ELIZABETH MORRISON and ANNE D. HEDEMAN

# INAGINING THE PAST IN FRANCE

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HISTORY IN MANUSCRIPT PAINTING · 1250-1500





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# IMAGINING THE PAST IN FRANCE

# HISTORY IN MANUSCRIPT PAINTING • 1250-1500

Elizabeth Morrison and Anne D. Hedeman

with contributions by Élisabeth Antoine, R. Howard Bloch, Keith Busby, Joyce Coleman, Erin K. Donovan, Gabrielle M. Spiegel

The J. Paul Getty Museum · Los Angeles

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# Foreword

One of the distinguishing features of the exhibition program at the J. Paul Getty Museum is its ambitious series of shows devoted to medieval painting and manuscripts. In recent years the Department of Manuscripts at the Getty has mounted a number of enthusiastically received international exhibitions, including *Illuminating the Renaissance: The Triumph of Flemish Manuscript Painting in Europe* (2003), *A Masterpiece Reconstructed: The Hours of Louis XII* (2005), and *Holy Space, Hallowed Ground: Icons from Sinai* (2006). This exhibition continues that exciting tradition.

*Imagining the Past in France, 1250–1500* takes its inspiration from the fine holdings in French medieval manuscripts at the Getty, including the magnificent copy of Giovanni Boccaccio's *Des cas des nobles hommes et femmes* illuminated by the Boucicaut Master in the first decades of the fifteenth century. Around this core of Getty works, the exhibition gathers together some of the finest manuscripts of the period in order to explore the concept of history in the Middle Ages. Illumination played an integral role in helping medieval readers form a concept of history's meaning and uses. Far from being a dry academic topic, history was a cherished and vital part of medieval society. Seeing Alexander the Great come alive on the pages of manuscripts inspired kings and warriors, while the visual adventures of Lancelot and his knights provided entertainment and a sense of moral worth to noblemen and -women. In looking at these superb historical manuscripts, we are able to appreciate their sheer beauty and gain insight into some of the defining concepts of medieval culture.

This exhibition and catalogue were the result of an exemplary scholarly collaboration between Elizabeth Morrison, Curator and Acting Head of the Department of Manuscripts, and Anne D. Hedeman, Professor in the School of Art and Design at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. Professor Hedeman was invited by the Department of Manuscripts to spend three months in 2002 conducting research as part of the Museum's guest scholar program—a program that frequently and happily provides the basis for future projects. During her visit, she and Dr. Morrison began to discuss the possibility of a large-scale exhibition devoted to the exquisite historical manuscripts that dominated secular illumination in the late Middle Ages. I thank both of them for the years of loan negotiations, research, and hard work that have made this monumental undertaking such a success. I also wish to express my gratitude to the catalogue's other authors, as well as the countless scholars, curators, and conservators around the world who participated in the project. This brilliant book is a testament to their collective achievement.

The exhibition and catalogue benefited from the stewardship of three former Directors and Acting Directors at the Getty Museum, Deborah Gribbon, William M. Griswold, and Michael Brand; we would also like to acknowledge the encouragement and support of the late James Wood, President and CEO of the Getty Trust until his untimely passing in 2010. Thomas Kren, Senior Curator of Manuscripts and Acting Associate Director for Collections, and Quincy Houghton, Associate Director for Exhibitions, were instrumental in shepherding the project to its completion. Staff members from almost every department in the Getty Museum were involved in some way in this exhibition, and I take this opportunity to acknowledge the dedication and abilities of that team in making this event a reality.

This beautiful catalogue benefited from a generous subvention in honor of Bob and Lois Erburu from Mel Seiden, who made its glorious full-color illustrations possible. His recognition of the importance of exhibitions devoted to medieval manuscripts is felt with deep appreciation.

Most of all, thanks are due to the museums, libraries, and private collectors who agreed to lend to this important exhibition their treasured objects, many of which have never before been seen in the United States. We are delighted to be able to share them with our visitors, who will have the unusual and precious opportunity to see in one venue some of the most original masterpieces created in Europe in the Middle Ages.

David Bomford Acting Director The J. Paul Getty Museum

# **Lenders to the Exhibition**

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- Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett
- Besançon, Bibliothèque municipale de Besançon
- Boston, The Trustees of the Boston Public Library, Rare Books
- Brussels, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique
- Burton upon Trent, Staffordshire, England, The Wormsley Library
- Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harvard University, Harvard College Library, Houghton Library

Geneva, Bibliothèque de Genève

- The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek
- The Hague, Museum Meermanno-Westreenianum
- Houston, James E. and Elizabeth J. Ferrell
- Leiden, University Library
- London, The British Library
- London, The British Museum
- Los Angeles, The J. Paul Getty Museum
- Madrid, National Trust and Royal Library of the Monastery of El Escorial
- Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek
- New Haven, Connecticut, Yale University, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library

New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art New York, The New York Public Library New York, The Pierpont Morgan Library Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève Paris, Musée du Louvre Paris, Musée national du Moyen-Âge, Thermes de Cluny Pasadena, California, The Norton Simon Foundation Philadelphia Museum of Art Saint Petersburg, National Library

of Russia

# Preface and Acknowledgments

The idea for this exhibition was born while Anne D. Hedeman was a visiting scholar in the Department of Manuscripts at the J. Paul Getty Museum in 2002, a year during which she worked primarily with Elizabeth Morrison. The two of us have long shared an interest in illuminated historical texts and their role in the Middle Ages, and we began to discuss the possibility of bringing these treasures together in an exhibition. We were struck by the fact that few exhibitions have focused on secular illumination. It was surprising to us because some of the best illuminators of the Middle Ages produced secular books, and those illuminations often represented their most original material. These secular manuscripts differ from devotional and liturgical books in fundamental ways. Not only are they often larger physically but, because they did not have established schemes of illumination, they also contain rich and inventive cycles of narrative illustration.

In defining the parameters of the exhibition, we decided to focus on French-language illuminated manuscripts produced between about 1250 and 1500. There are, of course, Latin history manuscripts in the period that were beautifully illuminated (although the number pales in comparison to their vernacular counterparts), but we were particularly intrigued by the combined role of texts in the accessible language of the vernacular and their interpretation in images. Although historical manuscripts were illustrated before the thirteenth century, illuminated manuscripts of texts composed in or translated into French began to appear in large numbers around 1250 in France, providing a starting point for our exhibition. The end of the fifteenth century was chosen as the terminus because by then the French monarchy had passed to the Valois-Orléans line with the death of Charles VIII in 1498, and the linguistic and geographical boundaries of France as we know it had largely taken shape. Although a number of other exhibitions have been devoted to French manuscripts, they have generally concentrated on a particular historical or art-historical era or on an exceptional artist. We hope that the present exhibition's novel topic, visual splendor, and scholarly contributions will intrigue scholars as well as the general public.

A chronological approach structures this exhibition catalogue, giving a sense of the sweep of historical forces, contemporary fashions, and the textual and artistic developments that shaped manuscript illumination during these years. This arrangement complements the organization of the exhibition, which presents the manuscripts in thematic sections devoted to ancient, Christian, and medieval history in order to allow for a different experience of the material. In both catalogue and exhibition, objects showing how these stories escaped from the pages of manuscripts to appear in media ranging from tapestries to floor tiles are grouped at the end and provide evidence of the influence of French history manuscripts on other cultures and media over the course of 250 years.

During the exhibition, the work of some of the greatest French illuminators of the Middle Ages will be gathered together in Los Angeles for a brief time, including Mahiet, Jean Bondol, the Limbourg brothers, the Boucicaut Master, and Jean Fouquet. The exhibition represents a rare opportunity for both scholars and the general public to see firsthand the beauty of rarely displayed works of art. A number of the manuscripts have never before been lent outside of their home countries for an exhibition, such as the spectacular *Grandes chroniques* of Charles V (cat. no. 26) and the precious *Vie de Sainte Benoîte d'Origny* (cat. no. 11). In one case, two manuscripts from a set broken apart in the Middle Ages will be reunited for the first time since their separation in the fifteenth century (cat. no. 17).

One of the joys of art-historical research is studying medieval manuscripts and objects in person, and we are pleased that the catalogue's authors had the opportunity to see every object before establishing the exhibition list. We hope to share the variety and beauty of material that we experienced with visitors to the exhibition and, by means of the catalogue, with others. While the entries in this catalogue will not be the last word on any of the objects, we do hope that they provide a valuable foundation for future studies and raise new and interesting questions for further consideration. The essays at the beginning of the volume are intended to provide introductions to the over-arching themes that recur throughout the individual entries. Most of all, we hope that this exhibition and catalogue will help viewers and readers to understand the integral role that history played in medieval France and to experience the beauty of the objects that it inspired.

\* \* \*

The years of preparation necessary to make this exhibition and catalogue a reality would not have been possible without the participation of institutions, colleagues, scholars, and friends around the globe. We are deeply grateful to the J. Paul Getty Museum and the lenders for their generosity and to the individuals who have supported this monumental undertaking.

Michael Brand, former Director of the Getty Museum, enthusiastically endorsed the exhibition from its beginnings, while current Acting Director David Bomford was active in ensuring its successful completion. Thomas Kren, Acting Associate Director and Senior Curator of Manuscripts, was a consistent champion of the exhibition, providing invaluable advice, encouragement, and guidance all along the way. Kristen Collins and Christine Sciacca in the Department of Manuscripts kindly took on the burden of additional duties in order to free Elizabeth Morrison to concentrate on the exhibition and catalogue. A succession of staff assistants in the department provided assistance, including Andreea Constaninescu, Brandi Franzman, Michelle Keller, and Nikki Lee, but none more so than Katy Corella, who was an instrumental part of the team for two years, and her successor Jennifer Tucker, who greatly assisted with proofing. Jesse Erickson, an extraordinary undergraduate intern, began to compile object bibliographies in 2007. Graduate interns Mary Callahan, Henrike Manuwald, and Robert Schindler all spent countless hours on research, loan letters, and data compilation. Conservators Jane Bassett, Brian Considine, Katrina Posner, and Nancy Turner were key in providing counsel on conservation issues and, along with mountmakers Stephen Heer, Lynne Kaneshiro, and Ron Stroud, ensured a smooth and professional installation process. Antonia Böstrom and Charissa Bremer-David provided invaluable advice on decorative arts objects. Cherie Chen, John Guirini, and Rebecca Taylor all provided support in public affairs. The true linchpin of this project in the past year and a half has been

Curatorial Assistant Erin Donovan. She has worn an immense variety of hats, from author and editor to FileMakerPro maven; her contribution is profoundly felt in almost every aspect of the catalogue and the exhibition.

We would like to express our lasting thanks to Quincy Houghton, Associate Director, Exhibitions. Her team, Susan McGinty and Kirsten Schaefer, cheerfully and ably dealt with every aspect of the project. Chief Registrar Sally Hibbard, Registrars Carole Campbell and Kathleen Ochmanski, and especially Registrar Kanoko Sasao kept the loans for the exhibition on track and ensured that every bit of data was accurate.

Under the leadership of Merritt Price, a setting appropriate to the beauty of these priceless objects was provided by Nicole Trudeau and Emily Morishita of Exhibition Design, with the assistance of Irma Ramirez. Bruce Metro, Head of Preparations, and his highly motivated staff were called upon to safely mount and install the wide variety of objects included in the exhibition. Sahar Tchaitchian, Exhibition Editor, helped us communicate our ideas in clear and beautiful language. Maite Alvarez, Cathy Carpenter, Rebecca Edwards, Clare Kunney, Toby Tannenbaum, and Peter Tokofsky, in the Education Department, were innovative and thoughtful in creating the educational programming for the exhibition, while Laurel Kishi and Sarah McCarthy of Public Programs supplied a delightful evening of accompanying music. Paco Link and Nina Diamond of Collections Information and Access worked diligently with us on devising new and exciting ways for visitors to access additional pages from the manuscripts via computer kiosks, and the Web Group enabled us to share that experience with viewers around the world.

We would also like to thank Gregory M. Britton, Publisher, for his support of this catalogue. The Publications team who worked on the catalogue was second to none in their ability and determination to make this a beautiful and accessible catalogue. Kurt Hauser, Designer, has an exceptional sensitivity to and appreciation of manuscripts. John Harris, Editor, and Suzanne Watson, Project Coordinator, ensured that the catalogue process moved along smoothly. Manuscript editor Cynthia Newman Bohn worked long hours with an everlasting attention to detail that never failed to amaze us, while Karen Stough was proofreader par excellence. Erin Donovan ordered and processed the almost two hundred photographic reproductions for the catalogue with grace and efficiency. The Photographic Services department, including Johana Herera, Michael Smith, and Rebecca Vera-Martinez, provided the beautiful Getty photography. Johana was also kind enough to provide expert color-correction support to a few lenders. The Getty Research Institute, including the Photo Study Collection and Interlibrary Loan sections, was integral in ensuring that we had access to all the research materials we needed.

Our colleagues at the Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies at the University of California at Los Angeles invited us to arrange with them a three-day symposium on the theme of history in text and image in the Francophone West that will add depth and perspective to the exhibition. We thank Professors Matthew Fisher and Zrinka Stahuljak, as well as Karen Burgess and Brian Copenhaver of the center, for joining with us on this project.

Our multidisciplinary approach to the manuscripts in the exhibition relies on contributions by our predecessors and colleagues in the fields of art history, history, and literature whose research has enriched the study of illuminated manuscripts. Over the past eight years, we have consulted with academics, curators, and friends who have generously shared opinions, bibliography, unpublished research, and, in many cases, the simple but invaluable resource of conversation regarding this

exhibition, its approach, and its individual objects. We would especially like to thank Maryan Ainsworth, Peter Ainsworth, Stéphanie Aubert, François Avril, Christopher Baswell, Jeanette Beer, Jessica Berenbeim, Gwenael Beuchet, Carla Bozzolo, Elizabeth A. R. Brown, Laurent Brun, Mattia Cavagna, Claudine Chavannes-Mazel, Gottfried Croenen, Catherine Croizy-Naquet, Markus Cruse, Lisa Fagin Davis, Roger de Kesel, Thierry Delcourt, Christine Descatoire, Marilynn Desmond, Carine Durand, Consuelo Dutschke, Karen Duys, Jaroslav Folda, Megan Foster-Campbell, Eléonore Fournié, Karen Fresco, Danielle Gaborit-Chopin, Tom Gaens, Irina Galynina, Bernard Guenée, Laurent Hablot, Jeffrey Hamburger, Jill Hamilton, Joris Corin Heider, Sandra Hindman, Joan Holladay, Erik Inglis, Marie Jacob, Sarah Kay, Peter Kidd, Eberhard König, Charlotte Lacaze, Dominic Leo, Pierre-Yves Le Pogam, Charles Little, Amanda Luyster, Hilary Maddocks, Lisa Mahoney, James Marrow, Scot McKendrick, Bill and Mimi Mules, Robert Ousterhout, Maud Pérez-Simon, Stephen Perkinson, Nancy Freeman Regalado, Rosa María Rodríguez Porto, Edward Roesner, Mary Rouse, Richard Rouse, Brigitte Roux, Anna Russakoff, Lucy Sandler, Danuta Shanzer, Margaret Scott, Camille Serchuk, Claire Richter Sherman, Patricia Stirnemann, Alison Stones, Dominique Stutzmann, Elizabeth Teviotdale, Jean-Christophe Ton-That, Charity Urbanski, Inès Villela-Petit, Marie-Alice Virlouvet, Hanna Vorholt, and Laura Whatley. We would especially like to acknowledge the precious insights and companionship of our contributors: Élisabeth Antoine, R. Howard Bloch, Keith Busby, Joyce Coleman, Erin Donovan, and Gabrielle Spiegel. The Program in Medieval Studies at the University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign, was kind enough to fund a symposium, "Imagining the Past in France," on April 4, 2009, where we were able to gather together the catalogue essayists for a fruitful run-through and discussion of drafts of our material, which enabled us to form a more cohesive approach and voice than is often possible in multiauthor works.

In preparing this exhibition we also benefited from the rich array of Internet resources available to scholars. Their creators and keepers, though often anonymous, deserve recognition. Websites dedicated to texts and images, ranging from ARLIMA (Archives de Littérature du Moyen Âge) to the websites of the Morgan Library, the Bibliothèque nationale de France, and the British Library, to *Liber Floridus* and *Les Enluminures* (both developed by the Institut de Recherche et de l'Histoire des Textes), are only a few of the ever-increasing number of repositories that aid research. Often created and updated by individual scholars, websites devoted to particular aspects of manuscripts, such as those by Alison Stones, on *Lancelot-Grail* manuscripts, by Peter Ainsworth, on manuscripts of Froissart's *Chroniques*, or by Eléonore Fournié, on the *Bible historiale*, provide a wealth of information. By no means a substitute for examining the actual objects, these websites are nevertheless a valuable starting point for information that would otherwise be unobtainable.

The curators, librarians, and conservators with whom we worked while building the exhibition loan list for this project were consistently helpful and generous with their time and resources. We were delighted to have a chance to work with Dita Amory, Françoise Barbe, Peter Barnet, Marc Bascou, Hélène de Bellaigue, Marianne Berchtold, Holm Bevers, John Bidwell, Olga Bleskina, Anthony Bliss, Barbara Boehm, Bernard Bousmanne, André Bouwman, Claire Breay, Mary Carpenter, Sarah Cartwright, Andrea Clarke, Justin Clegg, Thierry Delcourt, Christine Descatoire, Javier Docampo Capilla, Kathleen Doyle, James Draper, Paule Hochuli Dubuis, Danielle Ducout, Natalia Elagina, Claudia Fabian, Henry Ferreira-Lopes, Andreas Fingernagel, Stephen Fliegel, Margaret Glover, Susan Glover, Marie-Thérèse Gousset, Brigitte Gullath, Hélène Hamon, Robert Harding, Earle Havens, Melanie Holcomb, Wolfgang-Valentin Ikas, Kathryn James, Peter Jezler, Anna Jolly, Ann Kelders, Anne Korteweg, Marie-Pierre Lafitte, Margarita Logutova, Bryan Maggs, Susan Marti, Hope Mayo, Scot McKendrick, Severine Montigny, Leslie Morris, Danielle Muzerelle, Michèle Nardi, Beverly Nenk, Christina Nielsen, Richard Ovenden, Everardus Overgaauw, Michèle Prévost, Barbara Roth, Kathryn Rudy, Hanne Schweiger-Schimang, Innis Shoemaker, Yann Sordet, William Stoneman, Élisabeth Tabouret-Delahaye, Marie-Hélène Tesnière, Carol Togneri, Sarah Toulouse, Didier Travier, Cecelia Treves, Frank Turner, Jose Luis del Valle Merino, Christiane Van den Bergen-Pantens, Anneke van den Bergh, Joos van Heel, Carel van Tuyll, Clare Vincent, William Voelkle, Marie-Claire Waille, Roger Wieck, Betsy Williams, and Patrick Zutshi.

Institutions like the Bibliothèque nationale and the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal made unprecedented loans to this exhibition, and collectors such as James and Elizabeth Ferrell and Mark Getty kindly lent objects from their wonderful private collections. To our professional colleagues and their lending institutions and to the private collectors we extend our deepest thanks, for it is they who truly made this exhibition possible.

The Getty is also most grateful to the Federal Council on the Arts and Humanities for their support of this exhibition.

The lasting testament to this exhibition in the form of a comprehensive catalogue fully illustrated in color would not have been possible without a generous subvention from Mel Seiden, who truly appreciates the beauty and complexities of manuscripts and their presentation. His donation was made in honor of Bob and Lois Erburu.

Finally, we thank Sandra Hindman, who long ago introduced two starry-eyed students to the study of manuscripts, and Thomas Kren, who facilitated the growth of both of us as scholars. We lovingly dedicate this catalogue to our parents, in memory of Hugh and Marian Morrison and in honor of Jacquelin and Robert Northup.

Elizabeth Morrison Anne D. Hedeman

# Notes to the Reader

Illuminations are tempera colors on parchment unless otherwise indicated. Some illuminations contain added gold or silver leaf or gold paint.

For all bound codices as well as individual leaves the dimensions given refer to the size of the leaf, not to the binding.

In the specification of justification, the first number indicates the height of the text block; within the brackets, in the case of manuscripts with two columns of text, the first number is the width of the left-hand text block, the second is the width of the intercolumnar space, and the third is the width of the right-hand text block (a similar system applies to manuscripts with three columns of text).

In provenances, brackets represent temporary possession by an auction house or dealer. A span of dates appearing in parentheses always indicates life dates of an individual. A single date prefaced by "d." indicates an individual's death date; a single date following life dates indicates a known date of ownership.

The titles of French noblemen below the rank of duke are given in French. The titles of French noblewomen are given in French. All other titles are given in English.

Due to limitations of space, bibliographies for the catalogue items are extensive but not exhaustive. The editor's or translator's name is used in short-form references to editions or translations of medieval and classical texts.

Notes and bibliographies for each catalogue entry appear at the end of the volume.

Throughout the volume, when referring to the French language, the authors have used the word "French" to encompass all medieval dialects of French (except Anglo-Norman, which is specified).

Text titles and author and translator names are based largely on those provided by ARLIMA (Archives de Littérature du Moyen Âge) and the *Dictionnaire des Lettres Françaises*.

In the catalogue headings, "frontispiece" indicates an image appearing at the beginning of a manuscript or major textual division that is also set apart from the rest of the illuminations by differences in scale or content.

In the catalogue entries for bound manuscripts, the first illustration, labeled *a*, represents the image on view in the exhibition, with the following exceptions, in which all illustrations represent images on view: cat. nos. 11, 17, 22, 23, 24, 29, 36, 39, 45, and 50.

Comparative illustrations are referred to as "figs." and are numbered consecutively, beginning in the introduction; catalogue illustrations are referred to as "ills." and correspond to the catalogue entry numbers.

Captions indicate when an image has been enlarged from its actual size but not when it has been reduced.

# Key to Abbreviations:

- fol./fols.=folio/folios
- Ms. / Mss. = manuscript / manuscripts
- v = verso (a folio number not followed by r or v indicates a recto page)
- BL = British Library (London)
- BnF = Bibliothèque nationale de France (Paris)
- KB = Koninklijke Bibliotheek (The Hague)
- BR = Bibliothèque royale de Belgique (Brussels)
- ÖNB = Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (Vienna)

Contributions to the catalogue are by Élisabeth Antoine (É.A.), R. Howard Bloch (R.H.B.), Erin K. Donovan (E.K.D.), Anne D. Hedeman (A.D.H.), and Elizabeth Morrison (E.M.).



# Introduction

For when one sees a story illustrated, whether of Troy or of something else, he sees the actions of the worthy men that lived in those times, just as though they were present. And it is just the same with speech. For when one hears a romance read aloud, he follows the adventures, just as though he saw them before him.<sup>1</sup>

🕤 RICHARD DE FOURNIVAL, Bestiare d'amours, ca. 1250

*Imagining the Past in France* celebrates one of the greatest chapters in the history of French art, when lavish illuminated manuscripts helped an entire nation to understand the present and plan for the future by revisualizing the past. For more than two hundred years—from around 1250 to the close of the fifteenth century—the most important and original work being done in secular illumination was unquestionably in manuscripts featuring historical stories. The images in these books enabled the past to come alive before the eyes of medieval readers by relating the adventures of epic figures such as Hector of Troy, Alexander the Great, the Holy Roman emperor Charlemagne, and even the Virgin Mary. Concentrating on dramatic and action-filled tales replete with heroic battles, moral dilemmas, and chivalric derring-do, these images, designed for ostentatious display at court, were frequently found in books whose impressive dimensions were nearly as attention-getting as their illuminations. With their sumptuous textual and visual narratives, these manuscripts help us to understand the broader conception of history in the Middle Ages.

History continues to be a vital component of the visual arts in the modern age—in operas like Richard Wagner's *Parsifal*, the paintings of the English Pre-Raphaelites, and more recently, bigbudget films such as *Troy* (2004), *Kingdom of Heaven* (2005), *Tristan and Isolde* (2006), and *Robin Hood* (2010). Indeed, by exploring the role illumination played in formulating ideology in medieval France, we might, as inheritors of this tradition, learn something about ourselves and gain a fresh perspective on how the images of history used in our own era operate quite similarly to their counterparts in the Middle Ages.

# What is history?

While a modern dictionary defines history as "a chronological record of significant events, often including an explanation of their causes,"<sup>2</sup> people living in the Middle Ages perceived history differently. For them, *histoire*, or *estoire*, had a range of meanings that moved from reality to imagination and from words to images. Depending on context, the word in the Middle Ages could mean "a recital of real or imaginary events," "an account by a chronicler or historian," "an authoritative Latin source," or "a pictorial, sculptural, or theatrical representation of a scene."<sup>3</sup>

A wide variety of medieval texts in French were viewed as history.<sup>4</sup> Hagiography, the lives of saints, is one of the earliest kinds of history written in French to survive, beginning in the ninth century.<sup>5</sup> *Chansons de geste* like the *Chanson de Roland*, romances like the *Roman de Brut* (which

introduced King Arthur), and histories of antiquity like the *Roman de Troie* came second, emerging in the twelfth century. They focused on what the Arras poet Jean Bodel categorized as three matters (*matières*) that all men should know, those of Britain "empty and pleasing" (*vain et plesant*), of Rome "wise and instructive" (*sage et de sens aprendant*), and of France "constantly revealing its truthfulness" (*est voir chascun jour aparent*).<sup>6</sup> Because eyewitness accounts guaranteed a text's validity as history, many romances and chronicles declared their reliance on earlier accounts of true events, usually using the word *estoire* to describe their genuine—or supposedly genuine—Latin source.<sup>7</sup> Bodel wrote that all three *matières* depended on books of *estoire*, and Benoît de Sainte-Maure emphasized that the *Roman de Troie* was based on the eyewitness accounts of Dares and Dictys, fictional Trojans whose accounts circulated in Latin.<sup>8</sup>

Despite formal differences between romance and history, these two types of literature often shared subject matter in addition to their alleged reliance on histories in Latin, suggesting that they were more closely linked in the Middle Ages than they are now. Even when romance moved toward fiction in the thirteenth century (following the example of the twelfth-century Arthurian romances of Chrétien de Troyes), the genre continued to respond to models drawn from hagiography and *chansons de geste* and to claim historical authenticity.<sup>9</sup>

New texts joined this vernacular corpus in the early thirteenth century. The Bible, the foundational history for Christian cultures, was translated into French, verse romances were "translated" into French prose, and prose vernacular history made its debut.<sup>10</sup> History and romance alike continued to claim authority based on their reliance on Latin authorities. For instance, the Grandes choniques de France translated the Latin chronicles maintained at the abbey of Saint-Denis. The dedication verses to the first Grandes chroniques de France are telling (see ill. 6a), because they describe how the king was given the newly translated "history of kings written in French" (le roman qui des roys est romés)." Our English translation glosses over the term roman, used flexibly here to describe both the French language and the chronicle itself, but used elsewhere in medieval texts specifically to reference the idea of romance. The author of the prose Lancelot explains that the source for his French romance was the oral testimony of the knights of the Round Table that Arthur's clerics recorded in a Latin book (an estoire).<sup>12</sup> The use of prose in thirteenth-century chronicles and romances reinforced their claim to truth in a different way, through the assertion that "no rhymed tale is true" (nus contes rimé n'est verais); as one early chronicler put it.<sup>13</sup> By the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries authors had expanded the historical corpus with new translations of Latin authorities, such as the Roman historians Livy and Valerius Maximus. They also continued to emphasize the authority of eyewitness accounts by recording contemporary events.

On the most basic level, the unifying element of these texts was their use of the French language, whose application expanded the potential audience for manuscripts to those unlettered in Latin.<sup>14</sup> The importance of this linguistic classification shows up in the organization of books in princely libraries, as reflected in inventories.<sup>15</sup> To consider just one example, the earliest inventories of Charles V's royal library, which he founded in 1367 in the Louvre, reveal that French and Latin books were stored separately. In the inventory of 1380, books on the first two floors were predominantly in French and those on the third floor almost exclusively in Latin.<sup>16</sup> The royal inventories contain some telling entries, such as those for the two copies of the *Faits des Romains*, which are listed as being placed with Bibles, no doubt because, as the inventory mentions, they "begin with Genesis in French" (*commence des genesis en francais*).<sup>17</sup>



## Figure 1

Map of the growth of the Kingdom of France from the Capetian Dynasty, established by Hugh Capet in 987, through the end of the fifteenth century.

<b>French Roy</b> (1250-1500)	al Family		Louis X, the	(1) Jeanne II, queen of Navarre +	
			Quarrelsome 1314-1316	Philip, king of Navarre	
			+ (1) Marguerite de Bourgogne (2) Clémence de Hongrie	(2) John I 1316	(1) Isabelle de Valois
	Capetian D	ynasty			+ Jean III, duke of Brittany
	÷.,		Philip V, the Tall 1316-1322	Jeanne III de France + Eudes IV, duke of	(1)
			Jeanne de Bourgogne	Burgundy	Philip VI de Valois 1328-1350
		-	Charles IV, the Fair	Marguerite I de France	+ (1) Jeanne de Bourgogne (2) Blanche de Navarre
			1322-1328	+ Louis I de Nevers	
	Isabelle de France + Theobald II, king of Navarre		<ul> <li>(1) Blanche de Bourgogne</li> <li>(2) Marie de Luxembourg</li> <li>(3) Jeanne d'Évreux</li> </ul>	Isabelle de France + (1) Guigue de Viennois	(1) Jeanne de Valois + Guillaume III, comte de Hainault
	The electronic of the "The Person-		Isabelle de France	(2) Jean de Foucogney	
Louis IX (St. Louis) 1226-1270	Philip III, the Bold 1270-1285	(1) Philip IV, the Fair 1285-1314	+ Edward II, king of England	(3) Blanche de France	(1) Marguerite de Valois
+ Marguerite de Provence	(1) Isabelle d'Aragon (2) Marie de Brabant	+ Jeanne, queen of Navarre	akud futb	Philip, duke of Orleans	+ Guy I de Châtillon
	Jean Tristan, comte de Valois	(1) Charles, comte de Valois +		Edward III, king of England	(1) Charles II, comte d'Alençon
	+ Yolande de Bourgogne	<ol> <li>Margaret of Sicily</li> <li>Catherine de Courtenay</li> <li>Mahaut de Châtillon</li> </ol>			+ (1) Jeanne de Joigny (2) Maria de la Cerda
	Pierre I, comte d'Alençon	- ANNE			
	+ Joanne de Châtillon	(2) Louis, comte d'Evreux			(2) Catherine II de Valois + Philip 1, king of Albania
	Blanche de France +	Marguerite d'Artois			T map it sing or rabana
	Ferdinand de Castile				(2) Isabelle de Valois
	Marguerite de France	(2) Blanche de France			+ Pierre I de Bourbon
	John, duke of Brabant	Rudolf III, duke of Austria			(3) Blanche de Valois
	Robert, comte de Clermont	(2) Marguerite de France			+ Charles IV, Holy Roman Emperor
	Beatrix de Bourbon	+ Edward I, king of England			
	Agnès de France				
	+ Robert II, duke of Burgundy				

# Valois Dynasty

# (1) John II, the Good 1350-1364 (1) Bonne de Luxembourg (2) Jeanne de Boulogne

(1) Philip, duke of Orleans

Blanche de France

# 1364-1380 Jeanne de Bourbon (1) Louis I, duke of Anjou, king of Naples and Provence

Charles V, the Wise

(1)

Valentina Visconti Marie de Châtillon

> Catherine de France John II, duke of Berry

(1)

1380-1422

Charles VI, the Mad

Isabeau of Bavaria

Louis I, duke of Orleans

(1) John I, duke of Berry

(1) Jeanne d'Armagnac (2) Jeanne de Boulogne

(1) Philip II, the Bold, duke of Burgundy

Marguerite de Flandre

(1) Jeanne de France Charles II, the Bad, king of

Navarre

(1) Isabelle de France

Gian Galeazzo Visconti, duke of Milan

# Isabelle de France

England

(2) Owen Tudor

Charles VII 1422-1461

Marie d'Anjou

(1) Richard II, king of (3) England Louis XII (2) Charles, duke of 1498-1515 Orleans (1) Jeanne de Berry (daughter of Louis XI) (2) Bonne d'Armagnac ų, (2) Anne de Bretagne (3) Mary of Cleves (also wife of Charles VIII) (3) Mary of England Jeanne de France John V, duke of Brittany Louis XI (2) Anne de France 1461-1483 Michelle de France (1) Margaret of Scotland Peter II, duke of Bourbon (2) Charlotte de Savoie Philip the Good, duke of Burgundy (2) Catherine de France Jeanne de Berry Louis, duke of Guienne Charles the Bold, duke of Louis XII, king of France Burgundy John, duke of Touraine (2) Charles VIII Yolande de France 1483-1498 Amadeus IX de Savoie Catherine de France Anne de Bretagne (1) Henry V, king of

Jeanne de France

John II, duke of Bourbon

Madeline de France Gaston de Foix

(also wife of Louis XII)

Charles, duke of Berry

# Figure 2

Notes to the Reader

A number appearing to the side of a person's name indicates the order of multiple spouses.

A number appearing above a person's name matches the number of the respective parent.

The titles of French noblemen below the rank of duke are given in French.

The titles of French noblewomen are given in French.

All other titles are given in English.

The flexibility of *estoire*—its ability to encompass real and imagined pasts, oral recitals, and written accounts, and, most particularly, images—is the subject of this volume and the exhibition it accompanies.

# What is France?

In 987, when Hugh Capet was elected king of the Franks over the protests of the rightful heir in Charlemagne's direct line, his son was by no means guaranteed the right of succession, and Hugh's real powers extended only as far as the boundaries of his family's lands in the Île-de-France (see fig. 1). The adjoining lands were divided into autonomous provinces, each with its own prince assuming the powers and homage that had previously belonged to the king. The entire south of what is now France was virtually an independent realm, which even had its own language (the *langue d'oc*).<sup>18</sup> France as a unified country existed neither territorially, conceptually, nor linguistically. Over the course of the next five centuries, first the Capetian kings and then those of the Valois line (see fig. 2) came to be recognized as the legitimate dynastic rulers of a distinct region that was known as France and willingly acknowledged allegiance to the crown, establishing the foundations of the modern French state.<sup>19</sup>

It was not only the control of the land by a strong monarchy, however, that led to the creation of France. A growing sense of nationalism, encompassing a shared sense of pride in belonging to a nation, was also an essential aspect.<sup>20</sup> During the thirteenth century, the French king began to be referred to consistently in court documents, not with the old title of *rex Francorum* (king of the Franks), but as *rex Francie* (king of France).<sup>21</sup> The French kings had become respected leaders on the European stage: principal players in the Crusades, creators of a grand and much-emulated court in Paris, and rulers legitimized in part by their real (and imagined) past. Even the devastation of the Hundred Years' War (1337–1453) helped to crystallize a growing sense of French patriotism. The kingdom's defeat at the Battle of Agincourt in 1415 and the subsequent installation of the English king in Paris in 1420 were bitter blows, yet these events offered Joan of Arc the opportunity to call upon a sense of French pride to reestablish the French king and encourage him to restore his rightful authority.<sup>22</sup>

The French language, closely affiliated with French nation-building, developed along a trajectory separate from that of the country itself and achieved perhaps an even greater success.<sup>23</sup> In the twelfth century, the Norman Conquest introduced French as a language into the lands of England, while the establishment of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem gave French a foothold in the East. The thirteenth century saw the subjugation of the south of France and the virtual eradication of the *langue d'oc* in favor of the language of northern France. In the fourteenth century, French became fashionable at courts in Genoa, Naples, and Venice. In the fifteenth century, Burgundy and Flanders were among the most powerful economic regions in Europe; their populations had spoken French for centuries.

The appearance in the thirteenth century of texts composed in or translated into French was a mark of the growing respect for and influence of this vernacular language. Moreover, even in countries that did not feature French as the court language, texts originating in France were translated into the local vernacular, indicating a preference for French tales.<sup>24</sup> The linguistic fate of French, therefore, was not always tied to the successes and defeats of the French monarchy. The language itself spread the influence of French literature well beyond the developing boundaries of the French nation.

The question "What is France?" thus had no single answer in the Middle Ages. During much of the period, France's boundaries were fluid, changing with political fortunes, and the language itself

was developing as its influence spread outward from the homeland of the Franks. Only at the end of the fifteenth century did the concept of what today is thought of as "France" begin to coalesce.

# History in Manuscript Painting

The illustration of history manuscripts offers important insights into medieval historical thought and the concept of nationhood. Gabrielle Spiegel has studied the rise of history texts written in prose, and her work stimulated our approach to understanding how manuscripts, particularly illuminated manuscripts, interpret history.<sup>25</sup> Many histories written in French at this time were illuminated, and often they were reilluminated to fit a changed conception of events (see, for example, cat. nos. 6, 14, and 26), a phenomenon that does much to clarify how history was understood and used. The section introductions and individual object entries in this catalogue apply the art-historical and theoretical methodology we have adopted in our approach to history manuscript illumination.

As physical objects produced at a specific moment by a collaborative team that could include authors, artists, *libraires* (booksellers or editors), and patrons, illuminated histories embodied the social realities of these multiple producers and as a result were able to communicate effectively to their audience. Considered in the aggregate, these manuscripts enable us to see how visual images helped medieval readers to constantly rethink and revisualize the past in terms of their own present. In recasting the past in the image of the present, the present in turn became a perfected reflection of the past. Rulers used genealogy devised in these histories to support their claims to power, noblemen envisioned themselves as the natural inheritors of the success of ancient warriors, and France's very identity as a nation received an impetus from the historical antecedents that were understood to justify its existence.

- 1. Translation from Huot 1987, 3.
- Merriam-Webster Online Dictionary, s.v. "history": www.merriamwebster.com/dictionary/history. Accessed February 20, 2010.
- 3. For discussion of the word *estoire*, see "estoire, historia, istoire" in *DMF* and Damian-Grint 1997.
- 4. For a discussion of the flexibility of genre and of the slippages between history, romance, and such genres as genealogy, see Spiegel 1993, Kay 1995, Damian-Grint 1997, Spiegel 1997, Stahuljak 2005, and Gabrielle Spiegel's and Keith Busby's essays in this volume.
- See Keith Busby's essay, p. 4117. There is an Occitan life of Saint Eulalia dating ca. 1070 (Kay, Cave, and Bowie 2003, 32). On hagiography in general, see Hahn 2001.
- 6. For the translation of Bodel's categorization, see Kay, Cave, and Bowie 2003, 41.
- 7. See Damian-Grint 1997 for an analysis of *estoire*'s usage in the twelfth century.
- 8. For Bodel, see Arsenal Ms. 3142, fol. 203: "si escout bonne chançon vaillant / dont li livre d'estoire sont tesmoing et garant!" For Benoît de Sainte-Maure, see Croizy-Naquet 1999 and 2004.
- 9. Gaunt 2000.
- For discussion of the Bible, see cat. nos. 1 and 2, and for prose romance, history, and the shift from poetry to prose, see Spiegel 1993, Damian-Grint 1999, Croizy-Naquet 1999, and Lacy 2000.
- 11. Guenée 1986, 189.
- 12. See cat. nos. 7 and 10.

13. Spiegel 1993, 53.

- 14. The prologue of the *Roman de Troie* explicitly states the reasons why it was composed in the vernacular: "I want to put all my efforts into beginning a story, for, if I have the wisdom and ability for it, I shall want to translate it from the Latin in which I find it into the vernacular, so that those who do not understand Latin can amuse themselves in the poem written in the vernacular. It is a very beautiful and noble story of great exploits and grand doings": Constans 1904–12, vol. 1, lines 33–39 (authors' translation).
- 15. See Hedeman 2008, 1–3.
- For the royal library and its holdings in the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, see Paris 1968a and Delisle 1907.
- 17. Delisle 1907, 2:159, nos. 969–970.
- See Keith Busby's essay in this volume for more on the linguistic division in medieval France.
- 19. For more on the historical, political, and geographical developments in France between 1250 and 1500, see the introductions to sections 1, 2, and 3 of this volume.
- 20. For the concept of nationhood in medieval France, see Lewis 1981, Guenée 1967, and Beaune 1991.
- 21. Baldwin 1986, 359-62; and Guenée 1967, 24.
- 22. Beaune 2004.
- 23. See Keith Busby's essay in this volume.
- 24. See the introduction to section 4 of this volume.
- 25. See Spiegel 1990 and 1993.



# From Sacred to Secular: The Origins of History Illumination in France

# **ELIZABETH MORRISON**

During the first half of the thirteenth century, two types of books accounted for a large proportion of all decorated manuscripts in France-psalters and Bibles.<sup>1</sup> The middle of the century, however, witnessed the beginnings of a revolution in the realm of illuminated manuscripts. With the growth of cities and spreading literacy, there arose an increased demand for vernacular manuscripts, especially romances and histories.<sup>2</sup> For the first time illuminated texts like the Lancelot-Grail cycle (cat. nos. 7 and 10), the Histoire ancienne (cat. no. 3), the Livres dou tresor (cat. no. 9), and the Grandes chroniques de France (cat. no. 6) began to appear in great numbers.<sup>3</sup> By the second quarter of the fourteenth century, artists were beginning to specialize in illuminating either religious or secular texts, while the format for secular illumination took on a fairly standardized form. In the years between 1250 and about 1325, however, the very same artists who were producing religious manuscripts were often responsible for illuminating secular ones as well, and they experimented with a diverse assortment of illumination types and programs.<sup>4</sup> It was only natural that in pursuing their secular work these artists would draw on their considerable experience with sacred manuscripts, saving themselves time and effort by reverting to familiar forms and compositions.<sup>5</sup> What remains to be investigated is the extent to which they simply used sacred images as models, as opposed to intentionally adapting those models to develop an innovative visual vocabulary for a new idiom.

This essay will examine a number of the different modes of presentation found in French vernacular manuscripts with historical content during this period. It will explore how artists modified and ultimately broke away from their religiously inspired beginnings to create new formats and compositions more suited to their needs and the needs of a new breed of manuscript—the illuminated secular book.<sup>6</sup> It will also suggest that the vast expansion in the types of books being produced was paralleled by a similarly dramatic increase in experimentation with a variety of formats and that the impetus for many of the newly adopted forms can be found in the emphasis on narrative that characterizes French vernacular histories.

In most thirteenth-century workshops, to keep up with the continually growing demand for Bibles and psalters, artists drew from a limited number of iconographic models that were repeated ad infinitum with small changes in detail.<sup>7</sup> Largely in the form of historiated initials, these images generally served as markers for the different sections of the manuscript, and repetition had imparted to them an iconic character that enabled a reader to readily identify a pertinent text: a man being sawn in half served as a marker for the beginning of the book of Isaiah in the Vulgate, and the fool with his club quickly placed the reader at Psalm 52. This one-to-one identification between image and text was not

### Figure 3

Initial I: The Creation in a Bible (in Latin); France, possibly Corbie, 1229. New York, The Pierpont Morgan Library, Gift of J. P. Morgan (1867–1943), 1924, Ms. M.163, fol. 3v (enlarged; Ms. measures 22 × 15 cm)

# Figure 4

Initial I: The Creation in Josephus, Antiquitates Judaicae; Dijon, ca. 1280. New York, The Pierpont Morgan Library, Gift of J. P. Morgan (1867–1943), 1924, Ms. M.533, fol. 1 (reduced; Ms. measures 44 × 34 cm)

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the case in secular manuscript illumination. In contrast to the stable iconography of religious texts, the unfamiliar stories and dramatic narratives of a whole range of new secular works virtually demanded a rethinking of the role of images in books.

As Alison Stones has pointed out, this is particularly true near the middle of the thirteenth century, when secular manuscripts were often painted by artists who were likely trained on the repetitive iconography of Bibles and psalters.<sup>8</sup> In secular books, the images were intended to excite the reader, often providing a visual synopsis of events or emphasizing the narrative quality of the text. In considering how illuminators struggled in the thirteenth century with these new challenges, this essay concentrates particularly on those modes of secular illumination in which an attempt was made to create a visual narrative by including more than one scene on a page. These illuminations represent their makers' fledgling efforts to experiment with the tools they had at hand to help them visualize multiple events from a text. It will become apparent that in the course of the second half of the thirteenth century, artists developed numerous inventive solutions that enabled the visual story to take on the same rhythm and complexity as the written narrative.

Logically enough, the historiated initial was the starting point for most mid-thirteenth-century artists. Its use in both Bibles and psalters led the way to its appearance in early secular texts.9 Bibles of the era typically opened with an elongated initial I (to begin the phrase "In principio" [In the beginning]) that served as a space for numerous scenes from the Creation and which was followed by historiated initials to mark the beginning of each of the books. Comparing a standard Creation scene from an early-thirteenth-century Bible in Latin (fig. 3) to a Latin copy of Flavius Josephus's Antiquitates Judaicae from the second half of the century, which starts with the Creation story (fig. 4), it is evident that the artist of the secular work used the format of the biblical I almost without change, although the Josephus manuscript is twice the size of the Bible. The artist then used historiated initials throughout the rest of the Josephus manuscript to introduce important divisions of the text.<sup>10</sup> The historiated initial's analogous function in Bibles was obviated by the narrative complexity and unfamiliarity of the Josephus text, which made instant recognition of individual scenes unlikely for most readers. In this manuscript, therefore, the artist decided to divide each of the initials into four sections (fig. 5). In the initial A, at upper left, the kings of Asia honor the Jews, while at upper right, the Jews are confirmed in their right to honor their own customs of worship. Below, the armies of Antiochus and Ptolemy go to war, with the Jews suffering equally from the depredations of both sides. The artist linked the two upper stories by using a similar composition in each, and then in the lower two compartments set up an almost comical face-off between the opposing armies, with an imposed vertical bar barely separating the two. By dividing the space in four, perhaps inspired by the commonly seen multiple scenes in the initial I's at the beginning of Bibles, the artist has created increased opportunities for capturing the motion and drama of the text's events.

From other early examples of vernacular history texts, it is clear that artists often maximized the visual narrative by manipulating the well-known form of the historiated initial. In the earliest extant illuminated copy of the *Livre d'Eracles* by Guillaume de Tyr, illuminated just before the middle of the century (fig. 6), the artist has used the same type of initial as seen in the Latin Josephus manuscript.<sup>11</sup> Dividing the initial's space into two registers emphasizes the narrative flow of the imagery. In the top register, Sultan Sanar leads two Christians into the palace of the caliph, guarded by two soldiers. Below, the envoy kneels to kiss the caliph's foot. This series of events occurs deep within the chapter

# DVODEGIQVE

### Figure 5

Initial A: Jews Honored by the Asians; The War between Antiochus and Ptolemy in Josephus, Antiquitates Judaicae; Dijon, ca. 1280. New York, The Pierpont Morgan Library, Gift of J. P. Morgan (1867–1943), 1924, Ms. M.533, fol. 127v (enlarged detail)



which this initial precedes and was most likely chosen because the text lovingly lingers on the fantastic details of the caliph's wonderful palace, including its pavements of colored stones, rare birds, and winding passages.

Because the scenes chosen for representation were not always located in the beginning of the chapter, an unusual feature of this manuscript is that full descriptions of the initials' contents appear in the lower margin of each illustrated leaf.<sup>12</sup> The fact that these descriptions are so vivid, and that they were done in a clear bookhand by the same scribe who did the text, led Jaroslav Folda to suggest that they were meant as much for the owner/reader of the manuscript as for the artist.<sup>13</sup> One has to remember that Guillaume's text was relatively new and unknown at this early period, and illuminations accompanied by full descriptions could help guide readers and viewers through the narrative, especially if the stories chosen for representation were selected to heighten the narrative's impact rather than simply mark the beginnings of chapters. Indeed, the manuscript was likely made just before Saint Louis (Louis IX of France) left on the first of his crusades, and thus the manuscript's stimulating text and vivid images would have built excitement for the undertaking.<sup>14</sup> The artist was exceedingly clever in manipulating the form of the initial, but the awkwardness of fitting particular stories into specific spaces, like the inside of an initial *R*, limited artists' ability to construct visual narratives. The next two examples contain explicit evidence of how illuminators struggled with the logical leap from narrative historiated initials to framed miniatures containing more than one scene.

# di domende in xixer



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### Figure 6

Initial R: The Sultan Sanar Approaches the Caliph in Guillaume de Tyr, Livre d'Eracles; Paris, ca. 1245–48. Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 9081, fol. 245v

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# Figure 7

Initial C: Agravain Meets the Bandaged Knight; Agravain Takes His Leave in Agravain, Queste del Saint Graal, Mort Artu; Thérouanne, ca. 1290– 1300. New Haven, Yale University, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Ms. 229, fol. 1 (detail)

## Figure 8

Initial O: Guerrhes Meets a Peasant; Guerrhes Attacks the Ten Knights in Agravain, Queste del Saint Graal, Mort Artu; Thérouanne, ca. 1290–1300. New Haven, Yale University, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Ms. 229, fol. 3v (detail) One of the most elaborately illuminated copies of the *Lancelot-Grail* cycle, the folio-sized manuscript from the Beinecke Library (cat. no. 7), features seventy-seven large miniatures, fifty-one small miniatures, and thirty-six historiated initials.<sup>15</sup> Looking just at the numbers, we might expect that the illuminations in this manuscript reflect a standard hierarchy of decoration (in which important divisions are marked by large miniatures, sections within those divisions by small miniatures, and subsections by historiated initials) and that this scheme was carefully planned in advance. I would argue, however, that this was not the case. The distribution of these elements was decided not at the outset but was instead a result of the artists' efforts to reconcile the traditional format of historiated initials with the complex needs of a secular narrative, a struggle that literally plays out in front of the viewer's eyes.<sup>16</sup>

When the illuminators began the process of making this long and complex manuscript, they no doubt planned to use only historiated initials. Larger initials would indicate the major sections of the text, just as historiated initials introduced each book of the Bible, and then smaller ones would be sprinkled throughout to give visual emphasis to specific plot points as needed. This pattern was established in the first few gatherings of the Beinecke manuscript. The first page of the manuscript includes a large illuminated C (fig. 7). Just as in the *Livre d'Eracles* manuscript, the artist made the most of his space by dividing the initial into two registers, to provide more space for the developing narrative. For his second initial, however, he was confronted with an O, not the most propitious shape for including extensive narrative elements (fig. 8). The artist therefore squeezed the initial into the far right-hand space bordering the miniature, resulting in an extremely elongated O that is almost illegible as a letter, a peculiarly awkward solution. His third large initial was also an O and here the artist tried a new tack. He gave up on the idea of two separate registers and decided on a large single scene (fol. 14).<sup>17</sup> Compared to







# Figure 9

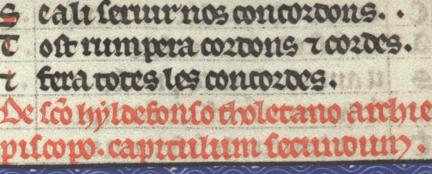
Initial O: Lucan Addresses the King; The Queen with Elysabel; The Queen Asleep in Agravain, Queste del Saint Graal, Mort Artu; Thérouanne, ca. 1290-1300. New Haven, Yale University, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Ms. 229, fol. 25 (enlarged detail)

the others, this O appears a bit lackluster. But for the fourth initial O (fol. 25), he again reverted to two registers, clearly unwilling to abandon a complex visual narrative (fig. 9). Now, however, elements of his composition either escape from the confines of the initial (like the feet of the man at bottom left) or are forced into an uneasy alliance with the shape of the initial (as in the bed that seems to be crawling up the right side of the initial wall), while the space outside the initial is simply wasted. It was at this point that the artist may well have begun to look ahead and realize that every single major division is introduced by the rhetorical device "Or dist li contes" (Now the story says), which signals a change in the narrative action. Faced with an unending series of O's with which to wrangle, and not satisfied with any of the solutions yet devised, the artist must have consulted with the *libraire* (bookseller) or the scribe and devised a new illumination system that would provide him with a larger canvas on which to spread his intricate visual narratives.

The Miracle of Saint Ildephonso in Gautier de Coinci, Miracles de Nostre Dame; Soissons, ca. 1260–70. Saint Petersburg, National Library of Russia, Ms. Fr.F.v.XIV.9, fol. 58 (enlarged detail)

### Figure 11

The Miracle of Saint Ildephonso in Gautier de Coinci, Miracles de Nostre Dame; Soissons, ca. 1260–70. Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 25532, fol. 22 (enlarged detail)







This new solution involved the use of the entire width of the column and a movement from historiated initial to rectangular miniature (see ills. 7a and 7b). In this way, the artist could visualize multiple scenes from the accompanying text and impart a sense of liveliness and dynamism to his stories. From this point on in the manuscript (the first true double-register miniature comes on fol. 27v), there is not a single large historiated initial: the multicompartment solution had been firmly adopted.<sup>18</sup>

The second example of artists vacillating between historiated initials and multicompartment miniatures relates to a lavish copy of the *Miracles de Nostre Dame* (now in Saint Petersburg) that features such miniatures throughout and dates to the second half of the century (cat. no. 5).<sup>19</sup> Although the *Miracles* would perhaps not be considered a form of history by today's standards, the work's author, Gautier de Coinci, clearly conceived his text to be in competition with secular narratives (see the entry for cat. no. 5), and the stories were considered by contemporaries to be historical examples from which readers could draw inspiration and hope.<sup>20</sup> In addition to the Saint Petersburg manuscript, two closely related manuscripts of the same text survive, both illuminated by the same workshop.

One of these (Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 22928) dates a bit later than the Saint Petersburg manuscript and contains images that are virtual copies of the original miniatures, although painted by less accomplished members of the workshop. The other (Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 25532) was likely almost contemporary with the Saint Petersburg manuscript and features historiated initials (and occasional small miniatures) that attempt to squeeze in as much information from the original as possible, usually without succeeding. A comparison of two images from the respective manuscripts helps to establish the order in which they were made.<sup>21</sup>

In one of the few single miniatures found in the Saint Petersburg manuscript, to the far left a seated king and numerous retainers behind him witness a boy being raised from the dead (fig. 10). In the copy of this scene in the Paris manuscript (BnF, Ms. fr. 25532), the heads of these figures were copied into the miniature, but the artist forgot to include their bodies-the red background that continues behind the king and his chair makes it seem that the heads above are simply floating in space (fig. 11). This kind of mistake is easy to make when transferring images and is commonly associated with manuscript copies. A second pair of comparisons illustrates one of the most famous stories in the text, how the reliquary of Saint Leocadia was stolen from its church and thrown in the river. Prayer to the church's statue of the Virgin was instrumental in the reliquary's return. The story is easy to follow in the original Saint Petersburg manuscript (see ill. 5b). Thieves steal the reliquary in the upper left; in the upper right, the priest and members of the congregation pray to a statue of the Virgin and Child for the reliquary's safe return. In the middle register, the reliquary is found in the river, followed by a procession of grateful laypeople and churchmen. At the bottom the thieves are hung and the reliquary returned. In the Paris manuscript copy, however, the artist chose to repeat the first and middle right Saint Petersburg scenes somewhat haphazardly. Because neither the reliquary nor the all-important statue of the Virgin appear in the initial's lower compartment, the image misses the denouement of the story entirely (fig. 12). It is clear that the second manuscript was intended to be a scaled-down copy featuring historiated initials rather than the multicompartment miniatures, and that the results were less than satisfactory. When the second copy (BnF, Ms. fr. 22928) of the original manuscript came to be made a bit later, the multicompartment miniature format was again chosen as the superior narrative vehicle.

Now that we have seen some evidence of the influence of Bible illumination on secular manuscripts, it is time to turn to the possible ways in which the psalter could have affected secular

Initial O: The Reliquary of Saint Leocadia in Gautier de Coinci, Miracles de Nostre Dame; Soissons, ca. 1260–70. Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 25532, fol. 97v (enlarged detail)



illumination. The first example is the famous copy of the *Roman de la poire* illuminated in Paris in the third quarter of the thirteenth century (Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 2186).<sup>22</sup> It has long been recognized that the manuscript has many similarities in design to contemporary psalters.<sup>23</sup> Measuring about 8 inches by 5½ inches and written in one column of text, the manuscript's small folio format is in keeping with the psalter tradition. In addition, the romance begins with a series of full-page illuminations and, after those, continues with eighteen historiated initials, again, a design familiar from psalters. All of these elements combine to give this manuscript treating a secular love story a surprising affinity with Christian psalters.

The *Roman de la poire* is largely an allegory similar in content and tone to the much more famous *Roman de la Rose*. Although it does not profess to be a historical text, the first section of the romance serves as a prologue and is composed of first-person speeches from both famous couples of the past and the manuscript's star-crossed protagonists—Tibaut and his lady, Annes. Like the Old Testament cycles that preface psalters,<sup>24</sup> the full-page miniatures depicting historical love stories at the beginning of the *Roman de la poire* function as types whose antitypes can be seen in the love of Tibaut and Annes. Separated by single pages of text, the images of Cligès and Fenice (fol. 3v), Tristan and Isolde (fol. 5v), Pyramus and Thisbe (fol. 7v), and Paris and Helen (fol. 9v) are interspersed with those of the main characters, Tibaut and Annes (fols. 1v, 4v, 8v). Together, these images are clearly meant to function as a separate prefatory narrative in pictures. The protagonists in the *Roman de la poire* can thus be seen as

the descendants of a long and distinguished line of lovers. This link is emphasized in the miniatures of the *Roman de la poire* by the use of repeated compositions and themes.

In the sequence of full-page miniatures, each pair of lovers is shown in a very similar position in the upper half of the miniatures—they are seated side by side, with one or both arms reaching out toward each other. First Cligès and Fenice (fig. 13), then Tibaut and Annes (fig. 14), followed by Tristan and Isolde (fig. 15), Pyramus and Thisbe (who were forced to talk through a wall but are basically shown in the same arrangement, with arms upraised toward each other, sitting on the same bench, and essentially gazing on each other through the intervening wall), and finally Paris and Helen. This repetition of position, as well as the repeated appearance of Tibaut and Annes throughout the cycle, strengthens the links between the various historical couples to establish Tibaut and Annes as the preeminent pair in a long line of romantic lovers.

The only other manuscript associated with the artist of the *Roman de la poire* is a psalter in Vienna (ÖNB, Cod. Ser.n.2611) featuring a similar series of prefatory miniatures concerning the Old Testament contained within the roundels.<sup>25</sup> Thus, the artist of the *Roman de la poire* manuscript even

### Figure 13

*Cligès and Fenice* in Tibaut, *Roman de la poire*; Paris, ca. 1250–75. Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 2186, fol. 3v

#### Figure 14

*Tibaut and Annes* in Tibaut, *Roman de la poire*; Paris, ca. 1250–75. Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 2186, fol. 4v

#### Figure 15

*Tristan and Isolde* in Tibaut, *Roman de la poire*; Paris, ca. 1250–75. Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 2186, fol. 5v



used a format intentionally reminiscent of the construction of full-page miniature cycles in psalters. In this way, the artist could draw on the expectations of an audience schooled in the practice of using psalters with prefatory miniatures to express a similar relationship in a romance manuscript. The full-page illuminations to create a visual narrative that echoes and elaborates on the textual one.

A second example from the mid-thirteenth century that can be seen in relation to psalter illumination is a manuscript of the *Roman de Troie* (Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 1610), dated to 1264, which also contains an unusual set of full-page illuminations.<sup>26</sup> Like the *Roman de la poire*, it is of a size more

usually associated with psalters, but the full-page illuminations are spread throughout the manuscript to echo more closely the development of the textual narrative. Each of the illuminations is divided into two or three registers, a format often associated with psalters. One of the images from this manuscript was reused in a slightly later secular manuscript in an entirely different context. Anne D. Hedeman was the first to recognize that one of the illuminations from the presentation copy of the *Grandes chroniques de France* (cat. no. 6) was copied from this *Roman de Troie* manuscript.<sup>27</sup> Three of the four scenes in the first narrative image of the *Grandes chroniques* are almost identical to three of the four sections of the image depicting the same subject from the *Roman de Troie* manuscript (see figs. 36 and 37 in Hedeman's essay in this volume).

In the *Grandes chroniques*, in the first register at left, the king of Troy, Priam, sends his son Paris to steal Helen from Greece. Only the bystanders are different in the top register of the *Roman de Troie* manuscript. In the top right of the *Grandes chroniques* and the second register of the *Roman de Troie*, Paris sails to Greece in a boat. In the bottom register of both, at left, Paris addresses Helen in the temple, with the altar located to the left. Only the fourth images differ. Instead of Paris and Helen in a boat, in the *Roman de Troie* manuscript Paris leads Helen away from the massacre. The entire story of Troy is described in only one sentence in the *Grandes chroniques*, which merely states that Priam "sent Paris, the eldest of his sons, to Greece, to carry off Queen Helen, the wife of King Menelaus, to avenge an injustice the Greeks had done to him earlier."<sup>28</sup>

The visual narrative of the *Grandes chroniques* manuscript, therefore, offers more information about the event than its accompanying text, indicating that the artist expected his audience to know the story of Helen and Paris as told in the *Roman de Troie*. This interplay between two separate texts was only possible through the use of an independent visual narrative linking them. What the artist has done for this manuscript is to adapt the full-page miniature format seen in psalters and reproduced in the *Roman de Troie* to an entirely different scale that suits a two-column folio-size manuscript—a format that we normally associate with secular manuscripts.

Now that the possible origins of multiscene images in secular manuscripts have been discussed, it is time to examine examples of how these miniatures could interact in different ways with the text in order to change the reader's experience of the written narrative. Doris Oltrogge has identified several copies of the *Histoire ancienne* completed in the third quarter of the thirteenth century that were all painted by the same workshop in northern France using the multicompartment miniature format.<sup>29</sup> In these small-format books, the miniatures are set within the text block itself—and not necessarily at the beginning of a new section of text. The events they visualize are often discussed over the course of several pages, both before and after the miniature. The miniatures, in fact, seem to interrupt the flow of the text, often being placed in the middle of sentences. Sometimes these miniatures concern several episodes of a single event, at other times they serve as summaries of a whole string of events.

For instance, in a miniature concerning the Numidian realm of King Jugurtha from a manuscript in The Hague (cat. no. 3), the four scenes of the miniature follow one another in close sequence and relate to the text nearby (fig. 16). At the upper left, Jugurtha loses in battle against the Roman consul Marius. To the right, Jugurtha rides away with his father-in-law, Bocchus of Mauritania. At the lower left, a Roman talks to Bocchus about handing over Jugurtha, and at lower right, Jugurtha and his children present themselves as prisoners to Marius. This close sequencing of events follows soon after the opening of the story but does not introduce it (the rubric for this section of text can be found a few lines above).



Scenes from the Life of Jugurtha in Histoire ancienne; northern France, ca. 1250–75. The Hague, KB, Ms. 78 D 47, fol. 176v (enlarged detail)

In a second example from the same manuscript, the events depicted range over a good portion of the text and are not closely dependent on one another (see ill. 3b). At the upper left, Abraham receives the two angels who tell him that Sarah will bear a child. At upper right, Sodom burns. At lower left, Lot leads the way as his wife turns to a pillar of salt, and at lower right, Abraham prepares to sacrifice Isaac. The events in these four compartments do not even relate to the same character and concern varied events. In this case, the miniature is placed just before the story of Abraham and the two angels begins, although it is still in the middle of the text, not at the beginning of a section. This method of placing miniatures within the text and varying their content heightens the complexity of the visual narrative in a way that flows parallel to the text, rather than punctuating it at text breaks, where images would be expected. In addition, without the crutch of an attached rubric, the miniatures stand alone, forcing the reader to match the visual information with both the text that precedes the image and the related text to come. The dual narratives—visual and textual—are thus placed on a more equal footing, which encourages the reader to become enveloped in both versions of the story simultaneously.

A second example of images being set within the text itself can be found in the Morgan Library *Lancelot propre* manuscript (cat. no. 10). Because the format of the manuscript is such that the miniatures spread over all three columns of text, they obviously do not function in the same way as miniatures that introduce discrete text breaks. The miniatures are most often placed within the text

Lancelot Crossing the Sword Bridge in Lancelot propre; northern France, ca. 1310–15. New York, The Pierpont Morgan Library, Purchased on the Lewis Cass Ledyard Fund, 1938, Ms. M.806, fol. 166 (enlarged detail) and not introduced by rubrics.<sup>30</sup> In addition, each miniature usually depicts two episodes. The formal relationship between the bifurcated images and the three-column text introduces a new level of complexity to the text-image relationship. Within the miniatures, the two sides are united not just by their narrative relationship but also through visual devices.

In one example (see ill. 10b), Lancelot picnics with a knight and his sister, who has instantly fallen in love with him.<sup>31</sup> They are shown at left seated on the ground having a leisurely meal. Unfortunately, the stream that Lancelot drinks from is poisoned, as shown by the two snakes exiting to the right. The right side of the miniature shows the result—Lancelot abed, with the lady tending to his sickness and healing him. Thus the first scene is visually related to the subsequent scene by means of the snakes, which slither menacingly from one half of the miniature to the other.

In a second miniature (fig. 17), Lancelot crosses a sword bridge in order to rescue Guinevere, who has been imprisoned by Meleagant, son of King Baudemagus.<sup>32</sup> He is the only one to dare crossing the bridge, greatly injuring his hands and feet in the process, but his love for Guinevere allows him to succeed. The queen and Baudemagus appear in the tower over the bridge in the second half of the miniature. The figure of King Baudemagus (who disapproved of his son's actions) appears divided by the background, his hand gesturing to the left side, but his body firmly anchored in the right. Baudemagus then appears again at right, welcoming Lancelot, who comes from the opposite direction than one would expect. According to the story, the king pleads with Lancelot to put off the fight with Meleagant until the next day, with Lancelot reluctantly agreeing. In the next episode in the story, Lancelot fights Meleagant, almost losing when he sees the lovely face of Guinevere, who again watches from the tower with Baudemagus.

The image of Baudemagus and Guinevere in the tower straddles the two halves of the narrative both visually and figuratively, thereby blurring the distinctions between time and space. This collapsing of the visual narrative not only helps to bridge the seeming physical disjuncture between the images but also parallels the way the miniature's relationship to the text was blurred by its placement across three columns, all of which contain some part of the story.

\* \* \*

In this essay, I have argued that in the period from about 1250 to 1325 narrative drive in the rapidly growing genre of vernacular history and romance encouraged artists to move beyond the types of sacred imagery in which they were trained, to seek innovative solutions that emphasized the stories they were trying to tell, often for the first time. The variety of these solutions and the successful and complicated ways the images interacted with the text are a testament to the artists' abilities and their willingness to experiment with divided historiated initials, multicompartment miniatures, full-page miniatures, and divided miniatures that extend across more than one column of text. By the second third of the fourteenth century, however, a traditional format for secular manuscript illumination had largely been established, in which single-column miniatures indicated the major divisions of the text, usually illustrated an event located near the beginning of the chapter, and were often drawn from a stock of patterns—battle, letter delivery, love scene—that could be easily inserted.

This is not to suggest that in the thirteenth century the format of sacred illumination was entirely without experimentation (as can be seen in the manuscripts collected together for such gur metter nættu pour ihn bor droznere; hunnat abet nor onpl' erpon der a un vor undon lans banante æque vor ettes venu; dre. Bilaneru; plur liguremet. Er u te vozivie bit ie tathu; ear denter h hous on monde poz em u servie plut. Dozmo, bim fir Eurstan?. wher any nues debu qui the ou word any nues debu qui the ou word any f ta gut provette quiet en vor. Thur dur ti von Mang. quit et montes, siten vour gut aleme eula ene file fair li vou outrer eu la plus alee chambre qui the leans Bina remes a Wee lui & toure gent quess teul eccuer qui feir ce que quite & que tu auervier gaut par procke & c & froir gut par z gus hours derter fur al u neu rug pourt ancou teron gut conardre Si un bien que bor etter faithte ener ou bot doutes celus ou vour me haes qui crime denes avuteu de mus baut ste la fee th celt lant



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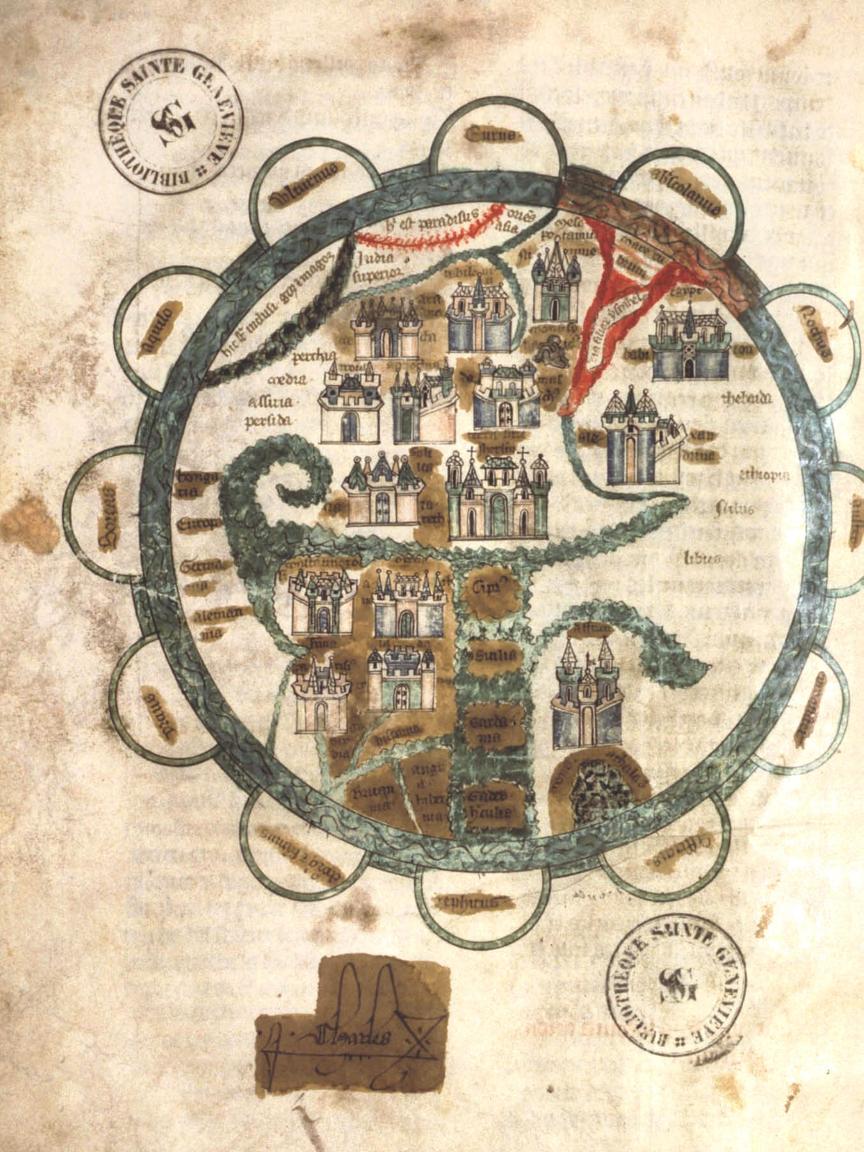
revelatory exhibitions as *L'art au temps des rois maudits*<sup>33</sup>), nor that secular illumination after 1325 ceased to be innovative (as attested by the numerous exceptional fourteenth- and fifteenth-century manuscripts in this exhibition).<sup>34</sup> Nevertheless, it is clear that in the mid-thirteenth century a novel situation presented itself that triggered a multitude of innovative responses to the challenges presented by secular texts. At a time when there was no established norm for the illumination of secular books, and most artists were relegated to illuminating an endless series of nearly identical Bibles and psalters, the allure of new texts with narratives that were fresh and engaging can only be imagined. The burgeoning demand of thirteenth-century audiences for vernacular stories of the past was matched by a parallel burst of creativity on the part of artists, as they experimented with new ways to tell stories, using their knowledge of sacred illumination to exploit the possibilities presented by the secular genre to the fullest extent of their imaginations.

- For Bibles in Romanesque France, see Cahn 1982 and Paris 2005b (esp. pp. 41–42). For the popularity of psalters in France in this period, see Bennett 2004. Alexander (1992, 95) also discusses the preponderance of these two illuminated texts since the twelfth century. The best source for imagery common in mid-thirteenthcentury France is still Branner 1977 (esp. pp. 15–21). Although the latter book deals specifically with illumination in Paris, the wealth of reproductions at the end shows the overwhelming dominance of Bibles and psalters in the period.
- 2. For an understanding of the forces behind these changes, see Gabrielle Spiegel's essay in this volume. The numerous works by Alison Stones have done much to propel the studies of illuminated romances and histories to the forefront of scholarly publishing. See Stones 1970, Stones 1976, Stones 1977a, Stones 1977b, Stones 1982, Busby et al. 1993, Stones 1996a, Stones 1996b, Stones 1998, Stones and Ross 2002, Stones 2003a, Stones 2003b, Stones 2006, and others. Her groundbreaking article on the period (1977a) and one addressing *Lancelot* illuminations particularly (2003a) were immensely helpful in preparing this article. There were, of course, illuminated copies of Latin histories as well from this period (see figs. 4 and 5 in this essay), but it was much more common for vernacular secular texts to receive illumination.
- 3. Alicia Walker and Amanda Luyster have recently addressed whether the attempt to distinguish sacred from secular with regard to medieval art is anachronistic (or even possible). Although they caution that the line is blurred in many medieval objects and isolating distinct aspects can be misleading, they nonetheless conclude that the terms *sacred* and *secular*, as well as their connotations for medieval art historians, remain useful tools (Walker and Luyster 2009, 1–8).
- 4. Branner 1977, 97-116; and Stones 1977a.
- 5. Christopher Baswell kindly drew my attention to an article by François Avril on a manuscript of classical works made around 1200 (Paris, BnF, Ms. lat. 7936). In this very early example of secular manuscript illumination, a number of compositions were borrowed from traditional biblical imagery (Avril 1975, 264–65). By the thirteenth century, some religious iconography was purposefully appropriated for a specific secular story with the intent that some of the original meaning was also transferred (see Morrison 2002, 111, where I posit an overlap of meaning between compositions for the Massacre of the Innocents and a scene of the fall of Troy in an early manuscript of the *Roman de Troie*).
- 6. A version of this essay given at the "History of the Book" lecture on January 29, 2010, at the University of California, Los Angeles, resulted in several interesting comments. Richard Rouse questioned whether the patrons' wishes might also have helped to shape these changes, while Mary Rouse asked about the actual mechanics of artists sharing compositions. Unfortunately, the lack of information about patrons and workshop practices in secular manuscripts of this era leave those questions tantalizingly open-ended. Likewise, Patrick Geary asked about how tapestries or wall paintings could have influenced the format and subject matter of these illuminations, a question that must also rest unanswered due to the lack of survival of such material from the period. All three issues may indeed have played a role.
- 7. Branner 1977, 15-21.

### 8. Stones 1977a, 100–101.

- 9. Stones in Busby et al. 1993, 238. During this time period, the historiated initial was the dominant form of illumination, even for vernacular secular texts, although single-column miniatures were also quite common (see Stones 2003a).
- For information on this manuscript (New York, Morgan Library, Mss. M.533 and M.534) and how it fits into the tradition of illustrated Josephus manuscripts, see Liebl 1997, 222–26.
- For detailed information on this manuscript, see Folda 1968, 1:151-61 and 2:15-21.
- 12. This kind of information would come to be placed in the rubrics of secular books, providing information on the images' content to both direct the illuminator and inform the reader.
- 13. Folda 1968, 1:155–56.
- 14. Folda 1968, 1:158–60. Unfortunately, the original owner of the manuscript is unknown. Folda posited a stylistic connection between this manuscript and a *Bible moralisée* made for Louis IX (New York, Morgan Library, Ms. M.240) that led him to believe the manuscript was made for someone within Louis's court, which, based on the scant evidence, seems logical.
- 15. This manuscript has recently garnered much attention, for both the quality of its illuminations and their interaction with the text. For a list of bibliographic citations, see cat. no. 7.
- 16. This manuscript possibly once formed part of a set, of which Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 95 could be another volume. Stones has argued that BnF, Ms. fr. 95 was made first (Stones 1970, 170; and Stones 1996a, 203–7, 227–28), but without committing to any definitive conclusions based on codicology. It is also possible that the two manuscripts were made simultaneously or that they belong to twin sets of the *Lancelot-Grail* cycle.
- Digital images of all the manuscript's illuminations can be found on the Beinecke Library's website: www.beinecke.library.yale. edu/digitallibrary; then search: "Ms. 229 Arthurian romances."
- 18. A similar accommodation was made for the smaller historiated initials in the manuscript. At first, all of the smaller historiated initials are the same size as the regular decorated initials that occur on every page. However, one can tell that the artist was continually wishing for more room to fit in his story since the frames of the initials constantly push up against the letters of the text, often overlapping and almost obscuring them, while on the other side, the scenes bulge out into the margins. Around folio 113, the artist began to apply what he had discovered in dealing with the large historiated initials to these smaller ones, by introducing larger miniatures into spaces previously reserved for historiated initials. By folio 160, the artist and scribe have come to agreement that the new-format historiated initials will always be given a larger space on the page, and the artist will always compress the initial into a small space at the upper right of the miniature, leaving a larger area in which to tell his story.
- 19. Stones has established that the multicompartment miniatures were a relatively short-lived phenomenon that was limited to certain texts, including the *Lancelot-Grail* cycle, the *Histoire*. *ancienne*, the *Miracles*, and several copies of *Saints' Lives* (Busby et al. 1993, 1:238).
- 20. See Morrison 2010.

- 21. Stones (2006, 73) has suggested that Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 25532 predates the Saint Petersburg manuscript.
- 22. For the text of the *Roman de la poire* and this manuscript, see Marchello-Nizia 1984. Surprisingly little has been written about the manuscript, but for a solid introduction to the illumination program, see Urbanski 1996.
- 23. Stones 1976, 91; and Huot 1987, 187.
- 24. On the use of Old Testament prefatory cycles, see Stahl 2007, 133–67.
- 25. Stahl 2007, 150-51. On the manuscript, see Pächt and Thoss 1974, 121-26.
- 26. For a full account of this manuscript and its imagery, see Morrison 2002, 82–133 and Morrison forthcoming. The text of the manuscript along with most of its full-page illuminations can be found in Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 1610, but four of its full-page miniatures were removed at some point in the past and exist today (s'Heerenberg, Holland, Huis Bergh, HS66).
- 27. Hedeman 1991, 12–14. For more information of the meaning of this transfer, see Anne D. Hedeman's essay in this volume.
  28. Levine 1990, 14.
- 29. Oltrogge 1989, 13-20, 51-54, 138-39.
- 30. At times, the miniatures do introduce a new section of text, which is then marked by the additional presence of a decorated initial or, exceptionally, a historiated one.
- 31. For the story, see Micha 1978–83, 4:133–41; and Lacy 1993, 3:146–48.
- 32. Similar iconography can be seen in cat. nos. 55 and 56, where the story of Lancelot and the sword bridge is told in ivory. For the episode in the text, see Micha 1978–83, 2:58–67; and Lacy 1993, 3:19–22.
- 33. Paris 1998, 256-334.
- 34. Richard Leson (2008) has argued that the depiction of sacred history was in turn influenced by illuminations in histories and romances.



# Vernacular Literature and the Writing of History in Medieval Francophonia

## **KEITH BUSBY**

It is important when considering the Middle Ages to lay aside the map of modern Europe and the national boundaries within it. Indeed, much medieval historical writing is concerned precisely with the drawing and redrawing of borders on regional, national, and imperial levels, and it is this fluidity that leads to the creation and development of what I call "medieval Francophonia."<sup>1</sup>

The wide catchment area of French from the late eleventh through the fourteenth century encompasses at once more and less than modern France, extending from certain areas of Ireland in the west to parts of Italy in the southeast and beyond to the Crusader kingdoms.<sup>2</sup> It bears many resemblances to (and some differences from) modern Francophonia, which, like its medieval model, is a result of military and cultural colonization over the course of decades and centuries. In the whole of medieval Francophonia, Old French (which flourished roughly from the mid-twelfth through the mid-thirteenth century) and Middle French (mid-thirteenth through the fifteenth) coexisted with, and sometimes competed against, Latin and the other vernaculars: English, Irish, Welsh, Dutch, German, Occitan, Catalan, Italian, and Arabic, among others.

The development of medieval Francophonia was not chronologically and geographically unbroken and consistent, for its gradual evolution in the British Isles from the Norman Conquest of 1066 onward differed from the crusaders' introduction of French in the Holy Land, especially Acre, or the rise of the language as a literary medium in northern Italy in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. In England, and parts of Wales, Scotland, and Ireland, French was the native idiom of the conquerors, used on a daily basis for both practical and cultural purposes. The generally successful attempts by the Normans to integrate into their own culture the literature and history of the peoples they had conquered necessitated a practical multilingualism for many individuals and created the conditions for the rise of a class of interpreters and translators. The medieval linguistic situation of certain areas of the Lowlands, such as Flanders, Hainaut, and Brabant, was characterized by the coexistence of French and Dutch; the relationship between the two frequently shifted with political changes. In Italy, some of the dominant families in the north (the Este in Modena and Ferrara, the Visconti-Sforza in Milan, and the Gonzaga in Mantova) created a truly multilingual bibliophilia, which was reflected in the libraries of those connected with them. The taste and fashion for French in Italy were consolidated by marriage with the French aristocracy and by the importance of the Savoy domains straddling the Alps, and French was used farther south in Angevin Naples. In all parts of medieval Francophonia, particularly in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, reading habits can be discerned by the study of booklists, postmortem inventories, wills, and marks of ownership in extant manuscripts.<sup>3</sup>

# Origins

French, of course, is a Romance language, derived from the Latin of the Roman conquerors of Gaul. The features that distinguish it from other Romance vernaculars (Italian, Spanish, Catalan, Occitan/Provençal, Portuguese, Romanian) are largely attributable to the Celtic substrate of Gaulish and to Germanic influences, first by virtue of geographical contiguity to the East and then thanks to the Viking invasions and settlements in what became the duchy of Normandy.<sup>4</sup> The first evidence of a language from the territory of modern France that is clearly distinguishable from Latin and which was perceived as being different at the time is the text of the so-called Strasbourg Oaths (dating from 842), preserved in a manuscript of Nithard's contemporary *Historiae* made circa 1000 (fig. 18).<sup>5</sup> The oaths (in both French, romana lingua, and German, teudisca lingua) are part of Nithard's chronicle and represent an agreement between Charles the Bald and Louis the German, two sons of Louis the Pious, to support each other in their dealings with a third brother, Lothar. (The French text begins on line 5 of the second column.) Although it is easy to make too much of what may be a random and serendipitous survival attesting to the early stages of French, it is at the very least symbolic, and possibly paradigmatic, that the oaths appear in the context of a Latin document. The nascent French vernacular is surrounded on all sides by the universal language of Latin and stands alongside early Old High German, indicative of its status as the preferred (and, one might posit, everyday) language of a part of the ruling elite in the generations immediately following Charlemagne. The Strasbourg Oaths can hardly be considered historical writing as they are essentially archival, forming part of the record itself rather than an analysis or a commentary. Nevertheless, the context of the earliest appearance of the vernacular looks forward to the later development of French-language historiography, which, as I try to show below and as will be evident from the other contributions in this volume, is concerned with empires, nation-states, and their dynastic, geographic, and linguistic delimitation.

A cursory glance at the exhibition this volume accompanies, or any serious study of a medieval French literary topic, for that matter, reveals the persistent and underlying clerical Latin culture. The emergence of the vernacular did not replace or suppress textual production or the copying of manuscripts in Latin. Nor could it have been a decrease in Latin literacy among the laity that helped generate the rise of literature in Old French, for such literacy was never very widespread. And since clerical education continued to be primarily in Latin for most of the Middle Ages, we must look elsewhere for the causes of the explosion of literature in the vernacular. This is a highly complex issue, but it is essentially linked to the rise of the court and courtly society from the twelfth century onward, first in the south of France and later in the north and over the Channel in Norman and Plantagenet England.<sup>6</sup> Courts, royal and aristocratic, large and small, central and provincial, espoused literature, music, and other art forms with unbridled enthusiasm. It was this courtly society, initially at least, that provided the audience for historical and other writing in the vernacular, an audience that later expanded to include the bourgeoisie and the urban patriciate. To speak of a permanent clash between a courtly vernacular culture nearly all came from a clerical background.

In light of the dominance of Latin as the language of medieval culture before the middle of the twelfth century in France and in medieval Francophonia, it is not surprising to find that the surviving texts of early Old French are largely hagiographical, didactic, and epic.<sup>7</sup> Speaking of early Old French

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### Figure 18

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Folio concerning the Strasbourg Oaths in Nithard, *Historiae*; France, end of the 10th century. Paris, BnF, Ms. lat. 9768, fol. 13 literature in these generic terms, while a legitimate procedure, does require us to be cautious about imposing on medieval literary texts the modern desire to define, categorize, and pigeonhole. Our modern classification of subject matter (often used as a basis for defining genres) into fictional, historical, biblical, and so on does not correspond to medieval perception and practice (which is not to say that authors and their audiences made no distinctions). Medieval works can combine the discussion of ancient history with that of mythology, biblical material, medieval history, edifying tales, the Arthurian legend, and more besides. One of the most striking features of this corpus of early texts is that none of them were either composed or have survived in central French dialects (which consequently have left no written literary witnesses). Linguistic analysis points to the origin of these texts in Picardy-Wallonia, the south of France, and especially England, i.e., the periphery of medieval Francophonia.<sup>8</sup> When we move into the second half of the twelfth century, it is clear that the cradle of Old French language and literature in general is the territory formed by Anjou, Touraine, Normandy, and England, other regions (the northeast, Burgundy-Lorraine, Paris and the central part of the country, etc.) achieving prominence only from the thirteenth century. Manuscript production corresponds in general with regions of composition, particularly in the early period.<sup>9</sup>

The transmission of these texts was with rare exceptions purely verbal, any visualization being left to the imagination of the reader or (more likely) listener. The material support for literature in early French vernaculars is modest. Art historians quite properly and understandably study images, often spectacular ones, but it can be a salutary lesson to learn that some of the most important literary texts and historical documents from the Middle Ages do not reflect the colorful and extravagant images of our popular views of its material culture. For illustration of the past from the early period we must look to manuscripts of Latin texts and especially to Romanesque sculpture, where even in sacred settings, secular subjects are portrayed.<sup>10</sup>

# **Old Frenches**

In the absence of formal grammar, morphology, and orthography, Old French is characterized by regional and dialectal variation and could more properly be called "Old Frenches." The existence of a "border dialect" of Franco-Occitan should also give us pause when considering exactly what we mean when we use the term medieval French, or Old French, for in something approaching a third of the roughly hexagonal shape of modern France, the language now known as Occitan was the primary vernacular. Philologists also refer to Old French as the *langue d'oïl* (where *oïl* is the word for "yes") and the meridional vernacular as the langue d'oc, the language formerly called Provençal, which lends its name to a whole region of southern France today (much smaller, however, than medieval Occitania). In the Middle Ages, much as today, the use of Occitan lent a sense of identity to its speakers and poets. If today Occitan culture is a minority one, in the early Middle Ages, it was the preeminent, precocious, and prestigious language of lyric poetry, whose exponents (the trobadors, or troubadours) were renowned—and traveled—outside of the Midi, from England to Italy.<sup>11</sup> Another important point to be made is that Old French, or the langue d'oïl, is not a standardized language in the sense that modern French is. Within the confines of medieval Francophonia, numerous distinct dialects (and border dialects) existed: for example, Picard, Walloon, Lotharingian, Burgundian, Champenois (from Champagne), Francien (from the central Île-de-France region), Norman, and Anglo-Norman.

43

Folio concerning the death of Roland in *La chanson de Roland*; France, second quarter of the 12th century. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Digby 23, fol. 43

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If Occitania has to be cut from the map of medieval Francophonia strictly defined, much of the British Isles after 1066, as I have suggested, has to be added; this includes most of England, parts of Scotland and Wales, and parts of Ireland following the arrival of the Normans there in 1169. Space does not permit a fuller discussion of the notion of medieval Francophonia, so I look here in passing merely at the borderlands between *oïl* and *oc*, and then principally at England. The south is culturally significant because of what I have argued could be seen as the precocity of courtly culture and the early literary use of a Romance vernacular (in the songs of the troubadours). The appearance of what were in all likelihood "experimental" texts in Franco-Occitan is therefore not surprising.

More disorienting for traditional notions of French literature, particularly as they appear in histories of literature written in French by French scholars, is the indisputable fact that many of the early monuments of so-called French literature were composed and/or copied in England in a dialect now known as Anglo-Norman or Anglo-French. The Norman conquerors and their descendants in the British Isles, who came to dominate insular culture, spoke and wrote this dialect of French for more

Geoffroi Gaimar, Estoire des Engleis/Roman de Brut; England, early 13th century. Durham Cathedral, Durham Library Ms. C.IV.27, fols. 96v–97

than three centuries. The great French "national epic," La chanson de Roland, preserved in the Anglo-Norman manuscript in Oxford (Bodleian Library, Ms. Digby 23), is the most disconcerting insofar as its insular transmission (i.e., in a manuscript copied in England) puts into question the whole concept of nationhood and national pride, both medieval and modern (fig. 19). This apparent paradox is all perfectly susceptible of plausible explanation, but the notion of what has been called "English literature in French" has been hard for some scholars to accept.<sup>12</sup> The study of early Old French (in the broadest sense) has been bedeviled by national and regional prejudices from the first decades of the nineteenth century onward. Although the historical facts of the Norman invasion were never disputed, early Romance philologists (mainly French and German) regarded the insular variant of the langue d'oïl as a degenerate version of a pure continental, central French koiné (standard dialect).<sup>13</sup> The truth of the matter, as I have just suggested, is that there is no such thing as standard Old French before the fourteenth century, and the notion of a koiné with regional aberrations has to be replaced by the demonstrable fact of the existence of Old Frenches, where variation is the norm. Moreover, it is not even necessary for a text to have been composed or preserved in the insular dialect now known as Anglo-Norman for it to have enjoyed an audience in England. We should not forget that up until the very early thirteenth century (when the English crown lost Normandy to the French king) there was a unified kingdom on both sides of the Channel and long after that texts and manuscripts can be shown to have circulated on the Continent and in the islands.

The one principal text missing from my list of early works in the northern langue d'oïl (see note 7) is significant in the present context: it is the Estoire des Engleis by the Anglo-Norman poet Geoffroi Gaimar, written for Constance FitzGilbert of Lincolnshire between 1135 and 1140 (fig. 20).<sup>14</sup> The Estoire and related texts are anchored in the classical tradition and are somewhat unusual (at least from a modern perspective) in that their focus is not entirely on the reigns of English monarchs. The surviving Estoire is only part of Gaimar's original work, which began, he tells us, with the story of Jason and the Golden Fleece; it concludes with the death of William Rufus (1100). The dating of Gaimar's work is particularly significant because it is practically contemporary with the completion of Geoffrey of Monmouth's monumental Historia Regum Britanniae (1135), which Gaimar appears to have known and probably translated or adapted. The Historia is enormously important as the first full-length text (in Latin) to attempt a complete history of the kings of Britain, including an important section on King Arthur; it remained influential throughout the Middle Ages and beyond (Shakespeare, for example, knew it through Holinshed). In the surviving manuscripts, significantly, what would have been Gaimar's Brut has been replaced with the better-known version by Robert Wace (ca. 1155). Gaimar's Estoire is an insular production, but it stands at the beginning of chronicle writing in the langue d'oïl and already situates the history of early Britain and later of England in the same universal continuum as the mythology of ancient Greece. The need to anchor national history and culture, through dynastic links, to ancient Greece is a constant concern, one might even say an obsession, in certain types of medieval historical writing in both Latin and the vernacular.<sup>15</sup> Fictional genealogies lend authority to the ruling powers as inheritors of an august tradition of military and cultural achievement. As the various French and Francophone dynasties claimed roots in the ancient world, so vernacular authors in particular sought to authenticate their own work by situating it in the classical tradition, much of the material of which they transposed and recast in their own idiom. Gaimar's apparent knowledge of Old English (he drew heavily on the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, the most important collection of annals in that language,

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the first version of which dates from the late ninth century) suggests the assimilation of native culture and language so typical of the Norman conquerors of England and an attempt to integrate its history into their own.

In medieval Francophonia of the second half of the twelfth century, many authors were professionals, earning a living from their work, often through the generosity of patrons. Two examples, Robert Wace (usually known simply as Wace) and Benoît de Sainte-Maure, will suffice to illustrate the point here. Both authors were born toward the beginning of the twelfth century and died in the 1170s or 1180s. Wace hailed from Jersey, one of the Channel Islands, but lived much of his life on the Continent, in Caen, Paris, and Bayeux. He wrote three hagiographical texts in addition to the *Brut* (mentioned above in connection with Gaimar) and the *Roman de Rou* (i.e., Rollo). Benoît came from Sainte-Maure, some thirty kilometers south of Tours, and composed the enormously popular (and enormously long) *Roman de Troie* (a retelling in French of the story of Troy) and the *Chronique des ducs de Normandie*, an unfinished continuation of Wace's unfinished *Rou* (fig. 21).<sup>16</sup> The *Rou* had been undertaken at the instigation of Henry II Plantagenet but was interrupted around 1170 after nearly seventeen thousand lines; Benoît took over and wrote another forty-three thousand, bringing the events up to the year 1130. The *Rou/Chronique* project was clearly intended to add a propagandistic history of the Normans to that of the Britons by Geoffrey of Monmouth and Wace, extending yet further the long reach of Troy. Like the

Benoît de Sainte-Maure, Chronique des ducs de Normandie; France, 12th-13th century. Tours, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 901, fol. 1



*Brut*, the Norman chronicles were mainly translated and adapted from recent works in Latin, suggesting a need for vernacular versions, whose intended audience was most likely royalty and aristocracy no longer literate in Latin. Significantly, this activity was principally in England and the western domains of France.

The loss of Normandy in 1204 and the consolidation of the French king Philip Augustus's authority over Normandy and Brittany after the Battle of Bouvines ten years later had only limited linguistic consequences in the British Isles. The English aristocracy continued to be mainly French-speaking for well over another century; they continued to read French literature until well after Chaucer's appearance toward the middle of the fourteenth century. And although insular and continental French remained mutually comprehensible to a large degree, Anglo-Norman did develop more distinctive dialectal features. Certain types of literature also began to be favored in the islands (the usual view is that Anglo-Norman literature is largely didactic in nature, although this seems to me a wild over-generalization).<sup>17</sup> Politically, of course, the claims of the Plantagenets and their descendants to

lands in both northern and southern France continued until the end of the Hundred Years' War (lasting from 1337 to 1453), one consequence being the continued copying and circulation in both insular and continental Francophonia of texts, such as Wace's *Brut*, perceived as relevant to the dynastic and territorial interests of all parties.

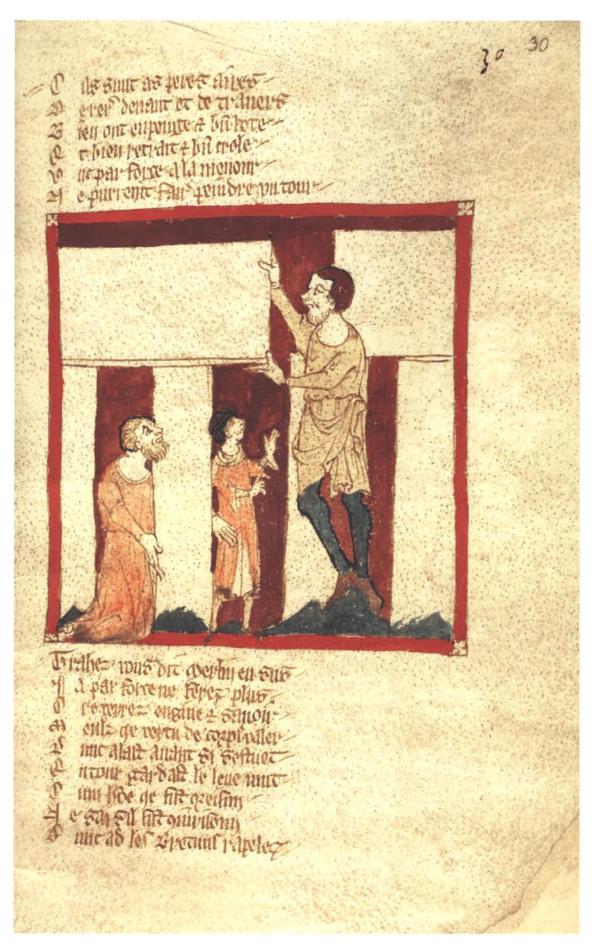
## Verse vs. Prose

It is important to underline here that early historical (or rather, pseudohistorical) writing in insular Old French is in verse, not prose. There are later prose versions of the Brut in both insular and continental dialects, but Gaimar, Wace, and Benoît all wrote in verse, and Wace's verse text continued to be copied throughout the thirteenth century. The octosyllabic rhyming couplet is the form of narrative fiction in Old French (one thinks, for example, of the romances of Chrétien de Troyes [ca. 1160-1181]), but it first occurs in the Anglo-Norman Voyage of Saint Brendan and shortly thereafter in Gaimar. If its earliest manifestations are not romances, it soon becomes indissociable from that genre, and the shared form enables the later integration of, say, Chrétien's works into the body of Wace's Brut in Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 1450.<sup>18</sup> It might seem prudent to conclude that if the transmission of history in octosyllabic couplets lends history an air of fiction, the writing of early romance in the same form lends such tales an air of pseudohistorical respectability. This standard view is subject to caution and has been contested recently by Peter Damian-Grint; it is also discussed with particular reference to the Pseudo-Turpin in Gabrielle Spiegel's already classic study Romancing the Past, from 1993.<sup>19</sup> The octosyllabic couplet, it should be noted, is also the primary form of other genres in Old French, such as the saint's life and the moral tale (as found in such collections as Gautier de Coinci's Miracles de Nostre Dame [cat. no. 5]). It is more likely, in my opinion, that the verse form is a consequence of the oral performance of vernacular literature at this period and that the transition to prose corresponds to increasing lay literacy in the first decades of the thirteenth century.<sup>20</sup>

Whatever view one takes regarding the verse/prose issue, the variety of verse forms of some later-twelfth-century works confirms the position of vernacular chronicle writing at the very center of literary activity. The so-called *Song of Dermot and the Earl*, recently retitled *The Deeds of the Normans in Ireland* (1190–1200), is written in the standard octosyllabic rhyming couplets. The *Estoire de la Guerre Sainte* (ca. 1196) by the Norman Ambrose is in *laisses* of octosyllabic couplets, while the still largely unpublished *Estoire d'Antioche* (end of the twelfth century) is in *laisses* of monorhymed alexandrines.<sup>21</sup> Jordan Fantosme's earlier *Chronicle* (1174–75) is an experiment in versification, using both decasyllables and alexandrines in monorhymed *laisses*. The simple fact of being written in *laisses* gives the appearance of epic, even if the style and content of the works in some cases belie this. All of the abovementioned texts, two of which (Fantosme's *Chronicle* and Ambrose's *Estoire*) claim to be eyewitness accounts, come from England or Normandy and are preserved in manuscripts copied in that region.<sup>22</sup>

As is often the case, the manuscripts preserving the texts mentioned above are considerably later in date than their composition. Moreover, none are illuminated, with the exception of a late abridged text of the *Brut* (London, BL, Egerton Ms. 3028), from the mid-fourteenth century (fig. 22).<sup>23</sup> I have argued elsewhere that the rise of illuminated manuscripts in the vernacular is due in part to changes in reading habits, from reading aloud to reading individually, from collective aural reception to

Stonehenge in Roman de Brut; England, mid-14th century. London, BL, Egerton Ms. 3028, fol. 30 (enlarged detail)



individual visual reception (possibly accompanied by the individual reading aloud or mumbling to himor herself).<sup>24</sup> Modern scholars are not all agreed concerning the transition from collective to individual reading, and, indeed, different views are expressed in the essays by Gabrielle Spiegel and Joyce Coleman in this volume. It is also likely that this was a gradual process and that illuminated manuscripts had a dual function as both performance texts and personal books. This is, of course, a complicated issue, and there has been much discussion of literacy among the aristocracy and the wider laity, but I think it is fair to say as we progress into the thirteenth century that there is more evidence that both laymen and laywomen owned and read vernacular texts and did not always have them read aloud. One final point that is often overlooked in histories of literature, although it is as clear as day to codicologists, is that the rise of prose did not entail the demise of verse, in terms either of composition or of manuscript production. What does happen in the case of some verse texts is that later copies are produced under the influence of the newer illuminated prose texts, and in the same workshops. The manuscript corpus of the romances of Chrétien de Troyes forms a case in point.<sup>25</sup>

# Leveling of Genres

It is therefore as much with the manuscript tradition and transmission of historical writing in the *langue d'oïl* as with its composition that I am concerned here, arguably more so. The failure to grasp the significance of the former (and this is more or less true of most genres of literature) has in my view contributed to a somewhat unbalanced and lopsided form of literary history in which only the intentions and reactions of authors and their primary audiences have been taken into account. I have shown elsewhere that texts have a codicological afterlife that both transcends and transforms their initial primary reception.<sup>26</sup> This afterlife can be traced in part through what I have termed the "geography of the codex," with respect to both production and ownership of manuscripts. This is in essence what we are dealing with when examining manuscripts in general, and the notion is especially important when considering illuminated manuscripts and the relationships between text, image, and rubric.

Even when dealing with, say, classical material, medieval texts "medievalize," and the relationships between the various constituent elements of the manuscript page reflect this. The medievalization of historical and fictional subject matter noted elsewhere in this volume is a visual transformation of the textual and is closely related to the function of the texts as a locus for legitimizing dynastic links, consolidating territorial claims, and working out contemporary political tensions and struggles. The work of Gabrielle Spiegel has cast significant light on this issue. The reduction of the past and its transformation into the present are also part and parcel of what seem to me to be two wider developments of the period, namely, an aesthetic of encyclopedic compilation and a leveling of genres, whereby the distinctions between, say, history, romance, and epic become less acute.

A case in point is that of the Arthurian prose romances, whose chronological structure permitted the accretion of "prequels" and sequels during the formation of an entire cycle.<sup>27</sup> Despite the attribution in the prologue of *La mort Artu* to Walter Map (ca. 1140–ca. 1208–10), it is unlikely that the text would have been taken as a historical account of the latter days of Arthur's reign (although readers might well have believed in the existence of the historical Arthur), especially in light of certain aspects of other parts of the cycle (the *merveilleux* [marvels] of Merlin and the Grail, for example).

Battle between Morhout and the King of Norgalles in Rustichello da Pisa, Arthurian compilation; Genoa, third quarter of the 13th century. Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 1463, fol. 69v (enlarged) Nor is it likely that the attribution to an author known to have died before *La mort Artu* was written was ever believed, except possibly by those ignorant of Walter's life and work.<sup>28</sup> Yet the final cycle of *Estoire del Saint Graal–Estoire de Merlin/Suite du Merlin–Lancelot propre–Queste del Saint Graal–Mort Artu* has undeniably something of the chronicle about it, not only by virtue of its structure but also because its first two parts incorporate biblical, hagiographical, and *Brut*-related material (see cat. nos. 7, 10, and 12).<sup>29</sup> I quote this example here not only because it illustrates the difficulty in classifying texts and distinguishing between historiography and romance and other genres, but also because, despite these difficulties, these works all "imagine the past," real or fictitious. This imagining leads in the case of illuminated manuscripts to "imaging." The conjunction of subject matters and leveling of genres is reflected in the visual interplay between religious and secular iconography due in part to workshop practices, as Elizabeth Morrison shows in her contribution to this volume.

## Francophone Italy

The most extraordinary instance of the reception of French historical writing is surely in northern Italy in the second half of the thirteenth and first half of the fourteenth century. The general absence of literature in Italian before Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio meant that Italian readers resorted to other languages they understood. In addition to Latin (and Occitan for lyric), the obvious candidate was the *langue d'oil*, by virtue of being both a Romance language and the one which at the time had the richest literature. There was large-scale copying of epics such as the *Aspremont* (no doubt because of its Italian setting), *Gui de Nanteuil, Fouques de Candie*, and texts from the Guillaume d'Orange cycle; Italy is often the setting for *chansons de geste*. Many of the surviving copies of Benoît de Sainte-Maure's *Roman de Troie*, the *Histoire ancienne* (cat. no. 50), and the *Faits des Romains* were made in Italy, some of them richly illuminated. There are also copies of the *Roman d'Alexandre* and the *Florimont* of Aimon de Varennes. It seems clear that Italian readers chose these works because of local interest and an awareness that Italy was the inheritor of Greece and the intermediary between antiquity and the culture of France. The origin of the author is presumably the reason for interest in Brunetto Latini's *Tresor*. The question of verse or prose does not appear to have been an issue in medieval Italy as far as French literature was concerned.<sup>30</sup>

This list is by no means exhaustive and there are also Italian-made copies of texts with no apparent Italian connections, but it does seem quite clear that cultural and historical pride was the major factor in the choice of reading and that the fact of a text being in French was not seen, initially at least, as a problem. Indeed, one could argue that owning (and presumably reading) books in French was regarded as fashionable among both the aristocratic and merchant classes in northern Italy, for it is there that we find records of ownership, not simply with such prominent families as the Gonzaga, the Este, or the Visconti but also with the patricians of the city-republics. The major Italian families had recently progressed for all intents and purposes to the ranks of the aristocracy (and were marrying into the French nobility), while the monied urban patriciate wanted the trappings of courtly culture, including literature. This accounts in my view for a large number of manuscripts of Arthurian prose romances copied in Italy, for although there is no obvious Italian connection, other than the role played by Rustichello da Pisa in a late compilation (fig. 23),<sup>31</sup> these texts represent the courtly and chivalric

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virtues of a class to which the patriciate aspired. Needless to say, their visualizations are precisely those of contemporary Italy with respect to fashion, landscape, and architecture. The artistic quality of these manuscripts varies enormously, from extremely high (as in the Vienna *Roman de Troie*)<sup>32</sup> to very modest (in what were clearly mass-produced copies of the romances from Genoa and Pisa).

# Conclusion

The manuscripts in the exhibition documented here come from all areas of medieval Francophonia. My emphasis on the notion of Francophonia, I believe, complements the work of scholars such as Anne D. Hedeman, who has shown what the texts meant and how they functioned in France and Burgundy during the periods in which the manuscripts were copied and illuminated.<sup>33</sup> Likewise, Gabrielle Spiegel's work concentrates on the significance of texts such as the *Pseudo-Turpin*, the *Histoire ancienne jusqu'à César* (see cat. nos. 3, 23, and 27), the *Faits des Romains* (see cat. nos. 23 and 45), and royal chronicles (see cat. nos. 6, 26, and 53), primarily in northern France after Philip Augustus.<sup>34</sup>

For French royal patrons, the *Grandes chroniques* were a family matter, whereas for later Burgundians, they may have represented a desire to become part of the ruling clan; for members of the English court, they would have been part of the long-standing effort to repossess continental domains. Arthurian romance was one of the foundational myths of Britain, and it meant something quite different for those who claimed British ancestry and those who claimed to have subdued the British. The "matter of antiquity" (used here in its broadest sense) is appropriated by all as a means of authenticating descent from the Trojans and a cultural and military legacy through notions of *translatio studii et imperii*.

Visualization of the past in Francophone England can be examined in illuminated manuscripts of the *Brut* (mentioned above), *La chanson d'Aspremont, Fierabras*, the Alexander-romance of *Le roman de toute chevalerie*, and saints' lives (the Matthew Paris manuscript in Dublin, the Cambridge life of Edward, and the Becket leaves [cat. no. 49]).<sup>35</sup> Jaroslav Folda has surveyed manuscript production in Acre in the second half of the thirteenth century, and Cyril Aslanov has recently attempted an extraordinary reconstruction of the Crusader dialect of French in the easternmost reaches of medieval Francophonia.<sup>36</sup> Of the vernacular texts copied and illuminated there, it is no surprise to find the *Livre d'Eracles* and the *Histoire ancienne* (cat. no. 4) with their local connections.

All of this illustrates the long arm of French literary culture and historical writing in the Middle Ages, from hesitant beginnings in the western domains and England in the twelfth century through an extraordinary flourishing in regions of the modern hexagon and significant developments in northern Italy and the Holy Land. The texts and manuscripts of historical writing in medieval French are intimately bound up in a complex and disorienting web of linguistic, literary, and cultural threads that require us to cast aside and revise modern conceptions of language, literary history, national identity, and nationhood. One of the keys to understanding the nature of these kinds of texts is precisely an awareness of why they were necessary and how they functioned as a means of legitimizing political, territorial, and cultural claims. Yet if medieval manuscripts and other artifacts were functional in this sense, many were also created as objects of admiration and beauty. It is therefore no surprise to behold the riches of an exhibition that might be retitled (for the purposes of this essay at least) "Imagining the Past in Medieval Francophonia."

- 1. The French-language literature of regions such as the Maghreb and the countries of French and Belgian colonial Africa has been a boom area in the last couple of decades. Specialists in this domain have developed theories and models of cultural colonialism and post-colonialism, diaspora studies, and the like, many of which are applicable, with appropriate adjustment, to the medieval situation. As is so often the case, medieval history and literature provide precedents for the modern period from which students of both can profit, although medievalists usually resort to remarking that "we had it all before they did" and modernists ignore the Middle Ages altogether.
- This draws on a section of my introduction (coauthored with Ad Putter) to Medieval Multilingualism: The Francophone World and Its Neighbours (Busby and Kleinhenz 2010) and is reproduced with permission.
- 3. Many of these issues are also treated in my *Codex and Context: Reading Old French Verse Narrative in Manuscript* (Busby 2002) and by the individual contributors to *Medieval Multilingualism* (Busby and Kleinhenz 2010).
- 4. The bibliography is vast. Good starting points are Elcock 1975 and Zink 1987.
- 5. See Bloch 1989. A full text of the oaths in both languages can easily be found, for example, in Studer and Waters 1924, 24–25.
- 6. The standard work is still Bezzola 1944–63. See also Burnley 1998.
- 7. For example (although the list is in fact more or less exhaustive), the sequence of Saint Eulalia (ca. 880), a life of Saint Leodegar or Saint Léger (ca. 900), the "Jonas fragment" (first half of the tenth century), the *Passion de Clermont* (probably middle of the tenth
- century), a life of Saint Alexis (ca. 1050), the Oxford *Chanson de Roland* (1100–1120), Albéric de Pisançon's Franco-Occitan text on Alexander the Great (1112?), a version of Brendan's voyage (ca. 1120), *Gormont et Isembart* (ca. 1130), Philippe de Thaon's *Bestiaire* (ca. 1130), and *La chanson de Guillaume* (ca. 1140).
- 8. Again, the bibliography on these texts is huge. Basic information can be found in *Dictionnaire des lettres françaises* 1992.
- 9. See Busby 2002, 485–635.
- 10. I am thinking, for example, of scenes from epics or tales of Reynard the Fox in the margins of manuscripts or on Romanesque church doorways. In the later Middle Ages, we find such secular motifs in stained-glass windows and *misericord* carvings.
- 11. For an overview, see Laffont and Anatole 1970. On the troubadours and England, see Audiau 1927 and Chaytor 1923. For the same in Italy, see Viscardi 1971; many of the important Occitan *chansonniers* were copied in Italy, for which see Paden 1995.
- 12. Busby 1998, xi; Schmolke-Hasselmann 1980, 184–236; and Schmolke-Hasselmann 1998, 225–81.
- See Short 2007, 11. Koiné (Koivý) is a Greek word meaning "common," used here in the sense of a common, or shared, standard form of a particular language.
- 14. The standard edition is now Short 2009.
- 15. For example, see Federico 2003.
- Basic information on both authors can be found in *Dictionnaire* des lettres françaises 1992. The standard edition of the Brut is by E. J. Arnold (1938–40), and of the Rou by A. J. Holden (1970–73). Le roman de Troie was edited by L. Constans (1904–12), and the Chronique des ducs de Normandie by Carin Fahlin (1951–54), glossary by Östen Södergård (1967) and notes by Sven Sandqvist (1979).

