

NEW LIGHT ON THE DATE AND AUTHORSHIP OF THE *MEDITATIONES VITAE CHRISTI*

Peter Tóth and Dávid Falvay

One of the most popular and widespread genres of late medieval literature was the representation of Christ's Passion in the form of different Passion narratives, which generally define themselves as sermons (*sermones*) or treatises (*tractatus*). The importance of these narratives, besides their theological content, lies in the numerous apocryphal details they add to the well-known biblical story of Christ's Passion. They preserve several extra-biblical scenes and details concerning the last days and hours of the saviour. However, what is especially interesting about them is that, to explain the origin of these additional passages, they often make reference to unknown or lost apocryphal works. Some Latin Passion sermons, for example, contain references to a text called *Biblia Hebraeorum*,¹ while others refer to a piece called *Gospel of the*

* The present research has been supported by a Mellon Research Fellowship at the Harvard University Center for Italian Renaissance Studies, Florence; the Hungarian Research Fund (OTKA PD 75329); the Bolyai Research Scholarship of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences; and the Frances Yates Fellowship at the Warburg Institute London. We would like to acknowledge the help of Susanna Berger, Sara Centi, Holly Flora, Tommaso Gramigni, Alma Huszthy and Eszter Konrád, Giampaolo Salvi, and Alessandro Scafi.

¹ For example, in a Passion narrative from Transylvania, in Alba Iulia, Biblioteca Batthyaneum, MS R.II.63, fols 208^r–214^v, and a copy of a sermon on the Passion from medieval Hungary, Budapest, National Library, MS Clmae 402, fol. 310^r.

Peter Tóth is a Research Fellow on the Defining Belief and Identities in the Eastern Mediterranean project, King's College London.

Dávid Falvay is an Assistant Professor at the Department of Italian Literature and Language, Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest and Fellow at the Harvard University Center for Italian Renaissance Studies, Villa I Tatti, Florence.

© BREPOL'S PUBLISHERS

Devotional Culture in Late Medieval England and Europe: Diverse Imaginations of Christ's Life
ed. by Stephen Kelly and Ryan Perry, MCS 31 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014) pp. 17–104
BREPOLS PUBLISHERS 10.1484/M.MCS-EB.5.103036

Nazoreans.² Many scholars have already examined these references and found that *Biblia Hebraeorum* was a fifteenth-century forgery, compiled by a Jewish convert to provide extra information about the tools of Christ's Passion, called the *arma Christi*,³ while the quotations from the *Gospel of the Nazoreans* are still considered authentic fragments of an early Jewish-Christian document.⁴

A Curious Reference

The present study focuses on another very similar case in two fourteenth-century Passion sermons, which both refer to a hitherto unidentified apocryphon. In a Latin sermon, which begins with a quotation from the book of Genesis (22. 20) and is known as *Extendit manum*, we find an interesting extra-biblical narrative about the last dialogue between Mary and Christ before his Passion, which takes place on Holy Wednesday. The text, which commences with a description of this dialogue, attributes the whole scene to a curious document:

As Jacobus narrates in the *Book on the life of Christ*, on Wednesday, before the Passion of our Lord Jesus Christ, the holy Virgin Mary was in such an anguish and so strong an agony, that on that particular day she collapsed several times before the feet of her beloved son as if she were half-dead.⁵

² Most of these fragments have been found in a Passion sermon by Johannes Zazenhäuser (d. 1380), although they also occur in quite a few others. See Tobias Kemper, *Die Kreuzigung Christi: Motivgeschichtliche Studien zu lateinischen und deutschen Passionstraktaten des Spätmittelalters* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 2006), p. 142, n. 430.

³ Marvin L. Colker, 'A Medieval "Apocryphon"', *Italia medioevale e umanistica*, 33 (1990), 1–73. For a recent discussion of the work and its only extant vernacular (Hungarian) translation, see Peter Tóth, 'Biblia Hebraeorum: Egy zsidó apokrif töredékei az Érsekújvári kódexben' [Fragment of a Jewish Apocryphon in a vernacular Hungarian document], *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények*, 115 (2011), 659–77.

⁴ Albertus F. J. Klijn, 'Das Hebräer- und das Nazoräerevangelium', in *Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt*, 11.25.5 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1988), pp. 3397–4033 (p. 4014, n. 58). See *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen*, ed. by Wilhelm Schneemelcher, 2 vols (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1987–89), 1, *Evangelien* (1987), pp. 137–38, for a German translation of the medieval citations.

⁵ As the text of the sermon is still unedited, for the present study we used a very clear manuscript preserved in Praha, Národní knihovna, MS XX.A.9, fol. 146^r, which we have compared to Praha, Národní knihovna, MS I.D.32, fol. 172^r, and Praha, Národní knihovna, MS III.C.8, fol. 226^r. The text of the quotation from Jacobus in the base manuscript reads as 'Narrat Jacobus in Libro de vita Christi, quod die Mercurii ante passionem Domini nostri Ihesu Christi beata virgo Maria fuit in tanto dolore et in tam forti agonia quod pluries illa die cecidit ad pedes sui dilectissimi filii semimortua.'

After this reference, the text gives a detailed account of a dialogue between Christ and Mary in which the Virgin attempts to dissuade her son from the upcoming Passion and addresses seven requests to Christ, which he answers with a lengthy dogmatic refutation.⁶

This dialogue has a very close parallel in another Latin sermon on Christ's Passion, which also begins with a quotation, this time from the book of Isaiah (33. 7), and is hence usually referred to as the *Angeli pacis* sermon. This latter text, after a short introduction about different types of weeping and tears, retells the Passion of Christ in a manner very similar to the *Extendit manum*.⁷ The relationship between the two documents is so close that the reference to the alleged work of Jacobus appears once again in the *Angeli pacis* at the farewell of Christ and Mary. Here we find two explicit citations from the work, both of which are connected with the Virgin's sorrow at bidding farewell to her son. After a short discussion on the various types of sorrow in the prologue, the *Angeli pacis* continues with a quotation from Jacobus's work:

As Saint Jacobus narrates in a book which he wrote about the life of the glorious Virgin, she collapsed, half-dead, before her beloved son several times, especially on Wednesday before the Friday of the Passion.⁸

After this short reference to Jacobus — here a saint — the author of the sermon offers the Virgin's tears as an example for his audience of the proper kind of anguish to feel during Holy Week. Having described the decision of the Council of the Jews to put Christ to death, the author narrates that the Virgin,

⁶ The text of the farewell dialogue, on the basis of two manuscripts from Switzerland (Elbing, Stadtbibliothek, MS Q. 75, fols 164^r–174^v and Fribourg, Universitätsbibliothek, MS L 16, fol. 12^v), has been printed in Kurt Ruh, *Der Passionstraktat des Heinrich von St. Gallen* (Thayngen: K. Augustin, 1940), pp. 152–66.

⁷ A detailed comparison of the content of the two texts can be found in Walter Baier, *Untersuchungen zu den Passionsbetrachtungen in der 'Vita Christi' des Ludolf von Sachsen: Ein quellenkritischer Beitrag zu Leben und Werk Ludolfs und zur Geschichte der Passionstheologie*, *Analecta Cartusiana*, 44, 3 vols (Salzburg: Institut für Englische Sprache und Literatur, 1977), I, 196; II, 197–390; III, 391–614 (pp. 341–42) and Kemper, *Die Kreuzigung Christi*, pp. 115–16.

⁸ The citations from the *Angeli pacis*, which is also unedited, are taken from Praha, Strahovská, MS DB.III.4, fol. 69 (122^r); Praha, Národní knihovna, MS I.G.10, fol. 237^r; and Brno, Moravská zemská knihovna, MS R 373, fol. 181^r. They were compared to the oldest manuscript of the work, Roma, Biblioteca Angelica, MS 69, fol. 49^r: 'Sicut narrat beatus Jacobus in quodam libello quem fecit de vita gloriosae virginis Mariae ubi dicit, quod pluribus vicibus, specialiter in die Mercurii ante diem Veneris passionis, cecidit prostrata, semiviva ante conspectum sui dulcissimi filii.'

upon hearing from the Apostles that Christ has foretold his death unto them, becomes so anguished that she wishes to die in her son's stead. At this point, on emphasizing the Virgin's willingness to die for her son, the text refers again to the book of St Jacobus:

In such ardent manner did the Virgin Mary ask her son the Lord Jesus (as we read in the *Book on the life of Christ* which, it is said, was written by Jacobus, the brother of the Lord), to provide her with the grace, that she should die before the martyrdom of Christ takes place, putting forward several beautiful and pious reasons for her case.⁹

After this second reference to Jacobus's work, the *Angeli pacis* text treats each day of the Holy Week separately, presenting the Virgin anew as she approaches Christ again and again with the same seven questions as recorded in the *Extendit manum*. The only difference between the two accounts is that, while the *Extendit manum* presents Mary's requests as a separate unit in the narrative, in the *Angeli pacis* they appear dispersed throughout the description of the days leading up to the Passion and are presented as short private discussions during each of the corresponding nights. Otherwise, the content of the requests — the attempt to persuade Christ to find another way to save humankind, one that does not require his torture and death — seems to spring from the same source which, according to the *Angeli pacis*, is an apocryphal Life of Christ written by the Apostle James, the brother of the Lord.

It seems very likely, then, that if one were to attempt to identify the alleged apocryphon of the Apostle James these two sermons should play a pivotal role in reconstructing the work, since they — together or separately — seem to be representative of the tradition that a book was written by the Apostle James on the life of Christ and/or the Virgin, containing an account of Christ's Passion. Therefore, in order to proceed with the identification of the *liber de vita Christi* of the Apostle, the origin, date, and authorship of these two apparently inter-related texts should first be identified.



⁹ Praha, Strahovská, MS DB.III.4, fol. 69 (122)^r, Praha, Nár. Knih., MS I.G.10, fol. 237^v, Brno, Moravská Zemská Knih., MS R 373, fol. 188^r, and Roma, Bib. Angelica, MS 69, fol. 52^r: 'Satis enim avide virgo Maria rogavit filium suum, sicut legimus in libro de vita Christi, quem scripsit, ut dicitur, Jacobus, frater domini, ut sibi hanc gratiam largiretur de moriendo antequam perveniret martyrium ipsius, plurimas allegando pulcherrimas rationes piissimas.'

The Context of the References

The Two Sermons

Although neither of the two sermons has ever been printed, there has been considerable scholarly interest in them due to their influence on late medieval vernacular literature. In his lengthy study on a fourteenth-century German Passion narrative by Heinrich von Sankt Gallen (d. 1397), Kurt Ruh identified the source of Heinrich's German treatise in the Latin text of the *Extendit manum* sermon. On the basis of a particular manuscript in Elbing, which attributes the text to 'Jacobus de Vitriaco',¹⁰ Ruh considers it to be the work of Jacques de Vitry (d. 1240), the early thirteenth-century cardinal known for his famous chronicle of the Fifth Crusade, the *Historia Hierosolomytana*.¹¹ This hypothesis was later questioned, even by Ruh himself,¹² and has not been accepted by later scholarship. This is due to the fact that Jacques de Vitry could hardly be connected with a Life of Christ, or with any Passion narrative or sermon, as there is no such text mentioned among his known and studied works.¹³ It is much more likely, then, that Jacques de Vitry was selected as the author of this text merely because a certain scribe found the reference to 'Jacobus' in the text and, trying to identify him, chose the French Jacques de Vitry as a famous Jacobus who could easily be credited with authorship of the sermon.

Not long after Kurt Ruh's studies, Damasus Trapp, in his overview of the Augustinian theology of the early fourteenth century, catalogued the works of the Augustinian theologian Michael de Massa and discovered the *Angelipacis* text in an early fourteenth-century autograph manuscript of Michael's sermons in Rome.¹⁴

¹⁰ Elbing, Stadtbib., MS Q. 75, fol. 164^r: 'Passio Christi et opera Christi [...] secundum Jacobum de Vitriaco, doctorem in theologia, episcopum et cardinalem, qui composuit ea propter audientium devotionem'.

¹¹ Ruh, *Passionstraktat*, pp. cv–cvi, and Kurt Ruh, 'Studien über Heinrich von St. Gallen und den "Extendit manum" – Passionstraktat', *Zeitschrift für Schweizerische Kirchengeschichte*, 47 (1953), 210–30, 241–78 (pp. 252–53).

¹² See Ruh, 'Studien über Heinrich von St. Gallen', p. 252: 'ob diese Darstellung wirklich auf Jakob von Vitry zurückgeht, ist eine Frage für sich'. Some years later he rejected this hypothesis; see Kurt Ruh, 'Heinrich v. St. Gallen', *Neue Deutsche Biographie*, 8 (1969), 422–23 (p. 423).

¹³ For the works of Jacques de Vitry, see Philipp Funk, *Jakob von Vitry: Leben und Werk* (Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1909); R. B. C. Huygens, *Jacques de Vitry: Lettres* (Leiden: Brill, 1960), pp. 1–4; and John-Frederick Hinnebusch, *The Historia Occidentalis of Jacques de Vitry* (Fribourg: Fribourg University Press, 1972), p. ix.

¹⁴ Roma, Bib. Angelica, MS 69, fol. 49^r. For the sermons contained in this volume, includ-

On the basis of this manuscript, and relying on an eighteenth-century chronicle of the Augustinian order that also listed the *Angeli pacis* as one of Michael's works, he identified the text as a sermon by Michael de Massa.¹⁵ Influenced by Trapp's catalogue, some ten years later, in his bibliography of the works of the Augustinian theologians, Adolf Zumkeller classified the *Angeli pacis* as a sermon compiled by Michael de Massa and listed more than forty manuscripts of it, quite a few of which originate from the fourteenth century.¹⁶ Moreover, Zumkeller, being the first to recognize the close similarity between the *Angeli pacis* and the *Extendit manum*, also listed the latter — although only as an *opus dubium* — among the works of Michael.¹⁷ In 1977, Walter Baier, in his monumental work on the sources of Ludolph of Saxony's *Vita Christi*, revisited the issue of the two sermons and — as additional support to Zumkeller's hypothesis — identified a new manuscript that explicitly attributed the *Extendit manum* to Michael and connected it with his other extant works.¹⁸ This latter view has also been accepted by Tobias Kemper, who, in his recent overview of late medieval Passion narratives, has managed to collect almost all extant manuscripts of the two sermons and listed both as works by Michael de Massa.¹⁹ Summarizing the results of previous research on the sermons, Kemper also put forward an explanation for the interdependence of these texts. In accordance with Baier, he believes that, since the *Angeli pacis* has been preserved in more (and earlier) manuscripts than the *Extendit manum*, the latter should perhaps be considered as a later rewriting of the former, made by the author himself with the intention of recasting it as the final chapter of his commentary on Matthew, where the unique manuscript of the commentary has actually preserved it.²⁰

ing the *Angeli pacis* for Holy Friday, see J. B. Schneyer, *Repertorium der lateinischen Sermones des Mittelalters*, 11 vols (Münster: Aschendorf, 1972), iv, 183–87.

¹⁵ D. Trapp, 'Notes on Some Manuscripts of the Augustinian Michael de Massa (d. 1337)', *Augustinianum*, 5 (1965), 58–133 (p. 70). See note 21 below for the chronicle.

¹⁶ A. Zumkeller, *Manuskripte von Werken der Autoren des Augustiner-Eremitenordens in mitteleuropäischen Bibliotheken* (Würzburg: Augustinus-Verlag, 1966), pp. 332–33.

¹⁷ Zumkeller, *Manuskripte*, p. 333.

¹⁸ See München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, MS Clm. 6106, fol. 162^r: 'Explicit historia passionis domini nostri Jhesu Christi collecta per reverendum magistrum et doctorem sacrae theologiae Michaelem de Massa OESA.' Quoted by Baier, *Untersuchungen*, p. 341, n. 1, where he notes that the final section of Michael's commentary on the Gospel of Matthew is nothing but the *Extendit manum* treatise itself; see also Zumkeller, *Manuskripte*, n. 694.

¹⁹ Kemper, *Die Kreuzigung Christi*, pp. 111–16.

²⁰ Kemper, *Die Kreuzigung Christi*, p. 115.

Both texts, therefore, seem to be the work of the same author, the Augustinian Michael de Massa.

The Author of the Sermons

Our knowledge of this early fourteenth-century Italian theologian, however, is rather scant. All the information we have comes from later historians of the Augustinian order, who record that Michael was of Tuscan origin, from the town of Siena, that he was an exceptional theologian and a great preacher of his age, and that he died very early as a bachelor of the University of Paris in 1337.²¹ This information seems to fit well with the colophons of some manuscripts of the *Angeli pacis*, in which the author is identified as a magister at the University of Paris.²² Therefore, the original, earlier text, the *Angeli pacis*, which already contains the reference to Jacobus's work, was probably written after Michael's arrival in Paris, while the *Extendit manum*, a later reworking of the former, may have been composed slightly thereafter, during his stay at the Sorbonne. The two sermons should thus probably be dated between the date of Michael's death in Paris in 1337 and his arrival at the university, which is generally placed between 1320 and 1330.²³ As such, the apocryphon attributed to the Apostle

²¹ See Jacobus Bergomensis, *Novissima historiarum omnium repercussiones: Supplementum chronicarum nuncupantur* (Venetiis, 1506), fol. 338^v: 'Michael de Massa [...] praeclarissimus theologus his temporibus cum esset ultarum artium scientissimus atque venerandus pater [...] scripsit multa praeclara volumina ad aedificationem fidelium'. This information was used by several eighteenth-century Augustinian scholars, such as D. A. Gandolphus, *Dissertatio historica de ducentis celeberrimis Augustinianis scriptoribus* (Roma: I. F. Buagni 1704), pp. 267–68, and, later, J. F. Ossinger, *Bibliotheca Augustiniana* (Ingolstadt: J. F. X. Craetz, 1768), p. 567.

²² Wien, Schottenstift, MS 54, fol. 79^r: 'solennis hic sermo seu tractatus de passione Domini habetur etiam in libro sermonum Jacobi de Voragine de sanctis et est editus a quodam magistro in theologia Parisiis'.

²³ According to the chronicles of the Augustinian order, Michael died in Paris as a *baccalaureus* in 1337, so the dating of his works depends on when his baccalaureate in Paris began. Previously, his tenure at the University of Paris was thought to have begun around 1325 (D. Trapp, 'Augustinian Theology in the Fourteenth Century: Notes on Editions, Marginalia, Opinions and Book Lore', *Augustiniana*, 6 (1956), 146–274 (pp. 173–74)), but this date was later challenged by William Courtenay, who argued that Michael began lecturing in Paris in the 1330s; see William J. Courtenay, 'The "Quaestiones in Sententias" of Michael de Massa, OESA: A Redating', *Augustiniana*, 45 (1995), 191–207. Recently, however, Tobias Kemper has put forward a new hypothesis, claiming that Michael de Massa started his career in Paris much earlier than previously supposed, that is, some time around 1321 (Kemper, *Die Kreuzigung Christi*, pp. 120–24).

James by Michael in the late 1320s to early 1330s must have been circulating in Italy and/or in Paris as early as the beginning of the fourteenth century.

Medieval Attempts to Identify 'Jacobus' and his Work

The reference to the apocryphal work of the Apostle James in Michael's sermon clearly puzzled some medieval readers of the text. Sometimes the scribes copying the sermons, having encountered Jacobus's name in the manuscripts, put forward different opinions with regard to his identity. As already observed by Kurt Ruh, some manuscripts of the *Extendit manum* attribute the tradition of the farewell dialogue to a certain Joseph,²⁴ whom they sometimes identify as Flavius Josephus.²⁵ Although the early Latin translations of Josephus's works were often referred to in connection with historical details of Christ's Passion,²⁶ Mary's name is never mentioned in Josephus's writings, so it seems very unlikely that the account of the farewell dialogue between Christ and Mary would derive from one of his works. Moreover, as the great majority of the manu-

²⁴ For example, München, Bayerische Staatsbibl., MS Clm. 6106, fol. 137^r: 'Narrat Josephus in libro de vita Cristi'; and the same in Trier, Stadtbibliothek, Cod. 776/1354, fol. 109^r; Fribourg, Universitätsbibl., MS L 16, fol. 12^v; see Ruh, 'Studien über Heinrich von St. Gallen', p. 252: 'wer unter "Josephus" gemeint ist oder gemeint sein könnte, vermochte ich nicht festzustellen'; and also Baier, *Untersuchungen*, p. 342, n. 8.

²⁵ In a German collection of moral and ascetic teachings written by the Franciscan Otto von Passau around 1386, the dialogue is referred to as deriving from the *Antiquities* of Josephus: 'Josephus spricht in dem Buch der Antiquitet: Als Jesus Christus am Mittwoch vor dem hohen oder grünem Donnerstag'; see Otto von Passau, *Die Vierundzwanzig Alten* (Dillingen, 1568), fol. 83^v.

²⁶ Such as, for example, the identity of the high priest Annas and Caiaphas, or the rules of fulfilling the priestly duties by the Jews in Ludolph of Saxony's *Life of Christ*; see Ludolphus of Saxony, *Vita Jesu Christi: e quatuor Evangeliiis scriptoribus orthodoxis concinnata per Ludolphum de Saxoniam*, ed. by A. C. Bolard, L. M. Rigollot, and J. Carnandet (Paris: Palmé, 1865), pp. 81, 137 (these cases are concerned with priestly traditions); or an unedited Latin sermon on the Passion, Budapest, Nat. Libr., MS Clmae 402, fol. 296^v: 'Josephus autem aliter dicit: seniores enim et Caiaphas singillatim et per intervallum annorum emebant sacerdotium'. For the medieval reception of Josephus, see Heinz Schreckenberg, *Die Flavius-Josephus-Tradition in Antike und Mittelalter* (Leiden: Brill, 1972), pp. 147–49; Heinz Schreckenberg, *Rezeptionsgeschichtliche und textkritische Untersuchungen zu Flavius Josephus* (Leiden: Brill, 1977), pp. 38–43; and also Ulrike Liebl, *Die illustrierten Flavius-Josephus-Handschriften des Hochmittelalters* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1997), pp. 25–39.

scripts name Jacobus and not Josephus as the source of the dialogue,²⁷ Josephus seems to be a misreading of or substitution for the more common Jacobus.

Instead of suggesting other possible claimants for the reference, the majority of medieval readers of the text apparently accepted the evidence of the manuscripts and tried to identify the Jacobus in the reference with a known person of the same name. The scribe copying the above-mentioned Elbing manuscript, for example, encountering the name Jacobus in the text together with the colophon noting that the author was from Paris, may well have come to the conclusion that the text could be a work by the most famous Jacobus that he knew of from Paris, that is, Jacques de Vitry. A similar attempt is preserved in two other medieval manuscripts, which attribute the text to a certain 'Jacobus de Marano' or 'Materano', whom the cataloguers of the manuscripts identify as 'Jacobus de Mathenayo'.²⁸ However, the person known under this name, Jacques de Menthonay (d. 1391), a late fourteenth-century French cardinal, can hardly be the author of a Life of Christ quoted by Michael de Massa at the beginning of the fourteenth century,²⁹ so these names appear to be erroneous (or conjectural) forms of the more frequent 'Jacobus de Vitriaco'.

This method of suggesting various 'Jacobuses' as possible authors of the quoted work has been taken up by modern scholars, too. Kurt Ruh's disputed attempt to identify the 'Jacobus apostolus frater domini' of the manuscripts as Jacques de Vitry has already been mentioned, but later hypotheses were still of the same character. The Czech medievalist Vladislav Dukopil, for example, in his description of a manuscript of the *Angeli pacis* in Brno, argues that Jacobus

²⁷ In contrast to three manuscripts containing the name as Josephus (see above, note 24), all preserving the *Extendit manum*, we identified some fifteen manuscripts with a reference to Jacobus (for the *Angeli pacis* as well as for the *Extendit manum* see below, note 33). This overwhelming prevalence of the references to Jacobus as opposed to Josephus has already been observed by Ruh, 'Studien über Heinrich von St. Gallen', p. 252: 'häufiger in anderen Handschriften: *Jakobus*'.

²⁸ Graz, Universitätsbibliothek, MS 582, fol. 186v: 'secundum Jacobum de Materano'; and Freiburg, Erzbischöfliches Archiv, MS 36, fol. 261v: 'secundum Jacobum de Marano', both of which were understood as 'Jacobus de Mentonayo' by the cataloguers of the Graz manuscript. See Anton Kern, *Die Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek Graz*, 3 vols (Leipzig: Harrassowitz, 1942), I, n. 582. For the identification, see Peter Jörg Becker and Tilo Brandis, *Die theologischen lateinischen Handschriften in Folio der Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz Berlin: MS. theol. lat. fol. 598–737* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1985), p. 132: 'Jacobus de Materano (=de Mentonayo)'.

²⁹ Jacques de Menthonay was made cardinal in 1383 by the antipope Clement VII and had a doctorate 'in utroque iure'; see Roger-Charles Logoz, 'Le Cardinal Jacques de Menthonay', *Chronique archéologique*, 110 (2002), 100–06.

is probably Jacobus de Voragine (d. 1298), the famous compiler of the *Legenda aurea*.³⁰ He based this suggestion on a manuscript preserved in Vienna that includes the *Angeli pacis* among the sermons of Jacobus de Voragine.³¹ Dukopil, however, failed to take into account that the colophon of the Vienna manuscript, which was reproduced in the 1899 catalogue of the Vienna collection, explicitly attributes the *Angeli pacis* to a Parisian magister,³² which title Jacobus de Voragine never held. Therefore, except for the fact that it is his sermons which form the context of the Passion sermon in the manuscript, Jacobus de Voragine apparently had nothing to do with the *Angeli pacis*. Moreover, none of the manuscripts known today make any connection between the dialogue attributed to Jacobus and the person of Jacobus de Voragine, whose name has never been associated with any kind of Life of Christ compilation.

An Unknown Apocryphon?

Later scholars, therefore, instead of suggesting new ‘Jacobuses’ as possible authors of the *liber de vita Christi*, have tended to accept the evidence of the majority of the manuscripts, which refer to the author as *Jacobus minor* or *Jacobus frater Domini*.³³ In 1977, Walter Baier had already assumed that

³⁰ Vladislav Dukopil, *Soupis rukopisů Knihovny Benediktinů v Rajhradě* (Praha: Státní pedagogické nakl, 1966), p. 165.

³¹ Wein, Schottenstift, MS 54, fol. 79^r; cf. Albertus Hübl, *Catalogus codicum manu scriptorum qui in Bibliotheca Monasterii BMV ad Scotos Vindobonae servantur* (Vindobonae, 1899), p. 335.

³² Wien, Schottenstift, MS 54, fol. 79^r: ‘solennis hic sermo seu tractatus de passione Domini habetur etiam in libro sermonum Jacobi de Voragine de sanctis et est editus a quodam magistro in theologia Parisiis’.

³³ There are nine manuscripts of of Michael’s two sermons known to us that explicitly identify the name of Jacobus with the Apostle, the brother of the Lord. Six of these manuscripts contain the *Angeli pacis* version: St Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 781 (‘Jacobus apostolus minor, qui appellatur frater Domini’); Praha, Strahovská, MS DB.III.4, fol. 117^v (‘beatus Jacobus apostolus’); Praha, Nár. knih., MS I.G.10, fol. 237^r (‘Jacobus frater Domini’); Budapest, University Library, Cod. Lat. 98, fol. 237^r (‘Jacobus frater Domini’); Budapest, Hungarian Franciscan Library and Archive, MS Múz. 13, fol. 46^v (‘Jacobus frater Domini’); Brno, Moravská Zemská Knihovna, MS R 372, fol. 181^r (‘Jacobus frater Domini’) and fol. 193^r (‘Jacobus frater Domini’); and an excerpted farewell dialogue, Augsburg, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. II.L.2° 169, fol. 2^r (‘sanctus Jacobus de vita Domini’); there are also two abridged versions of the *Extendit manum* text in Kassel, Bibliothek der Stadt Kassel und Landesbibliothek, 2° MS Theol. 155, fol. 198^v (‘Jacobus frater Domini’), and Fritzlar, Dombibliothek, MS 39, fol. 199^v (‘beatus Jacobus de vita Domini’).

Michael de Massa's quotations derived from a 'possibly apocryphal' work.³⁴ In 2006, Tobias Kemper explicitly defined this work as an apocryphon: either an unknown '*Evangelium Jacobi minoris*' or a special, expanded version of the *Protevangeliium Jacobi*.³⁵

Indeed, the so-called *Protevangeliium*, a second-century Christian narrative about the birth, childhood, and early life of the Virgin Mary and Christ, in its Greek and Oriental versions was unanimously attributed to James, the brother of Christ.³⁶ Moreover, the *Protevangeliium*, with its characteristic attribution to James, has been translated into Latin several times and was known in the West in at least two or three different and widespread Latin versions from the early ninth century onwards.³⁷ Therefore, the tradition that the Apostle James wrote an apocryphal account of the Life of Mary and Christ was well known in the Latin West, too. Although the text of the *Protevangeliium* of James, along with numerous other apocryphal infancy gospels, was condemned as a heretical *apocryphum* by the sixth-century *Decretum Gelasianum*,³⁸ the information about a gospel under Jacobus's name persisted in the Western tradition for cen-

³⁴ Baier, *Untersuchungen*, p. 341 n. 5: 'Hier zitiert Michael ein wahrscheinlich apokryphes Werk'.

³⁵ Kemper, *Die Kreuzigung Christi*, p. 114.

³⁶ The title *Protevangeliium Jacobi* was invented by Guillaume Postel (1510–81), the first translator of the text, when his translation was published by Michael Neander in 1564, and has become customary since then. The attribution to James comes from the closing lines of the text, where the author identifies himself: 'I am James, who wrote this history, when a tumult arose in Jerusalem on the death of Herod'; see Emil de Strycker, *La Forme la plus ancienne du Protevangile de Jacques* (Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1961), p. 188. It was this remark that influenced the attribution of the work in the titles as it stands in the earliest manuscript of the apocryphon, the second century Papyrus Bodmer V, where it is simply entitled *Nativity of Mary, A Revelation to James*. Other Greek manuscripts generally give a longer title, e.g. 'Narrative and history how the Mother of God was born to the salvation of all' in manuscript L of Strycker's edition, or a 'Narrative Sermon by James the Brother of the Lord on the Nativity of the Mother of God' in BnF, MS gr. 1476. See Emil de Strycker, 'Die griechischen Handschriften des Protevangeliiums Iacobi', in *Griechische Kodikologie und Textüberlieferung*, ed. by D. Harlfinger (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1980), pp. 577–612.

