“Grant peine et grant diligence:” Visualizing the Author in Late Medieval Manuscripts

DISSERTATION

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By

Lisa Daugherty Iacobellis

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Dissertation Committee:
Karl P. Whittington, Advisor
Barbara Haeger
Christian Kleinbub
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Abstract

Author portraits, those initial introductions to the creator of a text that are usually located on the very first folio, are ubiquitous in medieval illuminated manuscripts, yet this subject has not been the focus of a systematic art historical survey. For this reason, few are aware of the evolution of this genre over the course of the Middle Ages, moving beyond the early static figures of authors posing with their works, or seated writing on scroll or codex. This dissertation expands our understanding of this tradition, focusing on a limited selection of examples drawn from a variety of popular formats for author portraits that were employed in the fourteenth century. In particular, this study addresses representations of contemporary scholars - authors shown dreaming of their subject matter, accompanied by personifications or objects representing the content of their text, diligently engaged in translating an important work from Latin into the vernacular, or meeting privately with the recipient to deliver and discuss their work. Each category is explored through close examination of one outstanding example, and includes an analysis of the entire manuscript, in order to place the image within its textual, socio-political, and art-historical context.

Although each case study embodies a different role for the author, as a group they reflect changing perceptions of authorship in the Late Middle Ages, and the increasing understanding of and respect for both the physical and intellectual labor required. These
depictions of scholastic authors provide visual evidence of the interest in the author as an individual that Alastair Minnis, in his seminal work *Medieval Theory of Authorship*, ultimately associated with the implementation of the “Aristotelian prologue” type, an introductory tool employed in education and commentary which encouraged reflection on an author’s life, reputation and working methods. The images suggest a narrowing of the gap between ancient Roman *auctors* and late medieval scholars, as well as a sharing of influences and ideas with contemporary literary figures. At the same time, they provide clues about the complex collaborative relationships among authors, readers and members of the professional book trade, including project managers, scribes, rubricators and illuminators. A critical evaluation of these innovative new approaches to author portraits invites further careful scrutiny of the images as a genre, and not just as a seemingly minor part of the overall program of miniatures that accompany a text.
Dedicated to my daughters, Annie and Sara, and to my mother, Kathleen Daugherty, with deepest appreciation for their patience and encouragement.
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On returning to work on my degree I was fortunate also to be employed by Dr. Geoffrey D. Smith, Head of The Rare Books and Manuscripts Library, who placed a high value on scholarship, and offered me the flexibility to take some classes and become acquainted with the new faculty in the History of Art Department. In addition, it was my experience in his rare books course that encouraged me to turn my attention to manuscripts. I am thankful that the Associate Curator that he hired, Dr. Eric J. Johnson, who became Head Curator when Geoff retired, and also my supervisor, has likewise been completely supportive. The manuscript studies course that he taught with Dr. Leslie Lockett provided the necessary foundation in codicology and paleography that I needed for my work with manuscripts, and he continues to help me build on that base.
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The Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies provided funding through the Nicholas G. Howe Memorial Fund for my trip to the Morgan Library in New York to work closely with the *Gieu des eschés* manuscript that is the focus of the second chapter. I am grateful to the Center and to everyone who contributed to the fund established to support graduate student travel.

I also extend my appreciation to the Curator and staff at the Morgan who permitted me to spend an entire week there examining, photographing and reading the manuscript. I first learned of the fascinating frontispiece in that codex through the Index of Christian Art. Without the extensive digitization efforts of the Morgan Library, The Bibliothèque nationale de France, The Bodleian Library, The British Library, The Koninklijke Bibliotheek, the Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, the Archives Nationale de France and so many other institutions, this dissertation simply would not exist. I am immensely grateful for all of these online resources. As a Special Collections employee who has been responsible for coordinating such projects I understand well all that is involved.
Vita

1978 ................................................. B.F.A. History of Art, The Ohio State University

1981 ................................................. M.A. History of Art, The Ohio State University

1978-1979 ........................................ University Graduate Fellow, The Ohio State University

1979-1984 ........................................ Graduate Teaching Associate, History of Art Department, and Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, The Ohio State University

1987-present ..................................... Instructor, Ohio University Lancaster

1995-present ..................................... Library staff, Special Collections, University Libraries, The Ohio State University

Fields of Study

Major Field: History of Art
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Introduction

Preface: Identifying the Challenge

Roland Barthes’ 1967 essay “The Death of the Author,” followed in 1969 by Michel Foucault’s “What is an Author” triggered a storm of research in response, focusing on the birth and development of the modern idea of the author as the creative force behind a text.1 Contributing to the lively discussions that followed were the roughly contemporary work by Colin Morris, *The Discovery of the Individual* (1972), and Paul Saenger’s article ten years later, “Silent Reading: Its Impact on Late Medieval Script and Society.”2 Subsequent publications by literary scholars have explored the evolution of the self-consciousness of the author, looking in particular for the “ich,” the “je,” the “I” in all of its manifestations, primarily textual, but visual as well.3 Meanwhile,

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1 Both have been reprinted frequently. They were published together, in sequence, in *The Book History Reader*, edited by David Finkelstein and Alistair McCleery, 2nd ed. (London: Routledge, 2006), 277-280, 281-291.


Alastair Minnis focused attention on scholastic analysis of sacred and secular authorities, and the influence of those critical evaluations on the assessment of literary authors in the Middle Ages with his *Medieval Theory of Authorship.* The abundance of literature on medieval authorship reflects the complexity of the subject, and reveals the overlapping nature of literary and scholastic creative activity.

While art historians have demonstrated a comparable interest in exploring the changing status of the artist from the seemingly anonymous craftsman of the earlier Middle Ages to the self-assertive Gislebertus in the twelfth century, and beyond to the Renaissance artist who pursued a more prestigious position for himself and his work, few have contributed to the discussion of the increasing stature of the author as revealed in medieval manuscript illuminations. Every art historical survey includes author portraits painted early in the Middle Ages, in large part because representations of the four evangelists were prevalent within the few illuminated books of the period, made to meet liturgical needs. However, few art historians are familiar with the increasing variety of images containing authors from later medieval manuscripts. The goal of this dissertation is to call attention to the richness and diversity of the available imagery and encourage further exploration of the medieval author portrait as a genre by art historians, practiced in the techniques of visual analysis and accustomed to evaluating artistic innovation.

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4 Alastair Minnis, *Medieval Theory of Authorship: Scholastic Literary Attitudes in the Later Middle Ages,* 2nd ed., with a New Preface by the Author (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010). This study by Minnis is an essential starting point for any research into late medieval authorship.
The frontispiece from the *Songe du Vergier* made for Charles V of France serves to demonstrate the significant departure from earlier medieval conventions (Figure 1).\(^5\) The work was reproduced in François Avril’s *Manuscript Painting at the Court of France*, an essential survey for French fourteenth-century manuscript illumination, although the focus of that text was on stylistic trends in late Gothic Paris.\(^6\) While the work is recognized for its interest in landscape and the small bushy trees associated with the Master of the Bible of Jean de Sy (previously known as the Boquetaux Master because of his trademark trees), the highly unusual subject matter and composition have received little attention. The author, Évrart de Trémaugon, an expert in canon law, reclines asleep at the bottom in the foreground plane, within an enclosed space containing the subject of the dream he describes in his prologue. His presence here must be seen within the context of numerous other dreaming authors of the period, and the garden itself should be analyzed for the rich symbolism it contains. What does the artist, who had worked extensively for Charles V and his father, Jean le Bon, before him, tell us about this scholar who had been tasked by the king to bring together into one resource all of the defenses that Charles and his court needed against the challenges presented by both the English king and the pope? More than just a pleasure garden, this enclosed space, its occupants and even the foliage speak volumes about the propaganda associated with the fourteenth-century French monarchy, and in particular, about the reign of Charles V, “the Wise.”

\(^5\) British Library, Royal MS 19 C IV, folio 1v.

Two Visual Traditions

Before going much further we must acknowledge and attempt to distinguish between the two simultaneous traditions in the representations of authors. One was employed for recognized authorities, such as biblical figures, the Church Fathers and ancient Greek and Roman authors, and served as the foundation for scholastics who created new texts in the Middle Ages. The other was used for storytellers, those who wrote contemporary lyrics, plays and romances in the vernacular.

This first tradition is better known, as such images are found within the earliest known medieval manuscripts. No doubt every reader can readily envision the static representations of the four evangelists that frequently embellished luxury gospel books. The evangelist portraits generally followed conventions established in antiquity, although the earliest extant examples of the classical authors date only as far back as the fifth century. The two most common types are the author in a stationary standing or sitting frontal position holding either a scroll or a book, as in the *Vergilius Romanus*, and the author seated and writing, as one finds in the *Vienna Dioscurides* (Figures 2 and 3).\(^\text{7}\) In less luxurious ancient manuscripts the authors might be represented by simply a head or half-length figure within a rondel. The framing device in medieval manuscripts was

\(^\text{7}\) With the exception of the extraordinary image of Ezra in the 8\textsuperscript{th} century *Codex Amiatinus*, the amount of detail provided in the setting around Dioscurides in the Vienna codex is generally lacking in medieval portraits, until revived in the later Middle Ages. Kurt Weitzman is usually cited as the first to explore the historical sources for the medieval types, and both of these manuscripts are discussed in his book on Late Antique manuscript illumination. Kurt Weitzmann, *Late Antique and Early Christian Book Illumination* (New York: George Braziller, 1977). The act of writing in the book is a fantasy that persists through the Middle Ages until authors actually did begin to write their own texts. Even then, codices were not bound until after both the text and illuminations had been completed. The earlier practice involved dictation to a scribe. For an overview of the history of “writing” see Paul Saenger, *Space Between Words: The Origins of Silent Reading* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1997).
more likely to be a large initial. Their placement at the beginning of the text makes it clear who has been portrayed.

A later formula in which the author might be shown is the presentation scene, in which the book is given to an earthly or heavenly, religious or secular authority figure. For example, Hrabanus Maurus was often shown in this context, presenting his works to various individuals, such as Pope Gregory IV, Otgar of Mainz, and St. Benedict. This type of image has been linked back to depictions of subjects offering gifts to the emperors. Presentations were not just made by authors however, but perhaps more frequently by those who commissioned the work, or the manuscript which contained it. A well known example of this situation is the full-page miniature in the luxury “First Bible of Charles the Bald.” (Figure 4). While it is clear that the biblical authors are not involved in this particular situation, sometimes careful reading of the prologue, rubrics and/or colophon is required in order to ascertain whether an image is intended to show a gift-bearer or the actual author of the text.

As the formulas established in antiquity slowly gave way to more contemporaneous references to book creation the physical labor involved seems to have

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8 Medieval presentations of gifts to emperors were in turn influenced by images of the three magi offering their gifts to the Christ child. Eliza Garrison, in her book on Ottonian art argues that such influence is not merely compositional, but iconographic as well, emphasizing the sacral kingship claimed by Otto III in particular. Eliza Garrison, *Ottonian Imperial Art and Portraiture: The Artistic Patronage of Otto III and Henry II* (Surrey: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2012), 64-67.

9 Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. lat. 1, folio 423r.

been visually documented before the intellectual work. Thus the scribe who copied the
text, equipped with the appropriate tools of his endeavors, might receive more attention
in a manuscript than the original author. The remarkable emphasis on Eadwine the scribe
in the “Eadwine Psalter,” where he is identified in the frame surrounding the image, is
well known (Figure 5). This reflects a comparable situation within the texts themselves,
since in earlier manuscripts the scribe revealed more about himself in the colophon than
the author, if he was alive, shared in the prologue.\textsuperscript{11} In some manuscripts other members
of the team involved in the preparation of a manuscript received attention as well. The
best known example is likely the mid twelfth-century frontispiece from an \textit{Opera varia} of
Ambrose, which even includes the stretching and scraping of the parchment, as well as a
painter applying pigment to the arch supporting St. Michael, the central figure of the
composition (Figure 6).\textsuperscript{12} The workers in the ten rondels are a testament to the
physicality of the manuscript, and reinforce the static quality of the heavenly image rather
than an actual physical presence of the archangel. All of the monks look the same,
seeming to leave Ambrose himself out of the picture. An early thirteenth-century full-
page miniature at the end of the Apocalypse in a fragment of the \textit{Bible moralisé} made for
Louis IX also calls attention to the manufacture of the codex and the distinctive format of
that work with its paired circular frames, as either the project manager or the author of
the moralized commentary directs the work of the scribe seated opposite (Figure 7).\textsuperscript{13}

\footnotesize
\textsuperscript{11} Daniel Hobbins, University of Notre Dame, is currently working on a history of the authorial versus scribal colophon.

\textsuperscript{12} Ambrosius, \textit{Opera varia}, Staatsbibliothek Bamberg, Msc Patr. 5, folio 1v.

\textsuperscript{13} \textit{Bible moralisée} of Louis IX, fragment in the Morgan Library and Museum, New York, M.240, folio 8r.
Currently positioned immediately following the last page of juxtaposed rondels from the Book of Revelation, the scene appears to take the place of a colophon. Here however, those responsible for the book are elevated in status by their placement immediately below the actively conversing king and his mother, not a mere image of the authority who will receive the fruits of their labors.\(^{14}\)

As we will see, changes in the method of teaching the works of the ancient *auctors* resulted in an increasing amount of attention given to the authors themselves, which was manifested both in prologues and in the visual imagery. A comparable shift occurred in the representations of authors in literary texts, and influences crossed between the two traditions. These developments occurred simultaneously with an increase in literacy rates and book production for lay readers.

The second line of development, employed for literary author portraits, began later, since the images represented creators working in an oral tradition. They were first depicted in the context of the *chansonniers*, recorded collections of the works of the *trouvères* (troubadours). These composers are most frequently shown performing, with or without an accompanying audience, although some of them might be represented as valiant knights on horseback. Regardless of their activity, the emphasis is placed on their courtliness as they are depicted wearing elegant clothing and exhibiting proper behavior, reflecting the texts of the introductory *vidas* (Figure 8). Only later were they shown writing. One example of a transitional figure is Marie de France, who is sometimes

\(^{14}\)French monarchs will also use this commissioning relationship with authors to increase their own prestige.
represented performing, and at other times writing, within manuscripts of her works.15

As literacy spread and more books were written in the vernacular for this reading public
the complexity and variety of the images increased, and the authors were frequently
shown acting out the adventures they narrated, as for example in the Roman de la Rose.

One of the fascinating aspects of the time period I have selected is the cross-
pollination that occurs between these two traditions. The emphasis on the courtliness of
the medieval trouvère influenced the scholar as he moved increasingly from the
classroom into the courtly sphere. After all, the poets had long been given access to the
most private areas of the palace, as we see in the intimate scene of Adenet Le Roi at the
foot of the bed of Queen Marie de Brabant in the company of her nephew and sister-in-

law (Figure 9). At the same time the authoritative position of the scholar was desired and
pursued by those accustomed to composing romances and chansons.16 The imagery
reinforces these shifting boundaries. The portrait of Machaut in his study that precedes a

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15 Logan E. Whalen, “Ex libris Mariae: Courtly Book Iconography in the Illuminated Manuscripts of Marie
de France,” in Courtly Arts and the Art of Courtliness: Selected Papers from the Eleventh Triennial
Congress of the International Courtly Literature Society, University of Wisconsin-Madison, 29 July - 4
August 2004, ed. Keith Busby and Christopher Kleinhenz (Cambridge, UK; Rochester, N.Y.: D.S.
Brewer, 2006). Roger Chartier notes that as authors were depicted more frequently in this fashion there
was simultaneously an increased emphasis within the literature itself on the act of writing. Roger Chartier,
“Foucault’s Chiasmus: Authorship between Science and Literature in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth
Centuries,” in Scientific Authorship: Credit and Intellectual Property in Science, ed. Mario Biagioli &

16 They often cited written books as their sources in order to suggest a greater degree of authority in their
works. Adrian Tudor presents Jean Bodel as an example of a jongleur who pushed the boundaries. Adrian
P. Tudor, “Authority and Auctoritas in the Works of Jean Bodel,” in Courtly Arts and the Art of
Courtliness, 693-704. Jacqueline Cerquiglini-Toulet looks at Adenet le Roi and other ménestrels with
similar nicknames within the context of the growing respect for and recognition of poets in the fourteenth
century throughout Europe, represented in part by the crowning of Petrarch with the laurel crown in 1341.
Jacqueline Cerquiglini-Toulet, “À la recherche des pères: la liste des auteurs illustres à la fin du Moyen

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collection of his poetic works certainly presents a more scholarly persona (Figure 10).\textsuperscript{17}

This collection of works is also significant because of the tight control exercised by the author over the volume’s content, a development that occurs in both traditions.\textsuperscript{18}

\textbf{Delimiting the “Portrait” of the Author}

As our review of the earlier traditions in representing the authors of the texts should have made clear, the images were not true portraits. No one in the Middle Ages actually knew what any of the evangelists looked like, or the Church fathers, or Vergil, or Dioscurides. It is also not very likely that the images of the \textit{trouvères} were identifiable physiognomic likenesses. Conventions were developed to help the reader easily relate to the composer of the text. Many authors, such as Jerome and the evangelists, were given immediately recognizable attributes and perhaps a standard frontal or profile pose. The pose and dress of a troubadour would not be confused with that of a contemporary cleric, but each would fit an ideal type. Even contemporary figures, known to the illuminators, might not be given distinguishable features. Steven Perkinson’s book, \textit{The Likeness of the King}, challenges our expectations with regard to portraiture, especially our assumptions about naturalism and its basis in observation and imitation of the person depicted. He noted that a physiognomic likeness, if employed, would be just one more

\textsuperscript{17} Guillaume de Machaut, \textit{Poésies}, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. fr. 1584, folio Dr.

\textsuperscript{18} The importance of this controlled compilation of works by a single author, Guillaume de Machaut, has long been recognized. Roger Chartier emphasizes the significance of this transition from miscellanies composed for a reader to the “libro unitario,” the entire book as the work or collection of works by a single author. Roger Chartier, “Foucault’s Chiasmus,” 27. Ardis Butterfield argues that this was not the invention of Machaut, but that in the Fauvel manuscript, BnF ms. fr. 146, which pre-dates Machaut’s compilations by several decades, the author-figure had already been fully “transformed into an agent of control over the material form of the book.” Ardis Butterfield, “Articulating the Author: Gower and the French Vernacular Codex,” \textit{The Yearbook of English Studies} 33, Medieval and Early Modern Miscellanies and Anthologies (2003): 80-96.
added identifier on top of a full “vocabulary of likeness” used in representing individuals in the Later Middle Ages. The introduction of heraldic devices, mottos and color choices will be very useful for identifying aristocratic patrons, but won’t necessarily help us with their writers. However, the presence of a tonsure, and/or the color of a robe will provide some clues for identifying clerics. Some artists used other consistent elements of costume to enable the authors to stand out from the crowd. In the early fifteenth century Christine de Pizan, who exercised tight control over her books, frequently had herself depicted in a simple blue dress (Figure 11). At the same time, we do see in the fourteenth century a growing interest in the physical likeness, as in the numerous similar images of Charles V, or the distinctive look of Guillaume de Machaut in the well-known prologue images of one of his compilations (Figures 10 and 12).

For the purposes of this study I will be including presentation and dedication scenes, and any other image that appears at the beginning of the text and serves to identify and visualize the author. This may be, but is not necessarily included in a frontispiece. It might be a scholar seated on a bench lecturing to his students, an


20 These visual consistences might be seen in relation to the authorial presence that is found within the texts themselves. See Liliane Dulac, “La Figure del’ecrivain dans quelques traites en prose de Christine de Pisan” in Figures de l’écrivain au moyen age: actes du Colloque du Centre d’Etudes Médievales de l’Université de Picardie, Amiens 18-20 mars 1988, ed. Danielle Buschinger (Göttingen: Kümmerle, 1991), 113-123.

21 Charles V is of enormous importance for this study because of the many books that he commissioned and the resulting presentation scenes in which he is depicted, but we might also choose to examine his own “author portraits,” images that are included on some of his surviving charters. See Claire Richter Sherman, The Portraits of Charles V of France (1338-1380) (New York: New York University Press for The College Art Association of America, 1969), figs. 24-27, 40, 72, 74.
individual seated at a table writing on a scroll or codex, a scientist holding an armillary sphere, or a dreamer lying in his bed, but it will usually be the first image that the reader encounters of that writer.\textsuperscript{22} It is not my intention to follow those individuals into the texts if they are recounting personal adventures that are illustrated. We might liken these initial images to the photograph on the dustjacket of a modern book. What is the reader’s first encounter with the author?

The challenge of any art historical research is to not lose track of the original context, including the physical materials and size of a work. High quality scans allow us to enlarge an historiated initial to view the contents, but this can be misleading if we aren’t careful. Is the author portrait presented full page, half page, as a small miniature in one column, or just an occupied initial (Figure 8)?\textsuperscript{23} Where is that folio in relation to the text - before or after the \textit{vida} or prologue, or does it accompany the colophon? Does the text reference the image in any way, perhaps with rubrics, or even by discussing the subject matter? Has the leaf always been associated with the text, or was it added later?\textsuperscript{24}

\textsuperscript{22} The reader will note that I avoid using the term “writer” as much as possible. When discussing the originator of a late medieval text one must be meticulously careful in selecting the appropriate word. “Writer” is a designation that carries with it the implicit connotation “to write.” In fact, it was during the late Middle Ages, the period on which my research will focus, that scholarly authors began to take up the pen more frequently themselves, rather than dictating to a scribe. On the other hand, literary works had been perpetuated primarily through an oral tradition, and a more appropriate synonym for their originators might be “composers.” As noted, the transition in their images included an intermediary step, showing them dictating their works like the scholars, just one example of how these two traditions influenced each other.

\textsuperscript{23} For example, while figure 8 is an initial eleven lines high, it is small in comparison with the overall size of the page, and just one of many “portraits” in the codex.

\textsuperscript{24} A well-known example of a presentation portrait added to a manuscript after its completion is the Portrait of Jean de Vaudetar presenting a luxury \textit{Bible historiale} to Charles V of France, which is described in a textual accompaniment on the facing folio. While not an author, this image is clearly linked compositionally to author presentations in other manuscripts made for the king in the 1370s.
Is it a luxury volume with miniatures on every page, or is the illustration including the author the only one? Where is the text itself within the codex? Is it the sole title in the book, or one of several? If so, were those texts originally bound together or did someone perform that task later, perhaps trimming some leaves in order to fit them into the new format? Codicological and paleographical inquiry reveals details about the book and its history that the text itself or contemporary inventories may not, and for this reason I will begin each case study with a close examination of the manuscript involved.

A Brief Summary of the Literature

Few have surveyed the medieval representations of authors in manuscripts, and literary scholars have generally demonstrated greater interest in the subject. For example, Sebastian Coxon’s book on thirteenth century German authors provides examples of Rudolf von Ems’ efforts to assert his authorship role not only within his text but also by the inclusion of acrostics, and other visual devices. Early images portray him dictating his work to a scribe, marking the transition from an oral tradition to the practice of writing.25 Ursula Peters, also a scholar of medieval German language and literature, has provided the most comprehensive work to date on the imagery related to medieval authorship, with Das Ich im Bild.26 Although limiting her scope to the literary tradition, she has nonetheless made a significant contribution in outlining the history of medieval


26 Ursula Peters, Das Ich im Bild: Die Figur des Autors in Volkssprachigen Bilderhandschriften des 13. bis 16. Jahrhunderts, Pictura et Poesis: Interdisziplinäre Studien zum Verhältnis von Literatur und Kunst (Köln: Böhlau, 2008). The two earlier German studies by Prochno and Benesch (note 10 above) focused primarily on the presentation portrait. However, since one was published in the 1920s and the other is an unpublished dissertation, they are not as readily accessible.
representations of poets. Art historian Elizabeth Salter and medieval English scholar Derek Pearsall collaborated in addressing the well-known frontispiece of Chaucer’s *Troilus & Criseyde*, observing those qualities that were consistent with common practice. In the process they identified eight standard types for Late Gothic representations of authors in their article, a list which serves as a convenient starting point for approaching the great variety of images in any genre.\(^2^7\) Literary scholar, Dhira Mahoney and the art historian, Eric Inglis each explored one standard type, the author shown presenting his completed book to the patron. They are in agreement about the symbolic rather than documentary nature of this theme.\(^2^8\) Joyce Coleman, on the other hand, explained why English vernacular manuscripts contain comparably few presentation miniatures.\(^2^9\) The extensive literature on both Guillaume de Machaut and Christine de Pizan has included examinations of the author portraits of these popular literary figures, but without significant contextual analysis. A noteworthy exception to this is Deborah McGrady’s evaluation of the presentations of Christine de Pizan in which she argues that “Harley


4431 contains written and visual evidence of a changing patronage economy in which the benefactor’s authority over the text is subverted in the name of the author’s.”  

Portraits of scholastic writers have received far less attention. Claire Richter Sherman focused on the works of one scholastic author, analyzing the miniature cycles of two versions of Aristotle’s Ethics and Politics translated by Nicole Oresme for Charles V of France, controlled in large part by the translator. Anne Hedeman demonstrated the even tighter control exercised by Pierre Salmon over the images in his didactic texts written for Charles VI. While both discussed the images of the authors within the context of the entire illustrative programs, neither made a point to go very far in placing the “author portraits,” those initial introductory images of the authors, into the greater societal shift that was occurring in the way authors in general, and scholarly authors in particular, were viewed by the reading public in the later Middle Ages. The changing


33 Alain Boureau explains that the frequency of both unattributed works as well as collaborative ventures have made the clear identification of some scholastic authors difficult before the later thirteenth century when the possibility of censure required that individuals take personal responsibility for what they wrote. Alain Boureau, “Peut-on parler d’auteurs scolastiques?” in Auctor et Auctoritas: Invention et conformisme dans l’écriture médiévale, Actes du colloque de Saint-Quentin en Yvelines (14-16 juin, 1990), ed. Michel Zimmerman (Paris: Ecole des Chartes, 2001), 267-279.
visual description of the living medieval scholastic author, which has not been the subject of a comprehensive survey, will be the focus of my study.

The Aristotelian Prologue: Scholastic Attitudes Towards Authorship

In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries one finds the development of a new respect for and appreciation of the intellectual work of the author. With its roots in the so-called “discovery of the individual” in the twelfth century, this attitude was nourished by the works of Aristotle that had such a profound influence on thirteenth century scholars. Alastair Minnis provides an authoritative summary of late medieval scholastic practices in reading and teaching the books of Scripture, as well as the works of noteworthy Christian and classical authors, and describes the evolution of introductory lectures and the comparable prologues to their texts in codices. He places particular importance on the introduction and increasing popularity of the “Aristotelian prologue,” and the breakdown within that of the four causes - the efficient cause, the creator of the work; the material cause, the resources used by the author; the formal cause, the way the author tackled the subject; and the final cause, the intention or goal of the individual in composing the text. Each of these sections might be explored in some depth, encouraging reflection on the author’s life, reputation and working methods. Before the introduction of this formula the “type C” prologue had been the most frequently employed structure, addressing the title, the name of the author, his intention, the subject

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matter, didactic procedure, order of the content, its utility and the classification of the work, identifying the branch of learning to which it belonged. This approach focused on the text, while the new prologue formula expanded the section devoted to the author himself. Not surprisingly, this greater interest in the work of the individual would later encourage even living authors, of both scholarly and literary works, to claim more attention for themselves, as one can see in the works of such self-conscious figures as Dante, Petrarch, Guillaume de Machaut and Chaucer. In fact, in the early fourteenth century the unidentified writer of L’Ovide moralisé cited three paths to renown - arms, letters (sens) and noble birth. I believe that the enhanced position of the author in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, which may be documented in contemporary critical evaluations, as well as in the author’s own texts, receives additional exposition and clarification in the visual representations of the author within illuminated manuscripts.

But who is an author? The masters at the universities were teaching the works of established authority figures, the auctors. However, authorial roles were becoming more diverse. Bonaventure had assigned four distinct functions to those involved in the composition of texts at the end of his 13th century prologue to a commentary on Peter Lombard’s Libri sententiarum (1250-52). The four categories are distinguished by the

36 The Aristotelian prologue is very clearly employed by Simon de Hesdin, the translator examined in chapter three of this dissertation, as he introduces the text of Valerius Maximus. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. fr. 9749.
38 Jacqueline Cerquiglini-Toulet, “A la recherche des pères,” 634.
amount of personal contribution made by the individual. The “auctor” contributes the most, providing the complete original text, which may draw upon the work of others, but is under the control of this individual. The term “scriptor” refers to a scribe, who contributes only the physical recording or copying of the content. Categories between these two extremes include the “compilator” who compiles various texts, and arranges them, but makes no contribution of his own, and the “commentator,” who comments on or tries to explain the work of the “auctor.” Later scholars understandably expressed dissatisfaction with this limited classification system. For example, there is a considerable difference between a scribe who simply imitates symbols without comprehension, and one who reads along and conscientiously corrects encountered errors. Most of the “authors” that I will be investigating were translators, who provided commentary, re-structured ancient works for greater clarity, and sometimes added unique, original content, as they re-wrote Latin texts into the vernacular. Roger Chartier notes changes that occurred within the French language itself, as the term “actores,” used for compilers and commentators, came to be endowed with the the authority of “auctores,” used for the creators, and “ecrivain” was employed not just for scribes but for the composers of the works as well. In chapter three we will look closely at the history of medieval translations and the varying roles the translators played in either supplanting or explicating the original texts.

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40 Chartier challenges those who see the emergence of the author function as related to the advent of print and discusses the importance of the fourteenth century in this development. He notes also that the term “invention” came to mean an original creation rather than solely the discovery of what God had produced. Roger Chartier, “Foucault’s Chiasmus,” 25.
While my attention will be focused on the work of ancient authorities and late Gothic scholars, experts in the vernacular literatures explain the increasing interest in, and value assigned to medieval literary forms. For example, Minnis suggests that “something of the prestige, the new authority, which had been afforded to Scriptural poetry in particular, and to the poetic and rhetorical modes employed throughout Scripture in general, seems to have “rubbed off” on secular poetry,” considerably narrowing the gap that Albert the Great and Aquinas had described between the fabrications of human lyrics and the sacred truths held in Scriptural poetry.\(^{41}\) A more comprehensive survey would, of necessity, analyze the simultaneous developments in the imagery associated with all author types in the thirteenth through fifteenth centuries, as well as expand the geographic scope.\(^{42}\)

**New Roles for Illustrated Authors**

As lay literacy began to increase in the twelfth century, the need for additional reading material increased as well. As Malcolm Parkes explains, the aristocracy acquired a taste for collecting books, commissioning family romances and reading for recreation, while members of the growing middle class, which had developed a “pragmatic literacy,” required for managerial, commercial and legal activities, were only too happy to apply that skill set to educational and recreational reading. More readers in both groups had

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\(^{42}\) Most surveys of Italian author portraits focus on the humanists, and images of fourteenth-century writers such as Dante and Petrarch are generally found in books that were produced after their deaths.
sufficient income to purchase books for themselves from the professional bookmakers. In addition, after the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215 placed greater emphasis on personal responsibility the laity desired more books of moral instruction and models for behavior. Meanwhile, the establishment of the universities not only required books for instructional purposes, but also resulted in new works by these trained scholars. While it may be a grossly simplistic summary, the essential point is that compositions in the oral tradition were written down, earlier books were copied and perhaps translated into the vernacular, and new works were created. The end result was simply a larger number of authors for potential representation in books. While some might fit within the existing conventions, new types were also required.

A variety of new formats for author portraits appeared in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries – authors accompanied by personifications or objects representing their subject matter, authors shown teaching, preaching, dreaming, receiving the commission from or discussing the finished text with the patron, or consulting piles of books delivered by assistants in order to translate from Latin into the vernacular. A representation of Nicole Oresme, one of the many translators who worked for Charles V

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45 It should be noted that not all books were illustrated, but if only one small image were provided, it often would be the author portrait.
of France, illustrates one of these innovations (Figure 13). The miniature is found in a late fourteenth century compilation of his translations of Aristotle’s *Ethiques, Politiques* and the *Yconomiques*. It is a frontispiece divided into four framed quadrilobed compartments, a common format for this period. In the top left Oresme is kneeling with a book in his hand before the seated Charles, as he receives instructions from the king to execute the translation. In the next panel he works at his desk with several open books available to him as he writes in the one in front of him. Meanwhile, an assistant walks in with another heavy tome over his shoulder. The third scene takes place in a simple landscape. Oresme, in traveling cape, is escorted by one of the king’s men while an assistant carries the finished book behind him. Oresme then kneels to present it to Charles in the last episode. Clearly the amount of research, and even physical labor, involved in executing this project for the king was better understood and appreciated in this time period. It is my goal to analyze a representative sampling of such striking new types found in fourteenth-century manuscripts and place them within their socio-political, literary and art-historical context, thus providing a more complete picture of the evolution of one of the most frequently depicted subjects in medieval manuscripts, the “author portrait.”

**Manuscript Production in Fourteenth-century Paris**

During the time period under investigation the distinct roles in the professional book trade of *libraire, stationnaire*, scribe, rubricator, and illuminator were well established, although not exclusive. The increased need for books had moved much of

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46 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. fr. 204, folio 347.
that production out of the monasteries, whose scriptoria had handled most of the earlier medieval copywork, and into the commercial environment. In the mid fourteenth century the French court placed such heavy demands on these artisans that the monarchs hired their own écrivains du roi, and enlumineurs du roi. Some of those scribes working for the court also functioned as the project managers. We are generally better able to trace their work, thanks to their colophons, than establish links between the anonymous work of the artists to names in court records. However, these anonymous artists, with assigned names like the Master of the Bible of Jean de Sy, the Policraticus Master, or the Master of the Coronation of Charles VI, etc., may be followed from book to book, and we will be looking closely at their work.

Sorting out the decision-making roles of the various parties involved in the production of Gothic manuscripts is no easy matter. In the commercial lay book trade,

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48 Ibid., chapter 10, 261-283.


50 For an introduction to manuscript illumination at the court of France see Avril’s survey: François Avril, *Manuscript Painting at the Court of France: The Fourteenth Century, 1310-1380*.

51 Time constraints or the availability of personnel might result in some overlap of responsibilities. A scribe might function as libraire and/or as rubricator; however, it would be highly unusual at this time for the scribe to also be the illuminator. The libraire was usually responsible for laying out the program and identifying the content of miniatures, based on the wishes of the buyer, although the artist would have some flexibility in representing the required subject matter. For a brief summary of the distinct roles see: Sandra L. Hindman, “The Roles of Author and Artist in the Procedure of Illustrating Late Medieval Texts,” in *Text
with its divisions of labor, many individuals might be involved in the production of one book. The author might provide some instructions when turning over the exemplar text, but after doing so would generally relinquish control over the final product. Over the course of the fourteenth century however, we find some authors desiring and assuming more direct involvement in the process. For example, Joan Williamson feels that Philippe de Mézières had both the opportunity and the desire to influence the frontispieces in his books on more than one occasion.\footnote{She credits this to his choice of the scriptorium at the monastery where he had “retired” rather than the professional book makers. Joan Williamson, “Paris B.N. MS fr.1175: A Collaboration Between Author and Artist,” in \textit{Text and Image}, ACTA X (Binghamton: State University of New York, The Center for Medieval and Early Renaissance Studies, 1986). Claire Richter Sherman suggests that Charles had more control over his own image in presentation scenes because the manuscripts were produced in his own lay ateliers rather than clerical workshops. Sherman, \textit{The Portraits of Charles V of France}, 32.} Susan Groag Bell, writing on the many images of Christine de Pizan in her study, notes that the role played by Christine in the execution of her own manuscripts was fairly well documented.\footnote{Susan Groag Bell, “Christine de Pizan in her study” \textit{Cahiers de Recherches Médiévales et Humanistes}, Études christiniennes, 2008, http://crm.revues.org/3212.} The important work of Claire Richter Sherman on Nicole Oresme and Anne Hedeman on Pierre Salmon was already mentioned above, and we will have the opportunity to examine these authors in the fourth chapter. Each of the manuscripts selected as a case study will elicit speculation on the possible authorial participation in the design of the initial representation of the author.

The matter of how much an author was involved in the final product raises a number of questions for examination. Was the manuscript made while the author was alive? Did the author have access to the production team, and could he/she have
participated in directing the work of the illuminators, as we see in the case of Christine de Pizan? In some instances such personal guidance will add informative details to the image of the author, perhaps even suggesting or claiming an enhanced status. In other cases, the authors might be tentative in claiming prestige for themselves, while the artists or patrons choose to provide more. If a presentation is shown, is it merely a later reminder of the original author/owner connection, or does it reference the goal of the author for the volume in hand? It is not unusual to find a presentation to the original recipient in a copy executed later for someone else. 54 If the author is shown with a patron, what was their personal relationship, if any? How does a particular image compare with others depicting them together, especially within other copies of the same work? We should look for visually subtle, yet telling changes that might have been made in the later miniature(s). 55 Such differences between copied images may simply reflect the personal interests of the owners of the manuscripts, but may also reveal more about the perceived importance of the author. How does the relationship of one author and patron compare with those of other authors shown with the same book owner? In the fourteenth century we see that standard formulas give way to the inclusion of more particulars. This may be due to the participation of the author, but may also have involved the contribution of a project manager in tune with the needs and wishes of the recipient of the completed manuscript, as we find with the professional book production team at the French court.

54 In fact, earlier presentations are frequent in the collected works that Christine de Pizan gave to Isabeau de Bavière, the queen of Charles VI.

55 One example of this may be found in the different treatments of the frontispiece of the Livre des Propriétés des Choses, originally translated for Charles V.
Methodology

In order to perform a thorough analysis of those image types which I have selected I have limited myself to a few representative examples as case studies – one per chapter. Each highlighted manuscript will be explored thoroughly and compared to others in that genre in order to demonstrate both the consistencies and interesting variations.

In the first chapter I will address the category of images that reference the author’s role as visionary or dreamer. Although Boethius had been a dreamer, he was not represented as such in manuscripts containing his work until later. The illustrated adventures of St. John in the extremely popular Apocalypse texts certainly opened the door to exploiting this new type, but the Roman de la Rose encouraged a flood of similar accounts. Stories in this genre represent one way that literary authors sought to claim more agency and authority for themselves, as dreams, like visions, might have been bestowed from outside, rather than truly fabricated. At the same time, this approach was also utilized by scholastics in order to present serious moralizing content in a format akin to the romance adventures that became so popular with the readers of the court. Focusing on the frontispiece of Le Songe du Vergier (Figure 1), painted by the Master of the Bible of Jean de Sy, I will explore the associations such an image may have had for Charles V of France, who commissioned this timely collection of arguments for royal power.56

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How does the image of the author dreaming by a spring in the pleasure garden, with the subject of his dream - the king, female personifications of secular and ecclesiastical power, and their representative champions, a knight and a cleric who debate before them – fit in with other representations of authors dreaming, such as Guillaume de Lorris, Guillaume de Digulleville, and Guillaume de Machaut? More specifically, why was the dreamer shown in the garden, rather than in his bed, like most of the others? Although the illuminator drew from a wide range of medieval iconographic conventions, the combination of those sources with some innovative departures resulted in an image that was uniquely suited to King Charles and the French nation in the fourteenth century.

Closely related to the portrayals of the dreamer are representations of the author with personifications or objects that represent the subject of the work, but which are not actually linked to the creator within a narrative, the subject matter of the second chapter. The miniature introduced above showing Guillaume de Machaut conversing with the personification of Love and his children reflects the text of his prologue, which serves to introduce the speakers for the four introductory balades (Figure 10). Such an image seems rather remarkable when no comparable relationship with the text is established. The frontispiece in the Morgan Library’s copy of Jean de Vignay’s fourteenth-century French translation, the *Jeu des Échecs* of Jacobus de Cessolis represents Jean de Vignay, identified by his cross-inscribed robe of the Hospitaler, seated

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57 Images of authors with objects, like Nicole Oresme with his armillary sphere, or medical authors shown with a vial of urine, might be loosely related to the iconographic tradition of saints with their attributes, although some may reflect choices the authors themselves made in instructing the illustrator to include more personal representative details. Philippe de Mezières seems to have made this choice in at least two of his manuscripts.
outdoors at a writing table actively engaged with his codex, seeming to document the scene, while centrally placed among an active group of figures in a loose circle who personify chess pieces (Figure 14).\textsuperscript{58} Nothing in the text explains why Jean de Vignay is shown with the characters discussed in the following moralization of the game.\textsuperscript{59} Not even the original author, de Cessolis, had been depicted in this manner. What does this image reveal about the status of the author? How do these chess figures reflect contemporary society, and the French royal court, for whom the translation was made? Introduced before the text it calls to mind and affirms traditional ideas about the three estates in the Middle Ages while the rest of the program of miniatures respects the Italian author’s descriptions of the individual chess characters.

The translator, Jean de Vignay, will serve as a transition to my third chapter, which focuses on an entirely new category, the author as translator.\textsuperscript{60} A significant number of translations were executed in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, particularly for the early Valois court. Two miniatures are particularly revealing for this category. The first, from a Miroir historial that was commissioned by Jeanne de Bourgogne, for her son, Jean le Bon, shows Jeanne with her ladies in waiting visiting Jean de Vignay in his study as he works on his translation (Figure 15).\textsuperscript{61} To the left, as an almost mirror image of the scene, the artist depicts the original author, Vincent of

\begin{footnotesize}
\item[58] New York, Morgan Library and Museum, MS G.52, folio 1
\item[59] No rubrics are provided below the image, and the text below introduces the table of contents.
\item[60] Although translations were common through the entirety of the Middle Ages, the emphasis on distinguishing the work of a translator from that of the original author was new.
\item[61] Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. fr. 316, folio 1.
\end{footnotesize}
Beauvais, visited by the queen’s grandfather, Louis IX, along with some of his courtiers. This frontispiece, repeated in each volume, is rich with implications. The translator and the author are shown in similar postures, although the sources of their labors differ. Vincent is shown with a bookcase full of books, while de Vignay has an original manuscript held open with clamps as he writes his own version. Yet both are given the great honor of being visited by the patrons as they work, rather than receiving the order in a courtly setting, as one sees with some other fourteenth century translators. The political significance of this pairing was no doubt of great importance, since Jeanne de Bourgogne, being one generation closer to St. Louis than her husband Philippe, helped to bring legitimacy to the new Valois monarchy.\footnote{The important political role played by Jeanne de Bourgogne is discussed in some detail in Anne-Hélène Allirot, 
*Filles de roy de France: Princesses royales, mémoire de saint Louis et conscience dynastique (de 1270 à la fin du XIVe siècle)* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010). It should be noted that while Jeanne commissioned the translation, Louis IX did not actually order the original *Speculum historicale*.}

While there are a number of illuminations that place great emphasis upon the work of the translators, consulting stacks of books on their desk and bookshelves while writing in a codex open before them, one striking image that I will use to emphasize the increased status of this author type shares some characteristics with the previous one of Jean de Vignay, but marks a significant change over the course of the fourteenth century. This is the four-part dedication miniature from Charles V’s copy of the translation made for him by Simon de Hesdin of the *Faits et dits memorables des Romains* of Valerius Maximus (Figure 16).\footnote{Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. fr. 9749, folio 1.} The commission is not shown here. Instead, in the top two panels one finds Valerius Maximus writing on the left, and Simon de Hesdin translating...
at his desk on the right, more closely mirrored as equals, while the bottom two panels are occupied by the presentation of the manuscript. Hesdin kneels with the book in the lower right panel, while the seated king is accompanied by courtiers on the left. How far we have come from earlier presentation scenes, where the emphasis is placed so squarely on the object and its recipient. Here there are three panels occupied by authors, while the king shares his single panel with his men. The prestige given to these scholars and their work is palpable, and must be seen within the context of Charles V’s program of French translations and acquisitions as he filled his new royal library in the Louvre.

The last chapter will be dedicated to an image that draws attention to a real or desired personal bond of the author and the patron in a private presentation scene. The traditional offering of the completed manuscript takes place in the presence of witnesses, members of the lord’s immediate entourage, as in the bottom of the preceding image. In the fourteenth century a number of more private moments are depicted, some of which seem to document personal friendships between the parties, and even suggest conversation about the text. While the author may still kneel to offer the result of his/her labors, this moment alone with the lord suggests an elevation in their own status from detached scholar to valued member of the court. Charles V of France was sometimes represented in such a context with his authors and translators. Nicole Oresme was the scholar most often shown in this situation, and one image is particularly strong in suggesting their friendship. The miniature is found in the king’s personal copy of Les éthiques d’Aristote (Figure 17).  

Oresme kneels before the king, who is seated on his

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64 Brussels, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, Ms. 9505-9506, folio 2v.
faldstool beneath a canopy, in an ambiguous curtained interior space set apart from his courtiers, although one peers out from behind the curtain, emphasizing the attempt at privacy. The contents of the book presented, as was admirably demonstrated by Claire Richter Sherman, were designed specifically for the king’s use, by one of his most trusted scholars.65 Such images of the king with his authors and translators represent another important shift, as the schoolmen played an increasingly important role, not necessarily in advising the king, as scholastic churchmen had done for centuries, but as members of what Françoise Autrand calls the “club du roi.”66 These were the intellectuals that Charles surrounded himself with, who provided entertainment with staged debates (recall the Songe du Vergier) and challenging conversations on important topics of the day.

Although these four types of images do not represent all of the innovations that occur during the fourteenth century in the representation of scholastic authors, a high percentage do fall into these categories. By examining them in groups we are better able to identify formulas that are repeated, innovative deviations and developments over time. These representations contribute to our understanding of the late medieval changes in the public perception of authorship.

Cultural Context: The French Court

The reader will note that all of the selected images are in manuscripts made for the French royal family, a fact that will likely not come as a surprise. The Valois passion

65 Claire Richter Sherman, Imaging Aristotle.

for book collecting is well documented, and most medievalists are aware of the huge library amassed by Charles V in the Louvre, as well as the more expensive tastes of his brother, Jean de Berry, for books of exceptional luxury and beauty. However, the importance of books for the French monarchy is deeply rooted in its history, traced through the tradition of *translatio studii* that originated at the court of Charlemagne. Scholars such as Alcuin, Rabanus Maurus and Johannes Scotus Eriugena saw the center of learning transferred from Athens to Rome and then to the Carolingian court, although Chrétien de Troyes in 1171 was the first to discuss this translation of learning from Rome to France in his *Cligés*.\(^{67}\) The establishment of the University of Paris in the thirteenth century solidified this tradition, while Primat and the monks at St. Denis fleshed out the scheme by tying the transfer of *chevalerie* and *clergie* to St. Denis, the apostle to the Gauls, and claiming the French monarchy as a special protector of the Church.\(^{68}\)

The University and the French monarchy established a strong mutually beneficial relationship. The monarchs not only offered protection to the students and masters, but also provided support by establishing colleges; for example, the Collège de Navarre,

\(^{67}\) Sandra Hindman and Gabrielle M. Spiegel, “The Fleur de lis Frontispieces to Guillaume de Nangis’s *Chronique Abrégée*: Political Iconography in Late Fifteenth-Century France,” *Viator* 12 no.1 (1981): 387. The authors note that this tradition of *translatio studii* which persisted through the Middle Ages was an imitation of the comparable notion of *translatio imperii*.

\(^{68}\) Louis VI was the first to identify St. Denis as the patron of France. Lusignan points out that Primat had morphed Dionysius the Areopagite, converted by St. Paul, and later bishop of Athens, with the Denis who came to Gaul, and thus attributed an influx of Greek learning to his presence. Serge Lusignan, “L’Université de Paris comme composante de l’identité du royaume de France: Étude sur le thème de la translatio studii,” in *Identité régionale et conscience nationale en France et en Allemagne du Moyen Âge à l'époque moderne: actes du colloque organisé par L’Université Paris XII - Val de Marne, L'Institut universitaire de France et l'Institut historique allemand à l'université Paris XII et à la Fondation Singer-Polignac, les 6, 7 et 8 octobre 1993*, ed. Rainer Babel and Jean-Marie Moeglin (Sigmaringen: J. Thorbecke, 1997), 62.
founded by Jeanne de Navarre, wife of Philippe IV, and the Collège de Bourgogne, founded by Jeanne de Bourgogne, wife of Philippe V. Charles V supported a college established in 1371 by his physician, Gervais Chrétien, and established scholarships, including some for the study of the sciences, especially medicine. Individual scholars often served as advisors, and by the early fourteenth century the University as an institution functioned as counselor to the king. A familial relationship was then created. Charles V, by royal charter in May of 1358, while serving as regent for his father who was held in English captivity, identified the University as the daughter of the king.

University scholars, fulfilling their advisory role, in addition to supporting their own agenda, encouraged kings to support learning and maintain a healthy relationship between the clergy and the knightly class. Gregory IX, in writing to Louis IX, claimed that the good fortune of France depended on the king’s heeding the good counsel of the University scholars. Their advice came most frequently in written form, texts that fall into the traditional category of the *Enseignement des princes*, such as the *Somme le roi*, presented to Philippe III in 1280. Philippe also received *De regimine principum* from Gilles de Rome in 1279 for the education of his son, but asked to have it translated into

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70 In this role the University, in assembly with the barons, nobles, prelates and bourgeoisie of Paris, recognized the the legitimacy of Philip V, who claimed the crown after the death of his older brother, Louis X, in 1316. Serge Lusignan, “L’Université de Paris comme composante de l’identité du royaume de France,” 67.

71 Ibid., 66-67.

72 Ibid., 65.
French by Henri de Gauchy in 1282. In the fourteenth-century more and more emphasis was placed on acquiring direct access to the classics and other significant works, through translations from the original sources. Education was the path to wisdom, and wise Solomon was held as the ideal for all medieval kings, but contemporary accounts and later biographies suggest that the biblical sage was especially emulated by Louis IX and Charles V. Rulers in France took the admonishment to be well-educated quite seriously, so while they still valued the instruction of individual counselors, they also wished to take learning into their own hands, in the form of books.

Sue Ellen Holbrook explores this personal quest for knowledge in copies of Jean Corbechon’s French translation of De proprietatibus rerum by Bartholomaeus Anglicus. Bartholomaeus had ties to the University, and his encyclopedic work drew upon authorities who had been students or masters there at some time. He praised Paris as the center of learning in Book 15, and in his translation of that section Corbechon reinforced the connection to Athens. Corbechon’s translation had been ordered by Charles V, and in fact, the frontispiece represents this commission. Consisting of four

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74 Other medieval kings who were nicknamed “the Wise” include Robert of Naples and Alfonso X. See especially: Jean-Patrice Boudet, "Le Modèle du roi sage aux XIIIe et XVe siècles: Salomon, Alphonse X et Charles V," Revue historique 310, no. 3 (2008): 545-66.


76 Ibid., 369-370.
quatrefoil frames, common in books made for Charles in the 1370s, the miniature illustrates three scenes of creation with speech scrolls emanating from the Lord followed by one that shows Charles with a similar scroll commanding Corbechon to translate the work into clear French.\textsuperscript{77} We will discuss this image in our survey of translators in the third chapter. Holbrook’s focus however, is on the prevalence of images throughout the text which depict scholars involved in lectures and demonstrations, seeming to include the reader, especially when the audiences appear more courtly in their dress, enabling the reader to feel that they are able to engage with the authority directly. This personal touch is further enhanced by images that address particular interests of the king, such as two miniatures where the teacher holds an armillary sphere.\textsuperscript{78}

The pursuit of knowledge was not the only impetus for the acquisition of books and the composition of new texts for the French kings and queens. The inception of the Valois rule and the resultant war with England brought forth a rich bouquet of texts supporting the French monarchy, embellishing the legends associated with the first Christian king, Clovis, and the symbols of sacred kingship in order to identify the French as the new chosen people of God. Building on Primat’s \textit{Grandes chroniques de France} and Guillaume de Nangis’s \textit{Vita ludovici regis Francorum} and \textit{Chronique des rois de}

\textsuperscript{77} Holbrook notes that the three creation scenes relate to the theoretical approach of Bartolomaeus based on the four elements and draws on an iconographic tradition that relates Genesis to the four elements. Ibid., 383-384. Donal Byrne gives more attention to the parallel drawn between the command for translation made by Charles and the creation commands of the God of Genesis. Donal Byrne, “Rex imago Dei: Charles V of France and the Livre des propriétés des choses,” \textit{Journal of Medieval History} 7 (1981): 97-113.

\textsuperscript{78} While the original copy of the translation made for Charles V does not survive, numerous copies were made for other members of the family and the French court, so that some assumptions may be made about the illuminations of the presentation copy.
France, authors such as Geoffrey of Paris, Guillaume Sauqueville, Philippe de Vitry and Guillaume de Digulleville, as well as the anonymous monk at the Abbey of Joyenval focused on the establishment of the French monarchy by God and his gifts to Clovis of the fleur de lis, the holy ampoule, the power of thaumaturge, and the oriflamme. The legend of the origin of the fleur de lis was tied to the tradition of the translatio studii, so that the three parts of the fleur de lis came to symbolize faith flanked and supported by learning and chivalry, and was connected to the Holy Trinity as well as to the trio of national saints, Denis and his companions, Rusticus and Eleutherius. These themes were repeated and strengthened in original works or prologues to translations written for Charles V and his son, Charles VI.  

No other court was positioned as well in the fourteenth century to be the source for innovative author portraits. The wide variety of new texts and translations created for the French royal family provided ample opportunities for innovation. The English monarchs commissioned far fewer books in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and according to Jonathan Alexander some of the finest books in the royal collections were either personal possessions of continental princesses who were married to English kings, or gifts from their families.  

Alexander observes that both royal taste and the local talent

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79 Sandra Hindman and Gabrielle Spiegel review this rich history of the legend of the fleur de lis and the French monarchy in their article, "The Fleur de lis Frontispieces to Guillaume de Nangis's Chronique Abrégée."

was mediocre, and better quality books were made for East Anglian patrons.\textsuperscript{81} Although it would appear that the English monarchy’s interest in books was not as strong, at least until the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, the court was also not as ideally located as the French, which was more firmly tied to one location, Paris and environs, and thus benefited from ready access to some of the most brilliant minds in Europe among the University’s faculty, the strong professional book trade in the city, which developed in part to serve instructional needs but expanded to meet the demands of the aristocracy, and for much of the fourteenth century, the presence of the papal court on French soil, which offered an additional supply of both authors and artistic influences, while reinforcing the relationship of the monarchy to the Church.\textsuperscript{82}

Thus far we have focused on the number of original texts and translations commissioned and received by the French royal family. It is also important to recognize their strong interest in collecting books, in establishing and growing their libraries. Although the library of Charles V is the best known, he was not the first in the family to collect books.\textsuperscript{83} Louis IX had established a considerable collection in his Sainte

\textsuperscript{81} Alexander notes that the English court was not only overshadowed in its patronage of books by the French monarch, but also by the courts of the princes of the blood, the emperor, the popes, Naples, Urbino, and the Visconti in Milan. Jonathan J. G. Alexander, “Painting and Manuscript Illumination for Royal Patrons in the Later Middle Ages,” in \textit{English Court Culture in the Later Middle Ages}, ed. V. J. Scatetgood and J. W. Sherborne (London: Duckworth, 1983), 160-161. While it is true that books for the royal patrons would not be the only ones to contain author portraits, one would expect innovation to be found in original works presented to them, rather than in copies of traditional religious texts and romances.

\textsuperscript{82} Not only was the papal court in southern France, but personal relationships were also important, such as that with Clement VII, who had been Pierre Roger, a familiar of the Valois court. Prince Jean was sent by his father, Philippe VI to Avignon on numerous occasions before his accession (in 1342, 1343, 1344, 1347, and 1350). See Raymond Cazelles, "Peinture et actualité politique sous les premiers Valois: Jean Le Bon ou Charles, Dauphin," \textit{Gazette des Beaux-Arts} ser. 6, 92(1978): 54.

