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**PIERRE SALA. *Moraulx dictz des philosophes (Dits moraux des philosophes)***

In French and Latin, illuminated manuscript on parchment

France, Lyons (?), c. 1515-1525

20 half-page miniatures by Guillaume II Le Roy (Lyons, active 1485-1528)

[I-II] - 69 - [III-IV] ff., apparently complete (collation: i<sup>4</sup>, ii-viii<sup>8</sup>, ix<sup>3</sup> [of 4, with first leaf of quire cancelled]), written in brown in ink in a large French bâtarde script, on up to 14 long lines (justification: 135 x 85 mm), vertical catchwords, rubrics in red, some flourishes at the head of pages, 3-line high initials in pink or blue highlighted in white tracery with infill of colored flowers on liquid gold grounds, initials set on blue or red grounds highlighted with liquid gold, numerous single line initials in liquid gold on alternating grounds of blue or red, line-fillers in red or blue with liquid gold decoration, 20 miniatures introducing each chapter, miniatures framed in liquid gold. Brown goatskin with original sides mounted and inlaid on a modern tan calf binding, covers tooled in blind to a panel design, a frame formed by a single roll-tooled border, at centre a panel of 4 rolls impressed in vertical stripes, the inner stripes formed by curved hatched motifs. the outer stripes formed by rows of alternating fleur-de-lis and ermines flanked by two stars [compare a Lyonnaise binding described in D. Gid, *Catalogues des reliures françaises estampées à froid XV-XVIe siècles de la Bibliothèque Mazarine*, Paris, 1984, no. 85, p. 83, fig. p. 82, "Atelier Lyon," on an Aldine 1495 imprint], title gilt on back: "Vies des philosophes. M.S. in Memb. Saec. XV" (Renewed back and edges, boards a bit rubbed, but nonetheless preserving the original blind-tooled decoration). Dimensions: 230 x 150 mm.

This deluxe manuscript is testimony to the vivid cultural and artistic life in Lyons, where the Renaissance shone brightly. Its author, the famous humanist Pierre Sala, was a key figure in the transition from medieval to Renaissance culture. Richly illuminated by Guillaume II Le Roy, Sala's treatise is known in only one other illuminated copy in the Morgan Library. Its illustrious succession of owners adds considerable interest and informs us on the circulation of manuscripts in the age of print, often offered as gifts and tokens of friendship and cultural exchanges.

**PROVENANCE**

1. Written and illuminated in France, based on codicological and linguistic features. Stylistic elements confirm a Lyonnaise origin for this manuscript, with miniatures likely by the hand of the Lyonnaise painter and illuminator Guillaume II Le Roy (see Illustration below). The present manuscript must have been commissioned by the author Pierre Sala, seigneur d'Anticaille [or Antiquaille] of Lyon, equerry in chief of Charles VIII (Lyons, before 1457-Lyons 1529), given his close ties with the artist or by someone in his close circle (see below, and esp. E. Burin, 2001, pp. 36-37). The elucidation of some of the mottos listed below might lead to the identification of the original patron of this manuscript.

2. Numerous 16<sup>th</sup> century inscriptions on flyleaves, many mottos [unidentified] as follow: Fol. Ilv (verso of second flyleaf): "Vertu en fait"; "Vertu finit l'heuvre et non pas les longz jours"; "Hy blame tant preicher. Par quoy je l'ay bien cher"; "La vertu fait l'homme"; "Sans vous je ne suys riens"; Fol. III, "Je oze bien dire et soultiens, qui n'a amour et amy[e] (feminine ending added in light brown ink), il n'a riens"; Fol. III, "Vertu fait l'homme"; Fol. III, "In eternum", followed by monogram "CIB" or "CB"(?) [Claude Bellièvre (1487-1557)? In his study, L. Auvray has listed amongst the works owned by Claude Bellièvre, famous Lyonnaise antiquarian and statesman, a work entitled "Grecorum sapientium dicta," see L. Auvray, "La bibliothèque de Claude Bellièvre," in *Mélanges offerts à M. Emile Picot*, Paris, 1913, p. 18, no. 65. Amongst the manuscripts in public collections that contain Claude Bellièvre's ex-libris, one should list Paris, BnF, MSS lat. 5187; lat. 14195; fr. 19087; see also perhaps Paris, BnF, MS fr. 16661, f. 511 with his ex-libris. Interestingly Claude de Bellièvre was a contemporary of Pierre Sala, also tied to the literary and antiquarian milieu in Lyons].
  