³⁷ On the transmission of the text in the Latin tradition, see Jean-Daniel Kaestli, 'Le *Protévangile de Jacques en Latin*: État de la question et perspectives nouvelles', *Revue d'histoire théologique*, 26 (1996), 41–102 (pp. 82–85).

³⁸ The sixth-century decree indexes almost every apocryphal text available in Latin at that time and, in a separate entry, mentions a gospel called *Evangelium nomine Iacobi minoris*, which is usually identified with the *Protevangeliium*. See Ernst Dobschütz, *Das Decretum Gelasianum* (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrich's, 1912), §469.1 n. 1, 11.

turies after the official condemnation of the document. The *Protevangelium* — due to its condemnation by the Gelasian Decree — was later reworked into a new compilation, entitled *Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew*. This text, however, which was legitimized by a fictitious prologue claiming that it was translated into Latin by Jerome in response to a request by Chromace, bishop of Aquileia, still preserves the introductory passage, which includes the phrase ‘*Jacobus filius Ioseph fabri*’.³⁹ While the later and more widespread recensions of the *Pseudo-Matthew* have generally omitted this perplexing passage,⁴⁰ some other representatives of the infancy tradition have made it even more manifest, preserving and expanding the introductory passage about James’s authorship and placing the whole account of the early life of Mary and Jesus under his name.⁴¹

The Latin tradition of the *Protevangelium*, then, seems to be a promising starting point to identify the source of Michael’s quotations, described in the sermons once as *Liber de vita Christi* and once as *liber de vita gloriosae virginis*. The Latin versions of the *Protevangelium* are frequently attributed to James, and their medieval titles usually contain a reference to Christ and the Virgin too.⁴² The problem with this assumption, however, is that neither the earlier nor the later more expanded versions of the *Protevangelium* cover the later history of Christ’s life. In its earlier Greek form, the apocryphon records only the narrative from the history of the birth of the Virgin up to the assassination of Zechariah in the Temple, without mentioning the Passion or the Crucifixion.⁴³ While the Latin recensions, which generally tend to synchronize and expand

³⁹ The earliest textual form of the Latin text of the *Pseudo-Matthew*, called *P*, has an introduction saying ‘*Ego Iacobus, filius Ioseph fabri in timore Dei perscripsi omnia quae oculis meis ipse vidi*’. See *Pseudo-Matthaei evangelium: Textus et commentarius*, ed. by Jan Gijssels, vol. 1 of *Libri de nativitate Mariae*, ed. by Jan Gijssels and Rita Beyers, Corpus Christianorum, Series Apocryphorum, 9 and 10, 2 vols (Turnhout: Brepols, 1997), p. 277.

⁴⁰ See *Pseudo-Matthaei evangelium*, ed. by Gijssels, pp. 240 and 276, n. 1.

⁴¹ This is one of the most important features of the influential J-compilation which preserves the remark about James’s authorship right at the beginning of the work as ‘*Ego Iacobus, filius Ioseph fabri, qui praesens fui et vidi haec omnia, hanc historiam scripsi*’ (*Apocrypha Hiberniae*, ed. by M. McNamara and others, Corpus Christianorum, Series Apocryphorum, 13–14, 2 vols (Turnhout: Brepols, 2001), 1, *Euangelia infantiae*, p. 676). For the origin and evolution of this preface, see Kaestli, ‘*Le Protévangile*’, pp. 91–94.

⁴² The most common title of the book was *Liber de nativitate beate Marie et de infantia salvatoris*, or variants thereof. For the titles, see Kaestli, ‘*Le Protévangile*’, and *Apocrypha Hiberniae*, ed. by M. McNamara and others, 1, 636–37.

⁴³ See in the edition of Strycker, where the text concludes with the passage on Zechariah’s death; Strycker, *Forme la plus ancienne*, pp. 186–88.

the original Greek text, describe also the flight into Egypt and the following events, they do not go as far as Christ's return to Galilee.⁴⁴ There is only one single Latin infancy narrative which goes further than that: a curious eleventh-century manuscript in Madrid which, in the form of a variegated amalgam of apocryphal histories, continues the *Protevangelium* with the retelling of the return of the Holy Family from Egypt, Christ's visit to the Temple, his baptism, and his temptation. However, not even this much-expanded recension has anything to say about the Passion.⁴⁵

In the medieval Irish tradition, however, which concerned itself deeply with the different infancy narratives, we find traces of an even more complex version of the *Protevangelium*, also attributed to the Apostle James. In two fifteenth-century Irish narratives containing a special retelling of the infancy of Christ, we find references to a work that contains not only the childhood of Mary and Christ, as in the Latin infancy gospels, but also the narrative about his ministry and Passion, right up to his Crucifixion. The so-called *Liber Flavus Fergusiorum*, a fifteenth-century collection of sermons and legends in Irish, contains an interesting version of the infancy narrative and refers to the authorship of the Apostle James in its introduction:

James, son of Joseph the smith, trained in orders and in the churches of God, it is he who has written [...] what he saw and heard, from the birth of Mary to the birth of Christ, and from the birth of Christ to his crucifixion.⁴⁶

This introductory remark, which echoes the traditional Latin introduction as known from different variants of the *Pseudo-Matthew* and other Latin versions of the *Protevangelium*, suggests that the twelfth-century Irish compiler may have seen or even used a work that was attributed to the Apostle James, and — in addition to the well-known infancy tradition — contained an account

⁴⁴ The *Pseudo-Matthew* concludes with the narrative about the deeds of the infant Christ in Egypt; see *Pseudo-Matthaei evangelium*, ed. by Gijssels, pp. 477–81; an even more expanded Latin version of the *Protevangelium*, the so-called J-compilation, ends with a similar collection of Egyptian miracles, with the exception that it contains some special narratives about the life of the young Baptist in the desert and the encounter of the Holy Family with the compassionate robber, which comes from an external source; see *Apocrypha Hiberniae*, ed. by McNamara and others, I, 624–27.

⁴⁵ The text preserved in Madrid, Real Academia de la Historia, MS 78, fols 216^v–217^r was published by J. M. Canal-Sanchez, 'Antiguas versiones latinas del protoevangelio de Santiago', *Ephemerides Mariologicae*, 18 (1968), 470–72.

⁴⁶ *Apocrypha Hiberniae*, ed. by McNamara and others, I, 148.

of Christ's Passion.⁴⁷ Moreover, this curious reference to a complete gospel by James turns up almost in the same form in another fifteenth-century Irish infancy narrative, preserved in the *Leabhar Breac*, a famous collection of Irish secular and religious texts, which, speaking about the family of Christ, remarks:

It is James of the Knees who related the narrative from the birth of Mary to the birth of Christ, and from the birth of Christ to his crucifixion. It is for that reason that he is called the brother of Christ.⁴⁸

Although the two references appear to be very closely related, the nature of their connection is still obscure. It seems evident, however, that the Irish tradition did know of a text, presumably a gospel attributed to James, which may have covered the entire history of Christ's life. As to the exact content and nature of this apocryphon, the extant sources do not give any clear indication. Some scholars have suggested that this title was meant only as a simple reference to the section immediately following the infancy narrative in the *Leabhar Breac*, known as 'Gospel Histories' and containing four short passages 'on the discourse of Christ in Nazareth, his travels and teaching from the imprisonment of the Baptist to his crucifixion, and on kings and emperors contemporary with Christ'.⁴⁹ The modified title, then, by connecting the subsequent account on Christ's ministry with the preceding infancy narrative, thus placing it under James's authority, would only mark an attempt to legitimize the narrative that follows by making it an organic part of the tradition attributed to the 'Brother of the Lord' and would have nothing to do with an original 'long gospel' of James.

Others, however, believe that the second part of the *Leabhar Breac*, the section called 'Gospel Histories', is either identical to or derived from the 'long

⁴⁷ For the dating of the original Irish narrative to a period 'not later than the twelfth century', see *Apocrypha Hiberniae*, ed. by McNamara and others, I, 31–33.

⁴⁸ *Apocrypha Hiberniae*, ed. by McNamara and others, I, 299. The designation of James as that 'of the knees' derives from Jerome, who preserved the citation from second-century work written by Hegesippus, stating that James prayed so ardently 'that his knees were reputed to have acquired the hardness of camels' knees' (*De viris illustribus*, §2).

⁴⁹ Cf. *Apocrypha Hiberniae*, ed. by McNamara and others, I, 134: 'this formulation was meant to refer to the larger "Gospel History" transmitted by the manuscript'. Unfortunately the text of the 'Gospel History' is still not published and is available only in the facsimile in *Leabhar Breac, the Speckled Book, Otherwise Styled Leabhar Mór Dúna Doighre, the Great Book of Dun Doighre*, ed. by Joseph Ó Longáin and J. J. Gilbert (Dublin: Royal Irish Academy, 1876), pp. 147b–150b.

gospel' of James, which could have been used by the Irish compiler to create a narrative on the public life of Christ. The reference to James, which connects the two pieces, may indeed refer to the direct origin of the second part from the 'long gospel'.⁵⁰ Whatever the relation between the 'Gospel Histories' and the alleged 'long gospel' may be, we could not find any trace of a pre-Passion dialogue between Mary and Christ in the Irish text of the 'Gospel Histories' that could be connected to the scene described by Michael de Massa.

Klaus Sallmann, author of a recent history of Late Antique Latin literature, has interpreted the two Irish references in a different way. He regards them as hints of a completely different *Gospel of James*, which was independent of the *Protevangelium* and its later derivations and contained its own version of Christ's life from his birth up to his death.⁵¹ It is this apocryphon, Sallmann argues, that was denounced in 405 in the letter on heretical books Pope Innocent I wrote to Exuperius of Toulouse, in which Innocent explicitly states that there were not only one but several different texts (*caetera*) under the name of James the Younger that should all be condemned.⁵² The theory that the book(s) of James mentioned by Innocent do not include the *Protevangelium* is supported by Sallmann's new interpretation of the sixth-century *Decretum Gelasianum*.⁵³ According to Sallmann, the *Decretum* makes a very clear distinction between the Latin texts belonging to the tradition of the *Protevangelium* — referred to as *Liber de infantia salvatoris* and *Liber de nativitate salvatoris et de Maria* as entries 11 and 12 in the *Decretum* — and the *Evangelium sub nomine Iacobi minoris*, listed as third among the apocryphal gospels of the *Gelasianum*.⁵⁴ Hence, on the basis of Innocent's lists and the *Decretum*, and also the Irish references, Sallmann assumes the existence of an independent

⁵⁰ See *Apocrypha Hiberniae*, ed. by McNamara and others, I, 149, n. 6: 'The second work (from the birth of Christ to his Crucifixion) seems to indicate a special work ascribed to James, and known to the Irish compilers. This may be the *Leabhar Braec* "Gospel History" or part of it.'

⁵¹ See Klaus Sallmann, *Die Literatur des Umbruchs* (München: C. H. Beck, 1997), pp. 385–86.

⁵² Innocent I, *Epistola* 6, in *PL*, xx, cols 495–502 (col. 501): 'Caetera autem sub nomine Matthiae sive Iacobi minoris [...] noveris esse damnanda.'

⁵³ See Ernst von Dobschütz, *Das Decretum Gelasianum de libris recipiendis et non recipiendis*, Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur, 3rd ser., 8.4 (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1912). On its significance in connection with the apocrypha, see Schneemelcher, *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen*, pp. 30–33.

⁵⁴ See Dobschütz, *Decretum Gelasianum*, 'Evangelium nomine Mathiae; Evangelium nomine Barnabae; Evangelium nomine Iacobi minoris', §469.1 n. 1, 11.

Gospel of James, which is registered as a separate entry, the *Evangelium Iacobi minoris*, in Sallmann's new history of Late Antique Latin literature.⁵⁵

Interestingly, remnants of this 'complete gospel of James' have been discovered in a ninth-century Latin lectionary fragment in the Vatican Library, again of Irish provenance. Among the lections for the feast of Epiphany preserved on the parchment leaf, there are passages excerpted from a work described as *Evangelium secundum Jacobum*⁵⁶ that narrate the history of Christ's circumcision, which is missing from the *Protevangelium* and its derivatives. Moreover, the events related by the lections differ also from the account of the canonical Gospels.⁵⁷ So these 'lections' could easily be considered as fragments of the alleged 'longer' *Gospel of James* which, except for the indirect evidence of the lists mentioned above, is known only from these obscure quotations preserved in a ninth-century fragment.⁵⁸

Is it possible, then, that the *Liber de vita Christi*, which Michael de Massa quotes and attributes to 'Jacobus minor', is this mysterious 'longer' *Gospel of James* known as *Evangelium Iacobi minoris*? Can it be this lost apocryphal work that inspired the medieval tradition of the last dialogue between the Virgin and Christ? For a satisfactory answer to these questions, we will first undertake a more thorough textual analysis of the citations from the work in Michael de Massa's sermons.

Analyzing the Quotations

The Textual Character of the Quotations

As mentioned above, there are three quotations preserved from the *liber de vita Christi* of the Apostle James by Michael de Massa, two in his *Angeli pacis* and one in the *Extendit manum*. It is not easy to establish, however, the extent to which the quotations represent the original text of Jacobus's work, or whether they are allusions to or elaborations of it. Perhaps the most obvious case is the

⁵⁵ Sallmann, *Literatur des Umbruchs*, pp. 385–86.

⁵⁶ *Evangelium S. Iacobi* in the original where the *S*, instead of the correct *sancti*, was read as *secundum* by the editor of the fragment; see Henry Marriott Bannister, 'Liturgical Fragments', *Journal of Theological Studies*, 9 (1907–08), 417.

⁵⁷ Bannister, 'Liturgical Fragments'. See also M. McNamara, *Apocrypha in the Irish Church* (Dublin: Institute for Advanced Studies, 1975), pp. 51–52.

⁵⁸ See Sallmann, *Literatur des Umbruchs*, p. 386: 'von den Spuren ausserhalb des irischen Einflussbereichs, indes bisher nichts nachgewiesen sind'.

first quotation in the *Angeli pacis*, which seems to be a relatively well definable textual unit in a non-narrative theological text, where it serves only as an example of the particular type of weeping that Michael describes as tears of love and devotion.⁵⁹ It is in this context that Michael refers to Jacobus as a special source, recording how bitterly the Virgin wept and collapsed before Christ, especially on the Wednesday before the Friday of his Passion.

The second quotation from Jacobus in the *Angeli pacis* seems to evoke the same scene, but here it is placed on the Sunday before Palm Sunday and relates what Mary did on that day, recording even the words she uttered as she asked to die before having to witness the Passion of her son.⁶⁰ The subsequent monologue of the Virgin, however, does not seem to form part of the quotation, as it provides only a rough introduction to the subsequent events, stating that the Virgin put forward several arguments. It is only afterward, following an explanatory *enim*, that the exact words of the Virgin are quoted, so they seem to be a simple explanation or paraphrase of the information borrowed from the work of 'Jacobus apostolus'. This impression of a paraphrased quotation becomes even stronger if we examine the third fragment from Jacobus's work preserved in the *Extendit manum*.⁶¹ This quotation, as reproduced above, is also connected with the Virgin's bitter sorrow and, just like Jacobus's first fragment in the *Angeli pacis*, is dated to Holy Wednesday; it says that on that day the Virgin was in such an agony that she collapsed several times before her son. The reason for her pain, however, is described in the form of a lengthy narrative about the attempts she and the Magdalen made to dissuade Christ from assuming his coming torture and death. As is evident from a remark in the text, Michael considered the long series of these requests and their responses to be the first stage of Christ's Passion. This *punctus* was to describe 'what arguments the Virgin Mary could have formulated when trying to persuade Christ not to go to Jerusalem, and how Christ could have replied to her, which all happened on the Wednesday before the Friday of his Passion, at which time Christ and his disciples were together in Bethania for the consolation of his dearest



⁵⁹ 'In sacra scriptura invenitur quadruplex fletus: primo fletus cordialis amoris et devotionis [...] Sed piissima mater Christi [...] fleverit pariter, in quo fletu fuerunt multa dulcissima verba cordialis amoris et devotionis, sic narrat beatus Iacobus apostolus'; see the text in Praha, Strahovská, MS DB.III.4, fol. 69 (122)^r, Praha, Nár. Knih., MS I.G.10, fol. 237^r, and Brno, Moravská Zemská Knih., MS R 373, fol. 181^r.

⁶⁰ See the text above in note 9.

⁶¹ See the text above in note 5.

mother'.⁶² This concluding summary, with the application of the past tense of the verb *opportet*, characteristic of the paraphrastic retelling of the words of a person,⁶³ seems to suggest that the lengthy dialogue is an expansion, a paraphrase of a text which contained a shortened, or slightly different, version of the events which Michael de Massa further expanded in his sermon. Therefore it is presumably this base text that could derive from the *Liber de vita Christi* of Jacobus apostolus, and on the basis of the apparent overlap between the three quotations, we could try to reconstruct it. Assuming that the information shared by all three references reflects the original text of the *Liber de vita Christi*, the *Liber* seems to have recorded that, before Christ's Passion on Holy Friday — more exactly on Holy Wednesday, described as *dies Mercurii* in two of the witnesses — Mary and Christ had a long dialogue discussing the necessity of his upcoming Passion.

However, if we accept this reconstruction, the short text we get as a more or less reliable quotation from the *Liber de vita Christi* contains some surprising linguistic features. Even one of the basic common elements in two of the three quotations, the date of the dialogue on Holy Wednesday, called '*dies Mercurii ante diem Veneris passionis*,'⁶⁴ seems rather unusual. According to the medieval Christian tradition, the usual designation of the weekdays was the well-known system which begins numbering the days from Sunday and names weekdays as *feria secunda*, *tertia*, etc. The old Roman names of the days, taken from the particular god dominating them, were usually thought to be pagan, vulgar, and

⁶² 'Et sic patet primus punctus antequam descendam ad historiam passionis — scilicet videre qualia motiva inducebat virgo Maria quando rogabat Christum quod non faceret Pascha in Iherusalem et quae oportuit Christum respondere et dicere. Et omnia ista verba fuerunt die Mercurii ante passionem Domini qui die ille fuit cum discipulis suis in Bethania ad consolationem suae dulcissimae matris.' See the text in Praha, Nár. Knih., MS XX.A.9, fol. 149^r and Praha, Nár. Knih., MS III.C.8, fol. 228^r.

⁶³ The paraphrase of a person's emotions, traditionally called *ethopoiia* in the Greek and *sermocinatio* in the Latin rhetorical tradition, usually started with an introduction stating that the following words are those which could have been uttered by this or that character; cf. Craig A. Gibson, *Libanius's Progymnasmata: Model Exercises in Greek Prose Composition and Rhetoric* (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2008), pp. 357–61 and 403–05. An introduction like this is meant to highlight that what follows (however likely it is to have happened) is fictitious, invented by the writer. On the role of the *ethopoiia* in the formation of extra-biblical dialogues, see P. Tóth 'Give me another death! The Apocryphal Vision of Christ in the Garden of Gethsemane', in *Retelling the Bible: Literary, Historical, and Social Contexts*, ed. by Lucie Doležalová and Tamás Visy (Bern: Peter Lang, 2011), pp. 85–115.

⁶⁴ See the text above in notes 5 and 8.

completely inappropriate to the sacred tradition of the Christian church.⁶⁵ This is why medieval Latin Passion narratives usually avoid using these ‘vulgar’ designations of the weekdays. Instead, they generally make use of the traditional system, especially in sermons for the days of the Holy Week, which are generally called *feria tertia*, *quarta*, or just *coena Domini* (for Holy Thursday) and *parasceve* (for Good Friday).⁶⁶ The use of the ancient names of the days in the alleged apocryphon, therefore, seems to bear the influence of the medieval vernacular (presumably of Italy or France), which looks rather strange in an early Christian or even early medieval apocryphal gospel. This impression is further confirmed by the recurrence of another unusual word: two of the quotations claim that on Holy Wednesday the Virgin was half dead from her pains (*semimortua* in the *Extendit manum* and *semiviva* in the *Angeli pacis*). This adjective — although Catullus had made use of it to render Sappho’s *τεθνάκην δ’ ὀλίγω* in Latin⁶⁷ — becomes widespread only in later medieval texts, and as a description of the Virgin’s sorrow, it is used (four times!) only in the *Meditationes vitae Christi* and its later liturgical and vernacular derivatives.⁶⁸ So, however surprising it may be, the very scanty textual evidence we have for the *liber de vita Christi* of ‘Iacobus apostolus’ seems to suggest that, instead of an early Christian apocryphon, the text is rather a medieval or — if we take the parallels to the *Meditationes* into account — a late medieval composition. These linguistic features, characteristic

⁶⁵ This is the opinion, for example, of the unknown author of the twelfth-century *Exordium magnum*, who writes that the clerics do not refer to the days with the names of idols, as laymen who — just like the pagans — say day of Mars, Jupiter, Venus, etc. (*PL*, CLXXXV, col. 1100: ‘Nec enim ecclesiastici viri dies idolorum nominibus vocant — ut solent profani — qui dies Martis, Iovis, Veneris etc. — velut ethnici — dicant’.)

⁶⁶ In the manuscripts of the *Angeli pacis*, for example, the usual designation of the day is always written beside the Roman days. So we find rubricated title-headings such as *Feria quarta* before texts beginning as *Supervenit dies mercurii* (Brno, Moravská Zemská Knih., MS R 373, fol. 84^v or Budapest, Univ. Libr., Cod. Lat. 98, fol. 51^r).

⁶⁷ It is in Catullus’s *Carmen* 50.14 where we read ‘at defessa labore membra postquam semimortua lentulo iacebant’, which is generally thought to be a paraphrase of Sappho’s fragm. 31.15; see O. Thénénaz, ‘Procès d’intentions: le cas de Sappho traduite par Catulle’, in *Jeux de voix: Énonciation, intertextualité et intentionnalité dans la littérature antique*, ed. by Danielle van Mal-Maeder, Alexandre Burnier, and Loreto Núñez (Berlin: Peter Lang, 2009), pp. 57–88 (p. 82).

⁶⁸ See Johannes de Caulibus, *Meditationes vite Christi olim S. Bonaventurae attributae*, ed. by M. Stallings-Taney, CCCM, 153 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1997), p. 269: ‘semimortua facta est pre angustiam’; p. 275: ‘propter angustiarum multitudinem [...] semimortua facta est’; p. 278: ‘tunc mater semimortua cecidit’; p. 302: ‘quando mater eius semimortua facta est’.

of later Latin usage, could certainly be the result of Michael's adaptations of an earlier dialogue into the new context of his sermons, accommodating its vocabulary to the language of his own time and environment in early fourteenth-century Italy or France. Nevertheless, a closer look at the very essence of the whole tradition, that is, the conversation of Christ with his mother on the necessity of the Passion, may lead to a different conclusion.

The Theological Character of the Quotations

The 'pious arguments' of the Virgin to convince Christ to allow her to die before his Passion, as described in the *Angeli pacis*, and the long paraphrase of the *motiva* of the Virgin to dissuade him from spending Easter in Jerusalem, both seem to suggest that the *Book on the Life of Christ by the Apostle James* may have recorded a series of requests made by the Virgin to her son. These requests in the work of Jacobus, as we know them from Michael's paraphrases, could have addressed the problem of whether it was possible to find another way to redeem mankind than the death and Passion of Christ. As the Virgin says in the *Extendit manum*: 'Utrum alius modus possibilis est praeter mortem tuam'.⁶⁹

This question of whether or not it was inevitable for Christ to die for fallen mankind, although it had already been discussed by some of the Church Fathers,⁷⁰ gained special attention only in the later Middle Ages, when it became one of the most argued and best known problems of scholastic philosophy. The first theologian to deal with the problem systematically was Anselm of Canterbury, who devoted his famous treatise, the *Cur Deus homo*, to this very subject. As John Duns Scotus remarked at the beginning of the fourteenth century, 'this question is purely theological, and it was for this problem that Anselm appears to have written his *Cur Deus homo*, in which he apparently found the solution for it'.⁷¹

⁶⁹ See the text in Praha, Nár. Knih., MS XX.A.9, fol. 147^v: 'Haec audiens dulcissima mater domini cum multis lacrimis dixit ad eum: Utrum alius modus possibilis est praeter mortem tuam, quia solo verbo poteris salvare omnes credentes in te [...] et solo sermone restauras universa'.

⁷⁰ As, for example, by Augustine: 'Ita ne defuit Deo modus alius quo liberaret homines a miseria mortalitatis huius, ut unigenitum filium Deum sibi coaeternum hominem fieri vellet?' (Augustine, *De Trinitate*, XIII, 10.3; Augustine, *De trinitate libri xv*, ed. by W. J. Mountain and F. Glorie, CCSL, 50A (Turnhout: Brepols, 1968), p. 399); by Pope Leo I, 'Sermo 63 De passione Christi: potuisset liberare genus humanum solo imperio voluntatis suae', in *PL*, LIV, col. 353, and by Gregory the Great, *Moralia*, xx. 36. 69, in *PL*, LXXVI, col. 179.

⁷¹ Duns Scotus, *Lectura in librum tertium sententiarum: a distinctione decima octava ad*

Anselm, in paragraph 18 of the second book of his *Cur Deus homo*, had indeed asked the much-disputed question, 'Why God became a man, to redeem mankind by his death, although he could have done so in another way?'⁷² In his answer, Anselm introduces one of the most characteristic concepts of medieval theology, that of 'satisfaction'. He argued that only Christ, as the incarnate Divine Word, could give satisfaction for the sin committed by Adam and Eve, because the one who could stone for it had to be man and God at the same time, and only the incarnated Christ united both these natures in himself.⁷³

Beside the characteristic concept of satisfaction, Anselm introduced new philosophical terms into the exegesis of the Passion of Christ, such as *necessity*, *convenience*, and *rationality*. He deployed them as logical tools to prove the prevailing justice of Christianity over paganism 'without the authority of the Scripture' only 'by the sole support of complete rationality'.⁷⁴ It is by these criteria that he asserts that the Passion of Christ was a necessary and indispensable consequence of the eternal providence of God, and the only suitable and rational way to save fallen mankind.⁷⁵

These main points were taken up by later theologians too, and every important scholastic philosopher had something to comment on or to add to this problem. The great importance of the question is well marked by the fact that the famous *Sentences* of Peter Lombard, compiled between 1155 and 1157, dedicated a separate distinction to the problem of the necessity of Christ's Passion.

quadragesimam, in *Ioannis Duns Scoti opera omnia iussu et auctoritate Pacifici M. Perantoni; studio et cura Commissionis Scotisticae ad fidem codicum edita, praeside Carolo Balić*, vol. xx1 (Civitas Vaticana: Typis Polyglottis Vaticanis, 2004), p. 42: 'ipsa est mere theologica, et Anselmus totum librum *Cur Deus homo* propter eam solvendam fecisse videtur et ibi videtur solvisse eam'.

⁷² Anselm of Canterbury, *Cur Deus homo*, in *S. Anselmi Cantuariensis Archiepiscopi opera omnia*, ed. by Franciscus Salesius Schmitt, 6 vols (Edinburgh: Nelson, 1946), II, §18 (II, 112): 'Summa quaestionis fuit cur Deus homo factus sit, ut per mortem suam salvaret hominem, cum hoc alio modo facere potuisset videretur.'

⁷³ See Dániel Deme, *The Christology of Anselm of Canterbury* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), pp. 81–121.

⁷⁴ Anselm of Canterbury, *Epistola de Incarnatione Verbi Dei*, in *Opera omnia*, ed. by Schmitt, §6 (II, 21): 'ut quod fide tenemus de divina natura et eius personis praeter incarnationem, necessariis rationibus sine scripturae auctoritate probari possit' and Anselm, *Cur Deus homo*, ed. by Schmitt, II, §11 (II, 111).

⁷⁵ For a very clear explanation of Anselm's methods, see Brian Leftow, 'Anselm on the Cost of Salvation', *Medieval Philosophy and Theology*, 6 (1997), 73–92, and Deme, *Christology of Anselm*.

In distinction 20 of his third book, Peter asks almost the same question as the Virgin does in her second request in the *Extendit manum* ('Utrum alius modus possibilis est praeter mortem tuam, quia solo verbo poteris salvare omnes credentes in te [...] et solo sermone restauras universa'),⁷⁶ which Lombardus raises as follows: 'Utrum alio modo posset Deus hominem liberare quam per mortem Christi, [...] cujus potestati cuncta subjacent'. Although the answers that Peter offers differ from the responses of Christ in Michael's paraphrase of the *Liber de vita Christi*, it is right here, in the *Sentences* and their later commentaries, that we find the closest parallels to the doctrine and terminology of the alleged apocryphon.

In his commentary on the *Sentences* compiled around 1300 in Oxford, John Duns Scotus highlights some inconsistency in Anselm's reasoning.⁷⁷ On the one hand, he argues, Anselm considers Christ's Crucifixion as inevitable, since only the God-man was able to provide atonement for Adam's sin, while on the other hand his death could not be necessary, for even Anselm himself emphasizes that 'he would have been able to avoid death had he wanted to'. In order to resolve this contradiction between inevitability and necessity, Scotus tried to give a more refined definition of the term *necessity*, and distinguished between two different types of necessities. The first he termed *necessitas absoluta*, which covers necessity in the stricter sense of the term. This should be excluded from the realm of theology, as the Almighty God cannot be forced by any necessity, for the moment this is possible, God would no longer be omnipotent.⁷⁸ The second type, the divine necessity, should, therefore, be interpreted differently from the absolute one and is described as the necessity of congruence or consequence (*necessitas congruentiae* or *consequentiae*).⁷⁹ For Scotus, the necessity of the Crucifixion meant that human redemption was necessary only because it was preordained by God in that particular way, so that it would be satisfactory in every sense. The salvation of mankind therefore had to be congruent

⁷⁶ See note 69 above.

⁷⁷ Duns Scotus, *Lectura in librum tertium sententiarum*, p. 48: 'Sed in dictis istis Anselmimi videtur aliqua esse dubia.'

