

## **PICTURING HAGIOGRAPHY: THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN TEXT AND IMAGE IN MS BNF NAL 868\***

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### **Introduction**

The future saint Elizabeth of Hungary was born in 1207, daughter of king Andrew II of Hungary and his first wife, Gertrude of Andechs-Merania. In 1211, Elizabeth was betrothed to Ludwig, heir to the landgraviate of Thuringia, German territory where the princess was sent to join the court of her future husband. The marriage took place in 1221 and the couple, who had three children, lived happily until 1228, when Ludwig died on his way to the Crusade. Elizabeth, who had always displayed pious inclinations, was expelled from Wartburg castle, the couple's main residence, and eventually founded a hospital dedicated to St Francis in the city of Marburg. After a few years dedicated to caring for the poor, Elizabeth died in November 1231 and was buried in the hospital's chapel.

Shortly after, various key characters in the life of Elizabeth, mainly her confessor Conrad of Marburg, started to preach for her canonisation. After a thorough process of papal «inquisitio», Elizabeth was included in the list of saints in May 1235. Due to diverse motivations, ranging from anti-heretic preaching needs to family connections, the cult of saint Elizabeth quickly spread throughout the different European kingdoms, including those of the

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Iberian Peninsula. In Aragon, her half-sister Violante, daughter of king Andrew with his second wife Yolanda of Courtenay, played a key role in the introduction of the cult (Español Beltrán 2008: 136-137). The situation in Castile, which I have already analysed elsewhere, was more complex, with various agents contributing to the arrival and the development of the cult, including queen Beatrice of Swabia, the different monastic orders, and the Aragonese influence through Violante of Aragón (López-Monís Yuste 2024).

A key element of the study of the cult of St Elizabeth of Hungary in the Castilian context is an illuminated manuscript today preserved at the Bibliothèque nationale de France under signature Ms BnF Nouvelles Acquisitions Latines 868 (hence NAL 868). This manuscript contains the life and office of St Elizabeth in nine «lectiones», including a number of postmortem miracles. Its twenty-nine folios display a combination of musical notation, Latin text, Old Castilian rubrics, and twenty-nine illuminations depicting different scenes from the life and afterlife of St Elizabeth. The inclusion of rubrics in Old Castilian indicates an origin in the kingdom of Castile, while the clear stylistic links to the works illuminated in the royal *scriptorium* of Alfonso X, especially the *Libro de Axedrez, Dados e Tablas*, which according to its colophon was started and finished in Seville in 1283, help place in this city at least part of the creation of NAL 868, namely its pictorial cycle, hypothesis that François Avril already posed a few decades ago (Avril 1982: 82). It also points to a date of creation of at least the pictorial cycle of the manuscript of around 1280-1284, although the text may have been written in the late 1270s elsewhere in the kingdom, based on the presence of archaic versions of some letters. In any case, although the text was fully completed, the pictorial cycle of the manuscript remained unfinished, which prompted interventions of varying skill from its later users. However, the overall quality of the materials used and of the craftsmanship points towards a courtly origin of the codex, most probably the entourage of king Alfonso X himself.

Regarding the *mise-en-page* of the manuscript, the organisation of the elements within the single-column text block is consistent throughout the codex, with the red rubric always followed by an illumination depicting the episode described. Beneath the image is the Latin text, after which comes the musical notation, although the latter is not present after folio 16r due to the disappearance of several folios. The musical aspect of the manuscript will not be addressed here, as it exceeds the aims of this article and has been recently analysed extensively by Ana Ruiz Rodríguez (2022: 282-298).

As for the Latin text, which I have already discussed elsewhere in more detail (López-Monís 2022), it derives from two sources. On the one hand, the

«curial *vita*», as Gecser described a version of the life of St Elizabeth issued from the Papal court soon after the canonisation (Gecser 2012: 5), which in turn relied heavily on texts compiled during the canonisation process, such as the testimonies of the four maids known as the *Dicta Quatuor Ancillarum*, and its reworking, the *Libellus de Dictis Quatuor Ancillarum* (Vauchez 2017: 87). On the other hand, the manuscript incorporates certain episodes from the Franciscan tradition, inserted at the beginning of the *vita* (folios 3v-4r) and between folios 7 to 17, which can be attributed to Juan Gil de Zamora and can be found *verbatim* in his *Legende Sanctorum et Festivitatum Aliarum*, thus pointing to the participation of this intellectual in the enterprise (López-Monís Yuste 2022: 103-104; Juan Gil de Zamora 2014: 418-425).