3. Jeanne Gaillarde (active c. 1520-1530), French Lyonnais poet and muse, her ex-libris on f. 67 discerned under ultra-violet light, "Ce lyvre est a moy. [...] Gaillarde". Jean Gaillarde is referred to as "Poetrice" in Francois Billon's *Le Fort inexpugnable de l'honneur du sexe Feminin* (Paris, 1555) and Clément Marot dedicates a rondeau to her in his *Adolescence clémentine* (Paris, Roffet, 1532): "A ma dame Jehanne Gaillarde de Lyon, femme de grant sçavoir." Jeanne Gaillarde is compared by Marot to Christine of Pizan. For this information on Jeanne Gaillarde and her role in Lyon, see in particular D. Martin, "Voix de femmes, livres d'hommes. Autour de trois poétesses: Jeanne Gaillarde, Jacqueline de Stuard, Claude de Bectoz" (2008), pp. 90-94; see also V.-L. Saulnier, *Documents nouveaux sur Jeanne Gaillarde et ses amis: Clément Marot, Jacques Colin, Germain Colin*, in *Bulletin de la Société historique de Lyon*, XVIII, 1952, pp. 79-106, who studies some seven sonnets attributed to Jeanne Gaillarde as found in Paris, BnF, MS fr. 2335). Interestingly, Saulnier discusses two other manuscripts owned by Jeanne Gaillarde: "Témoignage isolé sur la culture de Jeanne Gaillarde, nous pouvons signaler d'abord un volume qui, semble-t-il, lui appartient. Il s'agit d'un manuscrit des *Faintises du monde*, qui remonte au XVe siècle. D'après les "ex-libris" inscrits à la fin du livre, il aurait appartenu à Jeanne Gaillarde, avant de passer aux mains d'Ysabeau Regnaude. La dame avait dont une bibliothèque" (Saulnier, 1952, p. 80). The manuscript discussed by Saulnier and which contains the same ownership mark is Paris, BnF, MS fr. 14979, "Les Faintises du monde", attributed to Pierre Gringore, incipit, "Beau Sire, dieu vous donne joye / Affin que soyez plus prudent...". The ownership marks in Paris, BnF, MS fr. 14979, ff. 32v-33 read as follow: "Ce livre est a moy Jehanne Gaillarde" followed by the motto "Neul sans poyne," and later "Ysabeau Regnaulde," "Le present appertient a moy Ysabeau Regnaulde," and the motto "Si mieulx non pis" [see H. Omont, *Catalogue général des manuscrits français*, Paris, 1896, p. 295].
  
4. Bartolomeo Panciatichi (France (Lyon?), 1507 - Florence, 1582), his ex-libris inscription on f. 69v, "Ce presant livre est de Berthelemy Pancaticy. De Berthelemy." The father had helped finance the Italian Wars waged by Louis XII, and the young Bartholomeo was engaged as a page at the court of Francis I, and later studied in Lyons and Padua. He was a close friend of Jean de Vauzelles, and espoused some of the ideas of the Evangelist

movement represented by Guillaume Brignonnet, bishop of Meaux and Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples. Little attracted by his father's commercial empire, Bartolomeo Panciatichi translated into Italian works by Pietro Aretino. Upon his marriage to Lucrezia Pucci (1503-1572), Bartolomeo settled in Florence in 1539 and was named consul to France in 1545 by Cosimo I Medici. He began to abide to the ideas of the Reform and was one of the proponent of the Protestant Reform in Italy and accused of heresy in 1551-1552. Agnolo Bronzino painted famous portraits of Bartolomeo Panciatichi and Lucrezia Panciatichi, both now now in the Galleria degli Uffizi (Florence) [see S. Caponetto, *La Riforma protestante nell'Italia del Cinquecento*, Turin, 1997; L. Passerini, *Genealogia e storia della famiglia Panciatichi*, Florence, 1858]. Interestingly, but probably the result of a simple coincidence, the Panciatichi had in their library a copy of the *De vita et moribus philosophorum* (Florence, BNC, Codex Panciatichiani 132, ff. 1-33) [see Morpurgo, S. et alia, *Catalogo dei manoscritti Panciatichiani della Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze* (1887), p. 206].