⁷⁸ Duns Scotus, *Lectura in librum tertium sententiarum*, p. 49: 'Nulla igitur fuit necessitas redemptionis absolute.'

⁷⁹ For a typical definition in a very popular philosophical manual, see Guillelmus Gorris Scotus Pauper, *Commentarium super quattuor libros sententiarum*, in *Scotus pauperum* (Lyons: Guillaume Balsarin, c. 1487), III. Dist. XX. Quaestio I (fol. xii^v): 'Necessitas consequentiae est id, quod Deus sic ordinavit, necessarium erat, quod sic eveniret, non tamen quod aliter non posset ordinare.'



with all the sins committed by humanity over the course of history, sins which thereby typologically foretold the suffering of Christ. It was precisely because of this new concept of the necessity of congruence that medieval exegetes meticulously looked for Old Testament prefigurations for every single element of Christ's Passion. That would prove that every single detail of the Passion, in accordance with the perfect 'satisfaction', was 'necessary', in the sense of congruence or consequence, to atone for every human sin. Humanity's sins could only be erased in the sense of the old 'eye for eye, tooth for tooth' law (Ex. 21. 24, Lev. 24. 20, Deut. 19. 21), so Christ had to atone for each: for the tree of disobedience with the wood of the cross, for Adam's reaching for the fruit with his arms extended on the cross, for the nakedness of the forebears with his nakedness on the cross, and for the sins of all mankind with the terrible suffering of his whole body.⁸⁰

Curiously, it is this particular doctrine that we encounter in the arguments of Christ recorded in the passage of the *liber de vita Christi* paraphrased by Michael. Christ tells his mother, 'I admit it is possible that there be a redemption in another way than my death, but it is suitable that it should not happen in an ordinary way, but in the most suitable one, that is, through my death.'⁸¹ It is apparently the new concept of necessity, based on the congruence between New Testament events and their Old Testament prefigurations, by which Christ tries to explain the inevitability of his upcoming death to his mother. This is why he has no consolation to offer the Virgin, and can only say that the Old Testament prophecies must all be fulfilled. He is unable to obey his mother's request and desist from the Passion.⁸² When he says that 'just like Adam had stretched his hands towards the tree, so it is necessary for the one who

⁸⁰ The detailed correspondences can best be seen in the argumentation of Thomas Aquinas, who marshals numerous examples of the necessity of Christ's suffering; for example, Thomas Aquinas, *Summa theologiae*, III. q. 46. art. 4. concl. (on the Crucifixion); or Thomas Aquinas, *Scriptum super Sententiis*, III. Dist. 20 q.1. art. 4. qc. 2 (on the bitterness of the Passion atoning for the sins of the whole world). All quotations from Aquinas are from <<http://www.corpusthomicum.org>>.

⁸¹ Praha, Nár. Knih., MS XX.A.9, fol. 147^v: 'Concedo tibi, dulcissima mater, quod mihi possibile est sic salvare per alium modum in me credentes, quam per mortem [...] conveniens est ut ego [...] faciam non quocumque modo, sed modo convenientiori.'

⁸² He uses this argument three times in the course of the dialogue. In his first answer: 'In hac autem petitione te exaudire non possum, quia non implerentur scripturae'; in the fourth: 'ut adimpleantur scripturae et omnes figurae quae loquuntur de de salute humani generis per mortem meam'; and in the fifth: 'Nec petitio, quam modo facis, potest per me exaudiri [...] non enim praetermitti potest aliquid de his quae continentur in sacra scriptura.'

is to redeem mankind to stretch out his hands on the wood,'⁸³ he apparently echoes the scholastic arguments that Christ's Passion was 'especially suitable' (*maxime conveniens*) to atone for the forefather's sin, which was the plucking of the apple from the forbidden tree.⁸⁴ Furthermore, just like Thomas Aquinas does in the *Summa Theologiae*,⁸⁵ the Virgin in the *liber de vita Christi* asks if it were possible for Christ to delay his Passion and death,⁸⁶ but Christ rejects her request by stating that it is the fitting time because it corresponds to the prophecies.⁸⁷ The Passion, therefore, cannot be delayed.⁸⁸ The Virgin then tries to persuade Christ at least to choose a death less ignominious than the Crucifixion, which is a dilemma that also arises in Aquinas, who writes that 'even the slightest pain of Christ would certainly have sufficed to secure human salvation [...]. Therefore it would have been superfluous to choose the greatest of all pains.'⁸⁹ The Virgin, in her motherly pain, raises the same question when she asks her son that his death 'should not be ignominious, cruel, or despised',⁹⁰ and interestingly, she receives exactly the same answer as Thomas provides. For the latter, in his commentary on the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard, argues that 'Christ had to pay for every sin, not only for the original, but for all sins [...] therefore, so that his atonement should comprise the whole, he had to die the most igno-

⁸³ Praha, Nár. Knih., MS XX.A.9, fol. 147^v: 'sicut Adam deduxit manum suam ad fructum ligni vetiti, ita oportet quod esset homo, qui traduceret genus humanum de morte ad vitam extendendo manum suam in ligno.'

⁸⁴ Aquinas, *Summa theologiae*, III. q. 46. art. 4. concl.: 'hoc genus mortis maxime conveniens erat satisfactioni pro peccato primi parentis, quod fuit ex eo quod, contra mandatum Dei, pomum ligni vetiti sumpsit. Et ideo conveniens fuit quod Christus, ad satisfaciendum pro peccato illo, seipsum pateretur ligno affigi.'

⁸⁵ Aquinas, *Summa theologiae*, III. q. 46. art. 9. arg. 4: 'Conveniens igitur fuisset humanae salutis, ut diutius in hoc mundo vixisset, ita quod non pateretur in iuvenili aetate, sed magis senili.'

⁸⁶ Praha, Nár. Knih., MS XX.A.9, fol. 148^r: 'Retardetur, quantum est possibile passio ista.'

⁸⁷ As a response to this objection about a possible later date of the Passion, Aquinas argues that it was the juvenile age that seemed the best and most suitable way for the salvation, because this way Christ 'futuram resurgentium qualitatem in seipso praemonstraret' (Aquinas, *Summa theologiae*, III. q. 46, art. 10).

⁸⁸ See Praha, Nár. Knih., MS XX.A.9, fol. 148^v: 'Non enim praetermitti potest aliquid de his quae continentur in sacra scriptura [...] et ideo passio mea retardari non potest.'

⁸⁹ Aquinas, *Summa theologiae*, III. q. 46 art. 6 arg. 6: 'Minimus dolor Christi suffecisset finem salutis humanae [...] ergo superfluum fuisset assumere maximum dolorem.'

⁹⁰ Praha, Nár. Knih., MS XX.A.9, fol. 148^v: 'mors tua non sit despecta, nec sit crudelis, non sit abiecta.'

minious death ever'.⁹¹ It is this view that is echoed in Christ's answer to his mother's request in Michael's paraphrase of the *Liber de vita Christi*, in which Christ states that 'while my death is destined to be satisfaction for the whole of mankind, it is necessary that the atonement should also be commensurable to the committed sin. Therefore, as the sin was the greatest ever, it is necessary that the pain, which is the medication of this sin, also be the greatest ever'.⁹²

The close similarity between the theological and dogmatic character of the quotations paraphrased from Jacobus's *liber de vita Christi* and late thirteenth-century scholastic exegesis of Christ's Passion, therefore, seems more than obvious. The only question is whether this striking coincidence between Jacobus's apocryphon and the scholastic doctrines is the consequence of Michael's adaptation of the text or reflects the original character of the quoted work. In the absence of Jacobus's text, it seems very difficult to judge to what extent Michael had changed the original wording when he inserted the quotations into his sermons. However, as we have already observed in connection with the terminological overlap between the three extant quotations, Mary's attempts to change, or at least to influence, the Divine Plan concerning the salvation of mankind through Christ's Passion appear to have been an organic part of the document used and referred to by Michael. We might assume, therefore, that he found the information about the Holy Week dialogue between Mary and Christ on the necessity of the Passion in the *liber de vita Christi* ascribed to Jacobus, which he may have considered a good starting point to provide a more detailed explanation of his theological views concerning the problem. Therefore — in order to defend himself against an eventual charge of fictionalizing — he referred to the work of Jacobus and, without marking the exact amount of text he actually borrowed, represented the long discussion he invented as originating from the quoted source. This would only be possible, however, if the original text Michael read and used had already contained a dialogue between Mary and Christ discussing the necessity and unavoidability of Christ's Passion. So the topic itself, being a characteristic element of the theology of late thirteenth-

⁹¹ Aquinas, *Scriptum super Sententiis*, III. Dist. 20 q. 1. art. 4. qc. 2: 'Christus pro omnibus peccatis quantum ad sufficientiam debuit satisfacere, non solum pro originale, sed etiam pro actuali [...] et ideo, ut sua satisfactio omnem comprehenderet, decens fuit ut morte turpissima, quantum ad genus mortis moreretur.'

⁹² Praha, Nár. Knih., MS XX.A.9, fol. 149^r: 'Quia cum mors mea debet satisfactio generis humani, oportet quod secundum mensuram delicti sit et plagarum modus [Deut. 25. 2]. Et quia peccatum, unde genus humanum est ad mortem damnatum, est maximum, oportet, quod dolor passionis meae, quae est medicina illius peccati sit maximum.'

and early fourteenth-century scholasticism, along with the stylistic features of the quotations observed above, seems to suggest that the mysterious *liber de vita Christi* of ‘Jacobus apostolus’ is probably not an early Christian apocryphal gospel, but rather a late medieval Life of Christ text. Thus, instead of investigating the identity of Jacobus, as previous scholars have done, we should instead concentrate on the genre of the quoted work and try to identify a medieval Life of Christ, presumably entitled *Liber de vita Christi*. It should be a text that post-dates Thomas Aquinas, whose ideas the dialogue seems to echo, and must have been available to Michael de Massa between 1325 and 1337. Moreover, as one of its most characteristic features, it should also contain at least the seeds of a dialogue between Christ and Mary similar to the one presented in the sermons. Once a possible candidate has been found to fit these criteria, we may perhaps come closer to identifying the mysterious Jacobus as well.

A Medieval Liber de vita Christi?

A quick cross-check in medieval library catalogues reveals that there are not many works known as *liber de vita Christi* in the medieval tradition. One of the few is a thirteenth-century treatise by Bonaventure (d. 1274), which in the modern editions is usually entitled *Lignum vitae*.⁹³ This text consists of a series of short meditations, arranged according to a complicated system of mystical contemplations and designed as the leaves and branches of the ‘tree of life’, an image of which is generally depicted at the title page of the manuscripts.⁹⁴ Since the branches of this tree of life are interpreted by Bonaventure as different stages in the history of human salvation, the meditative texts attached to each of the branches contain short affective retellings of the most important events of Christ’s life, from his primeval birth from the Father through his Nativity, ministry, and Passion up to his Second Coming at the Last Judgement. These medi-

⁹³ For example, in a fourteenth-century French repertory, where the volume listed as containing a work entitled *liber de conversatione Christi* was identified with a manuscript in Charlesville (Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 16) preserving the *Lignum vitae*; see Anne Bondeelle-Souchier, *Bibliothèque de l’ordre de Prémontré dans la France d’Ancien Régime*, II, *Edition des inventaires* (Paris: CNRS, 2006), p. 91. n. 12; this manuscript seems to represent a separate tradition in the transmission of the text, where it is usually called *liber de vita et conversatione Christi*, as for example in Trier, Stadtbibliothek, Cod. 580, fol. 15^r or Trier, Stadtbibliothek, Cod. 775, fol. 25^v and many others listed in Bonaventure, *S. Bonaventurae Opera omnia*, 10 vols (Quaracchi, 1898), VIII, pp. xlii–xlix.

⁹⁴ See the edition of the text in Bonaventure, *Opera omnia*, VIII, 68–87.

tations, however, do not include any account of a farewell dialogue between Christ and the Virgin before the Passion.⁹⁵ So the *Lignum vitae*, despite its alternative title as *liber de vita Christi* and its date as Bonaventure's authentic piece from the thirteenth century, cannot be identical to Jacobus's work, which must have contained a conversation between Mary and Christ before the Passion, from which Michael de Massa borrowed his information.

Another important Life of Christ compilation is the *Arbor vitae crucifixae* of the late thirteenth-century Franciscan Ubertino da Casale (d. 1329), who obviously modelled his work on the *Lignum vitae* of Bonaventure. Ubertino's lengthy treatise — although it contains a detailed (but more theologically oriented) retelling of Christ's life⁹⁶ — was apparently never entitled *vita Christi* in the medieval manuscripts and catalogues. It was usually known under its real author's name and with its original title as *liber qui intitulatur Arbor vitae crucifixae*.⁹⁷ Moreover, as its structure obviously mirrors the sequence of the meditations in the Bonaventurian *Lignum vitae*,⁹⁸ it does not contain any account of, or reference to, a dialogue between Christ and Mary before the Passion.⁹⁹

⁹⁵ With regard to the Passion, it speaks only of the events of Palm Sunday (*Iesus rex orbis agnitus*), the Last Supper (*Iesus panis sacratus*), the betrayal (*Iesus dolo venundatus*), and the agony in the garden (*Iesus orans prostratus*).

⁹⁶ Michael Cusato, 'Two Uses of the *Vita Christi* Genre in Tuscany, c. 1300: John de Caulibus and Ubertino da Casale Compared. A Response to Daniel Lesnick, ten years hence', *Franciscan Studies*, 57 (1999), 131–48, and also Kemper, *Die Kreuzigung Christi*, pp. 86–88, and more recently Stephan Mossmann, 'Ubertino da Casale and the *Devotio Moderna*', *Ons Geestelijk Erf*, 80 (2009), 198–280 (pp. 200–03).

⁹⁷ See the list of medieval references to the work by Mossmann, 'Ubertino da Casale', pp. 210–17, and for the census of manuscripts, pp. 204–07; see also the list of manuscripts provided by P. B. Guyot, 'L'Arbor Vitae Crucifixae Iesu' d'Ubertin de Casale et ses emprunts au "De Articulis Fidei" de S. Thomas d'Aquin', in *Studies Honoring Ignatius Brady, Friar Minor*, ed. by Romano Stephan Almagno and Conrad L. Harkins (New York: Franciscan Institute, 1976), pp. 293–307 (pp. 300–04).

⁹⁸ Carlos Mateo Martínez Ruíz, *De la dramatización de los acontecimientos de la Pascua a la Cristología: El cuarto libro del Arbor Vitae Crucifixae Iesu de Ubertino de Casale* (Roma: Pontificium Athenaeum Antonianum, 2000), pp. 94–114.

⁹⁹ Ubertino, like Bonaventure, speaks lengthily about Palm Sunday ('*Iesus asello latus, Iesus voce laudatus, Iesus lachrymatus, Iesus zelo armatus, Iesus rex orbis veniens, Iesus urbi compatiens, Iesus templum ingrediens*'), the Last Supper ('*Iesus panis sacratus*'), the betrayal ('*Iesus Iudam corripiens, Iesus dilecto stratus, Iesus sermonem faciens*') and the agony ('*Iesus orans prostratus*'), but does not mention the meeting and farewell between Mary and Christ. The dependence of Ubertino on Bonaventure's treatise seems evident even in the very titles of the chapters

Therefore, neither of these two texts could be identified with the work referred to by Michael as a book by 'Jacobus apostolus'.

Another text which is usually entitled as *Vita Christi* or *liber de vita Christi* in medieval manuscripts and library catalogues is the famous *Vita Christi* of Ludolph of Saxony (d. 1378).¹⁰⁰ This monumental work, which contains an exegetical retelling of the whole life of Christ from the Nativity up to his Resurrection, was compiled by Ludolph in the Carthusian monastery of Mainz between 1348 and 1368.¹⁰¹ This date, however, which is unanimously accepted, would certainly exclude the possibility that the *liber de vita Christi* read and quoted by Michael between 1320 and 1337 could have been Ludolph's *Life of Christ*. Moreover, Ludolph's text does not appear to have any corresponding details that could have served as a source for Michael de Massa's dialogue. Describing the events of Holy Wednesday, he speaks only about the betrayal of Christ by Judas and his agreement with the Jews, without making any mention of a dialogue between Mary and Christ taking place during the Holy Week.¹⁰² However, Michael, who also places the betrayal of Christ on Holy Wednesday, both in the *Angeli pacis* and in the *Extendit manum*, describes the dialogue as immediately preceding Judas's visit to the Jews.¹⁰³ It thus seems completely implausible that Ludolph's work, written decades after Michael's death, and lacking any information comparable to the quotation by Michael, could have been referred to as the *Liber de vita Christi* of *Jacobus apostolus* in any of Michael's sermons.

There is also a much less-known Life of Christ text, a shorter narrative allegedly compiled by Michael de Massa himself. As it begins with the same

he devotes to the single events. See the chapter headings in Ubertino da Casali, *Arbor Vitae Crucifixae* (Venetiis: Andrea de Bonettis, 1485; repr. Turin: Bottega d'Erasmus, 1961).

¹⁰⁰ See the interesting analysis of the occurrences of the title *vita Christi* in the medieval repertories by J. Hillgarth, *Readers and Books in Majorca 1229–1550*, 2 vols (Paris: CNRS, 1991), I, 168–69.

¹⁰¹ Baier, *Untersuchungen*, pp. 131–37, with references to all relevant previous scholarship.

¹⁰² See the long Chapter 52 in Ludolphus of Saxony, *Vita Jesu Christi*, ed. by Bolard, Rigollot, and Carnandet, pp. 573–75.

¹⁰³ He writes in the *Angeli pacis*: 'Haec et alia dulcia verba filius cum matre et mater cum filio die Mercurii loquebantur. Fecerunt autem illa die principes sacerdotum consilium [...] sciens autem nequissimus Iudas ex instinctu diaboli eos congregatos venit non vocatus ad ipsos' (Brno, Moravská Zemská Knih., MS R 373, fol. 85^{r-v}) and in the *Extendit manum*: 'in die mercurii mater et filius per totam diem dulciter colloquuntur et fuit sermo illorum ille quem in principi praedicationis narravi et illa die congregati sunt omnes scribe et pharizei [...] scivit hoc Iudas Scarioth [...] et cum intravisset in atrium, statim ex abrupto dixit eis' (Praha, Nár. Knih., MS XX.A.9, fol. 151^{r-v}).

prologue as Ludolph's *Vita*, and its structure is also very similar to it, the two have often been confused, not only in medieval manuscripts and catalogues, but also in modern editions and discussions.¹⁰⁴ Michael's *Vita Christi*, which, according to the majority of scholars, could have been one of the most important sources of Ludolph's *Vita*, was preserved in a relatively large number of manuscripts and was printed many times during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. However, the work usually survived, in manuscripts and prints alike, either under Ludolph's name or anonymously.¹⁰⁵ The only witness to Michael's authorship is a single fifteenth-century manuscript, which explicitly attributes the *Life of Christ* to Michael.¹⁰⁶ From the early twentieth century onwards, the testimony of this manuscript has been generally accepted, and the *Vita Christi* is now included in the oeuvre of Michael de Massa.¹⁰⁷ Although the reliability of his authorship has previously been doubted by several scholars who wanted to argue for priority of Ludolph's *Vita Christi* over Michael's work, after a detailed comparative analysis of the two texts by Karl-Ernst Geith,¹⁰⁸ Michael's work

¹⁰⁴ For the close similarity between Michael's and Ludolph's *Life*, both of them starting with a quotation from Paul (1 Corinthians 3. 11, 'Fundamentum aliud nemo potest ponere'), see Baier, *Untersuchungen*, pp. 345–46, and Kemper, *Die Kreuzigung Christi*, p. 125.

¹⁰⁵ For the discussion on the dependence of Ludolph on Michael and the chronology of the two works, see the fierce debate between Walter Baier and Karl-Ernst Geith: Karl-Ernst Geith, 'Ludolf von Sachsen und Michael von Massa: Zur Chronologie von zwei Leben Jesu-Texten', *Ons Geestelijk Erf*, 61 (1987), 304–36; Karl-Ernst Geith, 'Die *Vita Jesu Christi* des Michael von Massa', *Augustiniana*, 38 (1988), 99–117; Walter Baier, 'Michael von Massa OESA (d 1337) — Autor einer Vita Christi, Kritik der Diskussion über ihre Zuordnung zur Vita Christi des Kartäusers Ludolf von Sachsen (d 1378)', in *Traditio Augustiniana: Studien über Augustinus und seine Rezeption. Festgabe für Willigis Eckermann OSA zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. by Adolar Zumkeller and Achim Krümmel (Würzburg: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1994), pp. 495–524; and more recently Karl-Ernst Geith, 'Lateinische und deutschsprachige Leben Jesu-Texte- Bilanz und Perspektiven der Forschung', *Jahrbuch der Oswald von Wolkenstein Gesellschaft*, 12 (2000), 273–89.

¹⁰⁶ Michael's name was preserved in the copy in Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek, MS 800, fol. 1^r: 'Incipit devotissimus libellus Michaelis de Massa de vita domini nostri Jesu Christi', and also in the fol. 100^r explicit as 'explicit libellus devotissimus de vita Christi Michaelis de Massa'. For a list of other manuscripts, see Kemper, *Die Kreuzigung Christi*, p. 115.

¹⁰⁷ First in the chronicle of Jacob of Bergamo, *Novissima historiarum omnium repercusiones: Supplementum chronicarum nuncupantur* (Venetiis, 1506), fol. 338^v, and from then on in several other collections; see Kemper, *Die Kreuzigung Christi*, p. 125.

¹⁰⁸ Karl-Ernst Geith, 'Die lateinische Quelle des "Tleven ons Heren Ihesu Cristi"', in *Sô wold ich in fröiden singen*, ed. by Carla Dauven-van Knippenberg and Helmut Birkhan (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1995), pp. 195–204.

has been unanimously accepted as the earlier text, possibly used by Ludolph for his own compilation.¹⁰⁹ As the shorter text has turned out to be the earlier, its attribution to Michael de Massa has also been generally approved.

If we take a closer look at the content of Michael's *Vita Christi*, we find that it so closely agrees with Ludolph's compilation that — just like in Ludolph's work — even the dialogue between Mary and Christ on Holy Wednesday is missing. Instead, Michael's alleged *Vita Christi* speaks only of the council of the Jews and Judas's agreement with them. Not the slightest hint is made in his text of a dialogue between Christ and his mother preceding or following Judas's betrayal.¹¹⁰ Whatever the reason for — and the implications of — this curious incongruence between Michael's own *Life of Christ* and his two sermons may be, the source referred to by him in his two sermons as the *liber de vita Christi* of *Jacobus apostolus* can certainly not be his own *Vita Christi*. Although chronologically his own *Vita Christi* would obviously fit the criteria outlined above, it would not make sense to refer to his own work as a text written by a Jacobus, all the more so because it does not contain any mention of the dialogue he credits to it. The only remaining Life of Christ text to be considered, therefore, is the famous compilation which was long attributed to Cardinal Bonaventure under the title *Meditationes vitae Christi* (MVC).

The Meditationes vitae Christi as Jacobus's liber de vita Christi

The MVC as Michael's Source

The *Meditationes*, one of the most popular and influential texts of the European Middle Ages, consists of a series of meditative paraphrases of all major events in Christ's life, written by a Tuscan Franciscan, presumably of the monastery of San Gimignano,¹¹¹ who dedicated it to a Poor

¹⁰⁹ See the detailed discussion by Kemper, *Die Kreuzigung Christi*, pp. 125–31.

¹¹⁰ Michael's *Life* contains a very promising chapter entitled 'De his quae gesta sunt feria secunda, tertia et quarta', but here in connection with the Holy Wednesday (called very characteristically *feria quarta* in the text) he writes as follows: 'Tunc — scilicet quarta feria — principes sacerdotum et seniores populi [...] congregati sunt in atrium Cayaphae [...] Judas autem audiens Iudaeos congregatos adiit ad eos et pepigit cum eis de Ihesu tradendo'; see the text in the printed edition: *Vita Ihesu a venerabili fratre Ludolpho Cartusiensi edita* (Nürnberg, 1474/78).

¹¹¹ The author, when speaking about the distance between Jerusalem and the Calvary, compares it to the one between the gate of San Gimignano and his monastery. See Johannes

Clare.¹¹² Although the identity of this Franciscan, except for the apparently false ascription of the text to Bonaventure in a considerable number of manuscripts, is never specified in the medieval tradition, on the basis of Bonelli's 1767 conjecture, the work is now generally attributed to a certain Johannes de Caulibus.¹¹³ The date of Johannes's compilation was previously placed by the majority of scholars at around 1300.¹¹⁴ However, in light of a 1990 article by Sarah McNamer, it has been revised to between 1338 and 1360.¹¹⁵ Given this later date, it would not seem very plausible to suggest that Michael's source could be connected to the *MVC*.

Nevertheless, in a special branch of the *MVC* manuscripts, which seem to be of Italian provenance, the work is defined — either in the incipit or, some-

de Caulibus, *Meditaciones [...] Bonaventurae attributae*, ed. by Stallings-Taney, cap. 77, p. 269: 'mons Calvariae, ubi fuit crucifixus, distabat a porta civitatis quantum locus noster a porta Sancti Geminiani'.

¹¹² As is evident from the prologue where the addressee is called *dilecta filia*. See *Meditationes vitae Christi*, p. 10.

¹¹³ The eighteenth-century scholar Benedetto Bonelli was working on a new edition of the works of Bonaventure, surveying his whole oeuvre for the publication, and he was the first to doubt that the *MVC* was originally written by the cardinal. Instead, on the basis of a late fourteenth-century repertory of Franciscan writers in which a certain Johannes de Caulibus is noted as having composed beautiful meditations on the Gospels (Bartholomaeus de Pisa, *De conformitate vitae B. Francisci ad vitam Domini Ihesu*, Analecta Franciscana, 4 (Quaracchi: Typographia Collegii S. Bonaventurae, 1906), p. 518: 'Locus de Sancto Geminiano, de quo exstitit oriundus frater Iohannes de Caulibus, magnus praedicator et devotus, qui meditationes super evangelia fecit pulchras'), he identified the author with this otherwise completely unknown friar who, although none of the *MVC* manuscripts name him as the author of the text, was and still is thought to have compiled the work. See Benedetto Bonelli, *Prodromus ad opera omnia S. Bonaventurae* (Bassano, 1767), pp. 698–700, and also Marco Arosio, 'Giovanni de'Cauli', in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, dir. by Alberto M. Ghisalberti, 79 vols to date (Roma: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1960–), LV (2000), cols 768–74.

¹¹⁴ Chapter 80 of the Latin text refers to a text ('quaedam scriptura quod dominus cuidam devotae suae revelavit': *Meditationes vitae Christi*, p. 281), which states that even the hair and beard of Christ were shorn by his tormentors. Since this 'revelation' was identified by Colledge as the *Liber specialis gratiae* by Mechthilde of Hackenburg, completed around 1299, this year was generally accepted as the terminus post quem for the *Meditationes*; see Edmund Colledge 'Dominus cuidam devotae suae: A Source for Pseudo-Bonaventure', *Franciscan Studies*, 36 (1976), 105–07.

¹¹⁵ In Sarah McNamer, 'Further Evidence for the Date of the Pseudo-Bonaventuran *Meditationes vitae Christi*', *Franciscan Studies*, 50 (1990), 235–62, she identified another quotation, from the revelations of a certain Elizabeth, as that of Elizabeth of Töss, who died in 1336, and thus she fixed the terminus post quem for the composition of the *MVC* to that year.

© BREPOLS PUBLISHERS

THIS DOCUMENT MAY BE PRINTED FOR PRIVATE USE ONLY.
IT MAY NOT BE DISTRIBUTED WITHOUT PERMISSION OF THE PUBLISHER.

times, in the slightly more ‘conservative’ explicit — as *liber de vita Christi* or *liber aureus de vita Christi*.¹¹⁶ Moreover, of all the medieval Life of Christ compilations, it is the *MVC* that exhibits the closest thematic parallels to Michael’s alleged source. Chapter 72 of the Latin text of Stallings-Tanney’s critical edition, which is introduced by the author as a ‘beautiful meditation, of which the Scripture does not speak’, gives an account of the events on Holy Wednesday very similar to the one recorded in the sermons of Michael de Massa. The close resemblance between the *Meditationes* and Michael’s apparent source seems especially clear in the case of the quotation preserved in the *Extendit manum*. As the allusion to Jacobus’s work in this text — as noted above — seems to contain not just a vague reference, but a paraphrased retelling of the information that Michael might have seen in the *liber de vita Christi*, a comparison of this passage from the *Extendit manum* with the *Meditationes* looks especially instructive for the identification of Jacobus’s work.

As it appears from Table 2.1 on the following page, the very core of the narrative — the dialogue between Christ and the Magdalen, followed by another, more detailed discussion between the Virgin and Christ on the necessity of the Passion — seems to be very similar in the Latin texts of the *Meditationes* and the *Extendit manum*. Moreover, both texts place the dialogue on precisely the same day, that is, Holy Wednesday, which both describe with the characteristic ‘dies Mercurii’. Even the location where the discussion is said to have taken place — the house of Lazarus, Martha, and Mary — is the same in both texts. In addition to these basic details, there are other, more characteristic phraseological similarities in the *Meditationes* that appear to be echoed in Michael’s sermon. Christ’s discussion with his mother, for example, is described in the

¹¹⁶ See the following manuscripts from the list compiled by Columban Fischer, ‘Die “Meditationes vitae Christi”: Ihre handschriftliche Überlieferung und die Verfasserfrage’, *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum*, 25 (1932), 3–35, 175–209, 305–48, 449–83; Bonn, Universitätsbibliothek, MS 361, fol. 109^v: ‘Incipit prologus libri qui intitulatur vita Jesu Christi’; CUL, MS Doc. 1326, fol. 140^r: ‘Incipit liber aureus de vita Christi’; CUL, MS Doc. 1653, fol. 1^r: ‘Incipit prologus libri de vita Christi’; Darmstadt, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, MS 672, fol. 1^r: ‘Incipiunt capitula in libello de vita Ihesu Christi’; Laon, Kathedralarchiv, MS 68.26: ‘Explicit liber de vita domini nostri Iesu Christi’; Liège, Bibliothek des Priesterseminars, MS 6.M.6., fol. 1^r: ‘Incipiunt capitula in libello de vita Ihesu Christi’; BL, MS Royal 7 A I, fol. 3^v: ‘liber aureus de vita Ihesu’; BL, MS Royal 7 D XVII, fol. 8^v: ‘Incipit prologus in librum de vita Christi’; München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, MS Clm. 14358, fol. 242^r: ‘Explicit liber de vita Christi’; Torino, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria, MS E.V.7, fol. 82^r: ‘Explicit hic liber de beata Virgine et eius filio Ihesu Christo’. For the title as characteristic of the Italian tradition, see Fischer, “Meditationes vitae Christi”, pp. 307–08.