\textsuperscript{83} By the time of his death Charles had accumulated over 900 books in his library.
Chapelle, and some of those books made their way into the the Louvre library. The holdings of French queens and princesses have been the subject of some research, and are important because the women tended to be more focused on family history and heritage.\(^{84}\)

The precious little book of hours made for Jeanne d’Evreux was bequeathed to Charles and became part of his collection when she died in 1371, perhaps responsible for a resurgence of interest in the style of Jean Pucelle, which had been so popular with the French court, and which was continued in the work of Jean le Noir, one of the king’s favorite painters.\(^{85}\) Charles also made purchases from the estates of family members, and was even known to confiscate book collections from those who ran afoul of the law. It was this conscious acquisition and retention of so many codices that set him apart from his father and other kings before him.

Although the commissioning of books and translations was not new, Charles wanted to ensure that these texts were available to his counselors, and that the collection stayed with the crown, rather than be dispersed at his death. For this reason, in the early


\(^{85}\) François Avril notes the influence of this manuscript in the illuminations in one volume of the *Bible historiale* made for Charles V, executed by the Master of the Bible of Jean de Sy, an artist we will see in later chapters. François Avril, "Une Bible Historiale de Charles V," *Jahrbuch der Hamburger KunstSammlungen* 15/16 (1970): 62. Jeanne d’Evreux also passed along to Charles a knife that belonged to Louis IX, and his famous psalter, in addition to other family heirlooms. Joan Holladay, “Fourteenth-century French Queens as Collectors and Readers of Books,” 79-83.
years of his reign he ordered his royal architect, Raimond du Temple, to construct the wonderful three-story library in the “Tour de la Fauconnerie” at the Louvre, and asked Gilles Malet, who was employed with the court from 1364 until well into the reign of Charles VI, to serve as his “garde de la librairie.” Léopold Delisle’s work on this storehouse of knowledge is our most valuable resource, as he brought the documentation from the various inventories together into one reference tool. He quoted Christine de Pizan’s biography in his introduction: “Ne dirons-nous encore, de la sagesse du roy Charles, la grant amour qu’il avoit à l’estude et à la science? Et qu’il soit ainsi, bien le demonstroit par la belle assemblée de notablès livres et belle librairie qu’il avoit des tous les plus notables volumes qui par souverains auteurs aient esté compilés, soit de la sainté escription, de théologie, de philosophie et de toutes sciences, moult bien escrips et richement adornez; et tout temps les meilleurs escripvains que on peust trouver occupez pour lui en el ouvrage; et se son estude bel à devis estoit bien ordenné, comme il voulsist toutes ses choses belles et nettes, polies et ordennées, ne convient demander: car mieulz estre ne peus.

Delisle not only documented the many books collected by the king, their subjects, and physical descriptions, but also made an effort to account for as many of them as he could within the libraries of Europe.

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86 “Shall we not speak again of the wisdom of King Charles, the great love that he had for study and for science? And that this was so, he demonstrated well through his beautiful collection of notable books and his beautiful library which had all the most notable volumes which had been compiled by significant authors, be they books of Holy Scripture, theology, philosophy or the sciences, beautifully copied and richly adorned, and always the best scribes that could be found were working for him on this project; and whether this beautifully devised library was well ordered, as he wanted all his things to be beautiful and precise, polished and well-organized, no one need ask: for there could be no better.” Léopold Delisle, *Recherches sur la Librairie de Charles V*, (Paris: H. Champion, 1907), vol. 1, 2-3. Christine de Pizan, *Le Livre des Faits et Bonnes Moeurs du roi Charles V le Sage*, book 3, chapter 12.
Another factor contributing to the prominence of French manuscripts in containing more innovative author portraits, is the clearly evident appreciation that the royal patrons had for the authors and translators who worked for them. Scholars were given nominal positions at court, or were elevated in their clerical career path. Some of the writers and translators were patronized repeatedly, such as Jean de Vignay, the subject of the first chapter, who worked for Philippe VI and his queen, Jeanne de Bourgogne, and Nicole Oresme, who served as a valued counselor, author and translator for Charles V, and will be the focus of the last chapter.

While I am, of necessity, limiting my scope and not including the major literary figures in this survey, it should be noted that royal patronage of these authors was less consistent. The regional courts, such as Hainaut and Aquitaine were generally more favorable environments for this creativity. Some French kings, such as Louis VII and Louis IX, even rejected the worldly in favor of the sacred and scholarly. While Eustache Deschamps did join the court of Charles V, perhaps at the request of his son, who continued to support him, the poet’s famous uncle, Guillaume de Machaut, was patronized more directly by Jean de Luxembourg and Charles II de Navarre than by Charles V, with whom few direct ties have been established. Nevertheless, some of the same fine illuminators were responsible for illustrating books of Machaut’s compositions, and a thorough survey would incorporate these works more substantially.

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87 However, Machaut scholars continue to look for more secure associations. Sylvia Huot proposes that BnF ms. fr. 1586 had been intended for the king’s mother, Bonne de Luxembourg, but she died in 1349. Huot, *From Song to Book: The Poetics of Writing in Old French Lyric and Lyrical Narrative Poetry* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1987), 243. We will return to this manuscript in Chapter Two.
Format and Structure

As discussed above, the chapters that follow will each focus on one case study, although comparable examples will be provided to demonstrate the significance of innovative works or the establishment of new trends. Only the primary manuscript in each chapter will receive a brief codicological and paleographical overview, as well some biographical background for the author represented, and if possible, for the illuminator responsible for the image.

Each of the images was selected not only for its artistic merit, but for its multifaceted reflection of contemporary French society. The reader will quickly recognize the importance of exploring each of those facets independently before attempting a comprehensive explanation of the subject represented. Although each embodies a different role for the author, as a group they reflect the changing perceptions of authorship in the fourteenth century, and the increasing understanding of and respect for both the physical and intellectual labor required.
One of the most popular literary forms employed by later medieval authors was the dream vision. In fact, many of the best known works from the twelfth through fourteenth centuries fit into this genre, such as the *Roman de la rose*, begun by Guillaume de Lorris and completed by Jean de Meun, Dante’s *Divina Commedia*, and early poems by Chaucer, including *The Book of the Duchess* and *The House of Fame*. Usually the author/narrator is the main protagonist of the narrative, and thus may be represented frequently in any accompanying illustrations, beginning with an image of the dreamer in his place of repose. Such an initial glimpse of the author while his imagination is at work then functions as the book’s author portrait, rather than a representation of an active writer, pen in hand. Artists might choose a model from traditional slumbering figures such as the ancestral Jesse or St. John the Evangelist on the island of Patmos, or try to represent the circumstances as described in the text. The enormous popularity of the *Roman de la rose* resulted in a relatively standard visual formula, the dreamer shown asleep in his bed. A further challenge for the illustrator then mirrored the dilemma of the reader, that is, how to distinguish between the dreamer’s real life experiences, and those within the dream. In most of the richly illuminated *Roman de la rose* codices, for example, the dream itself begins within the subsequent miniature, as the dreamer gets up and leaves his room. It is not always that easy though. This chapter surveys the most
common opening representations of the authors of the popular dream vision genre and analyzes one particularly unusual example, the frontispiece of Charles V’s original copy of *Le Songe du Vergier*, a late fourteenth-century text that explores the relationship between secular and ecclesiastical power (Figure 1). Here the author, Évrart de Trémaugon, who does not actually play an active role within the dream narrative, is nevertheless shown sleeping in a garden in the midst of the activities he describes. In addition, although he never identifies himself in the text, referring to himself in the prologue and epilogue only as the humble writer [*escrivain*] of the king, the illuminator represented him playing varying roles in three of the four corresponding miniatures, and we will see that his presence is crucial, not to the action, but to the meaning of the frontispiece.

This image is deceptively simple, seeming to be just a straightforward representation of the author’s description of the subject matter. Further analysis suggests immediate visual comparisons with common religious imagery. However, these similarities are not sufficient to reveal the full meaning of the composition. In order to peel off the many layers of possible interpretations for this image one must see it in context. This requires a close look at the fourteenth-century French court of Charles V, the various roles of the garden in medieval life, art and literature, and the function of the popular dream vision genre. After an introduction to the manuscript itself I will devote a

88 London, British Library, Royal MS 19 C IV. A complete digital facsimile is available on the British Library website.

89 In fact this chapter, which developed into the longest and most complex of the dissertation, began simply as a paper on the medieval garden and its role in art and literature for a course on nature in the Middle Ages, but further investigation revealed much more.
brief section to each of these issues before drawing from all of them in my analysis of the
to each of these issues before drawing from all of them in my analysis of the
to each of these issues before drawing from all of them in my analysis of the
frontispiece.

The Manuscript

The presentation copy of *Le Songe du Vergier* is housed in the British Library, and the following description is based solely on the reproductions and documentation available on the Library’s web site. Although rebound within the library in 1957, the manuscript is generally in very good condition within the added paper flyleaves at the front and back, except for some water damage on the top of folio 2, which, fortunately, did not cause irreparable harm to the frontispiece on the verso of folio 1. Each leaf measures approximately 315 x 235 mm (just over twelve inches high). The text block, in two columns of forty-four lines each, measures approximately 205 x 130 mm, leaving generous margins for notes, often citations of sources (fig. 18). Catchwords, with decorative frames like the notes, mark the end of each gathering, most of eight leaves, although occasionally an extra leaf is inserted. The dark brown script is a standard Parisian textualis formata of the 1370s. Red rubrics are used to introduce each chapter. Initials alternate blue and red with contrasting filigree work and the same colors are used to frame the marginal notes and create line fillers. Red and blue bars also frame the text blocks on those leaves that include miniatures, folios 2r, 6r and 154r (Figures 19-21).

The tie to Charles V of France is reinforced by the lions flanking his arms at the bottom

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91 Close examination reveals some white pigment around the contours of the garden, in some places obscuring the textured edges of the trees. Perhaps this was applied in order to mask some bleeding from the facing folio.
within these frames. Most other leaves are devoid of framing devices or vine-work, except for folios 74v, 154v, and 192v, where the initials are more elaborate, with gold backgrounds behind foliate patterns, that extend into borders with vines and/or dragon motifs.

The provenance of the manuscript is fairly straightforward. It was signed and dated by Charles V himself in a poorly erased inscription still visible with ultraviolet light on the verso of the last folio: "Cest livre nomme le Songe du Vergier est a nous CharlesVe de ce nom roy de France et le fimes compiler translater et escrire lan mil ccc lxxviii. Charles R." It was mentioned in the inventory of the king’s library on his death in 1380, along with the Latin version, although the record made by Gilles Malet indicates that at the time it had been loaned to Évrart de Trémaugon by Charles. Delisle identified the book in the British Library, based on a description in the 1411 inventory of the Louvre library, in an article written decades before his publication of the entire known contents of the royal library pulled from all of the available inventories.

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92 Paired lions may also be found in other manuscripts made for the king. Lions were a prized feature of the menagerie in the gardens at the Hôtel St. Pol, a favorite residence of Charles V.

93 The erased inscription is described in the British Library’s online record for the manuscript. http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Royal_MS_19_c_iv “This book entitled The Dream of the Pleasure Garden is ours, Charles the fifth of this name, king of France, and we had it compiled, translated and copied in the year 1378. Charles, king.” All further quotes are taken from the critical edition of the text prepared by Marion Schnerb-Lièvre. Le Songe du Vergier: Édité d’après le manuscrit Royal 19 C IV de la British Library, ed. Marion Schnerb-Lièvre (Paris: Éditions du centre national de la Recherche Scientifique, 1982), vol. 1, XX.

94 The original covering, according to the inventory, was made of silk. The inventory was begun in 1373 by Malet, the king’s hired librarian. Léopold Delisle, Recherches sur la librairie de Charles V (Paris: H. Champion, 1907), vol. 2, nos. 434 and 435.

Another posthumous inventory of 1424, made after the death of Charles VI, shows that it was still in France at that time. It is assumed that John, duke of Bedford, purchased it with all of the other remaining books from the collection of the French kings and gave this manuscript to his brother, Humphrey, duke of Gloucester, whose erased inscription may also be found on the verso of the last page. It entered the English Royal Library, and was listed under the Westminster inventory number 437 in 1542. In 1757 it, along with the rest of the old library, was presented to the British Museum.96

The frontispiece dominates the verso of the leaf that precedes the beginning of the prologue, which is itself introduced by the presentation miniature at the top of folio 2 (Figure 19). The paintings were executed by the Master of the Bible of Jean de Sy, an artist with a long career spent illuminating books for both Charles V and his father, Jean le Bon.97 Only two additional illustrations accompany the text, thus each of the images has an important role to play, and an analysis of the frontispiece must reference the other miniatures as well.

The presentation scene facing the frontispiece is fairly routine (Figure 19). Within an interior space adorned with hanging curtains to each side and a conical canopy suspended over the monarch, the author, not named in the text but identified as Évrart de Trémaugon, kneels before Charles, offering his book to the king, who reaches out with

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97 In addition to the Bible of Jean de Sy, for which this anonymous artist was named by François Avril, he was also responsible for most of the miniatures in the extensively illustrated two volumes of the *Bible Historiale of Charles V*. Avril’s article on these volumes may be the most complete discussion of the artist’s work. François Avril, “Une Bible Historiale de Charles V,” *Jahrbuch der Hamburger Kunstsammlungen* 15/16 (1970): 45-76.
his right hand to accept it. Courtiers observe and oversee this interaction from the left. The young dauphin, with the identifying ermine bars on the shoulders of his hérigaut stands off to the right. His solitary presence on the right side draws attention to his youth and dependence on his father, the king. No doubt this important work was as much for his benefit as his father’s, if not more. His brother, Louis, is not present. The author and the courtier dressed in red at the left will reappear in the company of the king in the miniature on the top of folio 154, at the head of Book Two, where they assume the roles of the debaters in the text (Figure 21).

The full-page frontispiece on the verso of folio 1 serves to visually introduce the content, and is drawn from the author’s own words in the prologue describing this Dream of the Pleasure Garden (Figure 1). He explains that after much thought concerning ongoing debates regarding the appropriate relationship between secular and ecclesiastical power “...la nuit ensieuvant, en somiellent, m’avint telle avanture, car il me fust avis que je vis une merveillieuse vision, en un vergier qui estoit tres delectable et tres bel, plain de roses et de fleurs de lys et de plusieurs aultres delys, car la vous vis en vostre majesté royal assiz; et lors regardé que au costés de Vostre Majesté aviés deux roynes tres nobles et tres dignes, l’une a dextre et l’autre a senextre...”

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98 The young Charles was a mere ten years old at this time, but one can be sure that his father’s library was being used to instruct the future king. In fact, the heir would be required to take his father’s place before he reached the age of twelve.

99 Images in other books intended for the education of the royal children represent all that were living at the time. An example is the frontispiece of Aristotle's Ethics, translated by Nicole Oresme, which includes the two young princes and their sister (Figure 106, discussed in Chapter 4).

100 Le Songe du Vergier, ed. Marion Schnerb-Lièvre, vol. 1, 4. Approximate translation: “…the following night, while sleeping, I had such an adventure, for it appeared to me that I saw a marvelous vision, in a garden that was very pleasing and very beautiful, full of roses and lilies and many other delights, for I saw
worries resulted in a dream that following night, during which he saw a beautiful pleasure
garden, full of roses and lilies and other delights, in which the king was seated with two
queens to his left and right. One wore a religious habit, and was identified as a
personification of spiritual power, while the other, in noble costume, personified secular
power. These two, who identified themselves as sisters, as well as daughters of the “tres
haut et souverain Roy” [very high and sovereign king], petitioned the monarch to mediate
between them in their dispute, citing his many virtues, such as science, prudence and
elocuence, as well as his “tres vraie et parfaite connaissance de la foy,” and “tres grant et
tres parfont entendement.”

The prologue goes on at great length praising the king for
every virtue, every righteous action, every victory, and recognizing his prestigious
position as the anointed king of France, all through the words of these two queens until
finally Charles advises them to select advocates to represent their grievances before him.
A cleric and a knight are selected to speak on behalf of ecclesiastical and secular power.
At this point, on folio 6r, the author as narrator returns briefly to explain that the text
contains the exact words used by the advocates of the queens as they pleaded their case
(Figure 20). The focus shifts then to the discourse between the cleric and the knight, who
are shown debating alone in a miniature in the left column, while the author disappears

you seated there in your royal majesty; and then I saw that to the sides of Your Majesty you had two
queens, very noble and very dignified, the one to the right and the other to the left...”

101 Ibid., 5. “such true and perfect knowledge of the faith,” and “such great and such perfect
understanding.”
until the epilogue.\textsuperscript{102}

Although the dreamer plays no active role through the main body of the narrative, his role in creating the situation within his imagination is recognized by his inclusion in the frontispiece painted by the Master of the Bible of Jean de Sy. The artist presents an aristocratic pleasure garden, enclosed by a ring of small paired trees, containing the requisite flowers, shade trees and source of water, a fresh spring.\textsuperscript{103} Within the garden, as described by the author, one finds the characters of his dream. Charles V is seated on a gold faldstool decorated with feline heads, legs and paws with a golden cushion beneath his feet. He wears a royal blue fleur de lis mantle over a cool gray robe and a crown on his head. In his left hand is a scepter. His right seems to be raised in response to the secular queen who is speaking, but closer inspection reveals that the fingers are pulling on a delicate white tie that is attached to each side of his mantle with tiny white fasteners.\textsuperscript{104} The two queens are seated in simple semi-circular chairs on either side, gesturing in conversation. While they both wear crowns, only one wears the costume of a secular queen – a delicate pink and white surcote ouverte over a blue cotte with long sleeves that extend over part of the hand, and a jeweled golden girdle that rests on her

\textsuperscript{102} The cleric and knight alternate in beginning each debate. At the top of folio 154 they are on opposite sides of Charles by comparison with the frontispiece, and their costumes clearly tie them to the author and gentleman in red in the presentation scene, although the text does not call for any change in personalities.

\textsuperscript{103} The characteristics of a medieval pleasure garden will be explored more fully in a section below.

\textsuperscript{104} This nonchalant courtly pose is sometimes found on seals of kings and queens who hold only one scepter, and is comparable to the crossed legs that served as a sign of kingship in images dating at least as early as the reign of Louis IX.
hips. Her hair is arranged in fashionable braids at the side of her face. The other woman wears the black and white whimple of a nun under her crown, with a simple Franciscan brown robe. The advocates for each queen stand directly below them, although if one tilted this quasi-aerial view upright they would appear to stand in front of them, and closer to the viewer. The cleric wears a beret-like cap, common among scholars, and a red houce, the color worn by doctors of canon law at the University of Paris. The knight on the right is identified by his fashionable dress, including a low-slung sword belt over his blue cotehardie and long toes on his red hose. To balance the composition with the three figures behind them a small tree is situated between the advocates. The verticality of the tree links the dominant figure, the king, with the sleeping author, alone in the foreground, the lower part of the enclosure, next to a spring which flows from the garden into the outer world beyond through the left corner. The author also wears the costume of a churchman, but the light blue-gray color of his houce echoes the color of the king’s clothing beneath his royal mantle.

The inclusion of this dreaming author within the space of the garden is not called for by the text, and begs interpretation.

The Text and its Author

Le Songe du Vergier is the 1378 French translation and revision of a Latin

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105 Charles and the figure of ecclesiastical power wear the same crown, while that of the secular queen is different in style. It’s not clear whether this difference was intended to add to the meaning of the image.

106 The Songe frontispiece is one of the manuscripts used by Margaret Scott to illustrate details of costume. She identified the significance of the red houce. Margaret Scott, Medieval Dress & Fashion (London: The British Library, 2007), 110, 116.

107 Although de Trémaugon was himself a doctor of canon law in Paris, he had stepped away from his position in order to serve as a counselor for the king of France.
version, the *Somnium viradarii*, completed just two years earlier. The presentation copy in the British Library was dated 1378 by Charles V himself, as noted above. The original copy of the Latin *Somnium* made for Charles no longer exists, but later copies include the completion date within the explicit of the text - May 16, 1376. Since the author does not identify himself in either version various attributions were made over the years, some more credible than others. Differences between the two also led to some debate over whether just one or two different individuals were responsible. Scholars today agree with the suggestion first made by A. Coville in 1933, that the credit for this work goes to Évrart de Trémaugon. No doubt this current consensus is due in large part to the meticulous research of Marion Schnerb-Lièvre, who identified many of Trémaugon’s sources as she prepared the critical edition. It is also now believed that he was responsible for both versions.  

Évrart de Trémaugon was a trusted advisor of King Charles V. He was a Breton from Combourg, who studied canon law in Bologna under Giovanni da Legnano, then taught at the University of Paris from 1369 until he became a counselor to the king in 1374. Three of his lessons are preserved in the Bibliothèque nationale, and the contents of the third are included in the *Songe*, helping to solidify its attribution to him. His brother, Yon de Trémaugon, was a captain under Bertrand du Guesclin, Constable of France for Charles V. Évrart was released from his teaching duties in 1374 in order to work for Charles, and is assumed to have begun his *Somnium* at this time. Françoise

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109 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. lat. 12461.
Autrand, in her biography of the king, states that Trémaugon was charged with this task on May 16, 1374, exactly two years to the day before his completion date for the *Somnium*. She believes that he was selected by Charles specifically for the task of compiling in one place all of the arguments employed in the lively debates that were held among the king’s scholarly friends and advisors over pressing matters of the day.\(^{110}\) By 1377 the law professor was one of the highest paid counselors of the king, and was clearly still valued during the regency of Charles VI, since he was sent on a mission to Juan of Castile in 1381 and later received the bishopric of Dol, one would assume as a reward for good service.\(^{111}\)

Although de Trémaugon placed his work in the context of a dream, the activities of the main protagonists read like a series of formal debates among scholars, each within its own chapter, with a total of four hundred sixty-eight. It is structured to serve as a reference tool, with foliation, chapter numbers, four subdivision markings indicated on each recto, “a, b, c, d,” and a table of contents in the back summarizing each chapter. Autrand refers to it as Charles’s “livre du siècle,” and states that “*Le Songe du Vergier* fournit des armes, un vrai arsenal, aux procureurs du roi, aux baillis et sénéchaux, au Parlement surtout. Mais à eux de se battre, pour le roi, pour la couronne, pour l’État.”\(^{112}\) Jeannine Quillet refers to it as the most important collection of texts opposed to papal


\(^{111}\) Another University scholar, Nicole Oresme, who executed translations of Aristotle for Charles V, among other works, was made bishop of Lisieux in his “retirement.”

\(^{112}\) “The Dream of the Garden furnished arms, a true arsenal, to the prosecutors of the king, to the baillifs and seneschals, to the *Parlement* above all. But it was up to them to fight, for the king, for the crown, for the State.” Autrand, *Charles V*, 736-737.
power before the Reformation. Conflicts between Church and State were certainly not limited to fourteenth-century France, and thus the work became a valued tool for other rulers as well. Both the Latin and French versions were copied and disseminated throughout Europe, although the French was far more popular. The first print edition was published by Jacques Maillet in 1491.

Tensions between Charles V and Pope Gregory XI in the early 1370s may have prompted the king to enlist the services of Évrart de Trémaugon in delineating the appropriate jurisdictions for ecclesiastical powers and secular rulers, but the subject matter expanded somewhat beyond the original assignment to include other controversial matters of interest to the king, such as marriage and laws of succession, the mendicant orders, and even the concept of the Immaculate Conception. Perhaps most significant for this dissertation are the three full chapters that were dedicated to the importance of a strong library for a king. The scholar drew upon a rich heritage of sources, from Old Testament and classical works to those of more recent masters and contemporaries, such as Bartolo da Sassoferrato, William of Ockham, Marsilius of Padua, and Giovanni da Legnano. De Trémaugon studied with Legnano in Bologna, and the premise of his work drew heavily upon the Somnium of his master. In that work, Legnano dreams at night


after a day filled with debates over civil and canonic wisdom. There are two queens, Canonic Wisdom and Civil Science, who address their complaints to Pope Gregory XI, for whom Legnano composed this text. He advises them to select representatives to argue on their behalf. Although they begin with only two men, others join in the debate and it becomes a bit rancorous, so that the dissatisfied queens turn to Giovanni himself to advocate for both of them. The narrative differs from that of de Trémaugon in that the original issue is an offensive lack of respect for both Civil and Canon Law together on the part of the other disciplines at the university. The comparison between the two powers is only explored in one section, which occurs later, and focuses on the Pope’s primary challenger, the Emperor. The arguments for and against each are extensive, and set a precedent for Évrart’s lengthy series of topics and numerous citations. The list of sources for the Songe du Vergier identified by Schnerb-Lièvre is a veritable who’s who of authors from antiquity up through the Middle Ages. De Trémaugon quoted his authorities liberally, no doubt in part to protect himself. In the epilogue, entitled “Le songent,” the dreamer returns, and makes it abundantly clear how unworthy he is to have taken on this task, and how difficult it is to walk the fine line between offending either the religious or secular authorities to whom he is subordinate.

The Artist

The Master of the Bible of Jean de Sy was one among a group of artists who devoted their careers to illuminating the numerous manuscripts ordered by the bibliophile

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king of France. The name was derived from one of his earliest projects, the illuminations in Jean de Sy’s French translation of the Bible accompanied by gloss and marginal commentaries prepared for Jean II of France, a huge undertaking that was interrupted by the capture of the king at Poitiers in 1356.\textsuperscript{116} Previously known as the Maître aux Boqueteaux, after the characteristic little trees found in his illuminations, like those in the \textit{Songe} frontispiece, his current identification was proposed by François Avril in order to distinguish him from other artists who used comparable trees, such as the Master of the Remède de Fortune, who introduced the motif, and those loosely identified as members of the workshop of the Master of the Bible of Jean de Sy.\textsuperscript{117} Avril also found his hand in a \textit{Bible Historiale} made for Charles V, divided into two richly illuminated volumes, one in the Bibliothèque de l’Arsenal (ms. 5212), and the other in the Hamburger Kunsthalle (ms. fr. 1).\textsuperscript{118} The master’s hand has also been identified in the \textit{Grandes heures} made for

\begin{footnotes}
\textsuperscript{116}Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. fr. 15,397.

\textsuperscript{117}Meiss had earlier grouped all of these artists together under the category of the “Boqueteaux Style,” and placed them all under the direction or influence of Jean Bondol, even suggesting an attribution of the well-known Machaut prologue miniatures to Bondol. Millard Meiss, \textit{French Painting in the Time of Jean de Berry: The Late Fourteenth Century and the Patronage of the Duke} (London: Phaidon, 1969), 287. The task of sorting out the hands in this shop is far from complete. Manuscripts attributed solely to the Master of the Bible of Jean de Sy do, in fact, reveal a variety of styles that seem to reflect different hands and not just variations between strong and weak examples of the work of one artist, as Michael Camille had identified in the work of Pierre Remiet. On Remiet’s work Camille commented: “Images register the activity of a whole body – a body tense, weak, fatigued or frail – visible in the strength of the line, the viscosity of the paint.” Michael Camille, \textit{Master of Death: The Lifeless Art of Pierre Remiet, Illuminator} (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1996), 5. As recently as 2010, when the catalog of the exhibition “Imagining the Past in France” held at the J. Paul Getty Museum in Los Angeles, was published, Ann Hedeman identified the artists involved in the \textit{Grandes chroniques} and the \textit{Bible historiale} presented by Jean de Vaudetar as the “Bible of Jean de Sy illuminators,” a workshop, rather than distinct individuals. Elizabeth Morrison and Anne Dawson Hedeman, et al., \textit{Imagining the Past in France: History in Manuscript Painting, 1250-1500} (Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2010), 177-181.

\textsuperscript{118}Avril found that the illuminations in the Hamburg volume were executed exclusively by the Master of the Bible of Jean de Sy, but that he collaborated with two other artists in the Arsenal manuscript. It was in this article on the two volumes that Avril assigned the more specific name to him. François Avril, “Une Bible Historiale de Charles V,” \textit{Jahrbuch der Hamburger KunstSammlungen} 15/16 (1970): 53-54.
\end{footnotes}
Philippe le Hardi, a Book of Hours for Verdun use in the Morgan Library, the *Gotha Missal* in Cleveland, Charles V’s copy of Bersuire’s translation of Livy in the Bibliothèque Ste. Geneviève, and in the some of the miniatures for the presentation copies of Aristotle’s *Politiques et économiques* and the *Éthiques* translated by Nicole Oresme, including the frontispiece of the latter (Figure 22). Other large projects in which he participated include the *Grandes chroniques de France de Charles V*, and another *Bible historiale* in the British Library. His best known illuminations are the two large miniatures executed to accompany the “prologue” of an early compilation of the works of Guillaume de Machaut representing the author visited first by Nature and her children and then Love and his offspring. The Machaut prologue miniatures have generally been acknowledged as his most successful works (Figures 10 and 23). They are also uncharacteristic of most of his production. The closest comparison to these tilted up landscapes is a miniature representing peasants at work from the presentation copy of


120 London, British Library, Royal MS 17 E VII.

the *Politiques et économiques*, held in a private collection, but exhibited in the “Fastes du Gothique” exhibition. A tilted, but less expansive landscape may also be found behind the Nativity miniature within the *Gotha Missal* in Cleveland.

Charles Sterling describes the illuminator as a realist, who introduced a non-courtly, non-Parisian approach, perhaps developed in Brabant at the court of Wenceslas, the brother of the emperor Charles IV. Avril agrees that his style represented a new naturalistic tendency at the French court, but places him in the shadow of the Master of Le Remède de Fortune, who had also begun working in the 1350s. He notes his tremendous output, and frequent projects for the French court, as well as his skill as a draftsman, but describes his work overall as “abundant and rather monotonous.” The artist’s output was indeed abundant, yet not without some visual interest. A survey of his career reveals some consistent qualities in his work even as his style evolved over the decades and his role changed from assistant, to mature master and eventually to head of his own team of painters.

Early works by the Master of the Bible of Jean de Sy frequently contain a steeply climbing landscape that angles up on one side. One can find examples of this trait in the

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narrative of Rebecca and Eliezer in the Bible of Jean de Sy (Figure 24).\textsuperscript{127} It is also found with great frequency in the historiated initials that he executed for the Arsenal volume of the \textit{Bible Historiale} made for Charles V (Figures 25 and 26). Such angled slopes on both sides were occasionally used as a compositional device to focus the viewer’s attention to the action in the center.\textsuperscript{128} It is a little surprising to see this approach lingering in the \textit{Songe} manuscript, in the miniature at the head of the second book (Figure 21). It was clearly a reach for this artist to transition to a landscape that tilted up to fill the space behind figures, like we find in \textit{Songe} garden and in the Machaut prologue miniatures. Such landscapes that leave little space for sky at the top of the scene are infrequent in his oeuvre.

Among the aspects of his work that remain fairly consistent are the little clumps of trees, his characteristic depiction of small flowing springs and the expressive faces on his animals.\textsuperscript{129} He has his own distinctive way of representing the heads and legs of the felines on the king’s faldstool. The heads are generally in profile, and look a bit like beagles, although the legs are markedly furry along the underside. One of his collaborators is more likely to turn the heads in a full frontal position, making them more readily recognizable as cats. The stippling technique in his paint application when

\textsuperscript{127} Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. fr. 15397, folio 40v. The way that he describes the spring of water here remains rather consistent from his early work up through the \textit{Songe}.

\textsuperscript{128} The twin slopes are also employed in the two miniatures attributed to the artist in the presentation manuscript of Raoul de Presles’ French translation of Augustine’s \textit{City of God}, BnF ms. fr. 22912, folios 384r and 407v.

\textsuperscript{129} Another feature which shows up frequently in this manuscript are the numerous lions that form part of the embellishment of the initials, similar to those in manuscripts for Charles V, which were no doubt a reference to the king’s collection of lions at the Hôtel St. Pol.
working with color is another recognizable feature from one manuscript to another. Human poses, faces and hand gestures are easily traced between works as well. The frontal king in the miniature representing the anointing of Solomon from the *Bible historiale* in the British Library bears a striking resemblance to Charles in the garden, a similarity so strong that it may be more than just the re-use of his earlier figure as a model (Figures 27 and 28).

Other works attributed to the artist may have been designed by the master, but the execution suggests participation by assistants. Compare, for example, the frontispiece of the *Éthiques* to the frontispiece and the two-column wide miniatures of the *Songe* (Figures 1, 19, 21, 22). The hand placements in the presentations are similar. The face and costume of the queen in the family scene is similar to that in the garden, and the way she holds her hand while listening to the king is much like the pose of the knight in the garden debate. The dark cloth suspended behind the royal family in the top right quatrefoil is comparable to that in the *Songe* on folio 154 where Charles is seated between the debaters (Figure 21). Both are tacked up with no visible supports. At the same time, there are some problematic areas, such as the disjointed far knee of Nicole Oresme in the *Éthiques* presentation, and the strangely attached pendants on the fronts of the men’s garments, which fall far more naturally in the *Songe* miniatures. It’s hard to imagine these details as having been drawn by the same artist. The problem of distinguishing one hand from another in the numerous manuscripts executed by the

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130 London, British Library, MS Royal 17 E VII. In fact, one may be tempted to imagine this likeness was an intentional visual comparison of Charles the Wise with the Old Testament model of ideal kingship. However, we have no way of knowing how well the artist remembered the type he had used in the earlier project, and we may find the same model used for representations of other monarchs as well.
master and his assistants is beyond the scope of this analysis, but requires attention, pulling individuals out of what de Winter referred to as the “Boquetaux shop.” What is important for our purposes is recognizing the significant output of the artist over an extended career, suggesting experience and flexibility.

Context: The Court of Charles V

_Le Songe du Vergier_ should not be viewed merely as a response to the contemporary tensions between the French king and the pope, but must also be seen within the context of traditional literature exploring the ideals associated with medieval kingship, a propaganda machine focused on Gallicanism, the dynamic program of translations and book production at the French court, and the king’s personal interests in both scholarship and fine quality books.

Charles V, like other later medieval kings, such as Alfonso X of Castile and Robert of Anjou in Naples, pursued an ideal of kingship based in large part on the model of Solomon. All three were nicknamed “the wise.”[131] That Charles had attained this reputation within his lifetime is suggested by the praises lavished upon him in the prologues and epilogues of the books that he commissioned. Évrart de Trémaugon, in the _Songe_ for example, states through the supplication of the two queens in the prologue: “Et quant tu te pues retraire de la cure et de la grant pensee que tu prens pour ton pueble gouverner et la chose publique, tu t’appliques en aucun retrait, et la secretement lis, ou fais

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[131] Jean-Patrice Boudet believes that the great interest Charles demonstrated in astrology, from the earliest commissions before he became king, is just one indication that Alphonso X may have been a more important model to him than Robert of Naples. He ordered translations of many of the same books, but also owned “Les Tables Alphons, roy de Castille.” Jean-Patrice Boudet, “Le Modèle su roi sage aux XIIIe et XIVe siècles: Salomon, Alphonse X et Charles V” _Revue historique_ 310 no.3 (2008): 545-566.
lire, aucune bone escripture ou doctrine, ou fais par clers mover aucunes doubtez ou questions, car sut touz princes crestians tu os et vois, volontiers, bons clers, tu lez avances et leur portes honer et reverance..."  

Philippe de Mézières, in his *Songe du Vieil Pèlerin* (1389), ostensibly a guide on living a good life written for Charles VI, praised his father as a model so highly that Jeannine Quillet refers to it as a eulogy for his deceased friend. Within the context of a long list of recommended readings that “Royne Verite” recommends to “Beau Filz” (Charles VI) reference is made to the vow made by Charles V, that he would read through the Bible from cover to cover each year. Charles did not simply read good books however; he summoned many scholars to his court. Françoise Autrand refers to the intellectuals gathered around Charles as the “club du roi” [club of the king], noting that although some were given titles, such as de Trémaugon’s position as “maître des requêtes,” they were not actually involved in everyday government affairs, but functioned primarily to engage in the serious daily lectures, readings and debates described by Christine de Pisan in her biography of the king.

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132 Marion Schnerb-Lièvre, ed., *Le Songe du Vergier*, vol. 1, 6. “And when you are able to retreat from the care and heavy deliberation that you undertake in order to govern your people and manage public affairs, you put yourself in some retreat, and there secretly read, or have read, some good scripture or doctrine, or have scholars address some doubts or questions, for above all Christian princes you voluntarily delight in listening to and giving attention to good scholars, you advance them and bring them honor and reverence...”

133 Jeannine Quillet, *La Philosophie Politique*, 33-34.


135 Françoise Autrand, "La Culture d'un roi: Livres et amis de Charles V." *Perspectives médiévales* 21 (1995): 101. Christine de Pisan grew up in the shadow of the French court after her father, Tommaso, was summoned north to serve as astrologer and physician to the king. She married a court secretary, Etienne du Castel, at age fifteen in 1380, the same year that Charles V died. Christine wrote *Le Livre des fais et bonnes meurs du sage roy Charles V* at the request of his brother, Philippe le Hardi, duke of Burgundy, in 1404, after she had established her own career as a writer following the untimely death of her husband.
Written descriptions in the prologues and epilogues of the king’s books, and Christine’s later biography, are not the only source of information with regard to the monarch’s interest in scholarship, but visual confirmation is available in the representations of the ruler. Claire Richter Sherman, who wrote a monograph on the portraits of Charles V, focuses attention in one article to the way these images of the monarch embodied the ideal of the wise king.\textsuperscript{136} The portraits include not only presentation miniatures, in which the close personal relationship of the king with his scholars is apparent, but also images of the king alone with his books, such as that in Denis Foulechat’s translation \textit{Le Policratique de Jean de Salisbury} (Figure 29).\textsuperscript{137} This is a rather deluxe example since the hand of God is seen over the head of Charles as he points to an open book with a legible passage from Ecclesiasticus, a book also known as the Wisdom of Sirach. Sherman identified the passage as Ecclesiasticus 14:20.\textsuperscript{138} A modern translation of verses 20-21 reads: “Blessed is anyone who meditates on wisdom, and reasons with intelligence, who studies her ways in his heart, and ponders her secrets.”\textsuperscript{139} The private retreat mentioned by the queens in the \textit{Songe} is given physical

Since Philippe died before the work was completed, Christine presented it to Jean de Berry as a gift in 1405. While some question how much she could have remembered of the king because of her youth at his death, the fact that she married in that same year should demonstrate a certain level of maturity.


\textsuperscript{137} Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. fr. 24287, folio 2r.

\textsuperscript{138} Sherman, \textit{The Portraits of Charles V of France}, 95 note 45.

\textsuperscript{139} Sirach 14:20–21 The New Jerusalem Bible.
form here, and one wonders how close to reality it comes, since the Louvre library built for him by Raymond du Temple did in fact have wood paneling.\textsuperscript{140}

Scholars who write on Charles V or on the books he commissioned are in agreement that his translation projects went far beyond the translations ordered by his international colleagues or his predecessors, and demonstrate a conscious campaign of Gallicanism. The concepts of \textit{translatio imperii} and of \textit{translatio studii} permeate the writings of his time.\textsuperscript{141} Along with the geographical relocation over the centuries from Athens to Rome to France, the language of scholarship had changed, first from Greek to Latin, and now it was believed appropriate that the language of the new center of learning, Paris, should rise to prominence. French was not only the language of government under Charles V, but he aspired to make it the language of the educated as well, and the intellectuals working for him struggled to bring the vernacular up to a level of complexity and flexibility comparable to the Latin they had been trained to work with. This required in part a re-Latinization of the language, as well as the introduction of a new vocabulary. Often translators would include a glossary to define the new terms for the reader.

At the same time, Charles wanted this knowledge to be more accessible. As

\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{140} Delisle's researches on the library revealed that the walls of the first floor were covered with “bois d'Irlande,” a gift from the seneschal of Hainault, while the vaults were “bois de cyprès.” Delisle, \textit{Recherches sur la librairie de Charles V}, vol 1, 7.}

Nicole Oresme pointed out while working on his project, the Latin of Moerbeke’s translation of Aristotle that he used as a starting point for his own translation into French was difficult, thus we can understand why even someone who could read Latin, as Charles was reputed to be, would have trouble with the versions available at the time. Oresme is one of the University scholars who had been considered as an author for the *Songe*. Susan Babbitt studied Oresme’s translation of Aristotle’s *Politics* closely, looking at all of the previous translations, derivative treatises and commentaries that he drew upon. She describes his work as a heavily glossed “introduction to the text,” a “guidebook for a new audience.” She also notes how extensively Oresme related the Aristotelian ideas to contemporary political realities, mentioning the Church in his glosses more than one hundred fifty times, although in his discussion of temporal vs spiritual authority he never ventured as far as Évrart de Trémaugon did with his dream.

Perhaps without the dream as a vehicle, and the anonymity chosen by de Trémaugon, Oresme did not feel comfortable making such strong claims on behalf of the French king.

The emphasis on the French language and the pre-eminence of the University of Paris were not the only manifestations of this Gallicanism. It involved tracing the illustrious history of the French monarchy back to the first Christian king, Clovis, and


144 Ibid., 135.
honoring national saints – St. Denis and his companions, Rusticus and Eleutherius, and St. Louis. Even Charlemagne was honored as a saint under Charles V. Thanks to St. Louis, the Ste. Chapelle held the most precious relics, the crown of thorns and fragments of the true cross and the holy lance. France therefore, was a most appropriate home for the papacy. In addition, the expanded legend of the heavenly origin of the fleur de lis and its associated trinitarian symbolism was embraced by the court of Charles V, appearing in a variety of fourteenth-century texts, including the *Songe du Vergier*.

Évrart de Trémaugon went beyond acclamation the prestige of the French monarchy in general and provided abundant praises for the virtues and actions of this individual king in his prologue and epilogue, and cited miracles performed on his behalf as he overcame treason and defeated his enemies. In the words of the queens: “Or est ainsi que a toy, Charles, tres puissant roy de France, Diex a doné tres vraie et parfaite cognessance de la foy, tres grant et tres parfont entendement; en toy, dez biens, dez fortunes, dez graces, dez vertus de ce monde as tant que nulz ne lex pourret nombrer.”

The author also made it clear that Charles, as king of France, was emperor in his own realm, owing allegiance only to God and no earthly sovereign, secular or religious.

Such efforts on behalf of the French monarch were not merely examples of national pride, but must be seen in the context of the Hundred Years War. Although

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145 Charles V sent a delegation to Avignon in 1367 to convince the Pope to remain in France.

146 Marion Scherb-Lièvre, ed., *Le Songe du Vergier*, vol. 1, 5. “Now it is thus that to you, Charles, very powerful king of France, God has given very true and perfect knowledge of the faith, very great and very perfect understanding; you have within you so many of the riches, fortunes, graces and virtues of this world that no one would be able to count them.”

Charles was the third king in the Valois line, challenges to his position were still very much alive. He had served as regent for his father while Jean le Bon was held prisoner by the English, and had faced the struggle of raising a ransom. He had also seen how the absence of the king affected the country, so he wisely chose to lead the conflict from the security of his palaces rather than from horseback, like his father, and left the battleground to his capable military leaders. Some might see his library-building, scholarly associations and translation projects as merely part of an intense propaganda campaign, but he was also personally disposed to intellectual pursuits, and his most valued resources were his thinkers. Françoise Autrand emphasizes frequently throughout her lengthy biography how Charles studied his books and engaged his scholars in serious conversation, even debates, on issues such as taxation in order to make well-reasoned, informed decisions for the good of the nation.148

Medieval Gardens

Before we can speculate on the role played by the enclosed garden that contains the figures of the Songe frontispiece we must first explore the myriad meanings associated with gardens in the Middle Ages. Although the definition for verger in modern French is “orchard,” in the Middle Ages the term verger, or in Latin, viridarium, could more loosely be applied to a large pleasure garden, which might also include fruit trees, but those that were selected more for their blossoms than their produce. This garden with attractive trees was distinct from the pomerium, a utilitarian orchard.149 The

148 Autrand, Charles V.

149 Other terms that one encounters include hortus or ortus, the generic Latin term for a garden, or the French jardin and English garden, derived from the Germanic term for an enclosure, gart. English records
pleasure garden was just one special type of medieval garden, designed primarily for pleasing the senses, not for practical purposes, although there is overlap between the content of these gardens and others, especially the monastic gardens, intended primarily for quiet meditation.\footnote{Jerry Stannard identifies five basic types: the kitchen garden (primarily for food), the medicinal garden (most comparable to today’s herb garden), the patrician garden (containing a mix of practical and ornamental plants), the cloister garden (primarily for meditation, and including highly symbolic species such as the rose, lily and violet), and the pleasure garden. Jerry Stannard, "Alimentary and Medicinal Uses of Plants," in Medieval Gardens, ed. Elisabeth Blair MacDougall (Washington, D. C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 1986): 69-91.}

There are a number of ancient and medieval sources available for reference on the contents and uses of gardens, among them Pseudo-Aristotle, De plantis; Pliny the Elder, Naturalis historia; and Palladius, De re rustica. Isidore of Seville’s Etymologia and the many illustrated herbals also provide information.\footnote{John Harvey, Mediaeval Gardens (London: B. T. Batsford, Ltd., 1981). John Harvey’s book is still the most complete resource for the history of gardens in the Middle Ages, pulling from scholastic and literary works as well as court records.} We are fortunate to have written descriptions of some very pleasant gardens from the hands of the educated clerics in the early Middle Ages, as well as a record of Charlemagne’s decree that all royal lands in his empire should have gardens with diverse plantings.\footnote{Venantius Fortunatus (530-609) described in poetry the contents and character of the lovely gardens of two widowed queens, Clotaire I (d. 561) and Ultragotha, widow of Childbert I, mentioning apples, pears and violets, for example. Charlemagne’s decree listed a total of 89 species, with the rose and lily at the top of the list. Ibid., 28.} Walafrid Strabo, a Benedictine monk writing in the 9th century, wrote a practical manual for the gardener, as well as a
poem on his “Little Garden,” and later, Hugh of St. Victor (1078-1141) would go into much more detail in describing a garden, generous with his adjectives: “beautiful with trees, delightful with flowers, pleasant with green grass, agreeable with the murmur of a spring.”

Trees, flowers, grass and a spring were considered the essential elements of a pleasure garden. Albertus Magnus, in his De vegetabilibus et plantis was the first to address the actual creation of a pleasure garden and devoted a full chapter to it. The most useful for our purposes however, is the extensive Liber ruralium commodorum by Piero de’ Crescenzi, which dates from the fourteenth century.

De’ Crescenzi drew on all of the ancient sources, as well as Albertus Magnus for his 12 volume opus, written in Bologna from 1304-1309, no doubt while in “retirement” at his estate of Villa Olmo, just outside the walls of the city. Book VIII of his work is dedicated solely to the pleasure garden. Although some of it copies Albertus Magnus almost verbatim, Robert Calkins points out that de’ Crescenzi added two additional sections, on medium and large (kingly) pleasure gardens. By the time he compiled this description the pleasure garden had been well established as a type, and although his

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153 Ibid., 25-27 and 34. The text of Strabo’s poem may be found in Le jardin médiéval: un musée imaginaire, 55. Harvey also mentions that Strabo was a member of the Carolingian court and served as tutor to the young Charles the Bald for nine years. However, the emphasis on monastic gardens for meditation in this period is quite evident. For Hugh of St. Victor see Harvey, 4. One might also recall for the 9th century the careful identification of plants on the so-called St. Gall plan.

154 Ibid., 6. Harvey includes the full text of this chapter in his book.

work was a “how-to” manual for organizing and managing one’s estate, it essentially documented what was already being done. Nevertheless, the work’s reputation spread throughout Europe, and one sees a close correlation between his descriptions and artistic representations of pleasure gardens, especially in the fifteenth century as artists became more adept at depicting perspective. Charles V commissioned a French translation of the text in 1373, so may have had a Latin version on hand at the time, and we know that a late fourteenth-century Latin copy in an Italian hand, “escript de letter boulonnaise,” was in the inventories of the library of Jean de Berry in 1402 and 1414.

De’ Crescenzi’s work makes it clear that the role of the pleasure garden should not be to nourish the body, but the spirit. This is clear already from the language of the title of Book VIII: “On making gardens and delightful things skillfully from trees, plants and their fruits.” Yet in his preface he seems to be seeking some justification for such delights: “In the previous books, trees and herbaceous plants were discussed according to how they can be useful to the human body; but now the same ones must be discussed according to how they give pleasure to a rational soul and consequently preserve the health of the body, since the humoric state of the body is always closely related to the disposition of the soul.”

Calkins, “Piero de’ Crescenzi and the Medieval Garden,” 159.

156 Calkins has found 141 surviving manuscript copies, and notes that from 1471-1548 there were 15 print editions produced. Most of the accurate artistic representations of gardens date to the 15th century, after artists had mastered more techniques for showing spatial depth. In addition, far more copies of the treatise itself were illustrated in the 15th century. Calkins, “Piero de’ Crescenzi and the Medieval Garden,” 159.

157 Ibid., 161. No fourteenth century French copies survive.

158 All translations of his text are Bauman’s. Bauman, “Tradition and Transformation,” 99-100. Bauman explains the perceived relationship of the 4 humours to the four elements, and their characteristic levels of hot, wet, cold and dry (p. 113). One sees the relationship here to the Tacuinum sanitatis, which was also quite popular in the 14th century, especially in Italy.
of Anjou, “When I considered the age and manifold plans of your excellent majesty, I resolved to compose a book offering consolation and delight to your soul and perpetual use to your subjects…” On reading the text further, one finds repeated references to the “pleasant” aspects, covered walkways, areas designed for sitting, and appealing views.

Relatively close in time to Charles V and his Songe manuscript are the calendar scenes in Les Très Riches Heures de Duc de Berry. The scene for the month of April, painted by the Limbourg Brothers is problematic in its perspective, yet still describes covered walkways, occasional trees, and individual beds in the garden on the right, as well as the careful layout of the park with its very regular plantings of trees (Figure 30). The image for the month of June was finished later, ca. 1440s, and shows the Palais de la Cité with glimpses of the tops of trees and vine trellises in the garden within the walls, which was directly accessible from the private residence of the royal family by an exterior staircase, a feature believed to have been employed at the Louvre palace also (Figure 31).

English and French court financial records provide a great deal of information, recording names of gardeners (most from the south), expenses for construction materials,

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159 Ibid., 123.

160 His advice fits well with the available information describing the Park of Robert II of Artois at Hesdin, although this park was finished before he began writing his book. Ibid., 122. There is an abundance of medieval source material on the value of pleasure and recreation for one’s physical and, directly related, mental health. For a rather thorough survey see: Glending Olson, Literature as Recreation in the Later Middle Ages (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1982).

161 It is not known whether this is Berry’s chateau at Dourdan or that of the Duc d’Orléans at Pierrefonds. Jean Dufournet, Les Très Riches Heures de Duc de Berry (Hackberry Press, 2002), 24.
furnishings, plantings and stock for fishponds, menageries or aviaries. The best documented, as well as the most celebrated complex in the North was the park and gardens at Hesdin, begun by Count Robert II of Artois after he returned from a period serving as regent in Naples in 1292, bringing his gardeners with him. Piero de’ Crescenzi recommended that a large royal pleasure garden/park be at least 12 acres in size. The site at Hesdin covered approximately 2200 acres, and received visitors from the courts of France and England, who most assuredly took ideas home with them. While the descriptions of monkey marionettes and water-spouting mechanisms may be most likely to capture the modern imagination, we also know a great deal about the various specialized areas throughout the park – wooded areas for game to shelter in, open fields for the chase, ponds for fish and herons (a favorite for hunting with falcons), rabbit warrens, stables, aviaries, a menagerie, gardens, orchards, vineyards, multiple fountains, warrens, stables, aviaries, a menagerie, gardens, orchards, vineyards, multiple fountains,

162 The English seem to have had a particular appreciation for vines over arbors created with bent willow trees. Just one record described by Howard Colvin mentions 700 willows provided to Master Maurice at Westminster in 1312-13 for the support of vines in order to create covered walkways. A few years earlier there was mention of 80 birds in the queen’s aviary, a feature found in French gardens as well. Howard Colvin, “Royal Gardens in Medieval England,” in Medieval Gardens, intro. Elisabeth Blair MacDougall (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 1986), 14.

163 Anne Hagopian van Buren provides the most documentary details from the records of Robert and his daughter Mahaut in her article that explores the influence of romances on Robert II’s complex, which included a rose garden with a small tower inspired by the Roman de la Rose. Anne Hagopian Van Buren, "Reality and Literary Romance in the Park of Hesdin," in Medieval Gardens, ed. Elisabeth Blair MacDougall, Dumbarton Oaks Colloquium on the History of Landscape Architecture (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 1986) 117-134. Sharon Farmer has recently provided some new perspectives on Count Robert’s intent in creating these specialized spaces. Sharon Farmer, "Aristocratic Power and the “Natural” Landscape: The Garden Park at Hesdin, ca. 1291–1302," Speculum 88 no. 03 (2013): 644-80. The park at Hesdin is best known from a later copy of a fifteenth-century Burgundian painting of a wedding party held there during the reign of Philippe le Bon, now in the Musée national des châteaux de Versailles et de Trianon.
and close to the castle, a petit paradis.\textsuperscript{164} A miniature representing Guillaume de Machaut composing in a garden may have been inspired by such a small garden adjacent to the palace, as it is believed that Machaut visited Hesdin with his first patron, Jean de Luxembourg (Figure 32). This more intimate type of garden setting was also likely the inspiration for the Master of the Bible of Jean de Sy in his frontispiece for the Songe.\textsuperscript{165}

We are fortunate to also have some records for the gardens at a preferred residence of Charles V, the Hôtel St. Pol, a location that he selected over the Palais de la Cité because it offered more fresh air.\textsuperscript{166} This complex consisted of a gradual accrual and conversion of existing properties rather than one ambitious building project. Most of the acquisitions were made while Charles was still the dauphin, but in 1364 when he became king, the Hôtel St. Pol was declared a domain of the crown. Charles VI and the other royal children were born here, and Emperor Charles IV visited the queen at the Hôtel St. Pol when he came to France in 1378, a visit well documented for Charles V in the Grandes Chroniques de France.\textsuperscript{167} Although the palace is gone, there are some records

\textsuperscript{164} The Burgundian painting is thought to represent the pavilion used for entertaining, although the original version built under Count Robert was burned down by the English in 1355.

\textsuperscript{165} The Master of the Bible of Jean de Sy was involved in illuminating more than one manuscript of Machaut’s works, and collaborated extensively with the artists involved here, the Master of the Remède de Fortune, and the Master of the Coronation Book of Charles V. He may have been familiar with the petit paradis in ms. fr. 1586.

\textsuperscript{166} While the “registres des oeuvres royaux” were lost in a fire of 1737 in the Chambre des Comptes, Fernand Bournon found extracts that had been made by earlier scholars conserved in various French libraries, and reported on his compilation in 1879. Fernand Bournon, "L’Hôtel Royal de St. Pol." Mémoires de la société de l’histoire de Paris 5 (1879): 54-179.

\textsuperscript{167} The Songe translation may have been one of the tools prepared in advance of that visit. The Hôtel St. Pol remained a popular location for the family. Charles VI later died there in 1422, and it was here that Charles VII returned on his triumphal re-entry to Paris in November, 1435. Bournon, "L’Hôtel Royal de St. Pol," 112-126.
documenting its maintenance, as well as physical descriptions. Inside the main entrance there was a courtyard and a garden with a lion fountain in the center. The gardens were far more extensive than those at the Louvre, and included a menagerie with many kinds of animals. The lions kept by Charles V were so popular that the street rue des Lions still commemorates them, long after the palace has been lost.\textsuperscript{168} There were many rooms and large halls, and a multi-storied tower with the first clock in the city, in which a portion of the royal treasury was housed, as well as one of the king’s studies. Certainly the most interesting room described was within the queen’s apartments, where the walls were painted with a forest of trees and flowers, with children climbing the trees and picking the flowers. The similarity of this room described in the records to the garden scene in the papal palace at Avignon is striking, and is a reminder of the close ties between the two courts (Figure 33).