5. Collection of Comte Paul Durrieu, Paris (1855-1925), to his heirs. Paul Durrieu was a collector-connoisseur, scholar, and curator in the Département des peintures at the Musée du Louvre. Trained at the École des chartes, he graduated in 1878 and subsequently attended the École française d'archéologie in Rome. He was later elected to the prestigious Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres in 1905, and died at the Château de Durrieu in Grenade-sur-Adour in the Landes in 1925. The present manuscript is entirely unknown since Durrieu's lifetime.

## TEXT

ff. 1-1v, blank;

ff. 2-7, [Pierre Sala]. [*Moraulx dictz des philosophes*]. French excerpts and adaptation of the *Mer des hystoires* (*Rudimentum novitiorum*) and of Pseudo-Walter of Burley, *Liber de vita et moribus philosophorum* [Lives and Customs of Philosophers], On Solon, incipit, "Le premier philozophe que je trouve ce fut selon l'athénien qui fust des sages de grece..." (Excerpts from *Mer des hystoires*, Paris, 1488, vol. I, f. 254v; Latin original of Pseudo-Walter of Burley, ed. Knust, 1886, pp. 12-22: "Solon, philosophus, unus de septem sapientibus Grece, nacione atheniensis, Athenis claruit...");

ff. 7v-8, On Periander, rubric, *De periander*; incipit, "Periander corinthien philozophe dit que l'homme qui veult seurement regner doit estre garny de benivolence..." (Excerpts from *Mer des hystoires*, Paris, 1488, vol. I, f. 255v; Latin original of Pseudo-Walter of Burley, ed. Knust, 1886, pp. 44-46: "Periander, corinthius, philosophus... Volentes secure tyrannos fieri benivolencia fulciri oportet, non armis...");

ff. 8-9, On Pittacus of Mytilene, rubric, *De pitacus*; incipit, "Les sentences de pitacus sont telles. Les victoyres sont tresbonnes et tres a louer qui se peuvent faire sans effusion de sang..." (Excerpts from *Mer des hystoires*, Paris, 1488, vol. I, f. 256; Latin original of Pseudo-Walter of Burley, ed. Knust, 1886, pp. 28-32: "Pitachus, asianus, mitilensis..."; "Dicebat eas optimas esse victorias que sine sanguine fiunt" (p. 30): this is the Latin original of the first quote attributed to Pitachus in the present French adaptation);

ff. 9-12, On Chilon of Sparta, rubric, *De philo* [sic for "Chilon"]; incipit, "Philo lacemonien fut lung des sept saiges de grece..." (Excerpts from *Mer des hystoires*, Paris, 1488, vol. I, f. 256; Latin original of Pseudo-Walter of Burley, ed. Knust, 1886, pp. 22-28: "Chilon, philosophus, lacedemonius, Athenis claruit, unus de septem sapientibus Grece...");

ff. 12-14v, On Bias of Priene; rubric, *De bias*; incipit, "Bias primencis philozophe azien..." (Excerpts from *Mer des hystoires*, Paris, 1488, vol. I, f. 256v; Latin original, ed. Knust, 1886, pp. 32-40: "Bias, primensis, philosophus, asianus...");

ff. 14v-16v, On Cleobulus of Lindos; rubric, *Eleobolus*; incipit, "Eleobolus philozophe indien florissoit ou temps de sedechias..." (Excerpts from *Mer des hystoires*, Paris, 1488, vol. I, f. 257; Latin original of Pseudo-Walter of Burley, ed. Knust, 1886, pp. 40-45: "Cleobolus, philosophus, lidius...claruit tempore Zedechie...");

ff. 16v-18v, On Pythagoras, rubric, *De pictagouras*; incipit, "Pictagoras fut interrogué d'ung roy comme il se nommoit..." (Excerpts from *Mer des hystoires*, Paris, 1488, vol. II, f. 5v; Latin original of Pseudo-Walter of Burley, ed. Knust, 1886, pp. 66-80: "Pytagoras, philosophus, nacione samius...");