- 17. Among the many studies on this period, reference may usefully be made to Baldwin 1986 and Duby 1973. On Anglo-Norman in general, see Short 2007, Legge 1963, and Dean 1999.
- 18. Walters 1985, 303–25.
- 19. Chapter 6, "The Rise of Prose," in Damian-Grint 1999, 172–207; and Spiegel 1993.
- 20. See Vitz 1999 and Coleman 1996.
- 21. A *laisse* is a stanza of varying length first found in the early Old French epic. The verses can rhyme or assonate and their length can vary. The earliest form, such as that of the Oxford *Chanson de Roland*, seems to be assonating decasyllables.
- 22. For The Deeds of the Normans in Ireland, see Mullally 2002; for Ambroise's Estoire de la Guerre Sainte, see Ailes and Barber 2003; for the Estoire d'Antioche, see Meyer 1876 (just over 1,000 lines out of 15, 600 from Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Hatton 77; the version in London, BL, Add. Ms. 34114 has 19,000 lines); for Jordan Fantosme's Chronicle, see Johnston 1981.
- 23. The text is unpublished but was edited by V. P. Underwood (1937). In a perfect illustration of the conjunction of subject matters, this manuscript also contains two *chansons de geste*: La *destructioun de Rome* and *Fierabras*. The images are available online at www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/record. asp?MSID=6654&CollID=28&NStart=3028
- 24. Busby 1988, 41–52; reprinted, with minor corrections, in Busby et al. 1993, 1:351–63, 365–76.
- 25. See Busby et al. 1993.
- 26. Busby 2002, vol. 2, chap. 6.
- 27. On narrative cycles and their formation, see Besamusca et al. 1994.
- 28. Frappier 1956, par. 1.
- 29. The Estoire del Saint Graal and Estoire de Merlin/Suite du Merlin are posterior additions to the "original" trilogy of Lancelot propre–Queste del Saint Graal–Mort Artu, composed to provide prehistories of the Grail and the Arthurian kingdom.
- 30. On French literature in Italy, see Busby 2002, 596–635, 766–97. Many manuscripts that were originally localized to Naples have recently been reattributed much farther north, to Genoa and Pisa. For a summary of the scholarship on this question, see Cigni 1993, 2:419–41. A number of these manuscripts have been reproduced in facsimile: for the *Roman d'Alexandre* (Venice, Biblioteca Museo Correr, Ms. 1493), see Benedetti 1998; for *Il romanzo arturiano di Rustichello da Pisa* (Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 1463), see Cigni 1994; for *La grant queste del Saint Graal* (Udine, Biblioteca Arcivescovile, Ms. 177), see Benedetti et al. 1990.
- 31. See Cigni 2004, 295-316.
- 32. Reproduced in Thoss 1989.
- 33. Hedeman 1991.
- 34. Spiegel 1993.
- 35. For the *chansons de geste* (in manuscripts from England and elsewhere), see Lejeune and Stiennon 1966; on Alexander generally, see Ross 1963 and 1971. The Dublin manuscript is Trinity College, Ms. E.i.40. Cambridge, University Library, Ms. Ee. 3. 59 (the life of Edward the Confessor) is online at www.lib.cam.ac.uk/MSS/ Ee.3.59/.
- 36. Folda 1976 and Aslanov 2006a and 2006b.

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# The Textualization of the Past in Thirteenth-Century French Historical Writing

### **GABRIELLE M. SPIEGEL**

Primitive societies, whose rhythm of life is governed by custom and explained by the endless repetition of myth, have little use for history. Since life changes very little, there is no compelling need to enlarge the realm of custom or myth to account for new facts of social and political experience. The customary ways of thought and practice are sufficient to inform society about its past, since there is a presumptive identity between things as they are and things as they were.

History is useful, however, in complex and changing societies, for the present can be explained by comparison with the past. The past supplies the standard against which the present can be evaluated; it is the repository of tradition, understood as the way "things used to be." To some it may offer a standard of the way things "ought to be," but in either case history determines the extent of social continuity and, implicitly, social discontinuity or change. It therefore offers to a society an important dimension of knowledge about itself that can hardly be acquired in any other way. Further, by committing that knowledge to a stable, that is written, form, a society is able to view itself objectively, to project an image in light of which it can assess other kinds of knowledge about its basic character and modes of operation gathered from other sources. As an activity, the writing of history, or historiography, represents an important aspect of society's search for self. It follows, then, that major shifts in the historical writings of a society can provide us with points of access to its underlying image of itself—its "ideology," broadly construed—and to those parts of its experience which it perceives as problematic.

Just such a profound shift occurred in thirteenth-century France, which witnessed the beginning of historical writing in Old French prose, with the creation of texts that were among the earliest secular works in prose in any genre. The rise of vernacular prose historiography was the product of a complex combination of forces, ones that included social and political change, an enormous expansion in the scope and practice of literacy among the French aristocracy, and an evolving sense of the importance of language and its nature as the bearer of important "truths" about the past and present. These early histories in prose defined themselves against literary fictions such as epic and romance, hitherto the sole genres to be written in Old French, by arguing that the "truth" of history could not be allowed to languish in the domain of fiction. That this was an ideologically motivated argument on the part of authors and patrons of prose historiography is amply documented by Keith Busby's exemplary essay in this volume, which offers an account of the myriad forms of historical writing in both verse and prose in the many regions, and most especially in the Anglo-Norman realm, that make up what he terms "medieval Francophonia." In the main, scholars concerned with the emergence of Old French prose historiography have tended to view it as a late, and not altogether welcome, addition to a centuries-old and already sophisticated tradition of Latin historical writing, in relation to which vernacular history, at least in its initial phases, receives rather low marks. This view of vernacular historiography seemed to be justified by the fact that the earliest texts consisted of translations of Latin works and thus, in the nature of things, invited comparison with their Latin sources. But while it is true that early vernacular chronicles translated Latin texts, they did so in a way that clearly demonstrates their ties to an already existing vernacular literary culture, distinct in its origins and modes of operation from Latin literature. Moreover, as they developed, the manuscripts of these works were ornately illustrated, and thus came to possess a strong visual component that commented on and augmented the meaning of the written text.<sup>1</sup>

Until the beginning of the thirteenth century, lay taste for history had been satisfied by rhymed chronicles or epic *chansons de geste*, chanted history with a large component of legend and fiction. But an expanding body of literate laymen, prepared to engage in what Malcolm Parkes has called the "literacy of recreation,"<sup>2</sup> nurtured an apparent suspicion of poetized history. Finding the poet's search for rhyme and measure incompatible with the historian's pursuit of truth, laymen increasingly sought to satisfy their curiosity about the past in new ways. Around 1200, a new, popular demand for historical works accessible to those untutored in Latin progressively made itself felt.<sup>3</sup> Little by little, vernacular prose, until then confined to translations of legal, biblical, or homiletic texts became the preferred form of vernacular history. For the distinguishing feature of the early vernacular chronicle lies in its militant insistence on prose as the necessary language of history and its critique of the mendacious tendencies of verse historiography.<sup>4</sup>

The earliest vernacular text in which these tendencies are singled out for criticism is found in *La mort Aimeri de Narbonne*, written around 1180, which already discredits the truth-purveying capacity of the *chanson de geste*, proclaiming that "No one is able to recite a chanson de geste without lying at the place where the verse ends, to order the words and shape the rhymes."<sup>5</sup> But it was especially with the emergence of Arthurian romance, and more particularly with the works of Chrétien de Troyes, that medieval romance acknowledged its status as a self-created fabrication, whose aim was to present an agreeable fiction—"vain et plaisant"—for the literary entertainment of the reader.<sup>6</sup>

In contrast, the proclaimed "truth" of the historical chronicle separates it from fictional genres such as epic and romance. This "truth" is reinforced by the listing of acknowledged guarantors of veracity—author, patron, and manuscript owner—the aim of which is to surround the work with an aura of credibility, lent by the discussion of the circumstances of the text's composition, the historian's awareness of the difficulty of his task, and his avowed commitment to remain faithful to historical truth where others before him have failed.<sup>7</sup> The emergence of prose in place of verse—and history in place of fiction—represents a fundamental shift in the linguistic preferences of the nobility to a more mimetic (or "realistic") literary mode as a means of enhancing the credibility of aristocratic ideology by grounding it in a language of apparent facticity, in contradistinction to the overt use of fiction in epic and romance. By appropriating the inherent authority of Latin texts and by adapting prose for the historicization of literary language, vernacular historiography emerges as a literature of fact, integrating on a literary level the historical experience and expressive language proper to the aristocracy.<sup>8</sup>

To understand why such a shift in language use should have taken place in thirteenthcentury France, it is helpful to see it against the background of those who promoted its development through their patronage of Old French writers and their texts. The rise of vernacular historiography in thirteenth-century France was largely the work of aristocratic patrons who were, at the time, experiencing significant reversals in their political fortunes due to the revival of a moneyed economy and the growth of royal centralization, both of which collaborated to undermine the sources of the nobility's strength and to delimit spheres of aristocratic activity. The turn to the past on the part of these patrons indicated, it can be argued, a desire to revive the moral and political conditions of an earlier age of aristocratic glory as a form of ethical reassurance to an intended audience of aristocratic auditors and readers that they continued to occupy a vital place in the social order.

The implicit assumption of the power of history to provide such ethical stimulus is seen, for example, in the prologue to the translation of the *Pseudo-Turpin Chronicle* patronized by Renaud de Boulogne, one of the earliest works of Old French historical writing in prose. The *Pseudo-Turpin* was originally an ecclesiastical rewriting in Latin of the vernacular epic *Song of Roland*, the largely legendary account of Charlemagne's expedition to Spain, now recast once again into Old French. The anonymous author of this text asserts that Renaud commissioned the work because "the good virtues have in this century lost their strength, and the courage of the great lords become enfeebled, for no one any longer willingly listens, as they used to, to the deeds of *preudomes* (valiant men) and ancient histories, in which can be found how one should comport oneself honorably with respect to God and the world." For, the prologue concludes, "to live without honor is death and decline."<sup>9</sup>

Equally telling is the author's corollary assumption that it was the neglect of the past, the inattention paid to the "deeds of valiant men and ancient histories," that resulted in the loss of moral virtue and courage to begin with, a criticism leveled not only, one suspects, at the ethical comportment of contemporary society and its presumed noncompliance with chivalric codes of behavior but also at the relative neglect of history itself, due to the rise of romance genres in the second half of the twelfth century. *Pseudo-Turpin* was thus offered as an antidote to chivalric decay, in the hopes that the perusal of its pages might work a salutary effect on the minds of an aristocratic public fully conscious of a crisis in its code of behavior and in those values of honor and courage to which it lent support.

The new prominence of vernacular prose signals the rise of written histories in place of oral literature as a privileged instrument of aristocratic culture. Since the earliest works of vernacular historiography, although employing prose, remained nonetheless within the domain of the performed text, it seems difficult to ascribe this change in aristocratic language use merely to the growth of literacy and a widening process of textualization, presumably occurring everywhere in medieval society in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.<sup>10</sup> Rather, the substitution of prose for verse, of the written for the performed text, would seem to be the product of an ideological initiative on the part of the French aristocracy, whose social dominance in French society was being contested by the rise of monarchical authority during precisely the period that witnessed the birth of vernacular prose history. No longer the expression of a shared, collective image of the community's social past, vernacular prose history becomes instead a partisan record intended to serve the interests of a particular social group and inscribes, in the very nature of its linguistic code, an ideologically motivated assertion of the aristocracy's place and prestige in medieval society. The collapse of a unified, public community receptive to the oral recitation of performed texts, and the rise of written, ideologically oriented historical narratives might, therefore, be seen as registering, within the domain of literature itself, the revised conditions of aristocratic life in the early thirteenth century. And it is here, at the intersection of literary practice and social life, that the study of vernacular historiography finds its most compelling vantage point for understanding the role of the past in medieval France.

The earliest products of the movement toward vernacular historiography were the translations of the *Pseudo-Turpin Chronicle*, including that done for Renaud de Boulogne cited above. Strikingly, nearly all were commissioned by patrons whose lands lay in Flanders, at the time part of the French king's realm. Around the year 1202, Nicolas of Senlis translated the *Pseudo-Turpin Chronicle* for Countess Yolande of Saint-Pol.<sup>11</sup> At the same time a certain "Master Johannes" made a separate translation, which was copied in 1206 for Renaud and in 1207 for Michel de Harnes.<sup>12</sup> Subsequent translations appear in a version written in Francien, the language of the Île-de-France, in one from the area around Hainaut, Flanders, and Artois, in Anglo-Norman, and in the dialect of Burgundy.<sup>13</sup> These *Pseudo-Turpin* translations constitute the first stage in the adoption of prose for historical writing.

Within a decade, original histories in French by Villehardouin (*Conquête de Constantinople*, between 1207 and 1213), Henri de Valenciennes (*Histoire de l'empereur Henri de Constantinople*, 1209), and Robert de Clari (*Conquête de Constantinople*, 1216) were composed, crusading chronicles that perfectly suited the tastes and interests of the lay aristocracy.<sup>14</sup> These crusading texts represent a new phenomenon in medieval historiography—the lay participant as chronicler, a genre of historical writing that was to come to full flower in later work of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

Indicative of the wider interest in the past are the contemporary French histories of antiquity, principally of Rome. Between 1208 and 1213, Roger IV, châtelain de Lille, commissioned a *Histoire ancienne jusqu'à César*,<sup>15</sup> while, simultaneously, Jean de Thuin reworked the verse *Roumanz de Jules César* into prose in his *Histoire de Jules César* sometime between 1215 and 1235.<sup>16</sup> Both these texts originate in the same Franco-Flemish territories of northern France that had been the site of the *Pseudo-Turpin* translations. In Champagne, the cleric Calendre wrote a history of the Roman emperors (1213–20),<sup>17</sup> and in the Île-de-France, the most successful of these works, the *Faits des Romains*, was composed by an anonymous author in the years close to 1213–14.<sup>18</sup> Trojan history also attracted attention and was treated in the *Histoire ancienne* and in the prose version of the *Roman de Troie*.<sup>19</sup>

Paradoxically, this newly enlarged domain of the past, receding back into classical antiquity, was relentlessly rewritten in the image of medieval chivalry. Simultaneously recovered and transfigured, ancient history provided a capacious field of metaphors through which medieval French society could project onto the screen of the past an image of itself in historical perspective. Thirteenth-century French adaptations of classical texts privilege an ideological reading of ancient history in which the past is seen less as a prefiguration of the present than as a material replica of the medieval world. Just as the visual images that adorn medieval historical works seek to bring the past into the present by making it vivid and recognizable in the garb of contemporary society,<sup>20</sup> so in these texts the past is represented in the form of the present. But the present is, itself, thought of as merely a current incarnation of past realities, disclosing the strong reciprocal relations between past and present in medieval historical consciousness. In locating present ideals in the past, the valorized categories of contemporary society are endowed with the authority and prestige of the past and, at the same time, protected from the ravages of the present. They are, in a sense, cut off from history and "saved," their value intact and immutable, no longer subject to historical forces that might reveal them as dysfunctional. Contemporary reality enters into such genres in an already valorized state, protected from the criticisms and challenges of the familiar, hence vulnerable, world of contemporary experience.

By the end of the reign of Philip Augustus (1223) vernacular history was adapted to contemporary chronicles as well. Beginning with the *Chronique des rois de France*, which survives in two rather different versions, one at the Vatican (Reg.lat. 624), and a more complete recension found at Chantilly (Musée Condé, Ms. 869), the focus of vernacular historiography shifts to royal history.<sup>21</sup> Contemporary with the Chantilly *Chronique* were the writings of the author known to scholars as the Anonymous of Béthune, who wrote both a *Chronique des rois de France*, its early history of France based largely on the *Historia Regum Francorum usque ad annum* 1214, and a *Histoire des ducs de Normandie et des rois d'Angleterre*.<sup>22</sup> These paired texts, one in the name of the kings of France, the other in that of the dukes of Normandy and kings of England, rewrote exactly the same segment of contemporary history, presenting it alternatively from the points of view of the two main forces vying for political influence over contemporary Franco-Flemish society. In this, these texts embody the new conditions under which competition for loyalty, authority, and political power had radically changed the social and political rules of the game.

The emergence of contemporary history in Old French signals the beginning of an overt contest over that past that would scarcely have been conceivable in an earlier period, when history represented the trace of God's operation in human affairs. In this process, the thirteenth-century contemporary chronicle becomes a site for the negotiation of competing interests, opening up the historical text as a locus for contestation over the past. Precisely because it treated the events and dilemmas of the present, the contemporary chronicle created a textual space for the presentation of a variety of voices on the past. In moving from the distanced, absolute past of the Carolingian epic and classical antiquity, contemporary thirteenth-century history changed not only the temporal model of the world but the moral significance of history itself. History no longer presented an icon of an idealized and stable world but rather an image of an inconclusive present, whose full meaning could not be revealed by a mere account of events in their unfolding, since those events were incomplete and harbored as yet unknown consequences. The shift in temporal perspective, in this sense, produced a radical relativizing of all historical knowledge, both in terms of the perspectives brought to bear upon it and in terms of the impossibility of interpretive closure on events that continued on beyond the temporal scope of the historical work itself. In the works of the Anonymous of Béthune, for example, the rivalry between the Capetian and Plantagenet monarchies for the loyalties of northern French lords discloses a society riven by internal schisms and contested allegiances, in which the progress of royal warfare eventually pits blood relations against one another and spells the destruction of those principles of lineage and solidarity that had once formed the basis of the nobility's social cohesion and strength. Just as Flanders was trapped politically between the rivalries of England and France-and within Flanders, no family more so than the Béthunes—so the Anonymous's treatment of history is fractured into competing visions, disclosing the incoherence of the nobility's position and the impossibility of negotiating a secure ground for the conduct of aristocratic life.

These early-thirteenth-century translations and chronicles formed a critical stage in the development of vernacular historiography and served as important intermediaries between the Latin historiography of the twelfth century and the full-scale vernacular historiography of France, signaled by the appearance of the multivolume *Grandes chroniques de France*, the first installment of which was completed by Primat around 1274 (cat. no. 6).<sup>23</sup> By meeting the demand for a vernacular prose history that was both truthful and based on authoritative Latin sources these early vernacular chronicles helped to win respectability for French historiography. One can confidently say that by the last third of the thirteenth century historiography in Old French was successfully established in the France of the Capetian dynasty.

Equally as significant as the generic evolution of historical writing in Old French prose in the thirteenth century was the internal transformation in literary language and narrative style that this body of historical literature underwent. Although, initially, the vernacular chronicle may have functioned as a complementary historical genre, ultimately it competed with and came to displace epic and romance as the bearer of lay society's historical traditions. And it is striking that the success of vernacular history was accompanied by transformations in the character of its narrativity, transformations that served to remove it from the realm of performance and place it closer to the pole of textuality.

While it is not possible to demonstrate here the full range of changes that the Old French chronicle underwent in the course of its development, a few points can be briefly noted. To begin with, there occurs a gradual withdrawal of the author's voice, a diminution in the frequency of those narrative interjections by which the chronicler establishes his presence in the text and impresses his personality on it through apostrophes to the reader, the enunciation of proverbial wisdom, the framing of moral judgments on the events recounted, or the simple admission of incapacity for the task at hand, due to lack of literary skill or ignorance. Instead, the vernacular chronicler retreats behind an increasingly reflective discourse, in the dual sense that he assumes his narrative will transparently mirror an objective "reality" and that he strives to produce a more systematic, concrete treatment of his subject matter, as distinct from the evocative, emotive treatment characteristic of earlier Old French literature. To be sure, individual points of view and ideological biases remain, but they are integrated into the narration of fact, behind which the historian holds secret his moral personality.

An illustration of the movement from authorial presence to textual objectification can be traced in the very manuscript tradition of the *Histoire ancienne jusqu'à César* (for illustrated copies of this text, see cat. nos. 3, 4, 23, 27, and 50). This text, the earliest universal chronicle in Old French prose, was written sometime between 1208 and 1213.<sup>24</sup> According to the verse prologue, the author planned to cover the history of the world from the Creation down to the Norman conquest and the peopling of Flanders.<sup>25</sup> In fact, for reasons that remain unknown, the chronicle abruptly terminates with an account of Caesar's conquest of Gaul, after the defeat of the Belgae in 57 BC.<sup>26</sup>

There are forty-seven extant manuscripts of the first recension of the *Histoire ancienne*, of which eight date from the thirteenth century.<sup>27</sup> Of these, two (and only two) preserve a series of twenty-one verse moralizations in which the anonymous clerical author engages in a personal appeal to his listeners to harken to the moral lessons that history proffers, lessons ranging from the necessity to do good, fear death, and avoid envy and greed, to the benefits of loyal servitors, humility, virtue, and the political advantages of largesse as exemplified by Romulus.<sup>28</sup> The verse moralizations are scattered throughout the text at fairly regular intervals but are notably absent from the sections that deal with Theban and Trojan history and which recount the deeds of Aeneas and Alexander, that is, from precisely those parts of the work most indebted to romance verse narrative. The absence of verse moralizations in those sections suggests a conscious strategy by the author to avoid contamination of his own verses by a too-close association with the "matter" of the romances of antiquity, whose mendacious treatment of history is routinely criticized.<sup>29</sup>

On four occasions, the moralizations are clearly marked in the text as establishing the author's personal voice, being introduced with well-rubricated titles announcing that "here speaks he who wrote this book" (ci parole cil qui le livre fait) or "here speaks the master who treats the history" (ci parole le maistres qui traite l'estorie).<sup>30</sup> Elsewhere, the author opens his moral commentary with a direct address to his audience of "lords and ladies," a live voice calling to a live and listening public, whose participation in the recitation of the great deeds of the past he hopes will bring them moral profit.

Later manuscripts of the Histoire ancienne progressively suppress both the verse moralizations and interpellations to the audience. First to disappear is the extensive prologue in which the author had located his enterprise in a personal context of patron and purpose doubtless deemed overly specific by later copyists operating in other milieux and for new patrons. Manuscripts such as the thirteenthcentury Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 9682 not only suppress the prologue but transcribe the verse moralizations in prose format, without, however, bothering to rewrite the verses, so that they remain embedded in what appears, visually, to be a uniform prose text. The effect of this method of transcription is textually to efface authorial presence without actually silencing the author's voice, for when the passages are read aloud, that voice instantly reemerges in the octosyllabic couplets which still make up the moralizations, despite the fact that they are no longer perceivable in the written text as such. This masking of authorial presence is the first step in a steady process by which the verse portions of the Histoire ancienne are little by little abridged, prosed, or dropped altogether (as is the direct address to the audience) in favor of a textually coherent prose narration that has lost all traces of the author's original moral preoccupations. The burden of the moral lessons that ancient history conveys is, in the end, carried by an "objective" historical narration, unassisted by authorial commentary, which refuses engagement in a direct dialogue with its public.

Completing this transformation from live performance into objectified text was the vernacular historian's abandonment of an epic style of narrative composed of juxtaposed scenes in favor of a causally linked construction of events, in which individual scenes (the old building blocks of epic narration) were gradually subordinated to an overall theme that is narratively developed. In lieu of its once frankly acknowledged desire to divert, the Old French chronicle increasingly claims to function as a conveyor of information, to be a written monument to the actions, beliefs, and ideals of the past, which, in theory, it transparently reflects. The so-called realism of vernacular historiography is nothing more than the visible symptom of this ideological turn.

Thus, if we ask ourselves why the monks of Saint-Denis, after compiling an extensive series of Latin chronicles, should have undertaken to translate that corpus into the vernacular and have it illustrated (see cat. no. 6), that decision must now, I believe, be seen in relation to the prior development of vernacular historiography and the contest over the past for which it served as a vehicle. In recounting the history of the kings of France in Old French prose, the *Grandes chroniques* and its literary heirs adopted a language and literary form first devised for the elaboration of a historiography of a lost cause, offering a threatened elite a vehicle through which it sought to recover a sense of its social worth and political legitimacy. The French aristocracy's romancing of the past, in that sense, had entailed both the *mise en roman*—the recasting of historical writing into Old French—and the quest for a lost world of chivalric power, ethical value, and aristocratic autonomy, all of which had been severely

undermined by the growth of royal government in the thirteenth century. For patrons and readers alike, the consumption of vernacular history represented a search for ethical and ideological legitimacy that was displaced to the realm of culture, taking the form of a re-created past that could correct the deficiencies of the present. This re-created past asserted the perduring validity of the aristocracy's once-potent political presence, potentially recoverable precisely because it was historically "true."

With the emergence of the contemporary chronicle, vernacular historiography consolidated its generic identity, while at the same time bringing the contested nature of past and present to the fore as the focus of historical narration. Royal historians answered this contested past by creating the Grandes chroniques de France, a historiographical corpus that both responded to the rise of aristocratic vernacular historiography, and the challenges implicit in it, and at the same time provided the basis for a reconciliation of the now-defeated aristocracy with an increasingly powerful monarchy (see cat. nos. 6 and 26). In integrating aristocratic history into the framework of royal history in the Grandes chroniques, French kings and their propagandists, victors in the contest for power and authority that had set aristocracy and monarchy against one another for nearly a century, adopted the language and literary forms of the defeated nobility as the means both to conciliate the losers and to proclaim their own, newly won, hegemony over the French realm. With the creation of Old French royal historiography, the winners in this struggle for political authority absorb and revalorize the terms and language of the losers for their own purposes, creating a vast corpus of historical writing to establish the legitimacy of their rule over their former antagonists. The French aristocracy, no longer able to impose its needs and concerns in the governance of the realm, contributed to the dominant ideology its own defeated discourse, achieving on a literary level the success that eluded it on the political. From this perspective, it is hardly surprising that Primat accorded such a large place in his historical text to the nobility, for the first and most crucial audience for his Roman des roys (as the Grandes chroniques was originally called) was the French aristocracy. It is, perhaps, one of the finer ironies in the history of medieval historiography that the original quest involved in the French aristocracy's romancing of the past should issue, ultimately, not in an idyll of a lost age but in a new vision of the French nation.

- 1. See the essays in this volume by Anne D. Hedeman and Elizabeth Morrison.
- 2. Parkes 1973, 555.
- 3. For the development of the many varieties of French as a literary language and its use in the writing of history, see the essay in this volume by Keith Busby.
- For an explanation of the chronicler's attack on poetic discourse, see Spiegel 1984. For a fuller discussion, see Spiegel 1993, chap. 2.
- "Nus hom ne puet chançon de geste dire / Que il ne mente là où li vers define / As mos drecier et à tailler la rime": Couraye du Parx 1884, lines 3055-57.
- 6. For these developments, see Zink 1981.
- 7. See Sayers 1966, 110.
- 8. For a more extensive discussion of this argument, see Spiegel 1986 and Spiegel 1993, chap. 2.
- 9. "Car les bones vertuz sont au siecle auques defaillies et les corages des seignorages affebloie, por ce que on ne voit mais si voulentiers comme on souloit les fais des preudomes et les anciennes histories es queles on treuve comment on se doit avoir envers dieu et contenir au siecle honnorablement. Car vivre sans honneur est mort et decroissement": Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 5713, fol. 1v.
- 10. For the contrary view, see the essay by Keith Busby in this volume.
- 11. Nicolas's original version no longer survives, but a later recension, associated with a corpus of local history known as the *Chronique Saintongeaise*, is preserved in three extant manuscripts: Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 124; Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 5714; and the "Lee" manuscript (now in the possession of the heirs of the late F. W. Bourdillon), which has been published by André de Mandach (1979). See also Meredith-Jones 1983 and Short 1970.
- The "Johannes" version was published by Ronald N. Walpole (1976), while that of Michel de Harnes was edited by A. Demarquette (1860).
- 13. The Francien version was incorporated into some manuscripts of the *Chronique des rois de France* by the Anonymous of Béthune and is also found in a Francien text dating from 1210–30, similarly called *Chronique des rois de France*, which survives in two manuscripts, Vatican, Reg.lat. 624 and the newly discovered Chantilly, Musée Condé, Ms. 869. In this text, as in the *Chronique* by the Anonymous of Béthune, the *Turpin* figures as part of royal history and is inserted into the section on Charlemagne. The Francien version has been given the name of *Turpin I* by Ronald Walpole, who published a new critical edition (Walpole 1985). The Artois-Hainaut-Flanders affiliated version is found in Walpole 1970. Ian Short has edited the Anglo-Norman version (Short 1973). For the text of the Burgundian version, see Walpole 1948–49 and 1949–50.
- 14. See Faral 1973, Longnon 1948, and Lauer 1924.
- 15. This text remains unedited. The base manuscript of the first recension is Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 20125. The *Histoire ancienne* was among the most popular medieval historical works and is preserved in some fifty-nine manuscripts, forty-seven of which

- belong to the first recension. On the manuscript tradition, see Woledge 1975. Although unpublished, it has been the object of considerable study, beginning with Meyer 1885b. For additional bibliography, see Spiegel 1993, chap. 10.
- 16. Settegast 1881. For an interesting discussion of Jean de Thuin, see Frappier 1964.
- 17. Millard 1957. See also Roques 1952, Schmidt-Chazan 1979, and Bur 1980.
- 18. Flutre and Sneijders de Vogel 1935–38. On the manuscript and textual tradition, see Flutre 1933a and 1933b. The dating of the work to 1211–14 is discussed by Sneijders de Vogel 1932. Among the many studies of this history the most comprehensive is that of Beer (1976).
- 19. See Monfrin 1964.
- 20. See the essays in this volume by Anne D. Hedeman and Elizabeth Morrison.
- 21. The first mention of the Chantilly manuscript appeared in a review article by Walpole (1978). For a full description of both manuscripts, see Walpole 1980 and 1981. For a detailed analysis of the sources utilized in the first 165 folios of the Chantilly manuscript (containing the *Continuation of Aimoin*), see Labory 1990. On the chronicle itself, see Spiegel 1988 and Spiegel 1993, chap. 6.
- 22. The only complete manuscript of the Anonymous of Béthune's *Chronique des rois de France* is Paris, BnF, Ms. n.a.fr. 6295. On the Anonymous, see Delisle 1891 and 1904.
- 23. On the Grandes chroniques, see Spiegel 1978, 72–88.
- 24. See note 15 above.
- 25. "Apres sera dit en commun / Coment le Wandele, Got, et Hun / France pelfirer et guasterent / et les iglises desrouberent / E des Normans vos iert retrait / E lor conqueste et lor fait / Coment destruirent Germanie / Couloigne et France la guarnie / Anjou, Poitou, Borgoigne tote / De ce ne rest il nule doute / Que Flandres Wandes n'envaïssent / E Mout de maus ne lor feïssent / Des quels gens Flandres fu puplée / Vos iert bien l'estoire contée." (Afterwards will be recounted how the Vandals, Goths, and Huns pillaged and wasted France and robbed her churches / And the Normans shall also be treated, their conquests and deeds / how they destroyed Germany, Coulogne and fortified France / all of Anjou, Poitou and Burgundy / And there can remain no doubt that the Vandals invaded Flanders, and did much harm to it / And the history will also recount fully the peoples who inhabited Flanders): Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 20125, fol. 2–2v.
- 26. Meyer 1885b, 38.
- 27. Woledge 1954, 55-57.
- 28. Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 20125, fols. 10v, 41v, 43, 62, 180v, 273v–274. The moralizations are discussed in Raynaud de Lage 1963 and Blumenfeld-Kosinski 1982.
- 29. Conversely, ten, or nearly half, of the moralizations fall within the first section, which is devoted to biblical history and where no such contamination might be feared.
- 30. Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 20125, fols. 10v, 14.



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### Reading the Evidence in Text and Image: How History Was Read in Late Medieval France

#### JOYCE COLEMAN

Paris is seething; it's November 1407 and King Charles VI's younger brother, Louis d'Orléans, has just been murdered by partisans of the king's first cousin, Duke John the Fearless of Burgundy.<sup>1</sup> The king is ineffective because insane, and civil war looms as the followers of Burgundy and Orléans face off. Into the crisis stepped the king's uncle, Louis, duke of Bourbon—with a dinner invitation. In an effort to keep the panicked and possibly disaffected courtiers and officers of the king in line, the old duke began holding open house. Louis's biographer, Jean Cabaret d'Orville, describes the situation in detail. Bourbon ate with his guests but ordered that his table be barricaded at either end and that no one stand before him. Supposedly this was so that he could see the company while being able to eat undisturbed—but it is hard to avoid the suspicion that these measures were equally intended to protect the king's uncle from attack himself.

The duke also mandated silence in the hall, because dinner came with a history lesson—going back to the old meaning of the word *lesson* in English, and one of the current meanings of the French *leçon*—that is, a reading-aloud. In order "to understand better the great affairs he had in the kingdom," Louis's biographer notes, "and to renew his memory, he had read continually at his dinner the *gestes* (tales of the deeds) of the most famous princes, the former kings of France, and of other men worthy of honor."<sup>2</sup> Again, it is hard not to suspect that the public readings were aimed as much at the guests as at the host. The duke wanted his nephew's men under his eye, and he wanted their focus redirected from the current chaotic situation of the Valois monarchy toward the highly propagandistic vision of French greatness promulgated in the chronicles and histories commissioned by the current king's father and more distant ancestors. Louis must have succeeded to some extent, because his guests kept returning for more dinner, and more history—so much so that, as his biographer wryly remarks, the duke soon "found himself well in debt."<sup>3</sup>

#### Contemporary Accounts of History-Reading

Louis de Bourbon's dinner prelection is a very dramatically sited one, but it merely presents in a more intense mode the standard reception format of history in late medieval France. *Prelection* (*prae* [in the presence of] + *lectio* [reading]) designates the practice of public reading, in which one person reads aloud to others, as distinguished from private reading, in which an individual reads by him- or herself, whether silently or by vocalizing the words.<sup>4</sup> Although public reading is often associated today with illiteracy or lack of access to books, in the Middle Ages it was a valued social resource, embraced by highly literate people with well-stocked libraries. It served a wide variety of purposes, from simple entertainment through education, spiritual guidance, political commentary, and, as we have already seen, propaganda. In France the reading of history was always associated at least in official accounts—with more or less formal occasions and with prestigious moral or religious material.<sup>5</sup>

Christine de Pizan gives a typical reading list when, speaking of Charles V (Charles VI's father), she notes that "in winter, especially, he often occupied himself in hearing read various fair histories, holy Scripture, or the *Faits des Romains*, or the *Moralités des philosophes* and other works of knowledge until the hour of supper."<sup>6</sup> Charles V's brother, John, duke of Berry, "much loved and would gladly hear books of moral teachings and worthy histories of Roman government, or other laudable teachings."<sup>7</sup> Philippe de Mézières instructed his twentyish pupil, Charles VI, that "you should delight in reading and hearing ancient histories for your education." Among suitable reading Philippe mentions works by Titus Livius, Valerius Maximus, and "all other veritable pagan histories," along with accounts of Charles's "great predecessor," Charlemagne.<sup>8</sup> A little further down the social scale, the marshal Jean le Maingre de Boucicaut took "great pleasure in hearing read fair books about God and the saints, the *Faits des Romains*, and true histories.... On Sundays and feast-days, he spends the time going afoot on pilgrimages, or in hearing read some fair books of the lives of saints, or histories of old heroes, of the Romans or others."<sup>9</sup>

Just this much context establishes some interesting points about the history-reading habits of late medieval France. As suggested, the emphasis was overwhelmingly on public reading. This does not mean that people never read history privately. The authors cited were concerned to record action that had public consequence, that constituted a social reality. Private reading might be an interesting pastime, but it affected no one but the reader, even if the reader was a king or duke. Public reading, on the other hand, shaped social behavior, promulgated important cultural values or official doctrine, and visibly established that the magnates overseeing the prelection both embraced the desirable qualities modeled in the text and wanted to inculcate those qualities in their dependents. It also provided a means of group entertainment, in a period long before the invention of radio, film, and all the many other forms of electronic media enjoyed today. The bias toward public reading in the late medieval textual evidence is supported, as will appear below, by late medieval images of people reading history, which invariably depict a public reading.

Another point that emerges is an emphasis on sacred and classical history over French history. French magnates certainly sponsored the recording of recent and older French history. We know from Anne D. Hedeman's work, for example, that Charles V oversaw the updating of the *Grandes chroniques de France*, produced during the reigns of his ancestors Louis IX and Philip III (see cat. no. 6),<sup>10</sup> and the reading-accounts cited above come from contemporary biographies of Bourbon, Charles V, and Boucicaut. The description of Bourbon's dinners confirms that French history was read, and the beautifully illustrated manuscripts in which such material survives confirm that it was valued. Yet though contemporary history may be subsumed within vague phrases such as *belles hystoires* (fair histories), it is rarely cited explicitly in the reading lists recorded by late medieval authors. Louis's prelections might be considered a special case; tales of ancient Rome would have been less useful in propping up Charles VI than stories of the king's own heroic ancestors. The detailed list of must- and must-not-reads that

Philippe de Mézières drew up for Charles, on the other hand, does not mention contemporary history at all, not even the *Grandes chroniques*.<sup>11</sup> The commissioned biographies sampled above follow suit, associating their subjects with sacred and ancient texts, particularly of the Roman era. The history book you wanted the ages to know you read, it seems, was the *Faits des Romains* or other "high histories of Rome" (for examples of the *Faits* and other Roman histories popular with the French aristocracy, see cat. nos. 3, 4, 23, 24, 27, 34, 40, and 45).

The different patterns of reading reflect, apparently, the relatively discrete social functions of contemporary and ancient history. What we see in Louis de Bourbon's force-fed gestes of France, as in Charles V's carefully redacted Grandes chroniques, is propaganda, history tailored to legitimize shaky sovereignties. By contrast, the reading of ancient history is a commendable, and much-commended, practice of personal self-development. It proves the powerful (male) reader, or hearer, to be a responsible ruler, one ready to learn from and indeed model himself on the great men of the past-particularly the Roman past. The differing cultural weight of the two kinds of history-reading becomes startlingly clear when one compares their visual representation. A complex iconography developed as artists attempted to illustrate the intersections of present and past, knowledge and power, prelector and auditor entailed in the reading of classical history. By contrast, the reading of late medieval French history is represented rarely or not at all.<sup>12</sup> The absence of imagery of private reading is analogous to the absence of written records of the practice. The patronal class was expected to own and, presumably, read contemporary history, but it was the reading of classical history that seems to have conferred the greatest prestige, and thus attracted the most pictorial attention. Since these miniatures are a treasure trove of information about the social and cultural relationships implicit in the reading of history, the rest of this article will be devoted to teasing out some of their encoded meanings, focusing mainly on manuscripts of classical history created in France in the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

#### Contemporary Depictions of History-Reading and the Visualization of Translatio

The fourteenth century in France saw a continuing process of "knowledge transfer," from Latin into the vernacular, fueled by the spread of lay literacy and the rise of the universities and encouraged by royal commissions. The presence of the university of Paris in the capital city meant that advisers, translators, and book-artisans were all available to meet the growing demand for vernacular versions of university texts (which, like the teaching itself, were all in Latin).<sup>13</sup> This new market also promoted the translation of Latin works that were not part of the university curriculum, particularly, in our context, classical history.

Along with the knowledge transfer came an iconography transfer. Artists accustomed to adorning the opening page of a university text with a picture of a master reading to his students applied the same imagery to vernacular versions of those texts. In illustrations of academic teaching (fig. 24), the prestige of the *magister* and the relative subordination of the students are emphasized in many ways. The master is usually shown with elaborate furniture, generally elevated on a dais. His chair is often roofed, the tester forming a sounding board to amplify his voice. He wears monastic or academic robes. Sometimes the master is unrealistically larger than the students, signaling his greater importance. The students, meanwhile, sit below the master on benches, sometimes confined behind a common desk. Often, as in



the scene reproduced here, the teacher is shown with his left hand on or beside the book, establishing ownership of the knowledge within it, while the index finger of his right hand points at the students. The pointing finger indicates the act of speaking; as ordained by the statutes of the university of Paris, the master's lecture consisted of reading the set text aloud, supplemented with commentary.<sup>14</sup> The students' active listening is indicated by a hand aimed inward toward or touching the body, as if drawing the speaker's words into the auditor's heart. The master and the lead pupil gaze directly at each other, emphasizing—despite the differences in status—the intensity and value of their pedagogical interaction.

Teaching iconography began to cross over into vernacular texts with encyclopedic material, such as the *Livres dou tresor* compiled and translated by Brunetto Latini from the writings of Isidore of Seville, Aristotle, Cicero, and other authorities. Although the *Tresor* itself was never part of a university curriculum and is in the vulgar tongue, and although Brunetto was a notary, not a *magister*, the learned content earns the author pictorial elevation to professorship (fig. 25; for another copy of the text, see cat. no. 9). His readers, or hearers, are construed as rows of students attending a lecture. The imagery sheds prestige on the book itself and on any actual readers who might decide to consult it. Of course, an image showing an author reading his text to an audience does not necessarily imply that the author actually did prelect even the presentation copy of his work. This is particularly true since illustrators would as readily show long-dead authorities such as Cicero or Saint Augustine prelecting their books as they would contemporary authors. What a prelection image at the start of a manuscript says, more or less, is: "Here is a worthy book whose learned, wise author read it to his royal or noble audience, and which you can now read or hear as well." When the new prelector picks up the book to read it to an audience, he or she in some sense assumes the identity and voice of that originary, imagined author.

Another apparent difficulty might as well be acknowledged here. Why would a book begin with a picture of people listening to a public reading, when the only way anyone could see that and any other pictures was to look at the book? This apparent dilemma is really very easy to resolve. Someone who

#### Figure 24

Nicolas de Lyre Teaching in Nicolas de Lyre, Postilla litteralis in biblia; France, 14th century. Reims, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 178, fol. 1 (enlarged detail)

#### Figure 25

Brunetto Latini Teaching in Brunetto Latini, Li livres dou tresor; France, ca. 1320. London, BL, Yates Thompson, Ms. 19, fol. 118v (enlarged detail) heard a reading of a book today could pick it up tomorrow and look over the pictures, connecting them with yesterday's public event. If this person had already seen the pictures, and perhaps read the text, he or she could remember them as the prelection proceeded. Even in wealthy households, the number of books would be fairly small; they (and perhaps especially the illustrated ones) would see continuous use in a variety of modes. Again, public reading was not the only way people read in the late Middle Ages; it seems just to have been the way they wanted to be remembered or shown reading.<sup>15</sup> Accordingly, teaching/prelection iconography continued to reach into more and more general contexts, being adapted and expanded in ways that added continuously to the variety of the imagery overall.

After encyclopedias, we can find such depictions in *romans d'antiquité*, such as the *Crónica Troyana* (a Spanish translation of Benoît de Sainte-Maure's *Roman de Troie*, which was itself translated from early medieval Latin sources; see cat. no. 51). The Old French words *roman*, or *romance*, could simply designate the French language, but they also suggest a particular literary genre—one more fanciful than

what we are accustomed to think of as "history." So *roman d'antiquité* is an ambiguous term, partly suggesting "ancient history in the vernacular" and partly suggesting "with some extravagant, entertaining adventures mixed in." A chronicle of Troy fit the bill precisely, since several European countries, including France, traced their ancestry to refugees from that city's fall.<sup>16</sup> An illuminated initial (fig. 26) at the start of the *Crónica Troyana* shows Benoît reading his *roman* to a small group. With a little difficulty, owing to the wear on the page, one can see that the author is seated before and higher than his audience, his book on a lectern before him. One hand is on the book and the other is pointing at his listeners on their bench.

As the vernacular public became an established fact in the book trade, artists adapted the teaching imagery to reflect the new (and profitable) market. In some pictures, authors retain the prestige of their magisterial chair and lectern, but the listeners break free of their benches. An image in a manuscript of Benoît de Sainte-Maure's original French text (fig. 27) offers a different visualization of the author. The historiated initial duly shows Benoît seated before a lectern, one hand on his very large book, the other making a speaking gesture. The lead members of his audience are responding with a listening gesture.<sup>17</sup> However, something important has changed. The auditors in this picture are not subordinated and regimented, seated below the master like the students in a teaching picture. Instead, they are standing before the author and as high as he; one man's foot even breaks out of the bottom of the initial B. The freer space enjoyed by the Roman de Troie's listeners registers an adaptation of teaching iconography to a vernacular context, turning student-listeners, or student-listener-clones, into autonomous audience members. While imparting the authority of the teacher's role to the author, this change enfranchises the vernacular reader or hearer.

#### Figure 26

Initial O: Benoît de Sainte-Maure Reading His Romance to an Audience in Crónica Troyana; Castile, ca. 1350. Madrid, National Trust and Royal Library of the Monastery of El Escorial, Ms. h.I.6, fol. 1 (detail)

#### Figure 27

Initial B: Benoît de Sainte-Maure Reading His Romance to an Audience in Benoît de Sainte-Maure, Roman de Troie; France, ca. 1330. Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 783, fol. 32v (detail)





All the pictures discussed so far date from around or before 1350. The later fourteenth century begins to see more ambitious attempts by French illuminators of vernacular history to express the complex relationships involved in translations of ancient but supposedly ancestral history. Credit for this development can go to the Hundred Years' War between France and England-or to the Hundred Years' War as it played out in the mind and policy of Charles V of France (r. 1364-80). Charles's aggressive program of sponsoring the translation of classical and patristic works into French arose in part from his own intellectual interests but equally or more from a desire to assert the validity of his and his family's claim to the French throne. Apart from the general prestige they reflected onto the language and people of France, many of the translations created for Charles came with prologues extolling the king and establishing the legitimacy of his line. These prologues promulgated the theory of translatio studii—the transmission of learning from classical times—along with the matching concept of translatio imperii—the transmission of just rule. Charles had his writers portray him and France as the heirs, through Charlemagne, of the Roman Empire. Bolstering that claim to authority was the claim to possess the learning and wisdom of the ancient authors, including authors of history. Translatio carried that authenticating, empowering knowledge over into the modern generations, whose rule was thus equally authentic and therefore impervious to English counterclaims.<sup>18</sup>

The multiple commissions issued by Charles had a strong effect on book iconography. Parisian illuminators were being hired to illustrate expensive presentation copies for the king—and the copies of those copies that other important individuals then wanted. Most of the artists solved the problem of what to put in the frontispiece to the presentation copy and later copies by painting a presentation scene (see, for example, cat. no. 25). More iconographically ambitious were the attempts made to visualize the idea of *translatio*. Some of these attempts seem to reflect how new the theory, and the iconography, was—at least to the illuminators involved. The four-part illumination reproduced here (fig. 28) introduces a translation of Aristotle (produced for Charles V by the theologian Nicole Oresme) with a literal spelling-out of the concept. At top left, a king is giving a book to a kneeling cleric and instructing him to translate it. At top right, a servant carries the weighty book into a study, where the cleric begins his work (medieval images often combined two or more phases of action within one scene). Then, at bottom left, the cleric and a servant carrying the completed translation head back toward court. At bottom right, finally, the cleric presents the king with the new, French text (the book being held by the partly visible man behind the translator perhaps represents the original Latin text).

Translation here is envisaged, via a bilingual pun, as literally a *trans-latio*, an across-carrying of the book from then to now, from them to us. The work involved is physicalized via the apparent weight of the book on the servant's shoulder and via the space the book must traverse in the course of its transformation. Nonetheless, the mirror-imaging of the upper left and lower right scenes closes the circle, as it were. The book derives from and returns to royal authority; *translatio* elides change with continuity. At the same time, the abstract blue-and-gold background in the upper left scene becomes a field of fleurs-de-lis in the bottom right scene, now matching the design on the king's robe. We will see this motif again. The one great improvement that their civilization had made over antiquity, to the medieval mind, was Christianity. The fleur-de-lis (lily flower) was associated with the Virgin Mary. One of the monarchical legends assiduously promulgated by Charles V's translators related how God sent the device of the fleur-de-lis to the pagan king Clovis. When Clovis rode to battle with the lilies on his shield, he won the promised victory and accepted baptism, becoming the first Christian king of



Charles V Ordering the Translation of Aristotle; Nicole Oresme Translating Aristotle; Nicole Oresme and the Messenger of Charles V; The Presentation of the Book in Nicole Oresme, Éthiques (translation of Aristotle); France, 1380–90. Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 204, fol. 347 (detail)

France.<sup>19</sup> In the process of translation, the lilies in this scene suggest, Aristotle's *Ethics* was refined and improved by a Christian ethos.

Another iconographic approach was tried in the frontispiece of Simon de Hesdin's translation of Valerius Maximus's *Facta et dicta memorabilia* that was presented to Charles V in 1379 or 1380 (fig. 29; see cat. no. 45). Valerius was a first-century rhetorician whose compilation "skims," as one author puts it, "the cream of Roman history," to educate and enlighten Emperor Tiberius, and also to provide a manual of useful exempla for public speakers.<sup>20</sup> Simon de Hesdin was a doctor of theology, a commander of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, and an adviser to Charles V.<sup>21</sup> At first glance, one might wonder why there are two author-scenes at the top of this miniature. The reason becomes clear when one leans in to read the words they've written: *latin* on the left, *fransois* on the right. The man writing Latin must be Valerius Maximus; the man writing *fransois*, or French, is, therefore, Simon de Hesdin. The two authors' bookcases precisely mirror each other; the men are mirror images as well, except that Valerius, as befits a classical authority, has a more elaborate chair and lectern. The Maltese cross proper to Simon's order is, however, prominently displayed across his chest. The viewer's eye thus starts out in ancient times with Valerius, then flips into a mirror-image "present" with Simon. Then the eye is apparently meant to follow Simon traveling one compartment down and out a doorway to enter a very asymmetrical composition, in which he humbly kneels and at the same time stretches to extend his *Faits et paroles memorables* toward





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The frontispiece of this presentation copy sets up a mirror image of the two authors, ancient and modern, but it shows only the translation's recipient, Charles V. The *translatio studii* is visible but not the *translatio imperii*. Yet while other authors translated for Charles, such as Aristotle or Saint Augustine, wrote without patronage, the *Facta et dicta* had a very prestigious patron, the emperor Tiberius. As France faltered increasingly under the rule of Charles VI, the reliance on theories of *translatio* only increased. Thus in the next phase of the *Faits et paroles memorables*' manuscript history, we see illuminators reaching for a way to represent the *translatio imperii* by matching up the royal French patron with his ancient counterpart. Here is where the prelection scene that had developed from teaching iconography found its apotheosis, becoming the basis of an increasingly complex visual encoding.

The Faits et paroles memorables has a complicated textual history. Simon apparently rushed a partial translation into the presentation manuscript because Charles V's health was declining; he died in September 1380. Simon then translated a few more chapters and died himself, in 1383. In four surviving manuscripts of the text in its second state, the frontispieces, while not identical in every detail, all depict the same basic actions (figs. 30-33). The two bottom compartments illustrate religious incidents mentioned in the text. On the left, the priestess Calcitana instructs the Romans in the worship of Ceres. On the right, the Roman priest Sulpicius is shown censing the altars and/or being banished from them after having let his ritual headgear (shown as an episcopal miter) fall off.<sup>22</sup> The two upper compartments, which do not connect obviously to the lower ones, are explorations of translatio, juxtaposing ancient and modern versions of the author-patron relationship. The eve first encounters the modern scene of Charles V (or a generic French king, since Charles was dead by the time these manuscripts were created) receiving the translation from Simon, who is easily identifiable by his Maltese cross. Then the viewer's eve would move back in time to witness the originators of the Latin text, Valerius and Tiberius. Their respective roles are defined by an assortment of attributes: the rhetorician always has a magister's chair, sometimes a lectern, and usually a book; the emperor always has a sword and, variously, an orb, counselors, a standard, knights, and a castle gateway.<sup>23</sup>

The compositions of the two upper images mirror each other by placing the author/translator on each inner edge and the ruler on each outer edge. In all but the Madrid manuscript, Valerius's chair is quite large, making his visual impact as strong as or stronger than that of Tiberius. The arrangement seems to say that the Roman author is as important as the (pagan) emperor, while his modern counterpart, Simon, is lowlier than the (Christian) king. Yet in every picture Tiberius's naked, upright sword supplemented by orb, standard, army, or castle—unmistakably communicates power. *Translatio* of both study and imperium is thus effected, via the crucial mediating agency of the book—except that there seems to be some disagreement among the upper right compartments as to just what Valerius is *doing*. Even the New York and Jena frontispieces, which are very close, differ significantly on Valerius. In the New York copy (fig. 30), the Roman author does not have a book; his hands are waving, suggesting he is simply speaking to Tiberius. In the Jena copy (fig. 31), and still more clearly in the Troyes copy (fig. 32), we see the familiar pointing finger; like the author in the *Roman de Troie* image (fig. 27), Valerius is posed as a *magister*, reading his book to a standing audience. In the Madrid copy (fig. 33), finally, he is writing,<sup>24</sup> though with his face lifted, so it almost looks as if he is taking dictation from the

#### Figure 29

Valerius Maximus Writing; Simon de Hesdin Writing; The Presentation of the Book in Faits et paroles memorables des Romains; France, ca. 1380. Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 9749, fol. 1 (enlarged detail)

A King Receiving Simon de Hesdin's Translation; Tiberius Approaches Valerius Maximus; Calcitana Instructs the Romans; Sulpicius Censing the Altars in Faits et paroles memorables des Romains; France, 1380s. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 31.134.8 (detail)

#### Figure 31

A King Receiving Simon de Hesdin's Translation; Tiberius Approaches Valerius Maximus; Calcitana Instructs the Romans; Sulpicius Banished in Faits et paroles memorables des Romains; France, 1380s. Jena, Thüringer Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, Ms. El.f.87, fol. 3 (detail)







A King Receiving Simon de Hesdin's Translation; Tiberius Approaches Valerius Maximus; Calcitana Instructs the Romans; Sulpicius Censing the Altars in Faits et paroles memorables des Romains; France, 1380s. Troyes, Médiathèque de l'Agglomération Troyenne, Ms. 261, fol. 1 (detail)

#### Figure 33

A King Receiving Simon de Hesdin's Translation; Tiberius Approaches Valerius Maximus; Calcitana Instructs the Romans; Sulpicius Censing the Altars and Being Banished in Faits et paroles memorables des Romains; France, 1380s. Madrid, Biblioteca nacional, Ms. res. 8, fol. 1 (detail)



emperor. This mismatch, in four miniatures otherwise so similar, hints at a moment of confusion, due perhaps to iconographic paradigm shift.

Unfortunately, we cannot date these manuscripts any more precisely than to say they are all from the 1380s, so we do not know which one came first. We also do not know if the illuminators copied from each other, if they worked separately from the same illustration program, or both. It is clear, however, that the Jena and Troyes miniatures represent an iconographic breakthrough, using prelection imagery to visualize the translatio of both studium et imperium: in the ancient past, Tiberius and his knights gained important wisdom by listening to Valerius read his book; in the present, the French king is just receiving the book from his translator, in order that he too will be able to grow wiser by, in due course, hearing it read. The Troyes illuminator was a prolific artist of the late fourteenth century whose work reflects a particular interest in books and their relation to history and society.<sup>25</sup> If we could assume that his prelection image served as model for the Valerius-Tiberius scenes created by the New York and Madrid artists, we could theorize that they muddled their representation through a failure to recognize and reproduce the iconographic innovation. On the other hand, the other artists certainly did not copy the Troyes artist's two lower scenes, which are slightly skewed themselves in failing to forefront Calcitana in the Ceres picture and in leaving Sulpicius's miter on his head. An alternative explanation might be that the hypothetical illustration program had only vague instructions about Tiberius standing with Valerius, leaving each artist to configure the interaction as he wished.

# In any case, in bringing secular power (seen so nakedly in Tiberius's raised blade) to school under the wise author, the Troyes and Jena artists, for perhaps the first time, depicted not an audience contemporary with the manuscript but the ancient audience whose authority is being transmitted via

#### Figure 34

A King Receiving Simon de Hesdin's Translation; Valerius Reading to Tiberius and His Army in Faits et paroles memorables des Romains; France, after 1402. Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 45, fol. 11 (detail)



the translation. It is an elegant pictorial expression of a complex intellectual structure, and it proved attractive to later artists, who took it further.

A frontispiece to the completed translation (finished by Nicolas de Gonesse in 1401, for John of Berry<sup>26</sup>) takes the Troyes artist's concept a good deal further, concentrating on the author-patron images and adding details and personnel to emphasize the social power of the juxtaposed historical moments (fig. 34). The *translatio imperii* is emphasized here by the prominent eagle banner, although the large scale of Valerius and his furniture and the small scale of Tiberius and his knights leave no doubt that the latter have been absorbed into and superseded by the authoritative text created by Valerius and passed on in translation, in the left-hand compartment, to the French king. The picture was painted by an artist known as the Virgil Master and may have been directly inspired by the iconography in the Troyes artist's *Faits et paroles* manuscript. The two illuminators had collaborated on earlier projects, and the Virgil Master is known to have borrowed other visual ideas from his colleague.<sup>27</sup>

Further variants on the *translatio* iconography were produced for later copies of the *Faits et paroles*. Perhaps the most successful working-out of the concept's parallels and antitheses comes in a manuscript created for Duke Philip the Good of Burgundy. In this frontispiece (fig. 35) the energy of *translatio* flows perfectly across the time barrier and out to the viewer. Unlike the earlier arrangement, which put the modern scene on the left and the ancient one on the right, the chronology now progresses left to right, like the text that begins beneath it. The setting is indoors, and for the first time the artificial picture-border has disappeared, in favor of a pillar supporting a double arch. Since the human eye is used to seeing through such architectural foregrounds to what it assumes is a continuous space behind, the pillar effaces as it marks the thirteen-hundred-year gap between past and present.

#### Figure 35

Valerius Reading to Tiberius and His Army; A King Receiving Simon de Hesdin's Translation in Faits et paroles memorables des Romains; Flanders, after 1450. Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 6185, fol. 1 (detail) Subtle details further tie the two scenes together: the floors have similar tiling; both rulers wear blue robes and their thrones are backed with cloth of the same color and pattern; there are five men in each background, dressed in similar style. Highlights lead the eye in a smooth parabola from Tiberius in his high seat to the prelecting Valerius below him, across the pillar to the kneeling Simon and up to the French king above him. Thus temporal power moves effortlessly across the ages, through the medium of author, voice, and book, witnessed by a crowd of courtiers who seem to form a continuous backdrop, giving the event social force. The one detail that marks difference rather than continuity invokes, as in previous images, the civilizing power of religion. Tiberius's "exotic" costume contrasts with the French king's "proper" attire, while fleurs-de-lis blanket not only the king's robe but also the cloth behind his courtiers. Thus the picture witnesses not only to the transmission but to the Christianization—and therefore the refinement and improvement—of classical learning and power.

#### Conclusion

On the evidence of text and image, the reading of history in late medieval France was a meritorious activity, one urged on princes by advisers and proudly reported by the biographers of great men. Both text and image also suggest two parameters of history-reading, at least when made part of an official textual or visual record: that the content was classical and the method, public. Classical history conferred prestige and a reputation for wisdom onto its readers and hearers, while public reading gave public significance to the event, public credit to its initiator, and public force to the values incorporated in the material. Research turned up only one occasion when the reading of French history was accorded such value—at Louis de Bourbon's table, where the stress of circumstances made it expedient to place Charles VI's ancestors on a par with the ancients.

That history was read privately cannot be doubted, however, any more than that histories of France were commonly created, valued, and read. Different iconographies were, evidently, considered appropriate to introduce different kinds of texts. Most copies of the *Grandes chroniques de France*, for example, begin with a presentation image, thus locating the text's prestige in the clerical authority of its compilers and in the majesty of its royal recipient. The incipit illumination of chapter 1 of the text (see fig. 37) sometimes invokes Trojan history, inspired by the chronicle's claim that France was founded by a son of Hector.<sup>28</sup>

The iconography of history-reading explored in this article seems to have developed from teaching pictures and from spelling out the basic concept of translation to very sophisticated explorations of a transcendent, transhistorical dialogue. To a viewer unused to these images, the pagan author in a monastic robe and the Roman emperor in medieval armor may seem jarringly, even absurdly, inappropriate. But to call such depictions anachronistic is itself an anachronism. "The division of 'modern' from 'ancient,'" notes Mary Carruthers, "was first formulated at the beginning of the Middle Ages. It simply does not seem to have been thought to be of paramount importance."<sup>29</sup> Importance, within the ideology of *translatio*, lay in continuity and connection. The illustrators did not fail to accurately reproduce Roman costume and custom; rather, they succeeded, as Anne D. Hedeman points out in her contribution to this volume, in shaping representations that would communicate to French viewers meaningfully about their shared past.

- Research for and writing of this article were supported by a Fletcher Jones Foundation Fellowship at the Huntington Library, San Marino, California. I am very grateful to the library, as well as to Anne D. Hedeman and Elizabeth Morrison for their fellowship and guidance.
- "Pour estre plus ententif aux grans affaires que il avoit au royaume,... et pour avoir plus haulte mémoire, faisoit lire à son disner continuellement les gestes des très-renommés princes, jadis rois de France, et d'aultres dignes d'honneur": Chazaud 1876, 273.
- 3. "Se trouva bien endebté": ibid.
- For a discussion of the word *prelection* and the adaptation of it to disambiguate the ambiguous word *read*, see Coleman 1996, 35–37.
- 5. For more examples of prelection, see Coleman 1996. For discussion of history reading specifically, see Coleman 1996, chap. 5, or Coleman 1994.
- 6. "En yver, par especial se occupoit souvent à ouir lire de diverses belles hystoires de la Sainte Escripture, ou des *Fais des Romains*, ou *Moralités de philosophes* et d'autres sciences jusques à heure de soupper": Solente 1936–40, 1:47–48.
- "Beaulz livres des sciences morales et hystoires nottables des pollicies rommaines ou d'autres louables enseignemens moult aime, et voulentiers en ot": Solente 1936-40, 1:142.
- "Tu te doys delicter en lire et oyr les anciennes hystoires pour ton enseignement"; "toutes autres hystoires des payens qui sont auctentiques": Coopland 1969, 2:220, 222.
- 9. "Moult lui plaist ouyr lire beaulx livres de Dieu et des sains, des Fais des Rommains et histoires authentiques... Aux jours des dimenches et des festes, il occuppe le temps a aler en pelerinages tout a pié, ou a ouyr lire d'aucuns beaulx livres de la vie des sains, ou des histoires des vaillans trespassez, des Rommains ou d'autres": Lalande 1985, 416, 433.
- 10. Hedeman 1991.
- A later royal adviser, Jean Gerson, did include Cronice Francorum among the readings recommended for the dauphin, Charles VII. For Jean's list, see Thomas 1930, 48–51.
- 12. I know of two examples that almost, but not quite, qualify. One (by the artist of the frontispiece to the *Faits et paroles* in Troyes discussed below) shows the *Grandes chroniques*' compiler, Primat, prelecting his source materials or rough draft to his fellow monks, as part of a four-part miniature whose last scene has him presenting the finished work to Philip III (Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Ms. 5223, fol. 2; dates to the late fourteenth century). Since the prelection is to fellow researchers, as it were, rather than to the "end-user," it has been excluded from this discussion

of history-reading. The other example is not French; a Burgundian chronicle of Hainaut, it shows a functionary prelecting the text to Duke Philip the Good and his court (Brussels, BR, Ms. 9243, fol. 1; dated 1468).

- 13. See Lusignan 1986.
- 14. Rashdall 1936, 472.
- 15. This issue is discussed at greater length in Coleman 2005.
- 16. Hedeman 1991, 12.
- 17. On a similar iconography in the opening historiated initial of a compilation of Alexander romances, see Cruse 2005, 311–12.
- On translatio, see Jongkees 1967. For discussion of Charles V's translation program, see Sherman 1971 and 1995.
- 19. The story is found in Raoul de Presles's prologue to his *Cité de Dieu* (translated for Charles V from Saint Augustine's *De civitate Dei*); see Beer 1995 and cat. no. 31. See also Hinkle 1991.
- 20. Lindsay 1909, 113.
- 21. Lecourt 1955, 41.
- 22. Boehm 1983, 57-61.
- 23. Christiane Raynaud (1993, 385–86) claims that this scene shows the chief pontiff Metellus trying to prevent the consul Postumus from leaving Rome to go to war. The weakness of her argument is suggested by the mismatches between interpretation and image that she herself notes.
- 24. The Madrid frontispiece has been considerably damaged; my assessment that it shows Valerius writing is based on examination of the manuscript itself.
- 25. Some scholars have included the Troyes frontispiece among miniatures attributed to the famous artist Perrin Remiet, but it has been convincingly demonstrated that these attributions are based on a false premise (Remiet identification: Smith 1974, 80; and following her, Camille 1996, 253; counterargument: Avril 1969, 303–8). For an overview of Remiet and the confusions regarding his identity, see Rouse and Rouse 2000, 1:293–95 and 2:115, 216. The New York Valerius leaf is now attributed to the workshop of the "real" Remiet (www.metmuseum.org/toah/works-of-art/31.134.8.htm). It seems to me that the Jena image is an inferior copy of the New York one, with details such as Valerius's hands changed.
- 26. Stefano 1965.
- 27. Smith 1974, 96, 109.
- 28. Hedeman 1991, 12–14; and see Elizabeth Morrison's essay in this volume.
- 29. Carruthers 1990, 193. On "anachronism" in manuscripts of ancient history, see, for example, Rodríguez Porto 2005.



#### Presenting the Past:

#### Visual Translation in Thirteenth- to Fifteenth-Century France

#### ANNE D. HEDEMAN

Visual translation, the process by which images helped stories set in the past or in a different culture come alive and be current to a medieval reader, can only be properly understood within the frame-work of the history of the book.<sup>1</sup> How a book's message was created requires an analysis both of the physical object and of the relationship between those involved in its making and the expectations of the intended audience. Such analyses are possible because the functioning of the book trade in medieval France is well known.<sup>2</sup> In many cases *libraires* (book makers/sellers) negotiated with patrons to determine the number and size of images and other kinds of decoration, all of which affected the cost of the final product. The *libraire* then engaged a scribe to transcribe the text, leaving spaces for images. Subsequently the *libraire* would hire artists to decorate the manuscript and either would provide written directions describing the needed image or would work with an artist to generate sketches in the margins that blocked out the broad strokes of the compositions. There were many individuals involved in this process, ranging from authors and *libraires*, to artists, to patrons and audiences, all of whom had to understand a shared visual language if the images embedded in manuscripts were to communicate effectively.

This essay will explore the potential effect of the relationship between the makers of the book *libraires*, artists, authors/translators—and audience expectations of the production of images that translate and shape an understanding of the past. Two questions in particular are of interest: what role do images play in the translation of texts originating in a culture removed in time or geography from their audience? And what is the role of visual rhetoric in structuring readings within individual manuscripts, or, to put it differently, how do images function as agents of translation? This essay describes three ways in which collaboratively produced images translate the past into the present: through intervisual and intertextual borrowings, through the structuring of the visual cycle, and through the employment of visual rhetoric. Each of these is considered within the context of the community of *libraires*, readers, and artists that produced and consumed books in medieval France. In the most sophisticated products of this community visual imagery serves as a counterpoint, establishing relationships between manuscripts, and between individual images within manuscripts, that enabled the past to come alive for medieval readers.

#### Intervisual and Intertextual Borrowings

Often when new texts were illustrated for the first time, *libraires* worked with artists to choose visual imagery that established new relationships or reinforced ongoing relationships with other texts. Whether accidental or deliberate, the adaptation of a popular visual model associated with one text to illustrate another places both texts into a network of allusions that inevitably impacts how they were understood.<sup>3</sup> The opening image of the first *Grandes chroniques de France* (cat. no. 6), made in Paris around 1274, is a powerful example of this phenomenon, because it consciously references an illustration from the earliest illuminated manuscript of the *Roman de Troie* (Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 1610; and s'Heerenberg [Holland], Collection of Dr. J. H. van Heek, Foundation Bergh Castle, Hs. 66 [inv. 216], Fr. XIVd),<sup>4</sup> a verse romance painted in Paris about ten years earlier.<sup>5</sup> Points of similarity and difference between these pictures and their texts offer insight into the ideological and intertextual relationships that they establish.

Elizabeth Morrison has shown that the independent visual narrative in this *Roman de Troie* recasts the story of Troy to show the "perfidy of the Greeks, the importance of leadership, and above all, the heroism of Hector."<sup>6</sup> The third full-page miniature from this cycle (fig. 36) focuses on Priam's folly in allowing his son Paris to sail to Greece. Its upper register shows the reactions of Paris's siblings when King Priam hears Paris volunteer to go. Hector, who was concerned about the great strength of the Greeks, and Cassandra, who predicted the destruction of Troy if Paris took a Greek wife, appear behind their brother. In the middle register, the Trojans arrive in Greece, and in the lower, Paris, struck with "love at first sight," embraces the Greek queen Helen while his soldiers ignobly massacre some of her subjects.

Ten years after this picture was painted, an artist devising illustrations for the new *Grandes chroniques* reconceptualized the design from the *Roman de Troie* to fit the chronicle's distinctly different goal of offering King Philip III examples of good and bad kingship to emulate and shun. The chronicle's frontispiece (fig. 37) accompanies a brief text which observes that the Trojan king Priam sent his son Paris to carry off Queen Helen in order to avenge the first destruction of Troy. The book's designer had artists adapt the model from the *Roman de Troie* to reinforce the chronicle's abbreviated text by presenting Paris in the upper register alone before King Priam before his departure for Greece. The lower register does not emphasize Paris's love-struck state as much as Paris's forced abduction of Helen; he grabs her limp wrist in a classic gesture of rape and she wears her crown, which signals her superior status to Paris and emphasizes his violation.<sup>7</sup> Paris's embrace of Helen's shoulder in the scene of abduction and in the ship at sea in the lower register may be a residual influence of the love-struck pair in the model from the *Roman de Troie*.

These subtle but deliberate changes in the miniature for the *Grandes chroniques* inflected the visual story so that it had a much different resonance than did its model in the *Roman de Troie*. None-theless, its deliberate visual resemblance—its intervisuality—invites readers to read the romance and chronicle as associated, with the result that, as Morrison puts it, the *Roman de Troie* becomes a "prologue" to the *Grandes chroniques*.<sup>8</sup>

Sometimes intervisual relationships serve less as devices to interlace texts than as a means to enhance one text's authority. For instance, the frontispiece of the Getty Museum's *Des cas des nobles hommes et femmes* (see ill. 37a), a translation of Boccaccio, amplifies the miniature of Adam and Eve's story with marginal scenes illustrating the Creation, thereby emulating the long-standing medieval





Priam Dispatches Paris to Greece; Paris Sets Sail; Paris Captures Helen at the Temple of Venus; Massacre of Greeks in Benoît de Sainte-Maure, Roman de Troie; Paris, ca. 1264. s'Heerenberg (Holland), Collection Dr. J. H. van Heek, Foundation Bergh Castle, Hs.66 (inv. 216), Fr.XIVd

#### Figure 37

Priam Dispatches Paris to Greece; Paris Sets Sail; Paris Captures Helen at the Temple of Venus; Paris and Helen Set Sail for Troy in Grandes chroniques de France; Paris, ca. 1274. Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, Ms. 782, fol. 2v (enlarged detail)

Achilles Falls in Love with Polyxena before the Tomb of Hector in Histoire de la destruction de Troye la Grant; Bourges, ca. 1495–1500. Paris, BnF, Ms. n.a.fr. 24920, fol. 27v



practice of beginning Bibles with such scenes (see, for instance, cat. no. 2).<sup>9</sup> Boccaccio's *De casibus virorum illustrium* offers a series of narratives in which protagonists from Adam and Eve to King John the Good of France come to Boccaccio and describe their reversals at the hands of fortune for him to record.<sup>10</sup> While the events in these tiny images in the margins of the *Des cas* are not described in Boccaccio's version of the story of Adam and Eve, which begins with Adam's and Eve's creation, they serve to ground the examples that Boccaccio writes about in his text within the frame of God's creation and, in the process, to evoke biblical authority for the diverse historical "eyewitness" accounts that Boccaccio assembles within his book.

In extreme cases, images take the place of texts, assuming an independent role, as happens in François or Philibert Colombe's illustrations to the *Histoire de la destruction de Troye la grant* (cat. no. 48). Essentially a picture book planned to have twenty-one full-page miniatures and sixty-five smaller column-wide paintings spread over fifty-seven folios, this manuscript contains a unique French abridgment of Guido delle Colonne's *Historia destructionis Troiae*.<sup>11</sup> The full-page miniatures

in this French manuscript act as substitutes for many of Guido's extensive Latin descriptions which this translation omits. For instance, as Marc-René Jung and Carine Durand observe, the full-page representation of Hector's tomb (fig. 38), described briefly in the French chapter preceding it, contains details drawn from the *Historia* that are omitted by the French text. The French reads in its entirety:

King Priam had the body of Hector entombed with great honor in the Temple of Apollo in front of the Thymbrean Gate according to the customs kings practiced with barons of high lineage when they died. And above the tabernacle that was on the sepulcher of Hector, he had a gold and silver image made in his likeness, which held a bare sword in its hand and had its glance and face turned directly towards the tents and the battle of the Greeks.<sup>12</sup>

Guido delle Colonne's extensive Latin account offers a fuller description of the marvelous tomb that King Priam built to honor Hector.<sup>13</sup> Hector's body was displayed in a tabernacle raised from the ground on crystal steps near the high altar of the Temple of Apollo, where priests specifically assigned to care for the tomb tended it. The tabernacle was raised on four golden columns, each with a golden image that looked like an angel. These golden columns with their elaborately carved pedestals and capitals supported the canopy above the tabernacle, which was made of gold and precious stones. The canopy in turn bore the only element that the French text mentions: the gold statue of Hector, standing with his bared sword looking toward the Greek camp. After describing all this Guido continues with a full account of the complex system devised to embalm Hector so that his actual, carefully embalmed body was enthroned within the tabernacle, appearing "as if alive."<sup>14</sup>

The image of Hector's tomb in the *Histoire de la destruction de Troye la grant* incorporates and adapts many of Guido delle Colonne's details but visualizes them for the first time. The raised golden tabernacle that supports a statue of Hector, the golden angels, the elaborately carved golden columns, and the ministering priests who move toward the tomb from the main altar were all described by Guido, and they are imagined here with familiar medieval iconographic details. Perhaps because it was not common practice in the Middle Ages to display permanently the embalmed, enthroned body of a prince as Guido described him, Hector is not painted in the flesh. Instead he appears within the tabernacle, where he is shown as a polychromed *gisant* on a black slab tomb with white sculpted saints or mourning figures in an arcade around the base. This display of Hector's body drew on familiar iconography, echoing any number of real medieval royal and noble tombs.<sup>15</sup> In the process of composing the miniature to provide a visual supplement to the French translation, the artist made a translation of his own from the visual culture of late antiquity to that of the late Middle Ages.

#### Structuring the Visual Cycle

Often *libraires* and artists were charged with illustrating texts anew or with illustrating a new text. In these cases, they worked carefully to structure the visual cycle, determining the distribution and density of the images, their scale in relation to each other, and the positioning of differently scaled images within the cycle. The negotiations between *libraires* and patrons about the scale, position, and number of images also served to shape the reading of the text in these manuscripts, thus effectively translating them to enhance their relevance to medieval audiences.

The *Grandes chroniques* (cat. no. 26) that belonged to King Charles V is a prime example of this design practice. It is a highly unusual book, because it was completed sometime before 1375 and then twice expanded for Charles, first around 1377 and then around 1379, by Pierre d'Orgemont, who became Charles's chancellor in 1373 and who authored textual continuations for this manuscript.<sup>16</sup> Originally Charles V's *Grandes chroniques* began with the fall of Troy and continued through the death in 1350 of Charles's grandfather, the first Valois king, Philip of Valois. Charles V's manuscript was expanded twice by the addition of Pierre d'Orgemont's original continuations, first to cover events until 1375, and then until 1379. Within this extensive narrative, textual units emphasize regnal history, most frequently beginning with descriptions of royal coronations and associating the French kings genealogically in an unbroken line.

Through their placement and scale, illustrations worked to guide the reading and interpretation of the chronicle. The king's manuscript offered a fresh picture cycle designed to shape the vision of French royalist history as part of a long tradition of rule that began more than a thousand years earlier with the descendants of refugees from the fall of Troy and continued up to Charles V's present. In its final form Charles V's revamped chronicle contained 188 pictures, in contrast to the 38 that decorated the first Grandes chroniques (cat. no. 6), which was one of its textual models. Most elements of this dense pictorial cycle served to reinforce the text's structure. Full-page miniatures, the largest, mark the beginnings of the book's original two volumes (fols. 3v and 265) and 2 historiated initials and 154 single-column-wide miniatures appear at the beginnings of chapters. However, a small subset of miniatures in the two additions authored by Pierre d'Orgemont and set down by the scribe Raoulet d'Orléans were carefully planned to incorporate several large-scale images in these descriptions of the recent past. Each of these could be contemplated as an illustration of an event that took place in a specific time and at a specific location in the past, but they also could be seen as transcending the text they accompany and, by association with other miniatures in the manuscript, as encouraging a reading of prior events in relation to the recent past. Evident in this interaction is the desire to engender a chronological displacement that assimilates past events with the events of Charles V's present-with moments that Charles V himself experienced.

A pair of feast scenes, *The Order of the Star* (fig. 39) and *Performance of a Crusade Play at Charles V's Feast* (see ill. 26a), invite comparison because of their shared subject and large scale and because their accompanying texts actually make reference to the images themselves.<sup>17</sup> This is a rare occurrence anywhere, but it occurs in this manuscript twice. The first scene represents the only official meeting of the Order of the Star, which was founded by King John II the Good (Charles V's father) and of which Charles was himself a member. The meeting took place in 1352 at a time when there was a tentative peace between England and France, countries that had been embroiled in the Hundred Years' War since the 1330s. The second scene represents a state dinner held twenty-six years later in honor of Charles V's uncle, Holy Roman Emperor Charles IV, and Charles IV's son when they visited Paris in 1378. The two large miniatures' similarity in size, subject matter, and textual references underscores their role in structuring the visual cycle and provides a significant example of visual translation.

King John's chivalry in the face of English perfidy is the focus of the first of these large pictures. The chapter that preceded the *Order of the Star* illumination describes the treachery of the English, who broke a treaty with the French and captured the French city of Guînes while the French king was meeting and feasting with his chivalric order, "which feast is portrayed and illustrated below." While



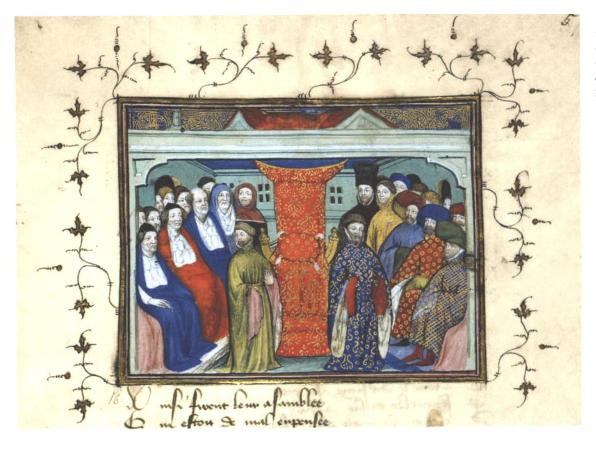
The Order of the Star in Grandes chroniques de France; Paris, ca. 1375–79. Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 2813, fol. 394 the chronicle only reports when the order was founded and notes that the members wore stars on their hoods or mantles, the image shows detailed elements of the participants' costume: not just the elegant gold stars, which a later hand has augmented with tacky blue paint, but also white tunics, red mantles, and pearl-studded fillets in their hair. Only those, like Charles V, who belonged to the short-lived order would recognize the accuracy of these details, because it no longer existed when this picture was painted more than twenty years after the meeting and celebration. So, when this picture was made, someone did research, either interviewing eyewitnesses, possibly including Charles V himself, or searching court documents about the order to learn about realistic details to include in the miniature.<sup>18</sup>

While the miniature's lower register shows the feast, the upper register of the picture draws attention to both the majesty of King John, who sits enthroned at the left, and to the close-knit noble members of the order who stand before the king with their arms around each other. The relationship between the picture and the text immediately preceding it confirms the hero-building function of this miniature. While the text focuses on the neglect of a treaty by the English and their use of treachery to capture a city, the miniature presents the victorious French king united with his loyal knights, who stand in opposition to those English who threaten the realm. In text and image French virtue is contrasted with English decadence, and the virtue is made large, visible, and memorable.

Shortly after 1379, when additional text concerning the visit to Paris of the Holy Roman emperor Charles IV and his son Wenceslas was added to Charles V's *Grandes chroniques*, the book's designer deliberately planned for an image of the great feast (ill. 26a) in honor of the visitors that would establish a visual association with the image of the meeting of the Order of the Star, which the same artists had painted about two years earlier. As had happened in the case of the *Order of the Star*, text in the chronicle refers explicitly to the image "hereafter portrayed."

Both pictures interweave word and image, through their formats and close relation to their texts, to construct a combined visual and verbal rebuke to the English, with whom the French continued to be at war. The rebuke in the *Great Feast* is couched in the play performed in the foreground, which represents Godefroy de Bouillon and the conquest of Jerusalem, which took place in 1099 during the First Crusade. The chronicle identifies Godefroy, Peter the Hermit, who preached the First Crusade, and "the noble knights who were at the conquest of Jerusalem." The miniature provides more information by identifying them through the inclusion of matching coats of arms on the boat and the crusaders. These identify Godefroy de Bouillon, the counts of Flanders and Auvergne, and an English king. This royal figure possibly represents a historical slip, as an English king did not go on the First Crusade, although King Richard, Coeur de Lion, was an important and legendary leader of the Third Crusade.

The miniature thus constructs a positive model of a past English king who fights the infidel, offering a visual contrast to King Charles V's anti-English speech, which he delivered in the emperor's presence the night after the play, and which the chronicle summarizes shortly after this scene (fols. 475–476v). This speech categorized Edward III of England, his contemporary, as a king who regularly broke treaties and ordered the murder of emissaries. The contrast between exemplary and reprehensible behavior established by the visualized English king in the play and the description of his living descendant in the chronicle text is very similar to that in the Order of the Star, which also casts the current English king in a negative light. Both juxtapose a textual account of bad English royal behavior with a visual representation of positive royal examples: the French king John the Good and the English king Richard, Coeur de Lion.



*The Empty Throne* in Jean Greton, *Livre de la prinse et mort du roy Richart*; Paris, ca. 1405. London, BL, Harley Ms. 1319, fol. 57 (detail)

Although these images are embedded in texts that describe different historical events, their shared scale and visual richness invite viewers to contemplate them together. When readers associate the images and dip into these two distinct sections of the book, they uncover an extratextual association between them that emphasizes the contemporary political conflict between France and England that was very much on Charles V's mind in the 1370s, when this book was completed.

Variations in scale are not the only way to accomplish visual translation of past to present. Some manuscripts have cycles in which the density of image placement reshapes the message that the text ostensibly conveys. For instance, a manuscript of Jean Creton's *Livre de la prinse et mort du roy Richart* (cat. no. 32) describes events from 1399–1401 related to the deposition and death of the English king Richard II. Although Richard's death concerned the French, because King Charles VI's daughter Isabelle was Richard's wife, the disposition and visual content of images in this manuscript (given to John of Berry) recast contemporary English history to offer a moralizing example for the duke.

Sixteen pictures are evenly spaced throughout the first fifty-seven folios of this manuscript, and then, abruptly, the last twenty folios have no pictures, even though the text describes events that would lend themselves to lively illustrations. This varied distribution draws attention to the visual narrative superimposed over the textual story of Richard. Rather than culminating as the text does with the coronation of Henry IV, Richard's successor as king of England, or with the return of Queen Isabelle to France, it ends with a visualization of Henry's usurpation of power (see ills. 32a and 32b) and of the void at the center of government that resulted, represented by the moving image of the empty throne in the English parliament (fig. 40). These visual images reshape the story of Richard for the French audience, echoing his contemporary usage in French political and moralizing literature as an important exemplum of the effects of fortune on the fate of leaders.<sup>19</sup>

#### Visual Rhetoric

Many of the manuscripts made for noble and royal audiences are highly specialized in their controlled and self-conscious approach to rendering and translating the past for a specific sophisticated and historically aware audience. Thus far, examples have shown how the structuring of visual cycles or the use of visual imagery to establish allusions to contemporary events put sections of texts or even whole illuminated books in dialogue with each other. However, it was more typical for manuscripts made by *libraires* in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries to use simpler visual rhetorical devices to make the past come alive and be relevant to readers and viewers of manuscripts in the medieval present. In these works artists drew on a system of signs based on the representation of contemporary dress that were readily recognized by medieval viewers. Artists represented actors in historical events from the distant past in contemporary medieval guise, and the familiarity of their dress immediately established the social or moral sphere that they inhabited.

Because dress had a rhetorical function and was part of a medieval artist's stock in trade, the costuming that artists used in manuscripts conveys significant insight into the ideas that illustrations sought to communicate. In order to work effectively, this rhetoric of costume drew on a visual vocabulary that artists, authors, and audiences shared and understood as a mode of communication that was based in reality, without necessarily being a comprehensive reflection of it.<sup>20</sup>

A rare surviving example of written directions to artists and of the images based on those written directions offers insight into the communal nature of this vocabulary of dress. In 1417 the humanist Jean Lebègue wrote directions in French (Oxford, Bodleian Library, D'Orville Ms. 141, fols. 42v–55v) on how to illustrate Sallust's Roman histories of the Catiline conspiracy and the Jugurthine wars, and around 1420 he acted as *libraire* for the production of the illuminated manuscript (Geneva, Bibliothèque de Genève, Ms. lat. 54) that followed them.<sup>21</sup> Comparison with earlier manuscripts reveals that the images made for Lebègue in 1420 drew on a visual rhetoric that was well established before he wrote his directions; Lebègue tapped into this rhetoric when he described the miniatures he wanted, and the artists employed it when they visualized them.

Thus, in describing the image from the *Conspiracy of Catiline* that introduces Catiline, who had conspired to overthrow Rome, Lebègue's directions communicate the villain's moral status by his clothes (fig. 41): "And Catiline will be portrayed in the guise of a *compaignon gaillart* (an impetuous, dashing military man) dressed in a short belted tunic, a hat with a plume on his head, a sword at his side with a Bohemian belt on his hips."<sup>22</sup> Sallust's text characterizes Catiline's female companion, Sempronia (fig. 42), as morally corrupt:

Even before the time of the conspiracy she had often broken her word, repudiated her debts, been privy to murder; poverty and extravagance combined had driven her headlong. Nevertheless, she was a woman of no mean endowments; she could write verses, bandy jests, and use language which was modest, or tender, or wanton; in fine, she possessed a high degree of wit and of charm.<sup>23</sup>

Lebègue's directions signal her moral failings through his selection of clothing; he describes her as a *gaillarde femme* (an impetuous/dashing woman) who wears a hood folded and worn as a hat, whose tail flops in front, and a dress that clings to her body and features dagged sleeves, that is, sleeves with

edges slashed in a pattern, reaching to the ground.<sup>24</sup> The dress of both Sempronia and Catiline crosses the line of visual decorum because of its excessive tightness, shortness, or extravagant elaboration of the sleeves.<sup>25</sup>

The artist who followed Lebègue's directions knew what he hoped to convey with this visual rhetoric and drew on compositions that circulated in Parisian artistic workshops to achieve those ends. The visual types that shaped Lebègue's descriptions of Sempronia and Catiline were already current over ten years before, in 1407, when artists illustrated Sempronia and Catiline's moral equivalents in a manuscript of Terence's *Comedies* for John of Berry (Paris, BnF, Ms. lat. 7907A).<sup>26</sup> Thus, an anonymous soldier loitering outside a theater in the middle right of the frontispiece to the *Comedies* is the spitting image of Catiline, down to the Bohemian belt and feather (compare figs. 41 and 43), and the prostitute Philotis wears the same close-fitting dress with extravagant sleeves as Sempronia (compare figs. 42 and



Catiline and His Companions in Sallust, The Conspiracy of Catiline and The Jugurthine War; Paris, ca. 1420. Geneva, Bibliothèque de Genève, Ms. lat. 54, fol. 5 (enlarged detail)

#### Figure 42

Sempronia before Catiline in Sallust, The Conspiracy of Catiline and The Jugurthine War; Paris, ca. 1420. Geneva, Bibliothèque de Genève, Ms. lat. 54, fol. 9 (enlarged detail)



Ham quiaiqs impudicus.



44). These similarities reveal that artists, *libraires*, and readers had a shared understanding about the ways in which the representation of dress nuanced character. The selection of certain kinds of medieval dress for figures from the ancient world established recognizable moral types.

Such carefully dressed images were often associated with each other through the use of a second rhetorical device: the visual amplification, or doubling, of pictures that takes a familiar tale in an unexpected direction. In creating amplifications *libraires* worked with artists to juxtapose conventional, classic scenes that readers would recognize with new images that expand their meaning. These visual pairs extended viewers' experiences of particularly striking stories in order to provide markers for specific moral messages within dense pictorial cycles. They also encouraged a fresh reading of stories and helped to translate past into present for medieval viewers.

*The Roman Theater* in Terence, *Comedies*; Paris, ca. 1407. Paris, BnF, Ms. lat. 7907A, fol. 2v

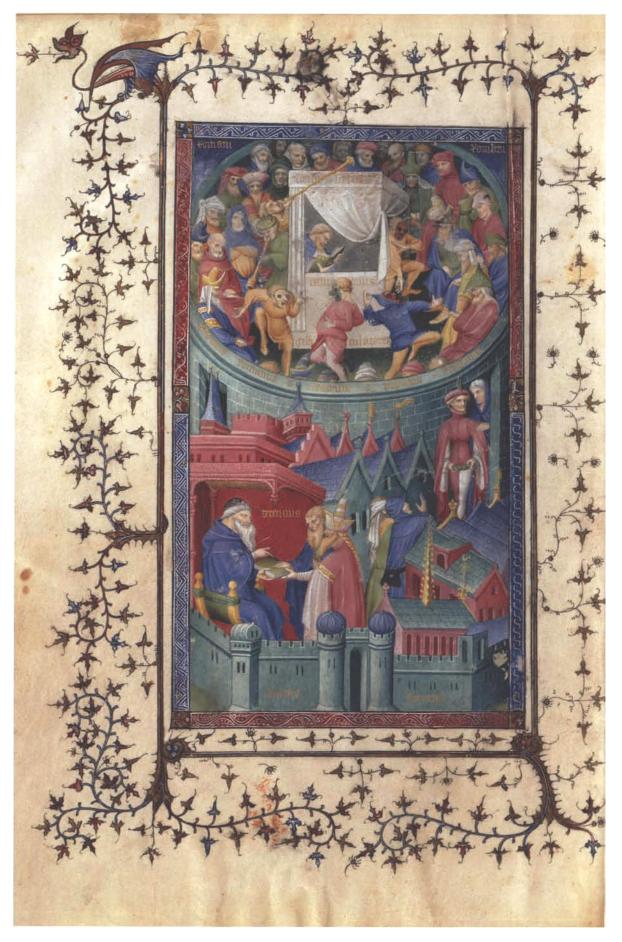




Figure 44 Philotis and Syra in Terence, Comedies; Paris, ca. 1407. Paris, BnF, Ms. lat. 7907A, fol. 99 (detail)

The tale of Lucretia offers a particularly powerful example of this phenomenon. Livy's account of the virtuous Lucretia describes how she was raped by Sextus Tarquin, son of the Roman king, who violated her hospitality while her husband, Collatin, was absent from home. Lucretia explained what had happened to her husband and father and then committed suicide in their presence to preserve her honor. The political uproar that resulted once her story was widely known led to the downfall of the Roman monarchy. Lucretia was well known in late-fourteenth- and early fifteenth-century France, because her story had been popularized in a series of translations from Latin: Simon de Hesdin and Nicolas de Gonesse's translation of Valerius Maximus (Faits et paroles memorables des Romains), begun in the 1370s and finished in 1401; an anonymous early-fifteenth-century translation of Boccaccio (Des cleres femmes); and Laurent de Premierfait's French translation of Boccaccio (Des cas des nobles hommes et femmes), completed in 1409; all of which depend on Livy's Ab urbe condita libri (History of Rome), which had been translated into French (Histoire romaine) in 1354-59 by Pierre Bersuire. Her exemplary death served to highlight concerns about justice, tyranny, and assassination that were central to political discussion in early-fifteenth-century France, where the king's brother had been assassinated by his cousin. The cousin defended himself by describing his actions as tyrannicide, and the government was on the verge of civil war.27

Lucretia's popular tale was the subject of visual amplification in John of Berry's copy of the *Des cas* (cat. no. 35), where it was used to reinforce the contemporary political commentary that Laurent honed in his translation of Boccaccio.<sup>28</sup> Laurent worked with artists and *libraires* to transform Lucretia's story. The image of Lucretia in this manuscript (fig. 45) engendered meaning through its interaction with the texts that Laurent used to amplify his translation of Boccaccio, such as Livy and Valerius Maximus, and with illustrations known from John of Berry's personal copy of *Faits et paroles* (Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 282).

Suicide of Lucretia in Des cas des nobles hommes et femmes; Paris, ca. 1410. Geneva, Bibliothèque de Genève, Ms. fr. 190/1, fol. 89v (detail)

#### Figure 46

Rape of Lucretia; Suicide of Lucretia in Faits et paroles memorables des Romains; Paris, ca. 1401. Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 282, fol. 242 (enlarged detail)



The importance of Lucretia's story is signaled by its placement. Appearing in the middle of book 3, chapter 3, right after the account of Lucretia's rape and before her suicide, the picture accompanies Lucretia's emotional speech before her husband, Collatin, her father, and a male colleague. John of Berry, to whom this book was given, could also have known the events from his copy of the French translation of Valerius Maximus. Laurent's artist concentrated his visualization on Lucretia's suicide and based it on a popular contemporary composition circulating in Paris that had also been employed in the right-hand scene in John of Berry's copy of Valerius Maximus (fig. 46). Both are staged so that viewers see the suicide happen, as though they take their place with Lucretia's father, husband, and friend, who hear her tale of violation, witness her honorable death, and swear vengeance on Sextus Tarquin, her rapist. The compositional closeness of these images doubtless encouraged the duke to associate the versions of the story in his collection and, possibly, even to compare their texts.

However, Laurent's *Des cas* also offers a unique visual amplification of the tale of Lucretia that casts it in a new light. The illustration to Valerius Maximus had amplified Lucretia's suicide visually by juxtaposing it with the scene of her rape by Sextus Tarquin shown in the left half of the miniature. The *Des cas* eschews this causal association and close physical juxtaposition in favor of an innovative visual pairing that represents Lucretia's death as a political act. The image of Lucretia's suicide follows and visually amplifies another scene in the manuscript (fig. 47) in which Tarquin Superbus, the father of Lucretia's rapist, murders his royal predecessor and usurps power. This visual pair, positioned at

Figure 47 Tarquin Superbus Kills King Servius, His Father-in-law in Des cas des nobles hommes et femmes, Paris, ca. 1410. Geneva, Bibliothèque de Genève, Ms. fr. 190/1, fol. 88v (detail)



the beginning and midpoint of a chapter in *Des cas*, transforms Lucretia's suicide into a response to a national political event (assassination and usurpation) rather than a personal affront (rape).

The effectiveness of Laurent's visual rhetorical flourish depends on readers' knowledge of the traditional representation of Lucretia's suicide and its customary juxtaposition with her rape, as in Valerius Maximus. This may explain why the iconography of Lucretia's suicide in John of Berry's *Des cas* is so conventional, when other amplified images drawn from Roman history, such as the story of Verginia, are recast.<sup>29</sup>

Both kinds of visual rhetoric discussed in this section, the rhetoric of costume and amplification, were often combined in early-fifteenth-century pictures, so that composition, costume, and gesture together established a polarized moral reading.<sup>30</sup> Thus, the sartorial splendor of the murderer Tarquin Superbus (see fig. 47), appearing in the same chapter as the Suicide of Lucretia, establishes his character. His bicolor hose and elaborate dagged hood recall Catiline's military co-conspirators (see fig. 41) much more closely than they do Lucretia's father, husband, and supporters, who are dressed more conservatively (compare fig. 45). Similarly, Laurent's artists highlight sequential tales of the virtuous Dido, queen of Carthage, and vice-ridden Sardanapalus, king of Assyria, with visually amplified images in which dress and gesture reinforced the moral contrast between the queen and king (see ills. 35a and 35b). In staging Dido's exemplary suicide, artists rejected the ermine-lined queenly robe she wore in the first of her paired images (Geneva, Bibliothèque de Genève, Ms. fr. 190/1, fol. 56) to represent her in a modest cotte with simple tight-fitting sleeves as she kills herself with controlled restraint. In contrast, Sardanapalus, the negative example, wears excessive dress with dagged sleeves and bicolor hose in both of his images. He commits suicide by throwing himself onto a pyre, expanding his arms in their extravagant sleeves in a wild gesture and flying, off-balance, into the flames. Through such visual touches in costume and gesture, the artists of these scenes concretized and enhanced the opposition between virtue and vice that Laurent elaborated in his textual translation, and which he planned for in the layout of the visual program.

\* \* \*

The collaboration between authors, *libraires*, artists, patrons, and audiences that created medieval illuminated histories also generated a community of readers and viewers who viewed the past as an integral part of the present. Images played a key role in fostering this creative engagement with historical texts. Illuminations established relationships between distinct manuscripts, by associating their texts in a historical chain, by claiming biblical authority, or, in extreme cases, by taking the place of text and serving as a freestanding visual narrative. Individual pictures within manuscripts oriented readers to unfamiliar characters by portraying them in familiar dress. They also guided readers to particularly significant portions of texts through the massing of images or through visually amplified sequences. The structuring of visual cycles invited readers to actively group and interpret differently scaled images, to read them simultaneously as illustrations of the individual past events they accompanied and as reflections of present events. This process of visualizing the past created a rich visual culture that not only made the past accessible but also transformed it into a prehistory of France.

- The term "visual translation" was coined by Claire Sherman in her seminal study of Nicole Oresme's illustrations for his translation into French of Aristotle, which also offers a rich analysis of Charles V's patronage of vernacular translations. See Sherman 1995.
- 2. For study of the book trade in Paris, with rich bibliography, see Rouse and Rouse 2000, and for beginning analyses of other sites of production, see the bibliography in Hedeman 2006b, Paris 1998, and Paris 1993b.
- 3. See the essay by Elizabeth Morrison in this volume.
- 4. This manuscript contains the text of the *Roman de Troie* as well as most of the illumination cycle, but four of its full-page miniatures are in the collection of the Huis Bergh (Hs.66) in s'Heerenberg, Holland.
- 5. For the Roman de Troie, see the essay by Elizabeth Morrison in this volume and Morrison 2002. For illustrations of the Grandes chroniques, see Hedeman 1991. For a fuller discussion of the relationship between these Trojan images, see Hedeman 2006a, 432–36, and Morrison forthcoming.
- 6. For analysis of the complete cycle of this *Roman de Troie*, see Morrison 2002, 106–33.
- For nuanced discussion of the gesture of a rapist seizing a woman's wrist, see Wolfthal 1993.
- 8. Morrison 2002, 104.
- 9. For a fuller description of this image in the Getty Boccaccio and its manuscript, see Hedeman 2008, 129–205.
- 10. For Boccaccio's De casibus virorum illustrium (Examples of Famous Men) and Des cas des nobles hommes et femmes, Laurent de Premierfait's French translation of Boccaccio's text, see Hedeman 2008.
- 11. Ironically, the Historia destructionis Troiae is a retranslation into French of a Latin text that Guido had based on a French original—the Roman de Troie by Benoît de Sainte-Maure.
- 12. Fol. 26: "Le roy Priam fist ensepvelier le corps de Hector au temple Appolin devant le porte Tymbree a grant honneur, selon la coustume ainsi que faisoient les roys aux barons de haulte lignaige, quant itz moroient. Et au dessus du tabernacle qui estoit sus la sepulture de Hector, fist faire ung image d'or et d'argent a sa semblance, qui tenoit une espee nue en sa main et avoit le regard et la face tournee droit devers les tantes et la bataille des Gregois." Jung was the first to call attention to the relationship of this passage to Guido delle Colonne's. See Jung 1996, 600–601. For further discussion of this image, see Durand forthcoming.
  13. See Meek 1974, 170–71.
- 14. Ibid.
- 15. See, for example, the surviving tombs of Duke Philip the Bold of Burgundy and his son Duke John the Fearless of Burgundy, described most recently in Lindquist 2008.
- 16. For analysis of the illustrations of the *Grandes chroniques de France*, see Hedeman 1991.
- 17. In this manuscript alone, the rubric for the chapter illustrating *The Order of the Star*, "How the city and castle of Guines were captured by the English, the day that the king of France celebrated with the Order of the Star at Saint-Ouen," is expanded to include the phrase, "which feast is portrayed and illustrated below" (fol. 394: "Comment la ville et la chastel de Guynes furent pris des Anglois le jour que le roy de France faisoit la feste de l'Etoile à Saint-Oyn. Laquelle feste est cy après pourtraite et ymaginée"). The paragraph just before the miniature of *The*

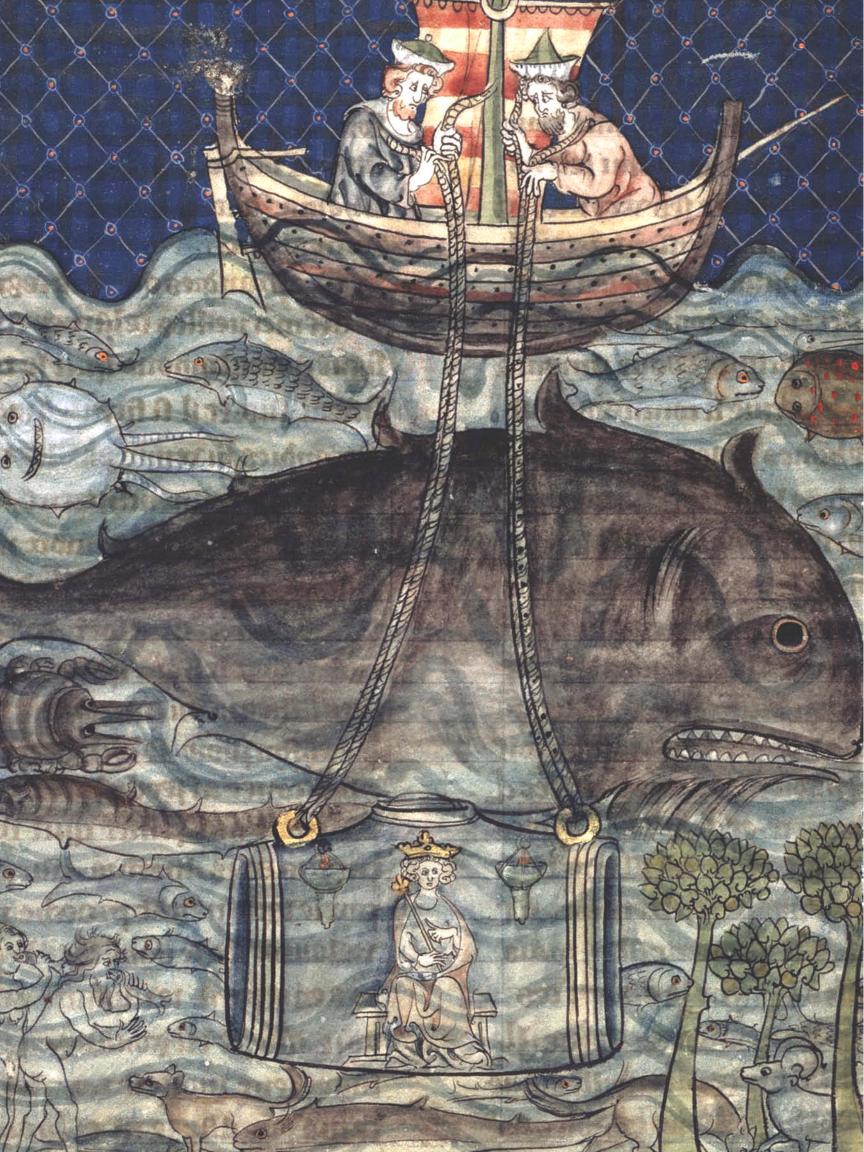
*Great Feast* ends "And thus they went without a great hurry...to the large dais and the grouping of figures and their positions were as described below and as is figured in the miniature hereafter portrayed" (fol. 473: "Et ainsi alerent sanz grant presse...jusques au hault dayz de la table de marbre, et fu l'ordenance et l'asiette tele comme il s'ensuite, et comme il est figuré en l'ystoire, cy après pourtraite et ymaginée"). For fuller discussion of these images, see Hedeman 1991, 106–110, 128–32; and Hedeman forthcoming (a).

- 18. For discussion of the order and for surviving documents concerning it, see Pannier 1872, 63–74, 88–90, 111–40.
- 19. For Richard's function as an exemplum for French royalty and nobility in moralizing additions to translations of *Facta et dicta memorabilia* by Valerius Maximus, see cat. no. 32. For his use as a positive example in contrast to the negative example of Charles VI's brother, see Hedeman 2001, 23–25.
- 20. On the constructed nature of artists' depictions of costume in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, see Waugh 2000, Blanc 1997, and Scott 2007.
- 21. Jean Lebègue's directions for artists have received much attention since Jean Porcher first edited them in the 1960s. See Lebègue 1962 and Byrne 1986, 41–65. For recent bibliography, see Hedeman 2006b, 443–57.
- 22. Oxford, Bodleian Library, D'Orville Ms. 141, fol. 43. The full direction reads: "La d ij<sup>e</sup> histoire puet estre assise environ demi cayer après le prologue du livre ou chapitre ou parafillec: *itaque in tanta* au dessus de ces motz *Nam quicumque impudicus*. Et sera pourtrait Catilina en guise d'un compaignon gaillart vestu d'ung coint pourpoint ung chapel à une plume en sa teste, l'espée au costé à une sainture de Behaigne sur le cul et autour de lui seront plusieurs compaignons mal profitans vestus de divers habiz chascun son espée ou aultre baton au costé qui tous auront leurs regart à Catiline, qui fera samblant de parler à eulx. Item il aura une femme de vie que ung homme de conseil fera semblant de prandre par la main. Item en ung cornet en bas aura troys compaignons jouans aux des sur une table." Presumably a Bohemian belt was a highly fashionable and distinctive import.
- 23. Rolfe 1931, 44-45.
- 24. The full text (Oxford, Bodleian Library, D'Orville Ms. 141, fol. 43v) states: "Illec *Verum ingenium ejus* soit fait Catiline assiz en une chaière vestu d'ung pourpoint court ou robe courte à longues manches decouspées. Et devant lui une gaillarde femme ung chapperon la pate devant une robe juste ou corps a manches descoupees jusques à terre. Laquelle femme Catiline tendra par la main et derrière Catiline seront troys ou quatre hommes de ses souldars."
- 25. For an analysis of the relationship between normal courtly fashion and the kinds of extremes that Lebègue chose to employ in imagining Sempronia and Catiline, see Waugh 2000 and Blanc 1997.
- 26. On this Terence manuscript, see Hedeman forthcoming (b).
- 27. For a cogent discussion of the political situation in earlyfifteenth-century France, see Famiglietti 1986.
- For a full discussion of Laurent's translation and illustration of Boccaccio, see Hedeman 2008.
- 29. For a discussion of the visually amplified images in John of Berry's Des cas, see Hedeman 2008, 85–111, 116–27.
- 30. See Waugh 2000 and Buettner 1996.









# Part One Dawning of the Vernacular: 1250–1315

This treasure is like cash money to spend readily on necessary things, that is, it describes the beginning of the world, and the ancient times of the old histories, and the establishment of the world, and the nature of all things.<sup>1</sup>

🕤 BRUNETTO LATINI, Li livres dou tresor, ca. 1260–66

The thirteenth century was a watershed era in the history of France. Capetian kings gained and consolidated more political and territorial power than had been in the hands of any single family since the era of Charlemagne.<sup>2</sup> Paris became a bustling city, with the royal court as its cultural heart and the university as its intellectual center. This period also saw an unprecedented demand for illuminated manuscripts throughout the realm. Professional scribes and artists were called upon to create large numbers of secular books, including romances and histories, for the instruction and entertainment of the royal family, the nobility, and a growing bourgeoisie. One of the innovative aspects of these texts was that they were written in or translated into French.<sup>3</sup> For the first time, secular works in the vernacular took their place alongside religious manuscripts in Latin as important commissions and a mainstay of the emerging book trade.

Much of the change in the way manuscripts were produced and consumed in the thirteenth century can be attributed to the growth and consolidation of the French monarchy.<sup>4</sup> Before the 1200s, although French landowners agreed in theory that the king was their sovereign lord, in practice they considered their lands to be independent city-states. Hugh Capet (ca. 940–996), the first of the Capetian kings, had been elected king of France by the nobility in 987, and his first successors concentrated on cementing their tenuous hold on the royal office. Centuries of small gains in prestige and power were capitalized upon by Philip Augustus (1165–1223) in the early thirteenth century, when he reclaimed control over large portions of northern France and created international respect for the Capetians through his victory over the combined forces of England and the Holy Roman Empire at Bouvines (1214). He ably administered his newly enlarged realm from Paris, which became the seat of the French monarchy.

Louis IX (1214–1270), building on the efforts of his grandfather, became the largest single landholder and the wealthiest man in France, secure in his position as a monarch ruling by right of blood. He had subdued and garnered the esteem of the majority of his barons and established a lasting system of justice that operated throughout the kingdom. He was a leading power in Europe, and although his first crusade in 1248 was an unmitigated disaster, and his second, even more unpopular, attempt in 1270 cost him his life, his efforts nevertheless established him as the great and pious crusader king, Saint Louis.

Louis's grandson, Philip IV, known as Philip the Fair (1268–1314), further strengthened and expanded the French domain through a ruthless campaign of authoritarian control. The rapidly growing city of Paris was the center of his administrative power, including the new Chambre des comtes (Court of Accounts), which rigorously directed the finances of the kingdom. His marriage to Jeanne I of Navarre (1271–1305) brought him additional valuable lands in northern France, while his dominion over the church was such that in 1305 the reigning pope was deposed in favor of a Frenchman, Clement V (ca. 1264–1314), and four years later the seat of the papacy was moved to Avignon in southern France. A series of short reigns followed that of Philip, and the Capetians' hold on the monarchy ended in 1328, when Charles IV (1294–1328) died without a direct male heir, and the French throne passed to the Valois line.

The increasing political stability and economic wealth provided by a strong monarchy provided the perfect stage for unprecedented growth among the visual arts in the second half of the thirteenth and the beginning of the fourteenth century. The rapid development of towns and cities resulted in a proportionate increase in literacy and the desire for luxuriously illuminated books. Bolstered by the reputation of its university, churches, and monasteries, and with the monarchy firmly in residence, Paris had grown into perhaps the greatest cultural center of thirteenth-century Europe.<sup>5</sup> Royal patronage and ownership of sacred and secular vernacular manuscripts was becoming part of the cultural norm, emulated by members of the court and other well-to-do Parisians (see cat. nos. 2, 6, and 12).

Among the first vernacular texts that courtly patrons desired was the translated Bible. The Old Testament in particular was regarded as an important source for information about the past, and it was to some extent this historical function that encouraged the translation of the Bible into French, in what was the first complete medieval translation into any Western European vernacular. The partial translation created for Saint Louis during his first crusade to the Holy Land specifically emphasized the historical sections of the Bible (cat. no. 1). In the second half of the thirteenth century, a comprehensive translation of the Bible into French became available (cat. no. 2). Rather than the large multivolume Latin Bibles intended for monastic or church use, these luxury volumes in French were, for the first time, created for a wealthy clientele of lay readers.

Biblical material was also a foundation for universal chronicles. Presenting a unified history of the West from the creation of the world to the present day, universal histories in Latin had always formed a part of medieval literary endeavors, but at the beginning of the thirteenth century, the first universal history in French appeared (cat. nos. 3 and 4). The *Histoire ancienne* was written at the behest of a nobleman specifically to unite Christian and pagan history. Other encyclopedic histories followed, such as *Lilivres dou tresor*, which sought to combine world history with natural history, moral precepts, and a governing manual for young princes (cat. no. 9). Royal history that traced the genealogy of the French monarchy also began to play a role. The *Grandes chroniques de France*, the presentation copy of which was given to Saint Louis's son, Philip III, around 1275–80 (cat. no. 6), can be seen as the ultimate vehicle by which the monarchy disseminated royal ideology.

Besides history, the other genre that gained great popularity during the second half of the thirteenth century was the illuminated romance. Vernacular romances had come into vogue in the second half of the twelfth century, with the composition of the *romans antiques* (focusing on stories related to ancient history) and the works of Chrétien de Troyes, but it is the thirteenth century from which we first have large numbers of surviving illuminated copies. To a great extent, these texts feature fanciful, mythical, and anachronistic material, but in the Middle Ages, because their content was based in past events, however embellished, they were considered to be historical.<sup>6</sup> The *Roman d'Alexandre* often received lavish illumination cycles centering on Alexander the Great's encounters with strange foreign races and creatures (cat. no. 8), and numerous romances celebrated the quests of King Arthur and his Round Table. The long and extremely complex text known as the *Lancelot-Grail* cycle was frequently illuminated with vast numbers of miniatures depicting the thrilling tales the text provided (cat. nos. 7, 10, and 12).

The end of the thirteenth and the beginning of the fourteenth century also saw religious texts with a historical bent appearing in French and being illuminated with a new flair. The history of the world was understood as being simultaneously the history of Christianity, and stories of Old Testament heroes were presented as part of the same sweep of the past that included Christ and the martyrs of the Roman era and the Middle Ages. The miraculous intervention of the Virgin Mary in the lives of the needy and the sinful provided great opportunities for the work of inventive illuminators (cat. no. 5), while the stories of individual saints could likewise provide exciting narratives for visualization (cat. no. 11).

