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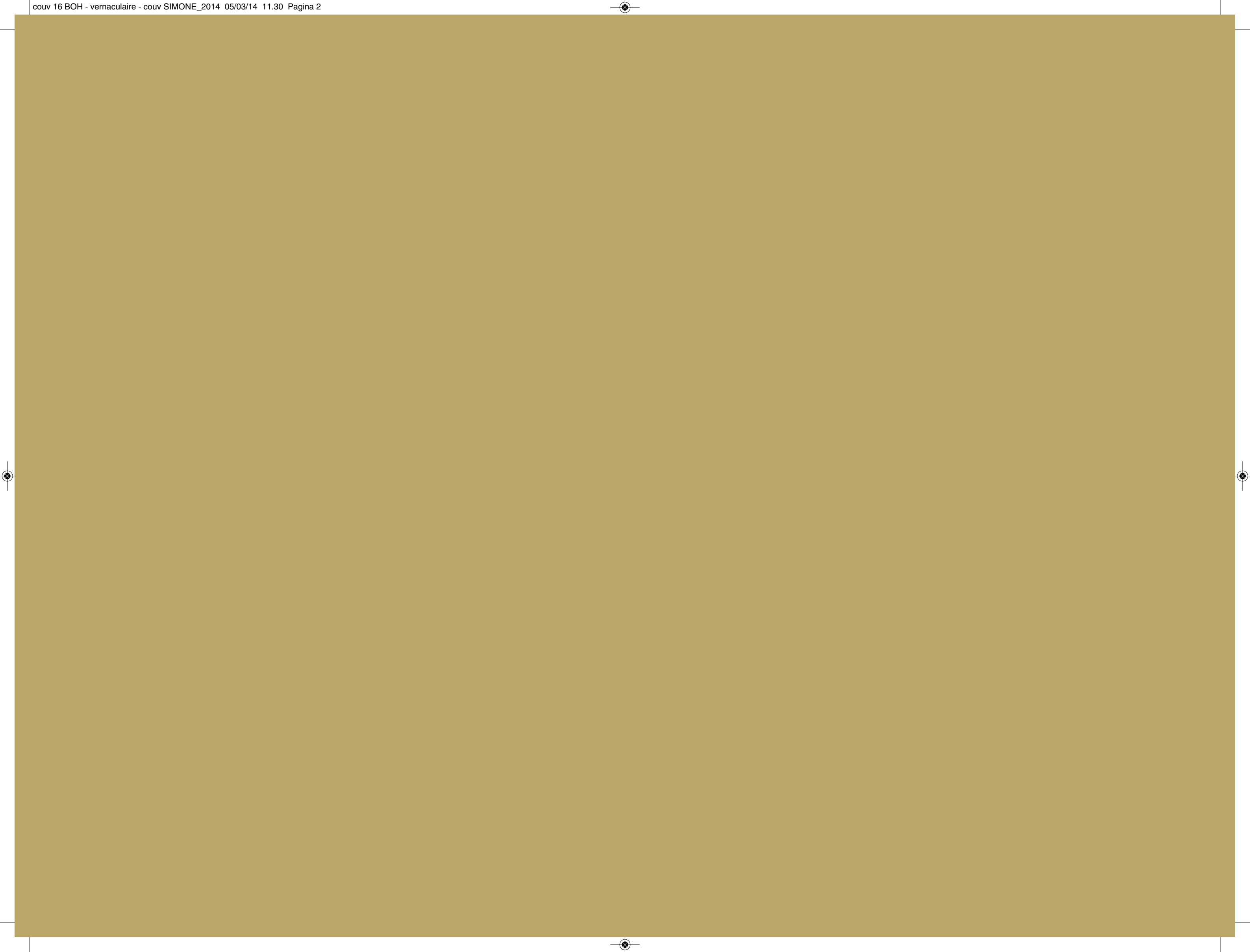
Flowering of Medieval French Literature "Au parler que m'aprist ma mere" | catalogue 18

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Sandra Hindman
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“Speaking in my mother tongue”

Au parler que m’aprist ma mere

Jean de Meun, who with Guillaume de Lorris wrote the *Roman de la Rose*, the very bedrock of medieval French literature, described written French in his late thirteenth-century prologue to Boethius’s *Consolation of Philosophy* as “the speech my mother taught me when I took milk from her breasts” (Au parler que m’aprist ma mere / A Meun, quant je l’alaitoie). We might say now “speaking in my mother tongue.” Although the earliest records of written French date from the ninth century, it was not until the thirteenth century that French became widespread as a written language. Even then, for writers such as Dante, Latin remained the sovereign of the vernacular (“sovrano del volgare,” *Convivio* 1:7). Many early references to written French refer to it, like Jean de Meun did, as the “langue nutritive,” relying on the dual meaning of *nourrir*, to be like mother’s milk and mother’s speech (Cerquiglini-Toulet, 2011). In his prologue, Jean de Meun was actually distinguishing his French dialect (“rough, uncouth, and barbarous,” for which he apologized) from what became known as Parisian French or the “langue du roi” of which there was “no speech more subtle.”

Many factors influenced the shift from Latin to the “mother tongue.” The change from an agrarian economy based on the land to a commercial economy in the towns and cities imposed a need for the middle classes to understand each other in written as well as oral forms. The centralization of French government and the rise of a nation state with the reign of King Philip Augustus (reigned 1180-1223) dictated a need for a language through which the court and the nobles could wield power far and wide. And, not least of all, women played a major role in the rise and evolution of medieval French as women readers, writers, and collectors. By the fifteenth century, vernacular language was well established as the language of literature, historical record, and personal expression. From the mid-fifteenth century, the technology of the press no doubt provided greater access to the mother tongue and contributed to its standardization.

This catalogue focuses on a group of sixteen manuscripts all written in the French language between about 1300 and 1535. Mostly illuminated, the manuscripts are widely diverse. They are written in verse and in prose. Some are translations from the Latin, others new compositions entirely in French. They

treat a wide variety of subjects ranging from literature and science, to philosophy and theology, and to history and government. There are some unique texts that exist only in the manuscripts included here. A significant number of the volumes boast royal provenance. There are signed and dated works by newly identified scribes, as well as works by famous calligraphers. Some of the manuscripts still have their original bindings. So rare on the art market are illuminated manuscripts in the French language of this period that this project would not be possible without the purchase of a substantial group of mostly unpublished manuscripts from the Collection of Joost R. Ritman (born 1941), the Amsterdam businessman and founder of the Bibliotheca Philosophica Hermetica. To the ex-Ritman manuscripts, we have added manuscripts acquired over a period of time to assemble the group studied here.

Because many of these manuscripts are virtually unknown and previously unpublished, first-hand study of them offers a special opportunity to reassess certain approaches to later medieval French literature. Now, some thirty years after S. Nichols coined the “new medievalism,” it is well recognized that a “new” history of medieval French literature depends less on the editions and re-editions of texts, the study of genres, or attempts at periodization. Rather, a “new” history of French literature evolves out of a consideration of the impact of historical and social phenomena, scientific advancements, and linguistic and cultural singularities (Bloch et al., 2014). Cerguiglini-Toulet’s work (2007, 2011), among others, insists on the “materiality of the book,” to which the study of the manuscripts provides direct access. Considerable recent research also acknowledges the importance of women – as authors, subjects, patrons, and collectors – not only in the rise of the vernacular but in its persistence through the French Renaissance (Legaré, 2007; Brown, 2011). Other studies underscore the complex relationships between text and image in manuscripts and as they shaped communal and individual identity at the dynamic intersection of the history of literature and the history of art (Coleman, et al., 2013; Hériché-Pradeau and Pérez-Simon, 2013). If there is one essential point of departure for the study of this group of manuscripts it is that the “manuscript matrix,” as coined by Nichols, provides the springboard for further research. Each manuscript is here explored in depth for the unique testimony it contributes to a variety of historical issues (Nichols, 1997).

The structure of the catalogue into five sections sheds new light on many of these issues discussed above: I, Literature and Science: the Rise and Affirmation of the Vernacular; II, Philosophy and Theology: Translations and Adaptations of the Classics; III, History and Genealogy: the Nation and the Individual; IV, Women Writers and Women Bibliophiles: Memory and Self-Assertion; and V, From Manuscript to Print: the Circulation of Texts and the Triumph of the French Vernacular. Although there is some overlap between categories, with manuscripts from one section informing on the theme of another, the structure nevertheless enables us to consider certain basic themes in a roughly chronological fashion.

I. Literature and Science: the Rise and Affirmation of the Vernacular

The rise and affirmation of the vernacular are to be sought in the explosion of texts in French that occurred in the thirteenth century. Although Cerquiglini-Toulet (2007, 2011) reminds us that “medieval French literature” is in certain respects an anachronism because the word *littérature* referred exclusively to Latin literature of the period, there can be no doubt that various genres written in French that we now consider “literature” sprang up during this period. Three mid-fourteenth-century volumes comprising a total of seven texts, all but one composed in the thirteenth century, open the catalogue and introduce the subject. First there is the anonymous *Fontaine de toutes sciences* or the *Livre de Sydrac* (cat. no. 1). Next there is an anthology that includes the *Pèlerinage* by Guillaume de Deguileville, Gautier de Metz’s *image du monde*, and a little-known work, the *Histoire du riche homme et du ladre* (cat. no. 2). Last and by far the most famous of the three is the *Roman de la Rose* by Guillaume de Lorris with the continuation by Jean de Meun, combined with a copy of Jean de Meun’s *Testament* (cat. 3). Together these three manuscripts offer a fair synopsis of some of the genres of works composed for the first time in the vernacular: romances and allegorical romances, encyclopedias (a word that did not exist in French until 1522; they were called *traité*, *livre de clergie*, or *roman*), and religious and moralizing treatises.

With one exception, all these texts are in verse (*Sydrac* is in prose), a phenomenon that calls attention to the verse-prose controversy of writings in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Early writers of French verse, such as Chrétien de Troyes and Marie de France, insisted on the verb “to hear,” calling attention to the orality of early vernacular writings. Several of the texts in the manuscripts included here – specifically, the *Pèlerinage* and the *image du monde* – existed in prose versions translated from the original verse, that is, they were de-rhymed in the thirteenth or fourteenth centuries. Yet in each case, it was the verse version that enjoyed by far the greater popularity. Audience must have played a role in the predilection for verse over prose. Aristocratic culture, women as well as men, is thought to have supplied the early audiences for the vernacular, and there are enough references in Old French texts to reading aloud for us to assume that spoken (and sung) verse was favored over silent reading of prose. With regard to the three manuscripts in this section, little is known directly about their original audience, with the exception of *Sydrac*, which was commissioned by a woman. But all three volumes are sufficiently deluxe for us to assume that they would not have been written for a public of educated burghers, who mastered the art of reading only by the fifteenth century.

One final observation emerges from a consideration of the materiality of our manuscripts: two of the three are “miscellanies” (French, *recueils*), the Deguileville et al. and the *Rose*. There has been a great deal of attention in recent years mostly by literary scholars to the phenomenon of the miscellany (Nichols, 1997; van Heymelrych and Thiry, 2010). The company a text keeps in a man-

uscript can surely inform us on its production and reception alike – what exemplars were available to the copyist, for whom did the copyist work, how does the miscellany reflect the taste of a reader, how are certain texts read differently in conjunction with one another, what relationship does the whole have to the parts? That the *Rose* includes Jean de Meun's *Testament* is not in itself unusual, since at least half of the 118 extant manuscripts of the *Testament* are found with the *Rose*. The question of why is more interesting: do these volumes represent relatively early examples of the phenomenon of the "Collected Works," found slightly later in works by Guillaume de Machaut and Christine de Pizan? Or is the *Testament*, with Jean de Meun's mature reflections on his career as a writer and his practical and moral advice to prelates and all men and women of a certain social standing, seen as a sort of gloss on, or sequel to, the *Rose*? In the case of the other miscellany, the three texts – the *Pèlerinage*, the *image du monde*, and the *Histoire du riche homme et du ladre* – never occur together except in our manuscript, and rubrics confirm that they were conceived to follow each other in the volume. Nevertheless, the first two are often anthologized, just not with each other. And, the third text is a unique exemplar. Is this because the material just happened to be available to the scribe? Or desired by the patron? Are we facing alternative readings of the *image du monde*, transformed here by being sandwiched between two more strictly speaking moralizing works? These are the questions that study of the actual manuscripts can help address.

II. Philosophy and Theology: Translations and Adaptations of the Classics

Not every medieval vernacular text was created from scratch, albeit relying on diverse sources; many were instead translations or adaptations of other writings, be they Latin, Greek, Arabic, Hebrew, or even other European vernaculars. This is the subject of the present section on philosophical and theological works, which includes four manuscripts that span two centuries. The earliest is an early fourteenth-century translation of the Pseudo-Aristotelian *Secretum Secretorum*, ultimately going back to an Arabic source, and translated from the Latin (cat. no. 4); this is followed by Guillaume de Tignonville's early fifteenth-century translation of a Latin translation known as the *Ditz des philosophes* of an Arabic text, the French probably descending from a Spanish version (cat. no. 5); then one of many anonymous French translations of Boethius's *Consolation of Philosophy*, this one including the important prologue by Jean de Meun (cat. no. 6); and finally, an original work of the early sixteenth century by an otherwise unknown author Mellon Preudhomme, *Le lustre des temps*, that combines historical, genealogical, and hermetical poetry adapted from a wide variety of sources – scriptural, patristic, classical, and medieval – to retrace the notable moral feats of past characters with passages clearly influenced by the pseudo-epigraphical writings attributed to Hermes Trismegistus (cat. no. 7). It is noteworthy that every one of these translated versions is unique and exists only in the manuscript included in this catalogue.

Translation, or *translatio*, has recently received much attention that is relevant here (Chavy, 1988; Anderson, 2004; Thiry, 2007; Galderisi 2011). The Latin word



translatio refers not only to the transfer of languages and cultures but also to the transplantation of letters from one world to another giving a sense of the present to the past. Fully two-thirds of the extant translations occur between the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries (Chavy, amended by Thiry, counts nearly 400 translations by the fifteenth century, the majority from Latin into French). However, those who study translation have found that, when individual manuscripts become the focus of research, it becomes apparent that every transcribed text is to a certain extent distinctive; thus there exist many versions, emendations, revisions of translations, revealing that there is no such thing as a “stable” translation. Where and for whom a text was made influenced how the translator rendered it.

Our manuscripts present compelling evidence to support the idea of translation as an author’s interpretation of a text, his or her individual creation. The *Secret des secrets* emerges as one of eleven different French versions, five of which exist only in a single manuscript, and this one is previously unrecorded; instead of focusing on governance, the text focuses on the physical well-being of the ruler. The text of the *Ditz des philosophes* (cat. no. 5) is likewise highly individual with its adaptations and rearrangement not recorded elsewhere by modern scholarship. So too the French translation of Boethius is reworked (by David Aubert?) to reveal a number of readings unique to this exemplar. And finally, although not a translation *per se*, the *Lustre des temps* (cat. no. 5) assembles a vast variety of sources adapting them to a hermetical model. In each of these cases, the alterations should probably be traced to the audience: a special (though unknown) patron for the *Secret*, the orbit of King René d’Anjou for the *Ditz*, the Burgundian court for the Boethius, and the shadowy figure of Guillaume Preudhomme for the *Lustre*. Manuscripts in other sections of this catalogue also preserve unique translations from the Latin into French such as Berosus’s *Chaldean History* perhaps by Pierre Balsac (cat. no. 12), Jerome’s letter to Furia by a hitherto unrecorded translator Charles Bonin (cat. no. 13), and Colard Mansion’s *Penitence d’Adam* (cat. no. 15, extant in one other copy), leading us to question whether these creative modifications of an original might be the norm rather than the exception among translated works.

III. History and Genealogy: the Nation and the Individual

Historical writing too responded to the desire for works written in the French language, and writers again turned to Latin models fit for translation. The development of vernacular history takes place at the same time as the centralization of French authority and its growing power under Philip Augustus, who sowed the seeds for a “nation state.” Studies have shown that the translation of the official Latin history of France, as originally compiled by the monk Primat at the Abbey of St.-Denis, into the vernacular, known as the *Grandes Chroniques de France*, was generated by the northern French nobility’s desire to assimilate a royalist model of the kingdom’s past into a readable form (Spiegel, 1984). The adoption of prose as the language of vernacular history was founded in the anxieties of

contemporary aristocratic culture, for verse contained “lies” while prose was “natural” and therefore true. Copies of the *Grandes Chroniques* over the next two centuries are widely diverse, incorporating additions and continuations intended to personalize and contemporize the text – not only for each new monarch and his special political contingencies but also for the aristocratic constituency that constituted a natural audience for manuscripts of French history (Morrison and Hedeman, 2012).

Two of the manuscripts in this section stress the role of the individual, as well as the community, in the writing of history. The first, a copy of the *Grandes Chroniques* made for Jacques d’Armagnac, includes an interpolated copy of an abridged chronicle with a genealogical tree of the Armagnac family (cat. no. 8). Perhaps it was Jacques d’Armagnac’s enmity for the monarchy, which he opposed and for which he was twice pardoned and eventually imprisoned and executed by Louis XI, which led him to boast of his descent from Philip VI of Valois. The manuscript later entered the personal library of Francis I, as is evident from a recently identified early shelfmark. The second manuscript, a copy of the *Chronique anonyme universelle* newly compiled from diverse sources during a critical moment of the Hundred Years’ War in c. 1415, was certainly intended for a noble audience for whom it served to validate the ruling houses of one country (France) while simultaneously negating the royal claims of another (England). The earliest copy with its anti-British rhetoric may have originated in the Bourbon court for the use of Duchess Marie of Bourbon, whose husband was captured at Agincourt and whose duchy she led without him for nearly twenty years. In text and image, our copy for an unknown patron reinforces the rhetoric during the years just following the war as France sought to assert an upper hand.

Closely allied with historical writing, genealogy constituted another strategy to tie the past to the present (and influence the future) through family structures (see Radulescu and Kennedy, 2007; Bouchard, 2001). In an unusual manuscript – the only illuminated copy of a rare text extant in four manuscripts (with a restricted circulation in the family?) and by an unknown author (cat. no. 11) – the author presents his work not so much as a genealogy *per se* but as a summary of the rights and claims to the lands and titles of the House of Orléans-Longueville. The presence of an extra-textual prefatory illumination glorifies a specific fiefdom by asserting its descent from Julius Caesar and championing its place in the exalted kingdom of France. We are reminded that images do not always operate in direct relationship with their text, but they often “reread” the text, offering another level of interpretation for readers (Hériché-Pradeau and Pérez-Simon, eds., 2013). The power of imagery in genealogy is differently underscored by the hierarchical rules of heraldry (cat. no. 10). Included here is a miscellany of heraldic treatises with an armorial that probably served a herald who went about his day to day tasks at tournaments, jousts, and pageants and who was charged with verifying the credentials of combatants and listing their coats-of-arms. A classification of colors and their significance accompanies a chromatic chart, reminding us that no visual sign is meaningless: gold refers to the emperor,

silver to a king, blue to a count, brown to a viscount, purple to a bachelor, and so forth; further gold relates to the virtues of nobility, the age of adolescence, the sun, and Sunday.

IV. Women Writers and Women Bibliophiles: Memory and Self-Assertion

The impact women had on the rise of French vernacular literature is undeniable. As early as Chrétien de Troyes in the twelfth century, male writers sought to feature women, who constituted a natural audience for their romances. From Marie de France (late 12th century) to Christine de Pizan (d. 1430) to Catherine d'Amboise (d. 1550), women writing in French struggled to carve out a place for themselves within a largely male literary canon. And, certainly by the Renaissance if not earlier, women – particularly aristocratic women – also built important collections that they used not only for pleasure but to make statements about their lineage, power, and cultural heritage. Discussed earlier in connection with the *Chronique anonyme universelle*, Marie de Bourbon is relevant here, for – rather unusual for a woman of her era – she owned a library of around forty volumes that included a large number of historical chronicles (Beaune and Lequain, 2006). There can be no question that women, especially women writers but also women collectors, were aware that they were flying counter to the norm (Christine even invents a metaphorical gender transformation in order to navigate a man's world in the *Mutación de fortune*), but for them French vernacular literature was empowering, giving them a voice and enhancing their self-status.

By the time Christine de Pizan died in 1430, it was no longer so startling to encounter women writers and women bibliophiles. Indeed, Legaré has recorded some 370 references to female-owned collections of books in the fifteenth century (1996, p. 209). In this catalogue, the three manuscripts owned or written by contemporary aristocratic women of the Renaissance – Anne de Graville (1490-1544), Anne de Polignac (c. 1495-1554), and Catherine d'Amboise (1482-1550) – take their place in a slightly later era when it was more common for aristocratic women to write and collect (cat. nos. 12, 13, and 14). The copy of Berosus's Chaldean History that Pierre de Balsac gave his wife (or future wife) as a "love book" became part of Anne's library, which eventually numbered some two hundred volumes. Inscriptions dated 1518 in her manuscripts added when she inherited her father's collection show her taking this opportunity to review the contents of her entire library. Just what these libraries were, how they were housed, how women bibliophiles used them is worthy of further study (see Bohler, 2006). Catherine d'Amboise speaks of her "petit cabinet," a phrase that conjures up the private nature of women's reading experience, and Anne de Graville (perhaps?) describes reading in bed in an inscription in her Berosus. The binding of their books, often modest in format and in lush velvet, contributes to this sense that reading by women was very personal and private (cat. nos. 13 and 14). Until recently, much of the literature on women as bibliophiles has focused on religious women and on queens and princesses, but this relatively coherent group of Renaissance women opens a window onto the reading habits and attitudes towards collecting by another category, members of the aristocracy.

These three manuscripts also raise the question of subject matter: What did women read and write? Were their tastes and interests different from those of their male counterparts? Is there a female literary canon? Each of the three manuscripts sheds light specifically on women's literature as consolation. Directly inspired, it would seem, by the death of her nephew, Catherine d'Amboise's allegorical "complaint" provides her and members of her family with a means of dealing with grief. Anne de Polignac's copy of Jerome's letter of advice to an early Christian widow offered her a moral and spiritual framework to confront her own twice-widowed state. And, the strange "love gift" Anne de Graville's husband offered her is in dialogue with the troubling circumstances of their love affair and marriage, which provoked her disinheritance. Of course not all vernacular literature for and by women fits this theme, but McCash reminds us that "throughout the centuries many women turned to literature to express their pain and suffering and their beliefs and visions" (1996, p. 53). We still have much to learn about women readers and collections, a subject to which the ongoing study of the manuscripts themselves as expressive artifacts can contribute.

V. From Manuscript to Print: the Circulation of Texts and the Triumph of the French Vernacular

At least for a century after the beginning of printing in c. 1455, manuscripts continued to be transcribed and illuminated because they must have still held significance for their audiences. Often such exemplars were intended for select circulation (e.g., no. 14), whether destined for noble patrons or copied for the scribe's own use. A study of the manuscript in the age of print constitutes an investigation in its own right, and each surviving volume can contribute valuable evidence toward the reconstruction of that history. Whereas fully two-thirds of the manuscripts in the present catalogue postdate Gutenberg's invention of printing, and we could examine each one of them from the perspective of the confrontation of manuscript culture with print culture, two examples in particular stand out as especially revealing on the subject: Colard Mansion's *La penitence d'Adam*, and Guillaume Alexis, *Le passe temps de tout homme et toute femme* (cat. nos. 15 and 16).

It is evident that the invention of printing, for the enterprise to be economical, expressly favored the circulation of texts in large numbers, but some works continued to be aimed at a select market and were thus not good candidates for early printers. Such is the case with Colard Mansion's *La penitence d'Adam*. The three extant manuscript copies (and there is no evidence that any more ever existed) were dedication copies, two made for one of the greatest bibliophiles of his day, Louis of Bruges, who owned a deluxe library of about two hundred volumes (the same size as that of Anne de Graville) nearly all of which were illuminated manuscripts. Within the Burgundian milieu, Louis emerges as the most significant patron and bibliophile after Philip the Good. His patronage must have been very hands-on: he employed the same team of scribes, illuminators, and

binders, and he even had a special way of binding his books with Renaissance gaufré and decorated gilt edges that were not at all common in book production in Bruges. This manuscript reveals him working with his favored team, and it still bears evidence of the individualistic gilt edges. Of course Colard Mansion was also a printer, not only a calligrapher, and he was the working partner of William Caxton. But, Mansion never printed either of the two recensions he translated (and transcribed) of *La penitence d'Adam*. Rather, this manuscript reveals how scribes and stationers, simultaneous with the practice of the new technology, also perfected the scribal arts in the production of tiny numbers of exceedingly high quality books for special audiences.

In marked contrast with Colard Mansion's *penitence*, the manuscript of Guillaume Alexis's text exists in a single copy clearly modeled after an earlier printed book issued by the famed Parisian printer Antoine Vérard in c. 1505. The manuscript remains a bit of an enigma. Copies by Vérard may have been expensive and scarce in Rouen, where the present book was transcribed and illustrated. Could this be the reason why a scribe copied the present exemplar? For his own use? For an exigent buyer? If this copy does indeed epitomize the widespread phenomenon of a manuscript copied from a printed book for one's own use, it was undertaken by someone unusually skilled. The *bâtarde* hand-writing is proficient (and probably professional), and notably the spontaneously drawn pen-and-ink illustrations, while directly modeled on the woodcuts in Vérard's edition, display considerable aplomb in their free-hand style and execution.

Conclusion: From *Sydrac* to the Académie française

Quickly, the technology of the press provided greater access to the mother tongue and contributed to its standardization. Statistics of publications in French are indeed astonishing. Whereas in 1501 only 10% of books published in Paris were in French, by 1575, 55% of all books published in Paris were in French. The triumph of the French vernacular was also promoted by King Francis I, who in 1539, deemed French the official language of his kingdom. Then, in 1635, Cardinal Richelieu founded the Académie française whose mission was "to codify the French language, to give it rules, to make it pure and comprehensible to everyone." And, the rest, so they say, is history. The medieval and Renaissance manuscripts discussed here endure as vibrant reminders of the linguistic, historical, and cultural legacy of modern-day France and the French language.

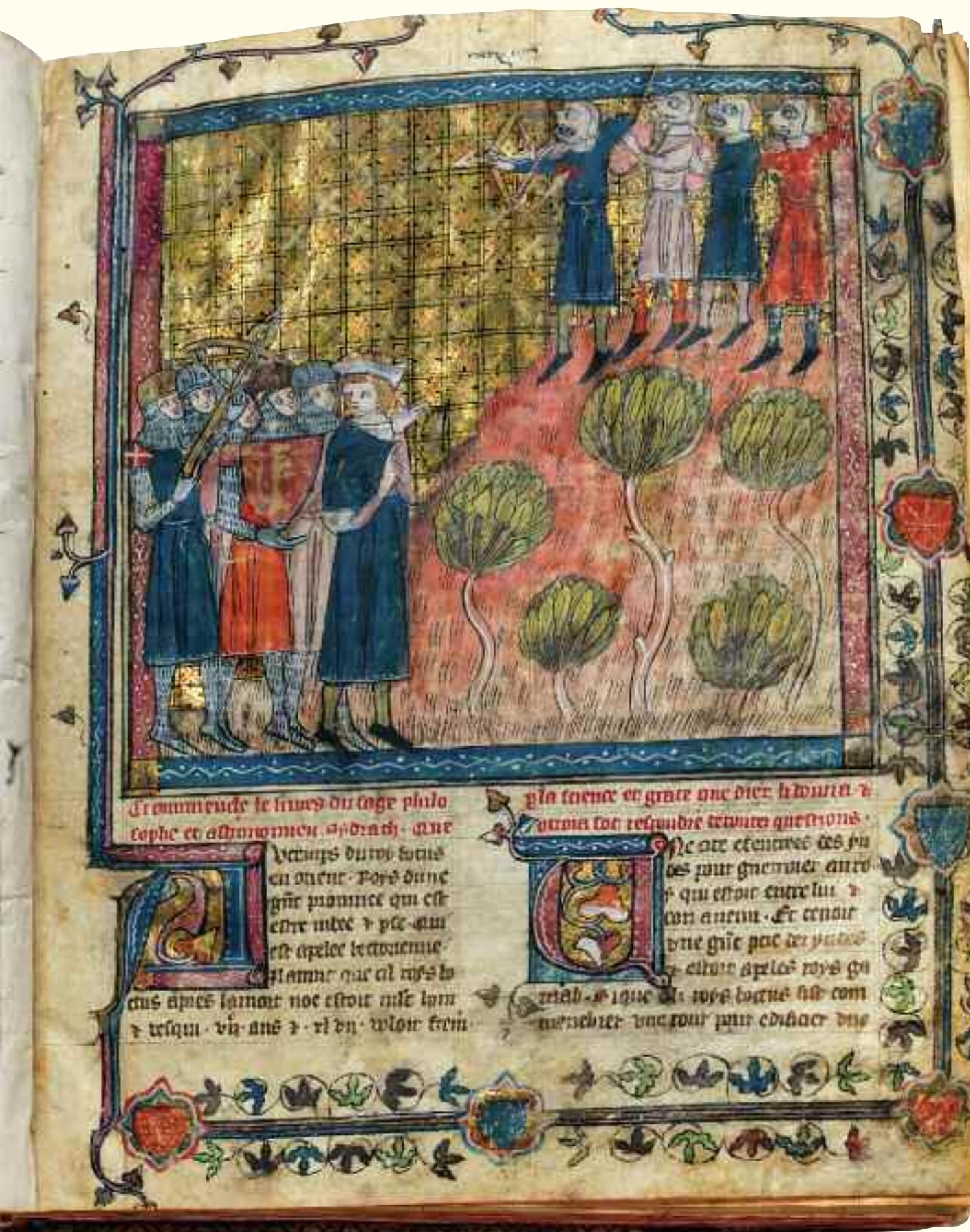
Sandra Hindman





I

Literature and Science: the Rise and Affirmation of the Vernacular



Livre de la fontaine de toutes sciences, or Livre de Sydrac le philosophe

In French, illuminated manuscript on parchment

France, Paris, c. 1325-50

1 frontispiece miniature, 1 historiated initial by Jeanne de Montbaston (active c. 1338?-1350s) and 1 diagram of a T-O map

Made for a woman in the royal circle, this is an immensely important witness to the varied tastes of readers of medieval French literature. The main text – in a unique twist on the medieval encyclopedia tradition – winds together a fantastical romance with foolish rulers, an ancient book of wisdom dictated to Noah by an angel and passed down through his family, magical forces that dismantle stone towers at a whim and can only be defeated by herbs which grow on a certain hill guarded by dog-headed men, and many hundreds of questions and answers encapsulating for the reader a wide survey of medieval science and philosophy. In addition, the miniatures are by a known female artist, and represent one of the rarest things in medieval art – composition without any apparent pre-existing models in order to complement the text.

This is a strange and fascinating work, which styles itself as a fantastical Romance, but as Ward states is in fact a didactic treatise containing “a catechism of medieval science” (p. 903) in a form made to be accessible and appealing to a broad medieval readership. It was composed in the thirteenth century and purports to tell the tale of King Boctus, the ruler of a great province between India and Persia, who lived 1200 years before the birth of Christ. Boctus declares war on his neighbor King Gharab of India, and sets out to build a mighty tower on the border of their two territories, but each night the construction work of the previous day is magically demolished. Boctus sends for Sydrac, the astronomer to King Tractabar, who is a descendant of Noah’s son Japhet and had inherited a book of wisdom dictated to Noah by an angel. He explains that the land where the king is trying to build the tower is cursed, but the spell can be broken with herbs which grow on the Green Mountain of the Raven and are guarded by dog-headed men. Eventually Boctus succeeds in obtaining the herbs, and the tower can be built. Finally, Boctus is converted by Sydrac to the Trinitarian faith, revealing to the

reader that Sydrac here takes his name from the Old Testament figure Shadrach, who with his companions, Meshach and Abed-nego, refused to bow down to King Nebuchadnezzar's idols and subsequently converted that ruler to Judaism.

This synopsis obscures the fact that the main body of the text is composed of hundreds of questions – 1,227 to be exact in the long version – as posed by Boctus to Sydrac, and Sydrac's learned replies, arranged in a vast and often seemingly random, meandering survey of early scientific and alchemical subjects as diverse as obstetrics, geography, meteorology, astronomy, astrology, mineralogy, medicine, demonology, sex, fashion, and natural history. They include: Where does fire go when it is extinguished? Do birds, animals and fish have souls? How big is the world? How do birds fly? Why is the sea salty? Do fish sleep in the water? Where does the wind come from? Where does lightening come from, and how is it made? How many stars are there in the sky, and how do they stay up there? Who are the richest men in the world? What's the most beautiful animal? What language did Adam use when he named things? Should wise people drink wine? And, so forth. The text makes for great reading even today in part for its simple language, the seeming naïveté of the questions, and the charm of the often-unexpected answers.

Written in the last third of the thirteenth century by an unknown author, *Le livre de Sydrac* fits securely in the vernacular encyclopedia tradition of the later Middle Ages. The most significant French encyclopedia of the period, that of Brunetto Latini, *Le livre dou Tresor*, was based on Vincent of Beauvais's *Speculum majus* (c. 1260), the most ambitious Latin encyclopedia of the late medieval period. Our author drew on a variety of French and Latin texts (some with Arabic origins), principally Gautier de Metz, *Image du monde*, the *Secretum secretorum*, the *Elucidarium* of Honorius of Autun (1080-1154), the *Philosophia mundi* of William of Conches (c. 1090-post 1154), the *Introductorium in astronomiam* by Albumasar (d. 886; the Persian astronomer and early transmitter of the ideas of Aristotle on Natural History; Latin translations of his work by John of Seville in 1133 and Herman of Carinthia in 1140), and the *Somme le roi* of Frère Laurent, a moral compendium compiled in 1279 for King Philip III of France.

Sydrac enjoyed considerable popularity over three centuries. It exists in two French versions, one of about thirty manuscripts, and the other of eleven manuscripts, and it was published eleven times from its first printed edition in 1486 to 1533. In addition there are two complete English recensions, as well as translations into German, Dutch, Catalan, Italian, and even Danish by the end of the fifteenth century. Most extant manuscripts are in institutional ownership, with the exception of the present copy and a fragment of seven leaves in a private collection, published by Connochie-Bourgne (2006). Following his 2000 edition based on the fourteenth-century London codex (British Library, Add. MS 17914), Ruhe has announced a yet-unpublished monograph on the origins and the reception of the text over three centuries in relationship to medieval encyclopedia literature.

The painting here has been securely identified by Richard and Mary Rouse as the work of the celebrated female illuminator (more correctly *illuminatrix*) and *libraire* Jeanne de Montbaston (p. 244). In the frontispiece, the artichoke-like trees, schematic landscape with parallel hatching, elongated rigid figures, brittle ivyleaves, and baguette border are all typical of her style (compare Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, MS W 143 and Paris, BnF, MS fr. 802 figs. 1.1 and 1.2). The miniatures are witnesses to two of the rarest things in the medieval book arts: the production of images with no apparent pre-existing model in response to the text they complement, and evidence of the important role played by women in the creation and decoration of medieval manuscripts in Paris in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

Jeanne worked with her husband Richard de Montbaston as a manuscript illuminator, and a copy of the *Roman de la Rose* (now Paris, BnF, MS fr. 25526, f. 77) produced by them, includes an illustration of a male scribe and a female painter, he writing by candlelight as she grinds pigments, which must be a self-portrait (fig. 1.3). They both lived and worked on the rue Neuve Notre-Dame from before 1338, when Richard took his oath as *libraire*, until his death c. 1353. On 21 July that same year, Jeanne took her oath as *libraire* to become his successor in their business, but was already working in her own right and had won a significant degree of recognition from the Parisian authorities, being recorded in her oath document as a "sworn book-illuminator of the University." The couple were prolific book producers, and their work was clearly much sought after in fourteenth-century Paris, surviving in at least fifty manuscripts, including two copies of Jean de

nul. Et la trema plus en la creance du fil
le vrai prophete. **Le roy demande se di**
eu a este con; iours et sera sans amour
finement. Sydrach respont. 4. cccc



Dier ne onques ome
chement ne fin na
ma aussi il fist tel
z terre z anant qui
les feist il fut bien
qui les tenoit sans
se les autres choses

que il fist z fut le nombre des anges a
tant q'il les feist z des homes z des bestes
de des oisiaus z des poissons z q'innour
tenoit chatans z si sauoit touz tens q'
denoient estre sans. Et qui tenoient estre
pou z leur pensees z leur dis z leur fes
sans z leur nons z seil neust sen ce il ne
ust me estre vains dier z de tout ce que il
a fait il n'est deus amendes. Et seil
ne leust fait il nen fust deus empies
dier fu auant sans omendement. Dier
est z dier sera sans finement. z la paissi
ce fut tout. Et si est prout z si est la que
puissance z distance en. iii. c. Et. iii.
c. sont li bns est coriel cest al q'non
leons. fiance est espouset cest al; lan
li angle sont. liars est. al ou dier est.

illux le teiront luntre vublement
Le roy demande se dier puer estre.
Sydrach respont. 11. cccc

Dier est vubles z non vubles
vubles an il loit tout z si u
estre tens. Car muls cors tiens ne
on nulle espiatuel chose. Mais li
terroit li espiat z se li espiat est u
pres ce q' li fil bien rendra entere il
dieu. Seil apres le iugement. Mais
dieu sa nomlana en tene vierge. z
dia celui cors z sera tens z conchu
ra q'liq' home sera sans pechie. Et
sera que elle conduira. Et vieng
apres le nacement. z seil ne pu
cors de la vierge nulle corporelle ch
le pouoit deon. **Le roy demande se**
entous lein z ptont. Sydrach p.

Dier est eus liu en samble o
mpes. Car autest il est p'nta
y leu ome en. y. auter. Car acelle
q'il gomme les choses q' sont en ou
gouuerne il celles q' sont en ou
z pour ce est il conasheut; p'tout
gouuerne touz tens toutes choses
Le roy demande se toutes les cho
dier fust le sentent. Sydrach p. 11. c.

Dier ne fust onq's creature que l
te z q' ne le conte. Car icelles
qui nous samblent estre sans au
celles ycelles vinent z sentent li
ateur. Les oes le sentent car selon
omautement il ne fineront deo
Le soleil z la lune z les estoilles tel
Car touz temps repaent eleu. li
il humerent la terre. Car se leu
chalam an. tene fust. z les leu
les yaus le sentent car elles re
as lieus donc il lient la mer z le
les crement z deuent. Car que il fust

Vignay's translation of the *Legenda Aurea* (Paris, BnF, MS fr. 241 and Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibl. Clm. 10177), a prose *Lancelot* (Paris, Arsenal, MS 3481, probably in collaboration with the Fauvel Master), a prose *Tristan* (J. Paul Getty Museum, Ludwig XV.5), a copy of *Le Roman de Thèbes* with *Le Roman de Troie* (Paris, BnF, MS fr. 60, again with the Fauvel Master), four copies of *Les voeux du paon* and *Le restor du paon* (British Library, Add. MS 16888, Oxford, Bodleian, Douce 165, BnF, MSS fr. 24386 and 25521), the only extant copy of *Brun de la montagne* (Paris, BnF, MS fr. 2170), two copies of the prose *Le Roman des Sept Sages* (BnF, MS fr. 17000 and British Library, Harley MS 4903), and a staggering seventeen copies of *Le Roman de la Rose* (Rouse and Rouse, II, Appendix 9A, pp. 202-206). She is one of the earliest women we know of working in the Parisian book trade, and probably the female player in this world about whom we know more than any other. Most survive as names only, such as the two parchmenters: Constance *la parcheminiere* in 1292 and Dame Marguerite de Sanz *marcheande de livres* in 1292, Amelie de Berron *libraire* and *enlumneresse* in 1292-1298, Erembourc *l'enlumneresse* in 1298-1299, and a handful more from the fourteenth century (see the Rouses register and Busby, pp. 31-32, for full lists of these names). This is one of the only witnesses to her work still in private hands, and is thus of great importance.

Not only was the manuscript illuminated by a woman, it may have been commissioned by a female patron as well. The frontispiece includes the arms of France and Navarre and it may have been ordered by Jeanne de France (d. 1373), daughter of Jean II, King of France and sister of Charles V and Jean, duc de Berry, who married Charles le Mauvais, King of Navarre, in 1351, or her namesake, the daughter of Louis X and his wife Phillippe d'Evreux, who became Queen of Navarre in 1328, and who died in 1349. The volume is remarkably close in style to the compendium (Royal MS, 19 D.I) made for Philip VI and dated after 1333 or c. 1340 (fig. 1.4).

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION: 127 ff. (plus 18 seventeenth-century paper endleaves with the prologue and table of chapters), text complete (collation i-xv⁸, xvi⁷ last a cancelled blank), written in two columns in 36-48 lines in a small professional gothic vernacular hand between 8 vertical lines and below a horizontal top line ruled in plummet (justification 230 x 180 mm.), rubrics in red, capitals touched in red, two-line initials in red or blue with contrasting penwork, three large initials (f. 1 with two six-line high initial; f. 5v with one seven line high terminating in a detailed dragon's head gazing intently at the miniature above) in red, blue and orange with white penwork tracery on burnished gold grounds, enclosing sprigs of colored ivyleaves, large diagram of the universe with a

25

simplified T-O world map at its center enclosed within concentric rings showing the relative position of the moon and the signs of the zodiac on f. 102r (190 mm. in diameter), one small miniature of the author at his writing desk, presenting a bound volume to King Boctus on f. 5v (67 x 77 mm.), and a very large miniature of King Boctus and his army storming a hill held by dog-headed men (170 mm. square), with full decorated borders of colored and gold bars with curling tendrils ending in gold and colored ivy-leaves, enclosing the coats-of-arms of France and Navarre (both miniatures identified as the work of Jeanne de Montbaston), slight trimming to edges with some small losses to edges of foliage in decorated borders, some small stains, a few wormholes and leaves throughout slightly cockled, else fine condition. Eighteenth-century French calf over pasteboards, with spine gilt-tooled with flowers and small circles and title “SIDRAC PHILOSOPHE MS,” (some cracks to edges of spine at head and foot, marbled paper doublures and paper endleaves). Dimensions 285 x 220 mm.

TEXT: f. 1, Prologue to the text supplied by a seventeenth-century hand, heading, *Prologue sur le livre du saige philosophe Sydrach*; ff. 1-127, *La fontaine de toutes sciences*, rubric, *Ci commence le livres du sage philosophe et astronmien Sydrach que par la science et grace que diex li donna et octrioa sot respondre detoutez questions*; incipit, “Au temps du roy Botus en orient, roys d’une grande province qui est estre judee et perse...”; explicit, “[...] et recongnurent auz ydoles desquels enfer est plains”; final rubric, *Ici finit (?) le livre du saige philosophe Sydrach et bon astronmien liquel lessa sa science apres luy pour ce qu’elle fust demoustrée aus gens per univese monde*; followed by seventeen leaves with a chapter table supplied by the seventeenth-century annotator.

ILLUSTRATION: two miniatures by the Parisian artist Jeanne de Montbaston: one large miniature of King Boctus and his army storming a hill held by dog-headed men (f. 1; 170 mm. square), with full decorated borders of colored and gold bars with curling tendrils ending in gold and colored ivy-leaves, enclosing the coats-of-arms of France and Navarre; one small miniature of the author of at his writing desk, presenting a bound volume to King Boctus (f. 5v), and 1 diagram of the T-O map (f. 102), represents the physical world as first described by the 7th-century scholar Isidore of Seville in his *Etymologiae*.

OWNERSHIP: – 1. Produced in Paris in the mid-fourteenth century by the female artist Jeanne de Montbaston for a royal patron. The frontispiece of the manuscript includes the arms of France and Navarre and it may have been commissioned by Jeanne de France (d. 1373), daughter of Jean II, King of France and sister of Charles V and Jean, duc de Berry, who married Charles le Mauvais, King of Navarre, in 1351, or her namesake, the daughter of Louis X and his wife Phillippe d’Evreux, who became Queen of Navarre in 1328, and who died in 1349. – 2. Jacques Chabaut, the “noble et puissant ... chevalier et seigneur de Leschereyne et de la Villeneuve”, and presented by him on 11 May 1502 to Jacques Galleys in the house of Anthoine de Cosivens: with contemporary inscriptions at the end of the volume. – 3. Richard Heber (1773-1833), bought in 1816; sold in his sale in Evans, 19 February 1836, lot 1522. – 4. Sir Thomas Phillipps (1792-1872), his MS 8353 with his inscription on first endleaf and remnants of his paper label on spine; sold in his sale in Sotheby’s, 25 November 1969, lot 458, reappearing in C.W. Traylen, catalogue 77 (1972), no. 6, illustrated in color, and sold again at Sotheby’s, 10 December 1980, lot 87, to Maggs. – 5. J. R. Ritman (1941–), Amsterdam, Bibliotheca Philosophica Hermetica MS 116, with his bookplate on front pastedown; bought from Kraus, catalogue 165, *Cimelia* (1983), no. 4.

LITERATURE: Published in Rouse, R. and M. Rouse, *Manuscripts and their Makers: Commercial Book Producers in Medieval Paris 1200-1500*, 2 vols., Turnhout, 2000, I, p. 244, with ch. 9 discussing the Montbastons as book producers; Ruhe, E., ed., *Sydrac le philosophe Le livre de la fontaine de toutes sciences. Edition des enzyklopädischen Lehrdialogs aus dem XIII. Jahrhundert*, Wiesbaden (2000), p. x, note 12; and Steiner, S.-M., ed. *Le livre de Sidrach: un temoignage de la diffusion encyclopedique au XIII^e siecle: edition critique d’apres les manuscrits de Paris et de Rome...*, Melun, France, 1994, the present manuscript as Sigla “A” [for Amsterdam]; See also Busby, K., *Codex and Context: Reading Old French Verse Narrative in Manuscript*, Amsterdam, 2002. – Connochie-Bourgne, C. “Un fragment inédit du *Livre de Sydrach*: sept feuillets d’une collection privée,” in “*Qui tant*

savoit d’engin et d’art.” *Mélanges de philologie médiévale offerts à Gabriel Bianciotto*, Poitiers, 2006, pp. 399-413. – Ruhe, E., “Les livres de Sydrac. L’évolution d’un dialogue encyclopédique,” *Romania* 129 (2011) pp. 321-339. – Ward, H.L.D. and J. A. Herbert, *Catalogue of Romances in the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum*, 3 vols., London, 1961 (repr.).

ONLINE RESOURCES:

A digitized copy of the edition of the text published in 2000:

<http://www.deepdyve.com/lp/de-gruyter/ernstpeter-ruhe-ed-sydrac-le-philosophe-le-livre-de-la-fontaine-de-vrMvBI8ryT>

Arlima website (though largely incorrect as far as the citation of manuscripts):

http://www.arlima.net/eh/fontaine_de_toutes_sciences.html



fig. 1.1
Baltimore, Walters Art Museum,
MS W 143, Guillaume de Lorris
and Jean de Meun, *Le Roman
de la Rose*, f. 1



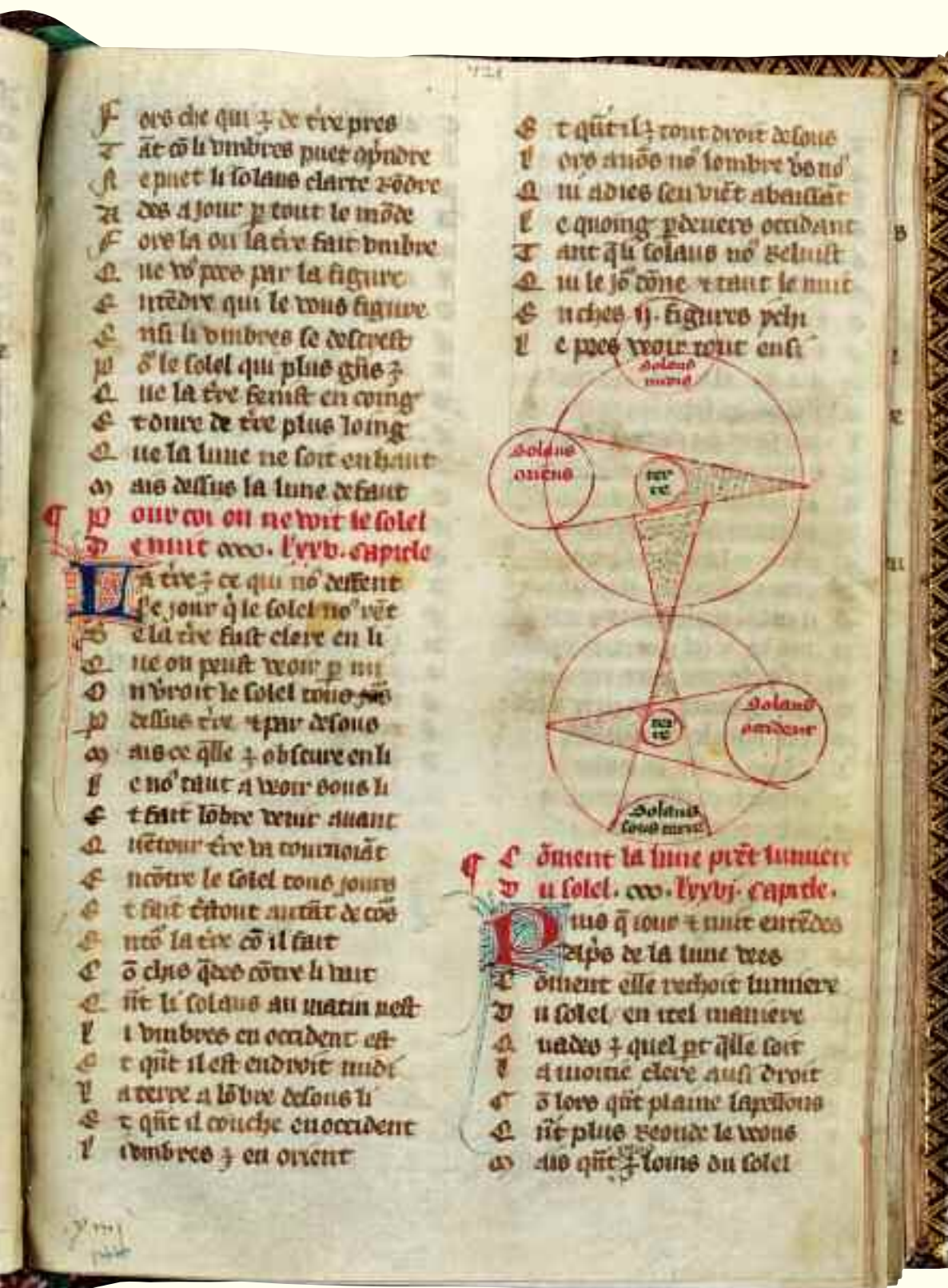
fig. 1.3
Paris, BnF, MS fr. 25526,
Guillaume de Lorris and
Jean de Meun,
Le Roman de la Rose, f. 77v



fig. 1.2
Paris, BnF, MS fr. 802, Guillaume
de Lorris and Jean de Meun,
Le Roman de la Rose, f. 12



fig. 1.4
London, BL, Royal MS 19 D. I,
Anonymous French Translation of
Historia de proeliis, *La vraie
ystoire dou bon roi Alixandre*, f. 1



GUILLAUME DE DEGUILEVILLE,
Le pèlerinage de la vie humaine; GAUTIER DE METZ,
L'image du monde; and *L'histoire du riche homme et du ladre*

In French, illustrated manuscript on parchment
 France, perhaps Picardy, mid-fourteenth century
 18 diagrams by an anonymous fourteenth-century artist

This is an important witness to medieval vernacular French verse. It has a royal provenance, and is of crucial importance for each of its three texts, containing the only dated copy of the *Pèlerinage*, the only copy of the *L'image du monde* to name the author as "Gautier," and finally the only extant copy of *L'histoire du riche homme et du ladre*, which is a substantially unpublished text. The second text (called the *Mapemonde* in this copy) is, as is customary, densely illustrated with diagrams directly inspired by it that insist on the Earth as the center of the universe. Considered together as "the whole book," the three works merit a review of their multiple interpretations for their particular knightly audience in the fourteenth century.

The fact that this manuscript is in French verse strongly suggests that by the fourteenth century science as well as pious religious works were of great interest to the secular elites in France and were commonly being read in the courts there. At its core is an early scientific encyclopaedia dealing with cosmology and geography, principally the composition and form of the world and its interaction with heavenly bodies. Before and after are two moralizing works with strong Christian overtones, describing a pilgrimage to the heavenly Jerusalem and a parable urging piety and a morally good life. In 1766 the manuscript was recorded as from the royal library, founded at the Louvre by King Charles V in 1368, and this volume may well have been used by him and his successors. It is an important witness to medieval vernacular French verse.

The first text it contains is Guillaume de Deguileville's allegorical poem *Le pèlerinage de la vie humaine*, written between 1330 and 1332, which describes a dream the author had after he fell asleep while reading the

Roman de la Rose, and was intended as a companion to that work. The narrator has a vision of the heavenly city of Jerusalem, and sets out on a pilgrimage to find it. He is met by a beautiful woman named *Grace Dieu*, who leads him to her house, where he receives instruction in the dogmas and sacraments of the Church, and meets Moses who presents him with a sword and a key. He witnesses a discourse between Nature and *Grace Dieu* on the transubstantiation of bread and wine, as well as another between Aristotle and Sapience. *Grace Dieu* then gives him a scroll with the Creed and poems on God and the Virgin, and after she leaves, he encounters other allegorical figures including Reason, Youth, Moral Virtue, Gluttony, Sloth and Idleness along his path. Pride and Envy nearly halt his pilgrimage, but a prayer to the Virgin and a homily by St. Bernard come to his aid. Finally, he has his own discourse with the Devil, and attempts to swim across the sea, discovering some islands inhabited by Astronomy, Astrology, Idolatry, the witch Conspiracy and Worldly Pleasure who lives in a revolving tower. *Grace Dieu* sends him a ship, and Prayer guides him to his goal where he meets Death and ends his quest.

The text had far-reaching impact in French-speaking Europe. Guillaume wrote a second version in c. 1355, and then within a few years two pendant texts, *Le Pèlerinage de l'Âme* and *Le Pèlerinage de Jhesucrist* often transcribed together to form a trilogy. His work was translated into English, once by Lydgate in 1426 at the request of Thomas Montacute, the 4th Earl of Salisbury, a poet himself and the deputy of the great English bibliophile, John, Duke of Bedford, and a second time by an anonymous translator. German, Dutch, and Castilian verse translations exist, as well as a Latin version and a French prose rendition. The author was a Cistercian monk in the abbey of Chaalis, near Senlis, who died c. 1358, and the French poem survives in eighty-nine manuscripts overall (OPVS has announced a new critical edition and study of the extant manuscripts under G  raldine Veyseyre). The present manuscript contains the more popular first verse recension (PVH1), of which there are sixty-eight manuscripts, and this is an extremely early copy. The vast majority of these are in European institutional ownership, with five copies listed in OPVS in America (Yale University, Beinecke Library, MS 406; Morgan Library, M.1038, M772; Baltimore Walters Art Museum, W.141; and Philadelphia, Rosenbach Museum and Library, MS 241/2). Only two other copies are recorded in private hands. Crucially, the date of the completion of the text is recorded in the present manuscript: "... et fu fais en l'an de grace, mil trois cens et xxxii" (f. 1).