Meditationes with the rather odd expression ‘cum ea seorsum colloquens’, which Michael seems to echo when he writes that Christ was speaking ‘seorsum cum matre sua colloquendo’. The same seems to stand for the requests of Mary in the *Meditationes*, which all appear — in almost the same form — in Michael’s lengthy dialogue. In the introduction of the dialogue in the *Extendit manum*, Michael makes use of the same phrase (‘rogo, ut non sic fiat’) as the *Meditationes* by changing its direct speech into indirect as ‘rogare filium suum, ut non sic fieret’. Michael describes Mary’s first request, in which she asks if the Father would be able to provide another way of salvation (‘potuerit providere de alio modo redemptionis sine morte tua’), with almost the same words: ‘utrum alius modus possibilis praeter mortem tuam’. Mary’s other request (‘rogo, ut differat ad praesens’ [sc. Passio]) also finds its parallel in Michael’s text, as ‘retardaretur quantum est possibile passio ista’. Although Christ’s answers to these requests in Michael’s text — in close accordance with the author’s theological concerns — are much longer and more elaborate than in the *Meditationes*, the very essence of the responses, that the Passion must fulfill its Old Testament prefigurations and therefore be congruent with the will of the Father, can all be found in the Pseudo-Bonaventure. The reference to the typological connection between Christ’s Passion and the Old Testament is also present in the *Meditationes*, although it mentions it only very briefly with the phrase ‘implebuntur omnia quae de me dicta sunt’. It is this idea of fulfilment (*implerentur scripturae*) that Michael borrows and develops, by listing these biblical *dicta* and providing detailed exegetical explanations for them. The very essence of Christ’s argument, that the plan of salvation is immutable due to its basic correspondence to its Old Testament prefigurations, seems to be the same in both texts.

In another passage, the dependence of Michael on the Latin text of the *Meditationes* is especially manifest. The *MVC* describes the first request of the Virgin to her son as ‘Fili mi, rogo ut non sic fiat, sed faciamus hic Pascha. Scis enim quod insidie ad te capiendum ordinate sunt’, which in Michael’s paraphrase reads, ‘Mi fili, [...] rogo dulciter hanc petitionem mihi non negas: facias hic Pascha mecum et cum discipulis suis. Scio enim quod Iudei tractant occidere te’. Although the connection between the two sentences — even with Michael’s dramatic intonation of the Virgin’s words — appears very close, the formulation of the second part of Mary’s question in the *Extendit manum* seems to be the result of a misreading, or a different textual form, in the *Meditationes*. Reading his source text, Michael might have found or read the verb *scias* as *scio*, the *insidie* as *iudei*, and adapted the rest of the sentence to this reading. Exactly the same thing seems to have happened in the beginning of the dialogue, where the *Meditationes* describe Christ as ‘sedet cum ea seorsum colloquens’, while

Table 2.1. Comparison of the dialogues between Christ and the Magdalen and Christ and the Virgin in the *Meditationes vitae Christi* and the *Extendit manum*.

Meditationes Vitae Christi (Johannes de Caulibus, *Meditaciones [...]*
Bonaventurae attributae, ed. by Stallings-Taney, pp. 240–42)

Hic potest interponi meditatio ualde pulchra de qua tamen Scriptura non loquitur. Cenante namque Domino Iesu **die Mercurii cum discipulis suis in domo Marie et Marthe** et eciam matre eius cum mulieribus in alia parte domus, Magdalena rogauit Dominum, dicens: Magister sitis memor quod uos **faciatis hic Pascha nobiscum**. Rogo uos quod non denegatis hec michi. Quo nullatenus acquiescente sed dicente quod in Ierusalem faceret Pascha, illa **recedens** tamen **cum fletu et lacrimis** uadit ad Dominam et his ei narratis rogat, ut ipsa eum ibi in Paschate teneat. Cena igitur facta uadit Dominus ad matrem et **sedet cum ea seorsum colloquens** cum ea et **copiam ei sue presencie** prebens quam in breui subtraturus erat ab ea. Conspice nunc bene eos pariter loquentes et sedentes, et quomodo eum Domina reuerenter suscipit et cum eo affectuose moratur, et similiter quomodo Dominus se reuerenter habet ad ipsam. Ipsis ergo sic colloquentibus Magdalena uadit ad eos et ad pedes eorum sedens, dicit: Domina ego inuitabam Magistrum ut hic faceret Pascha. Ipse uero uidetur uelle ire Ierusalem ad paschandum ut capiatur ibi. Rogo uos ut non permittatus eum ire. Ad quem mater: Fili mi, **rogo, ut non sic fiat, sed faciamus hic Pascha**. **Scis enim quod insidie ad te capiendum ordinate sunt**. Et Dominus ad eam: Mater carissima, Voluntas Patris est ut ibi faciam Pascha quia tempus redemptionis aduenit. Modo **implebuntur omnia que de me dicta sunt** et facient in me quidquid uolent. At ille cum ingenti dolore hec audierunt quia bene intellexerunt quod de morte sua dicebat. Dicit ergo mater uix ualens uerba formare uel proferre: Fili mi, tota concussa sum ad uocem istam et cor meum dereliquit me. Prouideat Pater, quia nescio quid dicam. Nolo sibi contradicere, sed si sibi placeret rogo eum quod differat ad presens et faciamus hic Pascha cum istis amicis nostris. Ipse uero si sibi placuerit **poterit prouidere de alio modo redemptionis sine tua morte: quia omnia sunt possibilia ei**. O si uideres inter uerba hec Dominam plorantem, modeste tamen et plane, ac Magdalenam tanquam ebriam de Magistro suo largiter et magnis singultibus flentem, forte nec tu posses lacrimas continere! Considera, in quo statu esse poterant, quando hec tractabantur. Dicit ergo Dominus, blande consolans eas: Nolite flere, scitis enim quod obedienciam Patris me implere oportet, sed pro certo confidite quia cito reuertar ad uos et tertia die resurgam incolumis.



(continued opposite)

The Reference to Jacobus's work from the *Extendit manum*

Narrat Jacobus in Libro de vita Christi, quod **die Mercurii**, ante passionem Domini nostri Ihesu Christi, beata virgo Maria fuit in tanto dolore et in tam forti agonia quod pluries illa die cecidit ad pedes sui dilectissimi filii semimortua. Et ratio fuit, quia dilectus filius eius, sciens quod modico tempore volebat praesentialiter esse cum ea quia die Veneris sequenti debebat in conspectu suo a perfidis Iudaeis crudeliter flagellari et crucifigi, voluit ante mortem suam consolari matrem suam **de sua praesentia corporali** et ideo per totam diem non recessit ab ea, sed stetit cum ea in Bethania **in domo Lazari, Mariae et Marthae cum discipulis suis**. Et quasi per totam illam diem **stetit seorsum cum matre sua colloquendo** et praedicendo sibi suam acerbissimam passionem inducebat eam ne nimirum tristaretur. Sed audiens hoc dolorosa mater cepit dulciter **rogare filium suum, ut non sic fieret**.

[Dialogue between Gabriel and Mary; Consideration of the previous events on the Saturday before Palm Sunday: Dialogue between Christ and the Magdalen, promising her and the Virgin that he will stay with them on Holy Wednesday]

Ad diem Mercurii dixit mater Christi ad Magdalenam: vade tu primo et loquere dilecto filio meo si forsitan tuis precibus possit facere quod faciat nobis hic Pascha et ego iterum rogabo patrem celestem ut petitionem tuam exaudiat et adire angelum Gabrielem, qui est ad mei custodiam deputatus ut mihi a patre celesti reportet responsum alicuius consolationis, ut ponat in ore meo verba quibus possumus petere ac impetrare a filio meo gratiam quam optamus. Ecce igitur loquitur dulcissima mater domini cum archangelo Gabriele qui sibi in sua respondit petitione: Compatior tibi regina caeli et omnes angeli tremunt videntes te in isto pavore et omnes pro te rogant patrem caelestem, ut tibi de remedio consolationis provideat. Sed determinata responsio super petitionem, quam facis commissa est filio tuo. Expecta ergo, mater domini, in die qualiter filius tuus respondeat.

Magdalena iterum loquitur Christo dicens: Magister mi reverende, domine mi amande, audi petitionem servae tuae, quam propter dulcedinem tuae pietatis non denega ancillae tuae. Rogo quod **nobiscum hic facias Pascha** cum discipulis tuis. Hoc enim dicebat, quia audiverat, quod pontifices Iudaeorum tractabant de morte ipsius. Cui Christus respondit: Dulcis amica mea, sed petitionem tuam stante veritate scripturae, quae falli non potest, exaudire non possum. Quia instat iam tempus, ut crudeles persecutores mei habeant me in manibus suis et ideo notum sit, quod ego in hoc mundo non faciam nisi semel Pascha et ideo celebrabo in Iherusalem cum discipulis meis. Et hoc audito **recedit** Maria Magdalena **cum lacrimis** et dulciter amplexatur matrem domini Ihesu Christi dicens: Vade tu, quia forsitan istam gratiam reservat, ego tamen occupata lacrimis et suspiriis nec audeo nec scio quid dicam. Modo reverenter ac timorosa, humiliter et dolorosa mater ivit ad filium: Mi fili, ecce venit quae te portavit, et ubera quae tu suxisti. Ecce brachia in quibus multo tempore quievisti. Rogo dulciter hanc petitionem mihi non negas, **facias hic Pascham mecum et cum discipulis tuis. Scio enim quod Iudaei tractant occidere te**. Sed ego volo citius mori. Condescende igitur petitioni meae matris tuae quam tu vides in tanto dolore. Respondit Christus: In hac autem petitione te exaudire non possum, **quia non implerentur scripturae** quae de fonte veritatis patris mei procedunt . . . Haec audiens dulcissima mater domini cum multis lacrimis dixit ad eum: Utrum alius modus possibilis est praeter mortem tuam, quia solo verbo poteris salvare omnes credentes in te, quia tu es ars omnipotentis Dei praestans omnia verbo virtutis tuae et solo sermone restauras universa.

Michael writes, 'stetit seorsum cum matre sua colloquendo'. In this case a corruption of *sedet* into *stetit* or vice versa could easily have occurred, either in Michael's source or by his own handling of the text.

Therefore, the source that Michael used and referred to as *liber de vita Christi* by Jacobus seems to be the Latin *Meditationes vitae Christi*. This assumption, as noted above, is supported by the fact that the *Meditationes*, in the early manuscripts of the Italian tradition, was often called *liber de vita Christi* just like the book referred to by Michael. Moreover, and most importantly, the *MVC* appears to offer the closest thematic parallel to the Holy Wednesday dialogue between Mary and Christ, which Michael claims to have borrowed from the *liber de vita Christi*. Therefore, the only arguments against identifying Jacobus's work with the *Meditationes* are the accepted dating of the Latin text between 1336 and 1360 and the fact that Michael attributes the work to 'Jacobus' or 'Jacobus apostolus.' It is these two objections, then, that we now have to consider.

(Re-)dating the *Meditationes*

Although scholars have been studying the *Meditationes* continuously since the eighteenth century, the most important problems, such as the questions of the original version of the work, the date of its composition, and the issue of its authorship, have still remained unsolved.

For centuries, the *Meditationes* was dated to the very beginning of the fourteenth century,¹¹⁷ but in 1990, Sarah McNamer challenged this date and suggested 1336 as a new terminus post quem for the text.¹¹⁸ Since then, the new date seems to have become widely accepted amongst scholars. Both Stallings-Taney, in the above-mentioned critical edition of the Latin version,¹¹⁹ and Mario

¹¹⁷ Emmanuel von Severus and Aimé Solignac, 'Meditationes vitae Christi', in *Dictionnaire de spiritualité: ascétique et mystique, doctrine et histoire*, dir. by Marcel Viller, F. Cavallera, and J. de Guibert, 17 vols (Paris: Beauchesne, 1937–95), x (1980), col. 913.

¹¹⁸ McNamer, 'Further Evidence', pp. 235–61.

¹¹⁹ For example, C. Mary Stallings-Taney writes, '[b]arring the identification of the passage on Chapter 3 (Meditations, 3.5–69) as other than the Revelations of Elisabeth of Töss, at present it would seem that c. 1346 (an approximate date for the diffusion of the Revelations of Elisabeth of Töss) is the *terminus post quem* for the date of composition'; see Johannes de Caulibus, *Meditationes [...] Bonaventurae attributae*, ed. by Stallings-Taney, p. ix; the same author in a later article addresses the question of the date in a more cautious way, writing that 'Questions arising from the manuscript evidence, however make these dates less certain'; see M. Stallings-Taney, 'The Pseudo-Bonaventure *Meditationes vite Christi*: Opus Integrum', *Franciscan Studies*, 55 (1998), 253–80 (p. 258).

Arosio, in his long entry about the alleged author, Iohannes de Caulibus, in the prestigious *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, accept McNamer's hypothesis and date the *Meditationes vitae Christi* to after 1336, citing her opinion as the only authoritative argument on the question.¹²⁰

McNamer's widely accepted dating is based on the supposed 'author' of a text, the *Book of Revelations of the Virgin* (henceforth, *Revelations*), which is quoted extensively throughout the *Meditationes*. In Chapter 3 of the *MVC*, which describes the childhood of the Virgin in reference to her early life in the Temple, we find the following sentence: 'Quid autem ibi fecerit, scire possumus ex reuelationibus suis, factis cuidam sue deuote. Et creditur, quod fuit sancta Elizabeth, cuius festum solemniter celebramus.'¹²¹ Following this sentence, the *Meditationes* quotes an episode from the *Revelations* (Revelation 4), which contains the Virgin's seven 'requests' and her prayer, with the following incipit and explicit: 'Quando, inquit, pater meus et mater mea [...] x [...] Propterea petebam sic gratiam et uirtutes'. Immediately after this, in the same chapter of the text, another fragment is quoted (Revelation 7), with the following incipit and explicit: 'Et iterum: Fili, tu credis, quod omnem gratiam [...] x [...] et despecior quam unquam fuerit', concluding 'Hucusque de dictis reuelationibus'.¹²²

These *Revelations* were attributed to St Elizabeth of Hungary (or of Thuringia) (d. 1231, canonized 1235), one of the most famous female saints of the later Middle Ages. Elizabeth was a Hungarian princess, the daughter of the Hungarian king Andrew 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 attributed to medieval women. She excelled in chastity (showing devotion and deep faith even in her childhood), in marriage (living a happy marriage with her husband, being the mother of three children), and widowhood (since, after her husband's death, she lived the exemplary life of a

¹²⁰ See Arosio, 'Giovanni de' Cauli'; 'gli 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'; the author of the most recent scholarly edition also accepts this date; see *Meditazioni di la vita di Christu*, ed. by Giuliano Gasca Queirazza (Palermo: Centro di studi filologici e linguistici siciliani 2008), p. xiv.

¹²¹ Iohannes de Caulibus, *Meditaciones [...] Bonaventurae attributae*, ed. by Stallings-Taney, p. 15.

¹²² Iohannes de Caulibus, *Meditaciones [...] Bonaventurae attributae*, ed. by Stallings-Taney, pp. 15–17; cf. Livarius Oligier, 'Revelationes B. Elisabeth: Disquisitio critica una cum textibus latino et catalannensi', *Antonianum*, 1 (1926), 54–58.

Christian widow, vowing obedience to her confessor and practising charity).¹²³ Even though she was not a Franciscan, Elizabeth of Hungary had close connections with some local Franciscans in Thuringia and was later venerated as one of the patron saints of the Franciscan Third Order. Notwithstanding the testimony of all known manuscripts of the *Revelations*, the work is not a document of her personal experience, which is why several authors have tried to find another claimant for these writings.

The *Book of Revelations* survived in several Latin and Italian manuscripts, and was translated also into Middle English, Catalan, Spanish, and French. The text contains thirteen revelations, in which the Virgin Mary and sometimes John the Evangelist or even Christ himself appear to St Elizabeth and provide her with theological and moral secrets and teachings. Some of these revelations are related to the childhood of the Virgin Mary, revealing the circumstances of Mary's stay in the Temple, her prayers, her rules of life, and so on.

The *Revelations* was probably written in Latin at the beginning of the fourteenth century; the Latin and Catalan versions were published in a critical edition by Livarius Oliger in 1926. In the Latin, French, Spanish, Catalan, and Middle English versions, there are very few references to St Elizabeth, and even these are usually limited to the incipit and the explicit of the work.¹²⁴ However,

¹²³ For a general overview and recent bibliographical references see, for example, Ottó Gecser, *The Feast and the Pulpit: Preachers, Sermons and the Cult of St. Elizabeth of Hungary, 1235ca.–1500* (Spoleto: CISLAM, 2012); Matthias Werner and Dieter Blume, *Elisabeth von Thüringen — eine europäische Heilige: Katalog* (Imhof: Petersberg, 2007); Gábor Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses: Dynastic Cults in Medieval Central Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002); 'Il culto e la storia di Santa Elisabetta d'Ungheria in Europa', in *Annuario 2002–2004* (Rome: Accademia d'Ungheria in Roma Istituto Storico 'Fraknoi', 2005), pp. 200–99; Edith Pasztor, 'Sant'Elisabetta d'Ungheria nella religiosità femminile del secolo XIII', in *Donne e Sante: Studi sulla religiosità femminile nel Medio Evo* (Rome: Edizioni Studium, 2000), pp. 153–71; *Sankt Elisabeth: Fürstin, Dienerin, Heilige*, Dokumentation, Katalog (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1981).

¹²⁴ Oliger, 'Revelationes B. Elisabeth', pp. 14–83; Alexandra Barratt, 'The Revelations of St. Elizabeth of Hungary: Problems of Attribution', *The Library*, 14 (1992), 1–11. Sarah McNamer, *The Two Middle English Translations of the Revelations of St. Elizabeth of Hungary: Ed. from Cambridge University Library MS Hb.i. 11 and Wynkyn de Worde's printed text of ?1493* (Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag C. Winter, 1996); Kálmán Tímár, 'Árpád-házi Szent Erzsébet látomásai', *Religio*, 68 (1909), 580–82, 594–95, 611–12 (pp. 580, 594, 611); Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses*, pp. 372–75, see also Gábor Klaniczay, 'I modelli di santità femminile tra i secoli XIII e XIV in Europa centrale e in Italia', in *Spiritualità e lettere nella cultura ungherese del basso medioevo*, ed. by Sante Graciotti and Cesare Vasoli (Firenze: Olschki, 1995), pp. 75–110.

there are two Italian versions of the *Revelations* in which the text is incorporated into a particular version of Elizabeth of Hungary's legend that contains some information excerpted from her historically documented life.¹²⁵

Following the hypothesis of Alexandra Barratt, Sarah McNamer holds that the *Revelations* are not an authentic text related to Elizabeth of Hungary's life.¹²⁶ She does acknowledge that the author or the protagonist of the work was a Hungarian princess called Elizabeth, who was especially devoted to the Virgin Mary, had mystical revelations herself, and, as three of the Latin manuscripts explicitly call her a virgin, may have lived in a monastery or a similar community. According to McNamer's reasoning, this description better fits the life of another holy member of the Hungarian royal family, Elizabeth of Töss (known also as Elizabeth of Hungary the Younger, d. 1336/38). Elizabeth the Younger was the daughter of Andrew III, king of Hungary, and was a virgin who lived in the Dominican convent of Töss, Switzerland. From her *vita*, probably written by Elsbeth Stigel (d. 1360),¹²⁷ we learn that she was also deeply devoted to the Virgin Mary and that she also had mystical revelations.¹²⁸

As we have argued elsewhere, this hypothesis does not seem likely. It is true that Marian devotion and mystical revelations were not of central importance in Elizabeth of Hungary's life, but they were, however, general features of Italian female religiosity in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Furthermore, it

¹²⁵ *Vite di alcuni santi scritte nel buon secolo della lingua toscana*, ed. by Domenico Maria Manni (Florence: [n.pub.], 1735); re-edited in 'Rivelazioni sulla vita della Madonna e Leggenda di Santa Elisabetta', in *Scrittori di religione del Trecento: Volgarizzamenti*, ed. by Giuseppe de Luca, 4 vols (Milano: Riccardo Ricciardi, 1954; repr. Torino: Einaudi, 1977), iv, 705–26; Florio Banfi, *Santa Elisabetta di Ungheria: Langravina di Turingia* (Assisi: S. Maria degli Angeli, 1932). Dávid Falvai, 'Due versioni italiane trecentesche della vita di Santa Elisabetta d'Ungheria', *Annuario: Studi e documenti italo-ungheresi*, 2005, 13–23. For a detail analysis of this issue, see Dávid Falvai, 'St. Elizabeth of Hungary in Italian Vernacular Literature: *Vitae*, Miracles, Revelations, and the *Meditations on the Life of Christ*', in *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*, ed. by Ottó Gecser and others (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2011), pp. 137–50.

¹²⁶ Barratt, 'The Revelations of St. Elizabeth'.

¹²⁷ *Legende des lebens der hochwirdigen junckfrawen swester Elsbethen*; For a modern edition, see Elsbeth Stigel, *Der Schleier der Prinzessin: die Legende von der Prinzessin Elisabeth von Ungarn*, ed. by R. H. Oehninger (Winterthur: Vogel, 2000).

¹²⁸ Barratt and McNamer also argued that some stylistic elements of the text of the *Revelations* are closer to the *Life of Elizabeth of Töss* than to the *Libellus* of Elizabeth of Hungary, which is plausible but not decisive.

was almost automatic in the Middle Ages to refer to a holy woman as a virgin. There are even traditions concerning St Elizabeth of Hungary that, although she was married and later widowed, represent her as a virgin. Moreover, the word *virgo* is present only in three Latin manuscripts of the *Revelations*, and it arises only in the incipit and/or explicit formulae and not in the main text, always standing together with the name of the Virgin Mary. Therefore, the phrase might originally have referred to the Virgin Mary and not to Elizabeth herself, and the present form ('Revelationes facte sancte Helysabeth virginis') could be a simple corruption of the more original *Revelations of the Virgin to Elizabeth*.¹²⁹

Barratt and McNamer seem to underrate the fact that two manuscripts of the *Revelations* describe the author as a member of the Franciscan Third Order, which was evidently not the case for Elizabeth of Töss, who was a Dominican nun, but is part of the hagiographic dossier of Elizabeth of Hungary. Barratt and McNamer argue that the name of Elizabeth of Töss was mixed up with that of Elizabeth of Hungary very early, which could explain why a Dominican nun was said to be a Franciscan. In our view, however, this is a circular argument, because with the same logic one can easily argue that even the attribute 'Hungarian princess' (which is the basis for their whole hypothesis) could stem from the veneration of Elizabeth of Hungary, and could be completely unrelated to the identity of the real author.

Constructing a royal background for a saint was a typical hagiographic topos. As we know from André Vauchez, when hagiographers did not have the necessary biographic data to construct the life of a saint, they often gave their hero an aristocratic or even royal origin.¹³⁰ Connecting saints to the Hungarian dynasty was a widespread literary motif in Western (mainly Romance) litera-

¹²⁹ These authors list only three mentions in two manuscripts in which the word *virgo* can be found in connection to the name Elizabeth. One of the earliest manuscripts, Assisi, Biblioteca del Sacro Convento, Cod. 656, fol. 120^r, reads, 'Incipit legenda sancte Hely(sa)beth virginis cui facte sunt Revelationes infra scripte'; fol. 125^v: 'Expliciunt Revelationes facte sancte Helysabeth virginis'; the other text, the manuscript in Oxford, Magdalene College, MS 77, analysed first by Alexandra Barratt and published by Sarah McNamer, uses this expression only once, in the first sentence: 'Hic incipiunt visiones beate virginis Elisabeth filie'.

¹³⁰ See André Vauchez, *Saints, prophètes, et visionnaires: Le Pouvoir surnaturel au Moyen Âge* (Paris: Édition Albin Michel, 1999), p. 68, n. 2: '[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's example is the case of Sebaldus of Nürnberg (eleventh century) about whom in a fourteenth-century text is written 'stirpe regali natus'; in a text from 1380 he is described as a Danish prince.

ture and was applied to, among others, St Martin of Tours, who was presented as a Hungarian prince or even the King of Hungary, or to a holy Hungarian princess, Bertha.¹³¹ In many versions of the thirteenth- to fifteenth-century text called *The Legend of the Accused Queen*, the protagonist is described as a Hungarian queen or princess,¹³² and although there are different versions of the narrative with various names for the characters involved, the Hungarian royal origin is a constant element. Moreover, comparative studies by Gábor Klaniczay have convincingly shown that it was common practice in Italian hagiography that new, mystical elements were attached to the cult of saints of Hungarian origin.¹³³ Because Hungarian royal origin seems to be a widespread hagiographic topos of late medieval Romance literature, the fact that the protagonist of the *Revelations* is called a 'Hungarian princess' should be interpreted as a literary tool rather than, as Barrat and McNamer explain it in their argument concerning Elizabeth of Töss, a reliable piece of biographic information.

In addition to these historical observations, however, there are also some philological arguments that seem to rule out the attribution of the *Revelations* to Elizabeth of Töss. If we accept the hypothesis of Barrat and McNamer that the *Revelations* were originally written in Middle High German and that the only text about Elizabeth of Töss is from the period between 1336/38 (her death) and 1360 (the death of her biographer), a time when the first Latin and Italian manuscripts of the *Revelations* appear in Italian Franciscan manuscripts,¹³⁴ then we also have to assume that the text travelled from modern-day Switzerland to Central Italy, and from a Dominican to a Franciscan milieu, in a very short period of time. It also seems a bit problematic to assume that the text was translated from German into Latin, and from Latin into Italian, in only a few years

¹³¹ Ilona Király, *Szent Márton magyar király legendája* [The legend of Saint Martin, Hungarian king] (Budapest: Bibliothèque de l'Institut Français à l'Université de Budapest, 1929); Alexandre Eckhardt, 'Les Sept Dormants, Berthe aux grands pieds et la Manekien', in *De Sicambria à Sans-Souci: Histoires et légendes Franco-Hongroises* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1943); Dávid Falvay, 'Il mito del re ungherese nella letteratura religiosa del Quattrocento', *Nuova Corvina: Rivista di Italianistica*, 20 (2008), 54–62.

¹³² See Nancy B. Black, *Medieval Narratives of Accused Queens* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2003).

¹³³ Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses*, pp. 367–94, and Klaniczay, 'I modelli', p. 106; see also Dávid Falvay, 'Memory and Hagiography: The Formation of the Memory of Three Thirteenth Century Female Saints', in *The Making of Memory in the Middle Ages*, ed. by Lucie Doležalová (Leiden: Brill, 2010), pp. 347–64.

¹³⁴ A stable terminus ante quem for the Latin is 1381, while at least three Italian manuscripts can be dated to the mid-fourteenth century.

or decades. Furthermore, we know also of a number of mid-fourteenth-century manuscripts of the *Meditationes Vitae Christi* that contain the quotation from Elizabeth's *Revelations*, not only in Latin, but also in Italian.¹³⁵ Therefore, the hypothesis formulated by Barratt and McNamer concerning the authorship of the *Revelations* seems unsound on both historical and chronological grounds.

Consequently, there seems to be no reason to assume that Elizabeth of Töss would be the author/protagonist of the *Revelations*. Instead, the *Revelations* seem to have been written in Italy at the very beginning of the fourteenth century. Originally, the text may have been anonymous, but from the mid-fourteenth century onwards it had gradually been attached to the cult of St Elizabeth of Hungary.¹³⁶ The wording of the *Meditationes* when quoting the author of the *Revelations* ('ex reuelationibus suis, factis cuidam sue deuote. Et creditur, quod fuit sancta Elizabeth') appears to be referring to a still anonymous textual variant of the *Revelations*. This would mean, therefore, that the *Meditationes* preserves a more genuine variant of the *Revelations* than those known from its separate manuscripts. This would also strengthen the above-mentioned chronological considerations against the hypothesis concerning Elizabeth of Töss.

If Elizabeth of Töss is no longer accepted as the author or heroine of the *Revelations*, it is no longer necessary to date the *Meditationes* to after 1336. The only argument in Sarah McNamer's 1990 essay for the new date of the *Meditationes* was her hypothesis concerning the authorship of the *Revelations*.

¹³⁵ There are at least three Italian manuscripts of the *Meditationes* containing the quotation from the *Revelations* that can be dated to the middle of fourteenth century: (1) BnF, MS ital. 115 (n. 155); for an English translation with the original illustrations, see *Meditations on the Life of Christ: An Illustrated Manuscript of the Fourteenth Century*, ed. and trans. by Isa Ragusa and Rosalie B. Green (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1961); (2) Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Fondo Nuove Accezioni 350; see Sandro Bertelli, *I manoscritti della letteratura italiana delle origini* (Firenze: SISMEL, 2002), p. 149; and finally (3) Firenze, Biblioteca Riccardiana, MS 1269, which is the work of a copyist who produced two other manuscripts from the second decade of the fourteenth century; see Tommaso Gramigni, 'I manoscritti della letteratura italiana delle origini conservati nella Biblioteca Riccardiana di Firenze: Analisi paleografica e codicologica' (unpublished master's thesis, Università degli Studi di Firenze, 2003/04), pp. 147–49; cf. Sandro Bertelli, 'Il copista del Novellino', *Studi di filologia italiana*, 56 (1998), 39–40. We are especially grateful to Tommaso Gramigni (University of Florence, Archive of Arezzo) for his help and suggestions concerning the Italian manuscripts of the *Meditations*, for giving us his unpublished MA thesis (see above), and for calling our attention to some important works of secondary literature.