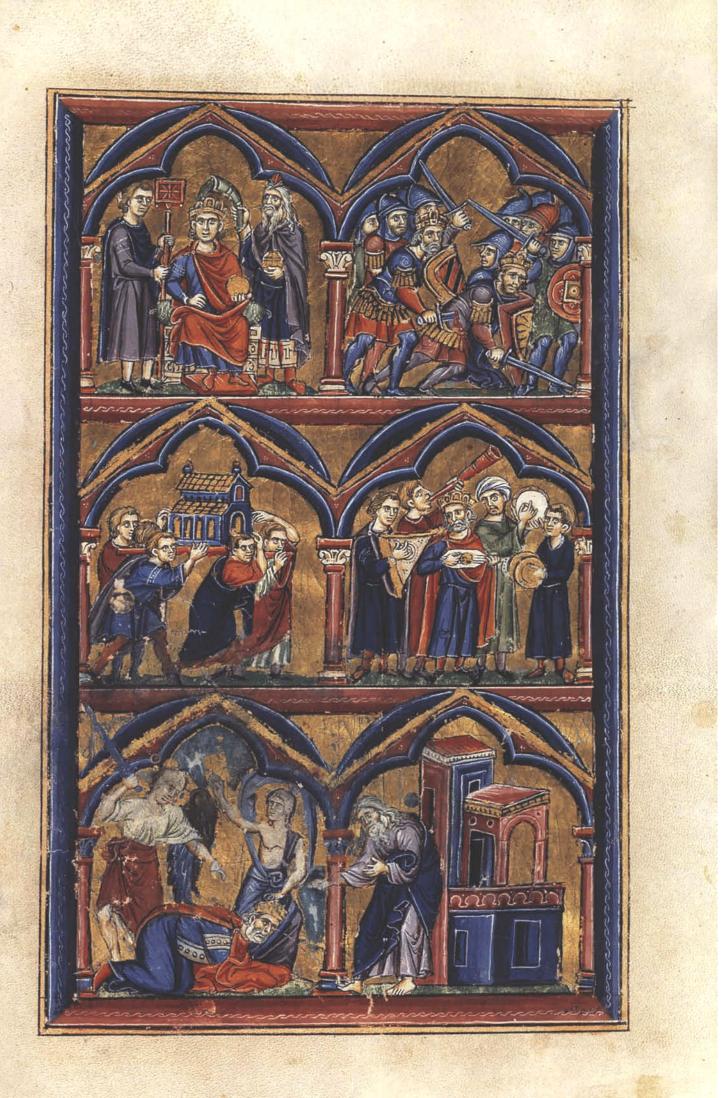
At this early point in vernacular illumination, there is little that can be said to commonly characterize the images, but what all these histories share is a propensity to bring focus to the exciting parts of the narrative through illustration.<sup>7</sup> Whether religious or secular in nature, these histories endeavored to instruct and entertain through the use of imagery. In fact, at this early moment, before the true commercialization of the process of illumination, artists were more apt to experiment with different formats, finding inspiration in the new texts that they were called upon to illuminate. In addition, with Latin religious manuscript illumination still largely dominating the book trade, artists worked on both Latin sacred and vernacular secular texts, without the division of specialization that would soon occur (see cat. nos. 10 and 11).<sup>8</sup> This sharing of artistic traditions engendered a slippage between sacred and secular that was influential in both directions.

By the early fourteenth century, Paris was so closely associated with the flourishing book trade that Dante (1265–1321) coined the term "illumination" in reference to the Parisian manner of embellishing books.<sup>9</sup> Beyond Paris, however, there were other centers scattered throughout the north of the kingdom that also produced high quality illumination for discerning patrons. Lille, Soissons, Thérouanne, Saint-Omer, Reims, and Amiens, among others, were all active in producing illuminated manuscripts for members of the nobility or even the wealthier members of the bourgeoisie (cat. nos. 3, 5, 7, 8, 9, 10, and 11).

Although we know little about the identities of the original owners of these luxuriously illuminated historical and romance texts, there was undeniably a growing demand for them among a lay audience increasingly interested in manuscripts whose exciting texts were only surpassed by the beauty of their illuminations. The crucial period between about 1250 and 1315 saw the rise of the illuminated secular vernacular manuscript as a respected and treasured luxury product that established France as the center of this flourishing art form on the European stage.

- 2. See the essay by Gabrielle Spiegel in this volume.
- 3. See the essay by Keith Busby in this volume.
- 4. For the Capetian monarchy, see Hallam and Everard 2001 and Bradbury 2007. Specialized studies include Lewis 1981 and the various works of Elizabeth A. R. Brown (Brown 1991a and 1991b).
- 5. For Paris in this period, see Rouse and Rouse 2000, 1: esp. 17–33.
- 6. See the introduction to this catalogue.
- 7. For more on this topic, see my essay in this volume.
- For the commercialization of secular texts, see the introduction to section 2 in this volume.
- 9. Dante, Purgatorio, Canto XI.

<sup>1.</sup> Barrette and Baldwin 1993, 1. See cat. no. 9.



## 1

Bible of Saint-Jean d'Acre Acre, ca. 1250–54

 $\begin{array}{l} \text{SPECIFICATIONS} \quad 369 \, \text{ff.}; 28.5 \times 20.2 \, \text{cm} \, (11^{1/4} \times 7^{15/16} \, \text{in.}); \text{justification:} \, 21.1 \times [5.7 \times 2.1 \times 5.6] \, \text{cm} \\ (8^{5/16} \times [2^{1/4} \times 7/8 \times 2^{3/16}] \, \text{in.}); 30 \, \text{lines}; 2 \, \text{columns} \end{array}$ 

ILLUMINATION 13 full-page, 5 three-quarter-page, 2 half-page miniatures, 6 historiated initials

COLLECTION Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Ms. 5211

PROVENANCE Louis of Grolée, abbot of Bonnevaux and Saint-Pierre de Vienne; Antoine-René d'Argenson, marquis de Paulmy (early 16th century)

A witness to the unique combination of artistic and political influences present in Acre (in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem) around 1250, the Arsenal Bible was likely created for Louis IX, king of France, during his first crusade to the Holy Land (1248–54). It contains an abbreviated version of the Old Testament with particular emphasis in both its text and images on the idea of divinely ordained kingship and war.<sup>1</sup> Although Louis IX set out from France with the most complete force ever to embark on a crusade, instead of recapturing the city of Jerusalem, Louis himself was captured by the Mameluks in March 1250. After paying an enormous ransom, Louis retreated to Acre for four years to fortify the remnants of the once-proud Kingdom of Jerusalem.

It was during this sojourn in Acre that the Arsenal Bible was likely made for him,<sup>2</sup> and the program of illumination echoes his continued belief in the French crusading army as a newfound incarnation of the Old Testament's "chosen people."<sup>3</sup> His holy war to recapture Jerusalem was cast in the images of the manuscript as a contemporary reflection of the historical events of the Old Testament. Artistically, the manuscript bridges the gap between the dual inheritance of French Gothic illumination and Byzantine models by forging a new aesthetic called the Acre Franco-Byzantine Crusader style.<sup>4</sup> Its miniatures are permeated, both stylistically and iconographically, by an idealized vision of sacred kingship and crusader ideology.

The text of the Arsenal Bible, although one of the most complete translations of the Old Testament in French known from the period, is an idiosyncratic collection of condensed versions of various biblical books, placed in a noncanonical order.<sup>5</sup> The language of the translation itself has long been remarked upon for its coarseness, in contrast to the extreme elegance and complexity of the illuminations.<sup>6</sup> The relatively small size of the manuscript, along with its peculiar selection of texts and linguistic deficiencies, indicates that it was meant for personal use rather than as a manuscript for biblical study or clerical use.<sup>7</sup>

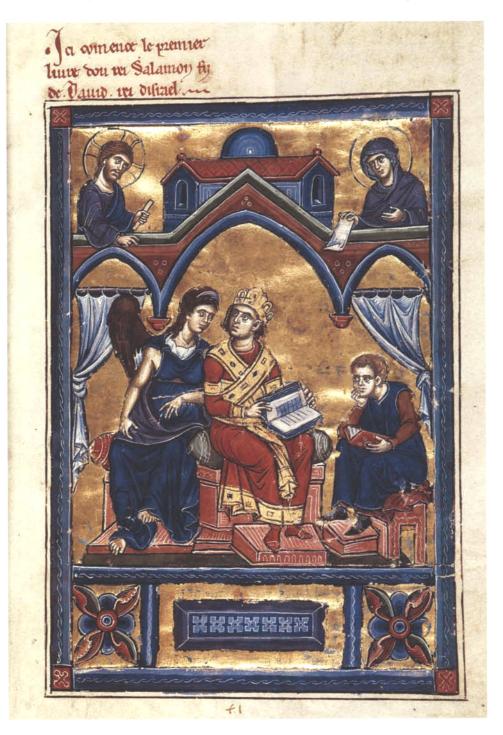
The artistic precedents for the Arsenal Bible are as diverse as the milieu of Acre, which was influenced by Frankish, Byzantine, and Islamic cultures. The basic format of the manuscript's illumination program derives from well-known patterns of biblical illumination in Western Europe, while the visual vocabulary of the secondary decoration is virtually indistinguishable from that of contemporary French Gothic illumination. Byzantine books of various types provided many of the individual elements of iconography, as well as a stylistic basis for the three-dimensional figures and aspects of the painting technique.8 Details drawn from everyday life give an Eastern flair to many of the miniatures. In addition, royal commissions undertaken by Louis IX in the years before the Seventh Crusade played an important role. Biblical manuscripts associated with Louis IX were deeply influential on the imagery of the Arsenal Bible,9 as was the Sainte-Chapelle, built to house the precious relics of Christ that Louis had purchased from the Byzantine emperor and dedicated just weeks before he departed on crusade.<sup>10</sup>

The frontispiece to 2 Kings is an excellent example of the way in which all these various influences were inventively combined to form a new whole (ill. 1a). The overall design owes something to the construction of stainedglass windows like those seen at the Sainte-Chapelle.<sup>11</sup> The top register shows David's most important roles as king and wartime leader, two aspects that no doubt were intended as a reflection of Saint Louis's major responsibilities. The upper left scene, showing David being anointed as king, is indebted both to Byzantine paintings of Samuel anointing David and to a French court manuscript commissioned by Louis before he left on crusade.12 The middle register shows David dancing before the Ark of the Covenant, which is iconographically related to an image in an earlier Bible.13 The last register, depicting David rebuked by Nathan for his sin with Bathsheba, derives from Byzantine illumination<sup>14</sup> and may have had particular relevance for Louis IX, who was wracked with guilt at his failures of leadership during this crusade.15 Altogether, David was a powerful role model for Louis.

If the first section of the Arsenal Bible outlined the history of the Holy Land and portrayed the divinely ordained leaders of the chosen people (Genesis–4 Kings), the second focuses on individual heroes and their actions and words.<sup>16</sup> The book of Proverbs is divided into three parts, each introduced by a similar full-page portrait of King Solomon. These portraits are unlike the rest of the manuscript in their lack of detailed narrative treatment. While

### Scenes from the Life of David, fol. 154v (enlarged)

**1b** Solomon Enthroned, fol. 307 (detail) basing it on a Western model, the artist has reinterpreted the composition of the first portrait in Byzantine terms (ill. 1b).<sup>17</sup> Details of the costumes, the addition of the personified female figure of Wisdom, and the inclusion of half-length figures of the Virgin and Christ above are all taken from Byzantine models. The architecture used in the two other portraits not only symbolizes the temple of Solomon but also recalls the physical space of the Sainte-Chapelle.<sup>18</sup> This representation, then, with its combined Frankish and Byzantine influences, suggests specifically a wise crusader king, much like Louis himself. For all its reliance on models, both French and Byzantine, the Arsenal Bible is not simply an amalgam of differing cultures; its accomplishment is the way that it molds those influences inventively into a new visual language. The artist of the manuscript was likely born and trained in the East and had access to the best manuscripts in both the Eastern and Western traditions.<sup>19</sup> He worked with these models creatively to produce a novel aesthetic that would itself influence illumination in the Holy Land until the fall of Acre in 1291 (see cat. no. 4). For the Arsenal Bible, to reflect the particular situation of Louis IX in



Acre in 1250, the artist devised a series of narrative images of the historical events of the Old Testament, along with a remarkable sequence of portraits of Solomon. The crusading ruler is subtly cast as the latest of God's chosen kings, one in a long line of sacred heroes. Biblical history provided legitimacy for Louis's endeavor in reconquering the Holy Land, and the manuscript, which he likely took with him when he returned to France in 1254, in turn became a relic of his crusading ideals.<sup>20</sup> E.M.

- 2. It is generally accepted by scholars that the manuscript was either commissioned by Louis directly or, less likely, prepared as a gift for him. See Weiss 1998 and Folda 2005, 282–95. See also John Lowden's review of Weiss's book, where he raises questions about ownership (Lowden 2000).
- Weiss 1993 and Weiss 1998, 202–204, 210–15. 3.
- Hugo Buchthal (1957, 54-69) was the first to study this new style in depth.
- 5. No complete edition of the text exists, but for Genesis and Exodus, see Nobel 2006. Information about the text can be found as well in Berger 1884, 51-63, 100-108; and Weiss 1998, 104-12.
- 6. Berger 1884, 51-52.
- The text is based on a French translation of the Bible made in England in the twelfth century and brought to the Holy Land by the Templars, but it had little influence on later French copies of the Bible (Folda 1976, 61-66).
- 8. Weiss 1998, 115-53.
- Two of the most important models for the Arsenal Bible were the Moralized Bible (perhaps the one in Oxford, Ms. Bodl. 270b) and the Morgan Picture Bible (New York, Morgan Library, Ms. M.638). Both of these Bibles gave illumination precedence over text, and each contained hundreds or even thousands of illuminations. Weiss (1998. 117-28, 182) has found that over half of the Arsenal Bible's imagery was based on individual compositions in the Moralized Bible, while the Morgan Picture Bible provided additional models.
- 10. Weiss (1998, 199-215) has argued that Sainte-Chapelle served as a virtual relocation of the Holy Land to France, much in the way that the Arsenal Bible later rooted France in the Holy Land. For a view of the Sainte-Chapelle as a vehicle for holy kingship, see Jordan 2002. 11. Folda 2005, 288.
- 12. Weiss 1998, 173-74.
- 13. The Morgan Picture Bible (Weiss 1998, 174).
- 14. Weiss 1998, 173-78.
- 15. Folda 2005, 289.
- 16. This division of the Arsenal Bible into two distinct, complementary sections is convincingly argued by Folda (2005, 287-88).
- 17. The model was likely the Oxford Moralized Bible (Weiss 1998, 180-82).
- 18. Weiss 1998, 184.
- 19. Folda (2005, 299–310) has posited that the artist may have been trained in Constantinople, where a series of fresco paintings closely resembles the style of the Arsenal Bible. Strong links also exist between the Acre Crusader manuscripts and a series of icons created for the monastery at Mount Sinai (Weitzmann 1963).
- 20. Weiss 1998, 206-9.

## 2

Bible du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle Charlemagne Master and Paris-Acre Master Paris, ca. 1280

Specifications  $639 \text{ ff.}; 38.5 \times 28 \text{ cm} (15^{3/16} \times 11 \text{ in.});$ justification:  $25.7 \times [8.7 \times 1.7 \times 8.7]$  cm (10<sup>1</sup>/8×  $[3^{7/16} \times {}^{11/16} \times {}^{37/16}]$  in.); 40 lines; 2 columns

ILLUMINATION 1 half-page, 49 one-column miniatures, 29 historiated initials

COLLECTION New York, The Pierpont Morgan Library, Ms. M.494

PROVENANCE (?) Isabelle de Valois (1348–1372; ca. 1360); Baron Hugo de Bethmann, Paris; [Gruel, 1912]; John Pierpont Morgan (1843–1913; purchased 1912)

The translation of the complete Bible into French was a landmark for making widely available all the events of sacred history.<sup>1</sup> Although a full translation was only achieved in the second half of the thirteenth century and was quickly supplanted by the Bible historiale (see cat. nos. 22 and 25), the text referred to as the "thirteenth-century Bible" was written in several deluxe copies around the year 1280, including the manuscript in the Morgan Library.<sup>2</sup> By the beginning of the thirteenth century, biblical stories had been incorporated into French universal histories such as the Histoire ancienne (see cat. nos. 3 and 4), but there was still clearly a desire among the lay wealthy to have a more complete rendition of the Bible in French.<sup>3</sup> In particular, much of the material contained in the Old Testament from Genesis up to Psalms was considered historical information imperative for an understanding of Christianity's past.4

Only recently have scholars come to the conclusion that the thirteenth-century Bible was likely translated and compiled in Paris as an intentional project, rather than being simply the accumulation of independently translated portions of the Bible.<sup>5</sup> Yet the quality of the translation varies widely from book to book, and the few surviving thirteenth-century copies of the text seem to have been copied or compiled from different exemplars, even when produced by the same workshop.<sup>6</sup> In contrast to Latin Bibles, which were primarily decorated with historiated initials occupying only a part of the column of text, the Morgan manuscript is an excellent example of the type of decoration that the late-thirteenth-century copies received: column-wide miniatures at the beginnings of each biblical book, with larger multiscene panel miniatures setting off Genesis and Proverbs.

<sup>1.</sup> The current entry relies heavily on the convincing arguments by Daniel Weiss (1998), elaborated upon by Jaroslav Folda (2005), about the circumstances underlying the creation of the Arsenal Bible and its visual contents.



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**2a** (opposite) Scenes from the Creation; Initial C: Christ in Majesty (Charlemagne Master), fol. 1

## 2b

Scenes from the Story of David and Goliath; Initial B: David Playing His Harp (Paris-Acre Master), fol. 296v (detail)

The Morgan Bible was painted by two artists. The first was a prolific illuminator responsible for a wide variety of manuscripts in the 1270s–80s. Called the Charlemagne Master by Alison Stones after a series of images related to that emperor in a manuscript of the *Grandes chroniques de France* (see cat. no. 6), he also worked on liturgical books, Latin Bibles, legal texts, devotional manuscripts, and even a Hebrew miscellany.<sup>7</sup> He was responsible for the first portion of the Morgan Bible, up to Psalms, including the opening miniature depicting the Creation (ill. 2a), as well as a few images near the end.<sup>8</sup>

The format of the Greation image, a page-length rectangle featuring roundels with scenes depicting individual days, was inspired by Latin Bibles of the period (see fig. 3), but unlike in those Bibles, where the elongated form was actually an initial *I*, for the first word of the Latin Bible (*In principio erat*), here the shape has remained but is now separated from its textual function. Because it no longer needs to be directly associated with an introductory letter (and thus placed alongside a column of text), it takes up fully half of the justified space, acting as an independent visual panel. Perhaps in the tradition of the historiated initials that typically divided Latin Bibles, the panel is paired with a historiated initial *C* depicting Christ in Majesty, marking the opening words of the thirteenthcentury Bible (*Cist livres est*).<sup>9</sup> The rest of the Bible, however, is largely illuminated with column-wide miniatures.<sup>10</sup> Unlike their historiated initial ancestors, these miniatures serve as more than visual markers to signal the beginning of a new book; they also impart a sense of luxury to the Bible, as well as giving the artists the space to indulge in more narrative imagery.

The second artist active in the creation of the manuscript was given the name of the Paris-Acre Master by Jaroslav Folda, who has traced his career from Paris in the 1270s to Acre in the Holy Land in the 1280s.<sup>11</sup> One of his liveliest miniatures is the scene that opens the first psalm (ill. 2b). Instead of a scene combining David playing his harp with David killing Goliath, as was common in thirteenth-century Latin Bibles and psalters, where a historiated initial B introduced the opening of Psalm 1 (Beatus vir), the artist has focused on separate aspects of David's legacy in two forms of decoration. The miniature, with two registers, shows narrative scenes from the life of David, which is recounted not in Psalms but in 1 Kings. The historical David tends sheep and prepares his slingshot in the upper register, while below he cuts the head off a defeated Goliath. The iconic scene of David playing his harp is relegated to the historiated initial below, where it is quite properly more closely linked with the musical text (the Psalms) that he was thought to have written.

In the lower margin, a mermaid looking at herself in the mirror completes the illumination of the page. Although it is always difficult to determine whether marginalia has any specific meaning, is it possible here, given the unusually narrative imagery of the miniature and the fact that marginalia appears very rarely in the manuscript,<sup>12</sup> that the artist was referring obliquely to another well-known episode from David's life? After all, the temptation of seeing Bathsheba bathing naked in the fountain could be linked to the siren call of a mermaid from the sea. In any case, as Folda has noted, the sensibility of the page has more in common with secular books of the day such as romances than with the heritage of Bible illumination.13 In both the Creation scene and the page that opens the Psalms, the artists have taken full advantage of the possibilities of this new format to introduce visual variety and new themes.

Extant copies of the thirteenth-century Bible provide evidence that the owners were interested in both a vernacular version of the text and the deluxe features of traditional manuscript illumination, such as big pages, fine parchment, and lots of images. Many of the thirteenthcentury copies of the text are closely related artistically and may have been made in the same workshop.14 Unfortunately, none of the owners of these early copies is known. However, one of the artists of the Morgan Bible is known to have worked on manuscripts for patrons in the royal sphere (see cat. no. 6), and although no contemporary owner of the manuscript has been identified, it was in the possession of Isabelle de Valois (daughter of King John II of France) by around 1360. The quality of the manuscript, combined with the fact that less than one hundred years after its creation it was in the hands of a princess of the royal house, suggests that it was originally made for (or gifted to) someone of high rank at the French court. Wealthy members of the aristocracy, desirous of a more easily read, luxurious copy of the scriptures, would be excellent candidates as patrons of the thirteenthcentury Bible. This is exactly the audience that would become early patrons of the even more historically oriented Bible historiale (see cat. no. 25). E.M.

- No complete edition of the text is available. For Genesis, see Quereuil 1988; for the Gospels, see Sneddon 1978. Several other books were edited by scholars in Ghent but never published (Sneddon 1979, 128n2).
- 2. These include London, BL, Harley Ms. 616 and Yates Thompson Ms. 9; Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Ms. 5056; and Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek, Ms. Thott 72°. There are only five thirteenth-century copies of volume one. It is difficult to determine whether any given manuscript of volume two is a copy of the thirteenth-century Bible, since the text is so close to that of the *Bible historiale*.
- 3. Sneddon (1979, 138) has argued that the text was translated at the behest of Dominican tertiaries for reasons of personal devotion or for use in preaching, but this does not explain the luxurious quality of most of the manuscripts that contain the complete text.
- See cat. no. 1 for the perception of the French as God's new "chosen people," inheritors of that title from the Old Testament Jews.
- 5. Berger 1884 and Sneddon 1999 (with citations of previous opinions).
- 6. Quereuil 1988, 39. Typescript notes on Ms. M.494 are available by accessing the Corsair database at the Morgan Library website: http:// corsair.morganlibrary.org/msdescr/BBM0494a.pdf. For the differences between the text of the thirteenth-century Bible and that of the Arsenal Bible, see cat. no. 1.
- For a complete list of this artist's extensive known works, see Paris 1998, 264–65; Stones 2001, 250; and Stones forthcoming (a).
- I thank Alison Stones for sharing her notes on this artist with me. She attributes fols. 1–169, 330–406, 461–578, and 610v to the Charlemagne Master. The rest of the imagery in the manuscript she attributes to the Paris-Acre Master (see note 11 below).
- 9. These are the first words of the prologue to Genesis.
- 10. Exceptions are found in the last three books of Kings, within the Psalms, and in the series of Epistles at the end of the Bible, where historiated initials are used to indicate these lesser divisions.
- Folda 2005, 416–19. Folda (2005, 417) attributes a slightly different division of the miniatures in Ms. M.494 to the Paris-Acre Master than does Stones, but my observations of the manuscript agree with Stones's findings.
- 12. Occasional animals or hybrids appear (fols. 1 and 584, for example), but this is the only readily recognizable marginal theme.
- 13. Folda 2005, 217.
- 14. See note 2 above.

# 3

Histoire ancienne jusqu'à César Northern France, ca. 1250–75

 $\begin{array}{l} {\tt SPECIFICATIONS} & 193 \, {\rm ff.}; 35.3 \times 27 \, {\rm cm} \, (13^{7/8} \times 10^{5/8} \, {\rm in.}); {\tt justification:} \, 24 \times [7.8 \times 1.6 \times 7.6] \, {\rm cm} \\ (9^{7/16} \times [3^{1/16} \times {}^{5/8} \times 3] \, {\rm in.}); 42 \, {\rm lines}; 2 \, {\rm columns} \end{array}$ 

ILLUMINATION 38 one-column miniatures, 2 historiated initials

COLLECTION The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Ms. 78 D 47

PROVENANCE Engelbert II (1451–1504) or Henry III (1483–1538), counts of Nassau; princes of Orange-Nassau; French possession (confiscated 1795, to Paris, restituted to Koninklijke Bibliotheek, 1816)

The text known as the *Histoire ancienne jusqu'à César*, the first universal chronicle composed in Old French,<sup>1</sup> was one of the most frequently illuminated historical texts of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries (see cat. nos. 4, 23, 27, and 50).<sup>2</sup> Written for the court of Roger IV, châtelain of Lille (1208-1230), around 1208-13, it draws from sources as diverse as the Bible, the so-called romances of antiquity (verse works devoted to material concerning Thebes, Troy, Aeneas, and Alexander), and several classical accounts of the history of Rome.3 Designed to entertain as well as instruct, such narratives-even those based on the Bible-were adapted by the addition of lively details and a new level of drama. The author explicitly states in a prologue appended to two copies of the manuscript that it was Roger who requested that pagan history be added to the ecclesiastical history with which the author was clearly more comfortable.4 It was no doubt the breadth of the material, along with the animated quality of the stories imbibed from its various sources,<sup>5</sup> that ensured the popularity of the text among the lay public and inspired so many illuminated copies.

The *Histoire ancienne* was originally intended to cover history from the creation of the world through antiquity and the spread of Christianity, right up to the current rulers of Flanders (Roger de Lille surely foremost among them). The mammoth task, however, was never finished, and the text leaves off rather abruptly in the middle of the reign of Julius Caesar. Around seventy manuscripts of the text survive, many of which contain illumination. Dating from the third quarter of the thirteenth century, the manuscript from The Hague is among a group of similarly illuminated copies that constitute the earliest illuminated manuscripts of the text.<sup>6</sup> The series (comprising London, BL, Add. Ms. 19669; Pommersfelden, Gräflich Schönborn'sche Schlossbibliothek, Ms. 295; and the Hague manuscript)<sup>7</sup> is characterized by lively narrative miniatures set directly within the text, sometimes in the middle of a sentence, and usually divided into four scenes in two registers.<sup>8</sup> The choice and placement of the scenes in the Hague manuscript, as well as the others, indicate that the artists were either working closely with the text itself or with a *libraire* who was deeply familiar with its contents.

Although the imagery of the Hague manuscript takes, almost exclusively, the form of two-register miniatures,<sup>9</sup> the way in which the scenes interact with the text varies. In the miniature depicting events from the Trojan War (ill. 3a), in the upper register, Hector and Achilles fight, and then Hector is killed from behind, while below a king holds a council, followed by another battle.<sup>10</sup> Presumably the last two events depict King Priam's consultation with his noblemen after Hector's death, which deals a mortal blow to the Trojans, and then a battle to avenge him. A rubric as well as a decorated initial Q can be seen on the same page (see p. 42 in this volume) but, surprisingly, are separated from the miniature.

A second image is integrated into the text in a similar manner (ill. 3b). Here the story of Sodom and Gomorrah is paired with that of Abraham and Isaac, and the miniature interrupts the flow of the text, as was true for the Trojan image. However, the two biblical stories are told over a series of folios in the Hague manuscript, unlike the story of Hector, which was relatively condensed. The visualized biblical stories also simply come between two sentences, while in the case of the Trojan narrative and elsewhere, the miniatures literally divide a sentence in two (see ill. 3a and fig. 16).

The miniatures, therefore, form their own visual narrative, forcing the reader to constantly work to relate the image to the written source. Meanwhile, the rubrics for the manuscript, which occur with regular frequency, are not usually associated with the placement of the miniatures and are aligned to the right, rather than the left, making it easy to scan them separately and get an instant sense of the development of the narrative. Thus, the user has a variety of choices on which to focus in reading the manuscript: the text, the images, and the rubrics. Each forms a narrative complementary to, but independent of, the others.

Because of the various relationships between text and image in the Hague manuscript (which do not seem to recur in any pattern), the scribe and illuminators must have been working closely with the text itself or with a *libraire* who identified the exact spots to be left for the miniatures as well as their subjects. The remainders of the artist's directions in the Hague manuscript's bottom border indicate that the scenes were more than just 3a

Scenes from the Trojan War, fol. 68v (enlarged detail; see also p. 42)

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generic types placed at appropriate points.<sup>11</sup> Moreover, although the three related manuscripts generally follow the same layout and design for the illumination scheme, the iconography and placement of the miniatures can vary widely from manuscript to manuscript.<sup>12</sup>

This accords well with Doris Oltrogge's suggestion that the workshop which produced this manuscript and its two related copies was not only intent on providing a variety of visual experiences but was in fact involved in producing a kind of edition of the text.<sup>13</sup> The fact that the same workshop produced all three manuscripts, at nearly the same moment, indicates that either the narrative drive of the text inspired the illuminators to vary the content of their miniatures or individual patrons requested this, since direct copying from a model for all three would have been much easier. Although little can be stated with certainty,



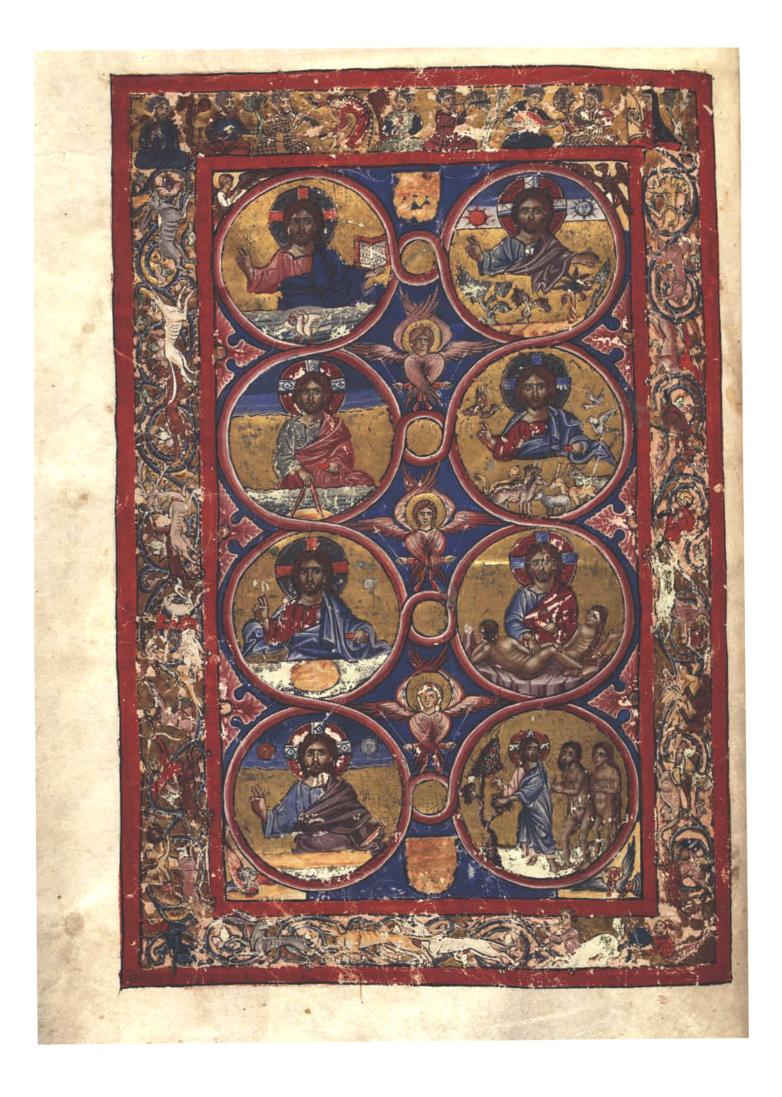
**3b** Scenes from the Life of Abraham, fol. 15 (enlarged detail)

other manuscripts stylistically gathered around this set seem to come from Lille,<sup>14</sup> the very place where the text originated. It is possible, then, that a workshop set up in the area where the original text was written was responsible for its earliest appearances in illuminated form. E.M.

- 1. Universal histories in the Middle Ages attempted to present a unified history of the West from the Creation to the present day.
- Meyer (1885b) first identified the text and gave it the name *Histoire* ancienne. No complete edition of the text has been accomplished. For portions of the edited text, see Joslin 1986 and De Visser-van Terwisga 1995 and 1999. The Hague manuscript belongs to the first redaction of the text.
- 3. For more on this text, see the essay by Gabrielle Spiegel in this volume, as well as Spiegel 1993, 107–17; and Croizy-Naquet 1999. The name of Wauchier de Denain has long been tentatively associated with the text as the clerk who authored it, but with little reason.
- 4. Jung 1996, 334–35.
- 5. For the different levels on which this text operated, see Croizy-Naquet 2004. De Visser-van Terwisga (1994) and Derbes and Sadona (2004, 211–12) have argued that the chronicle contains a purposefully positive view of women to appeal to the two most powerful women of Flanders at the time, the countesses Joanna and Margaret.
- 6. Doris Oltrogge (1989, 13–20) has made a detailed study of all the illuminated manuscripts of the *Histoire ancienne* and was the first to group this early set together. A single artist was responsible for the illumination in the Hague volume.
- 7. De Visser-van Terwisga (1999, 18n2) notes that François Avril

informed her of another addition to this group: Lisbon, Biblioteca nacional, Ms. Il. 132.

- For more on this manuscript within the context of thirteenth-century manuscript illumination, see my essay in this volume.
- 9. A historiated initial opens the manuscript with medallions depicting scenes from the Creation (fol. 1). One other historiated initial depicts Alexander the Great's father (fol. 113v).
- 10. The portion of the *Histoire ancienne* devoted to Troy was taken in part from the description of the Trojan War by Dares the Phyrigian and that text's later amplification in the *Roman de Troie*. Details such as Achilles' cowardly killing of Hector when his back was turned were gleaned from these accounts.
- The Hague 1980, 65. See, for instance, fols. 15 and 135v. On fol. 143v, four distinct lines of text are visible, if not legible, clearly individual directions for the four scenes on the page above.
   Oltrogge 1989, 51, 116.
- 13. Oltrogge 1989, 19. However, both Oltrogge (1989, 13) and Jung (1996, 354) have remarked that of the group, the London manuscript most closely reflects the dialect of the original text, whereas the Hague and Pommersfelden manuscripts show distinct differences.
- 14. Oltrogge (1989, 15–16) has linked the three Histoire ancienne manuscripts with two other manuscripts, Paris, BnF, Ms. n.a.fr. 23686 (a collection of Saints' Lives) and Oxford, Christ Church, Ms. Coll. 178 (a French-language Bible). A number of other related manuscripts all point to Lille in the third quarter of the thirteenth century (Oltrogge 1989, 18–19). Smeyers (Tournai 1998, 118) tentatively places them there as well. Avril, however, considers Soissons/Compiègne a more likely location for the workshop; see De Visser-van Terwisga 1999, 19047.



# 4

Histoire ancienne jusqu'à César Acre, ca. 1285

SPECIFICATIONS 314 ff.;  $37 \times 24.8 \text{ cm} (14^{9/16} \times 9^{3/4} \text{ in.})$ ; justification:  $25.9 \times [7.4 \times 1.7 \times 7.4] \text{ cm} (10^{3/16} \times [2^{7/8} \times 1^{1/16} \times 2^{7/8}] \text{ in.})$ ; 41 lines; 2 columns

ILLUMINATION 3 full-page, 10 three-quarter-page to half-page, 30 third-page miniatures

COLLECTION London, The British Library, Add. Ms. 15268

PROVENANCE Duke of Sussex; [sale, August 1, 1844]

The Histoire ancienne was not only popular in France in the second half of the thirteenth century (see cat. no. 3), it was also one of the most frequently illuminated texts in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem.<sup>1</sup> By the time of the creation of this manuscript around 1285, Acre was firmly established as a center for the production of secular manuscripts,<sup>2</sup> with the *Histoire ancienne* and the *Livre* d'Eracles accounting for over half of all known illuminated manuscripts painted in the city during this period.<sup>3</sup> Among these, the London copy of the Histoire ancienne is undoubtedly the most lavish and artistically accomplished. While other illuminated copies contain miniatures placed at the same points in the text,<sup>4</sup> the London manuscript's forty-seven images are larger, more finely crafted, and include a wealth of detail and setting absent in the others.5 Moreover, the manuscript's design and execution evince the participation of a much more gifted group of artists, who integrated the heritage of French Gothic illumination with current trends in Eastern painting to produce a distinctive blend known as the Acre Franco-Byzantine Crusader style.

It is thought that an illuminated mid-thirteenthcentury French copy of the text that traveled to the Levant, perhaps with Louis IX and his entourage during the Seventh Crusade, provided the iconographic basis for the illumination scheme.<sup>6</sup> The London manuscript, however, with its Byzantine elements of style, resembles no known Western copy of the text, and the ambitious nature of its program of illumination establishes it as one of the greatest masterpieces produced in the Crusader states.

The *Histoire ancienne* begins with a version of Genesis, and the center of the accompanying frontispiece in the London manuscript shows a series of roundels with Christ presiding over the days of the Creation (ill. 4a), echoing the traditional use of such scenes to mark the beginning of the Bible (compare fig. 3 and ill. 2a).<sup>7</sup> In the London manuscript, symbols of the four Evangelists are nestled into the corner of the inner frame, and three

seraphim are prominently placed in the vertical space between the two sets of roundels.<sup>8</sup> The half-length busts of Christ, with their finely modeled faces and draperies, show the latest developments appearing in illumination at the Byzantine court.<sup>9</sup> The high quality of the figures and the iconographic complexity establishes the frontispiece as a worthy descendant of the Arsenal Bible (cat. no. 1).

It is the border that surrounds the image of the Creation that has made this frontispiece one of the most intriguing and problematic images created in the Latin East. The frame, an element absent in earlier Acre copies of the text, depicts hybrid animals, scenes from a hunt, and, along the top, a Muslim dignitary being entertained by a dancing girl, along with male and female musicians. The motifs of the frame resemble aspects of luxury Islamic goods, such as metalware and ivories, with depictions of similar pastimes.<sup>10</sup> The frame's mixing of Christian, Byzantine, and Muslim influences stands as evidence of the cultural crossroads that characterized and enriched illumination produced in Acre at this moment in time.

The rest of the program of illumination in the London *Histoire ancienne* follows the text's dual purpose of entertainment and instruction. The several lively images devoted to Trojan material, for example, are no doubt an implicit recognition of the Trojan ancestry of the French. The image that begins the Trojan legend is one of only two full-page miniatures in the book besides the frontispiece (the other depicts the story of Noah, fol. 7v) and tells the story of the Golden Fleece (ill. 4b).<sup>11</sup> In the two earlier related copies of the text, the miniature was similar in content but only occupied two registers and was just a column wide.<sup>12</sup> The London artists added a register depicting the building of the *Argo*, along with numerous details that enliven the basic composition.

The other Trojan miniatures in the manuscript are equally enchanting but consistently smaller. Indeed, it seems that the manuscript's text is given structure through the varying sizes of images that introduce the sections of the story, with special attention paid to changes between sacred and secular subject matter. Thus, most of the images in the manuscript occupy about one-third of the page, while larger ones are reserved for these points of transition.<sup>13</sup> These visual markers both lead the viewer through the major sections of the text and also serve as signals for alternations between sacred and secular subjects.

As many as nine artists worked together on this manuscript,<sup>14</sup> perhaps because it was intended as a gift for a particular occasion with a rapidly approaching deadline. The two illegible coats of arms on the front page have not been linked to any known member of the Acre nobility, although given the manuscript's lavish character, it

#### Scenes from the Creation, fol. 1v

must have been intended for someone of high rank. It is tempting to associate the manuscript with the arrival in Acre of the newly crowned Henry II of Lusignan, king of Jerusalem, in June 1286.<sup>15</sup> The time period fits with the style of the manuscript, and it would have been a fitting gift on the occasion, which we know from contemporary accounts was celebrated with great fanfare.<sup>16</sup> However, for the moment this remains a tantalizing conjecture, as no evidence can be provided. The manuscript must have escaped with the crusaders after the destruction of Acre in 1291 and made its way to Europe, surviving as a magnificent but enigmatic testament to the short-lived Frankish kingdoms of the East. E.M.



- For more on this text, see cat. no. 3. Partial editions of the text can be found in Joslin 1986 and De Visser-van Terwisga 1995 and 1999. For a discussion of the role of this text in Acre, see Folda 2005, 401; and Mahoney 2008, 217.
- Folda (2005, 408) suggests that at this time Acre had a series of illuminators' workshops set up similarly to those in Paris of the period.
- 3. Folda 2005, 401; and Mahoney 2008, 2.
- 4. Two other copies of the text predate the London manuscript by ten to twenty years (Dijon, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 562, probably the 1260s, and Brussels, BR, Ms. 10175, later 1270s), and the three form a cohesive group. Although not illuminated by the same artists, the three manuscripts are closely linked by the placement of images within them and their iconographical content. The three were likely all drawn from a common model, the London manuscript being closer to the one in Brussels (Folda 2005, 420). The compact disk accompanying Folda 2005 has complete black-and-white photography of the illumination in all three copies of the *Histoire ancienne*. There is dispute about whether a fourth manuscript (Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 20125) belongs to this group (Folda 2005, 420–33). For a discussion of this group's shared iconography, see Oltrogge 1989, 35–36, 141–42, 261–66.
- Codicological analysis indicates that the London manuscript is missing five of its original complement of miniatures, which would have brought it very close to the fifty contained in the Dijon copy. For the gathering structure of the manuscript, see Mahoney 2008, 218–20.
   Buchthal 1957, 70–71; and Folda 2005, 409.
- The frontispiece is ultimately the descendant of the Creation miniature from the Arsenal Bible (cat. no. 1, fol. 3v) but is also related to other contemporary copies of the *Histoire ancienne* made in Acre.
- 8. Mahoney (2008, 32–44) has suggested that this Christological orientation is heightened by the order of events, which have been purposefully transposed so that all the scenes dealing with the heavens are at left and those concerning the earth at right, reflecting Christ's dual divine and earthly nature.
- 9. Buchthal 1957, 84.
- 10. For various readings on the meaning of these elements, see Zeitler 1997, Hoffman 1999 and 2004, and Mahoney 2008, 120–63.
- 11. The fleece of a golden-haired, winged ram sired by the god Poseidon was sought by Jason in order to win him the throne of Thessaly. It is considered a symbol of kingship.
- 12. Dijon, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 562, fol. 89v; Brussels, BR, Ms. 10175, fol. 121.
- Noah (fol. 7v), Ninus (fol. 16), Abraham (fol. 24v), Thebes (fol. 75v), Troy (fol. 105v), Aeneas (fol. 136v), Nebuchadnezzar (fol. 179v), and Alexander (fol. 203).
- Folda (2005, 423) believes that multiple artists may have been involved in the painting of each miniature, given the stark distinction in style between individual figures and elements in the scenes. Buchthal (1957, 92) was the first to link the style of this manuscript with five miniatures in a copy of the *Livre d'Eracles* (Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 9084).
- 15. See Buchthal 1957, 86; Zeitler 1997, 29; and Folda 2005, 425.

<sup>16.</sup> Folda 2005, 423.

# 5

Gautier de Coinci, *Miracles de Nostre Dame* Soissons, ca. 1260–70

SPECIFICATIONS 285 ff.;  $27.5 \times 19.2$  cm ( $10^{13}/16 \times 7^{9}/16$  in.); justification:  $20.2 \times [6.2 \times 0.9 \times 6.2]$  cm ( $8 \times [2^{7}/16 \times 3^{3}/8 \times 2^{7}/16]$  in.); 42 lines; 2 columns

ILLUMINATION 65 one-column miniatures, 14 historiated initials

COLLECTION Saint Petersburg, National Library of Russia, Ms. Fr.F.v.XIV.9

PROVENANCE Ade de Soissons; de Soissons family; St. Médard Abbey; Charles V, king of France (1338– 1380); Charles VI, king of France (1368–1422); English possession; Baron Guillaume de Crassier, Liège (18th century); Liège (sale, 1755); Piotr Dubrovsky (1754– 1816; before 1790); public library of Saint Petersburg (1805)

The Miracles de Nostre Dame occupies an unusual place in medieval manuscript tradition, combining as it does rhymedverse, songs, and illumination.<sup>1</sup>Gautier de Coinci, who wrote the work sometime between 1214 and 1236, specifically states in his introduction that he translated Latin accounts of the miracles of the Virgin into French "so that those (men and women) who do not understand (or read) Latin may understand."<sup>2</sup> This opening is reminiscent of those of contemporary vernacular romances and histories of the period, many of which were being translated into French for the first time. To make the work even more approachable, his stories are full of spoken dialogue and action and each short narrative focuses around a morally or physically threatened individual who achieves deliverance only through the personal intervention of the Virgin. Gautier also makes clear in his text that his ideal audience is composed of those who will be able to appreciate the beauties of his work in addition to being enlightened by it, including members of the nobility as well as those in religious orders.3

Gautier's epilogue includes his detailed plans for how his work was to be copied, illuminated, and disseminated. He states that upon finishing his text, he sent it to a dear friend, one Robert de Dives, to "have it flourished, painted, and gilded."<sup>4</sup> Although no manuscript from Gautier's lifetime is extant, this manuscript of the *Miracles* is one of the earliest surviving examples, dating to approximately thirty years after his death.<sup>5</sup> Its illuminations go beyond even Gautier's original intentions for accessibility by structuring the visual narrative to provide an unusual level of entertainment and visual stimulation, linking this manuscript more closely to vernacular secular manuscripts of the day.<sup>6</sup> By the second half of the thirteenth century, the educated audience members who were the intended recipients of Gautier's text were sophisticated viewers accustomed to narrative illuminations adorning their luxury vernacular manuscripts (see cat. nos. 3, 6, and 7). The illuminations of the Saint Petersburg codex take this expectation a step further, emphasizing the role of narrative above all else. The vast majority of illuminations for the miracle texts are complex affairs comprising four (and in certain cases, even more) scenes that give a sense of the narrative development of the stories, with equal attention devoted to explaining each individual dilemma and showing its resolution.

The compartmentalized illuminations of the Saint Petersburg codex were set directly within the text, prefacing each miracle story and acting as a visual summary,<sup>7</sup> giving the artist latitude to develop the narrative and explore all its dramatic possibilities. This particular format is closest to a mode of decoration most often associated with contemporary secular manuscripts (see cat. nos. 3 and 7). The images not only illustrate successive moments in a story that may be unfamiliar to the reader, they also often go beyond the text to offer a kind of visual gloss, shaping the reader's understanding of and relationship to the text.



#### Enlarged detail of ill. 5a The Virgin Saves the Empress of Rome

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One of Gautier's longest and most narratively complex miracles is the miracle of the empress of Rome (ill. 5a).<sup>8</sup> The story receives the fullest treatment of any miracle in the Saint Petersburg codex, occupying twelve compartments as opposed to the more typical four. In the illuminations, the incredibly beautiful empress is repeatedly threatened and misunderstood by various men who covet her (compartments one to eight). Kidnapped, she is eventually abandoned in the middle of the sea, where for three days she prays unceasingly to the Virgin. Mary then appears to her and takes away the beauty that had so plagued her, whereupon she retires to a convent (compartments nine to twelve; see detail on p. 105).

The artist has used the physical structure of the scenes to enhance the narrative. The first eight scenes, located together on the left side of the page, detail the empress's tribulations, which include four separate instances of attempted rape.9 The viewer travels down to the bottom of the page as the empress tumbles from one unacceptable situation to another. As the viewer moves to the second column, the four remaining scenes detail how she was rescued from her troubles by the Virgin and ended happily. This division and the movement from the empress's increasingly hopeless situation at the bottom of the page to her uplifting deliverance at the top of the page were no doubt purposeful and heighten the narrative impact. In this context, the moral of the story-the efficacy of prayer to the Virgin-seems almost an afterthought. The plight of the empress as an individual takes precedence over devotional concerns, with her many narrow escapes forming the heart of the visual narrative.

In another multicompartment miniature (ill. 5b), the relics of Saint Leocadia are stolen and prayer to a statue of the Virgin and Child is instrumental in their safe return. Fully two-thirds of the illuminations in the Saint Petersburg manuscript contain some kind of physical representation of Mary, either sculpted or painted, based in large part on the author's fondness for statues and paintings in his miracle stories. In Gautier's carefully structured work, repetition plays an important role in uniting the various parts. Melodies recur in the songs, the rhetorical device called annominatio (juxtaposition of forms or derivatives of the same word) is used frequently to connect parts of the text, and strategically placed interventions emphasize Gautier's authorial role. The repeated appearance of artworks featuring the Virgin in the illuminations may serve as the visual counterpart to these written and aural devices.

Unfortunately, the patron of the Saint Petersburg codex is unknown, but the few clues that remain point to an individual from a courtly milieu who knew of and **5a** (opposite) The Story of the Empress of Rome, fol. 144 (enlarged)

#### 5b

The Relics of Saint Leocadia, fol. 131 (enlarged detail)



appreciated illuminated secular vernacular texts. Among that were appended to the end of the *Miracles* in the Saint Petersburg codex are a verse poem about the rules of *fin amors* and a text on the twelve signs of love.<sup>10</sup> Both are written out in the hand of the same scribe as the rest of the manuscript and both seem to be a part of the original plan for the manuscript's design. These entirely secular texts are evocative of the courtly sphere and indicate the interests of the manuscript's patron, just as the illuminations met his or her secularized expectations. The existence of two other copies of the work, related textually and artistically to the Saint Petersburg codex, underscores the popularity of the *Miracles* in the mid-thirteenth century.<sup>11</sup>

- An edition of the text can be found in Koenig 1966–70. For the manuscript tradition of the *Miracles*, see Ducrot-Granderye 1932, 18–80; and Duys 1997, 15–17, 26.
- Koenig 1966-70, I Pr 1, vv. 1–10. Translation kindly provided by Karen Duys and Nancy Freeman Regalado.
- 3. Koenig 1966–70, II Epi 33, vv. 113–16. Translation by Duys 1997, 2–3.
- 4. Koenig 1966–70, II Epi 33, vv. 103–4 (my translation).
- 5. Reproductions of all the manuscript's miniatures in black and white or color, along with a commentary that includes information on provenance and bibliography, are available in Mokretsova and Romanova 1984, 102–47. For more recent bibliography, see Voronova and Sterligov 1996, 67. A partial edition of the Saint Petersburg codex was undertaken by Långfors (1937). The illuminations and their close relationship to two other manuscripts made around the same time can be found in Stones 2006, 65–98.
- 6. See also Morrison 2010.
- 7. For this unusual structure, see my essay in this volume.
- 8. Koenig 1966–70, II Mir 9. For a summary of the story in modern French, see Focillon 1950, 41–42.
- 9. This emphasis on the theme is quite revealing of medieval attitudes on the role of women in rape, as the rubricated title of the miracle in the manuscript reads: "About an empress who was tempted in diverse ways." See Wolfthal 1999.
- 10. These texts are found on fols. 283v–285. The two texts begin: "Li leguaz amoureux et plains de jalousie" and "Li premiers signes d'amors est tex que nus ne doit amer."
- 11. Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 22928 essentially copies the Saint Petersburg codex, while BnF, Ms. fr. 25532 was contemporaneous with the Petersburg manuscript, although illuminated by historiated initials. Alison Stones (2006, 79–90, esp. n. 21) has detected two hands at work in the Petersburg codex and has traced other works by both these artists. Based on an examination of the historiated initials of Ms. fr. 25532 compared to the miniatures of the Petersburg codex, I feel it likely that the Petersburg codex predates Ms. fr. 25532 and that the Petersburg codex served as its model (see my essay in this volume). For a cogent discussion of the relationships between the texts and musical songs of the three manuscripts, see Duys 1997, 148–56.

#### 6

E.M.

*Grandes chroniques de France* Cholet group; Charlemagne Master; and an artist related to the Papeleu Master Paris, ca. 1275–80 and ca. 1310–20

 $\begin{array}{ll} {\tt SPECIFICATIONS} & 375\,{\rm ff.}; 32\times22\,{\rm cm}\,(12^{5/8}\times8^{11/16}\,{\rm in.});\\ {\tt justification:}\,25\times[7.3\times1.7\times7.2]\,{\rm cm}\,(9^{7/8}\times[2^{7/8}\times11^{1/16}\,{\rm in.});40\,{\rm lines}; 2\,{\rm columns} \end{array}$ 

ILLUMINATION 1 two-column, 15 one-column miniatures, 1 map, 21 historiated initials

COLLECTION Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, Ms. 782

PROVENANCE Philip III the Bold, king of France (1245–1285, received after 1274); Charles V, king of France (1338–1380; Louvre inventories 1373, 1411, 1413 and 1423); Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève (ex libris 18th century)

This presentation manuscript of the *Grandes chroniques de France* contains a translation into French of the Latin chronicles written by monks at the Abbey of Saint-Denis, historians for the French kings.<sup>1</sup> The book as it first existed in the late thirteenth century (fols. 1–326v) describes events from the destruction of Troy through the death of the French king Philip Augustus. In the early fourteenth century the manuscript was updated with the addition of a newly written life of Louis IX (fols. 327–374), which recorded the period from the departure of his father, Louis VIII, for the Albigensian Crusade against the Cathars in Languedoc to Louis IX's death in 1270.

The monk Primat completed the initial translation around 1274 at the Abbey of Saint-Denis. Matthew of Vendôme, the abbot who appears with Primat in the presentation image that ended the volume in its original state (ill. 6a, left page), gave the volume to Philip III around 1275-80.2 Matthew's dedicatory poem, written under this image, describes the chronicle as a roman des rois and reinforces the chronicle's function, as outlined in its prologue; it was an advice book designed to offer the young king examples of good and bad ancestors whose kingly behavior he should either emulate or avoid. The Grandes chroniques' text "romances" the history in both senses of the word roman-in its medieval sense because it is written in French, and in modern usage because its text is arranged in chapters that afford significant space to heroic tales of the sort that were celebrated in romances, such as the story of the destruction of Troy or the life of Charlemagne.3

The presentation manuscript in particular also romanced history; it distinguished itself from its unillustrated Latin models by including pictures that focused



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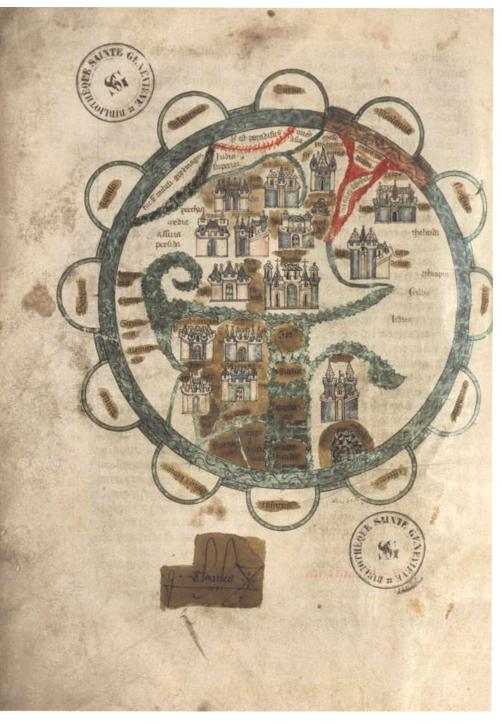
on positive heroes.<sup>4</sup> Matthew of Vendôme doubtless worked with a Parisian *libraire* to illustrate the presentation copy, whose original thirty-six miniatures and historiated initials were painted by two artists; François Avril identified one as closely affiliated with the Cholet group of illuminators, and a second, whom Alison Stones calls the Charlemagne Master (see cat. no. 2), was a painter of many nonroyal Parisian manuscripts.<sup>5</sup> These illustrators drew on familiar compositions, such as designs for the *Roman de Troie* and for stained glass, and also created new images.<sup>6</sup> In order to determine the placement and content of miniatures and historiated initials emphasizing chivalric French heroes, such as Charlemagne and Philip Augustus, Philip III's namesake, and others who would remind the young king of the intertwined history of the French kings and the Abbey of Saint-Denis, the illuminators worked with someone who knew the text well.

Around 1310–20 a version of Guillaume de Nangis's life of Louis IX written around 1304 (Louis was canonized in 1297) was appended to the end of the manuscript.<sup>7</sup> The images decorating this addition are of a distinctly different character, referencing Louis's sainthood and his activities as a crusader. Stones suggests that the artist of the opening image in the addition may have worked with the Papeleu Master (see cat. nos. 16 and 17).<sup>8</sup> This historiated initial (ill. 6a, right page) presents Louis as a saintly

6a

Presentation of the Grandes chroniques to King Philip III by Matthew of Vendômę and Primat (Cholet Master) and Initial N: Saint Louis (artist related to the Papeleu Master), fols. 326v-327 French king who stands, haloed, crowned, and wearing a fleur-de-lis mantle while holding a scepter and a reliquary, the latter doubtless referring both to his securing of the relics of Christ's passion and to his foundation of the Sainte-Chapelle in Paris.<sup>9</sup>

The map that ends the manuscript (ill. 6b) also ends the life of Louis IX.<sup>10</sup> Its inscriptions were written by the scribe of Louis's life, and originally it was painted exclusively in red, green, and blue, so that red highlighted the Red Sea and delimited the fiery boundary of paradise, and green and blue enhanced architectural and water fea-



tures, including the water that encircles the earth. Brown paint was added as an afterthought sometime during or after Charles V's reign.<sup>11</sup>

While the iconic image of Saint Louis at the beginning of his life celebrates his sainthood and, perhaps, the foundation of the Sainte-Chapelle, the map at the end relates to the historical narrative of Louis's life and serves as a postscript to the newly expanded *Grandes chroniques*. This circular map of the medieval world centered on Jerusalem was adapted from the type popularized in manuscripts of the works of Sallust.<sup>12</sup> Readers of the rubrics in Louis's life could find many locations mentioned there identified on the world map.

This map also goes beyond the text of the chronicle to situate the Grandes chroniques in space and time.<sup>13</sup> Danielle Lecoq draws attention to the ways in which the map permits readers to trace both sacred and secular history geographically, expanding the frames of reference for the life of Louis IX in particular and the whole chronicle in general. The map presents geographical locations that would enable readers to contemplate French history with-in diverse cultural frames: the succession of Persians, Babylonians, Macedonians, Greeks, and Romans of antique times; the history of the Jews and of early Christianity; and the Trojan diaspora. Finally, it also localizes the translatio studii, which stated that the center of learning moved sequentially from Greece to Rome and then from Rome to Paris, three important cities portrayed on the map.14

These images of a saintly king and world map bracketing the life of Saint Louis at the end of the chronicle had the potential to expand the reading of the Grandes chroniques' prologue, effectively layering over, even supplanting, the original ending poem and presentation image (see ill. 6a, left page), which reinforced the prologue's admonition to emulate the example of the good kings in the chronicle and shun the example offered by the bad rulers. Together, the added pictures interact with the chronicle's prologue to show the fulfillment in Saint Louis of the promise implicit in the prologue's analysis of the translatio studii. Primat's prologue preceded the description of the migration of learning from Athens to Rome to Paris with a discussion of how the French have always been the most Christian kings, and he followed it with a statement that God hoped that learning (clergie) and knightly prowess (chevalerie) would both be maintained in France for a long time.<sup>15</sup> Primat's juxtaposition in the prologue of the translatio studii with the wish that follows it challenges the French kings to strive continually to merit their special status in the eyes of God. In Louis, the saint-king, the French had a king who lived up to this mandate. A.D.H.

- See also my essay and that of Elizabeth Morrison in this volume and Hedeman 1991, 4–30. For the text, see the essay by Gabrielle Spiegel in this volume as well as Spiegel 1978 and Guenée 1986. The *Grandes chroniques* has been edited twice; see P. Paris 1836–38 and Delachenal 1910–20 and Viard 1920–53. A partial English edition exists; see Levine 1990.
- 2. The dedication miniature and poems on fol. 326v make it clear that this manuscript was presented to Philip the Bold sometime after 1274. On fol. 374v is a signature of Charles V. See Paris 1968a, 76–77; and Hedeman 1991, 258.
- 3. For the idea of "romancing" history, see Spiegel 1993.
- On the relationship between layout and genre, see Morrison's essay in this volume.
- 5. For this division of hands, see François Avril's entry on this manuscript in Paris 1998, 262, 264–65, nos. 170 and 172. Alison Stones expands and updates this list in Stones 2001, 249–50, and Stones forthcoming (a), no. I-21. I would like to thank her for sharing her entry with me before the book's publication.
- 6. For discussion of compositional similarities, see my essay in this volume and Hedeman 1991, 12–14.
- 7. For this text, see Spiegel 1978, 117–18. For the illustrated life of Saint Louis by Guillaume de Saint-Pathus, see cat. no. 20.
- 8. Stones forthcoming (a), no. I-21.
- On Louis's crusading activities and foundation of the Sainte-Chapelle, see Weiss 1998.
- 10. I agree with the identification of hands first proposed in Destombes 1964, 177–78, no. 50. For further discussion of this map, see Miller 1895, 3:136–38m, no. 18; Lecoq 1988, 13–17; Serchuk 2008, 257–76; and Serchuk's unpublished paper "Gaul Undivided: Cartography, Geography, and Identity in France at the Time of the Hundred Years' War." I would like to thank Camille Serchuk for sharing her work with me. For studies that examine how time and space are factors in world maps, see Harley and Woodward 1987 and Edson 1997.
- 11. This brown wash was added sometime after King Charles V signed the folio between 1364 and 1380. It neatly covers the inscriptions on the map and the king's signature. The treatment of the only sketched city washed with brown supports my conclusion that the addition of the wash was an afterthought. When the painter tried to smooth brown wash over Mecca, the uppermost city at the left on the map, he blurred the city. Probably because of this, he added the wash to either side or above or below all other cities, to avoid smudging them.
- 12. For discussion of Sallust maps, see Destombes 1964, 37–38, 65–73; and Edson 1997, 18--21.
- 13. Here I borrow the formulation of Lecoq 1988.
- 14. See Lecoq 1988, 15. Lecoq did not underline the importance of the inclusion of Paris on such a map. Paris was not as commonly included on *mappae mundi* as Rome or Athens.
- 15. For the French, see Viard 1920-53, 1:5-6.

# 7

Agravain, Queste del Saint Graal, Mort Artu Thérouanne, ca. 1290–1300

 $\begin{array}{l} {\rm SPECIFICATIONS} & 363\,{\rm ff.}; 46.5 \times 33.5\,{\rm cm}\,(18^{5/16} \times 13^{3/16}\,{\rm in.}); justification: 32.5 \times [9.8 \times 2.5 \times 9.8]\,{\rm cm}\,(12^{13/16} \times [3^{7/8} \times 1 \times 3^{7/8}]\,{\rm in.}); {\rm varies}, 39-40\,{\rm lines};\\ {\rm 2\,\,columns} \end{array}$ 

ILLUMINATION 77 one-column, 51 smaller miniatures, 36 historiated initials

COLLECTION New Haven, Yale University, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Ms. 229

PROVENANCE Guy de Dampierre, comte de Flanders (ca. 1225–1305); Guillaume de Termonde (1278–1312); Sforza family, dukes of Milan (1459 inventory); Louis XII, king of France (1462–1515; 1499–1500); Sir Isaac Heard (1730–1822); Fitz-Roy Fenwick Library (in 1936); [sale, Royez]; Sir Thomas Phillipps (1792–1872); [sale, Sotheby's, July 1, 1946]; [William Robinson, Ltd.]; Dudley M. Colman; [sale, Stonehill's, 1955]; Yale Library Associates; Yale University (1955)

Yale 229 (Beinecke 229) is one of the jewels in the crown of Arthurian manuscript illustration. It holds the final sections of the enormous cycle known as the Lancelot in Prose or the Lancelot-Grail, Pseudo-Map, or Vulgate cycle, which is composed of the Estoire del Saint Graal, the Estoire de Merlin, the Lancelot propre, the Queste del Saint Graal, and the Mort Artu (see also cat. nos. 10 and 12).1 The Yale manuscript consists of the part of the story known as the Agravain (the last section of the Lancelot propre), the Queste del Saint Graal, and the Mort Artu. Taken together, the five separate but deeply enmeshed volumes of the Lancelot-Grail cycle represent not only the first works in prose of the French Middle Ages (ca. 1210-35) but a stupendous amalgam, a summa, of much of earlier Arthurian material: Geoffrey of Monmouth's Latin Historia Regum Britanniae as well as his Vita Merlini, Robert Wace's Old French Roman de Brut, Chrétien de Troyes's verse romances, Béroul's Tristan, Robert de Boron's own Grail trilogy, and Layamon's English alliterative Brut.

There are some fifty manuscripts of the *Mort Artu* alone.<sup>2</sup> Yale 229 is thought to have been copied in the 1290s in Flanders, more precisely, in the region of Thérouanne (see also cat. nos. 8 and 9). This attribution is based upon what Alison Stones and others have identified in the manuscript as potentially the heraldic device of Guy de Dampierre, count of Flanders from 1278 to 1305, and his son Guillaume de Termonde (1248–1312). Yale 229 is likely a pendant of another manuscript, Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 95, which contains the *Estoire del Saint Graal* and the *Estoire de Merlin*. Together, BnF, Ms. fr. 95 and Yale 229 represent

Totte atendre. ans fe toene futano. # le Vient areignant par defriere 4 of han ciec lespec por ferr. Et ant cil voit le op venur. ft ot paour demour Stfeler fe cheour a tie. Et al qui fon cop ne pot weener, fiere es arrons deriere. Sitten che tout outre le cheual more de fusie dir qui fe fu tellie cheour puis vienta la damoifele qui feloit trop gnit dueil . lasse mes freres. Sile monre deuano un for fon cheual. Et fen vetorne cout le chemin kil eftoit venus

v que cele fen vott mener mal are fien. Stamena acrier fain te marte aidies aidies. Et ferfi tres gut dueil que nul la veilt qui pine nen preite auch fen validirs et enmor ne cele qui ne fine deploter 4 de color fe w. Et que lyonel voit le il fen part en tel manuere. Si dit lie ore a il trop aten du quit il en voit la damoufele mener. Il ne veut mie la damoufele leffier aufi. ne eluciller lancelor, car il a paour ql nele tenult a coart fe il ne doutot riens autant come lancelot .

vantil fest armes aumieus gl puer. fi a mile la fele en fondje ual Si monte fixent fon clau Tha lance. Fleffe lancelot comant +fe torne apres lectiv quike le cheual puer aler. Sila confeur a laualer dun tire. Et qui il est pres fili crie que il mette ms la damoufele. ou il le compern. Et a fe regarde & vous ke veronner le con ment. Si mer ius la damoifele & fache lefpee deuant for + guendaft le chenal an che 4 cil li vient accant 7 le fierra q par mi leftu 7 par mi le hauber tu mer le glanne fans plus de mal fere. Hall laterino for le beaume todone tel

coup & lefpee quil abar qui tal en arante a deltre parne. Stleuib cus fans faille . wel lefpee la toene en la mam La cous fugiis the force ferus St fulyonel fiel tordis kil chier a la cire tous pafines.

vludies mer fefper ou fuerre. Et fer la damonfele monter ou chenal lyonel. oucle voelle. onnon Sile contredult ele alles. ques toute notes le co ment fere. Et il fe belle uers terne quent tyonel par les espaules rour amfi armes com deflow, the could denant lug then pour en tel mamere entre lus 7 la damos fele Stfeten oze li contes de lu 7 de lance tor. 7 recorne a heltor des mares. cargne mere fen eft teus.



A out li contes que qui heltor le fu parris de ragidel le chastel ou dov conquis marigene li wus. Et il or la damoifele delluree dellyous q coline germanne lancelor eftour. Il cheuau ce tous feuls and com avenue le por tow. Et tant kil ment en la foreit que ten apeloit tambe endroit none. Et enco an one damoifele qui chenancoir on pa leftor 7 fi felow vn metuelleus dueil. ll le falue .- t cle Im auft . Damoufele feo il. car me dites por goi vous ploies St

the beginning and end parts of a trio of manuscripts of the entire *Lancelot in Prose*, the middle section of which is lost.<sup>3</sup> BnF, Ms. fr. 95, along with Yale 229, is among the most copiously illustrated of the period, showing several virtually unique traits of late-thirteenth-century pictorial style.<sup>4</sup> Besides numerous miniatures and historiated initials, the manuscript features what B. A. Shailor refers to as borders populated with "magnificent grotesques" of the type contained in Lilian Randall's *Images in the Margins of Gothic Manuscripts* and discussed in Michael Camille's *Images on the Edge.*<sup>5</sup>

The highly developed marginalia of Yale 229 range from various floral designs, to snail-like figures, to knights doing battle, to apes carrying out a variety of activities, to various real and mythic animals like stags and dragons, to human figures engaged in a variety of public and domestic tasks, to naked figures out of whose anuses the vertical ruling on one side of the page seems to flow like ink-excrement, to doodlelike pairs of lovers or spouses, to, in one case, a knight and, in another, a philosopher, respectively holding up one of the large miniatures on their shoulders, and, finally, to the curious crossbow aimed at a man's posterior parts at the bottom of fol. 39v (ill. 7a). But what makes Yale 229 distinctive is the fact that in addition to the smaller miniatures and historiated initials it includes a series of two-register rectangular illustrations about twelve lines high, one on top of the other.6

At the beginning of the Mort Artu, for example (ill. 7b), the upper frame of the two-register illumination shows an image of King Henry II of England instructing Walter Map, the satirist and author of Trifles of Courtiers, to finish the story he has begun and to translate from Latin to French the deeds and deaths of those he has mentioned before. In the lower frame of the two-register illumination, King Arthur, who looks like and is dressed like Henry II, is riding out with his knights. This is a story with its own provenance, as suggested in the iconographic resemblance of the two kings. Elsewhere in the Lancelot in Prose, Arthur's knights ride out from court to a forest or other wild land, accomplish deeds of prowess, and return to Camelot, where they recount their adventures. Arthur, who maintains a scribal corps, instructs the court stenographers to record their knightly testimony, "so that they might be remembered after their death."7

When they had eaten, the king called his clerics who put into writing the adventures of those within. And when Bohort had recounted the adventures of the grail as he had seen them, they were put into writing and kept in the Abbey of Salisbury, from which Walter Map withdrew them to make his Book of the Holy Grail for love of King Henry his lord who had the story translated from Latin to French (fol. 272v.)<sup>8</sup>

The genealogy of the tale is of a piece with the great Arthurian revival of the twelfth century. The historical Henry II has just had Arthur's and Guinevere's bodies translated to Glastonbury Abbey.

Not only does the *Lancelot-Grail* cycle thematize its written origin in the "tale" to which it refers and whose leaving off and picking up in the literary narrative frames the large two-register illuminations, but it raises explicitly the question of pictures within the written text. Earlier in the story of the *Lancelot propre*, Morgain, who is in love with Lancelot, has managed to capture and imprison him. Disconsolate, Lancelot looks out the window one **7a** (opposite) Hector Meets a Damsel in the Woods; Hector and Tercian in Combat, fol. 39v (see also p. 8)

#### 7b

King Henry Asks Walter Map to Translate the Death of Arthur; Arthur and His Knights Set Out for Winchester, fol. 272v (detail)



day and sees a man painting.<sup>9</sup> This is no ordinary painter, but a painter who places letters with his images—"desus chascunne ymage avoit letres." He is, in other words, the equivalent of a manuscript illuminator, who is painting scenes out of the medieval *Roman d'Eneas*, which leads Lancelot to think that his own pains might be eased by paint.

Lancelot not only paints the images of his seduction, he is seduced by the images he paints. In this medieval rendering of the Pygmalion story, he takes a pleasure in his creations that is at once aesthetic and erotic, for he loves and delights in the images, which become a substitute for Guinevere. Before such illustrations readers then and now are all in some sense Lancelots, who risk falling in love with the image. Dealing with such images and the writing that surrounds them involves a struggle of the eye against the ear, the visual against the textual. The wildly elaborate, rich, and beautiful illuminations along with the doodlings in the margin of Yale 229 seduce the eye and are potential points of fixation that threaten to disrupt the narrative continuity of the whole, to arrest the reader. In this they bring to mind Dante's famous scene of Paolo and Francesca before the Galeoto (Inferno, V), the book of Lancelot that so kindles passion that they "read no more that day." R. H.B.

## 8

*Roman d'Alexandre* Thérouanne, Saint-Omer, or Reims, 1290s

SPECIFICATIONS 82 ff.;  $26 \times 18.8 \text{ cm} (10^{1/4} \times 7^{7/16} \text{ in.})$ ; justification:  $17 \times [5.7 \times 1.5 \times 5.7] \text{ cm} (6^{11/16} \times [2^{1/4} \times 5/8 \times 2^{1/4}] \text{ in.})$ ; 30 lines; 2 columns

ILLUMINATION 4 full-page, 65 two-column, 29 one-column miniatures, 2 marginal scenes, 1 historiated initial

COLLECTION Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, Ms. 78 C 1

PROVENANCE (?) possibly Fulcaud de Rochechouart, bishop of Noyon (1317–1331), or Robert de Fouilloy, canon of Noyon before becoming bishop of Amiens (1308–1321); William Alexander, 12th duke of Hamilton (1845–1895; in 1882)

Alexander the Great's status as a warrior who defeated the Greeks and Persians, invaded India, and saw its marvels before dying in Babylon captured medieval imaginations and earned him renown as one of the Nine Worthies (see cat. nos. 65-68). During the Middle Ages his life was the subject of innumerable verse and prose accounts in Latin and almost every European language.<sup>1</sup> Among vernacular prose accounts of Alexander's life and exploits, the Roman d'Alexandre is one of the most richly illustrated.<sup>2</sup> A translation of the Latin Historia de Preliis Alexandri Magni, it was drafted circa 1252-90 in the region of Hainaut.<sup>3</sup> The four early copies of the text dating from the 1290s (the Berlin Alexander; London, BL, Harley Ms. 4979; Brussels, BR, Ms. 11040; and a manuscript in a private collection) were made by craftsmen from northern France whose styles and iconographic choices are related.<sup>4</sup> Their visual cycles of 94 to 101 images seem to have been shaped with input from patrons, because although they were painted at the same time and probably in the same place, none of the cycles served as a model for any of the others.

These prose copies of the *Roman d'Alexandre* achieved a cultural translation of the Latin original to a text more suited to the expectations of vernacular courtly, chivalric culture. The textual frame provided by the new prologue and epilogue of the first French version of the *Roman* had already placed Alexander's story in biblical and dynastic contexts that encouraged reading it as a history rather than a collection of marvels (*merveilles*). Not only did the translator of this version begin his prologue with a description of the Creation, but he also worked in references to Alexander's biological father, Nectanebus, king of Egypt, a sorcerer who took the form of a dragon to sleep with King Philip of Macedon's wife, Queen Olympias. It also appended at the end an epilogue taken from the

Editions of the Old French text of the *Lancelot* can be found in Sommer 1908–16 and Micha 1978–83; a modern French translation can be found in Poirion et al. 2001 and an English translation in Lacy 1993.

They are described by J. D. Bruce, H. O. Sommer, and M. B. Fox, but most completely by Jean Frappier, who edited the text twice using Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Ms. 3347 as a base (Bruce 1923, Sommer 1908–16, Fox 1933, and Frappier 1936).

Stones 1996a. For a description of Yale 229, including its provenance, see Shailor 1984; see also Willingham 2007a.

<sup>4.</sup> The manuscript is written with single vertical bounding lines on either side, full length, double horizontal bounding lines at top, center, and bottom of the written space, full across. It is written in elegant gothic textura by one scribe, with a few corrections here and there.

Shailor 1984, Randall 1966, and Camille 1992. For the marginalia in Yale 229, see Bloch 2007.

For more on this format in the Yale manuscript, see Elizabeth Morrison's essay in this volume.

<sup>7.</sup> Sommer 1908–16, 4:296.

<sup>8.</sup> My translation.

<sup>9.</sup> Micha 1978-83, 5:51-52.

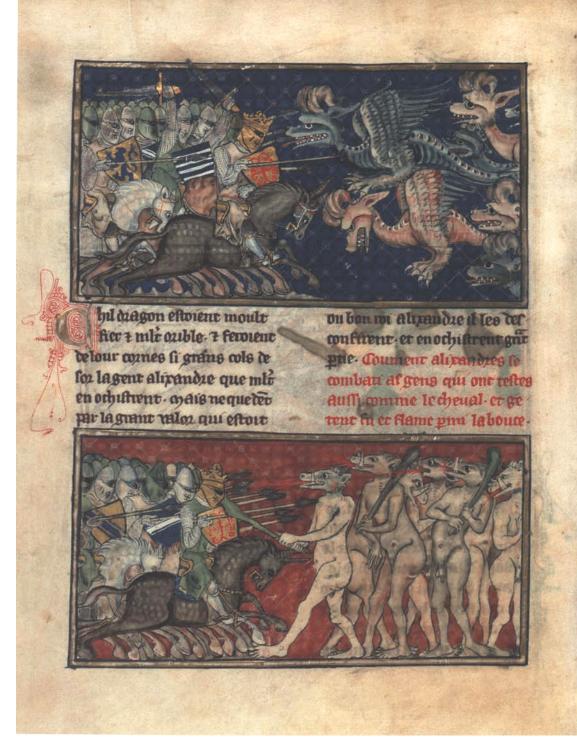


8a Alexander Explores Underwater,

fol. 67 (see also p. 88)

Histoire ancienne jusqu'à César (see cat. nos. 3, 4, 23, 27, and 50) about Alexander's successors and the death of his mother, Olympias.<sup>5</sup>

In the Berlin manuscript and its sister manuscripts the author added a second prologue that appears before and changes the emphasis of the first. This prologue, adapted from a historical compilation preserved in a manuscript from Saint Alban's Abbey in England, contains an etymological and geographical description of Macedon and brief entries on the kings of Macedon, down to Alexander's father, King Philip.<sup>6</sup> The end of the second prologue smoothes the transition to the first by referring to Vincent de Beauvais's *Speculum historiale*, which espouses the alternate account of Alexander's paternity that the *Roman d'Alexandre*'s first prologue highlights. Besides making these obvious changes to the textual frame to stress genealogy of blood and office, the translator also undertook less visible additions, deletions, and revi**8b** *Marvels*, fol. 68v



sions that shortened the written account of the marvels that Alexander saw in India, made Alexander a knight, and Christianized the pagans, making the story better fit the horizon of expectations for prose vernacular history and romance.<sup>7</sup>

Some of the translator's textual emendations impacted the visual cycle, but not all. Certain of the illustrations testify to the ongoing popularity of images of the marvels of the East. Although the translator edited the text describing the marvels heavily, its images celebrate Alexander's travels to India in a densely illuminated cycle of distinctive two-column and full-page miniatures.<sup>8</sup> In this case the patron's taste undermines the translator's efforts to downplay the story of Alexander in India, because the density of images in the section puts such a strong visual emphasis on the unusual beasts and peoples that Alexander encountered and battled.

One feat that gets special attention (see ill. 8a) is Alexander's trip under the sea in a glass diving bell equipped with lamps.<sup>9</sup> The brave king was lowered by chains into the sea, where he saw fish, a whale, and other astonishing things, including fish shaped like earthly beasts that gathered and ate the fruits of undersea trees. He also saw fish resembling humans, who walked on the sea bottom and nourished themselves by eating fish. The artist, obviously intrigued by this subject, added a cuttlefish and a flounder to the whale and the generic fish that fill the undersea world. In doing so he seems to have drawn on a body of visual models comparable to those employed in *Li livres dou tresor* (cat. no. 9) or medieval bestiaries from Thérouanne.<sup>10</sup> When not observing these peaceful creatures, Alexander battles bellicose ones. Most of the images of marvels represent monstrous creatures that cannot stop Alexander's advance; for instance, on just one folio (see ill. 8b) Alexander defeats dragons with ram's horns and fire-breathing tusked men.

Other images ease access to the text. For instance, illustrations of letters appear not when and where they are written, but where they are received, so we read with the recipient; the inscriptions on the tiny missives in the images give the opening words of the letter, thereby infusing written text from the chapter into the image.<sup>11</sup> Similarly, pictures of battles appear at the precise point in the text where they are first mentioned.<sup>12</sup> Images like these work in a sophisticated way with their rubric to activate the text, thereby facilitating the reader's experience of a medievalized antiquity in the *Roman d'Alexandre*. A.D.H.

- For an expanding list of these texts and their manuscript witnesses, see the entry "Alexandre (Roman d')" on the website ARLIMA: Archives de littérature du Moyen Âge (www.arlima.net/) and Pérez-Simon 2008. I would like to thank Maud Pérez-Simon for allowing me to read her unpublished dissertation, whose influence is evident throughout this entry. Her analysis will be published as a book by Honoré Champion in 2010.
- For a description of the manuscript and a list of its illustrations, see Pérez-Simon 2008, vol. 2, appendix 4, 13–17, and appendix 21, 125–33.
   For a facsimile and preliminary analysis, see Rieger 2002, which includes an appendix by Alison Stones, and Rieger 2006.
- 3. For a summary of the evolution of the medieval history of Alexander in Latin and its translation into French beginning in the twelfth century, see Pérez-Simon 2008, 47–60, who identifies the text of the Berlin Alexander as a copy of the second redaction of a translation of the J2 branch of the Latin *Historia de Preliis Alexandri Magni*. For the edition of the Latin J2 branch, see Hilka 1920, and for the French in the Berlin Alexander, see Rieger 2002, 57–123.
- 4. For analysis of the stylistic similarities between these early *Roman* d'Alexandre manuscripts, a second generation of Brunetto Latini's Li livres dou tresor (see cat. no. 9), and religious manuscripts localized to Thérouanne, Saint-Omer, and Reims, see Stones 1982, 2002, 2007, and forthcoming (a).
- For discussion of this original prologue and epilogue, see Pérez-Simon 2008, 60, 146–58.
- Besides the second prologue, the translator added Daniel's biblical prophecy about a goat and a ram to the episode of Alexander in Jerusalem. See Pérez-Simon 2008, 158–66.
- 7. Pérez-Simon 2008, 185-223, 228-30.
- Three of the twenty-nine single-column miniatures, forty of the sixty-five two-column miniatures, and three of the four full-page miniatures appear in the section of text dedicated to Alexander's adventures in the East.
- 9. Pérez-Simon 2008, 271-73.
- 10. Stones (2007, 1) suggested a connection with the bestiary section of *Li livres dou tresor* and Morrison posits a broader relationship with bestiaries, particularly those associated with Thérouanne, such as Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, Mss. Ludwig XV 3 and XV 4; see cat. no. 9.
- 11. Pérez-Simon 2008, 186.
- 12. Pérez-Simon 2008, 312-13, 368-86.

#### 9

Brunetto Latini, *Li livres dou tresor* Thérouanne/Saint Omer, ca. 1300–1310

 $\begin{array}{l} \text{SPECIFICATIONS} & 149 \text{ ff.}; 32.5 \times 24.5 \text{ cm} (12^{13}/16 \times 9^{5}/8 \text{ in.}); \text{justification:} 21.5 \times [6.5 \times 2.1 \times 6.7] \text{ cm} \\ (8^{1}/2 \times [2^{9}/16 \times 7/8 \times 2^{5}/8] \text{ in.}); 40 \text{ lines}; 2 \text{ columns} \end{array}$ 

ILLUMINATION 20 one-column, 96 smaller miniatures

COLLECTION Saint Petersburg, National Library of Russia, Ms. Fr.F.v.III.4

PROVENANCE Pierre Séguier; Abbey of Saint-Germain-des-Prés (1735); Piotr Dubrovsky (1754–1816; end of the 18th century); public library of Saint Petersburg (1805)

In the introduction to his encyclopedia entitled Li livres dou tresor, Brunetto Latini (ca. 1220-1294) states that "the first part of this treasure is like cash money to spend readily on necessary things, that is, it describes the beginning of the world, and the ancient times of the old histories, and the establishment of the world, and the nature of all things."1 If the first part is devoted to irrefutable facts that operate like "cash money," the second part focuses on the virtues and vices, and the third explains the theory behind good governance. Thus, for the author, history served as the underpinning of all that would follow in his encyclopedia, one of the earliest to be composed in French. Although Brunetto was Italian, he wrote his encyclopedia while exiled in France between 1260 and 1266 (a second redaction, which includes the manuscript in Saint Petersburg, was written after his return to Italy in 1267, but still in French). Brunetto's choice of French over Latin for his work indicates that the text was intended for the laity rather than the clergy, and as Brunetto himself acted as notary and adviser to the noble Guelph family of Florence, it was only natural that he would intend his work to be read the class he was accustomed to serving.<sup>2</sup>

Illuminated manuscripts of his work soon proliferated, including four produced by the same workshop in the years around 1300 in the Thérouanne/Saint Omer region.<sup>3</sup> The Saint Petersburg manuscript, which forms part of this set, is characterized by an emphasis in the illumination on the first section of Brunetto's work.<sup>4</sup> Of the manuscript's 116 miniatures, fully 85 are devoted to book 1, with the other books simply illustrated by author portraits or teaching scenes. The disproportionate distribution of miniatures reflects the fact that certain parts of the text more naturally attracted illumination, such as the narratives of the historical section and the lively aspects of the portion devoted to natural history. i regnes te fifione coumencha al tant nacor la fi apout tabraham ant agriliont fu premiers tops-/ ou ra caul zegnet infques autant else le priestre teau as liures dun la me cha auant entre let prophettes ./ furent en foume . Ma . 2200 en altone . Dou regne tes foumes.

XIXIXIXIXIXIXIXIXIXIXIXIXIXIXIX

l refnes tes femmes cou mencha acont-quanth corf te crete otour leris mes te fa tiere ala sour les egyptijens out finer

XIXIXIXIXIX

trelout ochis .7 ft toft coume leur fe met leforent eller fifent. 1. 109 dunete leur dames de leur pays 4 establuent que tamai c nus hom nepeuse habuer enteurneret & que les filles filtent nouriel 4 li marte non. 4 calament paib la cemeltre manuele pour muif torter clais & armes . A pour cou font elles aprelees armanonienel des gens ceft adue fanf une manuele 4 ceftes lument foufourre moiel 4 cou fiftin tifelee lawine pour cou que on diloit que ele amoir hector par amourt met on nen feut onques la aertainitet foel que elle mour anoec grant partie de fes tamotheles. Don teine tel augt 

refnes tel'arginois coumenca encelui tans mentimel que lawb Fellau li fiut plaan furent ne. Dot Inaal fil premier Croy C. Aprielly furph furoncul les fieus qui premie tement wina lalop af grigoi ( en la/ chiter dataminel 4 ju eltabli que les caufes A la sugement fuscent cenant hu uget 7 le heur won fait les uge ment est apieles foron pour le non te hu A faace que auf refnee refarm nor dura . cc. A. xy . ans A fu celtruf autant dinay levop regresse teaule coutes pawle dn teuant Des wifte unautret duft cha en ariere troief. que unpf upter eut .y.fieus flannurt tegarnun . A becelu flanu woul adit umanftiel toute la genera tion . 02011 que li autref fiul celtar anul filt engrielle vneater gila prela tartaine parfonnon . m. mille. 7. a. 1. xly. and toucoumencement tou monte . Decartanus nalau aufta mul qui aprico tui fu wood . Deculta nul natau Tions hour terrores he etona la chur 7 par connon fuelle apidee uppe. Dou top trous nalqui Mus qui fift lemastre forterece detun er que partur fust aprelec u lion -fles frecel gamacom fu ochis pour loorlo felonc cou que le massires deuse chi denane tou woj illus natau leometo hi wea lesport alason / ales aurres compaingnont hi aloient pour loc cotion gumedom fon onde Donril aunt puil que jason abenules or toutes les of tergrigois vintent a troice & celinuleur la chuter 4 oaler leomedom & enamenerent optona fatile Sou nov honedom natque le

In the first part of book 1, Brunetto concentrates on the history of the world, beginning, of course, with the Creation and quickly moving through ancient and medieval history. Not every chapter receives an illumination, and the choice is often unorthodox. For instance, instead of an image of the destruction of Troy or the reign of Caesar, as one might expect, the sole illumination devoted to ancient history occurs in a slightly earlier chapter. An image of the coronation of Penthesilea (ill. 9a) accompanies a chapter entitled "The Kingdom of Women." It explains how the Amazons ruled after the defeat of the Scythians, and how their queen Penthesilea came to the aid of Hector during the Trojan War.<sup>5</sup>

The coronation of Penthesilea is not mentioned in the text but is shown with great pomp in the illumination. It is not clear why this particular theme was chosen, as the **9a** (opposite) The Coronation of Penthesilea, Queen of the Amazons, fol. 13v

# 9b

Creatures That Inhabit the Sea, fol. 46v

faun a forf wull let au moja pelaume bele are here eft unf graf poit of li plutieur a pielenr balai ne- celt unt poitfor th granf omer-

pieten bala ne celt unt potiont A grant onney ne netters hi maintel fort remains a feck que il ne puet alce la u tamert efficial re piut te a pues . Celt li potiont faire aut ionas teten f fon uentre li quels fit propheters felone cou que li bittoi re bui met tethament le noul monte que il quicor tette alet enjutier pour la grantour tou heu vil effort . dut putconf lieue fon tot en haute mer A

performt treue fon tot en haute mer A nant i temeure en it lieu que li tenfi amanne le fablon 4 annute four lui A tant que il inaifent pert arbufael par qui li mationier fone teceur par maintet fout la u il quitent que ou fout une ille fi i tetendeur 4 ficent pa lif 4 fone fii - part quant li perfonts e fent la calour il nelepuer fouffrir au fe plonce ceten l'lamer 4 fait afonder recent lamer tout que il a tefont lui or a-it fins a met tout apierdinon celebalo



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ne autre kole

quant elle eft tallie en uton; in en nationt larmet tequor on taurelet purpeel a offe tainine eft ofon ar out-one aure kokule eft que ona piele anar pour ou que elle atam bet a eft ronte i i en anenat puton at offeo. dar il mangue fa char par mieruilleuf engten do 20 cost omen il empore une peure piere d'enfieur lotte tant que elle giete le piere en fon anoit que ille giete le piere en fon anoit que d'a nela pourir cerdo te a encette manare fen paift au refin



scene was only repeated in one of the four related manuscripts, but all five of the scenes from the secular history section of the manuscript seem to concern the role of authority—who gives it, where it comes from, and how it is conveyed.<sup>6</sup> In the context of Brunetto's text as a whole, these illuminations fit in with one of the main themes: finding the root of matters from a philosophical and natural standpoint. The iconography of the illumination, with two figures flanking the queen and crowning her, is closely echoed in the very next illumination, which shows a nearly identical scene of the crowning of Clovis, the first king of the united Franks (fol. 15).<sup>7</sup>

By far the greatest numbers of illuminations in the Saint Petersburg manuscript appear in the sections devoted to the prophets8 and to natural history (both still in book 1). Several abstract diagrams open the section on natural history, including a mappa mundi (map of the world) and schema devoted to the four elements.9 What follows is not strictly speaking a bestiary in terms of the text, but fish, serpents, birds, and land creatures, in that order, all receive illuminations closely tied to the bestiary tradition.<sup>10</sup> What is remarkable is that many of these animals reappear in the other group of manuscripts associated with this atelier of artists, the Roman d'Alexandre.11 The group of Alexander manuscripts is unusual in the fact that its illuminations often focus on the various beasts that Alexander encountered.<sup>12</sup> In the image of his underwater exploration (see ill. 8a), Alexander is surrounded by exotic sea creatures. The enormous flat fish that hovers above him resembles a combination of two of the fishes depicted in the Tresor (ill. 9b, upper left and lower right). Moreover, the two other sea creatures depicted on the same page of Brunetto's text (lower left and middle right) have similarly shaped counterparts in the same Alexander image (above and below the whale's tail).13

It was, of course, natural for artists to repeat compositions in their work, especially if they were illustrating multiple copies of the same text, but here it seems that this group of artists may have reconfigured disparate elements from one manuscript to use as inspiration for an integrated composition in another. There is also a possibility that the focus on animals in both manuscripts is related to a tradition of illustrated bestiary manuscripts in the region. Three bestiary manuscripts were likely produced in Thérouanne about twenty years before the Tresor and Alexander manuscripts.<sup>14</sup> One of these bestiaries contains a text accompanied by the same kind of abstract diagrams and images found at the beginning of the section of the Tresor manuscript dedicated to natural history. This bestiary manuscript also features a section devoted to manlike creatures from far-off lands that correspond to similar figures in the Alexander manuscript.<sup>15</sup> It is possible, then, that a strong tradition of illuminated bestiaries in the region influenced the illumination in these two later secular texts, in both choice of images and their composition. E.M.

#### "La premiere partie de ceste treçor est autresi com de deniers contains por despendre tousjors en choses besoignables, c'est a dire qu'ele trate dou comencement dou siecle, et de l'anciens tens des viellies estoires, et de l'establissement dou monde, et de la nature de toutes choses en sonme": Barrette and Baldwin 1993, 1; and Baldwin and Barrette 2003, 1.

- At the end of Brunetto's introduction, he explains why he chose French rather than Italian: "French is more pleasant and has more in common with all other languages": Barrette and Baldwin 1993, 2.
- 3. The four manuscripts, Saint Petersburg, National Library of Russia, Ms. Fr.F.v.III.4; London, BL, Yates Thompson Ms. 19; Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 567; and Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Ms. Laur. Ash. 125, were originally grouped by Alison Stones (2002, 346). For the localization to Thérouanne/Saint Omer, see Stones 1970, 1996a, and 2007 and Roux 2009, 77. A full facsimile of the Saint Petersburg manuscript was published in 2000 (*Libro* 2000).
- 4. The Saint Petersburg manuscript is the most heavily illuminated of the four (Stones 2003b and Roux 2009, 79–81). The more opulent Saint Petersburg manuscript may have been commissioned by the two individuals shown on fol. 19v (Stones 2007, 72; and Roux 2009, 136–37).
- Barrette and Baldwin 1993, 22.

5.

- 6. The five I include in this group are: the coronation of Penthesilea (fol. 13v), the coronation of Clovis (fol. 15), the coronation of Charlemagne (fol. 24), the pope addressing Emperor Frederick (fol. 26v), and the pope excommunicating Frederick (fol. 27v).
- 7. A coat of arms is featured in the border of this image, likely imaginary (Libro 2000, 64–65; and Stones 2007, 72).
- For a possible relationship between the *Légende dorée* and the illustration of the Saint Petersburg manuscript, see Roux 2009, 202–5.
   See fols. 28v, 30v, 31v, and 38v (*mappa mundi*).
- 10. For a discussion of the relations between Brunetto's text and the bes-
- tiary, see Willene Clark in *Libro* 2000, 139–70; and Roux 2009, 225–29.
   For information on this atelier, see Stones 2002 and 2007. Stones also
- relates these manuscripts artistically to cat. no. 7.
- Stones 1982, 197; she points out the similarity between the whale in one of the Brunetto manuscripts (London, BL, Yates Thompson Ms. 12) and one in a related Alexander manuscript (Brussels, BR, Ms. 11040). See also Stones 2007, 71 and cat. no. 7.
- 13. For other examples of animals that recur in both manuscripts, compare the animals on fols. 46, 53, 45v of the Saint Petersburg manuscript with those on fols. 47, 46v, and 68 of the Alexander manuscript.
- 14. Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, Ms. 2200, and Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, Mss. Ludwig XV 3 and XV 4 (all third quarter of the thirteenth century). I would like to thank Alison Stones for sharing her entries on these manuscripts (Stones forthcoming [a]). Due to the consistent iconography of bestiaries, it is difficult to establish direct links between the manuscripts. Here what is being stressed is a general connection.
- 15. Ms. Ludwig XV 4 contains the *Philosophia mundi* by William of Conches, one of the major astronomical and scientific texts of the twelfth century. Compare fol. 28v (Saint Petersburg) with fol. 141v (Getty). The section of the Getty manuscript devoted to exotic manlike creatures, fols. 117–120, illustrates several of the same creatures as featured in the Alexander manuscript.

## 10

Lancelot propre Master of Sainte Benoîte Picardy, ca. 1310–15

 $\begin{array}{ll} \text{SPECIFICATIONS} & 141 \text{ ff.}; 34.6 \times 25.5 \text{ cm} (13^{5/8} \times 10^{1/16} \text{ in.}); \text{justification:} 28.4 \times [6.6 \times 1.4 \times 5.8 \times 1.4 \times 6.4] \text{ cm} (11^{3/16} \times [2^{9/16} \times 9^{1/6} \times 2^{1/4} \times 9^{9/16} \times 2^{1/2}] \text{ in.}); \text{ varies,} 48-50 \text{ lines;} 3 \text{ columns} \end{array}$ 

ILLUMINATION 18 three-column miniatures, 1 two-column miniature, 81 historiated initials

COLLECTION New York, The Pierpont Morgan Library, Ms. M.805

PROVENANCE Jean I de Brosse, marechal de France (d. 1433); château d'Anet (1724); J. Barrois; earl of Ashburnham; C. Fairfax Murray (1849–1919); Henry Yates Thompson (1838–1928); Cortlandt F. Bishop (1870–1935); The Pierpont Morgan Library (purchased, on the Lewis Cass Ledyard Fund, 1938)

Among the large number of manuscripts containing some part of the Lancelot-Grail cycle and dating from the years around 1250-1330 (see also cat. nos. 7 and 12), the Morgan Lancelot stands out for the superb quality of its lively illuminations.1 The unwieldy text known as the Lancelot-Grail cycle (or the Vulgate or Pseudo-Map cycle) can be divided into five separate texts, the heart of which is the Lancelot propre, which contains about half the text of the entire cycle.<sup>2</sup> It follows the story of the life of Lancelot, including his role in the Round Table and his infamous affair with Guinevere. This is the text found in the Morgan Library's manuscript.<sup>3</sup> Although the authors of the Lancelot-Grail cycle considered their work to be based at least in part on historical fact,<sup>4</sup> it was the adventurous exploits of the knights of the Round Table that generated such tremendous enthusiasm for illustrated versions of this text.<sup>5</sup>

Manuscripts of one, two, and three columns, featuring small miniatures, multiregister miniatures, and historiated initials, all play a part in the manuscript tradition of this text. The extensive illumination scheme of the Morgan manuscript takes the unusual form of oblong miniatures that occupy the entire width of the text block (it is the only *Lancelot* manuscript with miniatures extending across three columns), as well as historiated initials sprinkled at intervals throughout. The lively miniatures, usually divided into two separate narrative blocks, are the work of one of the most versatile and accomplished artists active in northern France at the time, known as the Master of Sainte Benoîte (see also cat. no. 11).

As in many manuscripts of the period, an enlarged miniature marks the beginning of the text. Its two registers are divided in half, so that four images tell the story of the birth and kidnapping of Lancelot.<sup>6</sup> This miniature is by a hand not seen elsewhere in the manuscript and is characterized by stocky figures that are small in relation to the background and horses featuring exaggerated parts down the middle of their manes, which cascade to each side.<sup>7</sup> A third hand was responsible for the historiated initials at the beginning of the manuscript.<sup>8</sup> The initials in this manuscript are paired with miniatures only twice (fols. 1 and 121).<sup>9</sup> Unlike the miniatures, which are characterized by narrative complexity (see below), the initials are always of a single scene with only a few figures, set against a gold background with very little narrative detail or context; they seem to be used simply to break up the text.

The vast appeal of this manuscript centers in the elongated three-column miniatures.<sup>10</sup> In almost all cases, these miniatures are divided into two separate halves, indicated by changes in both the border and the background. Often, the artist makes clever use of secondary characters or structures to relate the two halves, both narratively and aesthetically. One such miniature relates the story of the false Guinevere (ill. 10a). Guinevere had a half-sister, also named Guinevere, who looked just like her. Plotting with the knight Bertelay, the false Guinevere convinces Arthur to take her as his wife and exile the true Guinevere as a fake. Lancelot, of course, comes to the true Guinevere's aid and discovers the truth, offering to fight three knights on her behalf. After Arthur realizes his mistake, the false Guinevere and Bertelay are burned at the stake. In the miniature, Lancelot battles on the left to defend the virtue of the true Guinevere and on the right, the false Guinevere and Bertelay reap the reward for their sin.

Although these are two separate narrative moments in the text, the artist links the two halves by stretching the figure of one of the dead knights in the foreground across from one side of the miniature to the other. In addition, the man arranging the pyre looks back across the division to the battle with Lancelot. These subtle visual touches serve to emphasize the close relationship between the two halves and reinforce in the viewer a sense of the immediate consequences of Lancelot's feat. The fact that this episode is relayed differently in other textual variants of the Lancelot indicates that the artist must have received very specific directions about the content of the miniatures.<sup>11</sup> In addition, the manuscript lacks rubrics, another indicator that the artist (or the *libraire*) as well as the viewer would have had to rely on the surrounding text to establish the subject of the illuminations. The way in which the images break up the text, in fact, introduces a strong sense of interaction between text and image: the images are divided in two, but the text appears in three columns, each of which contains some part of the story. An active tension pervades the rette . Er habar lauentaille fus ler erpaules . Er el herie mereir quit ne locie . Er il recipour que ja diez uch aut fla 1a meir Alus ne de aurres . ear tenne dour 1d auour nier de Taurors .

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furent fue aller volent empie 28. Er u chtifala damontelle w which lef arrong Edner arerve and entrudic. don dur encociv quileur eur. Mai nunr ganer un caura lauplu cont qui por Fruik laman Alefper. Eftur ie blane de un de Bendre. er lan ?-re ward windheund Emet lec cur anant lespee enla main er have the mit had with do neur & gur cops la ouglie ander emputer- to eache Fau hannes. zon built or land fier treffere sue charge a & cops . In chirne purphur one and gran place plur zplur. er lan E. preuvrere an hy zer guednat auplus quil

gune & thu opaniguon i Bile fiete & Gipee A que coure la cette u Bette Pout remonte fue don chenal. In ref gand enhaur aut fenetres. 7 voir Beus-le tenerchal. Be u dut keus. en cu auge que vor ne nodries pas ettre h quart ple Baranme d'10 gree agaangmen

and venne heiert chies que mit a gui dourance er al ænde lare stengin par con il æ pene garie. Il te fene mit unièris apar il ær our duan- chul në puer erehaper taurmore Bi vuelemier erehaper taurmore Bi vuelemier angue an renue preciente. Baur et empires ne mal mis. er aprecæ wir bilanneme dar un kanar le Lace elle mentiner fon branme. Bile bane vonant wur 7811. Due teure dur beneour que vor finternez 9 me il plut prendon dou monde er voretter it chier on monde que doi plut amer. ear vormanez undur house zwir. Emi a tanë fa dame dunnee. Di demaineur mir gume wur er ji nuëner an zoj tur hpro dome trequiereur qui toi face de out dea damonelle qui toi face de out dea damonelle que ette qui et encheour 2 prouse d'fon forparqer h zon verpour que il le fem uo lentiere.

gue entrel Floulas em jl Detr qual aneur uguer ozendrour Cant plur arendre Lozt furenra miniature depicting Lancelot and the poison spring, where the two snakes that poison him wend their way from one side of the miniature to the other (ill. 10b).<sup>12</sup>

Almost all of the miniatures were executed by the Master of Sainte Benoîte, and the elongated figures show his characteristic sweet, doll-like faces, with heads that display a small blank spot in the middle from which drawn hairs radiate.<sup>13</sup> In their swaying, elegant courtliness the figures in the Morgan *Lancelot* appear less substantial and stalwart than their counterparts in the manuscript from which the artist takes his name (compare cat. no. 11). Whether in full-page miniatures or rare three-column images, the Master of Sainte Benoîte was a skilled storyteller, who could accommodate varying subject matter and format, turning it to his best advantage no matter what the parameters. E.M.

- 1. For a further discussion of this manuscript's miniatures, see my essay in this volume.
- 2. See cat. no. 12 for a summary explanation of the entire cycle and its texts. Due to its length and complexity, the *Lancelot propre* can itself be divided into five subsections, which are given various names by different scholars. An edition of the Old French text of the *Lancelot* can be found in Sommer 1908–16 and Micha 1978–83; a modern French translation can be found in Poirion et al. 2001; and an English translation in Lacy 1993. For the early illuminated copies of the text as well as a listing of all editions of the text, see Stones 2003a.
- 3. The *Lancelot propre* occupies three manuscripts, Mss. M.805–M.807. The first and second volumes originally formed one manuscript and date from the early fourteenth century (Ms. M.806 contains twentyone miniatures and fifty-four historiated initials). The third volume (M.807) dates from the fifteenth century. The text ends about halfway through the final of the five texts that comprise the *Lancelot propre*.
- 4. Kennedy 1994, 219-33.

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mor. Fant fu land tour coluj w? withus qui winblow mexer av more que vis en toure lan shidgur quil den debus . xv. 10128 andi cunt/7 ani 12.00023 gune fl fu ouquer plus. Se dux me preite fa Gaulee en pan delm beam 31 fen went afoles 2 fendstatine milê enfon ener 81 fen tlaîme 1afe

**10a** (opposite) Lancelot and the False Guinevere, fol. 119v

#### ٦ob

On the over fifty illuminated copies of the text created between 1250

devoted to medieval illuminated manuscripts of the Lancelot-Grail

A northern French Lancelot manuscript of the thirteenth century

at its beginning with similar iconography. The Bancroft Library

(Berkeley, Bancroft Library, Ms. 107) contains a four-part miniature

manuscript, however, features miniatures of two registers contained

in a single column, which may have been expanded in the case of the Morgan *Lancelot* to occupy the space over all three columns.

Stones (1970, 255) has identified this artist as one who worked on a

Roman de Tristan (Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 776) from Arras. See also Gardill

I would attribute most of the initials before fol. 80 to this third hand,

but toward the middle of the manuscript and at its end, the Master of Sainte Benoîte is largely responsible (compare, for instance, the

knights on horseback in the miniature on fol. 125v with those in the

hand as also having worked on a *Roman d'Alexandre* in Paris (BnF, Ms. fr. 789; see Stones 1970, 255–61) and another in Reims (Biblio-

thèque municipale, Ms. 217; see Stones 1990a, 386).

Royal Ms. 16 G.VI, Grandes chroniques de France).

on this episode, see Harf-Lancner 1984.

volume.

note 5.

historiated initial on fol. 132v). Alison Stones has identified the third

On the differences in placement between the miniatures and initials,

see Kennedy 2000, 271-72. Stones (1970, 486–87; and 1990b, 329) points out that several notes to the illuminator can be seen in the

manuscript, more often associated with the initials than with the

miniatures and frequently relating to the heraldry of the figures.

miniatures extending across two columns (Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 342

11. The shorter redaction of this event, contained in the Morgan manu-

of the two sinners, an event absent in the longer version and thus  $% \mathcal{A}^{(1)}$ 

12. Lacy 1993, 3:146–47. For more on this image, see my essay in this

13. For a list of manuscripts associated with this artist, see cat. no. 11,

and London, BL, Royal Ms. 20 D.IV) and two other manuscripts with

miniatures across three columns (BnF, Ms. fr. 12577, Perceval; and BL,

script (and not in Micha 1978-83 or Lacy 1993), ends with the burning

illustrated quite differently in numerous other manuscripts. For more

10. Stones (1970, 80-81) has traced two Lancelot manuscripts with

cycle: http://vrcoll.fa.pitt.edu/stones-www/lancelot-project.html. For a possible connection between Lancelot and French nationalism, see

and 1350, see Stones 2003a. Stones 2000a discusses her website

5.

6.

8.

9.

Morris 1991, 115-29.

2005, 230.

Lancelot and the Poison Spring, fol. 231v (detail)



Vie de Sainte Benoîte d'Origny Master of Sainte Benoîte Picardy, ca. 1312–14

 $\begin{array}{l} {\rm SPECIFICATIONS} & {\rm 355\,ff.;\, 19.5\times 13.8\,cm\,(7^{11}/16\times 5^{7}/16\,in.);\, justification:\, 13\times 8.8\,cm\,(5^{1}/8\times 3^{7}/16\,in.);} \\ {\rm 18\,lines;\, 1\,column} \end{array}$ 

ILLUMINATION 54 full-page miniatures

COLLECTION Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, Ms. 78 B 16

PROVENANCE Monastery of d'Origny; convent of Weingarten, Baden-Württemberg (16th century); Frederick William, king of Prussia (1688–1740; purchased for the Kupferstichkabinett)

This extraordinary manuscript represents a late version of an illustrated *libellus* (a type of small-format book focusing on a single saint that was popular especially in the eleventh and twelfth centuries)<sup>1</sup> and centers on the life of Saint Benoîte d'Origny (d. 362).<sup>2</sup> Unlike collections of saints' lives popular among the wealthy bourgeoisie and the nobility (see cat. nos. 14, 15, 16, and 28), libelli were usually created for use in a monastic setting. Saint Benoîte was not a particularly well-known saint in the Middle Ages, but a convent (Origny Sainte-Benoîte, eastern France) was established at the site of her martyrdom and burial and became the final resting place of her relics.3 Thirteenth-century efforts to increase the importance of her cult and encourage participation in the feasts associated with her martyrdom and the translation of her relics may well have culminated in the creation of this manuscript.4

Saint Benoîte had been known through several short early medieval Latin texts identifying her as an early Christian martyr, but later French texts, written perhaps specifically for the manuscript under discussion, greatly extended the range of her activities during her life and celebrated the miracles associated with her relics and tomb. This manuscript presents the reader with the opportunity to compare side by side several different versions of the saint's legend, in both Latin and French, and in an extended suite of miniatures by the artist who takes his name from this manuscript, the Master of Sainte Benoîte (see also cat. no. 10).<sup>5</sup> These images give the most complete and accessible version of Saint Benoîte's historical role, weaving together the various stories of her life, the finding of her tomb and relics, and her meaning to the nuns of her namesake convent.

The manuscript is a complex, luxury document intended not for everyday use but for the celebration of special events.<sup>6</sup> It begins with a short summary of Saint Benoîte's life in French, followed by a picture cycle of fifty-four images whose borders contain a separate text composed of French *tituli* (labels); a calendar and computational tables; two versions of her life in Latin, one in prose and the other rhymed; a recitation of her miracles in French and Latin; special liturgical masses, offices, and readings; descriptions of her relics in French and Latin; a French legend mostly concerning her relics and the convent's history; instructions for the nun charged with overseeing the treasury; and finally, a short miscellany of texts ending with the inscriptions that appear on the reliquaries in Latin.<sup>7</sup>

The contents are probably a combination of the texts associated with Saint Benoîte that were present at the convent at the beginning of the fourteenth century (such as the Latin lives and the liturgical texts) and those that may have been commissioned specifically for this project (including the legends in French and the instructions for the keeping of the treasury).<sup>8</sup> From interior evidence, we know that the manuscript was begun in late 1312 for Heluis de Conflans, who is represented in prayer before a statue of Saint Benoîte near the end of the picture cycle (fol. 56). Unfortunately, little is known of Heluis, although Ingrid Gardill suggests that she was perhaps the nun in charge of the treasury, hence the emphasis on the treasury instructions in the manuscript.<sup>9</sup>

What is established, however, is that the nunnery was founded in the second half of the thirteenth century to focus attention on the saint and to encourage her cult. In 1246, a new reliquary of pure silver replaced the previous wooden one and was reverently dedicated on May 26. This day became a yearly feast, accompanied by a celebratory procession, and the miracles associated with Saint Benoîte's tomb and relics up to 1311 are recorded in the manuscript.<sup>10</sup> Thus, the manuscript as a whole, with its various Latin and French hagiographic texts and contemporary chronicles and instructions, encouraged the reader/viewer to participate in a kind of comparative history, almost unknown in this time period. The goal, however, was not to focus on inconsistencies or omissions but to integrate the various texts for a more complete understanding of the important role of the convent's patron saint, a role that the pictorial narrative cycle could best fulfill.

As Gardill has noted, the new legends in French composed for the manuscript largely reflect an older tradition of hagiography associated with apostles as well as male martyrs of Gaul from the seventh and eighth centuries, especially that of Saint Quentin, whose cult center was located nearby (see cat. no. 64).<sup>11</sup> The short text that prefaces the picture cycle in fact encourages these associaSaint Benoîte Chases the Demons from Laon and The Destruction of Idols, fols. 13v-14

11

tions when it states that Saint Benoîte was Saint Quentin's first cousin.<sup>12</sup> Not surprisingly, the picture cycle follows the same model. Indeed, this short French prefatory text makes mention of the image cycle to follow, making clear that the images were conceived as an integral part of the book from the very beginning.<sup>13</sup>

The cycle begins with a series of images dedicated to Saint Benoîte's decision to leave Rome to spread Christianity and her arduous journey and triumphal arrival in France (ill. 11). On folio 13v, Saint Benoîte rings her bell to scare away a demon on her way through Laon to Origny. On the facing page, she takes an even more active role in destroying idols in the same city. Her companion rings the bell this time as Benoîte raises a rod over her head to deliver a crushing blow to the already-falling idols. Neither of these events is specifically attested to in the legends associated with her.<sup>14</sup> On folios 15v and 16, she is shown preaching and baptizing converts. These images not only serve to establish her in the great tradition of missionaries, they also subtly reinforce the current role of Origny as a legitimate cult location, as both the bell and the saint's left arm, which she used to baptize converts, were treasured relics of the convent.15

The next twenty-four images focus on the saint's arrival in Origny and her subsequent persecution by the tyrant Matroclus. Although at first glace the images seem repetitive, in fact they are part of a carefully constructed narrative that uses repeated compositions to build tension and to stress relevant themes. The idea of Benoîte's perseverance and adherence to Christianity in the face of persecution and torture is continually emphasized by word and image. The last third of the images in the visualized story depict Benoîte's burial, the finding of her tomb, the establishment of the convent, its history, and finally, the patron of the manuscript in prayer before a statue of the saint, thereby bringing the story of Benoîte up to the beginning of the fourteenth century.