Juan Gil de Zamora was a prolific author of encyclopaedic works, although his textual production has only partially survived. His major work, *Historia Naturalis, Canonica et Ciuilis*, has not been preserved save for its index, but other shorter, more concise works derived from it have survived to the present day (Martín Iglesias 2022: 124). One of such works is his *Legende Sanctorum*, a compilation of lives of saints and key festivities of the Church, written at some point after 1279-1289 based on a wide variety of sources such as the *Legenda Aurea* or Jean de Mailly's *Abbreviatio in Gestis et Miraculis Sanctorum*, among others (Juan Gil de Zamora 2014: 14; Martín Iglesias 2022: 151).

For the section on St Elizabeth in his *Legende Sanctorum*, Juan Gil relied on the *Libellus de Dictis* as main source, while also drawing from the *Summa Vitae* written by Conrad of Marburg and from Caesarius von Heisterbach's life of the saint (Juan Gil de Zamora 2014: 809; Pérez-Embid Wamba 2002: 314-315). Surprisingly, despite actively using the *Legenda Aurea* as source for other lives of saints (Martín Iglesias 2022: 151), Juan Gil seems to have disregarded this text when composing his life of Elizabeth, as he does not include neither the miracle of the roses nor the episode in which Elizabeth pleads with her husband to go to the Crusade both of which are present in Voragine's work, although the miracle of the roses is not included in versions that predate 1272 (Gecser 2012: 17-18).

Returning to NAL 868, to my knowledge, the Old Castilian rubrics present in the manuscript cannot be found elsewhere and seem to have been created specifically for it. The ratio between rubrics and Latin texts changes throughout the codex: during the folios dedicated to the life of Elizabeth (3v-23v) the Latin text is much longer, while the length of rubric and Latin text becomes almost identical for the description of the postmortem miracles (24r-29v). Consequently, the rubrics could mistakenly be seen as summaries of the episodes of the life and as direct translations of the Latin miracles. However,

a detailed analysis of the content of rubrics and Latin text—which had not been carried out before—shows not only a careful selection of information to be translated, but also a deep knowledge of the wider textual tradition of the lives of St Elizabeth, which is also palpable in the iconographical decisions made for the illuminated scenes.

In this article, I will analyse three of the Old Castilian rubrics in depth<sup>1</sup>. These three examples have been selected as they particularly highlight the interconnection between the Latin and vernacular texts, and between these and the pictorial cycle. As such, they illustrate my hypothesis of the existence of a creative «mastermind» overseeing the project, which I will develop throughout the following pages.

### Folios 4r-5r: Childhood Games



Figure 1. St Elizabeth kneels in prayer before a church while two ladies play chess.  
NAL 868, fol. 4v. ©BnF

A clear example of the will to adapt the message in NAL 868 to the Castilian courtly context can be found in folios 4r to 5r, part of the first «lection». The Castilian rubric in folio 4r presents Elizabeth's childhood, describing her as a

<sup>1</sup>In terms of format, when quoting directly from NAL 868, I have chosen to replicate the spelling of the manuscript, including any misspellings of Latin words and the non-differentiation of v and u, among other traits. English translations provided in the text are my own.

beautiful child «measured in manners», although interestingly the scribe has, for unknown reasons, left a gap at the beginning of the fourth line of the rubric, resulting in an unfinished sentence. The rubric also includes the usually repeated story of how Elizabeth would leave the other girls playing and go to church:

Como seyendo ninna *sancta* Helisabeth era mui apuesta en su uestir et en su andar et en su contenente mui [...]. Et en mannas mucho mesurada. Et en yendo con las otras *ninnas* a trebeiar dexaualas et yua besar las paredes dela yglesia et fазie oracion assi como ella meior entendie.

[When Saint Elizabeth was a child she was very graceful in her attire and in her walk, and in her bearing very [...], and also very measured in her manners. When she went with the other girls to play, she would leave them and go to kiss the walls of the church and pray in the way she best understood.]