ff. 19-20v, On Epicurus, rubric, *De epicurius*; incipit, "Epicurius dit que pouvreté joyeuse est honnesté..." (Excerpts from *Mer des hystoires*, Paris, 1488, vol. II, f. 14; Latin original of Pseudo-Walter of Burley, ed. Knust, 1886, p. 272: "Epicurus, philosophus, atheniensis...");

ff. 20v-28v, On Socrates, rubric, *De ozocrates*; incipit, "Ozocrates le philozophe eut en luy tant de patience..." (Excerpts from *Mer des hystoires*, Paris, 1488, vol. II, f. 21; Latin original of Pseudo-Walter of Burley, ed. Knust, 1886, p. 108-142);

ff. 28v-29v, On Plato [1], rubric, *De platon*; incipit, "Platon estoit si constant que une journee en disputant avec ses escoliers..." (Excerpts from *Mer des hystoires*, Paris, 1488, vol. II, f. 28; Latin original of Pseudo-Walter of Burley, ed. Knust, 1886, pp. 214-234);

ff. 29v-31v, On Themistocles, rubric, *De hemistodes*; incipit, "H[h]emistodes (sic) noble athenien philozophe estoit ung jour es tables du roy..." (Excerpts from *Mer des hystoires*, Paris, 1488, vol. II, 24v; Latin original of Pseudo-Walter of Burley, ed. Knust, 1886, p. 172-174);

ff. 31v-32v, On Aristides, rubric, *De aristides*; incipit, "Aristides fut une foiz invité en la maison d'ung riche homme..." (Excerpts from *Mer des hystoires*, Paris, 1488, vol. II, f. 25; Latin original of Pseudo-Walter of Burley, ed. Knust, 1886, p. 174-176);

ff. 32v-35v, On Hippocrates of Kos, rubric, *De ypocras*; incipit, "Ypocras philozophe et tres excellent medecin..." (Excerpts from *Mer des hystoires*, Paris, 1488, vol. II, f. 26v; Latin original of Pseudo-Walter of Burley, ed. Knust, 1886, p. 180-186);

ff. 35v-36, On Crates of Thebes, rubric, *De crates*; incipit, "Crates le philozophe mesprisa tant les richesses mondaines..." (Excerpts from *Mer des hystoires*, Paris, 1488, vol. II, f. 27; Latin original of Pseudo-Walter of Burley, ed. Knust, 1886, p. 84-86);

ff. 36-44, On Plato [2], rubric, *De platon*; incipit, "Il fut rapporté une foiz a platon que l'un de ses disciples bien aymé nommé zenocrates..." (Excerpts from *Mer des hystoires*, Paris, 1488, vol. II, f. 28);

ff. 44v-56, On Diogenes of Sinope, rubric, *De dyogenes*; incipit, "Diogenes disoit que celui n'est pas philozophe qui par fortune aulcune se monstre aultre que vertueulx..." (Excerpts from *Mer des hystoires*, Paris, 1488, vol. II, f. 31; Latin original of Pseudo-Walter of Burley, ed. Knust, 1886, p. 192-212);

ff. 56-60v, On Aristotle, rubric, *De aristote*; incipit, "Aristote philozophe des philozophes fut maistre et gouverneur du grant roy alexandre..." (Excerpts from *Mer des hystoires*, Paris, 1488, vol. II, f. 33v; Latin original of Pseudo-Walter of Burley, ed. Knust, 1886, p. 234-250);

ff. 60v-63, On Demosthenes, rubric, *De demostenes*; incipit, "Comme une foyz le roy phelippe de macedoine..." (Excerpts from *Mer des hystoires*, Paris, 1488, vol. II, f. 35v; Latin original of Pseudo-Walter of Burley, ed. Knust, 1886, pp. 160-166);

ff. 63-65v, On Xenocrates of Calcedon, rubric, *De zenocrates*; incipit, "Zenocrates dit qu'il fault tenir loyauté et promesse..." (Excerpts from *Mer des hystoires*, Paris, 1488, vol. II, f. 27; Latin original of Pseudo-Walter of Burley, ed. Knust, 1886, p. 264-270);