In contrast to the limitations presented by a written text without images, this visual story could expand on all aspects of the manuscript's text: Benoîte's life story, the importance of objects that were to become relics stored in the treasury, the vicarious witnessing and experiencing of events through Benoite's companion acting for the contemporary reader, and the vibrant life of the convent after its founding. As in the *libelli* of the thirteenth century, the visual cycle is an integral part of the reader's experience, yet it also serves as the most complete expression of the manuscript's contents and intent. E.M.

#### 1. On libelli, see Hahn 2001.

- A recent book by Ingrid Gardill (2005) provides a wealth of information regarding the manuscript, its history, and its contents. A helpful summary of her findings can be found in Gardill 2004, with excellent reproductions of all the manuscript's miniatures.
- For a detailed history of the convent and cult of Saint Benoîte, see Gardill 2005, 29–64.
  - Gardill 2005, 15–18.

4.

- Alison Stones (1990a) was the first to define the Master of Sainte 5. Benoîte and to identify his major works. As discussed by Stones, the artist produced an unusually varied oeuvre, including liturgical and devotional works (Vienna, Österreichisches Museum für angewandte Kunst, Ms. 1073; Modena, Biblioteca Estense, Ms. Lat. 1152; New York, Morgan Library, Ms. M.1042), romances and history (Morgan Library, Mss. M.805 and 806; Rouen, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 1050), and even an illustrated medical treatise (London, BL, Sloane Ms, 1977). Two more works have been added to the artist's oeuvre in recent years (Paris 1998, 303): a Bible (Arras, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 790) and a miscellany of legends, fabliaux, and chansons de gestes (Turin, Bibliotheca nazionale, Ms. L.II.14). Each of these manuscripts demanded a different format, type of illustration, and iconographic scheme. Unfortunately, not much is known about this artist, even his geographical placement, since the manuscripts listed above originated in centers as diverse as Paris, Amiens, Origny Sainte-Benoîte, and Reims. Two other artists were also active in the manuscript, but the Master of Sainte Benoîte executed all the full-page miniatures with the exception of fols. 53v-54. For a discussion of these other artists, see Stones 1990a, 384; and Gardill 2005, 196–201, 273–74.
- Gardill (2005, 18–19) discovered a companion manuscript that is an unillustrated version of the manuscript under discussion and may well have served as its everyday counterpart.
- For a complete listing of the manuscript's contents, see Gardill 2005, 256–60.
- Gardill (2005, 87–106) has extensively traced the textual history of each component.
- For a discussion of Heluis and her family, see Gardill 2005, 13–15, including a transcription of the relevant passage identifying the patron and date on fol. 268.
- 10. Gardill 2005, 37-38, 59-64.
- 11. Gardill 2005, 97–98. Gardill (2005, 157–77) also discusses the possible influences of image cycles devoted to other saints.
- 12. "Cousine germaine mon seigneur saint quentin" (fol. 1).
- 13. "Car en ce livre ci près est contenut par imagenerie comment me dame sainte benoite se gouvrena" (fol. 2).
- 14. Gardill 2005, 129–33.
- 15. Gardill 2005, 130, 134.

Estoire del Saint Graal Paris, ca. 1310–20

 $\begin{array}{l} {\rm SPECIFICATIONS} & 136\,{\rm ff.;}\, 29.2\times22\,{\rm cm}\,(11^{1/2}\times8^{11/16}\,{\rm in.}); \\ {\rm justification:}\, 23\times[8\times1.6\times7.8]\,{\rm cm}\\ (9^{1/16}\times[3^{1/8}\times5/8\times3^{1/16}]\,{\rm in.}); \, 40\,{\rm lines;}\, 2\,{\rm columns} \end{array}$ 

ILLUMINATION 41 one-column miniatures

COLLECTION Saint Petersburg, National Library of Russia, Ms. Fr.F.v.XV.5

PROVENANCE Guy II d'Arbaleste, vicomte de Melun (1512–1570); Séguier collection; Abbey of Saint-Germain-des-Prés (1735); Piotr Dubrovsky (1754–1816; before 1792); public library of Saint Petersburg (1805)

The long and complicated text known as the Lancelot-Grail cycle was not only one of the most popular texts of the Middle Ages, it was also one of the texts most frequently chosen for illumination in the early period of secular illumination (see also cat. nos. 7 and 10).<sup>1</sup> The text (also known the Pseudo-Map or Vulgate cycle) is actually composed of five interrelated texts, some of which (such as the one under discussion) were separately copied and illuminated: Estoire del Saint Graal; Estoire de Merlin; Lancelot propre; Queste del Saint Graal; and Mort Artu. An epilogue to one of the texts attributes the composition to Walter Map, but since he died in about 1209, five to ten years before the first text in the cycle was composed, and the texts reveal a startling number of authorial styles, it is generally agreed that no one person composed the texts and that they in fact developed over a period of about twenty years.2

The Saint Petersburg manuscript contains only the first text in the series, History of the Holy Grail (Estoire del Saint Graal), which follows the Grail from the Holy Land to Great Britain.<sup>3</sup> This is the origin of the eventful search for the Holy Grail that would occupy Arthur and the knights of his Round Table. The Christianization of the Arthurian legend in the Lancelot-Grail cycle was encouraged not only by the church but also by the royalty of England, who found in Arthur an appropriate model ancestor. The lively tales of the adventures of the Grail found a welcome audience in France as well, as can be seen by the fact that over one hundred French manuscripts of the text survive, many of them heavily illuminated.<sup>4</sup> The Saint Petersburg manuscript is unusual in its concentration on only one text and its relatively small size, as well as for the delicacy of its illuminations.

The first portion of the *Vulgate* cycle ultimately derives from a triad of octosyllabic romances written around the year 1200 by Robert de Boron, who was the first to bridge gnie 2 manda eil ibuleur el rours. Luis mang 2 lans loure 2 querr leron 0 202020m les var celiures plamonel rement ou 8: clost. 2 deltrur le rois 0 202020m. le roi cruteur. 2 toure lagér



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> **12a** Joseph of Arimathea and His Followers Imprisoned, fol. 110 (enlarged detail)

**12b** Josephus Delivers the Grail to Alan, fol. 135

mour du cors queur duoir che apores en la lupe durgla. De ais or laute li ores apler telui. 4 recourse aalam lefit bis. Ci oir omens lolephe. faiti trenens a lam lefit bron. ou el unifel. que dom riegnifer de celt li cele planolese om lecour poullans qui enti le volor.





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the distance between sacred history and secular narrative through the person of Joseph of Arimathea.5 According to Robert's story line, Joseph caught the blood of Christ at the Crucifixion in the cup used at the Last Supper. After Christ (in an apparition) gave the cup to Joseph for safeguarding, Joseph and his followers, sworn to protect what became known as the Holy Grail, then transported the cup to Britain. This is the portion of the story that became the History of the Holy Grail. The Saint Petersburg manuscript is unfortunately incomplete at the beginning,<sup>6</sup> although it likely would have featured a large frontispiece miniature, as was common in fourteenth-century secular manuscripts. Unlike many of its contemporaries, this manuscript was conceived in a relatively small format with two columns of text, making the experience of its text and illuminations more intimate.

The manuscript's illumination follows the tradition commonly seen by the fourteenth century: miniatures set at the beginning of text breaks occupy the entire width of the column and illustrate the immediately adjacent text, which is introduced by a rubric. Interestingly, the rubrics in this manuscript contain not a description of the miniature but a synopsis of the entire next section of text. In fourteenth-century secular books, rubrics were used by the illuminators to help guide them in determining the iconography of the miniatures, which explains why they often begin with the phrase "Ci devise" (This shows).<sup>7</sup> In the Saint Petersburg manuscript, the rubrics begin with the less common phrase "Ci dist" (This says) instead, indicating that the rubrics were also to be used by readers to find their way through the text. For example, the image of Joseph and his companions in jail (ill. 12a) illustrates only the first few paragraphs of the text that follows, but the rubric tells of their eventual release.8

In the illumination, Joseph and his son, Josephus, have arrived in Britain, where they encounter a pagan king. He accuses the fellowship of the Holy Grail of being liars who spread false rumors of a miraculous cup that is "full of such grace that they lived nearly completely from it."<sup>9</sup> He accordingly throws them in prison. The image shows the king seated at left and Joseph, the bearded figure, with his companions in the prison itself. Near the end of the text, Josephus dies and passes the Grail to Alan, a devoted follower (ill. 12b).<sup>10</sup> The momentous nature of the event is underlined by the fact that this is the only appearance of the Grail itself in any of the miniatures in the manuscript. Although the entire story revolves around the care of the Grail, in all the other miniatures its presence is implied rather than actual.

The miniatures are characterized by a refined style featuring swaying figures, a limited color palette, and a

strong reliance on line drawing. The style draws upon that of the Maître Honoré from a decade earlier and anticipates the abbreviated and fluid style of the Fauvel Master, who emerged a few years later (see cat. nos. 13, 14, and 15).<sup>11</sup> The manuscript was probably the work of at least two artists.<sup>12</sup> The first shows a more assured drawing style, with a greater interest in the expression of faces and hands and more delicacy in the shading of clothing. The work of the second artist features figures with smaller heads, taller bodies, and a greater sense of insubstantiality. His backgrounds are often gold, and his colors are not quite as saturated, particularly a light pink absent in the work of the first artist.<sup>13</sup> The overall sensibility of the miniatures, however, is very much of a piece, and they help contribute to the sense of quiet elegance that pervades the manuscript. Unfortunately, nothing is known of its original owner, but it was clearly commissioned or purchased by someone who could afford a luxury manuscript and had a particular attraction to the beginning of the Lancelot-Grail cycle. E.M.

- 1. For editions of the *Estoire del Saint Graal* in various languages, see Ponceau 1997, Poirion et al. 2001, and Lacy 1993. For the early illuminated copies of the text as well as a listing of all editions of the text, see Stones 2003a.
- For a discussion of the Lancelot-Grail cycle's "author," see Lacy 1993, xix-xxii.
- 3. The Saint Petersburg manuscript is related textually to three other manuscripts: Chantilly, Musée Condé, Ms. 476 (644); Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 770; Le Mans, Médiathèque municipale, Louis Aragon, Ms. 354. All four contain interpolations drawn from Robert de Boron's ca. 1200 poem, Roman de Josephe d'Aramathie (Paris 2009, 115).
- 4. See Stones 2003a, 125-26.
- 5. See O'Gorman 1995.
- The text of the manuscript begins at section 70 of the Old French edition (Ponceau 1997, 1:47; Lacy 1993, 1:17).
- On the use of rubrics by illuminators of the fourteenth century, see Rouse and Rouse 2000, 1:182, 185–86, 193–94, 197–99, 215, 243, 248–50, 254–56, as well as the literature they cite (1:373n96).
- 8. Ponceau 1997, 2:453; Lacy 1993, 1:130. The rubric for fol. 110 reads: "Ci dit comment le roi crudeux de norgales fist metre en prison josephe et toute sa compagnie et commanda qu'il i fussent xl iours sans mainger et sans boire et comment le roi mordrain i es vint delivrer parla monestement du saint esperit et detruit le rois mordrain le roi crudeux et toute sa gent."
- 9. Lacy 1993, 1:130.
- 10. Ponceau 1997, 2:557; Lacy 1993, 1:157. The rubric for fol. 135 reads: "Ci dist comment iosephe saisi et revesti alain le filz bron du s[aint] vaissel quant il dut trespasser de cest siecle parla volente dui' le tout poissant qui ensi le voloit."
- Stones (1970, 280-82) relates this style to a series of similar manuscripts: Brussels, BR, Ms. 9234 (Justinian's *Digest*); Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 778 (*Berthe aux grands pieds* by Adenet le Roi); Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 1456 (*Cleomades*); London, BL, Royal Ms. 20 D.XI (*Guillaume d'Orange* cycle); Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 2634 (*Livre d'Eracles*).
- 12. Voronova and Sterligov 1996, 52.
- 13. Although it is often difficult to judge because of the state of preservation of some of the miniatures, I would attribute to the first artist: fols. 4v, 7, 8v, 9v, 12v, 27, 30v, 35v, 37, 43v, 99v, and 110. The rest can be given to the second artist.



# Collecting the Past: 1315–1400

Those who want to know the art of chevalerie (knighthood) and take examples from ancient virtues will pray for you when they see that by your command this book which has never been touched has come to light and so many noble deeds described and recited.<sup>1</sup>

🕤 PIERRE BERSUIRE, Histoire romaine (translation of Livy's Ab urbe condita libri)

During the fourteenth century the production of books increased and the audience for them deepened and broadened. Collectors proliferated, ranging from bibliophile kings like Charles V (1338–1380), to members of the nobility and bourgeoisie, to students and scholars at the university of Paris. The commercialized Parisian book trade accommodated all kinds of readers and ensured that specialized products such as the translation of important antique texts would rapidly become accessible to a wider clientele. Artists, working with the *libraires* (booksellers) who had access to popular texts, would often focus production on French-language manuscripts.

The change from Capetian to Valois rulers in 1328 ushered in a period of turmoil. Philip VI (1293– 1350) had been chosen king with the support of members of the French nobility who refused to recognize as legitimate either direct female succession or succession claimed through the female line. Both King Edward III of England (1312–1377), whose mother, Isabella, was the sister of the last Capetian king, and King Charles of Navarre (1332–1387), a descendant of Jeanne II de Navarre (1312–1349), daughter of the Capetian king Louis X (1269–1316), tried to claim the French throne through the female line but were denied.<sup>2</sup>

The result of these conflicting claims was the Hundred Years' War, which began in 1337 and lasted until 1453, embroiling France and England in periodic conflicts and drawing them into diverse alliances with rulers from other countries and territories, including Scotland, Brittany, Castile, Portugal, Flanders, and Burgundy. During this period France's fortunes vacillated. Among the low points were the defeats of French forces at Crécy (1346) and especially at Poitiers (1356), where English forces captured King John II the Good (1319–1364). Charles V eventually regained most of the territory ceded to England in the treaty of Brétigny (1360) and brokered a peace that lasted well beyond his death. Charles VI (1368–1422) was crowned in 1380 but did not take full control of the government until he reached his majority in 1388. In 1392 he suffered his first attack of madness, a malady that would increasingly possess him and lead to a French civil war in the early fifteenth century.

The relationship between the French monarchy and the papacy underwent a dramatic shift during the fourteenth century with the election of a French pope (Clement V) in 1305 and the move of the papal seat to Avignon in 1309. French-born popes remained in Avignon even after the Italians elected a second pope, forcing a papal schism (1378–1417). Intellectual contacts made by French politicians and scholars with humanists at the papal court and, through them, with Angevin Naples helped create a climate that may have fostered the translations patronized by both King John II and his son Charles V. Charles V's extensive program of translation of over thirty Latin works intended to serve the *chose publique*, or the good of the people (among others, the texts preserved in cat. nos. 30, 31, and 45), benefited from his contact with both Avignon and the Angevin court in Naples.<sup>3</sup> Manuscripts acquired from Avignon or Naples (see, for instance, cat. nos. 19 and 50) for the royal library or other collections, as well as those newly commissioned in Paris for kings and princes, had a trickle-down effect on collectors. Members of the nobility often commissioned more modest copies of new or exotic books that came to the French capital.

Paris was the preeminent urban center of book production, with artisans who had sworn an oath of loyalty to the university living and working in diverse neighborhoods that ranged from the parish of Saint-Séverin on the Left Bank to the rue Neuve-Nostre Dame in the Île-de-la-Cité, which was also a popular address for many of the *libraires* who coordinated the production of books.<sup>4</sup> Kings of the era, like the bibliophile king Charles V, gave special tax- and service-exempt status to select *libraires*, artists, and scribes, who were appointed as *valets de chambre* or *écrivains du roi* and worked almost exclusively for them. Thus, artists like the Master of the Bible of Jean de Sy worked on special commissions for both John II the Good and Charles V (see cat. nos. 24 and 26).<sup>5</sup>

It was also during this century that the audience for the manuscripts produced by the book trade expanded. In addition to meeting the needs of the university and religious foundations, the book trade also served an expanding secular audience that included governmental entities like the Parlement de Paris and individuals ranging from the king and members of the royal house, to the nobility and members of the bourgeoisie, many of whom amassed large libraries. This broadened base was the primary audience for the increased production of specialized vernacular books with distinctive visual characteristics. Many early-fourteenth-century book producers painted in what has been called a "vernacular" style.

For example, the Fauvel Master (see cat. nos. 13, 14, and 15) and Richard and Jeanne de Montbaston (cat. no. 18) worked in a loose, quickly executed style in French-language books illustrated for a wealthy clientele that included royalty.<sup>6</sup> Others in the book trade, like Henri de Trévou and Raoulet d'Orléans, worked almost exclusively for royal patrons (see cat. nos. 24, 25, and 26), overseeing the production of highly sophisticated books with complex and elegantly painted programs of decoration. Within this group, the royal collection of manuscripts in the palace library of the Louvre played an increasing role in providing models that scribes and artists used for inspiration.<sup>7</sup>

French texts in genres such as romance, hagiography, and history that had first been popularized in the thirteenth century (see cat. nos. 15, 16, 18, and 28) continued to be commissioned. Some, like the *Vie et miracles de Saint Louis* (cat. no. 20), blurred genres, intertwining history and hagiography. Others, like the *Grandes chroniques de France*, the *Bible historiale*, and the *Histoire ancienne* (see cat. nos. 22, 23, 25, 26, and 27), were updated with careful and timely revisions that expanded both their textual content and visual cycles.

New fourteenth-century vernacular texts and translations from Latin to French testify to an expanding appetite for French histories. Whether veiled in allegory, as in the *Roman de Fauvel*, or reported more directly, as in the *Procès de Robert d'Artois* or the updates to Charles V's *Grandes chroniques* (see cat. nos. 13, 21, and 26), texts recounting current events reflected public opinion and celebrated occasions like the canonization of Louis IX (cat. no. 20). Others, such as the *Miroir historial*,

Jean de Vignay's translation of Vincent de Beauvais's *Speculum historiale* (cat. no. 17), undertaken at the request of Queen Jeanne de Bourgogne (1293–1348), who sought to make the work of the great theologian accessible to her son, John (later King John II the Good), were more specifically targeted. Books like the *Miroir historial*, which placed the history of France within a broader historical frame, must have piqued John's interest in early history, possibly leading to the *Histoire romaine*, the translation of Livy that Pierre Bersuire undertook for him, which remained popular through the fifteenth century (for later copies, see cat. nos. 24, 34, and 40). Interest in the history of the classical past, particularly of Rome, resulted in several translations of Roman authors for John's son, Charles V, such as Raoul de Presles's translation of Saint Augustine's *City of God* (see, for example, cat. no. 31) or the partially completed translation of Valerius Maximus that was finished for Charles's brother Duke John of Berry in the early fifteenth century (Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 282).

Whether royal or bourgeois in origin, illuminated manuscripts became even more valuable as a commodity between 1330 and 1400. Models of the images devised for these historical books circulated among authors, translators, and artists through the network established by Parisian *libraires*. This enabled multiple copies of illustrated texts to be produced efficiently and facilitated the kinds of visual slippage between genres that encouraged patrons to make associations between past and present or sacred and secular and that shaped informed communities of readers and viewers of history. By the end of the century, the voracious appetite for historical illustration yielded sophisticated communities of readers who expected past deeds, whether Roman, biblical, or French, to come alive through lushly painted visual images arrayed in elaborate visual cycles.

1. See cat. no. 24.

- For this period in European history, see Allmand 1988, Autrand 1986 and 1994, Curry 2003, Cazelles 1958 and 1982, Famiglietti 1986, Sumption 1999–2001, and Vale 1981 and 2001.
- For a succinct description of the translation programs of John II the Good and Charles V and for discussion of the contribution of diverse strains of Italian humanism on it, see Sherman 1995, 3–12.
- 4. For groundbreaking work on the book trade in medieval Paris, see Rouse and Rouse 2000 and Fianu 1991 and 2006.
- 5. For example, the new translation of the Bible by Jean de Sy (Paris, BnF, Ms. fr.15397) left unfinished at King John's death.
- 6. See Diamond 1986 and Rouse and Rouse 2000, 1:235–61.
- 7. Thus cat. no. 6 served as a textual model for part of another royal manuscript, cat. no. 26, and cat. no. 50 was borrowed by Duke John of Berry to serve as a textual and iconographical model for a manuscript for him (Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 301).



Gervais du Bus and Chaillou de Pesstain, *Roman de Fauvel* Fauvel Master Paris, ca. 1316–18

ILLUMINATION 1 three-quarter-page, 4 half-page, 3 two-column, 70 one-column miniatures

COLLECTION Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. fr. 146

PROVENANCE (?) Thomas III de Saluces, Paris (ca. 1350–1416; ca. 1403–5); Louis de Saluces; Amédée VIII, duke of Savoy (1383–1451); dukes of Savoy (1498, Chambéry inventory no. 149); (?) Louise de Savoy (1476–1531); Francis I, king of France (1494–1547); French royal library, Blois (16th-century inventory)

This copy of the Roman de Fauvel is justly famous for being one of the most unusual, complicated, and enigmatic manuscripts of the first half of the fourteenth century.<sup>1</sup> It is a complex interweaving of text, music, and imagery (see also cat. no. 5) in a carefully planned special edition.<sup>2</sup> The original text of the Roman de Fauvel was completed by the royal notary Gervais du Bus by 1314 and was executed as a literary text without musical or illuminated embellishment.<sup>3</sup> Like other allegories, such as the corpus concerning the fox Renart, it used an animal—in this case the horse Fauvel-to satirize the ways and morals of people, with the unholy social and political triumphs of the horse intended to embody the concepts of deceptiveness and hypocrisy.4 Fauvel's evil reign of power sees him dealing not only with false counselors and members of the nobility and the government eager to "curry his favor" (an expression derived from this text) but also with allegorical figures such as Fortune and Vain Glory.

Probably in the years between 1316 and 1318, the original text was greatly extended by the additions of one Chaillou de Pesstain, many of which make allusion to contemporary events. Pesstain's edition almost doubles the size of the original text and includes musical interpolations.<sup>5</sup> It is also clear from the placement of the miniatures, as well as their content, that illumination was considered to be an integral part of this edition, and that the illuminations, like the textual and musical additions, were intended to further sharpen the contemporaneity of the political message. It has long been recognized that the additions made to the text by Chaillou de Pesstain are largely thinly veiled

allusions to the disastrous reign of power of Enguerrand de Marigny (1260–1315), the king's favorite counselor.<sup>6</sup> As Philip the Fair's chamberlain, Marigny was blamed for many of the unpopular policies adopted by the king, and soon after Philip's death in 1314, Marigny was tried and hung. The reworked text of the *Roman de Fauvel* functions as an admonition to the king and to France concerning the evil possibilities brought to the kingdom by immorality and poor judgment.<sup>7</sup>

There has been some scholarly speculation about whether or not the supplementary music and texts added to this copy of the *Roman de Fauvel* were part of the original plan, but it is now generally agreed that though certain changes were made during its creation, the manuscript was intended to appear in the complete form that it now takes.<sup>8</sup> The inclusion of a metrical historical chronicle that covers events between 1300 and 1316, for example, may indicate a desire to make explicit the historical background of the allegorical satire of the *Roman de Fauvel* and perhaps to provide it with a solid and serious foundation in historiography.<sup>9</sup>

One of the most unusual aspects of the manuscript is the remarkably close involvement of the Fauvel Master (named for this manuscript). As noted elsewhere, the Fauvel Master is perhaps best known for the quantity of his miniatures, rather than their quality or specific relationship to the narrative at hand (see cat. no. 15).<sup>10</sup> The *Roman de Fauvel* manuscript, however, with its unusual tinted wash technique against plain parchment backgrounds works particularly effectively with a text concerning contemporary matters, and the elegance of the draftsmanship ranks it among his best works.<sup>11</sup>

Despite the quality of the work, in terms of subject matter, many of the illuminations in the Roman de Fauvel repeat rather uninspired compositions with little variation or specialized relationship to the text.<sup>12</sup> For instance, we see Fortune again and again depicted as a static figure with little or no attention paid to her role in that particular portion of the text.<sup>13</sup> Yet, in other instances, the images go far beyond the traditional in their originality and subject matter.14 On folio 30v (ill. 13a), some easily identifiable images of Paris accompany the text, including the Palais de la Cité and a bustling river scene. And the manuscript has always been justly famous for the images of the charivari (carnivalesque festivities) that accompanies the wedding feast of Fauvel and Vain Glory (ill. 13b). Given the Fauvel Master's propensity for repeating compositions wherever possible, the use of intriguing and specific imagery raises certain questions. Scholars have established a relationship between Philip's public building projects for Paris and the palace complex pictured by the Fauvel The Marriage of Fauvel; Homage to Fauvel; Views of Paris, fol. 30v

13a

**13b** Fête for the Wedding of Fauvel, fol. 36v (detail) Master in the manuscript, as well as between Fauvel's marriage festivities and the *Grant Feste* that Philip put on to celebrate the knighting of his sons in 1313.<sup>15</sup> Since the Fauvel Master was a member of the vibrant Parisian culture of the day and at a relatively early point in his career, it may well be that he himself attended the grand festivities of 1313 and was deeply enough impressed by them to incorporate his visual memories of the event into the *Roman de Fauvel*. When, however, miniatures were requested that called for more generic subjects, he fell back onto traditional iconography, a ploy that would become more and more an aspect of his work.<sup>16</sup>

The great mystery surrounding this manuscript of the *Roman de Fauvel* centers on questions of intent and des-

tination. For what purpose was the manuscript created, and for whom? Two main theories have emerged. The first revolves around the idea that it was created for Charles of Valois, brother of Philip the Fair and vehement opponent of Enguerrand de Marigny, or someone in Charles's inner circle.<sup>17</sup> The messages of the text would make sense in this context, and this theory agrees with the long-held assumption that the manuscript was created for a member of the royal family, based on its content and the luxuriousness of its production. A second theory, however, championed by Richard and Mary Rouse, argues that it was made for a small group of young government officials and lawyers, highly critical of past royal administration.<sup>18</sup> In either case, the undisputed importance of the manu-



script may well have established the Fauvel Master in the eyes of the royal court and encouraged members of the royal family and household to solicit his works on other secular projects, the mainstay of his later career.<sup>19</sup> E.M.

- 2. A discussion of other copies of the *Roman de Fauvel* can be found in Roesner, Avril, and Regalado 1990, 3–4.
- 3. The original Roman de Fauvel is composed of two books, one completed probably by 1310 and the other by 1314. It remains unclear whether Gervais du Bus was responsible for both volumes. It is also possible that Gervais was involved in the edition of the text created for BnF, Ms. fr. 146. See Wathey 1998, 599–613.
- 4. The horse's name is formed from *faus-vel*, or "veil of falseness," and the letters of his name are formed by an acrostic of epithets (*Flaterie* [flattery], *Avarice* [greed], *Vilanie* [vileness], *Varieté* [fickleness], *Envie* [envy], and *Lascheté* [cowardice]); furthermore, the color *fauve* (fawn-colored) was commonly understood as the color of vanity (Roesner, Avril, and Regalado 1990, 3).
- Élisabeth Lalou (1998, 307–19) has identified Pesstain with the notary Geoffrey Engelor.
- 6. Bent and Wathey 1998, 9-11.
- For the tone of Pesstain's additions, see Bent and Wathey 1998, 17–18.
   For the musical additions referencing Marigny, see Bent 1998, 35–52.
- For a full account of the contents of the manuscript, see Bent and Wathey 1998, 6–7. For the codicology of the manuscript, see Morin 1992.
- 9. For the relationship between the metrical chronicle and the *Roman de Fauvel*, see Regalado 1998, 467–94.
- 10. François Avril (Roesner, Avril, and Regalado 1990, 46) was the first to propose that as the Fauvel Master got older and busier, his work declined in quality, while later scholars such as Alison Stones have divided his oeuvre into two qualitative categories, the Fauvel Master and the Sub-Fauvel Master, without definitively identifying the categories as representing the work of two artists (Stones 1998, 532–37; 556–59). Richard and Mary Rouse (2000, 1:208–11) have argued, meanwhile, that the manuscripts cannot be qualitatively divided.
- 11. See Camille (1998a, 171–74) on the technique and Lecco (1993) on the use of color. For a theory regarding the use of the tinted wash technique in this manuscript through a possible link with New York Public Library, Ms. Spencer 22, see cat. no. 14.
- 12. See Roesner, Avril, and Regalado 1990, 45; and Kauffmann 1998, 303–5.
- See fols. 16v, 19, and 24. Nancy Freeman Regalado, however, has recently argued (2008, 125–40) that the depictions of Fortune play an important role in the understanding of the manuscript's moral message.
- 14. For a discussion of the author portraits, see Brown 1998, 53-72.
- Davis 1998, 187–213; and Brown and Regalado 1994, 56–86. For a discussion of the Tournament of the Virtues and Vices, see Regalado 1993, 135–46.
- 16. Kauffmann (1998, 305) has suggested that it was perhaps an outside consultant who directed the appearance of the miniatures to reflect more specific subject matter.
- 17. This is the opinion of many of the authors who participated in *Fauvel Studies* (Bent and Wathey 1998, 19).
- 18. Rouse and Rouse 2000, 1:232–33. The Rouses also posit that BnF, Ms. fr. 146 matches the account of a manuscript owned by the lawyer Gérard de Montaigu at his death in 1339, and he was very much a member of the group the Rouses describe.
- 19. The Rouses (2000, 1:209) have established that the Fauvel Master's career began in about 1314 with two royal registers. It was only after the creation of the *Roman de Fauvel* manuscript that the Fauvel Master turned almost exclusively to secular manuscript illumination.

## 14

Picture Bible and Saints' Lives Fauvel Master and assistants Paris, ca. 1316–20

 $\label{eq:specifications} \begin{array}{l} {}_{154\,\rm ff.;\,31.1\,\times\,22\,\rm cm\,(12^{1}\!/\!4\,\times\,8^{11}\!/\!16\,\rm in.);} \\ {}_{\rm justification:\,varies;\,44\,\rm lines;\,2\,\rm columns} \end{array}$ 

ILLUMINATION 843 miniatures

COLLECTION The New York Public Library, Spencer Collection, Ms. Spencer 22

PROVENANCE John Perceval, fourth earl of Egmont (1767–1835), Enmore Castle, Somersetshire; [sale, F. Braithwaite, London, July 14, 1834, no. 1308]; [Payne and Foss]; Robert S. Holford (1808–1892), Dorchester House, London; Sir George L. Holford (1860–1926), Dorchester House, London; [sale of Holford estate, Sotheby's, London, 1927–28, no. 9]; [sale, London, July 29, 1929]; Rosenbach; New York Public Library (purchased, Astor, Lenox, and Tilden Foundations, 1929)

Few French manuscripts of the fourteenth century can be shown to be a direct reworking of a preexisting manuscript,<sup>1</sup> but the 843 illustrations of this volume were all based on a heavily illuminated copy of a picture Bible and saints' lives completed for Sancho el Fuerte of Navarre in 1197.2 The exemplar made for Sancho features fullpage illuminations, usually divided into two registers, with added captions in Latin, gathered from a variety of sources.3 The entire endeavor was given a chronological emphasis, with a continuous history of Christianity emerging as the main focus. When the fourteenth-century French copy of Sancho's manuscript was made, the format was changed from the original two scenes per page with short captions above to three scenes per page aligned in one column, with a second column reserved for text.4 The text, too, was changed significantly: instead of the original Latin captions simply being translated into French, a French edition of the Bible was used, along with French sources that updated the texts.<sup>5</sup> The Fauvel Master was charged with updating the accompanying images, translating them into a courtly style featuring tall, thin figures set against colorful backgrounds.6

A preface added to the Spencer manuscript (not copied from the exemplar) states that all the events in the manuscript are given in both text and image and that the two work together to edify the reader/viewer.<sup>7</sup> This emphasis on stories as well as images, with equal weight given to both, indicates that the manuscript was intended from the beginning to be understood as a record documenting the history of Christianity in words as well as pictures. The new design of the manuscript, with one column on each page reserved for images and another for text, reflects this

The best sources on this manuscript are Roesner, Avril, and Regalado 1990 and Bent and Wathey 1998. I would like to thank Elizabeth A. R. Brown, Edward Roesner, and Nancy Freeman Regalado for sharing with me recent literature concerning the manuscript.



Citur eggiellus ia abice berlabee/perge bat anam/mont of 1 fop nistalam tr. Hiongs namb punt congre à fon rece/le quel le benet/+ li 60 mantalquil alast prendre a fame/une des filles la ham fon onder loss fe parti 1acob de berlakelt ten ala vers aram/z our il unt pres à la are te he au nepre l'il or talet te torme the pano une merre/7 la muit dellous fa tette/t fentozmu/t lozs ut en tormante une efche ele qui fi come il sembloio/ atouchout de la tire le ciel. Fangres montans'z del andens parmu't unt me leigneur apuce aleline le/qui li duoit amfi Jefin le dieu cabrabalt difuaci ie come a tout a ta leme celaterre outu cors/7 en ton't en ta lemence levot tenepes toutes les haue es de la terre/7 sere gane de toi len cefte uopest tem mente lain zlauf Aps letualla iacob/z divainfi come en motenant un panent melires eft en œ lieu's ie ne le lauore mie ce heu sera encore eliven table tleta a la mailon de dieu/Fla pozze du ciel

dual use of the manuscript and gives equal weight to the illuminations.

In the Spencer manuscript, bright colors were used both for figures and for backgrounds, and the relatively simple ink and wash drawings of Sancho's original were often converted into highly dramatic and elegant scenes that heightened the narrative impact of the stories.8 When the images of Jacob's ladder, for instance, in the copy and the original are compared (ill. 14 and fig. 48), it is clear that the Fauvel Master has remained faithful to the main elements-four angels are depicted on the ladder, with those at left climbing up and those at right on their way down. In both images, the lower portion of the angel descending at top right disappears into the clouds. However, the sense that the angels rush up and down the ladder with their wings fluttering, the contrasting deep slumber of Jacob, and the strong diagonal of the ladder cutting across the busy and colorful background all contribute to a sense of dynamism and drama that is almost entirely absent in the original.

It is also this image of Jacob's ladder that may unexpectedly shed light on the Fauvel Master's masterpiece and namesake, the *Roman de Fauvel* (cat. no. 13). On folio 37 of that manuscript (fig. 49) can be found a little-noted miniature that features startling similarities with the two Jacob's ladder images discussed above. The text associated with this miniature mentions two ladders as well as angels and archangels, but the artist clearly had in mind Jacob's ladder when he planned the miniature. Like the two miniatures discussed above, it features four angels two ascending and two descending—with the lower portion of one of the descending angels disappearing into the clouds. As in the Spencer manuscript, the angels are all on the same side of the ladders and are shown in active positions of climbing.<sup>9</sup>

It has long been remarked that the *Roman de Fauvel* was executed in an ink and wash technique unusual both in the period and in the work of the Fauvel Master.<sup>10</sup> If the artist had indeed seen the Sancho manuscript soon before painting the *Roman de Fauvel*, he may have decided to take inspiration from its spare style. The fact that the Fauvel Master also used an unusual technique for the miniatures of the Spencer manuscript—colored ink rather than gouache<sup>11</sup>—indicates that he was experimenting at this 14 (opposite) Jacob's Ladder, fol. 25

Figure 48 (below left) Jacob's Ladder in Picture Bible and Saints' Lives (with Latin captions), Navarre, 1197; Amiens, Bibliothèques d'Amiens Métropole, Ms. 108, fol. 17v

Figure 49 (below right) The Vision of Chaillou de Pesstain in Roman de Fauvel, Paris, ca. 1316-18. Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 146, fol. 37 (detail)





time with different media, perhaps based on his work with Sancho's Bible.

It has been suggested that the Spencer manuscript might have been made for Jeanne II de Navarre, the daughter of Louis X and rightful inheritor of the crown of Navarre through her grandmother Jeanne I.<sup>12</sup> Philip V of France took the throne of Navarre in 1316 (when Jeanne was only four years old) over the objections of her family.13 Navarre then stayed in the hands of the French king until 1328, when the last of the Capetians died without male issue, at which time Jeanne took her rightful place as queen of Navarre.<sup>14</sup> The Spencer manuscript was likely commissioned during the tumultuous period after 1316. There are very few possibilities for the source of the commission, as only Philip V, the dowager queen, Clémence de Hongrie, or someone acting on behalf of Jeanne would likely have had physical access to Sancho's manuscript. It seems probable that whoever commissioned the Spencer manuscript was interested specifically in having an updated copy of what was considered a precious family heirloom. Clémence de Hongrie is the least convincing of the three candidates, since she had no direct link to Navarre.15 Philip V could have commissioned it as a celebration of his acquisition of Navarre, or it is possible that the commission functioned as a claim against the infant Jeanne's abrogated rights.<sup>16</sup> For now, its original owner remains unknown.

If the manuscript, as I have argued, dates to around 1316-20, it therefore belongs very early in the Fauvel Master's career rather than later, in the 1330s, where scholars have tended to place it.<sup>17</sup> The evidence, instead, links the Spencer manuscript to the Roman de Fauvel. They were both worked on by the same artist, evidence unusual methods of execution, and, in one case at least, shared iconography. In addition, they were closely related to current dynastic and political issues and involved tricky combinations of text and image that must have required great coordination of the artist with other participants in the manuscripts' creation. If the new dating of the Spencer manuscript is correct, the appearance of its images, as well as their sheer number, offers insights into the early career of the Fauvel Master. E.M.

hurry the project along (Bucher 1970, 1:65).

Bucher 1970, 1:66-68.

5.

- Given the large number of illuminations and their varying quality, it is likely that one or more assistants were involved.
- "Toutes les choses qui en ce livre sont conentues apartenans tant au 7. viel comme au nouvel testament sont en ce meisme livre par hystoires et ymages figurees. Et qui voudra bien et diligement les ymages ou hystoires du livre a tout leurs titles et les exposicions ensivans regarder si porra lors plainnement et parfaitement du livre toute lordenance entendre et deviser et est assavoir" (fol. 1).
- As Bucher (1970, 1:65 and 68) has argued, the manuscript was clearly 8. completed in a hurry, as the gold leaf frames were only partially completed, and later gatherings contain blank spaces for miniatures never completed. Moreover, the miniatures in the beginning of the manuscript are beautifully painted, but they steadily decrease in quality.
- 9. It is possible that the Fauvel Master painted this image in the Roman de Fauvel first and only later happened to encounter the image in the Sancho manuscript. However, given the iconographic similarities between the three images, it is more likely that the Fauvel Master was reworking the Jacob's ladder miniature from the Sancho manuscript at the same moment that he needed to illustrate a text requiring angels and ladders in the Roman de Fauvel. This scenario fits with the artist's propensity for reusing his own imagery.
- 10. Roesner, Avril, and Regalado 1990, 45; and Camille 1998, 171-74.
- 11. Roesner, Avril, and Regalado 1990, 46n27; see also Bucher 1970, 1:65. Curiously, the use of color seems to fade throughout the manuscript. Up until fol. 49, bright colors are used throughout each miniature, but by fol. 57, there begins a gradual leaching. This may be related to the haste in which the manuscript was finished.
- 12. Bucher 1970, 1:70; and Rouse and Rouse 2000, 1:212, 380n78. I deeply appreciate all the stimulating conversations with Elizabeth A. R. Brown regarding this manuscript.
- 13. Brown 1991a, 248n89, 258-59, 263, 265-66.
- 14. For a history of the throne of Navarre and the Capetians, see Viard 1900, 447-49.
- 15. At the time of her death there was no record matching the Spencer manuscript in Clémence's library (Douët-d'Arcq 1874, 61-64).
- 16. Since Jeanne was so young, the manuscript would have had to be commissioned by someone guarding her interests during those years, such as Eudes of Burgundy (her uncle) or a member of the Évreux family (she was promised in marriage to Philippe d'Évreux), although neither family was known for the commissioning of manuscripts, and both families had eventually supported Philip V as king of Navarre, making them unlikely continued supporters of Jeanne's rights. Given the stylistic and iconographic links I am suggesting here between the Spencer manuscript and the Roman de Fauvel, it is intriguing that the earliest owner of the Roman de Fauvel has been posited by Rouse and Rouse (2000, 1:217-18) as Gérard de Montaigu, who was working on Jeanne's claim to the Navarrese throne by 1329.
- Avril (Roesner, Avril, and Regalado 1990, 46) posited that the Fauvel 17. Master's later works are characterized by an increasing sloppiness. Stones (1998, 532-37) has championed a division of manuscripts between the Fauvel Master and the Sub-Fauvel Master, although she also says that one cannot definitively conclude that they represent the work of two separate artists. Rouse and Rouse (2000, 1:209-10) conclude that the Fauvel Master was capable of quite different levels of quality, even in the same manuscript.

2. Sancho's Bible is Amiens, Bibliothèques d'Amiens Métropole, Ms. 108, and a contemporary copy was made (formerly Harburg, Oettingen-Wallerstein Collection, Ms. 1, 2, lat. 4°, 15 [now University Library, Augsburg]); see Bucher 1970.

<sup>1.</sup> For a somewhat parallel situation see cat. no. 26.

Bucher 1970, 1:21. 3.

At first, the two-register order was copied, but after fol. 9 that formulation was abandoned in favor of three images to a page, no doubt to

Vie des saints Fauvel Master and assistants Paris, ca. 1327–29

ILLUMINATION 1 multipart frontispiece, 1 half-page, 76 two-column miniatures, 1 one-column miniatures

COLLECTION Brussels, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, Ms. 9225

PROVENANCE Carthusians of Zeelhem (14th century); Philip the Good, duke of Burgundy (1396–1467; 1467 inventory); Maximilian of Austria (1459–1516; 1487 inventory); Viglius (1577); Sanderus (1643); Franquen (1731); Gérard (1793); Bibliothèque nationale, Paris; Bibliothèque royale de Belgique

With its companion volume (Brussels, BR, Ms. 9229-30), this manuscript is an unusual witness to the process of creating multiple copies of a single set of texts in the first third of the fourteenth century. These volumes from the Bibliothèque royale are closely related to two other sets of the same hagiographic texts, probably created within a very short time period and all purchased by or created for patrons close to the royal house of France.<sup>1</sup> The cycles originally contained a specific version of the Vie des saints (for other anthologies of saints' lives, see cat. nos. 14, 16, and 28), a copy of Gautier de Coinci's Miracles de Nostre Dame (see cat. no. 5), and the Vie des pères (a collection of the lives of the church fathers).<sup>2</sup> Each cycle of the three main texts was originally bound as one manuscript, although each manuscript was later divided into two volumes for ease of use.<sup>3</sup> All three sets are closely related textually and iconographically, and the Brussels manuscripts even share the same artist as one of the other sets (see below).<sup>4</sup> The scheme of illumination in all the sets emphasizes a sense of continuity and order in sacred history, although the Brussels manuscripts are distinguished by an unusual set of frontispieces that may be related to the patron of the manuscript or the occasion for which it was created.

The ex libris notes at the beginning and end of the Brussels manuscripts identify them as belonging to the Carthusian charterhouse of Zeelhem near Diest.<sup>5</sup> Richard and Mary Rouse have convincingly posited that the manuscripts were commissioned as a foundation gift for this house. Gérard de Diest and his wife, the politically well-connected Jeanne de Flandre, were the patrons of the house, and its foundation can be dated to February 1, 1329, during the same period in which the two other copies are documented.<sup>6</sup> Moreover, Jeanne de Flandre's relatives were closely associated with the French court, and her grandfathers Guy de Dampierre and Raoul de Clermont were known as manuscript patrons.<sup>7</sup> It seems likely, then, that the Brussels manuscripts were commissioned from the same *libraire*, Thomas of Maubeuge, by Jeanne de Flandre and her husband in celebration of the founding of the charterhouse at Diest near the time that the two other sets were being created.

All three sets stress the relationship between the three main texts and encourage readers to make strong connections between them as evidence of the interdependent nature of sacred history.<sup>8</sup> The church fathers and saints were all understood as modeling their lives on the example set by Christ and so each manuscript begins with a multicompartment image narrating events from his life. The *Vie des pères* would have been especially appropriate to the founding of the charterhouse at Zeelhem, as Carthusian monasteries were essentially conceived as a community of hermits, all living in individual hermitages organized around a cloister.

The Brussels manuscripts were originally bound together, as can be seen from the table of contents that was originally appended to the first volume and later divided between two volumes.9 Both manuscripts were largely the work of the Fauvel Master, 10 the most prolific artist of the first half of the fourteenth century (see cat. nos. 13 and 14).<sup>11</sup> His work is characterized by the format seen in this manuscript, composed of three columns of text with most images stretching across two columns, except for the elaborate multicompartment frontispiece, which occupies all three.<sup>12</sup> In the case of Ms. 9225, the frontispiece depicting the story of Christ (ill. 15) is closely related to that of its "twin," Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 183, fol. 1. The choice of scenes is exactly the same (and indeed the iconography is almost identical in several scenes as well), with the exception of the final scene in the series of eight: the Brussels manuscript depicts the Resurrection, while the Paris manuscript shows the Entombment. The explanation for this difference may lie in the rubric for the Brussels manuscript, which specifically mentions Christ's Resurrection,<sup>13</sup> but the choice of images for the series of small miniatures set within the text of the Brussels manuscript may also have played a role. Although each manuscript begins with a series of miniatures depicting Christ's infancy and Passion following its large frontispiece, only the Brussels manuscript continues that story with the addition of two images related to the apocryphal story of Joseph of Arimathea. After a standard set of infancy and Passion scenes, the Brussels manuscript skips straight



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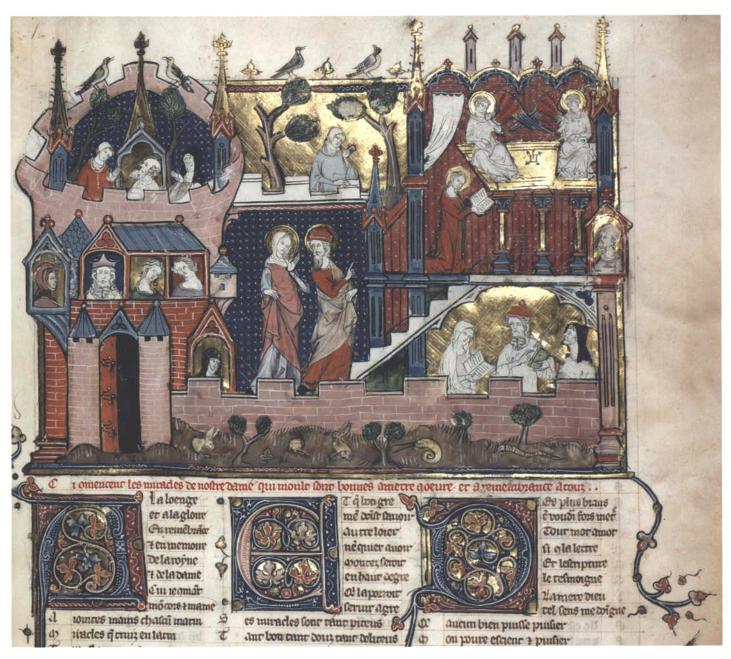
from Christ before Pilate (fol. 5v) to the story of Joseph of Arimathea, told in two images: Joseph's imprisonment (fol. 6v), and his return to Jerusalem upon the elders' request after his miraculous release from prison (fol. 7v). Within the context of this manuscript, the ending of the Brussels manuscript's frontispiece with scenes of the Crucifixion and Resurrection makes sense, since these two famous narrative images are absent from the Passion cycle of smaller miniatures.

The Brussels manuscript, unlike its Parisian counterpart, includes an illustrated chapter list, a rare addition. The first illumination for the chapter list, corresponding to the *Vie des saints*, illustrates the Entry into Jerusalem.<sup>14</sup> The other two images, of the Virgin and Child before a group and an angel appearing to a hermit, correspond respectively to the *Miracles de Nostre Dame* chapter list and the one for the *Vie des pères* (the two images both occupy a single column width rather than the three columns of the Entry into Jerusalem). These rather generic images only loosely illustrate the idea of their texts and thus are quite different from the Entry into Jerusalem image, which is narratively very specific.

The frontispiece for the *Miracles de Nostre Dame*, which opens the companion volume (Ms. 9229–30), begins not with an image of the Theophilus miracle, as in the related manuscript from The Hague (KB, Ms. 71.A.24, fol. 1), inspired by the first miracle in the collection, but with a complex image of Mary entering the temple in Jerusalem (fig. 50).<sup>15</sup> The inclusion of this miniature and the Entry into Jerusalem in the chapter list, as well as the image **15** (opposite) The Life of Christ, fol. 2

#### Figure 50

Mary Enters the Temple of Jerusalem in Miracles de Nostre Dame, Paris, ca. 1327–29; Brussels, BR, Ms. 9229–30, fol. 4 (detail)



of Joseph of Arimathea entering Jerusalem, discussed above, makes it likely that whoever commissioned the manuscript had a clear interest in Jerusalem (or its symbolic significance). Perhaps future research will uncover a link between the unusual iconography of the manuscript and the circumstances of its patronage. E.M.

1. Rouse and Rouse 2000, 1:187–201.

- Although these three texts form the heart of each set, the Rouses (2000, 1:190) also note the presence of several shorter texts in the different sets. The version of the Vie des saints found in the sets is that compiled by Wauchier de Denain.
- 3. The three sets of two volumes, as identified by the Rouses, are: Brussels, BR, Ms. 9225 (under discussion here) and Ms. 9229–30; Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 183 and The Hague, KB, Ms. 71 A 24; [a now-lost manuscript] and Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Ms. 5204 (Rouse and Rouse 2000, 1:190). The Vie des saints formed the first volume of each set, and all the remaining texts went into the second volume.
- I deeply appreciate the help offered by Richard and Mary Rouse and especially Marie-Thérèse Gousset in their discussions with me regarding this manuscript, its contents, and its artists.
- For more information on Diest manuscripts, see Smeyers and Cardon 1983, 31–65.
- For information about the documents relating to the two other sets of manuscripts, see Rouse and Rouse 2000, 1:194–98.
- 7. Rouse and Rouse 2000, 1:195.
- 8. The rubric to the frontispiece of Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 183 stresses the Latin origins of the text as well as the links between the saints, Christ, and the Virgin: "Ci commence la legende des sains doree et les martires qu'il souffrirent pour l'amour de nostre seingneur jhesu crist la quele a translatee de latin en françois mestre jehan belet et à l'onneur et à la loenge de nostre seingneur et de la benoite vierge marie."
- For early scholarship on the Brussels volumes, see Gaspar and Lyna 1937, 259–66; and Smeyers and Cardon 1983, 31–65.
- 10. The Rouses and Marie-Thérèse Gousset have kindly informed me via personal correspondence that the images on fols. 1 and 1v are by the Master of BnF, Ms. fr. 160, as is also posited by Alison Stones (although she identifies the same artist as the Master of the BN fr. 1453 *Perceval*; Stones 1998, 530–31). Because the division of the Fauvel Master's work into subdivisions of hands is a complex problem far beyond the scope of this catalogue, I have referred to the Fauvel Master as the artist of the remaining miniatures in the Brussels manuscripts (see cat. nos. 13 and 14, as well as Stones 1998, 530–51; and Rouse and Rouse 2000, 1:208–11).
- 11. See Rouse and Rouse 2000, 1:203–33.
- 12. For more on the Fauvel Master, see Rouse and Rouse 2000, 1:211-12, 2:195-200; Stones 1998, 556-59.
- 13. Unlike the rubric for BnF, Ms. fr. 183, which addresses the project as a whole (see note 8), the Brussels manuscript's frontispiece rubric discusses the life of Christ and mentions his resurrection.
- 14. A roughly contemporaneous manuscript, Chantilly, Musée Condé, Ms. 456 (see cat. no. 16), is a Vie des saints manuscript that also opens with a description of the life of Christ and includes a scene of the Entry into Jerusalem (among others), so it may be that this iconography was associated with a particular tradition of saints' lives, but the absence of this iconography in the "twin" manuscript in Paris indicates that there was a specific reason for its inclusion in the Brussels copy.
- 15. This miniature as well as the one that opens the Vie des pères, BR, Ms. 9229–30, fol. 76, are constructed as large single scenes incorporating numerous portrait heads—an unusual formulation in the work of the Fauvel Master.

# 16

*Vie des saints* Papeleu Master and assistant; Mahiet Paris, ca. 1320

SPECIFICATIONS 367 ff.;  $34.6 \times 25.5$  cm ( $13^{5/8} \times 10^{1/16}$  in.); justification:  $24.6 \times [9.1 \times 1.5 \times 9.1]$  cm ( $9^{11/16} \times [3^{9/16} \times 5^{4/8} \times 3^{9/16}]$  in.); 42 lines; 2 columns

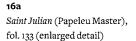
ILLUMINATION 1 half-page, 9 one-column miniatures, 86 historiated initials

COLLECTION Geneva, Bibliothèque de Genève Comites Latentes, Ms. 102

PROVENANCE Bochet family; Angelus de Banchis Herboriis (late 15th century); C. L. D. Grandjean (18th century); Jesuit College at Nancy (1755); Robert Lang (1750–1828); [sale, Evan's, November 17, 1828, lot 2350]; Sir Thomas Phillipps (1792–1872); [sale, Sotheby's, November 21, 1972, lot 543]

Although the *Légende dorée* (*Golden Legend*) is the bestknown compilation of saints' lives from the Middle Ages (see cat. no. 28), in the second half of the thirteenth century, many more collections were compiled from disparate elements and disseminated.<sup>1</sup> The manuscript in the Comites Latentes collection is closely related textually to Chantilly, Musée Condé, Ms. 456; the same eightysix legends are presented in the same order.<sup>2</sup> The Musée Condé manuscript is dated 1313, indicating either that the Geneva manuscript was copied from it or they were both copied from a lost exemplar. Each begins with an account of the nativity of Christ, followed by the lives of the apostles, the martyrs, the confessors, and the female saints.

Through their focus on the history of Christianity's great exemplars, saints' lives such as these were intended to serve as a series of models for contemporary Christians-these are even arranged roughly chronologically, starting with Christ and his direct followers and then being divided into larger groups. Both manuscripts include a number of saints particularly associated with France, such as Denis (fol. 80), Eligius (fol. 163v), Hilary of Poitiers (fol. 168v), Remigius (fol. 170v), Julian of Mans (fol. 219), Bernard (fol. 265v), Genevieve (fol. 317v), and Faith (fol. 335).3 Although their contents are directly connected, and they may have both been produced by the Papeleu Master (or his workshop), the manuscripts are not linked iconographically.4 The Geneva manuscript uses a combination of miniatures and historiated initials, sometimes in concert for important texts, that often feature unusual narratives or iconography that makes original use of the different types of formats.





most of its illuminations, with their delicacy of drawing, lively sense of line, and concentration on narrative action rather than detail, can be attributed to the Papeleu Master (see also cat. no. 17).<sup>5</sup> This artist has temptingly been associated with Richard of Verdun, the son-in-law of the artist known as the Maître Honoré.<sup>6</sup> Although no definitive link has ever been established, the circumstantial evidence is compelling, including the fact that the active dates of the Papeleu Master correspond to documentary dates associated with Richard of Verdun and the similarity in style between the Papeleu Master and the Maître Honoré, which would be natural enough if he had trained his son-in-law. Another bit of evidence is suggested by this manuscript, which is signed on fol. 367 "Galterus de virduno me scripcit" (Gautier of Verdun wrote me). Richard and Mary Rouse have posited that this Gautier was kin to Richard of Verdun and another illuminator, Jean of Verdun, all of whom were part of an active family involved in the book-making business, as was common in Paris during the period.7

Although most saints receive a standard initial with a narrative scene, some saints are singled out for treatment with a single-column miniature or, in some cases, even a miniature and a historiated initial.<sup>8</sup> In the case of Saint Julian, not only is he given a lively narrative miniature (ill. 16a), but, in addition, his legend takes up almost ten folios, an unusually long tale. M. Paul Meyer identified the legend of Saint Julian as one that was taken directly from the French verse legendries of an earlier period,<sup>9</sup> yet the beginning of the legend as it appears in this manuscript explicitly insists on its Latin origin.<sup>10</sup>

The miniature centers on the story of how Saint Julian came to kill his parents.<sup>11</sup> On the night of Julian's birth, his father saw pagan witches place a curse on his son so that he would grow up to kill his parents. As an adult, Julian sorrowfully left his parents to prevent such a horror and went to a foreign land, where he married. Twenty years later, his parents found his wife and she tenderly offered them her own bed while they waited for their long-lost son. Meanwhile, a devil came to Julian and told him that at that very minute, his wife was asleep in bed with another man. He rushed home and in a fit of anger killed the two people he found in the bed. After he found out his unwitting crime, he spent the rest of his life doing good works, which eventually earned him sainthood. The way the heads of his parents line up along the length of his sword adds to the poignancy and irony of the story. A simple architectural setting is used to set off the figures, so that the emotion of the moment can take precedence.

The historiated initials of this manuscript are exceptional for the way they often use the form of the letter peur dule & la same tumbe · laterie & laon une portera peur debiens ? dautre foun ? fit en la plante ? abundance li pais ? la contre remplit te toures loutes ? al builes qui it de latimle court uisquin la chapele enni la ou li sams apo stres 31t par cu puere nous putfient paruentr a la 101e de ciex amezi. Ei femite la passion same andrieu ? commance la vie mon sei gueur same ichan bapuse.



Oule oue chatame arthens & chatame cuthenne voulen ners ou parler & dien & & as amis en a temps que no fre fnes detændi en la lenoue værse mane pour teh nere human ligna se & la potte au de able detour r bom en iberntalem qui

auour anon izacharies preudome z a faince bie prettres choir & fernoit an temple a fon cour le lone la vier loi filt sacharias or vie fame au auoro anon elisatel prende dime z de lam te bie ? envient cult du degrant aage ? vel quivent ame longuement ensemble tanice ment mes moule choiene houreus telmaies de ce quil nauoient en onques enfant tone le voilin apelouene chatel brehningne . Cil zaquaries fi connous anes of eftoir prefires ? fires dune par ac duremple ? renow hundine degre ome pre Arcs & euclques Al vino aucomple & la genoul la denant laurel z aluma leu cent z len centa apres filt oroifon pour foi z pour fon pueple que noftre fues of far confume citoir en ceremps quil felorent lacrefices vne fors en lan- z perote liefuefques pour ceuls æquiliecenoir laven te i lausmone z les sachces & laurel du rem ple que diex leur enuorait la grace & bonne fin ¿ vic pardurables

to influence the iconography. In the initial *M* devoted to the story of John the Baptist, the artist has adapted the commonly seen beheading of John to use the shape of the initial (ill. 16b). This tall initial gives room for a vertical composition; the executioner lifts up on his toes to do his work, almost a dancelike pose, so that his right side forms one long vertical echoing the central arm of the *M*. At right John pops his head out of the building to have it cut off, while to the left Salome waits demurely with her long hair twisting into beautiful curls. The Papeleu Master has used the two sides of the initial for the two protagonists (Salome and John), while placing the executioner in the middle for the descender of the *M*. The only horizontal element is John's figure, heightening the drama of his beheading.<sup>12</sup>

In other places in the manuscript, a miniature is paired with a historiated initial, a combination not often seen in the artist's ouevre. Two (and possibly three) of the pairings of initials with miniatures feature the female patron of the manuscript, who remains unidentified.<sup>13</sup> The manuscript is filled with a variety of coats of arms, most of which have been deliberately erased. One series of arms is identifiable as those of the Bochet family of the Île-de-France, probably the family of the female patron.<sup>14</sup> The prominent presence of the coats of arms, on almost every decorated page of the manuscript, and the appearance of the female patron at least twice indicate that this was a treasured personal object, one on which the Papeleu Master would have been encouraged to spend time and effort and employ all of his narrative and decorative powers.

E.M.

**16b** Initial M: Saint John the Baptist (Papeleu Master), fol. 41v

- Meyer 1891, 328–458. I want to thank Charlotte Lacaze, who generously shared her entry for the manuscript from an unpublished catalogue of the Comites Latentes collection (Lacaze 1980s).
- Meyer 1906, 421. The Chantilly manuscript contains two lives not found in the Geneva manuscript (Meurgey de Tupigny 1930, 26). A third manuscript (Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, Ms. 1716) is also related (Meyer 1906, 422).
- 3. Folio numbers given are for the Geneva manuscript.
- 4. Meurgey de Tupigny (1930, 26–27) saw a close stylistic relationship between the illuminations of the Chantilly manuscript and the work of the Maître Honoré and Richard of Verdun, and the Phillipps catalogue links the two manuscripts artistically as well as in composition (Sotheby's 1972, 39–41), but Rouse and Rouse (2000, 1:362n86) found little iconographic overlap. I have not seen the Chantilly manuscript.
- 5. Lacaze (1980s) identifies three artists active in the manuscript: the Papeleu Master, a less distinguished hand from his workshop, and, in the case of the illuminations of the second gathering, the hand of Mahiet.
- For a summary of documentary evidence concerning Richard of Verdun and how it concurs with the Papeleu Master, see Rouse and Rouse 2000, 1:136–41.
- 7. Rouse and Rouse 2000, 1:136-41; 2:126-27.
- 8. The saints who receive a miniature include: Stephen (fol. 75, with a historiated initial); Thomas Becket (fol. 130v); Julian (fol. 133); Sylvester (fol. 142, with a historiated initial); and Mary Magdalene (fol. 302v). In addition, four of the stories related to the nativity of Christ at the beginning of the manuscript are illustrated with miniatures, two of which are paired with historiated initials.
- 9. Meyer 1891, 378.
- 10. "Uns preudons raconte la vie monseigneur s. Julien que il a translatee de latin en francois" (fol. 132).
- 11. It seems that the most important images, including all the ones featuring the patroness and most of the French saints, feature fleurde-lis backgrounds, like this one for Julian.
- 12. Other initials are conceived in an equally creative manner, including those for Peter (fol. 16), where the upside down crucifixion cleverly follows the shape of the A; Clement (fol. 89v), where an anchor exactly follows the curve of the bottom of a letter S; and Margaret (fol. 337), where the P forms a castle with an enclosed courtyard.
- 13. On fol. 2, the patron is shown in prayer in the miniature and the Annunciation is depicted in the initial, while on fol. 5v, the woman is depicted in the initial, with Christ's betrayal in the miniature. The woman presenting a child to Saint Sylvester on fol. 142 might also be the patron.
- 14. Sotheby's 1972, 39.

Jean de Vignay, *Miroir historial* (translation of Vincent de Beauvais, *Speculum historiale*) Papeleu Master and assistants; Cambrai Master; Mahiet

Paris, ca. 1332–35

## Volume 1

SPECIFICATIONS 359 ff.;  $37 \times 27$  cm ( $14^{9/16} \times 10^{5/8}$  in.); justification:  $26 \times [8.6 \times 1.5 \times 8.7]$  cm ( $10^{1/4} \times [3^{3/8} \times 5^{5/8} \times 3^{7/16}]$  in.); 42 lines; 2 columns

ILLUMINATION 163 two-column, 116 one-column miniatures, 1 historiated initial

COLLECTION Leiden, University Library, Ms. Voss. GGF3A

PROVENANCE John II the Good, as duke of Guyenne and Normandy (1319–1364; before 1350); Charles V, king of France (1338–1380); Charles VI, king of France (1368–1422); Louis VII, duke of Bavaria (d. 1447; borrowed from Charles VI, 1413); comte de la Roche[...] villers (15th century); (?) A. Bourgenin (16th century); I. Vossius (1618–1689); University Library (purchased 1690)

## Volume 2

ILLUMINATION 141 two-column, 309 one-column miniatures, 1 historiated initial

COLLECTION Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Ms. 5080

PROVENANCE John II the Good, as duke of Guyenne and Normandy (1319–1364; before 1350); Charles V, king of France (1338–1380); Charles VI, king of France (1368–1422; Louvre inventories 1373, 1411, and 1413); Louis VII, duke of Bavaria (d. 1447; borrowed from Charles VI, 1413); Bibliothèque des Augustins déchaussés de Lyon; Baron d'Heiss; Antoine-René d'Argenson, marquis de Paulmy (early 16th century)

## \_\_\_\_\_<u>\_\_</u>\_\_\_

Just before the middle of the thirteenth century, the Dominican theologian Vincent de Beauvais finished the most comprehensive encyclopedia of the Middle Ages, the *Speculum maius* (*Greater Mirror*), in Latin for King Louis IX. Composed of almost ten thousand chapters and running to over three million words, the *Speculum maius* remains a staggering feat of scholarship. The work was divided into three sections: the *Speculum naturale*, the *Speculum doctrinale*, and the *Speculum historiale*. The opus was intended to be used by medieval clerics and monks for reference, but in about 1332, the *Speculum* 

#### 17a

An Angel Prevents Man from Entering Paradise and The Wonders of Asia (Papeleu Master), fols. 40v–41 (Leiden, University Library)



le fu nonmet du non dune fame qui auoit non a le qui untanacii nement lempue tonent. Et elt afe ortenee en la tier acurate du mon

te. Et commente en ouent et oure pur teners mioi infques en la guntt mer, et femilt en noftre mer pur teners our tent, et par teners leptentnon fenift au lat meotidien et ouffenne & anap et cefte partie amont te regions et de promues, et lecommencement en eft en pundis, et pundis et autant a due te fes merualles, trus dupitre. emelchen de delaces velt el ptres doment.et clicu eft plain to toutes manieres to borf witant fout DOt fi pelt le faut deuie. wene. 11 m fait ne top daut netwop fio finit et velt laur tour iour attrempe et ou millen lourt une fontenne qui ano le tout le lieu. et elt cele fonteinne temfee en quate fleunes. Et leutre te cellieu elt teuce atous tes que atá ot teteus je chie. Et elt mint tout en tour temurte feu flammint. i pertque celeftainite ioing ne mlanes an ad. Et teins cie doultu ir te feu elt un angre qui teuce lentire aus maunais cherr; parla force ctaus wunnes melaforce du feu fi que uni el perte nelomment put enter. De pute

41.

pres el la regi ou te pute qui el nommee pu te dun fleune qui p court du quel fleune la terre opnice ch dole un crueis

omtent. et leftent te la mer te micht inf ques a folleit lenant. et ment teners feptention migues a la montaingne te caucale ctencele teur amont te gens et ædulhaus, et junne pile qui elt a price capiolane, qui elt plenne te pi eurs piecicules et te oliphur, et elt ple teureule wi et caugent, et te pluleurs ac bies quineprent en nul temps leur feulles. Et ju twis fleunes qui annon neut les publens. Banges phon a p pinem Lateur dynte a lon au et fam, et pite blee. due foe lan, et el latea twinge fam puer. Et pute lommes m



new que tous les puples la femblal fent et lacefia flent à menure. et h co me il factionent une menge du temple Julieune par non mure de deable com menca acter difante. le dieu de calute et uit et maj qui est conoucie de nos polucions. Et palmachien orant c. cou nut a faint calute outre le tombre en la cite des muchenciens et fest agenoil he duant h et confesta la ueute et h re

*historiale* was translated by Jean de Vignay into French (see also cat. no. 33) at the behest of Jeanne de Bourgogne, the queen of France.<sup>1</sup>

The prologue states that in the *Miroir historial* one can see and hear the history of the world from its beginning up to the day that the book was made.<sup>2</sup> Unlike the Latin copies of the text, which were with rare exceptions unadorned for their clerical audience,<sup>3</sup> the French translation became popular at the royal court, whose patrons demanded luxuriously decorated copies. The *Miroir historial* now divided between Leiden's University Library and Paris's Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal represents only two of the original four volumes,<sup>4</sup> yet its combined total of almost 800 folios contains an astonishing 730 miniatures.<sup>5</sup> It represents one of the first copies of the completed translation, owned by the future king of France, John II the Good, whose name appears on the last page of both volumes.<sup>6</sup>

The fact that this copy (referring to both the Leiden and Paris manuscripts together as a set) of the *Miroir historial* stands at the very beginning of its manuscript tradition greatly influenced its appearance and program of illumination. The set is the only known copy with intensive interpolations from a careful corrector, who went through the entire text to make it agree more closely with the Latin original: it is even possible that this is the hand of Jean de Vignay himself.<sup>7</sup> In addition, the artists were faced with a new work without an established set of illuminations to guide its program of imagery, so the manuscripts' iconography is remarkably literal and faithful to the text. It is evident that the illuminators must have been given detailed oral or written directions to guide the content.<sup>8</sup>

The scribe and illuminators were carefully organized for their mammoth task, yet evidence remains that despite their preparations, this immense undertaking necessarily resulted in errors and miscalculations. In the Leiden volume, the two-column miniatures often are preceded by several blank lines in the right-hand column, where the scribe erred in his estimate of the number of text lines between the bottom of the miniature at the left and its top at the right.<sup>9</sup> In the Arsenal volume, the rubrics sometimes indicate whether the miniature is to be single column (*hystoire simple*) or double (*hystoire plein*) to help the scribe plan the page, but then these instructions were often crossed out or ignored.10 All of this evidence indicates that the set was being designed as it progressed, rather than being based on a careful *maquette* (a mock-up) or previous copy.

The sheer size and opulence of the set ensured that more than one artist would be needed to complete its hundreds of illuminations. Georg von Vitzthum, early on, and François Avril and Claudine Chavannes-Mazel, more recently, have divided the manuscripts' many images into groups, usually based on the gathering structure of the individual manuscripts, a common way of sharing out work in the fourteenth century.<sup>11</sup> The main artist of both volumes was the Papeleu Master (see also cat. no. 16), along with his assistants.<sup>12</sup> The artist known as Mahiet (see also cat. no. 20) contributed only to the Leiden volume,<sup>13</sup> while the Cambrai Master was mostly active in the Paris manuscript.14

The Papeleu Master was certainly the most accomplished storyteller of the group; his figures fill the spaces with cohesive narrative action absent in the work of his followers, and he often captures figures in frozen

moments of drama. Not only are his figures more elegant, with carefully rendered expressions and an abundance of wonderful hair, coming up in tufts, curling in locks, or jutting off faces in beards, but his backgrounds are often the most carefully delineated, with a greater variety and delicate intricacy than in the others. Interestingly, the Papeleu Master and his assistants were also active in illustrating another copy of the Miroir historial at the same time, probably for Queen Jeanne de Bourgogne (Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 316), wife of Philip VI, yet almost none of the compositions or iconography were repeated,15 a testament to the knack for storytelling that led this artist to undertake successfully such enormous projects.

With the inclusion of 730 miniatures, it is difficult to speak of an overarching iconographic plan for the two manuscripts. However, the emphasis consistently remains on drama and action in the imagery. Near the beginning of the Leiden volume, the artist ignores the moment of the expulsion from paradise, but instead pairs two miniatures that emphasize the pathos of exclusion and the wonders that can be found outside paradise (ills. 17a and 17b). According to the text, the world is divided 17b (opposite) The Martyrdom of Pope Calixtus (Papeleu Master), fol. 167v, detail (Paris, Bibliothèque de PArsenal)

### 170

The Martyrdom of Pope Urban(Papeleu Master), fol. 168, detail (Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal)

of alt chole il filt amener alute alut lefilt durer. v. 100008 lan bouwe + lan mengler. Et quant il vit que il clott

en leaue en la ate dost et la acomph fon martine. reb rela mattion faint unten. pape. et de les commanons.





rirn ærres atoren rö man noble par hg nage.mes plus no ble par lanter fu ar then des enfance. aos ne mer uceru a chafte e et dastmence. et sucreda a famt calute wauchment forfenante. I aoma loffi a à dignite par tres lonnes clautes à uertus. Et mout de fors fonfre le deftre rement & les choles et mout & fon fu condampne hors de la ate. Mes wehne trait anen ocultement dedens. des bons aultens. fen ala toute fon a.m.milede into three parts (Europe, Africa, and Asia), and in Asia is an earthly paradise that no man is allowed to enter after the original sin (for a map with paradise marked in Asia, see ill. 6b).<sup>16</sup> In the accompanying illustration, on the left, a figure eloquently appeals for entrance to paradise, which remains steadfastly closed to him, while on the right, he laments the refusal of the impressive angel who presides over the miniature from the intercolumnar space above. Just across the opening in the miniature on the right, which the lamenting man of the previous illumination faces, the artist gives a glimpse of the marvels that Asia outside of paradise possesses. The wonders of India are presented in the form of strange creatures such as elephants, griffons, and dragons, which guard mountains of gold and precious gems, while exotic blue Indians watch from flanking towers.<sup>17</sup> Although the loss of paradise is certainly great, the artist seems to celebrate the exciting adventures possible beyond its closed walls.

The Paris volume picks up the historical thread after the death of the Virgin, which ends the Leiden volume. It covers the early period of Christianity during the Roman era, ending with the emperor Constantine and the legend of Barlaam and Josaphat, a Christianized version of the Buddha story.18 Two facing images are excellent examples of the kind of theatrical events on which the Papeleu Master lingered, often with graphic attention to detail (ills. 17b and 17c). The image on the left shows the martyrdom of Pope Calixtus: at far left a seated king is shown with three men kneeling before idols that are being struck down by fire from the heavens above (the fiery heavens are outside the top portion of the miniature), while to the right, a man is killing people with a huge sword and three heads can be seen rolling around inside a castle. The facing miniature shows the passion of Saint Urban: to the left the pope can be seen at prayer before an altar, with the face of God appearing above him, and to the right, idols and buildings crash down on a group of praying people while another group flees. The emphasis on heathen idols, decapitated heads, and collapsing buildings seems to make the steadfast Christian faith of the martyrs almost a side note to the story. This dramatic flair, however, is perfectly in keeping with the strength of this artist and his interest in rendering the illustrated Miroir historial a text worthy of the attention of the most discerning clientele of France-the royal family. E.M.

- No modern edition of the text exists, but two early printed editions can be consulted: Vérard 1495–96 and Couteau 1531. See Brun and Cavagna 2005 and 2006 for plans to undertake a modern edition. For a discussion of several problems with dating the translation and establishing its patronage, see Chavannes-Mazel 1990b, 348–54; and Brun and Cavagna 2006.
- "L'omme ou la femme puet l'en veoir ou dit livre toutes les hystoires du monde des le commencement que nostre sires Ihucrist le forma de noient jusques au jour que le livre fu fait". Evdokimova 2007, 82.
- 3. For a list of manuscripts of the *Speculum historiale* with illumination, see Stones 1990c.
- 4. Martin (1889, 44) was the first to link together the Leiden and Paris volumes. The final two volumes of the set were last mentioned in a 1413 inventory (Delisle 1907, 1:278–80 and 2:143, no. 880). Brun and Cavagna (2006, 386–88) have recently identified three bifolia that originally belonged to the fourth volume of the set (Tours, Archives départementales, Ms. 2 I 2).
- 5. For a complete list of the miniatures in the Leiden manuscript, see Delisle 1886, 91–97; and Byvanck 1931, 89–92. There is no published list of the miniatures in the Arsenal volume.
- 6. Delisle (1886, 90) was able to decipher the name of John and his titles, given as duke of Normandy and Guyenne, on fol. 359v of the Leiden volume. Thus John owned it before 1350, when he acceded to the throne; see also Chavannes-Mazel 1988, 56–60, 68–71. It is his mother, Jeanne de Bourgogne (wife of Philip VI), however, who is mentioned by name in the opening rubrics of the Leiden and Paris volumes (Chavannes-Mazel 1988, 56–60, 68–71). Brun and Cavagna (2006, 396–98) have questioned which Jeanne de Bourgogne was being referred to in the rubric (the wife of Philip V [1292–1330] was also named Jeanne de Bourgogne).
- Chavannes-Mazel 1988, 39–42. None of the later manuscripts of the Miroir historial show evidence of these corrections; they instead take their text from the uncorrected original.
- 8. Chavannes-Mazel 1988, 51-56.
- 9. Chavannes-Mazel 1990a.
- 10. See, for example, fols. 99, 99v, 101v, 102v, and 104. The indications seem to end altogether around fol. 230.
- 11. Vitzthum 1907, 178–79; Paris 1981b, 298–99, no. 245; and Chavannes-Mazel 1988, 45–50.
- 12. Leiden volume, fols. 1–346; Paris volume, fols. 1–221v, 234–242v, and 289–321 (Chavannes-Mazel 1988, 43–51, 62).
- 13. Leiden volume, fols. 347–359 (Chavannes-Mazel 1988, 43–51, 62).
- 14. Leiden volume, fol. 322v; Paris volume, fols. 255–266v, 279–288v, 322–415v (Chavannes-Mazel 1988, 43–51, 62).
- 15. A frontispiece pairing Louis IX and Vincent de Beauvais with Jeanne de Bourgogne and Jean de Vignay is repeated in all the manuscripts associated with John II the Good and Jeanne de Bourgogne, not only at the beginning of the first volume of each set but also at the beginnings of all subsequent volumes. This was a project that linked Jeanne to her illustrious grandfather, Saint Louis (Chavannes-Mazel 1988, 156–59, 171–72, Chavannes-Mazel 1990b, 361–62).
- 16. Chavannes-Mazel 1988, 53.
- Chavannes-Mazel 1988, 53–54; and Chavannes-Mazel 1990b, 358–59. Chavannes-Mazel explains that the artist must have been getting information for the illuminations directly from the French text rather than the original Latin, because it was Jean de Vignay who inserted an explanation of the fact that India derives its name from the blue color of its people ("de colour Inde," i.e., India blue).
   Chavannes-Mazel 1988, 7.

*Le roman de Tristan de Léonois* Jeanne de Montbaston and others Paris, ca. 1320–40

SPECIFICATIONS 388 ff.; 39.4 × 29.8 cm  $(15^{1/2} \times 11^{3/4} \text{ in.})$ ; justification: 31.7 × 21 (varies) cm  $(12^{1/2} \times 8^{1/4} \text{ in.})$ ; 48 lines; 3 columns

ILLUMINATION 1 multipart frontispiece, 88 onecolumn miniatures

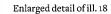
COLLECTION Los Angeles, The J. Paul Getty Museum, Ms. Ludwig XV 5

PROVENANCE De Chambord (16th century?); J.-B. Denis Guyon de Sardière (18th century); duke of la Vallière; John, third duke of Roxburghe; [sale, Evan's, London, May 1812, lot 6095]; E. V. Utterson; R. Heber; [sale, Evan's, London, February 1836, no. 1653]; Sir Thomas Phillipps (1792–1872); [sale, Sotheby's, London, July 1, 1946, lot 7]; Martin Bodmer (1899–1971); [sale, H. P. Kraus, *Monumenta codicum manu scriptorum*, New York, 1974, no. 24]; Peter (1925–1996) and Irene (b. 1927) Ludwig, Aachen

First recorded in French verse in the middle of the twelfth century at the English court (see cat. no. 54), the Tristan legend took its prose form in the first third of the thirteenth century in France and quickly became one of the most beloved and often-copied secular texts of the Middle Ages.<sup>1</sup> Existing in over eighty manuscripts, many of them illuminated, the prose Tristan places the story of the forbidden love between Tristan and Isolde within a larger framework that encompasses the Arthurian world by making Tristan one of the knights of the Round Table in the quest for the Holy Grail (see cat. nos. 7, 10, and 12 for examples of the Lancelot-Grail cycle). His adulterous affair with Isolde under the suspicious eye of her husband, King Mark, is paralleled by the story of Lancelot's illicit passion for Guinevere, queen to King Arthur.<sup>2</sup> Although the two sets of characters exchange letters, and even occasionally meet, the focus is largely on Tristan's adventures. The story begins by tracing Tristan's ancestors back to Joseph of Arimathea (see cat. no. 12) and provides a history for the kingdoms of Léonois and Cornwall. The romance is so lengthy that the Getty Museum's manuscript, even with 388 folios, contains less than half of the entire text.<sup>3</sup> Its eighty-nine miniatures, including a large frontispiece and column-wide miniatures featuring commonly seen themes such as letter deliveries, battles, and discussions, supplemented by more dramatic events, are characteristic of Parisian production in the first half of the fourteenth century.

Evidence indicates that the Getty manuscript was an efficiently and professionally generated product. Two scribes were involved, along with four artists.<sup>4</sup> One of those artists has been identified by name, Jeanne de Montbaston, who, along with her husband, participated in the illumination of over fifty manuscripts of the period.<sup>5</sup> Almost all of the manuscripts on which they worked were secular and in French, although this is the only copy of Tristan that either of them is known to have painted. They often collaborated with other illuminators in a single volume, and their manuscripts usually feature an abundance of miniatures, such that speed and sheer numbers seem to take precedence over elegance and finesse. Since capturing the essence of a particular portion of text was little considered compared to the need for haste, the French rubrics that preceded the miniatures also provided the illuminators with directions for visual content.6 The Getty manuscript is a case in point.

According to the early portion of the text, when Tristan's mother dies giving birth to him (hence the name Tristan, from the French *triste*, meaning "sad"), his father, the king of Léonois, remarries. His new wife has a son and, realizing that Tristan will inherit his father's throne instead of her child, she plots to poison her stepson.<sup>7</sup> The rubric for the miniature depicting this event in the Getty manuscript succinctly sums up the rest of the story: "How the Queen of Léonois prepared the toxin to poison Tristan. And how her son died of it when a maid gave it to him to drink. And how the Queen was sentenced to death



and Tristan saved her from it."<sup>8</sup> The artist shows exactly this sequence of events, repeating figures, even in the small space: the queen appears first to the right, lamenting the death of her son, who lies pitifully limp on her lap, and then again at left, being led to the flames by a soldier (ill. 18). Tristan is seen at far left reaching in to save her. The artist provides a sense of the urgency of the situation by depicting Tristan's foot still outside the border of the miniature, as if he is rushing in at the final moment.<sup>9</sup>

We know that the artist has quite carefully followed the instructions in the rubric because the main text of the prose Tristan tells the story quite a bit differently. The incident when the queen's son is poisoned happens when Tristan is seven, and the queen manages to hide her crime. Four years and many folios later, the queen tries again, this time almost poisoning her husband. When her scheme is found out, she is sentenced to death.<sup>10</sup> The miniature stands at the beginning of the text that includes the first poisoning scene, but it collapses the two episodes to include the two most dramatic moments, the unintended death of the queen's own son and Tristan's selfless rescue. Keith Busby points out that the rubrics in this first part of the manuscript (up to fol. 317, where the scribal hand changes as well) are quite excursive, and the illuminator could pick what to represent, while the later ones are more curt, giving the artist more straightforward instructions.11 Nevertheless, in this section with the longer rubrics, the miniature devoted to the story of Tristan's stepmother is one of the few in which the artist depicted two separate moments, making it more narrative in nature than almost any other miniature in the manuscript.

The Tristan text was long enough to make three columns of text rather than two more economical and was paired with single-column illuminations, which also were less expensive. A note at the end of the manuscript indicates that it was meant to have more miniatures, for a total of 127, of which 37 were never completed.<sup>12</sup> Richard and Mary Rouse have established that a sophisticated kind of billing system helped commercial book producers keep track of how many miniatures each illuminator completed.<sup>13</sup> Mary Rouse has found thirtyseven instances in the manuscript where a rubric was included, but no space was left for a miniature. Instead, the pen-work initials following some of those rubrics have been carefully scraped away, and more elaborate, illuminated ones inserted.14 She suggests that perhaps the buyer had ordered and paid in advance for a certain number of illuminations, and when it was found that only 90 were made,<sup>15</sup> the book producer tried to make amends by inserting, at least, fancier initials.<sup>16</sup> It may seem that the manuscript was made for someone with limited

means, but the Montbastons often produced similar secular manuscripts for members highly placed at the royal court.<sup>17</sup> Although nothing is known of the original owner of the Getty *Tristan*,<sup>18</sup> the manuscript remains a testament to the active nature of the Paris book trade, and the increasing desire among patrons for illuminated copies of romances connected with the Arthurian world. E.M.

- An edition of the first portion can be found in Curtis 1985, and the rest in Ménard 1987–97. A partial modern French translation exists in Faucon 1990; Curtis 1994 is a partial English translation.
- Two authors are mentioned in relation to the text, Luce de Gat in the text's prologues and Hélie de Boron in its epilogue, but these names are likely fictional constructs. See Curtis 1958 and Curtis 1994, xvii–xix.
- 3. Busby (forthcoming) points out that this is the point where the manuscripts of the various editions of the text diverge. The Getty manuscript is considered to belong to the textual recension called Version II (Baumgartner 1975, 19), but Field (1989, 272–73) posits that it belongs rather to a subsection of that family. The textual tradition of the *Tristan* in prose is convoluted, and it is rare to find a manuscript containing any version of the whole.
- 4. The artist responsible for the majority of the illuminations (quires 1–29) has been identified by Richard and Mary Rouse (2000, 2:204) as an artist who also worked on Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 24388. A second artist that they have suggested is Jeanne de Montbaston, who was responsible for the frontispiece as well as quires 30–34, 38–39, and 41–44 (I differ slightly in my opinion, seeing the hand active on fols. 234–272v, 298–304v, 308v–309, and 320v–337v). A third artist, found by the Rouses in Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 12577, painted the fewest illuminations, quire 40 and possibly fol. 306v. The last artist, anonymous, finished the manuscript, quires 35–37 and 45–50. Alison Stones is in the process of preparing a study on illuminated *Tristan* manuscripts (Stones forthcoming [b])
- 5. For more on Jeanne and Richard de Montbaston, see Rouse and Rouse 2000, 1:235-60.
- 6. Rouse and Rouse 2000, 1:250–51.
- 7. At a time when the process of primogeniture (the custom by which the eldest son inherited all the family lands) was common, and the problem of providing for younger sons was widespread, the theme of competing heirs commonly figured in the plots of contemporary romances.
- "Comment la royne de Loonois appareilla le venin pour empoisonner Tristan. Et comment son petit filz en morut par une damoiselle qui li en donna a boire. Et comment la royne fu iugie a mort et Tristan len delivra" (fol. 37).
- For another interpretation of this miniature, see Schaefer 1996, 180.
   Curtis 1985, 1:131-35.
- 11. Busby forthcoming.
- "En cest liure a IIII<sup>XX</sup> et X histoires de faictes et XXXVII a faire" (fol. 388v).
- 13 Rouse and Rouse 2000, 1:251-52.
- It seems that there were also a few pen-work initials following the miniatures that were also replaced with illuminated initials (fols. 17, 306v, 308v, 309v, 313v, 314v, 352).
- 15. The manuscript now contains eighty-nine miniatures, but four leaves are missing from quire 42, which probably contained one miniature, for a total of ninety miniatures originally.
- 16. Marie-Thérèse Gousset was the first to point out to me the replaced initials, while Mary Rouse kindly supplied her theories by personal correspondence in 2007.
- 17. Rouse and Rouse 2000, 1:259-60.
- 18. Keith Busby (forthcoming) was able to decipher the name of a fifteenth-century owner of the manuscript on fol. 338v: Pierre Gaultier of Cormeilles-en-Parisis. Thierry Delcourt tracked down two possible matches: a "fondeur de lettres" of that name who worked for the Paris book trade and another of the same name in Pontoise, which is located near Cormeilles-en-Parisis (Busby forthcoming).

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#### 18

Tristan's Stepmother Lamenting Her Dead Son (anonymous artist) fol. 37

Abreviamen de las historias (translation of Paulinus of Venice, Chronologia magna) Avignon, after 1323

SPECIFICATIONS 67 ff.;  $38 \times 29$  cm ( $14^{15}/16 \times 11^{7}/16$  in.); 50 lines; 2 columns [irregular format]

ILLUMINATION 9 miniatures, 3 maps, hundreds of portrait heads

COLLECTION London, The British Library, Egerton Ms. 1500

PROVENANCE M. de Martres; The British Museum (purchased November 9, 1850)

Created in Avignon, the seat of the papacy during the years 1305–78,<sup>1</sup> this manuscript is the sole surviving translation into a vernacular language of Paulinus of Venice's universal chronicle.<sup>2</sup> Originally composed in Latin sometime after 1315, Paulinus's text traced the history of the world from Adam and Eve to his time. Paulinus envisioned his chronicle as a combination of text and image that unlike most other contemporary world histories, for example, that of Vincent de Beauvais (cat. no. 17), would enable the reader to grasp immediately the chronological and linear development of history.3 Conceived as a vast historical genealogy oriented in vertical columns arranged in twopage spreads (each verso and facing recto acting as a unit), his work can be compared to the later Chronique universelle (cat. no. 44). The original Latin manuscript, perhaps in Paulinus's own hand,<sup>4</sup> was likely taken by him to Avignon when he became part of the papal court in 1322. The work was there translated into Provençal, the language of southern France, and was accompanied by illuminations based on the originals, but in a French style.5

The majority of the London manuscript is devoted to elucidating the various lines of historical development. Beginning with the founders of the world, Adam and Eve, the manuscript quickly begins to separate the various strands of history into their component but parallel threads. These genealogical lines are enlivened, perhaps at the author's original request,<sup>6</sup> by portrait heads that give visual focus to each generation, as well as occasional maps and diagrams. The vertical lines can also be matched up horizontally to give a sense of contemporaneous events and personalities. For instance, on folios 3v-4, diagrams of Noah's Ark and the Tower of Babel as well as a simplified map of the world (a so-called T-O map) are placed in relation to the kings of Egypt and classical figures like Hercules and Perseus. Blocks of text are linked to individuals or events when more information was deemed necessary. The planning for such a manuscript,

where every page is a different design and vertical and horizontal concerns were equally weighted with the need for textual excursus, must have been exceptionally complicated (at least for the original, if not for the copy).

There is one large break in this overriding pattern of page design. The folios that follow the introduction of Pope Urban II, Philip I of France, and Holy Roman Emperor Henry IV are devoted to a textual account of the First Crusade (1096-99) (ill. 19a). In a way, these folios follow the general format of the book by introducing characters with small images accompanied by explanations in a structural design that spreads across two pages. Instead of these images being organized chronologically by ruler or pope, however, they portray a single event that unites individuals. The main heroes of the First Crusade are each depicted leaving Europe with their armies, including Peter the Hermit, Godefroy de Bouillon, Hugh de Vermandois, Raymond de Toulouse, and Robert de Flandres. The individuals on the right-hand page all departed for the Holy Land in August of 1096. Each is shown straining forward, either on foot or mounted, eagerly anticipating the journey and the capture of Jerusalem. The repetitious effect of the images emphasizes both the simultaneous nature of the individual departures and the fact that it was the crusading ideal that drew the various leaders of Europe together.

Paulinus also highlighted this section of the chronicle by including detailed maps of cities in the Holy Land (ill. 19b). He viewed maps as a necessary part of his history, acting as a counterpart to images and text.<sup>7</sup> This view of Jerusalem does not reflect the geographical reality of Jerusalem in Paulinus's time but is rather a historical map of the city before 1244. It shows all the holy sites that pilgrims would wish to visit, including places such as the Mount of Olives, evoking the glory of the Crusades in a way similar to the images and texts a few folios previous. The folio facing the map begins with the genealogy of the kings of Jerusalem and contains an account of Godefroy's time in the Holy Land. This map and the one of Antioch in the previous opening (fols. 47v-48) fit perfectly into the idea of Paulinus's work as a whole, which uses mapping and diagramming to enable the reader to grasp the historical essentials in a visual way.

It is tempting to associate the London manuscript with the papal court in Avignon. Paulinus's autograph manuscript (Venice, Biblioteca Marciana, Ms. lat. Z. 399) was painted mostly by Italian artists, but the occasional intrusion of an Avignese artist suggests that it was completed after the author's arrival in southern France.<sup>8</sup> The London manuscript includes a prologue absent in most copies, but present in Paulinus's original, indicating that the author's

Armies from Various Parts of Europe Leaving for the First Crusade, fol. 46

19a



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copy could have served as the exemplar for the Provençal translator.9 Paulinus worked for Pope John XXII (r. 1316-34), who was originally from Quercy and whose mother language was Provençal, which was no doubt also often in use at the court.<sup>10</sup> In addition, one of the main textual differences between the autograph manuscript and the London translation is the suppression of everything relative to the Franciscans,<sup>11</sup> an order that the pope had condemned due to its insistence on evangelical and clerical poverty in 1323,<sup>12</sup> the year after Paulinus's arrival in Avignon, and the terminus post quem of both manuscripts, given the inclusion in both of Thomas of Aquinas as a saint, since he was canonized by John XXII in the same year.<sup>13</sup> The text ends with a copy of a Provinciale, a listing of the cardinalates of Rome and the archbishoprics and episcopates of various countries in the East and the West.14

A manuscript that originally formed part of the same volume contained a variety of devotional works as well as a history of Charlemagne and Roland, texts that would have been appropriate to a French pope and his court.<sup>15</sup> All this evidence, though not conclusive, suggests that the London manuscript may have played an important role at the papal court in Avignon, by stressing the uninterrupted line of popes, their indivisible relationship to the temporal rulers of Europe, and their glorious history in support of the Crusades. E.M.

## 1. See Favier 2006.

- 2. Neither the Latin nor the Provençal text has ever been entirely edited. The Crusades section of the Latin text is edited in Thomas 1879. Selections from London, BL, Egerton Ms. 1500 were edited in Vernet 1943.
- 3. Heullant-Donat 1993, 407-13.
- Venice, Biblioteca Marciana, Ms. lat. Z. 399 (Degenhart and Schmitt 4. 1973, 90; Heullant-Donat 1993, 399). A facsimile of the manuscript was made by G. M. Thomas (1879).
- 5. The text is called the "Abreviamen de las historias" on line 20 of fol. 3.
- Heullant-Donat 1993, 412. 6.
- 7. Heullant-Donat 1993, 403. Paulinus wrote a tract called *De mappa* mundi, in which he wrote of the necessary elucidation of maps in picture and text (Degenhart and Schmitt 1973, 60). For a detailed discussion of Paulinus's use of historical maps in his works, see Degenhart and Schmitt 1973, 60–64, 71–81. I would like to thank Joan Holladay, Robert Ousterhout, and Hanna Vorholt for sharing their expertise with me regarding medieval maps. 8.
- Degenhart and Schmitt 1973, 90.
- 9. Heullant-Donat 1993, 396, 400. Heullant-Donat states that the London manuscript could have been copied from either the Venice manuscript or Paris, BnF, Ms. lat. 4939. Both the Venice and London manuscripts were known to have been in Avignon ca. 1323–28 since they both contain the work of Avignese artists of the period.
- 10. For information about Paulinus's life at the papal court, see Heullant-Donat 1993, 390-91. For a short account of John XXII in Avignon, see Favier 2006, 121-26.
- 11. Heullant-Donat 1993, 397n60. The London manuscript also suppresses the maps of Rome and Venice that were included in the original but would prove of little use or interest in Avignon. For a table comparing the inclusion of maps in the various Paulinus manuscripts. see Degenhart and Schmitt 1973, 105.
- 12. For a history of the controversy, see Nold 2003, esp. 140-77.
- 13. Paleographical information indicates that the London manuscript should not be dated after ca. 1330 (Wüstefeld 1984, 293), and the style of the miniatures suggests the same period (Degenhart and Schmitt 1973, 90). It is therefore possible that Paulinus himself directed or was at least aware of the translation project.
- 14. The text can be found on fols. 63-67.
- 15. That manuscript is London, BL, Add. Ms. 17920. On the relation between this manuscript and Egerton Ms. 1500, see Wüstefeld 1984, 292-94; Wüstefeld 1986, 100-110; and Piccat 2001, 59.





Guillaume de Saint-Pathus, Vie et miracles de Saint Louis Mahiet and collaborators Paris, ca. 1330–40

SPECIFICATIONS 666 pp.;  $21.5 \times 15 \text{ cm} (8^{1}/2 \times 5^{7}/8 \text{ in.});$ justification:  $15.4 \times [4.2 \times 1.2 \times 4.2] \text{ cm} (6^{1}/16 \times [1^{11}/16 \times 1/2 \times 1^{11}/16] \text{ in.});$  22 lines; 2 columns

ILLUMINATION 92 two-column miniatures

COLLECTION Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. fr. 5716

PROVENANCE Charles V, king of France (1338–1380); Charles VI, king of France (1368–1422; inventories 1380 through 1424); Jean-Pierre-Gilbert Châtre, marquis de Cangé (d. 1746); French royal library (acquired 1733)

Guillaume de Saint-Pathus wrote the *Vie et miracles de Saint Louis* around 1302–3 for Blanche de la Cerda, the daughter of the saintly French king Louis IX, who had been canonized in 1297.<sup>1</sup> Four illuminated fourteenthcentury copies survive, of which this manuscript painted by Mahiet is the most lavish and innovative.<sup>2</sup> While the others display a cycle of only three images that highlight the textual divisions by distinguishing the prologue, the opening of Louis's life, and the opening of his miracles, this manuscript has a cycle of ninety-two images that appear evenly distributed over the chapters of the life and the miracles.<sup>3</sup>

In devising the visual cycle for the manuscript, Mahiet and his collaborators took their lead from Guillaume de Saint-Pathus's stated goal of revealing fundamental truths about Louis's virtues. Guillaume explains his approach to structuring the Vie de Saint Louis: "To avoid confusion, I have not always ordered this book according to the order of time. Rather I have done my best to keep the arrangement [that affords] the most suitable order, according as the things done at the same time could suitably apply to diverse matters, or according as things done at different times reveal themselves as unified by the same properties."4 Thus, though the narrative begins with a scene of the youthful saint's education (p. 16) and ends with his death (p. 277), the text and images between these avoid chronology and juxtapose examples from diverse moments in Louis's life in order to best illustrate his virtues. This emphasis on virtues enables Louis's life to meet the goal of hagiography, or saintly biography.5

Despite its overarching emphasis on virtue, the *Vie et miracles de Saint Louis* contains many scenes that both illustrate virtue and represent a specific historical event.



**20a** (opposite) Louis IX Faces a Storm at Sea, p. 40 (enlarged)

#### 20b

Louis IX in Prison, p. 128 (detail)

Three illustrations of Louis's first crusade are particularly powerful examples of how images of historical events retain their historicity even while illustrating hagiography. Although representing events from 1248–54, the crusading miniatures are scattered in his life as examples of Louis's "right and good hope" when he faced a storm at sea outside Nicosia (ill. 20a), of his compassion toward his soldiers when imprisoned by Sultan Turanshah following the battle of Al Mansurah in 1250 (p. 128), and of his vigor at the battle and patience with his own illness (p. 199). Although illustrating virtues, these crusading images have an affinity with illustrations of secular histories, such as those in the *Grandes chroniques de France* that was painted in part by Mahiet.<sup>6</sup>

The visual formulations of these pictures nuance the accounts in the texts. Thus the image of Louis's reactions to a storm at sea on the crusaders' approach to Nicosia secularizes the story; it does not illustrate Louis's prostrate prayer before an altar, which the sailors credited with the ship's survival, but rather emphasizes his efforts to reassure his two small sons, who appear to either side of him in the picture.<sup>7</sup> Omitting the queen, who is also described as present, the image shows a decidedly male, secular world. Armed soldiers man the turrets in the front and back of the ship, and a well-dressed lord, separated by a mast from Louis and his sons, eavesdrops on the king's calming words.

A second crusading image (ill. 20b), depicting Sultan Turanshah's assassination by his soldiers and their negotiation with Louis in prison, demonstrates how historical images from Louis's life could add meaning to their hagiographic context by illustrating "diverse matters," as Guillaume put it. This picture illustrates texts dedicated to two distinct virtues.<sup>8</sup> It is placed at the beginning of chapter 10, where it exemplifies Louis's solidarity with his men, as he suffers in prison with them rather than buying his own freedom as the other nobles had done. Chapter 10 includes a brief reference to this story, but Guillaume developed it more fully in chapter 17, which is dedicated to the king's modesty, but does not repeat this illustration, perhaps relying on readers' memories of it.<sup>9</sup>

The illustration to chapter 10 links the texts in chapters 10 and 17 visually, establishing associations and oppositions capable of shaping the interpretation of both. Dress associates the foremost of the Saracen assassins who kill Sultan Turanshah at the left of the miniature with the bearded Saracen at right who negotiates with Saint Louis through his prison bars, uniting both parts of the image. The hostility with which the assassins treat their own sultan, who wears a crown like Louis's, contrasts with their respectful behavior toward the imprisoned French king. Saracen soldiers at the left use their swords and daggers to kill the sultan, while the Saracens visiting Louis in prison hold theirs less aggressively in ways that signal their office (the lead Saracen holds his sword like a scepter) or even suggest surrender (the soldier who holds his sword by the point).<sup>10</sup> Although imprisoned, Louis is visualized as having the moral high ground and the respect of the Saracens; as the text of chapter 17 later reveals, the assassins rebelled against their sultan in part because he planned to renege on the details of the treaty he had negotiated with Louis. Through these historical images, Louis emerges as a man chosen by God and admired equally by his heirs and by his enemies. A.D.H.

- There is extensive bibliography on the text and on Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 5716 in particular. For a discussion of the state of research on this manuscript, which includes further bibliography, and for an analysis of its visual cycle, see Chung-Apley 1998. Concentrating on the cultural context within which the manuscript was painted and probably consumed, Chung-Apley suggests that the visual cycle offers Louis as a pedagogical model that would have been particularly apt for his Valois descendants during the 1330s. For editions of the text, see Delaborde 1889 and Fay 1931.
- For the fourteenth-century copies of Saint-Pathus's text, see Chung-Apley 1998, 7–8, 176–78. I should note that BnF, Ms. fr. 5716 is paginated rather than foliated, so citations are to the modern page numbers. For the attribution to Mahiet, see François Avril's discussion in Paris 1981b, 293–96, no. 240; 298–300, nos. 245–47; 312–14, no. 265; and Chung-Apley 1998, 10–11. Avril suggests that at least twenty other manuscripts made ca. 1330–50 can be attributed to Mahiet. See also cat. no. 17.
- 3. With the exception of chapter 6, a lengthy section dedicated to Louis's devotional practices, which has six pictures, and chapter 48 of the miracles section, which has two, every chapter has a single picture.
- 4. BnF, Ms. fr. 5716, p. 9: "Ne ie ne pas ceste oeuvre to[us] jours ordenee selonc lordenance du temps pour eschiver confusion. Aincois e plus estudie a garder l'ordenance de plus covenable iointure. Selo[n]c ce que les choses faites en un meismes temps sembloient estre couvenable a diverses matires. Ou selonc ce que les choses faites en divers temps s'embloient couvenir a une meismes nature."
- The emphasis on Louis's virtues contributed to "the *life* of the saints," as Cynthia Hahn (2001) describes it. For other hagiographic texts, see cat. nos. 11 and 49.
- 6. On this *Grandes chroniques* (London, BL, Royal Ms. 16 G.VI), which belonged to John II the Good before he became king in 1350 and dates ca. 1335–40, see Hedeman 1991, 51–74, 213–21.
- 7. For discussion of this miniature, see Chung-Apley 1998, 24–25.
- 8. For prior discussion of this image, see Chung-Apley 1998, 39–40.
- 9. The text on p. 132 of BnF, Ms. fr. 5716, describing the illustration on p. 127 in chapter 10, reads in its entirety: "Apres co[m]me l'en eust treitie entre le benoit roy dune partie pour soi et pour les crestiens et entre les sarrazins qui maintenant avoient occis le soudane. et estoient encore ensanglantes de son sanc dautre partie. Et de la delivrance du benoit roy et des crestiens convenances fusse[n]t ordenees entre les parties."

Compare the much fuller account on pp. 244–45, within chapter 17, which begins on p. 239, with an image of Pierre de Laon witnessing the king's modesty, another story from the chapter. This passage is four times as long as that in chapter 10. It focuses on the sultan's deception, emphasizing that the sultan had guaranteed Louis's freedom and accepted the terms of a treaty but intended to break it as soon as he received the money.

10. On this gesture as a sign of surrender, see Hedeman 1991, 265.

Procès de Robert d'Artois France, ca. 1337

 $\label{eq:specification: 30 \times 23.5 cm (11^{3}/4 \times 9^{1}/4 in.); \ variable lines; 1 column$ 

ILLUMINATION 1 full-page frontispiece, 1 quarterpage miniature

COLLECTION Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. fr. 18437

PROVENANCE Achille de Harlay, president of the Parlement de Paris (1689–1707); Abbey of Saint-Germain-des-Prés

This manuscript is a rare example of an illuminated register. It was compiled at the request of King Philip VI of France to document the conflict in 1329-37 surrounding Robert d'Artois's failed attempt to wrest the county of Artois from his aunt, Mahaut d'Artois, in which he resorted to suborning false testimony and commissioning forgeries. Five notaries amassed ninety-five decrees, transcripts of testimonies, copies of real and forged letters, confessions, depositions, contracts, judgments, subpoenas, and orders for executions of criminals and for Robert d'Artois's banishment, and all five notaries signed each document in the register to authenticate it.<sup>1</sup> One of three surviving contemporary copies of at least eight made between 1335 and 1337 for deposit in various places, including the royal library at the Louvre, the Trésor des chartes, the Parlement de Paris, and the Chambre des comptes, this illuminated account of Robert d'Artois's trial once belonged to the collection of the Trésor des chartes.<sup>2</sup>

Although both the text and the images of the register have the trappings of authenticity, they also worked to reinforce King Philip VI's authority. The surviving registers concerning Robert d'Artois at the Bibliothèque nationale and the Archives nationales (JJ 20) include texts arranged to create a narrative that denigrates Robert and his claims. In both, documents are displaced, so that, for instance, the decree of 1335 condemning the false testimonies given in 1329 precedes transcriptions of those testimonies, predisposing the reader to come to the same conclusion reached by the French court. Lines drawn through false testimony cancel it, and marginal notes and rubrics distinguish the true from the false, shaping interpretation of the text.<sup>3</sup> A chapter list preceding the documents identifies those contained in the register and includes roman numerals that enable readers to look up specific rubrics in the text. The rubric for the chapter list stresses that the king and his noble court undertook a just and legal trial and places exceptional emphasis on the king: "And finally how the king made good and honest justice like the very just and very equitable and very upright prince that he is who has before his eyes principally God, justice, and honesty to which he is bound by reason of the dignity that he has and holds from God alone."<sup>4</sup>

Painted in a style related to that of the great fourteenthcentury artist Jean Pucelle, the images that begin the book reinforce Philip VI's royal dignity and majesty even more emphatically than the text, by representing what should have happened rather than what actually occurred.<sup>5</sup> In the first full-page miniature (ill. 21a), the full complement of peers and an assortment of nobility assemble in front of King Philip VI of Valois, King John of Bohemia, and Philippe d'Évreux, king of Navarre, to try Robert. An early reader outlined the rules of precedence for seating peers in changes penned on folios 1 and 91. It is clear that he misunderstood the image, as indicated by his annotation: "They are not painted as they should sit, but the order is on the previous folio."6 This, and the fact that Robert d'Artois, who did not attend his own trial, is represented as though he had, makes clear that the goal of the image is not so much to represent a real event as to evoke Philip VI's royal dignity and to assert the validity of Philip's judgment against Robert. To reinforce the message of support for Philip's fledgling government, the peers, who are identified by coats of arms, are arrayed on long benches in order of their relation to Philip of Valois, rather than in their traditional order of precedence; and Philip's dress and his position enthroned on a faldstool evoke his majesty through analogy to the visual language employed on French royal seals.7

In contrast, the second image of Philip enthroned (ill. 21b) appears just before the preamble and chapter list and in its generality could represent any of the messages recorded in the text of the register or, indeed, any number of historical events that the register describes. Together, this pair of images constructs an independent and nonneutral complement to the documents arrayed in the register. Just as the documents were reordered so as to create a biased narrative about Robert d'Artois's guilt, the representation of the judgment in the Parlement de Paris that begins the manuscript offers a highly constructed representation of Valois authority, presenting the king in majesty as he enacts his royal dignity and exercises justice supported by all the peers of France. The simpler scene of the king's interaction with a messenger in the presence of unidentified witnesses that follows binds this fictive scene of royal justice to the text of the manuscript. The fictional image gains authenticity from its relationship





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to the more prosaic image, and both together create a striking visual representation of the king's justice, a representation that would become canonical (compare cat. no.43). A.D.H.

- 3. See Sample 1996, 82–85.
- 4. "Et au darrain comment le Roys en a fait bonne et loyal Iustice

Comme tres Iustes et tres droituriers et tres loyauz princes que il est qui a lieu devant ses yeux principalement. Dieu, Iustice & loyaute a quoy il est tenuz par Raison de la dignite que il a et tient de Dieu seulement": BnF, Ms. fr. 18437, fol. 3, and AN, JJ 20, fol. 1–1v. For the complete rubric, see Sample 1996, 109–10.

- 5. For François Avril's identification of the artist as the illuminator of the calendar and cycle of hours in the Hours of Jean II de Navarre (Paris, BnF, Ms. n.a. lat. 3145) and of a manuscript of the works of Thomas Aquinas made in Paris in 1343 (Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Ms. Fiesole 89, and Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat.lat. 744), see Paris 1981b, 312–15, nos. 265–66. I believe that the artist also illustrated an act of March 1332 (AN, J 357 A [reines I], no. 4 bis) reproduced and discussed in Brunel 2005, 82–85. For discussion of the iconography of the full-page miniature from BnF, Ms. fr. 18437 as a representation of the king rendering justice in the French Parlement, see Beaune 1989, 91–94; and Brown and Famiglietti 1994, 105–21.
- 6. The inscription written above both sets of peers on fol. 2 reads: "il ne sont pas pains si comme il doivent seoir. mais lordre est ou foullet precedent [a reference to his annotations on fol. 1]." For a fuller analysis of the ways in which the changed arrangement of the peers and the representations of clothing and furnishings establish political hierarchy within the manuscript, see Hedeman forthcoming (a).
- 7. For Philip VI's seal of majesty, see Brunel 2005, 83, 92; and Brown and Famiglietti 1994, 19.

**21a** (opposite) *The Trial of Robert d'Artois*, fol. 2 (see also p. xviii)

21b Philip VI Sends or Receives Emissaries, fol. 2v (detail)

Five notaries of King Philip VI of Valois, who had been involved with the case of Robert d'Artois since at least 1332—Jean de Meleun, Guichart de Molesme, Guillaume Dorly, Jean Cordier, and Guillaume Dubois—signed the bottom of almost every folio of both surviving registers, beginning on Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 18437, fol. 5v, and on Paris, Archives nationales, JJ 20, fol. 4v, although only four sign on folios 4v-6v of AN, JJ 20. For an analysis of the medieval registers, the historical circumstances surrounding Robert d'Artois's trial, and an edition of AN, JJ 20 and BnF, Ms. fr. 18437, see Sample 1996.

<sup>2.</sup> The other surviving copies include an unilluminated version in the Archives nationales (AN, JJ 20) and an illuminated version (possibly the *minute originale*, the original memorandum) kept in the Chambre des comptes. The latter, formerly in the collection of Lord Moysten, was sold in 1925 to the Leipzig bookseller Karl W. Hiersemann and its current location is unknown.

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Guyart des Moulins, *Bible historiale* (translation of Pierre le Mangeur [Petrus Comestor], *Historia scholastica*) Master of Jean de Mandeville Paris, ca. 1360–70

#### Volume 1

 $\begin{array}{l} {\rm Specifications} \ \ 308 \ \, {\rm ff.}; 34.9 \times 26 \ \, {\rm cm} \ (13^{3/4} \times 10^{1/4} \ \, {\rm in.}); \\ {\rm justification:} \ \ 24.1 \times [8.2 \times 1.5 \times 8.2] \ \, {\rm cm} \ (9^{1/2} \times [3^{1/4} \times 5^{1/4} \times 10^{1/4} \ \, {\rm in.}); \\ {\rm specification:} \ \ 31^{1/4} \ \, {\rm specification:} \ \ \ 31^{1/4} \ \, {\rm specification:} \ \ \ 31^{1/4} \ \, {\rm specification:} \ \ 31^{1/4} \ \ \ 31^{1/4} \ \ \ 31^{1/4} \ \ 31^{1/4} \$ 

ILLUMINATION 1 half-page frontispiece, 47 one-column miniatures

# Volume 2

 $\begin{array}{l} {\rm Specifications} \ \ 296\,{\rm ff.}; 34.9 \times 26\,{\rm cm}\,(13^{3}\!/\!4 \times 10^{1}\!/\!4\,{\rm in.}); \\ {\rm justification:} \ 24.1 \times [8.2 \times 1.5 \times 8.2]\,{\rm cm}\,(9^{1}\!/\!2 \times [3^{1}\!/\!4 \times 5^{6}\!/\!8 \times 3^{1}\!/\!4]\,{\rm in.}); \\ {\rm varies,} \ 47-48\,{\rm lines;} \ 2\,{\rm columns} \end{array}$ 

ILLUMINATION 1 multipart frontispiece, 24 onecolumn miniatures

COLLECTION LOS Angeles, The J. Paul Getty Museum, Ms. 1

PROVENANCE François de Clermont-Tonnerre, comte de Noyon (1629–1701); C. G. de Lamoignon; Hamilton Palace; [sale, Sotheby's, London, May 23, 1889, lot. 7]; [Bernard Quaritch, London, 1892]; Lady Ludlow; [sale, Sotheby's, London, December 16, 1940, no. 425, to Maggs Bros.]; Martin Bodmer (1899–1971); [sale, H. P. Kraus, *Cimelia*, New York, 1983, no. 5] The Bible historiale, existing in almost 150 manuscripts of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, was an unqualified success almost from the moment it was completed by Guyart des Moulins in the last decade of the thirteenth century.<sup>1</sup> Guyart, a canon in the town of Aire, took as his original project the translation of Pierre le Mangeur's widely popular twelfth-century Historia scholastica from Latin into French. Pierre's work had concentrated only on the historical books of the Bible, providing a chronology of world history through a biblical lens.<sup>2</sup> Very early in its textual tradition, Guyart's translation of Pierre's work was augmented with French translations of the nonhistorical books of the Bible taken from a complete French text known as the "thirteenth-century Bible" (see cat. no. 2).3 Called the Bible historiale complétée, this text provided access to the entire Bible in French, but it retained the stress on the role of the Bible as a record of historical events. By the middle of the fourteenth century, it had become the most popular version of the Bible in French; in its final form it was requested by the most highly placed members of the French court (cat. no. 25). Like most examples of the Bible historiale, the Getty Museum's copy is a luxury product comprising two volumes,<sup>4</sup> Genesis-Psalms and Proverbs-Apocalypse, with both of the two parts introduced by a large frontispiece and then single-column miniatures devoted to narratives within the biblical books.

