

“AINSSI COMME UNG BEAUX MIROUER:”
A MEDIEVAL FRENCH TRANSLATION OF MARGARET OF OINGT’S
SPECULUM

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Abstract: This article brings to light a fourteenth-century French translation, previously unknown to scholarship, of the most important work by the Carthusian prioress Margaret of Oingt, her Franco-Provençal *Speculum*. The late-fourteenth-century manuscript preserving this French rendering of Margaret’s mystical visions is described, and the circumstances of its production and potential audience considered. The medieval French *Speculum* is then compared to the original Franco-Provençal and to the medieval Occitan and early modern French translations. Finally, the medieval French text, which in some cases provides better readings than the surviving medieval copy of the Franco-Provençal, is edited for the first time.

Keywords: Margaret of Oingt’s *Speculum*; Franco-Provençal literature; mysticism; medieval women authors; Vatican, Bibliotheca Apostolica, Reginenses latini, MS 1668; *Dyalogue du pere et du filz*; “Legiloque” anthology; Marie of Brittany, countess of Saint-Pol; Charterhouse of Vauvert.

INTRODUCTION

“Jo ne sui pas persona que doie escrire chosa durabla, ne que doient estre misse avant,” wrote the Carthusian Margaret of Oingt in a letter to an unknown correspondent in the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century.¹ Mere modesty *topos* this may be, but Margaret’s wish came close to being realized. Little is known about her life.² In 1288 she was recorded as the prioress of the women’s charterhouse at Poleteins in the Dombes. Hugh of Amplepuis, prior of Valbonne, took a book of her visions to be examined at the Carthusian Chapter General in 1294. She died on 11th February 1310.

Margaret’s surviving works—a set of meditations in Latin, and, in Franco-Provençal, her *Speculum*, a life of St Beatrice of Ornacieux, and five letters—are preserved in a fourteenth-century volume that once belonged to the Grande-Chartreuse.³ Were it not for three miracle stories appended to this manuscript that refer to the author of the other works as “suers Margareta de Oyn, prioressa de Pelotens,” her identity might have remained a mystery.⁴ The same set of works can also be found in two seventeenth-century copies, which also supply a French translation.⁵ The manuscript now in the archives of the Grande-Chartreuse was originally made for the Dominicans of Grenoble (see the note on p. 142), our first

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¹ “I am not a person who should write things that last or that should be considered important.” For Margaret’s works in the original Latin and Franco-Provençal (with facing-page modern French translation), see Antonin Duraffour, Pierre Gardette, and Paulette Durdilly (eds), *Les Œuvres de Marguerite d’Oingt* (Paris 1965), and §136 for this particular letter. Paragraph numbers given *passim* are to this edition. English translations of Margaret’s works are from Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski, *The Writings of Margaret of Oingt, Medieval Prioress and Mystic (d. 1310)* (Woodbridge 1997), which uses the same paragraph numbering as Duraffour et al.

² For biographical information, see Duraffour et al. (n. 1 above) 9–13, and Blumenfeld-Kosinski (n. 1 above) 1–2.

³ Grenoble, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 410 (R.5785). A black and white reproduction is available at <https://bvmc.irht.cnrs.fr>. For a description, see Duraffour et al. (n. 1 above) 15–20.

⁴ “Margaret of Oingt, prioress of Poleteins.” See Duraffour et al. (n. 1 above) §154. Margaret names herself only at §1 of the *Meditations*, and then only as “Margareta.”

⁵ Grande-Chartreuse, Archives du Monastère, MS 66b, 7 ORNA 5, and Grenoble, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 411 (R.5786). A black and white reproduction of the latter volume is available at <https://bvmc.irht.cnrs.fr>. For descriptions, see Duraffour et al. (n. 1 above) 20–22.

evidence that Margaret's works circulated, at least to some extent, beyond the Carthusian cloister.

Margaret's most important work, her *Speculum*—with its triptych of mystical visions in which a closed book, an open book and the body of Christ come to the fore—is also known to have been transmitted independently of her larger corpus. A rendering into Occitan survives, sandwiched between lives of holy Franciscan tertiaries Elzear of Sabran and his wife Delphine of Puimichel, in a late-fourteenth-century volume traditionally deemed, on linguistic grounds, to have been made in the Albigeois.⁶ Previously unrecognized in scholarship, however, is that Margaret's *Speculum* also circulated in French prior to the end of the Middle Ages.⁷ An edition of the French text follows description of the manuscript preserving it and discussion of the relationship between the French, Franco-Provençal and Occitan versions of the *Speculum*. Margaret may have claimed that she shouldn't write anything lasting or significant, but by no means everyone in the later Middle Ages agreed.

DESCRIPTION OF BAV REG.LAT. 1668

The French rendering of Margaret's *Speculum* is found on fol. 76ra–77ra of Vatican, Bibliotheca apostolica, Reginenses latini, MS 1668 (= MS V).⁸ The most detailed description of this volume published to date, brief as it is, is the one by Ernest Langlois:

Parchemin, 0^m,313 sur 0^m,201, xv^e siècle, 82 feuillets, 2 colonnes à la page, de 45 à 50 lignes à la colonne; reliure en peau rouge, aux armes de Pie IX.⁹

Supplementing Langlois's description, we note that the foliation, added in ink in the upper right of recto sides, is modern. The quire structure is irregular: after the first gathering (of 11 leaves) the volume comprises a mixture of quaternions and sexternions. The dimensions of the ruled area vary considerably, measuring 246 x 158 mm (for example) on fol. 65r. The text was copied, plausibly by a single

⁶ Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds français, MS 13504. A black and white reproduction is available at <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b90613840>. For description, see Duraffour et al. (n. 1 above) 23. The editor of the lives of Elzear and Delphine suggests they were translated from Latin by a Franciscan friar between 1383 and 1397 on the orders of Guillaume de la Voûte, bishop of Albi: see Jacques Cambell (ed.), *Vies occitanes de saint Auzias et de sainte Dauphine* (Rome 1963) 22–25. For a more recent study of these lives, see Rosalynn Voaden, "A Marriage Made for Heaven: The *Vies Occitanes* of Elzear of Sabran and Delphine of Puimichel," in Rosalynn Voaden and Diane Wolfthal (eds), *Framing the Family: Narrative and Representation in the Medieval and Early Modern Periods* (Tempe 2005) 101–116. For an edition of the Occitan rendering of the *Speculum*, see Diego Zorzi (ed.), "La spiritualità e le visioni di due certosine lionesi contemporanee di Dante," *Aevum* 27 (1953) 510–531. Line numbers in parentheses are to this edition.

⁷ Only the Franco-Provençal *Speculum* and its Occitan translation are mentioned, for example, in Geneviève Hasenohr and Michel Zink (eds), *Dictionnaire des lettres françaises: le Moyen Âge* (Paris 1992) 988–989. The *Speculum* is described as a Latin work and the Occitan manuscript listed as preserving the Franco-Provençal "translation" in Claudio Galderisi (ed.), *Traductions médiévales: cinq siècles de traductions en français au Moyen Âge (XI^e–XV^e siècles). Étude et répertoire*, 2 vols (Turnhout 2011) 2 pt. 2 1328–1329.

⁸ For a color reproduction, see https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Reg.lat.1668. The manuscript *siglum* is my own.

⁹ "Parchment, 313 x 201 mm, fifteenth-century, 82 folios, 2 columns per page, between 45 and 50 lines per column; bound in red leather, with the arms of Pius IX." See Ernest Langlois, "Notices des manuscrits français et provençaux de Rome antérieurs au XVI^e siècle," *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque nationale et autres bibliothèques* 33.2 (1889) 1–347 (esp. 193).

scribe, in an angular *cursiva libraria* that G  r  ldine Veyseyre dates to the end of the fourteenth century (rather than to the fifteenth century, as Langlois did).¹⁰ The *scripta* is Francian, yielding few clues as to the scribe’s geographical origin.¹¹ A single puzzle initial (in blue and gold, with red and blue flourishing) adorns fol. 1r. The decoration is otherwise limited to plain initials, two lines in height, alternating red and blue (with quire 2 left undecorated).