ff. 65v-67, On Theophrastes, rubric, *De theofrastus*; incipit, "Theofrastus dit que l'on ne doit point blecer son amy..." (Excerpts from *Mer des hystoires*, Paris, 1488, vol. II, f. 44; Latin original of Pseudo-Walter of Burley, ed. Knust, 1886, pp. 282-290); explicit, "Cestuy theofrastus desloe tresfort mariage en disant qu'il y a d'estranges peynes et merencolies merveilleuses a supporter avecques une femme. Toutefois je dis et suis de ceste oppinion que la bonne que la bonne [sic, repeated twice] et gracieuse femme est tout entierement la vraye joye et repos de vie humaine, et qui ayde plus a entretenir et nourrir en santé le corps de l'homme que toute aultre chose terrienne. Et ce sera la fin de mon extrait".

This work contains a selection of some twenty lives and famous sayings of Greek philosophers illustrated by a cycle of twenty illuminated half-portraits. Entirely unrecorded, this manuscript is a pure product of the "seduisant milieu lyonnais" and contains a hitherto unpublished work apparently assembled by Pierre Sala, native of Lyons (before 1457 to 1529). The work appears to be a personalized selection and adaptation of a number of sources, including excerpts of the *Mer des hystoires* (French translation of the *Rudimenta novitiorum*) and also the immensely popular and influential work known as the *Liber de vita et moribus philosophorum* or *De vita et moribus philosophorum*. The latter work was long attributed to Walter of Burley (c. 1275-1345), an Oxford and Paris theologian and Aristotelian commentator. However, its authorship has been questioned and studied by M. Grignaschi (1990) and it is now assigned to an anonymous Italian author, referred to as Pseudo-Walter of Burley. It is known in some 270 extant manuscripts and numerous early printed editions, with some 11 incunables and 8 imprints from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, none of which were printed in Lyons (see Stigall, 1957, pp. 45-56; Prelog, 1983, pp. 3-12). We believe that although Pierre Sala could very well have had access to the Latin editions of Pseudo-Walter of Burley (or even a manuscript copy), it seems probable that one of the sources of Pierre Sala must

have been the Italian translation of Pseudo-Walter of Burley, widely available in France (and inevitably in Lyons given the close ties between Italy and Lyons) under the title *Vite de philosophi moralissime. Et de le loro elegantissime sententie*, Venezia, 1521 (a copy of the 1521 edition in Paris, BnF, Res P-R-205; perhaps also an earlier edition in 1517), with woodcuts presenting the half-length portraits of the different philosophers preceding each biography and very similar page layout to the present manuscripts of Pierre Sala's compilation. Finally, we know that Pierre Sala owned a copy of *Speculum historiale* of Vincent de Beauvais (Paris, Verard, 1495-1496), another important source for the present work (see Fabia, 1934, p. 32-33).

Pierre Sala was born in Lyons and spent much of his active life at court in the service of Kings Charles VIII and Louis XII. Around 1514 he retired to Lyons where he studied, wrote and collected books until his death in 1529. His own works were not apparently destined for publication, but at least 15 of his works survive, and half of them are illustrated. They range from compilations, adaptations to treatises, historical documents to romances and poetry. Pierre Sala remains a very eclectic man of letters. A famous portrait of Sala, now attributed to Jean Perréal, is found in a small volumes of "Enigmas" by Pierre Sala (London, British Library, Stowe MS 955): Sala was close friends with a number of artists, including Perréal (see Burin, 2001, pp.37-39; Avril and Reynaud, 1993, pp. 365-369; on Pierre Sala, see also Fabia, 1934 and *Dictionnaire des lettres françaises*, XVIe siècle, col. 1060-1061). Interestingly, Sala's works mark the transition between the Middle Ages and the French Renaissance, and this particular adaptation and compilation of Lives of the Greek philosophers is testimony to the humanistic tastes that progressively superseded those of the medieval period with the renewed interest in classical Antiquity and the quest for a lay morality less dependent on Scripture and patristic sources.