This is followed by Gautier de Metz's cosmographical and geographical verse treatise, *L'image du monde* (here under the variant title, le *mapemonde*), which forms part of the encyclopedia tradition of the Middle Ages. Although it includes a sort of universal history, that begins with the creation of the world and fast forwards through to Saint Paul and then Saint Denis, its core text, and the one for which it is most famous, discusses the formation of the world, the elements, the planets, the meaning of the movements of the heavens and how these produce day and night and lunar eclipses. It is a popular misconception that medieval men universally thought that the world was flat. In this text, Gautier de Metz observes that the Earth is round and explains that if a man were able to walk in an unobstructed straight line, he would finally return to the same place, just as a fly can walk all the way around an apple.

The text of the *Image du monde* was originally composed c. 1246, and it exists in four versions (three in verse and one in prose) and ninety-eight manuscripts, conveying just how popular it was to medieval audiences. Dedicated to Count Robert II of Artois (1216-1250), the first and earliest version (known as A) in three books composed c. 1246 was the most widely disseminated; it exists in seventy-three manuscripts. Written very shortly thereafter, between 1246/47 and 1250 is a version that exists in only one manuscript (H for British Library, Harley MS 4333). Our manuscript follows version B, written in the succeeding years, just after 1250, and extant in only twenty-three manuscripts (Arlima database adds two manuscripts to Centili's 2005 list, and lists this manuscript as no. 1; Centili notes that one of the unique features of our manuscript is that it includes contaminations from version A – such as, for example, the prose table of contents). Version B adds some 4000 lines and a lengthy aside on the life of St. Brendan originally from a now lost manuscript once in the monastery of St. Ernoult, near Metz. Our copy is the only manuscript to record the name of the author as "Gautier" (f. 84v, "Si le fist maistre gautiers de mies en lorraine ...", although five other manuscripts also record the author's name, all as "Goussin" of Metz. A fourth prose version (P for prose), faithful to A, responds to the difficulties later audiences had in reading verse.

The eighteen diagrams that accompany the text are fascinating for the vision they reveal of the world in the thirteenth century. Nearly every drawing places the Earth at the very center of the composition with the

"moving" elements usually in concentric circles around it. Thus the first image shows the world and the atmosphere. Later images show the relationship between Earth and the moon, the planets, and the sun. One diagram explains the journey of light around the Earth, and it is followed by an explanation of the alternation of day and night, and how the eclipses of the sun and the moon take place. A final image, probably incomplete in our manuscript, portrays the Universe with Hell in the center surrounded by concentric circles listing Earth, the moon, the planets, with the outer most circle consisting of paradise where the archangels, seraphim, cherubim, etc. are located (compare figs. 2.1 and 2.2). Even in the scientific descriptions of the universe, a moralizing intent is evident, as when the "eclipse of Jesus Christ" is discussed. The author conceived his text with pictures in mind, and they are described in the text; nearly all manuscripts are illustrated, many with diagrams (compare fig. 2.3, British Library MS, Day and Night), some more elaborate and in full color (e.g., Rennes, BM, MS 593; Cassagnes-Brouquet, 2003).

The final poem is *L'histoire du riche homme et du ladre*, an adaptation of the parable of the rich man and the leper in Luke 16: 19-31, which urges the reader to be penitent, charitable and lead a virtuous life. It records in its rubric its authorship by a canon of Fere-sur-Oise in the year 1352 (f. 154v). This is the only witness to the text to survive the Middle Ages, and apart from a few quotations published in the *Glossarium Novum* and some 244 lines (of a total of 15,000) printed by Meyer as part of a discussion of it, it remains substantially unedited and unpublished. An abridged adaptation of only 88 lines of verse can be found in two fifteenth-century manuscripts: Cambridge, Magdalene College, Pepys MS 1938, ff. 80-81v (fig. 2.4), and Paris, BnF, MS fr. 957, f. 118.

This is a most unusual compendium. Singular characteristics of the first text include its relatively early date and the fact that it does not include illustrations (or even spaces left for illustration) in spite of being on parchment and therefore relatively deluxe. The second text offers a unique reading of the work, one that combines the second recension with elements of the first and records the date. The third text survives as the only copy known of this moralizing tale. Although the third text is written in a different hand and begins on a new quire, the fact that it is announced in rubrics at the end of the preceding quire suggests that the three works were planned

e tict elle en plus lins d'un
 e t che quest legier entour li
 m plus poise plus po seant
 t plus po du milieu sen vait
 o ce nous comēt iomdre a li
 t quiques poise iomdre a li
 m plus poise plus po se terre
 u mi lū qst dedens la tēre
 o t on vit q plus chet o ens
 lus tēme on la tēre pelans
 e tel cose aucune poist
 nē j lū sur tēre nēist
 iens qui chemin y destōnast
 e qle part cō y alast
 u porroit aler enuiron
 a terre y paue teste y hom
 us y ius q l pt qui l iurroit
 u l cō vne mouche iroit
 n tour vne pōme rēonde
 u l i porroit p tout le mōde
 u hō aler tout p nature
 n tour liane y la tēre dure
 i q qst dedens nō venroit
 l i sableroit aussi droit
 u nō fūssiemēs dedens lū
 o il nous sableroit de lū
 e chet dencō le chiel aroit
 t ses pies de les nos tōndroit
 u l cōme nous faisons ch
 es pies lū tēre vers le m
 t o l a lōr ades auant
 vōit deuant li il iroit tant
 u l venroit au lū p mēr
 o t p mērs prist a el lōgier
 e cel lū venroit en son

i cō p vñ cercle enuiron
 o n lū dōi dū lū sentournaist
 u ades dū lū sēlōgastent
 i cō li vns vers oriant
 t li auts vers occidant
 o li vns vō mōdi alast
 e li auts vō bise rōurnast
 o vō q l pt que il iurroit
 e dōite ligne sēlōgoit
 i quādōi ingal mēt alastēt
 l cōueroit qui l sēcontrastēt
 vōit dedens cel lū dōt il mūēt
 t p mē la on p mēra mē fūēt
 i reuēroient au deuant
 a n dōi aussi cōme deuant
 l ors auroit fait cascū j tōm
 p ar sus la tēre tout entour
 i cō par entour vne rōe
 e ne on vōit pēdre en lāw que
 o y mōsches entō alastēt
 u a cascū tōm sēcontrastēt
 t restout aussi se vns estēs
 s n lāw si que vō vailles
 o t a tēre tōte la fōume
 i cō vō dēvies vne pōme
 s n lāw deuant vō iēux ester
 e t tout entour mōsches aler
 a u l vōs testes y gens
 e n tō la tēre aler tō tēps
 p ar ceste figure pōes
 e he entēdre de sēns a mēs



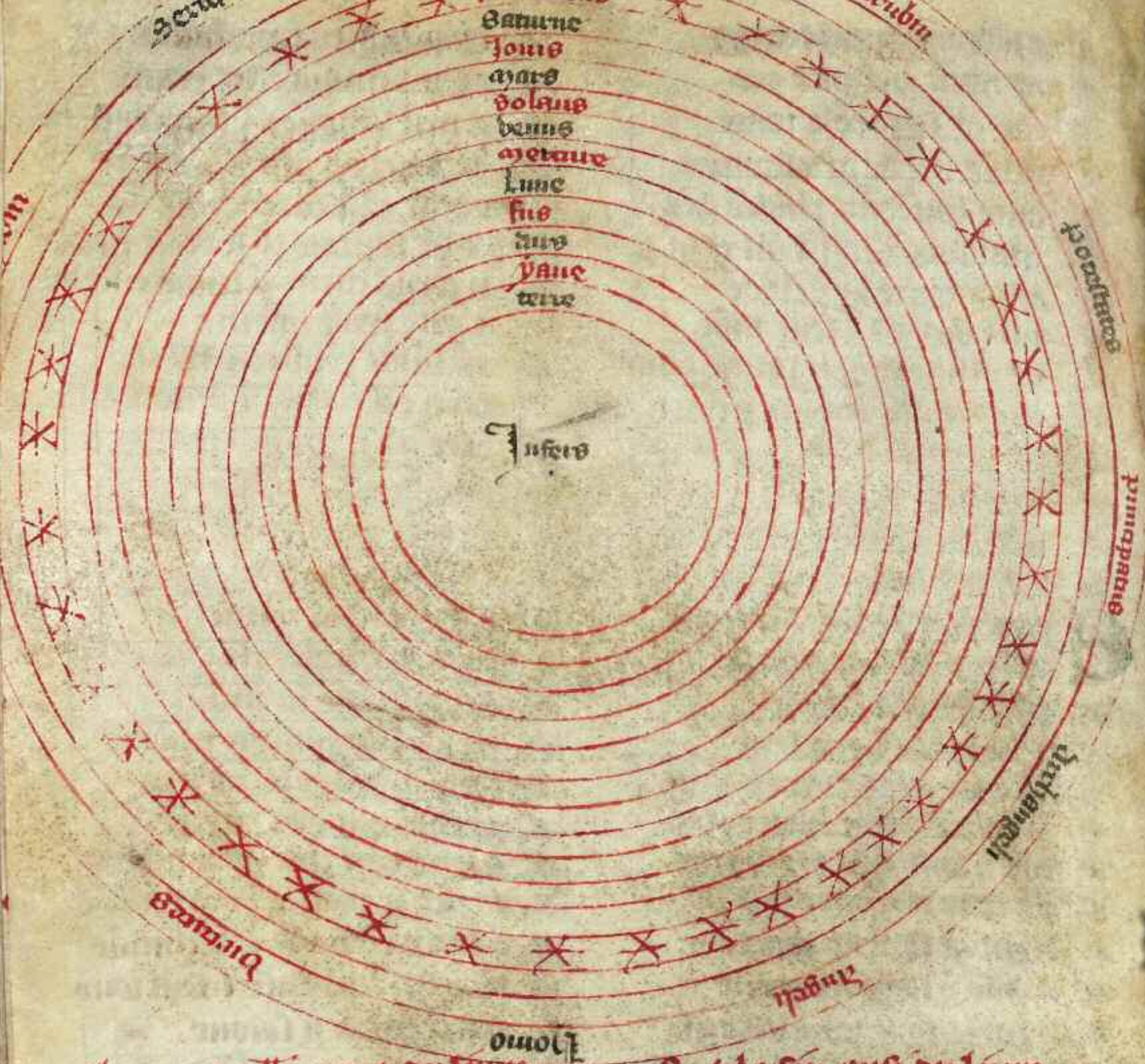
Pour nūns encō la cose etēdre
 pōes ceste aut cose pēdre
 e la terre pēche estōit
 p ar mē le milieu tout adroit
 e t on iatāt vne pierre ens
 uel qle fūst petite ou gīs
 o it en mē le pētruis venoit
 e tle se tēroit enqū droit
 e ne plus ne porroit aualer
 a es quelle puet en hant mōter
 f ors tāt que p son fort qōir
 i dāroit pōis auai pōir
 o uelle charroit plus en pfont
 o aus tātōt reuēroit amōt
 t ant qle seroit tout en mē
 a e i amais ne mōueroit dēqu
 e ar elle seroit ingaument
 p ar tout ensus du sōmāmēt
 o u ades tōrne mūt t tōur
 e t pō la vertu de son tōur
 a e puet rēs aprocher vō li
 o u pūst a mē sēraut vō lēmi
 o t altes pōes la nature
 s n tēdre p ceste figure



On sen dēns lū estōit pēche
 o t en y lū sēst tēn chie
 a tēme aussi cōm vne crois
 e t mē hōme estēuēt dōis

a e mē chies des y pētruis
 l i vns dedens lāw dēssus
 l i vns encoist lāw dāntre
 e t iatātēt lūns qē lāw
 a ler vne pierre dedens
 o u vne ploumee pelans
 e aucune venroit dūsqū mē
 s aō remōuoir j amais dēqu
 s a forche ne len tōitōn
 e t se tēroient enuiron
 l une a lāw pō pēdre lū
 e aucune dēuers le m lū
 e elles estōit dū seul pōis
 s i venoit a vne fois
 a u l tōt lūme cōme lāw
 e ar nature nē seroit autie
 e t se lor pōis omī nēstōit
 e os omīement y carroit
 e elle qui plus pelans seroit
 p lū tōt vō lēmi se tēroit
 e rēs auts tōis enuiron
 e aucune selonc la raison
 s en pōit on tāt iēter sus
 e ne plām seroit li pōis
 a nā cō il fūēt deuant
 e t che vō en sōuffisse a tāt
 e n ces mē figures y ch
 p oes voir che que se di





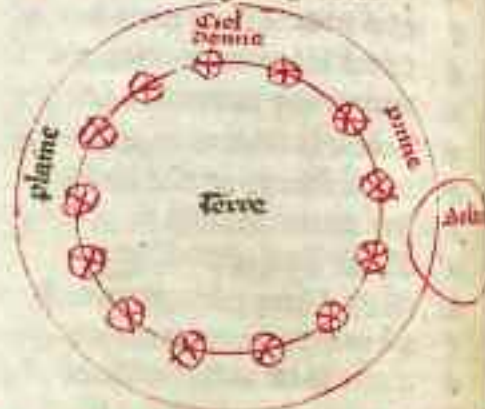
Prequellement du livre
m. iv.

Et le fin ausi du liure
Capitle

Q ne cest / & quelle
 S aues oy de la fa
 D u mode / & la di
 E omēt il est faie
 S i aues oy vraie
 D e tous les .iii.
 E m se tienēt el
 E omēt la tix fir
 S e soustiet en m
 D e la petiteche de
 E miers le ciel tix
 S omēt li solane
 D es auts planet
 Q ne aues au p
 E li secont vous ?
 E La tix / ou elle est
 E t de le mapemō
 P miers de padie
 D inde / des diuers
 D es arbres / des l
 D es oyseaux / & d
 E t des choses q ne
 D u iufers siet li d
 D e le paine as m
 Q ui laiens & m
 A ps du secont
 E est lyane / des fl

T ant y voit on plus d'aparel
 E t qnt el z tout droit desous
 L ors n'apert elle point a nous
 E ar lors z elle entre la terre
 E t le soiel q'le m' quere
 S i q'le est clere p' dela
 E t oblaire vers no' decha
 E t p' ce ne' vons no' point
 Ais qnt el a passe le point
 O uel'us du soiel se remue
 L ors la pt ea clartes corne
 E t qnt plus sen va eslongat
 At no' apt plus de luisant
 D uisquant q'le apert de mie
 E t lors a la quarte prie
 E t tout so' cercle ale entour
 O u cascu mois p' fait. j. tour
 P mis la de cel quart eslongat
 E t la clartes ades croissant
 Ant q' toute apt clere z belle
 S i co' vne clere z ouelle
 E t lors z elle si ensus
 D u soiel co' elle puet plus
 E n son cercle p' d'autre pt
 D roitemet co'ce son esgart
 S i q' la pt enluminee
 E t deuers no' toute t'onee
 E t lors z la tie entraus. y.
 S i ne puet on voir aus. y.
 S our e'ce se mlt' p'ent non
 Ais lun des. y. veoir puet on
 O usqu' couchies des p'us q' n'est
 E t li autres desous e'ce est
 At qui rapert des oriant
 E t lors voit on laut couchant

T ant q' li vns z desus nous
 L i autres rest' ades desous
 P ar ce nes puet on pas veoir
 A no. y. enlable main z loir
 Ais la lune qui a p' fait
 V a moitie de son tour sen dnt
 D es lors du soiel app'chant
 E t la clarte amenuisant
 At quelle no' s'apt de mie
 S i come a la q'ite prie
 E ar lors a elle. y. q' tiers
 D e so' cercle ale tous e' tiers
 E st du soiel ausi p'chame
 E o' a la q'ite premieraine
 Ais ades sen ap'che plus
 At q' comme apt chaus
 P d'autre pt si co' deuant
 A mis sen la tout desillat
 At co' m' voir e'ies d'aparel
 E t lors rest' desous le soiel
 S i li la lune se remue
 D e ceste figure z veue



S'ommet la lune per sa lumiere
 A ut on le voit toute plaine co'
 L'xvij. c.

A la lune souvent auent
 A clarte p'ore li coment
 A dnt qnt on le voit plus plaine
 E t deuent ausi come une
 P ete z petit desalant
 D ont op' aues chi deuant
 S'ommet clere z echort la lumiere
 D u soiel la moitie entiere
 Ais qnt echipse la coment
 A ille pt clartes ne li vient
 E t ce ne li auent fors lors
 A uades la moitie de son cors
 A u vers le soiel z touuee
 E s'oit ades enluminee
 Ais la lune qui pas ne mlt'
 S i droit come li solaus fait
 P alle aucune fois tel l'ie
 E ne la e'ce toute l'ombroie
 E ar la e'ce z plus g'ns deli
 E t p' ce l'obroieelle enli
 A ut entres z en droite ligne
 A mis la lune se decline
 S i co' les cors z plus il'aus
 E t lors le refiert li solaus
 D e ses saus z clarte li vent
 P ar co' la lumiere respent
 E t qnt mains passe p' m' l'ob'ie
 At li tant il maist' encob'ie
 D e la clarte quelle zechort
 D u soiel quel pt q'le soit
 J ore qnt al vmbre se doit p'ore
 S i p'oes chi ausi entendre
 A une ligne passoit p' m'
 L'at' p' le point en m'
 T ont entre d'adens p' hors

E t passait tout p' m' le cors
 D u soiel tout p' droit d'egare
 L i ausi chies p' d'autre pt
 O u d'uroit de e'ce ausi long
 P allerait droit p' m' le quoring
 D el vmbre p' le point en m'
 L a lune qui va p' deiqu'
 D echa ou dela cascu mois
 P alle p' m' aucune fois
 E t lors chiet elle ades l'ob'ie
 O u de toutes p' li encob'ie
 L a clarte du soiel veur
 O u ne puet ali aneime
 Q u plus z endroit celle ligne
 D e t'at plus la clartes decline
 A mis voit on aucune fois
 L a lune z m' l'ui de so' mois
 Q u plus z plaine anorient
 E t la clarte toute oblaire
 D edens. y. heures z repredre
 Q u ne v' p'os p' m' entendre



S'ommet li solaus oblaire chist
 D e plain tour se amenuise
 S a clarte. L'xviij. c.
 D u soiel qui p' se p'endout
 A aucune fois e' m' le jour

D u ciel Empire et arbalin
 i aues op en la fin
 D e paradis et de son otre
 E t de diu qui pout puet estre
 D e sa gloire et de sa brante
 D e tant d'ans nous cote
 E t rendu auant nous cote
 A npl' berelmet q nous pons
 A r not aue de la quee gloce
 E s ges d'ore ans n'ont bras cose
 E dme d'il qui sot de lui sent
 A r lor nature et de brief teps
 B ref et lor teps et et lor vies
 A r en pen de teps sont seues
 E t to iours plus bres deuieront
 D us tant qua noient deuier
 A r chis siecles de teps en teps
 E t passe tout qui com d'us
 E t defenst de iane en jour
 A l'ais y fait p'at seuer
 A r t'at est plains de vanite
 E ne s'ies m a de verite
 E l'is qui plus demouret y aude
 E t s'auet chis qu'chis le m'at
 E t plus tot meure p'at fait b'at
 E ne t'at co d'at ne fait peu bien
 A r nus ne sot p'at a quel heure
 A t'ore le due contre seure
 E lo se ante encor b'at el b'at
 A ans en plus la comp' b'at
 A ne m'at d'at iours et ales
 E t d'p'at m'at m'at
 E t est sages et b'at ap'at
 A r el seruiche d'at p'at
 A r co d'at li p'at le b'at

E t il en a loie et temps
 E ar d'us li t'at en haut d'at
 A ne to b'at aura abandon
 E t la joi de paradis
 A ne d'us nous oit a tous
 E n qui toutes p'at halonde
 A li s'ent l'ymage du m'at
 A du comend'at adu p'at fin
 A ni les b'at no d'at en la fin
 E n lan del i'caruation
 A rois del apparition
 A il es v'at ans
 E n p'at p'at chis romans
 A nous qui aues op l'at
 D u fil d'at d'at s'at
 A n'at du m'at que d'us s'at
 E t s'at d'at d'at s'at
 A ne nus d'at aps ent'at
 A m du siecle d'at d'at
 A uel cote cest et com'at m
 E n emp'at to iours s'at

Explicit le monde.

Incipit le monde.
 Exemple du riche homme
 du ladre. Et fin fait a le fere
 sur orse d'at canonice del
 eglise. En lan. mil. trois.
 cens. et li. xxxviii.

Dieu qui tout fait
 et qui tout voit
 Me d'at li s'at
 et me p'at
 D e d'at che que j'ai emp'at
 E ar de d'at ne s'at ap'at
 D i quali plaise tout p'at
 D e che faire est m'at d'at
 E t pour m'at d'at
 E ar en m'at s'at ne m'at s'at
 J e s'at s'at peu com'at m'at
 D e de le grace d'at ne m'at
 E n esperance de la grace
 A i je s'at que je s'at
 E che qui a li s'at b'at
 E t m'at p'at b'at
 D e m'at pour le pour s'at
 A u li s'at chis qui d'at
 E ar p'at qui est b'at d'at
 D on ne s'at m'at ne p'at
 E t m'at d'at s'at
 A uer. E t a ne l'at
 D uir a loie on p'at s'at
 D it a che p'at. E. d'at
 E n'at d'at d'at d'at
 D e che q'at et d'at ne p'at

Ascend'at d'at d'at
 A uel d'at d'at d'at
 J e s'at d'at d'at
 E t m'at m'at d'at
 D uir les d'at d'at
 A d'at et a b'at s'at
 E t q'at d'at d'at
 A s'at d'at d'at

E ar d'at s'at
 D e m'at li s'at
 E t q'at pour les b'at
 E t p'at les celestiens
 E ar riches hom'at q'at d'at
 E t q'at ne s'at d'at
 E t en d'at d'at
 L'at s'at le nous ap'at
 D uir du s'at p'at
 E t cote de necessite
 E t cote d'at d'at
 F olo s'at s'at d'at
 E ar s'at s'at
 A uel d'at d'at
 A m'at d'at d'at
 D uir les peques qui a d'at
 D uir pour d'at a m'at
 A d'at q'at d'at
 P'at d'at p'at d'at
 E t che ne s'at d'at
 D e d'at s'at pour d'at
 A u d'at d'at d'at
 E n la gloire de paradis

De m'at d'at
 E t d'at la s'at
 A uel d'at que j'ai d'at
 E h'at du ladre et du riche hom'at
 D e l'at m'at
 L'at d'at d'at
 E t d'at pour m'at
 E t d'at d'at
 A u m'at noblesse s'at
 D e p'at et de d'at
 D e d'at d'at

together from the start in a miscellany. This in itself is not unusual; however, in the numerous manuscript witnesses to both the *Pèlerinage* and the *image du monde*, this is the only example in which these two texts appear together in a single volume. This manuscript thus begs for reconsideration as a “whole book,” in which the nuanced interpretations of the three works, taken together, may shed light on this particular knightly audience in the fourteenth century.

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION: 250 ff., wanting quires after fourth, eighth, fourteenth and twenty-eighth gatherings, and central bifolium of fourteenth gathering [*Le pèlerinage*], else complete (collation i-xii⁸, xiii-xiv⁸, xv-xix⁸, xx⁶, xxi-xxxii⁸), written in single column on 33-35 lines in two early gothic vernacular hands in black or brown ink between 6 vertical lines (2 lines at left-hand side of each column marking off space for capital at beginning of each line) and c. 35 horizontal lines in brown ink (justification approximately 178 x 125mm.), capitals for every line of verse touched in yellow and set in margin beside column, rubrics and paragraph marks in red, two- or three-line initials in red or blue with contrasting penwork, one six-line variegated initial in red and blue with penwork infill on frontispiece, eighteen astronomical diagrams and a simple T-O world map (ff. 118-120v, 140v-146 and 153v, the last over half the page in height), three lines of text erased at end of f. 57v, some lines of French verse added in sixteenth-century on verso of last leaf of book (now mostly erased), some French notes to endleaves and at beginnings and endings of text in a tiny seventeenth-century hand (most probably that of du Cange), some stains and scuffs, and trimmed at edges with slight occasional losses to edges of text or diagrams, thongs visible between quires in centre of volume (note quire fifteen in particular, which is slightly lifting at top from text block), but overall in good and sound condition. Eighteenth-century gilt-tooled red morocco with triple fillet on boards and six compartments enclosing foliage or title on spine, two spine compartments with overlaid green leather gilt-tolled with “LE PELERINAGE DE HUMAINE LIGNIE / PAR GUILL. DE GUIGUEVILLE MSS. SUR VELIN DE L’AN 1332,” a few small scratches and wormholes, marbled doublures and eighteenth-century paper endleaves. Dimensions 205 x 145mm.

TEXT: ff. 1-84, Guillaume de Deguileville, *Le pèlerinage de la vie humaine*; rubric, *Chi commenche li livres de legrace de dieu qui est dis le pelerinage de humaine lignié et le fist dans Guillemes de Guigueville uns moines del abbeye de Chaalis. Et fu fais le l’an de grace mil trois cens et XXXIII*; incipit, “A chiaus de ceste region / Qui ni ont point de mansion / Ains y sont tout / Ce dist sains pol...”; explicit, “[...] Que par le songe qu’ai veu / Tout pelerin se radrechassent / Et de fouvoier se gardassent. Chi fine li quars livres d[u] pelerinage de humaine cre...”; ff. 84v-154v, Gautier de Metz, *L’image du monde*, rubric, *Che sont les materes qui sont contenues en cest livre qui est apellés le mapemonde. Si le fist maistre gautiers de mies en lorraine uns tres boius phyllosophes*; incipit, “Premiers le phenix / Item le grant bonté de diu...”; explicit, “[...] Quel cose c’est et comment va / En empirant tous jours s’en va”; in red, *Explicit le mapemonde*; ff. 154v-250, Exemplum, *L’Exemple du riche homme et du ladre*, rubric, *Chi commenche li livres del exemple du riche homme et du ladre. Et fu fais a le fere sur oyse d’un canonne del eglise en l’an mil trois cens et LII*; incipit, “Chils qui tout scet et qui tout voit / Me doint sa grace et me pourvoit...”; explicit, “[...] Je finerai ychi mes dis / A tant me tais et plus ne dis. Explicit l’exemple du riqe homme.”

ILLUSTRATION: a series of diagrams accompany Gautier de Metz, *L’image du monde*. These are: f. 118, the circles of the firmament, 60 mm. diameter; f. 118v, the earth and the atmosphere, 42mm. diameter; f. 119, two spheres bisected by a banner, probably explaining shadows and the relative position of the sun, 35 mm. diameter; f. 119, three connected circles, continuing the subject of the

previous diagram, 55 x 30 mm.; f. 120-120v, three diagrams showing the points of the compass and the various ways of displaying the relationship between the eastern and western regions of the globe, each approximately 40 mm. square; f. 120v, a simple world map, 45mm. diameter, with “aise le grant,” “affrique,” and “europe”; f. 140v, six concentric circles, 53 mm. in diameter (probably meant to illustrate the section on the planets, but apparently unfinished); f. 141, same as previous with “terre” at center, and “lune,” “mercure,” “venus,” “solaus,” “mars,” “jouis,” and “saturne” on each following circle, 53 mm. in diameter; f. 142, as previous but with the position of the stars marked in another outermost ring, 65 mm. in diameter; f. 143, three pairs of circles showing the phases of the sun and earth which cause night and day, 80 mm. x 45 mm.; f. 144, six interlocking circles showing the progression of the sun around the earth causing light and dark phases on its surface, 95 mm. x 50 mm.; f. 144v, a circle showing the same with the hours of the day, 55 mm. diameter; f. 145, diagram showing a single phase of the sun and the earth, 47 mm. diameter; f. 146, diagram of a lunar eclipse, showing the moon interrupting the sunlight, 50 mm. diameter; f. 153v, seventeen concentric circles with the earth and its atmosphere, the moon, the planets, the firmament with the stars, all within the layers of heaven with archangels, cherubim and seraphim, 135 mm. diameter.

OWNERSHIP: – 1. Written in France in the middle of the fourteenth century, and as the unique witness to the exemplum *L’histoire du riche homme et du ladre* is ascribed here to a canon of La Fère-sur-Oise, perhaps in Picardy. – 2. The French Royal Library, founded at the Louvre by King Charles V in 1368, containing his collection as well as the remnant of that of the ducs de Berry; the present manuscript recorded by du Cange as “ex. bibl. reg.” (p. lxxxiv). – 3. Charles du Fresne du Cange (d. 1688), the great medieval scholar, paleographer and Latinist; subsequently no. 406 in the library of his great-nephew, Jean-Charles du Fresne d’Aubigny, in 1751 (Calmet, p. 406). Then lost for over a century, and rediscovered in 1891 by Meyer in the Phillipps collection, who pronounced it “d’une valeur absolument exceptionnelle.” – 4. Robert Lang (d. 1828) of Portland Place, London, one of the eighteen bibliophiles who first met at dinner at the St. Albans Tavern on 17 June 1812, forming themselves into the Roxburghe Club; his sale, Evans, 17 November 1828, lot 1705. – 5. Sir Thomas Phillipps (1792-1872), his MS 3655, with his pencil notes on verso of first endleaf, bought from Payne and Foss, and sold in his sale, Sotheby’s, 26 November 1975, lot 828, to Kraus, his catalogue 153, *Bibliotheca Phillippica* (1979), no. 40. – 6. J.R. Ritman (1941-), Amsterdam, Bibliotheca Philosophica Hermetica MS 108, his bookplate on front pastedown; bought from Kraus.

LITERATURE: Published in Calmet, A., *Bibliothèque Lorraine, ou histoire des hommes illustres qui ont fleuri en Lorraine* (Nancy, 1751), p. 406; Carpentier, P., *Glossarium Novum ad Scriptores Medii Aevii*, supplement IV (Paris, 1766), p. lxxxiv; Meyer, P., “Notices sur quelques manuscrits français de la Bibliothèque Phillipps à Cheltenham,” in *Notices et Extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque nationale et autres Bibliothèques* 34 (1891), pp. 167-83, and later reviewed by idem, discussing the present manuscript in *Romania* 21 (1892), pp. 299-300; and it was exhibited at the *Association Internationale de Bibliophile. Congrès 1997, Pays Bas*, The Hague, 1997, with the manuscripts there also listed in *Scriptorium* 52 (1998), p. 151; For the *Pèlerinage*, see Clasby, E., *Guillaume de Deguileville, The Pilgrimage of Human Life*, New York/London, 1992, pp. xxxv-xxxvi. – Dunn Wood, W. “El peligrinage de la vida humana: a study and edition,” Ph.D. Thesis, University of Pennsylvania, 1985. – Lofthouse, M., “Le Pèlerinage de Vie Humaine by Guillaume de Deguileville,” *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 19 (1935), pp. 170-215, at p. 178. – Stürzinger, J.J., *Le Pèlerinage de Vie Humaine de Guillaume de Deguileville*, Roxburghe Club, London, 1893, his MS P2, p. xi – the *L’image du monde* here is recorded in Destombes, M., *Mappemondes A.D. 1200-1500, Monumenta Cartographica Vetustioris Aevi I* (1964), pp. 118 and 147. – Grand, E.D., “L’image du monde,” *Revue des Langues Romanes* 38 (1893), pp. 5-58 at p. 7. – Meyer, P., “L’image du monde, Rédaction du MS Harley 4333,” *Romania* 21 (1892), pp. 480-505 at p. 481. – Prior, O.H., *L’image du monde de Maître Gossouin*, Lausanne, 1913, especially pp. 4 and 12-13. – The *Histoire du riche homme et du ladre* here is recorded in Långfors, A., *Les incipit des poèmes français antérieurs au XVI^e siècle*, Paris, 1917, p. 68. – Meyer, P., in *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque nationale et autres bibliothèques* 34 (1891), p. 176. – Naetebus, G., *Die nicht-lyrischen Strophenformen des Altfranzösischen. Ein Verzeichnis*, Leipzig, 1891, p. 56, no. VIII, 1. – See also Cassagnes-Brouquet, S., *L’image du monde. Un trésor enluminé de*

la bibliothèque de Rennes, Rennes, 2003. – Nievergelt, M. and S. Kamath, *The Pèlerinage Allegories of Guillaume de Deguileville. Tradition, Authority and Influence*, Boydell and Brewer, 2013.

ONLINE RESOURCES:

A digitized version of J. J. Stürzinger's 1893 edition of *Le Pèlerinage* (the present manuscript is his MS P²):
<http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k111233g>

Entries from the Arlima website on each of the three texts, with extensive bibliographies:

http://www.arlima.net/eh/guillaume_de_digulleville.html#vie

http://www.arlima.net/il/image_du_monde_2e_red.html

http://www.arlima.net/qt/riche_homme_et_ladre.html#oct

OPVS on the edition and extant manuscripts of PVH1, 2, and the translations

http://jonas.irht.cnrs.fr/consulter/oeuvre/detail_oeuvre.php?oeuvre=3955



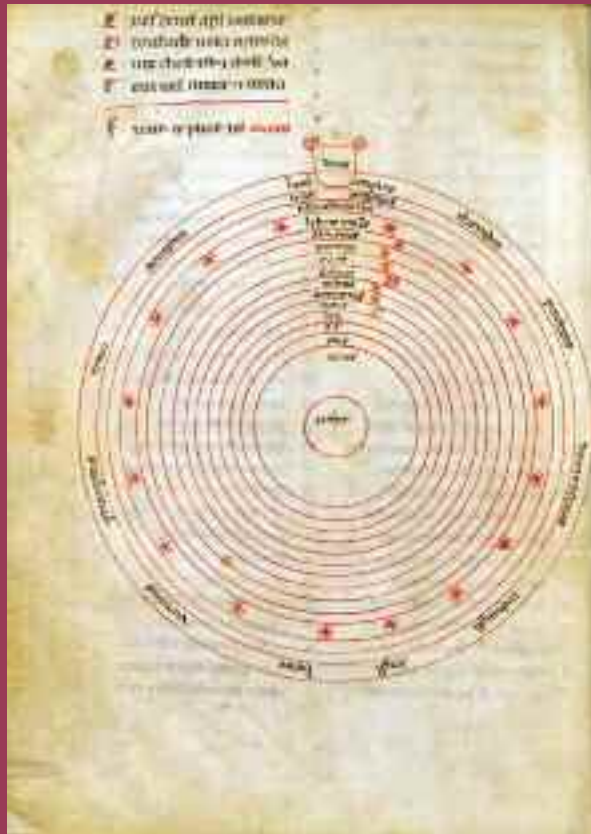


fig. 2.1
Paris, BnF, MS fr. 2173,
Gautier de Metz,
L'image du monde, f. 56v



fig. 2.2
Paris, BnF, MS fr. 14970,
Gautier de Metz,
L'image du monde, f. 48

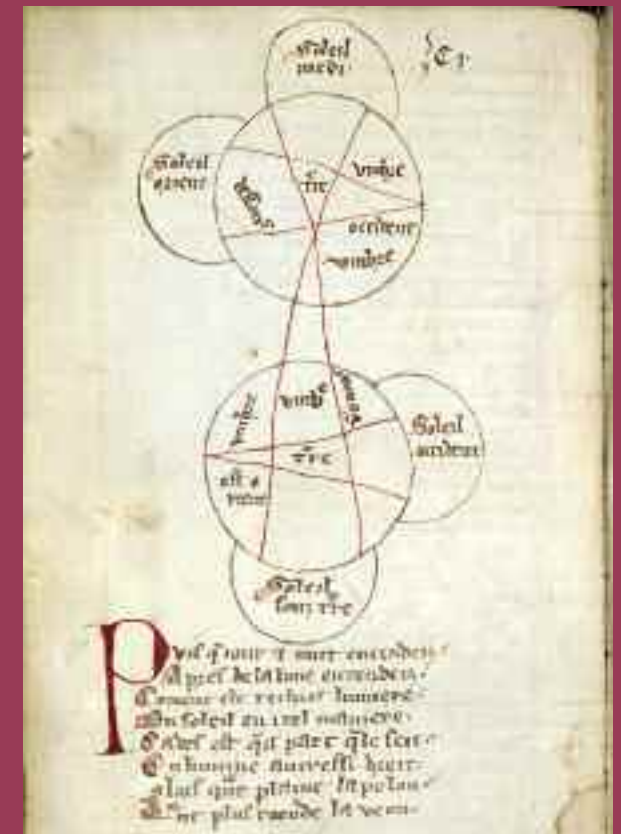


fig. 2.3
London, BL, Royal MS Royal
20 A III, Gautier de Metz,
L'image du monde, f. 100v



fig. 2.4
Cambridge, Magdalene
College, Pepys MS 1938,
Anonymous, *Histoire du
mauvais homme riche et
du ladre*, f. 80

Mantes gens dient q'en sages
 Au se fables non z menages
 Mais len peut tele sages s'aper
 Qui ne sont mie meconger
 L'une sont apres lie apparit
 Si en puis bien faire a garant
 En aneem qui et non muerobes
 Qui ne tuit pas fonges alobes
 Amore descript la bison
 Qui amant au toy Expon
 Amouques amde ne qui die
 Que soit folie ou mufardie
 De penser que fonges amengue
 Qui ce boudra pe fol mientengue
 Car creitot mox ay Je fiance
 Que fonges sont fonefance
 Des biens aus gens z des ennus
 Car li plusieurs fongent de mie
 amantes chesre couuertement
 Que len soit plus apartement
On finchne an de mon age
 n point qu'onques pient le page
 Les Jennes gens conches miserie
 Que mit si com Je pense
 Et me domou moult feruent
 Si in by fonge en mon dorment
 Qui moult fu bon z moult me pfit
 ayu es ce fonge ouques rien not
 Qui aneem n'estont ne pot
 Si com li contes decusot
 Or fues ce fonge fymaler
 Pour vos eners plus faire sauer
 Qu'onques le me pnt z comande
 Et se nuls en nulle demande
 Comment Je fues que cil romans
 Sont appelle que le comans
 Sest le romans de la rose
 En lart d'amonis est toute encluse
 La matie en est bonne z neuve
 Or dont dieu quey gre le decume
 Jelle pour qui Je lay empris
 Sest celle qui tant a depris
 Et tant est digne de fite amee
 Quel soit estre rose elance
Hus mers qui estent mers
 Il y a bies d'neq aus on mure
 Que on mox de am Je fongore
 En temps amouens plan de pie
 En temps que toute ten segrate
 Que il nest ne bison ne luy
 Qui en may piter ne se buelle
 Et couru de nouvelle fuisse
 Les boys deueiment leur verdure
 Qui sont fies tant com linc dure
 La terre mesmes sen orgueille
 Pour la rose qui la amelle
 Et oublie la pomete
 Qui alle a tout linc este
 Lou deuent la rose si gode
 Quel vult anor nouvelle robe
 Si fect si comte robe fure
 Que de conleure fu. Out pnt
 Verba de flurs indes z ptes
 Et de manies conleures diverses

GUILLAUME DE LORRIS and JEAN DE MEUN, *Roman de la Rose*, with JEAN DE MEUN, *Testament*

In French, decorated manuscript on parchment
 France, perhaps central France, dated 2 October 1375

This is a fine manuscript with remarkable provenance of the *Roman de la Rose*, signed by its scribe and precisely dated to 2 October 1375. It was used as one of the witnesses to the text for the first modern edition in 1814 and has been published many times since then. The *Roman de la Rose* is without question the most important and widely read work of medieval French literature, regarded as standing second only to the Bible and the *Consolation of Philosophy* in its cultural impact on Western literature in general. Few copies remain in private hands, and our exemplar merits further study for its textual idiosyncrasies. Like many exemplars, it includes Jean de Meun's *Testament*.

The *Roman de la Rose* is the bedrock of medieval French literature, and most probably the single-most influential literary text of the Middle Ages, eclipsing both Chaucer and Dante in the production and circulation of its manuscripts. C.S. Lewis stated that in cultural importance "it ranks second to none except the Bible and the *Consolation of Philosophy*" (p. 157). It is a vast composition of 21,000 lines of verse, and is the first example in French of a sustained first-person narrative and a narrative allegory. Its narrative is rich and complex, uniting a simple and almost naïve allegory of idealized courtship and love with a biting satire on the subject filled with deliciously acerbic comments that undermine the lofty and theoretical concepts of love and sexual desire. In addition, the text includes numerous asides which distill much of medieval knowledge on natural history, plant lore, astrology, meteorology, alchemy, philosophy and fortune telling.

The poem has two authors. It was begun c. 1240 by Guillaume de Lorris (d. c. 1278) who wrote the first 4058 lines. As he explains, he wished to tell the reader all that he knew of love, and the poem describes a dream in which *Amant* is admitted by *Oiseuse* into an enclosed garden where he meets the

allegorical figures of Pleasure, Delight, Cupid and others, finally catching sight of and falling in love with, the “Rose-in-bud.” He is held back by the allegorical figures of Danger, Shame, Scandal and Jealousy, who imprison the Rose in a castle. Some forty years after the initial work, Jean de Meun (d. c. 1305) edited this earlier work and added to it another 17,724 lines. These dramatically changed its tone and introduced the dark satirical vitriol for which the text is famous. He was a friend of Dante and reportedly a Master of Arts at the University of Paris, who also translated into French Vergilius’s *De Re Militari*, the letters of Abelard and Heloise, and Boethius’s *De consolatione philosophiae* (see cat. no. 6 with his Prologue). An address to Philip IV which opens this last work also enumerates lost translations of Aelred of Rievaulx, *De spiritualis amicitia*, and Gerald of Wales, *Topographica Hibernica*. His lover-hero makes war on the castle, debates with Reason, Nature and Genius, and in a very thinly veiled allegory for sexual intercourse, the lover sets siege to the castle, and finally enters the inner chamber of the Rose. The lover-narrator then wakes at daybreak. To this he added much from his own experiences, with his allegorical characters’ speeches littered with scholarly references and brief explanations of learned principles from the contemporary arts and sciences, and finally numerous pieces of advice for lovers, tempered with his seductively vicious sense of humor. These include advice to the would-be lover who wishes to keep his mistress (study the arts, ignore any infidelities, never open her letters, and offer flattery but never advice) and the lady who would keep her male lover (use false hair, make up and perfume, keep clean, avoid getting so drunk you fall asleep at dinner, only have sex in the dark to hide physical imperfections, keep admirers in a state of uncertainty, and avoid poor men and foreigners – except of course very rich ones). These additions brought the work immediate acclaim and condemnation, ensuring a popular if perhaps secretive readership throughout the Middle Ages. In the last decades of the fourteenth century, Christine de Pizan was outraged by its immorality and described the work as a “source of wicked and perverse encouragement to disgusting conduct ... a most loathsome book.”

This is followed here by Jean de Meun’s *Testament*, perhaps Jean de Meun’s last work written between c. 1291 and 1296, in which the author renounces the follies of his youth and recounts his spiritual development. The *Testament* is a shorter poem than the Rose, written in 544 alexandrine quatrains (instead of octasyllabic verse in rhyming couplets) and exploring

similar themes to those treated in the Rose, especially the nature of the human condition and man’s relationship to God. Although the authorship of the *Testament* has been much disputed and may never be definitively settled, the text does reiterate most of the examples of sinful clergy and women found in the Rose and adopts a similar literary tone. Like the Rose, the *Testament* was highly popular from the late thirteenth through the fifteenth centuries, existing in at least 118 manuscripts (see Buzzetti Gallarati, 1978, for a list that is a prolegomena to a new edition), of which fifty-nine also contain the Rose. The *Testament* rarely appears independently.

The first attempt to list systematically the surviving manuscripts of the *Roman de la Rose* was that of Langlois in 1910 (in which the present manuscript appears on p. 129), and this was not superseded until 2009 when the “Roman de la Rose: digital library” website was published at <http://romandelarose.org/> following the collaborative exhibitions of manuscripts of the text in the Walters Art Museum and the Bibliothèque nationale de France (also in partnership with the Sheridan Libraries of John Hopkins University). The website lists 322 extant manuscripts and fragments (the present manuscript is no. 201) spread across almost all Western European countries, North America, Russia, Poland, South Africa and Japan, of which the vast majority are in institutional hands, with only two listed in American private collections, and a third once in a German private collection and now lost. The list there also records some six manuscripts and a single leaf from a seventh which have passed through the market in the last few decades. None of those latter manuscripts are signed by their scribe or precisely dated, and none contributed to the first modern edition of the text as did the present manuscript.

There is enormous variety among the many extant manuscripts of what was truly a late medieval best-seller, and the variants warrant a new edition – a formidable task. Whereas many manuscripts are illustrated and many others leave places for illustrations that were never completed, at least a third of the manuscripts were never intended for illustration, like the present exemplar. All manuscripts of the *Roman de la Rose*, even those without illustrations merit further study for their textual variants. The text in our copy confirms to Langlois’s group “L” and shows strong affiliations with two other fourteenth-century copies (Paris, BnF, MSS fr. 1568 and 19154), but the variant reading at vs. 2391-2 is found only in BnF, MS fr. 19154. In

Et l'one baignee en la baine
 Du veus les dames esme
 Bien pay le baidon sentree
 Or l'one lo que l'one atree
 Amo que la l'one assie baignee
 Si com l'one mores ensaignee
 Sur peillusement se baignee
 Jennes homo qui na qui l'ensaignee
 Mais se men conseil ensine
 A bon port esteo arivee

Nachies se Je fuisse aussi sage
 Quant J'estoie de dix aage
 Des Jours d'amonie - com Je fu oree
 Car de trop grant beaute fu l'oree
 Mais ce m'estoit plandre et gommer
 Quant mon die efface remur
 Et boy que fenoier le comment
 Quant de mi beaute me pommont
 Am eco d'elles fust tapper
 Tant les feroie desherper
 Que ce n'est se merveilles non
 Trop Jere l'ore de grant don
 Car tout comest la d'oumee
 De ma grant beaute d'oumee
 Telle alle avant en ma maison
 Conques celle ne vit mais hom
 Mout est n'ice l'one la nuit l'urtee
 Trop l'ore feroie de d'urtee
 Quant l'ore fust de comment
 Et ce manenoit trop pommont
 Car J'andie autre comongue

Fut en estoit manite folie
 Dont J'andie comens asse
 Comment en vert mes l'one casse
 Et fante manite teld mellees
 Amansio quelle fustent desmellees
 Membres ydoient et des
 Car l'aymes et par enmes
 Tant p'andioit de contene
 Se manite d'igno le bien comens
 Ydoient bien mellee ses enmes
 Et d'ant o ses dix figures
 Car quoy tout certiffie et nombre
 Si ne p'ent J' pas le nombre
 Des enmes contene certiffie
 Tant fust bien moutp'her
 Des est mes corps foy et delmes
 J'usse oree plus d'illiant au l'one
 De l'one estelme que Je nay
 Mais trop m'ement me monay
 Velle fere J'enne me et fole
 N'one ne fu d'amonie a estole
 On l'en l'ust de theonque
 Mais Je foy tout par la p'antique
 Expermens men ont fust sage
 Que J'ay d'ante tout mon aage
 Or en foy J'usqua la bataille
 Si n'est pas d'ore que le bon fust
 Des biens aprendre que Je foy
 J'one que tant esp'onnee les ay
 Bien fust qui Jennes gens conseil
 Sem fust ce n'est pas merveilles

Se nen fust quartier ne ame
 Car l'one aue trop le de J'anne
 Mais tant a que Je ne fust
 Que la science en la fin ay
 Dont bien p'ne en chiere l'one
 Ne fust a fin na desput
 Dont ce qui est en grant aage
 La t'enne l'en foy et d'age
 Se a l'en bien esp'onne de manit
 Qu'annome en la fin l'en remant
 D'age et foy pour le chere
 Combien qui l'ant achere
 Et p'ne que J'ay foy et d'age
 Que Je nay pas foy d'age
 Manit d'illiant l'one ay d'age
 Quant en mes l'one le t'ing chere
 Mais ame fu par manie d'age
 Que Je me fust app'enne
 Se fu trop t'ant l'asse d'olente
 Je fere J' l'ore de ma foyente
 Mon l'one qui l'ore pommont ommont
 Car par foy et par m'ant ommont
 Se t'ent d'ore p'ne du l'inter
 Qui n'y l'ant l'en n'y d'ent l'ier
 On p'ndie l'asse d'illiant
 En t'ist'ent estoit que Je l'one
 De d'uel me d'ent le euer partir
 L'ore me d'ent du p'ore partir
 Quant de mon l'one en tel d'ep'ore
 Et Je m'ist'ent me d'ep'ore
 Car nen p'oy la honte endur

Comment p'ensay Je d'ier
 Quant de J'olys d'elles d'enoient
 Qui J' si chiere me tenoient
 Qui ne foy p'noient l'asse
 Et J' d'ore t'ep'asser
 Qui me d'agardient de c'ore
 Et J' d'ore fust m' chere ote
 Le moy foy d'illiant p'illiant
 Sem moy p'asser en o' d'illiant
 D'ore c'ore qui J' d'ore plus manenoient
 D'elle d'ore me d'illiant
 Et p' d'ore d'illiant asse
 J'one qui foy fust o' d'illiant
Dautre part mes enmes gentils
 Qui l'one foy trop n'ent e'entent
 On p'ne d'uel d'illiant n'ant
 Ne p'ndie ne ne fust
 Quel d'illiant on euer me t'ont
 Quant en p'ndie me p'ndie
 Des d'ore d'ore d'ore d'illiant
 Des d'ore d'ore d'ore d'illiant
 Et de d'ore d'ore d'illiant
 Qui foy e'ent si foy d'illiant
 D'illiant - d'ore et foy d'illiant
 M'ent me d'illiant en d'ore t'ont
 E'ent atone foy em'p'onnee
 Que d'illiant e'ent si foy n'ee
 D'ore en quel foy me m'ent
 Le d'ore d'ore qui fust m'ent
 Et ce qui d'illiant l'ore e'ent
 En quel t'ont me d'illiant

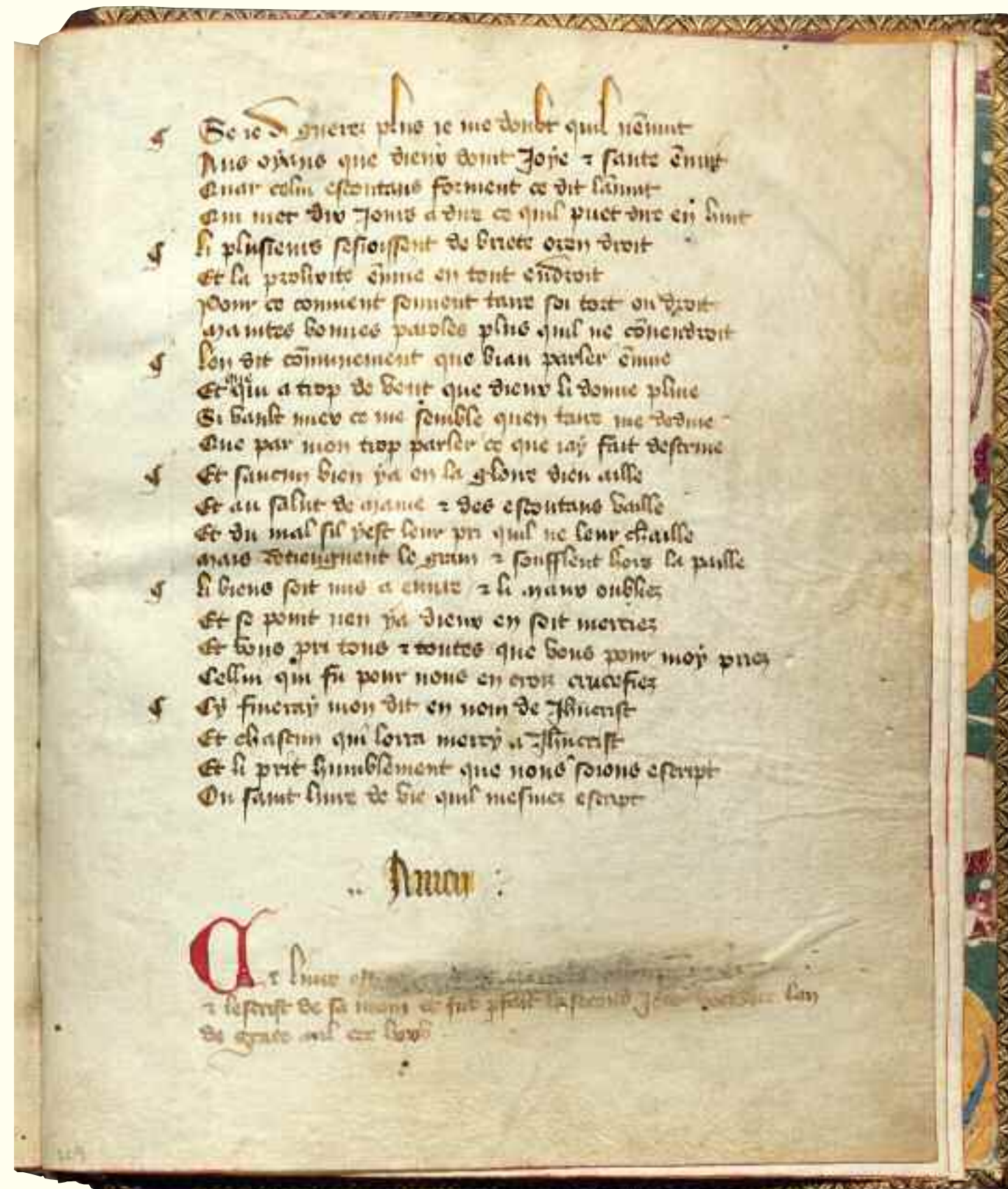
57

some cases the textual variants bear on issues of reception. Our copy is void of long chapter rubrics, but it includes running heads on those folios that are not cropped, marginal guide words identifying many of the subjects, and numerous “nota bene” indications. For comparisons with our rubrication, see especially Paris, BnF, MS fr. 1574 (N. Coilly and M.-H. Tesnière, 2012, p. 190). For a similar physical appearance with comparable two-line painted lombard initials, compare Lyon, BM, MS 764, (fig. 3.1) perhaps also written in the fourth quarter of the fourteenth century and in the same geographic region (see the “Digital Rose,” and fig. 3.2). Further investigation is required to tease out the unique qualities of our rare exemplar.