Of all the books in the Bible historiale, it is usually Genesis that is lavished with the most miniatures. In the Getty volumes there are a total of seventy-three miniatures, fully twenty of which are found in the book of Genesis. Seven of these miniatures tell the story of the Creation in sequence (ill. 22a). The iconography of Creation miniatures had been developed over a long period of time and variations were found in a variety of texts, usually in the form of roundels grouped together at the beginning of the book (see cat. nos. 2 and 4). In copies of the Bible historiale, the first volume most often opens with an image either of Christ in Majesty or the Trinity, leaving the narrative scenes of the Creation to be sprinkled through the beginning of the text at the appropriate points.<sup>5</sup> In the Getty volumes, the figure of Christ actively takes part in each of the days of Creation, with a round earth prominently displayed in its various stages of development.

Many of the books in a *Bible historiale*, particularly in the second volume, are introduced by a single miniature depicting either an event found near the beginning of that book or a scene that is somehow symbolic of the book as a whole. For the book of 1 Maccabees in the Getty manuscript, the miniature was inspired by the first chapter of the book, where Alexander the Great, having conquered the peoples of the world, takes to his sickbed and calls his various generals to him in order to divide his kingdom among them (ill. 22b). The way in which the generals turn away to discuss their portions even as Alexander lies dying before their eyes suggests the dissension that his death would sow. Because Judas Maccabeus is first introduced in this biblical book, and he was considered by those in the Middle Ages as one of the great Old Testament heroes, alongside Joshua and David (see discussion of the Nine Worthies, cat. nos. 66 and 67), the miniature that introduces this text often shows a battle scene from Maccabees or some other scene relating to Judas, whereas scenes related to Alexander are rarer.<sup>6</sup> The historical orientation of the Bible historiale is especially evident in miniatures such as this one, which takes advantage of the brief mention of Alexander the Great to show the connections between the biblical and classical worlds.

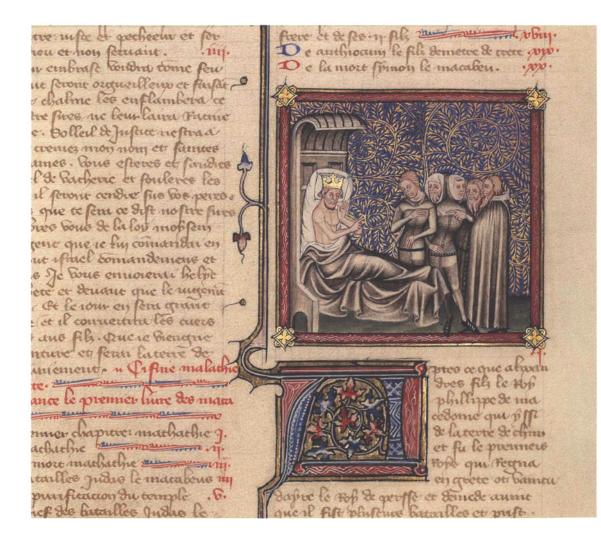
The miniatures of the Getty manuscript are painted in a grisaille technique that enjoyed great popularity in midfourteenth-century Paris. The clothing is the only aspect of the images done strictly in grisaille, with touches of color reserved for the faces and hair. Each scene is set against a colorful abstracted background, which forms an elegant contrast to the delicately drawn and shaded figures. The artist is known as the Master of Jean de Mandeville after a manuscript of Sir John Mandeville's travels that he painted for Charles V in the third quarter of the fourteenth century in Paris (Paris, BnF, Mss. n.a.fr. 4515-4516). The artist was involved in numerous commissions for Charles V and often worked with the king's royal scribes, Henri du Trévou and Raoulet d'Orléans.<sup>7</sup> He is known to have worked on two other copies of the Bible historiale, but as for the Getty copy, there is no information extant about its original owners.8 One element of the text that sets the Getty Bible historiale apart is the attribution of the translation of the book of Job to Jean de Vignay on order of Jeanne de Bourgogne, the queen of France, for whom he completed other translations (see cat. no. 17).<sup>9</sup> Jean de Vignay is known to have produced a translation of the Epistles and the Gospels for the queen, but a translation of the book of Job has not previously been ascribed to his oeuvre.<sup>10</sup> Despite the fact that the Getty manuscript cannot be associated with a particular commission, its lavish illumination scheme and fashionable miniatures attest to the popularity of the illuminated Bible historiale in the fourteenth century and the lay public's desire for a biblical narrative with a historical orientation. E.M.

## **22a** The Creation of Water and Land;

and The Creation of the Sun and the Moon, fols. 4v–5 (vol. 1)

#### 22b

Alexander the Great with His Generals, fol. 138 (vol. 2)



- Fournié (2009c-e) has identified 144 complete or partial copies. Other than multiple printed editions between 1498 and 1545, the entire text has not been edited. An edition of the beginning of the text (up to Genesis 2:3) can be found in McGerr 1983, and an edition of the 1297 preface can be found in Fournié 2009b.
- Pierre le Mangeur (Peter Comestor in English) had used extracts from the Bible that Guyart filled out with full biblical texts and further supplemented with additional commentary (Berger 1884, 157–86). An excellent introduction to the textual and manuscript tradition of the *Bible historiale* can be found in Fournié 2009a.
- 3. There is no surviving manuscript of Guyart's text before the addition of the contents of the thirteenth-century Bible. Sneddon posits that the hybrid text was compiled soon after Guyart completed his work and became immediately popular (Sneddon 1979, 131).
- 4. The Getty manuscript falls under the rubric of *Bible historiale complétée moyenne*, meaning that it contains the so-called *Grand Job*, but not the versions of Paralipomenon, Esdras, and Nehemiah contained in the thirteenth-century Bible (Berger 1884, 189–90).
- The Creation scenes in the Getty manuscript are very similar to the same set of seven in a *Bible historiale complétée moyenne* in Cambridge, Mass. (Houghton Library, Ms. Typ. 555, fols. 3v–7).
- 6. Of all the fourteenth-century manuscripts (listed in Fournié 2009c-e), only nine manuscripts introduce 1 Maccabees with Alexander imagery. Neither of the two other manuscripts with illumination by the same artist active in the Getty manuscript contains a scene concerning Alexander.
- 7. The Master of Jean de Mandeville worked on the following manuscripts made for Charles V: Le Livre de l'enseignement des princes, Besançon, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 434; Voyages de Jean de Mandeville, Paris, BnF, Mss. n.a.fr. 4515–4516; Aristotle's Météorologiques, Brussels, BR, Ms. 11200; John of Salisbury's Le Polycratique, Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 24287. He also painted a copy of the

*Roman de la Rose* (Vienna, ÖNB, Cod. 2592). For his connection to royal scribes, see Rouse and Rouse 2000, 1:270–79. See Paris 1968a for information on these manuscripts.

- The two other copies are: Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Ms. Cod. Bibl. 2° 6, and Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Canon. Misc. 249. The Stuttgart manuscript figures in the 1380 royal inventory, so it may have been made for someone highly placed at court.
- 9. Fol. 217: "Ci apres commence le livre de job lequel ne translata pas en francois le maistre qui premier translata la bible mais le laissa a translater pour les parolles de trop grant mistere a ouyr aux gens lays. Et le fist translater la royne de france et de bourgougne par frere jehan de vignay hospitalier. Et contient ce dit livre de chapistres quarante et vii." I am indebted to Thomas Kren and Jennifer Haley for this discovery and for their research on the issue.
- 10. Berger 1884, 221–29; and Knowles 1954. Eléonore Fournié was kind enough to confirm via personal correspondence that she has not seen a copy of the Jean de Vignay attribution in any of the Bible historiale manuscripts that she has personally examined.

Histoire ancienne jusqu'à César and Faits des Romains Master of the Coronation of Charles VI and assistant Paris, ca. 1370–80

#### Volume 1 (Histoire ancienne)

 $\begin{array}{l} {\rm SPECIFICATIONS} \ 194 \, {\rm ff.}; 40 \times 28.5 \, {\rm cm} \, (15^{3/4} \times 11^{1/4} \, {\rm in.}); \\ {\rm justification:} \ 29.7 \times 20 \, ({\rm varies}) \, {\rm cm} \, (11^{11/16} \times 7^{7/8} \, {\rm in.}); \\ {\rm 52 \, lines;} \ 2 \, {\rm columns} \end{array}$ 

ILLUMINATION 1 multipart frontispiece, 39 onecolumn miniatures

#### Volume 2 (Faits des Romains)

SPECIFICATIONS 153 ff.;  $40 \times 28.5$  cm ( $15^{3}/4 \times 11^{1}/4$  in.); justification:  $29.7 \times 20$  (varies) cm ( $11^{11}/16 \times 7^{7}/8$  in.); 52 lines; 2 columns

ILLUMINATION 1 multipart frontispiece, 37 onecolumn miniatures

COLLECTION HOUSTON, James E. and Elizabeth J. Ferrell

PROVENANCE Jacques d'Armagnac, duke of Nemours (ca. 1433–1477); Jean IV Raguenel de Malestroit and his wife Gilette; Jeanne Raguenel de Malestroit (d. 1470); Joseph Smith (1682–1770), British consul in Venice; [sale, Baker & Leigh's, London, January 25, 1773, lot 991]; Darker; [Bernard Quaritch]; Sir Alfred Chester Beatty (1875–1968; purchased June 21, 1923); [sale, Sotheby's, London, June 7, 1932, lot 20]; [Spanish art gallery]; William Randolph Hearst (1863– 1951); John A. Saks; [sale, Christie's, New York, May 20, 1983, lot 49]; [H. P. Kraus]; Martin Schøyen, Oslo and London; [Bruce Ferrini, Les Enluminures]

The Histoire ancienne, a text written around 1208-13 that traces history from the Creation through the first part of the reign of Caesar, was often paired with an almost contemporary text (1213-14), the Faits des Romains, which completed the story of the Roman Empire with the translation and synthesis of accounts by Caesar, Sallust, Suetonius, and Lucan.<sup>1</sup> The former text was composed for Roger IV, châtelain de Lille, and originally included verse moralizations on its stories, while the latter was solely prose, composed with the intent of seeing a contemporary Caesar in the person of the French king, Philip Augustus, who sacked Lille soon after the writing of the Histoire ancienne.<sup>2</sup> The stylistic and political differences between the two texts were no longer relevant to readers by the late fourteenth century, and given their complementary contents, the works were often paired together and copiously illuminated in that period, including the set of manuscripts under discussion.<sup>3</sup> The style, script, lavish program of illumination, and subject matter of the Ferrell manuscripts, illuminated in Paris in the third quarter of the fourteenth century along with three other similar sets of the same texts,<sup>4</sup> all point to the possibility that they were created for someone highly placed at the French court.

Two artists were primarily responsible for the illuminations of the two volumes. Both were likely in the same workshop that created other manuscripts for the French court, including a copy of the Grandes chroniques de France made for Charles V (cat. no. 26).<sup>5</sup> The work of the first artist, known as the Master of the Coronation of Charles VI, is characterized by elegant figures with flowing draperies who are animated and eagerly interact with one another. He painted most of the single-column miniatures in the Histoire ancienne (ill. 23a) as well as the frontispiece to the Faits des Romains (ill. 23b). A second artist, a follower of the first, painted the multipart frontispiece of the Creation in the Histoire ancienne and the majority of the single-column miniatures in the Faits des Romains. His work relies heavily on dark outlines and strong colors, displays a harsher touch than is characteristic of his colleague, and betrays a penchant for battle scenes and armor.

This set of the two texts is unusual for the number of illuminations it allocates to the Histoire ancienne. The three other manuscripts to which it is closely related contain between seventeen and twenty-four illuminations for the Histoire, compared to the thirty-nine in the Ferrell manuscript.6 The set has as many as sixteen scenes not found in the other manuscripts, a significant variation given the close iconographic ties between all four. Most of the added miniatures are found in the section of the text devoted to biblical stories. The images of Joseph and Potiphar's wife as well as the facing miniature of Joseph and the butler and baker in prison (ill. 23a) are found in no other copy of the Histoire ancienne of the time. In fact, there are nine miniatures devoted to the story of Joseph in the manuscript, fully one quarter of all the illumination, perhaps indicating a particular interest in his story on the part of whoever commissioned the manuscript. In the miniature with Potiphar's wife, Joseph is represented not as a young, virile man, understandably an object of interest to a beautiful young woman, but instead as a wise old man, complete with white beard.7 In the facing miniature, where through divine inspiration he interprets the dreams of the butler and the baker, he is even given a halo, a very unusual addition to a figure from the Old Testament.8 The patron may have especially revered the wisdom or devotion of Joseph, accounting for the figure's multiple depictions and peculiar appearance.

The frontispiece of the *Faits des Romains* poses it own interesting questions (ill. 23b). The second of the four

leure dont elle eftoir en ermues er li penta encore à felle li difoir quil le tendroie agrit honeur al auoir oic faibleure + fa penfee t quil ne gauceour auntle chole fors à au faur & file wirow acche mamen atranea la wlence & a lon ichreer acomplus. Duw elle or ce peule elle nefu pas ellabre defale forque faire Ams manda wheeh tubbie aulti coe al qui tece ne le conoir gande er que la tame le vie elle li filt mie bian lablant + mit telle chere + li moutin + def count fon affanc & a u dub a mit duor eftre liez gr elle taux lamou alle sectores lu defa wlence descoudre Joseph on sente di la pole de sa dame i fi li respondi convie met lans confeil prendre q fc adieu plat low a g elle difoit neferoit il en millema men. Car nelewir milons ne drontune quil la fermit detel fuile pour quop fes twes qui lanow achee east relance never gorgue. mes wheph dist chasties was lette dance i pues anne confeil-qu'ia scadien vient aplehr, ne fenn amon lagnir telle alloraute ne fi gno felome et fachico bu dance à toures aunes choses feroie ie po wus mes ace neutende; muc que ie la fe the pour mille acantre Gr bien fachtes dame encore forere bre fers neme dennes wus tel chose que qu'ic uedenvoie coleuren unlle manuer . Coment wleph lepade Juffi come wus ouer p la dame. La wieph ala dame qui mir en fu whence i communace i contre ce ne for a refinedic-mes coplus feloudilow when ic la pole & elle plus feldaufour en lamour z cu la wleute. At ce li failoit encoze pis alle ferentow en lui meifines alle nelepor ww auour afa wiene en nulle mamene. Run fe iepu wieph it fa dame cefte p men fois lan; plus due ladame bica when the second set of the second set of the second mes elle sevourpenta à amfii ne remai drow il une feelle poir- me lolances-o le mectivie en autre pour encore-elle le wurzenta moir tolt content elle peroir V explorace enners 101eph-Adout denoiene u equpaen alebier due haure fefte outuit al à la contre fastamblouene chlis ; ta mes + lourgois + marchanc qui grant allour y approvent la danne dont ie tous di upala mic anti dift alon legueura a la melmee glle eltour dune gur douleur

144

emerinie ne ne porow aler alafette au ne anow wiente ne cure Atane fu la anne let fue z fes furs yala z toure fa chine fi come was oue; fan: la came z fan: wieph quie leur tens nanow ane Am; prior camen ce en qui effort toure fapentes.Comene la tame pria develuel wieph te fa mour.



Vant la nicions fu amili bidin ic la chline li come wus ones lain me an ce anow connome thim unic a toleph fi recomence la priere plus guit alle; à cenant a fili duft à bien lifablat milon a alantic tois leute ofe 7 entendue. ne oul ne la duft une auoir elondur d loneur delus ne pour la mutelie-mes ole feate muce quil ne lauoue faue a ferrir que lages a fi a mendale lounnge dece qui a uow defpute pla folie + pour ce que audor aul wufift alle leu paile euroze quil ucou talt faultete ne decenance feltow elle alon lequeur faince denfermete anour z malada a plus mulou eftir ancue tofeph w falo leure faure gue ue feut eltre ala fette zdilon la dance à de ce quil lauoir refulecladman for ne letenore elle pas amalice amichon putiz aluz felour ce que estou en la vien temource + les bus alle la auor punts il autour a alles plus quil ne fautour de mfer ne due fil fawlence wulow acophe ne faire a bien focute il fais doubtanceli refutow lit faprice quil aurour fou mal talent & fi en preudrous tennance male co pillenfe & gariate ba quil neute fancen nulle claulance y nulle pole qui faufra fou man couter ue due ar ce ueli witon gaues aidier puis alle feroit cutre cula folie ar fes fires la couvie mier en lafin a lui- la foir ce quil u contait vence t elle menlonge-ares or grantaft bu quil fuit la ges & retente la mour deluy al vipurion

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#### 23a

Potiphar's Wife Seizes Joseph's Cloak and Joseph Interprets the Dreams of the Butler and Baker in Histoire ancienne, fols. 38v-39 (vol. 1)

auon houcur & feancane Comen wheph whi fou la requeste de fadame er cinstour issa Cos wies que wus oues plozore la hune ares pour ce ne li unhur neus la requeste ar ouques toleph pour couccur ne wur menace ne wuit facialte corrupte cuuers dien ne enners fou lequeur am; dur bu ala anne q cench anendron 1a en toute fame ne te fes menaces nefe toutoir o il une dar il amon muer pour dromme fon ch fur aname conteur on aname grenance a allow tote + leefee p quoy il point la tote poundle + fi dat als tame alle deut woo? der le manage de son knon & la compagne !! fuscille pærename defolte no pas enter en auteur deluxure dont elle deud auour houte a any a plance. Ic dilow tofenh afatame & pluffs aunes poles purced o la autoro ofter de la male wlence z de la folie remme . ares la dance que eltore en giữ andur nauoir à ce aire Ami gita fes mans anauv come delefpee fi faili toleph & le wule reteur afora- Joleph fu mir dolans quir il tenn la dame fi ne for

# à faur ne mes qui guerpi fon mantel à la tame anor mle fermemè enpogne d' Imili len fom toleph qui eldapa a la tame qui temoura mit tolance. Coment o la tame leplame alon leigneur le toleph.

feph ala dame am wine fon ma tel pquoy elle autore bu auor terance delug come celle qui clour plaine due er te malmlent-ne temoum une gunnit à li fires reune de la felte + tautolt come il cum en fadambre la dame li fift mit dala te chiere & mile tufter & li fues li temanita tà toft coment in chow de la maladie-la ta nic li velipudi mit fameenir taulli agia uce couver felle full ps q more tout en toulpumne li dift-Sue wus auer caus 1. fclou feef amene z cop deputane.duf nes le gr ma mir efforace aforce faur er factues bu quil el outingeus ar il me wulou bioler + mal meme ne il ne fe ie with mie quick il effoir built en noftre melon-ue il ne doubta loneur ne la legii ic q wus li aues faite ne office mes out o a li pula unilou i danana-li ma tat againce quil me bie feule. Adongs me anda a force decritoir & conduc + ace all cutendu guir piece- mes ne me peur mit

lieu feile twiner fors dore and wus effici alafter anne dole nail telince mit a and piece de quaquil a moufire de douceur t is implefee all tous fais your la paour delo? ne une pour la lemonite ouil entr enluy-ne quil fuit delone nonmenne er bu elt diois quil air fair tel onnage me was lanes fans mille milon clanacer a moure entrop gui fegnoune ren tel loncur quil nor ongs chinuc di unit aligue. Car was lames fair puot fur tou; w; autres ferians & futow alain lence de conces los possessions ren anon la legnonne 4 de los ties la poncance er la ane-de cueze le wloir cant mettre auar qui loloir hour mos qui fus bie teme. Mur ne fift plus lainme Am; fift famblant g pouleur li fuit faille lalai ne 7 mutoft unift anant lemantel alle anow retenu de tofenh & dift quir fa pole fu renenne- fue wa fon mantel and deguerps quivie me defiendose me il ot mit qui batte de fouur qui il op de wus la tenne Comt Joleph fu mis en pulou



Clant puthtar op ces nounch clies nell plozent ins + fi ucinel aur une a q la feine dilow iba quelle plouwer ognit habuutance icler. nucs + pour a quil troit la pournea on manuel & aner tour a amour mole fa feine-dt wur er ne boult il ongs tente enque ne en cerchier q la anne auour mi lou & dronner to feph choir fet & man ues i plans contranduar additichure. Adour upor plus ple dite aus le fift punfar metir en la charac le for plara ou aueur les putons qui forfair auor eur le regue mur le fois louloir faire untres 10 min ne drit encontre fou fearie ic fa inme unlle chofe Ams comanin a

**23b** Events from the Life of Caesar in Faits des Romains, fol. 199 (vol. 2)



quadrants was clearly repainted, and its style associates it with the artists who worked for Jacques d'Armagnac (see cat. no. 47).<sup>9</sup> The Ferrell manuscripts were owned during the 1470s by Jacques d'Armagnac, which would have given the artists who worked for him access to the volumes. Examination of the iconography of the other three related copies indicates that the new scene replaced one likely of the same subject.<sup>10</sup> The artist replaced not only the miniature but the entire upper right portion of the page. A smaller portion of the following leaf was also replaced.<sup>11</sup> The pertinent sections of text on both leaves was correctly rewritten. All of this indicates that some sort of damage necessitated these replacements.

The artist very carefully reproduced the secondary decoration around the frontispiece miniature, including the quatrefoil of blue, white, and red, as well as the borders, the bar border at the side, and the gold, blue, and red leaves around it. Yet despite the pains he took, when painting the miniature itself, he felt no need to try to match the style of the other three quadrants. A distinctly receding floor is provided for the figures, unlike in the three remaining miniatures, and the color palette includes a distinctive green that is absent from the others. In addition, although he has colored the background a flat red that provides some symmetry with the miniature in the opposite corner, he has added gold scrolls rather than a geometric design mimicking the other quadrants.<sup>12</sup> The idea for the gold scrolling may in fact have come from another copy of the text that was in the possession of Jacques d'Armagnac at the time, a manuscript owned by John of Berry that is also one of the closely related manuscripts in the same group (Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 246). The multipart frontispiece (fol. 1) to the Histoire ancienne in that manuscript contains two sections that have just such a red background with gold scrolling. The artist may have considered the background part of the secondary decoration and therefore tried to match it to a contemporary background painted in the same set of texts and available as an exemplar. Access to the John of Berry manuscript would moreover explain how a scribe could accurately replace the text if the frontispiece and the second leaf were damaged.

Comparison to the other manuscripts in the group associated with the Ferrell manuscripts indicates that the Ferrell copies were among the most luxurious. Not only does the Ferrell *Histoire ancienne* have more miniatures than any of the other copies, but the set was originally bound in two volumes, whereas all the others were bound as one.<sup>13</sup> As mentioned above, one of the other copies was made for John of Berry, brother to the king, and another was made for Charles V.<sup>14</sup> In addition, by the fifteenth century both John's copy and this set of manuscripts had become part of the library of Jacques d'Armagnac, who inherited books from both John's and the king's libraries.<sup>15</sup> Moreover, the Ferrell manuscripts are in the handwriting of the scribe Raoulet d'Orléans, who acted as *écrivain du roi* (scribe of the king), and the artists, including the Master of the Coronation of Charles VI, were often employed by the king and his court.<sup>16</sup> All of these factors together suggest that the manuscript was made for someone of rank at the French court. The popularity of these texts among this group in the third quarter of the fourteenth century is no doubt related to the original reason for the creation of the *Faits des Romains*; the successful military campaigns and autocratic rule of Caesar and the Roman emperors must have appealed no less to royals at the court of Charles V than they did to Philip Augustus 150 years before. E.M.

- For more on the text of the *Histoire ancienne*, see cat. nos. 3, 4, 27, and 50. Partial editions of the text can be found in Joslin 1986 and De Visser-van Terwisga 1995 and 1999. Editions of the *Faits des Romains* can be found in Flutre and Sneijders de Vogel 1935–38 and McCormick 1995. For information on the *Faits des Romains* and its manuscript tradition, see the works of Louis-Fernand Flutre (1933a and 1933b).
- For the role of both texts in thirteenth-century France, see Raynaud de Lage 1949, Guenée 1976, Spiegel 1993, Croizy-Naquet 1999 and 2004, and the works of Jeanette Beer, including Beer 1974, 1991, 1992.
- The original scribe foliated the manuscripts separately, which indicates that they were always bound separately.
- The three other manuscripts in this group are: London, BL, Royal Ms. 16 G.VII; Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 246; and Paris, BnF, Ms. n.a.fr. 3576 (Oltrogge 1989, 32–33).
- 5. On this artist, see cat. no. 26 as well as Hedeman 1991. The artists and their works were described in Maastricht 2000, 113–14. I thank Anne D. Hedeman for confirming the attributions.
- London, BL, Royal Ms. 16 G.VII has twenty-six miniatures in the Histoire ancienne section, Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 246 has twenty-four, and Paris, BnF, Ms. n.a.fr. 3576 has seventeen.
- 7. In the image on fol. 35v, of Joseph and his brothers before Jacob, Joseph is depicted as a young man.
- He is also represented with a halo in the next scene, fol. 40v, where he is shown being presented to Pharaoh, but not in any of the other eight scenes. No other Old Testament figures in the book receive a halo.
- 9. For more on the atelier of Jacques d'Armagnac, see Paris 1993b, 164–65; Blackman 1993, 84–181.
- See London, BL, Royal Ms. 16 G.VII, fol. 219; Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 246, fol. 158; and Paris, BnF, Ms. n.a.fr. 3576, fol. 197. Each of the three shows a slightly different version of the same scene.
- 11. I thank Getty Museum conservator Nancy Turner for her examination of the replaced sections and her keen analysis of what conclusions can be drawn. She noticed the replaced section of the second leaf and that the gold leaf used for the secondary decoration was of a different quality.
- 12. I appreciate Nancy Turner's pointing this out to me. Other fourteenth-century manuscripts in Jacques d'Armagnac's collection contain miniatures that were repainted by artists in his employ (Blackman 1993, 48, 86, 184–87).
- All of the three other copies were through-foliated by the original scribes, the Ferrell Faits des Romains restarts its foliation with fol. 1.
- Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 246 was made for John of Berry, Paris, BnF, Ms. n.a.fr. 3576 for Charles V early in his reign (Rouse and Rouse 2000, 1:273).
- 15. For the library of Jacques d'Armagnac, see Blackman 1993.
  16. For the career of Raoulet d'Orléans, see Rouse and Rouse 2000, 1:273–79. The number of works the Master of the Coronation of Charles VI and his workshop produced can be gleaned from their frequent association with the *écrivains du roi* Raoulet d'Orléans and Henri de Trévou (Rouse and Rouse 2000, 1:270–79).

The Story of the Founding of Rome with Hercules and the Cattle in the lower margin, fol. 7



## 24

Pierre Bersuire, *Histoire romaine* (translation of Titus Livius, *Ab urbe condita libri*) Master of the Bible of Jean de Sy Paris, ca. 1370

SPECIFICATIONS 434 ff.;  $45.5 \times 30 \text{ cm} (17^{15/16} \times 11^{13/16} \text{ in.})$ ; justification:  $33.6 \times [10 \times 1.7 \times 10] \text{ cm} (13^{1/4} \times [3^{15/16} \times 1^{11/16} \times 3^{15/16}] \text{ in.})$ ; 53 lines; 2 columns

ILLUMINATION 2 multipart frontispieces, each with a *bas-de-page*, 38 one-column miniatures, 2 historiated initials

COLLECTION Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, Ms. 777

PROVENANCE Charles V, king of France (1338–1380); Charles VI, king of France (1368–1422; inventory 1424); Humphrey, duke of Gloucester (1390–1447; given by duke of Bedford, 1427); library of the dukes of Burgundy; Bibliothèque Sainte-Genevièvè (ex libris 1753) Around 1350 King John II the Good of France asked Pierre Bersuire, a Benedictine monk, to translate the three known decades of Livy's *Ab urbe condita libri (History of Rome*) into French.<sup>1</sup> Bersuire completed his translation of Livy's text between 1354 and 1359, and his prologue presents the text as a response to King John's desire to learn about "the virtuous deeds and notable works of ancient princes" and to "know the art of *chevalerie* and follow the example of ancient virtue" found among the Romans, who were a compelling example because, although they originated in a small city, they conquered the world through feats of arms, knowledge, and industry, and governed by great successions over a *longue durée*.<sup>2</sup>

The translation was reedited in two stages early in Charles V's reign, and this version of the text became a best-seller that survives in seventy fourteenth- and fifteenth-century manuscripts.<sup>3</sup> The text was edited "so as to lessen the pagan character of antiquity and assimilate forms and functions of ancient power to those of the royal authority," thereby Christianizing or modernizing Livy, and occasionally reworking passages to provide positive examples for the king.<sup>4</sup> The earliest surviving version of this text, made circa 1370 (Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 20312<sup>ter</sup>) might have been a copy belonging to Charles V and decorated with a similar aesthetic to that of his *Grandes chroniques* (cat. no. 26).<sup>5</sup> It was honed even further in preparation for King Charles V's massive contemporary copy, which is under discussion here.

Charles V's large manuscript, one of the most densely illuminated copies of the *Histoire romaine*, resonates in a different way with his *Grandes chroniques*.<sup>6</sup> Written by Henri de Trévou, the royal *écrivain du roi* and *libraire* who also wrote out Charles' *Grandes chroniques*, it was decorated by artists associated with the Master of the Bible of Jean de Sy, who also worked on the chronicle, probably under Henri's direction; thus in scale, style, and circumstances of production, Charles V's Livy is very like his contemporary *Grandes chroniques de France* as it existed in 1375.<sup>7</sup>

The artists who decorated the *Histoire romaine* employed compositions that also appeared throughout the first stage of Charles V's *Grandes chroniques*. Repeated subjects in both manuscripts encourage readers, and Charles V in particular, to interweave the Roman history of the former and the French history of the latter.<sup>8</sup> The images in the *Histoire romaine* establish intervisual connections with the *Grandes chroniques* that promoted the *translatio studii et imperii* (the transfer of knowledge and political power) from Rome to France.<sup>9</sup> The inaugural page (ill. 24) of Charles V's *Histoire romaine* celebrates the foundation of Rome, placing special emphasis on the





Faustulus Discovers Romulus and Remus Being Nourished by a Wolf

The Death of Remus

Romulus Taken up to Heaven





founder-hero Romulus in a monumental nine-scene frontispiece in which his life from infancy to death fills eight of nine compartments (see ill. 24 and details).<sup>10</sup>

The unusual bas-de-page of Hercules and Cacus appearing under the elaborate image of Rome's early years invites viewers to consider Livy's Roman history within broader chronological contexts. Hercules foiled Cacus on the spot where Rome was later founded, thereby offering in the image, as in the text of chapter 3 that describes the story, a prehistory of Rome that reinforced a sense of place.11 Hercules' victory over Cacus also may have been included because it invited the broader interpretation of Roman history as a triumph of virtue and courage over evil in late-fourteenth-century scholarly circles around Charles V.12 When considered in juxtaposition, the miniature cycle in the frontispiece celebrating Romulus and the imagery of its bas-de-page function as visual counterparts to the translator's prologue, which they frame, by offering models of both chevalerie and virtue singularly suited to medieval French rulers, who, like the Romans, wished to govern over the longue durée. ADH

- 1. Livy's first, third, and fourth decades (each decade including ten books except for the fourth, for which nine books survived) were all that was known in the late fourteenth century; these were called the First-Third Decades in French translations. Bersuire drew on the most accurate versions available for his work and used the commentary completed by the Dominican Nicolas Trevet in 1329; see Monfrin 1964 and Duval and Vieillard 2009 (online). For textual analysis of the first version of Bersuire's translation in comparison to the second, which postdates Bersuire's death in 1362, see Tesnière 2007a and 2007b. Tesnière postulates that the revisions were undertaken in stages by Raoul de Presles.
- 2. I summarize here themes from Bersuire's translator's prologue published in Tesnière 2000a, 485–87. Bersuire's initial translation survives in two manuscripts from ca. 1360, one of which is decorated by a modest visual cycle. They are Paris, BnF, Ms. n.a.fr. 27401 and Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Rawlinson C 447, which Tesnière believes may have been in the royal library. She is preparing an edition of this version of the *Histoire romaine*.
- Monfrin (1964) identified sixty-nine fourteenth- and fifteenthcentury manuscripts (twenty-nine complete copies and forty partial), and Tesnière (2007a and 2007b) added the seventieth.
- . See Tesnière 2007a, 157; and Tesnière 2007b.
- 5. Tesnière (2007b) believes that the similarity of the page layout and of the compositions of three of the four scenes in the frontispieces of the *Histoire romaine* (Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 20312<sup>rer</sup>) and the *Grandes chroniques* (cat. no. 26) associates these books, which may both have been in Charles V's library, so that Roman history becomes a prehistory of France.
- 6. For an early analysis of Livy illustration, see Zacher 1971. For more focused studies, see Tesnière 1986, Tesnière 2000b, Berenbeim 2003, and Hedeman 2008, 34–53.
- 7. Henri was also the scribe for the first stage of Charles V's *Grandes* chroniques de France, and artists associated with the Master of the Bible of Jean de Sy painted it as well. For bibliography on Henri and manuscripts produced by this group of artists, see cat. no. 26, notes 2 and 3.
- Compare, for instance, scenes of the foundation of cities (cat. no. 26, fols. 4, 5v, and cat. no. 24, fol. 7); of sieges (cat. no. 26, fols. 174, 237, 245v, and cat. no. 24, fols. 7, 9, 231); battles with confronting mounted armies or a ruler succumbing (cat. no. 26, fols. 4, 121, and cat. no. 24,

fols. 7, 29v); or surrender of a city's keys (cat. no. 26, fols. 234v, 266v, and cat. no. 24, fol. 205). There are also scenes that are not shared, such as the repeated coronation images in the chronicle, which have no counterpart in the Livy.

- 9. This intervisuality operates like that of the shared frontispieces of the *Histoire romaine* (Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 20312<sup>re1</sup>) and the *Grandes chroniques* (cat. no. 26) analyzed by Tesnière, and the employment of the *translatio studii* resonates with Joyce Coleman's discussion of the illustration of Valerius Maximus translations. See Coleman's essay in this volume.
- 10. One four-part (?) frontispiece and seven one-column miniatures have been excised, and possibly two more removed with entire leaves between fols. 44–45 and 49–50.
- 11. Avril 1978, 102.
- 12. This happened in Raoul de Presles's amplification of the commentary that accompanied his translation, ca. 1371–75, of Augustine's *Cité de Dieu* (see cat. no. 31). For the text, see *Cité de Dieu* 1496, sig. BB7; and the discussion in Tesnière 2007b, 348–49. Tesnière describes several miniatures in Charles V's Livy that illustrate events that Raoul de Presles glossed in his commentary. This overlap between the subjects of special images in Charles V's Livy and Raoul's glosses is intriguing, given Tesnière's tantalizing suggestion that Raoul might be the scholar who refined Pierre Bersuire's text for Charles V.

Guyart des Moulins, *Bible historiale* (translation of Pierre le Mangeur [Petrus Comestor], *Historia scholastica*)

Jean Bondol and Bible of Jean de Sy Illuminators Paris, 1372

SPECIFICATIONS 580 ff.; 29.2 × 21.5 cm (11<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> × 8<sup>7</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in.); justification: 27 × [6.8 × 1.2 × 6.9] cm (10<sup>5</sup>/<sub>8</sub> × [2<sup>11</sup>/<sub>16</sub> ×  $^{1}/_{2}$  × 2<sup>11</sup>/<sub>16</sub>] in.); 49 lines; 2 columns

ILLUMINATION 1 full-page and 3 multipart frontispieces, 8 one-and-one-half- to two-column, and 258 one-column miniatures

COLLECTION The Hague, Museum Meermanno-Westreenianum, Ms. 10 B 23

PROVENANCE Charles V, king of France (1338–1380; ordered by Jean de Vaudetar); Louis I, duke of Anjou (1339–1384; borrowed from Charles V); John, duke of Berry (1340–1416); Charles VI, king of France (1368–1422); John Plantagenet, duke of Bedford (1389–1435; 1424); G. Bluet, Paris (1667); Jesuits of the Collège de La Flèche d'Anjou; N. J. Foucault (d. 1721); Charles d'Orléans de Rothelin (1691–1744); Gerard Meerman, The Hague (1722–1771; purchased February 1769); Johan Meerman (1751–1815); W. H. J. van Westreenen (1783–1848; between 1816 and 1824); State of the Netherlands (1852)

The Bible historiale, a late-thirteenth-century blend of historical books of the "thirteenth-century Bible" and a translation into French of Petrus Comestor's Historia scholastica, created a mixture of biblical, profane, and church history that was one of the most popular literary hybrids of the late Middle Ages, surviving in 144 manuscripts whose textual contents changed over time (for another, see cat. no. 22).1 Guyart des Moulins's original text was amplified several times in the fourteenth century by additions from the thirteenth-century Bible.<sup>2</sup> First the nonhistorical biblical books were added, creating what is now called the Bible historiale complétée. Then the book of Job took the place of the resumé used previously to make what is now termed the Bible historiale complétée moyenne, and finally, Paralipomenon, Esdras, Nehemiah, and Job were added to make what is commonly called the Grande Bible historiale complétée. More than forty manuscripts of this final version survive, including Charles V's manuscript in The Hague, and all but two of them are illustrated.<sup>3</sup>

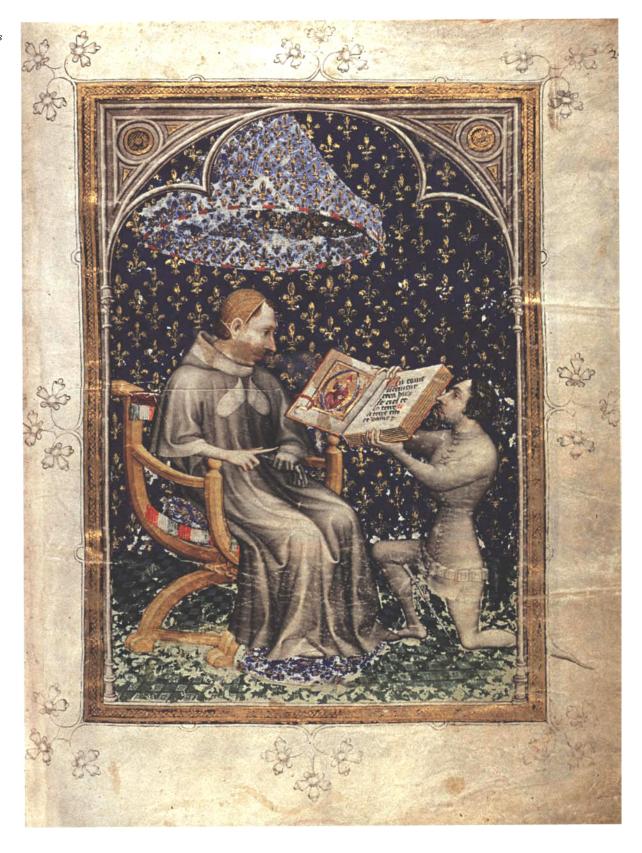
Charles V's manuscript at The Hague is one of the most elaborate *Grandes Bibles historiales complétées*. A unique frontispiece on an inserted bifolium (fols. 1–2) and a pair of poems (folio 580) frame this *Bible historiale*, a tour de force produced through the collaboration of a royal painter, royal scribe, and royal counselor.<sup>4</sup> The full-page inscription written in gold on folio 1v, facing the frontispiece (ill. 25a), celebrates the sole contribution in 1371 to the manuscript by Jean Bondol of Bruges, one of Charles V's peintres du roi, whose activity is documented from 1368 to 1381.5 The poetic explicit on folio 580, written by the scribe Raoulet d'Orléans, écrivain du roi and libraire, emphasizes Raoulet's contribution to the book, stressing that he wrote the manuscript with his own hand for Charles V, perhaps in a deliberate echo of the claim on folio 1v that Bondol painted folio 1 with his own hand.6 Raoulet added a dedicatory poem in red after his explicit to turn attention from his own activities to those of Jean de Vaudetar, who was "valet de chambre of the lord king, châtelain and concierge of the Louvre" and whom Raoulet credits with coordinating production of the book, even though it was probably Raoulet who acted as libraire.7 Raoulet describes Jean de Vaudetar, first calling attention to him kneeling to present the book in the image "figured above" and then celebrating him as someone who had "made many comings and goings, night and day, through the streets; and much rain fell on his head before he reached its end," finally presenting the volume on March 28, 1372, which was Easter.8

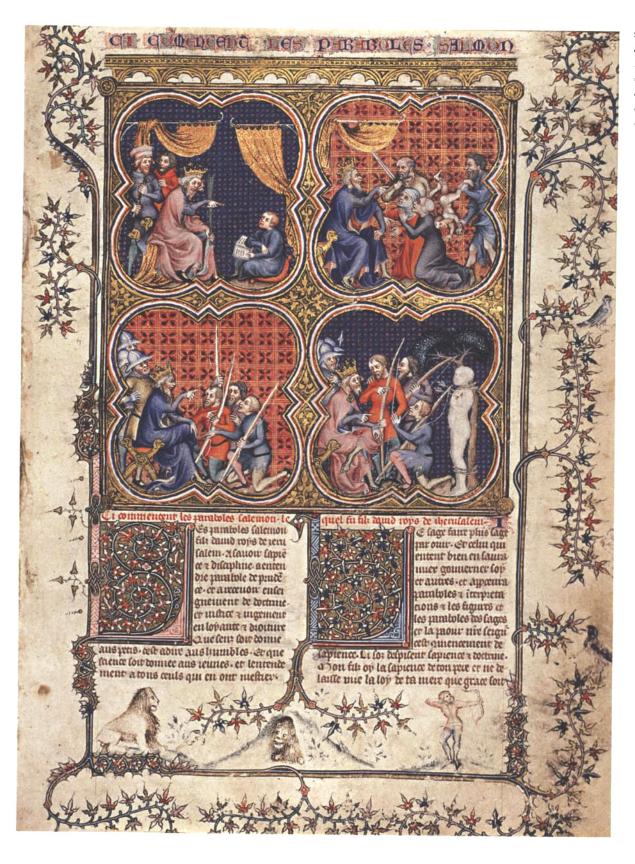
Jean Bondol's presentation image celebrates both the close relationship between King Charles V and Jean de Vaudetar and the skill of Jean Bondol. The painting is renowned for its balance between the creation of an intimate, palpable space that expands behind the arched opening of the page and its careful articulation of the social position of King Charles V. The king and his counselor are closely focused on the book that Jean holds before him, open to a scene of Christ in Majesty opposite the opening words of Genesis, quoted from folio 5. Although this text quotes Genesis, the tiny miniature opposite it recalls missal illustration much more than either the illustration that appears at the beginning of Genesis (fol. 5) or the larger frontispiece of Guyart's translator's prologue (fol. 3), perhaps because Bondol did not see other images in the manuscript.

In the presentation scene, the substantial book overlaps Charles's arm and throne, and Jean kneels so close to the royal presence that his knee and foot disappear behind the king's robe. Charles, in turn, is so excited about the gift that he removes one of his gloves and points toward it with a bare hand. Despite the intimacy of Vaudetar's interaction with Charles and the king's appearance in scholarly dress, with his head covered by a gauzy cap rather than a crown, the space and furnishings offer signs of Charles's royal majesty. The fleur-de-lis–strewn baldachin above the king's head carves out a royal space that the tapestry covering the background reinforces (compare ill. 38), and

# 25a

Jean de Vaudetar Presents the Bible historiale to King Charles V (Jean Bondol), fol. 2 (see also p. 130)





#### 25b

Solomon Instructs Rehoboam; The Judgment of Solomon; Solomon Speaks to a Dead Man's Sons; Solomon Judges the Sons (Bible of Jean de Sy Illuminator), fol. 317 the king's seat is edged with what may be royal colors: red, white, and green. The projection of Jean de Vaudetar's left leg into the margin clarifies that he is not a regular inhabitant of this royal space and the keys that dangle with the dagger from his belt refer to his position at court.

Between this framing image and poem, a dense cycle of 269 images by a group of illuminators working in the style of the Master of the Bible of Jean de Sy illustrate the Bible historiale's text.9 While most of these smaller images illustrate their texts closely, acting as place markers for readers who want to examine the intermingled history and its commentary, two of the three frontispieces are singularly independent of their texts. One of these, the Proverbs frontispiece (ill. 25b), is a visual amplification of the Bible historiale that uses stories of Solomon's life to create a kind of author portrait (Solomon wrote the book of Proverbs). Thus Solomon's instruction of his son Rehoboam and the Judgment of Solomon appear in the upper register, while the two lower scenes represent a nonbiblical Jugement Salemon, tailored from a story in the Gesta Romanorum that was first associated with King Solomon in thirteenth-century fabliaux.<sup>10</sup> This story involves a man whose wife had given birth to one legitimate and several illegitimate sons. When the man died, the King had to determine who should inherit his possessions. He devised an ingenious way to identify the legitimate heir.

The similarity between Solomon's solution and that of the biblical Judgment of Solomon (1 Kings 3:16-28), in which Solomon determined who was the legitimate mother of a baby, explains why artists illustrating Proverbs might have chosen to amplify the biblical story with the legendary tale. Visual representation of the legend took various forms (see, for instance, cat. no. 56) but usually involved two scenes. In the first, King Solomon would explain that he had ordered the father's corpse to be set erect so that the sons could shoot at it and the son with the truest aim would inherit his father's goods. In the second, the legitimate son would refuse to shoot and his illegitimate brothers' arrows would already be lodged in the corpse. Artists visually emphasized the parallels between dramatic moments in the two tales to draw attention to their relationship. Thus, in both the upper and lower right scenes of the frontispiece the true mother and son each kneel with hands clasped in prayer before Solomon, while the false mother and sons either urge or partake in the action; the false mother points toward the executioners who wait for the king's order to slice the baby in two, and the two false brothers stand, the foremost pointing to the corpse, which bleeds. Gesture and details, like the "true" son's untightened bowstring, heighten the drama and emphasize Solomon's astute judgment. A.D.H.

- 1. Fournié 2009a, par. 35.
- 2. Fournié 2009a, pars. 20-28.
- 3. For a summary of the contents of diverse versions of the *Bible historiale complétée*, see Berger 1884, 157–99; McGerr 1983; and Fournié 2009a, pars. 31–52. For a catalogue listing the images in all surviving manuscripts, see Fournié 2009c, 2009d, and 2009e. These authors make clear that within these rough groups there are innumerable adaptations and variations that will only be fully understood when a critical edition of the *Bible historiale* is undertaken.
- 4. For editions of the poems, see Delisle 1880, 223–26; and Brayer and Korteweg 2002, microform 1387–88. For an edition and translation of one of them, see Rouse and Rouse 2000, 1:276 and 2:211.
- For transcription and discussion of the Latin inscription on fol. 1v and discussion of Jean Bondol and this illustration, see Perkinson 2009, 208–14; Sterling 1987–90, 1:187–92; Paris 1981; and Sherman 1969, 25–28.
- 6. Compare the characterization of Bondol's work on fol. 1v ("fecit hanc picturam propria sua manu") with Raoulet's description in French of his own work as scribe on fol. 580 ("Vaudeterre qui la fist faire, et Raoulet d'Orliens, qui l'escrit... Qu'il a escript de sa main"). Raoulet also emphasized his role in a rubric on fol. 282v: "Ci fine le viex testament. Escript tout par Raoulet d'Orliens." For Raoulet d'Orléans and this book in particular, see Rouse and Rouse 2000, 1:273–79 and 2:121–22.
- 7. Rouse and Rouse 2000, 1:276-77.
- 8. For transcription and analysis of the text from fol. 580, see Rouse and Rouse 2000, 1:276–77. Even though multiple hands worked to produce the pictures in the *Bible historiale*, they share a generic style that Raoulet could easily describe in the poem as "d'une main pourtraites et faites."
- 9. On the Master of the Bible of Jean de Sy, see Sterling 1987–90, 174–86, with further bibliography. In addition to Bondol's full-page miniature, frontispieces decorate the translator's prologue, the beginning of Proverbs, and the beginning of the New Testament (fols. 3, 317, and 467), and large miniatures appear in the books of Genesis (fol. 11v), Exodus (fols. 56, 64, and 80), the second book of Kings (fol. 144v), the gospel of Mark (fols. 485v, 491v), and the gospel of John (fol. 523v). All other miniatures are a single column wide.
- 10. For prior discussion see Stechow 1942 and Paris 1981b, 324. Stechow was the first to cite the thirteenth-century fabliaux that employed the title, Jugement Salemon. The use of these images at the beginning of Proverbs was common in fourteenth-century copies of the Bible historiale.

## Grandes chroniques de France

Master of the Coronation of Charles VI Illuminators; Master of the Bible of Jean de Sy Illuminators; Master of the Coronation Book of Charles V Paris, ca. 1375–80

SPECIFICATIONS 543 ff., originally two volumes but now bound into one;  $35 \times 24$  cm ( $13^{3/4} \times 9^{7/16}$  in.); justification:  $22.5 \times [6.6 \times 0.9 \times 6.8]$  cm ( $87/8 \times [2^{9/16} \times 3^{3/8} \times 2^{11/16}]$  in.); 50 lines; 2 columns

ILLUMINATION 1 full-page, 2 multi-part frontispieces, 3 two-thirds-page, 5 two-column, 1 one-and-one-halfcolumn, 174 one-column miniatures, 2 historiated initials

COLLECTION Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. fr. 2813

PROVENANCE Charles V, king of France (1338–1380); (?) John, duke of Berry (1340–1416); royal library, Blois (beginning of the reign of Louis XIV)

Charles V's Grandes chroniques de France is a highly selfconscious and sophisticated manuscript that assumed its present form in three distinct campaigns.<sup>1</sup> As first conceived, the book written out by Henri de Trévou, écrivain du roi and libraire, copied Philip III's Grandes chroniques (cat. no. 6), which had been annotated for that purpose, and supplemented it with translations of the lives of Louis VIII and all the kings from Philip III through Charles V's grandfather, King Philip of Valois.<sup>2</sup> Henri's section of the text was illustrated by artists associated with the Master of the Bible of Jean de Sy, who had worked on other royal manuscripts.3 They painted miniatures that drew attention to the young king's particular concerns by highlighting visually the history of his ducal predecessors in Normandy; his holy ancestors, Charlemagne and Saint Louis; the concept of dynastic legitimacy; and the idea of empire. The two-column miniatures with illustrations of Charlemagne, Philip Augustus, and Saint Louis, in particular, may reflect the influence of Philip III's Grandes chroniques, which had paid special visual attention to those three rulers. When completed, Charles V's chronicle was bound in two volumes and presumably took its place in the royal library.

During the second stage of execution, around 1375–77, the second volume was removed from the library and presumably disbound. Raoulet d'Orléans, a second royal *écrivain* and *libraire*, worked closely with Charles V's chancellor, Pierre d'Orgemont, to update the chronicle by incorporating the life of Charles's father, John II the Good, and the events of Charles V's reign up to 1375.<sup>4</sup> Including the life of the reigning king brought the history up to the present and radically changed the scope of the chronicle. Most of the illustrations in this section, painted by artists related to the Master of the Coronation of Charles VI and the Master of the Coronation Book of Charles V, focus on Charles's political difficulties with King Charles of Navarre and with Étienne Marcel and the Estates-General.

An exceptional group of four larger and differently framed miniatures painted in this second stage of the manuscript's production depicts ceremonies. These also closely illustrate their texts, but their common scale serves to associate them with each other in order to develop dynastic themes that promote John II the Good as a model of good kingship and emphasize the continuity of the house of Valois in the person of Charles V's heir, the dauphin Charles. One prominent example of this emphasis on the dynastic theme is the scene of the meeting of the Order of the Star (see fig. 39).<sup>5</sup>

In the third stage of execution, circa 1378-80 (fols. 467end), Pierre d'Orgemont worked with Raoulet d'Orléans to update the second volume once more with events from fall 1375 to spring 1379. The same artists who illustrated the second stage illustrated this one (see, for example, ill. 26a). Even more important, they decorated several pages written by Raoulet and intended as additions or substitutions in earlier portions of volume two. They excised three texts written by Henri de Trévou and substituted in their place a revised opening (fol. 353v) to the first chapter of the life of Philip VI (Charles V's grandfather and the first Valois king), that minimized the controversy over his succession and two illustrated documents (fols. 290–292, and 357-357v) concerning negotiations between English monarchs and the French kings Louis IX and Philip VI. All these illustrated substitutions were written by Raoulet d'Orléans and painted by the Master of the Coronation of Charles VI Illuminators-the same artists who painted the bulk of the manuscript's third stage.

These substitutions self-consciously work to reinforce Charles V's political position in relation to the English. For instance, one of the illustrated documents records a treaty between Edward III of England and Philip VI of France that Charles V had cited in a 1378 speech before the Holy Roman emperor Charles IV in which he attempted to persuade the emperor to condemn the English.<sup>6</sup> The large image that accompanies this text (ill. 26b) features the moment at which the English king is most subservient, thereby visually underlining his recognition of the legitimacy of Valois rule.

In addition, key images embedded in the third stage's continuation enter into an active relation with their texts while establishing visual associations that broaden their



message. For instance, the resplendent image of the *entremets* (play) performed at the feast where Charles V entertained Holy Roman Emperor Charles IV (ill. 26a) draws its subject matter from two portions of its chapter.<sup>7</sup> The twelve lines of text directly below the image specify that King Charles V sat between his guests, Charles IV and the emperor's son, Wenceslaus, and that all three sat under individual baldachins of cloth of gold bordered with fleurs-de-lis. In painting the picture, artists enhanced the "Frenchness" of the scene and the rulers' significance by covering each individual baldachin with the fleurs-de-lis and by enlarging the emperor's and kings' scale in relation to others in the scene.

Similarly, the moment within the play chosen for representation and the way it was staged for the manuscript's viewers provided them with a different perspective than people who had either seen the actual performance or read or heard the chronicle text. The chronicle identified the play as concerning Godefroy de Bouillon and his capture of Jerusalem. It pays a lot of attention to describing the movement of props and actors, and to sequential actions, only some of which find a place in the image. The text tells how the boat containing Godefroy and his fellow crusaders glides across the floor toward the other end of the hall, where a replica of Jerusalem was so high that its tower grazed the rafters. Actors dressed as Saracens fill the city's ramparts, ready for battle with the crusaders, and one Saracen even gives the call to prayer in Arabic. When the boat that bore the arms of Godefroy and the others who went on crusade with him reached Jerusalem, crusaders poured out to storm the city, throwing scaling ladders against its walls. They were rebuffed several times before they captured Jerusalem, expelled those dressed as Saracens, and flew Godefroy's and the other crusaders' arms above the city.

The moment chosen for visualization illustrates this text but employs heraldry to encourage an independent reading that resonated with contemporary late-fourteenthcentury political concerns. The miniature encapsulates the activities of all crusaders in the four noble participants who are the only soldiers shown successfully scaling Jerusalem's walls. Their coats of arms appear on banners in the boat's stern (Jerusalem) and bow (Flanders), and flutter from the mast (Auvergne) and a staff (England) and cover their shields and bodies. Because the text only mentions by name Godefroy de Bouillon, the hero of the First Crusade and one of the Nine Worthies, the other crusaders are less firmly associated with the text, and their inclusion thereby encourages contemplative viewers to make other associations. The arms of Flanders and Auvergne, which fly with Godefroy de Bouillon's and England's, could engender still other, even more contemporary references for viewers, because the counties of Flanders and Auvergne belonged to Charles V's brothers, Philip the Bold, duke of Burgundy, and John, duke of Berry, when this *Grandes chroniques* book was completed. These two nephews of the emperor were actively involved in the protocol of the imperial visit; the inclusion of their arms in the miniature was a compliment to them, and a sign that the nobility of France was, in sharp contrast to the English, on the side of virtue, just like Godefroy. A.D.H. **26a** (opposite) *Performance of a Crusade Play at Charles V's Feast* (Master of the Coronation of Charles VI Illuminator), fol. 473v

#### 26b

Edward III's Homage before Philip of Valois (Master of the Coronation of Charles VI Illuminator), fol. 357v (detail)



- For discussion of the evolution of the text and its miniatures, see Spiegel 1978; Hedeman 1991, 95–133; my essay in this volume; and cat. no. 6. For an edition of the text, see Delachenal 1910–20 and Viard 1920–53.
- For Henri de Trévou's activities, see Rouse and Rouse 2000, 1:270–73 and 2:51–52. Henri was also the scribe for Charles V's Livy (cat. no. 24).
- For identification and discussion of these artists, see Paris 1981b, 329–31, no. 284; which was followed by Sterling 1987–90, 1:175–86. See cat. nos. 24 and 25.
- For Raoulet d'Orléans, see Rouse and Rouse 2000, 1:273–79 and 2:121–22. Raoulet also transcribed a *Faits des Romains* and Charles V's *Bible historiale* (cat. nos. 23 and 25).
- 5. These scenes include two that concentrate on John II the Good (a three-quarter-page image of John celebrating the Order of the Star and a two-column image of John returning to captivity in London), and two that concentrate on Charles V (both two-column representations, one of the coronation of Charles and Jeanne de Bourbon and another of the baptism procession of their heir, the future Charles VI). See my essay in this volume and Hedeman 1990.
- For a recent discussion of some of these illustrations, which includes further bibliography, see Hedeman forthcoming (b).
- 7. For the chapter, see Delachenal 1910-20, 2:236-44.



Leaves from *Histoire ancienne jusqu'à César* First Master of the *Bible historiale* of Jean de Berry Paris, ca. 1390–1400

SPECIFICATIONS 2 leaves from a set of 6;  $38.3 \times 29.8$  cm  $(15^{1/8} \times 11^{3/4} \text{ in.})$ ; justification:  $25.4 \times [8.1 \times 1.9 \times 8.4]$  cm  $(10 \times [3^{3/16} \times 3^{4} \times 3^{5/16}]$  in.); 42 lines; 2 columns

ILLUMINATION 1 three-quarter-page, 1 half-page miniature

COLLECTION Los Angeles, The J. Paul Getty Museum, Ms. Ludwig XIII 3, leaves 1 and 3

PROVENANCE Antoine Moriau, Paris (1699–1760); Charles Gillet, Lyon (1879–1972; 1920); [H. P. Kraus, New York]; Peter (1925–1996) and Irene (b. 1927) Ludwig, Aachen; [H. P. Kraus, New York]; Peter and Irene Ludwig, Aachen

Only six leaves survive from a copy of the *Histoire ancienne* created in Paris in the last decade of the fourteenth century, each depicting a famous moment in history.<sup>1</sup> The leaves are closely related in terms of iconography to a group of *Histoire ancienne* manuscripts created in Paris in the years leading up to 1400.<sup>2</sup> Their existence testifies to the text's lasting popularity among the wealthy, an audience who could afford manuscripts illuminated with abundant miniatures.<sup>3</sup> The manuscripts in the set to which the Getty Museum's leaves belong all feature miniatures occurring generally at the beginning of each book, for a total of around fourteen to twenty images.<sup>4</sup> Given the stability of the iconographic program in the various sets of copies of the *Histoire ancienne* (see cat. nos. 3, 4, and 23) and the similarities between the Getty leaves and the related copies, the original scheme of illumination can be reconstructed with relative confidence, helping to place the Getty miniatures in context.

The distinctive style of the Getty miniatures, characterized by strong draftsmanship with thin layers of color and bare-parchment backgrounds, is recognized as the work of a prolific artist known as the First Master of the Bible historiale of Jean de Berry.<sup>5</sup> His work can be found in at least twenty-five manuscripts, which include a variety of texts ranging from books of hours and saints' lives to legal manuscripts, romances, and histories.6 Scholars have established that the same artist painted a copy of the Histoire ancienne now in the British Library (Add. Ms. 25884), with scenes very similar to those in the Getty leaves.7 A second manuscript (New York, Morgan Library, Ms. M.516, formerly in the Rosenthal collection) was certainly produced in the same workshop, although not by the Master's hand.8 Now, a third manuscript of the same text can be added to the artist's oeuvre: Haarlem, Stadsbibliotheek, Ms. 187 C 12.9



**27a** (opposite) Scenes from the Creation, leaf 1

27b

A Battle from the Trojan War, leaf 3 (detail)

This last manuscript is also intriguing because the miniatures that have been cut from it were taken from almost exactly the same places as those that are in the Getty collection. Unfortunately, the Getty miniatures cannot have come from the Haarlem manuscript because they appear on complete leaves, while just the miniatures were cut from the Haarlem manuscript, leaving the text intact.<sup>10</sup> In both cases, no doubt, collectors took the best and most widely recognizable scenes from the manuscripts, often the ones that extended across two columns. Despite the fact that all four manuscripts were illuminated in the same workshop, none of the four has iconography that is identical to any other.11 The Getty leaves contain three twocolumn miniatures compared to one in the entire London volume, while the secondary decoration of the Haarlem manuscript is mostly limited to pen-flourished initials. Since the Morgan book was painted by a less skilled artist, the volume from which the Getty leaves originated, if intact, would likely have been the most luxurious of the set of four.

As is true for all the related manuscripts, the Creation would have been the frontispiece of this volume (ill. 27a). In a series of four roundels, God is shown first as an architect, then in the next two scenes creating the heavenly bodies and the animals, and, finally, coaxing Eve out of Adam's side.<sup>12</sup> The image provides a striking contrast between the subtle line drawings heightened by pale washes and the brightly colored backgrounds composed of red, blue, and gold diaper patterning. Although the style of the Getty miniature and individual elements of the iconography are closely related to that of its counterpart in the London manuscript, the structure and design of the leaf are closer to the frontispiece of the Morgan manuscript. Each one, however, is distinctly different in appearance.

The Trojan War was a subject of particular interest in this group of manuscripts and is often illustrated with more than one miniature.13 Because one of the Getty leaves depicts the second destruction of Troy (ill. 27b), it seems likely that the original manuscript would have had at least two miniatures related to Trojan subjects. In the extant image, the way in which the highest tower of Troy punches through the border into the intermarginal space is characteristic of this artist, who often painted elements that escape the borders of his images.<sup>14</sup> In the context of this miniature, the compositional technique creates the impression that Troy is larger than life, incapable of being contained by the frame. The battle that rages before the walls and the boats that can be seen in the foreground do not reference any particular narrative in the text. All the manuscripts in this group tend to open each section with

a miniature that sums up a story visually, rather than capturing particular moments.<sup>15</sup>

Because the manuscript that contained the Getty leaves no longer exists, there are few clues as to its original ownership. None of the other manuscripts in this group of *Histoires anciennes* has been linked to a particular patron, either, although the First Master of the *Bible historiale* of Jean de Berry worked on a number of commissions for individuals highly placed at the French court. The fact that four manuscripts of the same text and painted (at least in part) by the same artist in an identical fluid linedrawing technique nevertheless show significant differences in iconography and design indicates that this text, with its exciting and action-packed narratives, remained popular and continued to attract the best efforts of artists almost two centuries after it was written. E.M.

- Oltrogge 1989, 49–51. These manuscripts grouped by Oltrogge all include a longer version of the Trojan saga taken from a prose translation of the *Roman de Troie*. For more on this version of the *Histoire ancienne*, see Jung 1996, 342–45; and Williams 1984, 69n7.
- 3. For more on the writing of this text, see cat. no. 3. Partial editions of the text can be found in Joslin 1986 and De Visser-van Terwisga 1995 and 1999.
- 4. For a detailed analysis of the basic cycle of illuminations for this set of manuscripts, see Oltrogge 1989, 50.
- 5. This artist is known by various names, including the Master of BnF, Ms. fr. 159, the Outline Master, and, most recently, the Ravenelle Painter (Sandgren 2002, 45–46). The illuminator is referred to here as the First Master of the *Bible historiale* of Jean de Berry; see Euw and Plotzek 1979–85, 3:244; and Kren 2007, 48–49.
- 6. For a list of the illuminator's work, see Sandgren 2002, 47.
- 7. Oltrogge 1989, 33.
- I thank Anne D. Hedeman for making the connection between the Rosenthal and the Morgan manuscripts, by bringing the latter to my attention; see Hedeman 2008, 265, 266n6, where she suggests that Gontier Col was its owner.
- The Hague 2002, 210, no. 47. I thank Anne Korteweg for generously sharing her notes on this manuscript with me, which included the attributions by François Avril. I thank Thomas Kren for bringing the manuscript to my notice.
- In addition, the number of lines of text on a page does not match between the two manuscripts, nor does the scheme of secondary decoration.
- 11. For a list of the miniatures in the London manuscript, see Oltrogge 1989, 50–51. For the Haarlem manuscript, see The Hague 2002, no. 47; and the Medieval Manuscripts in Dutch Collections website: www. mmdc.nl/static/site/. For the miniatures of the Morgan manuscript, see the Index of Christian Art website: http://ica.princeton.edu.
- A related miniature of the Creation found in a manuscript of the Le livre des propriétés des choses (London, BL, Royal Ms. 17 E.III) suggests that the artist took the opportunity to recycle pertinent imagery (Sandgren 2002, 78).
- 13. In the Haarlem manuscript, the Trojan War received four miniatures, three of which have been removed. The London and Paris copies devote two miniatures each to Trojan scenes.
- 14. Sandgren 2002, 49.
- 15. Oltrogge 1989, 49.

The Getty leaves depict: leaf 1) Scenes from the Creation; leaf 2) The Building of the Tower of Babel; leaf 3) A Battle from the Trojan War; leaf 4) Romulus and Remus; leaf 5) Alexander the Great; leaf 6) The Fleet of Hannibal Sailing to Spain. All the leaves are grouped under the shelfmark Ms. Ludwig XIII 3.

Jean de Vignay, *Légende dorée* (translation of Jacques de Voragine, *Legenda aurea*); Jean Golein, *Festes nouvelles* 

Master of the *Policraticus* and an anonymous artist France, ca. 1402

ILLUMINATION 1 half-page frontispiece, 95 onecolumn miniatures

COLLECTION Geneva, Bibliothèque de Genève, Ms. fr. 57

PROVENANCE Aymar de Poitiers, comte de Saint-Vallier and grand sénéchal de Provence (15th century); Alexandre Petau (1610–1672); Ami Lullin (1695–1756)

Although the Legenda aurea (Golden Legend) by Jacques de Voragine was one of the most widely read texts of the Middle Ages, only a handful of the over one thousand manuscripts of the Latin text that survive were illuminated.<sup>1</sup> It was only when this compendium of stories of the individual saints was translated into French by Jean de Vignay around 1333-34 that luxury illuminated manuscripts of the text began to be produced. Of the thirty-four known copies of the Légende dorée, thirty-two were conceived with illumination in mind.<sup>2</sup> Like many of the historical texts that Jean de Vignay translated into French, such as the Miroir historial (see cat. nos. 17 and 33) and the Chronicle by Primat (for another chronicle by Primat, see cat. no. 6), the Légende dorée was intended both to instruct its audience about the past and to entertain with its engaging stories and profuse miniatures.3 Jean states in the prologue to his work: "The birth, the lives, the passions and the deaths of the saints and various other notable events of past times I have begun to translate into French [It is] the legend of the saints which is called the Golden Legend."4

Because the *Legenda aurea* was the version of the lives of the saints officially sanctioned by the Catholic Church<sup>5</sup> and the translation was undertaken at the behest of the queen of France directly from the Latin, as guaranteed by Jean de Vignay in his prologue, the *Légende dorée* became the most widely disseminated French text of the lives of the saints (for other collections of saints' lives, see cat. nos. 14, 15, and 16).<sup>6</sup> Most of the surviving manuscripts were owned by members of the aristocracy, who could afford large numbers of illuminations.<sup>7</sup> The Geneva copy was illuminated by the Master of the *Policraticus*, who worked almost exclusively for members of the royal court, and although it may have been only one of a number of volumes of the same text mass-produced by the workshop,<sup>8</sup> it was clearly intended to form a luxury addition to an aristocratic collection.

Since Advent (the period of time leading to the birth of Christ to Mary) is the subject of the first text, the Légende dorée often opens with the Coronation of the Virgin, as in the Geneva manuscript. This half-page miniature with its illuminated margins immediately gives the reader a sense of the lavish quality and lively nature of the manuscript (ill. 28a). The Legenda aurea had devoted a lengthy text to the Assumption of the Virgin (the taking of Mary to heaven after her death), ending with an apocryphal account of the Virgin's coronation in heaven. To each side and in a long row beneath the scene of the coronation, a joyous gathering of angels and saints celebrates the event. Each saint is carefully distinguished by a recognizable symbol, and the individual's appearance here often mimics the iconography of the miniature dedicated to him or her that is found later in the manuscript. These iconic and simplistic depictions of the saints served as prompts for readers of the text. In fact, in certain cases, because the related symbol for a saint was so well known, it would be used despite the fact that it is never actually mentioned in the Légende dorée.9

About seventy years after Jean de Vignay's original translation, the Légende dorée was updated by the addition of a number of saints with specifically French connections. In 1401 or 1402, the Festes nouvelles began to appear at the end of the manuscripts of the Légende dorée.10 Including saints like Fiacre, Sulpice, Germain, and King Louis IX, these texts helped to focus devotion on the glories of France's role in Christian history.<sup>11</sup> The Geneva manuscript is distinguished by being the only record of the name of the translator of the Festes nouvelles, Jean Golein.<sup>12</sup> Jean was probably the "master of theology" known to have been attached to the university of Paris and in the ecclesiastical circle of Charles V. Because the Geneva manuscript is thought to have been made within the first five years of the fifteenth century, it may well represent the oldest surviving example of the Festes nouvelles.

One particularly engaging saint included in the *Festes nouvelles* is Saint Genevieve, patron saint of Paris (ill. 28b). Genevieve lived in the city in the fifth century and, according to her legend, was instrumental in saving Paris from the attacks of Attila the Hun. She liked to pray alone at night in church, and one evening a gust of wind blew out her candle, which she attributed to the work of the devil. In the image a tiny demonic creature tries to blow out her taper, but an angel hovers nearby ready to relight it, no doubt a delight to medieval viewers reading about their favorite local saint.



There were two artists involved in the illumination of the Geneva manuscript.<sup>13</sup> The Master of the Policraticus, named for a manuscript of John of Salisbury's Policraticus that he illuminated for King Charles V (Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 24287), was responsible for the illumination of the original portion of the Légende dorée, including the frontispiece (ill. 28a). His works are characterized by rather sweet-faced figures that lack anatomical definition but are depicted with lively gestures and expressions.14 The work of the second artist active in the manuscript, who painted all of the images in the Festes nouvelles, is characterized by more elegantly lengthened figures and less gestural activity.15 Although it is similar to the first portion of the manuscript in its ruling pattern and script, other codicological differences, along with the fact that the artist changed and the table of contents for the Festes nouvelles was added at the beginning of the manuscript on a separate leaf,<sup>16</sup> indicate that perhaps the inclusion of the Festes nouvelles was not part of the original plan for the manuscript.

There is no information about the manuscript's original owner and it is thought that many copies of the *Légende dorée* were made for the open market rather than on commission,<sup>17</sup> so the *libraire* responsible for its fabrication may have thought that a manuscript updated with French saints would help its sale to an interested Parisian aristocrat. Another possibility is that someone who committed to buying the manuscript after the first portion was completed, but before it was bound, requested that the *Festes nouvelles* be appended. The addition of French saints in a newly created text may well have appealed to members of the royal court, who consistently considered the *Légende dorée* to be a necessity in their fashionable libraries.<sup>18</sup>

E.M.

- 1. Fleith 1986, 19–24. The *Legenda aurea* has recently been edited (Maggioni 1998) and can be found in English (Ryan 1993).
- Maddocks 1990, 32. For a list of manuscripts, see Maddocks 1991, 11–13. I gratefully thank Hilary Maddocks for generously sharing her research on this manuscript with me.
- For Jean de Vignay as a translator, see Knowles 1954. No full edition of Jean de Vignay's text exists, but for excerpts, see Hamer and Russell 1989. See also Dunn-Lardeau 1993 and 1997.
- 4. "La natiuite les vies les passions et les mors des sains et aucuns autres faiz notoirez des temps passes me suis mis a translater en francois la legende des sains qui est dicte la legende doree" (based on Maddocks 1990, 16–17).
- On the use of the Legenda aurea by the Catholic Church, see Reames 1985.
- Jean de Vignay translated the work for Jeanne de Bourgogne (Maddocks 1991, 3–5, 10).
- 7. Maddocks 1991, 9-10.
- At least two other copies of the Légende dorée were created by the workshop of the Master of the Policraticus, and, like the Geneva manuscript, neither seems to have been a commission (Arras, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 83 and Rennes, Bibliothèque de Rennes Métropole, Ms. 266).
- 9. Maddocks 1990, 42-47.
- 10. On this text, see Hamer 1986.

- 11. The longest text in the addition is related to a sculpture kept in Lucca, Italy, the *Volto Santo*. According to legend, the face of the sculpture was painted by angels to be a true representation of Christ. For more on the inclusion of this unusual story in the *Festes nouvelles*, see Maddocks 2006, Schmitt 1998, and Schmitt 2002, 217–69.
- "Cy apres sensuient Les Intitulacions des festes nouvelles translatees de latin en francois par tres excellent docteur en theologie, maistre Iehan Golain de lordre de nostre dame du carme": Hamer 1986, 256.
   Maddocks 1990, 354.
- 14. On this artist, see Paris 1968a, 119, no. 206; Avril 2001; and Manion 2005, 222–23. Avril 2001 also includes a list of works attributed to this artist.
- I thank Hilary Maddocks for information regarding this artist (Maddocks 1990, 354–55).
- 16. Maddocks 1990, 355-56.
- 17. Maddocks 1990, 35. A woman kneels before Saint Fiacre on fol. 460. It is possible this is the woman who, according to his legend, accused Fiacre of sorcery, but her position and appearance indicate that more likely she is the owner of the manuscript. The coat of arms seen in ill. 28a was added by a later owner, Aymar de Poitiers.
- 18. See Maddocks 1990, 32–37; and Maddocks 1991.

#### **28a** (opposite) The Coronation of the Virgin with All Saints (Master of the Policraticus), fol. 3

#### 28b

Saint Genevieve (anonymous artist), fol. 403v (enlarged detail)





mence le premer lune De la feconde Decade De trucolnune ouque De la Suiziefme guerre pumque que fu entre les Kommamo z ceulo I MC plaut a parle enone \* \* Kommamo orgueilleufement partie De mon eune De ce Sont plufeurs autres efter tures ont parle au somence \* 6 le et trefpuillant allife en auffr

# Part Three Enriching History: 1400–1500

By these writings we can see before us with our eyes and have certain memory of the marvels that God did in times past.<sup>1</sup>

🕾 Pierre Salmon, Dialogues, ca. 1413–15

The fifteenth century in France was a time of both continuity and change. Illustrated histories continued to be produced in deluxe editions for a royal and noble clientele. There were also simpler editions of most texts, which were either purchased or presented to elite and newly affluent owners. Because of the French civil war and the continuing Hundred Years' War with England (1337–1453), Paris lost some of its centrality in the book trade, and regional centers emerged and strengthened in midcentury. Once the war ended, Paris became preeminent again as an important center of book production, and the invention of printing increased the number of producers of French historical books, which could be more easily purchased throughout the Francophone world, thus widening considerably the audience for these texts.<sup>2</sup>

In the early fifteenth century Charles VI (1368–1422) increasingly fell prey to attacks of madness that left him incapacitated. The king's absence from the public sphere had a direct impact on the patterns of French literary patronage and the commissioning of illuminated histories in Paris. Courtly patronage was no longer aimed at shaping an intellectual group dedicated to the public good, as it had been when Charles V commissioned his series of translations in the 1370s. Instead it served individual ambitions. Charles V's brothers and nephews collected books that reveal the continuing popularity of the royal collection that King John II the Good and Charles V had amassed (see cat. no. 29).<sup>3</sup> Noble patrons purchased new histories, like the eyewitness accounts of King Richard II's deposition and murder (cat. no. 32), and innovative visual variations on old histories, such as the Philadelphia *Cité de Dieu* (cat. no. 31), and the notaries and secretaries who worked in the chancellery or in households of princes and noble patrons wrote original texts and new translations. Many of these were copied in luxurious manuscripts given as gifts to King Charles VI or to the dukes of Berry or Burgundy by authors or government officials (cat. nos. 35 and 38).

At the same time that deluxe books were being made for members of the royal house, *libraires* were producing a distinctive corpus of manuscripts that popularized history for an expanding audience which included members of the emerging mercantile class and civil servants. Characteristically, these manuscripts are less densely illuminated than royal or princely copies, and their visual cycles seem to be based on models that circulated among members of the book trade. In the early fifteenth century there is intriguing evidence for the activity of Parisian *libraires* in creating clusters of manuscripts that shared texts or illustrative cycles. These include both classic texts, like the *Miroir historial* (cat. no. 33),

Froissart's *Chroniques* (cat. no. 41), the *Grandes chroniques de France*, or Augustine's *Cité de Dieu*, and new texts like Boccaccio's *Des cas des nobles hommes et femmes* (cat. no. 37).<sup>4</sup>

One distinctive characteristic of early-fifteenth-century histories is their use of costume to enhance the meaning of visual narrative. Artists like the Limbourgs studied the mid-fourteenth-century *Bible moralisée* of John II the Good, the textual and visual model for a later moralized Bible (cat. no. 29).<sup>5</sup> Understanding the rhetorical use of fourteenth-century costume, they translated this practice into fifteenth-century visual language, thereby enhancing and clarifying their Bible's moral message. Such uses of the rhetoric of costume flourished in the early fifteenth century, most notably in manuscripts decorated by the *Cleres femmes*, Luçon, and Boucicaut illuminators, and the Master of the Harvard Hannibal (see cat. nos. 34, 35, 39, and 40).

Beginning in the second quarter of the century the political situation changed. In 1418, the dauphin, Charles (1403–1461), settled in the Loire valley, where he headed a government opposed to his father's. In 1420, under the influence of the Burgundian faction that was allied with the English, Charles VI disinherited and banished Charles and designated the English king to replace him, thereby delivering Paris to English rule. After the death of Charles VI in 1422 and the succession of the infant English king Henry VI (1421–1471) as dual monarch of England and France, things improved for the dauphin. He was crowned King Charles VII at Reims with the help of Joan of Arc (ca. 1412–1431) in 1429. By 1453 the English had lost all their French territory but the coastal city of Calais and the Hundred Years' War was effectively over. Although estranged from Charles VII, Louis XI (1423–1483) continued his father's practice of negotiating or fighting with nobles to expand French territory, a policy that Louis's son Charles VIII (1470–1498) employed successfully. As a result, by 1500 the territory ruled by France began to approach its modern borders.

The political decentralization and conflict of the mid-fifteenth century, sketched here in broad strokes, enabled strong artistic centers to emerge elsewhere in France to challenge the preeminence of Paris.<sup>6</sup> The expanded and increasingly wealthy ranks of the political elite in Paris and in such regional centers as Rouen, Tours, Bourges, and Anjou—or even further afield at the Flemish court of the Burgundian dukes—created a greater demand for history manuscripts.<sup>7</sup> Many of these texts were produced through courtly patronage or through booksellers, as in Paris. But while books made at the court of René of Anjou (such as the model for cat. no. 46) were probably produced by court artists working closely with court scribes, other books were produced in a different way; the Munich Boccaccio (cat. no. 43), made for the civil servant Laurent Girard, was written in one place (Gennevilliers, north of Paris) and painted in another (Tours), which allowed its artists more leeway in devising its images.

New technology also broadened the audience and thus the market for illustrated histories. Printing, or "artificial writing" (*artificialiter scribere*), as an early printer described it, became popular in multiple centers in France in the 1460s–70s, and history was one of its earliest products.<sup>8</sup> The first vernacular text printed in Paris was an unillustrated *Grandes chroniques de France* published in 1477,<sup>9</sup> and the printer Anthoine Vérard soon popularized the *Grandes chroniques* even further, printing a Parisian copy in 1493 with a dense cycle of 951 woodcuts that could be purchased printed on paper (cat. no. 53) or on vellum, where its added ruling and hand-painted miniatures would make it more like a handproduced book.<sup>10</sup> New texts illustrated with compelling visual narratives met this increased demand for histories, whether printed or hand produced. While many French histories retained their popularity during this period, they were often revisualized with sophisticated narrative cycles. These were capable of offering a visual précis of a full book from the massive history of Valerius Maximus in one multicompartmented page (cat. no. 45) or of using a large narrative painting of a contemporary trial as a visual gloss on classic tales of bad fortune (cat. no. 43). Important books in Old French that were no longer understandable to Middle French readers were updated, retranslated into clearer French, and illustrated with contemporary narrative cycles (cat. no. 42) that aligned them with the text of contemporary chronicles.

New histories continued to be written, often recasting traditional textual categories, as when the traditional form of the universal chronicle structures the *Bouquechardière* (cat. no. 47) and the Boston scroll (cat. no. 44), or when the romances of Lancelot or the ancient heroes of the Nine Worthies frame René of Anjou's *Pas de Saumur*, creating specific expectations for the content of its narrative cycle (cat. no. 46). In one extreme case images replace texts in a new romance of Troy (cat. no. 48), offering a striking visual example of the phenomenon Pierre Salmon described; in the full-page miniatures of the romance, we do "see before us with our eyes and have certain memory" of marvels from times past. A.D.H.

1. See cat. no. 38.

- 2. For the history of this period, see Famiglietti 1986, Autrand 1986, Beaucourt 1981–91, Vale 1974, Paris 1993b, and Rouse and Rouse 2000.
- 3. Monfrin 1964, 178.
- 4. For evidence for the use of a *libraire*'s list of directions, see Hedeman 1991, 145–52, and Hedeman 2008, 135–54. For iconographic clusters in fifteenth-century manuscripts of the *Cité de Dieu*, see Smith 1974, 94–157.
- 5. For an analysis of John II the Good's *Bible moralisée*, see Waugh 2000.
- The catalogue by François Avril and Nicole Reynaud (Paris 1993b) concentrates on this period and offers a rich introduction

to the styles that proliferated in French centers from 1440 to 1520.

- 7. For manuscript production in France, see Paris 1993b, and for production at the court of Burgundy, see Moodey 2002 and Los Angeles 2003, each with further bibliography.
- On the relationship between manuscripts and printing with a focus on the role of visual imagery, see Hindman and Farquhar 1977, and Hindman 1991. For more on printed historical books, see the introduction to section four of this volume.
- Published by Pasquier Bonhomme in Paris.
   On Vérard's printed books, see Winn 1997. For a few printed
- examples of other popular texts, see Valerius Maximus 1500, Cité de Dieu 1496, Boccace 1494; Livy 1486–87.



# Bible moralisée

Limbourg brothers; Master of the Psalter of Jeanne de Laval; Jouvenel Master; Master of the Geneva Boccaccio; George Trubert; and at least four other artists

Paris, before 1405, ca. 1450-65, and ca. 1485-93

SPECIFICATIONS 169 ff.;  $41.5 \times 29$  cm ( $16^{3}/8 \times 11^{7}/16$  in.); irregular format

ILLUMINATION 1 full-page, 1,340 one-column miniatures

COLLECTION Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. fr. 166

PROVENANCE Philip the Bold, duke of Burgundy (1342–1404); René I, king of Naples and duke of Anjou (1409–1480); Aymar de Poitiers, comte de Saint-Vallier and grand sénéchal de Provence (15th century); royal library, Blois

The seven surviving *Bibles moralisées*, written in French, Latin, and a combination of the two, are among the most luxurious manuscripts made during the Middle Ages.<sup>1</sup> Owned by members of the French royal family and their close relatives, they were treasured and passed down as dynastic books, often with one serving as the model for another.<sup>2</sup> The last surviving manuscript in the series, BnF, Ms. fr. 166, was based on a *Bible moralisée* in Latin and French (Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 167), which was made for King John the Good around 1349–52 and illustrated with 5,112 tiny images painted by over fifteen different artists.<sup>3</sup> King John's book remained in the royal library until Duke Philip the Bold of Burgundy acquired it during the reign of King Charles VI.

In documents from 1402 and 1404 Philip contracted his personal physician, counselor, and agent, Jean Durant (Durand), to supervise the Limbourg brothers' work on the Bible while they lived in his house at Notre-Dame in Paris.<sup>4</sup> There the Limbourgs worked on guires containing the full text copied from John the Good's Bible and employed that manuscript as a visual model. The Limbourgs apparently ceased work on the project when the duke of Burgundy died in 1404. By then they had contributed 384 fully finished images in quires one through three and images finished to all but the final paint layer in the fourth quire. The Bible moralisée was preserved unfinished like another celebrated project of the Limbourgs, the Très Riches Heures, and it was worked on sporadically as its unbound quires passed through the hands of subsequent owners, such as René of Anjou and Aymar de Poitiers.<sup>5</sup>

Bibles moralisées present and comment on the Bible in words and images, and each page in BnF, Ms. fr. 166 employs two framing systems to distinguish biblical from commentary images. Four scenes in hexafoils placed first and third in each column illustrate a biblical story and are accompanied to their left by a Latin caption based on the Vulgate and a French caption that translates the Latin one. Visual commentaries on the biblical scenes appear within architectural frames in the second and fourth position in each column and are also labeled with explanatory captions in Latin and French. This sequence is read from top to bottom within columns, first the left column and then the right.

The images reproduced here (ill. 29) are painted on a bifolium, so it is likely that the Limbourg brothers made them simultaneously while looking at John the Good's manuscript and reading the French captions. The biblical tales that they represent come from the story of Joseph in Genesis 39–41; hexafoils on the left-hand page show, in the first column, Joseph and Potiphar's wife and Potiphar's wife accusing Joseph before her husband, and in the second column, Potiphar putting Joseph in prison and the jailor giving Joseph power over the other prisoners (see detail on p. 194). Hexafoils on the right-hand page show Pharaoh imprisoning the butcher and baker and the baker's dream in the first column, and in the second column, Joseph's interpretation of the baker's dream and Pharaoh's dreams of the cattle and grain.

The Limbourgs worked with their visual models to enhance readers' understanding of the French glosses, often extending the lively translation made by the artists of BnF, Ms. fr. 167. Age differential, dress, and hairstyles continued to be powerful signs of moral status when the Limbourgs were working, so they preserved those previously established distinctions.

It is clear that the Limbourgs understood the visual rhetoric of their model and decided to build upon it. For . instance, they made Joseph even younger and altered the dress and hairstyle of Potiphar's wife in both scenes involving the two in the first column of the left-hand page, thus shading the viewer's interpretation.<sup>6</sup> The Joseph in the first and third scenes in the left column of folio 12v looks like an adolescent, and Potiphar's wife is particularly voluptuous, given her décolletage in the first scene and the torn dress that exposes her breast in the third scene. In John the Good's moralized Bible Potiphar's wife's hair falls in vertical braided rolls in both images. The Limbourgs paint her hair escaping her turban to fall loosely over her shoulders in the scene of attempted seduction. In sharp contrast, she covers her hair completely with a wifely wimple for the meeting with her husband when she accuses Joseph of sexual assault. These subtle details highlight her careful calculation in staging her revenge,

Enlarged detail of ill. 29

**29** (following pages) *The Story of Joseph* (Limbourg Brothers), fols. 12v–13 ar an autom to the putter fact of mores alpatit. Canada auto ar an alle. Common for mater outos to a an alle. Common autor outos to manual ausorate. A traditing of fores.

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but they also encourage a double comparison between her appearance in the attempted seduction scene and that of the woman with the devil in the glossing image just below it, as does the textual commentary: "This woman who wants to deceive Joseph signifies the enemy who wants to deceive a good person as Adam and Eve were deceived in the earthly paradise. But the good leave the world and deceive the enemy like Joseph, and enter into religion or into the security of marriage."7 In a direct reinforcement of the gloss, Potiphar's wife, posing like the blond femaleheaded serpent seen in profile at the left in the glossing scene, leans forward to tempt Joseph. Her loose hair and gold-trimmed robe in the scene with Joseph also encourage a close comparison with the demeanor of her moral opposite in the glossing image, the virtuous woman who turns her head away as Joseph does, raises her arm to reject temptation, and points toward the praving brownrobed friars to her left, representatives of the religious life, one of two options taken by good people.

Such visual additions heighten comparisons already made by the text. They also establish formal and iconographical associations that operate independently to weave the pages of the manuscript together. Visual imagery links the columns, for instance, through the repetition of Pharaoh enthroned at the top of both columns on folio 13 (ill. 29, right hand page), and even associates opposing pages, as in the juxtaposition of scenes of the Crucifixion and Christ's judgment opposite each other in second position in the inner columns. To make this visual connection, the Limbourgs neglected some of the prompts given by their glossing texts, in order to associate the pages through an implicit visual chronology.8 The result of this complex interrelationship of texts and lush images was a richly visual book that interwove past and present, words and images, in a complex narrative that encouraged contemplation of one opening at a time. A.D.H.

- For analysis of the production of surviving *Bible moralisée* manuscripts and the identification of contributing artists, see Laborde 1911–27; Paris 1993b, 115, no. 56; and Lowden 2000 and 2006. For ongoing research, see Lowden's comprehensive electronic bibliography (Lowden online). This version of the *Bible moralisée* has not been edited.
- 2. See Lowden 2000, 2:x-xi.
- On BnF, Ms. fr 167, see Avril 1972; Lowden 2000, 221–50; and Waugh 2000. The one-column miniatures of Ms. fr. 166 are distributed such that there are eight per folio (except for fols. 61v and 113v).
- 4. Scholarly disagreements about the documents centered around two points: the type of book mentioned in the accounts (1402, "une tres belle et notable Bible"; 1404, "Bible"), and its state of finish (1402, the Limbourgs are to "parfaire les histories"; 1404, they are paid for "la perfeccion des histories et enluminure"). Lowden built a compelling case for recognizing the book first mentioned in 1402 as this *Bible moralisée*. For opposing points of view, see Colenbrander 1991; Drükers 2005; Lowden 2000, 270–76; and Lowden 2006.
- 5. For careful analysis of the stages of execution before 1405, around 1450, and around 1490, see Lowden 2000, 270, 279–84. Lowden shows that the Limbourgs had the royal model to look at as they did their work, whereas subsequent illuminators worked from the few unpainted underdrawings that the Limbourgs had completed and from directions written on two parchment quires that were kept with the twenty undecorated quires of the text until at least 1518.
- 6. On the treatment of these scenes in John the Good's *Bible moralisée*, see Waugh 2000, 187–88, 303. For the use of dress as a form of visual rhetoric in the early fifteenth century, see my essay in this volume.
- 7. Fol. 12v: "Celle feme qui voit decevoir ioseph signifie lanemi qui vault decevoir bonne personne si comme fut eve et adam deceus en paradis terrestre. Mais les bons lessent le monde & decevantes de lanemi si comme ioseph & entrant en religion ou en la seurte de marriage."
- 8. The commentary on fol. 12v reads: "Putifar qui commanda que ioseph fust mis en chartre segnefie les iuis qui batirent et crucifierent ihsucrist"; the image omits the beating to focus on the Crucifixion. The commentary in the same position of the inner column of fol. 13 states: "Ioseph emprisonne segnefie ihucrist ou monde. Le boutillier a la destre ioseph segnefient ceuls qui sont en bonnes euvres le pennetier a senestre segnefie les couvoiteus & plains de mailes euvres." In the image Christ appears naked except for a cloak, as in contemporary Judgment scenes; he blesses a crowd kneeling to his right and ignores those on his left, who turn their attention to a money bag.

Jean Golein, Chroniques de Burgos (translation of Gonzalo de Hinojosa, Cronice ab origine mundi) Virgil Master

Paris, ca. 1400–1405

SPECIFICATIONS 308 ff.;  $41.5 \times 31.8 \text{ cm} (16^{3}/8 \times 12^{1}/2 \text{ in.})$ ; justification:  $35.2 \times [7.8 \times 2.1 \times 7.7] \text{ cm} (13^{7}/8 \times [3^{1}/16 \times 7/8 \times 3] \text{ in.})$ ; 44 lines; 2 columns

ILLUMINATION 10 one-column miniatures

COLLECTION Besançon, Bibliothèque municipale de Besançon Ms. 1150

PROVENANCE (?) Jean I, comte de Foix (15th century); Nicolas Perrenot de Granvelle, chancellor to Holy Roman Emperor Charles V (1484–1550; ca. 1540), and his wife, Nicole Bonvalot; François Perrenot de Granvelle, comte de Cantecroy (d. 1607); Abbé Jean-Baptiste Boisot (1638–1694; 1694 inventory); Abbey of Saint-Vincent de Besançon

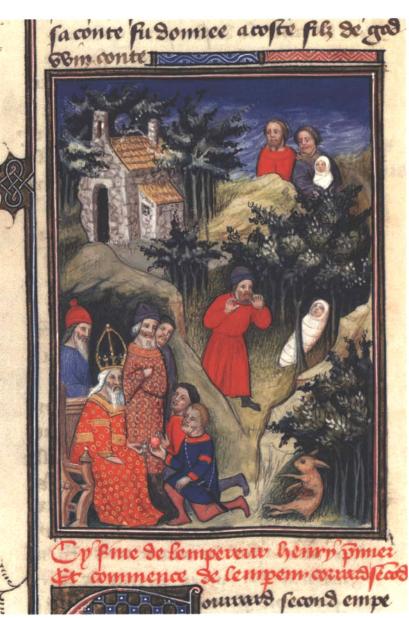
The *Chroniques de Burgos* is a translation into French of the *Cronice ab origine mundi*, a Latin universal chronicle written in the early fourteenth century by Gonzalo de Hinojosa, who was bishop of Burgos in Castile (1313– 27).<sup>1</sup> One of the only medieval Castilian chronicles to be written in Latin rather than Spanish after the reign of Alfonso X (1252–84), the *Cronice* reached an international readership through Jean Golein's French translation, which he undertook around 1373 at the request of King Charles V. The original text traces the history of the world ordered by the reigns of emperors.<sup>2</sup> Golein's French version makes subtle changes that increased the positive account of French history and increased the unity of the text.<sup>3</sup>

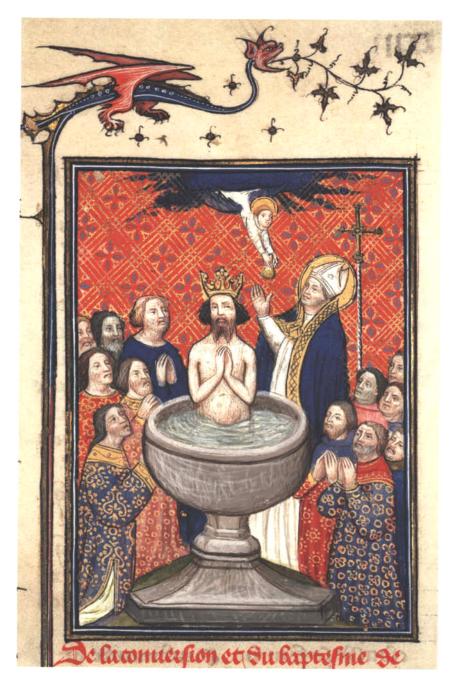
Four manuscripts of the *Chroniques de Burgos* appear in royal and ducal accounts and inventories and three manuscripts survive.<sup>4</sup> The Besançon manuscript, which contains only the second half of the text, is a fifth copy, which can now be established as belonging to John I, comte de Foix, before he became count in 1412.<sup>5</sup> Jean stayed at Charles VI's court in 1401–2 and may have purchased the book then. It was painted by the Virgil Master (see ills. 30a and 30b), and its lush landscapes and rich treatment of fabric recall manuscripts from 1402 and 1405 given to John of Berry (see cat. no. 32 and figs. 40 and 46).

The single surviving copy of the *Cronice ab origine mundi* is unillustrated, and perhaps this explains why the pictures in surviving manuscripts respond to the text in different ways. Charles V's manuscript was liberally illuminated when it was produced around 1373–79, as was typical of translations commissioned by him.<sup>6</sup> In contrast, the two surviving fifteenth-century manuscripts are more simply illustrated; John of Berry's manuscript in London, painted in the style of the Master of the Cité des dames, contains the full text of the chronicle decorated with thirty-one miniatures, and the comte de Foix's manuscript in Besançon contains the second half of the chronicle, illustrated with ten miniatures. The Besançon version of the text has been carefully elaborated with fuller rubrics and its chapters are broken up differently than in John of Berry's book in London.<sup>7</sup> This structural revision, possibly due to the libraire or scribe, may explain the distinct differences between the visual cycles in the London and Besançon manuscripts.8 Even in the six spots where image placements overlap, the manuscript in Besançon is more carefully illustrated than is the one in London; it incorporates specific heraldic details and other elements referred to in the text.

### 30a

Emperor Conrad Presented with a Rabbit's Heart; Duke Henry Finds an Abandoned Child; Duke Henry, His Wife, and the Foundling, fol. 213v (enlarged detail)





Images that are unique to the Besançon manuscript show the influence of contemporary literature and art on the cycle of the *Chroniques de Burgos*. For instance, the illustration of Saint Remi receiving the holy oil from an angel at the baptism of Clovis (ill. 30b) is compositionally similar to illustrations in the style of the Virgil Master from the popular history the *Grandes chroniques de France* (see cat. nos. 6, 26, and 53).<sup>9</sup> In contrast, the image that marks the beginning of the life of Holy Roman Emperor Conrad II depicts an unusual story about the origins of his successor, Emperor Henry III, that exemplifies the Virgil Master's creativity (ill. 30a). The accompanying text contains all the intrigue and quirks of fate that were popularized in romance.<sup>30</sup> It describes how a count who had run afoul of Emperor Conrad took refuge with his family in a hermitage in the woods. Hunting in the forest with members of his court, Conrad was separated from them as night fell and found his way to the count's hermitage where he was given shelter. During the night the count's wife gave birth to a son, and the emperor heard a voice as he slept that predicted the infant would become his son-in-law and successor. Disgruntled, Conrad ordered two of his men to steal the child, kill it, and return with its heart. The men took pity on the baby, abandoned it in the woods, and killed a hare so they could present its heart to the emperor. Meanwhile, Duke Henry found the infant while hunting and had his childless wife claim that it was hers. Time passed, and the child, named Henry, grew and met the emperor. Suspecting that young Henry was the child from the woods, the emperor sent him to the empress with a message that he should be killed. A nosy priest substituted a more benevolent note in its place, which directed the empress to marry the young man to her daughter with haste. Thus Conrad returned to court to discover that the prophecy that Henry would succeed him had come true.

The image devised to illustrate this story focused on the first part of the tale, when the child was most vulnerable. Unfolding from foreground to background, it shows the emperor's men giving him the rabbit heart, with the eviscerated rabbit dead in the woods to the right. In the middle ground Duke Henry finds the swaddled infant in the woods, and in the background the duke and his wife secretively hold the child outside a hermitage in the woods. The high horizon line and pockets of space enclosing the hermitage, and the presentation of the heart with a rabbit juxtaposed in the foreground, recall more generic visualizations of lovers that appeared in contemporary ivories and tapestry, suggesting that the artist drew on popular courtly imagery to illustrate this highly unusual tale.11 A.D.H.

#### 30p

An Angel Brings Saint Remi the Holy Chrism at the Baptism of Clovis, fol. 85v (enlarged detail)

On the *Chroniques de Burgos* and its relationship to the *Cronice ab* origine mundi, see Aubert 2006, Aubert 2007, Aubert forthcoming (a), and Aubert forthcoming (b). I would like to thank Stéphanie Aubert for allowing me to read her thesis and discuss it with her in the summer of 2009. Her dissertation in progress at the Université Lyons II will deal more fully with Jean Golein's French translation. For another translation by Jean Golein, see cat. no. 28.

<sup>2.</sup> Among other sources, it draws from but does not cite Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada for the history of Spain, Henry of Huntingdon for England, Martin of Troppau for the popes, Martin of Troppau and Vincent of Beauvais for the Holy Roman Empire, and Guillaume de Nangis for France. See Aubert 2007, 75–76; Aubert 2006; and Aubert forthcoming (a).

<sup>3.</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4.</sup> Charles V had one, which Stéphanie Aubert suggests may be the fragmentary volume in London (London, BL, Cotton Ms. Otho C. IV). Louis of Orléans had a copy made in 1398 by the *libraire* Étienne

(Thévenin) Langevin, which is now lost; and John of Berry owned two manuscripts, one purchased in 1403, presumed lost, and a second purchased in 1407, which is in London (BL, Royal Ms. 19 E.VI). See Aubert 2007, 99–105. On Étienne Langevin, see Rouse and Rouse 2000, 2:27.

- 5. A device (JAY BEL...ME) accompanied by arms was scraped away and replaced by the arms of Nicolas Perrenot de Granvelle and his wife, Nicole Bonvalot, on the bottom of fol. 2v. I would like to thank Laurent Hablot (correspondence, October 22, 2009) for suggesting Jean I, comte de Foix, whose device was "J'ay belle dame," and for sending me information about Gaston de Foix's and Jean's devices. There is a striking similarity between the arrangement of the motto and helm in this manuscript and Jean's sculpted banner, crest, motto, and dragon put above the gateway of Mauvezin-en-Bigorre around 1412–19; see Lewis 1985. Examination with ultraviolet light of what may be an effaced signature at the top of the second column of fol. 308w might confirm Jean I, comte de Foix's, ownership.
- 6. London, BL, Cotton Ms. Otho C. IV has fifty-three illustrations spread over 285 folios. See Aubert forthcoming (b). The same thing happened with Charles V's manuscript of Livy (cat. no. 24), which was much more densely illustrated than its successors.
- 7. Aubert's forthcoming dissertation will analyze versions of the French text.
- 8. With the exception of the coronation of Saint Louis (Besançon, fol. 287, and BL, Royal Ms. 19 E.VI, fol. 439), images illustrating shared texts differ in their focus. The most striking difference among these occurs on Besançon, fol. 2v, where the artist reprised Jean Golein's presentation of the book to King Charles V, rather than representing the baptism of Constantine, as in Royal Ms. 19 E.VI.
- The image is a variation on compositions in Chantilly, Musée Condé, Ms. 867, fol. 18; and Geneva, Bibliothèque de Genève, Comites Latentes Collection, Ms. 182, part A, fol. 14. See Hedeman 1991, 206–8; and Hedeman 1995, 539–49.
- 10. For the text, see Besançon, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 1150, fols. 450-451; and Aubert 2007, 2:337-38.
- 11. See, for instance, mid-fourteenth-century romance ivories by the Atelier of the Boxes, the early-fourteenth-century ivory mirror case showing the offering of the heart, and the tapestry Offering of the Heart made in Paris around 1400–1410 (Musée du Louvre, OA 3131), which takes place in a lush wood abounding with rabbits (see Randall 1989 and Camille 1998b, 94, 111). I would like to thank Paula Carns for discussing ivories with me.

## 31

Raoul de Presles, *Cité de Dieu* (translation of Augustine, *De civitate Dei*) Orosius Master and assistants Paris, 1405–6

SPECIFICATIONS 173 ff.;  $43.5 \times 31.4$  cm  $(17^{1/8} \times 12^{3/8} \text{ in.})$ ; justification:  $29.5 \times [9.2 \times 2.3 \times 9.2]$  cm  $(11^{5/8} \times [3^{5/8} \times ^{15/16} \times 3^{5/8}] \text{ in.})$ ; 52 lines; 2 columns

ILLUMINATION 1 multipart frontispiece, 4 twocolumn, 59 one-column miniatures

COLLECTION Philadelphia Museum of Art, Philip S. Collins Collection, Ms. 1945.65.1

PROVENANCE John, duke of Berry (1340–1416); William John Kerr, 5th marquess of Lothian (1737– 1815; ca. 1800); [sale, American Art Association, Anderson Galleries, New York, January 27–28, 1932, lot 10]; [Barnet J. Beyer, bookseller, New York]; Cortlandt F. Bishop, New York (1870–1935); [sale, American Art Association, Anderson Galleries, New York, April 5, 1938, lot 155]; Philip S. Collins, Philadelphia; Mary Schell Collins; Philadelphia Museum of Art (gift, Mrs. Philip S. Collins in memory of her husband, 1945)

After the sack of Rome by the Goths in 410 Augustine wrote the De civitate Dei (City of God) to refute prevailing arguments that the city had fallen because the Romans had become Christian and abandoned their pagan gods. Augustine's Latin text, which blended mythology, Roman history, philosophy, and theology, was popular, but it was rarely illustrated with much beyond an author portrait. This changed when the City of God was translated into French. In 1371 Raoul de Presles, a lawyer and counselor to King Charles V, was charged by the king with translating Augustine's text. Raoul wrote that, because of the differences between the early Christian era and his own, it was necessary to offer his readers a clear translation of Augustine rather than a literal one. Therefore he appended at the end of each chapter explanations and expositions expounding on Augustine's sources and clarifying obscure passages for his late-medieval audience.<sup>1</sup> Adding these commentaries as separate translator's expositions effectively presented the Cité de Dieu within a predominantly historical frame. Raoul's additions and commentaries effect a tonal transfer that makes the historical sections of the Cité de Dieu much more central to its meaning than either its theological or philosophical themes.<sup>2</sup>

Twenty-five illuminated copies of the *Cité de Dieu* that were made in France before the 1420s survive.<sup>3</sup> The most densely illuminated of these is this incomplete manuscript, which entered the collection of John of Berry



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aomout le monde que ceuls que len aoure apre fent. Ercepte par anenture on penple lebuen Et aucuns autres teloss ce peuple qui finent de ce preferies par gince dunnes par aucun fe att et tres infrement de dien. . Tontenoier afin que se ne le face top long se me tane des tive quete mants tes autres nanons qui ont che par tout et parieny de ce qui apprient a meler alempire te come tant feulement. Se cit affanon a la ate te come proprement a tes tence quelconques qui luy font comountes p foncte a companymic on fubiertes par conduco Omciv manis clies out fouffertes auant lad uenement de nie feigneur ihnenft. Come elles luv apprentient is amfi comme au corps de la dufe publique. Expfinon fur ce dupitre.

The second secon

around 1405-6 and must have been the most unusual among his six copies of the Cité de Dieu.<sup>4</sup> Although the manuscript ends abruptly in chapter 26 of book 5 (out of a total of twenty-two books) and contains less than a quarter of Augustine's text, it is decorated by the most extensive visual cycle among surviving manuscripts of the Cité de Dieu. Not only does it have a frontispiece at the beginning of book 1 and double-column miniatures at the beginning of books 2-5, but it also contains fiftynine single-column miniatures in books 1 and 2, books that concentrate on Roman history.5 Because many of the illustrations of this Cité de Dieu draw their content from Raoul's commentary rather than Augustine's original, these pictures also historicize the text.<sup>6</sup> Many of the images of ancient events are analogous in subject to those in contemporary copies of Boccaccio (see cat. nos. 35 and 37), Livy (cat. no. 24), and the Tresor des histoires (cat. no. 39), among others.

The Philadelphia Cité de Dieu contains some highly original images. Rather than deriving from a previous manuscript or from drawings circulated among artists' workshops, these innovative images offer a fresh restaging in direct response to study of Augustine's text and its commentary.<sup>7</sup> For example, the image of the destruction of Troy (ill. 31a) at the beginning of book 3 uses space in an ingenious way to locate events that took place at two different moments in a simultaneous view. At left, a king interacts with animate idols that stand on an altar. Labels written on the front of the altar identify the idols as Neptune and Apollo and the king as Laomedon, king of Troy. At right, a second king looks back at the city from the ship offshore. He bears a shield and pennons that identify him and his soldiers as les gres (the Greeks). The only other inscriptions refer to the city itself. A thin line drawn vertically through the center of the miniature divides the field, while the identical central tower blocks are labeled *ilion* and *ylion*, identifying them as sequential views of the capital city of Troy. At the left workmen construct the city, and their ladder is poised right above an inscription on the ground: ledification de troie (the construction of Troy). At the right the city burns, and the label la destruction de *trove* (the destruction of Troy) clarifies that the city was destroyed by the Greeks who sail away.8

This miniature is a concrete illustration of the theme of book 3, in which Augustine describes the evils and pains that those who worship pagan gods suffer, because the gods do not protect them, and suggests that such gods should not be adored. The second chapter of book 3 and its exposition are the specific source for this miniature. The chapter analyzes why the Greeks and the Trojans worshipped the same pagan gods but were not equally protected by them. The image illustrates Raoul's exposition, which explains that even though Augustine used Troy or Ilion interchangeably to describe the city, "Troy was the province or region, like France or Picardy, and Ilion the main city," accounting for the careful labels on the city and ground.<sup>9</sup> A second statement in Raoul's exposition explains the rest of the miniature's captions. Citing the anonymous *De ortu deorum (The Birth of the Gods)* as a source, Raoul states that Laomedon perjured himself when he swore an oath to Neptune and Apollo that he would pay them tribute if they would build Troy. Because he did not pay, Neptune induced the Greeks to burn and destroy Troy.<sup>10</sup>

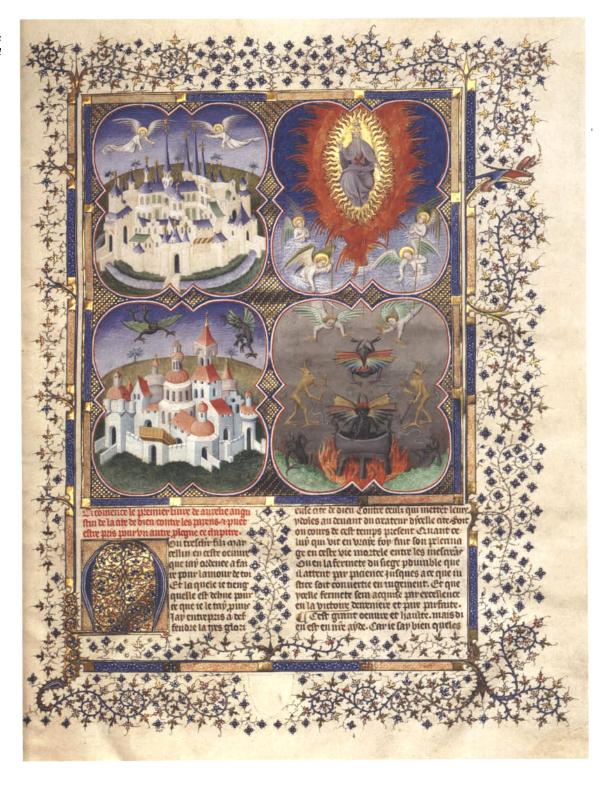
The frontispiece to book 1 is a complex composition that also acts as a frontispiece to the full volume, resonating with images and texts scattered in the Cité de Dieu (ill. 31b). Its four scenes in quatrefoils establish relationships between the city of man and the city of God. At top left the city of God is encircled by a moat and contains a prominent Gothic church over which two angels hover. The city of man appears in an inferior position in the quatrefoil below the angelic city. In its center a domed building is entwined with other buildings, and devils swoop in the sky above. While the two cities are discretely contained within their quatrefoils, the two scenes at the right are not. In the uppermost, God appears, turning slightly and extending a blessing toward the city of God. The angelic host surrounds and protects God, and three armed angels at the bottom use swords and sticks to force fallen angels from the heavenly quatrefoil into the hellish one below. Those who have just passed into hell are metamorphosing into devils, sprouting yellow claws as they tumble after their leader, Lucifer, who appears twice, first falling and then enthroned in an iron pot.

This four-part miniature invites paired readings: comparing the cities to each other and heaven with hell, or comparing heaven with the city of God and hell with the city of man. These readings find echoes elsewhere in the manuscript. Texts scattered throughout the book resonate with the elaborate frontispiece, reinforcing and recalling its meaning. For instance, one text, at the beginning of book 12, suggests that "there are not four cities or societies-two, namely, of angels, and as many of menbut rather two in all, one composed of the good, the other of the wicked," while another, at the beginning of book 15, describes humans living according to God and according to the devil as those "mystically called the two cities."11 Texts like these address ideas that the frontispiece expresses visually, enabling it to resonate in the mind of anyone who came across these passages. A.D.H.

**31a** The Construction and Destruction of Troy, fol. 66v (see also pp. 86–87)

#### 31b

The City of God; God the Father; Pagan City; The Fall of the Rebel Angels, fol. 5



- 1. For the French, see *Cité de Dieu* 1496, vol. 1, sig. A<sub>S</sub>. No modern critical edition exists.
- 2. For similar tonal shifts, see Tesnière 1986, Buettner 1996, and Hedeman 2008.
- 3. Smith 1974, 175–281.
- 4. For the dating of this manuscript, see Hedeman forthcoming (c).
- 5. Virtually every other manuscript analyzed by Smith has images planned for the prologue and the beginning of each of the twenty-two books, for a maximum cycle of twenty-three images.
- Scott (1967, 32) first noticed relationships between visual content and Raoul's commentary.
- 7. Contrast Laborde's (1909) and Smith's (1974) analyses with a libraire-

centered model, such as Richard and Mary Rouse outline in their study of the Parisian book trade; see Rouse and Rouse 2000.