Evidently, there is only one other known manuscript containing this particular work by Pierre Sala: this is a sister manuscript in the Morgan Library and Museum (New York, MS. M.277) [see link below to full descriptive entry]. Both manuscripts present very similar characteristics, from script, illustration and page layout, down to the number of lines per leaf (the Morgan copy contains 67 ff., the present manuscript contains 69 ff. but with last two blank so in fact 67 leaves of text). The Morgan manuscript confirms or rather deduces the authorship or paternity of this compilation-adaptation-translation based on its incipit (not present in the present manuscript) which reads: "Si apres sensuivent aulcuns moraulx dictz des philozophes que iay extraictz de la mer des ystoires et dailleurs" (M.277, f. 1), as well as heraldic elements. The Morgan manuscript was apparently the author's personal copy as Sala's original arms, which have been overpainted, are discernable under ultraviolet light (see Burin, 2001, no. 106, pp. 224-226). The work was never printed and has apparently never been accurately studied. Indeed, very few works by Pierre Sala were printed during his lifetime, largely because the author himself mistrusted the printed medium and privileged luxury manuscripts as a support for his works (see P. Servet, "Le Tristan de Pierre Sala: entre roman chevaleresque et nouvelle," in *Études françaises*, 32 (1996), no. 1, p. 56: "[...] son auteur [Pierre Sala] ne tenait pas l'imprimerie en estime suffisante pour lui confier ses manuscrits..." (the author did not have sufficient consideration for the printed press to entrust to it his writings and manuscripts).

The present work belongs to the large class of didactic literature, collections of aphorisms and wise sayings, generally influenced by Diogenes Laërtius, biographer of Greek philosophers. From the

beginnings of time, men have delighted in giving advice and in handing it down to posterity in gnomic sentences. The books of Proverbs and of Ecclesiasticus, the writings of the Greek gnomic poets Solon and Pythagoras, the medieval advice of Aristotle to Alexander, the English Proverbs of Alfred are all examples. Bühler has extensively studied the influence of collections of Greek proverbs, whether authentic or not, in later medieval literature that frequently incorporated aphorisms and apothegms into narratives (see Bühler, 1937, pp. 440-455).

The most popular of such works is the *Dits des philosophes* (Dicts and Sayings of the Philosophers), translated from the original Latin by Guillaume de Tignonville (before 1402), but harking back to an original Arabic compilation attributed to Mubasschir. Almost every library in France boasts a copy of the *Dits des philosophes* (there are some 50 extant manuscripts), and there were several early printed editions (see Brunet II, 765). Its incipit is quite different from the present "Vie des philosophes" and begins with the life and sayings of Sedechias: "Sedechias fui philozophe le premier par qui de la vouldenté de dieu loy fu receue et sapience entendue..." The *Dits des philosophes* gathers together twenty-odd so-called philosophers, some bearing the names of real men (Plato, Aristotle, Alexander, Ptolemy), some mythical, as Sedechias, Hermes or Tac. Biographical notes and a number of sayings accompany each chapter on an individual philosopher. These sayings could readily belong to one or the other, and frequently repetitions occur (on Guillaume de Tignonville, see DLF, Moyen Age, p. 647). As mentioned above, the other influential work of this class of literature was the *De vita et moribus philosophorum* attributed to Walter of Burley, published in 1886 by Knust, accompanied by a free translation in fifteenth-century Old Spanish which appears on facing pages to Knust's edition of the Latin text (see Knust, 1886). It is clear that by the closing years of the fourteenth century and in the first decade of the fifteenth century the *De vita* had become an established favorite in Europe. On the other hand, as far as is known, there is only one manuscript of the *De vita* in northern France (Paris, BnF, MS lat. 13475), apparently from the late fourteenth century. In view of the great popularity of the *De vita* at Paris in the end of the fifteenth century, one might have expected to find more French copies. There were at least eight early printed editions of the *De vita* in Paris before 1530, more than in any other place by that date, but none of which appear to be illustrated and that could have served as models to the present illustrated French adaptation.

In sum, the present text is certainly a compilation-adaptation of a number of sources, mostly from the *Mer des hystoires* but also clearly influenced by other readings and collections of biographies and famous sayings, in particular that of the Pseudo-Walter of Burley. Pierre Sala thus constituted and had illuminated an attractive work most likely destined to be presented as a gift to a patron or influential figure in Lyons during the first quarter of the sixteenth century, when the city was compared to a second Athens or a new Florence.