Langlois listed the contents of MS V as:

- 1) the second redaction of Guillaume de Degulleville’s *Pelerinage de la vie humaine* (fol. 1ra–63ra); and
- 2) the introductory theological handbook Langlois called *Enseignemens d’un p  re    son fils* (more commonly known today as the *Dyalogue du pere et du filz*) (fol. 64ra–82vb), preceded here by a list of the questions posed by the eponymous son.¹²

The first item in the volume, however, is not the second redaction of the *Pelerinage*, but the first (dated 1330–1331). And the second item is not the widely circulating version of the *Dyalogue* composed in the mid-thirteenth century, of which 15 witnesses survive, but one of eight manuscripts preserving (whole or in part) a later recension in which the 38 questions and answers of the original are rearranged around the Seven Sacraments.¹³ This later version is among the 19 works included in the so-called “Legiloque” compendium, commissioned by a Countess of Saint-Pol after the death of her husband (no doubt Marie of Brittany,

¹⁰ G  r  ldine Veyseyre, “Liste des manuscrits des trois *P  lerinages* de Guillaume de Digulleville,” in Fr  d  ric Duval and Fabienne Pomel (eds), *Guillaume de Digulleville: les “P  lerinages” all  goriques* (Rennes 2008) 425–453 (esp. 436 and 451 n. 166).

¹¹ Graphemic features noted during a cursory examination include *s* for *c* (“despiesses,” fol. 69ra) and vice versa (“faucet  s,” fol. 65va), addition of (pseudo-)etymological letters (“soubsmist,” fol. 69va; “   ay,” fol. 64vb), palatal lateral as *-illi-* (“vermeillies,” fol. 76ra), and *-aige* (“visaige,” fol. 76ra). Note also “grachent” for “crachent” (fol. 76ra; localized to Reims in *FEW* 2.1266), and—interesting given the origin of Oliverius (see below)—“prouffilt” (fol. 71rb), attested particularly in the west of the *o  l* zone: see, for example, C.-J. Beautemps-Beaupr   (ed.), *Coutumes et institutions de l’Anjou et du Maine ant  rieures au xvi   si  cle* (Paris 1877) 3.458; and Albert Le Grand, *Les Vies des saints de la Bretagne-Armorique* (Paris 1837) 140.

¹² Langlois (n. 9 above), 193–194.

¹³ The first recension is present in Cambridge, Emmanuel College, MS I.4.31 (unique Anglo-Norman abridgement); Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, MS 2756; Lyon, Biblioth  que Diderot, Mss&R 43; Oxford, Bodleian Library, Fairfax MS 24 (fragment); Paris, Archives nationales, AB/XIX/1730 Haute-Garonne pi  ce 14 (fragment); Paris, Biblioth  que de l’Arsenal, MS 2059; Paris, Biblioth  que de l’Arsenal, MS 2071; Paris, Biblioth  que nationale de France, fonds fran  ais, MS 461; Paris, Biblioth  que nationale de France, fonds fran  ais, MS 726; Paris, Biblioth  que nationale de France, fonds fran  ais, MS 1036; Paris, Biblioth  que nationale de France, fonds fran  ais, MS 12581; Paris, Biblioth  que nationale de France, fonds fran  ais, MS 13342; Paris, Biblioth  que nationale de France, fonds fran  ais, MS 24432; Paris, Biblioth  que nationale de France, fonds fran  ais, MS 25408 (a colophon on fol. 106v dates the volume to 1267); and Soissons, Biblioth  que municipale, MS 224. For an edition of the unique Anglo-Norman abridgement, see Tony Hunt (ed.), “*Cher alme*”: *Texts of Anglo-Norman Piety*, with the assistance of Jane Bliss and Henrietta Leyser (Tempe 2010) 24–69. An edition of the complete first recension of the *Dyalogue* is in preparation by the author. The later “Seven Sacraments” recension is present in the three copies of the “Legiloque” compendium—Chantilly, Biblioth  que du Ch  teau, MS 137; Paris, Biblioth  que nationale de France, fonds fran  ais 1136; and Paris, Biblioth  que nationale de France, nouvelles acquisitions fran  aises, MS 4338—and in a later volume that derives much of its material from the “Legiloque” (Chantilly, Biblioth  que du Ch  teau, MS 138). See Richard Rouse and Mary Rouse, “French Literature and the Counts of Saint-Pol ca. 1178–1377,” *Viator* 41.1 (2010) 101–140 (esp. 122–129), which is republished in Richard Rouse and Mary Rouse, *Bound Fast with Letters: Medieval Writers, Readers, and Texts* (Notre Dame 2013) 308–356. This later recension of the *Dyalogue* can also be found in MS V; Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Codices gallici, MS 60 (extract); and Avignon, Biblioth  que municipale, MS 344; Rouen, Biblioth  que municipale, MS 1052 (Y.20).

whose husband, Gui II of Châtillon, died in 1317).¹⁴ The compendium has a Carthusian connection: it contains a history of the order apparently recorded from an oral presentation to the Countess by a senior Carthusian, who may well have hailed from the Vauvert Charterhouse to the south of Paris, given the Châtillon-Saint-Pol family's ties to that institution.¹⁵ Compared to the "Legiloque" version, the *Dyalogue* in MS V is much abridged, with all Latin quotations (and often their translations, too) omitted. Yet the text it preserves is actually closer to the first recension.¹⁶ Richard and Mary Rouse have observed that "the majority of the texts in the *Legiloque* collection are not known elsewhere, and may have been composed or at least adapted by a learned and talented clerk in the household."¹⁷ In the case of the *Dyalogue*, however, the "Legiloque" clerk seems to have been drawing on a text that either he or another had already substantially reworked. That the final rubric of the *Dyalogue* in manuscripts of the "Legiloque" compendium draws attention to the incorporation of the Seven Sacraments—"Ici s'achieve le Dyalogue dou pere et dou filz, ou sont contenuz les .vii. Sacremenz de sainte Eglise"—suggests that he might have had a hand in the adaptation.¹⁸

What Langlois neglected to note in his description of MS V was that the *Pelerinage* and *Dyalogue* are followed by a series of shorter works occupying fol. 73vb–82vb:

- 3) *De purgatoire* (fol. 73vb), a brief exemplum demonstrating the efficacy of intercession. When a nobleman brings food for a resident of a *maison-Dieu*, he arrives only to discover that his friend has died since his last visit. His efforts, however, do not go to waste since the food can usefully be passed on to others. Likewise, we are told, prayers and good works performed in the name of those in Heaven or Hell are of no help to their intended recipients, but they do help others in Purgatory.
- 4) *Sept fioles de l'ire de Dieu* (fol. 73vb–76ra), a short work that survives in at least two other manuscripts, explaining how the seven pestiferous vials of Revelation 16 figure God's sevenfold wrath.¹⁹
- 5) The French translation of Margaret of Oingt's *Speculum* (fol. 76ra–77ra).
- 6) *Auctorités* (fol. 77ra–78ra), a homiletic work made up of choice quotations from the Evangelists, Church Fathers and the occasional Classical *auctor* on how to live well. This text is also present in London, British Library, Royal MS 16.E.XII (fol. 59vb–68rb),

¹⁴ On the identification of the Countess of Saint-Pol with Marie of Brittany, see Rouse and Rouse (n. 13 above) 124.

