, and the Hungarians as Muslims.<sup>88</sup> Then there is the 'Bertha-legend,' which is closely connected to the 'Martin-legend.' It narrates the marriage of King Pepin to Bertha and the circumstances of Charlemagne's birth. Here too, in a number of versions, Bertha is the daughter of a Hungarian king called Florius, whereby the same name is given to the presumed father of St. Martin.<sup>89</sup>

As for the contemporary Italian literature, we may mention the so-called 'Guglielma-legend.' This story – which has survived in several prose versions from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries – as well as a popular mystery play (*sacra rappresentazione*) written by Antonia Pulci in the second half of the fifteenth century – is a variant of the 'legend of the accused queen'.<sup>90</sup> In this legend, the protagonist is a Hungarian queen, while the Hungarians are described in the very *incipit* of both versions as "newly converted" to the Christian faith.<sup>91</sup>

\* \* \*

In conclusion, we may say both motifs – that of *beata strips* and that of the barbarian, pagan origin – were used in a conscious way by the Hungarian elite for purposes of self-representation. On the other hand, in Western literature these two elements were merged together in a dynamic and complementary way, in which the pagan environment was used in order to makes the sainthood of the protagonist even more spectacular. One has the impression

<sup>88</sup> KIRÁLY 1929; ECKHARDT 1943; FALVAY 2006.

<sup>89</sup> KIRÁLY 1929, pp. 82–5; KARL 1909.

<sup>90</sup> BLACK 2003; KARL 1908.

<sup>91</sup> FALVAY 2001.

that in the *imaginaire* – or at least in the popular literature – of the Westerners these two features (Hungary as the land of holy rulers, and Hungary as an oriental, barbarian land) were closely related.

I would like to end this analysis with a further consideration, which obviously requires further research. In my understanding, these two notions, sainthood and paganism, or Messiah and Attila, indicate two extremities of the same concept. On the one hand, they could be well used to improve dramatic tension in popular genres, such as mystery plays or *exempla*. On the other hand, representing a group only through extreme opposites (omitting the normality) means a sort of symbolic exclusion, as in the case of medieval women, who were characterized by similar contrasts: as witches versus female saints, or as the two main models for medieval women: Eve and Mary. The Italian Version of the Mirror of the Simple Souls: Manuscripts, Diffusion and Communities in the 14–15<sup>th</sup> Century For years or, what do I say?, for decades, I have had the dream of putting in a critical edition ... the two versions – obviously to be published in two columns – that conserved the fourteenth-century Italian translation made from the ancient Latin version of the Miroir des simples âmes by Marguerite Porete (...) I am not of an age anymore to hope to be able to see that this ambitious dream of mine become true... (Romana Guarnieri)<sup>92</sup>

A fter having quoted the opinion of perhaps the most important scholar of the historiography of the *Mirror*'s Italian translation, let me start this chapter with a personal remark. I started dealing with the Italian versions of the *Mirror* at the end of the 1990s. In 2002, I had the opportunity to spend a couple of months in Rome, where I was introduced to Romana Guarnieri. I had unforgettable consultations with her in her wonderful villa at Gianicolo, and finally, she asked me to help her to catalogue her writings and notes concerning Porete. In the end, I interviewed her, which has been published only partially and in Hungarian.<sup>93</sup>

During our conversations, Romana Guarnieri strongly encouraged me to accomplish the above-mentioned critical edition of the two versions, by offering me a possibility to publish it, and by giving me a copy of her typewritten transcription (made in the 1960s) of one of the four Italian manuscripts. Unfortunately, at that time I was at the beginning of other research, and I could only promise her that I would turn back to the Italian versions of the *Mirror* once I finished the other project. Unfortunately, it was only after the death of Guarnieri (1913–2004) that I have begun to deal with this topic again. Even if I haven't accomplished the critical edition, I will try to fulfill, at least partially, the promise I made those years ago with this chapter. I dedicate this writing to Romana Guarnieri's memory.



<sup>92 &</sup>quot;Da anni, che dico? da decenni mi porto dentro il sogno di poter dare in edizione critica (...) le due versioni, ovviamente pubblicate a fronte, che ci hanno tramandato il tardotrecentesco volgarizzamento italiano, condotto di sull'antica versione latina del Miroir des simples âmes di Margherita Porete (...) Non sono più in età da poter sperare di veder realizzato un giorno o l'altro quel mio sogno ambizioso..." GUARNIERI 1994, p. 505.

<sup>93</sup> FALVAY 2002.

In this chapter, I shall present the Italian version and diffusion of the Mirror, its connection to the Latin and French versions, and the correlations of the four Italian MSS. The Mirror was translated into Italian between the 14th and 15th centuries, most probably from the Latin, and it was a popular work with considerably wide circulation. This can be demonstrated by the fact that four Italian vernacular manuscripts have survived from the Middle Ages. In addition, we know that most of the Latin MSS are of Italian origin as well. This relatively high number of extant MSS - we have to consider that it was a prohibited and persecuted piece of writing – shows its popularity. Furthermore, we have evidence that in the 14th–15th centuries the Inquisition persecuted various Italian religious communities because of its reading. However, in this chapter I will analyze the historical sources on the Italian communities related to the Mirror, and the Latin MSS of Italian origin mostly from the viewpoint of the Italian manuscripts of the Mirror, since Michael G. Sargent recently has published an excellent synthesis that concentrates mainly on the Italian communities and also on the Latin MSS of Italian origin.<sup>94</sup>

The late-medieval Italian translation of the *Mirror* is extant in two recensions.<sup>95</sup> Though the Italian version of the *Mirror* has been previously investigated mainly by Hungarian and Italian scholars, there are several basic questions that remain unsolved such as the inner relationship between the Italian editions, and their relation to the Latin and French versions. Among the two recensions, the first one is preserved in only one manuscript, of the Riccardiana Library of Florence, and it was edited by Romana Guarnieri in 1994. Henceforth I will call this version as "Italian 1."<sup>96</sup> Despite minor lacunae and differences, the structure of this text follows quite thoroughly the Latin texts. It starts – lacking the introductory poem present only in the French full version, known as the Chantilly MS – with the Italian translation of the known incipit: "*L'anima toccata da Dio, e spogliata da' peccati…*" It also leaves out two long passages that are present only in the French and partly in the English versions: the first one is from the beginning of Chapter 15, and the second covers the chapters 121–122 of the French. There is a lacuna in Italian 1 that was present

<sup>94</sup> SARGENT 2013, pp. 85–96 – at this point I have to thank Prof. Sargent that he kindly authorized me to use and quote his article before publication.

<sup>95</sup> Following the terminology by Michael G. Sargent, I shall treat the Italian exemplars as one version in two recensions. See SARGENT 2013.

<sup>96</sup> Italian 1: Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana MS 1468. Published by Romana Guarnieri in FOZZER-GUARNIERI-VANNINI 1994, pp. 503–624. See Guarnieri's Note di critica testuale at pp. 621–24.

also in the Latin, and consequently Guarnieri integrated her text-edition with the text of the other Italian recension (Chapters 35–36). Finally, at the end of Italian 1 we read the three approbations that are also missing from the French version. According to Guarnieri's notes, Italian 1 in a number of passages seems to follow the Latin Chigiano MS B.iv.41 (signed in Verdeyen's critical edition as MS C) among the Latin MSS.<sup>97</sup> Furthermore, Guarnieri notes also that following this Latin MS, the Italian translator seems to have been convinced that the book was written by a woman to a female audience.<sup>98</sup>

The second Italian recension survives in three manuscripts, kept today in the libraries of Naples, Vienna and Budapest (I will name this recension "Italian 2" and the individual MSS as N, V, and B).<sup>99</sup> We have little but interesting data on the provenance of the three manuscripts. From a possession note of the codex we learn that N was in the possession of John Capistran's convent of Capestrano, at least for a while in the fifteenth century.<sup>100</sup> Furthermore as we shall see below, John was the official inquisitor of the *Mirror* in 1437 in the Veneto region and in 1449 in the Marches. About the provenance of V we know only that it was in the possession of an Austrian historian, Johann Paul Kaltenbaeck (1804–1861).<sup>101</sup> B was in the possession of Gusztáv Emich, a Hungarian private collector, who in 1905 sold it to the Hungarian National Museum (predecessor in the title of the National Library), together among others with two books containing works by John Capistran, and we have Emich's handwritten report on his journey in looking for codices in Northern Italy.<sup>102</sup>

<sup>102</sup> About Emich in general see MAGOCSY-DETZ 1912. On his journey in North Italy, see EMICH 1879. On the sold manuscripts, see Magyar Könyvszemle XIII (1905), pp. 376–77.



<sup>97</sup> PORETE 1986.

<sup>98</sup> Dico questo per le sante, per le quali l'Amore ha fatto fare questo libro, e a colei per la quale io l'ho scritto. (I say this for the female saints for whome Love made make this book and to her to whom I wrote it.) Guarnieri's comment to this passage: "Ancora una volta in questo passo fondamentale il traduttore italiano segue C, convinto, senza ombra di dubbio, esser stato scritto il »Miroir« da una donna, per donne, cosa che invece non si desume, qui, né dal francese, né dai rimanenti codici latini." FOZZER-GUARNIERI-VANNINI 1994, pp. 574 and 626.

<sup>99</sup> Italian 2: Unpublished. Extant in three manuscripts.

a) Naples (transcribed but not published by Guarnieri) Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale, XII. F5.

b) Vienna (unpublished) Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek. Cod. 15093.c) Budapest (unpublished) Budapest, Országos Széchényi Könyvtár. Oct. Ital 15.

<sup>100</sup> At f. 1r, we read the note: "Pertinet ad conventum S. Francisci Capistrani."

<sup>101</sup> See the electronic catalogue of the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, https://search.onb.ac.at/primo-explore/fulldisplay?docid=ONB\_alma21295817100003338&cont ext=L&vid=ONB&lang=de\_DE&search\_scope=ONB\_hanna&adaptor=Local%20 Search%20Engine&tab=onb\_hanna&query=any,contains,Specchio&offset=0

The specialty of Italian 2 version is the fact that it was not considered anonymous, but was attributed to Saint Margaret of Hungary (1242–1270), Hungarian princess and one of the several Hungarian dynastic saints. Margaret, who lived all her life in Hungary in royal Dominican nunneries, was widely venerated in the Middle Ages, even if she was canonized only in 1943. Plausibly, according to Guarnieri this attribution could have been the reason why this recension has survived in more exemplars than the other one.<sup>103</sup> The special nature of this text variant is that, in addition to the Italian text of the *Mirror*, it includes also a Prologue and an Appendix. The Prologue is where the name of Margaret of Hungary appears as author, and the Appendix contains an episode that makes part of Margaret of Hungary's hagiography, containing her alleged stigmatization. The Appendix is missing from B, and in this MS also the incipit of the prologue shows differences.

It is a particularity of the historiography of the Italian *Mirror* that until the 1950s, Hungarian and Italian scholars dealt with it almost exclusively, since the first known manuscripts were these three Italian ones containing the attribution to Margaret of Hungary. At the beginning of this chapter, I will very briefly sum up this little-known historiography of the second Italian version, for two reasons: first, because it was done mostly by Hungarian scholars, written in Hungarian and Italian, and consequently has been hardly accessible for an English-speaking audience; and, second, because this historiography meant also the beginnings of modern scholarship on the *Mirror*.<sup>104</sup>

It was Ferenc Toldy, one of the founders of modern Hungarian literary history, who discovered the *Mirror*, specifically V, and briefly presented it to the Hungarian scholarly community without doubting that it was indeed written by Margaret of Hungary.<sup>105</sup> A few decades later another Hungarian scholar, István Miskolczy discovered N, another Italian MS that contains the Hungarian attribution. He did not believe that it could have been a writing of Margaret of Hungary herself – who was indeed not very literate – but he put the whole issue in the context of the Angevin dynasty of Naples, arguing that an Italian translator could have described "the thoughts of the Holy Hungarian princess" at the turn of 13th–14th centuries, in the style of the Neapolitan court.<sup>106</sup> This

<sup>103 &</sup>quot;Tale attribuzione apocrifa spiega forse come di questa seconda versione ben tre esemplari si siano salvati dalle persecuzioni e relative distruzioni, di cui lo Specchio è stato oggetto anche da noi." GUARNIERI 1994, p. 506.

<sup>104</sup> The most recent synthesis of the historiography of the Mirror is FIELD-LERNER-PIRON 2013b.

<sup>105</sup> TOLDY 1871.

<sup>106</sup> MISKOLCZY 1927, MISKOLCZY 1937.

line of argumentation was continued by a well-known Hungarian Italianist, Jenő Koltay-Kastner, who published an article also in Italian about the topic. According to his argumentation, the author could have been a spiritual Franciscan escaped to Naples.<sup>107</sup>

These authors supposed a general Neapolitan influence in the Italian cult of Margaret of Hungary in which N would have been an important element.<sup>108</sup> On the one hand, it is true that Margaret of Hungary's two relatives, Queen Mary of Hungary and her sister Elizabeth, both nieces of the saint, did live in Naples, that Elizabeth had previously personally known the saint, and that the Angevin court in Naples had nourished the cult of the Hungarian dynastic saints at the beginning of the 14th century, during the period of Queen Mary of Hungary.<sup>109</sup> However, on the other hand we know from the studies of Florio Banfi, Tibor Klaniczay, Gábor Klaniczay and Viktória Hedvig Deák that the whole theory concerning Margaret of Hungary's alleged Neapolitan hagiography is without any philological basis.<sup>110</sup>

As we have seen, these above-mentioned Hungarian scholars, Toldy, Miskolczy and Koltay-Kastner are to be mentioned mainly as a historiographic curiosity, since they have not contributed in a substantial manner to the international scholarship on the *Mirror*. On the contrary, another Hungarian scholar from the first half of the 20th century, Florio Banfi (pseudonym of Flóris Holik, a Hungarian Italianist, living and publishing in Italy) was really



<sup>107</sup> Before 1935, he used his surname as Kastner, and in his Italian publications sometimes he used the Italian version of his name as Eugenio. See KASTNER 1929; KOLTAY–KASTNER 1938/39.

<sup>108</sup> Among the above-mentioned Miskolczy and Koltay-Kastner, the most important author the Neapolitan theory of Margaret of Hungary's hagiography is MEZEY 1955.

<sup>One of the most eloquent monuments is the church Santa Maria Donna Regina in Naples. This Church and Clarisse convent was reconstructed in the first quarter of the Trecento for the intention of Mary of Hungary, queen of Naples (†1323, daughter of Stephen V of Hungary and wife of Charles II of Anjou). The rich fresco-decoration by Pietro Cavallini's school is partly a kind of panoptic of Hungarian saint, with an image of the three saint kings, and with the most impressive fresco-cycle on the life of Saint Elizabeth of Hungary. About this topic, see Chapter 5 in the present volume. About the Church see ELLIOT-WARR 2004; PROKOPP 1998; LUCHERNI 2015. I thank the author for sharing with me her unpublished work. See Fig. 1 (Appendix 2).
Margaret of Hungary's so-called "Neapolitan legend" has little to do with Naples:</sup> 

<sup>110</sup> Margaret of Hungary's so-called "Neapolitan legend" has little to do with Naples: among its four MSS only one is in Naples, but also this codex is from Florentine provenience, and we have no textual evidence of the Neapolitan relatives' influence in any survived Margaret-legend. See KLANICZAY 1995; DEAK 2013, DEAK 2009; KLA-NICZAY 2002b, KLANICZAY 2002, pp. 375–85. This Neapolitan argument influenced also Romana Guarnieri – otherwise aware of those pieces of Hungarian literature that were written in Italian – and she mentions it still in her publication of 1994: ....Margherita d'Ungheria (...) particolarmente venerata nella tre-quattrocentesca Napoli degli Angioini." FOZZER-GUARNIERI-VANNINI 1994, p. 506.

an important figure in the modern scholarship of the *Mirror*, influencing considerably Romana Guarnieri's work,<sup>111</sup> since he knew both about the Latin and about the Middle English versions of the work already in the 1940s. Beyond Banfi's published articles, his scholarly heritage with his unpublished notes and transcriptions now conserved in the National Library of Budapest, are important from the viewpoint of historiography of the *Mirror*.<sup>112</sup>

After the identification of the author (1946), and following the publications of the French, the Middle English, and the Latin versions of the *Mirror*, scholarship seems to have forgotten the Italian translations. It was not until Romana Guarnieri published one of the Italian recensions in 1994 that the whole issue of the textual transmission seemed to be solved, and the existence of a second Italian variant containing some "obscure" attribution to Hungary seemed to be a marginal historiographic curiosity. Even more so, if we consider that the very parts containing the Hungarian attribution (the above-mentioned prologue and the appendix of this version, where the attribution to Margaret of Hungary can be found) have been edited.<sup>113</sup>

Regardless of this virtual marginality of the topic, there are at least three main arguments that explain its eminent importance to the whole understanding of the *Mirror*. First, as we have mentioned at the beginning of the chapter, Romana Guarnieri herself was very much convinced that the philological reconstruction of the textual transmission needed much further work, and that the real relationship between the two Italian versions and the Latin and French original(s) are far from being clarified. As we have seen, in the introduction of the edition of Italian 1, she stated that she had been planning a critical edition of both Italian versions, but because of her age she had to put off this project.<sup>114</sup> Second, during the last years new philological findings have been done, concerning mostly the French and the Middle English versions of the *Mirror*, but also the importance and role of the Italian texts have been put in a new context.

<sup>111</sup> BANFI 1934, BANFI 1940. Florio Banfi's article was mentioned by Guarnieri already in her pioneer short report of 1946: "Si deve al Banfi di averne confrontando le ricerche ungheresi con l'edizione inglese e con l'esame dei codici, negata l'attribuzione alla beata Margherita, sul fondamento del carattere sospetto dell'opera..." And Guarnieri underlines also the fact that she found the Latin MS indipendently from Banfi's article: "...imbattuti per altre vie e senza aver notizia dell'articolo del Banfi, nel Vaticano-Rossiano 4..." GUARNIERI 1965, pp. 311–13.

<sup>112</sup> Országos Széchényi Könyvtár (National Széchényi Library) of Budapest, MS Fond 391.

<sup>113</sup> About the Prologue, Romana Guarnieri edited it from N and I edited the text variant from B: FALVAY 1999. The appendix with the Margaret-legend was first edited by BANFI 1934, and republished by KLANICZAY 1995, pp. 25–7.

<sup>114</sup> See the quotation in the motto of the present chapter. GUARNIERI 1994, p. 505.

As it is well-known among the scholarly audience, Geneviève Hasenohr's article of 1999, with the publication of a previously unknown French fragment of the *Mirror* brought new considerations to the question of textual transmission. Robert Lerner's article published in *Speculum* in 2010 turned the attention to the question of the Middle English version.<sup>115</sup> Furthermore, I have to mention the wonderful conference in Paris 2010 organized for the 700<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Marguerite's death which was a good opportunity to bring together many of the scholars dealing with the textual history of the text, and to motivate further conference-panels and publications.<sup>116</sup> Third, also generally speaking, in contemporary philology the importance of each variant of a text has been extremely increased, as the traditional goals of the positivist, "lachmannian" philology (the reconstruction of the archetypical text, and the centrality of the author) has been weakened by the emergence of "New Philology."<sup>117</sup> As a consequence of this shift in philology, the vernacular translations as a topic became much more central in medieval literary studies.<sup>118</sup>

In the recent scholarship on the *Mirror*, the most thorough (and as far as I know the only) philological analyses that also included the Italian versions were done by Michael G. Sargent. On the one hand, he published a complete collation on this short, two-chapter long fragment that can be found in the newly discovered French manuscript. On the other, he has been writing a number of studies that aim to clarify several aspects of the textual transmission.<sup>119</sup>

As to the Hungarian attribution of the three Italian manuscripts of the *Mirror*, to my knowledge, only a small number of scholars have dealt with this issue following the identification of the real author of the book. First of all, we have to mention Romana Guarnieri herself and the Hungarian scholar, Tibor

<sup>115</sup> HASENOHR 1999; LERNER 2010; SARGENT 2010.

<sup>116</sup> The volume made out partly of the proceeding of this conference has been published in 2013, and it is now the most recent and complete synthesis of the topic, generally speaking, and also from the philological viewpoint mostly concerning the French and English tradition: see FIELD–LERNER–PIRON 2013, and especially the chapters by Geneviève HASENOHR (pp. 103–26 and 263–317) and by Marlene CRé (pp. 249–62), and Sylvain Piron analyized the relation between the Latin and the French versions (see mainly pp. 81–8). However, it is to mentioned that in this volume the Italian versions of the *Mirror* are not analyzed in a detailed way.

<sup>117</sup> For a general overview see: NICHOL'S 1990; CERQUIGLINI 1999.

<sup>118</sup> FALVAY 2012. In general see for example BEER 1989. See the annual conferences and the relative series since 1991 entitled *The Medieval Translator – Traduire au Moyen Age*. For Italian vernacular translation see FOLENA 1994; LEONARDI 1996; CORNISH 2010.

<sup>119</sup> Sargent, http://jgrenehalgh.com/public\_html/Marguerite\_Porete.html; Sargent 2013 – at this point I have to thank Prof. Sargent that he kindly authorized me to use and quote his article before publication.

Klaniczay. As we shall see below, Guarnieri investigated the question from the point of view of the Italian diffusion of the *Mirror*, while Klaniczay analyzed it from the viewpoint of Margaret of Hungary's Italian cult. Furthermore, Gábor Klaniczay, following Tibor Klaniczay's results, put the whole issue in a larger comparative context.

