



The ‘cursed’ queen: Clemence of Hungary in the mirror of the contemporary narrative sources

A rainha “amaldiçoada”: Clemence da Hungria no espelho das fontes narrativas contemporâneas

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ABSTRACT

Clemence, the daughter of Charles Martell of Anjou and Clemence of Habsburg, was born in Naples and became the wife of King Louis X of France in 1315. She was widowed the following year, and before her death in 1328, she witnessed the extinction of the male line of the Capetian dynasty. The period is rich in narrative sources, and this study seeks to answer the question of how they portrayed Clemence, how 'Hungarian' she really was, and what attracted the interest of chroniclers in the 'age of the cursed kings'.

Keywords: Clemence of Hungary; narratives sources; 14th century; France; Naples; Hungary; Capetian and Valois dynasties

RESUMO

Clemence, filha de Charles Martell de Anjou e Clemence de Habsburgo, nasceu em Nápoles e casou com o rei Luís X da França em 1315. Ficou viúva no ano seguinte e, antes da sua morte, em 1328, testemunhou a extinção da linhagem masculina da dinastia Capetiana. O período é rico em fontes narrativas, e este estudo procura responder à questão de como Clemence foi retrada, avaliar quão 'húngara' ela realmente era e o que nela atraiu o interesse dos cronistas na 'era dos reis malditos'.

Palavras-chave: Clemece da Hungria, fontes narrativas, século XIV, França, Nápoles, Hungria, dinastias Capetiana e Valois



The flourishing of the sources

The daughter of Charles Martel of Anjou is one of the few people who appear very little in the narrative sources of the turn of the 13th and 14th centuries. This is surprising precisely because Clemence's life, especially her years as a French (widowed) queen, coincides with a significant increase in narrative sources in France.

The period of about one hundred years from 1274 to 1380 is abundant in historical works which are interested in both the “deeds” of the Capetians and the rise of the Valois. Approaching the production of the chroniclers of the time is to better understand what this abundant historiography kept in memory of Clemence of Hungary.

Beginning with Primat's *Roman des rois français* in 1274, which concluded its narration at the end of the reign of Philip Augustus, there followed a series of authors who influenced each other. Among them, remaining anonymous and mostly linked to the abbey of Saint-Denis, Guillaume de Nangis, the custodian of the charters, produced several texts which served as a reference and starting point for the other chroniclers. The Dionysian author stopped writing in 1300, the year in which he probably died, but his *Chronicon universalis* and its French translation, the *Chronique abrégée des rois de France*, had a major influence on 14th century historiography. These works constitute a major piece of the puzzle of the *Grandes chroniques de France*, which took its “official” form at the end of the same period after successive reworkings. King Charles V had the text reworked by his chancellor, Pierre d'Ogremont, who updated it by adding the account of the “deeds” of the

monarch and his predecessor, and took up (with some modifications) the “revision” that another monk of Saint-Denis, Richard Lescot, had carried out in the 1350s¹.

The account of the years between the moment when Primat stopped (1223) and the middle of the 14th century was made up of different texts. The works of Guillaume de Nangis were the best exploited: next to the *Chronicon* and the *Chronique abrégée*, the *Vita Ludovici regis* and its French translation, all elaborated before the end of the 13th century. In addition to these sources, another biography of Louis VIII by another Dionysian author was also available².

As for events after 1300 (where Guillaume de Nangis stops), the *Grandes chroniques de France* had to use other narrative sources. These were none other than the continuations of the *Chronicon* and above all that of the *Chronique abrégée* of the same erudite monk of Saint-Denis who had compiled the first between 1285 and 1300. As for the reworking of this *Chronicon*, several hands took up the thread of the narrative after the death of Guillaume de Nangis. Two Dionysian monks wrote the narration until 1340 when another author, this time a Carmelite hermit, Jean de Venette (also known as Jehan Fillon) took up the pen and stopped in 1368³. The *Chronique abrégée* was first written in Latin and translated into French by its author, Guillaume de Nangis, between 1297 and 1300, the date of his death⁴. The work (version 'A') underwent several subsequent redactions, first recorded by Léopold Delisle in 1873⁵. A first modification (version 'B') occurred until 1303/1304 and

¹ GUYOT-BACHY, Isabelle; MOEGLIN, Jean-Marie – “Comment ont été continuées les Grandes Chroniques de France dans la première moitié du XIV^e siècle”. *Bibliothèque de l'école des chartes* 163/2 (2005), pp. 385-433, here pp. 385-386.

² GUYOT-BACHY, Isabelle; MOEGLIN, Jean-Marie – “Comment ont été continuées”, p. 387.

³ GÉRAUD, Hercule – “De Guillaume de Nangis et de ses continuateurs”. *Bibliothèque de l'école des chartes* 3 (1842), pp. 17-46. Regarding Jean de Venette cf. BRUN, Laurent – “Jean de Venette”. (article completed by An SMETS) *Archives de littérature au Moyen Âge* [online] (2016). Accessed 7 January 2020. Available at <https://arlima.net/no/1479>.

⁴ GUYOT-BACHY, Isabelle – “La “Chronique abrégée des rois de France” de Guillaume de Nangis: trois étapes de l'histoire d'un texte”. In CASSAGNES-BROUQUET, Sophie *et al.* (Eds.) – *Religion et mentalités au Moyen Âge: mélanges en l'honneur d'Hervé Martin*. Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2003, pp. 39-46, here pp. 39-41; GUYOT-BACHY, Isabelle; MOEGLIN, Jean-Marie – “Comment ont été continuées”, pp. 388-389. Cf. DELISLE Léopold – “Mémoire sur les ouvrages de Guillaume de Nangis”. *Mémoires de l'Institut national de France*. 27/2 (1873), pp. 287-372, here pp. 296-341.

⁵ DELISLE Léopold – Mémoire sur les ouvrages de Guillaume de Nangis, pp. 350-353; GUYOT-BACHY, Isabelle – La “Chronique abrégée des rois de France” de Guillaume de Nangis, pp. 41-43; GUYOT-BACHY, Isabelle; MOEGLIN, Jean-Marie – “Comment ont été continuées”, pp. 388-389.

used one of the first continuations of the *Chronicon*⁶. Another (version 'C') stops in 1316, which contains original accounts and which, like the previous one, was taken up for editing before the Lescot "revision" of the *Grandes chroniques de France*⁷. The third amendment (version 'D') ended in the middle of May 1322 at the latest and, like the last one, follows the thread of Primat's *Roman des rois*⁸. The following one, which was listed as version 'E', is rather unique because at first it takes up the continuation of the *Chronicon* of Guillaume de Nangis, only to discard it later and write a coherent account of the reign of Philip VI of Valois up to 1329/1330. Then it returns to the Dionysian author, only to disregard this source once again in large part, preferring his own reflections from 1338 onwards. After 1340 the author returns to the *Chronicle* until 1347 when he stops⁹. These versions were then taken up in a heterogeneous manner by Lescot's "revision", that is, before 1356. Many years earlier, between 1344 and 1356, this same author also wrote a chronicle in Latin — a continuation of the *Chronicon universalis* of Géraud de Frachet¹⁰ — which ends in 1340¹¹. Another work, the *Chroniques de Flandre*, contains accounts from this period and also stops at the beginning of these same years. In the end, Lescot's "revision" workshop took over all these texts to update the *Grandes chroniques de France*. It recovered the texts of the continuations of the *Chronique abrégée* of Guillaume de Nangis until 1322, then Lescot's Latin chronicle and the *Chroniques de Flandre*¹² until about 1340, from which time he looked for another continuation of the *Chronique abrégée*¹³.

⁶ GUYOT-BACHY, Isabelle – La "Chronique abrégée des rois de France" de Guillaume de Nangis, pp. 43–46; GUYOT-BACHY, Isabelle; MOEGLIN, Jean-Marie – "Comment ont été continuées", pp. 389–390.

⁷ The French text was completed at the end of the 1320s on the basis of the *Memoriale historiarum* of Jean de Paris, canon of Saint-Victor in Paris, without forgetting the account of the years 1322–1329, which comes from an original part and a partial reworking of the text of the "D" version, see below. GUYOT-BACHY, Isabelle; MOEGLIN, Jean-Marie – "Comment ont été continuées", pp. 390–391; DELISLE Léopold: - "Mémoire sur les ouvrages de Guillaume de Nangis", p. 355.

⁸ It makes much more use of the *Memoriale* by Jean de Paris than the "C" version. GUYOT-BACHY, Isabelle; MOEGLIN, Jean-Marie – "Comment ont été continuées", pp. 391–393, 427–433.

⁹ This text contains, in its present form, additions, including an extension to the early 1380s. GUYOT-BACHY, Isabelle; MOEGLIN, Jean-Marie – "Comment ont été continuées", pp. 408–425.

¹⁰ Géraud Frachet, a Dominican friar and hagiographer of his order, compiled his *Chronicon* in the mid-13th century. His work was extraordinarily successful after the author's death (1271). Richard Lescot apparently took over Frachet's text when he compiled his Latin chronicle. MOLINIER, Auguste – "2529. Géraud de Frachet". In MOLINIER, Auguste – *Les Sources de l'histoire de France – des origines aux guerres d'Italie (1494)*. vol. III. *Les Capétiens, 1180–1328*. Paris: Picard, 1903, p. 97; GUYOT-BACHY, Isabelle; MOEGLIN, Jean-Marie – "Comment ont été continuées", pp. 397–399.

¹¹ GUYOT-BACHY, Isabelle; MOEGLIN, Jean-Marie – "Comment ont été continuées", pp. 397–399.

¹² GUYOT-BACHY, Isabelle; MOEGLIN, Jean-Marie – "Comment ont été continuées", pp. 399–408.

¹³ GUYOT-BACHY, Isabelle; MOEGLIN, Jean-Marie – "Comment ont été continuées", p. 426.

Finally, a strong Dionysian historiography determined the image of the kings of France from the 1270s. Even an anonymous author who compiled a chronicle of the kingdom of France (*Regnum Franciae Chronicon*) followed this model and found inspiration in it¹⁴. There are, however, a few texts which are outside the scope of this true "Dionysian atelier" of historical narratives. Bernard Gui's *Flores chronicorum*, which ends at the death of its author (1331), the famous Dominican friar, inquisitor and author of historical works, is a good example¹⁵. Another, the *Chronique métrique* of Geoffroi de Paris, a clerk and notary in the royal chancellery at the turn of the 13th–14th centuries, added some important details to the mainstream of the deeds of the royal dynasty¹⁶. The very short notes of Robert Mignon and the *Chronique* of the Parisian abbey of Saint-Magloire are minor sources, but it would be pointless to ignore them¹⁷, as well as the few chronicles that stop either in the mid-1350s¹⁸ or in 1380¹⁹ and include Geoffroi de Paris or note some previously unpublished facts. Others compile what they had under their eyes: works like that of Jean de Noyal (or Desnouvelles)²⁰, or Guillaume l'Écossais, most likely a monk of Saint-Denis²¹.