While today we may not question the motives of anyone who chooses to have a flower garden adjacent to their home, in the Middle Ages there was a perceived need for justification. As noted above, de’ Crescenzi discusses the medical aspect, the need for refreshing shade and fresh air, which would restore one’s strength after a long day of work. The health benefits were deemed especially important during the years of the plague, as one finds in the treatises of the time. One of the most influential, the \textit{Compendium de epidimia}, was written in 1348 by the Faculty of Medicine at the University of Paris at the request of Philippe VI.\textsuperscript{169} The experts believed that

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\textsuperscript{168} We are reminded here of the lions that flank the royal arms in the \textit{Songe}, and other manuscripts for the king.
\end{flushleft}

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\textsuperscript{169} Glending Olson, \textit{Literature as Recreation}, 168.
\end{flushleft}
contaminated air was to blame for the dreadful disease, so efforts to take advantage of fresh breezes in a well-designed garden were advisable. Pleasant activities to decrease stress were also important, and thus the young people in the Decameron who escaped into the countryside to pass the time in agreeable pursuits were following the most appropriate course of action. Boccaccio also addressed the desired restorative aspects in a letter written to his friend Petrarch in 1353, in which he recalled an earlier visit with him at his home: “... when the day sank toward evening we would both rise from our labours and go into your little garden, adorned by the advent of spring with leaves and flowers. There, alternately sitting and talking, we would pass what remained of the day in peaceful and praiseworthy leisure.”

Petrarch would find gardens a source of inspiration as well as good health. In a 1352 letter to Francesco Nelli written from Vaucluse he mentions another garden that he termed “sacred to Apollo,” a remote place by the Sorgue River: “... a place beneath the high cliff, in the midst of the waters, cramped indeed but full of passionate inspiration, enough to allow even a dull mind to rise to the loftiest concerns.” In another letter to Visconti he wrote: “While my gardener tends to the plants and trees, I shall concentrate on writing my verse, while the stream, whose babbling course divides the fruit-trees to

170 Olson devotes two chapters to the plague and the Decameron.


left and to right, calls to me with its murmuring." His comments on the stimulating effects of water bring to mind the image of Guillaume de Machaut composing near a spring in an enclosed garden (Figure 32).

Gardens in Literature

The discussion of gardens up to this point has focused on actual physical locations. Just as prevalent in medieval thought, if not more so, were the numerous descriptions of gardens in literature, both sacred and secular. The earliest recorded garden for the leisurely class was, of course, Eden, intended for Adam and Eve to enjoy without having to work. We know that there were non-aggressive animals there and at least two trees in the center, one of which certainly bore fruit, and that humans could be shut out of this garden, as the first parents were after the fall. In addition, tradition tells us that the source of the four great rivers of the world was to be found here. Of course, the image of the Garden of Eden would be embellished over time so that one could imagine the perfection of an ever-blooming, ever-producing garden with every good thing in it, and the goal was to restore humanity to this blissful place. The Song of Songs, with its extensive garden imagery, especially the hortus conclusus [enclosed garden] and sealed fountain, was also common knowledge. From the ancients, Homer and Virgil, came the tradition of the locus amoenus, a most pleasant place away. Plato’s instruction was imagined in a garden setting, and the symposium on virginity by Methodius (Symposion e peri hagneias, third century) was described as taking place in the garden of

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Arete.\textsuperscript{174} Certainly less well-known, but also available in the fourteenth century was an Islamic account of Muhammed’s visit to the Gardens of Paradise, the \textit{Kitāb al-mi’raj}.\textsuperscript{175}

From these foundations medieval authors built new gardens and expanded their functions and meanings. The garden might be a collection of texts, such as the \textit{Hortus deliciarum}, or a garden of virtues. Lambert of St. Omer assigned virtues to individual plants in his \textit{Liber Floridus}, while Hugh of St. Victor described seeds of virtues planted in the soil of our hearts.\textsuperscript{176} In 1279 Frère Lorens wrote the \textit{Somme le roi} for Philippe III of France. In this text there are seven trees, each associated with one of seven virtues. God the Father is the head gardener, while Christ is the sun, and the trees are “watered” by the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit, delivered by seven young maidens from springs at the base of each. They represent the sections of the \textit{Pater Noster}.\textsuperscript{177} Delisle claimed that there were approximately ten copies of this text in the royal library.\textsuperscript{178} The copy made in 1373 has not yet been reproduced in color by the Bibliothèque national.\textsuperscript{179} However, the

\begin{footnotesize}
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\item[175] Derek Pearsall and Elizabeth Salter, \textit{Landscapes and Seasons of the Medieval World} (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1973), 78. Pearsall speculates on the possible influence of this text on Dante and the Pearl poet through the intermediary \textit{Liber scalae Machometi}.
\item[177] Kosmer explains the symbolism of the \textit{Somme le roi}, and the variations found between manuscripts. Perhaps the better known illustrations in copies of this book are the numerous pages with contrasting figures of virtues and vices that were often included in addition to the miniature representing the seven trees.
\item[178] Léopold Delisle, \textit{Recherches sur la Librairie de Charles V}, vol. 1, 37.
\item[179] A black and white reproduction is available on the Gallica web site.
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
small corner miniature in that manuscript is similar to a larger one from the late thirteenth
century in the Bibliothèque Mazarine, which is fairly representative (Figure 34).

The association of individual plants with virtues also became common in the
hortus conclusus, derived from the Song of Songs, that came to represent the Virgin,
especially in the visual arts. Elizabeth Augspach, in her book, The Garden as Woman’s
Space in Twelfth and Thirteenth-Century Literature, explains that the perfect woman
represented by Mary’s garden was readily adopted in the literature of courtly love,
pulling the enclosed garden in the direction of the secular, where it took on a number of
connotations, such as the Garden of Love, or the container for the ideal woman as solace
and support for the struggling hero, or of course, as one sees in the Roman de la rose, as
the enclosure of the perfect prize to be plucked. The women in these gardens were
clearly under the control of men - husbands, fathers, or successful lovers, and thus the
garden was attached to the palace.

180 She explains that forests were the realm of men’s adventures, while the gardens with their pleasing
scents and colors defined the ladies. Men should not stay contentedly in gardens with women for very
long, but continue to seek adventures outside. Elizabeth A. Augspach, The Garden as Woman’s

181 An enclosed garden isolated from such a stable structure, under the complete control of a strong woman
was to be feared, and represented the false, enchanted (usually mechanical vs natural) environment of a
witch. Only Mary, by virtue of her position as Mother of God, could have complete control of her own
garden. As literature adopted the garden image, the Marian symbolism changed so that the emphasis
moved away from the enclosed garden as symbol of Mary’s virginity to the garden as a whole representing
Mary, with the trees, plants, birds, etc. representing her various virtues. Despite this shift in later religious
texts, the enclosed garden as a visual symbol for Mary had become quite fixed, and persisted well beyond
the fifteenth century in panel paintings and miniatures. Ibid., 160. Chaucer played with the reader’s
expectations about women and their place within gardens in “The Merchant’s Tale,” as January’s walled
garden, a source of pride and a place of containment and assumed privacy for his own lustful dalliances
with his young wife May, turned out to be the very place where she had an affair with someone else. Laura
L. Howes, Chaucer’s Gardens and the Language of Convention (Gainesville: University Press of Florida,
1997), 95-102.
The paradis d’amours falls under the jurisdiction of a male figure, the God or King of Love. The features of an enclosed garden with a fresh spring are found in this context as early as the *De arte honeste amandi (The Art of Courtly Love)* by Andreas Capellanus, where we find a description of a “most delightful spot, where the meadows were very beautiful and more finely laid out than mortal had ever seen. The place was closed in on all sides by every kind of fruitful and fragrant trees...” In the middle of this place, which for Capellanus consisted of three concentric rings, “stood a marvellously tall tree, bearing abundantly all sorts of fruits... At the roots of the tree gushed forth a wonderful spring of clearest water, which to those who drank of it tasted of the sweetest nectar...” Beside the spring sat the Queen of Love on a golden throne. The King of Love and his retinue entered this sanctuary from outside, and he took his rightful place on a throne next to hers.  

In the *Roman de la rose* it is next to the spring of Narcissus that the dreamer quickly learns who is lord in that garden, as he is shot with arrows by the God of Love, taken prisoner and forced to do homage. In Guillaume de Machaut’s *Dit dou vergier*, an early work heavily dependent on the *Roman de la rose*, the God of Love sits in a tree within the garden while young men and women are gathered below (Figure 35). A later version includes a sleeping figure of Machaut off to the left of the

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182 This description falls within a sample tale to be told by a nobleman to a noblewoman as he tries to win her affections. Andreas Capellanus, *The Art of Courtly Love*, trans. John Jay Parry (New York: Frederick Ungar Publishing Co., 1959), 78.

183 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France 1586, folio 94r. This is the same manuscript that contains the image of Machaut composing in the enclosed garden.
ensemble, demonstrating the connection often made between gardens and dream visions (Figure 36).\(^{184}\)

**The French King as Gardener**

While we might readily see a visual relationship between the God of Love in a tree within his garden and the placement of Charles V above a tree within his flowery enclosure there is a more direct association to be made between the French king and the *jardin de France*. Colette Beaune explored the development of this image of France in her book, *Naissance de la nation France*.\(^{185}\) The earliest mention of the concept that she found was in the immensely popular *Roman de Fauvel*, written by Gervais du Bus early in the fourteenth century, during the reigns of Philippe IV, Louis X and Philippe V. The term appears more than once in the course of the narrative, yet only the few verses cited by Beaune have been repeated frequently in the literature.\(^{186}\) A more extensive selection will illustrate the important relationship between the French king and his garden in that it bemoans the presence of Fauvel as gardener in that lovely place:

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\begin{align*}
\text{Mès sus toutez chosez je plain} & \quad \text{But I pity above all} \\
\text{Le beau jardin de grace plain} & \quad \text{That fair garden full of grace} \\
\text{Ou Dieu par especïauté} & \quad \text{Where God most fittingly} \\
\text{Planta le lis de roiauté} & \quad \text{Planted the lily of royalty} \\
\text{Et y sema par excellence} & \quad \text{And where he has sown above all} \\
\text{La france graine et la semence} & \quad \text{The precious grain and seed} \\
\text{De la flour de crestïenté,} & \quad \text{Of the flower of Christianity,} \\
\text{Et d’autres flours a grant plenté:} & \quad \text{And other flowers abound:}
\end{align*}
\]

\(^{184}\) Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France 1587, folio 48r. The narrator didn’t actually go off to sleep in this poem, but merely into a trance, a dream-like state. The dream vision as a genre, and the strong association of Machaut with this literary form will be explored in a section below.


\(^{186}\) Ibid., 318, 321.
Flour de paix et fleur de justise, Flower of peace and flower of justice,  
Fleur de foy et fleur de franchise, Flower of faith and flower of freedom,  
Flour d’amour et rose espanie Flower of love and blooming rose  
De sens et de chevalerie. Of reason and chivalry,  
Tel jardin fu a bon jour né Such a garden does exist  
Quant de telz flours fu aourné: With such flowers is adorned:  
C’est le jardin de douce France. It is the garden of lovely France,  
Hé las! com c’est gran mescheance Alas! what a great misfortune  
De ce qu’en si tresbeau vergier That into this delightful orchard  
S’est venuz Fauvel herbergier. Fauvel has come to live.  

Beaune notes that the idea of France itself as garden was later explored by Jean Gerson and Robert Blondel, gaining the most popularity in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, when the emphasis shifted away from the symbolic to the physical, focusing on the abundance and fertility created by the country’s ideal climate and soil.  

Philippe de Mézières, who was involved in the education of Charles VI and continued to advise him after the death of Charles V, referred to the young king as the gardener in a garden filled with gilded lilies in the prologue of his pedagogical work, *Le

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188 Beaune, *Naissance de la nation France*, 318. Gerson compared France to a garden in his sermon, *Considerate lilia agrī*, written in 1393 on the occasion of the feast of St. Louis. In this text he identified France as the new Garden of Eden, and saw the abundant lilies as the people of the kingdom. The four faculties of the University of Paris he likened to the four rivers that found their source in the Paradise garden. Gerson’s intent in this, as well as in other writings, was to encourage Charles VI to protect the University, the vital theological center for all of Christendom. Louis B. Pascoe, *Jean Gerson: Principles of Church Reform* (Leiden: Brill, 1973), 84. Sandra Hindman and Gabrielle M. Spiegel explore some later gardens populated with French kings in an article on Guillaume de Nangis’s *Chronique Abrégée*. Sandra Hindman and Gabrielle M. Spiegel, "The Fleur de lis Frontispieces to Guillaume de Nangis's *Chronique Abrégée*: Political Iconography in Late Fifteenth-Century France." *Viator* 12 no. 1 (1981): 381-408. The later Renaissance emphasis on the natural fertility of the French countryside is explored by Rebecca Zorach in *Blood, Milk, Ink, Gold: Abundance and Excess in the French Renaissance* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005).
Songe du vieil pelerin, written between 1385-1389: “Le cerf volant couronne, le blanc faucon pelerin au bec et piez dorez, le grant maistre du grant parc, jardriner du grant jardrin des blanches fleurs dorees, le grant maistre des eauues et des forestz de France, et le grant marchant du grant change, et finalement le jeune Moyse couronne, tous sont prins en figure pour le jeune roy du royaume de France, Charles Vle de son nom appelle.”¹⁸⁹ This was just one of many figures he used for the king in passing however, and was not explored in any depth in the narrative.

Eustache Deschamps explored garden symbolism in association with the French king more extensively in his Miroir de mariage during roughly the same time period (ca. 1381-1389). A poet trained by Guillaume de Machaut, and perhaps related to him, Deschamps was employed at the French court in a variety of roles from 1367 until his death in 1406 or 1407, and had enormous respect for his first employer, Charles V. Although written after the wise king’s death, the garden imagery he used in the Miroir de mariage may have been inspired by earlier attitudes toward the role of the French king in maintaining the health of the kingdom/garden. Virginie Minet-Mahy found roots of Deschamps’ imagery in the Song of Songs as well as Le Somme le roi and other gardens of the soul.¹⁹⁰ She believes that the king through his coronation rite took on a Christ-like role as mystic spouse and redeemer of his people. He was responsible not only for

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¹⁸⁹ Philippe de Mezières, Le Songe du vieil pelerin, ed. G.W. Coopland (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969), 110. “The crowned flying stag, the white peregrine falcon with gilded beak and feet, the great master of the great park, gardener of the great park with gilded white flowers, the great master of the rivers and forests of France, the great vendor of the great exchange, and finally, the young Moses crowned, are all symbols for the young king of the realm of France, Charles, the sixth called by that name.”

nourishing the virtues in his own soul, but of restoring the virtue and spiritual health of the nation. Minet-Mahy notes that Deschamps frequently likens Paris to Paradise, a reference that is also found in the *Songe du Vergier*, although it certainly did not originate there. It seems safe to assume from these matter-of-fact references that both pre-date and post-date the *Songe du Vergier*, that the concept of King Charles V presiding over his own garden would not have been perceived as a novelty dreamed up by Évrart de Trémaugon.

The Medieval Dream Vision

The dream vision was such an immensely popular device that by the fourteenth century it seems to have become a routine formula, employed with increasing frequency for a wide variety of purposes, both didactic and literary. Guillaume de Machaut’s work is strongly associated with this genre, and he is credited with inspiring the works of many late fourteenth-century French and English writers, including Chaucer. Important precedents for Machaut and earlier fourteenth-century authors, such as Guillaume de Digulleville, include Alain de Lille’s *De planctu naturae* and the *Roman de la Rose* by Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meun, which exerted tremendous influence due to its widespread popularity. However, all of these benefited from the foundational work of Boethius, in the sixth century, who was the first to introduce an allegorical figure as a guide in his *De consolatione philosophiae*.

Recent criticism has focused on explicating the nature of the literary dream vision as a genre distinct from the numerous medieval religious visions. Kathryn Lynch’s work has been a valuable contribution to this analysis. Lynch focuses on one subgenre within
the dream vision genre, those works influenced by Boethius, what she calls the “philosophical vision.”\textsuperscript{191} She is particularly interested in how such poems reflect changes in twelfth and thirteenth-century philosophy itself, under the increasing influence of Aristotle: “Though the first significant vision poems formed part of a movement to revive Platonism, their interpretation of that philosophy, like that of the \textit{Aeneid} commentary, was thus materialistic in important ways. In their verse, a Platonic epistemology of knowledge as reminiscence came to be supplemented by an Aristotelian one based on sense-mediated images.”\textsuperscript{192} Emphasizing that the imagination had two roles in medieval thought, to both receive and interpret images from the senses and to create new images, she suggests that authentic experiences and literary creations were not perceived as so very different: “Indeed, poetry’s achievement grows not only out of the poet’s intention to create discrete images of truth but also by the capacity of his narrative to create an \textit{order} or sequence of experience that will allow the reader by the end of the work to abstract God’s truth from poetic images as he does also from images in nature.”\textsuperscript{193} The reader moves through one of these philosophical poems, reading images created by the poet and moving through the levels of cognition just as if observing nature itself.\textsuperscript{194}

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item[192] Ibid., 70.
\item[193] Ibid., 44.
\item[194] Ibid., 75.
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Jessica Barr takes a different approach, delineating the similarities and differences between religious visions and the literary dream vision model.\textsuperscript{195} She notes that it is not as simple as identifying one as an authentic vision delivered by God while the other is pure fiction. A visionary may edit their experiences as they record them, while some dream visions employ a construct in order to make valid theological points. While there may be a dividing line between true and imaginary experiences, she finds that a broad spectrum expands on either side of that line.\textsuperscript{196} Barr presents an alternative method for analyzing dream visions, evaluating the educative and revelatory aspects. Examples of those that are primarily educative include works by Boethius, Alain de Lille, Jean Gower and Guillaume de Machaut. Here the dreamer works through a series of lessons. \textit{Piers Plowman} and \textit{Pearl} are examples of works that use revelation as the primary method for the acquisition of knowledge, while the \textit{Divina Commedia} moves from one to the other over the course of the narrative.\textsuperscript{197} Virgil provides instruction, while Beatrice offers revelation.

Lynch helps us to understand the popularity of both aspects of the dream visions, noting that the dream “... becomes the ideal metaphorical vehicle to convey the fine collaboration between nature, whose revelations the psyche must strive after, and grace,

\textsuperscript{195} Jessica Barr, \textit{Willing to Know God: Dreamers and Visionaries in the Later Middle Ages} (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 2010).

\textsuperscript{196} Ibid., 4-5. She introduces the range in her introduction, but explores the differences more fully in her analysis of individual texts, devoting whole chapters to some of them.

\textsuperscript{197} Ibid., 23-25, 40.
whose revelations are as freely given as the dream itself." She also suggests it was a device well-suited to addressing difficult matters, “...thus making the fictional vision the perfect literary form for poets seeking to explore the philosophical issues that were so urgent to this age, with its need to unite the spirituality of Christian faith with the naturalism of Aristotelian reason.”

Many medieval accounts of dreams, including the *Songe du vergier*, make references back to the early fourth-century commentary by Macrobius on Cicero’s *Somnium Scipionis* (Dream of Scipio) in the sixth book of his *De re publica*, in which he explained the various types of dreams, those that are more likely to reveal some truth, and those that should not be trusted. Since it is such a critical source I will quote that entire section, the second paragraph of chapter III from the Commentary: “All dreams may be classified under five main types. First, there is the enigmatic dream, in Greek *oneiros*, in Latin *somnium*; second, there is the prophetic vision, in Greek *horama*, in Latin *visio*; third, there is the oracular dream, in Greek *chrematismos*, in Latin *oraculum*; fourth, there is the nightmare, in Greek *enypnion*, in Latin *insomnium*; and last, the apparition, in Greek *phantasma*, which Cicero, when he has occasion to use the word, calls *visum.*”

While he lists five different types, these are not self-exclusive, but several may be

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198 Ibid., 70.
199 Ibid., 49.
201 Ibid., 265.
manifested in one dream, as he claims is the case with the dream of Scipio. He explains that the last two may be caused by physical illness or mental stress or anxiety, and are not worth interpreting. However, some dreams in the first three categories might reveal truth, while the dreamer is in a liminal state. Medieval writers therefore, frequently employed the dream as a device for lending some authority to the message contained in their narrative.

At the same time, poets like Machaut and Chaucer emphasized the value of dreams as a source of inspiration. Lisa Kiser writes that Chaucer was very clear about this in his introduction to the Book of the Duchess. The narrator complains of not being able to sleep. He reads Ovid, nods off and then develops his own theme inspired by his prior reading of the tale of Ceyx and Alcione. Kiser notes that reading and dreaming are the “work” of the poet, not to be interpreted, as one might expect, as idle activity or evidence of sloth.²⁰²

Although Guillaume de Machaut’s narrators rarely had actual dreams, he has had a reputation as the author of dream visions, especially among Chaucer scholars, who note the strong influence the French author had on the English writer’s works, many of which do involve dreams. Constance Hieatt tackled this issue in her 1979 article, drawing attention to Machaut’s great variety of formats for his narrative poems which, while not

²⁰² Lisa J. Kiser, “Sleep, Dreams and Poetry in Chaucer’s Book of the Duchess,” Papers on Language and Literature 19 (1983): 3-5. In addition, within his dream, the narrator in The Duchess awakens in a dream-vision type environment, follows a hunting party, but is sidetracked and separated from the group, finding himself alone until he encounters the Black Knight, after which he then moves on to the next stage in the narrative. This solitary un-planned exploration sequence, Kiser notes, is in line with the recommendations of Geoffrey of Vinsauf (Poetri nova) and Matthew of Vendome (Ars versificatoria), who both recommended avoiding the well-worn path in poetry. Ibid., 8.
necessarily dreams, felt like they should be. In the process, she developed a diagram in which both actual dreams and dream-like narratives might fit.\textsuperscript{203} In this fairly loosely defined structure the narrator, after presenting the context in the prologue, may go to sleep and proceed to dream, or may simply enter into a dream-like world, or altered state of consciousness. Machaut’s many narratives which place the protagonist in contact with allegorical figures thus fit within this structure. Within this altered state some authority figure, and/or guide, offers instruction, or the main character observes some instructive activity, and returns to the everyday world having learned a lesson that might be put to fruitful use.

Hieatt discusses the challenge of distinguishing the dream vision formula from that of many romances, which may also include a guide, or even a dream sequence. She states that the essential difference is that “A romance has a hero and/or a heroine. A dream vision has a narrator, who is almost never a ‘hero.’ The hero of a romance, whether by his own active efforts or through demonstrating endurance, achieves something personally. The narrator of a dream vision rarely even endures much; he observes experiences in which he is not usually an actor and from which the most he has to gain as a result is a more mature understanding.”\textsuperscript{204}

While Évrart de Trémaugon adopted the dream format, he does not have a guide to explain the activities that he describes, nor does he seem to have personally gained any new insights from the experience or participated personally in the action. Rather, he


\textsuperscript{204} Ibid., 104.
deviates from our expectations based on other dream visions, and presents his dream to the king for his entertainment and enjoyment. Despite this, the prevalence of the dream vision form in popular works like the *Roman de la rose*, and the literary production of Machaut, Chaucer, Froissart and many others, has led some to mistakenly identify the writer of the *Songe du vergier* as a poet as well. His own language in the prologue can lead to this misconception, as he employed this popular literary genre in order to present very serious material. After an initial paragraph citing numerous biblical dreamers, as well as commentaries on dreams, including that of Macrobius, he goes on to invite the king to give his attention to his own nighttime experience: “Tre[s] soverain et tre redoubté Prince, oyés donques, par maniere de recreacion et de esbatement, mon songe et la vision laquelle m’est apparue en mon dorment.”205 The invitation to listen to his tale, “oyés donques,” is strongly reminiscent of the approach of the troubadours. As noted, he offers his dream to the king for the purpose of recreation and pleasant diversion. Later though, he goes on to describe the dream as an adventure: “...la nuit ensieuvant, en somiellent, m’avint telle avanture, car il me fust avis que je vis une merveillieuse vision, en un vergier qui estoit tres delectable et tres bel, plain de roses et de fleurs de lys et de plusieurs aultres delys...”206

205 Marion Schnerb-Lièvre, ed., *Le Songe du Vergier*, vol. 1, 3. “Very sovereign and very mighty Prince, hear therefore, for your recreation and entertainment, my dream, and the vision which appeared to me in my sleep.” The underlining here and in the next quote is my addition for emphasis.

206 Ibid., vol.1, 4. “The following night, in sleeping, I had such an adventure, for it appeared to me that I saw a marvelous vision, in a garden that was very pleasing and very beautiful, full of roses and lilies and of many other delights...”
Anne-Hélène Miller explores the author’s claim of an adventure in the *Songe du vergier* and compares him to those heroes in romances who actually engage in knightly combat or amorous conquests. One of the many topics covered in the *Songe* debate is the issue of nobility, and its various types. In the words of the knight: “nous devons considerer que nous trouvons troys manieres de noblece: la primiere, noblece theologique et espirituelle, la seconde, noblece naturele, la tierce, noblece pollitique et civile.” The first type of nobility comes from the grace of God; every believer is blessed with this dignity. Second, nature endows certain animals, birds, and humans with more innate nobility than others. For the third type of nobility the knight challenges many texts and presses for more clarity, ultimately emphasizing not birthright or marriage, but the role of the prince in granting noble status: “…car le prince seul puest anoblir et nul aultre qui n’a puissance de faire loy [for the prince alone can confer nobility and no other who lacks the power to enact law].” Miller notes that there is a new class in fourteenth-century Paris, a nobility not based on a landed aristocracy, but “élitiste, urbaine et universitaire.” At the same time “... la figure de’intellectuel du temps de Charles V est celle d’un poète à la fois clerc et chevalier, spécialiste de la paix et de la guerre, juriste, diplomate,

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207 Anne-Hélène Miller, "Du Lieu de plaisance à Paris: L’aventure politique du poète dans *Le Songe du Vergier* de 1378," *Le Moyen Français* 59 (2006): 221-34. She also recalls the courtly tradition of a debate between women on the merits of the cleric vs the knight as potential lovers. Such a debate may be held between the ladies, or between male representatives of these two orders. Examples include *Le Concile d’Amour*, and *Phyllidis et Flore*. Other disputes between knights and clerics that are more politically motivated, such as the *Dialogus inter militem et clericum*, are more similar to the true intent of the *Songe*.

208 “... we must consider that we find three manners of nobility: the first, theological and spiritual nobility, the second, natural nobility, the third, political and civil nobility. ” From *Le Songe du vergier*, book 1, chapter 150, section 26. Marion Schnerb-Lièvre, ed., *Le Songe du Vergier*, vol. 1, 300.

209 Ibid., 304.
universitaire, à même de *disputer* avec l’Église sur son propre terrain, c’est-à-dire avec ses armes que sont la parole et l’écriture.” These new valiant knights wielding the tools of debate and the pen are those that Autrand calls the “club du roi.” However, even though the cleric and the knight of the debates may embody the two sides of author, Évrart de Trémaugon is not actively the protagonist in the dream, nor does he personally seem to benefit from any lessons learned from observing the lengthy debate. In the last paragraph before the text actually begins, the true nature of the work is revealed: “Puis donques, tres souverain Seigneur, que j’ai en vous tres parfaite fiance, qui suis homme de tanve estude et de rude entendement, voeillés moy, en pitié, soustenir tramblant, et corriger pechant, reconfortés et aidés vostre escrivain, car ce petit traitié, lequel sera *le Songe du vergier* appelé,...” The term “treatise” is clearly a better description for the scholarly work that follows.

Another of the “noble” intellectuals working for Charles V, was Philippe de Mézières, who did in fact have a lengthy military career before returning to France in the mid 1370s, where he became a valued counselor to the king. He was involved in the education of the future Charles VI, and it was for the new king that de Mézières wrote his own dream vision, *Le Songe du vieil pelerin.* In this dream the author himself moves through the adventures in the narrative with the aid of several guides, although he often

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210 “...the figure of the intellectual of the time of Charles V is that of a poet who is simultaneously clerk and knight, specialist of peace and of war, jurist, diplomat, academic, capable of engaging in debate with the Church on its own ground, that is to say with its weapons, which are the spoken and written word.” Anne-Hélène Miller, “Du Lieu de plaisance à Paris,” 230.

211 Ibid., vol. 1, 11 “Therefore then, very sovereign Lord, since I have in you such perfect confidence, though I am a man of poor education and of simple understanding, accept me, in pity, support me in my trembling, and correct me in my errors, encourage and aid your writer, for this little treatise, which is called The Dream of the Pleasure Garden...”
piecers through the thin veil of his allegories in order to make direct comments to his intended audience, the young king. 212 Through it all he examines the state of morals throughout the world of that time, a pressing concern in all of his later writings. His familiarity with the content of the Songe du vergier, as well as his use of the dream format led some to assign authorship of the garden dream to him, but this has been disproven. However, some content in Le Songe du vieil pelerin, such as the reference to Charles VI as a gardener, may help us to understand the imagery of the Songe du vergier frontispiece.

De Mézières was heavily dependent on an earlier allegorical dream vision writer, Guillaume de Digulleville, responsible for Le pelerinage de la vie humaine. 213 Like the Songe du vieil pelerin over fifty years later, this narrative consists of a pilgrim making his way with the aid of numerous personifications. De Digulleville very pointedly wrote his work as an alternative to the Roman de la Rose, although in both, the narrator is the protagonist on a mission. Even though the ultimate destination or goal is very different, they both begin with the narrator in bed, and then the dreamer makes his way through with the assistance of others. The opening illustrations of the sleeping authors share some similarities as well. These are the types of miniatures one expects to find at the beginning of a dream vision.

212 De Mézières frequently refers back to the reign of Charles V as a model as he works through several grand allegories, such as the French ship of state, the “Gracieuse,” the squares of the chessboard, and an elaborate royal chariot. He even sets up Charles VI as a personification of the young Moses.

213 This was followed later by Le pèlerinage de l’âme, and Le pèlerinage de Jhesucrist. Le pelerinage de la vie humaine was his first, and most popular work. At least fifty copies of his first version (1330) of this work are extant.
Representing Dreamers

With over 300 manuscript copies still available, *Le roman de la rose* is the best represented medieval work of dream literature. Browsing just a small random sampling of twenty-five fourteenth-century manuscripts from the Bibliothèque nationale I found that most of the codices were richly illuminated, although two had all of the miniatures cut out, while only three had never been illustrated. All of those with images opened with a miniature representing the lover in bed. Generally this is where we expect a dreamer to be. Three *Rose* selections show minor variations (Figures 37-39). In the first, the Lover is alone in bed sleeping. In the second, the figure of Danger lurks nearby as he sleeps, while the actual narrative continues in the next frame where he dreams that he arises, dresses and then heads outdoors. The third example includes some imagery to foreshadow what is to come, the locked garden gate and an enclosed tower, with a young lady visible at the top. All of these show the Lover in bed. All three also include roses twining like a vine on the wall behind. These are strongly reminiscent of images of the sleeping Jesse with his tree, which must surely have been a source of inspiration for many of these artists.\(^{214}\)

Images of Guillaume de Digulleville are also quite consistent in showing the dreamer asleep in his bed, although his sleep and dream episode are represented after he is shown preaching about it to a group of people, very literally following the order of the text. The subject matter of his dream narrative is revealed by the use of a mirror (looking

\(^{214}\) A particularly nice example for comparison is the Tree of Jesse in the Queen Mary Psalter in the British Library, Royal MS 2 B VII, folio 67v (Figure 50, discussed below).
glass) through which the reader can see ahead, as he did, to his destination, the heavenly Jerusalem (Figures 40-41). Later manuscripts opt for a larger mirror in order to provide more information, but still adhere to the established composition. His physical location is clearly separate from the dream content.

The narrative of Boethius may have been the primary inspiration behind these medieval dreamers, but that does not necessarily mean that he was represented in his dreaming state at a much earlier date. In earlier manuscripts the author was more likely to have been shown seated and writing, perhaps with Lady Philosophy nearby. The fuller cycle of images, including the dreamer in his bed, shows up far more frequently in the vernacular translations of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. In a copy of the French translation attributed to Jean de Meun in a manuscript of collected didactic texts for Charles V, the author is shown in his bed before each of the first three books of the *Consolacion et Fontaine de philosophie* (Figure 42).  

Even Scipio, whose dream was commented on by Macrobius, and served to illustrate his descriptions of the various dream genres, was shown slumbering in an interior setting in the two-volume copy of the translation of Augustine’s *Civitate Dei* ordered from Raoul de Presles by King Charles V (Figure 43).  

Only rarely are dreamers shown reclining on the ground. The best known example of an author in this sleeping location is St. John on the island of Patmos, especially in the richly illuminated late thirteenth-century and early fourteenth-century

215 Besançon, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 434, fol. 300v.

English manuscripts. The Queen Mary Apocalypse includes a particularly interesting example, with its rabbits burrowing in and out around the dreamer (Figure 44). The copy that belonged to Charles V, which was loaned out in the later 1370s to his brother, Louis of Anjou for his spectacular Apocalypse tapestries, does not represent John sleeping, and is thus is not likely to have exerted much influence on the artist in the design of the Songe frontispiece. However, it has often been proposed that more than one Apocalypse manuscript served as a model for Jean Bondol’s tapestry designs, so it is possible that the Master of the Bible of Jean de Sy was familiar with images of the sleeping visionary from another miniature cycle.

However, John and other authors who do fall asleep outdoors change locations once they have begun to dream. Henri de Ferrières, the narrator in Le Roy Modus et la Royne Ratio, described a dream situation where he fell asleep in a forest, and he is represented as such in a 1379 manuscript, although the artist, the Master of the Rational des divins offices, provided him with a nice mattress for his slumber (Figure 45).

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219 Roger-Armand Weigert referenced the Cambrai and Metz manuscripts as bearing strong similarities to the tapestry designs, and noted that Delisle had proposed earlier that more than one manuscript source had been employed. Roger-Armand Weigert, French Tapestry, trans. Donald and Monique King (Newton, Mass.: Charles T. Branford Co., 1962). George Henderson drew a number of comparisons in his 1985 article, in particular to the fragments referred to as the Burckhardt-Wildt cuttings. George Henderson, “The Manuscript Model of the Angers ‘Apocalypse’ Tapestries,” The Burlington Magazine 127 no. 985 (1985): 208-219.

220 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. fr. 12399, folio 99r.
Once asleep he goes off on foot to his encounter with Roy Modus and Royne Ratio.

Likewise, the protagonist in *The Pearl* is shown sleeping on a grassy bank but leaves that spot to walk through the forest and later see his beloved young daughter as an adult queen across the river in a vision of the Heavenly Jerusalem (Figure 46).  Only the Master of the Bible of Jean de Sy, or his project director, chose to break with convention and represent Évrart de Trémaugon, a dreamer who does not actually play an active role in the narrative, asleep within the physical space of his dream.

The Frontispiece: Interpretation

Few have ventured to interpret the frontispiece of the Songe du Vergier as anything more than a literal representation of the dream recounted by Évrart de Trémaugon in the prologue. While Claire Richter Sherman discussed the presentation miniature of the Songe in her monograph on the portraits of Charles V, she did not include the garden image. Avril’s comments in both the “Fastes du Gothique” catalog and his book on fourteenth-century manuscript illumination at the court of France addressed only style. Jenny Stratford devoted her attention to issues of influence and transmission in her article on the Songe manuscript and its derivatives. Her discussion of both later French and Latin versions (the Somnium viridarii) demonstrates the availability

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221 London, British Library MS Cotton Nero A.x. (art. 3), fol. 37r.

222 He does not participate, and thus plays no active role in the direction of the debate.

223 Anne-Hélène Miller’s analysis focused on the text itself, and the author’s claim of an adventure experience. Miller, "Du Lieu de plaisir à Paris."

224 Claire Richter Sherman, *The Portraits of Charles V of France (1338-1380)*.

of and dependence on Charles V’s manuscript before the royal library was removed from Paris in 1429 by John, duke of Bedford, as well as the creative alternatives employed in its absence. Joanna Frońska, writing the catalog entry for the Songe in the exhibit catalog for the recent exhibition on Royal Manuscripts held by the British Library and the Courtauld Institute did provide one analytical comment on the content. She noted that the queen representing ecclesiastical power wears the Franciscan habit of Clement VII, elected in 1378, with the support of Charles V. Pierre Talmant offered the most extensive, and at times it seems, overly ambitious analysis of the garden frontispiece in relation to the text and in the larger context of the sun symbolism employed by the French monarchy. I will not attempt to summarize his lengthy list of suggested interpretations, but will incorporate his most convincing ideas where appropriate.

The Master of the Bible of Jean de Sy presents the viewer with a pleasure garden, the vergier described in the text. The essential features of such a specific locus amoenus

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229 I came across Talmant’s article relatively late in my research on the Songe, and had already arrived at some of the same conclusions, for example, with regard to the jardin de France and the association of the trinitarian symbolism with Charles. I do not agree with some of his interpretations, and feel that at times he might be pushing too aggressively to identify multiple symbolic threads running through the history of the French monarchy.
are present. The enclosure created by pairs of small trees holds a grassy lawn, flowers, three single trees and a flowing spring. Roses bloom on curving stems like those seen in *Roman de la Rose* manuscripts (Figures 37-39).\(^{230}\) Most are pink with touches of white, while those above the head of the king are pure white. The lilies are small, delicate gold blossoms that adhere closely to the long stalks rising from clusters of leaves at the ground. Those behind the secular figures on the right bloom more abundantly than those behind the religious figures on the left (Figure 47). Given the significance of the lily for the French monarchy, it is surprising how difficult they are to see without a magnifying glass.\(^{231}\) In addition to the flowers, there are also some simple non-flowering plants scattered throughout. The silhouettes of the plants create a rather two-dimensional pattern over the green lawn which the artist tried to alleviate by adding some delicate lines to the bottoms of the plants, almost like green roots, in order to suggest their attachment to the ground. This tension between between a flat carpet of grass and flowers and the illusion of three-dimensionality persists in the combined views of frontal trees and figures with the severely tilted ground. It enables the artist to suggest an intimate gathering in a place set apart while giving the observer a full view of the action. One can easily imagine the king, the queen, and a few intimate friends gathered in one of the many royal pleasure gardens for evening conversation after dinner. At the same time, the fairly rigid compositional arrangement draws the viewer beyond such a pleasant

\(^{230}\) This includes the frontispiece of a *Roman de la Rose* manuscript in the Pierpont Morgan Library (MS. M.132, folio 1), attributed to the workshop of the Master of the Bible of Jean de Sy.

\(^{231}\) It may be that the yellow paint easily dissolved into the stippled green ground behind.
gathering to layers of meaning suggested by visual precedents, transforming the simple setting into a richly symbolic *jardin de France*.

The image of a king or emperor flanked by representatives of Church and State on opposite sides is a commonplace that can be traced back to the early years of the official relationship between the Christian religion and the Roman Empire. The best known of these compositions is likely that of Emperor Otto III from the Gospel Book in Munich that takes his name.\(^{232}\) A more immediate comparison may be found among coronation scenes illustrating the *Grandes chroniques de France* made for Charles V, such as that of his father, Jean le Bon, although these coronation images involve a great deal of physical contact as those around the king demonstrate their shared support by crowning the king together (Figure 48).\(^{233}\) The intimate relationship suggested by presenting all three figures as seated is also strongly reminiscent of the heavenly trio seen in some Gothic representations of the Last Judgment, where Christ is flanked by Mary and St. John the Evangelist in prayerful supplication, such as the grouping in the tympanum of the central portal at Chartres south. No doubt this common composition came to mind when viewers considered this image of Charles, the earthly representative of the celestial king, in his role as judge for the debating advocates. Often Mary and St. John are shown standing or kneeling, not in such close proximity to the Lord. This type of arrangement likely inspired images of the God of Love mediating between lovers in manuscripts of *Le Roman de la Rose*. A particularly interesting example is the group in the bas-de-page of

\(^{232}\) Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 4453, folio24r.

\(^{233}\) Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. fr. 2813, folio 393r.
an early fourteenth-century manuscript made in Tournai (Figure 49). Here the God of Love sits atop a tree aiming his arrows at the young man and woman below who kneel in prayer before him. One can’t help but call to mind such images when presented with Charles V seated directly above one of the three trees in the garden. This is not to say that a direct association was necessarily intended between Charles and the God of Love, but rather that the French king was similarly seen as elevated above and responsive to the needs of his people below, as like Amour, he presided over his own special realm, his *jardin de France*.

Another visual association that might be drawn from the alignment of Charles, the tree below him, and the author at the bottom is the Tree of Jesse. The pose of the reclining author, resting his head on his right hand, is comparable to that of Jesse in many fourteenth-century manuscripts. One example is the image in the Queen Mary Psalter, where the even arrangement of curving branches with brightly colored leaves up both sides is similar to the balanced positions of the figures in the garden among the flowers (Figure 50). The French monarchy under the late Capetians had earlier adapted the concept of the Jesse Tree to their own genealogy, tracing the line back to Charlemagne, and a modified version was created for Philippe VI as the first Valois, thus the idea of finding Charles at the top of such an image, instead of Christ, would not have been seen

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234 Tournai, Bibliothèque de la Ville, ms. 101, folio 5. This folio was reproduced in the “Fastes du Gothique” exhibition catalog, no. 249. Avril, “No. 249: Guillaume de Lorris et Jean de Meung, *Le Roman de la Rose*,” in *Les Fastes du Gothique*, 301-02.

235 London, British Library, Royal MS 2 B VII, folio 67v. Like most other dreamers, Jesse is usually, but not always, given bedding rather than placed directly on the ground.
as inappropriate. Placing an unidentified dreamer at the base in place of an illustrious noble ancestor however, does seem a bit bold. Perhaps the anonymity of that dreamer serves to preserve the basic visual concept, the emphasis on a valued figure at the summit.

The positions of the three trees on this tilted, flattened and delimited plane, as Pierre Talmant points out, suggest the placement of the three lilies on the French royal arms, as standardized by Charles. Although examples of the France Moderne configuration are found in other manuscripts made for Charles, the shields on the folio

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237 The reclining pose of the dreamer is also reminiscent of earthbound representations of Adam when God extracts Eve from his side, another example of the male figure as a generative source. Figures 25 and 26 provide some examples painted by the Master of the Bible of Jean de Sy.

238 Talmant, “Iconologie politique,” 27. Three flowers mark the arms of Charles V in the historiated “C” at the beginning of the charter of 1365 claiming the inalienability of the Hôtel Saint-Pol (reproduced in Sherman, Portraits of Charles V of France, fig. 72). In 1376 Charles introduced a “Seal of Absence” with a standing figure of the king supporting a large shield with three lilies, breaking with his own Great Seal design and the seals of generations of other French kings that employed a king seated on Dagobert’s Throne. Charles VI used this new type for his Great Seal. Colette Beaune points out that while Charles did eventually standardize the royal arms to display only three lilies, this limited number had already appeared as early as the thirteenth century. Colette Beaune, The Birth of an Ideology: Myths and Symbols of Nation in Late-Medieval France, trans. Susan Ross Huston (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 202.
facing the frontispiece, as well as on other leaves throughout the codex, do not employ the newer design, but retain the France Ancienne pattern of multiple fleurs de lis in a regular pattern across the surface (Figure 19). In addition, the actual lilies in this space, while gold like the fleur de lis rather than white as is customary for the common garden variety, are scarcely visible and are not given any particular attention in the painting.\footnote{239} This suggests that, despite the compositional similarity, the three trees of the frontispiece may not have been intended primarily as a visual reminder of the royal arms.\footnote{240}

Pierre Talmant likens the revised French arms to the scutum fidei [shield of the faith], with its three outer nodes representing the three persons of the Holy Trinity.\footnote{241} The representative example provided here is from a conflict of the virtues and vices accompanying the Summa de vitiis by Peraldus in a thirteenth-century theological miscellany held by the British Library (Figure 51). This symbol always includes the central node to which the other three are all connected however, which is labeled “Dieu.” Labeled paths explain the equality and yet distinctiveness of the three persons of the Trinity. While Talmant notes that the three lilies of the France Moderne are consistent in size, color and shape and do not require such labeling, in the layout of the Songe garden Charles would occupy a central position among the three trees comparable to the “God” node, a position of status that I don’t believe Charles would have claimed for himself.

\footnote{239} These gold lilies must have been selected for their allusion to the royal fleur de lis, as white lilies and red roses were the more common varieties represented in pleasure gardens as well as the hortus conclusus. 

\footnote{240} Since the original Latin version is unavailable we can only speculate as to whether it also contained a frontispiece with a garden, and whether the composition was similar and made a more obvious reference to the France moderne arms within its context.

\footnote{241} The example reproduced in his article is taken from the Lambeth Apocalypse. Talmant, “Iconologie politique,” 28, fig. 2.
It is true that the French king was associated with the Trinity in some ways. Vincent of Beauvais taught in his *De morali principus institutione* that a king should mirror the Trinity by surpassing all in power, wisdom, and goodness, attributes associated with the three persons of the godhead.\(^{242}\) While the relationship between the *roi très chrétien* and the heavenly king was very strong, and Charles is repeatedly identified as the “vicaire de Dieu en la temporalité,” even assuming a Christ-like role for his people, it is difficult to imagine Charles consciously claiming this central identity like God in a *scutum fidei*.\(^{243}\) The representation of Charles described in the prologue is reluctant to claim too much authority for himself, in his humility. When asked to judge between the two queens he suggests that his decision may be subject to some suspicion, and thus he proposes that they select advocates to argue on their behalf: “Mez, conme vicaire de Dieu en la temporalité, je ne puis estre juge de voz ministres par raison, car mon jugement ne procederet pas sanz suspeçon.”\(^{244}\) Therefore, the simple numeric trinitarian symbolism of the trees seems more likely than a relationship to the *France Moderne* or its precedent, the *scutum fidei*.

The persistent use of the number three throughout - three trees, three figures at the top, three figures below, three rabbits, is clearly significant, and may be one explanation for the unusual inclusion of the author in the same space as the protagonists of his dream.

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\(^{243}\) Marion Schnerb-Lièvre notes that this is an identifier for Charles that is maintained throughout the entire work. Marion Schnerb-Lièvre, ed., *Le Songe du Vergier*, X.

\(^{244}\) Marion Schnerb-Lièvre, ed., *Le Songe du Vergier*, vol. 1, 9. “But, as vicar of God on earth, I cannot, in fairness, be the judge of your ministers, for my judgement would not be perceived without suspicion.”
Charles V’s personal devotion to the Trinity is well documented. His coronation took place on Saturday, May 18, 1364, the vigil of the feast of the Holy Trinity.\(^{245}\) Anne Robertson proposes that Guillaume de Machaut’s *Hoquetus David*, a composition in three voices with an abundance of ternary features, may have been composed for Charles, perhaps on the occasion of his coronation.\(^{246}\) Talmant observes that there were a greater number of locations dedicated to the Trinity in Normandy than elsewhere in France, presumably established with the support of this former duke of Normandy.\(^{247}\) Two later charters of foundation made by the king are decorated with grisaille portraits of Charles V in association with the Trinity in the form of the Throne of Mercy. In February 1377 Charles founded a monastery of the Celestines dedicated to the Trinity at Carrière de Saint-Aubin de Limay.\(^{248}\) With a charter of 1379 he established a chapel dedicated to the Trinity at Vincennes, a royal chateau outside of Paris (Figure 52).\(^{249}\) Perhaps one of the best known images of the king kneeling in adoration of the Trinity is the frontispiece of

\(^{245}\) Claire Richter Sherman pointed out that this was also the date selected by his grandfather, Philip VI. Sherman, "The Queen in Charles V's 'Coronation Book': Jeanne de Bourbon and the 'Ordo ad reginam benedicendam,'" *Viator* 8 (1977), 257 note 5.

\(^{246}\) Robertson also links a three-note pattern in the *Hoquetus David* to the *laudes regiae* that would have been sung in the coronation mass, with its very familiar text that was used on coinage by the French kings since Louis IX: “Christus vincit, Christus regnat, Christus imperat.” Robertson, *Guillaume de Machaut and Reims*, 248, 251-256.

\(^{247}\) Talmant, “Iconologie politique,” 28.

\(^{248}\) Anne Lombard-Jourdan, *Fleur de lis et Oriflamme*, 41–42, fig. 9. The opening historiated initial represents Charles kneeling to the left, at the base of the spine of the letter “K” for Karolus. Directly over his head are the royal arms with three fleurs de lis, and above the shield two angels hold a crown. Charles holds his hands forward in prayer while simultaneously holding one end of a scroll that forms the bar arching over to a group of monks in the lower lobe of the K. Above them is the Holy Trinity in the form of the Throne of Mercy.

\(^{249}\) Sherman reproduces two copies of the charter for the Vincennes foundation, which are very similar in appearance. Sherman, *The Portraits of Charles V of France*, figs. 25-26. One of those, the charter in reproduced in Figure 52, will be discussed below.
the Arsenal *Bible historiale*, a manuscript in which the Master of the Bible of Jean de Sy played a significant role (Figure 53).²⁵⁰ Charles kneels alone at the bottom of a tall arched space between the two halves of the frontispiece. A long scroll winds its way up to the Throne of Mercy represented at the top. The text of his prayer, from Psalm 118, reinforces the qualities that Vincent of Beauvais cited: “Bonitatem et disciplinam et scientam doce me.”²⁵¹

Beyond the obvious trinitarian references are the numerous other associations for the French with the number three. One is reminded of the three founding saints, St. Denis and his companions, Rusticus and Eleutherius, and the three gifts from God to the French kings, the fleur de lis, the ampoule and the power of thaumaturge, as well as the symbolism of the fleur de lis itself, associated with knowledge, faith and chivalry. As noted previously, Philippe de Vitry had clearly linked the fleur de lis to the Trinity:

The flowers through which France has power  
Are called, without doubt,  
Knowledge, Faith, and Chivalry.  
These three flowers form an alliance  
Among themselves like that of the ordering  
Of the sovereign hierarchy.  
God who is a threefold in a unity  
Has formed a trinity  
In these three flowers named above.  
Through them royalty endures,  
Through them loyalty reigns,  
When they are well assembled...

These three saints, these three flowers of France  
Signify to us

²⁵⁰ Paris, Bibliothèque de l’Arsenal, Ms. 5212, folio 1. The frontispiece however, is not attributed to him.

²⁵¹ “Teach me goodness, discipline and knowledge.” Avril, *Manuscript Painting at the Court of France*, 114, plate 38.
That the sovereign Trinity
Has a singular affection
Toward the French region.252

Guillaume de Digulleville pushed this idea further, advocating already in 1338 for only three lilies on the royal arms in his *Roman de la fleur de lis*.253 According to Talmant, Charles and the debating champions of ecclesiastical and secular power may be identified as representatives of the three ‘flowers’ described by De Vitry. He suggests that the clerk represents knowledge, the knight chivalry, and that Charles is the embodiment of faith.254 While our first instinct may be to see the scholarly king as the embodiment of knowledge, the symbolism of the fleur de lis always places knowledge and chivalry in support of faith, thus the central figure in this group would have to be associated with this aspect. Such an identification would be in line with the words of the two queens who state in the prologue: “A toy, roy de France, nous fuions et recourons, comme a plus crestian et tres soverain prince des Crestians, qui aimes Diex et Sainte Eglise,...” and later “Or est ainsi que a toy, Charles, tres puissant roy de France, Diex a doné tres vraie et parfaite cognessance de la foy...”255


255 Marion Schnerb-Liévre, ed., *Le Songe du Vergier*, vol. 1, 4-5. “To you, king of France, we hasten and have recourse, as to the most Christian and very sovereign prince of the Christians, who loves God and
According to Talmant, the three earthbound figures, Charles, the clerk and the knight, are balanced by two imaginary allegorical characters, the queens, and the sleeping author who dreams of them. In this liminal state one might see him as released from the physical body that reclines on the ground before us, and thus part of this second, more intellectual and less terrestrial trio. Talmant proposes that these two groups create intersecting triangles forming the Seal of Solomon, “emblème de justice et de bon gouvernement” [emblem of justice and of good government], which would have been particularly meaningful to Charles who modeled himself on the wise king of the Old Testament, and held a strong interest in astronomy and number symbolism. According to Talmant, in the hermetic tradition, which saw a revival in the fifteenth century, this sign symbolized the interpenetration “du monde intelligible et du monde sensible” [of the world of the mind and the world of the senses]. In this, as well as in some other suggestions, it may be that he is pushing ideas further back in time than the evidence will support. The head of Charles is positioned only slightly higher than those of the queens, and thus a six-pointed star is scarcely comprehensible (Figure 54). Only the triangle connecting the heads of Charles and the two advocates is an equilateral design. The repetition of triangles of various shapes throughout this space certainly makes the trinitarian symbolism unmistakable however.

Holy Church,..” “Now, so it is that to you, Charles, very powerful king of France, God has given true and perfect knowledge of the faith...”

256 Talmant, 30.

257 On the other hand, the reader may recall the strong similarity between the enthroned Charles and an earlier image of Solomon from the Bible historiale in the British Library, MS Royal 17 E VII, folio 147v (Figures 27 and 28).
Let us return to the three trees. While they visually suggest the layout of the “modern” French royal arms, their presence may also be explained by another dream vision, *Le Songe de Pestilence*. This dream vision is one part of the *Livres du roi Modus et de reine Ratio*, attributed to Henri de Ferrières. The work contains what purports to be a vision of the ills that befell France between 1341-1362 due to an abandonment of virtues. The misfortunes were presumably seen in advance by a wise philosopher, but not revealed until after these evils had passed and the visionary who foretold the events had died. The work was composed sometime between 1354-1377, although the oldest extant manuscript is dated 1379. The dreamer falls asleep alone in a forest (Figure 45). Like the dreamer in the *Songe du Vergier* he does not actually engage in any action, but reports his vision and explains the prophecy of the “tres grant cler philosophe.” The prophecy involves three great trees which were full of leaves and blossoms, but bore no fruit. These, of course were the three sons of Philippe le Bel who succeeded him in turn - Louis X, Philippe V, and Charles IV. These trees were followed by three others which did bear fruit, representing the first three kings of the Valois line, Philippe VI, Jean II, and Charles V. Since the work was contemporary with

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261 De Trémaugon however, only reports what he dreams, without offering interpretation.
the *Songe du Vergier* it is quite possible that the trees around Charles were intended to play some role beyond identifying this enclosed space as a pleasure garden and reiterating the trinitarian symbolism, and in addition, served as a reminder of this prophetic tale. They are clearly devoid of fruit, which is appropriate for trees in a pleasure garden. Do they also reference the triumph of Charles and the Valois line over the problems of the late Capetians, or would one expect to find three fruit-bearing trees as well, if that association was intended? While the success of the Valois may have been a source of pride for Charles, the *Songe de Pestilence* would still have served as a cautionary tale for the king’s son, who was now the fourth in line, and beyond the limits of the prophecy. It was a heavy moralizing work that made it clear that success or failure depended upon a virtuous life, and faithfulness to the will of God. This same warning would be delivered personally to Charles VI by Philippe de Mézières in his *Songe du vieil pelerin*.262

Another trinitarian grouping in the *Songe* frontispiece that may have held additional meaning for Charles is the inclusion of three rabbits who move in and out of their burrows in the lower part of the enclosed space.263 One exits from a hole below the advocate for ecclesiastical power, near the spring in the corner and another exits below the knight on the right. The third enters the ground at the base of the tree that separates

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262 It would also be delivered to Charles VI with greater urgency by Pierre Salmon in the early fifteenth century. See Anne Hedeman, *Of Counselors and Kings: The Three Versions of Pierre Salmon’s Dialogues* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2001).

263 Talmant quite understandably mistakes the heads on the throne of Charles for dogs and claims that the king’s dogs keep the threatening rabbits, a symbol of melancholy, in check. Talmant, 30. See below, note 278 for more on this chair.
Charles above from the sleeping author below. Rabbit warrens were a customary part of an aristocratic garden park in the late Middle Ages, although not necessarily in these intimate spaces set aside for social gatherings. They were among the creatures recommended in de Crescenzi’s description of the royal park for pleasant observation of nature in the distance. By the fourteenth century they were an important source of both food and fur in northern Europe, although Flanders and East Anglia were the areas where commercial warrens were most prevalent. Rabbits, who take refuge in the ground were not native to these areas, as were hares who shelter in the brush, and thus were dependent upon a prepared ground or artificial mounds of soft, loose dirt. The vulnerability of these small creatures led some, like Augustine, to compare the human

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265 Calkins, “Piero de’ Crescenzi and the Medieval Garden,” 165.