- The differences in French spelling in these inscriptions (*ilion/ylion* and *troie/troye*) might be intended to signal a change in time between construction and destruction.
- 9. For the French, see *Cité de Dieu* 1496, vol. 1, sig. K<sub>4</sub> verso.
- Raoul suggests that Augustine referred to a fable or fiction that was told differently in the anonymous *De ortu deorum*. *Cité de Dieu* 1496, vol. 1, sig. K<sub>4</sub> verso.
- 11. For discussion of these passages, see Smith 1974, 160 and Philadelphia 2001, 199. For the texts, see *Cité de Dieu* 1496, vol. 2, sig. C<sub>5</sub> verso and sig. K<sub>1</sub> verso and K<sub>2</sub>.

Jean Creton, *Livre de la prinse et mort du roy Richart* Virgil Master

Paris, ca. 1405

 $\label{eq:specifications} \begin{array}{l} \text{80 ff.; } 27.9 \times 21 \text{ cm } (11 \times 8^{1} / 4 \text{ in.}); \\ \text{justification: } 16.2 \times 11.5 \text{ cm } (6^{3} / 8 \times 4^{1} / 2 \text{ in.}); \\ 28 \text{ lines; } \\ 1 \text{ column} \end{array}$ 

ILLUMINATION 16 third- to half-page miniatures

COLLECTION London, The British Library, Harley Ms. 1319

PROVENANCE Jean de Montaigu, vidame de Laonnais (d. 1409); John, duke of Berry (1340–1416; ca. 1405, 1413 inventory); Charles I d'Anjou, comte de Maine (1414–1472); Robert Harley, 1st earl of Oxford and Mortimer (1661–1724); Edward Harley, 2nd earl of Oxford and Mortimer (1689–1741); Henrietta Cavendish Holles Harley (1694–1755); Margaret Cavendish Bentinck, duchess of Portland (1715–1785); nation of England, in establishment of the British Museum (purchased 1753) This manuscript is the most splendid of seven surviving copies of the *Livre de la prinse et mort du roy Richart* (Book of the Capture and Death of King Richard II), a text written in 1401–2 by Jean Creton at the request of Duke Philip the Bold of Burgundy.<sup>1</sup> It described the culmination of internal conflicts in England: the deposition of Richard II, the last Plantagenet king, by Henry of Bolingbroke, who became the first Lancastrian king. The Harley manuscript was given to Duke John of Berry by Jean de Montaigu, vidame de Laonnois and King Charles VI's superintendent of finances, sometime between September 1405 and January 1406.

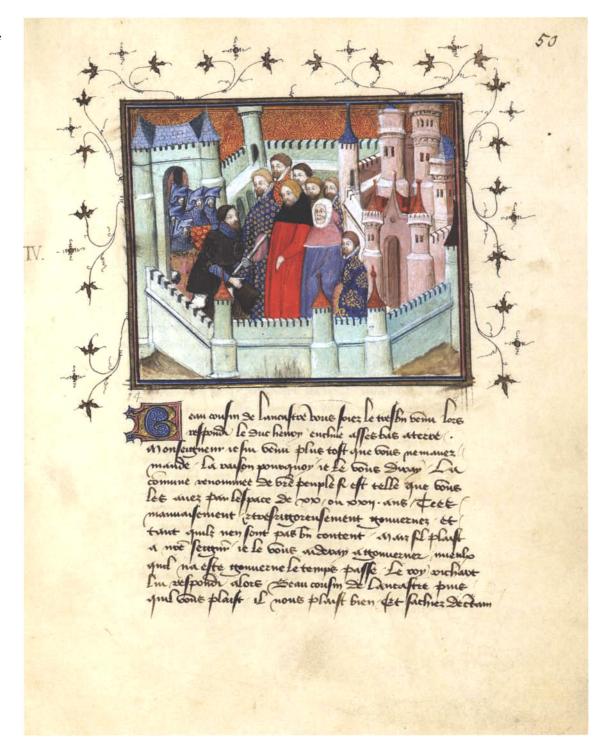
The manuscript contains Creton's eyewitness account of King Richard II's capture, in poetry (fols. 2–46) and prose (fols. 46v–54), and supplements this with both a ballad expressing his outrage at the events, which Creton wrote after returning to France in 1399 (fols. 54–55), and a final poetic section (fols. 55–78), based on information Creton received from a French source. The latter had remained in England to report on Richard's deposition, Henry IV's coronation, Richard's rumored death, Richard II Delivered to the Citizens of London, fol. 53v (enlarged detail)

32a



### 32b

Richard II and Henry Bolingbroke at Flint Castle, fol. 50



and the negotiation for and return to France in 1401 of Richard's widow, Queen Isabelle, who was the daughter of the French king, Charles VI. The sixteen lively images that decorate this account are masterpieces by the Virgil Master. Painted with his characteristically lush treatment of landscape and rich depiction of materials (see ill. 32a), they are among the most highly finished of his oeuvre.<sup>2</sup>

It is clear that Creton planned from the beginning to have his text accompanied by miniatures. In two places he specifically referred to accompanying images: on fol. 9 Creton's precise description of the Irish chieftain Mac-Morogh is followed by the phrase "here see the appearance he made exactly portrayed," and the image on fol. 50 (ill. 32b), in which Henry Bolingbroke first comes into his cousin Richard II's presence, appears after a passage where Creton describes Henry as entering the castle armed except for his basinet "as you can see in this miniature."<sup>3</sup> Whether the Harley manuscript was designed to duplicate the duke of Burgundy's book, which does not survive, or as an independent production is not known, but the illustrations recast the English history of 1399– 1401 as recorded by Creton in a contemporary French light that was especially relevant to John of Berry at the time he was given the book.<sup>4</sup>

The Virgil Master's visual cycle lends particular weight to Creton's authority as an eyewitness and no doubt made the events represented come alive for John of Berry. Pictures cluster in the first fifty-seven folios, which contain Creton's personal account, leaving over twenty folios at the end of the book unillustrated, despite the vivid and highly visualizable stories they contain. With one exception, the images in the manuscript concentrate on Creton's eyewitness moments, and the cycle as a whole builds to a climax in its last three miniatures.

The first two of these (ills. 32a and 32b) derive added power from their placement after Creton ends his verse account and switches to prose with a poetic transition: "Now I will tell you of the taking of the king, without seeking for any more rhymes, that I may better set down the whole of the words that passed between these two at their meeting; because I think I thoroughly remember them. So I will relate them in prose."5 The abrupt shift from poetry to prose doubtless encouraged readers to look carefully at the point of transition, where they would both read about Richard's deposition and see it performed before their eyes. The text describes Henry coming before Richard in full armor except for his basinet. The image offered more than was described, for the artist painted Henry kneeling before Richard, who stands centered in the miniature (ill. 32b), surrounded by his supporters in the courtyard of Flint Castle. Henry appears to acknowledge Richard's kingship for the last time, and the text below the image is Richard's welcome of his cousin.

The next picture (ill. 32a), the last image of Richard, offers a sharp visual contrast. Illustrating a text that draws on biblical authority to vilify Henry by comparing Henry's betrayal of Richard to Pilate's of Christ, this miniature shows a physically diminished Richard dwarfed by the towering figure of Henry Bolingbroke. Henry, backed by his armies, turns Richard over to the Londoners who will bring him to trial before the parliament. The final image of the book (see fig. 40) emphasizes the absence of the legitimate king by showing the empty royal throne set up at the assembly at Westminster and the clerics and nobles, including the only securely identified one (Henry), who met to decide who should be king of England.

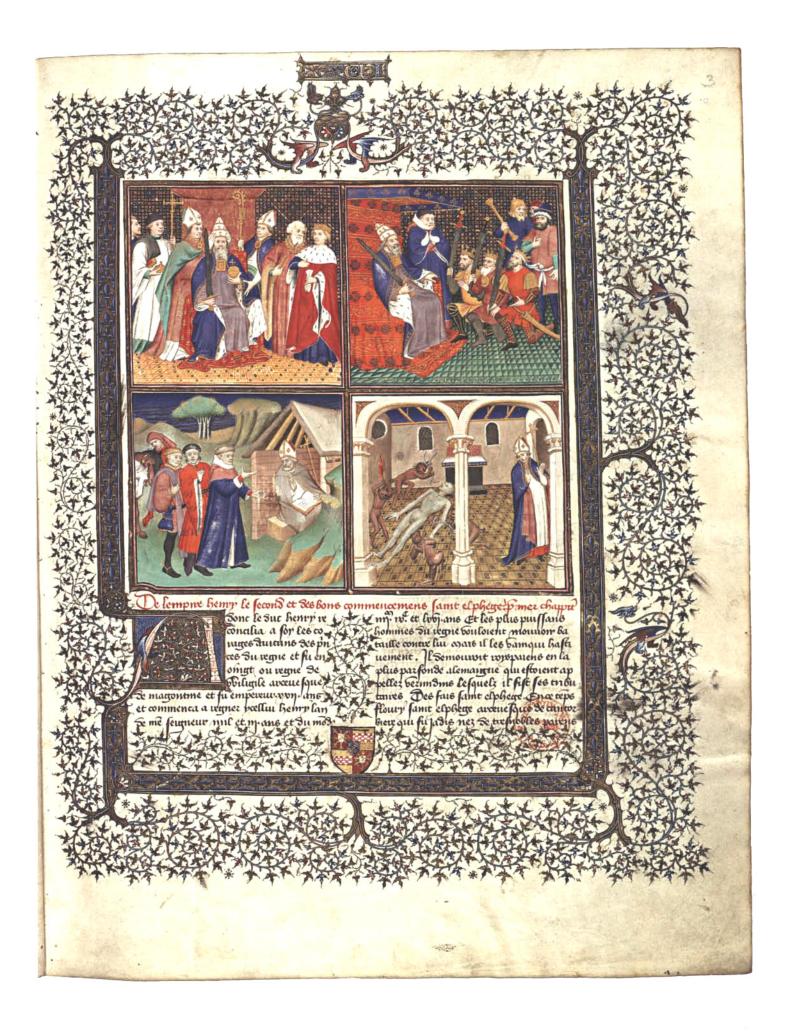
Because of his status as royal consort to Isabelle de Valois, daughter of King Charles VI, Richard II was important to members of the French royal house, especially to the princes of the blood like Philip the Bold and John of Berry, who doubtless counseled Charles on suitable candidates for her remarriage in 1406 after she was repatriated following Richard's death. Despite this familial connection, the cycle of images in this manuscript concentrates on ideas about kingship, resonating more with contemporary moralizing tracts aimed at French audiences than with events surrounding the future of the widowed English queen.

For instance, Richard II is the only contemporary example added to the text of the final section of Nicolas de Gonesse's translation of Valerius Maximus's Faits et paroles memorables des Romains, completed in 1401 for John of Berry. The passage's capsule summary of Richard's life in Nicolas's addition to Valerius Maximus's chapter on violence and sedition (book 9, chapter 7) resonates with the culminating images of this manuscript.6 After describing Richard's fall, Nicolas draws the broader moral that sedition, discord, or division is dangerous to the common good (chose publique), and he quotes the gospels, Aristotle, Cicero, and others to underline that a realm divided against itself will be destroyed. Within this context the events surrounding Richard's death and Henry's succession offered cautionary tales for John of Berry and others in France, where royal relatives of King Charles VI were jockeying for power and veering toward civil war during the king's bouts of madness. A.D.H.

on Creton, see Cocksnaw 1969, nos. 20, 50, 61, and 69; and raimer online.

- 2. Artists painting in the style of the Virgil Master, who is named after the copies of the poet Virgil's Bucolics and Aeneid (Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana, Ms. Med. Pal. 69) that he illustrated for John of Berry's treasurer, Jacques Courau, in 1403, were active from about 1390 to 1410–20. The Virgil Master was quite active in the early fifteenth century and seems to have been popular as an illustrator of gifts to and purchases by John of Berry. For books attributed to the Virgil Master, see Meiss 1967, 298, 360; and Meiss 1974, 408–12.
- "Sa semblante, ainfi come il estoit, veez pourtraite icj endroit"; and "Apres entra le due ou chastel arme de toutes pieces, excepte le bacinet, comme vous povez veoir en ceste ystoire": Webb 1824, 40, 166, 306, and 373.
- 4. For the practice of making twin manuscripts in the early fifteenth century, see Hedeman 2008 and Buettner 1996.
- 5. For the French text, see Webb 1824, 358.
- See John of Berry's copy of Valerius Maximus, Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 282, fols. 389–390, quoted by Caroline Charras (1982, 394–95).

<sup>1.</sup> Surviving manuscripts include the one under discussion here: London, Lambeth Library, Ms. 598, early 15th century, with spaces left for sixteen pictures; Paris, BnF, Ms. n.a.fr. 6223, 15th century, with "histoire" written in fifteen places; BnF, Ms. fr. 1668, 15th century, unillustrated; BnF, Ms. fr. 14645, late 15th century, with a single image of Richard departing for Ireland; BnF, Ms. fr. 1441, 16th century, unillustrated; and Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. 9788, copy dated 1697, unillustrated. The manuscript made for the duke of Burgundy ca. 1402 does not survive. Creton's text does not have a title, but the inventory of John of Berry's collections describes it as follows: "Le livre de la prinse et mort du roy Richart d'Angleterre, escript en françoys rimé, de letter de court, et historié en plusieurs lieux...que le vidame de Laonnois en son vivant grant maistre d'ostel du Roy, donna à Monsieur": Guiffrey 1894-96, 2:249, no. 948. For a French edition and translation of the text, see Webb 1824. On Creton, see Cockshaw 1969, nos. 20, 50, 61, and 69; and Palmer



Jean de Vignay, *Miroir historial* (translation of Vincent de Beauvais, *Speculum historiale*) Master of the *Cité des dames* Paris, ca. 1400–1410

 $\begin{array}{ll} {\rm SPECIFICATIONS} & {\rm 401~ff.;\, 38 \times 27.5~cm} \; (15 \times 10^{13} / 16~in.); \\ {\rm justification:\, 24.2 \times [7.3 \times 2.2 \times 7.1]~cm} \; (9\% / 16 \times [27\% \times 7\% \times 2^{3} / 4]~in.); \\ {\rm 431~lmes;\, 2~columns} \end{array}$ 

ILLUMINATION 1 multipart frontispiece, 19 miniatures of various sizes

COLLECTION The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Ms. 72 A 24

PROVENANCE Philip V of Cleves (1456–1528; before 1492); Henri III, count of Nassau (1483–1538; purchased 1531); princes of Orange-Nassau; French possession (confiscated 1795, to Paris, restituted to Koninklijke Bibliotheek, 1816)

The *Miroir historial* is a translation into French of the *Speculum historiale (Mirror of History*), the third part of Vincent de Beauvais's encyclopedic work, the *Speculum maius (Greater Mirror*), undertaken at the request of Queen Jeanne de Bourgogne, wife of Philip of Valois, in the 1330s.<sup>1</sup> Early French copies of the *Miroir historial*, many made for royalty and members of the nobility, were densely illuminated (see cat. no. 17). This changed in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, when less lavish copies were produced, doubtless in part to appeal to the pocketbook and tastes of a broader public.

While preparing their edition of the Miroir historial, Laurent Brun and Mattia Cavagna discovered that most surviving late-fourteenth- to fifteenth-century manuscripts of the Miroir historial fall into two textual groups. They postulate that two archetypal texts were associated with two Parisian libraires: Étienne (Thévenin) Langevin and an unidentified colleague.<sup>2</sup> Thévenin supervised a commission completed in 1396 of the first, a four-volume Miroir historial for Duke Louis of Orléans, of which three volumes survive (Paris, BnF, Mss. fr. 312-314).3 The second archetypal text was probably the exemplar given to the libraire charged with supervising production, circa 1370-80, of a Miroir historial for John of Berry (Paris, BnF, Mss. n.a.fr. 15939-15944, and London, BL, Add. Ms. 6416). This second textual family is the one to which both the Miroir historial in The Hague and most surviving fifteenth-century manuscripts belong.4

The *Miroir historial* in The Hague may be the fourth volume of a set in Paris (BnF, Mss. fr. 308–310).<sup>5</sup> These three volumes were written and their initials and marginal decoration completed in the early fifteenth century, but

their miniatures were painted later in the fifteenth century, when they and a newly written fourth volume were illuminated for Louis of Gruuthuse.<sup>6</sup> A careful study of the artistic decoration of the volumes descended from the anonymous *libraire* may offer insight into the interaction of artists with the Parisian book trade that would complement other analyses of creative interactions between *libraires*, artists, and scribes (see cat. nos. 37 and 41).

The *Cité des dames* illuminator who painted the Hague's *Miroir historial* was part of a group of artists working in a distinctive style. They collaborated on the illustration of secular books in the first two decades of the fifteenth century with such authors as Christine de Pizan, Pierre Salmon, and Laurent de Premierfait, the translator of Boccaccio, and with the *libraires* who were producing

#### 33a (opposite)

Henry II Is Crowned Holy Roman Emperor; Kings Take Their Oath to Henry II; Saint Elphege, Archbishop of Canterbury, Is Asked for Advice; Saint Elphege Exorcises the Devil from a Pupil, fol. 3

#### 33b

Emperor Frederick II Invades the Italian Marches, fol. 287v (enlarged detail)



popular texts like the *Grandes chroniques de France*.<sup>7</sup> The illustrations of the *Miroir historial* are typical of their best work in the way that they interweave classic compositions with newly created ones that relate closely to their text.

For instance, the first chapter of book 26 of the Miroir historial begins with two short passages that describe Henry II's reign and the life of Saint Elphege. These sacred and secular stories are the subject of the frontispiece that opens volume four (ill. 33a). Henry is seen twice in the upper two scenes, where he is crowned German emperor and receives tribute from three kings, an illustration of the sixteen-line passage dedicated to his life that opens the text directly below the miniature. The two lower scenes of the frontispiece illustrate the life of Saint Elphege, showing events from the saint's life after he left the monastery at Deerhurst in England.8 In the first, a cleric and two noblemen approach Elphege at his solitary hermitage near Bath. In the second is a more common illustration of his life: Elphege, who left his hermitage to head a monastery, raises his hands in amazement as he sees a fellow monk who died after eating meat on Friday being tortured by demons. Elphege's story was uncharacteristically represented in two parts to balance the scenes of Henry II, and the king and the saint were doubtless featured in the frontispiece because they were the first two characters discussed in chapter 1. This frontispiece clearly orients the viewer to the contents of volume four, which blends hagiography with imperial and royal history.

The illuminator drew on compositions from his repertoire for the imperial coronation, which resembles coronation scenes employed by Cité des dames illuminators in contemporary copies of the Grandes chroniques de France.9 He also invented less familiar scenes from scratch and carefully included telling details from the text, such as the dress of the men queued in line to speak to Saint Elphege or the implements of flaming rod and serpents with which the devils torment the dead monk. An illustration later in the manuscript (ill. 33b) shows that this inventive streak continues. The artist avoids painting the imperial coronation of Frederick II, which was a popular image to begin book 31 with in other manuscripts, and selected one of his military exploits from the chapter in which Emperor Frederick invades the Italian Marches from the sea. The image offers a bird's-eye view of the harbor in which Frederick and his troops debark from a ship. The emperor is resplendent in his imperial arms and identifiable by his crown. A.D.H.

- 1. For further information about the text and its translation in progress, see cat. no. 17.
- 2. Brun and Cavagna (2006, 295–302) observe that King John the Good's copy, the oldest surviving *Miroir historial* (cat. no. 17 and Tours, Archives départementales, Ms. 2 I 2), also belongs to this textual family.
- 3. For information on Thévenin's commissions and further bibliography, see Rouse and Rouse 2000, 1:278 and 2:27.
- While the earliest *Miroir historials* and Louis of Orléans's copy were divided into four volumes with eight books each, manuscripts from the textual group affiliated with John of Berry's manuscript appear in two arrangements. Some are divided into three volumes, while others, including the Hague copy, are in four volumes with an uneven distribution of books: volume one has nine books, volumes two and three each have eight books, and volume four has seven (Brun and Cavagna 2006, 298).
- In their textual analysis Brun and Cavagna (2006, 301) group the 5. Hague Miroir historial with Paris, BnF, Mss. fr. 308-311. Korteweg was the first to suggest that the Hague's Miroir historial was the fourth volume of the Paris text. See The Hague 2002, 210 and Hans-Collas and Schandel 2009, 35. BnF, Ms. fr. 311 was written and its secondary decoration painted in the mid-fifteenth century, at the same time that the artist who painted its miniatures painted the miniatures for BnF, Mss. fr. 308-310, thereby constructing a full four-volume set for Louis of Gruuthuse. It is tempting to see the Miroir historial in The Hague as the original fourth volume. Not only does it have the same number of ruled lines as the Parisian manuscripts, but its secondary decoration was painted by the same artist who painted some of the decoration in BnF, Ms. fr. 310. The only drawback in pairing the Hague manuscript with those in Paris is the scale of its frontispiece. The two Parisian manuscripts with surviving frontispieces (BnF, Ms. fr. 308, fol. 13, and Ms. fr. 310, fol. 2) have images that take up all but fourteen to fifteen lines of text, whereas the frontispiece in the Hague copy occupies all but ten lines of text.
- 6. Occasionally just one volume of a multivolume manuscript set would have been completely decorated, as seems to have been the case here. See, for example, the early-fifteenth-century French Livy (Paris, BnF, Mss. fr. 264–266) written around 1410 by Raoul Tainguy for the French chancellor Arnaud de Corbie. Two of its three volumes have unpainted blanks left for miniatures. See Tesnière 1986 and Hedeman 2008, 34–53.
- 7. On this artistic group, see Meiss 1974, 377-82. For the most recent information on the artist, see *Christine de Pizan* online.
- 8. For the life and cult of Elphege, see Leyser 2006 (online).
- See, for instance, the coronation of Charles V and Jeanne de Bourbon in the *Grandes chroniques* in New York (Morgan Library, Ms. M.536, fol. 353v) illustrated around 1410–12; reproduced in Hedeman 1991, 161, fig. 107.

Pierre Bersuire, *Histoire romaine* (translation of Titus Livius, *Ab urbe condita libri*)

*Cleres femmes* Illuminators and Orosius Master Paris, ca. 1405

 $\begin{array}{ll} \text{SPECIFICATIONS} & 448 \text{ ff.}; 45.5 \times 32 \text{ cm} (17 \times 125 \text{ in.}); \\ \text{justification: } 31.6 \times [9 \times 2 \times 9.2] \text{ cm} (127 \text{ /16} \times [3^{1} \text{/2} \times 13 \text{ /16} \times 35 \text{ /8}] \text{ in.}); 60 \text{ lines; } 2 \text{ columns} \end{array}$ 

ILLUMINATION 3 multipart frontispieces, 26 onecolumn miniatures

COLLECTION Geneva, Bibliothèque de Genève, Ms. fr. 77

PROVENANCE John, duke of Berry (1340–1416); Aymar de Poitiers, comte de Saint-Vallier and grand sénéchal de Provence (15th century); Paul Petau (1568–1614); Ami Lullin (1695–1756)

This manuscript of the Histoire romaine, Pierre Bersuire's translation of Livy's Ab urbe condita libri, belonged to Duke John of Berry, who signed it on the last folio.<sup>1</sup> It is one of several books from the duke's collection decorated by Cleres femmes Illuminators, named for the famous copy of Boccaccio's Cleres femmes, who created scenes that focus less on the creation of space than on lively narratives painted in vibrant colors and figures with varied physiognomies.<sup>2</sup> A frontispiece containing four scenes introduces the first book of each of the three decades, and twenty-six single-column miniatures mark the beginning of each of the other books.<sup>3</sup> The frontispieces illustrate events from the first book of each decade, and singlecolumn miniatures usually draw their subjects from the first few chapters of the book they illustrate.<sup>4</sup> Many of these illustrations translate Roman history into a contemporary French frame through the use of updated costume and language, complementing the translation's efforts to appeal to a French audience (see cat. no. 24). Such changes doubtless made the Histoire romaine particularly appealing to John, whom Christine de Pizan categorized as a lover of "beautiful books of moral philosophy, histories (notably of Rome), and other praiseworthy teachings."5

All three frontispieces allude visually to the French translation by including Pierre Bersuire as author. The initial scene in the frontispiece for the first decade (fol. 9) shows Bersuire kneeling before King John the Good and presenting his translation. In the upper left frontispiece scenes for the second and third decades (ills. 34a and 34b), Bersuire sits in his study writing or turns his book toward the viewer as he reads and comments on his text. The other three compartments in each frontispiece treat classical subjects.

In the frontispiece to the third decade (ill. 34a), a delegation arrives in the upper right scene, a city is besieged in the lower left, and an equestrian battle takes place in the lower right. Although these miniatures could illustrate any number of delegations, sieges, or battles,6 the lower right scene was particularized to involve the French through both its rubric and a marginal addition. A prophet with a classic forked gray beard and banderole unfurled around his head stands in the right margin of folio 330. He grasps the end of the banderole with his left hand and leans to point down with his right hand toward the generic battle scene. His banderole's inscription, Comment les Rommains repristrint, replicates and draws attention to the opening words of the first chapter's rubric in the column under this miniature, which was lengthened in this manuscript to include a positive reference to the Gauls [here in italics]: "How the Romans took up arms again against King Philip and were defeated by the Gauls."7 This unique addition draws attention to an episode at the end of chapter 1, in which the Roman consul Appius and his armies invade the land of the Gauls, only to be ambushed, and the consul and almost seven thousand of his men are killed. The textual alteration and its marginal reflection underline the identification of the French with the Gauls in the early fifteenth century.8 This embellishment must have been planned to appeal directly to John of Berry, personalizing the "praiseworthy teachings" for him.

Like the marginal prophet and altered rubric, costume also encourages French identification with the events that unfold in the miniatures. The distinctly different Cleres femmes artists who painted the frontispieces to the second and third decades both employ contemporary fifteenth-century dress and exotic or archaic dress to establish oppositions between Romans and others, but they follow their own systems in doing so. Thus, the generic scene of delegations meeting (ill. 34a, upper right) pits four men in Western scholarly robes (the Romans) against four who are identified as exotic by their turbans, knotted sashes, and swords that resemble scimitars. In the fourth scene, the exotically garbed army of the Gauls has the upper hand over the Roman army dressed in Western plate armor with open-faced helmets or basinets on their heads. The system that seems to be in place, in which the Romans, identified in the prologue as models for French readers, are dressed in fifteenth-century French garb and the others in exotic dress, may have necessitated the addition to the expanded rubric for the subject of the fourth scene; without knowledge that the victorious non-Romans were Gauls (French), John of Berry may have wondered why a scene was included that shows those opposing the Romans winning.9

### 34a

Pierre Bersuire in His Study; The Romans Receive an Embassy; The Siege of a City; A Battle between Romans and Gauls (frontispiece to the Third Decade; Cleres femmes Illuminator), fol. 330





### 34b

Pierre Bersuire in His Study; The Death of Hasdrubal; Hanno Receives a Deputation from Rome; The Combat of Hannibal and the Romans (frontispiece for the Second Decade; Cleres femmes Illuminator), fol. 181 (detail)

Enlarged detail of ill. 34b

The Cleres femmes artist of the frontispiece to the second decade (ill. 34b) also used costume to distinguish Romans from others, but he employed it more subtly. Thus, in the fourth scene, the bloody battle between Hannibal and the Romans, only the foremost member of the army sweeping in from the left is marked as exotic by the band tied around his helmet and shield embossed with a large face (see detail at right). This second Cleres femmes illuminator paints rulers-whether Hasdrubal, the interim leader of Carthage in the second frontispiece scene, or Hanno, a leader of a faction in Carthage in the third frontispiece scene-as richly dressed European kings with elaborately jeweled crowns and fur-lined robes. This happens even when, as in the scene of Hanno receiving a delegation of Romans, Hanno's compatriots at the left are exoticized with turbans, scimitars, and elaborately trimmed clothing, while the Romans engaged in discussion with Hanno wear long, loose robes, bejeweled hats, and scallop-edged hoods. As had been common since at least the mid-fourteenth century, sophisticated viewers like John of Berry could read these distinct systems, which flexibly signified status or heritage. A.D.H



- 1. For discussion of the images and manuscript, see Gagnebin 1959; Gagnebin 1976, 81-83; Meiss 1974; Zacher 1971, 10, 16-17, 44-47, 65n2; Manion 2005, 206-89; and Bibliothèque de Genève 2009, 114-15. On the basis of a study of seventeen Livy manuscripts, Zacher identified four iconographic families, the most consistent of which is her family III, which includes the Geneva manuscript. The group is discussed and several miniatures are reproduced in Manion 2005, 206-89. Manion makes the interesting observation that suggests that the study of the Parisian book trade might provide a context for better understanding this iconographic group. She notes that in the sections painted by a Cité des dames illuminator, who was one of the collaborating artists of the Melbourne Livy, errors of layout and placement occurred on eight of the ten folios that he illustrated; the artist inserted the images for the illustrations beginning books 2 though 7 of the third decade in the spots for books 2 through 7 of the first decade, and his design for the frontispiece of the third decade ignores the space allotted. This suggests that the iconographic similarity among the manuscripts of group III might derive from written directions to illuminators that circulated amongst Parisian libraires in the early fifteenth century. See Manion 2005, 221-22, 224, 234-42, 270-71.
- 2. In addition to the manuscript for which the artist was named, Boccaccio's *De cleres et nobles femmes* (Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 598) given in 1404 by Jean de la Barre, other books in the duke's collection decorated by these artists include a *Lancelot du lac* (BnF, Mss. fr. 117–120), purchased in 1405, and a *Bible historiale* (Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Mss. 5057–5058). Gagnebin (1959 and 1976, 80–83) identifies four artists working in a homogeneous *Cleres femmes* style within the manuscript. On the *Cleres femmes* illuminators in general and for the attribution of fol. 46v to the Orosius Master, see Meiss 1974, 373, 399; and Paris 2004b, 264–65.
- 3. Each decade has ten books, except for the third, which only has nine. For further discussion of the text, see cat. no. 24.
- Manion 2005, 214.
- Solente 1936–40, 2:142: "beaulx lives des sciences morales et hystoires notables des policies rommaines ou d'autre louable enseignemens moult aime."
- 6. Book 1 describes numerous delegations in chapters 1, 2, 5, 17, and 18, among others; diverse sieges in chapters 10, 11, 12, 27, and 28; and frequent skirmishes between the Romans and Philip of Macedon or the Gauls.
- 7. "Comment les roumains repristrent leurs armes contre le roi philippe et furent vaincus par les gaules." Compare the rubric in the Histoire romaine (cat. no. 24): "Comment li romain repristre[n]t armes contre phe[lipe] roy de macedoine." Normally rubrics to chapters within the first book of decade three first mention the Gauls in the rubric of chapter 12: "Comment les gaules sy furent desconfitz par les rommains."
- Both Laurent de Premierfait and Gontier Col, humanists who worked as notaries and secretaries for John of Berry in the early fifteenth century, identified the Gauls with the French. See Hedeman 2008, 268n42.
- All other manuscripts from group III, such as the Melbourne Livy; BnF, Ms. fr. 272; and BL, Royal Ms. 15 D. VI, include a battle between two equally matched armies in Western dress.

Laurent de Premierfait, Des cas des nobles hommes et femmes (translation of Giovanni Boccaccio, De casibus virorum illustrium) Luçon Illuminators Paris, ca. 1410

 $\begin{array}{ll} {\rm SPECIFICATIONS} & 179\,{\rm ff.;}\, 40.5\times29.2\,{\rm cm}\,(15\times11^{1/2}\,{\rm in.}); \\ {\rm justification:}\, 28\times[7.4\times2.4\times7.5]\,{\rm cm}\,(11\times[2^{7/8}\times1^{5/16}\times2]\,{\rm in.}); \, 40\,{\rm lines}; 2\,{\rm columns} \end{array}$ 

ILLUMINATION 71 one-column miniatures

COLLECTION Geneva, Bibliothèque de Genève, Ms. fr. 190/1

PROVENANCE John, duke of Berry (1340–1416; gift of Martin Gouge); comte d'Armagnac; Alexandre Petau (1610–1672); Ami Lullin (1695–1756)

In 1400 Laurent de Premierfait, a noted French humanist, completed his first translation of Boccaccio's De casibus virorum illustrium, a Latin collection of cautionary tales structured as a series of eyewitness accounts about the reversals of fortune of historical characters, beginning with Adam and Eve and continuing to King John the Good of France. Because Laurent's first literal translation of Boccaccio's text was unsuccessful, he began a second in 1409, adding a prologue that explained his new approach to translation. Looking back, Laurent asserted that in 1400 he had "followed precisely and exactly the sentences taken from the author's own language, which is very subtle and artificial." Having discovered from that experience that Latin books written by "philosophers, poets, and historians well versed in all humanities are too long and separated from the understanding that Dame Nature commonly gives men," Laurent concluded, "Thus to help this great default, it seemed to me that it was necessary that Latin books in their translation be transformed and converted into such language that their readers and listeners can understand the effect of the sentence without working too much or too long to understand."1

Laurent's textual transformation of Boccaccio in 1409 revised the Latin translation to remove Latinate terms, amplified it with explanations of words and historical events, and added explanatory digressions, all with the goal of Christianizing and historicizing the text to bridge the cultural divide between fourteenth-century Italy and the early-fifteenth-century French court in Paris.<sup>2</sup> The manuscript under discussion here is the first presentation copy (now split into two parts) given by Martin Gouge to the king's uncle, Duke John of Berry, as a gift at the *étrennes*, the annual gift-giving ceremony, on January 1, 1411. It contains a noteworthy addition: a visual cycle of 147 miniatures, which Laurent, working with a *libraire* and the Luçon Illuminators, designed as a means of offering a visual translation of Boccaccio.<sup>3</sup> The Luçon artists enhanced the materiality of the images by using lush, subtle colors, elaborately modeled drapery, and richly polished and punched gold details on crowns, belts, and drapery trim.<sup>4</sup>

This dense visual cycle makes Boccaccio's words come alive and is an integral part of the translation; there are no illustrations in the two translator's prologues or in Laurent's translation of Boccaccio's prologue, nor is there a frontispiece to the manuscript as a whole. Instead, Laurent planned an even distribution of single-column miniatures to illustrate almost all of Boccaccio's chapters and, in a very few cases, to subdivide chapters, as in the example of Lucretia (see fig. 45).5 Most of these images visualize a particularly vivid story from their chapter or illustrate the chapter's rubric and incorporate contemporary costume to enhance John of Berry's experience of the text. Laurent also experimented selectively with visual amplification of his translation by enhancing seven exemplary stories, doubling their illustration with pictures that spill over into subsequent chapters. These break up the relentless series of images of people undone by fortune by creating independent, discrete visual lessons that, with one exception, are concentrated in the first two books of the Des cas.6

For example, the texts of chapters 11–14 of book 2 present sequentially the story of Dido, Queen of Carthage (in chapter 11), a moralizing chapter (12) that uses Dido's example to celebrate chastity, the story of King Sardanapalus of Assyria (in chapter 13), and another moralizing chapter (14) that condemns the vice of *luxuria* through the example of Sardanapalus. With the exception of this book and the related manuscript that belonged to Duke John the Fearless of Burgundy, all illuminated copies of Laurent's translation use Dido and Sardanapalus's suicides to illustrate their lives in chapters 11 and 13. If other Boccaccio manuscripts illustrate the moralizing chapters 12 and 14 of book 2, they show images of Boccaccio speaking to Dido, Sardanapalus, or anonymous groups of people.

John of Berry's manuscript displaces Sardanapalus's and Dido's suicides (ills. 35a and 35b) to the moralizing chapters and precedes them with scenes of Dido's misfortune in witnessing her brother murder her husband before her arrival in Carthage (fol. 56) and of the military man Arbachus visiting Sardanapalus and seeing him living "like a woman," as Laurent put it, by spinning with his wives (fol. 60). These illustrations of chapters 11 and 13 characterize Dido as a good queen and Sardanapalus as a



bad king. As a result of this visual expansion, the images illustrating these four sequential chapters become interlaced in a subcycle in which visual imagery inextricably pairs Dido and Sardanapalus and uses the representation of their deaths to concretize their virtue and vice. Dido sheds the rich dress with ermine-lined sleeves that she wore in the first image and wears a simple dress with tight sleeves for her death, whereas Sardanapalus consistently wears bicolor hose and a robe with wide, fur-lined, and dagged sleeves in his images. Dido's contrasting dress in her two miniatures and her stable position and controlled gesture in death emphasize her virtue, while Sardanapalus's consistently extravagant dress and offbalance flight through the air to his death convey his lack of self-control.<sup>7</sup>

#### 5a

The Suicide of Sardanapalus, fol. 63 (enlarged detail)

### **35b** The Suicide of Dido, fol. 59v (enlarged detail)



All but one of these visual amplifications were unique to the pair of Boccaccio manuscripts that Laurent supervised directly for John of Berry and John the Fearless. The amplified images that did receive wider distribution in the second decade of the fifteenth century were the paired scenes illustrating the destruction of Jerusalem (Geneva, Bibliothèque de Genève, Ms. fr. 190/2, fols. 96v and 101), a unique, large-scale visual amplification that served as an "interior frontispiece." As will become clear in the discussion of the Getty Museum's copy of the Des cas (cat. no. 37), one of only four manuscripts to incorporate this amplification, this large image resonated with fifteenth-century rhetoric concerning the French civil war that encouraged a reading of Boccaccio's illustrated text which would have been particularly relevant to John of Berry.8 A.D.H.

- For this French prologue, see Gathercole 1968, 89. On the translation of 1400, see Marzano 2007. For partial editions of the text, see Gathercole 1968 and Barbance 1993.
- 2. See Hedeman 2008, 11–14, 17–21.
- This Des cas as a whole (Geneva, Bibliothèque de Genève, Mss. fr. 190/1-2) has 1 half-page and 142 single-column miniatures, with possibly 4 more on excised leaves. For a fuller discussion of thé visual cycle, see Hedeman 2008, 55–127.
- 4. On the works attributed to the Luçon Master, see Meiss 1974, 393-97.
- 5. The image of Lucretia is discussed further in my essay in this volume.
- 6. Duke John the Fearless of Burgundy's contemporary book (Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Ms. 5193), which was also supervised by Laurent de Premierfait and completed about a year later than John of Berry's, adds three more amplified pairs. For analyses of all the visual amplifications in the manuscripts of the dukes of Berry and Burgundy, see Hedeman 2008, 85-116, 250.
- 7. See my essay in this volume for further discussion of how the artists employed dress and gesture to highlight this opposition.
- Besides those belonging to John of Berry and John the Fearless, the other manuscript that incorporates the large-scale amplified paired image of Jerusalem's destruction is Vienna, ÖNB, Cod. Ser.n.12766. See Hedeman 2008, 116–27, 193–99.

Herman de Valenciennes, *Li romanz de Dieu* Egerton Master or workshop France, ca. 1405–20

 $\label{eq:specifications} \begin{array}{l} 98\,{\rm ff.;}\, 28.5\times 19\,{\rm cm}\,(11^{1}\!/\!4\times 7^{1}\!/\!2\,{\rm in.});\\ {\rm justification:}\, 17.5\times 10.1\,{\rm cm}\,(6\times 3\,{\rm in.});\, 31\,{\rm lines;}\, 1\,{\rm column} \end{array}$ 

ILLUMINATION 53 one-column miniatures

COLLECTION Besançon, Bibliothèque municipale de Besançon, Ms. 550

PROVENANCE Entered the Bibliothèque municipale de Besançon before 1897

This little-studied manuscript is the only fifteenthcentury copy known of Herman de Valenciennes's Bible in rhymed verse.<sup>1</sup> Originally written in the twelfth century,<sup>2</sup> Herman's Bible represents the oldest appearance of material from each book of the Old and New Testaments in the form of French verse.<sup>3</sup> Although the text covers the entire span of biblical history, about half of the narrative is devoted to an integrated account of the lives of Mary and Christ. Herman's text is less a translation of the Bible than a careful selection of biblical stories arranged chronologically. The author chose the most exciting and dramatic of events and then added details (including dialogue) that gave them additional flair, placing the whole within a historical framework. He incorporated elements of epic, romance, and poetry, taken from sources as diverse as the *Roman d'Alexandre* (cat. no. 8), the lives of the saints (cat. nos. 15, 16, and 28), and the Apocrypha.<sup>4</sup> Even though Herman's Bible reached the peak of its fame in the thirteenth century (most of the thirty-seven copies of the text that survive date from before 1300), clearly the text still held appeal for the unknown fifteenthcentury owner of this manuscript.<sup>5</sup>

The illuminations of the Besançon manuscript, with their dramatic visualizations of events and evident sense of emotion, echo the original intent of the text. Surprisingly, given the narrative potential of the life of King David, the portion of the text devoted to him is quite short and skips over many of the well-known aspects of his life.<sup>6</sup> Besides the story of David and Goliath, one of the **36a** *Kings David and Saul*, fol. 43v (enlarged detail)



### **36b** Bathsheba in Her Palace, fol. 44 (enlarged detail)

few episodes involving David chosen by Herman for illumination in this manuscript relates to the moment when he becomes king (ill. 36a). According to the Vulgate Bible, David learned from an Amalekite messenger that Saul was dead. The messenger told David that he had found King Saul dying on the battlefield and when the king requested that the messenger kill him he had carried out the king's orders. When David heard this, he ordered the messenger killed for spilling the blood of the Lord's anointed.<sup>7</sup> The rubric that introduces Herman's text gives only the vaguest sense of this complicated narrative.8 The artist, who may well have been using the rubrics as directions, illustrated just the first part, which states that "David defeated King Saul." He thus mistakenly shows a crowned young David thrusting a spear into the injured Saul. Details such as the retreating army of the Israelites, the grounded stance of David as he plunges the spear, and the upraised hand of Saul in farewell lend realism and pathos to the scene.

The conflict-oriented image of the death of Saul serves as a contrast to the miniature seen on the opposite page (ill. 36b). According to the rubric, David had a beautiful palace built for his beloved Bathsheba.<sup>9</sup> Herman's text emphasizes that David truly repented of his adulterous sin, but the image focuses on Bathsheba.<sup>10</sup> She looks out with melancholy from her splendid citadel, entirely alone. Viewers would no doubt recall the fact that David's offense had led to the death of their son, accounting for Bathsheba's sense of isolation and sadness.<sup>11</sup> Together, the miniatures of the death of Saul and the grief of Bathsheba show aspects of Herman's text that are entirely absent from the original biblical narratives, a detailed (and in this case mistaken) depiction of action and a tendency to emphasize the feelings of individuals. The second half of the book's illumination, an elaborate sequence of scenes from the lives of Mary and Christ, shows similar concerns.<sup>12</sup>

The artist responsible for the manuscript's illuminations is known as the Egerton Master, after a series of remarkable miniatures he executed in London, BL, Egerton Ms. 1070.<sup>13</sup> Active in the first two decades of the fifteenth century, the Egerton Master is known for his expressive figures, bold landscapes, and elaborate cityscapes. Although the Besançon manuscript's miniatures are clearly closely related to those of the Egerton Master, the faces of the figures lack the soft modeling seen in his other works, and the hair is drawn in a particularly graphic and simplistic manner, suggesting that



some member of the Egerton Master's workshop may have been responsible for the illumination. The realistically rendered, yet dancelike stance of David (ill. 36a) is reminiscent of those of many of the Egerton Master's male characters.<sup>14</sup> Likewise, Bathsheba's citadel, with its turrets, stepped cornices, buildings set at steep angles relative to one another, and watery setting (ill. 36b), also finds counterparts in the Egerton Master's other works.<sup>15</sup> One of the most distinctive aspects of this artist's style is a particular type of landscape, with vertically oriented rocks rising in swirled steps and green trees with pointed limbs highlighted in yellow, clearly seen in the David miniature and elsewhere in the artist's oeuvre.<sup>16</sup>

At a time when the Bible historiale (cat. nos. 22 and 25), a text that structured the biblical narrative along similar historical lines, and books of hours, whose imagery centered on the lives of Mary and Christ, were enjoying a great popularity, it may be that Herman's almostforgotten text sparked a particular patron's interest.<sup>17</sup> Certainly the scheme of iconography of the Besançon manuscript as well as the caliber of its artist can be associated with contemporary copies of the Bible historiale and books of hours. Manuscripts of these texts on which the Egerton Master is known to have worked may have even provided helpful models for the iconography.<sup>18</sup> Although nothing is known about the original owner of the Besançon manuscript, it is possible to suggest that the client for this copy of Herman's rhymed Bible would have been eager, like those who commissioned Bibles historiales and books of hours, for suites of illumination that not only showed the lively historical stories associated with the Old and New Testaments but also captured a sense of the emotional consequences of these actiondriven narratives. These dual characteristics were ideally suited to both Herman's text and the powers of the Egerton Master and his workshop. E.M.

- 1. For a list of manuscripts, see Spiele 1975, 144–59; updated by Boulton 2005, 86n7.
- For a discussion of dating of the original text, see Bonnard 1884, 32–37; and Mandach 1978.
- 3. The text is edited in Moldenhauer et al. 1914 and Spiele 1975. For commentary on the text, see Bonnard 1884, 11–41; and Smeets 1968–70, 1:52–53. The text is sometimes called the *Romanz de Sapience* because of a scribal error of a phrase that frequently opened the text: "Comens de sapience," where the opening *C* was mistakenly copied as an *R* and then perpetuated (Bonnard 1884, 11–12).
- For the mixed nature of the text, as well as commentary on its sources, see Borland 1933; Smeets 1963; Buehler 1964; Noble 1994; Morey 1993, 17–19; and Boulton 2005.
- 5. The Besançon manuscript is of the same textual recension as two earlier unilluminated copies of the text: Chartres, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 620, and Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 24387; see Castan 1897, 318; and Spiele 1975, 159.
- Spiele 1975, lines 2330–2495. For a discussion of how Herman shaped his text to stress the heroic and genealogical role of David, see Maser 1993, 436–38.
- 7. 2 Samuel 1:1–16.
- 8. The rubric reads: "Comment david desconfist le roy saul et puis fut apres roy et couronne et vestus de habiz et couronne royaux et après fist faire son palais come dit sera." The text begins: "Seigneurs mors est Saul et david remest vis" (Spiele 1975, line 2463), which probably did not help the artist, either.
- 9. The rubric reads: "Comment david a fait faire un palays et puis y fist amenez la femme de son seneschal dont dieu se courrouca et lui en refusa son temp lequel lui volt après ce fe'."
- The building of a palace for Bathsheba is mentioned only in the rubric, not in Herman's text.
- The text following the rubric states: "A donc jut a la dame si engendra un enfant. Ly seneschaux fut mors celle en ot duel" (Spiele 1975, lines 2479–80).
- See, for instance, Salome's mother plunging her knife into the decapitated head of John the Baptist on fol. 74 or the touching grief of the Apostles on the death of the Virgin, fol. 88v.
- 13. On the Egerton Master, see Schilling 1954; Meiss 1974, 384–88; Avril in Tesnière, Avril, and Gousset 1999, 213–15; and Paris 2004b, 269.
- 14. Compare to Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 2810, fol. 45.
- 15. Compare to Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 2810, fol. 67.
- 16. Compare to Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 9, fol. 25v. François Avril (Tesnière, Avril, and Gousset 1999, 213–15) also points out two details associated with the Egerton Master that are found in the Besançon manuscript: backgrounds featuring large *rinceaux* made up of black-outlined golden leaves (fol. 38) and an architectural feature resembling a stylized fleur-de-lis (fol. 59v).
- 17. There was a manuscript of Herman's text painted by Remiet in Paris about twenty years before the Besançon manuscript (New York, Morgan Library, Ms. M.526), but its 223 tinted grisaille drawings are unrelated iconographically to this copy. The Morgan manuscript and the Besançon volume are the only two known illuminated versions of Herman's text.
- 18. Compare Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 9, *Bible historiale*, fol. 16, to Besançon, fol. 9; also, BnF, Ms. fr. 9, fol. 28v, and Besançon, fol. 59v. Compare Besançon, fol. 64, with the same scene in London, BL, Egerton Ms. 1070, fol. 32v, or Besançon, fol. 67, and Egerton, fol. 34v. There are many shared compositions between these two books in terms of the life of the Virgin.

#### 37a

The Story of Adam and Eve (Boucicaut Illuminator), fol. 3

Laurent de Premierfait, Des cas des nobles hommes et femmes (translation of Giovanni Boccaccio, De casibus virorum illustrium) Boucicaut and Mazarine Illuminators and the artist of Arsenal Ms. 3693

Paris, ca. 1413–15

37

SPECIFICATIONS 317 ff.;  $42 \times 29.6 \text{ cm} (16^{9}/16 \times 11^{5}/8 \text{ in.})$ ; justification:  $26.6 \times [7.4 \times 3 \times 7.4] \text{ cm} (10^{1}/2 \times [2^{7}/8 \times 1^{3}/16 \times 2^{7}/8] \text{ in.})$ ; varies, 47-50 lines; 2 columns

ILLUMINATION 1 three-quarter-page frontispiece, 1 three-quarter-page, 50 one-column miniatures

COLLECTION LOS Angeles, The J. Paul Getty Museum, Ms. 63

PROVENANCE Kerr family of Newbattle (mid-17th century); William Henry Kerr, 4th marquis of Lothian and earl of Ancram (1710–1775); William John Kerr, 5th marquis of Lothian (1737–1815); William Kerr, 6th marquis of Lothian (1763–1833); Philip Henry Kerr, 11th marquis of Lothian (1882–1940); [sale, American Art Association, Anderson Galleries, Inc., New York, January 27, 1932, lot 11]; Francis Kettaneh, New York (1897–1976); [sale, Ader Picard Tajan, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, May 20, 1980, lot 14]; private collection, United States

Within a few years after Martin Gouge presented Laurent de Premierfait's translation of Boccaccio's *De casibus virorum illustrium* (see cat. no. 35) to John of Berry in January 1411, the *Des cas des nobles hommes et femmes* became a best-seller; it survives in over fifty-three illuminated manuscripts painted by some of the most gifted artists working in France.<sup>1</sup> The Getty Museum's Boccaccio is one of the most beautiful among the second wave of manuscripts, made after Laurent's ducal books, most of which were produced by Parisian *libraires* in the second decade of the fifteenth century for members of the nobility, humanists, and members of the government, like Girard Blanchet, whose ex libris can be read with ultraviolet light on folio 318v.<sup>2</sup>

Blanchet's Boccaccio is decorated by fifty-two images, which, with one exception, were painted by Boucicaut and Mazarine Illuminators. Their distinctive style includes innovatively structured landscapes and architecture peopled by figures who interact with restrained gestures in clearly demarcated pockets of space.<sup>3</sup> The scenes are painted in rich saturated colors of red, rose, blue, and green, with powdered gold and the occasional use of yellow, purple, teal, and black, these colors being deployed so as to enhance compositional balance. The collaborating Boucicaut and Mazarine artists worked to produce miniatures with a consistent quality of execution and level of finish and with their characteristic iconographic innovation.

The illustration cycle of Blanchet's *Des cas* is typical of manuscripts made after those of the dukes of Berry and Burgundy: it differs from its predecessors in its interest in Boccaccio and in its inclusion of a presentation scene and a large-scale image at the beginning of the manuscript (in this case, at the beginning of book 1), as well as images at the beginning of each of Boccaccio's nine books. *Libraires* seem to have introduced these changes from the ducal cycle in order to make the manuscripts they produced fit the pattern of other contemporary translated histories, like those written by Augustine, Livy, or Valerius Maximus (see cat. nos. 31, 34, and 40).<sup>4</sup>

The lush Adam and Eve frontispiece (ill. 37a) that illustrates book 1 is one of the most innovative additions to Blanchet's manuscript. This large picture offers an effective introduction to Boccaccio's text, establishing his authority while staging the fall of man in a novel way designed to engage readers' interest and encourage them to see themselves as eyewitnesses, like Boccaccio, to the stories that are recorded and painted in the manuscript. The story spirals outward from its beginning within the pink-walled garden of paradise, where Eve tempts Adam. After Adam and Eve's sin, an angel wielding a sword casts them out through the gate at the left, then in the distant landscape Adam appears farming the ground, while Eve tends sheep and spins. The circular motion begun within the miniature culminates in the foreground, where the now aged Adam and Eve hobble toward Boccaccio, who is seated at left amid his books. They gesture and speak across the void that separates them from the author, telling him their story, which we see enacted by peeking over the pink wall. Boccaccio listens intently to their tale, which he will commit to the pages of the book before him. It, like the image, is oriented toward his readers.

The Boucicaut Illuminator added stock images of the creation of the world and of Adam and Eve to the margins as an expansion of the tale described in Boccaccio's first chapter and imagined in the frontispiece.<sup>5</sup> Besides evoking the authority of the Bible, these marginal scenes encourage viewers to read the images as carefully as the text, since they visually communicate important information that Boccaccio does not cover.

It seems that the *libraire* who supervised the manuscript's production must have understood the importance of the large *Destruction of Jerusalem* image (ill. 37b), which in the dukes' manuscripts had functioned as a displaced frontispiece (see cat. no. 35) that was amplified visually by a scene of a Jewish woman who was starving and reduced





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#### 37b

The Destruction of Jerusalem (artist of Arsenal Ms. 3693), fol. 237 to eating her child. Iconography and costume in the Getty Boccaccio's Destruction reinforce the same political message as that found in the dukes' books. The non-Jews, whether the Roman emperor Titus and his men, who capture and sack Jerusalem, or the "Saracens," who purchase the survivors, wear exotic turbanlike headdresses and bear swords shaped like scimitars, while the Jews wear simple fifteenth-century clothing. These compositional decisions encouraged medieval viewers to see themselves mirrored in the Jews who are slaughtered or sold into slavery rather than the Romans or Saracens. Laurent's translation stressed that the Destruction held a moral for Christians. However, he undoubtedly gave these Jerusalem stories special visual emphasis because Jerusalem's destruction and the Jewish mother's cannibalism were explicitly used in contemporary political polemics in the years between 1410 and 1415 by Pierre Salmon, Eustache Mercadé, Jean Gerson, and Robert Blondel.<sup>6</sup> In mirrors of princes (guides to good government), speeches, and plays these authors drew analogies between the destruction of Jerusalem and the French civil war, which had broken out in 1410, precisely when Laurent completed his translation of Boccaccio and was readying John of Berry's presentation manuscript. The strife and promulgation of polemic continued while the Getty Boccaccio was being painted around 1413-15. Because of its dramatic scale and overtly contemporary political context, the large image of Jerusalem's destruction would have encouraged both John of Berry and government functionaries like Girard Blanchet to interpret the visualized stories from the past as examples for their present.

The artist of Arsenal Ms. 3693, who painted the main image, complicated this positive reading of the Jews by inserting a scene that shows a Jewish woman named Marie roasting her child in the lower margin below the Destruction, in a space peopled by deformed hybrid creatures playing musical instruments (ill. 37b). This tiny image interleaves between the Destruction and the scene of Marie biting her child's arm, painted by a Boucicaut illuminator, a few folios later (fol. 241). The latter is based on Laurent's original directions for visual amplification of the text (the scene of the Jewish woman was the only one of these amplifications to be executed in manuscripts, like the Getty Boccaccio, whose illustrations derived from models based on his ducal books). By further amplifying Laurent's original image, the Boucicaut and Arsenal 3693 artists produced a visual puzzle that would only be solved by viewers who looked at the illustrations, thought about their visual language, and read Boccaccio's text carefully. A.D.H.

- For the second wave of copies, probably made under the supervision of Parisian *libraires*, see Hedeman 2008, 129–205; Branca 1999, vol. 3; and Tesnière 1989 and 1999. For partial editions of the text, see Gathercole 1968 and Barbance 1993.
- On Girard Blanchet's ex libris, see Hedeman 2008, 129–34. On Boccaccio's patronage in France, see Bozzolo 1973.
- Millard Meiss (1968, 50-53, 102-4) attributed the paintings in this 3. book to the Boucicaut Master, working with members of his workshop and with an unidentified artist who produced one miniature. More recently Gabriele Bartz (1999, 119) suggested that the manuscript resulted from collaboration between three independent artistic personalities: a "follower" of the Egerton Master, who painted fol. 237, and the Boucicaut and Mazarine masters (the latter named after a book of hours in the Mazarine Library) who painted the others. François Avril (Avril et al. 1996) developed this further. Avril's attributions to the Boucicaut and Mazarine masters have been accepted by Villela-Petit (Villela-Petit and Guineau 2003). For an alternative view, that the work attributed to the Boucicaut Master (or to the Boucicaut and Mazarine masters) is the product of an artistic group who worked collaboratively and inventively in a common style, see Andrews 2002, Andrews 2006, and Hedeman 2008, 166–81.
- 4. On audience expectations for presentation miniatures, see Salter and Pearsall 1980, Benesch 1987, and Inglis 2002. For Valerius Maximus, see Dubois 1994, Duval and Vieillard 2009 online, and Joyce Coleman's essay in this volume. For discussion of patterns in the translations of Livy, see Zacher 1971.
- For discussion of the marginal images and their relationship to biblical illuminations, see my essay in this volume and Hedeman 2008, 182–91.
- For this political reading, see Hedeman 2008, 193–99. For discussion of Pierre Salmon, Eustache Mercadé, Jean Gerson, and Robert Blondel, see Hedeman 2008, 123–26.



fee ocuers to charonigne du glou ton empereur dutus bittelius : qui acans les ontes du tribue flot toit puis apuis la Chamfi com me ie tour norie, ma pensee et mo visaige contre la chautomgne de bie teluis je bij figmut nombre de: maleureux qui par troupeault anouwient vers mori queie ne autore pas que nature mere de tou tes chofes en cut tant engendre : M Tous ces hommes acouras autors mori diforent quils defen durent iadas du noble et famt pa tuante iacob le pere du peuple : difficel. Ils gemufforent tous ils efforent comiers de culourenfes

Charles VI in Discussion with Pierre Salmon (Mazarine Illuminator), fol. 4 (enlarged)

### -38

Pierre Salmon, Dialogues

Mazarine Illuminators; Saint Stephen Master Paris, ca. 1412–15 and ca. 1440–50

SPECIFICATIONS 260 ff.;  $26.5 \times 19.5$  cm ( $10^{7}/16 \times 7^{11}/16$  in.); justification:  $14 \times 11$  cm ( $5^{1}/2 \times 4^{5}/16$  in.); 24 lines; 1 column

ILLUMINATION 2 three-quarter-page miniatures, 1 two-third-page miniature, 20 historiated initials

COLLECTION Geneva, Bibliothèque de Genève, Ms. fr. 165

PROVENANCE Charles VI, king of France (1368– 1422); Alexandre Petau (1610–1672); Ami Lullin (1695– 1756; purchased 1720); city of Geneva (gift, 1756)

Between 1409 and 1415 Pierre Salmon wrote and revised illuminated copies of his Dialogues, beautiful manuscripts designed to capture the attention of King Charles VI of France. The first version survives in a unique copy (Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 23279) written in 1409 and decorated with twenty-seven miniatures. Its text is divided into three distinct parts: the opening section describes the duties of a king and his counselors, a second section records a series of questions and answers about theological topics, and a historical section contains a series of "lamentations" and letters that document Salmon's diplomatic missions in the 1390s and early 1400s for Charles VI.<sup>1</sup> Salmon drafted the second version of his *Dialogues* in 1412–15.<sup>2</sup> It includes a revision of the first portion's parts 1–3, to which he added, as a fourth part, an extensive moral treatise on virtues and vices that he had written after he retired from court in 1411. This second version survives in this presentation copy, planned circa 1412-15, which includes a special visual cycle designed to make members of the royal family be eyewitnesses to past royal conversations, and in two later manuscript copies.<sup>3</sup>

Salmon worked with Mazarine Illuminators to devise thirty miniatures and historiated initials to decorate the Geneva *Dialogues.*<sup>4</sup> Four of these are large images of high quality designed to make the manuscript's readers feel present at past conversations. The most famous of these scenes shows an intimate conversation between Pierre Salmon and King Charles VI (ill. 38). This miniature intensifies the composition painted previously by a *Cité des dames* illuminator in the 1409 *Dialogues* (compare Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 23279, fol. 19). The Mazarine Illuminator manipulates space and marginal decoration to emphasize Salmon's special access to the king, while structuring the image so that viewers would feel as though they were eyewitnesses eavesdropping on the conversation. The artist has placed the king's lit de parade, a ceremonial bed used in public spaces in the palace, on a strong diagonal within the spacious room. The bed is covered with luxurious fleur-de-lis drapery and a baldachin fringed with Charles's personal colors of white, gold, red, black, and green.5 The baldachin folds back to envelop Salmon, gently constructing a space in which he and the king are so absorbed in private conversation that they do not notice three members of the nobility (possibly including John the Fearless, duke of Burgundy, and John, duke of Berry) who may have just entered through the door behind them, which is partially hidden by a second fleur-de-lis tapestry. The nobles stand isolated on the other side of the bed near an open window. Dressed in a black fur-lined houppelande embroidered around the shoulder with entwined leafy branches and sprays of broom and peacock feathers, King Charles VI wears the collar of his Order of the Broom Pod. In the miniature's margins peacocks with crowns around their necks stand on broom plants growing from roots anchored in the initial S that opens the text, and around the green and gold branches twine banderoles bearing Charles's motto James (a medieval variation of jamais, "never"). The broom plants have golden flowers and pods and leaves of red, green, black, and gold that echo Charles's colors in the fringe around his bed's baldachin.

Like the signs and symbols that connect gloss to text in scholastic manuscripts, this highly unusual marginal decoration interacts with the image it accompanies in a sophisticated way.<sup>6</sup> The marginal plants' origin in the opening word of the king's statement and the repetition of peacock feathers and broom on the king's robe infuse the intimate space of the painted conversation with the royal words transcribed below the miniature. Indeed, Charles's position to the left of Salmon parallels the flow from left to right of the written words below, just as Charles's speech, indicated by his speaking gesture, flows from the king to Salmon in the painting.<sup>7</sup>

The intense naturalism of this miniature and its distinctive iconographic features relate to one of the most striking changes between the first and second versions of Salmon's text: the simplification of part 3, the historical section, which had received the bulk of lively narrative illuminations in the first version of the *Dialogues*. Besides truncating the narrative of this section and paring down the number of letters transcribed in it from twenty-nine to eight, Salmon also redirected the focus of the cycle, so that fully twenty-two images, mostly historiated initials, illustrate the catechetical and moralizing parts 2 and 4, and eight scenes, mostly large miniatures that depict Salmon writing in isolation or speaking with or presenting the book to Charles VI, illustrate parts 1 and 3.



This shift of focus, evident in both the images and the text, reflects the broadened readership for which the revised Dialogues was intended. Salmon's audience still includes King Charles VI, but added rubrics and edited text mention the king's consort, Queen Isabeau of Bavaria, and the dauphin, Louis of Guyenne, emerging powers in the French government in the second decade of the fifteenth century, and address the feuding princes of the blood, who had incited civil war in 1411.8 The pictured conversations capture the realities of 1412-15, when government was done by council and books could be experienced through public reading and discussion.9 The text and the accompanying cycle of illuminations make present the recent past, not only by formally broadening the audience for Pierre Salmon's advice, which now includes the king's wife and heir, but also by constructing compositions that make readers corecipients of the letters and words that pass between Salmon and the king. A.D.H.

- 1. Salmon's second version is unedited. For an edition of the first version, see Crapelet 1833. For discussion and analysis of the images, see Guenée 1992, Roux 1998, and Hedeman 2001.
- 2. For dating of the manuscript, see Hedeman 2001, 29, 38–39, 45.
- 3. The later copies are Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 5032, an unillustrated sixteenthcentury copy annotated with directions for placement of twenty-two pictures, and Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 9610, an illuminated copy of the Geneva *Dialogues* painted circa 1500 by the Master of the *Chronique scandaleuse* for François de Rochechouart. Six miniatures and one historiated initial would have appeared on six leaves excised from the *Dialogues*; the iconography of the miniatures can be reconstructed by comparison with those of the Rochechouart manuscript. For the latter, see Hedeman 2001, 48–55.
- 4. The Mazarine Illuminators painted fols. 4–100v and fol. 110; an unidentified illuminator painted a bifolium (fols. 114v–119). When production of the Geneva manuscript was halted around 1415, eight images (fols. 109v, 117, and 128v to the end of the manuscript) remained unfinished until the 1440s, when the Saint Stephen Master completed them, working in at least two cases (fols. 109v and 145v) from early-fifteenth-century underdrawings. For discussion of the Boucicaut and Mazarine Illuminators, see cat. no. 37, note 3. For attribution of these later miniatures to the Dunois Master, see Byrne 1974, Reynaud 1999, and Châtelet 2008. François Avril (personal correspondence, December 20, 2009) attributed these miniatures to
- the Saint Stephen Master. On the Saint Stephen Master, see Reynolds 2006b, 450-54.
- For discussion of Charles VI's personal emblems, see Paris 2004b, 375–79; Bozzolo and Loyau 1982–92, 1:8–11; Vaivre 1983; and Hablot 2003.
- 6. Martin and Vezin 1990.
- 7. It is clear that this infusion of speech into image was the result of a conscious collaboration between Salmon and the artists, because a similar thing happens in the next illuminated folio (fol. 7), where the composition of the model (Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 23279, fol. 5) is reversed, so that Salmon's response will move from his position, at the left, to the king's, farther to the right, in the same direction as the text. In this instance margins are again infused with royal emblems, but the royal arms and leafy broom branches with pods that cover the hangings around the bed enclose Salmon with the king and exclude the nobility who stand outside.
- 8. Hedeman 2001, 28-29, 38-40.
- 9. See the essay by Joyce Coleman in this volume and Coleman 1996.

## 39

*Tresor des histoires* Boucicaut and Boethius Illuminators Paris, ca. 1415

 $\begin{array}{ll} {\rm SPECIFICATIONS} & {\rm 391}\,{\rm ff.;\,38.6\times28\,cm\,(15^{3}\!/_{16}\times11\,in.);} \\ {\rm justification:\,} 28\times[7.7\times2.8\times7.8]\,cm\,(11\times[3\times1^{1}\!/_{8}\times3^{1}\!/_{16}]\,in.;\,44\,lines;\,2\,columns \end{array}$ 

ILLUMINATION 225 one-column miniatures

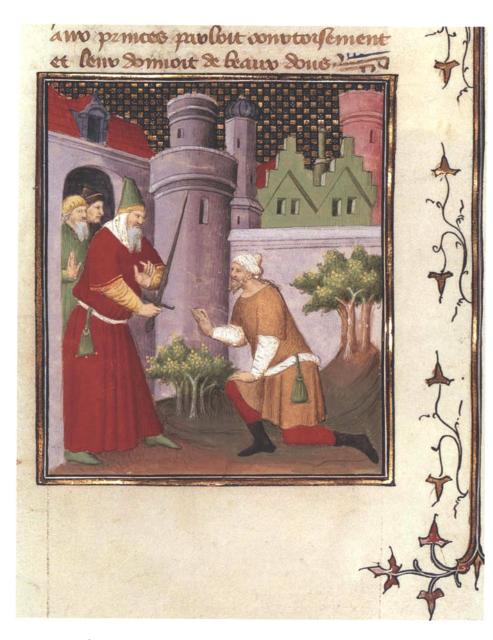
COLLECTION Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Ms. 5077

PROVENANCE Prigent de Coëtivy (1400–1450); Antoine-René d'Argenson, marquis de Paulmy (early 16th century)

The Tresor des histoires is the short title for a compilation whose precise sources have not yet been fully identified.1 Its text is divided into 681 chapters whose rubrics are transcribed in an extensive chapter list at the beginning of the manuscript (fols. 1-14v). Although the text is not subdivided in any way beyond these chapters, some rubrics provide a sense of structure that may derive from the text's original sources. The contents are strictly biblical until the founding of Athens (chap. 38), and thereafter biblical, pagan, and Christian history, including that of popes and rulers, is intermingled. The history of Christianity begins without fanfare; the first mention of Christ comes when John the Baptist is killed in chapter 469. Once Peter is named pope (chap. 471), rubrics often note the succession of popes in addition to those of select kings and emperors. The text clearly integrates diverse sources, but the only authors mentioned by name are Sallust and Martin of Troppau.2

The manuscript's dense cycle of images smoothes the textual divisions arising from its multiple sources by distributing 225 lively single-column pictures evenly over the manuscript's 391 folios,<sup>3</sup> making it one of the most densely illuminated early-fifteenth-century histories.<sup>4</sup> The Boucicaut and Boethius Illuminators contributed different quires to the manuscript, suggesting that separate artistic households worked on the book, possibly under the supervision of a *libraire*, as happened in other Boucicaut books from this period (see, for example, cat. no. 37).<sup>5</sup>

Illustrations for the *Tresor* were chosen not necessarily to illustrate the chapter's rubric, or even the first event described within the chapter. Instead, the *libraire* selected lively events to give the book visual interest, minimizing the repetition that could have occurred in illuminations accompanying the rubrics for chapters announcing papal, imperial, or royal coronations. Millard Meiss suggested that the vivid images in this manuscript would



39a

Caesar Receives a Messenger from Rome (Boucicaut Illuminator), fol. 228v (enlarged detail)

have captivated the book's earliest known owner, Prigent de Coëtivy, who would have been a young man when the manuscript was completed circa 1415. Because Prigent's signatures on the flyleaf and the top of folio 391 date from some twenty-five years later, we cannot be certain that the *Tresor* was made for him, particularly since there is an effaced inscription at the top of folio A that might be the signature of the first owner.<sup>6</sup>

The *libraire* and artists working on the visual cycle sought to bridge the gap between the early histories recorded in the *Tresor* and the early fifteenth century. Some rubrics in chapters dealing with Julius Caesar, for instance, go out of their way to clarify that Gaul is France and Bretaigne is England.<sup>7</sup> Images are also used to modernize stories illustrating ancient history and to draw attention to tales popularized in other texts, like the *Histoire ancienne*.

One of the only eight openings illustrated with two miniatures concerns the turning point in Julius Caesar's life when he neglected the senate's order to return to Rome as a private citizen and instead attacked the city, starting a civil war that pitted him against Pompey. The initial miniature (ill. 39a) is a classic scene showing a messenger from Rome kneeling before Caesar, who wears the exotic dress that Boucicaut artists often gave Romans to signal their displacement in time (compare the representation of Romans in cat. no. 40). Caesar stands in the gate of a city wearing a long robe and pointed hat, holding his sword as the turbaned messenger gives him the senate's order. The text records that Caesar decided immediately to go to Rome with his troops, and the distinctive image on folio 229 (ill. 39b) shows the decisive moment when he reached the point of no return and committed to crossing the Rubicon and beginning a civil war.

### 39b

Caesar Crossing the Rubicon (Boucicaut Illuminator), fol. 229 (enlarged detail)



Chapter 449 ends with a text that contextualizes this highly unusual image of the Rubicon. The text directly above the miniature describes a previous unvisualized apparition, the figure of Rome, who with disheveled hair and bare arms addresses Caesar and his army, warning them that if they cross the river in force they will be seen as an enemy of the commune.<sup>8</sup> In the text that begins chapter 450 Caesar explains to this personification that, because Rome has not given him the honor and triumphs that he deserves, he will move against her. He then tells his troops that if they follow him, they are committed to action. Suddenly a giant blowing a horn appears, making the Romans tremble, and rushes past them to ford the flooded river. Caesar takes heart and urges his troops to cross the Rubicon at the same spot. In the picture Caesar leads his army, still dressed as he had been on the facing page, but holding a sword shaped like a scimitar. The troops stop on the far bank of a river opposite a town and gaze at the satyr blowing a horn in the water, who substitutes for the giant of the text. The rubric that captions the image ("How Caesar crossed the Rubicon to invade Rome and about the great image that appeared to him") mediates between the texts that bracket the image and sets up the expectation that the strange figure in the river will play a significant role in Caesar's action against the city.<sup>9</sup> For readers unfamiliar with the dramatic tale, the rubric and the image together encapsulate the key moments, guiding them in their experience of this decisive moment in Rome's past. A.D.H.

- 1. The longer title is the Livre du tresor des hystoires des plus notables et memorables hystoires qui ont esté depuis le commencement du monde jusques au temps du pape Jehan XXII (Book of the Treasure of Histories of the Most Notable and Memorable Histories that Happened from the Beginning of the World up to the Time of Pope John XXII). Jung (1996, 431–35) listed this manuscript among forty-three examples of the Chroniques dit de Baudoin d'Avesnes. Notes at the Institut de recherche et d'histoire des texts (IRHT) in Paris suggest that the manuscript might blend the Chroniques abrégée with the Chroniques dit de Baudoin d'Avesnes. Notes at the Institut de acherche et d'histoire des texts (IRHT) in Paris suggest that the manuscript might blend the Chroniques abrégée with the Chroniques dit de Baudoin d'Avesnes. The Archives de litérature du Moyen Âge (ARLIMA) accepts this and identifies nine manuscripts with the text (www. arlima.net/index.html). Paris 2004b, 283, identified the text as a Histoire ancienne jusqu'à César. The IRHT notices can be found at http:// jonas.irht.cnrs.ft. There is no critical edition.
- For Sallust's accounts of the Jugurthine War and the Catiline conspiracy, see chapters 393–404 and 417–24. For the reference to Martin of Troppau's *Chronicon pontificum et imperatorum*, see the rubric to chapter 671, and the opening of the chapter's text on fol. 374.
- Two miniatures excised from fols. 359–365 of this manuscript are now in the Musée du Louvre (Cabinet des dessins, R.F. 1928).
- 4. The initial folio of the text, containing the prologue and the beginning of chapter 1, is missing, so there could have been up to two more miniatures, for a total of 227. For artistic attribution, see Meiss 1968, 53–54, 108–13; Meiss 1974, 369, 371; Avril 1996, 46; Bartz 1999, 119; and Paris 2004b, 283–84.
- 5. Boethius Illuminators painted gatherings 11–17, 20–21, 28, and 32 of the manuscript, and Boucicaut Illuminators painted gatherings 1–10, 18–19, 22–27, 29–31, 33–38, and 40–50. Gathering 39 has three images painted by Boucicaut Illuminators and a single image (fol. 305v) on the central bifolio painted by an artist whom Meiss described as dull. Extremely pale drawings survive in the lower margins of several folios of the Boucicaut quires. For reproductions of sketches after some of the drawings and for a discussion of the relationship of such sketches to workshop practices among Boucicaut Illuminators, see Martin 1906, 99–115, figs. 12, 13, 15, 21; Meiss 1968, 109; Andrews 2002; Andrews 2006; and Hedeman 2008, 129–205.
- 6. At both spots Prigent wrote: "Ce livre est a Prigent seigneur de Rais de Coictivy et de Taillebourg, conseillier et chambellan du corps du roy et admiral de France." This inscription dates at least from the 1440s, when he was named seigneur of Rais and of Taillebourg. A *Tresor d'histoires* appears in his inventory in 1444 as "Le *Tresor des histoires* en ung grant volume couvert de velours vermeil": Trémouïlle 1906, 52. See Trémouïlle 1906, 50–53, for a full list of books mentioned in Prigent's letter of 1444.
- See, for example, the rubrics for chapters 428 and 444: "Comment julius cesar co[n]qiost gaule que nous appellons france" and "Comment Cesar passa en angleterre qui pour lors se nommoit Bretaingne."
- 8. See fol. 229, where the figure of Rome, which is not shown, is describes as an "image...qui avoit ses cheveux desroux et ses bras descouvers et disoit en plurant 'haa seigneurs ou voulez vous aler ou portez vous mes banieres et mes enseignes se vous etes mes citoyens et mes amys cy devez vous mectre les armes ius quiconques passera ceste yaue armez il sera tenus pour enemy du commun.'"
- Fol. 229: "Comment Cesar passa leaue de Rubicon pour envair Romme et du grant ymage qui lui appert."

Pierre Bersuire, *Histoire romaine* (translation of Titus Livius, *Ab urbe condita libri*) Boucicaut Illuminators and the Master of the Harvard Hannibal Paris, ca. 1413–15

SPECIFICATIONS 192 ff.; 42 × 31.6 cm (16%)6 ×

 $12^{7}_{16}$  in.); justification:  $28.8 \times [8.4 \times 2.5 \times 8.6]$  cm  $(11^{3}_{8} \times [3^{5}_{16} \times 1 \times 3^{3}_{8}]$  in.); varies, 54–57 lines; 2 columns

ILLUMINATION 1 half-page frontispiece, 9 one-column miniatures

COLLECTION Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University, Harvard College Library, Houghton Library, Ms. Richardson 32, vol. II

PROVENANCE Marquis of Lothian, Newcastle Abbey, Scotland (before 1845); [sale, Anderson Galleries, New York, January 27–28, 1932, lot 12]; Gabriel Wells (1861–1946); William King Richardson (1859–1951; purchased 1944); Harvard University (bequest of William King Richardson (1859–1951), Harvard College Class of 1880, 1951)

This manuscript contains the second decade of Roman history from Bersuire's translation of Livy, in the version of the text updated during the reign of Charles V (see cat. no. 24).1 It opens with a large frontispiece representing the coronation of Hannibal and contains nine singlecolumn miniatures as illustrations of books 2-10 of the decade. Like the frontispiece, these feature significant stories taken from one of the chapters in the book. The large miniature of Hannibal's coronation (ill. 40a) is the eponymous work by the Master of the Harvard Hannibal, one of the Boucicaut Master's many collaborators.<sup>2</sup> It illustrates an important event from book 1, chapter 5, which describes how Hannibal was selected as successor to his brother-in-law Hasdrubal by the assent of the people and the favor of the knights (chevaliers) and was led into the palace of the senate of Carthage, where he was named "emperor" of Carthage, an error that Bersuire, following the Dominican scholar Nicolas Trevet's commentary, had introduced into his translation.<sup>3</sup> The artist, working from a libraire's written or visual directions, created the most spectacular version of Hannibal's coronation among members of this iconographic family.<sup>4</sup> His double arched frame defines the space of the senate palace, which recalls the grande salle of the royal palace in Paris.5 Hannibal is enthroned and being crowned in the exact center of the image, balanced to left and right by standing and kneeling senators.



r commence le presser luie 2 la feconde Decade De trene luite ontquel eff faute mention De la Suiziefme querie pumque sui fi entre les sommams o ceule De Larenge I MC Plailt a parte entre 2 ce Sont plujeurs aunes effer tures ont parte suives effer tures ont parte au somence de la cue De la leuz Ceftasme De la gueire plus memozatie de la cue de cartagore font anelles pennes la fauer plus memozatie de la cue de cartagore font anelles pennes la fauer de la cue de la fauer de la cue de memozatie de la cue de cartagore font anelles pennes la fauer de la cue de la fauer de la cue de contence de la cue de memozatie de la cue de cartagore font anelles pennes la cue de cartagore la cue pumques

Commame foube hambal leur Suc et empeur f Farpour bok geno ne ares se plufeuro Fiche to Suguptus eufent & pulfance ou De. force ne queufent Dat ne De foubtillete De baceilliez novent a faux enfamble semil fait Davmes Las certamement linue partie z lau tw ausrent effe fi apres et excercites en fais Savmes en la premiere bataille pumque Fare acefte for La forune De la Bataille defte fi Doub teufe que ceulo que fuene bamqueurs fuent & a pou plus pres se peul que les bamais et en . guns que leurs poubres Ear les rommame eftount mongenes De ce que seulo De Carrage premerement hamaus oforent more armes Bulentawement a leurs buteines cestadore . aux Hommams et les penon efforent cours unes De ce quil len fumbloit que les

ausient feamour et imper aculo bamars Inclence - Castage effort one ate trefno Ble et uefpuffant affife en auffrique fur la mer Ladueft ovenStort Lacute De tunes La region auore nom loze pence Si que par tout coffe enne les carragons font anelles penois et leurs barailles les Breulles purnques ment le top Amulcan facuctia aux Fu Soncques le com Drenv 7 mencement Dela feconde baralle Bungue Eas Roomme Sifort fame commu The Bambal filt Du tor amulcar quencores effort enfant & neuf and laou il bir que a mular fon per Soulant fon off wan ffezer en a effaugne apres la batastle Sauffingue conforme facefiore aux serve feffora publiquement se Randre et se fupplier le sit fon per afin quil Le menaft aneques lin en efpaigne La quelle chofe jace fuff Le pere ne le boulfife pas faire neanemome faproucha il see autels et tou I cheep les chofes famites le auvant il par fevenit guil au pluftoft quil pouroit quil feroit Comeny Su pueple Kommam Eartiop for ment angoiffor Rost annifear comme homme se trefferant efferte Eque les pe

As Jessica Berenbeim has suggested, the Master of the Harvard Hannibal used costume and ethnicity to represent Hannibal as part of the group that surrounds him, yet distinct from it.<sup>6</sup> Most of the senators to either side of Hannibal are garbed in exotic dress, characterized by side-split robes often decorated with elaborate gold trim. They wear turbans, hats with split brims, or rolled sashes tied around their heads or waists, and the foremost man on either side establishes their identity as North African residents of Carthage. The man kneeling at the right wears a fantastic turban and holds a scimitar, while the foremost man at the left is a black African.

Costume and hair distinguish these Carthaginian senators grouped to either side of Hannibal from the Romans pictured elsewhere in the manuscript-and from the French readers of the text. Perhaps because he was the hero of the second decade, however, Hannibal is shown as more "Roman" than the senators who surround him.<sup>7</sup> Although Hannibal is dressed in a robe trimmed in gold with collars like those of two senators in green standing in the groups to his left and right, he is distinguished from them by his hair and crown. All but the black senator have full, bushy white, brown, or black beards that contrast with Hannibal's short blonde beard. Further, the threetiered crown placed on Hannibal's head recalls those painted by contemporary artists, such as Cité des dames Illuminators, to represent Charlemagne's imperial one.8 Its use here assimilates Hannibal to such Western, French heroes as Charlemagne.

Like the Master of the Harvard Hannibal, the Boucicaut Illuminators also used costume to enhance Hannibal's role as hero for the French audience of this manuscript. Thus, to stage the Battle of Trasimene, which took place in Italy in 217 BCE (ill. 40b), they constructed a dynamic scene in which a melee of soldiers in the foreground are dressed in variations on Western and exotic garb and serve as the base of a triangular structure that guides viewers to the miniature's central focus. Hannibal's elephants, with castellated towers on their backs, move from left to right, filling the center of the miniature. Their motion parallels that of King Hannibal, who is dressed in Western costume and silhouetted against the foremost tower with his sword arm raised to strike the Roman consul Gaius Flaminius, whom he grabs around the neck. The consul falls back on his horse and lowers his sword; he is silhouetted against the sloping back of an elephant, a placement that enhances his fall. While the Carthaginian and Roman soldiers in the miniature are both dressed in a mélange of Western and exotic dress, Hannibal and Gaius Flaminius are carefully distinguished from each other. The Boucicaut artist dressed Hannibal in Western garb and crowned him, while depicting his Roman opponent in a turban and twisted cloth belt. Dress here makes clear to the viewer that the hero is Hannibal.

The variations in Hannibal's dress in images painted by different illuminators in the Houghton Livy parallel the contributions by different artists in the Geneva Livy (cat. no. 34). Even in carefully overseen manuscripts like these, artists employed distinctly individual visual modes of expression to suggest cultural difference through dress. **40a** (opposite) The Coronation of Hannibal as Emperor of Carthage (Master of the Harvard Hannibal), fol. 1 (see also p. 190)

#### 4ob

*Battle of Trasimene* (Boucicaut Illuminator), fol. 18v (enlarged detail)

A.D.H.



#### 41a

A Combat between the French and English; The Surrender of the Castle of Ventadour; Pierre de Bournesel Welcomed; Pierre de Bournesel Arrested, fol. 1

- 1. Its visual cycle is related to those in two other manuscripts classed by Inge Zacher among her fourth family of Livy illustration, which differs most significantly from her second and third families (see cat. no. 34) by including two column-wide miniatures at the opening of each decade. In addition to the present manuscript, Zacher's family IV includes Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 259, containing all three decades painted by the Boucicaut Illuminators, and Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 267, containing decades two and three painted by unidentified artists, one of whom may also have collaborated on Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Ms. 3693, which contains only decade one. Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 259, the only complete Livy manuscript in the group, has twenty-six single-column text miniatures in addition to the three frontispieces. For discussion of the group, see Zacher 1971, 48–62, and for analysis of the Boucicaut manuscripts in the group, see Berenbeim 2003.
- 2. Millard Meiss named the artist after this image, one of the finest that he painted. See Meiss 1968, 56–58, 70, 80–81, 89, 142, and Meiss 1974, 390–91. The artist's oeuvre was expanded by subsequent attributions. These have been analyzed most recently by Catherine Reynolds (1996), who proposes to divide manuscripts attributed to an "early" and a "late" style between two artists. She identifies the Master of the Harvard Hannibal as the artist who collaborated with the Boucicaut Illuminators, *Cité des dames* Illuminators, and Bedford Illuminators on a copy of Boccaccio's *Des cleres femmes* (Lisbon, Gulbenkian Foundation, Ms. L. A. 143) and with the Boucicaut Illuminators on a book of hours (New York, Morgan Library, Ms. M.455).
- 3. Fol. 1v: "Mort hasdrubal de lassentement de tout le pueple avecques la faveur des chevaliers fu hanibal qui encore estoit jouvencel menez ou pretoire cest en la court et ou palais du senat de cartage & illecq[ue] s fu emperiere institue et appele ou lieu de hasdrubal son serourge." Hannibal was actually named a military leader in Livy's Latin text. For Bersuire's identification of Hannibal as an emperor because of Trevet's commentary, see Meiss 1968, 150n66.
- 4. There is evidence in the Houghton Livy that several miniatures were painted following marginal drawings or written directions to the illuminator. The manuscript has effaced written inscriptions (probably directions to illuminators) next to the illustrations on fols. 18v, 37, 55, 70v, 88, 111, 134v, 157, and 173, and a pale drawing is still visible in the margin adjacent to the miniature on fol. 88. Although no written directions survive for the frontispiece by the Master of the Harvard Hannibal, there seems to have been a written or visual model that resulted in a similar composition by the Boucicaut Illuminators in Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 259. See Meiss 1968, fig. 432.
- For the grande salle of the royal palace on the Île-de-la-Cité, see the engraving by Androuet de Cerceau in Lorentz and Sandron 2006, 84.
- 6. See Berenbeim 2003. I would like to thank Jessica Berenbeim for sharing her unpublished work with me.
- 7. Berenbeim 2003.
- See, for instance, representations of Charlemagne with a three-tiered imperial crown painted by *Cité des dames* illuminators in a *Grandes chroniques de France* from ca. 1408–15, reproduced in Hedeman 1991, 159, 172, figs. 105 and 119.

#### 41

Jean Froissart, *Chroniques* Boethius Illuminators Paris, ca. 1415–18

SPECIFICATIONS 453 ff.;  $36 \times 27 \text{ cm} (14^{3}/16 \times 10^{5}/8 \text{ in.})$ ; justification:  $25.3 \times [7.9 \times 2.3 \times 8.5] \text{ cm} (10 \times [3^{1}/8 \times 1^{5}/16 \times 3^{5}/16] \text{ in.})$ ; 40-42 lines; 2 columns

ILLUMINATION 1 multipart frontispiece, 3 twocolumn, 17 one-column miniatures

COLLECTION Besançon, Bibliothèque municipale de Besançon, Ms. 865

PROVENANCE François Perrenot de Granvelle, comte de Cantecroy (d. 1607; 1607 inventory); Thomas-François d'Oiselay (d. 1629); Jacques-Nicolas de la Baume, comte de St.-Amour (d. 1658); Charles-François de la Baume (17th century); Abbé Jean-Baptiste Boisot (1638–1694, purchased 1664); Abbey of Saint-Vincent de Besançon

Froissart's Chroniques is a medieval best-seller that survives in over 150 manuscripts containing one or more of its four books. Revised several times by Froissart during his lifetime, this fluid text continued to be edited, to have texts interpolated, or to be published in abridged form even after Froissart's death around 1404.<sup>1</sup> Froissart wrote his chronicles in England and Hainaut. He left his native Hainaut in 1362 to find a position at the court of the English queen Philippa of Hainaut, where he composed songs and poetry and traveled with the queen's permission to interview leading protagonists in the Hundred Years' War, even King John the Good of France, held prisoner by the English. After the queen's death in 1369, he returned to Hainaut, where Guy II de Châtillon, comte de Blois, sponsored him. There he finished a revised version of book 1 that described the origins of the French-English conflict and covered events up until 1378. Froissart's book 2, completed in Hainaut in 1385, describes rebellions, ranging from the revolt of Ghent against Louis II, count of Flanders, to insurrections in France and England. Froissart gained information for his third book, whose first redaction he completed around 1389–91, from a trip to the court of Gaston Phébus at Orthez, where he spoke with eyewitnesses about the ongoing conflict in Spain. His fourth book, which he probably worked on until he died, covered events in France and England from 1389 to 1400, most notably discussing the madness of the French king Charles VI and the downfall of the English king Richard II (see cat. no. 32).

Although Froissart's narrative style and subjects of analysis changed from book to book in the thirty years he spent drafting and revising the different sections of his



ENRICHING HISTORY: 1400-1500



*Chroniques*, he had a coherent goal.<sup>2</sup> His revised prologue to book 1, completed shortly before he died, framed the chronicle as offering "perpetual memory" (*memores perpetueles*) and providing readers "knowledge of all things, and registering "the good and the bad, the prosperity and fortunes of those who lived."<sup>3</sup>

This manuscript, the second of a two-volume set containing books 1–3 (Besançon, Bibliothèque municipale, Mss. 864–865) produced by the Parisian *libraire* Pierre de Liffol sometime around 1415–18, was probably made for a member of this early-fifteenth-century expanded audience for history.Along with related volumes produced by Liffol in Paris (BnF, Mss. fr. 2663–2664), at Stoneyhurst College (Ms. 1), and in Brussels (BR, Ms. II 2552),<sup>4</sup> these Besançon manuscripts form a group with textual and codicological affiliations, overlapping scribes, some shared artists, and some shared secondary decorators, who must have been drawn from the *libraire*'s regular network of collaborators in Paris.<sup>5</sup> The earliest owner of the Besançon Froissart is unknown (the armorial bearings on Ms. 865 fols. 1 and 201 are blank). Tanguy du Chastel's and John of Arundel's ownership of Pierre de Liffol's companion volumes in Paris and at Stoneyhurst, and Girard Blanchet's of *Des cas des nobles hommes et femmes* in Los Angeles (cat. no. 37), provides evidence of the popularity of these historical texts in the early fifteenth century, when they were produced not only for kings and princes but also for members of the lower nobility and the newly emergent corps of civil servants (for a late copy of the *Chroniques*, see cat. no. 52).

The illustrations featuring battles, sieges, and embassies in Besançon, Ms. 865 are typical of these earlyfifteenth-century editions of Froissart, which, like popular illustrations of the *Grandes chroniques de France*, adapt generic scenes to fit diverse situations.<sup>6</sup> Given thèse circumstances of production, it is difficult to know if a patron had requested the inclusion of certain images, although the variation in subject and in placement of images among

#### 41b

Froissart Greeted by Gaston Phébus, the Comte de Foix; Members of Comte's Household Tell Froissart about the Recent Wars; Gaston Phébus Watches a Duel, fol. 201 (detail) the manuscripts associated with the *libraire* Pierre de Liffol suggests that different choices were being made by someone involved in the book's production, whether it was a patron or the *libraire*.

In this manuscript of Froissart's books 2 and 3, the Boethius Illuminators painted specially scaled illustrations that structure the text of the manuscript. Two of these images emphasize traditional textual divisions, both by marking the beginning of book 2 with a frontispiece and the beginning of book 3 with a two-column image of Froissart at the court of Gaston Phébus and by leaving a space in the painted initial on each page in which a coat of arms could be inserted. The frontispiece (ill. 41a) represents a generic scene of combat followed by several events from 1379; first the squire Pons du Bois surrenders the château of Ventadour to Geoffroy Tête-Noire, then in the lower pair of images, the bailiff of the count of Flanders welcomes Pierre de Bournesel and Pierre is arrested at l'Écluse and brought before the duke of Brittany and the count of Flanders. In this image costume helps associate the two bottom scenes, as Pierre and the man who greets him and then brings him before the duke and count wear the same clothes so that they can be clearly identified in the pictures. The image beginning book 3 (ill. 41b) also uses costume to identify Froissart as the man in green, at the left arriving at the court of Gaston Phébus and in the center interviewing members of the count's household about recent wars. At right, Gaston Phébus, who is identified by his golden circlet, watches a duel that takes place in the center foreground.

Rather than reinforcing textual divisions, the other two-column miniatures pick out two exemplary battles involving the French, one in book 2 and one in book 3. In these large miniatures, the artists used visual vocabulary consistently to distinguish topography, weapons, and armor in an effort to show clearly what is happening. The first (fol. 133v) represents the battle of Rosbecque in 1382, in which the French helped Count Louis II of Flanders put down the burgers' rebellion led by Philip van Artvelde. The Boethius Illuminators differentiate the French, who charge uphill against the Flemish, by their armor; the French all wear basinets with closed visors, whereas the Flemish forces have exposed faces. In the image of the battle of Aljubarrota (fol. 239), on the other hand, the French had allied themselves with King John I of Castile against King John I of Portugal and the English, whose archers played a decisive role in helping win the battle. As in the scene of the battle of Rosbecque, the image of the battle of Aljubarrota carefully identifies the setting, by showing the Portuguese and English protected behind a wicker fence, and emphasizes the

agents who won the battle, the English archers scattered among the Portuguese forces. The choice of scale in these two cases was probably the decision of the *libraire*, or the intended patron, who seems to have chosen battles involving the French that complemented each other, because one battle went well for the French and the other went badly for them. A.D.H.

- There are more variations and versions of this text than of other medieval histories, such as the *Grandes chroniques de France*. For an orientation to the current state of understanding of the multiple recensions, families, and versions of the *Chroniques*, see Ainsworth and Diller 2001, Ainsworth and Vavaro 2004, Ainsworth 2007, and the expansive list of printed editions starting as early as 1498 and of translations in the ongoing extensive bibliography maintained by Godfried Croenen, *Bibliography Jean Froissart*: www.liv.ac.uk/-gcroenen/ biblio.htm. There are two partial editions of this manuscript and an online version. See Renouard 1864–1999, vols. 9–12 (book 2); Ainsworth 2007 (book 3); Froissart online (book 3).
- On Froissart's chronicles as literature and history, see Ainsworth 1990.
- "La congnissance de toutes coses, et sont registré li bien et li mal, les prosperités et les fortunes des anciiens." This revised prologue survives in Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg.lat. 869. See Diller 1972, 37 (cited in Ainsworth and Vavaro 2004, 23).
- 4. For identification of a *quittance* (receipt) concerning the production of a two-volume copy of Froissart (Paris, BnF, Mss. fr. 2663–2664) by the *libraire* Pierre de Liffol and for discussion of the Besançon Froissart manuscripts and the grouping of the Besançon manuscripts and the one at Stoneyhurst with the Parisian books on the basis of textual and codicological evidence, see Croenen, Rouse, and Rouse 2002; Croenen's codicological study in Ainsworth 2007, 32–61; and Croenen 2009a and 2009b.
- 5. For instance, in the *libraire*'s group of Froissart manuscripts, Boethius Illuminators worked on Besançon, Ms. 865 and Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 2663, and Giac Illuminators (with an occasional collaborator) on Stoneyhurst, Ms. 1, Besançon, Ms. 864, and Brussels, BR, Ms. II 2552. On the Boethius and Giac Illuminators, see Meiss 1974, 346, 368–71, 401–4, 475; Paris 2004b, 283–84; Villela-Petit 2006; and Villela-Petit 2009.
- For a discussion of some of the visual cycles in these manuscripts, see Villela-Petit 2009. For the Grandes chroniques de France, see Hedeman 1991, 145–52.

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#### 42

*Livre d'Eracles* (translation of Guillaume de Tyr, *Historia rerum in partibus transmarinis gestarum* with anonymous French continuations) Créquy Master Northern France, ca. 1440–50

SPECIFICATIONS 251 ff.;  $41.6 \times 31.1 \text{ cm} (16^{3}/8 \times 12^{1}/4 \text{ in.})$ ; justification:  $27.6 \times [9 \times 2.2 \times 9] \text{ cm} (10^{7}/8 \times [3^{1}/2 \times 7/8 \times 3^{1}/2] \text{ in.})$ ; 46 lines; 2 columns

ILLUMINATION 1 multipart frontispiece, 21 onecolumn miniatures

COLLECTION Amiens, Bibliothèque d'Amiens Métropole, Ms. 483 F

PROVENANCE Jean V seigneur de Créquy (ca. 1397– 1474); entered the Bibliothèque communale de la ville d'Amiens before 1843

From the First Crusade in 1096 throughout the Middle Ages, Western armies, particularly from France and Flanders, traveled to the Holy Land to wrest it from Muslim hands and maintain it under Christian control (see cat. nos. 19 and 20). The late-twelfth-century archbishop Guillaume de Tyr (Tyre) wrote a Latin chronicle of these crusades, Historia rerum in partibus transmarinis gestarum (History of Deeds Done beyond the Sea). In the thirteenth century Guillaume's text was translated into French and given up-to-date continuations. It became known as the Livre d'Eracles (hereafter Eracles) because its text begins with the Byzantine emperor Heraclius (r. 610-41) entering Jerusalem with the True Cross in 628.1 Copies were illustrated mostly in France until the late fourteenth century, when interest in the Eracles faded. In the mid-fifteenth-century a fresh fervor for crusading sparked a renewed interest in the Eracles and inspired new French translations and image cycles for members of the Burgundian court.<sup>2</sup> The Amiens manuscript was produced in this context for Jean V, lord of Créquy and Canaples (ca. 1397-1474).<sup>3</sup> Its vivid visualizations of past crusades provided him with historical models for becoming a contemporary Burgundian crusader.4

Jean was Duke Philip the Good of Burgundy's chamberlain and a knight of Philip's crusade-dedicated Order of the Golden Fleece.<sup>5</sup> Following the Ottoman capture of Constantinople in 1453, Jean took a vow at the Feast of the Pheasant in 1454, along with the duke and his other courtiers, to save the Holy Land from the Turks.<sup>6</sup> Jean's steadfast interest in crusading was not limited to his involvement in the chivalric order or his vow; he made an extended visit to the Holy Land (1448–50), possibly on a reconnaissance mission for the new crusade that Philip wanted to mount.<sup>7</sup> Members of the Burgundian court were deeply interested in the idea of a contemporary crusade and thus saw in past crusades a model and justification for their present endeavors.<sup>8</sup> Jean's public actions and private ownership of an illustrated *Eracles* manuscript demonstrate his personal dedication.<sup>9</sup>

The Créquy Master visualized the crusading past through twenty-two miniatures in Jean's manuscript.<sup>10</sup> The illuminations display an interest in the regalia of war; many miniatures include brilliantly colored shields and armorial flags reminiscent of contemporary tournaments.<sup>11</sup> These images focus on military battles, but they also dramatically highlight treacherous court activities and lurid details.<sup>12</sup> In two instances in particular the artist has enriched the visual narrative through scenes that feature a symbol of the Christian faith, the True Cross relic, portraying its miraculous salvation of the crusader army and then its tragic loss to Saladin.<sup>13</sup>

The miracle story is set in the 1140s, when the Turkish army started an underbrush fire that, carried by the wind, surrounded the crusaders (ill. 42a), who asked Robert, archbishop of Nazareth, to pray for them using the True Cross. This he did, aiming the cross toward the fire. Simultaneously, the wind changed direction, causing the fire to rush back to the Turkish army, miraculously saving the crusaders.<sup>14</sup> The miniature shows the crusaders trapped by long strips of fire, while Turkish soldiers point arrows down at them in severe diagonals that emphasize their hopeless circumstance. In the foreground, the archbishop kneels with his hands around the base of the cross; the trapped crusaders are lined up behind, focusing their faithfully expectant gazes on the holy relic. The artist has skillfully captured this poignant moment of pious hope in the face of doom as prayer is directed at the powerful intercessory symbol of the cross.

Unfortunately, the crusader army's faith was not always as effective, as is demonstrated by the loss of this powerful relic at the Battle of the Horns of Hattin on Saturday, July 4, 1187, preceding the Third Crusade (ill. 42b). In this battle, Saladin, sultan of Egypt and Syria, and his army routed the crusaders and captured both the cross and Guy of Lusignan, king of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem. Through a chaotic composition dominated by armorial flags thrust in the air and a mass of helmets arranged in a horizontal band, the artist signifies the convergence of the armies. In the midst of this confusion, King Guy, clearly identified by the coat of arms of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem on his robe (a golden cross surrounded by smaller golden crosses in each of its quadrants), is captured.<sup>15</sup> In the left foreground, the True Cross relic, now turned upside down and claimed as war spoils, is nearly as visually lost in the melee as it was historically lost to the

## *The Miracle of the True Cross*, fol. 125

42a

#### 42b

The Loss of the True Cross and Capture of King Guy of Lusignan at the Battle of the Horns of Hattin, fol. 202 (detail)





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crusaders. The text underscores that Guy brought about the kingdom's downfall by pursuing political vendettas against his detractors rather than being a good leader; the miniature captures the moment this downfall occurs.<sup>16</sup>

The Créquy Master's inclusion of two images that focus on the cross in such opposing circumstances suggests its importance in his overall visual narrative. He positioned the cross in the same place, in the left foreground, creating a visual tie between the miniatures. The different orientations of the cross, right-side-up versus upside-down, as well as the contrast in compositional structure, orderly versus chaotic, communicate the opposition in meaning. The relic of the cross performed a miracle due to the strong faith of the army, while it and the kingdom were both lost due to a leader's weakness. As a knight who had visited the Holy Land and possibly the pilgrimage sites related to the Passion, and who lived in a time when Muslim armies again seized sacred Christian territory, Jean no doubt saw his Eracles as an encouraging historical model for accomplishing the newly hoped-for crusade. E.K.D.

made an alliance with England; see Vaughn 2002.

- Scholars have attributed the manuscript to Jean's ownership on the basis of his heraldic arms, which appear on folio 1. See Folda 1968, 1:522n49; Willard 1996, 55–62; and Reynaud 1993, 76. For more on Jean's library, see Gil 1998, Willard 1996, and Charron 2001.
- This manuscript contains the translation of Guillaume's *Historia* and its continuation to 1274. For more on the text's history, see Folda 1968, 2:366; Morgan 1973, 16–20; Morgan 1982, 251–52; Riant 1881, 251–52; and Shirley 1999, 2, 4.
- 5. His lands were located in Burgundian territory, in Artois and Picardy, between France and Flanders. Jean was inducted into the order's first chapter in 1430. For more on the order, see Smedt 2000.
- 6. For the circumstances of Jean's vow, see Beaune and Arbaumont 1883–88, 2:372, 387; Smedt 2000, 52; and Moodey 2002, 180.
  - Smedt 2000, 52; Moodey 2002, 153n129.

7.

- 8. Elizabeth Moodey (2002) thoroughly articulates crusade ideology as it pertains to history in the Burgundian court.
- 9. Other members of the Order of the Golden Fleece who owned copies of the *Eracles* included: Louis of Bruges (Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 68), Adolf of Cleves (Geneva, Bibliothèque de Genève, Ms. fr. 85), Edward IV, king of England (London, BL, Royal Ms. 15 E.I), and Duke Philip the Good (Brussels, BR, Ms. 9045).
- This artist is thought to have worked in the Hesdin region on at least four of Jean's manuscripts. For more on his style, see Folda 1968, 2:336; Gil 1999, 360–69; Smeyers 1998, 334–35; and Paris 1993b, 76.
   See, for example, the Pas de Saumur of René d'Aniou, cat. no. 46.
- Jaroslav Folda (1968, 2:366-70) carefully catalogues the miniatures of this manuscript.
- The Eracles text treats the narrative of the cross's history at several points, including its reentry into Jerusalem from Persia and its travel back out of Jerusalem and into several battles. The miracle of the True Cross appears in book 16 of Guillaume de Tyr's original text, during the joint reign of Baldwin III and his mother, Melisend (Second Crusade), while its loss occurs in the continuation text.
   Babcock and Krey 1943, 2:154; and RHC 1889, 1:722–24.
- . Babcock and Krey 1943, 2:154; and K
- 15. Edbury 1998, 45-47.
- 16. Edbury 1998, 24–47; and RHC 1889, 2:62–66 (follow variation "G" for this particular textual variation).

Babcock and Krey 1943, 1:60, n1, 60n2; and RHC 1889, 1:10. For more on Heraclius, see Baert 1999, El-Cheikh 1999, and Sharf 1956. Textual editions include RHC 1889 (Old French), Babcock and Krey 1943 (English), and Edbury 1998 (English). Research for this entry was supported by a travel grant provided by the Graduate College of the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign.

Although related to the French monarchy, the fifteenth-century duchy of Burgundy had asserted independent rule in Flanders and

#### 43

Laurent de Premierfait, *Des cas des nobles hommes et femmes* (translation of Giovanni Boccaccio, *De casibus virorum illustrium*) Jean Fouquet and the Master of the Munich Boccaccio Tours, ca. 1459–60 (frontispiece), ca. 1460–65 (pictures within text)

SPECIFICATIONS 352 ff.;  $40 \times 29$  cm ( $15^{3/4} \times 11^{7/16}$  in.); justification:  $23.5 \times 18.5$  cm ( $9^{1/4} \times 7^{5/16}$  in.); 39 lines; 2 columns

ILLUMINATION 1 full-page frontispiece, 10 two-column, 80 one-column miniatures

COLLECTION Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Ms. Cod. Gall. 6

PROVENANCE Laurent Girard; dukes of Bavaria (since 1582)

One of the most notable of the mid-fifteenth-century versions of the Des cas des nobles hommes et femmes, this manuscript was made in Tours around 1459-65.1 As in earlier copies of the translation of Boccaccio's De casibus virorum illustrium (see cat. nos. 35 and 37), a rich cycle of illustrations shapes the description of the role of Fortune in human history, from the Creation to the death of King John the Good in 1364. In an unusual twist, however, an inserted bifolio painted by John Fouquet adds a contemporary event, the trial of Duke John II of Alençon for treason in 1458, as a frontispiece to the manuscript, otherwise painted by the Master of the Munich Boccaccio. John II's trial took place at exceptional sessions of the Parlement presided over by Charles VII from August 26 to October 8, 1458, ending just a month before the transcription of this manuscript was completed.<sup>2</sup> The egregious nature of the duke's crime in conspiring with the English during the Hundred Years' War and his drastic fall from grace made him an appropriate modern gloss on Boccaccio's tales of the actions of Fortune.

The patronage for the Munich Boccaccio is well known. An explicit at the end of the manuscript (fol. 350v) reveals that the transcription was completed on November 24, 1458, by the scribe Pierre Faure for Laurent Girard, notary and secretary of the king and comptroller of the Recette générale des finances de Languedoil.<sup>3</sup> Girard was one of a group of newly affluent civil servants, many affiliated through work or family, who patronized the artists of this manuscript.<sup>4</sup>

A tour de force of illumination, Jean Fouquet's inserted bifolio (ill. 43a) is a fifteenth-century counterpart to Jean Bondol's inserted painting in Charles V's *Bible historiale* (see cat. no. 25). The colors of King Charles VII, red, green, and white, his fleurs-de-lis, and the emblem of the winged stag (the *cerf volant*) cover every surface and define the space of the trial and of the king's justice, and even extend into the miniature's frame, where parallel gold lines border a red, green, and white ground on which white roses alternate with blue irises, the king's emblematic flowers.

The image offers an elevated view of the trial in the judicial ceremony known as a lit de justice. It showcases the main protagonists, whose roles are indicated by their dress and by their position within the salle. Fouquet's underlying geometry employs dual vanishing points and proportions based on the golden ratio that direct viewers' attention to the centralized and enthroned figure of Charles VII.5 The king wears blue, which magnifies his presence by making the fleur-de-lis baldachin behind him seem an extension of his person. He sits above all others, his chancellor and the first president of the Parlement appear directly below him and to his right; they are distinguished by their scarlet robes marked with three horizontal bands on the shoulder. The secular and clerical peers in attendance are probably those seated in the topmost row to Charles's left and right, and Charles's son, Charles of France, wearing blue, is the foremost among the secular lords. Other members of the Parlement and officers and members of the household fill the rest of the benches, presumably arranged in order of their social position, down to the notaries, who sit on the floor. Two huissiers brandish their maces, and soldiers help them restrain the crowds who push in for a better view. Georges Chastelain's Chroniques records that the trial was open to the public, and Fouquet in his image goes further, implying that there were international spectators; one of the foremost figures in the crowd, who appears next to a man still wearing spurs, as though he had just descended from his horse, wears Italian dress comparable to that worn by Mainardo da Calvacanti, the man to whom Boccaccio dedicated his De casibus, in the miniature painted by the Master of the Munich Boccaccio just a few folios later (fol. 10).6

In an attempt to identify distinct individuals within this highly naturalistic image, Malcolm Vale analyzed the relationship of Fouquet's miniature to both Georges Chastelain's description of the trial in his chronicle and to the surviving seating plans, preserved in three slightly different versions.<sup>7</sup> His failure to correlate the lists of names in the documents with the lively portraitlike faces in the manuscript raises the possibility that, despite its later date and intense naturalism, Fouquet's image is not that different from the trial scene inaugurating the *Procès de Robert d'Artois* (cat. no. 21), which sought to manifest the majesty of the king but not necessarily to represent reality.





**43a** (opposite) The Trial of the Duke of Alençon (Jean Fouquet), fol. 2v

#### 43b

Herod and the Massacre of the Innocents; The Death of Herod's Wife and Sons; The Death of Herod (Master of the Munich Boccaccio), fol. 243 (enlarged detail)

are illustrated by ten two-column miniatures that mark Laurent de Premierfait's two translator's prologues and the first chapter of books 2–9. A further eighty single-column miniatures introduce select chapters within each of Boccaccio's nine books. Erik Inglis showed that, while the patron may have contributed to the decision to include Fouquet's large frontispiece, the scribe, working with the illuminator, probably decided the placement of the singlecolumn images.<sup>8</sup> After initial experimentation in book 1, they decided to illustrate only chapters that had a single protagonist, rather than Boccaccio's moralizing chapters or the chapters that described the "cases" of multiple actors. Within each picture's small format they drew out the narrative of a single life, rather than attempting to create coherence from a sequence of unrelated lives.

The image of Herod's story (book 7, chap. 2) is a good example of the solution they devised for single-column images (ill. 43b). In this miniature the well-known biblical story of the massacre of the innocents takes place in the left foreground. The Master of the Munich Boccaccio intensified the story by condensing the anguish of all the Jewish mothers who lost their sons into the expressive figure of a single mother in pink who collapses to the ground with her child's face close to hers, powerless to stop the sword wielded against her baby. King Herod watches soldiers to the left and right of her kill children already wrenched from their mothers' arms. The blue of Herod's robe draws attention to the victims dressed in blue in two further evil acts that are staged in a cutaway building right above Herod's head. There, Ircanus, a leader of the Jews, and Mariamne, Herod's second wife, are executed at the king's command. Across the river in the distance, Alessander and Aristobolus, Herod's two sons by Mariamne, are hanged. Finally Fortune's wheel turns, and Herod is punished. In the claustrophobic, rose-draped bed in the right foreground, Herod lies dying, his putrid gray flesh devoured by worms.

#### 44a

King David the Worthy; The Destruction of Troy; Aeneas, Priam, Turcus, and Helenus Flee, membranes 4 and 5

When he devised the miniatures, the Master of the Munich Boccaccio turned to patterns that were available in Paris. Inglis discovered that several of the artist's singlecolumn images relate iconographically to models that the Dunois Master employed when he painted another Boccaccio in the second quarter of the fifteenth century.9 As François Avril noted, this adds weight to the observation that, although the Munich Boccaccio Master was so closely affiliated with Fouquet that he had access to Fouquet's private drawings, he also clearly had spent some time in Paris, because his blocking of drapery often copied that of the Coëtivy Master.<sup>10</sup> Apparently he was also introduced to the varied visual cycles that circulated among Parisian libraires and artists.11 A.D.H.

- 1. On Fouquet, this manuscript, and its artists in particular, see Paris 1993b; Branca 1999, 3:125–30; Paris 2003, 18–28, 70–75, 272–307; and Inglis 2007. For partial editions of the text, see Gathercole 1968 and Barbance 1993.
- See Vale 1974, 204-9.
- Girard's initials, LG, appear within decorated initials on two folios, 3. and an anagram for his name, "Sur ly n'a regard" is painted on architecture within several miniatures. See Paris 2003, 272.
- 4. For books belonging to these newly affluent civil servants, and for discussion of the web of relationships that bound these men and artists together, see Bozzolo 1973; Byrne 1974; Paris 1993b, 63; Paris 2003, 18–28, 270–78; and François Avril's contribution to Marrow 1994. 5. Paris 2003, 82.
- 6. For Chastelain, see Vale 1974, 205, and for Italian dress, see Paris 2003, 272.
- 7. Vale (1974, 207-8) analyzed the seating plans described in Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 5943, fols. 33v-34, and Ms. fr. 5738, fols. 17-19. For discussion of another seating plan (London College of Arms, Arundel Ms. 48, fols. 222-224) and an analysis that suggests that it does not correlate with the Munich Boccaccio image, see Cuttler 1981.
- 8. See Inglis 2007.
- 9. Paris, BnF, Mss. fr. 235-236. See Inglis 2007 and Branca 1999, 3:105-8.
- 10. Paris 2003, 276.
- 11. For an earlier example of such sharing of models, see Hedeman 2008.