¹⁴ *Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France*. Vol. XXII. Eds. WAILLY, Natalis de; DELISLE, Léopold. Paris: V. Palmé, 1860 (hereafter: RHGF vol. XXII), pp. 16–21. Accessed 7 January 2022. Available at <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k50140h/f65.item>

¹⁵ GUENÉE, Bernard – *Between Church and State: The lives of four French prelates in the late Middle Ages*. Transl. Goldhammer, Arthur. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991, p. 47; BRUN, Laurent – "Bernard Gui". *Archives de littérature au Moyen Âge*. [Online] 2015. Accessed 7 January 2020. Available at https://www.arlima.net/ad/bernard_gui.html.

¹⁶ BRUN, Laurent – "Geoffroi de Paris". *Archives de littérature au Moyen Âge*. [Online] 2015. Accessed 7 January 2020. Available at https://www.arlima.net/eh/geoffroi_de_paris2.html.

¹⁷ *Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France*. XXI. Ed. BOUQUET, Martin Dom *et al.* Paris: V. Palmé, 1855 (cited hereafter: RHGF vol. XXI), pp. 519–529. Accessed 7 January 2020. Available at <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k28914g/f609.image>; RHGF vol. XXII, pp. 166–169. Accessed 7 January 2020. Available at <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k50140h/f215.item>.

¹⁸ RHGF vol. XXI, pp. 137–140.

¹⁹ RHGF vol. XXI, pp. 141–145.

²⁰ MOLINIER, Auguste – "3101. Jean de Noyal". In MOLINIER Auguste – *Les Sources de l'histoire de France – des origines aux guerres d'Italie (1494)*. III. *Les Capétiens, 1180–1328*. Paris: Picard, 1904. pp. 24–25.

²¹ FUNKE, Paul – *Papst Benedikt XI. Eine Monographie*. Paderborn: H. Schöningh, 2015 (re-edition of the original published in 1891). p. 5.

The hiding princess and (widowed) queen

Neither Italian, French nor Hungarian research has paid much attention to the person of Clemence, beyond a biographical summary, only a few aspects (art history, artefact culture and dynastic relations) have received some attention²².

The obvious reason for this striking neglect is that little is known of the young age of Clemence, born in 1293. She married at the age of 22 - although there were several

²² HUFFELMANN, Annie M. - *Clemenza von Ungarn, Königin von Frankreich*. Berlin: Dr. Walter Rothschild. 1911; CSUKOVITS, Enikő - *Az Anjouk Magyarországon I. I. Károly és uralkodása (1301–1342)* [The Angevins in Hungary I. The reign of Charles I (1301-1342)]. Budapest: MTA Bölcsészettudományi Központ Történelmi Intézet, 2012, pp. 50–51, 112–113; GABORIT-CHOPIN, Danielle; MONTESQUIOU-FEZENSAC, Blaise de (Eds.) - *Le trésor de Saint-Denis. Documents divers*. Paris: A. et J. Picard, 1977; GABORIT-CHOPIN, Danielle - "Les collections d'orfèverie des princes français au milieu du XIV^e siècle d'après les comptes et inventaires". In *Art, objets d'art, collections: études sur l'art du Moyen Âge et de la Renaissance, sur l'histoire du goût et des collections: hommage à Hubert Landais*. Paris: Blanchard, 1987. pp. 46–52; GABORIT-CHOPIN, Danielle - "The Reliquiary of Elizabeth of Hungary at the Cloisters" In PARKER, Elizabeth C. - SHEPARD, Mary B. (Eds.) - *The Cloisters: Studies in Honor of the Fiftieth Anniversary*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1992. pp. 327–353; GABORIT-CHOPIN, Danielle - *L'inventaire du trésor du dauphin futur Charles V, 1363: les débuts d'un grand collectionneur*. Paris: J. Laget, 1996. (Archives de l'art français); GAUDE-FERRAGU, Murielle - *D'or et de cendres, la mort et les funérailles des princes dans le royaume de France au bas Moyen Âge*. Villeneuve d'Ascq: Presses Universitaires de Septentrion, 2005; GAUDE-FERRAGU, Murielle - "Les femmes et la mort: sépultures et funérailles des reines et des princesses au bas Moyen Âge". In ALDUC-LE BAGOUSSE, Armelle (Ed.) - *Inhumations de prestige ou prestige de l'inhumation? Expressions du pouvoir dans l'au-delà (IV^e-XV^e siècle)*. Caen: Presses Universitaires de Caen, 2009. (Tables rondes du CRAHM 4), pp. 383–404; HOLLADAY, Joan A. - "Fourteenth-Century French Collectors and Readers of Books: Jeanne d'Evreux and Her Contemporaries". *Journal of Medieval History* 32 (2006), pp. 69–100; FERRÉ, Rose-Marie - "Clémence de Hongrie (1293–1328) et les oeuvres pour la mort. Entre patronage religieux et revendications dynastiques". In GAUDE-FERRAGU, Murielle; VINCENT-CASSY, Cécile (Eds.) - *La dame de coeur. Patronage et mécénat religieux des femmes de pouvoir dans l'Europe des XIV^e-XVII^e siècles*. Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2016, pp. 231–242; BUETTNER, Brigitte - "Past Presents: New Year's Gifts at the Valois Courts, ca. 1400". *Art Bulletin* 83 (2001), pp. 598–625; BUETTNER, Brigitte - "Le système des objets dans le testament de Blanche de Navarre". *CLIO, Histoire, Femmes et Sociétés* 19 (2004), pp. 37–62; KEANE, Margaret A. - *Material culture and queenship in 14th-century France: The testament of Blanche of Navarre (1331–1398)*. Leiden: Brill, 2016; PROCTOR-TIFFANY, Mariah - *Portrait of a Medieval Patron: the Inventory and Gift-Giving of Clémence of Hungary*. Rhode Island, 2007 (PhD dissertation, Brown University); PROCTOR-TIFFANY, Mariah - "Transported as a rare object of distinction: the gift-giving of Clémence of Hungary, Queen of France". *Journal of Medieval History* 41/2 (2015), pp. 208–228; PROCTOR-TIFFANY, Mariah - *Medieval Art in Motion. The Inventory and Gift Giving of Queen Clémence of Hungary*. Pennsylvania: Penn State University Press, 2019; BOUDET, Jean-Patrice - "Les livres de Clémence de Hongrie". In GILLI, Patrick (Ed.) - *Former, enseigner, éduquer dans l'Occident médiéval, 1100-1450: textes et documents*. vol. II. Paris: Sedes, 1999. pp. 76–85; BOUDET, Jean-Patrice - "La bibliothèque de Clémence de Hongrie: un reflet de la culture d'une reine de France" In GAUDE-FERRAGU, Murielle; LAURIOUX, Bruno; PAVIOT, Jacques (Eds.) - *La cour du prince. Cour de France, cour d'Europe XII^e-XV^e siècle*. Paris: Champion, 2011, pp. 499–511; BELL, Susan Groag: "Medieval Women Book Owners: Arbiters of Lay Piety and Ambassadors of Culture". *Signs* 7 (1982), pp. 742–768; PRATT, Karen - "The Image of the Queen in Old French Litterature" In DUGGAN, Anne J. (Ed.) - *Queens and Queenship in Medieval Europe. Proceedings of a conference held at King's College London april 1995*. Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1997, pp. 235–259; CAZILHAC, Jean-Marc - *Jeanne d'Evreux, Blanche de Navarre. Deux reines de France, deux douairières durant le guerre de Cent Ans*. Paris: L'Harmattan, 2010; CAZILHAC, Jean-Marc - *Le douaire des reines de France à la fin du Moyen âge*. Paris: L'Harmattan, 2017.

attempts to do so from the 1310s - and was Queen of France for a very short period, from late July-early August of 1315, for less than a year, until the death of Louis X on 5 June 1316. Clemence's 'rate' was high, so to speak, until mid-November of that year, as she had become a widowed queen while pregnant. However, the swift death of the successor, John I (the Posthumous), seemed to seal Clemence's fate. In the more than a decade until her death (1328), the widowed queen was absent from the mainstream of events that shaped the dynasty's destiny, although she did have an occasional episode on the 'central stage'. The charters and other sources paint a much more nuanced picture of her than that which emerges from the narrative sources. In what follows, I will examine and analyse this in more detail, including the factors that influenced the distinctive features of this image.

In the eyes of contemporary authors, the daughter of Charles Martel and Clemence of Habsburg was not the key figure of this pivotal period which saw the decline of the Capetians and the rise of the Valois. These chroniclers limit themselves to a few basic events in Clemence's life. The short duration of the marriage to Louis X, the sudden death of Philip the Fair's eldest son and that of John I Posthumous are factors that explain this moderate interest. It is the major moments of the monarchy that preoccupy the chroniclers: the passage from one dynasty to the next. Rather than bothering with a less visible queen, they used the bad fate of King Louis X to illustrate the decline of the Capetians. In such a dynastic scenario, Clemence remains *a priori* a secondary character²³. It had very little resonance at the other 'end' of the world at that time, in central Europe. The regional narrative sources contain scattered notes dominated by a similar focus: the Habsburg and Angevin dynasties of Hungary were the main focus of the authors' writings.

What are the elements that have aroused the curiosity of the chroniclers? The texts of the Dionysian spirit follow more or less the same sequence: the wedding embassy of Louis X in Naples, the wedding, the death of the king and his posthumous son, the

²³ Cf. BROWN, Elizabeth A.R. – "The Ceremonial of Royal Succession in Capetian France. The Funeral of Philippe V". *Speculum* 55/2 (1980), pp. 266–293, here: p. 272, and note nr. 18; GUYOT-BACHY, Isabelle – "*Expediabant ut unus homo morietur pro populo*". Jean de Saint-Victor et la mort du roi Philippe V". In AUTRAND, Françoise; GAUVARD, Claude; MOEGLIN, Jean-Marie (Eds.) – *Saint-Denis et la royauté. Études offertes à Bernard Guinée Membre de l'Institut*. Paris: Éditions de la Sorbonne, 1999, pp. 493–504, here p. 494.

assumption of power by Philip V, Clemence's stay in Provence (1318-1321), and finally his death. The main thread is always the same: the history of the dynasty, which at different times crosses Clemence's fate.