267 Medieval hunters clearly understood the difference, as one can tell from the illustrations of both rabbits and hares in copies of the hunting book of Gaston, Comte de Foix. Rabbits are often shown pursued by dogs in the margins of manuscripts or on Gothic ivories representing amorous couples. While the pursuit of knowledge might be an interpretation in some textual contexts, the ivories no doubt suggested a more lustful quest. The Old French “conin” was used for both the rabbit and female anatomy, and popular literature also exploits this play on words. See: Claude K. Abraham, “Myth and Symbol: The Rabbit in Medieval France.” Studies in Philology 60 no.4 (Oct. 1963): 589-597. The alignment of the female with a rabbit and the male with a hound is made concrete in the image of the young couple kneeling before the God of Love seen above, where each gender is accompanied by its representative animal seated on the ground behind them. (Figure 49).
soul to a defenseless rabbit, taking refuge in Christ and the rock, his Church. By extension, might one see the rabbits in the *Songe* garden as representatives of the ordinary people of the kingdom, dependent upon the responsible leadership and protection of their king, or must we see them as just a part of the landscape?

Rabbits were ubiquitous in Late Gothic Europe and are frequently represented in hilly plots of turf in manuscripts. They are a part of the activity in the more expansive landscapes attributed to the Master of the Bible of Jean de Sy, those behind Machaut and his visitors in the prologue of his collected works in BnF ms. fr. 1584 (Figures 10 and 23). Heavily populated pillow mounds are found in the lower margins of both the Luttrell Psalter and the Queen Mary Psalter. Such abundance was a sign of status for the owners of these books. Rabbits and deer, both intended for hunting by the aristocracy alone, often run through the lower margin together, pursued by hounds. Occasionally even the deer will poke their heads out of burrows, adding a comic element, as found in

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269 If we see Charles and the representatives of Church and State as personifications of the fleur de lis symbolism, do the rabbits have a role? As Bertrand Schnerb noted, the prologue emphasizes all that Charles does to ensure peace and security for his people. Bertrand Schnerb, “Charles V au miroir de *Songe du Vergier*,” *Le Moyen Age* 116 (2010): 550-551. The implied presence of the working class through these humble creatures would also flesh out the three estates in this image, still the dominant view of society in France despite the rise of the bourgeoisie. In addition, Guillaume de Digulleville, in his *Roman de la fleur de lis* described the parts of the fleur de lis as the king, his counselors and the barons, joined together by the ring and supported by the people as the base below. Anne-Marie Lecoq, “The Symbolism of State: The Images of the Monarchy from the Early Valois Kings to Louis XIV,” in *Rethinking France: Les Lieux de Mémoire*, trans. Mary Trouille (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2001), 230.

270 Within the text I will generally abbreviate the full name of the Bibliothèque nationale de France as BnF.
the *Gorleston Psalter* (Figure 55). Rabbits weave in and out of the ground between springs of water flowing beneath the trees in the Garden of Virtues in a copy of the *Somme le roi* made for Louis I, Duke of Bourbon. They move freely around the sleeping St. John on Patmos in the Queen Mary Apocalypse (Figure 44). Rabbits populate the flowery lawn of the lower border of the Angers Apocalypse tapestries, while angels occupy the clouds in the top border, placing John’s vision in the liminal space between them. These apocalyptic contexts suggest an alternative interpretation for rabbits as souls emerging from their earthly confines in the resurrection of the dead. David and Margarita Stocker found compelling evidence for this in monastic pillow mounds that were aligned east-west like Christian graves, and in a stained glass window at All Saints North Street church that represents the dead exiting from burrows, accompanied by an inscription from “The Prick of Conscience,” that reads: “men [shall] come owte [of their] holes & wende about.”

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271 London, British Library, Add MS 49622, folio 177v. Rabbits are especially abundant in the *Gorleston Psalter*. Margot and David Nishimura have demonstrated that this book was made for John, eighth Earl of Warenne, who held extensive properties in East Anglia. Not only does his name call to mind rabbit warrens, but he did indeed have significant holdings. In 1240 an earlier earl had been called upon to supply 200 of the 500 rabbits required for the Christmas feast of Henry III. Margot M. Nishimura and David Nishimura, “Rabbits, Warrens and Warenne: The Patronage of the Gorleston Psalter,” in *Studies in Manuscript Illumination: A Tribute to Lucy Freeman Sandler*, ed. Carol Krinsky and Kathryn A. Smith (London: Harvey Miller Publishers, 2008), 207.

272 Milan, Bibl. Ambrosiana, MS H 106 Sup., fol. 30v.

273 London, British Library, Royal 19 B XV, fol. 2v. While this juxtaposition with another dreamer might link the burrowing rabbits to the idea of moving back and forth between the realms of sleep/dreams and wakefulness, I have found no contemporary textual support for such an allusion.

274 As noted before, not all of the manuscript sources for this huge project have been identified, so it’s not clear which elements were based upon those models, and which were new inventions.

This image of the human soul emerging and struggling to make its way heavenward is suggested in a striking image of the visions of St. Elizabeth of Schönau in a manuscript containing a translation that was specifically requested by Charles V from Jacques Bauchant (Figure 56). The prologue states: “Le Livre est des voies de Dieu qui fu annunciés par l'ange de Dieu le tres hault a Elisabeth... [This book is about the ways of God that were announced by the angel of God the highest to Elizabeth...].” The miniature represents Elizabeth in bed across the bottom quarter of the space looking up at her vision with her open, bodily eyes. The angel of God stands off to the right, beyond the foot of her bed, pointing to her in address. The illuminator attempted to illustrate the visions as she described them, which occurred over the course of several sessions, before, on, and after the feast of Pentecost. She saw a mountain with a man clothed in blue at the top, his face shining like the sun. He had a double-edged sword in his mouth, a key in his right hand and a scepter in his left. She saw three paths up the mountain - green, blue and purple. In her second session she saw three more paths, and in her third, an additional four. The artist has thus represented a total of ten paths, and as she related, one was pleasant with grass and flowers, another had brambles, one was smooth like a paved road, and so on. The angel interpreted these paths that ascended to the brightness of eternal life for her. The multitude of figures in the outer ring beyond the radiant

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276 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de france, ms. fr. 1792, fol. 5r. This is one of the few books that were so highly valued by the king that he included a note in the back identifying it as his. On folio 89v, beneath the erasure was found: " Ce livre est a nous, Charles le Ve de nostre nom, roy de France, et le fisme translater de [latin en françaois] l'an mil [CCC]LXXII." From the “Description” section of the information provided for the manuscript in the Gallica image database of the Bibliothèque nationale website, accessed at: http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b84496943/.

mandorla around Christ were observed in a later vision of the mountain of God, and represent saints from various walks of life who traversed the paths and received their reward. At no point did Elizabeth mention rabbits. The artist freely associated these creatures with the shape of the mountain, perhaps likening them to the little souls who scramble up the various paths, or using them to allude to the abundance of obstacles or earthly temptations that one might trip over along the way. No doubt any rabbit warren was a hazardous area for walking.

Such rough terrain may be the explanation for another, earlier free association of a mountain form with the pillow mound of a warren in a late thirteenth-century Northern French copy of L'Ystoire du bon roi Alexandre in Berlin (Figure 57). In this miniature Alexander the Great and his men ascend the mountain “Damastice” to the house of the sun. According to the text the doors and windows are of gold, and they encounter there a temple with a man in bed covered in a cloth of gold, who asks Alexander whether he wants to learn his fate from the Trees of the Sun and the Moon. The man directs them to the forest where they will find them, and where Alexander will then learn of his impending death. The miniature makes the ascent up the mountain seem easy, with stairs in the sapphire surface and a golden railing, so that Alexander and his men don’t seem to be faced with the peril of stepping into the burrows. It may be that the rabbits were only

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278 In addition, one lone rabbit tentatively leaves his burrow on the bottom of folio 1 below the text which follows the presentation frontispiece, anticipating the vision to follow.

279 A similar miniature accompanies the narrative in the copy in the Bibliothèque Royale in Brussels, Ms. 11040, folio 60. Not all miniatures have been digitized for the third manuscript in this group of prose Alexander manuscripts, British Library Harley Ms. 4979, which has been dated to the early fourteenth century.
included because of their association with earthen mounds, or perhaps they represented the rough terrain that threatened beyond the path provided.

While there is no hill represented in the Songe frontispiece, Charles does occupy the highest position in the vertical composition of the garden group, and the rabbits in the lower section of the garden are positioned in a triangular grouping that suggest a mound at the base of the tree, particularly since the spring by the author flows “down” through the lower border. Seated on his lion-headed faldstool with a gold cushion beneath his feet the figure of the king may have called to mind the golden light at the summit of both mountains just discussed. We recall Pierre Talmant’s strongest claims, that of sun symbolism in this miniature for Charles. He associates the elevated position of the king with the image of Christ in Majesty placed above the east, at the top of medieval world maps such as the one in Hereford Cathedral, and likens him to the rising sun that daily conquers the night. There is no way of knowing how well such maps were known

280 Charles V had three verse Alexanders and one prose version within his library, and was likely familiar with the story of the House of the Sun. Delisle, Recherches sur la librairie de Charles V, vol. 2, nos. 1070-1073. The lion-headed faldstool with which Charles is so frequently represented is likely meant to recall Dagobert’s Throne, the feline-headed chair that Charles acquired at his coronation. We find this same chair with its rather dog-like feline heads in both the Coronation Book of Charles V (British Library, Cotton Tiberius B VIII; see figure 71 below), and his copy of the Grandes Chroniques de France (Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. fr. 2813) in situations where the king is in full regalia, including a gold cushion under his feet. A Bibliothèque nationale catalog entry for the chair identifies the animals as panthers, although given the appreciation that Charles had for lions, one wonders whether he viewed them as panthers or lions. Irène Aghion, “Dagobert’s Throne,” Creating French Culture: Treasures from the Bibliothèque nationale de France, ed. Marie-Hélène Tesnière and Prosser Gifford (New Haven, CT; Washington, D. C.; Paris: Yale University Press, Library of Congress, Bibliothèque nationale de France, 1995), 42-43. If intended as panthers we can easily understand the confusion of the artists. A quick review of panthers in medieval bestiaries turns up a number of creatures that don’t look much like cats: http://bestiary.ca/beasts/beastgallery79.htm. The same chair type was also often used in late fourteenth-century manuscript illuminations for biblical and historical kings, who took on other attributes of French kingship as well.


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however. The one map documented as familiar to Charles, since it holds his signature, holds no such imagery. This very early fourteenth-century map with Jerusalem at its center is at the end of the *Chroniques de St. Denys.*

What Talmant does not mention, perhaps because he did not have access to color reproductions, is the golden cushion beneath the feet of Charles, marked with six circles drawn in a light red-orange. This same cushion appears beneath the feet of the Christ in Majesty that marks the beginning of the text in the so-called *Vaudetar Bible.* Since the Master of the Bible of Jean de Sy was also involved in the illuminations for this deluxe manuscript, the Christological imagery on the bible folio was more likely to have been an influence. In addition, the secondary image of the king with the debating knight and cleric on folio 154r in the *Songe* shows him wearing gold beneath his blue fleur de lis mantle (Figure 21). This attire is unusual among images of Charles V. He is seated before a dark gray cloth of honor that is suspended behind him with no visible supports and his feet are placed on a gray cushion rather than the gold one in the frontispiece. Both dark areas form a strong

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282 Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, Ms. 782, folio 374v. This map was recently reproduced in the catalog for the exhibition “Imagining the Past in France, 1250-1500.” Elizabeth Morrison, Anne Dawson Hedeman, Elisabeth Antoine, and J. Paul Getty Museum, *Imagining the Past in France: History in Manuscript Painting, 1250-1500* (Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2010), 26, 110. Another later map, likewise devoid of such imagery, was ordered for Charles V and entered his library, but François Avril speculates that he may not have received it before he died. Avril, “No. 318: Atlas Catalan,” in *Les Fastes du Gothique,* 360-61.

283 The Hague, Museum Meermanno-Westreenianum, Ms. 10 B 23, fol. 3.

284 Stephen Perkinson proposed that the Christ in Majesty seated beneath a conical canopy, that is displayed in the open book presented by Jean de Vaudetar, may have been intended as a subtle comparison to the seated Charles who receives the book. Stephen Perkinson, “Portraits and Their Patrons: Reconsidering Agency in late Medieval Art,” *Patronage: Power and Agency in Medieval Art,* ed. Colum Hourihane, The Index of Christian Art Occasional Papers, 15 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2013), 266. The frontispiece of the *Songe,* with four figures arranged around Charles would make an even stronger comparison to a traditional Christ in Majesty composition, if the queens were not so closely aligned with his own level.
contrast to the glistening gold of the crown, scepter, robe and throne, a visually compelling argument for the image of the king as the sun.\textsuperscript{285}

Sun symbolism was apparently utilized with some frequency in the fourteenth century. Philippe de Mézières used the queen \textit{Vérité} to describe Charles VI in solar terms in the \textit{Songe du vieil pelerin}, and the young king used the sun as a royal emblem. Anne Lombard-Jourdan states that Charles V used it before him, although she does not cite specific examples.\textsuperscript{286} His father, Jean le Bon, instituted the order of the star in 1351, and she points out that this emblem consisted of an eight-pointed star with a golden sun on a blue rondel mounted in the center. In 1363, Louis II, Duke of Bourbon, brother-in-law of Charles V founded his own order of the golden shield that likewise incorporated the sun.\textsuperscript{287}

To find visual evidence of the association of the king with the sun we may look to a manuscript of the \textit{Avis aus roys} in the Morgan Library, thought to have been commissioned in the late 1340s by Jean le Bon for the education of his sons.\textsuperscript{288} On folio

\textsuperscript{285} One might compare this placement of the king within the crescent formed at the base of the two steep hills to the image of a king in half-length rising from a crescent on a ring believed to have belonged to Louis IX, discussed by Anne Lombard-Jourdan as a solar symbol. Lombard-Jourdan, 115.

\textsuperscript{286} Ibid., 120.

\textsuperscript{287} Ibid., 113-120.

\textsuperscript{288} New York, Morgan Library and Museum, MS M456. The Curatorial Description and bibliographic record for the manuscript at the Morgan Library indicate that the manuscript was identified as being of Parisian manufacture, ca. 1347-50. It is richly decorated with 140 miniatures, including one image of a kneeling prince flanked by representations of both French saints named Louis - Louis IX and Louis of Toulouse, as well as John the Baptist (folio 3v). Michael Camille studied the manuscript in some detail and believed that other miniatures reinforce the assumption based on this composition that the manuscript was intended specifically for Louis, the younger brother of Charles V, who was next in line for the throne until the future Charles VI was born in 1368, and later served as regent for the younger king Charles when his father died in 1380. Michael Camille, “The King’s New Bodies: An Illustrated Mirror for Princes in the Morgan Library,” in \textit{Künstlerischer Austausch = Artistic Exchange: Akten des XXVIII Internationalen}}
4 is a miniature representing a king seated on Dagobert’s throne between two small groups of onlookers. The sun over his head, to the viewer’s right, radiates strongly onto his head and shoulders (Figure 58). The accompanying text has been translated in the library’s curatorial notes on the manuscript: “As according to St. Ambrose the sun is the glory of the stars, the sire and king among the planets and the source of all the radiance and light, so that all the stars of heaven and the planets receive their radiance from the sun; just so ought a good prince be such an example of virtue that his subjects may receive guidance from their sire’s perfection.”\textsuperscript{289} A later image, on folio 26 symbolizes the primary virtue of Prudence. Here the king stands alone in the center of the frame holding a scepter in his right hand hand and a lance in the left. A large radiant golden sun is placed over his torso (Figure 59). The curator’s notes for this folio indicate that Aristotle was quoted in reference to this image, and summarizes the meaning: “that man will be by nature a sovereign who has the best understanding and is most illuminated by the virtue of prudence.”\textsuperscript{290} We have previously noted the mention by the two queens of prudence among the virtues of Charles V. However, these first words that the queens speak after their presence is introduced by the author should be quoted in full: “A toy, roy de France, nous fuions et recourons, comme au plus tres crestian et tres soverain prince des Crestians, qui aimes Diex et Sainte Eglise, qui es vraie lumiere de pais et de


\textsuperscript{289} K. Quinn, Curatorial notes on MS M.456, folio 4, (Morgan Library, 1937), accessed online at http://corsair.morganlibrary.org/msdescr/BBM0456a.pdf.

\textsuperscript{290} K. Quinn, Curatorial notes on MS M.456, folio 26.
justice, et ce divise et senefie le nom que tu portes, car entre lez roys de France qui eurent / en nome Charles, tu es le Vme, et, en latin, ‘Karolus interpretatur quasi clara lux’: Charles est enterpréty clere lumiere [Charles is translated as clear light].”

The vertical composition of the dreamer’s garden may have been inspired by a combination of familiar visual precedents - the king’s manuscript of Elizabeth’s visions, the common illustration of Alexander’s ascent up the mountain to the House of the Sun, the figure of Amour presiding over his garden, and images of the Divine Ruler. All emphasize the glory of the French king. Yet Évrart’s presence is necessary to complete the trinitarian groupings, whether he is counted as one of the three lower figures, or grouped with the two queens while Charles is associated with the men of his court. His placement within the same space permits this flexible re-combination of trios. Two later French copies of the Somnium lose that flexibility by placing the author on the other side of a stream, so that he is not in the same space as Charles and the queens (Figures 60 and 61).292 This position might be comparable to that in The Pearl, which placed the subject of the dreamer’s vision on the other side, except that the advocates in these Songe

291 Marion Scherb-Lièvre, ed., Le Songe du Vergier, vol. 1, 4-5. “To you, king of France, we hasten and have recourse, as to the most Christian and very sovereign prince of the Christians, who loves God and Holy Church, who is the true light of peace and justice and this is signified by the name that you carry, for among the kings of France that have been named Charles, you are the fifth, and, in Latin, ‘Karolus interpretatur quas clara lux’: Charles is translated as clear light.” Karolus was the form used for the king in official documents, such as the charters of foundation mentioned above. Talmant points out that the light of God was bestowed on the king in the coronation ceremony when he was anointed with the sacred oil from the baptism of Clovis. Pierre Talmant, “Iconologie politique,” 25-26. Talmant’s article focuses extensively on the sun symbolism associated with Charles and the French king in general, and includes additional arguments, but I don’t think that further examples are needed here, since the role played by the author is my focus.

292 I am indebted to Jenny Stratford’s article for bringing these later examples together in her article. She believes that they were inspired by the frontispiece of the presentation copy of the Songe. Jenny Stratford, “The Illustration of the Songe du Vergier and Some Fifteenth-Century Manuscripts.”
versions remain on the same side as the dreamer. The number symbolism is diminished as the trees and rabbits no longer carry a trinitarian reference. Despite this introduced separating device, the author is still shown reclining on the ground next to a spring, an element of the original that was not derived from the text. A later copy of the Songe text employs elements that were not based on the royal manuscript and summarizes the dream and the presentation in one miniature, giving the dreamer a bed, and completely removing all of the symbolism that was most meaningful to the original recipient of the work (Figure 62). It becomes just another dream tale presented to a ruler.

As noted, the spring remains in the versions based upon the original, although not mentioned in the author’s description of the garden. A fountain or spring was a recommended feature of a pleasure garden, not only as a source of water for the plants, but for its pleasant musical qualities as well. Petrarch’s description of the inspirational qualities of the water in his own garden or the private place near the Sorgue River recall this very physical appeal to the senses. However, the springs of Petrarch and Guillaume de Machaut have a long literary history. Ovid’s Metamorphoses was an important source, with its inclusion of the Hippocrene spring on Mount Helicon, considered a font of poetic inspiration, and tied by the Greeks to the nine muses. Machaut was represented composing next to a spring in the earliest collection of his works, but even in

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293 This miniature actually accompanies the epilogue, showing the awakened author next to his bed, book in hand, but Stratford notes that the content of this illumination and the damaged frontispiece are quite comparable.

the manuscript’s numerous other images of the composer at work in a landscape where no spring is present, the buoyant curves of the scrolls on which he writes evoke the image of water flowing from a fountain.\textsuperscript{295} Catherine Attwood claims that “For Guillaume de Machaut, the fountain is the symbol \textit{par excellence} of literary inspiration.”\textsuperscript{296} The presence of a spring next to our author in the Songe frontispiece ties the work to this literary tradition, as does the author’s language, describing his \textit{avanture}.\textsuperscript{297}

There may be another link to the work of Machaut. Even though the direct source for de Trémaugon’s dream format is the \textit{Somnium} of his master, there are also some similarities between the \textit{Songe} and Machaut’s \textit{Jugement dou Roy de Behaigne}. In this story the author lies down in a garden to listen to the song of a bird and inadvertently overhears a debate between a lady and a knight, comparing their misery. Jean de Luxembourg, Machaut’s first patron, is asked to serve as their judge.\textsuperscript{298} As we have seen, the Master of the Bible of Jean de Sy was involved in the illumination of more than one Machaut manuscript, and may have had this tale in mind when situating the author within the garden along with the protagonists of his dream. As we have seen, despite some similarities to visionary works, the dreamer has no guide, like St. John, St. Elizabeth, or

\begin{footnotes}
\footnote{295} Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de france, ms. fr. 1586, folio 30v.


\footnote{297} The spring beside Évrart de Trémaugon flows out of the garden however, into the outside world, reminiscent of the earthly rivers that find their source in Paradise, although this stream is singular.

\footnote{298} Jean was also Charles V’s grandfather. His daughter, Jutta (Bonne de Luxembourg), was the first wife of Jean le Bon. William Calin pointed out that the lack of involvement in this narrative by the author, who only witnesses the action, but does not participate in it, was an innovation on the part of Machaut. William Calin, \textit{A Poet at the Fountain: Essays on the Narrative Verse of Guillaume de Machaut} (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1972), 48-49.
\end{footnotes}
even Guillaume de Digulleville and Philippe de Mézières. The spring of inspiration is provided instead.

The Frontispiece: Design Responsibility

The potential complexity of the frontispiece leads us to ask who actually planned its design. Did the Master of the Bible of Jean de Sy devise this composition? He was responsible for executing the unusual prologue miniatures for manuscript “A” of the collected works of Machaut. Critics disagree about the design of the images in the Machaut collection however. Some assign that program to Machaut himself, others feel that they were added soon after his death, as a posthumous tribute requested by a new owner of the codex. Only Stephen Perkinson feels that the artist himself was responsible for devising this embodiment of Machaut’s ideas, demonstrating his engin by breaking from the dream construct to show the author actually encountering Nature in the landscape displayed behind him, and finding Love in the books he has been reading in his study. Perkinson also noted the artist’s attempts to contrefaire nature with his inclusion of identifiable animals in the landscape, and his attempts at the illusion of volume, achieved by darkening outside the contours of a figure in order to create added contrast. Certainly after decades of working for the French monarchs the master would have been adept at tailoring his artistic vocabulary to new uses, but would he have read


300 Avril dated them anywhere between 1370-77, when Machaut died, but emphasized that they were made in Paris, while the other miniatures in the manuscript were likely painted in Reims under Machaut’s supervision. François Avril, “Les manuscrits enluminés de Guillaume de Machaut.” in Guillaume de Machaut: Colloque – table ronde organisé par l’université de Reims, Reims 19-22 avril 1978 (Paris: Editions Klincksieck, 1982), 126-127.

301 Stephen Perkinson, The Likeness of the King, 224-225.
the text of the *Songe du Vergier* with such care in order to devise an appropriate, yet innovative image? This was generally the task of the libraire, or even the author.

Was it the author, Évrart de Trémaugon? Claire Richter Sherman demonstrated that Nicole Oresme guided the creation of accompanying illustrations for his translations of Aristotle, so an authorial role in directing the creation of the miniatures is clearly possible. The *Songe* and its Latin original are the only known works executed by de Trémaugon for Charles though, so it’s not clear that he would have had the experience or confidence to direct the illuminator. One needn’t see de Trémaugon working in a vacuum however. Since he had only been working for Charles since 1374 he may have received suggestions and guidance from Oresme, who had been writing and translating for Charles since before he ascended the throne in 1364. Philippe de Mézières is also thought to have directed the designs of frontispieces for some of his works.302 Both Oresme and de Mézières were very open about the authorship of their works however. De Trémaugon does not identify himself in the prologue or the epilogue. Even though he imitated the dream format of his master, we must note that in working for the king of France his career followed a path that went counter to that of Legnano. In 1378, at the beginning of the Great Western Schism, Legnano was supporting Urban VI, while Charles and the French backed Clement VII at Avignon. In fact, Legnano was so well

known that he was mentioned by Chaucer in the same verse with Petrarch. Perhaps de Trémaugon would not have wished to call too much attention to himself, and others would have taken on the role of designing the frontispiece.

Did Charles make requests with regard to the subject matter of the garden scene? We know that he held enough interest in the subject matter of manuscript illuminations to order a special commemorative frontispiece painted by Jean Bondol for the *Bible historiale* presented by Jean de Vaudetar. Donal Byrne suggests that he may also have played a role in dictating content for the original frontispiece of the *Livre des propriétés des choses* translated for Charles by Jean Corbechon. The presentation copy is lost, but Byrne studied early copies that must have closely imitated that original. The type consists of four quatrefoil frames, common among the manuscripts made for the king in the 1370s. The first three contain images of the Creator at work, with scrolls describing the activity represented, “J’ay fait le ciel et la lumiere..., J’ay fait le feu le’air et la mer..., J’ay fait la terre...” [I made the sky and the light..., I made the fire, the air and the water..., I made the earth...] The last shows Corbechon kneeling before Charles V, a book changing hands between them. The scroll between them reads “Du livre les proprietez en cler francois vous translatez” [translate from the book of the properties (of things) into

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304 Byrne noted the importance of this work. Included on Christine de Pisan’s list of the most important translations commissioned by Charles V, it exists in over 100 manuscripts. The transcriptions that follow have been taken from Byrne’s article. Donal Byrne, “Rex imago Dei: Charles V of France and the *Livre des propriétés des choses*,” *Journal of Medieval History* 7 (1981): 97-113. The earliest known French copy was sold at auction in 2010 as part of an American businessman’s ‘Arcana Collection’: http://www.christies.com/LotFinder/lot_details.aspx?from=salessummary&intObjectID=5334920&sid=b583c7b5-962b-4edf-a542-d3ca66016007. The frontispiece of that work reflects the same model as that from a manuscript in the British Library which Byrne reproduced as figure 1 in his article (British Library, Ms. Additional 11612).
clear French]. Byrne feels that this must represent the commission itself, with Charles handing over the Latin version to be translated, and in the process reinforcing the text of the subsequent prologue where the translator describes the king’s order for a translation.305

A comparable scene is placed first in the quadripartite frontispiece for a late fourteenth-century copy of the translations of Aristotle by Nicole Oresme (Figure 63). Here the entire sequence revolves around the work involved: the commission, the translation process in the author’s study, the transport of the finished manuscript through a landscape, and the presentation of the completed work. This latter example, not made for Charles, emphasizes the efforts of the author, while that in the *Livre des propriétés des choses* clearly compares the role of the king as patron of translations of significant works to the Creator who orders the creation of all things for the benefit of mankind. Did Charles request such an image, or did Corbechon or some other advisor direct the illuminator in support of the king’s agenda, as Byrne suggests? Perhaps both this miniature, and the frontispiece of the *Songe du Vergier* were among a number of collaborations between experienced artists and a team of advisors, devoted to the propaganda campaign of the king of France. We recall the erased signature of Charles at the end of the *Songe* text. One of the few books in which he chose to write, it contains the following statement emphasizing his role in ordering this work as well: "Cest livre nomme le Songe du Vergier est a nous Charles Ve de ce nom roy de France et le fimes

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305 He cites other examples which are inconsistent and may reflect some confusion about the nature of the subject which was a shift from the customary presentation miniature. Donal Byrne, “Rex imago Dei,” 104-106.
Whether requested by the king, conceived by the artist or imagined by the author, the frontispiece of the Songe du Vergier makes clear the efforts of all involved to work for the glory of the French monarchy with this somnium dreamed especially for Charles V.

Conclusion

The dreamer of the Songe created an immensely important political work for the French king, a reference tool of enduring value. Unlike focused translations of the authorities that Charles commissioned, this was a compilation that documented and codified the French position on the balance of power between Church and State. Évrart de Trémaugon presented this gathering of sources as a debate in a garden – an entertainment not unlike the lively discussions that were held for Charles’s enjoyment and edification, which may indeed occasionally have taken place in one of his favorite garden settings in the summer time. This was not intended to preserve the memory of one of those evening conversations however, but was reported as a dream vision, a somnium, a genre of extraordinary popularity in the fourteenth century. Despite this

306 "This book entitled The Dream of the Pleasure Garden is ours, Charles the fifth of this name, king of France, and we had it compiled, translated and copied in the year 1378. Charles, king.” Le Songe du Vergier, vol. 1, XX. Contemporary with the text of the Somnium and the Songe in the 1370s Charles had another compilation of official documents created, not just to educate his son for the day when he would take the crown, but according to Autrand, this volume, the Recueil des traités, or Livre des alliances, was also likely intended to serve as preparation for the diplomatic summit held in Paris in January 1378 when the Emperor, Charles IV visited. Utilizing both Latin texts and French translations, it brought together all of the available documents from the twelfth through fourteenth centuries related to the international relations of the French monarchy, especially with England. Although the original made for Charles has been lost, multiple copies were made and housed in different libraries. Françoise Autrand, “Pratique diplomatique et culture politique au temps de Charles V,” in Pratiques de la culture écrite en France au XVᵉ siècle. Actes du colloque international du CNRS, Paris, 16-18 mai 1992 organisé en l’honneur de Gilbert Ouy par l’unité de recherche "Culture écrite du Moyen Age tardif,” ed. Monique Ornato and Nicole Pons (Louvain-la-Neuve: Fédération internationale des instituts d'études médiévales; Turnhout: Brepols, 1995), 199-204.

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identifier, it is not the enigmatic dream type as described by Macrobius that reveals meaning on careful analysis, or through the interpretation of a guide, but reads more like a scholastic text, a work of scholarship that openly presents the valued information to the scholarly king. The dream format seems to merely suggest a celestial inspiration and release the author from taking personal responsibility for this controversial text.

Rather than dreaming in his bed, the author is placed asleep in the foreground of the garden where the king hears the arguments of the debating representatives of the queens. Does this break from tradition, showing the dreamer asleep within his dream rather than outside of it, privilege the author in some way, or detract from his role? His presence in this setting seems to make it more tangible, more concrete and less visionary. To our eyes the whole image seems to be rich with layers of symbolism, but to Charles V and his court much of it was very real. The Christ-like position of the king in his garden was not merely allegorical, but represented the state of affairs in fourteenth-century France. The status of the French monarch, the most-Christian king, had been amplified considerably during the late Middle Ages. Colette Beaune details the development of a Christological role for the king. The birth of Charles VIII in 1470 was not the first to be lauded as a miracle, an only son sent from heaven for the salvation of the nation, but the birth of Philippe II in 1165 had also carried some of the same import, and royal entries came increasingly to resemble religious processions, as the people welcomed a messianic king.307 Christine de Pisan described the birth of Charles V in similar terms, comparing his birth to that of Moses, sent by God for the restoration of the French kingdom (the new

Holy Land).\textsuperscript{308} Just as Moses was a figure for Christ, so too was the French king, and Charles V took his role very seriously.

Évrart de Trémaugon was an integral part of this royal court. Despite the humility topos he employs in the prologue and epilogue, proclaiming himself as the king’s \textit{tres humble serviteur} and \textit{escrivain} [very humble servant and writer], ill-equipped to handle the task of reporting on the content of such an important debate, with his \textit{petit entendement} and \textit{ygnorance} [weak understanding and ignorance], he is shown present in that place and granted direct access to the events narrated.\textsuperscript{309} As demonstrated, his presence is essential to the trinitarian symbolism of the frontispiece. His role in preparing this work is deemed so important that he is not only shown asleep in the garden and presenting the finished book to the king in the presentation miniature, but he also seems to be filling the position of the debating cleric in the image at the head of Book Two (the costume is exactly the same in all three places), a role he was fully prepared to assume as a master of canon law. In addition, the rich tradition of the garden setting suggests both an intellectual and spiritual inspiration for Évrart, who reclines by the flowing spring. Unlike other such sources of water that the Master of the Bible of Jean de Sy represented over his career, this one is long enough to make its way out of the garden, perhaps indicating that the work presented by the author is not restricted to the

\textsuperscript{308} Christine de Pizan, \textit{Le Livre des faits et Bonnes Moeurs du roi Charles V le Sage}, ed. Eric Hicks and Thérèse Moreau (Paris: Éditions Stock, 1997), 47. Recall the figure of Moses used for Charles VI as well in Philippe de Mézières’ \textit{Songe du Vieil Pelerin}.

\textsuperscript{309} Marion Schnerb-Lièvre, ed., \textit{Le Songe du Vergier}, vol. 1, 10-11; vol. 2, 262. We recall also the words of the queens in the prologue, who praised Charles: “...car sut touz princes crestians tu os et vois, volantiers, bons cleris, tu lez avances et leur portes honeur et reverance...” [...for over all Christian princes you delight in listening to and giving attention to good scholars, you advance them and bring them honor and reverence... ] Ibid., vol. 1, 6.
king’s court, or even his *jardin de France*, but is intended to enlighten a wider audience beyond.
Chapter 2. *Le gieu des eschés*: Jean de Vignay at the Heart of the Early Valois Court

While it is highly unusual for an author to be shown dreaming within the same space as the subject matter of his dream, it is even more extraordinary to find the author awake and writing surrounded by the personalities he is describing, especially when they do not encounter each other within the narrative. This is the context in which we find Jean de Vignay represented in the half-page miniature at the beginning of the Morgan Library’s copy of a moralization on the game of chess, *La moralité des nobles hommes et des gens du pueple: sus le gieu des eschés (Le gieu des eschés)*, his translation of the *Libellus de moribus hominum et officiis nobelium ac popularium super ludo scachorum* (*Libellus super ludo scachorum*) by Iacopo da Cessolis. The author/translator is centrally placed within a selection of the characters that the reader will encounter individually later in the text (Figure 14).

Only the translator is represented here, not the original author, and this French cleric who translated the text is shown writing, rather than making a presentation of the completed codex. Even more surprising, the activity of the translator is clearly meant to be the focal point for the viewer, just as he draws the attention of most of the figures around him. This image is remarkable both in composition and iconography and I believe reflects conservative French attitudes about societal structure, the three estates,

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310 Pierpont Morgan Library, MS G.52
and the strong relationship between the French king and the clergy, as well as the status of the early Valois court’s most prolific translator.

The Text, its Author and the Translator

Since the content of this large miniature refers to the subject matter to follow it seems appropriate to discuss the text itself before turning to an examination of the Morgan Library codex. The *Libellus super ludo scachorum* was written ca. 1300 by Iacopo da Cessolis, a Dominican monk presumed to have been from Cessole in the Asti region of northwestern Italy. He claimed in his prologue that his treatise evolved from a series of sermons that were well received, and that he had been encouraged to compile them, resulting in this work. The text is divided into four main sections. The first discusses the origin of the game of chess. From this beginning it is clear that his intention was to use this immensely popular game as a tool for instruction. Although the game’s ancient origins have still not been pinned down precisely, da Cessolis chose to use a story he attributed to the Greek scholar Diomedes, who credited the invention of chess to a philosopher named Xerxes. He reputedly devised the game in order to teach the wicked Babylonian king, Evilmerodach, appropriate behavior for a ruler.311 Thus da Cessolis effectively turned his own narrative into a kind of *speculum principis* for any ruler who would read his book. The second section addresses each of the noble figures on the chess board, those in the first line. The third describes each of the eight pawns, listing occupations that in large part reflect an urban Italian environment. The fourth describes the basics of how to play the game. Unlike the well-known *Libros del ajedrez*,

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dados y tables compiled for Alfonso X, el Sabio, which provides an extensive collection of illustrated solutions to various chess problems, the focus of the Libellus super ludo scachorum is not so much on how to play the game, but on moralization.\textsuperscript{312} Each character’s place and role in society is described along with his/her appropriate virtues and talents, as well as attributes for visual representation.\textsuperscript{313} The text is enriched with an abundance of exempla, many from such well-known sources as Valerius Maximus and Vincent of Beauvais.

Within decades after the completion of the treatise hundreds of copies had been disseminated around Europe, although only approximately two dozen of the Latin version are known to have survived. By mid century several translations had been executed, both in French and in German. Jean de Vignay’s translation was one of four prepared in French, and was by far the most popular. The first English translation was based upon de Vignay’s and another roughly contemporary French version by Jean Ferron, and published by William Caxton as The Game and Playe of the Chesse in Bruges in 1474. The fact that it was only the second book printed in English attests to its popularity. The most accessible English version today was made by Hester L. Williams, drawn from a German translation that he identified as being closest to the Latin original.\textsuperscript{314}

\textsuperscript{312} Alfonso X’s book is available in facsimile. Alfonso X, King of Castile and Leon, Libros del ajedrez, dados y tablas (Madrid: Patrimonio Nacional, 1987).

\textsuperscript{313} The actors selected by da Cessolis clearly reflect the character of a more urban Italian society of the late thirteenth century. Jenny Adams discusses his work in some detail, as well as other medieval treatises addressing this popular game, in chapter 1 of her book on the medieval game of chess. Jenny Adams, The Literature and Politics of Chess in the Late Middle Ages (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006).

Jean de Vignay completed his French translation sometime before 1350, since he dedicated the completed work to Jean de France, as “duc de Normandie.” De Vignay, a monk in the order of the Hospitalers of Saint-Jacques du Haut-Pas in Paris, worked extensively as a translator for Philippe VI and his wife Jeanne de Bourgogne, dedicating many of his projects to one or the other. Some we know to have been directly commissioned by the queen, and it is thought that she commissioned *Le gieu des eschês* as well, for the education of her son, the future king. By the time de Vignay began work on this translation he had developed greater expertise with the Latin language. No longer struggling to translate word for word as he did when younger, he took greater liberties, editing the text and expanding it with additional material so that it better reflected the values and concerns of the French court, in particular with regard to the retention of power in one family and the new emphasis on primogeniture. It was de Vignay’s version that was included among other titles in a deluxe mirror of princes manuscript made for Charles V. Carol Fuller prepared a critical edition of de Vignay’s text, based in large part on Besançon BM 434 (sigillum A), but drawing also upon two others made at approximately the same time, BnF ms. fr. 1728 (B) and BnF ms. fr. 25379 (C). She left a place at the top of her stemma for the missing original presented to Jean de France.

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316 Besançon, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms 434.

At the time she apparently was not aware of the mid fourteenth-century copy that would be acquired by the Morgan Library in 1984.

The Manuscript

Morgan Library Ms. G.52 consists of 56 leaves of fine quality vellum measuring approximately 308 x 228 mm., with few tears or repairs, bound in seven complete quires of four bifolia each. Catchwords mark the end of each gathering. The manuscript is bound in a fifteenth-century brown calf binding with some of its original ornamental studs still intact. The tightness of the sewing causes a significant amount of buckling when the leaves are exposed to the reading room environment, making photographic reproductions a bit of a challenge. There is some staining from the binding on the verso of the last folio, perhaps due to moisture. Numerous worm holes pierce the binding and outer leaves consistently, making it clear that the damage occurred after the binding was applied. However, these lacunae cannot obscure the beauty of the manuscript.

The leaves are ruled to create two columns of 38 lines. Prick marks are still in place on many folios, indicating minimal trimming. The script is very consistent throughout, perhaps just one hand, in a Northern French Textualis executed with a rich brown ink. The character of this script is comparable to what one finds in other manuscripts of the mid fourteenth century, ca. 1350-1360. In fact, François Avril has noted strong similarities between the Morgan Library manuscript and what he identified as the oldest collection of Guillaume de Machaut’s works, known as Manuscript C (BnF ms. fr. 1586), citing the size of the folios, the mis-en-page, the filigree initials, and even
the hand of the copyist (Figure 63). Both manuscripts share a delicate filigree on alternating blue and gold initials, and rich blue rubrication, a use of color that also characterizes the luxurious Bible moralisé made ca. 1350 for Jean le Bon, BnF ms. fr. 167 (Figure 64). The Bible utilizes a more formal Textualis however, and the filigree is not quite as refined. There are only a few marginal notes on the pages of Morgan G.52, two nota bene abbreviations, and an occasional large faint “ho,” which may have actually been intended as “nota” also, but this is not clear. None of the noted sections seem to have any bearing on the opening illustration, so I will not describe their textual content here.

Based on my close analysis, the text in Morgan G.52 varies more than expected from the critical edition that Fuller based upon the Besançon copy made for Charles V. There are numerous spelling differences, which appear to be intentional, rather than scribal errors, and occasionally entire phrases that are stated with alternative vocabulary choices. Since the Besançon manuscript dates later than the Morgan copy, we must assume that revisions were made by the copyist working for Charles V in the 1370s. More puzzling is the lack of a prologue at the beginning of the Morgan codex, while the closing section, added to the last chapter, but functioning as an epilogue, is extensive. Underneath the half page frontispiece the text moves almost immediately into the table of contents, preceded only by a statement indicating title and authorship: “Ci commencent les chapitres du liure de la moralite des nobles hommes et des gens du peuple sus le gieu

Thus there is no dedication of the manuscript to Jean, duc de Normandie, which may explain why there is no presentation scene at the beginning as one finds in other, later copies. The epilogue, in fact, alludes rather to his father, Philippe VI de Valois, by describing the recipient of the translation as the nephew of Philippe le Bel: “Et aussi oyie raconter a plusieurs que le prince de tres noble memoire phelippe lebel uostre oncle ooit chascun iour sa leccon du liure du goulernement des roys...” It is interesting to see here the trope that would later be associated with the sage King Charles, especially in the writings of Christine de Pisan, that he would have edifying texts read to him every evening.

The provenance of Morgan G.52 is relatively obscure. The name of Jehan Furet, Canon of Mâcon in the fifteenth century is noted on the back flyleaf. There is another note indicating that the codex was loaned out for copying in 1438. Nothing in the manuscript identifies the original owner, or its history before the 15th century. The lengthy “epilogue” suggests that this manuscript may in fact have been made for Philippe des esches translatee de latin en francoys par frere iohan de uignay hospitalier de lordre de haut pas.”

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320 “And also I have heard it reported to many people that the prince of very noble memory Philippe le Bel, your uncle, listened each day to his lesson from the book of the government of kings.” This sentence is found at the beginning of the second-to-last paragraph of the book. Please note: Here, and elsewhere, I will cite the text exactly as written, so that if desired, one can compare the practices of the scribe in this codex to what is found in other contemporary manuscripts. Thus, I will not replace the “i” in “iour” with a “j,” or the second “u” in “gouuernement” for easier reading.

321 Macon was the administrative center of a county in the duchy of Burgundy, strategically located across the Saône by bridge from territory that belonged to the Duchy of Savoy. Jehan Furet was clearly a man of some importance, since a simple web-based search results in numerous references to his name in published Burgundian documents scanned as part of the Google Books Project.
VI, the long-time patron of the translator. A separate copy was apparently made and presented to the prince, the future Jean le Bon, who had already been positioned as Duke of Normandy in 1332, at the age of thirteen. This copy presumably included the dedication prologue and miniature, imitated later in the manuscript made for his son, Charles V, as well as other later copies. It’s possible that a book ostensibly made for Philippe would have ended up in the collection of Jeanne de Bourgogne, who at times served as regent for her husband, and thus been passed on to one of her relatives, but no record of this manuscript has been located to explain its transfer to a collection in Burgundy. In October of 1958 it was purchased from Arthur Rau in Paris on behalf of William Simon Glazier of New York. It was placed on deposit with the Pierpont Morgan Library by the trustees of the Glazier Collection in 1963, and gifted to the institution in 1984.

The Illuminations

Morgan G.52 is illustrated with one large and twenty-eight small miniatures in grisaille, an approach popularized by Jean Pucelle, and still preferred by the French monarchs well into the reign of Charles V, who patronized Pucelle’s artistic heir, Jean le Noir. The textual images depict the chess characters, generally adhering to the descriptions first introduced by da Cessolis, and also illustrate a small percentage of the abundant exempla. The representative knight on folio 14v, for example, is shown seated on his horse in full armor, holding his shield and lance (Figure 65), precisely as described in the text. Folio 18r shows Alexander defeating Porus, an exemplum illustrating the section that explains how important it is for a military leader to share the spoils of war.
with his men (Figure 66). Some of the pawns were intended to represent several occupations, such as the smith on folio 27r, with a hammer in the right hand, an ax in the left, and a trowel tucked under his belt, recalling not only metalworkers, but carpenters, masons and other construction workers (Figure 67). Each of the miniatures is surrounded by a simple frame consisting of three parallel lines, which may or may not intersect at the corners, with delicate, unshaded line drawings of ivy leaves ornamenting the corners, and middle of each side, as space allows. The bottom varies from one to three lines, again depending on the space available. The relationship between the content and the frames also fluctuates; sometimes the subject is overlapped by the frame to create the effect of a window into the space beyond, while at other times content spills out over the frame.

The technique used for these grisaille miniatures consists of linear outlines with a wash used for modeling. There does appear to be more than one hand involved. Some miniatures are done with lines that are firm and consistent, defining fairly simple contours, such as the knight seen previously (Figure 65). Others are done with a more varied touch, such as in the representation of the king on his throne (Figure 68). The wash modeling seems to have been done independently of the drawings, perhaps by assistants, and is quite inconsistent. In some cases the modulating gray tones are quite nuanced and extensive, in others minimal. Some appear to have been done with an almost dry brush, while other images have been muddied by excess liquid. The frontispiece was clearly done by the master, with the most delicate lines executed with a very sharp pen and subtle variations in the shadows.
François Avril found the execution of the miniatures in Morgan G. 52 to be comparable to the technique used by the team of artists responsible for over over five thousand illustrations in Jean le Bon’s luxury _Bible moralisée_, made sometime during the king’s reign (1350-1364). He felt it was quite likely that the hand he identified as “Master A,” who executed a substantial percentage of the small miniatures in the bible, was involved in the illumination of Morgan G.52. A fellow artist, “Master N” executed some of the striking illuminations in the early Machaut manuscript, BnF ms. fr. 1586, which is so similar in layout and decoration to _Le gieu des eschés_. The similarities in the mis-en-page, scribal hands, and decorated initials are matched by some striking resemblances in figural representation between these two manuscripts. A few comparisons between the work of the leading artist, identified by Avril as The Master of the Remède de Fortune, and the Morgan G.52 frontispiece will readily demonstrate this relationship. The miniature from fr. 1586 on the folio reproduced in Figure 63 includes a lanky male figure with slender arms, muscular calves and a pointed beard who sits on a mound pointing at the blindfolded standing female (Figure 69). The facial features, some details of the costume and the way he carries himself are similar to the courtier with the falcon in the lower left of the group around Jean de Vignay.

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323 Ibid., 100.

324 Ibid., 112.

325 The other courtier in the frontispiece, with his back to the viewer, recalls this same device used frequently by the Remède de Fortune Master. This pose presents some difficulty for our knight however, as he appears to be sitting on his sword. The shading in the Morgan frontispiece is a bit more successful than that in the Machaut manuscript however, in suggesting a solid surface for the seated figures.
There are no directly comparable representations of the author (Machaut) at work in ms. fr. 1586. As a poet he is shown in courtly dress, and not seated at a writing desk like Jean de Vignay, but usually out in a garden, even by a spring (Figure 70). Despite these differences, the intense focus with which the poet produces his work in these images, which occur frequently throughout the volume, must surely have influenced the depiction of Jean de Vignay who seems oblivious to his surroundings, while the way his de Vignay’s mantle flutters out behind him recalls figures in the Machaut manuscript with a similar lively wind-swept appearance (Figure 14). With these contemporary artistic relationships in mind let us now turn to a full analysis of the half-page miniature that precedes the Morgan Library *Gieu des eschés*.

The Frontispiece: Composition

The frontispiece depicts an informal gathering of people in a simple outdoor setting, with little beyond a meandering ground line and a few tufts of grass to establish their location (Figure 14). Twelve individuals, in addition to the author/translator, are arranged in two rows that are visually suggestive of a loose circle. The composition clearly begins with, and is focused upon, the author, Jean de Vignay, placed roughly in the center of the upper row. One’s eye is immediately drawn to this figure by the dark Cross Moline of the Hospitalers displayed against the bright highlighted area on his left shoulder, making it clear that he, and not Iacopo da Cessolis, is represented here. The translator is seated on a nondescript bench with a step for his feet in a three-quarter pose.

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326 Close examination of the figure and the cross on his shoulder offer no evidence that this symbol is anything but an original element of the miniature.
facing the viewer’s left. He is shown writing in a rather thick open codex while stabilizing the page with his knife. The manuscript is placed on a tilted surface supported by a single corkscrew leg with a whimsical curve near the base, that rises from what appears to be an extension of the bench that the author sits on. An ink horn is suspended from the lower left corner of the writing surface. De Vignay sits with the far leg resting higher than the one closer to the viewer, so that his thighs echo the angles of the forearms. The positioning of the author’s arms and tools as he writes draw the eye of the viewer from Jean de Vignay to the figure of the king, even though his furniture overlaps the ruler’s knee.

While the king sits in the cross-legged aristocratic pose so common in fourteenth-century France, it is not clear what he is sitting on. There is a cushion visible to his right, similar to that under the queen, to whom he nods in conversation, but there is no evidence of a faldstool like that used by his wife. His left hand, holding a staff, inadvertently gestures towards her, while his right hand rather pointedly directs the viewer’s eye back to de Vignay. Even the Main de Justice on the long slender staff leans away from the monarch into the author’s space. The queen’s little lapdog sits up and barks excitedly in the direction of the writer as well, although her arm that restrains it, as well as her downward glance, guide the eye down to the first courtly figure below her.

This gentleman, who feeds a falcon resting on his heavily gloved right hand, sits in profile, turned in to the right. He and his companion are fashionably dressed in the short pourpoint of the mid fourteenth century, and wear long pointed checkered shoes (poulaines). The second man, wearing a close-fitting hood, turns his back to the viewer
to show off the deep V-shaped embellishment on his costume and faces into the circle toward the author, while his right hand echoes the pose of the courtier holding the falcon, and points toward the next figure, one of four representing the pawns on the chessboard.

While the two courtly gentlemen are clearly intended to personify the knights of the chess game they appear to be sitting on just an earthen mound (although as noted above, the one with his back turned to the viewer seems to be sitting quite uncomfortably on his sword as well), while the first pawn, a goldsmith, is given a sturdy chair to sit in while he works on a covered goblet. Although he wears a long cotte to protect his legs, his long pendant sleeves and hood seem less practical. His pose in many ways mirrors that of the author, who is located above him, although the far arm, raising the hammer, is lifted higher. Thus he turns back to the left, effectively creating a strong contrast between his activity and that of the next pawn, the farmer, who leans forward to the right to dig into the soil with his spade.

The farmer’s side view leads to the last two figures along the bottom of this circle, two rogues who have lost all of their clothes except for their underwear through gambling and sit on a mound gnawing on bones. In their interaction they seem oblivious to the others, although they serve as an effective counterpoint to the king and queen situated across the space from them diagonally, especially since their arms fall into very similar positions.

From the destitute dice players on the far right one naturally looks up to the clerics behind. The frontally posed scholars (the rooks) join a bishop and a cardinal in a tight forward facing group. All are either looking or pointing toward the clear center of
attention, Jean de Vignay, who is totally engrossed in his work and doesn’t acknowledge any of the other figures around him. He sits firmly planted on his heavy bench amid an animated group, whose poses and gestures, and even flowing lines of fabric move the viewer’s eye rhythmically around the circle, and always back to him.

The Frontispiece: Meaningful Choices

The artist of the Morgan Ms. G. 52 frontispiece made some innovative choices that appear to provide commentary on contemporary court culture in general and the position of this translator/author at the French royal court in mid century in particular. Da Cessolis described the appearance and role played by every figure on the chessboard, even giving identities to all eight pawns. Manuscript G. 52 includes all of those characters, and illustrates them within the relevant section of the text, but not all were selected for inclusion in the frontispiece. In addition, while the king and queen may occupy the axial position in the game, here the artist, most likely under the direction of the translator, consistently guides the viewer’s attention back to a central figure of Jean de Vignay, who does not play the role of one of the actors in this outline of human society. Unlike the miniature preceding his first translation project, the *Miroir Historial*, which juxtaposed the original author, Vincent de Beauvais, with the translator, Jean de Vignay, this manuscript includes only de Vignay in the authorial role. It is, after all, the commentary and guidance of one of the royal family’s favorite translators that

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327 This image, representing Vincent of Bauvais in his study visited by Louis IX facing a comparable scene with Jean de Vignay visited by Jeanne de Bourgogne, may be found in more than one copy of the *Miroir Historial*. The earliest copies, dating from the 1330s, are BnF ms. fr. 316 and Leiden Univ. Bibl. VGG F 3 A. The composition juxtaposing de Vignay and de Beauvais will be discussed in the next chapter.
influences our perception of each character’s role in fourteenth-century French life, beyond the original text of Iacopo da Cessolis.

For the most part, the illustrations of the chess figures introduced later within the text of the manuscript are represented as described by the Italian author. The king, for example, should be shown seated in his palace with a crown on his head, a scepter in his right hand and a golden apple in his left. Folio 4r shows the king in just this manner, seated with a stiff frontal posture in an elaborate architectonic throne (Figure 68). Even though artistic convention for seated rulers might have prompted an artist to turn the ball in the king’s hand into an orb of the world as held by an emperor, the small object held gingerly by the king is fairly convincing as a round fruit.\textsuperscript{328} The king in the frontispiece still wears a fleur-de-lis crown, but is seated more casually, with the left leg raised, but not quite crossed over the other, so that his the knee rests on the author’s furniture (Figure 14).\textsuperscript{329} He leans toward the queen as if in conversation, while pointing to de Vignay, perhaps instructing her to be attentive to what he has to say. Rather than the scepter and the apple, he holds in his left hand the \textit{main de justice}, assigned to the king of France at his coronation. The left hand is correct, since technically he should have a conventional scepter in the right and the \textit{main} in the left, as seen in the \textit{Coronation Book of Charles V} (Figure 71).\textsuperscript{330} The artist here apparently wished to provide an attribute

\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{328} The woodcut designed for the later Caxton printing does show the ball turned into an orb surmounted by a cross.}

\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{329} This relaxed, cross-legged posture had become a common formula for representing kingship, as one can readily see in the Psalter of St. Louis and the Morgan Picture Bible.}

\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{330} British Library, Cotton Tiberius B. VIII, folio 59v.}
which is more specific to the French king, rather than the generic scepter referenced by da Cessolis, although the position of the hand of justice itself is reversed by comparison with most medieval representations, so that he is holding aloft a left hand rather than a right. Most representations of a seated king show a right hand as the main de justice, such as the example in the Coronation Book, although there is at least one other use of the left, in a miniature of Hugues Capet (Figure 72). 331 One assumes this error is due to the artist using another representation of the main, rather than the actual object as a model, since it is a rather generalized representation.

Although the queen, who sits to the king’s right also wears the fleur-de-lis crown, unlike him she does not hold any of the symbols of her status that would have been bestowed on her at her coronation, nor does she wear the mantle depicted in the chapter that describes the queen and her virtues. Rather, she is is attired simply in a cotte and surcot and shown in a more casual position, holding a little lapdog on her lap, which is secured to her raised wrist with a slender ribbon or string. She appears to be listening to the king, but glances downward demurely rather than engaging with him or the viewer with her eyes.