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION: 209 ff., complete (collation i-xxv⁸, xxvi⁹ the last leaf a cancelled blank), the *Roman* written in double column on 32 lines in an accomplished French hand with influences of secretarial script in brown ink between 4 vertical and 33 horizontal lines ruled lightly in plummet (justification 183 x 147 mm.), the *Testament* in a single column on 32 lines in same hand and ink between 3 vertical lines (the first 2 used to align paragraph marks in border and capitals) and 33 horizontal lines (justification 183 x 115 mm.), ornate cadels to ascenders in upper margin, capitals throughout and ornamented letters in upper margin touched in yellow, two-line simple red initials, 2 five-line initials in same (ff. 1 and 176), slightly trimmed at edges and a few wormholes, edges painted red with occasional traces of this spreading a few millimetres onto pages, else excellent condition. Seventeenth-century mottled calf over pasteboards (small scuffs, some cracks along spine edges, notably at top and base), gilt-tooled with foliate designs on inner edges and spine, later red-brown spine compartment gilt-tooled with “ROMAN DE LA ROSE” laid on, marbled doublures and paper endleaves. Dimensions 230 x 190 mm.

TEXT: ff. 1-175v, Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meun, *Roman de la Rose*, incipit, “Maintes gens dient que en songes / Na se fables non et mençonges / Mais l’en peut tels songes songier / Qui ne sont mie mençongier...” ; explicit, “[...] Par grant joliveté cueilli / La fleur du beau rosier fueilli / Ainsin oi la rose vermeille / Atant fu jour et je m’esveille. Explicit le Romant de la Rose”; ff. 176-209, Jean de Meun, *Testament*, incipit, “Li peres et li fils e li sains esperiz / Uns dieux en trois personnes aourez et cheriz...”; explicit, “[...] Et li prit humblement que nous soions escript / Ou saint livre de vie qu’il mesmez escript. Amen”; added beneath in the same hand, the following colophon: “Ce livre est [passage effaced] Guillaume Charpentier et l’escrist de sa main et fut parfait le second jour d’octobre l’an de grace mil CCC LXXV.”

OWNERSHIP: – 1. Completed by the scribe Guillaume Charpentier on 2 October 1375: his inscription with a heavily erased initial line at the end of the Testament: “Ce livre est [****] Guillaume Chapentier et l’escrist de sa main et fut parfait le second jour d’octobre l’an de grace mil ccc lxxv”. – 2. Most probably owned by Dominique Méon (1748-1829), the great scholar of French poetry, conservator of the Bibliothèque royale, and the author of the first modern edition of the *Roman*. The present man-uscrit is one of twenty-one used by Méon in his 1814 edition. – 3. Sir Thomas Phillipps (1792-1872), his MS 4363, with his pen inscription on first endleaves and with paper label on spine, bought from De Bure in Paris (most probably along with the other *Roman* manuscripts in the Phillipps collection which were once owned by Méon), and described by Ham as “Sir Thomas’s oldest complete text of the Rose ... the most important copy now preserved in Thirlestaine House” (p. 435); sold to the Robinson brothers in 1946 (their blue ink description on a reused scrap of paper, with the Phillipps number and a pencil price code on back, loose in volume), finally sold privately to Kraus in 1977, his catalogue 153, *Bibliotheca Phillippica* (1979), no. 41. – 4. British Rail Pension Fund, bought



from Kraus; their collection acquired *en bloc* in 1988 by J. P. Getty Jr. (Sir Paul Getty, 1932-2003), some items then sold to Tenschert, his catalogue 25, *Leuchtendes Mittelalter* II (1990), no. 14. – 5. J. R. Ritman (1941–), Amsterdam, Bibliotheca Philosophica Hermetica MS 136, his bookplate on front pastedown, bought from Tenschert.

LITERATURE: Published in Buzzetti Gallarti, S., “Nota bibliografica sulla tradizione manoscritta del Testament di Jean di Meun,” *Revue Romane* 13 (1978), p. 2-32, our manuscript p. 24; Ham, E.B., “The Cheltenham manuscripts of the *Roman de la Rose*,” *Modern Language Review* 26 (1931), pp. 427-437; Langlois, E. *Les manuscrits du Roman de la Rose. Description et Classement*, Soci  t   des anciens textes fran  ais, Paris, 1910, p. 129 (from M  on’s list without actually inspecting the manuscript); and M  on, D., *Le Roman de la Rose, Nouvelle   dition, revue et corrig  e sur les meilleurs et plus anciens manuscrits*, Paris, 1814; See also Buzzetti Gallarti, S., *Le testament Maistre Jehan de Meun. Un caso letterario*, Scritti e scrittore 4, Alessandria, 1989. – Coilly, N. and M.-H. Tesni  re, *Le Roman de la rose. L’art d’aimer au Moyen Age*, exh. cat., Paris, 2012. – Huot, S., *The Romance of the Rose and its Medieval Readers. Interpretation, Reception, Manuscript Transmission*, Cambridge, UK, 1993. – Lewis, C. S., *The Allegory of Love*, London, 1936.

ONLINE RESOURCES:

The “Digital Rose” Online Library:
<http://romandelarose.org/>

The Arlima website, with extensive bibliography; the present MS listed as BPH MS 136:
http://www.arlima.net/il/jean_de_meun.html#ros



fig. 3.1
Lyon, Biblioth  que municipale,
MS 764, Guillaume de Lorris
and Jean de Meun,
Le Roman de la Rose, f. 124

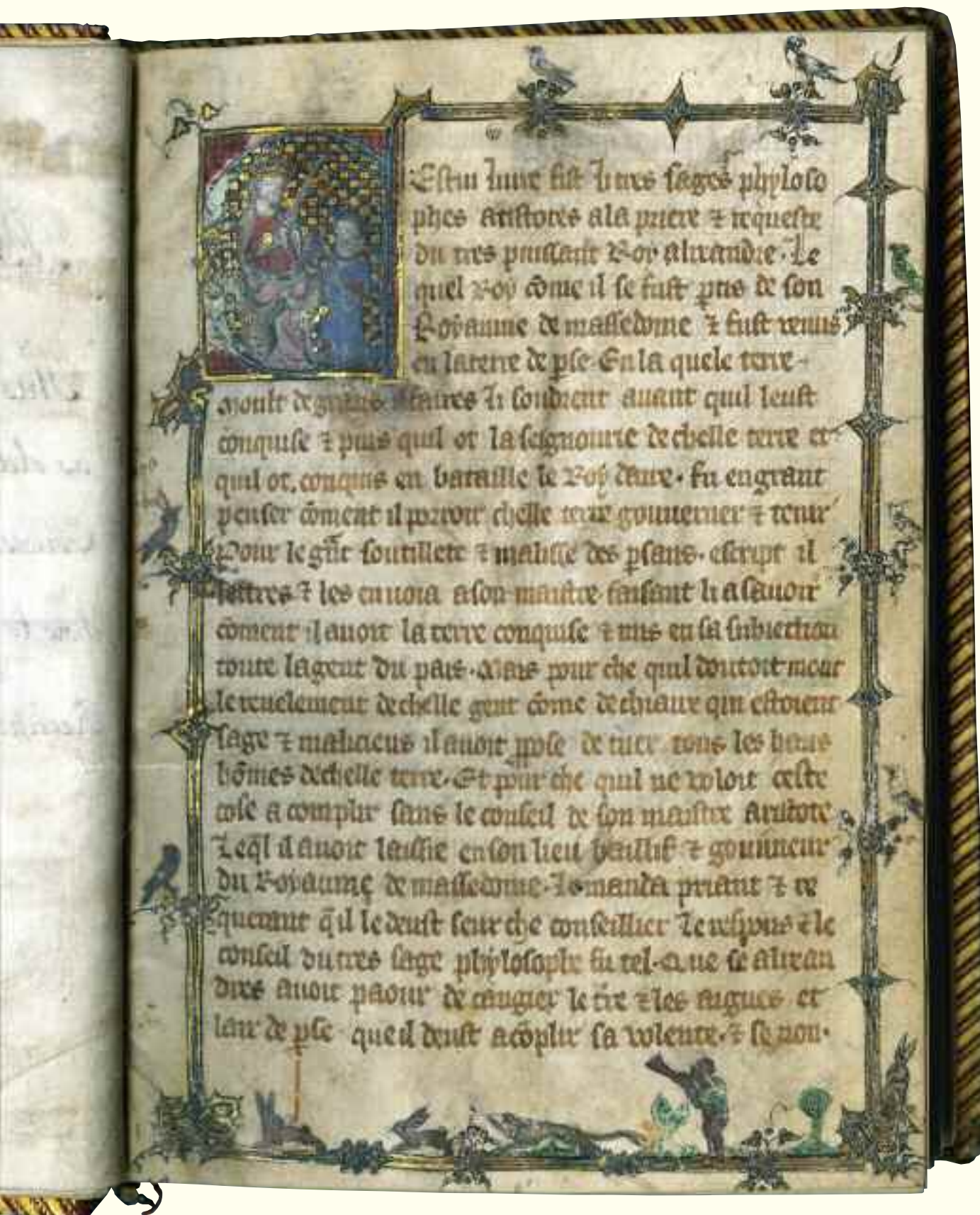


fig. 3.2
Paris, BnF, MS fr. 380, Guillaume
de Lorris and Jean de Meun,
Le Roman de la Rose, f. 1



II

Philosophy and Theology:
Translations and
Adaptions of the Classics



PSEUDO-ARISTOTLE, *Secret des secrets*

[Secret of Secrets], in an anonymous translation

In French, illuminated manuscript on parchment

France, perhaps Arras or Tournai, or Paris (?), c. 1320

1 historiated initial and border by an anonymous artist in the style of Jean Pucelle

This is an illuminated manuscript of what has been called the “most popular book in the Middle Ages” and in an early French translation apparently unrecorded elsewhere. The text claims to be an extended letter from Aristotle to his former pupil Alexander the Great, written to offer the prince advice on how to govern and live well, although here the manuscript focuses more on the physical well-being of the ruler than on governance. Of portable size, illuminated with a fine historiated initial and border and many gold leaf initials, and written in an accomplished script, the present copy stands out in the wide-ranging manuscript tradition; it offers an unusually early and distinctive example of a popular text that was surely made for a special person.

This is one of the fundamental texts that formed the intellect of educated medieval society and one that was very widely disseminated. Whereas in 1889 Förster listed some 207 manuscripts of the Latin version of the *Secretum secretorum*, as recently as 1999, Briggs cited some 600 Latin copies, and early translations survive in almost all mainstream European vernaculars, as well as Icelandic, Gaelic, and Hebrew. Nine separate versions in English exist.

The *Secretum secretorum* is an extended letter in the *Speculum regale* or Mirror of Princes tradition, claiming to be written by Aristotle for his former pupil Alexander the Great while he was on campaign in the East. Old age and infirmity forbade Aristotle joining Alexander in the field, and so the text claims he sent this letter by messenger in his place, to offer advice on the art of government and correct royal conduct. It was not the work of Aristotle, but was part of the Aristotelian corpus from a very early date. It was most probably composed within the Arabic world sometime before the bibliographer Ibn Juljul noted it in the late tenth century, where it is

known as the *Kitab Sirr al-asrār*. The Arabic text claims that it was the work of a well-known mid-ninth-century translator Yahya ibn al-Bitriq (fl. 796-806; this attribution is probably an imposture; he also translated the medical works of Galen and Hippocrates for the second Abbasid Caliph, Al-Mansur, as well as Ptolemy's *Tetrabiblos*), and derived from a manuscript in Greek discovered in a Temple of Aesclepius, which was translated into Arabic for Caliph al-Ma'mūn, via an intermediary (probably Syriac) version. The story may have a kernel of truth in it, and it appears that some parts do indeed have Greek origins, but much has been added to the text by its Arabic copyists.

The awakening of Western fascination in the East which accompanied the Crusades in the eleventh and twelfth centuries and the establishment of translation schools in Spain, Sicily, and Italy in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries laid the foundations for the translation of the text into Latin. It was initially introduced to the West in a partial translation known as the *Epistola Aristotelis ad Alexandrum de regimine sanitatis* by John of Seville (fl. 1133-1142), a baptized Jew who may have been a native of Toledo and who, as an early exponent of the Toledo School of Translators, translated a number of works from Arabic into Latin (see Williams, 2003, ch. 1). The complete translation was accomplished by an Italian curialist, Philip of Tripoli (fl. 1218-1269) probably for the Guido (mentioned as the patron in the text) who was bishop of Tripoli between 1228/29 and 1236/37 (Williams, 2003, ch. 2).

With its advice on the ethics and politics of governance purportedly to a ruler (Alexander) from his tutor (Aristotle), the text naturally fitted into the Mirror of Princes tradition. However, as Williams suggests, it is the teachings on other subjects adapted partly from eastern mysticism – medicine, alchemy, astrology, physiognomy, philosophy – that ensured the appeal of the *Secret of Secrets* to secular elites throughout Europe. Vernacular translations appeared within decades of the Latin, and its impact in the French courts was notably pronounced, with some ten separate medieval versions in that language traced by Williams (in *Filosofia*, 2003, pp. 451-82). None of these fits with that here, and this manuscript may well contain an otherwise unrecorded translation of the text (four of Williams's variants survive in a single manuscript only).

The contents of this particular translation, as well as its diminutive size, are worth special note. The text has many forms in its various translations,

and what it includes or excludes reveals a great deal about the tastes and concerns of the original commissioner. As in all versions, this French translation opens with entreaties for Alexander to rule benevolently, to become a patron of the arts and sciences, and in the last section to choose his messengers and royal officers wisely, above all guarding against treason. However, the largest part of our codex, the middle section, focuses almost entirely on the physical well-being of the ruler. This is a theme throughout the entire textual tradition, but here it almost completely eclipses all others, setting aside many of the more usual fantastical metaphorical tales of the East and fragments of alchemical knowledge, and instead offering advice on disorders of the "entrailles" and "estomac" (pp. 37 and 44), "le cors et tous les members" (p. 39), the digestion (p. 41), various "aigues" or ailments (pp. 55 and 69), and the relationship between the sun and the signs of a choleric or phlegmatic disposition (p. 69). This is followed by another section on the beneficial uses of herbs, plants and vegetables (pp. 77-93), with occasional comments on their relationship with the planets and elements. In addition, this is a small pocket volume, and while its fine illumination, use of gold leaf, and high quality parchment show that it must have been made for a patron of significant wealth and influence, this is not a large deluxe manuscript for public display or recital. Instead, it must have been a personal book, containing translations of the parts of the letter of greatest concern to the commissioner and primarily read for private enjoyment and education.

Just where and exactly for whom this attractive small volume was made remains unclear. The frontispiece miniature follows the iconography for illuminated versions of the treatise that shows the messenger from Aristotle kneeling before an enthroned king Alexander the Great (see Williams, 2014, type 2 in the iconographic tradition). A near-contemporary copy of Philip of Tripoli's Latin translation dated 1327 and transcribed and illuminated in England for the future King Edward III (British Library, Add. MS 47680, f. 12v) depicts a more elaborate version of the scene with Alexander receiving the book from a kneeling messenger while Aristotle stands behind him (fig. 4.1). Whereas certain features of the style of our miniature and its border suggest North France/Flanders (Arras or Tournai), there are compelling comparisons with Parisian manuscripts in the entourage of Jean Pucelle from the decade of the 1320s. Compare for example the Nativity in the Hours of Jeanne de Navarre (Paris, BnF, MS lat. 1288, f. 114) by the Saint Louis Master (Mahiet?) with our historiated initial (fig. 4.2). Research suggests

nes les euvre est moult courrouceus. Et yvens. A
a leues large et plat en milieu. Et ment ygal est
homs demout depales. Et menteur. Des entrefeu
nes du nes le meilleur est cheluy q'est moyen en
toutes choses qui n'est ne trop grant ne trop petit
ne moult ouvert. Et larges ne trop estroit.

Lachiere plaine q'est enflée de char. Senefie
homs discordant amice q'ions. Et plant m
mieux. Et ore. Et en diens. Et cheluy qui a le bala
ge moien. Et cailler deuers les temples. Et al iose
il est bien seruant. Vie ordene. Et de bon engin.
Et cheluy q'a large laface est batelleur. Et har
dis. Et cheluy qui a les leues grosses est rudes
Et fol. Cheluy qui a lachiere trop plaine de char
est mains sages. Et tant demandeur. Et mesogier.
Cheluy q'a la face graille dougee est auenanc
Et pourueant en les oeuvres. Et de loutal emedement.
Et qui a petite chiere gaine il est cotivunerce
Et en gignerces. Et purgnes. Et cheluy q'a lachie
re langue trop est outrageus. Et qui a iose
les temples plaines il est yvens. Et moult orgueil
leus.

Cheluy q'a moult grs oreilles il est fol. Mais
entendra bien en memoire che q'il ara a
pris. Et cheluy q'a les oreilles moult petites est

et l'oume

blans de muellee couleur. Et adouce regardure
Les cheuans plains. Et ex. moiens auq's uons
La teste ameliure. Et col ygal. Et bien seant. Les
espaules auq's pendans. Et quina leur les ia
les ne leur les genons trop de char. L'auois
assez clere. Et attempree entre grosse. Et souteille.
Les mains. Et les doits lons. Et assez gresles.
De pent. comous. Et de poi deris. Il n'est galeries
ne moquerres. Tant il n'est renfermes. Ne mal
parliers. Et ne sestance en les prieres. Et ne se
trouble trop en les aultres. Tel homs est bien
de bone. Et ordenee nature. Et ne pourqut ilue
conuent mie q'v' traduchies. Vie sentence.
ne use iugement p. i. signal. ou p. ii. q' vus
verres en l'ome. Mais vus deues cueillir. Et al
sambler. Tous eufamble. Et iugier selonc le pl'
Et le mains estant tous. tout ades vers la
meindre pte. Et la plus loyable. Et che q' nous
auons dit des signes naturels. Des saches
des homes. Et des coustumes. Il souffist enpleur
Si diuons encheite pte de la nature d'aucunes
prieres. Et meismement de la pierre ayal.

Des qualites. Et ptes d'aucunes herbes
Et de leur profits. Determinons nous bre
ment as chapitres qui viennent apres. Car

that the Saint Louis Master was actually trained in northern France before collaborating with Pucelle in the 1330s. Whatever the actual origins of the manuscript, its text and illustration alike suggest that it was made to order for a special person.

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION: 67 ff., wanting outermost bifolium from third quire and and first leaf from sixth quire, else complete (collation i-ii⁸, iii⁶, iv-v⁸, vi⁷, vii-viii⁸, ix⁶, the last leaf blank), eighteenth-century pagination 1-132 in ink (and followed here), written on 25 lines in a fine, early gothic bookhand in brown ink between 4 vertical and 25 horizontal lines ruled in brown ink (justification 125 x 83 mm.), serrated ornamental cadels at top and bottom of text frame (some in later part of book touched in red), capitals touched in red, nearly 100 two-line initials in highly burnished gold leaf on blue and pink variegated grounds touched with white penwork, frontispiece with one six-line historiated initial enclosing Aristotle kneeling before an enthroned Alexander the Great offering him the book, all before tessellated background in gold and colours (slight smudging and flaking from initial), full border of gold and coloured bars enclosing geometric bosses at its corners and midpoints and terminating in gold foliage and bezants, seven small birds and a hare perched on text frame, the latter in the bas-de-page pursued by a hound as a monkey blows a hunting horn, pen trials of French words and an elaborate monogram with a human face in late sixteenth-century hand upside down on front parchment endleaf, slightly trimmed at edges with minor losses to border on frontispiece, parchment slightly cockled throughout, else fine condition. Eighteenth-century gilt-tooled red morocco over pasteboards (flowers and “s” shapes in single fillet, flower heads, compartments on spine and “CONSEILS MS IN MEMBRANIS” on spine), some small scuffs, stains and scratches, marbled doublures and paper and parchment endleaves. Dimensions 156 x112 mm.

TEXT: ff. 1-66v, Pseudo-Aristotle, *Secret des secrets*, incipit, “Cestui livre fist li tres sages phylosophes aristotes a la priere et requeste du tres puissant Roy alixandre ...”; explicit, “[...] et si vous volez vivre en tel maniere vous entenderez la renommée de vostre haut non patout le siecle. Amen.”

ILLUSTRATION: one six-line historiated initial in the style of Jean Pucelle (fl. c. 1300-1355), Messenger from Aristotle kneeling before an enthroned Alexander the Great offering him the book, all before tessellated background in gold and colours (slight smudging and flaking from initial), full border of gold and coloured bars enclosing geometric bosses at its corners and midpoints and terminating in gold foliage and bezants, seven small birds and a hare perched on text frame, the latter in the bas-de-page pursued by a hound as a monkey blows a hunting horn.

OWNERSHIP: – 1. Copied and illuminated in France in the early fourteenth century. – 2. From the eighteenth-century English collection of David Swann, whose name was deduced by Scott McKendrick from inscriptions in British Library, Burney MSS. 13 and 216. Like those, the present manuscript has the inscription “Bibliotheca Swaniana” and a date in the early 1790s (here “1793”) on the front endleaf, followed by the inscription “This Curious MS appears to be as old as the year 1300. Containing the Counsels of Aristotle to King Alexander how to govern the Persians etc with some Receipts for Preventing Disorders in his Body.” Other manuscripts from the Bibliotheca Swaniana are British Library, Stowe MS 5, Add. MS 15334; Oxford, Bodleian MS Lyell 21 and Lat.th.e. 28; Durham University Library, Add. MS 754; St. Peter upon Cornhill (now on deposit as Guildhall Library), MS 4158A; Paris, BnF, n.a.l. 694 (ex Phillipps MS 23241); Livorno, Biblioteca dei Cappuccini, Ar. 8.10; N.Y. NYPL, MS 134; N.Y. Morgan Library, MS 519; Lilly Library, Ricketts MS 6; and Princeton University, MS Kane 50. Two further manuscripts were sold by Sotheby’s in 1959 (26 January, lot 53 and 15 June, lot 149). The collection appears to have begun to be dispersed by the close of the eighteenth century, and the Morgan volume appeared in a London auction by King, 17 March 1799, lot 68.

– 3. John Towneley (1731-1813), his armorial bookplate with the number “1503” on front pastedown; his sale, Evans, 8 June 1814, lot 895. – 4. Sir Thomas Phillipps (1792-1872), his MS 252, with lion rampant ink-stamp and paper label on spine, bought from Thorpe, cat. III (1824), no. 16494, see verso of first flyleaf; by descent and then sale to the Robinson brothers in 1946 and eventually sold privately to H.P. Kraus: his cat. 153, *Bibliotheca Phillipica*, 1979, no. 34. – 5. J.R. Ritman (1941–), Amsterdam, Bibliotheca Philosophica Hermetica MS 67, with his bookplate on recto of front flyleaf; acquired from Schumann, Zurich in 1987.

LITERATURE: Published in [exhibition catalogue] *Marsilio Ficino e il Ritorno di Ermete Trismegisto* (Florence, 1999), pp. 196-200, no. 28. See also: [exhibition catalogue] *Diaita: the rules of health in the manuscripts of the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana*, The Library on Display 3 (Florence, 2010), p. 106, no. 33. – Briggs, C. F., *Giles of Rome’s “De Regimine Principum”: Reading and Writing Politics at Court and University*, c. 1275 - c. 1525, Cambridge, UK, 1999.– Förster, R., *Handschriften und Ausgaben des pseudo-aristotelischen Secretum Secretorum*, Zentralblatt f. Bibliothekswesen 6 (1889), pp. 1-22, 57-76. – Lorée, D., “Édition commentée du Secret des Secrets du Pseudo-Aristote,” Ph.D. Thesis, Université de Rennes, 2012. – Monfrin, J., “La place du *Secret des Secrets* dans la littérature française médiévale,” in Pseudo-Aristotle, *The Secret of Secrets. Sources and Influences*, eds. W. F. Ryan and Charles B. Schmitt, Warburg Institute Surveys, 9, London, 1982, pp. 73-113. – Williams, S. J., *The Secret of Secrets: the Scholarly Career of a Pseudo-Aristotelian Text in the Latin Middle Ages*, Ann Arbor, MI, 2003. – idem, “The Vernacular Tradition of the Pseudo-Aristotelian *Secret of Secrets* in the Middle Ages: Translations, Manuscripts, Readers,” *Filosofia in volgare nel Medioevo*, eds. Nadia Bray and Loris Sturlese (Fédération Internationale des Instituts d’Études Médiévales, 2003), pp. 451-482. – idem, “Tracking Two Textual Traditions: The Pseudo-Aristotelian *Secret of Secrets* and the Alexander Legend,” *Le Secret des secrets et sa diffusion européenne*, eds. M. Bridges, C. Gaullier-Bougassas, J.-Y. Tilliette, forthcoming 2014. – I. Zamuner, “La tradizione romanza del Secretum secretorum pseudo-aristotelico. Regesto delle versioni e dei manoscritti,” *Studi Medievali* 3rd series, 46 (2005), pp. 31-116.

ONLINE RESOURCES:

Electronic version of Robert Copland’s 1528 translation of the text into English:

<http://www.colourcountry.net/secretum/>

The Latin text as published as *Secreta secretorum Aristotelis* by Alessandro Achillini in 1528 (here in a digitised copy of the book):

<http://www.e-rara.ch/zuz/content/titleinfo/1349506>



fig. 4.1 - London, BL, Add. MS 47680,
Pseudo-Aristotle, *Secretum Secretorum*,
French Translation by Philip of Tripoli, f. 10v



fig. 4.2 - Paris, BnF, MS lat. 1288,
Hours of Jeanne de Navarre, f. 114

Les ditz moraulx des philosophes, translation by
GUILLAUME DE TIGNONVILLE
 (or TIGNONVILLE)

In French, illuminated manuscript on parchment
 West-central France, probably Angers or possibly Bourges, c. 1460
 Single-column frontispiece miniature by the Master of Boethius 809
 (active c. 1450-1475)

This is a rare and important text, in its contemporary binding, which bears witness to the often overlooked intellectual interaction of mainland Europe with the Arabic world in the recovery of Ancient Greek philosophical texts. Moreover, as it is in French translation, it also testifies to the popular interest in these texts, and the fascination of noblemen and women in the fifteenth century with the Ancient World and the fantastical and mysterious Near East. Based on its singular textual features, coupled with its attribution to an important artist of the Jouvenel Group working in Angers and Bourges (?) and associated with works made in the orbit of King René d'Anjou, the manuscript acquires still greater significance and merits further study.

The expansion of Arab power over southern parts of the Byzantine Empire in the seventh century brought large libraries of Greek Classical texts into their sphere of influence, and many Greek texts were preserved only in Arabic translations when authority in the West collapsed and scribes focused their attention on the copying of Biblical texts. The Arabic East intellectual centres, such as Baghdad, began to collect together philosophical, scientific, technical and medical works and translate them into Arabic.

In Muslim Spain and Norman Sicily western scholars came into contact with these texts, and the advent of scholastic thought and the rise of the first European universities in the twelfth-century created an intellectual gold rush for Western translations of these texts. By the thirteenth century translation had declined in Spain, but was firmly established in Italy and Sicily, and began to shift focus from Latin translations for the learned (and predominantly ecclesiastical) elites towards vernacular translations for a more popular readership equally fascinated with the Ancient World and



the fantastical and mysterious Near East. Such translations were immediately popular in the noble courts of France, and Barrois records nine copies of the present work alone in the nascent French royal libraries in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Christine de Pizan was a close friend of the author of the present work, and this text was her principal source for the works of early philosophers.

The *Ditz moraulx des philosophes* was translated c. 1402, only decades before the present manuscript was written, as a close adaptation of the Muhtār al-hikam wa-mahāsin al-kalim ('The Choicest Maxims and Best Sayings') by the Syrian physician and philosopher Abū l-Wafā' al-Mubassir ibn Fātik (1019-1097). The French translation almost certainly descends from a Spanish one and draws on both the Latin translation, *Liber philosophorum moralium antiquorum* (which may have been a product of the Toledo School under Alfonso X, 1221-1284) and the mid-thirteenth-century Spanish vernacular translation, *Bocados de Oro*. It was written by Guillaume de Tigonville, statesman, "conseiller et chambellan du roi" of Charles VI of France, who was appointed provost of the University of Paris in 1402 (see Eder, pp. 852-873). It contains a collection of proverbs and maxims drawn from genuine or spurious works of twenty-two ancient philosophers and poets, alongside brief biographies of the authors. They survey the most important thinkers of the Greek and Arabic worlds for over a millennium, including Zedekiah (here on ff. 1-2v, as "Sedechais") the sixth-century BC. King of Judah, Alexander the Great (ff. 38-47), Hermes Trismegistus (ff. 2v-7v), one "That" (ff. 7v-8, "Tac" in Eder's edition, and probably a garbled reference to the Egyptian god Thoth), Homer (ff. 8-9), the Greek philosophers Hippocrates (f. 10), Pythagoras (ff. 17-19v), Diogenes (ff. 19v-21v), Socrates (21v-30), Plato (ff. 30-34v) and Aristotle (ff. 34v-37v), as well as Arabic philosophers such as "Longmon" (ff. 10v-14v, "Logmon" in Eder's edition, and known in Arabic traditions as Loqman, reportedly an Abyssinian freeman living in the time of David in the region of Elah and Midian), and probably also "Maidage" (ff. 14v-15, "Macdarge" in Eder's edition). The most recent author is the sixth-century pope, Gregory the Great (ff. 15v-16). Most of the sayings concern ways to live correctly and morally, with Logmon noting that "the thought of man is the mirror where he may see his beauty and his foulness," "a man without intelligence and learning is like a tree which bears no fruit" (both here f. 14v), and Diogenes stating that the greatest wealth was in a man's ability "to abstain from covetousness" (f. 20v). However,



Les dits de chat rincepse
Chat die qui na puissance sur
 son sens. Nna puissance sur
 son hie. Et die vng hie prince ne
 doit a son roiair. estre en disceution
 aux plus puissant. Et die qui
 vng roy a conquis et vaincu: se
 tienne. Il leo die maintenant
 en bonne conscience en iustice en
 liberalite en patience en pardon
 et en autres biens. Car ain si fait
 on de kee memoires. Et
 die se vng roy assemble vng ou
 tain de riches et ne le desreue sa
 ou il appartient. Il est digne de
 perdre le tresor de son royaume. Et
 die les huiers du roy sont avec lui
 comme se vent avec le feu. Car
 quant le feu est allume la ou il
 na point de vent. Il rade tant plus
 a ardre. Et die vng roy doit au
 quoir son humeur et ceul qui le
 seruent. ce les chablie chun en
 doit por selon sa direction son sens
 et sa bonite et leu donnee selon
 sans merite. et si l'homme de bon
 sens a mesme dore qui ne laie
 pas de feu. Il ostera aux bons le
 courage de bien seruir. et sera en
 brach tempe si plain de gens de nait
 qui ne se sauera de liuer. Et die

Vng prince ne doit mie aproudie
tenue d'icele. Car N'est moult de
d'icele que vng prince ne doit mie
sauoir. *Les vus de aqualquun*
philozophe
Aqualquun de qui congnos-
le pour N'est lieue plus maton
Les hommes reconent du bien de
leur creature. In soit a quelz fient
des pees. Doncques sont lieues
de muer d'un de biens et d'icele
proudes vus: aueffou. Et d'ice
manies d'icele semblerent euee
et sont moult lieues qui vus se
plaisance et manies d'icele des
plaisance au commencement qui
vus sont des lices. Et dit li actiue
mient auee gaine nece flice que
demander a preser auee au
tu n'as point de science Et d'ice se
tu auee euee vng fol en
la foule de l'icele. Et d'ice se me
merueille de ceule qui sont ab-
proues de vianes mianse au
ceus auee la foue vus de pees
mianse alame Et dit muel
proue silence au cest euee de
vun et d'ice de vus qui euee
plume de moue. Et d'ice ceu
qui buee vus de la foue doit
proue a son ane de son ane
proue auee qui l'icele

[illegible]

there is also more practical (albeit misogynistic) life advice in Diogenes's comments on women: "The company of women is a harm that cannot be avoided" and "if you give dominion to your wife, only to tread on her foot tomorrow, she will then tread on your head" (both f. 21), and cosmetics: Diogenes "saw an old man who dyed his hair, and said to him, 'You can hide your white hair, but not your true age'" (f. 20v).

The text here is highly individual, in that it omits the sayings of Ptolemy and Assaron, and moves an entire section (including the sayings of Logmon, Macdarge, Thesile and Gregory the Great) from its usual place towards the end of the text almost to the beginning, after the sayings of Hippocrates and before those of Pythagoras. The traditional last two chapters, the sayings of Galen and "Les ditz de pluseurs sages" are run together (ff. 47-48) and truncated, and are followed by the sayings of *Onse* (f. 48, "Onese" in Eder's edition, which usually come after Logmon and before Macdarge). A number of texts throughout, such as the sayings of Hippocrates, are shortened in places. However, this does not look like the result of a misbound exemplar, and the manuscript here is evidently complete, ending with the rubric: "Et sic est finis libri huius." These adaptations and rearrangements are apparently not recorded elsewhere by modern scholarship, and this may well be the only surviving manuscript of this redaction of the text.

This is a rare text, and almost all copies that have come to the market in the last century have now been collected into institutional ownership. In 1941, Bühler recorded some fifty surviving manuscripts definitely including the text (pp. xiii-xv, and p. xiii, n. 2). Of these all, or perhaps all apart from one, are in institutional ownership (note that the two copies listed by Bühler as previously in the Ashburnham collection were sold by Sotheby's, London, 10 June 1901, lots 165 and 234, and passed from there to the John Rylands Library and the Bibliothèque nationale de France; the only possible escapee was that offered for sale by E. P. Goldschmidt in November 1935). To these should be added the copy in the University of Pennsylvania (N.P. Zacour and R. Hirsch, *Catalogue of Manuscripts in the University of Pennsylvania*, 1965, fr. 33). The Schoenberg Database records only seven further copies on the market since 1900, which have since passed to the Pierpont Morgan Library (two separate manuscripts), the Beinecke Library of Yale University and the Houghton Library of Harvard University, leaving only a single unilluminated text copy in a scientific compendium in the Schoenberg collection, MS 55 (acquired from H.P. Kraus, catalogue 80, 1956, no. 117), and two untraced

copies which passed through the trade over half a century ago or more (the first sold by Quaritch, catalogue 716 (1953), no. 304; the second from the Huth collection sold, Sotheby's, 8 July 1919, lot 7754).

The depiction of the collection of sages on f. 1 of the present manuscript, with long noses, beards so heavy that all one can see of their mouths are the jutting bottom lips, conical hats and others with large upturned brims, all executed with broad painterly brushwork, points to a group of manuscripts first isolated by Eberhard König in 1982 (pp. 37-41) around the painter who was responsible for the finishing of the *Mare historiarum* for the Chancellor of Charles VII, Guillaume Jouvenel des Ursins (Paris, BnF MS lat. 4915, figs. 5.1 and 5.2, the latter by another hand). Originally identified by König as the Master of the "Stil von franc. 809," the artist has become known as the Master of Boethius 809 after a copy of a Boethius in Paris (BnF, MS fr. 809) König (fig. 5.3), pls. 39 and 42, which is a pendant manuscript to an important *Roman de la Rose* (Paris, BnF, MS fr. 19153, fig. 5.4), recently included in the exhibition in Paris and studied in the publication by N. Coilly and M.-H. Tesnière (no. 41; see also Avril and Reynaud, 1993, no. 60, p. 120). This artist began working in the late 1440s, sometime between c. 1447 and 1450 according to König, when he collaborated with the Jouvenel Master and the Master of the Geneva Boccaccio. With other members of the Jouvenel Group, the artist is closely related to the great Jean Fouquet, to whom was once attributed a miniature of the Annunciation in the manuscript made for Louis of Bourbon to which our artist also contributed (ex-Stonyhurst College, MS 38, sold London Sotheby's 17 June 1993, lot 93; see Schindler, 2012). The Annunciation in the Stonyhurst Hours is now considered part of the oeuvre of the Master of Charles of France, who worked in Bourges, so it is possible that our artist, after training with the Jouvenel Group, may actually have been active mostly in Bourges in the third quarter of the fifteenth century.

Many of the artists of the so-called Jouvenel Group were associated with the scholarly court of René of Anjou (1409-1480), King of Naples, Duke of Anjou and ruler of Aragon (including Sicily, Majorca and Corsica) and titular King of Jerusalem (see especially M.-E. Gautier, Fr. Avril, et al., 2009). Bearing in mind the textual individualities of our *Les ditz moraulx des philosophes*, it is tempting thus to speculate that this copy may record a version of the text current in the scholarly circle of René of Anjou. If so, it is of great textual as well as artistic importance and merits further investigation.

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION: 48 ff., complete (collation i-vi⁸), written on two columns with 31 lines, with two *lettre bâtarde* hands in dark brown ink between 4 horizontal and 32 vertical lines ruled in pale pink ink (justification 170 x 140 mm.), capitals touched in yellow, rubrics in red, chapters opening with two-line initials in liquid gold on brown grounds accompanied in margins by sprigs of foliage terminating in gold leaves and fruit, frontispiece with quarter-page arch-topped miniature (100 x 65 mm.) enclosing a group of sages identified by liquid gold inscriptions on banderoles above their heads (slight thumbing to upper left-hand corner), with full decorated border of coloured and dull-gold acanthus leaves and other foliage enclosing a grotesque creature, an orange monkey riding a yellow dog, four men in yellow tunics and a scholar in a tall conical hat reading to two bearded men in turbans, all above one four-line initial in blue on brown grounds with liquid gold and dark metallic (perhaps once silver, now oxidised) penwork, half an erroneous line erased on f. 37v at the end of Aristotle's sayings, a few other small erasures and corrections throughout, rubrics on ff. 17, 19v and 21v omitted by accident, leaves throughout slightly cockled, only partly legible seventeenth-century inscriptions written half on leaves here and half on a piece of paper or parchment used as a guard or mask on ff. 2v-3, some small spots and stains, else outstanding condition. Contemporary binding of brown blind-stamped leather over wooden boards, tooled with compartments made up from fleur-de-lys (singular and in groups of 5 within chevrons), a four-petal flower head, a running boar, some stains, scratches and small losses to leather, some small cracks to spine, five metal bosses on each cover, remains of two clasps, original parchment endleaves. Dimensions 292 x 216 mm.

TEXT: ff. 1-48 Guillaume de Tigonville, *Les ditz moraulx des philosophes*, rubric, *Cy commencent les diz des philosophes et premierement de Sedechias*; incipit, "Sedechias fut philosophe le premier par qui de la voulenté de dieu loy fut recue et sapience entendue..."; following rubric, *Les ditz de Hermes philozophe*; incipit, "Hermes fut nez en Egipte et vault autant a dire comme Mercure en grec..."; last rubric, *Les ditz des onze philozophes*; explicit, "[...] Et s'il est autre jasoit ce qu'ilz le nomment pour roy. Si auront ilz le couraige a ung autre"; final rubric, *Et sic est finis libri huius*.

ILLUSTRATION: The text has a single quarter-page illustration (100 x 65 mm.) on its frontispiece set at the head of the first column of text, Group of sages and Philosophers identified by liquid gold inscriptions on banderoles above their heads (slight thumbing to upper left-hand corner), with full decorated border of coloured and dull-gold acanthus leaves and other foliage enclosing a grotesque creature, an orange monkey riding a yellow dog, four men in yellow tunics and a scholar in a tall conical hat reading to two bearded men in turbans.

OWNERSHIP: – 1. Copied and illuminated in France c. 1460, by the Master of Boethius 809, most probably in Angers or perhaps Bourges, and perhaps for a member of the court of René of Anjou. – 2. Sixteenth-century inscriptions on last pastedown, including two lines: "Et comment compaignons / demouront ces trippes" (followed by two more partly smudged lines: "au tant que dung ..."), and signed with the nickname "Lamibaudichon" (a term meaning a companion in a boys' game, also used as a nickname by Rabelais in his *Gargantua* and *Pantagruel*) with elaborate penwork. – 3. Seventeenth-century ownership inscription, "Marie Delaverene" on verso of last endleaf, another inscription in same hand and apparently partly in numeric cipher in the bas-de-page of f. 34v, and "46" of same date on verso of first endleaf; she is perhaps to be identified with Marie de la Verne, dame de Courcelles et de Ville Chevreux en Bourgogne, who in 1661 married the Seigneur de Ry, Maibes. – 4. J.R. Ritman (1941–), Amsterdam, Bibliotheca Philosophica Hermetica MS 203 with his bookplate on front pastedown; acquired from Tenschert in 1987.

LITERATURE: Published in *Marsilio Ficino e il Ritorno di Ermete Trismegisto*, exh. cat., Florence, 1999, pp. 191-194, no. 26, with its miniature reproduced there on the front cover. – See also, Avril, F. and N. Reynaud, *Les manuscrits à peinture en France 1440-1520*, Paris, 1993, pp. 109-120. – Barrois, J., *Bibliothèque Prototypographique*, Paris, 1830, nos. 553, 941, 943, 973, 1836, 1884, 1950, 2097 and 2273. – Bühler, C. F., "Greek Philosophers in the Literature of the Later Middle Ages.," *Speculum* 12 (1937), pp. 440-55. – idem, ed., *The Dicts and Sayings of the Philosophers: the Translations Made by Stephen Scrope, William Worcester, and an Anonymous Translator*, Early English Text Society, Original

Series 211, Oxford, 1941, pp. xviii-xix [see Online Resources]. – Coilly, N. and M.H. Tesnière, *Le Roman de la rose. L'art d'aimer au Moyen Age*, exh. cat., Paris, 2012. – Eder, R., ed., "Tignonvillana inedita," *Romanische Forschungen* 33:3, 1915, p. 851-1022 [French edition; see Online Resources]. – Gautier, M.E. and F. Avril, *Splendeur de l'enluminure: le roi René et les livres*, exh. cat., Angers, 2009, esp. pp. 133-137, 357. – König, E., *Französische Buchmalerei um 1450. Der Jouvenelmaler, der Maler des Genfer Boccaccio und die Anfänge Jean Fouquets*, Berlin, 1982, pls. 13, 34 and 39. – Schindler, R., "The Cloisters Annunciation by the Master of Charles of France," *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 47 (2012), pp. 85-100, esp. fig. 93.

ONLINE RESOURCES:

Digitisation of Eder's modern edition with a full discussion of the author and his work (pp. 851-1022 of journal):

http://www.zvdd.de/dms/load/dfgv/?PPN=PPN345572629_0033

Electronic version of a Middle English translation of the text, Curt F. Bühler, ed., *The Dicts and Sayings of the Philosophers: the Translations Made by Stephen Scrope, William Worcester, and an Anonymous Translator*, 1941:

<http://d.lib.rochester.edu/teams/publication/sutton-the-dicts-and-sayings-of-the-philosophers>



fig. 5.1
Paris, BnF, MS lat. 4915,
Johannes de Columna,
Mare historiarum ab orbe condito
ad annum Christi 1250, f. 196



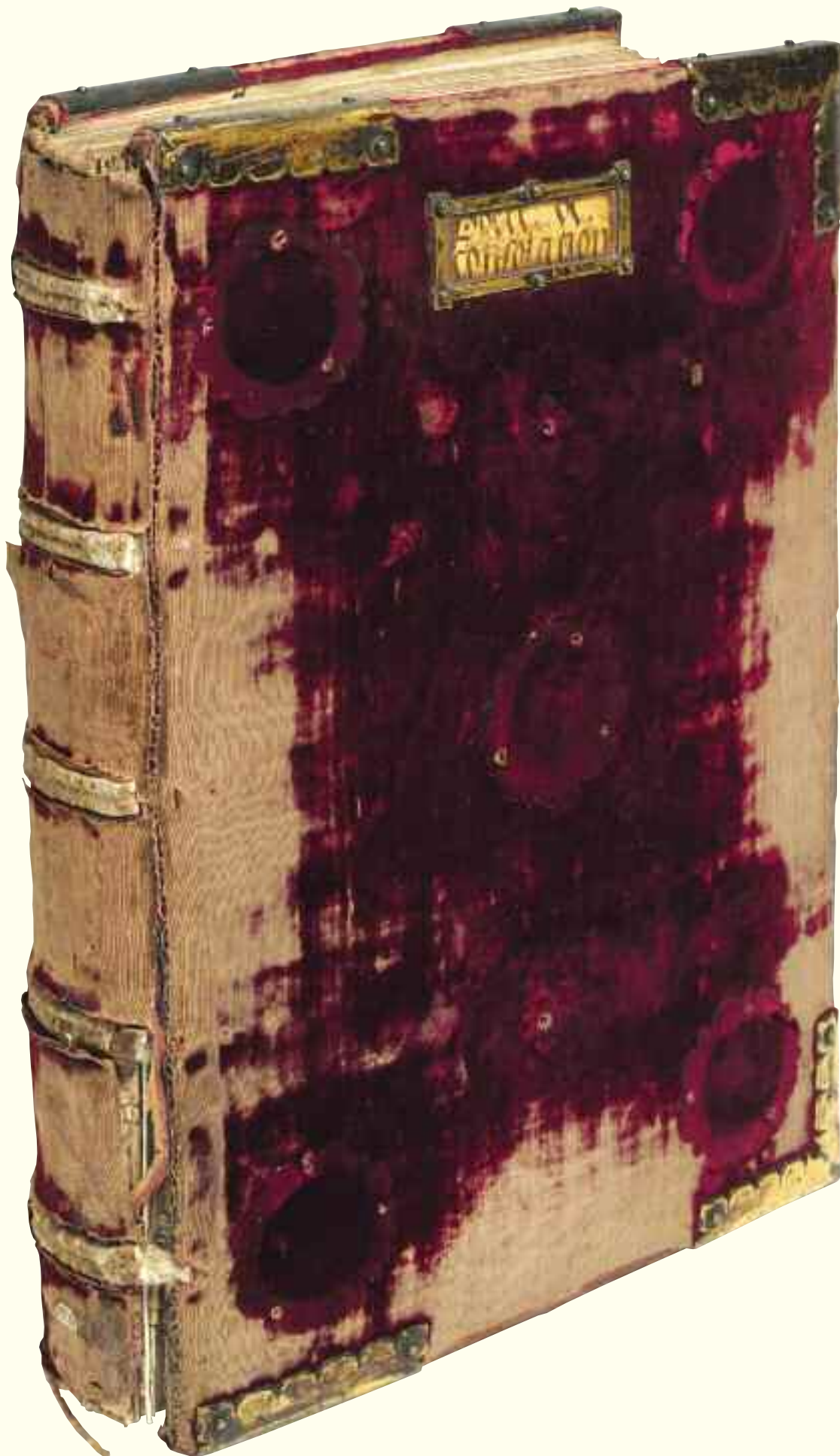
fig. 5.3
Paris, BnF, MS fr. 809, Boethius,
De consolacione philosophiae, f. 27



fig. 5.2
Paris, BnF, MS lat. 4915,
Johannes de Columna,
Mare historiarum ab orbe
condito ad annum Christi 1250, f. 85

fig. 5.4
Paris, BnF, MS fr. 19153,
Guillaume de Lorris
and Jean de Meun,
Le Roman de la Rose, f. 26





BOETHIUS, *De consolatione philosophiae*, in the anonymous verse-prose translation and with the prologue by JEAN DE MEUN

In French, illuminated manuscript on parchment
The Netherlands, most probably Bruges, c. 1460-70

This is an exceptional grand manuscript of the most popular late medieval French translation of one of the fundamental cornerstones of medieval Western philosophical thought, still in its contemporary red velvet binding with a title-label under translucent horn. It is probably in the hand of the great Burgundian master-scribe David Aubert, and its textual individualities led the last scholar to publish on it to suggest that it may even be Aubert's own translation, actively reworked in this manuscript to give a number of readings unique to this exemplar. Although the identity of the original owner is unknown, he (or she) must have been a person of high rank in the Burgundian court, and the manuscript has enjoyed a nearly unbroken and celebrated provenance ever since.

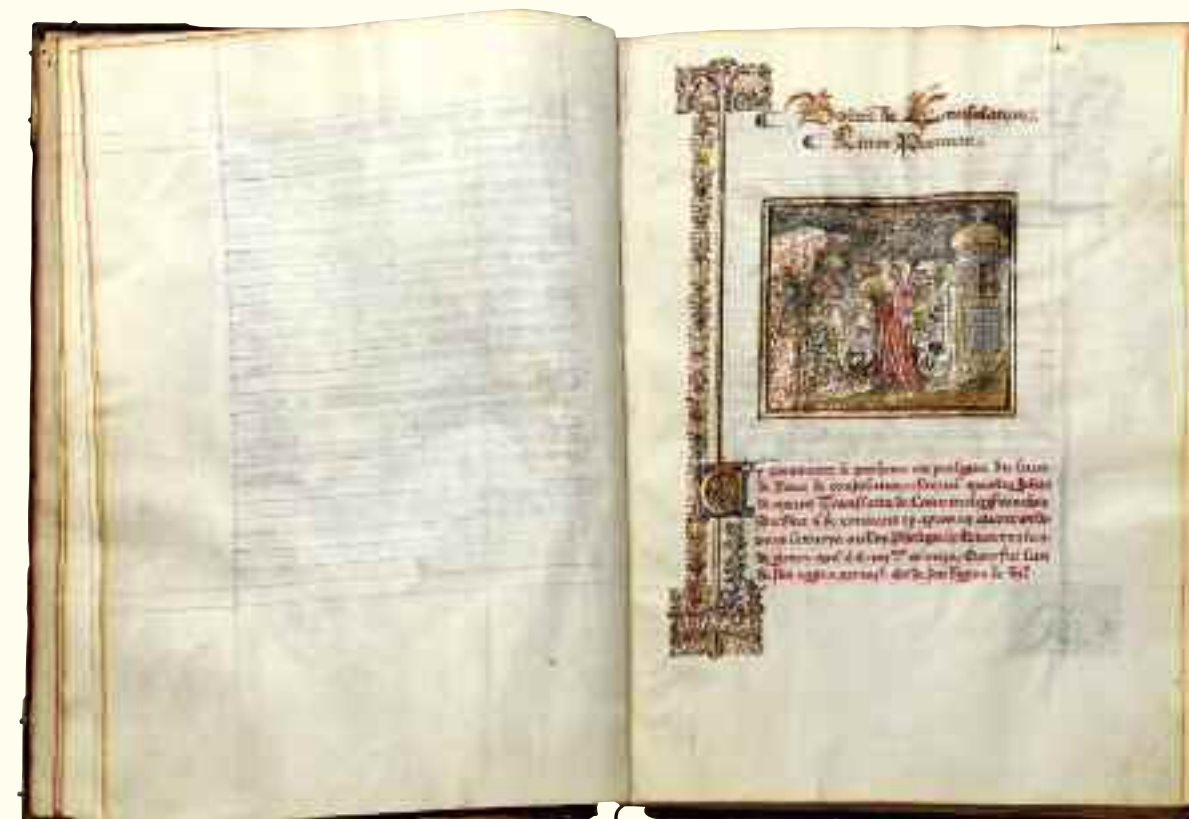
Boethius's Latin treatise, the *Consolation of Philosophy* (*De consolatione philosophiae*) is perhaps the first surviving example of prison literature and one of the fundamental cornerstones of medieval Western philosophical thought. Boethius was born in the last decades of the fifth century into a prominent Roman family who counted numerous consuls and two previous emperors among their members, and he lived to see the final collapse of the Roman Empire, under the military rule of the Germanic barbarian Odoacer (whom his father served as consul) and the Ostrogothic King, Theodoric the Great (whom he served as senator from the age of twenty-five and then after 522 as *magister officiorum*, the head of all government and court services). However, the next year, he became embroiled in court scandal and was suspected of conspiring with the Eastern Empire against Theodoric. He was imprisoned, and after a year-long period of confinement during which he wrote this work, executed.

Boethius spent most of his life in attempts to translate and preserve the works of the ancient world, and while this text is often overlooked in favor of his translations of Aristotle and the Greek mathematicians, it forms a part of the cohesive corpus of his writings, bringing Platonic philosophy

into an early Christian context. The author and the work were the products of a world in transition, one foot in the past with the dwindling embers of Classical culture and another in the future, with the values and teachings of the early Church. Through a dialogue between the author and Philosophy, here allegorized as a woman, it sets out to address the existence of evil and inequality in a world governed by God, and to show how happiness can be attainable amidst the apparently random tides of Fortune.

The *Consolation of Philosophy* was the most widely copied work of secular literature in medieval Europe, and it was translated into Old English in the ninth century, Old High German in the eleventh century, Middle English by Geoffrey Chaucer in the fourteenth century, and into almost every European medieval vernacular including Occitan and Catalan. It held an almost unparalleled position in the minds of medieval readers of French, and translations survive from the late twelfth century (that of Simund de Freine's verse *Roman de la Philosophie*), the thirteenth century (by Jean de Meun and Pierre de Paris), and no less than six translations from the fourteenth century.

This is the translation of the text into French that was more widely disseminated in manuscript than any other in the fifteenth century. It opens with Jean de Meun's letter dedicating the text to Philip IV "the fair," King of France, but the main body of the translation was completed c. 1400 by another anonymous writer. Cropp lists some sixty-five manuscripts of the text, and notes in her 1982 study of the present manuscript that while the text is notably close to that in Jena, Universitätsbibliothek, MS El. f. 85 (fig. 6.1) a manuscript in the hand of David Aubert, who probably also wrote the present manuscript, see frontispiece, it has been modified to give readings not attested elsewhere. It shares a variant reading with the Jena manuscript in Book V, verses 6-9, where the verses have been reworked to complete the rhyme, although not in the exact same way. In addition it has variant glosses only found in this witness, and a crucial accidental omission from Book II: 4 in all of the manuscripts in the glossed tradition is here supplied with a reworked correct reading. Cropp concluded that these textual features were evidence of a translator actively reworking the text in this copy. It is tempting to believe that the person who reworked the text was none other than the great Burgundian scribe-translator, David Aubert himself. If so, the manuscript contributes evidence to the much-disputed role Aubert played in translation.



ff. xi v-1, Boethius before Theodoric the Great; Boethius, *De consolazione philosophiae*, Book I (prologue)

ff. 1v-2, Boethius, *De consolazione philosophiae*, Book I (incipit)

- reduced -

Legnent et font leurs mansiones
Le cœur est pris et mal mene
Et ome aveugle enchaîné.

Fin du premier livre de Boèce.

Commence le second livre de Boèce.

En ce second livre Baile et demoustrer philosophie
les dernières medichines quelle a promises a Boèce
C'est a dire les legieres et aises sentences pour lui
oster la douleur et les autres affections de l'ame qui
lui tollent a cognoistre la matiere de sa maladie. Et ce
fait elle en blasmant et en reprochant toutes les
choses de fortune. Et notez que c'est signe de bon di
sciple de soy taire et de bien oïr et entendre les paroles
de son maistre et de bien retenir et recueillir en son
cœur ses dits et ses enseignemens bien au long.

Philosophie.