The abundance of details is nevertheless uneven. The continuation of the Latin chronicle of Guillaume de Nangis merely mentions the head of the royal embassy, Hugues de Bovilla (or Bouvilles), and the fact that Clemence is the daughter of the king of Hungary²⁴. Similarly, the augmented version of Géraud de Frachet's work, the *Memoriale historiarum* of Jean de Paris and a historical mirror are almost identical to the previous one²⁵. Royal lineage is sufficient for the author of the shortened chronicle of Guillaume de Nangis (version 'A'), for the author of the *Chronicles of Flanders* and for Guillaume l'Écossais²⁶. However, the anonymous author of the continuation of the French chronicle of Guillaume de Nangis (version 'C'), and the *Grandes Chroniques de France* (version 'Lescot') add genealogical elements: Clemence is the niece of Robert, king of Sicily (in reality of Naples) and she is the daughter of his brother, Charles Martel²⁷. This information also appears in the writings of Bernard Gui and the anonymous author of the chronicle of the Kingdom of France²⁸.

This same genealogical interest attracted the attention of chroniclers such as Matthew of Neuburg or the anonymous author of the *Annales Mediolanenses*. They were concerned with the family lines, and above all with the greatness of the Habsburgs and especially the Angevins of Naples. Matthew of Neuburg hesitates a little at the beginning of his account, when he writes that Rudolf of Habsburg married one of his daughters to Charles III, the nephew (or grandson) of Charles Martel, king of Sicily. For him the successor of Charles II (the Lambe) must logically be Charles III. Nevertheless, he mistakenly establishes an ambiguous relationship between Charles III and Charles Martel because the two persons are identical. Later, he corrects this confusion and re-establishes the descent when he notes that

²⁴ Appendix, text nr. 1.

²⁵ Appendix, text nr. 5, 8, 15.

²⁶ Appendix, text nr. 2, 9, 16.

²⁷ Appendix, text nr. 3, 4.

²⁸ Appendix, text nr. 10, 11.

Clemence of Hungary came from the marriage of Clemence of Habsburg (Rudolf of Habsburg's daughter) and Charles, son of the king of Sicily, who was likewise Charles. Moreover, Matthew prefers the name Charles III to that of Charles Martel. The fate of the next generation - that of Clemence of Hungary - directed the author's pen, who was obviously obsessed by the idea of the dominance of these two dynasties in central Europe. He intentionally dwells on their diffusion: that of the Habsburgs in the empire, without ignoring the "three Angevin vectors", the children of Charles Martel and Clemence of Habsburg who extended the dynastic power of the Angevins of Naples to the four winds. Beatrice became dauphine of Vienne, her sister Clemence settled in France with her husband, Louis X. As for their brother, Charles took his paternal inheritance, the kingdom of Hungary, into his own hands and procreated Andrew, who should have regained the throne of Naples²⁹. The anonymous author of the *Annales Mediolanenses* both shortens and transforms this account. He retains the Habsburg-Angelian descendants: Charles (II), his son, Charles Martel, the (titular) king of Hungary. Here he makes several mistakes when he writes that the latter married the daughter of Albert, king of the Romans; he confuses Rudolf of Habsburg with his own son, Albert I. The anonymous author is wrong again when he picks up the red line of the story. He renames the elder sister Beatrice as Constance, then the order is restored with Clemence and Charles. However, the essential point remains unchanged: Charles Martel's children extend the power of the Angevins in the Dauphiné, in France and in Hungary³⁰.

The Hungarian chronicle, which underwent major changes from the 11th century onwards, the last of which occurred in the 14th century, remains even more detached from Clemence's deeds. The reason for this is simple: this chronicle composition is exclusively concerned with the Árpádians and the Angevins of Hungary. As for the turn of the 13th and 14th centuries, it limits itself to noting the hereditary rights of the Angevins of Naples in Hungary – from Charles Martel onwards – and to drawing only the stem of a genealogical tree by freeing the lateral branches, Beatrice and Clemence³¹.

²⁹ Appendix, text nr. 17.

³⁰ Appendix, text nr. 18.

³¹ Appendix, text nr. 19.

The accounts of the wedding of Louis X and Clemence of Hungary also diverge. The "official" chronicles do not mention details of lesser importance than the coronation of King Louis X and only record the fact of the celebration of the marriage³². This prevailing trend was echoed by other authors who also reported the union of the Capetian king and the Angevin princess and their coronation in Reims.³³ Some chroniclers do not even remember these major events³⁴. Only a very limited number of chroniclers consider it necessary to note the maritime passage of the future spouse of the French king, although the shipwreck and the loss of the jewelry undoubtedly captured the imagination of the contemporaries. Geoffroy de Paris, Jean de Paris, the Chronicles of Flanders, the anonymous author of the chronicle of the kingdom of France and, curiously, Matthew of Neuburg are the exception. The last three give special attention to the 'affair of the king's daughters-in-laws' which preceded the second marriage of Louis X to Clemence of Hungary³⁵. These "facts of sensation" provide a sort of introduction to the story of the accursed kings. Geoffroy de Paris and Jean de Paris add further details. The latter mentions the adultery of Margaret and Blanche of Burgundy and the involvement of Joan I of Burgundy, omitting any possible relationship with Louis X. The affair was simply one of the last episodes of the reign of Philip of Bel³⁶. It is only during the king's embassy that the author returns to Clemence and gives more details. He relates the perilous passage of the king's fiancée: the shipwreck in which many jewels were lost, then the very restrained celebration of the wedding which took place without any pomp, near Troyes, in a manor house at Saint-Lyé³⁷. Geoffroy de Paris follows the same line of reasoning and provides other miraculous and reliable complements. He retains the loss of the jewels and also adds Clemence's "best people", not forgetting her prayers and the "old sailor" who saved the galley to fulfil the God's mercy. Then, chronologically, come the nuptials, which, in Guillaume's case, precede the shipwreck, no doubt for dramaturgical reasons. Like Jean de Paris, the author dwells on the austerity of marriage, and the lack of festivities and dancing, after having

³² Appendix, text nr. 1, 3, 4, 5.

³³ Appendix, text nr. 9, 10, 16, 18.

³⁴ Appendix, text nr. 2, 7, 12–15, 19, 20–21.

³⁵ Appendix, text nr. 9, 11, 17.

³⁶ RHGF vol. XXI, pp. 658–659.

³⁷ Appendix, text nr. 8.

praised Clémence's merits: her beauty, her humble behaviour and her wisdom³⁸. Although these two authors saw fit to emphasize the austerity of the wedding, they pay little attention to the coronation of the couple.

The wedding and the coronation are inseparably linked events for some chroniclers, even if they do not agree on their precise sequences. The Latin chronicles suggest 31 July and 3 August, while the French texts opt for 19 and 24 August 1315. Two others, Geoffroy de Paris and Jean de Paris, remain rather uncertain: the first is content to specify the month of August for the wedding (and remains silent on the coronation). Jean de Paris, on the other hand, does the opposite, mentioning a date for the coronation (15 August) and leaving out completely the day of the wedding and the consecration³⁹.

The year 1316 preoccupied the correspondants of the time. Almost everyone remembered the sudden death of Louis X, the birth and death of his posthumous son, and the assumption of power by Philip V. If the day on which Clemence's husband died, 5 June, is almost unanimously mentioned by the chroniclers who are at least interested in the precise date, the authors are divided on the short duration of John I's life. The accounts attribute a secondary role to the widowed queen, who was fettered by the two major events of the dynasty: the unfortunate death of her husband and the accession of his brother, Philip the Long.

Only French sources retain this information. The abridged chronicle of Guillaume de Nangis (version 'A'), Geoffroy de Paris, the *Miroir historial* of Jean Desnouvelles and Guillaume l'Écossais do not mention the day of the death of King Louis X and are content to point out the brevity of the life of his son, John I, who lived only eight

³⁸ Appendix, text nr. 6.

³⁹ Cf. Appendix, nr. 1, 5, 10; 3, 4; 6, 8, and HUFFELMANN, Annie M. – *Clemenza von Ungarn, Königin von Frankreich*, p. 28; VIARD, Jules Marie Édouard (Ed.) – *Les grandes chroniques de France. VIII. (Philippe III le Hardi, Philippe IV le Bel, Louis X le Hutin, Philippe V le Long)*. Paris: Honoré Champion, 1934, p. 320; PROCTOR-TIFFANY, Mariah – “Lost and Found: Visualizing a Medieval Queen's Destroyed Objects”. In WOODACRE, Elena (Ed.) – *Queenship in the Mediterranean. Negotiating the Role of the Queen in the Medieval and Early Modern Times*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013, pp. 73–96, here: p. 75; ALLIROT, Anne-Hélène – *Filles de roy de France. Princesses royales, mémoire de saint Louis et conscience dynastique (de 1270 à la fin du XIV^e siècle)*. Turnhout: Brepols, 2010 (Culture et société médiévales 20), p. 409, note nr. 155.

days⁴⁰. The anonymous chronicle of 1356 and Jean de Paris agree on an alternative date: they both propose 29 June for the passing of Clémence's husband. As for her son, the former prefers 13 November and adds the eight days agreed upon⁴¹. Jean de Paris limits himself to giving approximate dates: the posthumous son of King Louis should be born around the feast of St. Martin (11 November) and die soon after⁴². As for the death of Louis X, the other authors agree on 5 June, but the opinions diverge as regards the account of the circumstances. The two Latin chronicles and Robert Mignon are very reserved and limit themselves only to the king's fever and the fact that he left his spouse pregnant⁴³. The anonymous continuation of the abridged chronicle of Guillaume de Nangis (version "C"), as well as the *Grandes chroniques de France* (version "Lescot"), Bernard Gui, the anonymous author of the *Chronique du royaume de France*, go a step further by adding a few words about the funeral of the deceased king⁴⁴. Geoffroy de Paris, Jean de Paris, and the anonymous author of the *Chroniques de Flandres* are more loquacious: they relate that the king was playing the game of palm (*jeu de paume*) in the woods of Vincennes, got too hot from the game, drank ice-cold wine, fell ill with a fever and died soon after. There is a little confusion as to the exact day of the king's death. Geoffroy of Paris opts for the first week of June, while John of Paris votes for 29 May, the *Chroniques of Flanders* propose another solution. They put the "accident of playing" on 29 May, adding seven days of agony, which results exactly in 5 June⁴⁵.

It was the birth and sudden death of John I that placed Clemence of Hungary back on the chroniclers' agenda. Those who omit the day of the king's death simply record the short life - reduced to eight or ten days - of the widowed queen's son. The continuation of the *Chronique abrégée* of Guillaume de Nangis and Guillaume l'Écossais opt for the eight days⁴⁶, while Jean Desnouvelles' *Miroir historial* gives it two more days⁴⁷. The continuation of the *Chronique universelle* by Guillaume de Nangis and the other continuation by Gérard Frachet agree on a much shorter

⁴⁰ Appendix, text nr. 2, 6, 14–16.

⁴¹ Appendix, text nr. 7.

⁴² Appendix, text nr. 8.

⁴³ Appendix, text nr. 1, 5, 12.

⁴⁴ Appendix, text nr. 3, 4, 10, 11.

⁴⁵ RHGF vol. XXII, p. 163. Appendix, text nr. 8, 9.