Nothing in the miniature or accompanying text identifies any of the figures precisely, except for the cross of the Hospitaliers worn by Jean de Vignay, and the main de justice of the French king, but given the time frame and reference in the epilogue one would expect these rulers to reference Philippe VI and his wife, Jeanne de Bourgogne.

331 Although the original no longer exists, a drawing by Gaigniere is presumed to record the emblems of kingship preserved in St. Denis at that time accurately, and does depict it as a right hand. The drawing is available in Gallica at: http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b69341431/f1.
The fact that they are not actively involved with any of the other figures or presiding over this gathering from a central position of authority creates a strong sense that the entire group is a collective figment of the author’s imagination, rather than a potential narrative assembly such as one finds in Machaut’s *Remede de Fortune*, where the poet as lover interacts with a group that includes his beloved.332

Both monarchs sit on generous cushions, although only the queen’s faldstool is visible as a support beneath her. The courtly gentlemen below them sit on the ground, on what one would expect to be a grassy knoll. The artist provides only a few scant lines to suggest vegetation. One assumes that they are intended to represent the knights on the chessboard. As noted previously, both are fashionably dressed, unlike the armored figure that heads the chapter on knights in the text (Figure 65). Neither seems to function in any other way in this miniature than to direct the eye of the viewer to the first pawn, and to demonstrate the leisure activities of a courtier in marked contrast to the two figures on the opposite side of the miniature, the two down-on-their-luck gamblers.

Before moving to the pawns let us return to the upper section of the miniature, to continue the front row of the chessboard, and evaluate the clerics and scholars seated to the right of Jean de Vignay. While the presence of bishops seems natural to us among a group of chess pieces, as Jenny Adams notes, Iacopo da Cessolis had opted to downplay the role of the clergy by identifying these figures as judges (the *alphins* in the French translation).333 His rooks (*ros*) were described as deputies of the king, charged with

332 See, for example, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. fr. 1586, folios 23 and 51.

maintaining law and order. They should be on horseback holding staffs to indicate their authority, as depicted in the text (Figure 78). This type of representation is maintained in the copy made for Charles V, Besançon ms. 434 (Figure 79). In the Morgan frontispiece the power of the clergy is reaffirmed with a tight block led by a cardinal, followed by a bishop and the two ros dressed as scholars, presumably low level clerics. Three of them clearly point in the direction of the author, also a cleric. This cohesiveness in the group suggests an attempt to assert the independent authority and dignity of the church. The reign of Philippe VI was a period of especially close ties between the church and the French monarchy. In 1333 Pierre Roger, who later became Pope Clement VI in Avignon, preached the crusade that Philippe was supposed to lead, and even served for a time as one of his counselors. He received the cardinalate in 1338, and was made pope in 1342. Philippe was so anxious to see Roger made pope that he sent both his son, Jean, and the duke of Burgundy to Avignon to encourage his selection, although the choice was made before they arrived, and thus they participated in the inauguration of the new pope. No doubt Jean de Vignay knew this doctor of theology from the University of Paris, and perhaps the clerics represented here are meant to recall the important role played by churchmen at the French court.

Returning to the foreground, one finds very limited representation for the pawns as identified by Iacopo da Cessolis: pawn number 1, the farmer, pawn 2, the smith, and

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334 Maureen Quigley recounts the story as recorded in the Grandes Chroniques de France in her dissertation on Philippe VI’s artistic patronage. Maureen Rose Quigley, “Political Benefit and the Role of Art at the Court of Philip VI of Valois (1328-1350)” (Ph.D. diss., University of Texas at Austin, 2003), 200-206. The painting representing the gift of a diptych to the new pope, which hung in the French royal palace would have served as a constant reminder of the relationship between Clement VI and Philippe VI, even though Clement then resided in Avignon.
pawn 8, the gambler (two depicted). Noticeably missing are the urban bourgeois businessmen: the tailor, the merchant, the physician, the innkeeper, and the city guard or magistrate. With these omissions the miniature essentially affirms the traditional three estates, and discounts the importance of the rising middle class. This is even more clear when one discovers in the description of destitute gamblers by da Cessolis that they started out as members of the nobility.

Da Cessolis chose to include the fallen gambler among the contributing members of contemporary society, although notably not prostitutes or beggars who were widely considered to offer no real benefit by their activities. This pawn, who has gambled away everything that he owns is desperate enough to do anything to make a little money, and as a man of noble birth and education may be employed as a courier or spy. When introduced in that section of the Morgan manuscript, the gambler is shown just as the text describes him, with dice in one hand, a few coins in the other, and some messages in a bag on his belt (Figure 75). Alicja Karlowska-Kamzowa, in her article comparing the French approach to illustrating the work of da Cessolis to those of the Italians and Germans, noted that the French manuscripts tended to show the pawns in a subservient relationship with the king or a member of his court, rather than standing alone to represent their occupation.335 Thus we see the gambler, seated playing the game, rather than actively involved in running an errand, when encountered by a courtier, who will, we assume, put him to work. The next image in this section, which illustrates the

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accompanying story of a dice player trying to win St. Bernard’s horse, shows the type which had become both common and popular by the mid fourteenth century, the gambler who has lost everything, including his clothes (Figure 76). Such a figure may not only be found in representations of the Prodigal Son, but in a number of popular plays, such as the *Jeu de Saint Nicolas* and *Saint Pierre et le Jongleur*; as well as in the *Carmina Burana* and the *Cantigas de Santa Maria*. The section on dice in the game book of Alfonso X offers no moralizing commentary, only providing instructions on how each game using dice is played, but the illustrations that accompany each text reveal popular opinion about dice players and their fortunes. Here they have not only gambled away their clothing, but fighting has ensued among some of the participants (Figure 82). None of the numerous images of impoverished gamblers in the mentioned sources are represented in the manner selected by the artist of the Morgan Ms. G.52 frontispiece.

The destitute gamblers in the lower right corner seem to have fallen to a point of no return, as they are not shown with their dice at all (Figure 14). They sit on the ground in their *braies* gnawing on animal bones. One holds a small fox-like animal head in his left hand, although the long bones held by both seem visually suggestive of cloven hooves. It’s not particularly clear what they are eating, but it certainly does not look appetizing or filling. The artist has created a fuzzy effect on their bodies, suggesting a mysterious state.

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337 Alfonso X, King of Castile and Leon, *Libros del ajedrez, dados y tablas*. 

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rough hairy surface. The roughness is not confined to the contours of the figures, suggesting some kind of rubbing as one often finds in miniatures depicting objectional figures such as demons or non-Christians. However, close inspection reveals no abrasion on the surface of the vellum, so perhaps this was achieved with a very dry blunt brush. The artist seems to be suggesting that they have fallen to the level of beasts themselves, although the artist does not go so far as to give them the appearance of the typical medieval Wild Man. Wild Men usually have a more pronounced animal fur covering, and despite their reputation for aggression, are generally not shown devouring animals, or people. In addition, they are usually shown standing or on all fours, not seated. It is precisely the way in which these men are seated, with an erect posture, and in the case of the one on the right, crossed legs, that betrays their higher origins. The destitute figure on the right seems like a man in transition, with the crossed legs below, but a long scraggly beard and a more bulbous nose on his profile face, like the coarse peasant farmer to the left. The other gambler, seated frontally, glances sideways at this partner almost warily, perhaps concerned about the path they are going down.

Another medieval type which comes to mind when looking at these two is the fool. The most frequent context for this character is the God-denying fool associated.

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338 The presence of braies on these figures is not enough to rule out the wildman, as southern French and Spanish wild man are sometimes shown with this garment over their fur. I would like to thank Professor Lorraine K. Stock, University of Houston, for sharing her expertise on the medieval Wild Man. In her research on Wild Men for her upcoming book on the subject, *The Medieval Wild Man: Primitivism and Civilization in 12th and 13th-century French Literature*, she has rarely found any to be eating animals, as these are, despite their reputation for savagery. She also noted that the fox was considered inedible, and pointed out that the fox hunted on day 3 in *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* was never eaten, as were the deer and the boar. In her assessment these do not fit the usual Wild Man type, characterized by at least some of the following: “club or uprooted tree, long hair and unkempt beard, body hair, fur.” Until Professor Stock’s new title is released Richard Bernheimer’s book still remains the most comprehensive published study of the medieval Wild Man.
with Psalm 52. He is usually shown in some state of undress, sometimes naked, often covered only with a loose wrap, occasionally in his underwear. One of the best-known examples, that by Jacquemart de Hesdin in the Psalter of Jean de Berry, provides the essentials: scantily clothed, holding a club or bauble with a head on top, and biting a round loaf (Figure 78). 339 Often God looks down from heaven in dismay, as in an example much closer in time to our gamblers, from Psalm 52 of the Vaudetar Bible, presented to Charles V (Figure 79). Despite appearances, this fool is not devouring a dog, but is using the dog’s tail as a mouthpiece, and holding his body as if he were playing the bagpipes. The inclusion of the bauble between his legs solidifies his identification as a fool, along with his strange crown. While our gamblers seated on the ground in their braies may bear some resemblance to this fool, the type does not appear to provide a precedent for their odd meal.

Why show two gamblers, when only one is described among the pawns listed by da Cessolis? Although dice-playing was strictly forbidden by both secular and religious authorities, the subject matter was very common in the popular plays. 340 In fact, the activities of the dice-players in the Jeu de Saint Nicholas comprise approximately half of


While I have not found a connection, it may be that this pair would have been recognized from some theatrical or literary context. The men are totally engrossed in their own activity, not conversing with or consciously pointing to any other character, yet compositionally they play an important role. Most directly, they form an effective contrast with the fashionably dressed courtiers on the other side of the circle, especially the one who has sufficient food to share with the falcon on his glove. Another distinction may be drawn between the highest members of society and those who have fallen so low. While the dice players have resorted to devouring some small animal, the queen has turned one into a pampered pet, held on her lap. Another less pronounced contrast may be drawn between the fools below and the clerics above. In discussing the history of intellectual disability in the Middle Ages and the keeping of those with natural disabilities as court fools, Metzler notes that the scholastics of the thirteenth century, still a relatively new group, may have contributed to the more negative perception of those afflicted by stressing the strong differences between themselves and the “stupid” peasants as a way of demonstrating their own value to those with power and money. The emphasis on contrast and divisions between classes in this miniature tempers the message of da Cessolis that every member of society, whatever his/her occupation, has a personal responsibility and valuable contribution to make for the good of the whole.

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342 Metzler, *Fools and Idiots*, 226. She further states: “...surely it is no coincidence that at the same time, and in the same geographic regions, that the keeping of court fools started to become popular and commonplace, the ‘keeping’ of professional intellectuals, that is, humanist men of letters, also became a courtly trend.” Ibid., 231.
One further contrast, intended by da Cessolis, does not come across quite so clearly in this composition, despite the close proximity of the characters. The Italian author had placed the farmer and the gambler at opposite ends of the row of pawns on the chess board, the gambler off to the left, the sinister side. According to Jenny Adams, the gambler thus becomes the repository for vice in society, among the other more virtuous figures, while the farmer is the very foundation of society’s well-being. Unlike the other comparisons we have drawn across this circle, that between the farmer and the dice players does not seem to have merited the same significance in the hand of this artist, perhaps because they are not shown engaging in that scandalous activity that resulted in their loss of clothing while the farmer labours industriously.

The peasant farmer to the left of the gamblers is represented in a somewhat more conventional manner. Wearing a simple gonelle, hood and striped leggings he leans forward to the right and digs in the soil with his spade, oblivious to the figures next to him. His posture is extraordinarily clumsy and uncomfortable, and must reflect the imaginings of an artist who has never used such a device before. His left hand holds the top of the handle in such a way that the tool is held sideways rather than straight in front of him. His right foot presses down from front to back rather than back to front. If anyone is made to look like a fool it is this poor farmer, although it is unlikely that was the artist’s intention. Why was he shown digging in the dirt? Within the text of the Gieu des eschés he is represented with a variety of tools, as da Cessolis instructs, a scythe, a knife for pruning, and a switch for driving livestock. Farmers are depicted in a variety of

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such activities within the calendars of medieval manuscripts, sowing seeds, pruning, harvesting, and so on throughout the year. Digging in order to plant a tree or vine is usually associated with the month of March, but he has no plants nearby waiting. The process of just turning the soil seems to be the basest, most physical of activities, requiring the least training and expertise (despite the awkward pose provided by the artist). No doubt this is why Adam is generally shown digging in the soil with a spade after the fall, as in the Genesis window at Chartres Cathedral (Figure 80). A farmer with a spade was also used to summarily represent the laboring class in an historiated initial with members of the Three Orders of Society in a late thirteenth-century copy of the *Image du Monde* in the British Library (Figure 81).

The status of peasant farmers in the Middle Ages was varied and problematic. Despite their essential role in providing for the common good, and their virtuous poverty and humility, the prevailing attitude was one of contempt, and an assumption that their station was the only one for which they were suited. Da Cessolis listed the farmer first among the eight pawns that he described, reflecting the almost universal opinion that the work of the peasants was indispensable, regardless of their perceived virtues or vices. The coarse features, humble dress, and relatively small size of the man with the shovel in the frontispiece make it clear that in France he is most assuredly at the bottom of the social hierarchy, although the fact that he is hard at work would have been seen as a

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344 British Library, MS Sloane 2435, folio 85r.

345 Paul Freedman has summarized the classical and medieval literature on the subject, and explored in great detail both the positive and negative representations of the peasant in art and literature. Paul Freedman, *Images of the Medieval Peasant* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999).
positive quality in a culture that often presented stereotypes of peasants prone to sloth, drunkenness, lust or violence. In addition, his focused industriousness reiterates that of the man to his left, and the author above.

The back-to-back poses of the simple farmer and the smith behind him suggests an intentional contrast between his work and the material he handles with that of the metalworker. This is not a representation of the well-known debate between the farmer and the smith from Aelfric’s *Colloquy*, used to teach grammar, in which they argue over which is more critical to the well-being of society, the farmer who grows the food or the smith who creates the tools used by the farmer, only to be interrupted by a monk who explains the more valuable skill of useful speech.346 The smith of the frontispiece has been elevated far above the ordinary blacksmith within the *Gieu des eschés* text (Figure 67). In that section of the text he is dressed in a very plain *gonelle*, and carries an ax and a trowel in addition to his hammer, so that he represents other craftsmen such as bricklayers and carpenters as well as his own trade. In addition, since da Cessolis situates him in front of one of the knights on the chessboard, due to his important role in manufacturing bridles, spurs and other necessities, the artist shows him in that miniature reporting to a seated knight in fashionable dress, comparable to that of the falconer back in the image on the first folio. The smith included in the frontispiece has been modified considerably. He wears a less practical long robe with sleeve extensions at the elbows and a hood, as well as nice pointed black shoes. He is one of the few people given a chair

to sit in, and this is an actual chair, not a rude stool such as one might expect to find in a workshop. Although he has a large hammer and anvil to work with it quickly becomes apparent that these tools are inappropriate for the object he is working on, no simple horseshoes or harness, but a precious goblet with a lid.\footnote{The goldsmiths in the bas-de-page of folio 164v of the Bodley ms. 264 Alexander romance hold similarly over-large hammers, perhaps to make the activity readily apparent without close inspection.}

While he turns his back on the farmer and faces the two knights who point in his direction, he does not look at them, but focuses on his work. His pose compels the viewer to look up and note the similarities between his position and that of Jean de Vignay above. Both sit facing left, but not quite in full profile, holding implements in each hand as they work. Their heads are bent forward, but tilted enough to reveal their faces to the viewer. Each has his right leg behind raised higher while the foreward left leg is more relaxed, and thus rests lower than the other. They even wear the same black pointed shoes. The parallel drawn between the smith and the author seems to have been intended as a positive reinforcement of the creativity and meticulous craftsmanship of the author above, whose pose he echoes. However, this ready reception of such a metaphor on our part reflects a post-industrial appreciation for the work of artisans, and not the true complexity of such a comparison for the Middle Ages.

The relationship between the work of a smith and the work of a scholar was utilized to illustrate the contrast between “Art” and “Sapience” as late as ca. 1380 in Nicole Oresme’s translation of Aristotle’s *Ethics* made for Charles V (Figure 82). Claire Richter Sherman has convincingly argued that Oresme was closely involved in directing the illumination of the king’s copies of the text, in order to add clarity to the more
obscure subject matter and we may assume that he approved, if not dictated this choice. Thus I believe it is safe to assume that such a juxtaposition was readily understood, and may even have had some precedents given the long tradition of contrasting the intellectual, “liberal” arts versus the mechanical, or “servile” arts in medieval thought. From Augustine to Aquinas the mechanical arts were considered inferior, even sinful, leading the soul away from the spiritual to a concern for material things. Augustine advocated learning only enough about them to be able to understand the descriptive language in the Bible, although Richard of St. Victor admitted that each of the mechanical arts had a theoretical aspect that was appropriate for the scholar to explore. Serge Lusignan researched medieval writings on the mechanical arts and found them seriously lacking in substance or relativity to actual medieval practice; many of them mere repetition from Isidore of Seville’s *Etymologies*, Vitruvius or Vegetius. A shift towards valuing knowledge of the mechanical arts based on actual experience was only introduced in the work of Roger Bacon.

The morphing of the smith described by da Cessolis into a goldsmith by the artist of the frontispiece may have elevated the artisan to a status worthy of comparison with the careful translator working for the French court. Da Cessolis does go on in his chapter

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to point out that goldsmiths and minters were entrusted with valuable materials, and thus must be both loyal and trustworthy. The royal family’s appreciation for fine goldwork is well known, and the names of goldsmiths are among the few listed in the royal accounts, such as Jehan de Brailler, royal goldsmith for Jean le Bon, Jehan Duvivier, who worked for Charles V, and Gusmin of Cologne who was employed by his brother Louis, the Duke of Anjou. In addition, this goldsmith’s finer dress and the luxury object he is working on suggest images of Saint Eligius, the patron saint of goldsmiths, perhaps a more suitable comparison for the labors of a cleric (Figure 8), and likely the type of image that would have served as a model for the artist.

In fact, the goldsmith’s handling of precious materials calls to mind one of the better-known comparisons of the work of the author to that of a craftsman, in the prologue to the fourth book of Froissart’s Chroniques, in which he states: “A la requeste, contemplation et plaisance de treshaut et noble prince mon treschier seigneur et maistre Guy de Chastillon, ...Je Jehan Froissart, prebstre et chappelain a mon treschier seigneur dessus nommé et pour le tamps de lors tresorier et chanonne de Chimay et de Lille en Flandres, me suis de nouvel resveillié et entré dedens ma forge pour ouvrer et forgier en la haulte et noble matiere de la quelle du tamps passé je me suis ensonnié.”

This

351 John Cherry scoured the records for information about medieval goldsmiths and provides a solid summary of those sources with regard to this occupation. John Cherry, Goldsmiths, Medieval Craftsmen (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992). More extensive information may be found in R.W. Lightbown, Secular Goldsmiths’ Work in Medieval France: A History, Reports of the Research Committee of the Society of Antiquaries of London, 36 (London: The Society of Antiquaries of London, 1978); and more recent research is available in Orfèvrerie gothique en Europe: production et réception, ed. Élisabeth Antoine-König and Michele Tomasi, Études lausannoises d’histoire de l’art, 21 (Rome: Viella, 2016).

prologue is quite late for our purposes, ca. 1400, but reflects an increase in comparable language about the “work” of writing over the course of the fourteenth century, as well as the quality of the material with which the authors work. Michel Zink believes that Froissart was comparing his efforts in some sense to that of Jean de Meun’s Nature who labors in her forge to maintain the perpetuation of all species on the planet. Since Guillaume de Machaut was such an important influence on Froissart’s literary works, perhaps Froissart was familiar with Machaut’s much-discussed prologue of ca. 1372, in which Nature and Love pay him a visit and introduce him to their children, who will aid him in his work (Figures 10 and 23). While Machaut does not describe himself working in a forge, per se, he does relate how Nature charged him with his work as a poet, beginning with the rubrics: “Co[m]ment nature voulant orendroit plus que onques mes reueler a faire essaucier les biens [et] honneurs qui sont en amours vient a Guille[m] de machaut [et] le ordene [et] en charge a faire su ce nouueaux dis amoureux, et li baille pour li conseillier [et] aidier a ce faire trois de sens enfans. Cest a sauoir Sens, Retorique [et] musique, et li dit par cest maniere.” He then proceeds to use the verb “fourmer”

prince my very dear lord and master Guy de Chastillon, ... I, Jean Froissart, priest and chaplain to my very dear above named lord and at the time treasurer and canon of Chimay, and of Lille and Flanders, stirred myself again and entered into my forge in order to work and forge the high and noble matter with which during times past I occupied myself.”


frequently in the instructions provided by Nature. Love provides the material for his compositions, as explained in the rubrics at the beginning of the encounter with Love and his children: “Comment Amours qui ouÿ nature vient a Guillaume de machaut et li ameine trois de ses enfans cest asauoir dous penser, plaisance, et esperance, pour li donner matere a faire ce que nature li a enchargie...”  

Eliza Zingesser has recently proposed that Machaut moved away from the convention of Nature’s forge used by authors such as Jean de Meun, Alain de Lille, and even Jean Froissart in favor of more Neoplatonic concept of creation with his emphasis on “form” and “matter.” Jacqueline Cerquiglini-Toulet also draws a distinction between Machaut and those like Jean de Meun who adopted the forge imagery. She cites two different mythological creation models adapted to literary invention, one linked to Polyphemus and his flute, based on vocal expression, the other tied to Vulcan and his forge, likened to the handwork of writing. Despite the importance of Machaut as a

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355 How Love, hearing Nature, comes to Guillaume de Machaut leading three of her children, and these are Sweet thought, Pleasure, and Hope, in order to provide him the material to carry out what Nature has charged him with.” Ibid., 5.


357 Among other writers who used this imagery were Jean le Fèvre, writing in the late 1370s and 1380s, also later than Jean de Vignay. Jacqueline Cerquiglini-Toulet, “Polyphème et Prométhée: Deux voies de la ‘creation’ au XIVe siècle,” in Polyphème et Prométhée: Deux voies de la ‘creation’ au XIVe siècle,” in Auctor et auctoritas: Invention et conformisme dans l’écriture médiévale: Actes du colloque tenu à l’université de Versailles-Saint-Quentin-En-Yvelines, 14-16 Juin 1999 (Paris: Ecole des Chartes, 2001). Havely discusses the early reception of Dante’s vernacular poetry, often performed by comedic actors. Dante’s work, perceived to be for the common people, was considered to vulgar work, an idea reflected in Chaucers’s “House of Fame.” N. R. Havely, “‘Muses and Blacksmiths: Italian Trecento Poetics and the Reception of Dante in ‘The House of Fame’,” in Essays in Recardian Literature in Honour of J. A. Burrow, ed. A. J. Minnis, Charlotte C. Morse, Thorlac Turville-Petre (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), 61-81. Christine de Pisan also employes the forge imagery to some extent in Le Livre de l’advision Christine: “Adonc me pris a forgier choses jolies, a mon commencement plus legieres, et tout ainsi comme l’ouvrier
creator of musical compositions, in BnF ms. fr. 1586 the majority of representations of
the lover as author depict him in the act of writing, not giving an oral presentation, as in
the troubadour tradition. He also places great emphasis on writing in *Le livre deu voir-
dit*. In fact, Sylvia Huot notes that Machaut, who is believed to have guided the
illustrator of BnF ms. fr. 1586, was consciously developing this visual shift from oral
performance to the acts of writing and compilation. Although he is not writing poetry,
should we see this image of Jean de Vignay in the context of these shifting ideas about
the creative activity of writing? We see a clear juxtaposition of the goldsmith’s tools and
the author’s in the *Gieu des eschés* frontispiece. How did Jean de Vignay actually
describe his work?

As noted before, the manuscript contains no prologue. However, there is a
lengthy extension beyond the content of the concluding chapter of da Cessolis, which
functions as an epilogue (See Appendix A). Much of the language here is comparable to
that found in the short prologue accompanying other copies of the translation, which is
included in Fuller’s critical edition. In addition, some of his general statements are

qui de plus en plus en son oeuvre se soubtille comme plus il la frequente, ainsi tousjours estudiant diverses
matieres, mon sens de plus en plus s’imbuoit de choses estranges, amendant mon stille en plus grande
et savoir du Roman de la Rose á Christine de Pizan,” in *Poetry, Knowledge and Community in Later
2008), 3.

358 There are numerous images of Machaut writing in this manuscript, or presenting it to his beloved. For
the author writing see folios 26r, 30v, 47v, 49r, 121r, 165r, 170r, and for offering the composition: 28v,
46v, and 56v. The fact that he writes on curling scrolls rather than stiff codices surely alludes to the
melodic aspect of the compositions.

359 See Huot’s aptly titled text: *From Song to Book*.

360 In addition, the very large introductory decorated initial in gold gives a similar luxury to the words
created by the author.
consistent with the prologues to his other translations as well. Jean de Vignay makes no mention of a forge in this epilogue, nor does he use terms describing his work comparable to those of Froissart or Machaut. However, he does goes on at some length discussing the content, his sources, and what he hoped to accomplish in providing this resource to the king. He notes additions to the original text, “...ai adiouste plusieurs auctorites qui sont b[ie]n au p[ro]pos de la matiere emprise et se il ni sont p[ro]prement si sont il essample daucunes bonnes meurs.” While he wants the king and his nobles to understand the game in order to play skillfully he also wants his text to provide some pleasure even as it performs a didactic function: “...pour ce que il uous daigne plaire il regarder les essamples des anciens qui sont dedens le liure et pour uo[s] oster de mellencolie en regardant les.” Before closing he mentions the king’s uncle as a role model: “Et aussi oyie raconter a plusieurs que le prince de tres noble memoire phelippe lebel uostre oncle oioit chascun iour sa leccon du liure du gouuernement des roys se il uestait occupe de trop grant chose quil ne deust lessier.” Just before that however, he also seems to provide his own passion for learning as an example: “Se ie a uoie tout mon


362 Morgan Library Ms. G52, folio 56v, column 1, lines 7-11. “I have added several authorities who are quite appropriate to the material undertaken and just as they are to good purpose, so also are they examples of good behavior.”

363 Folio 56v, column 2, lines 6-9. “so that it gives you pleasure to regard the examples of the ancients who are within the book and for you to be freed from melancholy in regarding them”

364 folio 56v, column 2, lines 18-24. “And also I have heard it reported to many that the prince of very noble memory, Philippe le Bel, your uncle, heard each day a lesson from the book of the government of kings, if he was troubled by some great thing that he could not escape.”
He does not discuss the challenge of translating from the more sophisticated Latin language into French, as will become a commonplace among translators working for Charles V. Croizy-Naquet points out that he is of the school that advocates a word-for-word translation (ad letteram) over the ad sensum approach. The translator does make it clear however, that he has taken measures to make the work by da Cessolis both more accessible and more useful to the king. Are these efforts sufficient to warrant his central placement in the frontispiece and alignment with the work of the goldsmith? It seems unlikely that the language of the epilogue would be enough to prompt the artist, or his project director to create such an image. Could Jean de Vignay himself have provided instructions?

The comments and explanation made by de Vignay with regard to his edits and additions in the Gieu des eschés are not unique, and may be found in some of his other translations, with increasing frequency in the later projects, as noted by Knowles. He even added personal stories, such as accounts of miracles that both he and his father had witnessed in association with Louis IX, mentioned in his translations of both the Chronique de Primat, and the Légende dorée. This was a man who had spent his entire career working for Philippe and Jeanne de Bourgogne, from before Philippe’s accession to the throne until the deaths of both of his royal patrons. Some projects, like the Miroir

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365 folio 56v, column 2, lines 14-17. “If I had my whole body placed into the sepulcher except for one foot, yet that foot would still want to learn.”


367 Knowles, “Jean de Vignay, un traducteur du XIVe siècle.”
historical would have taken years to complete. Others he was asked to produce in great haste to meet the needs of his patron, such as the three translations that were intended to aid Philippe VI in his planning for a crusade: *Le Directoire à faire le passage à Terre Sainte, Les Oisivetez des emperieres, and Les Voyages d’Odoric*. Regardless of the quality of his translations from a modern perspective, his service was seen as indispensable to the French king and queen. In addition, it is clear that Jean de Vignay knew the work of the older master, Jean de Meun, very well. Knowles has demonstrated that his earliest work as a translator was heavily dependent upon previous translations by De Meun. Could he have found inspiration in the writings of Jean de Meun for this striking juxtaposition of the author with the goldsmith? Until some other precedent is identified, this seems to be a plausible suggestion.

**Conclusion**

The frontispiece is remarkable for its departure from convention. The author/translator is shown with representatives of the subject matter, but without rational explanation. There is no dream-vision, as one finds in *Le Roman de la Rose* or *Le Pèlerinage de la vie humaine*; nor do the characters interact with the author within the text, like Nature and Love who visit Machaut in the prologue to his collected works and launch him on his career as a poet (Figures 10 and 23). Jean de Vignay’s relationship with these figures exists only in the miniature. There is no interaction between him and these members of the community that would suggest any visual precedent either. For


369 Bnf ms fr 1586, folios D and E.
example, vernacular authors might be shown performing before the court, and religious or scholastic authors might preach to an attentive group, or even provide more personal instruction, such as Guillaume Peyraut before Charles V and his family at the beginning of the *Livre des enseignements des princes* (Figure 84). Jean de Vignay, however, remains focused on his work.

The closest comparison would be Simone Martini’s 1325 frontispiece for Petrarch’s copy of the works of Virgil (Figure 85). Those figures personify the various texts in his collection of Virgil’s works, and not individual characters in the narrative, yet the suggestion that the figures sharing his space exist only in the imagination is comparable, as is the pointing gesture of the figure on the left of Virgil. However, Virgil’s pause in the act of writing and upward glance opens up the moment for a contemplation of the content of his imagination, a break not provided by the active figure of Jean de Vignay. In addition, while Virgil is the author of the works in the codex belonging to Petrarch, de Vignay serves as a translator. Did someone decide that his contribution warranted a similar treatment as that accorded the great poet of antiquity? Petrarch did not visit Paris himself until 1361, when he was sent at the request of Giangaleazzo Visconti to congratulate Jean le Bon on his release from English captivity, funded in part by the Visconti, and one would not expect Petrarch to have brought his book with him, even if we were to assume the decoration of the Morgan Library

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370 There are many examples of performance in the chansonniers, such as the figure of Jean Bodel reciting for a group in a *Recueil d'anciennes poésies françaises*, Bibliothèque de l’Arsenal 3142, folio 227r. Ancient authorities like Galen, Hippocrates, and Boethius are often shown addressing a group of students, as are more recent scholars, such as Nicolas de Lyra, in a copy of his *Postilla litteralis super Biblia*, BnF, latin 14247, folio 2.

371 Milano, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, A 79 inf., folio 1v
manuscript, begun for Philip VI, was not completed until over ten years after his death. However, we recall that Jean le Bon visited Avignon in 1342 at a time when Petrarch was in the city. Would he, and/or members of his entourage have had the opportunity to see and admire the Italian scholar’s library, and this book, and in some way transport the idea back to Paris? It is a tantalizing puzzle.

However, we return to the question – who guided the artist in the composition of this image? Did Jean de Vignay himself, or someone else at the French court? It is an extraordinary assertion of the author’s vital role in supporting the stability of the French monarchy during the infancy of a new dynasty.

The frontispiece of Morgan G.52 presents a translator actively writing in a codex, surrounded by a selection of the chess characters described in the text, figures that represent the three estates in French Society: the church embodied in a cardinal, bishop and two lower level clerics, the nobility personified by the king, queen and two courtiers (knights), and the working class by two fallen knights (gamblers) who have lost everything and will be forced to work, along with two foundational figures for this class, the smith and the farmer. One expects a frontispiece to prepare the reader for the primary message of a text, and this image reinforces a traditional view of a specifically French society (recall the main de justice held by the king) even as Jean de Vignay translated and adapted the work of an urban Italian author who gave far more attention to the rising mercantile class. In addition, poses and compositional devices employed by the artist...

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372 The perpetuation of this concept of society may be followed into the second decade of the fifteenth century in the frontispiece of De cas des nobles hommes et femmes translated by Laurent de Premierfait and presented to Jean de Berry in Bibliothèque nationale de France ms fr. 131, folio 1. The four individual
suggest comparisons and contrasts among the figures, the most important of which is the central juxtaposition of the writing author/translator with the goldsmith crafting the finest of materials. Pointing fingers around the group ensure that the viewer focuses on these two and recognizes the important role played by the faithful career translator for King Philippe VI of France and his queen, Jeanne de Bourgogne, in a manuscript that was likely made for the king himself.

To truly appreciate the flexibility and imagination of this artist, presumably working under the direction of a mature and accomplished author, one need only compare this miniature to a more conventional image preceding one of three unique translations by Jean de Vignay within a manuscript of crusader texts that has been tied to Philippe VI (Figure 86). The manuscript was produced in the shop of Richard and Jeanne de Montbaston in Paris. The artist, perhaps Jeanne de Montbaston herself, provides a standard presentation portrait. The author gets down on one knee before the king to present a closed book to the crowned king sitting on a faldstool, accompanied by two courtiers, who acknowledge him. The exchange is set within a simple square frame before a diaper ground. The tau cross on the shoulder of Vignay is the only feature that differentiates this from any other presentation scene. A similar image may have preceded the copy of the Gieu des eschés presented to Jean and served as a model for numerous later manuscripts to follow, including Besançon ms. 434, made for Charles V. Only the Morgan Library manuscript, perhaps Philippe VI’s personal copy, presents an

frames of the frontispiece contain the presentation, the clergy, the aristocracy, and the working class, shown here as masons and farmers. See: http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b9009618v/f6.
image so suggestive of the respect earned by Jean de Vignay near the end of his long career.
Chapter 3. Simon de Hesdin: Translatio empirii, translatio studii

Introduction

Within medieval conceptions of authorship, the position of the translator was not well defined. Bonaventure assigned four distinct roles to those involved in literary activity at the end of his 13th century prologue to a commentary on Peter Lombard’s *Libri sententiarum* (1250-52). The four categories are distinguished by the amount of personal contribution made by the individual. The “auctor” contributes the most, providing the complete original text. The term “scriptor” refers to a scribe, who contributes only the physical recording or copying of the content. Categories between these two extremes include the “compilator” who compiles various texts, and arranges them, but makes no contribution of his own, and the “commentator,” who comments on or tries to explain the work of the “auctor.” Where does the work of a translator fit into this scheme? The function or intent of the translator varied considerably, from appropriation, to explication to true vernacularization, responsive to the needs or demands of the intended audience of the translation. While translations had been prevalent through the Middle Ages, both from source languages (Greek, Arabic, Hebrew) into Latin, and from Latin into the vernacular, the pace of translations into the vernacular

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picked up considerably in the late thirteenth and fourteenth century, peaking during the reign of Charles V of France, the Wise (1364-1380). This period has been the focus of considerable attention from scholars of translation theory, and as we will see, coincides with an interesting transition period for authorial prestige. It is my goal in this chapter to demonstrate how representations of author figures within fourteenth-century manuscripts negotiate the complex, shifting roles of translators, and reflect the increasing value placed on their work by important lay patrons.

Translators were represented quite frequently in fourteenth-century French manuscripts. Illuminators continued to depict them in lieu of the original authors, within the standard context – writing the text within a codex, presenting the completed work to a patron or delivering the content to an attentive audience as a master or preacher. However, in some codices made during this time of increasing emphasis on the vernacular, particularly in the context of the French court, we are more likely to find representations of both the author and the translator, as well as additional visual clues to their respective activities. This chapter explores the introduction and development of such images, while focusing on one manuscript as a case study, Simon de Hesdin’s *Faits et paroles memorables des Romains*, his French translation of Valerius Maximus’s *Facta et dicta memorabilia Romanorum*, made for Charles V of France. Unlike the images selected for the other chapters, which seem to be unique in their subject matter, we are fortunate to have other surviving manuscripts that provide some precedent and context for this author portrait. The abundance of commissioned translations in the fourteenth

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374 Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. fr. 9749. The collection of works is also known under the title *Factorum ac dictorum memorabilium*. 167
century invited visual experimentation, and we will survey a number of examples.
However, I have selected Hesdin’s book as the focus. Despite being the presentation
copy for the king it offers an especially bold statement of prestige for the translator, and
for the importance of translation itself as a genre.

The frontispiece of the king’s deluxe copy includes both authorial personalities,
and is noteworthy in that the writers alone occupy a significant percentage of the space,
three quarters of the visual real estate in this quadripartite miniature, and their
responsibilities are spelled out very plainly by the artist, who has written the words
“latin” and “fra[n]cois” on the pages of their books (Figure 16). Valerius Maximus,
the Roman auctor who wrote this work for the emperor Tiberius is seated in a large,
high-backed chair in the upper left, writing his text in the codex on a lectern to the right.
The over-sized word “latin” is dark and clear on the ruled folio. Further to the right is a
bookcase with three thick codices. This is mirrored within the frame of the next panel by
the bookcase for Simon, also containing three books. His position likewise reflects that
of Valerius so that he faces back toward left, although his seat is less ornate. Within his
ruled manuscript the large word “francois,” utilizing the conventional macron over the
“a” to indicate a following “n,” is broken over two lines. Hesdin, a doctor of theology,
wears a reddish brown robe with a large blue Maltese cross of his order, and the cap of a
scholar. His Roman precursor also wears the scholar’s cap, but a rich blue robe lined
with ermine indicates his status as a classical auctor. In the left square below him
Charles V wears a mantel of royal blue with a pattern of golden fleurs de lis and a gold
crown. Seated on his lion-headed faldstool with six courtiers behind to his left, he turns to reach toward the book offered by Simon, kneeling in the frame on the right. Here Hesdin’s hat has been removed to reveal the tonsure, and below the frame of the miniature his position as “docteur en theologie” is clearly stated in the red rubrics. Remarkably, the king and his men are squeezed into just one frame, while three are occupied solely by those responsible for the book he is about to add to his collection.

The Text

The *Facta et dicta memorabilia Romanorum* was a compilation of approximately one thousand stories from ancient Rome, organized within nine books. Valerius Maximus compiled the short stories during the reign of Tiberius (14-37 CE), drawing from the writings of Cicero, as well as Livy, Sallust and other sources. They are moralizing tales based primarily upon earlier Roman history as the Republic faded away, although some referenced Greek culture and history as well. Until fairly recently the collection of stories was assumed to have been intended primarily for students of rhetoric to use in embellishing their speeches, and its value in moral education forgotten. Clive Skidmore feels that the identification of Valerius as a rhetorician, and his book as a mere rhetorical tool, is unjustified. He notes that there were more medieval and Renaissance copies of Valerius Maximus than any other Latin prose author from antiquity, and the influence of

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this text was second only to the Bible in providing models for ethical behavior. Its importance through the Middle Ages is evident from the numerous copies that were found in monastic libraries.\footnote{378} Despite the stylistic flaws noted by modern Latin scholars, John of Salisbury, Vincent of Beauvais, Petrarch and others drew heavily from this collection, and early humanists possessed copies of their own.\footnote{379}

The work’s encyclopedic survey of Roman history and its pedagogical value, as well as its moral tone, placed it among the most desired works for the French king’s translation program. Simon de Hesdin completed the first book of the four included in this volume in 1375, the same year in which Raoul de Presles presented Charles with his translation of the \textit{Cité de Dieux}, a text that was also valued as a repository of Roman history for a court that saw itself related to that past by a shared Trojan ancestry.\footnote{380} These, and three of the \textit{Decades} of Titus-Livy translated by Pierre Bersuire for Jean le Bon, were among the first translations focused on Roman history executed for the Valois kings, and are a reflection of the twin goals of \textit{translatio imperii} and \textit{translatio studii}, claiming Paris as the new Rome.\footnote{381} All three were copied frequently for members of the

\footnote{378 Carter points out that the medieval dependence on Valerius was due in part to the lack of availability of Cicero and Livy, his far more eloquent sources. Carter, “Valerius Maximus,” 49. Dorothy Schullian prepared an inventory of over eight hundred known manuscripts of the text, both in the original Latin and in translations. Dorothy M. Schullian, “A Revised List of Manuscripts of Valerius Maximus,” in \textit{Miscellanea Augusto Campana} (Padova: Editrice Antenore, 1981): vol. 2, 695-728.}

\footnote{379 In addition to Petrarch, Carter notes that Giovanni Cavallini, Benvenuto Rambaldi, Giovanni d’Andrea, Coluccio Salutati and Boccaccio all owned copies. Carter, “Valerius Maximus,” 50.}

\footnote{380 The date is noted at the end of the first chapter on folio 76r: “Ci fine la translation du p[re]mier livre de Valerius Maximus avec la declaration dyceli [et] additions pluseurs, faite et compilee lan. mil CCC.lxxv. par frere Symon de hesdin de lوردene de hospital de .S. Jehan de iherusalem. docteur en theologie.”}

\footnote{381 Charles later ordered his own copy of Bersuire’s translation. His \textit{Histoire romaine} of Titus-Livy is that in the Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, ms. 777, dated ca. 1370. For a summary of the translations ordered by Charles V see: Claire Richter Sherman, \textit{Imaging Aristotle: Verbal and Visual Representation in}}
extended royal family and government officials. The value placed on the work of Valerius Maximus by the French monarch and his court is evidenced by the fact that the account of the king’s death describes him reciting a speech on the responsibilities of the crown taken from the Roman writer.\textsuperscript{382}

Hesdin was only able to present the first four books to Charles before the king died in 1380. We know from the rubrics that Book One was completed in 1375, and from the records that Book Two was done in 1377. The completion dates for Books Three and Four are not recorded. The poor quality of the miniatures at the end of Book Four suggest a hasty completion of this first volume. Hesdin continued to translate into Book Seven, but left the project unfinished when he died himself in 1383. The king’s brother, Jean de Berry, later employed Nicolas de Gonesse to finish the work.\textsuperscript{383} In spite of its incomplete status, the deluxe presentation copy of the first four books served as the model for a number of late fourteenth-century copies.\textsuperscript{384} The first modern edition was based on the combined work of the two translators. No edition of the work of Hesdin alone was ever published, although the complete manuscript itself has been digitized by


\textsuperscript{382} The speech was apparently included in the \textit{Songe du Vergier} as well. Claire Richter Sherman, \textit{The Portraits of Charles V of France (1338-1380)}, 12.

\textsuperscript{383} This information was provided by Gonesse himself in the epilogue of his translation completed in 1401, available in the copy made for Jean de Berry, BnF ms. fr. 282.

\textsuperscript{384} Of the 59 known manuscripts or fragments, 48 contain the full translation as completed by Nicolas de Gonesse, while 11 were made based upon Hesdin’s translation alone. Andrea Valentini, “Entre traduction et commentaire érudit: Simon de Hesdin ‘translateur’ de Valère Maxime,” \textit{The Medieval Translator} 11 (2007): 354.
the Bibliothèque nationale.\textsuperscript{385} We are fortunate to have a normalized transcription from BnF ms. fr. 9749 available online, to supplement the images of the manuscript leaves. The work of four individual scholars (one per book), it was coordinated by Alessandro Vitale-Brovarone.\textsuperscript{386}

The Translator and His Method

Little is known about Simon de Hesdin. One may assume that he came to study at the University of Paris from Hesdin in Picardy. By 1363 he was a Master of Theology, and held the position of Preceptor of the house the Hospitallers (Ordre de St. Jean de Jérusalem) at Éterpignay in Picardy.\textsuperscript{387} In the rubrics preceding the prologue of his translation he is described as “docteur en theologie.”\textsuperscript{388} The extremely brief preface makes no mention of the king requesting the translation from Simon. Nevertheless, in 1377, the year that he finished translating the second book of Valerius Maximus, Charles

\textsuperscript{385} Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. fr. 9749, http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8455786x.

\textsuperscript{386} "Valerius Maximus, Factorum et dictorum memorabilium libri novem / Valere Maxime, Dits et faits memorables, traduzione di Simon de Hesdin," edition coordinated by Alessandro Vitale-Brovarone, Pluteus, http://www.pluteus.it/wp-content/uploads/2008/11/valere-maxime-i-libero.pdf. The year in the transcribed incipit for Book I is incorrect, and should be read as 1375 rather than 1372. See also Brovarone’s useful article on the details of the translation: Alessandro Vitale Brovarone, “Notes sur la traduction de Valère Maxime par Simon de Hesdin,” in “Pour acquérir honneur et pris”: Mélanges de Moyen Français offerts à Giuseppe de Stefano, ed. Maria Colombo Timelli and Claudio Galderisi (Montreal: CERES, 2004), 183-191. Brovarone discusses the presentation of only the first four books and speculates on whether it was in fact the original intention to prepare the text in two volumes. Brovarone, 185.

\textsuperscript{387} The basic chronology of his life has been pulled from Anthony Luttrell, "Jean and Simon de Hesdin: Hospitallers, Theologians, Classicists," Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale 31 (1964): 137-40.

\textsuperscript{388} Luttrell notes that among the Hospitallers of their time only Simon de Hesdin and his contemporary, Jean de Hesdin, held degrees in theology. In 1365 Jean de Hesdin was dean of the theology faculty. He served as a royal counselor and was involved in the controversy over the Avignon residence of the papacy, advocating for the French location. Luttrell, 138. The nature of the relationship between these two compatriots is not known, but it may be safe to assume that the older Jean introduced Simon to the king.
arranged for him to be moved to the Hospitallers house at Senlis, closer to Paris, where
he still lived when he died in 1383.

Hesdin approached his translation like a traditional scholastic commentary on the
text of an auctor. In fact, his work served essentially as a commentary on commentaries,
since he not only consulted, but commented on the previous work in Latin of Dionigi da
Borgo San Sepolcro and others.\textsuperscript{389} He did not, however, adopt the scholastic textus
inclusus format of a block of text surrounded by marginal commentary, but followed
instead an in-line textual model, moving back and forth between the original text and his
comments, clearly distinguished by the rubricator in the presentation copy as auteur or
texte/tiexte, and translateur or glose.\textsuperscript{390} He made it abundantly clear in his prologue that
his aim was to prepare an easy to understand rommant version from the difficult Latin
source, conveying the sense of the text rather than attempting a word-for-word
translation, an approach adopted by most of the translators that worked for Charles V.
He often supplied parallel synonyms for the reader’s benefit, and went into further

\textsuperscript{389} More recent scholarship is in agreement with the observation made by Giuseppe de Stefano in 1963,
who noted that Italian translators were equally in the shadow of this Augustinian friend of Petrarch’s at
Avignon. Giuseppe di Stefano, “Tradizione esegetica e traduzioni de Valerio Massimo nel primo
Umanesimo Francese,” Studi Francesi 7 no.3 (1963): 407-409. Charity Cannon Willard described Raoul
de Presles’s translation of the Cité de Dieu in the same way, as a commentary on commentaries. Willard,
“Raoul de Presles’s Translation of Saint Augustine’s De civitate dei,” in Medieval Translators and Their
Craft, ed. Jeanette Beer, Studies in Medieval Culture, 25 (Kalamazoo, MI: Western Michigan University,
1989), 331.

\textsuperscript{390} Brovarone notes that there has been some discussion about this approach and whether that was done for
expediency, as the preparation of the final manuscript would have been accomplished more rapidly without
the need for planning the amount of space needed for a section of text surrounded by the related
commentary. He notes that Hesdin explained his intention to employ this in-line approach himself, in the
prologue, and thus one need not see it as a decision made by the project manager. Brovarone, 186. A
similar pattern may be found in Oresme’s translations of Aristotle, with sections indentified by “T” and
“O.” Claire Richter Sherman, Imaging Aristotle, 30. Sherman sees the similar methodology used by Pierre
Bersuire in his translation of Livy for Jean le Bon as the model for subsequent translators, including
Oresme. Ibid., 5.
explication of the text preceded by the phrase “c’est a dire.”

Each exemplum provided by Valerius Maximus is accompanied by supplementary material by Hesdin. In Valentini’s evaluation, his work is clearly that of a scholar, an exegete, whose goal was simply to render the text intelligible, and not to claim an authorial role for himself. He created what Peter Dembowski refers to as a “service translation,” intended to support and clarify the intentions of the original author. We will return to this classification below in a more thorough discussion of medieval translation theory and practices in order to fully evaluate the frontispiece and its place in the evolution of fourteenth-century author images.

The Manuscript

The copy of Hesdin’s French translation of the Facta et dicta memorabilia by Valerius Maximus presented to Charles V is housed in the Bibliothèque nationale de France (ms. fr. 9749). The codex was recorded in the original inventory of the Louvre library begun by Gilles Malet in 1373, and again in that of 1380 made on the death of the king. However, it does not appear in subsequent inventories since it was loaned to his brother, Louis d’Anjou, on March 6 of that year, as indicated by a marginal note. The

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392 Ibid., 364.


395 “A monseigneur d’Anjou, .VI. de mars, l’an .III/XX.” Ibid.
provenance trail is devoid of further documentation until 1843, when it was purchased for the Bibliothèque royale.

All of the following observations are based on the digital version of the manuscript uploaded into the Bibliothèque nationale’s Gallica database in 2012. Although given a red silk cover for Charles V, the volume is now bound in a plain brown leather, embellished only on the spine. This binding was likely added before 1843 since no mention is made in the library’s record of any preservation efforts. Paper flyleaves were inserted at the front and the back for added protection, but the first folio suffered from wear and minor water damage at some point (Figure 87). In addition, the arms of Charles V were removed from their customary location between the center-facing lions below the text. Other areas of conscious defacement include the Dream of Cassius Longinus miniature on folio 50v, which appears to have been rubbed clean of much of its detail for some reason, with smears that extend outside the frame and over the decorated initial below (Figure 88), and on folio 115r a few large, sweeping pen trials. Despite these, and other blemishes, the quality of the manuscript is still evident.

The codex is composed of 214 parchment leaves measuring 333 x 230 mm, with a text block of 230 x 138 mm. in two columns. The pages are ruled to provide ample room for marginal and intercolumnar vinework, as well as filigree that extends from the alternating red and blue initials. Occasional larger 5-6 line high initials help to guide the reader from section to section within the four books that are identified on the top of each recto. They are generally decorated with foliate patterns on a gold ground, but

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396 The last two folios are in worse condition, with sections in the lower corners torn off that required repairs.
occasionally include a dragon motif, or less frequently, are historiated. Quits contain four bifolia, until the end of Book III, where it is cut short at five folios before beginning a new sequence. A folio is missing at the end of Book II and beginning of Book III, which likely contained a colorful two-column miniature like that on folio 76v which introduces Book II. Catchwords mark the end of each gathering, and beginning with folio 40v are accompanied by smaller penciled numbers below and closer to the gutter, which number the quires. The hand appears to date from the original binding of the manuscript rather than any subsequent rebinding project. The scribal work for the entire book has been attributed to Henri de Trévou, one of the copyists who worked specifically for the king. His hand is a small, neat, and extremely consistent textualis formata/textus rotunda written in columns of fifty-one lines.397

Two artists working for the French king, who often illustrated manuscripts prepared by Henri du Trévou, were responsible for most of the miniatures. The greatest number have been assigned to the Master of the Coronation of Charles VI, who takes his name from the miniature with that subject inserted at the end of the *Grandes chroniques de France* made for Charles V.398 A mere five of the fifty images are attributed to the Master of the Policraticus of John of Salisbury, named for another manuscript made for

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397 The hand of Henri du Trevou was analyzed and compared with that of fellow “écrivain du roi,” Raoulet d’Orléans, in an article by the paleographer, Wolfgang Oeser. Wolfgang Oeser, “Raoulet d’Orléans und Henri du Trévou, zwei französische Berufsschreiber des 14. Jahrhunderts und ihre Schrift,” *Schriftsgeschichte Siegel- und Wappenkunde*, Archiv für Diplomatik, 42 (Köln: Bohlau Verlag, 1996), 395-418. This book is not included in Oeser’s list for Henri du Trevou, nor is it in the list provided by Richard and Mary Rouse, yet the Bibliothèque nationale record attributes the work to him, perhaps based upon a subsequent analysis. For the list of works assigned to the scribe by the Rouses see: Richard H. Rouse and Mary A. Rouse, *Manuscripts and Their Makers: Commercial Book Producers in Medieval Paris, 1200-1500*, Illiterati et uxorati (Turnhout: Harvey Miller Publishers, 2000), vol. 2, 51-52.

398 Bibliothèque nationale de France ms. fr. 2813.
the bibliophile monarch in the the 1370s. The larger frontispiece images at the beginning of each of the four *livres* were painted in color, but most of the miniatures contain the delicate slender grisaille figures still favored by the royal family, with an abundance of curvilinear edges on the garments and just a few light touches of color, set against patterned backgrounds (Figure 89). This approach is abandoned in Book IV. No one, to my knowledge, has addressed this change in technique after the frontispiece on folio 181. The last seven miniatures seem to have been executed in a very different style, with simple black lines, and color fill. The subtle shading within grisaille figures used for the other one-column miniatures is gone (Figure 90). The facial expressions are similar to those by the Master of the Policraticus, and these paintings are comparable to that which François Avril identifies as the late style of the Policraticus Master, but they look even more hastily done, with the paint in the last few images muddy, and scarcely contained by the outlines. This appears to be evidence of a hurried, and sloppy completion of the project in order to meet a deadline.

Also contributing to this interpretation is the relative brevity of the prologue. In fact, the rubrics below the frontispiece and before the beginning of the text indicate that it is the beginning of the first book: “Ci commence la translation du premier livre,” and provide only the date for that book, “faite et compilee l’an mil .CCCLXXV.” His strange reference to “La briete et fragilite de ceste dolereuse vie temporele, la coustance

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400 A small miniature on folio 97v of the *Cité de Dieu* made for Jean de Berry is somewhat comparable, yet still contains far more detail. This is one of the illustrations provided by Avril in his article. Ibid., fig. 13.
de li[n]constance [et] variablete de fortune” make sense if we imagine him hastily adding only a brief preface in order to present these four books to the king who was ill. He explains that his subsequent short introduction, before the prologue of Valerius Maximus, is only what is necessary for the understanding of the text. Unlike other translations for Charles, which praise him for his wisdom in commissioning such translations for the good of his people, the king is scarcely mentioned as the recipient of the project. His role in commissioning the work is never acknowledged within the prologue, and there is no epilogue, as the intention had been to continue on with Book Five.

The frontispiece of the presentation copy for Charles is unique among the numerous copies of the French translation, whether of Hesdin’s chapters alone or the final version with the additions by Gonesse, in showing the writing activity of both authors, the clear translation from Latin into French. Joyce Coleman has analyzed subsequent frontispieces associated with this text and demonstrates a shift in these images from a mere translatio studii (shift in the center of learning) to an emphasis on translatio imperii (relocation of Roman imperial power). Unlike the frontispiece in BnF ms. fr. 9749, which places the authors at the top and relegates the king and court to the lower left, the later versions often show Simon de Hesdin presenting the finished book to the

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401 He begins with this rather unusual reference to the “brevity and fragility of this painful temporal life, and the reliable fickleness and variability of fortune.” The very short preface and beginning of his prologue are included in text below the frontispiece on folio 1. The prologue of Valerius Maximus begins on folio 2. Some additional notes on the content of Hesdin’s prologue may be found in the section on translation practices below.

402 Coleman examined six later manuscripts: New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 31.134.8; Jena, Thüringer Universitäts- und Landes bibliothek, Ms. El.f.87; Troyes, Médiathèque de l’Agglomération Troyenne, Ms. 261; Madrid, Biblioteca nacional Ms. res.8; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. fr. 45; and Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 6185. Joyce Coleman, “Reading the Evidence in Text and Image: How History Was Read in Late Medieval France,” in Imagining the Past in France: History in Manuscript Painting, 1250-1500, 52-67.
king in an upper quadrant of a quadripartite miniature, while Valerius Maximus in the adjacent panel either reads to or addresses Tiberius, shown with crown and sword. This places greater emphasis on the translation of Imperial power from the Roman emperor to the king. At the same time Coleman notes that Valerius is given the seat in these copies rather than Tiberius, who stands, while the Christian king is seated before a kneeling Simon de Hesdin. Neither the rulers nor the authors are treated as equals. The lower scenes are drawn from the narrative text that follows. Despite the emphasis on representing both rulers receiving the moral exempla contained in the text, just one of the later manuscripts Coleman discusses clearly identifies the king as French, attired in a fleur de lis mantle, the copy made for Duke Philippe le Bon.\footnote{Ibid., 61. In addition, only the Madrid copy shows the king seated on the lion-headed throne of Dagobert, as in the original presentation miniature.} Thus only Hesdin’s presentation copy presents mirror images of the two authors, strongly asserts the process of translation from Latin into French and identifies the final recipient as the king of France.