Romana Guarnieri, in her 1965 study, formulated a hypothesis concerning the identity of the Italian translator. As we know, she found documents related to the Italian Gesuati order, among whom the *Mirror* was well-known and popular. Her main point was to find out who knew and diffused the *Mirror*, supposing that they would have made the vernacular translation of the treatise. She also published several letters between John Tavelli of Tossignano (1368–1446), bishop, who had lived several years among the Gesuati, and John of Capistran, who was the inquisitor of the *Mirror*, and lead an investigation against the Gesuati order in Venice in 1437.<sup>120</sup> On the basis of this information, she inferred that the translator of one of the two Italian versions could have been John Tavelli of Tossignano.<sup>121</sup>

Tibor Klaniczay concentrated mainly on the Italian cult of Margaret, building a new consensus concerning the filiation of the Margaret-legends, and confuting the importance of Naples. Consequently, his hypothesis was based on this main aim of his research. Two manuscripts out of the three dealt with here contain the Appendix with the apocryphal story of Margaret of Hungary's stigmatization. This episode is missing from the first and more authentic sources of Margaret of Hungary's life; however, it has been an organic part of her hagiography, mainly in Italy. Tibor Klaniczay demonstrated that the diffusion of this story at the turn of the 14th–15th century was made by the Italian Dominicans of Northern Italy (mainly Bologna and Venice), for the campaign to canonize Catherine of Siena, championed most of all by Thomas of Siena (named also to as "Caffarini"), who collected pieces of information about stigmatized Dominicans before Catherine. According to Tibor Klaniczay's argument, if the Dominicans used the stigmatization story it is probable that they also made the translation of the *Mirror* itself.<sup>122</sup>

<sup>120</sup> Romana Guarnieri published some sources, and analyzed the case in her study: GUAR-NIERI 1965. About the Gesuati order in general see: GAGLIARDI 2004.

<sup>121 &</sup>quot;Non è impossibile che l'autore della nostra versione (... )sia il famoso Giovanni Tavelli da Tossignano, ottimo volgarizzatore di testi devoti", Fozzer-Guarnieri-Vannini 1994, p. 507.

<sup>122 &</sup>quot;...így talán nem kizárt, hogy magának a műnek a fordítója is domonkos lehetett" (so it is not excluded that the translator of the work might as well have been Dominican) KLANICZAY 1994, pp. 90–1; KLANICZAY 1995.

If we are looking for an explanation of how and why the name of Margaret of Hungary was attached to this heretical work, we can find more possible answers. One reason is obvious: her name served to lend credence to the Mirror that was a popular work but had been condemned and prohibited by the Church; it was persecuted intensively in the period when this version was made. We have evidence that Margaret of Hungary's name was popular and well-known in fourteenth and fifteenth century Italy. In the Appendix the stigmatization story of Margaret of Hungary served to make the attribution even more convincing. The Prologue is a theologically 'neutral' introduction to the Mirror. Its author tries to prepare the reader for the content of the book, that can be also "dangerous" for an unprepared audience, and can be entirely understood only by a reader who participates in the same spiritual status as the author.<sup>123</sup> It is interesting to note that this is quite similar to the argumentation of the Approbations which – among the Latin and English versions – can also be found in this version. The Prologue had the same function as the Appendix: to emphasize the authorship of an indisputable person, namely Margaret of Hungary. Furthermore, both the Prologue and the Appendix had a more technical protective function: since they form the first and the last parts of a book, which would be probably checked by an inquisitor, they could simply "hide" the main body, the Mirror by Marguerite Porete, and could serve as decoys to keep inquisitors from even noticing the body of the text.

If we want to understand why exactly Margaret of Hungary was attached as an author, we have to consider that she was a popular saintly figure in Italy in this period, and she had the authority to be able to protect a heretical work and to assure its audience that it was an orthodox and pious book. Previously, I have proposed that it could have been a conscious act, made on purpose, for "hiding" the book, in order to save it from inquisitors.<sup>124</sup> Now, without excluding this possibility, I think that this false attribution, at least originally could have been a spontaneous process: a naive etymology, or interpretation of a translator of a copyist.

<sup>124</sup> FALVAY 2002a, FALVAY 2002b, FALVAY 1999, see also Chapter 5 in the present volume.



<sup>123 &</sup>quot;Il misterio del quale libro trascende tanto ogni virtuosa operatione et ogni humana intelligentia che più ignorantia lascia nell'anima di quegli che lo legono..." (The mystery of this books trascends to such an extent every act of virtue and all human intelligence, that it leaves more ingnorance in the soul of its reader...) GUARNIERI 1965, p. 640.

There is a Latin version, namely the Bodleian Library, MS Laud. Latin. 46. (in Verdeyen's critical edition is MS E), which is only a one folio long fragment,<sup>125</sup> in which in the title we can read: "*Incipit liber qui appelatur speculum animarum simplicium. Alias uocatur Margarita*." (Begins the book that is called *Mirror of Simple Souls*. Otherwise named Margaret /pearl/ – emphasis mine). It is not clear whether the word Margarita is to be interpreted as a common noun meaning "pearl", or as a reminiscence of the author's name; however, a few lines below, at the beginning of the *Mirror* (in the main text, which is present in every known version of the book, so most probably it was part of the original text written by Marguerite) there is a story, an exemplum about a princess who was wandering in a foreign country, that in the majority of the Latin manuscripts begins with the following wording:

*Fuit quaedam domicella filia regis, cordis utique magni et animo nobilis, quae morabatur in terra aliena.*" (There was a girl, daughter of a king, certainly big-hearted and of noble soul, who stayed in a foreign land. – emphasis mine)

Furthermore, in the Bodleian-fragment the wording of this sentence is slightly different, in which it can be read also the expression "aliena" (foreign) as referring to the word "filia" (daughter), and not to "terra" (land) as in other Latin versions.<sup>126</sup>

*Fuit quedam domicella filia regis magni utique cordis et animo generosa quae tamen in terra morabatur aliena.*" (There was a girl, daughter of a king, certainly big-hearted and of generous soul, and yet she stayed in a foreign land / the world as foreigner. – emphasis mine)

A foreign and royal origin was the most important attribute of Margaret of Hungary in Italy. It was a piece of information that would have been known by anyone who had heard about her. Margaret, so it could be a logical

<sup>125</sup> Obviously, this MS is known by scholarship: It was used also as one of the control texts for the Latin critical edition PORETE 1986. Furthermore other scholars – Romana Guarnieri, Tibor Klaniczay, Michael G. Sargent – dealt with it. However it has remained a rather neglected MS. Recently it has been studied by Justine Trombley, whom I would like to acknowledge, because of her comments and kindness in supporting me a copy of the fragment.

<sup>126</sup> It is to mention that not only the Bodleian MS but two other Latin versions follow this wording as well.

association by a translator to put together these parts: "*Margarita (...) filia regis (...) aliena*" (Margaret (...) daughter of a king (...) foreigner) to arrive at Margaret of Hungary. One can observe that this form almost exactly corresponds to the beginning of the Prologue of the three MSS of Italian 2: *Margarita, filgliuola del re d'Ungaria* – Margaret, the Hungarian king's daughter.

Even if the incipit form of the Bodleian-fragment is of central importance, this very manuscript cannot be considered a direct source of Italian 2. First, because the codex is apparently not from Italian origin.<sup>127</sup> Second, if we compare the Latin text of the Bodleian MS and to the other Latin ones present in the critical edition, we arrive to the conclusion the main text of the Bodleian MS (signed with E in the edition) very rarely brings separate readings from the other ones. It is interesting to note, that on the contrary it is exactly the base-text of the critical-edition signed with A,128 which shows often separate readings between the other four ones including the E. Third, we can hardly find especially common points (conjunctive errors) between the Latin E and the three MSS of the Italian 2. In the entire Chapter 1, I have found only one significant example where a difference between E (the 'Bodleian' text) and the other Latin versions is followed by the MSS of the Italian 2:

Latin A, B, C, D: *quomodo Spiritus sanctus posuit suum uelum in eius naui* (how the Holy Spirit put his sail in her ship)

Italian 1: in che modo lo Spirito Santo ha posto la sua vela nella sua nave

In the Latin E one of the two possessives is missing and this solution is followed also by the Italian 2:

Latin E: quomodo spiritus sanctus posiut uelum in sua naui Italian 2: come lo Spiritu Sancto à posta la vela nella nave sua

<sup>128</sup> This is the Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Cod. Vat. Lat. 4355.



<sup>127</sup> For the descritpion of the MS, see Verdeyen's Introduction in PORETE 1986, pp. XI–XII, where he states: "L'origine du manuscrit n'est pas connue mais le texte semple écrit en Allemagne." Micheal Sargent expressed his doubts concerning the German origin of the text. And also I have argued for a possible Italian origin of the MS in a recent paper of mine "The Italian Version of the *Mirror of Simple Souls*: A Philological Analysis." Read at the 47th *International Congress on Medieval Studies*. Kalamazoo, USA. However according to Sandro Bertelli first opinion, from the paleographic point it is likely a non-Italian hand. Personal comunications, I thank both Michael Sargent and Sandro Bertelli and furthermore Justine Trombley for their comments a suggestions.

But this single point is hardly a decisive one if we keep in mind that the two Latin possessives ("*suus*", "*eius*") are translated into Italian with the same word ("*suo*"). Consequently, beyond the incipit, we cannot demonstrate a close textual affinity between the Latin E and the Italian 2. It is still plausible that a lost archetype of the Latin Bodleian-fragment (which could have been from Italian origin as all the other known Latin codices) containing the same particular incipit including the expression "Margarita" could serve as the source for the second Italian recension.<sup>129</sup>

Among the three MSS of Italian 2, B has considerable differences in formulating the Hungarian attribute. As we have mentioned above, it does not include the Appendix, with the Margaret of Hungary's stigmatization, and there are also differences in the text of the Prologue.

| Ν                           | V                           | В                            |
|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|------------------------------|
| Incomincia il prolago       | Inconmincia il prola-       | Incomenza el prola-          |
| di questo seguente          | go di questo seguen-        | go del sequente libro        |
| libro chia[ <i>ma</i> ]to   | te libro chiamato           | chiamato <i>Spechio</i>      |
| <i>Specchio dell'anime</i>  | <i>Spechio dell'anime</i>   | <i>delle anime pure ove-</i> |
| <i>semplici</i> dalla beata | <i>semplici</i> dalla beata | <i>ro humile</i> composto    |
| Margarita, filgliuo-        | Margarita, filgliuola       | dalla beata Marga-           |
| la del re d'Ungaria         | del re d'Ungaria scripto    | rita, figliola de re de      |
| scripto prolag.             | prolag.                     | Ungaria.                     |

The Prologue of the other two manuscripts starts with changing a sentence containing the traditional title of the book *Specchio delle anime semplici (Mirror of the simple souls)* into *Spechio delle anime pure overo humile (Mirror of the pure or humble souls)*. In the Budapest manuscript, not only do we read a slightly different *incipit*, but even the relationship between the supposed author and the text is formulated in a different way: instead of "... *dalla beata Margarita ... scripto*" (written by ... Blessed Margaret), we read "*composto dalla beata Margarita...*" (compiled by Blessed Margaret).

We can only guess at the reasons for this modification, why the author or copyist of the Budapest text is seemingly more careful with the attribution. Margaret of Hungary in this version becomes the compiler instead of the author

<sup>129</sup> I aknowledge Justine Trombley for this suggestion.

of the text. One explanation might be that in the time when it was transcribed some suspicions had been raised in Italy concerning the person of Margaret of Hungary. Chronologically, it fits well in the time when Thomas of Siena (the promoter of the canonization of Saint Catherine) asked the opinion of the Hungarian Dominicans about the stigmata of Margaret of Hungary. Gregory, the head of the Hungarian Dominican province, answered him in 1409, stating that the stigmata had been given not to Margaret, but to her magistra Helen; and, as an attachment to his letter, he sent the oldest legend and the first part of the canonization trial of Margaret. We know that Thomas of Siena after receiving this information emphasized that it had been a mistake stating that Margaret was stigmatized.<sup>130</sup> This context could explain why the stigmatization part is more careful in speaking about Margaret of Hungary's authorship.

Furthermore, if we consider the particularities of the Bodleian MS, and the hypothesis that the attribution to Margaret of Hungary could have been the result of a spontaneous process, or association, we can also suppose that the second Italian version the Budapest MS could conserve a form closer to the original since it transmits a more genuine, less organic attribution to Margaret of Hungary than the Naples and Vienna ones. Consequently, the "weak" attribution of the B could have been the first step of development, and the "strong" one of N and V (enforced by a direct indication of authorship and the Appendix with an episode from Margaret of Hungary's "hagiographic dossier") the later step. We are able to decide the inner relations between the Italian MSS only on the basis of a close textual comparison.

As to the connection between the four Italian MSS of the two Italian versions, we have to note that very little previous scholarship has been done on this topic. In addition to the published and unpublished suggestions by Romana Guarnieri, we have to mention Michael Sargent's online collation that also contains the two Italian versions, and his recently published article following a paper delivered at the Translation conference of Padua.<sup>131</sup> Romana Guarnieri in her publications (1965 and 1994) made a few remarks about the relationship between the two Italian versions. Furthermore, in a hand-written note, attached to her transcription of the Naples MS she formulated a number of hypotheses.



<sup>130</sup> KLANICZAY 1995, KLANICZAY 2002b.

<sup>131</sup> SARGENT 2013.

We can sum up the proposition that we have from Guarnieri as follows. In the very short introduction to her edition of Italian 1 in 1994 (which starts with the above quoted sentence about the necessity of a critical edition of both versions) she formulates only a few assumptions about the relationship of the two Italian recensions: First, that the Italian 2 "seems to be slightly later and considerably different" (*appare leggermente posteriore alla redazione del testo di Fi* (Italian 1) *e da questa differisce notevolmente*), and second, however, she also states that the "two versions do not seem to be independent" (*non appaiono indipendenti tra di loro*), and that both originated from the Latin text of the *Mirror*. As to the date of the two versions, Guarnieri laconically writes without any further arguments only that anyway "the whole should be originated from the last decade of 14th century, or perhaps rather from the first decade of the 15th" (*il tutto dovrebbe comunque risalire all'ultimo decennio del Trecento o, forse meglio al primo decennio del Quattrocento*).<sup>132</sup>

If we consider the base text itself, and not the Prologue and Appendix with the Hungarian connection, which indeed seem to have been added in a later period, concerning the first point (namely the supposition that the Italian 1 should be earlier, even if only slightly), I could not find any direct evidence. Otherwise, some interpretations and corruption of the Italian 1 suggests that it conserves even a later state of text than the Italian 2. See for example the Latin passage from Chapter 5:

...quantum differt donum amantis per intermedium amato donatum a dono eiusdem abque omni intermedio dato (how much the gift of the lover given to the loved one through a mediator differs from the gift given without any mediator). (pp. 22–3)

This was translated in the Italian 2 literally as:

...quanta diffenzia ha il dono **dell'amante** dato **all'amato** per intermezzo, da quello dono che senza mezo la dilecta anima merita ricevere. (N: fol 23, 15va)

While the Italian 1 brings a mistranslation, or rather misreading instead of "the gift of the lover" reads the "gift of the mind":

.... quanta è la differenza dal dono **della mente** dato per alcuno mezzo, a quello dono el quale sanza mezzo la diletta merita di ricevere da lui. (p. 512)

What is striking is that the error of Italian 1 cannot derive directly from the Latin, since "donum amantis" hardly can be interpreted as "donum mentis," but it likely depends on another romance variant, most probably from an Italian one, close to the reading of Italian 2 since the formulation "dell'amante" can be easily misread as "della mente". Furthermore, it is not only a simple misreading in Italian 1 since it modifies also the second half of the sentence, omitting the word "amato" ("the loved one") in order to make it make sense. Consequently, in my view, it cannot be decided which of the two Italian recensions is the earlier, since the text of Italian 1 also shows signs of textual corruption, or dependence on another Italian version. As we mentioned above, it also contains a long lacuna which is present in the text of Italian 2.

The final question we have to answer is whether we can speak about two translations or two recensions. In Guarnieri's typewritten but unpublished transcription of N that she made in the 1960s, she wrote a hand-written note in which, after having established that the translation was made from the Latin, not from the French, she notices that the two recensions "sometimes look the same, sometimes totally different." In her view there are three options concerning this special relation between the Italian 1 and Italian 2: first, one of the translators used the other translation; second, one of the translations was re-elaborated; third, there is only one translation in two redactions.<sup>133</sup> Also, Michael G. Sargent is also cautious about the existence of two translations; consequently, he uses the term "recension", and argues that:

The relations between the recensions of the Specchio, and between the Specchio, the Speculum and the underlying Mirouer, are not immediately apparent; only a full collation will clarify them.<sup>134</sup>



<sup>133</sup> Romana Guarnieri's handwritten notes on the cover of the typewritten transcription of the Naples MS (1965?): "Occorre mettere in (5) colonne il francese i latini e i due italiani. Per me.

La traduzione a volte sembra la stessa, a volte è tutta un'altra. Probabilmente il traduttore dell'una ha tenuto presente l'altra oppure una traduzione è stata rimaneggiata; oppure infine si tratta della stessa traduzione in due redazioni diverse; e a questo proposito si confronti quello che dice di sé il traduttore inglese M.N. che cioè avendo molti anni prima data una prima traduzione che fu molto criticata, ora ne dava una seconda, cercando di ovviare agli inconvenienti in cui era ricorso con la prima. Ad ogni modo è tradotto di sul latino e non sul francese." I published this note in FALVAY 2012b, p. 161.

<sup>134</sup> SARGENT 2013.

On the basis of the partial collation, he made on the Valenciennes fragment, he highlights some characteristics of the two recensions, including also the possibility that the French text could have interfered in Italian 2.<sup>135</sup>

I would like to illustrate the relationship of the two Italian recensions with a few examples. The first chapter, which is present in all four Italian MSS and also in the Bodleian-fragment, has a special importance for our argument:

| L: Latin<br>Critical<br>Edition  | LB: Latin<br>E Oxford<br>Bodleian<br>Library,<br>Cod. Laud.<br>Lat. 46.  | Italian 1   | Italian 2<br>N  | Italian 2<br>V   | Italian 2<br>B  |
|--|--|---|---|--|---|
| Anima a<br>Deo tacta<br>et a pecca-<br>tis nudata<br>in primo<br>gratie statu,<br>ascendit per<br>divinam<br>gratiam ad<br>septimum<br>gratiae<br>gradum, in<br>quo anima<br>habet suae<br>perfectionis<br>plenitudi-<br>nem per<br>fruitionem<br>divinam in<br><b>patria vitae</b><br>/prima vita<br>C/ | Anima<br>tacta a Deo<br>a peccatis<br>exuta in<br>primo gra-<br>tie statu<br>asiedit per<br>diuinam<br>gratiam ad<br>spetimum<br>gratie gra-<br>dum in<br>quo anima<br>habet sue<br>perfectionis<br>plenitudi-<br>nem per<br>diuinam<br>fruitionem<br><b>patria uite</b> | L'anima<br>toccata da<br>Dio e spo-<br>gliata da'<br>peccati nel<br>primo stato<br>della gra-<br>zia, saglie<br>per la divi-<br>na grazia<br>al settimo<br>grado della<br>grazia, nel<br>quale ha la<br>plenitudine<br>della sua<br>perfezione<br>per la divi-<br>na usanza<br><b>nella patria</b><br><b>della vita</b> . | L.A.N.I.M.A.<br>toccata da<br>Dio spoglia-<br>ta di peccati<br>nel primo<br>stato della<br>gratia, sale<br>per divina<br>gratia al<br>settimo<br>grado della<br>gratia, nel<br>quale à<br>pleditudine<br>de sua per-<br>fetione per<br>divina frui-<br>tione nella<br><b>prima vite</b> : | L'anima<br>tocchata<br>da Dio<br>spogliata<br>di peccati<br>nel primo<br>stato dela<br>gracia,<br>sale per<br>divina gra-<br>cia al set-<br>temo gra-<br>do della<br>gracia nel,<br>quale à<br>pletidunie<br>di sua per-<br>fectione<br>per divina<br>fruicione<br>nella <b>pri-<br/>ma vite</b> . | L'anima<br>tochata<br>da Dio<br>spogliata<br>de peccati<br>è nel pri-<br>mo stato<br>della gra-<br>zia () al<br>setptimo<br>grado<br>(), nel<br>quale à<br>pleditu-<br>dine de<br>sua perfe-<br>tione per<br>divina<br>fruitione<br>nella <b>pri-</b><br><b>ma vite</b> . |

If one reads only the main text of the Latin critical edition, one would have the impression that Italian 2 follows a corrupted variant since instead of "*patria vitae*" ("*home of life*") it reads "*prima vite*" ("*first life*", or "*lives*"), while the Italian 1 translates it literary ("*patria della vita*"). However, the case is that only the codex C (Vatican, Cod. Chigianus B IV 41) of the Latin MSS brings this variant, while all the other ones contain "*prima vita*." In any case, it shows that Italian 1 is indeed a separated version, and it seems a separate translation, following another Latin textual tradition.