¹⁵ See Paris BnF fr. 1136, fol. 80r and 122v. In 1290 Joan of Châtillon, cousin of Marie's husband Gui, had given so generously to the Charterhouse at Vauvert that it was able to support twice as many monks as before. Gui and Marie had acquired an estate just over a kilometre away from Vauvert and the family retained possession after Gui's death until 1320. See Rouse and Rouse (n. 13 above) 126–127.

¹⁶ Consider, for example, the opening of the *Dyalogue* (following a prologue in the "Seven Sacraments" version). First recension: "*Anciennement n'estoit nuls baptizés devant qu'il eüst aage qu'il eüst sens et discretion*" (Paris Arsenal 2059, fol. 107r). "Legiloque" version: "*Biaus filz, tu dois entendre que le sacrement du saint baptesme et [sic] de tous les sacremens de sainte Eglise le premier et le fondement [...]* Et pour ce, biaux filz, tu dois savoir qu'au commencement de la foy crestienne nul n'estoit baptiziez devant qu'il eüst aage et discretion" (Chantilly BdC 137, fol. 45ra–45va). MS V: "*Beaux filz, enciennement nulz n'estoit baptisié devant qu'il eüst aage d'entendement*" (fol. 64rb).

¹⁷ Rouse and Rouse (n. 13 above) 122.

¹⁸ "Here ends the *Dyalogue du pere et du filz*, which includes the Seven Sacraments of Holy Church" (Paris BnF fr. 1136, fol. 75r).

¹⁹ Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek / Bibliothèque royale, II 3458, fol. 59v–72v (late fourteenth century); and Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds français, MS 24868, fol. 235r–247r (ca. 1400). The latter volume was owned by the Augustinian Abbey of Saint-Victor in Paris in the fifteenth century. See the *ex-libris* on fol. 247r, and Gilbert Ouy, *Les manuscrits de l'Abbaye de Saint-Victor: catalogue établi sur la base du répertoire de Claude de Grandrue (1514)*, 2 vols (Turnhout 1999) 2.412.

a fourteenth-century volume of didactic and devotional material with Franciscan links (to judge by the single miniature, on fol. 152r, and the inclusion of a life of St Francis).²⁰ The version in MS V, however, commences part-way through (corresponding to the top of fol. 62va in the Royal manuscript).²¹

- 7) A summary in French of the *De doctrina cordis* by Gerard of Liège (fol. 78r–82rb). This work is present in at least two other manuscripts: Angers, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 403 (390) (fol. 71ra–88vb), an early-fourteenth-century volume of French and Latin material; and Soissons, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 222 (fol. 151ra–178rb), which dates from the mid-fourteenth century and bears the *ex-libris* of the Charterhouse of Vauvert near Paris.²²
- 8) Three extracts from Friar Laurent’s *Somme le roi* (fol. 82rb–82vb): the first concerning the dangers of the tavern, and the final two emphasizing the importance of sobriety.²³

Concerning the provenance of the volume, Langlois noted the signature of a mysterious “Pleter” on the front flyleaf, repeated on fol. 82v above an erased fifteenth-century *ex-libris* naming a certain Oliverius, and a sixteenth-century *ex-libris* of the Celestine house of Marcoussis.²⁴ Under a Wood lamp more of the erased inscription on fol. 82v that was only partially legible to Langlois can now be read. I transcribe the following (with abbreviations expanded in parentheses):

Hu(n)c libr(um) t(ra)didi in custodia q(ui)da(m) h(om)o armor(icus) (?) / nat(i)o(n)e britan(nicus) vocat(us) Oliuerius [...]²⁵

Unfortunately, the word following “Oliverius,” covered by the stamp of the Bibliotheca Apostolica, remains undecipherable.

It is not clear from the available evidence for whom MS V was intended. It is not a deluxe volume destined for the upper echelons of the nobility: insofar as it is not only unillustrated but barely decorated, it makes for an unusual witness of Degulleville’s *Pelerinage de la vie humaine*.²⁶ Yet it seems likely that it was intended (if only indirectly) for a lay audience. For a start, we know that, in the fifteenth century, it was in the hands of an individual rather than in an institutional

²⁰ On the Franciscan connection, see Ruth Dean and Maureen Bolton, *Anglo-Norman Literature: A Guide to Texts and Manuscripts* (London 1999) 359.

²¹ A similar text can be found in the earlier volumes Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds français, MS 6447 (fol. 350ra–354vb), and Paris, Bibliothèque de l’Arsenal, MS 5201 (pp. 297a–310b), but these include two passages absent from the Royal manuscript, and depart definitively from this text precisely where MS V begins (suggesting that two works may have been combined in the Royal manuscript). The version in BnF fr. 6447 and Arsenal 5201 ends, moreover, with a version of *The Ladder of Divine Ascent*.

²² The text in MS V is shorter than that of the other two witnesses, its explicit corresponding to fol. 80rb in Angers BM 403 and fol. 165rb in Soissons BM 222. The text in Angers BM 403 is described in the *CGM* as a “traduction de la partie du *De custodia cordis* de Gérard de Liège, relative à la confession” (“translation of the part of the *De custodia cordis* by Gerard of Liege concerning confession”), *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France. Départements* 31 (1898) 332. It is considered by Hendrix, however, to be a summary of the complete *De doctrina*: Guido Hendrix, *Hugo de Sancto Caro’s traktaat “De doctrina cordis:” handschriften, receptie, tekstgeschiedenis en authenticiteitskritiek*, 2 vols (Leuven 1995) 1.14. For provenance information concerning Soissons BM 222, see Denis Muzerelle (ed.), *Manuscrits datés des bibliothèques de France, 2. Laon, Saint-Quentin, Soissons* (Paris 2013) 217.

²³ These extracts correspond to §§38.214, 59.262, and 59.198 of Édith Brayer and Anne-Françoise Leurquin-Labie (eds), *La Somme le roi* (Paris 2008).

²⁴ Langlois (n. 9 above) 193 n. 1.

²⁵ “A certain Armorican (?) man, of Breton nationality, by the name of Oliver delivered this book into [our] custody.”

²⁶ See Géraldine Veyseyre, “Lecture linéaire ou consultation ponctuelle? Structuration du texte et apparats dans les manuscrits des *Pèlerinages*,” in Duval and Pomel (n. 10 above) 330 n. 62; and Veyseyre, “Liste des manuscrits” (n. 10 above) 451 n. 167.

library: the *ex-libris* of “Oliverius” undoubtedly predates that of the Celestines of Marcoussis. The treatment of Biblical and patristic citations in the *Dyalogue* is also telling: that the Latin text is systematically excised suggests its audience were only expected to engage with scholarly material in the vernacular. The short texts at the back of the volume may be eclectic, moreover, but they give the impression of having been carefully selected. The inclusion of a text that ostensibly encourages layfolk to carry out good works (no. 3) is also perhaps significant.

The circumstances of production of MS *V* are also uncertain. The mendicants might have provided a source for at least some of the material it contains. One of the two other witnesses of the *Auctorités* that forms part of the florilegium in *V* (no. 6) no doubt had Franciscan links. We know from the extant copies of the *Speculum* in Franco-Provençal and Occitan, moreover, that Margaret of Oingt’s visions were of interest to Dominicans and Franciscans alike.