Medieval Translation Practices

The work of medieval translators has been the subject of increased attention in recent decades. In 1982 when Peter Dembowski spoke at the luncheon of the Ninth California Convocation in Romance Philology he noted the lack of research on medieval translation practices and theory, perhaps due in part to a prejudicial favoring of Renaissance humanist translations.\footnote{Peter F. Dembowski, “Learned Latin Treatises in French: Inspiration, Plagiarism, and Translation,” \textit{Viator} 17 (1986): 255-266.} He referred to the groundwork that had been laid
by Robert H. Lucas, who compiled a list of “Mediaeval French Translations of the Latin Classics to 1500,” and Jacques Monfrin’s articles on medieval translators in encouraging his colleagues to give more attention to these texts. Meanwhile, by the time that Dembowski’s talk was in print in 1989 Serge Lusignan had begun to publish his important book and articles on the use of the vernacular and the *translatio studii* in late medieval France. In the late 1980s and early 1990s sessions on medieval translation were held at the International Congress on Medieval Studies in Kalamazoo, followed by publications of contributions edited by Jeanette Beer. In 1991 Brepols began publishing a series dedicated to “The Medieval Translator” (*Traduire au Moyen Age*), focused primarily on papers delivered at the annual International Conference on the Theory and Practice of Translation in the Middle Ages. Clearly there are many issues

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408 These two bodies are not alone in sponsoring sessions on the topic. In 2002 a symposium was held at the University of Copenhagen, followed by the published papers in 2004. *Pratiques de Traduction au Moyen Âge: Actes du colloque de l’Université de Copenhague 25 et 26 octobre 2002*, ed. Peter Andersen (Copenhagen: University of Copenhagen, Museum Tusculanum Press, 2004).
to discuss with regard to medieval practices, which were not previously given adequate attention in broader surveys of translation theory. Recent publications approach the subject with an even narrower focus, such as the expectations and participation of late medieval readers or the political context.\textsuperscript{409} Rita Copeland’s book, \textit{Rhetoric, Hermeneutics, and Translation in the Middle Ages}, provides a close scrutiny of medieval translation theory and practice, beginning in the later Roman Empire, and reveals some of the true complexity of that history from the scholastic perspective.\textsuperscript{410}

Copeland’s historical survey looks first at the foundation of Western translation practices in the bilingual culture of late Republican and early Imperial Rome. She notes that the employment of “literal” versus “loose” translation at that time must be seen in the context of exercises related to either grammar or rhetoric, \textit{enarratio} or \textit{inventio}. In addition, one must see the goal of Roman interlingual translation as the substitution of Latin for Greek, while in the early Middle Ages, much of the translation work focused on Scripture and other theological texts where this goal of displacement was inappropriate. Copeland explains that “patristic criticism seeks more to resolve difference by pointing towards a communality of source and target in terms of the immanence of meaning.”\textsuperscript{411}

Many surveys of medieval translation begin with Jerome’s comments on translating the Bible as close to word for word as possible versus other non-biblical texts, where he

\begin{flushleft}
\textsuperscript{409} See, for example, \textit{The Politics of Translation in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance}, ed. Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski, Luise von Flotow, and Daniel Russell, Perspectives on Translation (Ottawa, Ont.: University of Ottawa Press, 2001).


\textsuperscript{411} Ibid., 43.
\end{flushleft}
advocated not word for word, but according to the sense of the text (“non verbum e
verbo, sed sensum exprimere de sensu”), and these phrases were still cited and discussed
in the fourteenth-century prologues of the translators under consideration here. Copeland
goes to great lengths to place Jerome’s comments and his practice in context, analyzing
his own references to Cicero and Horace, as well as tracing the later interpretations and
misinterpretations of Jerome’s meaning and intentions. She emphasizes the lack of a
shared theory and understanding of translation in the Middle Ages. However, she does
observe some general trends, such as the blurring of the lines between grammar and
rhetoric, and the rise in prestige of grammar’s enarratio in exegesis, while emphasis is
placed on sermons as the function of rhetorical eloquence.

While one might hope for a clear line of development over the course of the
Middle Ages and greater clarity in the Late Gothic period, the reality is that there are
perhaps even more varieties of translation practice, from “primary” vernacular
translations that clearly serve the original text to those Copeland defines as “secondary,”
which claim to be independent productions and mask their dependence on a source.412
Ruth Morse on the other hand, offers three main categories (with subdivisions):
accompaniment, substitution, and replacement translations.413 In addition, Morse
emphasizes the choices made by translators in both respecting the style of the original
work and selecting a style (high, middle, low) appropriate to the subject matter and the

412 Copeland cites as examples of this practice Chaucer’s Legend of Good Women and Knight’s Tale, and
Gower’s Confessio amantis. Ibid., 94-95.

413 Ruth Morse, Truth and Convention in the Middle Ages: Rhetoric, Representation and Reality
audience. Dembowski observes that despite the continued range of practices there was a general shift toward more of what he terms “service translations” beginning in the thirteenth century. Looking at the broader context he feels that this trend should be considered along with the parallel development of the *mise en prose* of verse narratives, as prose was considered more truthful than the creative expressions in verse. In addition, he suspects that a thorough study “would reveal that the real ‘service-translation’ could take place, paradoxically, only when the translator no longer felt inferior to his Latin *auctor*, only when he considered hiself to be, like his *auctor*, a philosopher.” He cites Jean de Meun’s translations executed after the *Roman de la Rose* as early examples of this change, and notes the important role played by princely patronage, especially that of Charles V of France.

Often translation meant not just the exchange of words in Latin for words in French, but a simplification of the scholarly material for the vernacular culture. Caroline Boucher looks very closely at these late thirteenth and fourteenth-century translations, and introduces the term “vulgarization” for scholars who chose to omit more intellectually challenging material, essentially excluding the lay reader from university culture. She includes as an example one of the most important translators who worked

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414 Morse, *Truth and Convention*, 69. Morse does not go as far in breaking down her observations of medieval translation practices chronologically as do later authors who built upon her work and that of Rita Copeland.


416 Ibid.

417 “Pluseurs traducteurs justifient de faire auprès de leurs lecteurs l’omission des matières difficiles, théoriques, en prenant prétexte de la trop grande subtilité de celles-ci – omettant alors le texte même ou le commentaire requis par ce texte. Ils choisissent ainsi d’emblée d’exclure le lecteur, laïc, de la culture
for Charles V, Nicole Oresme.\textsuperscript{418} She finds his early treatise on \textit{l’Espere} (c. 1365) to be more of an original work of vulgarization based on Aristotle than the translation he claimed it to be. His later translation of Aristotle’s \textit{De celo} for the king (\textit{Le livre du ciel det du monde}, 1377), includes more scholarly content, including a gloss debating Aristotle’s theory about the daily rotation of the earth on its axis, and reflects the shift during the fourteenth century toward more \textit{subtilité} in translations for educated lay readers.\textsuperscript{419} It makes sense to see such a transition taking place in the context of the French court, in which scholarly debates were valued as a form of daily entertainment.

As we explore the choices made in the visual representation of scholars within the codices containing their works it is important not just to analyze and evaluate what these late medieval translators actually did, but in addition, to read their prologues and glosses in order to gauge their intentions and understand how their work was perceived at the time. Charles Brucker surveys late medieval translations and scrutinizes prologues and glosses as a method for evaluating the quality of the translators’ renditions.\textsuperscript{420} Often a

\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{418} Oresme translated a number of works for Charles V and in addition, composed original treatises for the benefit of Charles, as dauphin and later as monarch.\
\textsuperscript{419} Boucher, “De le subtilité en français,” 97.\
new preface, or “premier prologue” would address the concerns of the translator before turning to the prologue composed by the original author. Obviously the presence or lack of such features is the first tell-tale sign of just how close the product is to the original text. Some earlier translations might focus on the value of the text without even mentioning the original author. Hesdin’s prologue clearly does not fall into this category. In addition, the modesty topos was fairly routine, as a scholar proclaimed himself to be inadequate to the task, often using descriptive language such as “petit engin” and “rude entendement,” and yet at the same time emphasizing the patron’s compelling command and/or the significant value of the text as the justification for the attempt. The translator would then go on to the debate the viability of word for word or sense to sense translation practices, and the challenges posed by the complexities of the subject and source language and the insufficiency of the destination language. Prologues also prepared readers for comments exploring issues of philology and etymology, and informed them of the existence of a glossary defining unfamiliar technical terms, or introducing new ones.  

Nicole Oresme was one of those who usually included a glossary, but he also went beyond his contemporaries in the number of neologisms that he provided. He was intent on bringing the French language up to the level required for scholarship, noting that in the past Latin had faced the same challenge in translating from Greek sources. His

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421 It may be worth mentioning here that the earliest Latin-French dictionaries date from the fourteenth century, although in order to use them scholars had to be able to function effectively in both languages. For more information see: Brian Merrilees, "Translation and Definition in the Medieval Bilingual Dictionary," in Translation Theory and Practice in the Middle Ages, ed. Jeanette M. A. Beer, Studies in Medieval Culture (Kalamazoo, Mich.: Medieval Institute Publications, Western Michigan University, 1997), 199-214.
best known and most frequently discussed prologue is the “Prologue du translateur” that he wrote to precede his translations of both the Éthiques and Politiques of Aristotle.422 It was here that he compared the French/Latin relationship to that of Latin/Greek and made it clear that translatio studii was not just a matter of physical location (Greece to Rome to Paris), but concerned the language of scholarship as well (Latin to French). He saw his work as helping to facilitate the process of maturation of the French language, “par mon labeur pourra estre mieulx entendue ceste noble science et ou temps advenir estre baillée par autres en francoys plus clerement et plus amplement.”423

As noted above, Simon de Hesdin approached his translation like a scholar preparing a commentary on the work of an auctor. After the rubrics introduce the work as a translation by Simon de Hesdin, “docteur en theologie,” he moves quickly beyond a very short preface to the matter at hand and his scholastic approach becomes clear as he begins what is known as an “Aristotelian prologue.”424 He points out that for this book, as for all books, and all things in nature there are four principal causes, the material, formal, final and efficient, and then goes on to describe each of them, since this information is important for understanding the work. The material cause, the content, consists of the deeds and sayings of the Romans as well as foreigners, with a focus on the virtues and vices. For the formal cause, he describes the format of the text, broken into


423 Ibid., par. 22. Approximate translation: “by my labor this noble science will be better understood and in times to come it will be presented in French by others more clearly and fully.”

sections, and despite modern contradictory evaluations, Hesdin refers to the “noble style” of Valerius Maximus. As the final cause, or goal of the work, he emphasizes again the presentation of models of virtues and vices for the people, identifying the work as clearly fitting under the subject of “moral philosophy.” He goes into considerable detail discussing the efficient cause, the author Valerius Maximus, his historical context and his intention - to prepare a relatively short and manageable text for ready access and reading pleasure. After a thorough description of the four causes Hesdin then goes on to explain his own method, making clear that his plan is not to translate word for word, as that would be impossible, due to the brief and strange manner of speech, the difficulty of the Latin language, and the merveilleus style of the book. Instead he will focus on the essential meaning of a word or phrase and turn difficult Latin into clear and easy to understand romant, using a commentary format designed for the lay reader. He closes his prologue, before beginning the prologue of Valerius, with a supplication to God and the Blessed Virgin, that with their aid he may prepare a translation that is pleasing and useful to Charles V. 

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426 “je puisse ceste oeuvre faire par leur sainte grace et especial ayde en telle maniere que elle soit plaisans et profittable a tres noble, tres poissant, tres eccelent et tres sage prince Charle le quint, roy de France, de ce nom gouvernant et regnant a present.” Ibid., 5. (that “I am able to do this work, by their holy grace and special aid in such a manner that it is pleasing and useful to the very noble, very powerful, very excellent and very wise prince Charles the fifth king of France of this name who presently governs and reigns.”) This is the only reference to Charles.
Giuseppe di Stefano describes Hesdin’s translation with extensive commentary as “mediating” between the reader and the ancient Latin text. While Boucher’s comments on vulgarization mentioned above might suggest an intentional exclusivity on the part of a university trained scholar, di Stefano emphasizes the great pains that Hesdin took to make the subject matter accessible. Part of the appeal of his work was the addition of a great deal of encyclopedic information drawn from other sources, as well as from his own personal knowledge and experience as a member of the order of St. Jean de Jérusalem, in order to provide context and clarity. However, he maintained a distinction between his commentary and the translation of the original text by labeling them auteur or texte/tiexte, and translateur or glose. Rather than appropriate the ancient source and present the product as his own, he emphasized the value and prestige of the text of Valerius Maximus, who he described in his prologue as a “grand philosophe, especialment de philosophie morale.” I believe that this respect for the ancient moral philosopher on the part of the fourteenth-century doctor of theology played an important role in the choice of a mirror image of the two authorial figures in the frontispiece of the presentation copy.

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429 Giuseppe di Stefano, *Essais sur le moyen français*, 56. Morse cites the rhetorical practice of amplificatio as “one of the most characteristic features of medieval literature.” Ruth Morse, *Truth and Convention in the Middle Ages*, 63.

Representing Medieval Translators

Early author portraits representing translators are generally indistinguishable from those depicting original creators. The translator most commonly represented throughout the Middle Ages was, of course, Jerome. Frequently one finds his image in an historiated initial preceding his epistle to Paulinus, in which he encouraged the study of Scripture, a letter which was often employed as a prologue for the biblical text. Some bibles included his image in the initials at the beginnings of individual books as well, although they might be just as likely to hold a representation of the original biblical author. Jerome is most frequently shown writing in solitude, although one might occasionally find him receiving inspiration from the Holy Spirit, or even presenting his finished translation. When writing he is usually shown working with a single scroll or a codex, a standard author portrait, until the early fourteenth century when one begins to see more emphasis on his role as translator with the inclusion of another text. An early fourteenth-century Bible made in Sicily contains a rather awkward representation of the scholar at the beginning of the Epistle to Paulinus. He sits at a scribe’s desk with his right hand holding a writing implement that touches a scroll on the main desk surface while with the object in his left hand he simultaneously touches a codex elevated on a higher platform (Figure 91).\footnote{What is particularly awkward about this arrangement is that he seems to have the quill in his left hand and the scraper in the right, which is more comfortably placed on the desk before him. There are several other initials holding Jerome throughout the volume, but only the first shows him working with two texts.} One would expect him to work from a scroll to a codex, to convey the passage of time from one to the other, but perhaps there were few precedents to serve as models for this type of image. By the third quarter of the fourteenth century the representation of a
translator working from his source would become more routine, as in the image of Pierre Bersuire translating the *Histoire romaine* of Titus-Livy in a copy made for Charles V (Figure 92).  

A more radical shift occurs in the first volume of the mid fourteenth-century *Bible historiale* in the St. Petersburg, National Library of Russia (Ms. fr. F. v. I, 1/1-2) where three authorial personalities are represented side by side below the Trinity frontispiece (Figure 93). Bound together by the red introductory rubrics written below the frontispiece they are placed within historiated initials at the heads of three equal columns of text. Guyart de Moulins, the French translator, demonstrates his piety by kneeling before the Virgin and Child. Petrus Comestor, who expanded on the Bible text with his historical commentary, is writing at his desk. Saint Jerome, who prepared the Vulgate version, presents his work to the Pope. Usually only one of the three is represented at the beginning of this French translation, seated alone at his desk. For example, in the *Bible historiale* made for Charles V, previously discussed in Chapter Two, a solitary figure is shown busily writing in a large historiated initial, while the king kneels and addresses his prayer to the Trinity in the Throne of Mercy configuration above.  

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432 This small image of Bersuire appears at the beginning of book one on the verso of folio 7, the front of which is dominated by a luxurious nine part frontispiece comprised of tricolor quatrefoils encased in gold outlines containing scenes from Roman history. The copy made for Charles is the earliest that survives. That made for his father, Jean le Bon has been lost.

433 While this ordering is the opposite of the actual chronology, it does fall in line with the customary ordering for prologues, moving from the most recent, to that of the preceding author, closer to the actual text.

434 Petrus Comestor is shown seated with the open book on his desk on folio 1r of BnF ms. fr. 155, while on the verso he presents his work to Guillaume, archbishop of Sens. The same sequence is shown in two small miniatures on folio 1 in the 1357 *Bible historiale* made for Charles V as dauphin, in the British Library (BL Royal MS 17 E VII, vol 1). In the *Bible historiale* of Jean de Berry (BnF ms. fr. 20090, 1390s) the
Petersburg frontispiece however, all three are shown, although only Comestor, the author of the commentary, is actually shown writing. Jeffrey Hamburger asserts that the visual alignment of the parallel authors under the three persons of the Trinity, who are seated side by side on a wide throne over both the celestial and terrestrial spheres of creation, places them in a role of simply reproducing or repeating the sacred texts that served as their sources, and that “it is God’s authority that, according to the program of decoration, guarantees the authenticity of Guyart’s translation.” Guyart de Moulins’ prologue to his translation emphasizes his faithfulness to his sources however, and this lateral grouping reinforces his relationship to each of his predecessors as well. Together, the three of them are responsible for the work in hand. In addition, I believe that the alignment of their activities under the three different aspects of God reinforces their important individual roles rather than diminishing them. Jerome’s presentation of the book lines up with the Holy Spirit, also holding a book, emphasizing the embodiment of the Word in Scripture. Comestor’s creative activity is aligned with God the Father, who holds the orb of the world and and is responsible for creating the earthly and heavenly realms detailed in the lower part of the miniature. De Moulins kneels before a statue of the Madonna and Child that is painted in color, and thus seems to come to life before

writing figure has been identified as Guyart de Moulins. Without a second presentation scene it is difficult to ascertain whether de Moulins or Petrus Comestor is intended as the writing author in these books. Jerome is usually not included.

him. Likewise, his French translation makes the Bible come to life for the reader, just as the accessibility of the human aspect of the Trinity is emphasized by the Eucharistic chalice and host Jesus holds above. Adding another note to this enlivenment is the ever increasing foliage in the extenders of the historiated capitals from Jerome’s initial to that of de Moulins which actually joins the framing bar on the left with its abundant spray.

A somewhat earlier fourteenth-century miniature presents an even more forceful and novel approach to the portrayal of those scholars who were playing an increasingly important role in the *translatio studii*. In multiple volumes and copies of the *Miroir historial*, Vignay’s translation of Vincent of Beauvais’s *Speculum historiale*, both author and translator are represented working at their desks (Figures 15, 94, 95). Unlike most writing authors in medieval manuscripts, including Valerius Maximus and Simon de Hesdin in the *Faits et paroles memorables*, these men are not alone, but are receiving royal visitors while they work. Claudine Chavannes-Mazel, in her dissertation on the translation and its versions, identified the Leiden copy as the earliest (Figure 94). However, since its condition is so poor, it may be easier to reference the slightly later

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436 The frontispiece was repeated in each physical volume of the lengthy text. The earliest manuscripts include: Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, Voss. Gall f.3A, fol.1; Paris, Bibliothèque de l’Arsenal, ms. 5080, fol.1; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. fr. 316, fol.1; and Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, MS W 140, fol.1. Copies that retain the essentials of the composition include: Copenhagen, Roy. Libr. MS Thott 429 in-f°, fol.1 and Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. fr. 313, fol.1.

copy of the composition in the Bibliothèque nationale that was re-touched early in the fifteenth century (Figure 15). Both originals have been attributed to the Papeleu Master.\footnote{See the dissertation by Chavannes-Mazel for a complete discussion of the attributions to the various masters who formed the teams of illuminators, including the Papeleu Master, the Fauvel Master, the Cambrai Master, and Mahiet, among others. Chavannes-Mazel, "The Miroir Historial of Jean le Bon," 45-68.} 

This frontispiece miniature is divided into two parts within an architectural framework so that each interior is seen through a trefoil arch opening topped by a gable. In the left interior Vincent of Beauvais sits at his writing desk with an open book facing the viewer’s left, scraper in his left hand, before a bookcase full of books. He raises his right hand in response to King Louis IX, identified by the halo around his crown, who addresses him, presumably instructing him to compile the text of the Speculum historiale, drawing from the multiple sources on the shelves behind him.\footnote{The royal blue fleur de lis covered robe was added over the original brown Franciscan garb worn by the king in the earliest miniature when the fifteenth-century restoration was done.} A group of courtiers presses in behind the king, controlled by a man with a mace.\footnote{The sergeant at arms is often shown in representations of activities, such as presentations, taking place in the royal court. His presence behind Charles in the Hesdin presentation is given some prominence by the fact that his mace rests on his shoulder and overlaps the left frame. Here however, the raised mace and the position of the man behind the king’s retinue suggest an attempt to keep back ordinary people who are curious about the king’s visit to the scholar’s study, emphasizing the unusual nature of the visit. It does not seem to have been included in the other extant versions of this frontispiece however, and may have been added when BnF ms. fr. 316 was touched up later.} The background is a pattern of royal gold fleurs de lis on an azure ground. The interior of the right side forms an almost mirror image. Jean de Vignay sits at his writing desk facing the right with two books open before him. He does not have a bookcase, but is working from the earlier text alone. He holds both pen and scraper dutifully working before a queen who
addresses him with a pointing gesture just like that of St. Louis.\footnote{441} She is accompanied by ladies of the court, one of whom holds her train, while a man with a mace repeats the controlling figure found in the left. The background here, a diaper pattern formed by the arms of France and Burgundy helps us to identify the queen as Jeanne de Bourgogne, granddaughter of Louis IX. Clearly the viewer is meant to notice the familial pattern of commissioning important scholarly work, as well as the continuity that Jeanne represented as wife of the new Valois king, Philippe VI, who was one generation further removed from the saintly ancestor than his wife.\footnote{442} The image, repeated in every volume of the work, was clearly employed in part to emphasize this link between the new Valois monarchy and the Capetian royal family.\footnote{443} Jeanne de Bourgogne was an active patron of Jean de Vignay, commissioning a number of translations, not only for the education of her children, but also for the use of her spouse and her own, as regent for Philippe.

\footnote{441} The inattention of the author to his royal visitor is somewhat troubling. In none of the existing versions does he look up in response to the queen’s entrance, despite her strong physical presence, even touching the book he is working on. Are we meant to interpret this as a mere symbolic commemoration of her command, rather than a suggested record of what occurred? At the same time, might we see Vincent’s response to the king in his halo almost as an author receiving inspiration from a heavenly figure?

\footnote{442} Collette Beaune emphasizes the desirability of young women with the bloodline of St. Louis as spouses for the Valois princes in her preface to Allirot’s book on the princesses of France: Collette Beaune, “Préface” in Filles de roy de France: Princesses royales, mémoire de saint Louis et conscience dynastique (de 1270 à la fin du XIVe siècle) by Anne-Hélène Allirot, Culture et société médiévales, 20 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013), 11.

\footnote{443} As Jean de Vignay states in his prologue, Louis IX was believed to have commissioned the encyclopedic work of Vincent of Beauvais. Scholars today no longer believe that to be true, although he did provide Vincent access to his libraries, and purchased a copy of the Speculum for himself. Allirot cites Paulmier-Foucart, who asserts that Hugh of St. Cher ordered the work. Ibid., 490 note 139; referencing M. Paulmier-Foucart, Vincent de Beauvais et le Grand Miroir du monde, Témoins de Notre Histoire (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004), 11. Anne Hedeman has recently noted the strong similarities in format between the Miroir historial made for Jean, and his copy of the Grandes Chroniques de France, and suggests that Jean would have seen them forming together “a large, ambitious set of world history” that “offered interlaced genealogical frames for John’s interpretation of history.” Anne D. Hedeman, “Constructing Saint Louis in John the Good’s Grandes Chroniques de France (Royal MS. 16 G. VI),” Electronic British Library Journal (2014) Essay X: 14.
Charles V, who quite consciously collected the books owned by earlier family members must have been quite aware of, and perhaps even inspired somewhat by this activity on the part of his grandmother, who sought to present herself as a wise queen, a new Clotilde.444

Chavannes-Mazel analyzed all of the extant manuscripts and proposed that Jean de Vignay began the translation, one of several he made for the queen, before 1330, but that the earliest existing multi-volume sets were prepared as gifts for the two children, the future Jean le Bon, and his sister, Marie, both of whom were to be married in the year 1332. The Leiden and Arsenal volumes, along with the two others that completed the set were known to be in the collection of Jean, since he signed his name in the back of the Leiden volume, as Duke of Normandy and Guyenne. They passed into the collection of his son, Charles V, where they may have had some influence upon the selection of a mirror image composition for the Valerius Maximus frontispiece, although the inclusion of commissioning patrons would no longer have held the uniquely powerful significance that we find in the pairing of Louis IX and Jeanne de Bourgogne.445

As noted above, 444 Beaune, “Préface” in Filles de roy de France, 12. Clotilde was herself a princess of Burgundy, and her role in the baptism of her husband, Clovis I, received special emphasis in the legends associated with the French acquisition of the fleur de lis. Allirot notes that Jean de Vignay commented on the blood link between Jeanne de Bourgogne and Louis IX, and the transmission of the saint’s wisdom through that line. Allirot, Filles de roy de France, 490. The queen’s desire to have the work translated is only mentioned in the prologue of the two extant volumes that belonged to Jean le Bon. Chavannes-Mazel, “The Miroir Historial of Jean le Bon,” 57.

445 Chavannes-Mazel traced the influence of this frontispiece composition in later manuscripts, and noted the deterioration of the meaning over time, as the important relationship of Jeanne de Bourgogne, with a closer relationship to Louis IX than her spouse, received less emphasis as later artists misunderstood the identification and significance of the pairing. Claudine Albertine Chavannes-Mazel, “The Miroir Historial of Jean le Bon,” 159-165. The Leiden volume was later acquired by the brother-in-law of Charles VI, the Duke of Bavaria–Ingolstadt, but the provenance trail of the other volumes is not as clear.
later copies of the Valerius Maximus translation did pair the authors and patrons, but with
the goal of emphasizing the *translatio imperii* from ancient Rome to fourteenth-century
France. The copy presented to Charles, however, focused attention on the work of both
author and translator, positioned in the upper two quadrants, and thus less on the lone
patron/recipient, since Tiberius is not even included.

This less prominent function of Charles V forms quite a contrast with images in
other books that clearly emphasize his role, such as the illustration of the king
commanding the work in the quadripartite frontispiece of the *Livre des propriétés des
 choses* discussed in Chapter Two above. There Charles hands the book to Jean
Corbechon, and as we see in the speech scroll commands “Du livre les proprietez en cler
francois vous translatez” [translate from the book of the properties (of things) into clear
French], essentially echoing the creation commands of the God of Genesis that precede it
in the other three quadrants.446 The Valerius Maximus frontispiece also places the author
and translator in a more prestigious position than that of Jean Golein, who is thought to
be receiving the order for a translation in the frontispiece of Charles V’s French version
of Guillaume Durand's *Rationale divinorum officiorum* (Figure 96).447 In this miniature,

446 Chapter 2, p. 121. Corbechon presented his translation of Bartholomaeus Anglicus’ *De proprietatibus rerum* in 1372. Although the original presentation copy is lost Donal Byrne found consistency among six later copies that suggests this statement coming from Charles in echoing the creation language of God in
the previous three panels was likely in the original. Donal Byrne, “Rex imago Dei: Charles V of France
Corbechon places significant emphasis upon the role of Charles in commanding the translation and others,
linking him to his illustrious predecessor, Charlemagne, and embodying the ideal of the wise king engaged
in the *translatio studii*. Bernard Ribéromont, “Encyclopédie et traduction: Le double prologue du Livre des
propriétés des choses,” in *Seuils de l’oeuvre dans le texte médiéval*, ed. Emmanuèle Baumgartner and

447 Paris, Bibliothèque national ms. fr. 437, folio 403r. The inscription in the back of the codex, written by
the king himself, suggests that the frontispiece, with the translator at the ready, alludes to the translation
contained within double trefoil arches reminiscent of the frontispiece for the *Miroir historial*, Golein sits on a low bench in front of the dividing column between the king and queen and their male and female children. Charles is clearly providing instruction, but the translator’s writing activity looks more like a traditional scribe taking dictation. The pose is very similar to that of the scribe recording the laws dictated by a king in French copies of Gratian’s *Decretum*. This image of commanded writing places Charles in line with a tradition of such authority figures, who dictated their work with a receptive audience around them, going back to early texts of Justinian. The queen and royal children take the place of courtiers or other dignitaries in this composition. Her gesture is one of response to the king’s words, and the older children pass the information to their younger, outer siblings by pointing in their direction.

Perhaps this old-fashioned non-perspectival architectural frame was also intentionally employed in the *Rational des divins offices* in order to contrast the clear order itself. It reads: “Cest livre nomme Rasional des divins ofises est à nous Charles le Ve de notre nom, et le fimes translater, escrire, et tout parfere, etc., l’an mil CCCLXXIIII.” Approximate translation: “This book entitled *Rational des divins offices* is ours, Charles the fifth of our name, and we had it translated, copied and completed, etc. in the year 1374.”

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448 One example, dating from early in the fourteenth century, with gloss by Barthélémy de Brescia (BnF lat. 3898 folio 1), employs a similar double arched setting. The miniature is reproduced in: François Avril, “Manuscrits,” in *Les Fastes du Gothique: le siècle de Charles V* (Paris: Éditions de la Réunion des musées nationaux, 1981), 288. The same pose may be found in a *Decretum* attributed to Master Honoré in the Bibliothèque municipale de Tours, ms. 558, folio 1, and others made in Late Gothic Paris, which show only the king dictating, with his knights off to one side. Anthony Melnikas notes that the Parisian artists far more frequently represented only the secular authority in late thirteenth- and early fourteenth-century miniatures, not the sharing of power, divided into temporal and ecclesiastical, as was more commonly shown in Italian copies of the text. Judging from the number of examples provided in his book there can be no doubt that this common image of the king dictating to a scribe was readily available to serve as a model for the figures of Charles V and Guillaume Durand. Anthony Melnikas, *The Corpus of the Miniatures in the Manuscripts of Decretum Gratiani*, Corpus picturarum minutarum quae in codicibus manu scriptis iuris continentur, 1. (Rome: Studia Gratiana XVI, distributed by The Index of Juridical and Civic Iconography, 1975), 57, and figures 45, 46, 52, 53, 56, 58, plates X, XI, XIII.
distinction of the roles for king and queen here with the suggested power and prestige of Jeanne de Bourgogne in the four frontispieces within the volumes of Jean le Bon’s copy of the *Miroir*, which had passed into the collection of Charles V. Jean Golein’s “Traité du sacre” was included on folios 43v to 54v in the *Rational*, and included his personal remarks on the issue of excluding women from the French throne. In addition, Golein placed strong emphasis on the king’s ties to Charlemagne through the male line, going back to Louis VIII. An accompanying visual commentary via the submissive position of the queen in this frontispiece may have overshadowed any desire to emphasize Golein’s work as translator.

Another frontispiece by the same artist, which comes closer in emphasizing both the role of Charles V in commanding and receiving the translation and the work of the author in producing it, is found in a copy of Oresme’s translations of Aristotle that is believed to date from the decade after the king’s death (Figure 13). Marie-Hélène Tesnière suggests it was in the collection of Bianca Maria di Savoia, wife of Duke Galeazzo II Visconti, who founded the library at the palace at Pavia, where the book was listed in the 1426 and 1459 inventories. It’s not clear why Tesnière believes that

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451 Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. fr. 204.

452 Galeazzo was a major contributor to the ransom collected in order to release Jean le Bon from the English after the Battle at Poitiers, ensuring a close relationship with the French royal family, and he sent Petrarch as his ambassador to Paris to celebrate the king’s return in 1361. The volume returned to France in 1499 when Louis XII claimed it for his library at Blois. Marie-Hélène Tesnière, “No.26: Nicole Oresme, Translation of Aristotle’s *Politics, Economics*, and *Ethics*, Département des Manuscrits, fr. 204, fol. 347,” in *Creating French Culture: Treasures from the Bibliothèque nationale de France*, ed. Marie-Hélène
Bianca would have been the most likely owner. Her son, Giangalezzo, married Charles V’s sister, Isabelle de Valois, and while Isabelle had died in 1372 before the translations were even completed, her daughter, Valentina, married Louis, Duke of Orleans in 1389.\textsuperscript{453} Clearly strong ties must have continued between Giangaleazzo Visconti and the Valois throughout the 1380s when this copy of Oresme’s translations was prepared.

The frontispiece appears, with the prologue applicable to both the \textit{Livre des Politiques} and \textit{Livre des Éthiques}, before the beginning of the \textit{Éthiques}, which follows the \textit{Yconomique} as the last of the three Aristotelian texts in French translation bound in the volume. The artist, identified as the Master of the Rational des divins offices, employed the quadripartite format that was so frequently used in the later books made for Charles, with four red, white and blue quatrefoils on a gold foliate patterned ground. In the top left frame we see Charles V in crown and fleur de lis robe seated on a lion-headed faldstool with a gold brocade cloth beneath him and spilling out onto the floor below his feet. He is positioned facing the viewer with five men behind to the left, so that he turns slightly toward the right to address a kneeling Oresme who holds an open book before him. The pointing gesture of the king conveys his command, and strongly directs the viewer, as well as Oresme, to the next episode in the story. In the next scene Oresme is seated at a writing desk on the right facing in toward the center, busily working with pen and scraper in hand. There are books on a shelf behind him, as well as two open ones on

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\textsuperscript{453} The French princess was betrothed to the duke in return for the considerable amount of gold that Milan contributed toward the huge ransom demanded by the English for Jean II. Françoise Autrand, \textit{Charles V: le Sage} \textit{(Paris: Fayard, 1994)}, 399. Both Galeazzo II and his daughter-in-law, Isabelle, died before Charles.
a round table before him. An assistant enters from the left carrying yet another large
tome on his shoulder. Continuing the narrative in the lower left, Oresme is shown in a
traveling mantle over his red robe walking through a grassy setting with a lone slender
tree. A courtier, who echoed the king’s gesture of command above, carries a book,
presumably the finished translation, covered in gold cloth on his shoulder, while a
fashionably dressed young man escorts them back to the king. In the last frame Charles,
again in the same official attire, sits in a large white throne angled toward the left.
Oresme, wearing his scholar’s cap over his tonsure kneels to present an open book, which
Charles reaches out to touch. A pointing gesture on the part of the man in red behind
Charles helps draw the eye of the viewer to the hand of the king, as well as to his own
right hand, which also holds the book. The four hands on the book clearly signal its
acceptance, and the fleur de lis background that echoes the king’s robe reinforces the
text’s new French character.

Although not in a copy made for Charles, this splendid frontispiece celebrates the
relationship between patron and translator, drawing attention to both the role of the king
in ordering the work, as well as the execution of the project by Oresme, which was
described clearly in the king’s accounts:

“Jehan d’Orleans, Nous faison translater à nostre bien amé le doyen de Rouen,
maistre Nicolle Oresme, deux livres, les quiex nous sont très necessaires et pour
cause, c’est assavoir polithiques et yconomiques, et pour ce que nous savons que
le dit maistre Nicolle a à ce faire grant peine et grant dilligence, et que il convient
que pour ce il delaisse toutes ses autres oevrez et besoingnes quelconques, voulons
que, pour sa dicte peine, et aussi pour ce que il y entende et laisse toutes autres
besongnes, quelles que elles soient, vous li bailliez et delivrez tantost et sans nul
delay la somme de deux cens franz d’or."  

The image may originally have been planned for the front of the book, since the prologue by Oresme was intended to introduce both the Éthiques, and the Politiques, and all of the other miniatures are more modest in scale and execution, with simple rectilinear frames. In fact, this manuscript is sparsely illustrated by comparison with the copies of Aristotle made for Charles. On folio 1, at the beginning of the Livre des Politiques, Oresme is represented alone in a relatively large one-column miniature (Figure 97). It is a much more conventional portrait of the author as master. He sits in an elaborate canopied chair with side arches at a three-quarter angle that faces out to the viewer while he reaches toward his open book on a table behind with his left hand. It’s a familiar posture of an instructor with his open book seated before a group of students, although the floor space on the right is open. The reader is the audience here. A noteworthy feature of this fairly empty space is the representation of three book shelves full of stacked books overhead, a tribute to the scholarship of the man who had produced so much for the recently deceased king.  

This proliferation of books and source material became the new norm in the

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454 Mandements et actes divers de Charles V (1364-1380), Recueillis dans les collections de la Bibliothèque nationale, Ed. M. Léopold Delisle, Collection de documents inédits sur l’histoire de France, Première Série, Histoire Politique, (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1874): 458, no.889. Approximate translation: “Jean d’Orléans, we are having translated by our good friend the dean of Rouen, master Nicole Oresme, two books, which are very necessary for us and of some importance, that is to say, politics and economics, and because we know that the said master Nicole takes great pains and great diligence to do this; and that it is right that he should set aside all other work and tasks whatsoever in order to do this, therefore, I wish that, we desire that, for said effort, and also because he applies himself to it completely and relinquishes all other tasks, whatever they may be, you convey and will deliver to him immediately, and without delay the sum of two hundred gold francs.”

455 Similar lofty shelves full of books were represented in the study of Vincent of Beauvais where he compiled his Speculum historiale in a later copy of the French translation illuminated by Jean de Nizières, a contemporary of the Master of the Rational des divins offices. Vincent however, is provided with two young lads who carry armfuls of books to him as he works. Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg.
fourteenth-century whenever the translator was represented at his work. For example, a copy of the *Miroir historial* made in Paris for Jean de Berry does not include the frontispiece featuring Jeanne de Bourgogne discussed above, but merely presents a small miniature of Jean de Vignay busily writing in his study, with a table overflowing with open and closed codices at the ready (Figure 98).

The more inventive representations of translators that we have surveyed must be seen against a background of relatively traditional authorial images of presentations and scenes of instruction. These conventions continued to proliferate in manuscript production even as new models were explored. For example, a large compilation of various texts intended for the education of a prince, the *Traités philosophiques et moraux*, prepared for Charles in 1372, contains a number of standard formulas. In fact, the presentation scenes, containing kneeling translators before seated monarchs, often reference historical situations. Henri de Gauchi presents the *Livre du gouvernement des roys et des princes*, his 1282 translation of Gilles de Rome’s *De regimine principum* to Philippe III (folio 103r), Jean de Meun delivers his translation of Boethius, the *Consolacion et Fontaine de philosophie* to Philippe IV (folio 293r), and Jean de Vignay presents Jean le Bon with his translation of de Cessolis, the *Moralité des nobles hommes et des gens de pueple sus le gieu des eschès* (folio 245r).

While Henri de Gauchi is

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456 Bibliothèque de Besançon, Ms. 434.

457 While the finished translation was dedicated to Jean le Bon, the work is believed to have been undertaken at the request of Jeanne de Bourgogne, who commissioned other translations by Vignay.
shown diligently working on folio 103v most of the other authors are not shown in this manner. In fact this volume is dominated by miniatures representing fairly neutral, unspecific kings listening attentively to clerics who preach to them from pulpits or instruct them while standing or seated beside them, common formulas for *Mirrors of Princes* (Figures 99 and 100). These numerous instructional images make the inclusion of a king in a classroom type setting in the well-known four-part frontispiece for one of Oresme’s translations of Aristotle seem somewhat less remarkable (Figure 101).

Clearly fourteenth-century authorial representations involving translators don’t always highlight that aspect of their work. Sometimes the choice was made instead to place emphasis on the presentation of the finished product, even if the translation was requested by the king and not an unsolicited gift. For example, Jacques Bauchant was asked by Charles V to translate the *Voies de Dieu* of Elizabeth of Schonau. The miniature on folio 1 illustrates the presentation, and underscores Bauchant’s position, appointed by the king as sergeant at arms, a detail that he mentions early in his prologue, before describing the work that he put into the translation (Figure 102). His status is indicated by the mace that he holds in his left hand, although positioned top down before the king, as he delivers the codex with his right.

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458 See, for example, folios 40r, 91v, 96r, 116r, 142v, 151v, 158v, 171v, 184r (Figure 100), and 197v. The scene in Figure 100 is suggestive of the intellectual ambience that Charles V is said to have encouraged at his court. Folio 209r is unusual in representing the king addressing the clerics and non-clerics of his court.

459 Comparable images of clerics addressing kings from small pulpits may be found in BnF ms. fr. 1728, which is very similar in content to Besançon 434, and also believed to have been in the library of Charles V (folios 31r and 46r).
Nicole Oresme, who executed numerous translations, was usually shown presenting his work in the copies made for the king, again despite his prologues that describe the work that was involved. One feature that sets these encounters apart from so many other medieval presentations however, is the very personal nature of their interaction, emphasized by the inclusion of a curtain to create a private space, often with a spectator peering out from behind it (Figure 103). Such images that emphasize the personal relationship between the king and his scholar authors will be explored further in Chapter 4.

Raoul de Presles’ presentation manuscript of his translation of Augustine’s *Cité de Dieu* also breaks away from the conventional image of king and courtiers visited by the author who brings his book (Figure 104). De Presles kneels before Charles with his book open for the king while Augustine, with a halo behind his bishop’s miter presents the translator like a patron saint accompanying a donor before a Madonna and Child. However, it is the French king who is seated with attendant angels holding a cloth of honor behind him while two courtiers stand by his side. Both Charles and his “humble serviteur,” as the translator describes himself in the prologue below the image, have been given an elevated status with this heavenly presence, as clearly the saint must approve of de Presles’ efforts.

As we have seen, translators are represented frequently in fourteenth-century French manuscripts. Often they are shown in lieu of the original authors, as we find with Nicole Oresme, Pierre Bersuire, Jean Corbechon, Jean Golein, or Jean de Vignay in his translation of de Cessolis, discussed in Chapter Two, and in Jean de Berry’s copy of the
Miroir historial. In these contexts we sometimes must depend on costume alone to identify them, since their activities, whether presenting, writing or instructing, follow earlier conventions for authors. Some images, such as those depicting Jacques Bauchant and Raoul de Presles, and the private presentations yet to be evaluated, grant them personal prestige, an indication of the important role that these scholars played as members of the court of Charles “le Sage,” and his “club du roi,” and a significant elevation in status from the lowly scribal position of Guillaume Durand. We must assume that the king was comfortable with such departures from convention. In addition, some of the images went further in attempting to clarify the nature of the translators’ enterprise.

Conclusion

Some representations of translators in fourteenth-century French manuscripts reflect the dual emphasis on *translatio empirii* and *translatio studii*. French monarchs stressed their familial relationship to Charlemagne, and to the transfer of Empire that found its first flowering during his reign. At the same time they explored in more depth the history of the Frankish people and traced their heritage via an ancestral Trojan, Francion, to the same foundations as the Latins of ancient Rome. Roman histories and works of Roman writers such as the *Facta et dicta memorabilia Romanorum* by Valerius Maximus were among the most valued texts at the French court. Meanwhile, the vernacular, the mother tongue of the people of France, was employed increasingly as the

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460 Claire Richter Sherman has demonstrated the active role that Charles played in critiquing and influencing the illuminations of manuscripts made at his court. Sherman, *Imaging Aristotle.*
language of royal governance, and even found support among intellectuals working for Charles V as an appropriate medium for scholarship. As more and more works of their Latin heritage were translated into contemporary French at the request of French monarchs artists rose to the challenge of exploring new formulas for describing the role of the translators.

The artists, project managers, or perhaps the authors themselves wrestled with how to portray the process of translation. While conventional presentation and instruction scenes were still employed in some manuscripts, the actual work of translation was given attention in images that showed authors with numerous source texts for consultation. Is it sufficient to show the author alone with a stack of source texts? Raoul de Presles is depicted in this manner in his *Compendium morale de Republica* (BnF, nouv. acq. lat. ms. 1821, folio 95v). This approach might suggest the traditional role of the *compilator*. How does one clearly distinguish the work of translation, which had become so highly valued in the fourteenth century? In some miniatures we see the role of the king in commanding the work is spelled out, although his action may overshadow the efforts of his translator, as in the images of Corbechon and Golein, while there is more balance between the busy authors and their royal patrons in the *Miroir historial* images of Vincent of Beauvais and Jean de Vignay. In some of the manuscripts, such as

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the later Oresme translation of Aristotle from the Visconti library and the Valerius Maximus selected as our case study, the emphasis shifts so that much more attention is given to the authorial activities. The image of Oresme’s translatio retains the control of Charles in ordering the work, but goes a step further by visualizing the physical relocation of this important classical text from the study of a university scholar to the court of the French king, where it served as a valuable tool in his administration of the realm. In the *Faits et paroles memorables des Romains* the change of language is more clearly the focus. The frontispiece of the Valerius Maximus for Charles V is unique in placing clear emphasis on both the source and translated languages, “latin” and “francois,” within the books of the two writers placed in mirrored positions. The king below appears to be just the fortunate recipient of their efforts. Since no subsequent copy repeated this emphasis on the writers we may speculate that the artist, or his director, went a little too far in diminishing the king’s role. It remains as a visual testament however, of the increasing importance placed on French translations in the fourteenth century, and the desire to acknowledge the significant role of their producers within the accompanying illustrations. I have not encountered comparable attention given to the work of translators in other vernacular languages.

This consideration given to the translator’s role is not merely a manifestation of the political importance of his work in mid fourteenth-century France. As Simon de

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462 The reader will recall the emphasis in Oresme’s prologue to the combined *Éthiques* and *Politiques*, described above, on the similarity between Greek to Latin and later Latin to French translations, a strong justification for the translatio. Joyce Coleman discusses the visual pun of this trans-latio “across carrying” in her chapter of the catalog for the exhibit, *Imagining the Past in France*. She emphasizes the continuity in the almost mirror images of the origin and completion of the project in royal authority, and suggests that the fleur de lis pattern in the lower right panel alludes to the christianizing improvement of Aristotle’s *Ethics* in the process of translation. Coleman, “Reading the Evidence in Text and Image,” 59.
Hesdin shares the stage equally with Valerius Maximus, his relationship with the original author is more clearly articulated. They appear as equals, and even collaborators. Unlike the paralleled right-facing positions of the three authorial characters in the *Bible historiale* (Figure 93) or the authors who face away from each other towards their patrons in the *Miroir historial* (Figure 94), these men face each other in very similar settings, almost as if in the same study (despite the dissimilar background patterns). We see an embodiment of the shift from earlier appropriations to “service translations,” which were intended to support and fully explicate the original author’s texts, and perhaps at the same time a recognition that medieval doctors of theology, products of a university education, had attained a comparable intellectual status with the ancient *auctors* whose work they translated. Contemporary scholars as well have come to appreciate their work for what it was, the beginnings of humanism.\(^{463}\) For it was through the struggles of these translators, challenging and enriching the French language in order to accurately convey the content of their authorial predecessors, that the subsequent humanist translations of the fifteenth century could be more precise.

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Chapter 4. Nicole Oresme: A Private Audience With the King

Introduction

We have observed scholarly writers in a variety of different contexts within manuscript illuminations - dreaming, writing, translating, and delivering the finished product, and have noted the increasing variety of activities and situations in which they are found, as well as the increasing respect for their work that is evident in those images. The presentation or dedication miniature occurred with greater frequency as literacy increased and the laity commissioned more books for themselves. They wanted to see more options in the vernacular than just romances. There was an increased interest in educational texts and the beginnings of a shift toward the secularization of higher learning.\footnote{For a survey of late medieval developments in literacy see: Malcolm B. Parkes, "The Literacy of the Laity," in Scribes, Scripts and Readers: Studies in the Communication, Presentation and Dissemination of Medieval Texts (London: The Hambledon Press, 1991).} We have already seen the appetite for books and translations at the French court, so it makes sense to turn to these patrons in order to investigate the evolution of the presentation scene. The subject has been studied before, and this chapter is not intended to simply summarize those efforts.\footnote{For a survey of medieval presentations see: Joachim Prochno, Das Schreiber- und Dedikationsbild in der deutschen Buchmalerei. Teil 1. Bis zum Ende des 11. Jahrhunderts (800-1100) (Leipzig: Teubner, 1929), and Evelyn Benesch, "Dedikations- und Präsentationsminiaturen in der Pariser Buchmalerei vom späten dreizehnten bis zum frühen fünfzehnten Jahrhundert," Ph.D. diss., Universität Wien, 1987.} Instead, my goal is to explore the relationship between the French kings and the authors who were commissioned by them, especially
those depicted in books made for Charles V. It’s striking how often presentations to this intellectually oriented king seem to be rather informal. Claire Richter Sherman has examined what they tell us about him, and his goal to present himself as a wise king.\footnote{466} But what do these images reveal about the authors? In order to probe this matter we will once again focus on just one manuscript, Nicole Oresme’s translation of Aristotle’s \textit{Ethics} (Figures 112 and 113). At the same time we will also take a closer look at the physical and social environment in which these presentations took place, the palaces of the French king. While the presentation miniature in a manuscript is a fiction created by the artist long before the book is even bound, let alone touches the hands of the recipient, the representations of this subject in manuscripts of the later fourteenth century increasingly include some hints of a setting, in particular with the inclusion of curtains to create a semi-private space for the king. They may reflect a desire on the part of the author, guiding the illuminator, to be depicted in a more intimate relationship with Charles V, or perhaps even allude to the true nature of that relationship. They may also offer an early glimpse into the actual physical setting in which these activities took place, environments which are described with far more detail in books made for Charles VI and others in the fifteenth century.\footnote{467}

\footnote{466}{Claire Richter Sherman, "Representations of Charles V of France (1338-1380) as a Wise Ruler," \textit{Medievalia et Humanistica}, n.s. 2 (1971): 83-96.}

\footnote{467}{Brigitte Buettner discusses some later, far more detailed settings for presentations to Charles VI and the Burgundian duke, Philippe le Bon in her article on gift-giving at the Valois courts. Brigitte Buettner, "Past Presents: New Year's Gifts at the Valois Courts, ca. 1400." \textit{The Art Bulletin} 83 no. 4 (2001): 598-625.}
The Text

The *Nicomachean Ethics*, written ca. 350 BCE, one of several works on ethics attributed to Aristotle, focuses on the subject of how individuals should best live their lives. It, along with the *Politics*, was classed by the philosopher as one of the “practical” sciences, as opposed to the “theoretical,” and thus he did not simply theorize about what constitutes a good life, but offered guidance to be implemented. Aristotle himself saw the *Ethics* and *Politics* as intrinsically linked together. The *Ethics* laid the groundwork. One must first learn to govern one’s own behavior before engaging actively in the community, and especially before taking on a position of leadership. As his work is so frequently summarized - one must be a good man before one can be a good king.

The *Nicomachean Ethics* was not available in Latin before the twelfth century. Sometime before 1150 Burgundius of Pisa is believed to have translated first Books II-III from the Greek (as *Ethic vetus*) and then Book I (*Ethica nova*). Six Parisian commentaries on these Latin translations followed in the first half of the thirteenth century. Robert Grosseteste was the first to do a complete Latin translation of all ten books, as well as some of the accompanying early Greek and Byzantine commentaries in 1246-48. It was on his translation that Albertus Magnus and Thomas Aquinas both wrote their own commentaries, and that of Aquinas then served as the source for many others in

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the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. According to Bejczy, the most influential were those written by Gerald of Odo and John Buridan. All of these scholars faced tension between commenting on Aristotle from a purely philosophical point of view and forcing his ideas into a Christian mold. This is understandable since the Church had a long tradition of exploring the virtues and vices before translations revealed the earlier discussion of the cardinal virtues in the writings of the ancient Greek philosophers. Aristotle also provided a rather different point of view, focusing more on the development of virtue as a means of living a good, happy, and productive life in one’s earthly community, rather than seeing virtue as the opposite or cure for inherent human vice or sin, which would prohibit one from finding happiness in the afterlife with God. Many Christian writers saw the human soul facing a constant struggle to fight evil once clothed in the mantle of earthly human flesh. Vincent of Beauvais’s advice to mold children carefully with plenty of discipline, but no fables or poetry to rouse the senses, like a gardener cultivating a young sapling, is a telling example of this attitude.

470 Ibid.


472 Richard Newhouser observes that although lists of virtues, the beatitudes, gifts of the Holy Spirit, etc. formed part of catechetical instruction, the virtues and vices, while numerically symmetrical, were not necessarily logically related. The emphasis in pastoral literature was frequently on virtues as “medicinal remedies” for sins, and those remedies might be customized for the different audiences. Richard Newhouser, "Preaching the 'Contrary Virtues'," Mediaeval Studies 70 (2008): 135-62.

473 For a summary of Vincent’s approach see: Dora M. Bell, L'Idéal éthique de la royauté en France au Moyen Age, d'après quelques moralistes de ce temps (Genève: E. Droz, 1962). Joseph McCarthy quotes one relevant section: “... the soul of the child, recently infused into the flesh, is liable to its corruption, and its intellect to such a mist of ignorance and its emotions to such corruption of lust that it is infantile both in understanding and in well-doing ... And so on account of this two-fold infantilism, it is necessary for such a
Nevertheless, there were aspects of Aristotle’s views that resonated with those early Church fathers who could read the Greek texts, and influenced Christian thought even before the full Latin translation of the *Ethics* in the thirteenth century.⁴⁷⁴

We have previously noted Christine de Pizan’s claim that Charles V desired to have “all of the most important books” translated into French for the use of his counsellors, the education of his sons, and, as his translators stated repeatedly, for the common good of the French people.⁴⁷⁵ He was particularly interested in works related to good governance, and he either owned or sought to acquire every major text in the “mirrors for princes” genre that was available at the time.⁴⁷⁶ Some had been translated earlier, or were originally written in French. Examples include: the *Enseignments de Louis IX*, written for Louis’s son, Philippe; Gilles de Rome’s *De regimine principum*,

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⁴⁷⁴ Cary Nederman focused on one example, the *Policraticus* of John of Salisbury, written in the mid-twelfth century, and explained first that Aristotle’s ideas in the *Ethics* and *Politics* were found in other works, such as the *Categories* and *Topics* that were available much earlier, and second, that intermediaries, such as Cicero, also transmitted some of his concepts to the medieval West. Cary J. Nederman, “The Aristotelian Doctrine of the Mean and John of Salisbury’s ‘Concept of Liberty’,” *Vivarium* 24 no. 2 (1986), 128-142.

⁴⁷⁵ “C’est ce que montre à l’evidence sa belle collection de grands livres et la magnifique bibliothèque où il avait réuni les volumes les plus remarquables qu’aient composés les meilleurs auteurs. Qu’il s’agisse des saintes Écritures, de la théologie, de la philosophie ou de toute autre science,... C’est ainsi qu’il fit appel aux maîtres les plus réputés et le plus compétents dans leur science ou discipline pour traduire du latin en français tous les livres les plus importants.” Christine de Pizan, *Le Livre des Fais et Bonnes Moeurs du roi Charles V le Sage*, trans. Eric Hicks and Thérèse Moreau (Paris: Éditions Stock, 1997), 216-217. Approximate translation: “This is proved by the evidence of his fine collection of great books and the magnificent library where he had brought together the most noteworthy volumes composed by the best authors. This involves Holy Scripture, theology, philosophy, and all other sciences,... It is thus that he appealed to the most reputable and most competent masters in their science or discipline to translate from Latin into French all the most important books.”