Another sentence from the same chapter shows a similar phenomenon. We have already seen the particularities of expression "*aliena*" above. Here I would like to stress that Italian 1 and 2 bring clearly independent solutions of translation ("*altrui*" v. "*straniero*"), and that B in this example shows signs of textual corruption where, instead of "*straniero*" (*foreigner*), it brings "*strano*" ("*strange*"). The wording of Italian 1 is clearly different also in other parts of this sentence ("*domicella*" is translated in "*figliuola*" in Italian 1 while into "*donzella*" in Italian 2, and the adjective "*grande*" (*big*) belongs to the noun "*cuore*" (*heart*) in Italian 1 and not to the word "*re*" (*king*) as in (Italian 2).

| L: Latin  | LB: Latin   | Italian 1   | Italian 2   | Italian 2   | Italian 2   |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Critical<br>Edition   | E Oxford<br>Bodleian<br>Library,<br>Cod. Laud.<br>Lat. 46   |   | N   | V   | В   |
| Fuit quae-<br>dam domi-<br>cella filia<br>regis, cor-<br>dis utique<br>magni et<br>animo no-<br>bilis, quae<br>morabatur<br>in terra<br>aliena. | Fuit que-<br>dam domi-<br>cella filia<br>regis magni<br>utique cor-<br>dis /BCDE/<br>et animo<br>generosa /<br>BCDE/<br>quae tamen<br>in terra<br>morabatur<br>aliena /<br>BCE/ | Fu una<br>donzella,<br><b>figliuola</b><br>d'uno re,<br>certo di<br><b>grande</b><br><b>cuore</b> e<br>gentile<br>d'animo,<br>la quale<br>però stava<br><b>nell'altrui</b><br><b>terra.</b> | Ove adun-<br>que una<br><b>donçella</b> ,<br>figliuola<br>d'un <b>gran-<br/>de r</b> e, in ve-<br>rità gentile<br>di cuore et<br>d'animo, la<br>quale sola<br>habitava in<br><b>paese stra-</b><br><b>niero</b> . | Era addun-<br>que una<br><b>donzella</b> ,<br>figliuola<br>d'uno<br><b>grande re</b> ,<br>in verità<br>gientile di<br>cuore et<br>d'animo, la<br>quale sola<br>habitava <b>in</b><br><b>paese stra-</b><br><b>niero</b> . | Fu adon-<br>que una<br><b>donzella</b> ,<br>figlio-<br>la d'un<br><b>gra[n]-</b><br><b>de re</b> , in<br>verità<br>gentile de<br>core et de<br>animo, la<br>quale sola<br>habitava<br><b>in paese</b><br><b>strano.</b> |

Let us observe only one example from the fragment present also in Sargent's collation (e.g. the only part of the text which is present on all known versions):



| Latin critical edition   | Italian 1   | Italian 2<br>N   | Italian 2<br>V   | Italian 2<br>B  |
|--|---|--|--|---|
| quas uobis<br>continue<br>notificabam<br>per tam no-<br>biles nuntios,<br>quales nunc<br>audistis. Et<br>tales, dicit<br>Amor, impedi-<br>ti seipsis man-<br>ebunt usque<br>ad mortem. | le quali con-<br>tinuamente<br>notificava per<br>tanti nobili<br>messi, i quali<br>avete ubedito<br>ora. E que-<br>sti tali, dice<br>l'Amore, sta-<br>ranno infino<br>alla morte in<br>se medisimi<br>impaciati | le quali io<br>continuo vi<br>notificava con<br>così fatti mes-<br>sagieri li quali<br>voi ora avete<br>udito. Et tali,<br>dice l'Amore,<br>impacciati<br>loro medesimi<br>si stanno insi-<br>no alla morte. | le quali io<br>continuo vi<br>notificava con<br>così fatti mes-<br>sagieri li quali<br>voi ora avete<br>udito. Et tali,<br>dice l'Amore,<br>impacciati<br>loro medesimi<br>si stanno infi-<br>no alla morte. | che io conti-<br>nuo vi notifi-<br>cava con così<br>facti missi<br>che voi ora<br>avete odito.<br>Et ali, dice<br>l'Amore, im-<br>paciati loro<br>medesimi si<br>stando infino<br>alla morte. |

Here we can observe, on the one hand, a proof that Italian 1, indeed, likely forms a separate translation of the text. We can see grammatical differences between the two Italian versions: for the Latin "*continue*" Italian 1 brings an adverbial form: "*continuamente*" while the others an adjectival form "*continuo*."<sup>136</sup> Also the different wording is striking: the Latin "*nobiles nuntios*" (noble envoys) is translated literary as "*nobili messi*" in Italian 1, while Italian 2 reads "*così fatti messagieri/missi*" (*so made envoys*) which does not fit in the context. Consequently, it seems to be a sign of textual corruption. Surprisingly, in another expression of the same sentence it is Italian 1 that seems to be corrupted, because the past form "*avete ubedito*" of the verb "*ubedire*" (*to obey*) corresponds nor to the Latin "*audio*" (*to hear*) neither to the context, while Italian 2 brings a precise translation, using the verb "*udire*."

On the other hand, we can also see differences between the three MSS of the Italian 2. Namely, in this case B also shows symptoms of textual corruption: the Latin "*et tales*" (*and those*), in this codex becomes "*et ali*" (*and wings*) which does not make any sense in the context. Furthermore, it can be explained only as corruption of the text by copying the text from another Italian and not directly from a Latin one: from an Italian form "*e tali*" we can arrive very easily to "*et ali*" if we keep in mind that written old Italian uses both "*e*" and "*et*" for "*and*".

<sup>136</sup> Even if we have to mention that in ancient Italian, the expression "continuo" is used also in the adverbial sense. See in: TLIO.

A last element that I would like to mention in this chapter is the dialectical analysis of the Italian MSS that should also be important from the understanding of the diffusion of the *Mirror* in Italy.<sup>137</sup> In her ongoing research (the first results of which have been already published), Alma Huszthy, a colleague of mine, has determined: Italian 1 seems indeed a Tuscan or Tuscanized variant, while Italian 2 shows also the signs of non-Tuscan characteristics. More precisely, also from the morphological viewpoint this version is basically Tuscan, but there are several linguistic elements that are typical of a zone called by Italian dialectology "Italia mediana" that includes a part of Lazio, the whole of Umbria and the central part of the Marches (Marche) region. Furthermore, there are also dialectal differences between the three MSS of Italian 2 since in B there are much more elements of the dialect of Italia Mediana, and particularly that of the Marches than in V and N. According to Huszthy the most likely explanation is that all three MSS of Italian 2 were copied by Central Italian scribes from another Italian archetype that was of Tuscan dialect.<sup>138</sup>

In order to show how this kind of linguistic research can be combined with historical investigation, I would like to add one small detail. Even if the region Marches is not among the main areas of Italy from where we have historical evidences about the Mirror, we can find related historical sources. This dialectological indication also fits well in the historical context of a known Italian community, namely the Fraticelli, who were connected to the Mirror. We know that the famous observant saint and preacher, James of the Marches, wrote a long treatise entitled *Dialogus contra fraticellos*<sup>139</sup> originally in Latin but also circulated in Italian. In this dialogue James describes his mission of 1449 made together with John of Capistran against the Fraticelli of the Marches. Moreover, a piece of information that Guarnieri did not mention: in the Italian version of the Dialogue, we read a direct accusation that the Fraticelli belonged to the heresy of Free Spirit.<sup>140</sup>

As a conclusion about the Italian version of the Mirror, therefore, we can form the following assumptions:

(1) We can confirm that the four Italian MSS indeed form two separate versions: not only structurally but also on the textual level, we can





<sup>137</sup> Huszthy–Falvay 2011.138 Huszthy 2012.

<sup>139</sup> LASIĆ 1975; GUARNIERI 1965.

<sup>140</sup> GALAMB 2011. I have dealt in a detailed way with the role of the Observants in the diffusion of the MSS of the Miroir in a recent article: FALVAY-KONRAD 2014.

treat them as two translations of the Latin *Mirror*. However, they are not entirely independent from each other: we can assume the existence of one or more previous levels of textual transmission.

- (2) From the textual viewpoint, the Budapest MS seems to be at a lowest level of textual transmission among the three MSS of Italian 2. Consequently, it is not very likely that it could have been on a first level from the structural point of view.
- (3) The Bodleian MS, that on the basis of its incipit seems important to understand the attribution of Italian 2 to Margaret of Hungary, cannot be considered as a direct source of this translation.
- (4) On the basis of historical linguistic-dialectological arguments we have to consider also the Marches region in the Italian diffusion of the *Mirror*.

st. Elizabeth of Hungary in Italian Vernacular Literature. Vitae, Miracles, Revelations, and the Meditations on the Life of Christ<sup>\*</sup>

\* The present article is partly based on my PhD thesis written under the supervision of Gábor Klaniczay and defended in 2006 at the Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest. The underlying research has been supported by a Mellon Research Fellowship at the Harvard University Center for Italian Renaissance Studies, Villa i Tatti, Florence, the Hungarian Research Fund (OTKA PD 75329), and by the Bolyai Research Scholarship of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. I would also like to thank the help of Anna Benvenuti. Although Saint Elizabeth had never been to Italy in her lifetime (1207–1231), the density of sources her veneration produced there after her death rivals those stemming from her homelands, Hungary and Thuringia. Her inclusion in the catalogue of saints was celebrated in Perugia in 1235 and, given that centralized and formalized procedure canonization had developed into by the thirteenth century, every document made for this purpose had to arrive at the Papal court before the final ceremony. This means that the earliest written sources of information about Elizabeth's life and cult – a short biography, the so-called *Summa vitae*, written by her confessor, Conrad of Marburg, and the testimonies of her four maidens, which in their longer and better-known version are entitled *Libellus de dictis quatuor ancillarum* (henceforth: *Libellus*), as well as the collections of *post mortem* miracles recorded at her shrine – were available in Italy right from the beginning.<sup>141</sup>

Apart form the availability of sources, there are at least two causes which explain Elizabeth's popularity south of the Alps. On the one hand, her figure connected the lay or mendicant type of religiosity, well known to the Italian audience, with something new for most of them, especially in the central part of the peninsula: the world of aristocratic courts and dynasties. On the other hand, her life-model could be propagated as an appropriate ideal for all women in the classification of ecclesiastical writers: virgins, wives, widows.<sup>142</sup>

Among those religious communities which disseminated and maintained her cult in Italy, the role of the Franciscans – and, especially, that of the Franciscan Third Order – is the best documented and the most widely known. It is also because the Franciscan Third Order venerated Elizabeth as one of its patrons from a later period onwards.<sup>143</sup> In a fifteenth-century unpublished Florentine codex, for instance, we find, together with a Life of St. Elizabeth, and other Franciscan sources, a rule (*regula*) of the Female Third Order of Saint Francis in the Italian vernacular.<sup>144</sup>

<sup>144</sup> Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale (henceforth: BNCF), Cod. Palat. 118. ff. 16r–19r.



<sup>141</sup> For a general overview see, for example WERNER-BLUME 2007; KLANICZAY 2002; PASZ-TOR 2000; SZ. JÓNÁS 1997; and the proceedings of the conference "Il culto e la storia di Santa Elisa betta d'Ungheria in Europa," CSORBA-KOMLÓSSY 2005. For the latest comprehensive synthesis, see GECSER 2009. For the canonization: KLANICZAY 2005. A recent Italian translation of the early sources is TEMPERINI 2008.

<sup>142</sup> For Elizabeth as a modell, see KLANICZAY 1995.

<sup>143</sup> There has been a long debate about whether Elizabeth could have been a member of the Franciscan Third Order. The latest results were presented at the conference SCOCCA-TEMPERINI 2009; see also TEMPERINI 2002; PIEPER 2000. For arguments against the positive answer to the question, see VAUCHEZ 2003; GECSER, 2009, pp. 64–6.

In what follows, I will offer a short survey of Italian vernacular literature about St. Elizabeth including translations or adaptations (volgarizzamenti), on the one hand, and texts written originally in Italian, on the other. In each case I will also have to take a brief look at those most important Latin *vitae* which served as starting points for the Italian ones, either as originals of translations/ adaptations or as sources of works newly composed in the vernacular.

Elizabeth's popularity in Italy is well demonstrated by the fact that the Legenda Aurea also contains her vita. This is all the more important, if we consider that there are only four contemporary (thirteenth-century) saints in the whole collection: St. Dominic, St. Francis, St. Peter of Verona, and St. Elizabeth. The Legenda Aurea, together with the Fioretti and the Meditationes Vitae Christi, can be characterized as the "best sellers" of Italian religious literature of which hundreds of manuscripts have survived.<sup>145</sup>

The Legenda Aurea was translated very quickly into Italian: there are at least 12 vernacular manuscripts that survived from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.<sup>146</sup> As to the *volgarizzamento* of Elizabeth's Life, it can be found in at least four manuscripts containing the entire collection, and it has also been transmitted separately.<sup>147</sup>

Beside the Legenda Aurea, another important Latin source for our topic is the so-called *Tuscan Vita*, edited by Leonard Lemmens.<sup>148</sup> The relevance of this short text apparently datable to the beginning of the fourteenth century lies in the fact that it is usually regarded as the first *vita* that contains the famous rose miracle.<sup>149</sup> In Italian, the rose miracle appears for the first time ina coeval text of a totally different genre: the so-called *Florentine Chronicle of the Thirteenth* Century (Cronica Fiorentina del secolo XIII) relates this miracle, and its date is around the end of the thirteenth or the beginning of the fourteenth century.

<sup>145</sup> IACOPO DA VARAZZE 1998. For the history of the Legenda aurea and its chapter on Elizabeth see, among others, MAGGIONI 1994; BOUREAU 1984; VAUCHEZ 1986; MADAS 1995; Gecser 2009, pp. 71–3. Dalarun 2003, vol. 2, pp. 413–16. See also Marucci 1980.

<sup>146</sup> 

<sup>147</sup> The three MSS in which the Italian Vita of St. Elizabeth is to be found separately are: (1) Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, MS 1290, 148b-155a; cf. Falvay 2005c. (2) Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Cod. Magl. XXXVIII. 74, ff. 9r-26, edited by PARENTI 1848. (3) Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, I. 115 Inf. ff. 22v-35. The two latter ones have been transcribed and analyzed recently by KONRAD 2009.

<sup>148</sup> LEMMENS 1901, pp. 15–9. The most recent and convincing analyses of this text are GECSER 2007, pp. 241-42, and GECSER 2009, pp. 74-80.

There is also a parallel Latin version of the rose miracle, in the vita of the so-called 149 Anonymous Franciscan, which seems to be contemporary to the Tuscan Vita, but has apparently originated from within Central Europe. See PIEPER 2000; GECSER 2005, pp. 240-47, and GECSER 2009b, pp. 105-21 (abstract in English: ibid., p. 122).

This text has been published, and it is well-known for the historians of Italian language, but it is unknown to scholars dealing with Saint Elizabeth.<sup>150</sup>

The *Florentine Chronicle of the Thirteenth Century* is an interesting case in Italian philology, since one of its two surviving manuscripts is an autograph and, what is more, the particular way of writing, calligraphy and pagination of this manuscript allow us to separate the main text – which is the Italian translation of the world-chronicle by Martinus Polonus (Oppaviensis) entitled *Chronicon Pontificum et Imperatorum* – from the numerous additions made by the Italian compiler, which can be considered as a partly original work with pieces of information and traditions connected to Tuscany (mainly political and social events).

The modern editions of the chronicle, however, do not separate the different parts of the text; consequently, it is necessary to consult the original autograph codex (Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, MS II. IV. 323 (Magl. XXV).<sup>151</sup> From the characteristic calligraphy we can clearly see that only the first sentence about the papacy of Gregory IX, and the beginning of the section about Elizabeth – "Elli canoniççò la beata sancta Helisabet, filia del re d'Ungaria" – belong to the base-text (the translation from Martinus Polonus' chronicle), and the subsequent detailed description of the rose-miracle seems to be an original work of the anonymous Tuscan compiler.<sup>152</sup> The traditional

<sup>&</sup>quot;La quale un giorno, essendo pulzella delle più belle del mondo e delle più amma-152 estrate in iscritura, sì era piena di tanta limosina e caritade, ke nulla cosa si lassciava a dare per Dio; e dispendea donava per suo amore tutti suoi vestiti e gioielli, tutto il pane levava delle mense e dava a' poveri, ricevendone molte vergongne dal padre e dalla madre e dalle sue cameriere. Or avenne un giorno che llo re d'Ungaria suo padre fece una grande festa, dove convitò molti baroni e chavalieri, per maritare Ysabetta sua filia al filgluolo dell'Antigrado della Magna. E quella stando alle finestre della camera, e vide molta quantità di poveri ch'aspettavano la limosina, celatamente fece torre per suo commandamento tutto il pane della casa, e fece dare per Dio a' poveri; e finalmente vi ne canparo v poveri ke nnon ebero limosina. Ellisabetta si mosse, e tolse il pane ch'ella dovea desinare colle sue cameriere, e portavalo in grembo per dare a' poveri; sì ch'all'uscire della camera il Re co molti baroni le si fece incontro per farle vergongna. Fecesi mostrare quello c'avea con seco. La faccia le coninciò ad arossare, ed a inpiersi di paura e di vergongna, e mostrali il grenbo; e questo pane fu diventato tutto rose bianche e vermilgle. Ed era per la passqua della Nattività di Cristo all'uscita di dicenbre. Donde tutta la corte e ,l reame si n'enpieo, e quivi fue la maggiore fessta del mondo; tutte le tavole si trovaro piene di rose e di fiori e di pane biancho, e tuttavia crescea."





<sup>150</sup> Edition: *Cronica fiorentina del sec. XIII.* In: Schiaffini 1954, pp. 82–150; excerpts from it have been republished as "Cronica fiorentina," in PANCRAZI-SCHIAFFINI 1959. vol. 3, pp. 907–29. I would like to thank Prof. Giampaolo Salvi, who called my attention to this Chronicle. I examined it in detail in FALVAY 2009b, pp. 123–39 (abstract in Italian: ibid., p. 140).

<sup>151</sup> For a description of the MS, see BERTELLI 2002, no. 25, p. 99. See also Schiaffini 1926, p. 82; VILLARI 1905, pp. 42–4; SANTINI 1903, pp. 54–8.

dating of the text is the end of the thirteenth century, but on the basis of codicological and philological arguments, the first decade of the fourteenth century seems more probable. But even at this later date, the passage in the chronicle ranks among the earliest occurrences of the rose-miracle, contemporaneous to the first known Latin versions.

In contrast to the Latin ones, the fourteenth-century Italian vernacular versions of *Elizabeth's Life* exhibit a new textual type that mixes the Italian translation of parts of the *Libellus* with newly formed elements of her cult such as the miracle of the rose and the miracle of the dress (according to which an angel brings her "a shining crown and dress" that she would wear in the company of a noble guest, since she had distributed all her royal garments among the poor).<sup>153</sup> These stories are completely missing from the first sources, but they conserve Elizabeth's original life-model in a more fictional, condensed, and metaphoric form.

The miracle of the dress (also known as the miracle of the mantle) was further diffused in Italy because it was integrated in a characteristic Italian representative of a popular medieval genre, the collection of miracles of the Virgin Mary. Several miracle collections of the Virgin are known from medieval literature, in different vernacular languages as well,<sup>154</sup> but only the unpublished fourteenth-century Italian-language collection of Duccio di Gana contains this miracle of St. Elizabeth.<sup>155</sup> In accordance with the characteristics of the genre, in Duccio's version, instead of the angels of God it is the Virgin who sends her the shining dress.<sup>156</sup>

Another branch of those texts which were attached to Elizabeth's hagiographical dossier in fourteenth-century Italy seem to be much farther from the earliest accounts of her life than the above-mentioned miracles. The *Book of Revelations of the Virgin* (henceforth: *Revelations*) – which has survived in several Latin and Italian MSS, as well as in Middle-English, Catalonian,

<sup>153</sup> For a comparison of the two surviving Italian versions of *Elizabeth's Life*, see FALVAY 2005b. We find the first Latin versions of this miracle in two texts from the end of the thirteenth and the beginning of the fourteenth centuries: in the *Life* written by Theoderic of Apolda and published by RENER 1993, pp. 42–4; and in the *Tuscan vita* (LEMMENS 1909, p. 16).

<sup>154</sup> On the miracles of the Virgin in medieval vernacular literature, see KOENIG 1955–1970; DULTON 1980; BERETTA 1999; KELLEY 2004, KELLEY 1999.

<sup>155</sup> For a detailed philological overview, see GRIPKEY 1952–53; about the two MSS of Duccio's collection, see ibid., pp. 14–7. The two other known Italian collections are published in Levi 1917, and in MISCIATELLI 1929.

<sup>156</sup> The two extant MSS of the collection are Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Cod. Barb. Lat. 4032, ff. 1–122v and Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale, Cod. Magl. XXXVIII., ff. 9–79. For the edition of this version of the miracle, see FALVAY 2003, pp. 113–25.