The links between MS *V* and the Carthusian order, however, are also worthy of note. The text of the *Dyalogue* found in MS *V* is closely related to (but not derived from) the version in the “Legiloque” compendium commissioned by Marie of Brittany, parts of which were attributed to a senior Carthusian evidently well-known to the Châtillon-Saint-Pol family. We know that one of two other witnesses of the French summary of the *De doctrina cordis* (no. 7 in MS *V*) was in the possession of the Vauvert Charterhouse. Given the bookishness of its monks, it would hardly be surprising if the works of a Carthusian prioress—even one adamant that their writing should never be “misse avant”—had made it there, too.²⁷

RELATIONS BETWEEN THE MEDIEVAL FRENCH *SPECULUM* AND THE FRANCO-PROVENÇAL, OCCITAN AND LATER FRENCH VERSIONS

The source for the French rendering of the *Speculum* does not appear to have survived: errors in the Franco-Provençal text of Grenoble BM 410 and lacunae in the Occitan text of Paris BnF 13504 preclude either of the surviving medieval witnesses from being the model.²⁸ In a few places MS *V* and the Occitan text have common readings that oppose them to the Franco-Provençal original.²⁹ The *Speculum* is unlikely to have been translated into French via Occitan, however: some of *V*’s errors (not shared by the surviving Occitan text) can be attributed to a misunderstanding of Franco-Provençal morphology: “li sancta conversations,” for example, is rendered as “les saintes conversacions” (singular mistaken as plural, §4), and “illi” (“she”) as “il” (§24). Likewise, MS *V* cannot have been the source for the Occitan or later French translations, such are its textual lacunae (see, for example, §1, §6, and §39). Innovations in the Occitan and later French renderings, moreover, are better explained with recourse to the Franco-Provençal *Speculum*

²⁷ On the holdings of Vauvert, where books were kept in each monk’s cell as well as in the library, see Paul Biver and Marie-Louise Biver, *Abbayes, monastères, et couvents de Paris: des origines à la fin du XVIII^e siècle* (Paris 1970) 113. On Carthusian libraries more generally, see Anne Bondéelle, “Trésor des moines. Les Chartreux, les Cisterciens et leurs livres,” in André Vernet (ed.), *Histoire des bibliothèques françaises. I. Les bibliothèques médiévales: du VI^e siècle à 1530* (Paris 1989) 65–81.

²⁸ See below for readings in MS *V* that are superior to the surviving Franco-Provençal text. For passages present in the Franco-Provençal and medieval French but omitted in the Occitan see, for example, §8 and §14.

²⁹ Consider, for example, French “car il *veult*” (§27) and Occitan “quar el *vol*” (l. 189) (cf. “quar il *vont*” in the Franco-Provençal); “la *beauté* de la Trinité” (§35) and “li *beleza* e la respplendor de la sancta Trenitat” (l. 227) (cf. “la Trinita”); and “une belle *euvre*” (§36) and “una bela *hobra*” (l. 236) (cf. “una bela *carta*”).

than to the French.³⁰ The French rendering of the *Speculum*, then, seems to have been produced and to have circulated independently of both the Occitan and the later French versions.

The French *Speculum* can be considered a relatively faithful rendering of the Franco-Provençal text. It certainly reworks the original less than the Occitan does, and the latter version was described by Zorzi as following the Franco-Provençal “abbastanza fedelmente”.³¹ Towards the end of the text, §36 and §37 are inverted in the French, but this has little impact on the sense. The most common variants concern doublets: the French text often translates one word with two (e.g. “les viltez et les batures” for “les viutinanances,” §9), or two words with one (e.g. “digne chose” for “digna chosa ne si douci,” §10). Overall there is a tendency towards abridgement: Margaret makes no claim here, for example, to explain why her vision occurred (§1), the link between the Incarnation and Redemption of mankind is not made explicit (§6), and the final sentence of §39, with its reference to the divine vision afforded to the pure of heart (Matt. 5.8), is also absent.

Compared to the Franco-Provençal, a number of MS V’s readings are clearly inferior. Margaret demonstrates a surprising concern, for example, for her own earthly existence in §1 (“je desirre *nostre* salut ainssi come la *vie*” for “jo desirro *vostra* salut assi come jo foy la *min*”). Christ is so radiant that angels have not simply *contemplated* him since their creation; they have been keeping him fresh in the temple (“la lavoient on temple” for “l’aveiant contempla,” §24). Angels *carry things*, ghost-like, through walls, rather than simply being able to enter locked rooms (“aporter choses” for “a portes closes,” §29). While many of these innovations could have occurred during copying, some plausibly occurred during translation. At §20, for example, the Franco-Provençal “et li doucors, cum bien que illi se expandet” of §19 is retranslated (dittography prompted by “Nostron Segnour”), but, tellingly, with a different rendering of the verb (“s’esparte” first, “s’espande” second).

Several readings in MS V, however, are superior to the Franco-Provençal of Grenoble BM 410, and these should be taken into account in any future edition of Margaret’s work. The spectacle of dazzlingly bright angels of §26 is surely all the more impressive because these celestial beings are innumerable (“sanz nombre”) rather than *limbless* (“seins membro,” emended to “ses membro” by Duraffour et

³⁰ At §4 in the Occitan, for example, a long list of words for violence and insult (“li colps e las coladas e las bossas e las bozigas e ls baluayrols e ls batemans e totas las lagesas e escupiduras,” ll. 30–32) renders the Franco-Provençal “li col et les tenplees et les ordures.” If the Occitan translator had worked from the French (“buffes [et] ordures”) we might have expected to find Occitan *buffas* among them. At §8 the Occitan translator seems to have struggled to render “illi se perforsavet,” suggesting Margaret broke down in tears upon reading the book of her conscience (“plorava fortmen e marrideiava en son cor,” ll. 61–63). If “plorava” was prompted by misreading “perforsavet,” perhaps aided by a missing bar through the descender of *p*, the translator could not have made the same mistake working from the French (“elle s’estudioit et enforsoit”). The later French rendering was in all likelihood made from the Franco-Provençal text that accompanies it in the two seventeenth-century volumes. It preserves errors in the Franco-Provençal, e.g. at §26 “seins membro” (an error for “seins nembro”) is rendered as “ses membres” (Grenoble BM 411, fol. 66r); and at §27 “il vont quaque part que il seiant” (an error prompted by miscopying of “vout”) is rendered as “et quelque part qu’ils soient ils se trouvent” (Grenoble BM 411, fol. 66r). Some of the later translation’s innovations, moreover, can be explained by miscomprehension of the Franco-Provençal text, e.g. plural “les conversations” (Grenoble BM 411, fol. 58r) for singular “li conversations,” §8; and “Les saints seront *assis*” (Grenoble BM 411, fol. 62r) for “Tot *assi* seront li saint,” §19).

³¹ “Fairly faithfully.” See Zorzi (n. 6 above) 522.

al.; cf. Occitan “ces nombre,” l. 184). In §31 the blessed crave nothing but God’s sweetness, not because they do not dare (“oserent”) but because they know no other way (“ne sauront,” cf. Occitan “no podo,” l. 210). And in §32, where the topic is wisdom, the blessed have no need to ask God anything, not because they *have* everything (“harent”) but because they partake in his omniscience (“sauront,” cf. Occitan “sabo... e an,” l. 214). While these examples find additional support in the Occitan text, this is not always the case. When Margaret sees white letters in her first vision (§8), for instance, she is prompted to copy this exemplar of Christ in order to amend *herself* (“de soy amender”) rather than an ambiguous “it.” This passage is omitted in the Occitan.

It is also noteworthy that the redactor of the French text forges even stronger links between the book Margaret sees Christ holding, her vision of Christ as a book, and the book in which her experience is recorded and read anew. If Margaret has written Christ so assiduously onto her heart that she is afforded a vision of him carrying a book, the French rendering explains that she has done so through prayer (§2), providing a practical response for readers of her own book. The French version emphasizes, moreover, that not only do the red letters adorning the cover of the book Christ carries *represent* the bloodshed of the Passion; they are actually written in Christ’s blood (§4 and §10). The final prayer in the French also brings us resolutely back to the book (§40). Rather than praying to be able to live chastely (“netamen”), the French text asks for assistance in *reading* clearly (“nettement”) in order to be afforded a clear vision of Christ one day in heaven. Appropriately enough, the French rendering of the *Speculum* ends by reflecting Margaret’s various books onto the book in front of the reader.