Que elle se tut vng petit. Et quant
elle aperceut pour tant que ie me
traisore simplement que ie soie entē
tif si commenca a dire. Se iay bien
entendu dist elle la cause et la ma
tiere de ton mal. Le desir et l'affectio
n de ta premiere fortune te met a mesaise cest a dire
de retourner a ta prosperite si comme tu fais semblant

Et sa muance a trouble le fait de ton cœur. Et non
autre chose. Je entens trop bien les hardemens divers
de ce mouster. *Boèce.* Notez que philosophie appel
le fortune mouster pour tant quelle demoustrer vne
chose et fait vne autre. Et lui met sus hardemens
C'est a entendre mutatione et deceptione ou cautelle
Car aucune fois fortune aleche vng homme trente an
ou plus si que par tout ce temps nul mas ne lui admet
Et lors il cride tousiours durer en ceste presente pro
perite. Et Incontinent que il est oppresse de aucune
adversite si est confondu de douleur. Car la familiarite
si longue de fortune lui a este cautelle et deception.

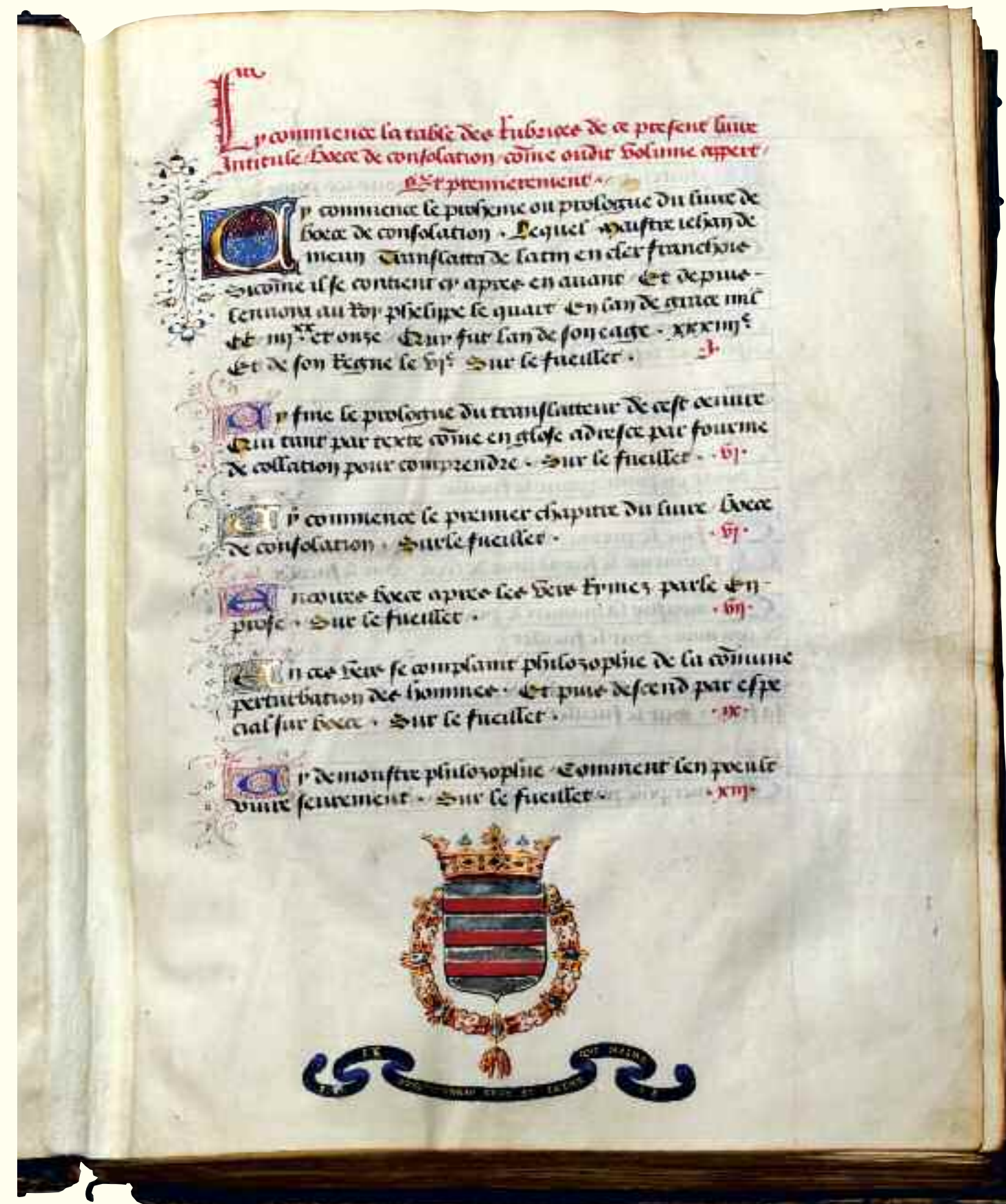
Philosophie. Car quant elle veult aucun decevoir
si lui fait semblant de prouaillier tant quelle le mette
en moult grant douleur quant elle le laisse soudaine
ment. Et se tu veulz tarmembler sa nature et se
meure Tu trouueras que onques de lui tiens tu na
en. Et ne perdras chose que sen doit temre a belle. Et il
ne me conuendra plus moult trancillier de ce ramener
a ta memoire. Car la ou elle iadis te losegioit tu la
soudoies blasmer et despriser de paroles. Et la pour
sueries aux sentences que tu prendoies en nos secrets
auec toute muance des choses soudaines si fait chan
celler les courages des cœurs. Et de ce vient il que tu
es vng petit eslongie de la paix de ton cœur.

*Fin du mouster la maniere de proceder. Et parle a la
guise de son mite.*

The elegant and bold *lettre bâtarde* script is entirely consistent with that of the scribe and translator David Aubert (fl. 1449-1479), who by 1453 was working in the administration of the great Burgundian bibliophile and art patron, Philip the Good, duke of Burgundy (1396-1467). His name is known from thirty-six signed and dated manuscripts, another seven signed exemplars, and twenty-seven other dated works attributed to him (Gay, pp. 518-519, in Kren and McKendrick, eds.; compare nos. 13, 27 and 43 of that catalogue for his hand). The J. Paul Getty Museum recently acquired a splendid example written by his hand and illuminated by Lieven van Lathem, the *Roman de Gillion de Trazegnies* (fig. 6.2). David Aubert was "escrivain de Monseigneur le duc" until Philip's death, and he appears to have worked not only as a scribe but as an editor, a compiler, and possibly a translator, for which this manuscript serves as pivotal evidence (Quérue, ed., 1999).

Regrettably the first folio, which likely included a frontispiece and a personalized dedication or coat-of-arms, was excised long ago, but if the dating proposed is correct, then this manuscript survives from the period of the 1460s, when he was employed by his first important patron, Duke Philip the Good, or just after, when he also worked for other Burgundian noblemen, especially Louis of Bruges, seigneur of Gruuthuse, and Anthony the "bastard" of Burgundy, illegitimate son of Philip the Good. He collaborated during these years with the famed illuminators Liéven van Lathem, Dreux Jean, and Loyset Liédet, among others. At the end of his career he worked extensively for Margaret of York, duchess of Burgundy and wife of Charles the Bold. Based on its secondary decoration the manuscript certainly predates the Jena copy for Margaret (the dimensions of the two manuscripts are virtually identical), and it may reflect the style of the workshop of Willem Vrelant (as König suggested in *Leuchtendes Mittelalter II*), who illuminated manuscripts copied by Aubert in 1462, 1467, and 1469 (see Charron and Gil, in Quérue, ed., p. 99). A careful paleographical analysis of the evolution of the Aubert's hand (fig. 6.3) remains to be undertaken and could serve to better place the undated texts in his œuvre (see Straub, 1995).

Bound in magnificent red velvet of the finest quality, the substantial codex epitomizes the sophisticated taste of bibliophiles at Philip's court. Florentine and Genoese velvets were greatly sought after by the Burgundian ducal court and their followers, and Bruges became the center for the distribution of this cloth in northern Europe in the fifteenth century (see "Luxury Fabrics at Court" in Keck, et al., 2009, pp. 234-237). Requiring the



most material to produce and being of the greatest weight, such velvets were worn as signs of privilege by secular and ecclesiastical dignitaries, who also had their precious manuscripts clothed with similar fabric. Red velvet bindings appear in many miniatures in Burgundian manuscripts illustrating the presentation of volumes to ducal patrons. The elaborate fittings on the present manuscript evoke those shown on the leather-bound volume depicted in the frontispiece of *Les Chroniques de Hainaut*, in which the kneeling Jean Wauquelin presents a manuscript to Philip the Good and his young son, Charles the Bold, in a miniature attributed to Rogier van der Weyden (Brussels, BR, MS 9243, *ibid.*, no. 131, p. 315, with reproduction of the leaf in question on p. 43). The present manuscript, however, most directly echoes a binding on a manuscript in Berlin of Froissart's *Chronicles* dated 1468 (Staatsbibliothek MS Dep. Breslau 1, vol. 4; Kren and McKendrick, eds., fig. 34, p. 64), which also still preserves its metal fittings (fig. 6.4). The Berlin codex is also in the hand of David Aubert and was made for Anthony of Burgundy, and its date helps confirm the presumed date of copy of the present codex and raises the possibility that our manuscript was made for the same patron.

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION: 145 ff., the first leaf of the second quire a nineteenth-century replacement, else complete (collation i⁸, ii³, [these all singletons glued to next quire], iii⁸ including the replacement leaf, iv-xiv⁸, xv⁶, xvi-xix⁸), contemporary foliation in red ink from the beginning of the main text as f. 1 [followed here, with prologue numbered i-ii], written in single column of 27 lines in a fine formal *lettre bâtarde* in dark brown ink, between 2 vertical and 28 horizontal lines in red ink (justification 228 x 160 mm.), rubrics in red, one-line initials in gold or blue with square penwork surrounds in black or red, two- or three-line initials in brightly burnished gold on blue and pink grounds touched with white penwork (that on f. i recto with small sprays of foliage ending in three-petal flowers touched in blue and burgundy), four large initials in pink and blue with white penwork or scalloping on burnished gold grounds, infilled with swirls of colored ivy-leaves, extending into borders and filling lower and upper borders with small panels of acanthus leaves and other foliage (ff. 25v, 47v, 78r and 108v), a large miniature of the author before Theodoric and in prison on the nineteenth-century replacement leaf, in outstanding condition with wide and clean margins. Contemporary red velvet over wooden boards with metal fittings (now only edge-pieces, cornerpieces and frame of title remaining, but impressions of five fittings each raised with a large circular cabochon in the center with a crenelated surround, and two straps attached to the middle of the front board), with a vellum title-label "Boece de consolacion," under translucent horn on the front cover, some areas of velvet worn and spine split at base of front board with damage to lowest two sets of thongs, some skillful restoration of first few leaves to reattach them to the text block (compare similar bindings in "Luxury Fabrics at Court," in Keck, et al., 2009, pp. 234-237, esp. Vienna, ÖNB., Cod. ser. n. 2616, p. 46, Cod. 2549, p. 74, and London, British Library, Add. MS 36619, pl. 42). Dimensions 375 x 260 mm.

TEXT: ff. i-xi, Table of Contents, rubric, "*Cy commence la table des rubrics de ce present livre intitulé boece de consolacion comme ondit volume appert / et premierement*"; incipit, "*Cy commence le proheme ou prologue du livre ...*"; Prologue, f. 1, rubric, *Boece de consolacion/ Livre Premier* [Miniature] *Cy commence le proheme ou prolgue ...*; f. 1v, incipit, "*A ta royal maiesté tres noble prince par la grace de dieu roy de france philippe le quart*"; f. 6, explicit, "... et paraillement ont autres qui mestier en

auront"; Book I, f. 6, rubric, *Cy commence le premier chapitre du livre Boece de consolacion*; f. 6, incipit, "*Je qui seul ditter et escrire / les livres de haulte matiere ...*"; Book II, f. 25v, rubric, *Cy commence le second livre de boece*, incipit, "*Cy en ce second livre baille et demoustré philosophie les legieres medichines quelle a promises a boece ...*"; f. 47, explicit, "*Les coeures ensemble ralioit / car droitte beneurté seroit*"; Book III, f. 47v, rubric, *Cy commence le tiers livre ouquel philosophie entend a demoustrer les plus fors remedes ...*; incipit "*Ille idest philosophie avoit ia son chant fine ...*"; f. 78, explicit, "*Glose, Cest assavoir le bien souverain qui est sur tout la misericorde de dieu*"; Book IV, f. 78, rubric, *Cy commence le quart livre de boece*, incipit, "*Hec cum philosophia ...*"; f. 108, explicit, "*Et veez que cilz vont requerre / Le ciel qui ont vainqu la terre*"; Book V, f. 108, rubric, *Cy après commence et prent fin le quint et derrenier livre dit boece de consolacion*, f. 108v, incipit, "*Quant elle ot ce dit elle s'appareilla de poursieuvir sa parole ...*"; f. 134v, explicit, "*Lequel vit et regne sans fin es siecles des siecles. Amen.*"

OWNERSHIP: – 1. The original owner is unknown but should undoubtedly be sought among the Burgundian elite, since the script is entirely consistent with that of the scribe and translator David Aubert (fl. 1449-1479), who by 1453 was working in the administration of the great Burgundian bibliophile and art patron, Philip the Good, duke of Burgundy (1396-1467) (for his biography, see Gay, pp. 518-519, in Kren and McKendrick, eds.; compare nos. 13, 27 and 43 of that catalogue for his hand). After Philip's death, he wrote manuscripts for other members of the court. The present manuscript probably dates in the decade of the 1460s, based on its decoration and binding. – 2. Reportedly from the library of Jacques-Auguste de Thou (1553-1617), French historian, bibliophile and president of the Parlement de Paris: pencil notes in the hand of Phillipps on front pastedown, "Olim fuit celeberrimi De Thou". – 3. Charles-Alexandre de Croÿ (1573-1624), comte de Fontenoy and duc de Croÿ, with his arms added to the bas-de-page of fol. ir, encircled by the collar of the Order of the Golden Fleece and with a scroll with "le soustiendray Croÿ et iayme qui maime" and the apparent acquisition date "16 18". – 4. Sir Thomas Phillipps (1792-1872), his MS 2805, with his lion rampant ink stamp on the front endleaf and paper label on spine; evidently sold privately by the Robinsons after they purchased the Phillipps collection from his heirs in 1946, re-emerging in Lardanchet, Paris, catalogue 60 (1967), no. 17, and catalogue 62 (1969), no. 133. – 5. Antoine Pol (1888-1971), his bookplate, sold in Sotheby's, 9 July 1973, lot 40, to Tulkens, Brussels. – 6. Joseph Maréchal of Bruges (recorded by Cropp, p. 293). – 7. J.R. Ritman (1941–), Amsterdam, Bibliotheca Philosophica Hermetica, MS 133, with his bookplate on front pastedown; bought from Tenschert, catalogue 25, *Leuchtendes Mittelalter II* (1990), no. 28.

LITERATURE: Published in Cropp, G.M., *Le Livre de Boece de Consolacion: Edition critique*, Geneva, 2006, p. 24; *idem*, "Additional Manuscripts of the Medieval French Anonymous Verse-Prose Translation of the 'Consolatio' of Boethius," *Notes and Queries* 29 (August 1982), pp. 292-294, on this manuscript and another in St. Petersburg; *idem*, "Les manuscrits du Livre de Boèce de Consolacion," *Revue d'histoire des textes* 12-13 (1982-1983), pp. 263-352, the present manuscript her item 22*, with description on pp. 291-292; Wijsman, Hanno, *Luxury Bound. Illustrated Manuscript Production and Princely Book Ownership in the Burgundian Netherlands (1400-1550)*, Burgundica 16, Turnhout, 2010, the present manuscript, p. 341, esp. note 473; exhibited at the *Association Internationale de Bibliophile. XXI Congrès*, The Hague, 1997, with the manuscripts there also listed in *Scriptorium* 52 (1998), p. 151. – See also R. Gay in *Illuminating the Renaissance: The Triumph of Flemish Manuscript Painting in Europe*, ed. T. Kren and S. McKendrick, London/Los Angeles, 2003, pp. 518-519. – Keck, G., S. Marti, Till-Holger Borchert, eds., *Charles the Bold (1433-1477): Splendour of Burgundy*, exh. cat., Berne, 2009, pp. 234-237. – Quérue, D., ed., *Les manuscrits de David Aubert "escripvain" bourguignon, Cultures et civilisations médiévales* 18, Paris, 1999. – Straub, R. E. F., *David Aubert, Escripvain et Clerc*, Amsterdam, 1995.

ONLINE RESOURCES:

Online translation of the text into English:

<http://www.piney.com/BoethConPhil.html>

The entry for this translation on the Arlima website:

http://www.arlima.net/ad/boeces_de_consolacion.html

Online publication of images of the scribe David Aubert from Burgundian manuscripts:

http://employees.oneonta.edu/farberas/arth/arth214_folder/burgundian_frontispieces.html



fig. 6.1
Jena, Universitätsbibliothek, MS
El. f. 85, Boethius,
La consolation de philosophie,
David Aubert kneeling before
Margaret of York,
Duchess of Burgundy, f. 13v



fig. 6.3
Valenciennes, Bibliothèque
municipale, MS 240,
Jacques de Gruytode and
Saint Bonaventura,
Le miroir d'humilité, f. 117



fig. 6.2
Los Angeles, The J. Paul Getty
Museum, MS 111, *Romance of
Gillion de Trazegnies*, f. 49v

fig. 6.4
Berlin, Staatsbibliothek,
MS Dep. Breslau 1, vol. 4,
Jean Froissart, *Chroniques*,
binding, upper cover





**MELLON PREUDHOMME, *Le lustre des temps*
or *Fragment des histoires et chroniques***

In French and Latin, illuminated manuscript on parchment
France, most likely Rouen, dated 1534

6 illuminated compositions and 2 full-page miniatures by an anonymous artist active in Rouen (influenced by Geoffroy Dumontier (active 1530-1560) and his workshop?)

This unpublished work in prose and verse was composed by a hitherto unrecorded author, Mellon Preudhomme and dedicated to Guillaume Preudhomme, “trésorier de l'épargne,” appointed by Louise de Savoie. Known in this single copy, the work is dated 1534, written and most likely illuminated in Rouen, by an artist(s) familiar with models coming from the workshop of the prolific Geoffroy Dumontier, active in Rouen but also trained in Fontainebleau alongside Rosso Fiorentino. This would account for the italianate and mannerist motifs incorporated in the illuminated compositions and miniatures. The Latin marginalia informs us of the author's sources, quite diverse, with many references to hermetical texts and authors.

It is a rare privilege to have the chance to catalogue and signal to the scientific community an unpublished work by an unknown author. The present manuscript contains the only known copy of a work entitled *Le lustre des temps* by Mellon Preudhomme or Prudhomme, dated 1534 and redacted in French with ample Latin marginalia. Had this manuscript disappeared, the work would have been lost to all.

The word “lustre” affords some clarification as it is a rare word. Godefroy in his *Dictionnaire de l'ancienne langue française* provides the following meaning: “Lustre: Endroit où un cerf se baigne; purgation de la cité.” *Lustre* and *Lustration* are to be understood as “Purification” or “Cleansing.” (Godefroy, Paris, 1881; see also Huguet, *Dictionnaire de la langue française du seizième siècle*, Paris, 1961 – “Lustre”: Clarté). The adjective *Lustrueux* is also a synonym for “lustrous, radiant, shining, glistening, glittering.” Hence the title of the work, “Lustre des temps” can be freely translated as “Clarity of past times.”



This unpublished text is part in prose (ff. 4-9) and part in verse (ff. 11-44), offering the reader a selection of “faictz et gestes de noz predecesseurs et choses advenues de leur temps qui nous font a exemple” (f. 7) [actions and feats of our predecessors and their times whose example we are to follow]. Mellon Preudhomme states in his Prologue that he has composed in “maternel langaige et rethorique françoise” (f. 7) a work divided into three “caiers” (notebooks), the first pertaining to the “loy primordiale de mort comminatoire baillée a noz premiers parens” (f. 7) [Divine Primordial Law], ending with Abraham; the second relative to the “serimoniale circoncision avec la preceptive loy mosaïque” (f. 7v) [Mosaic Law], ending with Jesus Christ; the third concerning the “loy de grace evangelique et baptismale” (f. 7v) [Evangelical Law]. It appears Mellon Preudhomme delivered here his first “caier,” ending with Abraham in his discussion of the feats and actions of our ancestors. The work is in fact a combination of historical, genealogical, and hermetical poetry retracing the notable (moral) feats of past characters, with passages clearly influenced by the pseudo-epigraphical writings attributed to Hermes Trismegistus. The illustrations are also in part hermetical, in particular the full-page non-figurative compositions, such as the representation of the Creation of Light (f. 16v) or the second to the last composition with trees in which the hermetical symbols of the Pelican and the Phoenix nests (f. 45).

In addition to the core text, there is an important apparatus of marginal notes in Latin. It is not common to find marginal notes in Latin commenting a text in the vernacular. In a number of cases the notes provide the sources (Latin, Greek or Hebrew) for the vernacular text. Amongst the sources are the following: Sacred Scripture and Church Fathers, as well as Patristic works; there are classical sources such as Aristotle, Plato, Strabo and Berosus. But more interestingly, are quoted also Greek, Hebrew, and Arabic sources, such as Philo (of Alexandria), Hermes (Mercurius Hermes Trismegistus), Rabbi Moses, Rabbi Joseph, Pythagoras, Empedocles, Haly Albumazar (astrologer and mathematician) (f. 36v); amongst the medieval sources, one notes John of Damascus, Petrus Comestor, Rabanus, Isidorus, Boccaccio, [Ludovicus] Lazzarelli (1450-1500), who was an Italian poet, philosopher, courtier and alleged magician and diviner of the early Renaissance (on Lazzarelli, see Hanegraaff and Bouthoorn, 2005).

We know very little about Mellon Preudhomme, the author of the *lustre des temps*. His name appears in the archives, but not as a literary figure, rather as canon of the Notre-Dame de Rouen in a financial document dated 1537 (see Robillard de Beaurepaire, 1881 - G. 3185: “Compte et estat des receptes, cens, rentes et revenuz appartenans à messeigneurs de chapitre de l’église Notre-Dame de Rouen, finy et rendu par moy Mellon Preudomme, presbtre, chanoine et grand distributeur de la dicte église, pour ung an commençant au jour et terme de Saint-Michel 1537.”) Another mention of Mellon Preudhomme is found in relation to the royal entry of Henry II in Rouen as discussed in the deliberations of Rouen’s city council, where he is presented as “curé de Corny-en-Vexin,” canon of Notre-Dame de Rouen and counselor at the Parliament of Normandy. All the other participants responsible for this royal entry were members of the poetry societies of Rouen, in particular the famous “Puy de Palinod,” a poetic competition, one of the most important social events in the city (see Wintroub, 2006, p. 77). Mellon Preudhomme must have been close to these circles of poetic jousts.

The *Lustre des temps* is dedicated to Guillaume Preudhomme. We do not know the precise family relation that ties the author Mellon Preudhomme to the dedicatee Guillaume Preudhomme: was he a nephew? a brother? But, we do know that Guillaume Preudhomme was seigneur de Fontenay-en-Brie and seigneur du Grand-Panfou, trésorier de l’épargne (appointed by Louise de Savoie in 1525), and later “trésorier de France.” His castle of Fontenay was visited by Francis I in 1538, 1544, and 1546. He married Marie Cueillette, dame de Freschines. Guillaume Preudhomme was important enough to have had a *Complainte de G. Prudhomme* composed in his honor by Clément Marot (see *Oeuvres poétiques complètes*, II (1993), p. 389). It would appear that the unidentified arms painted on f. 45 could be those of either the author or the dedicatee Guillaume Preudhomme, who, although not a nobleman, would have had some sort of heraldic representation given his stature and function as “trésorier de l’épargne” for the Kingdom of France. The other arms found on f. 45v are also problematic and require identification.

The illustrations in this manuscript are worthy of comment, although further research will certainly yield better stylistic comparisons. Only two of the illustrations are figurative (or three if one counts the arms painted between two trees with nested Phoenix and Pelican, f. 45). The work opens with a full-page frontispiece miniature representing the author Mellon Preudhomme asleep, visited by Dame Sollicitude, represented in a mannerist



Continuation a l'argumiet

Comme transys sans dormir ne veiller
 Ainsi gisant la main pour oriller
 Dessoubz moy ches entre autres visions
 Me fut aduis que mille legions
 Despiritz volans me vindrent entener
 En me posant tout nud comme le ver
 Dedens lenelos d'ing orbe cristallin
 Pour me reduyre en cendre metallin
 Me reuelant qu'auant mon premier maistre
 Cendre ie soyre & que cendre doibs estre

Orant ces mots et sentence tant diue
 Me condenant a lymoneuse ordure
 Il me sembla que bien me disposay
 A contempler le lieu ou sus pose
 Si que mes sens auoient assez affaire
 A speculer cest orbe stellifere
 Dessoubz lequel pensoye estre en repos
 Mais contrainct fuz de chager mo propos
 Par le reuerz de si dure sentence
 Beaucoup remant de tout ce q sol pense



Inteligendorū preludiū.

Le tout puissant souverain plasmatrice,
 Dieu immortel du siècle architecteur,
 Haut zelateur de sa bonte profonde,
 Voullant former la machine du monde
 feist vne masse, offusque et tenebreuse
 D'icte le ciel, & la terre vmbreuse.
 Laquelle estoit come vng suppost sa forme
 En vng callos, nubileux & difforme.
 Dont tous les corps par apres cōposa.
 Voy & retiens come il en disposa.

Initiū creationis

Ce plasmatrice en son eternite,
 D'ung seul vouloir iomel a sa deite,
 Ains que former aucun orbe celiue,
 feist et crea la nature angelique.
 Si que sa seule excogitation,
 Des anges fut la composition.
 Et le premier, de haulte monarchie,
 Jusqu'au neuiesme ordre en fust hierarchie.
 Et retierement sans matiere subiecte.
 D'inn secret en moule ne se iecte.

In principio erat
 chaos & tenebre.
 Gen. 1.

In principio erat
 chaos & tenebre.
 Gen. 1.
 In principio erat
 chaos & tenebre.
 Gen. 1.
 In principio erat
 chaos & tenebre.
 Gen. 1.

Primum quidam
 tunc angelicus & ce
 lesus virtutes & etc.
 Gregorius in moralibus
 Damascenus in libro de
 ecclesiis

In hoc apud hebreos
 vocatur Isaac
 & Samuel & primus
 Gregorius in moralibus
 Damascenus in libro de
 ecclesiis

costume of floating pink and blue draperies. Mellon Preudhomme is clad in black, lying on the ground. This miniature and composition are influenced by Parisian models and artists such as Noël Bellmare (and his group) working for Louise de Savoie and Francis I, for instance in the famous miniature found in Paris, BnF, MS fr. 5715, Etienne Le Blanc, *Les gestes de Blanche de Castille* where the author is also figured reclined on the ground (see Delisle, 1900; Orth, 1988, p. 59; Orth, 1999, pp. 84-85; Leproux, 2001, p. 137; (fig. 7.1). It seems most likely that the manuscript was painted in Rouen rather than Paris, and its style was influenced by the recent aesthetic innovations of Fontainebleau, with recourse to ornamentation and mannerist features not usually found in Rouen illumination. There is a group of manuscripts related to Jacques Le Lieur (c. 1480-c.1550), counselor and échevin of Rouen, poet and patron of the arts, that affords some comparisons, underscoring the existence in Rouen of prolific workshops (see Picot, 1913; Delsalle, 2005 and 2007). There are some stylistic comparisons to be made with the miniatures found in a manuscript commissioned by Jacques Le Lieur in Rouen, *Chants royaux du Puy de la Conception de Rouen* (c. 1540? Paris, BnF, MS fr. 379, fig. 7.2), attributed to a variety of artists including the hand (and workshop) of Geoffroy Dumonstier (died 1573, an artist at the head of a workshop in Rouen but who also worked in Fontainebleau with Rosso Fiorentino; see Lafond, 1932; Crépin-Leblond, 1993, no. 13; Béghin, 2001, pp. 490-491; [Avril, et al., 2011], p. no. 137-147). A Book of Hours in Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, cod. Sn. 13 241 as well as the *Cartulaire des pauvres* (Registre chartier de l'hospice général de Rouen), Rouen, AD Seine-Maritime, AP 38 (see Crépin-Leblond, 1993, respectively no. 17 and no. 1, fig. 7.3) are also attributed to Geoffroy Dumonstier and his workshop in Rouen, all works in which the influence of Fontainebleau is obvious. Another artist that collaborated with Dumonstier in the same time period and in certain manuscripts (for instance in Paris, BnF, MS fr. 379) is the Master of the Ango Hours. Comparisons with the miniatures found in the *Cartulaire de Saint-Maclou*, painted in 1532-1533 (see Ritter and Lafond, 1913, p. 20, pl. LIX-LXI; [Exhibition. Rouen], 1980, p. 67) are a possible direction for research (fig. 7.4). In sum, the present elegant illustrations and texts are puzzling and deserve attention from both art and literary historians.

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION: 46 ff., preceded and followed by 2 paper flyleaves, on parchment, complete (collation: i-x8, xi6), core text written in a French *lettre bâtarde*, in brown ink, on up to 21 lines (justification: 149 x 86 mm.), prickings visible, marginal notes throughout in a different cursive italic

script, catchwords hidden in the lower right-hand corner of the last leaf of each quire, parchment ruled in red, headings in brown ink, capitals of each verse stroked in pale yellow, a few painted initials in liquid gold on dark red grounds, 6 illuminated compositions (ff. 3, 16v, 33, 44v, 45, 45v) on grounds of italianate ornamental motifs, with cartouches and banderoles inscribed in gold Roman capitals, 2 full-page miniatures (f. 3v and 10v), full-page miniature on f. 3v is set in a liquid gold italianate architectural border, marginal notes on each page (in Latin) in a contemporary hand (yet italic). Bound in an eighteenth-century red morocco, with triple gold filets on the boards, smooth spine with title gilt and gilt fleurons, shelfmark at the foot of the spine ("1390"), gilt filet on edges, gilt edges, marbled pastedowns. Dimensions 203 x 141 mm.

OWNERSHIP: – 1. Dated 1534 (f. 44v), this manuscript was copied in France, likely Rouen, corroborated by the style of the illustrations. The author Mellon Preudhomme or Prudhomme refers to himself as a lawyer and canon (chanoine) in Rouen (Normandy), and the work is dedicated to Guillaume Preudhomme, "general des finances en Normandie et thesaurier de l'espargne soubz la maiesté et sacrée couronne de France." The dedicatee of this manuscript, Guillaume Preudhomme was appointed "trésorier de l'épargne" in 1525 by Louise de Savoie. The position of "trésorier de l'épargne" (instituted by François Ier in 1523) and occupied by Guillaume Preudhomme until 1539-1540 was based in Paris in the Louvre. Through the marriage of his daughter Jeanne Preudhomme, Guillaume Preudhomme was the father-in-law of Nicolas IV de Neufville de Villeroy who had married Madeleine de l'Aubespine (1546-1596), herself a poet and translator (see G. Ménage, *Vitae Petri Aerodii...*, Paris, 1675, pp. 360-361; see also P. Anselme de Sainte-Marie, *Histoire de la maison royale de France*, Paris, 1728, t. IV, p. 640). A man of his stature and position most certainly had a personal library: we have found trace of a "Preudhomme" who signs an ex-libris inscription at the end of Paris, BnF, MS fr. 1560, when the manuscript passed from the Croixmare to the Preudhomme, in 1540 in Rouen: "Et en l'an mil cinq cens quarente estant audit Rouen cedit livre m'a esté donné libéralement par Nicolas de Croismare... [signed] Preudhomme" (see Delisle, *Cabinet des manuscrits*, II, p. 358). The manuscript of the *Lustre des temps* is listed in Duclos et alia, *Dictionnaire bibliographique, historique et critique des livres rares...*, Paris, 1791, tome II, p. 232, else entirely unpublished. – 2. Chancelier Henri-François d'Aguesseau (1668-1751), Chancellor of France three times between 1717 and 1750 and pronounced by Voltaire to be "the most learned magistrate France ever possessed." He was also a great collector of books and manuscripts, with very eclectic tastes. See this manuscript listed in Jean-Baptiste Paulin d'Aguesseau, *Catalogue des livres... de la bibliothèque de feu monsieur d'Aguesseau*, Paris, 1785, no. 3696, p. 241. – 3. Alexis Ferréol Perrin de Sanson, important Provençal book collector (died c. 1836), his armorial bookplate on the upper pastedown: "Alexis Ferreol Perrin de Sanson, Ecuier de Marseille" (arms: *D'azur à la fasce d'or, accompagnée en chef de trois étoiles rangées d'argent et en pointe d'un croissant du même*). The Perrin de Sanson collection of books was dispersed in a sale: *Catalogue des livres imprimés des manuscrits des XIII^{ème}, XIV^{ème} et XV^{ème} siècles et des lettres autographes composant la Bibliothèque de feu M. Perrin de Sanson et provenant des bibliothèques du chancelier d'Aguesseau, de l'abbé Sèpher, de l'abbé Rive...*, Sale Paris, 8 November 1836. Surprisingly, the present manuscript was not part of that sale. – 4. Sir Thomas Phillipps (1792-1872), MS 4390, his paper label with shelfmark at the foot of the spine. Sold to Phillipps by Royez. Later bought by Thomas Thorpe (Rodd and Thorpe, London) in 1820. Listed in Kraus cat. 153; see also Bibliotheca Phillippica, 1979, no. 92. – 5. Inscription in a 19th c. hand (f. 1): "Le lustre des temps en fragment des histoires et chroniques, recueilli par Maître Mellon prudhomme avocat au parlement et chanoine de Rouen, en vers. Beau manuscrit sur velin avec une epître en prose à Mr. Guillaume general des finances en Normandie et tresorier de l'epargne sous François I^{er}. On y voit sept peintures en forme de tableau. Ce manuscrit est daté de 1534. Il était relié en velours vert avant celle actuelle en maroquin rouge. Il vient de la bibliothèque de M. D'Aguesseau, page 241, no. 3696 (histoire, chronique universelles depuis la creation du monde ou qui comprennent l'histoire de plusieurs siècles)." – 6. Joost R. Ritman (b. 1941-), Amsterdam, Bibliotheca Philosophica Hermetica, MS 8; his bookplate is pasted on the recto of the first flyleaf: "Philosophia Hermetica."

TEXT: ff. 1v-2v, blank; f. 3, Title-page (illuminated), *Le lustre des temps. Probet homo aperire librum et solvere septem signa cula eius. Apoca. 5o*; ff. 4-9v, Mellon Prudhomme, *Le lustre des temps*,



Prologue, incipit, “Fragment des histoires et croniques recueilly et assemblé en ce petit livret intitulé le lustre des temps. Par maistre Mellon Preudhomme advocat en parlement et chanoine de Rouen. // Argument en forme d’épistre declarant l’intention de l’acteur dirigé en salutation, a tresnoble et insigne personne, monseigneur Monsieur maistre Guillaume Preudhomme general des finances en Normendie et thesaurier de l’espargne soubz la maiesté et sacrée couronne de France, regnant treshault monarque, magnanime et treschrestien le roy Francoys premier de ce nom”; f. 10, blank; ff. 11-16, Mellon Prudhomme, *Le lustre des temps*, “Caier 1,” heading, *Continuation a l’argument*; incipit, “Comme transy sans dormir ne veiller / Ainsy gisant, la main pour oreiller / Dessouz mon chef entre aultres visions...”; explicit, “[...] Et me suffit qu’au gré d’ung homme soit / Qui supporter les ignares bien scait / Dont je suys l’ung par trop reprehensible / Complaie a tous seroit chose impossible”; ff. 17-44, Mellon Prudhomme, *Le lustre des temps*, “Caier 1,” heading, *Inteligendorm preludium*; incipit, “Le tout puissant souverain plasmateur / Dieu immortel du siecle architecteur...”; explicit, “Conclusion en ce monde mortel / Je n’ay trouvé maison ny chef d’hostel / Perpetuez en ce bas territoire / Es aages dont ce cayer faict memoire / Fors que le nom des hommes vertueux / Par quoy je dy si je ne treuve mieulx / En compilant les deux aultres cayers / Me suffira pour terrestres loyers / Le pesand faiz exclud d’avec ma somme / Vivre et mourir soubz le nom d’ung preudhomme”; ff. 46-46v, blank.

ILLUSTRATION: f. 3v, The author Mellon Preudhomme asleep, visited by Dame Solitude: “Laquelle dame approchée de moy me dist avoir a nom Dame Solitude la curieuse inventrice de tous ars par son ymagination speculative....” (f. 5v); f. 10v, Man reduced to his bare nudity, circled by winged putti, with motto “Nudus veni, nudus recedam” [Naked I was born, naked I shall die]; f. 16v, Creation (first day) with creation of light, with inscription in Roman capitals: “Erant tenebre superfaciem abissi et spiritus domini ferebatur super aquas. Gen 1”; “Dei imperio lux orta est forma species et decor tenebrarum”; f. 33, Genealogical tree, descending from Adam, separating at Cain and Abel, on the one side the impious (descending from Cain) and the pious (descending from Abel); f. 44v, Final ornamental composition with inscriptions in French: “Plus qu’on ne pense en probité, prouvée est la vertu plus que l’or approuvée”; “Si que de toy haultain vouloir compense le faict a nous qui est plus qu’on ne pense”, followed by the date 1534; f. 45, Armorial and symbolic composition, arms placed between two trees, to the left, at the top of the tree a Pelican, at the bottom of the tree a skull, with scroll inscribed “Dolor medicina [...]”; to the right, at the top of the tree a Phoenix, at the bottom a fiery globe, with scroll inscribed “Urens revivisco millares.” The Pelican is shown stabbing its breast with its beak and nourishing its young with its own blood. This illustration is most hermetical. The Pelican was in this spiritual sense a valid image of the Christ experience and was used as such by the early alchemists and adepts of hermetics. The Phoenix bird builds its nest which at the same time is its funeral pyre, and then setting it alight cremates itself. But it arises anew from the ashes transformed: humans are to follow his example in order to no longer be dependent upon one’s physical body as a foundation for one’s being; f. 45v, Armorial composition, with arms set in a crown of laurels, and biblical quote in an ornamental cartouche in Roman capitals, “Probet autem seipsum homo ad Co. 1 c. 10” (1 Cor. 11: 28).

LITERATURE: Reference to the manuscript is published in Duclos (1790), p. 230; See also Avril, F., N. Reynaud, D. Cordellier, eds., *Les Enluminures du Louvre. Moyen Age et Renaissance*, exh. cat., Paris, 2011. – Blum, A. and Lauer, P. *La miniature française du XV^e et XVI^e siècle*, Mâcon and Paris, 1930, p. 90. – Crépin-Leblond, T. *Livres d’heures royaux. La peinture de manuscrits à la cour de France au temps de Henri II*, 23 septembre-13 décembre 1993, Paris, 1993. – Delisle, L. “Traductions d’auteurs grecs et latins offertes à François Ier et Anne de Montmorency par Etienne Le Blanc et Antoine Macault,” in *Journal des savants*, août-sept 1900, pp. 521-525. – Delsalle, L.-R. et al. *Le Livre des fontaines de la ville de* 2005. – Delsalle, L. R. *Rouen à la Renaissance sur les pas de Jacques Le Lieur*, Rouen, 2007. – Duclos, R. *Dictionnaire bibliographique, historique et critique des livres rares...*, Paris, 1790, vol. 2. – [Exhibition. Rouen]. *La Renaissance à Rouen*. Musée des Beaux-Arts de Rouen, 28 novembre-28 février 1981, Rouen, 1980. – Hanegraaff, W. J. And R. M. Bouthoorn, *Lodovico Lazzarelli (1447-1500): The Hermetic Writings and Related Documents*, Tempe, 2005. – Lafond, J. and F. Guey, *Exposition d’art religieux ancien de Rouen organisée au musée des Beaux-Arts de Rouen*, Rouen,

1932. – Leproux, G.-M. *La peinture à Paris sous le règne de François I^{er}*, Paris, 2001. – Orth, M.D. “A French Illuminated Treaty of 1527,” *Burlington Magazine*, 122 (Feb. 1980), pp. 125-126 and 139. – Orth, M.D. “French Renaissance Manuscripts: The 1520s Hours Workshop and the Master of the Getty Epistles,” in *The J. Paul Getty Museum Journal*, 16 (1988), pp. 33-60. - idem, “Louise de Savoie et le pouvoir du livre,” in K. Wilson-Chevalier and É. Viennot, *Royaume de Fémynie. Pouvoirs, contraintes et marges de liberté des femmes, de la Renaissance à la Fronde*, Paris, 1999. – Picot, E. *Notice sur Jacques Le Lieur, échevin de Rouen, et sur ses heures manuscrites*, Rouen, 1913. – Ritter, G. and J. Lafond. *Manuscrits à peintures de l’école de Rouen*, Rouen, 1913. – Robillard de Beurepaire, C. de. *Inventaire-sommaire des archives départementales antérieures à 1790. Seine-inférieure, Archives ecclésiastiques. Série G* (Nos 3173- 4820), Paris, 1881. – Stirnemann, P. and C. Scaillièrez. *L’art du manuscrit de la Renaissance en France*, Paris, 2001. – Wintroub, M. *A Savage Mirror. Power, Identity, and Knowledge in Early Modern France*, Stanford, 2006.



fig. 7.1
Paris, BnF, MS fr. 5715, Etienne
Leblanc, *Les gestes de la reine
Blanche de Castille*, f. A verso



fig. 7.3
Rouen, Archives départementales
de Seine-Maritime, fonds des
hôpitaux de Rouen, H dépôt 2 AP 38,
*Cartulaire du bureau de l'hospice
général*, frontispiece (attributed to
Geoffroy Dumonstier).



fig. 7.2
Paris, BnF, MS fr. 379,
Jacques Le Lieur,
*Chants royaux du Puy de la
Conception de Rouen*, f. 1



fig. 7.4
Rouen, Archives départementales
de Seine-Maritime, G 6873,
Chartier de Saint-Maclou, f. 27v



III

History and Genealogy:
the Nation and the
Individual

Grandes Chroniques de France

In French, illuminated manuscript on parchment

France, Paris, c. 1475 (certainly before 1477)

1 half-page miniatures by the Master of Jacques de Besançon (active late 1470s-1500) [or the earlier Maître François (active 1460s-1480s)] and many genealogical diagrams

Made for Jacques d'Armagnac, this manuscript copy of the *Grandes Chroniques* has been recently identified by an early shelfmark as from the personal library of King Francis I, after whom it passed through a long line of distinguished bibliophiles up to Paul Durrieu (d. 1925) and his heirs. Its lovely frontispiece is here attributed to the Parisian painter Master of Jacques de Besançon (an early work?) and its script to Michel Gonnot, a scribe who worked for Jacques d'Armagnac. Still in its original limp vellum binding, the manuscript acquires additional interest for its inclusion of an unedited genealogical chronicle.

This manuscript contains an unrecorded copy of the *Grandes Chroniques de France*, the official chronicle of the kings of France. It boasts exceptionally distinguished provenance (Jacques d'Armagnac; Anne de Beaujeu, wife of Pierre de Beaujeu, Duke of Bourbon, through whom it entered the celebrated library of the counts of Bourbon in Moulins; the personal library of King Francis I at Fontainebleau; William Beckford; the Duke of Hamilton; and Comte Paul Durrieu), and including an apparently unedited genealogical chronicle with some textual features directly related to the Armagnac family.

Indeed of special interest in this manuscript is the prefatory early fifteenth-century genealogical chronicle (ff. 9-17), which appears to be an important, unedited offshoot of the thirteenth-century *Chronique abrégée* by Guillaume de Nangis, presenting capsule sketches of each reign beginning with Priam. Continuations carry the *Chronique abrégée* to 1461. Guillaume advertised his chronicle as a guidebook for visitors to the tombs of Saint-Denis, and the present manuscript also directs the reader to the tombs of Saint-Denis (f. 7). The manuscripts of the *Chronique abrégée* have been classified by Delisle, "Mémoire sur les ouvrages de Guillaume de Nangis," *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 27, 2^e partie



(1873), pp. 350 and sqq. The present manuscript is the only surviving copy of the *Grandes Chroniques* with an accompanying genealogical chronicle, even though texts such as the abbreviated chronicle included in our copy with their easily read genealogical trees must have functioned as helpful aids to the reader of the complex histories presented in the official chronicle. We suspect that this genealogical chronicle was originally composed for an ancestor of Jacques d'Armagnac, a hypothesis that would account for its later transcription and inclusion in this manuscript.

The folio that lists the descendants of Philip VI of Valois includes genealogies of the Dukes of Bourbon and Alençon in the left and right margins respectively. Both families were related to Jacques d'Armagnac, whose mother was Eléonore de Bourbon, who was also the Countess de la Marche. The de la Marche family is – oddly it would seem – highlighted in the roundel that branches off from Louis, duc de Bourbon. The families of Armagnac and Alençon were joined when Marie, the daughter of Jean IV d'Armagnac, Bernard's brother, married Jean II, duc d'Alençon, in 1451.

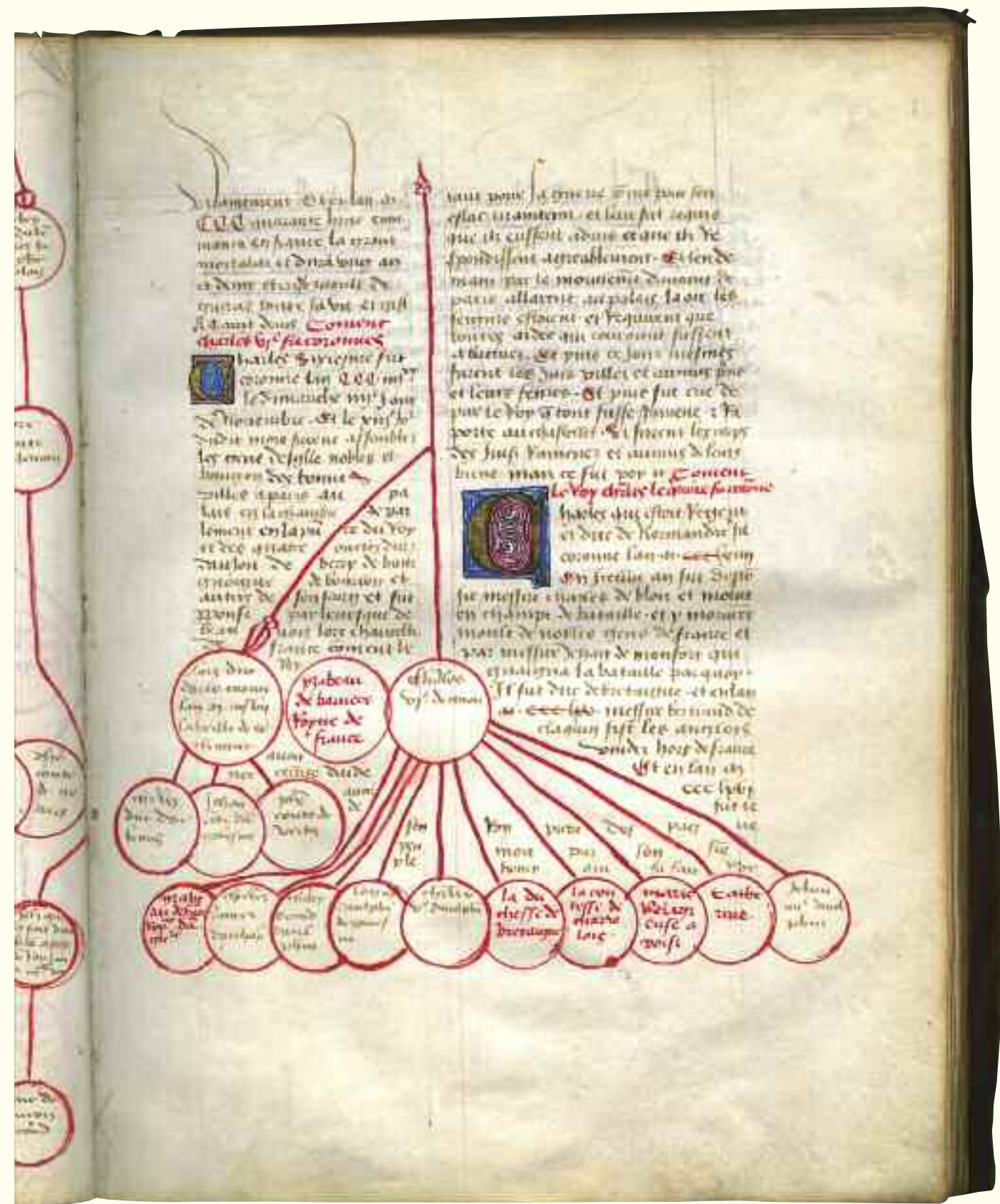
The original composition of the present chronicle can be dated with unusual precision to between April 5, 1417, and September 10, 1419 during the reign of King Charles VI, and it appears to contain the first known mention of Queen Isabeau de Bavière as "Isabeau" instead of "Isabel." On f. 17, in the roundels of the offspring of King Charles VI and Queen Isabeau de Bavière, the following peculiarities, from which a precise date can be established, occur. The author apparently does not know that Charles, identified simply as "le dauphin," became King Charles VII in 1422 (5th roundel from the left, bottom row). Nor does he know that Catherine became Queen of England in 1420 (2nd roundel from the right, bottom row), although Isabel is listed as Queen of England (1st roundel from the left, bottom row). He does not refer to the Countess of Charolais [Michele] as the Duchess of Burgundy, which she became on September 10, 1419, when John the Fearless, Duke of Burgundy, was murdered (4th roundel from the right, bottom row). But he does realize that Jean "iiii^e daulphin" died on April 5, 1417, after which date Charles became the "ve daulphin" (last roundel on the right, and 5th roundel from the left, bottom row). These chronological details thus date the original composition of the chronicle between the death of the Dauphin Jean (April 5, 1417) and the death of John the Fearless (September 10, 1419). The *Grandes Chroniques* survive in over 120 copies ranging in date



from 1274 to the late fifteenth century. The earliest surviving *Grandes Chroniques* was compiled by Primat, a monk at Saint-Denis under the supervision of Matthew of Vendôme, his abbot. The miniature and poem that accompany this copy date the redaction of the text close to 1274 (Paris, Bibl. Sainte-Geneviève, MS 782). Other important, extensively illustrated copies include the exemplars made for Kings John the Good and Charles V (London, British Library, Royal MS 16 G VI; and Paris, BnF, MS fr. 2813). Most copies of the *Grandes Chroniques* are found today in public institutions.

The text of the *Grandes Chroniques*, after the preliminary *Lignées de plusieurs rois*, is introduced by a superb frontispiece miniature attributable to the very early period of the Parisian artist known as the Master of Jacques de Besançon (or perhaps alternatively the later period of Maître François, active c. 1460-1480s). Indeed, the artist of the present miniature was familiar for instance with the large full-page miniatures painted by Maître François that represent kings or crowned figures seated on thrones beneath a canopy (Paris, BnF, fr. 18, f. 1 and f. 166; see Avril and Reynaud, 1993, pp. 50-51, fig. 8.1). In the present miniature, the Master of Jacques de Besançon is a master of narrative clarity, an accomplished landscape painter, an expert colorist, and a skillful painter of animated sculptural figures. The tiny landscape visible through the window reveals trees with gold flecks on the upper branches and dark green clumps of leaves extending from the lower branches. His color scheme includes mauve, soft violet, and gray used in conjunction with bright orange, blue, and peach. The garments and faces of his robust, sturdy figures are shaded with stippled dark brown, almost black, brushwork. Their hair is streaked with gold highlights. Their accessories – caps and stockings – are often accentuated with splashes of bright colors such as orange, green, and red (on the Master of Jacques de Besançon, see Avril and Reynaud, 1993, p. 256; Deldicque, 2014).

The style of the Master of Jacques de Besançon (fl. in Paris, c. 1480-1500) is known from a small miniature of *John with the Poisoned Cup* in an *Office of St.-John* (Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, MS 461, f. 9). The colophon in the manuscript records the donation of the work to the confraternity of St.-John in 1485 by one of its members, the *enlumineur* Jacques de Besançon. It is tempting to identify this artist with Jacques de Besançon himself, but the manuscript also includes a historiated initial in a much cruder style, and nothing proves that the recorded *enlumineur* (an artist responsible for



minor decoration) was active also as a *historieur* (an artist who painted miniatures). The Master of Jacques de Besançon was a young collaborator with and a direct successor to an illuminator whose first name only, François (Maître François), is known (see Durrieu, 1892; Spencer, 1963; 1974; Avril and Reynaud, 1993; Avril et al., 2011, pp. 206-208; Deldicque, 2014; one now distinguishes three successive artists in the “groupe Maître François,” with the Master of Jacques de Besançon being the third artist of this “triad”). Although the palette he used was generally lighter than François’s, he worked in a similar style and used the same compositions. Dating the present codex is tricky, in that the manuscript was most certainly copied (and presumably painted) before its first owner’s death (Jacques d’Armagnac is executed in 1477). Since Jacques de Besançon is considered active circa 1480, the present miniature would be datable to the very start of his career, perhaps pushing back his activity before 1480. The bare architectures figured in our miniature indeed recall similar walls and windows as well as bare spatial environments in for instance Paris, BnF, MS fr. 244, a *Légende dorée* painted by Jacques de Besançon c. 1480 (see Avril and Reynaud, 1993, no. 136, pl. p. 257).

This manuscript was painted first for Jacques d’Armagnac, an important patron of manuscripts. It is known that Jacques d’Armagnac had a number of local scribes work for him, including Michel Gonnot, a priest from Crozant (Marche). We believe that the hand of the present *Grandes Chroniques* is very close to that of Paris, BnF, MS fr. 112, or BnF, MS fr. 93 attributed to Michel Gonnot (figs. 8.2 and 8.3). The large arch-topped miniature placed above the text appears to have been painted by Jacques de Besançon (rather than Maître François, who also painted manuscripts for Jacques d’Armagnac from 1463 till his death in 1477, as once was originally thought, see Les Enluminures, *Three Illuminated Manuscripts from the Collection of Comte Paul Durrieu*, 2004, no. 1, pp. 7-11). On the patronage of Jacques d’Armagnac, see Avril and Reynaud, 1993: “Le mécénat local de Jacques d’Armagnac et de Jean du Mas,” p. 164; see also Laffitte, 2001.

Finally, the present manuscript is intriguing for its long sequence of ownership, from Jacques d’Armagnac (died in 1477) to Comte Paul Durrieu (died in 1925). Interest has been given of late to the library of the Connétable Charles III de Bourbon, to which the present manuscript belonged until 1523 when his belongings were seized by Francis I following the treason of

the Connétable (see Laffitte, 2001, pp. 171-172). The books seized in 1523 by King Francis I were likely first entrusted to his mother Louise de Savoie (in Cognac, Blois or Fontainebleau?), and placed after c. 1544 in the Bibliothèque du roi. These books all present an intriguing shelfmark which actually groups a number of books (here “171” might contain other books under a “cote groupée” [grouped shelfmark]). Other manuscripts containing this type of shelfmark are for instance Paris, BnF, MSS fr. 93, 99 or 2608, it. 580 (*et passim*, fig. 8.4). It is unclear exactly how the present manuscript left the royal library, whether or not it ever made it to Fontainebleau in 1544. Belonging to the “personal” library of Francis I, it might have been given or lent to a member of the court. The plot thickens, when one turns to



another copy of the *Grandes chroniques de France* (Paris, BnF, MS fr. 2608) which presents an interestingly similar sequence of ownership: Jacques d’Armagnac, Jean du Mas (not an owner in our *Grandes chroniques*, shelfmark “171”), Anne de Beaujeu, Connétable Charles III de Bourbon and finally Francis I, with his shelfmark of “173” (fig. 8.5).