Spanish, and French versions – is a typical work of female visionary mysticism probably written by an anonymous author in Italy. Although it was contaminated very soon with her cult, the *Revelations* has little to do with Elizabeth's real life as it transpires from the first sources, which was, above all, a vita activa – even if references to her mystical experiences appear in the Libellus too. The book comprises thirteen revelations or visions in which mostly the Virgin Mary, but in a smaller part also John the Evangelist and Christ himself, appear to Saint Elizabeth to tell her theological and moral secrets and teachings. Some episodes of this text are related to the childhood of the Virgin (her being left in the Temple, her prayer etc.), which help us to individuate some main sources. The text was probably written in Latin at the beginning of the fourteenth century. The Latin and the Catalonian versions have been published in a critical edition by Livarius Oliger in 1926, and also the middle-English version has been edited. In the Latin version and in the variants in most other languages (French, Spanish, Catalonian, Middle-English) there are very few references to Saint Elizabeth, and they are basically limited to the incipit and the explicit formulae.<sup>157</sup> On the other hand, we know two Italian variants of the Revelations in which the text is incorporated in a vita of the saint containing some data from her historically more authentic life story, the miracles of the roses and the dress, and some passages about her death taken from the Libellus.<sup>158</sup>

Nevertheless, the *Revelations* contributed to the diffusion of Elizabeth's name and cult in Italy due, first of all, to its having been quoted at length by one of the most famous religious writings of the late Middle Ages, the *Meditations on the Life of Christ (Meditaciones Vitae Christi*, henceforth: *Meditations*) by Pseudo-Bonaventure or, as in the recent critical edition, by a certain Iohannes de Caulibus OFM. In 1990 Sarah McNamer dated the entire *Meditations* to *post* 1336 on the basis of her hypothesis concerning the authorship of the *Revelations* attributed by her to Elizabeth of Töss († 1336/1338), and this new date is widely accepted, among others in the critical edition of the *Meditations* as well. In my view, this dating is supported neither by the authorship and date of the *Revelations* nor by the manuscript tradition of the *Meditations*. Given the

<sup>158 &</sup>quot;Rivelazioni sulla vita della Madonna e Leggenda di Santa Elisabetta," in DE LUCA 1977, vol. 4, pp. 705–26; it was originally published in MANNI 1735, vol. 4, pp. 357–70; BANFI 1932; FALVAY 2005b.



<sup>157</sup> Oliger 1926; Barrat 1992; McNamer 1996; Tímár 1909; Klaniczay 2002, pp. 372–75, Klaniczay 2005, pp. 75–109.

significance of the latter work to medieval studies in general, and the place of the *Revelations* in the Italian cult of St. Elizabeth in particular, it seems worth-while to dedicate the remaining part of my essay to this issue.

Although scholars have studied the *Meditations* since the eighteenth century, there are still at least two main issues that have not been resolved: the question of the original version of the work, and that of the date of its composition. Furthermore, one can mention also the issue of authorship, since the name proposed by the critical edition, Iohannes de Caulibus, does not appear in any medieval manuscript.

This famous work has survived in more than two hundred medieval manuscripts, and in at least three main versions. Since the fundamental study by Columban Fischer in 1932, we speak about the long text, the short one and the minimal one (also known with the title *Meditationes de Passione Christi*). Later on, other scholars, such as Alberto Vaccari or Giorgio Petrocchi, modified this classification and made it more sophisticated, and the majority of scholars today accept that the longest version is the original one and the others are abbreviations.<sup>159</sup> This is the reason why the 1997 critical edition of the text by Mary Stallings–Taney (Mary Jordan Stallings) offers the long or complete Latin version.<sup>160</sup>

On the other hand, Sarah McNamer in her 1990 article argued that not the long Latin, but a shorter Italian version (of 41 chapters) must be the first variant of the *Meditations*.<sup>161</sup> Recently, in 2009, McNamer has resumed her studies on this topic and published a long essay, in which she slightly modifies her views, and indicates a previously almost entirely unknown version as the original, namely an even shorter Italian text of 31 chapters, which survived in a single, fifteenth-century codex, the MS Canon. Ital. 174 of the Bodleian Library.<sup>162</sup>

The precedence of an Italian version is not a new idea, but it has usually been rejected. Recently, however, other authors have also argued for it besides McNamer. Isa Ragusa, for instance, in her article of 2003, speaks about a possible "oral composition" of the treatise, which may have been in the vernacular

<sup>159</sup> FISCHER 1932; VACCARI 1952.

<sup>160</sup> STALLINGS 1997. Also the shortest version has been published: STALLINGS 1965.

<sup>161</sup> McNamer 1990.

<sup>162</sup> McNamer 1990.

Italian.<sup>163</sup> Ragusa herself in another article and Holly Flora in a recent monograph argue for the precedence of a long Italian version of the work in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale MS Ital. 115.<sup>164</sup> The traditional date of the *Meditations* was the beginning of the fourteenth century,<sup>165</sup> but in 1990, Sarah McNamer postponed this date and proposed 1336 as the *terminus post quem*.<sup>166</sup> This new date seems to be widely accepted since both the above mentioned critical edition of the Latin version,<sup>167</sup> and Mario Arosio in his long entry about the supposed author, Iohannes de Caulibus, in the prestigious *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* accept McNamer's hypothesis and refer to her argument alone.<sup>168</sup>

In her recent article, McNamer modifies her earlier hypothesis in a fundamental way, since the only manuscript from the fifteenth century(!) containing the supposed Italian original does not include the quotation from the *Revelations*. Consequently, McNamer admits that

[w]hile the testo minore and the other vernacular and Latin versions must still be dated to the period after ca. 1336, it is possible that the Canonici version may well have been composed several decades earlier. As far as I have been able to determine, the only firm terminus post quem for its composition is 1298.<sup>169</sup>

However, the main point of her study is to prove – mainly with not very convincing stylistic arguments and with almost no philological basis at all – the

165 VON SEVERUS-SOLIGNAC 1937–1995.

<sup>163 &</sup>quot;[P]ossiamo dedurre che anche la versione orale delle Meditationes era in volgare." RAGUSA 2003, p. 79.

<sup>164</sup> RAGUSA 1997, pp. 145–50; FLORA 2009. I am grateful to the author for having let me consult her work before publication.

<sup>166</sup> McNamer 1990.

<sup>167</sup> STALLINGS 1997, see the editor's introduction on p. ix: "Barring the identification of the passage in chapter 3 (*Meditations*, Chapter 3, pp. 5–69) as other than the *Revelations* of Elisabeth of Töss, at present it would seem that ca. 1346 (an approximate date for the diffusion of the Revelations of Elisabeth of Töss) is the *terminus post quem* for the date of composition..." Elsewhere the editor approaches the problem of dating more cautiously, and notes that "questions arising from the manuscript evidence (...) make these dates less certain;" see STALLINGS-TANEY 1998.

<sup>168 &</sup>quot;[G]li studi della ricercatrice statunitense hanno consentito di spostare ulteriormente in avanti nel secolo XIV la data di composizione. L'attribuzione delle Revelationes [...] è stata messa in discussione [...] esiste un'altra candidata alla paternità del testo, la meno conosciuta monaca domenicana Elisabetta di Töss..." AROSIO 2000. Also the author of the most recent scholarly text-edition accepts this late date: GASCA QUEIRAZZA 2008, p. xiv.

<sup>169</sup> MCNAMER 2009, p. 946. In spite of this modification, she repeats her previous argument at the beginning of the article; see ibid., p. 905 n.1.

precedence of this specific Italian version, and she takes for granted the post 1336 date of all other known versions the *Meditations*.

McNamer's dating is based on the supposed "authorship" of the *Revelations*. Her views about this problem<sup>170</sup> can be summarized in the following way: it is evident that the *Revelations* is not an authentic text about St. Elizabeth of Hungary; we know that its author or protagonist was a Hungarian princess called Elizabeth, who was devoted to the Virgin Mary, had mystical experiences, lived in a monastery or in a similar community, and in three Latin manuscripts she is called a virgin; these pieces of information fit the life of Elizabeth of Töss (known also as Elizabeth of Hungary Junior, 1292/94–1336/38), because she was a Hungarian princess (the daughter of King Andrew III) and also a virgin, who lived her life in a religious community, the Dominican nunnery of Töss. From her *vita*, written probably by Elsbeth Stagel (†1360),<sup>171</sup> we learn that she was especially devoted to the Virgin Mary, and that she had mystical experiences as well.<sup>172</sup>

As I have already dealt with this hypothesis in more detail,<sup>173</sup> I will only summarize here the main points of my argumentation. As to the Marian devotion and the mystical experiences, it is true that they were not of central importance in Elizabeth of Hungary's life, but in Italian female religiosity of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries these were general, widely diffused elements. Similarly, if speaking about a saintly woman, it was almost automatic in the Middle Ages to call her a virgin. And the expression *virgo* is present only in three Latin manuscripts of the *Revelations*, and exclusively in the *incipit* and/or *explicit* formulae together with the name of the Virgin Mary – so it can simply be a corruption of the text.

Furthermore, Barrat and McNamer underrate the fact that two manuscripts also call her a member of the Franciscan Third Order, which evidently could not be true for the Dominican Elizabeth of Töss, but it is compatible with the hagiographic dossier of Elizabeth of Hungary. Barrat and McNamer argue that the name of Elizabeth of Töss was quickly mixed up with that of Elizabeth of Hungary. In my view this is a circular argument, because with the same

<sup>170</sup> McNamer bases her main arguments on the studies of Alexandra Barrat, summarized in BARRAT 1992.

<sup>171</sup> *Legende des lebens der hochwirdigen junckfrawen swester Elsbethen*. For the modern edition, see OEHNINGER 2000.

<sup>172</sup> Barrat and McNamer also argued that some stylistic elements in the text of the *Revelations* are closer to the *Life of Elizabeth of Töss*, than to the *Libellus* of Elizabeth of Hungary, which is a plausible but not a decisive point.

<sup>173</sup> FALVAY 2005, and FALVAY 2005d.

logic one could easily say that even the attribute "Hungarian princess" (which is the basis of the whole hypothesis) stemmed from Elizabeth of Hungary's cult.

To be sure, calling her a princess can simply be a hagiographic topos: as we know from André Vauchez, when a person venerated as a saint lacked a reliable biography, he or she was almost automatically represented in hagiography as having aristocratic or royal background.<sup>174</sup> And being a Hungarian prince or princess in particular is a widely diffused motif in Western (mainly Romance) literature, featuring, among others, Saint Martin, King of Tours represented as a Hungarian prince or the King of Hungary, or a holy Hungarian princess called Bertha.<sup>175</sup> Also in many versions of the so-called "Legend of the Accused Queen" from the thirteenth to the fifteenth century, the protagonist is a Hungarian queen or princess,<sup>176</sup> and while the story often appears with different names, the Hungarian royal origin is a stable element in all variants. It must be considered as well that, on a Biblical basis, Elizabeth is the most evident name to be associated with a woman in dialogue with the Holy Virgin.

As to the mysticism of the *Revelations*, we know from the comparative studies of Gábor Klaniczay that in Italian hagiography it was quite common to attach new, mystical elements to the cult of Hungarian saints.<sup>177</sup>

There are also strictly philological arguments that make almost impossible the attribution of the *Revelations* to Elizabeth of Töss. If we accept that the *Revelations* was written originally in Middle-High German (as Barrat and McNamer do), and that the only text about Elizabeth of Töss is from the period between her death and 1360 (the death of her presumable biographer), as well as that the first Latin and Italian versions of the *Revelations* appear in this period,<sup>178</sup> mainly in Italian Franciscan manuscripts, then we have to suppose that the text arrived from modern-day Switzerland to Central Italy, from a Dominican to a Franciscan ambience, and it was translated from German to Latin, and from Latin to Italian in merely a few years or decades of time.

<sup>178</sup> A stable *terminus ante quem* for the Latin text is 1381, while at least three Italian MSS can be dated to the mid-fourteenth century. See also Chapter 6 in the presen volume.



<sup>174 &</sup>quot;[L]orsque on ne savait rien sur la vie d'un personnage qui faisait l'objet d'un culte et qu'on éprouvait le besoin de le doter d'une biographie, on lui attribuait presque toujours dans les légendes une ascendance illustre, voire même royale." VAUCHEZ 1999, p. 68 n2. Vauchez's example is the case of Sebaldus of Nürnberg (eleventh century) who is called "stirpe regali natus" in a fourteenth-century source, while another text from 1380 calls him a Danish princess.

<sup>175</sup> KIRÁLY 1929b; ECKHARDT 1943.

<sup>176</sup> Black 2003.

<sup>177</sup> KLANICZAY 2002, pp. 367–94; and KLANICZAY 1995, p. 106. See also Chapter 1 and 2 in the present volume.

This is hardly plausible. Furthermore, we know also a number of exemplars of the *Meditationes Vitae Christi* from the mid-fourteenth century that contain the quotation from Elizabeth's *Revelations*, and not only in Latin but also in Italian.<sup>179</sup>

Consequently, there is no reason to accept that Elizabeth of Töss would be the author/protagonist of the *Revelations*. I have argued elsewhere that the *Revelations* was written in Italy at the beginning of the fourteenth century; originally it was anonymous, but from the mid-fourteenth century it was attached to the cult of St. Elizabeth of Hungary.<sup>180</sup> If, then, Elizabeth of Töss is not accepted anymore as the author/protagonist of the *Revelations*, there is no reason to date the *Meditationes Vitae Christi* to post 1336 either. Thus we can retain the traditional date: the beginning of the fourteenth century. This new/old date is much more convincing also for the textual tradition of the *Meditations*, and in this case we do not have to rethink the entire relationship between the *Meditationes Vitae Christi* and the Trecento painting,<sup>181</sup> and we can get rid of other philological problems as well.

A further and direct argument against 1336 as a *terminus post quem* is the fact that a chapter of the *Meditations* is quoted in a sermon by Michael de Massa, who died in 1337. In this text, with an obscure indication of its source as *Liber de vita Christi* by a certain *Jacobus frater domini*, we can read an episode from the *Meditations*. In a recent article written together with Péter Tóth we have argued that this indication may have derived from

There are at least three Italian MSS of the Meditations containing the quotation from 179 the Revelations which can be dated to the middle of fourteenth century: (1) Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS. Ital. 115 (n. 155); for its English translation with the reproduction of the original illustrations, see Isa RAGUSA and Rosalie B. GREEN, eds., Meditations on the Life of Christ: An Illustrated Manuscript of the Fourteenth Cen*tury* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1961). (2) BNCF, N.A. 350; see BERTELLI, ed., *I manoscritti*, no. 102, p. 149. And (3) Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, MS 1269, the work of a copyist who produced two other MSS in the second decade of the fourteenth century and Chuyar 2002, 2004. the fourteenth century; see GRAMIGNI 2003–2004, pp. 147–49, and BERTELLI 1998, pp. 39-40. I am especially grateful to Tommaso Gramigni (University of Florence, Archive of Arezzo) for his help and suggestions concerning the Italian MSS of the Meditations, for offering me his unpublished master's thesis (see above) for consultation, and for calling my attention to some important works of secondary literature. We are working on a joint publication about the Italian MSS of the Meditations. Tobias A. Kemper also criticizes McNamer's hypothesis in his recent monograph, and argues for the traditional dating (ca. 1300), by providing new evidence about the reception of the Revelations in a treatise entitled Vitae Christi from the mid-fourteenth century; see KEMPER 2006, pp. 98-107. I owe this reference to Péter Tóth.

<sup>180</sup> FALVAY, "Le rivelazioni."

<sup>181</sup> Two recent examples from the field of art history which argue for an earlier date of the *Meditations*: RAGUSA 2003, and VARANELLI 1992, pp. 137–48.

a fourteenth-century Italian manuscript of the *Meditations*, attributed to a certain *frate Iacopo* (identified as Giacomo di Cordone or di San Gigmignano). Specifying the source of Michael de Massa's quotation in the Italian manuscripts of the *Meditations* attributed to friar James could complete the philological reconsideration of the *Meditations* and, by the same token, the fourteenth-century development of the cult of St. Elizabeth in Italy. But this is already the task of another study.<sup>182</sup>

<sup>182</sup> TOTH-FALVAY 2009. We are preparing a longer English version of this article with a text-edition. For Michael de Massa, see TOTH 2010. See also Chapter 6 in the present volume.



The Multiple Regional Identity of a Neapolitan Queen: Mary of Hungary's Readings and Saints<sup>\*</sup>

\* This article was written with the support of the Bolyai Research Fellowship by the Hungarian Academy of Sciences (HAS). I would first of all like to thank Vinni Lucherini for help and inspiration; I am also grateful for the suggestions and comments of Gábor Klaniczay and Ottó Gecser, and I thank Matthew Suff for the proofreading. Mary of Hungary (1257–1323)<sup>183</sup> exemplifies and embodies crossregional identity in her very person, as a Hungarian princess who married into a French–Italian dynasty, namely the Angevins of Naples. She was an especially devout person, and the cult of saints was a primary element of her personal and dynastic identity. Since the recent publication of a volume on the Church of Santa Maria Donna Regina,<sup>184</sup> many aspects of her patronage activity have been clarified, but there are still a few problems that remain to be solved.

From the decorative program of the frescoes of the church we can learn that the Hungarian royal saints, first of all Elizabeth of Hungary, played an important role in Mary of Hungary's devotion. From an analysis of the titles of the books that she inherited we can learn that not only her home region (the Kingdom of Hungary, which in modern terms corresponds to the major part of what we call the Central European region), but surprisingly also the French cultural background may have been important for her. Furthermore, if we compare the decorative program of the fresco cycles of the Church of Santa Maria Donna Regina with the reconstruction of the books listed in her testament, we can come closer to understanding the multiple identity of a late medieval ruler.

I shall investigate some case studies that allow us to compare the decorative program of the frescoes with the titles of the books in the execution document of her testament. Following the presentation of the sources, I will deal briefly with two minor writings. Then, in a more detailed way, I will analyse two case studies, in which we can assume a direct connection between the indirect set of sources, the frescoes and the book list. The first one will be the pseudo--bonaventurian *Meditationes Vitae Christi* that appears both as an item on the list of Mary's heritage and as one of the main textual sources of the Passion fresco cycle; however, there are problematic points concerning its dating and attribution that should be clarified in order to establish the relation between text and image. The second detailed case study will focus on Saint Elizabeth of Hungary, present also as the protagonist of one of the main narrative fresco cycles in the Church of Santa Maria Donna Regina, which for the most part follows the narrative of the Legenda Aurea (Golden Legend) but also contains episodes missing from this source. From the testament we learn that the queen had two - presumably different - Elizabeth legends in her library, and on the



<sup>183</sup> Her name has been also used in secondary literature as Maria of Hungary, but I have chosen the translated form Mary (as is usual for members of a ruling family).

<sup>184</sup> Elliot–Warr 2004.

basis of these pieces of information we can make a hypothesis about the content of these lost texts.

Mary of Hungary was the daughter of King Stephen V of Hungary (†1272). She arrived in Naples in 1270 at the age of 13 and – as a part of a double marriage contract between the Árpádians of Hungary and the Angevins of Naples – married Charles of Anjou, who in 1289 would become king of Naples under the name Charles II (†1309). The royal couple had at least 14 children; among them we may mention the two best-known ones, Saint Louis of Toulouse (†1297, canonised 1317) and King Robert (the Wise) (†1343). The first born son was Charles Martel, who would become a pretender to the throne of the Hungarian kingdom, following the extinction of the Árpádian dynasty, and his son (Mary's grandson, Caroberto, under the name Charles I) would indeed become the founder of the Hungarian Anjou dynasty. The queen continued her patronage and to a certain extent also some political activity following the death of her husband in 1309.<sup>185</sup>

# The Sources

The Church of Santa Maria Donna Regina is an emblematic case of the patronage activity of the Neapolitan Angevins. The church was a Clarissan church and convent that had been almost entirely destroyed in 1293 by an earthquake; Queen Mary financed its reconstruction in 1307. She carried out extensive patronage activity in various other places in southern Italy and in Provence too; nevertheless, "Maria's last project, the church and convent of Santa Maria Donna Regina was by far her most ambitious both in terms of expenditure and dynastic propaganda and still stands as a legacy." Even if it is debatable whether in the last years of her life she withdrew personally to this church, it is a matter of record that in 1323, she "consciously chose to be buried (...) in Santa Maria Donna Regina,"<sup>186</sup> and her marble tomb, the work of one of the best-known masters of the period, Tino da Camaino, conserves her memory in the church.

As far as we know, she also ordered the decoration of the church, since Warr argued for a "strong possibility that Maria of Hungary was directly involved with the painting of the frescoes and may have lived to see their

<sup>185</sup> CLEAR 2004; about the Hungarian branch of the Angevin dynasty, see the recent volume: CSUKOVITS 2013.

<sup>186</sup> Clear 2004, p. 55.

completion," which reflects her multiple identity in various forms. Among the fresco decorations only a part has survived, mainly in the upper level at the nuns' choir. The fresco program was carried out by the school of Pietro Cavallini, most probably during the lifetime of the queen, and thus before 1323.<sup>187</sup> According to the present state of scholarship, as C. Warr formulated in the introduction of the above-mentioned volume "...discussions of attribution have focused on stylistic arguments, and have generally attempted to associate the decorative program with the Roman painter Pietro Cavallini, who is documented in Naples in 1308 and 1309."<sup>188</sup>

The frescoes in the nuns' choir contain a number of partly damaged fresco cycles. On the west wall we can observe the Madonna of the Apocalypse and the Last Judgement, while the frescoes on the lateral walls are the following: on the south wall we can see the damaged frescoes of the Lives of two early Christian virgin martyrs – Saints Agnes and Catherine of Alexandria. The north wall contains a Passion cycle, and below that we can admire a cycle of the life of Elizabeth of Hungary. In the following I will make an attempt to analyse these two last mentioned cycles from the north wall, with a comparison of their possible written sources or parallels that I will try to identify on the basis of the document of execution of the testament of the queen. The idea that behind the frescoes there could have been a written source has been supported by the fact that there were Latin inscriptions (*tituli*) added to the frescoes. Today only some fragments can be identified, but the very phenomenon whereby writings complete the visual experience is significant.<sup>189</sup>

As we mentioned above, Queen Mary died in 1323 and her testament has not preserved, but its act of execution, dated to 1326, was transcribed in 1874 (well before the destruction of the Neapolitan Archive during World War II) by the Hungarian scholar Gusztáv Wenzel.<sup>190</sup> The text has been recently analysed by the art historian Vinni Lucherini.<sup>191</sup> The document contains a list of items



<sup>187</sup> BERTAUX 1899; BOLOGNA 1969. As Hoch argued recently: "It is probable that the frescoes instructing the Clarisses were completed before her death, allowing her to join the nuns in contemplation of these images. Furthermore, Queen Maria may have been responsible for certain iconographic elements within the frescoes..." HOCH 2004, pp. 150–51.