THE MEDIEVAL FRENCH TRANSLATION OF MARGARET OF OINGT’S *SPECULUM*

The text of the French *Speculum* has been transcribed below from BAV Reg.lat. 1668. I have intervened in the text only where it fails to make sense, with all emendations given in square brackets and rejected readings provided in the footnotes. Variant readings from the Franco-Provençal and, where stated, from the Occitan are provided in footnotes from Duraffour et al. (n. 1 above) and Zorzi (n. 6 above) respectively. In preparing the text I have followed the conventions of the École nationale des chartes, distinguishing *u* from *v* and *i* from *j*, marking final tonic-*e* in polysyllabic words with an acute accent, and silently expanding abbreviations in accordance with unabbreviated occurrences elsewhere in MS V.³² Punctuation (for the most part) follows Duraffour et al., but is also informed by the scribe’s use of majuscules and the *virgula suspensiva*. There are no chapter or paragraph divisions in the text preserved in MS V; these have been added from Duraffour et al. to facilitate comparison with other versions.

³² Françoise Viellard and Olivier Guyotjeannin, *Conseils pour l’édition des textes médiévaux. Fascicule I, Conseils généraux* (Paris 2014).

[Chapter 1]

(1) [fol. 76ra] Il me semble que je vous ay ouï dire que quant vous avez ouï recorder³³ aucune grace que Nostre Seigneur fait³⁴ a aucuns de ses amis, que vous en valés mieulx grant temps après.³⁵ Et pour ce que je desirre nostre salut ainssi come la vie,³⁶ vous diray, le plus briefment que je pourray, la plus³⁷ grant courtoisie que Nostre Seigneur a fait n'a pas lonc temps a [aucune personne]³⁸ que je congnois bien.³⁹

(2) Yceste creature, par grace de Nostre Seigneur, avoit escripte en son cuer la sainte vie que Jhesu Crist menoit en terre et ses bons exemples et sa bonne doctrine. Et si ententivement avoit elle mis⁴⁰ Jhesu Crist⁴¹ en son cuer qu'il lui sembloit aucunes fois, quant elle estoit en oroison,⁴² qu'il fust present et qu'il tenist ung livre clos en sa main pour lui enseigner.

(3) Ce livre estoit tous escripts pardehors de lettres blanches,⁴³ noires et vermeillies; et les fermaux du livre estoient⁴⁴ de lettre d'or.

(4) Es lettres blanches [escripte estoit la sainte conversacion]⁴⁵ du benoit Filz de Dieu, laquelle fu trestoute blanche pour sa tresgrant innocence et pour ses saintes euvres. Es lettres noires estoient escriptes les buffes [et]⁴⁶ les ordures que les felons Juis⁴⁷ lui firent, quant ilz lui gracherent⁴⁸ on visaige⁴⁹ et par tout son corps,⁵⁰ tant qu'il sembloit estre meseaux. Les lettres vermeillies estoient escriptes du precieux sanc qui fu espandu de ses douces plaies⁵¹ pour nous.

(5) Puis y avoit deux fermans qui cloiaient le livre, qui estoient escripts de lettres d'or. En l'un avoit escript, "*Erit*⁵² *omnia in omnibus*." En l'autre avoit escript, "*Mirabilis Deus in sanctis suis*."

(6) Or vous diray briefment commant ceste creature s'estudioit en ce livre. Quant venoit au matin, elle commençoit a panser commant le benoit Filz de Dieu vult venir en terre et⁵³ descendre en la misere de ce monde cy, et prandre nostre humanité et joindre a sa deïté.⁵⁴ Après elle pansoit comment il vult naistre povrement et humblement et converser toute sa vie, et commant il vult estre

³³ recorder] *recontar*

³⁴ fait] *a fayt*

³⁵ après] omitted

³⁶ nostre salut ainssi come la vie] *vostra salut assi come jo foy la min*

³⁷ la plus] *una*

³⁸ aucune personne] MS V: *aucunes personnes*; Franco-Provençal: *una persona*

³⁹ je congnois bien] *jo conoisso... Et per co que illi vos tort a plus grant profet, jo vos direy la reyson per que crey que Deus la ly a fayt*

⁴⁰ si ententivement avoit elle mis] *aveyt illi neis* (emended by Duraffour et al. to *meis*)

⁴¹ Jhesu Crist] *lo douz Jhesu Crit*

⁴² quant elle estoit en oroison] omitted

⁴³ blanches] followed in MS V by a deleted *et*

⁴⁴ estoient] *erant escrit*

⁴⁵ escripte estoit la sainte conversacion] MS V: *escriptes estoient les saintes conversacions* (emended because *laquelle* requires a singular)

⁴⁶ buffes et] MS V: *et* omitted; Franco-Provençal: *li col et les tenplees*

⁴⁷ Juis] *Jue*

⁴⁸ lui firent quant ilz lui gracherent] *li gitavont*

⁴⁹ on visage] *en sa sainti faci*

⁵⁰ tout son corps] *son noble cors*

⁵¹ Les lettres vermeillies... ses douces plaies] *En les vermelles erant escrete les plaes et li pretious sans qui fut espachies* (emended by Duraffour et al. to *espanchies*)

⁵² Erit] *Deus erit*

⁵³ venir en terre et] omitted

⁵⁴ deïté] *deita, en tal maneri que l'on puet dire que Deus qui eret immortauz fut mors per nos*

tousjours gaitié.⁵⁵ Et puis pansoit a sa grant pacience,⁵⁶ et comant il fu obedian
jusques a la mort.

(7) Quant elle avoit bien regardé⁵⁷ [...] on livre de sa conscience, lequel elle
trouvoit tout plain de deffaultes⁵⁸ et de mençonges. Car quant elle regardoit la
misere⁵⁹ de Nostre Seigneur Jhesu Crist qu'il eust,⁶⁰ elle se trouvoit toute plainne
d'orgueil. Quant elle se pansoit qu'il vould estre mesprisés des nices gens,⁶¹ elle
trouvoit en son cuer⁶² tout le contraire. Quant elle pansoit sa grant povreté,⁶³ elle ne
trouvoit mie en soy qu'elle vouldist estre si povre qu'elle en fust mesprisee. Quant
elle regardoit sa grant pacience,⁶⁴ elle n'en trouvoit point en soy. Quant elle pansoit
commant il fu obedian jusques a la mort, elle ne [fol. 76rb] se trouvoit⁶⁵ point si
bien obeissant comme mestier lui fust.

(8) Ce estoient les lettres blanches, esquelles estoit⁶⁶ la conversacion au benoit
Filz Dieu. Après quant elle avoit bien regardé toutes ses deffaultes, elle s'estudioit
et enforsoit⁶⁷ tant come elle pouoit de soy amender⁶⁸ a l'exemplaيرة de la vie Jhesu
Crist.

(9) Après elle s'estudioit es lettres noires, esquelles estoient escriptes les viltez
et les batures⁶⁹ que l'en fist a Jhesu Crist: en ycelles elle aprinst a souffrir
tribulacions en pacience.

(10) Après elle s'estudioit es lettres rouges de sanc:⁷⁰ en celles estoient escriptes
les plaies et l'espandement du precieux sanc Jhesu Crist. En celles elle aprinst non
pas tant seulement a souffrir les tribulacions en pacience, mais sy aprinst sy a
delittier en telle maniere et sy songneusement⁷¹ que tous confors de ce monde li
tournoient a grant hayne, en telle maniere et si formant⁷² qu'il li estoit avis qu'en
ce monde n'estoit digne chose⁷³ come de souffrir les tourmens et les poinnes de ce
siele pour l'amour de son creatour.