#### 44

Chronique universelle Scroll

Eastern France, ca. 1470s

SPECIFICATIONS 16 membranes, one or two missing at the end; 1.03 × 0.49 m (33 ft. 9<sup>7</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in. × 19<sup>7</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in.); irregular format

ILLUMINATION 57 circular miniatures

COLLECTION Boston, The Trustees of the Boston Public Library, Rare Books, Ms. 32

PROVENANCE Jean-Baptiste-Joseph Barrois (1784-1855); earl of Ashburnham (1797-1878; purchased in 1849); [sale, Sotheby's, London, June 10, 1901, lot 626]; Sydney Cockerell (1867–1962); Boston Public Library (acquired March 10, 1903)

This universal chronicle was popular in the second half of the fifteenth century, surviving in two textual versions in over twenty-nine large manuscript scrolls that measure about a half meter wide and seventeen to twenty-three meters long.1 The text interweaves material from sources as diverse as the Bible, Peter of Poitiers's Compendium historiae, the French prose Brut, A tous les nobles, and histories by Vincent de Beauvais, Geoffrey of Monmouth, Martin of Poland, and Orosius.<sup>2</sup>

Anonymous compilers blended these excerpts to produce a "genealogy of the Bible," as the opening words of the universal chronicle categorize it. The chronicle's initial paragraph states that the chronicle traces the six ages of history from the beginning of the world to Christ's coming at its end, emphasizing the succession of the era of the Old Testament by the New and placing special emphasis on the descendants of Noah's son Japhet, who founded Troy and then, after its destruction, dispersed throughout Europe, founding the cities of Rome, Paris, and London and populating Italy, Lombardy, France, and England, reigning up to the time of Christ. The introduction also promises to show the Christian-era genealogies for the popes until 1377, Roman emperors until 1338, kings of England until 1376, kings of France until 1380, and the Christian kings of Jerusalem, with special mention of Godefroy de Bouillon.3

Surviving on sixteen membranes (at lease one membrane is now lost), the scroll displays this information in one to five columns. The simplest structure occurs with the story of the Creation at the beginning of membrane 1, and the most complex arrangement comes in membranes 6-8, which track in distinct columns arrayed from left to right the histories of the Jews, the kings of Babylon, Rome, the ancestors of what would become France, and the history of England. The second half of the scroll juxtaposes

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in four columns the histories of the popes, Roman emperors, French kings, and English kings, who beginning in membrane 16 are replaced by the kings of Jerusalem. These histories unfold chronologically within the columns but do not align chronologically across them.

Both images and doubled rubrics work to reinforce the moments signaled as important in the introductory text. They also provide independent structures for organizing the complex history outlined in this universal chronicle. Some pictures reinforce the divisions that the opening text announces, emphasizing diverse chronological structures with specific types of imagery. These range from simple red circles inscribed with names that are connected by lines to trace genealogy of blood or office, to complex associations of multiple painted medallions that signal important beginnings or endings of chronicle sections. Examples of the latter include the sequence of six images at the beginning of the scroll that show the Creation, the series of five medallions that illustrate the fall of Troy and the diasporas of its survivors (ill. 44a), and the paired scenes of the Nativity and the infant Christ with symbols of the Passion (ill. 44b) that signal the shift from the fifth to the sixth age at the dawn of Christianity.<sup>4</sup> Other images draw selectively from established visual traditions that also reflect a chronological structure, such as that of the Nine Worthies, which associates three ancient, three Jewish, and three Christian heroes.<sup>5</sup> Eight of the Nine Worthies are pictured in this manuscript, but only four of them are specifically cited as Worthies (see, for example, David in ill. 44a or Judas Maccabeus in ill. 44b). In the visual realm, the ordering systems of genealogy, the six ages, and the Nine Worthies interpenetrate, but genealogy dominates.

Other images shape the reading and interpretation of the text by calling attention to ruptures and continuities in the succession of rule and establishing contrasts between national characters through the selection of which stories to reinforce with pictures.<sup>6</sup> Pictures almost always emphasize new topics or genealogical lines, as, for instance, when the Roman emperors begin with Julius Caesar and the popes begin with an image of Christ as the "First Pope" (both in membrane 10) or Pepin begins the Carolingian line (membrane 14). French history is given pride of place in the later section of the chronicle, when the circles containing images of such famous French kings as Clovis (membrane 12), Dagobert (membrane 13), and Louis IX (membrane 16) shift from the third column into the central intercolumnar space of the scroll, giving special distinction to the French line. Further, as Natalie Hurel has shown, the contrast between the French and English kings is made explicit by the subjects selected for

representation; while French kings found churches, are singled out by God, and stand displaying their majesty, English kings are embroiled in battles, commit fratricide, and are subject to treachery.<sup>7</sup>

Finally, classic images from established iconographical traditions outside the chronicle itself are employed to evoke the authority of their source. Sometimes the text refers to the source openly, as at the beginning of the scroll, where the band of Creation scenes recalls the decoration of Bibles and thus biblical authority (compare cat. nos. 2 and 36), serving as a visual counterpart to the Latin citation from the opening line of the Bible that appears just below it.8 Other scenes assume prior knowledge on the part of readers, such as, for instance, the scenes of Clovis's miraculous baptism with chrism sent from heaven (compare cat. no. 30), Dagobert's foundation of Saint-Denis, and Pepin the Short's representation standing on a lion, all stories made popular by the Grandes chroniques de France (see cat. nos. 6 and 26), a known source for A tous les nobles, the text used for the scroll's history of France.9 A.D.H.

- I would like to thank François Avril for consulting with me in July 2009 about the style of the manuscript. He suggested that it corresponds to that popular in a large swath from the northeast to the southeast of what is currently France. For the most recent dating and localization of this scroll chronicle and for an edition of its text, see Davis 2006, 43–49; Davis 2009; Davis forthcoming (a); and Davis forthcoming (b). I would like to thank Lisa Fagin Davis for her generosity in sharing her unpublished work with me.
- . For identification of the texts, see Davis 2006 and Norbye 2004.
- 3. For this text beginning membrane 1, see Davis forthcoming (a). The chronicle does not, in fact, extend to Christ's second coming.
- 4. The six ages are (1) the Creation to the Flood, (2) Noah to the patriarch Abraham, (3) Abraham to David's accession to the throne, (4) David's rule to the Babylonian captivity of the Jews, (5) the Babylonian captivity to the birth of Christ, and (6) the birth of Christ to his second coming. Only some are emphasized in the scroll. The first and sixth ages are marked by multiple images (the first by scenes of Creation and the sixth by the Nativity and the infant Christ with symbols of the Passion), the second receives a double rubric that comments on the end of the first era and then turns to the specific ruler who is to be discussed, and the duration of the fifth and sixth eras is noted in the rubric just above the infant Christ with symbols of the Passion.
- 5. For prior discussion of the Nine Worthies in relation to the universal chronicle, see Hurel 1992, 30; and Davis 2006. For the Nine Worthies in general, see Schroeder 1971. See also cat. nos. 66–68.
- 6. Because most of the visual cycles in the scroll copies of this universal chronicle are essentially identical, I draw for what follows on the sensitive reading of copies in French collections undertaken by Natalie Hurel. See Hurel 1992, 1994, and 1996. I was not able to consult Hurel-Genin 1994.
- 7. Hurel 1996.
- Membrane 1: "In principio creavit deus celum et terram etc. C'est a dire que au commencement du monde dieu creavit le ciel et la terre."
- 9. Norbye (2007, 297–319) shows that the prologue to A tous les nobles, which claimed the Grandes chroniques as a source, is lacking from the copies preserved in the scroll format universal chronicles, so the association with Grandes chroniques imagery was introduced at the artistic level. For analysis of cycles of the Grandes chroniques, see Hedeman 1991, 193–269.

#### 44b

Judas Maccabeus, the Sixth Worthy; The Nativity; The Infant Christ with Symbols of the Passion, membranes 8 and 9



#### 45

Simon de Hesdin and Nicolas de Gonesse, *Faits et paroles memorables des Romains* (translation of Valerius Maximus, *Facta et dicta memorabilia*) Second Master of the *Cité de Dieu* of Mâcon; Master of the Psalter of Jean le Meingre III; Master of the Munich Boccaccio Loire Valley, ca. 1470

SPECIFICATIONS 485 ff.;  $38 \times 27.5$  cm ( $14 \times 10^{13}/16$  in.); justification:  $24 \times [7.3 \times 2.2 \times 7.1]$  cm ( $9^{7}/16 \times [2^{7}/8 \times 7/8 \times 2^{3}/4]$  in.); 42 lines; 2 columns

ILLUMINATION 8 full-page, 6 two-column, 8 onecolumn miniatures

COLLECTION The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Ms. 66 B 13

PROVENANCE Alexander I, czar of Russia (1777–1825; purchased 1814 in Paris for the imperial library at Saint Petersburg); Fritz Mannheimer of Amsterdam (1890–1939; purchased from Russian government); German possession (confiscated during World War II, restituted after 1945); on permanent loan from the Instituut Collectie Nederland (ICN), Amsterdam (since 1953)

During the reign of Tiberius (14–37), Valerius Maximus wrote the *Facta et dicta memorabilia (Memorable Deeds and Sayings*), a thematically arranged historical handbook that collected moral tales from Rome and elsewhere and made them accessible.<sup>1</sup> The book experienced great success in the Middle Ages and Renaissance, equal to or greater than that of Livy's history of Rome; it survives in about 500 Latin manuscripts and 150 commentaries and translations.<sup>2</sup>

In 1375 King Charles V asked Simon de Hesdin to translate Valerius Maximus's work, and Simon produced a text that added and interwove glosses and additional examples. In his prologue Simon wrote that Valerius first concentrated on examples of Romans and then on examples of others whom he called "foreign" (estranges). He suggested that he would add examples after those of Valerius at the end of some chapters in his translation, either ancient examples that Valerius had not thought to add or events that had happened since Roman times. In laying out his translation, Simon was careful to separate the short segments of Valerius's words from his added glosses and examples, distinguishing them from each other by rubrics that labeled contributions by the author (l'acteur), commentary on the author's contributions, which he set off with the label "translator" (translateur), and his own examples (addicions du translateur). These identify distinct sections of text within the chapters.<sup>3</sup>

When Simon de Hesdin died in 1383 (Charles had predeceased him in 1380), the text was unfinished, ending at book 7, chapter 3. In the early fifteenth century Nicolas de Gonesse translated and annotated the final section, through book 9, at the command of John of Berry, completing his work in September 1401.<sup>4</sup> This translation was immediately popular, and around fifty illuminated manuscripts of it survive, most typically decorated with between one and ten miniatures.<sup>5</sup> It, along with Livy's *Histoire romaine* (see cat. nos. 24 and 34), remained a popular source for Roman history.

The most densely illuminated manuscripts of Valerius Maximus's work date from the second half of the fifteenth century, and among those the one under discussion here is one of the most elaborate. Painted primarily by the Second Master of the *Cité de Dieu* of Mâcon, with help by the Master of the Psalter of Jean le Meingre III and the Master of the Munich Boccaccio,<sup>6</sup> this *Faits et paroles memorables des Romains* includes eight large, multiscene frontispieces, one at the beginning of each book, and six two-column and eight single-column miniatures, offering a total of seventy-eight scenes.<sup>7</sup> Its frontispieces in particular make select tales of Roman history come alive and create a mosaic of scenes that serves as both introduction and gloss.

For instance, the frontispiece to book 6 (ill. 45) incorporates fourteen scenes drawn from the eight chapters of book 6. They unfold within interlinked architectural and landscape spaces over which a Latin chapter list and the opening lines of the first chapter float on a curling banderole.<sup>8</sup> The Second Master of the *Cité de Dieu* of Mâcon structured this page such that the scenes unfold sequentially in a clockwise spiral and dedicated multiple tiny images to stories whose details are drawn from Simon de Hesdin's additions to Valerius Maximus. These are captioned to facilitate cross-referencing images with the tales they illustrate.

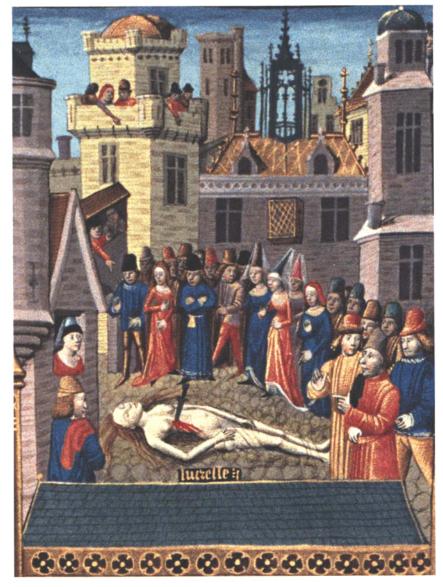
The frontispiece begins with a set of images illustrating the virtue of chastity. These scenes from the story of Lucretia fill half the pictorial field and illustrate Simon de Hesdin's additions to chapter 1, in which he reworked Livy.<sup>9</sup> The artist made particularly vivid moments come alive in Lucretia's three scenes. The largest image on the page initiates the sequence, showing Sextus Tarquin, son of the Roman king, with his sword raised and his left hand on Lucretia's chest, threatening her with death and dishonor if she does not sleep with him. This scene incorporates details that derive directly from Simon de Hesdin's elaboration, such as Sextus's gestures which accompany his threat, "He took his sword in his hand and went to Lucretia who was sleeping. And then he put his left hand

45

The Story of the Rape of Lucretia (Second Master of the Cité de Dieu of Mâcon), fol. 289 (see also p. 52)

Enlarged detail of ill. 45 Lucretia's Body Displayed to the Romans

on her chest and said, 'Be quiet.'" It adds other details, most notably the monstrance and wifely hennin (pointed headdress) on Lucretia's bedside table, that establish for the fifteenth-century audience Lucretia's character as a virtuous and holy woman and a member of the nobility. The scene to the right shows Lucretia committing suicide to preserve her honor before the four witnesses that she assembled: her husband, Collatin, and his friend Junius Brutus and her father, Spurius Lucretius, and his friend Publicius Valerius, who wear short or long robes befitting their age and station. Above this a third, unusual scene (see detail below) that is not customarily part of Lucretia's iconography shows what happened after the four men swear on her bloody knife that they will no longer allow members of the rapist's family to continue governing Rome. The witnesses to her death display Lucretia's body in the forum and call citizens to examine it. As in the initial scene of rape, the artist added details that were not



in the text, which enhance the visual story. Not only is the forum represented as a French town square, but Lucretia, who committed suicide fully clothed, is laid on the ground in abject nakedness with the knife piercing her chest. The sight is so shocking that the citizens become indignant and join the revolt led by Brutus that will overthrow the last Tarquinian king of Rome.

Similar vivid details drawn from Valerius Maximus's text and Simon de Hesdin's additions serve both to identify the scenes and to structure fifteenth-century readers' experience of the Faits et paroles memorables des Romains. For instance, a speech scroll in the upper right scene on the frontispiece infuses into the picture the "freely spoken" words that win freedom for one of the rebels of Privernum, whose story is an example in chapter 2. Except where distinctive story elements such as the dead boar in the right middle scene or the kiss in the lower left make them unnecessary, these speech scrolls and captions guide the reader and the artist's details enhance the story. Together they offer both a preview of what is to come for new readers of Valerius Maximus and a capsule summary of what has been read for others. A.D.H.

- For Valerius's Latin prologue, see Bailey 2000, 1:13. For a partial edition of the French text, see Charras 1982, and for an early printed copy of the French translation, see Valerius Maximus 1500.
- 2. See Schullian 1960 and Schullian 1981.
- 3. See Duval and Vieillard 2009 (online) and Brovarone 2004.
- This manuscript (Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 282) was presented to John of Berry at the *étrennes* gift exchange ceremony on January 1, 1402. For Gonesse's prologue, see Valerius Maximus 1500, sig. A<sub>2</sub>-A<sub>4</sub> verso.
- See Dubois 1994, Duval and Vieillard 2009 (online), and Joyce Coleman's essay in this volume. I was not able to consult Dubois 2008.
- 6. For this attribution, see Korteweg in The Hague 2002, 137, refined by her in New York 2005, 103–4. Korteweg noted that the Second Master of the *Cité de Dieu* of Mâcon collaborated with the Master of the Psalter of Jean le Meingre III on fol. 83, where the latter painted the two large central scenes, and the Master of the *Cité de Dieu* of Mâcon the marginal scenes.
- There are frontispieces for books 1–8 on fols. 2, 83, 154, 204, 245, 289, 321, and 365. The frontispiece for book 9 was excised just before fol. 418. Two-column miniatures appear within books on fols. 123, 191, 2019, 2329, 2529, and 261, and single-column pictures on fols. 1759, 1809, 1849, 188, 189, 198, 2169, and 2569.
- 8. The chapter list outlines the virtues that are the subjects of the chapters of book 6 (chapter numbers indicated in parentheses): Of chastity, freely spoken or done (chaps. 1–2); Of severity, impressive sayings or doings (chaps. 3–4); Of justice (chap. 5); Of public faith (chap. 6); Of the fidelity of wives towards their husbands (chap. 7); Of the fidelity of servants towards their lords (chap. 8); Of change of character or fortune (chap. 8).
- 9. While Valerius Maximus used the equivalent of 10 printed lines of the early edition to convey Lucretia's tale in book 6 (Valerius Maximus 1500, sig.  $D_5$  verso), Simon de Hesdin added an expanded version that filled the equivalent of 199 additional lines (Valerius Maximus 1500, sig.  $D_4$  verso– $D_5$  verso). His story of Lucretia appears before Valerius Maximus's, clearly being intended to replace it. For discussion of Lucretia's tale and its visualization in the early fifteenth century, see my essay in this volume.

### 46

Two leaves from *Pas de Saumur* France, ca. 1470–80

MEDIUM ink and colored washes on paper

SPECIFICATIONS (complete manuscript) 48 ff.; 35.8 × 27.2 cm ( $14^{1/8} \times 10^{11}/16$  in.); justification: 23 × [9.7 × 2 × 9.9] cm ( $9^{1/16} \times [3^{13}/16 \times 13/16 \times 3^{7/8}]$  in.); 16 lines; 2 columns

ILLUMINATION 4 two-column miniatures

COLLECTION Saint Petersburg, National Library of Russia, Ms. Fr.F.p.XIV.4

PROVENANCE Chancellor Pierre Ségulier (1588– 1672); Henri du Cambout, duke of Coislin, bishop of Metz (1665–1732); Abbey of Saint-Germain-des-Prés (bequeathed by Henri du Cambout, 1735); Piotr Dubrovsky (1754–1816; 1791); Alexander I, czar of Russia (1777–1825); public library of Saint Petersburg (1805)

Quite popular at the courts of Burgundy and Anjou in the mid-fifteenth century, a *pas* is a festival that involves two groups of knights, one taking the role of defenders and the second that of attackers as they complete in a series of jousts framed as a chivalric combat.<sup>1</sup> The *Pas de Saumur* (or *Pas de la joyeuse garde*) is a poetic chronicle of the competition that took place at Saumur, a château on the Loire, between June 26 and August 7, 1446, under the sponsorship of King René of Anjou.<sup>2</sup> This manuscript, from the 1470s, is a unique copy of the lost original rhymed chronicle written by a cleric shortly after the event and owned by Isabelle of Lorraine, René's first wife, who died in 1453.<sup>3</sup>

The poem explains that René had won the *Pas de la* gueule de dragon (festival of the dragon's mouth), and decided to host the next competition beginning in June 1446. The *Pas de Saumur* pitted René's camp against the French king Charles VII's. The emblems for the defenders, among them René, members of prominent French noble families, and many officers of René's court, were pansies scattered on a vermillion field. The attackers included representatives of the king of France, members of the royal council, several princes, and members of other prominent families who wore diverse emblems on their horses' caparisons. Knights on both sides wore helmets with individualized torsades (decorated twisted trims) and crests.

The opening of the *Pas de Saumur* tells how a procession left the castle of Saumur to wind its way to the field where the competition would take place. It began with two "Saracens" leading lions, who were followed by a mounted squire bearing a big standard, heralds with coats of arms, two clerks holding scrolls with the order of the jousts, the four judges in long red robes, musicians with

trumpets, a mounted dwarf holding a mace and wearing a turban, like a "Moor," and a beautiful maiden on a horse, who held before her a shield with pansies. When they arrived at the tournament site, the shield was attached to a large marble stone and the dwarf was left to guard it. The lions were attached to the perron (an upright stone) under the care of the Saracens. Then the lady and the nobility returned to Saumur to feast before the *pas* began the next day.

The rest of the text concentrates on the jousts, which lasted until August. From folio 9 on, the poem specifies who fought, what helms and crests were worn, how horses were caparisoned, and who was victorious, because "writing makes memory last" (fol. 8v: "escripre fait longe souvenir"). Each time there was a new joust, the attacker would strike the shield on the perron and the maiden and dwarf would escort the defender to the list, where he would joust under the watchful eyes of the judges and their clerks. Once six lances have been broken the jousts were over and the judges deliberated and selected the winner.

This highly descriptive text is illustrated in the complete manuscript by thirty-six two-column, one columnand-a-half, and fifty-three single-column miniatures, most of which show jousts in which actual historical figures can be identified through a combination of textual description and painted heraldic and emblematic details. After showing the procession to the tournament field (fol. 6), the initial series of images shows in one sequence what will happen repeatedly during the *Pas de Saumur*: the dwarf sounds the horn outside the château of Saumur (fol. 9v), the lady leads the combatant out of the castle (fol. 10), the combatants joust (fol. 17v), and the next attacking knight strikes the shield on the perron to issue his challenge (fol. 18).

Most of the next sixty-four scenes are variants of the joust, some showing just the knights in the list, while others include subsidiary spectators, such as the lady and the dwarf or the judges. Typical of these jousting images is the miniature that shows the attacker Charles de Bourgogne, comte de Nevers, competing against the defender Ferry II de Vaudémont-Lorraine (ill. 46a). Exceptions to this pattern of confronting knights include the image that marks the last joust-a scene showing the last challenger striking the shield on the perron (fol. 41v)-and two of the three featuring the joust between René of Anjou and John, duke of Alençon. The first image devoted to this contest shows John issuing his challenge by striking the shield (fol. 23v), the second, René being led in procession from the castle of Saumur to the lists (fol. 24; see ill. 46b), and the final one, their joust (fol. 24v).



The visual component of the manuscript serves two functions. It identifies individuals by accurately representing their heraldic charges and emblems, sometimes clarifying confusing information in the text. Indeed, the accuracy is so striking that Christian de Mérindol thought that the artist of the lost model must have attended the jousts to make sketches or notes about the participants.<sup>4</sup> But the images also manipulate the cycle to draw special attention to René of Anjou: events surrounding his joust are accorded three images, rather than the customary one, thereby visually amplifying his actions.

The beginning and ending of the text place René's actions in a broader historical context by framing this contemporary history in reference to both Arthurian tradition and to the medieval Nine Worthies.<sup>5</sup> Mérindol notes that because it mentions Lancelot by name the poem about the *Pas de Saumur* has been seen as evoking the Arthurian past. Moreover, the discussion of Lancelot is juxtaposed with a description of René's castle, the site of the tournament, which parallels site descriptions in Arthurian tales such as *La forme des tournois au temps du Roi Uter et du Roy Artus, suivie de l'armorial des chevaliers de la Table ronde.*<sup>6</sup>

The poem's end suggests that the *Pas de Saumur* surpasses prior chivalric displays: "Certainly in the history of Greece, of Albion, Troy and Lutece, nor in the book of Vegetius has anyone read about such an enterprise."<sup>7</sup> The unknown author explains that he has written his history because Rene's achievements are equal to those of worthies such as Hector, Achilles, Alexander, Julius Caesar, Joshua and the Maccabees, David, Romulus and Remus, Charlemagne, Arthur, and Godefroy de Bouillon.<sup>8</sup> A.D.H.

- For the numerous pas sponsored by René d'Anjou, see Mérindol 1993; for an introduction to those sponsored by the Burgundians, see Belozerskaya 2002 (with further bibliography).
- 2. On the *Pas de Saumur*, see Angers 2009, 89–91, 244–47; Mérindol 1992; Mérindol 1993; Biancotto 1996; Biancotto 2003; and Elagina et al. 1998. For the exhibition, two leaves detached from the parent manuscript in Saint Petersburg were borrowed.
- The manuscript has been dated on the basis of style, costume, René's heraldic colors, and watermarks. For discussion of the unknown artist's style and the dating by costume, see Reynaud 1989 and Angers 2009, 244–47. For an analysis of the heraldic colors and the watermarks, which dates the paper on which the *Pas de Saumur* is written to the 1470s, see Elagina et al. 1998, 39–40, 43–49.
   Mérindol 1993, 10–11.
- . For the Nine Worthies, see cat. nos. 66–68.
- The third and fourth stanzas of the poem set up the *pas* in Arthurian terms. For the French, see Elagina et al. 1998, 67; and for an elaboration of the connections between Lancelot, the duchy of Anjou, and René, see Mérindol 1993, 18–19. Biancotto (2003, 119–33) suggests that the Arthurian theme is subservient to René's more fundamental desire to exalt chivalry and promote his own position in relation to the French king and nobility. It is interesting that the castle of Saumur's beauty also made it an appropriate model for Priam's palace at Troy. See cat. no. 48.
   Fol. 45v: "Certes es hystoires de Gresse, / D'Albion, Troie et Lutesse, /
- 7. Fol. 45v: "Certes es hystoires de Gresse, / D'Albion, Troie et Lutesse, / N'en livre d'armes n'en Vegesse, / N'ay rien leu de tele enterprise." See Elagina et al. 1998, 110.
- 8. For the French, see Elagina et al. 1998, 111; Jourdan 1992; and Biancotto 2003.



**46a** (opposite) Charles de Bourgogne, Comte de Nevers, Competing against Ferry II de Vaudémont-Lorraine, fol. 15v

#### 46b

René of Anjou Led in Procession from the Castle of Saumur, fol. 24 (detail)



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#### 47

Jean de Courcy, *La Bouquechardière* Master of Jacques d'Armagnac France, before 1476

SPECIFICATIONS 365 ff.; 41.8 × 31.5 cm ( $16^{7}/_{16}$  × 12<sup>3</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in.); justification: 28 × [ $8.5 \times 2.7 \times 8.6$ ] cm ( $11 \times [3^{5}/_{16} \times 1^{1}/_{16} \times 3^{3}/_{8}]$  in.); 54 lines; 2 columns

ILLUMINATION 6 half-page miniatures

COLLECTION The Hague, Museum Meermanno-Westreenianum, Ms. 10 A 17

PROVENANCE Jacques d'Armagnac, duke of Nemours (1433–1477); Tanguy du Chastel (d. 1477; seized from d'Armagnac in 1476); Anne de Bavière, princesse Palatine, château d'Anet (1648–1723); Cardinal G. Du Bois (purchased November 15, 1724, at P. Gandouin, Paris); J. H. van Wassenaer-van Obdam (1750); Gerard Meerman, The Hague (1722–1771); Johan Meerman (1751–1815); W. H. J. van Westreenen (1783–1848; 1824); state of the Netherlands (1852)

The Bouquechardière is a universal history composed between 1416 and 1422 by Jean de Courcy, who decided on a literary career when he was in his fifties after an active life as a knight in Greece.<sup>1</sup> It was unusual for a nobleman to undertake such an enormous scholarly task, and the text remains one of the few literary productions of the fifteenth century completed for his own pleasure by a private individual.<sup>2</sup> Perhaps that explains why his text came to be known as La Bouquechardière, from the name of his personal estate, Bourg-Achard.<sup>3</sup> Jean followed Eusebius, Augustine, Isidore of Seville, and the Venerable Bede in the division of history into six periods, but, instead of arranging his work in a strictly chronological manner, he organized it by the history of geographical regions. The divisions address ancient Greece; the Trojan War; the dispersal of Troy's survivors across Europe; the Assyrians; the Macedonians (including Alexander); and the Maccabees.

Jean drew from a wide variety of sources, most likely all in French, with the finished work containing mythological, legendary, historical, and biblical material.<sup>4</sup> In the prologue, he states that his compilation is enhanced by "historical color and the odor of morality."<sup>5</sup> Accordingly, each of his six sections begins with an account of the history of the region and is followed by a series of moral lessons. No manuscripts are extant from Jean's lifetime, but the text became popular in the last quarter of the fifteenth century.<sup>6</sup> Almost all of the thirty-five known manuscripts date to this period, including the luxurious manuscript now in The Hague and originally made for Jacques d'Armagnac, one of the greatest bibliophiles of the second half of the fifteenth century.<sup>7</sup>

The iconographic tradition of the Bouquechardière is remarkably stable. Twenty-three of the extant thirty-five manuscripts follow the same formula, by which each of the six main divisions of the text is introduced by a halfpage miniature.8 For the most part, the subjects for each book are similar in all the manuscripts, but variations within that theme are common. For instance, the miniature for book 3 is most often dedicated to the construction of four cities by those who had fled Troy (and their descendants): Venice built by Helenus, Sicambria by Antenor, Carthage by Dido, and Rome by Romulus.<sup>9</sup> The cities are each labeled for the ease of the viewer, and a stylized river is used to separate the four areas of the miniature. In the Hague manuscript, however, the artist chose instead to represent a single scene with a unified landscape and a more realistic presentation (ill. 47a).<sup>10</sup> Dido stands in the foreground with her retinue before an elegant facade, while in the continuous landscape behind, another castle is under construction. The Hague miniature differs from related representations in the manuscript tradition by focusing only on Dido's story, and while the building scenes in other copies of the text clearly represent cities, this miniature focuses on individual buildings. In addition, the Hague miniature is more naturalistic in its approach to relative sizes (in the corresponding miniatures from other manuscripts, the figures are almost as tall as the buildings, and those in the background are the same size as those in the foreground), and the presence of contemporary details such as Dido's fashionable clothing and a medieval treadmill, used to move a winch on a crane for the heavy pieces of masonry, add verisimilitude.

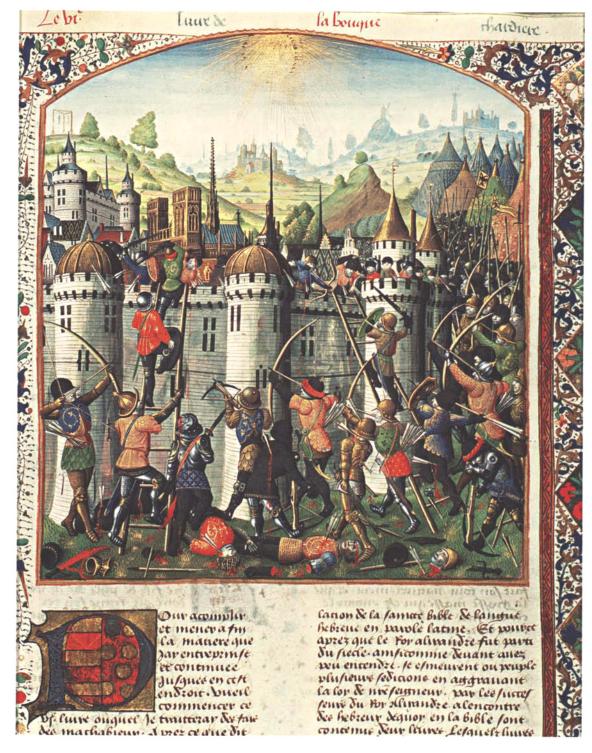
A similar type of contemporization occurs in the miniature for the Hague manuscript's book 6 (ill. 47b). The miniature for this book in other manuscripts of the *Bouquechardière* usually shows Antiochus at the head of his army besieging Jerusalem, with his soldiers intent on looting the city.<sup>11</sup> In the Hague manuscript, the scaling of the walls is the focus. Within the city, on the left, a golden building with two towers in front and a slender turret behind can be clearly seen, a representation of the distinctive silhouette of the cathedral of Notre Dame. The structure nearby is probably the royal palace on the Île-de-la-Cité.<sup>12</sup> These recognizable Parisian buildings were elements incorporated by the patron's personal artist.

The Hague manuscript was written out in Rouen, where at least fifteen other copies of the *Bouquechardière* were made within a fifteen-year period,<sup>13</sup> but it was then transported to Carlat, where one of Jacques d'Armagnac's artists completed the illumination. Although the name Master of Jacques d'Armagnac has been suggested for the work of a single artist,<sup>14</sup> it is more likely that a number of Dido Directs the Building of Carthage, fol. 133v

47a

47b

The Capture of Jerusalem by Antiochus, fol. 317 (detail)



artists trained in a similar manner were responsible for a number of d'Armagnac's manuscripts, and thus the name cannot be associated with a particular individual.<sup>15</sup> The artist of the Hague manuscript was influenced by the work of Jean Fouquet (see cat. no. 43), as is evident in his almost pointillist technique.<sup>16</sup> This artist was also likely responsible for the elaborate border decoration. The margin surrounding the image of Dido and Carthage contains a series of illusionistically painted banderoles carrying letters that, rearranged, spell Jacques d'Armagnac's motto.<sup>17</sup> In addition, the lower left corner would have originally enclosed the duke's coat of arms.<sup>18</sup>

Jacques d'Armagnac was highly favored at the court of Louis XI and was given the dukedom of Nemours after 1461. However, by 1465 he had joined in a revolt against the king, and in 1476 he was arrested for treason. Between 1461 and 1476, Jacques d'Armagnac built up one of the most extensive private libraries in France, numbering almost 120 known volumes.<sup>19</sup> Some of these were older manuscripts that he inherited from Duke John of Berry (his paternal great-grandfather) and Jacques II de Bourbon (his maternal grandfather),<sup>20</sup> but others he commissioned himself. Although he had some liturgical and devotional volumes, his evident passion was for large and luxurious historical compilations.

Many of the duke's commissioned works, like the Hague manuscript, contained lavish programs of illumination. The appearance of Notre Dame and the royal palace in the duke's copy of the Bouquechardière would no doubt have recalled for Jacques the time he spent in Paris as a peer of France and an important member of the king's inner circle (Jacques married the king's cousin in 1462). The duke's artist updated the traditional illumination program of the Bouquechardière with more sophisticated imagery that contains unified land and cityscapes as well as buildings that would have been familiar icons to his patron. With the addition of the duke's coat of arms and motto, Jacques's copy of the Bouquechardière became a personalized version of a popular and massproduced text. E.M.

- 1. For a short biography of Jacques, see Chancel 1987, 220–21. The text has never been edited.
- 2. Chancel-Bardelot 1999, 181.
- 3. The earliest appearance of the title *Bouquechardière* is found in a manuscript executed in Bruges in 1473 (Paris, BnF, Mss. fr. 65–66); see Chancel-Bardelot 1999, 181n6.
- 4. Chancel-Bardelot 1999, 182.
- "Ces compilations dont je vueil parler ont substance de fait de haulte memoire coulourée de couleur historial et oudeur de moralité." The prologue to the text was edited by Monfrin 1972, 162–64.
- 6. For a list of manuscripts of the text, see Chancel 1987, 230-90.
- 7. Béatrice de Chancel (Chancel 1987, 257) has divided the extant manuscripts into four groupings. The Hague manuscript falls into her third group, along with Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek, Ms. 433; Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 20124; Waddesdon Manor, Rothschild Collection, Ms. 11; and Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Ms. 3689.
- 8. Chancel 1987, 224.
- See, for example, Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 20124, fol. 154; Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 2685, fol. 159; and Saint Petersburg, National Library, Ms. Fr.F.v.IV.13, vol. 1, fol. 138v.
- 10. A similar change can be seen in the first miniature of the manuscript, which was reduced in the Hague manuscript to a single battle scene (fol. 6). The Hague manuscript and Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 2685 are the only two that also show the author kneeling in prayer beneath the Trinity as part of this opening miniature.
- 11. See, for example, Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 20124, fol. 331; and Saint Petersburg, Ms. Fr.F.v.IV.13, vol. 2, fol. 123.
- 12. The Hague 2002, 103. For links between Paris and the siege of Jerusalem, see cat. nos. 35 and 37 and Hedeman 2008, 193–99.
- Chancel-Bardelot 1999, 183. Jean de Courcy was from the Eure region in Normandy, whose most important city was Rouen.
- 14. Bulst 1985.
- 15. See Paris 1993b, 164–66; and Blackman 1993, 176–79.
- 16. Byvanck 1924, 127. Pächt and Thoss (1974, 55) relate the miniatures in the Hague manuscript to those in Vienna, ÖNB, Ms. Cod. 2544.
- It has long been posited that the duke's motto was "Fortune d'amis" based on the letters, but "D'amour est fin" has also been more recently suggested (Blackman 1993, 38–39).
- 18. The coat of arms in this manuscript has been overpainted with the those of a later owner, Tanguy du Chastel.
- 19. For details about Jacques's life and his library, see Blackman 1993.
- 20. See cat. no. 23.

#### 48

Leaf from *Histoire de la destruction de Troye la grant* Philibert or François Colombe Bourges, ca. 1495–1500

 SPECIFICATIONS
 excised from Paris, BnF,

 Ms. n.a.fr. 24920;  $51 \times 34 \text{ cm} (20^{1}/16 \times 13 \text{ in.});$  justification:  $34.5 \times [9.4 \times 2.7 \times 9.4] \text{ cm} (13^{5}/8 \times [3^{11}/16 \times 1^{11}/16 \times 3^{11}/16] \text{ in.}); 44 \text{ lines}; 2 \text{ columns}$ 

ILLUMINATION 1 full-page, 1 one-column miniature

COLLECTION Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, KdZ 4645

PROVENANCE (?) Aymar de Poitiers, comte de Saint-Vallier and grand sénéchal de Provence (16th century); Diane de Poitiers (1499–1566); Diane de la Marck (16th century); Pierre Séguier; Henri de Cambout, duke of Coislin and bishop of Metz (1665–1732); Abbey of Saint-Germain-des-Prés; Piotr Dubrovsky (1754–1816); The Hermitage, Saint Petersburg; Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett (acquired excised leaves, 1903)

The Rebuilding of Troy is one of two leaves excised from a unique late-fifteenth-century French translation of Guido delle Colonne's Historia destructionis Troiae, itself a thirteenth-century translation into Latin of Benôit de Sainte-Maure's Roman de Troie.1 This particular French adaptation, the Histoire de la destruction de Troye la grant, condensed Guido's tale, which was presented in a large, luxuriously illustrated picture book. The translator/editor ignored Guido's prolix descriptions and all but two of his moralizations in order to concentrate on the acts of the heroes of the Trojan story. Occasionally he supplemented Guido's Historia with material drawn from such texts as the Histoire ancienne (see cat. nos. 3, 4, and 50), the expanded version of the Roman de Troie (found in cat. no. 50), and possibly even a Latin commentary.<sup>2</sup> As originally planned, the extremely large-scale manuscript would have had fifty-seven folios with twenty-one full-page miniatures and sixty-five single-column miniatures. Its dense visual cycle, particularly its full-page miniatures, is noteworthy for its sophisticated relationship to the text.<sup>3</sup>

The manuscript was painted in the Colombe workshop in Bourges, probably after the death of Jean Colombe in the early 1490s. Aspects of the style, such as the arrangements of crowds and the decoration of architecture, are typical of the workshop's production under Jean Colombe, but François Avril, noting the heaviness of the figures and the echoes of Italian Renaissance form, attributed most of the miniatures to Jean Colombe's sons and successors, Philibert Colombe and François Colombe, who signed his name in one of the small miniatures



(fol. 11), and to the Master of Spencer 6, who worked on some of the unfinished pictures at the end of the manuscript, possibly trying to complete a work left unfinished by the Colombes.<sup>4</sup>

It is not certain who should be credited with the visual inventiveness of this manuscript, though Marie Jacob builds a strong case for the artists.5 The relationship between images, their text, and Guido's Historia takes various forms. Sometimes the pictures contain information that was omitted in the French translation, though present in Guido's Latin text, while other times they carefully reinforce the new translation. Either way, the artists enliven the historical representation with their own lived experience. For instance, the scene of Achilles meeting Polyxena at the tomb of Hector (see fig. 38) enriches its French text by incorporating details from untranslated portions of Guido's Historia. The transformation of Hector's embalmed body into a polychromed gisant on a black slab tomb not only visualized material that was absent from the abridged French translation but also translated it visually into contemporary terms by using a tomb type that was very fashionable earlier in the fifteenth century to represent an object from the distant past.6

Although The Rebuilding of Troy (ill. 48) illustrates its French text closely, it also includes details that reveal how the artists turned to other texts and to iconic images from the early fifteenth century to enrich the visual presentation of the tale. The lush miniature draws attention to some of the features that the French translator reinforced in his translation, evoking, for instance, the many trades plied in the newly constructed city by showing merchants selling hats, gloves, shoes, and dishes in small shops along a busy street at the right.<sup>7</sup> Elsewhere construction on the city continues: masons cut and dress stone, mix mortar, and hoist wood and blocks with pulleys and cranes, and sculptors carve figures to join those already in place on the castle in the middle ground and Illium, Priam's palace, in the distance. In the foreground a sculptor who has almost completed an elaborate marble tomb interrupts his work to doff his hat and speak to King Priam. Jacob suggests that this scene, arguably the most prominent in the miniature but absent from both Guido's Historia and this French translation, could be explained by a text like Servius's commentaries on Virgil, in which he wrote of an oracle who predicted that the city of Troy could not be captured as long as the tomb of Laomedon, its founder, remained intact.8 Priam may be overseeing the restoration of Laomedon's tomb to guarantee the longevity of the reconstructed city.

Philibert and François Colombe also translated the past visually through their representation of lush structures covered with elaborately carved revetments that remake Trojan monuments in the image of famous buildings of the fifteenth century, while distinguishing them from the actual monuments. Jacob shows that Troy in this miniature is represented as a hybrid of the castles of Saumur and Mehun-sur-Yèvre, both illustrated in the *Très Riches Heures* (Chantilly, Musée Condé, Ms. 65), the unfinished fifteenth-century masterpiece by the Limbourg brothers on which Jean Colombe had also worked. To convey that Troy was as marvelous as these legendary princely castles, this hybrid building appears as Troy in multiple miniatures in the *Histoire de la destruction de Troye la grant.*<sup>9</sup>

A.D.H.

- For preliminary discussion of Guido delle Colonne's translation of Benoît de Sainte-Maure into Latin and of the five distinct translations of Guido's text back into French, see Jung 1996, 563–601. This leaf and another in Berlin (KdZ 4645) belong after folio 4 of Paris, BnF, Ms. n.a.fr. 24920, a manuscript analyzed in Jacob 2006, Jacob 2009, and Durand 2003, 99–216, 2173–2234. I would like to thank Marie Jacob for allowing me to read part of her unpublished dissertation and Carine Durand for sending me the manuscript notice on Paris, BnF, Ms. n.a.fr. 24920 from her forthcoming book (Durand forthcoming). The provenance for Paris, BnF, Ms. n.a.fr. 24920 is the same as that of the leaves up through its arrival in Saint Petersburg, after which point the provenance is as follows: The Hermitage, Saint Petersburg (sold in 1933); [sale, André Hachette, 1953]; BnF (acquired 1953). There is no critical edition of the text.
- Jung (1996, 601) draws attention to the use of the Histoire ancienne, and Jacob (2006, 293–97, 302–3) to the other texts.
- 3. See Jung 1996, 601; and Jacob 2006 and 2009, 221–53.
- 4. The Master of Spencer 6 was active in Bourges and the Val du Loire ca. 1490-1510. He collaborated with the Colombe workshop on a contemporary *Fleur des histoires* by Jean Mansel (Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 53) and worked independently on another large chronicle by Monstrelet (Chantilly, Musée Condé, Ms. 321). Avril observes that, in the *Histoire de la destruction de Troie la grant*, he painted the first layer of color over a Colombe drawing on fol. 41v and completely painted the full-page miniature of the death of Pentheselia on fol. 38 and single-column paintings on fols. 42, 47, 47v, and 52v. For documentation on the Colombe family, see Ribault 2001. On the Colombes and on the Master of Spencer 6, see Paris 1993b, 326–27, 336–38; New York 2005, 278–82. For discussion of the antique histories produced by the Colombes, see Jacob 2009, 221–53.
- 5. Jacob 2006 and 2009, 221–52.
- For a fuller discussion of Guido's text and its relationship to this image, see my essay in this volume.
- 7. Both Guido and his translator carefully listed these trades, which are a sign of a city's prosperity. It is interesting that Guido's list was slightly altered by the translator, perhaps reflecting differences between the thirteenth and late fifteenth centuries. Compare Meek 1974, 46, with the transcription of the text on the excised leaves in Berlin in Jacob 2009, 240–41.
- 8. Jacob 2006, 303.
- 9. Jacob 2009, 222–23. Compare cat. no. 46, a manuscript that associates the castle of Saumur with Joyeuse Garde, another castle made famous in romance.

#### **48** The Rebuilding of Troy (see also p. 68)



## Part Four Beyond French Manuscripts

Now I have shown all in order the nine best who have ever lived since the beginning when God made the sky and the earth and the wind.<sup>1</sup>

🕤 JACQUES DE LONGUYON ON the Nine Worthies, Les voeux du paon, ca. 1312

French history manuscripts had an enormous effect on the cultural map of Europe. The French vernacular was considered the language of refinement and intellect at courts ranging from twelfth-century London to fourteenth-century Naples. Illuminated manuscripts of romances and histories originally popularized in France were commissioned by those at the highest levels of society in Flanders, England, Germany, Castile, Galicia, Naples, Lombardy, Milan, and Holland.<sup>2</sup> Moreover, these stories escaped the pages of manuscripts to appear in a dizzying array of artistic media, including caskets, purses, wall paintings, stone sculpture, enamels, tapestries, choir stalls, floor tiles, serving vessels, and ivories. Even without an accompanying text, these images were still instantly recognizable because the stories were so well known from the written, illuminated, and oral versions through which they had originally become beloved. Themes born in the pages of histories, such as that of the Nine Worthies, grew in fame and came to be memorialized both in and out of manuscripts. Patrons across Europe were literally surrounded on all sides by visual narratives that flourished based on the sustained popularity of French history manuscripts.

#### **Beyond France**

The French court was recognized as a center of artistic and intellectual creativity and served as a stimulus for court culture throughout Europe, with artistic influences flowing freely back and forth. Moreover, the expansion during the Middle Ages of territory that was under French royal control played a role in the use of its language at various European courts (and in the Holy Land), while the desirability of intermarriage with French royals contributed to the preference for French-language manuscripts in areas outside France's direct control.<sup>3</sup> The Norman Conquest in 1066 led to the use of Anglo-Norman (and eventually other dialects of French) as the primary language of the English court, a situation that lasted for centuries. Authors like Matthew Paris began to write chronicles and saints' lives in Anglo-Norman specifically for the consumption of the members of the aristocracy, who commissioned lavish copies (cat. no. 49). In the thirteenth century, Charles I, son of the Capetian king Louis VIII, founded the Angevin dynasty that ruled over the house of Anjou in Sicily and Naples. By the fourteenth century, the Neapolitan court was patronizing sumptuous illuminated copies of French texts such as the *Faits des Romains* and the *Histoire ancienne* (cat. no. 50).

For much of the Middle Ages, Flanders and Burgundy were semiautonomous regions, although firmly linked to the French crown through intermarriage and feudal duty. The powerful dukes of Burgundy, who united the two areas after 1369,<sup>4</sup> were among the most devoted patrons of French vernacular histories, especially at the height of their power in the fifteenth century (cat. no. 52). Even in areas where France did not wield political authority, such as the Iberian peninsula, rulers would commission direct translations of French works into their own tongue and have them decorated with luxurious pictorial schemes inspired by the historical tradition of French illumination (cat. no. 51). While France took the definitive lead in establishing illuminated manuscripts of historical material as an integral part of European court culture, other European courts had their own vivid visual traditions that in turn enriched French art.<sup>5</sup>

#### **Beyond Manuscripts**

It was not only in the realm of the illuminated manuscript that illustrated historical themes began to play an increased role at court. Luxury objects of all types were decorated with narratives reflecting the stories made fashionable at court. Portable personal items were ideally suited for the inclusion of pictorial cycles related to tales that romanticized the past. Textile objects such as purses could be woven with romance scenes in bright colors and gilded thread (cat. no. 60).<sup>6</sup> Ivory boxes had multiple surfaces that could be used either to tell a single cohesive narrative (cat. no. 58) or to incorporate scenes from a number of romances at once (cat. nos. 55 and 56).<sup>7</sup> The stories chosen were usually those that were among the most famous and recognizable, such as Tristan and Isolde's tryst (cat. nos. 55, 56, and 59), but they were sometimes combined with religious themes such as the Judgment of Solomon (cat. no. 56) or images of saints (cat. no. 57). Tableware incorporated similar stories, such as the tale of Aristotle and Phyllis, which was seen on ivory boxes (cat. nos. 55 and 56) and also became a theme for aquamanilae (cat. no. 61).<sup>8</sup>

In addition, it was increasingly common to see larger-scale decorations, with historical or romance scenes furnishing the interiors of rooms. Tiles could be used on floors to emphasize the most important elements of a story (cat. no. 54),<sup>9</sup> while tapestries on the wall could show multiple episodes from the same narrative (cat. nos. 62 and 63). Tapestries inspired by French texts were used in both religious (cat. no. 64) and secular settings (cat. nos. 62 and 63) and were among the most impressive (and expensive) ways to monumentalize historical narratives.<sup>10</sup> The invention of the printing press, meanwhile, provided the opportunity for a whole new class of consumers to own affordable illustrated copies of texts that had been popular for centuries (cat. no. 53).<sup>11</sup> Visual historical narratives permeated nearly every aspect of the courtly culture of Europe in the period between about 1250 and 1500, largely based on the firm foundation given these stories by their textual and illuminated presence in manuscripts.

#### The Nine Worthies

First grouped together by Jacques de Longuyon about 1312 as a literary device in *Les voeux du paon* (cat. no. 65),<sup>12</sup> the Nine Worthies became one of the most popular visual themes of the later Middle Ages.<sup>13</sup> These nine greatest heroes of the past were arranged in three sets: ancient, Jewish, and Christian. In this, the author adopted Saint Augustine's division of history into three time periods:

*ante legem* (before the law), the era from the Creation to Moses; *sub legem* (under the law), events from Moses to Christ; and history *sub gratia* (under grace), the time from Christ's birth to the present.<sup>14</sup> From each period, three representatives were chosen, forming a series of three triads: Hector, Alexander the Great, and Julius Caesar from antiquity; Joshua, David, and Judas Maccabeus from the Old Testament; King Arthur, Emperor Charlemagne, and Godefroy de Bouillon (one of the leaders of the First Crusade) from the Christian era. Later authors added a parallel set of nine female Worthies (though the chosen women varied from author to author), mostly drawn from late antiquity, such as the Amazon queen Penthesilea and the sixth-century Central Asian ruler Tomyris.<sup>15</sup>

The theme not only became a favorite among authors but was also widely disseminated through the visual arts, often in new combinations of text and image. Illuminations in works like those by Thomas de Saluces and Sébastien Mamerot showed the male Worthies as a unified group, each with his own coat of arms and attributes.<sup>16</sup> The popular printed text Le triomphe des neuf preux (cat. no. 66) balances biographical descriptions of the Nine Worthies containing both history and romance with portraits that emphasize their shared status and that may show influences from such popular imagery as playing cards (cat. no. 67). Besides being illuminated in manuscripts and illustrated in printed books, the theme was frequently commemorated in monumental form in sculptural programs, tapestry sets, and wall paintings, as well as in personal objects, such as small wood carvings, clocks, and household decorative objects (cat. no. 68).<sup>17</sup> In addition, the theme was often enacted in masques and triumphal entries as a beloved subject for fêtes. The Nine Worthies represent a rare case of a theme that originated as a virtual aside in a literary work but became one of the most powerful and instantly recognizable visual topoi of the late Middle Ages. Focusing on individual heroes as historical representatives of shared virtuous, chivalric, and heroic qualities created a sense of continuity from the past to the present that stressed the universality of medieval ideals. The Nine Worthies underscored the study of history as valuable not just because of what was learned about the past but also because history could be used to justify the present. E.M.

- 1. See cat. no. 65. Author's translation (Ritchie 1921–29, 4:7573–75).
- See cat. nos. 49, 50, 51, and 52. Manuscripts of the Roman de Troie can be found in Castilian and Galician translations (García Solalinde 1916). On Anglo-Norman illumination, see London 1987, 148-56; Lewis 1986; and Jordan 1996. For historical texts in French originating in Flanders, see Los Angeles 2003, 223-311. On the illuminated historical works of Jacob van Maerlant in Holland, see Chavannes-Mazel 2008 and Meuwese 1996 and 2007. For illuminated Neapolitan manuscripts in French, see Avril 1969 and Avril 1986. The flow of artistic ideas between the French and Milanese courts was strengthened in 1389, when Valentina Visconti of Milan (d. 1408) married Louis, duke of Orleans (1372–1407), brother of Charles VI.
- For an in-depth discussion of the concept of medieval Francophonia, see Keith Busby's essay in this volume.
- Philip the Bold (1342–1404) married Margaret, countess of Flanders (1350–1405), in 1369, eventually uniting Burgundy and Flanders.
- Cat. no. 50 is a case in point. François Avril (1969 and 1986) has discussed how this Neapolitan cycle was used as a model for French copies, such as Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 301, the copy that belonged to John of Berry (Paris 2004, 206, no. 118).
- 6. On medieval textiles, see Schuette and Müller-Christensen 1963 and Rudy and Baert 2007.

- On medieval ivories, see Kœchlin 1924, Loomis and Loomis 1938, Gaborit-Chopin 2003, Detroit and Baltimore 1997, Paris 1998, Paris 2004a, and Paris 2009.
- 8. On aquamanilae, see New York 2006.
- 9. On medieval tiles, see Eames 1968, 1985, and 1992 and Stopford 2005.
- 10. On tapestries, see Weigert 2004 and New York 2002.
- 11. On incunabula, see Hindman 1991 and Jensen 2003.
- 12. Jacques de Longuyon wished to compare the accomplishments of one of his main characters, King Porrus, with the feats of the greatest heroes of history.
- On the Nine Worthies in the art of the Middle Ages, see Schroeder 1971.
- 14. Schroeder 1971, 16-19, 41-66.
- 15. Van Hemelryck 1998, 6n44; Trachsler 1996, 294–313; and Trachsler 2000, 286–300.
- See Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 12559 (Thomas de Saluces, Le chevalier errant), fol. 125, and Vienna, ÖNB, Ms. Cod. 2577 (Sébastien Mamerot, Histoire des Neuf Preux et des Neuf Preues), fol. 1v.
- 17. See Paris 2009, 127–37, for a number of objects representing the Nine Worthies.

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#### 49

Two Leaves from Matthew Paris, *Vie de Seint Thomas de Cantorbéry* Westminster or London, ca. 1220–40

MEDIUM ink and colored washes on parchment

SPECIFICATIONS 2 individual leaves;  $30.3 \times 22.3$  cm  $(11^{15}/16 \times 8^{3}/4$  in.) each; justification: varies; 21-22 lines; varies, 2-3 columns

ILLUMINATION 4 one-third-page miniatures

COLLECTION Burton upon Trent, Staffordshire, England, The Wormsley Library, Becket Leaves, fols. 1–2

PROVENANCE (?) Catholic religious house, Courtrai, western Flanders; Jacques Goethals-Vercruysse, Courtrai (1759–1838); Goethals family; [sale, Sotheby's, June 24, 1986, lot 40]; Sir J. Paul Getty, KBE, Wormsley (1932–2003; June 1986) This unique illustrated fragment of an Anglo-Norman verse life of Saint Thomas Becket probably survives because it was used as stuffing for a bookbinding.<sup>1</sup> Its four folios with eight illustrations describe the middle part of Becket's life, including his rise at the courts of the archbishop of Canterbury and King Henry II and appointment as chancellor of England, his designation as archbishop of Canterbury in 1162, and the beginning of his conflict with Henry.

Analysis of the folios' physical characteristics suggests that folios 3–4 of the Wormsley Becket were originally joined as a bifolio that was the midpoint of the second quire of a verse life that filled sixteen folios (two quires). If this is true, the last three folios probably contained the dramatic conclusion to Becket's life in 1170: his return to Canterbury and escalating conflict with Henry; his assassination by two of Henry's knights in Canterbury Cathedral; and possibly his canonization by Pope Innocent III in 1173 and miracles at his shrine.<sup>2</sup> **49a** (opposite) Henry II Sends Thomas Becket's Relatives into Exile at Pontigny; Thomas Becket Ill at Pontigny from Excessive Fasting, fol. 1

#### 49b

Thomas Becket Takes Leave of Pope Alexander III, fol. 1v (detail)



#### 49c

Thomas Becket Proclaims the Sentence of Excommunication on All His Enemies; Thomas Becket Argues His Case before Henry II and Louis VII, fol. 2 (detail)



Originally the illustrations of this life of Becket were attributed to Matthew Paris, the skilled monastic historian at the Abbey of Saint Albans, who wrote Latin history and vernacular saints' lives and was known to illustrate his autograph manuscripts. Recent scholarship suggests that this life of Saint Thomas and another of Saint Edward (*Estoire de Seint Aedward le Rei*) are later copies, probably made circa 1220–40 and 1255–60 by skilled manuscript professionals employed in workshops in London or Westminster, who probably copied Matthew's original illuminated texts. Three manuscripts that Matthew wrote and illustrated himself survive: two Latin chronicles (the *Chronica maiora* and *Historia Anglorum*) and the Anglo-Norman Vie de Seint Auban.<sup>3</sup>

Copies of Matthew's French hagiographic texts circulated among aristocratic women. His sequential loans of a volume with the lives of Thomas and Edward first to Isabel de Warenne, to whom he dedicated his unillustrated *Vie de Seint Edmond*, and then subsequently to the countess of Cornwall, sister of Queen Eleanor of Provence, to whom Matthew dedicated the *Estoire de Seint Aedward le Rei*, suggest that highly placed courtly women were avid readers of vernacular hagiography, possibly including this life of Thomas Becket.<sup>4</sup>

Matthew believed that images played a crucial role in storytelling. A prayer in the *Estoire* addressed to Edward offers insight into Matthew's approach to illustration: "For lay people who do not know how to read, I have also represented your story in illustrations in this very same book, because I want the eyes to see what the ears hear."<sup>5</sup> Matthew's images operate independently of their poetic text; they would function well in public reading and discussion, in silent reading, or as spurs to meditation or contemplation.<sup>6</sup>

The images in the Vie de Seint Thomas de Cantorbéry are lively pen outline drawings tinted with wash and juxtaposed with red rubrics and Latin and French captions that encapsulate the story described more fully in the text on the surrounding pages. Such captioning is one of a variety of devices used by illuminators in the thirteenth century



## 49d

Thomas Becket Departs from Henry II and Louis VII, fol. 2v (detail)

to guide readers through unfamiliar texts and heighten their narrative impact.

Pictures appear at the top of the pages, floating above the lines of octosyllabic rhyming verse that record Becket's life. Often the compositions of the miniatures respond to the number of columns that appear below them, making a further association between image and text. For example, the miniature on folio 1 (ill. 49a) is divided by a column into a scene of Henry II sending Becket's relatives into exile and a scene of Becket lying ill from fasting. The first scene breaks into two parts, echoing the two columns below it, with the king enthroned at left and his troops attacking the relatives at right. The single miniature of Thomas Becket taking leave of Pope Alexander III (ill. 49b) arranges its figures in three groups and places the important figures of Becket and the pope above the red rubric in the central column. Images on pages with two columns similarly adjust their formal properties to conform to the text, so that when Becket excommunicates his enemies and then argues his case

before kings Henry II and Louis VII (ill. 49c), the two scenes are divided by a pillar, whose left edge reinforces the vertical ruling of the text. When Becket leaves Henry II and Louis VII in a single scene (ill. 49d), the movement in opposite directions clusters above the centers of the columns below the oblong miniature.

In the miniature on folio 1 (ill. 49a) small Latin labels identify the opponents (rex henricus, beatus Thomas), while Latin captions above and within the pictures and the French rubric below it draw attention to details in the painted scene. King Henry's banderole transcribes his order to expel the family, and the one framing the head of Thomas Becket's physician explains how ill Thomas is.7 The two rubrics describe Henry's expulsion of Thomas's relatives, "By the king all Thomas's relatives are exiled out of the land. Neither the young nor the old nor the woman who has given birth are spared," and Thomas's decision to cease his life-threatening fast, "Because of his fasts and prayers, his vigils and afflictions, he became very weak and sick at heart. By force of obedience he put an end to his

abstinence."<sup>8</sup> Sitting in the foreground among Thomas's relatives is a woman who has given birth, an image that resonates with absent texts and images, Henry's expulsion thus recalling biblical scenes of King Herod ordering the massacre of the innocents (for a later example, see ill. 43b).<sup>9</sup>

The Latin and French captions are essential to fully understand the visual tale, because the texts that describe the pictured actions are rarely synchronized with the miniatures; indeed, the text is often entirely contained on a folio that precedes or follows its miniature. The text in the column directly under the enthroned king (ill. 49a) begins in the middle of the account of Becket's fast, which ends just above the initial h in the second column. The text that begins in the second column of folio 1 concerns Becket's interaction with the pope, which is illustrated and captioned on folio IV (ill. 49b). The growing gap between the poem and its miniatures and the need for artist and scribe to bring them closer together explains why there are only two columns of text on folio 2-2v (ills. 49c-d); the miniatures had gotten too far ahead of the written story. By folio 3, the verse text is back in synch with the captioned images, and the book designer resumed using three columns. A.D.H.

- 5. Hamilton unpublished (quoting James 1920, lines 3961–66; and Fenster and Wogan-Browne 2008).
- 6. Fenster and Wogan-Browne 2008, 29; and Jordan 1996, 79 (both cited by Hamilton unpublished).
- 7. For the Latin, see Backhouse and De Hamel 1988, 31.
- 8. For the French rubric, see Rossi 2008, 50.
- See Backhouse and De Hamel 1988, 31. They suggest that the woman with the baby derives from a Latin account by Herbert of Bosham and draw the analogy to the Massacre of the Innocents.

#### 50

Histoire ancienne jusqu'à César Naples, ca. 1330–40

SPECIFICATIONS 363 ff.;  $33.7 \times 22.9$  cm ( $13^{1/4} \times$ 9 in.); justification: varies,  $21-22 \times 14.5-15$  cm ( $8^{1/4}-1^{1/16} \times 5^{11/16}-7/8$  in.); variable lines; 2 columns

ILLUMINATION 4 full-page, 2 half-page, 2 onecolumn, 298 two-column marginal miniatures, 26 historiated initials

COLLECTION London, The British Library, Royal Ms. 20 D.I

PROVENANCE Anjou family, Naples; Charles V, king of France (1338–1380); Charles VI, king of France (1368–1422); John, duke of Berry (1340–1416; 1413 inventory); English royal library; The British Museum, presented by King George II (1757)

The *Histoire ancienne jusqu'à César* is a universal chronicle that in its first version of the text, circa 1208–13 (described in cat. nos. 3, 4, 23, and 27), blended biblical and ancient history with the romances of antiquity in order to provide a prehistory for members of the ruling house of Flanders, its earliest medieval readers.<sup>1</sup> The text became immediately popular in Italy, France, Flanders, and the city of Acre in the Holy Land and survives in about seventy manuscripts, several of which pair it with the *Faits des Romains*.

This Histoire ancienne in London is the earliest surviving example of the second version of the text, which was compiled for members of the Angevin court in Naples in the 1330s.<sup>2</sup> This version edited the text to focus more emphatically on Troy. It eliminates all biblical histories and the history of Alexander, preserving the sections of the Histoire ancienne dedicated to Thebes, the Greeks and Amazons, Aeneas, Rome, and the Persians and substituting an expanded prose history of Troy that interweaves portions of the original Histoire ancienne's Troy story, a translation into prose of parts of Benoît de Sainte-Maure's Roman de Troie, original passages, and translations into French prose of thirteen of the poems in Ovid's Heroides (The Heroines), which were addressed by Greek and Trojan women to the heroic lovers who have abandoned them.3

Neapolitan artists and an artist from Picardy working in Naples painted the elaborate visual cycle for this manuscript.<sup>4</sup> Four full-page miniatures, two half-page miniatures, almost three hundred two-column-wide marginal miniatures, two miniatures within the text block, and twenty-six historiated initials bring the *Histoire ancienne* alive for the mid-fourteenth-century

The discolorations around the edges of some folios suggest that they may have been folded to fit a binding. For textual editions, see Meyer 1885a and Rossi 2008.

<sup>2.</sup> For the identification of the Wormsley Becket leaves as the first, second, fourth, and fifth folios of a quire of eight and for speculation about the contents of the folios that followed them, see Backhouse and De Hamel 1988, 13. My analysis of the relationships between text and image suggests that nothing is missing between fol. 2v and fol. 3. If I am right, the folios would be the second, third, fourth, and fifth of the quire. For examples of hagiographic manuscripts that include saints' miracles, see cat. no. 20.

<sup>3.</sup> For the most recent state of research on Matthew Paris and his artistic production (and for the manuscript numbers), see Morgan 1982–88, 1:107–8, no. 61; Lewis 1986; Morgan 1988; Backhouse and De Hamel 1988; Hahn 1991, 218–54, 282–317; Lloyd and Reader 2004 (online), 42:620–28; and Hamilton unpublished. I would like to thank Jill Hamilton for allowing me to reference her paper.

<sup>4.</sup> On the flyleaf of the manuscript containing his personal illustrated copy of the Vie de Seint Auban Matthew wrote a note to "G": "G. Send, if you please, to Mistress Isabel, Countess of Arundel, so that she may send you the book about S. Thomas the martyr and S. Edward, which I translated and expanded, and which the Lady, the Countess of Cornwall, may keep until Pentecost." For the Latin, see Rossi 2008, 20. I would like to thank Danuta Shanzer for her translation of this note. For discussion of the inscription, see Binski 1995, 60–61 (cited in Hamilton unpublished).

Angevin audience and reinforce the textual revision by placing special emphasis on the Trojan story. The bulk of the cycle and all the large-scale miniatures appear in the expanded Trojan section, where they shape a visually complex interpretation of the story.<sup>5</sup> These exceptional images are supported by a continuous frieze of miniatures running across the lower margins of almost every page in the manuscript.

While the miniatures embedded in the text draw attention to high points of the Trojan story, the marginal miniatures offer a continuous visualization of ancient history designed to bridge the gaps between the antique past and the medieval present. Facing marginal images on folios 258v-259 illustrate moments from Roman history—the North African campaign of the Roman consul Marcus Atilius Regulus during the First Punic War (264–41 BCE).

The left-hand image (ill. 50) visualizes the most dramatic event described in the text immediately above it. As Regulus and his forces reached the banks of the Bagrada River, a serpent whose thick hide was impervious to swords and spears emerged to attack them. The serpent gobbled up many of the Roman soldiers and was only stopped when Regulus ordered that siege machines bombard the serpent with boulders until it was dead. The powerful coils of the snake unfurl in the lower left corner as he munches on a soldier and blows venom from his nose while eyeing the knights who flee and gaze back in fear. Reinforcements riding in from the right and the soldiers dislodging rocks at the top of the mountain at the left evoke Regulus's response to the serpent. Although not a literal illustration of the siege machine, the miniature manages to convey Roman bravery and ingenuity.

The right-hand marginal image illustrates the battle described on its folio. In his campaign to conquer Carthage, Regulus and his armies marched and met the Carthaginian forces outside Adis (255 BCE). Despite reinforcements brought from Sicily to aid the Carthaginians, Regulus defeated Hamilcar and the "two dukes of Africa." The miniature represents the dramatic clash, including the Carthaginian elephants bearing castellated howdahs containing soldiers. Subtle clues foreshadow the Roman victory. Not only do the Romans move from left to right, pushing their opponents away from Adis, but Regulus is also painted overlapping both the leader of the opposing army and the foremost elephant, visually showing careful observers that the Romans will soon rout their opponents.

Miniatures throughout the manuscript employ costume and heraldry both to enhance narrative continuity and to please the Angevin owners of the manuscript. The opposing armies in the just-mentioned miniature are garbed in medieval armor and are led by crowned kings who represent the consul Regulus and the Carthaginian general Hamilcar. Fictive coats of arms are used throughout the book to identify characters like Agamemnon, Achilles, and Hector and thus clarify the visual narrative, and actual Angevin coats of arms (Anjou, Anjou-Naples, Anjou-Hungary, and Anjou quartered with Provence, and modified arms of Jerusalem) are given to such heroes as Hercules and Theseus, as a compliment to the book's owners.<sup>6</sup>

In the late fourteenth century, this Neapolitan *Histoire ancienne* was given to King Charles V, and it became the direct textual model for several manuscripts made in Paris in the early fifteenth century.<sup>7</sup> The visual cycle of these manuscripts, however, recasts the Neapolitan cycle into the visual language more commonly used in Paris, thereby translating the Italian visual system into something that fit the taste and expectations of Parisian fifteenth-century *libraires* and book owners.<sup>8</sup> A.D.H.

- For discussion of Roger IV, châtelain de Lille's, patronage of the first recension of the *Histoire ancienne*, the *Histoire*'s dual instructional and entertainment roles, and early analyses of the text, see cat. nos. 3, 4, 23, and 27; Spiegel 1993; Jung 1996, 334–67; Croizy-Naquet 1999; Croizy-Naquet 2004; and Gabrielle Spiegel's essay in this volume.
- On the second version of the Histoire ancienne, see Williams 1984; Jung 1996, 505–62; and Avril 1969.
- . Williams 1984 and Jung 1996, 507-9.
- 4. François Avril (1969 and 1986) attributed the work to Neapolitan artists collaborating with an artist from Picardy who worked in Naples. He identified the principal Neapolitan artist who painted the Trojan kings and queens on fols. 67 and 154 as the same one who decorated a Bible (Malines, Bibliothèque du Séminaire, Ms. 1) of ca. 1343 and a Bible formerly in the Dyson Perrins Collection. A second Neapolitan artist collaborated with the first, painting the architecture and secondary figures on fols. 67 and 154 and the marginal miniatures through fol. 246. The Picard artist who did the decorated letters and borders of fols. 246 and 251 also painted a *Faits des Romains* (Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 295) and collaborated with three Italian artists on a Franciscan breviary (Naples, Biblioteca nazionale, Ms. I.B.24).
- The Trojan section of this Histoire ancienne is illustrated by 4 full-5. page and 2 half-page miniatures, 143 marginal miniatures, a text miniature, and 23 historiated initials. Historiated initials pick out more than twenty battles that took place at Troy and miniatures placed within the text emphasize key events: a full-page miniature at the beginning of the account (fol. 26v) establishes the geographical setting by illustrating and labeling Rome, Constantinople, the medieval Italian trading colony of Galata, and Troy; full- and half-page miniatures show the Greeks arriving and troops amassing outside Troy (fols, 66v-67); a full-page miniature picks out the nineteenth battle (fol. 154); and, finally, an image of Fortune turning her wheel with Priam at its summit (fol. 163v) foreshadows the Trojan defeat, which comes to fruition in a full-page scene of the sack of Troy (fol. 169), and a half-page scene shows the death of Polyxena (fol. 172). 6. Avril 1969, 301.
- Jung (1996, 506–7) identifies eleven surviving manuscripts of this second version of the *Histoire ancienne*, of which three (London, BL, Stowe Ms. 54; Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 301; and Grenoble, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 860) derive directly from this manuscript.
- For discussion of the copies, see Avril 1969; Rouse and Rouse 2000, 1:293–96, 402n66, and 2:115, 124; and Paris 2004b, 206, 268.

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The Roman Counsul Marcus Atilius Regulus and His Army Fight a River Serpent and Regulus and His Army March against the Carthaginian Forces, fols. 258v–259

*Crónica Troyana* (translation of Benoît de Sainte-Maure, *Roman de Troie*) Castile, 1350

 $\begin{array}{l} {\rm SPECIFICATIONS} & 183\,{\rm ff.}; 40\times29.5\,{\rm cm}\,(15^{3}\!/\!4\times11^{5}\!/\!8\,{\rm in.}); \\ {\rm justification:}\, 31.5\times[10\times3.3\times9.6]\,{\rm cm}\,(12^{3}\!/\!8\times[3^{15}\!/\!16\times15^{16}\!\times1^{5}\!/\!16\times15^{1$ 

ILLUMINATION 70 miniatures of various sizes COLLECTION Madrid, National Trust and Royal

Library of the Monastery of El Escorial, Ms. h.I.6

PROVENANCE Alfonso XI, king of Castile and Leon (1311–1350); Alcázar de Segovia (by 1503); Simancas (16th century); Royal Library of the Monastery of El Escorial (in 1576 inventory of books transferred from Simancas to El Escorial, 1576)

Among the relatively few illuminated manuscripts commissioned by the fourteenth-century Spanish royal court, this copy of the Trojan legend certainly was the most ambitious and accomplished.<sup>1</sup> It was begun for Alfonso XI (1311-1350) and completed for his son, Pedro of Castile, after Alfonso's unexpected death during the siege of Gibraltar. A colophon dates the manuscript precisely to December of 1350 and names Nicolás González, a wellknown royal scribe.<sup>2</sup> A number of artists worked closely together on the manuscript, which originally had well over seventy illuminations, many of them full page.<sup>3</sup> The existence of this elaborate illuminated book, the earliest one with a Trojan focus in medieval Castile, indicates that Alfonso XI had a specific reason in mind for its commission, one that was likely related to the popularity of Trojan material in illuminated manuscripts at the other great courts of Europe, particularly that of France.

The text itself is a fairly faithful translation into castellano of Benoît de Sainte-Maure's twelfth-century Roman de Troie (see fig. 26), thought to have been originally composed for Eleanor of Aquitaine.4 The text enjoyed great popularity in thirteenth- and fourteenth-century France, and after some of its material was incorporated into the Histoire ancienne, its narratives lived on in the fourteenth century at the Neapolitan court as well (see cat. no. 50).<sup>5</sup> However, unlike in England and Italy, French did not become the court language of the Iberian peninsula, so Alfonso XI ordered a translation of Benoît's text into castellano.6 Although Alfonso can only be associated with a handful of illuminated manuscripts, those that he did commission clearly indicate his interests. Besides this copy of the Trojan legend, his illuminated manuscripts included a Coronation book, including the ordo for a royal coronation (Madrid, Royal Library of the Monastery of El Escorial, Ms. &.III.3), and a legal corpus (Madrid, Biblioteca nacional, Ms. Res. 9), both concerned with royal authority.

Alfonso was no doubt inspired by his immediate royal predecessors, who had commissioned several manuscripts concerning history, including a never-completed but ambitious narrative on the history of the Crusades (Biblioteca nacional, Ms. 1187), a general history (El Escorial, Ms. I.I.2), and a history of Spain (El Escorial, Ms. X.I.4).7 Above all, Alfonso had the example of his learned ancestor Alfonso X (d. 1284),8 who wrote, "Histories, romances, and other books ... treat of those matters from which men derive joy and pleasure. And, although each of these has been found to be beneficial,...this is more proper for kings than for other men, for they should perform their acts in a very orderly way, and according to reason."9 It is even possible that Alfonso XI planned to evoke the literary and artistic traditions of his revered ancestor through his choice of projects in the hope of bolstering his authority.<sup>10</sup> The Trojan narrative, which paints a picture of chivalric prowess and the glories of war, was likely intended to foster both the loyalty of his knights and their thirst for victory.

The program of illumination in this manuscript ranges from one-column miniatures depicting a single event to two-page openings with miniatures of multiple registers that concern larger portions of the story. In one illumination that encompasses almost two-thirds of the page (ill. 51a), trumpets sound as women look on from above and as Greeks peer from their tents before the city. The multicolored marble walls and horseshoe arches with an Eastern flavor (undoubtedly inspired by Islamic Iberian architecture) take their place side by side with Western crenellated towers. In another image (ill. 51b), the story of the arrival of Helen and Paris at the gates of Troy has been visualized as including the popular and peculiarly Spanish game of juego de bohordos, which involves men throwing short spears at small wooden castles (the men shoot from above the red barrel vault, at right, up to the castle raised on a pole at upper left).<sup>11</sup> These details of a blended culture can be seen throughout the manuscript and accurately reflect the milieu of contemporary Castile.<sup>12</sup> Because the Castilian text was fairly faithful to the original French work,13 the illuminations served as cultural translators for the audience.

The fact that the images sometimes come before the associated text and sometimes afterward, combined with the lengthy captions (in addition to rubrics), suggests that the illustrative program was perhaps meant to be "read" separately from the text;<sup>14</sup> a reader could glean the highlights of the story by enjoying the miniatures alone.



The Greeks Encamped before Troy, fol. 40v (detail)

The best of the artists was largely active in the first half of the book. His illuminations are characterized by a sense of frenzied energy—he captures the confusion and color of the battlefield, its bloodthirstiness and mayhem. He also has a knack for detail, including small, delicate figures in his courtly scenes. Each miniature of the manuscript is filled with scenes of courtly romance that brim with details taken from the daily life of Castile and repurposed into an ideal of the antique past.

The iconography and some of the details seem to indicate that the artist was familiar with both French copies of the *Roman de Troie* and Italian manuscripts of the *Histoire ancienne* (see cat. no. 50).<sup>15</sup> The French and Italian courtly tones captured in this manuscript may then have influenced other secular programs devised for royal use, such as the painted ceilings of the Hall of Justice at the Alhambra.<sup>16</sup> At this time, the king was attempting to gather the reins of power in his own lands as well as to establish Castile as a major player in Europe. Since every major European power claimed direct descent from one or another Trojan character, the commissioning of the *Croníca Troyana* may be interpreted as an attempt on Alfonso's part to place himself and his kingdom on the same level as countries like France, Italy, and England.<sup>17</sup> Indeed, since he knew of the important role that illuminated manuscripts with Trojan subject matter played at the French court, just having such a manuscript may have been seen by him as a prerequisite for entrance onto the greater European stage. E.M.

### 51b

The Arrival of Paris and Helen at Troy, fol. 23v (detail)



- I would like to thank Rosa Porto for all her help in the study of this manuscript.
- 2. For a copy of the colophon, see Rodríguez Porto 2009, 405. Because Spain lacked a commercial business for the creation of illuminated manuscripts, this text, like the royal documents of the time, is written in a chart hand. González may have also been one of the manuscript's artists.
- 3. A fire in the royal library in 1671 destroyed some pages and left many of the remaining miniatures damaged.
- The best edition of the original French text is Constans 1904–12.
   Editions of the Castilian text can be found in Parker 1977 and D'Ambruoso 2007.
- 5. For the Trojan legend in the manuscript illumination of Europe and France, see Buchthal 1971, Jung 1996, Morrison 2002, and Morrison forthcoming.
- 6. The first Iberian translation of the *Roman de Troie* was written in Galician. This version, now lost, was the source for Alfonso's own translation.
- 7. Some of these manuscripts may have even been amended by Alfonso XI's workshops. For the role of these texts at the Castilian court, see Rodríguez Porto 2005, 10n2; Rodríguez Porto 2008, 239–40; and Rodríguez Porto forthcoming (c).

- 8. For the active manuscript tradition during the thirteenth century at the Castilian court and the influence of France, compared to a relative inactivity during the fourteenth century, see Greenia 1997.
- 9. Alfonso X, Partida II, translation in Scott 1931, 297.
- 10. After a minority characterized by struggles with the nobility, Alfonso ruthlessly asserted his authority upon gaining his majority and went on to take on both the Emirate of Granada and the Marinid dynasty.
- 11. Rodríguez Porto 2005, 19.
- 12. Rodríguez Porto (2005) has explored this topic in depth.
- 13. For differences between the original French and the Castilian translation, see Lorenzo 1985. Rodríguez Porto (2005, 12) points out that one difference is the addition of a section by Isidore of Seville, the revered Spanish encyclopedist, which is reflected in the inclusion of a typical Spanish "T-O" map, fol. 137v.
- 14. The images in the manuscript often come in pairs. Sometimes, two full pages of illumination are involved, while in other cases, a onethird-page miniature in the distinctive shape of an L is combined with a full-page miniature.
- 15. Buchthal 1971, 14–19; Rodríguez Porto 2009.
- 16. Rodríguez Porto 2008.
- 17. Rodríguez Porto 2008, 251.

### Jean Froissart, Chroniques

Master of the Getty Froissart; Master of the Soane Josephus; Master of Edward IV; Master of the Copenhagen Caesar (?); Master of the London Wavrin (?)

Bruges, ca. 1480–83

SPECIFICATIONS 366 ff.;  $48 \times 35 \text{ cm} (1878 \times 13^{3/4} \text{ in.})$ ; justification:  $29 \times [8 \times 3.5 \times 8] \text{ cm} (117/16 \times [3^{1/8} \times 1^{3/8} \times 3^{1/8}] \text{ in.})$ ; 39 lines; 2 columns

ILLUMINATION 1 half-page frontispiece, 24 halfpage, 39 quarter-page miniatures

COLLECTION Los Angeles, The J. Paul Getty Museum, Ms. Ludwig XIII 7

PROVENANCE (?) Edward IV, king of England (1442– 1483); (?) English royal library, Richmond Palace (16th century); James de Rothschild (1792–1868); Edmond de Rothschild (1845–1934; Ms. 3); Maurice Edmond de Rothschild (1878–1957) and Miriam Caroline Alexandrine de Rothschild (1884–1965; Ms. 33); [sale, H. P. Kraus (purchased 1968), *Monumenta codicum manu scriptorium*, New York, 1974, no. 40]; Peter (1925–1996) and Irene (b. 1927) Ludwig, Aachen; [H. P. Kraus, New York]; Peter and Irene Ludwig, Aachen

The Chroniques of Jean Froissart, still one of the most important sources for information about fourteenthcentury France, was written in four books and concerns the events of the Hundred Years' War between England and France (1337-1453), which also involved surrounding regions such as Foix, Flanders, and Spain. It was immensely popular in early-fifteenth-century France and late in the century found a revived audience for richly illuminated copies in Burgundian Flanders.<sup>1</sup> The Getty Museum's beautiful copy of the Chroniques is a late example containing the entirety of Froissart's book 3. It was painted by a Flemish atelier that included the Master of the Getty Froissart and the Master of the Soane Josephus and is a luxurious production containing sixty-four miniatures, twenty-five of them large, two-column illuminations.<sup>2</sup> These illustrations highlight the actions of the English army (ill. 52a), and especially the activities of the duke of Lancaster. However, they also include events involving the French, the Flemish, the Portuguese, and the Spanish.

This book of the chronicle begins in 1388 with Froissart asking the count of Blois, Guy de Châtillon, if he may go to the court of the count of Foix, Gaston Phébus, at Orthez in Bern to learn of events transpiring in the ongoing war.<sup>3</sup> Guy, Froissart's patron for the history, then gives him a letter of introduction to present to Gaston Phébus. This exchange, the transaction that provided Froissart with an all-access pass to the court of Foix, was such an important moment that it was visualized in the manuscript's frontispiece, painted by the Master of the Soane Josephus (ill. 52b). In this illumination, Froissart kneels respectfully before the count of Foix, removing his hat and offering the letter of introduction, painted prominently in the center of the composition and large enough that the viewer can nearly read its text. The count makes a gesture of acceptance while his courtiers witness the exchange. Offering to retain Froissart in his household, the count gives him permission to interview anyone that he likes and extols his historical project as extremely worthy, a fact Froissart does not hesitate to include in his report to the reader.

The importance of this moment is underscored by the fact that it was also painted into earlier Froissart manuscripts. The early-fifteenth-century French Chroniques preserved in Besançon (cat. no. 41), containing books 2 and 3 of Froissart's chronicle, portrays this exchange as purely verbal (see ill. 41b). The illumination shows Froissart, in green, meeting the count of Foix on the left and exchanging information about past wars with him in the central background.<sup>4</sup> Although the Getty Museum's Chroniques follows the French tradition of illustrating this scene, the artist further articulates the importance of the exchange of the letter of introduction by painting it prominently between the figures of Froissart and the count.5 Laurence Harf-Lancner, having examined both French and Flemish manuscripts of book 1, argues that the frontispieces of Flemish manuscripts from the late fifteenth century often show images of Froissart writing or presenting his history to its intended owner.6 Rather than a presentation of his history, an image that would logically occur at the beginning of book 1, the Getty manuscript more appropriately portrays the author with the letter that would allow the history contained in book 3 to be written.

This manuscript also features narrations of military skirmishes in Flanders, Scotland, and Spain.<sup>7</sup> The illuminations tend to focus on Froissart's treatment of English military activity. For example, he describes how in 1386 the English navy, anchored near the mouth of the Thames in Margate, was awaiting the Flemish fleet, which was returning from a trip to La Rochelle to take merchants' goods back to Sluys in Flanders (ill. 52a).<sup>8</sup> The English, upon encountering this fleet in the waters between England and Flanders, overwhelmed the Flemish with their naval might, confiscated their goods, and returned to London. Froissart emphasizes the size of the English fleet, described as "la grosse navie d'Angleterre" (the great





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English navy).<sup>9</sup> He explains that the ships were "sigrosses" (so large) that they could not approach the low waters of the coast and thus could not enter into the smaller waterways of the country.<sup>10</sup>

Impressive in its simplicity, the Master of the Getty Froissart's illumination of the English fleet in Flemish waters clearly expresses the enormity of the army.<sup>11</sup> The ships' imposing size is accentuated through their grand proportions in comparison to the tower to the left and the foreboding shadow they cast on the water below, made choppy by their motion. The stacked layers of shining helmets within indicate the hundreds of soldiers of the English navy ready to overwhelm their target.

This message of English strength would have pleased an English, possibly royal, owner. Indeed, King Edward IV of England may have purchased this manuscript shortly after it was made. Scholars have suggested the manuscript has been separated from a volume that belonged to Edward, now preserved in the British Library (London, BL, Royal Ms. 18 E. II, Book IV).<sup>12</sup> Edward's heraldic arms are present in the British Library volume, while the frontispiece of the Getty's manuscript has a blank space waiting for identifying arms to be painted in (ill. 52b), making a certain connection to Edward tenuous. The Getty manuscript is, however, an example of the type of Flemish illumination that Edward purchased in the last quarter of the fifteenth century, especially after his exile in Bruges in 1470-71, when he stayed in the home of Flemish bibliophile Louis of Gruuthuse.<sup>13</sup> E.K.D.

 See cat. no. 41 for an earlier fifteenth-century manuscript of Froissart's Chroniques. For another example of a revival of a French text for a member of the late-fifteenth-century Burgundian court, see cat. no. 42. Editions of Froissart's text used in this study include Buchon 1835 for the Old French and Johnes 1844 for the English translation. For extensive bibliographies on all things Froissart, see ARLIMA 2009 and Croenen online.

- 2. For a more detailed stylistic study of the artistic hands in this manuscript, see Los Angeles 2003, 282–88.
- 3. Fol. 9; Buchon 1835, 369–70; and Johnes 1844, 68–69.
- The miniature also shows the court, on the right, witnessing a duel in the foreground.
   For more on the illustration tradition of French Proissart manu-
- scripts, see Ainsworth 2006, 1–37; Harf-Lancner 1998, 221–50; and
- Le Guay 1998. 6. Harf-Lancner 1998, 229.
- For more on the text of the *Chroniques*, see Ainsworth 1990; Harf-Lancner 1996; Diller 1998, 50–60; Russell 1981, 83–100, 172–74; and Zink and Bombarde 2006.
- The manuscript lists this as "Chape. XXXIX<sup>E</sup>" (fol. 168v); however, the passage appears in the edited volume in chapter 53; see Buchon 1835, 548–51; and Johnes 1844, 215–17.
- 9. Buchon 1835, 550.

10. Buchon 1835, 551.

- 11. The passage of text from which this illustration is drawn is not represented by the rubric, which describes the French preparing to march by land to Castile, but is instead found on the verso of the leaf, fol. 169v, suggesting that the *libraire* directing the production of this volume, the artist, or the patron who commissioned it was reading more deeply into the text, searching for this specific scene to illustrate.
- Le Guay 1998, 39, 185; Los Angeles 2003, 286; De Hamel 2005, 25.
   For more on Edward IV's manuscript patronage, see Backhouse 1987, 23–41; and Nicolas 1830, 125, 152, 238.

# 52a (opposite)

The English Fleet in Flemish Waters (Master of the Getty Froissart), fol. 169

### 52b

Froissart at the Court of Foix before Count Gaston Phébus (Master of the Soane Josephus), fol. 9



**53** (opposite) Frontispiece to the *Grandes chroniques de France*, sig. A<sub>2</sub>

# 53

*Grandes chroniques de France* Published by Anthoine Vérard, Paris, 1493

MEDIUM ink on paper

 $\begin{array}{ll} {\rm SPECIFICATIONS} & 284\,{\rm ff.;\,} 36.4\times25\,{\rm cm}\,(14^{3/8}\times9^{13}{\rm /16\,in.}); {\rm justification:\,} 27.7\times[8.1\times1.1\times8.1]\,{\rm cm}\,\\ (10^{15}{\rm /16}\times[3^{3}{\rm /16}\times7{\rm /16}\times3^{3}{\rm /16}]\,{\rm in.}); {\rm varies,\,} 46{\rm -}47\,{\rm lines;\,} 2\,{\rm columns} \end{array}$ 

DECORATION 21 seven-eighths-page, 1 threequarter-page, 288 one-column woodcuts

COLLECTION The New York Public Library, Spencer Collection, French 1493

PROVENANCE J. Legrant, seigneur de Saint-Germain; Sunderland; H. Bordes; Montgermont; Édouard Rahir (1862–1924); William Augustus Spencer (1855–1912); The New York Public Library (purchased, Astor, Lenox, and Tilden Foundations)

The *Grandes chroniques de France* (compare cat. nos. 6 and 26) was one of the first printed books published in Paris. Only four editions were printed: 1477 (Paris: Pasquier Bonhomme), 1493 (Paris: Anthoine Vérard), 1514 and 1518 (both, Paris: Guillaume Eustache).<sup>1</sup> These books contained the text of the *Grandes chroniques* to the 1380s, supplemented by other texts that continued royal history to the late fifteenth century. While Bonhomme's edition of 1477 was unillustrated, the 951 woodcuts that filled Anthoine Vérard's three-volume edition of 1493 (just the first of which is exhibited here) established the pictorial cycle for subsequent printed versions of the text.

Few of the pictures in Vérard's densely illustrated book relate closely to their texts; indeed, when luxury illuminated presentation copies of his edition of the Grandes chroniques were printed on vellum for King Charles VIII and other dignitaries, artists like the Master of Jacques de Besançon painted different scenes over the printed ones. Thus, the image exhibited here, which shows King Charles VIII entering Paris in the lower left, Charles being presented with a book outside a tent in the center, and a distant view of conflict within a city in the upper right, is replaced in one of Vérard's luxury editions (Paris, BnF, Ms. Vélins 725, fol. A2) by a large-scale scene of Vérard presenting the book to King Charles VIII, a classic opening image for his imprints.<sup>2</sup> In unpainted copies of Vérard's edition, like the New York Public Library's Grandes chroniques, a handful of original woodcuts are repeated several times without alteration within the visual cycle, and the vast majority of the images were recycled from sources that bore absolutely no relationship to the chronicle. Illustrations are recycled from the Old Testament

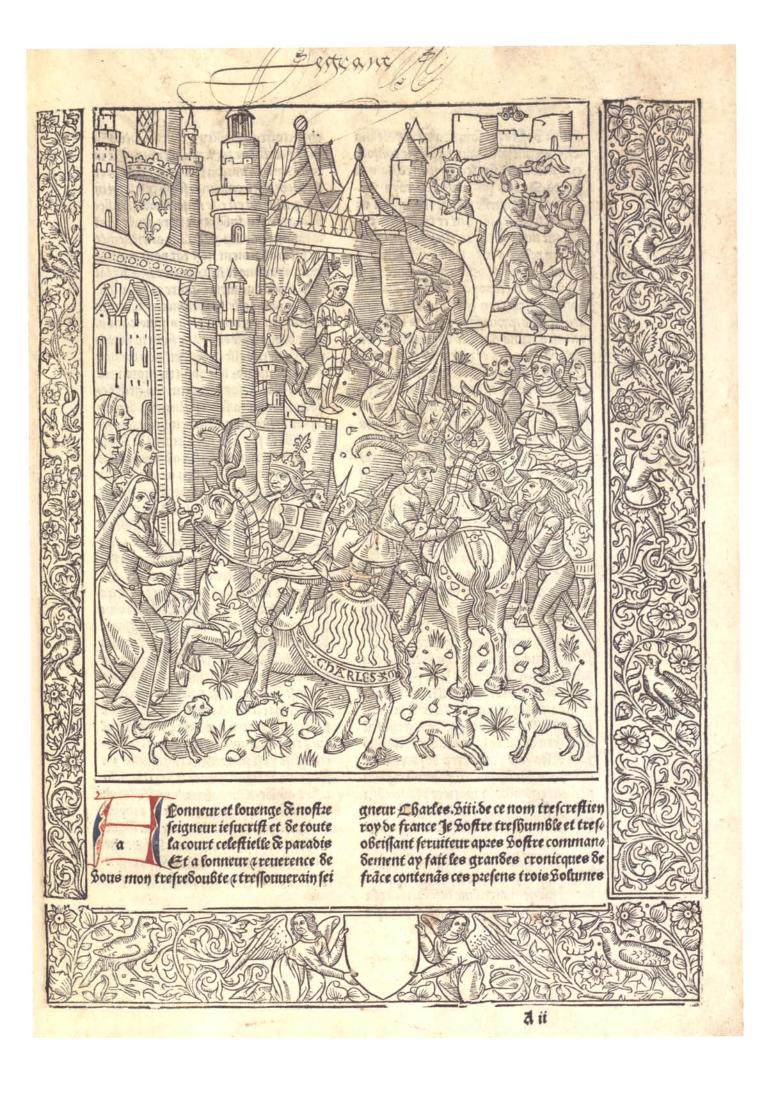
(Samson or Absalom hanging from a tree by his hair), ancient history (Battle of the Amazons), and Josephus's *De la bataille judaïque*, among other sources.<sup>3</sup>

For instance, this large frontispiece to Vérard's dedicatory prologue to the Grandes chroniques (ill. 53) copies the frontispiece created for De la bataille judaïque, which Vérard had published a year before, in 1492.4 It incorporated one significant change, which shows how on occasion subtle adjustments would adapt preexisting imagery to a new purpose in Vérard's publications. In the Grandes chroniques frontispiece, the inscription Josephus was removed from the banderole held by the bearded figure placed in the middle ground between the scene of presentation and the distant walled city of Jerusalem. This small change effectively retooled the image so that readers would focus on King Charles VIII entering Paris in the left foreground or on the presentation of the book to him in the middle ground. Without the label to identify and draw attention to the pivotal figure who points toward Jerusalem's destruction, readers of the chronicle would probably interpret the distant city as Troy and not notice the tiny figure of a Jewish matron eating an infant's limb, which identified the image as the destruction of Jerusalem (compare the lower margin of ill. 37b for an earlier moment in her story). The image featuring Charles thus becomes an appropriate illustration for Vérard's prologue, which states that he made the book at the king's request.

The bulk of the images are less important as direct illustrations of the chronicle than as markers that punctuate the book. Aside from an image of Troy's destruction (sig.  $A_1$ ) and the illustration of Vérard's prologue, there are nineteen large images that fill all but five or six lines of text. These subdivide volume 1 of Vérard's *Grandes chroniques*, which begins with the fall of Troy, describes the Merovingian and Carolingian rulers of France, and ends with the life of the Capetian king Louis VII. A smaller image filling three-quarters of a page marks the chapter that describes how Clovis's four sons divided the realm after his death, and single-column images accompany almost every other chapter in the volume.

The vast number of woodcuts, their repetition (indeed, the image reproduced here appears six times), and their varied sources may have had a much different effect on readers than was customary in manuscript *Grandes chroniques*. At best, the images of biblical and ancient history recast the chronicle as an epic history with broad sweep.

It may be that Vérard's illustrations helped shape reception of the printed chronicle and its continuations as a more universal history. Eustache replaced Vérard's simple title "The first volume of the *chronicles of France* newly



printed at Paris" (Le premier volume *Des croniq[ue]s de france* .nouvellement. Imprimez a paris), with a more comprehensive one, "The first volume of the *Grandes chroniques de France* newly printed at Paris with many incidents that took place during the reigns of the most Christian kings of France in the realms of Italy, Germany, England, Spain, Hungary, Jerusalem, Scotland, Turkey, Flanders and other nearby places. With the chronicle of father Robert Gaugin containing the *Cronique Martienne*."<sup>5</sup> Eustache's broad claims were fittingly illustrated by Vérard's extensive cycle.

- 3. On Josephus, see Winn 1997, 258; and MacFarlane 1900, xviii–xxxiii, 14–15, no. 30, where he notes that many of the cuts in the *De la bataille judaïque* seem to have been planned for a Bible that either was not executed or does not survive. With the exception of three images, including this one, Verard's Josephus images were previously used by him in Orosius (1491), the *Miroir de la redemption humaine*, and the *Chevalier deliberée* (1488); see British Museum 1963–2007, pt. 8, 78, 80–81.
- Josephus de la bataille judaïque Imprimé nouvellement à Paris (Paris: Anthoine Vérard, 1492). For an edition of Vérard's dedicatory prologue, see Winn 1997, 254.
- 5. "Le premier volume des grans croniq[ue]s de France. Nouuellement imprimees a Paris Avecques plusieurs incidences survenues Durant les regnes des trescrestiens roys de France tant es royaulmes dytallie Dalmaigne Da[n]gleterre Despaigne Hongrie Jherusalem Escoce Turquie Flandres et autres lieux circonvoisins. Avec la Cronique frere Robert Gauguin contenue la cronique Martienne": Praet 1822, 5:88, 90–91.

# 54

Chertsey Abbey Tiles Earthenware Chertsey, England, ca. 1270–90

Isolde Voyages to Tristan (design no. 502) Framed:  $40 \times 40$  cm ( $15^{3}/4 \times 15^{3}/4$  in.)

Gorman Hastens to View Morhaut's Body (design no. 492)

Framed:  $40 \times 40 \text{ cm} (15^{3/4} \times 15^{3/4} \text{ in.})$ 

Fragments with portions of the *Roman de Tristan* (design nos. 878, 936, and 939)

COLLECTION London, The British Museum, 1885,1113.8990 (no. 502); 1885,1113.8930 (no. 492); 1885,1113.9917 (no. 939); 1885,1113.9950 (no. 878); 1885,1113.9865 (no. 936)

PROVENANCE Chertsey Abbey, Surrey; The British Museum (gift of Queen Victoria and Dr. H. Manwaring Shurlock)

The beginning of the thirteenth century saw the first evidence in England of floor tiles used in abbeys and palaces, part of a growing trend toward luxury and comfort in spaces for the wealthy.<sup>1</sup> The most famous of these tiles are undoubtedly the Chertsey tiles, which were found at several points during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries among the ruins of Chertsey Abbey.<sup>2</sup> Although no intact tiles were discovered, and none have ever been found in situ, they are the most artistically accomplished tiles to survive from medieval England, and scholars have labored to piece the fragments together and identify them.

Two series of stories have been identified: one set seems to illustrate famous combats, including the wellknown tiles of a battle between Saladin and Richard the Lionheart on horseback;3 the second series has been established as coming from the romance of Tristan and Isolde, which, along with the legend of the Holy Grail, was the most beloved romance of the Middle Ages (see also cat. no. 18).<sup>4</sup> The subjects of the scenes from the second group (ills. 54a and 54b), along with some snippets of Anglo-Norman text (ill. 54c), allowed Sherman Loomis to posit that the base text used for the tiles was the verse poem of Tristan written by one Thomas, perhaps for Henry II and Eleanor of Aquitaine around 1170.5 Although the text is most famous for its story of the star-crossed lovers Tristan and Isolde, the Chertsey tiles emphasize instead Tristan's heroic exploits and adventures.

Both the series of combat tiles and the Tristan tiles are composed of roundels set within larger frameworks composed of multiple pieces. The combat group seems to be slightly earlier in date, and its roundels are composed of

<sup>1.</sup> See Guenée 1986, 206–8; Guenée 1987, 138; Praet 1822, 5:87–92; British Museum 1963–2007, pt. 8, 80–81; and Winn 1997, 254–65.

Winn 1997, 258. For typical cycles in manuscripts of the Grandes chroniques, see Hedeman 1991. Vérard recycled images in romance texts as well and continued to have artists paint more accurate illustrations in presentation copies on vellum; see Winn 2009.

four separately fired quarters that were then inset into a complicated mosaic of framing tiles. The series illustrating the story of Tristan was somewhat simplified in manufacture; the roundel was fired as a single piece with just four corner pieces helping to form a square frame.<sup>6</sup> Each of the Tristan tiles was framed with the same foliate corners, but the ring that surrounds the roundel takes the form of either hybrid creatures arranged nose-to-nose (as seen in ills. 54a and 54b) or words that would help the viewer identify the exact scene depicted (ill. 54c).<sup>7</sup>

The poem by Thomas on which the scenes in the tiles are based exists itself only in fragments (about one-sixth of the original text survives), but it is considered to be the more courtly of the two Anglo-Norman versions of the story, focusing on court intrigue and the growth and sufferings of love rather than direct action and fevered passion.8 In the Chertsey tiles, the emotions of the various characters often seem to take narrative precedence. One scene likely represents the king of Ireland rushing to the body of his deceased brother-in-law, Morhaut, whom Tristan had killed in battle (ill. 54a).9 The forward motion of the king's mantle, the contraction of his brow, the running stance of his legs, and the way his left hand clutches at the folds of his cloak all indicate his agitation and a sense of hurry. In a second scene, identified as Isolde sailing to see Tristan, who has been grievously wounded (ill. 54b), Isolde holds up her hand to the oarsman as if urging him to go faster, while the two men at the left of the boat gesture to each other.

Unfortunately, nothing is known about the artists who executed these scenes, and because these tiles stand as the earliest testament to putting the Thomas *Tristan* into imagery, it is unknown what iconographic precedents the artists might have had.<sup>10</sup> It has long been posited that a series of manuscript images was the likely source,<sup>11</sup> because of both the narrative nature of the scenes and their extremely high artistic quality at a time when English manuscript artists were well known for their work, while narrative tile making was a new undertaking.

Although little archaeological information remains to help direct historians as to how the tiles were originally used, there are links between the tiles at Chertsey and ones found at Westminster. In 1258/59, Henry III ordered that tiles left over from the construction of the chapter house were to be used in the pavement of Saint Dunstan's Chapel. Since it is clear that pictorial tiles left over from some other project were also used in the chapter house, it is likely that a series of tiles decorated the floors of Henry's private palace at Westminster as well.<sup>12</sup> There is general consensus that the Chertsey tiles may well have been intended for use at Westminster. **54a** Gorman Hastens to View Morhaut's Body

**54b** Isolde Voyages to Tristan



**54C** "T(ri)st(ra)m" (design no. 939) "...ne en En(g)let(e)re" (design no. 878) "Marc" (design no. 936)



If the tiles were originally designed for a royal residence, the theme of Tristan and Isolde makes more sense. Although secular themes are not unknown in religious houses,13 the royal connection to the Tristan story is well documented. Thomas had likely written his version of the legend for Henry II in the previous century, and Henry III was known to own a book of romances and to have commissioned scenes from romances to be painted on the walls of Nottingham Castle and Clarendon Palace.<sup>14</sup> Moreover, the Chertsey tiles twice depict Tristan carrying a shield with a single lion rampant, likely a direct reference to the heraldry of the English king.<sup>15</sup> If the tiles were originally designed for use in one of the king's private residences, it is more than likely that one of his manuscripts was used as the source for the imagery. Perhaps the molds were then carried to Chertsey for use there. It has been

remarked that the stress on heroic combat and adventure that characterizes the tiles found at Chertsey is at odds with Thomas's original text, but this would make sense in that ecclesiastical setting, where stories of unbridled passion and adulterous love might not be acceptable.<sup>16</sup> It may be that the full complement of molds was not reused at Chertsey, but only a carefully selected, and more decorous, set. E.M.

Eames 1968, 1. As some of the earliest intact floors are those found in apartments decorated for Henry III and his French wife, Eleanor of Provence, sometime after their marriage in 1236, the tradition was perhaps brought over from France; see Stopford 2005, 1.

<sup>2.</sup> Small finds were made in 1787 and 1820, but the largest group was discovered by workmen in 1852. The tiles were obtained by a retired doctor; Manwaring Shurlock, who then pieced them together and published them; see Shurlock 1885 and Shurlock 1989.

- 3. Eames 1989, 145.
- 4. The tiles proved to be immensely popular, and the molds traveled to abbeys, churches, and priories in a widespread area and were still in use as late as the beginning of the fourteenth century (Eames 1985, 46).
- 5. Loomis 1916 and Loomis and Loomis 1938, 45. For an edition of Thomas's text, which exists now only in fragments, see Berthelot, Buschinger, and Spiewok 1994 and Marchello-Nizia 1995. For an English translation, see Loomis 1931.
- For the process of tile making in the thirteenth century and a technical description of the differences between the two sets of tiles, see Eames 1989, 144–48; Eames 1968, 1–6; and Eames 1992, 45.
- Eames (1989, 146–48, 154, 165) believes that because the original arrangement of words surrounding the roundels would have been too time-consuming to assemble, eventually simple hybrids were substituted, so that any ring could be matched with any roundel.
- For a discussion of the two Anglo-Norman versions, see Berthelot 1991.
- Although Loomis (Loomis 1916; Loomis and Loomis 1938, 46–48) did an admirable job with limited integral information, his identifications must remain probable rather than certain.
- 10. Frühmorgen-Voss (1975), Ott (1982), and Walworth (1995) have all warned against making too close a connection between text and independent visual narratives. In their studies of the extensive independent visual cycles of the Tristan legend, they have emphasized that each artwork had a particular function and audience that may have influenced its style and iconography. This is particularly interesting in the case of the tiles, which may have been arranged in any number of ways, not necessarily in narrative order. Also, the repetition of various scenes may have been used as a visual strategy unique to the nature of tiles.
- 11. Eames 1968, 7; Eames 1989, 146; and Eames 1992, 48–49. Another series of tiles produced in the early fourteenth century and associated with Tring Parish Church in Hertfordshire (tiles now at the British Museum) is closely related to a known manuscript depicting scenes from the apocryphal stories of Christ's childhood: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Selden Supra 38.
- 12. London 1987, 181; and Eames 1989, 163–64. Although no scenes in the chapter house match any of the known tiles from Chertsey, the form and the style of the drawing are similar.
- 13. Loomis and Loomis 1938, 45.
- 14. Cherry 1991, 60.
- 15. Loomis 1916, 50–55; and Brault 1972, 20–21 (Brault's footnote 3 gives the bibliography for Loomis's development of this topic, as well as later literature).
- 16. London 1987, 181; and Eames 1989, 163.

 ${\tt Casket:} {\it Scenes from Romances}$ 

Ivory, 10.9 × 25.3 × 15.9 cm (4<sup>5</sup>/16 × 9<sup>15</sup>/16 × 6<sup>1</sup>/4 in.) Paris, ca. 1310–30

COLLECTION New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Cloisters

*Lid, side, and back panels:* Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917 (17.190.173a,b)

Front panel: The Cloisters Fund (1988.16)

### PROVENANCE

*Lid, side, and back panels:* Sir Francis Douce (1754– 1824); S. R. Meyrick (1836); Frédéric Spitzer, Paris (1890); Baron Albert Oppenheim, Cologne; J. Pierpont Morgan, New York (1917)

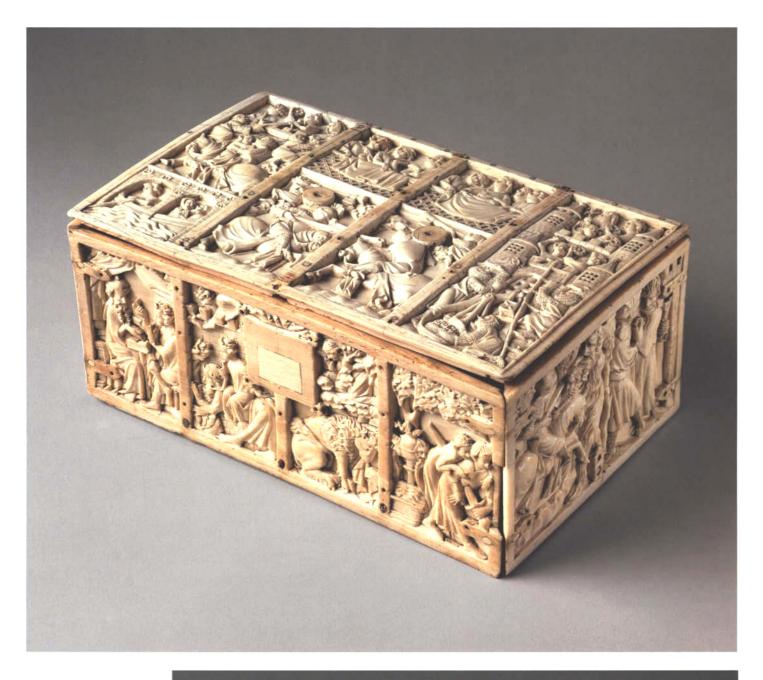
*Front panel:* Private collection, Sevenoaks, Kent; [sale, Parson, Welch and Cowell, Sevenoaks, Kent, April 1, 1987, no. 26]; Alain Moatti, Paris; Metropolitan Museum of Art (acquired 1988)

In the first half of the fourteenth century, Parisian ivoryworkers created decorated caskets, luxury containers intended for a high-ranking clientele, who stored personal and precious objects in them: jewelry, antipoison stones, letters perhaps, sometimes relics. Among these caskets, the most fascinating form a coherent group of eight pieces (see also cat. no. 56), which Raymond Kœchlin named "composite caskets"<sup>1</sup> because they are embellished with various scenes taken from numerous literary works in fashion at the beginning of the fourteenth century. The Metropolitan Museum of Art casket is one of the most beautiful examples from this group.

Its lid, like those of the seven other caskets, depicts the Siege of the Castle of Love (ill. 55a).<sup>2</sup> This theme covers the entire surface of the lid, which is divided into three distinct scenes: in the center, a tournament; on the right, three knights armed with roses attack the castle; on the left, while the castle is being besieged, a knight carries off a young girl on his horse.<sup>3</sup>

The front plaque, divided into four panels, depicts the stories of Aristotle and Phyllis and Pyramus and Thisbe. At left, Aristotle admonishes Alexander to stay away from women in general and from his mistress Phyllis in particular; next, an angry Phyllis seduces Aristotle and has him get down on all fours so she can ride him like a horse (see also cat. no. 61); from afar, Alexander observes his teacher humiliated. At right, the tragic end of the love of Pyramus and Thisbe is depicted, with the final panel condensing into one scene their successive suicides.

On the right small plaque, a knight rescues a young girl who had been kidnapped by a wild man. A tree separates this scene from the following one, in which a hermit gives





**55a** Lid: *The Siege of the Castle of Love* Front: *Aristotle and Phyllis*; Pyramus and Thisbe

55b Back: Lancelot and Gawain Galahad the key to the Castle of Ladies (an episode taken from the *Queste del Saint Graal*; see cat. no. 7).

The four scenes that decorate the back plaque appear, in the same position, on all the composite caskets (ill. 55b). They illustrate the adventures of Gawain and Lancelot: first, Gawain battles alion in the Castle of Wonders; his adventures are interrupted by the famous scene of Lancelot crossing the sword bridge to rescue Queen Guinevere; then the episode of Gawain at the Castle of Wonders resumes, with Gawain sleeping on the perilous bed, being shot at by arrows; and lastly, the queen and her maids come to thank Gawain for having broken the spell cast over the castle.

Finally, the left small plaque is decorated with two scenes separated by a tree: on the left, the meeting of Tristan and Isolde at the fountain, spied upon by King Mark hidden in a tree (see also cat. no. 59); on the right, the hunting of the unicorn, an allegory of *amor spiritualis*, as opposed to the *amor carnalis* of Tristan and Isolde.<sup>4</sup>

This casket is notable not only for the quality of its workmanship but also for the significance of its complex imagery and the diversity of the sources from which it draws. While all the scenes deal with the power of love (and, in a certain way, the power of women), their subjects come from different worlds. The image of Tristan and Isolde has its roots in the "matière de Bretagne" (the corpus of Celtic material including the Arthurian legends used in medieval French romance), and the adventures of Lancelot and Gawain in works by Chrétien de Troyes and later reworkings. But the courtly universe of Christian knights is not the only one evoked: "matière de Rome" also appears, with the story of Pyramus and Thisbe, taken from Ovid's Metamorphoses, and the misadventures of Aristotle, a satirical tale popularized in the thirteenth century by Henri d'Andeli in the Laid'Aristote (see cat. no. 61). Finally, the allegory of the hunting of the unicorn is inspired not by romance texts but by morality tales and the tradition of bestiaries.