¹³⁶ Dávid Falvay, 'Le rivelazioni di Santa Elisabetta d'Ungheria', in *Annuario 2002–2004: Conferenze e convegni* (Rome: Accademia d'Ungheria in Roma, 2005), pp. 248–63.

All other points she refers to are secondary, used only to solve the contradictions originating from this new hypothesis. She argues: ‘but rather than accepting the date of the *MVC* as fixed, and thus rejecting Elizabeth of Töss as the author of the *Revelations*, the weight of the evidence suggests that a movement in the opposite direction is required: Elizabeth of Töss’s authorship of the *Revelations* should be accepted as fixed, and the date assigned to the *MVC* should yield.’¹³⁷ In contrast to this reasoning, we would rather argue for maintaining the traditional date — the beginning of the fourteenth century — as the origin of the *Meditationes*. In this case, we do not have to rethink the entire relationship between the *Meditationes vitae Christi* and the Trecento painting,¹³⁸ which apparently puzzles even McNamer herself,¹³⁹ and we can easily bridge some other minor philological problems as well.¹⁴⁰

At the beginning of her recent article, McNamer repeats her previous arguments from 1990,¹⁴¹ but at the end of the long essay, she modifies her hypothesis in a fundamental way. Since the unique fifteenth-century manuscript that McNamer believes preserves the Italian original of the *MVC* does not include the quotation from the *Revelations*, she readily admits that, ‘While 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

¹³⁷ McNamer, ‘Further Evidence’, p. 241.

¹³⁸ Two recent examples from the field of art history arguing for an earlier date of the *MVC*: Isa Ragusa, ‘La particolarità del testo delle *Meditationes Vitae Christi*’, *Arte Medievale*, n.s. 2 (2003), 71–82; and Emma Simi Varanelli, ‘Le *Meditationes Vitae Nostri Domini Jesu Christi* nell’arte del Duecento italiano’, *Arte Medievale*, 6 (1992), 137–48.

¹³⁹ In her 1990 article she draws the very striking conclusion that ‘If the date *post quem* of 1336 for the composition of the *MVC* is accepted, any influence of the *MVC* on Giotto must be decisively ruled out: the revolutionary new style of iconography in the Arena Chapel frescoes must have been the product of Giotto’s own creative genius’: see McNamer, ‘Further Evidence’, p. 260.

¹⁴⁰ Kemper also refutes McNamer’s view in his recent monograph and repropose the traditional date (c. 1300), although from a slightly different angle: he argues that, even if McNamer was right and the traditional reasons to place the *Meditationes* in the beginning of the fourteenth century were unfounded, her new date remains unproven too, and he introduces a new evidence (regarding the above-mentioned *Vitae Christi* of Michael de Massa) in support of the traditional dating. See Kemper, *Die Kreuzigung Christi*, pp. 103–07.

¹⁴¹ Sarah McNamer, ‘The Origins of the *Meditationes vitae Christi*’, *Speculum*, 84 (2009), 905–55 (p. 905): ‘Composed in Tuscany in the middle of the fourteenth century (between about 1336 and 1364)’; in addition, the author summarizes the ideas expressed in her 1990 article about the date and reception of the *Meditationes* in the first footnote.

only firm *terminus post quem* for its composition is 1298.¹⁴² However — and we will return to this point later — the main purpose of her study is to prove the precedence of this specific Italian version, and she takes the post-1336 date of all other known versions of the *MVC* for granted.

Jacobus as Author of the *Meditationes*

Reasserting the traditional view that the *MVC* was written around 1300, some time after the completion of Mechtilde of Hackeborn's 1298/99 revelations also quoted in the text, would allow us to suppose that Michael de Massa — writing between 1320 and 1337 — may have referred to and quoted from the *Meditationes*. The only remaining argument against this assumption is that Michael explicitly ascribes the work to a certain 'Jacobus', whose name in the later tradition seems to be further specified as *apostolus* and *frater domini*, whereas the *MVC* is known today either as the work of Johannes de Caulibus or as a work falsely attributed to Bonaventure, but not as a piece written by an unidentified Jacobus.

Michael de Massa's puzzling ascription of the *MVC* to 'Jacobus', however, can also find its explanation in the textual history of the *Meditationes*. There exists a particular recension containing the Italian version of the long Latin text of the *MVC* that explicitly attributes the text to a Jacobus. There are three known manuscripts (two of them from the fourteenth century) that in the title of the work, placed either at the beginning or in the colophon, contain a remark that the text was compiled and written by a friar called Jacobus.

In an incomplete fifteenth-century exemplar held in the Laurenziana in Florence, the *MVC* is introduced as 'Qui chaminca la meditazione della vitta di Messere Giesu hordinatto da fratte Ghiacobo della ordine de frati minori'.¹⁴³ A longer form of this rubric can be found in a fourteenth-century codex, preserved in the Riccardiana in Florence, which reads, 'Qui chomincia lo prolagho nelle meditazioni della vita di Christo chomposto per frate Iachopo dell'ordine de' frati minori, translato di grammatica in volghare'.¹⁴⁴ This remark is repeated in almost the same form in a manuscript kept at the Marciana in Venice: 'Qui

¹⁴² McNamer, 'The Origins', p. 946.

¹⁴³ Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, MS Biscioni 6; see Fischer, "Meditationes vitae Christi", p. 176 n. 118.

¹⁴⁴ Firenze, Biblioteca Riccardiana, MS 1378 (fourteenth century), fol. 1^r; see S. Morpurgo, *I Manoscritti della R. Biblioteca Riccardiana di Firenze*, I (Roma: Presso i Principali Librai, 1900), p. 426, and also Fischer, "Meditationes vitae Christi", p. 181 n. 140.

se comença lo prolego ne le meditazioni de la vita di Christo, conposto per frate Jacobo de l'ordene di frati Minori translato de gramatica in latino'.¹⁴⁵

This relatively well-attested attribution of the *MVC* to a friar called Jacobo has been noticed by earlier scholars, but none have recognized its importance. In his 1926 article, Livarius Oliger argued that, since the reference is preserved only in manuscripts which he thought contained the abridged Italian version of the text, Jacopo would only have been responsible for the shorter Latin text, the immediate source of the Italian *testo minore*, and could not be regarded as the author of the original long Latin text.¹⁴⁶ Moreover, Oliger apparently misread the phrase *Jacobo de l'ordene di frati minore* in the Venice manuscript as *Jacobo de Cordone dei frati minori* and thus established the long tradition of a fictitious 'Jacobo de Cordone'.¹⁴⁷ Some years later, Columban Fischer put much more emphasis on this information and regarded the alleged Jacobo de Cordone, whose name he obviously borrowed from Oliger and not from the manuscripts themselves, as a probable claimant for the authorship of the work. However, he did not support this hypothesis and referred the problem of *frate Jacobo* for future research.¹⁴⁸

In 1952 Giorgio Petrocchi took up Oliger's erroneous reading and reconsidered the problem of Jacopo, concluding that 'Jacobo (Giacomo) de Cordone' could be the possible translator of the work from Latin into Italian.¹⁴⁹ Some years later, in his survey of fourteenth-century Italian literature, Petrocchi referred to Jacobo de Cordone as the trecento translator of the work.¹⁵⁰

¹⁴⁵ Venezia, San Marco, Cod. Marc. Ital. Z. 7, fol. 1^v. See Carlo Frati and A. Segarizzi, *Catalogo dei codici Marciani italiani* (Modena: G. Ferraguti, 1909), p. 8, and Fischer, "Meditationes vitae Christi", p. 187 n. 162.

¹⁴⁶ Livario Oliger, 'Le *Meditationes vitae Christi* del Pseudo-Bonaventura', *Studi Francescani*, 7 (1921), 143–83 (pp. 175–79).

¹⁴⁷ The phrase has been faithfully reproduced in the catalogue of the Italian manuscripts of the Marciana (see note 145. above) as *Iacobo de l'ordene di frati Minori*, and a closer look at the Venice manuscript undoubtedly proves that this, and not Oliger's version, is the correct reading of the incipit.

¹⁴⁸ Fischer, "Meditationes vitae Christi", p. 348: 'Ob er es (sc. der Verfasser) ist oder sein kann und ob wir Näheres von diesem frater Jacobus wissen, soll später eingehender geprüft werden'.

¹⁴⁹ Giorgio Petrocchi, 'Sulla composizione e data delle *Meditationes vitae Christi*', *Convivium*, n.s., 1 (1952), 757–78 (p. 772): 'piuttosto trattarsi d'un volgarizzatore'.

¹⁵⁰ Giorgio Petrocchi, *Scrittori religiosi del Duecento* (Firenze: Sansoni, 1974), p. 93: 'ha Meditationes vennero volgarizzate nel Trecento, forse da un frate, *Giacomo de Cordone*'.

His view subsequently found its way into later scholarship and, despite Alberto Vaccari's much more reserved approach to the problem,¹⁵¹ from the 1950s onwards Jacobo de Cordone has generally been thought to be the mid-fourteenth-century *volgarizzatore* of the *MVC*.¹⁵²

Jacobus's liber de vita Christi — an Italian 'Volgarizzamento' of the MVC?

The Italian Versions of the MVC

At this point — independently of how the name *Jacobo* has been read and interpreted in previous scholarship — a new hypothesis emerges. That is: if Michael de Massa used an Italian version of the *MVC* that attributed the text to a *frate Jacobo* as the source of his paraphrase of the dialogue between Mary and Christ, this could explain his reference to the *liber de vita Christi* composed by a 'Jacobus'.

This becomes a more puzzling question if one takes into account Sarah McNamer's most recent theory on the textual history of the *MVC*: that its earliest and presumably original form is to be found in a particular Italian recension, preserved in a manuscript in the Canonici collection at the Bodleian Library in Oxford, which she subsequently terms the 'Canonici version'.¹⁵³ Her argument for the precedence of this Italian version over the Latin text is not revolutionarily new; although the majority of scholars generally accept that Johannes de Caulibus was the author of the long Latin version of the *MVC*, which would consequently be the original form, every now and then attempts are made to challenge this view.

Previous scholarship on the *MVC* — mainly on the basis of Columban Fischer's seminal article — has distinguished three basic recensions of the Latin text. These are the so-called *grosse Text*, with an average of ninety-five chapters, the *kleine Text* of about forty-one chapters, and a short text that contains only the Passion narrative and is thus referred to as the *Meditationes de Passione*

¹⁵¹ See Alberto Vaccari, 'Le "Meditazioni della vita di Cristo" in volgare, in Vaccari, *Scritti di erudizione e di filologia*, vol. 1 (Roma: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 1952), pp. 341–78 (p. 357): 'ad un frate Jacopo de Cordone, dell'ordine Frati minori. Questa positiva attestazione [...] ha il suo peso per la questione dell'autore, nella quale per altro non è mia intenzione di entrare'.

¹⁵² See e. g. Arosio, 'Giovanni de' Cauli', col. 770: 'il francescano Giacomo de Cordone, probabile volgarizzatore del testo latino'.

¹⁵³ McNamer, 'The Origins'.

Christi (MPC). According to Fischer's hypothesis, the latter version could have been written by Bonaventure himself, while the other versions are just later expansions of his original. This argument has been rejected by almost all subsequent scholars, and the present consensus is that the *kleine Text* and the MPC are extracts from the more original *grosse Text*.¹⁵⁴ However, Gasca Queirazza and more recently McNamer have disputed the status of Fischer's *kleine Text* as an individual recension of the *grosse Text*, because the number of manuscripts preserving it is so small, and they do not appear to represent a homogeneous textual tradition.¹⁵⁵

The question of the Italian versions of the MVC, however, is even more complicated. Even among the Italian versions, there are several different recensions, and there are no critical editions of any of them. The extant publications are usually based on only one or just a few manuscripts and sometimes even contaminate the texts of various recensions.¹⁵⁶

The most important scholarly contribution to bring order to the chaos of the Italian versions of the MVC came from Alberto Vaccari, who introduced new terms for the classification of the vernacular Italian recensions in his 1952 article. He named the long Italian text of ninety-four chapters the '*Testo integrale*' (*Prima classe*) and the short text containing forty-one chapters the '*Testo dimezzato*' (*Seconda classe*), thus making it manifest that he thought the latter to be an abridgement of the former. Vaccari also noted that the number of surviving manuscripts of the *Testo dimezzato* is definitely higher than those of the Latin *kleine Text* or the Italian *Testo integrale*. He also distinguished between two subgroups of the *Testo integrale*: type 'A', represented by a single manuscript, the '*testimone unico*' of the richly illuminated Paris, Bibliothèque nation-

¹⁵⁴ Fischer, "Meditationes vitae Christi"; Columban Fischer, 'Bonaventure', in *Dictionnaire de spiritualité*, dir. by Viller, Cavallera, and de Guibert, I (1937), col. 1851.

¹⁵⁵ Giuliano Gasca Queirazza, 'Intorno ai codici delle "Meditationes vitae Christi"', *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum*, 56 (1963), 162–74 (p. 172), and McNamer, 'Further Evidence', pp. 251–57.

¹⁵⁶ Editions of single manuscripts are *Meditazioni della vita di Gesù Cristo*, ed. by Giuseppe Donadelli (Milano: Brambilla, 1823); an edition of a curious manuscript to be discussed later, Roma, Biblioteca Angelica, MS 2213, in Adamo Rossi, *Quattordici scritture Italiane edite per cura dell'Ab. A. Rossi giusta un codice membranaceo da lui scoperto in Perugia*, I (Perugia: Vagnini, 1859); some patchwork editions Bonaventure, *Cento meditazioni di S. Bonaventura sulla vita di Gesù Cristo*, ed. by Bartolomeo Sorio (Roma: Ed. dei Classici Sacri, 1847) on the basis of several Florentine manuscripts; and a more confused edition of the short Italian recension, supplemented with excerpts taken from the longer one, *Le Meditazioni della vita di Cristo*, ed. by F. Sarri (Milano: Vita y pensiero, 1933).

ale de France, MS ital. 115;¹⁵⁷ and type 'B', which he calls '*comune*', attested by more copies and edited in 1847 by Bartolommeo Sorio on the basis of two manuscripts from Verona, one of which has since been lost.¹⁵⁸

As to the internal relationship of the various Italian versions, Vaccari's opinion was that, from a philological point of view, *testo integrale A* (that is, Paris, BnF, MS ital. 115) is far superior to all other versions, because it reflects the Latin so faithfully that it must be the earliest Italian version of the *MVC*.¹⁵⁹ He even conjectured that if there was any Italian text in the background of the Latin it could be nothing but this *testo integrale A*. Later, however, he withdrew this hypothesis as being unlikely, for 'serious reasons' that he never revealed.¹⁶⁰

During the last two decades, Vaccari's arguments have frequently been challenged, and several new theories have been formulated arguing for the primacy of one Italian version or another. Isa Ragusa, for instance, in a 2003 article, wrote of a possible 'oral composition' of the *MVC*, which could have been made in Italian.¹⁶¹ In an earlier article, Ragusa argued for the precedence of the long Italian version of the work (Paris, BnF, MS ital. 115), the *testo integrale A* of Vaccari.¹⁶² The art historian Holly Flora, in a recent important monograph concentrating on the illuminations of the codex, accepted Ragusa's conclusion.¹⁶³ Contrarily, Sarah McNamer went against all previous hypotheses in her 1990 article, arguing

¹⁵⁷ And its later copy in the Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Ferraioli 423; see Vaccari, *Meditazioni*, pp. 352–53. For the illustrated Paris manuscript there is a facsimile edition of the images, with an accompanying English translation by Ragusa and Green (see above, note 135).

¹⁵⁸ The still extant manuscript is Verona, Biblioteca Comunale, MS 643; see Fischer, "Meditationes vitae Christi", p. 187 n. 165.

¹⁵⁹ Vaccari, *Meditazioni*, p. 358: 'Questa versione a testimonio unico (che chiameremo A) è di gran lunga superiore alla comune (la designeremo con B) per due preziose qualità: pieno adeguamento al testo latino per materia e scrupolosa fedeltà nel renderne la dicitura in lingua italiana.'

¹⁶⁰ Vaccari, *Meditazioni*, p. 361: 'Se dietro il latino delle *MVC* sta un originale italiano, questo non sarebbe altro che il testo A. Contro quella supposizione mi si affacciano gravi ragioni, ma mi astengo dall'espore.'

¹⁶¹ Ragusa, 'La particolarità del testo', p. 79 writes, 'possiamo dedurre che anche la versione orale delle *Meditationes* era in volgare'.

¹⁶² Isa Ragusa, 'L'autore delle *Meditationes vitae Christi* secondo il codice ms. Ital. 115 della Bibliothèque Nationale di Parigi', *Arte medievale*, 11 (1997), 145–50 (p. 145).

¹⁶³ Holly Flora, *The Devout Belief of the Imagination: The Paris 'Meditationes vitae Christi' and Female Franciscan Spirituality in Trecento Italy* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009); we are grateful to the author, who kindly shared her work with us before publication.

that neither the long Latin nor the longer Italian *testo integrale A* represent the original version of the *MVC*. Instead, she believes a short Italian version of forty-one chapters (called *testo dimezzato* by Vaccari) preserves the earliest form of the text.¹⁶⁴ She states that this Italian version is so different from the Latin *kleine Text* that ‘there is no direct relation between the Italian forty-one-chapter version and the Latin *kleine Text*: one cannot be a translation of the other’: firstly, because the Italian text ‘does contain the extract from the *Revelations* of Elizabeth of Hungary’ which — as observed above — was the basis of her attempt to push the date of the *MVC* forward; secondly because ‘the 41-chapter Italian text is a unified whole, consistent in texture and coherent in design’.¹⁶⁵

Recently, in the above-mentioned 2009 article, McNamer resumed her previous research on the question and, with substantial modification of her earlier views, identified a previously almost unknown version as the original form of the *MVC*. This special recension of the Italian short text (*testo dimezzato*) consists only of thirty-one chapters and survives in a single fifteenth-century manuscript, the MS Canon. Ital. 174 of the Bodleian Library in Oxford (henceforth, following McNamer’s designation, the ‘*Canonici version*’).¹⁶⁶

At the beginning of her essay, McNamer entirely rewrites the earlier textual history of the *MVC* and introduces new, more neutral terms for the various versions. She not only advocates for the priority of the *Canonici version* over all other recensions but claims that it is from this particular version that the short Italian text (that of forty-one chapters, known previously as *Testo dimezzato*) derives, and from this shorter recension (her *Testo minore*) that the long Italian version of ninety-four chapters, what she terms *Testo maggiore B* (called *Testo integrale B* by Vaccari), was developed. In this new stemma, the Latin *MVC*, which according to the former consensus was the original form, becomes a simple translation of the third recension of the vernacular Italian texts. Curiously, the longest Italian version, preserved in a famous illuminated manuscript (Paris, BnF, MS ital. 115, Vaccari’s *Testo integrale A*), also considered the earliest form of the *MVC*, is placed at the lowest level in McNamer’s new stemma as the latest form of the text, a retranslation made from the long Latin version, which had already been translated from the long Italian text, McNamer’s *Testo maggiore B*.¹⁶⁷

¹⁶⁴ McNamer, ‘Further Evidence’, pp. 235–61.

¹⁶⁵ McNamer, ‘Further Evidence’, p. 257.

¹⁶⁶ McNamer, ‘The Origins’.

¹⁶⁷ McNamer, ‘The Origins’, pp. 908–09, gives two stemmata representing the traditional

Although the typical direction of medieval translation is from the Latin to the vernacular, there are also examples of the reverse, and the practice of retranslating a text is not without precedent.¹⁶⁸ What is missing from McNamer's argument, however, is a detailed collation of the Latin text, the version she thinks to be the earliest, and the other extant Italian texts, which, as noted above, have still not been edited and investigated. For the formulation of a convincing theory concerning the transmission of a text that survives in several versions and translations, a comparative analysis of at least the most important versions is indispensable.¹⁶⁹

Although in the present article we do not attempt to carry out such a detailed linguistic and literary comparison of the various Italian recensions and the Latin text, we do provide a tentative collation, at least for the very brief passage Michael de Massa quoted and paraphrased in his sermons. In drawing up this collation table of all the important versions of the dialogue between Christ and Mary, we had a threefold aim. Firstly, we wished to test McNamer's arguments regarding the pre-eminence of the Canonici version over all other Italian and Latin recensions of the text. Secondly, we wanted to verify our previous conclusion that it was most probably the Latin *MVC* that was read and used by Michael de Massa for his representation of the dialogue between Mary and Christ. Thirdly, we wanted to address Isa Ragusa's hypothesis, which argues for the precedence of the long Italian text (Vaccari's *Testo integrale A* and McNamer's *Testo maggiore A*) preserved in the Paris manuscript.

In order to help provide a clear comparison, we drew up a collation table (see Appendix I) of all versions that have ever been suggested as possible originals of the *MVC*. These include the following: the Long Latin text of Stallings-Taney's critical edition, accepted as the original by the majority of scholars;

'Consensus Textual History' and the 'Revised Textual History'; textual arguments are dispersed through the article.

¹⁶⁸ As an example McNamer refers to Marguerite Porete's *Le Mirouer des simples ames*, which was originally composed in Piccard and later translated into Latin, and from this Latin retranslated to other vernaculars; cf. 'The Origins', p. 926. For the phenomenon of vernacularization in Italy, see the recent monograph by Alison Cornish, *Vernacular Translation in Dante's Italy: Illiterate Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010). See also Dávid Falvay, 'Traduzione, volgarizzamento e presenza femminile in testi devozionali bassomedievali', *LEA – Lingue e letterature d'Oriente e d'Occidente*, 1. 1 (2012), 265–76 <<http://www.fupress.net/index.php/bsfm-lea/article/view/12461/11778>>.

¹⁶⁹ To our knowledge none of the above-mentioned authors (Olinger, Vaccari, Petrocchi, Flora, Ragusa, Stallings-Taney, or McNamer) have made such a systematic analysis. Even if McNamer has been preparing a 'critical edition of the Meditazione della vita di Cristo', in her published works known to us there is no detailed collation.

the Canonici version (suggested recently by McNamer); and the Long Italian version of the Paris manuscript (McNamer's *Testo maggiore A*, proposed by Ragusa as the original). In addition to these three, we also examined the Long Italian text edited by Sorio (*Testo maggiore B*); two of the Italian manuscripts that name Jacobus as the author; the anonymous Italian *Testo minore* (edited by Sarri and used by McNamer for her textual analyses); and another short Italian recension (which we call the Angelica version), which will be analysed at the end of this section.

Although an overall view of the internal connections between the single recensions cannot be based on the examination of such a short textual unit, many important features of the recensions can still be observed. First of all, the special status of the Canonici version and the Paris MS (*testo maggiore A*) in comparison to all other Italian texts must certainly be acknowledged. The most important feature of the Paris MS is that its text stands extremely close to the long Latin version, while the peculiarity of the Canonici version is that it differs not only from the Latin, but also from all other Italian versions included in the collation table.

As mentioned above, the close resemblance of the Paris MS to the long Latin text was observed by Vaccari¹⁷⁰ and later confirmed by several other scholars, though it has been explained in two opposing ways. Traditionally, the Paris MS was considered the first vernacular translation (*volgarizzamento*) of the Latin. However, this view can also be inverted: as proposed by Isa Ragusa, the Italian text of the Paris MS should be regarded as the original form of the *MVC*.¹⁷¹ Ragusa's main argument is based on a quotation that can only be found in the Paris manuscript, which she interprets as a personal statement by the author himself rather than by a translator or copyist. In our view, this is an important point, but not a decisive one. The passage reads:

Therefore, since then, I have thought of committing such beautiful things to writing, especially for my memory [...]. I thought of beginning from the beginning and arranging them, not only for my memory but also for your use, and writing them to send to you. Thus perhaps that forgetfulness will avail you.¹⁷²

¹⁷⁰ See Vaccari, *Meditazioni*, p. 360: 'riflette il latino come uno specchio'.

¹⁷¹ Ragusa, 'L'autore', pp. 145–50.

¹⁷² *Meditations on the Life of Christ*, ed. and trans. by Ragusa and Green, p. 295; in Italian: ; for a discussion of this passage in BnF, MS ital. 115 in relation to the authorship of the *MVC*, see Ragusa, 'L'autore', p. 149. Ragusa argued erroneously that this passage does not appear in other manuscripts; for a detailed rejection of this argument, see Péter Ertl, Eszter Konrád, Anikó Gerencsér, Ágnes Ludmann, and Dávid Falvay, 'The Italian Variants of the *Meditationes vitae Christi*: A Preliminary Structural Collation', *Italogramma*, 3 (2013), p. 8 and no. 63

[Et però d'allora io pensai d'arrecare in iscriptura ad mia memoria notabilmente contabilmente cotali belle cose [...] pensai d'incominciare dal principio et non solamente ad mia memoria ordinarle ma etiandio ad tua utilidade et scrivere per mandartele, et così forse che te ne gioverrà quello dimenticamento.]

On the other hand, McNamer 'solves the puzzle' in a different way, arguing for the 'possibility that, while A is indeed a translation, B may not be' and furthermore that the Italian 'A and B are independent texts. They do not rely on each other at all'.¹⁷³

Independently from the relationship between the Italian A and B, we can find an important argument against the precedence of any long Italian recension over the long Latin. If we observe the passage quoted from the *Revelations of the Virgin* that was analysed above in relation to the dating of the *MVC*, a direct link is discernable between the Latin source and the Latin *MVC*, while a similar connection between the Italian texts cannot be found (see Table 2.2). The close textual connection between the two Latin texts seems to attest to a direct use of the Latin *Revelations* by the author of the Latin *MVC*, and consequently that at least this passage has not been (re)translated from a vernacular version. It is hardly imaginable that, if the *MVC* were originally written in Italian, a fourteenth-century translator would look up the referred quotation and borrow it from another Latin manuscript instead of simply translating the main text.

This argument, however, does not stand for the Canonici version, which — as noted — does not include the quotation from the *Revelations*. If we examine only the present collation and return later to the overall arguments, we can also verify that among the Italian versions, only the Canonici version seems to be independent, while all the others, contrary to what McNamer concludes,¹⁷⁴ do rely on each other. Let us quote some illustrative cases.

The very strange and complicated Latin sentence compared in Table 2.3 — especially odd in the second part, 'copiam ei sue presencie prebens' — could have been translated into Italian (or from Italian into Latin) in various ways. Nevertheless, the only structural difference between the various versions is that the Italian A (Paris) follows the Latin word by word, while all the other versions

<http://italogramma.elte.hu/sites/default/files/cikkek/letoltheto/pdf/Ertl-Konr%C3%A1d-Gerencs%C3%A9r-Ludmann-Falvay_The_Italian_Variant%20s_of_the_Meditationes_Vitae_Christi_FINAL.pdf> [accessed 12 May 2014].

¹⁷³ McNamer, 'The Origins', p. 924.

¹⁷⁴ McNamer, 'The Origins', p. 924.

Table 2.2. Comparison of Latin and Italian versions of *The Revelations of the Virgin* and the *Meditationes vitae Christi****The Revelations of the Virgin in Latin* (Oliger, p. 56)**

Quando, inquit, pater meus et mater mea me dimiserunt in templo, ego statui in corde meo habere Deum in patrem, et devote ac frequenter cogitabam, quid possem facere Deo gratum, ut dignaretur mihi dare gratiam suam. Et feci me doceri legem Dei mei, et ex omnibus preceptis divine legis tria precipue servavi in corde meo, scilicet [...]

Latin MVC (Stallings-Taney, p. 15, ll. 8–16)

Quando, inquit, pater meus et mater mea me dimiserunt in templo, statui in corde meo habere Deum in patrem. Et deuote ac frequenter cogitabam quid possem facere Deo gratum ut dignaretur michi dare gratiam suam, et feci me doceri legem Dei mei. Et ex omnibus preceptis diuine legis tria precipue seruari in corde meo, scilicet [...]

***The Revelations of the Virgin in Italian* (Firenze, BNC, MS. II. IV, 147, fols 61^v–62^r)**

[...] quando mio padre e mia madre mi lasciarono nel tempio, inchontanente mi puosi fermamente in cuore di avere sempre Iddio inanzi agli e sempre i stava pensosa chom'io potessi fare chosa che ffosse a Ddio in piacere e perch'io fossi dengnia d'avere la sua grazia. E ffeciemi insengniare la legge di Ddio e di tutti i chomandamenti ch'essi tenghono innessi.

MVC Italian A (Paris MS, fol. 5^v)

Quan il padre mio e llamadre mia mi lassono in del templo immantenente in del mio cuore mi ppuosi d'avere dio per padre et divotamente et continuamente pensava quello ch'io potesse fare et che per io fusse gratioso addio accio chi degnasse di darmi la gratia sua. Et fecimi insegnare la legge del mio dio et tutti li comandamenti dila divina leggie.

MVC Italian B (*Cento Meditazioni*, ed. by Sorio, p. 42)

[...] quando e' parenti miei mi lasciaro nel tempio, sì fermai nel cor mio d'avere Iddio per padre, e devotamente pensava spesse volte ch'io potesse fare cosa che fosse piacere a Dio, accio ch'elli s'inchinasse a darmi la sua grazia. E fecimi daro la legge di Dio, e tra tutti li comandamenti della legge divina, sì ne serbai tre speciali nel cuor mio.

Table 2.3. Comparison of the Long Latin version of the *Meditationes vitae Christi* with six Italian versions, showing the independence of the Canonici version.

Latin *MVC*

Cena igitur facta uadit Dominus ad matrem et **sedet cum ea seorsum colloquens cum ea et copiam ei sue presencie prebens** quam in breui subtraturus erat ab ea.

Canonici Version

Et compiuto che hebe de cenare misser Yhesu sì vene alla madre sua. Et sentando da parte cum lei. Et parlando com lei. però ch'el sapea bene che lei non li poria parlare più. O che compagnia è questa

Italian *Testo maggiore A*

Essendo facta la cena vae lo signore Yhesu a la Madre et **siede co llei in disparte parlando co llei et dando la copia dela sua presentia**. La quale in breve tempo dovea essere partito da lei.

Italian *Testo maggiore B*

E facta la cena, Gesù andò a la madre, e **sedendo con lei in disparte, si le parlò**. Imperciò che si devea tosto aptire da lei, si **le diede uno poco copia de la sua presenza**.