<sup>188</sup> ÊLLIOT–WARR 2004, p. 7. See Fig 1 (Appendix 2) in the present volume.

<sup>189</sup> The inscriptions have been transcribed by Bertaux in a period when they were much more readable than they are today. For an analysis of the interaction of text and image, see the essay by FLECK 2004.

<sup>190</sup> WENZEL 1874, pp. 229–62 (doc. n. 287).

<sup>191</sup> LUCHERINI 2015. I am grateful to the author for sharing with me her article before publication.

(jewellery, textiles, books, devotional objects, such as crosses and images, etc.), with the names of the persons to whom they were given. It is important to note that – according to Lucherini's recent analysis – the text is divided into three parts, and the second section does not include donations, but rather the sale of objects from the heritage of the queen to several persons, mostly merchants.<sup>192</sup>

Among the many valuable objects on the list, we find at least 27 books. On the one hand, these books were obviously treated as works of art, specifying their decoration and the materials used, as well as their value, but on the other, their actual content is not to be undervalued either. We should keep in mind the fact that the Angevin royal libraries were dispersed quite early in the Middle Ages, most of all as a consequence of King Louis the Great of Hungary's expedition in Naples in 1348/49 against his Neapolitan relatives to avenge his brother's death, when the Hungarian ruler offered the books to his doctor.<sup>193</sup> The library of the rival dynasty that took the place of the Angevins, firstly as early as the end of the thirteenth century in Sicily, and later also in Naples, namely the Aragonese dynasty, has been reconstructed, but among the manuscripts listed in this reconstruction we cannot find those that originated from the Angevin period.<sup>194</sup>

The books included in the queen's testament are mostly liturgical ones, presumably in Latin, but we have to acknowledge that the majority of the books cannot be identified at all, since they are listed simply by generic definitions such as "*librum unum diversarum oracionum*," "*librum unum evangeliorum*" or "*breviarum cum duobus voluminibus*."<sup>195</sup> Speaking about the multiple identity of the Hungarian-Neapolitan queen, it is important to note that there are several books in French, "*in Gallicum*." This feature can be explained by assuming that a number of her books were not part of her personal library, but belonged in reality to her family or court, which was a mostly French-speaking community.<sup>196</sup> In this case, the value of these books in the reconstructions of Mary's identity would become quite limited. However, in my view the French linguistic element does not exclude that those books

<sup>192 &</sup>quot;Nella seconda sezione del documento si dà conto di ciò che il tesoriere Raimondo aveva venduto («vendidisse») a circa quaranta personaggi..." LUCHERINI 2015, p. 422.

<sup>193</sup> HEULLANT-DONAT 2000. I am grateful to Enikő Csukovits for indicating me this publication. GARGAN 1984.

<sup>194</sup> See the project Europeana Regia https://pro.europeana.eu/project/europeana-regia 2010–12, there are 282 Aragonese manuscripts included in this reconstruction.

<sup>195</sup> WENZEL 1874, pp. 229–62 (doc. n. 287). Obviously, all the items listed in the document are in the accusative form.

<sup>196</sup> Coulter 1944; Formisano-Lee 1993. See also Kowaleski n.d.

were indeed the personal readings of the queen, since we know on the one hand that, as Cathleen A. Fleck noted, "noble women in Naples read versions of secular and religious texts often in the French vernacular"<sup>197</sup> and on the other that the queen herself spent long periods in Provence (for instance, in 1291 Charles named her as his vicar in the realms of Provence, Forcalquier and the city of Avignon).<sup>198</sup>

### The Lives of Saints and the Marian miracles

In the following I will examine some titles of the books present in the list of objects of Mary's last will, which will allow us to make an attempt at identifying them with literary writings that we know from elsewhere, and we will try to compare them to the narrative of the frescoes in the Church of Santa Maria Donna Regina.

First, before turning to my two main case studies, I would like to refer briefly to an item indicated as the Life of Saints and the Miracles of the Holy Virgin, both written in French ("*vitam sanctorum et miracula beatæ Virginis similiter in Gallico conscripta*"), which was given, among many other objects (and in particular among other books) to Queen Sancia (the wife of King Robert, Mary's daughter-in-law). Although this form is quite generic, we can hypothesize that it indicates two separate works, probably bound in one volume, since from the description in the document it seems plausible that it formed one codex.

As to the Life of Saints, we can with all probability think of the *Legenda Aurea* (*The Golden Legend*) compiled by the Dominican James of Varazze (Iacobus de Voragine) (†1298). On the one hand, this work became the most widespread collection of saints' lives in the fourteenth century (also in vernaculars);<sup>199</sup> on the other, we can assume the presence of this work in the surroundings of the queen, because it has often been quoted as the main source of the fresco cycles in the Church of Santa Maria Donna Regina, since it contains

<sup>199</sup> For the critical edition of the Latin version, see MAGGIONI 1998. About the diffusion of the text in the French vernacular see: "Branche française," in DUNN–LARDEAU 1986, pp. 117–224.



<sup>197</sup> FLECK 2004.

<sup>198</sup> Clear 2004, p. 46.

the lives of all three saints who are depicted in the frescoes (Catherine, Agnes and Elizabeth), and furthermore the Passion cycle in some places resembles the narrative of the *Legenda Aurea*.

The other text mentioned in the description of this item, the "*miracula beatæ Virginis*" in the French vernacular, can be identified tentatively with Gautier de Coinci's (†1236) famous *Les Miracles de Nostre-Dame* (The Miracles of Our Lady), which is probably the best-known and most widely diffused vernacular Marian text of this period.<sup>200</sup> In this case we cannot find any direct link to the frescoes, because even if the presence of the Virgin Mary is unusually central in the Passion cycle,<sup>201</sup> there are no Marian miracles depicted in the extant parts of the decoration of the church.

## Nicolaus de Lupino

Following this first approximate identification, we should turn our attention to our two main case studies. The books that I aim to analyse were given to "*Nicolao de Lupino*", and the text of the document continues with the expression "*carpetas*". We should concentrate on this person – Nicolaus de Lupino – since he received a relatively large amount of objects, and – most importantly for our analysis – no fewer than 9 books. As well as the works that I shall analyse below, the *Meditations on the Passion*, and the *Lives of Saint Elizabeth*, the following books were given to him: three books with various prayers, a book with prayers to the Virgin, one in French about the vices and virtues, and one teaching how to give thanks.<sup>202</sup>

<sup>200</sup> Surviving in some 70 manuscripts. The critical edition: KOENIG 1955-70.

<sup>201</sup> As Hoch underlined, Mary appears fourteen times among the scenes of the Passion cycle. ELLIOT–WARR 2004, pp. 113.

<sup>202</sup> İtem Nicolao de Lupino, carpetas quatuor de lana molata de opere Franciæ, pro unciis duabus et tarenis viginti quatuor; librum unum in quo sunt diversæ orationes, pro tarenis septem et granis decem; libros duos continentes vitam beatæ Elisabet, pro tarenis sex; librum unum continentem orationes beatæ Virginis, pro tarenis sex; librum unum certarum orationum, pro tarenis tribus; librum unum de viciis et virtutibus in Gallicum, pro uncia una; librum unum meditationum passionis Christi in Gallicum, pro tarenis quindecim; librum unum certarum orationum, pro tarenis sex; librum unum docentem ad redendas gratias, pro tarenis septem et granis decem; certam quantitatem corallorum perforatorum, pro tarenis duo bus; certam quantitatem vitriolorum viridium, pro tareno uno et granis decem; exemplarium diversorum laborum de seta in petiis, pro tarenis tribus et granis decem; scrineum unum de ligno nucis ferratum copertum tela incerata, pro tarenis sex. WENZEL 1874, pp. 238–39.

We have in the recent state of the research no other evidence about his person, apart from the fact that in the same document there is also another person (*Mattheus*) called *de Lupino*. We should, however, emphasise the point that both his name and his situation in the document have been interpreted erroneously by Cordelia Warr's otherwise trenchant analysis. First, it is evident that the expression "*carpetas*" is not part of his name (as Warr interprets it);<sup>203</sup> it rather this refers to the first set of objects that was given to him. Second, it seems that he was not a legatee as such; rather, the objects listed in the documents were sold to him.<sup>204</sup>

# Meditations on the Passion of Christ

Turning now to the books that this Nicolaus bought, the first that we have to analyse is mentioned in the document as Librum unum meditationum passionis Christi in Gallicum. The title is very close to that of a wellknown treatise of the late Middle Ages, the Meditationes de passione Christi by Pseudo-Bonaventure. This book was widely circulated in the late Middle Ages, and it has also been intensively studied by contemporary scholarship. According to the widely accepted scholarly consensus, the Meditationes de passione Christi (henceforth MPC) is an extract from the longer Meditationes Vitae Christi (henceforth MVC) that is nowadays attributed to Iohannes de Caulibus.<sup>205</sup> If this identification is correct, it also has important consequences concerning the decorative program of the Church of Santa Maria Donna Regina, considering the fact that since the fundamental study by Bertaux it has become a commonplace that the main textual source of the Passion cycle is nothing other than precisely the pseudo-Bonaventuran MVC.<sup>206</sup> The difference between the two texts is that the longer MVC focuses on the whole life of Christ (infancy, public activity and the Passion), and furthermore also contains long passages on the life of the Virgin, while the short MPC is an extract



<sup>203</sup> Warr quotes him (both in the text than in the index) as *Nicolao de Lupino Carpetas* ELLIOT-WARR 2004, pp. 169.

<sup>204</sup> I am grateful to Vinni Lucherini for her comments in this respect.

<sup>205</sup> Both versions are edited, see STALLINGS 1965, and STALLINGS 1997. The authorship has been recently challenged on the one hand by Sarah McNamer, McNAMER 2009, and on the other by Péter Tóth in TOTH-FALVAY 2014.

<sup>206</sup> Bertaux 1899; Fleck 2004.

dealing exclusively with the Passion of Christ. Consequently, speaking about these texts as a source or parallel of the Passion fresco cycle, it becomes indifferent which version is to be considered as a source, and the choice of scholars to indicate the MVC instead of the MPC is based primarily on the chronological precedence of the first one, according the present scholarly consensus.

It would seem that these two pieces of information – the presence of this work in the library of the queen, and its role as a source of the frescoes in the program of which the same person had an important role – fit well together, but there are two contradictions that remain to be solved. The first one is related to the dating of the whole MVC, while the second is linked to its French version.

The MVC has traditionally been dated to the turn of the thirteenth and the fourteenth century, or to the first decade of the fourteenth century; however, if we examine the publications on the MVC since 1990 we find that its dating has been shifted, and it by now being dated to a time after 1336/1338.207 This second date would not only make our identification of a book in the possession of Queen Mary of Hungary impossible, but also make it virtually impossible to consider it as a textual source of or parallel to the frescoes, even if we date the frescoes to the decade following the death of Mary in 1323. This anomaly of the dates becomes even more evident if we consider that the MVC was written originally in Latin or in Italian, and therefore any version of it "in Gallicum" must necessarily be a translation.<sup>208</sup> In other words, the version mentioned in the list of Mary's books is at the third level of textual transmission (from the Long MVC an extract, the MPC translated into French), and even the first level seems to have originated two decades later than the time when the decoration of the Church was carried out and the testament was written.

This widely accepted date of the MVC was based on an article by Sarah McNamer in 1990, in which she dated the text to a time after 1336/1338 on the basis of an identification of one of the sources of the MVC, namely the "Revelations of Virgin Mary to Elizabeth of Hungary."<sup>209</sup> This *Book of Revelations* contains 13, mostly Marian, apparitions to a certain Saint Elizabeth of

<sup>207</sup> The two most authoritative publications that accept this dating are the above-mentioned critical edition of STALLINGS 1997, and the entry written by Marco Arosio, AROSIO 2000.

<sup>208</sup> For an overview of the philological background of the MVC, with a new hypothesis concerning its author and new arguments about its original language, see TOTH-FALVAY 2014. See also Chapter 6 in the present volume.

<sup>209</sup> McNamer 1990.

Hungary, and it has survived in several Latin and vernacular manuscripts from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. On the basis of a hypothesis formulated by Alexandra Barrat, McNamer thought that these *Revelations* could have originated not from St. Elizabeth of Hungary (†1231) but from her less wellknown relative, Elizabeth of Töss (†1336/38). It is only this idea that could serve as the basis of the dating to the mid-fourteenth century of the whole MVC, due to its extremely complicated textual tradition and to the many open and debatable issues concerning its versions.<sup>210</sup> It is a historiographical curiosity that while the historians and philologists – with a few exceptions – have accepted this date for 20 years, many art historians have simply left it out of consideration.<sup>211</sup>

Since I had the opportunity to write about this problem elsewhere, rejecting McNamer's arguments, at this point I would simply like to summarise my view.<sup>212</sup> The "Revelations of the Virgin to Elizabeth of Hungary" has nothing to do with Elizabeth of Töss and, according to my hypothesis, it was an anonymous text written in Italy at the very beginning of the fourteenth century, one that was attached to Elizabeth of Hungary's hagiography very early. As a consequence, if, then, Elizabeth of Töss is not accepted any more as the author or heroine of the Revelations, it is not any more necessary to date the Meditationes to a post 1336 period. The only argument in Sarah McNamer's essay of 1990 for the new date of the Meditationes was her hypothesis concerning the authorship of the *Revelations*, and all other points she refers to are secondary used only to solve the contradictions originating from this new hypothesis (...) So we should rather maintain the traditional date: the beginning of the fourteenth century as the origin of the Meditationes. For in this case, we do not have to rethink the entire relationship between the Meditationes Vitae Christi and the Trecento art.<sup>213</sup>

In most recent publications, the date of the very beginning of the fourteenth century has been revised, tending to be put back again, as it has been also in philological arguments,<sup>214</sup> and McNamer herself has abandoned her previous hypothesis, on the basis of different arguments from those that I have



<sup>210</sup> ERTL et al. 2013.

<sup>211</sup> Among the authors of the volume by ELLIOT–WARR 2004, we can mention other art historians working with the traditional date of the MVC: see for example VARANELLI 1992, or RAGUSA 2003.

<sup>212</sup> FALVAY 2005, FALVAY 2012. See also Chapter 4 in the present volume.

<sup>213</sup> Chapter 4 in the present volume.

<sup>214</sup> KEMPER 2006, pp. 98-107; PERRY 2011.

formulated, while in her forthcoming article, she openly accepts also my arguments.<sup>215</sup> Consequently, currently we may suggest that on this issue art historians seem to have been correct in assuming the traditional date of the MVC (the beginning of the fourteenth century) by leaving out of consideration the recent alternative date that was accepted for 20 years, but has now been characterised also by McNamer as "obsolete". This also means that we do not, for any chronological reasons, need to exclude the possibility that the book that Queen Mary inherited was indeed a variant of the MVC (as the title suggests), and we can continue to consider the MVC as the main source of the Passion fresco cycle in the Church of Santa Maria Donna Regina.

The second problem to be solved is related to the French version of the MVC, since – as we have seen above – the codex in the possession of Queen Mary of Hungary was written "*in gallicum*". It makes the question of dating more complicated, since we have to consider not the "original" Latin but rather a translated version of the MVC as the source that we are looking for, but there is an even puzzling element. According to the recent state of scholarship, no version of the *Meditationes Vitae Christi* was translated into French before the beginning of the fifteenth century, almost one hundred years after our period. The only known French translation of the MVC was made by Jean Galopes between 1420 and 1422, and even if it circulated in many manuscripts, there is no evidence for any surviving French version of the MVC from the fourteenth century.<sup>216</sup>

I would like to briefly add a further note to the issue of the language in the case of interaction between text and image in this context. As well as the comparison of the narrative of the fresco cycle with the narration of the text, in this case it seems that we have some direct written evidence, since in the case of the Passion cycle the Latin inscriptions (*tituli*) given to the images have been conserved much better than in the case of the other frescoes: Bertaux transcribed them, and at that time – as we have mentioned above – they were much more visible.<sup>217</sup> However, the *tituli* reconstructed by Bertaux do not really help us, since they mostly indicate only a short generic description of the episodes represented, such as "APPARITIONES DOMINI NOSTRI J. C.", which does not really allow us to identify any possible direct textual parallel.

<sup>215</sup> MCNAMER 2014. I would like to thank the author for sharing with me her paper before publication.

<sup>216</sup> BOULTON 2003; VEYSSEYRE–SULPICE 2016. I would like to express my gratitude towards Géraldine Veysseyre for sharing this unpublished article with me before publication, and for her useful comments.

<sup>217</sup> BERTAUX 1899, p. 48, quoted by FLECK 2004, p. 113.

The situation is even more unclear if we keep in mind the fact that the book in the property of the queen was written in the French vernacular, while all the identified inscriptions in the frescoes of the church are in Latin.

Nevertheless, we have no reason to doubt that the item mentioned as part of Queen Mary's testament indeed indicated a version of the MVC in the French vernacular, firstly because very few writings from the medieval period are known under a similar title,<sup>218</sup> and secondly because the MVC was clearly present in the cultural and spiritual milieu in which the frescoes of the church were made. However, we have to admit that further research is needed to identify which French text could have been mentioned in the document of execution of the testament.

#### The Two Lives of Elizabeth of Hungary

The second detailed case study of our investigation is the analysis of the two books containing the *vita* of Saint Elizabeth (*libros duos continentes vitam beatæ Elisabet*) that were sold to the same Nicolaus de Lupino, and we will make an attempt at reconstructing the content of these two lives on the basis of the Elizabeth fresco cycle in the Church of Santa Maria Donna Regina, just below the Passion cycle. As we mentioned at the beginning of this article, on the one hand, Elizabeth of Hungary was one of the most venerated late medie-val female saints in Western Christendom, and on the other, she was especially important for the Hungarian and Neapolitan ruling dynasties.<sup>219</sup>

Elizabeth was born the daughter of King Andrew II of Hungary and Gertrude of Meran in 1207. At the age of four, she moved to Thuringia (today part of Germany), where she became the wife of the local lord (Landgrave); there she lived an apparently happy family life, and three children were born of this marriage. According to the hagiographical sources at our disposal, even during her marriage she lived a life devoted to charity and the support of the poor and lepers, and she came into contact with the first local Franciscans in Thuringia as early as the first decades of the thirteenth century (still during the



<sup>218</sup> Tóth-Falvay 2014.

<sup>219</sup> For a general overview see, for example, WERNER–BLUME 2007; KLANICZAY 2002; PASZTOR 2000; Sz. JÓNÁS 1997, and the proceedings of the conference "Il culto e la storia di Santa Elisabetta d'Ungheria in Europa" in CSORBA–KOMLÓSSY 2005, pp. 200–99. For the latest comprehensive synthesis her cult, see GECSER 2012.

lifetime of the founder of the Franciscan Order). However, her confessor and spiritual director was a lay preacher, Conrad of Marburg, and he had a central role on the formation of her spirituality and would also become the main promoter of her cult. After her husband's death, she continued her charitable activity even more intensively, founding a hospital in Marburg, and because of this she had conflicts with the family of her late husband.

Elizabeth died in 1231 and was canonized very quickly by Pope Gregory IX in 1235. From that time onwards she became one of the most popular female saints in Western Europe. Her popularity can be shown by her multifarious presence in Italian art and literature in the thirteenth and four-teenth centuries: Giotto and Simone Martini, among others, depicted her, and she is one of the only four "modern saints" in the "bestseller" of late medieval hagiography, the *Legenda Aurea* compiled by the Dominican James of Varazze.

As to her presence in the Santa Maria Donna Regina, we have seen that a detailed narrative fresco cycle about her life is one of the main parts of the decoration of the nuns' choir, which can be found on the north wall, below the Passion cycle. The cycle consists of five frescoes containing several narrative parts within each fresco, separated by the architectural elements representing a royal or aristocratic palace. These episodes have been analysed by previous scholarship: in the last few decades, Hungarian scholars have investigated the representations, while the last and most thorough analysis was carried out by Cordelia Warr, in the above-quoted collective volume on the church.<sup>220</sup> Since Warr analysed every single episode of the frescoes, I do not intend to repeat her arguments; I will only go into detail in some parts where I intend to complete her analysis with the results of more recent scholarship (most of all the publication by Ottó Gecser)<sup>221</sup> or on those points where my research leads me to a partially different conclusion. Obviously, the relationship between text and image is usually not unidirectional and direct, and thus in the case of the Elizabeth fresco cycle, other considerations have been formulated (concerning a possible oral tradition about the saint, or the invention of the painter); however, in my view in this case we can accept the point of Émile Bertaux, who considered "these scenes (...) a literal translation of the text."222 Nevertheless, we have to admit at the beginning that the identification

<sup>220</sup> WARR 2004; KLANICZAY 2002; PROKOPP 1998.

<sup>221</sup> Gecser 2009, Gecser 2012.