## ILLUSTRATION

The subjects of the 20 half-page portraits of philosophers are:

f. 1, Solon of Athens (c. 639-559 B.C.);

f. 7v, Periander of Corinth (c. 625-585 B.C.);

f. 8v, Pittacus of Mytilene (c. 640-568 B.C.);

f. 9v, Chilon of Sparta;

f. 12, Bias of Priene;

f. 14v, Cleobulus of Lindos;

f. 16v, Pythagoras of Samos;

f. 19, Epicurus;

f. 20v, Socrates;

f. 28v, Plato [1];

f. 30, Themistocles;

f. 31, Aristides;

f. 33, Hippocrates of Kos;

f. 35v, Crates of Thebes;

f. 36v, Plato [2];

f. 44v, Diogenes of Sinope;

f. 56, Aristotle;

f. 60v, Demosthenes;

f. 63, Xenocrates of Calcedon;

f. 65v, Theophrastes;

Based on stylistic comparisons, this manuscript was illuminated by Guillaume II Le Roy, who was active in Lyons, c. 1485 to 1528 and was listed in the Lyons tax records as "Guillaume Le Roy, flammand, peintre." He was probably the son or the nephew of another Guillaume Le Roy, the city's first printer. He has also been identified as the engraver known as the "Maître au nombril" whose woodcuts were published between 1494 and 1529. He worked for a number of prominent families, as well as for authors who ordered presentation copies for royal patrons. Amongst the literary figures he served, one should note Clément Marot for whom he illustrated a copy of his French translation of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, c. 1526-1527 during the years Marot was exchanging rondeaux with Jeanne Gaillarde, owner of the present volume (see Burin, 2001, pp. 231-233, cat.



no. 110, fig. XXV; on Guillaume II Le Roy, see further, Avril and Reynaud, 1993, pp. 362-365; H.-J. Martin, 2000, pp. 211-219; and especially Burin, 2001, pp. 33-37).

Pierre Sala counted as one of Guillaume II Le Roy's steadiest clients. For him, Guillaume II Le Roy illustrated a large number of manuscripts, such as *Le Chevalier au lion* by Chretien de Troyes (Paris, BNF fr. 1638; Burin, 2001, cat. no. 117); two copies of Pierre Sala's *Hardiesses de plusieurs roys et empereurs* (Paris, BnF, fr. 584 and 10420; Burin, 2001, cat. no. 116; cat. no. 122); two manuscripts of Aesopic fables composed in French verse by Sala, one of which was presented to Louise of Savoy in 1525 or 1526 (London, BL, Add. MS 59677; New York, PML, MS M. 422; Burin, 2001, cat. no. 99; cat. no. 107) and a number of others. A complete catalogue of the manuscripts illuminated by Guillaume II Le Roy or his workshop is found in E. Burin, 2001, pp. 212-274, cat. no. 95-136. Amongst the described manuscripts, Burin signals the Morgan copy of the *Moraulx Dicts des philosophes* (New York, PML, MS. M. 277), illuminated by an associate of Guillaume Le Roy, with the same number of 20 half-page portraits of Greek philosophers (Burin, 2001, pp. 224-226. cat. no. 106).

The question remains for whom this manuscript was made. Was it a dedication copy left unfinished? This might be suggested by the opening first leaf that should presumably have a decorated frontispiece, with ownership marks, similar to the author's copy (?) in New York (PML, MS. M. 277), and also supported by the fact that many copies of Sala's works were presentation copies to prominent figures. There might have been an illuminated frontispiece planned in the present manuscript, which simply was never executed. Pierre Sala was in contact with a number of Lyonnaise men and women of letters, and close to the French Court, including Louise de Savoie and of course Francis I, to whom a number of his manuscripts were dedicated. Might this manuscript have been destined simply to Jeanne Gaillarde, woman of letters and muse, whom Pierre Sala could have known given her place in the world of letters in Lyons? She was clearly one of the early owners, if not the first. Corrections in the text considered misogynistic might suggest that Jeanne Gaillarde was a slightly later owner, as one finds on f. 9 of our copy: "L'on luy demanda quelle chose est loyalle. Respondit, la terre. Et quelle chose est desloyal, le flateur" (courtisan), fittingly replacing the original: "L'on luy demanda quelle chose est loyalle. Respondit, la terre. Et quelle chose est desloyal, la femme" (woman) (New York, PML, MS M. 277, f. 8v; *La mer des hystoires*, Paris, 1488, vol. I, f. 256; see Bühler, 1937, pp. 450-451).