Italian *Maggiore Attributed to Jacobus (Firenze)*

Et fatta la cena Gesù andò a la madre et **sedendo co llei in disparte. Si le parlo** è imperciò ke si dovea tosto partire si te **diede un poco copie de la sua presentia**. [...]

Italian *Maggiore Attributed to Jacobus (Venezia)*

Et facta la cena Ihesu andò ala Madre et **sedendo con lei in desparte sì le parlò**. Et imperciò ch'elli se doveva tosto partire da llei sì **le dedi un pocho copia dela soa presenza**.

Italian *Testo minore (Firenze)*

E fatta la cena, Jesù andò alla Madre, e **sedendo con lei in disparte sì le parlò**; imperochè si dovea tosto partire da lei, sì **le diede un poco copia della sua presenza**.

bring the same form by adding an explanatory expression (*un poco*) to make the odd phrase a bit more meaningful in Italian. Moreover, this phrase also allows us to formulate a hypothesis concerning the textual transmission of the text. It is much more probable that this phrase originated from the Latin and was translated first, word by word, into Italian (*Testo maggiore A*, Paris MS), since the Italian ('dando la copia dela sua presentia') is not a common expression,¹⁷⁵ and then developed further in the subsequent Italian versions, which tried to simplify and accommodate it by adding *un poco* to the phrase.

At this point, we should consider the reading of the Canonici version in order to check its status in relation to this particular passage. As we can see in this table, this half-sentence is missing in the Canonici, which has only 'Et parlando com lei, però ch'el sapea bene'. This omission can readily be explained, as McNamer often does with other differences, as the earlier wording that was further expanded by the hypothetical redactor, thus producing *testo integrale B*. This assumption, however, seems to contradict the philological principle of the originality of the *lectio difficilior*, in that it claims that the original was a simpler and smoother version that was intentionally complicated into a much clumsier and more 'un-Italian' phrase at the hands of a later redactor. One can also add that in the Canonici version, a few lines after this passage, there is an exclamation to the reader: 'O che **compagnia** è questa'. It is evident from the collation table (see Appendix I) that the insertion of such an exclamation is not a phenomenon unique to the Canonici, as other versions also include such ecphronesis at this point. However, the unique wording of the Canonici version (*compagnia*) may perhaps be explained by assuming that the translator wanted to include somehow the word *copia*, which was left out of the previous sentence, because he (or she) could not understand it, or found it clumsy in the original form, and interpreted it as referring to the two protagonists of the scene.

This explanation would mean that several special features of the Canonici version could result from a simple misreading or corruption in the text, of which — even in the short section of the farewell dialogue — there are quite a few instances.



¹⁷⁵ Even if in the fourteenth century it was used in a similar way in similar genres; see *TLIO: Tesoro della lingua Italiana delle Origini* <<http://tlio.oiv.cnr.it/>>, which gives for *copia* meaning 3.3: 'Fras. *Dare, fare, concedere copia di sé*: concedersi, esporsi, rendersi disponibile'; the fourth example there is from 1342, in Pisan dialect, by Domenico Cavalca, *La esposizione del Simbolo degli Apostoli*, 2 vols (Milano: Silvestri, 1842), II, 225: 'Onde dice s. Bernardo: Non darà allo inobbediente copia di sè Cristo'.

Table 2.4. Comparison of the Long Latin version of the *Meditationes vitae Christi* with the same six Italian versions, showing the Canonici version's omission of a complicated phrase.

Latin *MVC*

Prouideat Pater, quia nescio quid dicam. Nolo sibi contradicere, sed si sibi **placeret rogo eum quod differat ad presens** et faciamum hic Pascha cum istis amicis nostris.

Canonici Version

O Dio Padre, provedete sopra questo facto inperò che io non so che me dica.
Non li voria contradire ...

Italian *Testo maggiore A*

Proveggaci, o Padre però che io non soe che io mi dica et io non voglio a Llui contradire. Ma se **piacesse a Llui pregalo che indugi ora inducente** et facciamo qui la pasqua con questi nostri amici.

Italian *Testo maggiore B*

O Dio Padre, provedi sopra questo fatto, imperciò ch'io non so ch'io mi dica. No gli voglio contradire. Ma se vi **piace, priegovi che voi lo 'ndugiate** per ora, e facciamo qui la pasqua con questi nostri amici.

Italian *Maggiore Attributed to Jacobus (Firenze)*

Idio Padre, provedi sopra questo fatto, imperciò ch'io non so ke mi dire, non gli voglio contradicere, ma se **vi piace, pregovi che l'ondugiate per ora** et facciamo la pasqua qui con questi nostri amici.

Italian *Maggiore Attributed to Jacobus (Venezia)*

O Dio Padre, providi sopra questo facto imperciò ch'io non so ch'io me dica. Non gli voio contradicere. Ma se **vi piace pregovi che voi l'ondugiate per ora** et facciamo qui la pasqua con quisti nostri amici.

Italian *Testo minore (Firenze)*

O Iddio Padre, provvedete sopra questo fatto però ch'io non so ch'io mi dica. Non gli voglio contraddicere; ma se **vi piacesse, pregovi che coi lo indugiate per ora**; e facciamo la Pasqua con questi nostri amici.

In Table 2.4 we can observe once more how a complicated phrase was rendered with almost the same wording in all Italian versions. Although the *testo maggiore A* is slightly different from the others, the main verb (*indugere*, *'ndugiare*, *ondugiare*, *indugiare*) is obviously the same in all recensions, and it is clearly not the only possible way to render the Latin 'quod differat ad presens' in Italian. The only exception is the Canonici version, which entirely omits this problematic segment.

From these examples we can arrive at the following two assumptions. First, in contrast to what has been claimed by scholars since Vaccari's fundamental study, it is not clear whether the *testo maggiore A* is indeed an independent translation, even if it is evidently the closest to the Latin text. Moreover, the Canonici version, proposed by McNamer as the earliest form of the *MVC*, shows multiple signs of textual corruptions and simplifications, which are usually interpreted as markers of a later reworking and not of an earlier, more genuine text. This impression is supported by another interesting passage in the Canonici version.

In this passage, compared in Table 2.5 on the following page, the Latin *implebuntur* is rendered by the Italian *si adempieranno*, which is an exact correspondent for the word, and this is the word used in all Italian versions, except for the Canonici version, which adopts the very strange 'se admira tute le scripture'. The verb *admirarsi*, since it means 'to admire', does not fit the context at all, as it means 'the time of redemption has arrived, and now all the scriptures are admired', instead of the original sense as '[...] are fulfilled', which is kept in all other versions. So here again, the text of the Canonici version obviously differs from the text of all other Italian versions, including even the Paris MS, which is said to be independently translated from the Latin. It has simply suffered a corruption, which resulted in *si ammirano* instead of some form of the verb *adempirsi*. These passages indicative of corruption can, however, also be explained by the fact that the unique witness of the Canonici version, the fifteenth-century Oxford manuscript, is a late and very poor copy of an earlier, more genuine text — as McNamer has argued. But the 'omissive' and simplifying character of the Canonici version could also suggest the opposite. McNamer interpreted the abbreviative character of the text as indication of the originality of the Canonici version, writing that the differences between the Canonici text and the later *testo minore* 'can best be explained as additions made by a redactor seeking to correct and contain the affective energies and implicit vernacular theology of the original. This redactor is likely to have been the same person responsible for composing the *testo maggiore*'. Furthermore, following her line of argument, we have to assume two further similar levels of addition to the text.

Table 2.5. Comparison of the Latin and Italian versions of the *Meditationes vitae Christi*, showing evidence of textual corruption in the Canonici version.

Latin MVC

quia tempus redemptionis aduenit Modo **implebuntur omnia que de me dicta sunt** et facient in me quidquid volent.

Canonici Version

Imperò che l'è venuto il tempo della remptione **de Israel**. Hora **se admira tutte le scripture** le qualle sono scripture di me. Et farano di me çio che vorano.

Italian Testo maggiore A

però che 'l tempo dela redemptione viene, ora **s'adempierano tutte quelle cose che di me sono dicte** et faranno in me ciò che vorranno.

Italian Testo maggiore B

Imperciò ch'è venuto il tempo de la redenzione. Ora **s'admieranno tutte le Scritture che sono iscritte di me**, a faranno di me ciò piacerà a loro.

Italian Maggiore Attributed to Jacobus (Firenze)

Imperciò che gli è venuto il tempo de la redemptione ora **s'adempiranno tutte le profetie e le scritture** che sono scritte di me, ciò che piacerò a lloro.

Italian Maggiore Attributed to Jacobus (Venezia)

inperciò ch'è venuto il tempo dela redemptione. Ora **s'adempierano tucte le scripture che sono scripture per me** et faranno di me ciò che piacerà loro.

Italian Testo minore (Firenze)

Imperò ch'è venuto il tempo della redenzione. Ora **si ademieranno tutte le scritture** che sono scritte di me, e faranno di me ciò che piacerà loro.

The movement from the *testo minore* to the *testo maggiore* is one of an expansion, in which the *testo minore* is essentially preserved intact, and expanded to include the public ministry. The Latin MVC then adds further passages, very similar in kind to the passages added in the earlier stages, without eliminating material from the Italian *testo maggiore*.¹⁷⁶

¹⁷⁶ McNamer, 'The Origins', pp. 927–28.

The first example she cites to support this hypothesis as 'the most telling evidence that the *Canonici text* came first' is 'the lack of specific details concerning the Holy Land'. These details consist largely of distances and place-names, and in McNamer's view they are obviously additions, since 'it is hard to imagine what sort of principle would motivate the systematic deletion of distances and place-names' while 'a motive for adding such details [...] is easy to understand: a redactor in possession of details [...] has found it tempting to enrich the text by glossing it with facts such as these'.¹⁷⁷ Moreover, she cites some other cases in which the exact reference to a particular source is missing in the *Canonici* but survives in the other Italian versions, such as the case in which a reference is made to a revelation 'given to a holy friar of our order'.¹⁷⁸ McNamer considers this feature, analogously to the former one, as indicative of the earlier form of the *Canonici*, arguing that 'it is difficult to see why a redactor would omit such a detail; it is easy to see why someone would add it [...]; either the *Canonici* version deliberately suppressed this source or, more likely, its author was never aware of it'.¹⁷⁹

In our view, however, the omission of such details as distances, place-names, and especially references to sources can be much better interpreted in the opposing way: as characteristic features of the process of vernacularization, being a marker of a later level of textual transmission. The 'principle' or 'deliberate reason' lying in the background of such omissions could simply be a stylistic choice: in a later version the original references no longer had their previous importance. To quote a parallel case, it is a common feature in hagiography that *vitae* originally based on a direct, personal account, or on the acts of martyrs or canonization, are in their early variants full of personal and geographical names, while the later redaction(s) gradually omit all concrete information, leaving only the very core of the narrative. Usually, these 'purified narratives' would seem 'smoother' for a modern reader, but a stylistically purer version should not always be interpreted as the one standing closest to the original.

However, in McNamer's analysis, this kind of stylistic argument is of primary importance. She applies concepts such as 'affective dissonance' or the 'implicit stylistic principle of simplicity' and similar aesthetic terms.¹⁸⁰ Instead

¹⁷⁷ McNamer, 'The Origins', p. 928.

¹⁷⁸ See *Meditazioni*, ed. by Sarri, p. 31: 'secondamente ch'io ebbi da uno santo frate del nostro ordine'; the two versions are quoted in McNamer, 'The Origins', pp. 930–31.

¹⁷⁹ McNamer, 'The Origins', p. 932.

¹⁸⁰ McNamer, 'The Origins', pp. 940, 932.

of marshalling evidence against the feasibility of this type of argument when dealing with Medieval Latin and vernacular literature, we would like to refer to another recension of the *Testo minore*,¹⁸¹ also preserved in a single fifteenth-century copy, which is now held at the Biblioteca Angelica in Rome, and is also shown in the collation table. Although it was not possible to look through the entire text of this linguistically very peculiar manuscript, on the basis of the passage recording the dialogue of Mary and Christ, this version seems to fit McNamer's stylistic expectations for the original version of the *MVC* perfectly. The Angelica version is also a 'more dramatic text', where 'direct discourse is more abundant',¹⁸² and its style is also characterized by that 'liveliness' and 'principle of simplicity',¹⁸³ which McNamer finds so essential for the original version of the *MVC*. Moreover, as is obvious from the collation table, the Angelica also exhibits many differences that separate it from all other Italian versions, including even the Canonici.¹⁸⁴

At this point, a curious problem emerges. If McNamer's main criteria for the original version are based on stylistic features, such as simplicity, affectivity, and coherence, the Angelica version, which exhibits very close stylistic resemblances to the Canonici, could also represent the original version of the *MVC* or could stand in particularly close connection to it. McNamer, however, does not offer an explanation to this problem: she seems to be unaware of the existence of this recension, for the manuscript containing the Angelica version is omitted from her list of the Italian manuscripts of the *MVC*.¹⁸⁵ Whatever the reason behind the omission of the Angelica version from McNamer's argument

¹⁸¹ The fifteenth-century Rome, Bib. Angelica, MS 2213, which was edited by Rossi, *Quattordici scritture*, pp. 79–81. For a description of the Angelica manuscript, see *Inventari dei manoscritti delle biblioteche d'Italia*, LXXVI (Firenze: Olschki, 1948), pp. 24–25, and Vaccari, *Meditazioni*, pp. 351–52.

¹⁸² See e.g. sections 5 and 7 in the collation table where the Latin indirect speech, kept indirect by the Italian translations (in section 7 even by the Canonici), is rendered in direct speech by the Angelica version.

¹⁸³ See e.g. section 14 of the collation table, where the Angelica is considerably shorter than all other Italian versions, including the Canonici.

¹⁸⁴ See e.g. section 7 of the collation table, which shows that the Angelica, in contrast to all other texts, provides direct speech, or section 17, where it alone speaks about the extreme amount of the Virgin's tears.

¹⁸⁵ In 'The Origins', p. 926 n. 45, McNamer lists quite a few manuscripts of the Italian version of the *MVC* she consulted, only to arrive at the conclusion that 'none of these manuscripts contains, in whole or in part, the unredacted text of the *MVC* as witnessed by Canon. Ital. 174'.

may be, its peculiar stylistic features, which have been studied since Rossi's 1859 edition of the text, have never been interpreted as marks of a more genuine, original version of the *MVC*. So the same caution should perhaps apply to the case of the Canonici version too. How can, therefore, the peculiar stylistic features such as dramatic tone, liveliness, and simplicity, which abound in both versions, be explained?

In our view, rather than being earlier, more genuine recensions, the Angelica and perhaps also the Canonici versions appear to be independent, later retellings of the *MVC*, created in accordance with the very aim of the work: to provide easily applicable material for meditation on the different events of Christ's life, according to the demands and capacities of the devout reader.¹⁸⁶ The *MVC*, therefore, does nothing but offer basic guidelines for how to retell, imagine, and 'put before the eyes of the mind', the different events and scenes of Christ's life.¹⁸⁷ In doing so, it always gives an opportunity to the reader to change, replace, and rewrite any details of the meditations according to his or her taste.¹⁸⁸

This procedure is most conspicuous in the chapter on the Crucifixion of Christ, in which the author explicitly writes that there are two alternative ways to imagine the Crucifixion, one taking place when the cross was already standing upright (*erecta cruce*) and the other as it was lying on the ground (*iacente cruce*).¹⁸⁹ It is only the former of the two, the one with *erecta cruce*, for which the Latin *MVC* provides a detailed description, while the latter is treated only cursorily with some basic catchwords to facilitate imagining the scene. Filling in the gaps of the account is left for the meditator. Using the framework provided, the devout reader could easily reconstruct and imagine the full narrative of the

¹⁸⁶ See the prologue of the *MVC* where the author explicitly outlines his aim: '*ego vero ad maiorem impressionem, ea sic, ac si ita fuissent narrabo, prout contingere vel contigisse credi possunt, secundum quasdam imaginarias repraesentationes, quas animus diversimode percipit*' (Johannes de Caulibus, *Meditaciones [...] Bonaventurae attributae*, ed. by Stallings-Taney, p. 10).

¹⁸⁷ See e.g. in Chapter 18 where the author writes, '*sufficit enim quod rem per eum gestam vel dictam ante mentis oculos ponas*' (Johannes de Caulibus, *Meditaciones [...] Bonaventurae attributae*, ed. by Stallings-Taney, p. 93).

¹⁸⁸ That is why there are so many conditionals applied in the text: 'if you can' ('*si potes*') (Johannes de Caulibus, *Meditaciones [...] Bonaventurae attributae*, ed. by Stallings-Taney, p. 93), 'if you wish' ('*quod si magis placet*') (*ibid.*, p. 272.), etc.

¹⁸⁹ The fullest description of the history of these two motifs is given by Kemper, *Die Kreuzigung Christi*, pp. 241–61, whose important book was left unconsidered by McNamer in her study on the 'two crucifixions of the *MVC*' (McNamer, 'The Origins', pp. 938–45).

Crucifixion with the *iacente cruce*, too, ‘if (s)he’ — as the author constantly repeats — ‘likes this version more’ (*quod si magis placet*).¹⁹⁰ In the Canonici version, as McNamer points out, only the latter version, that with *iacente cruce*, is provided with a full description, while the one with *erecta cruce*, which gets a full treatment in the Latin text, is completely set aside. For McNamer this has ‘far-reaching implications’, because she considers it the more original version of Christ’s Crucifixion, ‘whose carnality and affective intensity a redactor sought to control and excise’ from later Italian versions, substituting it with the more restrained *erecta cruce*.¹⁹¹ The *iacente cruce* version, however, which McNamer believes to be earlier and more authentic, is not a revolutionary representation of the Crucifixion that had to be excised from or repressed in the later Passion narratives. On the contrary, there are several texts, before as well as after the *MVC*, including the Angelica version, that — similarly to the Canonici — contain only this particular description of Christ’s Crucifixion.¹⁹² These texts, therefore, Canonici version included, do nothing but, taking the advice of the author to select whichever scene the reader feels is most impressive (*quod magis placet*), choose and retell it according to the prescriptions given by the Latin text.¹⁹³

The constant rewriting and restructuring of these details seem to be encoded in the very genre of the *Meditationes*. This is why there are so many excerpts, selections, and paraphrases of the *MVC* preserved, which should not necessarily be considered to be individual recensions, but rather free rewritings or

¹⁹⁰ See *MVC* 87 (Johannes de Caulibus, *Meditaciones [...] Bonaventurae attributae*, ed. by Stallings-Taney, p. 272): ‘Quod si hoc magis placet, conspice qualiter ipsum capiunt despicabiliter [...] similiter et de pedibus factum intueri, quos traxerunt quantum valuerunt.’

¹⁹¹ McNamer, ‘The Origins’, p. 945.

¹⁹² In addition to the Canonici version, the Angelica version (Rossi, *Quattordici scritture*, pp. 113–15) contains *only* the *iacente cruce*, but it turns up already in such thirteenth-century works as the *Vita rhythmica Salvatoris*, the *Interrogatio Anselmi*, or the *Speculum salvationis*. It also occurs in quite a few later writings too, where — contrary to what McNamer writes (that the *iacente cruce* version was felt so emotional that it had to be written down; cf. McNamer, ‘The Origins’, pp. 943 and 945) — it is said to be the ‘official version’. See for example the *Tractatus de passione* in Budapest, Nat. Lib., MS Clmae 402, fol. 320^r: ‘Sed potius credendum est, quod crucifixio Christi in manibus et pedibus facta est in terra. Nam et hoc tenet sancta mater ecclesia, quia in sancta magna sexta feria elevatur crux in altum tribus vicibus, ut credamus eum sic pro nostra salute fuisse crucifixum.’ For further details, see Kemper, *Die Kreuzigung Christi*, pp. 250–62, for a list of a number of Latin and German texts containing descriptions of the Crucifixion with *iacente cruce*.

¹⁹³ If we compare the account on the Crucifixion in the Canonici we find that it rather seems to be an expanded paraphrase of the laconic passage devoted to the *iacente cruce* in the Latin *MVC*.

adaptations of the source text to suit the expectations of various groups of readers. The two very 'aberrant' Italian manuscripts, the Canonici and the Angelica, seem to belong to this genre, rather than, as McNamer concludes regarding the Canonici, being earlier 'unredacted' versions of it. In light of all these observations, Alberto Vaccari's advice still seems compelling: that although 'literary critics concentrating on the quality of the narration would prefer B [McNamer's *testo minore*] a critic who studies the origin and the mutual relationship between these writings will not hesitate a second to give the precedence to A [*testo maggiore* A] as being closer to the genuine roots of the *MVC*'.¹⁹⁴

Although on the basis of our partial collation we could not formulate any definite conclusion for the whole text, a close textual comparison of the various versions of the dialogue allows us to assume that all the examined Italian recensions, except for the above-mentioned Canonici and Angelica versions, seem to preserve the same Italian text.¹⁹⁵ Furthermore, it can also be assumed that they are more likely to be translated from Latin into Italian than vice versa. The *testo maggiore* A (i.e. Paris, BnF, MS ital. 115) seems to stand closest to the Latin, and consequently should perhaps be considered as the earliest in this group; however, it still has to be qualified as a *volgarizzamento* of the Latin. It is important to note that, on the basis of this partial collation, we cannot entirely exclude the possibility that it contains a first translation from the Latin. Therefore, the hypotheses that this version would preserve the original form of the *MVC* written in the vernacular Italian do not seem feasible on the basis of the present examination.

As to the Canonici version, we could also affirm McNamer's observation that this text differs radically from both the Latin and the other Italian versions, but on the basis of a textual comparison of the dialogue scene, a critical analysis of some of McNamer's general arguments, and a comparison with the hitherto uninvestigated Angelica version, the peculiar textual features of the Canonici seem to be either corruptions or later derivations of the common Italian version of the *MVC*, rather than a genuine, more original variant. Nevertheless, the

¹⁹⁴ 'I letterati, che mirano alla bontà della dicitura, potranno dare le loro preferenze a B; ma il critico, che studia le origini e le mutue relazione degli scritti, non esiterà un istante ad anteporre A come più prossimo alla genuina radice delle *MVC*.' Vaccari, *Meditazioni*, pp. 360–61.

¹⁹⁵ The texts belonging to this group would be the Italian *A Maggiore* (BnF, MS ital. 115); the Italian *B Maggiore* in Bonaventure, *Cento meditazioni*, ed. by Sorio; the two Italian *Maggiores* attributed to Jacobus (Firenze, Bib. Naz. Cen., Fondo Nuove Accessioni 350 and Venezia, Biblioteca Marciana, MS Ital. Fondo Antico 7 (4739)); and the Italian *Testo Minore* (Firenze, Biblioteca Riccardiana, MS 1419 as *Meditazioni*, ed. by Sarri).

possibility that the Canonici version is an independent Italian translation or adaptation of a Latin text cannot be excluded completely until a detailed comparison of the whole text with the other Italian versions is carried out. The same argument seems to stand for the Angelica version, which differs even from the Canonici. In light of these observations, then, it hardly seems tenable that the Italian *Testo minore*, or any text of this group of the Italian recensions, would derive from the Canonici version, as McNamer suggested in her stemma.

There is, of course, much left to be done to clarify the complicated network of relations between the Italian *Testo minore* and *Testo maggiore*, but on the basis of the above analyses, the traditional stemma, that the *Testo minore* derives from the *Testo maggiore*, seems much more probable than the reverse.¹⁹⁶

The Italian Versions and Michael's Quotations

After the reconsideration of McNamer's chief arguments concerning the prevalence of the Canonici version over all the Italian and Latin versions of the *MVC*, we arrive at the conclusion that there are indeed many thematic discrepancies between the Italian *testo minore*, the Canonici, and the Angelica versions. Relying only on these narrative and structural differences, however, one cannot obtain a satisfactory view of the complicated relationships between the various recensions and their position in the textual history of the *MVC*. Since the constant recasting and reshaping of the narratives seems to be an inherent and ever-present feature of the genre itself, one should be very careful in applying the presence or absence of different motifs and scenes as indicators of an earlier or more original textual variant.

The evasive character of narrative differences is especially conspicuous in Michael's references to the *liber de vita Christi*. There are some points in Michael's version of the dialogue between Mary and Christ that show very close structural or narrative similarities to the Italian versions. In section 3 of the collation table (see Appendix I), for example, the toponym *Bethania*, which Michael identifies as the place where the dialogue had taken place, is mentioned twice in the Canonici version but is missing in the Latin and in all other Italian versions. A very similar parallel can be seen in section 5 of the collation table, where the Latin

¹⁹⁶ There is an ongoing collective research project at the Budapest University (ELTE) that includes a full structural collation of several Italian recensions, which would also serve as a preparatory work for an eventual critical edition of the Italian versions of the *MVC*. For the first results of the project, see Ertl and others, 'The Italian Variants', which strengthen the conclusions expressed above.

MVC records Christ's reply to the Magdalen only in indirect speech, while the Canonici and the Angelica quote his answer in direct speech. Michael's sermon, although with completely different doctrinal content, also describes the arguments which Christ explains to the Magdalen in first person singular. Another structural link between the Canonici and Michael's references can be found in section 6 of the collation table, where Michael describes the Magdalen's sorrow as taking place 'after having heard the response of Christ' ('Hoc audito recedit Maria Magdalena'). This particular phrase is missing in all versions except for the Canonici, which contains it in almost the same form: 'Udendo la Magdalena'.

These formal coincidences between Michael's references and one or another of the Italian recensions, however, should be handled with extreme care. They could be interpreted simply as amendments to the text, which, according to the practice of devotional rewriting, may easily have been made independently of one another. When placing the dialogue in Bethany, for example, Michael and the Canonici version could have independently borrowed the toponym from the scriptural context of the scene.¹⁹⁷ One does not necessarily need to be indebted to a peculiar textual version in order to associate Bethany with the location of the events preceding Christ's Passion. Neither is a direct *Vorlage* required for the inclusion of the addition of 'having heard' (*hoc audito* or *udiendo*) into the text, nor for the transformation of indirect words into direct speech which — as observed above in connection with section 5 — can easily happen independently (as it probably did in the case of the Canonici and the Angelica), simply as a result of an affective rewriting of the text.

The situation is a bit different in cases where a peculiar feature of Michael's references turns up not in one single Italian version, but in all of them. For example, in sections 13 and 15 of the collation table, it is not a particular narrative detail but a characteristic phraseology that is shared by both the Italian versions and Michael's paraphrase. In section 13, Michael writes that the Virgin was trying to persuade her son to avoid Jerusalem, because the Jews were planning to murder him ('Iudaei tractant occidere te'). At this particular point, the Latin *MVC* speaks only about snares (*insidiae*) that were being prepared for Christ, but all the Italian versions, just like Michael, write that the Jews were intending to murder him. This curious difference between Michael's paraphrase, the Italian recensions, and the Latin *MVC*, as observed above,¹⁹⁸

¹⁹⁷ Christ is said to have had accommodation in Bethany before Palm Sunday (John 11. 12), and on the next day he is said to have come from Bethany to Jerusalem (Mark 11. 12).

¹⁹⁸ See above pp. 48–49.

could perhaps result from a textual corruption, which could have already occurred in the Latin, since all the Italian texts and Michael's sermons have *Judaei* instead of *insidiae*. Although the apparatus in Stallings-Taney's critical edition does not support this hypothesis, its reticence does not seem decisive. In the case of another passage in which Michael's variant is also shared with the Italian recensions against the testimony of the Latin, we could find several Latin witnesses that prove that there was a Latin original in the background of the reading of both the Italian texts and Michael's source. In section 15, in which Christ argues that everything prefigured in the Old Testament has to be fulfilled through him, Michael, just like all the Italian texts, writes that the scriptures should be all fulfilled (*implerentur scripturae*), while the Latin *MVC* speaks only about the *dicta* of the Old Testament. Although Stallings-Taney does not offer any variants for this phrase, we could — even randomly — find one manuscript and two incunabula editions of the *MVC* that replace the *dicta* with *scripta*,¹⁹⁹ which could possibly have been the word read by Michael and the Italian translators, who unanimously speak about *scritture* at this point. A systematic collation of the Latin manuscripts, therefore, would presumably provide us with the corresponding Latin reading for the *Judaei* of Michael and the Italian translators, too.²⁰⁰

Therefore, neither of the above-mentioned correspondences between Michael's text and the Italian versions should necessarily lead us to assume that Michael had based his paraphrase on an Italian version of the *MVC*. A good part of the similarities between his text and the Italian recensions can be ascribed to the characteristic process of devotional rewriting, which could have happened independently in the different recensions, while the other coin-

¹⁹⁹ See München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, MS Clm. 7008, fol. 119^v; Bonaventure, *Vita Christi*, ([Augsburg], [c. 1497/98] (GW 4645)), fol. fiii^r; Bonaventure, *Meditationes vitae Christi* (Augsburg, [14]68 (GW 4739)), fol. 42^r where the sentence reads as 'modo implebuntur omnia quae de me scripta sunt'.

²⁰⁰ This is especially so because there is another very characteristic feature of the Italian recensions that is absent from the Latin critical text but can be verified by a number of manuscripts and printed editions. In section 4 of the collation table, Italian texts unanimously write that during the supper in the house of Lazarus the Magdalen was serving Christ (*servendo la Madalena*). This remark is obviously missing from the Latin critical text, so we could easily assume it was a peculiarity of the Italian recensions, if it were not recorded by the same witnesses (München, Bayerische Staatsbib., MS Clm. 7008, fol. 119^v; Bonaventure, *Vita Christi*, fol. fiii^r; Bonaventure, *Meditationes*, fol. 42^r) as 'Magdalena ministrans rogabat Dominum', or in a Venetian incunabulum (*Deuotissime B. Bonaventure Cardinalis meditationes* (Uenetijs, 1497 (GW 4758)), fol. 54^v) as 'Magdalena ministrabat rogabatque dominum'.

cidences could be traced back to a Latin text used individually by Michael and the Italian translators. This latter assumption is further supported by some phraseological and linguistic features in Michael's *Extendit manum* that could hardly originate in anything but a Latin text.