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION: ii + 239 + ii ff., complete, mostly in gatherings of 8 (a¹⁰⁻², b⁸ – j⁸, k⁷ [no text lacks], l⁸ – dd⁸, ee⁴ [there is a tab between the end of dd and the beginning of ee]), no foliation, catchwords, written in dark brown ink, in an fine gothic *lettre bâtarde* script, in a single column, on between 31 to 37 lines (justification 150 x 200/210), text bound by horizontal and vertical lines, ruling by stylus appears on some folios, rubrics and titles of chapters in red, marginalia in French in a sixteenth- or seventeenth-century cursive hand appears throughout, modern cursive notations in several places (eg., ff. 51 and 53, hands of Durrieu or Hamilton?), numerous (449) illuminated initials in gold, red, and blue ranging from 2- to 6-lines high, 1 large frontispiece miniature; drawings of genealogical trees traced in red in the first nine leaves. Bound in contemporary limp vellum, five raised bands on the spine, two holes on the front edge of upper and lower covers once housing leather thongs, now lacking, front and rear pastedowns of vellum with medieval fourteenth-century script visible through the vellum, another medieval fragment visible through the upper break in the spine. Dimensions 325 x 245 mm.

TEXT: ff. 1-8, Table of Contents; 2. ff. 9-17, *Lignées de plusieurs rois* (f. 18, blank), a genealogical table accompanied by diagrams of descent; rubric, *Cy sensuient les lignees de plusieurs rois de france et parle en brief de leurs faiz et en quel temps ils ont regné et ou ilz gisent et quelz enfans ils ont et comment lutesse fut nommé Paris et gaule france*; incipit, “A tous nobles qui aiment belles et bonnes ystoires....”; ff. 19-239, *Grandes Chroniques de France*, from the life of Philip IV through the first few years of the life of Charles VI, rubric, *Ce sont les croniques des rois de france commençans au roy phellippes qui regna lan mil CC quatrevingt et sixiemes au cinquieme roy charles qui trespasa l’an mil iijciiiix...*; incipit, “Après le roy phellippe qui fu filz monseigneur saint luy regna en france

phelippe son filz...” The text is divided into 410 chapters, as follow: 1-76, Philippe IV le Bel; 77-81, Louis X le Hutin; 82-87, Philippe V le Long; 88-101, Charles IV le Bel; 102-151, Philippe VI de Valois (with some minor editing, the text corresponds with those edited by J. Viard and R. Delachenal [in *Société de l’histoire de France*, Viard, vols. 395, 401, 415, 418, 423, 424, 435, 438, 457, Paris, 1920-53; and Delachenal, vols. 348, 375, 391, 392, Paris, 1910-20]).

OWNERSHIP: – 1. Jacques d’Armagnac (b. c. 1437-d. 1477), Duke of Nemours, who was the son of Bernard d’Armagnac and Eléonore de Bourbon, Countess de la Marche and de Castres, Duchess of Nemours. His father had been the governor of the Dauphin (later Louis XI), and he himself enjoyed considerable favor at the beginning of the reign of this prince. However, Jacques soon fell out of favor with the King, whom he appears to have double-crossed, and he was eventually found guilty of high treason by the parliament and beheaded in 1477. He collected more than 120 manuscripts in the libraries of his different châteaux (cf. Delisle, I, p. 86-89; Avril/ Reynaud, 1993, pp. 164-66). Later owners of books from Jacques d’Armagnac’s library took pains to remove evidence of previous ownership by effacing his arms and erasing his signature. Three features of the present manuscript confirm Jacques d’Armagnac’s ownership: 1) A banderole composed of the letters IOAN/TEMS/RVDF appears on the opening folio of the text of the *Grandes Chroniques*. These twelve letters are arranged in different combinations in many of the Armagnac manuscripts (in the same combination as ours in the *Livre des Marques de Rome*, Paris, BnF, MS fr. 93), and they are an anagram for Jacques d’Armagnac’s cryptic motto “Fortune d’amis.” 2). Beneath the arms of Bourbon and France found in the initial “A” on the opening folio of the *Grandes Chroniques*, traces of the arms of Jacques d’Armagnac can still be made out through transmitted light: *écartelé, au 1 et 4, de Bourbon, à la bande chargée de trois lionceaux d’argent; au 2 et 3, d’Armagnac (au 1 et 4, d’argent au lion de gueules; au 2 et 3, de gueules au leopard d’or)*. 3). On the lower pastedown appears a note written in one of the same hands (probably the librarians at the châteaux of Castres and Carlat) responsible for writing similar notes, now largely erased, in many volumes belonging to Jacques d’Armagnac: “En ce livre des croniques de france a iic xxxviiij fulles et une histoire commencent au noir premier chapitre et fenissant Et eurent pour agreable. Deo Gratias.” Usually these notes end with an indication of the identity of the owner and of the château in which the manuscript was kept (e.g., “Jacques. Pour Castres,” Paris, BnF, MS fr. 268). In the present manuscript the identities of the owner and of the château have been erased (see Durrieu, 1908, p. 11, on the Armagnac-Beaujeu provenance). Jacques d’Armagnac especially favored chronicles, of which he possessed manuscripts of the *Chroniques d’Angleterre* (MS fr. 71-72), the *Histoires de Troie* (MS fr. 253), the *Guerre punique* (MS fr. 36), the *Compilation d’histoire universelle* (MS fr. 246), the *Chronique de Normandie* (MS fr. 4619), and the *Chronicle of Guillaume de Tyr* (MS fr. 2825). It was for Jacques d’Armagnac that Jean Fouquet finished the miniatures in the *Antiquités judaïques* begun for Jean de Berry (MS fr. 247). We know that Jacques d’Armagnac owned another copy of the *Grandes chroniques*, now Paris, BnF, MS fr. 2608. – 2. Anne de Beaujeu, daughter of King Louis XI, wife of Pierre de Beaujeu who became Pierre II, Duke of Bourbon in 1488 (the second version of the Bourbon arms, altered by Pierre de Beaujeu after 1488 occur on the first folio of text painted over the arms of Armagnac). This manuscript was once part of the ducal library of the Bourbons at Moulins (on library at Moulins, see Delisle, I, pp. 165-175; see also Laffitte, 2001 for the most recent account of the library at Moulins). The present manuscript is clearly not the item listed in the inventory compiled in 1523 of the library of Moulins, no. 60, “Les Chroniques de France” (see A. Le Roux de Lincy, “Inventaire des livres qui sont en la librairie du chasteau de Maims,” *Mélanges de littérature et d’histoire recueillis et publiés par la Société des bibliophiles français*, Paris, 1850, pp. 43-111, esp. p. 84). This item is in fact Paris, BnF, fr. 2608 with a suprisingly similar sequence of ownership. – 3. King Francis I, confiscated after the treason of the Constable Charles III de Bourbon in 1523, his shelfmark “171.” This shelfmark corresponds with those used for the “librairie de la chambre du roi,” Francis I’s personal library, books that sometimes went with him from place to place and of which there is no published inventory (see ongoing research of both M.-P. Laffitte and M. Hermant; see also M.-P. Laffitte, 2001, p. 172: “Plusieurs livres ayant appartenu à la famille de Bourbon font partie vers 1530-1540 d’un ensemble constitué de l’ancienne librairie de la famille d’Angoulême...qui ne sont intégrés dans la Bibliothèque royale que vers 1544. Cette collection personnelle du roi est reconnaissable grâce à un système de cotes inhabituelles, que portent encore aujourd’hui les volumes ayant conservé reliures

et gardes anciennes”). After 1540 and at the latest in 1544, all these books were transferred to the château at Fontainebleau. Marie-Pierre Laffitte notes that these shelfmarks group together volumes in the same language and similar subjects with the same numbers. Of the more than 274 shelfmarks so far identified, in some cases as many as 13 manuscripts bear a single shelfmark. (cf. Baumeister and Laffitte, 1998, pp. 48-52; Laffitte, 1999, p. 21; and Laffitte, pp. 20-21). – 4. Jean-Pierre Camus de Pontcarré (b. Paris, 1582; d. 26 April 1653), Bishop of Belley, who wrote on secular and religious subjects, including *Les Moyens de réunir les protestants avec l’église romaine*, Paris, 1703. – 5. William Beckford (1759-1844), author of *Vathek*, who was a great collector of paintings and books (“he sometimes parted with a picture but never with a book”), by succession, to his son-in-law the Duke of Hamilton. On Beckford’s library, see the description written in his own words in Clarke’s *Repertorium Bibliographicum*. – 6. Duke of Hamilton (1767-1852), Hamilton no. 197, sale, London, Sotheby, Wilkinson and Hodge, *Catalogue of Ninety-One Manuscripts on Vellum ... the Famous Hamilton Collection...*, 23 May 1889, lot 13, and p. vi, to Ellis for £ 80. – 7. Comte Paul Durrieu, Paris (1855-1925), to his heirs.

ILLUSTRATION: f. 19, Presentation Scene, full-page miniature of a kneeling monk presenting a green leather bound, gilt-edged book to an enthroned King of France, who is dressed in ceremonial garb and holds a scepter. On the left and right stand clerics and courtiers. In the foreground a dog chews a bone, and in the background through an open window appears a landscape. Full acanthus and rinceaux border, in which in the lower margin appear two circles (rings?) that may be symbols of Jacques d’Armagnac.

LITERATURE: Unpublished. – Avril, F., N. Reynaud and D. Cordellier, eds., *Les Enluminures du Louvre, Moyen Âge et Renaissance*, exh. cat., Paris, 2011. – Avril, F. and N. Reynaud, *Les manuscrits à peintures en France 1440-1520*, Paris, 1993. – Baumeister, U. and M.-P. Laffitte, “De l’unité au partage, manuscrits et imprimés de la Bibliothèque du roi de 1518-1645 (inventaires, catalogues, cotes),” *Mélanges autour de l’histoire des livres imprimés et périodiques*, ed. B. Blasselle and L. Portes, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, 1998, pp. 48-51. – Blackman, S. A., *The Manuscripts and Patronage of Jacques d’Armagnac Duke of Nemours, 1433-1477*, Ann Arbor, UMI Dissertation information service, 1994. – Deldicque, M., “L’enluminure à Paris à la fin du XV^e siècle: Maître François, le Maître de Jacques de Besançon et Jacques de Besançon identifiés?” *Revue de l’art*, March 2014 (forthcoming). – Delisle, L., *Le cabinet des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Impériale*, 3 vols. Paris, 1868. – Durrieu, P., *Les Antiquités judaïques et le peintre Jean Fouquet*, Paris 1908. – Durrieu, P., *Un grand enlumineur parisien au XV^e siècle: Jacques de Besançon et son œuvre*, Paris, 1892. – Hedeman, A. D., *The Royal Image, Illustrations of the Grandes Chroniques de France 1274-1422*, Berkeley/Los Angeles, 1991. – Laffitte, M.-P., *Reliures royales de la Renaissance: la librairie de Fontainebleau, 1544-1570*, Paris, 1999. – idem, “Les ducs de Bourbon et leurs livres d’après les inventaires,” *Le duché de Bourbon: des origines au connétable. Actes du colloque des 5-6 octobre 2000 organisé par le Musée Anne-de-Beaujeu de Moulins*, Saint-Pourçain-sur-Sioule, 2001, pp. 170-178. – Le Roux de Lincy, A., “Catalogue de la Bibliothèque des ducs de Bourbon,” *Mélanges de littérature et d’histoire recueillis et publiés pour la Société des bibliophiles français*, Paris, 1850. – Omont, H., *Anciens inventaires et catalogues de la Bibliothèque nationale, I, La Librairie royale à Blois, Fontainebleau et Paris au XVI^e siècle*, Paris, 1908, pp. 155-264. – Spencer, E., “L’Horloge de Sapience (Bruxelles, Bibliothèque royale, MS IV 111),” *Scriptorium*, XVII, 1963, pp. 277-299. – idem, “Dom Louis de Busco’s Psalter,” *Gatherings in Honor of Dorothy E. Miner*, Baltimore, 1974, pp. 227-240. – Spiegel, G., *The Chronicle Tradition of Saint-Denis. A Survey*, Leiden, 1978.

ONLINE RESOURCES:

Paris, BnF, MS fr. 2608 (Francis I, personal library, shelfmark “173”):
<http://www.europeana.eu/portal/record/92099/A21E4B92F048FB6E6C04F2F78B0926700D450DED.html?start=1&query=bnf+2608&startPage=1&rows=24>



fig. 8.1
Paris, BnF, MS fr. 18,
Saint Augustine,
La cité de Dieu, f. 166



fig. 8.2
Paris, BnF, MS fr. 112,
Lancelot du Lac
(scribe Michel Gonnot), f. 23



fig. 8.3
Paris, BnF, MS fr. 93,
Evrard d'Espinques,
*Cycle des Sept Sages de Rome :
le Roman des Sept Sages*
(scribe Michel Gonnot), f. 1

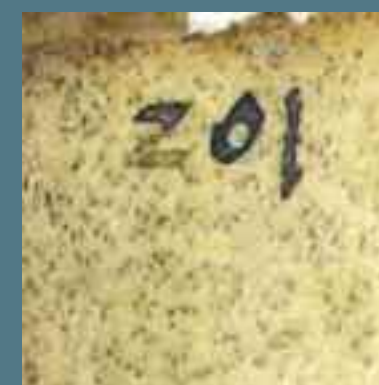


fig. 8.4
Paris, BnF, MS it. 580, Boccaccio,
Teseida, shelfmark 201
(Francis I, Private Library),
first parchment flyleaf recto

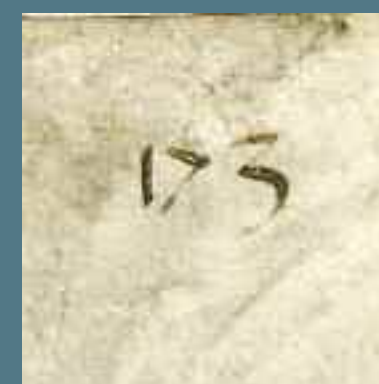


fig. 8.5
Paris, BnF, MS fr. 2608,
Grandes chroniques de France,
shelfmark 173 (Francis I, Private
Library), first flyleaf verso



La Chronique anonyme universelle jusqu'à la mort de Charles VII

In French, illuminated manuscript scroll on parchment

France, Paris, c. 1461

3 medallion miniatures by the Maître François (active c. 1460-1480)

This manuscript comprises two sheets of the *Chronique anonyme universelle*, a popular but still-unpublished anonymous universal chronicle originally compiled around the year 1415 and preserved in two textual versions in twenty-nine known fifteenth-century copies. This copy is beautifully illuminated with three miniatures by the early Parisian workshop of the Maître François that produced five other copies of the text around the year 1461. Two other fragments from our roll are known, one in Dartmouth College (Rauner Library, MS 461940) and the other in Centre Jeanne d'Arc in Orléans (MS 35). Produced during the tumultuous period of the One Hundred Years' War, these chronicles reinforce French supremacy vis-à-vis the English usurpers.

The *Chronique anonyme universelle* (a supplied title) was originally compiled around the year 1415; the earliest copy is preserved at the National Library of Russia in St. Petersburg (MS Fr folio v I.9 and MS Fr folio v IV.14) and can be dated between 1409 and 1415 based on the explicit of its genealogical tree. Later copies extend the French section to include the reigns of Charles VI and Charles VII, with some extending as far as Louis XI. The present copy is laid out as a chronicle in four columns, from left to right the Bible and Popes, Emperors of Rome and the Holy Roman Empire, the history of France, and the history of England, with a discursion into the Crusades (preserved in these sheets) briefly displacing the British matter at the far right. Richly illustrated and accompanied by detailed genealogical diagrams, the *Chronique* was almost certainly intended for a noble audience, designed to emphasize the nobility of the French royal family by tracing its decent from the Trojans and Charlemagne.

In its original complete form, this *Chronique* would have told the history of the world from Creation to the fifteenth century, including the stories of the Bible, the Trojans, King Lear, and King Arthur, among many others. The complex five column format mixes text, roundels of simple red circles inscribed

with names, and illuminated medallions. Typically, the painted medallions signal important ruptures and continuities that shape the reading and interpretation of the chronicle. All known copies conclude with the enthronement of Pope Urban VI in 1378, the coronation of Emperor Louis IV in 1328, and the coronation of the English King Henry IV in 1399. The French section is expanded to reach the scribe's present day, in this case probably extending at least as far as the death of King Charles VII in 1461, the presumed date of copy of the present scroll.

National genealogies were very popular in the fifteenth century, and served to validate the ruling houses of one country while simultaneously disproving the royal claims of another. The scroll format was ideal for presenting such genealogies as it allowed for "scrolling" through a family tree easily and clearly. Whether such rolls were displayed hung from the wall or unfurled during an oral or silent reading process remains unknown, though it is tempting to imagine that both practices coexisted.

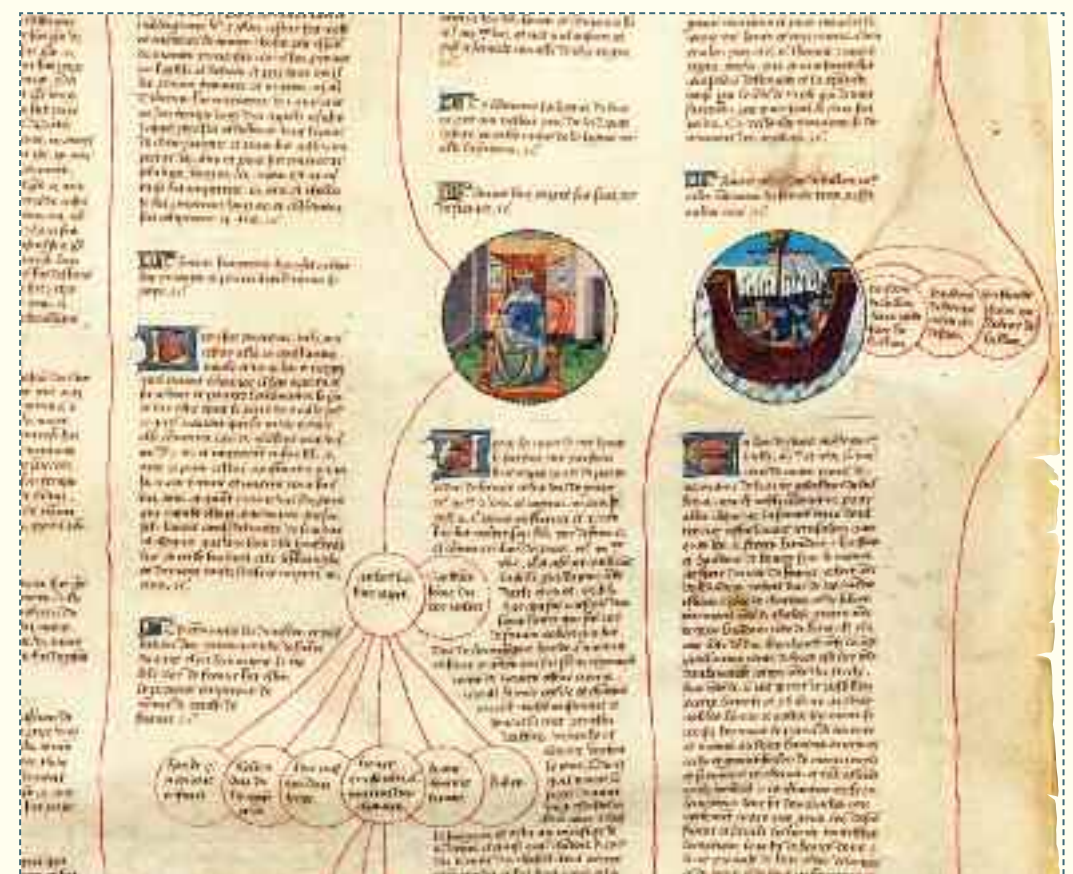
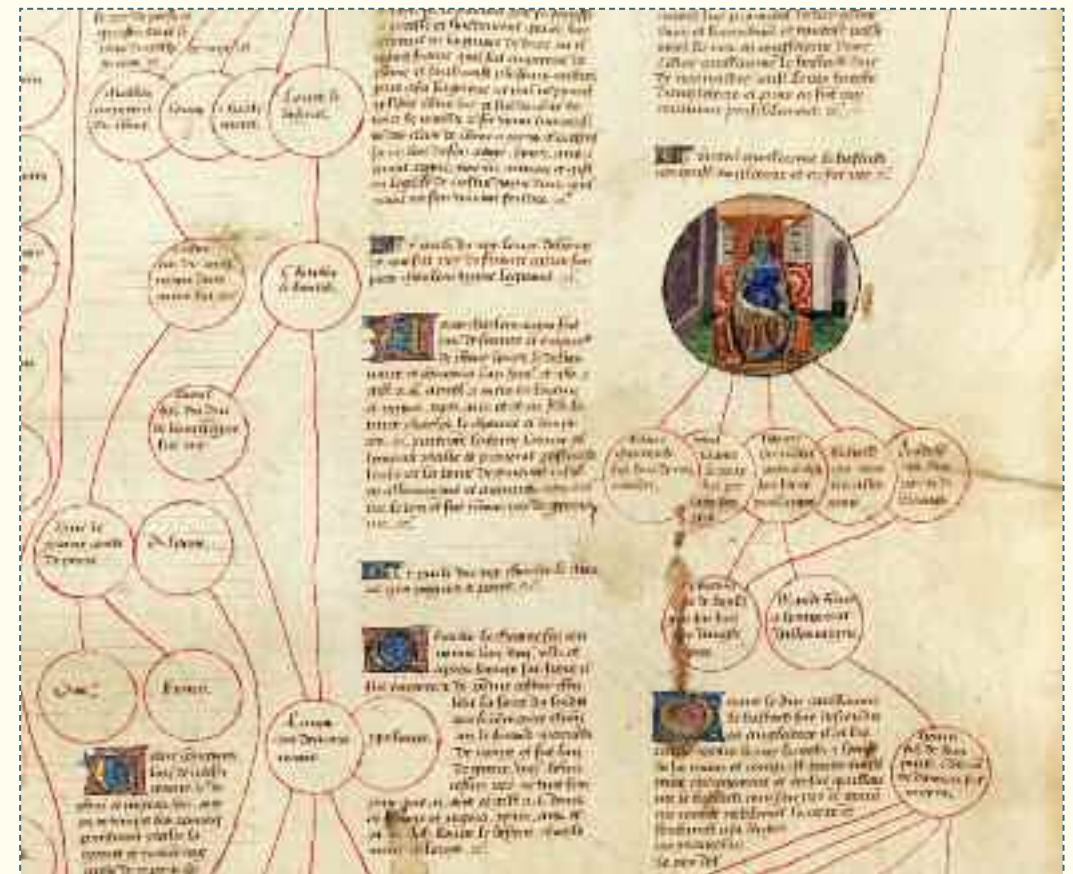
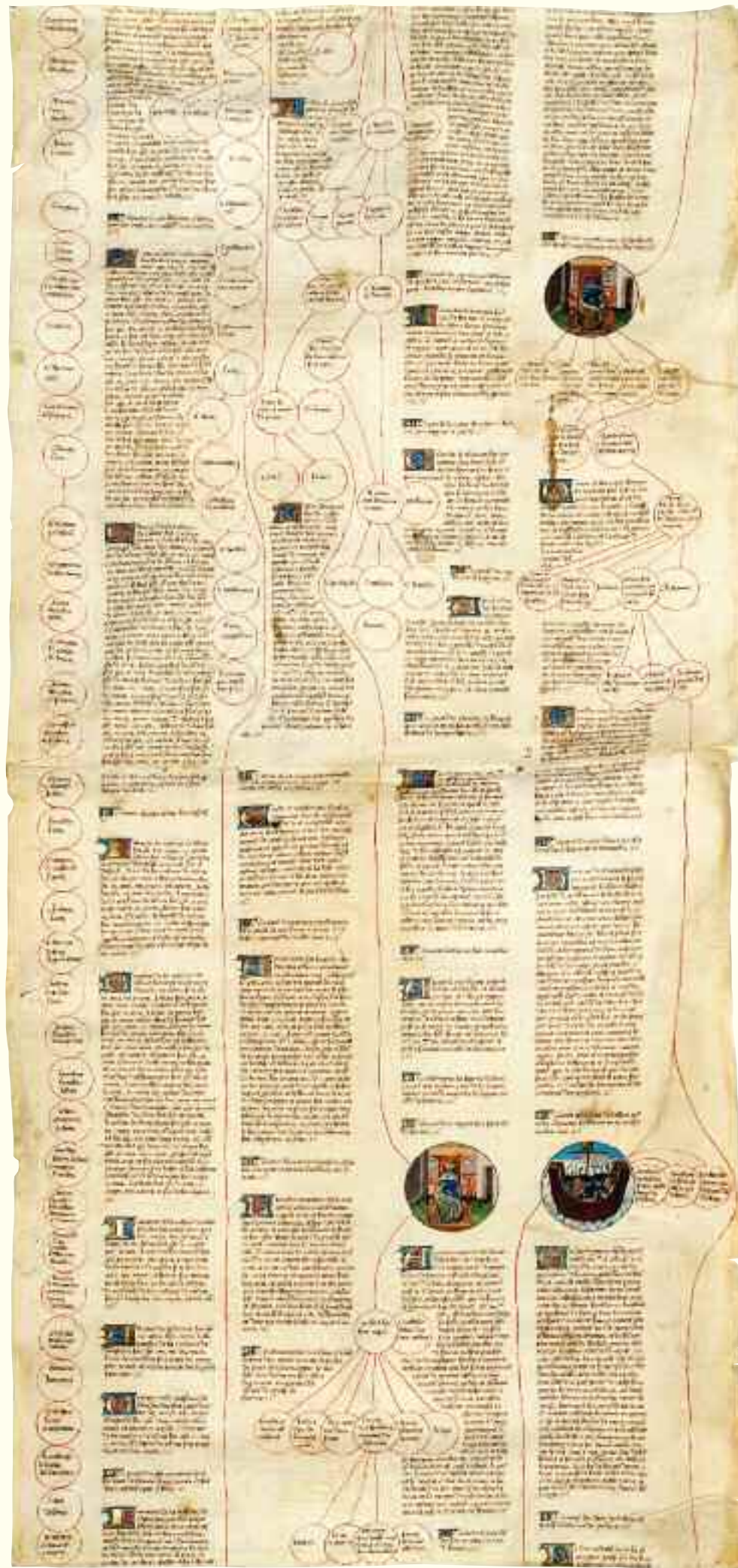
Several copies of the *Chronique anonyme universelle* are known to have a noble provenance. The copy currently preserved at the Bibliothèque Royale in Brussels (MS IV 1003, Sigla Br) is known to have belonged in the fifteenth century to Artus de Montauban, Archbishop of Bordeaux (1468-1478), connected to the royal family through his mother Beatrice d'Armagnac, whose brother Bernard VII Count d'Armagnac was a strong supporter of Charles Duke d'Orléans against the Burgundians and the Valois. His cousin Bonne was Charles's first wife; in spite of this familial loyalty, it was King Louis XI, the son of Charles' rival Charles VII, who appointed Artus as Archbishop. The copy preserved at the Houghton Library of Harvard University (MS Typ. 41, Sigla H1) bears the fifteenth-century arms of the Gavre family of Liedekerke, a Flemish region also known for its opposition to the Burgundians in the fifteenth-century. The Hauck copy is said to have been part of the French royal library, looted during the Revolution in 1792 (now Connecticut, Private Collection, Sigla W).

Sources for the sections preserved here include a French translation of a rare Papal chronicle written by a Roman monk known only as Gilbert, the Chronicle of French Kings produced by the monks of St.-Denis, the anonymous French translation of William of Tyre's *Historia rerum in partibus transmarinis gestarum*, and the French Prose *Brut*. The genealogical diagrams in the first

half of the scroll (not preserved here) are based on the work of Peter of Poitiers in his *Compendium Historiae in Genealogia Christi*. With the exception of Gilbert's papal chronicle, all of these texts can be identified with manuscripts known to have been part of the library of the Dukes of Bourbon in the early fifteenth-century, and it is quite possible that the text was originally compiled at the Bourbon court for the use of Duchess Marie of Bourbon, a literate intellectual, art patron, and daughter and heir of the great collector Jean, Duke of Berry. After her husband's capture at Agincourt by the British, Marie was called upon to lead the Duchy for nearly twenty years (see Davis, 2009). A text such as this *Chronique* would have helped her to manage the Duchy (through its extensive use of *exempla*) and indoctrinate her young sons with the anti-British rhetoric found throughout the text.

Two other fragments from our roll are known, one in Dartmouth College (Rauner Library, MS 461940) and the other in the Centre Jeanne d'Arc in Orléans (MS 35) (figs. 9.1 and 9.2). The present sheets of the second recension (Davis Sigla X) include three medallion miniatures by an artist of the Parisian atelier of Maître François, who also illustrated copies of the *Chronique* preserved at the University of Leeds (MS Brotherton 100, figs. 9.3 and 9.4), the Princeton University Art Museum (MS 5), the British Library (MS Add. 27539) and the Bibliothèque nationale in Paris (MSS n.a.f. 1493 and 1495). His style is distinguished by perspective interiors with arched doorways at the sides and arched leaded windows at the back, green tiled floors, gilt drapery, and gold-scroll backgrounds. Facial features are somewhat hurried and indistinct, although careful attention is paid to architectural and sartorial detail (fig. 9.5). In each case, the heading of the following paragraph also functions as a caption for the miniature.

The last complete copy of the *Chronique* to come on the market was the Hauck scroll sold at Christie's, New York, in June 2006 (lot 111), now in a private collection in Connecticut. All three roundels in the present copy are preserved in the ex-Hauck copy (fig. 9.6) which contains a total of 65 miniatures (for a comparative table of miniatures in all the known copies, see Davis, 2014, pp. 84-89). Our manuscript is closely related to the Hauck and Leeds scrolls, and may be their exemplar.



Left: Complete scroll - Above: William the Conqueror, King of England - reduced
Below: Hugh Capet, King of France; Godfrey of Bouillon - reduced

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION: Two sheets of a scroll, on parchment, lacking at top and bottom, dorse blank, numbered “12” and “13” in modern pencil in the right margin, written in brown ink in a bâtarde script by a single scribe, text copied in four columns (78 mm. wide), approximately 100 lines per sheet, ruled in light brown plummet (justification 423 mm.), genealogical medallions throughout in red ink (35 mm. diameter, drawn with a compass) connected by red lines, three-line-high initials throughout in gold leaf on a blue background filled with dark salmon (or vice versa) with white geometric tracery, one-line paragraph marks throughout in same scheme, three medallion miniatures with cusped borders (73 mm. diameter), sheets attached by paste with 20 mm. overlap, no spindles. Some water stains and tearing at edges, but otherwise in excellent condition. Dimensions 1292 x 563 mm. (originally approximately 18 meters long).

TEXT: Col. 1, Chronicle of Popes, begins imperfectly, “...nascion de grece fut pape vi ans vi mois xxvii iours.../...et entre les aultres choses il fit l’ospital...”; The Popes from the middle of the reign of Theodore I (642-649 C.E.) to the reign of Innocent III (1198-1216 C.E.), agreeing with all other known copies by deleting Gregory II, Sergius II, Adrian III, Leo VII, Stephen IX and Marinus II; agreeing with all known copies (and the source) by adding a fictional Paul and a fictional Stephen after Benedict III and a fictional Domnus after Benedict VI; and agreeing with the second recension of the text by deleting Gregory IV and Christopher. The genealogical diagram in the left margin corresponds with the text; Col. 2, Chronicle of Holy Roman Emperors, begins imperfectly, “... ii livres de droit civil code et digeste vieille.../...Cy commence la division et translation des grecs a ceulx de france de quoy charlemaigne le noble roy de france fut esleu le premier empereur de romme de ceulx de france etc.”; The Holy Roman Emperors from Emperor Justinian I (527-565 C.E.) to Charlemagne (800-814 C.E.), skipping Leo III as in all other copies. The genealogical diagram between the first and second columns runs from Justin II to Irene; Col. 3, Chronicle of French Kings, begins imperfectly, “...cestuy restablit en son siege pape lyon que les romains avoyent desmis.../...et gist a s. denis en france etc./ Comment le roy henry fut couronné roy de france etc.”; The Kings of France from Charlemagne (768 – 814 C.E.) to Henry I (r. 1031-1060 C.E.), skipping Robert I as in all copies. The genealogical diagram between the second and third columns begins with Judith of Bavaria (wife of Charlemagne’s son Louis the Pious) and her three sons Louis the German (ancestor of Hugh Capet), Lothaire (here misnamed Louis) and Charles the Bald, and runs through Henry I, his sons Hugh the Great, Robert, and Philip I, and Philip’s wife Berthe. The line of Louis the German leads to Hugh Capet, the founder of the Capetian dynasty, here represented by a miniature; Col. 4, Chronicle of the Kings of Britain followed by the Chronicle of the Crusades, begins imperfectly, “...et fut mené a guillaume le bastard duc de normendie affin quil le vengeast de luy.../...et en ce temps fut ierusalem destruite et la christienete occise par le conte de triple qui devint sarrazin par quoy tout le pais fut perdu. Cy dessous trouveres le demeurent des anglois etc.” and “Comment godeffroy de billon pour aller conquerre la sainte terre passa oultre mer etc./ En lan de grace monseigneur mille iii^{ix} et xvi le viii^e iour de mars partit du royaume de france godeffroy de billon.../...Le duc godeffroy et sa compaignie passerent les bras s. george et allerent devant...”; The Kings of Britain from Harold (1066 C.E.) through Henry II (1154-1189 C.E., here called Henry III), skipping Stephen of Blois as in all copies. After Henry II, the text explains that the chronicle of British kings will continue below; the Crusade chronicle then begins, proceeding here from the departure of Godfrey of Bouillon and his troops from France in 1096 through the siege of Nicaea in 1097. In the following sheet, preserved at Dartmouth College, the Crusades continue in the fourth column while the Kings of Britain resume in a fifth. The genealogical tree in the far right margin begins with a miniature of William the Conqueror enthroned and runs through King John, his wife Eleanor, and their children Richard of Cornwall and Isabel, Empress of Rome. A line running off the page at the far right leads from Eleanor to her son Henry III. The genealogy of the Kings of Jerusalem begins with Godfrey of Bouillon (in a miniature) and his brothers, with a line between the third and fourth columns that leads from Godfrey off the page to the next King of Jerusalem, his brother Baldwin (who is also diagrammed to the right of the miniature).

ILLUSTRATION: Three medallions illustrate the following: – 1. William the Conqueror enthroned as King of England. In a perspective interior with leaded glass windows in the background and an open archway at the right, King William sits in a gold-scroll canopied throne holding a scepter. The

caption reads “Comment guillaume le bastard conquest angleterre et en fu troy etc.” [“How William the Bastard conquered England and was made King of it”]; – 2. Hugh Capet enthroned as King of France. In a perspective interior with leaded glass windows in the background and an open archway at the right, King Hugh sits in a gold-scroll canopied throne holding a scepter. The caption reads “Comment hue cappel fut fait roy de france etc.” [“How Hugh Capet was made King of France”]; and 3. Godfrey of Bouillon onboard ship. Godfrey and his be-speared army onboard a large wooden ship with sails unfurled, en route to the Holy Land. The caption reads “Comment godeffroy de billon pour aller conquerre la sainte terre passa oultre mer etc.” [“How Godfrey of Bouillon passed across the sea in order to conquer the Holy Land”].

OWNERSHIP: – 1. Written in Paris around the year 1461 in the same workshop that produced copies of the *Chronique* currently preserved in Leeds, London, Paris, and Princeton, New Jersey. Because two of these, Leeds and BnF, MS n.a.f. 1493, represent the same recension as the present copy and can be dated to around 1461 based on the explicit of their genealogies, this copy was likely produced at the same time. Part of the fragmentary second-recension scroll named manuscript X in the forthcoming edition and translation of the *Chronique* by Lisa Fagin Davis (see Davis, 2014), the same scroll as the two sheets preserved at Dartmouth College (Rauner Library, MS 461940) and the single sheet preserved at the Centre Jeanne d’Arc in Orléans (MS 35) – the writing space, artist, and script are identical, along with other codicological features, and all preserve a pencil number in the right margin indicating the original sheet number. The Dartmouth fragment is consecutive with the present fragment, following it in sequence. The second sheet of the Dartmouth fragment is labeled no. 15 by the same hand that numbered the present fragment. The CJA sheet is also numbered, and was one of the last few sheets of the scroll. Based on the amount of missing text above the present sheets, it can be calculated that there were originally about 22 sheets preceding these two (many of which were already lacking when the pencil numbers were added), and at least seven following. With an average sheet length of 622.5 mm, the total scroll of 31 sheets would have measured about 18 meters, nearly exactly the same length as Leeds and BnF, n.a.f. 1493. There is unfortunately no way to ascertain the original chronological extent of the scroll, so this calculation is approximate. – 2. These sheets owned in the early twentieth century by Julien van der Linden (1848-1911), member of the Belgian House of Representatives from 1874-1911, and loaned by him to the *Exposition Universelle et Internationale de Bruxelles* (a.k.a. the World’s Fair) in 1910; preserved in a mailing tube addressed to van der Linden in 1910 with a return address for the *Exposition*. Van der Linden was a founding member of the Belgian Société des Bibliophiles et Iconophiles, although nothing more is known of his library. – Private European Collection.

LITERATURE: Published in Davis, L. F., *La Chronique Anonyme Universelle: Reading and Writing History in Fifteenth-Century France*, Turnhout, 2014 (forthcoming); See also Avril, F. et N. Reynaud, *Les manuscrits à peintures en France, 1440-1520*, Paris, 1993, pp. 45-52. – [Beugnot, A. and A. Le Provost, eds.] *Historia rerum in partibus transmarinis gestarum./ L’estoire de Eracles Empereur*, Recueil des Historiens des Croisades. Historiens Occidentaux, 1, Paris, 1844. – Davis, L. F. “Scrolling through History: *La Chronique Universelle*, Boston Public Library MS Pb. Med. 32” in Nancy Netzer, ed. *Secular Sacred: 11th through 16th-Century Works from the Boston Public Library and the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, Chicago, University of Chicago, 2006. – idem, “The First and Second Recensions of the Chronique Anonyme Universelle,” *Harvard Library Bulletin* 20 (2009), pp. 1-33. – idem, “Chronique anonyme universelle à la mort de Charles VII,” in R.G. Dunphy ed., *Encyclopedia of the Medieval Chronicle*, Leiden, 2010, pp. 296–297. – Fossier, F., “Chroniques universelles en forme de rouleau à la fin du Moyen Age,” *Bulletin de la Société nationale des antiquaires de France*, 1980-81, pp. 163-183. – Holder-Egger, O., ed., “Gilberti chronicon pontificum et imperatorum Romanorum,” *Monumenta Germaniae Historiae, Scriptores* 24, 1879, pp. 117-136. – Hurel, N., “La Chronique universelle d’Orléans: un manuscrit d’histoire enluminé,” *Histoire de l’art* 29 (1992), pp. 29-40. – idem, “Les Chroniques universelles en rouleau (1457-1521): Une source pour l’iconographie religieuse,” *Revue d’Histoire de l’Église de France* (fol. 80, 1994), pp. 303-314. – Marvin, J., *The Oldest Anglo-Norman Prose Brut Chronicle*, Woodbridge, Boydell Press, 2006. – Morrison, E. and A. D. Hedeman, eds., *Imaging the Past in France. History in Manuscript Painting 1250–1500*, Los Angeles, CA, 2010,

no. 44, pp. 242-245. – Norbye, M. A. "Genealogies and Dynastic Awareness in the Hundred Years War. The Evidence of *A tous nobles qui aiment beaux faits et bonnes histoires*," *Journal of Medieval History*, 33 (2007), pp. 297-319. – idem, "The King's Blood: Royal Genealogies, Dynastic Rivalries and Historical Culture in the Hundred Years' War. A Case Study of *A tous nobles qui aiment beaux faits et bonnes histoires*," PhD. Thesis, University College London, 2004. – idem, "A Popular Example of 'National Literature' in the Hundred Years' War: *A tous nobles qui aiment beaux faits et bonnes histoires*," *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, 51 (2007), pp. 121-42. – idem, "'A tous nobles qui aiment beaux faits et bonnes histoires' – The Multiple Transformations of a Fifteenth-Century French Genealogical Chronicle," in E. Kooper, ed., *The Medieval Chronicle V*, 2008, pp. 175-96.

ONLINE RESOURCES:

Boston, Massachusetts, Boston Public Library, MS Pb. Med. 32
<http://at.bc.edu/slideshows/dualpurpose/3.html>

Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harvard University, Houghton Library, MS Typ. 41
<http://pds.lib.harvard.edu/pds/view/3828490>

Connecticut, Private Collection (the Hauck Scroll)
<http://www.guenther-rarebooks.com/catalog-online/21.php>

New York City, New York Public Library, MS 124
<http://app.cul.columbia.edu:8080/exist/scriptorium/individual/NN-MA-32.xml>



fig. 9.1
 Hanover, Dartmouth College,
 Rauner Library, MS 461940,
Chronique anonyme universelle

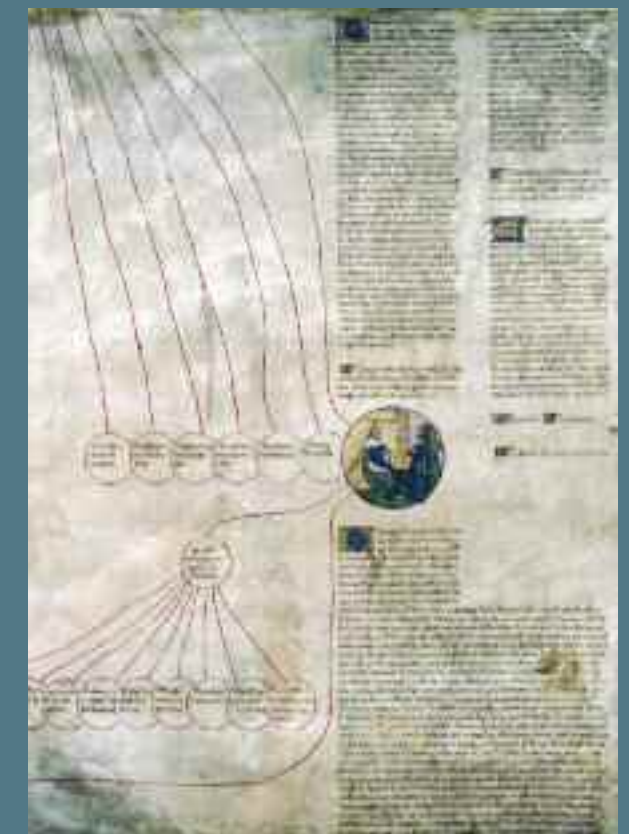


fig. 9.2
 Orléans, Centre Jeanne d'Arc,
 MS 35, *Chronique universelle*



fig. 9.3 - Leeds, University Library, Brotherton MS 100, f. 1



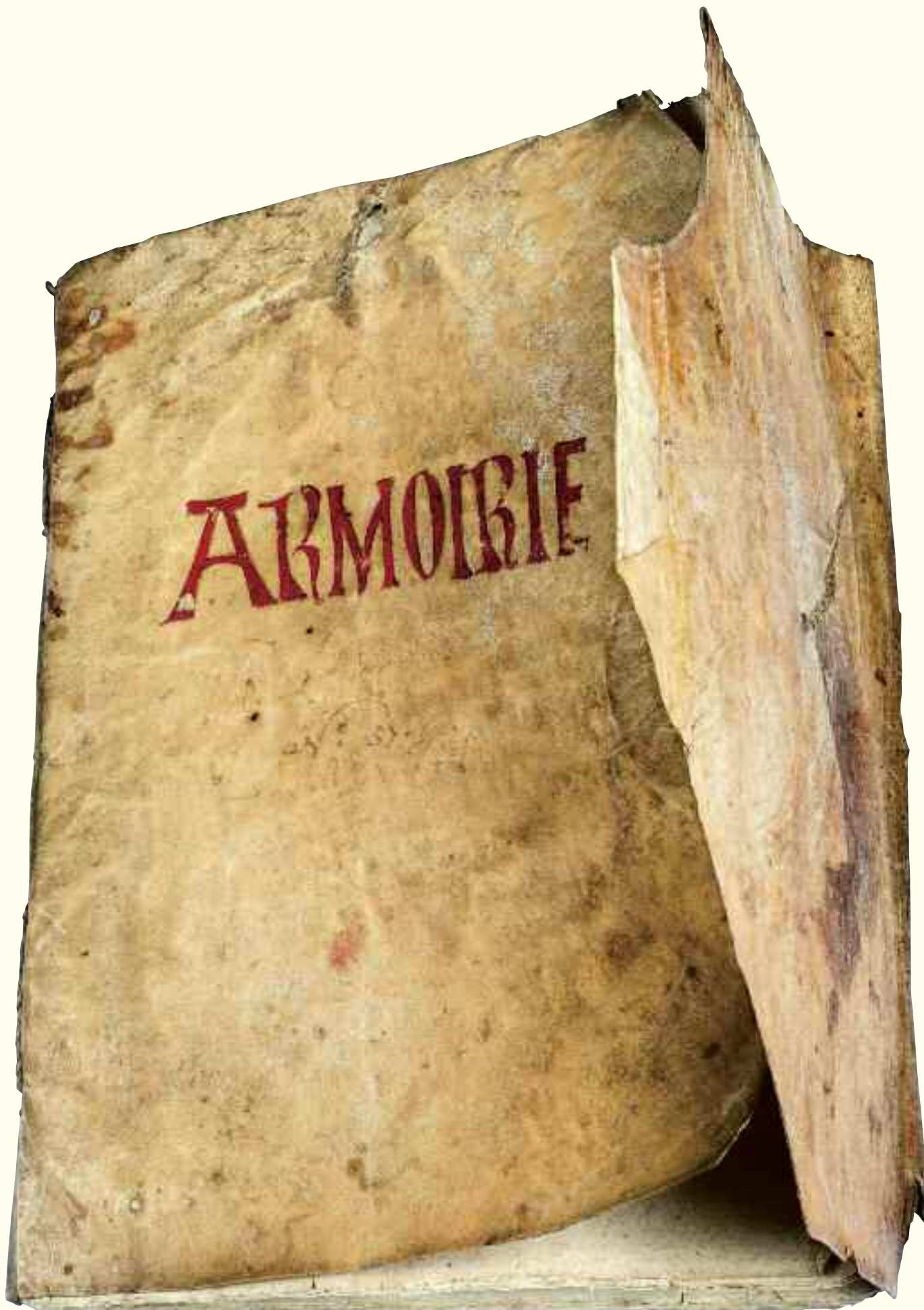
fig. 9.4 - Leeds, University Library, Brotherton MS 100, f. 28



fig. 9.5
The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek,
MS 10 A 11, Saint Augustine,
La cité de Dieu (Vol. I), f. 18v



fig. 9.6
Connecticut, Private Collection,
Former Hauck Scroll,
Chronique anonyme universelle



Miscellany of Heraldic Treatises and Armorial, including CLEMENT PRINSAULT, *Traité du blason* [Treatise only]; HÉRAUT SICILE (JACQUES D'ENGHIEN), *Le blason des couleurs en armes, livrées et devises*; JEAN LE FEVRE DE SAINT-REMY (Toison d'Or), *Declaration touchant le fait d'armoiries* etc.

In French, illuminated manuscript on parchment
Northern France (Lille?) or Belgium?, c. 1500-1525

Manuscripts like the present copy were probably first the property of medieval heralds, who used them to go about their day to day tasks, or who had them copied, commissioned by a given family. In this case, we are lucky to know which family – here the Chastel de la Howarderie – owned the manuscript, informing us on the types of heraldic texts that were read and appreciated in the early sixteenth century. The interesting chromatic representations in this manuscript are most unusual and should be compared to other figurations of color in other armorials and heraldic treatises.

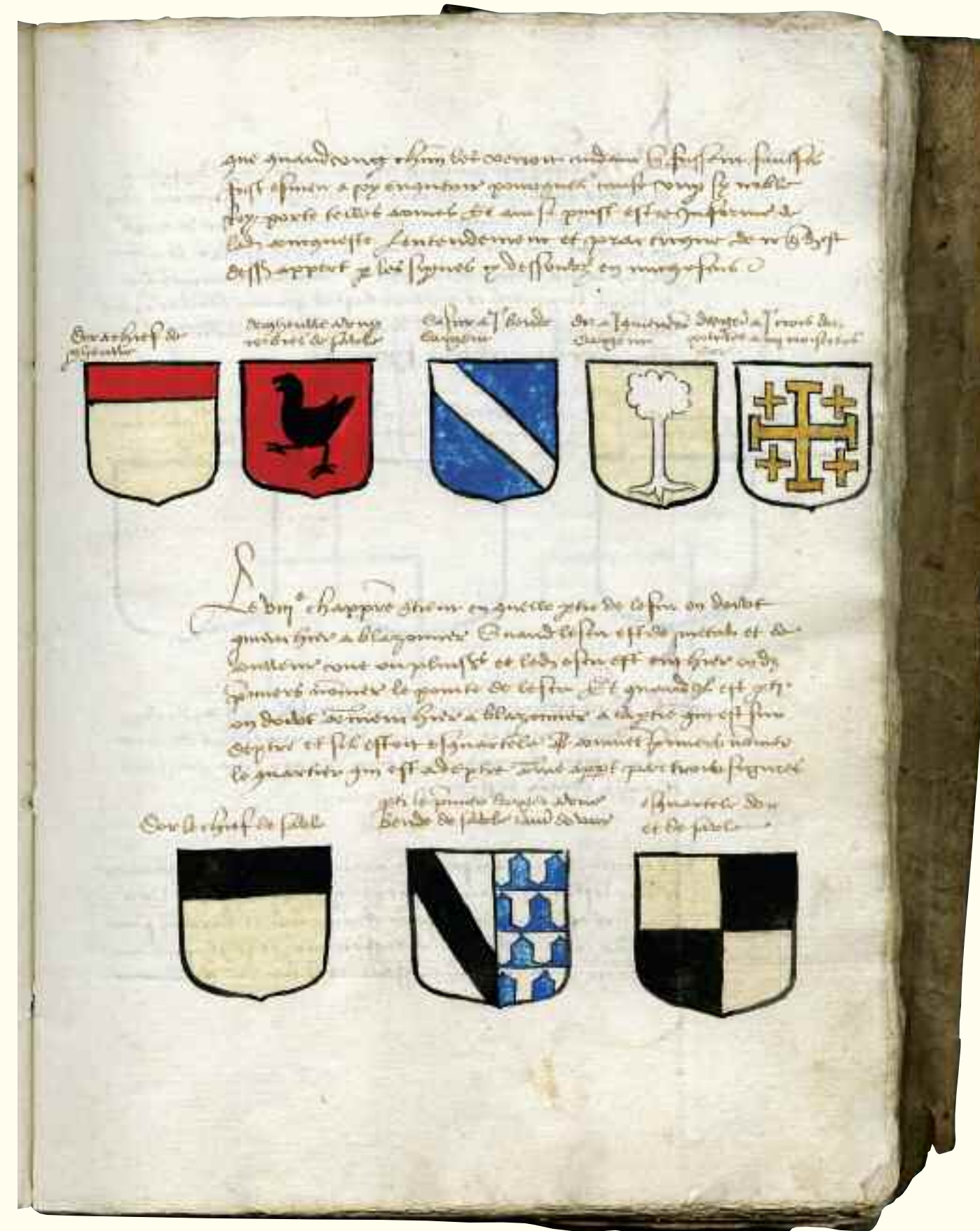
With the beginning of heraldry in the Flemish and Anglo-Norman regions toward the end of the twelfth century, anyone could create a coat of arms. Gradually, however, a set of rules developed that controlled the right to bear arms and the designs that were used. These rules were written down in heraldic treatises, of which one of the first, *De Heraudie*, is in Anglo-Norman, composed in c. 1300 by an unknown author. As time went on, such treatises were sometimes accompanied by Armorial, that is, by a record of actual painted shields of important families, as in the present manuscript. One of the functions of a medieval herald (héraut) was to visit noble households and make sure that what they had on their coat-of-arms was correct and to record it. With the popularity of tournaments and jousts, the herald helped in the organization and operation of such pageants, verifying the credentials of the combatants, listing the names and coat of arms of the various knights.

This manuscript contains a compilation of excerpts from a number of heraldic treatises and armorials, assembled by a herald (unidentified) for

the use of a member of the Chastel de la Howarderie family, likely Simon Chastel de la Howarderie, who had married Marie de Clugny in 1505 and died in Lille in 1530. This family had land possessions in Northern France and Flanders (Hainaut, Barrois and Valois), attested from the fourteenth century onwards (see Comte du Chastel de la Howarderie-Neuvireuil, *Notices généalogiques tournaisiennes* (t. I and II); *Du Chastel de la Howarderie. Flandre, Hainaut, Barrois et Valois...* Paris, 1888). Annotations relative to the Chastel de la Howarderie family are found facing their shields (f. 54v).

The texts included in this heraldic compilation are interspersed with painted armorial shields. Interestingly, the texts are not always complete, in that the herald selected from amongst the known treatises of Clément Prinsault, Jacques d'Enghien (Héraut Sicile) and Jean Le Fèvre de Saint-Remy (Toison d'or).