⁴⁶ Appendix, text nr. 2, 16.

⁴⁷ Appendix, text nr. 15.

duration: only four days from 15 to 19 November⁴⁸. The other authors propose either several intervals or approximate dates. For example, the Chronicle compiled in 1356 gives 13 November as the date and also gives John I eight days⁴⁹. Bernard Gui writes on 14 and 20 November⁵⁰, respectively one day after the anonymous author of the *Chronique du royaume de France*⁵¹, while he seems to follow the Dominican inquisitor when he writes on 14 and 21 of the same month⁵². The anonymous chronicle up to 1380 extends the life of John I: from 8 to 18 November⁵³. The anonymous continuation of the abridged Chronicle of Guillaume de Nangis (version "C") remains imprecise in proposing the days " around Saint Martin's Day", i.e. around 11 November⁵⁴, like Jean de Paris⁵⁵. Only a very limited number of authors relate the widowed queen's infirmity at the time of her delivery. The anonymous continuation of Guillaume de Nangis' universal chronicle, the abridged chronicle of the same author (version "C"), the *Grandes Chroniques de France* (version "Lescot"), the anonymous Chronicle up to 1356 and Jean de Paris all note Clemence of Hungary's "quartana" fever⁵⁶.

There are also certain chroniclers who take advantage of the occasion of these two deaths which follow one another very quickly (in four months) to set the scene for the ascension of Philip the Long, others go even further by fabricating an explanation for the exclusion of the female lineage from the royal succession in order to pave the way for the Valois legacy. The Miroir historial notes only that Philip became regent of the kingdom⁵⁷, Giraud de Frachet also remains somewhat reserved: he notes that Philip took power into his own hands⁵⁸. According to the anonymous continuator of Guillaume de Nangis' *Chronique abrégée* (version "C") the Count of Poitiers, Philip

⁴⁸ Appendix, text nr. 1, 5.

⁴⁹ Appendix, text nr. 7.

⁵⁰ Appendix, text nr. 10.

⁵¹ Appendix, text nr. 11.

⁵² Appendix, text nr. 12.

⁵³ Appendix, text nr. 14.

⁵⁴ Appendix, text nr. 3.

⁵⁵ Appendix, text nr. 8.

⁵⁶ Appendix, text nr. 1, 3, 4, 7, 8. It was Jean de Paris who noted the same illness in both Clemence's and Philippe V's case. RHGF vol. XXI, p. 674. Cf. BROWN, Elizabeth A.R. – "The Ceremonial of Royal Succession", p. 272 and note nr. 18; GUYOT-BACHY, Isabelle – "*Expeditabunt ut unus homo morietur pro populo*", p. 494.

⁵⁷ Appendix, text nr. 15.

⁵⁸ Appendix, text nr. 5.

held the kingdom as a king, which was opposed by the Duke of Burgundy who said that "women should not succeed in the kingdom of France"⁵⁹. The *Grandes Chroniques de France* follows the same line⁶⁰. These works already looked further ahead (or were retrospective), and foresaw the transition from one dynasty to another. Jean de Paris and Bernard Gui dwell on this at greater length. They state that Philip summoned the lords of the kingdom to negotiate the arrangements to be made. They resolved that the Count of Poitiers would proceed as governor. In case Clemence's child would be a son, Philip would take them in guardianship and contribute to the widowed queen her dower (20,000 pounds). The planned guardianship would end when the son became 24 years old, and the following year the son would have to take over the government. If the child is a girl, Philip should take care of her. The author then goes on to the oath of fidelity refused by the Duke of Burgundy without alluding to the rewriting of the Salic law...⁶¹ Bernard Gui proposes a slightly different scenario. He takes the two eventualities, then gives another sequel. Scenario "A" (where the unborn child would be a boy) is almost identical except for the expected legitimate age of 14 (unlike Jean de Paris, which may be a mistake) and the satisfaction of the widowed queen. However, the "B" version (where the child would be a girl) goes in another direction and the author includes what Philip V did at the beginning of his reign to get rid of the claims of the Counts of Artois and the Burgundian ducal family. In this case, according to Bernard Gui, Philip would take control of France by conceding Navarre and Champagne to the two daughters (!) of Louis X⁶². In reality, it is his daughter (Jeanne Bourgogne or d'Évreux) born of his first wife, Marguerite of Bourgogne. The anonymous author of the Chronicle of the Kingdom of France keeps only the script "A", the male lineage, while specifying that Philip, the governor would administer the kingdoms of France and Navarre at the legitimate age of the posthumous son of Louis X. Then the chronicler goes directly to the death of John I and puts an end to any other possibility⁶³.

⁵⁹ Appendix, text nr. 3.

⁶⁰ Appendix, text nr. 4.

⁶¹ Appendix, text nr. 8.

⁶² Appendix, text nr. 10.

⁶³ Appendix, text nr. 11.

Clémence's stay in Provence aroused the curiosity of contemporary authors. It is undoubtedly because of the elevation of the remains of Saint Louis of Toulouse that the widowed queen appears in the texts. The presence of Robert, king of Naples, also provides a plausible explanation. The chroniclers established a direct link between the two events: Clemence wanted to meet her uncle, which happened in Marseille during the transfer of the remains of the bishop of Toulouse. This is how the anonymous continuator of the *Chronique abrégée* of Guillaume de Nangis and Jean de Paris relate Clemence's stay in the Midi⁶⁴. Other authors only remember her coming to Provence, the honourable reception by the pope in Avignon, the installation in the convent of the Dominican nuns of Aix-en-Provence⁶⁵.

The other moments in the life of the widowed queen were of little interest to the chroniclers. It is only Jean de Paris and Geoffroy de Paris who note the expected sum of Clemence's dower, the 20,000 livres⁶⁶. The extract from the life of the patron saint of the Parisian abbey of Saint-Magloire echoes a procession that Clémence attended and offered a gift of two silk sheets and a gilded and enameled clasp decorated with precious pearls⁶⁷. The charitable actions did not escape the attention of the chronicler who stopped his pen in 1380 and of an unknown author from Paris: they were the ones who noted in 1326 the presence of Clemence at the laying of the first stone of the Hôtel-Dieu de Paris⁶⁸.

Finally, only two narrative sources, the continuation of the Latin chronicle of Guillaume de Nangis and the *Grandes Chroniques de France*, record Clemence's death. And it is quite precise: the day of her death and the place of burial are noted⁶⁹. The conventional image of Clemence even appears in Petrarch's work: the unfortunate fate of a queen who became a widow prematurely, but who exchanges

⁶⁴ Appendix, text nr. 3, 8.

⁶⁵ Appendix, text nr. 1, 4, 5.

⁶⁶ Appendix, text nr. 6, 8.

⁶⁷ Appendix, text nr. 13.

⁶⁸ Appendix, text nr. 14 et 14bis. The event is also reported by archival sources: Paris, Archives Nationales de France, L 611, nr. 8, 13, 23. Cf. LE GRAND, Léon – *Les Maisons-Dieu et léproseries du diocèse de Paris*. Nogent-le-Rotrou: Imprimerie Daupeley-Gouverneur, 1899, p. XXIII; ALLIROT, Anne-Hélène – *Filles de roy de France*, p. 333.

⁶⁹ The continuation merely gives the middle of October, while the other notes with precision the day of 13 October of the same month. Appendix. text 1, 4.

the pains of earthly life for eternal happiness. The same motif is found in one of the *Familiales* addressed to Robert of Anjou at the end of the 1330s, about ten years after the death of the niece of the king of Naples⁷⁰.

The image of Clemencia that contemporary chroniclers have maintained is only anecdotally interested in dynastic bonds, and only some of them have considered it worth recording that the French queen is a descendant of the Anjou of Naples and a relative of the Hungarian royal family. For most of them, the power of the “accursed kings”, the extinction of the Capetings, and the rise of the Valois, filled out the substance of what they had to say and provided a guide for their pens. And the appearance of the adjective ‘Hungarian’ next to the name of Clemencia is one of the very rare exceptions. It is found only in a continuation of Guillaume de Nangis's *Chronique abrégée* (version 'C') and in Lescot's variant of the *Grandes chroniques de France*. It is perhaps thanks to these influential narrative sources that the form of Clemence of Hungary has become established in the public consciousness.

Appendix

Narrative sources regarding Clemence of Hungary

The purpose of publishing the following excerpts is to show the references of contemporary narrative sources to Clemence of Hungary. The list is exhaustive in the sense that it contains all the information maintained in these 14th century sources. A detailed analysis of the manuscripts has not been foreseen, a general presentation attempts to orient the reader in the intertextuality of the French and Latin narrative sources of the years 1280-1350. Therefore, only the first confirmed appearances of Clemence of Hungary are listed in the following. The texts taken up by other members of the same manuscript family are omitted.

⁷⁰ Appendix, text nr. 20, 21. Cf. HUFFELMANN, Annie M. – *Clemenzen von Ungarn, Königin von Frankreich*, p. 62, note nr. 254; BARBERO, Alessandro – “Letteratura e politica fra Provenza e Napoli”. In *L'État angevin. Pouvoir, culture et société entre XIIIe et XIVe siècle. Actes du colloque international organisé par l'American Academy in Rome, l'École française de Rome, l'Istituto storico italiano per il Medio Evo, l'U. M. R. Telemme et l'Université de Provence, l'Università degli studi di Napoli, Federico II* (Rome-Naples, 7-11 novembre 1995). Rome: École française de Rome, 1998 (Collection de l'École française de Rome 245), pp. 159–172, here: pp. 168–169.

A) Texts produced in France

I. Texts relating to the Dionysian atelier

1. *Continuatio Chronici universalis Guillelmi de Nangiaco*⁷¹

- “[1314] *Misit etiam circa natale Domini cambellanum et secretarium suum Hugonem de Bovilla militem, cum aliis certis nuntiis ad partes Siciliae, ad adducendum Clementiam regis Hungariae filiam, sibi matrimonio copulandam*”.⁷²
- “[...] *proficiscens in Flandriam ultima die mensis ejusdem [31 juillet 1315] reginam Clementiam sibi matrimonio copulavit, dominica sequenti in festo sancti Stephani protomartyris [3 août 1315] ipsi vero pariter coronatis et sacra unctione consecratis [...]*”⁷³.
- “[anno 1316] *Ludovicus rex Franciae et Navarrae febre gravi per aliquot dies in domo regali nemoris Vicenarum correptus, quinta die mensis junii diem [5 juin] clausit extremum, reginam Clementiam de quodam puero impraegnatam relinquens, habensque filiam unicam, nomine Johannam de Marguerita prima conjuga defuncta*”⁷⁴.
- “[anno 1316] *Philippus [...] Parisius parlamentum fecit congregari, in quo [...] exstitit ordinatum, ut usque ad decem et octo annos, etiam si ex regina Clementia, quam frater eius gravidam relinquerat, puer masculus nasceretur, servaret et regeret regnum Franciae et etiam Navarrae*”⁷⁵.
- “*Parisius apud Luparam XVII kalendas decembris [15 novembre 1316] ex regina Clementia quartana laborante natus est puer masculus, regis Ludovici nuper defuncti primus filius [...] Johannesque vocatus, XIII kalendas mensis praedicti [19 novembre 1316] ibidem decessit, die scilicet veneris immedietate sequenti. Die vero*

⁷¹ *Continuatio Chronici Guillelmi de Nangiaco*. In GÉRAUD, Hercule (Ed.) – *Chronique latine de Guillaume de Nangis, de 1113 à 1300, avec les continuations de cette chronique, de 1300 à 1368*. Vol. I–II. Paris: J. Renouard et Cie, 1843. vol. I, pp. 327–435, vol. II, pp. 1–378 (cited hereafter CCGN). Accessed 7 January 2020. Available at <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k6545870g?rk=21459;2>. First continuations of the *Chronique universelle* (in Latin) of Guillaume de Nangis until 1340 by Dionysian monks. Cf. GÉRAUD, Hercule – *De Guillaume de Nangis et de ses continuateurs*, pp. 27–29; GUYOT-BACHY, Isabelle – MOEGLIN, Jean-Marie – “Comment ont été continuées”, *passim*.