In addition to the basic resemblance in the content and narrative structure of the two texts, we have already mentioned some close phraseological similarities between the Latin *MVC* and Michael's sermon, which were part of the evidence gathered to propose that the *MVC* was the text Michael referred to as Jacobus's *liber de vita Christi*. In order to test the hypothesis that it was probably a Latin and not an Italian text that Michael had used for his paraphrase, then, we should examine these phrases in the Italian recensions too. At the beginning of the *Extendit manum*, Michael gives a short summary of the dialogue, in which he describes the Virgin's aim to persuade Christ not to undergo his Passion (*rogare ut non sic fieret*). This phrase apparently echoes the wording of the Latin *MVC*, where the Virgin Mary says, 'rogo ut non sic fiat', while all the Italian recensions — except for the Paris MS — speak about Mary's attempt to persuade Christ not to go (*prego che tu non ci vada*).²⁰¹

An even more decisive linguistic argument is provided by the characteristic description of the dialogue as taking place in a very intimate manner, 'apart from the others', which Michael writes as 'seorsum cum matre colloquendo' and the Latin *MVC* describes as 'sedet cum ea seorsum colloquens'. This peculiar and memorable phrase for the intimacy of the mother and son, however, which is obviously shared by both texts, cannot be found in any of the Italian recensions. At this particular place, shown in section 8 of the collation table, the Italian translators use a more original Italian wording (*disparte*) for *seorsum*, which comes up in the *testo minore* and *maggiore* (*disparte sì le parlò*) as well as in the very close translation of the *testo maggiore A* (*disparte parlando*). This Italian phrase, however, cannot be the source of Michael's very pregnant wording, 'stetit seorsum [...] colloquendo', which seems to derive from the strikingly similar Latin text ('sedet cum ea seorsum colloquens') of the *MVC*.

The Authorship of 'Jacobus'

After a detailed comparison of Michael's quotations with the Latin and Italian versions of the *MVC*, then, the work cited by Michael de Massa (probably in the 1320s, but definitely before his death in 1337) as *liber de vita Christi* of 'Jacobus apostolus' can be none other than the Latin text of the *MVC* of

²⁰¹ See section 13 of the collation table.

Pseudo-Bonaventure. The characteristic features of what Michael calls the *liber de vita Christi*, outlined above, all seem to accord with the *MVC*, and it is the characteristic phraseology of the Latin *MVC*, not its Italian versions, that can be identified in the background of Michael's wording of the dialogue between Christ and Mary. As previously noted, the *MVC* was frequently referred to as *liber de vita Christi*, and the reconsideration of McNamer's arguments for its later date would also allow us to suppose that the Latin text was circulating as early as the 1320s, and thus would have been available to Michael de Massa. Furthermore, in a particular group of the manuscripts of the Italian versions of the *MVC*, the text was explicitly connected with a *frate Jacobo* whose name could easily have been understood as or replaced by *Jacobus apostolus* in some of the manuscripts of Michael's sermons. The attribution of the *liber de vita Christi* to the Apostle seems nothing but a medieval attempt to explain the identity of the mysterious *frate Jacobo* by identifying him as *Jacobus apostolus*: not a Franciscan *frate*, but the famous *frater domini*. Michael's ascription of the Latin *MVC* to Jacobus, therefore, which obviously agrees with the testimony of some early Italian manuscripts, certainly merits further investigation.

The identification of the *frate Jacobo* of the Italian manuscripts as Jacobus de Cordone, as shown above, is no longer tenable, given that it is based on a simple misreading of the 'Jacobus de l'ordene di Frati minori' of the Venice manuscript as 'Jacobus de Cordone di Frati minori'. The other widely accepted hypothesis of the Italian scholars about Jacobo, whatever his exact name may be, as the *vulgarizzatore* of the *MVC*, is also very unlikely. This assumption goes against the unanimous witness of the Jacobus manuscripts, which all make a sharp distinction between Jacobus's authorship (described with verbs like *fatto*, *chomposto*, *hordinatto per frate Iacobo*) and the — apparently anonymous — Italian translation, which is always marked in the manuscripts as 'translato de grammatica'. This impression about Jacobus's authorship of the Latin original corresponds to the conclusion we drew above: that Michael apparently used the Latin version of the *MVC* for his sermons and that it was this text he knew as a work by Jacobus.

In the light of Michael's quotations and the Italian manuscripts, therefore, 'frate Jacobo de l'ordene di frati minori' appears to be the author of the Latin *MVC*. As to the identity of this Jacobo, however, neither Michael nor the extant manuscripts provide us with any further information. There is, however, another very early manuscript, again of the Italian *testo maggiore*, which could be of key importance for his identification. This manuscript is one of the earliest extant copies of the *MVC*, originating from the second quarter of the fourteenth century, and has not yet been recorded in any repertory of the *MVC* manuscripts. It preserves the incipit in the form characteristic of the Jacobus

manuscripts as ‘Incominciassi il prolago nele meditazioni dela vita di Christo le qual fece frate’.²⁰² This title, although it obviously has the same grammatical structure as the Jacobus manuscripts, is incomplete, as it obviously lacks the name of the ‘compositor’, which was to follow the word *frate*. This gap has instead been completed by a later hand, which added the missing name as ‘Iacob da Sangimignano’, and repeated it in the explicit of the work as ‘Chi finisce el libro dela meditatione e dela vita di Cristo fatto e composto per frate Iacob da San Gimignano dell’ordine dei Frati Minori’, which seems to echo exactly the same formula as the one preserved in the other manuscripts mentioned above.²⁰³ Next to the addition stands a note in the same hand, which states that the information on the author’s name was found in a manuscript seen in 1602 by the anonymous commentator in the collection of Attilio Berlinghieri in Siena.²⁰⁴

Berlinghieri was a seventeenth-century Siennese historian who produced some works on the history of Siennese families,²⁰⁵ so he might well have possessed a remarkable collection of books and manuscripts of local Siennese origin. The extant works of Berlinghieri are preserved in a manuscript now held by the Biblioteca Comunale di Siena,²⁰⁶ which therefore seemed a very promising place to find his alleged collection of manuscripts. Surprisingly, the library owns four Italian manuscripts of the *MVC*, which, except for a fragmentary copy mentioned by Vaccari,²⁰⁷ have never been included in any lists of Italian

²⁰² Firenze, Bib. Naz. Cen., Fondo Nuove Accessioni 350, fol. 1^r; the manuscript is among the new acquisitions of the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze, and therefore it is missing from all lists of *MVC* manuscripts including McNamer’s recent survey of 2009 (see n. 185, above). See its description by Bertelli, *I manoscritti della letteratura*, pp. 149–50.

²⁰³ See the phrase in Firenze, Bib. Riccardiana, MS 1378, fol. 1^r: ‘chomposto per frate Jachopo dell’ordine de’ frati minori’; and Venezia, San Marco, Cod. Marc. Ital. Z. 7, fol. 1^v: ‘composto per frate Jacobo del’ordine di frati Minori’, both of which use the same verb, *chomposto*, to denote authorship.

²⁰⁴ Firenze, Bib. Naz. Cen., Fondo Nuove Accessioni 350, fol. 135^v: ‘Così ha scritto in fine del medesimo libro ch’oggi è in mano di m[aestro] Attilio Berlinghieri in Siena’, as reproduced by Bertelli, *I manoscritti della letteratura*, p. 150.

²⁰⁵ On Berlinghieri and his works, see Luigi de Angelis, *Biographia degli Scrittori Sanesi* (Siena: G. Rossi, 1824), p. 105.

²⁰⁶ Siena, Biblioteca Comunale degli Intronati, MS A.VI.10, fols 218^r–249^v. *Inventario dei manoscritti della Biblioteca Comunale di Siena 2* (Mss. 151–346), ed. by Gino Garosi (Firenze: Giunta regionale toscana: La nuova Italia, 1980), p. 46.

²⁰⁷ This fragment, which was bound in the middle of a larger volume and is part of the longer Italian text, was described in Vaccari, *Meditazioni*, pp. 353–55.

MVC manuscripts. However, none of these appear to contain any reference to 'Iacob'.²⁰⁸ However, although Attilio Berlinghieri's manuscript is still unidentified, or perhaps even lost, the close resemblance of the wording of the explicit — copied at the end of the Florentine text — to the titles quoted above seems to suggest that this alleged Siennese manuscript may also have belonged to the same tradition which ascribes the work to *frate Iacobo*, whom Berlinghieri's manuscript had identified as Iacob da Sangimignano. Therefore, although the manuscript itself has not yet been found, the record of its existence and the seventeenth-century copy of its explicit seem to bear reliable witness that the full name of the author was probably Iacob da San Gimignano.

The retrieval of *da San Gimignano*, however, is not at all surprising. No one has ever doubted that the author of the *MVC* was related to the Franciscan monastery of San Gimignano in Tuscany, since the text contains many allusions to this particular area and to the monastery itself, which is explicitly described as 'our place' (*locus noster*).²⁰⁹ Moreover, it is only because of this particular connection of the author to San Gimignano that the authorship of Johannes de Caulibus has been offered and unanimously accepted, as he was said to be from the same area of Tuscany and was known to have written 'beautiful meditations on the gospels'.²¹⁰ His name, however, although it appears in the titles of some sermons and legal works, has never been associated with any forms or versions of the *MVC* and was first connected with the text only in the eighteenth century, by Benedetto Bonelli.

The authorship of *frate Jacopo da San Gimignano*, then, seems much better attested by the early reference in Michael's sermons as well as by the witness of the Italian manuscripts, many of which are also from the fourteenth

²⁰⁸ Siena, Biblioteca Comunale degli Intronati, MS I.V.7, fols 4^r–79^r ('le meditaçioni de la vita di Iesu Christo'); Siena, Biblioteca Comunale degli Intronati, MS I.V.9 (a very incomplete copy without incipit or explicit); Siena, Biblioteca Comunale degli Intronati, MS I.VI.7, fols 1^r–100^r ('meditationi della vita di Iesu Christo'); Siena, Biblioteca Comunale degli Intronati, MS I.VIII.6, fols 1^r–65^v (the beginning of the text is missing; the explicit reads, 'Explicit liber de meditationum domini nostri Iesu Christi'); Siena, Biblioteca Comunale degli Intronati, MS I.VIII.24, fols 1^r–65^v ('Meditazioni della vita di Giesù Cristo').

²⁰⁹ *MVC* 77 (Johannes de Caulibus, *Meditaciones [...] Bonaventurae attributae*, ed. by Stallings-Taney, p. 269): 'habui a fratre nostro [...] qui dicit, quod mons Clavariae, ubi fuit crucifixus, distabat a porta civitatis, quantum locus noster a porta Sancti Geminiani'; for a detailed discussion of the locality, see *Meditaciones de passione Christi* olim Sancto Bonaventurae attributae: ed. from the manuscripts with introduction and commentary, ed. by Mary Jordan Stallings (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1965), pp. 6–7.

²¹⁰ See above, note 113.

century.²¹¹ Therefore, the authorship of Jacob di San Gimignano appears to rest on a much stronger basis than that of the never-attested Johannes de Caulibus.

Jacob da San Gimignano, Author of the Meditationes

The identification of Jacob da San Gimignano, however, is not easy, as there were several different people known under this name. The trecento Italian poet Folgore di San Gimignano (d. 1332), for example, who wrote some sixty sonettos in the Italian vernacular, is also known as Jacopo da Sangimignano. However, although he was apparently from the area of San Gimignano, he has never been associated with a Franciscan monastery and seems to have remained a layman — referred to as *dominus* — throughout his life.²¹² Therefore, he could hardly come into consideration as a possible author of the *MVC*.

A much more promising candidate is registered in the sixteenth-century history of the Franciscan order by Pietro Rodolfi (d. 1601), who, speaking of a certain friar called Jacobus de Sancto Geminiano, remarks that he was the author of a series of sermons ('conscriptis sermones de tempore'), but does not provide any further details.²¹³ Rodolfi's sixteenth-century entry on Jacobus de Sancto Geminiano was later borrowed by Wadding (d. 1657)²¹⁴ and by Sbaralea (d. 1764) for their manuals on Franciscan authors, but they were also unable to find any exact information about this Jacobus. Sbaralea even suspected that the whole 'story' about Jacobus de Sancto Geminiano could be a simple misread-

²¹¹ The Firenze, Bib. Riccardiana, MS 1378 was obviously believed to be from the fourteenth century by the cataloguer of the collection, as well as by Fischer (Fischer, "Meditationes vitae Christi", p. 182, no. 140), and the same seems to be true for the Venetian copy (Venezia, San Marco, Cod. Marc. Ital. Z. 7) as well, since its incipit, stating that the text was 'translato de gramatica in latino', reflects the wording of the fourteenth century in designating the vernacular as *latino*, cf. Baldassarre Lombardi, *La divina commedia* (Firenze: D. Passigli, 1838), p. 455: 'Nei secoli XIII. e XIV. latino valeva italiano. Ciò che oggi diciamo latino chiamavo allora *grammatica*; onde scrivere o parlare per *grammatica* valeva scrivere o parlare latino'. Moreover, if we accept that Firenze, Bib. Naz. Cen., Fondo Nuove Accessioni 350 also belongs to the 'Jacobus group', we gain the testimony of the earliest copy.

²¹² Gianfranco Contini, *Letteratura italiana delle origini* (Florence: Sansoni, 1970), p. 120, and L. Cellerino, 'Folgore di San Gimignano', in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, dir. by Ghisalberti, XLVIII (1997), cols 553–56.

²¹³ Petrus Rodolfi, *Historiarum seraphicae religionis libri tres seriem temporum continentes* (Venetiis: apud Franciscum de Franciscis Senensem, 1586), p. 322.

²¹⁴ Lucas Wadding, *Scriptores ordinis minorum* (Rome: Attilio Nardecchia, 1906), p. 124: 'Jacobus e S. Geminiano scripsit Sermones de tempore'.

ing of the name of Johannes de Caulibus to *Jacobus* because — he argues — Johannes was the only writer from the area of San Gimignano.²¹⁵

Another Jacobus de Sancto Geminiano appears among the friars at the general chapter of the Franciscan order in 1562, where he is said to have been the prior of the Franciscan province of Siena.²¹⁶ Given the lack of exact dates in Rodolfi's entry on Jacobus de Sancto Geminiano, we may even suspect that it was perhaps this sixteenth-century friar that Rodolfi was referring to in his entry about Jacobus de Sancto Geminiano, but this hypothesis cannot be satisfactorily proven.

There is, however, a third Jacobus de Sancto Geminiano, a Franciscan from Tuscany, active at the very beginning of the fourteenth century, who seems to fit all the criteria required to be the author of the *MVC*. This Jacobus de Sangimignano is mentioned as the most important leader of the rebellion of the Tuscan Spirituals in 1312.

The Tuscan Spirituals were part of, or rather the heirs to, the tradition of the stricter Franciscans, the 'rigorosi', who claimed that Franciscans should take the original poverty of St Francis of Assisi more seriously and not have any possessions or money of their own or make any contracts with seculars. This rigorist tendency appeared among Franciscans almost immediately after Francis's death. Later, various eschatological ideas were attached to this zealous stream regarding the spiritual role of the Franciscans in the latter days, formulated by Peter John Olivi (d. 1298), that gave the name 'spirituals' to the zealous group of the order. Despite various attempts of reconciliation by popes Nicholas III, Celestine V, and Boniface VIII, tensions between the zealots and the rest of the order, the 'conventuals', continued to escalate, and the conventuals began to persecute the spirituals. The resulting clashes between the opposing factions thus dominated the period around the turn of the thirteenth century, both in southern France and in Italy. In order to resolve this situation, from 1309 onwards, Pope Clement V (d. 1314) and Ubertino da Casale, the leader of the spirituals (and author of the above-mentioned *Arbor Vitae*), worked to prepare a compromise for the Council of Vienne (1311–12).²¹⁷

²¹⁵ J. H. Sbaralea, *Supplementum et castigatio ad Scriptores trium ordinum S. Francisci*, 3 pts (Rome: Attilio Narddecchia, 1921), pt. 2, p. 10: 'suspicio sit, apud Rodolfium fuisse exaratum *Jacobum* loco *Joannis*'.

²¹⁶ See the list of participants by Benvenuto Bighetti, 'Tabulae capitulares provinciae Tuscanae (saec. XIV–XVIII)', *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum*, 10 (1917), 413–97 (p. 432): 'Visitator tertii ordinis reverendissimus pater magister iacobus de S. Geminiano'.

²¹⁷ The whole history of the spiritual movement within the Franciscan order has been

However, the persecution of the spirituals in Tuscany had become so severe that, in spring 1312, a certain group of Tuscan Franciscans, advised by a 'canon Martin', decided to revolt and leave their monasteries, creating a new community for themselves. There were some eighty friars who, having fled from their monasteries, occupied the convents of Arezzo, Asciano, and Carmignano.²¹⁸ According to the unanimous testimony of the documents, the leader of this rebellious group of Franciscans residing in the convent of Monte del Sole in Arezzo was a friar called Jacobus de Sancto Geminiano.²¹⁹ Although his name is mentioned only in connection with the revolt of the Tuscan Franciscans, from 1312 onwards it appears in several documents addressing the group, in which he is usually placed first.²²⁰ Despite the threats made by the inquisitors, commissioned by Pope Clement V to deal with the case of the rebels, Jacobus seems to have retained his leading position among the spirituals. Even in the official condemnation of the Tuscan rebellion in 1314, he is mentioned as Jacobus de Sancto Geminiano of the Volterrano diocese, leader, 'head and origin of all calamities, disobedience, and schism.'²²¹ Not long after the proclamation of

recently explored in a monograph by David Burr, *The Spiritual Franciscans: From Protest to Persecution in the Century after Saint Francis* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2001). For the beginnings and early history of the movement, see pp. 1–110.

²¹⁸ The history of the Tuscan revolt was reconstructed by Anna Maria Ini, 'Nuovi documenti degli spirituali di Toscana,' *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum*, 66 (1973), 305–77, and Gian Luca Potesta, *Angelo Clareno: Dai poveri eremitici ai fraticelli* (Roma: Palazzo Borromini, 1990), pp. 95–106, and later by Adolfo Casini, *La provincia di Genova dei Frati Minori: dalle origini ai nostri giorni* (Chiavari: Studio Sagno, 1985), pp. 74–75, and more recently by Burr, *Spiritual Franciscans*, pp. 161–64.

²¹⁹ His name is mentioned first in a letter dated 16 August 1312, written by Grimaldo da Prato, the inquisitor commissioned by Pope Clement V to investigate the case. In this early letter, addressed to the leaders of the rebellion, the inquisitor mentions Jacobus de Sancto Geminiano at the end of the list of the rebels; see Ini, 'Nuovi documenti,' p. 332.

²²⁰ In the response of the rebels to the inquisitor from 1312, Jacobus is described as one of the spokesmen of the rebels who personally formulated the letter; see Ini, 'Nuovi documenti,' p. 334: 'nos iacobus de Sancto Geminiano, Michael de Senis, Niccholuccius de Cortona et Guilelmus de Senis.'

²²¹ The letter of condemnation was composed by Bernardo di Siena on 14 February 1314 and was copied and sent out to several important ecclesiastical centres of Italy. These copies always mention Jacobus de Sancto Geminiano as 'tanquam principale caput et auctor malorum et inobedientiae ac scismatum et inventor et persecutor'. See the edition of the letter by Nicolas Papini, *Notizie sicure della monte, sepoltura, canonizzazione e traslazione di S. Francesco d'Assisi e del ritrovamento del di lui corpo* (Firenze: Pagani, 1822), pp. 234–42 (p. 241 on Jacobus). A copy of this letter from 1314 is published by Livario Oliger, 'Beiträge zur Geschichte der Spiritualen,

this bull, some forty of the Tuscan friars, still under the leadership of Jacobus and his companion Enrico da Ceva,²²² fled to Sicily. In a letter composed by the two Franciscans, they asked for the protection of Frederick II of Aragon, King of Sicily.²²³ The King, who had always sympathized with the struggles of the Italian spirituals, generously offered refuge for the rebels.²²⁴ Frederick was not willing to surrender the Franciscans to the papal inquisitors, even under the pressure of repeated requests from the general of the order, Alexander of Alexandria. Moreover, after a detailed investigation of their teachings, he officially approved their orthodoxy in a letter sent to the general.²²⁵ From 1315 onwards, however, after the investiture of Pope John XXIII, a bitter enemy of the spirituals, this situation was no longer tenable. The Pope wrote several letters to Frederick, urging him to deliver the Tuscan friars to the papal court, but these were left unanswered by the King.²²⁶ However, after the issue of the two

Fratizellen und Clarener in Mittelitalien', *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, 45 (1927), 215–24 (p. 221), where Jacobus de Sancto Geminiano is again given the first mention. A further copy of the excommunication announced in Arezzo is published by Ubaldo Pasqui, *Documenti per la storia della città di Arezzo nel medioevo*, 3 vols (Firenze: Deputazione di Storia Patria, 1916), II, 528–29, where Jacobus de Sancto Geminiano is again described as 'principale capud et auctor et inventor et prosecutor'.

²²² For Enrico, see 'Enrico da Ceva', in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, dir. by Ghisalberti, XLII (1993), cols 736–37.

²²³ The letter, signed by 'fratres Iacobus et Henricus', is edited by Heinrich Finke, *Acta Aragonensia*, 3 vols in 2 (Berlin: W. Rotschild, 1908), II, 661–66, and is a very interesting document, as it contains a detailed explanation of the views and ideals of the spirituals expressed in the words of the two friars, thus preserving the original style of Jacobus de Sancto Geminiano and offering an opportunity to compare it with the Latin text of the *MVC*. A preliminary comparison has brought to light some terminological similarities, such as the use of the phrase *moram contrahere* (Finke, *Acta Aragonensia*, II, 664, and Johannes de Caulibus, *Meditaciones [...] Bonaventurae attributae*, ed. by Stallings-Taney, p. 55) or *pauperculus* (Finke, *Acta Aragonensia*, II, 665, and Johannes de Caulibus, *Meditaciones [...] Bonaventurae attributae*, ed. by Stallings-Taney, p. 41) in both documents, but a more detailed analysis is still required.

²²⁴ On the reasons for the deep sympathy of the Sicilian court with the afflictions of the spirituals, see F. Rotolo, 'I Francescani e i re aragonesi di Sicilia', *Miscellanea Francescana*, 61 (1961), 54–91, and, more recently, Francesco Costa, 'Eleonora d'Angiò (1289–43), Regina francescana di Sicilia (1303–43)', in *I Francescani e la politica: Atti del Convegno internazionale di studio*, ed. by Alessandro Musco, 2 vols (Palermo: Officina di Studi Medievali, 2007), I, 175–221.

²²⁵ See his letter to Italy about the examination and its outcome by Finke, *Acta Aragonensia*, III, 266–70.

²²⁶ See the letters of the pope to Frederick in *Bullarium Franciscanum* (Quaracchi: Collegio di S. Bonaventura, 1888), v, no. 256; and Ini, 'Nuovi documenti', pp. 354–56.

famous bulls of 1317 and 1318 in which the Pope officially condemned the Tuscan friars,²²⁷ Frederick was finally compelled to dismiss them from Sicily, whence they sailed to North Africa, where their traces are entirely lost.²²⁸

Although this is all we know about the rebellious friar Jacobus de Sancto Geminiano, and his literary work — except for the letter he and Enrico da Ceva wrote to Frederick of Sicily — seems to be lost, he still seems to be a possible claimant for the authorship of the *MVC*, especially because his identification as the author of the text, in contrast with the never-recorded Johannes de Caulibus, has been attested by several fourteenth-century manuscripts, either in the shorter form of Jacobo or, by one particular copy, in the full form as Jacob da Sangimignano. Furthermore, the dates of the charismatic leadership of the rebels, at the very beginning of the fourteenth century, also seem to accord with the alleged date of the *MVC* as an early fourteenth-century text. Just like the supposed author of the *MVC*, the spiritual Jacobus de Sancto Geminiano was also a Franciscan, deeply committed to the original Franciscan ideals of poverty and simplicity. Similarly to the anonymous author, he also appears to have been familiar with the geography of Tuscany, especially with that of San Gimignano. In the papal bull of condemnation, Jacobus was said to have been under the jurisdiction of the Volterrano diocese, which, being the episcopate presiding over San Gimignano, proves that the occurrence of San Gimignano in his name is a reliable indication of his actual origin. His fierce zeal to maintain, even by violence if necessary, the original poverty of the order, so neatly articulated in his letter to Frederick of Sicily, also seems to fit the general image of the *MVC*, for the author of the text, as described by Michael Thomas, ‘should be considered as one of the most important figures of the poverty movement, surely belonging to its more rigorous side.’²²⁹

²²⁷ The so-called *Sancta Romana* of 1317 published in *Bullarium Franciscanum*, v, 135, no. 297, and the *Gloriosam ecclesiam* of 1318 where he still refers to the friars as vipers and snakes, but mentions only Enrico da Ceva as ‘fugitiva et apostata’ (cf. *Bullarium Franciscanum*, v, 137–42, no. 302).

²²⁸ For details of the journey to Africa, see G. Golubovich, *Biblioteca bio-bibliografica della Terra Sancta e dell'Oriente francescano*, 5 vols (Quaracchi: Collegio di S. Bonaventura, 1906–27), III (1919), 190–92.

²²⁹ Michael Thomas, ‘Zum religionsgeschichtlichen Standort der “Meditationes vitae Christi”’, *Zeitschrift für Religions- und Geistesgeschichte*, 24 (1972), 209–26 (p. 221): ‘In dem Autor dürfte eine bedeutende Persönlichkeit der Armutsbewegung zu sehen sein, und zwar wohl eher ihrer “strengerer” Richtung.’ Thomas even discovered in the prologue of the work reminiscences of some ideas of Joachim of Fiore; see pp. 215–19.

Although the links between the *MVC* and the spiritual movement contemporary to the period in which the work is assumed to originate have not been highlighted very much in recent scholarship,²³⁰ the special emphasis put on the importance of utter poverty has always been considered one of the most characteristic features of the text,²³¹ as argued most recently by Sarah McNamer herself.²³² Therefore, the authorship of a Tuscan spiritual Franciscan does not seem to go against the general tone of the *MVC*. Moreover, the repeated condemnation of Jacobus de Sancto Geminiano, first in 1312 by the inquisition, and later in 1318 by the Pope himself, would easily explain why the name has been omitted or truncated in the manuscripts, to be maintained in its full form only by the lost Sienese copy. The fact that the author was officially condemned as a heretic and schismatic would also explain why the Latin text was transmitted anonymously, even in the earliest, fourteenth-century copies, and why it was later ascribed to the utmost authority of Bonaventure, endowing it with the necessary legitimization to be read and copied further. It also explains why Michael would refer to the author with the simple name Jacobus, and why his reference to *frater Jacobus* was so easily corrupted into ‘Jacobus apostolus frater domini’ in the later tradition of his sermons.

²³⁰ The affiliation of the author with the spiritual movement was first suggested by Michael Thomas in ‘Zum religionsgeschichtlichen Standort’, and later in his ‘Zum Ursprung der “Meditationes vitae Christi”’, *Scriptorium*, 33 (1979), 249–54. This idea, however, after Daniel Lesnick’s influential but later often refuted thesis about the *MVC* as a series of sermons by a ‘community-Franciscan’, has somewhat disappeared from the scope of scholarship. See Daniel Lesnick, *Preaching in Medieval Florence: The Social World of the Franciscan and Dominican Spirituality* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1989), p. 147; see also Lawrence F. Hundersmarck, ‘Reforming Life by Conforming it to Christ’, in *Reform and Renewal in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, ed. by Thomas M. Izbicki and Christopher M. Bellitto (Leiden: Brill, 2000), pp. 93–112.

²³¹ See the samples collected from the text by Thomas, ‘Zum religionsgeschichtlichen Standort’, pp. 212–14, and Hundersmarck, ‘Reforming Life’, pp. 106–07.

²³² Cf. McNamer, ‘The Origins’, pp. 947–49, in which she writes: ‘the language of poverty in the Canonici version, especially in relation to the Virgin, whom the reader is asked to imitate, has the ring of a specifically Franciscan idealism’ (p. 947) and further on ‘Moreover, Christ seems to be “Franciscanized”, particularly in the chapter [...] where he walks the long route from Nazareth to the Jordan barefoot’.

The Origins of the MVC Reconsidered

The detailed analysis of Michael's references to the *liber de vita Christi* of Jacobus apostolus, then, has resulted in many interesting observations. First of all, the idea that — in the form of these citations — the fragments of the lost, 'longer gospel' of the Apostle James could be retrieved should obviously be dismissed. Instead of preserving the traces of a lost apocryphon, however, the references to Jacobus's *liber de vita Christi* are quotations from, or rather paraphrastic allusions to, the Latin text of the *Meditationes vitae Christi*. Michael's fragments, dated to the 1320s, provide us with one of the earliest testimonies of the Latin *MVC*, when the work was still known as the *Liber de vita Christi* by Jacobus. Both of these features are attested in several manuscripts of the *MVC*, which entitle the work as a *liber de vita Christi* and attribute it to a certain 'Jacobus de l'ordine dei frati minori', who in one particular manuscript has been identified as Jacob da San Gimignano. The references in Michael's sermons, then, together with the ever-neglected testimony of this particular group of Italian *MVC* manuscripts, have helped us to reconsider the present consensus concerning the date and authorship of the *MVC*. In contrast to what has recently been suggested by Sarah McNamer, the long Latin text of the *MVC* should be re-established as the earliest version of the work, written about 1300 by the Franciscan Jacobus de Sancto Geminiano, who, we posit, could be identified as the leader of the 1312 revolt of the Tuscan spirituals.