(11) Après⁷⁴ elle s'estudioit es lettres d'or. En ycelles elle apprenoit a desirrer
les choses celestielles.

(12) En ce livre elle trouvoit escripte toute⁷⁵ la vie que Jhesu Crist menoit en
terre, de sa nativité jusques atant qu'il monta es cieulx.

⁵⁵ Après elle pansoit comment... tousjours gaitié] *Après illi pensave la grant humilita que fut en luy.*
Et pues pensave coment il vocit estre persegus toz jors

⁵⁶ pacience] *poureta y en sa grant patienti*

⁵⁷ regardé] *regarda cet livro, illi comencavet a liere* (eyeskip)

⁵⁸ deffaultes] *fouceta*

⁵⁹ misere] *humilita*

⁶⁰ qu'il eust] omitted

⁶¹ des nices gens] *et persegus*

⁶² en son cuer] *en se*

⁶³ pansoit sa grant povreté] *regardavet sa poureta*

⁶⁴ grant pacience] *pacienti*

⁶⁵ se trouvoit] *trovavet*

⁶⁶ estoit] *eret escrita*

⁶⁷ s'estudioit et enforsoit] *se perforsavet*

⁶⁸ soy amender] *l'emendar*

⁶⁹ les viltez et les batures] *les viutances*

⁷⁰ de sanc] omitted

⁷¹ et sy songneusement] omitted

⁷² en telle maniere et si formant] *essi*

⁷³ digne chose] *si digna chosa ne si douci*

⁷⁴ Après] followed in MS V by a deleted *se*

⁷⁵ toute] omitted (cf. Occitan *tota*, l. 78)

(13) Après elle comança a panser comment le benoit Filz de Dieu se siet a la destre de son Pere.⁷⁶ Mais elle avoit encor les yeux du cuer sy obscurs qu'elle ne pouoit contempler Nostre Seigneur on ciel. Mais li convenoit tousjours⁷⁷ retourner au commancement de la vie que Nostre Seigneur mena en terre, jusques atant qu'elle eust bien amendés ses faultes et toute sa vie,⁷⁸ a l'exemplaire de ce livre; en ceste maniere elle s'estudioit et s'i contint⁷⁹ longuement.

[Chapter 2]

(14) Assés tost après que ceste creature⁸⁰ estoit en oroison après matines et commençoit a regarder a son livre ainssi comme elle avoit accoustume. Quant elle se prinst garde,⁸¹ il lui fu⁸² avis que le livre s'ouvrist devant lui,⁸³ onquel elle n'avoit onques veü fors pardehors.

(15) Ce livre pardedens fu ainssi comme ung beaux mirouer, et n'y avoit que deux pages. De ce qu'elle vit pardedens le livre, ne diray je pas moult, car vrayement⁸⁴ je n'ay cuer qui le puisse dire ne comprendre,⁸⁵ ne bouche qui le puisse dire ne deviser.⁸⁶ Toutesvoies vous en diray je aucune chose, se Dieux m'en donne la grace.

(16) Dedens ce livre apparoit ung liu tresdelicieux, qui estoit si grant que tout le monde n'est qu'ung pou de chose au regart de celui. En ce liu apparoit une tresgrant lumiere glorieuse,⁸⁷ qui se devoisoit en .III. parties, ainssi come en .III. personnes; mais c'est si tresmerveilleuse chose que de celle ne sauroit nulz parler droitement.⁸⁸

(17) De laquelle saillioient tous les biens qui puent estre. De qui saillioit la vraie sa-[fol. 76va]-pience [...] a laquelle⁸⁹ toutes choses enclinent. Duquel saillioit une grant⁹⁰ douceur et une si grant refection que tous les anges et tous les sains et les saintes ames⁹¹ en estoient si remplies et reparees⁹² qu'elles ne pouoient autre chose nulle desirier. De quoy saillioit odeur qui estoit si [...] tresgrant embrasement⁹³ d'amours que toutes les amours de ce monde ne sont qu'une [amertume]⁹⁴ au regart de celle amour. De qui saillioit une si tresgrant joie que cuer d'ome ne le puet parfaitement ne sentir ne savoir.⁹⁵

⁷⁶ son Pere] *son glorious pare*

⁷⁷ tousjours] *jors* (emended by Duraffour et al. to *toz jors*)

⁷⁸ ses faultes et toute sa vie] *sa via* (cf. Occitan *sa vida e son defalhimens*, l. 87)

⁷⁹ et s'i contint] omitted

⁸⁰ ceste creature] *illi*

⁸¹ se prinst garde] *ne s'en prit garda*

⁸² fu] omitted (*fut* added by Duraffour et al.)

⁸³ devant lui] omitted

⁸⁴ vrayement] omitted

⁸⁵ dire ne comprendre] *pensar*

⁸⁶ dire ne deviser] *devisar*

⁸⁷ tresgrant lumiere glorieuse] *tres gloriosa lumeri*

⁸⁸ c'est si tresmerveilleuse... droitement] *de co ne fait a parlar de bochi de home*

⁸⁹ sapience... a laquelle] *sapienci per la qual totes choses sont faytes et crees. Iqui eret li puyssanci a la cui volunta*

⁹⁰ grant] *si granz*

⁹¹ tous les anges... ames] *li anges et les armes*

⁹² remplies et reparees] *repayssues*

⁹³ si... tresgrant embrasement] *si tres bona que illi traset totes les vertuz del ceuz a sey. De inqui saleyt uns si tres granz embrassamenz* (eyeskip)

⁹⁴ amertume] MS V: *amour*

⁹⁵ puet parfaitement ne sentir ne savoir] *porit pensar*

(18) Quant les anges et les autres⁹⁶ sains pansent et regardent⁹⁷ la grant beauté Nostre Seigneur, et ilz sentent sa tresgrant douceur,⁹⁸ ilz ont si tresgrant joie qu'ilz ne se puent tenir de chanter, mais ilz font chanssons nouvelles qui sont si douces⁹⁹ que c'est grant melodie a ouïr.¹⁰⁰ Et ce doulx chant s'en va ordeneement¹⁰¹ par toutes les ordres des anges et des sains de paradis;¹⁰² des le premier jusques au derrenier. Et se doulx chant n'est pas plus tost feni qu'ilz en font ung autre tout nouvel. Et se chant durra sanz fin.

(19) Les sains seront dedans leur createur tout ainssi come les poissons qui sont dedens la mer qui boivent tousjours en la mer¹⁰³ sans¹⁰⁴ l'eau amenuisier. Tout ainssi sont les sains, car ilz boivent et menjuent¹⁰⁵ la grant douceur de Dieu. Et tant quant plus en recevront, tant plus grant fain en auront. Et ceste douceur ne se puet descroistre ainssi pou et mains que l'eau de la mer. Car tout ainssi come la mer giette grant flueves, et saillent hors de la mer et puis y retournent,¹⁰⁶ tout ainssi la bonté¹⁰⁷ et la douceur de Nostre Seigneur, comment qu'elle s'esperte a tous, elle se retourne tousjours a lui. Et pour ce ne puet elle¹⁰⁸ descroistre.

(20) Certes se les sains ne faisoient jamais fors panser la grant bonté de Nostre Seigneur, et sa douceur, combien qu'elle s'espande,¹⁰⁹ si ne pourroient il pas parfaitement panser la tresgrant charité par laquelle le bon Sire envia son benoit Filz en terre.