⁷² CCGN, p. 415.

⁷³ CCGN, vol. I, pp. 422–423.

⁷⁴ CCGN, vol. I, p. 426.

⁷⁵ CCGN, vol. I, p. 427.

sequenti in ecclesia beati Dionysii ad pedes patri defuncti [...] traditus est ecclesiasticae sepulturae"⁷⁶.

- *"Regina Clementia vidua Ludovici quondam regis Franciae relictā, credens avunculum suum regem Siciliae ibidem invenire, circa festum Omnium Sanctorum Avinionem intravit; sed quamvis ab ipsa ibidem aliquamdiu exspectatus [...] illuc venire non potuit, ipsa salutato Papa a quo multum benigniter recepta fuerat, de ejusdem consilio Aquis in conventu sororum sancti Dominici se transtulit, et avunculi sui regis adventum diutius exspectavit"*⁷⁷.
- *"Hoc autem anno, circa medium mensis octobris Clementia, uxor quondam regis Ludovici primogeniti regis Philippi Pulchri, Parisius moritur, et in ecclesia fratrum Praedicatorum Parisius sepelitur"*⁷⁸.

2. Continuation of the Chronique abrégée de Guillaume de Nangis (version „A")⁷⁹

- *"[1315–1316] I. an et IX. moys regna le roy Looyz e lessa la royne Clemence sa fame, fille au roy de Hongrie, enceinte dun effant malle qui puis sa mort fu nez e baptisez et Jehan apelez, e vesqui environ VIII. jours et fu enterrez a S. Denys en France e ès piés son pere mis"*⁸⁰.

3. Anonyme continuation of the Chronique abrégée de Guillaume de Nangis (version „C")⁸¹

- *"Après le roy Phelippe le biau regna en France Loys ros de Navarre son fiex; et commença a regner en lan de l'Incarnacion Nostre Seigneur Ihesu Christ M CCC XV.*

⁷⁶ CCGN, vol. I p. 430–431.

⁷⁷ CCGN, vol. II, p. 12–13.

⁷⁸ CCGN, vol. II, p. 104.

⁷⁹ DELISLE Léopold – "Mémoire sur les ouvrages de Guillaume de Nangis", pp. 350–353; GUYOT-BACHY, Isabelle – "La Chronique abrégée des rois de France" de Guillaume de Nangis, pp. 41–43; GUYOT-BACHY, Isabelle; MOEGLIN, Jean-Marie – "Comment ont été continuées", pp. 388–389; BOUQUET, Martin Dom *et al.* (Eds.) – *Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France*. Vol. XX, Paris: J. Renouard et Cie, 1855 (cited hereafter: RHGF XX), pp. 647–653. Accessed 7 January 2020. Available at <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k50138z/f722.image.texteImage>.

⁸⁰ RHGF vol. XX, p. 652.

⁸¹ BNF MS Français 10132. Accessed 7 January 2020. Available at <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b90632136/f1.image>. For the description of the manuscript see: <https://archivesetmanuscrits.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cc417682>. Accessed 17 January 2020. Cf. GUYOT-BACHY, Isabelle; MOEGLIN, Jean-Marie – "Comment ont été continuées", pp. 390–391; DELISLE, Léopold – "Mémoire sur les ouvrages de Guillaume de Nangis", p. 355.

Et a Rains la cite, le dimenche apres les octaves de lAssompcion de la glorieuse vierge Marie mere de Nostre Seigneur Jhesu Christ [24 août 1315], avec sa femme, la royne Clymence ditte de Hongrie, niece le roy Robert de Sezille, fu sacre et coronne en roy ; laquelle Clymence, de fille [de] Charles Martell, fiex [de] de Charles le secont roy de Sezille, le mardin devant son coronnement, ycelui roy avoit espousee [19 août 1315] la royne Clymence”⁸².

- *“Et en ycest an certainement le jour du samedi après la feste de Pentescouste, le V jours ci mois de juign [5 juin 1316] au bois de Vincennes, Loys roy de France et de Navarre clost son derrenier jour. Et lendemain ensivant c’est assavoir le dimenche feste de la Trinité, ei VI jours de junis [6 juin 1316] dessus dit, à Saint Denis en France fu porté, et lendemain [7 juin 1316] en ycele eglise honnorablement enterré. [...] Icelui roy de France Loys regna après son coronnement au royaume de France coronné, IX mois et demi ou environ et laissa sa femme grosse, la royne Clymence”⁸³.*
- *“En ce temps la royne Climence chei en une quartaine dont lenfant que elle avoit en son ventre en fit mout peine. Donc puis entour la saint Martin elle enfanta dun fil qui qui fu nommes [!] Jehan mez il vesqui II iours ou III seulement et des lors le conte de Poitiers tint comme roys le royaume, mes le duc de Bourgoigne li nia contradicion pour sa niece a la quelle le royaume devoit avoir comme a la plus prochaine fille de roys par droit. Mes respondu li fu que fames ne devoient pas succeder ei royaume de France [...]”⁸⁴.*
- *“[1318] En cel temps la royne Climence qui ot oy que li voir Robert venoit devers le lape, vint a Avignon pour le pape et son oncle veoir et li pape la recut honnorablement e la fit demourer a os[tel] avec les soeurs Jacobines. [...] En cel temps li roys Robert manda a la royne Climence que il vendroit a Marseille a la Penthecoste ou son frere saint Lois qui canonises estoit devoit estre releves solempnement, et il senifia que elle y feust”⁸⁵.*

⁸² BNF MS Français 10132, fol. 398v.

⁸³ BNF MS Français 10132, fol. 399v.

⁸⁴ BNF MS Français 10132, fol. 400r.

⁸⁵ BNF MS Français 10132, fol. 401r-v.

4. Grandes Chroniques de France (version „Lescot”)⁸⁶

- “Après Phelippe le biau roy, regna en France Loys ros de Navarre son filz ; et commença à regner en l’an de l’Incarnacion Nostre Seigneur M CCC XV. Et à Rains la cité, le dimenche après les octaves de l’Assompcion de la benoite vierge Marie mère de Nostre Seigneur Jhesu Christ [24 août 1315], avec sa femme, la royne Climence de Hongrie, niece au roy Robert de Sezille, fu sacré et couronné en roy ; laquelle Climence, de fille [de] Charles Martell, filz [de] de Charles le secont roy de Sezille, le mardi devant son couronnement, ycelui roy avoit espousée [19 août 1315]”⁸⁷.
- “Et après ce, furent envoiez, de par ledit roy Loys ambassadeurs à court de Rome pour promouvoir l’eslection du pape, [...]. Et en après, envoya ledit roy Loys son chambellenc et secretaire messire Hue de Bouville chevalier et avec autres certains messages es parties de Sezille, pour avoir Climence la fille au roy de Hongrie en mariage”⁸⁸.
- “En cest an vraiment, le jour du samedi après la feste de Penthescouste, le V jours de juign [5 juin 1316] au bois de Vincennes, Loys roy de France clost son derrenier jour, et l’endemain ensivant c’est à savoir le jour de la Trinité, VI jours en juign [6 juin 1316], à Saint Denis en France fu porté, et l’endemain [7 juin 1316] honnorablement enterré. [...] Icelui roy de France et de Navarre Loys, regna après son couronnement, couronné du royaume de France, IX mois et demi ou environ et laissa sa femme, la royne Climence, grosse”⁸⁹.
- “Philippe V le Long. Le premier chapitre parle de la mort Jehan filz du roy de France et de Navarre qu’il ot de la royne Climence ; et comment Phelippe conte de Poitiers fu couronné en roy du royaume de France après la mort dudit roy Jehan, lequel estoit son neveu, si comme celui qui estoit filz de son frere Loys. [...] I. De la mort Jehan filz du roi de France et de Navarra, qu’il ot de la royne Climence [...]. En l’an de grâce

⁸⁶ VIARD, Jules Marie Édouard (Ed.) – *Les grandes chroniques de France. VIII. (Philippe III le Hardi, Philippe IV le Bel, Louis X le Hutin, Philippe V le Long)*; VIARD, Jules Marie Édouard (Ed.) – *Les grandes chroniques de France. IX. (Charles IV le Bel, Philippe VI de Valois)*. Paris: Honoré Champion, 1937. The text published under the title "Chronicle of Saint-Denis" is almost identical to this one. It includes the passages from 1315 (marriage), 1316 (death of John I), 1318 (stay in Provence). RHGF vol. XX, pp. 654–724, here pp. 697, 699 and 701.

⁸⁷ VIARD, Jules Marie Édouard (Ed.) – *Les grandes chroniques de France. VIII*, p. 320.

⁸⁸ VIARD, Jules Marie Édouard (Ed.) – *Les grandes chroniques de France. VIII*, p. 322.

⁸⁹ VIARD, Jules Marie Édouard (Ed.) – *Les grandes chroniques de France. VIII*, p. 328.

mil CCC XVI, la royne Climence qui estoit ençainte, chei en une quartaine qui moult greva sa porteure, et enfanta I filz qui avoit non [nom] Jehan qui mourut assez tost ; pourquoy Phelippe conte de Poitiers se mist en possession des royaumes. Mais le duc de Bourgoigne et sa mere li estoient contraries, et disoient que la fille [de] son frere le roy Loys devoit heritier. Mais les autres disoient que femme ne puet heritier ou royaume de France. Pour ce ledit Phelippe fu coronné en roy, et à la nuit de la Thiphaine après, fu receu comme roy à Paris. Et tantost il appella ledit Robert d'Artois, et l'en li donna la contée de Biaumont en Normendie"⁹⁰.