<sup>222 &</sup>quot;Queste scene non sono drammi, ma capitoli e paragrafi di un racconto: non s'ispirano soltanto alla Leggenda Aurea; sono una traduzione letterale del testo." BERTAUX 1899, p. 87; cf. WARR 2004, p. 170.

of the possible sources of the episodes is a rather complicated task, for several reasons. First, the fresco cycle has been damaged, and consequently some episodes are not visible or can barely be identified. Second, we have to bear it in mind that the medieval legends concerning Saint Elizabeth extensively overlap each other in subject matter. I would like to stress right at the beginning of this investigation that I fully accept Warr's main conclusion, namely that "while the majority of the scenes on the Saint Elizabeth cycle can be linked to an extant written source, no one source can be located that would provide all the relevant material."<sup>223</sup> My goal in this part is to get somewhat closer to these, probably lost, written sources.

The most extended contemporary source on the life of the saint is the vita, which was written on the basis of the depositions of the four maidens, made during the canonisation trial. These depositions were redacted to form a *vita*, made up of the testimonies of her maidens registered during the canonisation process under the title Dicta quatour ancillarum, which was circulated in a longer form as Libellus de dictis quatuor ancillarum. This vita records the majority of the pieces of information at our disposal, and the many other known medieval legends in ca. 90 percent of instances basically repeat - obviously with several modifications, a different order, different wording, etc. - the episodes known from this text.<sup>224</sup> This is also true for the Life of Elizabeth included in the Legenda Aurea, which has been mentioned by previous scholarship as the possible source for the Elizabeth frescoes in the Church of Santa Maria Donna Regina. The lives redacted in the Legenda Aurea by James of Varazze belong to the so-called *abbreviationes*, and consequently they are by definition based on previous legends: if we compare the text of the Legenda Aurea to other previous Elizabeth legends, we can affirm that the majority of the episodes can be read in several other lives, and they may for the most part be traced back to the text of the Libellus.<sup>225</sup> André Vauchez summed up the relationship between the two legends in a clear table of correspondences, and from this comparative survey, we can learn that the main source of the narrative of the Legenda Aurea is indeed the *Libellus*. If we leave aside the *post mortem* healing miracles, operated by the saint – which in the narrow sense do not play a part in the *vita* – and the etymology of the name of the saint at the very beginning of the vita (which is a common feature in the legends of the Legenda Aurea), there are only three narrative units of the Elizabeth vita of the Legenda Aurea that do not have their source in the





<sup>223</sup> WARR 2004, pp. 164-65.

<sup>224</sup> HUYSKENS 1911.

<sup>225</sup> VAUCHEZ 1986.

Libellus.<sup>226</sup> However, we cannot find any visual parallel for three of the episodes in the frescoes of the Neapolitan church, and consequently they are not of central importance from our point of view. Thus it is important to emphasise the fact that the *Libellus* can be indicated as the source of ca. 90 percent of the frescoes, the same proportion that was argued for the *Legenda Aurea*, since all the episodes from the frescoes that can be read in the *Legenda Aurea* are based on the *Libellus*.

The other and more important problem of the identification of the fresco scenes with the written sources is the fact that there are at least two fresco scenes – the miracle of the fish and the miracle of the rose – that cannot be identified with any part of either the *Libellus* or the *Legenda Aurea*. Previous scholars also noticed this phenomenon, but they failed to interpret the textual tradition of these episodes in a satisfactory manner.<sup>227</sup>

The first represents the so-called miracle of the fish that can be seen on the lower register of the penultimate fresco. As Cordelia Warr mentioned, the most widely known written parallel of this episode can be found in a late thirteenth-century legend, composed by Dietrich of Apolda.<sup>228</sup> The legend by Dietrich also contains the majority of the other episodes represented in the fresco cycle, and it is dated to 1289–1294; nonetheless, we cannot consider it to be a possible direct source for the frescoes, for two reasons. Firstly, as we will see below, in the frescoes we can see another episode (the miracle of the rose) that cannot be found either in the above-mentioned texts or in Dietrich of Apolda's *vita*. Secondly, a variant of the miracle of the fish can also be read in other thirteenth-century legends on Saint Elizabeth, such as the *vita* by the Dominican Bartholomew of Trent (†1278), and the two Franciscan *vitae* – the *Tuscan vita* and the *Anonymous Franciscan* – that we will analyse below.<sup>229</sup>

The second episode is nothing other than the famous miracle of the flowers, or the miracle of roses of the saint, which from a later period would become the basis of her main iconographic attribute. This scene can be seen on the top of the first fresco, and we have to underline that its identification is tentative, because the fresco is fragmentary and damaged.<sup>230</sup> The problem of the miracle of the roses is quite complex, and since I had the opportunity to deal with this issue

<sup>226</sup> VAUCHEZ 1986, pp. 45-8.

<sup>227</sup> WARR 2004; PROKOPP 1998, pp. 171-82.

<sup>228</sup> RENER 1993, pp. 94–5, cf. WARR 2004, pp. 161–62, 173n. The most recent analysis of this vita is GECSER 2009, pp. 85–90.

<sup>229</sup> Gecser 2009, pp. 67–9.

<sup>230</sup> WARR 2004; GECSER 2009, pp. 157–58; cf. PROKOPP 1998.

elsewhere, here I would like only to briefly sum up my views. This miracle cannot be found either in the accounts of the canonisation or in any thirteenth-century *vita* of the Hungarian saint. It appears both in visual representations and in written form during the first quarter of the fourteenth century. The first two known images of this miracle are Giotto's fresco in the Bardi Chapel in the Santa Croce of Florence, and the very image from the Neapolitan Church of Santa Maria Donna Regina that we are dealing with. The three textual variants of the miracle are the following: two Latin *vitae* of Franciscan origin, the above-mentioned *Tuscan vita* and the *Anonymous Franciscan*, and an Italian vernacular account from the so-called *Florentine Chronicle* of the thirteenth century. I have analysed these in a detailed way elsewhere, and I have concluded my investigation by stating that "a textual comparison of the three early versions of the miracle shows that they are three independent versions – in other words, none of them can be the direct source of the others – which also means that we have to assume the existence of at least one previous prototype of the narrative."<sup>231</sup>

If we summarise what we can learn from this analysis of the possible written sources of the frescoes of the Elizabeth cycle of the Church of Santa Maria Donna Regina, we can synthesise our findings in two main statements. Firstly, we may state that the majority of the scenes closely follow the episodes of Elizabeth's life as it was described first in the *Libellus de dictis quatuor ancillarum* made on the basis of the deposition of the saint's maidens; at the end of the thirteenth century basically the same life story was incorporated in the *Legenda Aurea*, which would clearly become the more widely diffused and influential version of Elizabeth's life in the fourteenth century, but it is virtually impossible to decide which one of these variants of this textual tradition was used as a source. Secondly, the two miracles represented in the frescoes but missing from the *Libellus–Legenda Aurea* tradition (the miracle of the fish and the miracle of the rose) can be found individually in different legends, but there are only two extant legends that contain both; consequently, in the last part of the present work, I shall deal with these two legends.

The first is an Italian legend, quoted in the scholarship as the *Tuscan vita*, published by Lemmens. The other has been more recently published by Lori Pieper, and is known as the *Anonymous Franciscan*. The first text is from a legendary that for the most part contains the *vitae* of the local saints of Tuscany, while the second *vita* seems to have been written in a Hungarian (or



at least a Central European) courtly milieu. The two *vitae* show some common features, but also fundamental differences. On the one hand, both can be linked clearly to the Franciscan Order, their incipit is similar, and both of them can be dated to the same period, namely the turn of the thirteenth and the fourteenth century, or rather the first decade of the fourteenth century.<sup>232</sup> On the other, the provenance is clearly diverse, and so is the structure of the two texts, since the *Tuscan vita* is a short account concentrating almost exclusively on the miracles, while the *Anonymous Franciscan* is a much longer text, with references to the Hungarian and Franciscan testimonies, and episodes of the saints' lives.

However, we can exclude the possibility that any of these two legends could be the main direct source of the frescoes. The *Tuscan vita* concentrates on the *in vita* and *post mortem* miracles operated by the saint, and consequently it lacks many elements that are represented in the frescoes (her infancy, her marriage, her widowhood etc). Conversely, the *Anonymous Franciscan* contains many other episodes that we can see in the frescoes, but it would be hard to indicate this text as a direct source. For instance, Elizabeth's marriage is one of the main scenes in the fresco cycle (and other elements concerning her husband are also depicted), while in the text the marriage and the husband are mentioned very briefly, and in a clearly negative context.

Furthermore, it is important to note that these two texts are not entirely independent: previous scholarship has supposed that they depend on a common original legend. Moreover, the analysis of the text of the miracle of the rose leads us to a similar conclusion. Recently, also Ottó Gecser argued for a possible Neapolitan origin of the rose-miracle, and we have to consider also, that in Naples there are several other representations of Elizabeth of Hungary with the roses, already in the first part of the fourteenth century.<sup>233</sup>

As a conclusion, therefore, concerning the possible textual sources of the Elizabeth cycle, we have to bear it in mind first that from the document of the execution of Queen Mary's testament we can learn that she owned two,

<sup>232</sup> The editors of the two texts date them to the end of the thirteenth century, but a recent analysis has demonstrated that the *terminus ante quem* seems to be the first decade of the fourteenth century. LEMMENS 1901, pp. 14–20; PIEPER 2000, pp. 29–78; cf. GECSER 2009, pp. 74–85.

<sup>233</sup> There are several sculptures from the first part of the fourteenth century in Neapolitan churches with this motive. I would like to thank Vinni Lucherini and her pupils who shared with me data on this issue during a research seminar in Naples in 2013.

presumably different, Elizabeth *vitae*, and second that Mary probably directly influenced the decorative program of the frescoes. So as a hypothesis we can assume that one *vita* could have represented the *Libellus–Legenda Aurea* textual tradition, and we have no reason to doubt (even if there is no positive proof either) the opinion of previous scholarship that indicated the *Legenda Aurea* as the main source. The second Elizabeth *vita* could have been a part of the Franciscan tradition (which Gecser calls the "enrichment"), since only two *vitae* that are part of this tradition contain both of the miracles missing from the other legend. Both the previous scholarship on the two lives in general and my analysis concerning the miracle of the rose lead us to the conclusion that there could have been at least another common version of them, and moreover, in his last analysis concerning the miracle of the rose, Ottó Gecser indicated Naples as a possible origin of this narrative.<sup>234</sup> Consequently, we can assume that one of the two *vitae* in the possession of Queen Mary may have been a common source of these two Franciscan legends.

\* \* \*

As a conclusion, we must return to our initial question, concerning the identity of Mary of Hungary. Analysing this document, Vinni Lucherini arrived at the conclusion that even if different regional cultures (Hungarian, French and Neapolitan) emerged from the text, for Mary the most important element of her identity remained that of her homeland, Hungary.<sup>235</sup> We have seen that Queen Mary's readings show a general literacy, and a conversance with widely spread texts of Christian culture. What is striking is the considerable amount of French literature, which can make us reconsider the extent to which those books really represent her personal interest: rather, perhaps, they could have been part of the Angevin family library. On the other hand, the frescoes that we have considered again reflect a general Western spirituality, with female

<sup>235 &</sup>quot;È pur vero, però, che nel resoconto degli esecutori testamentari le culture sembrano intrecciarsi e sovrapporsi quasi senza soluzione di continuità, e se molti oggetti, dei più preziosi, risultano giunti a Napoli dalla natia Ungheria, è in Ungheria che se ne dirigono altri, talora non meno preziosi. E nonostante l'Ungheria, con la sua monarchia secolare ben più antica e sacralizzata di quella napoletana, costituisse senza alcun dubbio un elemento più che determinante dell'identità di Maria, la Napoli francesizzata in cui la regina aveva vissuto gran parte della sua vita dovevano aver occupato nel corso degli anni, il più ampio spazio sia nel suo immaginario, sia nella pratica della sua devozione." LUCHERINI 2015, pp. 449.



<sup>234</sup> Gecser 2009.

saints, Christological and Marian devotion, and – as a main written source or parallel – the more generally diffused readings of the early fourteenth century, the *Legenda Aurea* and the *Meditationes Vitae Christi*.

Among the narrative frescoes, and parallel among the identified readings, the *vita* of Elizabeth of Hungary has a special role both as a reading and as a representation. And we have thoroughly analysed one episode that can help us to gain some idea of the other Elizabeth legend owned by the queen, as well as that of the Legenda Aurea. However, as we have seen, Elizabeth was not a regional saint, but was part of the general Western religious culture, and the miracle of the rose seems to have originated from Italy. Consequently, we can pose the question of whether we can find any elements of a Hungarian or a Central European identity of Queen Mary in these two indirect sets of sources. The answer is, of course, an affirmative one. On the one hand, Elizabeth was indeed an international saint, but on the other, she was strongly Hungarian, in the sense that her cult was an essential part of the dynastic self-representation of the Hungarian rulers. And this Hungarian dynastic aspect of Elizabeth in the identity of Mary can be demonstrated also by the presence of another fresco, next to the Life of Elizabeth frescoes: under the fresco of the descent of the Holy Spirit at Pentecost we see the three holy kings of Hungary - Stephen, Ladislas and Emeric.

The Italian Manuscripts of the Meditationes Vitae Christi

<sup>\*</sup> I would like to thank Géraldine Veysseyre, Péter Tóth, and Daniele Solvi for help and suggestions.

The Pseudo-Bonaventuran *Meditationes Vitae Christi* was among the most popular Late Medieval devotional writings in Europe. It was written in Tuscany and there are a huge number of Italian copies among the many Latin manuscripts. The two main Latin versions have been published in critical editions,<sup>236</sup> but until recently the Italian ones have not.<sup>237</sup> We do not even know the exact number of distinct Italian versions, although previous scholarship has distinguished at least three main versions in Italian. Furthermore, there is no scholarly consensus about the original language of the work; it has recently been suggested that one of the Italian versions preceded the Latin version.

The *Meditationes Vitae Christi* (hereafter MVC) is basically a retelling of Christ's life. The narrative contains not only the episodes known from the Gospels, but also apocryphal elements, mainly concerning the life of the Virgin and the infancy of Jesus; furthermore, the narration is enriched by moral teachings and a number of Bernardine quotations. The MVC have survived in hundreds of medieval manuscripts and a huge number of early print versions and it has been widely argued that this text had an especially strong impact on late medieval spirituality, literature, theatre, and visual art. Because of their popularity reflected in the great number of Italian translations, the MVC have been studied by modern scholars since the eighteenth century and in the last few decades a scholarly revival has renewed the focus on this medieval literary piece.<sup>238</sup> Even the most fundamental questions about the origin of the MVC, however, are still debated and have remained open or have been reopened by the most recent contributions.

Scholars agree on only two major elements in the origin of the MVC: that it is a Franciscan text from Tuscany. The Franciscan character of the narrative is indubitable; many of the manuscripts are attributed to Saint Bonaventura; furthermore, in most of the known versions a friar addresses the meditations to a nun and the narration itself implies that the friar is a Franciscan and the nun is a Poor Clare. Another fixed element is the belief that the text originated in Tuscany; a few references in the text suggest that it was written in San Gimignano, and the numerous early Latin and vernacular manuscripts can also be connected to Tuscany.

<sup>238</sup> JONHNSON-WESTPHALL 2013; JONHNSON 2013; TÓTH-FALVAY 2014, FALVAY-TÓTH 2015; MCNAMER 2018b; FALVAY 2020; FLORA-TÓTH 2021; MONTEFUSCO 2021.



<sup>236</sup> Stallings 1965, Stallings 1997.

<sup>237</sup> There are two editions of isolated versions transmitted by one single manuscript each: GASCA-QUEIREZZA 2018; MCNAMER 2018a, while one of the two earliest Italian versions has been published in DOTTO-MONTEFUSCO-FALVAY 2021.

The debated issues are far more numerous, however, and most of them are closely related to the Italian codices of the text. The open questions include who the author was (John of Caulibus, a Pisan nun, or Jacobus of San Gimignano), what the original language was and which version of the text came first (the Latin or Italian, the long or short version), and when it was composed (in the early years or the middle of the fourteenth century). I have dealt previously with many of these open issues; therefore, here I will only present some new results, focusing on the Italian manuscripts.<sup>239</sup>

I do not intend here to enter the debate on the dating. I will only mention that two dates of composition have circulated in the scholarly literature. Traditionally, the accepted terminus was the first years of the fourteenth century. Between 1990 and 2014, many prestigious publications accepted a new date in the mid-fourteenth century – including the critical edition of the Latin text in the *Corpus Christianorum*, and the *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*.<sup>240</sup> In recent scholarly literature, however, a new/old consensus has been formed about the date of the MVC that is a return to the traditional view that the text was composed around 1300, or during the first quarter of the fourteenth century at the latest.<sup>241</sup>

The mid-fourteenth-century date was proposed in 1990 by Sarah Mc-Namer on the basis of her hypothesis concerning the author of *Revelations of the Virgin*, quoted in the MVC. In her further publications, she first modified her view, and then in 2014, she withdrew the whole idea.<sup>242</sup> However, in her most recent publications, she formulated a new hypothesis about the author of the *Revelations*. I cannot accept this identification either,<sup>243</sup> but since this new hypothesis does not interfere substantially with the date of the MVC, I am not dealing with it in the present Chapter.

- 240 "Introduction". In Stallings 1997, p. ix; Arosio 2000.
- 241 See McNamer 2018a; Falvay 2020; Flora-Tóth 2021.
- 242 For this debate, see Chapter 4 in the present volume.

<sup>239</sup> FALVAY 2005, FALVAY 2013, TÓTH–FALVAY 2014, FALVAY–TÓTH 2015, FALVAY 2020, see also Chapter 4 in the present volume.

<sup>243</sup> MCNAMER 2018a, pp. cxli-cxlv. For the counter-arguments, see FALVAY 2020, pp. 157-164.

# Historiographical Considerations

The most important contribution on the textual tradition of the MVC is connected to Columban Fischer's article. In his groundbreaking but often criticised study on the manuscript tradition of the MVC, which he first defended as a doctoral dissertation and then published in the *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* in 1932, he listed altogether 217 witnesses in various languages – Latin, Italian, English, French, and German.<sup>244</sup> Fischer intended to explore the MVC in general, but clearly he paid special attention to the Latin and Italian manuscripts since the text was written in Italy, and, the primacy of one of the Italian versions has also been argued from time to time, as will be discussed below.

Fischer's pioneering study was criticised by several authors in subsequent studies; the most important and influential contribution was written by Alberto Vaccari in 1952. He proposed withdrawing at least four codices from Fischer's list and adding nine new copies, mainly from libraries in Florence and Rome. Furthermore, in terms of philology, he made fundamental analyses which make his article the most important and long-lasting contribution about the Italian manuscripts.<sup>245</sup>

The next significant contribution concerning the Italian manuscripts of the MVC was the well-known monograph by Isa Ragusa and Rosalia Green. In 1961, they translated one of the most important Italian manuscripts, the famous illuminated codex from the National Library of Paris: MS Ital. 115.<sup>246</sup> This publication was a milestone for research on the text, especially for art historians, since the book, without being exactly a facsimile, imitates the Paris MS. It contains reproductions of all the illustrations of this exceptional fourteenth-century codex, shown in their original position in the text; it also tends to imitate the page layout of the codex, which enabled scholars to perceive the interaction between text and image in the manuscript. Indeed, this edition has become the usual point of reference for art historians and others. As I have argued recently, however, this publication is rather problematic for specialists of philology. Not only did Ragusa and Green publish an English translation of



<sup>244</sup> FISCHER 1932.

<sup>245</sup> VACCARI 1952, pp. 352–56. Among Fischer and Vaccari there are a number of other important contributions to the historiography such as the publications by OLIGER 1921; CELLULI 1936; PETROCCHI 1952, but they deal less directly with the manuscript evidence of the MVC.

<sup>246</sup> RAGUSA-GREEN 1961.

an unedited Italian text, but when they found the medieval Italian text at fault they went as far as correcting it. In many places, they amend their Italian source by drawing preferable readings from the Latin MVC, and in the last quarter of the work, which is missing from the Paris MS, they translated a Latin edition instead of their Italian source to complete the English version of the text.<sup>247</sup> Their Latin source is an additional drawback of their *Meditations*. Because no critical edition of the Latin *Meditationes* was available when they prepared they translation, the Latin edition they relied on differs considerably from the critical text.

In recent decades, scholarship around the Italian MVC has again intensified. In 1990, Sarah McNamer published an article that would determine – as mentioned above – the scholarly consensus on the date of the MVC in general for more than 20 years. She also presented some important arguments about the Italian manuscripts of the text. Later, she developed and partly modified her views, and in 2009, thanks to a special Italian codex, she published an article in *Speculum* and shortly afterwards a monograph in which she proposed a brand new hypothesis for the origin and author of the MVC. She completed her research during the following years and in 2018 published a volume with the critical edition of an Italian version that, in her view, is the original form of the text.<sup>248</sup>

The issue of the authorship is also closely connected to Italian codices. Until very recently, there used to be almost total consensus about the author of the MVC: the person of John of Caulibus. In the most recent publications, however, two radically new hypotheses have been formulated about the possible author of the text. First, Sarah McNamer argued that the MVC could have been written by a female author, a Pisan nun. In our joint research, however, Péter Tóth has identified a certain Spiritual Franciscan, namely Jacobus of San Gimignano, as a more plausible author of the text.<sup>249</sup>

I shall not repeat our arguments at length here, but I will stress three points, all closely connected to the Italian codices. First, Jacobus was known to

<sup>247</sup> The Latin texts that inspired their correction of the Italian MVC are two printed versions published in Venice in 1761, and PELTIER 1868; from p. 327 onwards, corresponding to the missing quarter of the text in the Paris MS, they used only the second one, the edition of the writings of Saint Bonaventura (PELTIER 1868).