As for the scene depicted on the right plaque, showing a knight with a wild man, it raises an interesting question, because at present it does not appear to be a famous episode from a known romance. Richard Loomis has suggested that it depicts an episode from the *Roman d'Enyas*, whose text has disappeared and is known only through marginal notes and drawings in two manuscripts.<sup>5</sup> If this identification is correct, it would indicate that the romance of Enyas, although it has now slipped into oblivion, would have been recognized by the owner of the casket.<sup>6</sup> However, one might also wonder whether this scene is not in fact allegorical, forming a counterpart to the hunting of the unicorn on the opposite end; perhaps it is not at all connected to a specific written source but was developed out of oral culture, just like the Siege of the Castle of Love, a favorite theme of the ivory-workers, for which there has never been any evidence of a written source that might have inspired the beautiful scenes depicted on caskets or mirror backs.

All aspects of love are depicted on the casket, each plaque illustrating a different theme. If the two smaller plaques present antinomic aspects7 (the adulterous love of Tristan and Isolde contrasted to the chaste love represented by the unicorn, and the lechery of the wild man contrasted to the chastity of Galahad), the two remaining plaques develop a theme through several episodes: the back plaque illustrates courtly love as a knightly feat of valor, while the front plaque shows the erring ways of love, both comically (the senile love of Aristotle) and tragically (the double suicide of the young lovers). Three other caskets are similar iconographically to this one: those at Cracow Cathedral, the Barber Institute of Fine Arts in Birmingham, and the Bargello Palace. All four share a variant composition, more balanced and subtle than those of Baltimore and London (British Museum and the Victoria and Albert Museum), in which the Fountain of Youth takes the place of Pyramus and Thisbe, and Galahad is alone on the right side, without Envas and the wild man. As Paula Mae Carns has shown, one can see in this iconographic composition a sort of figurative compilatio on the theme of love.

É.A.

- One finds several mentions of these in the inventory of goldwork in the collection of Louis d'Anjou (Moranvillé 1906, nos. 878, 882), including a gilded and enameled silver cup, on the bottom of which is inscribed "a blue enamel on which are Tristan and Yseutst and the head of King Mark in a tree. And inside the lid there is a round blue enamel sprinkled with golden rosettes, and there is a lady who is holding a mirror and a unicorn in front of her, and on a tree is a man who is killing the unicorn."
- These are the Taymouth Hours, London, BL, Yates Thompson Ms. 13, and the Smithfield Decretals, London, BL, Royal Ms. 10 E. IV; see Loomis 1917a.
- Loomis (1917a) recognized illustrations from this novel in paintings on the ceiling of the Hall of Justice in the Alhambra (Granada, circa 1370–75) and on enameled medallions decorating pieces of precious porcelain belonging to Louis d'Anjou (1360–68).
- Johann von Antoniewicz (1890) was the first to reveal this meaning, which has been echoed by most authors.

See Kœchlin 1924, 1:484–508 and 2: nos. 1281–87. Not included here is the casket from the former Gort collection, which seems doubtful. The variants among them do not necessarily reveal an evolution through time, as has sometimes been believed (see Ross 1948, 136–44; and Meuwese 2008); indeed, the story of Enyas, found on the Metropolitan Museum casket, which was considered the proof of a second stage in the formation of the iconography of these caskets, was already present on the Cluny casket (cat. no. 56), which has proven to be the oldest of all.

<sup>2.</sup> On this theme see Loomis 1919, Kœchlin 1921, Beigbeder 1951, and Greene 1995.

The upper part of this scene has been redone; see Carns 2005, 88n131.
 These two scenes are also connected on fourteenth-century enamels.

Casket: Scenes from Romances

Ivory,  $9.7 \times 25.7 \times 16.7$  cm  $(3^{13}/16 \times 10^{1}/8 \times 6^{9}/16$  in.) Paris, ca. 1300–1320

COLLECTION Paris, Musée national du Moyen-Âge, Thermes de Cluny, Cl. 23840

PROVENANCE François Baverey; Musée national du Moyen-Âge, Thermes de Cluny (purchased 2007)

Like the Metropolitan Museum of Art casket (cat. no. 55), this casket, acquired by the Cluny Museum in 2007, belongs to the group of composite caskets devoted to the theme of love and decorated with scenes from literature, romance, or morality tales.<sup>1</sup> It is iconographically connected to the group made up of caskets found in the Metropolitan Museum, the treasury of Cracow Cathedral, the Bargello Museum, and the Barber Institute of Fine Arts in Birmingham.<sup>2</sup> The lid is devoted to the "Siege of the Castle of Love," with a few variations compared to the composition of the one in the Metropolitan Museum, notably on the left side of the lid, which shows the taking of the castle.<sup>3</sup> Not listed by Raymond Keechlin, and having remained unknown until 2007,4 this casket represents an extremely interesting iconographic variation in relation to the other composite caskets, due to two scenes portrayed on the front plaque and on the left plaque, which are unique in the group. We will look primarily at these two scenes here, as the rest of the iconography is entirely similar to that of the Metropolitan Museum casket.

The front plaque is divided into four panels (ill. 56a): the two scenes on the left show the story of Aristotle, Alexander, and Phyllis (see cat. nos. 55 and 61), as is true for the other caskets in the group. On the right, however, the usual story of Pyramus and Thisbe has been replaced by two scenes illustrating an episode of the wisdom of Solomon. In the first, a crowned Solomon, who is holding a scepter topped by a fleur-de-lis, renders judgment on two young men who are arguing over their father's will. The following scene shows the trial imposed by Solomon to decide between them: the one who can shoot an arrow directly into the middle of their father's corpse (shown here in his shroud, attached to a tree) will be granted the inheritance. While the son who was born from an adulterous affair of the deceased's wife shoots his arrow into the cadaver, the legitimate son refuses to carry out that criminal act and is thus recognized as the true son and only heir.

This apocryphal episode from the wisdom of Solomon seems to have appeared in Western literature in the thirteenth century primarily in collections of *exempla* (moral anecdotes).<sup>5</sup> The story became so widely known that an illustration of the episode often opened the book of Proverbs (attributed in the Middle Ages to Solomon), especially in copies of the Bible historiale (see ill. 25b). The casket can be dated to the beginning of the fourteenth century for stylistic reasons, but also by its iconography: the ivory-worker depicted two sons here, as in the oldest version of the text,6 whereas later versions depict three or four. Along with a few manuscripts from the end of the thirteenth century, this casket thus offers one of the oldest representations of the apocryphal story in the West, before the flourishing of the Bible historiale. This "judgment of the sons" enriches the iconography of the casket, with its depiction of various facets of lovejuvenile, adult, adulterous, chaste, tragic, or comic (see cat. no. 55)—by including an additional dimension, that of filial piety. Here, however, the depiction of the wisdom of Solomon seems to be implicitly opposed to that of the philosopher Aristotle.

On the left plaque (ill. 56b), after the famous scene of Tristan and Isolde's meeting at the fountain, spied upon by King Mark (on the iconographic success of this scene, see cat. no. 59), rather than the traditional representation of the hunting of the unicorn, there is another episode from the story of Tristan, that of the "Madness of Tristan," known through two manuscripts from the twelfth century and later integrated into the prose Tristan (see cat. no. 18). After being banished from Cornwall, Tristan yearns for Isolde and returns to court unrecognized, dressed as a madman. The casket shows him during his appearance before the king, who is depicted in the traditional pose of one in power, while Tristan looks like a madman who has the features of the insipiens (fool) often seen in representations of Psalm 52: his head is shaved, he is holding the club that he uses to defend himself, and a bell hangs from his hood.7 This scene is found in illuminated manuscripts of the prose Tristan more frequently in the fifteenth than in the fourteenth century, but it seems unique in ivories.

The explicit introduction of the theme of madness enhances the significance of the casket on several levels. Combined with the evocation of the wisdom of Solomon, the inclusion of Tristan as *insipiens* seems to reinforce the contrast of madness and wisdom depicted on composite caskets and its warning against the folly of love.<sup>8</sup> But Tristan's madness is a feigned madness that is indicative of his willingness to accept the most complete degradation and social humiliation in order to satisfy the vital need to see his beloved again. Stylistically, this casket seems a bit older than the other composite caskets: the soberness and suppleness of the drapery, as well as Tristan's hooded cloak, place it at the beginning of the fourteenth century,





**56a** Front: Aristotle and Phyllis and The Wisdom of Solomon

**56b** Left side: *Tristan and Isolde*  around 1300–1320, a bit earlier than the New York, Cracow, Birmingham, and Florence caskets.<sup>9</sup>

If we know fairly well for whom these caskets were intended, that is, a cultured group who owned illuminated manuscripts and knew all the scenes depicted, a question nonetheless remains: who created this scholarly treatment of love (of which we are now aware of three variants), which developed only within the Parisian sphere, during a relatively limited period of time? Archival sources offer no information on this subject. Which individual, the one who commissioned the piece or the ivory-worker, was most capable of providing the repertory of sources, written or figurative, that enabled the creation of models, then their variants? Most likely, neither. This leads to the suggestion that it was an intermediary close to the customer, a cleric who moved in court circles, perfectly attuned to that culture and likely to transmit the desires of the client by way of famous scenes into a compilatio, or summa, of images on the ambiguous theme of the power of love. This casket, with its unique iconography, renews our approach to composite caskets and both enhances and modifies the interpretations of these polysemous works, which provide so many illustrations of the inexhaustible richness of love. É.A.

- 3. This part of the lid of the casket in the Metropolitan Museum has been partly redone; see Carns 2005, 88n131.
- 4. The composite caskets have been studied many times, and there has been renewed interest in them in the past ten years; see, in particular, Shoppe 2000, Carns 2005, and Meuwese 2008, 126–36 (this casket, being unknown prior to 2007, is not included in this bibliography).
- Notably in the very extensive collections of Étienne de Bourbon and Césaire von Heisterbach; on this iconography, see Stechow 1942, 213–25; and on the textual tradition, see Delcorno 1983.
- 6. A short poem entitled *Le Jugement Solomon*, inserted in a collection of fabliaux from the thirteenth century: Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 837.
- 7. We should note that the association between the *insipiens* and the judgment of Solomon concerning the two sons is found in the oldest representation of this theme listed by Stechow 1942 (see note 5): a psalter from the second half of the thirteenth century (New York, Morgan Library, Ms. M.183, fol. 70), where this judgment of Solomon appears in the marginalia of Psalm 52.
- An interpretation offered by Antoniewicz 1890, seen again in Dalton 1904, and widely accepted afterward, except by Kœchlin 1924, Ross 1948, and Tomasi (Alessandria 1999).
- 9. On the Cluny casket, the oldest of these composite caskets to date, the presence of the scene of Enyas and the wild man challenges the chronology that has been accepted up to now, according to which the introduction of this episode on the New York, Cracow, Birmingham, and Florence caskets marked an evolution in relation to those of Baltimore and London; see Ross 1948, followed by Meuwese 2008. We must therefore not see these variants as successive through time, but as so many possible choices.

### 57

Casket: Four Saints and the Story of Perceval Ivory, 7.4  $\times$  22.5  $\times$  11.3 cm (2<sup>7</sup>/<sub>8</sub>  $\times$  8<sup>7</sup>/<sub>8</sub>  $\times$  4<sup>7</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in.) Paris, ca. 1310–30

COLLECTION Paris, Musée du Louvre, Département des Objets d'art, OA 122

PROVENANCE Alexandre-Charles Sauvageot, Paris (1781–1860); Musée du Louvre (1865, gift of Sauvageot)

Among the caskets created in Paris in the first half of the fourteenth century and decorated with scenes drawn from romance literature, the Perceval casket holds a unique place. It depicts a single story, that of Perceval, on all its sides, unlike most caskets, on which several episodes from different stories are illustrated.<sup>1</sup> It is also the only one that combines religious iconography on its lid and romance imagery on the sides.<sup>2</sup> It thus differs in two ways from the so-called composite caskets (compare cat. nos. 55 and 56). Whereas the lids of those caskets depict a single large scene, that of the "Siege of the Castle of Love," here the lid assumes the form of a polyptych with four trilobed arches, under which four saints are depicted (ill. 57a). They are, from left to right: Saint Christopher carrying the baby Jesus on his shoulders; Saint Martin on horseback, sharing his cloak with a poor man; Saint George slaving the dragon (an angel above him holds his helmet); and, finally, Saint Eustace praying in front of the apparition of Christ's face between the antlers of the deer he was hunting.3

On all four sides of the casket the story of Perceval unfolds. A "wild" young man whose mother had carefully kept him away from the world of chivalry, Perceval can be recognized by the rustic attire sewn by his mother: a tunic and cap and long boots, all made of deer leather. The story begins on the small right plaque, which depicts Perceval's encounter in the forest with three knights, whom, in his ignorance, he takes for angels. The tale continues on the back in four episodes (ill. 57b): wanting to become a knight, Perceval bids his mother good-bye; she swoons on the edge of a drawbridge and dies (a fundamental episode, as it seals Perceval's destiny: it is because he caused his mother's death that he is unable to find the Holy Grail). Perceval rides in the forest, armed with spears; he encounters a maid under a tent, from whom he extorts kisses and her ring.

On the small left plaque, Perceval enters into the great hall where the court of King Arthur is being held: Arthur and Guinevere are seated at the table; in the background Kay, the jealous seneschal, whose words are always bitter,

<sup>1.</sup> On the composite caskets, see Kœchlin 1924, 1:484-508.

<sup>2.</sup> See Kœchlin 1924, 2: nos. 1284, 1285, 1286, 1287.

slaps the young girl who laughed for joy when announcing to Perceval that he would be the best knight in the world.<sup>4</sup>

Finally, the front plaque, which, as on a reliquary, may be considered the most important, shows the essential episode in this chivalresque initiation (ill. 57c): Perceval battles the Red Knight. After finding the Red Knight who had stolen the golden cup from King Arthur, Perceval kills him and strips him of his armor. In the final scene, Ivonet helps Perceval put on the Red Knight's armor; the first initiation cycle is complete, the naive or "foolish" young man has become a knight.

The narrative on this casket is unusually precise, faithfully following the first pages of the romance of Chrétien de Troyes.<sup>5</sup> A remarkable adherence to the text and a concrete narrative that concentrates on a single part of the story (the complete absence of the Grail or the Fisher King, essential elements in the story of Perceval, is striking) are unique features of this casket, as compared to other composite caskets, which present a patchwork combination of scenes, not a linear recounting of a single tale.

Among the rare illuminated manuscripts of Chrétien de Troyes's *Perceval* that have been preserved (only five),<sup>6</sup> none illustrate these initial episodes in Perceval's adventures in such a detailed way. BnF, Ms. fr. 12577, a Parisian work of the same period as the casket, has on its first page a large miniature where several of these episodes appear: Perceval going into the forest, encountering the knights, leaving his mother, fighting the Red Knight; but the scenes with the maid, the court of King Arthur, and Kay's story do not appear. However, the mural paintings discovered in 1991 in the château of Theys in Isère, of the same period





**57**a Lid: Four Saints

**57b** Back: Perceval



as the Louvre casket, illustrate exactly the same part of the romance, up to the taking of the Red Knight's weapons (there are, however, more scenes than on the casket, as was necessary to cover the walls of the great hall of the château).<sup>7</sup> The extant illuminated manuscripts present completely different aspects of the tale than the casket (or the wall paintings). It thus seems that the ivory-worker or his client referred essentially to the text itself rather than to preexisting manuscript models for the images.

The design of the lid with its four saints, spiritual models for the knights whose virtues they incarnate (Saint Christopher, service to the Lord;8 Saint Martin, charity; Saint George, courage; and Saint Eustace, unshakable faith), is a perfect complement to the plaques of the casket, which show the young man's first steps into knighthood. The Perceval casket thus seems to have been a very specific commission: either from an enthusiast who adored the story of Perceval or from a prince or great lord who might have made a gift of it to a young man on the occasion of his entrance into the knighthood (or perhaps both). The suppleness of the elegant and lively figures gives the visual story a rapid rhythm, a style that suggests the casket dates from the first decades of the fourteenth century. É.A.  There are also caskets depicting the story of the châtelaine de Vergy (see cat. no. 58) and that of the knight with the swan (see Kœchlin 1924, nos. 1310 *bis* and 1313). For the medieval French *Perceval* text, see Méla 1990; for the text in English, see Owen 1987.

- Although the casket in the Monheim collection (Kœchlin 1924, no. 1312) combines religious scenes on the lid with courtly scenes on the sides, it is unknown whether these belong to an unidentified romance or whether they are generic scenes.
- Michele Tomasi (Alessandria 1999, 184) identifies this figure as Saint Eustace (an identification that has, moreover, already been made by Loomis), which is more likely than his being Saint Hubert, as in Kœchlin (1924) and Gaborit-Chopin (2003, 361–63).
- 4. This analysis follows that of Loomis and Loomis (Loomis 1938, 74), which was reiterated by M. Tomasi (Alessandria 1999, 184). It seems more appropriate than that of Kœchlin (1924), echoed by Gaborit-Chopin (2003), who saw in this scene the maid whom Perceval had kissed mistreated by her friend, since that episode comes much later in the story and does not take place in the presence of King Arthur.
- 5. Except for two details: Perceval, who is armed with only one spear in Chrétien de Troyes's text, has two or three on the casket; he encounters five knights in the text, but only three on the casket. These differences have led Loomis (1925) to believe that the ivory-worker who made the Perceval chest referred to an older version, filled with Celtic traditions, rather than Chrétien de Troyes's text.
- 6. See Busby et al. 1993, 1:351-63.
- 7. The scenes, all inscribed in quatrefoils, do not proceed in exactly the same way as on the Louvre casket, although they also follow the story faithfully. This discovery was published by Ménard (1996) and more recently by Walter (1997 and 2007). Loomis and Loomis (1938, 75, figs. 150–54) also cited the mural paintings of Lübeck, cå. 1330–50, which were destroyed in 1929 and are known only through drawings; already very damaged at the time, they were not all legible but seem to have composed a rather developed depiction of the story of Perceval.
- As a protector from sudden death, he was also a very useful intercessor for a knight, who was particularly vulnerable to such an end.

**57C** Front: Perceval; Lid: Four Saints

Casket: Story of the Châtelaine de Vergy Ivory,  $9.5 \times 26.3 \times 14$  cm  $(3^{3}/4 \times 10^{3}/8 \times 5^{1}/2$  in.) Paris, ca. 1340-50

COLLECTION Paris, Musée du Louvre, Département des Objets d'art, MRR 77

PROVENANCE Pierre Révoil (1776–1842); Musée du Louvre (acquired 1828)

The casket illustrating the story of the châtelaine de Vergy is different from the other caskets presented in this exhibition in two ways: unlike that of the composite caskets (cat. nos. 55 and 56), its iconography is devoted to the illustration of a single literary work, a novella from the middle of the thirteenth century; and unlike the Perceval casket (cat. no. 57), its eighteen scenes illustrate the entire story.1

The lid illustrates the beginning of the story, which is set at the court of Burgundy (ill. 58a). On the edges of the lid, the scenes are inscribed in quatrefoils, whereas in the center, they are bordered either with trees to symbolize an orchard or with curtains to evoke a bedroom. The tale begins on the left, but the direction for reading the first four scenes is not entirely clear. The châtelaine de Vergy, a noble lady whose lands lie in the Burgundian domain, is carrying on a liaison with a knight (1) and makes him promise never to tell their secret. The two lovers meet in

the orchard (2). The châtelaine is training her little dog (3), who is used as a messenger between the two lovers: when she releases the dog in the orchard (4), it is the signal that her lover can join her without risk. The châtelaine receives the knight in her bedroom, under the watchful eye of the little dog, the faithful companion of her amorous meetings (5). The courtly tale then very quickly turns into a drama: the duchess of Burgundy (recognizable by her crown), who is also in love with the knight, attempts to seduce him, but he repels her advances (6). Furious and humiliated, the duchess tells her husband that the knight attacked her (7); finally, the duke threatens to kill the knight (8).

The story continues on the back plaque in four scenes where the knight is forced to reveal his secret love for the châtelaine to the duke, who eventually betrays the lovers by telling the duchess about their affair. The châtelaine then receives an invitation to a fête from the duchess, who, mad with jealousy, wants to destroy her rival. The small left plaque depicts the fête, where the noble guests are shown dancing in a long friezelike composition. In the center, the duchess approaches the châtelaine and perfidiously compliments her on her excellent grooming of her little dogs. The tale resumes on the front plaque (ill. 58b), which is divided into four scenes: believing that her lover has betrayed their secret, the châtelaine goes into a bedroom, where she dies of pain. The knight, finding her dead, takes a sword and immediately stabs himself. The

# 58a

Lid: The Châtelaine de Vergy







duke, finding the lovers dead, takes the sword out of the knight's body. This composition is among the most daring on the casket: only the duke's arm is seen inside the room; his body is still in an antechamber or tower. Then at far right, he leaves. Finally, the drama ends on the small right plaque: in the large hall in the presence of the guests and musicians, the duke cuts off the duchess's head. The epilogue is portrayed on this same plaque as the duke crosses himself and leaves for the Holy Land to atone for his sins.

This short story, a model of dramatic efficacy, is admirably portrayed here by a talented artist. The deep carving and rhythmic division of scenes bring the tale to life, enacted by rather massive figures with full faces. The hairstyles of the ladies, which feature buns on either side, as well as their dresses with cinched belts just below the bust, place the creation of the casket around 1340–50. The ivory-worker has given the tale a brisk rhythm by craftily varying the way the story is told through different types of settings: sometimes each episode is isolated, like a "cut" from a movie (the lid and long plaques), and sometimes a "traveling" or panoramic view melds several episodes into one, revealing a longer time sequence (the small side plaques). From a formal point of view, the framing of the scenes evokes both the tradition of miniatures in manuscripts (the quatrefoils of the lid) and mural painting (the frieze scenes under the arches of the small sides).

The figure of the châtelaine de Vergy became popular in mid-thirteenth-century literature, and she is found again in later authors such as Eustache Deschamps, Christine de Pizan, and Froissart. Her story reintroduced ancient motifs, whether biblical, such as the story of Joseph and Potiphar's wife, or classical, such as the secret love and double deaths of Pyramus and Thisbe, as well as more recent tales, such as the romance of Tristan and Isolde, the favorite lovers of the Middle Ages. The scene of the meeting in the orchard, which was secretly observed by the duke, could only have brought to mind the very famous one of Tristan and Isolde meeting at the fountain, spied upon by King Mark (cat. no. 59). Only this scene, considered to be emblematic of the romance, was illustrated in manuscripts of the story (fig. 51). The châtelaine de Vergy story offers an extremely interesting example of the complex relationships that existed among literary sources, illuminations, and ivories during the fourteenth century. If the twenty or so manuscripts preserved testify

58b

Front: The Châtelaine de Vergy

### Figure 51

The Duke of Burgundy Spies on the Knight and the Châtelaine de Vergy in La Châtelaine de Vergy. France, 14th century. Rennes, Bibliothèque de Rennes Métropole, Ms. 243, fol. 121 (detail) to the success of this tale, the number of ivory caskets illustrating it is even more striking: six entire caskets and three plaques, that is, between seven and nine caskets.<sup>2</sup> This is as many or more than the total number of composite caskets known up to 2007, even though these caskets depict much more famous literary works. Furthermore, as Michele Tomasi has pointed out,<sup>3</sup> only four of the twenty preserved manuscripts are illuminated,<sup>4</sup> and quite poorly compared to the caskets, since, as was mentioned above, they offer only one illumination to illustrate the entire tale—the scene of the duke hidden in the orchard to observe the meeting of the knight and the châtelaine.<sup>5</sup> This scene, with similar iconography, can be seen on the back of the Louvre casket.

The creation of the ivories was independent of manuscript illumination. An ivory-worker or a painter faithfully followed the text itself to create an autonomous succession of eighteen scenes.6 Thus, in the case of the châtelaine de Vergy casket, as in that of the Perceval casket (cat. no. 57), there were close connections between the texts and the caskets and between mural painting and caskets, rather than between the caskets and manuscript illuminations. The only other works to portray the story of the châtelaine de Vergy in narrative fashion are the frescoes in the Davanzati palace in Florence, which date about fifty years later than the Parisian caskets. Therefore, models circulated in the workshops of ivory-workers, as in those of fresco painters, which did not necessarily flow from manuscripts to paintings. As for the success of this story on ivory caskets, it is no doubt connected to the dramatic strength of the story, but also to its essential theme, praise for a secret, which is indeed quite appropriate for the decoration of a casket.

É.A.

- 4. The four are: Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 2136; Paris, BnF, Ms. n.a.fr. 4531; formerly library of Harry Walton, Virginia, Ms. A-2200 (present whereabouts unknown); Faye and Bond 1962, 524; and Rennes, Bibliothèque de Rennes Métropole, Ms. 243.
- 5. With the exception of the Ms. A 2200, in which the duke is not
- included in the scene. 6. Whatever the model may have been, it was used for our casket.
- as well as for one of the two caskets in the Metropolitan Museum (inv. 17.190.177, completed by two plaques in the British Museum, inv. 1958, 4-2, 1 and 2), the one in Milan (Castello Sforzesco), and the three isolated plaques (Metz, Musée de la Cour d'or, on deposit: Musée du Louvre, OA 10012; Florence, Museo nazionale del Bargello; Lawrence, Kansas, Spencer Museum of Art, inv. 66.5) and might also have inspired the variants in the composition of those in the British Museum (inv. MLA 92, 8-1, 47), Vienna (Kunsthistorisches Museum, inv. KK 115) and a second casket in the Metropolitan Museum (inv. 17.190.180), although all of these caskets were not carved by the same hand, nor probably in the same workshop.



### 59

Mirror Case: The Tryst of Tristan and Isolde beneath the Tree Ivory, diam: 7 cm (2<sup>3</sup>/4 in.) Paris, ca. 1340–50

COLLECTION Paris, Musée national du Moyen-Âge, Thermes de Cluny, Cl. 13298

**PROVENANCE** Bach collection; Musée national du Moyen-Âge, Thermes de Cluny (purchased 1896)

The design of this ivory, which originally formed the back portion of a mirror, is framed by tree branches at angles and enclosed by a multilobed medallion, itself inscribed within a circle. It portrays the famous meeting of Tristan and his beloved, Queen Isolde, at a fountain under a tall pine tree, which is spied upon by King Mark, her husband. Although surface wear makes it difficult to see the faces clearly, the figures are easily recognizable. On the left is Queen Isolde, wearing a crown and holding a little dog on her arm. On the right is Tristan, holding a falcon on his fist<sup>1</sup> and pointing to the reflection of Mark's face in the water of the fountain (ill. 59). King Mark, who has come to spy on the amorous meeting, appears in the branches of the tree. Although Isolde makes a gesture of surprise with one hand, the lovers do not otherwise reveal their awareness of Mark's presence and carry on a conversation aimed at disproving the cuckolded husband's suspicions. This ivory's graphic style resembles, although in a more rudimentary fashion, that of the caskets illustrating the story of the châtelaine de Vergy (see cat. no. 58) or the four plaques of a composite casket in the Musée du Louvre.<sup>2</sup> A comparison with these works, as well as the dress of the figures (Isolde's long, draping sleeves and Tristan's headgear), suggests dating this mirror back to around 1340-50.

# The Tryst of Tristan and Isolde beneath the Tree

For the story in English, see Arrathoon 1984; for a bilingual edition in French and Old French, see Dufournet and Dulac 1994.

<sup>2.</sup> See Kœchlin 1924, 2: nos. 1301–9. From their dimensions, the three isolated plaques might have come from the same casket.

<sup>3.</sup> See Alessandria 1999, 132.

The meeting at the fountain was portrayed often during the fourteenth century<sup>3</sup> as an emblem of the story of Tristan and Isolde. The scene was chosen more often for illustration than any other, including episodes that were just as decisive in the tale, such as the drinking of the love potion that dooms them to pursue their forbidden passion. The fountain episode is depicted on each of eight ivory composite caskets that illustrate romance themes (see, for example, cat. no. 55) to summarize the tragic story of their love.<sup>4</sup>

The episode was especially appropriate for the decoration of mirror backs, not only because their small surface area required the choice of a rather simple composition, but also because the essential role reflection plays in this scene was particularly suitable for decorating a mirror. The reflection in the water serves a double role: it unveils Mark's attempt to catch the lovers, but it also inspires them to adopt a discourse intended to deceive him. Such an ambiguous scene seems ideal for a mirror, an object of vanity that does not always tell the truth.

Despite the propriety of the fountain scene to mirrors, this episode was portrayed on many other small luxury items intended for private use: examples include a wooden casket, a hair dressing tool, a comb, a writing tablet case, even clothing.<sup>5</sup> It also appears on a magnificent enameled tournament goblet, where it is included among hunting and tournament scenes.6 Inventories indicate that it appeared on numerous ceremonial objects, in particular in the inventory of Louis d'Anjou, which includes no fewer than five different pieces of metalwork decorated with the scene of the spied-upon meeting. One of these objects, an extraordinary silver-gilt salt cellar, shows the skill of the goldsmith, who fashioned the bottom of the cellar into a tree trunk, at the foot of which a cut crystal in the form of the face of King Mark is framed by statuettes of Tristan and Isolde.<sup>7</sup> Most of these objects date from the fourteenth century. It thus took around a century after the writing of the prose Tristan for the success of the story to be indicated by its extraordinary use in the decorative arts-a use that extended much beyond illuminated manuscripts. If the meeting at the fountain was one of the favorite subjects for the decoration of small objects, this isolated motif did not remain contained within that domain. Integrated into the complete narrative cycles of the romance, it also appeared in monumental decor.8

If the widespread use of the theme of Tristan and Isolde at the fountain rests on the immense popularity of the romance itself,<sup>9</sup> and of its multiple versions, it was probably also encouraged by a sort of iconographic slippage or "contamination." Indeed, the artists representing this episode were following—out of instinct or because it was

easy-the way the first couple, Adam and Eve, were portrayed, that is, on either side of the Tree of the Knowledge of Good and Evil, an image that was certainly familiar to anyone in the Middle Ages. This similarity may explain, in part, how the story of the two lovers could be represented on objects made by and for clerics (like cat. no. 54 or an embroidered cloth and antependia from Wienhausen and Würzburg).10 Interestingly, one also finds several pages decorated with scenes from the story of Tristan and Isolde, including the meeting at the fountain, inserted into a monastic collection of varied texts.<sup>11</sup> A passage from the prose Tristan calls on the pope himself (a fictitious pope, of course) in order to justify the clerics' love of the story of Tristan and Isolde: having learned that their passion came out of a spell, the pope granted an indulgence to all who prayed for the salvation of their souls.<sup>12</sup> A wonderful invention that forms an exemplum for the modern reader: two fictional heroes acquired the dimension of real figures, transcending the distinctions between profane and sacred. É.A.

- The little dog and the falcon are the traditional attributes of a courtly couple and frequently appear on representations of this episode; for example, on a similar mirror back in the Vatican (Kœchlin 1924, 1:393; 2: no. 1058; and 3: pl. CLXXXII), on composite ivory caskets (see especially cat. nos. 55 and 56), as well as on an enameled medallion decorating the bottom of a gilded silver bowl mentioned in the inventory of Louis d'Anjou (1379–80); see Moranvillé 1906, 493, no. 2364.
   Inv. OA 10 957–10 960 (Gaborit-Chopin 2003, 417–18, no. 174).
- For a complete bibliography on this subject, see Carns 2005, 86n51.
- The exception is cat. no. 56, where the depiction of "Tristan's madness" is added to that of the meeting at the fountain.
- 5. See the inventory of these representations established by Loomis and Loomis 1938, 65–69; and, more recently, the article by Fouquet 1973 as well as Louvain 1987. For a fragment of a leather shoe, first half of the fifteenth century, see Leuven 1987, 1:134–37, no. 2.2.6, pl. III.2.
- 6. Ca. 1330 (Milan, Poldi-Pezzoli Museum).
- For the salt cellar as well as a fountain, two gilded (covered) silver cups, and a gilded silver bowl, see Moranvillé 1906, nos. 664, 763, 878, 882, 2364; for the salt cellar, see also Laborde 1853, 2: no. 312.
- 8. These decorative elements depicting the story of Tristan and Isolde reflect how widely the novella was known throughout the West, through translations or adaptations in Germany, Scandinavia, Italy, Spain, and England; examples include mural paintings in the castle of Saint-Floret in Auvergne (ca. 1370) and in the Runkelstein castle in the Tyrol (ca. 1390–1400), the ceiling of the Chiaramonte palace in Palermo (1377–80), the corbeilles in the Hôtel de Ville in Bruges (1376–80; Bruges, Gruuthusemuseum), Sicilian embroidery (ca. 1395; London, Victoria and Albert Museum, and Florence, Bargello Museum), altar cloths embroidered by German nuns, and others. See Loomis and Loomis 1938, 48–65.
- 9. On this subject, see Pastoureau's reflections (Paris 2009, 38–39) on the widespread use of the first names of Arthurian heroes in the Middle Ages. Tristan was by far the most frequently used.
- For more on Tristan and Isolde imagery created for religious settings, see Loomis and Loomis 1938, 51–55, 68.
- For six full-page miniatures (BL, Ms. Add. 11619), probably created in England around 1300, see Paris 2009, no. 76.
- 12. Loomis and Loomis 1938, 21.

Purse: Scene from a Merlin Romance (?) Linen with threads of silk, gold, and silver, approximately  $17 \times 30.5$  cm ( $6^{11}/_{16} \times 12$  in.) Paris (?), after 1342

COLLECTION Paris, Musée national du Moyen-Âge, Thermes de Cluny, Cl. 13533 a

PROVENANCE Charles Stein; Musée national du Mogen-Âge, Thermes de Cluny (purchased 1897)

On a background of golden chevrons, sprinkled with foliage of colored flowers and birds, a mysterious scene unfolds in a dreamlike setting. A man with long hair and a beard, whose body is covered with hair, is asleep; languidly lying on a flowered hill, he is wrapped in a beige striped cloak with a blue lining. Around him, three young women are performing a strange ritual. The one on the left is about to place a crown or wreath on his head, while the one in the center is playing a rebec (this part, very worn, is difficult to see). On the right, a young woman raising her arm is attaching a chain placed around the sleeping man's ankle to a tree branch. Time seems suspended, while the wild man dreams.

This purse (*aumônière*) for a long time was believed to depict the enchanted sleep of Merlin (ill. 60). Merlin was a disturbing half-human, half-diabolical creature who sometimes took on the appearance of a wild man or a shepherd wearing the skins of animals<sup>1</sup> and might indeed be the central character of this scene. No episode in the available texts corresponds precisely to the scene represented here, however, since the "entrapment" of Merlin is carried out by the fairy Viviane alone, and not by three young women. Viviane Huchard thus proposed another reading; she saw a half-courtly, half-allegorical scene around a wild man. But is this just an ordinary wild man, or is it Merlin? In fact, it is unusual to see a wild man wearing clothes, since by their very nature, protected by their abundant hairiness, wild men live in a world free of the constraints of clothing. Furthermore, the fact that it is striped adds a negative, even diabolical connotation to the figure's richly lined cloak,<sup>2</sup> which relates more to the wizard Merlin than to the "traditional" wild man.

The work came into the Cluny Museum collection in a slightly different form: in 1985, the purse was restored to its original trapezoid shape when it was separated from three other fragments that had formed it into a rectangle. Those fragments, decorated with blazons, a monkey, and a hare, probably came from its flap. The purse can be easily dated, thanks to the coats of arms depicted on the little fragments. A shield bears the arms of the Hangest family, one of whose members, John IV, was a lieutenant and general captain of Brittany, Normandy, Anjou, and Maine and a member of the royal council. He married

### **60** Scene from a Merlin Romance (?)



Marie de Picquigny in 1342 and died in 1363. The arms of the Picquigny family can also be found on the purse.<sup>3</sup>

If the purse was indeed made for Marie de Picquigny, it can then be dated between 1342 and 1363, a chronological range that is confirmed by both the depicted clothing and stylistic comparisons. The hairstyle of the young women, a headband above buns to either side, and their elegant gowns, which are composed of a surcoat with long, flowing sleeves, in which large openings reveal the tight-sleeved frock beneath, are characteristic of the years between 1340 and 1360. The clothing and the elegant poses of the young women as well as the poetic nature of the scene evoke the works of Guillaume de Machaut as illustrated by the Master of *Le remède de fortune* or the study of courtly couples preserved in the Kupferstichkabinett in Berlin.<sup>4</sup>

Furthermore, in its iconography this purse belongs to a group of similar objects decorated with courtly scenes, dating from the first half of the fourteenth century. Like ivories, purses depicting the courtly scenes seem to have been very much in fashion during this period,<sup>5</sup> but textiles, being more fragile, are less numerously preserved. They reveal the period's taste for a poetic universe that was also manifested on other luxury items intended for personal use, including ivories (cat. nos. 55-59), enamels, and textiles. While the Cluny Museum purse has lost its brilliance, the originally shimmering gold and silk threads would have made it a textile version of the translucent enameling in vogue during the same period. We find the same palette in both types of objects, used with the same refinement: light green in the central woman's surcoat, the grassy hill, and the flowers; yellow-orange in the small flowers; pale beige contrasting with a dark, translucent blue on the clothing of the wild man and of the young women on the right and left.

But what strange ritual are the three young women enacting? While the monkey shooting an arrow at a hare, depicted on the small fragments removed in 1985, seems to suggest a parody of the god of love shooting an arrow at one of his victims, the scene portrayed on the front may be an ironic version of a courtly scene showing womanly power triumphing over the savage male. The young woman in the center has, like Orpheus, enchanted the wild man with the sound of her instrument, while the young woman on the left is about to crown her beloved with a wreath (a common scene on ivories of the same period) if the man renounces his "wildness," which is symbolically indicated by the woman on the right chaining his foot. Wooden caskets from the same period display a similar iconography, in which a wild man, symbolizing male sexual impulses, is overcome by a woman during a courtly ritual.6

These scenes, which depict courtly themes in both ironic and poetic fashion, seem to be "marginal" to the textual tradition. Like the figure of the wild man, which entered the figurative arts through *marginalia*, they lack written sources and were perhaps connected to an oral tradition, either poetic or musical, which is lost today<sup>7</sup> but was widely known in the fourteenth century. As for the Cluny Museum purse, a lost episode from the story of Merlin<sup>8</sup> or an allegory on the power of women are the possible interpretations of a story the sources for which still escape us.

- 2. See Pastoureau 1991, 17-47.
- According to Huchard (2001, 101), these may be the arms of another Picardy family, the Trie-Dammartins. She also suggested that a third, fragmentary coat of arms belongs to the Garlandes.
- The Master of Le remède de fortune is named for BnF, Ms. fr. 1586. The study in Berlin is attributed to an anonymous French artist, ca. 1350–55 (Sterling 1987–90, 1: fig. 88).
- 5. Purses with similar scenes: Cathedral of Sens (gallant scenes in the midst of oak trees) or the Cathedral of Troyes (one, believed to have belonged to Count Henry I, decorated with the hunting of the unicorn, the other, that of Count Thibaut IV, similar to the one in the Cluny Museum in its conception, themes, and decorative vocabulary). Also, the purse in the Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe in Hamburg (inv. 56, 137; see Scheutte and Müller-Christensen 1963, no. 216, pl. XI) depicting a couple in love and that in the Musée historique des tissus in Lyon (Scheutte and Müller-Christensen 1963, nos. 214–215) showing a lady crowned by her falconer. In the realm of embroidery, we should also point out the little figures who inhabit the famous "leopard embroidery" (England, ca. 1300–30; Cluny Museum, inv. Cl. 20 637, probably a horse cover). In their elegant nonchalance, these belong to the same poetic world as the young women of the Cluny purse.
- 6. See New York 1980-81, nos. 16 and 17.
- As was the case for the story of Enyas and the wild man, which is no longer known except through drawings and marginal notes; see cat. no. 55.
- The polymorphous figure of Merlin appears in many medieval texts, some of which are connected only very distantly to his actual story.

<sup>1.</sup> See Walter 2000, 113-14.

Aquamanile: Aristotle and Phyllis Copper alloy,  $39.3 \times 32.4 \times 17.8$  cm ( $15^{1}/2 \times 12^{3}/4 \times 7^{1}/_{16}$  in.) Burgundy, late 14th century

COLLECTION New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Robert Lehman Collection, 1975 (1975.1.1416)

PROVENANCE Maurice Chabrières-Arlès, Lyon and Paris (1829–1897); Philip Lehman, New York (1861–1947); Robert Lehman, New York (1892–1969)

The beloved story of the aged philosopher Aristotle being seduced by the beautiful temptress Phyllis was popularized through the *Lai d'Aristote*, written in the second quarter of the thirteenth century by Henri d'Andeli, who was active in the Parisian university milieu.<sup>1</sup> The poem, of only 579 lines, tells of Alexander returning from India with a lovely young woman who became such a distraction that the nobles of the land begged Alexander's teacher, Aristotle, to speak with him. Aristotle admonished Alexander

for allowing a woman's blandishments to cause him to neglect the affairs of his government and convinced him to give up his lover. The young beauty, identified in later texts as Phyllis,<sup>2</sup> was angered by Alexander's neglect and hatched a plot to punish Aristotle.

Having previously warned Alexander to watch, Phyllis sauntered past Aristotle's window wearing provocative garments with her hair unbound. Aristotle succumbed to her charms and begged for her favors. She claimed she would accede to his wishes if he would first allow her to saddle and bridle him so that she could ride him like a horse. Only when she was triumphantly astride did Aristotle notice his former student looking on from afar. Abashed but ever ready to teach a lesson, Aristotle warned Alexander: "If Love is so strong that even I, for all my wisdom and old and feeble as I am, am unable to avoid his power, how much more dangerous is she to you in all the fire of youth?"<sup>3</sup> The moment when the conquered Aristotle looks up to see his pupil was the dramatic moment chosen for representation in this remarkable *aquamanile* 



### **61** Aristotle and Phyllis

(ill. 61).<sup>4</sup> Used in sacred and secular circumstances for the washing of hands, aquamanilae were popular metalwork objects of the Middle Ages, but most are in the form of animals or knights on horseback.<sup>5</sup> Very few tackled the representation of a specific narrative as this one does.

It is clear from details of this aquamanile that it was intended to be a luxury product used on a nobleman's table as a focus for entertainment and discussion. Although the poem describes Phyllis as riding Aristotle astride, with bit and saddle, the artist of this piece places her as a proper lady riding sidesaddle. The provocative placement of her left hand, however, as well as her low-cut dress, belies her prim position.<sup>6</sup> Aristotle, meanwhile, is dressed in courtly splendor rather than his traditional scholar's garb and looks up in chagrin, presumably at Alexander. The artist's choice to render the precise moment of discovery serves in this context almost as the punch line to a well-known joke, being much enjoyed, no doubt, by those at table. The fine depictions of the braid hanging down Phyllis's back, the buttons of Aristotle's tunic disappearing under his chest, and even the undersides of Aristotle's long-toed shoes7 indicate that the aquamanile was meant to be seen from all sides, and from a sitting position, where all the finesse of its details could be appreciated. The fine tooling and softly rounded shapes have long associated the aquamanile with Burgundian metalworking, while the costumes and other details suggest a date around the end of the fourteenth century.8

The story of Aristotle and Phyllis was quite popular judging from the wide range of media in which it appeared,9 including misericords, sculptures, ivories (see cat. nos. 55 and 56), tapestries, and three more related aquamanilae.<sup>10</sup> Although the story fails to appear in any of the histories or romances associated with Alexander (see cat. nos. 8 and 65),<sup>11</sup> and none of the few surviving copies of the poem is illustrated, scenes from the tale can be found in the margins of many manuscripts.<sup>12</sup> Most of these are devotional manuscripts, but the tale was teased out in secular manuscripts as well, including: Brussels, BR, Ms. 2 (Grandes chroniques de France, in the margin around an image of the Trojan War); Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 95 (part of the Lancelot-Grail cycle that is a companion volume to cat. no. 7); and Carpentras, Bibliothèque Inguimbertine, Ms. 269 (a copy of the Tresor des histoires). In the Lancelot manuscript, Phyllis is shown on folio 254 distracting Aristotle from his studies and on folio 61v appears riding on his back and brandishing a whip. In the Carpentras manuscript, an architectural framework on folio 108 holds three moments in the story: Aristotle talking to Alexander; then just below, Phyllis seen in Aristotle's study in the same position previously occupied by Alexander; and finally an exterior scene, to the right, of Phyllis riding Aristotle with Alexander looking on from above.

The tradition of the story's appearance in manuscript illumination must have informed its depiction in other media, and probably vice versa. The varied meanings of the story have been taken full advantage of in the aquamanile, however, where the sculptor had three dimensions in which to explore the full potential of the narrative. It has been suggested that the way in which Phyllis forms a tuft of Aristotle's hair into a horn transforms him into a veritable beast entrapped by his own lusts,<sup>13</sup> whereas, on a more serious note, the story can be interpreted as an example of Aristotle's weaknesses in contrast to the great respect his works garnered at the universities of Europe.<sup>14</sup> The theme of Phyllis riding him as a horse also serves as a negative mirror image of Alexander's early mastering of the horse Bucephalus as a sign of his future conquering abilities.<sup>15</sup> It is probable that all of these associations and more were discussed and enjoyed by those gathered around the banquet table admiring the exquisite workmanship of this piece. E.M.

- 2. In the poem she is identified simply as an Indian "damoisele," whereas alternate and later versions of the story give her name as either Phyllis or Campaspe and identify her as his wife. For convenience, I will refer to her here as Phyllis.
- 3. "Qui en fin jouvent ardez toz / Et en feu de droite juenesce, / Quant ge, qui sui plains de viellece, / Ne poi contre Amor rendre estal / Qe'ele ne m'ait torné a mal / Si grant com vos avez vëu": Delbouille 1951, 87, lines 482–88. Translation by Ross 1948, 119.
- For publications and exhibitions before 1900 related to the aquamanile, see New York 2006, 136.
- 5. For an excellent introduction to medieval aquamanilae, see the exhibition catalogue by Peter Barnet and Pete Dandridge (New York 2006, esp. 3-17). An entry as well as comprehensive bibliography for the aquamanile under discussion can be found on pp. 136–41.
- 6. As Barnet (New York 2006, 139) and Michael Camille (1998b, 148) have discussed, the aquamanile is unusually suggestive in its subject matter. Camille even ties Phyllis's placement specifically to an allusion to the woman-on-top sexual position.
- 7. For fourteenth-century fashion and its meanings, see Scott 2007, 78-121.
- 8. Bloch 1981, no. 41; and New York 2006, 139.
- 9. For explorations of the tale's appearance in medieval artworks, see Sarton 1930, Marsilli 1984, and Ross 1948.
- 10. Saint Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum, acc. no. Ф92; Brussels, Musées Royaux d'art et d'histoire, acc. no. 3145; and the most closely related example, Nantes, Musée Dobrée, acc. no. 896-1-26. See New York 2006, 139nn3 and 4.
- 11. See Ross 1988, 3.
- 12. Lilian Randall (1966, 197) has traced the theme in marginalia in her work.
- 13. Camille 1998b, 148.
- 14. Sarton 1930, 11.
- 15. Bagley 1986, 12.

For an edition of the poem, see Delbouille 1951, 30–61. Delbouille discusses the possible origins of the text in Indian and Arabic sources and includes a stemma of the various versions that appeared in thirteenth-century Europe.

Tapestry Cartoons: Scenes from the Trojan War Artists associated with the Coëtivy Master Ink and colored washes on paper Paris, ca. 1465

The Death of Penthesilea and the Treachery of Antenor (RF 2146)  $30.9 \times 57.5 \text{ cm} (12^{1}/16 \times 22^{5}/8 \text{ in.})$ 

The Destruction of Troy (RF 2147)  $30.7 \times 57.6 \text{ cm} (12^{1}/16 \times 22^{11}/16 \text{ in.})$ 

COLLECTION Paris, Musée du Louvre, Département des arts graphiques, RF 2146–2147

PROVENANCE Adolph Gutbier, Dresden (19th century); Musée du Louvre (purchased 1899)

Doubtless because most of the ruling houses of Europe claimed descent from Troy, Trojan history remained popular throughout the Middle Ages (compare cat. nos. 3, 27, 31, 48, 51, and 53) and was represented in other arts, most notably in monumental luxury items such as tapestries, which began to represent Trojan stories as early as 1364, when the inventory of Duke Louis of Anjou (1339–1384) recorded that he owned two large tapestries depicting the destruction of Troy.<sup>1</sup>

These drawings on paper are two of six full and three fragmentary *pourtraicts* (small models) to survive from

an original set of eleven that represented the Trojan story from the moment when Priam sent Antenor to reclaim Hesione from the Greeks to the fall of Troy.<sup>2</sup> Drawings like these were made in preparation for the full-scale cartoons that Pasquier and Jean Grenier of Tournai, merchant entrepreneurs, gave weavers to use in producing tapestry cycles showing the *Great History of Troy*. Parts of at least six late-fifteenth-century tapestry sets of the Trojan tale based on these designs still survive.<sup>3</sup>

Rather than illustrating a specific late-fifteenth-century text, these images interweave stories from many versions of the Trojan story into a dense narrative. Spaces defined by city walls, architecture, and tents isolate individual scenes that fully fill the surface, from the ground plane to the horizon, as was typical of fifteenth-century tapestry and of some late-fifteenth-century manuscripts (see cat. no. 45). The Coëtivy artists who produced the drawings sketched in brown ink, modeling the figures with a combination of brown ink and watercolor by creating hatching and crosshatching in ink and employing selective touches of blue, red, mauve, lavender, green, white, and yellow pigment that draw attention to individual figures and groups.<sup>4</sup> When executed in tapestry, the designs were supplemented by captions in French and Latin; the tapestries also labeled central characters, towns, and buildings, as was done in these drawings, where Penthisilea, the queen of the Amazons, King Priam, and Ulysses have **62a** The Death of Penthesilea and The Treachery of Antenor





names written on their horse or body. These captions identified key scenes but left others to be discovered by viewers, drawing on their knowledge of the Trojan story.

The visual narrative in the drawings generally moves from background to foreground, with pockets of space standing for units of time. Perhaps unsurprisingly, the most dominant scene in the drawing for the tenth tapestry (ill. 62a) features Penthesilea, the queen of the Amazons and a female Worthy (see cat. no. 67), who died fighting for the Trojans. In the upper left zone, Penthesilea, identified by her crowned turban and flowing hair, leads her troops in an attack against the Greeks, who fall back before the onslaught. In the foreground, the Greeks push back, and Pyrhus kills Penthesilea, who topples backward, knocking over the Amazon behind her bearing the pennon with Penthesilea's arms. The tent in the middle background frames Ulysses and Aeneas, who conspire with Antenor, the Trojan traitor, to plan the theft of the Trojan's Palladium, which protects the city. Antenor and Aeneas then enter Troy and, in the building at upper right, bribe the priests, who hand over the statue of Pallas. After that, Ulysses, Diomedes, and Aeneas meet with Antenor and King Priam in the foreground outside the city of Troy, and the apparition of an eagle spewing blood interrupts a Trojan sacrifice within the building in the right foreground, presaging the fall of Troy.

The Greeks capture Troy in the subsequent drawing (ill. 62b). Soldiers in the left foreground pour through the breech in the city walls and rush past others who spill out of the Trojan horse. They move relentlessly to the right, killing Trojans; the movement culminates in the foreground with Pyrhus slaying King Priam in the Temple of Apollo. Surrounding images deal with the fates of women. In the back left section, members of the Greek army escort Queen Helen away from Troy. In the center back, just above the Temple of Apollo, Priam's widow, Hecuba, who had fled the burning city with her daughter Polyxena, entrusts Polyxena to Aeneas. To the right, Hector's widow, Andromache, is captured by Ajax and Telemon, and in the right front, Polyxena, whom Aeneas had been forced to turn over to the Greeks, is executed on the tomb of Achilles.

This spatial organization of narrative is aided by the use of details such as turbans and exotic hats to signify that the scenes take place at a different time and place than late medieval Europe. A.D.H.

**62b** The Destruction of Troy

Inventories and accounts from the late fourteenth century show that numerous members of the royal family owned tapestries on Trojan subjects ranging from histories of Hector or the Amazon queen Penthesilea to the destruction of Troy, including Duke Philip the Bold of Burgundy (1342–1404), King Charles VI of France, Duke Louis of Orléans (1372–1407), Queen Isabeau of Bavaria (ca. 1370–1435), and

King Richard II of England (1367–ca. 1400); see McKendrick 1991, 44–49.

- 2. See Paris, Musée du Louvre, Départment des arts graphiques, R.F. 2140–2147 and Paris, BnF, Estampes, Ob. 62, discussed by Reynaud 1973; Sterling 1987–90, 344–55; McKendrick 1991; Avril and Reynaud in Paris 1993b, 64–66; Cavallo 1993, 239–43; and Buri and Stucky-Schürer 2001, 313–25, 253–56. Because of iconographic differences between these drawings and the tapestries made following this model, McKendrick believes that the drawings reflect a midway stage in the production of the tapestries.
- 3. Documents also record Trojan tapestry cycles, including several associated with the Greniers, that belonged to wealthy clients from all over Europe, including King Charles VIII of France, Duke Charles the Bold of Burgundy, King Henry VII of England (1457–1509), King Ferdinand I of Naples (1423–1494), King Matthias Corvinus of Hungary (1443–1490), Duke Frederico da Montefeltro (1422–1482) of Urbino, and Duke Ludovico Sforza (1452–1508) of Milan. See Asselberghs 1970 and McKendrick 1991, 62–63, 73–77.
- 4. Revnaud attributed these drawings to the Coëtivy Master, whom she initially identified with Henri Vulcop in Reynaud 1973, only to reject the identification with a named artist in Reynaud 1985, because she had become increasingly aware that the Coëtivy Master, though northern in origin, worked for members of the royal family and others, which suggested he was based in Paris. She later postulated (Reynaud 1993, 58-59) that the artist might be Colin d'Amiens, who was documented in Paris from 1461 to 1488 as a painter, designer of "patrons à peinture," and illuminator, and whose father was a painter and illuminator from Tournai, so that he would easily have been able to work for the Greniers. Although struck by the parallel between the biography of Colin d'Amiens and the work of the Coëtivy Master, she rightly advocated caution in attributing the work to him. Reynaud (1993, 60-61) and Cavallo (1993, 241) identified two works by the Coëtivy Master that are particularly close to the drawings: a Histoire ancienne made ca. 1460-65 (Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 64) and Henri Roumain's Compendium Romanorum (BnF, Ms. fr. 730) of ca. 1465-70, which is executed in the same technique as the drawings.

# 63

Tapestries: *Scenes from the Trojan War* Wool and silk threads Southern Netherlands, ca. 1500

The Arrival of Paris and Helen at the Court of Priam, King of Troy (F.1965.1.129.1.T) 3.91–3.96 (varies) × 4.19 m (12 ft. 10 in.–13 ft. × 13 ft. 9 in.)

The Embassy of Ulysses and Diomedes from the Greeks to the Trojans (F.1965.1.129.3.T)  $406.4 \times 373.4$  cm ( $160 \times 147$  in.)

COLLECTION Pasadena, Calif., The Norton Simon Foundation, F.1965.1.129.1.T, F.1965.1.129.3.T

PROVENANCE Royal House of Luxembourg-Montmorency, château de Cany, Normandy; Baron Felix d'Hunolstein (from his mother); Anne-Marie Josephe Montmorency-Luxembourg; [Duveen Brothers, Inc., New York, inv. no. 27433]; The Norton Simon Foundation, Los Angeles (1964–65)

Three tapestries in the Norton Simon Museum feature key moments in the Trojan story: the arrival of Paris and Helen in Troy, the embassy of Ulysses and Diomedes from the Greeks to the Trojans, and the marriage of Paris and Helen (ills. 63a and 63b; fig. 52).<sup>1</sup> Both the *Arrival of Paris and Helen* and the *Marriage* scene have a reconstructed strip along the top edge, and all three tapestries have occasional patches of repair and reweaving. All three tapestries are otherwise in good condition and are framed with modern borders that may have been added by Duveen Brothers.<sup>2</sup>

Woven of wool and silk, the Norton Simon tapestries evoke the renowned luxury and wealth of the legendary city of Troy (compare cat. no. 48) through jewel-encrusted architecture, richly patterned brocaded robes, and sparkling necklaces, crowns, and belts. The scenes are distinctly narrative, drawing details from a version of the Trojan story descended from Benoît de Sainte-Maure's *Roman de Troie*. They have, however, a different expressive goal than the contemporary eleven-piece sets woven in the 1470s and 1480s under the supervision of the Tournai entrepreneurs Pasquier and Jean Grenier for numerous royal and noble collectors.<sup>3</sup>

The Greniers' earlier set of eleven tapestries was very large in scale, stretching approximately one hundred meters and interweaving diverse textual sources into a tightly packed visual narrative of the fall and destruction of Troy. Each tapestry in the series contained numerous events; the *patrons* (models) for two of the Grenier set of tapestries show up to seven distinct scenes each (cat. no. 62). Tapestries woven after these designs replicated

63a

The Arrival of Paris and Helen at the Court of Priam, King of Troy

the drawings' captions, which identified individuals, and added Latin and French inscriptions along the top and bottom.

In contrast, while the Norton Simon tapestries are also narrative in nature, they use the Trojan tale less to tell the story itself than to use it to evoke themes such as the folly of Priam, marriage, or the family.<sup>4</sup> Instead of texts, very pale woven captions in Latin repeatedly identify Priam and Helen, and occasionally Paris, helping viewers to locate the key figures in the tapestries and thus decipher the scenes (ill. 63a).<sup>5</sup> Viewers can recognize other figures by their resplendent and consistent dress; Paris, for example, has flowing brown locks and always wears three gold chains around his neck, while his mother, Hecuba, wears a crown over her bejeweled headdress. The scene moves chronologically from left to right, showing the processional approach of Paris and Helen to Troy and Helen's introduction to the Trojan court. The procession is elaborated with late medieval details drawn from life, such as the musicians playing from a tapestry-clad balcony above the street or the flaring light of the lanterns that line the entry





# 63b

The Embassy of Ulysses and Diomedes from the Greeks to the Trojans

# Figure 52

The Marriage of Paris and Helen. Pasadena, Calif., The Norton Simon Foundation, F.1965.1.129.2.T (not in the exhibition) Paris doffs his red cap to present the kneeling Helen to his father, Priam, who is distinguished by his full white beard and flaring Eastern-style crown with its distinctive central gold floral motif and rows of dangling pearls. Helen's gold brocade dress is covered at its neck with pearls, and her stiff brocade headdress distinguishes her from the other maidens. When they enter the palace at the right, King Priam escorts Queen Helen and introduces her to ladies of the court in the foreground, while Queen Hecuba rushes to embrace her son Paris.

In the second of the three surviving tapestries, the *Marriage of Paris and Helen* (fig. 52), three woven labels draw attention to Paris, Priam, and Helen, arrayed in a triangle at the center of the composition. Other couples stand under the canopy to the left and right of Priam, possibly evoking married members of the family, and witnesses fill the foreground.<sup>6</sup> Tiny scenes in the upper left and right show moments before and after the marriage and allude to Priam's folly in allowing it to happen. At left a woman, probably his daughter Cassandra, kneels before Priam, warning him that Troy will be destroyed, and at right, Paris and Helen retire to their bedchamber.

In the third tapestry, the amazing marvel first described by Benoît de Sainte-Maure, a tree "whose branches were of fine gold transformed as by alchemy, magic or sorcery,"<sup>7</sup> fills the upper left corner (ill. 63b) and identifies the scene as the embassy of Ulysses and Diomedes. According to Benoît, the two Greek ambassadors admired this tree when they came to Troy to plead with Priam to return Helen.8 Priam is the only character in this tapestry to be identified by a caption, which is woven into the drapery just below his knees, but Ulysses and Diomedes are easily recognized, appearing first at the left, heading the cortege that passes by the golden tree, and then standing before the enthroned king. As though to make the subject of the speech visible, the tapestry designer draws attention to Paris and Helen by isolating them between two colonettes at the left of the group of courtly spectators.

It is impossible to know how many other tapestries would have completed the set, or how they may have inflected the set's visual message. It seems clear from the scale and luxurious intimacy of the Norton Simon tapestries, however, that this series would have been described in an inventory as a *chambre*, that is, as a set of tapestries destined for smaller public or private rooms in a residence, which may explain their simpler and more focused compositions.<sup>9</sup> This Trojan set may be more analogous to the nine-piece embroidered *chambre* of Priam that belonged to Philip the Fair than to the elaborate Trojan cycle produced by the Grenier atelier, which would have filled a large hall or courtyard.<sup>10</sup> The tapestries' production was first attributed to Brussels by Margaret Scherer in the 1960s.<sup>11</sup> Most of the tapestries attributed to Brussels were done in a common style and were ready-made for sale on the open market. The Norton Simon Trojan tapestries bear a particularly close stylistic relationship in size, composition, and detail to one of the tapestries attributed to Brussels, *The Adoration of the Magi* (Stockholm, Nationalmuseum). They share a construction of space through a piling up of figures dressed in elaborately patterned gold brocade, similar treatment of faces and hair, and even such small details as the pattern of jewels on columns and the structure of red and white feathers in elaborately plumed hats.<sup>12</sup> A.D.H.

- Elizabeth Morrison and I would like to thank Carol Tognari and her staff at the Norton Simon Museum for generously sharing their files, including bibliography, Getty Conservator Katrina Posner for looking at the tapestry with us, and Scot McKendrick for sharing his observations about the tapestries. The *Marriage of Paris and Helen* was not displayed in the exhibition. A fourth tapestry in the Norton Simon Collection, F.1965.1.129.4.T, was once considered part of this series but is now thought to represent Esther and Ahasuerus. For its attribution to Brussels and dating of ca. 1510, see King 1976, 236.
- King 1976, 235. The business archives of the Duveen firm are now preserved in the Research Library of the Getty Research Institute.
- See cat. no. 62 for discussion of this set and further bibliography.
   Scot McKendrick was the first to suggest a thematic reading around the folly of Priam. See McKendrick 1988, 150–53; and 1991, 66–67.
- All of these labels have faded so that it is extremely difficult to read them.
- 6. Paris's name appears above his head, Priam's on the top of the bench before him, and Helen's on the ground to the right of her feet. Some scholars, reading an inscribed t above the head of the man to the left of Priam, suggest that it might be part of the name of the Trojan hero, and Worthy, Hector, portrayed with his wife, Andromache. For a discussion of the inscriptions, see Scherer 1966–67, 376; and McKendrick 1991, 66.
- 7. The English translation is mine. For the French, see Constans 1904–12, 1:332, lines 6265–72.
- Scherer (1966–67, 376–78) noted the tapestry's dependence on the marvel first described by Benoît de Saint-Maure. For Guido delle Colonne's slightly later description of this marvel in his Latin translation of Benoît, see Meek 1974, 103–4.
- 9. For the vocabulary of tapestry sets as *chambres*, salles, or *chapelles*, suitable for rooms used for less formal events, for large halls or ceremonial spaces, or for sites where public or private prayer happened, and for the perception of tapestry as constituting space, see Weigert 2008, 325–26. For medieval definitions of *chambre* as both space and tapestry set, see also DMF, s.v. "chambre."
- 10. McKendrick (1991, 53) provides information on Philip the Fair's set, which does not survive.
- 11. Scherer (1966–67, 374) suggests that the tapestries were made in Brussels or Tournai around 1500. King (1976) attributes them to Brussels ca. 1500. Guy Delmarcel also attributes tapestries in this style to Brussels and groups this set with a number of other tapestries, including what he terms "altarpiece-tapestries"; see Brussels 2000, 19–23, 106–11. On Brussels tapestries, see Joubert, Lefébure, and Bertrand 1995, 57–62. I am following the lead of Adolfo Cavallo, who is more cautious in his discussion of select tapestries from this stylistic group. He suggests that until more documentary information comes to light, it would be best to attribute the group to the southern Netherlands. See Cavallo 1993, 377–420.
- 12. See Brussels 2000, 108, fig. 7, which compares most closely with the Embassy of Ulysses and Diomedes.



Tapestry: *Story of a Miracle of Saint Quentin* Wool, silk, metallic thread, 2.53 × 7.35 m (8 ft. 3<sup>5</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in. × 24 ft.) Northern France or southern Netherlands, ca. 1480

COLLECTION Paris, Musée du Louvre, Département des Objets d'art, MRR 825

PROVENANCE (?) Cardinal de Richelieu; (?) Alphonse-Louis du Plessis, archbishop of Aix-en-Provence (1625); (?) Jean de Dieu-Raymond de Boisgelin de Cucé, archbishop of Aix-en-Provence (1771–1801); Pierre Révoil (1776–1842); Musée du Louvre (acquired 1828)

The tapestry portraying a miracle from the life of Saint Quentin was one of the first medieval tapestries to enter the collections of French public museums,<sup>1</sup> when in 1828 the Musée du Louvre purchased the collection of the painter and collector Pierre Révoil. This beautiful piece soon attracted the attention of scholars, and in 1838 Achille Jubinal reproduced it in his important work Les Anciennes tapisseries historiées. In its large size, as well as its narrow, very elongated shape, the tapestry of the miracle of Saint Quentin is similar to the format of the church wall hangings that were in fashion in the fifteenth century.<sup>2</sup> All these tapestries, intended to be hung in the choir above the stalls, portray the life of the saint to which the church was dedicated. Written text was often given a noteworthy role, through captions describing the scenes portrayed; here, a strip running along the entire bottom of the tapestry is filled with eight octosyllabic quatrains in French explaining the various episodes.



**64** A Miracle of Saint Quentin (see also p. 258)

Detail of ill. 64 The Thief Gives Thanks to Saint Quentin It should be mentioned here that the tapestry looked different when it was acquired, and that the lower part was probably modified around 1900<sup>3</sup> by the removal of a wide edging of foliage, flowers, and fruit. In addition, the lithograph of the tapestry in Jubinal's 1838 work shows a frieze of ova creating a frame around the scenes and the text, accentuating the monumental nature of the tale and its written legend. The episode, quite understandable thanks to these texts, belongs to the legend of Saint Quentin (as originally reported by Gregory of Tours in the sixth century<sup>4</sup> and locally by a twelfth-century manuscript, *L'Authentique*<sup>5</sup>) and depicts the story of a posthumous miracle performed by the saint.

Eight episodes unfold over a continuous frieze: the figures stand out on a ground scattered with flowers (ill. 64). The first scene shows a man stealing a horse from a stable; then, a young servant alerts the owner, a priest, of the theft. The priest lodges a complaint with the provost of Saint-Quentin. Immediately afterward, two sergeants arrest the thief and take him to prison. The priest, having recovered his property, is concerned about the fate of the thief and asks the provost to pardon him. As the provost refuses to pardon the thief, the latter is sentenced to be hanged, and the priest prays to Saint Quentin to come to the criminal's aid. He is shown in prayer in front of a table with small columns on which three large gilded reliquaries have been placed. The following scene shows the miraculous intervention of the saint: the chain that was to hang the thief breaks, and the man falls to the ground. safe and sound; the provost, upon hearing the news, acknowledges the miracle and pardons the thief. Finally, the story concludes with a scene that parallels that of the praying priest. The thief, still in his shirtsleeves and with the rope around his neck, thanks Saint Quentin for saving his life, praying in front of three large reliquaries (see detail of ill. 64).

The costumes of the figures, particularly their round or brimmed hats, as well as their shoes with round tips, place the work in the 1480s. The two scenes in front of the three reliquaries suggest that the tapestry was indeed intended for the church of Saint-Quentin; in fact, the placement of the reliquaries corresponds perfectly to what we know about the holy relics, which were kept in the collegial church from 1257—the date when Saint Louis (King Louis IX) attended the translation of the saint's relics into the choir—until the French Revolution. The remains of Saint Quentin and of his companions Victorice and Cassien rested in large reliquaries of gilded silver, decorated with figures and precious stones, placed on a stone table supported by twelve small columns; the reliquary of Saint Quentin, the largest of the three, was in the center.<sup>6</sup> In the tapestry, in the gable of the highest of the reliquaries (the central one), the artist has indeed portrayed a quite recognizable scene from the martyrdom of Saint Quentin: the torturers are sticking red-hot rods into the skull, the shoulders, and the fingers of the martyr.

If the provenance from the collegial church of Saint-Quentin thus seems certain, we do not know the circumstances under which the piece was commissioned,7 nor its peregrinations after the church was pillaged in 1557. It is also not clear whether the tapestry of the miracle of Saint Quentin was an isolated piece or whether it is the single vestige of a series devoted to the life of the saint and his miracles. The recent study of the tapestry by Fabienne Joubert (2005) provides partial answers to these questions. Pointing out the presence of a white dolphin portrayed on the blue banner of a turret approximately in the center of the tapestry (to the right of the hound lying in front of the provost, in the fifth scene), she sees this image as an allusion to the birth of the eagerly awaited dauphin, the future Charles VIII, in 1470 (the word for dolphin in French is also dauphin). The tapestry could thus be considered as an ex-voto given by Louis XI during the period between 1477 and 1483, when he participated financially in the reconstruction of the collegial church. The proposal is very enticing: the chronological range does indeed correspond to the style and the costumes of the figures, and the hypothesis of a royal commission explains why the text of quatrains is in French and not in Picard, as would have been the case if the commission had come from the canons of Saint-Quentin. It also explains the use of metallic thread, rare for church choir tapestries.

As for the placement of the tapestry in the collegial church, Joubert proposes a very believable possibility: since the walls of the choir were painted with liturgical songs intended for the canons, they could not have been covered with hangings. The tapestry of the miracle of the hanged man might have been hung on the back of the rood screen: it would then have been across from the three reliquaries, logically prolonging the theme of the sculpted decoration of the choir enclosure, which illustrated the life of Saint Quentin, ending with his martyrdom and death. Thus the tapestry of the miracle of Saint Quentin, though similar to choir hangings in its format, differs from them in its subject, which is not the entire story of the saint, but a single episode from his legend, complemented by other manifestations of his saintliness (the reliquaries and sculpted cycle).

If the commissioner, the placement, and the date of the tapestry now seem clear, we still do not know the identity of the painter who created its *petits patrons* (cartoons). The tapestry's excellence—the elegance of the slender figures, the quality of the design and the sense of space, its monumental form, and the flow of its narrative-has long attracted historians of tapestry and painting. Joubert has persuasively emphasized the relationships between the author of the tapestry cartoons and the late work of Dirk Bouts, who was active at the time in Leuven.8 But her further hypothesis, which suggests that the artist was the young Josse Lieferinxe, in the period before his departure for Italy and Provence, is not compelling, or at least is no more so than Charles Sterling's comparison of the cartoon's artist with the Picard painter of the panels of the martyrdom of Saint Adrian (New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art).9 In fact, none of the artists' names suggested in association with this tapestry are truly convincing, and it is better to cautiously allow this artist of northern training (in the wake of Dirk Bouts), who would have worked in the royal milieu in the 1480s, to remain anonymous. É.A.

- Thanks to the traveling exhibition organized after World War II, the Saint Quentin tapestry has been displayed in New York and Chicago. It was placed in the Cluny Museum in 1948 and returned to the Louvre with the opening of the Richelieu wing in 1993.
- 2. These tapestries were especially popular in France, as can be seen, for example, in those of Saint Piat and Saint Eleuthère (Tournai) from the beginning of the fifteenth century, and those of Saint Pierre de Beauvais and Saint Etienne (Auxerre) from later in the century; see Weigert 2004 and Toulouse, Aix-en-Provence, Caen 2004.
- 3. As Fabienne Joubert (2005, 31) has found from different descriptions of it since the beginning of the nineteenth century.
- 4. See Patrologia Latina (1844–65), vol. 71, cols. 769–70, no. 803.
- 5. See Cahn 2002.
- See Extraits d'une "histoire particulière de l'église Saint-Quentin" par Ch. Q. de la Fons, 1643, published by the Canon Gomart (Saint-Quentin 1854), 76.
- The siege of the city and its destruction in 1557 led to the loss, among many others, of the church registers.
- 8. Joubert (2005, 38) sees similarities in the faces as well as a certain awkwardness in the positioning of the figures, or even the attitude of the provost sitting on his cathedra, which recalls that of the emperor Otto in the famous panel by Bouts in Brussels (Musées royaux des Beaux-Arts). The artist does indeed seem to have been trained in this milieu, rather than in the milieu of Bruges, proposed by the Tournai exhibition catalogue (1971), which associates the tapestry with the work of the illuminators Loyset Liédet and Guillaume Vrelant.
- 9. See Sterling 1966, 26.

### 65

Jacques de Longuyon, *Les voeux du paon* Tournai, ca. 1350

SPECIFICATIONS 141 ff.;  $24.5 \times 17.5$  cm ( $9^{5/8} \times 6^{7/8}$  in.); justification:  $18.7 \times 11.5$  cm ( $7^{3/8} \times 4^{1/2}$  in.); 29 lines; 1 column

ILLUMINATION 22 quarter-page miniatures

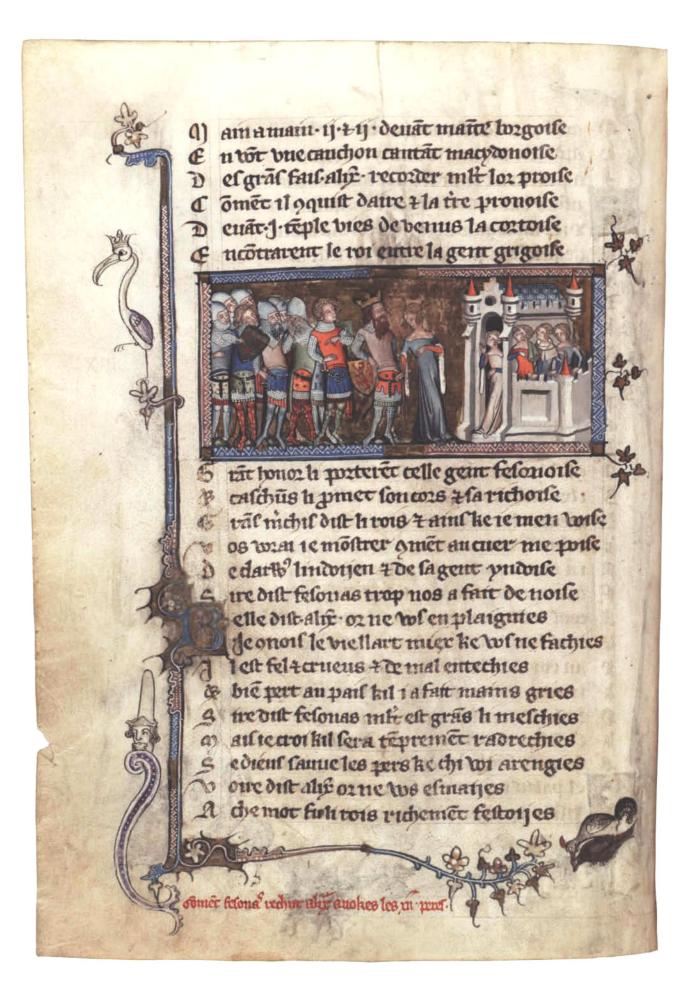
COLLECTION New York, The Pierpont Morgan Library, Ms. G.24

PROVENANCE Baron Joseph von Lassberg, Meersburg (1770–1855); Fürstlich Fürstenbergische Hofbibliothek, Donaueschingen; André Hachette; [sale, Paris, Librairie Giraud-Baudin, December 16, 1953, lot 30]; Arthur Rau, Paris (for Glazier); William S. Glazier (1907–1962); The Pierpont Morgan Library (gift, William S. Glazier Collection, 1984)

Written around 1312, *Les voeux du paon (The Vows of the Peacock)* was conceived as a kind of interlude complementing the much earlier *Roman d'Alexandre* (see cat. no. 8).<sup>1</sup> While the *Roman* concentrated on the heroic and fantastic adventures of Alexander the Great during his wide-ranging military exploits, the *Voeux* focuses on more courtly themes such as separated lovers and chivalrous deeds.<sup>2</sup> The high point of the story occurs when a peacock is carried ceremoniously into the banquet hall and the knights and ladies who are present take vows. The text enjoyed great success in the fourteenth century, and its lively subject matter inspired numerous lavishly illuminated manuscripts, including the Morgan copy.<sup>3</sup>

The text's lasting influence on the arts of the Middle Ages, however, was its introduction of the theme of the Nine Worthies.<sup>4</sup> In the course of telling of the prowess of an Indian knight, the text celebrates the nine greatest heroes of history, neatly divided into three sets of three.<sup>5</sup> The concept of the Nine Worthies was a way to unite the antique, biblical, and medieval worlds, with three of the Worthies drawn from classical history (Hector of Troy, Alexander the Great, and Julius Caesar), three taken from the Old Testament (Joshua, David, and Judas Maccabeus), and the final three representing Christian heroes of the Middle Ages (King Arthur, Charlemagne, and Godefroy de Bouillon). Alexander, as both the main character of the text under consideration and one of the Nine Worthies, is shown in the miniatures of the Morgan manuscript as a paragon of physical might, moral rectitude, and courtly manners.

The *Voeux* begins by explaining that Alexander was on the way to Babylon when he was approached by Cassamus, who asked him to save the city of Epheson from



the evil Clarus of India. Inside the city was Cassamus's beloved niece, Fesonas, who would be married against her will to Clarus if the Indian king succeeded in breaching the walls. Clarus's siege of the city is the setting for most of the story, but the battle scenes are often interrupted by truces, during which activities of the court take center stage, such as games and feasting. During one such period, Alexander is gratefully greeted at the gates of Epheson by Fesonas (ill. 65a).<sup>6</sup> In this appearance, Alexander is shown not so much as a conquering hero, with sword in hand, but as a courtier. The text describes how Alexander was firm in his belief in his army's ultimate victory but considered honor, not booty, to be his reward.<sup>7</sup>

The gold background highlights the figures arranged friezelike in the foreground, a style similar to that of Pierart dou Tielt, who a few years earlier helped illuminate a manuscript containing another copy of the *Voeux du paon.*<sup>8</sup> But unlike the stiff, frozen figures of Pierart, the individuals in this artist's miniatures have a lithe elegance. This is combined with a sense of joyful interaction that pervades the courtly scenes.<sup>9</sup> In contrast to Pierart, whose recognizable style is associated with a number of manuscripts, the artist of this manuscript has not been firmly connected to any other illumination.<sup>10</sup> Instead, his style has been linked to media as varied as monumental painting, stained glass, and engraved brasses.<sup>11</sup>

The focus on details of daily life at an idealized court continues during the account of another truce, when a banquet forms the major entertainment. The feast of the peacock culminates with the presentation of the bird to the greatest hero of the day, who is established to be Aristé, a knight in Cassamus's service (ill. 65b).<sup>12</sup> The participants at the table react to the presentation in a variety of ways: Aristé turns to Fesonas in gratitude, the women hold up their hands in laudatory gestures, and one spurned knight near the end of the table seems to cross his arms and sulk after being passed over.

The vivacity, delicacy, and playful sensibility of the Morgan manuscript's miniatures are simultaneously complemented and counteracted by the wild and wonderful marginalia that inhabit the majority of its borders.13 Only in a few cases do the figures seem to relate directly to miniatures, as is perhaps the case with the crowned heronlike bird that perches near an image of the crowned Alexander (ill. 65a): wading birds were sometimes considered symbols of the spiritual ignorance of pagans. Domenic Leo has posited that some of the strange creatures in the borders may have been inspired by, or are a veiled reference to, the wonders encountered by Alexander (see cat. no. 8).14 The Voeux was, after all, a text that could be considered a "spin-off" from the Roman d'Alexandre, whose images often dwelt at length on the creatures he came across during his travels.

The *Voeux* provided not only a revised vision of Alexander, updated for the tastes of a fourteenth-century audience, but also a new historical context for him as one of the Nine Worthies. The text briefly introduces the individual battle-filled triumphs of each of the Nine Worthies, but their true power dwelt in their cohesion, represented as a linear development through the ages, a series of related punctuation marks within the historical sweep of time.<sup>15</sup> The Nine Worthies were not illustrated in copies of the *Voeux*, and once the text had fallen out of favor, no one even remembered the *Voeux* as the earliest presentation of them as a group.<sup>16</sup> The theme, however, took on a visual life of its own in the late Middle Ages, **65a** (opposite) Fesonas Greeting Alexander at the Gates of Epheson, fol. 69v

#### 65b

Peacock Offered to Aristé, fol. 52 (detail)



appearing in a myriad of media as one of the favorite *topoi* of medieval artists (see cat. nos. 66, 67, and 68).<sup>17</sup> In modernizing the figure of Alexander and placing him within a historical construct that appealed to both the medieval sensibility for classification and admiration for individual feats of prowess,<sup>18</sup> Jacques de Longuyon created an enduring visual paradigm whose popularity lasted well into the Renaissance.

- 3. For a list of manuscripts known in 1988, see Ross 1988, 15–16. Of the total of thirty-eight manuscripts now known, twenty-six are illuminated (New York 2005, 386). The Morgan manuscript is incomplete at its beginning. The *Voeux* is followed by a continuation text, completed before 1338 by Jean Brisebarre, the *Restor du paon*. I gratefully thank Domenic Leo for generously sharing his work concerning this manuscript. His work will contain a complete list of manuscripts of the *Voeux* (Leo unpublished).
- 4. The section of the text concerning the Nine Worthies (lines 7481–579) in the Morgan manuscript is missing as well as possibly one or more miniatures.
- "Or ai je devise tout ordeneement / Les.ix. meillours qui furent puis le commencement / Que diex ot fait le ciel et la terre et le vent": Ritchie 1921–29, vol. 4, lines 7573–75).
- 6. Ritchie 1921–29, vol. 3, lines 5417–48.
- 7. Ritchie 1921–29, vol. 3, lines 5289–309. For more on the gentrification of Alexander in the *Voeux*, see Giacchetti 1970 and Szkilnik 1999.
- Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Bodl. 264 contains the Voeux on fols. 110–163. Pierart dou Tielt was responsible for illuminating some of the Roman d'Alexandre found earlier in the manuscript (James 1933 and Cruse 2005).
- Domenic Leo (unpublished) proposes calling this artist the Peacock Master. For more on the manuscripts illuminated by Pierart, see d'Haenens 1969; Stones 1990c, 302n3; Walters 1996; and Vanwijnsberghe 2001, 10–12.
- 10. Plummer (1968, 31) suggested that the same artist might be seen at work on Brussels, BR, Ms. 9634–35.
- 11. See Dennison 1986, 2002, and 2005, and Schmidt 2005.
- Ritchie 1921–29, vol. 3, lines 4298–357. The custom of taking vows over an exotic bird may have been intended as a graceful compliment to the patron of the original text, Thiébaut de Bar, bishop of Liège. Thiébaut's niece was given away in marriage in 1306 just after a feast at Westminster featuring cooked swans (Ritchie 1921–29, 1:xxxviii–xl), appropriately reflected in the story of Cassamus's niece. Bellon-Méguelle (2003, 471–88) has argued that Jacques de Longuyon is not the author and that his name, as well as that of Thiébaut de Bar, was introduced later as a literary conceit.
- 13. See Randall 1962 and 1966, Camille 1992 and 1994, and Mellinkoff 2004. More recently, Domenic Leo (unpublished) has suggested that the historical circumstances surrounding contemporary concerns may have influenced the marginalia's appearance. Leo posits that two artists were responsible for the marginalia.
- 14. Domenic Leo (unpublished).
- For the origin, role, and popularity of the Nine Worthies, see Schroeder 1971, Van Hemelryck 1998, Cropp 2002, and Salamon 2008.
- Paul Meyer (1883) was the first modern scholar to establish the theme as coming from the Voeux.
- 17. See Schroeder 1971.
- 18. Cropp 2002, 451.

# 66

*Le triomphe des neuf preux* Published by Pierre Gérard, Abbeville, May 30, 1487

MEDIUM ink on paper

 $\begin{array}{l} {\rm SPECIFICATIONS} & 288\,{\rm ff.;}\,26\times18.5\,{\rm cm}\,(10^{1}\!\!/4\times7^{5}\!\!/16\,{\rm in.}); justification:\,18.5\times[6.7\times0.6\times6.7]\,{\rm cm}\,(7^{5}\!\!/16\times[2^{5}\!\!/8\times1^{4}\!\!/4\times2^{5}\!\!/8]\,{\rm in.});\,34\,{\rm lines};\,2\,{\rm columns} \end{array}$ 

ILLUSTRATION 1 full-page, 10 three-quarter-page woodcuts

COLLECTION New York, The Pierpont Morgan Library, PML 623

PROVENANCE Jehan Fosse; Paul Girardot de Préfond (sale, 1757); Louis Jean Gaignat (1769); Girardot de Préfond; Revoil; Victor Masséna, prince of Essling (1847); Achille Seillière (1887); William Horatio Crawford of Lakelands (1815–1888; sale 1891); William Morris (1834–1896); Richard Bennett (1897); J. Pierpont Morgan (1837–1913; purchased 1902)

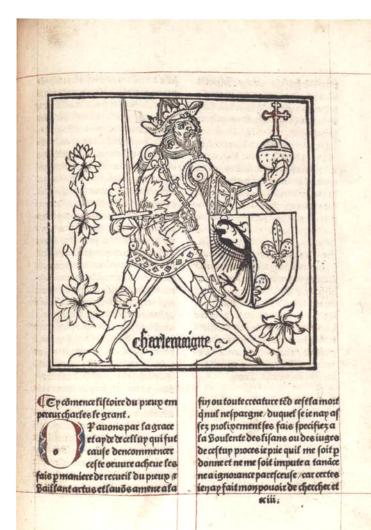
First defined as a group in 1310–12 by Jacques de Longuyon's interpolation in *Les voeux du paon* (cat. no. 65), the Nine Worthies (Hector of Troy, Alexander the Great, Julius Caesar, Joshua, King David, Judas Maccabeus, King Arthur, Charlemagne, and Godefroy de Bouillon) captured the medieval imagination and quickly found their way into manuscript illumination, wall painting, enamels, tapestry, sculpture, architecture, prints, playing cards, and ephemeral displays acted out in royal or ducal entry processions (see cat. nos. 44, 67, and 68).<sup>1</sup>

Although the identities of the Worthies remained fixed, the late-fourteenth-century poets Thomas de Saluces and Eustache Deschamps and the fifteenth-century historian Sébastien Mamerot amplified the group with a more mutable set of nine female Worthies, mostly drawn from late antiquity (see cat. no. 62).<sup>2</sup> Many authors also advocated the addition of a late medieval "tenth Worthy," with candidates ranging from Guillaume de Machaut's suggestion of Pierre de Lusignan, to Deschamps's and Mamerot's suggestions of Bertrand du Guesclin, to a Scottish author's suggestion of Robert Bruce. In the 1460s, Mamerot proposed Joan of Arc as a suitable tenth female Worthy.<sup>3</sup>

Le triomphe des neuf preux is an anonymous text that promotes the amplified set of male Worthies. Printed in Abbeville in 1487 by Pierre Gérard and reprinted in 1507 in Paris by Michel Le Noir, its text is innovative.<sup>4</sup> The stories of the Worthies appear as a series of biographies placed within the frame of a judgment by an allegorical figure, Lady Triumph (*Dame Triomphe*). The organizing premise, presented in the prologue (sig. AA<sub>2</sub>–AA<sub>3</sub>), is that the author has a dream vision in which nine men appear

The most readily available edition is that by Ritchie (1921–29), which presents the original French and its translation by John Barbour into Scots side-by-side; see also Casey 1956 and Magill 1964. Ritchie was also the first to establish the various recensions of the text. The Morgan manuscript belongs to the "P" recension (Ritchie 1921–29, 2:xxi; 3:xxvii–xxviii).

<sup>2.</sup> Cropp 2002, 454.





m Op doncques ainfi aß ftraint tant par le com madement de dame tri umphe ma conductiere comme par la requeste du cheuafier Bertran qui en son maintien me fut assertan qui en son maintien me fut assertan qui en son maintien me fut bu auffique fescripture tesmolgned aucunnelt digne destrecourone fois cellup qui legierementet Surilement nescli combatuius ques en fin. Ceste chosed pie pour mop qui aucunemet mestoie ia auance cuidat auoir trou ueta fin de monfabeur. si repie ma plume q toings de mop lauoiegettes

before him whom he identifies as the Worthies, describing some, but not all, of their attributes. They are the escort of Lady Triumph, who tells the author that she wants to know which of the nine is the most worthy, so that she can give him a laurel crown. In order to make her judgment, she needs the author's help and she charges him to write down an objective record of their achievements. He awakens and begins to write but ultimately decides to refer the decision to King Charles VIII.<sup>5</sup>

The addition of a history devoted to the French military commander Bertrand du Guesclin comes after this putative conclusion of the text, when the author, who has worked for a year searching and accumulating diverse writings about the Nine Worthies, thinks he is done. Looking up from his desk and seeing a knight (*bachelier*), armed but without a helmet, standing silently before him, the author is frightened. He asks the knight to identify himself, and the knight responds that he is Bertrand, sketching the case for his own inclusion in the volume. He explains that he had served Charles V worthily and well and says that he has brought a book about himself to make the author's job easier. Just then Lady Triumph appears and says that Bertrand's deeds should be added to the collection.<sup>6</sup>

Offering as it does substantive biographies of ten men, *Le triomphe des neuf preux* is significantly different in form and tone from the earlier poetic lists of the Worthies. It is much more a history, and this may explain why it rearranges the order of the Worthies, to place the biblical Jewish Worthies first.<sup>7</sup>

With its red ruled lines, painted initials, and selected painted details within images, this printed book seeks to emulate a manuscript. It is illustrated by a series of eleven woodcuts that show the presentation of the book to King Charles VIII, the Nine Worthies, and Bertrand du Guesclin. In many ways the illustrations draw on the earlier visual tradition that was in place from at least the early 1400s in France but adapt it to serve the historical goals of *Le triomphe des neuf preux*. Each of the Nine Worthies (see, for instance, Charlemagne in ill. 66a) appears in full

# 66a

Charlemagne, sig. 2C3 recto

#### 66b

Bertrand du Guesclin, sig. 2G7 recto armor. Grasping pennons, swords, or halberds, they hold shields bearing their distinctive coats of arms and are further identified by labels that appear on the ground of the image.<sup>8</sup> Each wears or holds attributes such as crowns, coronets, orbs, or scepters that permit their identification as nobles, kings, or emperors. They fill the visual field; some stride vigorously as though ready to burst through their frame, while others loom so large that their crowns disappear behind the frame's upper edge.

The image of Bertrand du Guesclin offers a sharp contrast (ill. 66b). He is smaller than the other Worthies and his actions are more restrained. He stands calmly, holding his constable's sword in one hand and his shield in the other as his name floats in the empty space above his shoulder. Through manipulation of scale and action, the artist of these blocks worked carefully to differentiate the images in order to reinforce the text's separation of the new Worthy, Bertrand, from the old. A.D.H.

- Schroeder 1971, 16–19, 41–66. For an edition of Jacques's interpolation in *Les voeux du paon*, introduced to offer a contrast to the behavior of King Porrus in the story of Alexander, see Cropp 2002, 465–68. Cropp (2002, 451) emphasizes how the description of the Worthies by Jacques uses exemplification to amplify the text and manifests the particularly medieval view of history as a series of important deeds and accomplishments. For their impact on the arts, see Wyss 1957; Schroeder 1971; Cavallo 1993, 94–124, no. 2; Paris 2004b, 220–27; Trachsler 1996, 294–303, 401–500; and Salamon 2008. Because there is no modern edition of *Le triomphe des neuf preux*, I quote from *Les neufpreux* 1507.
- 2. Van Hemelryck 1998, 6n44; Trachsler 1996, 294–313; and Trachsler 2000, 286–300.
- 3. Salamon 2008, 48-49.
- 4. Le Noir (1507) reprints the earlier text intact but changes its dedication to the currently reigning monarch, King Louis XII.
- 5. For the text, see Les neuf preux 1507, sig. AA<sub>3</sub>.
- 6. For the text, see Les neuf preux 1507, sig. GG7.
- 7. See Cropp 2002, who outlines the chronologies of Eusebius and some medieval attempts to date the worthies' activities, all of which put the activities of Joshua and David much earlier than Hector. This may explain why the group of Joshua, David, and Judas Maccabeus was moved to precede Hector, Alexander the Great, and Julius Caesar. On the idea of this text as one of several late-fifteenth-century histories of the Worthies, see Salamon 2008. For a partial listing of historical and romance sources, see Trachsler 1996, 296, 309.
- The coats of arms for the Nine Worthies were standardized, with the exception of Alexander and Hector, whose arms often varied or were interchanged. For analysis of their shifting forms, see Wyss 1957, 98–100. The materials for this edition (type and blocks) came from the Parisian publisher Jean Dupré. See British Museum, 1963–2007, 7:87.

**67a** Messenger's casket: Male and Female Worthies

### 67

Messenger's casket with a print: Male and Female Worthies

Leather with traces of polychromy, iron hinges, wood frame  $18 \times 24 \times 34$  cm  $(7^{1/16} \times 9^{7/16} \times 13^{3/6}$  in.)

France, ca. 1500

COLLECTION Paris, Musée national du Moyen-Âge, Thermes de Cluny, Cl. 23527

PROVENANCE [sale, étude Tajan, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, September 18, 1996, no. 40]; Musée national du Moyen-Age, Thermes de Cluny

Woodblock (for printing playing cards): *Male and Female Worthies* 

39.4 × 28.6 × 2.4 cm (15<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> × 11<sup>1</sup>/<sub>4</sub> × <sup>15</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in.) France, ca. 1470

COLLECTION New Haven, Yale University, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, FRA block 15a

PROVENANCE Vital Berthin (d. 1863), Beaurepaire, Isère; Melbert B. Cary Jr. (1892–1941) and Mary Flagler Cary; Yale University (acquired 1967, bequeathed by Mary Flagler Cary)

The theme of the Nine Worthies became known through Les voeux du paon by Jacques de Longuyon (cat. no. 65) and was particularly popular in the period of the International Gothic, when princes sought to place themselves within the symbolic lineage of those great heroic figures.<sup>1</sup> The Nine Worthies and their female counterparts spread to large-scale decoration, whether sculpted (in the castles of Louis d'Orléans in Coucy, La Ferté-Milon, and Pierrefonds, or the palaces of John of Berry in Bourges and Poitiers) or painted (directly on walls as at La Manta, or indirectly in the tapestries that are cited in all the royal inventories of the period, which note one or several pieces). Far from dying out during the fifteenth century, the theme of the Nine Worthies continued to inspire authors<sup>2</sup> and to be illustrated in new media: woodcuts in the fifteenth century and engravings and painted enamels in the sixteenth century (cat. no. 68). Thus, some of the oldest preserved woodcuts we know of are devoted to the Nine Worthies: the three plates inserted at the end of Gilles le Bouvier's Armorial<sup>3</sup> and the fragments in the Musée de la Cour d'Or in Metz. Thanks to the woodcut technique, the theme of the Nine Worthies was expanded and disseminated in new ways, for example, in the form of figures on playing cards, which were just coming into fashion in the fifteenth century.

In 1996 the Cluny Museum acquired a messenger's casket, datable around 1500, to the inside of which is glued a print portraying male and female Worthies (ill. 67a).



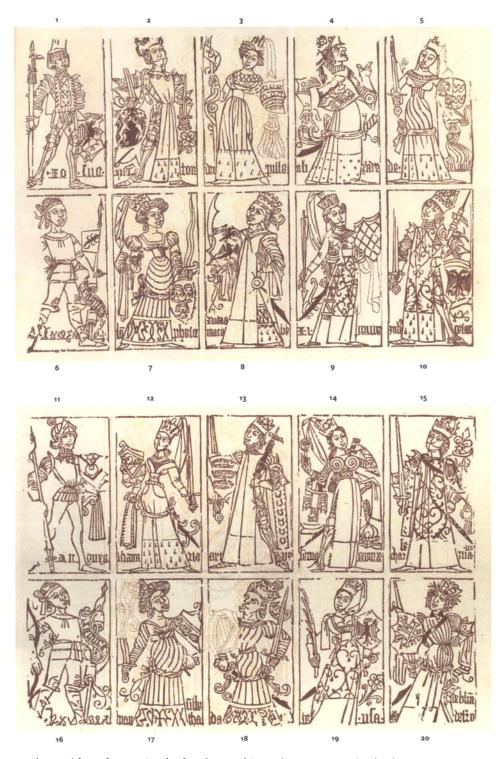
#### 67b

Woodblock (for printing playing cards): *Male and Female Worthies* 



The print is actually a modern reproduction made from a late-fifteenth-century woodblock. The origin of this woodblock, intended for the printing of playing cards, is well known and rather unusual: it was discovered in the nineteenth century by the collector Vital Berthin, along with three others, all of which had been used to form the bottom of a chest, on a farm in the Isère (ill. 67b). Before being sold and leaving France at the beginning of the twentieth century, the woodblocks were used for several modern printings, including this one.<sup>4</sup> The print inside the casket is truncated and does not include all the cards. The discussion of the figures that follows includes all twenty figures from the woodblock, which have been given numbers for expediency's sake (the individual figures in fig. 53 are mirror images of their counterparts on the original woodblock; ill. 67b).

All the male and female Worthies are portrayed standing up, holding a shield and one or several weapons (lance, sword, scimitar, battle-ax) and are identified by more or less legible inscriptions. The male Worthies



### Figure 53

Print from a woodblock for playing cards: *Male and Female Worthies*. M. Vital Berthin Collection; reproduction of plates E and F in Merlin 1869

are in armor, sometimes with a robe over it. The female Worthies are wearing dresses, sometimes with armor (Semiramis). The figures are, in the first row, from left to right, (1) Joshua, (2) Hector, (3) Deiphille/Deiphylle, (4) Alexander, and (5) De...?. In the second row: (6) a Moor in servant's garb holds a spear with a standard stamped with a scorpion, around the spear is rolled a phylactery with the inscription *Iaques*, (7) La[m]pheto/ Lampetho, (8) Judas Maccabeus, (9) an illegible inscription [possibly Hippolyta according to Schroeder 1974], and (10) Julius Caesar. In the third row: (11) Antonye, (12) Thamarys/Tomyris, (13) Arthur, (14) Semiramis, and (15) Charlemagne. And finally: (16) a Moor similar to number six, holding a bow, with the inscription *Iaques* on his banderole, (17) Penthesilea, (18) David, (19) Theuca, and (20) Godefroy de Bouillon.

With its twenty figures,<sup>5</sup> this set of cards thus offers an expanded and extremely interesting but sometimes difficult to decipher version of the male and female Worthies. Some figures have still not been identified, including the two additions to the usual nine male Worthies: Antonye (who, according to Romain Merlin, could be a Saracen knight, since his shield bears a crescent, but who is more likely Marc Anthony)<sup>6</sup> and the servant figure labeled Jacques. The servant has the kind of facial features and hair associated in the Middle Ages with people of African descent (then often called Moors). For the eight female Worthies, the situation is even less clear. Horst Schroeder relied upon the similarities between the arms represented on the shields of the women from the woodblock and those of the female Worthies portrayed in a copy of a text devoted to the male and female Worthies by Sébastien Mamerot from about 1472 (Vienna, ÖNB, Ms. Cod. 2577) to identify (unconvincingly) those whose names are practically illegible.<sup>7</sup>

In any event, if the association with the Mamerot manuscript is interesting to point out, especially from the point of view of dating, it is clear that one cannot rely on the arms portrayed on this woodblock, which are more or less unorthodox, to identify the figures. For the male Worthies, the engraver remained relatively faithful to the most widespread iconography: Julius Caesar and Charlemagne both wear the imperial crown and carry a shield, Caesar's bearing the imperial eagle, Charlemagne's the imperial eagle and a fleur-de-lis (see ill. 66a); Arthur's shield bears the three crowns symbolizing his kingdoms, that of Godefroy de Bouillon, the cross of Jerusalem. The shield of Joshua, however, shows not the usual sun but a dragon.

The engraver took more liberty with the female Worthies, whose identities and iconography were moreover less established than those of the male Worthies. Thus, the queens of the Amazons (Lampheto and Penthesilea) indeed each hold a shield with three crowned female heads, symbolizing the three large cities of their kingdom, but Hippolyta, Tomyris, and Deiphille do not have their usual arms.<sup>8</sup> Semiramis's portrayal is interesting: her shield is decorated, as was fitting, with three thrones. She is holding a comb in one hand, and a mirror in the other (or a jester's bauble?): an evocation of the lustful reign of "the great prostitute" (Babylon), which is completed by the hypnotic motif portrayed on her breasts and by her loosened hair.

Finally, we must point out the presence of the Moor Jacques (see above) and figures depicted similarly in this set of cards: two male Worthies (Judas Maccabeus and David), two female Worthies (Lampheto and Penthesilea), and the servant (repeated twice). The inscription *Jacques* has generally been considered to be the mark of the card-maker, which enables us to attribute this woodblock to one of the card-makers who worked in Lyon in

the late fifteenth century, among whom Schreiber noted a Jacques de Nyvers (active 1472-80) and a Jacques Vise (active 1482–1517).<sup>9</sup> The discovery of the woodblock in the Isère, as well as the rather close connection with the Mamerot manuscript, produced for Louis de Laval, governor of the Dauphiné, confirm that the woodblock was probably created in Lyon. If the Mamerot manuscript inspired the card-maker, as Schroeder suggests, how many years separate the manuscript and the creation of the woodblock? Although the costumes are rather unusual, some elements suggest that the woodblock may be dated before the turn of the century: the shoes, all with pointed toes, Joshua's little hat, the suits of armor with very pronounced articulations, and for the women, dresses with high bustlines and distinctly delineated waists-all elements that correspond to the years 1470-80. The creation of the woodblock might be dated a bit after that of the manuscript, in the 1470s and thus correspond to the time Jacques de Nyvers was working.

This series of Worthies enjoyed a tremendous popularity in France, thanks to the spread of playing cards: in the seventeenth century, when the system of colors and figures was definitively set, the Parisian version of the cards, in use throughout all of France today, was established with the unique feature of giving each figure a name, keeping some of the male Worthies, but none of the females: Hector (jack of diamonds), Alexander (king of clubs), Caesar (king of diamonds), David (king of spades), and Charlemagne (king of hearts). É.A.

- Such as Sébastien Mamerot in 1460–61, or the anonymous authors of *L'Histoire des neuf preux* (known only through an eighteenth-century manuscript, Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 12598) or of the *Triomphe des neuf preux*, published in Abbeville in 1487 (cat. no. 66).
- 3. BnF, Ms. fr. 4985, fols. 198-203.
- 4. The use of this print on the inside of the casket is anachronistic: in the fifteenth century engravings of religious subjects were glued inside of chests not images of playing cards. The twenty-three cards of this set that have been conserved (one in the BnF [former Marteau collection], nineteen in the École nationale des Beaux-Arts [former Masson collection], and three in the Kupferstichkabinett in Dresden) are perhaps also modern printings.
- 5. The print glued in the casket reproduces only fourteen of them, in the following order: 7, 8, 9, 10, 12, 13, 14, 15, 17, 18, 19, 20, 2, and 3 (the last two are printed in two truncated parts at the bottom).
- Merlin 1869, 109–10. Schroeder's interpretation, according to which this figure would be none other than Argea, the sister of Deiphille, disguised as a man, is not convincing (Schroeder 1974).
   Schroeder 1974.
- 8. Schroeder has attempted to create a synthesis in his 1971 work, pp. 250 ff., however, one observes that the same arms often go from one female Worthy to another, for example, between the manuscript of the *Chevalier errant* by Thomas de Saluces (Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 12559), the paintings of La Manta and the collection of pieces regarding the Toison d'or (BnF, Ms. Clairambault, 1312).
- ). Schreiber 1937, 110.

<sup>1.</sup> On this subject, see Antoine 2004, as well as the exhibition catalogue Château de Langeais 2003.

# 68

Medallions: Old Testament Worthies Painted enamel Limoges, mid-sixteenth century

Julius Caesar Attributed to the workshop of Colin Nouailher Diam: 24 cm (9<sup>1/</sup>2 in.) Inscription: SESAR IVLIVS

COLLECTION New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, gift of V. Everit Macy, 1928 (28.217.2)

PROVENANCE Didier Petit, Lyon, France; [sale, Paris, 1843, as the work of Pierre Reymond]; J. Webb (by 1848); V. Everit Macy

Joshua Colin Nouailher Diam: 21 cm (8<sup>1</sup>/4 in.) Inscription: IOSUE LE FOR D

David

Colin Nouailher Diam: 21.4 cm (87/16 in.) Inscription: DAVID ROX IV [DEORUM] E

Judas Maccabeus Colin Nouailher Diam: 21.5 cm (87⁄16 in.) Inscription: IUDAS M AC HABEUS F

COLLECTION Paris, Musée du Louvre, Département des Objets d'art, MR 2526, 2527, 2525

PROVENANCE Chevalier Edme-Antoine Durand (1768–1835); Musée du Louvre (acquired 1825) The theme of the Nine Worthies, which was extremely **68a** 

popular at the end of the Middle Ages (see cat. nos. 65, 66, and 67), continued to inspire artists in the Renaissance, up to the second half of the sixteenth century. This group, whom medieval princes liked to claim as their symbolic or real ancestors, went very well with the heroic vision of the sovereign that was promoted during the Renaissance. In France in the fifteenth century the series was sometimes enhanced with a tenth, "contemporary" Worthy, Bertrand du Guesclin (see cat. no. 66), while in the sixteenth century, it was sometimes King Francis I who completed the series.1 The Nine Worthies also appeared quite frequently as a theme during the ceremonies of "joyous entry" (the official entrance of a reigning monarch into a city), such as that of Francis I into Caen in 1532.2 At the dawn of the Renaissance, during the entrance of Joanna of Castile, the wife of Archduke Philip the Handsome, into Brussels in 1496, it was the female Worthies who honored the Spanish princess.

The Worthies were often represented on painted enamels, new objects that were in fashion in the sixteenth century. The theme of the Nine Worthies thus inspired several series of polychrome enameled medallions attributed to the enameler Colin Nouailher, who was active in



68b

Joshua

68c David



the mid-sixteenth century. These enamels were inspired by three engravings by the Dutch artist Cornelisz van Oostsanen (ca. 1470-1533),3 which portray the three triads of Worthies (ancient, Hebrew, and Christian) solemnly proceeding on horseback (except for Alexander, who is on an elephant). The procession was adapted for these large-scale medallions (they measure over 20 cm in diameter) highlighting the individual Worthies, who are each portrayed on a prancing horse. More than thirty or so medallions of this type have been listed,4 therefore forming several series of the Nine Worthies. Among these, Sophie Baratte (2000) has distinguished two styles: a first group, the largest, with a black background sprinkled with gold dots, which includes an enamel dated 1541,5 and a second group, with a black background, with more delicate and more elegant horses, probably a bit later than the first. Four of the medallions that are believed to belong to this second group6 are presented here: the pagan Worthy, Julius Caesar (ill. 68a), and the three Hebrew Worthies, Joshua (ill, 68b), David (ill, 68c), and Judas Maccabeus (ill. 68d). The inscriptions identify-

ing them stand out in gilded letters on the black background; on the Louvre enamels there are also a series of letters indicating the order of the Worthies (identified by the first nine letters of the alphabet, from *A* to *I*): *D* for Joshua, *E* for David, and *F* for Judas Maccabeus. It is possible that the Julius Caesar enamel (which has been attributed to the workshop of Colin Nouailher and not to the master himself)<sup>7</sup> does not belong to the same "series" as the three Louvre medallions, as it does not have a series letter and is slightly larger than those in the Louvre. The Worthies are each portrayed on a white horse, in profile; the frowns of the horses give them a ferocious expression, a characteristic feature of Colin Nouailher's workshop. The figures appear in grisaille highlighted with gold, blue, mauve, and purple.

Julius Caesar, the Roman conqueror, is wearing a heavy suit of armor in antique style, while his white horse, with its gold-embellished white caparison flying in the wind, is fording a river, probably the Rubicon (ill. 68a). Joshua, wearing ancient-style armor as well, is riding a horse whose demeanor is all the more ferocious since its body is calm, walking in step (ill. 68b). Joshua's arms are on the horse's caparison: the sun that he stopped in Gibeon during the battle against the Amorites (Joshua 10:12). He is holding a shield decorated with the arms of Jerusalem (silver with a gold potent cross, accompanied by four small gold crosses, two of which are not visible), which are those of another Worthy, Godefroy de Bouillon, king of Jerusalem. David, although covered from head to foot by his armor, maintains the meditative stance of the psalmist, which contrasts with the bellicose look of his horse; there is a harp on its caparison, the traditional arms of King David (ill. 68c). Judas Maccabeus is wearing ancientstyle Renaissance armor, and his horse, which is crossing a river, wears his attributes: in place of the feathers featured in the other medallions, Judas's horse has two laurel branches on its head, and its caparison is decorated with three small blackbirds (ill. 68d).

At least six medallions of Judas Maccabeus on horseback are known,8 which indicates the popularity of this series of Worthies in the mid-sixteenth century. The portrayal of Judas Maccabeus on the Louvre medallion is quite different from the engraving by Van Oostsanen as well as from the other known pieces, in which Judas Maccabeus, in oriental dress, is calmly walking along. Actually, for the series of the Worthies, made in several copies, the enamelers sometimes (on purpose or not?) reversed the models, giving the attributes or arms of one figure to another.9 In general, the enameler broadly reinterpreted these engravings: the procession of the Worthies in fantastic costumes, with extravagant headdresses (wild turbans or helmets with gaudy feathers), marching along, was transformed into a cavalcade of dynamic heroes, all in armor. The exaltation of warrior values, strength and courage, was substituted for the exotic ambiance of the procession in Van Oostsanen's engraving.

These series, Worthies, kings, paladins, or even caesars,10 might have been combined and likely decorated ceremonial halls or cabinets,11 probably inserted into furniture or paneling. The taste for this type of decoration is proven by the number of pieces held in collections today, as well as by the existence of a similar series, also from the workshop of Colin Nouailher, but slightly smaller and less carefully crafted, intended for the general art market, which catered to a larger and less refined clientele. There are quite a number of the latter, which means that these heroic themes were widely disseminated as a means of ennobling the decor of the homes of the bourgeoisie or the lesser nobility. Within the same framework, the Nine Worthies also appeared at the beginning of the sixteenth century on roundels in grisaille,12 as well as in tapestries, where the theme remained quite popular through the entire sixteenth century, as can be seen in the hangings from the château de Chauray (Saint-Maixent; today in the château de Langeais) or from the château of Madic (Cantal; today in the château de La Palisse in the Allier).13 É.A.

### 1. See Schroeder 1971, 203.

- 2. See Bourguevilles 1558, 109.
- Once attributed to Lucas van Leyden; see Bartsch 1978-, vol. 12 (New York, 1981), 330-32.
- See the article by A.-M. Bautier (1989), complemented by the catalogue raisonné by Sophie Baratte (2000).
- Hector plaque in the Musée des Beaux-Arts in Angers (inv. MTC 1165). The Joshua plaque in the Musée des Beaux-Arts in Dijon (inv. CA 1559) is signed CN, the initials of Colin Nouailher.
- 6. A group that, according to Baratte (2000, 66), would also include two medallions in the Lázaro Galdiano museum in Madrid (Alexander and Julius Caesar) and the plaque of the emperor Claude (who, however, does not belong to the Nine Worthies); one should also probably add the two plaques of Hector and Godefroy de Bouillon, once in the collection of the margraves of Bade, then in the Yves Saint-Laurent and Pierre Bergé collection, which recently went up for sale (Christie's, Paris, February 25, 2009, no. 556).
- . Written communication with C. Vincent on September 21, 2009.
- 8. See works in the Musées des Beaux-Arts in Rennes (inv. 866–9–5), in Dijon (inv. G 335), and in Lyon (inv. 1995–8), as well as the Victoria and Albert Museum (inv. 296–1874) and others that have been sold on the art market.
- See Baratte 2000, 66. Other sets of enamels that were equally popular at the time featured the kings of Judah and the Twelve Peers of Charlemagne, that also utilized some of the same attributes and arms seen in the Nine Worthies' sets.
- 10. See Bautier 1990.
- Such as that of Henry VIII at Whitehall; see Tait 2004.
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- 13. See É. Antoine in Paris 2009, 128-29.



# 68d

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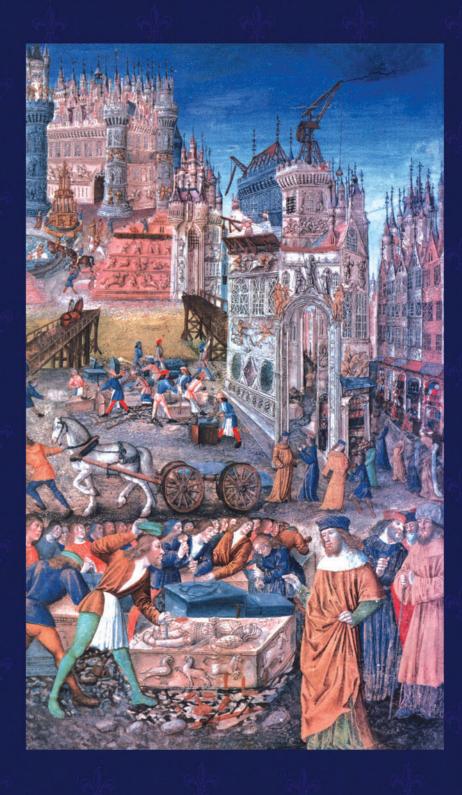
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