⁴⁷⁶ Bell provides some historical background before focusing on fourteenth-century works written for French princes, including those written after the death of Charles V. Bell, *L’Idéal éthique de la royauté en France.*
translated by Henri de Gauchy as *Le Livre du gouvernement des rois et des princes* in 1282; the *Somme le Roi*, written by Laurent d'Orléans, confessor of Philippe III; the mid fifteenth-century *Pelerinages* of Guillaume de Digulleville; Jean de Vignay’s translation of the *Le gieu des eschés* sometime before 1350; the *Avis aux roys*, written sometime in the mid fourteenth century; John of Salisbury’s *Policraticus*, translated ca. 1372 by Denis Foulechat; Jean Daudin’s *De la erudition ou enseignement des enfans nobles*, his translation of Vincent of Beauvais’ *De eruditione filiorum nobilium* before 1373; Jean Golein’s translation in 1379 of *L’information des princes*; and of course, the *Songe du vergier*, written for Charles V by Évrart de Trémaugon in 1376 and translated in 1378.

Some of these guides had drawn heavily from Aristotle, especially that of Gilles de Rome, so one can understand the king’s intellectual desire to go to the source, and he knew just who to turn to for such a major translation project involving the works of the great philosopher - Nicole Oresme, who had already established himself as a trusted advisor and translator working for Charles V, and who had also published a number of works on Aristotle while at the University of Paris.477

Nicole Oresme

Little is known of Nicole Oresme’s early life. He was born ca. 1320 in a small village outside of Caen, in the diocese of Bayeux in Normandy. In 1342 he was one of the University of Paris scholars who received a benefice from the Pope, and was

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477 There had been an earlier translation of the Ethics into the vernacular by a Florentine, Taddeo, not long after Grosseteste prepared the Latin version. Brunetto Latini then translated the Italian into French prose in the second book of his *Tresor*, but Oresme drew upon the most trusted Latin translations for his work. Elisabetta Barale, “Le ‘Prologue du translateur’ des Éthiques et de Politiques d’Aristote par Nicole Oresme (1370-1374),” *Corpus Eve* (October 2013), 4.
described as a master of arts at that time.\textsuperscript{478} In 1348 he received a burse to study theology in the College de Navarre.\textsuperscript{479} He became grand master of the College after receiving his license in theology in 1356. It has been suggested that the close ties of the French monarchy with the College de Navarre, which had been founded by Queen Jeanne de Navarre in 1305, explains in part why Jean le Bon sought out Oresme for advice on issues with the French currency sometime before 1356.\textsuperscript{480} It is not known whether Jean or his son Charles had any experience with Oresme outside of Paris as dukes of Normandy. We know that Charles sent him to Rouen in 1360 to negotiate with the city regarding their share of the exhorbitant ransom demanded for the release of King Jean who had been taken at Poitiers in 1356. This was two years before he was made a canon of the cathedral of Rouen. In 1364 he was named dean. It was from Rouen that he was occasionally called by Charles V over the years, and from which he also returned to address university affairs. He spent far more time in Paris during the 1370s, while translating for the king. In fact, Charles himself wrote to the canons at Rouen in 1372, presumably at Oresme’s request, asking for their patience while their superior remained


\textsuperscript{479} William J. Courtenay, “The University of Paris at the Time of Jean Buridan and Nicole Oresme,” \textit{Vivarium} 42 no.1 (2004): 14. Courtenay demonstrates that although Oresme would have been familiar with the work of Jean Buridan, and perhaps have taken a class with him, Buridan, who is often cited as Oresme’s master, would not have supervised his education, due to University requirements to enroll in the Nation that aligned with one’s place of origin.

\textsuperscript{480} J. Gautier-Dalche, “Oresme et son temps,” in \textit{Nicolas Oresme: Tradition et innovation chez un intellectuel du XIVe siècle}, ed. P. Souffrin and A. Ph. Segonds (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1988), 7. Numerous scholars have referred to the College as the cradle of French Humanism. Some readers may be familiar with another notable scholar who was associated with the College de Navarre and was passionate about employing the French language as a tool for education – Jean Gerson, who became Chancellor of the University in 1395.
in Paris working on a project for the king. While he was made bishop of Lisieux in 1377 he did not actually reside there until after Charles died in 1380. He was in Paris in late 1377 and early 1378 for the visit of Charles IV, and was part of the escort of bishops who accompanied the emperor to Vincennes. He was also one of the three clerics who officiated at the funeral of the queen, Jeanne de Bourbon, who died less than a month later, after giving birth to a daughter.

Nicole Oresme served as an advisor to Charles while he was regent, as he faced more than one crisis at home while his father was held prisoner in England. Oresme, the College de Navarre, and the University of Paris as an organization were in favor of the reforms sought by the Estates General in 1356-58. The master may have cited Aristotle’s *Politics* frequently in these early years as he sought to guide the dauphin in respecting the rights of the community and avoiding tyranny. It is assumed that he translated and expanded his own earlier treatise on money, the *Traité des monnoies*, around 1358 for Charles. The scholar was also deeply concerned about the royal preoccupation with astrology, and addressed the folly of placing one’s trust in astrologers

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482 Ties between the French monarchy and the University of Paris were extremely close and mutually supportive, and it was in 1358 that Charles officially guaranteed the royal protection with a royal charter making the University a part of the family, “un fille du roi de France.” Serge Lusignan, "L’université de Paris comme composante de l’identité du royaume de France: Étude sur le thème de la translatio studii," in *Identité régionale et conscience nationale en France et en Allemagne du Moyen Âge à l’époque Moderne: Actes du Colloque Organisé par l’Université Paris XII-Val de Marne, l’Institut Universitaire de France et l’Institut historique allemand à l’Université Paris XII et à la Fondation Singer-Polignac, les 6, 7 et 8 octobre 1993*, ed. Rainer Babel, Jean-Marie Moeglin (Sigmaringen: J. Thorbecke, 1997), 66-67.
in his *Livre de divinacions*. While our interest here is in Oresme as translator and counsellor to the king, his clerical positions involved writing sermons as well, and he had a strong interest in mathematics and science. His enduring reputation in fact stems from his work in the latter. He tried to temper the king’s enthusiasm for astrology with an emphasis on the physical facts, a distinction that today we see between astrology and astronomy. It was no doubt a continuing challenge. His *Traictié de l’espere* (1365-1368), in which he also warns of the dangers of lords trusting in astrological predictions, was bound together with some earlier astrological texts in the king’s copy, including two written by one of the astrologers working for Charles, Pélerin de Prusse. Inserted in the back of this volume are five family horoscopes.

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Nevertheless, we know that Charles respected Nicole Oresme, and had come to value his friendship and counsel. Oresme was among that group that Françoise Autrand has dubbed the “club du roi.” This circle of intellectuals prepared translations of important works and offered stimulating conversation, but never held official political offices. When possible, Charles used his power to place the clerics, like Oresme, into more prestigious ecclesiastical positions as “payment” for their work, but he also granted honorific titles and annual pensions to some. As noted earlier, in discussing the *Songe du vergier*, Charles enjoyed the debates held between these scholars, and it is a credit to his own intellect that he valued hearing (and reading) opposing points of view. Françoise Autrand notes that some of the liveliest debates may have been between Oresme and Trémaugon, over contemporary issues like the Immaculate Conception and the mendicant orders, but also as representatives of their different backgrounds at the University, arts and law. They offered quite opposite points of view on the monarchy itself. Trémaugon’s *Songe* emphasized all of the mythology that presented the French monarchy as established by the will of God, and free from any hint of tyranny. Oresme, always more scientific and pragmatic, held views more in line with those of Aristotle, that the king must represent the community, and even subject himself to correction by the wisest of his people, so as not to slip in the direction of tyranny.

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487 For example, both Raoul de Presles and Évrart de Trémaugon were made *maîtres des requêtes de l’hôtel*. Ibid., 729-730. Philippe de Mézières was also given this rank, in addition to being assigned as tutor to the younger Charles, destined to be Charles VI. Françoise Autrand, "La Culture d’un roi: Livres et amis de Charles V," *Perspectives médiévales* 21 (1995): 101.

488 Ibid., 734.
Oresme emphasizes in his prologue to the *Éthiques et Politiques* that the works of the great philosopher, Aristotle, are the most respected and valued by scholars around the world, and that his books on ethics and politics are of the greatest value for a prince. He praises the king for his efforts to have such important works translated into French for the *bien commun* (common good), for the use of his counsellors and others. He began work on the *Éthiques* in 1370, then focused on the *Politiques* and *Yconomiques* from 1372-1374. Payment records survive from this period, and the strong interest of the king in the project is clear, in the order signed by his own hand of May 21, 1372, in which he instructs Jehan d’Orléans to have copies of the Politics and Ethics delivered to “nostre bien amé le dóyen de Rouen, maistre Nicolle Oresme,” along with two hundred *franz d’or*, so that he can focus on his work for the king over any other responsibilities.

The prologue to the *Éthiques et Politiques* combined is well-known due to the section in which Oresme justifies the translation of such important works as this into French. He enumerates the challenges associated with the task, like so many of his colleagues, but he goes further in associating the state of the French language with that of Latin in antiquity when Roman scholars were translating from the Greek. He sees his task not only as supplying access to his contemporaries at the French court, but also as building the French language, enabling more translations and original works of scholarship in the future. In the process of his work on these texts he introduced

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489 Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale Albert Ier, Ms. 9505-9506, fol. 1r and 1v.

hundreds of neologisms, and made an enduring contribution to the French language.\footnote{For one summary of his importance see: Jeannine Quillet, "Nicole Oresme et la français médiéval," in \textit{Figures de l'ecrivain au Moyen Âge: Actes du colloque du Centre d'études médiévales de l'Université de Picardie, Amiens, 18-20 Mars 1988}, ed. Danielle Buschinger and M"{e}di"{e}vales Universit"{e} de Picardie, Centre d'études (G"{o}ppingen: Kummerle, 1988). See also the section on Oresme in Serge Lusignan, \textit{Parler Vulgairement: Les Intellectuels et la langue fran\c{c}aise aux XIIIe et XIVe si\`{e}cles}, Etudes m"{e}di\`{e}vales, 2nd ed. (Paris and Montr\`{e}al: Vrin; Presses de l'Universit\`{e} de Montr\`{e}al, 1987), 154-166; and also: Lusignan, "Nicole Oresme et la pens\`{e}e de la langue fran\c{c}aise savante," in \textit{Nicole Oresme: Tradition et innovation chez un intellectuel du XIVe si\`{e}cle}, ed. P. Souffrin and A. Ph. Segonds, Science et Humanisme (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1988).} He used a variety of gloss types, providing definitions, identifications, directions, examples, critical observations, and even attempted etymologies, although Susan Babbitt has remarked that his efforts in this area were pure imagination, since he scarcely knew any Greek.\footnote{Babbitt, \textit{Oresme's Livre de Politiques and the France of Charles V}, 10-12.} He drew heavily on the commentary tradition, not really concerned with adding a new perspective, but focused more on making the content accessible to his lay audience. Claire Richter Sherman has demonstrated that the miniatures that accompanied the text in the presentation copy and subsequent personal use copy were instrumental in adding clarity to his explanations.\footnote{Sherman, \textit{Imaging Aristotle}.} Daisy Delogu addresses the importance of such work: “Once these types of texts became available to a non-Latinate public, questions of science, philosophy, ethics, and political theory were no longer the purview of a narrow group of experts, those able to consult the apposite texts in Latin. Instead, the king’s lay counsellors and entourage, indeed the king himself and other nobles, were themselves able to read works of political philosophy, to consider and evaluate the various theories
of kingship that they were to enact.”

The Manuscript

The deluxe presentation copy of Nicole Oresme’s French translation of Aristotle’s *Ethica* is housed in the Bibliotheque Royale de Belgique in Brussels. It was completed sometime before the initial inventory of the king’s library in the Louvre made by his librarian, Gilles Malet, in 1373. A later note reported that his brother, Louis, Duke of Anjou, took it and some other books on October 7, 1380 after the king’s death. After Louis’s death in 1384 the volume was acquired by another brother of the king, Philippe le Hardi, Duke of Burgundy, and it remained in the Burgundian Library until the French Revolution when it was taken to Paris. It was held in the Bibliothèque nationale until

494 Daisy Delogu, *Theorizing the Ideal Sovereign: The Rise of the French Vernacular Royal Biography* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008), 12. The significance of the king’s efforts are clear in the large number of subsequent copies that were made of his translations for other readers.

495 The library’s record is fairly basic: http://belgica.kbr.be/fr/coll/ms/ms9505_06_fr.html. Claire Richter Sherman provided a far more complete description in Appendix I of her book on Oresme’s translations of Aristotle. Claire Richter Sherman, *Imaging Aristotle*, 309-312. The companion volume, containing the *Politiques*, is in a private collection in France, but fortunately Sherman was able to consult it for her research, and she provides reproductions in her book.

496 Described in the inventory as: “Ethiquez, en un volume couvert de soie à queue et fermoires d’or, très bien hystorié. Au duc d’Anjou, 7 d’octobre 1380.” Léopold Delisle, *Recherches sur la Librarie de Charles V*, vol. 2, *Inventaire des libres ayant appartenu aux rois Charles V et Charles VI et a Jean, Duc de Berry* (Paris: H. Champion, Libraire-Éditeur, 1907), no. 481, 81-82. The companion volume, containing the *Politiques* and *Economiques* was described in a similar manner: “Un livre nommé Politiquez et Economiquez, couvert de soye à queue, à deux fermoires d’argent haschiés des armes de France. A mons. d’Anjou 7 octobre 1380.” Delisle, no. 484, 82. Approximate translations: “Ethics, in a volume covered by silk with a skirt and clasps of gold, very well illuminated.” and “A book named Politics and Economics, covered by silk with a skirt, with two clasps of silver engraved with the arms of France.” A clean new scan of Malet’s inventory was added to the Gallica web site in 2015, at: http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/ btv1b105093991. See folios 12r (no. 210) and 13r (no. 237). I extend my appreciation to Professor Nicholas Pickwoad for his explanation of what *soye à queue* might mean in terms of book bindings - likely the elegant skirt-like extension from the cloth covering that one sees over hands and laps in fifteenth-century panel paintings.
1815, and then was returned to Brussels. This relatively controlled history is no doubt in part responsible for the manuscript’s very good condition.

My own physical observations are based solely on the digital facsimile of the Éthiques available on the library’s website (Figures 112 and 113). The manuscript was originally described as covered with silk, as were many other manuscripts owned by Charles V. Such luxury materials, of course, were not destined to survive. In 1970 a modern quarter binding of wood and red leather replaced an earlier one of brown leather. The binder, M. J. Marchoul of Belgium, whose label is attached to one of the added flyleaves in the back, apparently used a portion of the previous binding, with its gold foliate edge pattern, as the back pastedown. Despite the binding changes over time, all leaves have remained in good condition.

The codex is composed of 224 parchment leaves measuring 318 x 216 mm, with a text block of 208 x 150 mm, leaving considerable margins, even beyond the area reserved for the glosses. After the prologue, this first edition made for Charles was ruled for two columns of text in 37 lines, approximately 100 mm wide, surrounded on all four

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497 Sherman, Imaging Aristotle, 311.

498 The digitized version is available at: http://images.kbr.be/multi/KBR_9505-06Viewer/image Viewer.html. While the viewer offers a zoom capability, I have found that at times one is unable to view the very bottom of a folio in close detail, due to the design of the viewer, and was therefore not able to see and read all of the complete catchwords. I rely on Sherman’s description for the structure of the manuscript, which is comprised in large part, but not solely, of quires of 4 bifolia. Sherman, Imaging Aristotle, 309-310.

499 “Ethiquez, en un volume couvert de soie à queue et fermoirs d’or....” Delisle, Recherches, 2:81 no. 481. Delisle highlighted some of the coverings described in the inventories in his study of the royal library. Delisle, Recherches, 1: 45-46.

500 I rely on Sherman’s observations for the more precise millimeter measurements. Sherman, Imaging Aristotle, 310.
sides by ruled areas for glossing. The outer margins were used sparingly for large Roman numerals indicating the beginnings of chapters, catchwords, and nota signs. Perhaps Oresme, or the libraire who oversaw the production of the manuscript, imagined that Charles might add his own comments in these generous margins. Book numbers are maintained along the top of each recto. Each book begins with a rubricated descriptive paragraph and a list of all of the chapters. As noted, the chapter numbers are introduced in the margins, while rubrics within the text make it easy to locate the beginning (Figure 116). Rubrics are also employed to identify the keyword that Oresme explains in his gloss. A wide variety of obvious signes-de-renvoi (tie marks) link the glosses to the text, most fairly simple and conventional, but some more playful, like pitchers and cups. The nota signs are also quite obvious, surrounded by devices that are used to enclose the catchwords as well. Red and blue alternate for both the initials and paraphs, and are used in combination for the decorative line endings. While the structure of the page suggests a scholarly text, the generous use of color, neatness of the textualis formata script and limited use of abbreviations were all intended to make this challenging subject matter easy to read.\footnote{Sherman identifies the scribe only as someone close to Raoulet d’Orléans. Sherman, Imaging Aristotle, 210. One of best known of the écrivains du roi, Raoulet usually signed his work. He was commissioned to make the subsequent, smaller set of Aristototle’s works for Charles, which contains not only his signature, but also an explanation of his method for distinguishing between original text and gloss in this later version that switched to inline glossing. Richard H. Rouse and Mary A. Rouse, Manuscripts and Their Makers: Commercial Book Producers in Medieval Paris, 1200-1500, Illiterati et uxorati (Turnhout: Harvey Miller Publishers, 2000), vol. 2, 278.}

Eleven miniatures accompany the text, one for each of the ten books, as well as one preceding the prologue. Most are simple one-column miniatures, but two, for books 1 and 5, fill half of the folio. Most are framed by the red, white and blue quadrilobes that
were used so frequently in the king’s books of the 1370s. All have been attributed to the Master of the Bible of Jean de Sy and his shop. Aspects of his hand may be readily compared between the four-part frontispiece to Book I in the Éthiques and the illuminations in the Songe du Vergier, previously discussed (Figures 113 and 118). The lion’s heads on Dagobert’s Throne are the same, forms that can vary considerably among the artists who represent them, as are the eyes of his figures. His characteristic manner of applying paint when working with color is evident - a rather painterly, almost impressionistic approach using tiny dabbed strokes. This is broken by occasional strong black lines to clearly separate forms, such as hands and feet, from the ground behind. The kneeling figure of Oresme in the presentation quadrilobe of the four-part frontispiece is troubling however (Figure 115). The lack of logic in the folds of his garment, resulting in an apparently severed far left knee, is not what one expects from the master. The author’s form in the single image presentation, or commissioning scene, that precedes the prologue is far more successful, although Sherman notes that the head of Charles is over-large in proportion to his body, and believes that an assistant was involved here (Figure 114).\footnote{Sherman, Imaging Aristotle, 47.} The king’s head is larger than that of the author in both presentation scenes. It may have been intended as a device to emphasize his greater importance, or perhaps, to draw attention to his differing facial expressions in each scene.

The Éthiques seems to contain two presentation miniatures based on the same model. The author kneels to the left facing the king on the right, who is turned to face him, seated on a lion-headed faldstool. Both the inclusion of a conical canopy overhead,
and the relative privacy of this moment call to mind the famous commemorative frontispiece by Jean Bondol of Jean de Vaudetar’s 1371 presentation to Charles of a luxury *Bible historiale*, a manuscript that the Jean de Sy Master was also involved in illuminating (Figure 117). There Vaudetar holds his gift open to a full-page image of Christ in Majesty, to which the king points, rather than actually touching the book, placing the emphasis on the splendid quality of the manuscript, not on the actual acceptance of the codex. Nothing but the canopy and a fleur-de-lis backdrop localize this event at the king’s court. More attention is given in the Bondol painting to conveying a sense of depth beyond the delicate trefoil arch that both frames and overlaps them. The *Éthiques* miniatures include some shimmering gold curtains behind the king, supported by a rod that creates a rectilinear space. At first glance the angle suggests that it is moving away from the viewer. However, other uses of such dividers will demonstrate that the artist is actually trying to suggest an enclosure around the foreground figures. The curtains are apparently responsible for this somewhat private audience that the king holds with his scholar, and the artist emphasizes their attempted privacy by breaking it, with a figure at the far right who clutches the fabric and peers out from behind. Why did the artist(s) of the *Éthiques* repeat the same composition almost immediately on the verso of the next folio? Are there any noteworthy differences between the two miniatures?

Claire Richter Sherman has convincingly demonstrated the didactic function of the relatively few miniatures that embellish this manuscript, and the careful choices made
within each image. I believe that the few subtle differences between Figure 114 and Figure 115 are not just indications of workshop involvement, but may hold some meaning. The first miniature shows the king wearing his crown with his relatively informal clothing, a blue mantle lined with white fur. He leans forward with a rather intense expression on his face as he reaches toward the book. However, rather than hold or cradle the spine as he does in the other image, he seems to almost push it towards Oresme. The author’s posture is quite erect and his manner, especially the cupped left hand, might be read as one of acceptance of the king’s instructions. In the other image, Oresme leans toward the king and proffers the book to him, while Charles actually takes the spine of the book in hand and accepts it with a smile. A survey of presentation images reveals that artists often have difficulty representing the hands in a naturalistic manner as the codex is passed between them, yet the recipient, if he touches the book, does seem to try to take hold of it in some fashion. The presentation poses on folio 2v are repeated later in the Jean de Sy Master’s Songe du Vergier miniature (Figure 118), where Charles also cradles the spine. The differences may be subtle, but with so many similarities between the Éthiques images, such changes do stand out. The king’s appearance in the second miniature has changed slightly, where he wears a simple béguin rather than his crown, although Oresme’s costume is fairly consistent. The change from

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504 Oresme’s blue sleeves are no doubt inappropriate for his clerical garb, but serve to mirror the color of the king’s arm in order to enframe the book’s red cover against the gold curtain.
red to blue in the fleur-de-lis background perhaps prompted a lighter, rosier hue for the translator’s mantle. The book itself is not the same. The first appears rather loose, held with only one strap. The second is held tightly with two; its stiff rectilinearity makes it appear crisp and new. Perhaps these miniatures are meant to refer separately to the beginning and culmination of the translation project.

By comparison, we might look at an image of Marcus Tullius Cicero handing a book off to a young man for delivery to his friend, Titus Pomponius Atticus in a 1405 manuscript of *De senectute/Livre de vieillesse* (Figure 119).\(^505\) The differences between the hands of the sender and the recipient are somewhat comparable to those between the two images of Charles, and at least open up the possibility for an intentional differentiation in the *Ethiques* as well. Unfortunately, other scenes of Charles ordering a translation do not utilize the same posture. In those he is often shown pointing, the common gesture of command.\(^506\)

The first Oresme miniature, perhaps the commissioning of the translation, precedes the beginning of the prologue to both the *Éthiques* and *Politiques*, in which Oresme identifies the texts, himself, and the owner who commanded the work: “Ci commence la translacion des livres de ethiques et politiques translatez par maistre

\(^505\) This manuscript, containing a translation of Cicero by Laurent de Premierfadt is discussed by Anne Hedeman, *Translating the Past: Laurent De Premierfadt and Boccaccio's De Casibus* (Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2008), 24-34.

\(^506\) Other commissioning scenes are in the later combined *Ethiques, politiques et yconomiques*, BnF ms. fr. 204 (fig. 13) and the multiple copies of the Corbechon translation of the *De proprietatibus rerum* that use the full quadripartite frontispiece. The original has been lost. Donal Byrne discusses extant copies of the king’s manuscripts, and suggests that the closest to the original is BL Add. MS. 11612. In that image Charles, who is again facing left, does touch the book, but quite awkwardly with his left hand as he holds his speech scroll with his right. Donal Byrne, “Rex imago Dei: Charles V of France and the Livre des propriétés des choses,” *Journal of Medieval History* 7 (1981): 97-113.
Nichole Oresme. Le proheme. En la confiance de laide de nostre seigneur ihesucrist, du commandement de tres noble et tres excellent prince, Charles, par la grace de dieu roy de france, Je propose translater de latin en francois aucuns livres les quelx fist aristote le souverain philosoph, qui fu docteur et conseillier du grant roy alexandre. He discusses the importance of Aristotle and his works and the challenge of translating this scholarly material from Latin into French, but goes on to justify the effort, noting that the ancient Romans had once faced similar challenges translating from Greek into Latin. In fact, he mentions finding some problematic sections in the medieval Latin translations of Aristotle from Greek with which he has been working. He closes the prologue by emphasizing again that the king had requested the translation: “Donques puis ie bien encore conclurre que la consideracion et le propos de nostre bon roy Charles est a recommender qui fait les bons livres et excellens translater en francois.”

The second Oresme miniature, the presentation, is the top left panel of a four-part frontispiece on folio 2v, and precedes the beginning of Book I, which commences with a large six-line initial (Figure 113). Sherman has tied the family group to the right of the

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507 Text transcribed from: Aristoteles, Ethica, trans. Nicole Oresme, Brussels, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique (KBR), ms. 9505-9506, folio 1. Approximate translation: “Here begins the translation of the Books of Ethics and Politics, translated by Master Nicole Oresme. The prologue. With confidence in the aid of Our Lord Jesus Christ, at the command of the very noble and very excellent Prince Charles, by the grace of God king of France, I propose to translate from Latin into French some books which Aristotle wrote, the eminent philosopher who was doctor and counsellor of the great King Alexander.” The mention of King Charles at the beginning of the prologue may have been deemed sufficient to identify the owner since the royal arms are not included at the base of the leaf, as in many of his other codices.

508 KBR, ms. 9505-9506, folio 2r. Approximate translation: “Therefore can I again well conclude that one must commend the [wise] deliberation and intent of our good king, who had good and excellent books translated into French.”

509 The rubricated introduction to the Éthiques as a whole, and the following list of chapters for Book I is placed at the end of folio 2r, and thus precedes the image. Every book is preceded by a list of the chapters included.
presentation to other miniatures in “mirrors of kings princes” texts that show the monarch taking responsibility for the education of his own family, especially his heir. She has also identified content within the book that explains the inclusion of the two lower subjects. In the bottom left a king, which may or may not have been intended to represent Charles, listens attentively with other adult students to a master providing instruction. On the right, a child is escorted out of a classroom, because he is not yet mature enough for the material. All four scenes are unified by the wise behavior of the king who not only requests, accepts and then reads and studies French translations of important works himself, but ensures the preparation of his children for their responsibilities, and at the same time benefits all of society, with his translation projects that contribute to the common good.

These two miniatures with Oresme before Charles raise a number of questions. Who is the person peering out from behind the curtain? Are there any precedents in other miniatures for such curtained spaces? Are they merely artistic compositional devices used as visual aids, or do they reflect contemporary practice? How were curtains actually employed in royal residences? Did the king ever really have any privacy? Where was it, and who would he be willing to welcome into that space? Are other authors presented alone with the recipient of the book? Was there an established formula? We turn first to a review of the presentation as type, and then to other seemingly private presentations before looking at the physical context of the royal residences of Charles V of France.

510 Sherman, Imaging Aristotle, 50-55.
The Presentation Miniature

The act of presenting a completed book is one of the most frequently encountered contexts in which a medieval author is represented, second only to the activity of writing itself. Such images have a long history in the Middle Ages. They derive from the tradition of depicting individuals or groups offering gifts of many types to either earthly rulers or heavenly authority figures - churches, monasteries, and of course, books.

Perhaps the best known early example is the full-page miniature commemorating the gift of a large luxury bible to Charles the Bald, which is placed in the back of the book following a lengthy colophon and dedication in gold ink on a rich purple ground (Figure 4). Here Count Vivien, who also served as abbot of the Abbey of St. Martin at Tours, is shown overseeing the presentation of the manuscript, which was produced in that abbey’s scriptorium, in a splendid, very public ceremony. Generally, such an official acceptance and acknowledgement is the hoped-for result that lies behind these images, since they are painted and included in the completed book before it is given to the recipient. The Bible historiale presented by Jean de Vaudetar to Charles V is remarkable, and perhaps unique, in containing a presentation miniature that was added after the fact (Figure 117). That image is believed to have been ordered by the king himself to commemorate the gift. An inscription on the opposite folio states that it was painted by his “pictor regis, Johannes de Brugis,” identified as the Jean Bondol mentioned in the court records beginning in 1368.511 The work of a professional court painter rather than an illuminator, it stands out

from the rest of the miniatures in the volume, which were executed by the Master of the Bible of Jean de Sy.

While the Vaudetar presentation miniature highlights the beauty of the book and the personal relationship between the two men, it really tells us almost nothing about how the book actually changed hands. Was it a very public affair? Did Jean de Vaudetar actually kneel and present the book to the king? Did it pass from his hands into those of Charles, or was there an intermediary? Dhira Mahoney calls attention to the account of Jean Froissart, who prepared a deluxe copy of his works for King Richard II.\textsuperscript{512} This is recounted in Book Four of his Chronicles.\textsuperscript{513} He tells of the days involved in waiting for the just the right moment to give it to him, and when the time came he actually placed it on the king’s bed rather than hand it over to him directly, so that the king could pick it up and open it for himself. Richard asked about the contents and read a few selections aloud and then turned it over to one of his knights to be placed in the king’s private room for later. While Froissart was no doubt thrilled at the positive reception of his work, the event did not conform with his expectations, nor did it adhere to the formula found repeated in presentation and dedication miniatures, affirming the assertion of Mahoney and others that these images do not, for the most part, document actual events, but represent an ideal situation involving personal contact and public recognition, giving


visual form to the text of the prologue. The conventional kneeling presenter reinforces the humility topos of the author while emphasizing the status of the patron who is likewise praised in the prologue text. Such images remind the reader of the source, and the desired personal relationship, every time the book is opened.

A brief review of some of the fourteenth-century manuscripts we have surveyed will illustrate the conventional context for a presentation – the *Faits et paroles memorables des Romains* of Valerius Maximus, the *Voies de Dieu* of Elizabeth of Schonau, and a later copy of Aristotle’s *Éthiques et Politiques* (Figures 13, 16, 108). In each instance the king is accompanied by some members of his court, who bear witness as these authors submit their finished products to the king.\(^{514}\) Often the sergeant at arms is present, holding his mace (the one in Figure 108 stands out most clearly since it overlaps the frame). Some additional details also suggest a formal setting - the king’s crown, fleur-de-lis robe, gold lion-headed faldstool or elaborate chair. Other miniatures include a full throne, and/or a cloth of honor and canopy overhead, such as that decorated with the fleur-de-lis motif in Jean Golein’s translation of the *Opuscules de Bernard Gui*.\(^{515}\) The Golein miniature also shows Charles holding the *main de justice*, further emphasizing the official nature of the interaction. While all of these presentations involved scholars who translated Latin works into French at the request of the king, the


\(^{515}\) Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reginensi latini, 697 (dated 1369). For a reproduction see Sherman, *The Portraits of Charles V of France*, fig. 2.
formula would be the same if they were delivering original works, or actual gifts. Technically, if the works were unsolicited, such images would be dedication miniatures rather than presentations. Giving one’s work to someone of status, with their retinue around them, ensured a measure of recognition, and one hoped, some kind of compensation as well. Christine de Pizan is one of many who employed this tactic. A very similar formal draping to that behind the king in the Jean Golein manuscript is utilized in her post-1400 dedication of the *Épitre d’Othéa* to Duke Louis d’Orléans, the younger son of Charles V (Figure 113). Both presentations and dedications are found in copies made for other readers as well, documenting the origins of the works, although over time the exact identity of the original recipient may no longer be retained and a generic king or prince may assume the role, or alternatively, the author may choose to customize a subsequent copy for a new beneficiary.\(^{516}\)

Although these formal, more substantive presentations are what we might consider the standard, there are also quite a number of summary presentations, minimizing the details, perhaps down to only the author and the recipient. These might be used when little space is available, such as within a large initial, or a very small miniature of comparable size. Later copies of texts, or large compilations involving multiple authors/translators often include such images. For example, Charles V owned a collection of “mirrors of princes” texts in which each work was preceded by a very basic presentation, with no real setting, perhaps even an earthen ground before a diaper pattern

\(^{516}\) We have noted examples of this in a previous chapter, with later copies of Simon de Hesdin’s translation of Valerius Maximus.
background.\textsuperscript{517} For example, Jean de Vignay is shown presenting his translation of the *Livre des Esches* to Jean le Bon within one selection, with only costumes and a baldacchin over the king’s head to provide context. Although the miniature is directly above the prologue which dedicates it, King Jean looks for all the world like his son, Charles, a readily available model for the illuminator (Figure 114). In another much larger collection of texts, Henri de Gauchy, who translated Gilles de Rome in 1282, presents the *Livre du gouvernement des roys et des princes* to the future Philippe IV (Figure 115). In neither instance does the artist seem to suggest that this was truly a private moment, but only to allude to what the reader is meant to assume was a more conventional ideal. Such shortcuts may be found in manuscripts dated earlier than the fourteenth-century as well.\textsuperscript{518} I don’t think we’ll find a true intention to portray an exclusive encounter between presenter and recipient before Charles V.

The first instance of a genuinely private presentation that seems quite calculated appears in the collection of astrological texts mentioned above.\textsuperscript{519} The illuminator

\textsuperscript{517} Besançon Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 434.

\textsuperscript{518} Primat is shown before Philippe III within an historiated initial at the beginning of the prologue on folio 1 of the *Grandes chroniques de France* made for him ca. 1274 (Bibliothèque St. Geneviève, ms. 782), while the more official presentation involving a larger ensemble is represented in a two-column wide miniature on folio 326v that accompanies a colophon addressed to the king. For more on this manuscript see: Anne Hedeman, *The Royal Image: Illustrations of the Grandes Chroniques de France, 1274-1422* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991).

\textsuperscript{519} The dating of this collection has not been firmly established. Ralph Hanna feels that the compilation was made after the individual texts existed independently for some time, since there is considerable wear on the initial folios of each. Ralph Hanna, *A Descriptive Catalogue*, 228. Although the astrologer’s works date to the early 1360s, and that by Oresme has been dated 1365-1368, Avril has assigned a date to the manuscript between 1373, the year of the the birth of Isabelle de France, and 1377, death date of Marie de France, both of whom were represented among the family horoscopes included in the back. François Avril, “Manuscrits,” in *Les Fastes du Gothique: le siècle de Charles V* (Paris: Éditions de la Réunion des musées nationaux, 1981), 335. Avril attributes the miniatures to someone in the shop of the Master of the Bible of
emphasizes the king’s privacy by first placing him alone in his study on folio 1 of Nicole Oresme’s *Traité de l’espere*, the first text in the compilation (Figure 116). A rich red curtain defines this corner space against a blue fleur de lis wall behind. The king is seated in a sturdy wooden chair with a curved canopy overhead. We know that it is the king, and not a working author, as he wears a royal blue robe lined with white fur, and his crown. A gold brocade cloth is tacked up behind his back and his feet rest on a gold cushion below. He rests his left hand on his lap while consulting an open book on an octagonal table to his right, which holds three additional closed books and an armillary sphere up above. To his left is a mounted cabinet that holds more books. It’s not clear whether the artist intended to refer to a particular royal residence, but we may be confident that every one had an area set aside as his study. This image of Charles alone with his reading is followed on folio 2 by a scholar, presumed to be the author, Oresme, standing alone under a gold baldachin in a 15-line high deluxe initial “L” at the beginning of the first chapter on “Le Monde,” holding and pointing to a large armillary

Jean de Sy who also participated in the illumination of the Vaudetar Bible. The close similarity to the Éthiques presentation supports a comparable date of ca. 1372 or later.

520 The manuscript has not been digitized and made available online. Color reproductions may be found in an online copy of a paper delivered by Jon Mackley. Jon S. Mackley, "Nicole Oresme’s treatises on cosmography and divination: a discussion of the Treatise of the Sphere," Paper presented to: *Starcraft: Watching the Heavens in the Early Middle Ages, University College London, 30 June - 1 July 2012*, http://nectar.northampton.ac.uk/4426/1/Mackley20124426.pdf. The horoscope for the king’s son Louis is reproduced in Mackley’s talk, Mackley, 2.

521 We will turn to what is known of the royal residences shortly. We are aware of the importance to the king of his study from the biography written by Christine de Pizan, *Le livre des faits et bonnes meurs du sage roy Charles Ve*, composed early in the fifteenth century at the request of his brother, the Duke Philippe le Hardi. This image may be compared with the other famous depiction of the king alone in his study from 1372 in Denis Foulechat’s translation of Jean of Salisbury’s *Policraticus*, BnF, ms. fr. 24287, folio 2r. Technically, the king’s privacy was interrupted there, since the hand of God projects from a little cloud in the ceiling of his alcove, and His word is present in the open book praising the studious king (fig. 126).
sphere (Figure 117).\footnote{This is the author portrait for Oresme in his \textit{Traité de l’espere} (1365-1368). Oresme is also shown alone with an armillary sphere in one of the most frequently reproduced images of the scientist, from a copy of the treatise that was in the library of Jean de Berry (BnF ms. fr. 565, folio 1; Figure 147). There Oresme sits writing at this desk, set back in the space of the setting with a very large armillary sphere placed in the immediate foreground on a tall support like a floor lamp.} However, it will not be Oresme who is shown making his presentation in the king’s private space previously illustrated, but rather one of the royal astrologers, Pélerin de Prusse, who is depicted in the same setting with the king before the beginning of one of his texts on folio 33 (Figure 118).

The De Prusse presentation miniature describes the same corner space defined by the red curtains against the blue patterned walls, although this image appears to have been painted by a different hand. Charles again has a book open on the table next to him, but his right hand rests on the table as he looks away from his reading towards the author who kneels in the left corner in front of the table and offers him a new codex.\footnote{Two works by De Prusse are bound in this collection, his \textit{Livret de elecciones} of 1361 and from 1362 the \textit{Pratique de astralabe}. This presentation to the king is thus a pure fiction, since the works were written and presented to Charles while he was still the dauphin.} The armillary sphere is replaced by a second tier on the table. A tricolor quadrilobe frames this scene, overlapping the figures somewhat, and creating a sense that the viewer is peering in through a window. We are quite convinced that no one else is in that space other than the king and De Prusse.

Both the Pélerin de Prusse frontispiece and Oresme’s \textit{Éthiques} presentation in a private space with an observing courtier were preceded in 1371 by a simpler depiction of the king’s physician, Gervaise Chretien, gifting him with a translation of the \textit{Livre de Mandeville}, while someone peeks out from behind a curtain (Figure 119). The text is an adventure tale similar to the travels of Marco Polo, but shrouded in mystery. The
supposed author, Jean de Mandeville, claims to be a knight recording his memories of adventures in a number of exotic locations. However, researchers have been unable to find biographical records to match up with this individual, and his writing indicates dependence on a wide range of existing texts. Despite its questionable authenticity, it was an extremely popular romance (or reference book, depending on the reader) in late medieval Europe, and was translated into several vernacular languages. The youthful noble author is shown in the top left of the four-part frontispiece, identified by the chain mail underneath his cotehardie. He is seated on a chair similar to the one that Charles had in his study. He holds his book open in his left hand and points with his right, apparently reading his text to an unseen audience. A striped curtain suspended on a rod behind to the right has been pulled up to break the privacy of his space.

A similar curtain is used in the top right quadrilobe where Gervaise Chretien kneels before Charles to offer his book. The balding physician is dressed in a blue mantle lined with white that stands out against the red background. The king is seated on a bench, turned to face the visitor. He wears a white-lined rose-colored mantle, another color that was used extensively for kings in this time period. Both men touch the book with one hand, but gesture with their other hands, the pointing fingers indicating that they are in conversation, no doubt about the content of the book. Behind Charles is the curtain made of the same striped fabric, suspended on a rod that curves up at the end to keep it

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524 Susanne Röhl states that 300 copies in ten European languages are known. In her article she mentions three copies just in the library of Charles V, and discusses the importance of this manuscript presented by Gervaise as a source for later copies distributed among the royal family. Susanne Röhl, "Le Livre de Mandeville à Paris autour de 1400," in Patrons, Authors and Workshops: Books and Book Production in Paris Around 1400, éd. Godfried Croenen et Peter Ainsworth, Synthema, 4 (Louvain, Paris et Dudley: Peeters, 2006), 279-295.
from sliding off. An observer takes hold of the fabric with one hand and pulls it back just
enough to peek out from behind. The king’s privacy appears elusive and temporary.

Such curtains seem to proliferate in manuscript illuminations from the 1370s. In
the large collection of instructional texts mentioned earlier, Besançon ms. 434, which like
the Éthiques is also dated to 1372, curtains of several different patterns and colors, and in
various configurations, are plentiful. The four-part frontispiece of the first book sets the
tone. In the top left quadrilobe is a king kneeling at his cloth-covered prie-dieu with an
open book before him, facing the altar attended by clerics in the right scene (Figure 120).
A small group of monks gathers around an open book on a lectern singing. A close view
of both books reveals some legible texts (Figure 121). An “aleluia” is repeated in the
book used for chanting. The king’s book contains just a few clear letters that seem to
reference the title of the work this frontispiece precedes, an Enseignement des princes.
Some plain curtains form a protective alcove around the altar on the right, while the king
on the left kneels before a luxurious patterned hanging divider. The rather simplistic
suggestion of perspective again makes it difficult to read this space at first glance, the
angle of the box seems to move away from the viewer, but with figures peering in on
both sides it becomes easier to flip the perspective and imagine this as a private enclosure
for the king, which is clearly providing only a limited amount of seclusion for his
religious observance in the foreground.525 The sergeant at arms manages to hold back the

525 An earlier image, on the last folio of a Bible historiale, depicts Charles as dauphin at prayer before an
enthroned Madonna and Child. Two parallel curtains are suspended on rods behind him, with one pulled
back in such a way that it suggests, despite the lack of spatial logic, that it was originally between him and
the viewer, giving him some privacy in his prayers. Bibliothèque nationale de France ms. fr. 5707, folio
368r. See: http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8455785h. Another earlier image of Charles kneeling
before the Madonna and Child before a curtain guarded by a sergeant at arms may be found on a charter of
group at the left, but another man peers in from the right. The two quadrilobes below contain two different groups of men conferring among themselves. On the left the king consults with bishops and nobles of high rank. The group on the right is not as clearly identified, but their shorter garments suggest a lower status. Since the careful selection of one’s advisors is a commonplace in instructional texts for princes, this group may be intended as a contrast to the group of ideal counsellors gathered around the king.

The book contains many images of kings listening attentively to scholars, in a variety of groupings. Some conform to the traditional teaching master type (Figure 122). Others recall the convention of an audience listening to a sermon (Figure 123). There are also quite a few that place the king, alone or with his family, in a semi-private space defined by a curtains, with a scholar for private instruction (Figure 124). The selected example shows curious observers looking over the top of the curtains rather than around the sides.\textsuperscript{526} These broad rich colored vertical stripes seem to be unique to the miniatures of this one unidentified artist, and break from the more subtle pastel horizontal stripes, which occur elsewhere in this manuscript, and in others of the time.\textsuperscript{527} Both striped and

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1366 granting gifts to the cathedral of Rouen. This image is reproduced in Sherman, \textit{The Portraits of Charles V of France}, fig. 40.

\textsuperscript{526} In addition to the conventional author portraits and presentations in this manuscript I have identified the following categories: sermons – 40r, 91v, 353r, 359r; teaching master – 339r; conventional kneeling clerics providing instruction – 46r, 96r; curtained conferences -151v, 158v, 171v; book presentations with curtains – 245r, 293r. Another category suggests the scholarly debates Charles enjoyed. In these images a standing scholar, not a cleric behind a lectern, addresses the king and a small group – folios 116r, 142v, 184v. And in one very interesting miniature, the seated king takes a turn and addresses his standing advisors – folio 209r.

\textsuperscript{527} This artist, who has difficulty describing the human form, also experiments with the folds of the curtains, alternating between the illusion of long vertical folds and shadows that convey a sense of sagging weight, in spite of the very regular, consistent rings from which they are suspended. Horizontally striped curtains also appear in a presentation (with missing book) in a copy of Mathieu le Vilain’s translation of Aristotle’s \textit{Meteorologica} which was made for Charles V (Brussels, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, ms.}
solid colored curtains may be found in earlier books, but the context in those earlier images always seems to be the bedchamber. A particularly lively use of striped curtains matching the bedspread, may be found in a mid fourteenth-century initial miniature from a Roman de la Rose (Figure 125). The abundance of curtains in manuscripts of the 1370s that are hung in some interior space, executed by a number of different artists, suggest that these are not just artistic devices employed by the miniaturists, but that curtains may have been used in a wide variety of ways in royal residences, not just as cloths of honor suspended behind the enthroned monarch, or to make the sleeping environment more comfortable, but to define other spaces as well.

Textiles in Paris

Before exploring how suspended curtains may have functioned in fourteenth-century palaces it makes sense to take a moment to ascertain what fabrics were available in Paris and how they were used. Sharon Farmer, whose recent research has focused primarily on the Parisian silk industry, has also provided a useful summary of the wide variety of textiles produced in the city, for those of us unfamiliar with terms such as biffe and tiretaine.\textsuperscript{528} While we are accustomed to thinking of Flanders for wool production

\textsuperscript{528} Per Farmer, biffes were mid-level woolen fabrics, while tiretaines were a lighter weight cloth for summer use, usually a mix of wool and linen, but sometimes of linen and silk. Sharon Farmer, “Biffes, tiretaines and ammonières: The Role of Paris in the International Textile Markets of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries,” in Medieval Clothing and Textiles, 2, ed. Robin Netherton and Gale R. Owen-Crocker (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2006. Her book on Parisian silk textile manufacture was recently released, in November 2016. S. Farmer, The Silk Industries of Medieval Paris: Artisanal Migration,
and Italian imports for silk, Farmer describes the important role played by Paris in the North during the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. Paris ranked first in the production and export of the mid-level wool fabrics known as *biffes*; had a strong linen industry, with products especially valued by the English and the Papal court in Avignon; dominated the tapestry industry, along with Arras, in the early fourteenth century; and was a source for fine embroideries as well. In addition, while it had long been an important source for small luxury goods - silk ribbons, belts and purses, the tax records indicate that by 1290 the weaving of silk cloth was firmly established in Paris as well, and was an important source for fine fabrics (silks, velvet and cloth of gold) not just for the French court, but also for the English, until the beginning of the Hundred Years War. Farmer’s extensive research on the silk industry in Paris uses tax assessments to trace the growth of production from 1260 to 1313, but also benefits from other documents. For example, a statute of 1324 gave the mercers, the most powerful of six guilds associated with silk production, complete authority over all Parisian silks, in order to guarantee quality. Inferior cloth would be destroyed, and the producers fined.

Of particular interest for our purposes are the records of the English court, which made purchases of Parisian silk every year between 1324-1333. Farmer notes that over

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*Farmer, “Biffes, tiretaines and ammonières.”*  
half of those purchases indicated a striped fabric. The Hundred Years War may have resulted in a disruption to the export market, but the French nobility continued to make substantial purchases. Might they, in fact, have supported the local industry by purchasing more Parisian products? Records are spotty due to significant losses, but accounts of special events, such as coronations and royal entries, plus post-mortem inventories provide some indication of court consumption. While the images suggest a continuing appreciation for striped silk, Nadine Gasq-Berger confirms this in her section on textiles in the catalog for the exhibition on art during the reign of Charles V, writing that “Cette disposition est très courante: draps d’or à rayures en soie de différentes couleurs.”

Combing through extant records for information about curtains and wall hangings can be frustrating. Whether recording purchases or an inventory of personal possessions the descriptions, of necessity, had to be brief. Marguerite Keane has just published a book focused on the testament of former queen Blanche of Navarre, second wife of

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532 The French nobility still imported Mediterranean silks as well.

533 Froissart’s account of the entry of Isabeau into Paris in 1389, four years after their marriage, gives particular attention to the luxurious silks used in many contexts along the way: “And the whole of the Grand’Rue Saint-Denis was roofed over with camlet and silk, as sumptuously as though cloth could be had for nothing or as though this had been Alexandria or Damascus.” Jean Froissart, Chronicles, 354.


535 Frédérique Lachaud offers an introduction to the challenges as well as to possible resources. Frédérique Lachaud, "Documents financiers et histoire de la culture matérielle: les textiles dans les comptes des hôtels royaux et nobiliaires (France et Angleterre, XIIe-XVe siècle)," Bibliothèque de l’école des chartes, 164 no. 1 (2006): 71-96.
Philippe VI. She lived what was then a long life. Born only seven years before Charles V she outlived him by eighteen, dying in October of 1398. As a widow and an old woman, her belongings were relatively modest, yet reading her recorded will may help to shed some light on how fabrics were described and used. She owned five sets of liturgical textiles, *chapelles*, which could be used to create a space for Mass in any location. Keane describes the frontal (*frontier*) and rear (*dossier*) hangings for an altar, but we can easily imagine a more deluxe ensemble such as that represented in Figure 120 for Charles V. Blanche also designated eight sets of room hangings in her will.

This latter category is especially tricky. The term generally used for such a set is *chambre*. While we would like to see these as wall hangings such as those in the study of Charles V (Figures 116 and 118), this word is routinely used to describe the curtained enclosures for beds, which became increasingly elaborate over the course of the fourteenth century. Lachaud notes that fifty-nine *chambres* were recorded in the inventory made for Charles V in the year before he died. While fifty-nine may seem

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538 Ibid., 192.


like a large number for such complete ensembles, we recall that bedrooms (also designated as *chambres*) were not entirely private places, and these hangings were considered an important part of the room decor, to be changed with the season or occasion. Keane includes a description of Blanche de Navarre’s favorite set that she pulled out when friends were coming to visit: “nostre chambre vert entiere, que l’en tent en nostre hotel quant noz amis viennent devers nous; et est à V compas, en chascun une losenge de noz armes qui est environnée d’un compas fueilleté de feuilles blanches et yndes.” Such ensembles not only became more luxurious in their fabrics and decoration, but more extensive as well, eventually completely surrounding the bed, and included matching draped fabric and cushions on the benches in the room. Two manuscripts, one for Charles VI, and one for his queen, Isabeau, illustrate the trend while also demonstrating the increased attention that artists were able to give to these interiors after 1400 (Figures 126 and 127).

The description of Blanche’s green *chambre* might easily be confused with fabrics hung on the walls to help warm the room, which may be what is shown in the study of Charles V (Figures 116 and 118). However, these could be what are described as *tapis*, a word that sometimes designates tapestries or wall hangings. This term does not refer only to figural or narrative tapestries, but to other wall decor as well, and in

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1879), 362-371, nos. 3533-3594. Many curtains were included in these *chambres* (some with stripes). Here in addition to the words *rideaux* and *tentures*, one finds the use of *courtines* to describe them. Labarte’s publication has been digitized and made available via Gallica at: http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k114570g.

541 Keane’s translation: “my complete set of green room hangings, the one that is put up in my house when my friends come before me, and it has five circles in each a lozenge of my arms that is surrounded by white and purple leaves.” Keane, *Material Culture and Queenship*, 193.
haste the individual making an inventory may refer only to the primary color without making note of any pattern that may have been involved. *Sarge de Caen* (or “serge,” a type of twilled cloth) appears in many inventories of the fourteenth century, sometimes also used for *tapis*. We are fortunate to have an entry in the expense accounts of Charles V at the Louvre of 1364-1368, during the renovation, which refers specifically to the king’s study, a payment made to Perrenelle de Crespon “pour deux sarges de Caen et quatre tapis vers pour l’estude du Roy, trois francs et demy la piece...” This lists four green wall hangings for the king’s study (a room where he is not likely to have had another bed). The next entry lists seven and a quarter ells of black cloth, “drap noir de Caen” as well as some other fabrics for window coverings in the study as well as for in the chamber of the king and the chamber of the queen. Unfortunately, the expense accounts that we have are not complete. Many records were lost in a fire, while some are known to us only because of intermediate copies.

The inventory made for Charles V in 1379 includes a lengthy list of *tappiz* with images, as well as some without. However, the vocabulary becomes confusing again as Labarte notes that some of these may have been used on the floor. Also listed are a large number of *chapelles* (full altar ensembles), *sinceliers* (baldacchins, presumably the

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543 Labarte, Inventaire du mobilier de Charles V, 381 note 2. He also explains that the section devoted specifically to courtines, a term which was used to describe hangings in the chambres, as well as curtains for the altar in his private chapel (courtines d’autel), is here actually referencing sails for the king’s boat. Ibid., 391 note 1.
ones we see suspended over the king so frequently), *paveillons* used to provide privacy while the king was bathing, and even curtains for the *retrait* (the latrine). In a note Labarte states that the term *custode* is used to refer to curtains hung in doorways, which may be what is shown on the left in Figure 126.\(^{544}\) The word occurs rarely in the 1379 inventory though, once in the context of a *chapelle*, and twice as part of a *chambre* ensemble. This clue is tantalizing though. Could our artists in the 1370s who depicted single curtains have been alluding to an open or closed doorway? What is clear is that fabric was used liberally to provide privacy and frame spaces in the royal residences.

**On Privacy**

Despite a decrease in the overall population following the Black Death, social changes in the fourteenth century demonstrated a clear desire for more privacy. Diana Webb provides an overview of privacy and solitude in the Middle Ages, from ancient Rome through the fourteenth century.\(^ {545}\) Beginning early in the Middle Ages she demonstrates a clear contrast between the medieval experience and the Roman lifestyle, in which both public buildings and private homes had rooms with well-defined functions. She notes that few Latin terms for such spaces evolved into the vernacular because they simply did not exist. Peasant dwellings were simple enclosures that held both people and animals under one roof. Sleeping and eating and social interaction occurred in the same

\(^{544}\) Ibid., 362 note 7.

space, as heat and light were expensive. The nobility had much more space, but these larger spaces were not well defined. She describes the hall and chamber as the two basic components for living space.\textsuperscript{546} The lord took his meal in the great hall, location of the central great hearth, with the entire household, and and held public appearances there as well. If a private meeting was required, they withdrew to the chamber, where the king (and queen’s) bed was located. She describes such meetings recorded for Charlemagne, Otto I and Lois IX.\textsuperscript{547} These two basic elements are found in French palaces into the beginning of the fourteenth century – the\textit{ grande salle}, and the\textit{ chambre}. A podium elevated the king’s table in the salle, with a clear hierarchy established for the rest of those gathered, and no doubt some movable, temporary dividers might have been employed in the chamber (perhaps curtains), but these were the core elements. Charles V made significant changes to eight royal residences, subdividing and specializing spaces, and providing increasingly restricted access. He also added areas that reflected societal changes in private practices – small chapels or oratories for personal devotions, and studies for silent reading.\textsuperscript{548} As we will see when we turn to the Louvre renovations there was a significant increase in both the number and functions of distinct spaces. This move toward separation and specialization was not unique to the nobility, of course, but

\begin{footnotes}
\footnote{546}{Ibid., 97-98. Working spaces for servants, such as the kitchen, etc. were separate from the lord’s living space.}

\footnote{547}{Ibid., 47, 51, 58.}

\footnote{548}{For an introduction to the importance of being seen in the pursuit of private devotions see: Andrew Taylor, "Displaying Privacy: Margaret of York as Devotional Reader," in\textit{ Culture of Religious Reading in the Late Middle Ages: Instructing the Soul, Feeding the Spirit, and Awakening the Passion}, ed. Sabrina Corbellini, Utrecht Studies in Medieval Literacy, 25 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013).}
\end{footnotes}
characterized every level of society, as Diana Webb describes in her survey. 549

Several scholars have explored issues of privacy in the works of Chaucer in recent years. These literary contexts help round out our understanding of what privacy meant for people in the fourteenth century. María Bullón-Fernández analyzes “The Miller’s Tale” and discusses privacy concerns in crowded urban spaces. 550 She notes that every character appears to be seeking or practicing privacy in some way, but that attempts to achieve it always seem to invite challenges and interruptions. She also examines in a very practical way some of the tensions that Webb discusses between the ideal public life, contributing to the common good, and the perceived personal gain to be had from private time. Bullón-Fernández notes that this was especially problematic for merchants and artisans, who were generally thought to be up to no good if they were behind closed doors. 551 Another telling detail that she shares is that the fourteenth century saw an increase in the number of complaints, not just about physical invasions of privacy, but sensory ones as well, involving smell, sound and sight. 552

John Burrow addresses issues of privacy and courtesy among aristocrats in “The

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549 Diana Webb, *Privacy and Solitude in the Middle Ages*. For a brief survey of the different types of households in the fourteenth century see: Philippe Contamine, “Peasant Hearth to Papal Palace.”