The original Prinsault Armorial and its accompanying treatise was compiled between 1466 and 1470, probably in preparation for the edition published later anonymously, with a number of successive editions throughout the sixteenth century. The *editio princeps* is [Prinsault, Clément], *Le blason des armes*, Paris, G. Nyverd, between 1500 and 1515 (see Popoff, 1985, p. 130 and G. Saffroy, 1968, vol. I, no. 2022; for dating, see Jefferson, 1991, p. 91). The work is an introductory treatise to the rules governing the blazoning of arms. All the necessary elements of fifteenth-century heraldry are clearly explained and illustrated: the tinctures (metals, colors and furs), the ordinaries, the charges, and the technical language as it applies to the coat of arms or blazon. Clément Prinsault was a fifteenth-century heraldist, strongly influenced by the *De insigniis et armis* by Bartolo da Sassoferrato (1315-c.1359), but little is known about his biography, although he was apparently close to Jacques d'Armagnac. Prinsault's work is found in a number of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century manuscripts (see the listings in G. Saffroy, vol. I, no. 2022-2048, of which no. 2036-2045 are fifteenth- and sixteenth-century manuscript copies, thus approximately ten extant manuscripts in France; see for instance another codex, fig. 10.1). The main part of the treatise and accompanying illustrations are usually transmitted consistently, but there also appears to be significant variation between extant codices when it comes to the accompanying armorial. In the present case, the armorial usually found after Prinsault's Treatise is not included. The Treatise by Prinsault is amply discussed by Jefferson, pp. 89-95, who provides an edition of the



En temps ancien les fautes de l'écriture
 de l'écriture estoient de draps de plusieurs couleurs et
 enroulés pour au jour d'iceux qui portoient belle signification
 en une sainte foi. Et du temps passé les prières et
 prieres de la vie se desloient en deux parties. Les uns au
 point. Et l'autre efface les fautes qui agnoient le point
 et par efface l'écriture et par ailleurs. Et c'est ce que la robe
 de Joseph fils de Jacob le prouve. Car il avoit grand he
 sur le sein par ses frères aux gorges. Et c'est ce que
 robe de Joseph ont été au sein. Car il y a de l'écriture
 les bestes. Les uns le prouve de voir qu'il y a de l'écriture
 qui agnoient le point.

Et ainsi se nomment les couleurs de l'écriture en
 blasonnant.

jaune efface point de l'écriture. rouge. parait point de l'écriture.



Et proprement en plusieurs points nous pourrions les couleurs de la
 blasonner. Et de l'écriture au d'écriture. Et de l'écriture au d'écriture.
 Et de l'écriture au d'écriture. Et de l'écriture au d'écriture. Et de l'écriture au d'écriture.
 Et de l'écriture au d'écriture. Et de l'écriture au d'écriture. Et de l'écriture au d'écriture.

de l'écriture au d'écriture. Et de l'écriture au d'écriture. Et de l'écriture au d'écriture.

De l'écriture au d'écriture. Et de l'écriture au d'écriture. Et de l'écriture au d'écriture.

Or	—	Empereur	Emble	—	baron
Jaune	—	doct	pourpre	—	baron
bleu	—	duc	rouge	—	prince
vert	—	comte	noir	—	marquis
bleu	—	viscount			



Prologue as found in Paris, BnF, MS fr. 5936 and BnF, MS n.a.f. 1075 revealing the name of the author as Clément Prinsaut in the service of Monseigneur de Castres (see Jefferson, 1991, p. 90; dedication transcribed p. 100). The present version of Prinsaut's Treatise omits the dedicatory prologue and begins directly with the first of the twelve chapters that make up the treatise.

The second text included in our Chastel de Howarderie compilation is an excerpt from Jacques d'Enghien's (Héraut Sicile) *Blason des couleurs en armes*, a heraldic treatise partly in the form of a dialogue between a young apprentice in heraldry (called "poursuyvant") and a confirmed herald ("bon hérault"). Found in the present manuscript is only the first part of the treatise known as the "De la manière de blasonner les couleurs en armoiries" omitting the "Second traicté du blason" (Cocheris, 1860 (reprint 2010), pp. 69-126). The Héraut Sicile was "hérald et maréchal d'armes de Hainaut," established in Mons (Hainaut) in the early fifteenth century. He was "hérald d'armes" (herald) of Pierre of Luxembourg, seigneur d'Enghien, and later was apparently at the service of Louis of Anjou, King of Jerusalem. He later was at the service of Alphonse V, King of Aragon and Sicily, which accounts for his name "hérald Sicile." A fifteenth-century portrait of him is found in Paris, BnF, MS fr. 387 in which he bears the arms of the Enghien family, and it has been suggested that the Héraut Sicile is in fact a member of the Enghien-Luxembourg family (see Roland, 1867, pp. xxix-xxxiii, fig. 10.2). Although the circa 1425-1458 original is now lost, there are a number of copies of the *Blason des couleurs en armes* (see for instance Paris, BnF, MS fr. 4366; Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, MS 4910; Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, MS 3713, ff. 116 et sqq (a later copy); for dating, see Cocheris, 1860, pp. xvii-xviii) as well as early editions (two published in Paris, Pierre Sergent, s.d (c. 1495?); a third edition in Lyon, Germain Rouze, 1528).

The *Blason des couleurs en armes* offers a classification of the colors used in heraldry, beginning for instance with "or" [gold] which relates to the virtues of nobility, the age of adolescence, the sun, faith and the day of the week Sunday. The second "color" is "argent" [silver] which relates to the virtues of justice and purity, to pearls, the age of infancy, to phlegmatic temperament, to water, to the moon, to hope and to the day of the week Monday. All the heraldic colors are described subsequently in such a manner. The very interesting aspect of the present representation of colors in this manuscript

is the horizontal chromatic figuration rather than the individual traditional shields. A surprisingly modern composition associating the heraldic colors in various forms is found at the end of the excerpts of the *Blason des couleurs en armes* (f. 23, see reproduction p. 151 here).

The final identified excerpt in this compilation is by Jean Le Fèvre (1395-1468), seigneur de Saint-Remy, de la Vacquerie, d'Avesnes et de Morienne, who was "roi d'armes de l'ordre de la Toison d'or" [king of arms of the Order of the Golden Fleece]. He was an arbiter in tournaments and on all questions of chivalry, where his wide knowledge of heraldry was highly useful. He is the Burgundian chronicler author of a *Chronique* (published F. Morand, 1881). His *Declaration touchant le fait des armoiries* is apparently unpublished and found in a manuscript Paris, BnF, MS fr. 1968, dated there 3 January 1463 (rather than 4 January 1463 in our excerpt). Other codices in which this *Declaration* is found are Tournai, MS 219 and Florence, Laurentiana, MS 117 (see Morand, 1881, p. lviii-lix; and transcription of the chapters on pp. Lxii-lxiii).

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION: 86 ff., complete (one leaf unstitched, no interruption of text; collation: i³⁰⁺¹, ii²⁸, iii²⁶⁺¹), on paper (with watermarks close to Briquet, no. 1660, northeastern France, 1498, although not a perfect match), written in a *lettre bâtarde*, with some capitals with pen flourishing, brown ink, on up to 28 lines, in brown ink (justification: 210 x 140 mm), contemporary pagination on verso of leaves, rubrics in bright red, armorial shields throughout, some left unfinished, others painted in watercolors. Bound in a contemporary wallet limp vellum binding, stitching apparent on spine, the title "Armoirie" painted in red on the front cover. Dimensions 295 x 210 mm.

OWNERSHIP: – 1. Manuscript copied in Northern France (Lille?), based on script, watermarks and linguistic elements with a number of "Picard" traits and spellings such as "franche" for "France"; "es-coche" for "Ecosse"; "hayniau" for "Hainaut" etc. – 2. Simon du Chastel de la Howarderie, died in Lille in 1530, son of Guiart du Chastel de la Howarderie (died 1488) and Agnes de Saint-Genois. An inscription on the inner portion of the front cover reads: "Armoiries. A haulte et puissant seigneur messire simon de Chastel dit de la Houarderie seigneur de Cavrines, Linselle et Blaton baron d'Aimne." There is a motto copied on the title-page and repeated on f. 86v: "Inglinghem port dans joÿ / L'honneur, l'amour et la foÿ. [signed] De Houarderie." The family named Chastel de la Howarderie was a feudal house whose lineage goes back to the fourteenth century. Amongst the members of this family, the Count Paul-Armand du Chastel de la Howarderie was a celebrated genealogist, author of a number of works. The family's arms are described as follows: *De gueules, au lion d'or, armé, lampassé et couronné d'azur.* – 3. European Continental Collection.

TEXT: f. 1, Title-page, *Armoyrie* (copied in red); beneath a first inscription crossed out; another inscription, motto of Chastel de la Howarderie: "Inglinghem port dans soy. L'honneur, l'amour et la foy. De Hovardrie"; f. 1v, blank; ff. 2-3v, Forty-eight (48) armorial shields, beginning with first shield Condé, including other shields Clugny, Chimay, Saint Aubert, Steelant, Gruuthuse and Hallewin; showing also the coat of arms of La Houardrie, dedicatee of the present manuscript and armorial (f. 2); ff. 4-11, Clément Prinsaut, *Traité du blason*, part I, divided in 12 chapters; incipit, "S'ensuivent les rubriques de ce present traictié et premierement le prologue contient l'intencion de l'acteur la fin

et la cause dudict traictié”; Edition in L. Jefferson, 1996, pp. 101-115; ff. 11v-23, Héraut Sicile (Jacques d’Enghien dit), *Le blason des couleurs en armes*, heading, “Pour aprendre a blazonner et congnoistre coulleurs”; incipit, “Le tresnoble et trespuissant roy allixandre pour exalter le nom et la vaillance de ses chieffz et gouverneurs de guerre...”; f. 17v: “S’ensuit la nouvelle maniere de blazonner.”; explicit, “[...] selon la journée et ne blazonnoient en aultre maniere. S’ensuivent les augmentacions de noblesse qui sont comparées aux coulleurs, metaulx et foururres. Or – Empereur / Aret – Roy / Gheulles – Duc / Azur – Conte...”; Published H. Cocheris, *Le blason des couleurs en armes; livrées et devises par Sicille, hérault d’Alphonse V, roi d’Aragon*, Paris, 1860 (reprint, Nîmes, Lacour-Ollé, 2010), pp. 17-67; ff. 23v-25, *Marches d’armes du Royaume*, incipit, “Cy s’ensuivent les marches d’armes du royaume de france qui a proprement parler s’appellent les provinces des nobles...”. Contains the descriptions of the heraldic devices used in various French marches, including Champagne, Anjou, Bretagne, Vermandois and Berry; ff. 25v-26, blank; ff. 26v-28v, Collection of Armorial Shields, showing the coat of arms of “Jehan seigneur de Croy, seigneur de Chimay,” “Le Duc de Saxone,” “Le Marquis de Brandebourg” and “Le Conte de Nassou”; ff. 29-38v, Jean Lefevre de Saint-Remy, dit “Thoisson d’or,” *Declaration touchant le fait d’armoiries* (dated 4 January 1463), incipit, “Pour ce que plusieurs chevaliers, escuiers et gens de l’office d’armes (...)”; explicit, “[...] fait et signé de ma main en la ville de bruges le .iiii.e jour du mois de janvier l’an mil quatre cens et soixante trois”; followed by rubric and heading (f. 30v), “S’ensuivent les armes et les blazons des .xvii. roys crestiens et premiers des deux empereurs....” (shields left blank), “les quatre princes de la crestienneté”, “les ducs” and “contes et marquis” (published by Douët d’Arcq, 1858); ff. 38v-75v, Armorial, geographically ordered, showing shields from “Normendie,” “Pontieu,” “Vermendisiens,” “Artisiens,” “Flandres au noble lion” etc.; ff. 76-83v, Genealogies of Peter of Luxembourg, Count of Saint-Pol (1390-1433) and Marguerite des Baulx (1394-1469), including several heraldic shields, connected to their family history, incipit, “S’ensuit la genealogie de treshault et puissant seigneur Monsieur Pierre de Luxembourg, conte de saint Pol...”; “Sy apres s’enuit la genealogie de treshaulte et puissante dame Madame Marguerite des Baulx...”; ff. 84-84v, Armorial shields relative to Marguerite des Baulx; ff. 85-85v, blank; f. 86, Two added shields, in ink, one with the following caption: “Dionysius Maton [...] Duquesne clericus insulen[sis]” [Denis Maton....clerc from Lille].

LITERATURE: Unpublished. – See Douët d’Arcq, L., “Un Traité du blason du XVe siècle,” *Revue archéologique* 15 (1858), pp. 257-274 et 322-333. – Cocheris, H., *Le blason des couleurs en armes, livrées et devises...*, Paris, 1860 (reprint, Nîmes, 2010). – Hiltmann, T., “Spätmittelalterliche Heroldskompendien. Referenzen adeliger Wissenskultur,” *Zeiten gesellschaftlichen Wandels (Frankreich und Burgund, 15. Jahrhundert)*, Munich, 2011. – Jefferson, L., “Tournaments, Heraldry and the Knights of the Round Table: A Fifteenth-Century Armorial with Two Accompanying Texts,” *Arthurian Literature, XIV*, ed. J. P. Carley, J. P. and F. Riddy, Cambridge, 1996, pp. 69-157. – Morand, F., *Chronique de Jean Le Fèvre, seigneur de Saint-Remy...*, Paris, 1881. – Paravicini, W., “Le héraut d’armes, ce que nous savons, ce nous ne savons pas,” *Le héraut, figure européenne (XIV^e-XVI^e siècle): [actes du Colloque tenu au musée des Beaux-Arts de Lille, les 15, 16 et 17 septembre 2005]*, dans *Revue du Nord*, t.88, n°366-367, juillet-décembre 2006, p. 468ff. – Pastoureau, M., *Traité d’héraldique*, Paris, 2008. – Popoff, M., *Marches d’armes. II. Normandie*, Paris, Le Léopard d’or, 1985, pp. 130-140. – Roland, F., *Parties inédites de l’œuvre de Sicille, héraut d’Alphonse V, roi d’Aragon*, Mons, 1867. – Saffroy, G., *Bibliographie généalogique, héraldique et nobiliaire de la France*, 4 vol., Paris, 1968-1979, I, especially nos. 2022-2048.

ONLINE RESOURCES:

Du Chastel de la Howarderie. Flandre, Hainaut, Barrois et Valois... Paris, 1888
<http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k5653905x>

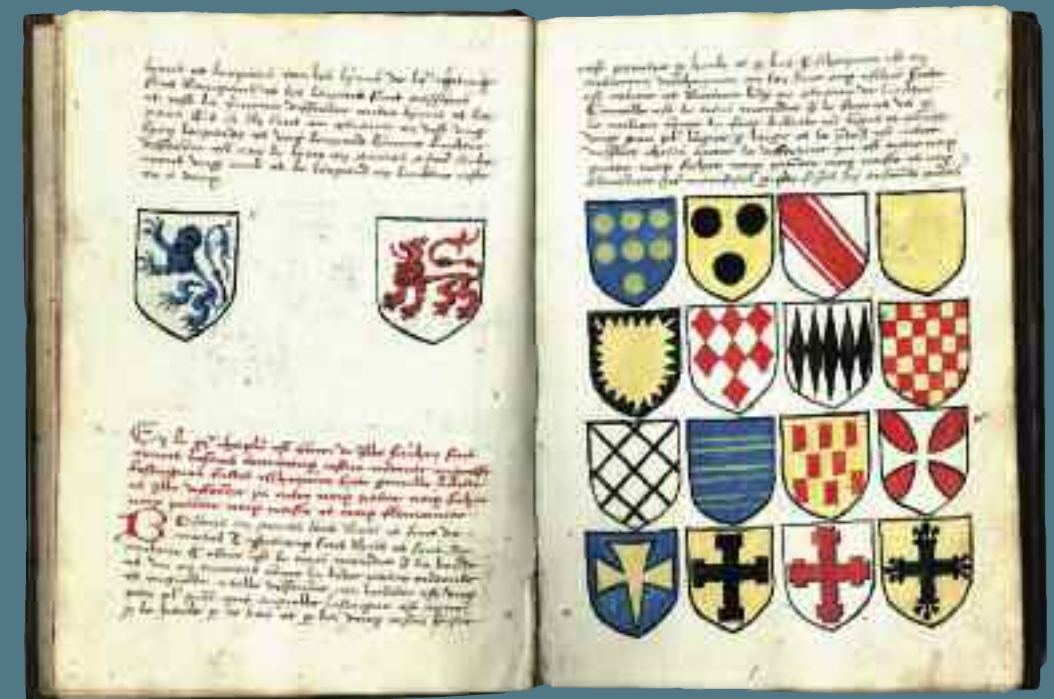


fig. 10.1 - Canada, Private Collection, Clément Prinsault, *Traité du blason*, ff. 6v-7

fig. 10.2
 Paris, BnF, MS fr. 387,
 Héraut Sicile
 (Jacques d’Enghien?),
Traité du noble office d’armes, f. 4





JEAN DE BAUDREUIL, *Sommaire abrégé des ducs de Orléans-Longueville*

In French, illuminated manuscript on parchment
France, likely Paris, c. 1525 (likely after 1524)
Frontispiece miniature by the Master of the Paris Entries
(active c. 1490-1520s) and 32 painted heraldic shields

This is the illuminated dedication copy made for Louis II, the 5th Duke of Orléans-Longueville, when in 1524 he inherited the duchy (created in 1505) from his brother, Claude, who died in battle. Written by a hitherto unknown author from the famous Baudreuil family (and his only known work), the text, existing in four other copies, remains unedited, and the present manuscript is the only one that is illustrated. The text confirms the Duke's rights to the duchy and other lands, and the prefatory allegorical miniature by the Master of the Paris Entries commemorates the transfer of the fiefdom of Châtelailon amongst the lands of the Orléans-Longueville and refers to its alleged mythological origins, which are glorified.

This is a newly discovered, entirely unpublished, illuminated copy of a work signed Jehan de Baudreuil (1455-c. 1531?), which contains an account of the possessions of the House of Longueville illustrated with the arms of each fiefdom. Rather than a "genealogy" *per se*, the work is an abridged summary of the rights and claims over the lands and titles of the House of Orléans-Longueville, with historical justifications, as well as the identification of the customs that apply to the various lands and fiefdoms under their rule.

The title of "Duke of Longueville (Longueville-sur-Scie, Haute-Normandie) was created in 1505 by King Louis XII for his first cousin once removed François II d'Orléans (1478-1513) and inherited in 1525 by the 5th Duke of Longueville, Louis II d'Orléans-Longueville. Confirmation that the manuscript was written for and commissioned by Louis II d'Orléans-Longueville (1510-1537) is found in the dedicatory prologue: "A vous tresnoble ...et puissant prince Monseigneur Loys d'Orléans duc de Longueville, marquis de Rothelin, conte de Dunoy, de Neufchastel..." (f. 3). Again in the core

a ung aigle de sable a deux testes arme de
mesmes la brodure et sont telles



En ville Chastel baronnie et seigneurie de
parthenay Et pays de gaslinc ouquel
pays de gaslinc sont situes et assises Lesd^{es}
seigneuries de Serendigne Bessieu et Le
consoroy sabbert Qui adous Monseigneur
sont aduenues et escheues par Lesd^{es} mesmes
moyens que Ladite principaulte de Chastellillon
aplan delez en l'article precedant Lesquelles
terres et seigneuries sont situes et assises au
pays et conte de pouton qui selon la custume
didict pays de pouton A l'aisne hore masle q^e
est adous Monseigneur en appartient les principaulte

text Jehan de Baudreuil states: "[...] le marquis Philippe espousa madame Marie de Savoye voz grant pere et grant mere maternelz" (f. 27v)"; again: "[...] de madame Marie de Savoye mere de madame vostre mere..." (f. 29v). The reference to "Madame votre mere" is to Jeanne de Bade-Hocheberg, wife of Louis Ier d'Orléans-Longueville (3rd Duke of Longueville), daughter of Philippe de Hochberg, comte de Neuchâtel and Marie de Savoie, comtesse de Hochberg and marquise de Rothelin (1484-1511; daughter of Amédée IX de Savoie and Yolande de France). It is through this marriage that the Duke of Longueville became Prince of Neuchâtel in modern-day Switzerland. The author Jehan de Baudreuil further states that certain lands belonged to Louis II and his brother. Indeed Louis II d'Orléans-Longueville had two brothers: Claude d'Orléans-Longueville (4th Duke of Longueville) who died in 1524 at Pavia; and François d'Orléans-Longueville (1513-1548) marquis de Rothelin, comte de Neufchâtel, Prince de Châtelailon, vicomte de Melun, comte de Tancarville et de Montgomery. Because the text mentions only one brother, it was probably redacted after the passing of the 4th Duke of Longueville in 1524, when the title of 5th Duke was granted to Louis II d'Orléans-Longueville in 1524/1525, but before his marriage to Marie de Lorraine in 1534, since there is no mention of her in the text. Hence the present text and armorial was composed to confirm Louis II d'Orléans-Longueville's rights to his lands and titles.

Still unpublished, this "Sommaire abrégé" is known in at least four other copies: Paris, BnF, MSS fr. 5935, 6013, 6014, and Chantilly, Musée Condé, MS 1270. The texts vary depending on the manuscript. For instance Paris, BnF, MS fr. 5935 is a condensed version (fig. 11.1) of the text found in our dedication copy: "C'est ung abregé du commencement de la lignée de la maison de Longueville..." (f. 1) and appears to have been copied earlier, probably in 1516 before the Jehan de Baudreuil version. Another copy, that of Paris, BnF MS fr. 6014 contains the same text and lay-out (without the frontispiece miniature) but is copied entirely in a slanted italic script (figs. 11.2 and 11.3). Perhaps the multiple copies of the work were made for other members of the court or family.

We know very little about the author Jehan de Baudreuil (1455-1531) seigneur de La Motte-Baudreuil, des Bonnyolles et de Louchy. It is stated that he worked directly for the Duke of Longueville as "président ès comptes et maître d'hôtel ordinaire du duc de Longueville." Of the same

et de Valloys Conte de Bloys d'auant et de beau-
mont qui porta en ses armes L'escu de France
a trois Lambours d'argent Et qui est tel
qui sensuit



Et dicelluy monseigneur L'ors filz de L'or
descendirent quatre filz Assavoir monseign.
Charles duc d'Orléans Monseigneur L'ors d'Orléans
Conte d'Angoulême Monseigneur philippe d'Orléans conte
de Vertus Et monseigneur Jehan d'Orléans Conte
de Dunois Lequel Monseigneur Charles porta
semblables armes que l'edict seigneur duc L'ors
son pere L'edict monseigneur L'ors Conte
d'Angoulême vng croissant de gueules au deu-
x Lambours L'edict monseigneur philes Conte

de Vertus vng autre croissant de sable aussi
au deu- Lambours de ses armes Et l'edict
monseigneur Jehan d'Orléans Conte de Dunois
pareil esen que l'edict seigneur duc Charles
son frere auec a vne barre de mesme Lesdicts
Lambours qui est



Lequel monseigneur Jehan d'Orléans fut
appanage par moidit seigneur L'or
duc Charles son frere auec desdicts Conte
de Dunois viconte de Chastellain Chastellain
et seigneuries de marthesnoir frentail La ferte
de Villeneuve frentail Les hallés de frentaux
assises a bonenail Et de La ville sevre et seign.



family, Guy de Baudreuil became in 1492 “abbé commendataire” (commendatory abbot) of Saint-Martin-aux-Bois (Diocese of Beauvais, Oise), an abbey of Augustinian Canons Regular. The Baudreuil family was from the region of Nevers (Nivernais) in central France and their castle was the château de la Motte-Baudreuil (near Louchy, arr. Moulins in the Bourbonnais region of France). Guy de Baudreuil was an important patron of the arts. We owe to him the patronage of a number of works, including the beautiful choir stalls in the Abbey of Saint-Martin-aux-Bois, a lavish tapestry figuring Minerva (see *France 1500. Entre Moyen Age et Renaissance*, 2010, pp. 331-332, no. 171), and a Missal (now dismembered) which included Guy de Baudreuil’s crowned heart (see leaf with the miniature of the Assumption (Les Enluminures, Catalogue 15. *France 1500. The Pictorial Arts at the Dawn of the Renaissance*, 2010, no. 33). Apart from being a patron of the arts, Guy de Baudreuil was an important historical figure: jurist, counselor for the House of Savoy, and for Louise de Savoie, mother of François of Angoulême, future Francis I, King of France. This connection with the house of Savoy and the members of the Baudreuil family is not fortuitous, and would account for the fact that another member of the Baudreuil clan would have worked for the Orléans-Longueville, given the close family ties between the Longueville and the House of Savoy. Guy de Baudreuil was also indebted to the House of Longueville: there is a dedication miniature that shows him offering his translation of Desiderius Erasmus, *Institutio principis Christiani* to Louis, duc de Orléans-Longueville (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Tanner 9, fig. 11.4).

Among the four other identified copies of this work, the present manuscript is the only one to contain a full-page illuminated frontispiece miniature. The presence of such a lavish miniature confirms that this manuscript is most likely the dedication copy made for Louis II d’Orléans-Longueville.

The miniature depicts two facing knights, with heraldic surcoats and horse coverings, the first a representative of the House of Orléans-Longueville, the second a representative of the Princes of Châtelaillon. The scene probably depicts the moment when the fiefdom of Châtelaillon is granted to the Counts of Dunois by Charles VII: symbolically the knight sporting the Orléans-Longueville arms is illustrated “inside” the garden, while the knight whose horse coverings show the arms of Châtelaillon is about to enter the garden, sealing the alliance between the House of Orléans-Longueville and the fiefdom of Châtelaillon.

The frontispiece miniature was painted by the Master of the Paris Entries. This artist and his prolific workshop is easily distinguishable by the graphic aspect of his style. One finds very similar mise-en-page in manuscripts attributed to the Master of the Paris Entries, down to the painted initials in blue on dark red grounds (compare the initial in the present manuscript, f. 2, with those found in the *Relation des funérailles d’Anne de Bretagne*, Paris, BnF, MS fr. 23936). The miniatures painted by the Master and his workshop make prolific use of “bänderoles” or written scrolls on which one finds mottoes or heraldic elements, such as in the present miniature (compare fig. 11.5). The faces of his figures are outlined in black, with swollen eyes and pronounced red lips. The Master of the Entry of Claude de France (or Jean Coene IV) was active c. 1490-1495 to the 1520s. Extremely prolific between 1490 or 1495, in Paris until the 1520s, and likely head of a large atelier, the Master of the Paris Entries takes his name from two manuscripts: the *Entrée de Marie Tudor* (1514), the sister of Henry VIII of England and wife of Louis XII (London, British Library, Cotton MS Vespasian B II), and the *Sacre, couronnement, triomphe et entrée de la reine et duchesse Madame Claude de France* (1517), wife of King Francis I (Paris, BnF, MS fr. 5750) (on the artist, with earlier bibliography, see Delaunay, 2008, see by the Master, figs. 11.6 and 11.7).

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION: 32 ff., preceded by a single parchment flyleaf, followed by two parchment flyleaves, complete (collation: i¹, ii¹, iii⁸, iv⁸, v⁸, vi⁸, vii¹), written in brown ink in a French lettre bâtarde in brown ink on up to 21 lines (justification 185 x 140 mm), ruled in plummet, 2-line high initials in liquid gold on alternating blue or red grounds, large opening initial (4-line high) painted in blue and highlighted in white tracery on a red ground highlighted in liquid gold, 32 painted heraldic shields, one large full-page miniature set in a liquid gold architectural frame. Modern binding of old red velvet over boards. Dimensions 255 x 180 mm.

OWNERSHIP: – 1. Manuscript copied and painted in France, likely in Paris, given the frontispiece miniature was painted in a Parisian workshop. The Baudreuil family was from the region of Nevers (Nivernais) in central France, but must have followed the rulers and princes for whom they worked. Jean or Jehan de Baudreuil was “président ès comptes et maitre d’hôtel ordinaire du duc de Longueville.” He had a son, Pierre de Baudreuil, sieur de la Motte (Bourbonnais), who inherited the functions of his more renowned uncle Guy de Baudreuil, abbé commendataire of the Abbey of Saint-Martin-des-Bois. – 2. There is a shelfmark in brown ink “362” in the upper lefthand corner of the version of the front flyleaf. There is also a word penned in ink by a sixteenth-century hand: “Cuault (?)”. – 3. A note in light brown ink in upper margin of f. 2 reads: “Ce manuscrit est le sommaire abrégé des progéniteurs du Prince Louis d’Orléans duc de Longueville etc., des duchés, marquisats, comtés, vicomtés, pays, terres et seigneuries lui appartenans, en quelz pays et sous quelles coutumes sont régis; et des [illegible] des dits progéniteurs et de leurs prédecesseurs” [This manuscript contains the abridged summary of the ancestors of Prince Louis d’Orléans, Duke of Longueville etc.].

TEXT: f. 1, blank; ff. 2-2v, Jehan de Baudreuil, *Généalogie de la maison de Longueville*, Prologue, “Virgile le plus famé des poetes pour donner et congnoistre aux empereurs et monarques romains l’excellence de leurs progeniteurs et de qui ilz estoient extraictz et descenduz composa ung sien livre qu’il intitula Aeneides. Pour le semblable a vous tresnoble tresexcellent et puissant prince Loys d’Orleans duc de Longueville marquis de Rothelin conte de Dunoys, de Neufchastel, Tanquarville, de Montgommery, prince de Chastellaillon, vicomte de Mellun, d’Abbeville, de Monstreul sur la mer, seigneur de Monstreulbellay, de Parthenay et des pays de Gastine, Morvans et Oysans, grant chambellan de France et chevallier de l’ordre du Roys nostre sire: Jehan de Baudreul vostre treshumble et tresobeissant serviteur, maistre d’hostel conseiller et president en votre chambre des comptes, vous presente ce petit sommaire abregé des tant nobles, tant excellents et tant puissans princes Messeigneurs voz progeniteurs aussi des noms des voz duché, marquisauté, contez, principauté, vicontez, pays, terres et seigneuries, en quelz pays ils sont situez et assiz, par quelles coustumes sont regiz et gouvernez, comme partaige s’en peult et doit faire, entre coheritiers selon ledictes coutumes reformées, publiées et enregistrées ès cours souveraines des parlemens de ce royaume de France, et quelles armes en escussons vosdicts tant nobles progeniteurs ont porté de leur chef et quelles leurs predecesseurs seigneurs desdicts duche, contez, pays et seigneuries a cause d’icelles ont portez...”; ff. 2v-3, Jehan de Baudreuil, *Généalogie de la maison de Longueville*, Charles V, King of France, father of Louis, duc d’Orléans, incipit, “Et pour illucider et occulairement monstren lesdictes genealogies et choses dessusdictes, ce commence ce present sommaire abregé. A tresnoble, tresexcellent et trespuissant roy Charles, roy de France, lequel fut et encore est a present appelé ou surnommé Charles le Quint...”; ff. 3-32, Jehan de Baudreuil, *Généalogie de la maison de Longueville*, incipit [Louis d’Orléans], “Duquel roy Charles fut procréée et descendu ce tant noble prince monseigneur Loys second filz dudict roy Charles...”; explicit, “[...] A vous comme aîné le Chastel (?) lieu avecques ses appartenances [...] également entre vous et monseigneur [vostre frere]. Et sont les armes de ladite seigneurie telles assavoir ung escu d’or brodé de gueules [a] ung aigle de sable armé de mesmes [la] brodure”; f. 32v, blank.

ILLUSTRATION: f. 1v, Large full-page frontispiece miniature: Two knights on their horses facing each other (Jean, comte de Dunois greeting the fiefdom of Châtelaillon into the House of Orléans-Longueville). The first knight and his horse are set in an enclosed garden with the motto inscribed on a scroll beneath knight: “Non fecit taliter omni nationi.” This is a quote from Psalm 147: “God has done nothing like it for any other nation.” Heraldry on the knight’s surcoat and coverings of his horse suggests that this is member of the Orléans-Longueville (*De France, à un lambel d’argent à trois pendans, brisé à une barre de sable*). The second knight is on his horse, outside of the enclosed garden. Heraldry on the knight’s surcoat and coverings of his horse is that of the seigneurs de Châtelaillon (*D’or à l’aigle bicéphale de sable, à la bordure de gueules*). It was believed that the seigneurie of Châtelaillon was founded by Julius Caesar, and that the Latin name was *Castrum Julii*. Châtelaillon entered the possessions of the Counts of Dunois under Charles VII, when the fiefdom of Châtelaillon was given to Jean, comte de Dunois (le “bâtard d’Orléans”) in 1467 (see Anselme, 1726, p. 213). There is a scroll that appears to apply to this second knight that reads: “Ego romanas ille gallicas res restorant.” [The feats of both the Romans and the French are championed by me (?)],

perhaps an allusion to the Roman (Julius Caesar) and French origins of the fiefdom of Châtelaillon. The miniature was painted by the Master of the Paris Entries. Thirty-two heraldic shields beginning with f. 3, Arms of Charles V, King of France; f. 3v, Arms of Louis d’Orléans (1372-1407), son of Charles V, King of France; f. 4, Arms of Jean d’Orléans (1402-1468), comte de Dunois; f. 5, Arms of Dunois; f. 6, Arms of the duché de Longueville; f. 7, Arms of the comté de Tancarville; f. 7v, Arms of the comté de Gournay; f. 9, Arms of the comté de Montgommery; f. 10, Arms of the vicomté of Melun; f. 10v, Arms of the vicomté d’Abbeville; f. 11v, Arms of the vicomté of Montreuil-sur-mer; f. 12, Arms of the baronnie de Montreuil, Bellay, Gennes d’Argenton; f. 13v, Arms of Châtelaillon; f. 14v, Arms of Parthenay [Poitou]; f. 15, Arms of Vouvant, Mervent et Mouilleron [Vendée]; f. 15v, Arms of the chatellenie of Chateau Regnault [Touraine]; f. 16, Arms of the chatellenie of Beaugency; f. 17, Arms of the chatellenie de Loigny [Loigny-la-Bataille]; f. 17v, Arms of the baronnie de la Brosse; f. 19, Arms of the “pays et seigneurie d’Orsans” [Dauphiné]; f. 20, Arms of the “pays de Thiais” [Dauphiné]; f. 20v, Arms of the baronnie de Hesdigneul [Hesdigneul-lès-Boulogne]; f. 22, Arms of the duché de Vérone; f. 23, Arms of the comté de Neufchâtel; f. 26, Arms of the House of Chalons; f. 27, Arms of the House of Vienne; f. 28v, Arms of Montbard, Villaines-en-Duesmois, Samoise [Burgundy] and Arms of the House of Savoy; f. 29v, Arms of Epoisses [Burgundy]; f. 30, Arms of the chatellenie de Samoise [Burgundy]; f. 31, Arms of Noyers [Noyers-sur-Serein, Burgundy]; f. 32, Arms of Chateau-Chinon [Nivernais].

LITERATURE: Unpublished, no critical edition. – See Anselme, P., *Histoire généalogique et chronologique de la maison royale de France...*, t. I, Paris, 1726, pp. 212: “Ducs de Longueville.” – Chaix d’Est-Ange, “Baudreuil (de),” *Dictionnaire des familles françaises...*, Evreux, 1922, pp. 80-81. – Bresc-Bautier, G. et alia, *France 1500. Entre Moyen Age et Renaissance*, exh. cat., Paris, 2010. – Delaunay, I., “‘Le Maître des entrées parisiennes’,” in ‘Le Graduel de Saint-Dié’,” *Art de l’enluminure*, 26 (sept-nov 2008), pp. 52-70. – Gazan, J.-L., *Historique des paroisses du canton de Longueville-sur-Scie*, 1998. – Jarry, L. *Les sépultures de Marie d’Harcourt, femme du bâtard d’Orléans, de Jean, leur fils, et de François II et Louis Ier, ducs de Longueville, leurs petits-fils: testament inédit de Dunois et autres documents*, Orléans, 1888 [Extrait des “Mémoires de la Société archéologique et historique de l’Orléanais”]. – Marin, G., *Ancienne chronique et généalogie de la seigneurie de Noyers, offerte en 1561 à Léonor d’Orléans, duc de Longueville, par Gaspard Marin*, Auxerre, 1876.

ONLINE RESOURCES:

Paris, BnF, MS fr. 5935
<http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b530239544/f1.planchecontact.r=longueville.langFR>
Paris, BnF, MS fr. 6013
<http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b53023964j/f1.planchecontact.r=longueville.langFR>
Paris, BnF, MS fr. 6014
<http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b53023967w/f1.planchecontact.r=longueville.langFR>



fig. 11.1 - Paris, BnF, MS fr. 5935,
Jean de Baudreuil, *Généalogie de la maison de Longueville*, f. 3



fig. 11.2
Paris, BnF, MS fr. 6014,
Jean de Baudreuil,
*Généalogie de la maison
de Longueville*, f. 2



fig. 11.3
Paris, BnF, MS fr. 6013,
Jean de Baudreuil,
*Généalogie de la maison
de Longueville*, f. 2



fig. 11.4
Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS
Tanner 9, Desiderius Erasmus,
Institutio principis Christiani,
Dedication of Guy de Baudreuil
to Louis d'Orléans,
duc de Longueville, f. iiv



fig. 11.6
Paris, BnF, MS fr. 732,
Plutarchus,
*Vies de Pompée, de Cicéron
et de Scipion l'Africain*, f. 93v



fig. 11.5
Paris, BnF, MS fr. 2820,
Guillaume Crétin,
Chroniques françaises, f. 100v



fig. 11.7
Paris, BnF, Ms fr. 2819,
Guillaume Crétin,
Chroniques françaises, f. 10v



IV

Women Writers and
Women Bibliophiles:
Memory and
Self-Assertion



BEROSUS (fl. 290 B.C.), *Histoire caldayque* [Chaldean Chronicle], in an anonymous translation

In French and Latin, illuminated manuscript on parchment
France, Paris, c. 1505 (likely before 1506)

1 full-page miniature by Jean Pichore (active 1501-1520)

This unusual manuscript of an obscure ancient chronicle documents the love story, well-known during the French Renaissance, of Anne de Graville, a noble lady-in-waiting at the royal court, and Pierre de Balsac. Its colophon identifies it as a "livre d'amour" or "love book" from a husband to his intended wife, with whom he would bear eleven children. As such, it is lavishly illuminated with Anne's mottoes and emblems, as well as a frontispiece by the illustrious painter Jean Pichore showing Cupid bringing the book to Anne. Her extensive library comprised some two hundred volumes, but it was in this one that she perhaps enigmatically wrote "I am to remember what happened to me ... when I was reading in my bed ..."

This book is known as a "love book" not for erotic reasons or because it contains some form of amatory verse or prose. Quite simply it was a "love" gift from a husband to his wife. Pierre de Balsac commissioned this illuminated French translation of a work by Berosus on Chaldean History to offer to his wife or intended wife Anne Malet de Graville (c. 1490-1544), whose striking portrait appears in the frontispiece and whose mottoes and initials pepper the leaves. The couple had a difficult beginning. When Anne Malet de Graville eloped with Pierre de Balsac in 1506, she incurred the wrath of her father the Admiral Louis Malet de Graville, who subsequently disinherited her and seized Pierre de Balsac's property and revenues. Notwithstanding, the couple's romance was a true love match, and they had eleven children. In 1510, about four years after her elopement, Anne made peace with her father, although at the cost of renouncing part of her inheritance. After his death, she was largely reinstated and inherited many of his books. In the present "livre d'amour," Anne de Graville was careful to add her own ex-libris: "A Anne de Graville" and a date of "Vc XVIII" for [1]518. This inscription of her name with the same date of 1518 is also found in the manuscripts she inherited from her father Louis Malet de Graville (e.g. Yale

University, Beinecke Library, Marston MS 274; Paris, BnF, MS fr. 254; BnF, MS fr. 1880, *Voyages de Marco Polo*: “A Anne de Gravelle, de la succession de feu Monsieur l’Admiral VcXVIII”), suggesting that the arrival of his books led her to review her entire collection (Deldicque, 2014).

No doubt under Pierre de Balsac’s directions, the manuscript was personalized for Anne de Gravelle, incorporating inscriptions and mottoes to underscore her ownership of the book and flatter her as the dedicatee. Her familiar motto, “J’en garde un leal,” an anagram with her name, figures prominently throughout. Other mottoes such as “Non plus” (Not further), “A amour” ([I belong] to love) and “A autre non” ([I belong to] no one other) are associated with her initial “A.” Finally the arms of the Malet de Gravelle are painted in the lower part of the architectural border that frames the frontispiece miniature. On what was formerly the lower pastedown, Anne de Gravelle added an intriguingly personal autograph note “Memoire que je me souviene de ce qui m’avint le samedy huitieme novembre lissant dedans mon lit a Annet,” [Note that I am to remember what happened to me on Saturday 8th November when I was reading in my bed at Anet].

The anonymous translator appears to write in the name of Anne’s husband, Pierre de Balsac: might he be the translator himself? Durrieu suggested this in 1889, although it was after refuted by Montmorand in 1917. The purpose of this translation (adaptation) is stated in the Prologue: “Aussi pour ce que contre toute Raison divine naturele et humaine l’en vous donne du deul, ennuy et tribulation beaucoup et sans cause afin de donner a voz yeulx ung peu de recreation et soulager vostre cueur par douce consolation...” (f. 5) [Also since against all divine, natural and human Reason you (Anne de Gravelle) have been subject to great and unmerited mourning, trouble and tribulation, this (book) is meant to provide your eyes with a bit of entertainment and bring solace to your heart through soft consolation]. Anne de Gravelle was indeed subject to sorrow due to her father’s irrational hostility to her love for Pierre de Balsac. The translation from Latin into French was made to ease her heart by “douce consolacion” and for honor and love of her and at love’s command. In the miniature, a winged Cupid guides the hand giving her the book and in the colophon the translator states: “Cy finit le livre d’amour lequel a voulu estre ainsy nommé parce que amour ha induyt l’acteur et commandé le faire” [Here finishes this love book thus called because Love guided the author and

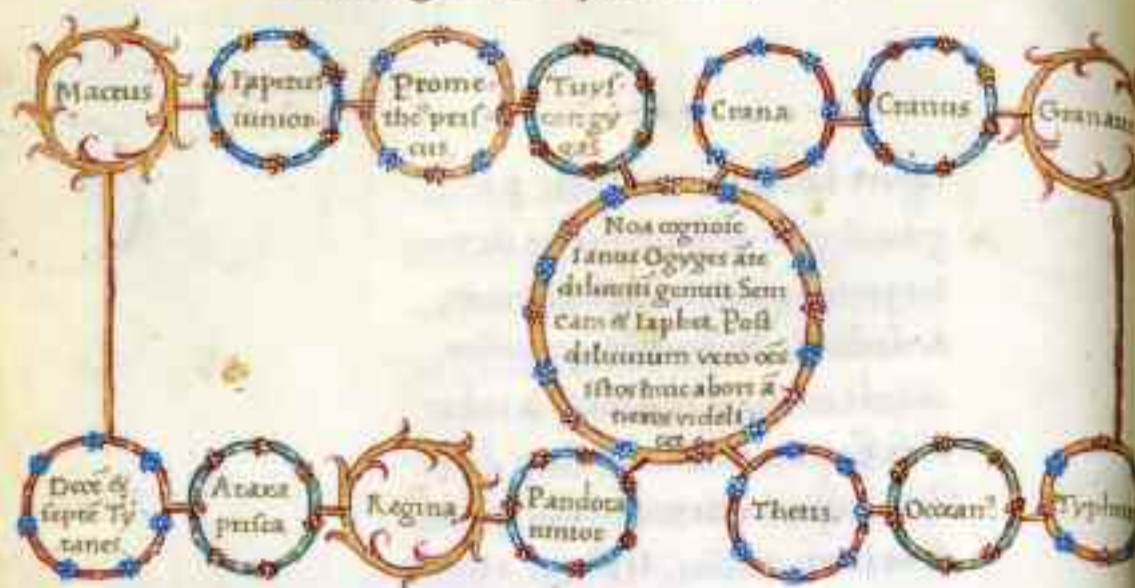
ordered its redaction]. Montmorand believes that, rather than being the translator himself, Pierre de Balsac had the text translated, copied, and illuminated during his period of courtship with Anne de Gravelle in order to affirm his love for her and convince her to wed him.

Anne de Gravelle was lady-in-waiting at the court of Queen Claude de France, the first wife of Francis I. She was born into a rich and noble family, and grew up in the castle of Marcoussis. Her father, Louis Malet de Gravelle, admiral of France, exerted a great deal of influence under the regency of Anne of France and Pierre de Beaujeu, an influence that would continue under Louis XII. Anne de Gravelle had access to her father’s extensive collection of manuscripts and printed books, which constituted one of the richest libraries of the time. She probably knew Latin and Italian. Her mottoes are found in several of her manuscripts: *musas natura, lacrymas fortuna* [nature gives me the muses, fortune tears], “J’en garde un leal” (found also in the present manuscript) and “Garni d’un leal,” the last two being anagrams of her name. Anne was moreover an author in her own right, and at the request of the Queen, she composed poems and translations or adaptations of Latin texts. For the Queen she rewrote Alain Chartier’s *La Belle dame sans mercy* (Paris, BnF, MS fr. 2553), as well as *Le Beau Romant des deux amans Palamon et Arcita et de la belle et saige Emilia* (Paris, Arsenal, MS 5116 and other codices), adapted from the play *la Thésaïde* by Boccaccio written circa 1341 (fig. 12.1). She was a very cultivated woman (although she of course presents herself as “simple et ignorante entre les femmes,” having recourse to the typical humility and passivity *topoi*). Her *Palamon et Arcita* includes a frontispiece miniature showing Anne de Gravelle offering her book to the Queen (fig. 12.2). Her sizeable library comprised some two hundred manuscripts, many inherited from her father and others acquired by herself (see Montmorand, 1917: “La bibliothèque d’Anne de Gravelle,” pp. 273-281); a fine account of Anne de Gravelle’s works and book culture is found in Orth, 1997. Orth interestingly shows that Anne de Gravelle was in fact the cousin of Catherine d’Amboise (see cat. no. 14).

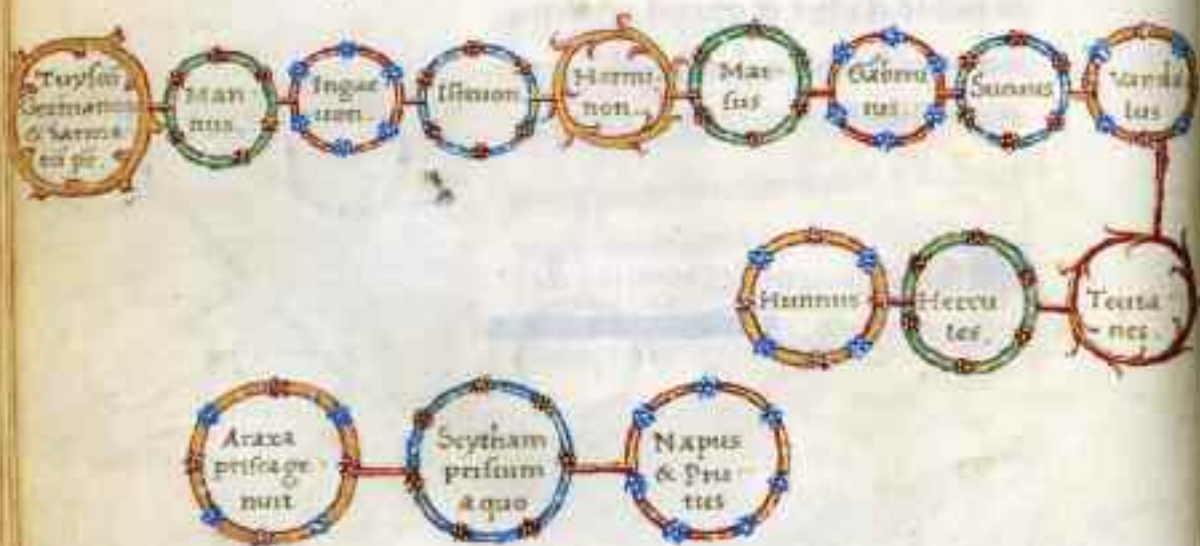
The work in the present manuscript is a learned one, which is a fitting choice for a highly educated woman and author of translations and adaptations, albeit perhaps a strange choice for a “love book.” It is testimony to Anne’s upbringing and scholarly interests that Pierre de Balsac should think Berosus’s Chaldean Chronicle a suitable love gift. Berosus was a third-century



Prima figura Noë quæ & Iani patris.



Porro Tuyscon tam Beroso q̃ Cornelio Tacito testibus fuit auctor Germani cuius hæc posteritas



Secunda arbor Genealogiarum Sami.



Posteritas Aramei.



Posteritas Arpaxei.



Posteritas Melæ filii Aramei.



Chaldean priest in Hellenistic Babylon who wrote his work in three books (in Greek) on the history and culture of Babylonia dedicated to Antiochus I (c. 324–261 BC). Its chief appeal lay in its correspondences with Babylonian history as recorded in the Bible. The present “translation” or rather adaptation is likely based on the Latin work of Giovanni Nanni (Annius de Viterbo, 1432-1502), *Commentaria fratris Joannis Annii Viterbiensis super opera diversorum auctorum...*, published for the first time in Rome, 1498 (Goff, A-748) and published again under the titles *Berosus... de Antiquitatibus*, Paris, 1509, and *Berosus Babilonicus...*, Paris, 1510.

The “love book” was generously ornamented in gold and rich colors with emblems of Pierre de Balsac’s love for Anne. The Prologue and each book open with a full border and large initial, while each chapter starts with a large initial with motto scrolls curving into the margin. Nowhere does Pierre mention his name and nowhere does he appear directly (perhaps to avoid the wrath of Anne’s father should the book be discovered). In the frontispiece miniature Anne is visually exalted, richly clad in crimson and gold before a canopy of blue and gold, with her attendants to the side. A hand descending from a cloud, directed by a small Cupid seemingly, represents Pierre Love has conquered him and so controls his actions. The iconography in which a book is handed down by an arm from a cloud occurs in another manuscript painted by Jean Pichore (the same artist who painted the present frontispiece miniature) for Louise de Savoie, a copy of Jean Thénau, *Tres-passement du glorieux Saint Jheromme* (Paris, BnF, MS fr. 421, f. 1; see Zöhl, 2005, pl. 17, fig. 12.3).

The illumination was entrusted to Jean Pichore, active in Paris from 1502-1520. The miniature here can be compared to the presentation scene in Anthoine du Four’s *Vies des femmes célèbres* of 1504, where the author offers his book to Queen Claude’s mother, Anne of Brittany, Queen of King Charles VIII and King Louis XII (Nantes, Musée Dobrée, MS 17, f.1; see C. Zöhl, 2003, pl. 13, fig. 12.4). The handsome borders and large initials share the fine technique and glowing colors of the miniature. In turning to Pichore, whose work could be found in the collections of France’s leading patrons, Pierre de Balsac was ensuring that the appearance of his gift would match his high aspirations. Anne de Graville’s autograph annotations suggest that the book meant all to her that he could have hoped. Her demonstrations of love were more dramatic and practical in consequence, when she braved her father’s wrath and disinheritance to elope with her

suitor. Their “love book” survives as a most unusual but attractive and appealing witness to one of the great love stories of the sixteenth century.

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION: 78 ff., preceded by a single flyleaf (actually two leaves pasted together), complete (collation: i⁶, ii-x⁸), written in brown ink in a rounded humanistic bookhand on 19 long lines between two verticals and 2 horizontals ruled in red (justification 137 x 70 mm.), additional double vertical rulings in some outer margins for side headings, rubrics in red, line endings and paragraph marks in liquid gold on grounds of maroon or blue, 45 large initials in liquid gold and colors with scrolls extending into the margins, some letters formed of beasts and dragons, some grounds enclosing birds, others with flower and foliate designs, 6 large initials with full borders of beasts, birds, flowers or fruit on liquid gold grounds or divided grounds of liquid gold and panels of red or blue acanthus enclosing initials and mottoes, five pages of genealogical tables in colors and liquid gold (full-page borders with large initials are on ff. 6, 14, 18, 22, 30, 36v), one full-page frontispiece miniature in a classical architectural frame in liquid gold (miniature frame rubbed and slightly trimmed, facing text and border slightly rubbed, some paint losses from miniature). Rebound in early 19th-century speckled brown morocco in 17th-century style, spine gilt in seven compartments with lettering piece, original pastedowns lifted (joints and extremities lightly rubbed, else in fine condition). Dimensions 245 x 172 mm.

OWNERSHIP: – 1. Manuscript copied and painted in Paris, as suggested by the script, but especially the miniature placed in frontispiece, by Jean Pichore, an artist active in Paris in the first quarter of the sixteenth century. Because the manuscript was commissioned by Pierre de Balsac for Anne de Graville, and that the prologue does not address itself to her as his wife, it appears the codex was copied shortly before they were married in 1506 or little after. – 2. Anne Malet de Graville (1492-1544): the prologue dedicates the book “A vous mademoiselle Anne de Graville,” who appears in the facing miniature, identified by the arms of her father (*De gueules à trois fermaux d’or*), the bibliophile Admiral Louis Malet de Graville (c.1448-1516), and by the motto over her head l’EN GARDE UN LEAL, which, if spelt GARDE is an anagram of her name. Two other mottoes appear in the miniature and, with her initial A, in the borders: *Non plus amour* and *A autre non*, apparently those of her cousin and future husband, Pierre de Balsac, seigneur d’Entraigues (died circa 1530), with whom she eloped in 1506, against the consent of Louis Malet de Graville, Anne’s father. In the conclusion Pierre de Balsac (actually the anonymous translator writing in Pierre de Balsac’s name) expresses the wish to be her servant “et a aultre non,” making a pleasing play between her initial and the preposition “à.” Anne later formally inscribed her name with the date 1518 on the verso of the flyleaf, above his autograph dedication “Tout pour le myeux votre bon cousin et amy cest moy.” – 3. By descent, the manuscript went to her daughter Jeanne de Balsac and son-in-law, Claude d’Urfé (1501-1558). If the *Livre d’amour* formed part of the famous d’Urfé library at the Château de la Bastie, it had apparently left by the early 18th century. – 4. An inscription added in a 17th-century hand on the former lower pastedown reads: “A Jarremond de R.” This is most likely Jarremond or Jarremont de Saint-Simon de Rouvroy. It is not known which member of this family from which was descended the famous Duc de Saint-Simon, seventeenth-century memorialist. – 5. Claude Bernard Rousseau, *auditeur des comptes*, his 18th century armorial bookplate inside upper cover. It seems very plausible that this was lifted from the original binding since Rousseau’s ownership would explain the knowledge of the manuscript evident among Parisian antiquaries. It was probably Rousseau who brought the present lot to the attention of Roger de Gaignières (1642-1715), for whom the presentation miniature was copied (H. Bouchot, *Inventaire des dessins exécutés pour Roger de Gaignières...*, no 274). The Gaignières drawing was then used for the plate reproduced in Montfaucon’s *Monuments de la monarchie française*, 1729-1733, IV, p.366. – 4. Sir Thomas Phillipps (1792-1872): his lion stamp and Sir T.P. Middle Hill, with his number 127, on the former lower pastedown; his number on label on spine; description of the volume loose inside upper cover. The book had presumably been rebound

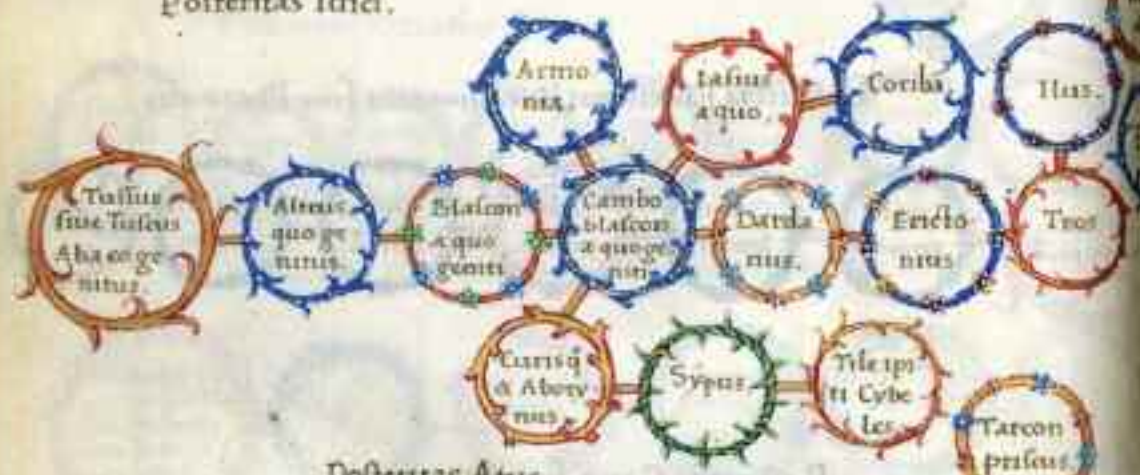
Posteritas Osiridis: que Moyſes vocat Mizraim,



Posteritas Lybi Egypti Herculis,



Posteritas Tuſci.