<sup>248</sup> MCNAMER 2009, MCNAMER, 2010, MCNAMER 2018a for further details, see below, under The *Testo breve*.

<sup>249</sup> McNamer 2009, McNamer 2014, McNamer 2018b; cf. Tóth-Falvay 2014, Falvay-Tóth 2015, Falvay 2020, Tóth 2021.

the previous scholarship, but his name and role were seriously misinterpreted. Columban Fischer misread the colophon of a manuscript "Qui se comença lo prolego ne le meditationi de la vita de Cristo, conposto per frate Jacobo de l'ordene di frati minori, translato de gramatica in latino":<sup>250</sup> instead of "Jacobo de l'ordene di frati minori", he read "Jacobo de Cordone di frati minore" and this error was repeated later by many other scholars.<sup>251</sup> Second, scholars once considered that he translated the Latin MVC into Italian since his name appears only in Italian codices and this sentence indeed hints at the idea of translation. His name, however, clearly refers not to James but to the book. Another manuscript preserves another form of his name: 'Jacobus of San Gimignano', where he is documented as a Spiritual Franciscan from the first decade of the fourteenth century, and, as we know from Donal Cooper's recent essay, he was personally involved in the 'cura monialium' of the Clarissan community in San Gimignano.<sup>252</sup> The third consideration is that even though previous scholars knew of three codices, now no fewer than seven Italian manuscripts are known that contain the name of Jacobus and his name is attested in both the long and the short versions of the MVC.<sup>253</sup> These considerations make Jacobus of San Gimignano a more plausible candidate than John of Caulibus, since his name only appears in an indirect and later source and cannot be found in any medieval exemplar of the MVC itself.254

## The Italian Manuscripts

Speaking about number of codices, Fischer's catalogue lists only 52 Italian MSS, while at present no fewer than 78 MSS of the Italian MVC are

<sup>254</sup> Recently Donal COOPER 2021 has presented new archival research concerning Jacobus of San Gimignano that supports our view, while Antonio Montefusco has brought new arguments based on indirect manuscript evidence supporting the hypothesis that Iohannes de' Caulibus was the author. These data are not connected to the Italian corpus, thus, I will not deal with them here. MONTEFUSCO 2021, for the counter-arguments see my forthcoming monograph.



<sup>250</sup> Venice, Biblioteca Marciana, MS Ital. Z 7, f. 1r.

<sup>251</sup> Petrocchi 1952; Vaccari 1952; Arosio 2000.

<sup>252</sup> TOTH-FALVAY 2014; COOPER 2021.

<sup>253</sup> Florence, BNCF, MS N.A. 350. Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, MS Ital. Z. 7 belong to the Testo maggiore, while MS Riccardiana 1378; MS Magl. XXXVIII. 143; B. Medicea Laurenziana, MS Biscion. 6; Biblioteca Francescana di Falconara Marittima, MS 419, Pennsylvania, UPenn, Ms. Codex 271 to the *Testo minore*.

known. This number of medieval manuscripts in the context of Italian vernacular devotional literature is comparable to the extant copies and dissemination of the *Fioretti*, the Italian translations of the *Vitae Patrum*, or the Italian *Legenda Aurea*. Indeed, 86 medieval manuscripts of the *Fioretti* are listed in Federico Fascetti's recent catalogue;<sup>255</sup> in his monograph, Carlo Delcorno includes no fewer than 191 MSS of the Italian *volgarizzamento* of the *Vitae Patrum* by Domenico Cavalca;<sup>256</sup> and, as Speranza Cerullo's research reveals, there are almost 200 MSS that preserve the Italian translation of the *Golden Legend*, even if a clear majority of them are only partial copies.<sup>257</sup>

Before discussing the Italian manuscripts of the MVC, we must summarise the situation of its textual history in general, both because it is far from clear and because the Italian variants are crucial for reconstructing the transmission of the text. The scholarship on the MVC has - mainly based on Columban Fischer's seminal article<sup>258</sup> distinguished three different versions of the Latin text: the so-called grosse Text, generally containing 92 to 100 chapters, the *kleine Text*, with about 40 to 48 chapters, and a short text dealing only with the Passion, referred to as the Meditationes de Passione Christi (MPC). According to Fischer's original hypothesis, this last and shortest version could have been written originally by Bonaventura himself and the other versions are simple re-elaborations of this original. This argument has been rejected by almost all other scholars and the present scholarly consensus takes the opposite view, that the *kleine Text* and the MPC are only extracts from the grosse Text, which is closer to the original. Furthermore, some scholars have argued convincingly that indeed the Latin kleine Text cannot be treated as a separate version for at least two reasons: it is not textually compact, and it is attested in only a small number of manuscripts.<sup>259</sup>

The question of the Italian versions is even more complicated because several different versions are attested among them. Some of them were published – quite randomly – between the eighteenth and twentieth centuries based on one single manuscript or just a few manuscripts that were easily accessible to the editors, who sometimes even combined the texts of different versions.<sup>260</sup>

<sup>255</sup> FASCETTI 2009–10.

<sup>256</sup> Delcorno 2000.

<sup>257</sup> CERULLO 2015, CERULLO 2019.

<sup>258</sup> FISCHER 1932.

<sup>259</sup> GASCA QUEIRAZZA 1962-64, MCNAMER 1990, pp. 251-57.

<sup>260</sup> DONADELLI 1823 is an edition of the *Testo minore* based on one single MS; Rossi 1859 gives the transcription of a fifteenth-century non-Tuscan rewriting of the MVC

Taking the narrative into consideration, the text can be divided into three units: 1) the 'Infancy' unit or section covers the events preceding the Incarnation and infancy of Jesus (including episodes from the life of the Virgin); 2) the 'Public Ministry' unit deals with the public ministry of Christ (including a long Treatise on Contemplative Life based on Bernard of Clairvaux); and 3) the 'Passion' unit relates to the events around the Passion (from Palm Sunday to Pentecost). Distinct introductions also separate these three narrative units on the textual level in both the Latin and the Italian versions. Based on the content, scholarship usually identifies two or three versions of the text, as proposed by the same three scholars mentioned above, who defined specific criteria that make it possible to delineate different branches of the text. As noted above, Columban Fischer divided both the Latin and the Italian versions of the MVC into three groups: the grosse Text that contains all three narrative sections, the Meditationes de Passione Christi (MPC), which includes only the section on the Passion, and an intermediate version called the kleine Text, which contains the Infancy section and the Passion unit. Alberto Vaccari analysed the Italian versions in particular and wrote about two versions, which he called *Testo integrale* (the equivalent of Fischer's grosse Text) and Testo dimezzato (the equivalent of Fischer's kleine Text) Meanwhile, Sarah McNamer has proposed new and more neutral denominations, using the forms Testo maggiore and Testo minore, and also introduced a previously unstudied - and even shorter – version into the classification. It survives in only one single manuscript in the Bodleian Library (MS Canonici Italian 174). She called it the Canonici Version in her first publications, but later used the definitive denomination of Testo breve (Short Italian Text).<sup>261</sup> In my recent publications, I have accepted McNamer's terminology and thus I use Testo maggiore, Testo minore, MPC, and Testo breve.

The differences in the termonology indicate fundamental differences in the interpretations of the textual history of the MVC. The traditional consensus, represented by Vaccari, considers the Latin Testo maggiore as the original and the shorter Latin versions as extracts from it. The traditional consensus about the

2009, MCNAMER 2018a, and MCNAMER 2018b.



<sup>(</sup>see below). An edition of the Testo maggiore B is: SORIO 1847. The editor used two MSS, the main one of which is lost; the control text was Verona, Biblioteca Comunale, MS 643. The most accessible edition is SARRI 1933, which is an edition of the Testo minore based on several Florentine MSS, but this is heavily contaminated because Sarri integrated the "missing" part of this version from the publication by SORIO 1847. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Canon. ital. 174. For details see below. MCNAMER

Italian versions is that the same long Latin version was translated into thevernacular first. Vaccari separated two different fourteenth-century translations of the *Testo maggiore: Testo maggiore A* (conserved in the Paris MS Ital. 115)and *Testo maggiore B*. He argued that *Testo maggiore A* was amore faithful Italian translation of the Latin that somehow remained mostly isolated during the Middle Ages, while the other Italian translation, the *Testo maggiore B*, had circulated more widely, and the Italian short texts, *Testo minore* and the MPC derive from this variant.<sup>262</sup>

Sarah McNamer has drawn an almost entirely inverse pattern of circulation. She argues for the absolute primacy of the shortest Italian version, called *Testo breve*, attested uniquely in the fifteenth-century *Canonici* manuscript. According to her reconstruction, this short Italian text written by "Author A" was later expanded by "Author B" into the Italian *Testo minore*, and subsequently into the *Testo maggiore B*. Only this third Italian version would have been translated into Latin, producing the Latin *Testo maggiore*, and this would have been the source of the other Latin versions, which were extracted from it. She infers that the late medieval translations in other European vernacular languages were also based on this long Latin version. A striking peculiarity of this reconstruction is that in such a stemma the Italian *Testo maggiore A* (extant in the Paris MS Ital. 115) appears among the furthest from the original as a simple re-translation from the Latin.<sup>263</sup>

I can easily accept the terminology McNamer suggests for the *Testo maggiore*, the *Testo minore*, and the *Testo breve*, but Vaccari's solution seems the most plausible for the textual history. In other words, as I have argued elsewhere, I am convinced that the MVC had been written first in Latin. Moreover, chronologically speaking, the first Italian versions were probably the versions of *Testo maggiore*, (*Testo maggiore A* and the *Testo maggiore B*) both attested as early as the second quarter of the fourteenth century.

<sup>262</sup> See below.

<sup>263</sup> The two reconstructions of the textual history are clearly synthetized by the two stemmas published in McNAMER 2009, pp. 908–9.

At the present state of research, we can affirm that the Italian Testo maggiore has survived in at least ten medieval codices, clearly a minority among the complete manuscripts. The numbers of *A* and *B* codices in this group are even more striking. Eight out of these nine copies contain the Testo maggiore B. The *Testo maggiore* A – which seems to be a particularly important variant – is only extant integrated in a *codex unicus*, that is, the famous illustrated MS. Ital. 15 of the National Library of Paris, dated to cca. 1330-1350.

Alberto Vaccari noted the importance of this variant early on; he defined it as a first translation that is "greatly superior to the common one."<sup>264</sup> He even briefly mentions the possibility that this could have been the original version of the text, but immediately, in the same sentence, rejects this option without even expounding on this point:

If in the background of the Latin MVC there was an Italian original, it could be nothing else than this text A. Against this supposition, I find serious arguments, but I keep from expressing them.<sup>265</sup>

Vaccari's particular phrasing was misunderstood – or extrapolated – by some scholars; one of them, Isa Ragusa (the editor of the English translation of this codex), built on this assumption by arguing not only that the Italian Testo *maggiore* A could be the first (and a better) translation from the Latin, but also that it could be the earliest version of the MVC, their original version in the absolute sense.<sup>266</sup> I have dealt with this hypothesis recently and I concluded that Ragusa's interpretation was based on a mistaken fact and, consequently, there is no reason to argue for the absolute primacy of the Testo maggiore A.<sup>267</sup> Jacques Dalarun recently proposed a much more grounded argument for the Paris MS, arguing for a double redaction of the MVC, hypothesizing

<sup>267</sup> Also Ragusa herself has modified partially her view in RAGUSA 2003. See FALVAY 2012, and more recently FALVAY 2021.



VACCARI 1952, p. 358. 264

<sup>&</sup>quot;...di gran lunga superiore alla comune. ... Se dietro il latino delle MVC sta un origi-265 nale italiano, questo non sarebbe altro che il testo A. Contro quella supposizione mi si affacciano gravi ragioni, ma mi astengo dall'esporle". VACCARI 1952, p. 358; p. 361. 266 RAGUSA 1997.

that the MVC were written by the same author in both Latin and Italian, as the author could also have been a 'self-translator'. Clearly, the parallel Italian authorial text could have been the *Testo maggiore A*.<sup>268</sup> Although Dalarun's hypothesis has merits, I cannot share it entirely, because – as I have argued – the Italian text of the Paris MS contains several errors and misunderstandings of the Latin and thus cannot be a 'self-translation' or authorial text.<sup>269</sup>

Nevertheless, the Italian *Testo maggiore A* remains an extremely important variant of the text. At the present state of research we can consider it probably a first, and for sure an independent, early translation of the Italian MVC, although its impact on the textual history of the Italian MVC seems to have been rather limited. Until 2020, the scholarship mentioned only an old printing and a nineteenth-century copy that seemed to reflect its textual characteristics. A close reading of the text of that old printed version shows that the textual similarity to the Paris MS was based only on a misunderstanding by Vaccari.<sup>270</sup>

Recently, Federico Rossi identified a number of Italian manuscripts that do not belong structurally to the *Testo maggiore* type, but he argues that they contain the same "*volgarizzamento*" as the Paris MS.<sup>271</sup> Later, Rossi modified his argument slightly, but we still have to consider two further medieval codices that contain parts of the same vernacular translation, which he calls '*Volgarizzamento B*'. The first one is MS Riccardiano 1346, which is a peculiar variant from a structural viewpoint since it leaves out both the Infancy section and the Passion, but does include the second narrative unit, the public ministry of Christ, and the *Treatise on Contemplative Life*. Also, the redactor deliberately modified the order when he copied this section.<sup>272</sup> In reality, the second

<sup>268</sup> DALARUN-BESSEYRE 2009. I am grateful to Géraldine Veysseyre for informing me about this publication.

<sup>269</sup> FALVAY 2021. See also Rossi 2021. For an analysis of the syntax see SZILÁGYI 2021, and SZILÁGYI 2021b.

<sup>270</sup> The incunabulum is Milano, de Cornero, c. 1470 (see GESAMTKATALOG 1930, iv: n. 4767) quote by VACCARI 1952, p. 345. According to Alberto Vaccari, this could have the same prologue, and therefore he suggested that an eventual edition of the Paris MS should be completed with the text of this incunable. From a close reading of the two texts, however, it is clear that they preserve two Italian versions that are entirely independent in both structure and textual features. The modern copy is Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS. Ferraioli 423.

<sup>271</sup> Rossi 2020.

<sup>272</sup> Dated to cca. 1391, this codex is known as the codex unicus of the *Colloquio Spirituale* by Simone da Cascina. Rossi 2020, pp. 313–15.

manuscript is only a one-chapter-long fragment<sup>273</sup> while the other two codices in reality do represent another translation of the MVC.<sup>274</sup>

The Italian *Testo maggiore B* of the MVC seems to have been diffused much more widely than Version A preserved in at least eight manuscripts.<sup>275</sup> The oldest manuscript of this version (Florence: Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, N.A. 350) is dated to the second quarter of the fourteenth century, in other words, it seems to be contemporary with the Paris MS of the *Testo maggiore A*. Moreover, *Testo maggiore B* can be considered a more organically diffused version since it is more closely connected to the *Testo minore*, the most widely disseminated Italian version. The limits of this article do not allow me to include long collations, but I have made several partial ones, some in collective publications, which confirm close links between both the content and the textual features of the *Testo maggiore B* and the *Testo minore*.<sup>276</sup>

In 1952, Vaccari urged scholars to prepare a critical edition of the Paris MS, a desideratum that was not met until recently.<sup>277</sup> The historical and art-historical importance of the Paris MS (representing *Testo maggiore A*) and the philological importance of *Testo maggiore B* for the textual tradition of the MVC are the main reasons why a new research project was launched to publish the critical edition of these two texts: *Testo maggiore A* and *B*.<sup>278</sup> The first publication, entitled '*Le Meditationes vitae Christi secondo* il codice Paris, BNF, Ital. 115' concentrates on the Paris MS, and appeared in 2021 in the series *Filologie Medievali e Moderne* of the Edizioni Ca' Foscari of Venice edited by Diego Dotto, Dávid Falvay, and Antonio Montefusco, with

<sup>278</sup> The research project is funded by the Hungarian Research Fund, NKFI129671, coordinated by the author of this article: the members of the group are: Péter Ertl, Eszter Konrád, Ditta Szemere; the external consultants are: Diego Dotto, Giampaolo Salvi, Daniele Solvi, and Filippo Sedda.



<sup>273</sup> Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Canon. ital. 214, Rossi 2020, p. 316.

<sup>274</sup> Milan: Biblioteca Trivulziana MS 543, which is a copy of the *Testo minore*; and Florence: Biblioteca Laurenziana, Pluteo 89 sup. 94, which is an exemplar of the MPC. Rossi 2020, pp. 315–16. Cf. Rossi 2021.

<sup>275</sup> The witnesses of the Testo maggiore B are: Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, MS Conv. Soppr. D. I. 227; Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, MS Nuove Accessioni 350; Siena, Biblioteca comunale degli Intronati, MS I.VIII.6, MS I.V.7, and MS I. VI. 7; Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Rossiano 848; Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, MS Ital. Z. 7; Verona, Biblioteca Comunale, MS 643. Falconara Marittima, Biblioteca Francescana, MS 24. Another MS preserves the *codex unicus* of the Sicilian version of the MVC, which is an independent translation, but follows the *Testo maggiore* structurally: Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale di Napoli, MS XII F 13, for its edition: Gasca QUEIREZZA 2009.

<sup>276</sup> See the Collation in Appendix 1.

<sup>277</sup> VACCARI 1952, p. 361: "...la cosa più urgente e necessaria a fare in questa materia è l'edizione integrale del testo A, cioè del manoscritto Parigino...".

an art-historical analysis by Holly Flora. This publication includes the critical edition of the text of the *Testo maggiore A* using the Paris MS as the base text, emending it against the readings of the other two partial exemplars. The publication includes a transcription of the titles, instructions that were added to the miniatures by one of the copyists of the codex, and colour reproductions of all the images with art-historical comments for all the illustrations. In addition, there is a Latin and an Italian glossary to assist in linguistic analysis, and seven introductory studies.<sup>279</sup> The second (partial) edition includes 10 representative chapters from both versions of the *Testo maggiore: Testo A* of the Paris MS and *Testo B* based on the Florentine MS (BNCF: N.A. 350), emending it based on the four other exemplars in a synoptical edition (two texts, with two parallel, synchronized sets of notes).<sup>280</sup>

#### The Testo Minore and the Testo Breve (The Short Italian Text)

The Italian *Testo minore* is the most diffused version of the MVC of the Italian corpus. This version is available thanks to Donadelli's edition and also known from Sarri's edition, even though the latter is contaminated because the editor completed the missing central part by interpolating Sorio's previously edited text.<sup>281</sup> As noted above, it is divided into 41 or 42 chapters and contains the first and the third narrative sections of the text, (the Infancy and the Passion units that follow the prologue). It reports events before the Incarnation (the life of the Virgin), and the infancy of Jesus. Following the baptism of Christ and His temptation in the desert, however, the narrative jumps directly to the period that immediately precedes the Passion and leads up to it, so that the second part of the text describes the events from Palm Sunday to Pentecost.

The Italian *Testo minore* has survived in at least 48 medieval manuscripts. The success of this version of the MVC can be explained by its easily manageable length, and perhaps because the two sections it encompasses would have been the most appealing for a Late Medieval audience, since the infancy section contains many popular episodes from the apocryphal tradition and the

<sup>279</sup> DOTTO-FALVAY-MONTEFUSCO 2021.

<sup>280</sup> Falvay-Szemere-Ertl-Konrád 2021.

<sup>281</sup> DONADELLI 1823; SARRI 1933. Maybe the best, albeit partial, edition is that of LEVASTI 1935.

Passion was at the centre of late medieval popular piety.<sup>282</sup> Furthermore, as Sarah McNamer has convincingly demonstrated, this version – in contrast to the Latin *kleine Text* – has a compact and organic structure. This popularity and organic structure led McNamer to formulate a hypothesis about the absolute precedence of this Italian *Testo minore*.<sup>283</sup>

In 2009, McNamer modified her previous thesis about the primacy of the *Testo minore* in general and argued that a subtype of the Italian *Testo minore* should be considered the original form of the MVC. As mentioned above, this specific variant of the text has survived in a unique codex, the Bodleian Library (MS Canonici Italian 174), first called the *Canonici version* or *Canonici text*, but *Testo breve* (The Short Italian Text) in her later publications and in the text edition of 2018.<sup>284</sup> There is no space or opportunity here to present detailed textual comparisons, but it is evident that this version is indeed separate, differing both in structure and textual content from the other known variants in Italian and Latin. McNamer summarises her arguments clearly in the conclusion of her 2014 article:

... the original version of the popular and influential pseudo–Bonaventuran MVC was a short Italian version consisting of a prologue and thirty chapters, treating only the infancy and passion and replete with the affective and dramatic characteristics for which the MVC came to be so widely admired; ...this original version, witnessed uniquely by Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Canonici Italian 174 (and thus designated, in what follows, as the Canonici version or text), was composed by a nun .... In short, my current hypothesis is this: the original version of the MVC, the *Canonici* text, was composed by a Poor Clare in Pisa, sometime during the first two decades of the fourteenth century, probably between about 1305 and 1315.<sup>285</sup>

I assume that almost all of McNamer's arguments are valid points; this text is stylistically more compact and dramatic; I can also accept that this is the most valuable variant from the viewpoint of literary aesthetics; it is plausible,

<sup>285</sup> McNAMER 2014, p. 120. 'In her 2018 publication, the author modifies the date slightly by saying: "I posit that Author A composed the testo breve sometime between about 1300 and 1325." 'McNAMER 2018b, p. 72.