The illumination at the top of folio 4v depicts Elizabeth kneeling in prayer before a church, to the left, and two female figures playing chess on the right, under an arcade (Figure 1). Below this scene is the Latin text, which spreads through folio 4v and down to the bottom of folio 5r, where it gives way to the musical notation. This Latin text actually marks the beginning of the «curial *vita*» and starts with a description of Elizabeth as an «admirable vessel» («uas admirabile») of virtues who displayed signs of sanctity since an early age: «Ipsa quidem presencia sue sancitatis primos limites de perfectione uirtutis ingressa in compositos etatis incessus illo grauitatis ordine imponebat ut felicia eius inicia future sancitatis certa indicia censerentur» [«From the very beginning of her sanctity, having entered the first steps of virtue's perfection, she imposed such a grave and mature order on her actions that her blessed beginnings were considered clear signs of future holiness»] (folio 5r). The episode described in the rubric, in which Elizabeth left the other girls to go pray, occupies the last nine lines of the Latin text in folio 5r, and references Elizabeth's inability to properly perform verbal prayers due to her young age, which she replaced with gestures: «Christi laudes, quas imperite lingue denegabat officium, membrorum nutibus pro etatis modulo persolvebat» [«Since her unskilled tongue could not yet form praises for Christ, she would offer them through gestures of her body, in ways that her age allowed»]. This detail is referenced in the rubric in the sentence «assi como ella meior entendie».

The interest of this particular episode in NAL 868 lies in the fact that, while the Latin text describes the girls as being immersed in «occupationibus jocos» (that is, «amusing activities»), the creator of the rubric chose to translate this sentence as «trebeiar», Old Castilian verb that can be found in texts issued

from the *scriptorium* of Alfonso X, such as the *Fuero Real* and the *General Estoria* (second and fourth part), with the meaning of «to play». The illumination that illustrates this rubric takes this one step further by representing the two girls playing a game of chess (Figure 1). The word «trebeio» is used in the *General Estoria* as a synonym of game, but also in the *Libro de Axedrez, Dados e Tablas* to describe a chess piece: «Este es otro iuego departido en que a ueynt & un trebeio & an a seer entablados assi como esta en la figura del entablamiento & anse de iogar desta guisa» [«This is another divided game played with twenty-one pieces, and they must be arranged on the board as shown in the illustration of the board, and the game must be played in this way»] (RBME MS T-I-6, folio 21v). As such, although the word «trebeiar» has a wider meaning in Old Castilian, in this case the creators of the illuminated scene have chosen to interpret it specifically in its references to chess, thus adapting the visual cycle to the audience that was due to consume it: the royal entourage of Alfonso X. In turn, members of the court would have easily understood the connotations of chess as a noble game (as it is presented in the *Libro de Axedrez, Dados e Tablas*) and, as such, identified this element of the representation as a reference to Elizabeth's upbringing in the Hungarian royal entourage and the highly cultured Thuringian court.

The representation of this episode in NAL 868 is particularly interesting when compared to the depictions of the same scene in other surviving visual cycles dedicated to St Elizabeth. Although this particular episode is absent from the cycles of the *Elisabethfenster* and the reliquary shrine of St Elizabeth, made in the 1240s for the Elisabethkirche in Marburg, it does appear in the frescos of the church of Santa Maria Donnaregina in Naples, commissioned c.1320 by queen Mary of Hungary, and in the *Liber Depictus* today in Vienna, a manuscript created c. 1350 for the monastery of Český Krumlov (Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 370). The inscriptions in Donnaregina are no longer visible, but it is still possible to discern the representation of the «measuring game» in the background of the second scene (Warr 2004: 158). This game, which consisted on the girls lying on the floor to compare their heights, gave Elizabeth the chance to pray to God every time she needed to kneel down (Huyskens 1911: 12). As for the *Liber Depictus*, the girls are represented in folio 87r enjoying a game of «annulos» or rings, the nature of which is not known, although it is mentioned in the early texts of the life of St Elizabeth such as the *Libellus de Dictis Quattuor Ancillarum* (Huyskens 1908: 112). Thus, different contexts tend to represent different versions of the games that the ladies played, perhaps choosing to depict those that would be more familiar to their intended audience.

If the rubric and illumination in folios 4r and 4v clearly point towards the adaption of the text and image to a particular Castilian context, the analysis of other portions of the text can shine a light on the process of creation of the rubrics and the illuminated scenes, hinting towards the use of various sources and not only the Latin text of the «curial *vita*». In this sense, the rubric and image on folios 20r and 20v are particularly enlightening and will be the focus of the next section of this article.