APPENDIX 1: COLLATION TABLE

Criteria of the transcription:

- distinction of ‘u’ and ‘v’
- abbreviations are dissolved without indication
- modern punctuation, word-division, accents and capital letters introduced

Reference to <i>Jacobus's work from the <i>Extendit manum</i></i> ¹	Latin <i>MVC</i> ²	Canonici Version ³	Italian <i>Testo maggiore A</i> ⁴	Italian <i>Testo maggiore B</i> ⁵
1 1) Narrat Jacobus in Libro de vita Christi	LXII QVOMODO IESUS MORTEM SVAM PREDIXIT MATRI	Come el nostro signore misser Yhesu nel mercore di san- cto cenò cum li soi discipoli in Bthetania in casa della Magd- lena. Capitolo quintodecimo.	<i>Cap. LXXII</i>	
2	Hic potest interpo- ni meditacio ualde pulchra de qua ta- men Scriptura non loquitur.	Qui podemo noi pensare una devota meditatione della qualle la Scriptura non fa mentione.	/188 ^r / (Q)ui si può interponere una meditatione molto bella dela quale la scriptura non parla.	<i>Qui si puote trovare e pensare una medi- tazione molto bella e divota, de la quale la Scrittura non parla.</i>
3 quod die Mercurii ante passionem [...] in beata virgo Maria fuit [...] in Bethania in domo Lazari, Mariae et Marthae cum discipulis suis.	Cenante namque Domino Iesu die Mercurii cum disci- pulis suis in domo Marie et Marthe et eciam matre eius cum mulieribus in alia parte domus,	Cenando misser Yhesu il mer /56 ^r / core sacto in Betania in casa de Maria et de Martha et anche la dona nostra in disparte cum le altre done.	Cenando lo signore Yhesu lo /188 ^v / lo mercolo di coi disciepli suoi in casa di Maria et di Martha et anco la Madre sua cole donne in dell'altra parte dela casa.	Cenando dun- que messer Gesù lo merco- ledi vegnente sequente la domenica d'ulivo co li discepoli suoi in casa de la Maddalena,



¹ Praha, Národní Knihovna, MS XX.A.9, fols 146^r, 147^{r-v}; Praha, Národní Knihovna, MS I.D.32, fols 172^v–173^r; Praha, Národní Knihovna, MS III.C.8, fols 226^r, 227^v–228^r

² Johannes de Caulibus, *Meditaciones [...]* Bonaventurae attributae, ed. by Stallings-Taney, pp. 240–42

³ Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Canon. Ital. 174, fols 55^v–57^v

⁴ Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS ital. 115, fols 188^r–189^v

⁵ Bonaventure, *Cento meditazioni di S. Bonaventura sulla vita di Gesu Cristo*, ed. by Bartolomeo Sorio (Roma: Ed. dei Classici Sacri, 1847), p. 257

Italian <i>Maggiore</i> attr. to Jacobus (Firenze) ⁶	Italian <i>Maggiore</i> attr. to Jacobus (Venezia) ⁷	Italian <i>Testo minore</i> ⁸	Italian <i>Testo minore</i> 2 (Angelica version) ⁹
	Meditatione dela quale la scriptura non parla Lvj	Come messe Jesù Cristo disse alla Madre com'elli dovea morire di corto per la nostra salute	
<i>Qui si puote pensare et trovare una meditatione molto bella et divota della quale la scrittura non parla.</i>	/56/ Qui si puote pensare et trovare una meditatione molto bella et devota dela quale la scriptura non parla.	Qui si puote trovare e pensare una meditazione molto bella e divota, della quale la Scrittura non parla.	Rubrica XVI. E qui si conviene dire una devota considerazione, della quale non parla la scriptura.
Cenando dunque messer Gesù la mer- cedima sequente la domenica d'olivo co gli discepoli suoi in casa de la Magdalena et di Martha. Et cenando la madre coll'altre donne in alcuna altra parte de la casa	Pona bene la mente toa. Cenando dunque misser Ihesu lo mercuri di sequen- te la domeneca d'olivo con li discipoli suoi in casa di Marta e de Maria. Et ce- nando la Madre con le altre donne in alcuna altra parte dela casa.	Cenando dunque Messer Jesù lo mercoledì seguente la domenica d'ulivo colli discepoli suoi in casa della Maddalena e di Marta; e cenando la Madre coll'al- tre donne in alcuna altra parte dela casa,	Cenando Gesù Cristo il mercordi a sera in casa di Marta con li discipoli, e la sua madre con l'altre matre,



⁶ Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Fondo Nuove Accesioni 350, pp. 198–99

⁷ Venezia, Biblioteca Marciana, MS Ital. Fondo Antico 7 (4739), fol. 56^{r-v}

⁸ Firenze, Biblioteca Riccardiana, MS 1419 = *Le Meditazioni della vita di Cristo*, ed. by F. Sarri (Milano: Vita y pensiero, 1933), pp. 288–90

⁹ Roma, Biblioteca Angelica, MS 2213 (Adamo Rossi, *Quattordici scritture Italiane edite per cura dell'Ab. A. Rossi giusta un codice membranaceo da lui scoperto in Perugia*, I (Perugia: Vagnini, 1859), pp. 79–81). The edition by Rossi has been corrected against the manuscript itself.

Reference to
*Jacobus's work from
the *Extendit manum**

<i>Jacobus's work from the Extendit manum</i>	<i>Latin MVC</i>	<i>Canonici Version</i>	<i>Italian Testo maggiore A</i>	<i>Italian Testo maggiore B</i>
4 Magdalena iterum loquitur Christo dicens: Magister mi reverende, domine mi amande, audi petitionem servae tuae, quam propter dulcedinem tuae pietatis non denega ancillae tuae. Rogo quod nobiscum hic facias Pascha cum discipulis tuis. Hoc enim dicebat, quod pontifices Iudaeorum tractabant de morte ipsius.	Magdalena rogavit Dominum, dicens: Magister sitis memor quod uos faciatis hic Pascha nobiscum. Rogo uos quod non denegatis hec michi.	Andò la Magdalena al nostro signore misser Yhesu Cristo et disse: Maistro, io ve voglio domandare una gratia et priegove non me la negati. Et rispuoxe il nostro Signore: Di' ciò che tu voli. Allora disse la Magdalena: Io vi priego ch'el ve piaça di fare qui cum noi la Pasqua cum li discipoli vostri.	La Magdalena servendo pregò lo signore dicendo: maestro, abbiate a mente che voi facciate la pasqua con noi. Pregovi che voi non mi neghiate questo.	pregava lo Signore, diveca: maestro e Signore mio, io vi priego che voi non neghiate una grande consolazione ched io vi voglio adomandate, che vi piaccia di fare qui la pasqua co noi.
5 Cui Christus respondit: Dulcis amica mea, sed petitionem tuam stante veritate scripturae, quae falli non potest, exaudire non possum. Quia instat iam tempus, ut crudeles persecutores mei habeant me in manibus suis et ideo notum sit, quod ego in hoc mundo non faciam nisi semel Pascha et ideo celebrabo in Iherusalem cum discipulis meis.	Quo nullatenus acquiescente sed dicente quod in Ierusalem faceret Pascha,	Respuose misser Yhesu: Io sono venuto in questo mondo per fare la voluntade del padre mio. Et però voglio andare a fare la Pasqua cum li discipoli mei in su el monte Syon.	Ma elli ad nullo modo consentive ma dicendo che in Ierusalem farebbe la pasqua.	Ma egli per nullo modo ci vuole consentire, anzi disse ch'andrebbe a fare la pasqua in Gerusalem.
6 Et hoc audito recedit Maria Magdalena cum lacrimis et dulciter amplexatur matrem domini Ihesu Christi dicens:	illa recedens tamen cum fletu et lacrimis uadit ad Dominam et his ei narratis	Udendo la Magdalena la risposta che misser Yhesu li fece, tuta adolorata se ne andò piangendo alla madre de misser Yhesu et disseli questo facto	Ella partendosi quando piangendo et con lagrime andoe ala donna et avendoli dicto queste cose,	De la quale cosa la Madalena tutta adolorata, piangendo e lagrimando, se ne andò a la madre, e disse questo fatto,

Italian <i>Maggiore</i> attr. to Jacobus (Firenze)	Italian <i>Maggiore</i> attr. to Jacobus (Venezia)	Italian <i>Testo minore</i>	Italian <i>Testo minore</i> 2 (Angelica version)
servenda la Magdalena pregava lo Signore et di- ceva: Maestro, io inprego che voi non mi neghiate una grande consolatione k'io mi chieggio che voi facciate qui la pasqua co- nesso noi.	Servendo la Madalena pre- gava lo signore et diceva: Maestro eo ve prego che voi no me negati una grande consolatione ch'io ve chie- gio cioè che voi faciati qui la pasqua con noi.	Servendo la Maddalena, pregava lo Segnore e diceva: Maestro, io vi priego che voi non mi neghiate una grande consolazione, ch'io vi chieggio, che voi facciate qui la Pasqua con esso noi.	Et la Madilena che gli ser- via, ingenocchiata allora denançe ad Cristo disse: Maestro piacciave per Dio de fare la pasqua qui con noi. Et faiteme questa gratia.
Ma elli per nullo modo ci voleva a consentire, anzi disse c'andrebbe a ffare la pasqua in Gerusalem.	Ma elli per nullo modo ciò vole adconsentire, ancì disse che andarebbe a farla in Ierusalem.	Ma elli per nullo modo ci volle acconsentire: anzi disse ch'andreb- be a fare la Pasqua in Jerusalem.	Respose lo Segnore: Non è convenevele, per- ciò ch'io la deggio fare in Gerusalem.
De la quale cosa la Magdalena tutta adolorata piangendo et lagrimando se n'andò a la madre et dissele questo fatto.	Della qual cosa la Madalena tutta adolorata piangendo se n'andò ala Madre et dis- selli questo facto	 Della quale cosa la Maddalena tutta addolorata, piagnengo se n'andò alla Madre, e dissele questo fatto,	E la Madalena partendose con lagreme disse ad Madonna:

**Reference to
Jacobus's work from
the *Extendit manum***

	Latin <i>MVC</i>	Canonici Version	Italian <i>Testo maggiore A</i>	Italian <i>Testo maggiore B</i>
7	Vade tu, quia forsitan istam gratiam reservat, ego tamen occupata lacrimis et suspiriis nec audeo nec scio quid dicam.	rogat ut ipsa eum ibi in Paschate teneat.	et pregola che ancho lei pregasse ch'el stesse a fare la Pascqua cum loro.	si lla prega ch'ella lo tegna quine in dela pasqua. e pregolla ch'ella facesse sì che ella pura tenesse a fare la pasqua co noi.
8	3) stetit seorsum cum matre sua colloquendo [...] 4) de sua praesentia corporali e	Cena igitur facta uadit Dominus ad matrem et sedet cum ea seorsum colloquens cum ea et copiam ei sue pre- sencie prebens quam in breui subtraturus erat ab ea.	Et compiuto che hebe de cenare misser Yhesu sì vene alla madre sua. Et sentando /56'/ da parte cum lei. Et parlando com lei, però ch'el sapea bene che lei non li poria parlare più.	Essendo facta la cena vae lo signore Yhesu a la Madre et siede co llei in disparte parlando co llei et dando la copia dela sua pre- sentia. La quale in breve tempo do- vea /189'/ essere partito da lei. E facta la cena, Gesù andò a la madre, e sedendo con lei in disparte, si le parlò. Imper- ciò che si devea tosto aprtire da lei, si le diede uno poco copia de la sua presenza.
9		Cospice nunc bene	O che compagnia è questa.	Mira ora bene come Guardali sedere insieme cotali madre e cotali filiuo', e come l'uno si porta reverentemente contra l'altro.
10	Modo reverens ac timorosa mater humiliter dolorosa mater: Mi fili, ecce venit quae te portavit, et ubera quae tu suxisti. Ecce brachia in quibus multo tempore quievisti.	eos pariter loquentes et sedentes, et quo- modo eum Domina reuerenter suscipit et cum eo affectuose moratur, et similiter quomodo Dominus se reuerenter habet ad ipsam. Ipsi ergo sic colloquentibus Magdalena uadit ad eos et ad pedes eo- rum sedens, dicit:	Et parlando così insieme misser Yhesu cum la madre sua, ecco che la Magdalena andò a loro et sentadosse alli piedi de misser Yhesu et dise:	elli siedeno et come la donna lo riceve reve- rentemente et co llui dimora desiderosamente. Et simigliante- mente come lo Signore si porta reverentemente in uso di lei. Parlando Elli così insieme la Magdalena va a lloro et puosesi a ssedere ai piei loro, dixe:

Italian <i>Maggiore</i> attr. to Jacobus (Firenze)	Italian <i>Maggiore</i> attr. to Jacobus (Venezia)	Italian <i>Testo minore</i>	Italian <i>Testo minore</i> 2 (Angelica version)
Et pregavala ch'ela facesse sì ch'ello pure tenesse ad fare la pasqua conesso loro.	et pregolla ch'ela facesse sì ch'ella lo pur tenesse a far la passqua con loro.	e pregolla ch'ella facesse sì ch'ella lo lo pur tenesse a fare la Pasqua con loro.	Pregate voi el Maestro che rimanga qui con noi
Et fatta la cena Gesù andò a la madre et sedendo co l'liei in disparte. Si tte parlo è imperciò ke si dovea tosto partire si te diede un poco copie de la sua presentia [...].	Et facta la cena Ihesu andò ala Madre et sedendo con lei in desparte sì le parlò. Et imperciò ch'elli se doveva tosto partire da llei sì le dedi un pocho copia dela soa presencia.	E fatta la cena, Jesù andò alla Madre, e sedendo con lei in disparte sì le parlò; imperochè si dovea tosto partire da lei, sì le diede un poco copia della sua presenzia.	E facta la cena, a cenato Gesù Cristo andò ad visitare et a confortare la sua matre, perciò che poco dovea stare con lei nançi la morte.
	Guardati	Guardati sedere insieme cotal Madre e cotal Figliuolo e come l'uno si porta riverentemente inverso l'altro.	Vedi et considera come seggono assieme, et co' reverentemente e familiar- mente Gesù Cristo li parla e responde, e como essa affectuosamente li guarda, et ascolta ciò che dice.
Et parlando loro così in- sieme la Magdalena andò a loro et puosesi a sedere a li loro piedi et dice:	sedere insieme cotal Madre e cotal Fijolo et come l'uno si porta reverentemente verso l'altro. Et parlando loro così insieme la Madalena andò a l'loro et posesi a sedere ali lor pedi e disse ala Madre:	E parlando così insieme, la Maddalena andò a loro, e puosesi a sedere alli loro piedi, e dice:	E stando così, la Madilena venne, ed ingenuchiata disse:



Reference to
*Jacobus's work from
the *Extendit manum**

	Latin <i>MVC</i>	Canonici Version	Italian <i>Testo maggiore A</i>	Italian <i>Testo maggiore B</i>
11	Domina ego inuita- bam Magistrum ut hic faceret Pascha. Ipse uero uidetur uelle ire Ierusalem ad paschandum ut capiatur ibi.	Madona, io pregava qui il maestro mio che lui mi facesse una gratia ch'el fa- cesse la Pascqua qui cum noi, et lui dice ch'el vuole andare a farla in sul monte Sion.	io invitava lo maestro ch'Elli facesse la pasqua qui con noi, ma Elli pare che vuo- glia andare pure in Ierusalem ad pa- square per esservi preso.	madonna, io pregava il maestro che facesse la pasqua co noi.
12	Rogo uos ut non permittatus eum ire. Ad quem mater:	Pregove che voi no l' lassiate andare però che lui sarà preso. Allora disse la madre:	Pregovi che voi non ve lo lassiate andare. Al quale la madre dice:	
13 5) coepit rogare filium suum, ut non sic fieret. [...] Rogo dulciter hanc petitionem mihi non negas, facias hic Pascham mecum et cum discipulis tuis. Scio enim quod Iudaei tractant occidere te. Sed ego volo citius mori. Condescende igitur petitioni meae matris tuae quam tu vides in tanto dolore.	Fili mi, rogo ut non sic fiat sed faciamus hic Pascha. Scis enim quod insidie ad te capiendum ordinate sunt.	Figliolo mio, io ve priego che voi non ce andiate ma che voi facte qui la Pasqua cum noi. Voi sapeti, figliolo mio, che li çudei hordinato et posto li aguaiti per pilgiarve.	figliuolo mio dol- cissimo io ti prego che così non sia, ma facciamo qui la pasqua. Tu ssai che vi ano ordina- to di piglarti.	Imperciò che tu sai bene che' Giudei hanno ordinato e posto gli aguati per voi pigliare
14 Respondit Christus: In hac autem petiti- one te exaudire non possum,	Et Dominus ad eam: Mater carissima. vo- luntas Patris est ut ibi faciam Pascha.	Respuose misser Yhesu: Madre mia carissima, la voluntade del Padre mio è ch'io vadi a fare la Pasqua in Ierusalem.	E lo Si /189°/ gnore dixè a llei: madre karissima, la volontà del mio Padre e che io vi faccia la pasqua	E quegli rispuose: madre mia caris- sima, la voluntade del Padre mio si è pure ch'io vada a fare la pasqua in Gerusalem,

Italian <i>Maggiore</i> attr. to Jacobus (Firenze)	Italian <i>Maggiore</i> attr. to Jacobus (Venezia)	Italian <i>Testo minore</i>	Italian <i>Testo minore</i> 2 (Angelica version)
Madonna, io prego lo maestro che faccia qui la pasqua conesso noi, et egli pare che voglia pure anda- re ad pasqua in Ierusalem, per esservi persovi,	Madonna, io pregava lo maestro che facesse qui la pasqua con noi, et el pare ch'el voia pur andare a pasquare in Ierusalem per esservi preso.	Madonna, io pregava lo maestro, che facesse qui la Pasqua con esso noi, e pare che voglia pur andare a pasquare in Jerusalem, per esservi preso.	Madonna io l'o pregato el Maestro che faccia la pasqua qui con noi, ma esso pare che vollia gire in Gerusalem a farse prendere;
che voi nol vi lasciate andare. Allora disse la madre:	Pregovi che voi no Lui lasiati andare. Allora disse la Madre:	Priegovi che voi nol vi lasciate andare. Allora disse la Madre:	Pregove che nol ce las- siate gire. Allora disse la madre:
figluol mio pregoti che ttu non vi vadi, et ke tu facci qui la pasqua cones- so noi. Imperciò che tu sai bene che gli giudei anno ordinato et posto gli auga- ti per pigliarti.	Fijol mio, io te prego che tu no vi vadi et che tu facci qui la pasqua con noi. Imperciò che tu sai bene che li giudei anno ordinato et posti gli aguaiti per piiarti.	Figluolo mio, io ti priego che tu non vi vada, e che tu facci qui la Pasqua con esso noi; imperò che tu sai bene che i Judei hanno ordinato e posti li agguati per pigliarti.	Filiolo mio, io te prego che tu non ce vada, ma sta qui con noi: tu 'l sai ch'es- si te vole prendere.
Et qui egli rispuose et dis- se: Madre mia karissima la volontà del Padre mio sì è che io vada ad fare la pasqua in Ierusalem.	Et elli rispose: Madre mia carissima, la volontà del Padre mio /56'/ sì è pur ch'io vada a fare la pasqua in Ierusalem	E quelli rispuose: Madre mia carissima, la volontà del Padre mio sì è pur ch'io vada a fare la Pasqua in Jerusalem,	Response Cristo: madre mia carissima, la volontà del Patro mio sì è ch'io vada li,

**Reference to
Jacobus's work from
the *Extendit manum***

	Latin <i>MVC</i>	Canonici Version	Italian <i>Testo maggiore A</i>	Italian <i>Testo maggiore B</i>
15 quia non imple- tur scripturae quae de fonte veritatis re- demptionem humani generis [...]	quia tempus re- dempcionis aduenit Modo implebuntur omnia que de me di- cta sunt et facient in me quidquid volent.	Imperò che l'è ve- nuto il tempo della redemptione de Israel. Hora se admira tutte le scripture le qualle sono /57/ scripte di me. Et farano di me cio che vorano.	però che 'l tempo dela redemp- tione viene, ora s'adempierano tut- te quelle cose che di me sono dicte et faranno in me ciò che vorranno.	Imperciò ch'è ve- nuto il tempo de la redenzione. Ora s'admieranno tutte le Scritture che sono iscritte di me, a faranno di me ciò piacerà a loro.
16	At ille cum ingenti dolore hec audierunt quia bene intellexe- runt quod de morte sua dicebat.	Alora tuti furono adolorati però che intesenno che lui di- cea della morte sua.	Ma elle con grande dolore uidiceno queste cose però che bene inteseno ch'Elli dicea dela morte sua.	Allora furono tutte addolorate, imperciò che bene intesono che diveca de la morte sua.
17 Haec audiens dulcissi- ma mater domini cum multis lacrimis dixit ad eum:	Dicit ergo mater uix ualens uerba formare uel proferre: Fili mi tota concussa sum ad uocem istam et cor meum dereliquit me.	Disse la madre apena posando parlare: O figliolo mio, tutta sum sbigottita de quello che io ve ho aldito dire, et pare che 'l cuore me habia abandonato.	Dixe la Madre adpena potendo le paraule formate proferire: figliuol mio, io sono tutta morta ad questa vo- cie, e llo cuor mio m'ae abbandonata.	Disse la madre a pena potendo parlare: filiuolo mio, tutta sono isbigottita per quello che tu hai detto, e pare che lo cuore mio m'abbia abandonato.
18	Prouideat Pater, quia nescio quid dicam. Nolo sibi contradicere, sed si sibi placeret rogo eum quod differat ad presens et faciamus hic Pascha cum istis amicis nostris.	O Dio Padre, pro- vedete sopra questo facto inperò che io non so che me dica. Non li voria contradire,	Proveggaci, o Padre però che io non soe che io mi dica et io non voglio a Llui contradire. Ma se piacesse a Llui pregalo che indugi ora inducente et facciamo qui la pasqua con questi nostri amici.	O Dio Padre, pro- vedi sopra questo fatto, imperciò ch'io non so ch'io mi dica. No gli voglio contradire. Ma se vi piace, priegovi che voi lo 'ndugiate per ora, e facciamo qui la pasqua con questi nostri amici.
19 Utrum alius modus possibilis est praeter mortem tuam, quia solo verbo poteris salva- re omnes credentes in te, quia tu es ars omni- potentis Dei praestans omnia verbo virtutis tuae et solo sermone restauras universa.	Ipse uero si sibi pla- cerit poterit prouide- re de alio modo re- dempcionis sine tua morte: quia omnia sunt possibilia ei.	Ma se a Voi piace, Voi potete bene provedere per altra via de ricomperare la humana genera- tione sança la morte del mio figliolo. Imperciò che io so che a Vui ogni cosa è possibile.	Se a Llui piacerà essi potrà d'altro modo pervedere dela redemptione senza la sua morte. Imperoché tutte le cose sono possibile a Llui.	E se gli piacerà, potrà trovare d'altro modo ri ricomperare sanza la morte tua: imperciò c'ogni cosa è possibile a lui.

Italian <i>Maggiore</i> attr. to Jacobus (Firenze)	Italian <i>Maggiore</i> attr. to Jacobus (Venezia)	Italian <i>Testo minore</i>	Italian <i>Testo minore</i> 2 (Angelica version)
Imperciò che gli è venuto il tempo de la redemptio- ne ora s'adempiranno tut- te le profetie e le scritture che sono scritte di me, ciò che piacerà a lloro.	imperciò ch'è venuto il tempo dela redemptio- ne. Ora s'adempierano tucte le scripture che sono scripte per me et faranno di me ciò che piacerà loro.	Imperò ch'è venuto il tempo della redenzione. Ora si ademieranno tut- te le scritture che sono scritte di me, e faranno di me ciò che piacerà loro.	Perciò ch'è venuto el tempo della redemptio- ne humana, ed mo serà adempite in me tucte le scritture, e farà de me ciò che vorrà.
Allor fuorono adolorate imperciò ke bene intesero che diceva de la morte sua.	Allora forno tute adolorate imperciò che bene intesero che Elgli diceva dela soa morte.	Allora fuoro tutte addo- lorate, imperò che bene intesero, ch'elli diceva della morte sua.	Allora intendendo chiara- mente, che decia dela sua morte,
Disse la madre adpena potendo parlare: Figluol mio, tutta sono isbigottita per quello che tu ai detto, elli pare che 'l cuore mio m'abbia abbandonato.	Disse la Madre appena potendo parlare: Fijol mio, tucta sono sbigottita per quel che tu ài dicto e pare che 'l cuor mio m'abia abandonato.	Disse la Madre appe- na podendo parlare: Figliuolo mio, tucta sono sbigottita per quel che tu hai detto, e pare che 'l cuore mio m'abbia abbandonato.	con gran tremore fo tucte conmosse, e per le molte lacreme non podia re- spondere. Ma sì la madre piangendo e tremando disse: O, Figlioul mio, tut- ta so conmosse, e non m'è remasto core ne valore.
Idio Padre, provedi sopra questo fatto, imperciò ch'io non so ke mi dire, non gli voglio contradice- re, ma se vi piace, pregovi che l'ondugiate per ora et facciamo la pasqua qui con questi nostri amici.	O Dio Padre, providi sopra questo facto imperciò ch'io non so ch'io me dica. Non gli voio contradicere. Ma se vi piace pregovi che voi l'ondugiate per ora et facia- mo qui la pasqua con quisti nostri amici.	O Iddio Padre, provve- dete sopra questo fatto però ch'io non so ch'io mi dica. Non gli voglio contraddicere; ma se vi piacesse, pregovi che coi lo indugiate per ora; e facciamo la Pasqua con questi nostri amici.	Non so che mi dica, perveggace el Patre, ch'io non li vollio contradire. Se li piace, e po essere, pregolo che l'ondutie /30'/, e tu fa questa pasqua con questi nostri amici;
Et se gli piacerà potrà vedere per altro di ri- compensare la morte tua. Imperciò che ogni cosa è possibile a llui.	Et se Lli piacerà potrà pro- vedere per altro modo di recomparare l'umana gene- ratione sença la toa morte imperciò che ongni cosa è possibile a Llui.	E se gli piacerà, potrà provvedere d'altro modo di ricomperare senza la morte tua la umana generazione imperò ch'ogni cosa è possibile a lui.	Et esso se li piace, ce po- derà provvedere per altro modo ad l'umana salute, e sença la tua morte, et ciò che li piace, si li è possibile.

Reference to
*Jacobus's work from
the *Extendit manum**

	Latin <i>MVC</i>	Canonici Version	Italian <i>Testo maggiore A</i>	Italian <i>Testo maggiore B</i>
20	O si uideres inter uerba hec Dominam plorantem, modeste tamen et plane, ac Magdalenam tanquam ebriam de Magistro suo largiter et magnis singultibus flentem, forte nec tu posses lacrimas continere! Considera in quo statu esse pote- rant quando hec tractabantus.	Or se tu vedesti la madre et anche la Magdalena, piançeresti cum grandi sospiri forsi che tu non te poresti tenere de piançere cum loro. Or pensa come doveano stare tribulate.	O se tu vedessi in- fra queste paraule la donna piangere madepassimente et pianamente. E lla Magdalena come ebba del maestro suo et con grandi son- ghioffi piangea forsi et tu non po- tresti le lagrime ri- tenere. Considera in che stato esse poteano quando queste cose si tractavano.	O se tu vedesti in fra queste parole piangere la madre modestamente e pianamente, e vedessi la Madalena come ebra del ma- estro suo piangere fortemente e con grandi singhiozzi, se l'amassi fiore, non ti potresti tenere di piangere con esso loro. Pensa in queste parole ch'elle avevano udite, in che stato pareva loro essere.
21	Dicit ergo Dominus, blande consolans eas: Nolite flere: scitis enim quod obe- dianciam Patris me implere oportet,	Ma vedendo misser Yhesu piançere la madre et volendola consolare gli disse: Non piançeti, ma- dre mia, ma sapiate ch'el me conviene compire la obedi- tia del padre /57 ^v / mio celestiale,	Dice lo Signore consolandole dolcemente: Non piangete, voi sapete che ad me conviene adim- piere l'obbedienza del Padre	Dice dunque lo Segnore volendole consolare: non piangete. Voi sapere che mi conviene compire l'ubidien- za de Padre mio celestiale;
22	sed pro certo confidite quia cito reuertar ad uos et tercia die resurgam incolumis.	ma state secura- mente però che io tornerò tosto da voi. Sapiate che io resusciterò il terzo corno sença alcuna macula de questo mondo.	ma presto abbiate fidansa che io tornerò tosto ad voi e lo terso die resurreggerò sano et salvo.	ma per lo certo istate sicuramente, imperciò ch'io tor- nerò tosto a voi, e 'l terzo dì risusciterò senza nulla macula di questo mondo.

Italian <i>Maggiore</i> attr. to Jacobus (Firenze)	Italian <i>Maggiore</i> attr. to Jacobus (Venezia)	Italian <i>Testo minore</i>	Italian <i>Testo minore</i> 2 (Angelica version)
[...]	O se tu vedessi infra queste parole piangere la Madre modestamente e pianamente, et vedessi la Madalena come ebbra del maestro suo piangere fortemente con grandi singhioççi forse che non ti potresti ritenere di piangere con esso loro. Pensa in che stato potevano essere quando queste cose si tractavano.	Oh, se tu vedessi infra queste parole piagnere la Madre modestamente e pianamente, e vedessi la Maddalena, come ebbra del maestro suo, piangere fortemente e con grandi singhiozzi, forse che tu non ti potresti ritenere di piagnere con esso loro. Pensa in che stato potevano esere quando queste cose si trattavano.	O se vedessi la nostra Donna fortemente piangere, et la Madalena quasi ibria d'amore, tu forsia piangeri altrosi. Pensa en che stato poteano essere quando de queste cose tractava.
Dice dunque lo signore volendole consolare: non piangete voi, sapete che mi conviene compire l'obedienza del padre mio.	Dice dunque lo Signore volendole consolare. Non piangete, voi sapete che mi conviene compiere l'obediencia del padre mio.	Dice dunque lo Signore vogliendole consolare: Non piangete; voi sapete che mi conviene adimiere l'ubbidienza del Padre mio;	Disse poi Gesù Cristo: Or non piangete, siate certe che la volontà del Padre mio vollio e degio impire;
Ma per lo certo state sicuramente imperciò k'io tornerò tosto ad voi, lo terzo di risusciterò senza macula veruna di questo mondo.	Ma per lo certo stati sicuramente imperciò che tornerò tosto a voi el terzo di e resusciterò sença nulla macula di questo mundo.	ma per lo certo state sicuramente, imperò ch'io tornerò tosto a voi e l'teryo di risusciterò senza macula di questo mondo [...]	Ma per lo certo agiate, ch'io tornerò vaccio ad voi, e 'l terzo di resuscitarò sano e salvo, onde ello monte Syon secondo la volontà del Patre farò la pasqua.