<sup>282</sup> A further argument for the popularity of the *Testo minore* can be that these two sections are connected to the two biggest Christian feasts, Christmas and Eastern.

<sup>283</sup> McNamer 1990.

<sup>284</sup> MCNAMER 2018A, MCNAMER 2018a.

too, that it could have been written by a woman – unlike most of the other known variants. There is only one point that I cannot accept and it is quite important: namely, that this codex confirms the original version of the MVC. I have had the opportunity to discuss McNamer's hypothesis with her; there has been quite a lively scholarly debate between her and Péter Tóth and me.<sup>286</sup> I will not repeat the arguments and counterarguments here, however, below I discuss one additional element of this specific textual variant of the Italian MVC.<sup>287</sup>

#### Intermediate Variants, and the Marian Redaction

At this point, I would like add some new categories to the previous categorization of the Italian manuscripts of the MVC. I will argue that there are some further variants among the already-recognized versions (*Testo maggiore A* and *B*, *Testo minore, Testo breve, MPC*) and I will define some specific subtypes of the text that have not been registered by previous scholarship. I present briefly some intermediate variants that seem to be abridged versions of the *Testo maggiore* and some that expand the *Testo minore*. I will also analyze a specific variant, the "Marian redaction," noted by Alberto Vaccari in an old printed version.

For intermediate variants, first let me note that half of the known exemplars of the *Testo maggiore B*<sup>288</sup> omit the long Bernardian "Treatise on the Contemplative Life" from the "Public Ministry" section of the integral text. This is a considerable modification since it comprises roughly 10 percent of the integral text of the 11 chapters in the treatise,<sup>289</sup> which is why these codices have only 82 to 89 chapters compared to the 95 to 102 chapters usual in the *Testo maggiore* type. The reason for this omission seems to be that a long doctrinal "excursus" in the narrative of the MVC could easily be cut out.<sup>290</sup>

<sup>286</sup> McNamer 2009; Toth-Falvay 2014, Falvay–Toth 2015; McNamer 2018b; Falvay 2020; Toth 2021.

<sup>287</sup> See below under the last section of this present Chapter.

<sup>288</sup> Venice: Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana Ital. Z. 7; Siena: Biblioteca Comunale degli Intronati I.V.7, and I. VI. 7; Falconara Marittima, Bibl. Francescana, 24.

<sup>289</sup> In the Latin version, it covers pages 175 to 217, which are the nn. 47–59 of the structural collation: ERTL et al. 2013.

<sup>290</sup> Giorgio Petrocchi, however, argued convincingly, citing several parallel cases, that the inclusion of such doctrinal passages in medieval narratives is quite a common feature. PETROCCHI 1952, pp. 769–71.

Another type of intermediate version is the case when a *Testo minore*-type manuscript, which normally omits the "Public Ministry of Christ," does contain some episodes from the public life of Jesus. Such codices are among the fifteenth-century copies, and I have indentified three codices of this type: MS Trivulziano 543, MS Riccardiani 1052, and MS Monteprandone 37. These manuscripts indeed include some of Christ's miracles from the Public Ministry-section, but they have the added textual feature that they include further chapters from the life of the Virgin among the episodes from the Gospel. Because of this characteristic, I will treat them as exemplars of the Marian redaction.

Alberto Vaccari states of the early printed versions of the MVC that one of them, the incunabulum printed by de Zanichis in Venice around 1500, includes two additional episodes: an extra chapter on the birth of the Virgin at the beginning, and another one on her Assumption at the end of the text. Vaccari named this variant the "Marian redaction," but he did not know of any manuscript copy of this redaction.<sup>291</sup> Since then, I have discovered two codices that belong to this redaction.

The Museum of Monteprandone preserves the library of James of the Marches, the famous fifteenth-century Observant Franciscan preacher. The catalogue of 2000 lists Codex M37, copied in the fourteenth or fifteenth century, but the content of the codex was misinterpreted, since it was labelled an "anonymous vernacular translation from the fourteenth century of Saint Bonaventura's sermons."<sup>292</sup>. In reality, however, it is a previously unidentified manuscript of the MVC with 49 chapters.<sup>293</sup>

I have dealt with this codex elsewhere,<sup>294</sup> so here I will only discuss it briefly in terms of its Marian content. This manuscript contains both of the extra chapters mentioned by Vaccari as characteristic for the old Venetian printed copy: the birth of the Virgin in chapter 4 at f. 6v–7r, and the Assumption in the last chapter at ff. 109v–112v. The textual content of the codex indicates that it belongs to the same textual group as the Venetian printed version.

Another codex also seems to be connected to this subtype. The fifteenthcentury MS 1052 of the Riccardiana Library of Florence, listed in Fischer's catalogue, is known to scholars dealing with Dante, since it includes some poetic



<sup>291</sup> VACCARI 1952, p. 346.

<sup>292 &</sup>quot;Il codice contiene le Meditazioni su Cristo, volgarizzamento dei Semoni (sic!) di S. Bonaventura di anonimo del sec. XIV." Loggi 2000, p. 73.

<sup>293</sup> I am grateful to padre Lorenzo Turchi, since he kindly provided me with a digital copy of the manuscript.

<sup>294</sup> FALVAY 2017.

components attributed to him,<sup>295</sup> but no one has ever analysed the MVC extant in it (at ff. 15v–88v) from the textual point of view. The particularity of this variant is that it does contain one of the two Marian extra episodes at the end, the Assumption of the Virgin at the end of the MVC and the life of the Virgin before the Incarnation, which seems to be expanded. In this codex, however, the other additional episode, the birth of the Virgin, can be read as a separate text not incorporated in the narration of the MVC. It is situated just a few folios after the MVC, at f. 91v, following the distinct rubric – "*Leggende della nascita della Vergine*" – and incipit – "*Del nascimento della gloriosa madre di uita eterna Vergine gloriosa Maria la quale fu madre*…" Based on these attributes, we can hypothesise that this Florentine manuscript attests a stage of textual transmission earlier than the Monteprandone version and the Venetian printed copy, since it is plausible that the additional Marian episodes were included in the text of the MVC gradually, taken from other sources.

As noted above, besides the previously known versions of the Italian MVC – *Testo maggiore, Testo minore, Testo breve*, and *MPC*, a number of codices have been identified that do not entirely fit in these categories; consequently, we had to introduce new sub-categories. These manuscripts textually follow basically the same translation as the *Testo maggiore B* and the *Testo minore*, but there are a number of further variants that differ from the other known variants on the textual level.

#### The Non-Tuscan Rewritings (Rifacimenti) and the Testo Breve

I have analysed the *Testo breve* elsewhere, partly in articles written together with Péter Tóth,<sup>296</sup> and I have dealt with it also above in the present Chapter, so here I shall discuss only one specific aspect – the linguistic features. The *Canonici* MS is clearly a fifteenth-century codex and McNamer is well aware of this. The linguistic analysis made by Pär Larson as an introduction to her text edition shows that two distinct linguistic strata can be distinguished in the Italian text of the *Testo breve*. To sum it up simply, while the original text could have been

<sup>295</sup> DE ROBERTIS 2002, pp. 347-48.

<sup>296</sup> Tóth-Falvay 2014, Falvay-Tóth 2015, and Falvay 2020.

from Tuscany, the copyist of this codex was from the Veneto region and Larson identified a number of linguistic features that are specific to Pisa.<sup>297</sup>

McNamer interprets these arguments as evidence that the Canonici MS was copied in the Veneto area (not necessarily in Venice) directly from a Pisan codex, but this is not the only possible explanation. Here I return to the issue of how the Italian manuscripts are classified. In my research on the textual tradition of the Italian MVC, I discovered a peculiar phenomenon: most fourteenth-century codices follow the two previously established branches of the text (let us continue to call them Testo maggiore and Testo minore), but in the fifteenth century, in addition to many simple copies still in accordance with the two previous branches, a number of codices were copied that are quite different both structurally and textually. Moreover, among these different features, they are not written in Tuscan.

For instance, a codex still kept in the National Library of Naples preserves the only known version of the MVC written in the Sicilian language and the first Italian version, published in a critical edition, by Giuliano Gasca-Queirazza.<sup>298</sup> The singularity of this version is not only linguistic; it also arises from the structural and narrative levels. It resembles the Testo maggiore but omits, abridges or combines several episodes of the latter. It is even more meaningful that the context and framework of the narrative are radically changed; the text is no longer attributed to a friar who addresses these Meditations to a nun; instead, the text is clearly for a male pupil. Furthermore, the Franciscan character of this Sicilian version has been minimised and many additional Bernardine and Benedictine quotations have been added. In the opinion of its editor, this text is a distinct translation and at the same time rifacimento, a rewriting, of the text, designed for a Benedictine male community in the fifteenth century.<sup>299</sup>

Another variant, likewise surviving in a single fifteenth-century codex today kept in the Angelica Library of Rome, has some similar peculiar features. Edited in the nineteenth century by Adamo Rossi,<sup>300</sup> this text shows clear signs



<sup>297</sup> "The vernacular version of the MVC was originally written by a Tuscan; at a certain point a branch of the tradition was transplanted to the Veneto and gradually Veneticized (...) an originally Tuscan text, de-Tuscanized by Northern Italian - most probably Venetian – copyists." LARSON, 2018, clxxv. Biblioteca Nazionale di Napoli Ms. XII F 13. GASCA–QUEIRAZZA 2009.

<sup>298</sup> 

<sup>299</sup> "... dunque la redazione siciliana del nostro manoscritto è opera di un monaco benedettino. Il discorso poi è rivolto chiaramente a un destinatario di sesso maschile." (GASCA-QUEIRAZZA 2009, xviii-xix).

<sup>300</sup> MS Roma, Bibl. Angelica, MS 2213.

of the Umbrian dialect and it differs both textually and structurally from all the other known Latin and vernacular variants of the MVC. Toth and I have analysed the style and content of this version, which we termed the Angelica Version. Here I would like to stress the dialectal character and provenience of this codex. The editor, Rossi and Vaccari, noted that the text of the codex has two separate linguistic strata: a Tuscan base underlying a marked Umbrian layer. Moreover, in Vaccari's opinion, this codex cannot be considered a distinct translation from the Latin, but rather an interdialectal translation from the Tuscan ("*tradotta dal toscano*") into the Umbrian dialect.<sup>301</sup>

In addition, we have another piece of essential information that Rossi and Vaccari did not have: profound knowledge of the community where the work was created. This codex was undoubtedly produced during the fifteenth century in a famous Umbrian convent of Observant Poor Clare nuns called Monteluce of Perugia,<sup>302</sup> known from a number of recent publications.<sup>303</sup> Thus, we know that these nuns were not mere copyists; several of them were also genuine translators, rewriters, and sometimes even original writers. Therefore, we can surmise that the peculiar form of rewriting that produced the Angelica Version resulted from the original interpretative activity of these Umbrian nuns and that the Umbrian linguistic layer added to this text is not simply a result of the copying, but is rather a sign of a rewriting, a *rifacimento* made by the Umbrian nuns in the fifteenth century.

Interestingly, another *rifacimento* of the MVC is known from the same place, from a slightly later period, including the author of this peculiar version: Gabriele da Perugia. He was an Observant friar who, in the first decade of the sixteenth century, served as a confessor for the same Poor Clare community of Perugia that produced the Angelica Version. Gabriele da Perugia wrote an unpublished book, entitled *Libro devote, dicto Libro de Vita sopra li Principali Misteri de Christo Benedicto et de Matre sua*, known as *Libro di vita*, now kept in Perugia, divided into two manuscripts and also copied by the same female

<sup>301 &</sup>quot;...vi è trasportata e come a dire tradotta dal toscano in altro dialetto dell'Italia centrale, che il medesimo Rossi, buon conoscitore dal suo dialetto nativo, giudicò perugino." (VACCARI 1952, p. 352).

<sup>302 &#</sup>x27;Rome, Biblioteca Angelica, MS 2213', in *Appendice 1. Elenco Manoscritti del monastero* Santa Maria di Monteluce in Perugia, in MESSA–SCANDELLA–SENSI 2009 (pp. 103–107), p. 106, n. 28.

<sup>303</sup> BALDELLI 1951; NICOLINI 1971; MESSA–SCANDELLA 2007, MESSA–SCANDELLA–SENSI 2008, MESSA–SCANDELLA–SENSI 2009.

community.<sup>304</sup> This work is an original rewriting of the MVC in the vernacular (again with strong Umbrian linguistic features), combined with extracts from an Umbrian translation of the *Arbor Vitae* of Ubertino da Casale (a known Spiritual friar who is likely to have written his work contemporaneously with the MVC, treating the same topic in a quite different manner).<sup>305</sup> Thus, in Gabriele's case we can clearly perceive a creative rewriting of the MVC in the early sixteenth century.

To sum up: these three examples of fifteenth-century creative, non-Tuscan rewritings of the MVC lead us to two concluding considerations. First, the classification of the Italian MVC needs to be completed and we should add a further type to the existing ones. I propose *rifacimenti* as a name for this group of manuscripts. They are a number of fifteenth-century creative rewritings of the text in different linguistic colours designed for different religious communities. Second, perhaps the *Testo breve* can be added to this group. If this proposition is correct, the *Testo breve* cannot be a fifteenth-century copy of a genuine Pisan MS that preserves "uniquely the original version" of the MVC, as McNamer argues, I propose to interpret it as one of several creative fifteenth-century non-Tuscan rewritings of this Pseudo–Bonaventuran text.

The Umbrian case demonstrates the possibility that a text can be rewritten more than once by the same community, which may also explain for the process of the *Testo breve* being "gradually Veneticized."<sup>306</sup> Moreover, the content of the Canonici codex, as is clear from the other writings copied together with the MVC, was made for a specific female community, namely, the Augustinian female monastery of Sant'Alvise in Venice founded in 1388.<sup>307</sup>

<sup>304</sup> PULIGNANI 1886; PERINI 1971; BUSOLINI 1998. The other manuscript of the Libro de Vita, copied a few years earlier by another, closely related female community, namely the Poor Clares from Foligno was believed lost by previous scholarship. I could identify this codex in the Holy Name collection of the St Bonaventure University. See FALVAY 2017, pp. 199–200. The two exemplars have been actually studied by Ditta Szemere in her PhD thesis at ELTE.

<sup>305</sup> CUSATO 1999, for the relationship between the two texts; see FALVAY-TOTH 2015.

<sup>306</sup> LARSSON 2018, quoted above, and stressed by MCNAMER 2018b.

<sup>307</sup> There are 3 more writings of similar linguistic character, apparently copied by the same hands, that were clearly written for a female audience. Two of them were written specifically for the Sant'Alvise community. See the letter: "diuota e utile epistola composta da vno venerabile padre e confessore delle venerande done del monasterio dei miser Sancto Alvuixe..." MS Canonici f. 127r transcribed in McNAMER 2018a, clii. In my opinion, further research is necessary to both conclude a linguistic analysis of these additional writings and to investigate this specific female community from the viewpoint of literary activity.

#### Conclusion

This discussion of the Italian manuscripts of the MVC shows that the Italian corpus is much larger than it had been considered and I have offered a more sophisticated categorisation of the Italian codices. Along with the previously known *Testo maggiore* (A and B) and *Testo minore*, I have introduced further two categories of intermediate versions, the abridged *Testo maggiore* and the expanded *Testo minore* subtypes, and in addition, the Marian redaction subtype of the *Testo minore*. More importantly, I have proposed a new class, hypothetically called *rifacimenti* or non-Tuscan rewritings. Furthermore, I have argued that this new category is a better treatment of the *Testo breve* than considering it the original form of the MVC.

In conclusion, therefore, I argue that the Italian versions of this pseudo-Bonaventuran text should be considered as part of the extremely rich *volgarizzamento* literature of early fourteenth-century Italy. In other words, even if we agree that the original version was written in Latin, the large number of Italian vernacular exemplars, together with their multifarious textual and linguistic features, still make it apparent that the Franciscan *Meditationes Vitae Christi* were a real vernacular success in Italy throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

## Appendix 1

#### Latin Testo maggiore

(STALLINGS 1997, p. 24-25)

Post hec, recogitans Domina uerborum angeli que dixit de consobrina sua Elisabeth, eam uisitare proposuit ad congratulandum eidem ac seruiendum.

#### Testo maggiore A

(DOTTO-FALVAY-MONTEFUSCO 2021, p. 116)

Dipo queste cose ripensando la Donna nostra de le paraule de l'angelo che dixe de la consobrina sua Heliçabeth, propuosesi di viçitarla a rrallegrarsi co·llei e anco di servirla.

Iuit ergo una cum Ioseph sponso suo a Nazareth ad domum ipsius, que distabat a Hierusalem per triginta quattuor uel triginta quinque miliaria , uel circa. Non ergo retardatur asperitate uel longin-

quitate uie, sed cum festinacione iuit, quia nolebat diu in publico uideri.

Et sic non erat ex conceptu Filii aggrauata ut aliis mulieribus communiter contingit. Non enim fuit Dominus onerosus matri. Unde andó sola con Ioseph spoço suo da Naçareth infin a ccasa sua, la quale era di lunge da Ierusalem per 74 uvero 75 migliaia. Ma non si ritarda per aspressa u per lunghessa di via, ma con fretta a[n]dóe però che non volea essere molto veduta in publico.

Et così non era per la conceptione del Figliuolo agravata come [al]l'altre femmine comunamente adiviene. Non fu lo nostro Signore Yesu Cristo gravoso a la madre

#### Testo maggiore B

(Falvay–Szemere–Ertl– Konrád 2021, p. 33)

Essendo rimasa la Vergine Donçella piena del Figluolo di Dio e ricordandosi de le parole che l'angelo l'aveva dette de la sua consobrina Elysabetta, puosesi in cuore di visitarla per rallegrarsi collei e per servirla.

E andò co lo sposo suo Giusep da Naçareth infino | a la casa sua, la quale era di lunga da Gerusalem da .lxxiiij°. miglia od in quello torno. E non lasciò per aspreçça né per lungheçça di via, ma andò uno poco in fretta, imperò ke non voleva essere trovata niente di tempo in palese.

E così non era adgravata per la conceptione del Figluolo, sì come sono l'altre femine; imperò che Gesù Cristo non fu grave a la madre sua.

#### Testo minore

(Sarri 1933, pp. 23–24)

Essendo rimasa la vergine donzella piena del Figliuolo di Dio, e recordandosi delle parole che l'angelo l'aveva dette della sua consobrina Elisabeth, puosesi in cuore di visitarla per rallegrarsi con lei, e per servirla.

E andò collo sposo suo Josep da Nazaret insino alla casa sua, la quale era di lunge da Jerusalem da LXXIIII miglia o in quel torno, e non lascia per asprezza, né per lunghezza di via, ma andò in fretta; impero che non volea essere trovata ne veduta niente di tempo in palese.

E così non era aggravata per la concezione del Figliuolo sì come sono l'altre femmine; imperò che Jesù Cristo non fu grave a lla Madre sua.

#### Testo breve

(McNAMER 2018a, p. 74)

Et essendo la Vergene Maria pregna del Figliolo de Dio, et recordandose delle parole che l'angelo li havea decto della cognata sua sancta Helisabeth, méssese in cuore de andare a visitarla per allegrarse della sua conceptione.

Et prestamente se partite de Naçareth, et andosene in montana cum el sposo suo a casa de sancta Helisabeth, la qualle era da da lonçi ne .lxxiii. meglia. Et non lassoe per aspreça de via né per longeça, ma andò in freça perfine a casa sua, per non esser trovata dalla çente per la via et per non essere veduta in palese.

Tu pòi pensare che la Vergene Maria non era niente agravata per la sua conceptione come sono le altre done che sono aggravate della loro gravidança, imperò che miser Iesù Cristo non fue grave alla madre sua.



## Appendix 2 Illustrations

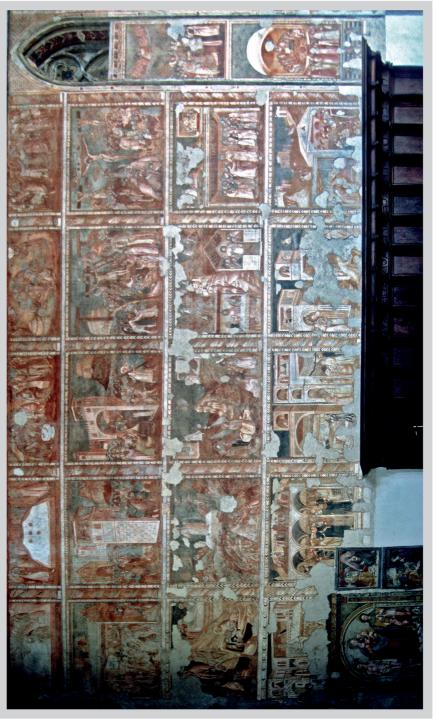


Fig. 1. School of Pietro Cavallini, Passion Fresco-cycle and Vita of St. Elizabeth. Naples, Santa Maria Donna Regina. (Photo by Zoltán György Horváth)





Fig. 2. School of Pietro Cavallini, Passion Fresco-cycle: Nailing on the Cross. Naples, Santa Maria Donna Regina. (Photo by Zoltán György Horváth)

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