### Folios 20r-21v: Eyes on the Window



Figure 2. St Elizabeth kneels in prayer and looks at a vision of Christ.  
NAL 868, fol. 20v (detail) ©BnF

The rubric in folios 20r and 20v is one of the longest of the manuscript and spreads across twelve lines (the longest being that on folios 16r and 16v, across fourteen lines). In this case, the rubric presents a clear summary of the information given in the Latin text in folios 20v to 21v, which describes a famous vision of Christ that St Elizabeth, by this point already a widow, experienced once while in prayer, and which prompted her to found the hospital of St Francis, where she spent the rest of her short life looking after the poor:

Como despues que *sancta* Helisabeth mudo su uida estaua una uegada en oration et apareciol Ihesu Xpristo et uio los cielos abiertos et dixol si tu quisieres

ser comigo yo sere contigo et nunca me de ti partire et estonce fizo fazer sancta Helisabeth un hospital de su auer propio et dio y muchas heredades et mucho auer monedado et metio y muchos pobres et dauales quanto auien menester et ella por su pressona los siruie muy cumplidamente.

[After Saint Elizabeth changed her life, she was once in prayer, and Jesus Christ appeared to her, and she saw the heavens open. He said to her, 'If you wish to be with me, I will be with you, and I will never part from you.' Then, Saint Elizabeth had a hospital built with her own property and gave it many lands and much wealth in money. She placed many poor people there and gave them everything they needed, and she herself personally served them very diligently.]

The illuminated scene beneath the rubric shows the two separate moments alluded to in the text. On the left, St Elizabeth tends personally to the poor, three of which lay in a bed, with the aid of her maid, in reference to the hospital that she founded, the built character of which is represented by the arch under which the scene takes place. On the right, Elizabeth kneels in prayer and looks up at an image of Christ visible in the sky through what appears to be an open window above clouds (Figure 2).

Focusing on this latter aspect, nor the Old Castilian rubric nor the Latin text of NAL 868 mention a window. NAL 868 only says that Elizabeth has her eyes focused on the sky, «defixis in celum oculis» (folio 20r), following the «curial *vita*» word by word (Société des Bollandistes 1889: 356). However, the *Libellus* does explicitly reference the fact that Elizabeth was looking towards a window:

Tandem, cum redisset ad humile hospitium suum et minimom cibum sumpsisset, quia yalde debilis erat, cepit sudare et appodians se parieti recepta est in sinu dicte Ysentrudis. Omnibus itaque preter predictas ancillas expulsis **oculos defixos habebat versus fenestram apertos** et tandem cepit dulciter ridere in magna yaltus hilaritate. (Huyskens 1908: 122)

[Finally, when she had returned to her humble hospital and had taken a small amount of food, because she was very weak, she began to sweat. Leaning against the wall, she was received into the arms of the aforementioned Isen-trude. With everyone else except the said handmaidens sent away, she kept **her eyes fixed on the open window**, and finally, she began to laugh sweetly in great and deep joy]

Juan Gil de Zamora clearly uses the *Libellus* as source for this episode in his *Legende sanctorum*, as he also mentions the window and follows closely the wording of the *Libellus*: «Omnibus itaque preter ancillas expulsis, oculos defixos habebat versus fenestras apertos et tandem cepit ridere dulciter in magna vultus ylaritate» [«With everyone else except the handmaidens sent away, she kept her eyes fixed on the open windows, and finally, she began to laugh sweetly with great joy on her face»] (Juan Gil de Zamora 2014: 422). Although Jean de Mailly mentions the window in his *Abbreviatio* and references Elizabeth's sight, he does not explicitly include her eyes, which reinforces the idea that Juan Gil relied directly on the *Libellus* as source for this episode: «et sic reclinans parieti super gremium ancille sue diu uersus fenestram respexit et postea iocundissime risit» [«And thus, reclining against the wall upon his servant's lap, he gazed for a long time toward the window, and afterward laughed most joyfully»] (Jean de Mailly 2013: 546).