(21) Or pansés qu'en lui a d'autres biens que cestui. Il saura¹¹⁰ toutes choses qu'on puet desirer¹¹¹ en tous ses amis.¹¹² Et ce est l'escripture qui estoit escripte on premier fermant du livre ou il avoit escript, "*Erit*¹¹³ *omnia in omnibus.*"

(22) On secont fermant du livre avoit escript, "*Mirabilis*¹¹⁴ *Deus in sanctis suis.*"¹¹⁵ Il n'est cuer d'omme qui pouist parfaitement¹¹⁶ panser que¹¹⁷ Dieux est merveillieux a¹¹⁸ ses amis.¹¹⁹

⁹⁶ autres] omitted

⁹⁷ pansent et regardent] *regardont*

⁹⁸ sa tresgrant douceur] *la bonta et sa tres grant doucour*

⁹⁹ chanssons nouvelles qui sont si douces] *una chacon* (emended by Duraffour et al. to *chancon*)
tota novella qui est si douci

¹⁰⁰ a ouïr] omitted

¹⁰¹ ordeneement] omitted

¹⁰² de paradis] omitted

¹⁰³ en la mer] *a plein*

¹⁰⁴ sans] *seins enoer et seins*

¹⁰⁵ sont... boivent et menjuent] *seront... bevrant et mengirant*

¹⁰⁶ la mer giette... y retournent] *li fluyvo sallont de la mar tuit et tuit y retornont*

¹⁰⁷ bonté] *beuta*

¹⁰⁸ ne puet elle] *ne pot illi ja may*

¹⁰⁹ et sa douceur... s'espande] omitted

¹¹⁰ saura] *est*

¹¹¹ desirer] *pensar ne desirar*

¹¹² amis] *sains*

¹¹³ Erit] *Deus erit*

¹¹⁴ Mirabilis] *Erit mirabilis*

¹¹⁵ suis] *suis Deus est miravillous en sos sains*

¹¹⁶ parfaitement] omitted

¹¹⁷ que] *com*

¹¹⁸ a] *en*

¹¹⁹ amis] *sains*

[Chapter 3]

(23) Il n'a pas moult de temps qu'une personne¹²⁰ estoit en oroison, ou devant matines ou après, et celle personne que je vous di¹²¹ si commança a panser commant Nostre Seigneur Jhesu Crist se siet a la destre de Dieu le Pere. Et tantost son cuer fu sy eslevés qu'il lui fu appertement avis¹²² qu'elle fu en ung liu qui estoit plus grant que n'est tout le monde et plus reluisant de toutes pars que n'est le souleil; et estoit plains d'une gent qui estoient si tresblans¹²³ et si glorieux que cuer ne le pourroit panser ne bouche deviser.¹²⁴

(24) Entre les autres il lui fu avis qu'[elle]¹²⁵ vist Nostre Seigneur Jhesu Crist si tresnoble¹²⁶ [fol. 76vb] que cuers ne le pourroit panser, et estoit vestus de celle glorieuse robe qu'il prinst dedens le benoit corps¹²⁷ a la benoite vierge Marie. En ses tresbelles mains¹²⁸ apparissoient ses glorieux seigniaux qui lui furent fais en la crois des clous de fer, et sembloit qu'en ses paumes eüst une estoille resplandissant, et en chascun de ses piés ainssi.¹²⁹ Et de ses glorieux seigniaux¹³⁰ saillioit une grant clarté, car¹³¹ ainssi come toute la beauté de la divinité saillioit parmi ce glorieux corps, qui estoit si tresnoble¹³² que l'en veoit trestout clerement l'ame dedens. Et si estoit si cler¹³³ que l'en s'i pouoit ainssi bien mirer come en¹³⁴ ung mirouoir. Ce corps estoit si tresbeaux que l'en veoit les anges parmi¹³⁵ et les sains, ainssi come s'ilz fussent poins en lui. Sa face estoit si gracieuse que les anges la lavoient on temple¹³⁶ des qu'ilz furent créés, ne ne se pouoient saouler de la regarder.¹³⁷

(25) Certes qui bien regarderoit¹³⁸ la beauté Nostre Seigneur,¹³⁹ on l'aimeroit tant que toutes autres amours et¹⁴⁰ toutes autres choses seroient ameres. Car il est si tresdous¹⁴¹ et si courtois que tout quamques il a de bien il a tout donné et departi a ses amis.

(26) Or pansés la tresgrant beauté de lui qui est si grant qu'il a donné a tous les anges et a tous les sains qui sont sanz nombre¹⁴² que chascun est ainssi cler comme le souleil. Or pouez panser que beaux [est]¹⁴³ le liu ou a tant de clarté.

¹²⁰ personne] *persona que jo cognoisso*

¹²¹ celle personne que je vous di] omitted

¹²² appertement avis] *semblanz*

¹²³ tresblans] *tres beles*

¹²⁴ cuer... deviser] *bochi d'ome non ho porroyt recontar*

¹²⁵ qu'elle] MS V: *quil*

¹²⁶ tresnoble] *tres glorios*

¹²⁷ benoit corps] *noble cors*

¹²⁸ tresbelles mains] *tres nobles mayns e en ses piés*

¹²⁹ ces glorieux seigniaux... de ses piés ainssi] *les glorioses playes que il souffrit per amour de nos*

¹³⁰ de ces glorieux seigniaux] *De cel glorious pertuis*

¹³¹ car] *que co eret uns granz ebaymenz*

¹³² tresnoble] *tres nobles et si trapercans*

¹³³ cler] *tres nobles*

¹³⁴ come en] *plus clarament que en* (en added by Duraffour et al.)

¹³⁵ parmi] omitted

¹³⁶ la lavoient on temple] *l'aveiant contempla*

¹³⁷ regarder] *regarder mais lo desirravont a regarder*

¹³⁸ bien regarderoit] *penseroyt et regarderoyt*

¹³⁹ la beauté Nostre Seigneur] *sa beuta et la bonta que est en lui*

¹⁴⁰ toutes autres amours et] omitted

¹⁴¹ si tresdous] *si bons et si douz*

¹⁴² sanz nombre] *seins* (emended by Duraffour et al. to *ses*) *membro* (cf. Occitan *ces nombre*, l. 184)

¹⁴³ est] omitted in MS V

(27) Et si est¹⁴⁴ sy grant qu'il est partout, laquelle chose nulz n'en puet avoir, ne ne doit,¹⁴⁵ fors par sa volenté.¹⁴⁶ Il a donné aux sains¹⁴⁷ sy grant legierté qu'il vont en ung moment ou ilz veulent; car il veult qu'ilz soient¹⁴⁸ partout presens avecques lui.

(28) Dieux est trefors et trespuissans et pour ce a il donné a ses amis si grant force et si grant puissance qu'ilz puent quamqu'il veulent: se chascun d'eulx avoit volenté de lever tout le monde au petit doigt, il le pourroit¹⁴⁹ faire legierement.

(29) Jhesu Crist est tresfrans¹⁵⁰ et pour ce a il fait ses amis frans, et les a fais si soultis¹⁵¹ qu'ilz puent issir et entrer partout [et] aporer choses¹⁵² sanz nul empeschement, ainssi come Nostre Seigneur Jhesu Crist faisoit après sa resurrection.

(30) Dieux est impassibles et ne puet avoir nulle enfermeté en soy et pour ce a il donné si grant santé a ses amis qu'ilz n'auront jamais¹⁵³ maladie, ne ne seront¹⁵⁴ pesant ne grevé en ame ne en corps.

(31) Dieu est si tresdelicieux,¹⁵⁵ car il n'est douceur qui de li ne viengne, ne delit,¹⁵⁶ car il est le doux et le savoureux,¹⁵⁷ en qui sont toutes les bonnes saveurs. Il est bons quar¹⁵⁸ ceulx qui en gouteront, tant plus largement en auront et tenront¹⁵⁹ et tant plus grant fain en auront, ne autre chose desirer ne sauront¹⁶⁰ fors la douceur que de lui sentiront.