Posteritas Atus.



Sensuſt le tiers liure

N ensuſuſt nre propoux par les figures genealogiques cy deſſus traſſees et nous auons grande ment ſoulage les eſprits & abre ge les anciennes generations et poſteritez de nous premiers progeniteurs grans princes & nobles perſonnes leſquels ont eſte deſcriptes et recitees par les noſtres caldaques et ſitiques liures bie au long mais noſtre brieſ recid pour le preſent doit ſuffire. Car combien que pluſieurs autres grans & aults faits ils ayent eſcript pour demouter en perpe tuelle memoire. Toutefois par

to attract a buyer like Phillipps. When Comte Paul Durrieu visited the library in 1888, he was much struck by the book, to which he devoted an appendix in his ensuing publication: “Les circonstances romanesques dans laquelle s’accomplit le mariage de Anne de Graville avec son cousin Pierre de Balsac donnent un intérêt particulier au ms 127... On possède en lui le souvenir matériel d’une aventure d’amour qui fit un certain bruit dans le temps,” [The romantic circumstances in which Anne de Graville’s marriage with her cousin Pierre de Balsac took place give special interest to MS 127... This manuscript constitutes a material souvenir of a love affair that created quite a stir at the time] (Durrieu, 1889).

TEXT: f. 1, Added inscriptions in a 16th century hand, “Le Livre d’amours”; another hand (later 17th c. hand): “L’histoire de Berose Caldee des princes qui ont regné avant le deluge,” followed by fermesses; ff. 3-10v, [Anonymous] French translator’s dedicatory prologue to Anne de Graville, opening “A vous madamoiselle Anne de Graville salut et honneur. Pource que ses deux presens par moy a vous donnez et envoyez au commencement de ceste espitre tresmal ornée de douce eloquence...”; ff. 10v-14v, Berosus, *Histoire chaldayque* [Anonymous French translation commissioned by Pierre de Balsac], Book I, rubric, *S’ensuyt le premier livre*; incipit, “Non seulement apres mais auparavant...”; explicit, “[...] veritablement recité et redigé par escript”; ff. 14v-18v, Berosus, *Histoire chaldayque* [Anonymous French translation commissioned by Pierre de Balsac], Book II, rubric, *S’ensuyt le second livre*; incipit, “Necessairement doncques par les chouses dessus premises...”; explicit, “[...] et grand evesque administrateur des saintz sacrificateurs et chouses divinez et sacreez”, followed by rubric, *S’ensuyvent les figures des genealogiez*; ff. 19-27, Berosus, *Histoire chaldayque* [Anonymous French translation commissioned by Pierre de Balsac], Book III, rubric, *S’ensuyt le tiers livre*; incipit, “En ensuyvant nostre propoux par les figures genealogiques...”; explicit, “[...] seulement que mariages et copules nuptiales se pourroyent faire et contracter entre les freres et seurs”; ff. 27-33, Berosus, *Histoire chaldayque* [Anonymous French translation commissioned by Pierre de Balsac], Book IV, rubric, *Le quart livre*; incipit, “Après ces choses ainsi faictes commença l’humain genre a multiplier...”; explicit, “[...] en nostre caldaque et primordiale hystoire stytyque en feable memoire a esté retenu et bien gardé”; ff. 33-77, Berosus, *Histoire chaldayque* [Anonymous French translation commissioned by Pierre de Balsac], Book V, rubric, *Le quinct et dernier livre*; incipit, “L’an du salut d’humaine nature...”; explicit, “[...] en faisant fin a ceste briefve histoire avons feablement et veritablement recité et redigé par escript”; ff. 77-77v, Translator’s dedicatory concluding chapter, incipit, “Je faiz fin a ce present oeuvre le quel combien qu’il soit brief et petit si est il de grant poix et consequence. Et ne l’eusse entrepris ne pris la peine de le coucher en langue vulgaire et maternelle car je m’en scay tresmal ayder, si ce n’eust esté amour qui est vainqueur de toutes choses...”; explicit, “[...] Et ne considere pas la petitesse ou peu de valeur du don mais le bon et parfait couraige cordial et entier vouloir de celui qui le vous offre comme a celle a qui du tout il est et veult demourer pour iamais et a aultre non voustre humble et obeissant”; f. 77v, colophon, in red: *Cy finit le livre d’amour le quel a voulu estre ainsy nommé par ce que amour ha induyt l’acteur et commandé le faire*.

ILLUSTRATION: f. 2v, Full page miniature set in a liquid gold architectural frame: Presentation of the book to Anne de Graville, in the background an assembly of women and young men. A hand coming out of a cloud and guided by a cupid passes the book down to her. Anne de Graville is seated beneath a canopy; ff. 16v-19v, Diagrams (colored roundels) with genealogies of the rulers of Babylon.

LITERATURE: Published in Akerlund, 2003, pp. 48-49 (frontispiece on the cover); Longeon, 1973, p. 143 (Phillips 127); Montmorand, 1917, p. 55; pp. 65-70, p. 281. See Akerlund, I., *Sixteenth Century French Women Writers. Marguerite d’Angouleme, Anne de Graville and the Lyonnese School...*, Lewiston, 2003. – Bouchard, M., “Le roman “épique”: l’exemple d’Anne de Graville,” *Études françaises* 32, 1, 1996, pp. 99-107. - idem, “Anne de Graville (1492-1544) et la tradition épique au XVI^e siècle,” *Littératures* 18 (1998), pp. 31-63. – Brown, C.J., *The Queen’s Library. Image-Making at the Court of Anne of Brittany, 1477-1514*, Philadelphia and Oxford, 2011. – idem, “Books for a Queen: The Literary Patronage of Claude de France,” *Bulletin du bibliophile*, 2012-2, pp. 257-276. – Delisle, L., *Le cabinet des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque impériale*, Paris, 1868-1881. – Deldicque, M.,

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fig. 12.1
Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal,
MS 5116, Anne de Graville,
*Recueil, Epistre de Maguelonne
to Pierre de Provence*, f. 77



fig. 12.3
Paris, BnF, MS fr. 421,
Jean Thénaud, *Trespasement
de saint Jérôme*, f. 1



fig. 12.2
Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal,
MS 5116, Anne de Graville,
*Recueil, Palamon and Arcite (Anne
de Graville offering her book to
Claude de France)*, f. 1v



fig. 12.4
Nantes, Musée Dobrée, MS 17,
Antoine Dufour,
Les Vies des femmes célèbres, f. 1



JEROME, *Letter LIV To Furia* [To Furia, On the Duty of Remaining a Widow], in the translation by CHARLES BONIN

In French, illuminated manuscript on parchment

France, likely Bourges, c. 1500-1510

1 full-page miniature by the Master of Spencer 6 (active c. 1490 to 1510)

In its original purple velvet binding and adorned with a frontispiece painted by the Master of Spencer 6, this deluxe, carefully fashioned manuscript presents a unique copy of a French translation of Saint Jerome's letter to the widow Furia by a hitherto unknown translator. Long associated with the library of the aristocratic woman Anne de Polignac, who was widowed twice, the manuscript raises questions pertaining to female book ownership and literary and artistic patronage in the first decades of the sixteenth century. It re-opens an investigation into Anne's personal library of some thirty-six manuscripts. Her remarkably varied manuscripts, mostly in the vernacular, invite us to reexamine the nature of the reading experiences of French Renaissance women.

This manuscript contains the only known copy of a French translation by Charles Bonin of Jerome's *Letter LIV* to Furia. This epistolary work in twelve chapters presents a letter of guidance to a widow named Furia on the best means of preserving her widowhood. Furia had at one time thought of remarrying but eventually changed her mind and devoted herself to the care of her young children and ageing father. Jerome draws a vivid picture of the dangers to which she is exposed at Rome, lays down rules of conduct for her guidance, and commends her to the care of the presbyter Exuperius (afterwards bishop of Toulouse). Jerome takes the occasion to disparage the married state vehemently, to discourage her from ever thinking of it again despite pressure from her family, and then outlines a life of devotion, denial and good works. He includes examples of strong and virtuous women from the Bible and one from contemporary life, Marcella. The date of the letter is probably circa 394/395 A.D. (see P. Nautin, 1974, pp. 257-63). The original Latin is published most recently in B. Conring, 2001, pp. 170-98. The translator Charles Bonin refers to himself as "priest" in the prologue and could be a member of the Bonin de la Bonnière

En suit le pistre de monseigneur
saint iherosme quil escript
a vne ieune dame de romme
nommee furie de la lignee des
senateurs de romme. Et de
madame sainte Paule. en
laquelle epistre monseigneur
saint iherosme admoneste ladicte
dame a garder lestat de ves-
uaige ou viduite. **¶**
Et premierement monseigneur
saint iherosme exhorte ladicte dame
par exemples familiers a cest
femme d'ung seul homme. et
garder sa viduite en ladmon-
nestant quelle aye plus den-
ure den suivre les vertus des

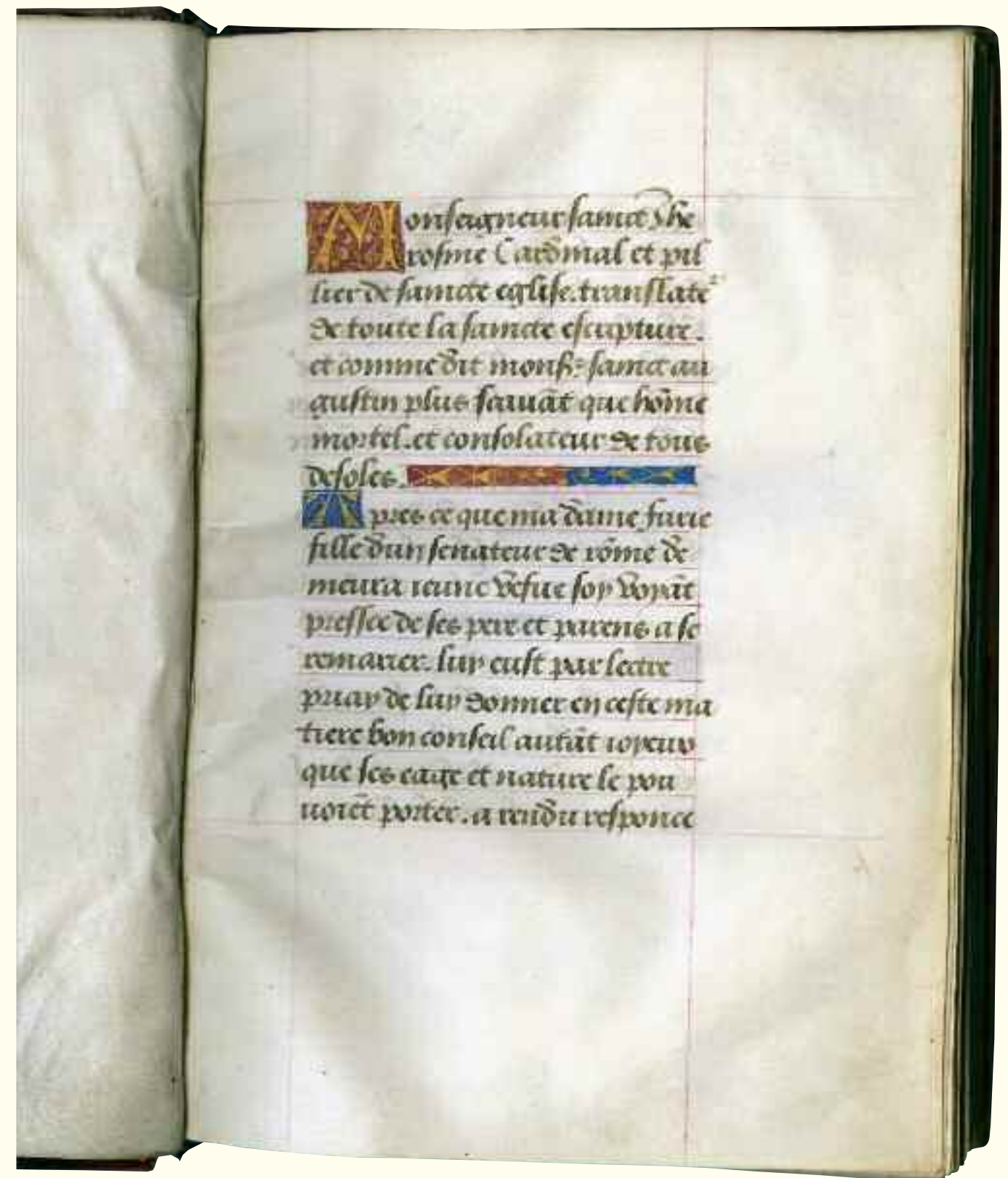
femmes de sa lignee que le conseil
de son pere. **¶** Apres ce monseigneur
saint iherosme instruit par
quelz mores elle pourra gar-
der sa continence. et ce qui est
a ensuyr. et ce qui fault a sou-
pir. en luy proposant les mo-
lestes et aduersites des secon-
des nopces. lesquelles il prou-
ue par exemples de l'ancien
et nouveau testament. **¶**
En suit le comancement
du teste de le pistre ou monseigneur
saint iherosme instruit ma-
dame furie par exemples a
garder sa viduite. **¶** Premier
chapistre. **¶**

family (from Touraine; see *Dictionnaire des familles françaises...*, Évreux, 1904, III, pp. 216-220) or Bonin de Corpoy family, well-established in Bourges (see Thaumassière, 1689, pp. 1037-1038; *Dictionnaire des familles françaises...*, III, pp. 220 et sqq).

The subject of widowhood, much examined in the early Renaissance, emerges as central to the theme of the social status of powerful women. Given that widowhood often accorded women greater independence, the status was not necessarily a negative one for women, as Jerome argues in his Epistle to Furia. In times of war and strife, such as during the Italian Wars in France, widowhood was a common state for women, reflected in images such as those representing Anne of Brittany (see Brown, 2011, in particular chapter "Famous Women in Mourning," pp. 181-244), Louise de Savoy (see Lecoq, 1989), and Catherine de' Medici (figured as "Artemisia," see Ffolliott, 1986), and it developed into a literary topos with pictorial expressions (see A. Levy, ed., *Widowhood and Visual Culture in Early Modern Europe*, Aldershot, 2003). Literary texts devoted to widowhood also circulated with the development of the complaint motif ("complainte") and in texts of sorrow, of mourning, or about death in general, such as those composed by Jean Lemaire de Belges.

Dedicated to an unidentified "tres honorée damoiselle," Charles Bonin's translation of Jerome's Letter LIV to Furia was, according to the prologue, reviewed by a certain Brother Jehan Fernaud of the monastery of Saint-Sulpice-lès-Bourges (this is of interest, given the miniature was likely painted in Bourges). The manuscript has long been traced to the library of Anne of Polignac, who is its earliest identifiable owner. Born c. 1495 (died 1554), Anne was "dame d'Onzain, de Rendans (Randan) et du Luguët," a member of the illustrious Polignac family. She was herself a widow twice, first in 1515 when her first husband Charles de Bueil died at Marignan, and again in 1533 when her second husband François II de la Rochefoucauld died (fig. 13.1). Since she was twice widowed, Anne would have found the present text of special interest, and it might have been offered to her in this context. She died in her favored castle at Verteuil-sur-Charente (near Angoulême) which housed her collection of books.

The present work is typical of the vernacular works, both learned and moralizing, that women of the French aristocracy included in their libraries. The identification of Anne de Polignac as the actual dedicatee of this



translation, however, seems difficult since she was born circa 1495 and the present manuscript was copied circa 1500, as suggested by the style of the full-page miniature. A treatise on maintaining one's widowhood could hardly be addressed to a five or even ten year-old girl. In addition, the space for heraldic arms at the bottom of the frontispiece (f. 5) has been left blank.

This manuscript is illustrated by an elegant frontispiece miniature attributable to the Master of Spencer 6, who takes his name from the eponymous manuscript in the New York Public Library (see J. Plummer, 1982, no. 95A; Avril and Reynaud, 1993, p. 343; Alexander, et al., 2005, no. 62). Generally the artist painted Books of Hours (see Avril and Reynaud, 1993, pp. 343-345), which gives this manuscript particular importance within his œuvre as a work of lay rather than devotional literature. The collaboration with other workshops indicates that the Master of Spencer 6 was active in Bourges and the artist might be identical with a certain Laurent Boiron, who is documented in Bourges between 1480 and 1510, sometimes called bookseller (as suggested by Jean-Yves Ribault, see Avril and Reynaud, 1993, p. 343; Exhibition New York Public Library, p. 279). Typical of his work are the pale skin tones and pronounced facial features. He depicts his figures in dominant colors contrasting with light color schemes for interiors. The tall columnar figures in this manuscript indicate a date around 1500. The idea of using tree trunks ("bois écotés") as columns to frame the miniature is inherited from the circle of Jean de Monluçon, as can be seen in a Book of Hours around 1500 in Paris, BnF, MS n.a.l. 3116 (see Avril and Reynaud, 1993, no. 188), but also in the Hours of New York Public Library, Spencer 6 (Alexander, et al., 2005, pp. 278 and 280). The artists that worked for Anne de Polignac or for her entourage were quite diverse (Master of the Paris Entries, Master of Philippe de Gueldres and here – although indirectly – Master of Spencer 6) and should be better mapped out and identified (see Cahn, 2005, pp. 128-129). For instance in the *Harangues et oraisons* (Yale, Beinecke Library, MS 1042, fig. 13.2), the single miniature representing an Assembly of Learned Men in Argument (see fig. 1 in Cahn, 2005, p. 125) is close in style to the Master of Philippe de Gueldres, a Parisian artist who collaborated or rather sub-contracted work to the Master of Spencer 6 (see Avril and Reynaud, 1993, p. 343; see examples of manuscripts painted by the Master of Spencer 6, figs. 13.3 to 13.6). Might there be a Bourges relation in the Yale codex as in the present Jerome manuscript?

The works in Anne de Polignac's library have been studied by Delisle as a group (1880) and by Quentin-Bauchart (1886), who lists some twenty-eight manuscripts owned by her, many bound in similar velvet (velours, velours vert, rouge, jaune); and by Cahn (2003) who records thirty-six manuscripts. Although only a handful of these manuscripts have been traced, some observations can be made on her reading matter. Apart from a Bible and some books of private devotion (Horae, *Preces piae*, Psalter) in Latin, her preferred reading language was French, and she owned diverse devotional, historical, and literary works in the vernacular. There was, for example, another translation related to Jerome, a *Vie, mort et miracles du glorieux saint Jherosme* (Cahn, 2005, no. 9). Among the historical works there was a copy of Philippe de Commynes's *Memoires* (Anne was his niece) and the *Chroniques de Bertrand du Guesclin* (Cahn, 2005, nos. 35 and 36). Literary manuscripts include Chastelain's *Temple de Boccace* (location unknown), the Triumphs of Petrarch in a French translation (see König, 1997), a book of verses by Margaret of Navarre (Cahn, 2005, no. 29; Chantilly, Musée Condé, MS 512), and an anthology of speeches by ancient authors, *Harangues et oraisons* (Yale University, Beinecke Library, MS 1042; see Cahn, 2005).

There has been increasing interest in lay women's libraries, and although it is impossible to draw universal conclusions, the sixteenth century witnessed a clear movement favoring vernacular translations of moralizing, philosophical, and allegorical texts. Alluding implicitly to Anne of Polignac's widowhood, this illuminated *Letter to Furia* in a new translation after Saint Jerome by a hitherto unknown (although identified) translator raises pivotal questions pertaining to female book ownership and literary and artistic patronage in the first decades of the sixteenth century.

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION: 63 ff. (f. 1 is a pastedown, f. 2 blank, text running from ff. 3-61v, ff. 62-63 blank, final leaf is a pastedown), gatherings mostly in quires of 8 [collation: i² (ff. 1-2), ii-viii⁸ (ff. 3-58), ix⁴ (ff. 59-62), x² (f. 63 + unfoliated leaf)], written in brown ink in a *lettre bâtarde* on up to 17 lines (justification 115 x 70 mm.), ruled in red, rubrics in blue, paragraph marks in liquid gold on blue or dark red grounds, line-fillers in liquid gold on blue or red grounds, 1-2 line high initials, paragraph marks and line-fillers in gold on red or blue grounds highlighted in liquid gold, 3-line high initial in blue highlighted in white on a red ground with floral gold decoration (f. 6v), 1 full-page miniature set in a liquid gold architectural frame (f. 5). Bound in a contemporary binding of purple velvet (worn) over wooden boards, gilt edges (Hinges fragile, but nonetheless in good condition for an original velvet binding; manuscript in fresh colors with wide margins), in an articulated black morocco box. Dimensions 210 x 135 mm.

TEXT: ff. 3-4v: Prologue of the translator Charles Bonin addressed to his “treshonnorée damoiselle” (f. 3v), incipit, “Monseigneur saint Iherosme cardinal et pillier de sainte eglise, translateur de toute la sainte escripture...La quelle, je Charles Bonin presbtre indigne ay voulu translater pour l’onneur de vous ma treshonnorée damoiselle...” ; ff. 5v-6, rubric (in blue), *Sensuit l’espistre de monseigneur saint Iherosme qu’il escript a une ieune dame de romme nommée furie de la lignee des senateurs de romme. Et de madame sainte Paule en laquelle epistre monseigneur saint iherosme admonneste ladite dame a garder l’estat de vefvaige ou viduité [...]*; ff. 6v-10v, Jerome, Letter LIV to Furia, translated by Charles Bonin, Chapter I, incipit, “O Furie tu me prie par tes lettres et treshumblement me supplies que je t’escripve la façon comment tu doibs vivre et garder la coronne de viduité sans blesser ta chasteté [...]”; ff. 10v-17v, Chapter II, rubric (in blue), *Des remonstrances que monseigneur saint Iherosme faict a ma dame furie pour la desmouvoir de se remarier. Chapitre II*; incipit, “Je ne te devoys point parler des douleurs de mariage pour ce que tu en as assez aprins en tes propres nopces et mariage [...]”; ff. 17v-23v, Chapter III, rubric (in blue), *Comment monseigneur saint Iherosme exhorte par exemples ma dame Furie a garder sa viduité. Chapistre troisesme*; incipit, “Ce que iay dit cy davant ma tresamée fille en Ihesucrist, ie ne le dy point doubtant de ton bon propoz. [...]”; ff. 23v-28, Chapter IV, rubric (in blue), *Des inconveniens qui adviennent aux femmes pour vivre delicieusement et a leurs plaisirs. Chapitre III*; incipit, “Une femme vesve qui est nourrie en delices et a son plaisir elle est morte en vivant. [...]”; ff. 28-34v, Chapter V, rubric (in blue), *Des viendes que l’on doit user pour garder chasteté. Chapitre V*; incipit, “Les medecins qui ont congneu et escript les natures des corps humains disent et par especial Galien en ses livres intitulés en grec [...]”; ff. 34v-36v, Chapter VI, rubric (in blue) *De la façon de prier dieu et de pluseurs inconveniens qui sont a éviter. Chapitre VI*; incipit, “Et pource ma fille ma mye que ie tay dit que tu doibs tousiours penser a prier dieu [...]”; ff. 36v-38v, Chapter VII, rubric (in blue), *Du bien qui vient de donner l’aumosne pour l’onneur de dieu. Et a qui l’on doit donner. Chapistre VII*; incipit, “Acquiers et saiz des amis de ton argent et de tes biens temporelz en les donnants aux pouvres [...]”; ff. 38v-41, Chapter VIII, rubric, *Des compagnies qui sont a fuyr. Chapitre VIII*; incipit, “Fuy la compagnie des jeunes hommes [...]”; ff. 41-43, Chapter IX, rubric, *De la façon de se corriger et considerant les mauvaises condicions d’aultruy. Chapitre IX*; incipit, “Nous avons veu depuis peu de temps en ça par tout le pays d’orient une facon de vivre tres deshonneste [...]”; ff. 43-46v, Chapter X, rubric, *De l’exemple de la seur de furie affin de la ressembler en meurs. Chapistre X*; incipit, “A ma fille mamye si tu vois ta seur qui a renommee au monde [...]”; ff. 46v-48, Chapter XI, rubric, *Les excusacions des femmes vefues qui se veulent marier. Chapitre XI*; incipit, “Les femmes qui ont en vye delles marier desquelles les aucunes ont laisse le chemin de paradis et se sont retournées en arriere [...]”; ff. 48-51v, Chapter XII, rubric, *Des repliques de mariage. Chapistre XII*; incipit, “La mere qui se marie deux fois ne espouse pas ung nourrcier a ses enfans mais ung ennemi [...]”; ff. 51v-61v, Chapter XIII, rubric, *Quelles doibvent estre les femmes vefues. Chapistre XIII*; incipit, “Si nous voulons sçavoir quelles doivent estre les femmes vefves lisons l’evangille de monseigneur saint Luc [...]”; ff. 62-63v, blank.

ILLUSTRATION: f. 5, Full-page frontispiece miniature showing St. Jerome giving his epistle to a messenger, and the messenger handing it to Furia, the intended recipient. The two scenes are presented side by side in a divided space in an architectural framework. St. Jerome, standing on the right, is dressed as a cardinal, wearing a red robe and a hat. He is shown handing his letter destined to Furia to a messenger kneeling in front of him. The adjoining scene on the left shows the messenger handing the letter (which has now become a book) to Furia who is dressed in noble black and accompanied by two women (ladies in waiting?). In both scenes the messenger wears a short blue robe, tall black boots with spurs, and a red cape. The framing columns, which support a simple architrave, are made of tree trunks and stand on a high plinth inscribed with a space for heraldic arms.

OWNERSHIP: – 1. Manuscript copied in Bourges or the Berry region, as suggested by the dedicatory prologue of the translator Charles Bonin who states that his translation was reviewed and corrected by a certain “Jehan Fernaud aveugle treshabille homme et devost religieux reformé au monastere saint Sulpice lez Bourges” (f. 4). A berrichon origin is confirmed by stylistic elements tied to the full-page illumination attributed to the Master of Spencer 6, an artist active in Bourges. – 2. Anne de Polignac (1495-1554), dame de Randan et de Beaumont. On her library see L. Delisle, 1880; Quentin

Bauchart, 1886; and Cahn, 2005. Her first husband was Charles du Bueil, Count of Sancerre, who was killed at the Battle of Marignan in 1515. In 1518 she remarried François II de La Rochefoucauld, who died in 1533 (see La Chesnaye-Desbois, *Dictionnaire de la noblesse*, 1778, tome XII, p. 201). Her library was housed in her castle at Verteuil near Angoulême and was inventoried at the death of Duke François VIII de La Rochefoucauld in 1728 (see Archives départementales de la Charente, E 662, published by P. de Fleury, 1885-1886, p. 181 for this manuscript, and in greater detail by M. Gérard, 1984, pp. 244-245 for this manuscript). Toward the middle of the eighteenth century, the Verteuil library was transferred by the Duke Alexandre de La Rochefoucauld to his château at La Roche-Guyon. Upon the death of his childless grandson and heir in 1792, the Verteuil library came into the possession of Louis-François Auguste, Cardinal de Rohan-Chabot who was a Rochefoucauld through his mother. – 3. Louis-François Auguste, Cardinal de Rohan-Chabot (1788-1833) moved part of the Verteuil library to his castle at Josselin in Brittany, which was in need of restoration work. In order to raise funds, thirty-six manuscripts of Anne de Polignac’s library were placed on sale at auction in Paris by Adolphe Labitte in 1879 (Labitte, 1879, no. 10 for this manuscript). The description in the 1728 inventory of an “Espitre de st hierosme a une dame romaine. Manuscrit” is rather summary. The detailed description in Labitte’s auction catalogue of 1879, however, confirms an identification with the present manuscript. His number ten is described as follows: “10. Sensuit Lespistre de Monseigneur Saint Iherosme, qu’il escript a une jeune dame de Romme nommee Furie. En laquelle espistre Monseigneur saint Iherosme admoneste la dicte dame a garder lestat de vefuaige ou viduité.” – 4. Eugène Paillet, a highly regarded bibliophile and president of the “Société des Amis des Livres,” with his inscription in brown ink (f. 2). The present codex is listed in H. Beraldi, *Bibliothèque d’un Bibliophile, 1865-1885*, Lille, 1885, p. 1, no. 3. Sale of his first library en bloc in 1887 to the Librairie Damascène Morgand: listed in its catalogue as number 389 (see *Catalogue des Livres de la Bibliothèque de M. Eugène Paillet*, Paris, 1887, no. 389; see also D. Gamut, “The Paillets in New York,” *The New York Times*, 23 March 1890, p. 12). – 5. Inscribed in black ink inside back cover in the upper right corner: “Ingr. 2341.”

LITERATURE: Published in Delisle, 1880, p. 329; Labitte, 1879, no. 10; Quentin-Bauchart, 1886, t. I, p. 47 (with the name of the translator misread as “Sonin”); Fleury, 1884-85, p. 181; Gérard, 1984, pp. 244-245; Cahn, 2005, p. 134 and p. 132 as “A copy of a French translation of St. Jerome’s Epistle to the Roman matron Furia, on the proper conduct of widows (No. 10 on Labitte’s list) was perhaps intended to console her on the death of her two husbands.” – See on Anne de Polignac, M. de Roissac, *Généalogie de la très grande, très ancienne et très illustre maison de La Rochefoucaut*, 1654. – P. Anselme, *Histoire généalogique et chronologique de la maison royale de France...*, Paris, 1727, vol. IV, pp. 426-427. – G. Martin, *Histoire et généalogie de la maison de Polignac*, 2002. – Démorest, M. *La dynastie de Polignac*, 2010. – See also, Alexander, J.J.G., J. Marrow and L. F. Sandler, *The Splendor of the Word: Medieval and Renaissance Illuminated Manuscripts at the New York Public Library*, exh. cat., New York and London, 2005. – Avril, F. and N. Reynaud, *Les manuscrits à peintures en France 1440-1520*, Paris, 1993, pp. 343-345.– Brown, C. J and M. W. Driver, eds. “Women and Book Culture in Late Medieval and Early Modern France,” *Journal of the Early Book Society*, 2001-4. – Cahn, W., “A French Renaissance Collection of Ancient Oratory from the Library of Anne de Polignac,” *Yale University Library Gazette* 79, no. 3-4 (2005), pp. 119-37, esp. pp. 129 and 132. – Conring, B., *Hieronymus als Briefschreiber*, Tübingen, 2001, pp. 170-98. – Delisle, L., “La bibliothèque d’Anne de Polignac et les origines de l’imprimerie à Angoulême,” *Mélanges de paléographie et de bibliographie*, Paris, 1880, pp. 324-329. – Fleury, P. de, “Inventaire des objets mobiliers existant dans les châteaux de La Rochefoucauld, Verteuil et La Terne à la mort de François VIII de La Rochefoucauld (1728),” *Bulletin de la Société archéologique de la Charente*, 5^e ser., 7, 1884-85, pp. 71-209. – Ffolliott, S., “Catherine de’ Medici as Artemisia: Figuring the Powerful Widow,” *Rewriting the Renaissance. The Discourses of Sexual Difference in Early Modern Europe*, Chicago and London, 1986, pp. 227-241. – Gérard, M., “Le catalogue de la bibliothèque de La Rochefoucauld à Verteuil,” in *Images de La Rochefoucauld: Actes du Tricentenaire, 1680-1980*, Paris, 1984, pp. 239-92. – König, E., *Boccaccio und Petrarca in Paris. Das Boccace de Nicolas-Joseph Foucault, Paris, 1460-1470...Der Petrarca der Anne de Polignac...Die früheste französische Trionfi-Handschrift...* [Leuchtendes Mittelalter, I, no. 38], Heribert Tenschert, Ramsen, 1997. – Labitte, A., *Catalogue de manuscrits précieux des XIII*,

XV^e et XVI^e siècles sur vélin et ornés de miniatures, Paris, Hôtel Drouot, 18 mars 1879, no. 10. – Nautin, F., "Études de chronologie hiéronymienne (393-397)," *Revue des études augustiniennes*, 20, 1974, pp. 251-284, in particular pp. 257-63). – Plummer, J. *The Last Flowering*, exh. cat., New York, 1982, no. 95A. – Quentin Bauchart, E., *Les femmes bibliophiles de France (XVI^e, XVII^e & XVIII^e siècles)*, 2 vols, Paris, 1886, I, pp. 43-53; – Thumas de la Thaumassière, G., *Histoire de Berry*, Paris, 2005 [facsimile of ed. 1689].



fig. 13.1
Paris, CNAM,
Recueil des Arts et Métiers, Pl. 51.
Madame de La Rochefoucauld,
Pt. F. Me 3 Res (II,1(1))



fig. 13.2
New Haven, Yale University,
Beinecke Library, MS 1042,
*Harangues et oraisons des
anciens*, front flyleaf verso



fig. 13.3
Paris, BnF, MS fr. 1869,
Heures de la Croix
(French Translation of the
Hours of the Cross), f. 4



fig. 13.5
New York, NYPL, MS Spencer 6,
Book of Hours, f. 2v



fig. 13.4
New York, NYPL, MS Spencer 6,
Book of Hours, ff. 5v-6

fig. 13.6
Paris, BnF, MS fr. 701,
Xenophon, *Anabasis*, f. 12



Raison reprend la dame dont elle
 pense qu'il y ait une fortune et lui mo-
 strer que fortune n'est rien fors l'abus de
 ce mortel monde.



CATHERINE D'AMBOISE, *La complainte de la dame
 pasmée contre fortune or Traité de morale sur la fortune*
 [Complaint of the Fainting Lady against Fortune]

In French, illuminated manuscript on parchment
 West-central France, Bourges? Poitiers?, c. 1525-1530
 8 large miniatures by the artist of Paris, Mazarine MS 978 (P. Merevache?)

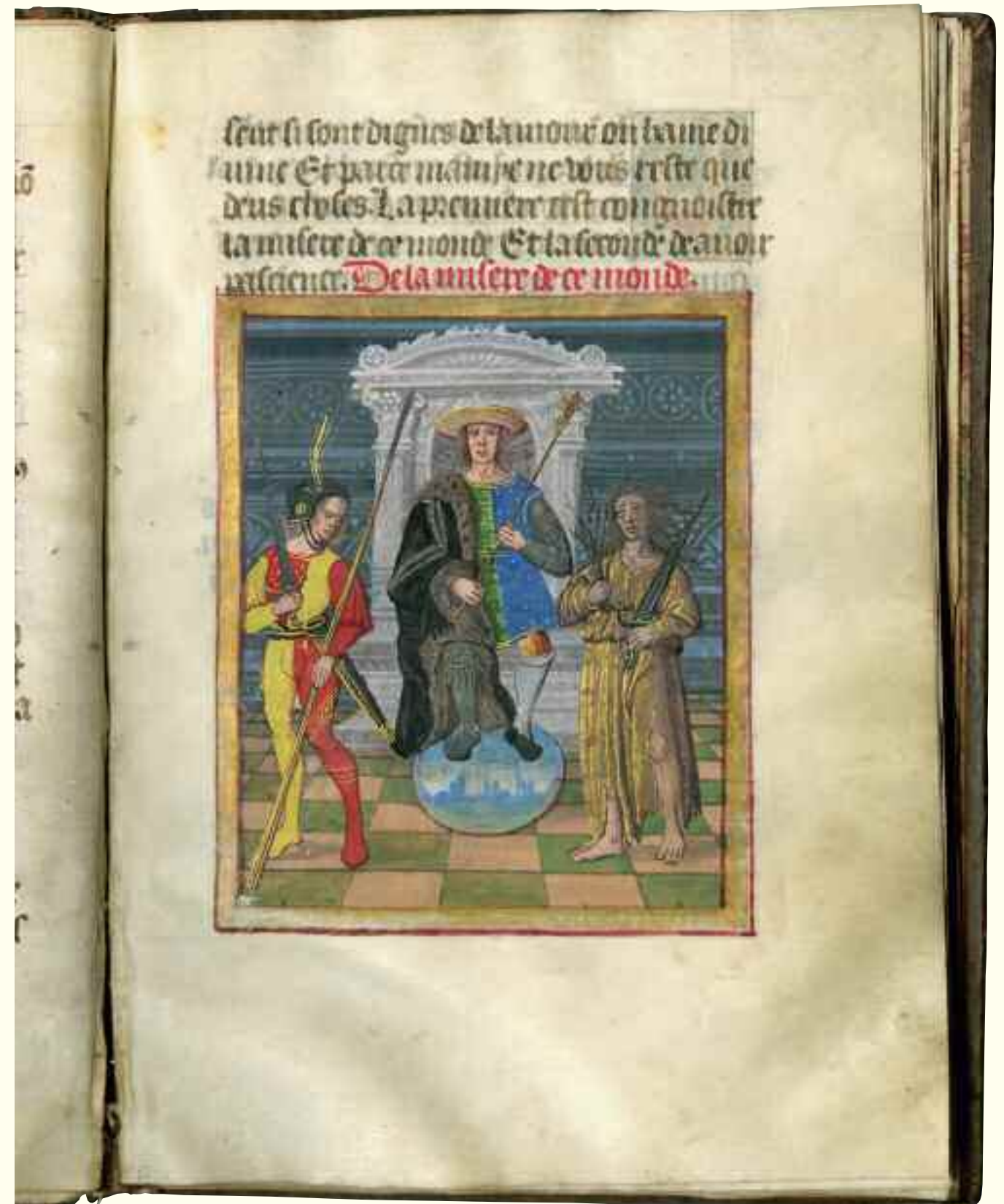
The manuscript is a rare example of consolatory literature written by a woman in the French Renaissance, probably intended to circulate among family members saddened by the loss of Georges d'Amboise (died 1525). From the collection of John Ruskin, this is the most important of three known copies and the only one remaining in private hands. The author directly supervised its production and devised the unique program of illustrations, which recount the vagaries of Fortune from a female perspective. The Poitevin illuminator, P. Merevache, who likely painted the miniatures, was also responsible for the manuscript which contains the *Oeuvres spirituelles* of Gabrielle de Bourbon (1510-1516), another female writer from the highest aristocracy (Paris, Bibl. Mazarine MS 978).

The present manuscript contains one of only three known copies of the unpublished work entitled *Complainte de la dame pasmée contre fortune*, thus named after the rubric of the second chapter, and composed during the first half of the reign of King Francis I. Like Anne de Graville (sister-in-law of Charles II d'Amboise, Catherine's brother), Catherine left handwritten works that reflect the important cultural role played by women in the upper echelons of the aristocracy at the dawn of the Renaissance. This is the second work by Catherine d'Amboise (c. 1482-1550), dame de Lignières. The early loss of her husband and child and the reversals of fortune of her family prompted her, in 1509, to write her first literary essay entitled *Le Livre des prudens et imprudens* (Paris, Bibl. de l'Arsenal, MS 2037), a long prose treatise that examines the fortunes of men and women, from Adam to Charlemagne.

Catherine d'Amboise, one of a select group of aristocratic and even royal French Renaissance female authors, composed her *Complainte de la*

dame pasmée contre fortune, a little under twenty years after her *Livre des prudens et imprudens* (Paris, Arsenal, MS 2037, fig. 14.1). There are two other copies of the work: Paris, Société des manuscrits des assureurs français, 79-7 (SMAF 79-7, on deposit at the BnF) and Paris, BnF, MS n.a.f. 19738 (figs 14.2, 14.3 and 14.4). The SMAF manuscript once belonged in the later sixteenth century to Léonore de Rohan, princesse de Guéméné (who must have inherited it through her family's alliance to the Graille-Balsac family): it is likely that manuscript was presented as a piece of consolatory prose to Jeanne de Graille (died 1540), sister of Anne de Graille (see cat. no. 12), mother of the recently deceased Georges d'Amboise (who died at Pavia in 1525 during the Italian Wars) and sister-in-law of Catherine d'Amboise (see Lebigue, 2001, p. 125-129). The second manuscript is certainly contemporary with the two others, although it contains an abbreviated text devoid of all personal references to the Amboise family, that chooses to adopt a masculine narratorial perspective rather than the existing feminine narrator and does not include any heraldic clues. This "abbreviated" version was painted in Paris by the Master of the Paris Entries, probably for a Parisian patron who wished to own a more "universal" copy of the work, one without the feminine perspective and the specific references to the Amboise family (see Orth, 1997, pp. 20-22).

The present manuscript, apparently the author's own copy, was most certainly copied under the direction of Catherine d'Amboise who lived in Lignières (Berry). Catherine's work is closely involved with her family affairs and Orth (1997, 2001) suggests that her immediate family was its audience, which would help account for the multiple copies of the *Complainte*. Posthumous daughter of Charles I d'Amboise and Catherine de Chauvigny, Catherine d'Amboise was born into one of the foremost families of Touraine, which produced many patrons of the arts in the reign of Louis XII (see Souchal, 1976; Bos et al., 2007). Catherine was married extremely young to Christophe de Tournon, Charles VIII's chamberlain. She bore him a child who died shortly after birth, and was widowed by the age of seventeen. In 1501, she married Philibert de Beaujeu, seigneur de Lignières, who died in 1541. She was over sixty when she married her third husband, Louis de Clèves, comte d'Auxerre (died in 1545). The successive deaths of her uncle Georges, advisor to King Louis XII ("*l'escrin pectoral du roys...le receptacle de ses secrets*," f. 4v), her brother Charles II Chaumont d'Amboise in 1511, and her nephew Georges II d'Amboise at Pavia in 1525 meant that she inherited multiple



Confus il fect combien il se repent et le
 Deceplure selon le delict qui l'a commis
 Et aussi fut dieu a les enfans par son
 imitation. *En son va la dame au par
 amour divine avec sa noble compaignie.*



domains including that of Meillant, Chaumont, Charenton as well as part of the library of the great humanist prelate Georges d'Amboise (the vernacular books, since the Latin language books remained in Rouen, see Deville, 1850). Clearly well-read, might Catherine have composed her *Complainte* using the books inherited from her uncle archbishop Georges, eminent collector of books? She took under her protection the illegitimate son of her brother Charles II Chaumont d'Amboise, the poet Michel d'Amboise, who also composed works related to the allegorical figure of Fortuna, suggesting the nephew and aunt shared common literary interests and influences. A comparative analysis of both oeuvres would certainly yield interesting conclusions (Cooper, 1990; Buttay-Jutier, 2008).

The *Complainte* is a prose autobiographical allegory in which the author – who in this work remains nameless but is identified through the heraldry and autobiographical references in the text – is both narrator and character of this mystical pilgrimage. Upon receiving bad news, the narrator collapses and reclines on her *lict de cam*. Orth suggested that this news might very well be the death of Georges d'Amboise in 1525 at Pavia (the nephew not the cardinal), sole remaining pride and hope of the Amboise lineage (1997, p. 22). Thus afflicted once again by misfortune, she is visited by Reason, who persuades her to meditate on the hardships of this mortal world, before setting her on the path to “the garden of Divine Love” where Dame Patience resides. Reflections on the fickleness of Fortune, inspired by Seneca's *De clementia* and Boethius's *Consolation of Philosophy*, give rise to a religious meditation that finally allows her to bring Fortune down from the false throne set up by idolaters. The hardships of the world are but a brief, difficult passage on the path to eternal happiness. There are interesting passages about marriage, sickness, and growing old, as well as criticism waged against the Church, a rarity in writings attributed to a woman: “Sy vous gouctez l'estat de l'église generalmente tant des seculiers que les reguliers vous y trouverez grande inperfection....” (f. 11v) [If you turn to the Church, both secular and regular, you will find a great imperfection...].

Written by a woman, likely illustrated under her guidance, the present manuscript is a rare testimony of the persistence of manuscripts in courtly surroundings, certainly intended for a very limited and select circulation. The works were not destined to be printed, although the author had the means and influence to do so. Catherine d'Amboise was evidently a learned

individual, whose miseries led her to find comfort and solace in the act of reading and writing, placing herself under the guidance of Boethius. Already, in 1509, she had herself depicted in dialogue with Boethius in the last miniature of her *Livre des prudens et imprudens*. Her *Complainte*, more concise and allegorical, adopting a more “modern” literary genre, equally owes a lot to Boethius, including her violent invectives waged against Fortune.

The two copies of the *Complainte* that contain heraldry (the present copy and SMAF 79-7) were probably commissioned by her directly. The question remains for this rediscovered manuscript: where? The present manuscript presents stylistic similarities with the illustrations in the works of Gabrielle de Bourbon, in particular the two extant manuscripts published by Berriot-Salvadore (1999): Paris, Bibl. Mazarine, MS 978 (figs. 14.5 and 14.6) and Paris, Archives nationales, 1 AP 220. Gabrielle de Bourbon (c. 1460-1516) was related to the d’Amboise family through her marriage to Louis II de la Trémoille. Author of a number of very similar spiritual and edifying treatises, Gabrielle had her works copied and illuminated for a very select circle, much like Catherine d’Amboise. We know she employed P. Merevache, a painter from the area of Poitiers, who worked for her after having been introduced to her by the poet and “grand rhétoriqueur” Jean Bouchet, who served as her advisor from 1510 to 1516 (see Berriot-Salvadore, 1999, p. 50). If the identity of the painter who painted Gabrielle de Bourbon’s manuscripts is indeed P. Merevache as suggested by the archives, the miniatures in this copy of the *Complainte de la dame pasmée contre fortune* are most certainly to be included amongst this artist’s oeuvre (on Merevache, see Marchegay and Imbert, 1881, pp. 10-11, letter no. 6; he is quoted also by the poet Scévole Sainte Marthe: “Icy gist Merevache, appelle Poitevin...”, in Hamon, 1901, p. 59). Catherine d’Amboise maintained important ties with the Poitou region, including the town of Chauvigny, through her mother Catherine de Chauvigny. It is now known that Catherine d’Amboise was indebted to Jean Bouchet’s *Epistres morales et familières*, a main source of inspiration for her poetry contained in a single manuscript Paris, BnF, MS fr. 2282 (see Müller, 2002, pp. 29-32). Jean Bouchet resided in Chauvigny and Poitiers, and could have also suggested an artist for the illustration of Catherine’s works. Were the manuscripts illustrated for Gabrielle de Bourbon and Catherine d’Amboise made in the same milieu, between Berry and Poitou, under the guidance or suggestion of Jean Bouchet, poet, spiritual guide and provider of artists for the aristocratic society he frequented?

The miniatures emphasize the autobiographical aspects of the treatise by twice showing the Lady, the “I” of the treatise individualized and identified by her coat of arms. Through the relationship of text and image, Catherine asserts her authorship and the successful completion of her allegorical journey. As an author and patron Catherine d’Amboise merits publication and further investigation: the female representatives of the important House of Amboise have not yet been fully studied with respect to their contribution to artistic and literary patronage (Souchal, 1976; Bos et alia, 2007).

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION: 24 ff., preceded and followed by 2 paper flyleaves, complete (collation: i⁷ [of 8, with i cancelled, likely blank, possibly pastedown], ii⁸, iii⁴, iv² [of 4, iii and iv cancelled], v³ [of 2 + iii, former pastedown]), written in brown ink in a gothic bookhand on 22 long lines, ruled in pink (justification 150 x 97 mm), rubrics in red, 8 large initials in blue and red with acanthus infills on grounds of liquid gold, 8 large miniatures in rectangular frames of liquid gold, the first in a classical architectural frame (slight staining to miniature on fol. 19v and facing text page). Bound in an 18th century binding of brown calf, gilt spine, marbled pastedowns (two corners and spine restored at head and foot, else in good condition). Dimensions 216 x 152 mm.

OWNERSHIP: – 1. Armorial and autobiographical evidence all suggest that the present copy was commissioned by Catherine d’Amboise (1481-1550), probably directly under her guidance or perhaps (more surprisingly, given her social status) copied by herself and illuminated under her instructions. Her arms (*paley of 6 or and gules*) impaled by those of her second husband Philibert de Beaujeu (*or, a lion rampant sable armed and langued gules with a label of three points gules*) appear on the architectural frame of fol. 1 and identify Catherine within the miniature on fol. 6. The couple married in 1501 and Philibert died in 1541. Authorship erroneously attributed to a certain Marie d’Amboise (sister of Catherine d’Amboise?), as implied by a note on the second paper flyleaf, which reads: “Ce manuscrit est de l’année 1515 ou environ, est de Marie d’Amboise, dernière niece du Cardinal d’Amboise. Elle épousa en premières noces Robert de Sarbrucke, comte de Brenne le 5 février 1487, lequel mourut le 4 septembre 1504 et en secondes noces Jean VI seigneur de Créquy en 1509. Elle mourut le 9 janvier 1519 âgée d’environ 47 ans”. – 2. John Ruskin (1819-1900), with his Brantwood book label pasted on upper pastedown. This manuscript was described as untraced by Dearden (1966), no. 69, p. 150. The library passed, along with the rest of his estate, to Arthur Severne. The manuscript was sold at Sotheby’s 24 July 1930, lot 14, to Maggs. – 3. Sold in Paris: *Bibliothèque littéraire. Précieuse collection d’auteurs français du XIV^e au XVIII^e siècle*. Sale, Paris, Hotel Georges V, 6-16 June 1995; purchased by S. Fogg, his catalogue, *Illuminated Manuscripts*, Catalogue 20, 1999, no. 33, pp. 128-131; – 4. USA, Private Collection.

TEXT: The *Complainte de la dame pasmée contre fortune* is divided into eight chapters, each chapter preceded and introduced by a miniature: ff. 1-23v, Catherine d’Amboise, [*La complainte de la dame pasmée contre fortune*], with ff. 1-2, chapter 1, with no rubric and beginning: “Ung jour pesant, morne et fastiguée, que j’estois seule en ma chambre sur ung lict de cam, ainsi que je argumentois en mon entendement de plusieurs haultes et grandes matieres et mesment pourquoy les bons sont souvent persecutez de fortune et les mauvaiz esleuz en grosse auctorité, arriva en ladite chambre ung chevalier vestu de noir, faisant assez mauvaize chere, lequel certaines lectres clouses me presenta, bien piteuses que je comencay a lire...”; ff. 2-6, chapter 2, rubric, *La complainte de la dame pasmée contre fortune*; beginning: “Tantost apres que je fuz ung peu relevé de mon soudain mal parce que plus ne pouvois supporter si griefve douleur sans parler començay a dire assez



E fus ioieuse de ouyr tant de bies
dire de patience et me augme
ta le courage de me retirer vers
elle. J'ay quoy prap raison

de me mettre au chemin et conduire au
lieu ou elle se tenoit. Aquoy elle se corda
Et atant entraime en vng chemin fort
estroit plain de pierres et chailloux asles
rigoureux toutestors par les coustes le che
min estoit bien plaissant car il estoit ten
du de belle verdure. Et tant cheminai me
que nous arriuasmes ala premiere repue
ou nous fumes tresbien traictes et ainsi
qu'on a prestoit le disuer arria vne noble
däe de haulte et grande renomee que bien
cognoissoye car elle estoit de ceulx que plus
j'aimors et si toult quelle me vit les lar
mes luy tumberent des yeulx en si grant
habondance que plus ne pouoit. Je ne la
voulu surr interroguer car bien ie sca
uors la cause de la douleur. Tontestors
cömenca a renouueller toutes ses plaic
tes. Davant raison qui la reconforta
come elle auoit fait moy aussi. lostelliere
dudit logis plusieurs belles exsemplies
luy recita la quelle a ps disuer nos fit ense

bas...”; ff. 6-8, chapter 3, rubric, *Raison reprend la dame dont elle pense qu’il y ait une fortune et luy monstre que fortune n’est rien fors l’abuz de ce mortel monde*, and beginning : “Lesdictes parolles et plusieurs aultres par moy prononcees qui ne fut sans habundance de grosses larmes et grans souspirs...”; ff. 8-12, chapter 4, rubric, *De la misere de ce monde*, and beginning: “Quant a la misere de ce monde, je diz qu’il est miserable en quatre chouses...”; ff. 12-14, chapter 5, rubric, *Description de Tristesse bone et mauuaise*, and beginning: “Après que Raison eut mys fin a ses parolles, se trouua soudain davant elle une vielle maigre seiche et toute deffigreee qui estoit vestue de noir...”; ff. 14-16, chapter 6, rubric, *Des louanges de Pacience*, and beginning: “Je fus bien joyeuse quant j’euz ouy parler de Pacience et commençay a dire...”; ff. 16-19v, chapter 7, rubric, *Du chemin pour aller a Pacience et de sa demourance*, and beginning: “Je fus joieuse de ouyr tant de biens dire de Pacience et me augmenta le courage de me retirer vers elle...”; ff. 19v-23v, chapter 8, rubric, *Icy s’en va la dame au Parc d’Amour divine avec sa noble compaignie* and beginning: “Après que nous eusmes digné ondit chasteau et que la dame d’iceluy nous eut fait les remonstrances dessusdictes...”; explicit : “[...]. Or demourasme avecques Pacience, actendent avoir a la fin de nos jours ce qu’elle nous avoit promis ou nous puissions par bonnes euvres parvenir. Amen.”

ILLUSTRATION: The subjects of the eight miniatures are as follows: f. 1, Catherine d’Amboise, identified by her arms on the framing, receives a letter of bad news from a kneeling messenger; f. 2v, Reason revives Catherine, who has swooned after reading the letter, by sprinkling her with the water of Self-Knowledge that returns people from the swoon of Ignorance; f. 6, Reason explains the nature of Fortune to Catherine, who stands on the other side of a tree with a shield of her arms; f. 8, Fortune [or the *Misère de ce monde*], half-dressed as a soldier and half as a civilian, is seated with his feet on the unstable globe of the world, a foppishly dressed soldier to his right may represent how much of a man’s prime is spent in warfare; to his left, the grim lady in a tattered golden gown, holding sword and birch, may represent the miseries of the world that can befall a man; f. 12, Catherine turns to flee from Evil Sadness, the mother of Despair, who is dressed in a black robe patterned with gold tears, bound around by rope, and holds a sword and pot of poison; f. 14, Reason expounds Patience to Catherine, as they sit in a Renaissance loggia; f. 16v, Reason shows Catherine the stony path leading through pleasant meadows to Patience; f. 19v, A small seated figure of Knowledge of God guards the gateway to the Park of Divine Love, within which Catherine and the Lady encountered on the way kneel with Reason before Patience, surrounded by the symbols of the martyrs and the Instruments of Christ’s Passion.