551 We need only recall the medieval requirement for open doors and windows to the workshops of craftsmen, so that customers could observe their working practices and materials.

He describes the delicate maneuverings of the dreamer who is careful not to invade the personal space of the mournful knight, and works his way through the conversation slowly and carefully until the knight volunteers information about his loss, to which the dreamer can then safely respond without offence. Burrow compares the situation to practices of “civil inattention” similar to those that have persisted into our own time, such as politely not listening to private conversations taking place next to us. We can well imagine the number of politely inattentive individuals in the busy palace of Charles V.

Civil inattention also plays a role in “Troilus and Criseyde,” as Josephine Koster explains. She outlines how the reading audience would have perceived the various dilemmas faced by an aristocratic woman, and highlights “the cues Chaucer so painstakingly provides” in his careful descriptions of the architectural settings. Criseyde must follow all of the rules for social engagement and conduct, which were so much more complex for a widowed woman of means than for any man. She makes every effort to never be alone and vulnerable, not even when sleeping, and yet still finds herself manipulated. Troilus, of course, is also constrained by societal expectations, and cannot court a woman perceived to be the daughter of a traitor, no matter what her personal

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554 The prevalence of cell phones in our own time presents us with this challenge more and more frequently.


556 Ibid., 79.
character might be; thus the secrecy. Some basic concepts in this narrative can easily be applied to any situation, such as Criseyde’s constant concern for her reputation and appearances. The descriptions of her large retinue can also easily be applied to the French royal family, and multiplied. “Private” conversations were never behind closed doors, but in a public space, where parties could withdraw to the other end of the room, but not out of sight. Should we read any of these tensions about privacy reflected in contemporary narratives into the images of Charles V with his authors?

The life of a prince was a very public one. Michael Bauer recently wrote an article in which he examined a day in the life of Charles V based in large part on the biography by Christine de Pizan, as well as recent work on the renovations at the Louvre, placing the activities described by Christine in context. He notes that even those activities that at first glance might not seem to be instrumental in governance had a role to play in his visible demonstration of kingship. Studying the floor plans after the renovations at the Louvre, and the public versus private access points, including “a sophisticated system of inner corridors and staircases,” he speculates about opportunities the king may have had to remove himself from the public eye. His assessment relies in large part on Mary Whitely’s interpretation of the data available for the changes made to the Louvre under Charles V. However, her evaluation of the percentage of allotted


558 Ibid., 56.
“private” space has been challenged by Alain Salamagne.\textsuperscript{559}

The Louvre Remodeled: Orchestrating Access

Charles V has a reputation as a builder king. Not only did he add another wall to enclose the growing city of Paris, and the Louvre, which had previously stood as a fortress outside the walls of Philip II, but according to Christine de Pizan he was responsible for construction projects at eight different royal residences.\textsuperscript{560} In part, these projects represent a desire for more comfortable, even more healthful accommodations. The Palais de la Cité was in the heart of the crowded city of Paris, and during his regency this environment could be tumultuous and threatening. His early additions to the Hôtel Saint-Pol and its gardens had made it his favored residence, and even later it was still the preferred home for his queen and the children. It was there that his uncle, the Emperor Charles IV, visited them while he was in Paris. After ascending to the throne in 1364 Charles had his master mason, Raymond du Temple, tackle the major project of renovating the Louvre, which would become the location of his splendid multi-storied library, and a site that he was pleased to show off to his visiting uncle. It also became the


center of his government in the 1370s, and scholars have reconstructed the floorplans and explored the relationship between the layout of the palace and court ceremonial. However, it has frequently been noted that Charles was working towards moving it all again to an even more expansive site, outside the walls of Paris in the Bois de Vincennes, which had become his new favorite residence in the late 1370s. This projected move of the palace and the seat of the government to the Château de Vincennes is seen as a precursor to the much later move of the entire French court to the hunting lodge at Versailles.

Our best visual record of the Louvre of Charles V is the October calendar page from the *Tres Riches Heures* of Jean, duc de Berry (Figure 28). Current researchers have benefited enormously from the excavations performed in the 1980s in preparation for an underground expansion and the construction of the glass pyramid designed by I. M. Pei. This data, combined with information pulled from fourteenth-century records as well as historical written accounts describing the replacement of the medieval structure with Renaissance and later designs have been pulled together to create a surprisingly detailed reconstruction. Two late medieval writers, Christine de Pizan and Jean Froissart, help to flesh out our understanding of the palace design and its functionality. Alain Salamagne has been scrupulous in analyzing all of the available information and three of his suggested floor plans from before and after the remodeling campaign are included here (Figures 129-131). The most significant changes involved increasing both the width

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561 The work of Mary Whitely and Alain Salamagne have been most useful, although as we’ll see, they do present some conflicting interpretations of the available evidence. Whitely’s work came out first and influenced a number of subsequent writers, so one must be cautious and read Salamagne’s revisions as well. See note 558 above.
and the height of the residential wings, so that everything could be moved up.\textsuperscript{562} Thus spaces were not only redefined, but relocated as well, and a great many more rooms became available for use.

Figure 129 illustrates the layout at the beginning of the fourteenth century. By this time, the Louvre, which was originally intended as a fortress, had more functional residential areas on the second level, divided into a suite for the king and one for the queen, although they were connected. These were accessed by way of a grand staircase on the west wing outside the king’s \textit{chambre}. Immediately below the king’s \textit{chambre} was the \textit{salle St. Louis}, retained through the fourteenth-century renovations (Figure 130).\textsuperscript{563} The chapel was two stories high so that the king and queen had access directly from their \textit{chambres}. Another \textit{salle} was on the other side of the chapel on the ground floor. As one can see on the earlier plan in Figure 129, the central \textit{grosse tour} was separate from the surrounding structure at this time. This secure castle keep continued to be used for protecting the royal treasure, including precious heirlooms passed down from generations before, but would later be connected directly to the king’s suite.

Figure 131 shows the plan for the third level after the renovation. The king’s apartment was moved up into the newly constructed space, while the queen’s was

\begin{footnotesize}
\textsuperscript{562} A note to the reader: In order to avoid confusion for anyone who consults the literature and tries to ascertain what is meant by “first floor” – ground level or up one as is the European practice, I will adhere to Salamagne’s designation of first level, second level, etc.

\textsuperscript{563} The plan represents the post renovation state of the ground floor.
\end{footnotesize}
Another level was added to the chapel for access by the king. An additional suite was added in the east wing on the king’s level for the dauphin, and it may be that their son Louis was accommodated in the east wing on the queen’s floor. Public access to both levels was provided by the grand staircase (grande vis) erected between the grosse tour and the entrances to their salles, although smaller internal staircases joined the king’s and queen’s apartments. All visitors were directed up the grand staircase by the sergeants at arms who were stationed at the bottom and controlled access. The staircase was covered, but open on the sides so that the king and queen, and their visitors, could be seen coming and going. Once a visitor arrived on the king’s level they would enter the salle with its very large fireplace, the focal point for the room. Again, we can turn to the Tres Riches Heures, the January page, to visualize such a space (Figure 132). The calendar page shows figural tapestries on the walls of Jean de Berry’s hall. It’s not clear how the king’s hall at the Louvre was decorated, since there were six large windows with stained glass, as well as at least four doorways. We can be sure however, that it was designed to impress.

The salle however, was likely not the grandest space. The adjacent chambre de parement would be utilized for official audiences. Salamagne believes this was the “belle chambre” described by Froissart in which Charles VI received ambassadors from

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564 Salamagne’s plan also includes a study for the queen, so that the three levels of the library within the tower were separated by these private areas, one on the ground floor, two above the king’s study. Salamagne, “Le Louvre de Charles V,” 93, fig. 13.

565 The staircase was decorated with statues of members of the royal family in niches, each standing on a pedestal with a baldacchin above. In addition, there were two statues of sergeants at arms on either side, thus they were always on duty visually, even if momentarily distracted with a visitor. Antoine Le Roux de Lincy, "Comptes des dépenses faites par Charles V,” 673.
England in 1390, and the same location where Charles V, Charles IV, and his son
Wenceslaus IV, king of Bohemia, all seated on cloth of gold, held more than one meeting
with the French king’s counselors in 1378.\textsuperscript{566}

\begin{quote}
Both Salamagne and Mary Whitely have referred to Christine de Pisan’s
description of the king’s average, carefully planned day, to imagine how the spaces at the
Louvre might have been used, at the same time recognizing the emphasis Charles V
placed on visible signs of his kingship as he moved through the palace, or around the city
outside the walls. Whitely’s suggestion is that the rooms became increasingly private as
one moved in either direction from the \textit{salle} where one entered at the top of the \textit{grande}
\textit{vis}, ending with personal \textit{chambres} on each end. Salamagne is not convinced that the
king had quite so much private or semi-private space on that level. His plan provides
only one \textit{chambre}, in the west wing. The king’s \textit{chambre} and his étude (study) in the
Tour de la Fauconnerie would have provided some degree of retreat, but Christine de
Pizan describes the morning of Charles V, awakening and carrying on a pleasant
conversation with all the servants there to attend to him at that time.\textsuperscript{567} No doubt he
could ask them to leave that space, or any other, whenever he wished however.\textsuperscript{568} He did

\textsuperscript{566} Alain Salamagne, “Le Louvre de Charles V,” 92.

\textsuperscript{567} “The hour of his rising in the morning was normally six or seven o’clock,... so the king gave pleasure to
his chamberlains and other servants appointed to attend to his person at that hour, for, regardless of
anything that might make it otherwise, his face was joyous.” Translation by Eric Hicks from Charity
134 and 135 illustrate how the chambres were occupied during the day in the early fifteenth century.

\textsuperscript{568} Salamagne notes that when Charles and his uncle were at the much smaller royal residence of Beauté
they held a private conversation in the \textit{garde-robe}. Salamagne, "La Demeure Seigneuriale en France vers
1350-1450: le rôle de la chambre de retrait et du retrait," in \textit{La Demeure seigneuriale dans l’espace
universitaires de Rennes, 2013), 308.
have his own private access to the third level of the chapel adjacent to his chambre. In addition, there was a small chapel in the tower midway across the north facade, with a tiny oratory on the east side, and Salamagne states that above that small chapel was another much more isolated study. It is also believed that the king and queen had a private staircase, like that at the Palais de la Cité, that led down into the gardens. While public display was a priority, clearly the opportunity to withdraw from the crowd was also valued. While the inventories don’t spell this out plainly for us, the visual evidence suggests that curtains played a role in creating these spaces apart.

Access to the King

Thanks to Christine de Pizan’s biography, more is known about the everyday life of a fourteenth-century French king than one might expect. Although she prefaces that section of her biography with an introduction describing the life of Alfred the Great, who was reputed to be fastidious about the time devoted to various activities in his daily schedule, as well as the proportions of his budget allotted to every responsibility, her description of the day of Charles V must be based to some extent on reality. The ideal king may have led a well-regulated life, but the choices of activities to which Charles devoted fractions of his time were personal and reflected his own interests and concerns.

569 Salamagne’s article examines the vocabulary used in royal French and Burgundian accounts in order to speculate on how the term retrait was used. Unfortunately, this word was also used in varied contexts. Retrait on its own generally referred to the latrines (also the allée des aissances on his plan), but the chambre de retrait seems to have referred to what he identifies as the chambre at the Louvre. The term was used with increasing frequency later, further subdividing and creating specialized spaces. Ibid.

570 The following highlights of the king’s average day is drawn from her account. Christine de Pizan, "Here Reference is Made to Examples of Virtuous Princes and the Well-Ordered Life of King Charles as Recalled," trans. Eric Hicks, The Writings of Christine de Pizan, ed. Charity Cannon Willard, 236-238.
Mary Whitely has examined the extant physical and documentary evidence from the royal residences occupied by Charles V, noting a fairly consistent pattern in the remodeling projects leading to greater specialization of spaces and a basic configuration that reflected his daily routine, which included both public and more private periods. Christine described how after dressing Charles and his chaplain would say the day’s prayers using his breviary and then he would go to daily Mass. Whitely suggests that he went down to the first level to enter and emerge from the chapel into the courtyard in order to be seen, but Salamagne notes that Charles had personal access to the full chapel below from his own level of the chapel adjacent to his chamber in the west wing, and also had a small chapel and oratory in the central tower on the north side, and Christine did mention that he might hear a low Mass in his oratory. After Mass he would hear petitions from people of various backgrounds and meet with his council before dining at 10:00. All of these activities most likely occurred on the third level. The king had his own salle where he could dine, connected to the salle du conseil where he could meet with his council and the chambre de parement where he would hear petitions from citizens. It is believed that this is the room Christine described, in which the crowd could get large enough to make turning around a challenge. He returned to this area after his meal to meet with visitors and hear additional requests for his attention. After two hours occupied in this manner he would withdraw to rest for an hour before spending some time with close companions in relaxing conversation or, Christine claims, in looking

571 “There one might find several kinds of foreign ambassadors, noblemen, and knights, of whom there was often such a crowd, both foreign and from his own realm, that one could scarcely turn around.” Ibid., 237.
through his treasures. While the bulk of the treasury was in the *grosse tour*, we know that chests were often kept in *garde-robés* and *estudes*, and it may be that his most recent acquisitions were kept nearby for pleasant diversion.

The king went to vespers in the afternoon, and spent the time between that service and dinner listening to “fine stories from the Holy Scriptures, or the *Deeds of the Romans*, or *Wise Sayings of the Philosophers*” in the winter months, or went out into the gardens in the summer. Christine notes that if he was at the Hôtel St. Pol the queen and children might join him. This reinforces two pieces of information, that the queen preferred that residence, and that wherever they were, she had her own daily routine that moved through a similar suite of rooms. It’s not clear how much time they might have spent together in an average day, but there was a small spiral staircase in the northwest corner at the Louvre that linked their floors, and at other palaces as well. After dinner the king had another period of “recreation” with a small group before retiring for the night. Perhaps such evening activities took place in his *chambre*, as with the intimate gatherings of Charles VI and Isabeau de Bavière in Figures 126 and 127.

I have very briefly summarized the daily routine as remembered by Christine de Pisan so that we might imagine the various contexts in which Charles V would actually have received the numerous books that he commissioned, or that he received as gifts, recognizing of course, that presentation miniatures are not documents of the actual

572 Ibid., 238. The accounts of the visit of Emperor Charles IV in 1378 also report that he met with the queen and the children at this residence.

573 We recall from the chapter on the *Songe du vergier* that such entertainments may have included lively debates.
interactions. Using the Louvre as described by Alain Salamagne as a model, we find the
most likely locations would be the *salle du roi*, *chambre de parement*, *chambre du roi*
and his *étude*. Salamagne speculates, based on descriptions of court activities, that the
*salle du conseil* was a place for the king to meet privately with his counsellors on official
business. The *grande salle* on the first level was for more public meals involving the
entire household, and the king frequently took his meals in his own hall once the new
suite was built.\textsuperscript{574} One of the two large rooms on the king’s level would be the most
likely place for a formal presentation with some members of the court present. We
would expect to find a throne, cloth of honor and canopy to direct the eye to the king in
the *chambre de parement*, and a raised dais, rich tablecloth and bench covered with
luxurious cloth for the king’s table in his *salle du roi*. That does not, of course, mean that
we would necessarily find them in late fourteenth-century miniatures intended to
represent ceremonies and festivities held in these spaces, but the illuminators might
provide some visual clues to suggest such a setting. The well-known miniature in the
*Grandes chroniques de France* depicting the Feast of the Three Kings banquet held at the
Palais de la Cité during the visit of Charles IV, with its *entremet* crusader battle, provides
a clear example of fine royal table linens and hanging fleur-de-lys cloths of honor,
although the artist tells the viewer nothing about what the men are sitting on, or even that

\textsuperscript{574} The largest hall was still at the Palais de la Cité, where grand occasions such as marriage celebrations
and the banquet with Emperor Charles IV and King Wenceslas were held. The trend toward separate
dining spaces for the royal family and the household staff was not unique to Charles, the aristocracy, or to
France, and was facilitated in part by introduction of chimneys, enabling multiple rooms throughout the
palace, or any residence to be warmed. Contamine, “Peasant Hearth to Papal Palace,” esp. 460-470 on
developments in the average urban house.
they are sitting.\textsuperscript{575} The comparable banquet of Jean le Bon and the Order of the Star in the same manuscript offers an example of the main table clearly raised above the rest of the room, and attempts to suggest a sideboard with luxury gold vessels off to the side of the entering servant.\textsuperscript{576}

The sergeant at arms, whose role was to regulate access to these spaces, is often shown holding his verge (mace) in images that include a number of observers, perhaps alluding to one of these more formal settings, although it is certainly possible that another stood guard outside the king's private chamber as well. The king's copy of the \textit{Grandes Chroniques de France} contains a graphic image of the murder of two of the king's men within his chamber during an attack by the merchants led by Etienne Marcel in Paris while he was regent. It is believed that the memory of that horror was an impetus for some aspects of the re-design projects. Certainly the move of the king's quarters at the Louvre to the third level, with public access via only one staircase was an effective security measure. Salamagne emphasizes the greater ease in controlling access to the king at the this residence via the grande vis, and notes that the guards had far more difficulty limiting entry at the Palais de la Cité where the great banquet was held with the Emperor on the Feast of the Epiphany.\textsuperscript{577}

Another important figure in the royal residence was the chamberlain, responsible for the king’s household, and holder of the keys. The keys were significant enough to be

\textsuperscript{575} Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. fr. 2813, folio 473v.

\textsuperscript{576} Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. fr. 2813, folio 394.

\textsuperscript{577} Salamagne, “Lecture d’une symbolique seigneuriale,” 8.
added to the officer’s arms, so one might look for them as an attribute if the artist intended to identify him, but in these fourteenth-century images that does not appear to have been a goal. There is one rather stern observer with crossed arms in the space of the presentation scene of the Songe du Vergier, closer to the king than the others, but any attempt to identify him would be pure speculation (Figure 11). Brigitte Buettner has found indications in both French and Burgundian records that the chamberlain served increasingly as an intermediary between the presenter and the prince, even though our wishful presentation scenes perpetually reinforce the ideal of a direct, personal interaction.\footnote{Brigitte Buettner, "Past Presents, 613-614. Buettner reproduces a drawing from a flyleaf in a 1458 manuscript of Justinian’s The Institute, which shows the manuscript going first to an intermediary standing next to the intended recipient, Duke Charles d’Orléans. Ibid., 616, fig. 17. The chamberlain of Charles V was Bureau de La Rivière, a friend and confidant who had been with him since he was dauphin, and was entombed below his feet in St. Denis when he died in 1400.}

Buettner’s article focuses on gift-giving. However, drawing a distinction between a true gift and the presentation of a completed commission was not always valued by the recipient, as the nobility in the late Middle Ages were still reluctant to be seen as participating in a cash economy, and preferred the myth of the exchange of gifts. Even non-noble participants in this exchange clung to the illusion. Brigitte Buettner presents as an example Watriquet de Couvin, a fourteenth-century poet, who noted that minstrels receive clothes and jewels, while servants received a salary.\footnote{Ibid., 619. Although we will not pursue this here, the author portrait of De Couvin in a collection of “Dits,” Arsenal ms. 3525 (which later entered the collection of Charles V) is also of interest for its private presentation scene, in which the courtly recipient reaches out to touch the author fondly on the head with his right hand while accepting the luxuriously bound book with the left. Every study of gift-giving practices refers back to the anthropological studies of Marcel Mauss, and extends his observations through time and across cultures. His brief section on Roman and early Germanic practices is perhaps most relevant to our situation. Marcel Mauss, The Gift: Forms and Functions of Exchange in Archaic Societies, 261}
references the accounts of Jean le Temeraire: “To Demoiselle Christine de Pisan, widow of the late Master Estienne du Castel, a gift of 100 crowns, made to her by my lord the duke, for and in acknowledgement of two books which she has presented to my lord the duke, one of which was commissioned from her by the late duke of Burgundy shortly before he died.”

We find in this reference to a presentation the use of the term “gift,” while still mentioning the earlier commission. The conventions for showing presentations were consistent enough that often only the prologue clarifies whether a book was actually a gift or a commission. Although as we saw in the previous chapter, there are in fact some images in fourteenth-century translations that seem to indicate a desire to make that distinction either by including a separate image of the commission or substituting the order for the receipt of the finished product, thus emphasizing, along with the prologue, that the work that was requested by the king and accomplished despite some challenges.

Might those intellectuals who were close to the king, members of the “club du roi,” have wished to make their presentations in a more private setting, and perhaps been permitted to do so? If so, where might they have found the desired privacy? While we have no idea which palace any of the illuminators had in mind with any of these illustrations, we can use the Louvre as an example because we have some idea of its


580 Susan Groag Bell, "Christine de Pizan in her study." Cahiers de recherches médiévales et humanistes. Journal of medieval and humanistic studies (2008): 8. (Bell cites the original source as: Laborde, Ducs de Bourgogne, i. 16, no. 63 = ACO B1543, f. 107.)
In fact, perhaps the newly renovated Louvre, which was the location of the king’s famous library, even provided some inspiration for some of these images.

We know that the king’s study was readily accessible for retreat during the day, on the same floor as the rest of his suite of rooms. We assume that the space depicted in Figures 116 and 118 is meant to be the study because of the large number of books in various places, as well as the armillary sphere in the miniature which shows Charles alone. It is true that inventories do record books in *chambres*, but those were usually kept in chests. In addition, although the illustrated bedrooms of Charles VI and Isabeau both contain chairs next to their beds, there are no tables full of other books displayed within those rooms, but rather a general emphasis on comfort and relaxation (Figures 126 and 127). It may be that with the introduction of the study as a separate space for reading and other intellectual pursuits less reading, outside of one’s morning and bedtime prayers, was done in the bedroom. The miniature with Pelerin de Prusse implies that the king’s astrologer would be welcome in the study, and that Charles would accept a book within this space (Figure 118). The other curtained spaces that have figures looking in from outside do not contain furnishings suggestive of the study (Figures 107, 108, 119 and 120). Figure 120 showing the king in prayer, is very likely meant to suggest his private oratory. We can only speculate that the other less public room, the *chambre*, is implied

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581 The situation is different in the fifteenth century when artists were able to provide more detailed settings. Brigitte Buettner convincingly identifies the setting of Pierre Salmon’s presentation to Charles VI on Bibliothèque nationale de France ms. fr. 23279 folio 53r as the Hôtel Saint-Pol due to its combination of dissimilar buildings. Buettner, "Past Presents,” 610.
in the other miniatures.  

Perhaps this was a space considered appropriate for private consultation.

A Private Audience

Analyzing the extant miniatures that place a cleric or scholar in the presence of the king, either alone or with his family within a curtained space, yet seen by the curious eyes of other court officials, we find that those individuals are either offering private instruction, or are people that were very close to the king (or both). The Besançon ms. 434 images suggest moments of private instruction within a book of selections that emphasize the moral education of the prince. The *Livre de Mandeville* was a gift of the king’s physician, Gervaise Chretien, who no doubt enjoyed ready access to the king’s most private quarters. Nicole Oresme was a trusted advisor who had known Charles since he was a young man. Oresme referred to himself as the king’s humble *chappellain* in the prologue to the *Politiques*, but prologues often contain expressions of exaggerated modesty. The full details of his personal relationship are not known. The king referred to him in more than one document as his friend. In fact, in a later act of 1377 he instructed payment be made to a Parisian merchant for two gold rings set with precious stones, one described as “un anel d’or pontifical garni de pierrierie,” which were given to Oresme in celebration of his appointment as bishop in that year: “...et lesquelz nous

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582 According to Salamagne’s plan of the Louvre there would have been sufficient space between the garde-robe and the bedchamber itself to have an area defined by curtains. Again, we acknowledge that Charles did not spend all of his time at the Louvre, but Salamagne notes that by 1372 the renovation had been completed, and he was spending more time there than previously. Salamagne, “Lecture d’une symbolique seigneuriale,” 2. The library had already been moved to its permanent location in 1367. Salamagne, “Le Louvre de Charles V,” 94.

583 Babbitt, “Oresme’s *Livre de Politiques*,” 3. Babbitt notes that for several centuries, Oresme was described as the preceptor of Charles as the dauphin, but there is no evidence to support this.
avons donnez à nostre amé et feal conseillier l’evesque de Lisieux dymenche
derrenierement passé, quant il fu sacré devant nous.”

The amount paid, three hundred ninety “frans d’or,” was close to the total of what we know was paid for Oresme’s translation work on the Éthiques et Politiques. This expensive gift, as well as the bishopric that it celebrates, demonstrate the great value that Charles placed on the scholar’s efforts on his behalf, but the accounts also refer to Nicole as the king’s “amé,” his friend. The image of the two men in a curtained space with only one observer peering around the curtain certainly feels very private, and the artist, who had illustrated so many books for the king, places considerable emphasis on the personal interaction between them as they look at each other directly. The presentation in the companion volume, the Politiques, with only one curtain that has been pulled aside and no outside observer, does not convey the sense of a private location quite as effectively, but the intensity of their facial expressions as they look at each other does serve to make the viewer feel like an intruder (Figure 133). By comparison, the representation of an outside witness beyond the draped fabric creates a sense that we, the viewers, are also privileged to be on the king’s side of the curtain, although we must remember that since this is a presentation manuscript, the image was originally intended for the king’s gaze, and not for our own.

584 Delisle, Mandements et actes divers de Charles V, 804, no. 1619. Susan Babbitt cited this entry for its reference to the scholar as his friend. Babbitt, “Oresme’s Livre de Politiques,” 3, note 15. Approximate translation: "... and which we have given to our friend and faithful counsellor the bishop of Lisieux last Sunday when he was consecrated before us.” The appointment itself, of course, was also seen as a reward for Oresme’s service.

Bearing in mind Sherman’s conviction that Oresme was the director behind the project to illustrate his translation we might interpret the private images in the first copy of the Aristotle project to indicate that the learned scholar wished to be seen as his principal guide to the content within the books that followed, that he “had the king’s ear,” so to speak (Figures 107-108). The marginal grotesque at the bottom of the frontispiece page in Figure 108 looks remarkably similar to the individual looking in from behind the curtain in the presentation quadrilobe, with his light pink garment, scraggly beard and distinctive facial features. We note that all of the other men in the frontispiece are clean-shaven, or have very short well-trimmed beards. The huge axe wielded by the grotesque figure against the extender of the large initial T at the beginning of the prologue conveys a sense of threat, which one can’t help but extend to his spying look-alike in the first scene. It is not a tool one uses for pruning vines or saplings. Perhaps the two figures represent the distractions of life that the king, his family and his men must shut out in order to focus on the important work of education, represented by the text under attack by the grotesque.

The revised, smaller, personal use copy of the Livre de éthiques of 1376 contains a much more formal presentation (Figure 134). Charles is seated on an elaborate architectonic chair elevated at least two steps above the floor. He turns to the viewer’s

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586 The pruning tool that is represented on so many calendar pages has a fairly distinctive shape, a smaller curved blade. For examples of manuscript illuminations as well as artifacts see: Sur la terre comme au ciel: Jardins d’Occident à la fin du Moyen Âge: Paris, musée national du Moyen Âge – thermes de Cluny 6 juin – 16 septembre 2002 (Paris: Éditions de la Réunion des musées nationaux, 2002), 144-167.

587 The grotesque in the upper left next to the miniature on folio 1 holds an open codex and is totally engrossed in reading – conveying a very different feeling, and perhaps establishing the appropriate attitude for the beginning of the book.
right to face Oresme who is down on one knee and leaning forward considerably in order
to give the book to the king with his right hand. The formality of their relationship in this
miniature is reinforced by the choice of Latin quotations in the speech scrolls assigned to
each man.\textsuperscript{588} That of Charles, from Ecclesiastes 1:13, reads: “Dedi cor meum ut scirem
disciplinam atque doctrinam” (“I devoted myself to learning discipline and doctrine”).
Oresme’s lengthy quote from Proverbs 8:10 reads: ”Accipite disciplinam quam pecuniam,
et doctrinam magis quam thesaurum eligite” (“Choose learning rather than money and
choose instruction more valuable than treasure”). These quotations from Scripture
function not as evidence of a conversation, but simply reinforce each other in
acknowledging the importance of education for a king. That education might be
embodied in the alignment of the books that are held in the top register and in that below
in which we find a majestic enthroned female personification of “Félicité humaine,”
human happiness. Human happiness is the primary theme of Aristotle’s \textit{Ethics}, and the
role of the educated king in pursuing policies for the common good is made clear. As
Sherman has demonstrated, all of the illustrations in the revised copy reflect a shift
toward greater clarity and less subtlety. In the process, the personal relationship of
scholar and king is here subdued in favor of emphasis on content.

And yet, the shifting role of the scholar/advisor was the goal both had been
collaborating to achieve, and is best represented in the miniatures of the king alone in his
study (Figures 29 and 116). Although Charles reputedly enjoyed having great books read
to him, he also wanted to be able to read the texts himself, without the need for

\textsuperscript{588} The following transcriptions and their translations are from Sherman, \textit{Imaging Aristotle}, 56. See
Sherman pages 55-59 for a full discussion of the frontispiece.
consultation. This is clear not only in the creation of translations, but also in the extensive commentaries that accompanied the translations and the compilations of related works. The *Songe du Vergier*, for example, was intended to bring all of the critical legal information that he (and his heir) needed into one ready reference tool. The *Policratique* image, which is contemporary with the first version of the *Éthiques*, prefigures the later revised *Éthiques* frontispiece by also including an affirming selection from Scripture (Ecclesiastes 14:20) in the book opened before the king: “Beatus vir qui in sapientia morabitur et in justitia etc.” Sherman translates the Latin: “Happy is the man who meditates on wisdom, and who reasons with his understanding.” 589 No doubt Oresme would have had this same optimistic view in mind about the king’s reasoning when the image of the king alone in his study was included at the beginning of his *Traité de l’espere* (Figure 123). However, the fact that this same setting was used in the following text for a seemingly private presentation by Pélerin de Prusse, the astrologer who wrote a how-to manual for using astrological predictions, exactly what Oresme preached so persistently against, suggests that the Oresme was not involved in the compilation of the various texts in this manuscript.

Perhaps the clearest evidence of the success of these efforts at translation for the common good is embodied in the multiple copies that were made for various members of the royal family, and others. In addition, it was Oresme’s translation of the *Éthiques* that was printed in 1486 by Antoine Vérard, and his *Politiques* in 1488. No other complete

French translation was attempted until 1664. Pélerin de Prusse left no significant lasting mark on intellectual history, but Oresme’s work in mathematics, physics, and even the lexicon of the French language is still recognized, and the fact that the king so valued his advice, his translation efforts, and his presence at his court may be seen in the visual document of that amiable relationship, a presentation portrait that shuts the rest of the world out.

Charles VI was not the bibliophile his father was. He commissioned few books, and he and Isabeau gave away many from the immense library as gifts. We don’t find Charles VI reading alone in his study, and presentation/dedication portraits in those books commissioned for him tended to be more traditional and formal. The frontispiece to the first version of the Dialogues de Pierre Salmon et Charles V is an example of this reversion to a more official presentation (Figure 135). And yet elsewhere in the manuscript Salmon, the king’s secretary, is shown in the king’s chamber, in a more intimate environment (Figures 136 and 137). He appears comfortable in his position, holding the king’s confidence, and like others at the time, especially Philippe de Mézières, tries to use his role to prop up the king, and in the process restore the monarchy to its former dignity, as during the reign of Charles V, the Wise. While his status is comparable to that of Oresme with Charles V, he opts not to have an informal image in the frontispiece, but only later within the content of the book.


Conclusion

The commission and presentation miniatures in the first, deluxe copy of the Éthiques translated for Charles V by Nicole Oresme reflect the established reputation of the third Valois king, that he personally enjoyed scholarship and welcomed learned men into his court, to offer counsel, provide instruction and learned conversation, and prepare French translations of significant historical texts for his own use and that of his courtiers. In addition, the images seem to offer tantalizing clues about the nature of the king’s close relationship with one of his most trusted advisors, who is granted a private audience with him within a curtained space.

The abundance of curtains represented in fourteenth-century French manuscripts coincide with additional evidence, in court inventories, physical remodeling projects, and in contemporary literature, that privacy was increasingly desired and pursued. Yet the curtained spaces depicted in books made for Charles V, which so often include one or more observers peering out from behind, suggest that privacy for a king was not the norm, but the exception. In the chapel scene curtains intensify the fervor of the king’s devotions as he is able to focus on his prayerbook and the service in the next quatrefoil without being distracted by prying eyes (Figure 120). When isolating the king with his visitor they privilege the individual sharing that space with him, while at the same time they permit us, as viewers, to share in that private interaction and enjoy the exclusivity of that less formal relationship (Figures 107, 108, 118, 119).

In her book on the portraits of the king Claire Richter Sherman had earlier noted the warmth of the interaction between Oresme and the king and the clear emphasis on
their personal relationship via facial expressions and physical proximity. She saw this primarily as evidence of Charles V’s intellectual interests, his appreciation for the work of these translators and the books they produced for him.\(^{592}\) This raises the question once again – who was responsible for such a composition, Oresme, the *libraire*, or Charles? Sherman’s later book on Oresme’s translation projects convincingly demonstrated that Oresme would have been responsible for dictating the content of the miniatures, especially in the first volumes, before the king requested or instigated changes for his revised private use copies, so I believe it is appropriate to credit Oresme with this design, and question his purpose. Sherman also asserts that the king’s reading of the *Éthiques* (as well as other translated texts) would have been supplemented by oral readings and explication.\(^{593}\) The author portrait makes it abundantly clear who would have provided such explanatory comments.

Within the two very similar images the author seems to first accept the task requested by by the king, and then return to present him with the fruits of his labors. Without the customary attendants associated with a more traditional, ceremonial presentation the two men are able to engage with each other more directly, almost suggesting that the translation project was done more as a personal favor than as an official act. We recall, of course, that presentation scenes in manuscripts do not document what has transpired, but the desired outcome for that moment when the finished project is offered to the recipient. While public acknowledgement and

\(^{592}\) Sherman, *The Portraits of Charles V of France*, 25, 32.

recognition is the norm for most presentation miniatures, these private scenes, with access restricted by means of a curtained enclosure, clearly reflect a wish on the part of the author to have the king’s complete confidence and undivided attention, and to remind him of that every time the book was opened.
Conclusion

In analyzing a strictly limited selection of author portraits from French, vernacular, non-religious and non-literary manuscripts we encounter a variety of forms employed by illuminators and their supervising *libraires* in defining the identities, endeavors and contributions of living scholarly authorial personalities in fourteenth-century France. Building on the popularity of personal devotional texts and responding to the desires of their princely patrons, these authors ventured from the relative security and consistency of established academic practices at the university and composed, translated, and elucidated texts that served the needs of the governing elite. These works thus fall primarily within the mirror of princes genre, although the library of recommended resources for those wielding secular power grew as the perceived educational requirements for this class expanded to include more non-Christian historical texts and the sciences.\(^{594}\)

In the *Songe du vergier* Évrart de Trémaugon embraced the popular dream vision genre as a device for presenting a debate that drew upon his extensive compilation of sources related to secular and ecclesiastical power. Authors such a Guillaume de Digulleville and Philippe de Mézières employed this device to elevate their content to a level comparable to the narrative of John’s Book of Revelation. De Trémaugon,  

\(^{594}\) This shift was reinforced by the authors/translator in their prologues in which they emphasized the utility of the works for the recipients.
however, avoided mentioning his own name and claimed to be ill-equipped to handle the task of reporting on the content of such an important disputation, with his petit entendement and ygnorance [weak understanding and ignorance], yet his role in the frontispiece and the only two-column-wide miniatures in the king’s presentation copy of the French text attest to the true importance of this book and the value placed on his efforts in preparing it (Figure 1). At the same time the manuscript raises questions that challenge the imposed limits of the dissertation’s focus on scholars as authors and invites further research on both poets and saints as dreamers, and the shared influences among these sometimes tenuously distinguished groups of the sacred, secular, and literary.

Jean de Vignay’s central placement among the chess characters in the frontispiece of Le gieu des eschés likewise contests the distinction between the trouvères as familiars at the French court and the role of a respected scholar employed in frequent translation projects for the king and queen (Figure 14). The glances and gestures of the various figures focus the composition onto the author and his active writing, while the alignment of de Vignay with the smith below invites speculation on the “work” of the translator and its relationship to the creative process of poets like Guillaume de Machaut. We wonder why Iacopo da Cessolis, the original author, was not represented, but note that Jean de Vignay has adapted the text to the realities of the French court and society. While the miniature cycle within adheres more closely to the descriptions of the middle class pawns offered by the Italian da Cessolis, the frontispiece offers a different interpretation, more closely aligned to the traditional three estates.
The frontispiece of Simon de Hesdin’s *Faits et paroles memorables des Romains* leaves no question about the importance of Valerius Maximus as the original author responsible for this collection of moral exempla from ancient Rome (Figure 16). The mirror relationship of the authors gives visual form to the suggestion of Peter Dembowski that a true service translation could only take place “when the translator no longer felt inferior to his Latin *auctor*, only when he considered himself to be, like his *auctor*, a philosopher.” At the same time it is also abundantly clear that the French version that Hesdin prepares is the one presented to and utilized by a ruling monarch, since Tiberius is not represented. Only Charles V of France is shown receiving the benefits of the work of these authors, a small measure of compensation for the significant percentage of the space of the miniatures devoted to authors rather than to the king and his men.

This raises questions of agency, both in visual representation within the book and in the prior preparation of the text. How frequently do authors claim to have prepared a work for the benefit of the recipient without having been commanded to do so? How often do they describe struggling to meet the demands of the patron despite the limitations of the vernacular? When does the claim of the patron supersede that of the author? Which situation actually grants the author more prestige? While many fourteenth-century representations of translators place great emphasis on their work, with a large number of books available within reach as they write, some frontispieces have stressed the role of the king in commanding the work, such as those accompanying Corbechon’s translation of Bartholomaeus Anglicus’ *De proprietatibus rerum*, in which

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the command of the monarch echoes those of the God of creation. In this instance Corbechon also emphasized the king’s order in his prologue. In addition, the frontispiece of Jean Golein’s translation of the *Rational des divins offices* harkens back to representations of authority figures, like Pope Gregory the Great and Justinian, who are shown dictating their own words to scribes (Figure 96).

We need to look more closely at Charles V’s own self-perception as scholar and author, not just in projecting an image of the ideal wise king, as discussed by Claire Richter Sherman, but as someone conscious of his own generative activity. The two extant images of Charles alone in his study are at first glance scarcely distinguishable from contemporary author portraits. His costume provides identification to set him apart, but closer inspection also reveals that he is not in the process of writing in a book, but has been reading. The king did sign a number of his books however, and occasionally included a note that he had been responsible for having the book made, as is the case in the *Songe*. In fact, he was responsible for ordering more compilations of important texts than he may have acknowledged in this fashion. Françoise Autrand

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596 In her article Sherman lays a foundation with a discussion of the structure of Christine de Pisan’s biography of the king, which explores the ideals of kingship, noblesse de coeur, chevalerie and sagesse as described in the *De regiminum principum*, but placed the greatest emphasis on his sagesse (wisdom), due to the limitations caused by the king’s poor health. Christine used as her components of that wisdom the qualities listed by Aristotle in his Ethics – sapience, science, entendement, prudence and art. Sherman explains how the visual imagery both reinforces and goes beyond the description of the kings’s activities and relationships with intellectuals in the biography and other contemporary sources. Sherman, “Representations of Charles V of France (1338-1380) as a Wise Ruler.”

discusses another lesser-known collection of documents in conjunction with the Songe du vergier, a “Recueil des traités de la France,” 172 records of royal alliances and treaties dated from the twelfth century through 1378, today known through four extant copies. No doubt the book was an important reference for the future Charles VI, but Autrand points out its original value and timeliness, along with the Songe, in presenting the case for the sovereignty and inalienability of the French crown in advance of the visit of Emperor Charles IV in 1378. We imagine this king purposefully directing the collection of these records, rather than passively requesting supporting documentation for his conference, and in doing so, claiming a quasi-authorial role for himself.

The king’s claim of ownership or authorship for his court documents is also attested by the inclusion of his likeness in pen drawings at the head of some of his charters (Figure 138). Although these images do not call to mind any of the observed formulas for author portraits they should be noted as an additional reflection of his desire to be recognized as the source or instigator of these works. The example included here places great emphasis on the conferral of the sealed charter to the monks through the lower leg of the large “K” of Karolus.


599 This and other charter images were listed by Delisle and reproduced in Sherman’s monograph on the portraits of Charles V. Ibid., 61. Claire Richter Sherman, The Portraits of Charles V of France (1338-1380) (New York: New York University Press for The College Art Association of America, 1969), illustrations numbered 24-27, 40, 72, 74.
Charles V respected his scholars and increasingly enjoyed their company, even claiming them as friends, and may have privileged them with a private audience, as is suggested by the images of Nicole Oresme in his translation of Aristotle’s *Ethics*. As Claire Richter Sherman has demonstrated, Charles actively cultivated his own image as a well-educated and wise king, in part through his representations in manuscripts, alone in his study or in the company of scholars. But how did the images of Charles with these contemporary authors not only reinforce his own reputation but simultaneously contribute to the elevation of his authors and translators? How much did his patronage, and that of other French kings impact the status of these scholars in the eyes of other readers? For example, images of Nicole Oresme in later copies of his works seem to reflect an even greater appreciation for his efforts with his subject matter. Charles V’s copy of *Traité de l’espere* utilizes as a frontispiece the image of the king alone in his study, while a small image of the author is included on the next folio (Figure 117). In a copy of ca. 1410 from the collection of Jean de Berry, however, Nicole Oresme and his subject occupy over half of the first folio, serving as the frontispiece, rather than a fabricated presentation to Charles, as one might expect (Figure 139). How much of that increased respect for the work of authors is due to the recognition of royal patrons, and to what extent does it simply reflect changing scholarly and societal views, and the confidence or ambition of the authors themselves?

Another unusual and intriguing author portrait from the first decade of the fifteenth century elevates the status of the author, but also raises questions about the author’s role in determining the character of his or her representation. Following the
table of contents and preceding the text of his work *Vox clamantis*, the English writer, John Gower, is represented as an archer directing his shaft at a tripartite globe of the world (here divided into land, water and air), an image that speaks volumes about the critical character of the work (Figure 140). It follows a short four-line Latin poem that explains both the image and the content of the following text; in English translation it reads: "I send my darts at the world and simultaneously shoot arrows; But mind you, wherever there is a just man, no one will receive arrows. I badly wound those living in transgression, however; Therefore, let the thoughtful man look out for himself." Written after the peasant revolt, Gower’s work, in Latin rather than the vernacular, was a highly critical commentary on contemporary society. Like Évrart de Trémaugon, he employed the dream vision as a device, but much more aggressively claimed spiritual inspiration for his work, and referenced his saintly namesakes, John the Baptist and John the Evangelist. His pervasive language of modesty in the prologue seem to be overshadowed by the forceful image of the author in hunting garb. Once considered to have been executed under Gower’s direction, current opinion leans away from his direct involvement, although the Hunter copy is still believed to have been executed before his

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death in 1408. Whether he instructed the illustrator or not, the image, made while he was still alive, is remarkably forceful.

As mentioned in Chapter 1, Philippe de Mézières is believed to have guided the illuminators more than once in order to include visual imagery that was directly tied to his own personal interests. In his quest to convince some monarchs to establish an order devoted to the Passion of Jesus Christ he seems to have taken every opportunity to call attention to this theme. In the frontispiece for his Livre sur la vertu du sacrement de mariage, made for a newly married young couple, he is not just shown in a common posture of instruction, gesturing toward his subject or audience, but is kneeling in reverence, like the recipients of his work, before a large image of the Holy Name containing a representation of the Crucifixion (Figure 14). In another manuscript, containing his letter to Richard II, he kneels before the monarch to present his book, but simultaneously holds a banner with an image of the Lamb of God. Clearly the elder statesman felt that his cause justified such a bold demonstration, at least in the imaginary construct of a presentation scene that is known to have only occurred within this painted miniature.

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604 Epistre au roi Richard, 1395, London, British Library, Ms. Royal 20 B VI folio 2. The banner of the order is represented again, alone, as a miniature in the left column on folio 35.
By the end of the fourteenth century and beginning of the fifteenth, authors were increasingly represented either with piles of books in a well-stocked study, or lecturing, with or without a small group, and pointing to some visual representation of their subject matter, in essence directly addressing their reading public. This feature has been noted by Joyce Coleman in particular for copies of Corbechon’s French translation of the encyclopedic work by Bartholomew the Englishman, his *Livre des propriétés des choses.* The miniature that precedes the beginning of Book XI on Air shows a scholar pointing to a globe that is remarkably not like that of Gower, or a conventional medieval T-O map, but presents a landscape surrounded by the four winds (Figure 142). What is perhaps more interesting however, is that in this miniature, unlike in the others that include at least one other figure, the instructor is shown alone with the reader.

This very brief and focused overview of fourteenth-century author portraits offers a glimpse into the changing perception of authorship, and appreciation for what scholars had to offer to an increasingly literate public. No longer was scholarship perceived as the purview of the ancients, or of university men aloof and withdrawn in their secret Latin-only society, but valuable information and instruction was now made available in the vernacular to any reader able to save up enough money to purchase or borrow books. The diverse nature of the author portraits illustrates the attention that was given to these contemporary figures as living individuals, with their own interests and personalities, and the respect paid them by members of the aristocracy. The modesty topos was still

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employed with regularity, but the scholar, as Anne-Hélène Miller points out, was assuming a status comparable to the noble knight, offering the weapons of knowledge and education.

Additional research is needed in order to fully understand the practical roles played by the authors themselves, the artists, and aristocratic patrons in the complex network of relationships between participants in the professional book trade, university scholars and the court. How do we demonstrate that the increased respect observed in these few examples, within a limited geographic area, was also given to the scholars who were not patronized by the French royal family and members of the court, and that the visual evidence examined in this dissertation is representative of a broader societal shift in the understanding of authorship? In fact, might we find that the responsibility to give sufficient praise and glory to an important patron actually limited the amount of personal attention that would be given to the author himself, as we find within some of the prologues? Next steps require a methodical search for and review of not only other visual examples, as those are most likely to occur in copies made for the wealthy, but also textual references, in prologues, authorial colophons and commentaries. While textual scholars continue to examine the written evidence, art historians can contribute by continuing to explore the visual documentation, and look for opportunities to demonstrate relationships. A more comparative study would then broaden the scope, both geographically and by genre, and juxtapose images of scholarly authors with those of contemporary poets, such as Machaut, Deschamps and Froissart, as well as with the representations of saints who serve as guides to their readers. As noted previously,
Ursula Peters has already performed an in-depth study of the imagery associated with authors of vernacular literature. It is my hope that this dissertation serves as a starting point for a more complete survey of the academics, so that a more complex picture of the fascinating interrelationships between these genres will become available over time.

While it might seem that this dissertation has raised more questions than it has answered, it has served its primary objective, which was to demonstrate through the visual evidence that the increased interest in the author himself that Alastair Minnis tied to the introduction of the Aristotelian prologue may be observed in the comparable attention given to the author within illuminated manuscripts, and that the fourteenth century, with its increase in lay patronage and thus more numerous opportunities for representation would yield a wide variety of imagery. Minnis and his colleagues continue to examine the increasing auctoritas granted to late medieval writers, and I believe that art historians can make a comparable contribution. At the same time, art historians can wrestle with the matter of distinguishing between the growing naturalism that permeates late medieval art in general, and details which were likely prompted by the greater respect for the author of a book.

We have benefited greatly from the increased access to digital facsimiles of medieval manuscripts on library web sites, as well as collaborative resources such as Les Archives de littérature du Moyen Âge (ARLIMA). More focused sites dedicated to John Gower, Christine de Pisan, Guillaume de Machaut, Le Roman de la Rose, and the Bible historiale, just to name a few, should facilitate a greater ease of collaboration and increase
the pace of scholarship. I know that I am not the only researcher who is collecting images of authors, and I look forward to seeing additional work by art historians on this engaging subject.
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Appendix A: *Le gieu des eschés* (Morgan Library) – Conclusion of Epilogue
nos anemis.
Tres chier poissant et redoubte sei
gneur puis que ie ay mis en fra[n]_
coys la moralite des nobles hommes
et des populaires selone ce que le phi-
losophe ordena de lestat et de loffice
deulz ie y ai adioustee pluszeurs auc-
torites qui sont b[ie]n au p[ro]pos de la ma-
tiere emprise et se il ni sont p[ro]pre[n]t_
si sont il essample dauncunes bonnes
meurs.
Et pour ce que ie ay touche des
trais des esches et comment
il uont eu lescqueuier ai ie mis et
ordene a pres la fourme et la manie-
re du gieu, en figure pourque que seu
peut plus clerement uoir le gieu p[our]
fait que par p[ar]ole. et y uns premiere-
ment -i- assiuetes que le philosophe.
trouua. et toutes les autres apres
que ie puis uer trouuues. Et ia gier
p[ar]tis et a chascun gieu sa division
selone le gieu. {Et ces gier ont est-
trouuues puis le temps du philosophe.
quen celz quil uist naque pure
subtilite de traire et le plus subtil le
doit tousiours gaignier sil ni court
des que la cheance du de va b[ie]n aucu
ne foys contre la subtillete du iou
eur et dit len souuent pour nient
ioure a qui il nen chier. Et aussi cou-
uient b[ie]n subtillete au gier p[ar]tis. q[ua]r_
comment que il die que les uns doi-
uent mater lautre a certains trais si
puet lun estre plus sage de fuire que
lautre de suir. {Et pour ce est il dit
communement p[aro]les mes trais pert le[n]_
les gier. Et cil qui regarde uoit aucu[n]
ne foys plus clerement le gieu que til qui
gieue.
Et tres chier et redoubte seigneur
ie ne lai inie filit pour ce que b[on]
ne soies asses entroduit du gieu. uies
pour ce que il uous daigne plaie il
regarder les essamples des anciens
qui sont dedens le liure et pour uo[s]
oster de mellencolie en regardant les.
{Et ia soe ce que uous soies b[ie]n en tro-
du est in meurs et en science tant par
nature comme p[our] acquisicion. li deuri
es uous et tous autres princes pre[n]
dre garde aseueque qui dist. Se ie a
uoie tout mon corps en sepulchre.
forz -i- pie si uoudroit encore celui
pie aprendre.
Et aussi oyie raconter a plusieur[s]
que le prince de tres noble me
moire phelippe le bel uostre oncle oioit
chascun iour sa leccon du liure du
gouvernement des roys se il uistait
occupue de trop grant chose quil ne deust
lessier.
Et chier et redoubte seigneur ie
pri dieu bonnement que il b----
tiengue en toutes bonnes euures
et uouss doint victoire des tous uos
anemis. Amen.

Ci fenist la moralite des nobles
hommes.

Explicit.
Appendix B: Illustrations
Figure 2. Left: Seated Vergil, *Vergilius Romanus*, fifth century, Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica, Cod. Vat. lat. 3867, folio 14r (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Vergilius_Romanus#/media/File:RomanVirgilFolio014rVergilPortrait.jpg).

Figure 3. Right: Dioscurides at Work, *Vienna Dioscurides*, sixth century, Vienna, Nationalbibliothek, cod. med. gr. 1, folio 5v (Kurt Weitzmann, *Late Antique and Early Christian Book Illumination* (New York: Braziller, 1977), plate 17).
Figure 4. Presentation, *First Bible of Charles the Bald*, 845-846, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. lat. 1, folio 423r (http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8455903b).
Figure 5. Eadwine the Scribe at Work, *Eadwine Psalter*, ca. 1150, University of Cambridge, Trinity College Library, MS R.17.1, folio 283v (http://trin-sites-pub.trin.cam.ac.uk/james/viewpage.php?index=1229).
Figure 6. Frontispiece with St. Michael the Archangel Surrounded by Artisans at Work, Ambrosius, *Opera varia*, mid twelfth century, Staatsbibliothek Bamberg, Msc Patr. 5, folio 1v (https://www.staatsbibliothek-bamberg.de/fileadmin/_processed_/csm_Msc.Patr.5_fol.1v_41e44f67ec.jpg).
Figure 7. Louis IX, Blanche of Castile and Manuscript Preparation, *Bible moralisée* of Louis IX, Paris, France, between 1227-1234, New York, The Morgan Library and Museum, MS M.240, folio 8r; Purchased by J. Pierpont Morgan (1837-1913) in 1906 (http://ica.themorgan.org/manuscript/page/8/77422).
Figure 8. Initial Containing Arnautz Daniels, *Chansonnier provençal*, second half thirteenth century, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. fr. 12473, folio 50r (http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b60007960).

Figure 9. Adenet Le Roi at the Foot of the Bed with Queen Marie de Brabant, Her Nephew and Sister-in-law, "Li roumans de Cleomades," *Recueil d'anciennes poésies françaises*, late thirteenth century, Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, ms. 3142, folio 1 (http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b55003999w).
Figure 10. Master of the Bible of Jean de Sy, Love and His Children Visit Machaut, Guillaume de Machaut, *Poésies*, 1372-1377, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. fr. 1584, folio Dr (http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b84490444/).

Figure 11. Christine de Pizan Presents Her Book to Queen Isabeau de Bavière of France, “The Queen's Manuscript” (a compilation of thirty works in verse and prose), ca. 1410-1414, London, British Library, Harley MS 4431, folio 3r (http://www.pizan.lib.ed.ac.uk/gallery/pages/003r.htm).
Figure 12. Master of the Coronation of Charles VI, Nicole Oresme Presents His Translation to Charles V, *Livre de Éthiques d’Aristote*, 1376, The Hague, Rijksmuseum Meermanno-Westreenianum, MS 10 D I, folio 5 (http://manuscripts.kb.nl/zoom/BYZANCKB%3Amimi_mww_10d1%3A05r_min).

Figure 15. Papeleu Master, Jean de Vignay (trans.), Vincent de Beauvais, *Miroir historial*, ca. 1333, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. fr. 316, folio 1 (http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b10507212h).
Figure 17. Master of the Bible of Jean de Sy, Nicole Oresme With Charles V of France, Livre de Éthiques d’Aristote, 1372, Brussels, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, Ms. 9505-9506, folio 2v, detail (Belgica, http://lucia.kbr.be/multi/KBR_9505-06Viewer/imageViewer.html).

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Figure 24. Master of the Bible of Jean de Sy, Rebecca and Eliezer at the Well, *Bible of Jean de Sy*, beg. 1355, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. fr. 15397, folio 40v (http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b84471814/f86).
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Figure 26. Master of the Bible of Jean de Sy, Creation of Eve, *Bible historiale*, Paris, mid-fourteenth century, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Ms-5212 réserve, folio 8v (http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b84581379/f22).

Figure 30. Limbourg Brothers, April (calendar page), *Les Très Riches Heures de Duc de Berry*, 1413-16, Chantilly, Musée Condé, MS 65, folio 4v (Jean Dufournet, *Les Très Riches Heures de Duc de Berry*, 2002, p. 25).

Figure 31. Limbourg Brothers and Jean Colombe, June (calendar page and detail), *Les Très Riches Heures de Duc de Berry*, beg. 1413-16, Chantilly, Musée Condé, MS 65, folio 6v (Jean Dufournet, *Les Très Riches Heures de Duc de Berry*, 2002, p. 35).
Figure 33. Matteo Giovanetti (attrib.), Garden Scene, Papal Palace at Avignon, 1340s, (ARTstor image ARTSTOR_103_41822003366638, http://library.artstor.org.proxy.lib.ohio-state.edu/library/secure/ViewImages?id=8CJGczl9NzldLS1WEDhzTnkrX3oreF18fC0%3D&userId=iD1MdQ%3D%3D&zoomParams=).

Figure 34. Papeleu Master (attrib.), Maidens Watering Trees, Frère Lorens, Somme le Roi, late thirteenth century, Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, Ms 870-1, folio 61v (http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b84790120/f128).
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