- *"En ce temps, la royne Climence se parti de France et de ala à Avignon ; et là cuida trouver son oncle le roy de Sezille et entra en Avignon. Mais son oncle n'estoit pas venu ; si s'en ala saluer le pape, lequel la reçut moult benignement et li eslut son demeure jusques à la venue de son oncle, en l'ostel des seurs de saint Dominique*"⁹¹.
- *"Item en l'an dessus dit ; c'est à savoir le treziesme jour d'octobre [13 octobre 1328], la royne Climence, femme jadis au roy Loys Hutin, trespasa, et en l'église des Freres Prescheurs de Paris fu enterree*"⁹².

5. Continuation of the *Chronicon universalis* of Géraud de Frachet (attributed to Richard Lescot, 1344–1356)⁹³

- *"Ludovicus rex [...] misit etiam circa Natale Domini [1314] cambellanum et secretarium suum, Hugonem de Bovilla milite, cum aliis ad partes Sicilae pro filia regis Hungarie, Clementia nomine, sibi matrimonio copulanda*"⁹⁴.
- *"[...] proficiscens in Flandriam ultima die Julii [31 juillet 1315] reginam Clementiam in matrimonio copulavit. Ipsi vero, Remis pariter coronatis et consecratis [...]. Illic autem ante recessum suum rex ipse, avuncolorum suorum, fratrum et baronum consilio, dotasse dicitur reginam Clementiam de viginti miliabus libris, redditibus terre, apud Lorriz, Baugenciacum, Montargis, Fontainebliaudi et alibi, et de hoc litteras fecisse*"⁹⁵.

⁹⁰ VIARD, Jules Marie Édouard (Ed.) – *Les grandes chroniques de France. VIII*, pp. 333–335.

⁹¹ VIARD, Jules Marie Édouard (Ed.) – *Les grandes chroniques de France. VIII*, p. 343.

⁹² VIARD, Jules Marie Édouard (Ed.) – *Les grandes chroniques de France. IX*, p. 94.

⁹³ RHGF vol. XXI, pp. 1–70; MOLINIER, Auguste – "2529. Géraud de Frachet"; GUYOT-BACHY, Isabelle; MOEGLIN, Jean-Marie – "Comment ont été continuées", pp. 397–399.

⁹⁴ RHGF vol. XXI, p. 42.

⁹⁵ RHGF vol. XXI, p. 44.

- “*Ludovicus, rex Francie et Navarre, febre gravi apud nemus Vicenarum correptus, quinta die mensis Junii [5 juin] expiravit, reginam Clementiam impraegnantem relinquens, filiamque unicam, nomine Johannam, de Margareta quondam Navarrae reginam defuncta*”⁹⁶.
- “*Parisius apud Luperam, XVII. Kalendas mensis Decembris [15 novembre 1316], natus est ex regina Clementia filius qui, natus et renatus Johannesque vocatus, XIII Kalendas mensis praedicti [19 novembre 1316] ibidem decessit, ac deinde in ecclesia Beati Dionysii, ad pedes patris defuncti, traditur sepulturae Philippo comite Pictavensis se tenente pro rege Franciae et Navarrae, tunc praesente, corpusque parvuli cum avunculis suis, Karolo et Ludovico, ad tumulum deferente*”⁹⁷.
- “*Regina Clementia, credens avunculum suum, regem Siciliae invenire, Avinionem intravit [1318]. Qui diu expectatus, nec ita cito veniens sicut vellet, maxime propter guerram Januensium, quos pertransierat, ipsa summo pontifice salutato, a quo benigne recepta fuerat, ejusdem consilio, Aquis, in conventu sororum Sancti Dominici se transferens, adventum avunculi sui diutius expectavit*”⁹⁸.

II. Texts outside the scope of the Dionysian atelier (but some of which influenced it)

6. Rhymed chronicle attributed to Geoffrey of Paris⁹⁹

<i>“El mois d’aoust, pris le roy fame</i>	<i>Mès au partir de la contrée</i>
<i>Une très haute et noble dame:</i>	<i>Souffri mainte male journée</i>
<i>C’est la fille au roy de Hongrie</i>	<i>Dont èle ot mult le cuer amer</i>
<i>Et cèle ne lis le desdit mie</i>	<i>Jusqu’a Marceille vint par mer</i>
<i>Mariez fu à Saint-Lyé</i>	<i>Mès ançois qu’el i fust venue</i>
<i>Dieu doint que le royaume en soit lié</i>	<i>Mainte grant doulor ot éue</i>
<i>Plus qu’i ne fu de la première !</i>	<i>Car en mer perdi mains joyaux</i>
<i>De bèle et cortoise manière</i>	<i>Des siens les meilleurs, les plus</i>
<i>Envers tous la royne estoit</i>	<i>biax</i>

⁹⁶ RHGF vol. XXI, p. 45.

⁹⁷ RHGF vol. XXI, p. 47.

⁹⁸ RHGF vol. XXI, p. 51.

⁹⁹ RHGF vol. XXII, pp. 87–166.

*Et humblement se deportoit
En parole et en fet fu sage
Près de Troies le mariage
Fu si com j'entériné
Feste n'i ot n'encortiné
Nul chose mès moult brièment
Fu parfait cest espusement
Car Loys le roy haste avoir
Qui en Flandre aler devoit
De gent por ce not habondance
Ni si n'i on feste ne dance
La Royne avoit nom Clymence
Son nom ne failli pas en ce
Car elle estoit moult débonère
Si ne li fu son nom contraire
Nièce au roy Robert de Cezille
Car de son frère elle estoit fille
L'aisné celui qui estoit roy
Et gouverneur des Hungerroy*

*"[...] Mès [Louis X] trespasa et Diex li face
Pardon, et se maux li efface*

*"[...] Et otroia et si vorra
Que la royne avoir porra
Sans ratranchier ne sans retraire*

*Aussi li et sa compaignie
Furent près de perdre la vie
Dont forment se doulourosoit
Et par très grant doulor disoit
„Omnipotens biax Sire Diex
Qui es gouverneres des ciex
Et qui soustiens trestout le
monde
Gard que ta gent ci n'afonde
Ne sueffre pas que ta gent muire
Por moi mes saus les fai conduire
Et por eix tous ci me retien
Por moi ne doivent perdre rien
Mès pour elx tous me retenez"
Le marinier qui fu senex
Tant comme il pot les conforta
Jusques tant que Diex les porta
Touz haitiez sans drécier la velle
Jusqu'en la cité de Marseille"¹⁰⁰.*

*"[...] Clymence veuve demora
Qui grant tems souvent en
plora"¹⁰¹*

*Jusqu'a XX m[ille] son douaire
Et ce li devoir assez plaire
Car il est assis devers Laire"¹⁰².*

7. Chronicle compiled by an anonymous author in 1356¹⁰³

¹⁰⁰ RHGF vol. XXII, p. 161.

¹⁰¹ RHGF vol. XXII, p. 164.

¹⁰² RHGF vol. XXII, p. 165.

¹⁰³ RHGF vol. XXI, pp. 137–140.

- “L’an mil III. C. XVI. la vigille de la Trinité [29 mai 1316] trespasse Loys, roy de France et de Navarre. Et la Royne Clémence, sa seconde femme, demoura ensainte, et eut son enffant au Louvre, à heures de matin, le samedi après la Saint-Martin d’hiver ensuivant [13 novembre 1316] ; lequel ne vesquit que huit jours, mais l’en disoit qu’il ne vint pas à terme ; et fut la royne malade de fiebvres cartes en sa gésine. [...]”¹⁰⁴.

8. Memoriale historiarum of Jean de Paris, canon of St. Victor of Paris¹⁰⁵

- “Hoc etiam anno [1314] rex novus misit nuncios solempnes ad regem Siciliae, ut sibi mitteret Clementiam, neptem suam, filiam regis Hungariae, fratris [sic !] sui, proponens eam accipere in uxorem: quam dum diutius expectaret juvenili ardore accensus, fraena incontinentiae laxavit. [...] Dicta autem Clementia, per marem veniens, passa est naufragium ut vix ipsa et sui maris periculum evitarent. Multis autem jocalibus peditis pretiosis, tandem in Franciam est adducta. Rex autem versus Remis, ubi debebat coronam regni accipere in Assumptione sanctae Mariae [15 août], festinabat. Et dum esset in quodam manerio prope Treca, quod dicitur Sanctus Laetus, duxit dictam Clementinam in uxorem, nec curavit quod pro hoc magnus fieret solempnitatis apparatus”¹⁰⁶.
- “Cum sicut puer ad jactum pilae diu laborasset, admodumque fuisset calefactus, indiscrete sequens sensibile appetitum, in quamdam frigidissimam caveam est adductus, et sine mensura bibit vinum ; frigus eum usque ad viscera penetravit, et statim decumbens in lecto obiit in vigilia Trinitatis [29 mai] ; et ita vix per triennium miles fuit. Sepultus est igitur cum corona duplici Franciae et Navarrae apud Sanctum Dionysium in Francia, juxta patrem. Remansit autem regina vidua impregnata. [...] Veniens autem comes Pictaviensis habuit consilium quod tanquam regem se gereret et in possessione regni se poneret, donec per barones esset aliud ordinatum. Venit ergo Parisius, et posuit se in regali palatio, et fecit claudi omnia ostia praeter unum. Regina autem Clementia se praegnantem ei certitudinaliter nunciavit. Convocatis itaque baronibus regni, sic fuit finaliter ordinatum, quod comes Pictaviensis esset regni Franciae gubernator, et omnes proventus reciperet,

¹⁰⁴ RHGF vol. XXI, p. 140.

¹⁰⁵ RHGF vol. XXI, pp. 630–676; GUYOT-BACHY, Isabelle; MOEGLIN, Jean-Marie – “Comment ont été continuées”, pp. 391–393, 427–433.

¹⁰⁶ RHGF vol. XXI, p. 661.

et regine necessaria ministraret ; et si masculum pareret, comes regnia gardiam usque ad annos XXIII. retineret et bella et misias alias ministraret, et reginae viginti millia librarum redditus assignaret, de quibus quatuor millia hereditarie possideret ; in anno autem vicesimo quinto, regnum puero, tanquam vero heredi, libere resignaret, et ei tanquam domino obediret ; si autem femina orietur, comes ex tunc pro rege ab omnibus haberetur, et puelle, prout ius consuetudo requireret, provideret. Quo promisso, tanquam gubernatori fecerunt ei homagium principes et barones, excepto duce Burgundiae, qui neptem filiam sororiae suae, reginae Navarae, quam lex Ludovicus, dum viveret, pro filia legitima recognovit, voluit habere penes se, de fraus aliqua fieret contra eam, quae nutriendum sibi tradita fuit”¹⁰⁷.