LITERATURE: Published in Buttay-Jutier, 2008, pp. 149-152; Dearden, 1966; Müller, 2002, p. 24; Orth, 1997, pp. 22 and 30; idem, 2002, p. 92 and note p. 100. See also Bergeron-Foote, Ariane, “Les œuvres en prose de Catherine d’Amboise, dame de Lignières (1481-1550),” *Positions de thèse de l’Ecole des chartes*, Paris, 2002. – Berriot-Salvadore, E., *Les femmes dans la société française de la Renaissance*, Geneva, Droz, 1990. – idem, “Vies et morts exemplaires: les Prudens et Imprudens de Catherine d’Amboise,” *De bonne vie s’ensuit bonne mort: récits de mort, récits de vie en Europe, XV^e-XVII^e siècle*, eds. Patricia Eichel-Lojkine and Claudie Martin-Ulrich, Paris, 2006, pp. 17-31. – Bos A., T., Crépin-Leblond et alia, eds., *L’art des frères d’Amboise. Les chapelles de l’hôtel de Cluny et du château de Gaillon*, Paris, 2007. – Bourbon, Gabrielle de, *Œuvres spirituelles, 1510-1516*, ed. E. Berriot-Salvadore, Paris, 1999. – Buttay-Jutier, F., *Fortuna. Usages politiques d’une allégorie morale à la Renaissance*, Paris, 2008. – Cooper, R., “Le thème de la Fortune dans la poésie de Michel d’Amboise (c. 1505-1547),” *Il tema della Fortuna nella letteratura francese e italiana del Rinascimento. Studi in memoria di Enzo Giudici*, Florence, 1990, pp. 107-122. – Dearden, J. S. “John Ruskin, the Collector. With a Catalogue of the Illuminated and Other Manuscripts formerly in his Collection,” *The Library*, 5th series, 21 (1966), pp. 124-154. – Deville, A., *Comptes de dépenses de la construction du château de Gaillon...*, Paris, 1850. – Hamon, A. *Un grand rhétoriqueur poitevin. Jean Bouchet, 1476-1557*, Paris, 1901. – Lebigue, J. B. et al., *Manuscrits du Moyen-Âge et manuscrits littéraires modernes. La collection de la Société des Assureurs Français (S.M.A.F)*, Paris, Janvier 2001, pp. 125-129. – Marchegay, P. and H. Imbert, *Lettres missives originales du seizième siècle...*, tome XIX, Niort, 1881. – Müller, C., ed., *Catherine d’Amboise (1482-1550). Poésies*, Montréal, 2002. – idem, “*Par amoureux et gracieux accordz*: la parole mystique de Catherine d’Amboise comme don de miséricorde et poésie en acte,”

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fig. 14.1 - Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, MS 2037,
Catherine d'Amboise, *Livre des prudens et imprudens*, f. 133



fig. 14.2
Paris, Société des manuscrits des assureurs français
(Collection SMAF, on deposit at BnF), MS 79-7, f. 28



fig. 14.3
Paris, BnF, MS n.a.f. 19738,
Catherine d'Amboise,
*Complainte de la dame pâmée
contre Fortune*, f. 1



fig. 14.5
Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine,
MS 978, Gabrielle de Bourbon,
Œuvres spirituelles, f. 1



fig. 14.4 - Paris, BnF, MS n.a.f. 19738,
Catherine d'Amboise,
*Complainte de la dame pâmée
contre Fortune*, f. 5



fig. 14.6
Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine,
MS 978, Gabrielle de Bourbon,
Œuvres spirituelles, f. 43



V

From Manuscript to Print:
the Circulation of Texts
and the Triumph of the
French Vernacular

Le commencement d'un petit traité intitulé la
penitance adam translate de latin en françois par
colard mansion au commandement de noble et
puissant seigneur monseigneur de la gruuthuse
Comte de Wincestre Prince de steenhuse &c.

Daint iay bien regarde seut et conside
re le petit cayer que vous noble et
puissant seigneur et mon tres hon
nour compere mauee Saruine
ment et nagantres baillie a translater de latin en
françois qui est intitulé la penitance adam.
Asses ne me scay esmerueillier comment nostre
seigneur dieu pour son premier euvre qu'il de ses
propres et sacrees mains auoit creé & nouuellement
fait a son ymage et similitude souffrendurer
et porter si austere penitance a l'homme sa creatu
re pour vne seule transgression et mesus d'un
rien seul commandement et amonnes fait par la
suggestion du diable tempteux son ennemy et
par imitation de eue que a compaignie lui auoit
sommes.  Certes amonnes et de rechief assés.

COLARD MANSION, *La penitence d'Adam*,
dedicated to Louis de Gruuthuse,

In French, illuminated manuscript on parchment
Bruges, c. 1480

Decorated by the Master of Edward IV and the Master of the Flemish
Boethius

This is an exceptionally fine copy of a French translation of an apocryphal Biblical legend from the workshop of Colard Mansion, the Burgundian scribe, translator, incunable-printer, and friend and working-partner of William Caxton. At the dawn of printing, our manuscript witnesses how scribes and *libraires*, simultaneous with the practice of the new technology, also perfected the scribal arts in the production of tiny numbers of exceedingly high quality books. Even fragments of Mansion's printed books are extremely rare in private hands, and this is the only manuscript of this text to ever come to the open market. It is newly identified here as in all probability the dedication copy of the second recension of the text made for the famed bibliophile Louis de Gruuthuse himself.

Colard Mansion is one of the most important and mysterious figures in history of Flemish book production. He appears first in 1450 in the Burgundian ducal accounts when he was paid 54 livres for a parchment manuscript of the *Romuleon* bound in blue velvet for the palace library at Bruges (it was presumably a magnificent *de luxe* copy of the text in several volumes: the figure is slightly higher than the 51 livres paid for the entire production of the Chatsworth *Mystère de la Vengeance*, offered by Sotheby's, London, 5 December 2012, lot 50). In 1454 he was a founder member of the Bruges guild of booksellers and scribes, and became dean of the Guild in 1472-1473. First and foremost he was a translator into French and a scribe of the highest order, designing the refined and elegant Burgundian *lettre bâtarde* found in the present manuscript. Records of Mansion employing an apprentice in 1458 and contracting to produce a copy of Valerius Maximus "in his own hand or as good," open the way for debate on whether this is his hand or an amanuensis, and as Painter notes, "whether they are in Mansion's autograph is uncertain; if not, they may well be by employees in his scrip-

thiſſe le commandement de dieu mon createur .
Et tantost a ceſte priere tous les poiffons et
 autres choses naues ou fleuve entournerent adu
 Et meſmes leue demourer immobiles ſans courir
 depuis celle heure iuſques a la fin de ſa penitance.

*Comment eue par la ſuggeſtion du dyable vint
 en la penitance.*

Ainsi trespasſerent .viii. iours pourquoy ſa
 ſauveur enuieux de ceſtu benefice ſe tranſfigu
 ra en ſemblance d'ange en laquelle forme il
 ſen alla au fleuve de tarte deuers eue quil trouua
 enleue iuſques au col moult fort plourant: Le
 dyable ſe voyant en ceſt eſtat commenca a faire
 maniere de plourer comme ſil euſt compaſſion
 de ſa grande et auſtere penitance: Et ſua diſt en
 ceſte maniere. **E**ue ie te prie vuide hors de
 ce fleuve et ſi te reſpoſe vint iours de ta grande triſ
 teſſe et de ton gremiſſement dont tu es ſi ſollicit
 Et adam ton mary pareillement eſt ſollicit
 Noſtre ſeigneur a ouy voſtre gremiſſant priere
 ſi a receu en toy voſtre auſtere penitance: Et

torium trained in his style" (p. 76). Such a workshop was unlikely to have been large, and as in the case of the workshops of master-artists, modern debate over who held the pen at any one time is moot. Certainly Mansion was the driving force in the production of these luxurious volumes and oversaw each stage at the very least. The same workshop also produced Mansion's printed works – some twenty-four titles from 1476 onwards (see Ruelle, pp. 41-44), including a version of Boccaccio's *De Casibus* with some copies supplied with remarkably fine engravings which attempt to duplicate medieval illuminations (fig. 15.1 for a colophon in one of his volumes).

Perhaps more than any other, Colard Mansion's work exemplifies this section of this catalogue – the shift from manuscript to print. He worked during the infancy of printing, and saw it only from the viewpoint of a medieval scribe, not as a book production tool in its own right, but as a means of perfecting parts of medieval scribal and illumination practices. It has been noted that his print runs were tiny (limited to only four or five copies) and these never even exceeded the number of manuscript copies produced of each of his translations (Eisenstein, p. 32 and Saenger, p. 414). Just as with manuscripts, it appears these were of extremely high quality and produced for a handful of noble clients, rather than mass-production for an open market. In addition to Louis of Bruges, customers of Mansion included Charles de Cröy, prince of Chimay, and Marie, the widow of Louis of Luxembourg, Count of Saint-Pol. As such, any products of his workshop are of the utmost rarity, and even fragments of printed books are extremely scarce in private collections.

Much scholarship on Mansion and his career has focused on his close relationship with another scribe, translator, and incunable printer, William Caxton. Their careers are notably similar. Both were scribes turned printers, and in the late fifteenth century only Mansion and Caxton translated for their own presses. Mansion was most probably working anonymously for Caxton when the latter was in Bruges in 1475-1476, and while Hellinga has concluded that it was "probably Caxton himself who taught Mansion how to print" (p. 51), Painter characterizes the relationship differently, noting that "Caxton must surely have modelled himself on Mansion as early as 1469-71" (p. 74). Certainly, they shared methods and equipment. Caxton's first type is closely based on Mansion's scribal hand, and both of their printing types were evidently cut by Veldener. Mansion's distinctive method of

*Et a creation de adam et eue par la bonnet
volente de la benoite et sainte trinite.*

2
*Comment adam fut translate et constitue en
paradis terrestre maistre et seigneur: Et de la des-
cription dicellui paradis.*

Lhomme Adam ainsi fait et forme comme
dit est fut du champ de damas translate
en paradis terrestre par dieu son createur ouquel
il dormant de l'une de ses costes forma dieu Eve
laquelle il lui donna en compaignie et en souste-
nement de sa vie. **D**ieu ne la fist pres de la
partie de la teste affin quelle ne voulsist seig-
neurir par dessus l'homme: ne aussi de la partie
des pies affin que l'homme ne la contempnast
et se eust en desdang mais la fist du coste de
l'homme ad ce qu'ils fussent vng corps vny et lome
ensemble par le loien d'amour. **L**homme a
ainsi forme et acompaignie de eue la femme
donna dieu la possession et seigneurie dicellui
delictable royaume de paradis terrestre pour y de-
morer et habiter en tranquile par. **E**st un
lieu comme dist damascene est vne region plaie
de vniuerselle exultation et Joyndite de laquelle
la terre est plus haulte que aultre par attrempee

red-ink printing as part of a single black-ink pull was also used by Caxton in his Bruges press of *Cordiale*. However Mansion's lack of foresight in the application of the new technology was perhaps his undoing, and his printing culminated in the vastly expensive translation of Ovid which appeared in May 1484, and immediately bankrupted him. He fled his debts and workshop, and disappeared.

La penitence d'Adam is a translation into French of the Latin apocrypha, the *Vita Adae et Evae* and tells the apocryphal story of Adam and Eve after their expulsion from Eden. It describes Adam's penance and the devil's temptation of Eve away from penance, noting the birth of their children, and how on his deathbed Adam sent Eve and Seth back to Eden to obtain the Oil of Mercy from St. Michael. When Adam died, Seth placed three seeds from the Tree of Knowledge in his mouth and they grew into a tree which was taken by Moses and David to Jerusalem. Solomon had it cut down to supply a support-timber for the temple, but the Jews rejected it and threw it into the Pool of Bethesda where it afterwards became a bridge. Eventually the wood was used to make the Cross on which Christ was crucified.

Only three medieval manuscripts of the text survive, which is still unedited except for excerpts (see Van Praet, 1829 and 1831): two in the hand of Mansion or his workshop (the present copy and Paris, BnF, MS fr. 1837, made for Louis de Gruuthuse (fig. 15.2); see Hans-Collas and Schandel, no. 55, and Bousmanne et al., no. 92, pp. 286, 346-348) and a copy made for Jan III de Baenst, the mayor of Bruges until his death in 1485 (Bibl. de l'Arsenal, MS 5092 (fig. 15.3), with his family arms: see Van Hoorebeeck and H. Wijsman, p. 493). To these two, we can add three other later copies, produced at the end of the eighteenth century or the beginning of the nineteenth century. Two are located in Paris (BnF, MS fr. 13257 et n.a.f. 1556). They were copied and illuminated in imitation of medieval manuscripts by Lesclabart, at the request of Van Praet, curator and author of the first monograph on the library of Louis of Bruges. They were originally made for Van Praet's own use before they joined, in 1837, the library of which he had been curator. The third and last copy is the transcription of the exemplar in the Arsenal in the hand of Van Praet. This last manuscript entered the Bibliothèque royale of Brussels in 1896 (MS II 1620). The present manuscript is the only one to ever come to the open market.

The lack of arms in the present manuscript is at first puzzling, although it should be noted that collation reveals there is a leaf missing at the beginning of the first quire. And, along the lower margin of the now-opening folio, carefully and thoroughly erased, there was once an inscription with a record of provenance, although it is impossible to know whether it was that of an original or later owner. As noted above, Mansion did not produce books for the open market, but only for a small and select group of noble patrons – with Louis de Gruuthuse the most prominent of these. The commissioners of both other medieval manuscripts of the text are clearly identifiable. It seems unlikely that in this case alone, Mansion produced a copy for a non-noble patron without any arms or armorial devices.

Indeed, according to Pascal Schandel, our manuscript does bear other significant material evidence that places it in close relationship with manuscripts produced for Louis de Gruuthuse, to whom the work is dedicated. The edges are gilt, and although the volume is not thick, they still reveal a design of gauffered lozenges. All the volumes of Louis's library are bound with such edges, which are, moreover, atypical of other Bruges productions. As noted already in 2009 by Hans-Collas and Schandel (p. 208), the scribe who copied our manuscript and who decorated the characteristic cadels (Colard Mansion or a collaborator) is incontestably identical with that who transcribed the *Jouvence* for the same bibliophile (Paris, BnF, MS fr. 192, fig. 15.4). The *Jouvence* was illustrated by the Master of Edward IV, whose borders often present acanthus composed of thick and well-developed tangled branches as on the opening folio of the *Penitence d'Adam*. The palette and motifs (insects) of the marginal decoration in the *Penitence* is closely related to borders by the Master of Edward IV and those by the Master of the Flemish Boethius, another artist much solicited by the Bruges bibliophile.

We can conclude definitively that this unpublished and rare volume, dedicated to Louis de Gruuthuse, was produced by individuals who habitually worked for him (the binder, the scribe, and the illuminators) and probably at his express initiative. Two different recensions of variable length are known of the text. The present manuscript of the *Penitence d'Adam* offers the second, later version, which concludes in effect with eleven chapters borrowed from the legend of the True Cross and not found in the other exemplar of the text, the first recension, made for Louis de Gruuthuse (Paris, BnF, MS fr. 1837) but that are present in the exemplar of the second recension made for Jan III Baesnt (Bibl. de l'Arsenal, MS 5092). Thus it

mer apres ladicte commoion il estoit sain et guarv de
quelconque malladie quil fust passionnez. Ces mir-
miracles apperceus par les iuyfz tirent le samet
fust hors de la piserne et furent dicellui vng petit
pont a passer oultre le torrent de siloe adfin que la
sanietee dicellui boie fust par les piees des precheurs
essue passane admeubilee 2 mise a neant. Cestui
samet fust coucha illec en ruyne iusques a tant que
dame sibile royne de sabba vint en iherusalem
la sapience de salomon. Et elle venant en la ci-
te par celle part ou le samet fust gisout. Iceillui deu
les genoulz flechie sagenouilla et ladora. Et elle
ses habite trouffee amont et nide piee entra en
leau et passa le torrent en lhonneur dicellui saint
fust. Et lors fut quelle fist les vers de sa pro-
phete touchant ladiuenement du filz de dieu qui
commencent. *Judith fugiunt tellus sudore madefat.*
Comment les iuyfz dicellui boie firent la croix de
nostre sauueur ihesu crist.

Apres ce que la royne de sabba eut par vne
espace de temps confere et parle de plusieurs
chose avec le roy salomon dont elle fut moult

consolee elle sen retourna en son royaume. **E**t
samet fust demoura illec gisant iusques au temps
de ihesu crist et de sa passion. Et quant ihesus fut
tortue a mourir en la croix. lundee iuyfz comme de
bouche prophetique dist. Prenez ce royal arbre qui
gist hors la cite et en faitez la croix du roy de
iuyfz. **A** ce mot sen allerent les iuyfz prendre
le samet fust et en firent la croix de la longueur
de vii. cubites et de trois en trois plus l'ap-
porterent iusques au pretore ou ilz depuis la mrent
sur les espaulles de nostre sauueur ihesu crist qui
longuement se porta pour nostre redemption iusques
au mont de caluare. En laquelle croix recuby
faulx et desleuly iuyfz le crucifierent et occirent
pour le salut de tous ceulz qui en liu croiront. Au
quel soit loenge honneur et gloire par tous les
siecles des siecles. Amen.

Fin d'vng petit traitie intitule
la penitance de Adam.

seems likely that our manuscript was made for Louis de Gruuthuse, who would surely have desired a copy of the second long recension completed by his favored team for his library. If this is indeed the case, then the collation makes more sense: the manuscript may well be missing a frontispiece dedicatory miniature signaling Louis's ownership probably also with his coat-of-arms. The work also takes its rightful place as a late work by Mansion or his workshop, at the height of his activity, before the printer disappeared in 1484.

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION: VI + 61 pp., preceded by 3 paper flyleaves and followed by a single flyleaf and 2 paper flyleaves, missing the first folio (collation i⁷ [8-1, missing i, likely a frontispiece miniature, the last leaf of the first quire left blank], ii⁷ [8-1, missing i, perhaps a cancelled blank], iii-iv⁸, v⁷ [8-1, missing viii, likely a cancelled blank with vii verso blank]), written in a single column on 22 lines in the exceptionally fine calligraphic *lettre bâtarde* of Colard Mansion and his workshop in black ink between 2 vertical and 23 horizontal lines in faint pink ink (justification 175 x 135 mm.), rubrics in red with ornate penwork cadelles some incorporating human faces, spirals, and banderoles, all of exceptional quality, capitals touched in yellow, one- to three-line initials in burnished gold on colored grounds, frontispiece with one large four-line initial in blue shaded with white brushstrokes on a black ground with liquid gold foliate sprays, with a two-sided floral border of silver-grey acanthus leaves and realistic carnations, other flower buds and a fly, all on pale yellow ground (slight flaking from edges of decorated borders), else excellent condition. Nineteenth-century blind-tooled dark red morocco over pasteboards, with scuffs and small bumps at edges period gauffered gilt edges, paper endleaves, 8-leaf nineteenth- or early twentieth-century description on blue paper loose in volume. Dimensions 285 x 210 mm.

TEXT: ff. I-V, Colard Mansion, *La penitence d'Adam*, prologue and chapter list, rubric, *Cy commence ung petit traictié intitulé la penitance adam translaté de latin en françois par Colard Mansion au commandement de noble et puissant seigneur monseigneur de la Gruuthuse conte de Wincestre prince de Steenhuse*; incipit, "Quant j'ay bien regardé, leut et considéré le petit cayer que vous noble et puissant seigneur et mon treshonnouré compere m'avés darraienemnt et nagaires baillié a translater de latin en françois..."; rubric, *S'ensieuvent les rubriques des chappitres de ce present traictié intitulé la penitance de adam*; ff. Vv-Vlv + p. 1, ruled blanks; p. 1v, Title, with rubric, *La creation de Adam et Eve par la union et vولenté de la benoite et sainte trinité*; pp. 2-60, Colard Mansion (translator), *La penitence d'Adam*, rubric, *Comment Adam fut translaté et constitué en paradis terrestre maistre et seigneur. Et de la descripcion d'icellui paradis*; incipit, "L'homme Adam ainsi fait et formé comme dit est fut du champ de damas translaté en paradis terrestre par dieu son createur..."; last rubric, *Judicii signum tellus sudore madescit. Comment les iuyfs d'icellui bois firent la croix de nostre seigneur sauveur Jhesucrist*; explicit, "[...] auquel soit loenge honneur et gloire par tous les siecles des siecles. Amen"; final colophon, in red: *Cy fine ung petit traictié intitulé la penitance d'adam*; p. 61, blank.

OWNERSHIP: – 1. Written in the Bruges workshop of the scribe, translator and incunabule-printer Colard Mansion, and perhaps in the hand of Mansion himself. Dedicated on its first page to Louis de Gruuthuse (c. 1425-1492), the greatest bibliophile and art-patron of the Burgundian Netherlands outside of the ducal family, here addressed at the head of the prologue with his titles "noble et puissant seigneur Monseigneur de la gruthuse conte de wincestre prince de steenhuse et c.", and noting that the translation was produced at Louis's direct behest. The inclusion of the title "Earl of Winchester" dates the production to soon after October 1472, when it was awarded by Edward IV,

whom he had sheltered when in exile. The type of border dates c. 1480, and the second recension must post-date the first and have been executed at the height of Colard Mansion's and his workshop's proficiency – 2. Paginated in an eighteenth-century hand from the beginning of the main text, the same hand adding page references to the chapter list at the beginning and most probably a heavily erased inscription, apparently in French, at the foot of f. 1. – 3. Most probably the copy recorded in the Glasgow sale catalogue of Messrs. Foulis, *A Catalogue of Books of Various Ages, Languages and Sciences* in 1771 (see de Ricci, 1920, p. 95, where he states it is certainly the same volume, and *Vlaamse Kunst op Pergament*, p. 276). – 4. The library of the Marquess of Bute, at Mount Stuart and Luton, their MS 2 (f. 27) with their pencil note on front endleaf, and perhaps acquired by the 1st Marquess at the Foulis sale; their sale in Sotheby's, 13 June 1983, lot 18, to Kraus, and later sold again Sotheby's, 18 June 1991, lot 117, to Tenschert, his catalogue 27, *Leuchtendes Mittelalter* III (1991), no. 14. – 5. J. R. Ritman (b. 1941–), Amsterdam, Bibliotheca Philosophica Hermetica MS 191, his bookplate on front pastedown, bought from Tenschert.

LITERATURE: Published by R.B. Knowles in *Third Report of the Royal Comission on Historical Manuscripts, Appendix*, 1872, p. 205, S. de Ricci, "Colard Mansion," *Transactions of the Bibliographical Society*, 4th Series, 1 (1920), pp. 95-96; *Vlaamse Kunst op Pergament*, exhibition catalogue (Bruges, 1981), no. 117, pp. 274-277, citing this manuscript as untraced since 1771; I. Hans-Collas and P. Schandel, with collaboration of H. Wijsman and F. Avril, *Manuscrpts enluminés des anciens Pays-Bas méridionaux*, Vol. I: Louis de Bruges (Paris, 2009), p. 202; See also Bousmanne, B. et al., *Miniatures flamandes, 1404-1482*, exh. cat., Brussels and Paris, 2011, pp. 286, 346-348. – Eisenstein, E., *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change*, Cambridge, 1979. – Hellinga, L., *Caxton in Focus: the Beginning of Printing in England*, London, 1982. – Lefèvre, S., "Colard Mansion," in *Dictionnaire des lettres françaises: le Moyen Âge* (Paris, 1992), pp. 316-317. – Murdoch, B., *The Apocryphal Adam and Eve in Medieval Europe: Vernacular Translations and Adaptations of the Vita Adae et Evae*, Oxford, 2009. Painter, C. D. William Caxton; London, 1976. – Ruelle, Pierre, ed., *Le Dialogue des creatures : traduction par Colart Mansion (1482) du Dialogus creaturarum (XIV^e siècle)*, Classe des Lettres et des Sciences morales et politiques, Brussels, 1985. – Saenger, P., "Colard Mansion and the Evolution of the Printed Book," *Library Quarterly* 45 (1975), pp. 405-418. – Van Hoorebeeck, Céline, "La Ville, le Prince et leurs officiers en Flandre à la fin du Moyen Âge: livres et lectures de la famille de Baenst," *Le Moyen Âge*, 113 (2007), pp. 45-67. – Van Praet, J.B.B., *Notice sur Colard Mansion, libraire et imprimeur de la ville de Bruges en Flandre dans le quinzième siècle*, Paris, 1829. – idem, *Recherches sur Louis de Bruges, seigneur de la Gruuthuyse; suivies de la notice des manuscrits qui lui ont appartenu, et dont la plus grande partie se conserve à la Bibliothèque du Roi*, Paris, 1831. – Wijsman, H., *Luxury Bound. Illustrated Manuscript Production and Noble and Princely Book Ownership in the Burgundian Netherlands (1400-1550)*, Turnhout, 2010, p. 493.

ONLINE RESOURCES:

Digitized editions of both fundamental works by Van Praet, cited above:

http://books.google.se/books?id=EvoUAAAAQAAJ&redir_esc=y

http://books.google.se/books?id=umM6AAAACAAJ&redir_esc=y

The online version of Hanno Wijsman's database of illuminated Burgundian manuscripts, partly published in his study *Luxury Bound*, for the other two medieval manuscripts of the text:

<http://www.cn-telma.fr/luxury-bound/manuscrit2568/>

<http://www.cn-telma.fr/luxury-bound/manuscrit2729/>



Si apparence vous plait en seigneur
 Nos et d'un de seigneur en seigneur
 Comme nous plait de beaute de seigneur
 Est-ce que seigneur est seigneur et seigneur
 Et que seigneur seigneur de seigneur en seigneur
 N'a point de seigneur en seigneur
 Mais est seigneur seigneur de seigneur

GUILLAUME ALEXIS, *Le Passe-temps de tout homme et de toute femme; L'ABC des doubles*

In French, illustrated manuscript on paper
 France, Normandy, Rouen?, c. 1525-1530

20 pen drawings (first hand-colored in wash) by an unidentified artist
 based on the woodcuts published in Paris, Antoine Vérard, c. 1505

This is a sort of hybrid work, an intriguing manuscript transcribed and illustrated entirely by hand of a book printed in 1505 by the celebrated Parisian printer-publisher Antoine Vérard. The text presents a roughly contemporary and lively verse translation by Guillaume Alexis of an immensely popular twelfth-century Latin work attributed to Pope Innocent "On the Misery of the Human Condition" also reputedly translated by Chaucer into English. The drawings are, in fact, modeled on Vérard's woodcuts, but their alluringly spontaneous character and the fluent style of the calligraphy impart a personal charm to the work lacking in the printed editions.

This charming small manuscript copies a post-incunable edition of Guillaume Alexis's *Passe-temps de tout homme et de toute femme*, first printed by Antoine Vérard in Paris in c. 1505. Issued in at least five successive editions in the first quarter of the sixteenth century, the *Passe-temps* enjoyed a prolific early printed tradition with Vérard, a very successful publisher, an astute businessman, and a man of letters (for the breadth of his publishing activities, see Macfarlane, 1900; Winn, 1997). Vérard particularly championed the type of hybrid volume coined "imprimé-manuscrit" by Coq (1982, p. 185), that is, works printed on parchment with painted prints for presentation to distinguished patrons (see also Winn, 1983). The watermarks of our manuscript suggest the copy was written and illustrated in Normandy, perhaps in Rouen, not in Paris. It is clear that the scribe and illustrator (one and same person?) had Vérard's c. 1505 imprint under his eyes as he produced his copy. He even reproduced Vérard's Prologue, which contains the name of the publisher and details about his publishing activities (though all nominative references to Vérard are crossed out on f. 2v). However, in style of handwriting and character of the illustrations, this manuscript constitutes a radical departure from the Vérard edition.

There are only four recorded copies of Vêrard's c. 1505 Guillaume Alexis's *Passe-temps* (Winn, 1997, p. 385). One famous copy of the *Passe-temps* was presented to Louise de Savoie (Paris, BnF, Vélins 2249); its woodcuts are entirely illuminated, and it includes an added miniature of dedication scene depicting Vêrard kneeling before Louise (fig. 16.1). There are notable differences in copies of the 1505 edition, since Vêrard evidently intentionally modified his composition and illustration of a given title for specific patrons. Hence, the other three copies are distinct from the Paris copy cited above (these are Paris, Mazarine, Inc. 963; Chantilly, Musée Condé, XII-F-011; and London, British Library, C. 22. a. 8). Our manuscript is closest to the sequence of uncolored woodcuts found in, for instance, the Mazarine Inc. 963 copy of the *Passe-temps* (figs. 16.2 and 16.3). For example, the Mazarine imprint contains the model for the illustration showing Narcissus at the fountain (f. 96) in the present codex (figs. 16.4 and 16.5). The same holds true for the drawing of the woman killing her child with the intent of eating it (f. 38), painted over in Paris Vélins 2249 (perhaps so as not to displease Louise de Savoie) but included in the Mazarine exemplar (figs. 16.6 and 16.7). Our manuscript reproduces 20 out of the 21 woodcuts found in the c. 1505 Vêrard imprint, omitting only that depicting the pains associated with childbirth.

The very existence of a manuscript version of the *Passe-temps* confirms the persistence of manuscript culture in the sixteenth century and the significance hand-copied and illustrated works must have continued to hold for their audiences. We know that the phenomenon of copying printed books was widespread: a great collector such as Raphael de Mercatellis owned many manuscripts directly copied from printed material (see Derolez, *The Library of Raphael de Mercatellis*, 1979; on manuscripts copied from imprints, see Lutz, 1979 and Reeve, 1983). Bühler goes so far as to state: "Experience has taught me that every manuscript ascribed to the second half of the fifteenth-century is potentially a copy of some incunable...."

Le Passe-temps de tout homme et de toute femme is a lively adaptation in verse by Guillaume Alexis composed in 1460 of the Latin text that was originally written in 1195 by Cardinal Lothario dei Segni, later Pope Innocent III, *De contemptu mundi sive de miseria humana condicionis libri III*. The Latin treatise dedicated to Pietro Galloia, cardinal bishop of Porto, near Rome, and describing the history of man's life from birth to death, was to become

one of the most popular and influential works of the Middle Ages, and it was widely disseminated (nearly 700 manuscripts are recorded!). It was organized in three books: the first addresses the wretchedness of man's conception, the various miseries humans must endure; the second deals with the pleasures, riches, and honors for which humans strive; and the third concerns the putrefaction of the body and the pains of Hell. The history of the "contemptus mundi" tradition has yet to be written, although it was begun by Howard (1969) and carried on by Bultot who planned to study the tradition from its origins into medieval French literature (1963-1964, 1961).

Guillaume Alexis was a Benedictine monk and poet of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, nicknamed the "Good Monk" (le "bon moine de lyre"). His abbey was located at Lyre in the diocese of Évreux. He became prior of Bussy (in the Perche region of Normandy). It is believed he went on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem and died there. The title of his adaptation, the "passe-temps" (literally "hobby" or "pastime") would appear to announce a light-hearted even carefree work; the full title reads in translation "The care-free pastime (or hobby) of each man and woman." However, following the original Latin version, Guillaume focuses on the inevitable misery in all walks of life from birth to death and provides biblical examples of figures – Samson, Solomon, David, etc. – who warn against a wide variety of vices.

At present, it is not possible to identify the artist responsible for these elegant drawings which, although based ultimately on the Vêrard woodcuts, are far from being direct copies of the prints on which they are modeled. Rather they are considerably more refined and drawn free-hand in an accomplished Renaissance style. With respect to their technique, they are not unlike the sketch attributed to Jean Miélot (Paris, BnF, MS fr. 17001) or other drawings in Flemish paper manuscripts that pre-date them by almost a half century. In the case of the present manuscript, the unknown owner possessed a simulacrum of a prestigious printed book by an important printer, yet one which, in its fluent calligraphy and spontaneous drawings, was decidedly more personal even than an illuminated imprint by Vêrard.

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION: 158 ff. (with last leaf blank), followed by 5 paper flyleaves, complete (collation: i⁸, ii⁶, iii-xviii⁸), on paper, with watermark identical to Briquet no. 8707: Lettre P (Silly (Orne), 1519-1520; Rouen, 1521; Lisieux, 1522; Thury (Calvados), 1526; Lessay (Manche), 1529), written in brown ink in a *bâtarde* script, on up to 23 lines (justification 135 x 90 mm.), unruled but justification in red ink, some quire signatures, traces of catchwords, paragraph marks in alternating red or blue

ink, capitals at the beginning of each verse stroked in pale yellow, large opening puzzle initials in red and blue or strictly in red or blue (2- to 3-line high), 20 pen drawings, the first pen drawing highlighted in colored wash (of the period?), a few corrections and words crossed out in text. Bound in a half-pigskin binding over wooden boards (left bare), back sewn on 4 raised thongs, leather blind-stamped with tools of rosettes set in lozenges, brass clasps and catch-plates (Very good general condition). Dimensions 186 x 140 mm.

OWNERSHIP: – 1. Manuscript copy of an imprint first published under the same title in Paris, by Antoine Vérard, circa 1505 (small in-4 format). There were a number of successive editions (see Editions below). The Prologue reproduced in the present manuscript reproduces verbatim the one found in Vérard's c. 1505 edition of the the *Passe-temps*. However, an early reader (likely not the scribe himself) sought to rid the prologue of any reference to the Vérard edition by crossing out the name placed in square brackets "[...] je [Anthoyne Verard] / Humble [libraire] desirant [trouver art]..." (f. 1v in our manuscript). This manuscript was copied in Normandy, likely Rouen, as suggested by the watermarks present in the paper, by an unknown scribe and illustrated by pen drawings by an unknown artist, perhaps the same person who copied the text. – 2. European Continental Collection.

TEXT: Printed first in Paris, Antoine Vérard, c. 1505 (no modern edition, although the Prologue is published by Winn, 1997, pp. 384-385). There is a critical edition of the *ABC des doubles*: see Piaget and Picot, 1899, pp. 10-54. – f. 1, Title-page, "Le passe temps de tout homme et de toute femme"; added below: "Ceulx qui voudront au long ce livre lire / Le trouveront bien fondé en raison / Ausy le feist le bon moyne de Lyre / Qui d'amours faulces composa le blason." The title-page of Vérard's edition provides this same four-line text below the title which praises the value of the work and identifies the author; f. 1v, blank; ff. 2-4, Guillaume Alexis, *Le Pasetemps de tout homme et de toute femme*, Prologue, incipit, "S'il appartient voir flourir en seigneur / Loz et renom de scavans enseignants / Comme gentz plaintz de beaulx ditz et proverbes..."; explicit, "[...] Veuillés laisser et bien vivre / Employer a dieu vos cinq sens." To be noted: the presence of the Prologue as found in Paris, Antoine Vérard, c. 1505 certainly confirms that the present manuscript was copied from the c. 1505 imprint. The scribe copying the Prologue, initially copied the verses that specifically attributed the Prologue to Vérard: "Tout noble cueur, je Anthoine Vérard / Humble libraire desirant trouver art / D'invention pour m'essayer a faire..." The scribe then proceeded to scratch out any reference to "Antoine Vérard" or "libraire." In our manuscript, the verses become: "Tout noble coeur, je / Humble desirant / D'invention pour m'essayer a faire..." ff. 4-5, Table, incipit, "Qui voudra de chascun chapitre / Scavoir la maniere et le tiltre / Et de la matiere traictable / Il le scaura par ceste table. La table"; ff. 5-42, Guillaume Alexis, *Le Pasetemps de tout homme et de toute femme*, Book I, incipit, "Ensuit apres le premier livre / Dont le premier chapitre livre"; heading, "Le tiers livre faint mension d'humaine dissolution"; followed by, "Cy finit la table"; f. 8v, incipit chap. 1, "Qui veult la table de ce livre / Scavoir et comment il se nomme / Pour apprendre a humblement vivre / C'est le passe temps de tout homme / Lequel parle de la misere / D'humaine conversation..."; ff. 42-110v, Guillaume Alexis, *Le Pasetemps de tout homme et de toute femme*, Book II, heading, Cy commence le second livre / Qui par expres monstre au deslivre / La mauvaise occupation / D'humaine conversation; incipit, "Des hommes troys choses desirent / Qui souvent a peché les tirent..."; explicit, "[...] Et ainsy le temps homme passe. Cy finit le second livre"; ff. 110v-129v, Guillaume Alexis, *Le Pasetemps de tout homme et de toute femme*, Book III, heading, "C'est le tiers livre qui figure l'homme mort et son aventure"; incipit, "L'esperit s'en ira grant erre / Le corps retournera en terre..."; explicit, "Cy finissent en briesve espace / Pour ceulx qui ont passé sept ans... Que quant viendra au trespasse / Puis sans tous paradis avoir"; ff. 129v-157, Guillaume Alexis, *L'ABC des doubles*, heading, Cy commence le ABC des doubles; incipit, Qui scait dieu de bon cueur amer / Trouve ce monde tout amer..."; explicit, "[...] Escrips l'an que sur terre vins / Mil iiii centz et cinq que vers vins / Tindrent foyres plus de six vingtz // Cy finist le passe temps de tout homme et de toute femme" [published Piaget and Picot, 1899, pp. 10-54]. The date of 1405 is erroneous and should read 1505, likely due to a scribal error. The *ABC des doubles* is also reproduced after Vérard's c. 1505 edition of the the *Passe-temps*, where it follows the main text. The Piaget and Picot (1899) edition of the *ABC des doubles* is not



Ainsi fust qui goltz ny doist
 Glentour est perche treshort
 Quant l'un et le corps l'autre a mort



De l'orgueil le vil pechie
 Mort honneur est luy fort entechie

Et de sa mere q'ontemp
 Tant est plains de villains
 Plus orde est sa fille l'orgueil
 C'est droit que qui est en ordure
 Faut encore plus ort apres
 Tant luxurieux long et pres
 Dont come ung fons chault alme
 Quant grant vin out ben z hume
 Cy s'achardit a faire pis
 Si le ventre est pling et le pis
 Il vult que vint en appress
 L'uide et villaine reproche
 Faut plus d'orgueil de l'orgueil
 En la fin tant amer et suer
 Cy menglet moult grandement
 La pense et l'orgueil devent
 Et si oster par la figure
 Au corps sa force z sa vigueur
 A l'un q'ant tache l'orgueil
 Et de shawers les personat
 Tant le peche q'ung haine fait
 Est hors le corps moult se messant
 Contre le corps villainement
 Par celluy peche seulement

based on the incunable and post-incunable editions of the work, but rather a hand-copied version found in a poetic miscellany (Paris, BnF, MS fr. 1642, ff. 309-325v, 16th c.); ff. 157v-158v, blank leaves.

ILLUSTRATION: f. 2, Crowned Lady enthroned with a female attendant to her right and two women (old and young) to her left (drawing introducing Vêrard's Prologue) [drawing based on woodcut found in Paris, Antoine Vêrard, c. 1505 (Paris, Mazarine, Inc. 963), sig. a2; see plate in Winn, 1997, fig. 5.16b] (Dimensions 87 x 85 mm.). This opening drawing is the only one colored in wash. The seated figure on the throne is indeed a woman, the "trespuissante princesse" (f. 2v) quoted in the Prologue: this is Louise de Savoie. It seems certain that the artist who is responsible for the pen drawings was looking at an uncolored copy of the *Passe-temps* (and not the dedication copy, colored and modified for Louise de Savoie, Paris, BnF, Vêlins 2249). The same "dedication" woodcut is found in another imprint by Vêrard, Boccaccio, *De la louenge des nobles et cleres dames* (Paris, A. Vêrard, 1493) (see C.J. Brown, 2011, p. 134, pl. 24); f. 3, Seated figure (a monk? Guillaume Alexis or the author of the Prologue, Frère Pierre?), copying from a book [drawing based on woodcut found in Paris, Antoine Vêrard, c. 1505 (Paris, Mazarine, Inc. 963, sig. a3) and not the reversed modified colored miniature in Paris, BnF, Vêlins 2249] (Dimensions 60 x 75 mm.); f. 22, Servants or peasants toiling; lords passing on horse; preceded by heading: "De la misere des servans et des seigneurs nobles et francz." [woodcut found in Paris, Antoine Vêrard, c. 1505 (Paris, BnF, Vêlins 2249), sig. d1v; also found in Paris, Mazarine, Inc. 963, sig.d1v] (Dimensions 76 x 64 mm.); f. 24, Sister, pilgrim and layperson kneeling, preceded by heading: "De ceulx qui vivent chastement / Des mariés semblablement" [woodcut found in Paris, Antoine Vêrard, c. 1505 (Paris, BnF, Vêlins 2249), sig. d3; also found in Paris, Mazarine, Inc. 963, sig. d3] (Dimensions 88 x 72 mm.); f. 34v, Woman in bed, visited by an intruder or allegory of fear, preceded by heading: "Divers songes terriblement / Donnent grant espoventement" [drawing based on woodcut found in Paris Antoine Vêrard, c. 1505, (Paris, BnF, Vêlins 2249), sig. e5v; also found in Paris, Mazarine, Inc. 963, sig. e5v] (Dimensions 90 x 74 mm.); f. 36v, Sick man by the fire, preceded by heading: "L'homme seuffre durent sa vie / Mainte diverse maladie" [drawing based on woodcut found in Paris, Antoine Vêrard, c. 1505 (Paris, BnF, Vêlins 2249), sig. f1; also found in Paris, Mazarine, Inc. 963, sig. f1] (Dimensions 65 x 70 mm.); f. 38, Woman killing her child, whom she intends to eat, preceded by heading, "Plusieurs tormens en ceste vie / Seuffre homme ains qu'il desire"; the actual textual excerpt this drawing is illustrates is found on f. 39: "D'une femme plaine de raige / Qui mengea son enfant par rage" (Dimensions 85 x 72 mm.). This image of a woman killing a child is not represented in the Paris, BnF, Vêlins 2249 copy, nor in the Chantilly, Musée Condé, XII-F-011 copy; found in Paris, Mazarine, Inc. 963, sig. f2; f. 42v, Scene of courtship, Man and Woman in garden [drawing based on woodcut found in Paris, Antoine Vêrard, c. 1505 (Paris, BnF, Vêlins 2249), sig. f6] (Dimensions 86 x 73 mm.); f. 43v, Woman weighing gold (Sin of greed and covetousness) [drawing based on woodcut found in Paris, Antoine Vêrard, c. 1505 (Paris, BnF, Vêlins 2249), sig. f6v] (Dimensions 80 x 75 mm.); f. 48, Judges accepting bribes [drawing based on woodcut found in Paris, Antoine Vêrard, c. 1505 (Paris, BnF, Vêlins 2249), sig. g4v] (Dimensions 75 x 83 mm.); f. 50, Allegory of Covetousness [drawing based on woodcut found in Paris, Antoine Vêrard, c. 1505 (Paris, BnF, Vêlins 2249), sig. g5 (Dimensions 80 x 75 mm.); f. 65v, Greedy Men with their trunk of gold, akin to idolatry, with heading linking greed and idolatry: "L'apostre nous dit qu'avarice / Est des ydolles le service" [drawing based on woodcut found in Paris, Antoine Vêrard, c. 1505 (Paris, BnF, Vêlins 2249), sig. i6] (Dimensions 75 x 75 mm.); f. 67v, Men seated around a table, allegory of Gluttony [drawing based on woodcut found in Paris, Antoine Vêrard, c. 1505 (Paris, BnF, Vêlins 2249), sig. k1v (Dimensions 87 x 75 mm.); f. 78v, Unfaithful wife caught by her husband in bed with her lover [drawing based on woodcut found in Paris, Antoine Vêrard, c. 1505 (Paris, BnF, Vêlins 2249), sig. l4v] (Dimensions 84 x 77 mm.); f. 88v, Delilah cutting Samson's hair [drawing based on woodcut found in Paris, Antoine Vêrard, c. 1505 (Paris, BnF, Vêlins 2249), sig. m6] (Dimensions 85 x 78 mm.); f. 90, Solomon's idolatry and seduction of foreign women [drawing based on woodcut found in Paris, Antoine Vêrard, c. 1505 (Paris, BnF, Vêlins 2249), sig. n1] (Dimensions 78 x 76 mm.); f. 91, Men before a stately building, allegory of Ambition [drawing based on woodcut found in Paris, Antoine Vêrard, c. 1505 (Paris, BnF, Vêlins 2249), sig. n2] (Dimensions 85 x 75 mm.); f. 96, Narcissus at the fountain (sin of Pride), preceded by heading, "Les orgueilleux outrecuydés / Ont diverses propriétés..." [drawing based on woodcut found in Paris, Antoine Vêrard, c. 1505 (Chantilly, Musée Condé, XII-F-011); found also in Paris,

Mazarine, Inc. 963, sig. n5v] (Dimensions 85 x 77 mm.); f. 99, David and Goliath (sin of Presumption and Vanity) [drawing based on woodcut found in Paris, Antoine Vêrard, c. 1505 (Paris, BnF, Vêlins 2249), sig. o2] (Dimensions 82 x 70 mm.); f. 130, Man reading in his study (author) [drawing based on woodcut found in Paris, Antoine Vêrard, c. 1505 (Paris, BnF, Vêlins 2249), sig. s2v] (Dimensions 82 x 70 mm.).

EDITION: Edition Paris, A. Vêrard., c. 1505: Macfarlane, 179; Winn (1997), pp. 384-394; Moreau, I, 1505, no. 2, Alexis (Guillaume), *Le Passetemps de tout homme et de toute femme...*, Antoine Vêrard, s.d. [c. 1505, according to the publisher's address and the typographical material], in-4; Bechtel, G., *Catalogue des gothiques français*, 2008, p. 20-21, A-145. Four copies are recorded, Paris, BnF, Vêlins 2249; Paris, Bibl. Mazarine, Inc. 963; London, BL, C. 22. a. 8 [126 ff.; 30 lines to a page]; Chantilly, Musée Condé, MC 61 (XII-F-011). The woodcuts that illustrate this edition (21 in all) are all reproduced in Tchemerzine, *Bibliographie d'éditions originales et rares d'auteurs français...*, Paris, 1977, tome I, pp. 88-94. The colophon of the c. 1505 Vêrard edition reads: "Cy finist le passe temps de tout homme // et de toute femme. Imprimé nouvellement // pour Anthoine Verard marchant libraire // demourant a Paris devant la rue Neufve Nostre Dame // a l'ymaige saint Jehan l'évan - // - geliste...".

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Nes pout pas longement durer
 Plusot fait en hault esleue
 Plusot esleue en chaut plus greue
 Home arguete qui sur un vult
 Com l'orgueille seisme en hault
 Mais se chet en long le de n'ont
 Son Regne fuit d'ore a d'ore
 N'ont pas tant de temps a d'ore
 M'ont pas tant de temps a d'ore
 Son bonheir pout fere et velle
 Aussi pout d'ore qui vigne en fere
 Et pout les h'ont de fere
 Pout pas pas longement durer

Est arguete l'orgueille
 Qui d'ore se pout d'ore

Quant un home se l'orgueille
 Quant les d'ore se l'orgueille
 C'est la en tout son velle
 En d'ore se l'orgueille
 Et pout les h'ont de fere
 Et pout les h'ont de fere



D'ore se l'orgueille se l'orgueille
 Quant les d'ore se l'orgueille
 C'est la en tout son velle
 En d'ore se l'orgueille
 Et pout les h'ont de fere
 Et pout les h'ont de fere



fig. 16.1
Paris, BnF, Réserve des livres rares,
Guillaume Alexis, *Le Passe-temps de
tout homme et de toute femme*, Paris,
Antoine Vérard, c. 1505, Vélins 2249, f. 1



fig. 16.2
Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine,
Guillaume Alexis,
*Le Passe-temps de tout homme
et de toute femme*,
Paris, Antoine Vérard, c. 1505,
Inc 973, sig. a2

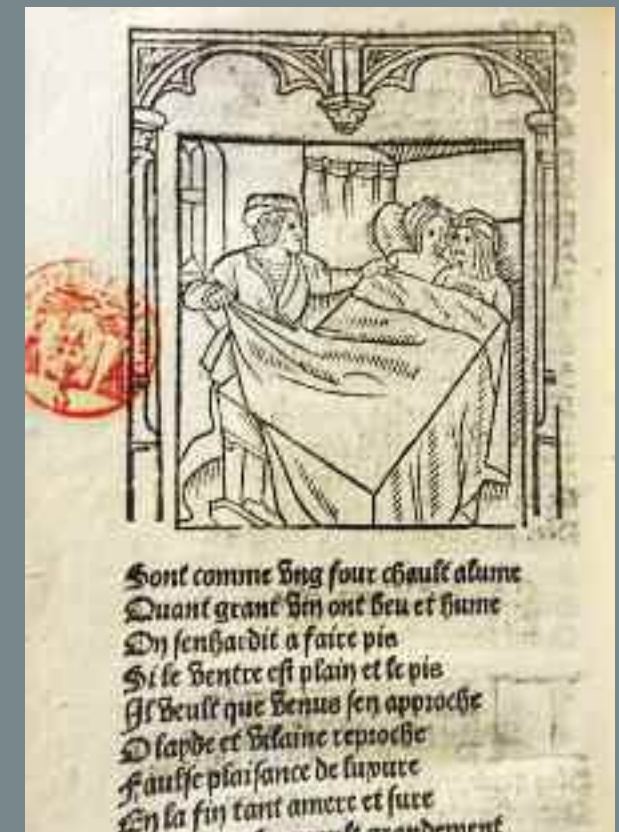


fig. 16.3
Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine,
Guillaume Alexis,
*Le Passe-temps de tout homme
et de toute femme*,
Paris, Antoine Vérard, c. 1505,
Inc 973, sig. l4v



"Les orgueilleux outrecuydés /
Ont diverses propriétés..."

fig. 16.4
Paris, BnF, Réserve des livres rares,
Guillaume Alexis,
*Le Passe-temps de tout homme
et de toute femme*,
Paris, Antoine Vérard, c. 1505,
Vélins 2249, sig. n5v: Mouth of Hell



fig. 16.5
Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine,
Guillaume Alexis,
*Le Passe-temps de tout homme
et de toute femme*,
Paris, Antoine Vérard, c. 1505,
Inc 973, sig. n5v: Narcissus at
the Fountain



"Plusieurs tormens en ceste vie /
Seuffre homme ains qu'il desire"

fig. 16.6
Paris, BnF, Réserve des livres
rares, Guillaume Alexis,
*Le Passe-temps de tout homme
et de toute femme*,
Paris, Antoine Vérard, c. 1505,
Vélins 2249,
sig. f2: Man whipping a Prisoner



fig. 16.7
Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine,
Guillaume Alexis,
*Le Passe-temps de tout homme
et de toute femme*,
Paris, Antoine Vérard, c. 1505,
Inc 973, sig. f2 : Woman killing
her child

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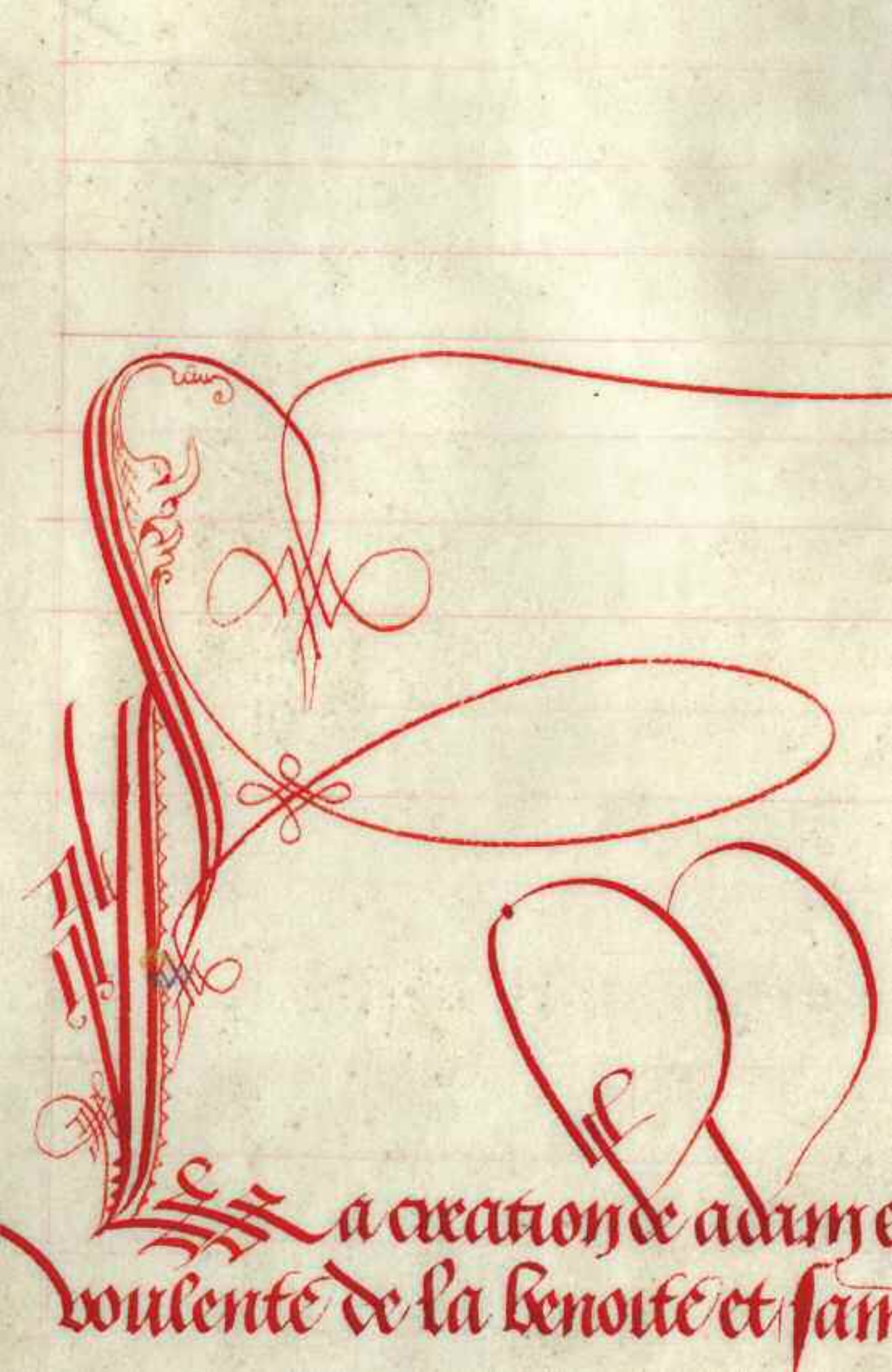
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