(32) Dieu est plain de sapience, et de celle a il tant donné a ses amis qu'il ne leur convendra jamais riens demander, car ilz sauront¹⁶¹ tout ce qu'ilz voudront.

(33) Dieu est vraie¹⁶² amour et de celle a il tant donné a ses amis¹⁶³ qu'ilz s'entreaiment autant come ung membre fait l'autre. Et ce que l'un veult, l'autre veult.¹⁶⁴

(34) Dieu est pardurable et pour ce a il fait ses amis de si noble matire qu'ilz ne se pourront jamais corrompre n'envieillir, mais vivront pardurablement avecques lui.

(35) Or pouez savoir et panser¹⁶⁵ la tresgrant bonté qui est en lui qui sy a donné tout [quam]qu'il¹⁶⁶ a a ses amis. Encor leur a il plus donné,¹⁶⁷ car il leur a don-[fol.

¹⁴⁴ Et si est] *Quar Deus est*

¹⁴⁵ n'en puet avoir ne ne doit] *doit avoir*

¹⁴⁶ par sa volenté] *il toz souz*

¹⁴⁷ aux sains] *a ses amis*

¹⁴⁸ il veult qu'ilz soient] *il vont* (emended by Duraffour et al. to *sont*) *quaque part que il seiant* (cf. Occitan *el vol que sian*, l. 189)

¹⁴⁹ chascun d'eulx avoit... pourroit] *il aveunt... porriunt*

¹⁵⁰ tresfrans] *toz frans*

¹⁵¹ frans et les a fais si soultis] *tant frans et si sustiz et si traperans*

¹⁵² et aporer choses] *et omitted in MS V; Franco-Provençal: a portes closes*

¹⁵³ n'auront jamais] *no porrent ja mais avoir*

¹⁵⁴ ne seront] *estre*

¹⁵⁵ si tresdelicieux] *tres granz delyez*

¹⁵⁶ delit] *deliez qui bons seit*

¹⁵⁷ le doux et le savoureux] *li douz leytuares*

¹⁵⁸ bons quar] *si bons que*

¹⁵⁹ auront et tenront] *recevrent*

¹⁶⁰ ne sauront] *oserent* (cf. Occitan *no podo*, l. 210)

¹⁶¹ sauront] *harent*

¹⁶² vraie] *omitted*

¹⁶³ a ses amis] *au sains*

¹⁶⁴ l'autre veult] *volunt tuit li autri*

¹⁶⁵ savoir et panser] *pensar*

¹⁶⁶ quamqu'il] *MS V: quil*

77ra]-né soy mesmes, car il les a fais si beaux et si glorieux que chascun voit en soy la beauté de¹⁶⁸ la Trinité, tout ainssi come l'en voit en ung beau mirouer ce qui lui est devant. Et c'est l'escripture qui estoit escripte on secont fermant du livre,¹⁶⁹ ou il avoit escript, "*Mirabilis Deus in sanctis suis.*"

(37)¹⁷⁰ Certes je croy que qui mettroit bien le cuer en la tresgrant beauté Nostre Seigneur et commant il appert glorieux a ses amis,¹⁷¹ il diroit bien que ce sont¹⁷² droites merveillies. Et croy qu'il lui convendrait a deffaillir, et bien pourroit dire que Diex leur a bien rendu¹⁷³ ce qu'il leur proumist par le prophete David, qui dist,¹⁷⁴ "*Ego dixi, dii estis, et filii (et cetera).*"¹⁷⁵ Car il sera bien semblant a chascun qu'il soit ung petit dieu, car ilz seront ses filz et ses hoirs.

(36) Et tout ainssi comme les sains se delittent a veoir Dieu,¹⁷⁶ se deduit Nostre Seigneur¹⁷⁷ a veoir et regarder la beauté¹⁷⁸ de ses belles creatures,¹⁷⁹ ainssi comme le bon maistre se delitte a veoir¹⁸⁰ une belle euvre¹⁸¹ quant il l'a bien faite.

(38) Je croy qu'on monde n'est¹⁸² cuer sy frait, se il savoit bien panser et connoistre la bonté¹⁸³ Nostre Seigneur, qu'il ne fust tout embrasés d'avoir s'amour.¹⁸⁴ Mais il y a des cuers qui sont sy batus¹⁸⁵ qu'il sont come le pourcel qui aime mieux la pulantise du fumier¹⁸⁶ qu'il ne fait l'odeur d'une rose.¹⁸⁷ Ainssi font cil qui aiment plus panser aux choses du monde, et plus de confort il y ont qu'il n'ont en Dieu. Yceulx sont sy plains de teniebres qu'il ne voient goutte.

(39) Et gens qui sont sy mauvais¹⁸⁸ n'ont pouoir d'amer Dieu ne de li congnoistre. Jhesu Crist¹⁸⁹ si dist en l'euvangile que nulz ne congnoist le Pere fors que par le Filz, ne le Filz fors que par le Pere, et a qui le Pere et le Filz le voudront reveler.¹⁹⁰ Et je croy bien que le Filz ne revele pas ses secrés aux mauvais,¹⁹¹ et ce seront les bienheureux qui aront bon cuer, car ilz verront Dieu [...] ¹⁹²

¹⁶⁷ plus donné] *plus fait*

¹⁶⁸ la beauté de] omitted (cf. Occitan *li beleza e la resplandor de*, l. 227)

¹⁶⁹ du livre] omitted

¹⁷⁰ In MS V (36) and (37) are inverted.

¹⁷¹ a ses amis] *en sos sains*

¹⁷² ce sont] *so erant*

¹⁷³ leur a bien rendu] *lor aveit bein rendu*

¹⁷⁴ qui dist] omitted

¹⁷⁵ et filii et cetera] omitted

¹⁷⁶ Dieu] *la beuta Nostron Seignour*

¹⁷⁷ Nostre Seigneur] *nostre bons creares*

¹⁷⁸ a veoir et regarder la beauté] *en la beuta y en l'amour*

¹⁷⁹ creatures] *creatures qu'il a fait a sa ymagi et a sa semblanci*

¹⁸⁰ se delitte a veoir] *regardet volunteryrs*

¹⁸¹ euvre] *carta* (cf. Occitan *hobra*, l. 236)

¹⁸² Je croy... n'est] *Certes jo ne croy... aït*

¹⁸³ bonté] *tre grant beuta*

¹⁸⁴ d'avoir s'amour] *d'amour*

¹⁸⁵ batus] *abastardi*

¹⁸⁶ la pulantise du fumier] *lo fla du fangez*

¹⁸⁷ fait l'odeur d'une rose] *faroyt d'una bella rosa*

¹⁸⁸ mauvais] *mal netes*

¹⁸⁹ Jhesu Crist] *Quar Deus*

¹⁹⁰ le Pere fors que... reveler] *lo fil maques li pares, ne lo pare meque li fiuz et ceuz cui li fiuz lo vouldra revelar*

¹⁹¹ aux mauvais] *a genz qui sont mal netes*

¹⁹² verront Dieu] *verent Deu tot apertament. Et il mes (emended by Duraffour et al. to memes) lo promet en l'avangelo et dit que benatru sont li ne de cuor, quar il verrent Deu faci a faci, en sa tre grant beuta*

(40) Et ce livre, Dieu le nous doint regarder¹⁹³ sy nettement¹⁹⁴ que nous le
puissions veoir pardurablement en sa grant beauté.¹⁹⁵ Amen.

¹⁹³ Et ce livre... regarder] *Jhesu Criz nos dunt vivre*

¹⁹⁴ nettement] *netament de cuor et de cors*

¹⁹⁵ nous le puissions... beauté] *quant les armes nos partirent del cors, que il nos deigneit monstrar
sa gloriousa faci*