- *“Regina Clementia incidit in cartanam, qua longo tempore laboravit ; et tenello foetui in ejus utero nocuit aegritudo. Peperit igitur circa festum sancti Martini, puerum masculum, qui Johannes in baptisate vocatus est, sed modico tempore supervixit. Post cujus mortem comes Pictaviensis regnum obtinuit”¹⁰⁸.*
- *“Mandaverat autem [Robertus, rex Neapoli] reginae Clemetiae, nepti suae, quod ad papam, qui in Avinione posuerat sedem suam, venire satis cito. Venit ergo dicta regina Avenionem, avunculum suum videre cupiens ; et recepta curialiter a papa, de ejus consilio ivit Aquis, et ibi diu avunculum expectavit” [...] „Igitur rex ad obsidendam Sagonam misit multitudinem armatorum, mandans Clementiae reginae quod in Pentescostes festo sequenti proponebat esse apud Massiliam, ubi frater suus Ludovicus, qui jam canonizatus fuerat, debebat sollempniter elevari.”¹⁰⁹.*

9. Chronicles of Flanders by an anonymous author¹¹⁰

- *“Et quant tous fust appresté, il party de Paris en bon estat, et à noble compaigne s'en ala à Rains, ou il fut honourablement recheu et festoié et consacré roy de France par les mains de monseigneur Pierre de Courteney, archevesque de Rains. Après son sacre retourna le roy Loys à Paris, si trouva que madame sa femme quy avoit par avant esté emprisonnée ou chastel Gaillard, comme dit es dessus, estoit alée à de vie par mort ; et en estoit demeurée une moult belle fille nommée Jehenne laquelle fut*

¹⁰⁷ RHGF vol. XXI, p. 663.

¹⁰⁸ RHGF vol. XXI, p. 665.

¹⁰⁹ RHGF vol. XXI, p. 668.

¹¹⁰ RHGF vol. XXII, pp. 329–429.

depuis royne de Navarre de par son père et fut donnée à femme à messire Philippe, filz messire Loys de France, si fut roi de Navarre de par elle. Les barons de France s'avisèrent qu'il seroit bon que le roy de France fust marié. Adont ilz envoièrent querre une moult noble dame qui estoit fille du roy de Honguerie, et avoit à nom Clémence, et quant elle fut venue en France, le roy la prist à femme, et porta couronne”¹¹¹.

- *“Ung jour advint qu’il avoit joué [Louis X] a la paulme et estoit moult eschauffé, si lui print grant volenté de boire et l’an lui aporta d’un bon vin, mais il estoit aussi froit que glace, car il venoit d’une bove très profonde. Et sur la chaleur qu’il avoit, il en but trop largement, là en devint sa graisse tant tant reffroidye et son oint si fondu, qu’il en se sceut remettre à point. Pour quoy il chey en unes fievres, et tantos agrava sa maladie, tellement que au septieme jour il en rendi l’ame et fu son corps porté à Saint Denys, où il fut enterré emprés de som père. Ainsi trespasa le roi Loys quy fut nommé Hustin. Ung petit filz lui estoit demouré de la royne Clémence, sa femme, nommé Jehan, et ne avoit que ung mois au trepas de son père”¹¹².*

10. Flores chronicarum of Bernard Gui¹¹³

- *“Eodemque anno, ultima die mensis Julii [31 juillet 1315], praefatus rex Ludovicus desponsavit sibi in facie Ecclesie uxorem, Clementiam, filiam quondam Karoli Martelli, qui fuit filius primogenitus Karoli secundi, regis Siciliae, addictam sibi de Neapoli. Sequenti vero Dominica prima Augusti, in festo Inventionis sancti Stephani [3 août], Ludovicus fuit iniunctus in regem Francorum, Remis civitate, per archiepiscopum Remensem, ut moris est, cum memorata Clementia, nova sponsa sua. [...] Idem Ludovicus, rex Francie et Navarre, regnavit anno uno et dimidio ; obiit autem Parisius, Sabbato infra octavas Pentescostes, nonis Junii, scilicet quinta die ejusdem mensis [5 juin] ; fuitque corpus ejus cum honore regio in monasterio Sancti Dionysii tumulatum, anno Domini M. CCC. XVI. regni vero sui anno secundo, aetatis autem suae anno XXVII. ex prima uxore sua, Marguarita nomine, filiam unicam, Johannam nominam, derelinquens, secunda vero uxore, Clementia regina,*

¹¹¹ RHGF vol. XXII, p. 402.

¹¹² RHGF vol. XXII, p. 405.

¹¹³ GUENÉE, Bernard – *Between Church and State*, p. 47; BRUN, Laurent – Bernard Gui; RHGF vol. XXI, pp. 690–734.

remanente gravida et praegnante. Gubernacula autem utriusque regni, videlicet Franciae et Navarrae, suscepit Philippus germanus ejus, comes Pictaviensis, sub nomina regentis tenenda si puer masculus nasceretur, usquequo ad intellegibilem aetatem annorum XIII pervenisset; si vero filia nasceretur, ipse Philippus rex Francorum fieret et regnaret et duae filiae Ludovici haberent et sibi dividerent regnum Navarrae et Campaniae comitatum. Et haec dicuntur fuisse pacta prima inita et firmata, quamvis postmodum aliter fuit ordinatum. Post haec vero XIII die mensis sequentis mensis Novembris [14 novembre 1316], dominica die, sub nocte media praecedente, memorata domina Clementia regina peperit filium progenitum Parisius, et Johannes vocatus est, nomen ejus; et multi in nativitate ejus gavisii sunt. Sed gaudio cito pertansiit; nam VII die a nativitate [20 novembre 1316] infans obiit, et abiit regnum sibi accipere sempiternum. Regnumque Francorum et Navarrae prefato domino Philippo permansit vel remansit”¹¹⁴.

11. Regni Francie chronicon by an anonymous author¹¹⁵

- *“Ludovicus X Philippi V [!] praedicti primogenitus coepit anno Domini M. CCC. XIII, regnavitque in Francia annis duobis mensibus VI vel circa. [...] et infra mensem regni ejus vel circa uxor ejus, ducis Burgondiae filia qui ob crimen adulterii in privata custodia tunc tenebatur, defuncta est, unica remanente ex ea filia. [...] Eodem anno, die ultima Julii, Ludovicus rex uxorem accepit Clementiam, Karoli Martelli, primogenit Karoli secundi regis Siciliae filiam, et secunda Dominica, fuit cum ea in regem Francorum Remis iniunctus et coronatus. [...] Anno Domini M. CCC. XVI. Nonis Junii [5 juin 1316] obiit Ludovicus, et in monasteri Sancti Dionysii tumulatus est, eius uxore praegnante relicta. Gubernacula vero utriusque regni, Franciae scilicet et Navarrae suscepit Philippus frater ejus, comes Pictaviae, ut regens si puer masculus nasceretur, donec ad inintelligibilem aetatem pervenisset. Post haec vero, die XIII mensis Novembris [13 novembre 1316], dicta Clementia peperit filium ejus nomen vocatum est Johannes, qui die VII a sua nativitate [19 novembre 1316] decessit”¹¹⁶.*

¹¹⁴ RHGF vol. XXI, pp. 725–726.

¹¹⁵ RHGF vol. XXII, pp. 16–21.

¹¹⁶ RHGF vol. XXII, pp. 19–20.

12. Tabula of Robert Mignon¹¹⁷

- “[...] *post obitum regis Ludovici, primogeniti dicti regis [Philippi Pulchri], qui rex Ludovicus obiit V. Junii CCC. XVI. [5 juin 1316] et post obitum Johannis, primogeniti dicti regis Ludovici, qui obiit circa VIII. dies post XIII. Novembris CCC. XVI. [14 et 21 novembre 1316] qua fuerat natus de regina Clementia, uxore dicti regis Ludovici [...]*”¹¹⁸.

13. Extract from the life of St. Magloire

- “[...] *Puis vint en grant humiliance / La noble roïne Climence [...] Deus dras de soie et un fermail / Doerz, à pierres et esmail / Offri la roïne Climence*”¹¹⁹.

14. Chronicle by an anonymous author up to 1380¹²⁰

- “*Ou dit an, le VIII^e jour de novembre [8 novembre 1316], Climence, royne de France et de Navarre, veufve du feu Loys, ot enffant ou Louvre, lequel fut nommé Jehan ; lequel trespasa au dit Louvre le XVIII^e jour du dit mois de novembre ensuivant [18 novembre 1316], et après fut enterré en l’église de Saint-Denis, emprès son père [...]*”¹²¹.
- “*Ou dit an M. CCC. XXV. [...] XII. ans après édifièrent et fondèrent à Paris l’hospital ou Hostel-Dieu, nommé le Saint Sépulcre, en la rue Saint-Denis, auquel Ysabel, royne d’Engleterre, seur du dit roy, son filz Edouart, duc d’Acquitaine, successeur du royaume d’Engleterre, et Climence, royne de France et de Navarre, assist chacun la première pierre*”¹²².

14bis Parisian chronicle by an anonymous author of the 14th century¹²³

- “*Et en cest an [1322], le mercredi après la saint Barnabé l’apostre, au mois de juing [16 juin 1322], très noble dame et de grant sainteté Blance, fille saint Louys,*

¹¹⁷ RHGF vol. XXI, pp. 519–529.

¹¹⁸ RHGF vol. XXI, pp. 523.

¹¹⁹ RHGF vol. XXII, pp. 168, 169.

¹²⁰ RHGF vol. XXI, pp. 141–145.

¹²¹ RHGF vol. XXI, p. 143.

¹²² RHGF vol. XXI, pp. 144–145.

¹²³ *Chronique parisienne anonyme du XIV^e siècle*. Ed. HELLOT, A. Nogent-le-Rotrou: Daupeley-Gouverneur, 1884. Accessed 7 January 2020. Available at <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k5438578z.texteImage>.

*jadiz fame de feu Ferrant, l'ainsné filz le roy de Castelle, en l'abbaye des seurs cordelieres de saint Marceil de lez Paris, en Nostre Seigneur Jhesucrist clovist son dernier jour ; et le dimenche ensuivant, devant la Nativité saint Jehan Baptiste, à Paris, en l'église des freres Mineurs, en lieu qui en sa vie avoit esté par elle esleuz, present Climence la roynne de France et de Navarre et Jehanne roynne de France et de Navarre, fame le desrenier Philippe adonc nouvellement trespasé, et mout de haultes personnes, fut honnourablement enterrée*¹²⁴.

- “[...] à Paris [...] douze ans aprez [1325] ce, en la ville de Paris, en la grant rue Saint-Denys, à l'opposite de Champeaux, en honneur de Nostre Seigneur et de sainte Croix et de son saint Sépulcre, édifièrent et fonderent ung hostel-dieu ; au quel Ysabel la roynne d'Engleterre, fille au dit Philippe le Beaux, et son filz Edouart le duc d'Acquitaine, successeur au'royaulme d'Engleterre, qui adonc estoient en France, et Climence la roynne de France et de Navarre, assist chacun la première pierre”¹²⁵.