Thus, the presence of a window in the visual representation of the vision in NAL 868 indicates that the creator or creators of the pictorial cycle had access to a wider variety of sources of the life of St Elizabeth and were not limited to the text present in the manuscript. Given the use of Juan Gil de Zamora's text as a source for certain parts of the codex (folios 3v-4r, and folios 7r to 17v), his text seems to be the obvious alternative source for the inclusion of the window, even though this particular episode corresponds to a section of NAL 868 that follows the «curial *vita*» for its Latin text. However, it could also be taken as an indication of the active participation of Juan Gil de Zamora in the creation of the pictorial cycle of the manuscript, as he held extensive knowledge of the textual tradition of the life of St Elizabeth, acquired during his travels in France and the Italian territories, and which he used to create the section on the life of Elizabeth for his *Legende Sanctorum*.

The depiction of the vision of St Elizabeth is absent from the Marburg cycles and from the *Liber Depictus*. However, it does appear as a secondary, background episode in the fourth scene at Donnaregina (Fig. 3). In this case, Elizabeth is represented leaning out of a window and looking towards a vision of Christ, who appears among the clouds and blesses the woman with his right hand. In this case, scholars have noted the use of the *Legenda Aurea* as the main source for the pictorial cycle, text that in turn relies heavily on the *Libellus* (Warr 2004: 171). Unlike the scene in NAL 868, where Elizabeth kneels in prayer alone, the image in Donnaregina includes the handmaidens that are mentioned explicitly in the text.



Figure 3. Christ appears to St Elizabeth in a vision.

Another slight difference between NAL 868 and Donnaregina is the positioning of Christ and Elizabeth in relation to the window, which can also be attributed to a minor but key variation in the textual source. As mentioned, the scenes from Donnaregina follow the *Legenda Aurea*, text which describes the episode as follows:

Deinde domum reversa, dum se prae debilitate in ancillae gremium appodiasset et illa **per fenestram oculos ad coelum defixos attoleret**, tanta hilaritate vultus ejus perfunditur, ut etiam risus mirabilis sequeretur (XXXX)

[When she got home, she was so weak that she rested on the lap of one of her maidservants and gazed through the window at the heavens, and such joyousness swept over her face that she burst out laughing] (Jacobus de Voragine: 310)

Thus, according to Voragine's work, Elizabeth's eyes were fixed on the sky **through** («per») the window, while in the *Libellus*—and, therefore, in the *Legende sanctorum*—Elizabeth is looking **towards** («versus») the window. Although both artworks, the manuscript and the fresco, represent the same episode, the small alteration in the different textual sources used in each one has an impact in the depiction of the subject. This, in turn, shines a light in the nuanced interaction between text and image in the creative process of both pictorial cycles and, more concisely, strengthens the argument that the *Legenda Aurea* was not used as a source for the creation of NAL 868, neither text nor image.

To sum up, and as stated above, the analysis of the rubric, Latin text and illumination in folio 20r to 21v supports the hypothesis of the use of Gil de Zamora's text as inspiration throughout the manuscript, which would indicate that the intellectual and material creators of NAL 868 had access to two different texts, the «curial *vita*» and the *Legende Sanctorum*, both used as sources for the Latin text of the manuscript and, presumably, for the creation of the Old Castilian rubrics. However, the study of the rubric in folios 24v and 25r shows that the situation is not that simple, and that there were other agents at play.

### Folios 24v-25r: the Promise



Figure 4. The resurrection of Vidal. NAL 868, folio 25r. ©BnF

The last five folios of NAL 868, 24r to 29v, include short descriptions of postmortem miracles attributed to St Elizabeth. At first, the Old Castilian rubrics may seem mere translations of the Latin text, which has been taken directly from the «curial *vita*». Although many of them are indeed summarising the Latin text, a detailed comparison indicates the use, in some cases, of alternative sources to create the vernacular text.

An example of this can be found in the miracle of the resurrection of Vetalinum or Vidal, in folios 24v and 25r. The Latin text mentions the fact that he was resurrected thanks to the promise (and the tears) of his mother: «Uetalinum puerum Maguntinensis diocesis ad matris uotum et lacrimis suscitauit a morte» [«Vetalinum, child of the diocese of Mainz, was resurrected from

death thanks to the vote and tears of his mother»]. The Old Castilian rubric, however, also includes the details of the mother's promise: «Un moço que era de tierra de Maguntina et auie nombre Uidal era muerto et prometio su madre **quel leuarie a sancta Helisabeth** et fue luego ressucitado» [«A young man, who was from the land of Mainz and whose name was Vidal, had died. His mother **promised to take him to St Elizabeth** and he was later resurrected»]. Although Juan Gil de Zamora does not include any specific postmortem miracles in his *Legende*, he was certainly familiar with the textual tradition of St Elizabeth, and had undoubtedly consulted one of the earliest texts of the life of the saint, the *Summa Vitae* that Conrad of Marburg, Elizabeth's confessor, sent to the Holy See to kickstart the canonisation process shortly after her death. Conrad's text included a list of miracles, among which Vidal's resurrection, and gave details of the promise made by the child's mother:

Beata Elyzabet, puerum meum quomodo sic amisi? Succurre et fac, quod Spiritus eius redeat intra ipsum; et ego de rebus meis, panis, frumenti, thuris, mirre, lini, argenti, cere, ad pondus corporis eius, **ad tumultum tuum cum ipso puero feram.** (Huyskens 1908: 169)

[Blessed Elizabeth, how have I lost my child like this? Help me, and make his spirit return to him; and **I will bring to your tomb, with this child**, from my possessions: bread, wheat, incense, myrrh, flax, silver, and wax, in an amount equal to his body weight]

Despite applying the knowledge of the details of the miracle to the creation of the rubric, at first these do not seem to have been considered when creating the accompanying illumination, which depicts the resurrected child in a bed in the centre of the image, with his mother kneeling in prayer on the left side, surrounded by witnesses of the miracle (Figure 4). There is no visual reference to the tomb of the saint, nor to the goods that the mother had promised to bring. However, the two figures to the right may actually be seen as a reference to the origin of the information added to the rubric. As mentioned above, these were taken from the list of miracles included with the *Summa Vitae*. As per Conrad's own words, this first list of miracles was compiled during a visit of the archbishop of Mainz in August 1232, during which Conrad exhorted everyone that had been object of or witness to a miracle performed by St Elizabeth to come forward (Huyskens 1908: 156), resulting in the initial list of sixty miracles (Wolf 2010: 6, 83-90). Perhaps these two figures on the right, both clearly tonsured and one of them wearing

a cope with gold decorations on its neck, are a reference to the situation in which the information was gathered. The figure wearing the cope could be a reference to the archbishop of Mainz, as could be the golden cross at the feet of the bed. The other tonsured figure, wearing a grey cloak, could represent the archbishop's entourage or perhaps Conrad himself.

The example of the miracle of the resurrection of Vidal shows that the creator of the Old Castilian rubrics was familiar with the wider textual tradition of St Elizabeth of Hungary, and that they were not the result of the translation of the Latin texts used as direct sources for the manuscript. As was the case with the window in Elizabeth's vision, the wider knowledge of the textual tradition of the saint was also reflected in the illumination, through the inclusion of a reference to the archbishop of Mainz and potentially Conrad of Marburg.

## Conclusion

The three examples analysed in this paper showcase the close interrelation between text and image in manuscript BnF NAL 868. The interpretation of the word «trebeiar» as a reference to chess in the illumination in folio 4v points towards the entourage of king Alfonso X, in terms of both textual and visual language. In addition, the representation of a window in the scene in folio 20v indicates the use of various sources—and not exclusively the Latin text taken from the «curial *vita*»—for the creation of the pictorial cycle. This can also be said about the elaboration of the rubrics as shown in the description of the miracle of the resurrection of Vidal, where references to the alternative sources have been included in the accompanying illumination in the form of the archbishop of Mainz.

Thus, although the text in NAL 868 seems to be copying two particular sources *verbatim*, there clearly was a wider understanding of the textual and pictorial tradition of St Elizabeth, which points to the active participation of a learned scholar in the creative process of both texts and images of this manuscript. With this in mind, and given the use of his *Legende sanctorum* as one of the sources, it would not be far-fetched to attribute this role to Juan Gil de Zamora, known to have worked in the courtly entourage and who must have been aware of the latest hagiographical developments in the cult of St Elizabeth thanks to his travels. Although Gil de Zamora always wrote in Latin, the inclusion of Old Castilian rubrics would align with king Alfonso's campaign of promotion of the vernacular language in the books issued from his *scriptorium*, and position Ms NAL 868 clearly as part of

the king's cultural programme. However, the creation of NAL 868 cannot be considered in isolation from other developments in the cult and textual tradition of St Elizabeth that were taking place concurrently during the last decades of the 13<sup>th</sup> century in the Iberian Peninsula. A Valencian manuscript of a Catalan translation of the *Legenda Aurea*, today preserved at El Escorial, RBME N-III-5, and dated to the late 13<sup>th</sup> or early 14<sup>th</sup> century, features a life and list of postmortem miracles of St Elizabeth, taken from an early version of Voragine's work. Said list of miracles does not correspond to later, more embellished, alterations of the *Legenda Aurea*, but is rather a literal translation of the miracles listed in the «curial *vita*», included those that have been purposely left out of NAL 868. These include the aforementioned episode of the resurrection of Vidal, folio CXLVIII, with references to the mother's pilgrimage to St Elizabeth's tomb:

En la ciutat de Magontina Vesilis I honrat infant puys que fo mort del tot la mare lo vodà a sancta Elitzabet e de mantinent resuscità.

[In the city of Magontina, the venerable child Vesilis who was completely dead was taken by his mother to Saint Elizabeth, and immediately he was resurrected.]

This Catalan translation adds a layer of complexity to the study of the textual tradition of St Elizabeth in the Iberian Peninsula, and suggests the existence of vernacular translations that circulated across the kingdoms of Castile and Aragon. However, in the case of NAL 868, the evidence presented in this paper denies the use of the *Legenda Aurea* as source for the text and images, and seems to point towards a conscious decision to prioritise other texts which were, in turn, also used by Voragine in the creation of his earlier version of the life of Elizabeth.

In conclusion, the study of the textual and pictorial elements of NAL 868 usually returns more questions than answers. This paper has presented a series of arguments to support the hypothesis of the participation of Juan Gil de Zamora, a scholar familiarised with the wider tradition of St Elizabeth, in the creation of the text and images of the manuscript. His sources, in turn, were varied, and included the *Libellus* and the *Summa Vitae*, but surprisingly the *Legenda Aurea*, although well-known and used often by Juan Gil de Zamora in his compilations, seems to have been purposefully avoided on this occasion. Nevertheless, the Catalan version of the miracle of Vidal may indicate the potential existence and circulation of vernacular translations of the

*Legenda Aurea* with similar traits as those found in the rubrics in NAL 868. However, the causal relationship, if any, between these two elements is difficult to ascertain, and would require deep philological analysis that exceeds the limitations of this paper.

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PICTURING HAGIOGRAPHY:  
THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN TEXT AND IMAGE IN MS BnF NAL 868

**ABSTRACT:** The group of illuminations in Ms BnF Nouvelles Acquisitions Latines 868, made in Castile c. 1280, conforms one of the few preserved medieval examples of pictorial cycles representing the life of St Elizabeth of Hungary, and the only 13<sup>th</sup>-century one created outside Marburg, where Elizabeth's remains were buried. This fact, combined with the lack of information regarding its origin and fortune, make this manuscript an object of great interest, especially given its clear ties with the *scriptorium* of king Alfonso X. This article will focus on the construction of the Old Castilian rubrics, created expressly for this codex, and on the interaction between Latin text, Old Castilian rubrics, and images. By doing so, this article aims to showcase the role of Juan Gil de Zamora as intellectual creator of the manuscript's textual and figurative cycles.

**KEYWORDS:** St Elizabeth of Hungary. Hagiography. Juan Gil de Zamora. Illuminated manuscripts. Alfonso X.

REPRESENTAR LA HAGIOGRAFÍA:  
RELACIÓN ENTRE TEXTO E IMAGEN EN MS BnF NAL 868

**RESUMEN:** El conjunto de iluminaciones del Ms BnF Nouvelles Acquisitions Latines 868, realizado en Castilla hacia 1280, conforma uno de los pocos ejemplos medievales conservados de ciclos pictóricos sobre la vida de santa Isabel, y el único fechado en el siglo XIII realizado fuera de Marburgo, donde fueron enterrados los restos de la santa. Este hecho, combinado con la falta de información relativa a su origen y fortuna, hacen de este manuscrito un objeto de gran interés, especialmente dadas sus claras conexiones con el *scriptorium* del rey Alfonso X. Este artículo se centrará en la construcción de las rúbricas en castellano antiguo, creadas expresamente para este códice, y en la interacción entre el texto latino, las rúbricas y las imágenes, con el objetivo de demostrar el papel de Juan Gil de Zamora como creador intelectual del ciclo textual y figurativo del manuscrito.

**PALABRAS CLAVE:** Santa Isabel de Hungría. Hagiografía. Juan Gil de Zamora. Manuscritos iluminados. Alfonso X.