Comparison between the present manuscript and its sister manuscript in the Morgan Library offers another interesting area for further research, especially since Burin attributes the illumination in the latter to "an associate of Guillaume II Le Roy." Given the fact that the Morgan manuscript is the author's personal copy, it seems odd that he had it illuminated by an associate, rather than by the master himself. The present rediscovered manuscript constitutes another copy, this one by Guillaume Le Roy himself, perhaps unfinished given the lack of a decorated frontispiece page, but nonetheless probably executed under the guidance of the author-compiler Pierre Sala.

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New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, Link to Corsair MS M. 0277:

[http://corsair.morganlibrary.org/cgi-bin/Pwebrecon.cgi?Search\\_Arg=ms+m.277&Search\\_Code=GKEY%5E&PID=M1tNBspYW\\_UCnzxejb0v\\_WAp133UT&SEQ=20100603005904&CNT=50&HIST=1](http://corsair.morganlibrary.org/cgi-bin/Pwebrecon.cgi?Search_Arg=ms+m.277&Search_Code=GKEY%5E&PID=M1tNBspYW_UCnzxejb0v_WAp133UT&SEQ=20100603005904&CNT=50&HIST=1)

Digitized version of *La mer des hystoires*, Paris, Pierre Le Rouge, 1488, vol. 1 and 2:

<http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k106146s>

<http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k1062238>

Bühler, 1941, Introduction:

<http://library.du.ac.in/dspace/bitstream/1/1160/7/Ch.01Introduction%20the%20origin%20of%20the%20dicts%20and%20saying%20of%20the%20philosophers.pdf>

On Jeanne Gaillarde:

[http://books.google.fr/books?id=R1OAIUh4WX4C&pg=PA91&lpg=PA91&dq=jeanne+gaillarde&source=bl&ots=GT3vQv07Dr&sig=81ePP1iERYCUF29m373X0fM3tUM&hl=fr&ei=U-z6S8mpMoaZOJ36mZUM&sa=X&oi=book\\_result&ct=result&resnum=2&ved=0CAwQ6AEwAQ#v=onepage&q=jeanne%20gaillarde&f=false](http://books.google.fr/books?id=R1OAIUh4WX4C&pg=PA91&lpg=PA91&dq=jeanne+gaillarde&source=bl&ots=GT3vQv07Dr&sig=81ePP1iERYCUF29m373X0fM3tUM&hl=fr&ei=U-z6S8mpMoaZOJ36mZUM&sa=X&oi=book_result&ct=result&resnum=2&ved=0CAwQ6AEwAQ#v=onepage&q=jeanne%20gaillarde&f=false)

[http://books.google.fr/books?id=lbkTAAAAQAAJ&pg=PA380&lpg=PA380&dq=jeanne+gaillarde&source=bl&ots=uAqLQqg3pw&sig=8gFDDKSosWC\\_RqgsdbYb\\_ExN6CY&hl=fr&ei=Fe\\_6S7bBNlb2OYb9yZUM&sa=X&oi=book\\_result&ct=result&resnum=10&ved=0CCwQ6AEwCTgK#v=onepage&q=jeanne%20gaillarde&f=false](http://books.google.fr/books?id=lbkTAAAAQAAJ&pg=PA380&lpg=PA380&dq=jeanne+gaillarde&source=bl&ots=uAqLQqg3pw&sig=8gFDDKSosWC_RqgsdbYb_ExN6CY&hl=fr&ei=Fe_6S7bBNlb2OYb9yZUM&sa=X&oi=book_result&ct=result&resnum=10&ved=0CCwQ6AEwCTgK#v=onepage&q=jeanne%20gaillarde&f=false)

On Bartolomeo Panciatichi

[http://it.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bartolomeo\\_Panciatichi](http://it.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bartolomeo_Panciatichi)

[http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Portrait\\_of\\_Bartolomeo\\_Panciatichi](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Portrait_of_Bartolomeo_Panciatichi)

On the Seven Sages of Greece:

<http://www.mlahanas.de/Greeks/LX/SevenSagesOfGreece.html>