15. Miroir historial of Jean Desnouvelles (Jean de Noyal ou de Guise)¹²⁶

- “*Et la seconde femme ot nom Climence, et fu fille au roy de Hongrie. Chis Loys ne rengna que I. an, et fu empuisonnez ; et la royne Climence demoura grosse d'un fil, et Philippes, li frère du roy, demoura regens du roialme. Après que la dame fu accouquie, li emfes fu appelez en baptesme Jehans, et ne vesqui que X. jours*”¹²⁷.

16. Guillaume l'Écossais' chronicle, monk of Saint-Denis¹²⁸

- “*Iste Ludovicus, dum adhuc pater viveret in regem Navarrae coronatus, patri succedens in regno Francorum, dominica post festum beatae Mariae-Magdaleneae [27 juillet 1314], visitato prius patrono suo Dionysi, eius orationibus se recommendans, Remis, una cum regina Clementia, regis Hungariae filia, quam paucis ante diebus sibi in consortem acceperat, est inunctus. Regnavit autem parum plus anno cum dimidio, et mortuus, in ecclesia Beati Dionysii sepultus, nullum haeredem praeterquam unum in reginae utero deriliquit. Qui natus est renatus,*

¹²⁴ *Chronique parisienne anonyme du XIV^e siècle*, p. 70.

¹²⁵ *Chronique parisienne anonyme du XIV^e siècle*, pp. 102–103.

¹²⁶ MOLINIER, Auguste – “3101. Jean de Noyal”; RHGF vol. XXI, pp. 181–198.

¹²⁷ RHGF vol. XXI, p. 197.

¹²⁸ FUNKE, Paul – *Papst Benedikt XI*, p. 5; RHGF vol. XXI, pp. 201–211.

Johannesque vocatus, infra dierum octo spatium moritur, et ad pedes in praefata ecclesia tumultatur"¹²⁹.

A) Texts produced outside of France

17. Mathew of Neuburg: Chronicon

- *"Ex hiis itaque tribus filiabus multi duces Bawariae, Saxoniae et marchiones in Brandenburg processerunt. Dedit quoque rex [Rodolph d'Habsbourg] unam filiarum Karolo III^o, nepoti Karoli Martelli predicti, regi Sicilie, ex qua reges Ungariae, Clemenca regina Francie et mater Delphinorum, et Andreas rex Siciliae, processerunt."*¹³⁰.
- *"Captisque militibus et uxoribus ac militibus excoriacione extinctis, Ludowici, quoque uxore extincta, idem Clementam filiam Karoli III. regis Cecilie, neptem Rudolphi Romanorum regis, duxit uxorem. Quibus Ludowico et Philippo post mortem patris successive regnantibus et sine prole defunctis, cum Karolus frater eorum regnaret [...]"*¹³¹.
- *"Ex regina Sicilie ipsius Rudolphi filia descenderunt: Karolus successor patris eciam regis Cecilie, sed per patruum Robertum et per papam eiectus, sed de adiuturo Alberti regis Romanorum avunculi sui Ungarie rex creatur. Item Delfina ex qua duo filii Delfini sunt creati. Item Clementa regina Francie sine liberis est defuncta. Ex Karulo rege Ungariorum predicto descenderunt nunc Karolus primogenitus, rex Ungarie; item Andreas rex Cecilie, iugulatus per Iohannam uxorem et patruelem suam"*¹³².

18. Anonymous author: Annales Mediolanenses¹³³

¹²⁹ RHGF vol. XXI, p. 209.

¹³⁰ HOFMEISTER, Adolf (Ed.) – *Die Chronik des Mathias von Neuenburg*. Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1924–1940 (MGH Scriptores rerum Germanicarum Nova Series, 4), pp. 1–500. Accessed 7 January 2020. Available at [https://www.dmgh.de/mgh_ss_rer_germ_n_s_4/index.htm#page/\(III\)/mode/1up](https://www.dmgh.de/mgh_ss_rer_germ_n_s_4/index.htm#page/(III)/mode/1up), p. 24. An almost identical text can be found in the so-called "WAU" compilation, *ibidem*, p. 321.

¹³¹ *Ibid*, pp. 210–211. An almost identical text can be found in the so-called "WAU" compilation, *ibidem*, p. 401.

¹³² HOFMEISTER, Adolf (Ed.) – *Die Chronik des Mathias von Neuenburg*, p. 300.

¹³³ GOMBOS, Albinus Franciscus; CSAPODI, Csaba (Eds.) – *Catalogus fontium historiae Hungaricae aevo ducum et regum ex stirpe Arpad descendentium ab anno Christi DCCC usque ad annum MCCCCI*. vol. I–IV. Budapestini: Academia Litterarum de Sancto Stephano Rege nominata, 1937–1938, here: vol. I, nr. 378.

- “A. 1293 papa Coelestinus in Neapoli curiam posuit et Carolum Martellum primogenitum Caroli regis Siciliae in regem Hungariae coronavit. Carolus rex Hungariae duxit in uxorem filiam Alberti ducis Austriae, regis Romanorum, de qua genuit Clementiam reginam Francorum et Constantiam uxorem Dalphini Viennae et Carolum regem Hungariae.”
- “A. 1315 Ludovicus rex Francorum mortua uxore sua duxit in uxorem Clementiam neptem Roberti regis Siciliae, quae erat soror Iohannis (!) regis Hungariae.”

19. Chronici Hungarici Compositio saeculi XIV

- “Quorum instantiam papa admittens quendam puerum XI. annorum nomine Karolum anno Domini Mo CCo XCo IVo vivente adhuc Andrea rege in Hungariam destinavit. Cuius Karoli generatio et origo tali modo habetur. Rex Stephanus quintus filius Bele quarti regis Hungarie inter alias filias habuit unam nomine Mariam vocatam, quam Karulo Claudio filio Karuli Magni qui ex donatione ecclesie fuit rex Sycilie, tradiderat in uxorem. Qui rex Carolus Claudus ex illa filia Stephani regis genuit Carolum Martellum vocabulo / nomine. Carolus vero Martellus ex filia imperatoris Rodolphi, Clemencia nomine, genuit filium, quem primo in terra sua vocaverunt Carobertum, quasi Carolum Robertum. In Hungaria autem oblato Roberto ipsum Hungari Carolum vocaverunt”¹³⁴.

20. Petrarca: Poemata minora, Epistola prima Dyonisio de Burgo Sancti Sepulchri

- “Tum consors Regina tori cui nulla Dearum / Seu formae vertamen erit, seu sanguinis almi / Auferet emeritum iusto sub iudice palmam, / Coniuge quin etiam spoliata Clementia magno / Tunc aderat, procerumque chorum magnumque virorum / Agmen, et egregiis acies conferta puellis”¹³⁵.

21. Petrarca: Epistolae Familiares IV. 3,9-14

- “[...] Hunc diem transvecta neptis tua, quam finis epystole canit ac predicat, invidiosa potius, ut michi quidem videtur, quam miserabili sorte defungitur.

¹³⁴ SZENTPÉTERY, Emericus (Ed.) – *Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum tempore ducum regumque stirpis Arpadianae gestarum. vol. I–II*, Ed.. Budapestini: Academia Litterarum Hungarica et Societas Historica Hungarica, 1937–1938, here: vol. I, p. 487.

¹³⁵ HUFFELMANN, Annie M. – *Clemenza von Ungarn, Königin von Frankreich*, p. 62, note nr. 254.

Quamvis enim in ipso etatis et forme flore subtracta sit, publica fere totius orbis querimonia multisque precipue populorum utriusque regni, et unde ortum et in quod translatum illud rarum et eximium decus erat, lacrimis ac lamentis, ipsa tamen felix est, non solum quod ad eterne vite delicias per horrificum illud mortis limen ingressa est, sed etiam quod tu eam nobilissimo elogio omnibus seculis illustrasti. Quis enim mortuam, imo vero quis non gloriosissime viventem dicere audebit, quam Deus in celo, tu in terris vivere voluisti? O inquam, felix mulier, o iterum felix, que pro una temporali vita, eademque brevi et incerta et mille semper casibus exposita, duas eternitates, ut ita dixerim, consecuta est, quarum alteram celesti, alteram terreno regi, illam Cristo debeat hanc Roberto!

Ingentia duo numera a munificentissimis largitoribus accipens, eo felicior videri debet, quod in celo et in terra gratiam dignissimis relaturo est; plurimum enim ex persona tribuentis muneribus ipsis accedit; multum interest a quo beneficium acceperis et cui inde sis obnoxius. Sane quesitam illi celitus immortalitatis conditionem beatissimamque vite mutationem sileo ne ineffabilia prosequentem destituant vires. Quanta demum gloria est quam tu sibi supremis laudibus peperisti! certe, dum illud tuum sive epygramma sive epythaphium dici mavis, quod eterne mansurum esse confido, nuper defuncte neptis memoriam celebrabit, semper illa tecum et cum clarissimis omnis evi nominibus vivet.

Erunt qui mortem immaturam et iacturam modici temporis tali cupiant compensasse pangerico, quique, quod de Achille dixisse fertur Alexander Macedo suspirantes dicant: 'O fortunatam, que talem preconem tue virtutis invenisti!' Sed iam metuo ne prolixitas in fastidium vergat; elegantissima quoque brevitudo tua ne longius vager, admonuit. Subsistam igitur Deum orans cunctosque celicolas, ut serenitatem tuam, geminis tam bellorum quam studiorum laureis ornatam, diu iubeant in statu felicissimo florere. Vale. VII. Kal. Ianuarias, ad fontem Sorgie"¹³⁶.

¹³⁶ Francesco Petrarca *Le Familiari Libri I–IV*. Traduzione, note e saggio introduttivo di Ugo Dotti. Urbino: Università di Urbino, 1970 (Pubblicazioni dell'Università di Urbino. Serie di Lettere e Filosofia XXIX), pp. 515, 517. Cf. WIDMER, Berthe (Ed.) – *Francesco Petrarca Familiaria Bücher der Vertraulichkeiten*. 1. Buch 1–12. Berlin – New York: De Gruyter, 2005, pp. 194–195.

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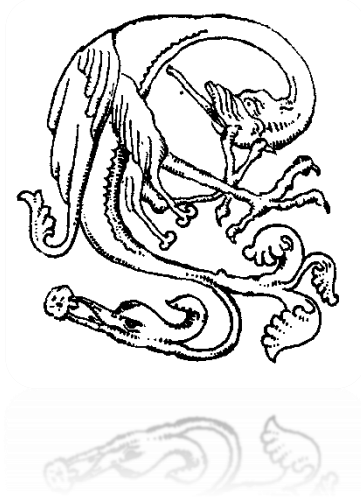
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